

# HdO

## The Verbal Systems of Aramaic

ܗܕܐ

Stefan Bruweleit

---

BRILL

The Verbal Systems of Aramaic

# Handbook of Oriental Studies

## Handbuch der Orientalistik

### SECTION ONE

## The Near and Middle East

*Edited by*

Maribel Fierro (*Madrid*)

M. Şükrü Hanioğlu (*Princeton*)

D. Fairchild Ruggles (*University of Illinois*)

Florian Schwarz (*Vienna*)

VOLUME 187

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/ho1*

# The Verbal Systems of Aramaic

*By*

Stefan Bruweleit



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



## Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bruweleit, Stefan, author.

Title: The verbal systems of Aramaic / by Stefan Bruweleit.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2025. | Series: Handbook of Oriental Studies = Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section one: Near & Middle East, 0169-9423 ; volume 187 | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "In The Verbal Systems of Aramaic, Bruweleit analyses the Aramaic verbal systems from Old Aramaic to the modern dialects. He examines whether the verb forms are to be analysed as aspectual, temporal or modal and decides whether the verbal systems are to be regarded as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent. On a diachronic level, the study investigates which conclusions the verbal systems allow regarding the classification and history of Aramaic. The work offers a hypothesis that explains the intricate use of the participle in Biblical Aramaic and shows that the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects can be traced back to a common proto-dialect that split into at least four branches from which in turn the modern NENA dialects emerged"—Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024051262 (print) | LCCN 2024051263 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004714151 (hardback ; acid-free paper) | ISBN 9789004714168 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Aramaic language—Verb.

Classification: LCC PJ5202 .B78 2025 (print) | LCC PJ5202 (ebook) | DDC 492/.2—dc23/eng/20241209

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024051262>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024051263>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](https://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 0169-9423

ISBN 978-90-04-71415-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-71416-8 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004714168

Copyright 2025 by Stefan Bruweleit. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill BV via [brill.com](https://brill.com) or [copyright.com](https://copyright.com).

For more information: [info@brill.com](mailto:info@brill.com).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

|                            |       |
|----------------------------|-------|
| List of Figures and Tables | xv    |
| Abbreviations and Symbols  | xvii  |
| Introductory Remarks       | xviii |

## PART 1

### *Methodological Principles and Brief Outline of the Classification and History of Aramaic*

|   |                                                            |    |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1 | Methodological Principles                                  | 3  |
| 1 | Introductory Remarks                                       | 3  |
| 2 | Aspect                                                     | 4  |
| 3 | Tense                                                      | 5  |
| 4 | Modality                                                   | 6  |
| 5 | Action                                                     | 8  |
| 6 | The Categorical Interplay                                  | 11 |
| 7 | Methodology                                                | 17 |
| 2 | Brief Outline of the Classification and History of Aramaic | 25 |

## PART 2

### *Classical Aramaic*

|    |                                                        |    |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 3  | Old Aramaic                                            | 47 |
| 0  | The Text Corpus                                        | 47 |
| 1  | The Verb Forms                                         | 48 |
| 2  | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular and Habitual) | 50 |
| 3  | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past           | 54 |
| 4  | Simultaneity with the Speech Time                      | 55 |
| 5  | Posteriority to the Speech Time                        | 59 |
| 6  | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future         | 60 |
| 7  | Non-indicative Clauses                                 | 61 |
| 8  | Conditional Clauses                                    | 64 |
| 9  | Summary                                                | 68 |
| 10 | Analysis                                               | 70 |

|          |                                                   |            |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>4</b> | <b>Imperial Aramaic</b>                           | <b>73</b>  |
| o        | The Text Corpus                                   | 73         |
| 1        | The Verb Forms                                    | 74         |
| 2        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 77         |
| 3        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 80         |
| 4        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 81         |
| 5        | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 83         |
| 6        | Simultaneity with the Speech Time                 | 85         |
| 7        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 92         |
| 8        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 95         |
| 9        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 96         |
| 10       | Conditional Clauses                               | 100        |
| 11       | Verbs of Perception                               | 105        |
| 12       | Summary                                           | 105        |
| 13       | Analysis                                          | 108        |
| <br>     |                                                   |            |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Biblical Aramaic</b>                           | <b>111</b> |
| o        | The Text Corpus                                   | 111        |
| 1        | The Verb Forms                                    | 111        |
| 2        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 113        |
| 3        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 117        |
| 4        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 118        |
| 5        | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 119        |
| 6        | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 121        |
| 7        | Simultaneity with the Speech Time                 | 121        |
| 8        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 126        |
| 9        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 130        |
| 10       | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future | 131        |
| 11       | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 131        |
| 12       | Conditional Clauses                               | 136        |
| 13       | Verbs of Perception                               | 137        |
| 14       | qāṭil and yiqṭul                                  | 139        |
| 15       | Summary                                           | 159        |
| 16       | Analysis                                          | 162        |
| <br>     |                                                   |            |
| <b>6</b> | <b>Hasmonean</b>                                  | <b>166</b> |
| o        | The Text Corpus                                   | 166        |
| 1        | The Verb Forms                                    | 167        |
| 2        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 168        |
| 3        | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 173        |

|      |                                                   |     |
|------|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4    | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 174 |
| 5    | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 176 |
| 6    | Simultaneity with the Speech Time                 | 179 |
| 7    | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 182 |
| 8    | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 185 |
| 9    | Conditional Clauses                               | 188 |
| 10   | Verbs of Perception                               | 189 |
| 11   | Summary                                           | 190 |
| 12   | Analysis                                          | 193 |
| <br> |                                                   |     |
| 7    | <b>Targum to the Pentateuch (Genizah)</b>         | 195 |
| 0    | The Text Corpus                                   | 195 |
| 1    | The Verb Forms                                    | 195 |
| 2    | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 197 |
| 3    | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 199 |
| 4    | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 201 |
| 5    | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 202 |
| 6    | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 205 |
| 7    | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 205 |
| 8    | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 206 |
| 9    | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 208 |
| 10   | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 210 |
| 11   | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future | 210 |
| 12   | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 211 |
| 13   | Conditional Clauses                               | 215 |
| 14   | Verbs of Perception                               | 217 |
| 15   | Summary                                           | 218 |
| 16   | Analysis                                          | 220 |
| <br> |                                                   |     |
| 8    | <b>Christian Palestinian Aramaic</b>              | 223 |
| 0    | Text Corpus                                       | 223 |
| 1    | The Verb Forms                                    | 223 |
| 2    | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 225 |
| 3    | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 230 |
| 4    | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 231 |
| 5    | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 232 |
| 6    | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 236 |
| 7    | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 236 |
| 8    | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 238 |
| 9    | Extratemporalis                                   | 240 |

|           |                                                   |            |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 241        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 243        |
| 12        | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future | 244        |
| 13        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 245        |
| 14        | Conditional Clauses                               | 248        |
| 15        | Verbs of Perception                               | 252        |
| 16        | Summary                                           | 253        |
| 17        | Analysis                                          | 256        |
| <b>9</b>  | <b>The Babylonian Talmud</b>                      | <b>259</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 259        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                    | 259        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 262        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 265        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 268        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 268        |
| 6         | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 271        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 271        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 274        |
| 9         | Extratemporalis                                   | 275        |
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 276        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 277        |
| 12        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 279        |
| 13        | Conditional Clauses                               | 281        |
| 14        | Verbs of Perception                               | 283        |
| 15        | Summary                                           | 285        |
| 16        | Analysis                                          | 287        |
| <b>10</b> | <b>Classical Mandaic</b>                          | <b>290</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 290        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                    | 290        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 292        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 296        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 296        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 298        |
| 6         | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 299        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 299        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 301        |
| 9         | Extratemporalis                                   | 304        |
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 304        |

|           |                                                                      |            |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 11        | Anteriority to and Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future | 306        |
| 12        | Non-indicative Clauses                                               | 308        |
| 13        | Conditional Clauses                                                  | 311        |
| 14        | Verbs of Perception                                                  | 312        |
| 15        | Summary                                                              | 313        |
| 16        | Analysis                                                             | 316        |
| <b>11</b> | <b>Syriac</b>                                                        | <b>318</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                                          | 318        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                                       | 318        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)                            | 321        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)                            | 330        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past                         | 332        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past                      | 336        |
| 6         | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past                        | 340        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)                         | 341        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (habitual)                         | 343        |
| 9         | Extratemporalis                                                      | 346        |
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                                      | 346        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future                       | 349        |
| 12        | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future                    | 349        |
| 13        | Non-indicative Clauses                                               | 350        |
| 14        | Conditional Clauses                                                  | 356        |
| 15        | Verbs of Perception                                                  | 360        |
| 16        | Summary                                                              | 361        |
| 17        | Analysis                                                             | 366        |
| <b>12</b> | <b>Classical Aramaic: Summary and Analysis</b>                       | <b>370</b> |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                                       | 370        |
| 2         | The Verbal Systems                                                   | 384        |

### PART 3

#### *Neo-Aramaic*

|             |                                           |            |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>13.1</b> | <b>Early Jewish Neo-Aramaic</b>           | <b>407</b> |
| 0           | Text Corpus                               | 407        |
| 1           | The Verb Forms                            | 407        |
| 2           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular) | 409        |

|             |                                                           |            |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 3           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)                 | 411        |
| 4           | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past              | 411        |
| 5           | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past           | 413        |
| 6           | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past             | 415        |
| 7           | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)              | 416        |
| 8           | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)              | 417        |
| 9           | Posteriority to the Speech Time                           | 418        |
| 10          | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future            | 420        |
| 11          | Non-indicative Clauses                                    | 420        |
| 12          | Conditional Clauses                                       | 423        |
| 13          | Verbs of Perception                                       | 424        |
| 14          | Summary                                                   | 424        |
| 15          | Analysis                                                  | 427        |
| <b>13.2</b> | <b>Early Christian Neo-Aramaic</b>                        | <b>430</b> |
| 0           | Text Corpus                                               | 430        |
| 1           | The Verb Forms                                            | 430        |
| 2           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)                 | 432        |
| 3           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)                 | 436        |
| 4           | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past              | 438        |
| 5           | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past           | 439        |
| 6           | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past             | 440        |
| 7           | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular and Habitual) | 440        |
| 8           | Posteriority to the Speech Time                           | 442        |
| 9           | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future            | 444        |
| 10          | Non-indicative Clauses                                    | 444        |
| 11          | Conditional Clauses                                       | 446        |
| 12          | Verbs of Perception                                       | 448        |
| 13          | Summary                                                   | 448        |
| 14          | Analysis                                                  | 450        |
| <b>14</b>   | <b>Western Neo-Aramaic</b>                                | <b>453</b> |
| 0           | Text Corpus                                               | 453        |
| 1           | The Verb Forms                                            | 453        |
| 2           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)                 | 455        |
| 3           | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)                 | 465        |
| 4           | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past              | 467        |
| 5           | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past           | 471        |
| 6           | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past             | 476        |
| 7           | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)              | 476        |
| 8           | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)              | 479        |

|           |                                                   |            |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 9         | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 483        |
| 10        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 485        |
| 11        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 485        |
| 12        | Conditional Clauses                               | 488        |
| 13        | Verbs of Perception                               | 491        |
| 14        | Summary                                           | 493        |
| 15        | Analysis                                          | 498        |
| <b>15</b> | <b>Modern Mandaic (Khorramshahr)</b>              | <b>501</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 501        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                    | 501        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 504        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 506        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 507        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 508        |
| 6         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 509        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 511        |
| 8         | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 511        |
| 9         | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 512        |
| 10        | Conditional Clauses                               | 514        |
| 11        | Summary                                           | 515        |
| 12        | Analysis                                          | 517        |
| <b>16</b> | <b>Ṭuroyo</b>                                     | <b>519</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 519        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                    | 519        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 525        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 528        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 530        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 532        |
| 6         | Posteriority to the a Reference Point in the Past | 534        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 535        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 537        |
| 9         | Extratemporalis                                   | 538        |
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 538        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 540        |
| 12        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 541        |
| 13        | Conditional Clauses                               | 544        |
| 14        | Verbs of Perception                               | 547        |
| 15        | Summary                                           | 549        |
| 16        | Analysis                                          | 552        |



|           |                                                   |            |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>17</b> | <b>Hertevin</b>                                   | <b>556</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 556        |
| 1         | Verb Forms                                        | 556        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 559        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 563        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 565        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 568        |
| 6         | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 569        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 570        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 571        |
| 9         | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 573        |
| 10        | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future | 575        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 575        |
| 12        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 575        |
| 13        | Conditional Clauses                               | 578        |
| 14        | Verbs of Perception                               | 580        |
| 15        | Summary                                           | 581        |
| 16        | Analysis                                          | 584        |
| <br>      |                                                   |            |
| <b>18</b> | <b>J. Arbel</b>                                   | <b>587</b> |
| 0         | Text Corpus                                       | 587        |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                    | 587        |
| 2         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)         | 589        |
| 3         | Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)         | 594        |
| 4         | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past      | 595        |
| 5         | Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past   | 598        |
| 6         | Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past     | 601        |
| 7         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)      | 601        |
| 8         | Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)      | 603        |
| 9         | Extratemporalis                                   | 605        |
| 10        | Posteriority to the Speech Time                   | 605        |
| 11        | Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future    | 606        |
| 12        | Non-indicative Clauses                            | 607        |
| 13        | Conditional Clauses                               | 609        |
| 14        | Verbs of Perception                               | 612        |
| 15        | Summary                                           | 612        |
| 16        | Analysis                                          | 616        |

- 19 C. Barwar 619
- o Text Corpus 619
  - 1 The Verb Forms 619
  - 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular) 623
  - 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual) 630
  - 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past 634
  - 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past 638
  - 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past 641
  - 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular) 642
  - 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual) 645
  - 9 Extratemporalis 648
  - 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time 649
  - 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future 653
  - 12 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future 655
  - 13 Non-indicative Clauses 655
  - 14 Conditional Clauses 660
  - 15 Verbs of Perception 662
  - 16 Summary 663
  - 17 Analysis 669
- 20 J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa 673
- o Text Corpus 673
  - 1 The Verb Forms 673
  - 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular) 677
  - 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual) 681
  - 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past 682
  - 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past 684
  - 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past 685
  - 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular) 686
  - 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual) 688
  - 9 Extratemporalis 689
  - 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time 689
  - 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future 690
  - 12 Non-indicative Clauses 691
  - 13 Conditional Clauses 694
  - 14 Verbs of Perception 695
  - 15 Summary 696
  - 16 Analysis 699

|           |                                                                 |            |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>21</b> | <b>Neo-Aramaic: Summary and Analysis</b>                        | <b>701</b> |
| 1         | The Verb Forms                                                  | 701        |
| 2         | The Neo-Aramaic Verbal Systems of Part 3                        | 705        |
| 3         | The Other Neo-Aramaic Dialects                                  | 722        |
| 4         | The Proto-dialects of Neo-Aramaic and Diachronic Considerations | 782        |
|           | <b>Abstract</b>                                                 | <b>829</b> |
|           | <b>Abbreviated Literature</b>                                   | <b>831</b> |
|           | <b>Index of Modern Authors</b>                                  | <b>845</b> |
|           | <b>Index of Languages and Dialects</b>                          | <b>846</b> |

# Figures and Tables

## Figures

|    |                                       |     |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 1  | The types of action                   | 10  |
| 2  | Timeline                              | 17  |
| 3  | The Semitic languages I               | 25  |
| 4  | The Semitic languages II              | 26  |
| 5  | Late Old Aramaic                      | 387 |
| 6  | Biblical Aramaic                      | 389 |
| 7  | Hasmonean                             | 390 |
| 8  | The Targum fragments from the Genizah | 392 |
| 9  | The Babylonian Talmud                 | 394 |
| 10 | Classical Mandaic                     | 395 |
| 11 | Syriac                                | 397 |
| 12 | Early Jewish Aramaic                  | 706 |
| 13 | Early Christian Aramaic               | 708 |
| 14 | WNA                                   | 709 |
| 15 | Modern Mandaic (Khorramshahr)         | 711 |
| 16 | Ṭuroyo                                | 713 |
| 17 | Hertevin                              | 715 |
| 18 | J. Arbel                              | 717 |
| 19 | C. Barwar                             | 719 |
| 20 | J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa            | 721 |
| 21 | The NENA <i>Stammbaum</i>             | 822 |

## Tables

|   |                                     |     |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----|
| 1 | The NENA dialects                   | 41  |
| 2 | The copula                          | 723 |
| 3 | The copula (group A)                | 727 |
| 4 | The copula (group B)                | 727 |
| 5 | qāṭil and infinitive I (group A)    | 732 |
| 6 | qāṭil and infinitive II (group B)   | 734 |
| 7 | qāṭil and infinitive III (group C)  | 735 |
| 8 | k- is preserved with all verbs      | 741 |
| 9 | k- is only preserved with verba I ’ | 742 |

|    |                                                                                                         |     |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 10 | 'i- is preserved with all verbs                                                                         | 743 |
| 11 | 'i- is only preserved with verba 1'                                                                     | 743 |
| 12 | Without 'i- / k-qāṭil                                                                                   | 744 |
| 13 | The use of prefixes                                                                                     | 745 |
| 14 | Dialects with three verbal stems                                                                        | 751 |
| 15 | Dialects with two verbal stems                                                                          | 752 |
| 16 | Dialects with qṭāla (I), mqaṭōle (II) and maqṭōle (III)                                                 | 753 |
| 17 | Anterior/resultative: dialects that differentiate between transitive and intransitive situations        | 757 |
| 18 | Anterior/resultative: dialects that do not differentiate between transitive and intransitive situations | 759 |
| 19 | Model A full                                                                                            | 767 |
| 20 | Model A res.                                                                                            | 767 |
| 21 | Model B                                                                                                 | 768 |
| 22 | Model C                                                                                                 | 770 |
| 23 | Direct objects are expressed by possessive suffixes                                                     | 776 |
| 24 | Direct objects are expressed by LL- or L-suffixes                                                       | 778 |
| 25 | Primary isoglosses                                                                                      | 799 |
| 26 | Secondary isoglosses                                                                                    | 802 |

# Abbreviations and Symbols

|           |                                          |
|-----------|------------------------------------------|
| AP        | active participle (G-, D- and C-stems)   |
| BA        | Biblical Aramaic                         |
| Bab. Tal. | Babylonian Talmud                        |
| CPA       | Christian Palestinian Aramaic            |
| hab.      | habitual                                 |
| imp.      | imperative                               |
| impf.     | imperfective                             |
| JBA       | Jewish Babylonian Aramaic                |
| JMP       | Jewish Middle Palestinian                |
| LD        | Lišana Deni                              |
| NENA      | North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic                |
| NT        | New Testament                            |
| perf.     | perfective                               |
| PP        | passive participle (G-, D- and C-stems)  |
| qāṭil     | AP, the two terms are used synonymously  |
| qṭal      | suffix conjugation                       |
| qṭil      | PP, the two terms are used synonymously  |
| RP        | reference point                          |
| WNA       | Western Neo-Aramaic                      |
| yiqtūlL   | long form of yiqṭul (prefix conjugation) |
| yiqtūlS   | short form of yiqṭul                     |
| { }       | accidental addition                      |
| [ ]       | gap in the text                          |
| < >       | accidental omission                      |
| / ... /   | phonemic spelling                        |
| // ... // | morphophonemic spelling                  |

In addition to the usual transliteration letters, the following one is used:

|   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| ṭ | non-aspirated t |
|---|-----------------|

## Introductory Remarks

This work analyses the verbal systems of Aramaic, both the classical languages and the modern dialects. The importance of the verbal system for understanding the nature of a language or group of languages can hardly be overestimated so that the choice of this topic of research, so I think, needs no further justification. The Aramaic verbal systems are primarily analysed on a synchronic level, but some sections are devoted to diachronic questions, the answers to which are of decisive importance for understanding the development of the Neo-Aramaic language area. On a synchronic level, the aim is to examine whether the individual verb forms should be analysed as aspectual, temporal or modal in order to decide whether the verbal system in question should be regarded as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent. The diachronically orientated sections investigate the development of the individual verb forms and the verbal systems as a whole and particularly attempt to shed some light on the proto-dialects from which Neo-Aramaic emerged, thus perhaps making a modest contribution to the understanding of the history of Aramaic.

