A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic

MARK W. COWELL
THE RICHARD SLADE HARRELL ARABIC SERIES

A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic
By Richard S. Harrell

A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English/English-Moroccan
Edited by Harvey Sobelman and Richard S. Harrell

A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic: English-Arabic
By Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani

A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: English-Arabic
Edited by B. E. Clarity, Karl Stowasser, and Ronald G. Wolfe

A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic
By Mark W. Cowell

A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English

A Basic Course in Moroccan Arabic
A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
OF
SYRIAN ARABIC
(based on the dialect of Damascus)

by
Mark W. Cowell

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THE ARABIC SERIES
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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

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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—no 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.

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

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

Aims and Methods

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

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

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

Sources and Acknowledgments

The examples of Syrian Arabic speech used in illustrating this work 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 many years ago a very thorough and accurate collation of Damascus Arabic verb forms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3Many 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.
INTRODUCTION

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAL</td>
<td>M. Y. Van Wagoner, with Munah F. Dabagh and Joseph T. Kiammeh, Introduction to Spoken Arabic of Lebanon. Sidon (Lebanon), 1953. (Reproduced by The Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.)</td>
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TRANSCRIPTION

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

<table>
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<th>ARABIC LETTER</th>
<th>PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [ا]</td>
<td>[ا]</td>
<td>[ا]</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. (b) [ن]</td>
<td>[ن]</td>
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<td>z.</td>
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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 ('). Long consonants are indicated by doubling the letter: \( bb, ss, kk \), etc. [p.15].

The small raised letter \( \tilde{a} \) is pronounced the same as \( a \) [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 conversational Arabic, mere familiarity with the way it is transcribed in writing counts for nothing. Familiarity with the live sound of the language is indispensable if practical application is contemplated.

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

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

**LABIAL OBRUSTENTS:** \( b, (p), f, (v) \).

\( b \). 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 \( f, k, x, b, g, s, t, f \) and sometimes at the end of a phrase. Examples (fully voiced): \( b \text{la}, b \text{yab\text{"u}}, b \text{h\text{"a}bb\text{"u}}, \text{br\text{"u}}, b \text{\text{"a}dd\text{"u}} \); (devoiced or partially devoiced): \( b \text{\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, b \text{\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, b \text{\text{"a}sb\text{"u}} \).

\( p \). 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 \( p \text{\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, \text{p\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, \text{p\text{"a}sb\text{"u}} \) (Europe), \( p \text{\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, \text{p\text{"a}sb\text{"u}}, \text{p\text{"a}sb\text{"u}} \) (boardinghouse). This sound is written \( 'b \) wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of \( b \); or \( 'p \) only otherwise.

\( f \). Labiodental Spirant. Similar to English \( f \). Generally voiceless, but also sometimes voiced before \( s, d \), or other voiced oral obstruents. Examples (voiceless) \( f \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \); (voiced): \( f \text{\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, f \text{\text{"a}f\text{"u}} \).

\( v \). 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: \( v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \) 'to disturb, make nervous', \( v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \) 'balcony', \( v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, v \text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \) 'bravo'.

**CONSONANTS**

**PLAIN DENTAL OBSTRUCTION:** \( d, t, n, s, (\delta, \theta) \).

\( d \). 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: \( d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}s}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, d\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \). [p.15]

\( tt\). 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: \( t\text{\text{"a}\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}\text{"a}f\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}\text{"a}f\text{"u}} \). [p.15]

\( s \). Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Somewhat sharper (higher pitched) than most kinds of English \( s \).

Examples: \( s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, c\text{\text{"a}n\text{"e}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}} \).

\( s \). Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Generally sharper and stronger than most kinds of English \( s \) as in 'sell', 'hiss'.

Examples: \( s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, s\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \).

\( s \). Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Like English \( th \) in 'this'. Not used in urban Syrian Arabic, but only in certain rural dialects, corresponding to Classical \( \theta \) and urban Syrian \( d \) or \( s \) a: \( h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}} 'this' \) (for \( h\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}} \)).

\( g \). Voiceless Interdental Spirant. Like English \( th \) in 'think'. Rare in urban Syrian Arabic: \( d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r} \) (revolution), \( d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r} \) (trust), \( d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r}, d\text{\text{"a}r} \) (Prophetic tradition).

Used in classics, generally replaceable by \( s \) in less elegant style. Certain rural dialects, however, have this sound as a regular thing, corresponding to Classical \( \theta \) and urban Syrian \( t \) \( t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}}, t\text{\text{"a}d\text{"u}} \).

**PALATAL OBRUSTENTS:** \( (\varepsilon), (\varepsilon), (\varepsilon), (\delta) \).

\( \varepsilon \). Voiced Slit Spirant. Like the French \( j \), or the English \( si \) in 'vision', but somewhat sharper and stronger.

Examples: \( \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \varepsilon\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}} \).

\( \delta \). Voiced Affricate. Like English \( j \) and \( dq \) in 'judge'. Used in the Aleppo region, and in rural dialects in various parts of Greater Syria, instead of \( \varepsilon \).

\( \delta \). Voiceless Slit Spirant. Somewhat sharper and stronger than English \( sh \) in 'shine', 'wash'.

Examples: \( \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}}, \delta\text{\text{"a}b\text{"u}} \).
Voiced Affricate. Like English ch in 'church'. Occurs in certain words in the Aleppo region, e.g. خاخ 'cloth' (elsewhere خاخ 'elegance, chic'); and in certain rural dialects elsewhere, in place of ّ in certain positions: ّ 'was' (for ّ), ّ 'dog' (for ّ). 

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: سجدأ 'cigarette', ّ 'English', ّ 'brave fellow', ّ 'horse', ّ 'hook', ّ 'cord headband'.

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: ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ.

POST-VELAR OBSTRUENTS: ّ, ّ, ّ.

Voiceless Spirant. Generally involves both uvular trill and velar "scrape". Like German ch in 'Bach'. Examples: ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ.

Voiced Spirant. Generally a smooth spirant, involving neither trill nor scrape, but stronger than Spanish g in 'largo'. Examples: ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ.

Voiceless Velar Stop. Generally, not always unvoiced. In urban speech it occurs mainly in classicisms, and in some words is replaceable by ّ. Certain rural dialects, however, have ّ generally corresponding to Classical ّ and urban س . Examples: ّ (or ّ), ّ (or ّ), ّ (or ّ), ّ, ّ, ّ.

Pharyngeal Obstruents: ّ, ّ.

Voiceless Spirant. Usually with strong friction but without scrape. (Must not be confused with ّ or with ّ.) Examples: ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ.

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

Voiced Spirant. A smooth but tense spirant, without the friction noise of ّ. (Must not be confused with ّ or with ّ.) Examples: ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ, ّ.
VELARIZATION 1 (al-ta/sin): tfoot, ɢ, ʂ, ʂ (ɬ), ɬ, ɣ, ɣ, ɬ, ɭ, ɭ (?).

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 ɭ [p. 4] is not one of the velarized sounds; its dot is merely to distinguish it from ɭ.)

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

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

Examples of the contrast between plain and velarized sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Velarized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tfm 'figs'</td>
<td>ɭfm 'mud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dfm 'perpetuate'</td>
<td>ɭfm 'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šef 'sword'</td>
<td>šɛf 'summer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b̃uš 'muzzle'</td>
<td>ḏuš 'ice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The term 'velarization' is not altogether satisfactory as a name for this phonological component. Note that the post-velar sounds ɬ, ɭ, and ɭ 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 ɬ and ɭ 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.

2Velarized ɭ is usually unaspirated while plain ɭ is somewhat aspirated.

Speakers of English and many other languages are apt to be more sensitive to the effects of velarization on contiguous vowels than to the differences between plain and velarized consonants themselves. Compare dahl 'to indicate' with datte 'to remain', sadd 'close, block' with sade '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: datte, gaβaṣṣ, saβeṣ.

The dental obstruents t, d, n, s, and z 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 bəʃlaq, for example, the dot under the 't' implies that the b, the a, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẓām</td>
<td>ẓāb</td>
<td>ẓāb</td>
<td>ẓāl</td>
<td>ẓāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓēf</td>
<td>ẓēr</td>
<td>ẓēd</td>
<td>ẓān</td>
<td>ẓālala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓūd</td>
<td>ẓūb</td>
<td>ẓūl</td>
<td>ẓūr</td>
<td>ẓālami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-dū‘āt</td>
<td>ẓūl</td>
<td>ẓūb</td>
<td>ẓūl</td>
<td>ẓālami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓīd</td>
<td>ẓīs</td>
<td>ẓīn</td>
<td>ẓīf</td>
<td>ẓāfık</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓīr</td>
<td>ẓīf</td>
<td>ẓīn</td>
<td>ẓīf</td>
<td>ẓāfık</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-māt</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāk</td>
<td>ẓāb</td>
<td>ẓāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-ḍa‘al</td>
<td>ẓōs</td>
<td>ẓōs</td>
<td>ẓōs</td>
<td>ẓōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-ḥār</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-ḥār</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
<td>ẓāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-bī</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-dār</td>
<td>ẓdāf</td>
<td>ẓdāf</td>
<td>ẓdāf</td>
<td>ẓdāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-hūr</td>
<td>ẓhās</td>
<td>ẓhās</td>
<td>ẓhās</td>
<td>ẓhās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ-bī</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
<td>ẓbān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some parts of Greater Syria, the plain/velarized distinction with certain consonants is suppressed. In Damascus, for instance, there is no contrast between r and r in the same contexts; ẓārī ‘flowing’ and ẓārī ‘my neighbors’ are pronounced alike [p.12]. In other regions the r/r 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 ẓ and ṣ is likewise obliterated, and is likewise subject to muchvacillation elsewhere. Velarization of ẓ will generally not be shown in this book.

Except for ẓ/ṣ and a few other marginal cases1, 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 VOWELS (AND SEMIVOWELS): i (and y), u (and w), e, o, a, a.

i, High Front Vowel

Long i is similar to the English i in ‘machine’, but not diphthongized or as lax as it commonly is in English. Examples: ẓbrād, ẓkif, ẓfā‘, ẓfī, ẓnīt, ẓtidn, ẓīfī-lī, ẓnasf.

Short i is much the same in quality as long i, though sometimes not so high and tense; less high and tense than the French i of ‘vite’, ‘ici’. Examples: ẓbind, ẓīra, ẓīfa, ẓhānita, ẓābī, ẓkāli, ẓrah-ī-kāni, ẓdirāsē.

Next to a velarized consonant, i has a retracted sound [i] similar to Russian ι: ẓhīr, ẓif, ẓbī, ẓnīpām, ẓīfsa. (Compare this with the sound of ι [p.10] in certain contexts: ẓīfa vs. ẓadīsfa; the latter is lower, laxer, and more forward. The sound of a in the velarized contexts, e.g. ẓyūsfa, is lower and farther back.)

The non-syllabic version of i — transcribed ‘y’ — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic i, sometimes slightly shorter. It does not tend to develop palatal friction. Examples (short): yōm, yatīm, ẓāy, ẓāye, ẓāyem, ẓayn, ẓayra, ẓhayl, ẓhayl, ẓyīl.

Non-syllabic and long (yy), it is higher and tenser (but still does not have palatal friction): ẓayyāra, ẓayyār, ẓayyē, ẓīyyām, ẓhayy.

u, High Back Rounded Vowel

Long u is rounder and tenser than English u in ‘rude’, and is monophthongal. Examples: ẓūf, ẓbrūd, ẓbūlād, ẓbyūsaf, ẓu, ẓhassūf.

Short u has much the same quality as long u, but is sometimes less high and tense. Less high and tense than French ou in ‘voulez’, ‘cou’ Examples: ẓus ‘āl, ẓfāwūs, ẓumām, ẓdūwāl, ẓlāgūs, ẓhu, ẓmu ‘in, muttābēd.

The non-syllabic version of u — transcribed ‘w’ — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic u, though it may be slightly shorter and higher. Examples (short): ẓādī, ẓwēl, ẓdēm, ẓmād, ẓhūl, ẓi ‘dūwāl, ẓwīl.

Non-syllabic and long (ww), it is somewhat higher and tenser: ẓwamal, ẓwamīf, ẓadī ‘mī, ẓhūm, ẓwa ‘dūlado.

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

Long ø 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 ç as in 'zero', but not as tense. Examples: bêt, səba', bëdi, trəm, ëx, 'səbər, šənətəkən, bəbə.

Short ø has more or less the same quality as long ø — between the i of English 'sit' and the e of French 'été'. Examples: məleq, bydəbes, jəyyeb, həle, bəke, ðaməkənə. (Short ø does not ordinarily occur accented [p. 28].)

Next to a velarized consonant, ø has a somewhat retracted sound [o]: gəbet, ʃəd, bəməmə, ʃər, məfəx.

Before a pharyngeal (h, ç), short ø has a slightly lowered sound: gəleq, məryəh, bəseč, mənədəxeč.

f. Higher-Mid Back Rounded Vowel

Long ø 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 o in 'côte', only not so tense. Examples: kəi, xəd, kədə, bərəd, xəəsə, məədət, bərəmsə, nəyəd.

Short o has about the same quality as long ø — between the o of British English 'look' and the o of French 'zero'. Examples: byəməlok, bətətol, həzo, ʃətəl, ʃəθər, məəmsə. (Short o does not ordinarily occur accented [p. 28].)

g. Higher-Mid Central Vowel

ø 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 surrounding sounds. (The raised letter ø represents exactly the same sound as ø; see p. 19.)

The most forward pronunciation of ø — like the i in 'sit' (but always clipped short, never drawn or diphthongized) — occurs only next to plain dentals (t, d, s, n, l) or after y, when no back vowel (ø, u) or velarized sound (i, ð, ð, s, ð, etc.) is in its neighborhood. Examples: sət, dələni, tənsə, byədəkar, təşəkənə, təli, məəni, ʃənəsə, təmsəsə.

The lowest pronunciation of ø — between the e in 'pet' and the u in 'put' — occurs before pharyngeals (h, ç): bəšəki, məhəna, səδər, ʃəmdə, byəçətəni, bəiləh. (This is very similar to the sound of a in certain contexts — but not in these contexts. The a in rədəme, for example, is much like the ø in rəbəh, while the ø before pharyngeals is considerably lower, e.g. rəbəme.)

Several different factors tend to make ø 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, d, s, ð, etc.), backing (caused by a back consonant, especially x or ð), and rounding (caused by velarity with labials or s). An o or ð in the following syllable causes both backing and rounding. Contiguous r may also have a slight backing effect. Examples: dədə, ʃəbə, ʃətə, bəsəyal, ʃəmdəime, ʃəmdəsəm, l-əmətə, rəgə, mərr, ʃəxi, ʃəgətə, rəbətə, bətəto, həlu, ʃəndəfəl, ʃəmsə, ʃəmnə, tənsə, ʃəbədə.¹

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

g. Low Vowel

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

What may be taken as the "standard" pronunciation of ø 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 ø occurs mainly next to non-velarized front consonants — including k, ð, and y, but not excluding r. Examples (short): bəsə, ləfə, ʃəsə, dələ, mədə, ʃəkək, ʃədə, kam, mədaʃən, ʃəldəne, məleq, ʃədələ, dəşədə, dəbədə, ʃəyələ, ʃəsəlfə, məmədə, ʃəydə, yətdə, yətəm, bəldə.

At the end of a word, short ø tends to be slightly lower and farther back: səda, bəda, tənsə, ʃəntə, səda.

Long ø before and after plain front consonants varies regionally. In Damascus it tends to be a little lower and farther back than the "standard" ø in certain coastal regions it is higher and more forward than the standard. Examples: kəm, fəsə, ʃədə, dələ, ʃəsə, ʃə-ʃəmə, məlo, təsəb, kətəf, kədəbə, nəbətə, rəkədə, ʃəbələdə, səyəsə, bəsətə.

In the Damascene pronunciation of ø 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 ø. Examples: mə, yə, məbələdə, xəbbə, ʃəbədə.

After back consonants and ð and r, the pronunciation of ø is more or less the same as after front consonants in Damascus and many other regions. In some of the coastal regions, however, long ø after a back consonant, especially h or ç, may be less high and front than it is after a front consonant: Examples: ʃələ, hələ, xələ, ʃədə, ʃələ, rədə, xədə.

¹With a maximum of backing and rounding, ø tends to alternate with u: ðəbudəne/ubudəne, ʃəmdəsəm/ʃəmdəsəm, ðəmadəbbə/ðəmadəbbə, etc. [See p. 13.]
²This backing effect may sometimes be due to velarization: ʃəl (for ʃəl), xəl (for xəl), rəs (for rəs), masə (for masə). In other instances, however, the backing may be too slight to attribute to velarization.
### Vowel Variants

#### Short Vowels

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

For example:

- nasal \( i \) = nasal \( bāthīf \) = back \( bāthīf \)
- nasal \( u \) = nasal \( bāyktīb-lak \) = back \( bāyktīb-lak \) or back \( b(y)uktūb-lak \)
- \( bāthīb \) = back \( koll \) = kill or kūll

In Lebanon, furthermore, many speakers generally do not differentiate between word-final \( e \) and \( i \) or between \( o \) and \( u \). In their pronunciation \( xdrūd 'a rose' sounds just like \( xdrūd 'rose-colored' \), and \( tādkhū 'he left it' \), like \( tādkhū 'they left' \).

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: \( māšmūd = māšmūd \), back \( bīshmil \) = back \( bīshmil \).

The system of six short vowels represented in our transcription, then, is for some speakers reducible to five (eliminating \( a \)), 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 before a single consonant disappears in many kinds of words: \( nāfūr \) (for \( nāfūr \)), \( bārke \) or \( bārki \) (for \( bārke \)), \( mādṟa \) and \( mādṟa \) (for \( mādṟa \)), \( ḻ-\text{hām} \) (for \( ḻ-\text{hām} \), \( ēḻāy \) (for \( ēḻāy \), \( ṯḏḻmət \) (for \( ṯḏḻmət \), \( ẕm̱n \) (for \( ẕm̱n \)).

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1. The functional autonomy of \( a \) is marginal at best. (Its contrast with \( i \) can be heard in the phrase \( fāxā 'if he comes'. \) Some speakers, however, usually pronounce \( fāxā \) instead of \( fāxā \); for them the difference is (if anything) stylistic, like that between \( mānak \) and \( mānak 'possible'. \) The use of \( a \) 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 \( a \), they cannot be equated with \( y \) and \( w \). This is because the sequences \( -y̱i- \) and \( -w̱i- \) (corresponding to \( -y̱- \) and \( -w̱- \)) remain distinct from \( -i- \) and \( -u- \), respectively. For example \( ḻ-\text{wūḻd} 'the descendants' (= \( ḻ-\text{wūḻd} \) is not pronounced "\( ḻ-\text{u̱ld} \). \) (If \( i = y \) and \( u = w \), then \( y̱ = i \), \( w̱ = u \)).

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1See Footnote 2, p. 11.
Before two consonants (or a long consonant) in certain kinds of words, unaccented a is not lost but is changed to o in these dialects (or to i before y, u before y): barfił (for barfił), naβšær (for naβšær), naclén (for naclén), siyyira (for sayyira), bawwdb (for bawwdb).

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 o and ï are replaced in most words1 by the diphthongs ay and aw, respectively: bawt 'house' (for bët), hama 'here' (for hâm), e(ay)dy 'on it' (for zailé). In some words ï remains, however, notably in masculine/singular imperatives: drós 'study', hòl 'eat'.

The vowel e in these dialects (when not replaced by ay) is commonly replaced by ñ — a sound slightly lower2 than ë: naal 'come down' (for nañl), baadén 'then, afterwards' (for baadéñ), sayydra 'America' (for sayydrá). In still other words, it is replaced by ê: ëmmà 'pound' (monetary) (for ëmmà), ëmm 'yes' (for ëm). The vowel ê, then, is virtually eliminated from this type of Lebanese Arabic, but another vowel, ë, is very similar to it and more or less takes its place in the vowel system (though in individual words ê corresponds to ë more often than to ê, see below).

In a part of northern Lebanon (Tripoli and vicinity) the sound ë — instead of ay — also replaces ë in most closed syllables: bët 'house' (for bët), while ay is used in open syllables: bawt 'my house'. Similarly, the vowel ë — but with a low back pronunciation like that of the a in 'father' — replaces ë in most closed syllables: mët 'death' (for mët), while aw replaces ë in open syllables: mané 'his death'. In some words, however, ë, as well as ë, is kept — notably in imperatives: mané 'carry', ëmm 'sit'. This dialect, then, has six long vowels.

In these dialects ë replaces ë, almost everywhere the relatively high front pronunciation of ë is called for (p.11): dëk 'second' (for dëk), mëbëk 'yesterday' (for mëbëk), këfd 'book' (for këfd).

1Usually words whose Classical equivalents have ay or aw. (Note, however, hama = Cl. hâm.)
2Not as low as IPA [ê], however, which is in the a-territory of Arabic.
3 ë and ë are almost — but not quite — in complementary distribution. Compare the disjunctive pronoun ye 'him, it' with the conjunction ye 'either, or'.

In the Aleppo region and to some extent elsewhere, the sound ë replaces ë in various kinds of words, e.g. fëteh 'having opened', ñëmmëc 'mosques' (for ñëmmëc).

This more extreme type of ñëmmëc (raising of ë) is much less general and automatic than the Lebanese raising of ë to ë. While the contrast between ë and ë is rarely significant in the more typical3 Lebanese dialects, that between ë and ë in Aleppo is quite often used to differentiate words that are otherwise alike. While the word bëred, for instance, meaning both 'cold' and 'stupid', is automatically converted to bëred in Lebanon, the Aleppo dialect distinguishes between bëred 'cold' and bëred 'stupid'.

LENGTH (al-madd mat-taSdid)

All the sounds have a long and a short version except ë, 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.1

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 ë, ë, and ë (pp.9,11).

English speakers should take pains not to draw accented short vowels, which — in order not to sound long — must be clipped quite short, e.g. ëdë (not ëdë), bërd (not bërd').

1Excluding the Tripoli-type dialect where ë may replace ë: mëf 'he died' vs. mët (mat: or [mat]: 'death'.
2The single tap of the tongue in a short r, however, cannot be 'held'; long rr consists in repetitions of the tap, i.e.in a multiple trill.
3The rare instances of triple consonants, as in kakkëk 'your (pl.) suspicion' (kakk + këm) can be pronounced still longer than double consonants (as in kakk '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 orthography) have nothing to do with length, English speakers sometimes forget to respond properly to these signs in Arabic transcription.

Contrastive examples:

Consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kātab</td>
<td>kāttab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧdāni</td>
<td>ǧdānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mára</td>
<td>māra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsābo</td>
<td>nsābbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sādānt</td>
<td>sādāntt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥamām</td>
<td>ḥamām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīyāsī</td>
<td>sīyāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būsha</td>
<td>būsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b- ḥānēne</td>
<td>bā-ḥānēne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kātab</td>
<td>kātab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>málek</td>
<td>málek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǧdīli</td>
<td>ǧdīli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāda</td>
<td>sāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dsa'māra</td>
<td>dsa'māra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāda</td>
<td>sāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārđāt</td>
<td>mārđāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rīgā</td>
<td>rīgā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-kūrā</td>
<td>l-kūrā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

kāmel ‘continue, finish’  kāmel ‘whole, complete’

nāyyem ‘put(s.o.) to sleep’  nāyyem ‘asleep’

mdāmāra ‘round(f.)’  mdāmāra ‘evasion’

dāḥakā ‘they made him laugh’  dāḥakā ‘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 ḥālāf, for instance, the first ā is not as long as the second (but is longer than a short ə).

Short vowels, on the other hand, are apt to be longer after the accent than they are when accented. In sdbāb, for instance, the second ə 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 after 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 long vowel in other positions. In the question kēf bālak? ‘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 ə in fāhme? ‘Did she understand?’ is drawled, the ə in fāmēʔ? ‘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 ACCENTED syllable — usually sounds more stressed 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.

1The 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final Syllable Long</th>
<th>Penult Long</th>
<th>Antepenult or None Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>darastūd</td>
<td>darastūka</td>
<td>dárasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dardāst</td>
<td>dardāstu</td>
<td>ddrasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barrfād</td>
<td>barāde</td>
<td>bārudo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byysmacūk</td>
<td>byysmacūkon</td>
<td>byysmacū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawsād</td>
<td>māsāres</td>
<td>māsrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ftāb</td>
<td>ftāhet</td>
<td>ftabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batšūl</td>
<td>batšūl-lha</td>
<td>bddalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēdalānt</td>
<td>tēdalām</td>
<td>tēdalāmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūmsāl</td>
<td>māssal</td>
<td>māsalan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Proclitics

In this transcription certain particles are attached to the following word by a hyphen. These particles—PROCLITICS—are never accented; the accentuation of the word is reckoned as if the proclitic were not there: hal-mālad (not "hal-māla", which the general rule would yield if the hyphen were ignored). ka-māḏi, la-ẓāda, raba-tāḏal, ẓa-la-kas-sādah.

Proclitics include the article I- [p. 493], the demonstrative particle hal- [556]; the conjunctions wa-, fa- [391], n- [335], la- [338]; the prepositions bi-, ba-, la-, ẓa- (apocopation of ẓala) [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.

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 f in xadī is accented (i.e. xadī), while the i in xadī is unaccented (i.e. xādī) but is sometimes actually long.

In the case of one-syllable words ending in a vowel, the macron may be used to distinguish accented words from unaccented words: mā ‘not’ [383] vs. ma (subordinating conjunction [490]); fi ‘in it, there is’ [418] vs. fī ‘in’; ẓa ‘what’ [568] vs. zū ‘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: fī-ḥāfī, ma-ẓadīyabo.

The Helping Vowel

The vowel written ‘ɔ’ (which does not differ from ɔ 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 darasṭ is ac-

cented on the second syllable (i.e. dārādāt), just as if the ɔ were not there, as in dārādāt; and byaktbu is accented on the first syllable (i.e. byakṭbu), just as in byakṭbu.

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

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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{lat\textsuperscript{a}ki} & \quad \text{(i.e. tātarki)} & \text{?ab\textsuperscript{n}na} & \quad \text{(i.e. ?ab\textsuperscript{n}na)} \\
\text{mā\textsuperscript{a}mē} & \quad \text{(i.e. mā\textsuperscript{a}mē)} & \text{fathā\textsuperscript{n}kon} & \quad \text{(i.e. fathā\textsuperscript{n}kon)} \\
\text{bā\textsuperscript{a}dākon} & \quad \text{(i.e. bdādākon)} & \text{tāllām\textsuperscript{a}t} & \quad \text{(i.e. tāllām\textsuperscript{a}t)} \\
\text{ē\textsuperscript{c}rā\textsuperscript{n}to} & \quad \text{(i.e. crā\textsuperscript{n}to)} & \text{māmar\textsuperscript{d}} & \quad \text{(i.e. māmār\textsuperscript{d})}
\end{align*}\]

Exceptions to the General Rule of Accentuation

(1) A short syllable (as well as a long one) is accented before the pronoun suffixes -a 'her, its' and -a 'their, them' (p.91): "dārābā 'he hit her' (cf. dārābō 'he hit him'). Sāfšōn 'she saw them', sākhāra 'close it', hālāton 'their condition', ṣabū'wa 'her father'.

These suffixes may also be pronounced -a, -hōn, which makes the accentuation regular: dārābā, sāfšōn, sākhāra, hālāton, ṣabū'wa.

(2) With certain kinds of verb stem, the verbal subject-affix -et 'she, it' is accented (taking the form -ēt-) before all the pronoun suffixes, including -o 'him, it', -e 'you(m.)', -ē 'you(f.)': fāhāmaštāk 'she explained to you(m.)', fāhāmaštāk 'she consulted you(f.)', ṣānūmālō '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: byāštēgāl 'he works', bāštē 'I think', byāmālā 'it is told', māxtsēl 'different', mūttēdē 'united', māmār 'conference', māmēri '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 a): byāštīgāl, bāštē, māxtsēl. (With suffixes of any kind, however, the accentuation of these words with vowels a and e is regular in any case: byāštīgāl, māxtsēl, māxtsē [p.31, bottom].)

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

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

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

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: bāddāna, nāsārū 'We intend to visit him', lām₂l-ba?ar 'beef' (lit. 'meat of cattle'), 1a-mēn, baddak₂trūhā '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 drawn out (p.17). The last sound is never assimilated to the first sound of the next word [24], nor are they ever linked by the helping vowel [30]. For example: bāddāna, bād²r²fo 'I think I know him', tōqādḥal²ṣtrīk 'Please have a seat', rāha-nabāqāli, ṣākham₂yôn [DA-93] 'We're going to stay a few days'.

Within any close phrase, one word is somewhat more strongly accented than the others. In phrases, then, there are three degrees of accentuation, including the unaccented syllables. (The main accent of a phrase may be marked ', the subordinate accents, :) : bāddāna, nāsārū, bānd₂bākīrā 'We're going to see him the day after tomorrow'; tišāmaₖām₂manhābbo,māmdōx₂gāro 'If we don't like it we'll get another' [DA-143].

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

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

1In actual running speech there are many stretches in which the accentuation — hence also the phonological autonomy of words — is indeterminate. The statement really applies only in certain (ideal) conditions.
for further treatment here. Nor are they ordinarily shown in our transcription, except when clearly essential in exemplifying 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 without 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 end with a vowel; and one vowel does not ordinarily come right after another.

Certain kinds of words, on the other hand, begin with a vowel when they follow certain words that end in a consonant: tlatt_iyyôm 'three days', xamast_ashor 'five months' [p.171], mîdî xsî '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: btaârân (or btaîrân) 'she reads them' (for btaîrân), ēlîn (or ēldiya) 'on it' (for ēlîhå).

In the case of ā and ī, we write -um- and -iy-, respectively, before a vowel: ?âbåa 'her father' (for ?ababâ), nafyt 'forget(f.) them' (for nafyun). This is merely a transcriptional convention, however; one might just as well write ?âbåa, nafyun.

By the same token we write y and y (the consonantal guise of the semivowels) at the beginning of a phrase before a consonant, or at the end of a phrase after a vowel: mîdî muhôm 'My children are not here', bbar, b bardzo 'Drink the tea' — when in some instances the semivowels in these positions could just as well be considered syllabic: ulâdi, ââi.

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

1) a 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 (inssofar 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 consonants (generally replacing all of them [pp.28,13]).

Classicsisms, however, often have u before two consonants: bikra 'tomorrow' (for bikra), mawke 'possible' (for manke), muhâq 'attachè'. These considerations do not apply to varieties of Arabic that have no distinctive vowel a [p.13]!

Sometimes a long vowel before two consonants is shortened: ?itten 'two hands' (for ?etten), 'amerkâniyye 'American(f.)' (for 'amerkâniyye).

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

Single and Double Consonants

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

This statement does not apply to the semivowels (y, u), however; y and u almost never occur finally after e or o, and y almost never occurs after a.¹ The sequences iy and uy are not distinguishable from the long vowels i and u, respectively.

Any double (i.e., long) consonant may occur medially, between vowels. Examples: rabbi, baṭta, baddo, bârrid, ìâzë, râddûl, haqû, saîlûm, gamû, 'titten, sakkir, ba?ra, fàqêl, fahhem, ìâqîl, gîyeb, ìiyûk, caliyi, ìayy, namiwû, samûlû, humû.

In initial position, double consonants are limited to those formed by the combination of a prefix or proclitic with the first stem consonant, and since there happen to be no prefixes or proclitics that take the form of the consonants f, g, ã, h, k, q, x, c, or ? before another consonant, these do not occur doubled initially. Examples: bbaar, ttaf'ìn, ddaðrâf, mättî, mnâm, ìtal, r-râûc, g-râbûf, g-sîfût, s-sû?ûl, d-darû, ì-mâlû.

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

¹Exceptions are baïy 'to be revived' and ìayy 'to weaken, get sick'. Certain local dialects are more tolerant of combinations like ìy. The dialects of Zahle, for instance, have phrase-final forms like ìayy 'to forget' (instead of ìayî).

²Very 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.
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: rād. ẓal-balad for rāḥ. ẓal-balad 'he went to town').

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

1. The back consonants s, š, h, and ġ do not ordinarily come next to one another, nor does k precede these sound, though it may follow them; and k and g do not precede s or š, though k may follow them.

2. In a sequence of two dental obstruents (d, g, t, f, s, ṣ, r), 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): štad, batshb, ṣṭaād, ṣaxādō; (velarized): ṣṣād, bēṣṣāb, maṣṣār, ḥafṣāš.

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

4. The resonants (l, m, n, r) and the consonantals versions of the semivowels (m, y) are almost never heard immediately after the end of a consonant, except that m and n sometimes occur after l or r: ġal, form (or ẓal-ḵm, for-ḵ).

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

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

Three-Consonant Clusters

Sequences of three contiguous consonants virtually never occur finally. Initially, they are mainly limited to a few beginning with st-: strīḥ, stīḏ, stāmā.

Otherwise three-consonant clusters are fairly common. The first two consonants may be any two that can occur together finally. The third — if it begins a new word in the phrase — may be any consonant at all: bant-halwa, čand-tāḏer, baḥk-xālī, ḏarb-ťamī, sfan-kālī, kaf-čarīd, ūmār-ṭarāḏ ḫon. (But more usually kāt-ḥ, ẓāmāb, 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 h, etc.).

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

Examples of three-consonant clusters within words: ẓramāḥ, čandkon, ẓanglā, mastwīye, bōndiyye, ḏardān, bantkon, ḥanāčtna, byaṭṭārīn, ẓaṣṭāla, byaṣṭīgēl (Leb., Pal.), byaṅkṣa (Leb., Pal.), ṣarībā.

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-ḥlaḏ ‘this country’ (more usually hal-ḵlaḏ).

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 tfaddalāstrīh ‘Please have a seat’.

w-palīkxān ‘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 (t, d, s, z). Thus the second-person affixes -t and -t [p.175] become f- and -t, as in batbasb 'you pour' (cf. batbasb 'you curse'), bjtprof 'you hit' (cf. bjtprof 'you study'). sort 'you became' (cf. sort 'you visited'). Similarly the connective t [p.163], as in ?adjto 'his room' (cf. ?atoto 'his habit'). The root consonant of ?ayyad 'hunter' is changed to d when it is closer to the initial s, as in sad 'hunting, game'.

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 ?))?)? 'she became', with a plain t, or with the t slightly velarized: tfadhal 'please' (invitational), with a plain t, or with velarization: tfadhal.

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

Devoicing

A single dental or palatal voiced obstruent tends to be devoiced (d - t, d - t, z - s, s - g, g - s, k - ?) 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: ?isama? (for ?isama?) 'they gathered' (intrans.), ?is? ?n-n?m (for ?is? ?n-n?m) 'the bedroom', ?asato (for

1Most 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-f (as in basif 'minor, simple'), which is theoretically b-s-t; d-d-d (as in dad 'against'), theoretically d-d-d; ?-t-s (as in ?as 'to sneeze'), theoretically s-s-s. Note, however, the form ?as 'a sneeze', alongside the expected form ?as (p.138), which suggests that a plain s has sometimes been maintained after s.

\[\text{taxado} \] 'I took it', \(l\)-?ats (for \(l\)-?ads) 'Jerusalem'.

Assimilation of \(n\)

The sound \(n\) often becomes \(n\) before labials: ?ambar 'storehouse' (cf. the plural ?am?ber 'storehouses'), mam?at (or man?at) 'we die', ?amf (or ?amf) 'nose', man ?er?at (or man ?er?at) 'from Beirut'.

\(n\) also commonly assimilates to the other resonants, l and r:

r?hasal-lak (or r?hasam-lak) 'better for you', r-r?ah (or n-r?ah) 'if he goes'.

Neutralization of Length

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Final</th>
<th>Final Accented</th>
<th>Final Unaccented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?as?ka 'he forgot her'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>?as? 'he forgot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar? 'behind you(m.)'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>mara 'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?asa? 'their dinner'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>?asa 'dinner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?af?mi 'they saw'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>?afu 'they saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ati-li 'tell me'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>?ati 'tell, speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?amiyyel 'strong(f.)'</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>?am 'strong(m.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Long

bi?habba 'he likes it'

Short (or Indistinctively Long)

bi?habna 'he likes us'

bat?habb ?s-?ay? 'Do you like tea?'

bat?habb ?srab ?s? 'Would you like to have some tea?'

mat?assif 'sorry(m.)'

mat?assfe 'sorry(f.)'

?af ?gabi 'the boy jumped'

?gabi ?af (same translation)

1The spelling -ly- is equivalent to -l-.
Neutralization of Vowel Quality

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaccented</th>
<th>Accented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teallamet 'she learned'</td>
<td>teallamato 'she learned it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byalbes 'he wears'</td>
<td>byalbésa 'he wears it(f.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byadrob 'he hits'</td>
<td>byadrabon 'he hits them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëmel 'he did'</td>
<td>ëmít 'you(or 1) did'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?onsol 'consul'</td>
<td>?onsólna 'our consul'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same 'he heard'</td>
<td>samek 'he heard you(pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btaktob 'you(m.)write'</td>
<td>btaktésḅ-lna 'you write to us'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In those varieties of Syrian Arabic which have no distinctive vowel a [p.13], neutralization of the front and back vowels may nevertheless take place. For example (in a dialect of north central Lebanon): btiktub 'you write', but btiktúba '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): btiktub 'you write', and btuktúba 'you write it' vs. btismék 'you hold' and btismíkka '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mcallem 'teacher'</th>
<th>mcalmin 'teachers'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xámom 'lady'</td>
<td>xámamát 'ladies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báred 'cold(m.)'</td>
<td>bárde 'cold(f.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þale 'he came out'</td>
<td>þelü 'they came out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btaskon 'you(m.)dwell'</td>
<td>btasqni 'you(f.)dwell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þáyef 'seeing'</td>
<td>þayfö 'seeing it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

This rule does not apply to words in which the e or o comes between like consonants the first of which is double. In these cases e or o is changed to a: bisábbe 'it causes' + -u (pl.) - bisábbaba 'they cause'; táxássas 'specialization' + -ak 'you' - táxássásak 'your specialization'.

Any combination of dental stops (t, d, ð, ð) also counts as "like consonants": þadde 'silver of...' + -ek 'your(f.)' - þaddeþek '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): mutākh 'united (m.)' + ð (fem.) - mutākhine, malek 'king' + ð (fem.) - malike 'queen', þasarrof 'behavior' + -ät (pl.) - þassarrofät (but note þasarrfó 'his behavior').

Anaptyxis

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

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

| l- 'the' | + któb 'book' | → l-ektób 'the book' |
| bont 'girl' | + giðre 'little' | → bontu-gidre 'a little girl' |
| lahm 'meat' | + baðar 'cattle' | → lahm-badar 'beef' |
| baktob 'I'll write' | + ikon 'to you(pl.)' | → baktb-þikon 'I'll write to you' |
| bnhmel 'I'll carry' | + ð 'it' | → bnhm-ldr 'I'll carry it' |

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

| 3u 'what' | + hal- 'this' | + akal 'food' | → 3u hal-akal 'What is this food?' |
| akal 'eating' | + l- 'the' | + lahm 'meat' | → akal-lahm 'eating the meat' (or 'the eating of meat') |
In our transcription $a$ is printed smaller and raised above the line (*) when it occurs as a helping vowel, to distinguish it from the kind of $a$ that is an integral part of the word. The pronunciation, however, is identical.

When $a$ occurs between words, or between hyphenated parts of a word, our convention is to write it always after the space or hyphen.

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

Detailed rules for the use of the helping vowel:

(1) The Helping Vowel Between Words

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

- $r\theta \delta l$ 'big men'
- $s\varepsilon \delta t$ 'very clever'
- $\delta \varepsilon - \delta b \varepsilon a b l$ 'the top of the mountain'
- $m a r t \ 'l - ? \ddot {\acute {g} \ddot {i}}$ 'the judge's wife'

(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):

- $l - \theta \ddot {b} \ddot {l} \ddot {d}$ 'the country'
- $l - \delta \gamma \ddot {y} \ddot {s}$ 'the measurement'
- $b - \theta \ddot {b} \ddot {b} i l$ 'in Jubayl'
- $n - \theta \ddot {t} \ddot {s} \ddot {t} \ddot {a} \ddot {r} \ddot {a}$ 'if he buys it'
- $l \ddot {a} - \delta \ddot {m} \ddot {l} \ddot {d}$ 'to the children'

A helping vowel is not used after the article [p.493] or the demonstrative [556] if the following consonant is one of those to which the $l$ of these proclitics is assimilated ($t$, $d$, $\ddot {t}$, $\ddot {g}$, $s$, $\ddot {s}$, $\ddot {p}$, $\ddot {g}$, $\ddot {h}$, $l$, $n$, $r$):

- $\ddot {s} \theta \ddot {b} \ddot {\acute {n}}$ 'the customer'
- $\ddot {r} - \gamma \ddot {s} \ddot {g} \ddot {a}$ 'the bullet'
- $l - \theta \delta \ddot {h} \ddot {\grave {f}}$ 'the blanket'
- $h a t - t \dddot {r} \ddot {\acute {n}}$ 'this train'

A helping vowel is also not used between the proclitic $\ddot {c} a m -$ [p.320] and a following $b -$ [176]: $\ddot {c} a m - \ddot {b} \ddot {\acute {b} \ddot {\acute {l}}}$ 'I am saying', $\ddot {c} a m - b \ddot {y} \ddot {\acute {e}} d$ 'he is able', $\ddot {c} a m - b \ddot {t} \ddot {l} \ddot {\acute {e}} \ddot {l} \ddot {a} b$ 'you are playing'. (The $b -$ in these forms is commonly elided: $\ddot {c} a m - \ddot {b} \ddot {\acute {b} \ddot {\acute {l}}}$, $\ddot {c} a m - y \ddot {\acute {e}} d$, $\ddot {c} a m - t \ddot {l} \ddot {\acute {e}} \ddot {l} \ddot {a} b$.) [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: $b y m \ddot {s} \ddot {e} k + - u - b y m \ddot {a} k$, $b a n d + - u - b a n d a$.

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

- $\ddot {t} a t \ddot {\acute {l}} \ddot {e} t$ 'she killed' $+ - o$ 'him' $+ \ddot {t} a t \ddot {\acute {l}} \ddot {e} t$ 'she killed him'
- $r a \ddot {b} \ddot {e} (t)$ 'neck(of)' $+ - o$ 'him' $+ \ddot {r} a \ddot {b} \ddot {e} (t)$ 'his neck'
- $b a d \ddot {r} \ddot {b} a k$ 'I'll hit' $+ - a k$ 'you' $+ b a d \ddot {r} \ddot {b} a k$ 'I'll hit you'
- $\ddot {g} a l \ddot {f} \ddot {e} t$ 'mistake of' $+ - i$ 'me' $+ \ddot {g} a l \ddot {f} \ddot {e} t$ 'my mistake'
- $b \ddot {h} \ddot {m} \ddot {e} l$ 'you carry' $+ - u$ (pl.) $+ \ddot {b} \ddot {h} \ddot {m} \ddot {e} l$ 'you(pl.) carry'
- $\ddot {k} a l \ddot {n} (t)$ 'word' $+ - \ddot {\dot {e}} n$ (dual) $+ \ddot {k} a l \ddot {m} \ddot {\dot {e}} n$ 'two words'
- $m o s \ddot {l} e m$ 'Moslem' $+ - \ddot {\dot {i}} n$ (pl.) $+ m o s \ddot {l} e m$ 'Moslens'
- $m a s \ddot {\ddot {m} \ddot {\ddot {d}}} e l$ 'apricots' $+ - e$ (unit) $+ m a s \ddot {\ddot {m} \ddot {\ddot {d}}} e l$ 'an apricot'

In the examples above, the vowel that is dropped from the stem is preceded by a short vowel $+ t w o$ consonants.

If, on the other hand, the dropped vowel is preceded by a short vowel $+ t h r e e$ consonants, or by a long vowel $+ t w o$ consonants, then the potential cluster is broken by the vowel $a$, but this is an accented vowel (unless the suffix itself is accented):

- $s a n s \ddot {l} e (t)$ 'chain(of)' $+ - o$ 'him' $+ \ddot {s} a n s \ddot {l} e (t)$ 'his chain'
- $s a m b \ddot {l} e (t)$ 'sprig' $+ - \ddot {\dot {e}} n$ (dual) $+ s a m b \ddot {l} e (t)$ 'two sprigs'
- $m t a r \ddot {\ddot {m} \ddot {\ddot {d}}} e (t)$ 'translator (f.) (of)' $+ - o$ 'it' $+ m t a r \ddot {\ddot {m} \ddot {\ddot {d}}} e (t)$ 'its translator(f.)'

---

1This is $\ddot {c} a l a + n$-$n \ddot {s} \ddot {\acute {a}} r a$, not $\ddot {c} a n + n$-$n \ddot {s} \ddot {\acute {a}} r a$. The latter gives $\ddot {c} a n - n$-$n \ddot {s} \ddot {\acute {a}} r a$. Both might be translated 'about the vultures'. [See p.476]
m'callme('teacher(f.)') + -i 'me' — m'callámi 'my teacher(f.)'(of)'

Sámét 'university of' + -ak 'you' — Sámítak 'your university'

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

On the use of 'connective t', which is involved in many of these changes, see p.163.

Many words end in two consonants when followed in close phrasing by a word that begins with two consonants, since a helping vowel comes between the words: bánt $gî6el 'little girl', čâf $râb 'ten piastres'. But at the end of a phrase, or before a word beginning with one consonant, a helping vowel often breaks the word-final cluster: min hal-ban't? 'Who is that girl?', čâfr lârît 'ten pounds'. Further examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before + two consonants</th>
<th>Finally or before one consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8-8ahr $l-mâfi 'last month'</td>
<td>ha$h-sâhr 'this month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$soft $l-bâxra? 'Did you see the ship?'</td>
<td>$soft bâxra? 'Did you see a ship?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasb $t-talâlîf 'calculating the expenditures'</td>
<td>hasb talâlîfna 'calculating our expenditures'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$abl 3ârub 'before the Crusaders' wars</td>
<td>$abl hal-3ârub 'before those wars'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: 3âfi lârî 'a thousand pounds', bantz hal'me 'a pretty girl', ta$h ?ido 'available to him' (lit. 'under his hand'). $soft bâxra? 'Did you see a ship?' [See p.25]

Especially before a suffix beginning with one consonant, these clusters are generally maintained and no helping vowel is used: $softkon 'I saw you(pl.)', 3ântna 'our daughter', 3arrâftna 'you have honored us', bâsâftî 'you have gladdened me', 3ânskon 'their kind'.

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

$obn 'son' + -kon 'you(pl.)' — $obnkon 'your son'
$habr 'ink' + ?asmawd 'black' — $habr $asmawd 'black ink'
$âlb 'origin' + hal-$sam 'this name' — $âlb hal-$sam 'the origin of this name'

hasb 'calculating' + -ha 'it' — hasb $ha 'calculating it'
$axd 'taking' + -ni 'me' — $axd$m '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: mastâbiye 'embarrassed(f.)' (never -$s$t$), mastâfi 'benefitting' (never -$s$tf$), byâ$tgel (by â$tgel) 'he works' (never -$s$t$).

2. If the first is m and the second b or f: 3âmbma 'beside us, our side', sambil 'spring, ear', $amf 'nose', byâmb$ef (by amb$ef) '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: $amf (or $amf) 'nose'.

A combination of m with k or $ (the m being pronounced in the velar position, as 'ng') is generally also unsplitable: $ânt 'bank' (never -$n$k), $ânglîzi 'English' (never -$n$g$).
CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

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

INFLECTIONAL BASES

Syrian Arabic has three kinds of inflected words:

Nouns are inflected for Number (Singular, Dual, Plural).

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

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

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

The inflections of an Arabic word are distinguished either by affixes or by internal changes in form. The plural of the adjective ta'ādān 'tired', for instance, is produced by suffixing -īn: ta'ādānīn, while the plural of ẓār 'short' is formed by changing it internally to ẓārīn. (The plural of the noun ra'saḥ 'a cold' is formed by internal change plus a suffix: ra'saḥāt 'colds'.)

Inflectional forms are treated in detail in Chapters

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

1The term 'morphological' is used here in a broad sense, including both grammatical and morphophonemic considerations.
2These statements are not to be construed as definitions. The parts of speech are established syntactically.
3The term 'form', as used in this book, generally means 'phonological expression', not 'grammatical structure'.
4Another 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 taçbän, then, is used in referring to the adjective whose other inflections are taçbän (f.) and taçbän (pl.). Likewise, the verbal citation form katab ‘to write’ sub-tends all twenty-seven inflections; katab as a particular inflection actually means ‘he wrote’, not ‘to write’. (Arabic verbs have no infinitive, which is the usual citation form for verbs in modern European languages.)

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

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

ROOTS AND PATTERNS

Patterns (aš-ṣiğa, al-waqf)

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

- ṣabne ‘cheese’
- ṣâbe ‘box’
- xâṣbe ‘mariage proposal’
- xalâfe ‘sister-in-law’
- xâdme ‘service’

The pattern manifested in all these words consists in a sequence ‘conso-

nant + s + two consonants + e’. This is one of the patterns character-

istic of feminine nouns. This pattern, however, implies nothing about the words’ meanings.

Note the pattern shared by these words:

- ṣâbbâx ‘cook’
- xâyâyâ ‘tailor’

Rârâh ‘surgeon’
xâdâm ‘servant’
dâkhân ‘painter’
sâmmân ‘grocer’
nâshâl ‘pickpocket’
câtâl ‘porter’

This pattern, ‘consonant + s + double consonant + s + 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:

- máfîrax ‘kitchen’
- máfâh ‘museum’
- másîbîh ‘swimming pool’
- máxân ‘store’
- málêâb ‘playground’
- márkâz ‘center’
- máfêm ‘restaurant’
- máktâb ‘office’
- máfrâh ‘factory’

This pattern, ‘ma + two consonants + s + consonant’, commonly occurs in words designating kinds of places.

There are numerous exceptions to the pattern implications, however. Note that xâsâd ‘reservoir’ and xâbbâx ‘shoes’ do not indicate people’s occupations, nor do xâsâd ‘profit’ designate a kind of place. Some of the same patterns, too, are used in different parts of speech: bâlîl ‘bad’ and bâsâs ‘sensitive’, for instance, are not nouns, but adjectives.

Roots (al-ʔasl, al-ʔâbîr)

If the pattern is analyzed out of a word, then the part left over — the part which differentiates that word from others of the same pattern — most typically consists of three particular consonants in a particular order. This set of consonants is called the ROOT of the word, and each separate consonant is called a RADICAL (harf ʔaslî). Thus the root of ṣâbne ‘cheese’ is ʔ-b-m, the root of ṣâbbâx ‘cook’ is ʔ-b-x, and the root of máfîrax ‘kitchen’ is also ʔ-b-x.

Words with the same root commonly have related meanings:

- ṣâbbâx ‘cook’
- xâdâm ‘servant’
- xâṣbe ‘marriage proposal’
- xâfîn ‘fiancé’
- máfrâh ‘factory’

xâdâm ‘service’
xâdme ‘service’
xâfîn ‘fiancé’

(Root ʔ-b-x)
(Root x-d-m)
(Root x-t-b)
(Root ʔ-n-ʔ)

(Ch. 2)
There are countless exceptions, however. For instance:

- rakb 'knee' ...... but markab 'ship'  (Root r-k-b)
- bahr 'pool' ...... but baraka 'blessing' (Root b-r-k)
- halab 'barber' ...... but halafa 'link'  (Root h-l-α)

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

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

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

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

Root and Pattern Symbols

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

Handy reference to patterns, on the other hand, is a bit more difficult. In this book the traditional Arab technique is used: the pattern is applied to the sample root f-c-l. Here we are not concerned with f-c-l as a root of actual words (e.g. fafal '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 FaCE is our formula for the pattern of fābe, ēle, zābe, ḍābe, etc.; FaCÉL represents the pattern of ḍabbāsan, xayyāl, bawrābih, and FaCÉL represents the pattern of masbāxan, masbābh, and maslāb. A small handful of miscellaneous simple nouns and derivative adjectives, however, also have bilateral roots:

- riqa 'lung'  (Root r-α, Pattern FiCa)
- fīqa 'class, bracket, rate' (Root f-α, Pattern FiCa)
- shēna 'year' (Root s-n, Pattern FaCe)

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

2 Also pronounced fīqa, implying a root f-y-α with Pattern FaCÉ.
MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

PATTERN ALTERATIONS

Root Types

Many patterns vary according to the type of root they are applied to. The verb pattern Fašal, for instance, when applied to a root like 9-r-y, does not yield a form "9aray". What happens is that the final radical semivowel disappears in this pattern: 9ara 'to read'.

This same verb pattern (Fašal), applied to a root whose last two radicals are alike, such as d-i-l, loses its second vowel a, and the two like radicals cohere as a double consonant: dili 'to indicate' (not "dali").

Roots like 9-r-y and d-l-l are UNSTABLE: they have at least one radical that in certain patterns is subject to change, disappearance, or fusion. STABLE roots, on the other hand, keep all their radicals intact and distinct in all patterns.

In fluctuating roots the unstable radicals are usually semivowels (w or y), in some cases r.

Some examples of radical fluctuation:

1) Change to another sound:

Pattern Fašal applied to Root x-w-f gives xayef 'afraid' (not "xuwayne").

(Rule: Medial radical w is changed to y in Pattern Fašal.)

Pattern Fašal applied to Root w-f-9 gives xafay to agree' (not "xuwaya").

(Rule: Initial radical w is changed to t in Pattern Fašal.)

Pattern Fašal applied to Root d-9-9 gives dawfay 'supplication' (not "duwayne").

(Rule: Final radical w is changed to y in Pattern Fašal.)

Pattern Fašal applied to Root 9-w-y gives xawwe power' (not "xowane").

(Rule: Final radical y is changed to w in Pattern Fašal after medial radical w.) Also: y is changed to u in Pattern Fašal before medial radical w.)

1Intact, not counting the kinds of assimilation described as automatic sound changes [p. 26]. Thus the root 9-m-9 is considered stable, even though the 9 may be devoiced in Pattern Fašal: 9ama 'to meet, get together'.

2The mere alternation of w with u and y with i, however, is automatic (subphonemic, in fact), and is not to be counted as radical fluctuation. Thus the radical w shows no fluctuation as between 9azu 'raiding' (Pattern Fašal) and gazaw 'a raid' (Pattern Faša), but does show fluctuation in the verb 9azu 'to raid' (Pattern Faša), where its disappearance is not a consequence of automatic sound changes.

3Except when the final radical is also a semivowel, in which case the medial w remains: 9awwi 'intending' (Root m-w-y).

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

Pattern Fačl applied to Root s-w-y gives sūy 'market' (not "sawy").
(Rule: Pattern vowel a + medial radical s = sū.)

Pattern Fačl applied to Root x-w-f gives xōf 'fear' (not xawf).
(Rule: Pattern vowel a + medial radical x = xō.)

Pattern Fačl applied to Root x-y-f gives xét 'thread' (not xayf).
(Rule: Pattern vowel a + medial radical x = xē.)

Pattern staFačl applied to Root 9-h-l gives stāhāl 'to deserve' (not "staFačl").
(Rule: Pattern vowel a + initial radical 9 sometimes = sū.)

3) Loss without a trace:

Pattern Fačl applied to Root x-f-y gives xaffā 'to hide' (not "xaffay").
(Rule: Final radical semivowels generally disappear from word-final position after a.)

Pattern Fačl applied to Root x-w-f gives xōf 'to fear' (not "xawf").
(Rule: Medial radical semivowels generally disappear in Pattern Fačl. xa + -af = xōf.)

Pattern staFačl applied to Root 9-y-g gives stāgha 'to be embarrassed' (not "staFačl").
(Rule: Medical radical y disappears in Pattern staFačl if the final radical is also y. The latter also disappears since it is in word-final position after a.)

Pattern Fačl applied to Root m-l-y gives mlān 'full' (not "mlān").
(Rule: Final radical 9 sometimes disappears in Pattern Fačl.)

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 (mutāṣṣafa): ṣāde 'intensity' (cf. sound ṣāfā 'intense'); ḍarā 'to damage' (cf. sound darar 'damage'); hāṣā 'luck' (cf. sound ḥāṣā 'lucky').

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

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

3Compare, however, the more common doublet of this root: m-l-y, whose final radical does not disappear in Pattern Fačl: mlāyān '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: ḥāṣā (Pattern Fačl); ṣāde (Pattern Fačl).

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

Pattern staFačl with Root h-9-y gives geminate stāhāy 'to deserve' (not "stāhāy", which would be the sound form).

Pattern maFačl with Root h-9-l gives geminate māhāl 'place' (not "māhāl", which would be the sound form).

Pattern Fačl with Root x-s-s gives geminate xados 'most special' (not "xados", which would be the sound form).

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

While a stable root (by definition) produces only sound words, a fluctuating root may produce both sound and weak words. Thus the fluctuating root s-w-f with Pattern Fačl produces a weak verb sāf 'to see', but with Pattern staFačl it produces a sound verb saFačl 'to see'.

The root 9-w-r with Pattern Fačl produces both a weak verb sār 'to visit' and a sound verb saFačl 'to give (someone) a significant look'.

The root 9-h-l with Pattern Fačl produces a base form in which all radicals are intact: ṭakāl 'to eat'; but the initial radical 9 is lost or fused in other inflections (byākol 'he eats', koli 'to eat'). The verb ṭakāl is classified as weak.

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

"āra 'to read' (Root 9-9-9, Pattern Fačl)

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 9 or 9: ārāha 'he read it', ārēt 'I have read'.
The final i does not represent the radical y, but only the apocopated pattern vowel i.

'punishment' (Root q-m-y, Pattern Fa$£aL)

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

nas'i 'to forget' (Root n-s-y, Pattern Fa$£aL)

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

muddâl 'claimant' (Root d-$-w, Pattern mu$£a$£aL)

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

śasa or śasâ? 'punishment' (Root s-s-y, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The form śasa shows total loss of the final radical y (with the pattern vowel shortened because it is unaccented finally), while in śasâ? the radical is not lost but is changed to û.

In MIDDLE-WEAK or HOLLOW (ʔawwaf) words, a middle radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

xâf 'to fear' (Root x-m-f, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The radical w is totally lost in the perfect, while in the imperfect, strictly speaking, it fuses with the pattern a to produce ā: bixâf 'he fears' (Pattern bya$£aL: w + a û ā).

sta$fâd 'to benefit' (Root f-y-d, Pattern sta$£a$£aL)

The radical y fuses with the pattern vowel a to produce ā, while in the imperfect byâst$âd (Pattern byas$£a$£aL) it fuses with the pattern vowel e to produce û.

šê$tâm 'devil' (Root š-y-û-n, Pattern Fa$£a$L)

The pattern vowel a fuses with the radical y to produce û. The radical remains intact in the plural: šayâstâm.

niyye 'intention' (Root n-m-y, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The medial radical w is changed to y.1

šâyef 'looking at' (Root s-m-f, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The medial radical w is changed to y.

mût 'death' (Root m-m-t, Pattern Fa$£aL)

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

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

ʔâman 'to believe' (Root q-m-n, Pattern qa$£aL)

The first pattern vowel a fuses with û to produce ā in the perfect tense, but the initial radical remains intact in the imperfect: by$âman 'he believes'.2

$âjal 'to get in touch' (Root w-s-l, Pattern $t$a$£aL)

The initial radical w is changed to t, assimilated to the -f- infix of the pattern.

yâbes 'to dry out' (Root y-b-s, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The radical y is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: bitâbas 'it(f.) dries out'.

Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: bitâbas. û = iy y + y.)

wa$âl 'to be born' (Root w-l-d, Pattern Fa$£aL)

The radical w is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: byâ$âl 'he is born'.

Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: byâ$âl. û = um y + w.)

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

2ʔâman may also be construed as having Pattern Fa$£aL rather qa$£aL, in view of the imperfect bi$âmen 'he believes' in addition to by$âmen. As a Pattern Fa$£aL verb, it is sound, since the initial û is then the radical rather than a pattern formative.
MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

pi:fa 'attribute' (Root m-s-f, Pattern ēila)

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

mūḥēf 'desolate' (Root m-ḥ-ḥ, Pattern maFēl)

The Pattern vowel ə fuses with m to produce ū.

DERIVATION (al-ištīqāq)

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 mā来历 'teacher', for instance, is a base formative (cf. callam 'to teach'); likewise the suffix -an in dāyman 'always' (cf. dāyem 'last', permanent'), the infix -t in ṭūman 'to meet, get together' (cf. ṭūmā 'to bring together'), and the lengthening of the consonant and vowel in ūbab 'cook' (cf. ūbab 'to cook, prepare food').

Word bases that contain formatives (ziydā) are called AUGMENTED (masīd fihi); those without formatives are SIMPLE (mugarrad). ūmām and ūbab are simple, while ẓāmām and ūbab are singly augmented — they each contain one formative. callam 'to teach' and dāyem 'lasting' are also singly augmented (cf. the simple words ẓālim 'organized knowledge' and ẓāmām 'to last'). mā来历, then, is doubly augmented — it contains both the m- and the lengthened ū; ṭūman, too, is doubly augmented — by the suffix -an and the active participial formative (consisting in a change from Pattern Fāčal to Pattern Fāčel)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 Fāčal (as in ūzām) is a simple pattern, as also the verb pattern Fāčal (as in ūmām, ūbab, and the hollow verb ūmām). Singly augmented patterns include Fūlā (as in ūmām), Fāčel (as in ūbab), and Fāčel (as in dāyem), while the patterns mFāčel (as in mā来历) and Fāčel (as in dāyem) are doubly augmented.

1The 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 ūmām 'to bring together' into mediopassive verbs like ṭūmanī '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 (muṭaqlā) from the word without it. Thus ṭūmanī is derived from ūmām, and mā来历 'teacher' is derived from callam 'to teach', and dāyem 'always' from dāyem 'last', permanent' — which, in its turn, is derived from the simple verb ūmām 'to last'.

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

It is quite usual in Arabic grammar to go on from here to say that ūmām is derived from the root ʿ-m-ū, and ūmām from ū-m-ū, and callam from ʿ-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 ūmām is 'derived from' ū-m-ū, when the same thing may be expressed simply by saying that the root of ūmām is ū-m-ū.

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 ū-m-ū + Pattern Fāčal + ṭūmanī. 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: ūmām + -t- = ṭūmanī. Therefore if we want to describe the hierarchical inter-relationships 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.
callam 'to teach' – tajūn 'teaching, instruction'.

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 Pāṭal (79), serve regularly in a number of different functions.

The derivational categories are treated in detail in Chapters

Unlike inflectional categories, the categories that are purely derivational have no unique syntactic or semantic properties. That is to say, there are always some uninflected 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 fashem 'to understand'. These causatives are doubly transitive and mean 'to cause(someone) to do(something)', thus fahham 'to cause(someone) to understand(something)'.

Or take for example occupational derivatives like tabbah 'cook' (from tabāh 'to cook, prepare food'), fannān 'artist' (from fann 'art'), mālī 'callem 'teacher' (from callam 'to teach'), '昭 'judge' (from 'qāda 'to pass judgement'). These derivatives are paralleled by simple words that likewise indicate occupation: xāri 'priest', doktōr 'doctor', 'stāna 'professor', ḳargā 'pimp'.

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

2Strictly speaking, patterns as such are not formatives; to call Pattern Pāṭal a formative means that the change from some other (usually simple) pattern to Pattern Pāṭal 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 (256), and transitive gerunds (440) have certain syntactic and/or semantic peculiarities that set them apart from any non-derivative words.

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 asproductive 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 musūl 'sick' implies an underlying verb such as musāl (meaning, perhaps, 'to cut, mow'), but in fact no such verb exists. Similarly the reciprocative verb ādarab(w) 'to fight(one another)' theoretically should be derived from a participative verb ḳārab 'to fight with' (which would be derived in turn from the simple verb ḳārāb 'to hit'); in fact, however, no such verb as ḳārab is used in Syrian Arabic.

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

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

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

A more severe case of idiomatic derivation can be seen in the relationship between *htaram* 'to respect' and *haram* 'to deprive (someone) of (something)'. The regular mediopassive function of the latter 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 specialization in the sense 'to observe a taboo with respect to', then by generalization: 'to respect'.

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

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

2The derivation of *htaram* from *haram* 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 *ṣagāl* 'to work', for instance, is the mediopassive of *ṣagāl* 'to occupy, make...busy', but this derivation applies only inssofar as the subject-referent of *ṣagāl* is animate. When it is inanimate (say, a machine), then *ṣagāl* is not the mediopassive of *ṣagāl*, but rather of *ṣagāl* 'to operate, put into operation'.

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

Some scholars would object to calling either word a derivative of the other, on the grounds that both analyses imply etymologies that are very likely false. But it goes without saying, of any strictly synchronic method of analysis, that no etymologies — at least no particular etymologies — are implied, even though the analysis of the system as a whole may be so designed as to suggest good etymologies in most cases.

The present method does not imply that any given derivative necessarily 'came from' (or 'comes from') its underlying word, nor that it is necessarily more closely associated with its underlying word than with other paronyms. It merely implies that the category to which the derivative belongs is — on the whole — best described in terms of its underlying word's category.

The description of Arabic derivation in this book departs from more traditional descriptions, in that all derivational categories (except color and defect adjectives (p. 530)) are defined in terms of underlying word bases; none is treated as a primary category, i.e. none is defined in terms of roots.

One reason for stopping derivational analysis short of the root has been given in the footnote on p. 47. Another reason (or another aspect of the fundamental reason) 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 *maktāb* 'office' can be analyzed derivationally as meaning 'a place having to do with writing', and the occupational noun *kāšēb* '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 *kāšēb* 'clerk' and *maktāb* 'office', or that between *kāšā* 'book' and the locative *maktāb* 'library'.)

But since the verb pattern *Faqal* cannot be associated with any specific kind of meaning, the simple verb *maktāb* '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 disconnected from any particular part of speech. The purported meaning of the root *k-t-b*, then, is seen to be merely the blurred and deverbalized meaning of the verb *maktāb*.

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 (�اصل l-fiel) WITH INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS

Most of the Arabic verb patterns (commonly called "stems", "forms", or "measures") are traditionally designated in Western grammars and dictionaries by numerical labels. For instance "Pattern II" ("the second stem") is Pattern Fačal, "Pattern III" is Fačal, 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, byaḥmel 'to carry' is an example of Pattern Fačal, byaḥmel. (Augmented verbs also are sometimes cited in this way, though their imperfect can be deduced from the perfect.) Pattern Fačal, byaḥmel may also be cited as Pattern I(a-e) — with the first letter in the parenthesis showing the stem vowel of the perfect and the second letter showing the stem vowel of the imperfect.

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

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

Index of Patterns

SIMPLE TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern I(a-e): Fačal, byaḥmel ........ p. 55
Pattern I(a-e): Fačal, byaḥmel ........ p. 57
Pattern I(a-e) and (a-o) (Geminate) ... p. 63
Pattern I(a-o): Fačal, byaḥmel ...... p. 65
Pattern I(a-e): Fačal, byaḥmel ...... p. 69

1Inflection does not include pronoun object suffixes. See Ch. 21.
Pattern I(e-a): Fa'el, byaFa'el .... p. 71
Anomalous: 'aFa'a, byaFa'i 'to come' .... p. 76

AUGMENTED TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern II: Fa'el, biFa'el ... p. 77
Pattern III: Fa'el, biFa'el ... p. 80
Pattern IV: Fa'el, byaFa'el ... p. 82
Pattern V: tFa'el, byatFa'el ... p. 86
Pattern VI: tFa'el, byatFa'el ... p. 88
Pattern VII: nFa'el, byonFa'el ... p. 91
Pattern VIII: Fta'el, byoFta'el ... p. 95
Pattern IX: Fce'el, byoFce'el ... p. 101
Pattern X: staFce'el, byoFce'el ... p. 102

Anomalous Forms .............................................. p. 107

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Reduplicative: Fa'Fa'el, biFa'Fa'el and tFa'Fa'el, byatFa'Fa'el ... p. 110
Post-medial w: Fa'wal, biFa'wal and tFa'wal, byatFa'wal ... p. 113
Pre-medial ø: Fœ'al, biFœ'el and tFœ'el, byatFœ'el ... p. 113
Pre-medial ø: Fœ'al, biFœ'el and tFœ'el, byatFœ'el ... p. 114
Suffix n: Fa'lan, biFa'len and tFa'lan, byatFa'lan ... p. 115
Prefix ø: Fa'oel, biFa'oel ...................................... p. 116

TRUE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Simple Pattern (I): Fa'el, biFa'el ... p. 117
Prefix t (II): tFa'el, byatFa'el ... p. 121
Pattern Fce'el (IV): Fce'el, byoFce'el ... p. 123

SIMPLE TRIRADICAL VERBS (a-o)

PATTERN I(a-o): Fa'el, byaFa'el

Sound Verbs. Examples:

'amar, bya'mor 'to command' xalas, byaxlo 'to finish'
daras, byadros 'to study' katab, byaktob 'to write'
'fahab, bya'tbox 'to cook' barad, byabrod 'to get cold'

INFECTION OF katab 'to write'

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<td>kdtbet</td>
<td>bstkob</td>
<td>tskob</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>kdtbu</td>
<td>bysk*tkbu</td>
<td>ysk*tkbu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bstkob</td>
<td>tskob</td>
<td>ktob 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ktobti</td>
<td>bstk*tb</td>
<td>tsk*tb</td>
<td>ktbi 'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>kdtbto</td>
<td>bstk*tb</td>
<td>tsk*tb</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kdtb(ø)t</td>
<td>bstkob</td>
<td>yskob</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<td>kataba</td>
<td>msktob</td>
<td>nsktob</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Participles: Act. kateb. Pass. mktub (Gerunds: kta'be, kta'3b)

Initial-Weak Verbs: 'aakal, bya'kel 'to eat'; 'axad, bya'xod 'to take'

The initial radical ö of these two verbs fuses with the prefix vowel of the imperfect to produce ø, and disappears entirely in the imperative. (In all other verbs on this pattern the initial radical ö is stable, e.g. 'amar, bya'mor.)
### INFLECTION OF 'ażad 'to take, get'

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>'ażad</td>
<td>byażad</td>
<td>yāxod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>'ażadet</td>
<td>btażad</td>
<td>tāxod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>'ażadu</td>
<td>byażdu</td>
<td>yāxdu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2m      | 'ażād(ª)tl   | btażad      | tāxod | xād | 'you' |
| f       | 'ażādı叨     | btätzı      | tätzı | xādı | 'you' |
| pl      | 'ażätzıu     | bätzdu      | tätzdu | xādu | 'you' |

| 1sg     | 'ażād(ª)tl   | bätzıd      | tätzıd | xādı | 'I' |
| pl      | 'ażätzıdu    | btätzıdu    | tätzıdu | xätzıdu | 'we' |

**Participles:** Act. 'ażed, Pass. ma’ażūd (Gerund: 'ażəd)

### INFLECTION OF sāy 'to drive'

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>bısāy</td>
<td>ysıy</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sāyet</td>
<td>bıstāy</td>
<td>tıy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sāyu</td>
<td>bıstāyu</td>
<td>ysıyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2m      | sāy(ª)t      | bıstāy      | tıy   | sıy  | 'you' |
| f       | sāyıı        | bıstāıı     | tıyıı | sıı  | 'you' |
| pl      | sāyıt        | bıstąıt      | tııtı | sııtı | 'you' |

| 1sg     | sāy(ª)t      | bıstāy      | tıy   | sıy  | 'I' |
| pl      | sāyıı        | bıstąıt     | tııtı | sııtı | 'we' |

**Participles:** Act. sāye (Gerund: sỹa.)

There are no defective verbs [p.43] with Pattern I(a-o) in Syrian Arabic (other than in classicisms such as 'ażrēk '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 a 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-e/o), p.63.

### PATTERN I(a-e): Faṣal, byağeel

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

- 'ażasam, byașəem 'to divide'   ġasal, byağsel 'to wash'
- 'ażamal, byașməel 'to carry'   čašab, byağšeb 'to please'
- 'ażameš, byașmeš 'to grasp'    čamaš, byağšem 'to bend'

---

1 Or with assimilation of d to t [p.26]: 'ażātti.
INFECTION OF ُhamal 'to carry'

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<tbody>
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<td>byṣḥmel</td>
<td>yṣḥmel</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ḥāmel</td>
<td>btṣḥmel</td>
<td>tṣḥmel</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṭḥāmel</td>
<td>byṣḥmiu</td>
<td>yṣḥmiu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ُhamal(3)</td>
<td>btṣḥmel</td>
<td>tṣḥmel</td>
<td>ḥmēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ُhāmel</td>
<td>btṣḥmi</td>
<td>tṣḥmi</td>
<td>ḥmīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ُḥāmel</td>
<td>btṣḥmīu</td>
<td>tṣḥmīu</td>
<td>ḥmīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg ُhamal(3)</td>
<td>btṣḥmel</td>
<td>tṣḥmel</td>
<td>ḫ'mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ُḥāmla</td>
<td>mnṣḥmel</td>
<td>nṣḥmel</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ḥāmel, Pass. maḥmūl (Gerund: Ḥamal)

There are a number of sound verbs on this pattern that have medial radical w. Most of them are correlative to defect-adjectives [p. 103]: ġanaš 'to put out an eye' (cf. ُ主旨 'one-eyed'), ُwanas 'to bend' (cf. ُ主旨 'bent'), ḥamal 'to make cross-eyed' (cf. 'ṣḥāmel 'cross-eyed'). Also ṣasan 'to frown at, give a significant look'. Otherwise, I(a-e) verbs with medial radical w (and stable final radical) are hollow [p. 59].

INFECTION OF ُcašāl 'to bend'

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<tr>
<td>3m ُcašāl</td>
<td>byṣḥ�el</td>
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<td>'he'</td>
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<tr>
<td>f ُcašēl</td>
<td>btṣḥ�el</td>
<td>tṣḥ�el</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ُṭḥāṣel</td>
<td>byṣḥm&quot;el</td>
<td>yṣḥm&quot;el</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tṣḥ�el</td>
<td>ēmēl</td>
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<td>tṣḥm&quot;el</td>
<td>ēmīl</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl ُṭḥāṣel</td>
<td>btṣḥm&quot;el</td>
<td>tṣḥm&quot;el</td>
<td>ēmīl</td>
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<td>1sg ُcašāl(3)</td>
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<td>&quot;ēl</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl ُṭḥāṣel</td>
<td>mnṣḥ�el</td>
<td>nṣḥ�el</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ُcašāl, Pass. maṭwâṢ (Gerund: ُcašē)
Defective Verbs. Examples:

ḥaka, byaḥki 'to speak' ṣafa, byāfī 'to extinguish'
bana, byābni 'to build' tama, byaṣmi 'to fold'
ḥaya, byaḥyi 'to enliven' dača, byadēi 'to invoke'

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-e-w with Pattern I (a-e) gives dača, byadēi. (There are no defective verbs in Pattern I (a-e)).
**INFLECTION OF fdbj ‘to fold’**

<table>
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<th>Impf Subj</th>
<th>Imperf</th>
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</thead>
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<td>byfdj</td>
<td>yfdj</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fdbet</td>
<td>btfj</td>
<td>tfj</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>fdbj</td>
<td>byfdju</td>
<td>yfdju</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>fdbet</td>
<td>btfj</td>
<td>tfj</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fdbet</td>
<td>btfj</td>
<td>tfj</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>fdbet</td>
<td>btfj</td>
<td>tfj</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>fdbet</td>
<td>btfj</td>
<td>tfj</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>fdben</td>
<td>mnfj</td>
<td>nbfj</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. fdbj. Pass. fbfj (Gerund: fjaye)

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

**INFLECTION OF mfaj ‘to fulfill’**

<table>
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<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Impf Indic</th>
<th>Impf Subj</th>
<th>Imperf</th>
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<td>mfaj</td>
<td>byfju</td>
<td>yfju</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>mfaj</td>
<td>byfju</td>
<td>yfju</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
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<td>f</td>
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<td>pl</td>
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<td>byfju</td>
<td>yfju</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>mfaj</td>
<td>byfju</td>
<td>yfju</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mfaj (Gerund: faj)

**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 are derived as causatives [p.240] from I (a-o) verbs:

- dām, bidām ‘to make... last’ (– dām, bidām ‘to last’)
- ūm, bīūm ‘to pick... up’ (– ūm, bīūm ‘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 (ūm, bīūm ‘to get up’ v.s. ūm, bīūm ‘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):

- ṣalā, bīṣalā ‘to kill’
- ṣaṣar, bīṣaṣar ‘to spend’
- ṣafat, bīṣafat ‘to turn’
- ṣabak, bīṣabak ‘to bake’

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].

- bīṣalā ‘he asks for’
- bīṣaṣar ‘they ask for’

Geminates Verbs. Examples:

- madd, bidadd ‘to extend’
- ṣadām, bīṣadām ‘to groan’
- ṣadd, bīṣadd ‘to pour’

1Corresponding to Classical Pattern IV: ṣadām, yūḏim; ṣaqām, yuqīmu.
All these verbs have middle and final radicals alike. (Note, however, that if the like radicals are semivowels — as in the root b-y-y — the verb will be defective, not geminate: ḥayyā, bīḥayyā 'to revive'.)

The pattern vowel (perfect a, imperfect o or e) does not appear between the two like radicals, which are fused together as a double consonant in all inflections. Between the first and middle radicals, the a of the perfect remains, while o is used in the imperfect. Thus in many parts of the Syrian area (including the Damascus standard used in this book) the distinction between Patterns I (a-o) and I (a-e) is completely obliterated in geminate verbs, since neither o nor e normally occurs before two consonants — both being neutralized as o [p.23]. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, on the other hand, one will hear for example ḥaff, biḥaf to put (with imperfect vowel u) in contract to ḥass, biḥas 'to feel' (with imperfect vowel i). (Note, however, that a before t sounds very much like u, and o before s sounds very much like i [p.13].)

**INFLECTION OF ḥass 'to feel'**

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<td>bithass</td>
<td>thass</td>
<td>'she'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ḥāses, Pass. maḥṣūs (Gerund: ḥasā)

**PATTERN I (a-o): Faʿal, byFaʿal**

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

- saʿal, bysaʿal 'to ask'  
  saḥar, byṣāhar 'to appear'
- fataḥ, byfaṭah 'to open'  
  baʿat, bybaʿat 'to send'
- ḥamāt, byḥamāt 'to bring'  
  ḥafāṭ, byḥafāṭ 'to keep'

The vast majority of these verbs have a back consonant (x, g, b, ḋ, h, or ʾ) either as middle or last radical.

**INFLECTION OF saʿal 'to ask'**

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<td>nṣāl</td>
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Participles: Act. sāʿal, Pass. masʿāl.¹

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

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[Ch. 3] SIMPLE TRIRADICAL VERBS (a-o)
Initial-Weak Verbs: 

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

**INFLECTION OF wadag ‘to put, place’**

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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m wadag</td>
<td>byudag</td>
<td>yudag</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f wadget</td>
<td>byudagu</td>
<td>yudagu</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl wadagu</td>
<td>byudagu</td>
<td>yudag</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m wadag(?)t</td>
<td>byudag</td>
<td>yudag</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f wadet</td>
<td>byudati</td>
<td>yudati</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl wadetu</td>
<td>byudatu</td>
<td>yudatu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg wadag(?)t</td>
<td>byudag</td>
<td>yudag</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl wadaga</td>
<td>byudaga</td>
<td>yudaga</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. wādēt, Pass. namdūd (Gerund: wadaga)

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

- ?ara, bya?ra ‘to read’
- raça, byarca ‘to herd, tend’

Also commonly used are:

- bada (or badu), ‘to begin’
- saça (or saçu), ‘to make efforts’
- byabda
- nama (or namu), ‘to grow’
- hasma (or hasmi), ‘to contain’
- byamna
- ēṣa (or ēṣi), ‘to disobey’
- byaṣa

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

**Hollow Verbs.** Examples:

- bān, bibān ‘to appear’
- bāt, bibāt ‘to spend the night’
- māl, bināl ‘to obtain’
- xāf, bixāf ‘to fear’
- nām, binām ‘to sleep’
- gār, bigār ‘to be jealous’
- hāb, bibāb ‘to be awed’
- sāc, bigāc ‘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.
### Simple Triradical Verbs (e-e)

**Pattern I (e-e): Fa'el, byFa'el**

#### Sound Verbs

- **nazes, byanzes** 'to hold'
- **nazal, byanzel** 'to descend'
- **lazhes, byalbes** 'to dress'
- **Eamel, byaEmel** 'to make'
- **hasen, byahsen** 'to be able'
- **Eader, byaEader** 'to be able'

This pattern is rare; the above examples are the only ones generally used. Earef, byaEref 'to know' conforms to this pattern except for the supporting vowel a with the subject prefixes [177] — also commonly used in Eamel, byaEmel. (Eader, byaEader 'to be able' is a variant of Eader, byaEader.) Regional variants include byaadar (Pal.), byanzal (Leb.), byaEmal (Pal.), which put these verbs in Pattern I (e-e), and masak, which puts this verb in Pattern I (a-e).

### Geminate Verbs

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

- **dafl, bidafl** 'to remain'
- **tamm, bitamm** 'to remain'

Also commonly used is **lafl, bilafl** 'to bite' (but Palestinian also bilafl); Palestinian **pasl, bipsal** 'to be all right' (but elsewhere usually bipsal).

### Inflection of tamm 'to remain'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>3m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>tamm</td>
<td>tamm</td>
<td>tamm</td>
<td>tamm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf. Indic.</td>
<td>bitamm</td>
<td>ttamm</td>
<td>bitamm</td>
<td>ttamm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf. Subj.</td>
<td>ytamm</td>
<td>ttamm</td>
<td>ytamm</td>
<td>ttamm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inflection of nazal 'to descend'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>pl</th>
<th>3m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>nazel</td>
<td>nalez</td>
<td>nalez</td>
<td>nazel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf. Indic.</td>
<td>byanzel</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
<td>byanzel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf. Subj.</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
<td>yonzal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participles

- **Participle:** Act. nazel (Gerund: nazal)
The verb *čaref* 'to know' (as usually also *čamal* 'to do') has as a prefix-supporting vowel in the imperfect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m čeref</td>
<td>byčeref</td>
<td>yčeref</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f čereft</td>
<td>btdčereft</td>
<td>tčereft</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl čerfu</td>
<td>byčerfu</td>
<td>yčerfu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m čerft(t) btdčerft tčerft čref | 'you'

f čerfi btdčerfi tčerfi čref | 'you'

pl čerfut btdčerft tčerfu čref | 'you'

1sg čerft(t) bčeref ćčeref | 'I'

pl čerfna mnčeref nčeref | 'we'

Participles: Act. čeref, čarfām, Pass. mačref (Gerund: čarfān)

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

- baki, bybaki 'to cry'
- maši, byamši 'to walk'

Commonly heard in Lebanon is ḥaki (for ḥaka), bybaki 'to speak'.

**INFLATION OF maši 'to walk'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m maši</th>
<th>byamši</th>
<th>yamši</th>
<th>'he'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f mašyet</td>
<td>btmši</td>
<td>ttmši</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl mašyu</td>
<td>byamšu</td>
<td>yamšu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2m mašt btmši ttmši maši, ćamši | 'you'

f mašti btmši ttmši maši, ćamši | 'you'

pl maštu btmšu ttmšu mašu, ćamšu | 'you'

1sg mašt btmši ćamši | 'I'

pl mašna mnamši namši | 'we'

Participles: Act. maši, Pass. mamši (čalē) (Gerund: maši)

---

1In the sense `acquaintance (with)', familiarity (with'), the hypostatic noun [p. 309] mačrefe is used.
INFLECTION OF тавел or туи 'to grow tall'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m тавел (тавел)</td>
<td>бъявел</td>
<td>яъявел</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f тавелет (тавелет)</td>
<td>бъявелет</td>
<td>тъявелет</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl тавелу (тавелу)</td>
<td>бъявелу</td>
<td>яъявелу</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m тавел(?)t</td>
<td>бъявел</td>
<td>яъявел</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f тавелти</td>
<td>бъявелти</td>
<td>тъявелти</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl тавелту</td>
<td>бъявелту</td>
<td>яъявелту</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg тавел(?)t</td>
<td>бъявел</td>
<td>яъявел</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl тавелна</td>
<td>мъявел</td>
<td>нъявел</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: тавелен (Gerund: тавелен)

Defective Verbs: Examples:
- бъя, бъява 'to stay'
- няси, нясана 'to forget'
- вяси, вяся 'to get stuck'
- баси, басана 'to get well'
- маси, масана 'to be low'
- бъяси, бъяся 'to be low'
- нъяси, нъясана 'to be low'
- бъяси, бъяся 'to be low'
- нъяси, нъясана 'to be low'

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 бъя 'to stay'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m бъя</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>яъява</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f бъяет</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>тъява</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl бъяу</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>яъява</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m бъйт</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>тъява</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f бъйтъ</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>тъява</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl бъйту</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>тъява</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg бъйт</td>
<td>бъява</td>
<td>яъява</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl бъйна</td>
<td>мъяна</td>
<td>нъяна</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: бъян, бъян (Gerund: бъян)
Defective verbs with initial radical \( w \) are also initial-weak: imperfect prefix-vowel \( a + w = \ddot{u} \).

**Inflection of \( \dddot{m}\ddot{s}i \) 'to be low'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\ddot{s}i )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\dddot{s}y\ddot{e}\ddot{t} )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\dddot{s}y\ddot{u} )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\ddot{t}\ddot{t} )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a, ( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\ddot{t}\ddot{t} )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a, ( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\dddot{t}\ddot{t}u )</td>
<td>by( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a, ( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\ddot{t}t )</td>
<td>b( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>( \dddot{m}\dddot{t}\ddot{i}n\ddot{a} )</td>
<td>mn( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>n( \dddot{u})a</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: \( \dddot{m}\ddot{s}i \) (Gerund: \( \dddot{m}\dddot{t}\ddot{u}m\ddot{u}m\) )

**Initial-Weak Verbs.** Examples:

- \( \ddot{m}\dddot{g}\ddot{e}\ddot{\dddot{t}} \), by\( \dddot{u}\)al (or by\( \dddot{u}\)al) 'to arrive'
- \( \ddot{m}\dddot{g}\ddot{e}\ddot{\dddot{t}} \), by\( \dddot{u}\)al (or by\( \dddot{u}\)al) 'to fall'
- \( \ddot{y}\dddot{b}\ddot{e}\ddot{s} \), by\( \ddot{b}\)bas (or by\( \dddot{b}\)bas) 'to dry up'

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

Some verbs are mainly limited in the imperfect to forms with \( \dddot{u} \) (or \( \dddot{i} \)) in all Syrian areas: \( \ddot{m}\ddot{e}\ddot{\dddot{r}} \), by\( \dddot{u}\)raf 'to inherit', \( \ddot{y}\dddot{b}\ddot{e}\ddot{s} \), by\( \dddot{b}\)as 'to despair'. [187]
Derivational Types. Many Pattern I(e-a) verbs are passives [p. 234], correlative to active verbs with a-e or a-o voweiling:

xarab, byxarab 'to be ruined' (cf. xarab, byxarab 'to ruin')
tašeb, bytašeb 'to get tired' (cf. tašeb, bytašeb 'to tire')
ḥayi, byḥayā 'to be revived' (cf. ḥayā, byḥayi 'to revive')

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

ḥaber, byḥakbar 'to grow up, become large' (cf. ḫbir 'large, adult')
ṣager, byṣaggar 'to become small' (cf. ḥger 'small')
ṣamal, byṣamal 'to become long or tall' (cf. ḥmil 'long, tall')
ṣahel, byṣahel 'to be easy' (cf. ḥshel 'easy')

ANOMALOUS VERB: ṭaṣa 'to come'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Impf. Indic.</th>
<th>Impf. Subj.</th>
<th>Impv. (irregular)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ṭaṣa</td>
<td>byṭaṣi</td>
<td>yṭaṣi</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṭaṣet</td>
<td>byṭṣi</td>
<td>tṣi</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṭaṣu</td>
<td>byṭṣu</td>
<td>yṣu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ṭaṭṭi</td>
<td>byṭṭi</td>
<td>tṭṭi</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṭaṭṭi</td>
<td>byṭṭi</td>
<td>tṭṭi</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṭaṭṭu</td>
<td>byṭṭu</td>
<td>tṭṭu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg ṭaṣ</td>
<td>byṭṣi</td>
<td>ṭṣi</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṭaṣīnā</td>
<td>mṭṣi</td>
<td>nṭṣi</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle (irregular): ṭayī.1

Variant forms include ṭaṣa, ṭaṣet, ṭaṣu (Damascus and elsewhere; b(y)ṭṣi, bṭṭi, etc. (in Palestine and parts of Lebanon); ḥṣi, ḥṭṭi, ḥṣu (or haw), ḥṭṭi, ḥṣīn, etc. (parts of Lebanon).

1With irregular suffixing forms: ṭayī(-t), ṭayīt, ṭayīnī 'having come to me'. In some regions the -e is lost in the masculine absolute form: ṭayī.

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' ṭṣayyaf, ṭṣayyaf 'to spend the summer'
hammal, bihammel 'to load' ṭṣammaf, biṭṣammaf 'to frighten'
sarrab, biṣarrab 'to try' ṭṣadda, ṭṣisadde 'to believe (to be true)'
sab bab, bisabbab 'to cause' ṭṣṣag al, biṭṣṣag al 'to deliver (to destination)'

INFLECTION OF sakkar 'to close'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ṭakkar</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>yṣakker</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ṭakkaret</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>tṣakker</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭakkaru</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>yṣakker</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ṭakkar(*)</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>tṣakker</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ṭakkṛti</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>tṣakker</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭakkṛtu</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>ṭṣakker</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>ṭakkar(*)</td>
<td>bissakker</td>
<td>ṭṣakker</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭakkar(u)</td>
<td>ṭḥṣakker</td>
<td>ṭṣakker</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ṭasakker Pass. ṭasakker; Gerund: ṭaskfr

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 a:
### Augmented Triradical Verbs (II)

#### Verbal Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Pattern</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperfect Indicative</th>
<th>Imperfect Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperfect Verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m sabbab</td>
<td>bissabbab</td>
<td>yssabbab</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f sabbabet</td>
<td>bissabbabet</td>
<td>yssabbabet</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sabbabu</td>
<td>bissabbabu</td>
<td>yssabbabu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m sabbab(t)</td>
<td>bissabbab(t)</td>
<td>yssabbab(t)</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f sabbabeti</td>
<td>bissabbabeti</td>
<td>yssabbabeti</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sabbabetu</td>
<td>bissabbabetu</td>
<td>yssabbabetu</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg sabbab(t)</td>
<td>bissabbab(t)</td>
<td>yssabbab(t)</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sabbabna</td>
<td>isasabbabna</td>
<td>yssabbabna</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Participles

- **Act.** msabbab
- **Pass.** msabbab
- **Gerund.** tasmay

#### Defective Verbs

**Examples:**
- mālla, bimalla ‘to fill’
- fādā, bifadā ‘to empty’
- samma, bisammi ‘to name’
- šanna, bishanmi ‘to sing’

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

#### Inflection of samma ‘to name’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>samma</td>
<td>bisammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sammet</td>
<td>bissammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sammu</td>
<td>bisammi</td>
<td>ysammu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>sammet</td>
<td>bissammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>sammeti</td>
<td>bissammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sammetu</td>
<td>bissammi</td>
<td>ysammu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>samnet</td>
<td>bissammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>samnena</td>
<td>marisammi</td>
<td>ysammi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pattern II Derivational Types**

- **Many are causatives** [p. 240]:
  - fadā ‘to empty’
  - ?ama ‘to strengthen’
  - ūmm ‘to load’
  - ūmof ‘to show’
  - faham ‘to explain’

- **Many are augmentatives** [253]:
  - kassar ‘to smash, break to pieces’
  - ūnama ‘to collect, assemble’
  - daffas ‘to push (several things or times)’

- **Some are ascriptive** [243]:
  - sada ‘to believe (to be true)’
  - ūman ‘to betray’
  - fafal ‘to prefer’

- **Many are applicative** [256] (or denominatives of other kinds):
  - samma ‘to name, call’
  - ūwwa ‘to oil’
  - sabbab ‘to cause’

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

Pattern II is by far the most common of the augmented verb patterns.
**PART III:** Fā'āl, biḥā'āl

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

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**
- ēmāl, biṭēmēl 'to deal with'
- hāšūm, biḥāšūm 'to attack'
- sāfr, biṣāfr 'to travel'
- bālāg, biḥālāg 'to exaggerate'

**INFLEXION OF sāčad 'to help'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m sāčad</td>
<td>bīsāčad</td>
<td>yāsāčad</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f sāčadet</td>
<td>būsāčadet</td>
<td>tsāčed</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sāčadu</td>
<td>būsāčadu</td>
<td>yāsāčed</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m sāčad(ə)t</td>
<td>būsāčadet</td>
<td>tsāčed</td>
<td>sūc ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f sāčadti</td>
<td>būsāčadti</td>
<td>tsācādi</td>
<td>sūcādi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sāčadtu</td>
<td>būsāčadtu</td>
<td>yāsācādu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg sāčad(ə)t</td>
<td>būsāčadet</td>
<td>sūc ed</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl sāčadu</td>
<td>būsāčadu</td>
<td>nūsāc ed</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. msāčed, Pass. msāčed; Gerund: msāčade

If the last two radicals are alike (as in hāšū 'to argue with') the imperfect stem vowel e is commonly dropped when -t or -u are suffixed: bīḥāšū; or else a may come between the like radicals as in Pattern II verbs [p.72]: bīḥāšū.

---

1Always used in construct [p.455]; absolute form would theoretically be 'mḥākā'.

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]:

- *katab* 'to write to (someone)' — *katab* 'to write (something)'
- *haka* 'to talk to (someone)' — *haka* 'to talk'
- *dāhak* 'to laugh with (s.o.)' — *dāhak* 'to laugh'

Many are conatives [p. 245]:

- *saba* 'to race' (trans.) — *saba* 'to get ahead of, pass'
- *lāha* 'to pursue' — *lāhe* 'to catch up with'
- *rāda* 'to appease' — *rāda* 'to gratify'

**PATTERN IV: 'ačel, byačel**

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:**

- *ākrām, byākrem* 'to honor'
- *āqdrāb, byāqdrēb* 'to go on strike'
- *ārsal, byārsel* 'to send'
- *āčlan, byačlen* 'to advertise'
- *āsačā, byašēčē* 'to bother'
- *ašōb, byašēb* 'to be...in the morning'

**INFLECTION OF 'ačlan 'to announce'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3n <em>yāčlan</em></td>
<td><em>byāčlen</em></td>
<td><em>yāčlen</em></td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f <em>yāčlanet</em></td>
<td><em>byāč(∗)lnu</em></td>
<td><em>yāč(∗)lnu</em></td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl <em>yāčlanu</em></td>
<td><em>btāčlen</em></td>
<td><em>tāčlen</em></td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m <em>yāčlānt(</em>)t*</td>
<td><em>btāč(∗)lni</em></td>
<td><em>tāč(∗)lni</em></td>
<td><em>ālēn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f <em>yāčlānti</em></td>
<td><em>btāč(∗)lni</em></td>
<td><em>tāč(∗)lni</em></td>
<td><em>ālēni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl <em>yāčlāntu</em></td>
<td><em>btāč(∗)lnu</em></td>
<td><em>tāč(∗)lnu</em></td>
<td><em>ālēnu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg *yāčlānt(<em>t)</em></td>
<td><em>bsālen</em></td>
<td><em>yāčlen</em></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl <em>yāčlānna</em></td>
<td><em>mnāślen</em></td>
<td><em>nāčlen</em></td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. *mačlen* (Pass. *m'ačlan*); Gerund *ačlān*

**Defective Verbs. Examples:**

*āgna, byaγni* 'to make...rich' *ahda, byahdāi* 'to present...a gift'

*asna, byaśni* 'to commend' *anha, byaṃhi* '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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3n <em>aγna (γaṇa)</em></td>
<td><em>byāγni</em></td>
<td><em>yāγni</em></td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f <em>aγnet (γaṇet)</em></td>
<td><em>btāγni</em></td>
<td><em>tāγni</em></td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl <em>aγnu (γaṇu)</em></td>
<td><em>byāγnu</em></td>
<td><em>yāγnu</em></td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m *aγnt (<em>aγnt)</em></td>
<td><em>btāγni</em></td>
<td><em>tāγni</em></td>
<td>*ąni, <em>aγni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f *aγnti (<em>aγnti)</em></td>
<td><em>byāγni</em></td>
<td><em>tāγni</em></td>
<td>*ąni, <em>aγni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl *aγntu (<em>aγntu)</em></td>
<td><em>btāγnu</em></td>
<td><em>tāγnu</em></td>
<td>*ąnu, <em>aγnu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg *aγnt (<em>aγnt)</em></td>
<td><em>bąγni</em></td>
<td><em>aγni</em></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl *aγnāna (<em>aγnāna)</em></td>
<td><em>mnąγni</em></td>
<td><em>nąγni</em></td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. (and Pass.) *māγni*; Gerund: *aγnā*

---

1The verb *ačlan* is commonly inflected as a pseudo-quadriradical [p. 116]; this passive participle is "borrowed" from the pseudo-quadriradical conjugation.
Many Pattern IV verbs have parallel Pattern I (a-e) forms that are synonymous to them: "ahda or hada 'to give (as a gift)', 'ażačaš or ażačaš 'to annoy', 'ṣaparr 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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ṣaparr (ṣarr)</td>
<td>biqarr</td>
<td>yqarr</td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṣaparr (ṣarr)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṣaparr (ṣarr)</td>
<td>biqarr</td>
<td>yqarr</td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ṣarrēt (ṣarrēt)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ṣarrēti (ṣarrēti)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṣarrētu (ṣarrētu)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg ṣarrēta (ṣarrēta)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ṣarrēna (ṣarrēna)</td>
<td>baiqarr</td>
<td>fqarr</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. mṣarr; Gerund ẓapṛr

**Hollow verbs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m ẓaẓač (ẓačač)</td>
<td>bizič</td>
<td>yizič</td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ẓaẓačet (ẓačač)</td>
<td>badič</td>
<td>daič</td>
<td>'she'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ẓaẓaču (ẓačaču)</td>
<td>bizič</td>
<td>yizič</td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m ẓačač (ẓačač)</td>
<td>badič</td>
<td>daič</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ẓačeti (ẓačeti)</td>
<td>badič</td>
<td>daič</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ẓačetu (ẓačetu)</td>
<td>badič</td>
<td>daič</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg ẓačet (ẓačet)</td>
<td>bizič</td>
<td>yizič</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ẓačena (ẓačena)</td>
<td>bizič</td>
<td>yizič</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. m(u)zič, Pass. m(u)zič; Gerund ẓaẓač

**Participles:** Act. m amore, Pass. m amore (cf.); Gerund ẓa'mān

In ẓaman 'to believe' the Pattern IV formative ẓ- combines with the first radical ẓ- to produce ẓa-. The resulting form is like Pattern III (Fācel) [p.80], and in fact the verb is commonly converted entirely to Pattern III, with imperfect forms biẓaman, baṭamūmen, 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]: ẓaγaγa 'to make...rich' - ẓamāni 'to become rich'; ẓaγaḥar 'to reveal' - ẓašara 'to appear'.

### THE FORMATIVE t-

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

- t- is commonly voiced (changed to d) before voiced dental and palatal obstruents (d, ɾ, s, ɾ): dázama 'to be married', dəskkar 'to remember', dəṣan 'to be in tune', dədəwasa 'to be trampled', dəʃal '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 dázama 'to be married' normally do not voice it in tədəwasa 'to exceed' (or tədəwasa - with the radical d devoiced rather than with t voiced).

  t- is (automatically) velarized (p. 26), in the neighborhood of a velarized radical consonant: ʃəfəh(u) 'to shake hands', ʃəgas 'to oe punished', ᵃpənnə 'to gird one's self'.

  The prefix t- is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant (s, š, s, ɾ, ş): bəzəkkər 'I remember' (for bədəzəkkər), məpəssə ʃ (lying down' (for məpaʃə ʃ), ᵃpənnə 'he girded himself' (for ᵃpənnə).

pattern v: təʃələl, byəʃələl

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

sound verbs. examples:

- təʃələl, byəʃələl 'to learn' təgayyar, byəʃəgəyar 'to change, be changed' tədəxər, byətədəxər 'to be late' təbələl, byətəbələl 'to get wet'
- dzəkkər, byədzəkkər 'to remember' tʃəhəm, byətʃəhəhm 'to come to understand'

- the passive form matədəxər 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:

tāllam 'to learn, be taught' ← callam 'to teach'
tgāyvar 'to change, be changed' ← gāyvar 'to change' (trans.)
tśāṣač 'to take heart' ← ṣāṣač 'to encourage'
tsamã 'to be called, named' ← samã 'to call, name'

Some are inchoative [251]:

tfahham 'to come to understand better' ← fohem 'to understand' better'
tmallak 'to acquire' ← byamlak 'to own'
ṭhassan 'to improve' ← ṭahsan 'better'

Some are intransitive denominatives:

tsamã 'to go shopping' ← sãu 'market'
dṭassas 'to spy' ← ṭāṣas 'spy'

**PATTERN VI: tFāčal, byaṭFāčal**

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tFāčam, 'to be pessimistic'</th>
<th>tFāčam</th>
<th>'to yawn'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>btFāčam</td>
<td>byaṭFāčam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thāmal, 'to be negligent'</th>
<th>thāmal</th>
<th>'to converse'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byaṭhāmal</td>
<td>byaṭhāmal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tFāṣač, 'to be punished'</th>
<th>tFāṣač</th>
<th>'to shake hands'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>byaṭFāṣač</td>
<td>byaṭFāṣač</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INFLECTION OF tsāmaḥ 'to be forgiven'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tsāmaḥ</td>
<td>byaṭtsāmaḥ</td>
<td>yatsāmaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tsāmaḥet</td>
<td>bttsāmaḥ</td>
<td>tattsāmaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsāmaḥu</td>
<td>byaṭtsāmaḥu</td>
<td>yatsāmaḥu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tsāmaḥ(*)t</td>
<td>bttsāmaḥ</td>
<td>tattsāmaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tsāmaḥti</td>
<td>bttsāmaḥi</td>
<td>tattsāmaḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsāmaḥṭu</td>
<td>bttsāmaḥu</td>
<td>tattsāmaḥu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>tsāmaḥ(*)t</td>
<td>bttsāmaḥ</td>
<td>tattsāmaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsāmaḥna</td>
<td>mntsāmaḥ</td>
<td>natsāmaḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. matsāmaḥ, Pass. matsāmaḥ (fî); Gerund: tsāmaḥ

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

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thāṣa, byaṭhāṣa 'to avoid'</th>
<th>trāxa, byaṭrāxa 'to be liberal, easygoing'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trāṣa, byaṭrāṣa 'to be conciliated'</td>
<td>tsāma, byaṭtsāma 'to be made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thāku, byaṭhāku 'to converse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final radical y or ṭ disappears in all inflections.

