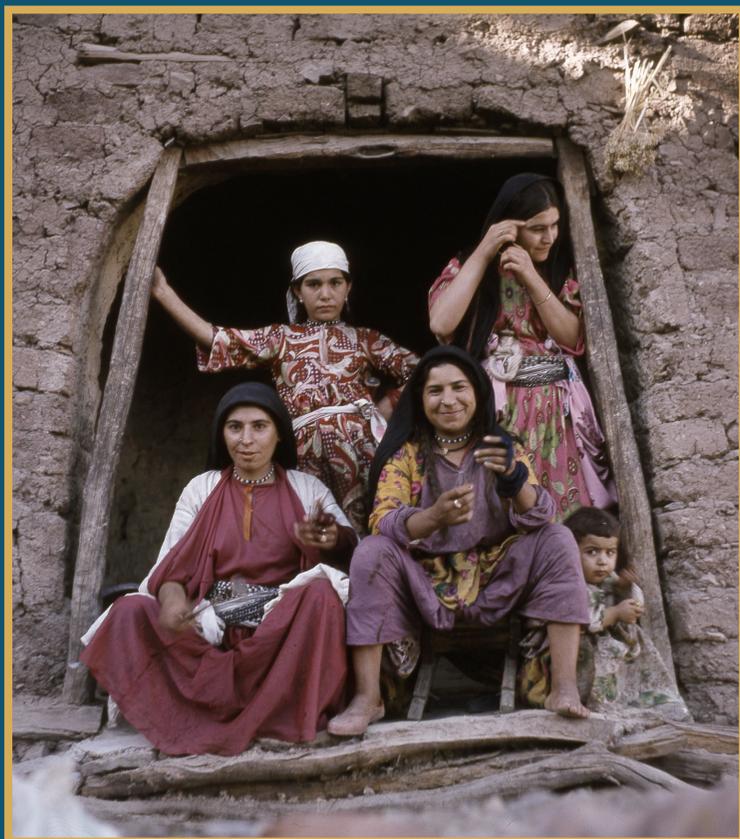


Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures

# Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic

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Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander (eds.), *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0209>

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ISBN Paperback: 978-1-78374-947-8

ISBN Hardback: 978-1-78374-948-5

ISBN Digital (PDF): 978-1-78374-949-2

ISBN Digital ebook (epub): 978-1-78374-950-8

ISBN Digital ebook (mobi): 978-1-78374-951-5

ISBN Digital (XML): 978-1-78374-952-2

DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0209

Semitic Languages and Cultures 5.

ISSN (print): 2632-6906

ISSN (digital): 2632-6914

Cover image: Women in the village of Harbole, south-eastern Turkey (photograph taken by Brunot Poizat in 1978 before the village's destruction).

Cover design: Anna Gatti

# A HISTORY OF THE INTRANSITIVE PRETERITE OF ȚUROYO: FROM A PROPERTY ADJECTIVE TO A FINITE TENSE<sup>1</sup>

*Eugene Barsky and Sergey Loesov*

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## 1. Research Question

The ultimate source of inspiration for the present study is our ambition to offer a detailed description of the history of the Aramaic verbal system. A key event in this history is what Goldenberg used to call ‘the morphological revolution’, i.e. the shift, within Eastern Aramaic, from the Middle Aramaic<sup>2</sup> verbal systems to those of Modern Aramaic. In the course of this shift, Eastern Aramaic gave up the inherited suffix conjugation<sup>3</sup> (\**qatala*) and the prefix conjugation (\**yaqtulu*) and developed a new repertoire of verbal forms, all of whose bases were deverbal adjectives in earlier stages of Aramaic’s history.

We start our historical investigation with Țuroyo, since the verbal system of this language, with its two Preterites, *qaṭal*-Preterite for most intransitive verbs of the G-stem vs. L-Preterite *qtalle* for transitive ones, seems to be more conservative than that of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA). It may represent

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1 The research was supported by RFBR grant 19-012-00475.

2 The term ‘Middle Aramaic’ is used in this paper to refer both to unwritten varieties of Aramaic spoken throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD and the literary registers of those that were committed to writing during the same period (Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, etc.).

3 With the exception of Neo-Mandaic, which retained the suffix conjugation.

a stage that used to exist in some of the ancestor languages of NENA as well.<sup>4</sup>

Various studies have attempted to establish how the Eastern Aramaic L-Preterite *qtalle* developed historically.<sup>5</sup> As far as we know, however, there have been no corpus-based studies of the diachronic pathway that led to the *qatəl*-Preterite of Ṭuroyo, i.e. how the Central Semitic adjective *\*qattil* became verbalised.

In Aramaic, *\*qattil* started as an adjective expressing permanent properties and ended up being the base of various verbal forms in the past tense domain. The functional range of *\*qattil* in the modern Aramaic verbal system is not restricted to the G-stem intransitive Preterite of Ṭuroyo. *\*Qattil* is the Perfect of both transitive and intransitive verbs in Mlaḥsó (Jastrow 1994, 45, 52f.). Moreover, in certain village varieties of Ṭuroyo (in particular, Midən and Kfarze), *\*qattil* is the base for the Passive Preterite of III-y verbs. Thus, in these villages, the Passive Preterite of the verb *ḥzy* is *ḥazi* ('he was seen') rather than *ḥze*.<sup>6</sup> The latter form exists in Midyat and some village dialects. This has been inherited directly from the Middle Aramaic ancestor of Ṭuroyo, while the former (*ḥazi*) developed within Ṭuroyo by analogy with the 1 f.s. and 3 f.s. intransitive Preterite forms of IIIy verbs: *baxyono* 'I (f.) wept' : *ḥazyono* 'I (f.) was seen', *baxyo* 'she wept' : *ḥazyo* 'she was seen', *baxi* 'he wept': x; x = *ḥazi* 'he was seen'.<sup>7</sup> In Maṭlula, a Western Neo-Aramaic variety, *\*qattil* of intransitive G-stem verbs functions both as a dynamic past

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4 If we adhere (as we do) to the *Stammbaum* model in historical linguistics, we cannot accept a hypothesis according to which all NENA known to us had one and the same ancestor in the Middle Aramaic period. Positing a shared ancestor for all NENA is tantamount to claiming that out of all Eastern Middle Aramaic varieties only three had produced progeny that survived into modern times: the ancestor of NENA, the ancestor of Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥsó and the ancestor of Neo-Mandaic.