Part 1 of this work describes the methodological principles on which the analysis of the verb forms in particular is based and gives a brief chronological overview of the Aramaic languages and dialects. Part 2 deals with the classical languages from Old to Middle Aramaic and ends with a chapter in which the results are summarised and diachronic considerations are made. Each language has a chapter dedicated to it, each chapter being arranged according to categories; first the category *anteriority to the speech time* is dealt with and the verb forms used to express it are examined, followed by *anteriority to a reference point in the past* and so on; at the end of each chapter the functions in which the individual verb forms are used are summarised and on the basis of this summary a decision is made as to whether they are to be analysed as aspectual, temporal or modal, and whether they are to be regarded as marked or unmarked. It seems to me most appropriate to deal with the question of whether the verbal systems as a whole are to be considered as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent in a separate chapter for all languages together, as this makes it easier to recognise relationships and developments.

Part 3 deals with Neo-Aramaic and begins with the early Jewish and Christian texts from the 17th century. It concludes with a summarising and diachronic chapter.

It is not possible to present all languages and dialects in equal detail. Only a small part of the modern dialects in particular can be included in the work,

namely Early Neo-Aramaic, Western Neo-Aramaic, Mandaic, ʿTuroyo, and from NENA two Jewish and two Christian dialects were selected. The remaining dialects can only be considered in summarised form in the final chapter of Part 3. However, the dialects not presented in extenso have also been analysed, so there is no reason to fear that crucial facts may have been overlooked.





**PART 1**

*Methodological Principles and Brief Outline of the  
Classification and History of Aramaic*





# Methodological Principles

## 1 Introductory Remarks

The aim of this chapter is to define the categories relevant for this work on a noematic level and to determine their interplay with each other. The basics have already been described elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> so I can be somewhat briefer here.

The number of verb forms used in a single language is usually much smaller than the number of possible verbal categories. The Neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar, for example, has developed a verb form that expresses the overlapping of one habitual situation with another one: *şalənwa yawewa rxatā* “I would go down while it was fermenting”.<sup>2</sup> Such a form must be rendered in English by the Past Progressive, which, however, primarily describes imperfective situations, whereas in German one would use the *Präteritum*, i.e. a tense form that can describe perfective, imperfective as well as habitual situations. Nonetheless, this does not change the fact that speakers of English or German can also understand the grammatical category expressed in the Neo-Aramaic sentence just quoted even if their languages do not have verb forms grammaticalised specifically for this purpose. In principle, it can be assumed that every – mentally healthy – speaker of any individual language is capable of thinking and imagining all possible grammatical categories so that there may well be limits to grammaticalisation but not to imagination on a higher, metagrammatical level. A description of linguistic phenomena should therefore begin at the level of noetics whose task, according to Erwin Koschmieder (Beiträge 79), is to describe and define the *Gemeinte* of an utterance. This is an important expression. The *Gemeinte* is the content of a thought, the grammatical category that a speaker has in mind when he makes an utterance, and for which the Latin term *intentum* is used in this work. The *intentum* is indicated linguistically by the *Bezeichnende* which I render here as *signum*. For example, the grammatical category of anteriority to the speech time is rendered in English by the *signum* referred to as Simple Past (*went, wrote*), in German by the *signum Präteritum* (*ging, schrieb*).

<sup>1</sup> See Bruweleit, ATA 3–59.

<sup>2</sup> Khan, Barwar Gr. 723.

## 2 Aspect

Let me start with the category of aspect which I would like to define – following C. Bache (ATA 258) – as follows:

Aspect concerns the situational focus with which the speaker represents a situation.

The category of aspect consists of the two subcategories perfectivity and imperfectivity which I will also define according to Bache (ATA 259):

The perfective aspect conveys an external situational focus, i.e. the speaker looks at a situation from the outside as a complete whole. The imperfective aspect, on the other hand, conveys an internal situational focus, i.e. the speaker looks at a situation from the inside and describes it as something that is still in progress.

Both perfective and imperfective situations need a reference point; the reference point of a perfective situation can be identical with the speech time (nos. a and b), can be anterior (nos. c and d) or posterior to it (no. e):

- a. Anteriority to the speech time: *Winston wrote a letter.*
- b. Posteriority to the speech time: *Winston will write a letter.*
- c. Anteriority to a reference point in the past: *Winston had already written the letter when I entered the room.*
- d. Posteriority to a reference point in the past: *I was sure that Winston would write the letter.*
- e. Anteriority to a reference point in the future: *When I enter the room, Winston will already have written the letter.*

Simultaneity with a reference point, on the other hand, is not compatible with the perfective aspect, since in this case a situation can only be viewed from the inside and in its course but not as a complete whole. It is, however, quite possible that no reference point is given for a situation but that it is nevertheless thought of as imperfective. In this case, the speaker invites the listener to mentally enter the situation and view it from the inside as it unfolds. With regard to signs that express the imperfective aspect, it should be noted that these can often also describe habitual situations, since both categories have a certain temporal extension in common. Such a verb form is referred to as extended imperfective in this work, in contrast to a pure imperfective form which expresses only the imperfective aspect.

Concerning the relationship between reference point and imperfective aspect, there are the following possibilities:

- a. Simultaneity with the speech time: *Winston is writing the letter.*
- b. Simultaneity with a reference point in the past: *Winston was writing the letter when I entered the room.*
- c. Simultaneity with a reference point in the future. *Winston will be writing the letter when I enter the room.*

Closely related to the perfective aspect are the anterior and the resultative which are nevertheless to be regarded as independent categories. They both describe situations that have already been completed but still have a bearing on a reference point; the bearing can often be described as a state. The difference between the two categories is that the anterior places the main focus of the statement on the action, whereas the resultative focuses on the resulting state. In the former case, the resulting state usually follows only from an implication and frequently has to be expressed by a different word than the action; in the latter case, an implication is not necessary. An example of an anterior is the sentence: *Edgar has read the book.* Here, the state results only from an implication: *He knows its content now.* In a sentence like: *He has sat down,* on the other hand, the resulting state is self-evident: *He is sitting now.*

### 3 Tense

Let us now turn to the temporal categories. I would like to define the category of tense in accordance with Bache (ATA 245) as follows:

Tense concerns the assignment of temporal location to situations relative to a reference point conceived of as present by the speaker.

If such a temporal assignment is given, a situation has the value + tense; if this is not the case, it is non-temporal. The category of tense can be divided into the subcategories past, present and future. These three main tenses are also called absolute tenses,<sup>3</sup> and their reference point is the speech time. In addition, a second reference point can be introduced which in turn may be anterior or posterior to the first one; tenses with two reference points are called

---

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Comrie, Tense 36ff.

absolute-relative tenses by Comrie (Tense 64f). The types of tenses obtained in this way are:

Past: *He wrote a letter.*

Present: *He writes a letter.*

Future: *He will write a letter.*

Past Perfect: *He had written a letter.*

Future II: *He will have written a letter.*

The future tense requires some special remarks. A situation that is conceived as still to come has a completely different status in terms of factuality than one that has been completed or one that is just taking place, which may even be observed directly, and it is certainly no coincidence that a language such as Chalcatongo Mixtec expresses habitual and progressing situations of the present as well as past situations with the realis stem, whereas for future situations it uses the same stem which is also used to express commands and non-indicative categories in general.<sup>4</sup> However, even if future situations show similarities with non-indicative ones and both are sometimes expressed by one and the same signum in individual languages, there is no reason to doubt the existence of the future tense as an independent temporal category. It is important to remember that the *intenta* described by noetics are not something that exists outside the imaginative world of the speaker. What is decisive is not whether a situation is actually carried out or not but only the fact that it is conceived as future or intended. Let us take the example sentence given by Bache (ATA 245): *I will tell her as soon as she gets here.* Of course, we do not know whether she will actually come or not, but as long as her arrival is associated in the speaker's mind with a certain time in the future and is considered certain, the situation is indicative and future.

#### 4 Modality

Narrog (Modality 184) defines modality as follows:

Modality is a linguistic category referring to the factual status of a state of affairs.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Bhat, Prominence 65f.

A situation can be meant indicatively as actually taking place, having taken place or about to take place, but it can also be intended as non-indicative and its factuality left open – except in the case of counterfactual situations:

- a. He wrote the letter.
- b. He might have written the letter.
- c. He cannot swim.

In no. a, the writing of the letter is presented as a fact, the speaker guarantees the truth of the statement. In no. b, he confines himself to expressing the possibility of his having written the letter; whether the letter was actually written or not, however, is left open. The situation exists only in the imagination of sender and receiver.

Within this category, a distinction must be made between deontic modality, which serves to express different nuances of wanting (command, request, wish, permission) or being able (no. c), and epistemic modality which concerns the sender's attitude towards the truth content of a statement (no. b) and can be expressed in English by modal verbs such as *may*, *might* or *must*. Like indicative situations, non-indicative ones can refer to different tenses and be perfective or imperfective:

- d. He might be writing the letter right now.
- e. He could have written the letter.

The realisation of a non-indicative situation can be considered possible (no. f) or impossible (no. g). In the latter case, the factuality of the situation is not left open but denied:

- f. If he comes, we will go to the cinema.
- g. If he had come, we would have gone to the cinema.

In no. g, we know that he did not come, the situation of the protasis is thus counterfactual and its factuality negated.



## 5 Action

Action or type of action (Aktionsart) does not refer, as aspect does, to the way a situation is viewed but to the situation itself. Take for example the following sentence:

- a. For a long time he pondered the meaning of life, then he wrote a farewell letter and shot himself.

All three situations in this sentence are perfective / past but differ in their phasal constituency. *he pondered the meaning of life*, extends over a certain period of time without necessarily producing a result or reaching an aim (telos); the situation is atelic. *he wrote a farewell letter*, also has a temporal extension, but here an aim is reached, namely: the letter is finished; the situation is telic. Finally, the third situation has hardly any temporal extension, beginning and end more or less coincide, the situation is punctual. The situations described here are characterised by qualitative types of action which I would like to define according to Bache (ATA 218, 227) as follows:

Qualitative action concerns the classification of situations according to their phasal constituency.

It should be noted at this point that it makes little sense to assign a particular actional value to a single verb, since the actional nature of a situation is not determined by the verb alone but also by its syntactic embedding. *wrote* in the example sentence above describes a telic situation, in the sentence:

- b. They wrote hundreds of letters,

subject and object are plural, the situation is now complex. When in the following I speak of punctual, telic, etc. verbs, I mean that they have the potential to bestow these types of action on a situation. The qualitative types of action must be distinguished from the quantitative ones which concern the frequency of a situation. A situation can happen only once and thus be singular, it can happen repeatedly and then be plural or it can be confined to a certain period of time, the repetitions can also be so frequent that they describe a habit and the situation is thus habitual, or they can occur independently of time; in this case one speaks of an extratemporal situation. The last two categories shall be examined a little more closely at this point.

The habitualis describes habitual situations that may have present (no. c) or past time reference (no. d). Theoretically, a habitualis with reference to the future is also conceivable:

- c. Winston smokes a cigar after dinner.
- d. Winston used to smoke a cigar after dinner.

In principle, habituality is neutral with regard to aspectual categories. The individual sub-situations can be viewed as a complete whole, i.e. perfectly, or in their progress, i.e. imperfectly, but this is difficult in the case of a habitual situation as a whole. In order to view a situation perfectly, fixed boundaries are necessary within which the events take place. If one looks at Winston's life in retrospect as a complete whole, then his habit of smoking cigars every day must also appear to be completed, and from this point of view it is quite understandable that signa describing the perfective aspect are occasionally also used to express habitual situations. If, on the other hand, we consider the habit within Winston's life span, its boundaries must necessarily remain indeterminate; the beginning and end of: *he used to smoke*, are difficult to grasp. A habit cannot be depicted as imperfective either, since it lacks the necessary dynamic characteristics. A habit can often be circumscribed by an adjective, so it has a static character. When an imperfective verb form describes a habitual situation, as in the example from Barwar above, it means that the individual situations are or were imperfective but not the habitual situation as a whole which is composed of them.

An extratemporal situation such as:

- e. The sun rises in the East,

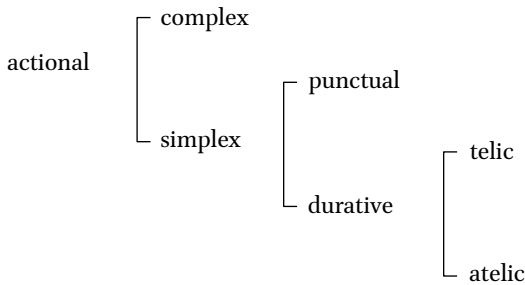
is similar to a habitual one from an aspectual point of view, but it has no time reference.

The quantitative types of action presented here differ from the qualitative ones in one important point which has already been alluded to above. Namely, they have no or hardly any phasal constituency with the help of which the qualitative types of action can be distinguished. In this respect, they are comparable to expressions of state:

- f. He knew him very well.

As with habitual situations, it is difficult to decide when the knowledge began and how long it lasted. It is essential to make a precise conceptual distinction between the qualitative and quantitative types of action. Situations that have a phasal constituency, i.e. the qualitative types of action, are referred to as *actional*, those without such a constituency, i.e. quantitative types of action (habitualis, extratemporalis and expressions of state), as *non-actional*.

Now, however, we must return to the qualitative types of action which can be subdivided even further. This has already been done in an exemplary manner by Bache (See Fig. 1).



non-actional: quantitative actions, stative situations

FIGURE 1 The types of action

A situation can be complex or simplex:

- g. The arrow burst the balloon.
- h. They were bursting balloons all over the place.<sup>5</sup>

The situation in no. g is punctual and is perceived as an inseparable unit, whereas no. h is composed of several simplex situations. A complex situation can be iterative or, as in no. h, distributive. An iterative situation consists of a subject and, if necessary, an object and is made up of several sub-situations which, however, are not to be understood as independent entities:

- i. The flag fluttered in the wind.

If the sub-situations represent independent entities, the superordinate situation is plural:

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bache, ATA 232.

- j. We visited him three time last week.

In a distributive situation, the sub-situations can be conceived as independent entities, but the subject and / or object are composed of a plurality of people or things:

- k. Edgar Allan Poe wrote lots of fascinating short stories.<sup>6</sup>

- l. The men carried the parcels into the warehouse.

A punctual situation has little or no extension in time; beginning, middle and end more or less coincide. Durative situations, on the other hand, have a temporal extension and allow for a distinction between beginning, middle and possibly end. Durative situations can be telic or atelic. The former necessarily include an end without which they cannot be considered telic (no. m), whereas atelic situations imply no end (no. n):

- m. Winston went to the library.

- n. Winston was on his way to the library.

Even though the end point of the situation is also mentioned in no. n, it is not decisive for the truth content of the statement whether it was reached or not. Even if Winston never reached the library, he was still on his way there at the time in question.<sup>7</sup>

## 6 The Categorical Interplay

### 6.1 *Introductory Remarks*

With regard to the combinability of the categories described above, there are certain restrictions. A punctual situation such as: *The arrow burst the balloon*, mentioned above (sect. 5, no. g) can only be represented perfectly; if one were to impose an imperfective verb form on it, its type of action would necessarily have to change. Since one of the main tasks of this work is to classify the verbal signa of Aramaic as aspectual, temporal or modal, it is indispensable to

6 Cf. Bache, ATA 77f and VA 110f.

7 Cf. Bache, ATA 237–240; VA 112. On a further differentiation of atelic situations, see Bache, ATA 241–243.

know the possible combinations of the categories, as will be seen very clearly in the case of Biblical Aramaic. It is not uncommon, however, that a signum in an individual language can express two categories which, according to the rules formulated below on a noetic level, are not compatible with each other, and this is the case when the signum in question is not to be considered marked. It is therefore unavoidable to briefly discuss here the difference between marked and unmarked signa. The two terms are used in a very simplified way in this work: A signum is considered marked if it expresses only one intantum. The expression of this intantum is the main function of the signum classified as marked; such a signum may also express other intenta, provided that this use results from a direct implication from the main function and provided that other signa are usually used to express these intenta. On the other hand, a signum is considered unmarked if it describes two or more intenta which cannot be derived from each other by simple implications. If, for example, a signum mainly describes imperfective situations, but in the case of verbs of movement it can also express the immediate future, it must still be considered imperfective and marked because a movement that is in progress automatically extends into the future. If, on the other hand, such a signum regularly expresses posteriority to the speech time or habituality, it must be considered unmarked. A signum usually has a main function, but it does not necessarily have to be marked. Modal categories are a special case because aspectual and temporal categories are also either indicative or non-indicative. A situation like: *he is smoking a cigar*, is not only imperfective but also indicative. Distinguishing an aspectual or temporal marking from a non-indicative one, is not difficult; deciding whether a verb form like *is smoking* is aspectually marked as imperfective or modally as indicative, is not so easy but not impossible. In such cases, the categorial interplay helps. As will be shown in 6.2 below, imperfectivity and posteriority are incompatible; if *is smoking* is an imperfective form, it cannot express posteriority, but for a form modally marked as indicative, such a restriction does not apply. Since *is / am / are + ing* form does not express posteriority in English except in special cases, it is therefore marked as imperfective according to the definition used here, not as indicative. Indicativity is just an additional property that automatically attaches to *is / am / are + ing* form.

So let us now turn to the categorial interplay; I would like to start with the categories tense and aspect.

## 6.2 Tense and Aspect

Let us start with the absolute tenses, i.e. those which have only the speech time as a reference point. Of these, the present tense is compatible with the imperfective aspect:

- a. William is writing a letter.

Past and future, on the other hand, are only compatible with the perfective aspect, since the corresponding situations appear as a complete whole when viewed from the speech time. The same applies to the absolute-relative tenses:

- b. He said he had already written the letter.