**INFLECTION OF thāṣa 'to avoid'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>thāṣa</td>
<td>byaṭthāṣa</td>
<td>yotḥāṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>thāṣet</td>
<td>btthāṣa</td>
<td>tthāṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>thāṣu</td>
<td>byaṭthāṣu</td>
<td>yotḥāṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>thāṣet(*)t</td>
<td>btthāṣa</td>
<td>tthāṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>thāṣetì</td>
<td>btthāṣi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>thāṣetìu</td>
<td>btthāṣu</td>
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<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
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<tr>
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<td>thēṣaṇa</td>
<td>mthsāṇa</td>
<td>nthsāṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mṭhāṣi, Pass. mṭhāṣa (Gerund: mḥāṣā)
Initial-Weak Verbs. The verbs *ttáxad* 'to be taken' and *ttákal* 'to be eaten, to be edible' [Cf. p. 235]:

### INFLECTION OF *ttáxad* 'to be taken'

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td><em>ttáxad</em></td>
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<td>f</td>
<td><em>ttánadet</em></td>
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<td><em>ttáxad</em></td>
<td>'she'</td>
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<td>pl</td>
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<td><em>byttáxadu</em></td>
<td><em>yattáxadu</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td><em>ttánadeedu</em></td>
<td><em>ttáxadu</em></td>
<td><em>ttáxadu</em></td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsg</td>
<td><em>ttánadd(</em>)t*</td>
<td><em>yattáxad</em></td>
<td><em>'i'</em></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td><em>ttánaddna</em></td>
<td><em>mnttáxad</em></td>
<td><em>nttáxad</em></td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: *mttáxad*

The initial radical *tt* 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'
- *tháfāq* 'to be protected' -> *háfāq* 'to protect'
- *tsámāḥ* 'to be forgiven' -> *sámāḥ* 'to forgive'

Some are reciprocative [248]:

- *thákku* 'to converse' -> *hákka* 'to talk with'
- *trādū* 'to be conciliated' -> *rēda* 'to ingratiate one's self with'
- *ttātabu* 'to write one another' -> *kūtab* 'to write to'

Some are simulatives [249]:

- *tgāšām* 'to play dumb' -> *gašām* 'naïve'
- *tpāhar* 'to feign' -> *pāhar* 'to appear'
- *tkāsal* 'to loaf' -> *kasāl* 'lazy'

### Pattern VII: *nFadaL, byanFadaL*

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

### Sound Verbs. Examples:

- *nsār*, *bysār* 'to be broken' -> *n̄šanač*, *byanšāneč* 'to be brought together'
- *nsaraf*, *byanšaraf* 'to let out' -> *mbsāf*, *byambšēf* 'to have a good time'
- *nskatab*, *byankšēb* 'to be written' -> *n̄šač*, *byanšēč* 'to be cut off'

The formative *n* is generally assimilated to a first radical *b* (or *m*), producing *m*, as in *mbsāf* [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: *bysār* *byambšēf*. With suffixes -*i* or -*u*, however, the last stem vowel *e* is lost (as usual) and the first vowel *a* restored: *btôteši*, *byambšēsu*.

### INFLECTION OF *nsahab* 'to withdraw'

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<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
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<td><em>nsahab(</em>)t*</td>
<td><em>tensahab</em></td>
<td><em>tensahab</em></td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<td><em>tensahbu</em></td>
<td><em>nsahbu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lsg</td>
<td><em>nsahab(</em>)t*</td>
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<td><em>pansehhab</em></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td><em>nsahabna</em></td>
<td><em>pansehhab</em></td>
<td><em>pansehhab</em></td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: *pansehhab*; Gerund: *pansehhab*
Defective Verbs (a-i). Examples:

- n'tafa, byantfäf 'to be extinguished'
- nkama, byankäsä 'to be ironed'
- n²aga, byan²ädä 'to be finished'

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

INFLUENCE OF nkasa 'to be clothed'

---|---|---|---
3m nkasa | byankäsä (byankása) | yankäsä (yankása) | 'he'
f nkäsät | bytankäsä (bytankása) | tankäsä (tankása) | 'she'
pl nkäsaw | byankäsaw (byankásaw) | yankäsaw (yankásaw) | 'they'

2m nkäsät | bytankäsät (bytankásät) | tankäsät (tankásät) | nkäsät (nkásät) | 'you'
f nkäsät | bytankäsät (bytankásät) | tankäsät (tankásät) | nkäsät (nkásät) | 'you'
pl nkäsätu | bytankäsätu (bytankásätu) | tankäsätu (tankásätu) | nkäsätu (nkásätu) | 'you'

1sg nkäsät | byankäsät (byankásät) | tankäsät (tankásät) | 'I'
pl nkäsäna | byankäsäna (byankásäna) | tankäsäna (tankásäna) | 'we'

Participle: mankkäsä Gerund: ?yankisä

Defective Verbs (a-a). Examples:

- n'haka, byanhäka 'to be told'
- n'afa, byanfäfa 'to be given'
- n²ara, byan²ädra 'to be read'

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

INFLUENCE OF nédäd 'to be infected'

---|---|---|---
3m nédäd | byánédäd | yánédäd | 'he'
f nédêt | byánédêt | yánédêt | 'she'
pl nédëdu | byánédëdu | yánédëdu | 'they'

2m nédët | byánédët | yánédët | 'you'
f nédëti | byánédëti | yánédëti | 'you'
pl nédëtäu | byánédëtäu | yánédëtäu | 'you'

1sg nédät | byánédät | yánédät | 'I'
pl nédäna | byánédäna | yánédäna | 'we'

Participle: mnénëdä Gerund: ?yénédäd

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- n'?al, byan'?al 'to be said'
- n'af, byan'?af 'to be seen'
- n'hak, byan'hak 'to be brought'
- n'hak, byan'hak 'to be bought'
- n'hak, byan'hak 'to be hit'
- n'äm, byan'äm 'to be removed'

Vowelling is the same in both tenses.
**VERB PATTERNS & PARADIGMS**

**INFLECTION OF nāʃ ’to be seen’**

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<tbody>
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<td>3m nāʃ</td>
<td>bynāʃ</td>
<td>yonāʃ</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f nāʃet</td>
<td>btanāʃ</td>
<td>tanāʃ</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl nāʃu</td>
<td>bynāʃu</td>
<td>yonāʃu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m nāʃf(*)t</td>
<td>btanāʃ</td>
<td>tanāʃ</td>
<td>nāʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f nāʃti</td>
<td>btanāʃi</td>
<td>tanāʃi</td>
<td>nāʃi</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl nāʃtu</td>
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<td>tanāʃu</td>
<td>nāʃu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg nāʃf(*)t</td>
<td>bənāʃ</td>
<td>yonāʃ</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl nāʃna</td>
<td>mənāʃ</td>
<td>mənāʃ</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mənāʃ

**Geminate Verbs. Examples:**

nsadd, bynsadd 'to be stopped up' nnadd, bynmmadd 'to be stretched'
n'agg, byn'agg 'to be cut' nhass, bynhass 'to be shaken'

**INFLECTION OF nəʃf ’to be lined up’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>yonəʃf</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f nəʃfet</td>
<td>btanəʃf</td>
<td>tanəʃf</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl nəʃfu</td>
<td>bynəʃfu</td>
<td>yonəʃfu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m nəʃf(et)</td>
<td>btanəʃf</td>
<td>tanəʃf</td>
<td>nəʃf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f nəʃf(ə)ti</td>
<td>btanəʃf</td>
<td>tanəʃf</td>
<td>nəʃf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl nəʃf(ə)tu</td>
<td>btanəʃf</td>
<td>tanəʃf</td>
<td>nəʃf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg nəʃf(ə)et</td>
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<td>yonəʃf</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<td>pl nəʃf(ə)na</td>
<td>mənəʃf</td>
<td>mənəʃf</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mənəʃf

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

- nḥass ‘to be imprisoned’
- nḥass ‘to be sharpened’
- nḥass ‘to be pleased’
- nhall ‘to be solved’
- nūm ‘to be slept’

Note: *nūm* is an idiomatic derivative of *nūm* ‘to withdraw, be by one’s self’.

**PATTERN VIII: Ṣṭal, byṣṭḍêl**

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

**Sound Verbs. Examples:**

fṭakar, byṣṭṭakar ‘to think’ qṭassad, byqṭṭṣed ‘to be economized’

Dṭal, bydṭṭal ‘to be transformed’ rṭakab, byṛṭṭek ‘to commit’

Ṭṭarif, byṭṭṭarif ‘to admit’ ḥṭaram, byḥṭṭarem ‘to respect’

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first imperfect stem vowel a is lost and the accent shifted to the first syllable: byṣṭṭakar, byṣṭṭal – except when the last stem vowel is lost before a suffix (requiring the restoration of the first vowel): bṭṭṣkri, bybṭṭal.

**INFLECTION OF Ṣṭal ‘to work’**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>byṣṭṭal</td>
<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'she'</td>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'you'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'you'</td>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'you'</td>
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<td>yọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>mọṣṭṭal</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mọṣṭṭal, Pass. mọṣṭṭal; Gerund: yọṣṭṭal
Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

- ttafa?, byattáfe? 'to agree' ttasaaf, byattásaf 'to be characterized'
- ttasal, byattásel 'to be in touch with'
- ttásam, byattásem 'to be branded'

An initial radical w or ū is assimilated to the infix t (or ū), producing tt~ (or ūt): Pattern Fto£oL with Root w-s-m gives ttasam; Pattern Fta£aL with Root ū-x-z (ū-x-d) gives ttaxaz.

**INFLECTION OF ttafa? 'to agree'**

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<tbody>
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<td>yattáfe? 'he'</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>ttáfeet</td>
<td>btttáfe?</td>
<td>ttttáfe? 'she'</td>
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<td>pl</td>
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<td>btttáfu</td>
<td>ytttáfu 'they'</td>
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<td>lsg</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ttánu</td>
<td>btttánu</td>
<td>ttttánu 'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. nattáfe, Pass. mtttáfa? (čalè); Gerund ?sttitá?

Defective Verbs. Examples:

- stara, byaštsti 'to buy' stana, byaštšni 'to take care of'
- ktafa, byaštši 'to be satisfied'
- dtasa, byaštši 'to pretend'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first stem vowel ū in the imperfect is lost and the accent shifted to the prefix: byaštšri, byaštši.
### INFLECTION OF /listsa 'to be filled'

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<tr>
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<td>they</td>
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<td>we</td>
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Participles: mantsali; Gerund: 9antsila

### Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9tal, by9tal</td>
<td>'to use deceit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bs9tal</td>
<td>'to need'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rts9h, byorts9h</td>
<td>'to rest, relax'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed9d, byed9d</td>
<td>'to increase' (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INFLECTION OF 9t9h 'to rest, relax'

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<tbody>
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<td>f</td>
<td>borts9h</td>
<td>borts9h</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>byorts9h</td>
<td>yorts9h</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
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<td>2m</td>
<td>borts9h</td>
<td>borts9h</td>
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<td>borts9h</td>
<td>you</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>borts9h</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>byorts9h</td>
<td>byorts9h</td>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>morts9h</td>
<td>morts9h</td>
<td>we</td>
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</table>

Participles: morts9h; Gerund: 9orts9h

### Geminate Verbs. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mts9d, bymts9d</td>
<td>'to extend' (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bbs9r, bybbs9r</td>
<td>'to be obliged, required'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bs9ta?, bybs9ta?</td>
<td>'to be derived'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INFLECTION OF 9tal 'to occupy'

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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>byots9l</td>
<td>yots9l</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>bots9l</td>
<td>you</td>
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<td>bots9l</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>byots9l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>m9ots9l</td>
<td>m9ots9l</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: m9ots9l; Gerund: 9ots9l

---

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

- nūsa 'to be forgotten' - nasi 'to forget'
- lūha 'to be distracted, entertained'
- xuana 'to choke' (trans.) - xana 'to choke' (trans.)

In Pattern VIII mediopassives are much more common than true passives: šagal 'to work' (cf. šagal 'to occupy, to busy'); mōṣaf 'to enjoy one's self' (cf. baṣaf 'to please'). See p. 224.

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

- ktaṣaf 'to discover' - kāṣaf 'to uncover, reveal'
- ḫtasa 'to include, contain' - ḫama 'to contain, keep' (Eula)
- ḫqas 'to absorb' - ḫaqas 'to suck'

Some are abstract denominatives:

- ēlād 'to become habituated' - ēdā 'habit'
- šlārak 'to associate' - šarke 'association'
- ḡtāl 'to be deceitful' - ġile 'trick, deceit'
- šfarr 'to be required, obliged'

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): rtaṣaf 'to commit (e.g. a crime)', cf. rūka 'to ride'; šfarak 'to oppose, contradict', cf. šfarak 'to ride'; šfarr 'to show, display'; šfarr 'to chew a cud', cf. šfarr 'to pull'.

Voice of the -t- Formative

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

- šdād 'to increase' (transits.): Root s-m-
- šdara 'to scorn': Root s-r-y (Gerund šdirā?)
- šdana 'to claim, pretend': Root d-ś-m (cf. partial participle noun muddādī 'claimant')

In the vicinity of a velarized root consonant, it is automatically velarized to š: šfarr 'to hunt'. An initial radical voiced obstruent other than s or d is often devoiced before -t- (p. 26): štuma 'to meet': Root š-m-ś; šfarr 'to be required': Root š-r-r.)

PATTERN IX: Proper Adj

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

The only examples found are:

byaḍḍ, byaḍḍa 'to become white' - smadd, byasmmadd 'to become black'
ḥmarr, byaḥmarr 'to become red' - xaḍḍ, byaṣaḍḍ 'to become green'
šfarr, byaṣfarr 'to become yellow' - ṣara, byaṣara 'to become blue'
smarr, byasmmarr 'to tan, darken' - ṣaṭarr, byaṣaṭarr 'to become blond'

Emaš, byaEmamš 'to become bent'

INFLATION OF Ḥmarr 'to become red, blush'

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<tbody>
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</tr>
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<td>f ḥmarrf</td>
<td>baṭḥmarr</td>
<td>tḥmarr</td>
<td>'she'</td>
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<td>pl ḥmarru</td>
<td>byaḥmarru</td>
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<td>'they'</td>
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<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
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<td>1pl ḥmarrēna</td>
<td>maḥmarrēna</td>
<td>ṃḥmarrēra</td>
<td>'we'</td>
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</table>

The Participle: mohmarr; Gerund ṭḥmarrī

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

byaḍḍ 'to become white' - abyadd 'white'
ṣara 'to become blue' - azara 'blue'
Emaš 'to become bent' - Emash 'bent'
PATTERN X: staféal, byestaFéel

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, 'to enquire'  byestaFhem
stasmar, 'to exploit'  byestaFmer
stasrad, 'to import'  byestaFred

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

INFLATION OF stafbel 'to welcome'

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<tr>
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<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
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<td>f stafbel</td>
<td>byestaFbel</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl stafbel</td>
<td>byestaFbel</td>
<td>yastaFbel</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective Verbs. Examples:

stafía, byestaFí 'to like'  staFkra, byestaFkri 'to rent, hire'
staFna, byestaFni 'to exclude'  staFila, byestaFli 'to take over'
staFaf, byestaFfi 'to resign'  staFíra, byestaFíri 'to make an apology'
staFma, byestaFmi 'to take heart'  staFglí, byestaFglí 'to consider expensive'

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

INFLATION OF stafía 'to like'

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<td>byestaFí</td>
<td>tostaFí</td>
<td>'she'</td>
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<td>pl stafía</td>
<td>byestaFí</td>
<td>yastaFí</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

stašār, byastošī ‘to consult’  
staqāl, byastoqāl ‘to resign’

staqāz, byastoqīz ‘to be able’  
staqāb, byastoqīb ‘to grant’

staftād, byastoftīd ‘to benefit’  
staftāh, byastoftīh ‘to rest’

staftān, byastoftīn ‘to ask for help’  
staftād, byastoftīd 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. byastoqīb, while byastoqīb is more informal. Therefore only words which are themselves elegant or formal vocabulary items will be consistently pronounced with the a: byastoqīz.

Note that not all Pattern X verbs with medial radical semivowel are hollow; compare staqāb ‘to grant’ with the sound verb staftād ‘to question’, both of which have the root 2-m-a-

INFLECTION OF staqāh ‘to relax’ (unstable a)

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<td>bstāt</td>
<td>yastā ‘she’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>byastāhu</td>
<td>yastāhu ‘they’</td>
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<td>bststrāh</td>
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<td>strāhti</td>
<td>bststrāhi</td>
<td>yaststrāhi ‘you’</td>
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<td>yaststrāh ‘I’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>strāhāna</td>
<td>mnaststrāh</td>
<td>yaststrāh ‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mastrāh; Gerund yastirāh

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

staqadd, byastoqadd ‘to get back’  
staqabb, byastoqabb ‘to like’

staqarr, byastoqarr ‘to contain’  
staqa‘, byastoqa‘ ‘to deserve’

staqall, byastoqall ‘to exploit’  
staqaff, byastoqaff ‘to make light of’

INFLECTION OF staqād ‘to take back’

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<tr>
<td>f</td>
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<td>bststoqāddēti</td>
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<td>st(a)qaddēna</td>
<td>mnastoqādd</td>
<td>yastoqādd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. mastastādd; Gerund yastostādd
These forms are often replaced by the straight Pattern V forms:  tạmna, byastmanna.

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

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<td>bstånna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impf. Subj.</td>
<td>byastånna</td>
<td>yastånna</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act.  mstannu, Pass.  mstanna

A theoretical initial radical ُ is lost in all inflections.

Patterns III and X mixed, with loss of -t-.  snåawal 'to catch'

<table>
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<th>pl</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>snåawale</td>
<td>bsåsnåawal</td>
<td>tsåsnåwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>snåawalu</td>
<td>byåsnåawelu</td>
<td>yastånelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>snåawâl(†)t</td>
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<td>tsåsnåwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>snåawâtti</td>
<td>bsåsnåaweli</td>
<td>tsåsnåwel</td>
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<td>pl</td>
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<td>pl</td>
<td>snåawâlu</td>
<td>byåsnåawelu</td>
<td>yastånelu</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act.  mÅsnåawel

The form with -t- is also sometimes heard:  snåawal, byåsnåawel.

**Pseudo-quadriradical Verbs**

Syrian Arabic has a number of triradical verb patterns that are used little or not at all in Classical Arabic and consequently have no traditional classification (or numerical labels). These patterns, described in the sections that follow, are  FadL,  Fadâl,  Fadâl,  Fadâl,  Fâl, and  Fââl (with stable ‹ — not the same as Pattern IV [p.82]). Each of these except  Fââl is paralleled by a pattern with the i- formative [85] tFadL, tFâl, etc.

Besides these there are some very rare patterns, for example  FâL (as in  Fâm,  bFâm to 'feed'), and some geographically limited patterns like the Lebanese  FâL (as in  FâL to 'take up, out': elsewhere  FâL or  FâL).

Verbs with any of these patterns fall into the same form-types (and conjunctival types) as quadriradical verbs. That is to say, their characteristic formations 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 FâL (or tFâL) [p.117].

They differ from true quadriradicals in that they are derived (as regular functions of the given formatives [p.47]) from tridirectional words. For instance the verb  swâd 'to stretch, extend' is an augmentative (283) of the simple tridirectional verb  mad (same translation); therefore it has the root m-d-d and the pattern  FâL (111). By way of contrast the verb  dâd 'to mutter, grumble' is not related to any word with the

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

The term 'quadriradical' (or 'quadriliteral'), however, has often been extended to encompass not only bases that have quadriradical 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') without reference to roots, but also because it is inconsistent to call all words formed on Pattern FâL, for instance, 'quadriradical' while classifying Pattern FââL words as tridirectional. (The class of bases represented jointly by the formulae  ÇâCô (C) and  ÇâCâ/(C) cannot exclude quadriradical patterns II and III except by ad hoc stipulations to that effect, which would covertly introduce derivational criteria into a supposedly formal base classification.)
root $d-m-m$ and is therefore relegated to the quadrilateral root $d-m-d-m$ and the pattern FaCfLa.

**THE REDUPLICATION PATTERN**

FaCfLa, biFaCfLa tFaCfLa, byFaFaCfLa

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:

- fárřaḥ, bīfárřeḥ 'to rejoice'
- ṣaḥa, bīṣaḥeḥ 'to splatter'

**INFLECTION OF fárřaḥ 'to rejoice'**

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<tbody>
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<td>nřfärřeḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mfarřeḥ; Gerund: farřaḥ

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1Pseudo-quadriradicals are also to be distinguished from SECONDARY QUADRIRADICALS like tḥōmān 'to blunder'. This verb, derived idiomatically as a simulative [p.249] from ḥōmān 'animal', is analogous to tḥōmān 'to be naughty', similarly derived from ḥōmān 'devil'. While ḥōmān is a quadrilateral word (Root $ḥ-ḥ-m-n$) tḥōmān is actually triradical (Root $ḥ-ḥ-y$) but tḥōmān is derived from it on Pattern tFaCfLa [119] as if its root were $ḥ-ḥ-y-m-n$ — by analogy to formally comparable words like tḥēmān.

As distinct both from absolute quadriradicals like tḥēmān and secondary quadriradicals like tḥōmān, verbs such as waļḍān 'to be childish' are genuinely TRIRADICAL: the final $v$ cannot be traced back to the underlying word waļād 'child', so it must be analyzed as a verb-formative affix — the characteristic formative of pseudo-quadriradical (i.e. triradical) Pattern (t)FaCfLa [115].

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

- laflaf, bifalaf 'to wrap up'
- fāmā, bīfāmā 'to smell, sniff'
- fatfet, bifatfeṭ 'to crumble'
- ṣaḥa, bīṣaḥeḥ 'to toss'
- ṣaḥa, bīṣaḥeḥ 'to cut, snip'

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

**INFLECTION OF laflaf 'to wrap up'**

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<td>nllalaf</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Participle: Act. mlalaf, Pass. mlalaf; Gerund: laflaf

**Hollow Verbs.** Examples:

- lōlāb, bilōlāb 'to wave'
- ṣōṣah, bīṣōṣeḥ 'to toss'
- mēnāṣ, binmēnē 'to decorate'

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

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ḥolāh</td>
<td>ḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ḥolūḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ḥolāh</td>
<td>ḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ḥolūḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ḥolāḥ(t)</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>ṭḥolāḥ(t)</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ṭḥolāḥ(t)</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
<td>ṭḥolūḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. ḥolūḥ, Pass. ḥolāḥ; Gerund: ḥolāḥ

Reduplicative Verbs with Formative. Examples:

tfard, byatfard ‘to be set apart’
tlafar, byatlafar ‘to be wrapped up’
byatfāḥ, byatlafāḥ ‘to be tossed in the air’

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

farfah ‘to rejoice’ — farēḥ (same translation)
lafar ‘to wrap up’ — laff ‘to turn; to wrap’
halaf ‘to untie, undo’ — hall ‘to untie; to solve’
ḥolāḥ ‘to wave’ — ḥolāḥ (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:

zēṣa? ‘to decorate’; cf. zamaṣa (same translation)
Isa σ (taste)

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

Other Infixed Patterns

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 - ̄) immediately before the middle radical. Examples:

Patterns Pāṣal and tPāṣal:

bāṣal, bītāṣal ‘to perforate’ ... tbaṣal, bīstbaṣal ‘to be perforated’
byatbāṣal ‘to be perforated’
dāṣal, bītādāṣal ‘to trample’ ... tdaṣal, bīstdaṣal ‘to be trampled’
byatdaṣal ‘to be trampled’
ṣaṣal, bītāṣaṣal ‘to wring out’ ... tṣaṣal, bīstṣaṣal ‘to be wrung out’
byatṣaṣal ‘to be wrung out’

Patterns ḏēṣal and tḎēṣal:

bḏēṣal, bītbdēṣal ‘to wind’ ... tbdēṣal, bīstbdēṣal ‘to be wound’
byatbdēṣal ‘to be wound’
biṯḏēṣel ‘to pick up’ ... tbiṯḏēṣel, bīstbtḏēṣel ‘to be picked up’
byatbtḏēṣel ‘to be picked up’
‘ḏēṣar, biṯḏēṣet ‘to tow’ ... tbiṯḏēṣar, bīstbtḏēṣar ‘to be towed, pulled’
byatbtḏēṣar ‘to be towed, pulled’
ḥūqṣal, bīḥūqṣel ‘to move around’
biṯqṣal, bīqṣel ‘to cheat (in games)’
ḥḥṣal, bīḥḥṣel ‘to have the hiccups’
Patterns Farfel and tFarfel:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{karf \textasciitilde 'to slash'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{byarkaf \textasciitilde 'to be slashed'} \\
&\text{bikharkaf \textasciitilde 'to complicate'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{byakharkaf \textasciitilde 'to be complicated'} \\
&\text{arma \textasciitilde 'to scratch'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{byxarma \textasciitilde 'to be scratched'} \\
&\text{far'af \textasciitilde 'to set off (fireworks)'} \\
&\text{karfat \textasciitilde 'to curse'} \\
&\text{tefarbag \textasciitilde 'to cling (in panic)'}
\end{align*}\]

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

Derivation:

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dafa} & \text{ 'to tread on; run over'} \\
\text{na\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to jump about'} \\
\text{basa} & \text{ 'to have hiccups'} \\
\text{ba\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to pick up' (frequentative)} \\
\text{karfan} & \text{ 'to curse' (frequ. or intens.)} \\
\text{arma} & \text{ 'to scratch'} \\
\text{tefarb\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to cling (in panic)'}
\end{align*}\]

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{xarfa} & \text{ 'to scribble'} \\
\text{f\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to decay, rot'} \\
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to whistle'} \\
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to blacken, smoke'}
\end{align*}\]

Some \(\sigma\)-formative verbs are applicable [256] or similarly denominative:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{arma} & \text{ 'to saddle'} \\
\text{xafar} & \text{ 'to endanger'} \\
\text{bifal} & \text{ 'to cheat'} \\
\text{b\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'cold' (abst. noun)} \\
\text{tsafar} & \text{ 'to rough it'} \\
\text{xas\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'rough'}
\end{align*}\]

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

THE \(\eta\) SUFFIX PATTERN

Fa\textasciitildelan, bifta\textasciitildelan

Verbs of this pattern are augmented with respect to other patterns by suffixation of a formative \(\eta\). Examples:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to make...faint'} \\
\text{bifs\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to feel faint'} \\
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to be childish'} \\
\text{bifs\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to get rough'} \\
\text{byas\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'to be depressed'}
\end{align*}\]

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

Derivation:

Verbs of Pattern Fa\textasciitildelan and tFa\textasciitildelan are mainly derived from nouns or adjectives. Those without the \(\text{f}\) formative are usually causative [240] or ascriptive [243]:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'sweet' (causative)} \\
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'yellow, pale' (causative)} \\
\text{byas\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'black' (causative)} \\
\text{\textasciitilde} & \text{ 'donkey, stupid' (ascriptive)}
\end{align*}\]
Note, however, the verb tessen 'to be stubborn', which is an idiomatic simulative from tes 'billy-goat'. (One would expect a t- formative: *tīsān*.)

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

tmašdan 'to act childish' (simul.) -- mašad 'child'
tmašshan 'to act rough' (simul.) -- maššan 'wild beast'
tšmaran 'to act stupid' (simul.) -- ūmar 'donkey, stupid'
tsōdan 'to be depressed' (pass.) -- sōdan 'to depress'

Miscellaneous derivations:
rējan 'to revive' (trans.) -- ruḥ 'spirit'
tšahwān 'to crave' -- šahwan 'craving, desire'
tfakhan 'to eat fruit' (applicative) -- fakha 'fruit'
tšōfan 'to be "stuck up"' -- šafar 'considering one's 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 ? PREFIX PATTERN

*BaPaLeL, bi?PaPeL*

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

*Paslam*, 'to become a Muslim'  *Paslar*, 'to become a Muslim'  
*Paslaem*, 'to become a Muslim'  *Paslar*, 'to become a Muslim'  

"Passma", 'to leaf out'  "Passam", 'to leaf out'  
*Passma*, 'to leaf out'  *Passam*, 'to leaf out'  

*Passbāb*, 'to be...in the morning'  *Passbām*, 'to be...in the morning'  
*Passbāb*, 'to be...in the morning'  *Passbām*, 'to be...in the morning'  

Some verbs of this pattern are variants of Pattern IV verbs: cf. *Passbāb, bāb*bēb; *Paslam, bālem. Pseudo-quadriradical Pattern *BaPaLeL* is rare.

INFLECTION OF *Paslam* 'to become a Muslim'

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paslam</td>
<td>bi?Paslem</td>
<td>y̞Paslem</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Paslam</td>
<td>bāt?Paslem</td>
<td>t?Paslem</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl Paslam</td>
<td>bāt?Paslm</td>
<td>y̞Paslm</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m Paslam(?)</td>
<td>bāt?Paslem</td>
<td>t?Paslem</td>
<td>?Paslem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f Paslam(?)</td>
<td>bāt?Paslm</td>
<td>t?Paslm</td>
<td>?Paslm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl Paslam(?)</td>
<td>bāt?Paslm</td>
<td>t?Paslm</td>
<td>?Paslm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg Paslam(?)</td>
<td>b?Paslem</td>
<td>?Paslem</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl Paslam(?)</td>
<td>m?Paslem</td>
<td>n?Paslem</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: *Pasalem*

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

*Paslam* 'to become a Muslim' -- *Pasalem* 'Muslim'  
*Pasma", 'to leaf out' -- *Pasalem* 'leafy'  
*Pasahar", 'to bloom' -- *Pašer* 'bloom, flowering'  
*Pasalam", 'to get dark' -- *Pašel* 'dark'  
*Paale", 'to go bankrupt' -- *Pales* 'bankrupt'  

Adjectives of the *PaPeL* 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: *Paalem* 'having become a Muslim', *Paalem* 'having become dark', etc.

THE SIMPLE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN

*PaLeL, biPaLeL*

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.

The traditional pattern formulas misleadingly use L (lūm) 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:

tarṣam, bitarṣam 'to translate'
daḥraš, bitaḥraš 'to roll'
(trans.)
barṣal, biбарṣel 'to bribe'
barkan, biarkan 'to prove'
dandam, bidandam 'to mumble'
harwal, biharwal 'to hurry'
(intrans.)
baxšaš, bixšaš 'to tip'
Xatayr, bixatyer 'to age'
(intrans.)

Participles: Act. mtarṣam, Pass. mtarṣam; Gerund: tarṣame

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 a:

INFLATION OF baxšaš 'to tip'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>baxšaš</td>
<td>bixšaš</td>
<td>ydxšš́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>baxšašet</td>
<td>bixšaššeš</td>
<td>bdxšš́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| pl      | baxšaššu   | bixšaššu   | ydxšš́ | 'they'
| 2m      | baxšḏki(3) | bixššišši  | ydxšš́ | 'you'
| f       | baxššišši  | bixššišši  | bdxšš́ | 'you'
| pl      | baxššiššu  | bixššiššu  | bdxšš́ | 'you'
| 1sg     | baxššiššš(3) | bixššššššš | bdxšš́ | 'I'
| pl      | baxššššššš(3) | bixšššššššššššššššššš | bdxšš́ | 'we'

Participles: Act. mbaxšaš, Pass. mbaxšaš; Gerund: baxšaš

Hello Verbs. Examples:

bōdar, biḥbēder 'to powder'
yōn, biʔyōn 'to regulate (by rules)'
(b trans.)
dōnān, biʔdōnān 'to tune'
hēlām, biʔhelām 'to bluff'
sōgār, bissōgār 'to insure'
neʔān, binisgār 'to aim at'

The first pattern vowel a fuses with the second radical w or y to produce ə or e respectively. (This fusion does not take place in most Lebanese dialects, however, and the verbs remain sound: dāsam for dōnān, nayīsan for neʔān, etc.)
Defective Verbs. There are very few examples to be found:

farša, bifarši ‘to brush’

Farša, bifarši ‘to show’

marša, bimarši ‘to show’

Besides the forms marša and ṣarša ‘to show’, there is also farša (same meaning). The latter, however, is formed on the rare pseudo-quadrilateral pattern FaLa: Compare farras ‘to show around’ (and passive tfärras ‘to look around’); FaLa, biFaLa ‘to feed’ (Root f-c-m).

INFECTION OF farša ‘to brush’

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>farša</td>
<td>bifarši</td>
<td>yfarši</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>faršet</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>bifaršu</td>
<td>yfaršu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>faršet</td>
<td>bifarši</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>faršeti</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>bifaršu</td>
<td>tfaršu</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>faršet</td>
<td>bifarši</td>
<td>tfarši</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>faršena</td>
<td>manfarši</td>
<td>mfarši</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mfarši, Pass. mfarša

Hollow-Defective Verbs. The few examples found include:

bōya, bibōyi ‘to polish’

ṣōpa, biṣōpi ‘to squeak’

INFECTION OF bōya ‘to polish’

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>bōyet</td>
<td>tbiyōyi</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>bōyu</td>
<td>ybōyu</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>bōyet</td>
<td>btiyōyi</td>
<td>tbiyōyi</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>tbiyōyu</td>
<td>tbiyōyu</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>bōyet</td>
<td>bbiyōyi</td>
<td>bōyi</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>bōyena</td>
<td>mnbōyi</td>
<td>mbōyi</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. mbōyi, Pass. mbōya

The m is a secondary radical: the original triliteral root is r-k-s, whence markas ‘position’.
Defective Verbs:

**INFLECTION OF tfārša 'to be brushed'**

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
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<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tfāršet</td>
<td>byatfāršu</td>
<td>yatfāršu</td>
<td>'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tfāršu</td>
<td>byatfāršu</td>
<td>yatfāršu</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tfāršet</td>
<td>byatfārša</td>
<td>yatfārša</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tfāršet</td>
<td>byatfāršu</td>
<td>yatfūšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tfāršu</td>
<td>byatfāršu</td>
<td>yatfūšu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: mtfarš; Gerund: tfarš

Hollow Verbs:

**INFLECTION OF tsōgar 'to be insured'**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>yatsōgar</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>tsōgar</td>
<td>byatsōgar</td>
<td>yatsōgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tsōgar</td>
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<td>yatsōgar</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tsōgar(*)</td>
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<td>yatsōgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>tsōgar</td>
<td>byatsōgar</td>
<td>yatsōgar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tsōgar</td>
<td>byatsōgar</td>
<td>yatsōgar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle: matsōgar

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

- tbfārša 'to be proven' — būfārša 'to prove'
- dīsān 'to be in tune' — dīson 'to tune'
- tsōgar 'to be insured' — sōgar 'to insure'

Some are simulative [249]:

- tēfējan 'to be naughty' — ṭēfējān 'devil, naughty'
- ṯēmān 'animal'

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

**PATTERN FēalAll**

Examples:

- ṭma'azza, byaṭma'azza 'to be revolted, sickened'
- ṭmaṭbāl, byaṭmaṭbāl 'to fade away, die out'
- ṭma'ann, byaṭma'ann 'to be calm, feel secure'
- qāṣarr, byaqāṣarr 'to shudder, have gooseflesh'

1 The n is a secondary radical; the original triliteral root is b-y-y, whence ḥāmān.
### 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.

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- (III) mFacIL  
- (IV) mFEl  
- (V) mstFacIL  
- (VI) mstFacIL  
- (VII) mstFacIL  
- (VIII) mstFacIL  
- (IX) mstFacIL  
- (X) mstFacIL

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- FacLUL  
- FacLUL  
- mFacIL  
- mstFacIL  
- mstFacIL  

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**Inflection of smaʔazz 'to be revolted'**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3m</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>yəšmaʔazza</td>
<td>yəšmaʔazza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: Act. məšmaʔazza, Pass. məšmaʔazza (manno); Gerund: yəšmaʔazza

The verb qə=sarr may also be pronounced qə=sarr.

Verbs of Pattern FεαLaLL are all intransitive, but are not derived or related in any regular way to other words. Note, however, that smaʔann is related to the triliteral root j-m-n, as jannam 'to calm, assuage, assure'.

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ADJECTIVE PATTERNS

126 ADJECTIVE PATTERNS

PATTERN \(\text{Fa}_\text{aL}\)

Sound:  
- \(b\text{ase}l\) 'ugly'
- \(x\text{af}er\) 'dangerous'
- \(r\text{af}eb\) 'moist, humid'
- \(\text{gase}h\) 'airy, healthful'
- \(x\text{a}leb\) 'hard, solid'
- \(d\text{esem}\) 'nourishing'

Geminate: \(\text{harr}\) 'free'

Defective: \(\text{ha}lu\) 'sweet, pleasant, pretty'

The adjective \(\text{sax}n\) 'hot' is exceptional in being formed on the pattern \(\text{Fa}_\text{aL}\) [141]. For those who do not distinguish in pronunciation between \(e\) and \(a\) (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 \(\text{Fa}_\text{aL}\) or \(\text{Fa}_\text{aL}\) patterns: \(x\text{af}er\) 'danger'; \(x\text{af}or\) 'danger'; \(\text{wase}x\) 'dirty'; \(\text{wase}x\) 'dirt, filth'; \(\text{wase}x\) 'wild'; \(\text{wase}x\) 'wild beast'.

PATTERN \(\text{Fa}_\text{aL}\)

Sound:  
- \(x\text{aseb}\) 'difficult'
- \(x\text{aseb}\) 'easy'

With last two radicals alike:  
- \(f\text{a}l\) 'unripe'
- \(h\text{ayy}\) 'alive'
- \(n\text{asy}\) 'raw'

With final radical semivowel: \(\text{raxu}\) 'loose, lax'

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

PATTERN \(\text{Fa}_\text{eL}\)

Sound:  
- \(\text{m}\text{af}\) 'clean'
- \(\text{b}\text{af}\) 'far, distant'
- \(\text{t}\text{af}\) 'heavy'
- \(\text{x}\text{af}\) 'cheap'
- \(\text{g}\text{af}\) 'small, young'
- \(\text{j}\text{af}\) 'much'

This pattern is not used with final (or medial?) radical semivowel, (for which see Pattern \(\text{Fa}_\text{eL}\) below).

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

- saki 'intelligent, bright'
- saxi 'generous'
- tari 'fresh'
- ?awi 'strong'

bari 'innocent' (or sound bari)
šani 'rich'
šaši 'hoodlum'
waši 'dependable, true (to one's word)'

Some adjective of Pattern Ψα€IL are correlative to descriptive verbs [25]. A few contrast, as qualitative adjectives, with static adjectives; šahim 'naturally understanding': cf. šahman, šahim 'knowledgeable, having come to understand'; šahin 'sad' (temperament): cf. šahmān 'sad' (mood); šaxīr 'last, final': cf. šašer 'last, latest'.

**PATTERN Ψα€IL** (Variant of Pattern Ψα€IL)

- šayyed 'good, excellent'
- šayye 'narrow, tight'
- mayyet 'dead'
- sayye 'bad, unfortunate'

- šayyeb 'good'
- šayyer 'charitable, benificent'
- šayyen 'easy'

This pattern is a modification of Pattern Ψα€IL used with medical radical semivowels: -yye-in lieu of -yi-, and (sometimes) in lieu of -wi-.

**PATTERN Ψα€UL**

- šasūr 'daring'
- mašāh 'sincere, loyal'
- xalāj 'obedient'
- ſašūh 'radiant, bright, smiling'
- ſašūh 'ambitious'

- mašād 'devoted, fond'
- xadām 'solicitous, servile'
- ṣašāh 'contented, temperate'

This pattern is not used (?) with final radical semivowel. As medial semivowel, y is lengthened: ṣayyūr 'jealous'.

Almost all adjectives of this pattern designate personal qualities or dispositions. Most of them are dispositional derivatives of simple verbs [27].
The pattern %afel is used 1.) for colors and 2.) for "defect" (mostly human lacks and imperfections). The pattern is completely changed in the feminine (FaLa) and plural (FaEL, FaLaM) — See Adjective Inflection [208]. For elatives, see Noun Pattern %afel [310].

The adjective %armal 'widowed' has the 'defects' pattern in the masculine form, but the feminine %armaL and the plural %armaM are formed as from a quadriradical noun of the FaLaL 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. %ama 'to blind' and %ami 'to go blind'), are treated as underlying these verbs rather than as derivatives from them, since the verbs can be counted as inchoatives [250] and causatives [240], while the adjectives do not fit any otherwise established derivational category.

Active participles of geminate verbs have the sound pattern in Colloquial, not the geminate: ësfe 'having put' (not ësFt). (In the feminine and plural, however, the sound becomes like the geminate: ësFa, ësFt). Some geminate adjectives belonging theoretically to this pattern are usually (if not always) pronounced with a short a: ëdd ëshar'. (See Pattern FaEL [126].)

Defective: %alL 'high'

bësi 'remaining'

%alsi 'empty, unoccupied' %alS 'stubborn' (inanim. 'stuck, jammed')

%asti 'wide awake'

%asi 'hard, solid'

See adjective inflection [204].

In Pattern Fæel, medial radical ë appears as y (xýøf 'afraid', Root x-w-f), unless the final radical is also a semivowel, as in ëmì 'windy' (Root h-w-y).

Many adjectives of Pattern Fæel are active participles of simple verbs. (p. 258).
PATTERN FaeLän

bafân 'wasteful' radyân 'pleased, satisfied'
baʃîn 'barefoot' wârân 'heir, having inherited'
maʃân 'sleepy' talfân 'worthless, ruined'
kaʃân 'lazy, loafing' zaʃân 'displeased'
aʃîn 'conscious' yaʃân 'in despair'

With medial radical semivowel: ʃeʃân 'hungry' (Root £-£-£)

With medial and final radical semivowels: rayyân 'swampy, irrigated' (Root r-r-y); eʃyân 'sick' (Root £-£-£).

Defective: malân 'full' (also sound: malyân) (Root m-l-y or m-l-£)

With the exception of malân, adjectives on this pattern with final radical semivowel are sound, with -y- before the -än ending.

Pattern FaeLän is not used with geminating radicals [p.4] other than semivowels.

Most adjectives formed on Pattern FaeLän are participles of sound and defective simple intransitive verbs [259].

PATTERN mafFeL

Sound: maxât 'mixed' mammân 'obliged'
maʃhûr 'famous' maʃmûn 'insane'
masâl 'responsible' maxmûd 'occurring, found, present'
mâdyân 'indebted' maymûn (mammûn) 'despaired (of)'
maʃmûs 'bent' maʃbûb 'well-liked, beloved'
mablûl 'wet' maʃbûb 'correct'

Hollow: mahl 'extraordinary' (Root h-m-l).

Defective: maʃâl 'fried' mahl 'stuffed'
maʃâl 'ironed' maʃl 'afflicted'
maʃl 'bent, curving' mahl 'forgotten'

In some areas (e.g. Palestine) these defectives are pronounced with a in the first syllable: maʃlî, maʃlî, etc. Compare Pattern mafFeL defective [below].

Most adjectives formed on Pattern mafFeL are passive participles of simple verbs. [258].

PATTERN mafFeL (mafFeL)

Sound: masmen 'fattening' maslen 'Moslem'
mâfles 'bankrupt, broke' mazlen 'Moslem'
mash 'frightful' mazlem 'dark, murky'
maslen 'Moslem' mazlem 'Moslem'
mâfes 'paired' mazleb 'faithful'
mâfleb 'awesome' mazleb 'faithful'
mâfjeb 'worthwhile'

Initial Weak: mâfeb 'hurtful, inflicting pain' mâmef 'desolate'
mâfleb 'worthwhile' mâmef 'desolate'
mâmef 'in leaf, leafy'

Geminate: maxâl 'immoral' mâmâmm 'poisonous'
maxmân 'important' mâmâl 'boring'

Hollow: mafFe 'obedient' mafâf 'useful, beneficial'
maxân 'comfortable, restful' mafâf (b-) 'surrounding'
(also sound: maxân)

Defective: maʃâl 'contagious' marjî 'satisfactory'
maʃâl 'satisfactory' mahl 'draughty, airy'

In most parts of the Syrian area, defective participles of the pattern mafFeL 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 maffel are agentive [278] or characteristic [279]; some are participles of Pattern IV verbs [82].

AUGMENTED PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS

Pattern maffel: maššeh 'having a cold', māboyen 'apparent, seeming'; Defective: məlili 'having left', masum 'having cooked'.

Used for Active Participles of Pattern II verbs [p.77].

Pattern maffel: məllaš 'iced', māmawas 'married', māazzab 'polite', māyyan 'definite, particular', məffa³ 'fortunate'; Defective: məbbba 'brought up, educated', masama 'named, called'.

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern II verbs.

Pattern maffel: məfše 'traveling', mənəeb 'suitable, convenient', mānəi 'having answered, respondent'; Defective: məλəi 'having found', mānəi 'having made'.

Used for Active Participles of Pattern III verbs [p.80].

Pattern maffel: mərəak 'blessed', məgəqas 'punished', mənəeb 'answered'; Defective: məλəa 'found', mənəe 'made'.

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern III verbs.

Pattern maffel: (Rare as participle; see p.133 above): məkrəm 'honoring'

Pattern maffel: məkrəm 'honored', mərəeb (b-) 'admiring, impressed (by)'; Defective: məgəнa (əla) 'fainted'

Rare, as passive participle of Pattern IV verbs; see p.260.

Pattern maffel: məqaxar 'delaying, late', məkəbber 'haughty', mərəmwaṣ 'married', matradad 'undecided', mərəyaaṣ 'borrowed (from)'; Defective: mətərubbi 'educated, well brought up'.

Used for active participles of Pattern V verbs [p.86].

Pattern maffel: məqaxar 'delayed' (inanimate); Defective: mətəmna 'adopted'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern V verbs.

Pattern maffel: mətəgəf humble, modest', mətənael 'considerate mətənael 'deal with'; Defective: mətəmna 'equal, balanced', mətənihi 'extreme'.

Used for active participles of Pattern VI verbs [p.88].

Pattern maffel: mətədəl 'mutual, reciprocal', mətəmawas 'exceeded'. mətənəel 'attainable, within reach'

Used for passive participles of Pattern VI verbs.

Pattern maffel, maffel: mənaqas 'defeated, broken', mənəreb 'enraptured' mənəfəc 'discontinued'; Geminata: mənaqal 'disbanded, discharged'; Hollow: mənaq 'seen'; Defective: mənəfi 'read'.

Used for "active" [267] participles of Pattern VII verbs [p.91].

Pattern maffel, maffel: mətəfəel 'moderate, temperate, mild', mətətəlef 'different, differing', mətəneb 'ambiguous, obscure', mənətəeb 'having elected', məntəθəm 'crowded' [100]; Geminata: məntəz 'occupying' Hollow: məntəz 'comfortable, at ease', məntəz 'excellent'; Defective: məntəse 'forgotten', məntəsi 'cooked, done'; Initial weak: məntəkəl (əla) 'depending (on)', məntədəd 'united', məntəθəb (la-) 'headed (for)'.

This pattern is used for active participles of Pattern VIII verbs [p.95].

Pattern maffel: məntədrəm 'respected, respectable', məntədər 'brief', məntəzəq 'elected'; Defective: məntəmsə (əla) 'contained, included' (Geminata and Hollow rare, same in form as Pattern maffel); məntəqel 'occupied'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern VIII verbs.

Pattern maffel: məmqarr 'blushing, reddened', məmazaq 'crooked, twisted'.

Used for participles of Pattern IX verbs [101].

Pattern maffel: məstəfəel 'preferring', məstəfəel 'using, having used', məstəfəel 'in a hurry', məstəfəm 'having questioned'; Geminata: məstəfəəd 'ready, prepared', məstəfəl 'independent'; Hollow: məstəfd 'benefitting', məstəfəqe 'able'; Defective: məstərər 'renting'.

Used for active participles of Pattern X verbs [102].
QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS

Pattern \( \text{Pa} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{fa} \text{k} \text{u} \text{a} \text{s} \) 'clumsy', \( \text{sh} \text{a} \text{z} \text{h} \) 'slovenly'

Pattern \( \text{Pa} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{s} \text{a} \text{g} \text{i} \text{L} \) 'wealthy'

Pattern \( \text{mPa} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{mfa} \text{a} \text{t} \text{e} \text{k} \) 'depressed', \( \text{mbarj} \text{e} \text{l} \) 'grainy', \( \text{mbarj} \text{e} \text{l} \) 'having bribed, bribing', \( \text{mfa} \text{f} \text{l} \text{e} \) 'having gone bankrupt'; Defective: \( \text{mfa} \text{r} \text{b} \) 'having shown'

This pattern is used for active participles of simple quadriradical [117] and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [109].

Pattern \( \text{mPa} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{mbarj} \text{e} \text{l} \) 'bribed', \( \text{mla} \text{xba} \text{f} \) 'mixed up', \( \text{mfa} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a} \text{m} \) 'announced, advertised', \( \text{mja} \text{b} \text{la} \) 'plump', \( \text{mja} \text{b} \text{ha} \) 'wrecked', \( \text{mfa} \text{nja} \text{g} \) 'arrogant', \( \text{msharj} \text{a} \) 'ragged'; Defective: \( \text{mfa} \text{r} \text{b} \text{a} \) 'shown'

This pattern is used for passive participles of simple quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern \( \text{mPa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{madda} \text{hme} \) 'decadent'

Used for "active" participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [121].

Pattern \( \text{mPa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{ma} \text{t} \text{a} \text{r} \text{ba} \) 'translated (from)'

Used for passive participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern \( \text{ma} \text{Pa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{ma} \text{ja} \text{m} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{m} \text{a} \) 'disgusted, nauseated' \( \text{ma} \text{ja} \text{m} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{m} \text{a} \) 'calm' secure

Used for "active" participles of Pattern \( \text{Pa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \) verbs [123]

Pattern \( \text{ma} \text{Pa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \): \( \text{ma} \text{ja} \text{m} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{m} \text{a} \) 'nauseating, revolting'

Used for passive participles of Pattern \( \text{Pa} \text{a} \text{a} \text{a} \text{L} \text{L} \text{L} \) verbs. (Rare)
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 -e after velarized consonants (t, d, g, k) and back consonants (x, ž, q, h, ǧ, ǧ) and usually after r (but not usually after ʔr-). Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With -e</th>
<th>With -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raˈbe</td>
<td>ḥabha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žine</td>
<td>ǧiḏa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səkke</td>
<td>ʔəsra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Стали</td>
<td>ḥarāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔasme</td>
<td>ṣafra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natīri</td>
<td>ʃarîa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃffe</td>
<td>ʃəra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are exceptions to this rule, however, in which -e occurs after r (especially in Pattern FaIL): ʾabre 'needle', ʾamra 'number, class' (also ʾamra), etc.; and sometimes after a velarized consonant: ʾafṣe 'a sneeze' (but more usually

=eṣga). More common are cases in which the suffix appears as -a after plain front consonants: ṣiṭa 'attribute', ʾərəba 'soup', ʾaʃma 'sign, placard', ʔərova '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 -en [210], and its loss before the plural suffix -ət [214] and the relative suffix -l [280].

The -e/-a suffix has several derivational functions: singulative [p.297], feminine [304], abstract [288]. In many (perhaps most) noun bases, however, it has no derivational significance, but merely indicates that the noun (if animate) 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 FaIL

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t</th>
<th>ʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔar(?)t</td>
<td>ʔar(?)ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔar(?)n</td>
<td>ʔar(?)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar(?)d</td>
<td>ʔab(?)r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)l</td>
<td>ʔak(?)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)n</td>
<td>ʔab(?)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)n</td>
<td>ʔab(?)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)n</td>
<td>ʔab(?)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)n</td>
<td>ʔab(?)b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔas(?)n</td>
<td>ʔab(?)b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The helping vowel a usually appears between the last two radicals at the end of a phrase or before a consonant. See p.29 for details.

¹Also ʾahraba 'electricity', ʾəməṣa 'gentleman', etc. Although the -e/-a suffix normally corresponds to $ in written Arabic, there are also cases in which it corresponds to | or $'. The criterion for the -e/-a suffix is connective t in construct forms and duals: ʾaḥrəbət, ʾaḥrəbt-'electricity of', ʾəməṣəṭən 'two gentlemen'.
Sound, with final radical semivowel:

\[\text{ka} \text{'pressed dates'} \quad \text{pa} \text{'boy'}\]
\[\text{far} \text{'fur'} \quad \text{ra} \text{'opinion'}\]
\[\text{'ab} \text{'basement'} \quad \text{ha} \text{'talk'}\]

The radical semivowel appears as a consonant \(\mathbf{w}\) or \(\mathbf{y}\) before suffixes beginning with a vowel, otherwise usually as a vowel \(\mathbf{u}\) or \(\mathbf{i}\): \(\text{ra} \text{'yak 'your (m.) opinion'}, \text{but ra} \text{'ikon 'your (pl.) opinion'}\).

Geminate:

\[\text{ha} \text{'right'} \quad \text{wa} \text{'goose'}\]
\[\text{xa} \text{'cheek'} \quad \text{na} \text{'air, atmosphere'}\]
\[\text{sa} \text{'poison'} \quad \text{fa} \text{'shade, shadow'}\]

Altered Pattern. Hollow (\(a + m - \mathbf{e}; a + y - \mathbf{e}\)):

\[\text{i} \text{'bull'} \quad \text{fi} \text{'bird'}\]
\[\text{a} \text{'taste'} \quad \text{xi} \text{'horses'}\]
\[\text{y} \text{'day'} \quad \text{si} \text{'sword'}\]

Commonly in Lebanese speech, however, the radical semivowel does not fuse with the pattern vowel, the pattern remaining unaltered as with stable roots: \(\text{tawr} \text{'bull'}, \text{fayr} \text{'bird'}\). See p. 13.

Many nouns of Pattern \(\text{Pa}\) are gerunds of simple verbs [p. 289]: \(\text{dar} \text{'striking, hitting'}\) (cf. \(\text{darab} \text{'to hit, strike'}\); \(\text{ha} \text{'talk, talking'}\) (cf. \(\text{hak} \text{'to talk, speak'}\); \(\text{y} \text{xt} \text{'taking'}\) (cf. \(\text{yaxd} \text{'to take'}\).

\[\text{PATTERN Pa}\]

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

\[\text{ra} \text{'neck'} \quad \text{shabha} \text{'front'}\]
\[\text{da} \text{'tare'} \quad \text{za} \text{'presence'}\]
\[\text{ha} \text{'party'} \quad \text{bajyra} \text{'lake'}\]
\[\text{ma} \text{'prescription'} \quad \text{far} \text{'mattress'}\]

Many nouns of Pattern \(\text{Pa}\) are gerunds of simple verbs [p. 297]: \(\text{dar} \text{'striking, hitting'}\) (cf. \(\text{darab} \text{'to hit, strike'}\); \(\text{ha} \text{'talk, talking'}\) (cf. \(\text{hak} \text{'to talk, speak'}\); \(\text{y} \text{xt} \text{'taking'}\) (cf. \(\text{yaxd} \text{'to take'}\).

Sound, with middle radical semivowel:

\[\text{dam} \text{'nation'} \quad \text{sam} \text{'revolution'}\]
\[\text{ram} \text{'bend'}\]

With final radical semivowel (Sound, or with exchange of \(y\) and \(w\)):

\[\text{sa} \text{'step, pace'} \quad \text{han} \text{'bow; bend'}\]
\[\text{sam} \text{'bargain'} \quad \text{sa} \text{'ashes'}\]

Before connective \(-t-\) plus suffixed vowel, the radical semivowel appears in its vocalic form: \(\text{zafut} \text{'two paces'}, \text{hanito 'his bow'}\). See p. 166.

Geminate:

\[\text{mar} \text{'a time'} \quad \text{s} \text{'basket'}\]
\[\text{d} \text{'edge, bank'} \quad \text{ha} \text{'snake'}\]

Altered Pattern. Hollow (\(a + m - \mathbf{e}; a + y - \mathbf{e}\)):

\[\text{x} \text{'tent'} \quad \text{x} \text{eke 'fork'}\]
\[\text{d} \text{'village; estate'} \quad \text{x} \text{e 'band'}\]

Many nouns of Pattern \(\text{Pa}\) are gerunds of simple verbs [p. 297], derived from Gerunds or collectives of Pattern \(\text{Pa}\): \(\text{gam} \text{'a raid'}\) (cf. \(\text{ga} \text{m 'raiding'}\); \(\text{b} \text{d 'an egg'}\) (cf. \(\text{b} \text{d 'eggs'}\)). Others are gerunds [p. 292] and feminal derivatives [304].

\[\text{PATTERN Pa}\]

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

\[\text{ban} \text{(*)'k 'girl, daughter'} \quad \text{kab} \text{(*)'k 'ram'}\]
\[\text{?as} \text{(*)'m 'name'} \quad \text{bas} \text{(*)'r 'bridge'}\]
\[\text{gam} \text{(*)'r 'age'} \quad \text{bas} \text{(*)'k 'kind'}\]
\[\text{bar} \text{(*)'e 'tower'} \quad \text{mal} \text{e 'property'}\]

On the use of the helping vowel (*), see p. 29.
Sound, with final radical semivowel:

\[ \text{fadj} \ 'member' \quad \text{fadj} \ 'kid' \]

On the alternation of \( u \) and \( i \) with \( w \) and \( y \), see p.140.

Geminate:

\[ \text{sam} \ 'mother' \quad \text{shabb} \ 'medicine' \]
\[ \text{rass} \ 'rice' \quad \text{wass} \ 'face' \]

Altered Pattern. Hollow \( (\sigma + \omega - \upsilon; \sigma + \iota - \iota) \):

\[ \text{sax} \ 'cloth' \quad \text{tad} \ 'hand' \]
\[ \text{bim} \ 'owls' \ (coll.) \quad \text{bir} \ 'well' \]
\[ \text{s"u} \ 'market' \quad \text{fin} \ 'figs' \]

Anomalous hollow-defective: \( \text{fii} \ 'thing' \) (cf. classicism \( \text{fii?} \))

Commonly in Palestine this word is pronounced \( \text{fadi} \), which is sound, with root \( \text{f}-\text{i}-\text{y} \). (The initial \( \text{f} \) also occurs in the plural \( \text{fays} \) or \( \text{fays} \), which is used throughout Greater Syria.)

Some nouns of this pattern are abstract and gerundial derivatives \( [p.286]: \text{bab} \ 'large size' \) (cf. \( \text{bibr} \ 'large' \); \( \text{iseb} \ 'play, game' \) (cf. \( \text{isef} \ 'to play' \)).

On plural Pattern \( \text{FaSL} \), see p.221.

\[ \text{PATTERN FaSL} \]

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

\[ \text{fare} \ 'fee' \quad \text{turb} \ 'cemetery' \]
\[ \text{rafle} \ 'trip, tour' \quad \text{farsa} \ 'opportunity' \]
\[ \text{kalme} \ 'word' \quad \text{masse} \ 'goats' \ (coll.) \]
\[ \text{farka} \ 'company' \quad \text{fibre} \ 'needle' \]

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

\[ \text{labye} \ 'beard' \quad \text{kalme} \ 'kidney' \]
\[ \text{danye} \ 'world' \quad \text{farsa} \ 'button-hole' \]

On the alternation of \( u \) and \( i \) with \( w \) and \( y \), see p.166.

Geminate:

\[ \text{faffe} \ 'lip' \quad \text{fadda} \ 'silver' \]
\[ \text{fazza} \ 'story' \quad \text{sakka} \ 'track' \]

Altered Pattern. Semivowel-geminate, with assimilation of pattern vowel:

\[ \text{niyye} \ 'aim, intention' \ (Root \ m-w-y) \quad \text{hume} \ 'power' \ (Root \ \text{h-w-y}) \]
\[ \text{diyye} \ 'blood money' \ (See p.157) \quad \text{hume} \ 'precipice' \ (Root \ h-w-y) \]

See p.166.

Hollow \( (\sigma + \iota - \iota; \sigma + \omega - \upsilon) \):

\[ \text{zine} \ 'decoration' \quad \text{sura} \ 'picture' \]
\[ \text{fikga} \ 'jewelry' \quad \text{mu"ene} \ 'provision' \]
\[ \text{hilie} \ 'trick' \quad \text{fu'da} \ 'room' \]

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract or gerundial \( [287] \) or singu-
lative \( [297]: \text{falle} \ 'scarcity' \) (cf. \( \text{falil} \ 'few, little' \); \( \text{xadme} \ 'service' \) (cf. \( \text{xadom} \ 'to serve' \); \( \text{fakra} \ 'an idea' \) (cf. \( \text{fak\"r} \ 'thinking, thought' \)).

\[ \text{PATTERN Fa\"al} \]

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

\[ \text{samal} \ 'hope' \quad \text{taman} \ 'price' \]
\[ \text{zaraf} \ 'honor' \quad \text{ala?} \ 'insomnia' \]
\[ \text{wolad} \ 'child' \quad \text{sabab} \ 'cause' \]
\[ \text{babar} \ 'cattle' \quad \text{darar} \ 'damage' \]
Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of middle radical):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>نار &quot;neighbor&quot;</td>
<td>sær &quot;leg&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>رأس &quot;head&quot;</td>
<td>sæl &quot;maternal uncle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>باب &quot;door&quot;</td>
<td>sæc &quot;bottom&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word šay "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 Fašel [146].

PATTERN Fašele

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>سكين &quot;barrack(s)&quot;</td>
<td>bara &quot;blessing&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلطة &quot;salad&quot;</td>
<td>ṣaba &quot;class&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دراسة &quot;degree, step&quot;</td>
<td>ḥašara &quot;a stone&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of middle radical):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>سايس &quot;habit, custom&quot;</td>
<td>hara &quot;quarter, neighborhood&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ضايس &quot;ball&quot;</td>
<td>ṣaye &quot;banner&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وايسa &quot;container&quot;</td>
<td>sæsa &quot;hour&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PATTERN Făele

Sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>باص &quot;motive&quot;</td>
<td>šāme &quot;mosque&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فاص &quot;eyebrow&quot;</td>
<td>māšeb &quot;duty&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غياس &quot;officer&quot;</td>
<td>ḥades &quot;incident&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With middle radical semivowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>شفر &quot;usury&quot;</td>
<td>zāyer &quot;visitor&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A medial radical w is represented by y in this pattern; see Adjective Pattern Făel [p.131].

Defective (e + y or w = ә):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>رئي &quot;keeper, herdsman&quot;</td>
<td>ṭādi &quot;judge&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. Pattern Făel adjectives.

Many nouns of this pattern are substantivized active participles of simple verbs: ُکَتِب "clerk", "writer" (cf. ِکَتَب "to write"); ُزَیَر "visitor" (cf. ِزَر "to visit"); ُمنَاف "inconvenience, obstacle, hindrance" (cf. ِمَنَاف "to prevent"); ُمَزِی "representative" (cf. ِمَز "to represent"). See p.276.

PATTERN Făele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>عَفْي &quot;storm&quot;</td>
<td>ṣanča &quot;maid&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عَامِ &quot;university&quot;</td>
<td>wača &quot;means&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لَمْب &quot;table&quot;</td>
<td>ṣyi &quot;sect&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عَامِ &quot;corner&quot;</td>
<td>ḥāye &quot;suburb&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وَذَآ &quot;material&quot;</td>
<td>ḏāye &quot;beast of burden&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 FāFal

Sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'beauty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'statement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'permit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'decision'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'foundation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'taboo; shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'speech, words'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'gazelle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective (Loss of final radical semivowel):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'dinner, supper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'air'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'lunch, dinner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'modesty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'sky; heaven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'evening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'punishment, penalty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long َ of the pattern is preserved in the suffixing forms of these words, see p. 27.

Defective, with final radical semivowel - ْ: ٣اَا١ (٣اَا١).

PATTERN FāFāL

Sound:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'stove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'ray, beam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'street'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'measurement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'abortion'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'corn, maise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'contentment, satisfaction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'winter; rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'glue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'rust'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long َ of this defective pattern is preserved in the suffixing form [p. 27], while the absolute form has variants ending in ِ or ِ, as in the -ِ ِ suffix [p.138]. The َ of the first syllable, which is lost in the sound version of this pattern, remains in all forms.

The anomalous noun ٣اَا١ 'crying, weeping', is like these words in the absolute form, but has a suffixing form like Pattern FāFal [142]: ٣اَا١ 'their crying' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'their winter').

Many nouns of Pattern FāFāL are gerunds of simple verbs: ٣اَا١ 'absence' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'to be absent'); ٣اَا١ 'satisfaction' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'to be satisfied').

For plural Pattern FāFāL, see p. 218.

PATTERN FāFal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'closet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'bracelet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'visit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'merchandise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'bullet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٣اَا١</td>
<td>'veil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns [285]: ٣اَا١ 'happiness' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'happy'); ٣اَا١ 'embassy' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'ambassador'); ٣اَا١ 'enmity' (cf. ٣اَا١ 'enemy').
This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of Pattern FEIl are gerunds of simple verbs: ēbād 'worship' (cf. ēbad 'to worship'), ṭāye 'reading' (cf. ṭara 'to read').

**PATTERN FEiL**

difā‘ 'defense'  
miṣām 'system, order'

?ilāh 'god'  
wiṣām 'medal, badge'

Defective: ṣifa 'cure'

**PATTERN FEiLe**

giṣāda 'industry'  
iḥāye 'end'

ziṭāda 'agriculture'  
miṣāye 'state'

riṃāye 'novel; play'  
ṣiyāse 'politics; policy'

Patterns FEiL and FEiLe are somewhat classicized variants of Patterns FEiL and FEiLe respectively.

Many nouns of Pattern FEiLe are gerunds of simple verbs: dirāse 'study' (cf. daras 'to study'); ziṭāda 'agriculture' (cf. zarād 'to plant, cultivate').

**PATTERN FaēL**

?adīb 'man of letters'  
sabīl 'way'

?amīs 'shirt'  
ṣabīb 'physician'

raḥūs 'chief, head'  
yamīn 'right (hand)'

ḥārīr 'silk'  
raḥīf 'spring (time)'

Defective: waṣi 'trustee, guardian'

Many nouns of Pattern FaēL 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': waḍīb 'man of letters' (cf. waḍab 'belles-lettres'); ṣabīb 'physician' (cf. ṣabb 'medicine, physical therapy').

**PATTERN FaēLe**

maiṣī 'result'  
ṣarīme 'crime'

jaṭīna 'method'  
maḏīne 'city'

duṭīna 'minute'  
ṣarīna 'Muslim law'

With final radical semivowel (-iyy = -iy-):

zaṣiyye 'sin'  
ʔaṣiyye 'case'

Gaṣiyye 'evening'  
wasiyye 'will, testament'

**PATTERN FēIL**

ṣabīn 'forehead'  
rāṭīf 'loaf'

ruṭīr 'companion'  
ṣrīf 'string, wire'

ṣāfīr 'barley'  
ɡāfī 'nag, horse'

This pattern is not used with middle or final radical semivowel.

Patterns FaēL and FēIL are used in a number of gerunds, especially those designating noises: ɡrif 'shouting', ṣrif 'moaning', ɡaṣī 'noise, tumult', ṭanīn 'tinkle', ḥṣif 'glimmering, glimpse'.

Patterns FEiL and FEiLe are used in a number of gerunds, especially those designating noises: ɡrif 'shouting', ṣrif 'moaning', ɡaṣī 'noise, tumult', ṭanīn 'tinkle', ɡṣif 'glimmering, glimpse'.
150 NOUN PATTERNS

PATTERN ḨeūLe

_days 'braid' ḥnīṣe 'church'
_fdsē 'scandal' ḥīāne 'sesame oil sauce'

With final radical semivowel (y) (−iyy=−īy−):

ḥdiyye 'gift' ṯiyye 'oka' (weight measure)

This pattern is not used with middle radical semivowel.

PATTERN F(u).club

ṣbūn 'customer' ṣnūb 'south'
ṣ(u)rūr 'joy, pleasure' ḥf(u)ṭūr 'breakfast'
ḥṢūm 'attack' ḫumūh 'aspiration'

With final radical semivowel (u) (−umū=−ūm−):

Σ(u)limu 'elevation, height' numūm 'growth'

The pattern may also be altered (defective) in Ḩušu 'height' (suffixing form Ḩušu−).

Pattern Ḩuul is commonly used for gerunds of simple verbs [291]: Ḥārā 'coming out, going up' (cf. Ḥārā 'to come out, go up'); Ḥārū 'feeling(s)' (cf. Ḥārū 'to feel').

For plural Pattern Ḩuul, see p. 220.

PATTERNS Ḩāul, ḨaūLe

qāmūn 'law' ḥābūn 'mill'
xāṣt 'stake' xārūf 'lamb'
ṣūbūn 'soap' nāfūr 'water wheel'
qūmūs 'dictionary' mūsar 'pipe, tube'

PATTERN Ḩaūul

xabbān 'baker' ḥaddād 'blacksmith'
falāh 'peasant' xayyāf 'tailor'
ḥāmām 'bath' ṣabbāf '(pair of) shoes'
tayyār 'current' damūr 'whirlpool'
Defective:
banan 'builder, mason'
kaama 'presser'

The long pattern vowel $a$ is retained in the suffixing form: banna‘hon 'their mason'.

Pattern Faiaal is commonly used for occupational nouns [305]. Cf. adjective pattern Faiaal [129].

**PATTERN Faiaal**

kaamāše 'pincers'
sayyāra 'automobile'
'allābe 'ferris-wheel'
barrāde 'refrigerator'
šabbāne 'cemetery'
ʃarrāpa 'cushion'

With final radical semivowel $y$, unaltered:
maḥāye 'eraser'
barrāye 'pencil-sharpener'

Pattern Faiaal is commonly used for instrumental nouns [306].

**PATTERNS Faiaal, Faiaal**

šabbāk 'window'
sammāra 'fish hook'
raassāl 'man'
ʃakkāne 'crutch'
sabbāde 'rugs' (collective)
ʃabbāde 'a rug'
taʃfēb 'apples (collective)
taʃfēba 'an apple'

Cf. plural pattern Faiaal [223].

**PATTERN maFiaal**

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:
maʃaf 'cannon'
maʃaf 'bakery'
maʃlaq 'amount, sum'
maʃaf 'summer resort'

Altered Pattern. Geminate:
maʃfl 'place'
maʃabb 'mouth (of a river)'

Hollow:
manām 'dream'
maʃaα 'airport'

Defective:
maʃna 'meaning'
maʃna 'shelter'

Most nouns of Pattern maFiaal are locative [308], hypostatic [309], or instrumental [307].

**PATTERN maFiaal**

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:
maʃrame 'handkerchief'
maʃlān 'spoon'
maʃaα 'matter, question'
maʃaf 'ashtray'

Cf. plural pattern maFiaal [223].
Altered Pattern. Geminate:

- mašaba 'love, affection'
- mašalle 'magazine'

Hollow:

- masāfe 'distance'
- masāda 'ford'
- masāfe 'reception room'

Most nouns of Pattern mašalle are locative [308], hypostatic [309] or instrumental [307].

**PATTERN mašāl**

Sound:

- marše 'source, reference'
- mašles 'chamber, session room'
- masāf 'stop, station'

Many nouns of this pattern have initial radical m.

Hollow: mašir 'course, destiny'

Pattern mašāl is not used with gminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of Pattern mašāl are locative, hypostatic, or instrumental.

**PATTERN maš(i)Le**

Sound:

- mašfala 'district, zone'
- mašdira 'ability, power'
- mašriší or mašre 'knowledge, acquaintance'

Some nouns of Pattern maš(i)Le are substantivized passive participles or hypostatic nouns corresponding to verb Pattern IV [p.84]. These include sound: maššeq 'attaché', hollow: maššad 'wish, desire', and initial weak: maššar 'out, outside'.

Wish construct, thus always in the construct forms 'his wish'.

Initial Weak: maššar 'minaret' (Root -d-n)

Pattern maš(i)Le is not used with gminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of this pattern are hypostatic or locative.

**PATTERNS maš'āl and maš(i)Le**

For locative, projective, or instrumental nouns, these patterns are mainly used with gminating roots, and altered accordingly:

- marqqa 'scissors'
- marqqa 'station'
- mašshe 'brown'
- mašshe 'brown'
- mašša 'curse, invective'

Some nouns of Pattern maš'āl (or more usually maš(i)Le) are substantivized passive participles or hypostatic nouns corresponding to verb Pattern IV [p.84]. These include sound: maššeq 'attaché', hollow: maššad 'wish, desire', and initial weak: maššar 'outside, resound'.

**PATTERNS maš'āl and maš(i)Le**

Sound:

- mašša 'problem, difficulty'
- mašša 'problem, difficulty'
- mašša 'miracle'
- mašša 'broom'

1This word is always used in construct, thus always in the construct forms 'his his wish'.

**PATTERNS maš'āl and maš(i)Le**

Sound:

- mašša 'problem, difficulty'
- mašša 'problem, difficulty'
- mašša 'miracle'
- mašša 'broom'
NOUN PATTERNS

Hollow: m§£î 'misfortune, calamity'

Initial Weak: mûsem 'season'

Pattern m|F|eÎL is more commonly used in substantivized personal adjectives [133, 382]: maslem 'Moslem', m|f|î 'mufti', mûdîr 'director'.

PATTERNS m|F|eÎL and m|F|eÎLe

Sound:

mamîr 'saw'
ma§mîr 'walk, errand'
ma|F|ar â 'gutter, drain'
ma|F|îr 'nose'
ma|F|yîr 'balance, measure'
ma|F|ît 'plow'

Initial Weak:

mîF|eÎd 'appointment'
mîlîd 'birth, birthday, Nativity'
mîs|eÎm 'scale balance'
mîs|eÎq 'pact, covenant'

The pattern vowel a combines with initial radical w to produce i.

With final radical semivowel (y), the suffix -e is used:

mamîyîe 'iron'
mamîyîye 'frying pan'
ma|F|îyîye 'winnowing fork'
ma|F|îyîye 'trap'

Hollow: |F|mîyîye 'mirror' (Root r-?)

In some parts of Greater Syria, final radical y produces defective nouns on Pattern m|F|eÎL: madrî 'winnowing fork' (instead of madrîyîe).

Most nouns of Pattern m|F|eÎL(e) are instrumental or hypostatic.

There are many nouns in Arabic whose patterns are rare or even unique. Some of these less common patterns are briefly exemplified here:

Pattern m|ILÎ: sîha 'direction', sîfa 'attribute, adjective', sîqa 'capacity' sîqâ (or sîqa) 'faith, trust'. (For construct forms, see p.169)

This pattern is applied exclusively to roots with initial w, which is lost. Thus sîha has Root w-§-h, sîfa has Root w-g-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 FaÎLe as if its root were d-ï-ï. (It has no colloquial paronyms with either root.)

Patterns F(u)|F|ayyeL, F(u)|F|ayLe, F(u)|F|eÎLe: gîâyye 'little one', buhâyra 'lake', buhâyra 'a little'.

These traditional diminutive patterns [p.310] are quite unproductive in most kinds of Syrian Arabic.

Pattern B|ILÎ: Bâne 'garden', Bmêra 'measles', Bmême 'deuce'.

This is an alteration of the diminutive pattern F(u)|F|ayLe.

Pattern FaÎL: malek 'king'

Pattern FaÎL: ra§ol 'man' (classicism)

Pattern FaÎL: |F|eÎne 'grapes'

Pattern FaÎL: lâton 'tobacco', lâron 'cotton' (Cf. plural pattern FaÎL [p.221].)

Pattern FaÎL: rasûl 'apostle, messenger, prophet', fa§ûn 'old person', fâdûn 'enemy'. (Cf. adjective pattern FaÎL [p.128].)

Pattern FaÎL: fâlâm 'world'

Pattern FaÎLeL: salâm 'ladder', ëmûma 'chick peas'

Pattern FÎLe: bi|F|mîr 'compass' (for drawing), di|F|mîr (monetary unit), |F|mînîl 'sitting room', mêmîn 'April'.

Pattern FÎLeL: Balûn 'container', Bûlûn 'cement', Balûn 'balloon'.

Pattern FÎLeL: Bâlîd 'steel'
Noun Patterns

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{LL}$: $\text{sa}^\text{LL}l$ 'record'

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L$: $\text{su}^\text{g}l$ 'question', $\text{bu}^\text{z}^\text{a}r$ 'steam', $\text{du}^\text{z}^\text{a}^\text{p}$ 'prayer of supplication' (defective; radical semivowel - $\ddot{e}$).

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$: $\text{sa}^\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{l}l$ 'record'

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$ (Hollow-defective): $\text{h}^\text{e}n^\text{m}^\text{a}n$ 'animal' (Root $h-y-y$) [cf. p. 110]

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$: $\text{m}^\text{e}n^\text{a}n$ 'olives'

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$: $\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{r}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{n}$ 'rat' $\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{r}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{n}$ 'lizard'

Patterns $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$, $\text{Fa}^L\text{af}a^L$: $\text{f}^\text{a}^\text{t}^\text{t}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{s}$ 'fireworks', $\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{s}^\text{z}^\text{a}^\text{ta}^\text{a}$ 'adhesive tape', $\text{d}^\text{u}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{a}xa$ 'merry-go-round'

Augmented Gerundial Patterns

All the patterns used for gerunds of augmented verbs, e.g. $\text{ta}^L\text{e}^L$, $\text{m}^\text{a}^L\text{a}^L\text{e}^L$, $\text{a}^L\text{a}^L\text{e}^L\text{e}^L$, 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 $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$ and $\text{Fa}^L\text{e}^L\text{a}^L$ have been separately illustrated for nouns and adjectives, but Patterns $\text{Fa}^L\text{e}^L\text{e}^L$ [p. 129] and $\text{ta}^L\text{e}^L$ [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. $\text{ma}^L\text{a}^L\text{e}^L$, $\text{m}^\text{a}^L\text{a}^L\text{e}^L\text{e}^L$, $\text{m}^\text{a}^L\text{a}^L\text{e}^L$, etc. (only $\text{Fa}^L\text{e}^L$ has been listed separately for nouns); a large number of nouns have these patterns, but are not illustrated here.

For elative patterns, see p. 310.

Quadriradical (and Pseudo-Quadriradical) Patterns

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$

$\text{pa}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{b}$ 'rabbit' $\text{ba}^\text{f}^\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{k}$ 'patriarch'

$\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{a}$? 'ditch, trench' $\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{g}^\text{a}^\text{l}$ 'hook'

$\text{sa}^\text{d}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{l}$ 'schedule' $\text{w}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{z}^\text{a}^\text{t}$ 'bat'

Hollow: $\text{b}^\text{e}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{r}$ 'threshing floor' $\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{?}$ 'quicksilver'

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$

$\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{r}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{e}$ 'translation' $\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{r}$ 'pot'

$\text{v}^\text{a}^\text{r}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{e}$ 'noise, disturbance' $\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{e}$ 'murmur, mumbling'

$\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{p}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{e}$ 'mockery'

Hollow: $\text{b}^\text{e}^\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{?}^\text{a}$ 'storm' $\text{s}^\text{e}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{e}$ 'mischief'

$\text{s}^\text{e}^\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{?}^\text{a}$ 'soup'

$\text{v}^\text{a}^\text{r}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{e}$ 'widow' has a secondary radical $\ddot{e}$, being related to the root $r-m-l$; $\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{k}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{r}$ 'ticket' has a secondary radical $t$, being related to the root $z-k-r$; $\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{w}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{e}$ 'childishness'; on the other hand, is a true triradical noun on the pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$, the $a$ being a verb formative ($\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{i}^\text{u}^\text{i}^\text{l}^\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{n}$ 'to be childish'). [p. 110]

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$, and the pseudo-quadriradical patterns $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$, $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$, $\text{Fa}^L\text{e}^L\text{a}^L$, and $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$ are used for gerunds of quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [p. 295].

Pattern $\text{Fa}^L\text{a}^L$

$\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{e}$ 'apricots' $\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{g}^\text{e}^\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{l}$ 'wheat grits'

$\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{o}$ 'burnoose, bathrobe' $\text{b}^\text{a}^\text{b}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{b}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{l}$ 'oriental nightingale'

$\text{e}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{g}^\text{o}$ 'element' $\text{b}^\text{s}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{?}^\text{o}$ 'bishop'

$\text{f}^\text{a}^\text{t}^\text{s}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{a}^\text{o}$? 'pistachio' $\text{x}^\text{a}^\text{n}^\text{f}^\text{o}$ 'beetles' (coll.)

1See p. 107.
PATTERN Fa£L£L

waf*fa 'wasp'

waf*fa 'beetle'

waf*m·e 'apricot'

w af*m·e 'crane'

mas•ke 'chewing gum'

mas•fe 'tortoise'

sens•le 'chain, series'

'sem•le 'bomb'

On the use of the helping vowel a, see p. 31.

PATTERN Fa£L£L

sa£d•n 'monkey'

w•f•n 'bat' (also waf•n)

ra£r•f 'fender'

w•f•n 'diamond(s)'

Hollow: s•f•n 'devil'

PATTERN Fa£L£L

fam•n 'coffee cup'

b•t•n 'professor, teacher'

korb•n 'whip'

borb•n 'proof'

bost•n 'garden'

•n•n 'address'

w•b•b 'clog, wooden sandal'

res•n 'capital'

With final radical semivowel (y), the suffix -e/-a is added:

fas•ye 'brush'

berdy•e '(window) shade'

PATTERN Fa£L£L

waf•r 'tin'

b•y 'barrel'

ban•r 'chain'

dar•.' 'derwish'

Ef•r 'demon'

mas•n 'poor thing, wretch'

PATTERN Fa£L£L

talm•s 'student'

mas•n (or mas•n) 'poor wretch'

kor•f 'matches'

Es•f 'demon'

taf•n 'October/November'

Defective:

kur• 'chair'

b•g• 'screw'

PATTERN Fa£L£L(e)

Es•f 'bunch of grapes'

ra•b•n 'bank deposit'

ja•b• 'tarboosh, fez'

s•nd• 'box, chest'

•nd• 'dandy, fop'

Hollow: s•l•n 'September'

With the -e/-a suffix: s•t•ra 'boat', s•m• 'prostitute'

PATTERN Fa£L£L

c•t•l 'spider' (tarantulas and similar kinds)

b•n• 'hat'

•n• 'swing'

ma•m• 'a whisper'

Miscellaneous Quadriradical

•f• 'frog'

tar•n 'interpreter, dragoman'

•m•r 'public, people, crowd' (also •m•r)

•m•ed 'emeralds'

f•b• 'table'

b•n• 'tomatoes' (coll.)
NOUN PATTERNS

Miscellaneous Quinquiradical

sfarābī ‘quince’
'ramūfī ‘cauliflower’
'ramfn ‘carnations’
bānsasā ‘voilets’
bēbām ‘eggplant’ (also bādānsa)
ba’dūn ‘parsley’
'qarām ‘large glass jar’
bārnis ‘program’
'qasābān ‘cobweb’
ṣaqran ‘chees’
banjān ‘trousers’

Biradical Nouns

Very few nouns in Syrian Arabic qualify definitely as having a biliteral root; note, however: fi‘a ‘class, group, bracket’, ri‘a ‘lung’, san ‘year’, mara ‘woman’.

All these nouns have an -e/-a suffix. The noun mara, if compared to the classicism marā, might be analyzed as a defective triradical. Note the variant forms riyye (for ri‘a) and fi‘a (for fi‘a), in which these words conform to triradical patterns. (Cf. damm ‘blood’, di‘a-uvis Classical dam; ‘Ed and yadd ‘hand’ vis-tvis Classical yad.)

Inconformable Nouns

Unlike verbs and adjectives, Arabic nouns include many words 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’
'otēl ‘hotel’
sbētro ‘alcohol’
varanda ‘balcony, terrace’
prōa ‘rehearsal’
frāme ‘pump’
ṣagriyya ‘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, -āt, or -t, depending mainly on the form of the following term. Compare, for instance:

The t in these construct forms is called CONNECTIVE t (tā marbūta).

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: ḫleṣ ‘my brother’s condition’. The vowel is normally e even though the absolute form ends in a: absol. ḫāra ‘neighborhood, quarter’: constr. ḫeṣ ‘his family’s neighborhood’. Further examples:

Absoulte Form

Connective Form (with Following Term)

ḥafe ‘party’, ‘show’
ṣoppa ‘story, account’
ṣaxe ‘closet’, ‘chest’
mas’sale ‘matter, question’
ṣūda ‘room’

The suffix vowel e is often elided, however, when the following term begins with a vowel (which is usually the helping vowel ę [p.30]): ęgī ‘m-nūm ‘the bedroom’ (cf. ęgī nūm ‘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:

mapēf ‘the physics assignment’ (absol. mapīf)
dēk ‘a-sickness’ (absol. dēka ‘nausea’)
ēgūb ‘the death penalty’ (absol. ēgūb)
haṣ ‘the work requirements’ (absol. haše)
maκīn ‘shaver’ or ‘clippers’ (absol. makīn)
has-sall ‘this basket of flowers’ (absol. sale) [SAL-193]
ṣairīt ‘today’s paper’ (absol. Sarīdē) [p.26]

The dropping of connective t from almost all absolute forms in Colloquial Arabic is, of course, much broader and more consistent practice than the dropping of tā marbūta in the pronunciation of Classical ‘pause forms’.
Note that the elision of e changes the accentuation in nouns of certain patterns: madrāstī 'the boy's school' (absol. madrsā'). In the case of Pattern Fa'le [145], a suffix-supporting vowel d appears before the last radical: maddīt ə-e-êt 'the oil tanker' (absol. maddī). See Accentuation [p.17]. Cf. Suffixing Forms [165].

The elision of e in nouns ending in -iyē results in forms in construct forms ending in -at: barrdnī 'the outside of the building' (absol. barrāniyye), ẓanātī 'n-nādi: 'the membership of the club' (absol. ẓanāmiyye).

Sometimes e is elided even when the following term begins with a consonant: ba'īt dēni 'the remainder of my debt' (absol. ba'īyye), maddīmīt l-sāb 'the introduction of the book' (absol. maddīmī). S-sātī ə-e-êt 'the oil company' (not sāti). Cf. Suffixing Forms [166].

Nouns ending in ə (which are mostly defective gerunds of Pattern Fa'le [p.220]) generally have construct forms in ġīt: māḏīt ə-j-ařī 'finding the way' (absol. māḏī), maddīt ə-l-fakṣūr 'the making of pottery' (absol. maddā). The -t is sometimes kept in the absolute form of maddātī 'match, competition', and almost always in the absolute forms of ḥayātī 'life' (Root ḥ-ā-y), ṣulātī (or ṣulā) 'prayer' (Root ṣ-l-y), wāḏīt 'death, demise' (Root m-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 Fa'le: ṣā'īret ə-l-madrasa 'the bridges of the city' (abs. ẓā'īra); Patterns Fa'ile: ṣā'īle: ṣā'īment ə-l-bīt 'the lights of the house' (abs. ṣā'īmente), ṣā'īlet ə-l-ašūrī 'the teacher's questions' (abs. ṣā'ūrī); Pattern Fa'ile: baḥr(e) ə-l-balad 'the walls of the town' (abs. baḥrā); ḥaddīzet ə-l-madrasa 'the teachers of the school' (abs. ḥaddīz; maddīket ə-s-samā 'the angels of heaven' (abs. maddīk); ẓamāniyyet ə-l-madrasa 'thieves of the city' (abs. ẓamāmiyye).

There are many defective words [p.43] ending in ə and a few ending in e; these endings are not to be confused with

1The words ba'īt 'daughter' and ẓātī 'sister' also theoretically have connective t in the absolute forms (cf. the diminutives ba'ayy, ẓa'ayy).

the -/a suffix, and their construct forms do not have connective t: ẓa'āf ə-fāwī 'the table cloth', maḏna 'the meaning of this word', ḥiṣā zamāk '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: ṣāmā ə-sīrām 'the neighbors' complaint', ṭaṣīr ə-r-dāy '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 phonemes -i 'me, my', -ak 'you, your(m.)', -ek 'you, your(f.)', -o 'him, his, its': ẓaḥib 'friend' + -i - ẓaḥībī 'my friend', ṭaṣīsam 'teacher' + -o - ṭaṣīsām 'the teacher', ẓaḡar əf 'behavior' + -ak - ẓaḡarīf 'your(m.) behavior', etc.

In accordance with this rule, the -t of a construct form loses its vowel e when the following term is a pronoun suffix -i, -o, -ak, or -ek:

gūr: gūret 'picture(of)' + -i 'me' - gūrīt 'my picture'
čūde(t) 'custom(of)' + -o 'him' - čūdīt 'his custom'
sayyūr: sayyūret 'automobile(of)' + -ak 'you(m.)' - sayyūrīt 'your car'
ka₃se(t) 'daughter-in-law(of)' + -ek 'you(f.)' - ka₃set 'your daughter-in-law'

Note the shift in accentuation caused by these suffixes with nouns that have short e between the last two radicals:

dūạs(t) 'degree(of)' + -i 'me' - dūÂṣīt 'my degree'
maḏrām(e)t 'handkerchief(of)' + -ek 'you(f.)' - maḏrāamt 'your handkerchief'
īṣkara: 다면karet 'ticket(of)' + -o 'him' - 다면kort 'his ticket'
maḏdēta(t) 'help(of)' + -ak 'you(m.)' - maḏdǎlt 'your help'

1 Though there is a tendency on the part of native speakers themselves to reinterpret some of these words in terms of the -e/-a suffix, the construction form maḏna 'meaning of...' is sometimes heard, as well as the suffixing form maḏna- [169].

2 This formative generally corresponds to ẓa'af maḏna in Classical Arabic.

3 There are fewer exceptions. See pp. 29, 169.
Some nouns involve a sequence of three consonants (with or without a third consonant) before the ending -e(t), as in "samsel(t) 'chain' between the first two) before the ending -e(t), as in samsel(t) 'chain' between the first two when the e in these nouns is dropped, then the ending automatically happens in the preceding consonant by the insertion of a (which is accentuated, according to the general rule (p.56)): samsel 'his chain', samsel 'my teacher'. Further examples:

- saheb(t) 'friend(f.)(of)' + e - saheb 'your(f.)friend(f.)'
- masse'a: masme 'of(of)' - ak masme 'your(m.)university'
- had(t) 'utility(of)' + o - had 'its(m.)utility'
- shif(t) 'translator(f.)(of)' + o - shif 'its(m.)translator(f.)'
- makhf(l) 'problem(of)' + -i - makhf 'my problem'
- makhf(l) 'knowledge(of)' + -ak - makhf 'knowing you'
- sahre(d) 'emerald(of)' + e - sahre 'your(f.)emerald'
- sahre(d) 'horses(of)' + -i - sahre 'my horses'

If, however, the last consonant before -e(t) is y, then the suffixing form ends in -f( since y + y automatically to -f(t):)

- sahre 'margin(of)' + o - sahre 'its margin'
- sahre 'corner(of)' + -ak - sahre 'your corner'
- sahre 'environ(of)' + o - sahre 'its environ'
- sahre 'lights(of)' + o - sahre 'its lights'

Note that while in their non-suffixing forms sahre 'walk, walking' and sahre '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: sahre 'his walk': sahre 'his livestock'.

Connective t before Suffixes -na, -kon, -(h)a, -(h)on

A short vowel e or a before a final consonant is changed to o 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]: saheb 'friend' + na - saheb 'our friend', saheb 'behavior' + -(h)a - saheb 'her behavior', makhf 'teacher' + -kon - makhf 'your(pl.) teacher'.
In accordance with this rule, the -et of a construct form usually comes -et - when the following term is a pronoun suffix -na, -kon, -(h)ja, or -(h)on:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ṣāra : ?ṣaret 'picture(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = ?ṣārit(h)on 'our picture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēdd(e)(t) 'custom(of)'</td>
<td>+ -om = ēddston 'their custom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayyārā : sayyārēt 'car(of)'</td>
<td>+ -kon = sayyārēt(h)on 'your(pl.)car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darāna(e)(t) 'degree(of)'</td>
<td>+ -a = darānēta 'her degree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣṣāfe(e)(t) 'help(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = maṣṣāfēt(h)on 'our help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raf(e)(t) 'trip(of)'</td>
<td>+ -kon = rafēthon 'their trip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaljā : yaljēt 'mistake(of)'</td>
<td>+ -h = yaljētha 'her mistake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?appa : ?appēt 'story(of)'</td>
<td>+ -om = ?appājon 'their story'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hany(e)(t) 'bow, bending(of)'</td>
<td>+ -a = hanyēta 'her bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wann(e)(t) 'strength(of)'</td>
<td>+ -a = wannēta 'her strength'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myiye(e)(t) 'intention(of)'</td>
<td>+ -om = myiyēton 'their intention'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭād(e)(t) 'room(of)'</td>
<td>+ -kon = ṭądōthon 'your(pl.)room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭḥaṣṣa : ṭḥaṣṣēt 'station(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = ṭḥaṣṣēt(h)on 'our station'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many cases, however, the construct form used with these suffixes is the same as that used with -e, -om, -ak and -ek: ēarrāṣītīna 'her car' (rather than ēarrāyētīna), ṭādōthīna 'our maid' (rather than ṭādōtētīna). These forms are predominant among many nouns ending in -ye, or of Pattern F2E, or others of the type described on p.167 above. (Compare the similar omission of e in non-suffixing construct forms described on p.163.) Further examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qādiye(e)(t) 'case(of)'</td>
<td>+ -(h)on = qādiē(h)on 'their case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gannīye(e)(t) 'song(of)'</td>
<td>+ -(h)ja = gannīt(h)ja 'her song'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāxāra : bāxērēt 'ship(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = bāxārēt(h)on 'our ship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāy(e)(t) 'sect; congregation(of)'</td>
<td>+ -kon = lāyēt(h)on 'your(pl.)congregation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāyē(e)(t) 'suburb(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = dāyēt(h)on 'our suburb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭādēwye(e)(t) 'lights(of)'</td>
<td>+ -(h)ja = ṭādēwēt(h)ja 'its lights'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miscellaneous Irregularities with Connective t

The construct forms of māra 'woman, wife' and same 'year' are always mārt and saṃt, respectively: mārt ?axi 'my brother's wife', saṃt satīth 'the year (1960)'.

The classicism ḥaṣa (or ṣṣa) 'trust, faith' generally keeps the a in all construct forms: ḥaṣaṭī 'his faith'. ḥaṣāṭī pābab 'his friend's faith'. Similarly, riʿā 'lung' and ṱuṭa 'language' generally keep the a in suffixing forms: riʿāṭī 'his lung', ṱuṭāṭī 'my language'; but in non-suffixing forms a is usually changed to e in the regular way: riʿēt 'the boy's lung', ṱuṭēt 'the people's language'. The word ṱha 'direction' has suffixing forms with long e: ṱhōt, ṱhātō 'its direction'.

A few nouns have connective t in construct forms but no -et in the absolute forms. ābrās 'bride' and sakkēn 'knife', for instance: sakkēnī ?abāni 'my son's knife'. ēarrāsētīn 'my son's bride', sakkēntō 'his knife', ēarrāsētīn 'his bride'. dakkēn 'shop' and modām 'wife' must have t in the suffixing form: dakkēntō 'his shop', modāmtō 'his wife', but it is optional in the non-suffixing form: modām(e)t pābab 'his friend's wife', dakkēnt(e)t ṱamūd 'Abu Musa's shop'. With farag 'mare', connective t is optional in the suffixing form also: faragō or faraṭī 'his mare'. (Note the loss of the last stem vowel a in the latter form.)

The plurals rafa'at 'companions' and ṣara'ak 'partners' have suffixing forms ending -at-t-: rafa'atī 'my companions', ṣara'akāna 'our partners', though the non-suffixing construct form is like the absolute: rafa'at l-madrasa 'school companions', ṣara'akti 'my uncle's partners'. The word ma'am 'meaning' also has an optional suffixing form in -at-t-: ma'amātō 'its meaning' (for ma'amā). da'ama 'claim' (legal) has an optional suffixing form with t: da'amatō 'his claim', da'amatō 'her claim' (for da'amu 'claim').

Other Irregular Construct Forms

The nouns ṭābā 'father' and ṭāξ 'brother' have non-suffixing construct forms ṭābā and ṭāξ (though sometimes the forms ṭābā and ṭāξ are also used in construct): ṭābā p-ṣābi 'the boy's father' (or ṭābā ṭābā), ṭāξ ēllī 'Ali's brother' (or ṭāξ ēllī). The suffixing forms are ṭābāt- and ṭāξt-: ṭābāt 'your(m.)father', ṭāξktōn 'your(pl.)brother', ṭābāmā 'our father', ṭāξt 'his brother'. With the first-person singular -i, however, many speakers (e.g. in Damascus) use only the suffixing forms ṭābā and ṭāξt: ṭābī 'my father', ṭāξī 'my brother'. Some speakers, on the other hand, also say ṭābī 'my father' and ṭāξī 'my brother'.

There are certain differences in the uses of the different construct forms; (ya)taxi, for instance, is commonly used in addressing someone as 'my friend', while ṭāξtōn always means literally 'my brother'. (Note also the difference between ṭāξ ēllī 'Ali's brother' and L-Ṭāξ ēllī 'Brother Ali'; the latter is an appositive phrase, not a construct phrase [p.506].) The form ṭābū is also used to mean 'one of' or 'one who has': ṭābū d-dān 'the one with the beard' (also in names: ṭābū naṃma 'Abu Na'mas') while ṭābī as a construct form always means literally 'father of'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Rule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāxāra : bāxērēt 'ship(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = bāxārēt(h)on 'our ship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāy(e)(t) 'sect; congregation(of)'</td>
<td>+ -kon = lāyēt(h)on 'your(pl.)congregation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāyē(e)(t) 'suburb(of)'</td>
<td>+ -na = dāyēt(h)on 'our suburb'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṭādēwye(e)(t) 'lights(of)'</td>
<td>+ -(h)ja = ṭādēwēt(h)ja 'its lights'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The (pseudo-dual) plurals [p.367] ēnēn 'eyes', ēnēn 'hands, arms', ārēn (or rašēm) 'feet, legs', and tārnēn 'ears' have suffixing forms without n: ēnēhi 'your(f.)eyes', ēnēk 'your(n.)hands'. Farēn 'his ears', ārēnā 'our legs'. With the first-person singular -i, - is changed to -ay-: ārēyi 'my feet', ēnayı 'my hands'.

Some speakers also have suffixing forms with n: ēnēn ḥis hands', ārēnā ḥour legs'.

NUMERAL CONSTRUCT FORMS

The cardinal numerals between three and nineteen have special kinds of construct forms. (On numeral constructs, see p.471.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Construct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tišē 'three'</td>
<td>tišt (Pal. and Leb.: tišt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārbač 'four'</td>
<td>ārbač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsē 'five'</td>
<td>xamsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sattē 'six'</td>
<td>satt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabbē 'seven'</td>
<td>sabb(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmēnē or tūmēn 'eight' (Pal. tūmēnē).</td>
<td>tūmēn (Leb. tūmēn, Pal. tūmēn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tosa 'nine'</td>
<td>tasa(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēsara 'ten'</td>
<td>ēsā(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔdač(a) or ḥdač(a) 'eleven'</td>
<td>ḥdač(a)ar, ḥdač(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥnač(a) 'twelve'</td>
<td>ḥnač(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tišsēľ(a) 'thirteen'</td>
<td>tišsēľ(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārbač(a)č(a) 'fourteen'</td>
<td>ārbač(a)č(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsač(a) 'fifteen'</td>
<td>xamsač(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥač(a)č(a) 'sixteen'</td>
<td>ḥač(a)č(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabb(a)č(a) 'seventeen'</td>
<td>sabb(a)č(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmč(a)č(a) 'eighteen'</td>
<td>tūmč(a)č(a)ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasač(a)č(a) 'nineteen'</td>
<td>tasač(a)č(a)ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numerals from three through ten have suffixing forms used with the plural pronouns -m 'us', -kon 'you', and -kon 'them'. The suffixing forms are generally regular with respect to the absolute forms (changing -e or -a to -i-): tištēm 'the three of us', xamsēkon 'the five of you', tūmēnēkon 'the ten of them'. The numeral tūmēn 'two', however, has suffixing forms tūmēn- or tūmēn-: tūmēnēkon (or tūmēnēkon) 'the two of you'. Ārbač 'four' has the suffixing form ārbača-: ārbačaēmē 'the four of us'.

Though the numerals from three through ten have the -e/-a suffix in their absolute forms, they drop the -e or -a (non-suffixing) construct forms, instead of taking on a connective t.

The connective t is used, however, when a numeral (3–10) stands in construct with any one of a handful of numeral plurals that begin with a vowel2 after these numerals (but with 9 otherwise): ḥiyām 'days': xamsētiyām 'five days'; ʔarbačač(a)ḥor 'four months'; ʔalēf 'thousands': sabbēt(a)ḥalēf 'seven thousand'; sabbēn 'persons, souls': tūmēnēnēn 'eight persons'; ḥarēfēfē 'loaves': ārbač(a)č(a) ḥarēfēfē 'ten loaves'. (tīst and satt do not add another t since three t's would in any case be reduced to: sattēiyyām 'six days'; tīstēt(a)ḥalēf 'three thousand'.) The connective t is also sometimes used with fractions: ārbač(a)č(a) ḥarēfēfē 'four fifths'. See pp.222, 223.

Another special construct form is used for tišē and tūmēn before miyye 'hundred': tīst miyyē 'three hundred', tūmān miyyē 'eight hundred'.

The construct form of miyye 'hundred' is always mit: mit some 'a hundred years'.

The numerals from three through ten have suffixing forms used with the plural pronouns -m 'us', -kon 'you', and -kon 'them'. The suffixing forms are generally regular with respect to the absolute forms (changing -e or -a to -i-): tištēm 'the three of us', xamsēkon 'the five of you', tūmēnēkon 'the ten of them'. The numeral tūmēn 'two', however, has suffixing forms tūmēn- or tūmēn-: tūmēnēkon (or tūmēnēkon) 'the two of you'. Ārbač 'four' has the suffixing form ārbača-: ārbačaēmē 'the four of us'.

1The second t in tištē 'three...' might be considered "connective t", but note the similar doubling of n in tūmēnē 'eight...'. In some transcriptions these numerals are written 'tīst', 'tīmēn', at least before a single consonant: but before a two consonants they are clearly pronounced long: tīståḥād 'three children', tūmnās'ét 'eight piasters'. (Note, however, tūmnās'ét 'eight years', more often heard than tūmnās'ét.)