5 See Coghill (2016), with exhaustive references to earlier studies.

6 See comparative paradigms in Ritter (1990, 378).

7 We owe the suggestion of this analogical development to a personal communication of Paul Noorlander.

verbal form<sup>8</sup> and a stative (or continuous) present tense form, depending on the lexical semantics of the root and even on the utterance context.<sup>9</sup>

By contrast, in both NENA<sup>10</sup> and Neo-Mandaic,<sup>11</sup> reflexes of \**qattil* have not produced new finite verb forms but rather are extant only in nominal forms (i.e., adjectives and substantives).

In this paper, we restrict the scope of the study to a comparison of the data collected from Classical Syriac and Ṭuroyo. For the Ṭuroyo data, we have drawn upon our Verb Glossary of Ṭuroyo (in progress).<sup>12</sup> According to our glossary of verbs, Ṭuroyo has over 200 verbal roots with a *qaṭal*-Preterite. Around 100 of them are of Aramaic origin, the majority of the remainder are of Arabic origin.

## 2. Prehistory of the *Qaṭal*-Preterite: \**Qattil* Outside Aramaic and in Early Aramaic

The Ṭuroyo *qaṭal*-Preterite is the end product of the complete verbalisation of \**qattil*, originally a deverbal adjective pattern. This pattern (in the guise of *qaṭilo*) still continues in Ṭuroyo for adjectives, including deverbal ones, i.e. as the ‘participle’ of certain intransitive verbs.<sup>13</sup>

8 “Das Perfekt,” according to Werner Arnold, see, e.g., Arnold (2006, 22) and Arnold (1999).

9 Compare *tarbil kamu'ō ti šawwille* ‘the way of stone piles, the one **he had made**’ (Arnold 2006, 68, l. 26) with *nḏōb nḏōmyin ... šunyōṭun šawwīyan xami* ‘if we see ... [that] their wives do so (= are also disloyal to their husbands)’ (Bergsträsser 1915, 27: 16f.). See Correll (1978, 63–68) for numerous examples of this verbal form. Correll’s interpretation of its grammatical meaning is unfortunately dogmatic. For him, it is “das Resultativpartizip” in virtually all contexts.

10 Nöldeke (1868, 99); Khan (2008, 411).

11 Macuch (1965, 185ff.). See also Macuch (1993, 383) (*hamim* ‘heiß’), Macuch (1993, 116: 193) (*zalil* ‘eng’).

12 On the project of the Verb Glossary of Ṭuroyo, see Furman and Loesov (2015).

13 See Jastrow (1967, 117ff., 229ff.)

## 2.1. The Etymology of \**Qaṭṭīl*

Diachronically, the verbal adjective \**qaṭṭīl* developed as follows: *qaṭīl* → *qaṭīl* → *qaṭṭīl*.<sup>14</sup> All three patterns have in common that they denoted property adjectives, and as a matter of fact this use is preserved for all the three patterns in various Central Semitic languages, e.g. Biblical Hebrew, Syriac, and Classical Arabic. This use as a property adjective must have been the original one for each of the three derivations in question.

In written Central Semitic languages apart from Aramaic, \**qaṭṭīl* is well-documented in Biblical Hebrew and Arabic. In both languages, it mostly expresses enduring properties of human beings. The respective nominals may be syntactically both substantives and adjectives, as the following lists illustrate.

### **Biblical Hebrew** (complete list):

‘*allīz* ‘exultant’, ‘*ārīṣ* ‘violent, powerful’, ‘*attīq* ‘old; removed, set apart’ (<Aram., Wagner 1966, no. 229), ‘*abbīr* ‘strong, powerful’, ‘*addīr* ‘mighty’, ‘*ammīṣ* ‘strong’, *bārīḥ* ‘fugitive’, *kabbīr* ‘strong, mighty’, *pārīṣ* ‘burglar’, *ṣaddīq* ‘innocent, just’, *šallīṭ* ‘having power’ (<Aram., Wagner 1966, no. 309), *taqqīp* ‘mighty’ (<Aram., Wagner 1966, no. 330), *yaqqīr* ‘precious, dear’ (hapax in Jr 31:20; < Aram.?).

### **Arabic** (selected examples):<sup>15</sup>

‘*irriḍ* ‘mean, malevolent’, ‘*iššīq* ‘lover’, *dikkīr* ‘having a retentive memory’, *dillīl* ‘steeped in deviation’, *dillīm* ‘very unfair’, *fiḥḥīr* ‘self-important’, *hibbīt* ‘very bad’, *ḥirriq* ‘very generous’, *ḥittīr* ‘one who frequently acts with treachery’, *mirriḥ* ‘joyful’.

Our perusal of dictionaries shows that the lexicon of written Arabic has hardly more than some fifty tokens of the \**qaṭṭīl* pattern.

14 See Barth (1894, 51), Brockelmann (1908, 354), Bauer and Leander (1927, 192), Kuryłowicz (1973, §46), Fox (2003, 267 f.).

15 Note the “attenuation” *a* > *i* in the first syllable of the base. In Classical Arabic, this is a regular shift *a* > *i*/\_ CCī.

## 2.2. \*Qaṭṭīl in Biblical Aramaic

It is in Aramaic, unlike Arabic and Biblical Hebrew, that \*qaṭṭīl first becomes a productive noun pattern that is regularly derived from verbal roots. Biblical Aramaic (BA) has twelve \*qaṭṭīl derivations, as many as Biblical Hebrew, though the Aramaic Biblical corpus is circa fifty times smaller than that of Hebrew.