In order to express incompatibility, the sign ↓ is used here. The first rule can be formulated as follows:

#### 6.2.1 Past + Future ↓ Imperfectivity

If a past or future situation is viewed imperfectively, not only the aspect but also the type of action changes:

- c. After he had written the letter, someone knocked at his chamber door.  
(perfective and telic)
- d. While he was still writing the letter, someone knocked at his chamber door. (imperfective and atelic)

One last rule to be mentioned here concerns extratemporal situations which, as will be shown below, are incompatible with the category of aspect:

#### 6.2.2 – Tense ↓ + Aspect

- e. Wolves howl (– Tense, – Aspect)
- f. The wolves howled (+ Tense, + Aspect)

### 6.3 *Action and Tense*

It goes without saying that extratemporal situations are not compatible with the category + Tense, and the formulation of the corresponding rule can be dispensed with here. For the other members of the category – AC (non-actional), i.e. habituality and stativity, no temporal restrictions apply. Even though habitual situations are mostly associated with the absolute tenses past and present, they can in principle also have other time references:

- a. He said his dog had been in the habit of barking at midnight. (anterior to a second reference point in the past)

As will be shown below, the actional category of complexity is incompatible with the perfective aspect, and accordingly it cannot be combined with the categories of past and future:

#### 6.3.1 Complexity ↓ Past / Future

If a complex situation is conceived as past or future, it usually becomes punctual:

- b. He is just knocking at the door. (present and complex)
- c. He knocked at the door and entered the chamber. (past and punctual)

Another incompatibility concerns punctual and telic situations. These necessarily need an end point without which they cannot be considered punctual or telic. Once this endpoint is reached, the situation can no longer be perceived as simultaneous, be it simultaneous with the speech time or with a reference point in the past or future. For this reason, they can neither be combined with the category of present nor with imperfectivity, since here a situation is viewed from the inside in its progress to the exclusion of an end point:

#### 6.3.2 Punctuality + Telicness ↓ Present / Simultaneity

If punctual or telic situations are thought of as simultaneous, they usually become atelic:

- d. The balloon burst. (past and punctual)
- e. The balloon was about to burst. (simultaneous with a reference point in the past and atelic)
- f. He drank a bottle of whiskey. (past and telic)
- g. He is drinking a bottle of whiskey. (present and atelic)

### 6.4 *Action and Aspect*

As already explained in section 5, the individual situations that make up a habitual or extratemporal situation can be regarded as perfective or imperfective but not the superordinate overall situation, since the latter can neither be regarded from the inside as progressing nor from the outside as a complete whole due to its static character and barely conceivable boundaries. The same is true of stative situations. Let us take a sentence like:

- a. Jonathan hated his professor.

As with a habitual situation, there are no fixed boundaries for a perfective view. It is possible to think of an event that was responsible for the hatred and from where it started, but with regard to the end it is different because hatred does not stop from one moment to the next but at best gradually fades away. The prerequisite for an imperfective view is the existence of a phasal constituency, especially a middle phase, and a minimum of dynamicity; both are missing in stative situations and if the imperfective aspect is applied here, a middle phase arises in addition to the dynamicity which inevitably changes the type of action of the situation:

- b. He thought (= believed) that Freud was a great scientist. (non-aspectual and non-actional)
- c. He was thinking (= contemplating) about Freud's work. (imperfective and atelic)

As far as the perfective aspect is concerned, the situation is somewhat different. If a stative situation is expressed by a perfective verb form, the boundaries remain mostly undefined and the situation is still not perfective, but at least the type of action does not change, since a middle phase is still missing. The perfective verb form fails to make a difference here and is not able to impose its character on the situation. This observation is significant for the classification of a verb form as marked or unmarked because if a signum that is usually used to express the perfective aspect is also used for stative situations, this does not necessarily mean that the signum in question is unmarked. But this does not change the fundamental incompatibility of the categories aspect and non-actionality.

#### 6.4.1 – AC ↓ + Aspect

Of the actional situations, I would first like to have a look at the complex ones. They can easily be combined with the imperfective aspect:

- d. Bombs were exploding all over the town.

Imagining a complex situation as perfective, however, is not unproblematic. Bache (ATA 273f) has convincingly argued that a perfective focus on the boundaries of a complex situation usually results in it being redefined as simplex. A situation like:



- e. Someone tapped him on the shoulder,

is probably understood as a single tapping, i.e. as punctual, not as a sequence of tappings. Distributive situations, on the other hand, are often redefined as telic:

The men were carrying the parcels into the warehouse : The men carried the parcels into the warehouse.

The category complexity must therefore be regarded as incompatible with the perfective aspect:

#### 6.4.2 Complexity ↓ Perfectivity

The incompatibility of the categories punctuality and telicness with the imperfective aspect has already been discussed above (6.3).

Before we compile the rules, we must briefly return to atelic situations. These are of particular importance because they are the only ones that are compatible with all temporal and aspectual categories. This means that aspectual categories in their pure form can only be examined in atelic situations, since here a change between imperfective and perfective aspect does not automatically entail a change of another category. Substitutional pairs like:

They sailed along the coast : They were sailing along the coast,<sup>8</sup>

which differ only in aspect, are only found in the field of atelic situations.

Here is a summary of the compatibility rules:

Rule 1: Past + Future ↓ Imperfectivity

Rule 2: – Tense ↓ + Aspect

Rule 3: Complexity ↓ Past / Future

Rule 4: Punctuality + Telicness ↓ Present / Simultaneity

Rule 5: – AC ↓ + Aspect

Rule 6: Complexity ↓ Perfectivity

Rule 7: Punctuality + Telicness ↓ Imperfectivity

No restrictions apply to non-indicative situations. They can be combined with all types of actions and with all temporal as well as aspectual categories:

---

<sup>8</sup> Bache, ATA 242.

- f. Utinam Caesar veniat / veniret / venisset!
- g. If he is writing the essay, we should not disturb him now.

## 7 Methodology

The main task in the following chapters is to decide whether the verbal signa of Aramaic are to be interpreted as temporal, aspectual or modal. The main difficulty here should have already become clear in the course of the previous sections. A sentence like: *He wrote the letter*, can be understood temporally as past or aspectually as anterior and perfective because a situation that belongs to the past is automatically also regarded as a complete whole and thus perfective. The same applies to the realm of the future. It is therefore unavoidable to first have some considerations as to which aids can be used to decide whether a verb form is to be classified as aspectual, temporal or modal. The abovementioned rules regarding the categorial interplay can be of help. For each verb form, whether temporal or aspectual, the corresponding restrictions apply with regard to the combinability of the categories. For example, if a verb like “to shoot” that usually describes punctual situations suddenly expresses a telic or atelic situation, it can be assumed that the grammatical form that the verb just exhibits is a signum to express the imperfective aspect because a perfective or temporal signum would not change the type of action. This is only the case when a punctual situation is viewed imperfectively. But there are other points of view that need to be discussed now. For this purpose, the possible categories of a verbal system and the criteria according to which one can classify the signa expressing them are compiled here. The following timeline may help to illustrate this.

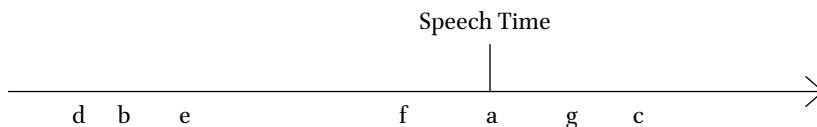


FIGURE 2 Timeline

### 7.1 *Indicative: Singular Situations*

a. **Simultaneity with a reference point.** Signa expressing simultaneity with a reference point can be aspectually or temporally marked. A signum that denotes a singular situation that proceeds parallel to the speech time (*he is writing a letter*) is to be considered imperfective if another signum of the

verbal system is used to indicate habitual and extratemporal situations. If all three categories are expressed by one signum, that signum can be considered temporal and present or extended imperfective. It is often not easy to decide whether such a signum should be analysed as a tense or an aspect form. The other uses of the signum can help. For example, if the signum in question is also used in circumstantial clauses with past time reference, as is the case in Biblical Aramaic, it is more appropriate to classify it as an aspect form because the use of a present tense form in the function of a historical present to make the description more vivid is not unusual, but in circumstantial clauses with past time reference such a form is less likely to be expected. The other signs of the verbal system are a further help. If the signa for expressing anteriority and posteriority to the speech time can be analysed aspectually as perfective forms, a temporal present tense would appear as a foreign body in the system.

The situation is similar with simultaneity with a reference point in the future (*he will be writing a letter*) or past (*he was writing a letter*). A signum to indicate simultaneity in the past is imperfective if there are other signa to express the perfective aspect and habituality, but if a signum expresses all three categories, that signum is temporal and past. Accordingly, a signum expressing simultaneity in the future has to be considered imperfective if there is another signum to denote the perfective aspect, otherwise it is temporal and future. Three categories can thus be distinguished in the realm of simultaneity: simultaneity with the speech time, with a reference point in the past and the future.

**b. Anteriority to a reference point.** Again, the reference point can be identical with the speech time or lie in the past or future, and again the corresponding signa can be marked aspectually or temporally. A signum describing a situation *b* that is anterior to the speech time (*he wrote a letter*) can be marked aspectually as perfective-anterior or temporally as past. If there is another signum that is used to indicate imperfective situations, it is an aspect form; if a single signum is used for both categories, it is a tense form because a temporally marked verb form can denote both imperfectivity and perfectivity. A perfective verb form describes a situation first and foremost as a complete whole; the reference point can be chosen here with far greater freedom than is the case with a tense form. If a signum is identified as perfective and anterior or posterior to the speech time, it is to be expected that it can also express anteriority to a reference point in the past (*he had written the letter* [d]) or future (*he will have written the letter* [g]). If this is not the case and other signa are used to express these categories, this is an indication of the temporal character of these verb forms. In practice, however, it is often not easy to make a clear assignment of form and function. In the Neo-Aramaic dialects, the perfective-anterior form

qṭille is often accompanied by qṭilwāle, i.e. qṭille supplemented by -wā-, which indeed often expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past but is often restricted to main clauses, while in subordinate clauses, especially in temporal clauses, simple qṭille is used (see the sections no. 4 of part 3). Such a verb form should only be classified as a relative tense form if it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past in both main and subordinate clauses. Nevertheless, three categories can be distinguished here as well. At this point, a word should also be said about conditional clauses in whose protasis anteriority to the consequence mentioned in the apodosis is expressed. Conditional clauses are to be interpreted modally as non-indicative, since they do not describe factual events but only assumed ones,<sup>9</sup> but this does not automatically mean that only non-indicative verb forms can be used in the protasis; indicative and perfective signa are quite possible. In this case, the non-indicative element of meaning is expressed by the subordinator alone, while the verb form denotes the anteriority of the situation described in the protasis to that in the apodosis. This is why the individual languages use quite different verb forms in conditional clauses. German and French, for example, have indicative forms in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future: *Wenn er kommt, gehen wir ins Kino. S'il vient, on ira au cinéma*. Modern English also mostly uses an indicative form here, but in older texts, non-indicative forms are attested as well: *If he be Mr. Hyde, I shall be Mr. Seek*.<sup>10</sup> Thus, if a signum is used in the protasis of real conditional clauses, this does not necessarily speak for its non-indicative character.

**c. Posteriority to a reference point.** In the field of posteriority, modal and indicative categories are often difficult to distinguish, but this does not argue against the acceptance of indicative posteriority as a category in its own right as has been shown above (sect. 3). A signum expressing a posterior situation (c) can be marked aspectually as perfective-posterior or temporally as future. If there is another signum that expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future, it has to be considered perfective; if it expresses both categories, it is usually temporal. Another criterion for identifying a signum as perfective-posterior is the category posteriority to a reference point in the past. It is not unusual for a present tense form or a form that can at least denote habitual situations to be used in narratives in order to make them more vivid. In this case, the temporal reference point of the narrative is identified with that of the reader. The situation is different with posteriority to a reference point in the past. In this case, the reference point remains in the past. A tense

9 Cf. Cohen, *Conditional Pattern* 160.

10 R.L. Stevenson, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.

form, whose reference point is the speech time, would be out of place here; what is intended in this case can only be an aspectual category, namely the perfective-posteriority. So if a signum no. a expresses posteriority to the speech time and to a reference point in the past and another signum no. b is used to denote simultaneity with a reference point in the future, then signum no. a is clearly to be analysed as perfective-posterior. However, it is often observed, especially in the Neo-Aramaic dialects, that one and the same signum expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the past and with the speech time, but that it is unknown how simultaneity with a reference point in the future is expressed, since this category is not attested in the text corpus and in the corresponding grammars, as in the case of ʿTuroyo. It is now conceivable that a special signum for the expression of this category exists but is not attested. Given the scope of Ritter's work on ʿTuroyo and the care with which it was compiled, however, it seems quite unlikely that Ritter could have overlooked a corresponding signum, and it must be assumed that in ʿTuroyo posteriority to a reference point in the past and to the speech time is expressed by the same signum as simultaneity with a reference point in the future. We are thus confronted with a verb form that can be used both perfectly and imperfectly, and if it were regularly used to express all three categories, one would have no choice but to classify it as unmarked both temporally and aspectually. But this is not the case because the category of simultaneity with a reference point in the future plays a rather subordinate role in everyday language use. It is not attested even once in Ritter's extensive text corpus. There are dialects that have developed special signa to express this category, such as that of C. Barwar (see ch. 19, sect. 12 below), but this is the exception rather than the rule. In most cases, it can be assumed that a special verb form was not developed for economic reasons, as it would not have been worth the effort for such a rarely used category. If this category is to be expressed, one makes do with the verb form whose intentum is semantically closest to it even if it is a perfective verb form. Thus, if a signum such as *bed-qāṭil* in Neo-Aramaic expresses posteriority to a reference point in the past and to the speech time, and occasionally also describes simultaneity with a reference point in the future, this does not speak against its aspectual and perfective character; it only expresses this category because it was considered uneconomical to develop a special signum for its expression. However, such signa are analysed as unmarked.

In this case, therefore, only two categories are to be distinguished.

**d. Anterior and Resultative.** As already outlined in section 2, the anterior denotes a completed situation that has an effect on a reference point which in turn may be identical to the speech time or be in the past or future, with the emphasis of the statement being on the action, not on the resulting state.

The same is true for the resultative, except that the emphasis of the statement is on the resulting state. The two categories are also formally distinguished in some Neo-Aramaic dialects. In J. Koy Sanġaq, for example, both the anterior and the resultative in affirmative statements are expressed by qṭilā + copula; in negated statements, however, the anterior has the form copula + qṭilā, but the resultative is indicated by qṭilā + copula: *dmixē lewex* “we (have not fallen asleep and thus) are not asleep”, *lewex nšiqā* “we have not kissed”. In addition, the two qṭilā forms in the plural differ by the endings -e (resultative) and -a (anterior).<sup>11</sup> The reference points can be in the past, the future or identical with the speech time, so that six categories can be distinguished here.

## 7.2 *Indicative: Habitual Situations*

a. **Simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority to the speech time.** A habitual situation can be anterior or posterior to the speech time or simultaneous with it: *He usually writes a letter every week. He used to write a letter every week. He will write a letter every week.* So there are three categories here.

b. **Simultaneity with another habitual situation.** A habitual situation can be thought of as simultaneous with another habitual situation. Reference has already been made above in section 1 to the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Barwar where y-āwe + infinitive (present) and y-āwewa + infinitive (past) are used to express these categories: *šalanwa y-awewa rxatā* “I would go down while it was fermenting”.<sup>12</sup> Theoretically, this simultaneity can also be imagined with reference to a reference point in the future, so that again three categories can be distinguished. These categories are, as already stated, ultimately to be classified as habitual, not imperfective, since the overall situation is still habitual and only the individual sub-situations of which it is composed are considered imperfective. Nevertheless, the presence of such forms testifies to the pervasiveness of aspect forms and is taken into account accordingly when assessing the overall character of a verbal system.

c. **Habitual anterior and resultative.** These categories describe states that habitually result from a situation. Here, too, the emphasis of the statement can be on the action (anterior) or the resulting state (resultative). In C. Barwar, for example, these categories are expressed by y-āwe + qṭilā (present) and y-āwewa + qṭilā (past): *‘i-bašəhwa y-awəxwa tiwe* “it would cook (while) we (would have sat down and thus) would be sitting”.<sup>13</sup> Noematically, such a con-

<sup>11</sup> Mutzafi, Koy Sanġaq 107.

<sup>12</sup> Khan, Barwar Gr. 722f.

<sup>13</sup> Khan, Barwar Gr. 697f.

struction is also conceivable for the future, so that here again three categories are to be distinguished.

### 7.3 *Non-indicative Situations*

a. **Real non-indicative situations.** Such situations are thought of as not actually realised or yet to be realised but as merely potential. They can appear in the form of deontic or epistemic modality or as conditional sentences and refer to the past, present or future: *He wanted to write a letter. He might be here now. May he come tomorrow.* Non-indicative situations can also be thought of as perfective or imperfective: *If he was listening to music when you came, he will not have heard you. He might be reading the newspaper right now. He will probably be working in the garden when you visit him.* In C. Barwar, for example, a deontic question with present time reference concerning a situation that is in progress can be expressed by  $\text{ṭ-āwe} + \text{infinitive}$ : *ʾūka ṭ-awe mašmoye?* “where could he be listening?”.<sup>14</sup> Since the present is not compatible with perfectivity, there are thus five categories to be distinguished here. Theoretically, non-indicative situations are also conceivable as habitual (he may have had the habit of reading the newspaper every day), but this possibility will not be taken into further consideration here.

b. **Counterfactual non-indicative situations.** The realisation of such situations is considered impossible. As with real situations, they can refer to the past, present or future and be perfective or imperfective: *If he had just been working when I arrived, I would have left again. If he were working now, we would hear him. Oh, if only he would be studying for the exam when I come to see him.* So here again there are five categories to distinguish.

c. **Imperatives.** Imperatives can refer to singular situations that the speaker wants to see carried out or represent general instructions that are to be followed in principle. This opposition is expressed in Hebrew by the imperative and a second person of  $\text{yiqṭōl}$ : כָּתֹב “write (something specific)!”: שְׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד (Ex. 20, 8) “on six days you shall work!”. In the Aramaic papyri from Hermopolis, the second category is possibly expressed by the compound imperative of  $\text{hwy} + \text{qāṭil}$ :  $\text{hwy ḥzyt} \text{ ʾ-NN}$  (H 1,11–12 = TAD A2.3) “look after NN” (cf. below ch. 3, sect. 7.1). A corresponding distinction is also possible with regard to the vetitive; in Hebrew it is expressed by the opposition  $\text{ʾal tiqṭōl}$  and  $\text{lō tiqṭōl}$ . Four categories can thus be distinguished.

Once the verb forms of an individual language have been analysed and classified, one can proceed to assess the verbal system as a whole.

14 Khan, Barwar Gr. 724.

Languages normally do not give equal prominence to the three categories aspect, tense and mood. They usually choose one of them as the main category of the verbal system and give a detailed expression of its subcategories, while the two other categories are represented in far less detail or as a facet of the main category. If, for example, a language has chosen mood as its main category, it may represent the notion of past as a facet of indicativity, the notion of future as one of non-indicativity.<sup>15</sup>

Bhat, who has examined this issue in detail in his study on *Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood*, mentions four criteria which may help decide whether a given language is to be regarded as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent.