2From the point of view of word-phonology, the t is better analyzed as a part of the following term: xamsētiyām, ārbačač(a)ḥor, etc. This analysis seems to go against the grain of many speakers' intuition, however.
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 ُأكل '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 ُ appears only in the perfect tense. See p. 55.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd p.</td>
<td>?دکل</td>
<td>'he ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>?ذکل-ت</td>
<td>'she ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>?دکل-ن</td>
<td>'they ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd p.</td>
<td>?دکل-ت</td>
<td>'you(m.) ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>?ذکل-ت-ی</td>
<td>'you(f.) ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>?ذکل-ت-ن</td>
<td>'you(pl.) ate'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1st p. | ?دکل-ت   | 'I ate'
| Pl.    | ?ذکل-نا   | 'we ate' |          |        |
**Verb Inflectional Forms**

**Imperfect Subjunctive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd p. Masc.</td>
<td>y-škol</td>
<td>(that) he eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>t-škol</td>
<td>(that) she eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>y-škol-u</td>
<td>(that) they eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2nd p. Masc. | t-škol | (that) you (m.) eat' |
| Fem. | t-škol-i | (that) you (f.) eat' |
| Pl. | t-škol-u | (that) you (pl.) eat' |

| 1st p. Sing. | ?-škol | (that) I eat' |
| Pl. | n-škol | (that) we eat' |

**Imperfect Indicative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd p. Masc.</td>
<td>b-y-škol</td>
<td>he eats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>b-t-škol</td>
<td>she eats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>b-y-škol-u</td>
<td>they eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2nd p. Masc. | b-t-škol | you (m.) eat' |
| Fem. | b-t-škol-i | you (f.) eat' |
| Pl. | b-t-škol-u | you (pl.) eat' |

| 1st p. Sing. | b-škol | I eat' |
| Pl. | m-n-škol | we eat' |

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>kšl</td>
<td>eat (m.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>kšl-i</td>
<td>eat (f.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>kšl-u</td>
<td>eat (pl.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All types of verb conjugation are illustrated in Ch. 3.

**Expression of the Inflectional Categories**

**Tense:**

The perfect tense has person suffixes, while the imperfect has person prefixes: tškol 'you (m.) ate', yškol 'that you (m.) eat'. The form of the stem is also different in most cases (e.g., tškol: impf. -škol).

(See p. 185.)

**Person:**

The first person is expressed in the perfect by the suffixes -t (sing.) and -s (pl.): akalt 'I ate', akalna 'we ate'; and in the imperfect by the prefixes ?- (sing.) and n- (pl.): tškol '(that) I eat', nškol '(that) we eat'. (?- disappears after the indicative prefix b-; buškol 'I eat'.)

The second person is expressed by the suffix -t in the perfect and the prefix t- in the imperfect: akalt 'you ate', tškol '(that) you eat'.

The third person is expressed by the prefix y- in the masculine and plural imperfect: yškol '(that) he eat', yšku '(that) they eat', and by -t in the feminine: tškol '(that) she eat'. In the perfect, there is no third person suffix: akal 'he ate'; but the feminine ending -et is used only in the third person: aklet 'she ate'. For some verbs, the third person perfect also contrasts with the first and second persons in the form of the stem: nám-et 'she slept'; nám-ti 'you (f.) slept'. See p. 193.

Note that in the imperfect the third person feminine form is the same as the second person masculine; thus the form tškol 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: akalt 'you (m.) ate' or 'I ate'.

**Number/Gender:**

Feminine (/singular) is expressed by a suffix -i in the second person: tškli '(that) you (f.) eat', kšli 'eat (f.)'; in the perfect, -i comes after the person suffix -t: akalti 'you (f.) ate'. In the third person, feminine is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by t- (imperfect) and -et (perfect): tškol '(that) she eat', aklet 'she ate'.

Feminine and masculine are not distinguished in the first person: akalt 'I (m. or f.) ate', nškol '(that) I (m. or f.) eat'.

174 VERB INFLECTIONAL FORMS

[Ch. 8]

175 EXPRESSION OF THE CATEGORIES
Plural is expressed in the second and third persons by the suffix -u: tāklu 'that' you (pl.) eat', yāklu 'that' they eat', yākalu 'they ate', in the second person of the perfect. -u comes after the suffix -t: yākalu 'you (pl.) ate'. In the first person, the plural is expressed simultaneously with the person by the prefix m- in the imperfect and the suffix -m- in the perfect: māk 'that' we eat', mākān '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-: māk 'we eat'. [p.180]. The b- disappears, after the particle of anticipation rahu- [322] and often also after the particle of actuality ām- [320], though verbs with these proclitics are counted as indicative rather than subjunctive.

The subjunctive is expressed by the lack of the prefix b-: yākol 'that' he eat', tākol 'that' you (m.) eat', yākol '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 in the perfect 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-, g-, m-). Since most imperfect stems (unlike akol, above) themselves begin with one or two consonants, prefixation of these basic forms would sometimes result in a pile-up 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 a, before the last two consonants in the sequence:

\[
\begin{align*}
&b- + t- + -ktob \rightarrow btāktob 'you (m.) write' \\
&b- + t- + -šuf \rightarrow btāšuf 'you (m.) see' \\
&?- + -ftah \rightarrow ?ftah 'that I open'
\end{align*}
\]

See, however, Vocalic Variant of the Prefix y- below. Using this rule, the supporting vowel's place in the sequence must be determined for the stem without suffixes, because when certain suffixes are added to stems like -ktob [p.28], the stem vowel disappears, creating a longer consonant sequence: byāktobu (or byāktību) 'they write'. In such cases, the prefix-supporting vowel is inserted before the last three consonants, while a "helping vowel" (ä) may also be heard before the last two.

The prefix-supporting vowel in verbs of Patterns I [p.55] and IV [82] is accented, except in hollow [p.56] and gimate [p.63] verbs (e.g. bašuf 'you see', batšūb 'you like'), (or unless the accent is shifted back by a pronoun suffix [539]: byāfšāf-lak 'he opens...for you'). See Accentuation [19].

The supporting vowel is a (rather than ä) with the verbs gaf 'to give', čarf 'to know', and commonly also āmel 'to do': byāfšī 'he gives'; btāfšī 'you know', bdāfšī 'I know', bdčar 'that I know'; byāmēl (or byāmil) 'he does', etc.

**Vocalic Variant of the Prefix y-**. After a consonant, with stems that begin with a single consonant, the third-person prefix appears as -i: -i-šuf 'he sees', b-i-rūd i-šuf 'he'd like to see'.

1Also Pattern VII and VIII verbs in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: byāštīl (instead of byāštīl 'he works'), byānṣkār 'instead of byānkās 'it gets broken'. [p.20]

2With the verbs yākal 'to eat' and yākad 'to take', the imperfect tense forms byākol, byāxōd, etc. may be analyzed as consisting of the prefixes b-, y- etc. with a supporting vowel a, added to the stems -akol, -axōd (initial-weak alterations of a theoretical -xōd). Thus bya- + akol - byākol (since a = aā).

All these forms would seem to be remnants of a tendency to use supporting vowel a generally before ä and ž, which has since been swamped by the tendency to use a as supporting vowel before any consonant: bšēnī 'you mean' btēmor 'you order'. (The form yēnī 'that is to say' is a Classical. Cf. byēnī 'it means').
The theoretical combination -ay- does not normally occur in Syrian Arabic ("baṣrīd ʿayṣa") 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 -ā- (132) after b-, even when the stem begins with two consonants: bāktob (or bāktob) 'he writes'. This form is not confused with the first person because the last letter has the vowel a in these areas: bāktob 'I write' [179].

The Suffix -t with Helping Vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, the 'you/I' suffix of the perfect has an optional variant -t? that is commonly used at the end of a phrase or before a word beginning with a simple consonant: ʿāṣīt raḥṣāl (or ʿāṣīt raḥṣāl) 'I saw a man'; ʾāṣī kān? (or ʾāṣī ḫān?) 'where were you?'; ʾīṣa kān māṣīt (or ʾīṣa ḫān) 'if I died...'.

The helping vowel is not used before -t if a following word (in the same phrase) begins with two consonants, because in that case the four-consonant sequence is broken by a helping vowel between the words: ʿāṣī tāktōb 'I saw a book'. The helping vowel is also generally not used with this suffix before a suffixed pronoun: ʿāṣītā ṣawīyou (m.) saw us', ʿāṣītkān 'I saw you (pl.)'. See p. 32.

Velarization of Affixes. The suffixes -t and -et have velarized forms -d and -et, respectively, with stems ending in a velarized sound [p. 26]:
xalāg-t (or xalāg-ṭ) 'you finished'
xalāg-et 'she finished'

The prefix t- has a velarized form ʿd-, used with stems that begin with a velarized sound, or with a sound that is conducive to velarization from a subsequent sound:

ba-ṣādīr 'it becomes'
bā-ṣādīhā 'she hits'
ba-ṣādāmn 'you suppose'
ba-ṣādāgg 'it concerns'

Before stems beginning with a single consonant d, however, the prefix has the form ṣ- rather than ʿd-. (See below, Voicing...).

ba-ṣ-dīlā 'she stays'

The affixes bā-, mā-, ṣ-, and ma are likewise velarized in the neighborhood of velarized consonants, but this velarization is not separately indicated in our transcription [p. 7].

Voicing and Spirantization of the Prefix t-. The voiced form d- is used with stems that begin with a single consonant d, s, or š, and the form ṣ- before a single consonant ṣ:

ba-ṣ-dīlā 'it increases'
ba-ṣ-dīb 'you bring'
ba-ṣ-dāll 'it indicates'
ba-ṣ-dāllā 'it remains'

The prefix ṣ- is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant z, š, ẓ, s, š, ṣ):

ba-ṣ-zīd 'it increases' (≡ baṣzdīd)
ba-ṣ-zīb 'you bring' (≡ baṣṣīd)
ba-ṣ-ṣūf 'you see' (≡ baṣṣūf)
ba-ṣ-gṣb 'you pour' (≡ baṣgṣb)

Assimilation of the Prefix m-. 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]:

ma-m-būs (or ma-m-būs) 'we kiss'
ma-m-mūt (or ma-m-mūt) 'we die'
ma-l-lūm (or ma-l-lūm) 'we blame'
ma-r-rūḥ (or ma-n-rūḥ) 'we go'

The First Person Singular Prefix. The prefix ṣ- disappears after the indicative prefix b-, and also in the subjunctive before any stem that begins with a single consonant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bā-kṭob 'I write'</td>
<td>ṣ-d-kṭob 'that I write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-teḏlām 'I learn'</td>
<td>ṣ-d-teḏlām 'that I learn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-stāḏem 'I use'</td>
<td>ṣ-d-stāḏem 'that I use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-ṣūf 'I see'</td>
<td>ṣ-dṣūf 'that I see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-ṣdāber 'I prepare'</td>
<td>ṣ-dṣdāber 'that I prepare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā-ḥṣ 'I put'</td>
<td>ṣ-dḥṣ 'that I put'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the first singular affix is not ṣ-, but rather ṣa- (or a- after b-): bāktob 'I write', ṣdktob 'that I write'; baṣṣūf 'I see', ʿṣdṣūf 'that I see'.

In certain classicisms, ?a- is used instead of b- in the first singular indicative: ḏskarāk 'I thank you' (instead of ḏskarāk), ṣapōn 'I think...' (instead of ṣapōn).

The Indicative Prefix. The prefix b- has an alternate form m- which is used with the first-person plural prefix: m-nōtāb 'we write', m-nōtāj 'we see', m-nō-sāf 'we sell'.

In the Palestinian area, however, the form b- is generally used before all the prefixes, including m-: bnsūf 'we see'.

b- also has an optional variant f- used before f: f-fāt 'I enter' (f-fār), f-fakker 'I think' (f-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]:

-ṣūf-na 'we saw' + -hon 'them' ⇒ -ṣūf-nā-hon 'we saw them'
-ṣād-u 'they took' + -ha 'her' ⇒ -ṣād-u-ḥa 'they took her'
-ṣār-u 'they visited' + -k 'you(m.)' ⇒ -ṣār-u-k 'they visited you'
-t-ṣūf-i '(that) you(f.) see' + -na 'us' ⇒ t-ṣūf-i-na '(that) you(f.) see us'
-ftāb-u 'open (pl.)' + -ina 'for us' ⇒ ftāb-ū-ina 'open...for us'
-xū-d-i 'take(f.)' + -o 'it(m.)' ⇒ xū-d-ī 'take it' (-ō 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 -st-, -st-, and -t- occur (with t replacing ϊ 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 -st (and -st-) 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 -st- occurs:

1.) Before any suffix beginning with a consonant:
-ṣūf-et 'she saw' + -ni 'me' ⇒ -ṣūf-st-ni 'she saw me'
+ -kon 'you (pl.)' ⇒ -ṣūf-st-kon 'she saw you'
+ -ha 'her' ⇒ -ṣūf-st-ha 'she saw her'
+ -lo 'for him' ⇒ -ṣūf-st-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]: -ṣūf-st-a 'she saw her' (+ -ṣūf-st-ha, -ṣūf-st-on 'she saw them' (+ -ṣūf-st-kon).

The change of e to a is automatic, since short e does not normally occur accented [p.22]. For those varieties of Arabic speech in which there is no contrast between e, a, and i in these positions [p.13], the form of the suffix here does not change except for the accentuation.

2.) The form -st- 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 quadriralical stems except those of Patterns VII, VIII, IX (See pp.182-183 below.) For example:

(II) ṣidallam-et 'she taught' + -ak 'you (m.)' ⇒ ṣidallam-st-ak 'she taught you'
(III) ṣidabbat-et 'she wrote (to)' + -ek 'you (f.)' ⇒ ṣidabbat-st-ek 'she wrote you'
(IV) ṣākram-et 'she favored' + -ek 'you (f.)' ⇒ ṣākram-st-ek 'she favored you'
(V) ṣeṭallam-et 'she learned' + -o 'it (m.)' ⇒ ṣeṭallam-st-o 'she learned it'
(VI) ṣnūmal-et 'she obtained' + -o 'it (m.)' ⇒ ṣnūmal-st-o 'she obtained it'
(X) ṣdāmal-et 'she used' + -o 'it (m.)' ⇒ ṣdāmal-st-o 'she used it'
(Quad.) ṣtākmam-et 'she translated' + -o 'it (m.)' ⇒ ṣtākmam-st-o 'she translated it'

Optionally, the accented form -st- may also be used with geminate [p.42] and defective [43] augmented verbs whose last consonant is a dental stop (d, t, f): stārādd-ṣt-o 'she got it back' (or stārādd-ṣt-o); thādd-ṣt-o 'she challenged him' (or thādd-ṣt-o) (thādd 'to challenge, provoke'). See p.182, below.
The unaccented form -st- 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]:

hako 'to tell':  halk-et 'she told' + o  →  halk-st-o 'she told it.'

wafa 'to read':  wdr-et 'she read' + o  →  wdr-st-o 'she read it.'

kafa 'to suffice':  kaft-it(f.) + ak  →  kaf-st-ak 'it sufficed you(m.)'

"saka 'to come (to)':  sak-et 'she came' + ek  →  saks-st-ek 'she came to you(f.)'

See p.

2.) With defective Pattern VIII stems [p.96]:

sara 'to buy':  stdr-et 'she bought' + o  →  stdr-st-o 'she bought it.'

3.) With geminate stems [p.63] ending in dental stops (-dd, -dd, -tt, -tt):

madd 'to stretch':  madd-et 'she stretched' + o  →  madd-st-o 'she stretched it.'

EFDD 'to bite':  EFD-t 'she bit' + o  →  EFD-st-o 'she bit it.'

fatt 'to crumble':  fdttet 'she crumbled' + o  →  fdtteto 'she crumbled it.'

"fif 'to put':  fif-et 'she put' + o  →  fif-sto 'she put it.'

staradd 'to get back':  staradd-et 'she got...back' + o  →  staradd-st-o 'she got it back.'

Augmented verbs, however, may also use the accented form -st-:  staradd-st-o 'she got it back.'

Optionally, defective augmented verbs with a dental stop as middle radical may use the unaccented form:  thadda 'to challenge, provoke':  thadd-et 'she provoked' + o 'him' = thadd-st-o.

5.) 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 -dd-, (usually reduced to -dt- or even -tt- [p.26]), which might obscure the composition of the verb form.
Verbs

\[ \text{htall} \quad \text{'to take over': } \text{ht\textsuperscript{a}ll-et} + -o \rightarrow \text{ht\textsuperscript{a}ll-t-o} \quad \text{'she took it over'} \]

\[ \text{htāb} \quad \text{'to need': } \text{ht\textsuperscript{a}b-et} + -o \rightarrow \text{ht\textsuperscript{a}b-t-o} \quad \text{'she needed it'} \]

\[ \text{stābā} \quad \text{'to deserve': } \text{stābā-et} + -o \rightarrow \text{stābā-t-o} \quad \text{'she deserved it'} \]

\[ \text{stāsār} \quad \text{'to consult': } \text{stāsār-et} + -ak \rightarrow \text{stāsār-t-ak} \quad \text{'she consulted you'} \]

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 bydxm\textsuperscript{a}l 'he carries' + -o = bydxm\textsuperscript{a}l-o 'he carries it', ẖar\textsuperscript{a}l 'party' (construct form) + -o = ẖar\textsuperscript{a}l-o 'his party'; by the same token g̱or\textsuperscript{a}t 'she spent' + -o = g̱or\textsuperscript{a}t-o '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: hāf-t-o 'she saw him' vs. hāf-t-o 'you (or I) saw him'; hāzem-t-o 'she shook him' vs. hāzem-t-o 'you (or I) shook him', x̱dl(-\textsuperscript{a})-t-o 'she finished it' vs. x̱dl(-\textsuperscript{a})-t-o 'you (or I) finished it'.

With verbs which have the same stem form (not counting the accent) before -et 'she' and -et 'you/I', the inflections are kept apart by using -st- instead of -t- for 'she': taṟām-st-o 'she translated it' vs. taṟām-t-o 'you (or I) translated it'. C̱allām-st-ek 'she taught you (f.)' vs. C̱allām-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- or e- before the three radicals: d\textsuperscript{ā}s, b\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he studies', b\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he carried', p\textsuperscript{ā}r 'he shouted'; s\textsuperscript{ā}mē 'he heard', n\textsuperscript{ā}zēl 'he descended'.

In the imperfect there is only one stem vowel o, e, or a, which comes between the last two radicals: bydx-m\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he studies', bydx-m\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he carried', bydx-p\textsuperscript{ā}r 'he shouts', bydx-s\textsuperscript{ā}mē 'he hears', bydx-n\textsuperscript{ā}zēl 'he descends'.

Verbs with a-e in the perfect stem almost all have a in the imperfect [p.71]:

\[ \text{hāseb 'he earned': } \text{bīs-}k\text{ā}s 'he earns' \]
\[ \text{rāseb 'he mounted': } \text{bīs-r}\text{ā}k 'he mounts' \]
\[ \text{fō\textsuperscript{ā}m 'he understood': } \text{bīs-f\textsuperscript{ā}m 'he understands'} \]

Several, however, have a-e in the perfect and e in the imperfect [p.69]:

\[ \text{n\textsuperscript{ā}zēl 'he descended': } \text{bīs-n\textsuperscript{ā}zēl 'he descends'} \]
\[ \text{n\textsuperscript{ā}sek 'he took hold': } \text{bīs-m\textsuperscript{ā}sek 'he takes hold'} \]

(See p.69 for others)

None with a-e in the perfect has o in the imperfect.

Of verbs with a-e in the perfect, many have o in the imperfect [p.55]:

\[ \text{d\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he studied': } \text{bīs-d\textsuperscript{ā}s 'he studies'} \]
\[ \text{p\textsuperscript{ā}d 'he sat down': } \text{bīs-p\textsuperscript{ā}d 'he sits down'} \]
\[ \text{b\textsuperscript{ā}lō b 'he attained': } \text{bīs-b\textsuperscript{ā}lō b 'he attains'} \]
Many have i in the imperfect [p. 57]:

*hdml* 'he carried': byd-hmēl 'he carries'
*gdsl* 'he washed': byd-gsēl 'he washes'
*dsam* 'he divided': byd-sam 'he divides'

Quite a few may have either o or e [p. 63]:

*tdl* 'he killed': byd-tol or byd-tel 'he kills'
*tdrk* 'he left': byd-trok or byd-trek 'he leaves'
*ldat* 'he turned': byd-lfot or byd-lfet 'he turns'

Quite a few have a in the imperfect [p. 65]:

*idba* 'he printed': byd-tba 'he prints'
*smāh* 'he allowed': byd-smah 'he allows'
*bdat* 'he sent': byd-bdat 'he sends'

Those with a-a in the perfect and a also in the imperfect almost all have a back consonant (a, ē, ĝ, h, ĕ, or ë) as second or third radical. An exception: hāfag 'he kept'; byd-hag 'he keeps'.

Defective Verbs. The voweiling of the perfect stem is a-a or a-e: kēf 'it sufficed', trē 'he read'; bēt 'he stayed', mēš 'he walked'. The imperfect has a or i: byd-kēf 'it suffices', byd-trē 'he reads', byd-bēt 'he stays', byd-mēš 'he walks'.

Almost all which have a-a in the perfect have i in the imperfect [p. 61]:

*bēna* 'he built': byd-bēnī 'he builds'
*tdfē* 'he extinguished': byd-tfē 'he extinguishes'
*kēma* 'he ironed': byd-kēmī 'he irons'

A few, however, have a-a in the perfect and a also in the imperfect [p. 67]:

*bēna* 'he began': byd-bēnā 'he begins'
*trē* 'he read': byd-trē 'he reads'

For others, see p. 67.

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Almost all with a-ī in the perfect have a in the imperfect [p. 72]:

*mdī* 'he forgot': byd-nsē 'he forgets'
*rdī* 'he was satisfied': byd-rdā 'he is satisfied'
*bētī* 'he remained': byd-bētā 'he remains'

Only two have a-ī in the perfect and i also in the imperfect [p. 70]:

*bētī* 'he cried': byd-bētī 'he cries'
*mdī* 'he walked': byd-mdī 'he walks'

Initial-Weak Verbs. Simple triliteral verbs whose first radical is ā or y have imperfect stems beginning with ā or y, respectively: wāgēf 'he described'; by-dēf 'he describes', wāf 'he fulfilled'; by-dēf 'he fulfills'; yēfē 'he despaired'; by-dēf 'he despair'.

Two verbs with initial radical ā have imperfect stems beginning with ā: rīkul 'he ate': by-ākol 'he eats'; ḫād 'he took': by-āfad 'he takes'.

All others with initial radical ā or are sound: ḥāmar 'he ordered': by-dēmor 'he orders'.

Some verbs with imperfect stem vowel a may lose their initial radical w in the imperfect [p. 74]:

*wāgēf* 'he arrived': by-dēf (or by-āgēf) 'he arrives'
*wāfēc* 'he fell': by-dēf (or by-ūfēc) 'he falls'
*wāled* 'he was born': by-dēl (or by-ūlād) 'he is born'

In some parts of the Syrian area, however, notably in Lebanon and Palestine, these forms without w are seldom or never used.

The initial radical y of yēfē 'it dried up', may also be lost in the imperfect: by-dēs (or by-ūsā) 'it dries up'.

The initial radical r of the anomalous verb gīsā 'he came' is lost in the imperfect in many parts of the Syrian area (including Damascus): by-dē 'he comes'. In other parts (e.g., Palestine), the form b(y)-īsā is generally used. [p. 76].

All initial-weak verbs with stem vowels a-ē (or defective a-ī) in the perfect have a in the imperfect:

<wāret> 'he inherited': by-ūrēt 'he inherits'
<wāfēc> 'it was painful': by-ūfēc (or by-ūfēc) 'it is painful'
<wāns> 'it was low': by-ūns 'it is low'
Almost all initial-weak verbs with stem vowels a-a in the perfect have e (or i for defective) in the imperfect [p.59]:

\[ \text{mḏad} \ 'he promised': \quad \text{by-ūzed} \ 'he promises' \]
\[ \text{mḏač} \ 'he hurt(someone)': \quad \text{by-ūzéq} \ 'he hurts...' \quad (\text{cf. mač above}) \]
\[ \text{mda} \ 'he inspired': \quad \text{by-ūghi} \ 'he inspires' \]

Two exceptions, with imperfect vowel a, are mḏač 'he placed': by-ūzač 'he places', and mḏač 'he entrusted, deposited': by-ūdač 'he entrusts, deposits' [p.66].

Hollow Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has a long vowel ə between the first and last radicals: lām 'he blamed', mād it increased; mām 'he slept'; while the imperfect stem has ē, ī, or ə between the radicals: bi-lām 'he blames', bi-sīf 'it increases', bi-nām 'he sleeps'.

Examples with imperfect vowel ē [p.56]:

\[ \text{rūh} \ 'he went': \quad \text{bi-rūḥ} \ 'he goes' \]
\[ \text{ṣāf} \ 'he saw': \quad \text{bi-ṣāf} \ 'he sees' \]
\[ \text{māt} \ 'he died': \quad \text{bi-māt} \ 'he dies' \]

With imperfect vowel ī [p.59]:

\[ \text{fāb} \ 'he woke up': \quad \text{bi-fāb} \ 'he wakes up' \]
\[ \text{sāl} \ 'he picked up': \quad \text{bi-sāl} \ 'he picks up' \]
\[ \text{sāb} \ 'he brought': \quad \text{bi-sāb} \ 'he brings' \]

Only a few have imperfect vowel ə [p.66]:

\[ \text{xāf} \ 'he was afraid': \quad \text{bi-xāf} \ 'he is afraid' \]
\[ \text{bāt} \ 'he spent the night': \quad \text{bi-bāt} \ 'he spends the night' \]

(For others, see p.66.)

Geminate Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has a short vowel ə between the first radical and the fused second and third radicals: ḥdā 'he shook', ḡdī 'he bit'; while the imperfect stem has s or ā in the same position: bi-ḥdā 'he shakes', bi-ḡdī 'he bites'.

Almost all simple geminate verbs have s in the imperfect [p.63]:

\[ \text{radd} \ 'he gave back': \quad \text{bi-radd} \ 'he gives back' \]
\[ \text{dall} \ 'he showed': \quad \text{bi-dall} \ 'he shows' \]
\[ \text{baff} \ 'he put': \quad \text{bi-hāff} \ 'he puts' \]

Several, however, have ə in the imperfect [p.68]:

\[ \text{dall} \ 'he remained': \quad \text{bi-ddall} \ 'he remains' \]
\[ \text{tadd} \ 'he remained': \quad \text{bi-tddamm} \ 'he remains' \]

The verb ḡadd 'he bit', has imperfect ə in much of the Syrian area, though in Palestine, for example, one hears bi-ḡdd 'he bites'; while on the other hand, the form bi-paḥh 'it is all right' is heard in Palestine, while elsewhere it is usually bi-paḥhh.

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 triplicates): ḥmarr 'he blushed', barqal 'he bribed' sīfād 'he benefitted', taddām 'he learned', ḥadda 'he gave' (a gift), ṣtḥabb 'he liked'.

In the imperfect, there are two kinds of vowel variation, depending on the pattern and its alterations. For some types of verb, the imperfect stem is just like the perfect, its last vowel remaining a: bya-ḥmār 'he blushed', bya-taddām '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), ā (for hollow) or ā (for geminate): bi-bārēf 'he bribes', bya-hādi 'he gives', bya-sīfād 'he benefits', bya-ṣtḥabb 'he likes'.

Verbs with No Tense Variation in the Stem include:

All verbs with the stem-formative prefix ṭ- [p.85]:

Pattern V:  
\[ \text{ṭgēy} \ 'it changed': \quad \text{bya-ṭgēy} \ 'it changes' \]
\[ \text{ṭxāba} \ 'it was hidden': \quad \text{bya-ṭxāba} \ 'it is hidden' \]

Pattern VI:  
\[ \text{ṭṢam} \ 'he was pessimistic': \quad \text{bya-ṭṢam} \ 'he is pessimistic' \]
\[ \text{ṭrāxa} \ 'he was easy-going': \quad \text{bya-ṭrāxa} \ 'he is easygoing' \]
Quadradrical (and Pseudo-quadradrical):

\[ \text{tādābak 'it became complicated: bya-tādābak 'it becomes complicated'} \] [p.121]

\[ \text{ṣfādā 'it was brushed: bya-ṣfādā 'it is brushed'} \] [122]

Also the verbs of hybrid pattern V/X [107]: šidāna 'he waited'; bya-šidāna 'he waits'; šidāna 'he wished'; bya-šidāna 'he wishes'.

All unsound verbs of Pattern VII, geminate and hollow verbs of Pattern VIII, and all verbs of Pattern IX:

Pattern VII Geminate: ṣhabb 'he was loved': bya-ṣhabb 'he is loved' [p.94]

Hollow: ṣṭāl 'it was said': bya-ṣṭāl 'it is said' [94]

Defective: ṣṭā 'it was read': bya-ṣṭā 'it is read' [93]

Many defective verbs of this pattern, however, also have the i-type imperfect vowelling: ṣtāma 'it was folded': bya-ṣtāma (or bya-ṣṭāma) 'it is folded' [p.92].

Pattern VIII Geminate: štadd 'it increased': bya-štadd 'it increases' [p.98]

Hollow: ūṭā 'he needed': bya-ūṭā 'he needs' [99]

The defective verbs štā 'to be found' and štā 'to be filled' have a-type imperfect vowelling: bya-štā, bya-štā, but other defective Pattern VIII's have the i-type [p.97].

Pattern IX: 

\[ \text{swadd 'it turned black: bya-swadd 'it turns black'} \]

\[ \text{ḥmārr 'he blushed': bya-ḥmārr 'he blushes'} \] [101]

Verbs with an i-Type Imperfect Vowel include all other types, namely:

Patterns II, III, and simple quadradricals (and pseudo-quadradricals)\(^1\):

\[ \text{II. ḥdšar 'he explained': bi-ḥdšar 'he explains'} \] [p.77]

\[ \text{māyyē 'he distinguished': bi-māyyē 'he distinguishes'} \]

\[ \text{xōbā 'he hid (trans.): bi-xōbā 'he hides'} \] [78]

\[ \text{III: šfās 'he travelled': bi-šfās 'he travels'} \] [80]

\[ \text{ṣgāp 'he punished': bi-ṣgāp 'he punishes'} \] [81]

\[ \text{ṣāma 'he made': bi-ṣāma 'he makes'} \] [81]

Quadradric: 

\[ \text{tādām 'he translated': bi-tādām 'he translates'} \] [118]

\[ \text{bādām 'he drilled a hole': bi-bādām 'he drills a hole'} \] [118]

\[ \text{bādar 'he powdered': bi-bādar 'he powders'} \] [119]

\[ \text{fārā 'he showed': bi-fārā 'he shows'} \] [120]

Pattern IV verbs have a stem-formative prefix ū- in the perfect, and no vowel between the first and second radicals; ṣdām 'he announced'. In the imperfect the formative ū- disappears,\(^2\) and the vowel after the second radical is changed to an i-type [p.189]: bya-ṭdām 'he announces'.

Sound: 

\[ \text{ṣdēbā 'it became': bya-ṣdēbā 'it becomes'} \] [p.83]

Defective: ṣdē 'it gave': bya-ṣdē 'it gives' [83]

Geminate: ṣdār 'he insisted': bi-ṣdār 'he insists' [84]

Hollow: ṣḥāl 'he transformed': bi-ḥāl 'he transforms' [84]

Sound verbs of Patterns VII and VIII have i-type imperfect stems, in which the next-to-last vowel is changed to a (and the last vowel, to e):

Pattern VII: ṭkās 'it was broken': bya-ṭkās 'it is broken'

\[ \text{ḥdāb 'he withdrew': bya-ḥdāb 'he withdraws'} \] [p.91]

\[ \text{ḥdāf 'he had a good time': bya-ḥdāf 'he has a good time'} \]

Pattern VIII: ftāk 'he thought': bya-ftāk 'he thinks'

\[ \text{ḥtār 'he worked': bya-ḥtār 'he works'} \] [95]

In some parts of the Syrian area, the next-to-last vowel is dropped, the accent falling on the inflectional prefix: bya-ṭkās, bya-ḥtār.

\(^1\) In sum, all verbs whose stem consists of one consonant + short vowel + two consonants + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCCV(C), one consonant + long vowel + one consonant + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCCV(C).

\(^2\) But of pseudo-quadradrical Pattern ṣpēl [117]: ṣiṣlām 'he became a Muslim': bi-ṣiṣlām '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: ndš‘a 'it was extinguished': bya-ndš‘i 'it is extinguished'; ndk‘a 'it was rented': bya-ndk‘i 'it is rented' (also bya-nds‘, bya-knd‘a) [p.97].

The Pattern VIII defective verb ltd‘a 'to be found', 'to meet', has an i-type (as well as a-type) imperfect bya-ltd‘; (or bya-ltd‘a) 'he meets', but in the sense 'he is found', only the form bya-ltd‘a is used.
The anomalous Pattern VIII (or VII) verb ndtla 'it was filled' has an i-type imperfect bya-std‘i 'it is filled', as well as the a-type bya-std‘la [98].

Pattern X imperfect stems are all i-type:

Sound: std‘mal 'he used': bya-std‘mal 'he uses'
stďñam 'he inquired': bya-stďñam 'he inquires' [102]
std‘mab 'he questioned': bya-stďñam 'he questions' [103]

Defective: std‘ha 'he liked': bya-std‘ñha 'he likes' [103]

Hollow: std‘gh 'he consulted': bya-stďgh 'he consults' [105]

Geminante: std‘md 'he continued': bya-stďmd 'he continues' [105]

Initial-weak: std‘al 'he deserved': bya-stďal 'he deserves' [106]

The Hollow-defective verb std‘a 'he was embarrassed' [p.106] has the next-to-last imperfect vowel a, just like Pattern VII verbs (from which it is indistinguishable in form [97]): bya-std‘i 'he gets embarrassed'.

On the other hand, the anomalous Pattern X verb std‘all 'he concluded' [107] keeps a in the imperfect, like Pattern VIII geminates: bya-stďl 'he concludes'.
The hybrid Pattern III/X verb std‘mal (or std‘mal) 'he caught' has an i-type imperfect: bya-stďmal 'he catches' [p.108].

Quadriradical Pattern PalaL verbs [p.124] (like Pattern X geminates) have a as the last stem vowel of the imperfect:

šma‘das 'he was disgusted': bya-šma‘das 'he gets disgusted'
qša‘dār 'he shuddered': bya-qša‘dār '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 ø-e, the first vowel (ø) is dropped and the last vowel (ø) is changed to ø:

šome 'he heard': smé-ca 'you (m.)/I heard'
šome-t 'you (f.) heard'
šome-t-u 'you (pl.) heard'
šome-na 'we heard' [p.71]

Céme 'he did': Emé-l 'you (m.)/I did'
Emé-l-t 'you (f.) did'
Emé-l-t-u 'you (pl.) did'
Emé-l-na 'we did' [p.70]

The change from ø to ø is an automatic consequence of sound combination rules [p.28].

Stem vowels a remain unaltered except in accentuation: kdtab 'he wrote': kdtab-t 'you/I wrote'; tcallam 'he learned'; tcallam-na 'we learned'. See Accentuation [p.18].

In simple defective verbs with vowels ø-i, the first vowel (ø) is dropped and the last vowel (i) is lengthened to i:

nsi 'he forgot': nsi-t 'you (m./f.) forgot', etc.
nsi-na 'we forgot' [p.72]
bké 'he cried': bké-t 'you/I cried', etc.
bké-na 'we cried' [70]

See p.27.
In defective verbs stem-final a is changed to e:

In hollow triradical verbs (excepting some of those in Pattern X), the e is changed to a:

In hollow verbs of Pattern X the first stem vowel a tends to disappear both in the first and second persons of the perfect and in the imperfect stem: bya-strāf 'he rests'.

In some verbs, however, the first a tends to remain in all forms, and the last a does not change to a: staSdr 'he consulted'; bya-staSdr 'he consulted', bya-staSdr 'he consults' [p.105].

On the assimilation of voiced obstruents to the suffix -t (e.g. ?axad 'he took': ?axat-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: byansa + -u - byansa-u 'they forget'
2nd person: btansa + -u - btansa-i 'you (pl.) forget'
    btansa + -i - btansa-i 'you (f.) forget' [p.72]
VERB INFLECTIONAL FORMS

3rd person: bisdammi + -u - bisdam-mu 'they name'

2nd person: batisdami + -u - batsdam-u 'you (pl.) name'
              batisdami + -i - batsdam-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: batisdami '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:

\[\text{\(\text{n\'d}ra\)} + -et - \text{n\'d}r-et 'she read'\]
\[\text{\(\text{n\'d}ra\)} + -u - \text{n\'d}r-u 'they read' [p.68]\]
\[\text{\(\text{f\'d}r\'sa\)} + -et - \text{f\'d}r\'-et 'she brushed'\]
\[\text{\(\text{f\'d}r\'sa\)} + -u - \text{f\'d}r\'-u 'they brushed' [120]\]

But stem-final i is generally retained as y:

\[\text{m\'s\'i\)} + -et - m\'s\'y-et 'she walked'\]
\[\text{m\'s\'i\)} + -u - m\'s\'y-u 'they walked' [70]\]
\[\text{n\'s\'i\)} + -et - n\'s\'y-et 'she forgot'\]
\[\text{n\'s\'i\)} + -u - n\'s\'y-u 'they forgot'\]

Or again as i, before the feminine suffix (-et) followed by a pronoun suffix -o, -a, or -e [p.183]: n\'s\'y-et 'she forgot' + -o 'him' - n\'s\'i-t-o 'she forgot him', + -ak - n\'s\'a-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: fd\'ha + -et - fd\'ha-et 'she opened' [p.65]
            dd\'ras + -et - dd\'ras-et 'she studied' [55]

Pattern VII: m\'d\'sar + -et - m\'d\'sar-et 'it (f.) was broken' [91]

Pattern VIII: fd\'kar + -et - fd\'kar-et 'she thought' [95]

In many parts of the Syrian area, however (e.g. Palestine, southern Lebanon), this a is not dropped: f\'d\'h\'at (or f\'d\'h\'at), m\'d\'sar (or m\'d\'sar), 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]:

\[\text{bt\'d\'ros} + -i - bt\'d\'r(\(*\)s\)i 'you (f.) study' [p.55]\]
\[\text{by\'m\'sek} + -u - by\'m\'sk-u 'they hold' [69]\]
\[\text{m\'sek} + -u - m\'sk-u 'they took hold'\]
\[\text{m\'sek} + -et - m\'sk-et 'she took hold'\]
\[\text{bis\'d\'k\'r} + -u - bis\'d\'kr-u 'they close' [77]\]
\[\text{bt\'d\'s\'e\'m\'l} + -i - bt\'d\'s\'e\'m\(\(*\)l\)i 'you (f.) use' [102]\]

Note, however, that Pattern II verbs with middle and last radicals alike do not generally lose the e, but rather change it to a: bis\'d\'bab + -u - bis\'d\'bab-u 'they cause'. If the e is lost in such cases, a theoretical triple-consonant sequence ('bis\'d\'babu') 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. bis\'d\'babu 'they curse'), which is avoided by retaining the stem vowel (bis\'d\'babu 'they cause').

As before all suffixes, e in the imperative of simple sound triradical verbs is shortened to a, and e and o are both changed to o [p.198]:

\[\text{fd\'h} + -u - \text{fd\'h\(-u\)} 'open' (pl.)\]
\[\text{m\'\'ak} + -i - m\'\dak-'i 'hold' (f.)\]
\[\text{dr\'os} + -u - \text{dr\'os-u} 'study' (pl.)\]
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:

(ta')-ftaḥ: ftāḥ 'open' (m.) [p. 65]
(ta')-msēk: msēk 'hold' (m.) [69]
(ta')-ktōḥ: kṭōḥ 'write' (m.) [55]

But if there is a suffix of any kind, the stem vowel remains short:

(ta')-ftaḥ-i: ftāḥ-i 'open' (f.)
(ta')-ftaḥ-o: ftāḥ-o 'open (m.) it (m.)'
(ta)-msēk-on: msēk-on 'hold (m.) them'
(ta)-ktōḥ-o: kṭōḥ-o 'write (m.) it (f.)'

And if the suffixing stem has no vowel between the last two radicals, a is inserted there:

(ta)-msēk-i: msēk-i 'hold (f.)'
(ta)-msēk-o: msēk-o 'hold (m.) it (m.)'
(ta)-ktōḥ-ū: kṭōḥ-ū 'write (pl.) it (m.)'

In non-defective verbs whose first radical is a semivowel (w, y), the initial vowel (ä, ë) is shortened to w or y, respectively:

(t)-ūγēf: wpēf 'describe' (m.) [p. 59]
(t)-ūpal: wpāl 'arrive' (m.) [75]
(t)-ēbas: yēbas 'dry up'² (m.) [75]

The stem-initial û in the imperfect of ṭakal 'to eat' and ṭnsk 'to take' is dropped in the imperative [p. 56]:

(t)-ākōl: kēl 'eat' (m.): (t)-āxōd: xōd 'take(m.)'
(t)-ākōli: kēli 'eat' (f.): (t)-āxōdu: xōdu 'take(pl.)'

In simple defective verbs with no pronoun suffix, the imperative stem usually has ʔ- before the first radical; and the final vowel is unaltered:

(ta)-nsē: nsē 'forget' (m.) [p. 72]
(ta)-nsi: nsī 'forget' (f.)
(ta)-nsu: nsu 'forget' (pl.)

In the first radical is w, however, the imperative begins with ʔ-:

(ta)-ūfī: ūfī 'fulfill' (m. or f.) [p. 62]
(ta)-ūfū: ūfū '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):

(ta)-nsē-ha: nsē-ha 'forget (m.) it (f.)'
(ta)-nsī-ha: nsī-ha 'forget (f.) it (f.)'
(ta)-ūfī-ha: ūfī-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 defective: ʔftāḥ instead of ftāḥ, ʔmsēk instead of msēk, etc.

In Lebanon and to some extent elsewhere, on the other hand, vowel lengthening common is used in defective verbs as well as sound: nsā instead of ṭnsa, ūfī instead of ūfī, etc.

With all other types of verb — namely, with augmented verbs and with hollow, gnostic, and quadiradical simple verbs — there are no mode variations in the stem at all:

(t)-ṣdkhār: ṣdkhār 'close' (m.) [p. 77]
(t)-ṣdkhri: ṣdkhri 'close' (f.)
(t)-ṣdkhr: ṣdkhr 'close' (pl.)
(ta)-ṣdtēmēl: ṣdtēmēl 'use' (m.) [102]
(ta)-ṣdtēmē: ṣdtēmē 'use (m.) it (m.)'
(ta)-tarēmū-li: tarēmū-li 'translate (pl.) for me' [118]
(t)-ḥaṭ: ḥaṭ 'put' (m.) [64]
(t)-ḥīl: ḥīl 'take away' (m.) [60]
(t)-nām: nām 'sleep' (m.) [67]
(ta)-ṭeqīl: ṭeqīl 'learn' (m.) [87]
(ta)-ṭeqīl: ṭeqīl 'learn (f.) it (m.)'

¹Imperatives in Syrian Colloquial are not formed from the imperfect stem in which the initial radical is lost (e.g. ṭā-pal) [p. 75].
²An unlikely command; the translation is not meant in the slang sense, but literally. Good examples with initial radical y are hard to find.
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: näm 'he slept' and 'sleep (m.)', nämu 'they slept' and 'sleep (pl.)'; tēdīlam 'he learned' and 'learn (m.)', tēdīlamu 'they learned' and 'learn (pl.)'.

Irregular Imperatives. The verb ḍēlā 'to come' [p.76] has no imperative of its own but is suppleted by the forms tēḍa 'come' (m.), tēḍi (f.), tēḍu (pl.) (or sometimes tāḍi, tāḍi, tāḍū).

The verb ēṣa 'to give' (Impf. (f.)-ḍējī) has an imperative form ēḍjī (m., f.), ēḍju (pl.), commonly used instead of the regular forms ṭāḍjī, etc. [p.61].

The imperative of the verb ṭāḍa 'to sit' (Impf. (f.)-ṭāṭa) [p.55] commonly loses its initial radical ṯ in the imperative: ṭāḍ 'sit down'. ēḍi (f.), ēḍdu (pl.).

The exclamation ṭāḍa 'watch out!' is generally used instead of the regular imperative form ṭāḍa (of māḍ, Impf. t-ūḍa 'to be aware, wide awake'), and the form ṭāḍaḥak 'take care (lest...)', for ṭāḍa ḥak (the expected form would be ṭāḍak) (imperative of ṭāḍi, Impf. f-ṭāḍa 'to be wide awake').

The "demonstrative" [p.564] verb hāt 'give (it) here' (f. hāṭī, pl. hāṭu) has imperative only, while the form hē 'here, take (it)', is feminine imperative only.

CHAPTER 7: ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Adjectives have a three-way inflection for number/gender: masculine (/singular)/, and plural. Masculine is the base inflection; the feminine is usually formed by suffixation of -a/-a [p.138]; the plural is usually formed by suffixation of -in or by a change in the base pattern.

It is the function of an adjectives's inflection to show agreement in number/gender of its referent in contrast to nouns, they fall together in Syrian Arabic for verbs [p.175], for pronouns [539], and - less completely - for adjectives. Masculine and feminine are distinguished only in the singular, and dual is not distinguished from plural.

Adjectives, however, are not always clearly separable from nouns, especially in the case of personal adjectives that are often used substantively. The word maslem 'Moslem', for instance, as a noun, has the plural maslīn and the femal derivative masli, which in turn has a plural maslīmad 'Moslems (f.)'. The feminine plural may sometimes be used attributively: naṣān maslīmad 'Moslem women' (more usual: naṣān maslīn), 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]: ḥanādārayt ḥāmāyyāt 'juicy tomatoes' (or, more usually, ḥanādārayt ḥāmāyyi). Similarly, a dual adjective may sometimes be heard: l-ṣamārān ʾl-kāmāyyān 'The two chemical elements' (or, more colloquially, l-ṣamārina ʾl-kāmāyyiyna).

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].

1Feminine "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 -ِn.

At least some of the adjectives in every pattern except *aFāl (p.130) — and all of the adjectives in most patterns — are inflected only with the suffixes -ِe/-َa and -ِn.

On the alteration of -ِe with -َa, see p. 138.

Examples of regular adjective inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ِتامَعِنْ</td>
<td>ِتامِها</td>
<td>ِتامِهِنَّ</td>
<td>'ambitious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُناشَفِةِ</td>
<td>مُناشفة</td>
<td>مُناشفةِ</td>
<td>'active, energetic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِكذَبْبِه</td>
<td>ِكذَابَبِه</td>
<td>ِكذَابَبِهِ</td>
<td>'lying, liar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِساكَكْرِه</td>
<td>ِساكَكَرِه</td>
<td>ِساكَكَرِهِ</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُنِرَرِ</td>
<td>مُنِرَرِه</td>
<td>مُنِرَرِهِ</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُحَلْمِه</td>
<td>مُحَلَمْهِ</td>
<td>مُحَلَمْهِ</td>
<td>'sweet', 'pretty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ِفَذِه</td>
<td>ِفَذْهِ</td>
<td>ِفَذْهِ</td>
<td>'empty, free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُفَخْمَه</td>
<td>مُفَخْمَهِ</td>
<td>مُفَخْمَهِ</td>
<td>'fantastic, elegant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُزَامَهْهِ</td>
<td>مُزَامَهْهِ</td>
<td>مُزَامَهْهِ</td>
<td>'shiny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُتَلَبْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُتَلَبْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُتَلَبْنِنْ</td>
<td>'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُفَذَلْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُفَذَلْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُفَذَلْنِنْ</td>
<td>'displeased'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُذَبَلْعِه</td>
<td>مُذَبَلْعِه</td>
<td>مُذَبَلْعِه</td>
<td>'busy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُحمَمْهِ</td>
<td>مُحمَمْهِ</td>
<td>مُحمَمْهِ</td>
<td>'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشْفِه</td>
<td>مُشْفِهِ</td>
<td>مُشْفِه</td>
<td>'obedient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُمَغْدِه</td>
<td>مُمَغْدِه</td>
<td>مُمَغْدِه</td>
<td>'useful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُمَعْمَهْهِ</td>
<td>مُمَعْمَهْهِ</td>
<td>مُمَعْمَهْهِ</td>
<td>'married'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُمَارْتَفْهِ</td>
<td>مُمَارْتَفْهِ</td>
<td>مُمَارْتَفْهِ</td>
<td>'rugged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُمَاسْلَفْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُمَاسْلَفْنِنْ</td>
<td>مُمَاسْلَفْنِنْ</td>
<td>'calm, secure'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مَشَْبِه</td>
<td>مَشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مَشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'humid, moist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دَّشَْبِه</td>
<td>دَّشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>دَّشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'narrow, crumpled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'suitable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'late'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'pressed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'having good taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مُشَْبِه</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٌ</td>
<td>مُشْبِهٍ</td>
<td>'awesome'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If the base form (masculine) ends in -ِi, then in some cases this ending is lengthened to -ِيِيَ in the feminine and plural suffixes, while in other cases it is reduced to a non-syllabic -ِ- . In relative adjectives [p.280], for instance, -ِi is always lengthened:

| لِبِنَانِ | لِبِنَانِي  | لِبِنَانِيِ | 'Lebanese' |

It is also lengthened in defective adjectives of Pattern FaFıl [p.128]:

| مَذِهِ | مَذْيِهِ  | مَذْيِهِ | 'generous' |

And in the defective version (مَذِيِ) of Pattern maFıl [p.133]:

| مُشَْنِي    | مُشْنِي  | مُشْنِي  | 'forgotten' |
| مُشَْيِ | مُشْيِ  | مُشْيِ  | 'ironed' |

Even when adjectives of the defective pattern مَذِيِ correspond to Pattern مَذِيِ [p.133], rather than مَذِيِ, their final i is still usually lengthened in the feminine or plural: مُذَْئِ 'harmful': fem. مُذَْئِي, pl. مُذَْئَيِ.
Adjective Inflectional Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masama</td>
<td>msamaye</td>
<td>msamayn</td>
<td>'named'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msawa</td>
<td>msawde</td>
<td>msawdyin</td>
<td>'made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mfaraxa</td>
<td>mfaraxe</td>
<td>mfaraxyn</td>
<td>'brushed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the masculine form of an adjective (defective passive participle) ends in -a, then the feminine has -aye, and the plural, -aym (or -ayn):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>msamma</td>
<td>msamayn</td>
<td></td>
<td>'named'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msawa</td>
<td>msawyn</td>
<td></td>
<td>'made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mfaraxa</td>
<td>mfaraxyn</td>
<td></td>
<td>'brushed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives with Internal Plurals

Almost all adjectives of Pattern FbFL [p.127] and many non-defective ones of Pattern FbF [127] form plurals on Pattern FbF:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naf</td>
<td>nafye</td>
<td>nafym</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnib</td>
<td>mnibah</td>
<td>mnibahm</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kthr</td>
<td>kthrre</td>
<td>kthr</td>
<td>'much, many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbr</td>
<td>kbrre</td>
<td>kbr</td>
<td>'big, large'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghr</td>
<td>ghrre</td>
<td>ghr</td>
<td>'little, small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trel</td>
<td>trelle</td>
<td>tre</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samil</td>
<td>samile</td>
<td>samil</td>
<td>'long, tall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xefif</td>
<td>xefife</td>
<td>xefifn</td>
<td>'light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farib</td>
<td>faribe</td>
<td>faribn</td>
<td>'near'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some Pattern VIII participles, however, which usually (in some cases always) have -iy- before the suffixes. For example:
The adjectives ُلُيَدُ 'new' and ُلُيَدُ 'old' form plurals on the pattern ُلُيِلُلُ. As well as ُلُيِلُلُ: m. ُلُيِلُلُ, f. ُلُيِلُلُ, pl. ُلُيِلُلُ or ُلُيِلُلُ.

Many non-defective adjectives of Pattern ُلُيِلُلُ applied to human beings have plurals formed on Pattern ُلُيِلُلُ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'generous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'nice, pleasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'stingy, miser'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some adjectives applied to human beings, mainly of Pattern ُلُيِلُلُ, have plurals formed on pattern ُلُيِلُلُ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'low, vile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'mournful, sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'wasteful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'pregnant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'wounded'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many defective adjectives of this same sort have plurals formed on Pattern ُلُيِلُلُ or ُلُيِلُلُ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'God-fearing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'bright, intelligent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of other plural patterns are used for adjectives applicable to human beings, though they are more typical of nouns. They are, in fact, generally used substantively, while plurals of the same word with -ُلُلُ, if any, are more purely adjectival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'vile, despicable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'dead'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'living, alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'free'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'naive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'ancient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'underage, minor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'ignorant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'brave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'strange, odd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'ill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most noun/adjectives of the pattern ُلُيِلُلُ [p.129] form feminine and plural both with the suffix -ُلُلُ or -ُلُلُ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'heavy drinker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>ُلُيِلُلُ</td>
<td>'(good) worker'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives of Pattern ʔaʔəl [p.130] form their feminine on Pattern ʔaʔəl, and their plural on Pattern ʔaʔəl or sometimes (animate only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'blue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'blond'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'one-eyed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'bald'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'hump-backed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'blind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'deaf-mute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>ʔaʔəl</td>
<td>'crooked, criminal, bandit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word ʔaʔəl 'unmarried' has the expected feminine form ʔaʔəl, but no plural (except the suppletive form ʔaʔəl, which belongs more properly to the singular ʔaʔəl 'bachelor'). The word ʔaʔəl 'widowed', however, is inflected as a quadriradical: f. ʔaʔəl, pl. ʔaʔəl.

The use of the number categories is treated in Chapter 14.

The Dual Suffix -ʔa: Stem Modifications

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p.29], e and o before a stem-final consonant are dropped when -ʔa is added: ʔaʔəl 'friend' + -ʔa - ʔaʔəl 'two friends', sələləm 'ladder' + ŋəm - sələləm 'two ladders'.

In certain classicisms, however, e and o are not dropped but are changed to i and u, respectively: ʔaʔəl 'king' + -ʔa - ʔaʔəl 'two ladders', ʔaʔəl 'ladder' + -ʔa - ʔaʔəl 'two ladders'.

The lack of e or o often involves compensatory anaptyxis [p.31]: ʔaʔəl 'chamber' + -ʔa - ʔaʔəl 'two chambers', ʔaʔəl 'bishop' + -ʔa - ʔaʔəl 'two bishops'.

Many nouns have a three-way inflection for number: singular, dual, plural. Singular is the base inflection; the dual is formed by adding a plural. The plural is formed in a variety of ways [211 ff]; depending on the form of the singular, but to a large extent on the idiosyncrasy of individual nouns. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'glove'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'gloves'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'gloves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'word'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'words'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'words'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'rabbit'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'rabbits'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'rabbits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'name'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'names'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'names'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'minute'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'minutes'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'minutes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'engineer'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'engineers'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'engineers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'tree'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'trees'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'mistake'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'mistakes'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'mistakes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'Turk'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'Turks'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'Turks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'thief'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'thieves'</td>
<td>ʔəʔəl 'thieves'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The base-formative suffix -e/-a [p.138] takes the form -t- before -i-, just as it does before the pronoun suffixes [p.165]:

**Noun**

sayyāra 'care' + -ēn - sayyārtēn 'two cars'
madrasse 'school' + -ēn - madrassētēn 'two schools'
marrā '(one)time' + -ēn - marrētēn 'two times, twice'
sane 'year' + -ēn - sāntēn 'two years'

With anaptyxis:

badle 'suit' + -ēn - badlītēn 'two suits'
dawle 'nation, state' + -ēn - dawlītēn 'two nations'
būhayra 'lake' + -ēn - būhayrētēn 'two lakes'

With other compensatory vocalizations [p.31, 166, 167]:

hānē 'bow, bend' + -ēn - ḥānitēn 'two bows, bends'
xaʃme 'step, pace' + -ēn - xaʃufēn 'two steps'
hāšye 'margin' + -ēn - ḥāʃītēn 'two margins'
ñaʃye 'corner' + -ēn - nāʃūtēn 'two corners'
jālele 'table' + -ēn - jāwolītēn 'two tables'
mawdīye 'apricot' + -ēn - mawdīštēn 'two apricots'

With reduction of -iyy(t) to -īt- and -umme(t) to -ūt- [p.166]:

qamāliyye 'operation' + -ēn - qamālītēn 'two operations'
hiyye 'gift' + -ēn - ḥītēn 'two gifts'
'umme 'power' + -ēn - ṣūtēn 'two powers'

Note also the following exceptional forms involving the base-formative -e/-a: luqā 'language' + -ēn - luqātēn, riʃa 'lunge' + -ēn - riʃātēn 'two lungs', baʃa 'direction' + -ēn - baʃatēn or baʃītēn [cf. p.169]; mutbāda 'match, competition' + -ēn - mutbārītēn, veranda 'balcony' + -ēn - verāndātēn.

Nouns ending in the suffix -āt, e.g. gāliʃ 'prayer', ṣaddet '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: ērūṣ 'bride' + -ēn - ērūštēn, dakkān 'shop' + -ēn - dakkāntēn, ēn 'eye' + -ēn - ēnētēn. (The forms ʃānēn 'eyes', ṣɒrēn 'feet', etc. are used as plurals, not as duals [p.367].)

**Plural Suffixes**

**Dual Forms**

With most other nouns ending in a vowel, -y- is added before -ēn; and a vowel a or i is usually lengthened (giving -ay-, -iy-):

kilo 'kilogram' + -ēn - kilēyēn 'two kilograms'
mustafā 'hospital' + -ēn - mustafāyēn 'two hospitals'
gūkwa 'complaint' + -ēn - gūkwayēn 'two complaints'
kūrṣi 'chair' + -ēn - kūrṣiyēn 'two chairs'
mūdi 'valley' + -ēn - mūdiyēn 'two valleys'
maʃa 'meaning' + -ēn - maʃāyēn 'two meanings'
turia 'guardian' + -ēn - turāyēn 'two guardians'
mudādī 'claimant' + -ēn - mudādīyēn 'two claimants'

Some defective nouns of active participial patterns [251f] tend to have only -y- (rather than -iy-) before -ēn. ṣūfā 'shepherd, keeper' + -ēn - ṣūfāyēn (or ṣūfīyēn, muḥāmi 'lawyer, defense attorney' + -ēn - muḥāmiyēn (or muḥāmiyyēn). [Cf. p.204.]

**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: kalmē 'word' + -āt - kalmaʃ, sāna 'hour' + -āt - sānaʃ, sane 'year' + -ēn - snīn [213].

**Note:**

1. Note that gābi is in some respects treated as a defective noun on Pattern PAEL [p.149]; the feminine derivative [304] is gābiyya 'girl' (not ṣābiyya).
2. One may also sometimes hear ṣābiyyēn 'two boys', ṣābiṭḥon 'their boy' (for ṣābiyēn, ṣābiḥon).
If the singular of a defective [p. 43] noun ends in -a, -s, or -t, these endings are changed to -aw- or -aw- when a plural suffix is attached; competition + -aw - mubārayt, gālīf 'prayer' + -aw, - pusamāt. This is used if the noun's pattern is simple [46] and the final radical is a: -aw- is 'device' + -aw - Yaswāt - aw- is used otherwise: mafāt 'death, demise' + -aw - mustāwāyāt.

If the singular ends in the formative -i [p. 281], this formative is lengthened to -iy- before a plural suffix: labānī 'Lebanese' + -in - labānīyīn, ḫārīmī 'thief' + -e/a- ḫārīmiyye.

Miscellaneous other kinds of nouns ending in a vowel also generally add -i before a plural suffix: in some cases with further modification of the base: manjīf 'coat' + -i - manjīyīt, zubra 'remembrance' + -i - muṣāriyāt, baḥī or bābih 'baby' + -i - baḥīyāt or baḥīyāt. More rarely, ī is used instead of -i before the suffix: māyā 'bathing suit', -āt - māyāyīt (or māyāyāt).

Examples of irregular base modifications: caẓābī 'bachelor' + -in - caẓābīn; ẓahrī 'bid, offer' + -aw - ẓahrāyāt; ẓammī 'mother' + -aw - ẓammāhāt (but also regular ẓammāt); ṭifī 'companion' + -aw - ṭifāyāt (but absolute form [p. 455] also ṭifāa); ṭifaw 'road, way' + -aw - ṭifāyāt (but also ẓoro); ṭaqq 'brother' and ẓ手工 'sister' + -aw - ṭamāyīt 'brothers and/or sisters'.

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p. 289], e or o before a stem-final consonant is dropped when a pluralizing suffix is added: mālīm 'teacher' + -in - mālīmin, mubābih 'alarm-clock' + -aw - mubābbih, ẓūlīm 'lady, miss' + -aw - ẓūlīmāt. There are certain classicsisms, however, in which the vowel is not dropped, but is changed to i or u or e: ḫakān 'being' + -aw - ḫaṣīnāt, ḫas̲mār 'imaging, picturing' + -aw - ḫas̲mārāt or ḫas̲mārādāt. (All Pattern taFačal or taFačal gerunds are like ḫas̲mār 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 o (or sometimes a): mubārīr 'justification, excuse' + -aw - mubārrāyāt (or mubārrādāt) [p. 29].

The Suffix -in is used with certain kinds of augmented [p. 46] nouns whose singular designates a male person. (The plural, however, may refer to a group including both sexes):

1.) With substantivized participles [p. 276], excepting most of those on Pattern Fačal [131]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mālīm 'teacher'</td>
<td>mālīmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maḥṣāf 'employee'</td>
<td>maḥṣafān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'boxer'</td>
<td>ḥalākān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masāl 'Moslem'</td>
<td>masālān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most nouns of the simple active participial pattern Fačal have internal plurals [p. 218]: Cāmel 'worker', pl. Cāmil; ṭafīl 'killing', pl. ṭafīlāt; ṭalā 'judge', pl. ṭalāt; ṭābih 'friend', pl. ṭābihāt. Some, however, have plurals in -ān, either exclusively or in addition to an external plural: ṭābih 'friend', pl. ṭābihān; in general, the -ān 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 Fačal [p. 305] (but see also -e/-a, (3), below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mālāk 'proprietor'</td>
<td>mālākin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'carriage'</td>
<td>ḥālākāin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'glass'</td>
<td>ḥālākin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'coffer'</td>
<td>ḥālākān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'worker'</td>
<td>ḥālāān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'glass'</td>
<td>ḥālāān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'carriage'</td>
<td>ḥālāān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥālāk 'coffer'</td>
<td>ḥālāān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix -ān is also used with a few nouns of other patterns: ẓawīm 'year', pl. snīn; ēḏdaun 'enemy', pl. ēḏdanīn.

See also pseudo-dual -ān, [p. 367].

The Suffix -e/-a is used for the plural:

1.) With nouns ending in the suffix -i [p. 306]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>būyāfī 'bootblack'</td>
<td>būyāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būyāfī 'coffeehouse keeper'</td>
<td>būyāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāfī 'greengrocer'</td>
<td>ṭarāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāfī 'carriage driver'</td>
<td>ṭarāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāfī 'cobbler'</td>
<td>ṭarāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāfī 'glass maker'</td>
<td>ṭarāfīyīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The plural suffix -āt with human and animal designations is by no means reserved for the female sex, however. Note ṣabbūt 'fathers', ṣabābūt 'gentlemen', ṣamārūt 'admirals' ṣawādūt 'brothers and/or sisters', ṣabūt 'customers (male and/or female)', etc. (The last example stands in spite of the derivative ṣabūn 'female' customer' from ṣabūn 'male' customer', and the alternative plural ẓabūyēn.)

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]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>(Derived from:)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xālīt 'maternal aunt'</td>
<td>xālāt</td>
<td>tāmort 'to venture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mālīmāt 'female teacher'</td>
<td>mālīmāt</td>
<td>tāmar 'to announce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫālīiyye 'Englishwoman'</td>
<td>ḫālīiyyē</td>
<td>tāmar 'to broadcast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xayyāsī 'seamstress, dressmaker'</td>
<td>xayyāsī</td>
<td>tāmar 'to visualize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalb 'female dog, bitch'</td>
<td>kalbāt</td>
<td>tāāmāt 'to pass, exceed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓabbūt 'brothers and/or sisters'</td>
<td>ẓabūt</td>
<td>tāmāt 'to withdraw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓasūrūt 'investment, profit'</td>
<td>ẓasūrūt</td>
<td>tāmār 'to invest'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plurals in -ät are also common with nouns of Gerundial Pattern II (taFEL): šajīf ‘repair, correction’, pl. šajīfāt, etc., but some have tadbīr.

4.) With inanimate nouns having any of the augmented participial patterns (p. 134):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mgallaf ‘envelope’</td>
<td>mgallafāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnabbeh ‘alarm clock’</td>
<td>mnabbehāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masjadār ‘term, expression’</td>
<td>masjadārāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muntasah ‘park’</td>
<td>muntasahāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mastaʃa ‘hospital’</td>
<td>mastaʃaʃāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.) With hollow [p. 44] and gernimate [p. 42] nouns having other patterns with prefix m (pp. 153-156):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maddāl ‘space, room’</td>
<td>maddālāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maddar ‘passageway’</td>
<td>maddarāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazz ‘scissors’</td>
<td>mazāzāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maddafe ‘reception room’</td>
<td>maddafeāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.) With most nouns in a variety of other patterns, e.g. PaCāl [144], PaCāle [152], F(i)cāl(e) [147], F(u)cāle [151], ēila [158], etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>makkāl ‘agency’</td>
<td>makkālāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahāda ‘certificate’</td>
<td>šahādāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šahum ‘government’</td>
<td>šahumāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʃūbe ‘difficulty’</td>
<td>saʃūbāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barak ‘blessing’</td>
<td>barakāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saha ‘class, level’</td>
<td>sahaʃāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʃ ‘hour’</td>
<td>saʃāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib ‘ball’</td>
<td>sibāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib ‘lock’</td>
<td>sibāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.) With most nouns ending in -iyye:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čamaliyye ‘operation’</td>
<td>čamaliyyat</td>
<td>hanafiyye ‘fauget’</td>
<td>hanafiyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čamaliyye ‘republic’</td>
<td>čamaliyyat</td>
<td>tamsiyye ‘play, drama’</td>
<td>tamsiyyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šokkaliyye ‘college’</td>
<td>šokkaliyyat</td>
<td>niyye ‘aim, goal’</td>
<td>niyyat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns of the patterns PaCāllye and PaCāllye, however, have plurals of Pattern PaCāl [p. 224], either exclusively or in addition to the external plural.

8.) With most modern foreign “loan-words” which do not fit the more common noun patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jähör ‘steamship’</td>
<td>jähörat</td>
<td>jähör ‘hotel’</td>
<td>jähörat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamirāl ‘admiral’</td>
<td>šamirālāt</td>
<td>šamirāl ‘gentleman’</td>
<td>šamirālāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jadrēs ‘address’</td>
<td>jadrēsāt</td>
<td>jadrēs ‘train’</td>
<td>jadrēsāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēbi ‘baby’</td>
<td>jēbiyat</td>
<td>jēbiyat ‘trousers’</td>
<td>jēbiyat ‘trousers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baskīl ‘bicycle’</td>
<td>baskīlāt</td>
<td>bānyo ‘bathtub’</td>
<td>bānyoāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the types of nouns listed above, the plural suffix -ät is used with many nouns of many other types. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāfe ‘joke’</td>
<td>nāfeʃat</td>
<td>ṣabb ‘father’</td>
<td>ṣabbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marra ‘a time’</td>
<td>marraʃat</td>
<td>ṣāf ‘water heater’</td>
<td>ṣāfrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣānq ‘university’</td>
<td>ṣānqat</td>
<td>bikt ‘compass’</td>
<td>biktat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buahyra ‘lake’</td>
<td>buahyraʃat</td>
<td>tāsh ‘souvenir’</td>
<td>tāshat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarām ‘translation’</td>
<td>tarāmat</td>
<td>tayy ‘current’</td>
<td>tayyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭām ‘pile, heap’</td>
<td>ṭāmat</td>
<td>ṭām ‘animal’</td>
<td>ṭāmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʃšāq ‘miracle’</td>
<td>maʃšāqat</td>
<td>saba ‘race’</td>
<td>sabaʃat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĝel ‘lock’</td>
<td>ĝelat</td>
<td>kām ‘being’</td>
<td>kāmat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS
(al-Qam’ l-mukassar, Broken or Internal Plurals)

A large proportion of Arabic nouns are pluralized by changing the base pattern, for example sg. kālūb ‘dog’: pl. kālūb ‘dogs’; sg. kūfīya ‘gift’: pl. kūfīyas ‘gifts’; sg. kūsab ‘book’: pl. kūsāb or kūsāb ‘books’.

There are many different pluralizing patterns. Some of them are used more or less exclusively for plurals (e.g. Patterns Fa’āl, as in kātob), while others are common also as singular patterns (e.g. Pattern Fe’sl, as in pl. kālūb ‘dogs’ and in sg. kūsab ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Fe’sl</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kālūb ‘dog’</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rādād ‘radda’</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rādād ‘radda’</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
<td>kālūb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern Fe’sl is not generally used for nouns with a final radical semivowel. Note, however, the modifications of this pattern in ‘judges’ (sg. tādi) and ‘conquerors’ (sg. ḫāṣūsi), and ṣabāb (suf. form ṣabāb) ‘beards’ (sg. ṣabāyān).

This pattern is not used for nouns with medial radical y whose singular is on Pattern Fa’āl (e.g. fār ‘bird’).

Colloquial plurals in Fe’sl correspond to Classical Patterns Fe’sl and Fa’āl Fe’sl. The latter, however, also occurs in Colloquial (see below).

PATTERN Fa’āl

Almost all nouns with this plural have singular patterns Fa’āl, Fa’āl, or Fa’āl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhār ‘day’</td>
<td>dhār</td>
<td>dhār</td>
<td>dhār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhār ‘day’</td>
<td>dhār</td>
<td>dhār</td>
<td>dhār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Pattern Fe’sl (above), Pattern Fa’āl is used for some nouns that have a final radical semivowel, represented in this pattern by "’; Fa’āl members: sg. Fa’āl; Fa’āl ‘atmosphere, air’; sg. Fa’āl; Fa’āl ‘names’. Note also Fa’āl ‘names’: Root Fa’āl but singular Fa’āl. The plural of Fa’āl ‘thing’ is generally defective: Fa’āl ‘things’ (but there is also the sound form Fa’āl and singular Fa’āl). Quite a few nouns have plurals that vacillate between Fa’āl and Fe’sl: Fa’āl or Fa’āl ‘times’, Fa’āl or Fa’āl ‘voices, noises’, etc. Pattern Fa’āl in such cases sounds more ‘Classical’, and Fe’sl, more colloquial.

The word yām ‘day’ has a suffixing plural Fa’āl which loses its "’ after a numeral: yām ‘five days’ (p.171).

The plural of Fa’āl ‘opinion’ is Fa’āl, and one plural of bir ‘well’ is bir. (The first a is lengthened, instead of there being Fa’āl or y before the second a.)
**PATTERN FAEL**

Most nouns of this pattern have singular patterns FaEL or FaEL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍaf 'origin'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'glove'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'origin'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'glove'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍah 'effort'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'line'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'effort'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'line'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaf 'eyelids'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'thread'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'eyelids'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'thread'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍar 'piastre'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'eye'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'piastre'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'eye'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍam 'tear'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'pocket'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'tear'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'pocket'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍalek 'king'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'bank'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'king'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'bank'...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used for nouns with final radical semivowels, nor with medial w. The noun ḍas 'head' has the hollow plural form ḍas 'heads'. The singular of ḍas 'head' has generally pronounced ḍa in the sense 'face', though the classicising form ḍas is generally used for 'surface'.

The classicising Pattern FaUL is used for some nouns: ḍhu 'rights' (sg. ḍa), ḍay 'armies' (sg. ḍa), ḍay 'ages' (sg. ḍa).

**PATTERN FEUL**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns FaEL or FaEL. Most may also have the plural without -a/-o: FeUL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍak 'bank'...</td>
<td>ḍak 'flower'...</td>
<td>ḍak 'bank'...</td>
<td>ḍak 'flower'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍah 'sea'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'vulture'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'sea'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'vulture'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍar 'bridge'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'solution'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'bridge'...</td>
<td>ḍar 'solution'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍam 'chicken coop'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'cock.rooster'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'chicken coop'...</td>
<td>ḍam 'cock.rooster'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍalek 'colt'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'billy goat'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'colt'...</td>
<td>ḍalek 'billy goat'...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like Pattern FAEL, this pattern is not used with final radical semivowel or medial w.

On construct forms, see p.164.

**PATTERN FAOEL**

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially Pattern FaEL(e) and FaEL(e).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍaf 'belt'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'mat'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'belt'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'mat'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍah 'blanket'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'ship'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'blanket'...</td>
<td>ḍah 'ship'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍtōb 'book'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'horse, nag'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'book'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'horse, nag'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍəfe 'stick, cane'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'man'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'stick, cane'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'man'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍəfe 'abaya'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'children, descendant'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'abaya'...</td>
<td>ḍəfe 'children, descendant'...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PATTERN FAOEL**

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially FeUL and FaUL(e):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍaf 'rug'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'road'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'rug'...</td>
<td>ḍaf 'road'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍas 'foundation'...</td>
<td>ḍas 'way'...</td>
<td>ḍas 'foundation'...</td>
<td>ḍas 'way'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍn 'system'...</td>
<td>ḍn 'city'...</td>
<td>ḍn 'system'...</td>
<td>ḍn 'city'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍtōb 'book'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'apostle'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'book'...</td>
<td>ḍtōb 'apostle'...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns (e.g. ḍtōb 'book', ḍaf 'ship') vacilate between Patterns FaOEL and FaEL in the plural. With suffices the difference between the two patterns disappears, since o is dropped or changed to a [p.28].

**PATTERN FaCEAL**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern FaCEAL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma 'point'...</td>
<td>ma 'trick'...</td>
<td>ma 'point'...</td>
<td>ma 'trick'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barke 'pools'...</td>
<td>barke 'fiber brush'...</td>
<td>barke 'pools'...</td>
<td>barke 'fiber brush'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rətəb 'rank'...</td>
<td>rətəb 'picture'...</td>
<td>rətəb 'rank'...</td>
<td>rətəb 'picture'...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaffe 'lip'...</td>
<td>ḍaffe 'room'...</td>
<td>ḍaffe 'lip'...</td>
<td>ḍaffe 'room'...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first pattern vowel (a) becomes i before y, and u before m and in certain classicisms: ḍumam 'nations' (sg. ḍumum).
This pattern is also used for some nouns (especially hollow ones) of singular pattern FaÆle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xâne 'tent'</td>
<td>xiyan</td>
<td>ðâke 'fork'</td>
<td>ðamak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawle 'nation, state'</td>
<td>dawal</td>
<td>ðanta 'bag, suitcase'</td>
<td>ðamot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PATTERN FaÆlo

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings. Many are substantivized adjectives [Cf. p. 206], and most have the singular pattern FaÆn. Êrik 'partner'...sara | fâir 'poor, indigent'...fâara
ra?la 'chief, head'...ra?asa | ëdâb 'literary scholar'...ëdâba
baxîl 'miser'...baxala | ëzâer 'poet'...ëzâra
xabîr 'expert'...xabara | ësâlem 'scholar, scientist'...ësâla
masîr 'minister'...masara

Pattern FaÆlo is not used with medial or final radical semivowel. Note, however, the form mudara 'directors' (sg. mudâr, root dâm-r).

PATTERNS FaÆol, FaÆol

Most nouns with these patterns have singular pattern FaÉ.

Sa?n 'month'...sa?nor, sa?nor | pâf?r 'line' (of writing)...pâf?or
sahâm 'share' (of stock)...sahâm, sahâm | nefs 'persons, selves'...nefs
nahêr 'river'...nahor, nahor | dâb 'cubits'...dâb
halb 'letter'...halb, halb | laâm 'tongue, talk'...laâs
(alphabet)

The FaÆol forms (but not the FaÆol forms) commonly lose their initial ? after the numerals, and the numerals have connective t: xamst-sahor 'five rivers' (or xams pahor, xams ñanhor). The forms without ? (and with connective t) are obligatory after numerals for ?sahor, ?nafs, and ñårôf. See p. 171.

PATTERNS FaÆle, FaÆile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| râf 'loaf' | râfe | wâsâm 'medal' | ñâsime
| ðân 'horse' | ðâne | mîqâm 'system' | ñâmîne
| ñâhêr 'brother-in-law' | ñâhra | su?l 'question' | ñaeile
| daw | ðaw | râsîd 'balance, remainder' | ñasîde
| daaw | ðaw | | |
| ñanâye 'irrigation ditch' | ñânye | ñimân 'imam' | ñáme
| ñam | ñame | ñýe | ñâle

Note also: ñâfâba or ñâfâba 'physicians' (sg. ñâfâb), ñââile 'indications' (sg. ñââil). Pattern FaÆile is the classicising version of the more colloquial FaÆle.

Some plurals of pattern FaÆle lose their initial ñ after numerals (with connective t) (p. 171): obligatorily in the case of ñâfe: xamst-ñâfe 'five loaves'; optionally for ñâfne, ñâfbra, ñâfke (pl. of ñâk 'set') ñâfe (pl. of rïf 'sidewalk').

On construct forms, see p. 164.

PATTERN FaÆel

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings: almost all have the singular pattern FëEel.

tââer 'merchant'...tââeir | ñâyer 'visitor'...ñâmâm
| ĭâmèl 'worker'...îâmîl | nânâm 'representative'...ñâmâm
| ñâkeb 'passenger'...râkûb | ñâye 'weaver'...ñîyiûû
| Fâbê 'officer'...Fâbê | ñâyes 'groom'...ñîyiûû
| ñakâm 'umpire'...ñakâm | ñâbûû 'pilgrim' (Ms.)...ñâbûû
| | ñâbê |

The first pattern vowel (a) becomes u before medial radical å, and i before y.

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowels.
**Pattern Façlān**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?amīp 'shirt'</td>
<td>gadaq 'brave fellow'</td>
<td>ṣamīp 'shirt'</td>
<td>ṣamīq 'steward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣabi 'boys'</td>
<td>ṣār 'neighbor'</td>
<td>ṣābi 'boys'</td>
<td>ṣāraq 'neighbor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalān 'gulf'</td>
<td>fūr(a) 'mouse'</td>
<td>xalān 'gulf'</td>
<td>fūr(a) 'mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāfī 'shepherd'</td>
<td>ṣāfī 'leg'</td>
<td>rāfī 'shepherd'</td>
<td>ṣāfī 'leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāhīb 'monks'</td>
<td>ṣūp 'chick'</td>
<td>rāhīb 'monks'</td>
<td>ṣūp 'chick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīlād 'country'</td>
<td>ḡūl 'ghoul'</td>
<td>bīlād 'country'</td>
<td>ḡūl 'ghoul'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanāl 'gazelle'</td>
<td>ḡadān 'thread'</td>
<td>ḡanāl 'gazelle'</td>
<td>ḡadān 'thread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mādī 'valley'</td>
<td>ḡadān 'thread'</td>
<td>mādī 'valley'</td>
<td>ḡadān 'thread'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first pattern vowel (a) generally combines with a medial radical semivowel to produce i; note, however, the form ḡūl (also ḡīlān), and the shortened i in ḡīfān (and optionally also in xīfān/xīfān).

The singular patterns of these nouns are various, but do not include sound patterns Faʾl and Faʾlān.

**Pattern Faʾālī**

Most nouns with pattern have singular stem pattern Faʾl or Faʾlān, usually plus a suffix -e/-a, -a, -āye, or -iyye.

| ?awr 'land' | Šakma 'complaint' | ?awr 'land' | Šakma 'complaint' |
| ?ahāl 'family' | Šanta 'suitcase' | ?ahāl 'family' | Šanta 'suitcase' |
| ?as 'name' | Šāniy ye 'female' | ?as 'name' | Šāniy ye 'female' |
| ?el(e) 'night' | Šagālī 'umbrella' | ?el(e) 'night' | Šagālī 'umbrella' |
| ?alme 'cafe' | Šârīyye 'desert, country' | ?alme 'cafe' | Šârīyye 'desert, country' |
| ?erme 'corner, part' | Šârīyye 'vest' | ?erme 'corner, part' | Šârīyye 'vest' |
| ?ar me 'buttonhole' | Šanāmiy ye 'song' | ?ar me 'buttonhole' | Šanāmiy ye 'song' |
| kālme 'kidney' | kālān 'kidney' | kālme 'kidney' | kālān 'kidney' |

Note also mašāri 'money', whose singular mašāriyye is seldom used.

When the final radical is y, the last pattern vowel is an instead of i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfiy ye 'case'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
<td>ṣāfiy ye 'case'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfin 'sin'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
<td>ṣāfin 'sin'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfīy ye 'song'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
<td>ṣāfīy ye 'song'</td>
<td>ṣāfāy ye 'case'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun ṣāniy ye 'song', however, has the plural ṣāniy, as if its root were g-n-n and its pattern Faʾlīyye (whereas its root is actually g-n-y and its pattern Faʾlīle.)

**Quadrilateral-Type Plural Patterns**

The true quadriradical patterns are Faʾlālān, Faʾālāl, and Faʾālīl. The pseudo-quadriradical patterns are Faʾāyel, Faʾācēl, maFaʾēl, taFaʾēl, Faʾāfāl, maFaʾfāl, taFaʾfāl, and taFaʾēl.

All these patterns reduce to three (as represented by the true quadriradicals, or by the formulae C₁aC₂aC₃C₄, C₁aC₂aC₃, and C₁aC₂aC₃C₄). In general, the pattern with i 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 Faʾāyel**

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.

| ḡān 'merchandise' | ḡāfāy e ḡānhān 'old person' | ḡāfāy e ḡān 'merchandise' | ḡāfāy e ḡānhān 'old person' |
| ḡāsē 'closet' | ḡāfāy e ḡāshān 'scandal' | ḡāsē 'closet' | ḡāfāy e ḡāshān 'scandal' |
| ḡīfā 'braid' | ḡāfāy e ḡīfā 'braid' | ḡīfā 'braid' | ḡāfāy e ḡīfā 'braid' |
| ḡār 'church' | ḡān 'church' | ḡār 'church' | ḡān 'church' |
| ḡāfī 'truth' | ḡān 'church' | ḡāfī 'truth' | ḡān 'church' |
| ḡāfī 'truth' | ḡān 'church' | ḡāfī 'truth' | ḡān 'church' |
| ḡān 'church' | ḡān 'church' | ḡān 'church' | ḡān 'church' |

This pattern is not used with medial or final radical semivowels.

*As in all the quadriradical formulae, the use of L to represent both the third and fourth radical does not mean they are the same.*
Most nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long vowel (usually \( \ddot{a} \)) after the first radical, and a short vowel or none at all after the second.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हामी 'mosque'</td>
<td>सावारी 'sheepfold'</td>
<td>बये 'sheepfold'</td>
<td>हामी 'mosque'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बारे 'motive'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>साये 'prime'</td>
<td>बये 'prime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बास 'eyebrow'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>बये 'sector'</td>
<td>बये 'sector'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बार 'street'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>बये 'means'</td>
<td>बये 'means'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बार 'steamship'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>बादी 'margin'</td>
<td>बादी 'margin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बार 'base'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>बादी 'order'</td>
<td>बादी 'order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हामी 'accident'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>हादी 'outskirt, suburb'</td>
<td>हादी 'outskirt, suburb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हादी 'nice person'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>नादी 'club'</td>
<td>नादी 'club'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यादी 'stable'</td>
<td>बावः 'primer'</td>
<td>्अमा 'order'</td>
<td>्अमा 'order'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geminate forms: मामा 'materials' (sg. माड़), हामास 'senses' (sg. हास), दामाभ 'pack animals' (sg. दाब्बे), दादम 'masses' (sg. दामे)

**Pattern Pa|a|el (and Paa|e|l)**

Nouns with this pattern have singulars with long vowels after both the first and middle consonants.

| छाड़ी 'lamb' | छाड़ी 'lamb' | बाबर 'steamship' | बाबर 'steamship' |
| साड़ी 'hammer' | साड़ी 'hammer' | मार क 'container' | मार क 'container' |
| छाड़ी 'stake, pole' | छाड़ी 'stake, pole' | छाड़ी 'date' | छाड़ी 'date' |
| छाड़ि 'milk' | छाड़ि 'milk' | छाड़ि 'jacket' | छाड़ि 'jacket' |
| मार 'water-wheel' | मार 'water-wheel' | जाम 'animal' (fig.) | जाम 'animal' (fig.) |
| तार 'sitting room' | तार 'sitting room' | तार 'rocket' | तार 'rocket' |

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

---

In the literal sense of 'animal', the plural जाम is used; हामास इम only used as a derogatory term for people.

---

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long middle consonant followed by a long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>बानार 'skirt'</td>
<td>बानार 'skirt'</td>
<td>सानार 'fish-hook'</td>
<td>सानार 'fish-hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हामार 'bath'</td>
<td>हामार 'bath'</td>
<td>शबाब 'window'</td>
<td>शबाब 'window'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बान 'shop'</td>
<td>बान 'shop'</td>
<td>पाबाब 'pair of shoes'</td>
<td>पाबाब 'pair of shoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सानार 'belt'</td>
<td>सानार 'belt'</td>
<td>जाराध 'cushion'</td>
<td>जाराध 'cushion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बान 'knife'</td>
<td>बान 'knife'</td>
<td>काबाब 'coat'</td>
<td>काबाब 'coat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

The plural बान ब 'dinars' is anomalous, since the singular बान is a long त, not a long न.

The rare pattern Pa|a|el is found in जाल 'ladders', whose singular is जाल (also a rare pattern: Pa|e|l).

**Pattern mा|a|el**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern mा|a|el(e).

| माल 'amount, sum' | माल 'amount, sum' | माल 'chimney' | माल 'chimney' |
| माल 'bakery' | माल 'bakery' | माल 'corridor' | माल 'corridor' |
| माल 'cannon' | माल 'cannon' | माल 'shelter' | माल 'shelter' |
| माल 'place' | माल 'place' | माल 'sifter, sieve' | माल 'sifter, sieve' |
| माल 'spoon' | माल 'spoon' | माल 'season' | माल 'season' |
| माल 'bottle' | माल 'bottle' | माल 'talent' | माल 'talent' |
| माल 'matter' | माल 'matter' | माल 'flat iron' | माल 'flat iron' |
| माल 'interest' | माल 'interest' | माल 'trap' | माल 'trap' |

A number of nouns with this pattern have no singular: माल 'expression', माल 'unknown regions', माल 'salient features', माल 'utilities', माल 'fears', माल 'advantages', etc. Note also माल 'sheikhs' (cf. sg. मेथ, regular pl. मेथ).
**INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS**

**PATTERN maFa‘IL (and maFa‘IL)**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns maFa‘ul, maFa‘ul.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maktūb 'letter'</td>
<td>maktūb 'key'</td>
<td>mafṣilh 'project'</td>
<td>mafṣilh 'key'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafṣilh 'project'</td>
<td>mafṣilh 'key'</td>
<td>mafṣul 'plow'</td>
<td>mafṣul 'plow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafṣul 'plow'</td>
<td>mafṣul 'plow'</td>
<td>mafṣū ‘topic’</td>
<td>mafṣū ‘topic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafṣū ‘topic’</td>
<td>mafṣū ‘topic’</td>
<td>maṣafū ‘elder’</td>
<td>maṣafū ‘elder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: mafṣūd ‘appointment’... maṣrafūd

mifsūn ‘scale balance’... maṣafūsūn or maṣafūn

**PATTERN taFa‘IL**

Nouns with this pattern have singulars of the patterns taFa‘ul or taFa‘ul.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tadbir 'arrangement, preparation'</td>
<td>tadbir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥṣārīḥ 'declaration'</td>
<td>ḥṣārīḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaqrīr 'report'</td>
<td>ṭaqrīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥṣāmīn 'design'</td>
<td>ḥṣāmīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamaṣil 'statue'</td>
<td>tamaṣil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PATTERNS taFa‘el and taFa‘el**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daf‘er '(finger)nail'</td>
<td>daf‘er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swāra 'bracelet'</td>
<td>swāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wafa ‘garment’</td>
<td>wafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāri ‘jug’</td>
<td>bāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sib ‘week’</td>
<td>sib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: however, that ḥṣābāri and ḥṣābāṣī would be considered quadrilateral pattern Faṣāel if compared with the singular forms sib, bāri.

**PATTERN Faṣāel**

Most nouns with this pattern have singular Patterns Faṣāl, Faṣāl, Faṣāl, or Faṣāl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭanāb ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>ṭanāb ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>ṭanāb ‘rabbit’</td>
<td>ṭanāb ‘rabbit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawāf ‘topic’</td>
<td>ṭawāf ‘topic’</td>
<td>ṭawāf ‘topic’</td>
<td>ṭawāf ‘topic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭasūṭ ‘scale balance’</td>
<td>ṭasūṭ ‘scale balance’</td>
<td>ṭasūṭ ‘scale balance’</td>
<td>ṭasūṭ ‘scale balance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: also barāmēz ‘programs’, whose five-consonant singular bārāmēz loses its third radical in the plural.

**PATTERN FaṣālLe**

(Pattern FaṣālLe consists of Faṣāel plus the -e/-a suffix [p. 28].)

This pattern is used only with certain nouns designating human beings. The singular patterns are various.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doktōr ‘doctor’</td>
<td>doktēra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭasāa ‘professor, teacher’</td>
<td>ṭasāsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarāmēn ‘interpreter-guide’</td>
<td>ṭarāmē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭanādr ‘dandy’</td>
<td>ṭanādr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīrūti ‘Beiruti’</td>
<td>bīrūti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diṃasī ‘Damasceenc’</td>
<td>diṃasī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārūnī ‘Maronite’</td>
<td>mārūnī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOUN INFLectionAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fārōnī 'upper'</td>
<td>fāmōne 'people living upstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḥtānī 'lower'</td>
<td>taḥānī 'people living downstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xūrī 'priest'</td>
<td>xumārne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;as of 'bishop'&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;asāfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃāREAK 'patriarch'</td>
<td>baʃāRKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʃrān 'metropolitan, archbishop'</td>
<td>maʃrāne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that xūrī 'priest' takes on another consonant (n) in the plural, while torʃmān 'dragoman' loses its ending -ān.

On construct forms, see p. 164.

INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sarpur 'cricket'</td>
<td>bastān  'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barɡit 'flea'</td>
<td>barmīl 'barrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasṭār 'constitution'</td>
<td>dasṣāR 'demon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandāy 'box, chest'</td>
<td>tandīs 'student'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃafūr 'bird'</td>
<td>ʃafārī 'culture, arts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sANI 'address'</td>
<td>balkān 'balcony'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fonāSīn 'cup'</td>
<td>fonāSīn 'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korbāS 'whip'</td>
<td>borṇāta 'hat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasMāl 'capital'</td>
<td>rasMāl 'capital'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns have a long second a (usually optional):
basātin 'gardens', fonāSīn 'cups', šayāfīn 'devils'.

Note also the optional forms 'agābā' (/'agāba/os) 'fingers' (sg. 'agāb or 'agāba), baramī (/'barShēp) 'burnoose, bathrobe' (pl. baramī).

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel (see Pattern FaʃāL, above).

UNCOMMON PATTERNS

Pattern FaʃāL: ḫomīR 'donkeys' (sg. ḫmār), ḫabd 'slaves' (sg. ḫabd).

Pattern Faʃāl (F = 9): ḫādīb 'culture, arts' (sg. ḫadīb), ḫafāR 'horizons' (sg. ḫafāR), ḫalīf 'thousands' (sg. ḫalīf), ḫalīf 'hopes' (sg. ḫalīf).

Pattern FEčal: FEčal 'laborer' (sg. ḫlā), ḫyāR 'wells' (sg. ḫlā).

Pattern FEčal: raʃīt 'colds' (sg. raʃīt), wpūлат 'recep- ects' (sg. waẓīl), šūmāl 'meat hors-d'oeuvres' (no sing.).
INDEX OF CATEGORIES

CHAPTER 9: VERB DERIVATION

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  Participative .......................................... 246
  Reciprocative .......................................... 248
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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.

1These 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 (nFaṣal) [p. 91]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡalab ‘to beat, win’</td>
<td>nḡalab ‘to be beaten, to lose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sana ‘to hear’</td>
<td>nsan ‘to be heard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaf ‘to see’</td>
<td>nḏaf ‘to be seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡas ‘to disobey’</td>
<td>nḡas ‘to be disobeyed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern VIII (Ftaṣal) [95] forms the passive of quite a few simple verbs:

rata ‘to mend’           rtata ‘to be mended’
ma‘al ‘to transfer’      mtma‘al ‘to be transferred, to move’
nasi ‘to forget’         ntasi ‘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: xtana ‘to choke’ (intrans.), from xana ‘to choke’ (trans.).

Some active verbs of Patterns Faṣal, byFaṣal [p. 57] or Faṣal, byFaṣal [55] have passives on the pattern Faṣal, byFaṣal [71]:

?atal, byʔatal ‘to kill’      ?atal, byʔatal ‘to be killed’
ta‘al, byʔa‘al ‘to tire’      te‘al, byʔa‘al ‘to get tired’ (trans.)
ra‘a, byʔa‘a ‘to please’      ra‘a, byʔa‘a ‘to be pleased, satisfy’

Note, however, that a colloquial passive ḡami ḡal ‘he's fainted': Cl. ḡamiya ḡalayhi. Most of these colloquial passives, however, correspond to Classical verbs of Pattern Faṣal, yaFaṣal.

The passives of Pattern II(Faṣal), Pattern III(Faṣal), quadriradical (Faṣal), and pseudo-quadriradical verbs is formed by prefixation of t (Faṣal), resulting in verbs of Patterns V(tFaṣal) [86], VII(Faṣal) [88], etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡannas ‘to sweep’       tkannas ‘to be swept’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡas ‘to punish’        ṭʔas ‘to be punished’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārannas ‘to translate’  tattārannas ‘to be translated’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṯāddan ‘to depress’     Ṯāddan ‘to be depressed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The irregular initial-weak verbs ḡakal ‘to eat’ and Ṯakal ‘to take’ have passives formed on Pattern VI: Ṯakal ‘to be eaten’, Ṯakal ‘to be taken’ [90].

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: Ṯata ‘to buy’ – nṣara ‘to be bought’; ṣa‘a ‘to cook, do’ – ṣama ‘to be cooked, done’.

The verb Ṯata ‘to get full, be filled’ is generally considered an irregular Pattern VIII passive of maila ‘to fill’, with n in place of the initial radical m. (But note that some speakers have an active verb Ṯa‘al ‘to fill’ [Bart.92], in view of which ḡata would belong to Pattern VII.)

Occasionally passives are improvised by changing the stem vowels as in the Classical passive inflection (perfect a...a...a...; impf. a...e/o...a...): nukalt man yūḏān ‘I was transferred two days ago’ (Cl. the more colloquial ntu‘allā... ‘I was transferred...’ or ‘I moved...’). In Arabic, Ṯa‘al ḡal ‘?a ‘aematics n-tu‘alāb [SM-154] ‘Women have the right to elect and to be elected.’

The Classical internal passive is also used in certain set phrases, e.g. ẓala ma yūḏān ‘as(well as could possibly be)desired’.

1In the case of Ṯatal, byʔatal ‘to be killed’, this colloquial pattern corresponds to a true internal passive in Classical Arabic: qṭilha, yuqṭili. (Note also the ‘impersonal’ passive ḡami ḡal ‘he’s fainted’: Cl. ḡamiya ḡalayhi.) Most of these colloquial passives, however, correspond to Classical verbs of Pattern Faṣal, yaFaṣal.

1These verbs are sometimes said to be formed on Pattern VIII, or on a hybrid of Patterns VI and VIII. Note, however, that Ṯakal already has a (Classicalizing) Pattern VIII derivative Ṯakal [p. 252]. (Cl. also the initial-weak Pattern VIII verb Ṯakal ‘to rely’, whose root, however, is Ṯ-k-l and not Ṯ-k-l.) The verb Ṯakal has a sound doublet Ṯḡal ‘to be eaten away, corroded’.
The True Passive

The subject of a true passive verb corresponds to the object of its underlying active verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n-nādi i-r-riyādī ǧabal farti'na ... farti'na ǧabalab</td>
<td>‘Our team was beaten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā hada bisādadda hal-’aṣṣa ... hal-’aṣṣa mā bītāsāddā?</td>
<td>‘That story is unbelievably true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boṭūf 3-l-balad ši ma nārā ... l-balad bītnāf ši ma nārā</td>
<td>‘Can you see the town from the top of the mountain?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The true passive construction in Arabic does not—as a general rule—include an agentive phrase. If the agent is to be named at all, it should be as subject of the active verb. To achieve an effect similar to that of the English sentence ‘Our team was beaten by the Athletic Club’, the Arabic object may be extraposed [p. 431] and the verb and subject inverted [432]: farti'na ǧabalab n-nādi i-r-riyādī ‘Our team, the Athletic Club beat it’.

There are some exceptions, however, whereby an agentive phrase with man [p. 239] is used with what seems to be a true passive: l-ʿattif bīnīy ye lāmām bītāsāddā man māšītes ʿaṣṣī ‘The treaty has to be ratified by the senate’. These cases may perhaps be due to the extensive loss of contrast in modern Arabic between true passive and mediopassive (with which agentive phrases are often used), and perhaps in part due to the effect of journalistic translations from other languages. (Agentive phrases with man ǧabal or man faraf ‘by’ may be used more broadly than the simple preposition man, 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 (majhūl).

The Impersonal Passive. In Arabic as in English, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb with its object suppressed, is sometimes1 converted to passive, provided it has a prepositional complement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mā hada nām b-hat-taxt‘ ... b-hat-taxt‘</td>
<td>‘Nobody has slept in this bed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yegi si n-nūmn fi? ... yegi si yeg i-yem fi?</td>
<td>‘Is there anything left we can believe in?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā hada bīyabrab man has-saṣṭān ...</td>
<td>‘Nobody escapes from that prison’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā bīyabrab man has-saṣṭān</td>
<td>‘That prison cannot be escaped from’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dafēn-lak ‘We’ve paid you’ ... n DFAE-b-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 IMPERSO[NAL, passive is quite unlike the English construction, in which the prepositional complement of an active verb corresponds to the subject of its passive.

One should not be mislead by the impersonal passive with extraposed p. 435 prepositional complement. In the translation of ‘These beds haven’t been slept in’ as hat-taxt mā nāmā fīha, note that taxt is not the subject of nāmā, but rather the antecedent of -ha: ‘These beds, there has not been slept in them’. Further examples with extraposed complement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hat-tanāṣara mā baṭṭīk fīha ...</td>
<td>hat-tanāṣara mā ṣaṭṭīk fīha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has-suṣīūl mā ǧāmad ǧalīha ...</td>
<td>has-suṣīūl mā dīsāb ǧalīha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šī l-șiīlat yali l-ṣam-iḍaḥu ...</td>
<td>šī l-șiīlat yali l-ṣam-yanda?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1As in English, some prepositionally complemented verbs are commonly converted to passive, while others are not. As with all derivational categories, the question whether or not a theoretically possible derivative is actually used is largely a matter of lexical idiosyncrasy.
The Mediopassive

As distinct from the true passive, the mediopassive does not imply an external causative agent. If an active verb means '(X) does Y to (Z)', then its mediopassive derivative means '(Z) undergoes Y', but an external agent X is not implied (nor is it ruled out).

Active                     Mediopassive

şeffān 'Line them up!'    şaffu (or şaffu) 'Line up!'
hañamantı l-ţulād malla īsaa? ... l-ţulād hañammantı malla īsaa?
'Have you bathed the children yet?'
d-dōktör manaço ġan 7akl
şl-lāh*ām ........................
"The doctor forbade his 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: tēalla 'to learn' (spontaneously) or by self-instruction, or — as a true passive — 'to be taught'; hañamantı '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 samma 'to cook, do' and stama '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 tağab 'to tire' (trans.) and tağeb 'to get tired' are simple: if tağab is counted as primary, tağeb is its mediopassive, but if tağeb is primary, then tağab 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mediopassive</th>
<th>True Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ştamaç 'to meet, get together'</td>
<td>şamaç 'to be brought together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṭanaç 'to abstain' (from...)</td>
<td>mmanaç 'to be prevented' (from...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṭađd 'to extend, stretch' (intrans.)</td>
<td>madd 'to be extended, stretched'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, skasa and ḫtaqasa, both of which (for many speakers, at least) mean either 'to be clothed, outfitted' (by someone), or 'to clothe, outfit one's self': or ḥara and ṭara, 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. ḫnad, for instance, can be used in a mediopassive sense, and ṭafah, in a true passive sense; while ṭagal in commonly construed as a primary active verb, and ṭafag in a mediopassive.

Unlike true passives, some mediopassive verbs are transitive, their underlying active verbs being doubly transitive:

Active                     Mediopassive

mīn ċallamak ārabī? ........... mīn tēällant ārabī?
'Who taught you Arabic?'
ɛsāamāt bantōn ............... ḍsāamāt bantōn
'They gave them their daughter' 'He married his daughter'
nañālini ɛ-bānta ............... ṭnañāli ɛ-bānta
'He handed (or passed) me' 'I took (or reached) the bag'
               īn ṭaṣāsil 3tgrași mūn ɜ-bank
'The bank lent me money' 'I borrowed money from the bank'
laśafto āssartantī ṭīf ... t'aṣaartī ṭīf mān laştāfta
'His kindness touched me deeply' 'I was deeply touched by his kindness'
ţəxti ɛdāntantī bāl-3mīrā ... ṭntəxti bāl-3mīrā mān ɜ-təxti
'My sister infected me with the measles' 'I caught the measles from my sister'
ha-l-3hābšt ɛm-taṭigantī ṭīf ... ɛm-taṭīgał 3t'īf b-hal-l-3hābšt
'These accounts are keeping me quite busy' 'I'm being kept quite busy with these accounts'
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: 'thamman 'to bathe one's self' (adult), or 'to be bathed' (baby); 'go out' (e.g. of school) or 'to be let out...'; 'delay' (intrans.) or 'to be delayed'.

CAUSATIVE VERBS

The Causative derivation is usually expressed with Pattern II (FadCaL) [p.77]; rarely (in Colloquial) with Pattern IV (Fal-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 '...let X happen', or '...has X happen'). Examples:

Underlying Verb                  Causative
nasal 'to descend, go down'      naszal 'to take down, bring down'
nam 'to go to sleep'             nayam 'to put to sleep'
?aqad 'to sit'                   ?aqaad 'to seat'
?aghar 'to appear'               ?aghar 'to reveal'
?ar 'to turn' (intrans.)          ?ar 'to turn' (trans.)
bidur 'to delay'                 bidur 'to delay'

The causative, if may be noted, is the converse of the mediopassive derivation. See p.238.

If a simple verb is transitive, then its causative is doubly transitive —the first object [p.438] corresponding to the subject of the simple verb.

Further examples of causative constructions:

byash 'azuk 'uu lazem ya?mel?; 'Does your brother understand what he's supposed to do?'

fahhem 'azuk 'uu lazem ya?mel. 'Explain to your brother what he's supposed to do.'

hal-malad le mu li?es kanse?; 'Why hasn't that child wearing a sweater?'

le mu li?esbe hal-malad kanse?; 'Why haven't you (f.) or hasn't she) put a sweater on that child?'