\*qaṭṭīl also started its life in Aramaic as an adjective expressing permanent properties. Thus, in Biblical Aramaic, \*qaṭṭīl expresses properties, including the basic lexical items: ‘*ammīq* ‘deep’, ‘*attīq* ‘old, aged’, ‘*ḥakkīm* ‘wise’, ‘*ḥassīr* ‘wanting, deficient’, ‘*qaddīš* ‘holy’, ‘*raḥḥīq* ‘far’, ‘*saggī* ‘great, much, many’, ‘*šallīt* ‘powerful, mighty’, ‘*šappīr* ‘beautiful’, ‘*taqqīp* ‘strong, mighty’, ‘*yaqqīr* ‘difficult, honourable’, ‘*yaššīb* ‘well established’, ‘*yattīr* ‘extraordinary, exceeding’.

The innovative and productive nature of \*qaṭṭīl in Aramaic of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC stands in sharp relief when we compare the Biblical Aramaic adjectives from the list above with their Biblical Hebrew cognates, most of which display the patterns \*qaṭīl, \*qaṭal, and \*qaṭul, which are retentions from the proto-Semitic stage and no longer productive in Central Semitic: ‘*āmōq* ‘deep’, ‘*ḥākām* ‘clever, skillful’, ‘*ḥāsēr* ‘one in want’, ‘*qādōš* ‘holy’, ‘*rāḥōq* ‘far’, ‘*yāqār* ‘scarce, precious, valuable’, ‘*yōtēr* ‘excessive’.

Thus Biblical Hebrew adjectives derived from the same roots as BA qaṭṭīl adjectives were mostly formed using archaic patterns, while Biblical Hebrew qaṭṭīl tokens are scarce and partly borrowed from Aramaic.

Syntactically, these Biblical Aramaic nominals are used as verbal arguments, attributive adjectives and nominal predicates. The qaṭṭīl of Biblical Aramaic still behaves syntactically as a nominal. We find, however, one instance where a qaṭṭīl adjective derived from a dynamic verb inherits the argument structure of the source verb (2):

- (1) *malkū* ... *dī* *ti-šlat* *b-ḵol*  
 kingdom.INDET.S DEP 3FS-rule.PC in-all

*ʾar<sup>c</sup>-ā*

land-DET.S

‘A kingdom ... that will rule in the whole earth.’  
 (Dan 2: 39)

- (2) *w-malk-īn* *taqqīp-īn* *hāw-ō* *ʿal*  
 and-king-INDET.PL mighty-INDET.PL be.SC-3MPL over

*yarušlām*

GN

*w-šallīt-īn*

and-rule.QATTİL-MPL

*b-ḵōl*

in-all

*ʿāḇār*

crossing.CST.S

*nahār-ā*

river-DET.S

*w-midd-ā*

and-tribute-DET.S

*blō*

tribute

*wa-hālāk*

and-tribute.INDET.S

*mityāheb*

to.be.given.PTCP.MS

*l-hon*

to-3MPL

‘And mighty kings were over Jerusalem, and ruling in all Beyond-the-River, and tribute, custom and toll were paid to them.’ (Ezra 4: 20)

The syntagm *malkīn ... šallītīn b-ḵōl ʿāḇār nahārā* ‘kings ruling in all Beyond-the-River’ in (2) replicates the argument structure of the finite verb *šlt* ‘have power, rule’. Both the derivation of a *qattīl* form (here *šallītīn*) from a fairly dynamic verb and its syntactic usage are atypical for Biblical Aramaic and foreshadow the career of *qattīl* in Middle Aramaic, which is represented in this paper by Classical Syriac.

### 3. \*Qaṭṭīl in Syriac

We have searched for *qaṭṭīl* tokens in the *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (CSD, J. Payne Smith 1903) and *Peshitta New Testament* (PNT). In CSD, we have found some 180 *qaṭṭīl* lexemes whose existence seems reliable. Of these, we have found some 64 in the PNT. We have found 207 vocalised words following the *qaṭṭīl* pattern in R. Payne Smith's (1879–1901) *Thesaurus Syriacus* (TS), Sokoloff's (2009) *Syriac Lexicon* (SL) and CAL (the online *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*) alongside CSD. Our principal source is CSD, where the tokens are either independent lemmata, such as *šappīr* 'fair, good, lovely' (CSD, 590), or nominal forms in verb entries, usually labelled 'part. adj.', e.g. *salliḳ* (CSD, 379).

Unfortunately, these data cannot be accepted uncritically. The identification, in CSD or TS, of a form as *qaṭṭīl* rather than *qṭīl* is not always reliable. Note that J. Payne Smith employs the term 'part. adj.' in verb entries, both for *qaṭṭīl* and *qṭīl* tokens,<sup>16</sup> while most *qṭīl* tokens she labels as 'pass. part'. In verb entries of CSD, the meanings of nominal forms are not uniformly provided. Furthermore, we have been unable to find textual evidence for several *qaṭṭīl* tokens that appear in the dictionaries.

#### 3.1. From Property Adjective to Verbal Adjective

A major difference between Biblical Aramaic and the Syriac NT regarding *qaṭṭīl* is that in PNT *qaṭṭīl* is formed not only from unambiguous property roots, but also from stative and dynamic verbal roots. Some of the examples are *ʾabbīd* 'lost, gone astray', *ʾazzil* '(is) gone', *ʾatti* 'having come', *ʾallil* 'having entered', *dabbīq* 'close to, cleaving', *dahḥīl* 'fearing', *dammīk* 'asleep', *naḥḥīt* 'having gone down', *tammīh* 'amazed'. It stands to reason that these are used almost exclusively as **predicates** rather than independent nominals or attributive adjectives. Due to their semantics, they cannot be easily employed independently in specifically nominal

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16 I.e. for *qṭīl* tokens with non-trivial meanings, in particular those derived from intransitive verbs.

syntactic functions. This means they were formed in order to serve as predicates in the first place, by analogy with the predicative use of the property adjective *qattīl*. Further research is required to establish the relative chronology of *qattīl* derivations, i.e. to answer the question which verbs (in terms of the four Vendlerian classes)<sup>17</sup> were the first to form purely predicative *qattīl* forms. We speculate, however, that it was stative verbs that were the first to produce them, by analogy with property adjectives:

*ḥakkīm* 'at 'You are wise' > *tammīh* 'at 'You are amazed'

The shared feature of the two kinds of clauses is as follows. Both were thought of as **stative**, while *tammīh* 'at was also **resultative**, i.e., it encoded a **stative** situation that was thought of as 'having come about' rather than a **property** that 'always' existed of itself.