The first criterion is the degree of grammaticalisation, i.e. the question to which degree a given category is expressed with the help of grammatical instead of lexical elements, as for example adverbs. The next criteria, obligatoriness and paradigmatisation, are interrelated with grammaticalisation, since grammaticalised categories are usually obligatory and organised into paradigms. The last criterion to be mentioned is pervasiveness. If a verbal category is marked as such not only in the field of verbal morphology but also of nominal morphology, that category is surely more prominent than a category whose marking is restricted to verbal forms. In Kayardild, an Australian language, for example, the modal distinctions are not only expressed by adding affixes to the verb but also by case markers.<sup>16</sup>

The significance of opposition pairs has been mentioned repeatedly in the foregoing. Often, a signum can only be identified when it is in opposition to another signum, for example, in the area of simultaneity with the speech time. Here, a verb form can only be identified as purely imperfective if it is used solely in this function and is in opposition to another verb form that expresses habitual situations. It should be mentioned at this point that two signa are only considered to form an opposition pair if they express categories of only one class, i.e. aspectual, temporal or modal categories. k-qāṭilwā in J. Arbel, for example, expresses not only the extended imperfective aspect of the past but also counterfactuality with reference to the present (see ch. 18, sect. 13), so it cannot be considered an aspect form and therefore does not form an opposition pair with the perfective qṭille. An exception is the category of habituality that is somewhere between aspectuality and tense. A signum that expresses habitual situation can be in opposition to an imperfective signum.

A word still needs to be said about the coincidence case. This category is expressed in very different ways in the individual languages, so that the use

<sup>15</sup> See Bhat, *Prominence* 91f.

<sup>16</sup> See Bhat, *Prominence* 95–97.



of one or another verb form to express it hardly allows any statements to be made about its character.<sup>17</sup> When analysing and classifying a verb form, the coincidence case will therefore be taken into account only with reservations.

Finally, the terminology needs to be briefly discussed. With reference to temporal categories, the expressions past, present and future are used, the corresponding aspectual expressions are anteriority to, posteriority to and simultaneity with a reference point. In the following, however, it will not always be possible to distinguish these expressions accurately. The chapters in parts B and C, for example, are organised by category and the signa used to express these categories are analysed. Prior to the analysis, it is not known whether the corresponding signa are aspectually, temporally or modally marked and, accordingly, how the categories they describe are to be classified. Nonetheless, we always use the aspectual terminology in the chapter headings to describe the categories to be analysed and we speak of *anteriority to the speech time*, *simultaneity with a reference point in the past* and so on. On the other hand, the expressions past, present, future are often used instead of the rather cumbersome terms anteriority to etc, provided the context makes it clear what is being referred to.

---

17 Cf. Rogland, Remarks 423f.

# Brief Outline of the Classification and History of Aramaic

Aramaic is one of the Semitic languages. The structure of this language family can be described with the help of a *Stammbaum* (tree model) according to which individual speech communities split off from the Proto-Semitic original language through linguistic innovation and then, as the case may be, formed new subgroups. An important innovation is the use of the suffix conjugation of the verb (e.g. Arabic qatala) to express the perfective aspect. This usage can be observed in West Semitic, while in Akkadian, as probably already in Proto-Semitic, this conjugation had a more nominal character. Hetzron is particularly noted for his work on the classification of the Semitic languages.<sup>1</sup> Taking into account the modifications made by Huehnergard and Rubin,<sup>2</sup> his model can be represented as follows:

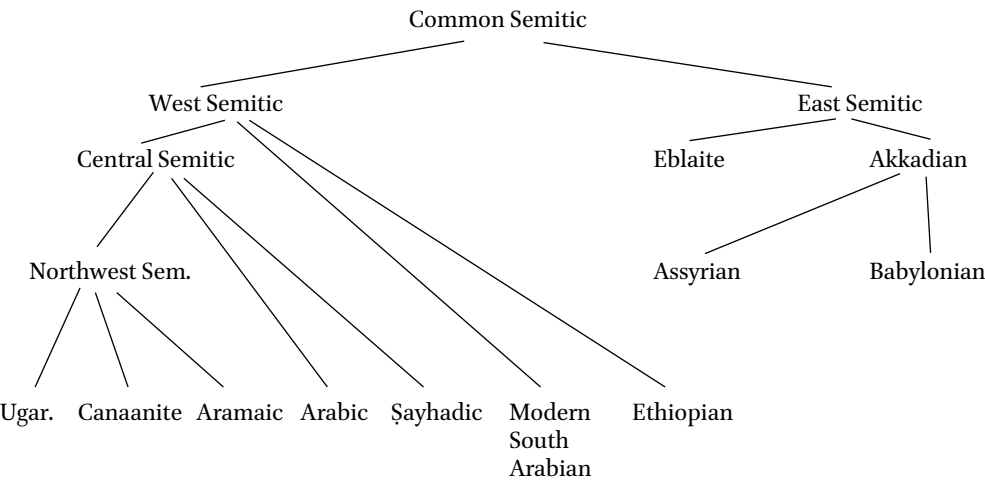


FIGURE 3 The Semitic languages I

1 See Huehnergard / Rubin, Classification 260–264.

2 Ibid. 263.

However, similarities and differences cannot be explained solely by independent innovations or retention of inherited forms. Speech communities of different languages are often in contact with each other so that innovations within one group can be transferred wave-like to others. In this way, Akkadian and Aramaic have influenced each other.<sup>3</sup>

The wave theory can be applied not only to the spread of individual isoglosses but also to the shaping and diffusion of entire languages, as Kienast does who classifies the Semitic languages according to the time of their emergence. He points out that at certain intervals of time, nomadic tribes moved from the Arabian Peninsula to the fertile land further north and formed states there. The first group was formed by the Akkadians whose migration probably took place around 2500 BC; they were followed around 2100 BC by people speaking Canaanite languages comprising Ugaritic, Phoenician-Punic, Hebrew, Amorite, Moabitic and Ammonite. The Aramaic migration can be dated to around 1400 BC; the Arabs are first recorded in the campaign reports of Salmanasser III (858–824) and then more regularly from the time of Tiglatpilesar III (744–724) onwards so that their migration may have taken place around 700 BC. South Arabic and Ethiopian, finally, are geographically outside the events that took place on the northern edge of the Arabian Peninsula; the Old South Arabian tribes probably settled at the end of the second millennium BC, while Ethiopian languages and dialects only developed from Old South Arabic brought to East Africa by colonists in Christian times. Based on these aspects, Kienast (HSS 19) divides the Semitic languages into Old Semitic, Early Neo-Semitic and Late Neo-Semitic (Altsemitisch, Frühjungsemitisch, Spätjungsemitisch):

Proto-Semitic

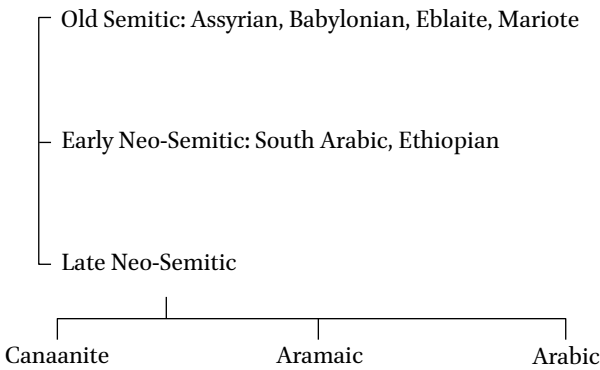


FIGURE 4 The Semitic languages II

3 Cf. Huehnergard / Rubin, Classification 265.

The term *Aramayu* is first documented under the Assyrian king Tiglatpile-sar I (1115–1077 BC) as a term for semi-nomadic tribes in the Upper Euphrates region. These tribes spread throughout the Mesopotamian and Syrian regions and eventually formed state-like communities of which the city-states of Sam'al, Arpad, Hamat and Damascus in West Syria and Gosan on the upper reaches of the Xabur in East Syria stand out.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between these Aramaic-speaking tribes and the Amorite semi-nomads and full nomads who lived in the area between Babylonia and the Levant in the second millennium BC is difficult to determine.<sup>5</sup> For the oldest Aramaic, at any rate, two firmly standardised written languages can be distinguished, one of which was used in the west and the other in the east of Syria. The eastern branch is represented solely by the Aramaic-Accadian bilingue of Tell Fekheriye which dates from the middle of the 9th century and is probably the oldest Aramaic text. The inscription differs quite markedly, both in orthography and grammar, from the written language used in the west; the use of the prefix *l-* in affirmative short forms of the prefix conjugation (*liqtul*), as opposed to *y-* in the west, and the lack of assimilation of */l/* in *lqh* "to take", which is the rule in the west, are particularly noteworthy. The eastern branch does not seem to have had any influence on later forms of Aramaic, at least no connection to later Aramaic dialects can be proven even though the prefix *l-* is also used in Biblical Aramaic (with the verb חוה) as well as in Hatran, in Mandaic and in Babylonian Talmudic.<sup>6</sup> The corpus of texts from West Syria is much more extensive and includes a long treaty (Sfire I–III) from the middle of the 8th century and royal inscriptions from the 9th and 8th centuries.<sup>7</sup> A special position is occupied by the texts found in Sam'al on the north-western periphery of Syria, today Zincirli in Turkey, whose classification is highly controversial. They are strongly influenced by Phoenician but also have peculiarities that can be considered neither Aramaic nor Canaanite. Only the inscriptions of Brkb, a contemporary of Tiglatpile-sar III, are clearly Aramaic, of which only the inscription listed by Koopmans as no. 12 is extensive enough for a linguistic analysis and has been included in this work.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, an inscription consisting of thirteen partly very fragmentary lines on a stela found in Tell Dan in Northern Israel should be mentioned. It describes a war against an Israeli king, possibly the

4 For more details, see Younger, *Origins*; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 56f.

5 On this point, see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences* 23–27.

6 It is not unlikely that *l-* can be traced back to Akkadian *lū*, which is used as a wish and assertion particle (see von Soden, *GAG* § 81f + 121c), or at least has been influenced by it; see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences* 124–126.

7 On the differences between the eastern and the western branch, see Beyer, *ATM* I 25ff; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 63–72.

8 For details on Samalian, see Dion, *Ya'udi*; see also Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 72–79.

war waged by king Haza'el of Damascus (reigned from 845 to 841 BC) against Joram of Israel.<sup>9</sup> Phonology, morphology and lexicon of the inscription correspond to the West Syrian Aramaic linguistic evidence of that time.<sup>10</sup> This work does not take into account the text from Deir 'Allā in Jordan which may have been written around 800 BC. Although it has several distinctly Aramaic forms, there is some evidence that it was originally written in a Canaanite dialect and then later transferred into Aramaic, retaining several Canaanite features such as the compound *w* + short form of *yiqṭul*. The use of such a mixed text for linguistic analysis seems quite dubious to me.<sup>11</sup>

The texts from the 7th and 6th centuries are not only from the Syrian area but from the entire Near East including Egypt. The linguistic evidence from the 9th to the 6th century is summarised in this work under the term Old Aramaic, the texts from the 9th and the 8th centuries are referred to as Early Old Aramaic, those from the 7th and 6th centuries, including the Hermopolis papyri from Egypt, as Late Old Aramaic.<sup>12</sup>

The decline of the Syrian city-states, which were incorporated into the Assyrian Empire between 750 and 650 BC, did not in any way diminish the use of Aramaic. On the contrary, the use of Aramaic spread far into the heartland of the Assyrian Empire, not least because of the deportation policy of the Assyrian kings. The Late Old Aramaic evidence shows too much variation in orthography and grammar for it to be assumed that the Assyrian rulers made a conscious effort to standardise the language, as it was done later under the Achaemenids.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Aramaic was widely used not only in the private and administrative sphere but also internationally. For example, around 604 BC, an otherwise unknown King Adon of Ekron wrote a letter in Aramaic to the Egyptian Pharaoh to ask him for help against the approaching Babylonian troops. The meeting between the officials of King Hezekiah and the Assyrian emissaries at the gates of Jerusalem, described in Kings 18, 17–37, which was held in Aramaic so that the people would not understand the content of the negotiations, need not necessarily be based on a historical event but may well reflect the linguistic situation in Israel around 700 BC, namely that international negotiations were held in Aramaic, but the vast majority of the population did not understand the language.<sup>14</sup> Of particular interest are

9 On this point, see Pitard, Damascus 114–122.

10 See in summary Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 79–87.

11 On this text in general, see Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 87–91.

12 On the terminology, see Beyer, *ATM* 25–28; see also Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 53, note 126.

13 Cf. Gzella, *Wandering Arameans* 28f.

14 On this question, see Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 139.

also the archives of Aramaic legal documents from the 7th century, which were found on the Upper Euphrates, as they show quite clearly the importance of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian administration.<sup>15</sup> The most important evidence from Egypt are the Hermopolis papyri, written around 500 BC. In contrast to the Aramaic of the Achaemenid Empire, the spelling of these papyri is quite inconsistent and differs from Imperial Aramaic also in terms of grammar. At this point only two special features should be mentioned: the use of the old feminine ending of the stat. absol. -at which already in Early Old Aramaic was regularly replaced by -ā; furthermore, the form -hm is used as the object suffix of the 3.pl. after verbs, not the independent personal pronoun -hmw, as is the case in Imperial Aramaic.<sup>16</sup> The Sayings of Ahiqar represent a special position. While the language of the story of the sage Ahiqar can be assigned to the Imperial Aramaic of the 5th and 4th centuries,<sup>17</sup> the Sayings go back to an older language stratum, although it is difficult to determine the exact time and place of their origin.<sup>18</sup>

In 539 BC the Achaemenid ruler Cyrus II, who had previously already conquered Asia Minor, defeated the Babylonian king Nabonid, and 14 years later Egypt was also conquered under Cambyses II. The Achaemenid Empire now stretched from Egypt in the west to Bactria, modern Afghanistan, in the east and to Asia Minor in the north. Around 500 BC, Darius I made Aramaic, which, as we have seen, had already been widely used under the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers, the official language of his empire. This standardised form of Aramaic will be referred to in this work as Imperial Aramaic. Presumably, this standard language is based on, as Beyer (ATTM 28) assumes, an Aramaic written language used in Babylonia about which we have no further knowledge. This is suggested by the use of the 3.pl. independent personal pronoun -hmw as object suffix instead of -hm common in Old Aramaic which can be observed in both Imperial Aramaic and the Assur-Letter from Babylonia. Furthermore, the missing assimilation of /n/ to a following consonant and the missing use of yāt- to mark the direct object in Imperial Aramaic allow the conclusion that it does not go back to the Old Aramaic used in West Syria in which the one like the other is attested. Furthermore, the short form of yiqṭl has the prefix y- in Imperial Aramaic, not l- as it is attested in the East

15 See Bordreuil, Til Barsib; Fales, Tell Shiukh Fawqani.

16 On the language of these papyri, see Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 148–150.

17 On this point, see, amongst others, Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 151–153.

18 Already Kutscher (Aramaic 365f) pointed out that the Sayings should be separated from the narrative; on time and place of origin of the Sayings, see Lindenberger, Ahiqar 279–304; Kottsieper, Ahiqar 241–246; on the Ahiqar tradition, see Folmer, *Variation* 732–741.

Syrian Tell Fekheriye inscription, so that a connection with the Aramaic variety of East Syria can also be excluded.<sup>19</sup>

The linguistic situation in the Achaemenid Empire has to be considered as multilingual; besides other Aramaic dialects, Phoenician, Hebrew, Old Persian, Egyptian and maybe Akkadian were in use,<sup>20</sup> and despite a fairly high degree of standardisation, Imperial Aramaic cannot be considered a unified whole (see below ch. 4, sect. o).

Most of the Egyptian textual evidence, the oldest of which dates back to 495 BC, comes from Elephantine where a Jewish military colony was stationed. The papyri found there contain mostly private contracts but also a petition from the Jewish community to the Persian governor in Judea and literary works, such as the Ahiqar narrative and the story of Bar Puneš, and the Aramaic version of a royal inscription of Darius I, the original of which is written on a rock in Iranian Bisotun in Elamite, Old Persian and Akkadian. There are also 13 letters written on leather to the Persian governor in Egypt, Aršama, and about 250 papyrus fragments from Saqqara, about 700 kilometres north of Elephantine.<sup>21</sup>

From Samaria 37 private legal documents from the second half of the fourth century have been preserved, the language of which is identical with that of the treaties of Elephantine,<sup>22</sup> from Tell Arad and Idumaea several Ostraka,<sup>23</sup> and some inscriptions are also known from Asia Minor.<sup>24</sup> From Tayma in the northern part of Hiğaz about 30 short and quite badly preserved inscriptions from the 5th century are known.<sup>25</sup> Numerous clay tablets in Aramaic have been found in the Persian heartland in Persepolis.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Bactria is represented by an archive containing documents from the years 353–324 BC, including the correspondence of a local governor with his superior.<sup>27</sup>

Biblical Aramaic holds a special position; it is used in the books of Daniel (2,4 to 7,28) and Ezra (4,8 to 6,18) and is also represented by a verse in Jeremiah (10,11) and a word in Genesis (31,47). The final reworking of the book of Daniel can be dated to around 165 BC, but parts of it probably date back to the 4th century BC.<sup>28</sup> The letters in the book of Ezra probably date from the Achaemenid

19 On this question, see also Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 162–165 and *Wandering Arameans* 33f.

20 See in detail Folmer, *Imperial Aramaic* 590–593.

21 On the evidence from Egypt, see Muraoka, *GEA* XXIII ff; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 186–190.

22 See Dušek, *Samarie*.

23 See Naveh, *Tel Arad*; Schwiderski, *Inschriften* 203–284.

24 Cf. Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 195–198.

25 See Schwiderski, *Inschriften* 410–413.

26 See Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 183f.

27 See Naveh-Shaked, *Bactria*.

28 Cf. Gzella, *TAM* 43.

period but were modernised in the following period, particularly in the field of spelling.

Biblical Aramaic shows some important similarities with the texts written during the Achaemenid period. These include the frequently documented degemination of -KK- to -nK-, the use of l- to introduce direct objects (yāt- is only attested once in Daniel), the prefix m- in infinitives from the derived stems.<sup>29</sup> There are, however, also a number of features in which Biblical Aramaic differs from the Imperial Aramaic standard and rather points to subsequent language periods.<sup>30</sup> In this regard, we should mention the inconsistent spelling of /s/ and /ś/, which already foreshadows the later coincidence of the two phonemes, the occasional transition from /-āy-/ to /-āʾ-/ before a following vowel, as in the AP qāʾem (< \*qāyem), and the use of -n instead of -m in the personal pronouns of the 2. and 3.pl.m. and in the ending of the 2.pl.m. of qṭal, which is much more common in Biblical Aramaic than in Imperial Aramaic and is even the only form in the Book of Daniel.<sup>31</sup> There are also differences between the Books of Daniel and Ezra, such as the aforementioned use of -n in the pronouns and suffixes of the 2.pl.m. and 3.pl.m. which is the only form in Daniel, while in Ezra both -n and -m are attested.