?azuk hamal 'um 'm?iado; 'His brother took on the care of his children'  

hamal 'azuk 'um 'm?iado. 'He saddled his brother with the care of his children'

l-mudh ?id?e ma katret; 'One gets lost with so much turning and circling.'

katret 'l-laff wad-dawaran 'id?y?e. 'So much turning and circling gets one lost' (On suppression of object, see p.328.)
Further examples of the causative derivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wasel 'to arrive'</td>
<td>wasel 'to take' (someone somewhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra&quot;ag 'to dance'</td>
<td>ra&quot;ag 'to make...dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f&quot;a 'to wake up' (trans.)</td>
<td>f&quot;a 'to wake' (someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d&quot;ax 'to get dizzy, nauseated'</td>
<td>d&quot;ax 'to make...dizzy, to nauseate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\sam 'to smell' (trans.)</td>
<td>\sam 'to have(someone) smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\ara 'to read'</td>
<td>\ara 'to have(someone) read'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some causatives are derived from adjectives: \sam 'to strengthen' from \saw 'strong': though in most cases these adjectives also have inchoative [p. 250] verbs from which the causative might also be said to be derived: \saw 'to become strong' -- \sam 'to strengthen'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern \safl 'light'</th>
<th>\safl 'to lighten'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\b\d 'far away'</td>
<td>\b\d 'to remove, banish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\s\b\h 'correct'</td>
<td>\s\b\h 'to correct'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\b\y\d 'white'</td>
<td>\b\y\d 'to whiten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\s\w\d 'black'</td>
<td>\s\w\d 'to blacken'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of causatives formed on patterns other than II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern IV</th>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\s\e\h 'to appear'</td>
<td>\s\e\h 'to reveal'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\t\l\f 'to perish'</td>
<td>\t\l\f 'to destroy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\g\n 'rich'</td>
<td>\g\n 'to make...rich'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern I(a-e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\d\r, \b\d\r 'to turn'(trans.)</th>
<th>\d\r, \b\d\r 'to turn'(trans.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\p\m 'to get up'</td>
<td>\p\m 'to raise, remove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\d\m, \b\d\m 'to last'</td>
<td>\d\m, \b\d\m 'to make...last'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\p\n 'blind'</td>
<td>\p\n 'to blind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Underlying Word Ascriptive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern F\fa\l:</th>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Ascriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\h\l u 'sweet'</td>
<td>\h\l u 'to sweeten'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\p\x\r\a\s 'mute'</td>
<td>\p\x\r\a\s 'to shut(someone)up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern \t\l\f \n\l\a\c</th>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Ascriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\t\l\a\c 'to come up, out'</td>
<td>\t\l\a\c 'to bring up, out (Pat. III), or \t\l\a\c (Lebanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\p\s\r 'to dance'</td>
<td>\p\s\r 'to make dance, jiggle' (Pat. F\fa\l), cf. \p\s\r, above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Underlying Word Ascriptive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern X</th>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Ascriptive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xn 'to betray'</td>
<td>Xn 'to brand as a traitor'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\b\s\b\l 'to resemble'</td>
<td>\s\b 'to liken'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\p\f\d 'preferable, favorite'</td>
<td>\p\f\d 'to prefer, to favor'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\d\d 'to be true'; to ...</td>
<td>\d\d 'to believe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\s\d 'to lie'</td>
<td>\s\d 'to disbelieve, consider...a liar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or \s\d)</td>
<td>(or \s\d)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\p\l 'little, few'</td>
<td>\p\l 'to belittle, underestimate'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\b\d 'donkey; stupid'</td>
<td>\b\d 'to consider...stupid' (Pat. F\fa\l)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ascriptive derivation is a sort of specialization of the causative, used in a subjective sense: e.g. to disbelieve someone = to 'make' a liar of him.

With most verbs, however, the ascriptive is virtually equivalent to the milder Estimative (see below).
**ESTIMATIVE VERBS**

Estimative verbs, formed on Pattern X (asta\(\bar{\text{e}}\)al) [p. 102], are derived mainly from simple adjectives.

If the underlying adjective means ‘X’, then the estimative verb means ‘to consider or find (something) X’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Estimative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g(\bar{\text{e}})b</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halu</td>
<td>‘nice, pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(\bar{\text{r}})r</td>
<td>‘much, many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g(\bar{\text{a}})b</td>
<td>‘strange, odd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g(\bar{\text{f}})r</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\bar{\text{h}})s(\bar{\text{a}})n</td>
<td>‘better, best’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x(\bar{n})n</td>
<td>‘to betray’, x(\bar{\text{y}})m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The estimative derivation is nearly equivalent to the ascriptive, though in some cases where the ascriptive implies social interaction, the estimative is more a matter of individual response: compare ascriptive l\(\bar{\text{h}}\)s\(\bar{\text{a}}\)n ‘to brand as a traitor’ with estimative st\(\bar{\text{a}}\)x\(\bar{\text{m}}\)n ‘to consider disloyal’.

**EDUCTIVE VERBS**

Eductive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern X (asta\(\bar{\text{e}}\)al) [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)’ doing X’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Eductive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g(\bar{\text{a}})f</td>
<td>‘to forgive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f(\bar{\text{a}})n</td>
<td>‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s(\bar{\text{a}})r</td>
<td>‘to advise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(\bar{\text{a}})d</td>
<td>‘to return, give back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f(\bar{\text{a}})d</td>
<td>‘to be of use to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONATIVE VERBS**

Conative verbs, with rare exceptions, are formed on Pattern III (\(\bar{\text{f}}\)\(\bar{\text{e}}\)\(\bar{\text{a}}\)\(\bar{\text{e}}\)l) [p. 80].

The kind of activity designated by a conative verb has as its implicit goal the kind of event designated by its underlying simple verb.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Conative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s(\bar{\text{a}})b</td>
<td>‘to overtake, pass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\bar{\text{a}})h(\bar{\text{a}})</td>
<td>‘to catch up with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(\bar{\text{a}})d</td>
<td>‘to please, satisfy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n(\bar{\text{s}})(\bar{\text{a}})f</td>
<td>‘to prevent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j(\bar{\text{a}})r(\bar{\text{a}})d</td>
<td>‘to expel, get rid of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n(\bar{\text{s}})(\bar{\text{a}})r</td>
<td>‘to secure the victory of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f(\bar{\text{a}})k(\bar{\text{a}})s</td>
<td>‘to reverse, upset’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b(\bar{\text{a}})t(\bar{\text{a}})h</td>
<td>‘to throw down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\bar{\text{a}})h(\bar{\text{a}})p</td>
<td>‘to catch a glimpse of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)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.
Underlying Verb | Conative
---|---
ḥākam 'to judge, pass sentence' | ḥākam 'to try, prosecute'
lāḥa 'to muse, divert' | lāḥa 'to entertain'
lāʔa 'to encounter' | lāʔa 'to (go to) meet, (look for and) find'

The Pattern II verb ṣamūb 'to aim at' is the conative of ṣāb 'to hit, attain'.

Highly idiomatic derivations include xāna 'to scold, quarrel with' from xānā 'to strangle'. Note also the reciprocative [p.248] tḥāṭu 'to quarrel, fight' from tḥāṭ '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: ṣāb manaʔ ṣaadī 'What prevented his getting married?', but manaʔ b-saadī 'Who objected to his getting married?'

**PARTICIPATIVE VERBS**

Participative verbs are formed on Pattern III (Fāṣal) [p.80].

Participatives, which usually imply personal interaction, are commonly derived from simple verbs which do not 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Participative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
kātab 'to write (something)' | kātab 'to write to (someone)'
gāḥak 'to laugh' | gāḥak 'to laugh with (someone)'
ḥāka 'to talk, to tell (something)' | ḥāka 'to talk to (someone)'
kūṣaf 'to reveal (something)' | kūṣaf 'to reveal...to (someone)'
ʔasam 'to divide (something)' | ʔasam 'to share...with (someone)'
sād 'to bid (on)' | sādād 'to bid against'

1Perfect tense only; imperfect is bīlāni, like the conative.

The personal object in a participative construction may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with naʕ 'with' or la- 'to') of the simple verb:

bādī ʔahāfi-lak ʕīf | bādī ʔahāfi 'I want to tell you something'
| 'I want to talk to you'
kātāb naʔbū | kātāb ʔabū 'He wrote a letter to his father'
lāʕabna naʕ mantāxāb bārūt | lāʕabna mantāxāb bārūt 'We played against the Beirut all-stars'

The inanimate object of a simple verb may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with b-) of the participative:

fāṣal ʔaʕr ʔaʔayāra | fāṣal b-ʕaʕr ʔaʔayāra 'He haggled over the price of the car'
| 'He haggled with them over the price of the car'
ḥāsābāt dāni | ḥāsābāt b-dāni 'I figured up my debt'
| 'I settled my debt with them'

Idiomatic examples: ēsāl 'to do (something)': ēsāl 'to treat (someone some way)'; sāmāh 'to allow (something)': sāmāh 'to forgive (someone)'; rāḥam 'to pawn (something), put up as security': rāḥam 'to bet (someone)'. Note also ḥāsāb and ḥāsāb, above.

Some participatives are derived from simple nouns, which designate either a kind of participant or a kind of participation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (Participant)</th>
<th>Participative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
ṣābāb 'friend' | ʔahāb 'to make or be friends with' |
rāfa 'companion' | rāfa 'to accompany' |
ʔadsam 'enemy' | ʔada 'to treat with hostility' |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (Participation)</th>
<th>Participative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
ḥiḥēe 'argument' | ʔahāhē 'to argue with' |
xīlāf 'difference, opposition' | xīlāf 'to oppose, differ with' |
ʔadāf 'coincidence, unexpected' | ʔadāf 'to encounter...unexpectedly' |
RECIPIROCATIVE VERBS

Reciprocative verbs, formed on Pattern VI (tFESal) [p. 88], are derived mainly from participatives (see above). If the underlying verb means 'X does Y to or with Z', then the reciprocative means 'X and Z do Y to or with one another'. Since the subject denotes both or all interacting parties, which are generally animate, a true reciprocative verb normally occurs only in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Reciprocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥākab 'to talk to'</td>
<td>ṭḥākub 'to talk (together)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātab 'to write to'</td>
<td>ṭkāṭabu 'to write one another'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāfah 'to shake hands with'</td>
<td>ṭṣāfahu 'to shake hands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāba 'to race' (trans.)</td>
<td>ṭsāba'yu 'to race' (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāya 'to (go) to meet (some-</td>
<td>ṭlāyu 'to meet, rendezvous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsab 'to suit, correspond</td>
<td>ṭnāsabu 'to match, correspond'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs nāsab and ṭnāsabu do not require an animate subject, hence the reciprocative may occur in the third-person feminine singular [423] as well as in the plural: hāl-yāla:n μā biṭnāsab '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): ṣādarau 'to hit one another, fight', from ḏa'ār 'to hit'; ṭāṭala 'to fight, quarrel', from ṣātāl '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 μač 'with' same 'together', or the like. For example ṣādrak mač āmmu 'He went into partnership with his uncle' (mediopassive), from the participative ṣādrak āmmu 'He took his uncle into partnership'.

Some of these derivatives may be construed either as ordinary mediopassives or as reciprocatives: kām āam-yāsāba:n mač sāyāra tānye 'He was having a race with another car' (mediopassive); but a-sāyārtēn kāmu āam-yāsāba:n 'The two cars were racing' (reciprocative).

SIMULATIVE VERBS

Simulative verbs are formed with the prefix t-. mainly on Pattern VI (tFESal) [p. 88]. in a few cases on quadriradical [p. 123] or n-suffix [p. 116] patterns. Most are derived from adjectives, some from nouns or verbs.

If the underlying word means 'X', then the simulative verb means 'to act X' (or 'to act like an X', or 'to act as if X'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Simulative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sāʾafer 'smart, clever'</td>
<td>ṭsāʾafer 'to act smart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marīd 'ill'</td>
<td>ṭmarīd 'to malingering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāʾīm 'naive'</td>
<td>ṭsāʾīm 'to act naive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāʾīf 'devil'</td>
<td>ṭsāʾīf 'to be naughty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malād 'child'</td>
<td>ṭmalādan 'to be childish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāʾīl 'ignorant'</td>
<td>ṭsāʾīl 'to ignore, act ignorant of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsi 'to forget'</td>
<td>ṭnāsaa 'to act forgetful of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāher 'to appear'</td>
<td>ṭgāhar 'to feign, simulate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāsūl 'lazy'</td>
<td>ṭkāsal 'to loaf, be lazy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the element of pretense or simulation that is found in the verbs derived from qualitative adjectives is not found in those derived from adjectives which are themselves essentially behavioral rather than qualitative. For example 'to act rude' is the same thing as 'to be rude':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Simulative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭqālāb 'rude, crude'</td>
<td>ṭqālāb 'to be rude, crude, gross'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭray 'bad, wicked'</td>
<td>ṭray 'to be bad, wicked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭraš 'lax, loose'</td>
<td>ṭraša 'to relax'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1In such cases the contrast between simulative and descriptive [p. 251] is neutralized.
INCHOATIVE VERBS

If an adjective means 'X', then its inchoative paronym means 'to become X'.

Inchoatives of Pattern ปาล (color-adjectives [p.130] are formed on Pattern IX (ปาล) [110]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ภาร 'red'</td>
<td>ภาร 'to become red, to blush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'yellow'</td>
<td>ผาย 'to become yellow, turn pale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'black'</td>
<td>ผา 'to become black'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The defective adjective [p.130] ปา 'bent, crooked' also has a Pattern IX inchoative: ปา 'to become bent, crooked'.

Some adjectives of Pattern ม (p.133) have inchoatives of the pseudo-quadriradical ปา pattern [116]:

- มุ 'Moslem' — ผา 'to become a Moslem'
- ม 'having blossoms' — ผา 'to bloom' ‘flowering’
- ม 'having leaves' — ผา 'to leaf out' 'leathery'

Note the contrast of these adjectives with the participles: ม 'in bloom', ม 'having become a Moslem' (p.117).

Inchoatives from other kinds of adjectives are mostly formed on simple patterns: ปา, ปาปา [p.117] for sound and defective verbs; ปา, ปา [p.59,63] for germinate and hollow:

- หน 'large, adult' — ผา 'to become large, grow up'
- ผา 'weak, ill' — ผา 'to weaken, become ill'
- ผา 'blind' — ผา 'to go blind'
- ผา 'light' (in weight) — ผา 'to become light(er)'
- ผา 'narrow, tight' — ผา 'to become narrow'

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern ปา (ปาปา) [p.86]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'better'</td>
<td>ผา 'to improve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'ahead'</td>
<td>ผา 'to progress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'to be easy'</td>
<td>ผา 'to become easier'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'to be related'</td>
<td>ผา 'to become related (by marriage)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'to own, possess'</td>
<td>ผา 'to acquire, take possession of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ผา 'to catch on, to understand'</td>
<td>ผา 'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

If a simple adjective means 'X', then its descriptive verb means 'to be X'.

Most descriptive verbs are formed on Pattern ปา, ปา [p.71], and occur mainly — in some cases always — in the imperfect tense and usually with a prepositional complement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Descriptive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ง 'easy'</td>
<td>ง 'to be easy' (for)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ง 'difficult'</td>
<td>ง 'to be difficult' (for)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ง 'stingy, miser'</td>
<td>ง 'to be stingy' (with s.o.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ง 'distant, far'</td>
<td>ง 'to be distant, far' (from)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ง 'correct, all right'</td>
<td>ง 'to be all right'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The descriptive verb ง 'to be kim(to) is correlative to the noun ผ '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 inchoative (e.g. ผ 'dead'), and if the correlative verb ผ 'to die' has no particle on the usual patterns (ปา or ปา), then the adjective does, in fact, function as a participle.

Some verbs, especially "descriptive" verbs, are not normally used in the perfect tense. See below.

In Classical Arabic, many descriptive verbs and simple inchoative verbs are put together into one class, meaning roughly 'to be or become X' (where the simple adjective means 'X'). These are double-aspect verbs, 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 (FatāL) [p.95], and are derived mainly from simple verbs.

Abstractives differ from their underlying verbs by a metaphorical shift in meaning from concrete to abstract, or from animate to inanimate, or physical to psychological, immediate to mediate, etc.; these shifts in meaning generally involve the type of subject or complement the verb takes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Abstractive Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kašaf 'to uncover, expose'</td>
<td>ktašaf 'to discover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamal 'to pick up, carry'</td>
<td>ḥtāmal 'to bear, put up with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatah 'to open' (e.g. a door)</td>
<td>fṭatah 'to open' (e.g. a meeting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatam 'to seal'</td>
<td>ḥtāxam 'to conclude, close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĉana? 'to embrace' (some)</td>
<td>ĉtana? 'to embrace' (e.g. a faith)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥama 'to contain; to keep' (Ela)</td>
<td>ḥṭamā 'to include, contain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašab 'to pick out, choose'</td>
<td>ṭṭarab 'to elect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masq 'to suck'</td>
<td>ṭṭamś 'to absorb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥašab 'to flame, blaze'</td>
<td>ḥṭab 'to be inflamed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xala? 'to create'</td>
<td>xṭala? 'to dream up, fabricate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaxad 'to take, get'</td>
<td>ṭṭaxad 'to take on, undertake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭalab 'to ask for'</td>
<td>ṭṭālab (Pat. V) 'to require'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few cases, Pattern VIII verbs are simultaneously abstractive and mediopassive: mašq 'to describe' - ṭṭamś (b-) 'to be characterized (by)'; mašar 'to connect' - ṭṭašal (b-) 'to put on, wear' - ṭṭābas 'to be obscure'.

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### AUGMENTATIVE (Frequentative and Intensive) VERBS

Augmentative verbs are formed on Pattern II (FaṭFaL) [p.77] or on one of the pseudo-quadriradical patterns FaṭFaL, FatFaL, FarFaL, or FaṣFaL [p.109].

Augmentatives are mainly derived from sound and geminate simple verbs of the FaṭFaL patterns (and rarely from hollow or FaṣFaL-pattern verbs).

A simple verb designating a kind of action does not specify whether the action is single or multiple, limited or extensive, restrained or forcelful. An augmentative verb, on the other hand, indicates that the action is enhanced in one way or another — repeated, extended, or intensified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Verb</th>
<th>Augmentative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>safa? 'to clap, slap'</td>
<td>saffā? 'to clap' (e.g. in applause or rhythm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭašaf 'to pick' (e.g. a flower)</td>
<td>ṭṭašaf 'to pick' (e.g. many flowers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥašar 'to break' (e.g. in two)</td>
<td>ḥṭašar 'to break' (e.g. to pieces)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One may say, for example, lā ṭṭašaf haṣ-hāṣ 'Don't pick those flowers' or, with the augmentative lā ṭṭašaʃ ḥaṣ-hāṣ. But in reference to a single flower, the simple verb only may be used: lā ṭṭaʃ ḥaṣ-hāṣ 'Don't pick that flower' (not lā ṭṭaʃaʃ...).

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 dāmas 'to trample, tread on', from dašas '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 intensive are in actual usage virtually synonymous with their underlying simple verb: raṣab and raṣṣaḥ 'to scare, startle', farṣ and farṣaḥ '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.

---

1 As a classicism, this derivative has a for Classical ʿ (which corresponds to d in words inherited via spoken channels).
Examples, Pattern II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraʔ 'to knock'</td>
<td>ṭarrəʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasal 'to wash'</td>
<td>xassal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xasəʔ 'to tear, rip'</td>
<td>xassəʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabah 'to slaughter'</td>
<td>dabah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabat 'to tie, hitch'</td>
<td>rabbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʃəb 'to scare, startle'</td>
<td>raʃəb (intensive or synonymous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafaʔ 'to push'</td>
<td>daffaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šamač 'to bring together, gather'</td>
<td>šammač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaxaʃ 'to draw (a) line(s) scribble'</td>
<td>šaxaʃ; cf. šaxwaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥadal 'to braid'</td>
<td>ḥaddal; cf. ḥḍdal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baram 'to turn, twist' (trans.)</td>
<td>baram; cf. ḏram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaʃar 'to shout'</td>
<td>şarrarax; cf. şarwaʃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FadFaL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baxaš 'to perforate'</td>
<td>baxwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖakaš 'to pick at, fool with'</td>
<td>ẖakwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daʃas 'to tread on'</td>
<td>daʃwas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaxaʃ 'to draw (a) line(s) scribble'</td>
<td>Šaxaʃ; cf. Šaxwaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šakk 'to prick, pierce'</td>
<td>Šakwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šalaḥ 'to take off' (e.g. clothes)</td>
<td>Šalwaḥ 'take off and throw around' (cf. ẖlaʃ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖalak 'to chew'</td>
<td>ẖalwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaraʃ 'to sting, bite'</td>
<td>Šarmaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaraʃ 'to crunch, gnaw'</td>
<td>Šarmaʃ; cf. Šarwaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔaʃ 'to pick up'</td>
<td>lāwaʃ; cf. lāʃaļ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natač 'to jerk' (intrans.)</td>
<td>nataʃəc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naff 'to jump'</td>
<td>nafwaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaxar 'to snort; snore'</td>
<td>Šaxawar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplicative Pattern (FaFafal):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraš 'to splash'</td>
<td>ṭarʃaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraʃ 'to crunch, gnaw'</td>
<td>ṭarʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraʃ 'to crumble' (trans.)</td>
<td>ṭarʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraʃ 'to turn; wrap'</td>
<td>ṭarʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaraʃ 'to cut, snip'</td>
<td>ṭarʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šata 'to pour, spill'</td>
<td>Šatfaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaraʃ 'to hit with a bang'</td>
<td>Šarfaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʃaḥ 'to wave'</td>
<td>laʃaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʃaḥ 'to splash around in the water'</td>
<td>laʃaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥadaš 'to scratch'</td>
<td>ḥadwaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥadak 'to tap, drum'</td>
<td>ḥadak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šabak 'to involve, entangle'</td>
<td>Šabak 'to entangle, complicate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šabaʔ 'to slam'</td>
<td>Šabaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥadas 'to pile'</td>
<td>ḥadas (also ḥaddas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭalaʕ 'to cheap' (in games)</td>
<td>ṭalaʕ (also Šalaʕ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭalaʕ 'to pick up'</td>
<td>ṭalaʕ (cf. ṭalaʕaʃ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaḥaš 'to drag'</td>
<td>Šaḥaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šadai 'to braid'</td>
<td>Šḍaḥai    (also Šḍaḥal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaŋal 'to cheat' (in games)</td>
<td>Šaŋal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥanaʃ 'to hiccup'</td>
<td>ḥaʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baram 'to turn, wind'</td>
<td>baram 'to wind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaFafal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Augmentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥala 'to pick up'</td>
<td>ḥala (cf. ḥalaʕaʃ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaḥaş 'to drag'</td>
<td>Šaḥaş</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaŋal 'to braid'</td>
<td>Šaŋal (also Šḍaḥal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šaŋal 'to cheat' (in games)</td>
<td>Šaŋal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥanaʃ 'to hiccup'</td>
<td>ḥaʃaʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baram 'to turn, wind'</td>
<td>baram 'to wind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPLICATIVE VERBS

Applicative verbs, which are denominative, i.e. derived from nouns, are mostly formed on Pattern II [p. 77], or on one of the quadriradical [117] or pseudo-quadriradical [109] patterns.

If a noun means 'X', then the applicative verb derived from it means 'to apply, give, put, make, take, (etc.), X':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Applicative Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zēt 'oil'</td>
<td>sayyat 'to oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōdra 'powder'</td>
<td>bōdar 'to powder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxāt 'tip, gratuity'</td>
<td>baxāt 'to tip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*qāṣr 'peel, skin, shell, bark'</td>
<td>*qāṣr 'to peel, (etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*amat 'furniture, furnishings'</td>
<td>*amat 'to furnish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxār 'steam'</td>
<td>baxār 'to steam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blāt 'flagstones, tile'</td>
<td>ballaf 'to pave with flagstones, tile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talifān 'telephone'</td>
<td>talifān 'to telephone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorr 'button'</td>
<td>sorr 'to button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāṣṣ 'stake'</td>
<td>xāṣṣ 'to impale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ālab 'mold'</td>
<td>*ālab 'to mold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārīx 'date' (day of year)</td>
<td>tārīx 'to date'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būz 'ice'</td>
<td>bāsamā ḍ 'to ice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banā 'anesthetic'</td>
<td>banā 'to anesthetize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāhar 'spice'</td>
<td>bāhar 'to spice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmaq 'frame'</td>
<td>barmaq 'to frame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basmar 'nail'</td>
<td>basmar 'to nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farīṣa 'brush'</td>
<td>farīṣa 'to brush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*assā 'foundation'</td>
<td>*assā 'to found, establish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some applicatives are formed on other patterns: *qāṣa (Pat. IV) 'to give (as a gift)', from ḍāsīyā 'gift'; ṭāṣṣāl 'to trick' (Pat. VI) from ṭāle 'trick'. A few are derived from formulaic phrases: bāsamā ḍ 'to say bāsamā ḍa' 'in the name of God...'.

Many denominatives, though not applicatives strictly speaking, are derived in comparable ways: tsawwa 'to shop, go to market', from sāt 'market'; sābbā 'to cause', from sābā 'cause', etc.

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 .bufel [131] and passive participles on the pattern mu.bel [132]:

Verb                Participles
ha'afa 'to put away, keep'...ha'afaf 'having put away, keeping'  
mahafa 'having been put away, kept';
fa.afa 'to open'.........fa.tahe 'having opened'  
masfa 'open, having been opened';
labae 'to put on' (clothes)....labas 'having put on, wearing'  
masbas 'having been put on, being worn';
mazen 'to weigh'............mazen 'having weighed'  
maszen 'having been weighed';
yaze 'to despair'...........yaze 'despairing, desparate'  
mayazane 'despaired(of)'  
(bal'ano);
ha.ffe 'to put'............ha.ffe 'having put'  
mahafaf 'having been put';
ba.ffe 'to sell'...............ba.ffe '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; xaf 'to fear' (Root x-w-f), act. part. xayef 'afraid'.

Defective verbs [p.186] have active participles ending in i and passive participles on the pattern mu.afi [133]. (Medial radical w remains intact):

tara 'to read'..............ta.ri 'having read'  
m.rai 'having been read';
bana 'to build'.............ba.ni 'having built'  
ma.ni 'having been built';
maza 'to intend'...........ma.zi 'intending'  
mizi 'intended';
ma. fi 'to go, walk'........ma. fi 'going, walking'  
ma. fi 'walked(on)'  
(cel';

1There are some exceptions. In some areas, for instance, the form mabyun 'sold' may be heard. The word madyun 'in debt' is used without any underlying verb (cf. den 'debt').

In some regions (especially Palestine) defective passive participles keep the vowel a: ma'ri, mabni, etc. Passive participles of the defective "impersonal" passive verbs gemi (cimi) 'to faint' and qudi (cim) 'to be done for, be a goner' are formed on the pattern mu.afia: mu.afia cimi 'fainted', mu.afia cimi 'done for'. [See p.365.]

The anomalous verb sada 'to come' has active participle ayye (both masc. and fem.) (see p.76, footnote.)

Quite a few sound and defective verbs — especially intransitive verbs on Pattern Fadil, bya.afe (p.71), and especially verbs that usually take animate subjects — have active participles on the pattern Fadlan [132]:

Verb                Active Participle
kaber 'to grow up'...........kabr 'having grown'  
cafe 'to get thirsty'...........caf 'thirsty'  
kafeb 'to get tired'...........kafeb 'tired';
bad 'to get cold'...............bard 'cold' (animate only; inanimate bared);
masi 'to forget'..............masyun 'having forgotten'  
(sor mazi)  
same 'to hear'..............same 'having heard; listening'  
(sor safe);
arab 'to flee'...............harb 'having fled, fleeing'  
(sor hars);
rashi 'to be watered, irrigated'...rayun 'well-watered, irrigated'

The hollow verb afe 'to get hungry' (Root a-w-e) has participle b赞an 'hungry', in some areas b赞an.  
Geminate verbs [189] do not have participles on this pattern.

In most cases in which there are alternative participial forms (e.g. same and safe), the Fadlan pattern is typical of Syria Proper, while the Fadil pattern is more cosmopolitan.

The participles of all augmented and quadriradical verbs are formed by prefixation of a- (or a- before two consonants, or m- in certain classicsms). In the passive participle, the last vowel is always a. In the active participle, it is e for sound verbs, i for defective:...
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 ą):

**Geminate:**
- VII: məqaff ‘to be lined up’...məqaff ‘lined up’
- VIII: ḥəfarr ‘to be required’...mahfarr ‘required, obliged’
- IX: səfarr ‘to blanch, turn’...məfarr ‘(having) turned pale’

**Hollow:**
- VIII: nəqū ‘to be told’...məqū ‘(having been) told’
- VII: ḫāʕ (la-) ‘to need’...mahʕ (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:** ʔəɡarr ‘to insist, resolve’...mgarr ‘insistent, resolved’

**Pattern X:** stabh ‘to deserved’...mastḥa ‘deserving’
- stardd ‘to ask(form...) back’...mstatt(a)radd ‘having asked... back’

**Pattern FeJalal:** ʃmə hann ‘to feel secure’...mtmə hann ‘feeling secure’

In the active participles of all other augmented hollow triradical verbs, the last stem vowel is ı. (The next-to-last vowel in Pattern X is sometimes lost):

**Pattern IV:** ʔəḥāʕ (bi-) ‘to surround’...muhāʕ (bi-) ‘surrounding’ (Pass. m̄ahāʕ fi ‘surrounded’)  
**Pattern X:** stafād ‘to benefit(form)’...mast(a)fīd ‘having benefited’  
- stasār ‘to consult’...mstasār ‘having consulted’ (Pass. mstasār ‘having been consulted’)
A few augmented verbs are supplanted by participles formed on patterns corresponding to simple verbs, e.g. min 'to buy'; act. part. gāfi 'having bought' (also nafāri); sāhū 'to hire' (pass. part. māfūr 'hired' (in reference to persons only; cf. māsāfar '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 fāsī 'to wake up', wāri 'to be swollen', manā 'to hit', mādīl 'to educate' from tālūl 'to learn, be educated'.

Of the two kinds of participles, the ACTIVE PARTICIPLE (ism l-fāsīl) depicts the consequent state of its underlying verb's subject referent, whereas the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE (ism l-mafūl) pertains to the referent of its complement. Thus the verb fātū 'to open' has an active participle fātū 'having opened' and a passive participle mafi 'open, having been opened'. The verb tafā 'to agree, come to an agreement' has a.p. mafi 'in agreement' and p.p. māfī 'tafi' (Cālī) 'agreed (upon)'.

The term 'consequent state' is defined to include only the necessary consequences of a kind of event (process, activity). Verbs like fā, wāri, and mādīl refer, by definition, to changes of state; hence every event (process, etc.) referred to with these verbs introduces a state that could reasonably be indicated by means of their participles.

Certain other verbs, however, e.g. sofā '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. darāb 'to hit', sometimes do—sometimes do not—imply a significant change of state (depending on context and circumstances); the participles ābāb 'having hit' and māsab 'having been hit' could be used for some, but not all, of the situations to which their underlying verbs apply.

Though hitting (d-dārb) might be thought of as a physical act par excellence—entailing, of course, physical consequences—it is worth noting that hitting is often also a social act. The situation involving ābāb 'the hitter' and māsab '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 māsab even though he has suffered no significant physical injury or displacement.

Passive Participles

Most passive participles are derived from transitive verbs. The subject to which a passive participle is predicate corresponds to the underlying verb's object. Examples:

1. l-fanāmin mafrūl mūn 'He has been made';
2. d-dārb lossuhi murarrara 'I am invited to [dinner at] someone else's house' (p.p. of dārā 'to invite');
3. mān māsīm ān ṣikrūk [AO-115] 1 'The winner is made';
4. 1 wasa fiha ṣomnon ṣāhūs [AO-115] 'He found in it a copper flagon whose mouth was sealed' (p.p. of ṣārū 'to isolate');
5. ṣātī l-mān dīrām mākwa [AO-43] 'He is married' (p.p. of ṣākwa 'to marry off').

Passive participles are also used attributively [p. 501] like any ordinary adjective. Examples:

6. māḳūb ṣākbar 'an insured letter' (p.p. of ṣākbar 'to insure');
7. ṣāā ṣāhū 'stuffed squash' (p.p. of ṣāhū 'to stuff');
8. 1-māṣīm l-māṣāra 'the enchanted city' (p.p. of ṣāṣar 'to enchant');
9. māṣālā hādīiyah māṣīfī 'a (well-)known monthly magazine' (p.p. of ṣādīr 'to know, come to know');
10. ṣān wasal ṣātī māṣāmāk ṣalātī 'many problems in common', lit. '... shared between them' (p.p. of ṣāṭār 'to share');
11. ṣālāb l-māṣāfrū ṣātī ṣārāra 'the flower worn in her hair' (p.p. of ṣārā '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]: ṣānī ṣālīsā ṣālī 'walked on(').
The subject for this kind of predicate is the antecedent of the subject of the fixed pronoun: has-sahhāde māšī ʿalāhā 'This rug has been walked on' (literally: 'This rug, [there has been] walked on it'. [See Explication, p.431.] The participle itself does not show agreement with the subject [p.429], remaining always in the base form (masculine/singular). [See Impersonal Passive Verbs, p.237.] Examples:

12. L-ḥakīme ʿalā-ṣadīde mawṣūq fiha

'The new government is trusted', 'There is confidence in the new government' (masq b- [p.479] 'to have confidence, faith in')

13. ḥal-ḥumūr muṣtułaf fiha mān zammān

'These matters have been disagreed over for some time' (ṣāla b- 'to agree over, disagree about')

14. nāṣarīto māškūk fiha

'His theory is doubted (or dubious)' (ṣāk k b- 'to have doubts about, to suspect')

15. bīḥabīn ṣāna fi bāḥṣ ṣālā ṣalar ʿalā-ḥatūm m-ṭaddār ʿalāhā ʿalā-ṣadīb ṣalā ṣalar ʿalā-

'He believes that there are some souls [who are] foreordained to eternal torment' (ṭaddār ʿala 'to decree, foreordain for s.o.').

Examples of attributive use:

16. L-ḥaqīqā l-mabḥūṣ fiḥā

'the cases investigated' (ḥaqīq b- 'to inquire into, to investigate')

17. L-māṯūr ʿal-muttaqā fi ṣalā

'the plan agreed upon' (ṭutafa ʿalā 'to agree upon')

18. bīt muṭṭāna fi ṣanī ṣālā

'a house well cared for' (ṣāna b- 'to look after, take care of')

19. L-lūgā l-mattarīḥam mānīn

'the language translated from' (ṭtarīḥam mān 'to be translated from')

Active Participles

The subject of a predicative active participle corresponds to the subject of its underlying verb: ṣallān ʿalā-ṣadīfa 'All of them agreed' - ṣallān ṣaddīfa 'All of them are in agreement'.

A predicative active participle has the same kind of complementation with an object: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'He put on his new clothes' - ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'He's wearing his new clothes'.

Despite its adjectival inflection, then, the active participle is generally verb-like in syntax. It functions as an additional tense, contrasting mainly with the perfect [p.330]. While the perfect ṣalā ṣūjūb 'He put on his clothes' carries no implication whether or not he still has them on, the participial predicate ṣalā ṣūjūb means definitely 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 ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 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 ʾa [163]: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's the writer of this book', while the participle-object construction has the absolute form: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's written this book', 'She's the one who wrote this book'.

With pronoun suffixes, however, connective ʾa is used for the feminine in any case: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's the one who wrote it' or 'She's the writer of it'.

As also with verbs, the complementary form (-ni) of the first-person singular pronoun is used with transitive participles: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'He's taught me', 'He's the one who taught me'; ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's taught me', 'She's the one who taught me'. (Cf. the annexive form -i with the occupational noun in construct: ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'He's my teacher', ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's my teacher'.) See Personal Pronouns (p.544).

With the other pronoun suffixes, there is no distinction between complementary and annexive forms, hence ṣalā ṣūjūb, for instance, is sometimes to be interpreted as 'He's taught him', and sometimes as 'his teacher'; similarly ṣalā ṣūjūb ṣaddīfa 'She's taught him' or 'his teacher(f.)'.

Active participles (like some passive participles [p.482]) also take the suffix forms of the preposition la- plus pronoun, rather than the disjunctive forms [p.479]: ṣaddīfa-li ṣalā ṣūjūb(la) 'having translated(m.) for me', ṣaddīfa-li ṣalā ṣūjūb(la) 'having translated(f.) for me'. (Cf. ṣaddīfa-li (a translator(m.)) for me', ṣaddīfa-li (a translator(f.)) for me'.)
Still another verb-like trait of active participles is that the subject of a participial clause sometimes comes between the participle and its complement: mattas' in kolayâtma mac ba'âma [PVA-16] 'We're all in agreement with one another', jâlca bantak 'ep-qâire ba'ra [DA-234] 'Your youngest daughter has turned out (to be) blonde'. (See Verb-Subject word order, p. 000.)

Miscellaneous examples of active participles in their predicative use:

20. pana bâyé 'addem sulab 'I've come to submit a request' (a.p. of sâha [p. 76])

21. fit sâz mâ'âen man faştânek 'There's a button (fallen) off your dress' (a.p. of mâ'âen 'to fall')

22. matmakken hanna tânâm 'Does have a good command of English?' (a.p. of tânâm 'to master')

23. pana bâybo b-lira w-râbê [adapt. SAL-198] 'I got it for a pound and a quarter' (a.p. of râbê 'to bring, get') The participle implies 'got it and still have it', in contrast to the perfect bâbho 'I got it (and may or may not still have it)'.

24. katter xérak, nohna matçâshyin ya bêk [AO-91] 'Thank you (but) we have (already) dined, sir' (a.p. of tçâshyin 'to dine, sup').

25. sâba g-pânca mû màspa l-dard? [DA-212] 'What's the matter with the maid (that) she hasn't scrubbed the floor?' (a.p. of màspa 'to scrub')

26. ?anta mçârerr ptûfer? [DA-248] 'When have you decided to leave?' (a.p. of mçârerr 'to decide')

27. 'alât-lo bêk hêk saqliân [AO-114] 'She said to him, 'Why (are you) so vexed?'' (a.p. of saqliân 'to become angry, displeased, unhappy')

28. g-pat' la?'en marti, bont ñammi, lâbse tyûb 'l-hazân w-yâgga bâçêtê [AO-118] 'In the morning I found my wife, my uncle's daughter, dressed in mourning and with her hair cut' (a.p. of lâbse 'to put on' (clothes) and tûb 'to cut')

29. 1-'aç bâtu mois-sâma fûlca ?on lo-rûrë gûb 'l-marê [DA-218] 'The weather is nice and the sun has come out; come on, let's go down toward the Marê' (a.p. of fûlca 'to come out')

The term 'active' is rather inappropriate when applied to the participles of certain kinds of intransitive verbs, especially passive verbs [p. 234]; for instance mantâsi 'having been forgotten' is the 'active' participle of naša '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 mantâsi is practically synonymous to mašli 'forgotten'. In many such cases the passive participle of the active verb is the one normally used while the active participle of the passive verb (as mantâsi) is very rare or virtually never used at all (as in the case of tarâm 'to translate': p.p. mašli 'translated'; passive verb tarâm 'to be translated' whose active participle (theoretically 'mattarSam') is not heard. (But cf. mattarSam mânna, p. 264 ex. 19.)

A complemented active participle is generally not used attributively, but the participial clause—like a verbal clause—may be subordinated as a whole [p. 495]: l-bant 7âçuورة warda b-âçra 'The girl has put (i.e. is wearing) a flower in her hair'—l-bant halli 7âçuورة warda b-âçra 'the girl wearing a flower in her hair'. (cf. the complemented passive participle, which can be subordinated like any adjective: l-warde l-mâjûtä b-âçra 'the flower worn (i.e. put) in her hair'. See, however, p. 305.)

Uncomplemented active participles may be used attributively, like ordinary adjectives: wâlår dâýê 'a lost child' (a.p. of dâýê 'to get lost'); xâsâ xârân 'a drunken man', mlôdi x-âsâ 'my hungry children', x-ânse l-mëdye 'the past year' (a.p. of mlôd 'to pass'), xâm matîlîôm 'educated people', l-bâxnà l-ârêân 'the sunken (or sinking) ship' [see p. 207] (a.p. of ârê 'to sink').

When an active participle is used with its normal complementation suppressed, it becomes an agentive [p. 275] or dispositional [277] adjective: mårêç âmêl 'a comprehensive plan' (qanâl 'to include, comprehend', transitive); l-mâbâni fahâmân 'an able chemist', i.e. a chemist who understands (byafham) his business. See p. 275.
Person Inflection in Feminine Active Participles

When a feminine participle is used with a suffix (pronoun, or - plus pronoun [p.479]), the connective t (163) is used: 

lābse 'f. wearing' + -1na 'them' - lābston 'wearing them'; 

fāṭḥa 'f. having opened' + -1na 'us' - fāṭḥī-1na 'having opened... for us'.

If, however, a feminine participle with a pronoun suffix refers to the person spoken to ('you'), then -i- is inserted between the connective t and the suffix: lābstiton 'you, f. wearing them'; fāṭhī-1na 'you, f. having opened...for us'. Examples:

31. ḥānti ḥaṭābti? 
   'Are you(f.) the one who wrote it (m.?)' (As contrasted with hiyye ḥaṭābto? 'Is she the one who wrote it?' and ṭama ḥaṭābto 'I(f.) am the one who wrote it')

32. ṭalāmātīni ḥad-dars
   'You(f.) have taught me that lesson' (As contrasted with ṭalāmātīn ḥad-dars 'She has taught me that lesson')

33. ṭān ṭāḥārbi ṭhā?
   'Why are you(f.) quarreling with her?' (a-p. of ṭāḥāb 'to pick a fight with, to quarrel with' (On present-tense English translation, see p.269.) (Cf. ṭān ṭāḥābī ṭhā? 'Why is she quarreling with her?')

34. ḥānti māḥīlī-1
   'You(f.) have been making his life miserable for him' (cf. hiyye māḥīlī-ūlī... 'She has been making... for him')

35. hiyye madīnnaṣṣato ʿalā
   ḥalūsto ḥānti
   madīnnaṣṣato ʿalā 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: dīnnaṣṣato 'she married him', dīnnaṣṣotī 'you married him'.)

These second-person participial forms are created by analogy to verbs in the perfect tense, which have a suffix -ti (p.178: lābštī 'you(f.) put on', lābṣṭīhon 'you put them on'; katabī 'you(f.) wrote', katabītī 'you wrote it(m.)'; māḥīlī 'you(f.) made', māḥīlī-ūlī 'you made... for him', etc. )

Note that in the perfect tense, t marks second person and i marks feminine, while in the participle this analysis must be reversed.

The Relation of Participles to Verbal Aspects

If a verb is PUNCTUAL (or MOMENTANEOUS), i.e. if it purports to designate a kind of event, then its participles generally depict the state of affairs SUBSEQUENT to that event:

fāṣ 'to wake up'................. fāṣye 'having waked up, awake'

ṣumma 'to name, call'............ māṣṣima 'having named'

māṣek 'to take hold of'........... māṣek 'having been taken hold of, holding'

tīllam 'to learn, be educated'... māṭlīlamm 'educated, having learned'

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:

ṣabk 'to get drunk'.............. sakhān 'drunk'

ṣeṣyār 'to change' (trans.)...... māṣṣyār 'having changed' (trans.)

māṣṣyārar 'having been changed'

tālamm 'to learn, be educated'... māṭlālamm '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:

māṣeṣar 'to expect, await'........ māṣeṣgar 'expecting, awaiting'

māṣeṣgar 'being expected, awaited'

māṣeq 'to occupy, keep... busy' māṣeq 'occupying, keeping... busy'

māṣeq 'occupied, busy'

māṣmanar (ṭalā) 'to look for'........ māṣmanar (ṭalā) 'looking for'

māṣmanar (ṭalā) 'sought, looked for'

māṣeq (ṭalā) 'to include'........ māṣeq (ṭalā) 'including'

māṣeq (ṭalā) 'included'
No matter whether the state depicted by a participle is subsequent or concurrent, it must in any case be a consequent state; i.e., it must be a necessary consequence of whatever it is the underlying verb designates. Thus there is really only one kind of semantic relationship between verbs and participles, not two.

Verbal aspects, unfortunately, cannot actually be deduced from the nature of the phenomena referred to; one and the same phenomenon may be viewed from various perspectives, and it commonly happens that Arabic and English take different perspectives on it. These differences would cause no confusion except for the fact that they are often too subtle to be reflected in the usual glosses, translations, and definitions encountered in textbooks and reference books. See Psychological State participles, p. 272.

Examples of concurrent state participles:

36. lassāni mastraddād

'I'm still undecided' (a.p. of masradi to vacillate, durative)

37. rāhde mara t-tasliyye bass

'She's only out for a good time' (lit. "running after amusement") (a.p. of rāhda to run, durative)

38. ḥakk-ūnē māṣtāma fīha mnāh

'This garden is well kept' (p.p. of ḥassad to take care of, durative)

39. n-nās kalīfa farjānē ma-dākhāne [adapt.fr., DA-301]

'The people are all rejoicing and laughing' (a.p. of farja and dākhā, durative)

40. mlād āmmāna kāna ṣayyafūn 'ānūh [DA-152]

'Our cousins were spending the summer there' (a.p. of ṣayyaf to spend the summer, durative)

41. ṣū l-ṭrajā halli lāzomatkā? [DA-128]

'What things do you need?' (lit. a.p. of ṣaṣṣa to buy or to acquire, active)

42. mōṣtanprīnkon āl-ṣāhā [SAL-70]

'We're expecting you for dinner' (a.p. of maspar to expect, await, durative)

43. ẓāfī lo sābēh bāl-ṣayāl

'He's daydreaming', lit. 'His mind is swimming in fantasy' (a.p. of saḥāb to swim, durative)

44. ṣana māliyyan muṣtanēd ẓālī

'I'm financially dependent on him' (a.p. of ālam to depend on, durative)

Some verbs may be either punctual or durative, for instance sāwa 'to do, to make', ṣāfī 'to sink'. The participles of such verbs may indicate either the subsequent state (masa 'having made', ṣāfī 'sunken') or the concurrent state ('making', 'sinking').

Verbs with an Inceptive Aspect. Some verbs that are used (duratively) in reference to an activity or a situation are also used (punctually) in reference to its INCEPTION, i.e., to the event which marks the beginning of that activity or situation. For example nām 'to sleep' (durative, as in nām'a 'I slept two hours') and 'to go to sleep, or 'to lie down to sleep' (punctual, as in nām'a ṣābek 'I went to bed early'). Thus the participle nīyem 'asleep' is subsequent with reference to the inception and concurrent with reference to the duration. Other inceptive-aspect verbs:

Verb | Durative | Inceptive | Participle
--- | --- | --- | ---
ṣāfī 'to sink' | ṣāfī 'to sink down' | ṣāfī 'sitting, seated'
ṣābek 'to ride' | ṣābek 'to mount, get on' | ṣābek 'mounted, riding'
sākēt 'not to talk' | sākēt 'to stop talking' | sākēt 'not talking'
lābēs 'to wear' | lābēs 'to put on' | lābēs 'wearing'
mālish 'to carry' | mālish 'to pick up, load on' | mālish 'carrying'
mālah 'being carried'
māṣar 'to travel' | māṣar 'to set out on a trip' | māṣar 'traveling'
ḏītā 'to rest, be at...to relax, put one's...māṣāh 'at ease' | māṣāh 'at ease'
māṣāh 'self at ease'

Examples in use:

45. al-māṣāh lāli čand ṣamadh bēk xēr gēbō [DA-217]

'I'm concerned about Ahmed Bey; he's all right, I hope?' lit. 'My attention is occupied with...'' (p.p. of ṣamāl 'to occupy, concern', durative)

46. g-saʃer kān ḥāmel fāra b-māxālēbo

'The hawk had (i.e., was carrying) a mouse in its claws'

47. kant ẓāsim tabāt manṭāh bāl-kit [DA-218]

'You should have stayed resting at home'

48. bībī yūfo, ẓūfī-li yā ṣāfēd ẓamēn nāyēm? [DA-217]

'I'd like to see him; (would you) see for me whether he's up or in bed?'
Psychological State Participles. Arabic verbs of perception, cognition, affect, and the like are predominantly punctual while the corresponding 
English verbs are predominantly durative. Compare, for instance, Arabic 
Eṣref 'to find out, to recognize, to become acquainted with' with the En-
lish verb to know.

The participles of this kind of Arabic verb are perfectly regular, de-
picting the psychological state consequent upon (and subsequent to) the 
event: Eṣref (or Eṣrefān) '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: šāna Eṣref 'I know' (not 'I am knowing'
or 'I have known').

Similarly in reference to the past, a participle that is complementary
or attributive to a verb in the perfect (p.340) may be translated into
English with the simple past tense: kant Eṣref 'I knew' (in contrast to
the simple perfect Eṣraf 'I found out'). 2

Examples of "psychological" verbs and their active participles:

ṣāf 'to see'(momentarily) . . . ṣāyef 'to see, be looking at' (dur.)
hass 'to feel'(momentarily) . . . hasse 'to feel, be feeling' (dur.)
hadd 'to like, take a liking . . . ḥaddibb 'having taken a liking to, to
to' (momentarily) . . . ḥaddibb 'like' (durative)
ṣāmī 'to catch on, understand' . . . ṣāmī 'to understand' (dur.)
(mentarily)
ṣāmīn
ṣāme 'to hear'(momentarily) . . . ṣāme 'to hear, be listening to' (dur.)

1The verbs actually involved here are those which are commonly complemented
either by a clause or by an object, excluding, therefore, words like maṣafī,
'to enjoy one's self', ṣaṣāṣ 'to suffer', ṣakkar in the sense 'to cogi-
tate' (but including e.g. ṣṭakar 'to think', which is normally com-
plemented by a clause or an object).

2The English simple present and past are also used, however, in translating
Arabic dispositional [p. 326] and annunciantory [325] predications, e.g. ša-
na baṣrēf 'I know', thus obscuring the sometimes crucial distinction between
verb and participle in Arabic: ṣāmī kalāmā. 'Do you understand what he
is saying (or what he said)?' vs. biṣāṣ fārā 'Do you understand Ar-
abic?' kant taṣāṣ fārā (b-hal-ma)? 'Did you understand Arabic (at
that time) ?'. The two latter sentences are dispositional, and cannot nor-
mally be expressed except by the imperfect tense.

3These translations of ṣāme or ṣamīn only apply to the purely sensor
meaning of ṣāme, as opposed to the cognitive meaning (as in 'to hear
about', 'to hear from', 'to hear the news', etc.) Thus kaṣāṣ samīn
ṣamīn 'It seems as if I've heard his name', not "... as if I hear
his name'. In the cognitive sense, samī means 'having heard(of), familiar
with (the sound of)'.

49. ṣāyef hal-qaṣārī taddāk xadra [DA-235]
50. šāna ṣāyef la-yūkān maṣī tīyēde [DA-217]
51. ḥassē kāṣanī xalīn ṣādīd
52. hal-qaṣārī mū ʾaṣābīni
53. mū ṣāmī ṣalā rāḥāta
54. ṣūyed baddel dolūrāt
55. ṣāmī ṣāf ṣu-nāmāsh ʾal-ḥūsā [DA-252]

Psychological participle clauses (Present state):

56. šāna fi ṣalāmē ḥāseb hālī ṣāfīr u-ṣāfīm [AO-83]
57. ʾaṣūr bāsh rāā bi-tomālī ḥallī
dūse fīṣāh bīṣt tīyēde [AO-114]
58. šāna mū kant ṣaṣām wāno
dāṣer has-sīnā ṣāṃdēk
bād-ḥal-dāraš [DA-251]
59. šāna ṣāmī ṣu-lā ḥūlī nūlī ṣāmī [AO-118]

PARTICIPLES AND ASPECTS 273

Psychological state participles. Arabic verbs of perception, cognition,
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(mentarily)
ṣāmīn
ṣāme 'to hear'(momentarily) . . . ṣāme 'to hear, be listening to' (dur.)

1The verbs actually involved here are those which are commonly complemented
either by a clause or by an object, excluding, therefore, words like maṣafī,
'to enjoy one's self', ṣaṣāṣ 'to suffer', ṣakkar in the sense 'to cogi-
tate' (but including e.g. ṣṭakar 'to think', which is normally com-
plemented by a clause or an object).

2The English simple present and past are also used, however, in translating
Arabic dispositional [p. 326] and annunciantory [325] predications, e.g. ša-
na baṣrēf 'I know', thus obscuring the sometimes crucial distinction between
verb and participle in Arabic: ṣāmī kalāmā. 'Do you understand what he
is saying (or what he said)?' vs. biṣāṣ fārā 'Do you understand Ar-
abic?' kant taṣāṣ fārā (b-hal-ma)? 'Did you understand Arabic (at
that time) ?'. The two latter sentences are dispositional, and cannot nor-
mally be expressed except by the imperfect tense.

3These translations of ṣāme or ṣamīn only apply to the purely sensor
meaning of ṣāme, as opposed to the cognitive meaning (as in 'to hear
about', 'to hear from', 'to hear the news', etc.) Thus kaṣāṣ samīn
ṣamīn 'It seems as if I've heard his name', not "... as if I hear
his name'. In the cognitive sense, ṣamī means 'having heard(of), familiar
with (the sound of)'.

56. kān fi ṣalāmē ḥāseb hālī ṣāfīr u-ṣāfīm [AO-83]
57. ʾaṣūr bāsh rāā bi-tomālī ḥallī
dūse fīṣāh bīṣt tīyēde [AO-114]
58. šāna mū kant ṣaṣām wāno
dāṣer has-sīnā ṣāṃdēk
bād-ḥal-dāraš [DA-251]
59. šāna ṣāmī ṣu-lā ḥūlī nūlī ṣāmī [AO-118]
### Antecedent State Participles

The active participles of some of the more common TRANSLOCATIVE verbs (verbs having to do with going, coming, etc. to and from places) may be used to indicate not only a subsequent state (e.g. rāṣec 'having returned', from rāṣec 'to return'), but also an ANTECEDENT state (rāṣec 'going to return, returning').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Subsequent State</th>
<th>Antecedent State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rāṣec 'to go'</td>
<td>rāṣeb 'gone'</td>
<td>'going, going to go'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?āṣec 'to come'</td>
<td>?āṣey 'having come'</td>
<td>'coming, going to come'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jālač 'to go out, up'</td>
<td>jāleč 'gone up, out'</td>
<td>'going up, out, etc.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāsul 'to descend'</td>
<td>nāsul 'having descended'</td>
<td>'descending, going to descend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārak 'to leave'</td>
<td>tārek 'having left'</td>
<td>'leaving, going to leave'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daxal 'to enter'</td>
<td>dāxel 'having entered'</td>
<td>'entering, going to enter'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xarāš 'to go out'</td>
<td>xāreš 'gone out'</td>
<td>'going out, going to go out'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāsul 'to arrive'</td>
<td>wāsul 'having arrived'</td>
<td>'arriving, going to arrive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāši 'to remain, stay, bāši'</td>
<td>'remaining, left'</td>
<td>'going to remain, stay'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ad 'to stay'</td>
<td>?ād 'staying'</td>
<td>'going to stay'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāfar 'to set out on a trip'</td>
<td>sāfer 'having set out, traveling'</td>
<td>'going to set out'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of antecedent state participles:

- **60.** L-sūfle māṣle bāc?d bokra
  [DA-243] 'The family is arriving tomorrow'
- **61.** šu bāk?k mā nāṣul mā tādū l-yāhwe? [DA-199] 'You mean you're going before having coffee?!' (lit. 'Do I find you about to go...?)'
- **62.** ḫana tārek ?l-yām 'I'm leaving today'
- **63.** ḫonti nāsul bāl-mubārā? 'Are you competing in the tournament?'. lit. 'Are you descending into... (e.g. the arena)'

1 Sometimes inappropriately called 'verbs of motion'.

### NON-STATE Participles

Certain participles may be used in a dispositional sense [p. 277], for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Dispositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥarrak 'to move'</td>
<td>matṭarrak</td>
<td>'moving'</td>
<td>'movable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāwawal 'to travel'</td>
<td>matṭamül</td>
<td>'travelling'</td>
<td>'disposed to travel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ādash 'to accept'</td>
<td>maḍbāl</td>
<td>'accepted'</td>
<td>'acceptable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ara 'to read'</td>
<td>maqār (classicism)</td>
<td>'having been read'</td>
<td>'legible'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dispositional sense is sometimes more or less limited to set phrases, e.g. taṣer matṭamül 'traveling salesman' (i.e. a salesman who travels, not a salesman who is traveling); kal?mto malm?tu '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]:

- **64.** mēn ḥalab? 2-l-yām? āṣiȳe? 'Who are you taking out this evening?'
  (a.p. of ḥalab, causative [p. 243] of ḥalab)
- **65.** ḫumra lāḥ̄ak 'He's out to get out', lit. 'He's catching up with you' (a.p. of ḫak 'to catch up with, catch提拔')
- **66.** ḫanu kont ḥalab la-šarzak [DA-243] 'I was going (to go) to see you'

Participles are also sometimes used dispositionally in emphatic negative statements of this sort:

- **67.** ḫonti fāthén ḥa-sab?  'Do you open (or are you open) on Saturday(s)\
  (lit. 'Are you open (or are you open) on Saturday(s)')?
- **68.** lābse ḥalongi ḥalme 'She wears pretty clothes'
- **69.** l-kamštār māṣyey rāṣa ṭāl? bēn l-mtxta  ḫān?ni bān '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.** mājja māl̄i maṭkāsura 'I certainly wouldn't marry her!'
- **71.** ḫalme ḫonti fāth̄ānī ḫala ṭāk̄āl, mānī ḫāṣe ḥal̄yan 'Since you’re speaking to me (personally) about this matter, I won't let you down.'
Some active participles may be used in an agitative \([p.278]\) or characteristic \([279]\) sense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Agitative or Characteristic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šamal</td>
<td>'to include'</td>
<td>šamal</td>
<td>'including'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barad</td>
<td>'to get cold'</td>
<td>bāred</td>
<td>'(having gotten) cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fašem</td>
<td>'to understand'</td>
<td>fašem</td>
<td>'who understands'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most agitative adjectives of Pattern maFēEL \([p.133]\) are etymologically active participles of Pattern IV verbs \([250]\), but have lost their complementation (if any) and their strictly stative sense.

Substantivalized active participles designating human beings are often used in the occupational sense \([p.305]\) (which corresponds for nouns to dispositional adjectives): maCīlīm 'teacher', ḥāyek 'weaver'. Inanimate active participles are sometimes used in an agitative sense: maḥāf 'hindrance' (from maḥāf 'to prevent, hinder'). bāšās (classicism) 'motive', from bāšā 'to send, to induce'.

Many passive participles are substantivalized in a resultative sense (generally involving some idiomatic specialization of meaning): ḥāfēb 'letter' (from ḥāfēb 'to write'). maṣāl 'creature' (from ṣašā 'to create').

Substantivalization as such does not necessarily destroy the stative sense of a participle, however. Note maṣāf 'employee', maṣāzām 'host', ṣaḥāb 'refugee', etc., which are normally always stative, and mašāl 'author, composer', which may be either stative (as in mašāl ḥaš-ṣaṭāb 'the one who wrote this book') or occupational (as in mašāl ḥaš-ṣaṭāb 'a writer of books').

A dispositional adjective indicates that the person (or thing) referred to is especially inclined or habituated or qualified to do what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns FašāL \([p.128]\), FašāL \([129]\), and FašāL \([129]\) are the ones generally used.

**Underlying Verb**

\[\text{Pattern FašāL:}\]

- ḥasād 'to envy'
- ṣašēl 'to be embarrassed, ashamed'
- ṣābūr 'to be patient'
- ṣākūt 'not to talk, be silent'
- ṣāfūr 'to forgive'
- ṣāḵūl 'to eat'
- ṣašēk 'to laugh'

With medial radical semivowel, the Pattern is FašūL: ġayūr 'jealous' (in disposition), from ġūr 'to be jealous'.

- ḥašāl 'lazy'
- ḥašāl 'daring'

Simple verbs, but correspond to ṭašāl 'to loaf' and ḥašāl 'to dare', respectively \([p.249]\).

**Pattern FašēL:***

- ḥabb 'to feel'
- ḥašā 'to be greedy'
- ḥašāb, ḥašāb 'to lie'
- ḥašāb 'to cheat'
- ḥabb 'to weep, cry'

Note the close relationship between dispositional adjectives of Pattern FašēL and Occupational Nouns of the same Pattern \([p.305]\).

\[\text{There is no clear-cut noun-vs.-adjective distinction in human designations formed on Patterns FašēL and FašāL (among others). \[\text{See p.382.}\]}\]

\[\text{There is, however, a clear enough distinction in meaning between the dispositional and occupational categories; all dispositional derivatives have been included with adjectives, while occupational are obviously to be classified as nouns.}\]
Underlying Verb | Dispositional Adjective
--- | ---
*barad* 'to get cold' | *barrid* 'sensitive to cold'
*balafl* 'to blurr' | *ballif* 'bluffer'
*štagl* 'to work' | *šagfl* (good)worker'
*šaraf* 'to spend' | *šarif* 'spendthrift'
*šafl* 'to play' | *šafl* 'player'

A slightly different pattern (*Pašfl* [p.129]) is used for some dispositionalas: *šakšir* 'drunkard' from *šaker* 'to get drunk'.

It is important to distinguish between dispositional and stative adjectives; the English translations do not always express this distinction: *šakšir* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative in disposition) vs. *šaker* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative for the moment); *šabir* 'patient' (i.e. in disposition) vs. *šabir* 'patient' (i.e. waiting patiently); *kasul* 'lazy' (i.e. habitually) vs. *kasšan* 'feeling or acting lazy'.

On the use of certain participles in a dispositional sense, see p.275.
On the adjective-like use of verbs in a dispositional sense, see p.328.

**AGENTIVE ADJECTIVES**

Agentive adjectives, formed on Pattern *mašfl* [p.133], depict their referent as doing — or tending to do — what is designated by a paronymous transitive verb: *šaraf* 'to do disgust': *mašruf* '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb</th>
<th>Agentive Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>šarab</em> 'to tire'</td>
<td><em>šabab</em> 'tiring, tiresome'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šabab</em> 'to bother, disturb'</td>
<td><em>šabab</em> 'bothersome, disturbing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to please, satisfy'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'satisfactory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šar</em> 'to harm'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'harmful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to concern, be important to'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to bore'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'boring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to hurt, inflict pain'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'painful, hurtful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to ruin, annihilate'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'ruinous, destructive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to make...laugh'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'funny, laughable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to make...comfortable'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'comfortable' (e.g. chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to inspire with awe, fear'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'awesome, fearsome'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'to kill, cause death'</td>
<td><em>šarn</em> 'deadly, lethal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHARACTERISTIC ADJECTIVES**

Characteristics adjectives, formed on the pattern *mašfl* [p.133], are derived from simple nouns. They depict their referents as being characterized by, or notably endowed with, the thing designated by the underlying noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Characteristic Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>šafr</em> 'taste'</td>
<td><em>mašfre</em> 'having good taste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šafr</em> 'danger'</td>
<td><em>mašfre</em> 'dangerous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šam</em> 'age'</td>
<td><em>mašam</em> 'aged'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šam</em> 'sun'</td>
<td><em>mašam</em> 'sunny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šam</em> 'oil'</td>
<td><em>mašam</em> 'greasy, oily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šam</em> 'air, breeze'</td>
<td><em>mašam</em> 'draughty, airy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šam</em> 'tongue'</td>
<td><em>mašam</em> 'articulate, eloquent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note that *mašam* — like the subject of *mašaf* — refers to an external agent, while the subject of *mašaf* 'to hurt, pain' refers to an "internal" agent: *raši byušab* 'my head hurts me'. The agentive *mašam* does not correspond to *mašaf* — it does not mean 'painful' in this sense.*

*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
---|---
ḥaʔa | ‘right’ | mḥaʔa | ‘in the right’
maraʔ | ‘leaves’ | mūreʔ | ‘leafy, leafy’
sakhr | ‘blossoms’ | mashkr | ‘blooming, flowering’
?arʔaʔ | ‘piastre’ | maʔrʔaʔ | ‘well off’
ḥafn | ‘belly’ | mahfān | ‘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 -dni to a noun base; a few are derived from words other than nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣanhū</td>
<td>‘south’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūsʔi</td>
<td>‘origin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭanāl</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td>‘(profession of) medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muʔmūf</td>
<td>‘apricot(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ-ṣam</td>
<td>‘Damascene’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With suffix -dni [See also p. 282]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣans’m</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūḥ, ṭūḥ</td>
<td>‘soul, spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and ṭūḥ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs</td>
<td>‘self, psyche’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relative derivatives showing stem changes

Nouns with the suffix -e/-a [p.138] lose this suffix when –i is added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sirēk</td>
<td>‘agriculture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaʔaʔa</td>
<td>‘truth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēffe</td>
<td>‘feeling, emotion, sentiment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēde</td>
<td>‘custom, usage, habit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍarūra</td>
<td>‘necessity’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relatives derived from defective nouns [p.211], or nouns ending in a radical semivowel, have –a- representing the semivowel before the –i. Other stem modifications may also occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫaʔa</td>
<td>‘starch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫaʔa</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab</td>
<td>‘prophet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab</td>
<td>‘(Arabic) morphology, grammar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaw</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥam</td>
<td>‘Hama’ (a city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaw</td>
<td>‘winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣax</td>
<td>(annex. form ṣaxu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣam</td>
<td>‘sky’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also the forms ṣamawi ‘of blood, bloody’, from Cl. ḍam (Colloq. đam) ‘blood’; yadawi ‘manual’, from Cl. yad (Colloq. ṭid) ‘hand’, sanawi ‘annual’ from Cl. sanawi (Colloq. sone). In these bi-radical words [p.40] –a- is a stem-formative and does not represent a radical.

**Grammatical Types of Underlying Words**

Relative adjectives derived from ethnic collectives [p.301]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carab</td>
<td>‘Arabs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭark</td>
<td>‘Turks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kard</td>
<td>‘Kurds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arman</td>
<td>‘Armenians’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣenēkān</td>
<td>‘Americans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafraḥ</td>
<td>‘Westerners’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μad</td>
<td>‘Bedouins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaxj</td>
<td>‘Copts’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When substantivized, these relatives function as unit nouns [p.301].
Derived from noun plurals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣatt 'lad[y]' pl. ṣattā: ṣattāti</td>
<td>'ladies' (e.g. clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naktā 'joke' pl. naktāt</td>
<td>'full of jokes, funny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawal 'nation' pl. dawalā: dawal</td>
<td>'international'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See also Occupational Nouns [p.306].

Derived from prepositions [p.485]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>feḥ 'above, over, up'</td>
<td>ḥeqâni 'upper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taḥt 'below, under, down'</td>
<td>ḥeqâni 'lower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*addâm 'in front (of)'</td>
<td>*addâmâni 'front, fore(ward)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara 'behind'</td>
<td>warâni 'back, hind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xalt 'behind, rear'</td>
<td>xaltâni 'back, rear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāṣf 'among, amid, in the middle'</td>
<td>wāṣfâni 'middle, mid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓumma 'inside'</td>
<td>ẓummaîni 'inner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barra 'outside'</td>
<td>barraîni 'outer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derived from miscellaneous noun-type words [p.382]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Relative Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣwa'al 'first'</td>
<td>ṣwa'alâni 'first, primary', ṣwa'alıni 'initial'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ̄处方 'last'</td>
<td>ṣ̄处方âni 'last, final'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ̄ aşfar 'yellow'</td>
<td>ṣ̄ aşfarâni 'yellowish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ̄ asmawd 'black'</td>
<td>ṣ̄ asmawâni 'blackish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsî 'five'</td>
<td>xamsîni 'of five, of the fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣ̄ arbēîni 'forty'</td>
<td>ṣ̄ arbēîni 'of the fortieth' (as in Āid ṣ̄ arbēîni 'fortieth anniversary')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Doubling of the ṣ̄ is an anomalous stem change.
ABSTRACT NOUNS (INCLUDING GERUNDS)

Most verbs and adjectives, and some nouns, have an abstract noun
derived from them—a noun which serves to name the kind of event, function,
state, or quality predicated by means of the underlying word. The adjectives 'honest', for instance, has an abstract derivative 'honesty'; the noun 'brother' has a derivative 'brotherhood'; and the verb 'to fly' has a derivative 'flight'.

An abstract noun derived from a verb is called a GERUND or VERBAL
NOUN (masdar).

The relationship between an underlying word and its abstract derivative
is based on the syntactical transformation of a predicative clause
(p.401) into a concrete phrase [464]: l-walad 'the boy is clever'
\( \text{\textdagger} \) tati 'the boy's cleverness'; r-ra\( \text{\textdagger} \)l mat 'the man died'
\( \text{\textdagger} \) tati '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].

Concrete 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 'eating' is also used to mean 'food'; the gerund
'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 'visiting' is also used to mean 'a visit'; 'writing'
to mean 'a difficulty'.

Particularization converts a mass noun into a count
noun [p.366]: t\( \text{\textdagger} \)l\( \text{\textdagger} \)l 'three difficulties', z\( \text{\textdagger} \)t\( \text{\textdagger} \) '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: 'hitting, striking
(not 'a blow', for which the instance noun 'blow'
is used).

Some gerunds, however, are not used in a particularized
sense even though a true instance noun is also lacking:
'flight, flight' (not 'a flight').

Many abstract nouns are simultaneously materialized and particularized.
Thus 'growing' means not only 'growing, vegetating' (abstract),
and 'plant' (materialized and
'vegetation' (materialized), but also 'a plant' (materialized and
'Vegetation' (materialized)). Likewise 'personality' means not only the
particularized. Likewise 'friendship' (abstract), but more often 'a personality'.

In some cases, different gerundial forms from the same
verb are concretized in different senses. The verb has its
'to study', 'learn' has two gerunds, 'study' and 'visit'; 'study'
and 'visit' are used in the passive sense as 'lesson', 'visit' in the active
sense as 'a study'.

The verb 'to judge' and 'to govern' has a gerund
which is used abstractly in both senses, but concretely
only in the sense 'judgement, decision': the form
'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 Fa\( \text{\textdagger} \)l, Fa\( \text{\textdagger} \), and Fa\( \text{\textdagger} \).

Those derived from relative adjectives (ending in -i) are formed by
suffixing '-ly' (p.280).

Pattern Fa\( \text{\textdagger} \)l (p.146):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'brave'</td>
<td>'bravery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ugly'</td>
<td>'ugliness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'enemy'</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'friend'</td>
<td>'friendship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'honest'</td>
<td>'honesty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cruel'</td>
<td>'cruelty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stupid'</td>
<td>'stupidity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The literal meaning of masdar is 'source', which would seem to imply that
a verb is derived from its abstract noun instead of the reverse. This
term was probably arrived at by way of metaphysical—rather than
linguistic—considerations, perhaps under the influence of Platonism.

2. masdar is seldom used abstractly except as paronymous complement (p.442):
byambot 'it grows a growth', i.e. 'it grows (considerably)'.

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264 NOUN DERIVATION

285 ABSTRACT NOUN FORMS
Abstract nouns of Pattern Fa£L are mostly derived from words of Patterns Fa£L [141], and Fa£L [139,126].

Various other patterns are less commonly used for abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns: Pattern Fa£L, as in Samal 'beauty' (from Samal 'beautiful'); Pattern Fa£L, as in gajr 'childhood, youth' (from gajr 'child, young'); Suffix -iyye, as in herrye 'freedom' (from harr 'free'); and others.

Note that some abstract nouns - like their English counterparts - do not always indicate the positive quality or condition predicated by the underlying adjective, but rather the range of values defined by the adjective and its antonym: adj. Samal 'length' (not necessarily 'longness'), tā'adl 'weight' (not necessarily 'heaviness').

Some adjectives and nouns are correlates (or particles) of descriptive verbs [p.251]: their abstract nouns are also gerunds to those verbs: adj. bxil 'stingy', verb byaxal 'to be stingy'.

Pattern Fa£L [p.141]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ƙāfir 'large'</td>
<td>kāfi 'large size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāfir 'small'</td>
<td>gāfi 'small size'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā'adl 'heavy'</td>
<td>tā'adl 'heaviness; weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏeṣad 'far'</td>
<td>ḏeṣad 'distance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaxil 'stingy, miser'</td>
<td>ḏaxil 'stinginess'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawil 'long'</td>
<td>ṭawil 'length'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern Fa£l [p.142]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭall 'little, few'</td>
<td>ṭall 'small quantity, scarcity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣadde 'intensity'</td>
<td>ṣadde 'intensity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawame 'strength, power'</td>
<td>ṭawame 'strength, power'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṫacr 'large quantity'</td>
<td>ṫacr 'large quantity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāghbe 'friend'</td>
<td>ṭāghbe 'friendship, companionship'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abstract nouns of Patterns Fa£L and Fa£l are derived mainly from adjectives of Pattern F(a)FTL [p.127]. Those which have a final radical semivowel or the last two radicals alike have the final -e; most others do not.
Abstract nouns derived from relative adjectives (or nouns) [p.280] are formed by the suffixation of -yye [139]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mašt̪ami 'patriotic(ic)'</td>
<td>mašt̪amiyye 'patriotism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ummi 'illiterate'</td>
<td>?ummiyye 'illiteracy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čabqari 'ingenious, genius'</td>
<td>Čabqariyye 'ingenuity, genius'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9amali 'eternal'</td>
<td>9amaliyye 'eternity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ašab</td>
<td>9ašabiyye 'relativity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ašabi 'nervous'</td>
<td>9ašabiyye 'nervousness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9anãni 'ego[ti(st)(ical), selfish'</td>
<td>9anãniyye 'egotism, selfishness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many derivatives of this sort are less often used abstractly than in a concretized sense [p.284]; especially common are those designating institutions (either organized or implicit, and either universal or particularized):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Concretized Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas̪ihi 'Christian'</td>
<td>mas̪ihiyye 'Christianity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bašari 'human'</td>
<td>bašariyye 'mankind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuyāi 'communist'</td>
<td>šuyāiyye 'communism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9aširi 'socialist'</td>
<td>9aširiyye 'socialism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9amhuri 'republican'</td>
<td>9amhuriyye 'republic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgap</td>
<td>nāgapariyye 'theory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaxşi 'personal, individual'</td>
<td>šaxşiyye 'personality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riyaš</td>
<td>riyašiyye 'mathematics' (pl. only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some abstract or concretized derivatives are formed by suffixing -yye to words of various other kinds. In some cases a change in the base pattern accompanies the suffixation:

- mas sûli 'responsible': mas sûliyye 'responsibility'
- ĉabd 'slave, enslaved': ĉabdîyye 'enslavement, slavery'
- huümme 'he, it': huümme 'identity'

A number of abstract nouns are formed by suffixing -yye to relatives: ?ahammiyye 'importance' (from ?ahamm 'more important'), ?aktariyye and ?ašabîyye 'majority' (from ?aktar 'more, most', and ?ašlab 'most, major portion'), ?ašaliyye 'preference', (from ?ašfal 'preferable'), etc. Abstract derivatives of Pattern ?ašl adjectives [p.139] and miscellaneous augmented words are not formed in any very consistent ways: 9ašam 'blackness' (from ?ašmad 'black'), ĉami 'blindness' (from ?ašma 'blind' and ĉami 'to go blind'), aswād 'manliness' (from 9as̪āl '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 Fašl; other common patterns are Fašl, Fašal, Fašâl, Fašâl, Fašâl, Fašâl, Fašâl, Fašâl, Fašâl. Examples:

**Pattern Fašl [p.139]:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9ar sem 'to cut, wound'</td>
<td>9aršh 'wounding, cutting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9as 'to break'</td>
<td>9asr 'breaking, breakage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fas 'to understand'</td>
<td>fasm 'understanding, comprehension'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9axad 'to take'</td>
<td>9axād 'taking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9asa 'to shake'</td>
<td>9asa 'shaking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ašat 'to please'</td>
<td>9asat 'pleasure, pleasing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaf 'to fear'</td>
<td>xaf 'fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9as 'to kiss'</td>
<td>9as 'kissing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9āč 'to sell'</td>
<td>9āč 'selling, sale'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ama 'to throw'</td>
<td>9ama 'throwing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9ači 'to become conscious'</td>
<td>9ači 'consciousness, becoming conscious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9asan 'to raid'</td>
<td>9asan 'raiding'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pattern FaL [p. 141]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'ad</td>
<td>'to hate'</td>
<td>ba'd</td>
<td>'to feel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakam</td>
<td>'to judge'</td>
<td>hak'am</td>
<td>'to keep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la'deb</td>
<td>'to play'</td>
<td>la'deb</td>
<td>'to wear, put on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habb</td>
<td>'to like, love'</td>
<td>habb</td>
<td>'to like, love'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FaL [p. 143]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hasad</td>
<td>'to envy'</td>
<td>hasid</td>
<td>'to put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samal</td>
<td>'to do, make'</td>
<td>samal</td>
<td>'to damage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sara</td>
<td>'to sweat'</td>
<td>sara</td>
<td>'to request, order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silef</td>
<td>'to make a mistake'</td>
<td>silef</td>
<td>'to make a mistake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaL is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns FaL [p. 146]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to succeed'</td>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to grow, vegetate'</td>
<td>nasid</td>
<td>'to be generous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasad</td>
<td>'to corrupt'</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>'to get warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dain</td>
<td>'to last'</td>
<td>dari</td>
<td>'to be low'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rasi</td>
<td>'to tremble'</td>
<td>ra'sid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'sid</td>
<td>'to out'</td>
<td>ra'sid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasid</td>
<td>'to get dry'</td>
<td>nasa'id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to run, flow'</td>
<td>nasa'id</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pattern FaL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to deny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasa'id</td>
<td>'to accomplish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two different gerunds of zar'ad correspond to two different meanings of the verb: zar'ad ['to sow, plant', has the gerund zar'ad.

Another gerund is dars; see p. 285.
Augmented Gerundial Patterns

Verbs of Pattern II(\(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\)) \([p.\ 77]\) have gerunds of Pattern \(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\), excepting defective verbs, which have Pattern \(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{LE}\), or sometimes, \(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>callam</td>
<td>(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pallak</td>
<td>(\text{fa}:\text{si}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saff (\text{to heat})</td>
<td>(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda (\text{to take, guide})</td>
<td>(\text{ta}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is specialized to some extent for gerunds designating sounds or noises.

Verbs of Pattern III (\(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\)) \([p.\ 80]\) have gerunds of Pattern \(\text{m}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\); (Defective form: \(\text{m}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\) \([81]\)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f(\text{si})Lo (\text{to bargain})</td>
<td>(\text{ms}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t(\text{kh})ab (\text{to write to})</td>
<td>(\text{ms}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ma})(\text{ma}) (\text{to make}) (\text{ms}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
<td>(\text{ms}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of Pattern IV (\(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\)) \([p.\ 82]\) have gerunds of Pattern \(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\) (defective form \(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\) or \(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\)); (for hollow verbs, \(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L}\)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{fa})(\text{li})an (\text{to announce})</td>
<td>(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ad})(\text{ra}) (\text{to go on strike})</td>
<td>(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{a})(\text{k})(\text{ra}) (\text{to honor, treat hospitably})</td>
<td>(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{a})(\text{ra}) (\text{to perform, execute})</td>
<td>(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ah})(\text{al}) (\text{to transfer, transform})</td>
<td>(\text{fa}\mathcal{E}\text{L})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial-weak verb \(\text{man}\) \(\text{to believe}\) \([p.\ 85]\) has the gerund \(\text{man}\) \(\text{belief}\).
NOUN DERIVATION

Verbs of Patterns V and VI (tFa'eeL and tFa'eeL) [pp. 86, 88] have gerunds of Patterns tafa'eeL and tafa'eeL respectively. (Defective forms tafa'ee, tafa'ee):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taddam 'to progress'</td>
<td>taddam</td>
<td>thamal 'to neglect'</td>
<td>taddam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taddam 'to learn'</td>
<td>taddam</td>
<td>tawam 'to cooperate'</td>
<td>taddam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thada 'to provoke'</td>
<td>thada</td>
<td>tasa 'to be equalized'</td>
<td>thada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying verb of Pattern II or III: tkisba 'to correspond with one another' and kisba 'to correspond with (someone else)' are both served by the gerund mkisba '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 (nFa'eeL and Fta'eeL) [pp.91,95]; have gerunds of Patterns nfa'eeL and yfa'eeL respectively. (Defective forms nfa'ee or yfa'ee, yfa'ee or yfa'ee):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaraf 'to be dismissed'</td>
<td>ngaraf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfa'eeL 'to be agitated'</td>
<td>nfa'eeL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hafa 'to decline'</td>
<td>hafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasa 'to withdraw, be by one's self'</td>
<td>nasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying simple verb: sta'eeL 'to be busy, to work' and sfa'eeL 'to busy', 'to occupy', are both served by the gerund sfa'eeL 'work, busy working'. In some cases of Pattern VIII, a simple gerund is used even though the underlying simple verb itself is not used: tskar 'to think': gerund tskar 'thought'; sara 'to buy': gerund sara 'buying, purchase'.

Gerunds of Pattern IX (FeaLL) verbs [p.101] have the Pattern sFeaLL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ħmar 'to redden, to blush'</td>
<td>ħmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sghirr 'reddening, blush'</td>
<td>sghirr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of Pattern X (staFeaLL) [p.102] have gerunds of Pattern staFeaLL (sound and geminate):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>staFeaLL 'to use'</td>
<td>staFeaLL</td>
<td>staFham 'to enquire'</td>
<td>staFham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staFbal 'to receive'</td>
<td>staFbal</td>
<td>staFadda 'to procure supplies'</td>
<td>staFadda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With initial radical semivowel, the pattern is staFeaLL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>staFad 'to import'</td>
<td>staFad 'import, importation, importing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For hollow verbs, the pattern is staFeaLL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>staFad 'to benefit'</td>
<td>staFad 'usefulness, benefit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For defective verbs, the pattern is staFeaLL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>staFse 'to exclude'</td>
<td>staFse 'exclusion, exception'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective with initial radical semivowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>staFsa 'to seize'</td>
<td>staFsa 'seize'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quadriradical and Pseudo-quadriradical verbs generally have gerunds of Pattern FaaLae [p.159] (FaaLae, FaaLae, etc.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taršam 'to translate'</td>
<td>taršam 'translation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xarbaš 'to mess up'</td>
<td>xarbaš 'mess, messing up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wašmaš 'to whisper'</td>
<td>wašmaš 'whispering'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs with t- formative [p.85]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tawdaš 'to be childish'</td>
<td>tawdaš 'childishness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēšran 'to be dazed, astonished'</td>
<td>dēšran 'astonishment, stupefaction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭešram 'to be naughty, mischievous'</td>
<td>ṭešram 'mischievous, naughtiness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few classicisms, the pattern tafa'eeL is used for the gerunds of t-formative verbs: tadašram 'decline, decadence' from ḥadāšer 'to decline, become decadent'.

Pattern FaaLaeL verbs [p.123] have gerunds on the pattern sFeaLL, tFa'eeL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stamān 'to feel confident, secure'</td>
<td>stamān 'confidence, security'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SINGULATIVES

A singulative noun designates an individual unit or instance of what its underlying noun designates collectively or in general. Singulatives are usually formed by suffixing -e/-a [p.138]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Noun</th>
<th>Singulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xass 'lettuce'</td>
<td>xasse 'a head of lettuce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sācēr 'hair'</td>
<td>sācra 'a hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fsār 'thought, thinking'</td>
<td>fsāra 'a thought, an idea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarx 'shouting'</td>
<td>sarxa 'a shout, a cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōs 'kissing'</td>
<td>bōsē 'a kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baṭar 'cattle'</td>
<td>baṭara 'a cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabbūn 'flies'</td>
<td>dabbūnē 'a fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahās 'gravel, pebbles'</td>
<td>bahāsē 'a pebble'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-āmāda), and the noun it is derived from is called a COLLECTIVE (ism l-gāmē).

It should be clearly understood that collectives (except for ethnic collectives [p.301]) are grammatically singular, though the English translation may be plural: dabbūn 'flies'. Collectives — since they are mass nouns — may have plurals of Abundance or Variety [368]: dabbūnē 'many flies', while singulatives are of course count nouns: dabbūnē 'one fly', dabbūnētēn 'two flies', ṭlatt dabbūnētēn 'three flies'.

Almost all singulatives are derived either from gerunds or from material mass nouns; an exception is lēle 'a night', from lēl 'nighttime'.

To avoid misunderstanding this statement, it should be noted that 'designate', as used in this book, does not mean 'refer to'. A collective or an abstract noun may, of course, be used to refer to a particular instance of what it designates (e.g. hal-xass 'this lettuce', fsāra 'my idea'); it is not restricted to speaking in generalities or universals. But if a particular instance is referred to with a collective or abstract noun, its separateness or individuality is to be inferred from the context, and is an incidental matter; while an instance referred to with a singulative is explicitly and relevantly a separate instance.

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: māt raḥšāl 'a man's death' — māt raḥšāli 'a man died'; ḫakl 'l-lāhi 'the eating of meat, eating the meat' — ḫakli 'l-lāhi 'ate the meat' (or byākol 'l-lāhi 'eats the meat').

In the case of transitive verbs, therefore, a gerund may be used either in an active or a passive sense: ḫall 'r-raḥšāl... 'the man's killing (someone)'; ḫall 'r-raḥšāl... '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: ḫall 'r-'killing' for both ḫall 'r-'to kill' and ḫall (or ḫal) 'to be killed'; ḫal 'r-'eating' for both ḫal 'r-'to eat' and ḫal (or ḫal) 'to be eaten'; ḫal 'r-'work, being busy' for both ḫal 'r-'to occupy, to busy' and ḫal 'r-'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: ḫall 'r-raḥšāl... 'the man's killing (of) the thief'; ṭačṭin 'l-ḥabb 'mālādo 'the father's teaching (of) his children'. See p.440.
Collectives and Units

1. Almost all kinds of vegetables, fruits, grains, flowers, fruit trees, grasses, and the like, are designated by collectives and units:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badamānān ‘eggplant’</td>
<td>badamānānīn ‘an eggplant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batāṣa ‘potato(es)’</td>
<td>batāṣēye ‘a potato’ [cf. p. 212]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašmē ‘apricot(s)’</td>
<td>mašmē ‘an apricot’ [p. 31]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lē ‘almond(s)’</td>
<td>lēnē ‘an almond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamē ‘wheat’</td>
<td>ṭamē ‘a grain of wheat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banāṣsē ‘violets’</td>
<td>banāṣṣē ‘a violet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marā ‘roses; flowers’</td>
<td>marā ‘a rose, a flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasā ‘pepper’</td>
<td>fasā ‘a pepper, peppercorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxāl ‘date palms’</td>
<td>maxāl ‘a date palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēlē ‘grass, weeds, herbs’</td>
<td>ēlē ‘a blade of grass, a weed, an herb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāṣṣ ‘straw’</td>
<td>ṭāṣṣ ‘a straw’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also the generic terms ḥabb ‘grain’ (unit ḥabb), ṣab’t ‘blossoms’ (unit sab’t), saḏār ‘trees, shrubs’ (unit saḏara), mara ‘leaves’ (unit mara), baṣr ‘seed(s)’ (unit baṣre), ṭaṣbān ‘cane, stalk(s)’ (unit ṭaṣban).

A few plant designations have the same form for both collective and unit: fāṣr ‘fungus, mushroom(s)’, the generic term nābēz ‘a plant’ or ‘plants, vegetation’, term ‘s-samak ‘snapdragon(s)’ (lit. ‘fish mouth’); etc.

Quite a few mass nouns designating plants, however, either have no unit derivative at all, or have one that is seldom used. In such cases a periphrastic phrase may be used, consisting of a generic unit term in contrast with the specific mass term [p. 462]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūm ‘garlic’</td>
<td>rās tūm ‘a garlic bulb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣnōbar ‘pine’</td>
<td>saḏāret ṣnōbar ‘a pine tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ḥabb) ṣnōbar ‘pine nuts’</td>
<td>ḥabbet ṣnōbar ‘a pine nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēnēb ‘grapes’</td>
<td>ēnē or ḥabbet ēnēb ‘a grape’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Some kinds of animals are designated collectively, including: Four kinds of domestic mammals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baṣar ‘cattle’</td>
<td>baṣara ‘a cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanam ‘sheep’</td>
<td>ḡanam ‘a ewe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣē ‘goats’</td>
<td>maṣēye ‘a (nanny) goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēl ‘horses’</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 supplied by the term faras ‘mare’.1 Periphrastic unit constructs for these collectives may be formed (as in English) with rās (pl. rūs) ‘head’: rūs baṣar ‘a head of cattle’, rūs xēl ‘a horse’.

Several kinds of birds (mainly fowl):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍē ‘chicken(s)’</td>
<td>ḍē ‘a hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baṭ ‘duck(s)’</td>
<td>baṭa ‘a duck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waṣṣ ‘goose’</td>
<td>waṣṣ ‘a goose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṣal ‘partridge(s)’</td>
<td>ḡaṣal ‘a partridge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡamām ‘pigeons’</td>
<td>ḡamām ‘a pigeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būm ‘owls’</td>
<td>būm ‘an owl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saḥaṣ ‘fish’</td>
<td>saḥaṣ ‘a fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣadaf ‘shellfish, oyster(s)’</td>
<td>ṣadaf ‘an oyster, a shellfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣfānē ‘sponge(s)’</td>
<td>ṣfānē ‘a sponge’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 There is also, of course, the ordinary count noun ḡaṇ ‘horse’ (pl. ḡēṇ ‘horses’).
Several kinds of insect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dabban</td>
<td>'flies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nammis</td>
<td>'mosquitos'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naj²l</td>
<td>'bees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam²l</td>
<td>'ants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farra²k</td>
<td>'butterflies, moths'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eit</td>
<td>'clothes moths'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadd</td>
<td>'caterpillars, worms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarad</td>
<td>'locusts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba³n</td>
<td>'bedbugs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?am³l</td>
<td>'lice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.) Collectives designate miscellaneous other sorts of material things which are familiar both in the aggregate and piecemeal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badd</td>
<td>'eggs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawr</td>
<td>'embers, coals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fazm</td>
<td>'charcoal, coal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikkar</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadd</td>
<td>'caterpillars, worms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba³n</td>
<td>'bedbugs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?am³l</td>
<td>'lice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: ġarab 'an Arab', from the collective ġarab '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-ġarab 's-sūriyyfin 'The Syrian Arabs', rīsu l-ġarab '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: tlātē ġarab 'three Arabs' [501]. That is to say, the absolute form of the numeral - not the construct form [170] - must be used before these collectives.

The unit noun in many cases has no plural (since the ethnic collective serves this function quite adequately), while in other cases a true plural exists in addition to the collective: tork 'Turks' (coll.): torki 'a Turk' (unit): ?atrāk 'Turks' (pi.). Thus tlātē tork 'three Turks', but tlātē ?atrāk (same translation).

All ethnic unit nouns have, of course, femaline derivatives [p.304]: ġarabiyye 'an Arab woman', torkiyye 'a Turkish woman'.

Further examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?amērkān</td>
<td>'Americans'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?anglīf</td>
<td>'English'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?alqān</td>
<td>'Germans'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūsēs</td>
<td>'Russians'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodu</td>
<td>'Bedouins'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namar</td>
<td>'Gypsies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kord</td>
<td>'Kurds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arman</td>
<td>'Armenians'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arkas</td>
<td>'Circassians'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūnīn</td>
<td>'Greeks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūmī</td>
<td>'Greek (Catholic or Orthodox)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?abf</td>
<td>'Copts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahād</td>
<td>'Jews'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ethnic designations on internal plural patterns (p. 218) such as mas'ar 'Egyptians' (sg. mas'ir), maṣṣarā 'Christians' (sg. maṣṣāri), etc. may generally be used either as collectives or as true plurals: tiṣṭa maṣṣarā or tlaṭt maṣṣāri 'three Egyptians'.

Some speakers treat the word darrā 'Druzes' as a collective rather than a plural (sg. darā). Similarly fraṣṣāmiyye 'French (pl.)' is generally used as a collective, while the singulative fraṣṣāwā 'Frenchman' also has a true plural fraṣṣāmiyyān.

Some speakers tend to assimilate almost all the ethnic collectives to true plurals, using either the construct or absolute forms of numerals before them: tlaṭt ṭamārkan (or tiṣṭa ṭamārkan), etc.

Many ethnic designations, of course, have no collectives (in Colloquial use, at least), but only a singular and plural: ḥaḍī 'Indian', pl. ḥaḍī̊d; suḏāni 'Sudanese', pl. suḏāniyyān.

Gerunds and Instance Nouns

The gerunds of many simple triliteral verbs have singulatives derived from them. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Instance Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍarrab 'to hit, strike'</td>
<td>ḍarrab 'hitting, striking'</td>
<td>masāl 'a blow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laṣeb 'to play'</td>
<td>laṣeb 'playing'</td>
<td>laṣeb 'a play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafṣa 'to sneeze'</td>
<td>ṣafṣa 'sneezing'</td>
<td>ṣafṣa 'a sneeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍāx 'to be nauseated'</td>
<td>ḍāx 'nausea, dizziness'</td>
<td>ḍāx 'an attack or wave of nausea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍaṣṣar 'to touch, feel'</td>
<td>ḍaṣṣar 'touching, feeling'</td>
<td>ḍaṣṣar 'a touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māt 'to die'</td>
<td>māt 'death, dying'</td>
<td>māt 'a death'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafṣa 'to push'</td>
<td>dafṣa 'pushing'</td>
<td>dafṣa 'a push'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takk 'to click, tick'</td>
<td>takk 'clicking, ticking'</td>
<td>takk 'a click, tick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naṣṣ 'to jump'</td>
<td>naṣṣ 'jumping'</td>
<td>naṣṣ 'a jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāṣa 'to kiss'</td>
<td>bāṣa 'kissing'</td>
<td>bāṣa 'a kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaża 'to raid'</td>
<td>ḡaża 'raiding'</td>
<td>ḡaża 'a raid'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Fačč [291], for instance, have singulatives of Pattern Fačč [140]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Instance Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nazzel 'to descendent'</td>
<td>nazzel 'descent'</td>
<td>masāl 'a descent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṣṣel 'to fall'</td>
<td>maṣṣel 'falling'</td>
<td>maṣṣa 'a fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raṣṣel 'to return'</td>
<td>raṣṣel 'returning'</td>
<td>raṣṣa 'a return'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Instance Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡelef 'to make a mistake'</td>
<td>ḡelef 'being mistaken'</td>
<td>ḡelef 'a mistake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasafā to look, glance</td>
<td>nasafā 'looking, sight'</td>
<td>masafā 'a look'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣafar 'to travel'</td>
<td>ṣafar 'traveling'</td>
<td>ṣafar 'a trip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏāb 'to be absent'</td>
<td>ḏāb 'absence'</td>
<td>ḏāb 'an absence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥarṣak 'to move'</td>
<td>ḥarṣak 'movement'</td>
<td>ḥarṣak 'a movement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaṣṣāl 'to work'</td>
<td>ṭaṣṣāl 'work'</td>
<td>ṭaṣṣāl 'a job'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few Pattern II (tafačč) gerunds (p. 293) have singulatives derived from them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gerund</th>
<th>Instance Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭamāṣhā 'to hint'</td>
<td>ṭamāṣhā 'hinting'</td>
<td>ṭamāṣhā 'a hint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarrafā 'to involve'</td>
<td>ṭarrafā 'involvement'</td>
<td>ṭarrafā 'an involvement'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otherwise, augmented gerunds do not have instance nouns, though many of them may function in a particularized sense (p. 284) as well as in the abstract sense: ṭattāfā (ger. of ṭuttafā 'to agree') 'an agreement'; ṭaččān 'an announcement' (ger. of ṭaččān 'to announce').

1Often derogatory; the polite term is (sg.) maṣṣiḥi, pl. maṣṣiḥiyān (no collective).
**FEMINAL NOUNS**

Many nouns designating male persons, and some designating male animals, may be converted into female designations by the suffixation of -fī/a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍamm</td>
<td>ḍamm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍār</td>
<td>ḍāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍāṣ, ḍāṣi 'husband'</td>
<td>ḍāṣe, zamāše 'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abūn</td>
<td>abāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilmāza</td>
<td>tilmāze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malek</td>
<td>malek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍarmal</td>
<td>ḍarmale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍṣfu</td>
<td>ḍṣfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍṣi 'guest'</td>
<td>ḍṣfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍabi</td>
<td>ḍabiyye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍābēb</td>
<td>ḍābēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍāfīl 'child, infant'</td>
<td>ḍāfīl (See p. 372)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalb</td>
<td>kalbe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminal derivation may be applied freely to substantivized personal adjectives, including participial [276], occupational [305], and relative [301] derivatives: (Cl. Adjective Inflection):

- māllem 'teacher'
- māllime
- māqqaf 'employee'
- māqqafe
- mās 'Moslem'
- māsane
- ḍabbāx 'cook'
- ḍabbāxa
- ḍaddawi 'Bedouin'
- ḍaddawīye
- ḍaḥlīzi 'Englishman'
- ḍaḥlīziyye 'Englishwoman'

For nouns other than substantivized adjectives, the feminal derivation may or may not apply - each case must be learned individually. Note, for example, ṣahēr 'brother(or son)-in-law', but ḍannne 'sister(or daughter)-in-law', ār 'bull, steer', but baḍāra 'cow', etc. See Gender of Nouns (p.372).

*Naḥbe 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 noun. Occupational nouns are formed on Pattern ḍafī/a (p.151), or on active participial patterns [258], or by suffixation of -ī or -ā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Pattern ḍafī/a</th>
<th>Active Participial Patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣā'</td>
<td>ṣṣā 'to dance'</td>
<td>ṣṣā 'to dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaḥb</td>
<td>ṣabāx 'to cook'</td>
<td>ṣabāx 'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣalāh</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'to draw, design, sketch, paint'</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'designer, painter, artist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣamān</td>
<td>ṣamān 'farmer, peasant'</td>
<td>ṣamān 'farmer, peasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣalāh</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'to build'</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'builder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣabād</td>
<td>ṣabād 'to beg'</td>
<td>ṣabād 'beggar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣalāh</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'to sell'</td>
<td>ṣalāh 'seller, merchant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to hunt'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'hunting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to drive'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'hunting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣānīm</td>
<td>ṣānīm 'meat'</td>
<td>ṣānīm 'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāmād</td>
<td>ṣāmād 'blacksmith, ironsmith'</td>
<td>ṣāmād 'blacksmith, ironsmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'tile, flagstone(s)'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'tile, flagstone(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'door, gate'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'door, gate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to weave'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to weave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to serve'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to serve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāb</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to represent'</td>
<td>ṣāb 'to represent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣīdā</td>
<td>ṣīdā 'to judge, pass sentence'</td>
<td>ṣīdā 'to judge, pass sentence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣīr</td>
<td>ṣīr 'to direct, manage'</td>
<td>ṣīr 'to direct, manage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣīr</td>
<td>ṣīr 'to wrestle'</td>
<td>ṣīr 'wrestler'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣīr</td>
<td>ṣīr 'to write'</td>
<td>ṣīr 'writer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣīr</td>
<td>ṣīr 'poetry'</td>
<td>ṣīr 'poetry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Classicism: 7 replacing medial ṣ in Pattern ḍafī/a.*
Underlying Word | Occupational Noun
---|---
xadar 'vegetables' | xadarē 'greengrocer'
bōya 'shoe polish' | bōyaī 'bootblack'
kendara 'shoe' | kendaraī 'cobbler' 
Suffix -ēi:
sāčēt 'watches' | sāčēti 'watchmaker'
Enēnt 'gardens' | Enēntī 'gardener'
gālēt 'locks' | gālēti 'locksmith'
lugā 'language' | lugai 'linguist'

Occupational nouns in -ī are mainly formed on an -ē 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 raṭṭaḥa mafiḥa would only be said of a professional dancer.

**INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS (ism 1-?ala)**

An instrumental noun indicates an implement or apparatus used in doing what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns FaEELE (p. 152), maFEAL(e) [156], FaEAL(e) [153] and maFEAL [155] are used:

**Pattern FaEELE:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Instrumental Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
sār 'to go, travel' | sayyāra 'automobile' |
tār 'to fly' | sayyāra 'airplane' |
maṭa 'to erase' | māḥyā 'eraser' |
kamaš 'to grasp' | kamāšē 'pincers' |
bara 'to sharpen, point' | bāra še 'pencil-sharpener' |
barad 'to cool' | bāra 'refrigerator' |
### 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 maFgaL (p.153), maFcaL [153], and maFcaL (p.154).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Locative Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maFcaL:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔadd 'to sit'</td>
<td>maʔadd 'seat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔeb 'to play'</td>
<td>maʔebab 'playground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔanaʔ 'to manufacture'</td>
<td>maʔana 'factory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaraʔ 'to go out'</td>
<td>maʔara 'exit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marr 'to pass'</td>
<td>maʔarr 'isle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔi 'to go, walk'</td>
<td>maʔiʔa 'passageway, hall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʔi 'to graze'</td>
<td>maʔiʔa 'pasture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jār 'to fly'</td>
<td>maʔar 'airport'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔar 'stone'</td>
<td>maʔar 'stone quarry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern maFcaL:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šakam 'to try, sentence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daras 'to study'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaʔal 'to wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xūd 'to wade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēf 'guest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūd 'book'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern maFcaL:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waʔef, waʔaʔf 'to stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔaʔ 'to place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʔas 'to sit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### HYPOSTATIC NOUNS

A hypostatic noun indicates the abstract result or object of the activity designated by its underlying verb: maʔa 'profit, earning', from base ʔa 'to make, earn'. These nouns are formed on Patterns maFcaL(e), maFcaL(e), maFcaL(e), maFcaL(e), maFcaL(e), maFcaL(e) [p.153-156].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Verb</th>
<th>Hypostatic Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balaʔ 'to attain, amount to'</td>
<td>maʔlaʔ 'amount, sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔad 'to intend, aim at'</td>
<td>maʔad 'intent, goal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔana 'to mean'</td>
<td>maʔana 'meaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔapar 'to look at'</td>
<td>maʔapar 'view, sight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔarr 'to flee, escape'</td>
<td>maʔarr 'flight, escape'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām 'to blame'</td>
<td>lāʔm 'blame, censure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xām 'to sleep'</td>
<td>xām 'dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔed 'to be born'</td>
<td>maʔed, miʔed 'birth, birthday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔad 'to promise'</td>
<td>maʔed, miʔed 'date, appointment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaʔIr 'to become'</td>
<td>maʔIr 'destiny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔabb 'to like, love'</td>
<td>maʔabb 'love, affection'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔabb 'to curse'</td>
<td>maʔabb 'curse, invective'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔaʔer 'to be able'</td>
<td>maʔaʔer 'ability'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔaf 'to know'</td>
<td>maʔaf 'knowledge, acquaintance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔap 'to preach, lecture'</td>
<td>maʔap 'lecture, reprimand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mād 'to wish, want'</td>
<td>mād 'wish, desire, intent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔab 'to hit, befall'</td>
<td>maʔab 'calamity'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypostatic nouns are similar in meaning to gerunds [p.284] and in some cases function virtually as such (e.g. maʔaf 'knowledge, acquaintance'). In general, however, they do not share the syntactical peculiarities of gerunds, nor (by the same token) do they designate "action" or "activity".