(3)

- |    |  |                |
|----|--|----------------|
| a. | <i>w-ṭammīh-īn<sup>-h</sup>waw</i>                 | <i>kul-hon</i> |
|    | and-be.amazed.QATTİL-MPL-PST.3MPL                  | all-3MPL       |
|    | <i>ʾaylēn d-šām<sup>c</sup>-īn<sup>-h</sup>waw</i> | <i>l-ēh</i>    |
|    | DIST.PL DEP-listen.PTCP-MPL-PST.3MPL               | to-3MS         |

Greek original (Act 9:21 BNT):

<i>eksista-nto</i>	<i>de pant-es</i>
be.amazed.IMPF.REFL-3PL	TOP every-MPL
<i>hoi</i>	<i>akou-ont-es</i>
ART.MPL	listen.PTCP.PRS.ACT-NOM.MPL

'All those who were listening to him **were amazed.**'

17 I.e., stative verbs, atelic verbs, telic events (accomplishments), and punctual situations (achievements).

- b.     $\text{ʔāmr-ā}$      $l-əḥ$      $\text{ʔa}^n\text{ttā}$      $hāy$      $mār^y$      $lā$   
 say.SC-3FS    to-3MS    woman    VOC    lord-1S    NEG
- $dawlā$      $l-āk$      $w-ḃerā$      $\text{ʿammīqā}$   
 bucket    to-2MS    and-well    deep

Greek original:

$leg-ei$              $aut-o$                              $e$              $gyn-e$   
 say-PRS.ACT.3S    PRON.PERS-DAT.MS    ART.NOM.FS    woman-NOM.S

$Kyri-e,$          $oute$          $antlem-a$          $ech-eis$   
 lord-VOC.MS    and.not        bucket-ACC.NS    have-PRS.ACT.2S

$kai$      $to$          $phrear$          $est-in$          $bathy$   
 and    ART.NS    well.NOM.S    be-PRS.ACT.3S    deep.NOM.NS

(Jn 4:11 BYZ)

‘The woman told him, My lord, you do not even have a bucket, and **the well is deep.**’

- c.     $yawsep̄$      $dēn$      $ba^l-āh$      $kē^nā-hwā$   
 PN            TOP        husband-3FS    honest-PST.3MS

Greek original (Mt 1:19 BNT):

$Ioseph$      $de$      $ho$                              $aner$                              $aut-es,$   
 PN.NOM    TOP    ART.DEF.MS    husband-NOM.S    PRON.PERS-GEN.FS

$dikai-os$                              $on$   
 righteous-NOM.MS    be.PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.MS

‘Joseph, her husband, **was a decent man.**’

- d. *l̥būš-ēh*                      *ḥewwār-<sup>h</sup>wā*  
 clothes-3MS                      white-PST.3MS

Greek original (Mt 28:3 BNT):

<i>en</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>endym-a</i>
be.IMPF.ACT.3S	TOP	ART.NOM.NS	garment-NOM.NS
<i>aut-ou</i>	<i>leuk-on</i>		
PRON.PERS-GEN.MS	white-NOM.NS		

‘His clothes **were white.**’

The predicate of (3a) has the same morphological shape *qattīl* as the predicate of (3b) and the same surface syntax as those of (3c) and (3d), while the predicative adjectives in (3c) and (3d) have morphological patterns other than *qattīl*. In (3a), *w-tammīhīn-<sup>h</sup>waw* (semantically, a stative-resultative predicate) translates the Greek finite (Imperfect) form *eksistanto*, while the *qattīl*-predicate of (3b), *w-ḥerā ‘ammīqā* (semantically, a property adjective), translates the Greek predicative adjective (with the present-tense verbal copula) *estin bathy* ‘is deep’. In (3c) and (3d), Syriac predicative property adjectives translate Greek predicative property adjectives (note that in 1d the Syriac adjective is in the determined state).

### 3.2. From Stative-Resultative to Dynamic Perfect

What one observes in Syriac is a verbalisation stage of *qattīl* even more advanced than that of a stative-resultative predicate: *qattīl* lexemes formed from dynamic roots **can take the kinds of verbal arguments and adjuncts that exclude a stative-resultative interpretation.** This means these forms are no longer stative-resultative nominal predicates but rather **dynamic verbal forms.** The contexts show that these verbal forms encode

**past** events and can express a PERFECT or ANTERIOR. They could be used as translations of past tense forms of the Greek NT texts.

Consider the following examples, which come both from translations and original texts:

- (4) *w-ʾen-hū d-šārē-ʾnā l-hon kaḏ*  
 and-even.if DEP-dismiss.PTCP.MS-1S to-3MPL while  
*šāym-īn l-bāttay-hon ʿāyp-īn b-ʾurḥā*  
 fast.PTCP-MPL to-house.PL-3MPL be.tired.PTCP-MPL on-way  
*gēr ʾnāšā men-hon men ruḥqā ʾattī-īn*  
 for some from-3MPL from distance come.QATTİL-MPL

Greek original (Mk 8:3 BYZ):