In any case, it is advisable to treat Biblical Aramaic for itself; the use of the AP and yiqṭul, which will be discussed below (ch. 5, sect. 14), alone justifies this.<sup>32</sup>

The fall of the Achaemenids in 330 BC led to the elevation of some local varieties of Aramaic to written languages which, however, are not attested immediately afterwards but only from the second century BC onwards. They are sometimes referred to as Middle Aramaic,<sup>33</sup> I prefer to speak of the Aramaic of the Greco-Roman period whose relationship with Imperial Aramaic will be discussed below.

One of these languages is Hasmonean, the written language of Jerusalem and Judea whose origin seems to be closely connected with the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty (142–37 BC) and the independence of Judea. The Hasmonean language is primarily attested by the religious literature discovered in Qumran, which was probably written or copied between the second century BC and 70 AD,<sup>34</sup> and by a number of private documents from the Judean desert dating back to 135 AD. Hasmonean differs quite markedly from Imperial Aramaic; it

29 Cf., amongst others, Folmer, Variation 753f.

30 First described in detail by Baumgartner, Daniel.

31 Cf. Gzella, Cult. Hist. 206–208.

32 See also Beyer, ATTM 33.

33 For example by Kaufman, Aramaic 116.

34 On this point, see Gzella, Cult. Hist. 231.



is strongly influenced by the local Judean dialect and shows typical Western Aramaic traits, such as the occasional use of the nota accusative *yt-*, but also differs from all the other varieties of Aramaic of that period by retaining the short form of *yīqṭul* to express non-indicative situations,<sup>35</sup> which was otherwise replaced by the long form, and by the use of the demonstrative pronoun *dn* (m.) “this”.

Nabataean was the written language of the Arabic kingdom of Petra which came into being around 400 BC and was incorporated into the Roman Empire as Provincia Arabia in 106 AD. The corpus of texts includes funerary and consecration inscriptions from the area around Petra, Hegra and Bostra, written between 170 BC and 356 AD, as well as an archive of private contracts found in the Dead Sea caves.<sup>36</sup> The names of persons and gods appearing in the texts indicate that the Nabataeans were of Arab origin who used Aramaic only as a written language, whereas they probably spoke a northern Arabic dialect. Thus, the influence of Arabic in the lexical field cannot be overlooked, the most recent inscription dating from 328 AD and found near Damascus being almost completely written in Arabic.<sup>37</sup> After the 4th century AD, Nabataean was displaced by Arabic and Greek. It shows great similarities with Imperial Aramaic but is not identical with it. As in Imperial Aramaic, the 3.pl.m. of *qṭal* is also used with feminine subjects, but, on the other hand, direct objects are occasionally introduced by *yt-*, not by *l-* as in Imperial Aramaic. The influence of Greek is limited to some lexemes. More clearly, as already stated, was the influence of Arabic, to which the non-indicative use of *qṭal*, as in *l'n* “may he curse”, can certainly be traced back.<sup>38</sup>

Our knowledge of Palmyrene is based on approximately 3,000 inscriptions dating from 44 BC to 274 AD and found in the trading city of Palmyra. Most of these are funerary and consecration inscriptions, but there is also a quite long tax inscription from 137 AD. Unlike in Edessa, Aramaic was probably in continuous use in Palmyra after the fall of the Achaemenids. Palmyrene has some conservative Imperial Aramaic spellings, such as the missing assimilation of /n/ to a directly following consonant in words such as *ʾnt* “you”, but it also has some peculiarities which suggest that it was subject to natural language change. These include the loss of unaccented long vowels in final position and the replacement of the internal passive by the *t*-stems. The use of the ending -ʾ

35 E.g. *ythšbw* (Giants 8, 4) “they should be credited”. On Hasmonean in general, see Beyer, ATTM 34f; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 230–234; Muraoka, Qumran.

36 See Beyer, ATTM 40–42 and ATTM II 204ff.

37 On this point, see Müller, *Altarabisch* 30–31.

38 See Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 243.

to express the masculine plural form of the stat. emph. alongside the also testified -y' connects Palmyrene with the Eastern Aramaic dialects, whereas the occasional use of yt- in front of objects and the absence of the prefixes l- and n- in yiqṭul is Western Aramaic.<sup>39</sup>

Old Syriac, the official language of Edessa, is attested in about 120 inscriptions and three legal documents written between 6 and 243 AD which still contain no references to the Christian or Jewish faith. The elevation of Old Syriac to a written language is obviously closely linked to the seizure of power by the Arab Abgarid dynasty (132 BC to 242 AD) in the second century BC and the subsequent independence from the Seleucid rulers. In contrast to Nabataean and Palmyrene, the fall of the Achaemenids was followed in Edessa by a period in which Greek was used as the official language; to what extent the use of Aramaic as a written language was interrupted during this period, as Beyer (ATTM 46) assumes, is difficult to decide. The exact position of Old Syriac and Classical Syriac will be examined in more detail below (ch. 12, sect. 2.2), but it can already be anticipated at this point that they stand linguistically between Eastern and Western Aramaic.

The Uruk text originates from Babylonia; it is an Aramaic incantation text written in cuneiform which was probably composed around 200 BC. Also here, the Eastern Aramaic ending -' of the stat. emph. pl.m. is attested.<sup>40</sup>

As in Edessa, in Hatra, Assur and some other places in Eastern Mesopotamia a local dialect was made the written language. This variety, described by Beyer (ATTM 46) as Eastern Mesopotamian, is attested in some 600 mostly quite short inscriptions written between 89 and 238 AD. Here, too, the stat. emphat. is -' and the prefix conjugation has the prefix l-.<sup>41</sup>

Even after the Parthians (247 BC to 224 AD) had made Parthian the official language in Iran, a number of inscriptions, which more or less corresponded to Imperial Aramaic in writing and spelling, as well as so-called heterograms were still written in Aramaic.<sup>42</sup>

Although Nabataean in particular bears a strong resemblance to Imperial Aramaic, none of the languages of the Greco-Roman period or of Middle Aramaic can be regarded as a direct continuation of the latter, as the isoglosses show which clearly distinguish them from Imperial Aramaic. Some of these isoglosses have already been mentioned above. First, there is the relative pronoun, which is zy in Imperial Aramaic, while the languages discussed here have

39 See Beyer ATTM 42–43; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 248–256; Gzella LIA 602–604.

40 See Beyer, ATTM II 25–27.

41 See Beyer, *Ostmesopotamien*; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 271–276.

42 See Beyer, ATTM 43, note 2; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 276–278; Gzella, *Parthian*.

*dy* / *d* (Hatra, Palmyra, Hasm.), *dy* (Nabat.) and *d* (Edessa);<sup>43</sup> the pronominal suffix of the 3.pl.m. is -hm in Imperial and Old Aramaic; only Nabataean has a form with -m, i.e. -hwm, while the rest has -hwn;<sup>44</sup> the 3.pl.m. demonstrative pronoun is *'lh* in Imperial Aramaic; this form is only found in Nabataean, the other languages have *hlyn* (Hatra, Edessa) and *'ln* (Palmyra, Hasm.);<sup>45</sup> as with the suffix, the independent personal pronoun of the 3.pl.m. has an /m/ in Imperial Aramaic: *hm* / *hmw* / *hmwn*; only the Targum to Job from Qumran has *hmwn* a few times, otherwise in Hasmonean one finds *'nwn*, Hatra has *hmw*, Old Syriac and Palmyrene have *hnwn* and Nabataean *'nw*.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the use of *yāt-* to introduce the direct object should be mentioned. This is probably foreign to Imperial Aramaic<sup>47</sup> but occurs in Old Aramaic and also frequently in Nabataean; in Hasmonean it is used three times, in Palmyrene once; Hatra and Old Syriac do not know it.<sup>48</sup>

With regard to some isoglosses, independent innovations in the individual languages cannot be ruled out with certainty, such as the transition of /m/ > /n/ in the personal pronouns and suffixes of the 3.pl.m., which may have been spontaneous or analogous to the plural endings of the participle or prefix conjugation. Taken together, however, the isoglosses suggest that the languages of the Greco-Roman period not only developed relatively independently of Imperial Aramaic, but that there was also a mutual influence. To what extent one can speak of a dialect continuum, as Cook does,<sup>49</sup> in which innovations have spread from one language centre in wave movements, I do not dare to decide. But it can be said with certainty that the situation in the period in question was completely different from that in present-day Qalamun where three Western Neo-Aramaic dialects are enclosed by Arabic and cut off from the rest of the Aramaic language areas (see below). Even if there may have been language islands where Greek or Latin were not purely administrative languages but were also spoken, it is unlikely that there were any major language barriers that would have seriously impaired contact between the individual Aramaic speech communities. The spread of innovation from one language centre to another will therefore always have to be taken into account.<sup>50</sup>

43 See Cook, Qumran Aramaic 8–9.

44 Ibid. 10.

45 Ibid. 10, Muraoka, GEA 56.

46 Cook, Qumran Aramaic 11.

47 Whether *yth* in Kraeling 3,22a actually represents the nota accusativi seems doubtful to me.

48 Cook, Qumran Aramaic 11; Muraoka, GEA 262, note 1050.

49 Qumran Aramaic 17.

50 See also Boyarin, Middle Aramaic, summarised on p. 641.

From the 3rd / 4th century AD onwards, two Aramaic dialect groups can be distinguished, which Beyer refers to as Middle Western Aramaic and Middle Eastern Aramaic.<sup>51</sup>

Middle Western Aramaic includes Jewish Middle Palestinian (JMP), Samaritan and Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA).

Of these languages, only Jewish Middle Palestinian is based on an ancient written tradition dating back to pre-Christian times, whereas the other two representatives of this group were probably not made written languages until the 4th century AD.<sup>52</sup>

After the second Jewish uprising in 135 AD and the subsequent expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and Northern Judea, Southern Galilee became the centre of Jewish scholarship. A number of synagogue and funerary inscriptions from there, dating from between 200 and 700 AD, are an important source of knowledge for JMP due to their authenticity.<sup>53</sup> But these inscriptions are not limited to Galilee, some can also be found in Northern Judea, Decapolis and Carmel. The inscriptions are broadly similar in spelling and grammar, but there are also some differences; for example, in Judea the 3.pl.m. suffix of *qṭal* is -w, while in Galilee it is -wn.<sup>54</sup> The main sources, however, are the Aramaic parts of the Palestinian Talmud, completed in the 5th century, and the Haggadic Midrashim to the Pentateuch (completed in the 5th–7th centuries AD) and the Palestinian Targum. After the Babylonian Talmud and the Babylonian Targum had also become authoritative in Palestine after 1000 AD, they exerted a corresponding influence on the works created in Palestine. In addition, many of the manuscripts must be regarded as faulty; JMP is therefore preserved in a relatively pure form, apart from the inscriptions, only in the oldest manuscripts, especially the Targum fragments originating from the Cairo Genizah which were probably written between the 9th and 11th centuries AD.<sup>55</sup>

The Samaritans represent a religious group that separated from Judaism in the 2nd century AD and still has some followers near Tel Aviv, who, however, speak Hebrew or Arabic.<sup>56</sup> Like Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan does not go back to an older written tradition but is based on the Western Aramaic dialect of Samaria which was displaced with the spread of Arabic in the 9th or 10th century AD. Samaritan is testified by some inscriptions from

51 ATTM 59, 62.

52 Cf. Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 296.

53 ATTM 371–395 and ATTM II 301–312.

54 Cf. Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 303, note 1019.

55 See Fassberg, *Genizah* 13f; Beyer, ATTM 38f, 63.

56 See Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 310f.

the 6th to 14th centuries AD<sup>57</sup> and literary works of religious content such as the *Mimar Marqa*, that was composed in the 4th century AD and whose oldest manuscripts date from the 13th century AD.<sup>58</sup> While Hebrew probably only had a liturgical function among the Samaritans in pre-Islamic times, the use of Greek seems to have been more widespread both in Palestine and in the diaspora,<sup>59</sup> and its influence on Samaritan vocabulary, which even extends to functional words, is correspondingly strong.<sup>60</sup>

Christian Palestinian Aramaic is known from some inscriptions and a letter that were written between the 6th and 11th centuries AD in the area around Jerusalem and Amman.<sup>61</sup> In addition, there are manuscripts with translations from Greek (Old and New Testament, Apocrypha, stories of saints, etc.) that date from the 6th to 12th centuries AD.<sup>62</sup> Even though the translators usually worked closely with the Greek original, the texts are not written in a Greek-Aramaic mixed language but reflect a genuine Aramaic syntax, as Li has shown.<sup>63</sup>

Middle Eastern Aramaic comprises Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA) and Mandaic.

Unlike in Palestine, there is little direct evidence of Jewish Aramaic in Mesopotamia before the Sassanid period. This situation only changed with the rise of Babylonia as the centre of Jewish scholarship after the end of the Parthian rule in the 3rd century AD.<sup>64</sup>

The main source of our knowledge of JBA is the Babylonian Talmud, a commentary on 37 tractates of the Mishnah written in Babylonia between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. Final editing took place in the 8th century, the oldest manuscripts date from the 10th century. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud cannot be regarded as uniform. In the phonetic-orthographical as well as in the morphological field there are numerous variants which are often used side by side in one and the same context. Morgenstern discusses these variants in detail in the fourth chapter of his *Studies*, and he is certainly correct in stating that they cannot be attributed to a single cause.<sup>65</sup> The tractates *Nedarim*, *Nazir*, *Karetot*, *Me'ila*, *Tamid* and *Temura* are special in that they are

57 See Beyer, ATTM 399–402.

58 See Beyer, ATTM 66–67.

59 On this point see Horst, Samaritan 185–190.

60 See Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 316.

61 See Beyer, ATTM 402–405 and ATTM Erg. 269–273.

62 Cf. Beyer, ATTM 67–69.

63 Translation Technique.

64 See Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 348–350.

65 Summarised in *Studies*, 218–221.

characterised by archaic linguistic peculiarities that other tractates do not have, or at least not to the same extent, such as the missing apocopying of final consonants, the preservation of guttural sounds or the relatively frequent use of *yāt-* to introduce direct objects which otherwise characterises Western Aramaic.<sup>66</sup> It is not possible to discuss the individual variants in detail here; it must suffice to point out that the language of the Babylonian Talmud cannot be regarded as a unified whole.

Furthermore, JBA is known from the Geonic literature of the post-Talmudic period (6th to 11th centuries AD). This comprises the writings of the leaders of the Jewish academies in Babylonia, known as Geonim, which include commentaries on the Talmud and responses to enquiries on various subjects put to the scholars by Jews from around the world.

Another important source are the magical texts written in Mesopotamia and Iran between the 5th and 8th centuries. Some 250 of these have already been published and they are of particular importance, as they are the only epigraphic evidence of JBA. Their language is not identical to the JBA of the Babylonian Talmud but is characterised by numerous archaic and dialectal features.<sup>67</sup>

In the field of vocabulary, JBA was particularly exposed to the influence of Akkadian and Persian.<sup>68</sup>

The origin of the Gnostic baptismal community of the Mandaean community cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Some vocabulary peculiarities indicate that it originated in Palestine,<sup>69</sup> but the language, which is closely related to JBA,<sup>70</sup> can be considered to be typically Eastern Aramaic, and even if the Mandaean community had immigrated to Babylonia from outside, they adopted quite completely the Aramaic language spoken there.<sup>71</sup>

Several Mandaic incantation texts, which were written on magic bowls and amulets, date back to the period between the 3rd and 8th centuries. The main works of Mandaic probably originated between the 7th and 9th centuries, although the oldest manuscripts only date back to the 16th century. Among these are the *Ginza*, a collection of mythical stories and ritual hymns, the

66 Siegal gives a brief overview in JBA, 24; the language of the tractates *Nedarim* and *Karetot* is described by Rybak, *Nedarim* and Breuer, *Karetot* respectively.

67 See Sokoloff, JBA 660–661.

68 See Sokoloff, JBA 669 and Siegal, JBA 26–27.

69 This assumption is supported, amongst others, by Beyer (ATTM 61–62) who assumes that the Mandaean community emigrated from Palestine in the first century AD. See also Burtea, *Mandaic* 681–682.

70 On the similarities between Mandaic and JBA, see Morgenstern, *Contact*.

71 On this point, see Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 365–366.

Qolasta with ritual songs and prayers, the Book of John about John the Baptist. Some of the hymns, however, probably date back to the 3rd century AD.<sup>72</sup>

As already indicated above, Syriac is to be placed between Middle Western and Middle Eastern Aramaic, as will be explained in detail below (ch. 12, sect. 2.2). While the Old Syriac text witnesses were still pagan, Classical Syriac is closely connected with Christianity. Syriac has a higher degree of standardisation than Mandaic and JBA which is probably primarily due to the effort to create a uniform and binding translation of the Bible. The translation of the New Testament was completed in the 5th century AD<sup>73</sup> and contributed greatly to the spread of Syriac beyond Edessa and the Osrhoenes.<sup>74</sup> The schism of 489 AD into Nestorian East Syrians (Nisibis) and West Syrian Jacobites (Edessa) resulted in two written languages with different scriptures and punctuation.<sup>75</sup> In North Syria, only a few Aramaic inscriptions are attested for the first five centuries after Christ; most inscriptions are written in Greek. However, certain grammatical peculiarities of these Greek inscriptions, such as the reduced use of the definite article and the confusion of case endings, make interference of Aramaic seem not improbable so that one can probably assume that Aramaic dialects were also spoken outside the Osrhoene in this period.<sup>76</sup>

Of the languages dealt with here, Syriac has produced the most extensive literature, consisting of translations, especially from Greek, but also of original writings.<sup>77</sup> The influence that Greek has exerted on Syriac is correspondingly great. This is not limited to the vocabulary (about 800 loanwords), but also extends to the syntax. Syriac *dēn* “then”, for example, has an Aramaic origin, but its usage is clearly influenced by Greek *de*.<sup>78</sup> The period between Aphrahat and Ephrem (died 373 AD) on the one hand, and Jacob of Edessa (died 708 AD) on the other, can be called with some justification the classical period of Syriac literature. After the advent of Islam, Syriac as a spoken language was gradually replaced by Arabic, but it remained in use as a written language among

72 See Burtea, Mandaic 671–672; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 361–362.

73 When and how the Old Testament was translated, however, is disputed; the Pentateuch was probably translated in the second century, the earliest manuscript, however, goes back to the fifth century; see Weitzman, *Old Testament* 248–258; cf. Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 375–376.

74 The fact that Christian Syriac inscriptions from the 5th century have been found up to Antioch is an argument in favour of the widespread use; see Briquel Chatonnet, *Syriac* 653.

75 See Healey, *Syriac* 639–640.

76 See Taylor, *Diglossia* 4–6.

77 See Baumstark, *Syr. Literatur*; Brock, *Outline*.

78 See Butts, *Language Change* 174–191. On the influence of Greek on Syriac, see also Taylor, *Diglossia* 14–18; Brock, *Greek Words*; on Persian influence, see Ciancaglini, *Loanwords*.

theologians and scholars even though later authors such as Barhebraeus (died 1286 AD) also wrote in Arabic. The 13th and 14th centuries represented a significant break. Although Syriac continued to be and is still used today, especially as a church language, its heyday was over. In the 20th century secular authors such as Shakespeare and Dickens were also translated into Syriac.<sup>79</sup>

The languages discussed up to this point are subsumed under the term Classical Aramaic in this work, while the following ones are referred to as Neo-Aramaic.