1Including what is sometimes called al-maʔa l-miʔa 'the m- gerund', and also ism z-samān 'the noun of time'. The Locative [p.308] is a "spatially concretized" version of the abstract ism l-makān waʔ-samān.
DIMINUTIVES (ism t-ṭaṣğīr)

Only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives derived from them. The basic pattern is Fāsyēl, or - if the underlying noun has a long vowel between the first and second radicals - Fāṣyēl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>privileged 'child, young one'</td>
<td>ḥayyey 'little one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privileged 'boy'</td>
<td>ḥayy 'little boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privileged 'son'</td>
<td>ḏayy(−i) 'my little son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privileged 'daughter, girl'</td>
<td>ḏayye 'little daughter, little girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>privileged 'thing, something, some'</td>
<td>Ẓayy(e) 'a little'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mainly in Lebanon, the following are also used (as terms of affection, and sometimes in a more general sense as well): ḥayy 'father', xayy 'brother', xayye 'sister', ḏayy 'hand', ḏayye 'foot', ḏayye 'ear'.

Patterns Fāṣyēl and FāṢyēL are also used, mainly to form nicknames and terms of affection (again, especially in Lebanon): ḍabūd, ḍabbūd (from ḍabūd), ḍaffū (from ḍaffū), ḍamūd (from ḍamūd), marrūn (from marrūn 'Mary'), etc.

Note also: ẓattūf 'a tiny bit' (from ẓattef 'a little bit'), laṭṭe 'a little bite, a little mouthful' (from laṭṭe 'a bite, mouthful').

ELATIVES (ism t-taṣafūl)

Elatives, derivable mainly from adjectives, are formed on the pattern ẓaṣafūl for triliteral roots; ẓaṣafūl for quadriliteral.

If an underlying adjective means 'X', its elative means 'more or most X'. For example: ẓaṣaf 'difficult' - ẓaṣaf 'more (or most) difficult'; ẓadīf 'ancient' - ẓaṣadī 'more (most) ancient'; ẓadīf 'suitable' - ẓaṣadī 'more, most suitable'; ẓangīl 'rich' - ẓaṣangīl 'richer, richest'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative (Sound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'easy'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'easier, easiest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'ugly'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'uglier, ugliest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'hot'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'hottest, hottest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'thick, fat'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'thicker, fatter, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'long, tall'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'longer, taller, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'thin, cold'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'colder, coldest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'broad, roomy'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'broadest, roomiest, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'dry, hard'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'drier, harder, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'strong, rich'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'more, most famous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'greasy'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'greasier, grossest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'displeased'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'more, most displeased'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'narrow, tight'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'narrower, tighter, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaṣaf 'useful, beneficial'</td>
<td>ṣaṣaf 'more useful, beneficial, etc.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the underlying adjective is formed on a radical requiring y in place of medial radical w (Fāṣyēl p.258), FāṢyēL [128]), the radical ṭ is in some cases restored in the elative: xaye 'afraid' - ṭaṣaṣaf 'more, most afraid'; rṣaf 'clear, undisturbed' - ṭaṣaṣaf 'more, most clear, etc.'. ṣayyed 'good, excellent' - ṭaṣaṣaf 'better, best, etc.'; ṣayye 'bad, unfortunate' - ṭaṣaṣaf 'worse, worst, etc.', ṭaṣaf 'abundant, extra' - ṭaṣaṣaf (or ṭaṣaf) 'more, most abundant, etc.'

With final radical semivowel (Elative defective):

| ṭaṣaf 'loose, lax' | ṭaṣaf 'looser, more lax, etc.' |
| ṭaṣaf 'sweet, pretty, nice' | ṭaṣaf 'sweeter, prettier, etc.' |
| ṭaṣaf 'strong' | ṭaṣaf 'stronger, strongest' |
| ṭaṣaf 'intelligent' | ṭaṣaf 'more, most intelligent' |
| ṭaṣaf 'hoodlum, deliquent' | ṭaṣaf 'more, most deliquent, etc.' |
| ṭaṣaf 'rich' | ṭaṣaf 'richer, richest' |
| ṭaṣaf 'clear' | ṭaṣaf 'clearer, clearest' |
| ṭaṣaf 'solid, hard' | ṭaṣaf 'solider, solidest, etc.' |
| ṭaṣaf 'wide awake' | ṭaṣaf 'more, most wide awake' |
With second and third radicals alike (Elative usually geminate):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥadd</td>
<td>'sharp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faʾṣṣ</td>
<td>'unripe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marr</td>
<td>'bitter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿedīd</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xafḥ</td>
<td>'light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaʿīna</td>
<td>'precise, exact'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿadaadd</td>
<td>'intense, vehement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭallī</td>
<td>'little, few'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaʾṣṣ</td>
<td>'cheater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥōṣṣ</td>
<td>'special, private'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μḥamm</td>
<td>'important'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalm</td>
<td>'boring'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quadriradical (Pattern ṚaʾLāL):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saŋīl</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣāḥīḥ</td>
<td>'sloppy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māḥbāḥ</td>
<td>'abundant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓāḥīḥ</td>
<td>'ripped, tattered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaḥdāl</td>
<td>'shabby, dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓaḥīḥ</td>
<td>'stuck up, haughty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, that the hollow quadrilateral ẓēḏān 'devil, naughty' has a triradical elative ẓāḥṣān '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Word</th>
<th>Elative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biš-ḥāṣila</td>
<td>'quickly, hurriedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣabb</td>
<td>'hot weather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣaw</td>
<td>Ṛaḥṣā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʾṣṣl</td>
<td>'men'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elative ḥāṣān 'better, best' is derived from Classical ḥāṣān, which is not normally used in Colloquial but is displaced by Ṛaḥ 'good'. Thus Ṛaḥān serves as a suppletive elative to Ṛaḥ.

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: Ṛaḥṣāt 'more, most pleased, contented' (from Ṛaḥṣāt 'pleased, contented'), but also meaning 'easier, simpler, etc.' (from Ṛaḥṣāt 'easy, minor, simple'). Likewise Ṛaḥṣāt, elative of both Ṛaḥān 'tired' and Ṛaḥṣāt '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: Ṛaḥāl 'less, least', elative of Ṛaḥāl 'little, few', but not used as the elative of most Ṛaḥāl 'independent'; likewise Ṛaḥṣāt 'more dangerous, sharper, etc.' elative of Ṛaḥṣāt 'dangerous, sharp', but not used as the elative of Ṛaḥṣāt or Ṛaḥṣāt 'wounded'.

Elative Syntax

An elative may be used attributively, as an adjective: Ṛaḥa Ṛaḥān 'a better room'. Ṛaḥa Ṛaḥān l-Ṭaḥān 'the better (or best) room'.

An elative may also be used in construct, as a noun: Ṛaḥān Ṛaḥān 'the best of the rooms', Ṛaḥān Ṛaḥda 'the best room'.

In an elative construct, a definite (p.494) following term is always identificatory [488]: Ṛaḥān Ṛaḥān 'the best of (/(in) the) school', while an indefinite following term is always classificatory: Ṛaḥān Ṛaḥān '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: Ṛaḥa bant 'the prettiest girl' (same translation as the attributive construction: Ṛaḥa bant Ṛaḥa). Ṛaḥa bant 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: Ṛaḥamsa Ṛaḥama 'brighter students', or an indefinite elative with a noun ('than') phrase: Ṛaḥka Ṛaḥ '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: Ṛaḥa Ṛaḥda Ṛaḥān 'This room is better (or best)', Ṛaḥa Ṛaḥda 'This is the best (or better) room'.

The elative Ṛaḥān 'better, best' is derived from Classical Ṛaḥān, which is not normally used in Colloquial but is displaced by Ṛaḥ 'good'. Thus Ṛaḥān serves as a suppletive elative to Ṛaḥ.
A COMPARATIVE PHRASE is formed with an elative complemented by the pre-
position ma- 'than': bæ'ion 'aamsâf man bêhna 'their house is larger than
ours', bæ'ial mal xamsân lârâ 'aktar mânî. He makes fifty pounds more than I'.

The word 'aktar 'more, most' (elative of kîr 'much, many') may be used
to form comparative phrases in supplementation to adjectives, especially
with adjectives which have no elatives of their own: 'abyad 'aktar ma-
sî-tâlê [RN-I.49] 'whiter than snow'; 'aSa bâiyâd 'aktar mânâk 'I'm more
sensitive to the cold than you'; maâbêd 'aktar bââd 'd-âshèr man ftal bârâ
'more crowded in the afternoon than in the morning'.

The man-phrase (like the than-phrase in English) may of
course be suppressed: 'âbyad 'aktar 'whiter', maâbêd 'aktar
'more crowded', etc.

**Elatives with -l- suffixes**

Like verbs and participles, some elatives are complemented by a pronominal
la- phrase (p.479) take the suffix forms (-lo, etc.), not the disjunctive
forms ('alo, etc.): 'âfyâd-la 'more useful to you', 'âqshîd-lo [p.27]
'better for him', 'âqshîd-la-lok 'more difficult for you (pl.)'.

Others, however, take the disjunctive forms: 'âhâm
'sâna 'more important for us'.

**Exclamations with ma-**

Elatives are used after the particle ma-, in the sense 'How!...!':

ma-'âhâm 'labâsh 'How pretty her clothes are!'
ma-'âfyâd hal-'akkî 'How good this food is!'
ma-'âqshèr hal-'arksi 'How small this chair is!'
ma-'âqshîd-hâkî 'How sweetly he speaks!'

Elatives in this construction take a nominal complement which may be pronominalized like a verbal object: ma-
'sâlišâ 'How pretty she is!', ma-'âqshîd 'How small it is!'

---

Lack of Inflection

Elatives in Colloquial Arabic are generally not inflected; the form
'aamsâf 'wider, roomier, larger', for instance, serves attributively as
feminine ('ânâm'aamsâf 'a larger garden') and plural, as well as for mascu-
line (bêt 'aamsâf 'a larger house').

There are, however, a few Classicisms in which the
feminine pattern Faélâ is used, as in qâmma (fem. of qâqsa
'most remote, extreme') sâdâbîr qâmma 'extreme measures'.

Elatives are occasionally used in the dual: l-'âshânân
'the best two'; 'aţâlân 'So much the worse!' ('âtâlan,
elative of malâqân 'damnable').

**Miscellaneous Examples of the Use of Elatives**

1. sâ 'habbêt 'aktar sî? 'What would you (or did you) like the
most?'
2. man 'âlêcan 'xpâlo, t-taraddod 'Indecisiveness is one of his worst
qualities' ('âlêcan, el. of malâqân 'damnable')
3. bâmâlo sî 'âsma mon bâla 'He owns next to nothing' ('âsma, el. of
'money; lit. 'less than nothing')
4. sîf 'iyyîm 'âbha 'He's seen better days'
5. maâbêd 'ânâmâd mon maâbêd 'His salary is larger than mine' ('ânâmâd,
el. of zâyâd 'abundant')
6. 'âbshâtîn 'ânâmâl namre 'aktar
'sî-tâlê 'Elatives
' 'I liked the first number most of all'
7. sî 'âqshèr monnâk b-âshèr
'sî-nîn [DA-157]
' My brother is ten years younger than you' ('âqshîd. el. of gûdr 'young',
lit. '...younger than you by ten
years'.)
8. l-'âqshîd-sî 'âzâl-madrâs
'âkkar mn t-talamîm [DA-158]
' The teacher came to school earlier than
the students' ('âkkar, el. of bâkîr
'early')
9. sâmân 'âbhsan [DA-100]
'With you would be better'
10. 'âqshîd-la-lo 'âshir bukra 'It would be better for you to come to-
morrow'
11. l- 'aSâq b-'ašr 'man bêk
[RN-II.15]
'I haven't found anything more useful than that'
12. kâlma kâm 'âsâq sâdît
kâbîrdî [RN-II.15]
'The smarter he is, the more arrogant he
becomes'
ORDINALS

The numerals from two through ten have ordinals derived from them, formed on the Pattern Pād. [p. 144]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Numeral</th>
<th>Ordinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭanī 'two'</td>
<td>ṭanī 'second, other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālet 'three'</td>
<td>tālet 'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarbe 'four'</td>
<td>ṭarbe 'fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamas 'five'</td>
<td>xamas 'fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sātes 'six'</td>
<td>sātes 'sixth' (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sābeč 'seven'</td>
<td>sābeč 'seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamen 'eight'</td>
<td>ṭamen 'eighth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāsca 'nine'</td>
<td>tāsca 'ninth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāsara 'ten'</td>
<td>ṭāsara 'tenth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ordinal corresponding to māhet 'one' is irregular in form: ṭawwāl 'first'. Its antonym ṭāxer 'last' also belongs with the ordinals.

Besides the irregular form sātes 'sixth', the regular (but less elegant) tālet is also sometimes heard.

The ordinals are like elatives [p. 313] in forming classificatory constructs with indefinite nouns: ṭāxer ṭālāt 'the first time', tālet ṭālāt 'the third man'. ṭāsara ṭān 'the tenth year', ṭāxer ṭān 'the last lesson'. See Elative and Ordinal Constructs [p. 473].

Ordinals may also be used attributively, as ordinary adjectives, and with adjectival inflection: s-sāne l-ṭāsara 'the tenth year', ṭāxer ṭān 'the last lesson'. See Elative and Ordinal Constructs [p. 473].

Fractions

The numerals from three through ten have fractions derived from them, formed on the Pattern F党组织. [p. 139]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Numeral</th>
<th>Fraction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tālet 'three'</td>
<td>ṭalat 'a third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarbe 'four'</td>
<td>ṭarbe 'fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamas 'five'</td>
<td>ṭamas 'a fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sātes 'six'</td>
<td>ṭad-du 'a sixth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sābeč 'seven'</td>
<td>ṭad-du 'a seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamen 'eight'</td>
<td>ṭamn 'an eighth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāsca 'nine'</td>
<td>ṭaṣa 'a ninth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāsara 'ten'</td>
<td>ṭāsara 'a tenth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fraction corresponding to ṭanī 'two' is irregular: ṭaww (or ṭaw) 'a half'.

The plurals of these fractions are formed on the pattern F党组织: ṭalat *urgy 'three fourths', ṭarbe (t) *xud 'four fifths'.

Fractions beyond the tenths are expressed periphrastically with the cardinal numerals: ṭaww *m *ḥamas 'seven twelfths' (lit. 'seven over twelve').

Ordinals may also be used in identificatory construct as ordinary nouns: ṭawwāl has-sane 'the first of this year', ṭālet ṭarbe 'the third (one) of the men', ṭāxer ṭarbe 'the last of the visitors'; or with pro-
CHAPTER 12: TENSE

In Arabic, as in English, verbs are inflected for two tenses only: the PERFECT or PAST (al-maṣūṣ), and the IMPERFECT or NON-PAST (al-mudhfray).  

On the formation of the tenses, see Verb Inflectional Forms [p.173].

The verb of an independent clause is put in the perfect usually to designate past events or states: katab 'he wrote', nām 'he slept'. The imperfect, on the other hand, designates events, states, or dispositions that are not past: byaktob 'he writes, will write, would write'; bīnām '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 āma- [p.320] or the Particle of Anticipation rāja- [322]: āma-yaktob 'he is writing', rāja-yaktob 'he's going to write'.

Without these particles the imperfect (byaktob) is used mainly to predicate generalities ('he writes'), potentialities ('he would write, he can write'), and assumed future events ('he'll write') [p.324].

The term 'tense', with reference both to Arabic and to English, is best limited to actual inflectional categories, excluding the numerous syntactic combinations involving auxiliaries, proclitics, etc. These syntactic "tenses", nevertheless, are dealt with in the course of this chapter.

It is often said [e.g. AO-25] that the Arabic perfect and imperfect are more properly called 'aspects' than 'tenses' — implying that these categories have more to do with perspective than with temporal sequence. This contention is perhaps based, in part, on a faulty analysis of such matters as the use of the imperfect in complemental clauses [p.340] and the use of the perfect in conditional clauses [331], and in part, on the literary conventions of Classical Arabic (and even of other Semitic languages).
USES OF THE IMPERFECT

The Imperfect with Proclitics

The particles of actuality (Eam-) and antici-pration (raha-) are prefixed, unaccented [p.18], directly to the imperfect verb form, but differ from true prefixes in that a single particle may serve more than one verb at a time in coordinations [392]: raha-yakol m-inan 'he's going to eat and go to bed'; mà Eam-yyakol ulà yašrabb 'he's neither eating nor drinking'. (The indicative tis 6- [180] of the simple imperfect, on the other hand, is generally repeated with each verb: mà byakol ulà byahabb 'he neither eats nor drinks'.)

The Particle of Actuality

There are several forms of this particle: Eam- is the most generally used, but in Damascus Eam- is also heard, and sometimes also Eam-, ụam-, and the full word Eamäl. In various parts of Lebanon, the forms Eam-, ụam-, and mà are also used. Most of forms of the particle may be followed by the verb either with or without the indicative b-: Eam-byakol or Eam-yyakol 'he is eating'; the Lebanese forms Eam-, ụam-, and mà, however, are never followed by b-.

In Damascus, Eam- + b- is most common in the first person singular (Eam-bakol 'I am eating', more common than Eam-yyakol: otherwise the forms without b are predominant: Eam-nakol 'we're eating', Eam-yyku '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.220). This particle is usually translatable into English with the "progressive" -ing form (though not in the case of some psychological-state verbs [272] and certain others). Examples:

1. l-mu'adda Eam-i'adda
   'The muezzin is giving the call to prayer'

2. xaliit Eam-yithaka màc 'r-ratís
   'Khalil is talking with the boss'

1There are certain parts of Greater Syria in which b- is more like the proclitics Eam- and raḥā-, i.e. one may say either mà byakol ulà byahabb or mà byakol ulà yašrabb.

2The form Eam- is said [SPA-38] to result from the consistent assimilation of n [p.27] in Eam- to the following b: Eam- + byakol = Eam-byakol (then with b elided: Eam-yakol). This would explain why b- is not used after Eam-; it would also seem to imply that Eam- is unrelated in origin to the forms Eam(a)-, Eamäl.

3. bitamm...Eam-yatbi w-ymmamén
   'He keeps on crying and keeping me from sleeping'

4. ṣohnh Eam-isir raḥāl
   'My son is getting to be a man'

5. halla f Eam-busazkar
   'It's all coming back to me now!'
   'lit. 'now I'm remembering')

A verb with Eam-, 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. Eam-bisayaj-lak ṣàm
   'Is he making you a new suit?'

7. Eam-isammed mənāri manšān taqādeo
   'He's saving money for his retirement'

8. Eam-badras bā-zūnān
   'I'm studying at the university'

9. mà ēdū Eam-ythakal màc bādān
   'They're no longer speaking to one another'

10. Eam-maṣfātker b-šāraket ṣantet ṣīd [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 Eam- when appropriate, just like other verbs:

11. màli Eam-lā l-bayīṣ bīj bū baddā
    'I can't find a clerk to wait to me',
    'lit. 'I'm not finding a clerk to see what I want''

12. ṣū Eam-taṣāni?
    'What do you mean?', i.e. 'What are you getting at?'

13. màli Eam-bayder bakkel 'bāṣī
    'I can't buckle my belt', i.e. right now, as opposed to mà bāyder... 'I (generally) can''t...''

14. màli Eam-maṣref tarīfī
   [AO-116]
   'I don't know my way', i.e. 'I can't find my way just now'.

15. Eam-aymaṣ mann bēn mā? u-ma?
    'I hear from him from time to time',
    i.e. nowadays, as opposed to bāṣmaṣ
    mann... 'I (generally) hear from him...''

16. Eam-i'akked yamna kūn ṣhānī
    'He maintains he was there'

17. d-doktor Eam-ṣūl yamna sāl
    '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 ʾam- normally designates repetitive instances, in contrast to the participle which is generally used for an uninterrupted state:

18. ʾāl ʾl, mākial, looks (kaš.)

19. ʾām-tāmā bi-lātā ṣaḥl, maššāl

20. ṣayer ʾam-ixaf has-ṣabi ṣaḥl

Verbs like ʾāl, ʾāl, ʾāl, ṣaḥl, ʾāl, ʾāl, ʾāl (cf. ex. 16) do not have an imperfect in the unaccusatory sense [p. 325]: bīʾakked ʾamno 

A notable difference between Arabic verbs with ʾam- and English "progressive" verbs with -ing is that the latter may be used in reference to the future, while the imperfect with ʾam- is never so used: 'We're leaving tomorrow': maššārīn buhrā; 'If you're going with us tomorrow...': ʾīsa bstrūh mašna buhrā...

The Particle of Anticipation

There are several forms of this particle: ʾara-, ʾara-, ʾara-, ʾara-, and ʾara-, in addition to the full word ʾara-. The forms beginning with ʾ 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-: ʾara-yukol, ʾara-yukol, 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. ʾara-ʾyak-lā biša ʾm-radd-ʾllah ʾḥabar [DA-80A]

2. byašhar ʾlah-ṭanōl mašar ʾamniyye [DA-153]

3. ʾdādā ʾrah-šab a ʾḥam? [EA-59]

4. ʾaša ʾlah-yašr-ʾlāk ʾfarda ʾlāfe?

5. ʾrā a ʾlah-yašr-ʾlāk ʾtarīkhāk!

6. tāʾrīhān ʾlah-ālāxīl

7. ʾw byašhar ʾrāh-ʾnāpal [DA-44]

8. ʾīsa ʾlah-šaṭṭi l-ḥafle l-mūsiqiyye ʾbūṣbīr ʾumma

9. ʾīna ʾrāh-ʾrūh, nāʾjia ūnī marra bāṣlak bāl-bêt [DA-218]

10. ʾmašť ba-xaṣṭlīn ṣatāwā l-nīn ᵐ-bāṣhīy

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], ʾrāh- is used to make it unambiguously future:

11. ʾmīn ʾrāh-yašrīn ʾm-yakṣī ṣaḥl ʾḥukāf ʾl-šuṣqāra?

12. ʾbāṣbā ʾm ʾlah-ṭašlač

Who will clothe and feed all those poor children? (ʾmīn biḥaṣmī ᵐ-hyakṣī...would be understood as 'Who clothes and feeds...'.)

'The stain won't come out' (i.e. '...isn't going to come out', as opposed to ʾm biḥaṣlāč '...won't come out', i.e. '...isn't disposed to come out')

How long are you going to stay here?'

'When are you going to have a chance to see him?'

'Look out, the cat will scratch you!'

'I'm nearly finished' (Lit. 'I'm almost about to finish')

'Well, it looks as though we're almost there' (Lit. '...we're about to arrive')

'If it looks like rain the concert will be indoors' (Lit. 'if it's going to rain...')

'I must go: I expect I'll see you at home next time' (Lit. 'I'm about to go...')

'The mufti is to deliver his opinion next week'

Unless, of course, it is complementary to a future main clause [341].
Uses of the Simple Imperfect

The imperfect indicative without a proclitic 3am- or ṭana- 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 subjunctive involves factors that tend to obscure (and in some cases override) considerations of tense as such. See p.359 ex. 21, 22.

Future

In contrast to the particle of anticipation (see above), the simple imperfect is commonly used in reference to what is assumed will take place in the future, but with no special emphasis on immediacy or on present involvement in the course of events leading up to it.

Since the simple imperfect is also used in other senses, it is usually the reference, or the circumstances of the utterance, which make the time reference explicit: ḥraḥ ḥura ‘I’ll go tomorrow’ or ‘I’m going tomorrow’. Examples:

1. ḫaḥa ṭaḥkat ḡal-3ak❓ tǎnā qaṭr bāʔ cǎk [DA-197]
   ‘I’ll be at your place within an hour at the latest’

2. ṭana ṭsabda d-drūs? [DA-173]
   ‘When does school (‘lit. ‘lessons’) start?’

3. bākʔ bəkra bīrūḥ ḡal-madrasay [DA-197]
   ‘The day after tomorrow he’s going to school’

4. ṭaḥla bīrūḥ ṭe-sone ḡaSUMER w-3būfak ṭaʔnīk [DA-128]
   ‘God willing, I’ll go next year and see you there’

5. d-darb ṭe-tānī mā bīʕuṭak [AO-112]
   ‘The next blow won’t miss you!’

6. ḫabat-allah ṭe-bāʔi b-ʔiʃ ‘naʔa mara? [DA-107]
   ‘I’ll put the rest in a paper bag for you’

7. leh mā byāxadhōn maʔo lamma byerbaʔ? [DA-75]
   ‘Why doesn’t he take them with him when he goes back?’

8. bākʔ d-ma yantaβāk bēbēkat-lak naphła [EA-259]
   ‘After it’s printed I’ll send you a copy’

9. ḥalma? ṭe-3aʔa btaʔi w-3bēsawa? [DA-103]
   ‘The maid will come and do it right away’

10. t-tamāl byebsak bēl-βrēmna
    ‘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 announcement or sign or token of a purported fact – as distinct from an ordinary report or statement of it: ḥsallama ṭalēk ‘They send you greetings’, ṭaʔa ṭajja ‘We thank God’.1

1. bākʔ bəʔadros
   ‘I promise you I’m going to study’

2. ṭhannīk
   ‘Congratulations!’ (lit. ‘I congratulate you!’)

3. ṭana ḥalla? bəftaʔeʔ ṭe-3al-3aʔa
   ‘The meeting will come to order’ (lit. ‘I now open the session’)

4. bətkūn mudda/mi
   ‘This is my wife’ (An introduction, as contrasted with a simple informative statement: ḥayy mudda/mi)

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. bīʔtal ṭeθπo ṭaʔa mū ḡaʔye [DA-95]
   ‘He says that his brother isn’t coming’

6. ḥumme ḫyānkor ṭal领取 ṭiθ fiʔa
   ‘He denies he had a hand in it’

7. bāŋgəθak ṭeʔaʔa
   ‘I advise you(to) forget it’

8. məṭlə matlaʔ mā bācəf
   ‘I don’t know either’

9. bann bācəʔfo
   ‘I think I know him’

10. bīʔi ḡala ḡafle bīdak ṭrūʔ [DA-172]
    ‘And now all of a sudden you have to go?!’ (lit. ‘I find all of a sudden...’)

11. ṭu bīʔmor ʔeʔro, ya bēʔ? [DA-130]
    ‘What else do you wish, sir?’ (lit. ‘What else do you order, sir?’)

12. ḥaʔ tāmni marra ḫamtaθi bāʔa baitemān [EA-159]
    ‘This is the second time they’ve elected him member of parliament’

1With 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: ṭana bīʔnī ḡal-ʔaʔtiraj ‘I second the motion’ (To say it is to do it.)
As distinct from annunciatory predications, reportorial predications may employ the particle of actuality (~tum-~) [p.320], a participle [272], or the perfect tense [330] or [402] (See ex. 4, above.)

For instance: ~tum-~aynkor ~tul ~s-it fih? (cf. ex. 6, same translation): ~tul ~s-inn ~xu ~m-ta ~g?e 'He said his brother wasn't coming' (cf. ex. 5); ~tul ~kabref 'I don't know' (cf. ex. 8).

Since a report and an announcement are in certain respects equivalent, there are many situations in which there is little to choose between them.

Generalities and Dispositions

The generalizing and dispositional uses of the simple imperfect are by no means always distinct from one another; they are separated here more by virtue of their English translations than by intrinsic differences. In those cases where they are clearly distinct, furthermore, the dispositional use tends to merge with the future [p.324] and the generalizing use, with the annunciatory [325].

Generalizing. Like the simple present in English, the simple imperfect is used to make (or elicit) generalizations and non-temporal statements:

1. b-nulas b-biitd?u b-hd 'The drains clog up when it rains'
2. b-nulas biitdu b-hd 'Hens lay eggs'
3. farb~a w-xams b-yaeqmu tas~a 'Four and five make nine'
4. b~rwa'dox ~r-~rabi~e l~habb b-yast~wi [EO-39] 'Late in spring the grain ripens'
5. b-iini ~a~l~a~ p~a~x~i~b~ b~a~l~a~ b-sab~a b-yast~wi [EO-39] 'They sleep on the roof at night because of the heat'
6. yam b~kun f~i f~a~g~a l~m~a~d~a b~st~a~h [DA-239] 'On a day that's a holiday the schools don't open'

The simple imperfect indicative is functionally the base, or residual (or neutral) tense-mode, i.e. we are dealing with the non-past non-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.

7. m~iy~e b~l~a ~e~s~d~a b~t~k~u~n b~l~s~e
8. ~a~l~a ~w~y~a p~a~r~i b~g~i~r t~f~a~t~i~x~i~b~ [SAL-153]
9. b~a~t~e~r~e m~a b~g~i~r b~a~r~d m~a~t~i~x~i~b~ [DA-173]
10. m~a~n~a l~a~n~f~k~a n~a~r~a m~a~r~a l~a~n~f~k~a m~a~r~a

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. b~t~e~r~a~n~a~r~a~l~a~k~e~r~a~b~i~y~e b~r~b b~a~t~e~r~a~n~a~r~a~l~a~k~e~r~a~b~i~y~e [EA-105] 'You can hire a car near the station'
2. b~t~e~r~a~n~a~r~a~l~a~k~e~r~a~b~i~y~e b~r~b b~a~t~e~r~a~n~a~r~a~l~a~k~e~r~a~b~i~y~e [EA-105] 'Do you know where I can find some good cloth?' (The main verb b~t~e~r~a~n~a~r~a~l~a~k~e~r~a~b~i~y~e is annunciatory [p.325].)
3. f~e~m~a m~a b~a~l~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'You can pay me anytime'
4. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'I wouldn't pay a piastre for it!'
5. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'You'd like the man'
6. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'I would never work for people of that sort'
7. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'I wouldn't want to be in his place' (The quasi-verb b~a~d~d~o 'to want' [p.412] is often translated as a dispositional, though it is not inflected for tense.)
8. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'This cleaner will remove the spots'
9. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'The wood is dry enough to catch fire easily'
10. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'He's very jealous (in disposition)', i.e. 'He gets jealous a lot'
11. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'That boy is bashful', i.e. '...gets embarrassed'
12. w~l~a~f~a~r~a~e f~i w~i~d~a~ n~a~r~a~l~a~ [DA-107] 'He isn't deceitful', i.e. He doesn't (or won't) deceive'
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 gāyyūr 'jealous' (in disposition). Like dispositional adjectives, they are all intransitive and most are not complemented at all.

This ADJECTIVAL USE of dispositional verbs contrasts overly with the ordinary use, in the case of verbs that are normally transitive, since the object is suppressed: has-zalāme bigās 'That fellow cheats', i.e. 'He's a cheat' = has-zalāme gāyyūs; as contrasted with has-zalāme bīdzādak 'That fellow will (or would) cheat you', which shows the true verbal construction. Further examples with object suppressed:

18. hal-kalā mā bīfadd 'That dog won't (or doesn't) bite'
19. ṣakā l-būga mā baddār 'Eating ice cream won't do any harm'
20. has-baglī batmallel 'This job is boring', lit. "...bores"
21. ḥawī mas'ālā mā badḍahhek 'This is no laughing matter', i.e. 「...a matter that doesn't cause laughter」
22. lā tawāf ḥala fa'rasūt baddāghē 'Don't speed on slippery roads', i.e. 「...on roads that cause skidding」

Examples 19-22 show verbs with inanimate subjects; these (being transitive with object suppressed) generally correspond to agentive adjectives [p. 278] rather than to dispositional adjectives: batmallel = msnalle, badḍahhek = madḥke.

See also p. 409.

Note that English adjectives ending in -able (or -ible) are mostly passive dispositional, e.g. 'washable' = 'can be washed'. Since Arabic dispositional and agentive adjectives are not normally formed from passives, it follows that the usual translation of these English adjectives will be with verbs: byangāsul '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 byantīsā (is) unforgettable. (There is, however, a limited use of passive participles in the dispositional sense (p. 275), mainly in Classicisms: gēr maqrū 'illegible', more colloquially: mā byantīs.)

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 (kuṭab 'he wrote') or by the present-perfect (he has written'), depending on context and circumstances.

Examples translated with the simple past:
1. ḍaḥek ʾl-mālekh ʾktīr [AQ-88] 'The king laughed heartily'
2. fāʾin ṭṭāgalt baʿd ma ṭxaʿarāt [EA-206] 'Where did you work after you were graduated?'
3. ḥān nā yadīm ṣa-zamān tāʾār ēndo bont [AQ-113] 'There was once upon a time a merchant who had a daughter'
4. ṣabū ḥān ʿaḥīr, m-bād ṭaḥāḏ [EA-160] 'His father was poor, and sold his land'
5. lāmma gūt l-mūntiḏū hiṣ ṣa-nū bālādiyā [EA-161] 'When the elections took place, they elected him mayor'

Examples translated with the present perfect:
6. ḍaxadīt damāk, falla ṭuṣṣa? [EA-158] 'Have you taken your medicine yet?'
7. ṣtāmaʾt maṣu ʾṭaḥdīt marraṯ [EA-158] 'I've met him several times'
8. mā fī ʾṣī fagyayar 'Nothing has changed'
TENSE

Q. 12

9. *masam* *sa'ība n yūm *fi*-*frablous
[PAI-183]

'The soap industry has become the biggest industry in Tripoli today.'

10. *sūr maṣaf*?

'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: *sūr* *gūyār maṣaf*?

'What's happened to you?' (that you should be in this state)', while *sūr maṣaf*? 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 stative (or durative) verbs. (This happens most commonly with verbs of cognition, affect, etc. See p.272.) In such cases the Arabic perfect - when used in reference to past events whose consequent state is still in effect - is translated by the English present:

11. *halla*? *ṭāf bāli?

'Now I feel relieved' (i.e. 'Now my mind has been relieved')

12. *ṣrīfa* *kīf*?

'Do you know how it is?' (i.e. 'Have you found out how it is?')

13. *ḫam* *ʔannak maṣaf* *bukrā*?

'I understand you're leaving tomorrow' (i.e. 'I've been given to understand...')

14. *baṣd ma *halla*? *ṣill ali* *ʔosmo* *drakarto* *tāmām*?

'Now that you've told me his name I remember him perfectly' (i.e. '...I've brought him to mind perfectly')

15. *mant mašā'w maṣaf bāder* *ʔul* *ʔannak ma 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 ammuncatory sense (p.325), while the Arabic counterparts remain in the perfect:

16. *ṭtāfa*?*na*

'We're agreed', 'It's a deal' (i.e. 'We've agreed')

17. *ṭtarrafa*na

'I'm (we're) honored' (i.e. 'We've been honored')

18. *xaḥḥaltin*

'You embarrass me' (i.e. 'You've embarrassed me')

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES: *wiz* 331

19. *bṭaspqni b-ḥal-xabar* [DA-243]

'I'm glad to hear that' (i.e. 'You've gladdened me with this news')

20. *wa* *hu* *s-frūl ʔillī ?tarāḥta*? [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 *wiz*, *la*, *yān* (all translated 'if') and *ma* (translated 'ever' as in *fām* ma 'wherever...').

With *wiz* '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: *wiz* *raḥt maṣaf*? *mā* *bṭatsaq* [xabar] '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 (*bṭatsaq*) is interpreted as disjunctional (p.327), and 'go...won...', 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 *wiz*-clause does not depend on its main verb.

Examples:

1. *wiz* *daḥat fihā bṭatsaq*

'If you touch it, it'll come to pieces' or 'If you touched it, it'd come to pieces'

2. *musahaan l-nafaṣeṣ *raḥṣan *wiz* *tiḥāl ma* *ḥast-ḥari*?

'We'll get better results if we follow this method' or 'We'd get... if we followed...'

3. *nāfken rūḥ *wiz* *zaza* *ni* *la* *ni* *lARKI*?

'I might (or may) go, if they invite me'

4. *wiz* *wani l-maṣaf, bēḥā wāra* *doktor*

'If the pain gets stronger, send for a doctor'

5. *ṣaṣqorni* *wiz* *gūr u-ṭtāq* [xabar]? *yān*

'Wait for me if I happen to be late' (lit. '...if it happened and I was late')

6. *wiz* *ma kūn ḥāder ḥāff *Galaše* ?addām *ṭamū* *yān*

'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

7. *wiz* *dallil had-dēke *māxel* *dēn*

'If that noise keeps up I'll go crazy'

8. *mās-kaṣ tiell *wiz* *naqel* *mafat*

'We'll come unless it rains' (lit. '...except if it rains')
In English the present tense must be used after 'if', when the main verb is imperative (ex. 4, 5, 6) or future (ex. 7, 8), while in Arabic the perfect may be used in these cases as well as in the others.

Note that in examples 1 and 2 the main verb is in the simple imperfect, which, in this type of sentence, can depict either a "real" future situation or (dispositionally) a hypothetical situation. The imperatives may also be used for both real and hypothetical situations, though in their case the English translation is the same for both.

Examples 7 and 8 differ from all the others in that they could not be used to depict a hypothetical situation; the particle of anticipation (raha-, laha-) [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 *tisa*, however, unless the situation depicted is definitely hypothetical. When applied to a real situation, the *tisa*-clause may have a verb in the imperfect or no verb at all: *tisa batruh ma'na, mā bistattaxar* "If you're going with us, you won't be late"; *bissan tisa lā baddum* "I'll stay if necessary".

An imperfect or non-verbal *tisa*-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. nāša jā mā fī mānēt tandak *tisa* brāh halla?
   "I hope you don't mind if I go now"  

10. *tisa l-taqirīn bistaanaqad lā tsođe* lā hād u-lā hād
   "If the two reports conflict, don't believe either one"  

11. *tisa bostaansāni sī yaman yomken* *rafa'a* ma'ān [DA-172]
   "If you'll wait for me a couple of days, I might go up with you"  

12. *tisa baddak raq'yi hāda tanāzul ġan mabadd'ak*
   "If you want my opinion, this is a backsliding from your principles"  

13. *tisa calēk sī lā ist'axxar manāsī* [DA-243]
   "If there's something you have to do, don't delay on my account"  

*Tisa with the Linking Verb kān [p. 452]. A hypothetical condition with *tisa* is often expressed by the verb kān in the perfect, followed by a conditional verb: *tisa kān ēsāha, biḫākiha* "If he saw her, he'd talk to her".

14. *tisa sāfar *mārha, biyāsal *ld-yūm*  "If he left yesterday, he'll arrive today"
   Note also *tisa sāfar *mārha, biḫūn waṣp *ld-yūm* "If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today" or "If he left yesterday, he'll have arrived today" [p. 341].

With *tisa* there is no distinction between possible conditions and contrary-to-fact conditions. The latter are indicated in English by a past-perfect phrase in the protasis ("if he'd left...") couples with a conditional phrase in the apodosis ("he'd have arrived..."). But in Arabic the same sentence (*tisa sāfar, biḫūn waṣp*) is used in either case — whether it is known that he has not arrived, or not known whether he has arrived or not.

*Tisa with the Linking Verb kān [p. 452]. A hypothetical condition with *tisa* is often expressed by the verb kān in the perfect, followed by a conditional verb: *tisa kān ēsāha, biḫākiha* "If he saw her, he'd talk to her".

15. xāf ġanno yetrok *d-šādi* *tisa kān rafa'd fašābo [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. *dī raq'ī, tisa kān biyāsal *māniw [AO-47]
   "That's cheap, if he does good work"
17. ḍa‘am ʿibkun bala ḥass ʿīzā mā kant ʿbattassar b-hal-mangar

‘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. ʿallān i)sā ref i)al ʿb-salaf ʿīzā kant raṣa-iṣi

‘Let me know ahead of time if you’re coming’ (i.e. ‘...if you anticipate coming’)"

Note, however, that the simple imperfect is never used after kān in reference to a hypothetical future event. While a main clause may use the simple imperfect in the future sense (mana‘īf būkra ‘We’re meeting him tomorrow’), this is an “assumed” future event [p. 324], corresponding to a “positive-expectancy” conditional clause [332]: ʿīzā mana‘īf būkra ‘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: ʿīzā (kān) lāmīn būkra ‘If we meet(met) him tomorrow...’ Examples:

19. ʿīzā kān mā mēt taddī ṣḥāf ṭag rās hāl-kasāb [AO-95]

‘If I don’t die, I intend to cut that liar’s head off’"

20. ʿīzā kān laṭī ṭeḥa‘ed ʿaṣ-farī? ṭalla ṭa-lak stīntī, xalī ṣḥārāb [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 ʿa-lak, as well as laṭī; the attributive clause is also part of the hypothetical condition.)

The hypothetical kān may be used with ʿīzā 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 ʿīzā; when inflected, it may be separated from ʿīzā by the subject or by a negative particle [p. 383].

Further examples of the uninflected kān:


‘If the stick has grown blossoms and leaves by the next day, know, then, that God has forgiven your sins’

22. ʿīzā kān mála kūhāsn bātībī-lī l-hākim [AO-51]

‘If I’m not better you’ll bring the doctor to (see) me’

23. bkhān ʿandā...baʿaṣd sāʿa... ʿīzā kān ʿĪl-hallā? mā ṭaṣṣā? [DA-197]

‘I’ll be at your place in an hour, if the barber’s isn’t crowded’

24. ʿīzā kān fi bālān sī tikhān ṭafīdā [DA-290]

‘If there are(were) balconies, that will(would) be preferable’

Compare the inflected versions: ʿīzā l-ṣadāyī (kānet) ṭanḥaret...(cf. 21); ʿīzā mā kant ṭaḥṣān...(cf. 22); ʿīzā l-hallā? mā kān maṭṣā?...(cf. 23).

With ʿīn, n- ‘if’. The perfect is always used in conditional clauses expressed with ʿīn:

1. ʿīn mā saḥatt ṣaḥnīḥā particularly

‘If you don’t shut up I’ll hit you!’

2. w-ʿīn mā ṣaḥa, ṭā mānāmī? particularly

‘And if he doesn’t come, what’ll we do?’

3. r-ḍuḥ brūḥ ṭaṣī, w-ʿīn mā ṣaḥ ṭuḥ māhī

‘If he goes, I’ll go with him, and if he doesn’t, I’ll go alone’ (r- for n- before r [p. 27])

4. ṭalājā mā fi mānī ṣā ṭannāxānt particularly

‘I trust there’s no objection if I smoke (?)’

Note also the set phrases n-🎧 ṭaḥṣāh ṭaḥṣāh ‘If God wills’, and n-ṭaḥṣā saḥḥā ‘If God eases (the way)’.

Like ʿīzā, ʿīn is often followed by kān: n-kān mā ṣaḥa ‘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 kānt ʿĪl-māḥallāk ṣabṭā

‘If I were in your shoes, I’d stay at home’

2. law ʿīn-Abū ṣa‘āf b-ḥamāyye būkīn ṭaḥṣān b-ṭāsīr [DA-151]

‘If the climate were a little drier, it would be a lot better’

3. w-law mā daras, ṭaḥṣāh particularly

‘Even if he didn’t study, he’d do well’

4. wa-nahsāme-lak ʿĪl-maṣāriḥa batta w-law kūnna baddna naḥṣād

‘We’ll pay you back the money even if we have(had) to beg’

5. w-lu ṭalāḥḥēt ṭaliyyī māli laḥ-Ṭaṣī

‘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 bta'cref 'addāt 'bhabbāk
   [SPA-27]  'If you only knew how much I love you!'

7. law yaqīk kelme māhab  'bamall [`mashke
   'If he would just speak up once, the problem would be solved.'

8. law Candha ūmayet  hēl bass!
   'If she only had a little strength!'

9. 'rāx law yaqīlu ēla hēk
     ēmāl saxi!
   'I could kill him for doing such a stupid thing? (‘Oh, if I'd kill him...’)

The desiderative law is often used in a milder sense, to express invitations:

10. law batSarrafna ēal-  ġada
    'Why don't you have lunch with us?' ('if you would honor us for lunch')

Hypothetical kän in the Apodasis. When a conditional clause is introduced by law, the apodasis (main clause) is commonly introduced by the linking verb kän in the perfect: law šaftha kant b'sal-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 kän, as it is, usually, when kän is used for past time reference [p.34].

This use of kän is not obligatory if the main verb is in the imperfect. Its omission makes the apodasis more vivid: law šaftha, b'sal-lha (same translation). (See examples 1-5.)

11. law kant b-ma'ajallak, kant bab'ā ba'l-bēt
    'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay home' (Cf. example 1)

12. kän byašla  b-'iido ykūn
    'He could be the first in his class if he wished'

13. law kanti mutṣ̌īfl-'llī
    kanti bdu  la'ānna
    'If you(f.) really wanted to see me you'd come to our house' [p.268]

But if the main verb is in the perfect – indicating a hypothetical event in the past – then it must be introduced either by kän (also in the perfect) or by the particle la-, or by la:- plus kän: law šaftha, kant yalt-akha (or la-yalt-akha, or la-kant yalt-akha) 'If I had seen her, I'd have told her'.

14. law yalt-ali kant rsh  ma'ālak
    [DA-171]  'If you'd told me, I'd have gone with you'

15. law kan-lī l-paxtiyār la-kant
    rsh bāj-layyāra
    'If the choice had been mine, I'd have gone by plane'

16. law tarak 'mbarha, la-ma'sel
    ṣl-yēm
    'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today'

17. law bānībbu bāfdon ṣl-ba'ād
    kām  t'xāmalu sama mān sāmān
    'If only they liked one another, they'd have gotten together long ago'

18. law sakhanna ṣanno hōn kanna
darfān Cal-ṣattimād
    'If he'd let us know that he was here, we'd have invited him to the meeting'

19. law mān hēk,  ṭajjā hū
    rafām sū kān  pār sīna
    [SAL-140]
    'And if it hadn't been for that, God knows what would have happened to us'

With law-la 'if it were not for', ‘but for’:

20. law-la l-walād la-kān tarak
    māto mān sāmān
    'If it weren't for the children, he would have left his wife long ago'

21. law-la l-bōple kanna ḡaţn
    'Without the compass we'd have gotten lost'

22. law-lāhun la-kānna munkān
    halla? b-bāriz
    'If it weren't for them, we'd be in Paris now'

23. law-lāhun kant  ṣaḥād ṣl-yēm
    ṣāna
    'But for her, I'd be a beggar today'

(The form law-la is also commonly used before mā, in a negative verbal clause:)

24. law-la mā stāxaff  ṣl-mamūd
    mā kān  pār fī hēk
    'If he hadn't made light of the matter, that wouldn't have happened to him'

25. law-la mā mawā ḏabā poco mā
    kān sa'kalā
    'If he hadn't displayed his stupidity, they wouldn't have thought him ignorant'

Quasi-Conditional Clauses

The perfect is used in its hypothetical sense in certain constructions similar to law conditionals, but which do not involve the conditional particle itself.

A prepositional phrase may occur in place of the protasis:

1. bidūn  ḥamāmīyyāt mā kant
    ṣtāhānt  ṣl-fakrā  ḍabā'ān
    'Without his recommendations, I wouldn't have approved of the idea at all.' (Cf. law-la ḥamāmīyyāt...)

2. law-ta'  ṣūnī 'inā mā
darbātta
    'If not only the letter, but also the recommendations, had arrived'
2.  baʕad hāl-majār garet tāsār
L-aʔbūb *btanaz [DA-238]  'After this rain, grain prices should
go down' (Cf. lām *batmafar... 'If it
would rain...')

The expression m-*alla 'or else...!' is itself a condi-
tional protasis (m-*aman laʔ 'and if not'), and is commonly
followed by a verb in the perfect:

3.  tāʔbāh baʔdēn tārēx le-ḥān,
w-*alla *tālalk [AO-119]  'Don't come back here again, or I'll
kill you!'

Some clauses may be analyzed as an apodosis without a
protasis:

4.  kant ktnir batmnna ṭūb, bass
*btaʕrūnī [SAL-115]  'I'd very much like to go, but you'll
(have to) excuse me' (Cf. kant ktnir
batmnna ṭūb lam *tānakūnī, 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.  rēttni mēt*t ṭabl ḍa Eabbart
dala raʕyi  'I'd sooner die than express my
opinion' (on a given matter) (Cf. lām
Eabbart...)

With m 'ever'. The perfect is used for hypothetical conditions introduced
by kall ma and *tēmā ma 'whenever', ṣū ma, *tē-man, *tē-man and ma ma 'what-
ever', mēn ma (fēn ma) 'whichever', kif ma 'however', radd
ma 'however much':

1.  ṣū ma ḍār lā taftah had-dar*  'Whatever happens, don't open that
drawer!'  

2.  mā bīhaṃmi ṣū ma ḥaka yahkī
[DA-213]  'I don't care, let him say whatever
he will'

3.  lātssū bēt fēn ma kān ykūn
[DA-213]  'I need a house, no matter where it
is' (lit. "...wherever it be, let it
be")

4.  kall ma doʔʔ al-ʔús bāb-ʔarrā
bihaddadna b-*qatt*ālto
[DA-213]  'At every drop of the hat he threat-
ens us with his resignation' (lit.
'Whenever the mug hits the jar...')

5.  ṣēṭī tēs*pālī mēn ma kān
[SAL-192]  'You (f.) can ask anywhere' (lit.
'You can ask wherever it may be')

6.  ṭabbadda mēn ma kān yafnēl
halk-tā  'I challenge anyone to do that!
(lit. "I challenge whoever it may
be...")

7.  ṣū ma ṭál' hā-marūn
8.  radd ma *bītalnni hās-sāgī
mā *btaʕlīp ṭakkar
9.  bīlāhī yas-sāgī kall ma ṭūb
īrē ṭākun yas?mū ṣūūyye cyūdē
[PA]T-199]
10. bīhubb mēn ma ṣēf m-*byaʔki sū
mā aumēc [RN-41]  'No matter what you say, we're going'

Some of these forms may be preceded by lām:

11.  hāl-šamlū sū byastīdu
bīsītnin lām sū ma ēmlū  'That bunch won't get back their
citizenship no matter what they do'

12.  lām ma ēmālt māli ṭāʔsēff
mā janūrī  'No matter what you do, I'm not
going to give you money'

13.  lām ṭāʔs-man ḍār, māli ṭāʔyem man
*waʔē  'No matter what happens, I won't
budge.'

With the attributive forms ṭayy and ṭānu 'any, whatever'
(p. 573, the perfect is also used, but without ma):

14.  ṭāʔfīnī ṭayy maʔrībūt kānu
[RN-41]  'Give me whatever beverages there
are'

15.  xōd ṭānu kītāb ērābāk
ma can also be used with the imperfect, in the general-
izing or dispositional senses, or for "expected" conditions
(or courtesy) (p. 332):

16.  kall ma bēʔfo *taktar kall ma
bēʔbō *taktar  'The more I see of him, the more I
like him'

17.  radd ma byastīf, xōd mānnō
[DA-215]  'As much as he'll give you, get
from him'

18.  mēn ma bētīd ēqāl *tāna
bēlkol [DA-213]  'Wherever you'd like to eat, I'll
eat'

19.  la-ʔwēn ma bōddak brūh [DA-215]  'I'll go wherever you want' (The
tenseless bōddak, without a linking
verb kant, is equivalent to the im-
perfect.)
The ma forms may also be used with kân for past time reference plus a complemental verb in the imperfect for generalization [p.326]:

20. kall ma kân ifacker firha kân yatkarkar

'Every time he thought about it he would chuckle.'

TENSE SUBORDINATION

Time reference in a main clause is relative to the moment of utterance: ēm-yaktob makûb 'He's writing a letter' (at the present moment); katab makûb 'He wrote a letter' (before the present moment). In an Arabic complemental clause [p.449], however, time reference is relative to that of the main clause: šaffo ēm-yaktob makûb 'I saw him writing a letter' (or 'I saw he was writing a letter'). Since the clause ēm-yaktob makûb is complemental to the main clause šaffo '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 šaffo. Likewise in šaffo katab makûb 'I saw he had written a letter', the past time of his writing indicated in the complemental clause katab makûb is prior to the past moment referred to in the main clause šaffo. Similarly: šaffo ha-yaktob... 'I saw he was going to write...'. ha-ficîk yaktob 'You'll see that he'll have written...'.

In English - as in many other European languages - tense subordination of this sort does not exist. Either the tense of the complemental verb is shifted to agree with that of the main verb ('sequence of tenses'): 'I saw he was writing', or else the complemental verb is reduced to a 'non-finite' form: 'I saw him writing', 'I saw him write'.

 Examples (Main verb in perfect):

1. jâkâ-lha 5û bûy [AO-113] 'He told her what he had seen'
2. jîkart pêmmak btačref [EA-150] 'I thought that you knew'
3. 8îl bòder rûh 'He said I could go'
4. ba'dûn 8êl ?ûmm na-raha-yûnsîjor ?ûmmên ëdet 'Then he said that he was going to await new orders'
5. ëmmî yûn bûsî yûmna warrâyet u-fašharet [AO-100] 'The next day he said that it had leaned out and blossomed'
6. basû smbâtwor smačt ëmmak marîf [EA-149] 'Just yesterday I heard that you were ill' (Verbless complemental clause [p.403])
7. kent *smačt ëmmak boddo yrûh 'I was under the impression that he wanted to go'

Examples of kân with verbal complement:

1. b-tnûn kân lâsûn ēm-yaktob muhârak 'The train was still moving'
2. kénétt taqsî kel b-makûb 'She used to work in an office'
3. annam yûqîl, kénétt *b-makûb 'mâjor *načfet [AO-67] 'When I arrived, the rain had stopped'
4. kàrân yasîlja bûf bûrâk b-*nâjîla bûf kâkûn zâbît [DA-217] 'Tomorrow I'll come see you and I trust you'll have recovered.'

It should be noted that the linking verb and the complemental verb do not constitute a 'verb phrase', properly speaking. The linking verb stands in construction with the whole predicate (exactly as it does with a non-verbal predicate), not with the verb as such. See p.452.

Examples of kân with non-verbal complement:

8. sëmta b-çâmî pi'âm bûrû muhîla la 'I weighed it in my mind whether I should go or not'
9. jûmî mûn bûsma xabarî 'We found him not all he was cracked up to be'
10. kâmmî smačt *l-çâmî 'Hi-fàfe

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 kân 'to be':

kân 'he was' + ēm-yaktob 'he is writing' - kân ēm-yaktob 'he was writing'

kân 'he was' + rûh-yaktob 'he's going to write' - kân rûha-yaktob 'he was going to write'

kân 'he was' + katab 'he wrote' - kân katab 'he had written'

kân 'he was' + byaktob 'he writes' - kân yaktob 'he used to write'

The b- prefix of the simple imperfect is usually dropped after kân for past time reference, but is kept intact for the hypothetical sense [p.355]: kân byaktob 'he would write'.

bikûn 'he will be' + ēm-yaktob 'he is writing' - bikûn ēm-yaktob 'he'll be writing'

bikûn 'he will be' + katab 'he wrote' - bikûn katab 'he will have written'

(Etc.)
TENSE

For two or three day my watch was losing time’

Whenever she found out what he wanted, she would run and take pains to do it for him’ (i.e. ‘she used to run’.)

‘By the time you’ve put on your new suit, Daddy will have arrived’

‘Your family certainly must have missed you when you were away’ (bikûn is dispositional [p. 327].)

‘Don’t study the third lesson before you’ve mastered the second’ (‘atîmant is in the perfect to emphasize the completion of mastery, but ‘atîmNk noun requires the subjunctive [p. 358], hence tûkûn.)

‘But if only you’d been with me, I’d have had a better time’ (The second kánt is used here for a hypothetical apodosis [p. 336], not for past time reference.)

‘If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn’t say that’ (kánt for hypothetical apodosis)

Tense subordination is also commonly shown in certain kinds of attributive clauses [p. 498], annexion clauses [p. 496], and supplemental clauses [p. 531].

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 Câm- or ra’â- preceding the person prefix: byafta ‘he opens’, Câm-yafta ‘he is opening’, ra’â-yafta ‘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-, Câm-, or ra’â-): yafta ‘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: yaf ‘open’ [p. 198].

The uses of the indicative mode are treated only insofar as they contrast with the subjunctive; that is to say, the indicative is taken as the “standard” or “neutral” mode which is used whenever the other modes are not used.1 The indicative is fully exemplified, however, on p. 320 ff.

1It makes better sense morphologically, and is perhaps structurally more satisfactory on the whole, to take the subjunctive as the neutral or unmarked mode (non-assertive). Then the function of “assertion” is signalled 1.) by the subordination of a subjunctive verb to any non-subjunctive main term, including the proclitics Câm- and ra’â- [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-mu’dârîc l-mansûb) and indicative (al-mu’dârîc l-marfu’û) of classical Arabic *êrâb, 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**

- **mrūḥ ēs-sinama**
  - 'We'll go to the movies'
- **bstrūḥ ēs-sinama maferā?**
  - 'Are you going to the movies with us?'

**Optative**

- **mrūḥ ēs-sinama**
  - 'Let's go to the movies'
- **trūḥ ēs-sinama maferā?**
  - 'Will you go to the movies with us?'

Further examples of the independent subjunctive:

1. **yāfībel ṣahāne, wallā sūy?**
   - 'Shall I make coffee, or tea?'
2. **bīyafī yāfīh, yūlla yafīlak b-dāma'am?**
   - 'Can you see all right, or shall I turn on the light for you?'
3. **rūḥ bīth ham ?anīnēt bītā?**
   - 'Shall I go get a few bottles of beer?'
4. **nortāb-9īna nayfe hōn?**
   - 'Shall we rest a bit here?'
5. **tfor-lak lī da?līna?**
   - 'Will you come in for a minute?'
6. **yallī lābēs tyābō yūsī yūshīn**
   - 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'
7. **yalla yūsaqma'sa sama marra tānye [DA-253]**
   - 'May God bring us together again'
8. **yabābēb ēla xēr**
   - 'Good night' (lit. 'May you be well in the morning').
9. **yoxrab bēto**
   - 'A curse upon his house!' (lit. 'May his house be ruined').
10. **lē ykan-lak fakre**
    - 'Don't give it a thought!' (lit. 'Let there not be a thought to you').

See also p. 355, example 17, and the paragraphs preceding and following it.

Note the formulaic phrases *sāllem* Ṿīdēk and kātter xērāk (both translated 'thank you'; the first for work performed). The verbs are subjunctive (not imperative) aphaeretic forms for *sāllem...* 'May He protect (your hands)' and *kātter...* 'you' for 'God bless you' for 'God bless you', 'Thank you' for 'I thank you'.

In the second person after the negative particle *lā* (or *mē* [p. 389]), the use of the subjunctive extends to include direct commands and requests in lieu of the non-existent negative imperative construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Command (Imperative)</th>
<th>Negative Command (Subjunctive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>rūḥ</em></td>
<td>'Go!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tābā</em></td>
<td>'Come!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zībī-lī yū</em></td>
<td>'Bring(f.) it to me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Particle *lā* [cf. p. 353] is sometimes used before a main verb in the first person subjunctive, expressing exhortation ('let...'):

- *lā-narādē la-masqānt il-bēt [DA-244]*
  - 'Let's go back to the matter of the house'
- *lā-baddar-lak tyābāk [DA-181]*
  - 'Let me get your clothes ready for you'
- *bīna badādak *trūh tādamāla* ēt-talā, la-ūfrāk ḫa?mī* (lit. '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): *zīl *fannak bīnākī 'He said that you would come'. The subjunctive, on the other hand, is used if the clause expresses an exhortation, suggestion, wish, fear, intention, etc. or the like: *yal fannak tābī '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 *fannak* 'that'.
MODE

After ḫalab 'to ask(for), request': 1. ḫalab man rafo?u to yawtanţ 'He asked his companions to wait for him'

ṭamār 'to order, command': 2. l-malek ṭamār 'p-payyad ḥannu yâb-le 'ṭarbaţ samakţ [AO-117] 'The king ordered the fisherman to bring him four fish'

ttafa' to agree': 3. ttafa?u mātābdāl ṭu-da 'We agreed to take turns'

waḍad 'to promise': 4. uṣrni ḥannu tīmāla tâni marra 'Promise me not to do it again'

nagḥa 'advice': 5. nagḥi ḥannu nātrok hâlan 'My advice is that we leave immediately'

xāf 'to fear': 6. xāf ḥannu yatâku ẓ-Ṣaправля [adap.lr. AO-103] 'He was afraid they would quit the job'

ṣafar 'danger': 7. fi ṣafar ḥannu yasgar māfiṣto 'There's danger that he'll lose his job'

ṣtâh? 'to deserve': 8. ṣnti mā btâstå?u?u ḥâktikī [AO-119] 'You(1.) don't deserve that I should speak to you'

kārēh 'to hate': 9. bal-ḥa?u hakra ṭu-nâhak 'I really hate to bother you'

ḥabb 'to like': 10. ṣhābabu ṣorâc ṭaxdâkon? [DA-129] 'Would you(pl.) like me to come back and pick you up?'

râd 'to wish, want': 11. kān marra malek snîn kîr m-râd yânâf 'There was once a very fat king, and he wanted to reduce'

'ṭabel 'to accept, agree to': 12. ṣarťa?u ṭabel nnâţâlun '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:

Note that the complementary verb may be indicative even though the superordinate predication is interrogative (ex. 1), negative (ex. 2), or optative (ex. 3) (below).

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: waṣadîn ḥannu yaḥrâc 'He promised me that he would come back' (assertive), but waṣadîn ḥannu yorâc 'He promised me to come back' (optative).

Further examples of expressions complemented by subjunctive verbs:

badda 'to want, require, be supposed to, intend to, be going to':

1. bā}sannu ḥannu byâqeq l-ḥâyâ? 'Do you suppose he knows the story?'

2. mā baṣīfīd ṭannek btaezfi jaxâ?u?i 'I don't believe you(f.) know how to cook'

3. naṣrāq ḥannu mā byâsî 'Let's suppose he doesn't come...'

4. mā ẓadret taşqamur ḥannu yâkîbâb uṣrīla 'She couldn't imagine that they would lie to her'

5. ḥalâf l-malek ḥannu mā byârâc [AO-117] 'The king swore that he wouldn't return'

6. māj has-salî bas bâya-lak mā ṣalâ-tasâfâh [DA-106] 'I have this basket but I see that it's not going to hold them'

1. ḥanu badda 'qal bāzî 'I want to go back home'

2. r-râbîl ḥallî badda nnâtu kā ṣayrīgîl? [DA-75] 'The man we're going to visit - What's his work?'

3. kān badda ṣafīrīla 'I wanted to buy it' (or 'I was going to buy it')

4. badda yâhu ta'ra m-takīb?[ DA-80] 'Do you want her (to be able) to read and write?'
6. baddha tātti 'It's going to rain'

7. läzem 'fāfi b-nađdī [AO-116] 'I must keep my promise'

8. läzem 'nākun bal-māfīr 'abl l-baṣdā [DA-249] 'We ought to be at the airport an hour ahead of time'

9. kont läzem tab? a mārtāb bal-bēt [DA-218] 'You ought to have stayed and rested at home'

10. byalzamak mara bāire m-ṣṭān fāšīyye [DA-80a]: 'You need an older woman who would be a housekeeper' (lit. '...and (that) she be a housekeeper')

11. yamken 'šal mal maṣ l-mlād baṣdā xampfāšar yān [DA-198] 'She may arrive with the children in two weeks'

12. čala bal-lān yamken 'šalāri j-ja'm man bērāt [DA-199] 'In that case I might buy the suit in Beirut'

13. yamken ya'bal 'īmamak yāhā [AO-114] 'Perhaps he'll agree to give her to you in marriage'

14. yamken ẓānīn ma habbāt 'akblīna [DA-199] 'Maybe you don't like our food!' (p.330)

15. 'Lī mamken rāh 'He said I might go'

16. mamken tāmāgpat-li 'nabel l-baṣdā 'abl l-māfīr balla? [DA-295] 'Is it possible that you might arrange for me to see the director now?'

'udder 'to be able':

17. bta'dru tābāhū 'fāta ma kān u-tārafspābā [DA-151] 'You can swim anytime and refresh yourselves'

18. mā 'udder lā yākol u-lā yānā [DA-107] 'He could neither eat nor sleep'

19. bta'der b-layālī kāmānīn t̷̂ ek'ad bāp-pālī mān ġār nār? [AO-87] 'Could you, on December and January nights, sit in the nude without a fire?'

20. mā fī yātāumad ēn-nīqān *l-˷̂ āsī 'He can't get used to the strict discipline'

21. Ḩāni sādāk b-˷̂ ayy Ḩārīa? 'Can I help you in any way?'

22. bta'der fi jābi jābex *āfrānī?! [DA-99] 'Do you(f.) know how to cook European style?' (Cf. ērej 'fāna ...to know that...', followed by an assertive clause)

23. nasi yārēex *l-maktūb 'He forgot to date the letter'

24. lā tānsa ma tātht *l-māsāt fā? tā-tāfāḥat [DA-107] 'Don't forget to put the bananas on top of the apples'

After the negative command lā tānsa 'don't forget', the particle ma commonly introduces the subjunctive verb. (Do not confuse this with the negative particle mā.) Cf. nasi (*fāna) 'to forget that...', followed by assertive clause.

25. daakkar ṣaffi d-dāmm 'Remember to put out the light'

(Cf. daakkar (*fāna) 'to remember that...', followed by assertive clause.)

26. b-˷̂ a:mmūd *s-sāḥr l-˷̂ fāšilī bādū yahūfrū ṣāsāt *l-bēt [AO-75] 'On the first of the month the workers began to excavate (for) the foundations of the house'

27. l-baṣaadīn bībāllās yāmū l-˷īfrān [AO-75] 'The masons will begin to build the walls'
bassal 'to stop, cease':
28. hal-malad ?amtta ba-yassal yadda 'When is that child going to stop crying?'
29. dali rûh w-m-rûs lehatta yassal yada yalign mannak [AQ-99] 'Keep going back and forth until every body has stopped asking you (for it)'

yâ rêt 'would that, I wish':
30. yê ràtak *teñûf *en-rabbîî ûanna b-bûtî 'I wish you could see the springtime we have in Beirut!
31. yê rêt ?alder ?adh-har-rûn *p-sàniyya 'I wish I could read those Chinese characters'
(May also be used with the perfect: yê rêto kûn hâm! 'If only he were here!' [p.338])

nâja 'God willing', 'I hope':
32. nîsîla mû yûn ûnûn wàlad ñëgêr [DA-243] 'I hope he doesn't have any small children'
33. nîsîla kûn mû ûsâ,yt-âlik 'I hope I didn't hurt you' [cf. ex. 9,p.342]
(Also used with the indicative, in the sense 'I trust': nîsîla bîmbâbî ûnûn [DA-81a] 'I trust you'll have a good time here'

ësîl 'to have to, be obliged to';
[p.415]
34. lassu esîl yasall madîcs bîl-bàpî 'He still has to make a deposit at the bank'
35. yûlûn calîyya kûn hôm fâbî b-cafiy dà?bîy? [DA-29] 'I'm to be here for you (pl.) ten minutes early' (lit. 'I owe it to you to be here...')

dfar 'to be forced, obliged, required':
36. dfarret õettëñél sàsîl õadîyya 'I had to work extra hours'

maÔatamal 'probable':
37. maÔatamal õanno hal-fàwamam *t'annem *l-madâ 'It is probable that these factors will precipitate a crisis'

masînîl 'improbable, impossible':
38. mn 'l-masînîl õanno yâi 'It's highly improbable that he would come'

xalû 'to let, allow':
39. xallûna nâxâd ñ-l-bây [DA-44]
'Let's take the bus'
40. xalûhûn yasaliyûl màc bâdôn [AQ-83] 'Let them trash it out between them'
41. ilûn xalîît yasaliy b-hal-bûrd! [DA-198] 'How could you let him go out in this cold?'
42. la? õanno õâshûna yastâko [AQ-115]
'He found that it would be better to open it'
43. fakr ûnén sâne yûsî ñ-l-ûlî ñ-l-ûsharî yûsûîyla yastûm õâshûna [DA-129] 'People both here and over there prefer to buy the best'
44. n-mûsûn hûn w-mûsîhî bifadâbî ñastatun õâshûna [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she (be able to) speak a little English'
45. õâshûna yappàr õ'sâfîr [DA-248]
'When have you decided to leave?'
46. r-rasîn èeàmon yastèflûl màc [AQ-91] 'The boss invited them to dine with him'
47. bîhâmûn ñâhîî-lu õmâyeyet ñeàllû [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she (be able to) speak a little English'
48. õshûk... tatôr õòd màrâyam [DA-301] 'Be careful you don't let go of Mary's hand'
49. sarrar têmis õâshûn ñ-màurr b-bày 'Try to do better the next time'
50. ñâmûl ikûn sàðâr màsûdi ñàn *l-hûyê 'Try to give an objective account of the incident' (Lit. 'strive that your account be...')
than 'to avoid':

51. ṭaḥṣalk "askor šī I took care not to mention anything..."

ṭadda 'to defy':

52. ṭadḥaddak ṭa'āwub ṭala suraja 'I defy you to answer my question '

xāyef 'afraid' (commonly followed by the particle la-)

53. ḥames xāyef la-yūkān maṣlī e-xāyef [DA-203] 'He's afraid he has appendicitis'

54. ṭanna xāyef la-mā yākī [RN-1248] 'I'm afraid he isn't coming'

55. xāyef-lak 'l-bēt yāḥṣāf 'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

kallaf 'to entrust, ask a favor of':

56. baddi kallef ḥad-rak tas-sul bi-ṣul [SAL-92] 'I'd like to ask you to see about a job for me'

yā dōb 'hardly':

57. yā dōbi ṭam bi-maṣūfī 'I can hardly keep up with my expenses'

bal-kād 'hardly':

58. kān hal-'adda ẓī? bal-kādā 'tɪf Ꙫ 'It was so tiny you could hardly see it'

Čēb āla 'shame on...for':

59. Čēb ālak taḥkī hāk 'Shame on you for talking that way!'

mā ba'la ṭella 'it only remains to':

60. ḥaddīr ḥalak mā ba'la ṭella ṣalā [DA-250] 'Get ready, we're almost there'

Čāfah māhla 'to give...time to':

61. Čafīni mahle fakkir bi-maṣūfī [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. Ĉemmi āyē yeṭurna l-yōm [DA-172] 'My uncle's coming to visit us today'

2. ṭayīt ṭaddak la-sand māḥed ṭača mašīn mašīn amērīka [DA-75] 'I've come to take you to see someone who came two days ago from America'

3. bāḥa rīb āmatu palat ʕl-ʕīf [DA-298] 'Daddy has gone to pray the holiday prayer'

4. rāyēk āṣibha ʕl-ʔaši [AO-115] 'I'm going to get it and come back'

5. bāḥa ṭam yōm, ṭan ʕa iyyāb, ṭamās-a-bīmāṣt ṭaṣāṣṣīl [AO-51] 'In a few days, God willing, you'll get well and go to work'

6. nāmēl ma ʔaf-lak bāk-kāmā ṭaddān bāk ʕl-tōtāl [DA-218] 'I'm going down to wait for you in the sun in front of the hotel entrance'

7. ḥalla ʔabbaʕt-lak ʔaʔ-ṣānā ṭesāḥah [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-, ṭatta, or ṭabatta 'in (order to)', 'so that', which may complement any sort of main clause:

1. ṭača la-yūkān ēlīt [DA-75] 'He came to see his family'

2. ṭalṭēk āndī maʔet la-ʔašṣ [AO-121] 'I think I have time to shave'

3. ṭaʃāl ʔal-bīt ʔal-ʕūf ʕl-ʕarūs [AO-114] 'Come to the house to see the bride'

4. ṭaʃṭaʃān ānd-nār ʔal-meʔlāye ʔaʃ-ʔelīm [AO-117] 'She put them on the fire in a frying-pan to fry them'

5. ʔaf baddi ṭaʃmel la-yagfor ṭajā ṭaʃāmīyāt [AO-99] 'What should I do so that God will forgive my sins'

6. ḥalla ʔatfīd ṭaʃta ṭaʃf ʕal-ʔalaf ʕal-ʕīf [DA-245] 'Now will you open the package so we can see what's in it?'

7. ṭaʃmē ʔaddā ta-yagfor [Leb.: SAL 169] 'How long will it take to finish'

8. ṭatīt ʔal-hal-balad ṭattā ṭaʃtā ʔaʃ-ʕīf [DA-239] 'I've come to this town so that I may accompany him'

9. kallafni ṭudh-ʔal ʔaʃf ṭattā ʔaʃ-ʔalaf ʕal-ʕīf [DA-289] 'He's asked me to find him a house to live in'

10. ṭaʃadīl ṭabatta ṭaʃēk ḥalla āndī [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 assertive complemental clauses:

1. 4and mihah konta taştağli mān
?ah?i? [DA-81]

2. m-kān har-rashā yašlak kāl yām... 
mār' al-żānan m-yarēbāhon [AO-103]

3. kāl ḍamsi kān yūsūnī, xūqān
yōhRAYYI [AO-51]

4. kānet torkoḥ m-takah la-taṣma-l-
yā [AO-111]

5. l-ḥant ṭabīt la-ēansa m-ṣāru
yūtla?u marrāt ʿkhṭīre [AO-107]

6. gār yaḥka māsun ʿaṣya ṣalmiyīye
[AO-83]

7. l-ṣārīf...gār imādi mas-sađān
yaḥhak kālī [AO-96]

8. gūrt taṣrīf ʿl-ḥblūd ṭaktar
muni [DA-172]

9. m-kān yarse l-ḥagālāt bal-yārd
lamma yūgal ʾal-barriyye
[AO-104]

10. m-tammet ṭāpurū m-tābsi kāl
yūn la-maddat suntān [AO-118]

11. dallet ʿtna? ʿalīyīyī

12. l-mākīna ṭaṣēt tāṣɛtāgīl

13. ṭām ʿt-talifān iḥa?i

14. mā ʾād ḍāma?īna ṭabādān

15. dālī ṭabī?i sāga mā
yiṣṣaṭem bal-yīkīl

16. bīsāwī m-ṭīṣīfīni

17. ḍāk yaḥma-l-lo... baḍān
ḥaddā t'-al-lo ṭūl ʿaṣṣa
yaḥfik... , ṭ'-al-lo ṭūf
ṭammad, hal-kāki ṭāda
bal-ṣarbe mā ʿalū...

A subjunctive verb sometimes stands independently in a
generalizing or hypothetical sense (as if kān or some other
linking verb had been suppressed):

17. ḍāk yaḥma-l-lo... baḍān
ḥaddā t'-al-lo ṭūl ʿaṣṣa
yaḥfik... , ṭ'-al-lo ṭūf
ṭammad, hal-kāki ṭāda
bal-ṣarbe mā ʿalū...

Here's the way he would do with
him...; then that one would tell him
"Go on, may God affect you...", (and) he'd say to him 'Look, Moham-
med, that kind of talk (when you're)
arab abroad isn't nice...'.

A similar but special use of the subjunctive is that of the
verb bāsī (or bāṣa) 'to keep on', in the imperfect with a
complement. The indicative is used for generalizations,
in the usual way with no time limitations: ṭajmad byaḥa?
yaūrīna kāl ṭahād 'Aḥmed visits (i.e. keeps on visiting) us
every Sunday'; ṭal-majṭam byaḥa fi ṭakīl ṣayyeb 'This res-
aurant always has good food'. The subjunctive, on the
other hand, indicates that the generalization applies to
the past and not to the present: ṭajmad yāṣa yaūrīna kāl
ṭahād; baffal, lā? 'Aḥmed used to visit us every Sunday;
why did he stop?'; ṭal-majṭam yāṣa fi ṭakīl ṣayyeb, mā ʾād
fi 'This restaurant used to have good food, but not any
more'.

The subjunctive is also sometimes used in circumstantial
complements [cf. pp.448, 531]:

18. w-madštēt ṭarbaṣeṣaṣar bāṣr
nūf mān ʾmāṣṣa la-maṣṣa
[SAL-137]

19. bāṣ-ḥal ʿamān ṭaṣṣṭjel fi rūs
ʾl-maṣṣab? [SAL-136]

20. Pāmāṣa ʾyxṣṣ ṭal-masāṭel
ʾl-maṣṣaniyye [EA-159]

While the subjunctive is normally used in these complemental clauses in
the generalizing sense (e.g. ex. 2, 5, 8, 18, etc. above), the indicative
(with b-) is used in the dispositional sense [p.327]:

1. t-ḥaś hānet mā bťaṣfāl

2. ʿān ʾaṭrib bīṣīr bīṣedāk
A noun may, of course, be grammatically indefinite [p. 494] while referring to something quite definite; in such cases an attributive verb is normally in the indicative:  
Candi māwde btaṣref 'Englisi: 'I have someone(f.) who knows English' (Cf. ex. 5).

The subjective is not always obligatory, however, even if the reference is indefinite: mā btaṣref ḥadā bikūs 'āmmī 'I don't know anyone who sells fertilizer';  
bū-ḥaytī mā ḫāṣ ḥadā byākol yākūs 'ālm yā-nā. 'I've never in my life seen anybody who eats so much bread'.

In Prepositional Complement Clauses. After a preposition plus ḫanno 'that', the subjective is used:

1. ḥumma ṭalā man ḫanno yākūs 'āmmī n-nās 'He's above cheating people' (lit. 'He's higher than that he cheat people')

2. māfa ṭalā ḫanno yākūs 'āmmī 'He agreed to stay' (lit. 'He agreed on that he stay')

3. l-ḥalaw ḥafīl b-ḫanno ḥasayyarna ṭalā 'The charge is sufficient to blow us all up' (lit. '...in that it blow us all up')

4. mā ḥafī bēnā w-bēn ḫanno yākūs 'āmmī ṭalī ṭalā '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 complemenat prepositions are lost when the complement is a clause [p. 449].

In Supplemental Clauses [p. 528]. The subjective is used after certain subordinating conjunctions, mainly in reference to future or hypothetical events:

After ḫamal ma 'as soon as':

1. ḫamal ma tāla, fattaḥ ṭalā 'As soon as you get here, look it over''

2. xalīl l-ḥamād la-bēn ma yānṣaf 'l-gorm 'Leave the clamp on until the glue dries''

3. w-la-bēn ma talās ḥaddā ḫata 'hādīlā biṣṭā ḫāṣa waṣaf [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 yākūs 'āmmī byākol 'As soon as he comes, he'll eat''

The indicative in this sentence, however, distinguishes the attributive clause from a circumstantial complement: mā ḫāṣ ḥadā yākūs 'I haven't seen anyone eat...'
After bačd ma, la-bēn ma, ḥatta, and other expressions, the perfect tense is used in reference to accomplished facts, and the imperfect indicative for generalizations:

5. l-*ṣafrā mà batkhom ìkfīr bass tiks ma⁺ʕule [DA-290] 'The rate doesn't matter so much provided that it's reasonable.'

6. l-balad *tāsaddet man ḍer na tāndāre tīlā ḍagā 'The town was taken without a shot's being fired.'

7. btadxaš l-*ṣafrā b-anlāk bidān na ta⁺ʕref [PVA-60] 'The things will enter your mind without your knowing (it)'

8. bačd ma za⁺les ṣafrī ḍēr ḍand wāt [DA-249] 'After I finish my work I'll have time'

9. muntāfam-ลา bačd ma wānle ḍālāna 'We'll phone you after we get ourselves organized'

?ab'l ma 'before':

10. salamāt, mān ḍali َṣīf ?abl ma ṣafrā [DA-243] 'Greetings; it's good that you've come before I left'


12. ?ab'l ma mīt baddī mannak ḍākā [AO-116] 'Before I die there's something I want from you'

la-, ta-, ḥatta, ḥatatta 'until':
[cf. p. 353]

13. ṣuq ḍafri l-*ṣafrā ṣuq ḍafri l-*ṣafrā [DA-45] 'Go straight ahead till you see the red building'


15. ḥallāf l-*malēk ṣannā mā byārīṣ ḍafrā yāʃe ḍafrā [AO-117] 'The king swore that he would not return until he discovered the origin of that lake'

16. w-mīf w-*tà=l stannētak ḥatattā taʃe[f] [DA-197] 'How about it if I wait till you finish?'

After bačd 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. Ḏīha l-*m.mlūd la-bēn ma ḍāhret †anān 'He entertained the children until their mother came in'

18. w-bačd ma bišallī, byāxod ṣumāfiṣa w-birūh la-ṣaglo [PAT-195] 'And after he prays, he takes his provisions (viz. lunch) and goes to work'

19. stannētā bas-saʃayyāra la-ʃaʃrēt 'We waited in the car till she came back' (cf. stannēna bas-saʃayyāra la-ʃaʃrēt 'We waited in the car for her to come back'.)

After ?abl ma, however, the subjunctive is almost always used, not only in generalizations but even in reference to accomplished facts:

20. ṭamma ḏaʃr َṣafrā...byāxod j-ʃaʃayyāy ?abl ma ṣaʃlaçu mān bētōn [PAT-195] 'As for breakfast, the Tripolitanians have it before they leave the house'

21. ?abl ma yuʃal l-balad laʔa ṣalāf [AO-83] 'Before he got to the town he met a shepherd'

22. ?ab'l ma tsāβi b-*ṣuʃayye hānet maτi maoc l-*m.mlūd 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 ḍalam(m) 'when', for example, (in reference to the future): lēf mā byāxodhoma maʃ luḥmān yarīṣ, 'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back?' (cf. DA-75: ...luḥmān yarīṣ); after bačd ma for generalization: huʃ al māfuna bāchd ma yāmuf yago-paʃ byāsha tāba [Cr-36] 'Every one of us, after getting up in the morning, puts on his clothes'.

THE IMPERATIVE (al-*amr)

The imperative is used in ordering, requesting, or inviting the person addressed to do whatever the verb designates: fišā al-l-bāb 'Open(m.) the door', ēnci 'sit down(f.)', baʃrēna 'visit(pl. jurs' (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 lá (or mā) with the second-person subjunctive (mā): lā taʃtaʃ l-l-bāb 'Don't open(m.) the door', lā ta⁺ʃedī hōn 'Don't sit(f.) here', mā ṣrūjū 'Don't go(pl.)'.
Examples:

1. xัด hai-cağije m-*gabha b-majraḥ ma baddak [AO-99]
   
2. b-*gyatek ḫatti bafob ba-Yaṣān, m-Ṣaffii l-ḥammām [DA-180]
   
3. xallukon cam-strattib l-mamūd ĺala han-namāj
   
4. xtār, ya gavāyād, l-yaṭle halli bətrīthā [AO-116]
   
5. ʔumi ya mara, kəli [AO-112]
   
6. bəlja bəl-ʔina m-wahē ḷahwe m-wahedi bira [DA-45]
   
7. akər ʔəsmi, bidaxxlük
   
8. ʔəshdi bawayye ṯaqri [AO-113]
   
9. xallini ʔəṣref ʔəbī b-salaf ʔasə kənt ᵘa-re-tašī
   
10. ʔūf ʔina ʔəṣet ʔl-bŏṣja
   
11. ʔina mū kān ḫaḍer ḥaṭṭi ʕalāme ʔoddām ʔəsmə
   
12. yadja rāh səmīșa m- enlightenment
   
13. starēb m-xada
   
14. rəkād bū ʔido m-ʕayyed ʕalā [DA-302]
   
15. ġnēl maʕrūf, ʔal-li ʔin ʔənte [AO-108]

Note that a coordination of imperatives is often used where the sense would seem to require complementation by a subjunctive [p.345]. See example 13, above (syndetic).

Most such coordinations are syndetic [p.398].

16. dall rāh m-ʔrūṣē lapatta ybassil ʔada yaṭlob mənnaq [AO-99]

Similarly, an imperative is often used in complementation to an annunciatory verb [p.325]:

17. bənəbha i-nasūha
   
18. bənərəzā bəlalnī ʕal-ʔotēl

A rather peculiar imperative construction is its use in complementation to the verb kən [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 ʔūfə ʔəbəl ma ʔašī!
   
20. kənt kəl ləmama kənt fəl-bəti!

As in English, imperative in Arabic are sometimes used with subject pronouns ('ʔante, ʔənte, ʔəntu 'you') for emphasis:

21. ʔəntu rūṣu ʔākū maʃe
   
22. ʔəntu ʕaʃqə l-ʕaʃta l-yəm
   
23. rūṣ ʔənte m-hiyye ʔiʃu ʔ-ʃanta

Note, in the last example, that the first imperative is singular, applying only to ʔante, while the second (ʔiʃu) is plural, its subject being the coordination ʔante m-hiyye.
Arabic verbs, like those of many other languages, are inflected for three "persons" called FIRST (al-mutakallim), SECOND (al-muxāfāb), and THIRD (al-ka'īr). 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 "imprersonal" 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. lāmem tadros *b*ḥū*著* ḥatta ṣīr kāteb ḫadāl b-ṣūriyya
   ‘You have to study law in order to become a notary public in Syria.’

2. gā*b tāl*me* b-ṣī
   ‘It’s hard to nail him down to anything’ (lit. ‘It’s hard for you to obligate him in anything’)

3. mā batā*ūb* ẓolla ḥam-yaddāmmar
   ‘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 ṣant [p.378].

¹Except insofar as they are used vocatively [p.378].
A verb attributable to a predicate such as ?amaal ma?hed 'the first one', l-ma?hid 'the only one', or the like, commonly agrees with a first person pronoun subject of that predicate. (See Equational Sentences, p.405.)

7. ?ama kal tawzer ma?hed tarakt b-l-bêt
   'I was the last one to leave the house'

8. ma?ned l-ma?hidin yalli mana?ref
   'We're the only ones who know how to do it'

9. ?a? ?amaal râbbil basteq? '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. ?ami kal?ka 'She fainted' ('There came a fainting upon her')

11. hal-kalb làcem yânhaaff- allo ka?mîne 'That dog ought to have a muzzle put on him'

12. byâsadni ?anâra la-?atta waffâlle qa?la ka?l hal-ma?akel 'It would take me a week to look into all these problems'

Verbs with a clausal subject [p.451] are likewise in the third-person masculine; this construction is equivalent to that of an impersonal verb with a clausal complement:

13. bīn?u ?asi ma?kon 'Perhaps I'll come with you(pl.)' (lit. 'That I come with you is possible' or 'It is possible that I come with you')

14. bihamni ta?khî-lha ñuuyet t?nglînis [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she speak a little English'

Certain impersonal verbs are used in the feminine: mà bta?ref mà? ?ama?n rû? ma?hî 'It doesn't matter to me that I go alone'. See p.428.

---

The difference between ?ante and ba?r?tak is of course not like the difference in European languages between (for example) 'tu', and 'vous', 'du' and 'Sie'. ba?r?tak is limited to polite initial encounters with strangers, or the like; ?ante ('?antî, ?antu) may be used by anyone to anyone, like English 'you'.

---

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:


4. ?ama w-?ante mën? hama 'You and I will go together'

5. mà? ?ama wà?ma humme lah-a-nhûn hinnî 'Neither he nor I will be there'

6. la-mën râshi ?antî w-humme 'Where did you(f.) and he go?'

Note, however, la-mën ra?shi ?antî miyyâ? 'Where did you and he go?' or 'Where did you go with him'.
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 is determined by agreement with the nouns to which they are 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 one, in contrast to the dual and to numeral constructs with the plural: kṭāb 'a book', i.e. 'one book' (vs. kṭābān 'two books' vs. tištāb 'three books').

In a non-enumerative capacity, the singular of a count noun is used as a classificatory term [p. 485] in certain kinds of apposition:

1. After numerals above ten: ūtarīn kṭābān 'twenty books' or tābāfīsān 'fourteen years', xamsū ētarīn kṭābān 'twenty-five piastres'.

2. After the words kāmm and kall [p. 467]: kāmm kṭābān 'several books' or how many books'; kall kṭābān 'every book'.

3. Sometimes after substantives: kall ētāf 'call skin', ʃaʃāf rās 'headache'.

The singular (with the article prefix) is often used for generalizing: tarbīyet faj-faj 'child rearing' (lit. 'bringing up the child'); l-ma'yūna ṣalha ḍhī? ... 'women have rights' (lit. 'the woman has...'); ēmu ṣanā' l-šamsān 'man-made' (lit. 'of the man's making').

In construct with a collective [p. 279] or a plural, a singular is sometimes used distributively: yāmīn l-baṯar 'the horns of cattle' (lit. 'the horns'); ēyūnīn man 'ḥabība l-tašmān '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: ūtafīna nadsīlka b-naf'sana 'Let's do it by ourselves' (lit... 'by our self').

Number: Count Nouns 367

Use of the numeral nān 'two' in construct with a plural puts somewhat more emphasis on the number then does the use of the dual inflection: nān kastāb 'two books'. Still more emphasis is achieved by using the dual noun with the numeral following in apposition: kṭābān nān 'two books'.

The dual inflection is more comparable in function to the numerals than to the plural. The dual need not be used every time two of anything are referred to. If the number happens to be two but is beside the point, or to be taken for granted, then the plural is used, just as in English: ēmu nān bānī mīzān 'He has daughters only' (applicable though he may have exactly two); l-maŋo ṣawawē ḍaŋī l-ktāb 'The coat is tight in the shoulders'. Cf. ēmu nān kīmān ēmu nān bānī mīzān 'He only has two daughters'; l-maŋo ṣawawē ḍaŋī l-kīfīn 'The coat is tight in both shoulders'.

In reference to things that normally come in a pair, the dual is not always 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-kāfīn 'both gloves' (cf. plural l-kīfīn 'the gloves', in reference to a pair); ṣbāraš 'both his legs' (cf. plural ṣbārē [p. 170] 'his legs').

Note that the forms ṣbāraš 'feet, legs', ṣdān 'hands, arms', ṣdān 'eyes', and ṣdān 'ears' are not duals in colloquial usage, but plurals: ṣdārō ṣbāraš 'four legs'. The true duals of these words have connective (p. 163) before the suffix: ṣṭātān 'hitten, ēntān, ṣdātān'.

Most duals tend not to be used with plural suffixes; such constructions are generally circumlocuted by using the plural with the suffix, followed by the numeral nān: kastāb ṣnān 'my two books'.

Notable exceptions include the duals of nouns designating paired parts of the body: ēntānīni 'both my eyes'.

Plural (al-ṣamāḥ). If the singular of a noun designates one of something, then its plural designates more than one: kṭāb 'one book', kastāb '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: nān kastāb 'two books', šams kastāb 'eight books'.

With numerals above ten, the following term is put in the singular: ūtafīn kastāb 'twelve books' [p. 472]. If the number is two, the dual, of course, may generally be used instead of nān with the plural.
Abstract and Mass Nouns

Many nouns which do not purport to designate discrete (countable) entities are normally used only in the singular, e.g. 'sīṯqāl, 'independence', dāmān, 'duration, permanence', sāfī, 'tar', ṣāde, 'rust'.

Some singular abstract and mass nouns may be put in the plural to indicate abundance, variety, or indefinite quantification: sg. rāmāl, 'sand', pl. ṭālāl, 'sand', another plural rāmlāt, '(a batch, or batches, of) sand'; singular ṣābāḥ, 'behaviour', pl. ṣābāḥāt, '(various kinds or instances of) behaviour'.

These are not count plurals — they are not used after numerals — and are not to be confused with the plurals of particularized abstract and mass nouns (p. 284), which are count plurals. While rāmlāt, 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 tālāt rāmlāt to mean 'three batches of sand' (rāmlāt as a count plural only means 'grains of sand'). See p. 297.

No abstract or mass nouns are normally used in the dual.

Further examples of mass noun plurals, indicating abundance or variety:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭ, 'oil'</td>
<td>ʔaṣṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥabb, 'grain, seeds'</td>
<td>ḥabb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māyā, 'water'</td>
<td>māyāyā⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabāl, 'trash, garbage'</td>
<td>ʔabāyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laḥmā, 'meat, flesh'</td>
<td>laḥmām³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saω, 'air, atmosphere'</td>
<td>Saωa²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The term 'abstract' here denotes a semantic category, broader than the derivational category of abstract nouns (p. 284).

²Also maʃriyyāt. There is, actually, a singular maʃriyye — a defunct mono-

tary unit referred to figuratively in expressions like mā ḍandi m-Ṭ ṣaʃriyye

'I haven't a cent'.

³Also used as a count plural of ḥabbe, 'pil'.

⁴Also used as a count plural of māyā, 'pil'.

⁵The plurals māyāyī and miyāh are also used (p. 370), but māyāa is more

strongly connotative of abundance or variety.

⁶The plural laḥmāt belongs more specifically to the singular laḥme, 'meat', and, in the identificatory use (p. 370), also to laḥmā in the sense 'flesh' laḥmāt, 'his flesh'. As a count noun, laḥmāt means 'pieces of meat' (ṣa-)

laḥme, 'a piece of meat').

Plural of Abundance and Plural of Paucity (yaʃmā l-koʃra wa-yaʃmā l-qilla).

Sometimes the plural of a singularis (p. 297) — a count plural — stands in contrast to the plural of the underlying collective or gerund, which indicates abundance or variety, and which is not used after numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samak</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>dabbām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>dabbām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instance</td>
<td>ġalafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>ġalaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When there is both a plural of abundance and a plural of paucity (i.e. a count plural), the plural of abundance is formed by a base pattern change (p. 218) while the plural of paucity is usually formed by suffixation of -āt.

An exception is ʔalāf, 'thousands', the count plural of ʔal af, 'thousand' which also has plurals of abundance ʔalāf and ʔalāfāt. When a plural of paucity is used without a numeral (2-10), it may be implied 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 ṣaʃrā, 'leaves', for instance, may serve as a plural of abundance — as the plural of the collective ṣaʃra — but also as a count plural — as the plural of the unit noun ṣaʃra's 'a leaf': tālāt ʔaʃrā 'three leaves'. There is also a plural of paucity ṣaʃraʔat. Likewise the plural maʃrā(e) 'flowers, roses' may serve as the plural of abundance (coll. sg. ʔaʃra 'flowers, roses') and also as a count plural: ʔaʃmar, ʔaʃmar  'five roses', while ṭarās, ʔaʃmrāt is a plural of paucity (unit sg. ʔaʃra '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 -āt have a plural of paucity in -āt and also an internally formed all-purpose plural, but no collective: siʃ̣ra, 'cigarette', pl. of paucity siʃ̣rāt, all-purpose plural siʃ̣rāt; ʔaʃma, 'tent', pl. of paucity ʔaʃmāt, all-purpose pl. ʔaʃmāt; ḥayye, 'snake', pl. of paucity ḥayyāt, all-purpose pl. ḥayyāt.
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 -‰†) designating a certain batch or indefinite quantity of that substance: sg. ṭamir 'sand', pl. ṭamir; sg. ẁalib 'milk', pl. ẁalib; sg. ʾett 'oil', pl. ʾett; sg. ḫamīš 'wheat', pl. ḫamīš.

Examples of usage: (sg.) ḥar-rami ʾāl byasama ʾal-būjān 'This sand (i.e. this kind of sand) is no good for concrete' vs. (pl.) Ṯād ḥar-ramīt man ʾāl 'Get this sand (i.e. this batch of sand) out of here'. Or, in reference to the milkman, one might say Ṯāb ʾl-ḥalib 'He brought the milk' while in reference to the waiter in a restaurant one would say Ṯāb ʾl-ḥalib.

In the case of the waiter, milk is considered quantitatively, i.e. in contrast to the other kinds of things he brings to the table; but since it goes without saying that the milkman brings milk, the milk he brings is viewed quantitatively, as a batch.

This is indefinite quantification, however, and is not to be confused with quantification by numerals. To specify a certain number of batches or orders of milk, the numeral is used in its absolute form (p. 170) followed by an appositive (§10 singular: tīšē ḥalib 'three (orders of) milk, three milks'.

This type of plural is also used in an identificatory sense, as opposed to the singular, which is qualitative, i.e. classificatory. That is to say, while the singular is commonly used in classificatory constructs, the plural usually marks an identificatory construct (p. 458) (whether it is leading term or following term):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classificatory</th>
<th>Identificatory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥalib ʾl-maṭīs 'the goat's milk'</td>
<td>ḥalib ʾl-maṭīs 'the goat's milk' (indicating the kind of milk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāyyēr ʾl-ḥaḥr 'the sea's water'</td>
<td>ṭāyyēr ʾl-ḥaḥr 'the sea's water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾett ʾa-ʾettān 'the olive oil'</td>
<td>ʾett ʾa-ʾettān 'the grocer's oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾaḥn ʾl-ʾaḥn 'the grinding of wheat'</td>
<td>ʾaḥn ʾl-ʾaḥn 'the grinding of wheat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plurals of unit nouns (p. 298) are generally also used in this identificatory sense, as opposed to collective nouns, which are generally classificatory: ʾaṣīr ʾl-burd ʾaṣāf 'the juice of the oranges' vs. ʾaṣīr ʾl-burd ʾaṣāf 'the orange juice'.

Since pronouns are always identificatory terms, it is usually the plural of identification (if any) that is used with pronoun suffixes, rather than the singular: ʾamādīnā 'our wheat', ʾaṭātān 'their oil', ʾaḥnā 'the milk', ṭaḥmāto 'his flesh', ṭaḥmāte 'his grapes', baṛadīnātī 'my oranges', ṭaṣāyiitā 'its water'.

All this is not to say that the singular in such cases cannot be used in identificatory constructs, but only that it tends not to be so used, at least when an actual specific batch of something is referred to. The singular is more apt to be used in a (grammatically) identificatory construct if the reference is actually to a generality or a hypothetical case: ʾamād ṭaḥhāb ʾl-ʾaṭadī tā-ʾbibbī ṭalibn ṭal-ʾaṭadīn 'Ammūd the cows, and sells their milk in the city', Ṭāb ṭaḥhāb ʾl-ʾaṭadī tā-ʾmām ṭal-ʾaṭadī tā-ʾmām ʾaṭadīn tā-ʾmām laṭām. 'The hens lay eggs, and Ammu also eats their flesh' ([O:63].

Concerning plurals in general, one should keep in mind that it is not always possible to determine the Arabic number inflection by meaning, or by translation from English. Many kinds of "thing" may be regarded either as wholes or as aggregates of discrete parts. Compare ʾaḥaṣā ʾl-lin (a pair of shoes), which is singular, with ḥaṣāf 'gloves' (in reference to a pair), which is plural; ṭaṣāyi ʾl-ʾaṭadī 'tools', which is singular, with ṭaṣāyi ʾl-kāntīn 'money', which is plural; ʾaṭadīr 'cattle', which is singular, with ʾaṭadīr 'cows', which is plural. See Collectives and Units (p. 298).

Not only the form of a plural, but also the kinds of plurality a noun will have, or whether it will have a plural at all, are to a considerable extent questions of lexical idiomsyncreny.

Some nouns lack one or another inflection for no obvious reason: ʾīf 'thing', for instance, is a count noun (tīšē ṭaḥhāt 'three things'), but it has no dual. (Its more elegant doublet ʾīf, however, does have a dual: ṭaḥhēn 'two things'). The noun ʾaḥnā 'woman' has neither dual nor plural, though the plural is suppleted by the word ṭaṣāmān 'women'.

Many nouns have different plurals corresponding to different meanings: ṭaḥnā 'tongue', pl. ṭaḥnāt 'tongues' (literary anatomical sense), plurals ʾaṭān and ʾaṭān 'tongues' (figurative linguistic senses). Sometimes different plurals are stylistically significant: sg. ṭaṣāmī 'name', plurals ṭaṣāmī (informal) and ṭaṣāmān (more formal). In still other cases, different plural forms may be virtually equivalent, or a matter of person or regional variation: sg. ṭaḥhāt 'blanket, cover', pl. ṭaḥhēt or ṭaḥhēt; sg. ṭaḥhār 'month', pl. ṭaḥhār or ṭaḥhār.
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, 533].

Natural Gender

A noun that designates human beings is masculine if the person is male, and feminine if the person is female:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?abb 'father'</td>
<td>?amm 'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?abd 'son'</td>
<td>bant 'daughter, girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?axt 'brother'</td>
<td>?xst 'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arūs 'bridegroom'</td>
<td>?arūs 'bride'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?alame 'man, fellow'</td>
<td>?att 'lady'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certain animal designations (mainly domestic animals) are also limited by sex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ür 'bull, steer'</td>
<td>ba?ara 'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūb 'ram'</td>
<td>ḡaname 'ewe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a? 'billy goat'</td>
<td>?æme 'nanny goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xarūf 'young male sheep'</td>
<td>mæṣy 'nanny goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dîk 'cock' (male of any fowl)</td>
<td>faras 'mare'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine noun ?afal 'child, infant' is used to refer to children in the abstract (tarbiyyet ?afal 'raising up a child') or to predicate childishness of a person of either sex (lissâqa ?afal '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 ?afal: ḥavy ?afal ḥalme 'She's a pretty child'. Similarly: kūb 'dog' (male or sex unspecified) and kalb 'bitch', ḡâmm 'horse' and faras 'mare'. On the other hand ?aff 'cat' is used mainly to specify the male, while the feminine affa may be applied not only to females but also when the sex is unspecified: hal-affa ḏakar malla ?antaṣy?e 'Is that cat male or female?'

The nouns ḍaṣâra 'elderly person' and bētē 'baby' have

Some speakers, however, tend to pair off ḍaṣâra as 'old woman' with ?axty?ēr 'old man'. The forms ḍaṣâra and ?axty?ēr are used exclusively in reference to females.

Some noun stems are used with and without the suffix -e/-a [p. 138] to designate female and male respectively: ḏabbē 'cook' (m.) and ḏabbē (f.). ?abī 'boy' and ?abīyye 'girl, young lady', ?i? 'maternal') uncle) and ?al- '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: ?alame 'man, fellow', ?alif 'caliph', ?yegye '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:

l-?ibab khabret ?afta man ḍaṣar ?amn 'Damascus has grown a lot in the last ten years'

mār ma?hūle ?aktar man sūriyya 'Egypt is more populous than Syria'

The names of a few countries and regions, however, may be construed either as masculine or feminine: lɔbān 'Lebanon', naṭa? 'Nejd', l-fārās 'The Hejaz', l-yaman 'Yemen', l-a?d 'Jordan', l-?id ?i? 'Iraq', l-magreb 'Morocco' or 'Northwest Africa', l-barazil 'Brazil'. E.g. l-ɔbān ṣāmīl, maṣ ëk? 'Lebanon is beautiful, isn't it?' [PWA-30].

Names of ships (and planes, automobiles) are feminine: l-ṣampoly?on ṣanēt ˈɛla?-mā?ē 'The Champollion ran aground off Ouzai'.