- kai ean apoly-s-o aut-ous*  
 and IF release-AOR-SBJV.ACT.1S PRON.PERS-ACC.MPL  
*nest-eis eis oik-on aut-on*  
 hungry-ACC.MPL (in)to house-ACC.MS PRON.PERS-GEN.MPL  
*ekly-the-sontai en te hod-o,*  
 become.weary-PASS-FUT.3PL in ART.DAT.FS way-DAT.FS  
*tin-es gar auton apo*  
 PRON.INDF-NOM.MPL because PRON.PERS-GEN.MPL from  
*makrothen hek-asin*  
 far.away come.PERF-ACT.3PL

‘And if I let them go home while they are fasting, they will faint on the way, for some of them **have come from far away.**’

- (5) *w-ʿezz<sup>l</sup>-aṭ*    *l-bayt-āh*    *w-ʿeškḥ-aṭ*  
 and-go.SC-3FS    to-house-3FS    and-find.SC-3FS
- bart-āh*    *kaḏ*    *ramy-ā*    *b-ʿarsā*  
 daughter-3FS    while    lie.PTCP.PASS-3FS    on-bed
- w-nappīq*    *menn-āh*    *šəʿḏ-āh*  
 and-go.out.QATTĪL.MS    from-3FS    demon-3FS

Greek original (Mk 7:30 BNT):

- kai*    *apelth-ousa*    *eis*    *ton*  
 and    go.away.AOR-PTCP-ACT.NOM.FS    (in)to    ART.ACC.MS
- oik-on*    *aut-es*    *heur-en*    *to*  
 house-ACC.MS    PRON.GEN.FS    find.AOR-ACT.3S    ART.ACC.NS
- paidi-on*    *beble-men-on*    *epi*    *ten*  
 child-ACC.NS    throw.PRF-PTCP.PASS-ACC.NS    on    ART.ACC.FS
- klin-en*    *kai*    *to*    *daimoni-on*  
 bed-ACC.FS    and    ART.ACC.NS    demon-NOM.NS
- ekselelyth-os*  
 get.out.PRF.PTCP.ACT-ACC.NS

‘She went to her house and found that her daughter was lying upon the bed and that her demon **had gone** out of her.’





*kull-ēh*    *ʿeṭbannī*            *w-eṭḥaddaṭ*            *ba-šqāl*  
 all-3MS    rebuild.SC.3MS    and-restore.SC.3MS    by-care

*ṭaʿnā*    *d-Ewlogis*    *hegmōnā*    *d-Urhāy*  
 decision    DEP-PN            governor            DEP-GN

‘And the wall of Batnan-Qastra in Serug, which **had collapsed** into ruin, was completely rebuilt and restored by the decision of Eulogius, the governor of Edessa.’ (JS 83)

(9)    *ʿaḫēn*    *lā*            *ʿamīṭ-ēh*                    *b-mawtā*  
 though    NEG            kill.SC.3MS-ACC.3MS            with-death

*kyānāyā*    *ʿellā*    *b-haw*            *da-ḥṭītā*  
 natural            but            with-DIST.MS    DEP-sin

*mayyīt-<sup>h</sup>wā*  
 die.QATTIL.MS-PST.3MS

Though he (God) did not kill him (Adam) with natural death, he **had** still **died** a death of sin (IshGn 064).<sup>18</sup>

In (4) *men ruḥqā ʿattīʿin*, the adjunct *men ruḥqā* ‘from afar’ corroborates a dynamic past interpretation of *ʿattīʿin*. The same applies to (5) *w-nappīq mennāh šēʿdāh*. In (6), the two Greek pluperfects (*skotia ede egegonei* and *oupo eleluthēi... ho Iesus*) were rendered differently in Syriac. The first one was translated with Preterite + *hwā* (*ḥeškaṭ-<sup>h</sup>wāt lāh*), the second by *qattīl* + *hwā* (*lā ʿattī-<sup>h</sup>wā*). This is because Syriac *ḥaššīk* denoted a property with the senses ‘obscure, under a cloud, in darkness, ignorant’

18 I.e., Mar Ishodad of Merv believes that Adam had died a spiritual death of sin even before he left the Garden of Eden.

(CSD, 162), and, therefore, would be inappropriate in this text as a rendering of a dynamic event. In (7), *wa-ḏakkēl lā ʿabbīr l-bēt r<sup>h</sup>omāyē*, besides the endpoint of crossing, there is a phasal particle *ḏakkēl* ‘not yet’, well known for its propensity to combine with a PERFECT. In (8), *šūrā ... d-nappīl-<sup>h</sup>wā ... kullēh ʿetbannī*, the form *nappīl-<sup>h</sup>wā* clearly has an eventive pluperfect force. In (9), *b-haw da-ḥtītā mayyīt-<sup>h</sup>wā*, the predicate is clearly dynamic.

Thus, *qattīl* predicates in (4)–(9) are not stative but rather past dynamic (eventive, fientive). Semantically, they are perfects, not resultatives, as we consider (with mainstream functional typology) the RESULTATIVE to be a sub-class of stative situations but the PERFECT to encode dynamic situations.<sup>19</sup>

So, the Syriac evidence for dynamic *qattīl* points to a ‘mature’ Perfect, which is employed as both an absolute and a relative tense: i.e., in narrative, a *qattīl*-Perfect has a reference point different from speech time. In other words, our Syriac *qattīl*-Perfect can function as both a shifter (or ‘deictic’) PERFECT and as a PLUPERFECT.<sup>20</sup> In the latter case, it may have an appropriate marker *-(h)wā*,<sup>21</sup> which, as we have seen, may be used with all kinds of nominal predicates in Syriac.

Symmetrically, another innovative construction, *qtīl lēh*, provides both active PERFECT and analytical PLUPERFECT for Syriac transitive verbs:<sup>22</sup>

19 We use small caps for linguistic universals, such as PERFECT or PASSIVE.

20 Or as a verb form employed to introduce ‘nachgeholt Information’ [recovered information], to use an elegant term of Harald Weinrich (1985).