Early Neo-Aramaic is attested for the first time in texts written by non-Muslim minorities in North Iraq. The first Jewish Neo-Aramaic texts in the dialect of Nerwa-Amadiya date back to the 17th century.<sup>80</sup> Christian texts were composed by Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe whose religious poems date from the 17th century and are handed down on manuscripts from the 18th century onwards.<sup>81</sup> The poems, which are written in the Eastern Syriac script, show some borrowings from Classical Syriac, apart from that, however, they are penned in a dialect that bears a close resemblance to the modern Christian dialects of the Mosul plain.

Modern Aramaic can be divided into Eastern Neo-Aramaic and Western Neo-Aramaic (WNA). Many speakers of Neo-Aramaic dialects have left their homeland due to persecution in the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>82</sup>

Western Neo-Aramaic is still spoken by about 15,000 people in the three villages Ma'lūla, Bax'a and Ġubb'adīn in the Anti-Lebanon mountains. While Ma'lūla is inhabited by Christians and a Muslim minority, the other two villages are purely Muslim. The linguistic differences between the individual villages are significant enough that one can speak of independent dialects.<sup>83</sup> Arabic is used as a second mother tongue in all three villages and exerts a considerable influence on the Aramaic dialect which is noticeable in the areas of phonology, morphology and lexicon.<sup>84</sup> From the field of morphology, let us mention the infix -n- used to express the passive voice; this infix, which is foreign to Aramaic, is borrowed from stem VII of Arabic.<sup>85</sup> Arabic influence is probably also responsible for the use of qṭal and yiqṭul which have disappeared from

79 See Healey, Syriac 643–645, 649; Gzella, *Cult. Hist.* 374–379.

80 See Mengozzi, Alqosh I 16.

81 On these two authors, see Mengozzi, Alqosh I 60–65.

82 See Arnold, *Sprachbeziehungen* XX–XXI; Khan, *NENA* 708–709.

83 See Arnold, *Western Neo-Aramaic* 685.

84 On this point, see Correll, *Syntax* 135–153; Arnold, *Sprachbeziehungen* 47–64.

85 See Arnold, *Sprachbeziehungen* 58; on the Arabic superstrate in general, see *ibid.* 47–64.



the verbal systems in the other Neo-Aramaic dialects, with the exception of Neo-Mandaic where *q̄tal* at least is still in use.<sup>86</sup>

Eastern Neo-Aramaic comprises Neo-Mandaic, North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) and the ʿTuroyo and Mlaḥso dialects.<sup>87</sup> The Tigris represents the approximate border between Neo-Mandaic and the NENA dialects on the one hand and the ʿTuroyo / Mlaḥso dialects on the other; while the latter dialects are predominantly spoken by Jacobite Christians west of the Tigris in South-Eastern Turkey, the other two groups are used east of it.

Neo-Mandaic is still spoken by 300 to 500 members of the Mandaean religious communities in Iran and Iraq. Described so far are the dialects of Khorramshahr (Häberl, Khorr.) and Ahwāz (e.g. Macuch, Handbook) which are mutually intelligible. Although Arabic and Persian have not remained without influence on the vocabulary, Neo-Mandaic is relatively conservative and shows many similarities with the classical language.<sup>88</sup> In some points, however, it differs from classical Mandaic, such as the assimilation of /n/ to a following consonant (compare cl. *ḥpy* ‘face’ with Neo-Mandaic *appā*), and is more similar to JBA, and there is some evidence that several Mandaic dialects existed already in classical times that were closer to JBA than to Classical Mandaic and that Neo-Mandaic goes back to one of these dialects.<sup>89</sup>

NENA comprises some 150 dialects used by Jews and Christians spoken east of the Tigris in South Turkey, North-East Syria, North Iraq and in the west of Iran down to Kerend. The four groups, i.e. NENA, WNA, Neo-Mandaic and ʿTuroyo / Mlaḥso, show a number of similarities – ʿTuroyo / Mlaḥso being closer to the eastern dialects than to Western Neo-Aramaic<sup>90</sup> – which will be discussed below (ch. 21, sect. 4), but ultimately all go back to different proto-dialects. Of particular interest in this respect are the NENA dialects in whose case one can speak with some justification of a *Stammbaum* (family tree). The original proto-dialect, which forms the stem of the *Stammbaum*, so to speak, from which the NENA dialects emerged, is characterised by six isoglosses: *q̄tille* expresses the perfective aspect or the anterior, *\*qāym-qāṭil* is used with past time reference, the independent personal pronouns of the third person begin with /a/ (e.g. *\*ahu* ‘he’), the third person of the copula goes back to the compound *\*ī* (presentative particle) + *l-* (preposition), the second and first persons to *\*ī* + *hāwē*, the infinitives of the derived stems have an /ō/

86 See Correll, Syntax 143f.

87 The last two dialect groups are referred to by Beyer (ATTM 70) as *Neuostsyrisch* and *Neuwestsyrisch* respectively.

88 See Häberl, Neo-Mandaic 725f, 736.

89 See Morgenstern, Diachronic Studies 509ff.

90 Cf. Blau, Ritter 605f.

after the second root consonant (\*qatṭōle and \*aqṭōle), qāṭil is used to express indicative and non-indicative situations, k-qāṭil has a presentative function (cf. below ch. 21, sect. 3.4). Another isogloss that should be mentioned here concerns the reflexes of old /ḥ/ and /k/. These are maintained in Țuroyo / Mlaḥso as /ḥ/ and /x/ but have merged into either /ḥ/ or /x/ in NENA.<sup>91</sup> In a small group of dialects from the Bohtan area in South-East Turkey, they have merged into /ḥ/ (= ḥ-group); these include, inter alia, the dialects of the Christians of Hertevin, Hoze, Umra Ḥtaya, Umra Alaya, Ğennet, Kerem, Barenĝe, Der Gulle, Ḥennewiye but not the dialect of Bohtan itself where /ḥ/ and /k/ have, as in the remaining NENA dialects, become /x/.<sup>92</sup>

The following classification of the NENA dialects is all in all confirmed by this work; occasionally a somewhat more differentiated picture will emerge, but all in all this classification is perfectly suitable as a provisional starting point for the following investigation.

A classification based on strictly linguistic characteristics has been made by Mutzafi (Trans-Zab) for the Jewish dialects; nothing of this kind exists for the x-group as a whole. The following classification of the Christian x-dialects is based on Maclean,<sup>93</sup> Hoberman (Amadiya 4–9) and Talay (Khabur 44–46) and is supplemented by some of my own data. The overview is not complete and primarily takes into account the dialects dealt with in this work:

TABLE 1      The NENA dialects

|                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Northern group</b>    | Salamas                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Urmia</b>             | Urmia, Solduz, Sardarid, Sipurghan, Gavilan                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>Xabur<sup>a</sup></b> | Tiyari dialects (Upper and Lower Tiyari),<br>Txuma dialects, Hakkari dialects (Barwar,<br>Ğilu, Maha Khtaya, Baz, Diz, Gawar,<br>Qočaneş, Sara, Timur, Sat), Şammesdin-<br>dialects, <sup>b</sup> Halmun, Lewen |

a This group corresponds to Maclean's Aşiret-group, by which he means the districts south of Van to the Xabur; see Urmia xiv. Some of the Xabur dialects described by Talay belong to the northern group according to Maclean's classification (see Talay, Khabur 46), but here they are regarded as one group.

b The Bne Şammesdin are from the villages of Nočiya, İyyel and Marbišo; see Talay, Khabur 24.

91 See Talay, Khabur 43f.  
92 See Fox, Bohtan 168.  
93 Urmia xii–xv.

TABLE 1      The NENA dialects (*cont.*)

|                                                                                        |                                              |                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Southern group                                                                         |                                              | Bohtan, Zaxo, Alqoš, Telkepe, Pioz, Pešabur, Karamleš, Qaraqoš, Araḏin, Sanandağ, Armoṭa, Koy Sanğaq, Aqra, Bedyal, Ankawa, Diyana-Zariwaw                         |
| Judi group                                                                             |                                              | Beşpen, Gaznax, Mer, Išši, Baznaye, Harbole, Ḥassana <sup>c</sup>                                                                                                  |
| The Jewish x-dialects (according to Mutzafi, Trans-Zab, with some additions of my own) | Lišana Deni dialects (west of the Great Zab) | Betanure, Čalla, Gzira, Amadiya, Dohok, Nerwa, Zaxo, Baraše, Šuxo, Atruš, Kara, Araḏin, Mangeš                                                                     |
|                                                                                        | Central-Zab group                            | Barzan, Šahe, Beğil, Sandu                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                        | Trans-Zab (east of the Great Zab)            | North-Eastern group: Urmia, Salamas, Šeno, Solduz, Başqala, Gawar                                                                                                  |
|                                                                                        |                                              | Western group: Arbel, Dobe, Šaqlawa, Rawanduz, Rustaqa, Koy Sanğaq<br>South-Eastern group: Sanandağ, Saqqiz, Sulemaniyya, Ḥalabğā, Pengwin, Xanaqin, Kerend, Biğar |

c    On the Judi group, see Gutman, Gaznax 305f; Sinha, Bēšpən 6–10.

Differences within NENA are often due to religious affiliation. Christians and Jews even within the same area speak different dialects.<sup>94</sup>

NENA dialects are mostly spoken only, but since the 16th / 17th centuries texts have also been written by Christians and Jews, the former using the Syriac, the latter the Hebrew script.<sup>95</sup> The dialect of the Assyrian Christians of the Urmia region was even shaped into a literary language in the 19th century under the industrious activity of American Presbyterian missionaries in

94    See Khan, NENA 708f.  
95    See Sabar, Midrash.

particular, and by 1846 a translation of the New Testament in this language had been completed.<sup>96</sup>

The NENA dialects are strongly influenced by Arabic and Turkish and especially by Persian and Kurdish.<sup>97</sup> Many loan words, especially from Arabic, have not entered Aramaic directly but via Kurdish.<sup>98</sup>

---

96 See Murre-van den Berg, *Urmia* 43–86.

97 The influence of Kurdish on the Jewish-Aramaic dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja, for example, is described in Khan, *JSH* 8–14.

98 See Kapeliuk, *Language Contact* 740.



**PART 2**

*Classical Aramaic*





## Old Aramaic

### o The Text Corpus

In the following only those inscriptions are listed that have been cited as evidence. Early Old Aramaic inscriptions are:

**Tell F.:** = Tell Fekheriye, inscription on a statue of Hdys'y, king of Guzana and Sikan, dedicated to the god Hdd, dating from the 9th century BC, found near the present town of Ra's al-'Ain in North-East Syria, quoted according to Gropp, Notes 45–47.

**Brhdd:** Inscription of Brhdd dating from the 9th century BC, found north of Aleppo, quoted according to Koopmans I, no. 4.

**Zkr:** Inscription of Zkr, king of Hmt, dating from the 9th century BC, found to the southwest of Aleppo, quoted according to Koopmans I, no. 8.

**Sfiré:** A contract between Brg'yh, king of Ktk, and Mt'l, king of Apad, from the 8th century BC, discovered in Sfiré near Aleppo, quoted according to Koopmans I, no. 10.

**Brkb:** Inscription of Brkb, a vassal of Tiglatpilesar III, dating from the 8th century BC, found in Zincirli, quoted according to Koopmans I, no. 12.

**Tell Dan:** Inscription on a stela found in Tell Dan in Northern Israel. The inscription describes a war which may be identical with that waged by king Haza'el of Damascus (ruled from 845–841 BC) against Yoram of Israel. The inscription is quoted according to Schwiederski, *Inschriften* 409–410.

**Ah.-S.:** The Sayings of Ahiqar whose date and place of origin cannot be determined with certainty; they are quoted according to Cowley and the TAD.

The following texts belong to Late Old Aramaic:

**Ner 1 and 2:** Two basalt stelae from Nerab in Northern Syria from about 700 BC, quoted according to Hug, AG 13–14.

**Latf:** Law against tax fraud, stone inscription dating from the 7th century BC, probably originating from the Lebanon or Syria, quoted according to Hug, AG 14–15.

**AssL:** Assur-Letter, ostrakon found in Assur, written about 650 BC, quoted according to Hug, AG 19–20.



**CI:** Certificates of indebtedness from Tell Ḥalaf, written between 649 and 612 BC, quoted according to Hug, AG 25–27.

**AdonL:** Adon-Letter, a papyrus fragment found in Saqqara from the year 604 / 603 BC, quoted according to Hug, AG 15–16

**H:** Papyri written in the late 6th and early 5th century BC in Hermopolis, quoted according to Bresciani-Kamil and the TAD.

## 1 The Verb Forms

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

The conjugation formed with suffixes has the following forms:

|            | sg.          | pl.          |
|------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>3.m</b> | qṭl          | qṭl-w        |
| <b>3.f</b> | qṭl-t        | not attested |
| <b>2.m</b> | qṭl-t        | qṭl-tm       |
| <b>2.f</b> | not attested | not attested |
| <b>1.</b>  | qṭl-t        | qṭl-n        |

Example: ktbt (Sfiré I C, 2) “I wrote”.<sup>1</sup>

yiḡṭul can form an internal passive (see below); as for qṭal, there is a possible example from Late Old Aramaic:

l'd 'škh 'š (H 2, 12 = TAD A2.2) “Nobody has been found yet.”<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 *Yiḡṭul*

yiḡṭul is inflected by prefixes and suffixes and has a long and a short form. The long forms are:

|             | sg.          | pl.          |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>3.m.</b> | y-qṭl        | y-qṭl-n      |
| <b>3.f.</b> | t-qṭl        | y-qṭl-n      |
| <b>2.m.</b> | t-qṭl        | t-qṭl-n      |
| <b>2.f.</b> | not attested | not attested |
| <b>1.c.</b> | ʔ-qṭl        | not attested |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Degen, AG 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Muraoka, GEA § 30; *yhb* from the Hermopolis papyri quoted by Hug (AG 83) has rather to be interpreted as a yiḡṭul form.

The short forms are in many cases graphically identical to the long forms and can only be identified with the help of the context. One distinguishing feature between short and long forms is the word order: If the subject is before the verb, *yiqṭul* always appears in the long form.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a formal distinction is possible with the 2. and 3.pl.m. where the long form has the ending -n while the short form has -w:

yṣrn (Sfiré I B,8) “they will preserve” : yṣrw (Sfiré I C,15) “they may preserve”<sup>4</sup>

The short form of *verba III y* in the singular is normally written with final -y, the corresponding long form, on the other hand, with final -h:

yhwḥ (Sfiré II A,4; long form) “he will be” : thwy (Sfiré I A,25; short form) “she may be”<sup>5</sup>

The 3rd persons of the short form have the prefix l- in the inscription of Tell F.:

l'klw (22) “they may eat”

In Early Old Aramaic texts, the 3.sg.m. of the long form has an /-n-/ between the verb ending and an object suffix:

yhnsnh (Zkr 20) “he will remove it”<sup>6</sup>

The passive voice can be expressed by using the t-stems or an internal passive:

ygzr (Sfiré I A 40) “it will be cut”<sup>7</sup>

3 Cf. Degen, AG 108.

4 Cf. Degen, AG 64f; Hug, AG 77.

5 Cf. Degen, AG 76f.

6 Cf. Degen, AG 80. *thnsny* (Ner 2,9) “you drag me away”, that Hug, AG 87, quotes as evidence of this phenomenon in Late Old Aramaic has only limited probative force, since the object suffix of the 1.sg. has also an /-n-/. The situation is different with the examples he cites from Egyptian texts (*ibid.*).

7 Cf. Degen, AG 67 + 69. For the t-stem, see also Garr, *Dialect Geography* 119. *hn yhb* in H 2, 8, 9 + 10 is probably also an internal passive. Another example is given by Muraoka (*ywb*; GEA § 30).

qṭal and the long form of yiqṭul are negated by *l' ~ lh ~ l*, the short form by *ʾl*.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The active participle of the G-stem has the following forms:

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| sg.m. | qṭl   |
| sg.f. | qṭl-h |
| pl.m. | qṭl-n |
| pl.f. | qṭl-n |

In the Hermopolis papyri, the sg.f. ends in -h or -t: *šlḥt* “she is sending”.<sup>9</sup>

The derived stems are not attested in Early Old Aramaic, but they probably have the prefix m- as in Late Old Aramaic: *ʾlyky mtkl ʾnh* (H. 7,2) “I trust you”. The AP can be preceded by an inflected qṭal-, a yiqṭul- or an imperative form of hwy “to be”.

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

The passive participle is written in the same way as the AP. The /-y-/ between the second and third root consonant is not written: *ptḥh* (Sfiré III 8) “opened (f.)”, *šmn* (AssL 7) “they have been put”.

### 1.5 *Imperative*

The imperative has the following endings:

|       |                            |
|-------|----------------------------|
| sg.m. | qṭl                        |
| sg.f. | qṭl-y                      |
| pl.m. | qṭl-w                      |
| pl.f. | not attested <sup>10</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular and Habitual)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Regardless of the type of action, anteriority to the speech time is mainly expressed by qṭal. In discussing passages qṭal can be used in the sense of an anterior (no. a):

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Degen, AG 123; Hug, AG 129.

<sup>9</sup> See Folmer, Variation 252ff; Muraoka, GEA § 18j.

<sup>10</sup> See Degen, AG 124; Hug, AG 130.

## 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. hmlkny B'šm[yn] (Zkr A,3-4)  
 "B'šm[yn] has made me king."<sup>11</sup>

## 2.1.2 Telic

- b. w'nh bnyt byt' znh (Brkb 20)  
 "And I built this house."<sup>12</sup>

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. bkwny (Ner 2,6)  
 "They wept for me."

## 2.1.4 Stative

- d. wqm 'my whmlkny (Zkr A,3)  
 "And he stood with me and made me king."<sup>13</sup>

In some cases, qṭal seems to be used in a habitual sense:

- e. wby't 'by [ʿ]ml mn-kl wršt b-glgl mr'y (Brkb 7-9)  
 "And the house of my father [ach]ieved more than all (other houses) and I walked beside my master's wheel."

Also *bnyt* in the following example is probably to be understood in a habitual sense:

- f. [wb]nyt bty 'lhn (Zkr B,9)  
 "[And] I [b]uilt places of whorship."

11 See also: Tell F. 16 (šlmh šm "he erected a statue"); Brkb 5 (hwšbny "he put me"); Brkb 11 (ʿhzt "I seized"); AssL 5 (ʿhzn hm[w] "we caught them"); Zkr B,13 (šmt "I erected"); Ner 1,2 (mt "he died"); Ner 2,3 (šmny "he put me"); Ner 2,6 (wšmw "and they did not put"); AssL 7 (yhb hmw ly "he gave them to me").

12 See also: Zkr A,4 (whwḥd 'ly "and he united against me"); Zkr A,10 (hrmw šr "they erected a wall"); Brkb 12 (whyṭbth "and I made it nicer"); Sfiré 1 C,1 (kh 'mrn "so we said"); Sfiré III,24 (hšbw "they made return"); AssL 7 (w'tyt "and I came").