Names of the letters of the alphabet are feminine: sūmī n-nūn mawwafe ?aktar man ëk 'Make the nun deeper than that'.

It is said that the names of cities, countries, ships, etc., are feminine because they are elliptical for construct or appositive phrases [pp. 462, 506] headed by feminine words such as madīne 'city', ?abī 'land, country', ?āxra 'ship', etc.: madīnet ?e?ar 'the city of Beirut', ḍāl 'l-?alān 'The land of Greece', l-ḥāxra ?ampoly?on 'the ship Champollion'.

Some speakers, however, tend to pair off ḍaṣâra as 'old woman' with ?axty?ēr 'old man'. The forms ḍaṣâra and ?axty?ēr are used exclusively in reference to females.
This explanation does not hold true for the names of the letters, however, since ʰaʳf 'letter' is masculine: ʰaʳf ʾl-bê 'the letter bê'.

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), -d (164), or -t (164) are feminine. Most others are masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maktab 'office'</td>
<td>maktabe 'library'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daraš 'staircase'</td>
<td>daraše 'step, degree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xafa 'wrong, transgression'</td>
<td>xaffa 'sin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>askr 'mention'</td>
<td>askra 'commemoration, memory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasr 'eagle'</td>
<td>bûne 'owl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namål 'ants' (collective)</td>
<td>namle 'an ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aṣtāqāl 'independence'</td>
<td>hārriyye 'freedom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murād 'desire, intention'</td>
<td>mubārā 'match, game'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabāt 'plant(s)' (Here t is part of the Root: n-b-t, Root b-y-y)</td>
<td>hayāt 'life' (Here t is a suffix: Pattern FaEAL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defective (p.43) nouns ending in ạ or e, however, are generally masculine; the vowel is part of the stem, not a suffix:

| ḍāda 'supper' (masc.) | Root ē-s- y with Pattern FaEAL [p.146] |
| ṣate 'winter, rain' (masc.) | Root s-t-m with alteration of Pattern FaEAL [147] |
| mačna 'meaning' (masc.) | Root ē-n-y with Pattern maFEAL [153] |

Note that same 'year' and mara 'woman' are biradical nouns (p.162); the -e/-a is a suffix (cf. construct forms sant, mart [168]), hence these words are feminine. (And mara is feminine par excellence in any case, by virtue of its meaning.)

The ending -ạ is usually not a suffix (? replacing a final radical semivowel, as in dweạ 'supplication', masculine, Root d-ẹ-w, Pattern FaEAL), but in the rare cases where it is actually a suffix the noun is feminine: kabriạ 'pride, arrogance' (Root k-b-r).

Exceptions

There are a few feminine nouns whose gender is not indicated either by form or by meaning:

ēn 'eye', 'waterhole'   rīḥ 'wind' (also masc.)
īd, yadd 'hand, arm'   ṭard 'land, ground, earth'
ṣāf, ṣāf 'foot, leg'   ṣams 'sun'
đā'n 'ear'         sama, samā 'heaven' (also m.)
đā'n 'chin, beard'   ṭayy 'water' (also ṭayye)
rāḥ 'womb'           ṣakkīn 'knife' (also ṣakkīne)
ṯiṣ 'backsides, arse'  ḍakkīn 'shop'
sāfs 'spirit, self'   ṭābāc 'finger' (also ṭābāca)
rīḥ 'soul, spirit'    ḍāḥūn 'mill' (also ḍāhūne)
đīr 'house'           ḍāmar 'rain'
bāla'd 'town, community, country'   ḡarb 'war' (also masc.)
bāla'd 'country'       ṭafr 'road, way' (also masc.)

The noun sā?) 'market' is generally feminine in its abstract or general sense, e.g. s-sā?) s-sāda 'the black market', otherwise masculine.

'ṭard is masculine in its sense 'floor'.

rīḥ is masculine in the sense 'ghost, disembodied spirit'.

The feminine gender of ʾbḥanām '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: baḥ 'cattle' (masculine), maḥse 'goats' (feminine); ḍadas 'lentils' (masculine), ṭābulīyye 'kidney beans' (feminine).
376 PERSON, NUMBER, & GENDER

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-Zumla)

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 coordination [p. 39] 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.

In the sentence huwa ḥaddāmī w-ḥabbī 'He's a nice person and I like him', there is a non-verbal clause [40] huwā ḥaddāmī coordinated by the conjunction w- 'and' with a verbal clause [40] ḥabbī.

A COMPLEX sentence consists of a (prosodically unified) SUPERORDINATE CLAUSE which contains, as one of its parts, a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

In the sentence baṣṭab-lō yāḥa lamma baṣṭarrā Optional I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates', the (one-word) clause baṣṭarrā '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 ḥaddi ḥabbī laḥūn baṣṭab-lō yāḥa lamma baṣṭarrā ḥaddī 'I intend to tell him that I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates'. The clause baṣṭab-lō yāḥa lamma baṣṭarrā is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a supplemental capacity [449] by the conjunction ḥaddī 'that'.

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 Zumla includes both 'sentence' and 'clause'. In fast uninterrupted monologue especially, it is often impossible to distinguish between a coordination of clauses and a coordination of simple sentences.

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:  gating! 'Bravo!',  mālāla! 'Isn't that wonderful!' Some exclamations consist of the vocative particle  ye plus an adjective or noun: ya laff! 'Good grief!', ya ṣal atrás! (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  ye (or sometimes ya):  ya' ḥasan! 'O Hassan!'

Most interjections and Vocative phrases, of course, are more often used in supplementation to a main clause than as full sentences:  ṣoñko ya qāyāya 'How are you, girls?',  ẓafīn mālāla! '(That's) great, by golly!'

Declarations. The clause of a declarative sentence may be a Predication [p.401], or an extrapolation [420]; ḥādat  amīr ṣaḥrīn cand xālak 'I spent the first two months at my uncle's',  amīr ṣaḥrīn maṣūṭ Этиhān  xed xālak 'The first two months. I spent (them) at my uncle's'.

The category of declarative sentences includes statements, which are characterized by verbs in the indicative or by a non-verbal clause [402]:  ẓammān sana 'We'll go together',  ḥāla māṣāk 'I'm with you'; and also exclamations and invocations, which are characterized mainly by verbs in the subjunctive, but sometimes also by non-verbal clauses:  ẓammān sana 'Let's go together',  ḥāla māṣāk '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.370.)  ḥādat  amīr ṣaḥrīn cand xālak? 'Did you spend the first two months at your uncle's?',  amīr ṣaḥrīn, maṣūṭ Этиhān cand xālak? 'Did you spend the first two months - did you spend them at your uncle's?',  ẓammān sana? 'Will we be going together?',  ẓammān sana? 'Shall we go together?'

The particle  šī is often used to indicate a question:  šīmī?  ṣset man cand  l-kawm šī? [DA-237] 'Have my suits come back from the cleaners?'. The interrogative particle may occur at the end of the sentence, as above, or it may precede a complement, thereby setting it off and emphasizing it:  ṣam-ša ṣad šī  ṣamn kāwā? 'Are you implying that I'm a liar?',  ṣāρ  ḥayūd šī  l-  ṣāmne? '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  šī 'what',  wān 'who', wān '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:  ṣam wādīt 'amīr ṣaḥrīn? 'Where did you spend the first two months?',  amīr ṣaḥrīn,  ṣam maṣūṭ Этиhān '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]: ḥādat  amīr ṣaḥrīn cand xālak 'Spend the first two months at your uncle's'. (A negative command, however, is formed with the subjunctive:  ẓī ṣamī ṣamn ṣaḥrīn... '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

I'll be having guests today' (lit. 'Guests are coming to us today')

Interrogative

'Are we having guests today?'

I'll be giving them a big welcome' 'Must we give them a big welcome?'

'Your brother isn't coming' 'Isn't your brother coming?'

'maṣūṭ? 'Is that right?'

1This does not mean that every declarative sentence can be converted, as it does, into a normal interrogative sentence (or vice versa), but only that every one has the same grammatical structure as other sentences which can be so converted, or (if compound), that it can be broken down into simple clauses which can be so converted. For instance the compound declarative sentence ṣaḥālān ḥaṣa'ma  ṣukra butūfūk 'We've recorded a [television] spot and tomorrow you'll see it' could not be made into a normal interrogative as it stands, but the two coordinate clauses could be converted separately.
Declarative

mā ḍandak maṣārī
"You have no money"

Interrogative

mā ḍandak maṣārī?
"Don't you have any money?"

nárāwać Cal-bēt
"Let's go back to the house"

nárāوافق Cal-bēt?
"Shall we go back to the house?"

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 [666], as derivative 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-rāḍāsīl šūf *l-kalb 'The man saw the dog' or šūf *l-kalb 'He saw the dog';
šunte māṭakked? 'Are you sure?' or māṭakked? '(Are you) sure?'

A simple predicate consists of a word or phrase, which is ordinarily:

(1.) a verb or verb phrase: ḟhamūt 'I understand' (lit. "I have understood"), ḟhamūt kalāmāk 'I understand what you say', ḟhamūt Calkh 'I understand you'.

(2.) an adjective or adjective phrase: (?ana) saṣālān 'I am displeased', (?ana) saṣālān maṣānāk 'I'm displeased with you'.

(3.) a preposition or a prepositional phrase: ḫaume ?uddān 'He is in front', ḫaume ?uddān ʾl-bēt 'He is in front of the house'.

(4.) a noun or noun phrase: ḥāda makīšūb 'This is a letter', ḥāda makīšūb ṭalak 'This is a letter for you', ḥāda ṭammāl makīšūb 'This is the first letter'.

The subject of a simple predication is usually a noun, or a noun phrase, or a pronoun: r-rāḍāsīl šūf 'The man saw it', ṣabʾn har-rāḍāsīl mā ḥūn 'That man's son isn't here', ḥūdā ṭabno 'That's his son'.

Phrase-Forming Constructions

A PHRASE, roughly speaking, is a constituent of a clause that consists of more than one word but is generally not itself a clause. In this book most of the many ways in which words are combined in phrases come under one or another of several major headings, including:

ATRIBUTION [Ch. 19], whereby the elements of a predication are converted into a noun phrase: ʾl-bēt ʾl-ḥabīn 'the big house' (cf. ʾl-bēt ḥabīn 'the house is big').

COMPLEMENTATION AND SUPPLEMENTATION [Ch. 17, 20], which account for almost all verb phrases and many noun and adjective phrases: šūf ḥabīn 'saw the house', ḥabīn 'that you go quickly', ḥabīn ḫar 'pleased with it', ḫāmān ḫar 'one more'.

ANNEXION [Ch. 18], which forms many noun-type phrases and all prepositional phrases: ʾtābab ḥabīn 'the furniture of the house', ḥāmāl bēt 'the first house', ḡaṣar ʾl-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 predicates that may normally also be used as the main term of a subject.

ADJECTIVES are distinguished by their use as attributes.

FREE PREPOSITIONS are also used as supplements.

VERBS have no use other than predication and command.2

Of the non-predicators, ADVERBS are distinguished from particles by their use as main terms in supplements.

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.

2. This is not to say that a verbal clause (which may be a one-word clause) cannot be subject, attribute, complement, etc.
Pronouns and other substitutes are a special case, not adequately definable in terms of syntactical form classes [p. 535].

Noun-Type Words (al-ism). Nouns in the strict sense - SUBSTANTIIVES - may be distinguished syntactically from other NOUN-TYPE WORDS such as elatives [p. 310], numerals [170], pronouns, and adjectives.

Numerals and elatives are distinguished by the fact that they are used freely as attributes as well as in the more typical noun-like capacities: l-malad *al-akbar 'the oldest boy' (cf. *al-akbar malad).

Certain substantives may also be used attributively: l-majn *al-mum 'the mother country' [p. 506]. Certain others may be used adverbially: ḏaffa mara '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: ẓq 'small, young' or 'child'; kazaš '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 predications at all [551].

The rest of this chapter is devoted to two types of construction and not dealt with elsewhere in the book: negation and coordination.
12. l-taylab mà laha-yasgal  ❧ā-thaqle

'Chances are, he won't get the job.'

13. yalli tazatto lahadd "l-maṣter mà ha-yasīd ̀ktir ʕal-Ph.D.

'What I took for the master's isn't going to add much to the Ph.D.'

14. lama mà ēm-ḥādāt [SPA-221]

'I'm not talking to you.'

15. ṣabūk mà ēm-yākōl

'Your father is not eating.'

16. lama mà ēm-baṣṭālīgī ḥa-ṣiyyām

'I'm not working these days.'

Verbs with ēm- and raha (laḥa, ḥa-, etc.) [p.320] are also often negated with mà, màlo ([p.387, 388].

Active participles are sometimes negated with mà:

17. kif, mà maśātī? lɔ̃ ámbām?

'Aren't you homesick for Damascus?'

18. mà bormi ʃabākītī pèr ʕarbaṣ marrāt và mà masfyān-li ʔalla marra màḥde [AG-115].

'I don't cast my net more than four times, and there isn't but one time left to me.'

mā with Other Verb-Like Expressions. The words baddo 'to want, intend, (etc.)' [p.412], ēf 'there is' and 'to be able', ēnadd, màqo, and màlo 'to have' [413], and a few similar expressions, are negated with mà:

19. mà baddak 塱 l-ṭaṣāqā?

'Don't you want the publicity?'

20. mà baddha tākōl

'She doesn't want to eat'

21. ḥal-ʔktāb mà baddo màla taqāb [PVA-56]

'This book doesn't require hard work'

22. mà fī ʕoxtiṣraf ʔktār

'There's not much difference'

23. sū mà fī ḥada bāl-bēt?

'Isn't there anyone home?'

24. b-mākēt? ṣābūn l-ʔḥāmūn ̀l-ʔidād mà fī l-ṣāḥīd yestamlekh ʔaktar màn 'arbaṣ byāt

'According to the government's new law, one may not own more than four houses.'

25. mà fīna naqālî ʔmor ʔalla?

'We can't do it now'

26. mà fīkon màla màḥed ̀snāmìh

'There's not a good one among you'

In the last example fīkon stands for fī 'there is' + fīkon 'among you', collapsed into a single form; cf. mà fī màla màḥed ̀snāmìh fīkon (same translation).

27. mà bò ṣā [p.415]

'He's all right' or 'There's nothing the matter with him'

28. l-ḥaqīqa mà ēndi ̀qāt ʔālīha

'The truth is, I haven't time for it'

29. mà ēnadd dars ̀l-yām

'He has no lesson today'

30. mà ēlīk; ṭana bhākī

'He's not your responsibility; I'll talk to him' (lit. 'It's not on you...')

31. mà fīkon ḥa?

'You (pl.) are in the wrong' (lit. 'You have no right.')

32. mà ṭaḥāla ʔa bāṣ-ʕamāf [SAL-92]

'I have nothing to do with hiring'

Instead of the disjunctive forms ṭaḥāla, etc. [p.479], the suffixing forms may be used with mà:

33. ēf l-ʔākib mà-lo tāfīx ʔmāyyān [DA-303]

'Easter has no fixed date'

34. ṭaḥāla sīz-mà lā ṭāṣer

'There's no end to the argument'

35. l-ʔākib bīṣalā ʔa b-sānīs wāḥed, mà-thon ʒēro [Bq. 1]

'The Jews pray in one synagogue, they have no other'

mā with pronouns. In equational sentences [p.36] mā may be used before personal pronouns (especially third person)

36. mà humme l-māqālī ʔan 塱 l-ḥādēn

'He's not the one responsible for the accident'

37. mà ḥanīn lallī ṭafātu d-daṣma

'It is not they who initiated the suit'

38. mà hiyye lallī ṭasret 塱 l-vaṣ

'She's not the one who broke the vase'

39. mà humme ṭalla l-tanāṣōf 塱 l-ʔaṣālī bēn 塱 l-ṣār waṣ-ṣār

'It's nothing else than the eternal conflict between good and evil'

40. mà ṭana yallī ḥākēt

'It's not I who spoke'

mà humme and mà hiyye are sometimes apocopated to mà-hu, mà-hi, or mà-u, mà-i: mà-hu humme [Bart.-776] 'It's not he'; mà-u ʕabūk.., ʕabūyī ṭana [DS] 'It's not your father, it's my father!' mà is used with the indefinite noun ḥada 'anyone, someone' (translated 'no one, nobody'):

41. mà ḥada šāfna

'No one saw us'

42. màn ḥada ʕal-talifān?

'Who was it (lit. "Who spoke") on the phone?' - Nobody...somebody who got the wrong number'
Similarly, mā is sometimes used with șif ‘something, any thing’ (translated ‘nothing’), but this location is limited mostly to answers (‘incomplete predications’):

43. șif lāzem-taʃem? – mā șif

‘What are you doing?’ – ‘Nothing’

The Particle mā

Practically any non-verbal predicative term may be negated with mā:

1. l-haʃet mā hāʃet bi-biʃi t-ʃem

‘The truth is, I haven’t seriously considered teaching’ (hāʃet is a participle [p.265]).

2. ʃada b-bi-bakaloruyuʃ, mā ʃet

‘She’s gotten her bachelor’s degree, hasn’t she?’ (lit. ‘isn’t it so?’)

3. hā-bakal hāda mū hula

‘That (kind of) talk isn’t nice’

4. ʃīna mū ʃaud, mū badda t-gol ʃi

‘She doesn’t have a hungry look; she doesn’t want anything to eat’ (lit. ‘Her eye isn’t hungry.’)

5. ʃa-ʃaʃuʃ kall b-bi-ʃamaliyye mū ʃuʃed maʃlūmūt

‘So the significance of the whole business is not acquisition of more knowledge’

6. mū safat mū baddi hā-baʃaʃaʃa

‘It’s not a question of my not wanting the publicity’

7. ʃaʃe b-bi-ʃal ʃal b-bi-bass mū badda ʃal b-bi-bass ʃal b-bi-xbub

‘I wanted to come here not only for the degree, but for the experience’

8. mū ʃala yalli wassat ʃalū

‘This isn’t what I ordered!’

9. ʃaʃe mū mabʃet b-bi-yam

‘I’m not feeling well today’

10. ʃaʃe mū mawbūdīn lamma d-ʃen-ʃon talifūn

‘They were out when we phoned them’ (lit. ‘They were not-to-be-found’... Cf. mū ʃaʃe mawbūdīn... ‘They were not in...’)

11. hayye sokra mū ġiʃle

‘That’s not a bad idea’ (lit. ‘an idea [that is] not bad’)

12. hayye sokra b-bi-ʃet mū mnīf

‘He’s following a bad course’ (lit. ‘...a road [that is] not good’)

13. mū ʃeʃe l-ax-ʃefr, ʃaʃe mū ʃeʃe l-ax-ʃemkā

‘Unlike my older brother, I went to the university’

The use of mā before ʃand, etc. [p.413] generally indicates a true prepositional phrase with a subject rather than the quasi-verbal expression with a complement: ktbūk mū ʃand! ‘Your book is not at my place’ or ‘...among my things’ (vs. mū ʃand ktbūk ‘I don’t have your book’).

Before personal pronouns, mā focuses more emphasis on the pronoun than mū [p.385]: mū ḥṭye ʃalū ʃebet malad, ‘ʃaʃe “She’s the one who had the baby; it’s her sister”’; mū ʃaʃe ʃaʃe ʃalū ‘I’m not the one who spoke’ (Cf. ex. 40, p.385).

mū șif ‘nothing’ may be used as well as mū șif; [p.386], but mū is not ordinarily used with ḥada (: mū ḥada ‘no one’).

The Negative Copula

Instead of using an independent subject pronoun with mū, pronoun suffixes may be attached to the stem mū- or mū-n-: māli ʃayeh or māni ʃayeh ‘I’m not going’ (instead of ʃanā mū ʃayeh). These forms constitute a sort of quasi-verb, like beddoh, 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 mana-: manaak َّكَفَي. 'Don't you see?'. (There are other variants, e.g. maynāk, manak.) 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 + -e [383]: maḥās 'he is not', maḥāš 'she is not', maṭīš 'you(m.) are not', maṭīš 'you(f.) are not', maḥānās 'we are not', etc.; but maṭīš 'I am not'.

Examples:
1. mālak َّنَّكَّل-لَّكَات/ َّكَبِيَت َّذِكَرْر؟ 'Haven't you composed any verse of poetry?'
2. ِّلَـَـََّـَـَّـَـَـََّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~
3. ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~
4. ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~
5. ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~
6. ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~

The māl- forms are commonly also used before verbs with čam- and raḥa- [p.320]:
7. ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَـَّ~
8. ِّلَـَـَّ~
9. ِّلَـَـَّ~
10. ِّلَـَـَّ~

The AO text actually reads mā-līya َّذِكَرْرha ('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 māl means both 'I am not' and 'I haven't (got)', but in many other parts of Syria māl means only 'I haven't got', while māni means 'I am not'.

The Particle ِّلَ~
Verbs in the independent subjunctive [p.345] (especially in negative commands) are negated with ِّلَ:
1. ِّلَ ِّلَـَـَّـَـَّـَ~
2. ِّلَ~
3. ِّلَ~
4. ِّلَ~
5. ِّلَ~
6. ِّلَ~
7. ِّلَ~

In many parts of Greater Syria, however, mā is generally used in negative commands rather than (or as well as) ِّلَ: mā tāt'axar 'Don't be late', mā ْتَخَافُتُ 'I'm sorry', etc.

ِّلَ is used before the second-person perfect of čad and baṭa to keep on (doing something), to do...again", as a negative command 'don't...any more':

8. ِّلَ~
9. ِّلَ~
10. ِّلَ~

Cf. mā čadna mašru 'We don't visit him any more', mā ba[bāt] hāthīn 'I don't talk to them any more'. Though čad and baṭa in these locations 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 ِّلَ...daḡrū 'Don't visit him...', ِّلَ...hāthīn 'Don't talk to them...'.

ِّلَ also occurs with a verb in the perfect in the expression ِّلَ sa[mah] ِّلَja 'God forbid!', lit. 'May God not have allowed!'
There are a number of classicisms in which いたします is used with a verb in the imperfect without -e (but as an indicative):

8. ムサシビ "むそ て て す たす " (SPA-214) 21, 'Neither word be a verb [AO-67]

9. ギャジ "ギャジ ギャジ ギャジ ギャジ " (SPA-214) 21, 'Neither word needs no proof'

Also in classicisms, いたします is used before nouns, in the sense of たち 'no' or たち 'there is no' (いたします たす the generic たち):

10. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'There's no doubt that it's better'

11. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'You're welcome', lit. 'There's no thanks for something done as a duty'

12. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'An argument with him is inevitable now'

13. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'That girl's beauty is nothing compared to her sisters'

In coordinations: イラ...イラ 'neither...nor';

14. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'Neither he nor I will be there'

15. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'I don't know him and he doesn't know me'

16. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'How nice it is these days, there is neither cold nor hot weather'

The first term of a coordination with イラ can have め or one of the other negativizers instead of イラ; see ex. 21, p. 384. Also:

17. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'I am neither for the proposal nor against it'

イラ is used with the "emphatic イラ" in the sense 'not even': イラ (or むす). See p. 384, ex. 26. (Cf. イラ 'even if', p. 335.)

18. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'Not one of the doctors could diagnose the disease'

19. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'Neither of the two answers is correct'

20. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'There's not even a piece of bread in the house'

21. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'The sky became blue and there wasn't a single cloud left'

22. イラ イラ イラ イラ " (SPA-214) 21, 'He neither pronounced another letter nor spoke another word' (The イラ before イラ is 'nor', in coordination with イラ...イラ, while イラ before イラ and before イラ 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 coordinated terms, such as イラ 'and', イラ 'or', イラ 'but', etc., while ASYNDETIC 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: イラ...イラ... 'either...or...').

The Conjunction イラ '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 イラ in coordinations is similar to the use of English 'and', but unlike 'and', イラ is also used as a subordinating conjunction [p. 351] 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 'イラ' in this book: イラ イラ 'apples and bananas'; otherwise it is transcribed as a consonant: イラ イラ 'and bananas too', イラ イラ 'a pencil and a book'. In combination with the article [492], the conjunction is written in our transcription without the hyphen and with a following イラ (rather than イラ' イラ イラ イラ イラ 'the pencil and the book'). See p. 476.

In actual pronunciation, there is a good deal of free variation and indeterminacy as between イラ and イラ in some positions, since the difference between them is subtle and non-phonemic [p. 9].
Examples. Coordination of noun-type words and phrases:

1. *sīn *l-Caṭūs māl-Caṭīs* 'How are the bride and groom?'

2. *māzi navil tālifūna m-Samānī* '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. *badna 3i badle m-ṣabbāt u-ṣaṃgān, w-Suwyyet ḍrād* '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. *ušni m-Sāmīr kūnu b-fard 3aff* 'He and Samir were in the same class'.

For further examples of personal pronouns in coordinations, see pp. 364, 551.

5. *l-maḥla l-tālīl mīl-*axīrā* 'The third and final stage' [DA-305]

6. *Candī baftīx Wābnar u-ʔashfar* 'I have watermelon and cantaloupe' (lit. '...red and yellow melon')

7. *la-ʔamul u-ʔaxer marra, la?* 'For the first and last time, no!'

8. *...Capamet w-faxāmīt farī byūt 'l-ʔagīn na* [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 yam*t'īn w-yebyu l-ʔadāb *l-Caṭūb l-ʔaddīn* [DA-304] 'They began to stimulate and revive the old Arab culture'

10. *mān rāyēn ṭalīfāt ṭawāziyī w-Sībes biḥāntī* 'I’m going to take off my clothes and put on my pajamas'

See also p. 320, top.

Coordination of clauses and sentences:

11. *'El mudīr *l-bārāmēl ṭonna ḫalīm m-Caṭībī bītī* 'The program director said it was nice and he liked it a lot'

12. *bīḥabb bannīt tammīto m-bīḥabb yashar māḥon* 'He likes his aunt's daughters and he likes to spend the evening with them'

13. *ušja ḫāṣer m-Cēn ṭajīla ālāt* 'He is certainly clever, and God's eye is upon him'

14. *rāḥ y-ʔal ṭonna baddha 3ī, m-bādān ṣawī yalli baddah yā* 'Go ask your mother if she wants anything, and then do what you wish'

15. *bīṣīn ṭonna kasīlān m-ḥṣṭrof *l-maṣīfe yūnān mārā bādāh m-kalī yūn bītī m-ḥorka* '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. *bāṭef *l-Caṭūs ṭissāmī, m-țārāfīt tākīl na* [AD-111] 'She set the dinner before him, but wouldn't eat with him'

Followed by the negative mã, as in example 16, *w-* is sometimes better translated 'but' than 'and'.

17. *bātf jūm *z-żahra*? fi 3ī parīvīt - ramača, w-bāl-*axass l-*maṣīla. - m-*piṭa*? 'Have you seen the picture at the Zahrã? Is there anything good in it? – It's great, especially the [leading] actress. – And what about the story?'

18. *m-huṣār torīn la-l-ḥān b-3ḥāfī*? - la? '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. *m-bōna m-tarāk *l-maṣrāf* 'He bowed and left the stage'

20. *m-qāflet ṭuṣle m-wa*?e ḫawsa *l-ḥara* 'His foot slipped and he fell over backwards'

21. *bāsīn *kībās hal-maške wāl-bād bānīfsīfī* 'Just press this handle and the door will open'

22. *maw-lāk ḥaṣīla b-zawī *m-ṣīf yīna ṭaṣket *l-bīgīf* 'Take a quick look and see if the mail has come'
Like 'and' again, ْو is used in **anaphoric** coordinations. The following term is a repetition of the leading term, and has augmentative [p. 253] significance:

23. بَدْدال ْبَذَكِي ْمُرْبَذَكِي
‘She keeps on talking and talking’

24. ْمَمَضِيَةَ سَمَامَرَتْ سَدْدَتْ
‘The argument went on for hours and hours’

25. كَل ْكَأَمُ-يَغَلَّا ِكَأَكَر
‘Everything is getting more and more expensive’

**SYNONYM** coordinations are commonly used for rhetorical emphasis:

26. ِكَأَلَ بَثَذَأَلْ ْمُرْبَذَأَلْ
‘They lived in misery and wretchedness’

See also examples 8 and 9, above.

**Conjunctions translated ‘or’**

ْوَام ‘or’ is used mainly to coordinate words or phrases, more rarely clauses. Examples:

1. ْيَرْبىَد ْلُ-فَالِلَّهُ تَوَام ْبَبُذَك
‘The farmer collects the price of his grain or fruit or vegetables from the broker’

2. ْيَمُ-مَكَأ ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْكَأَلُ-يَزَيْه
‘Today there’s [to be] no going to the coffeehouse or to the movies or hither and yon’

3. ْشَتَأَن ْوَمُلَّذَتْ بَأَمُ-يَذَبَّه
‘Two or three years for an engineer are a lot’

4. ْلُ-مَلَذَأَيْه ْبَأَمُ-يَلَذَيْيِه ْمُلَذَأَيْيِه
‘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. 486.

5. ْيَتَأَن ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْبَأَذَبِيْه
‘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’, ْوَام is used in synonymous coordinations:

6. ْلُ-مَذَأَيْه ْمُرَأَذَأَيْه ْلُ-رَذَأَيْه
‘The city is divided into a number of sections or quarters’

7. ْيَبِنَيْيْل ْقَأَرُ ْلُ-قَأَرُ ْقَأَرُ ْقَأَرُ ْقَأَرُ
‘They call it the Abbasid Period or the Golden Age’

The conjunction ْوَ ‘or’ is used similarly to ْوَام, but not for synonymous coordinations. (See also polysynthetic coordinations, below.) Examples:

8. ْيَرْبىَد ْيَمُ-مَكَأ ْمُرْبَذَيْه
‘He’s coming today or tomorrow’

9. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘After eating [the main courses] he has some kind of fruit or some kind of sweet’

10. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘Visiting in Tripoli takes a long time, two or three hours and sometimes longer’

11. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘Every Friday and Sunday afternoon you see them going to the coffeehouses, or on an outing to el-Bedawi, or to el-Mina, or to Zghorta, or to Meniye, or to Almoun, or to Bordj Râs en-Nahr’

The conjunctions ْوَام (or yamma) and ْوَالاَل (or yalla) are to some extent synonyms of ْوَأَم and ْوَالاَل, but are used most commonly in alternative questions:

12. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘Give me two tickets. – First class or second class?’

13. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘And now which way do we go? This way or that way?’

14. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘Did you leave directly from Beirut, or from Damascus?’

15. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘And are you going back to Damascus, or will you stay here?’

16. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘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. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘There is one month in the year which has only twenty-eight or else twenty-nine days’

18. ْيَرْبىَد ْمُرْبَذَيْه ْيَرْبَذَيْه
‘Hurry up or you’ll be late’
Polysyndetic Coordinations.  

1. yā lana brū bū huwā

2. yā lana brū bū huwā

3. yā lana brū bū huwā

4. yā lana brū bū huwā

5. yā lana brū bū huwā

The form yāma or yanna 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-.

19. mā šadd wādak wālī oder kūdwa ḍaw-dawma [PVA-60]

20. skēt wālī bādarbāk [SPA-431]

21. ṭūb yā-lī ṭint yanna? ana brū bū [SPA-433]

Examples 18-21 illustrate another common use of wallā (less common for yanna, yamma), namely the coordination of a command with a predicative. The predicative depicts the consequence of not obeying the command.

Neither...nor...' coordinations are expressed with lā...w-lā... literally 'not...and not...'. See p. 390.

Further examples:

9. būżīlu b-wāla mā būstānā lā 3awke w-lā 3awkān [PAT-193]

10. yū bābtī 3ūf lā hāw-Rabel l-w-lā hāl-barriyye [AO-117]

11. māfrūfā hālī; lā sīnāma w-lā tahwe w-lā tanom ṭūmā manū sīnāya [PAT-195]

Clause Conjunctions

The conjunction fa- 'so, and' differs from w- in that it is only used to conjoin sentences or clauses, and always implies significant sequence (p. 393) or some sort of conclusion or summation:

1. t-lāyāra tāhet fa-thātamet bal-barriyye

2. yāsam frāfīt *-tação bātāguyar ādāk fa-kāli ṭī bišnī ṭadīd

3. hān ḍannā ṭuṣ, w-ūnā yūn ṭuṣ man ḍammān, fa-ḍāli sāhru ḍannā

4. mā beše ṭālāw lā-yōkun mačī ṭūbī man ḍannā wā ṭāf bīt; fa-mačī, ṭāgīn ṭūbī man ḍannā wā ṭāf bīt

5. fa-āfrīt bātāguyar ādāk fa-kāli ṭī bišnī ṭadīd

6. lāken amman bāb ḍur: "Each other drinks their milk, or makes cheese and butter from it"

Sheena 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 wā, however, does constitute a mark of coordination.

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 wā, however, does constitute a mark of coordination.
As in English, attributive adjectives [p.502] are coordinated asymmetrically in the sense ‘...and...’ more often than not: *bant laṣiffe belle ‘a nice pretty girl’* (for *bant laṣiffe w-helme*). The *w-* is kept, however, if the adjectives apply distributively – contrastively to different instances of something referred to by a plural or collective: *manša?Et qaskarîyye w-sînâciyye ‘military and industrial installations’, samâk ṭabyad w-ţâmar w-ţâra? w-ţâsîr [AO-117] ‘white, red, blue, and yellow fish’. Note also the set phrase *ţafrâs? tafras ‘deaf and dumb, deaf-mute’.*

Verbal clauses with the same subject-referent are often conjoined asymmetrically in the sense of ‘and’, but such clauses are usually in significant sequence (p.393) and may often be interpreted as complementary:

7. *bâkâ kamm kelle xallâ yâstîshi* ‘He said a few words to him and embarrassed him’

8. *stañhânto b-darbe xalsêct-ello nîce* ‘I aimed a blow at him and loosened his jaw for him’

9. *tañqâlul ya samâqa kelle mâhêd inâdd? tdo yastaallî-lo ñwâyy* ‘Come on, folks, everybody help himself and have a good time’

10. *l-tbîr halla? manmâd bi-ţamîrka bi Î-dmîn yâbî* [DA-75] ‘The eldest is now in America and helps his father’

11. *u-btarba? la?nd ‘q-qbîb btafon xala madd, batrammeh canno l-bancc [AO-118]* ‘And she comes back in the morning and blows on his face, and drives the aesthetic away from him’

This kind of construction is particularly common when the first clause has a translocative verb (p.274):

7. *bawro? bândak mn ‘l-ţatîl 3-Sâcc xamsa m-nopp* [DA-249] ‘I’ll come back and pick you up at the hotel at half past five’

8. *yonte ‘îm la-taçtak strab-lak okwêyye [DA-217]* ‘You go on up to bed and rest a while’

14. *bôkra bôki bâggadda çânê* ‘Tomorrow I’ll come and have lunch with you’

16. *êyê baddo lâha? sârîwê hêla* ‘He comes along and wants her to have an abortion’

17. *byrko? cal-bêt biçîyed calêna w-byaʃʃer maţna [DA-300]* ‘He’ll come back home and wish us holiday greetings and break his fast with us’
The m- in ex. 17 links bi'līyed ʿalāna with byaftar maʿna, while this coordination is linked asynetically as a whole with byaftar ʿal-bēt. Asynetically linked phrases and words:

18. matli matlak mā baḍref, baas ṭayja kibīr mā byansa ḥada [DA-243] 'I don’t know any more than you do, but God is great and forgets no one.'


20. sā cil kīr ʿakīr [AO-115] 'He got very, very angry' (Cf. sā cil ṭaktar u-ṭaktar [AO-115])

Miscellaneous further examples of asynthetic coordination:

21. tannācɛ kīr, mā ṭlanāc [Bart. 685] 'I did all I could to persuade him, but he wouldn’t be persuaded'

22. māḥul ʿabu hān, māḥul mā ʿabu ʾa 'It would be reasonable for me to stay here, but also reasonable for me not to stay' 

23. mā tāsam ʾarake bāʾammeg! 'Don’t make a move or I’ll shoot!'  

24. tīnkon ya ʿabāya ya ṣābbāb? 'How are you, young ladies and gentlemen?'

25. tih-birnāmā bīmarī ...kīf lāzem yaṭṣrrfu, kīf lāzem ʿidīru sārkashon, kīf lāzem ṭannāmīru ṭawṣṣalīlikon u-ṭhāṣṣu ṭamāṣṣus? '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: bātrun ʿal-bēt? 'Are you going home?' (for ʿante bātrun ʿal-bēt), ṭāfak iṣṣak ‘He went to see you’ (for e.g. ṭāfak ṭāfak iṣṣak ‘Your brother went to see you’).

The relationship of subject and predicate is expressed mainly by number/gender agreement [p.420]. The predicate (if inflectible for number/gender) usually agrees with the subject.

The word order of subject and predicate varies, depending partly on what the subject and predicate consist of, and partly on emphasis, stylistic considerations, etc.

The subject-affix of a verb [p.175] is sometimes analyzed as a pronoun and as subject of the verbal clause. Since it is an obligatory part of the verb, however - since it must be present whether or not a syntactic subject is also present - it is in fact a genuine inflectional affix and cannot be counted as a pronoun or a subject surrogate in the full sense of these terms. (In this respect subject-affixes differ fundamentally from the complemental pronoun suffixes [p.539], which generally occur in place of - not in addition to - a syntactical complement.) (But see p.434.)

Traditional Arabic grammar makes a fundamental distinction between the construction of a verbal clause (Zumā fiʿliyya) and that of a nominal clause (Zumā ḍiʿāmiyya). The subject (al-fāṣil "the agent") of a verbal clause is treated in effect as another kind of complement, since it normally follows - or may follow - the verb (while preceding the object or other complements) and since a verb often shows no agreement with a following indefinite subject [421].

A nominal (or a non-verbal) clause, on the other hand, is traditionally analyzed in terms of the topic-comment construction (al-nuṣūṭa maʿal-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 constituency and in word order) than predications in English. The main differences are: 1.) that in Arabic the subject may be suppressed in many cases where English requires a subject pronoun; 2.) that the Arabic subject in many cases follows the predicate — or a part of the predicate — where in English it generally must come first; 3.) that in Arabic the predicate may consist of a prepositional, adjectival, or nominal phrase as well as a verbal phrase, while in English it is always verbal.

Non-Verbal Predications

An indefinite [p.494] nominal, adjectival, or prepositional predicate is used to depict a present (or permanent) state or characteristic of the subject referent. The subject ordinarily comes first (but see pp.414,419) and is usually definite. In the English translations the predicate (or in questions, the subject) is usually introduced by 'is', 'are', or 'am'.

Prepositional Predicates:
1. ṣabab bāl-bēṭ mašala barrā? 'Is your father in the house, or outside?' (On 'free' prepositions, see p.485.)
2. bēṭe ḥadd ṣa-aśīna 'His house is next to the movie theater'
3. l-ḥabīd ṭaš 'l-ḥakīm bī-l-qafī 'The country is under martial law'
4. sayyūra hālā harrāl ṣanātīn ṣa-baṣīr bāl-marrā 'A car just now is altogether beyond our means' (Indefinite subject.)
5. ṣanā bēm ṣl-ṭayyāt [DA-197] 'I'm at your service' (lit. 'I'm between the hands')
6. ḥāṣyāt maḥān māl ʾaḥṣāyīt mālel ṣl-yūnān mān ṣl-ḥakīm rayyān [AO-116] 'My experience (lit. 'my story') with you is like the story of the king of Greece with the doctor Rayyan'
7. hāl-ʾktāb tabāū pābī 'This book belongs to my friend' (p.489)
8. ṭū ʾs warfare yayla fī ʾu-bēṭa ṭaš 'All her life [her only concern has been that] God is above and her house is below' (i.e. She's a homebody)

Most cases in which a prepositional predicate precedes its subject come under the heading of 'quasi-verbal predications', e.g. ṣanā ḥāṣ yāğī '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 predicate fi 'there is' [p.415] is used: fi ʾṣaba ḫāṭfāwī or ʾṣaba ṭawwāl fi ʾṣabā 'There is a plate', etc.

Note, however: ṭaḥ ṭāfī māḥāde mā ff ṭamā [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 ṭaḥ ṭāfī is similar to that of the quasi-verbal ṣuṣi, māṭi, etc.; perhaps for that reason it is also assimilated to them syntactically.

Note also: man ṭāla ṭaṣṣūl ṭ-ṭaradd ṭādh a. One of his worst qualities is indecision', which has a prepositional predicate preceding a definite subject. In this case the phrase man ṭāla ṭaṣṣūl (of the worst of his qualities) functions like a nominal phrase, and the sentence is similar to an equational predication [p.405] (cf. ṭalā ṭaṣṣūl, ṭ-ṭaradd: 'His worst quality is indecision'), in which the first term is interpreted as subject and ṭ-ṭaradd, as predicate.

On the predicative use of the prepositional-phrase substitutes ḥām 'here', ḥna ṭare 'there', ṭawwā ʾwhere', etc., see Ch. 21.

Adjectival Predicates:
9. ṣaṣra ṣafī 'His expenses are slight'
10. l-maṣṣārāna xaṣīfī ṣa-l-maṣṣārā 'Macaroni is easy on the stomach' (pass. participle with paronymous complement [p.442])
11. waṣṣātak maṭruq tārṣ 'Your wardrobe is chock full' (cf. 'The view of the sea is very beautiful')
12. manṣar ṭl-bāḥr kṭīr ḥalū [PVA-20] 'Are you(pl.) well?'
13. ʾaštu maṭūqātim 'The Muslim quarter is quite crowded but is cleaner than the Christian quarter'
14. ḥāret ṭl-ṭaṣṣūl ʾaṣṣā ṭašīr, ʾaštu ṭalā ṭaṣṣūl man ḥāret ṭaṣṣūl [BG.1.1] 'The skull of a mammoth is on exhibit in the museum' (Note that the Arabic subject is indefinite.)
15. ḥaṣīl māmūt maṭṣā ṭal-maṭṣāf 'The skeleton of a mammoth is on exhibit in the museum' (Note that the Arabic subject is indefinite.)

Nominal Predicates:
16. ṭawwā ḥalābī, ṭawwā ḥasan 'His brother is a barber; his name is Hassan' (ḥasan is definite; see p.405.)
17. bēṭ al-xūrī ṭīlē kḥīr [SAL-65] 'The Khourys are a large family'
A nominal predicate may be definite. In that case, the predicate is usually EQUATIONAL, i.e. the subject and predicate are interchangeable and refer to the same thing:

27. "Abūhān 'Adel / 'Adel Abūhān"  "Their father is Adel / 'Adel is their father"

28. "ra'fayi 'al-μasāra, ra'fayi 'al-ḥukûma l-ḥaḳiqi / ra'fayi 'al-ḥukûma l-ḥaḳiqi, ra'fayi 'al-μasāra"  "The prime minister is the actual head of the government / 'The actual head of the government is the prime minister"

Sentences like those in ex. 28 are usually pronounced with a considerable prosodic break between the subject and the predicate: the end of the subject is drawn out, usually with a rising intonation, and there is often a pause before the beginning of the predicate. (Alternatively, the predication may be transformed by extraposition: ra'fayi 'al-μasāra humme ra'fayi 'al-ḥukûma l-ḥaḳiqi "The prime minister, he is...". See p.434.) Similarly:

29. "l-līḥdi, yallī byakhkam / yallī byakhkam, l-līḥdi"  "The judge is the one who makes the decision / 'The one who makes the decision is the judge"

Or better: "l-līḥdi humme lī byakhkam / yallī byakhkam / humme l-līḥdi."

30. "dīyānān maqtādāk 'al-masārī / asl-maṣrī"  "All you ever care about is expenses and money" (lit. "Always your idol is...")

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1A 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 Abūhān 'Adel is felt to be a statement about their father, 'Adel Abūhān 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. 3al hanan laqṣṭt bol-farḍ / hanan laqṣṭt bol-farḍ 3ali

32. s-ṣokolaja ṣayyab 3f 3andi / ṣayyab 3f 3andi s-ṣokolaja

33. ṣabni tālet māhed bg-paff / tālet māhed bg-paff, ṣabni

My son is the third one in the line / The third one in the line is my son.

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): ṣosmo 3asan/ ḥasan ṣosmo 'His name is Hassan'/ 'Hassan is his name':

34. ṣosmo blādina Ṣ-ṣamūriyye

V-3amūriyye [3al-152] / ṣ-ṣamūriyye V-3amūniyye

The name of our country is 'The Lebanese Republic'/ 'The Lebanese Republic' is the name of our country

There are some nominal predications in which both terms are definite, but which are nevertheless classificatory, not equational: ṭaṣma wūda 3-pagha [3al-138] 'We are both sons of the desert'. The predicate wūda 3-pagha 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, ḥaṣan 3ābi: 'Hassan is my friend' does not necessarily mean that he is my only friend; therefore it is not always permutable to 3ābi ḥaṣan '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]: ḥaṣa tāḥiyyen 'That's their father', ḫumr 3-raffe 'He's the boss', ḫudh umru 'That's him'. A pronominal predicate is rarely used with a definite nominal subject, however (as in tāḥiyyen, ḥaṣa 'Their father is that one'); the two terms are therefore not generally interchangeable.

35. ḥayy ṣosṭi 3-gāfira

36. ḥaṣa tāḥiyye 3-hail fi ṭalabon? 'That's my little sister'

Are these the books you ordered?'

Cardinal numerals, likewise, count as definite terms in arithmetical statements such as tālet w-satte tasfa 'Three and six is nine'.

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: ḫaṣa raḥṣel 'A man saw her'. If it is definite, it may generally either precede or follow: raḥṣel ḫaṣa / ḫaṣa raḥṣel 'The man saw her'. If the verb has complements (other than pronoun complements), a post-verbal subject ordinarily precedes them: ḫaṣa raḥṣel 3-balant 'The man saw the girl'.

Examples, indefinite subject following verb (subject underscored):

1. ṭaṣel w-sam ṭaṣī ḫan waḥed man ṭaḥi 3-ṣaqa [3al-108]

2. ṣosmo tābi man ḡamāṭan

3. ḡalaf ṭalsh man ḡamāṭi l-ṣaqa bol-ṣaqaṭariyye [3al-91]

4. Bā tāfel man 3ar-raṭṣif, ṭaṣāṣa ṣaṣṣařa

A strange man came to stay with one of the villagers'

'I was accepted by two universities' (lit. 'Come to me acceptance from...')

'A peasant from the outskirts of Jerusalem joined the army'

'Don't get off the sidewalk; a car will run over you'

37. ḫumr raffe 3-bāladiyye

38. ṭaṣa ṭaḥiyyen ṭašandi

39. ṭaša ṭaḥiyyen ṭašandi wāḥed waḥid

40. ṭaṭa 3-baladī ṭašařa ṭašařa

'He's the mayor'

'That's what I dislike most of all'

'I was the first to arrive' (lit. 'I am the first one that arrived')

'This is the third job he's had'

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. ṭaṭa 3-baladi w-ṭana l-ṣanūs ṭašařa [3al-115]

'You(1s) are the man and I'm your bride' (as in a masquerade)
5. mā ḍafī ār būkētān bal-bēt

The subject commonly follows a complementary preposition with pronoun suffix:
6. mā rāḥ ġalēk Fī

7. waspāni manha ḍafīlām ʷmārēh

8. nāra? ʷl-ḥēt ʷm-ḥalef mannu ēḥad ḍaswād byaṣbah ʷi-ṭōr [NO-117]

Examples, definite subject following verb:
9. ṣeṣafu walled ʷi-la-madrase

Examples, definite subject preceding verb:
10. ṣaṭṭēb ḍ-ḥama ḍ-sāēa xamās taḥrīban [NO-71]

11. byaṣṭḍa ḡaraḍnā bi-hal-māxsaṣ [DA-252]

12. ḍamnūl-li ṭari ḥ-ḥarlāb ṭatil ṣ-l-Śađe [NO-118]

13. labūsat ḍ-l-ḥant ʷtāmaṣl ḍ-l-hālāmē ḍōb ḍ-l-lārs [NO-114]

14. maṣja byaṭrīhān ʷalāli b-hakyo

15. mī ēḥad ḍ-l-ḥāḥed ṣeṣmaṣ ʷxaṭār balado

Examples, definite subject preceding verb:
16. ṭ-dōktōr maddā ḍagri ʕal-mustasfa [DA-202]

17. ḍallā byaṣȳrēt ʷk-ṣārēkē ʕattāmūṣalānā [DA-251]

There are not but two packs left in the house.

The subject commonly follows a complementary preposition with pronoun suffix:

You haven't missed anything' (lit. 'There has not gone by you a thing')

'I got a note from her yesterday' (lit. 'Reached me from her a note yesterday')

'The wall opened up and out of it came a black slave who looked like a bull'

The children have gotten out of school' (lit. 'The school children have been let out')

'The sun sets at approximately five o'clock'

'What we need can be found in this store'

'How is the weather going?'

'The girl dressed the candy statue in the wedding gown'

'It certainly does my heart good to hear him talk' (lit. 'By God my heart is revived by his talk')

'One no longer hears the news from his home town' (The subject precedes the complementary verb ṣeṣmaṣ but follows the "linking" verb ʾūd.)

'The doctor took him directly to the hospital'

'The company car will take us there now'

A verb in the simple imperfect functioning adjectively [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:

'That young man (really) works' (= ḍalā ḍaabāl ilāyāl 'That young man's a good worker')

'His work is boring' (= ṣāṭqē mmālī)

'That sight is unforgettable'

'You'd like the man' (i.e. 'The man is likeable', lit. 'The man would please you')

'Our master is certainly a good man' (lit. 'By God, our master is worth his weight')

'The boy resembles his father'

'Anyway, appendicitis isn't serious' (lit. '..doesn't matter')

Under certain conditions, the subject usually precedes the verb regardless whether it is definite or not. A long subject phrase, for instance, is usually not inserted between a verb and its complements. It may follow pronominal complements, as in ex. 8 above, but if there are non-pronominal complements, the subject normally comes before the verb:

'Any short wave radio can get Cairo quite easily'

'None of the medicines that the doctors prescribed for him reduced the king' (lit. 'his weight')
In subordinate clauses, certain conjunctions tend to be followed mostly by verbs; verb-subject word order is favored in such clauses. The verb-favoring conjunctions include the particle ma (as in ba'ad it ma 'after', etc.), fīna, law, 'an 'if', and to a lesser extent lamma, w-ma, etc. 'when', and ḥatta, etc. 'until, in order that'. As a conjunction, the particle in- 'in order that, until' can only be followed by a verb:

40. w-ma addir tawmel la-yaf for ṭalja xatiiγati? [AE-99]
   'What should I do in order that God will forgive my sins?'

41. addir tawmel tawmel ha-yaf ma yinna n-x-Barāq
   'You’d better hurry before the bell rings'

42. t-fabāx lāzam yastawī ma yaf ḥif αfama lamma kant bap-palīf ṭala rās 'aZ-malā [AE-88]
   'The food must be done the same way I got warm when I was naked on top of the mountain'

43. ṣafar lamma byepya? babūha
   'Wait till (when) her father returns from the Pilgrimage'

44. w-lamma ḥab 'l-xādem hal-γrād, jafakhon l-γamba b-γalle b-hīra [AE-114]
   'And when the servant brought those things, the girl cooked them in a large pot'

45. ẓall madda sawfīl m-mā ẓafar, ḥatta ṭaγa? l-γrām minno [AE-108]
   'He stayed a long time and didn’t leave, until the host got fed up with him'

46. m-γaγat laγmel l-γars palla
   'She waited like a lady
   [AE-113]

47. w-halla? baddak yafra? madda? byeprahu
   'And now you’ll see how happy they
   are when the butcher comes'

The subject of an attributive clause (p. 495) also generally comes after the verb (except for anaphoric pronouns (p. 497)).

48. ẓastan loz-mars halli baγatha
   'She gave it to the woman Ali Quick-
   silver had sent'

Examples of pre-verbal subject after lamma, ḥatta, and

49. lamma l伽t yasγa, rāh laγand
   'When Lot sinned, he went to his
   uncle Abraham'

50. w-najar ḥatta lγ-γadiγe nisγet
   'And he waited until the matter was
   forgotten'

51. baγd ma l-hall st evangelical, ḥalla? p-polīs γeγabtiγ? l-māγdale [M-299]
   'After everyone had eaten, the sultan
   announced the beginning of the debate'
After the complementary conjunction *yana* [p. 449], the subject usually precedes the verb:

52. *drīt yanana tāxi māt babā bībād* [AO-118]
   ‘I’ve learned that my brother died in the holy war’

53. *m-haftakar yana da-āf b-haf-farīna yamken yafham nisāf*r [AO-108]
   ‘And he thought that in this way the guest might get the point and leave’

**Quasi-Verbal Predications**

The noun stem *badd-* is used with pronoun suffixes to form a verb-like predicator meaning ‘to want, require, intend, be going to’:

*badda* ‘he wants, etc.’
*badd(h)a* ‘she wants, etc.’
*baddak* ‘you(m.) want, etc.’
*badd(h)on* ‘they want, etc.’
*baddek* ‘you(f.) want, etc.’
*baddkon* ‘you(pl.) want, etc.’
*baddi* ‘I want, etc.’
*baddona* ‘we want, etc.’

The pronoun suffixes function as subject-affixes, agreeing with the subject (if any), which usually comes first: l-*ma*lad *baddo* ʿalam ‘The boy wants a pencil’. The complement may be either nominal (as ʿalam, above) or verbal: *baddo yafā* ‘He wants to go’. The verbal complement may be suppressed: *mā badda* ‘He doesn’t want to’; the nominal complement may be pronominalized on the stem ʿād-: *mā badda yāha* ‘He doesn’t want it(f.)’.

*baddo*, then, is syntactically verbal in almost every respect for most speakers (but see ex. 8, below), though in some parts of Greater Syria it enters certain constructions as a noun: *baddi hīyye* ‘I want it(f.)’ [Bart. 31]. *mā badda* badd ‘There’s no more need (for it)’ [ibid.]. If *baddo* is construed as a noun, then *baddo* ʿalam is a nominal predication meaning literally ‘His requirement is a pencil’, and *l-ma*lad *baddo* ʿalam has to be interpreted as an extension [431] ‘The boy, his requirement is a pencil’. These interpretations do not apply, however, insofar as pronominalizations are in the complementary form: *baddo ʿād* ‘He wants it’ rather than the subject (or predicate) form: *baddo humme*.

Examples of the use of *baddo*:

1. *baddi yamāf la-ś-āfīn* ‘I want (or intend) to go back to Damascus’

2. *ṭaxi la-ḥelīr baddo yatūmmi* [AO-55] ‘My older brother wants (or is going to) get married’

3. *salammī baddo ṣal-*w*wali* ʿelma la-yah*ṣṣ*da ḥa*ll* ṣam*ū*a
   ‘Two men(would)need at least two weeks to harvest that wheatfield’

4. *mā badda yāḥon?*
   ‘Don’t you want them?’

5. *ʿamā ma baddi, bāxor sayyāra m-ṭaḥrīr bās-āfīm* ʿa*nd* *nūr* *yībān* *ja* *nā* *yamm* *l-mas* *al* *jūm* *as-asad* *sād* *a* *nā* *yamm* *l-mas* *al* *jūm* *as-asad* *sād*
   ‘It’ll take us about half an hour to get there’ (lit. ‘We’ll require...’)"

6. *badda ʿal- ṣalā* ṇa ṣa*κ* *sā* *a* *nā* *yamm* *l-mas* *al* *jūm* *as-asad* *sād* *a* *nā* *yamm* *l-mas* *al* *jūm* *as-asad* *sād*
   ‘It takes five years, but that’s five school years’ (Feminine impersonal predication [p.428])

7. *badda ʿal- ʾalma* ʿenb, ṣa*ma* ʾa*na* nīn madraṣiyya *baddi ʾalma* ʿenb, ṣa*ma* ʾa*na* nīn madraṣiyya
   ‘I wanted to read a little’

Note that the linking verb [p.452] in ex. 8 is inflected in agreement with *baddi* (as with a verbal subjective complement [448]). This usage is optional, however; the linking verb before *badda* may also remain uninflected: *kān baddi ʾal-*ṣṣ*li ʾa*saw*wy*yy*; *lit. ‘It was my intention to read a little’; in this respect, at least, *badda* may be construed as a noun.

8. *kant baddi ʿal-*ṣṣ*li ʾa*saw*wy*yy* *baddi ʿal-*ṣṣ*li ʾa*saw*wy*yy* *baddi ʿal-*ṣṣ*li ʾa*saw*wy*yy* *baddi ʿal-*ṣṣ*li ʾa*saw*wy*yy*
   ‘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 badda l-mas*ā*e*le*

9. *mā badda l-mas*ā*e*le* ʾa*la* ʾal- ṣalā* ʿenb, ṣa*ma* ʾa*na* nīn madraṣiyya
   ‘There’s no question of restaurants, we’ll eat at home’ (lit. ‘The question doesn’t require restaurants...’)

10. *ʾa*b* badd*ā*tu yā*ni ʿa*men*li*
    ‘What do you(pl.) want me to do?’

The prepositions *cando*, *ma*ṣ, and *la-* [p.476ff] are used with pronoun suffixes to form verb-like predications meaning approximately ‘to have’: *cando* ʾelīs ‘He has a family’ (lit. ‘With him [Fr. chez lui] is a family’); *maṣḥ naṣārī* ‘Have you any money?’ (lit. ‘Is there with you money?’); *ṭalā ʾayn ḥalam kiffr* ‘She has beautiful eyes’ (lit. ‘There are to her, beautiful eyes’). These prepositional predications are less thoroughly verb-like than *baddo* in two main respects:

1. The nominal term that follows them may usually be suppressed (like a subject [p.418]) rather than pronominalized on the stem ʿād- (like an object [436]): *maṣḥ ‘I have it’ or ‘I have some’, etc. In the case of *cando*, however, the following term may either be suppressed or pronominalized: *cando ‘I have some, I have it’, or *cando ʿād* ‘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-*ṣṣ*ān* ʿānd*ā ʾa*tīfr* [AO-43] ‘My mother has many brothers and sisters’ (lit. ‘To my
mother there are many...”). The verb-like construction is *aansi* *alo* *ama* *kēfēre*, in which the pronoun suffix of *alo* is like a verbal subject-affix, agreeing with the subject *aansi*.

The verb-like nature of these prepositional constructions, then, consists in the predominance of pronoun suffixes over nouns after the prepositions, and the fact that a nominal subject (or quasi-object) almost always follows the prepositional predicant, 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 *mē*, which is used before verbs, rather than with *mē*, etc., which is used with ordinary non-verbal predicates [p.384ff].

Examples:

11. *maft namet talifōno w-īsamēno* 'I have his telephone number and address'
12. *ṣu *alo marā *bē-hē*ēr* 'You must have a mania for poetry'
13. *cādaton bīkūn ēndhon tīlē *ffūle* 'They usually have three terms' (in an academic year)
14. *kān ēnna dyuf* 'We had guests'

Examples 13 and 14 illustrate another non-verb-like feature of the prepositional predicates: the linking verb [p.452] remains uninflected for number/gender when complemented by *andō, masō, etc., whereas with verbs (and optionally with *badō*) it is inflected to agree with the complement: *kānna namūr 'we used to visit', kānna *bāddā* (or *kānna *bāddāna* 'we wanted', but *kānna* 'we had' (not *kānna* ēnna)."

15. *mā ʿšolōn ḥa??* 'You're wrong' (lit. 'There is not to you right')
16. *saẖ kāndō rēšī l-*yūm, mā *bya?*ēder *yāti* 'Your son-in-law has some men [visiting him] today, he can't come.'
17. *bas lā tenza *amū *rīkkond *l-bē-hē*ēr* [DA-151] 'But don't forget that you(pl.) have the sea'
18. *mācō *kμālēt ēsār lērēt? - *mōsō, tīra?ddō [DA-46] 'Have you change for ten pounds?' - *Yes, I have; here you are'
19. *t-īwāle *alo *tāro?cō rēlēn* 'The table has four legs'
20. *bāddi kan-lo tīlē *byāt* 'My grandfather had three houses'

Note, in example 20, that *alo* generally takes the form of a suffix: when complementing a linking verb. [p.482]

Similarly: *ṣu *amū *rīkkand *l-*bē-hē 'I haven't seen you for a week' (i.e. I've had a week of not seeing you), or *par-lē *amū *rīkkand *l-*bē-hē '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]:

*āmū nē *rīkkand *l-*bē-hē *fē 'The streets have no sidewalks'.

Three more prepositional quasi-verbs are *calē* 'to have to, to have as a responsibility or a debt'; *fē* 'to be able to' or, in impersonal predications [p.365], 'there is, there are'; and *bi* 'to be the matter with' (used only with *sē* or *sē- *what* and *mā- *nothing*):

21. *ṣu *calēk *bē-hē *l-*yūm? [DA-173] 'Do you have work to do today?'
22. *yānā kāmu *calīyyi *mānūr *la-hīrk [DA-248] 'I have to go there too' (lit. 'I also, there is on me an errand to there')

Note also the set phrase *maftēq* or *maftē-śi* 'never mind, that's all right' (- *mā *calē-śi[f] 'There's nothing on it'); *mā *calēk 'never mind, it's not your responsibility'.

23. *fū-bō? - mā- bo *ēt* 'What's the matter with him (or it)? — Nothing'
24. *mā *fīthōn yē?mē*ē-śō-lo ḫē 'They can't do a thing for him'
25. *fīnī sādāk b-bōmm lōrā? 'Can I help you with a few pounds?'
26. *hamjā *mē *fī *yēfham kāpēt ha?m-bē-sax 'Anybody can see through that fellow' (lit. '...can understand the truth of that person')
27. *t-balēdē *fēk *tākūdha b-sane *w-nāg 'You can get the degree in a year and a half'

Examples of the impersonal *fī* 'there is; there are':

28. *fī *mē *tēlō *sākās *w-mē *tēlō *sam-yēdrōs 'There's one who's finished and one studying'
29. *l-*yūm mā *fī *ēt *mān bāh l-bāddā la *kūdōla 'Today there's none of that, thank God'
30. *mā *bēsēt *fē w-mā *yīl-hēdē *yīlī bōyarī 'I don't think there's time for [me to recount] the incident I know of'
31. *kit marrā *cal-*tāqqē? - *fī l-bīs wāt-trānādī wāt-tāksī [DA-48] 'How shall we go to Qassā? — There's the bus, the streetcar, and taxis'
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. fi`ile hama barra [DA-199] 'A wind is coming up outside'
2. E`ye mac`on g-pa`r g-ba`d`a [DA-248] 'The new son-in-law is coming with them'
3. T`ayp-li `adli ?at`afua`n ala halab [DA-248] 'I'd like to take a look around Aleppo' (lit. 'My mind has told me to...')
4. n`ammad y`amo kall y`am m`a`ndo daras b`isb`a b`as`an`dani 'Sonny! is accustomed to coming and spending some time with me every day he has no lesson'

Further examples of participial predicates – mostly with subject first or subject suppressed – are given on pp.263-75. (See especially p.266.) Others with subject following are given on p.422.

Clausal Subjects

The subject of a predication may be clause introduced by ?anno (more rarely hali, etc.), or a paratactic verbal clause. Subject clauses virtually always follow the predicate, and are often also susceptible to analysis as complements of clauses. Some examples are given here, others on p.451.

1. za`tif l-`abakka ?anno t`ayyed l-`ad`a`ya l-`arabiyye [EA-232] 'The government's plan is to support the Arab cause(s)'
2. ma`q ma`qul ?anno ak`a`b [EA-264] 'It's inconceivable that I should forget you' (lit. 'It's not reasonable that...')
3. yalli `an-bakki ?anno ta`kii t`afod doktora bal-handase 'What I'm saying is that you should come and take your doctorate in engineering'
4. labake ?anno r`u`u `xari `pi 'It's a bother for me to go personally'

The word y`amo – like `aha 'daddy' and certain other kinship terms associated with endearment and baby-talk – is used reciprocally; i.e. y`amo 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 (`ammey) is referring to her nephew.
Suppression of the Subject

In English, the subject of an otherwise complete predicate is rarely omitted except in certain kinds of casual conversational exchanges. Where first and second person pronouns are sometimes suppressed, e.g. 'Didn't see him (for 'I didn't see him')' 'Want to go? (for 'Do you want...')', etc. In certain cases a subject is clearly understood from the context, or from circumstances what the predicate applies to (and that it is in fact a predicate). See pp. 546-549.

Verbal and quasi-verbal predications are the ones most commonly used without a subject. E.g. 'I didn't see you', 'He's in the house' etc. In declarative sentences the inverted, with the main subject suppressed, remains at a pitch considerably lower than that of the predicate because the main sentence accent falls, but in questions the subject remains at a medium-high pitch or may rise higher. [See p. 379.]

Examples of non-verbal predications with subject suppressed:


2. 'Azdey ãs-lo-bašaltiña mû hèk? - la?; mî bãlo, bass halwa w-manjatãna sales.

3. L-bãg el ãxed vaqfto õuddan ãs-mãna.

4. Ëçõmr bãkèl Èsîb wæfik, malla ñuqæf ñaafne.

5. Ênu ëfï ñeõìel ënïde ën-yëñ.

6. Ên ãna ãñìûf. - ñn ãs-îbãs ãn-nãcêm ãñòìæm, ënu ñafla, ñrëyãñïna.

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: ãs-hef hal-walad 'That boy is smart', rañ-tãzõl ënîìe ñtãnt 'You're going to get a beating', ãl-bêt ñabì '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. ñafla ñaãìyûe hal-balans 'That girl is certainly intelligent'

2. ën ëlu hal-êkã 'That [kind of] talk isn't nice'

3. õartî ãsãr ñabì 'Nabil is a lot of fun'

4. ën ëlu ñtãzãkãr ãs-ôntë?

5. ëtnô õreñta õyûnsa l-nôñhêd.


7. ën ëntab-li ñæmûna ñâñ b-adlìñton hùnwe

8. ñôñ xàqûtìtak ãs-ûñm? [DA-105]

9. ënîìe ñtãnt ñùndãñø hùnwe, malla ñeõìe ñafla.

10. ñafl ñï ãs-ñayûd slûndû?

[EA-243]

11. ñûlìñ ëkëyûti 'It's the same with me as with you' (lit. 'Like you, my story is')

12. ëm-xûnsin ñrã ñànsint ãs-ôntë ñafla.

13. ñûbì ãs-ôntë ñafla ñafla ñafla.

'Are your vegetables fresh today?'

'Is he in his cabin, or on deck?'

'Is this Mr. Salamë's house?'

'Working with inexperienced people is difficult.'

Predicate-subject inversion should not be confused with the permutation of terms in an equational predications [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-*ktîbî gäli
   - waslî *ktîbi?
   - l-malâd Jââsîn
   - 'This book is expensive'
   - 'Has my book arrived?'
   - 'The child is hungry'

2. A feminine singular subject requires a feminine predicate:
   - hal-barnâfî jälîye
   - waslît barnëfî?
   - l-bînt Jââsîne
   - 'This hat is expensive'
   - 'Has my hat arrived?'
   - 'The girl is hungry'

3. A dual subject requires a plural predicate:
   - hal-barnëfîn jälîyîn
   - waslu l-*ktûbîn tabanî?
   - l-bîntîn Jââsînîn
   - 'Both these hats are expensive'
   - 'Have my two books arrived?'
   - 'Both girls are hungry'

4. A coordination of singulars requires a plural predicate [See p. 502]:
   - l-*ktûb wâl-barnëfî jälîyîn
   - waslu p-ââbî wâl-bînt?
   - 'The book and the hat are expensive'
   - 'Have the boy and the girl arrived?'

5. A plural pronoun subject requires a plural predicate:
   - hadâli jälîyîn
   - waslu hâmânî?
   - 'These are expensive'
   - 'Have they arrived?'

6. Most inanimate plural subjects require a plural predicate:
   - l-*mââd Jââsînîn
   - waslu l-bânî?
   - 'The children are hungry'
   - 'Have the girls arrived?'

The term 'animates' 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:
   - waslu kûtîbî?
   - hal-bânî fâyîn
   - 'Have your books arrived?'
   - 'These hats are expensive'

(8) A clausal subject requires a masculine predicate:
   - byâghar ?ànînha fâyîn
   - ?ânî Jââsîlu
   - 'It seems that it's expensive'
   - 'It's good that they've arrived'

Since masculine is the base or neutral number/gender, intrinsically subjectless ('impersonal') predicates 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: 
qimânî dâkîtîra 'My uncles are doctors'; ?axta, marî gâhî '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, 
?axhâ marî gâhî 'Her brother is my friend's wife' is not ungrammatical, only "unnatural". Note also: mal-kûdîk 3l-mâîrî 'Your idol (m.) is money (pl.)'; hayy modîl 'ajdîd 'This one (f.) is a new model (m.)', where hayy substitutes for e.g. has-sayydrâ 'this car', as contrasted with haddî modîl 'ajdîd '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, waslî bandît (or waslu bandît) 'Some girls arrived', waslî bânt (or waslu bántt) 'A girl arrived'. Examples:

1. mojka tâfîgan jizm 'Almost a year has passed'
2. bukrî bițînî bûtînî 4mîlîn 'Tomorrow I'll have some good plants' (lit. "...will come to me good plants")
Participles with a following subject may be uninfluenced in the same way as verbs:

9. ḍār-∫lā naṣīye ḥawuf ?addāmāa 'We have a long walk ahead of us' (lit. 'There remains for us...')

10. ṣafyān tītt aḥhor la-haḥrān 'There are three months to go before June' (lit. 'Are left three months...')

11. ʾilāmī ḥammāle ṭan ṣafy-Ṭyya l-ṣumābiyye [DA-245] 'I've received a money order from South Africa' (lit. 'Has come to me...')

12. mabsāt-lak mukafīb 'Some letters have been sent to you'

13. masīīd ʾḥaṭta ṭaḥdī ṣaḥāb ʾktīr 'There are many Arabs to be found there'

14. ʃaš-lo ṣāḥāra b-κoll ʾḥammā 'He has a rash all over his body', (lit. 'Has broken out for him...')

Less commonly, a verb fails to agree with a following definite subject, when something intervenes between the verb and its subject, or when the subject is a coordination:

15. ṣassar ʾal-ṭuḥma ʾm-muṣsafalin ʾl-ṭamāzkarān [PIPL-XVII] 'The American missionaries have influenced them'

16. kān ʾb-ṣaḥbīto kibīr ḍabbaṣ ʾl-maṣfū [8-98] 'He was accompanied by the top army brass' (lit. 'Were in his company...')

17. bākān ʾḥaṭṭa ṣaḥār ʾl-maṣṣura maš-ṃaṣṣafalin maš-ṭakēlēr [DA-300] 'The cabinet ministers and officials and big shots will be there'

Feminine Agreement with Plurals and Collectives

Most feminine 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, feminine (with feminine predicate underscored):

1. l-ʾfūmar ʾal-hall bēšet mašī man zmānān

2. ʾal-ḥaṣab maʾam-ṭaḥkī ʾaftar ʿaṭāma maṣṭāmiyye

3. mā ʾaṣāt mašī maṣār

4. ṣaḥār ʾl-haḍamiyya ʿaṭāma maṣṭāmiyye

5. ḍāl-ḥaḍar ʾm-ṭamātīn ṭawsītā ṭašīmā ṭaḥādīsa ʾl-ḥālīmb

6. ḍāl-ḥaḍar ʾm-ṭamātīn ṭawsītā ṭašīmā ṭaḥādīsa ʾl-ḥālīmb

In the vineyards are found the jackal, the fox, and the hyena'

A subject phrase formed with ʾolla or ʾer 'except, but' does not affect the preceding verb even though the phrase is definite:

19. mā ʾbīhāmma ʾer p?al-ʾaṣṣa ṭaʾimāddīyye

20. mā ʾhūmāma ʾolla rāḥīma

21. rāḥt ṭanā ʾa-bābi la-nūrīk

In the vineyards are found the jackal, the fox, and the hyena'

Nothing interests her but material things'

'She's only concerned with her own comfort'

'My father and I went to see you' (The verb rāḥt agrees in person, but not in number. Cf. p. 364.)
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 ḫāṣ as well as ḫāṣ. Sometimes, however, the difference in agreement can show whether a subject with the article prefix is meant generally or specifically: l-katb mā bāthūmmā 'Books don't interest him' vs. l-katb mā biḥammā 'The books don't interest him'. If the sentence begins with ḫāl-katb '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-krašātāt būl-māšā lātīf
(or lafātū) lāfārī
‘The neckties in the display window caught my eye' (lit. "turned my glance")

8. snānī qam-šīflje? (or qam-
-šīflje?)
‘My teeth are chattering'

Note that plural animal designations commonly take feminine agreement:

9. bāš-kabāl bātīs ʾd-dyāb
‘In the mountains live wolves'

10. n-nṣūra kānet ḥāyme fā?
bāš-sāmā
‘The vultures were soaring above in the sky'

A number of collective or plural human designations may be used with feminine verbal predicates. These include nāṣ and ʾābāl 'people, folks', and plurals ending in -e/-a (pp. 213, 229):

11. rāḥēt ʾn-nāṣ sabāl ṣaqq ʾl-līl
(Inf. 238)
‘The people left before midnight'

12. ya taraf n-nāṣ šā rāha-tāl
‘I wonder what people will say?

13. ṭāl ʾn-nāṣ fānda xabar
(SPA 306)
‘All the people know about it' (lit. "...have news")

14. ṭāl ʾd-dīla būtīl ṣāmmun
mā madīmamān
‘The villagers say that they are not married'

15. ʾala naqṣet ʾl-būrāpān,
ṣ-ṣaggīla tfarāṣet bi-ḥēl
ṣ-ḥāt
‘At the sound of the horn, the workers scattered in all directions'

16. lāken baddi naṣ ʾl-nadhīne
tāʾallān
‘But I'll expect the same professors 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. ṣalāta ḥāmmal al-magālla hawālī
l-makhāl khilī
‘Her clothes were strewn all over the place'

2. ḫāl hal-makhālī magālla sama
‘All these letters arrived at once'

Note, in ex. 2, that if the letters were not thought of in terms of their separateness, there would be little motivation for remarking that they arrived all together.

3. maṭīt maqāhīn
‘His papers are correct'

4. s-safāyen al-tammu?
‘Have the notebooks been collected?'

5. hal-ʾalāmā mū bīnābbu baṣdān
‘These colors don't go together' (lit. "...don't suit each other")

In ex. 5 the reciprocity that is made explicit by the object bāṣdān requires that the colors be thought of individually. The same situation, however, could be referred to with a reciprocalive verb in the feminine: hal-ʾalāmā mū bīnābbāt [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 adjectival agreement in -īn:

6. ḥal ʾhūṣītī mū mān ʾktīr
‘These squashes are not very good'

7. t-taffāḥāt ʾam-yābādī yantāsīl
‘The apples are beginning to go bad'

Cf. l-famālī l-am-tabbū t̄āntāsī ‘The fruit is beginning to go bad' (famālī is a mass noun plural: sg. ḥājīn); l-taffāḥāt l-am-yābādī yantāsī ‘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. ḥad-darš-nāt mīnīyye or
had-darš-nāt mīnīyyūt
‘These peaches are juicy'
Many singular nouns designating (or sometimes designating) groups of people are commonly used with plural verbal (and participial) predicates. These nouns include, again, ??âh and ??âs (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. ?-?orâ ?attâ 'l-badâd m?n

'yawâl ila ?-bâkâra

The police searched the town from one end to the other.'


'There's a large crowd awaiting you' 

(?)âj?l 'world', Fr. 'monde')

11. bêt ?âxtak baddh?n yâk?n

'Your sister and her family are coming to spend the evening with us' 

(lit. 'The house of your sister...')


'There are people dying of hunger.'

13. ??âh ?-bâdâd b?jâr c?l?m

[AO-83]

'The police of the town took him for a learned man' (lit. '... saw him ...')

These words may also be used with singular agreement, however. For example:


'The mob was about to lynching.'


'Everyone knows he's a swindler.'

Note also the singular agreement in the following:

18. b?x mà b?yâk?l?n hadâl

'An army wouldn't eat all these!'


'His family lives near our house.'

The following agreement with constructs and other noun phrases:

Generally speaking, it is the leading term of a noun construct [p.456] that determines agreement: ìbnî ?ââhî ?âl?wî 'My friend's daughter is pretty (fl)'; in the case of partitive and certain others, however, the following term determines agreement: kâll ?-l-bânâ ?âl?wîn 'All the girls are pretty'. See p.466f.

In some cases a prepositional supplement (in periphrasis of annexion [p.460]) determines agreement rather than the supplemented term: byâ?râhâ ?âdâd ?kâr m?n l-?masaqafîn 'A large number of intellectuals read it'. Though ?âdâd (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: ðakî ?-l-?âb? m?b ?âfâr ?'Eating ice cream does no harm' (cf. ðakî ?-l-?âfâ l?âb ?âfâr 'Eating meat does no harm'). A coordination as following term does not produce plural agreement, however, but the verb may be masculine or feminine depending on the gender of the last term: kâret ?-l-?âl? wad-dawarâ fâfiyâ? ?-l-?wâhêd 'So much turning and circling gets one lost'.

In the case of numeral constructs [471], the agreement of a verbal predicate may be plural or feminine, depending to some extent on the same considerations as in the case of nouns without numerals: t?âll ?-râ?b ?-bîm 'Threw together and took it away' (plural) but t?âll wâ?/âbî bâl-y?m ?-bîkâfîfî 'Three meals a day are not enough' (feminine). In the latter sentence wâ?/âbî is of course inanimate, and the phrase t?âll wâ?/âbî bâl-y?m '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: ðarâb l?râ 'byyâkî [SAL-39] 'Four pounds will suffice'.

Number/Gender with Subject Suppressed

When there is no subject expressed [p.418], the number/gender of a verbal or adjectival predicate is usually "natural," i.e. not determined by the rules of agreement with the suppressed subject as if it were present, but by the more direct semantic classification of the referent by which pronouns are selected when they have no antecedent [p.363].

Thus, if instead of saying n-m?sk ?-k?net ?âl?yem fâf bâs-?âmâ '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: b?shu ?âl?yem... (Usually, however, a subject referent of this sort will have been recently enough mentioned so that the noun may still serve as antecedent — though not subject — to the predicate; if its antecedence is clear enough in the context, then the feminine agreement may still hold.) Similarly in the case of certain collectives and other singulars used in a collective sense; if the subject is dropped from e.g. ñ?sk mà
byākša 'An army couldn't eat it', the verb would probably have to be made plural to preserve the sense: mā byākšha '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, bašne, mā hāk? '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: bašna, mā ḥāk? (except, of course, if an animate referent is evidently female [p.372]).

Note that in certain expressions concerning the day, the weather, etc., a feminine predicate is used with the subject d-danye 'the world' suppressed: dāq-saḏ bašcattem ma'assra 'In summer is gets dark late', i.e. d-danye bašcattem... ēnu 'tātī 'It's raining', i.e. d-danye ēnu 'tātī.

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 bašfē? māci ṭomni rūḥ māḏai
   'I don't mind going alone' (lit. 'It(f.) does not differ with me that...')

2. mā maqṭizu thesser rūsak b-hal-āwāḏik
   'It's not worth while for you to knock your brains out over this matter'

3. ṭūḏe maḏmaca? - bātma?alaf
   'Are you going with us? - It all depends'

4. baddha xams 'snin
   'It takes five years'

5. halla? ṣādet ēnuayye ēn ḥadda
   'Now [matters] have gone a bit too far'

6. mā kānēt lāsfē manno 'abadān
   'That wasn't very nice of him'

Uninflected Adjectives

There are a number of adjectives which show no agreement, for example ēni 'fine, excellent', ḍafri 'straight', etc. (See p.501 for others):

al-fenn w-xams miyine ēni lāb-ālīṭšān [DA-291]
'do two thousand five hundred is fine for both sides'

dāqšman kānēt ḍafri māci
'She has always been straight with me'

EXTRAPOSITION

Topic and Comment (al-mubtada? maḥ-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 predications: ēla, baḏra ṭm āḏāḏār sāne 'Ali - I've known him for eleven years'.

A subject-predicate clause (i.e. a predications with a subject preceding the predicate) is also traditionally analyzed as a special kind of topical clause. Thus in the sentence ēla byāḏrafni 'Ali knows me', ēla is called al-mubtada? (topic) and byāḏrafni is called al-xabar (comment).

Topical clauses other than ordinary subject-predicate clauses differ from the latter, in that the comment itself has a subject - or subject-referent - of its own, and therefore a main verb or adjective in the comment is not inflected to agree with the topic. Examples:

1. ʾl-haḏeb *l-ʾḏerī, baddaf maḏāri m-ibadashāb mānkhon [DA-293]
   '[In] a checking account you deposit money and withdraw (from it)'

2. yam, ʾl-maḏ warnāt kānet bān ēnu 'm-paḏabasat! ṭm-ibitom ʾḏrušen
   '[For me, the age of adventures was between seventeen and twenty'

3. baḏal ḍassanāt ṣaʿaṣā, fi ēndi xams mawāḏen bi-faxṣār [SAL-197]
   '[As for] blue hyacinth bulbs, I have five, planted in pots'

4. hal-ḥeḏm ṭd-daxfane b-xamsen ṭomf
   'These eggs are fifty piastres a dozen' (lit. "These eggs, the dozen is at fifty piastres")

5. ṣāḥenti w-šenently l-ḥeḏ bol-ḥeḏ
   'My yard adjoins his' (lit. "My yard and his yard - the wall is at the wall")

Since comments are predications, the traditional analysis in effect equates 'predication' with 'predicate'. Though it is true as a general rule that predications 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 predications, then there is no theoretical limit to the containment of predications within predications (just as there is no limit to the containment of annexation phrases within annexation phrases [p.456]). In fact, however, a predications may serve as comment to a topic, but the resulting topical predications may not serve, in its turn, as comment to still another topic. See also footnote on p.401.
6. -l-passive -b-bânt mä ft ?āhla man ħât [DA-152]  "The winter season in Beirut there's nothing nicer than that!"

7. hayy mä bagref  "As for] that, I don't know"

8. hēʔtak mä mabgṣ  "You don't look well", lit. "With respect to] your appearance, [you're] not well"

9. ūnsītī ?amārkānī, lēken ṣaʕli lâbndānī  "I'm American by nationality, but Lebanese by blood" (lit. 'My nationality - [I'm American, but my origin - [I'm Lebanese"

In example 9, the fact that ūnsītī (m.) does not agree with the feminine ūnsītī shows that this is not an ordinary subject-predicate sentence, which would be ūnsītī ?amārkānī lakēn ṣaʕli lâbndānī (same translation). In ex. 8, mabgṣ likewise does not agree with the feminine ḥēʔa. Cf. hēʔtak mā māfha (same translation, but lit. 'Your appearance is not good'), which is an ordinary subject-predicate sentence.

Resumptive Pronoun in the Comment (al-ẓādīd)

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 antecedent is the topic:

a.) hal-bânt, tēʔarrēfnā ?antnā  "That girl - do you know her?"

b.) hal-bânt, tēʔarrēf kalāhā  "That girl - have you been introduced to her?"

c.) hal-bânt, ṭasma fā^nā  "That girl - her name is Fatima"

d.) hal-bânt ḥiyye *L-ʔāhla  "That girl - she is the prettiest"

Note that extraposition may have an effect on the word order of subject and predicate. In example 5, the subject ēdād *khir man L-*māqqafān is too long to fit comfortably in the "original" predication between bāyānī and hal-māghtalle [p.409], therefore it is more likely to precede the verb: ēdād *khir man L-*māqqafān bāyānī hal-māghtalle.

The term 'extraposition' is taken from Chain Rabin ('Arabic Reader, Lund Humphries, London, 1947; and other works). The term 'resumptive pronoun' is from Frank A. Rice (personal communication) and the terms 'topic' and 'comment' from Charles F. Hockett (A Course in Modern Linguistics, Macmillan, New York, 1958).

Examples of extraposition objects (Resumptive pronoun underscored):

1. kall ṣ-gāfiyye maqḍānāha maɣo  'The whole summer we spent with him'

2. ṭakṣer ṣalābārī kant ṭakṣābā  bi-dars *l-māsaʕi ʕān *L-ʔīmāna  'Most of my poetry I wrote in physics or chemistry class'

3. samīr, smaqt baddhon irtāʔān  [EA-169]  'As for] Samir. I hear they intend to promote him'

4. fadīkūn mā bānāʕ fūl ḥāyāti  [EA-264]  'I'll never forget your kindness'

5. l-ḥana bṭaḍqafā frāmbe  'The air is compressed by a pump' (lit. 'The air, compresses it a pump')

6. hal-māghtalle bāyānī rūḥā ēdād *khir man L-*māqqafān  '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 ēdād *khir man L-*māqqafān is too long to fit comfortably in the "original" predication between bāyānī and hal-māghtalle [p.409], therefore it is more likely to precede the verb: ēdād *khir man L-*māqqafān bāyānī hal-māghtalle.
A pair of oxen for plowing are called a yoke [of oxen]" (lit. "A pair...they call them...")

'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.

'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 'ana as topic, and -ni as object. The ordinary predication, then, is simply 'ana fard la-laxdo; -ni is extraposed as 'ana but the resumptive pronoun must again be -ni.

'Whatever you(f.) want I'll bring you(it)'

'Whatever comes to his mind he puts (it) down'

'Whoever rescues me, I shall make him and his descendants rich'

Examples of extraposed annex (following term) in noun constructs:

1. s-sayyara dâlîb mub dawâlîb bânâsâr
   ‘One of the car's tires is flat' (lit. "The car, a tire of its tires has been punctured")

2. l-buhayra 'amîra mîl yâadam
   ‘The lake is a hundred feet deep' (lit. "The lake, its depth is...")

3. shîhi dîyam qa?la sâbere bâl-xayâl
   ‘My friend always has his head in the clouds' (lit. "My friend, always his mind is swimming in fantasy")

4. hâda mû mawâlî dâq-qârûra yânono lâmîm ‘trûk la-nâhâk
   ‘This doesn't necessarily mean that you'll have to go there' (lit. "This, it is not its meaning necessarily...")

5. hal-makînât bâfel 'astâmâlû
   ‘These machines are obsolete' ("These machines, has ceased their use")

6. hâk ?âkja mû mawmûn ârîk,
   ‘Such things cannot be explained' ("Such things, is not possible their explanation")

7. l-manfayed 'uzmîf hadd 9ânî hadd la-âmmîn
   ‘Coats have been reduced from forty dollars to thirty' ("The coats, has been reduced their price...")

8. tasârîfâto ‘âfûb fakhîma
   ‘His behavior is hard to understand' ("...is difficult its understanding")

9. 9âna hân furhir rûb bat-tîtn
   ‘I was thinking of going by train' ("As for me, it was my idea to go by train")

10. 'âfîr ma-hâzîr yallon sayyûdûn smak
    ‘The people of this island are all (of them) fishermen'

Examples of extraposed annex ("object") of a preposition:

1. hal-salâhâa kâhân humûn l-mâqûd jîthâ
   ‘That remark was aimed at him' (lit. "That remark, he was the target in it")

2. ha-r-jîf mû Câd 'lta'a mawmûn bâs-sâl bân sâne
   ‘That brand hasn't been on the market for a year' ("That brand, there has not been found [any of it]...")

3. r-ra'hî fî hamâlâ rûl mantedrîn
   ‘The president has able men around him'

4. dâstûr ?î-lilûfît 'l-matdâîdâh bâdâ l-âmâlî fî sent 'alâw w-sâhîb miyye w-taswîc w-imâmîn
   ‘Work began on the constitution of the United States in the year 1789' ("The constitution..., began the work on it...")

5. l-makâhî lassâ ma-ttâla'a maalûn
   ‘The checks still have not been cleared'

6. hal-âmâl ha-ykun-lo natûrîs mâtêddîke
   ‘That act will have numerous consequences' ("...there will be to it...")

7. halî xadîrto 'âhâm bâstâri tâmûn
   ‘The one whose vegetables are best, I buy from (him)'

8. halî bixalsa'sînî basta'h-lo kûm 'l-îrâd [AO-116]
   ‘Whoever rescues me, I shall open to him the treasures of the earth'

9. bâsâ hâda xamûn mawmûkî bîmârma' [DA-251]
   ‘But that [is something] we have a lot of in America'

10. humûn handase madâaniyye maâf
    ‘He has [a degree in] civil engineering'

11. 'ana mû hâda bysâ'âl Cânnî
    ‘Nobody asks about me!'
Examples of extraposed subject (with equational comment [p. 405]):

1. *hāda huwme l-bās hallī byāmi s-sā′cā sallān?* 'Is this the bus that leaves at two o′clock?'

2. *kall ma hunlih huwme làqa-yāki nā ibīrān. Can semīnārīn?* 'All there is to it will consist of two or three seminars'

3. *yāhimm sinācā fi-trablos hiyye sinācet [s-sā′sān] [PAT-185]* 'The most important industry in Tripoli is the soap industry'

4. *hal-ādānya hadīl hennē l-mallēk wot-ta′āshir [PAT-191]* 'These rich men are the landowners and merchants'

5. *yāsām *l-madīne d-dāxliyye... hiyye bussamenb *l-baddādēn, l-`alīn, n-mūri...[PAT-179]* 'The interior sections of the city are: Buwwbēt el-Heddēfin, El-Mbētra, En-Nouri, etc.'

6. *yāshar `asal tāfīxī fal-balad huwme l-salīs [PAT-179]* 'The most famous historical monument in town is the fortress'

7. *yahimm st bi-kall doktōrī hiiyye l-`aypūrīa* 'The most important thing in every doctorate is the dissertation'

Note, in example 7, that the resumptive pronoun is feminine, agreeing with its predicate *l-`aypūrīa* rather than with its antecedent *yāhimm st*. (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 bādīrjo* 'Mohammed I know (him) - bādīrjo, mhammad.

1. *bacrīga `ana, l-bent?* 'Do I know her, the girl?'

2. *huwme yalli m`allīfā hal-madrosh* 'He′s the one who organized it, that school'

3. *bās mā byākīlōn hadīl yalli Addīton* '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. *kent bādīrjo kall yām la-thmāhid* 'I used to see(him.) Ahmed, every day'

5. *nabl byar`abo la-mhammad lēken `yorbe sūywe bēfde* 'Nabil is related to Mohammed but somewhat distantly'

6. *humme phābo kīfr la-`asī* 'He′s a good friend of my brother′s'

In ex. 6, *`asī* could not come first, in a normal topic position, because it would sound as if huwme (rather than the -o of phābo) were the resumptive pronoun: *`asī huwme phābo kīfr* 'My brother is a good friend of his'.

Extraposition is used not only with predications, but also with other constructions derived from predications: In substitution questions: *`ante bā badd`ak?* 'What is your plan?'; *he huwme maṣr-bēka`?* 'What is your plan?'; *`asī mēna?* 'Where′s your brother?'; mēna *`asī?* 'Where is your brother', etc. See p. 566.

Less commonly, the comment is a command: *yalli batlāfbi bās-sā?* nībo 'Whatever you can find in the market bring (it)'.

See also Attribution, p. 496.
CHAPTER 17: COMPLEMENTATION

Complementation is a type of construction which in Syrian Arabic is expressed by word order only. The leading, or complemented, term is followed — not necessarily immediately — by its complement or complements.

The word order is generally reversed when the complement is a question-word [p. 566]. Otherwise, inverted word order is rare [pp. 439, 452, 453.]

The several kinds of complementation are treated separately as follows:

- Objects .............................................. p. 438
- Adverbial Noun Complements .............. 441
- Prepositional Complements .................. 444
- Predicative Complements ..................... 446
- Complemental Clauses ......................... 449

The kind of complementation that goes with any particular complemented term is largely determined by lexical idiosyncracy, and must be learned as a matter of vocabulary. Translation equivalents may be misleading.

A complemented term may have one, two, or three complements.

A verb (or participle or gerund) may be complemented by one or two noun phrases; if two, the first must be an object.

Adjectives and nouns, as well as verbs, may be complemented by one or two prepositional phrases, or by a clause, or by a phrase and a clause.

The word order of prepositional phrases in respect to other complements depends on various specific considerations [p. 445].

On the distinction between complements and supplements, see p. 444 (footnote).

In Classical Arabic, complementation is also expressed by an-naqb (the "accusative case" for noun-type complements, the "subjunctive mode" for verbs).
COMPLEMENTATION

OBJECTS (al-mafūl 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 ya- [p.545]: IRST *l-benti 'Did you see the girl?', la', mā ṣaftha 'No, I didn't see her'; ṣaf-ālāk yāḥā '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. ṣamī koll ʾm-nagāx 'Sign all the copies'  
2. ḫart ʾl-ʾašā b-ḥāxr ʾl-ʾaṣīmā? 'Did you attend the dinner at the end of the meeting?'  
3. mā ṣafṭ ḫad ḫal-bēt 'I didn't see anyone in the house'  
4. ṣam-yāṣīgīl ṭībīt nafsak 'He's imposing on your good nature' (In this case the Arabic object is translated with a prepositional complement 'on your good nature'.)  
5. ḥakat-li nna ṣoppa mā ṣirṣadda? 'She told us an incredible story' (In this case the English first object 'us' corresponds to an Arabic prepositional phrase -li 'to us'.)  
6. ṣumman yāllī kān nūmī ʾyacwūmlo 'He accomplished what he had intended to do' (Substantivized yāllī-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:

1. lāʾīm ṣuṣrī ḫāṣī ṣafīqet haftak 'You must show the policeman your identity card'  
2. baddī ḥaṣaʾāl ʾl-ʾmālām suʾāl tānī 'I want to ask the teacher another question'  
3. ēr ṣaḥābo bādīlī ṣ-ḥāṭīde 'He lent his friend his new suit'

10. Rassar wāḥed ṣaḥībo bānta ṣ-ṣamīlī 'He married off his beautiful daughter to a friend of his', lit. 'He gave-in-marriage (to) a friend of his beautiful daughter'

Also as in English, the first object may be pronominalized alone, or both may be pronominalized at the same time, but the second object cannot be pronominalized unless the first is:

First Object Pronominalized  
11. ḥaṣfīnī ḥaṣyī.  ḥaṣfīnī yāḥā 'He gave me a gift'  
12. labbāṣīnī ṭyāḥūn? narrowly. labbāṣīnī yāḥūn? 'Did you (f.) put their clothes on them?'

Both Objects Pronominalized  
13. fāḥhamī ḥaṣ-yās. fāḥhamī yāḥā 'Explain the lesson to me'  
14. bālaqto ṭə-ṣīdāl? narrowly. bālaqto yāḥā 'Did you give him the message?'  
15. ẓaṣařīnī ṭaṣṣāfīnī ṣhayyēt ṣaḥābo yāḥā 'Could you lend me a little money?'

In order to pronominalize a second object without pronominalizing the first, the first object must be converted into a prepositional complement (generally with ʾa- and the order of complements reversed. Here again, Arabic and English are grammatically alike:

16. ṣaḥābo ṭanī ṭa-bēt. ṣaḥābo ṭa-bēt 'He sold his son the house'  
17. ṣaḥābo ʾl-bēt ṭa-ḥaṣa 'He sold the house 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: ʾaṭṣāb ʾī ṭaḥla mā xaša? 'A more marvelous thing God has never created!'  ḥaṣfīn mā hāk ḥaṣī mā ṣafī 'I've never seen anything crazier than that!'

See also Extrapolation of Object [p.431] and Question-word Inversion [p.566].
COMPLEMENTATION

Objects of Active Participles. The active participle [p. 265] of a transitive verb takes an object just as the verb itself does:

18. bāṭje mard b-ṣa'ra......................... bāṭja b-ṣa'ra
   "She's wearing (i.e. she's putting) a flower in her hair"

19. min ³māllem l-³mālād had-dars?........ min ³mālām man yā?
   "Who taught the children? Who taught it to them?"

But an active participle functioning as a noun (e.g. māllem in the sense of 'teacher') or as an ordinary adjective (e.g. ṣāmīl '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 ³ašbo l-ṣūṣaqa.................... dirāsto yāha
   "His son's study of music" 'His studying it'

21. ṣakl ṣ-nās ³l-ḥām...ạlakon 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: dirāṣat ³l-ṣūṣaqa 'the study of music', ṭāyāt ³l-qur'an '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. t aflīm ṣalādān l-³yāye..............taflīm man 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 ³ašbo l-ṣūṣaqa 'His son's study of music'. A concretized gerund [p. 284] does not take an object, but a prepositional complement instead: ṣyārti ṣalān 'my visit to them' (not ṣyārti yāḥon').

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 is not pronominalizable. 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. byaṣraṣu ṭarṣīghon ³amyn
   'They sow their land with wheat'

2. ⁴ādet ³l-ṣāy sukkoz
   'She added sugar to the tea' i.e. "...added to the tea with sugar"

3. mālīl ṭl-³annīne māyy
   'I filled the bottle with water'

4. ṭl-³annīne malīne māyy
   'The bottle is full of water' (Complemented participle)

5. bīkallīfak ṭakar man ḥēk
   'It'll cost you more than that'

6. ṣørāt ṭlāṣīghel sāgāt ṭaṣṣāfīyīye
   '(We're) going on a three months' vacation' (Complemented participle)

7. ṭāyoṣḥa ³farṣet ṭlatt ṣāḥor
   (SAL. 68)
   'They sent him on a wild goose chase'

8. baṣaṭu ṣalāmār ³nafṣūt
   'We only sell for cash'

9. nambī ³nadjīn bāṣṣ
   'The account is three dollars short' (Complemented participle)

10. ṭl-³māb ᵃnṣeŋ ṭlatt ṭolārūt
    'He cut it in two' (lit. '... two halves')

In some cases there is an alternative construction with object and prepositional complement: byaṣraṣu ³amyn b-ṭarṣīghon 'They sow wheat in their fields' (Cf. example 1); mālīl māyy b-³annīn 'I filled water into the bottle' (Cf. example 3).

Not pronominalizable, because not definitizable [p. 494].
Adverbial Noun Complements: Gerundial and Paronymous (al-mafa'ül l-muflaq, 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 "CONONATE OBJECT"), in which the complemented verb's own gerund is used.

Without modifiers, a paronymous complement is used for emphasis:

1. bān cam-biṣaff qaff bēn 28-7awā'ir 22
   'He was racing wildly through the streets', lit. "He was chasing a chase through the streets"
2. l-ṣīfāb hazz 28-3amhuhr hazz
   'The speaker moved the crowd profoundly', lit. "The speaker shook the crowd a shaking"
3. qādīfto mṣādafa
   'I ran across him by chance', lit. "I encountered him an encounter"
4. kānet 28-sayyāra Cam-tākol 23-ṣaft 2akh
   'The car was really burning up the road', lit. "...was eating the asphalt an eating"
5. mājla masḵūbe sakab
   '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. sta̲balāna 22-sta̲bāl bāred
   'They received us coldly', lit. "They received us a cold reception"
7. Caraḏ ṭāḏīto ṭarq 2mnīh
   'He presented his case well', lit. "He presented his case a good presentation"
8. 28-Sāghe kolla kānet
   mnnajamme tanṣīm ṣāfīl
   'The whole job was poorly organized', lit. "...was organized a bad organization"
9. biṣṣarraf ṭaṣṣarraf 21-xāmmāt
   'She conducts herself like a lady', lit. "She behaves (with) the behavior of ladies"
10. l-fayyāra habṣet 2būf 27ḏīrāri
    'The plane made a forced landing', lit. "...landed an obligatory landing"
11. biṭṣarom rast 2m zāti
    'She paints in oils', lit. "She draws (by) oil drawing"
12. mīn 2ṭaḡal ṭaṭkar 28-baḍ?
    'Who has done the most work?', lit. "Who has worked most of the work?"

With modifiers, a paronymous complement serves to show how something referred to by the verb is done:

13. l-ṭoxūn ṭbystṣlīfū ṭan baḍōn
    ṭaḥ ṭbūxīlāf
    'The two sisters are altogether different from one another', lit. "... differ from one another all the difference"
14. byūn mafnsūse for ṭmnīh
    [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. 2lāf ḡalafa ṣaqqīa
    'I've made an awful mistake'
16. ḍarab ḍarbe ṣawiyye
    'He struck him a mighty blow'
17. ḍarab ṭalama ḍarbas ṭalāf 2-balad
    'We made a complete tour around the town'
18. xafā xajīm kollī ṭahā
    'He made a very shrewd move', lit. "He stepped a step (which was) all shrewdness"
19. la ṭamāhīt- 2lāna tāmīha ṭahā
    '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. ṭfānāl 2mēfāma ṭIFFe
    'He got a raw deal', lit. "He was treated (with) a low treatment" (mēfāma, ger. of ṭfānāl 'to treat', complementing the passive ṭfānāl 'to be treated')
21. ḏarras ṭdiras ṭahā
    'He taught him well' (ṭdiras, ger. of ḏarras 'to study' complementing the causative ḏarras 'to make... study, to instruct')
22. ṭadad 2-s-sakhūn ṭadōd ayye ṭahīl
    'The population has increased tremendously' (ayyde, ger. of ṭadād 'to increase' [trans. and intrans.], complementing the mediopassive ṭadād 'to increase' [intrans. only].)

In some cases a paronymous complement is not a gerund at all: kān 2raḥa-yṣaṣṣṣu ṭṣṣaf 'They were about to tear him to pieces' (figuratively). The complement ṭṣṣaf is the plural of ṭṣṣaf 'piece', a simple noun, paronymous to ṭṣṣaf 'to break in pieces'. In ṭxānsa ṭna ṭaṣṣa ṭṣṣaf 'We had a big argument', the paronymous complement ṭaṣṣa may be considered the participative noun [p. 247] underlying the reciprocative verb [248] ṭxānsa 2 'to argue', or alternatively, its suppletive gerund. See also example 12 above.
Non-paronymous gerundial complements:

23. ṭaqēš ṭakāl la-ṭarabīto
   [*PVA-22]*
   'He ran back to his car', lit. 'He returned (by) running to his car' (ger. of ṭakāl 'to run')

24. ẓāleč ṣarbaša mn ‏۸l-maddarase‏
   'He was expelled from school', lit. 'He came out (by) expulsion from school' (ger. of ṣarbaša 'to expel')

25. naqel maqṭ ṣaḥāḥ-ḥuṣūl
   'He wrote from the platter', lit. 'He wrote down (with) voracity at the platter' (ger. of maqṭ 'to devoured')

26. bātrābaḥk lā ṣafhamni ṣafāl
   'Please don't misunderstand me', lit. 'I beg of you, don't understand me (by) mistake' (ger. of ṣafel 'to make a mistake')

27. biṣāi ṭuṭmto ṣafāl
   'He has his suits tailor made', lit. 'He makes his suits (by) tailoring' (ger. of ṣafāl 'to cut out, make to measure')

PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs, nouns, and adjectives are complemented by prepositional phrases, involving some particular preposition1:

1. ṣafarāna btsawaffa ṭaf-żafr
   'Our trip depends on the weather'

2. mīna ṭaḥa-yūm ṭuṭ-dīfār
   'Who's going to take on the defense?'