21 It anticipates relative tense markers in Modern Aramaic, which are etymologically related to this *-hwā*.

22 See also numerous examples in Bar-Asher Siegal (2014) and Coghill (2016, 306–27).

- (10) *hānnā dēn meddem da-snē lā*  
 PROX.MS TOP something DEP-wicked NEG

*ḥīd l-ēh*  
 do.QTĪL.MS to-3MS

Greek original (Lk 23:41 BNT):

*hout-os de oud-en atop-on*  
 PRON.DEM-NOM.MS TOP PRON.INDEF-ACC.NS wrong-ACC.NS

*epraks-en*  
 do.AOR-ACT.3S

‘But this one has done nothing bad’

- (11) *šbāb-aw<sup>hy</sup> dēn w-ʿaylēn da-ḥzē-<sup>h</sup>wā*  
 neighbour.PL-3MS TOP and-DIST.PL DEP-see.QTĪL.MS-PST.3MS

*l-hon men qdīm d-ḥādar-<sup>h</sup>wā*  
 to-3MPL from former DEP-beg.PTCP.MS-PST.3MS

*ʿāmr-īn-<sup>h</sup>waw lā-<sup>h</sup>wā hānnaw haw*  
 say.PTCP-MPL-PST.3MPL NEG-be.SC.3MS PROX.MS DIST.MS

*d-yāteb-<sup>h</sup>wā w-ḥādar*  
 DEP-sit.PTCP.MS-PST.3MS and-beg.PTCP.MS

Greek original (Jn 9:8 BNT):

*hoi oun geiton-es kai hoi*  
 ART.NOM.PL TOP neighbour-NOM.MPL and ART.NOM.PL

*theor-ount-es aut-on to*  
 see-PTCP.PRES.ACT-NOM.MPL PRON-ACC.MS ART.ACC.NS

<i>proteron</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>prosait-es</i>	<i>en</i>
earlier	that	beggar-NOM.MS	be.IMPF.3S
<i>e-leg-on:</i>	<i>ouch</i>	<i>hout-os</i>	<i>est-in</i>
IMPF-say-3PL	not	PRON.DEM-NOM.MS	be-PRS.3S
<i>ho</i>	<i>kathe-men-os</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>prosait-on</i>
ART.NOM.MS	sit-PTCP.PRS-NOM.MS	and	beg-PTCP.PRS.NOM.MS

‘His neighbours and those who **had formerly seen** him begging said, “Isn’t this the [same man] who used to sit and beg?”’

These sentences should not be interpreted as passive, since the agents are given prominence by special particles (in both the originals and translations) and by the context.<sup>23</sup> The fact that corresponding verbal forms in the Greek original are active transitive further supports this.

Thus, one could surmise that Classical Syriac might have had a Perfect tense roughly comparable with German or Italian. This Perfect would have had two shapes depending on the respective verb’s value of transitivity. In the individual Syriac corpora we have perused, the dynamic *qattil* is predominantly derived from intransitive telic verbs of motion, though even in such verbs it is rare. The data of our sample are as follows:

- Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* (written in 337–345 C.E.), 77,505 words. 2 verbs with dynamic *qattil*: *’bd* ‘perish’ (2 tokens), *npl* ‘fall’ (1 token). Total: 3 tokens.<sup>24</sup>
- Peshitta New Testament (PNT) (composed perhaps in the 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), 101,479 words. 4 verbs with dynamic *qattil*: *’ty* ‘come’ (3 tokens), *’ll* ‘enter’ (1 token),

<sup>23</sup> In terms of pragmatics, PASSIVE is demotion (most often, deletion) of agent.

<sup>24</sup> Aphrahat 10:194, 14:270, 19:360.

ʾbd ‘perish’ (4 tokens), npq ‘go out’ (1 token). Total: 9 tokens.<sup>25</sup>

- Eusebius, *Church History* (translated into Syriac no later than 462 C.E.), 63,194 words. 4 verbs with dynamic *qattil*: ʾbd ‘perish’ (1 token), ʾrq ‘flee’ (1 token), mrd ‘escape’ (1 token), nht ‘go down, land’ (3 tokens). Total: 6 tokens.<sup>26</sup>
- Chronicle of Joshua Stylite (written in 507 C.E.), 15,434 words. 2 verbs with dynamic *qattil*: ʾbr ‘cross’ (1 token), npl (1 token). Total: 2 tokens.<sup>27</sup>
- Ishodad, *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (written around 850 C.E.), 77,252 words. 10 roots with dynamic *qattil*: ʾty ‘come’ (1 token), ʾzl ‘go’ (2 tokens), ʾrq ‘flee’ (1 token), ʾbd ‘perish’ (1 token), myt ‘die’ (1 token), npl ‘fall’ (1 token), npq ‘go out’ (1 token), sgd ‘bow’ (1 token), škn ‘settle or rest upon’ (1 token), yqd ‘burn (intr.)’ (1 token). Total: 11 tokens.<sup>28</sup>
- Bar Ebroyo, *Ecclesiastical History* (written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), 82,373 words. 5 verbs with dynamic *qattil*: ʾty ‘come’ (1 token), ʾzl (1 token), ʾll ‘enter’ (1 token), ʾrq ‘flee’ (4 tokens), hrb ‘get ruined’ (1 token). Total: 8 tokens.<sup>29</sup>

The number of dynamic *qattil* tokens in each of the individual corpora is small, but, throughout the nine centuries of Syriac literature examined for this study, the *qattil* pattern tends to express the PERFECT consistently in the context of essentially the same tightly-knit group of telic/punctual verbs. In more detailed terms of lexical semantics, these are, for the most part, either verbs of motion or patientive intransitives, such as ʾbd ‘perish’, myt ‘die’, and hrb ‘get ruined’. This fact remains to be explained.