13 See further Ner 2,6 (ʿthmw "they were confused").

In three places of the Zkr-inscription, anteriority is expressed by *w* + *yiqtul*:

- g. wśmw kl mlky' 'l-mšr 'l-Ḥzr[k w]hrmw šr mn-šr ḥzrk wh'mqw ḥrš  
mn-ḥ[ršh] w's' ydy 'l-B'š[my]n wy'nny (A 9–11)  
“And all the kings began to lay siege to Ḥzr[k and] they erected a wall  
higher than the wall of Ḥzrk and they deepened the ditch deeper than  
[its] di[tch], and I raised my hands to B'š[my]n and he answered me.”
- h. wy'mr l[y] (A 15) “And he said to [me]:”

Further examples are found on the Tell Dan-Stela, some of them, however, in a very fragmentary context. In lines 3–6 it says:

- i. wyškb 'by yhk 'l-[bhw]h wy'l mlk y[š]r'l qdm b'rq 'by [wy]hmlk  
Hdd ['yty] 'nh wyhk Hdd qdmy [w]'pq m[n] šb'[t ywm]y mlky w'qtl  
m[lkn šb'n]  
“And my father lay down and went to his [fathers], and the king of I[s]rael  
invaded Qdm in my father's territory. [And there] Hdd made [me] the  
king, me, and Hdd passed before me [and] I set out on the seventh [day]  
of my rule and killed [seventy] k[ings.]”

In line 9, we find another *w* + *yiqtul*:

- j. [ml]k bytdwd w'sm [...] (l. 9)  
“[kin]g of the house of Dawid, and I put ...”

In line 8, the author probably used a *qṭal* form:

- k. wqtl[t 'yt 'ḥz]yhw  
“And I kill[ed 'Aḥz]yhw.”

Kottsieper assumes that *qṭal* was originally formed from stative verbs and *yiqtul* from actional ones. When *qṭal* was also applied to actional verbs, it indicated a state with an implied action, thus showing a close affinity to anteriority, and could also be used in narratives.<sup>14</sup> *yiqtulL* and *yiqtulS*, on the other hand, merely assigned an action to a person, irrespective of the mood which was rather determined by the context; the short form, however, had the additional

<sup>14</sup> Aspekte 70.

function of designating an action as a consequence of the previous one which made it time-bound. That function was expressed solely by the verb form, not by the usually preceding *w* as *yhk* in line 3 of the Tell Dan stela shows. *l* and *ʾl* were morphologically defined negations which were assigned to the long or short form but not special signa expressing indicative or vetitive situations.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, as Kottsieper assumes, the *q̄tal* forms in the two inscriptions simply state an action, while *yiq̄tuls* implies that it follows from another action. Applied to the Zkr-inscription, the thesis sounds convincing indeed. The siege, the construction of the wall and the deepening of the ditch can be thought of as simultaneous actions that are simply stated. As a result, Zkr raised his hands in prayer which was followed by the god's answer. The actions described in the Tell Dan inscription can also be thought of as consequences of the previous ones, while the killing of 'Aḥzyhw, which is expressed by *q̄tal*, may stand outside the sequence of events. On the other hand, however, it should not be forgotten that the *yiq̄tuls* forms can by no means be clearly identified as short forms, since they are all singular forms (see section 1 above), which Gzella (Cult. Hist. 82f) has already pointed out. It can therefore by no means be considered certain that the *yiq̄tuls* forms are necessarily morphological equivalents of the consecutive forms as they exist in Hebrew or Moabitic. Gzella assumes that these are long forms used as a historical present which has the function of expressing special dramatic vividness.<sup>16</sup>

Assuming that *yhk* in line 3 of the Tell Dan inscription is the long form of *yiq̄tuls*, another interpretation is possible: it may describe the situation as an accompanying circumstance: *My father laid down by going to his fathers*. Such a use is particularly popular in the Book of Daniel (see below ch. 5, sect. 14). All in all, it cannot be ruled out that the signa in question are short forms of *yiq̄tuls* and that they are used in the same way as *wayyiq̄tuls* in Hebrew, but this assumption is by no means compelling. And even if they are short forms, it is not possible to decide to what extent *w + yiq̄tuls* was actually characteristic of Aramaic or whether it is not rather due to the influence of Canaanite languages.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the PP is to be mentioned; unfortunately, the cotext is somewhat damaged so that the form cannot be analysed with absolute certainty. It is probably used in the sense of a resultative:

15 Summarised in Aspekte 68.

16 Ibid. 84.

17 On this point, see Degen, AG 114, note 21; Gzella, Cult. Hist. 83ff.

- l. 'm klby' šmn (AssL 7)  
 "They (have been and) are locked up with the dogs."

In the Hermopolis papyri, there is an example of hwā + qāṭil (= qṭal form of hwy + AP) that expresses the imperfective aspect:

- m. w'nh nktny ḥwyh whwt myt (H 5,8–9 = TAD A2.5, 8–9)  
 "And as for me, a snake bit me and I was dying / was about to die."

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

Only qṭal is attested in subordinate clauses.

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. [w]dy 'lhn hm zy šmw 'lhn (Sfiré I B,6)  
 "[And] treaties of the gods are they that the gods have made."<sup>18</sup>

The relative clause can have the syntactic function of a subject:

- b. mh ktbt '[nh Mt']l l-zkrn l-bry (Sfiré I C,1–3)  
 "What I[Mt']l have written is a record for my son."

### 2.2.2 Causal Clause

- c. 'l tzhl ky 'nh hml[ktk] (Zkr A,13)  
 "Do not fear for I have made you a k[ing]."

As examples a and b in particular show, qṭal can also express the nuances of an anterior.<sup>19</sup>

## 3 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category is attested in a temporal and a causal clause. The verb form used is qṭal:

<sup>18</sup> See further: Tell F. 1 (zy šm "who put"); Sfiré I A,7 (zy gẓr "which he closed"); Sfiré II B,2 (z[y] 'bdw "which they made"); Zkr A,16 (zy mḥ'w "who hit"); H 4,6 = TAD A2.1 (zy htty "whom you brought"); Latf 6–8 (zy ḥzwhy w'l 'ḥdwhy "who saw him and did not seize him").

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Degen, AG 106.

- a. wkzy ḥbwz 'lhn byt ['by h' h]wt l-'ḥrn (Sfiré III 24)  
 “And when the gods had struck the house [of my father, it w]as / belonged to someone else.”

The second *zy* in the following example must probably be understood causally:

- b. nšb' zy śm Br[h]dd br [...] mlk 'rm l-mr'h l-Mlqrt zy nzr lh wšm' l-[ql]h  
 (Brhdd 4–5)  
 “Stela, that Br[h]dd, son of [...], King of Aram, erected for his master, for Mlqrt because he had made a vow to him and he had heard his [voice].”

#### 4 Simultaneity with the Speech Time

The predicates of sentences expressing simultaneity with the speech time are predominantly nominal forms. The statement made about the subject has mostly an identifying character in these cases. In main clauses:

- a. 'nh B[r]rkb br Pnmw (Brrkb 1–2)  
 “I am B[r]rkb, son of Pnmw”,

or in subordinate clauses:

- b. kl 'lhy 'dy' zy b-spr' znh (attested quite often, e.g. Sfiré I B,23)  
 “All contract gods that are in this inscription.”<sup>20</sup>

There is a passage in Sfiré II C,2–3 in which the long form of *yīqṭul* presumably expresses an ongoing event:

- c. [wmn y]'mr l-hldt spry' [']ln mn-bty 'lhy 'n zy y[r]šmn  
 “[And whoever or]ders [th]ese inscriptions to be removed from the places of worship where they are (just) being written.”<sup>21</sup>

In the Sfiré inscription, Mt'ḷ is threatened in a series of comparative clauses what to expect in case of breach of contract. The sentences have the form *'yk zy ... kn*: *As this and that is the case, so it will happen to Mt'ḷ*. The statement made in no. e after *'yk zy* describes a generally valid, extratemporal

20 A complete overview is provided by Degen, AG 118f; see also H 3,8 = TAD A2.3(l' ḥy hw NN “is NN not my brother?”).

21 On this verb form, see Degen, AG 112, note 20.



circumstance, the sentence after *kn* refers to the future and is probably to be understood indicatively: *the same will happen to him*. In both sentences *yiqṭul* is used, and even if the spelling of the forms after *ʔk zy* does not allow for a clear identification, it can be assumed that it is the long form as after *kn* (see no. d):

- d. [w'ʔk zy] ygʒr 'gl' znh kn ygʒr Mt'l w ygʒrn rbwh (Sfiré I A,39–40)  
 “[And just as] this calf will be slaughtered, so will Mt'l be slaughtered and will his dignitaries be slaughtered.”
- e. ʔk zy tqd š'wt' z' b-š kn tqd 'rpd (Sfiré I A,35)  
 “Just as this wax burns in fire, so will 'Arpd burn.”<sup>22</sup>

The use of *yiqṭul* for the expression of extratemporal situations is also attested in the Sayings of Ahiqar:

- f. w'l'y tnyn ytbr k-mwt' (Cow., Ah.-S. 106 = TAD C1.1)  
 “And the ribs of a dragon breaks it (i.e. the king's tongue) like death.”<sup>23</sup>

Also *qṭal* is attested in the Sayings:

- g. m'n ṭb ks[y] mlh b-lbbh whw z[y] tbyr hnpqh br' (Cow., Ah.-S. 109 = TAD C1.1)  
 “A good vessel concea[ls] a word in its inner part, but one tha[t] is broken lets it go out.”

However, this example does not necessarily mean that *qṭal* was used to express extratemporal situations. Rogland (Remarks 422f) has shown that proverbs not infrequently refer to very specific singular situations in the past, as in: *Too much water drowned the miller*. So one can also translate here: *A good vessel concea[led] a word in its inner part, but one tha[t] was broken let it go out*.<sup>24</sup>

In Early Old Aramaic, the AP is attested in nominalised form:

22 For more examples, see Sfiré I A, 37–39.

23 See also: Cow., Ah.-S. 138 = TAD C1.1 ([zy] l' ytrwm “[who] is not proud”); Cow., Ah.-S. 107 = TAD C1.1 (mn hw zy yqwm qdmwhy “who is the one who could stand before him [i.e. the king]?”).

24 *ng'* and *pg'* in Cow., Ah.-S. 109 = TAD C1.1 can of course also be APs.

- h. kl 'll l-byt mlk (Sfiré I A,6)  
 “Anyone entering the Royal House = Anyone who has access to the Royal House.”<sup>25</sup>

Possible evidence of verbal use can be found in the inscription of Tell F.:

- i. dmwṭ' zy hdys'y zy śm qdm Hdd Skn gwgl šmyn w'rq mhnḥt 'sr wntn r'y  
 (1–2)

*mhnḥt* and *ntn* could be parallel to *gwgl* and represent other names of the god Hdd, in which case the participles would be nominal: *Hdd the channel inspector of heaven and earth, the bringer of abundance and the giver of pasture*. After *w'rq*, however, there could also begin an asyndetic relative clause<sup>26</sup> or a new clause; in this case, the two participles would have to be understood verbally, i.e.:

Statue of Hdys'y which he placed in front of Hdd of Skn, the channel inspector of heaven and earth who brings down abundance and gives pasture land.<sup>27</sup>

Another AP is found in Ner 2,4–6:

- j. b-ywm mtt pmy l't'ḥz mn-mln wb-yny mḥzh 'nh bny rb' bkwny

Hug (AG 13) interprets the expression *pmy l't'ḥz mn-mln* to mean that the person concerned was still able to speak at an advanced age and translates: “On the day I died, my mouth was not closed with words”. In this case, *mn* introduces the agent and one could understand the phrase in such a way that the words did not jam in the mouth and thus closed it but could still bubble out freely as speech. The following *mḥzh 'nh* seems to be clearly used verbally, with the missing tense marker for the past being striking. Maybe it describes the circumstances: *while I was looking with my eyes*. As regards *bny rb'*, I cannot think of anything better than the descendants of the fourth (generation)

25 See further: Sfiré I A,30 (klmh 'kl “every devouring one”); Sfiré III 4 (hn yqrq mny qrq “if a fleeing person flees from me”), and Hug, AG 122f.

26 On asyndetic relative clauses in Late Old Aramaic, see Hug, AG 135.

27 Further participles in this inscription which are similarly ambiguous can be found in lines 4 (m'dn) and 5 (ysb).

proposed by Hug (ibid). These could be the object of *mḥzh 'nh*, but they could also be the subject of a new sentence:

“On the day I died, my mouth was not closed (stuck) by words while I could still see with my eyes. The descendants of the fourth (generation) wept for me” or: “... while I could see with my eyes the descendants of the fourth (generation). They wept for me.”

Relatively often the AP is found in the Hermopolis papyri in a predicative function. It describes situations that take place in a not yet completed period:

- k. wk't ktnh zy htty ly Sw'n hy młbš 'nh (H 4,6–7 = TAD A2.1)  
“And now, the robe you brought me (to) Sw'n, I am wearing it.”
- l. NN wNN msbln lh (H 1,5 = TAD A2.3)  
“(Do not worry.) NN and NN are supporting him.”
- m. lh šbq 'nh lh kdy mṭ'h ydy wk't 'bd 'nh lh (H 3,4 = TAD A2.4)  
“(Do not worry.) I will not leave him alone as far as it is in my power, and now I am taking care of him.”<sup>28</sup>

As can be seen in no. m., the AP can also indicate posteriority to the speech time.

The coincidence case expressed by *qṭal* should also be mentioned here. This use of *qṭal* is only attested in the Hermopolis papyri:

- n. brkṭky l-Pṭḥ (H 1,2 = TAD A2.3)  
“I hereby bless you through Pṭah.”<sup>29</sup>

28 Muraoka (GEA, § 55e) is probably right when he postulates a functional difference between *mṭ'h* in this document and *tmṭh* in H 6,5 = TAD A2.6,5: *zbnny 'mr kzy tmṭh ydky* “buy wool as much as you can.” However, the difference is probably not of a modal nature, as Muraoka seems to assume, but rather seems to be related to the temporal relationship and thus the aspect. The imperative *zbnny* makes it clear that the situation described by *tmṭh* is still in the future, whereas *mṭ'h* clearly has present time reference. Further evidence of the AP can be found in: H 6,9 = TAD A2.6 (*'nhn b'n 'lp* “we are looking for a boat”); H 7,2 = TAD A2.7 (*w k'n 'lyky mtkl 'nh* “and now I trust in you”); H 2,3 = TAD A2.2 (*lh mns 'nh* “I am not removing [it]”). For some later examples of the AP, see Cohen, *Phrase nominale* 345f.

29 This phrase can be found in all Hermopolis papyri except H 7. See also Muraoka, GEA § 51b.

## 5 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 5.1 *Main Clauses*

It is often difficult to decide whether a verb form with future time reference should be understood indicatively or non-indicatively. A group of *yiqṭul* forms in *Sfiré I A* seem to be indicatives. Unfortunately, the preceding passage has been destroyed and it cannot be excluded that they are not part of main clauses but belong to apodoses, as the passages in question seem to refer to the consequences of a breach of contract. As can be seen from example no. d, the verbs represent *yīṭul* forms:

- a. *yhynqn 'lym w'l yšb'* (*Sfiré I A,22*)  
“They will suckle a child and it is not to be saturated.”
- b. *šb' bnth yhkn b-št lhm w'l* (*Sfiré I A,24*)  
“His seven daughters will go in search of food and they shall not [?]”<sup>30</sup>
- c. *šb' šnn y'kl 'rpd wšb' šnn t'kl twl'h* (*Sfiré I A,27*)  
“Seven years 'Arpd will eat, and seven years the worm shall (or: will) eat.”
- d. *yšllhn 'lhn mn-klmh 'kl b-'rpd* (*Sfiré I A,30*)  
“The gods will send any devourer to 'Arpd.”

Moreover:

- e. *mh ṭb b-'yny 'bd lhm* (*Sfiré III 3*)  
“What is good in my eyes, I will do with them.”

In addition, the evidence of comparative clauses after *kn* (see above section 4, nos. d and e) should be mentioned here.

Also in Late Old Aramaic texts, *yiqṭul* can express posteriority to the speech time:

- f. *'rh ml'kty 'šlh lk* (*AssL 19*)  
“Behold, my message I will send you.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The letters after *'l* are difficult to decipher; cf. Koopmans 11 50.

<sup>31</sup> Several other examples are listed in Hug, AG 117f.

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

yiqtulL is also used in subordinate clauses.<sup>32</sup>

### 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. kl mlky' zy ymlkn b-'rpd (Sfiré I B,22)  
 "All kings who will reign in 'Arpd."<sup>33</sup>

### 5.2.2 Temporal Clause

- b. whn ly[šb]n b-'rqk rqwhm 'd 'hk 'nh (Sfiré III 6)  
 "And if they are not (?) in your country, placate (?) them until I come."<sup>34</sup>

In a Hermopolis papyrus, the AP is attested with a verb of movement. According to the context, the person concerned is not yet on his way, so the situation is posterior:

- c. ytw b-yd NN br NN zy 'th l-mḥth ... (H 5,6 = TAD A2.5)  
 "They may have it brought by NN, son of NN, who will come to bring down ..."

One further example of an AP describing posteriority has already been given in section 4 (no. m) above.

## 6 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

There is one example of this category in a temporal clause after *kzy*; the verb form is *yiqtul*:

- a. kzy y'th NN 'šwr mn-'qb yhtb hmw l-NN (AssL 11)  
 "As soon as NN has come to Assur, he shall immediately send them back to NN."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Degen, AG 129.

<sup>33</sup> See further: Sfiré I B,34 (kl zy ysb "everyone who will surround"); Sfiré I C,20–21 (zy y'b[d] kn "when he will do so"); Sfiré I A,5 (zy ysqn b-'šr[h] "who will follow him"); Ner 1,5 (thns "you who will remove"); Ner 2,8 (t'sq wthnsy "you who will harass and drag away").

<sup>34</sup> *ly[šb]n* and *rqwhm* are very problematic; cf. Koopmans II 64 and Degen, AG 20, notes 82 + 83.

<sup>35</sup> For a further but rather uncertain example in AssL 20, see Hug, AG 117.

## 7 Non-indicative Clauses

### 7.1 Main Clauses

Wishes are expressed by *yiḡṭulS* or, in the inscription of Tell F., by *liḡṭul* which are found only in main clauses. *liḡṭul* with a prefixed *l-* is not attested in other North-Western Semitic languages except Samalian and represents an early isogloss between Eastern and Western Old Aramaic.<sup>36</sup> Wishes as well as imperatives are negated by *ʾl* + *yiḡṭulS*:

- a. *yšḥw šmk* (Ner 1,10)  
“They may eradicate your name.”
- b. *wlṣrʿ wʾl yḥṣd* (Tell F. 18–19)  
“May he sow and not harvest.”<sup>37</sup>
- c. *yšrw ʾlhn* (Sfiré I C,15)  
“May the gods preserve.”<sup>38</sup>

*yiḡṭulL* can be used in the sense of a jussive:

- d. *ʿqr [kl m]lky ʾrpd yḥskrn ly* (Sfiré III 3)  
“The descendants of [all the kings of Arpad] will (shall) deliver (them) to me.”<sup>39</sup>
- e. *NN wNN zy ḥṣwhy wʾl ʾḥdwhy lʾ yḥywn* (Latf 6–8)  
“NN and NN, who saw him and did not seize him, will (shall) not stay alive.”