3. sumūḥa ṣawād ṣaḥila ṭaḥ-mān
   'They named her Sund after her grandmother'

4. baddi kallef ḥaṣaṭak ṭašāb-li
   'I'd like to ask you to help me find a job' [*SAL-92*] (Two prepositional complements)

5. l-maḥkama ḥakmet ṣaḥīl
   'The court sentenced him to death' (Two prepositional complements)

The position of prepositional phrases (complementary 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 suffixed to the verb): ḳam-ṭixabbī ġanni ṭaf. 'Are you hiding anything from me?' (Cf. ḳam-ṭixabbī ġanni? 'Are you hiding anything from me?'). If, on the other hand, the preposition is followed by a noun (or noun phrase), then the object usually comes first: ḳam-ṭixabbī ṭaf ġan yaxāk? 'Are you hiding 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: ḳaddām b-maḥkūni ṭaḥmadd al-ṭaf. 'He's made remarkable progress in his career'; ẓāleč ṣarbaša mn ‏۸l-maddarase‏ 'He was expelled from school' [ex. 24, p. 444].

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1Prepositional complements are often difficult to distinguish from prepositional 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.
PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs (and other verb-type expressions [p. 412]) are complemented by predicates [p. 380] which are applicable — contingently upon the verb — to the verb's subject, object, or (less commonly) prepositional complement.

Like adverbial complements, a predicative complement is always preceded by the object, if any, and is sometimes preceded by a prepositional complement [p. 444].

Subjective Complements (Complements predicative to the subject, or subject "understood" [p. 418]):

1. l-maktub wasei mat tatxer kswyye
   "The letter arrived a bit late"

2. yadadna t-rib la-ba'adna
   "We sat near each other"

3. s-saad mood khabayy
   "The ceiling is painted white" (Subject of passive participle corresponds to object of active verb)

4. min sola k-salle bel-madale
   "Who came out the winner in the fight?"

5. ls-kmile yslak bakkra
   "Keep the change", lit. "The change (is) for you (as) a tip" (y'slak is a verb-type expression [p. 414].)

6. btsarqi manak bi-mahall fax'm sel-tyabisa
   "She works as a model in an elegant dress shop"

Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object):

1. foq es yh bhiyye
   "I gave it to him as a gift"

2. haddabini xaylye
   "They took me for an Englishman"

3. haddo tjasal-lo yahd badile
   "He wants you to make it into a suit for him", lit. "...to cut for him it (as) a suit"

4. hadda tammar byontzabu yani bar-lemi [EA-159]
   "This is the second time they've elected him member of parliament"

5. nukbart jaff eks yaruum talmin xal-yannine
   "He was required to put five piastres deposit on the bottle"

6. nadd ax tam-tasad ha?
   "How much are you getting for these shoes?" (lit. "... (as) price of these shoes")

7. ynwax j-jabe yz-barb1
   "He made forensic medicine his career"

8. byakbatu tasm xubir
   "They send a large part of it to the soap factories to have it made (into) soap"

9. hadat bissmi xamal faqim
   "That's what I call a great deed"

10. barat hali wajla bel-xilal
    "I acted as mediator in the dispute", lit. "I put myself (as) mediator..."

11. wntabaka wajeb maftum
    "I consider it a moral obligation"
COMPLEMENTATION

12. Sū hāmel šaabādat? [SAL-96]

13. sayyandet ʾl-bāb tānīm halu ēalā ēarsə bənta

14. batshabb ʾl-təhme ḥalume malla sūda?

15. lāāem xallī ʾl-bāb ᵇnīf

16. tarak'tt balārara māhde bāhia ᵇ-ʾlaqel ᵇ-ʾlaqēde

17. ṭahā-lārī ᵇ-jalal ʾmāyfe m-gābe

18. ḥāsəs ʾḥalī ᵇalšēn ᵇ-ʾṭīr ᵇ-ʾl-yōm

19. ʾḥāyēf ᵇalī ᵇatš ᶇ-ʾnīf ᵇ-ʾl-yōm

20. xallī ēnāk ʾal-ʾmlād

21. ʾnīf ᵇ-ʾsunūd māšīyin?

22. mā bāllī不经意 ʾl-arabi ᵇ-ʾmarof ᵇ-gābe

Many objective complements are verbal. It is convenient to treat these complements in the section on paratactic or prepositional phrases. (p.450, p.10), but note also:

23. xallīna nāḥ∅ xfrank lā-nāyʃ mīn bīrūḥ

24. māḥasə ᵇ-ʾnən ʾfihə tāʾmərən ᵇ-ʾnən sū ma bāshabb

Prepositional Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object of a preposition):

1. bənō? ēalāk bāl-bēt b-ḥal-lam yōm

2. ʾtəlūn maddəmmēn ʾsønte m-ʾləməyye

3. par-li xama ᵇ-ʾnīn baχʃʃo

Commonly, the prepositional complements are complements in their own way of expressing the object of the preposition. They are usually used to express the time, manner, or purpose of the action expressed by the verb. They are also used to express the location of the action, or the person or thing affected by the action.

COMPLEMENTAL CLAUSES

Many verbs, nouns, adjectives, and miscellaneous other predicative terms are commonly (in some cases almost always) complemented by a clause.

Some complemental clauses are hypotactically introduced by a conjunction: "wāl ʾšānno baddo yūḥ 'He said that he wanted to go', while others are paratactically introduced, having no conjunction: "wāl baddo yūḥ 'He said he wanted to go'. The usual complemental conjunctions are "šānno 'that' [p.543].

Examples of hypotactic clauses:

1. ṭaṭkert ʾšānno ʾl-ʾmāliš [PVA-32]

2. ṭaṭkert ʾšānno ʾmā yātāʾaxar

3. ṭaṭkert ʾšānno ʾmā yātāʾaxar

4. ṭaṭkert ʾšānno ʾmā yātāʾaxar

Example 4 is the main verb ṭaṭkert is complemented by the clause introduced by ʾl-; the complemental verb ʾšānno is complemented in its turn by the ʾyūḥ clause.

Both ʾyūḥ and ʾl-, etc. are also used in supplemental clauses. See pp.331, 358.

The forms yallī, ʾlīlī, etc. [p.494] are sometimes used as a complemental conjunction in sentences like the following:

5. ʾfrāş ʾṭīr ʾʾllī ᵇlaked ᵇ-ʾnbūn ēmmak [KN-II.51]

6. ʾwāl ʾlāʾnna māshūt ʾʾllī ᵇn ʾkāf ᵇ-ʾllī gār mācī hal-ʾmāšīhun ᵇhādī [SYSA-124]

Some clauses complement transitive verbs, i.e. verbs that can take an object, while others complement intransitive verbs, or nouns or adjectives — which are otherwise complemented by prepositional phrases. In colloquial Arabic the complemental preposition is usually lost before a clause, so that the distinction between objects and prepositional complements is lost when the complement is a
clauses (but see p.357). Examples of clauses corresponding to prepositional complements:

7. ba'atsr bi-dal'af 'I admit that I was mistaken' (cf. ba'atsr bi-dal'af 'I admit my mistake')

8. wa'adna 9anna rā'ā bi-af'adna 'He promised us that he was going to help us' (cf. ma'addna ba-l-af'adna 'He promised us help')

9. l-bahā bi-hākmēt el-baḥbība 9anna mā bālā la-sūne 'The committee ruled that the building was not fit for habitation' (cf. l-bahā bi-hākmēt el-baḥbība ba-f-taḥbība 'The committee slated the building for demolition')

Note also example 3 (cf. ma'takken ma 'sure of') and example 6 (cf. mahbū b 'glad of, pleased with'). In example 2, the complemental clause may be equated with an object since the verb 9 All to say, tell' is transitive. Similarly in ex. 4, the 9anna clause functions like an object of the transitive verb 9 All to see'.

Examples of paratactic clauses:

10. m-wāṣmar 9a-bā'ann yarmūni b-nass 9a-l-bahār [AO-116] 'And he ordered the jinn to throw me into the middle of the sea'

11. ba'bā hāl bāk rābātār li bayān b-9aₜ'-ā 9DA-294] 'I want you(pl.) to send me a statement of my account every month'

12. rūš 9a-sūl 9mumak badhā bī 'Go ask your mother if she wants anything'

13. l-bahr bāqīdāl mā rūš la-mahāl bālān [DA-172] 'The truth is, I'd prefer not to go anywhere without you'

14. 9antī 9fī-lā fāyuzu 9āje 'You(f.) tell him Faiza is coming'

15. xāyef-lak bābēy yahbof 'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

16. kān baddi 9f-tārtha, bass 9a-li mā 9f-tārtha 'I wanted to buy it, but he told me not to'

17. manra w-marrīf 'ālāl'allo lā tallāb baʃ-ʃart? '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 fāyuzu 9āje could be either direct or indirect quota-

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 person singular) in inflection (p.365):

18. byyahar 9anno rā'dašl 9a-l-af'īf f'sala fālāl māqaʃ 'It appears that the best things is to agree to a compromise solution'

19. bādādan mā xaʃār 9ala 9āli 9a-dām 9a-baʃ-ʃart 'It never crossed my mind that he was going to object'

20. l-muhamm 9amnah taʃdar w-kal 9a-dan bāl 9a-sūl tāmān 'The important things is that you attend, and everything (God willing) will be all right'

21. maʃ-ʃe 9a-don 9a-bayy bāyīs 'It's a miracle that they are still alive'

22. 'a-did mā 9a-maktūb 9anno mālo rāḍyūn 'It's clear from the letter that he isn't satisfied'

23. mā 9a-hali 9a-fīt 9a-b'āl ma 9a-tāf 'It's good that you've come before I left' (cf. examples 5 and 6.)

Paratactic subject clauses:

24. byyahar 9antī 9a-ṣekel 9a-fīfī [DA-217] 'It seems you must have eaten something indigestible' (lit. 'heavy')

25. 9a-fkro 9a-bāzātīni 9a-l-mastāzsa [DA-217] 'His idea is send me to the hospital'

26. mā 9a-bihāϕ-ϕ ally tāx̂ord 9āje [AO-88] 'You don't deserve to get a prize' (lit. 'It isn't right for you...')

27. fārīn mā 9a-kunm 9a-nayyay [AO-51] 'I must sleep a while longer' (lit. 'It is necessary that I sleep...')

28. māmāh-li 9a-lāf 9a-tabān 9a-dām mā 9a-tū fīthā 'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it' (lit. 'It's allowed to me to play...')

29. b-9amkān 9a-taʃ-ʃlīt 9a-fīfī 'Could you give me a phone call?' (lit. 'Is it in your power to...')

Many very common expressions are complemented by paratactic clauses; see the examples in Chapter 13, p.347 ff.
Linking Verbs (kān ma-paxawātuhā)

The verbs kān 'to be', fār 'to become', dāll 'to remain', and a few others are almost always complemented, paratactically, by a predicate (p. 389) linking verb. The predicate may be of any sort (i.e. verbal, adjectival, or prepositional): kānet igh-tāshki 'she was talking', igh-tāshki tafīhā 'she was tired', kānet bant igh-fīre 'she was a little girl', kānet bāl-ēšti '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. yader 'to be able' is always complemented by a verbal predicate.

Examples, kān:

30. kān yahsan-lak tistašrarna 'You should have consulted us' (lit. "It was better for you to consult us")
31. kānna bāyifīn malāmeh igh-bābīl 'We could see the outlines of the mountains'
32. baddī kān igh-fīt bā-ūyākah [SPA-30] 'I must have dozed off in your absence'
33. bīšūn kān igh-l-bīshāli 'It was probably the postman'
34. ighnādīta bākhūn māhīye b-hāl-ma'īt ma'igh-sone 'Her garden is colorful this time of year'
35. kān nāhed bāśa igh-fīd fi bākān sarāyīsta [PVA-28] "A certain pasha was sitting on the balcony of his palace"

With complement-verb inversion:

36. nāšāla baṣīla kānet [SAL-137] 'Nothing serious, I trust!' (lit. "God willing, minor it was")

Examples, fār:

37. bīs ēmālt batta gāret martak hēk, matl igh-mālīyêke? [AO-112] 'What did you do, that your wife became so, like the angels?'
38. fār igh-mašā?
39. kān fār bādī nāpp igh-l-lēl lamma rāšīna ēal-ēštī 'It was after midnight when we got back home' (lit. "It had become after..."; the linking verb kān is complemented by the linking verb fār, which in its turn is complemented by a prepositional predicate.)

Examples, dāll:

40. fār tāshki ērébīn ma'nīh [PVA-26] 'You speak Arabic well now' (lit. "You have become that you speak...")
41. bāll bāl bīgīr tamām 'Everything will be all right' (lit. "...will become all right")

With complement-verb inversion:

42. mānmačti kānle gāret halla? 'My collection has now become complete'

Examples, baṣī, baṣa:

43. gāllūn sāharānīn la-ma'at melīkār bāl-lēl 'We stayed up till late in the night'
44. dāllet igh-nā'ī kalīyyi 'She kept nagging at me'
45. bīfāll yāshī ēn igh-l-hamūdās igh-l-mādīye 'He keeps talking about past events'

Examples, baṣa:

46. axaskīne igh-dīdī dāyānā igh-ṣīhā fāyibā 'A new knife always stays good' (saying)
47. mā baṣa fi ēndā gēr nāpp tamāne gēt [PVA-44] 'I haven't got but a half bottle of oil left' (the gēr phrase is subject, fi ēndā the predicate and complement of the linking verb.)
48. baybīn ayurku hall yōm 'He keeps on visiting her every day'
49. bāll igh-hamā bāsīh 'I stayed there several months'

Examples, mā ēd 'no longer':

50. mā ēd ithāmīnī ṭabādān 'He no longer obeys me at all'
51. l-bant mā ēdāt igh-gīrī tolāb bāl-īlībā 'The girl is no longer little (enough) to play with dolls'
52. mā ēd fiyyi igh-thammāla 'I can't stand it any more'
53. bīsāttam ūsīmūllo hēk mā lā-tāshī kāfīmān mānā 'If you keep on treating him like this he won't listen to you any more' (sīmā also is a linking verb.)
CHAPTER 18: ANNEXION (al-’idafa) AND PREPOSITIONS

A CONSTRUCT, or ANNEXION PHRASE, is composed of two immediately adjacent nominal or noun-type terms [p. 382], of which the leading term (al-muḏafā) is generally qualified by the following term (al-muḏafā ’ilayhi):

ṣawārī ḍā bīrūt ’(the) streets(of) Beirut’
bīk naṣīb ’(the) house(of) Najeeb’: ‘Najeeb’s house’
ṣaym bānt ’(the) name(of a) girl’: ‘a girl’s name’
marṣ ēnēb ‘leaves(of) grapes’: ‘grape leaves, vine leaves’

Most constructs can be rendered roughly in English by inserting ‘of’ between the translated terms, preserving the word order of the original. In normal English, however, the Arabic following term is often translated as a possessive (Najeeb’s, girl’s), or as the first constituent of a noun compound (grape leaves), resulting in a word order that is the reverse of the Arabic.

When some words occur IN CONSTRUCT (i.e. as leading term in an annexion phrase), they appear in a CONSTRUCT FORM which differs from the ABSOLUTE FORM used otherwise. Construct forms are treated in Chapter 5, p. 162ff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute Form (Illustrating use of word not in construct)</th>
<th>Construct Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madrase  ámbawiyye ‘secondary school’… madrasa l-balad ‘the town school’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-ṣarīf l-ḥṣam ‘the best newspaper’… ṣarīf ʿl-yûm ‘today’s paper’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-ṣax ṭāḥmad ‘Brother Ahmed’… ṭax ṭāḥmad ‘Ahmed’s brother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanṣ manḥon ‘five of them’… nanṣ ṭarṣāl ‘five men’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are various kinds of annexion, depending on the types of leading term: substantive, adjective, partitive, cardinal numeral, and relative/ordinal.

Prepositional phrases are also conveniently considered a type of annexion phrase, though the more typical prepositions are quite unlike noun-type words, and prepositional phrases are un-noun-like in function (not normally used as subject of a clause). See p. 476.

For annexion clauses, see p. 491.
SUBSTANTIVE ANNEXION

The leading term of an ordinary noun construct cannot have an article prefix [p. 493], regardless whether it is definite or indefinite: *bəket* 'an oil company'; *bəket* 'the oil company'; *səmadən* madina 'city streets'; *səmadən* 'the city streets'.

There are a few set phrases which are exceptions to this rule: *l-bət məne* 'the storeroom, pantry' (but also regular: *bət* 'store', *bət* 'store', *bət* 'the human being', *l-bən* 'forkəs *w-'arbeʃn* 'the centipede', *l-pəyy wər* 'the rose water', etc.

Occasionally the leading term is a coordination [p. 392]: *səmadən* w-harəl; *l-madina* 'the streets and quarters of the city', haʃroušet *w-jaʃ3adəl* *l-fakər* 'freedom and independence of thought'.

Often, however, such coordinations are avoided by the use of an anaphoric pronoun: *səmadən* w-harəl 'the streets of the city and its quarters'.

Except for coordinations, the leading term of an annexion phrase is limited to a single word.

The following term, on the other hand, may be any sort of noun-type word or phrase [p. 381–382]: *səmadən* madina kəfe '(the) streets(of a) large city', haʃroušet *l-fakər* *w-arəl*; 'freedom (of) thought and opinion'. Harəd *haʃər madən* *parviša* '(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: *taʃən* siʃət *taʃəməl* *l-gharəa* 'improvement (in) qualities (of) resistance (to) heat'; *farə* *gəmən* *bət* *gərənt* *yar* 'the furniture (of) the greatest (of) the houses (of) the rich (of) Europe'.

Definite and Indefinite Constructs. If the following term of a construct is definite, the leading term is treated as definite also; and if the following term is indefinite, the leading term, likewise, is treated as indefinite.1 (On Definiteness, see p. 494.)

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1Instead of speaking here of the leading term, one might say 'the construct as a whole'. The leading term is generally the main term and the following term is subordinate, i.e. agreement is with the leading term. (But see p. 466ff.)

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**Definite**

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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 indefinite agreement with it.

An attributive adjective (or noun) shows definite agreement by having the article prefix; an attributive clause, by having the clause determinizer yalli (halli, etc.). See p. 493.

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(Cannot be made indefinite because 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. 465]

**Constructs with Pronouns.** A pronoun can never be leading term in annexion, but it can be following term: *ʔasəm* *hāda* '(the)name(of) this'; *ʔasəm* *min* '(the)name(of) whom?', i.e. 'whose name?'.

A personal pronoun [p. 541] as following term in annexion takes the form of a suffix: *ʔasəm* '(the)name(of) him', i.e. 'his name'; *səmadən* '(the) streets(of) it', i.e. 'its streets'; *madrasən* '(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: *bənt* *l-*ḥalə 'his pretty daughter'.

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The personal pronouns are inherently definite; thus any noun to which a pronoun is suffixed is - as leading term - also treated as definite: *bənt* *l-*ḥalə '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 "'this hall of room sleeping", i.e. "bedroom" with a pronoun suffix as in "the room of our room". To say "our bedroom", the suffix may be attached to noun: "the room of (the) sleep of us", or periphrastically: "in our room of (the) sleeping room" [p.460].

**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 malad bīri 'my neighbor's boy', bīri 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 cigar el-bārd 'the orange juice', el-bārd 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 alternatively) be referred to by a pronoun, suffixed to the leading term: malad bīri 'my neighbor's boy' — malado '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 definite the leading term — it is not possible simply to equate identificatory terms with definitizible 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 sanūf l-7āhae 'the cup of coffee', l-7āhae does not strictly speaking, tell "what kind of" cup is meant, but it is classificatory nevertheless: l-7āhae is not pronominalizable.

There are, also, some inherently definite following terms which are not pronominalizable: bārīdet būkra 'tomorrow's paper', bārīdet bahān 'the Island of Bahrain' [p.462].

Many annexion phrases, taken out of context, can be understood either as classificatory or as identificatory: malād pl-madrās 'the schoolchildren' (classificatory) or 'the children of the school' (identificatory).

The Demonstrative Pronominal 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-malād pl-madrās 'these schoolchildren'
- hal-sanūf l-7āhae 'this cup of coffee'
- hal-cigar el-bārd 'this orange juice'
- hal-lādīt l-fajīsīr 'this instrument (of) picturing', this camera
- hal-bādīt l-ghībān 'this carbon paper'
- hal-lamāfāt el-l-izāfā '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]):

- sanūf l-7āhae 'this cup of coffee'
- cigar l-bārd 'this orange juice'
- fajīsīr l-ghībān 'this camera'
- lizāfā '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:

- malād pl-madrās 'the children of this school'
- cigar l-bārd 'the juice of those oranges' [p.370]
- lādīt l-ghībān 'that horse's shoe'

To apply a demonstrative modifier to the leading term of an identificatory construct, the full words hāda, hāy, etc. [p.557] may be added after the following term:

- daffāt l-nahār hāy 'this bank of the river'
- saraf l-tāmūl hāda 'this edge of the table'

Cf. daffāt hān-nahār '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 construction with the qualifying term, a noun may often be linked to that same qualifier more loosely—by a preposition, usually tabaç (p. 489), la- (479), an- (478), or b- (479):

haš-nihqifet 3l-nayrd 'that piece of land' or haš-nihqifet 3l-nayrd

Brūk haš-ḥašar ‘the roots of that tree’ or š-ṭarūb tabaç haš-ḥašar

pāncc ‘our maid’ or p-pānc tabaçna

3mmer tabaç ‘the height of that mountain’ or l-3mmme b-haš-Sab al

xārife jaro? ‘a road map’ or xārja l-3jaro?

Since the leading term in annexion is subject to somewhat rigid limitations (e.g., it can only consist of a single word or coordination, 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 circumscribed by a prepositional construction.

1.) If the leading term is to be indefinite while the following term is definite: xārja la-3jaro? labnān ‘a road map of Lebanon’ (i.e., ‘a map for the roads of Lebanon’); the construct xārife jaro? labnān ‘the road map of Lebanon’ can only be definite, because the last term labnān, a proper name, is inherently definite.

A classificatory term following an elative or an ordinal [p.473], for instance, has to be indefinite: 3₃hash 3₃fet 3l-3aryd ‘the best piece of land’; 3₃xumal r-3ra 3₃kātb 3₃xumariyye ‘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: 3₃hash 3₃fet 3l-3aryd, 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: 3l-3wād ‘3l-3xayle tabaç 3l-3kotob 3l-3madrasiyye ‘the high prices of school books’; cf. the construct 3₃wād ‘3l-3kotob 3l-3madrasiyye ‘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]: 3afar 3l-bēt 3₃l-3did 3₃b-3xamīl ‘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: ‘the beautiful furniture of the new house’. One must have recourse to the tabaç construction: 3₃far 3₃b-3xamīl tabaç 3l-bēt 3₃l-3did.

A construct is always possible if there is only one adjective attribute involved: 3afar 3l-bēt 3₃l-3did; but even so it is often preferable to use a periphrastic construction to resolve an ambiguity in the annexion phrase: 3₃far 3₃b-3xamīl tabaç 3l-bēt ‘the new furniture of the house’ or 3₃far 3₃b-3xamīl tabaç 3l-bēt ‘the furniture of the new house’; 3₃far 3₃l-3tānī ‘the other side of the street’ (rather than 3₃far 3₃l-3tānī ‘the side of the other street’).

3.) If one wishes both to classify and to identify the referent of a term, it is usually the classification that is done by annexion, while the identification is relegated to a tabaç phrase: 3₃far 3l-fahlata tabaç 3₃l-3kāt ‘our university’s philosophy department’, 3₃fet 3l-3nglis ‘your English composition’, 3₃fet 3l-bānān tabaç 3₃l-3xan ‘my uncle’s gasoline station’.

This rule may be reversed to lay constrative emphasis on the classificatory term: 3₃fet 3l-3xan tabaç 3l-bānān ‘my uncle’s gasoline station’.

Alternatively, in some cases, a classificatory following term may itself be put in construct with an identificatory term: 3₃fet 3l-nām 3₃b-3xal ‘Abdullah’s bedroom’ (or 3₃fet 3l-nām 3₃b-3xal ‘Abdul’s room’); makīn 3₃fet 3l-3b-3xal ‘my brother’s electric shaver’ (or makīn 3₃b-3xal ‘my brother’s electric shaver’); 3₃xāfīr 3l-bānān ‘his orange juice’ (or 3₃xāfīr 3l-bānān tabaç).

This type of compound construct cannot be used very freely because in many cases the intended classificatory term would have its sense distorted to that of identification [p.458]: 3afar 3l-fahlata tabaç 3kāt, for instance, would seem to mean ‘the branch of our university’s philosophy’. Note, however, that 3₃xāfīr 3l-bānān would not generally be taken to mean ‘the juice of his oranges’, because collectives are usually classificatory [p.378].

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 man):

kātel laḥ’m ‘a piece of meat’

3₃fet 3l-xab ‘a piece of bread’

ḥabbet 3xam ‘a grape’ (lit. ‘a berry of grapes’)

3₃xam ‘an onion’ (lit. ‘a bulb of onions’)

3₃xam ‘heads of cattle’

The categories of relationship given here are merely intended to suggest the semantic scope of this construction, and are not meant to constitute a definitive classification (or kind of classification).
Genus and Differential Description (Classificatory; periphrasis various):

- laḥm baḥṣar 'beef' (lit. 'meat of cattle')
- ṣākīm ṣayyīn 'eye doctor'
- ḥāṣṣet ʾal-ṣamm 'the sense of smell'
- ṣabār ḍayyīn 'minute hand'
- ṣālam ḥabur 'fountain pen' (lit. 'pen of ink')
- fāleb ḥabb 'student of medicine'
- ḥallit ʾal-ḥaram 'the law school' (college of the law')
- zaḥr ʾal-lēmān 'the orange (or lemon) blossoms'

Genus and Specific Name (Classificatory; no periphrasis):

- ṣafa ḍand 'coconuts' (lit. 'nuts of the Indies')
- ṣaḥār ṣān 'beech trees'
- ṣayyūret förd 'a Ford car' (Also appositive [p.506]: ṣayyūra förd)
- dīḥ ḥabaš 'a turkey cock' (lit. 'cock of Abyssinia')

Genus and Individual Name (Identificatory but no pronounization; no periphrasis)

- ṣabīl ʾal-yānūn 'the Land of Greece'
- baḥṣayret ṣāf 'the Dead Sea' ('Lot's Lake')
- ṣawt ṣarḥēn 'the year '40' (i.e. 1940)
- ṣawt ḍarrār 'the letter ṭāb'
- ṣ̄amlat ṣaḥranā 'the word ṣaḥranā'

In some cases the individual name is originally an adjective: nahr ʾal-ʾadām 'The Orontes River', literally nahr ʾal-ʾadām 'the unruddy 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 ṣawt ʾal-mūdīyeh 'last year' for ʾs-sane ʾl-mūdīyeh.

Part (or Aspect) and Whole (Generally identificatory; periphrasis usually with ṭaba' or la-):

- ṣaff ʾal-baḥṣar 'the seashore'
- ṣaffa r-rās 'the back of the head'
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 construkt with the erstwhile subject or object: L-maṣṣalil ‘Water is scarce’ - ṣallalit l-maṣṣalil ‘the scarcity of water’; haṣṣam ‘a room; he reserved a room’ - ṣallalil ‘his reservation’; ibīl ḍaxṣān ‘He sells tobacco’ - ṣallalil ‘to sell tobacco, tobaccoist’.

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 substantivizes participes [276], occupational nouns [305], instrumental nouns [305] or locative nouns [308].

**Abstract Noun with Subject:**

ṣṣ-ṣūr ‘rocks’ abundant

ṣṣ-ṣūr ‘rocks’ abundant

ḥamm (m-ṣṣ) l ḍayy ‘the roads are narrow’

‘he is responsible (or in charge)’

‘the lock clicked’

byūṣa(n) ṣa(i) ‘my head aches’

**Abstract Noun (Gerund) with Object:**

bīṣūmu fāxsūr ‘(they) make pottery’

bīṣūmu fāxsūr ‘(they) make pottery’

byaḥūb ṣī-takalif ‘(He) calculates the expenditures’

byaḥūb ṣī-takalif ‘(He) calculates the expenditures’

pannafu ḍaḥ-mabatāt ‘(they) classified these plants’

pannafu ḍaḥ-mabatāt ‘(they) classified these plants’

Cam-ṭārμu ḍaḥ-bun ‘(they) are training the troops’

Cam-ṭārμu ḍaḥ-bun ‘(they) are training the troops’

**Occupational Noun with Object:**

bīṣ-alīf muṣiqa ‘he composes music’

bīṣ-alīf muṣiqa ‘he composes music’

**Substantivized Active Participle with Object:**

ṣāra ṣ-saṣyāra ‘he stole the car’

ṣāra ṣ-saṣyāra ‘he stole the car’

yallafet l-ḥatāb ‘she wrote the book’

yallafet l-ḥatāb ‘she wrote the book’

**Substantivized Passive Participle with Subject:**

māḥafra l-ḥākm ‘the government employed him’

māḥafra l-ḥākm ‘the government employed him’

ḥal-biḥāk ḍaḥ-mi ḍal ‘the composition contains them’

ḥal-biḥāk ḍaḥ-mi ḍal ‘the composition contains them’

**Instrumental Noun with Object:**

byaṭṣaḥu ḍaḥ-ṣalab ‘(they) open cans with it’

byaṭṣaḥu ḍaḥ-ṣalab ‘(they) open cans with it’

byaṭṣaḥu ḍaḥ-ṣalab ‘(they) open cans with it’

byaṭṣaḥu ḍaḥ-ṣalab ‘(they) open cans with it’

**Locative Noun with Subject or Object:**

byaṣrī ḍiḥa ṣahār ‘(a river runs in it’

byaṣrī ḍiḥa ṣahār ‘(a river runs in it’

byaṣrī ḍiḥa ṣahār ‘(a river runs in it’

byaṣrī ḍiḥa ṣahār ‘(a river runs in it’
ADJECTIVE ANNEXION (al-talâmâ 3ây r l-hâqiyya)

A few adjectives are used in construct with nouns, mostly in set phrases applicable to human beings. For example:

?allîl (*l*)-aâdâb 'ill-mannered, uncivil', lit. 'meager of manners';
ktîr (*l*)-galâbe 'praying, busybody', lit. 'excessive of inquiry';
tîl *d-damûm 'unlikeable, boorish', lit. 'heavy of blood';
sâfîr *d-damûm 'likeable, pleasant', lit. 'light of blood';
amâ (?-) r-râs 'beheaded', lit. 'cut off of the head';
âwûl *l-bâl 'patient', lit. 'long of attention';
Câmûn *l-bâl 'run down, sickly', lit. 'deprived of vitality'.

Feminine forms: *âlîlet *aâdab, *ktîret galâbe, *Câmûnt *l-bâl, 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-ktîr *l-galâbe 'the busybody'; mîn haâ-bab t-tîl *d-damûm 'Who's that unpleasant young man?'

Adjective constructs are generally derived from subject-predicate constructions or verb-object constructions: tîl *d-damûm - dammu tîl; râbes *gâ-haâ 'calm, composed' (lit. 'controlled of spirit') - râbât gâ-haâ 'He composed himself' (lit. '...his spirit'). Cf. p.464.

Note the difference between the participial construct râbât *gâ-haâ (fem. râbet *gâ-haâ) and a participle-object phrase râbât gâ-haâ 'in control of himself' (fem. râbât gâ-haâ '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 sâfît *d-damûm - dammuha xâfî.

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: nagg *n-sâkkân harâbu w-bâgîlton mâsî 'Half of the inhabitants fled and the rest of them died'; harâbu and mâsî agree with the plurals sâkkân and -în respectively, not with the leading term nagg (masc./sing.) 'half' and its classificatory [p.458].

Partitives include nouns designating indefinite proportions and quantities, sometimes fractions from halves to tenths, and a few other terms. For example:

kâtîl 'all, whole, every'; mágâm 'majority, most';
baâlîm 'some'; *aâcharîyâ, 'each other';
Îr 'other'; *aglâbihây 'majority';
àsâyâ 'a few, a little'; bâ'îyye 'rest, remainder';
âyâ 'some, a'; nâmî 'same, -self';
kâm 'several, a few'; mâ: 'same, -self';
âddî 'a number'; hâl- 'self';
sârd 'a single one'; mîhâ 'by... -self, alone';
sâs 'a pair'; hâdra (honorific);
sâmî 'all, whole'; sîyûdî (honorific);
Câmî 'generality, mass'.

The termû, *àsâyâ, kâm, and âddî, in their partitive senses, are normally used in construct only with classificatory indefinite terms:

Îl lähmen 'some meat'; kâm mâhâr 'a few (or how many?) months';
Îl bönt hâmîn 'a (or some) pretty girl'; kâm marra 'several times' (See p.366.)
Àsâyeyt mây 'a little water' âddît marra ât 'a number of times'.

Some of the others are used in construct mainly with identificatory (usually definite) terms:

*ànîbî 'the whole nation'; màgâm *l-talamâs 'most of the students';
Câmî *n-mâsî 'the masses (of people)'; baâfît såkkân balâdâ '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)

râbât sâda 'a quarter hour' ... râbât mâlî 'a quarter of his wealth'
baâd mâsî 'some (certain) people' ... baâdîn 'some of them'
Note especially the term kalāl, whose English translation varies, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, singular or plural, etc.:

Indefinite (Classificatory) | Definite (Identificatory)
---|---
kall balād 'every (or each) town' | kall 'l-balād 'the whole town'
kall šaxṣ 'every (or each) person' | kall 'n-nāṣ 'all the people'
kall ši 'everything' | kall 'la 'all of it'

Kall with a pronoun suffix is not generally used as object to a verb, nor as following term to a noun in construction or to a preposition; but is used in apposition (p. 511) to the pronoun, which is repeated: kallān kallān (not "kall kalān") 'I saw all of them'; tiyāna kallān (not "tiyān kallān") 'The clothes of all of us'; fiha kalīla (not "fi kalīla" or "b-kalīla") 'in all of it'.

The relationship of kall (and ūnr, see below) to classificatory and identificatory following terms is like that of elatives and ordinals (p. 473).

The term ūnr also requires various translations, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, etc.:

ūnr marra 'another time' | ūnr marra 'not this time, some other time' (i.e. 'other than this time')
ūnr 'mlād 'other children' | ūnr 'mlāḏna 'except our children' (i.e. 'other than our children')
ūnr šaxṣ 'someone else' | ūnr šaxṣ 'someone else (than you)' (i.e. 'other than you')

Nafs and sāt in construct with a pronoun are translated as 'self': nafs 'myself', sāt 'himself'; in construct with a noun, they are usually translated as 'same': nafs 'l-wāsīt 'the same time', nafs 'l-balād 'the same town' (though the latter might also be 'the town itself' = l-balād nafsā).

With pronoun suffixes, these terms are most commonly used as appositives: ūna nafsī 'I myself', r-raṣṣāl zātī 'the man himself'.

The partitive māḥād stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only, usually as appositive: *sānti māḥāḏak 'you (f.) alone', or adverbially: brāh māḥāḏi 'I'll go alone'.

The term bāl as a partitive stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only: bālī 'myself', bālīna 'yourselves'. It is most commonly used as object:

harāḥāt bālī 'I cut myself', āmeel bālī naṣṣam 'He pretended to be asleep', lit. 'He made himself asleep'.

All the partitives meaning 'self' may occur after certain prepositions: lā-bālād 'for yourself', b-nafsī 'to myself' (lit. 'in myself'), b-māḥād 'for (or by) himself alone'.

In their partitive uses, these terms stand in construct with definite (identificatory) terms only.

The 'honorifics' ḥadār (lit. 'presence'), sādāq, sādāqā, wāsīm, etc. are partitives: ḥadār tak tābāl ma'āna? 'Are you coming with us, sir?'; sāfri ḥadār r-raṣṣā, mulla lāssā? 'Has the president arrived yet?'

Examples of partitive constructs in context:

kall:

1. wa r-raṣṣī yamān kall rāsēn yaman sama [AO-104] 'The shepherd started picking up every two head of sheep together'
2. kall l-hāmanāt ḥādāl biḥāqīl ṭaḥmād wall [AO-63] 'All these animals keep Ahmed quite busy'
3. ūna kallī tī:lallat [AO-67] 'I got all wet' (lit. 'I, all of me ...')
4. kall 'l-bālād r-raṣṣāl mnnīād [AO-59] 'All the seeds sprout from the ground'
5. b-kallī māḥānūyya 'With pleasure', lit. 'in all gratitude'
6. kīf l-yamān sīn-ūnr ṭaṣṣāk kallāk [AO-116] 'How could that little bottle hold all of you (m./sg.)?' (i.e. '...your whole body')
7. kīf ḥadār l-maṣṣāf kall ṭaṣṣāmo [AO-116] 'He took fright and his whole body trembled'
ūnr:
8. wār-raff mā fī kāl būnī ḥādāl [AO-101] 'On the shelf there are no books but mine' (lit. '...other than my books')
9. ūna ṭarīb bāynī tamām ṭarīb bākīl 'From close up it looks altogether different' (lit. '...of another kind')
10. ūna mā bāṣāb ūnr 'l-bāṣāl [AO] 'I don't want anything but onions'
11. min ẓalma gērkon? [DA-245]
12. bta?mor ẓī gēro? [SAL-81]

baṣṭā:
13. ḥāssā fi baṣṭ na?af badda tamīyē
14. baṣṭon ẓāw m-baṣṭon mā ẓāw
15. baṣṭ ẓa?jallāb mā byadarsu
16. ḥāss al tā'līdu baṣṭkon ḥl-baṣṭ

šī, šawyye, kamm:
17. šartī qa?ayyāra mn ẓ-l-makhīl walla mān šī ẓākṣū?
18. batrib nāmēl šī mašmār sama?

[PVA-12]

19. manṣarab šī fānān ṭahwe [PVA-34]
20. naʔʔ-e li mān faʔ-maʔeg šī tlatt banadārūyāt [DA-129]

21. ḥokrāna ḥas-pēfiyye nrūḥ gūb šī dīši tī fāh+ samaʔ [DA-152]
22. ṭīmā baʔrūdīn šī kamm mārampa bīthfīṣon b-ʔēshīl [PVA-56]
23. rūḥ šīb kamm ṭāmīnēt bīra?

24. bīḥāsyyu bsl-ʔamāl šawyyet šīn w-bīḥāsyyu ṭālē ḥāṣara [AO-75]
25. d-dānye šawyyet bārd barra

26. l-banūt lamma ṣefyyu la-ḥālkon ētāru yāru bāl-bē ṭ [AO-113]

(Char. 18)

Who (is there) for us (to count on but you?)
'Would you like anything else?' (lit. 'Do you order a thing other than it?')
'There are still some points that need to be ironed out'
'Some of them came and some didn’t.'
'Some of the students don’t study.'
'Don’t copy one another' (lit. 'Don’t some of you imitate the some (others)').
'Did you buy the car from a dealer or from some (private) individual?'
'Would you like for us to take a walk (or ride) together?'
'We’ll have a cup of coffee'
'Pick out (some) three tomatoes for me from top'
'This summer we’re thinking of going up north for about a month’s time'
'If you read them over a few times you’ll memorize them easily'
'Shall I go get a few bottles of bear?'
'They first lay on a little mud and set a stone on it'
'It’s a little cool outside'

27. waʃa wa bē ṭāmū badda ẓākṣī ēt hūlī [DA-99]
28. baʃīl hālik mā bata ẓalla ṭālā nāpal [DA-250]
29. kān ẓī zalama ḥāṣeb ḥāle ḥūlī m-l-cīn [AO-83]
30. rūḥ ẓa-sayyād lā-nafs ẓ-l-bāḥra m-pād yarbaʃ samakāt [AO-117]
31. s-samāʃel maʃda kīnēt tāht ḥl-bahm ṭ-e-tarki [SAL-151]
32. xalliša nsamīša b-nafsna

'Well, sir, I don’t want to talk about myself.'
'Get ready (lit. prepare yourself). we’re almost there'
'There was a man who considered himself clever and learned'
The fisherman went to the same pond and caught four fish'
The coasts alone were under the Turkish rule'
'Let’s do it ourselves'

'A third of the city burned'
'A quarter of his wealth was given to charitable causes'

But if the following term is indefinite, agreement is usually with the leading term: raʃī basheda mā bikaffī '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zams ʰarēl 'five men' ............... 1-zams ʰarēl 'the five men'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arbaʃ bēdāt 'four eggs' ............... 1-'arbaʃ bēdāt 'the four eggs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃarīn talmīn 'twenty students' ............... 1-ʃarīn talmīn 'the twenty students'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numerals from two to ten stand in construct with nouns in the plural: *tn n*wld 'two children', *awr n*wld 'ten children'; above ten the following term is put in the singular: *arb*n w*mlad 'forty children' [p.367].

Cardinal numerals generally stand in construct with indefinite terms (which classify the things enumerated), but those between two and ten are also sometimes put in construct with definite terms (which identify the things enumerated): *tl*tt n*wld*n 'their three children', *tl*tt*n 'the three of us'.

With definite terms, it is common for the numeral to stand in apposition rather than in construct: *ml*n d-*tl*tt 'their three children', r-*dl*s l-xams*n 'the five men', *nh*ns t-*tl*tt*n 'we three'.

Collectives and other mass nouns stand in apposition to numerals: *tt*n *m*r*k*n 'three Americans', *t*n *m*h*n 'two coffees' [p.510].

A singular number never stands in construct except in the syncopated form *w*hd with a pronoun suffix: *br*b w*hd*I 'I'll go alone' (lit. 'I'll go, the one of me'). The ordinary uses of *w*hd are with an appositive: *w*hd*b s*nt 'a girl' or in apposition: *snt *w*hd*b 'one girl'.

Examples of cardinal numeral constructs:
1. *f*t *tt*n *m*r*k*n [Bg. 1] 'There are three important factories'
2. *k*n b-*tt* *tt*n *m*n*n *m*x*y*n*y*yy*
   'Three deuces and two kings were in my hand'
3. *l*zn *n*x*t*t*n *tt*n-*r*b*c*t*t*n *m*y*m*n [DA-217]
   'We must wait three (or) four days'
4. *r*m*n *m-j*l* *f*ht*n *m*r*b*c*t*t*n *s*m*a*t*n [AO-117]
   'He cast it and brought up four fish in it'
5. *s*r* *k*l*n *m*y*m*n *m*z* *m*r*b*c*t*t*n *x*m*n*s*r*g* b*g*l*
   'He began feeding him four (or) five onions every day'
6. *w*m*l *w*l*k*l *b-*c*r*s *w*l*t*t*
   'The first kilogram is (for) ten piastres and each (additional) kilogram adds six piastres' [DA-225]
7. *w*m*n *s*n*z* *b*l*c* *m*r*k* *m*n *m*n*n *m*n*n *m*n*n
   'How many years have you been in America? - Eight years'
8. *s*n*t*m*n *b*l*c* *s*d*n*
   'When does school begin? - In ten days'

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.

9. *y*m*n*n *t*p*l *m*s l-*w*l*l*d b*st*d
   'She may arrive with the children in a fortnight' (lit. "after fifteen days")
10. *f*t *s*n*x*n l-*w*l*l*d *k*l*m [DA-226]
    'There are twenty-five words in it'
11. s-*s*n*n *f*h*a s*b*t*t* n*x*t*t n*x*t*t
    'There are seven months in the year which have thirty-one days'
12. *k*n *t*p*l *t*d*n *m*r*b*c*t*t*n [AO-113]
    'There were forty men under his command'
13. k*ll h*l-*k*l*d b-*tt*t*l* n*r*t
    'All these things come to three pounds and seventy piastres'
14. *w-l*m*y*s l*s*t*m*n n*r*t [AO-113]
    'And they found the swords of the thirty men'
15. *w*l*a*l*a l*s*t*m*n g*i*r m*n
    'He left none, either small or large, of the four hundred head of sheep of his master's'
16. *m*t*m*m *n*d*t t*l*t l*m*n m*n
    'He died one thousand eight hundred years ago'
17. ...*tt*l*tt n*x*s*m*l* *m*n *l*a*f l*r*a [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: *q*h*l*a l-b*n*êt 'the prettiest of the girls', *q*h*l*a b*n*êt '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 identifying: i.e. the definite term l-b*n*êt, (in *q*h*l*a l-b*n*êt) which prettiest things are meant. Conversely an indefinite following term makes the construct classificatory: the indefinite term b*n*êt, in *q*h*l*a b*n*êt, shows what kind of prettiest things are meant.

Elatives, which are uninflected, fluctuate in number/gender [p.420]. In a definite (identificatory) construct, the number and gender of an elative depend entirely upon its reference, regardless of the following term: *h*yy *q*h*l*a l-b*n*êt 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest of the girls'; *h*dd*l *q*h*l*a l-b*n*êt 'These (pl.) are the prettiest of the girls'; *h*dd *q*h*l*a l-b*yy*l* 'This (m./sg.) is the prettiest of the houses'.

With an indefinite (classificatory) following term, on the other hand, the number and gender of the construct depends entirely upon that of the following term: i.e. an elative leading term is subordinate to an indefinite
ELATIVE AND ORDINAL CONSTRUCTS

She put on the best clothes she had' (Cf. *ʔašan *ʔamā‘ī ʔandha [AD-118])

After the last of Ramadan, that is to say, on the first of Shawwal'

'This is the best thing (to be) found in town'

'Stop (for us) at the first door on your right'

'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

The farmer harvests them early in the summer'

'How much do you want to put in as a first deposit?'

'The third one is Hassan' [p.406]

'I tried my utmost' (lit. ...the last of my strength')

'My first lesson begins at half past eight' (Cf. *ʔamā‘al *darsi 'the beginning of my lesson')

'What's the minimum amount (lit. the least thing) I must deposit?'

The elative and ordinal constructs are used in the text:

1. *bi-hāl-ma’t *ʔaktar *n-nās byaṣṣ-ḥas [DA-172] 'That's when most people go there' (lit. "At that time most of the people come to it")

2. *gūř *ʔaγna *ʔakhtar *samā‘a [AO-119] 'He became the richest of the people of his time'

Elatives, too, may occur in this substantival function,

when followed by a definite count noun [p.366] in the singular: *ʔašan *ʔamā‘ī 'the best (part) of the year'.

Examples of elative and ordinal constructs in context:

3. *lāḥīṣ *ʔašan *ʔamā‘ī ʔandha [AD-118]
5. *ʔawrawī *ʔašan *ʔamā‘ī *bā‘al-balad [DA-129]
7. *fahr *tānī sana yāḏi lal-blād *l-Efarabīyya [DA-173]
8. *l-fallāḥ ḫaṣṣadhan...b-ʔamā‘al *ʃa‘af [AO-59]
10. *ταλιτ māhēd ḥaṣan [DA-294]
11. *haqā‘al *fāker ḥaṣil [DA-294]
12. *ʔamā‘al darsi ʔandha byaṣṣa s-sālū tuṣṣa m-nagī [DA-294]

While elatives often stand in construct with an indefinite singular count noun [p.366], they seldom stand in construct with a definite singular count noun, and only then if the elative is substantivized: *ʔašan bēṯ 'the best house', but *ʔašan *l-bēṯ 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 *ʔašan bēṯ, which would mean 'the best thing about our house', and say either *ʔašan bēṯ mān bāyāṯīna, 'the best (house) of our houses', or *ʔašan bā‘alī 'the best of our houses', or *ʔašan bēṯ *ʔalā 'the best house (belonging) to us'. See Periphrasis of Annexion [p.460].

Ordinal numerals [p.316] are like elatives in their function as uninflated subordinate nouns in construct with indefinite following terms: ταλιτ bēṯ 'the (the) third house'; ταλιτ bā‘at 'the (the) third girl' (hāyy ταλιτ bēṯ 'This (f. -sg.) is the third girl').

Unlike elatives, however, ordinals do not stand in construct with infinite plurals, and seldom do so with definite terms of any kind. Thus ταλιτ l-bā‘at 'the (the) third (one) of the houses' is usually circumlocuted with a phrase such as ταλιτ bēṯ mān l-bā‘at, or ταλιτ mān l-bā‘at.

In definite (identificatory) constructs, furthermore, an ordinal is generally inflected for number/gender: ταλιτ *l-bā‘at 'the third (one) of the girls', ταλιτ l-bā‘at 'the third (one) of them'; or by periphrasis ταλιτ l-bā‘at *l-bā‘at, ταλιτ l-taḥtī l-mahdīn).

The terms *ʔamā‘al 'first' and *ʔaṣīr 'last' are used freely in identificatory constructs, however, in the sense 'first part of' and 'last part of': *ʔamā‘al waqgo 'the first part of his sermon'; *ʔaṣīr *ṣ-sāne 'the last part of the year'; mān *ʔamā‘al la-waqqera 'from (its) beginning to (its) end'. In this sense *ʔamā‘al and *ʔaṣīr function as substantives, and are not inflected for gender.

Following term: hāyy *ʔaḥla bā‘at 'This (f.-sg.) is the prettiest girl'; hāyy *ʔaḥla bēṯ 'This (m.-sg.) is the nicest house'; hāyy *ʔaḥla bandā 'These are the prettiest girls.'

Thus, *bā‘al *ʔašan bēṯ mān bāyāṯīna 'the best (house) of our houses', or *ʔašan bā‘alī 'the best of our houses', or *ʔašan bēṯ *ʔalā 'the best house (belonging) to us'. See Periphrasis of Annexion [p.460].

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2. *gūř *ʔaγna *ʔakhtar *samā‘a [AO-119] 'He became the richest of the people of his time'
PREPOSITIONS

The prepositional construction is a special kind of annexion (p. 453), 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'
- man 'from, of, than'
- b- 'at, in, by, with'
- fi 'in, on, at'

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- → lal-:
  - lal-malad → 'to the boy'
- b- + l- → bal-:
  - bal-ktāb → 'with the book'
- fi + l- → fīl-:
  - fīl-bēti → 'in the house'
- ēlal + l- → ēlal-:
  - ēlal-maktāb → 'to the office'

The preposition b- is sometimes assimilated to an initial l and the preposition f- to an initial m: b-mahallak or m-mahallak 'in your place', f-farēṭī or m-farēṭī 'in my bed'. Sometimes this preposition is pronounced bi: bi-Sakr '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 b of man 'from' is generally lost before a vowel: nl bēti 'from the house'.

Especially in Lebanon, ēala is sometimes shortened to ēa- even when not in combination with the article: ēa-bēti 'to my house' (for ēala bēti). Sometimes, on the other hand, ēala keeps its longer form even before the article: ēala l-fāml (or ēal-fāml) 'on the table'.

End is generally pronounced ēnd in some parts of Greater Syria. la- is commonly reduced to l- in parts of Lebanon (p. 13).

Prepositional Suffixing Forms. When the "object" of a preposition is a personal pronoun, it is the suffixed form of the pronoun which is used (p. 539):

- māso 'with him, it'
- māsak 'with you(m.)'
- māsek 'with you(f.)'
- māsī 'with me'
- māska 'with her, it'
- māshān 'with them'
- māshākon 'with you(pl.)'
- māshāna 'with us'

The b of man is probably best analyzed as a helping vowel; to be perfectly consistent we should transcribe m-n-bēti, m-n-l-bēti, rather than man bēti, mnl-bēti. Our transcription here follows a tradition based on Arabic spelling, which connects only one-letter proclitics to the following word. Since man 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.

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 ēand is usually elided with the suffix -ma 'us': ēanna (for ēanda).

māka and mākon are sometimes pronounced maḥa and maḥon, respectively. The ḥ of -ḥa and -hon may also be dropped, as is the case generally (p. 541); māka 'with her', mākon 'with them', ēanda 'with her', ēandon 'with them'.

On the quasi-verbal use of these prepositions, see p. 413.

The suffixing forms of man and ēan have a double n before a vowel:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mānn} & \text{man, 'from him, it'} \\
\text{mānnak} & \text{manak, 'from you(m.)'} \\
\text{mānnak} & \text{manak, 'from you(f.)'} \\
\text{mānni} & \text{mani, 'from me'} \\
\text{māna} & \text{man, 'from her, it'} \\
\text{māhon} & \text{man, 'from them'} \\
\text{mākon} & \text{man, 'from you(pl.)'} \\
\text{mānna} & \text{man, 'from us'}
\end{array}\]

Note that ēanna 'from us' is pronounced the same as ēanna 'with us' (see above), though the latter is sometimes also pronounced ēanna.

When the ḥ of -ḥa and -hon is elided, the n is commonly doubled as before the other suffixes beginning with a vowel: mānn 'from her', mānnan 'from them', ēanna 'from her', ēannan 'from them'; note that the 'th' forms are then pronounced the same as the 'us' forms. In some parts of Greater Syria, however, the ḥ is more often elided without a doubling of the n, thus: māna 'from her', mānon 'from them', etc.

The suffixing form of ēala is ēalī-, except in the first person singular, where it is ēalīy-, (or in some areas ēalayy-):

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ēalī} & \text{'on him, it'} \\
\text{ēalīk} & \text{'on you(m.)'} \\
\text{ēalīki} & \text{'on you(f.)'} \\
\text{ēalīyy} & \text{'on me'}
\end{array}\]

The suffixing form of fi is ft- (a regular sound change [p. 27]):

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ft} & \text{'in him, it'} \\
\text{ftik} & \text{'in you(m.)'} \\
\text{ftiki} & \text{'in you(f.)'} \\
\text{ftiy} & \text{'in me'} \\
\end{array}\]

With loss of ḥ in -ḥa and -hon: fiya or fiyya 'in her', fiyya 'in them'.

The preposition b- is not normally used with pronoun suffixes (but see p. 415); the stem fi- is used in its stead. Conversely, in some parts of Greater Syria fi is not often used without 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-ṣaffi 'in my room' vs. fiṭa 'in it', b-ṣakkfn 'with a knife' vs. ftka '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 ṭiff (or fi-ṣaffi or fi-ṣaffi) 'in my room', while b- is obligatory in certain other senses, e.g. 'by, with': b-ṣakkfn '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-sarrā '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 ma\[385\].

The disjunctive suffixing form is fi-:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{fi} & \text{'to him, it'} \\
\text{fik} & \text{'to you(m.)'} \\
\text{fi} & \text{'to you(f.)'} \\
\text{fi} & \text{'to me'} \\
\text{fi} & \text{'to us'}
\end{array}\]

1In the quasi-verbal use, usually ftnī 'I can' ("[I have it] in me to..."). See p. 547.
Examples of the disjunctive form in context:

1. mā candī matā? presālka
   'I don’t have time for it'

2. ṣāret dayman matīsa polo
   'She started being always obedient to him'

3. humne ṣāheb ḥamīn ṣali
   'He’s a close friend of mine' (lit. "...friend to me")

4. ṣalakh makṣūb maškar [DA-223]
   'There’s a registered letter for you'

5. xalli l-qarūr ṣalo
   'Leave the decision to him'

6. ēam-ṣačmal fa?m ṣali
   'I’m having a suit made for me'

In examples 5 and 6, the disjunctive forms ṣalo, ṣali are used, for the sake of emphasis, rather than conjunctive forms suffixed to the verbs (xalli-lo leave...to him), ēam-ṣačmal-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 lā-, used sometimes as in staṭ-lāk 'I’ve missed you' (instead of the conjunctive staṭ-ṣallak). Note also: tamam padī līma fi bayrāt [SAL 59] 'our first friend in Beirut' (for ṣalma). (Cf. Classical forms with ʿila and li-.)

The conjunctive forms vary, depending on the preceding and following sounds:

- ēla, -aḷlo 'to him, it' -la, -aḷha, -aḷla 'to her, it'
- lak, -alak 'to you(m.)' -lān, -aḷkon, -aḷlon 'to them'
- lek, -allek 'to you(f.)' -lōn, -aḷkon 'to you(pl.)'
- li, -alli 'to me' -lān, -aḷna 'to us'

-l- is sometimes assimilated to the n of -na 'us'

The conjugation is used otherwise:

bāb-lāk 'I’ll bring...(for) you(m.)'
baṭṭa-līnā 'put...(for) me'

-ālā- is also used optionally (instead of -ā-) after the subject-affix -t [p.193] even when the -t is preceded by a vowel: ḥaṭṭ-ālāk 'I put...(for you(m.))'(or ḥaṭṭ-lāk).

1.) -āll- is used after two consonants and before a vowel:

ḥaṭṭ-ālāk 'I’ve brought (for) you(m.)...'

2.) -āl- is used after two consonants and before a consonant:

ḥaṭṭ-ālkon 'I’ve brought (for) you(pl.)...'

3.) -l- is used otherwise:

bāb-lāk 'I’ll bring...(for) you(m.)'
baṭṭa-līnā 'put...(for) us'

After a single consonant and before a consonant, however, the helping vowel *must come before -l-, by the rule of anaptyxis [p. 29]:

bāb-ālkon 'I’ll bring...(for) you(pl.)'

ēbaʃt-ālona 'He brought...(to) us'

After l, the helping vowel is generally not used:

-āl-īnā 'tell(m.) (to) us'
baṭṭa-āml-kon 'He’ll make...for you(pl.)'

The two l’s, furthermore, are generally reduced in pronunciation to one: -al-na, bāam-āml-kon. See pp.23, 24.

On accentuation, see pp.18-19.
Reduction of Preconsonantal Stem Vowel before \(-l\). When an \(-l\) suffix is added to a word ending in a long vowel + a single consonant, the long vowel is generally shortened; \(a\) commonly becomes \(a\), and \(f\), \(z\), \(s\), and \(g\) almost always become \(a\) [p. 23]:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gār + -lāk} & \rightarrow \text{gār-lāk} \quad \text{"it has been for you..."} \\
\text{?bāl + -li} & \rightarrow \text{?bāl-li} \quad \text{"he said to me..."} \\
\text{?mēl + -lo} & \rightarrow \text{?mēl-lo} \quad \text{"do for him..."} \\
\text{prēf + -lāk} & \rightarrow \text{prēf-lāk} \quad \text{"spend for yourself..."} \\
\text{?al + -lon} & \rightarrow \text{?al-lon} \quad \text{"say to them..."} \\
\text{ṣṢāb + -lna} & \rightarrow \text{ṣṢāb-lna} \quad \text{"bring (for) us..."} \\
\text{māṣmūḥ + -li} & \rightarrow \text{māṣmūḥ-li} \quad \text{"allowed (to) me"}
\end{align*}
\]

Note also the optional loss of \(a\) in the fem. ?bīl + -l + pn. sfx.: ?bīl-lo 'tell(f.) (to) him' (or ?bīl-lo).

Examples of \(-l\) suffixes:

1. smāḥa-lna māṣa?mīn 'Excuse(pl.) us, we must go' (lit. "Allow (to) us, we ask permission")

2. ?addāh bū?lak hān? 'How much longer do you have here?' (lit. "How much is left to you here?")

3. bācād ?d-dāh^r bāb-al-ka?ika yākon 'This afternoon I'll bring them for you(pl.)'

4. nāṣīla ?al-ko?ka māṣbr n-u-bass 'I suppose he said to you(pl.) "thanks" and that was all!'

5. bōl-lon ??msīt 'I'll tell them I forgot'

6. lāmmu yordīk laḥ-ikl-lo māṣī ?awsōf 'When he returns there's going to be broader scope for him' (laḥ-ikl + -lo = laḥ-ikl-lo)

7. gar-la tārka ?amārka tilāt iyūm [DA-198] 'She left the States three days ago' (lit. "It's been for her having left America three days")

8. ?blot-lo bānto xadīnī māsak 'His daughter said to him, "Take me with you"'

9. lāmmaw-lu ?-gabbāt mūf [DA-180] 'Shine the shoes for me well'

10. bāddar-lak w-y-?brad-?lak xabā būrka ?-gāb^r [DA-290] 'I'll look around (for you) and let you know tomorrow morning' (lit. "and send back news to you...")

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 bāb-al-ka?ika 'He brought (to) them a present' is a substitute for sentences such as bāb lāl-al′alād (iqāl) '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:

11. mān bāl-ḥabbu wa-?f-lak? [DA-45] 'Where would you(pl.) like me to wait for you?'

12. kālli bārīqī bāb-lāk yā [AQ-115] 'I'll bring (to) you (f.) what you want'

13. yūm bācād yūm bīchd-alna mafs 9l-fṣāpra 'Day after day he repeats the same story to us'

14. ?ama mašta?t-alkon 'I've(f.) missed you(pl.)' ("I've been yearning for you")

15. hiyye mādyant-allo b-kall 8f 'She's indebted to him for everything'

The suffix -allak is functionally a sentence supplement [p. 526], though in form it seems to be a supplement or complement to the verb bāsm. 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 conversational tone to a discourse - emphasizing the conversational relationship between speaker and person spoken to. Further examples:

17. kāyyaf-lak bal-?xṣīqalat mâ tunfšem 'I'm afraid these abbreviations are incomprehensible'

18. kāyyaf-lak 8-yisyīsa l-?māṣgra bāḥbayyar *kātir 'I find contemporary politics very confusing'

19. bācīrs-lu ?f bānt ḇt?cod pānča? [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 bāddar-lak, but a complement in bradd-ālīlak.
Similarly, conjunctive -1- 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-māḏye ʿawṣ-wa l-kānim maḥāde ḫeke 'The last time, I heard a few like that'
21. badda naḥkī-ina ʿi sīr e faṭwīl 'We must have a good long talk'
22. baddi kūn ġandā ʾīṭ-ḏe yāṣad-lo ṣafis baḍī ʿl-ḡada 'My grandfather had the habit of taking a nap after lunch'
23. ʿadd-ikon ʿi māḏy aṭa ṣānīye 'Stay (pl.) another half hour!' (lit. 'sit...')
24. daṣākkar-lak ʿi wāḥed ṣone 'You think of one'
25. baddi ʿa-rā-ś-ṭi ṣamaye 'I want to do a little reading'
26. ʿāl lāha-yāṣak-ło ʾaktar wān xamṣāt iyyām 'He won't live more than five days'

Another use of redundant pronouns with -1- is in anticipation of a pronoun suffixed to the verb's complement:

27. ʿaṭāt-alla bāb ṣayyārdīta l-mawrūnī 'I dented (for her) the rear door of her car'
28. raṣṣīl-alī ṣawayyed ʾayy ʿalā maḥā 'I sprinkled a little water on his face'
29. ʿakī ʿs-sakkar l-kīr ḥisāmme-lak ṣamānh 'Eating sugar too much will decay your teeth'
30. makṣībba dāyman bāṭṭanāj-li ʿalībī 'His letters always depress me' (lit. '...oppress my heart')
31. ḥaṣ-ḥaṭammar xayyāb-ṣīna ṣamālīna 'This development has dashed our hopes'

Free Prepositions

There are several locative prepositions which can be used predicatively without an "object":

fāt 'above, over, upstairs'
ṭaḥt 'below, under, downstairs'
ṣumma 'inside' (annexing form ṣumma)
baṛra 'outside' (annexing form baṛra)
ḫaddām 'in front(of)'
maṣ 'behind, in back'

Examples without objects:
1. ṣanī ṣanī ḫaṭ ṣammāna 'They're outside in the garden'
2. ḫaṭ ʾaṣ-ṭaḥja ṣeṣťe ṣaḥīr ṣumma 'The concert will be indoors'
3. ʿdā ṣamṣīb ṣalak taḥt ġandā ʿa-s-samāmān 'There are some letters for you downstairs at the grocer's'
4. mūn ḥāda yallī taḥt? 'Who's that down there?'
5. ʿamāra fāt ʿaṣ ṣamma 'Samira is upstairs with her mother'
6. ṣaṭa a-sayyārā yallī maarā 'Look out for the car behind!' 'Passenger cars are forward and freight (cars) to the rear'

Examples with noun objects:
1. ṣamakon baṛra ʿa-l-balad 'He lives outside the city'
2. ṣumma ʿd-dār ġandā ṣaṣ ṣa-dīk (AD-03) 'Inside the house he has chickens and a rooster'
3. fī ṣalā ṣaḥīr ʿa-l-ṭarīd 'There's a shelter under the ground'
4. ṣaṭī fāt ʿa-l-maṣḥāb 'My room is over the kitchen'

These expressions cannot be analyzed as "adverbs" or the like, since they can stand alone as predicate, as well as in various supplemental and complemental capacities. Adverbs are by definition non-predicative [p.381]. 'Predicative use', of course, includes use in constructions derived from predicative, viz. attribution [492] and predicative complementation [488].
Prepositional Combinations with la- and man

la- 'to' and man 'from' may precede any of the free prepositions as well as Sand 'at, with', to convert a locative phrase into a TRANSLOCATIVE phrase:

1. Sandmon la-Sando El-Calsa
   'He invited them to his house for dinner'

2. badābāt-li hal-āhād man Sando 'l-lahbām
   'Would you bring me those things from the butcher's?' (lit. "...from at the butcher")

3. ār...yarmūkhān man fō? 'l-ḥāf
   'He started throwing them out over the wall'

4. ṇarreb ḥat-ṭarawāba la-'uddām 'l-mannāt
   'Move that table over in front of your aunt'

5. tāna ḥēye man barāt 'l-balad
   'I'm coming from out of town'

6. ḥamel tālāū 'l-hāf man taḥt
   'Try to get at it from underneath'

7. rāḥē hazayye la-mara
   'Back up a little'

man (but not la-) is also used before ēala 'on':

8. ṇīb 'r-paḥān man ēala ṣ-ṭāmele
   'Get the dish from off the table'

9. naḥfi-lī li man ēal-wādī Śī kūlayēn
   'Pick out about two kilos of tomatoes from on top for me'

ēala serves both in the locative sense 'on' and in the translocative senses 'onto' and 'to': ēalṭ ēal-ṭāmele 'Put it on the table' ēalṭ ēal-bēṭ 'He went to the house'.

In other cases as well, la- is often omitted in translocative phrases when the preposition has an object: ṣalāṭ barrāt 'l-balad 'I went out of town', but not when there is no object: ṣalāṭ la-barrā 'I went outside'.

It should be noted that man in translocative phrases means not only 'from', but also 'through', 'over', 'by':

10. ṣalāṭ barrāt l-ṣaddēne man bāb
    'I came out of the Old City through Tūma lal-ṣaggī [AO-67]
        Bāb Touma to Qassaa.'
Other Special Prepositions

ka- 'as' forms phrases which are limited to supplemental use ([p.524]), and does not take pronoun suffixes:

1. kūn marqāb ʿktār ka-māhāder huwā 'He was much in demand as a lecturer.'
2. baḥṣen ʿrūḥa ʿka-ʿstārī 'I could go back as a teacher.'
3. kūn-ūdri maʾākānī byāqīkī ērābi 'For an American, he speaks Arabic well.'

On kaʾannī 'as if' see p. 491.

Certain other prepositions are also not used with pronoun suffixes: ḥasāb 'according to', ʿdāwaʾ 'across', ṣadīq and ʿizzād 'instead of' (but ṣadīq and ʿizzād, same meaning, can take suffixes), ʿrūb and ʿfārb 'near' (but b-ʿrūb 'near it', b-ʿfārb manu 'near it').

bēn 'between, among' has a form bēn, used with plural suffixes. (and sometimes also with nouns) in the sense 'among' (or 'between' if the plural refers to two only) bēn is 'among them' or 'between the two of them'. In coordinations, 'between...and...', the preposition never takes the -sīr form - and must be repeated if one or both of the following terms is a pronoun suffix, since the suffixes themselves cannot be coordinated: bēn m-bēn 'between you and me'.

1. bēn l-far 'bēn ʿt-tānī? [DA-293]
2. bēn ṭ-l-bānt bēn ṭ-l-harrās, laṣāb badil ṭaskariyye [AQ-115]
3. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
4. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
5. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
6. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
7. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
8. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
9. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab
10. ṭāmūn ṭ-l-haṣa ṭāmūn bēn ṭ-l-ṭānī ṭ-l-habab

"What's the difference between the two?"

The girl was among the guards, dressed in a military uniform.

Homs and Hama lie between Damascus and Aleppo.

Which of them is Ali? ("Who is Ali among them?")

We decided (on) it among ourselves.

Settle it among yourselves.

'I went around among all the houses'.

He came and patched things up between me and my wife.'

'Between you and us there's no difference'.

'There's a disagreement between them and their workers'.

tabāc 'of, belonging to' forms phrases which function as predicate (has-stīl tabāc farīd 'This pen belongs to Fareed') or attribute (sān-a-stīl tabāc farīd? 'Where is Fareed's pen?'); but unlike ordinary prepositions is does not form adverbial phrases ([p.523]). Examples:

1. ṭna ṭabācna 'This is ours'.
2. l-hādēs gīr ṭād l-sā-ṣūkē tabācna 'The accident happened on our corner'.
3. tabāc mīn ṭa-ḥāktā? 'Whose is this book?'
4. ṭal-ḥārtī tabācna nā? 'Where does this screw belong?'
5. l-mīs tabācak ṭādād? 'Is your razor (or jackknife) sharp?'
6. mīn ṭal-ḥārtī tabācna l-kān? 'Where's the chimney for the lamp?'
7. ṭal-ḥārtī tabācna (or tabācna) 'These things are theirs'.
8. ṭabāc nā ṭal-ḥārtī tabācna 'This is a flashlight battery'.

Some speakers rarely use tabāc with an indefinite following term (as in ex. 8), preferring in such cases an anexion phrase (baṭṭāriyye būl) or a baṭṭāriyye form (baṭṭāriyye lī-bīl). Note the definitized following term in expressions like wārā's tabāc lī-kams miyye 'a five hundred [pound] note'.

In agreement with a plural, the forms tabācāt and tabācīl are sometimes used:

9. xād l-ḥārtī tabācātak mīn ṭanī 'Get your things out of here'.
10. tabācūl mīn ṭal-ḥāktē? 'Whose books are these?'
11. ṭal-ḥārtī tabācūl ṭaḥīp? 'What are these screws for?' (or 'Where do these screws go?')
12. ṭal-ḥārtī tabācūl ṭal-ḥārtī ṭal-ḥārtī 'I prefer to steam my vegetables'.
13. ṭal-ḥārtī mīn ṭaḥīp-mūrār — tabācūlul 'Whose pictures are these? — Mine'.
14. ṭal-ḥārtī tabācīl ʿammi 'This land (lit. these lands) belongs to my uncle'.

The existence of these plural forms is a measure of the noun-like (and un-preposition-like) character of the word tabāc. Regardless how it is classified, tabāc 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. māṣīl 'like' (or 'the like of'), ṣamb 'beside' (or 'side'), etc. As for the plural form tabācūl, the final l is presumably a variation from s (cf. Pl. tabācūn), perhaps reinterpreted as a quasi-verbal form with an -l suffix ([p.480]): tabācūl 'belonging (pl.) to him' (cf. Classical tabīl lūh).
In various parts of Greater Syria, certain other words are used in the same way as tabaç. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the form atkaj is used, generally with full adjectival inflection: fem. bvakaj..., bakaj: 'mine', etc.; pl. bvkaj or bvkajim; in Palestine the plural form of tabaç is tabaçim (rather than tabaçim). In Damascus the word btkaj is common: l-mátar btkaj l-sayyra 'The engine of the car is out of order'; the plural of btkaj is bytaj; btakaj hal-l-qrád, bytaj hadfil 'Don't take these things; they're mine'. The Palestinian form of this word is btkaj, pl. bytaytaj.

In the periphrasis of annexion (p.460), an attributive tabaç phrase is commonly preferred to annexion (not counting the -a suffix): r-rádyo tabaç; 'my radio' (rather than rádyiy). l-babarájtan l-bkaj tabaçna 'our new apartment' (rather than babarájtan l-bkaj). The tabaç construction is also common in expressing a looser sort of relationship than what is implied by annexion, e.g. s-ská tabaçna 'our corner' (ex. 2, above) rather than skátabna, 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: tabaj l-nákel 'before we eat' (cf. tabaj l-hakaj 'before eating'), b-mafráj na bdkán 'Wherever it is' (cf. b-mafráj na 'in its place, where it belongs'). For example:

bajaj na 'after' ma-bajaj na, sačet ma, 'at the time (hour, year, minute) that', 'when'
maître ma 'as' dajaj ma that...', 'while'
bajaj na, bidán na 'without' addaj na 'as much as'
badaj ma, badaj ma 'instead of' dajaj ma, la-bdjaj na '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 manera 'than' (man + ma), which is used mostly in complementation to an elative [p.314]:

1. hiyye 'abihla b-atkajir manera kan't manjáger 'She is much prettier than I expected.'
2. l-btajaj 'al-b'tófar manera hyye bka?ad 'Don't make things more complicated than they already are.'

Note also:
3. 'abihla, zaldi manera hyye bta '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. dajaj l-tajaj 'al-b'tófar manera hyye bta '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 relativatives:
5. hayy man 'abo'anna man yáfin 'This is (of) the best there is'

With bkl 'every' [p.339]:
6. aylkna man tóddaj na bldaj màfà btkal màfà jàssal màfà 'Every time we want to go outside, it rains'.

A few nouns and prepositions may be followed by a clause introduced by aan (which more usually introduces supplemental clauses (p.449): l-kalaj 'among such an extent that...'). (also supplemental: la-dajaj aan...): ma gel aan 'although' (one of the meanings of ma is 'despite').

Some examples of prepositions with aan are given on p. Note also aya aan 'as it', la-aaan (or la-aaan or l-aaan) 'because': la- 'for' and aan 'that...'. [see p.543]:

7. bta?amar 'al-márrà ka?anna náhmàt 'He describes women as if he were a sculptor'.
8. ma 'a'anna la-aaan ná dajaj 'He didn't come, because he was sick'.
9. a-sa'adda mà rásà yácallam mà gell màcallam lár yadarrós [AO-96] 'The monkey wouldn't learn even though his master began beating him'.
10. aámmà mtarásar la-dajaj àkan màëdret tajjki 'She was so deeply affected that she couldn't speak'.

The particles la- and manera '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): r-djan cal-b'ël la-yálku or... manera yáklu 'they went home to eat': cf. r-djan cal-b'ël 'l-yálku or... manera l-l-yálku '...for the food'.

Certain nouns may also stand in construct with a clause without benefit of a subordinating conjunction. See ex. 6, p.368 (ma-aal... 'a question of...').
CHAPTER 19: ATtribution

An Attribute1 (an-na'dt) is a subordinated predicate [p.380] or comment [19]. The term it is attributable to (al-manad) corresponds to the subject of that predicate, or the topic of that comment. The attribute follows the term it is attributable to, and generally agrees with it in definiteness (as well as in number/gender, when applicable):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predication</th>
<th>Attribution (Indefinite)</th>
<th>Attribution (Definite)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-madīna kāfira.</td>
<td>'a large city'</td>
<td>'the large city'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-madīna lawaslī la-ghān</td>
<td>'a boy who found them'</td>
<td>'the boy who found them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-madīna mā 8aftha.</td>
<td>'a city I haven't seen'</td>
<td>'the city I haven't seen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (al-adāt t-ta'fīf). Adjectives and certain other attributes are usually definitized with the article prefix, whose basic form is l-: l-hamā 1-ḥārēd 'the cold air', l-khānā l-ṣadham 'the black horse'.

The article is totally assimilated, however, to dental and front palatal consonants (al-hurūf 8-ṣamsiya): t, d, s, z, š, ñ, h, ṣ, n, r. Examples of the assimilated article, in noun-adjective attribution phrases:

l-līf t-tūlēt 'the third row'

l-ḥiṣāb s-sīwāk 'the thick soup'

l-ṣawāt jāfāl 'the jolly officer'

The article is not invariably assimilated to 8; one may sometimes hear, for instance, l-ḥāmec l-ṣadfa 'the new mosque' instead of 8-ḥāmec l-ṣadfa.

1The term 'attribute' is sometimes used in a broader sense in American linguistics, to denote subordinate terms in general. In French, on the other hand, 'attribut' generally means 'predicate', while 'épithète' means 'attribute' in our sense.
The Clause Definizer. The particle halli or yalli (or yalli or *ylli) -
rather than the article prefix - is used to definitize an attributive con-
ment or verbal predicate, while in the case of non-verbal predicates, attrib-
tion 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 def-
ite term. Otherwise it is INDEFINITE. Thus l- bant 'the girl', hal-bant
'this girl', āddī 'this(f.)', khye 'she', marīya 'Mary', bant rā-bāser
'the merchant's daughter', bante 'his daughter' are definite; while bant,
māhā bānt, 8t bānt (all translated 'a girl'), bānt rāser 'a merchant's
daughter', rākar bānt 'the oldest daughter' are all indefinite, regardless
whether or not they refer to a definite person.

Thus in f māhā bānt baddo yəstəwəməhə 'There's a cer-
tain girl he wants to marry', the attributive comment baddo
yəstəwəməhə 'he wants to marry her' is not introduced by
halli even though māhā bānt would presumably have a quite
definite reference; similarly, in khye 'she bānt fəsthə
'That's the prettiest girl I've seen', the attributive comment
fəsthə 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 bə相干 bikun *mn̥h
   [DA-100] 'Whatever you give will be fine'
2. təfədad la-hattu tərəfkh halli
   ēndi [AO-79] 'Come, let me show you what I have'
3. bətəčref halli dərabak? [AO-115]
   'Do you know the one who hit you?'
4. byəkəli pətəle yəllı byəstəməl
   kəluθ *təb̪t̪
5. hək̪-θa halli pər maço
   [AO-115] 'He told her all that had happened
to him'
6. bād̪ lli fəlo karhə n-ns
   'After what he said, people hated him'
7. āddī yəllı kən ləznəmi b-ənə
   'This is what I needed exactly'
8. yəllı bətəx̪rfo, pənno rətəx̪fəd
   palabo '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 trans-
lated as 'who', 'which', or 'that', but it should be kept
in mind that halli does not really correspond to these Eng-
lish words (relative pronouns); its presence or absence is
a matter of definiteness, while the use or non-use of
the relative pronouns has nothing to do with definiteness: bant
bətəčref fəbbox 'a girl who knows how to cook'; r-rəx̪l halli
soften 'the men I saw'. (But see ex. 21 and 22, p.499)

Definite Attributive Clauses (p-শিন)
Examples, attributive verbal predicates:

1. tən bəmsye məncə b-l-madjəfə
   halli baddəl lala nihdyt
   p-gala [DA-298] 'A little while ago I heard the
cannon(s) which signal the end of
the prayer'
2. l-qəpp̪ye kənet tabəc məhəd mn
   b-l-majduke halli pənə la-ənd
   bədəhm [AO-99] 'The stick belonged to one of the
angels who came to Abraham'
3. baddər məld xəsəh yəllı
   byəstəgəl ēndi əsətəx̪̱h [AO-44]
   'She looks after the children of her
brother who works for the surgeon'
4. lānu syəf pətəmən rəsx̪l halli
   həkənu ēltən [AO-113]
   'They found the swords of the eighty
men who had attacked them'
5. bərət̪t̪ kəmən nəpsəmən mn
   pəbələbyi yəllı pəsət̪nī
   nərəxe [AO-79] 'I'll also show you some
samples from the consignment that came
(to me) yesterday'
6. kəf-hall-pəmeq p-yəfər halli
   mə byəstəc pələfəxətaw wəxəx
   hələlək? [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-rəx̪t̪l hall pəkəs xəsəo p-ʃəfəc
   rəsə b-ləfəx halli ēndi [AO-112]
   'the man took his dagger and cut off
the head of the cat he had'
8. b-hall-pəʃə yəllı məcək mə falk
   təməset-li əst̪t̪h [AO-116]
   'With those pieces you have you can't
checkmate me'

Attributive non-verbal predicates [p.402]:
9. təshələnəx hall p-gəbən halli
   bəl-bə [AO-119] 'We've used up all the soap (that
was) in the house'
Examples of definite attributive comments (i.e. attributive clauses with their own subjects or with subject-referents different from the terms they are attributive to):

16. ḥayy ста-лацITIONAL yalli 5aλ-5alak 5ana (DA-99)

'This is the girl I told you about.'

17. rākdu u-সafooe?et 2λ-мaλкe лalli 5anrто 5a5abha (AO-119)

'She ran and embraced the king, whom she thought [to be] her lover.'

18. 5alab 2λ-мaλкe 5m 5a-সa5yүд 5uμno yadilo 5aλ-мaλкe лalli 5αμμo-5a5y6 fa 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-saλlu yalli 5aσeτo 5y6a kän maha5 displeasure kthr

'The friend I gave it to needed it badly.'

20. μεν 2t-2tнn лalli 5aρt t maco3 5aλ-maδра5e?

'Where are the two you went to school with?'

21. 2add6 hatta 5a-সa5у6ara 5iι boddak 3t3тияг5e?a [EA-180]

'What's the price of the car you want to buy?'

22. 5aλμu 5aδδeл ваf-жaτ5яг5e лalli 5аппarto flк [AO-108]

'I must make up for this neglect with which I have treated you.'

Examples of indefinite attributive comments (i.e. attributive clauses with their own subjects or with subject-referents different from the terms they are attributive to):

23. tа?тβe 2λ-мaδ6е лalli сαψtтенв

'The townspeople that you(f.) turned into fish curse me every day, and that is the cause of my illness.'

24. lаha-ttтrоk 2n-м6s лalli 5αδе 5εнhoн [DA-98]

'She's going to leave the people she's staying with.'

25. bαтl 5aσαftтe лaλ hаt-tαтt 5лlli 5аααа fα-5αααа [AO-118]

'I was lying on this bed that I'm in now.'

26. byαδ-yαu 2-lуgδ6 лalli byασα6ми lαp-pαmαrтx 2-hαl-mаδ6 ел

'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 omitted; i.e. l-уgδ6 лalli byασα6ми 'the fuel they use' rather than ...yalli byασα6ми 'the fuel they use (it)'. This construction is of course more like an English relative clause than the more common one is.

27. lαtβ 2-2u6δ6 лalli hty6

'Find the numbers that are multiples of five.'

28. hαl-кттb 2гα5α6α фαl-г5hя

'These books were published in Cairo, which is now the cultural center of the Arab world.'

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. ft Cαndи sаdα? 2αмράкαн5и 2αλа lαрfо 2λ-бλзд [DA-269]

'I have an American friend who has just recently come to this country.'

2. lsаhа lα-Cαnd fαλlαh byαsκоn б-дδα аrтfе 5m 2λ-maδин [AO-59]

'We went to see a farmer who lives in a village near the city.'

3. bαδ 5aбrα ft бт 2μтf yαδδo yαфδ6 [DA-244]

'The day after tomorrow there's a good house that's going to be vacated.'
4. mà fî ëf tâyyar

'Nothing has changed' (lit. 'There is not a thing that has changed')

5. mæref bal-madîne ëdèle mmâfa ëndha bant ëlaxe baddon îsâmawûa [AO-55]

'We know a good family in the city who have a pretty daughter they want to marry off.'

Example 5 shows an attributive clause within another: baddon îsâmawûa 'they want to marry her off' is attributive to bant ëlaxe, while ëndha bant ëlaxe baddon... 'they have a pretty daughter they want...' is all attributive to ëdèle mmâfa. Similarly in ex. 2, 'arrâfe mm ël-madîne (lit. it is) near the city' is attributive to dâfû, while byyakôn êb-dëfê ërâfe... 'he lives in a village near...' is all attributive to failûn.

6. ef tâll yâbbîn ëmm tâhêr

'I have a cousin who's in business there' (lit. '...a cousin [he is] a merchant there')

7. kän fî payyâd ëzxtûr ë-fa?'îr ëkîr, ëndo mara w-tâfmt ëmîd [AO-118]

'There was a poor old fisherman who had a wife and three children'

8. ëlî hlâyê caîûbê ktîr, ëthûn ëdûbâ la-hallî baddo yëfîûber [AO-118]

'I have a very strange story, that will be a lesson for him who will take heed.'

9. havy ëbûgë baddi garrâra bâyûl bârûn tîlîsî

'That's something I'll decide in two or three months'

10. bafatt-aliak ëbûn ënsrî ëmûbûn-ëdûwû ëmûbûn-ëbûn-ëbûn ëmûbûn ëbûn-ëbûn-ëbûn lûblû la-xoîfû [DA-302]

'I sent you a patient whose tooth was hurting him and he was looking for a pair of pliers to pull it.'

11. m-ma bûtûfî ëmîfàh ëkîyûfì mbûn kîr ë-wànhë [DA-302]

'And you can't find a place to put your foot down because of the crowd' (lit. '...to put your foot in [lit.'])

12. havy ëmâm mûrû bâstûkûl ëflû [DA-81]

'This is the first time I've worked' (i.e. '...first time in which I work')

13. bâkêt kalêm ëm ëshâm mûnî ëflû [AO-118]

'She said some words of which I understood nothing'

14. ëfû ëflû bariâk ëkûûr, ëfû ëmûll bûnîne [AO-115]

'He saw a large barrel with sand and clay in it' (lit. '...[there was] in it sand...')

15. dâbbaru xaffa kellâ mûkûr

'They conceived a very clever plan' ('...a plan all of which was cleverness')

Note the resumptive subject pronoun (humme) in ex. 19. (Cf. ex. 27 and 28, p.497.) In this case the attributive predicate is prepositional (mn ël-bâdî...); the subject pronoun confirms the attributive (and predicative) role of what follows its antecedent ësâs 'supper' [cf. p.548]. Without humme, mn ël-bâdî... might be construed as supplemental to the verb bystëddu: 'they usually sup on leftovers from...' (with ësâs as an unmodified paronymous complement [p.442]).

16. bânnal koll ëflû mûmân tâpâmmûrâ

'He tried everything imaginable' ('everything whose imagining is possible')

17. ël-lëlî t-tànye ëfû ëyûfû ësûmûd bûbû mûtafû [AO-117]

'The next night he saw a black castle whose door was open'

18. ëfû ëndak dàmnâmët ëzûdâumûhû la-lÈlâxî la-ìmûblûâ? [DA-296]

'What collateral do you have to offer the bank against this amount?'

19. bystëddû ël-maâsa ësâs ëkûûr

'In the evening they have a supper which is usually (of) food left over from dinner'

20. mû bystëddû ël-maâsa rastû ëflû màrtô hallî koll ëmû yëfû ëfû ëflû ëflû sàdâb bëtûmûnô ëflû yëfû [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 [lit.'])

In ex. 20 the indefinite clause bëtûmûnô ëflû is attributable to sàdâb, which is part of another subordinate clause hallî koll ëmû... which is attributable to the definite noun màrtô.

Some speakers occasionally use yâlî, etc. to introduce clauses that are attributable to an indefinite term:

21. b-hadûk ël-ma'asût kän fî ktîr mnû yâlî yxàgâlû l-mûmûfû [AO-118]

'At that time there were a lot of people who took advantage of the situation'

22. ëfû wàdê yâlî bûxûkkûr ëflû wàsûmû

'There's one I remember that has her name in it'

Example 22 has two subordinate clauses, both attributable to the indefinite term wàdê. The first is introduced by yâlî, while the second, ëflû wàsûmû '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, adjectives, adjectives, and (usually) nouns are definitized with the article pre-fix, while prepositional phrases are not definitized at all:

Clause Attribution

**Attributes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>n-nāme 'ala masa'ire mūhde</td>
<td>'The monotonous tune made me sleepy' (lit. 'The melody on one tone...')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>n-nān 'amaši'na rānu 'am-ya'pu bal-'alā</td>
<td>'The people around us were talking loudly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>l-maḥallāt 'addām 'aḥsan man wara</td>
<td>'The seats in front are better than [those] in back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>l-kuraṭāt bal-mašša lāfatu rānu</td>
<td>'The neckties in the display window caught my eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>xād bal-'aṣma'amā 'ala lān</td>
<td>'Take this rainbow-colored moiré' (lit. 'Take this wavy [one] on the color of the rainbow')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ḥāyef has-sadd 'ala hūbāin 'idd</td>
<td>'Do you see that dam on Lake Qattinah?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prepositional Attributes

Examples, prepositional phrases, attributive to definite terms:

1. n-nāme 'ala masa'ire mūhde māḥī | 'The monotonous tune made me sleepy' (lit. 'The melody on one tone...')
2. n-nān 'amaši'na rānu 'am-ya'pu bal-'alā | 'The people around us were talking loudly' |
3. l-maḥallāt 'addām 'aḥsan man wara | 'The seats in front are better than [those] in back' |
4. l-kuraṭāt bal-mašša lāfatu rānu | 'The neckties in the display window caught my eye' |
5. xād bal-'aṣma'amā 'ala lān | 'Take this rainbow-colored moiré' (lit. 'Take this wavy [one] on the color of the rainbow') |
6. ḥāyef has-sadd 'ala hūbāin | 'Do you see that dam on Lake Qattinah?' |

Attributes

Examples. Single adjective, attributive to single noun (or noun with pronoun suffix):

1. waṭe ḫāfre | 'a small inheritance' |
2. maḍa' masṣakafl | 'an impossible situation' |
3. nās ḫaḍ*m | 'ignorant people' |
4. l-saqar 'l-ha?ṭṭ | 'the real danger' |
5. l-mašrūbāt 'l-mas*kra | '(the) intoxicating beverages' |
6. l-ṣarab 'a-sūriyyīn | 'the Syrian Arabs' |
7. han-nahb 'l-faṣ*m | 'this imposing monument' |
8. ra?ṭla l-ṣmāḥar | 'my immediate superior' |
9. ḥāzāṭak 'l-hāliyye | 'your present needs' |
10. ṣaṭb l-xāγ | '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 adjectival attribute to an inanimate dual noun is sometimes put in the feminine, in the same way as with plurals:

11. s-santān 'l-ṣammālāniyyīn | 'the first two years' |
    or s-santān 'l-ṣammālāniyye | |

Examples of feminine/plural adjectives [p. 201]:

12. n-nāshīna bal-sāynāt [AD-118] | 'treacherous women' |
13. n-nāshīna bal-sāynāt sāfrāt [PAT-197] | 'unveiled Moslem women' |

Examples of uninflected adjectives:

14. ḥāfa | 'medium' |
15. ḥāfa | 'medium sizes' |
16. ḥāfa | 'fresh' |
17. ḥāfa | 'fresh eggs' |
18. ḥāfa | 'authentic' |
19. ḥāfa | 'authentic Arab coffee' |
20. ḥāfa | 'good-looking' |
21. ḥāfa | 'that good-looking young man' |

See also pp. 428, 520.
Adjective attributes to a coordination:

18. raḥṣāli u-marā ʿaṣṣāmīn 'a hungry man and woman'
19. marī ʿa-muladī t-tasbāḥīn 'my tired wife and child'

The adjective is always plural in agreement with an ad
dditive coordination of singular nouns, but it may be femi
nine in agreement with a coordination of plurals, provided
that each of the plurals could itself take feminine agree
ment [p. 423]:

20. kastīb u-ṣumār u-suḥānāt ḍalīyā 'expensive books, pictures, and records'
21. l-ṣuṣāb bāl-saṣuṣī ʿa-l-qarabīyiye 'the Arab peoples and armies'

Feminine agreement with a coordination of plurals is
not limited to adjective attributes, but applies to any
kind of predication or attribution. Note, for example:
ṣa b-hal-maṣṣāf bāl-muṣābārat ʿa-li ṣaḥba l-ṣūmī?
'What's in those letters and announcements you took to
day?' l-kastīb bāṣ-ṣumār bāl-suḥānāt ḍalīyā 'Books, pictures, and records are expensive'.

Coordinated adjective attributes, with different referents:

22. maṣṣāfī ṣawariyīn w-māṣāṣiyīyē 'military and industrial installations'
23. s-sufara l-būtīnī w-l-anārīnīn w-l-fransīnī 'the British, American, and French
ambassadors'
24. l-luqatīn ʿa-l-qarabīyiye w-l-ʿadīḥīyīyē 'the Arabic and English languages'
25. l-ṣanāfī l-ṣaṣṣākī w-l-ṣaṣṣānīn 'the masculine and feminine genders'

As illustrated in examples 23-25, coordinated attribu
tes that apply distributively to different single referents
of a plural or dual noun do not agree with that plural or
dual, but with their singulars. In example 22, however,
the reference is presumably to more than one installation
of each kind mentioned, so the agreement is still with the
plural maṣṣāfī (whose singular, it so happens, is not
ordinarily used in any case).

When attributes to the same term have coinciding reference, then their
coordination is more often syndetic than asyndetic [p. 398]:

26. bānt halwe ṭasfīyē (or bānt ṭasfīyē)
halwe ʿa-l-latīfīyē 'a lovely (and) charming girl'

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:

27. ʿasaṣṣnī t-gīlīn 'a hot (and) copious evening meal'
28. l-bāṣṣāf l-muṣṣāl l-maṣṣāfīn 'the dirty (and) crowded buses'

Adjective attributes to (the leading term of) a noun construct:

34. sāsūrīt ṣabnī l-ṣādīde 'my son's new car'
35. ʿaṣṣāf maṣṣāfī ṣalārī 'a famous restaurant owner'

Example 35 is ambiguous: since both ʿaṣṣāf and maṣṣāfī
are masculine, the attribute ṣalārī could apply to either
term; the phrase could therefore also mean 'the owner of
a famous restaurant'.

36. sāsūrīt ṣaṣtī l-ṣādīde l-ṣādīde '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.
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 interpreta-
tion unlikely.)
See p. 460.

Adjective attributes to a numeral construct [p. 471]:

37. tiṣṣāt ṣalātīn ṭānyīn 'three other persons'
38. ʿaṣṣāf maṣṣāfī ṭānyīn (or ṭānyīn) 'four other copies'
39. ṣāmā ṭiṣṣāt marṣīn (or marṣīn) 'five blue chips'
An attributive adjective may be preceded by mā, lā, or gēr 'not, non-, un-' or by kīr 'very'. In attribution to a definite term, the article is prefixed to mā, lā, or kīr rather than to the adjective; in the case of gēr it is prefixed to the adjective but may or may not also be prefixed to kīr:

46. Sarāha mā mac'ūle lāl-maṣāri... Sarāhto l-mā mac'ūle lāl-maṣāri 'an abnormal desire for money' 'his abnormal desire for money'

47. Harake lā suʿārīyye... hal-harake l-lā suʿārīyye 'an unconscious impulse' 'that unconscious impulse'

48. Ėnal gēr qānūnī... Ėnal gēr *l-qānūnī 'an illegal act' 'the illegal act'

49. Ėenā gēr rasmi... Ėenā gēr *r-rasmi 'an unofficial dinner' 'the unofficial dinner'

50. Qawālīd *axālīyye kīr gārme... Qawālīd *l-axālīyye l-kīr gārme 'a very strict moral code' 'the very strict moral code'

A complemented passive particle is generally susceptible to phrase attribution:

51. Ėenā ēmāned ʾz-n-nūm ʾl-makṣūr 'I have to catch up on my sleep' (lit. "...to make up the sleep lost to me")

A complemented active particle is generally construed as a verb, and is therefore not susceptible to phrase attribution [p.267]. There are exceptions, however:

52. Ėenā mā naṣīrīd kull *p-prāf *l-maṣūf al-bādīd 'We still don't know all the facts concerning the accident' (or "...the circumstances surrounding...")

In certain parts of Greater Syria — notably Lebanon — the clause definitizer [p.494], ordinarily taking the form (ʾ)lī, is often reduced to the form l- and is therefore not always distinguishable from the article. The distinction between clause attribution and phrase attribution thus tends to be lost in the definite form as well as in the indefinite.

The reduced clause definitizer, however, is often not assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant: l-kabāniyye l-rayḥīn; l-tamār l-[PVA-30] 'the Lebanese (who have) returned from America'. (But cf. al-walād l-sāḥen fi bārta [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-mandābhīn ʾl-maṣūra ṭaṣābīhun 'the aforementioned delegates'; 'the delegates whose names have been mentioned'
Noun Attributes or Appositives (al-badal wa-caff l-bayyn):

Examples involving proper names and other human designations:

1. ṭa'āq̱ūb ʿd-dōkṯr
   'your brother the doctor'

2. ṣāḥīḥa ʿabd l-wāli
   'my darling(s the) children'

3. l-ḥayy ʿalī ʿabū ʿzīd
   'our friend (or colleague) Ali Abu Zaid' (lit. "[the] brother Ali...")

4. ḥasan ʿl-kandaršī
   'Hassan the shoemaker'

5. ḥādīšī tuh b-ṭalād
   'my friend Ahmed the peasant'

6. ṣ-ṣāhr Ṿl-ḥaḍīd ʾīṣām bīk ʿd-dōkṯr
   'the new son-in-law, Issam Bey the doctor'

Examples 6 and 7 each consist of three terms, the first being the 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. ḥiyye kāntu ʾbīṣet ʿabī, mū ḥāntu ʾbīṣet ʿwāl
   'She's his daughter-in-law, not his sister-in-law'

The words kāntu and ṣāhr 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. kāntu designates the wife of a son or of a brother, and ṣāhr, the husband of a daughter or a sister. Thus the phrases ʾbīṣet ʿabī 'his son's wife' and ʾbīṣet ʿwāl 'his brother's wife' in ex. 8 are put in apposition to kāntu in order to specify the relationship more exactly.

1In the traditional analysis al-badal (not to mention al-caff) does not come under the category of an-naḍīt 'attribute', probably because of the inclusion of such extraneous sub-categories as bādal l-baḍīf mina l-kull 'partitive apposition', bādal l-tifāfīl 'inclusive apposition', and al-badal l-nubāṣīn 'corrective apposition'. Partitive and inclusive apposition (which are of little or no importance in colloquial Arabic) belong with at-faḥfāṣ l-naḍīna [p.511] as constructions derived from partitive annexation [486]. While corrective apposition is not a proper grammatical category at all, attempts have been made to distinguish between al-badal l-muṣūfīn 'congruent apposition' (noun attribution) and caff l-bayyn 'explicative apposition' (asymmetric noun coordination).

Nouns designating the material of which something is composed are often used attributively:

- ṭaḥāb 'gold': 9. ṣansūl ṭaḥāb 'a gold chain'
- ṭaḥla 'silver': 10. ṣ-sakāfīn ʿl-taḥla 'the silver knives'
- ṣīlī 'china(ware)': 11. ʿi-ḥum ʿl-maṣīlī 'the china dishes'
- ʿawf 'wool': 12. ṣanāʿ ʿawf 'a wool sweater'
- ṣar 'fur, pelt': 13. kābbād ṣamī ṣ-far 'my mother's fur coat'

In example 13 the leading term is an annexation phrase.

Alternatively, in many cases, collocations of this type can be made by annexation rather than by attribution: ʿănī ṣanāʿa 'a sweater of wool', ʿanī ṣ-dāhāb 'the chain of gold'. (Note also the construction with a relative adjective [p.280]: ʿanī ṣ-dābartu 'a woolen sweater', ṣansūl ṭahshāyye 'a golden chain'.)

Note also:

- ṣādr 'powder': 14. ṣāck ṣādr 'powdered sugar'
- ṣām 'something in an unprocessed state': 15. ṣant的不同 ṣām 'metal ore'
- ṣaṭāf 'imitation': 16. ṣaṭāf ṣaṭāf 'imitation leather'
- ṣaḥa 'object of great value': 17. ṣaḥa ṣaḥa 'a wonderful book, a gem of a book'
- ṣaḥīd 'increase, excess': 18. ṣaḥīd ṣaḥīd 'more pay, extra pay'
- ṣaḥī 'sufficiency': 19. ṣaḥī ṣaḥī 'enough food'
- ṣafī 'left': 20. ṣafī ṣafī 'your left hand'
- ṣamīn 'right': 21. ṣamīn ṣamīn 'a right shoe'

Apposition phrases like these are distinguished from annexation phrases by the fact that the leading term may be defined with the article prefix (ex. 10, 11) or with a pronominal suffix (ex. 20). If the leading term has the -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 the fact that it is also normally used in the typically noun-like constructions: ṣām ʿl-ḥum ṣāt 'iron ore', ṣaṭāf ṣamīn 'on the right'.

Note:

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- ṣām 'something in an unprocessed state': 15. ṣant的不同 ṣām 'metal ore'
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Attributive noun phrases:

22. āstāne ṭabān ěrab ‘an Arab teacher’

Since ṭabān ěrab is itself an annexion phrase, it is made definite by prefixing the article to its following term only: 1-āstāne ṭabān ěl-ċarab ‘the Arab teacher’.

mūne ṭapfreh ‘short wave’:

23. rādyo mūne ṭapfreh ‘a short wave radio’

Since mūne ṭapfreh is a noun-adjective attribution phrase, both of its terms take the article when it is definitized:
r- rādyo 1-mūne 1-ṭapfreh ‘the short wave radio’.

Ṭyās wasaf ‘medium size’:

24. ṭamānun ṭyās wasaf ‘medium-size shirts’ (def. 1-ṭamānun 1-ṭyās 1-wasaf. wasaf is an uninflected adjective.)

Ṭāḥeb ṣamme ‘conscientious’

(fem. ṣāḥeb ṣamme, pl. ṣāḥeb ṣamme):

25. ṭāḥeb ṣāḥeb ṣamme ‘a conscientious student’

Basically ṣāḥeb ṣamme is a substantive construct, lit. “master (or owner) of conscience”, thus only the following term takes the article in opposition to a definite term:

Ṭāḥeb ṣāḥeb ṣamme ‘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-ṭāḥeb ṣ-ṣamme ‘the conscientious person’.

Attributive Numerals. The cardinal numerals from two to ten are commonly used in opposition to definite terms [p.494]:

n- wasfēn ṭ-lǐlīte ‘the three women’

l-ṭamānun ṭ-l-xamse ‘the five fingers’

pamāfīto ṭ-tīnēn ‘his two apprentices’

ṭānu ṭ-tīlīte ‘you three’

d-ṭamēn 1-ṭ-ṭamēn ‘the two countries’

The numeral ṭīnēn ‘two’ agrees in gender with the (singular of) term it is attributive to: fem. ṭamēn. (The feminine form is also commonly used in construct with a feminine term: ṭamēn wasfēn ‘two women’.)

The numeral wāḥed (fem. ṭūḥed) ‘one’ is unlike the other cardinal numerals in that it is used attributively like an ordinary adjective, with an indefinite term as well as a definite one:

wāḥed ṭūḥed ‘one room’

wāḥed ṭūḥed ‘one man’

Cardinal numerals above ten are used attributively in an ordinal sense:

l-ḥēn 1-ṭ-tānēn ‘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:

ṭāfā xamse ‘page five’

ṭāfā xamse ‘page fifty’

The cardinal numerals 1-12 are used in telling time, attributively to ṭ-sēf ‘the hour’, but without the article prefix:

s-ṭāfā ġašara ‘ten o’clock’

s-ṭāfā tānēn ṭ-mog ‘half past two’

Since the article prefix is not used with the numeral, the attribution phrase is indistinguishable in form from the predicative: s-ṭāfā ġašara ‘It’s ten o’clock’.