25 Mt 18:11; Mk 7:30, 8:3, 11:20; Lk 8:30, 15:6, 15:9, 19:10; Jn 6:17, 11:19.

26 Eusebius 52, 56, 148, 149, 210, 317.

27 JS 46, 83.

28 IshGn 64, 123, 127, 188; IshEx-Dt 8, 25, 67, 109, 117, 137.

29 BH 1:331, 1:411, 2:783, 3:23, 3:71, 3:311, 3:317, 4:429.

Moreover, throughout our corpus, the grammatical reading of individual deverbal tokens of *qattil* still depends on the lexical semantics of the respective verb.<sup>30</sup> For example, in Syriac, *dammik* invariably denotes ‘he is asleep’ (not ‘he fell/has fallen asleep’). It expresses a state contemporaneous with a reference point, as observed in (12):

- (12) *w-hā*    *zaw<sup>c</sup>ā*    *rabbā-<sup>h</sup>wā*    *b-yammā*    *’aykannā*  
 and-TOP    moving    great-PST.3MS    in-sea    so that
- d-’elpā*    *te-tkassē*    *men*    *gall-ē,*    *hū*    *dēn*  
 DEP-boat    3FS-be.covered.PC    by    wave-PL    3S    TOP
- Yešū<sup>c</sup>*    ***dammik-<sup>h</sup>wā***  
 PN    sleep.QATTIL.MS-PST.3MS

Greek original (Mt 8:24 BYZ):

- kai idou, seism-os            megas*  
 and TOP    shaking-NOM.MS    large.NOM.MS
- e-gen-eto            en te            thalass-e,*  
 AOR-occur-MED.3S    in    ART.DAT.FS    sea-DAT.FS
- hoste to            ploi-on            kalypt-esthai*  
 so.that    ART.ACC.NS    ship-ACC.S    hide-INF.PRS.PASS
- hupo ton            kymat-wn;            aut-os*  
 under    ART.GEN.NPL    wave-GEN.NPL    himself-PRON.NOM.MS
- de e-katheud-en*  
 TOP    IMPF-sleep-3S

<sup>30</sup> As against Turoyo, where all finite *qatəl* forms have the perfective aspectual reading. Thus, *daməx* is ‘he slept’, ‘he fell asleep’, see below.

‘And look, a great commotion arose in the sea, so that the boat was being covered by waves. But he, Jesus, **was asleep.**’

The predicate *dammik-<sup>h</sup>wā* is a translation of the Greek Imperfect *e-katheud-en* ‘was sleeping/asleep.’

Most importantly, this is the only token of *dammik* in the standard text of the Peshitta for both OT and NT.<sup>31</sup> Otherwise, in this corpus, the situation ‘be asleep’ is rendered by the adjective *dmeḵ* for the Present (e.g., Mark 5:39 PNT) and *dmeḵ-<sup>h</sup>wā* for the Past (e.g., Acts 12:6 PNT). It stands to reason that the morphological form of the Syriac adjective *dmeḵ* is a reflex of the archaic pattern \**qaṭil*, no longer productive in Central Semitic (see Sections 1.1. and 1.2 above). Thus, *dammik* is an inner-Syriac innovation that had not existed in earlier Aramaic. The same applies to *nappiq* and *’attī*. By contrast, ṭuroyo *damax* corresponding to Syriac *dammik* expresses ‘he fell asleep’, while *damixo*, the erstwhile determined form, means ‘asleep’, e.g. *ono damixo-no* ‘I am asleep’.

### 3.3. Summary

In sum, throughout our Syriac sample, *qaṭil* derivations of intransitive **telic** verbs have the force of the PERFECT (or a PLUPERFECT when used as relative tense with a reference point in the past in narrative). Yet, their use to express these grammatical meanings is not obligatory, because *qṭal* also appears with the same functions in texts. Consider three Syriac renderings of the same Greek verse, Jn 6:17:<sup>32</sup>

31 The manuscript tradition has preserved a few more occurrences of *dammik* where the standard text has *dmeḵ* or *dāmeḵ* (e.g., Act 12:6).

32 See Kiraz (1996, 100f.)

(13) *w-iteḅ<sup>w</sup> ba-sḫī<sup>n</sup>ttā w-’ātēn-<sup>h</sup>waw l-’eḅrā la-Ḳḫārnaḥum  
w-ḥeškaṭ-<sup>h</sup>wāṭ lāh w-lā ’atti-<sup>h</sup>wā lwāṭhon Yešū<sup>c</sup>* (PNT).

(PNT) **w-lā**      ’atti-<sup>h</sup>wā  
and-NEG    come.QATTĪL.MS-PST.3MS

*w-iteḅ<sup>w</sup> ba-sḫī<sup>n</sup>ttā w-’ātēn-<sup>h</sup>waw l-’eḅrā la-Ḳḫārnaḥum  
mettol d-ḥeškaṭ-<sup>h</sup>wāṭ lāh w-lā ’eṭā-<sup>h</sup>wā lwāṭhon Yešū<sup>c</sup>* (S).

(S) **w-lā**      ’eṭā-<sup>h</sup>wā  
and-NEG    come.PST.3MS-PST.3MS

*w-iteḅ<sup>w</sup> ba-sḫī<sup>n</sup>ttā w-’ātēn-<sup>h</sup>waw l-’eḅrā d-yamṭā  
la-Ḳḫārnaḥum w-ḥeškaṭ-<sup>h</sup>wāṭ lāh w-lā ’eṭā lwāṭhon Yešū<sup>c</sup>*  
(C).

(C) **w-lā**      ’eṭā  
and-NEG    come.PST.3MS

‘And they sat in a boat and were going to Capernaum.  
And it became dark, and **Jesus had not** (yet) **come** to  
them.’

In PNT, the ‘pluperfect’ sense is rendered by the *qattīl* form, while S uses the *qṭal*, and C uses the *qṭal-wā* form.

In the Classical Syriac corpus, *qattīl* need not be restricted to derivations of telic verbs to express the PERFECT. Thus, *tammīh* sometimes has the meaning ‘he became amazed’, and even *yabbīš* in certain contexts seems to express ‘it has dried up’ (cf. Mk 11: 20 PNT). These facts will hopefully be dealt with in the course of our further research.