Elatives [p.313] and ordinals [316] are also used attributively, the latter agreeing in number/gender like ordinary adjectives.
Numerals with Appositives. Ethnic collectives (p. 301) and singular mass nouns [368] are used after the absolute form of numerals [170]:

1. *tašā *rab *w-*xamse *tāmārān* 'three Arabs and five Americans';
2. *ḥarbā *ahme *w-*tašā *bālīb* 'four coffees and three milks';

wāḥed and tān do not agree in gender with a feminine mass noun in position: *wāḥed *bīra 'one beer', tān *ahme '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: *wāḥed bant 'a girl, some girl, a certain girl', *wāḥed *āmārānī *ām American(m.)'. (wāḥed is of course not used with ethnic collectives, but with their unit derivatives [p. 301].)

Note also the phrases *wāḥed *gāfīhi 'a friend of mine' and nāš *gāfīhi '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. *kišāyūn *lūbye *w-*tašā *bītāmān* [DA-129] 'two kilos of beans and three of eggplant';
4. *(AF) 1-ja funeral hall *bātshā*? - *ḥarbā *bārd *sāmmi *tabāc *l-ḥarṣīn* [DA-245] 'What stamps do you want?' — Four twenty [piastre] air mail'

Specificative Apposition (or Specificative Complementation, at-tamyāra). The specificatives in examples 2 and 3 above are not true attributes, but rather COMPLEMENTS OF SPECIFICATION (at-tamyāra); they differ from true attributes in that they do not agree with their leading term in definition, but remain always indefinite: *ḥarbā *ahme 'the four coffees, t-tašā *bītāmān 'the three [kilos] of eggplant'; (Cf. the definite attribution phrase *t-tašā *l-ḥarṣ 'the three Arabs'; or better, *l-ḥarṣ *t-tašā [p. 509].)

Besides mass-noun specificatives with terms of quantification or measurement, specificative complements are sometimes used in phrases like the following:

1. *fārām *bāmāliyya *fāsīrt *ḥāf *īn *fārā *irṣa* 'a collective fine of ten thousand pounds';
2. *māmmūt *kamīl *rsām *māfūtā *a *beautiful collection of prints' (lit. "...[of] printed drawings");
3. *ḥas-ṣaniyya *l-ḥalam *nāš *fasfar '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 specificative. If the adjective is eliminated, then the specificative becomes either a true attribute — agreeing with the main term in definition — or else the main term is put in construct with it: *ḥas-ṣaniyya n-nāš *fasfar 'this brass tray' [cf. p. 507]; *māmmūt *rsām *māfūtā 'a collection of prints'.

Except as illustrated above, substantives in Syrian Arabic rarely take complements of specification; an isolated case is the noun *ṣafra 'quality, attribute, capacity' as used in phrases like *b-*ṣafra *qalam 'in his capacity as a teacher'.

Emphatic Apposition. (at-tamkāda). 2 Definite partitive constructs (p. 468) with *kāl 'all, whole' and *zīn 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:

*kaļ *zī-banāt 'all the girls' - *l-banāt *kāl 'the girls, all of them';
*kaļ *zī-banād 'the whole week' - *bānād *kāl 'the week, all of it';
*kaļ bītna 'our whole house' - *bītna *kāl 'our house, all of it';
*zīn *s-sayyārā 'the very car' - *s-sayyāra *zīn 'the car itself';
*nafs 'myself' - *nāna *nafs 'I myself'.

1Most of the constructions that come under the heading of at-tamyāra 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 [448]. The specificative specificatives treated here are, for nouns, what "adverbial noun complements" are for verbs.

2Another possibility is *t-tašā *l-ḥarṣ; this type of annexing form [171] is sometimes used with ethnic collectives and other nouns as well as with pronoun suffixes.

2Specificative complementation, then, is another kind of annexion-period phrase (p. 460). Cf. māmmūt *kamīl *rsām *māfūtā.

2More exactly, at-tamkāda *l-mānāmāt 'emphasis by meaning', as distinct from at-tamkāda *l-ḥafṣ 'emphasis by repetition'. See p. 394. At-tamkāda is not true attribution, but rather a kind of complementation or supplementation.
Order of Attributes

An attributive word or phrase precedes an attributive clause:

1. m-na?let *l-abd *l-ma?r?b | hali? tam? hay?y. ... (AO-118)
   'And she moved the wounded slave, who was still alive'

   'I have a very strange story, that can be a lesson for whoever is willing to learn'

A single attributive noun or adjective usually precedes an attributive phrase:

   'It's a work of art unique among its kind'

   'He does all the odd jobs around the house' (lagane is a noun, used attributively in an idiomatic sense, 'casual'.)

   'The author shows profound insight into the political situation'

In example 6 the phrase lal-ma?d *s-siy?si 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:

   'They're spreading ugly rumors about him'

   'That was a very imprudent act on your part' (lit. "...from you, by you")

A pronominal taba? phrase [p.489], however, may precede an adjectival attribute:

   'How do you like your new driving instructor?'
CHAPTER 20: SUPPLEMENTATION

The term 'supplementation' is used in this book to designate any of the various subordinating constructions that do not come under the more definite categories of attribution [p.493], annexion [455], or complementation [437]. Supplementation is a "loose" type of construction, which is often syntactically vague or unmarked, in some cases requiring no particular word order.

The most important kinds of supplement are ADVERBIAL, which modify verbs or verb phrases, and CLAUSE SUPPLEMENTS, which modify clauses as such. There are also supplements to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., and to sentences as such. Many supplements are used to modify terms of various kinds.

Adverbs and Other Supplemental Words

Strictly speaking, an adverb is a single word that is used mainly or always to modify verbs or verb phrases. More broadly, words that are used mainly to supplement clauses or adjectives are also called adverbs. Examples:

kamān 'also, too, more, again':

1. ṣubqōna kamān šmayyet lāmān 'Bring some lemons (or oranges) too' (or: 'Bring a few more lemons')
2. marnā baadā šī šmayyet ḥqāqi, m-nana kamān 'Marwan wants a few clothes, and so do I'
3. w-qandi kāmān ǧīget ḥqāqi, bīamma ūf xamāt ħīqā lāyā [DA-297] 'And I also have my wife's (lit. family's) jewelry; it's worth about five thousand pounds'
4. w-qimi ǧala kānāb ūf w-arān bāftā kāmān [DA-109] 'And put aside for me a couple of okes of beefsteak, too'
5. lāsem nūm kāmān šmayye [AO-51] 'I must sleep a little more'
6. hāda mantā tānī kāmān 'That's something else again'
7. ʿaṣṭīn ʿanṣīntān nḥīt kāmān ʿaṣīta ḥstrād 'Give me two more bottles of wine, if you will'

*Ideally, the contrast between complementation and supplementation is a difference between non-subordinating (exocentric) and subordinating (endocentric) constructions that are otherwise similar. Actually, however, the difference between them cannot be sharply drawn; many of the constructions included under complementation are subordinating in one sense or another.*
"āmīn 'quick(ly)';

8. rāḥet marṭi ?āmīn, wa-baṣ'ād ᵃw.pathname ᵃw._unlock [AO-51]

9. haṭṭī ēnek ēala ēṇī ?āmīn

10. naff ?āmīn!

sama 'together';

11. ʿaṣṭiḥon ṣāyīn āal-bēt sama

12. ʿina mā fī māneʿ mawṣūfa? sama [DA-248]

The word sama is sometimes also used predicatively:
batṣiḥon sama ʿakṣar ʿīl-mā'it 'You see them together most of the time' (Predicate complement [p.447]).

bakkīr 'early';

13. ʿaṣa bḥṭ bakkīr, āṣ-ṣabkẖ [AO-34]

14. man ḫāz ṭāṬ ṭadā ma ṣīk bakkīr

15. ʿāṣina bakkīr ʿal-hafle

The word bakkīr is occasionally used predicatively:
maṭla bakkīr, āṣ-ṣabkẖ ʿīl mawṣūfā tānī ʿīnī 'Why it's early! Stay another half hour'.

halla? 'now, right now, just now':

16. abu sāmīr halla? ṣawāḥi

17. halla? soṭṭī ṣaḥbiyye

18. ʿīnī ḫām-yadros halla? [AO-119]

19. ʿīnī badḥak ṣaḥṣīh halla? ḫām-yaddān [AO-119]

20. halla? bābēkat-lah ʿīs-pānī ṣawāḥen [DA-129]

My wife went quickly, and after a while she came back'.

'Look (f.) me in the eye now, quick!'

'Quick, hop to it!'

'I saw you going into the house together'

'If there's no objection, we can go together'

The demonstratives hām 'here', ḥāf ʿthere', and ḥāk 'so, thus, like that' are commonly used adverbially, but are basically predicatives [p.381]. See S59ff. The words bākra 'tomorrow' and māḥēh 'yesterday' are basically nouns [p.521].

On ṣanna and baṣ'ād '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:

?asāsān ʿbasically'.......?asās 'basis'

haʔṭāṭan 'truly, really'....haʔṭā 'truth, reality'

Ṣudatan 'usually, customarily'.....ṣūṭe 'habit, custom, usage'

faʾṭānı 'actually'....faʾṭ 'act'

dāʔūtămān, ḩāyāmum 'always'.....dāʔīm 'lasting, permanent'

?axīṭan 'finally'.....?axīṭ 'final'

waʔūʔtān 'temporarily'.....wǎʔūʔat 'temporary'

yūnūtiyyan 'daily'.....yūnī 'daily' (adj.)

nasbiyyan 'relatively'.....nasbi 'relative'

nasbatān 'relatively'.....nasba 'relationship'

mǎliyyan 'financially'.....mǎli 'financial'

Most of these forms are classicisms, though some are very solidly established 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. Caba'atan munkun barra bar-rrif b-hal-faq'il màn 's-sane
   'We’re usually out in the country at this time of the year.'

2. s-sana 'taxran ēm-tṣgha
   'The sky is finally clearing.'

3. 'ana mālīyayn ma'atemed čāle
   'I’m financially dependent on him.'

4. byatē'mal ra'snān màt 's-bārke
   'He deals directly with the company' (ra'san 'directly': Cf. ra’s 'head')

5. dāymān huwme bigašš bāl-ejīrafe
   'He always cheats on examinations.'

6. tyūba dāymān ḍala 'āxer màda
   'Her clothes are always in the latest style.'

7. kāl ḍanāmi kān yūdāqīn, xāpān ṭahtayyi [AO-51]
   'My whole body ached, especially my legs' (xarga 'especially': xاغ 'specialness')

8. l-fi'aarā xāṣṣātān tēṣṣubu bṭīr
   'The poor, especially, suffered a lot' (xāṣṣātan 'especially': xاṣṣa 'special characteristic')

9. ṣanā sačtā bāf'rīr ṭi-jayyēra? yūmīyyayn ṣa-ṣēqa sabcā p-sab'h [DA-249]
   'When does the plane leave? — Daily at seven in the morning'

10. ta'rīban xala'at
    'I’m almost finished' (ta'rīban 'almost, about, approximately': ta-rīb 'approximation')

11. pal-li hūn ta'rīban ṭaḥdāqar șahr
    'I’ve been here about eleven months'

12. ṭaddē Españ ta'rīban? [DA-80A]
    'About how much does she want?'

13. d-dars kān hāyyan nisbatan
    'The lesson was relatively easy'

Adverbs in -an following the supplemented term are often unaccented: hāyyan nisbatan 'relatively easy'. (Cf. predicate-subject inversion [p.419].)

A special case of derivation is the clause supplement bađdēn 'then, afterwards', from the preposition bađdēn 'after':

14. bākol bāt-faz't w-bađdēn ṭu'mān w-balbēs [AO-34]
    'I eat in bed and then I get up and dress'

15. halalā ḍamma-mañ'aret... bađdēn bātattī [AO-67]
    'Now its sprinkling a few drops; later it will rain'

16. bađēti načak bađdēn
    'I’ll talk with you later'

17. rāhret ēal-ṣawwē bađdēn?
    'Did you go to the Youth Club afterwards?'

18. ṭṣgha, bađdēn ṭi'tlest bāl-ṣubrī?
    'Be careful or you’ll upset the pitcher'

In ex. 18 bađdēn is used in a consequential sense rather than in a purely temporal sense; in such cases the English translation is generally 'or, or else'.

bađdēn is also used in an additive sense 'then, also, then too':

19. ṭal biš-r'f man ṭaḥdāqar sane la'anna yallī w-ʔahlī byaṭāfu bađdēn, w-bađdēn man ṭīl hayāto ālī kān bāl-ṭamūkriyī̀ye
    '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-ṣaṭṭa ṣarīb nāčan-małla-hal-li b-bānā
    'That plan is pretty close to what we had in mind' (ناَد 'kind, sort')

21. hawme nāčan-ma xābīr b-hal-faq'īl
    'He’s something of an expert in that field'

22. ṣīfēt-μa bačref ḥal-hamāqāa
    'I hardly know those people' (ٍل 'scarcity, small amount')

Cf. subordinating conjunction ma, p. 490.

The suffix -an of bađdēn is presumably a special alteration of -an; note that the Lebanese form in areas where general Syrian ġ is usually changed to ḍy (p.14 ) is bađdēn (not ḍađdēn). Note also the forms bađdan [SPA-462] and ṭađban 'before' (adverbial) [SAL-96]: ḍē ṯaqājīl ṭaḍblan? 'What did you work at previously?'. Feghali [SPA] always writes bađdēn (= bađdan), never bađdēn; 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, uninfllected:

şayyeb ‘well’
má₇θ ‘well’
şagri ‘straight, directly’

tamâm ‘entirely, perfectly, exactly’
magbûf ‘right, correctly, straight, perfectly’

dagrib ‘much, a lot, very, too’

Most supplemental adjectives always follow the supplemental term, but kîfr, and sometimes tamâm, may either precede or follow.

Examples in use:

1. baṭarafrîni şayyeb, ya bêk [DA-128] ‘You know me well, sir’
2. ụna bêdâk taḥref ụma₇θ kall ụbi-hal-balad [DA-128] ‘I want you to become well acquainted with everything in this town’
3. lê ṭamâxânî, mà hâmît ġâlêk ụma₇θ [DA-17] ‘I’m sorry, I didn’t understand you very well’
4. xalîna nrûf dagrib ġal-totél ‘Let’s go straight to the hotel’
5. qanâcîn tamâm ‘He convinced me completely’
6. mà yônên tîlû kênê šûfti ṣamma-t’âṣser, hâlla’ uwaṣṣet tamâm [AO-71] ‘For two or three days my watch had been losing time; now it’s stopped altogether’
7. s-sâca xamse tamâm ‘It’s exactly five o’clock’
8. Emâṭt tamâm ġâk hâlli ‘alil-sâlak yà ‘You’ve done exactly the opposite of what I told you’
9. mà hâmînti magbûf ‘You didn’t understand me rightly’
10. mbâṣaf ‘ktir b-rať tak [DA-235] ‘I very much enjoyed your company’
11. bâṣṭûn ṣaḥ-hânta bâṭeb šûfti kîfr [DA-252] ‘I believe this bag will please my wife very much’
12. ụnaṣṣi mat’âṣsûre kîfr ‘My nerves are strongly affected’
13. t’axakarna kîfr, lâzen namî ‘We’re very late, we must go’
14. magbûfûn ‘ktâr ‘They’re quite well’

Adverbial Nouns and Noun Phrases. Many nouns and noun phrases are used supplementally, especially designations of time and of quantity. Examples:

bakra (or bûkra) ‘tomorrow’
l-yêm ‘today’
l-masa ‘this evening’
l-lêlê ‘tonight’
mbarê (or mbarà) ‘yesterday’
‘But it’s really very nice, and then too, its meaning is perfectly clear’
‘It’s very true to life, you see’
‘Fareed is very fond of that kinship; he likes it a lot’

Note also: gabhi kîfr ‘a good friend of mine’ (in which gabe is construed as an adjective [cf. pp. 406, 508]).

kîfr may also be used as a noun ‘a lot, a large amount’, in partitive annexion [466]: kîfr nâs ‘a lot of people’ (cf. periphrasis [465] kîfr mn ‘n-nâs’; or in apposition: nâs ‘ktîfr (same translation); cf. nâs ‘ktîfr ‘many people’ (adjective attribute).

Examples in use:

1. sâf ‘awmal ụmaṣṣi ụma ‘He left the day before yesterday’
2. ụnnîk ‘mbarê bôn-muṣṣakara? ‘How did you do yesterday in the home-work session?’
3. l-âyu ‘a bôddnâ nônça ‘l-yêm ‘Let’s see what we’re having for dinner today’
4. *bakra* mungāref *'ād-yah*rn
5. *nāyen* b-bēt xālti l-līle
6. *īsī rāḥa-nāsī* l-yūm āsīyye?
7. *basnač* ṣazbārka bās-sāne marra
8. *ḍadā* *s-sakkān* nād xamse bal-niyye
9. *mā* ṣāfthā *al-ab* *s-sabiyye* l-nūfīlye [AO-117]
11. *bāt* raγf kālī *l-ḥamāliyye* yāni ḍiyūm
12. ṣāni yūm ḍaʃef
13. l-bārd bās-sāne *pāka* ḍala bākfr [DA-197]
14. *byaʃtāc* *l-ḍardon* kālī *s-sane* [AO-59]
15. ḍālīm mū bāʃfale haʔ-ṣadd
16. ḍē tānī kālī haʔ-ṣadd mū mbālī
tālī-
17. l-fathā mū kāhir kefāye
18. ḍānī nūm kāmān ṣāyey [AO-51]
19. *pāna* ṣāyey bardān
20. *ṭaʔat* kānāt ṣāyey mū nusaffa*ā*
21. bādī rūḥ lāken maʃūl ṣāyey
22. bass ḍāda kīfr ṣāyey [DA-297]

'Tomorrow we get out at noon'
'I'm sleeping at my aunt's house tonight'

'What are we going to do this evening?' (lit. "...today the evening")
'I hear from her once a year' (lit. "...her news in the year once")

'The population increased five percent.'
'Then (lit. "its time") the girl turned the frying pan over'

'One day (lit. "a day of the days") the girls were at the window when a sheikh went by on the road'

'You get disgusted with the whole business, some days, that is'
'The next day, he got sick'

'The cold weather this year has come early'

'He tills the soil the whole year'

'They're not so badly off' (lit. "Their condition is not bad that amount")
'Don't be so indifferent'

'The opening isn't big enough' (cf. p. 507)
'I must sleep a little more'
'I'm a bit chilly'

'Your choice was rather unfortunate'

'I want to go, but I'm rather busy'
'But that's a little too much'

Note, in ex. 21 and 22, that ṣāyey in supplementation to a preceding adjective is commonly unaccented.

Ṣāyey, like its antonym kīfr, may be used in construct with a noun [p.470]: ṣāyey xālī *a little bread*, ṣāyey yīlī *a little cold (weather)*.

23. ṣāyey ṣāyey hama hadd

'Little by little he calmed down'
24. l-māṣārn ābū wāḥed māḥed [PAT-169]

'The guests arrived one by one'
25. ʿīd baḥd ṣānni ḳalma ḳalma...

'Repeat after me word for word...'
26. mīn bāza la-ṣandal ṣt-tāni ṣakkār?

'Who comes to visit the other most [often]?'
27. l-māṣar bōnāf ṣakkār u-ṣakkār [AO-67]

'The rain comes down harder and harder' (lit. "...more and more")
28. ḍēmān bāyāfūq ṣāḥsan man ṣābū ṣāḥmad [AO-47]

'I believe he does better work than Abu Ahmed' (lit. "works better than...")

Ṣakkār and ṣāḥsan are commonly used supplementally, as relatives of kīfr and māḥ, respectively [p.520].

Prepositional Supplements. Prepositional phrases of all kinds (except tālī [p.489]) are used adverbially:

1. *pāna ḍayey*bak bāfēd gali[t ḍayey][p.472]

'I'll wake you after morning prayer'
2. *bām-yaktob maʃfīt *l-ʃīya bāf-gajf

'He's doing his physics assignment in the classroom'
3. *ḍal-ṣanāra* *māsāra* ṣāyē ḍī-ṣand *ṭl-māṣa mākōl [AO-30]

'Late in the afternoon we drink tea and in the evening we eat'
4. ḍēgī bāf-bēt ṣāfaddun w-bāfēd-ṣall xabar maq ṣand ḍānī [DA-130]

'I'll see in the house what they want, and send you word by the maid'
5. *pāna b-ṣāni ṣofta b-mādi l-ḥūl [AO-107]

'With my [own] eyes[ ] I saw her in Ghoul Valley' (The phrase b-mādi l-ḥūl is an objective complement [p.447].)
6. ṣāyey ṣāyey ṣāyey tālī ṣābī ṣt-l-ʃakīf [DA-199]

'Would you like something to drink before eating?'
7. 'ana ēlāa kall ḍal mā ḍākol jār bas-bāt [DA-198] 'In any case I only eat at home' (bas-bāt is supplemental to the verb, ḍākol, while ēlāa kall ḍal is supplemental to the whole clause.)

8. ḍā aborted bas-sar?a? 'Why are you driving so fast?' (lit. "...with this speed")

9. bas-ṣāmīyya yasākum baṣ-fābe? [12/28], baṣ-sabāb il-badd mar-ṭūba? [NO-39] 'In the winter they live on the upper storey, because of the cold and damp' (The phrase baṣ-sabāb... is supplemental to the whole preceding clause, while bas-ṣāmīyya is supplemental only to the following verb phrase. baṣ-fābe?... is the prepositional complement to the verb.)

10. l-ṣāhīma bas-hāl fālaqet takṣīb 'The government immediately issued a denial.'

11. wa?ṣaf *s-sayyāra ēl-“ṣārīr 'He brought the car to a complete stop'

12. ēl-ha’a wa?ṣa bta?ntha? '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. ēlāa ḡālē 'suddenly', ēl-ha’a ḍāf 'sooner', ēl-ha’a ṣāl 'always, continuously', baṣ-marra 'at all' (with negative), baṣ-bet 'hardly', etc. The forms ḍārīr (ex. 11) and ha’a (12) are anomalous, used only in these set phrases (and baṣ-ṭārīr 'finally'). One would expect ḍārīr or ḍāl-ṣarīr 'final, last, end', and ha’a ‘its(f.)right, its truth.'

13. man-kannās 3-l-bāt mā ḍaf? [LA-20] la-ta?ta? 'We'll sweep the house from top to bottom'

14. ḍākat kālām mā ḍafat m-w-sawatnī baṣ-dha ṣan’tal ma baṣṣaf - nappi ḍāṣar m-nappi laḥ?m [NO-118] 'She said something I didn’t understand, and then made me the way you see me - half stone and half flesh' (baṣ-dha lit. "after it(f.)")


Examples of prepositional supplements to non-verbal clauses:

15. la-dara?nā humme maṣul 'To a [certain] degree, he is responsible'

16. ḍāl-malād 3-mro xams 3-nin humme fawil kītār 'For a five-year-old boy he's quite tall'

17. baṣ-fābe? ḍaṭ-taqrīr ēlāa ḍal 3-l-Cumān ṣa?īr 'I believe this report is on the whole correct'

18. baṣ-nāḥye ṣ-nagarīyya mā fī ṣaṭṭīlāf kītār 'From a theoretical point of view there's not much difference'

Prepositional supplements to non-verbal words and phrases:

19. humme dōktōr ḍal-qaṭifād 'He's a doctor of economics'

20. baṣ-dhōn ēl-3-alla ṣamā? 'They'll need at least a week' (The form ?aalla is a classicism; colloquial ?aalla 'least'.)

21. kītār ṣa? t-xa?rīl? ṣāla ?aß?r lāṭārīsī 'Many myths have a historical foundation'

22. mā xalla ṣamū ṣa? fawādī sāl-ul-waṣīyya ṣaß?r ḍaf? 'He didn't leave out any kind of fruit or sweet (but what he put in)'

23. hāßa mā ṣa? ṣādī ṣalīyya 'This is not something new to me'

24. bāxṭōnī ṣlaṭ-marrāt ḍal-yām [DA-218] 'I take them three times a day' (lit. "...in a day")

25. l-maḥād cand bētī maw-tānī bāḍo b-ṭāmā?n dākāfīn [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-ṭāmā?n... is supplemental to the prepositional predicate bāḍo. In ex. 24, bāḍo is supplemental (or complementary) to the nominal supplement ṣlaṭ-marrāt. The ma-phrases in ex. 21 and 22 are annexation periphrases [p.468].

Most prepositional phrases that are subordinate to nouns are attributive [p.500]; many of those subordinate to adjectives are complementary.
Besides adverbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, a few words of other kinds are used supplementally:

- ḥaṭta 'even' (as a conjunction, 'until, in order that' [p.358]):
  1. ḥaṭṭa r-raḍūl ʿa-l-faḏdī byyafham hāl-ʾaṭ ṭaṭṭī 'Even a layman understands that'
  2. mā ḥaṭṭa ḥaṭṭa l-ḥaḍāt ʿa-l-yaḥyī 'No one even noticed his absence'
  3. mā ḏarʾt ʿa-l-yaḥyī ḥaṭṭa 'I didn't even get to see him'

- bass 'only' (as a conjunction, 'but, as soon as' [p.398, 357]):
  4. nasfīyān ēmmā ḏaš ṭaṭṭī 'We only have two left'
  5. mā bass ḥalwē, mākiyye kanān 'She's not only pretty; she's also intelligent'
  6. waṣāl ʿa-l-hān man dāʾfī a bass 'I only got here a minute ago'

byaṣla 'about, what amounts to' (as a verb, 'it comes out'):

- 7. ʿaassarna byaṣla mīt ṫaṣkārī '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 it¹; 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. bāl-munāṣib wēn ʿa-l-dawsāt ʿa-lī màṭalīna fṭīnī? 'By the way, where are the cigarettes (lit. 'smokes') you promised us?'

2. mā bāṭaṣṣar ʿa-l-sāyīl, ʿa yāṭīn bāṣdek ʿa-l-faḍlā pārūṣī? 'Don’t worry, I won’t be late; what do you(f.) expect, anyway — for me to get on a rocket?'

³This 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].

In ex. 12 the second person suffix with maʿlaš (lit. 'known') is a sort of "ethical dative" [p.483], which imparts a note of intimacy to what otherwise be a starkly impersonal statement.
**Supplemental Clauses**

Supplemental clauses generally may either precede or follow the main clause:

- **qamal ma muqal ʿafšīna xabar**
- **w-saḥ bišāhama to ḫusmar xabar**

> 'As soon as you get there' ... 'Let us know as soon as you get there'...

Most supplemental clauses are clause supplements, i.e., they enter into construction with the main clause as such. A few, however, are sentence supplements or phrase supplements (p. 529).

The main types of supplemental clause are CONDITIONAL clauses, which are amply illustrated in Chapter 12 [p. 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. **tabīl ma tiḥbēs biḥṣāmīk taṣfīd la-ḏirāsīk**

> 'Before you put on your pajamas, you must sit down and study' (lit. '... sit to your study')

2. **baṣdā ma l-mwās ẓannū-l-lān**

> 'After the people sang and danced for them, they went away and left them alone' [See p. 411.]

3. **baṣdā ma l-ʿaṣu l-maqnī ṭente**

> 'Since they've found the guilty one, you are now exonerated' (lit. 'After they've found... you have now been exonerated')

4. **mā ʿaṣfī hadda ma waṣṣīl ma rḥeṣfī**

> 'I haven't seen anyone since I got back'

5. **btaṣdīr ṭaṣlīl maṣlāk ṭadd ma baddak**

> 'You can keep it (lit. 'leave it with you') as long as you want'

6. **b-māḥarrad ma ṣakār ṭaṣman ḥaṭīret**

> 'No sooner had he mentioned her name than she appeared'

7. **b-qamāl-lāk tāḥfīn ʿb-dāftīrī ṭeṣma ṭaṣḥīfīr**

> 'I'll give you a phone call the minute I find out'

8. **lāhī mā btaḥmāl-lāk ʿīf zamūdī ma taṣfīd fīl-ʿi-maṣṣa ṭaṣḥağakār**

> 'Why don't you do something instead of complaining all the time?'

9. **ṭurāt ʿl-wūda ṣabā ma ṭaḥki ḥile**

> 'She left the room without saying a word'

10. **Ṣy mā ṣayīḥān lākṣ bān ṭa l-fār ʿuṣṣānī**

> 'Some people live in luxury while others go hungry'

11. **mā mā fi ṭuṣīr ṭaṣfīl ma bīṣār ṭaṣdākān [DA-150]**

> 'And there isn't the humidity you get there' (lit. '... like it is with you (pl.)')

12. **muḥārī ṭaṣḥaṭ ḥaṭḥa ṣāḥīb b-tiyyām ʿl-baṣīl ṭaṣfīl ma ṣabīl ʿl-ṭaṣlīfīya [DA-299]**

> 'We distribute it among them so that they may eat during the holiday as the rich eat'

māṣfīl ma is more often used in supplementation to a word or phrase than to the whole main clause. In ex. 12 the māṣfīl ma clause is supplemental to the verb ṣāḥīb; in ex. 11, to the noun ṭuṣīr.

Examples of ma clauses as sentence supplements:

13. **bula ṭa ṣamā, ḥaṭf-ʿallī ʿŚū ṭalīṣīn ʿaṣṣ ṭaṣma ṭaḥāfīt maṣīp [DA-130]**

> 'Before I forget – put in (for me) a couple of kilos of plums and three of pears'

14. **bāṣb ṭa ṭaḥbīf mā fi ṭaṣlāk bēṣa**

> 'As far as I know, there's no mail for you'

For a sentence-supplement tīsa clause, see ex. 12, p. 332

**Adverbial clauses introduced by words or phrases other than ma:**

15. **lāmama ṣabāṣ ṭaṣma ṭaṣbāṣ ṭu-ṣaṣṭī ṭaṣḥīfīr [DA-103]**

> 'When the year ended, the shepherd demanded his pay'

16. **l-ṭūm ṭa ṣamā ṭaṣma ṭaṣbāṣ ṭu-ṣaṣṭī ṭaṣḥīfīr [DA-130]**

> 'Today when I woke up I had a severe headache'

17. **ṭaṭfī ṣaṭṭī ṭa ṣamā ṭaṭmā ʿaṣṣ ʿaṣṣ ṭaṣbāṣ ṭu-ṣaṣṭī ṭaṣḥīfīr [DA-245]**

> 'Get in touch with me when you want me'

18. **bāṣb ṭa ṣalām-li ṣaṣ-saṭṭ māṣ ṭaṭbāṣ ṭu-ṣaṣṭī ṭaṣḥīfīr [DA-245]**

> 'Please give my regards to your wife when she arrives'

19. **māṣ ṭuṣbāṣ ṭiḥār ṭiḥār ṭaṣḥīfīr ṭa ṣabīl ṭaṣḥār ṭa ṣabīl [DA-217]**

> '[During the] time I spent two months in New York I saw him every day'

20. **yēm ṭa ṣamā ṭa ṣabīl ṭa ṣabīl ṭa ṣabīl [DA-245]**

> 'The day we came back from Beirut I caught cold'

21. **bāṣb ṭa ṣamā ṭaṣfīl ṭīyām ṭa ṣamā ṭa ṣowāṣ ʿaṣṣ ṭa ṣowāṣ ṭaṣḥīfīr [DA-217]**

> 'As soon as you find the house you and I will go together to see it'
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:

   ‘Before I came here I went to Europe’

   ‘And she started cutting off their heads every time one of them would come in’

Circumstantial Clauses (al-?umla l-?aliyya)

The conjunction m- [p.391] introduces subordinate clauses with the sense ‘while, when, with’:

   ‘How could he help but fail in the test when he hasn’t opened a book?’

   ‘I scraped the floor of the car (while I was) backing out of the garage’

   ‘(As he was) walking alone and wondering, he heard the sound of weeping’ (lit. ‘...a howl of weeping’)

   ‘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 m-.

In some cases (ex. 4), subordinate clauses are not necessarily distinguishable from coordinate clauses (‘See there, Aleppo has come into view, and its citadel is in the middle’).

Further examples:

5. b?l?n baddo f-jab?b
   ‘How can the food get done with the pots hung up in the tree?’

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.433]—placed in front of the conjunction. (This type of extraposition requires no resumptive subject pronoun.)

   ‘When Almighty God apportioned His gifts among men, the peasant was absent’

   ‘When the girls were left alone, they started looking around the house’

   ‘After he cured the king, he (the king) didn’t reward him’ (Extrapositive object)

   ‘When I first came, I lived at the house of those people’

   ‘ Lots of young men, when they’re adolescent, try to compose some sort of poetry’

   ‘When a little boy is angry with his father and then makes up with him, he comes and leans his head [against him] like this’
Supplementary

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 ana-phoric suppression [p. 537] of gär before yatfarrāz).

'The country people like to eat them while they're green.'

'The girl was behind the door with a sword in her hand' (Or as a coördination: ... and a sword was in her hand')

'And she ran, carrying a bowl with water in it' (lit. ... and with her a bowl, in it water')

'Strike the iron while it's hot.'

'(From) where can I send a postal money order?' — Third window as you go in'

'The door opened as if by magic' (lit. ... and it was as if there were magic in it')

'Could you bring me my coffee with a dash of brandy in it?'

'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):

'Pick me up on your way'

'And on our way, we went by Niagara Falls'
CHAPTER 21: SUBSTITUTION

The main types of substitutes in Arabic are personal pronouns [p. 539], demonstratives [552], question words [566], and answer words [538]. 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 hân 'here' and hâf 'there' substitute for certain kinds of prepositional phrases, etc.

Anaphoric Substitution

The third-person pronouns (humus, hiiye, hunne; -o, -ha, -hun) occur mainly in anaphoric sequence: as sequent to an antecedent. The antecedent is a noun or noun phrase which is subsequently replaced in the discourse by the sequent pronoun: bâc'ref hâs-hâb 'ante? 'Do you know that young man? — 'Ib bâc'ref manh, dâbî hâmus '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 subject pronoun where English has none in sentences such as mân 'âl-bent âli Bâftak mâchâ? 'Who's the girl I saw with?'; whereas English requires a subject pronoun, and Arabic does not, in sentences like fâtâbâr makhâmâ? — wâjla ktfîr mbâbîf '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: yallî bâhî yôbî yâfî yâfî 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'; fê candâk ê fîs têb érîg? 'Have you any other books?' (lit. 'books other than them (i.e.,?)'); yâm bikhâm fê fîrîs tâmadârâs mâm bâftak [DA: 239] 'The schools don't open on a holiday' (lit. 'A day there is in li (m.) vacation...').

1The term 'antecedent' in this book is used only in connection with anaphoric sequences; elsewhere, however, it is sometimes also used to designate the leading term in attribution: "the antecedent of a relative clause" = the term to which a clause is attributive [p. 493].

The term 'sequent' has sometimes been used as a translation of the Arabic 'aibî', 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.
SUBSTITUTION

When the antecedent is vague — or conceptual rather than strictly verbal — the feminine singular pronoun is often used as its sequent: massabli ?al'ab tanes ma dam ma a?id f?has ‘I’m allowed to play tennis as long as I don’t overdo it’. Neither the noun tanes nor the clause ?al'ab tanes is exactly the antecedent of ?a?it(f.); in either case the sequent would then have to be masculine. See p. 428.

The "answer words" la? ‘no’ and %, ?aw, na?am, mabla (all translated ‘yes’) are anaphoric predication-substitutes. They eliminate repetition, in an answer, of the predication in a question. The word mabla 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. %, mabla, and la?, especially, are commonly followed by something more; when used alone, they sometimes sound rather curt. Hence: ?al'?i? ?a?hamad? — % ?al'ito ‘Did you see Ahmed? — Yes, I did’; % ?al?ito ?a?hamad? — mabla ?al?ito ‘Didn’t you see Ahmed? — Yes, I did’; la? % ?al?ito ‘No, I didn’t’ (in answer to either question).

The word na?am is more polite or deferential than %.

It is used, furthermore, (with falling intonation) in response to a call or a command: ya ?a?hamad? — na?am. ‘Oh Ahmed... — Yes?’, and (with rising intonation) to ask for repetition or continuation of something said: na?am? ‘What?’. ‘I beg your pardon? ‘Yes?’. Note also the combination % na?am, which is more deferential, or more affable, than na?am alone.

la? is used anaphorically in coordinations with w?lla ‘or’ [p. 395]: b?b?i w?lla la? ‘Are you coming, or not?’

The form la? is not much used in a purely exclamatory capacity; the usual negative interjection are ?a and la?: i?i w?lla ‘No indeed!’; la? la? ‘No, no!’ (reaction of dismay).

There is also a form la? sometimes used (anaphorically) instead of la?.

The demonstratives ?a?da ‘this, that’, ?a?la ‘so, thus, this, that’, and h?db ‘there’ are often used anaphorically (but h?db not so much as English ‘there’ [p. 561]). See p. 554 ff.

The interrogative substitutes or "question words" [p. 566] (% ‘what’, ?am ‘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. I-mas'ale m? mas'alt ?a-sal?ah. ‘It isn’t a question of the price’ (lit. ‘The question isn’t...’)
2. xayyaf-lak hal-marad h?da marad ?a?ll? ‘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 anaphoric suffixes, while in English the independent possessives (mine, yours, etc.) usually substitute in the sequent:

3. ma?abu ?awad man ma?ab. ‘His salary is more than mine’

Another anaphoric construction characteristic of Arabic is the supplementation of a singular noun by a man phrase with its plural or dual: y?m man i?la? y?y?d ‘one day’ (lit. ‘a day of the days’), b?n?i man b?n?i ?abu ?al? ‘One of Abu Ali’s daughters’;

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: $§oyf hal-bēt $kmēk? – ($§) $§oyf 'Do you see that house over there?' – Yes, I do': bēdē maēnā? – la? mā $bēdē '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. ?ana rōyēf hāla? – w-$ana kamēn
   'I'm going now. – So am I' (or 'I am too')

8. jalāb ma$šēri ?amād mān ?arē
   'He asked for more money than his brother did'

After mān 'that', mā$ēl 'like, as', ?add '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. farē $l-falāsafē tabā'id bīmētēn $halāf $man $l-$līsīnīyy a-$līsīnīyy
   'The philosophy department of our university is better than that of University X'

10. ēmāro ta$rībān āddī (or āddī ēmā) $man $mān
    '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. s$ēl ēn $l-$nār ābl $d-$dār, w-$ēn $r-$rāfī ābl $-$frāfī
    (Saying)
   'Ask about the neighbor before you ask about the house, and about the traveling companion, before you ask about the road'

   Similarly: māst $l-$mēdī 'as in the past' (cf. bēl $mēdī 'in the past'), māst $l-$māsmāl 'as in the beginning' (cf. bēl $māsmāl 'in the beginning, at first'). Note also: mānēt $l-$rāfī $l-$marēb $rāfī $rāfī 'equality of women's right with men's (or ...with those of men)'.

**PERSONAL PRONOUNS (a$-dāmēr)**

There are eight personal pronouns in Syrian Arabic, each of them representing a person category combined with a number/gender category [p.363]. Each pronoun has two main forms: The SUFFIXED form is used as object to a verb [p.438] or as the following term in a construct [457] or a prepositional phrase [477] or after certain conjunctions, etc. [543]. The INDEPENDENT form is used otherwise, e.g. as subject [548], or as an appositive [512] or extraposition [432].

The independent forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Third Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>First Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>humme 'he, it'</td>
<td>?ūnti 'you'</td>
<td>?ana 'I' (m. and f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>hiyye 'she, it'</td>
<td>?ūnti 'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ḥanne 'they'</td>
<td>?ūnti 'you'</td>
<td>nāhna 'we'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stylistic and dialectal variants include the apocopated forms hē 'he, it', hē 'she', ?ūnti 'you (m.)', and nāhna 'we'. Also ḥanne 'they' (Damascus), humme or humma 'they' (Palestine), nāhna 'we' (Palestine), lāhna 'we' (Damascus).

The basic suffixed forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Third Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>First Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mas: - a $him, it, his, its' $āk 'you, your'</td>
<td>-ni, -i 'me, my'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fam: - ba 'her, it, its' $ēk 'you, your'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl: - bēn 'them, their' $ēk 'you, your'</td>
<td>-na 'us, our'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Lebanon one hears -hūm (or -hum) 'them, their', and -hūm (or -hum) 'you, your' (pl.). Cf. humma, above. In Lebanon: -u 'him, his', etc. (and -hum 'them, their', -hum 'you, your' pl.).
Modifications of the Suffix Forms. The suffixes whose basic forms begin with a vowel (-ək, -ək, -əg) occur in these forms only after a consonant; if the stem ends in a vowel, then -ək becomes -k, -ək becomes -k; while -əg disappears entirely — but leaving the stem in its suffixing form [p.27], with the final vowel long and accented:

After Consonant

dədəkər 'he remembered':

dədəkər-ak 'he remembered you (m.)'
dədəkər-ek 'he remembered you (f.)'
dədəkər-o 'he remembered him'

?axdəm 'ahead (of) ':

?axdəm-ak 'ahead of you (m.)'

?axdəm-ek 'ahead of you (f.)'

?axdəm-o 'ahead of him'

bifdashem 'he'll explain':

bifdashem-ak 'he'll explain to you (m.)'

bifdashem-ek 'he'll explain to you (f.)'

bifdashem-o 'he'll explain to him'

?axt 'sister':

?axt-ak 'your (m.) sister'

?axt-ek 'your (f.) sister'

?axt-o 'his sister'

darə 'lesson':

darəs 'your (m.) lesson'

darəs-ak 'your (f.) lesson'

darə-o 'his lesson'

lakən 'but':

lakən-ak 'but you (m.)'

lakən-ek 'but you (f.)'

lakən-o 'but he...'

After Vowel

nəsə 'he forgot':

nəsə-k 'he forgot you (m.)'

nəsə-ki 'he forgot you (f.)'

nəsə 'he forgot him'

waða 'behind':

wað-ak 'behind you (m.)'

wað-ki 'behind you (f.)'

wað 'behind him'

bifdashmu 'they'll explain':

bifdashmu-ak 'they'll explain to you (m.)'

bifdashmu-ki 'they'll explain to you (f.)'

bifdashmu 'they'll explain to him'

?axu 'brother (of) '[p.169]:

?axu-ak 'your (m.) brother'

?axu-ki 'your (f.) brother'

?axu 'his brother'

dəmə 'medicine':

dəmə-ak 'your (m.) medicine'

dəmə-ki 'your (f.) medicine'

dəmə 'his medicine'

The suffix -i becomes -yi when the stem ends in a vowel: dawd-iyi 'my medicine', masərf-yi 'my money' (i.e. masər-f-yi, f-yi 'in me' (i.e. fi-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: kollon 'all of them', baqdon 'some of them', raṣṣana 'the two of us'

1. Pəxtəd mahramtət man əbəto w-əçəp
   'He took his handkerchief from his pocket and bandaged her hand'

2. Pəxtət l-əkbiɾe məwaməse w-pəhri
   'My elder sister is married, and my brother-in-law, his name is Hassan'

3. Pəddək l-əsattak fayybhīn?
   'Are your grandfather and grandmother living?'

4. All of these pronouns are suffixed by the final vowel; before a vowel or before a consonant, the first vowel is dropped but the second vowel is kept. For example, the pronouns for one's sister (m.) are nəxət-ak, nəxət-ek, nəxət-o, nəxət-ak with the final vowel kept and accented.

5. The suffix -i becomes -yi when the stem ends in a vowel: dawd-iyi 'my medicine', masərf-yi 'my money' (i.e. masər-f-iyi, f-yi 'in me' (i.e. fi-yi).

6. The first person singular form -ni is complemental [p.437]; -i is used otherwise. See below.

7. It is a convention of our transcription to write iy before a vowel or before y and ə before a consonant or finally; the two spellings are equivalent, as also are wə and wə.
1. "I need your assistance in a small matter"

2. ‘Apendicitis is not serious. The operation is safe’, lit. ‘Its operation…’

3. ‘The top half of him (was) of flesh and blood and the bottom half of him, of stone’

4. ‘The two of us are going to Aleppo and here are our tickets’

5. ‘All my paternal uncles are dead’, lit. ‘My uncles, all of them have died’

6. ‘It’s all the same in the long run’, lit. ‘In the outcome, all of it is like each other of it’

7. ‘And if you’re late, we’ll take someone else’ (Ger is a noun meaning ‘(some)other’; in identificatory construct [p.468]: ‘other…’)’

8. ‘He said to himself, ‘It’s better than nothing’

Some nouns are commonly used with suffixes in special supplemental capacities: Em2akon ra6tu la-3al3i? ‘Have you (pl.) ever gone to Aley?’ lit. ‘(In) your life…’; s?36ta, ma?tag ‘then, at that time’ [p.521], etc.

2.) After a preposition [p.477]. Examples:

1. 1-h?kuna naG maG m?nh d?k? ‘We talked with him a month ago’

2. 2-33al3i l-3aham? ‘Light the bath (heater) for me’

3. 3-3l? m?nna ?36d 3ento [AO-114] ‘Ask him for his daughter’s hand (in marriage)’ (lit. ‘ask of him…’)

4. 4-bak?akel ?a1? ‘I’m depending on you’

5. 5-bayyad-3ina m?nna ?3add? ‘Put us in a favorable light with him’, lit. ‘Whiten for us our face before him’

6. 6-33arke na ?3ha barake [DA-296] ‘There’s no advantage in partnership’, lit. ‘Partnership, there’s no blessing in it’.

7. h?da d?la?’ ‘Does he have a family?’, lit. ‘(Is there) with him (chez luti) a family?’

8. ?3an bya6mi-3i ?ama3iy? [DA-203] ‘They’ll operate on him, then’, lit. ‘Then they’ll do for him an operation’


10. ma?li mati?ak ma ba3ref [DA-243] ‘I don’t know either’, lit. ‘Like me, like you, I don’t know.’


12. biha?fu ?a3am y6n m-f?g? ?a3ara ?al?y ‘They lay on more clay, and on top of it, another stone.’

3.) As subject of a clause after ?anno ‘that’, la?anno (or la?anno) ‘because’, ka?anno (or ka?anno) ‘(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:


3. f?kah ?a3?n?k l-m?callem [PVA-32] ‘I thought that you were the teacher’

4. ?3a?f ?a3?n?ha mara3et u-3aaharet [AO-100] ‘He saw that it had leafed out and bloomed’


7. maf?l?i ?a3?n? ha ha3-3a3b? [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: h?alaft ?a3?n? b?3tol... ha?l?i bix?alimgi [AO-116] ‘I swore that I would kill the one who released me’, in contrast to the version with subject expressed: h?alaft ?a3?n? b?3tol...

If the following verb is third person masculine/singular, however, there is of course no contrast between expression and suppression of a pronominal subject, because of the dummy suffix -o: h?a?l? ?a3?n? bya6tol...
Some speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, do not always use the dummy suffix: l-mara ّلا دّ (at ّلا، ساً) which حسال- ila have is basattni look t-tassel m-؟iza prize'.

The conjunction لکه 'but' may also be used with the suffixes; the suffixing form is لکهٔ-

8. یکت ّهاشبيج سلمان المث لکهٔنک فیل ّهیس فیل "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 -نی (instead of -ی); all the other suffix forms are the same as with nouns and prepositions.

4. a) As object to verbs and active participles:
1. ۸ررخُ نت-تیفیحة ر-کالح [AR-91] 'He took the apple and ate it'
2. ۸تیکون نت-میرش رزنتیف ی-تارکن [AR-88] 'He seated them in a nice place and left them'
3. ۸داشتنی نت-حالت-کازاب [DA-243] 'I'm glad to hear that', lit: You've gladened me with this news'
4. ۸کلا ریپیذت ّی-سیکرک یبتواپپینا [DA-251] 'The company car will take us there right away'
5. ۸ل-ماک تفیحة یتیز [AR-88] 'The king gave him a prize'
6. ۸سیما نت-سادشتنی، نت-درت ّلا-یارد ّلا-یس [AR-83] 'And if you don't believe me, go around the world and measure (lit.)'
7. ۸تارکتی نت-سیب، ّتی ل-بنیتو [AR-115] 'She left him and went on ahead of him to his house'
8. ۸سیفی تننیاک [DA-245] 'A letter has come for me' (سیفی is the active participle of ّلا 'to come' [p.76], which is sometimes transitive: 'to come to or for (someone)' )
9. ۸سیدئی نت-یسیا لییمک خت-ع مون دیرت [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 -ک corresponds to an English subject - 'if you need'. لسیم 'necessary' is the active participle of byالسن 'to be necessary to (someone)' - a transitive verb.

An object pronoun is suffixed to the stem ی- if the verb itself already has a pronominalized first object [p.438] or an -ل- suffix [479]:

10. گیئی ییا خالیا 'He gave it all to me'
11. یتادد ّیک 'I'll bring it to you'
12. یمیئی ییا خالیا 'God keep you (for us)'

The pronouns are also suffixed to the stem ی- as objects of the quasi-verb ی-د ّ 'to want', whose subject-suffixed are in the form of pronoun suffixes [p.412]: ید ییا 'I want it', ید یکن 'He wants you (pl.)'.

4. b) In exclamations with م- and an elative [p.314]:
15. یهید ّلا-یسیا نت-یادیت ّلا-ییاکما [DA-251] 'See how fine those modern factories are!'
16. یمیئیلا میئیلاکمیئی ی-یسیمیئی ّلا-کیلی '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] لک- and یک- 'there is... here is, look there at... (voici, voilà) ', a suffix - usually third person - is usual (and obligatory after یک-):
17. یلیکی ییا 'There he comes'
18. یلیکی ییاکما ییاکما [DA-250] 'Look there, Aleppo has come into view'
19. یکنی ّلا-یکمیئی ّلا-یسیمیئی [DA-249] 'Here come the passengers disembarking'
20. یلیکی ّلا-یسیمیئی [DA-44] 'Here comes one'
4. d) With the words lassa and ba*d 'still, yet':
21. *h lassāk mā yāfū tī [DA-173] 'Yes but you haven't seen anything yet'
22. kūmani bollon màtu, lèken ēnnātī lassāhīn foybyīn [AD-43] 'My (paternal) uncles are all dead, but my aunts are still living'
23. lassānī mà ēntas ṣa-ba'shā [AD-79] 'I haven't yet put them on view in the showcase'
24. ṣebnō ṣ-gūr ba'dē Dogamīn [adap. fr. DA-77] 'His youngest son is still a student'
25. ḍ-ēqāt lassā tāh t-ta'āmīr 'The bridge is still under construction'

Lassa also has the suffixing forms lassāt-, lassāc-, and lassāc-, lassāk tilmīs, etc.

The suffixes are not obligatory in this construction. Note: ḍābā lassā mā ḍa'sa [DA-299] 'Daddy still hasn't gotten here', lassā ṣana mā matrεkked... 'I'm still not sure...'.

4. e) With the expressions (ya)rēt 'I wish, would that...' and (ya)dēb 'hardly'.
26. basa ya rētā kant mākī... [DA-171] 'But I wish you'd been with me...'
27. ya rēt kān hēn 'If only he were here'
28. rēši mārī ṣab'ī-l ma ēabbār ēala ra'īyī 'I'd sooner die than express my opinion'

With the imperfect subjunctive [p.350] ya rēt may be used without a suffix: ya rēt ṣā'der ṣā'la la-hΦik 'If I could only get there!'
29. dēb ya aqemī mašārī kfiye t'xallī pahlo ṣī'īyīn 'He hardly makes money enough to keep his family alive'

With ya dēb the first-person singular form is -i, not -ni:
30. yē dēbi 'Mn bi-mašārīfi 'I can scarcely meet my expenses'

4. f) With the expressions fi 'to be able' and ba- 'to be the matter with'
31. fi ṣubasāmī? - mā fīnī sādak 'Can you help me?' - 'I can't help you.'
32. ḍubāk? (ḏō bāk?) - mā bni tī 'What's the matter (with you)-fw' - 'Nothing's the matter (with me)'

5. With the question-words [p.566] wān 'where', kēf and ṣīlān 'how', and ṣāddē 'how much':
33. wān? wānānī? 'Where is he?', 'Where am I?'
34. ḍīfak 'l-yom? 'How are you today?'
35. ṣīnk ostr ya ṣabīya ya ṣabāb 'How are you, girls and boys?'
36. ṣīnk h-ṣag 'l-bēt? [DA-99] 'How are you (f.) at housework?'
37. law batṣūf ṣāddē hūn manānū 'You should have seen how grateful he was!'

The word wān 'who' has a suffixing form man-, which is combined with apocopated forms of the 'independent' pronouns: -u 'he', -i 'she' - (h)añ 'they': man añ wā ḍēde b-ṣamāk 'Who (f.) is sitting beside you?': man añ ra?ṣāk? 'Who is your boss?': man(ñ)on ra?ṣātak? 'Who are your companions?' See p. 549.
USES OF THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

1.) As subject:

1. hiyyy balloon 'She's in the house'
2. ?ante wmd mmnt b-baina l-mdyy? 'Where were you last week?'
3. b-?antu far? w-bas-kahf ?onte? 'In which branch of the army are you?'
4. ?ax?n na?na b-bas-cal-lla '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: btaf?ro ?onte? 'Do you know him?' (vs. btaf?ro hiyyy? 'Does she know him?).

Otherwise in verbal predicates the subject-affixes [p.175] give complete person and number/gender information about the subject-referent: bya?far?tu 'They know'; in such cases an independent pronoun (as in bya?far?tu hanne) 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:

7. ?alla m? btdfru ?nte [DA-198]

'They'll pay the taxes, but you (pl.) will take care of the water and electricity.'

'I don't know, but I think my maid knows.'

'But you're not to pay!'

'Sir, I wash and iron and scrub and make the beds.' (The contrast being with her mother, who cooks. Another function of 'ana here, however, is to introduce and help unify the coordinated predicates.)

For Emphasis on the Predication as Such. Subject pronouns in Arabic are often used, neither to identify nor to emphasize their referent, but rather to identify or emphasize the predicate (or, more exactly, the predication as such): bta?fru falsiyi ?onte 'You do understand me?'

Since suppression of the subject [p.418] makes a predication more dependent on its context, and also makes it sound more casual, it follows that the inclusion of a suppressible subject pronoun may serve to make a predication 'stand out' from its context, or to sound more insistent. The subject sets off the predicate as a frame does a picture.

9. Sukran ?ala kel b?l ?anta m? bdxasen 'Thanks anyway, but I don't smoke'

10. ?onte btafru ?add? xa?halna had?k l-y?m 'You know how much you put us to shame that day?'

11. walla ?anta mawta't al-ham w-baddi ?af?n 'I (f.) certainly do miss them and I'd like to see them'

12. lihna hiyyy? 'How is she?'

13. ?a humme fal-musta?fa [EA-150] 'But he is in the hospital'

14. m?kh?r?ae hiyyy walla la? 'Is it worth while, or not?'

15. ?a humme mahr?k [DA-296] 'What is your plan?'

In ex. 15, the effect of humme is simply to emphasize the question-word predicate. Cf. the less emphatic ?a mahr?k '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 l?k? m? bir?b al-musta?fa 'Why doesn't he go to the hospital?' If the question had been e.g. ?k? humme? 'Where is he?' the answer would probably have been simply fal-musta?fa, with no subject expressed.

Similarly, the apocopated subject pronouns that are fused to the question word man- 'who' [p.547] are used to make the question more emphatic than it would be with the simple form ?min: manu haz-salame? 'Who is that man?' vs. ?min haz-salame? '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 'You know what I mean... in a sort of cajoling intonation (high pitch on 'you', middle or low pitch on the rest, with a slight rise at the end). The important thing about this translation is that the high pitch on 'you' has nothing to do with identification or contrastive emphasis, just as ?onte in the Arabic has nothing to do with them either.
2 Or 'You know how much you put us to shame that day... ', with the intonation discussed in the preceding footnote.
2.) Independent pronouns are used in apposition [p.512] to the corresponding suffix pronoun, for emphasis:

16. xallit humme yqarrer
    ‘Let him decide’
17. rafa'a na man ilam humme
    ‘companions of their own age group’
18. 'alam 'ante mublaq baqša lāken
    ‘To you it’s a small sum, but to
    him it’s a lot of money’

In apposition, with modifiers:

19. Esh-li 'ana t-tānī lahmne w-baṣṣa
    [DA-47]
20. ḍīrlet 'amni 'ana halli šarāšt
    'l-ḍabā [AO-118]
    ‘She realized that it was I who had
    wounded the slave’

    In example 19 'ana has an adjectival attribute t-tānī; in
    20 it has an attributive clause halli šarāšt. . . . 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. humme sar-lo ġašī ṣmīn bi-'pamerka
    [DA-75]
22. 'ana ṣasaṣāna ma baḥrāf ṣaš-sām
    ṣamūh [DA-77]
23. w-'antti ya bēk bāb-bāb-lak
    [DA-46]
    ‘He’s been in America for ten
    years’
    ‘I still don’t know Damascus well’
    ‘And you, sir, what shall I bring you?’

    An extrapositional 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. sār-lak ṣamān londi w-'anana mā
    baḥrāf ṣamāmak 'l-kurîm [AO-108]
25. byathaddasu m-hanne ṣaš-dīm hawli
    hal-barke [PAT-187]
26. man ġašī ṣmīn w-'anana baqša
    da'ni la-hāl ilom ṭe yōm la?
    [DA-197]
    ‘You’ve been staying with me for
    quite a while now and I don’t even
    know your name’
    ‘They converse while seated around
    this pool’
    ‘For ten years I’ve been shaving
    (my beard for) myself every other
    day’

5.) In coordinations [p.391]:

27. ṭāḥa'in 'ante w-šali same
    ‘Are you and Ali going together?’
28. mā ṣaḥī gīr 'ana ma-šamnī
    ‘Nobody’s left but you (f.) and me’
29. ḍā ṣamni w-lā humme, ṣamnī
    'shādaa
    ‘Neither you nor he, but I will
    get it’
30. mīn baddak, ṣamnī wawla humme?
    ‘Whom do you want, him or me?’
31. yā ṣamnī yā ṣumme bitamm ħūm
    ‘Either he or I will stay here’

    Note that in coordinations, pronouns precede nouns,
    first-person pronouns precede others, and second-person
    generally precede third.

6.) With an appositive [p.506]:

32. ṣamnī l-'ṣamārīkān baṯabbaṯa lahm
    'l-baṣar ṣamnī [DA-109]
33. ṣamnī l-ṣarāb hiyya-yiyyān
    ‘You Americans like beef better’
34. ṣamnī ṣaš-šaṣāma ma byaṣṣu ḥāda
    ‘We Arabs are neutralists’
35. ṣamnī w-'antti t-tānī
    ‘That bunch wouldn’t harm anyone’
36. ṣamnī w-'antti t-tānī
    ‘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. ḍā ṣamnī - wajla ṣamnī ṣamnī
    ‘How are you?’—‘So-so’(lit.‘I am I’)
37. ṣasaṣāna hiyya hiyye
    ‘She’s still the same’(lit. ‘She
    is still she’)
38. ṣamnī w-'antti t-tānī la-waḥdī ṣamnī
    la-tānī [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. ṣaddak ṣamnī la-ṣamnī matnī ma
    humme l-yōmī [SAL-150]
    ‘How long has Lebanon been as it is
day today?’

    Cf. . . . matnī ma kān ṣamnārēh ‘. . . as it was yesterday’.
    The conjunction ma is usually followed by a verb, but a pre-
    dictation of actuality [p.402] corresponding to the verb kān
    ‘to be’ is of course non-verbal. Since l-yōm is merely sup-
    plemental (‘adverbial’) [521], it cannot stand alone as a
    predicate; without humme to fill the breach, the subordinate
    clause could not exist as such (though it could be collapsed
    into a prepositional phrase matnī ṣl-yōm [538]).
DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronouns (ism l- reconsidered)

The main forms of the PROXIMAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine hadā 'this, this one, that, that one'
Feminine ḥādī, ḥayy 'this, this one, that, that one'
Plural ḥadīl 'these, those'

The main forms of the DISTAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine ḥadēk 'that, that one, that other'
Feminine ḥādēk 'that, that one, that other'
Plural ḥadōlīk, ḥadēk, ḥadān ḳ 'those, those others'

The distal demonstratives, which are much less used than the proximal, refer only to something (or someone) relatively far away from both the speaker and the person spoken to: "manu hadā? '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: 'Ṣa hadā (yalli maʃak) 'That's what 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: ḥādī kānet ṽmawil saurah 'That (other) was the first revolution'; or conceptual "distance" independent of space and time: ḥādī kānet ṽmawil saurah '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 hadā (for ḥādā); the pronouns whose main forms end in a consonant also have forms with a final -e: hayye, ḥadīl, ḥadīk, ḥadānke, etc.

In Lebanon the forms hayda (for ḥādā), haydi (for ḥādī), haydī (for ḥādīl), hadīk or ḥadī (for ḥadīk) are commonly used. (hadī also has an apocopated form haydī.) In Palestine masc./pl. ḥadīlīk is sometimes distinguished from fem./pl. ḥadīlīk. The forms ḥadānke(s), also ḥadānke(s), are usual in Damascus, but are not heard in most other areas. Damascus also has a variant hadān, for ḥadāl.

Examples of Usage:

1. ḥāda mawṣur man satti d-dīfe (AO-114)
2. ḥādī fatṛ bi-hayyāt kallā ḥāsy, ḥādān (AD-99)
3. ḥayy ʿl-bant yallī ṽall-ʿl-lāk ṽamānka (DA-99)
4. ḥadēl ʿl-ḥāṯb ʿl-maphūṭtn? (AO-115)
5. ḥayye masṣīlī mā ṽabūṣṣānī '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. ṣā ḥād? 'That?'
7. ʿll ṣawra ṽāṣ ṽadīn ṽamūl ṽadā? 'Do you always have weather as awful as this?'
8. Ṽ-yām mā ṽf ʿl ṽman ḥād ʿl-ḥandālā 'Today there's none of that, thank goodness'.

The apocopated form ḥād occurs mainly at the end of a phrase. It is especially common in anaphoric use after ṽamūl, man (ex. 7, 8). Note also: Ṽā ḥād ʔ-ʔā ḥād 'neither one nor the other, neither this nor that'.

9. ḥayy ṽala ṽarīr ṽaglī, ḥayy ṽala ṽalī, ṽ-hayy ṽmaʃawde (AO-79)
10. Ṽā ṽaʃrēf ṽaʃ rampant? mā ḥādī hīyye? (AO-115)
11. Ṽā ṽisamū ḥādā? 'Why, those are not so many!'
12. Ṽā ṽisamū ḥādā?
13. Ṽā ṽisamū ṽīṣa mā ṽattāt 'I'll come tomorrow, that is, if it doesn't rain'.

Since masculine/(singular) is the neutral or bass number/gender [p.421], the masculine demonstrative is generally used in reference to an object whose name the speaker does not know (ex. 12, 6), and commonly also as sequent to a clausal antecedent (ex. 13) or a vague or conceptual ante-
In some contexts it is necessary to make a distinction in Arabic like that in English between 'this', 'that' (in reference to something vague or conceptual, i.e. 'this matter'), and on the other hand 'this one, that one' (in reference to a particular thing or person). Generally speaking, the demonstrative pronouns are to be taken in the definite, material sense, except with ġāda and ġayy in certain kinds of context and in certain constructions and set phrases, e.g. ġāda ġāda 'nevertheless, despite that', ġīb ġāda 'moreover' (lit. 'above that'), ġāda ġība... 'that is, if...' [ex. 13], ġayy ġayye 'That's it!'. Further examples in which the context makes it clear that the reference is not to some material thing:

25. ġīb ġāda bi'ī ī-fa'ī ādā yā gåyyar [DA-153]
   'What's this? It looks as if the weather has begun to change'

26. ma'tī mā btaṣṣkī ẓarābi ẓabādan.
   - ġāda mā bi hamma ya bēk, ġana bačref 'swayyet 'anglifī' [DA-99]
   'My wife speaks no Arabic at all. - That doesn't matter, sir. I know a little English'

See also examples 8, 14, and 22, above.

In other types of context English 'this' or 'that' used with reference to something vague or conceptual must be rendered in Arabic as ġād-šī or ġād-šīgīl, lit. 'this thing', because ġāda or ġayy might be taken as referring to some particular person or object:

27. ġād-šī byāx and wāst 'ktīf
   'This takes (or will take) a long time' (cf. ġāda byāx and wāst 'ktīf 'This one will take a long time')

28. ġīb ra'īyaq ẓb-ġād-šīf?
   'What do you think of that?' (cf. ġīb ra'īyaq ẓb-ġāda 'What do you think of this one?')

29. mā bōder ẓqēl bōlī b-ġād-šīgīl
   'I can't concern myself with that' (cf. ... b-ġāda '...with that one' or '...with him')

30. ġād-šī gar-šī cam-wājīnī mādī
   'This has been bothering me for some time' (cf. ġāda... 'This one...' or 'He...')

See also ġēk [p.561].
Demonstrative Pronouns in Attribution Phrases

The demonstrative pronouns are used not only independently, but also in phrases with definite nouns. In some cases the pronoun comes first, and in other cases, it follows the noun: hadāk *l-bēt (or l-bēt hadāk) 'that (other) house'.

The Demonstrative Prefix. The proximal demonstratives (hāda, hayy, hadāl) are not often used before a noun with the article prefix, but are usually re- clitic hal-: hal-bēt 'this (that) house'; hal-kaθfē 'this (that) church'; hal-?aθlān 'these (those) colors'.

The 1 is assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant, as in the case of the article alone (p.493): har-rēl 'those (those) men', han-nassān 'these (those) women', haš-šabbā 'this (that) window'.

Examples in context:
1. mēn ff maθlam *?māk hōn? — bēref hal-bīnēy l-kamār? ... waθaθa. [DA-46]
   'Where is there a good restaurant around here? — Do you see that red building? Behind it.'
2. w-kān har-rēl yāθlāθ hāl yōm cal-barriyye maθ 'l-gānām wa-yāθlāθo. [AO-103]
   'And this shepherd would go out in the country every day with the sheep and let them graze'
3. mā barθāθ ... bāθa *?aθref yōg'l haθ-bahra w-hal-barriyye w-haš-θabbāl [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'.

Occasionally, the full forms hāda, hayy, or hadāl are used in phrases before a noun with the article. Being longer and grammatically more explicit than the hal- phrases, their effect is to give extra emphasis or clarity:
4. mīn hadāl *m-nas hallī kont am-θakhi maθlan? 'Who are those people you were talking with?' (cf. han-nasār)
5. l-qāfida fīhā 'alamā yōg' m-hāda laθ-θaθm mā hadāl 'alamā yōkro
   'The poem has a name in it, and that name I don’t want to mention' (cf. hal-?asām)

The distal demonstrative (hadāk, hadāk, hadāk, etc.) normally occur in their full form before a noun with the article:
6. m-nā btaθ'der tashāb manθo θablaθ hadāk *l-maθt [DA-293]
   'And you can’t withdraw it before that time' (manθo, lit. 'of them'. antecedent: maθārī 'money', plural.)
7. mani hadāk *l-mara?
   'Who is that woman?'
8. hadāk *l-taffahāl *θayyeyiθ calθon tāθa θaktar maθ hadāl
   'Those other apples seem to be fresher than these'

The form hadāk(e) is generally not used in noun phrases, but only independently. Note the feminine form with a masculine noun in hadāk *l-yōm 'That day' = hadāk *l-yōm.

In Lebanon the distal demonstratives also have a reduced form hāk (hēk) (p.14) used before the noun: hēk *l-bēt (hēk *l-bayt) 'that house' = hadāk *l-bēt.

Both distal and proximal demonstratives may also follow the noun. This is the normal order in the case of proper names, nouns with pronoun suffixes, and generally with annexion phrases (but see p.459):
9. miθūr abbānī hāda munsafin kēθer *l-mar?a l-θammal
   'This Nizar Abbani we call the first poet of Woman'
10. raθsūθo hāda haθ'θatan mā kān-lo mūθeb
    'That reply of his was really uncalled for'
11. ēmīmī hawwī hallī ēm-baykī-lakh ēmīmī hawwī hallī ēm-baykī-lakh ēmīmī hawwī hallī ēm-baykī-lakh ēmīmī hawwī hallī ēm-baykī-lakh
    'This aunt of mine I was telling you about was married when she was fourteen years old'

Noun phrases with demonstrative pronouns are transforms of equational predications (p.406): hadāk *l-bēt 'That is the house' — hadāk *l-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 opposition (p.506); there is no justification for distinguishing between 'demonstrative pronouns' and 'demonstrative adjectives' in Arabic.
Substitution: Sate sort has a Come bant these that certain tdltbtn this $ar-lo and the LOCATIVE also alla _ the smoke mu in are 21 the fall 3 c discourse hnik 4 went proper mnen com in indefinite the single hdda 19 min halla byophar 'What's Su above: noun wen in 203 phrase 15. strative: 17. 16. 19. 18. 558 12. 96 [Ch. 21]
The most common way of emphasizing the demonstrative element in a noun phrase (with the article prefix, not with suffix pronoun or a proper name) is to prefix hal- to the noun and follow it also with the full form of a demonstrative:

15. mamken tafsra b-hag-pura hayye kamdn 'It can also be interpreted in this way'

16. mfn hal-bent hadak 'Who's that girl over there?'

17. hal-sah*r hadak sh*tate [AO-71] 'This month is a winter month'

18. lah-ţsfo b-hal-riyyâm hayy 'I'll see him any day, now' (lit. "...in these days")

19. kAll hal-hamand haddl bikallu rahmad *kfr, iken bitk* man marthon [AO-63] 'All these animals keep Ahmed quite busy, but he lives off them'

Note that in ex. 19 the "emphasis" gained by using haddl after hal-hamand is not contrastive, i.e. it is not to distinguish these animals from certain others, but simply to strengthen the anaphoric link between this phrase and its antecedents: the sentence is a sort of conclusion or summary for a discourse on the various animals Ahmed keeps and what he does with them.

Locative Demonstratives

The words hön 'here' and hn'k 'there' are substitutes for prepositional phrases (or occasionally, noun phrases) denoting places.

The forms hön and hn'k are also sometimes used (cf. p. 552). In Lebanon the forms hun'k or ha'mk are generally used instead of hn'k (and ha'm for hön [p. 141]), and in Palestine ha'mk or hun'k.

Examples, predicative:

1. nfdja 'a0ak hal-bit? - na'am, 'taxi hön [DA-76] 'Is your brother in, please? - Yes, my brother's here. Come in'

2. byaghfar xaliî mî hön [DA-46] 'It looks as if Khalil isn't here'

3. mfn samir w-tabu samir, ?anâjjla hön? 'Where are Samir and Abu Samir, are they here?'


5. hön 'amhad bêk? - na'am hön [DA-217] 'Is Ahmed Bey here? - Yes, he is'

Examples 5 has predicate-subject inversion [p.419] in the question, and suppression of the subject [418] in the answer. The English translation, contrariwise, has an anaphoric substitute as subject in the answer, but suppresses 'here' in the predicate.

Examples, attributive:

6. 6g hadâ halî hn'k? [DA-18] 'What's that over there?'

7. hal-majnger hön bi'sher *l-*mansn [DA-173] 'This scenery here is enchanting'

The form hön (Leb. ha'mi) is in some areas used also preceding an indefinite noun, e.g. in narratives, in the sense 'a, a certain, this': ha'mi xawâ˙ 'a (certain) gentleman...'. ha'mi marra 'once, a certain time' [PVA-22].

Examples, predicative complemental [p.446]:

8. fîbln manno 'ommen yab?a 'Ela fîl hön bas-korhe 'They've asked him to stay permanently here in the company'

9. por-lo hnik ta'rifban idaibr sakh' 'He's been there almost eleven months'
10. yamken ihānu baṣṣ ǧa sāqa ḥāne

They may be here in about an hour.

Examples, adverbial:

11. baṣṣ ṭarraf ǧal ǧān, yalla ṭarraf ǧal ǧān

'Do you know him from Damascus, or did you meet him here?'

12. baṣṣ ǧāne ḥal-masāfe ṭaṣṣ āne

'But here, that distance is disturbing' (i.e. the thought of being far from home)

13. baṣṣ ma xalleg ḥnīk baddi ṭalab ā-līn

'After I finish there, I'll go back to Damascus'

Examples, with prepositional supplement:

14. ǧū ǧam-tadros halā ǧān b-MASTER b-MASTER

'What are you studying now here in Washington?'

15. baṣṣ ḥnīk ṭe-bērēt ṭe-ad ǧami ǧe dān/on ǧe bād-etōn

'But there in Beirut I stayed and slept in their house'

16. ḥāna-Ŷa-wa-lak ṭe-āne. ǧū bāt?ūl? ǧān ǧumeal ǧe ǧān ǧumeal ǧe ḥnīk āli bēṯ ǧe [DA-172]

'I'll bring you some coffee, how about that? -- Here inside. It's so hot in this room'

ḥān and ḥnīk are not used alone in complementation (or supplementation) to translocal verbs [p. 274], but are preceded by la- 'to' or man 'from', 'through' [cf. p. 486]: la-ḥān 'hither', la-ḥnīk 'thither', man ḥān 'from here, this way, hence', man ḥnīk 'from there, that way, thence':

17. ǧān habbēt ḥaši la-ḥān mū bāṣṣ maṣṣā ṭa-bātsa ṭa-nahā ma ḥnīk... ḥnīk... ḥnīk... ḥnīk...

'I wanted to come here not just for the degree, because I could get that over there' (lit. {...from there})

18. ūā ṭaš-šarīf ǧe hām man ḥnīk mayye [AQ-99]

'Go to the Jordan and fetch water from there'

19. man ḥān byaḥbātu f-trūd? [DA-225]

'Is this where you mail packages?' (lit. 'From here do they send...')

20. birētu la-ḥnīk ǧe ṭa-nahā ṭarxas ǧa tān

'They go there because it's cheaper'

21. ǧān ṭaš-šarīf ǧe mān māfrūk? ma ḥān yamma ma ḥnīk? [DA-77]

'And now which way shall we go? This way or that way?'

22. šīnēk ṭaš-šarīf ǧa ṭa-nahā la-ḥān ṭa-nahā

'How are you, Miss Faiza? Come here beside me.'

Note also the predicative use of man + demonstrative:

23. ǧān man kalīfónyāna ǧe ṭa-nahā man ḥnīk kamān [DA-76]

'I'm from California -- 'And I'm from there too'

Although ḥnīk 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. baṣṣ ān fransfāšā ǧe hāti ǧiḥa [DA-76]

'Do you know San Francisco? -- My home is there!' (lit. "...in it")

25. bāl-))?awwal ṭaš-šarīf ālā ṭiḥān, m-mān hāl ālā ṭiḥān f-šamēr [DA-171]

'First I went up to Bloudāne, and from there, to Dhour Choufier'

26. ṭaš-šarīf ǧal bērēt, ǧān ǧaft ṭafu ṭafu [DA-171]

'I went to Beirut. -- How did you like the summer there?' (lit. "...its summer")

27. mū ḫa ṭe ṭa-tam ǧān ṭe ǧa, ṭa-yam adā ǧa ṭa-yam ǧa ṭa-yam ma ṭalāl ǧa [LA-46]

'Isn't there any other restaurant here? -- Yes, there is; see, there's another one; if it's good, we'll eat there'

Similarly, in attributive clauses, a resumptive pronoun in Arabic may correspond to 'where' in English:

28. ǧanna bi-Ṭanīrka ǧi ǧa mahālāt baṣṣiri manha ḥal ǧa ṭa-lamāk [DA-129]

'In America we have stores where you can buy everything you need' (lit. "...stores you buy from them...")

The Indefinite Demonstrative hāk

The word hāk (or hāk) 'so, such, thus' that differs from the pronominal and locative demonstratives in that it is substitutes only for indefinite terms [p. 494], including non-verbal predicates, complemental clauses, and supplemental phrases.

Examples, predicative:

1. ǧū māyayen maṣṣāla ṭiḥēr ǧe maṣṣāla dāyman hāk [DA-294]

'It looks as if you're (pl.) quite busy. -- Well, it's always this way'

2. hāda ṭiḥēr, mū hāk?

'What's is too much, isn't it?'

mū hāk (mū hāk) 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: ēlī bāl-ḥēt, mū hāk? 'Ali's at
home, isn't he?', bi{l-ši na{mna, m{ hēk? 'you're coming with us, aren't you?', rāh kal-bēt, m{ hēk? 'He went home, didn't he?', baśa?dru yaq{m-lū, m{ hēk? 'They can do it, can't they?'. See also ex. 27, below.

3. hēk 'd-dansye

'That's the way things are' (lit. "Such is the world")

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, complementary:

5. lamma hāf hēk, fāt kal-balad [AO-83]

'When he saw that, he entered the town'

'I hope so'

6. bat-anmal hēk

'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (lit. "you'd say otherwise")

7. lam bat'ha bar-rabbē kant bat'-gil gēr hēk [DA-250]

'And they stayed that way until they went to sleep'

'And they agreed on that, and then the old woman went to the girl's house'

8. w-dallu hēk hatta nāmu [AO-107]

'These shoes are cheap, and they look it!' (lit. "...and it appears of them so")

9. w-ttapha? hēk w-rāhē b-l-faśša b-sūqtha la-bēt b-l-bant [AO-113]

Examples, after prepositions:

11. ?ayuwd mot'il hēk saqab ?asbāta

'Statements like that are hard to prove'

'Oh really, your visit means much more to us than that'

12. ya ēlē hē'ē-bām hayyaṭkon ?aḍam man hēk ba-ktfir

'He's more fun than anything!' ("There's no card more than so")

13. mā fī iktībī 'aktar man hēk

'And what's more, I don't believe him' ("And[li]n[ad]dition to that...")

14. w-syūde ēn hēk mā bammad

'That's why I don't ever go to the movies' (lit. "because of such...")

15. manāsān hēk mā būhā k̲a̲b̲ādān ēs-s̲ī̲n̲a̲ma

Examples, adverbial:

17. fāk taemīlā hēk 'am hēk

'You can do it this way or that way'

'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')

18. lēk mā byaṣṣahon nāf la-ma lamma b SAYE hēk baṣṣaa la-yemel [DA-75]

'And in this way they build, little by little, all the walls from the bottom up'

19. m-ḥek byaṣṣu, ẓaway mara ẓaway, k̲a̲l l-ḥiśān man taqī la-fā ' [A0-75]

'Is that all right?' (lit. "Good so?")

(ḥayk [Leb. for hēk, p. 14] supplements the one-word clause .ToBoolean)

In supplementation to adjectives (participles):

21. b-hayyītī mā ḥaf'īt wāhed 'mawādān hēk

'I've never in my life seen anyone so childish'

22. ẓalat-lo lēk hēk sa'īlān? [AO-114]

'She said to him, 'Why are you so annoyed'

Examples, supplemental to nouns (hēk precedes the noun):

23. hēk mās byaṣṣa?lu naḷalma bidūn ma traq-fal'n ēn

'People like that could kill a person without batting an eye'

24. mā fī taṣṣayb man hēk 'ab'ex [DA-199]

'I've never tasted such good food' (lit. "There is no tastier than such food")

25. mā fini?ṭaṣṣawmar ?anna hīyye bṭaṣṣel hēk ʾāf

'I can't imagine her doing such a thing'

26. b-hēk saq̲ā?r kant 'starēt sayyāra ḥaṣān

'At that price I'd have bought a better car'

27. mā'ālak manjaparni saq̲ā? hēk xusābalāt, mā hēk?

'You don't expect me to believe such balderdash, do you?'

Note, in ex. 27, that mā hēk may be used in sequence to a negative statement as well as to an affirmative one.

16. m-la-hēk ?alt lo-hāli mā ḥalme 'And so I said to myself, it wouldn't be nice' (lit. "And for such...")

The classicism li-ṣaṭeḳ 'therefore' is often seen as a stylistic variant of la-hēk.
Preceding a noun or adjective hēk(e) is sometimes used to indicate vagueness or inexactness: 'sort of', 'something like':

28. ḫ-sē? byāti hēke mēbbēt 'The yearning comes in waves, sort of'

29. daakhir-lak kēt ḥādē hēke ṣāffē 'Think up some anecdote, you know, a short one, like'

The classicism kasa, or kasa w-kasa, is used in the sense 'such-and-such' or 'so much', etc.: l-hāzā kasa m-kasa 'such-and-such a ship', kasa dēllār 'so many dollars' (i.e. such-and-such an amount). ħākasa is used in somewhat formal style similarly to English 'thus'.

The Presentational Particles

The forms hayy, lēk, and ʾašē 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 ṣktēbak 'Here's your book' or 'There's your money', lēk masāʾēk 'Here's your money', ʾašē ṣāʾa '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 māḥade lēyē '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 ṭahmad 'There's Ahmed', hayy mūlēdā ṭayfān 'Here come my children'.

ʾašē is always — and lēk usually — followed by a pronoun suffix, regardless whether a noun follows or not: ʾašēn maṣūrātk 'Here's your money', lēkān maṣūrātk 'Here's your money'. hayy is usually not used with a suffix, except in Palestine: hayyā ḥunāk 'There it is over there'.

Unlike hayy and lēk, ʾašē is not generally used while handing something to someone, but is more of a "distant" demonstrative; it usually directs attention to something away from the speaker (though not necessarily away from the person spoken to). ʾašē is presumably a shortened form of ʾašē 'look, see' (imperative of the verb ṭašē, ṣēṭašē 'to see, look at'), while lēk is associated with the preposition-pronoun phrase lēk 'to you, toward you' [p.480].

Examples:
1. hayy ṭayyārā ṭayī man ṭamērka. [DA-249]
   'There's (or That's) a plane that's come from America. Here come the passengers disembarking'.
2. ṭē xatf taramayy ġal-mārīk kamān. [DA-44]
   'There's a streetcar line on the Marjeh too. Here come one now'
3. ṭābul ṭālīfē ṣaḥān bo'l-xaṣē [DA-181]
   'The soap and sponge are there in the cabinet' (lit. "The soap and the sponge, there they are in the cabinet")
   (Extrapolation [p.435])
4. l-māḥzāle ṣaḥā ḥnīk [DA-199]
   'There's the washstand over there'
5. hayy ʾi-l-lotāl ṭadāmāk [DA-16]
   'Here's the hotel in front of you'
6. hayy ṭamūmal ḫarf
   'Oh here you are!
7. ḥā, lēkāk ḥān
   'Here I come!'
8. ṣāni ḥīye
   'Here are your daughters coming back from school' (lit. 'Here they are, here are your daughters...')
9. ṣaḥān ṭayy ṭaṅtār rāʾēmān ṭan ʾi-l-madārasē [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 ṣaʾēk and ṣaḥākē: ʾinb bārīṣṭī? ṣaḥākē 'Where's my hat? — Here it is?'. ʾašē is also sometimes pronounced with -ṭh- rather than -ṭh- (or even rather than -č-): ṣaḥā 'There it (f.) is', ṣaḥān 'There they are', ṣaḥō, ṣaḥākē 'There it (m.) is'.

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].
INTERROGATIVE SUBSTITUTES

The main forms of the interrogative substitutes, or question words, are:

- mīn (‘who’)
- ʿādīḏ (‘what’)
- ḏīḥā (‘how much’)
- ḏīm (‘how many’)
- ṣān (‘what, which, which one’)
- mīn fīn (‘where’)
- ḏīf (‘how’)
- ḏīmā (‘when’)
- nūf (‘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: ʿādīḏ ‘What did you do?’, mīn ‘where?’, ḏīḥā (predicate) ‘Where is your father?’, ḏīf ‘when?’, (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: ġala ʿānā wāḥāda ha-taḥṣīl-ina ‘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: mānāk hai-‘līyān mā ḥāda ba‘ṣīṣādā? ‘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: ḏīḥā bīṣād ‘Who does the driver get?’.

Extraposition of the subject [p.434] is common, however, with supplemental and question words. (No resumptive pronoun is used [cf. p.530].): ʿādīḏ bīṣād ‘Who does the driver get? The driver — how much does he get?’, ṣān bīṣād ‘Why hasn’t your brother come?’ (or līs ‘ṣān’ ṣān ‘Why hasn’t your brother come?’ or līs ‘ṣān’ ṣān ‘Why hasn’t your brother come?’)

Besides their use in simple or direct substitution questions and in extraposition, the interrogative substitutes are used in supplement clauses: ʾal-lō ʿādīḏ ‘He told him what he had done’, mā ba‘ṣīṣē bīṣād ‘I don’t know why my brother hasn’t come.’

Some of the question words are used in supplement clauses formed with mā ‘ever’: mā ʿādīḏ ‘whatever...’, ḏīmā ‘whenever...’, etc. See p.338.

Unlike English ‘who’, ‘which’, and ‘where’, the Arabic words mīn, ʿādīḏ, ḏīḥā, mīn are not used to introduce attributive clauses [pp.498, 561], nor does ḏīm introduce supplemental clauses like English ‘when’ (cf. ʾalma, p.532).

(For parts of Palestine, however, ʿ ādīḏ is used in the sense ‘because’ as well as ‘why’.)

ʿādīḏ (often unaccented, written ṣu), ḏīf, and ḏīḥā have special exclamatory uses (pp.570, 572, 576). ḏīf has a non-interrogative sense ‘some, several’ (p.470), and ṣān, ṣān have the sense ‘any’ (p.574).

A.) Examples, mīn ‘who’:

1. ya nābīhā mīn ṣādā? [DA-217] ‘Who’s that, Nabiha?’ (lit. ‘O Nabiha, who has come?’)

2. mīn yalli xarba-li ʿarāmī? ‘Who (is it that) messed up my papers?’

3. mīn mānkūn bata’u wasfīt ʾl-ʔarāy? ‘Which of you has done the physics assignment?’

4. mīn ḥās-ṣābāb? ‘Who are these young men?’

The form mīn— is used as an extraposed subject with the apocopated subject pronouns w-, w-, ṭa: mān bāl-faṭṭ? ‘Who’s on the team?’ See p.547.

5. mīn baddāk? ‘Whom do you want?’

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. mān čanād mīn baddāk ʾbīṣīṣād? [DA-128] ‘Whom do you get your things from?’ (lit. ‘From with whom...’ [p.486])

7. ʿalāfāt mīn ḥāyā? (or lā-mīn has-sāṣa, or tabrač mīn has-sāṣa) ‘Whose watch is this?’ (or ‘Whose is this watch?’)

8. dūr mīn? ‘Whose turn [is it]?’

9. lā-mān ṭaḥṣar mānkūn baddā ṭaṣī banti? [AO-55] ‘To whom dearer than I would give my daughter?’

In complement clauses:

10. kant ṣānā ġandak w-madhārī mīn ṣādā la-ḥandak... ‘I was with you, and I don’t know who [it was that] came to see you...’
11. ...fa-čam-jaš'fon hiyye ya
tara mën ft ēndah halla?

12. fšk 'tʃfdni mën lāsem ?šbel
b-hal-‘q washington’ [SAL: 93]

mën is also sometimes used in a non-interrogative sense
'someone', as object with an (objective) complemental clause:

13. yačni baddah mën iʔol-lak

You mean you need someone to tell

B. Examples, $u 'what':

1. $u jale' mači ya doktōr?
   [DA: 204]

   'What have I got, Doctor?'
   ("What's come up with me?")

2. $u ṣosome halli bišāwi
   ū-sabānī muł-'bašb?
   [DA: 243]

   'What's the name of the one that
   makes windows and doors?' (Comment-
   topic Inversion, p. 434.)

3. $u l-fawāfī yalli bātīrīḍha?
   [DA: 107]

   'What fruit do you want?' (lit.
   "What's the fruit that you want?")

4. $u ʕalī, $u byaʃla mačak,
   bi bi

   'What of it? What's come over you?
   Speak up!'

5. $u kont ʕam-‘tšami?

   'What were you doing?'

6. fayyeb $u batlābi mašāseb
   ʔap-jorafīn? [DA-291]

   'All right, what do you think would
   be suitable for both parties?'

   With extrapoosed subject or object:

7. tmēn w-ʔtmēn $u byaʃešmi?
   [DA: 5]

   'What do two and two make?'

8. sabānī $u biʔgluwa
   bal-ʔangītai?

   'What do they call 'sabānī' in
   English?'

9. r-abāhī halli badda naʃro
   $u byaʃtāqel? [DA-75]

   'The man we're going to see - what
   work does he do?'

   In ex. 9 $u is a predicative complement [p.444]; cf.
   byaʃtāqel mikanťi 'He works as a mechanic'.
   Sometimes $u as a predicative complement has to be trans-
   lated 'how' rather than 'what'. In ex. 8, for instance, if
   biʔgluwa is given its more standard English rendering, they
   say (it), then $u biʔgluwa is 'How do they say it?' Note
   also:

10. $u batfasser haʃ-ʕif?

   'How do you explain this?' (or 'What
   do you make of this?')

11. $u byaʃrabakon? [SAL-64]

   'How is he related to you(pl.)?'
   (or 'What kin is he to you?')

   $u is often followed by a quasi-verbal predicator [p.412]
   plus a complement of specification [510]; the English
   translation of this construction is often 'what' plus a noun:

12. $u baddkon fawāfī? [DA-47]

   'What fruit do you want?' (cf. ex.
   3, above) or 'What do you want in
   the way of fruit?'

13. $u maço ḫōdāt?

   'What diplomas has he?'

14. $u ft ?akth, ?ana ūćešn

   'What is there to eat? I'm hungry'

   $u is sometimes used after a preposition or noun in con-
   struct, but $u is more common in these constructions (see
   below):

15. ġala $u ġamātt?

   'What did you decide upon?'

   In complemental clauses:

16. wajja mā bačref $u baddi
   ?ol-lak

   'I really don't know what to tell
   you'

17. tafāl nes'alo $u ʔār maço
   bat-talavasyōn

   'Come on, let's ask him what happened to him on television'

18. ʔaxfrαm laq-ʔi $u kān
   ʕam-yānī

   'It finally dawned on me what he
   meant'

19. ya samir $u haʃ-ʕāy $u
   ʔar ʕɔ?

   'Samir, see what's happened to the
   tea'

   The complemental clause haʃ-ʕāy $u ʔar ʕɔ is an extrapo-
   sitional of $u ʔar b-haʃ-ʕāy. The extrapositional word
   order makes it possible also to interpret haʃ-ʕāy as ob-
   ject of $u: 'Look at the tea, what's happened to it'.

   A subject $u + prepositional predicate bo, bēk,'with
   him, with you, etc.' [p.415] is usually shortened to $u or
   (most often) $u, and pronounced as a single unit: $u-bak
   or $u-bēk (= $u bēk) 'What's [wrong] with you?':

20. $u-bo hal-ʔadd xayre
   ġaʃyōma

   'Why is he so down in the mouth?'

21. ya baʃət tsaʃtu, $u-bakon
   bi-hal-bārṣɛt yalli
   ʔaddāmārkon?

   'Enjoy yourselves, girls! What's the
   matter with (you, with) those seeds
   [hors d'oeuvres] in front of you?'
Explanatory סא:

22. סא hat-sa yali bi'ammet "l-all! 'What miserable weather!' (lit. 'What is this weather, that oppresses the heart!')

23. פָּמַה סא salame mahfe mn "n-nahfet! 'But what a card that fellow is!'

סא is also used, unaccented (written סא), as a sentence supplement [p. 526] and introducer; this expression is generally too mild to be translated as an interjection 'What?!', but may be roughly rendered as 'well', 'oh', 'so', or left untranslated:

24. סא byaghur hêt "l-balad "mniha [DA-77] '(Well), it looks as if conditions in town are good'

25. חף, סא btašík Č�arab? [DA-16] '(So) you speak Arabic?'

26. סא ma bëshak "l-hakim? '(Oh,) hasn't the doctor seen you?'

C.) סא 'what' is commonly used instead of סא after a preposition or a noun in construct:

1. la-סא byaisano l-čarabi? [DA-173] 'What does he need Arabic for?'

2. bi-סא monsafer? [DA-248] 'How will we go?' ('In what...') or 'By what...')

3. bhabb pošref šala סא ġayšîn 'I'd like to know what they live on'

4. la-מישיגן mašîn pâdros hangâse. - handast סא - hangâse madaniyye 'I'm going to Michigan to study engineering. - What kind of engineering? (lit. 'Engineering of what?') - Civil engineering'

5. daqkhar-lak סא matal mn "s-sâm. - matbî סא yâdeni? 'Think of some proverb from Damascus. - Like what, how do you mean?'

In various parts of Greater Syria סא (often shortened to ס or סא) may be used in more or less the same ways as סא; סא baddak? 'What do you want?', סא hâda? 'What's that?', etc.

D.) סא 'How much':

1. סא asurto bas-sâne? [DA-225] 'How much is the rental of it for a year?'

2. סא jallabu phâbo? [DA-291] 'How much did its owners ask?'

3. סא baddak ikun Camra? [DA-80] 'How old do you want her to be?' (lit. 'How much do you want her age to be?')

In reference to time and distance, סא is commonly translated into English as 'how long' and 'how far':

4. סא ptabced wârab madfne? 'How far is it to the nearest city?'

5. סא gar-lak hâne b-Tâmirka? 'How long have you been here in the States?' (סא + p - סא)

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. w-îa-סא baddak "thûn maddeit "l-qard? [DA-297] 'And for how long do you want the loan to run?'

7. b-סא s-sînana hîn? [DA-18] '[For] how much is (the price of) the cinema here?'

8. dazlak hal-lûbye b-סא? [DA-129] '[At] how much are these beans, please?'

9. kall סא biwasâfu l-barâd hîn? 'Every] how often do they deliver the mail here?'

Sא is often followed by a verb plus a complement of specification (cf. סא, p. 569); the English translation is usually 'how much' + noun:

10. סא byäxed maçâs basâbâhîr? 'How much salary does he get a month?'

11. סא pstarrašu fahâm? 'How much coal did they mine?'

12. סא btadfašu fâyde? [DA-293] 'How much interest do you pay?'

In complementary clauses:

13. baddi pošref סא s-sâqa [AO-71] 'I want to know what time it is' (lit. '...how much the hour is')
E. kamm 'how many' is usually followed by a noun in the singular.

Examples:

1. kamm nāme fi bas-sama? [AO-83] 'How many stars are there in the sky?'
2. kamm son ni sar-lak hūne? 'How many years have you been here?'
3. kamm dars kūn āndak... 'How many classes did you have...'
4. kamm ānyeb bimasslu hal-muḥāfaẓāt? [SAL-152] 'How many delegates represent these countries?'

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 kūm remains singular. The agreement is partly optional, depending on how much one wishes to emphasize plurality.

In complemental clauses:

5. zan-ši hal-baffaša la-šayna kamm hīlī būfīla [DA-128] 'Weigh this watermelon for me, so I can see how many kilos it comes to.'

With ft and other quasi-verbal predicators, kamm may stand alone, with its noun as specificative complement following the predicator (cf. §§, p. 569):

6. kamm ft matr marrabāf ft hād-dīfīra? (or kamm matr marrabāf ft b-hād-dīfīra) 'How many square meters are there in this circle?'

F.) ?anu 'which, what, which one' may be used either independently or in a noun phrase. Examples (independent):

1. ?anu 'aḥsan maxiṣan bal-balad? 'Which is the best store in town?'
2. ?anu l-?=ayi l-majīde? 'Which are the things [that are] missing?'
3. ?anu batṭūf bikūn ?aḥsan? [DA-109] 'Which do you think would be better?'

Examples, in noun phrases:

4. ?anu sāca bafīr ft-ṭayyāra? 'What time does the plane take off?' [DA-249]
5. ?anu ṭamīh baddak? 'Which one do you want?'

After prepositions:

7. la-?anu majīyaf rāḥt? [DA-171] 'Which summer resort did you go to?'
8. baṭṭar ṭam man ?anu wālīya bi-ḥamārka? [DA-76] 'Which state in the United States are you from?'

With feminine (or inanimate plural) nouns, the form ?ani is often used rather than ?anu:

9. ?ani šanta nādīt? 'Which bag did you choose?'
10. ?enta baddon yāṣu, ?ani sāča? 'When are they supposed to come – at what time?'

In the independent use, the form ?anun may be used for the plural:

11. ?anun mēloṣā? 'Which ones are her children?'

The form ?ayy is used in noun phrases in the same way as ?anu:

12. ?ayy sāča baddon yāṣu? 'What time will they come?'
The forms 'ayyi and 'ayya are also used in some parts of Greater Syria.

'men, 'ani, and 'ayy may be used with nouns in the non-interrogative sense 'any':

13. fi 'andak 'ayy su'bál tání? 'Have you any other question(s)?'
14. 'ani šágé 'a'sán man bala 'Any job is better than none'

G.) 'men, 'fen 'where', examples:

1. 'men ?a'rab 'otel? 'Where is the nearest hotel?'
2. 'fen 'bāba 'abba éyed čáló
   'Where is Daddy? [I want to know]
   so I can give him holiday greetings
   and get my holiday gift'
3. 'men ?âft haš-baráyed
   'al-'otá? 'Where shall I put those old newspapers?'
4. w-'ana 'fen baddí rūḥ
   'al-yún? [DA-300] 'And where might I go today?'
5. hallá? 'men 'amalná
   bál-râkh, yá xiño? 'Now, where have we gotten with the
   [preparation of the] food, madam?'

With translocative verbs [p.486] the form la-'men 'where to, whither' is more usual than simply 'men or 'fen as in ex. 4 and 5:

6. la-'men rūyéh hallá? [AO-47] 'Where are you going now?'
7. hal-xâṣf la-'men biwaddi? 'Where does this line lead to?'
   (Extraposition of la-'men biwaddi hal-xâṣf?)

With man 'from', 'men takes the form -'en: 'men 'from where?':

8. w-hal-žen 'men ?âqa kollo
   čáló ḍâfle [DA-153] 'And where have these clouds come
   from all of a sudden?' (Extraposition)

In many cases 'men is translated simply 'where', and in some cases, 'how':

9. 'men štarâṭ hal-bornéša? 'Where did you buy that hat?'
10. 'men ?mnâxod 'al-báq? 'Where do we get the bus?'

H.) 'ética 'how':

1. 'ética kén ?-ta? 'andak
   bâš-bâšî? 'How was the weather where you were
   in the mountains?'
2. 'ética ?p-sa'iha samîr bâšî?' 'How is your (lit. "the") health,
   Samir Pasha?'
3. 'ética baddí sâmîha? 'How should I do it?'
4. 'ética la?et ?alât 'béalbâk?
   [SAL-117] 'How did you like (lit. "find") the
   castle of Baalbek?'
5. 'ética 'reft wâlîa ?annak
   hâzêr ramâm 'How did you know? You're certainly
   a good guesser!'

In complementary clauses:

6. lââem ?a?̂talak ramâm,
   ?al-li 'ética baddak ?mût
   [AO-116] 'I must kill you immediately: tell
   me how you want to die'

7. ba'etref 'ética 'n-našâhât râke
   bijâmmer 'al-mâr'a mm
   's-zamâqa l-foîtha yañî 'You know how the sculptor sort of
   depicts the woman from the hidden
   recesses, so to speak'

QUESTION WORDS: 'men, 'ética 575

11. 'men marrûh? 'How do we go? or 'Which way do we go? (Cf. man hën 'this way', mn ?hûnäk
   'that way')
12. 'men 'croft? 'How do you know?' or 'Where did you find out?'

In complementary clauses:

13. fa-'u la-'ana fakkart cam-
   tás?âlîn 'men 'onte
   'And I thought she was asking me,
   'Where are you from?''
14. fi 'mâhêd xalaq w-mâhêd
   cam-yâdrosh mà ba'etref 'men
   'There's one who's finished, and one
   studying I don't know where'

Predicative 'men takes pronoun suffixes as subject [p.547]:

15. 'ammi 'mõkun? ?u mà fî
   'bara bai-bâî? 'Mother, where are you all? Isn't
   there anybody home?'
16. wât-tnën 'mõkun? [DA-75]
   'And where are the two of them?'
17. 'mênâ ?abn 'ammi? 'Where
   is my cousin?' (Comment-topic
   inversion [p.434])
I.) *slōn* 'how' is not generally used in the coastal regions; in Damascus it is used in some of the same ways as *kif*. Examples:

1. *daxlak* *slōn* "l-hāle halla" bi-sān fransīsko? [DA-77] 'Say, how are things now in San Francisco?'

2. *slōn* baddak *r-ra?be?* [DA-179] 'How do you want the neck?' (barber speaking)

3. *slōn* "s-tamārīa b-kāde, nāḥaḷā hāset 'aybāb b-ramāḥī?r? 'How about the new skirt? Has it won the admiration of the multitudes?'

4. *slōn* xallīśī yasyaḷ b-hal-barād? [DA-198] 'How could you let him go out in this cold?'

5. *slōn* ʤāftā hal-maṣṭaḥfa? [DA-198] 'What do you think of this hospital?' ("How do you see...", lit. "How have you seen...") Comment-topic inversion [p.434]

*slōn* also takes pronoun suffixes in the role of subject:

*slōn*? 'How are you?'

6. *slōn*? fāmāllo mābdūfīn? 'How are they? Well, I trust?'

7. *m-slo:n*? b-ʤagī l-bēt? 'And how are you(f.) at housework?'

J.) *ʔemta* 'when':

1. *ʔemta* bāyiṭ?—ya?nī *ʔemta* baddōn yalū, sāza māḥde bāl-lēlī? lā yalī-lak fakre 'When are they coming? — Well when would they come? One o'clock in the morning? Not likely!'

2. *ʔabī *ʔemta baddak wa't *manzil ēs-sūr? 'Father, when will you have time [so that] we can go down to the market?'

3. *ʔemta* l-mūsīm yabdā? 'When does the season begin?'

4. *mān *ʔemta kōn hāda? 'How long ago was that?' (lit. "Since when...")

In complemental clauses:

5. bi-yāmal *ʔemta bāyisī? [PVA-2] 'Does he say when he's coming?'

6. *sāf* ḥaẓmad *ʔemta* baddo yāsi 'See when Ahmed intends to come' (With extrapolation of subject in complemental clause [cf. ex. 19, p.569])

K.) *lēs* 'why':

1. *lēs* tiṭa?zi? kont lāzem tōb?a martāḥ bal-bēt [DA-218] 'Why did you go out? You should have stayed and rested at home'

2. *lēs* ḍaggīlak m-ḥaḍaytak m-lēs kont bal-lamīm [AO-116] 'What's your story, and why were you in the bottle?'

3. *ʔālān lēs* sāyef? ʔīzā mā baḥrāfa 'All right then, why are you afraid if I don't know hot?'

4. *lēs* hal-lābake, lēs labbaktu ḥalīkun hal-ladd? 'Why this bother? Why did you(pl.) go to so much trouble?'

5. *lēs* "d-trēn kalī kalī ladd māčū? l-yūm? 'Why is the train so crowded today?'

6. *lēs* ya tara has-shūl ḥardā? [DA-250] 'I wonder why these plains are bare?'

In complemental clauses:

7. *ḥay?* *ʔatan mā baḥrēf lēs mafrud fiyyi...' I really don't know why I've had to...

The form *lē* (or *lēs*) is also heard in various parts of Greater Syria. *lēs* is a reduced form of *la-*?ēs 'what for' (cf. *?addēs* — *ʔadd + ?ēs* 'amount of what'). ?ēs is in its turn a syncopated form of *?ayy *ē 'what thing'.
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