#### 4. The Development from an Assumed Middle Aramaic Ancestor of Ṭuroyo to the Ṭuroyo of Today

The transition from the Middle Aramaic past-tense repertoire to the Neo-Aramaic repertoire of Ṭuroyo seems broadly straightforward. The new Perfect (*qattīl*) takes root and its use increases exponentially, and finally ousts the old Preterite (*qṭal*) to become the basic Past tense. This follows the well-known typological pathway, which is found, for example, in Western European languages like French, certain dialects of Italian and most of contemporary German.

Our aim is to trace the development of the Ṭuroyo verbal system in as much detail as possible. This study is still in progress. For the moment, we have undertaken a comparison of *qattīl* formations found in CSD with approximately one hundred Ṭuroyo verbs of Aramaic origin that have *qṭal*-Preterites. It stands to reason that Proto-Ṭuroyo was not identical to Edessan Syriac, yet we have no better starting point for a diachronic study of Ṭuroyo than Syriac.

We have found around 50 overlaps between the two groups of verbs. Some 50 intransitive Syriac verbs with *qattīl* attested in CSD have direct correspondences in Ṭuroyo and have a *qṭal*-Preterite, while the rest of them (i.e., approximately 130 verbs with *qattīl*-derivations) are not in our Verb Glossary of Ṭuroyo and, therefore, most probably have not survived into this language.

The surviving verbs can be neatly divided into two semantic groups: motion and state-and-property (including body posture). In the table below, we present 14 Ṭuroyo motion verbs with Aramaic etymology out of 50 in total. The leftmost column of the table provides glosses of Syriac verbs whose *qattīl* forms stand in the next column. In the Ṭuroyo column, we adduce special glosses for Ṭuroyo when the meanings do not match the Syriac ones and we give the Preterite forms of the etymologically related Ṭuroyo verbs.

Table 1: Syriac and ʿuroyo Correspondences of \*Qaṭṭil

Gloss	Syriac	ʿuroyo
go	ʾazzīl	azzé
come	ʾatti	aṭi
go down	naḥḥīt	naḥət
fall	nappīl	naḥəl
go out	nappīq	naḥəq
go up	salliḳ	saḥəq
flee, escape	ʿarriḳ	ʿarəq
escape	palliṭ	faḥət
stand up	qayyīm	qayəm
run	rahhīt	raḥət
quiver	raʿīl	raʿəl
be in motion, tremble	zayyīʿ	zayəʿ ‘fear’
sink	ṭabbīʿ	ṭawəʿ also ‘fall asleep’; ‘set’ (sun)
cross	ʿabbīr	ʿabər ‘enter’

Also worth mentioning is the Syriac verb *rkb* ‘mount, bestride, ride (a horse)’. CSD (541) only mentions *rḳīb* and not the expected \**rakkīb*. Cognate verbs in ʿuroyo include *raku/roku* ‘to get on, to mount (vehicle, horse *al*)’; *raxu/roxu* ‘ride, mount (horse)’. Note also *lawišo* ‘wearing, clothed’, while CSD (235) records *lḃiš* rather than \**labbīš*.

Thus, as far as the correspondences of geminated R<sub>2</sub>-stops in ʿuroyo go, we have ʾatti vs. aṭi, ṭabbīʿ vs. ṭawəʿ, ʿabbīr vs. ʿabər. Additional relevant examples from our comparative list include *yattīb* ‘sitting, seated’ (CSD, 198f.) vs. *yatu* ‘he sat down’, *sabbīʿ* ‘full, satisfied’ (CSD, 358) vs. *sawəʿ* ‘he became full/satiated’, and *rabbīʿ* (CSD, 526: “pass. part.” of *rḥaʿ* ‘lie down, couch; recline’) vs. *rawəʿ* ‘it lied down, rested (animals)’, *rakkīk* ‘soft, gentle’ (CSD

540) vs. *rakəx* ‘it became soft’,<sup>33</sup> *rattik* ‘fervent, enthusiastic’ (CSD 552) vs. *raṭəx* ‘to seethe’. The behaviour of second radical stops vs. spirants appears to be unpredictable.<sup>34</sup> This means that, e.g., *aṭi* is not an immediate reflex (or a direct descendent) of *’atti*. The implication is that the *qaṭəl*-Preterite was derived directly from the ‘new’ (Neo-Aramaic) root at a certain stage of development, and in no instance is it a continuation of the corresponding Syriac *qaṭṭil* form.

Our preliminary conclusions are as follows.

We do not know whether *qaṭṭil* became an inflectional form that was available for every intransitive verb in the ancestor of Ṭuroyo. (This is a possibility we have been entertaining for a long time in the course of our research.) Due to a lack of adequate Syriac textual corpora at our disposal, it is difficult to identify textual examples even for the 180 *qaṭṭil* lexemes recorded in CSD.

Since, phonologically, numerous tokens of the Ṭuroyo Preterite *qaṭəl* and the deverbal adjective *qaṭilo* do not go back directly to the corresponding forms attested in Syriac, we believe that all the inflectional forms of Ṭuroyo verbs were derived at a certain period synchronically from the new roots, whether of Aramaic or Arabic origin. This means that we can neither prove nor refute the existence of a Middle Aramaic stage at which a productive finite form of *qaṭṭil* of intransitive verbs existed. Finally, the diachronic background for plosive or spirant realisation of etymological stops in Ṭuroyo has to be studied in its own right, as a step forward in the reconstruction of Proto-Ṭuroyo.

## Abbreviations

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

Aphrahat     *The Homilies of Aphraates, The Persian Sage*. Edited by W. Wright. Vol. 1. The Syriac Text. 1869. London: Williams and Norgate.

<sup>33</sup> On this verb, see Furman and Loesov (2016, 41).

<sup>34</sup> See also Jastrow (2015, 240).



## Glossing Abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing List

CST	construct state
DEP	dependent, i.e. the marker of an embedded clause or the dependent within a noun phrase
DET	determined state
GN	geographic name
INDET	indetermined state
PC	prefix conjugation
PN	proper noun
SC	suffix conjugation

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