Furthermore, we have to mention the compound imperative of *hwy* + *AP* (*hwī qāṭil*) which is almost only found in the Hermopolis papyri.<sup>40</sup> It is used to give an instruction to a second person; *y/hwy*, which is probably the short form, + *AP*, on the other hand, is a jussive indicating instructions to a third person (no. g):

<sup>36</sup> See Garr, *Dialect Geography* 118f.

<sup>37</sup> See further Z. 11 (*lšm* “may he put”); Z. 12 (*lhwy* “may he be”); Z. 22 (*llqṭw* “may they gather”).

<sup>38</sup> For further evidence from Early Old Aramaic, see Degen, *AG* 126; for Late Old Aramaic, see Hug, *AG* 130f.

<sup>39</sup> See also Degen, *AG* 124.

<sup>40</sup> An example of this compound outside the Hermopolis papyri is given by Cohen, *Phrase nominale* 345.

- f. whwy lqh šʿrn mn-NN (H 3,9 = TAD A2.4)  
 “And take (m.) barley from NN.”
- g. whwy yhbt ʿbr l-NN wyhwy zbn gšrn wšbq b-bth (H 2,14–15 = TAD A2.2)  
 “And give (f.) grain to NN, and he shall buy beams and store them in his house.”

*hwy yhbt* refers to a woman, so *yhbt* cannot be a qṭal form which should rather be *yhbty*. So it can only be an AP whose feminine ending is not written with -h but with -t as also in no. h.

The difference between hwī qāṭil and simple imperative is not easy to determine. Hug (AG 118) assumes here an opposition perfective (simple imperative): imperfective (hwī qāṭil); and indeed the example he gives can be interpreted in this sense:

- h. hwy ḥzyt ʿl-NN wʿl-brh wšlh̄y kl ṭʿm zy hwh b-byty (H 1,11–12 = TAD A2.3)  
 “Look after NN and her son and send a report about everything that happens in my house.”

Noematically, imperatives can be perfective or imperfective (see above chapter 1). The restrictions described for the perfective aspect also apply here with regard to the type of action, insofar as, for example, atelic or stative situations are more difficult to present perfectly than telic or punctual ones, but basically an imperative refers to the entire situation mentioned in it and is therefore perfective. If one now forms an imperative from “to be” and combines it with an imperfective verb form, the latter retains its imperfective character and the whole compound becomes imperfective: *be someone who is doing something*. Since in the examples of hwī qāṭil no reference points are given to which the situation mentioned in the imperative could proceed in parallel, one must assume that the writer asks the reader to look at the situation from the inside (cf. ch. 1, sect. 2). *ḥzy ʿl* in our example is an atelic expression and compatible with the imperfective aspect; if the reader is asked to look at this situation from the inside, it must appear to him as extended and he gets the impression that he has to look after NN with special perseverance. *šlh̄*, on the other hand, is punctual, and as long as it is a one-time sending, the situation is seen as a complete whole and is perfective. *hwy ḥzyt ʿl* is also used in H 7,2–3 (= TAD A2.7), but in H 1,11 one finds *hwy šlh̄*, and *lqh* as well as *yhbt* in nos. f and g are also punctual, so one should actually expect the simple imperative. Gianto assumes that hwī qāṭil expresses an injunction to perform a sustained effort, i.e.: *try to do ...* (Lost and Found 21). According to this approach, the compound

refers less to the action itself but more to the effort to perform it. This explanation fits well for no. f: *Try to take barley* ... but makes little sense in nos. g and h. And we have to bear in mind that *hwy yhbt* first of all means: *be someone who is giving* and not: *be someone who tries to give*. In this respect, I find Muraoka's assumption that *hwī qāṭil* expresses urgency and insistence (GEA § 55g) more appropriate. This view does not contradict the idea of an imperfective function of the compound. A situation that is described as it unfolds appears far more vivid and intensive than one that is simply depicted as a complete whole. Even if *hwī qāṭil* was originally used only with verbs whose type of action is compatible with the imperfective aspect, it is easy to imagine that the compound was soon applied with other verbs as well and then primarily expressed urgency and insistence. When the AP later – from Imperial Aramaic onwards – also referred to habitual situations, *hwī / yihwēs + qāṭil* could probably also express situations that were thought to be repeated or habitual. So I assume that both compounds were originally imperfective forms that were in opposition to the simple imperative and the short form of *yiqṭul*.

Finally, there is an example of a PP that is probably to be interpreted as non-indicative. It concerns a contractual clause that says that messengers can go their way unhindered. The PP has adjectival value:

- i. pṭḥh ly 'rḥ' (Sfiré III 7–9)  
“The way shall be open to me.”<sup>41</sup>

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

In Late Old Aramaic, a final clause introduced by *lm'n* is attested; the following *yiqṭul* is negated by *l*, so it must be the long form:

- a 'm-lbšy šmwny lm'n l-'ḥr lṭhns 'rṣty (Ner 2,7–8)  
“(Only) with my robe they buried me so that later on you would not remove my sarcophagus.”

Otherwise, the intentum of a final clause is usually expressed by *l* + infinitive:

- b. l-m'rk ywmwh w ... knn wyhb lh (Tell F. 5–10)  
“To prolong his days and ... he built (it) and gave (it) to him.”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The cotext to this example can be found below in section 8, no. n.

<sup>42</sup> See further: Sfiré III 11 + 15 (l-hmtty “in order to kill me”); AdonL 7 (l-mšlḥ ḥyl l-ḥšltn[y] “in order to send an army and to rescue m[e]”); see also Degen, AG 117; Hug, AG 138.



A sentence coordinated by *w* can be logically subordinated to the previous one:

- c. w'l ypq ḥsr wlyṭḥzh yrq (Sfiré I A,28)  
 “And not may grass come forth so that no vegetation can be seen.”<sup>43</sup>

The negation particle *l* shows that *yṭḥzh* must be the long form of *yiqṭul*.

The subordinate clause can also follow without *w*:

- d. brk y'th yqm dm bry (Sfiré III 11–12)  
 “Your son will come to avenge the blood of my son.”

## 8 Conditional Clauses

Let us start with the evidence of Early Old Aramaic. The conditional clauses usually refer to contractual clauses and determine what is expected of the contractual partner if an event specified in the protasis occurs. They are all real conditional clauses the protasis of which is introduced by *hn*, in the Hermopolis papyri also by *ḥ*, but can also be without introductory particle. In one case (no. f), the apodosis is introduced by *p*. The predicate of the protasis is usually a *yiqṭul*L form (cf. nos. b–e). The realisation of the situation mentioned in the protasis is considered possible and posterior to the speech time. In the apodosis *yiqṭul*S can be used if the consequence is to be understood non-indicatively:

- a. whn yšqr mṭ' [l wl-] brh wl-qrh thwy mlkth ḥl mlkt ḥlm (Sfiré I A,24–25)  
 “And if Mṭ' [l] deceives his son or descendants, his kingdom shall be sand, an illusionary kingdom (lit.: the kingdom of a dream).”<sup>44</sup>

Kottsieper considers *thwy* in the light of his thesis according to which *yiqṭul*S describes a situation as a consequence of a previous one. Against the non-indicative interpretation of *thwy* he puts forward the religious-historical argument that here the gods watched over the observance of the treaty, that

43 Cf. Degen, AG 128; see further: H 2,6–7 = TAD A2.2 (wtwšr lky 'mr “so that she send you wool”); H 6,9–10 = TAD A2.6 (wytwnh lkn “so that they bring him to you”); Cow., Ah.-S. 129 = TAD C1.1 (wtšb' “so that you be satiated”).

44 The division of the words assumed here: *mlkth ḥl mlkt ḥlm*, seems to me the most probable; cf. Koopmans II 50.

thus the sanctions could be thought of as certain and not merely desired.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the introduction of the treaty states that it was concluded before the gods, but we can assume that they will have watched over the entire treaty. And so the question arises as to why in the following passages the long form is used instead of the short form. Here, too, the apodoses follow directly the protases, and even if they are not sanctions, the situations of the main clauses are direct consequences of those of the subordinate clauses. Kottsieper's assertion that not the relationship between the two situations is emphasised here but rather the conclusion mentioned in the apodosis<sup>46</sup> can hardly convince. For example, no. e is primarily concerned with the person's benevolent behaviour, not with the conclusion mentioned in the apodosis which does not even refer to the contractual partner but to a third person; and yet the long form is used here. So I assume that *thwy* is meant here in an optative sense.

Here are the examples of the long forms. The consequence is stated as a fact and has an imperative undertone if it is a contractual obligation:

- b. hn y'th ḥd mlkn wysbn<ny> y'th ḥ[y]lk] (Sfiré I B,28)  
"If one of the kings comes and surrounds me, [your army ?] will come."
- c. hn 'y[t]y yqtlh 't t'th (Sfiré III 11)  
"If they kill me, you will come."
- d. hn yqrq mny qrq ... wyhkn Ḥlb lts[kl]hm lhm wlt'mr lhm ... (Sfiré III 4–6)  
"If a refugee flees from me ... and they come to Aleppo, you will not prov[ide th]em with food and you will not say to them ..."
- e. hn rqh trqh bnyhm lyqtl w ly'sr (Sfiré III 18)  
"If you are truly benevolent between them (mediate between them), he will not kill and he will not shackle."
- f. hn t'mr b-nbš ... [...] ... pl'khl l'šlh y[d ...] (Sfiré II B,5–6)  
"When you speak in your soul ... I cannot stretch out a ha[nd]."<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the qṭal forms *šqrt* and *šqrtm* "you have broken" are attested in the apodosis. The qṭal forms describe what happens automatically and simultaneously

45 Aspekte 63f.

46 Ibid. 64.

47 hn + yiqṭl is also attested four times in the Sayings of Ahiqar, namely in Cow., Ah.-S. 82; 124; 171; 192 = TAD C1.1.

with the realisation of the situation of the protasis which is, as Degen (AG 131) puts it, qualified by the apodosis:

- g.    *hn lthb lhmy [...] ... šqrt b-‘dy’ ’ln* (Sfiré I B,38)  
       “If you do not give my food ... you have broken these contracts.”<sup>48</sup>

*qṭal* is also found in the protasis:

- h.    *hn hšb zy ly ’hšb [zy lh]* (Sfiré III 20)  
       “If he has returned mine, I will return [his].”

We are talking here about refugees who may come to Brg’yh from surrounding states, while conversely refugees from Brg’yh’s dominion may flee there. Kottsieper regards *qṭal*, as already mentioned, as a verb form that describes a state with an inherent action and denies that it expresses anteriority here, i.e. that the foreign king must first have handed over his refugee before Brg’yh delivers the refugee who has fled to him. He rather assumes that a general situation is described in this passage.<sup>49</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that even if interpreted as a general fact, the situation of the protasis is anterior even if it does not refer to the speech time but to the situation of the apodosis. If one refrains from certain special cases, such as stative verbs in the protasis, in principle the fulfilment of the condition precedes the consequence, and this is also the case here; first the other king must hand over his refugees, then also Brg’yh will fulfil his obligation. We must, however, bear in mind that most of the other evidence listed above also describes general facts, and we have to ask why *qṭal* is not used there as well. It seems most likely to me that in this passage it serves the purpose of emphasising that the condition must be met before the consequence can follow.

The predicate of the protasis can also be a nominal form:

- i.    *whn mn-ḥd ’hy ... wyb’h ršy l-hmtty wl-hmtt bry w’qry hn ’y[t]y yqṭln ’t t’th wtqm dmy* (Sfiré III 9–11)  
       “Now if someone is one of my brothers ... and he wants my head to kill me and to kill my brother and my descendants, if they kill me, you will come and avenge my blood.”<sup>50</sup>

48    On *šqrt* and *šqrtm*, see further Sfiré I B,23; II B,9; III 3–4; III 6–7; III 14–17; III 22–23.

49    Aspekter 70, note 63.

50    On *mn-ḥd*, see Degen, AG 119, note 1.

- j.    *hn ḥd 'hy h' ... nkh tkh 'y<t>h* (Sfiré III 13)  
       “If it is one of my brothers ... hit him.”<sup>51</sup>

In the Sayings of Ahiqar, two APs are attested in the protasis:

- k.    *hn npqh ṭbh mn-pm 'nš' ṭb* (Cow., Ah.-S. 124 = TAD C1.1)  
       “If good things come out of a m[ans] mouth [it is good].”

Interestingly, the following sentence uses the *yiqtul* form *tnpq: whn lhyh tnpq [mn-] pmhm* “and if evil things come [out of] their mouth ...” One might assume that the choice of *yiqtul* is determined by the preceding subject, but in the Sayings it can also be used directly behind *hn* (see TAD C1.1), so the word order does not seem to be decisive here. The AP is therefore probably functionally identical with *yiqtul* in this case.<sup>52</sup>

The protasis can be shortened by *hn lhn* which refers to a previously mentioned contractual act and can be translated as “otherwise”. In the apodosis we always find *šqrt* or *šqrtm*.<sup>53</sup>

- l.    *whn lhn šqrtm l-kl 'lhy 'dy' zy b-spr' [znh]* (Sfiré III 3–4)  
       “Otherwise, you have become in breach of all the gods of the treaty which are in [this] inscription.”<sup>54</sup>

Let us now turn to *hn lw* in the protasis. In the Sayings of Ahiqar we find an example of *hn lw* followed by *yiqtul*. The condition is intended to be fulfillable:

- m.    *'l thḥšk brk mn-ḥṭr hn lw l' tkhl thnšln[hy mn-b'yšt']* (Cow., Ah.-S. 81 = TAD C1.1)  
       “Do not spare your son the rod if you cannot prevent [him from evil].”

It is difficult to determine the difference to simple *hn* + *yiqtul* which is also attested in the Sayings (see above). *hn lw* may introduce a kind of potentialis corresponding to: *si hoc dixeris* ... “if you should say so ...” The fulfilment of the condition is therefore considered possible in principle, but the speaker

51 On the amendment of /t/ in 'y<t>h, see Koopmans II 66; further evidence can be found in: Sfiré III 12–13 (*qryh h' ... nkh tk<n>h*); Cow., Ah.-S. 115 = TAD C1.1 (*rḥym – yšymwn*).

52 The other AP is found in Cow., Ah.-S. 149 = TAD C1.1 (*hn šbh 'nt*).

53 On *hn lhn*, see Koopmans II 57 and Degen, AG 133f.

54 On *hn lhn*, see also Sfiré III 9, 14 and 20.

emphasises that this is only a theoretical assumption. The expectation regarding the fulfilment of the condition is therefore lower.

Finally, the conditional clause can also be without any marking:

- n. wkl mlky' zy šrty 'w kl zy rḥm h' ly w'šlh ml'ky '[l]wh l-šlh 'w l-kl ḥpšy 'w yšlh ml'kh 'ly pthh ly 'rḥ' (Sfiré III 7–9)  
 “Any king of my surroundings or anyone who is well-disposed towards me – if I send my messenger to him with a message or whatever my desire is, or he sends his messenger to me, the way shall be open to me.”<sup>55</sup>

In the Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt, the protasis often has a *qṭal* form when it directly follows *hn* (see below ch. 4); this use is also attested in the Hermopolis papyri:

- o. 'n 'škḥt š mḥymn 'th lkn md'm (H 4,9–10 = TAD A2.1)  
 “If I find someone reliable, I will send you something.”<sup>56</sup>

In the other Late Old Aramaic texts, two conditional clauses are attested. The first one has *yiqṭul* in the protasis:

- p. whn tṣr šlm' w'rṣt' z' 'hrh yṣr zylk (Ner 1,11–14)  
 “But if you protect the image and this burial place, from now on may be protected what is yours.”

The predicate of the protasis in the second case can be a *qṭal* form or an AP:

- q. hn lh ntn š'ry' zy b-'dr' š'r[y' y]rb[h] (CI 1,4)  
 “If he does not return the barley which is on the threshing floor, [the] barley [will] bear interest.”

## 9 Summary

### 9.1 *Qṭal*

*qṭal* expresses anteriority to the speech time in main and subordinate clauses regardless of the type of action, and it presumably also indicates this category

<sup>55</sup> See further Sfiré III 19–21.

<sup>56</sup> *yhb* in *hn yhb* and *hlh yhb*, attested in H 2,8, 9 + 10, is probably an inner passive of *yiqṭul*: *if it be given*. *hn yhb* in line 16 must be an active form, but it is hard to decide whether it represents *qṭal*, *yiqṭul* or an AP.

in a proverb from the Sayings of Ahiqar and not the extratemporalis (4). The situations are mostly singular, but qṭal also seems to express habitual ones. Furthermore, it can be used in the function of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). It also expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past (3), in the apodosis of conditional clauses, it indicates that a consequence follows immediately and automatically if the condition is not fulfilled and thus qualifies the situation of the protasis: *if you do this and that, you have broken the contract* (šqrṭm). After *hn* / 'n, it can express, besides yiqṭul, real conditions with reference to the present / future (Hermopolis papyri). In another protasis with future time reference from the Sfiré inscription, it probably emphasises that the condition must first be fulfilled before the consequence can follow (8). In the Hermopolis papyri, finally, qṭal expresses the coincidence case (4).

### 9.2 *Yiqṭul*

w + yiqṭul expresses anteriority to the speech time in three passages of the Zkr inscription and a few more on the Tell Dan stela. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the evidence whether these are actually short forms as in the corresponding construction in Hebrew and Moabite. They could also be long forms used in the meaning of a historical present. And even if they are short forms, it had to be left open to what extent this construction was actually peculiar to Old Aramaic or if it was rather a borrowing from Canaanite (2.1). In one example, yiqṭulL probably indicates a situation in progress, moreover it expresses habitual, extratemporal and future situations (4; 5.1 + 5.2). In a temporal clause after *kzy*, yiqṭul denotes anteriority to a reference point in the future (6). The short form of yiqṭul, in the inscription of Tell Fekheriye with the prefix l-, indicates wishes in main clauses and is negated by 'l. The long form can also denote instructions addressed to a second or third person: *they will certainly do so*. Furthermore, yiqṭulL is attested in a final clause after *lm'n* "so that", otherwise the intension of such a sentence is usually expressed by l + infinitive or by coordinating two sentences, the second of which is logically subordinate (7.1 + 7.2). Finally, the long form is used in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses with reference to the present / future and is attested once in the Sayings of Ahiqar after *hnlw* (8).

### 9.3 *Qāṭil*

In Early Old Aramaic, the AP is attested only in a nominalised form, but it is found in verbal use in the Hermopolis papyri and possibly in the inscriptions of Ner 2 and Tell F.; simple AP is used in the Hermopolis papyri to denote situations that are still in progress, the other examples are too uncertain to draw conclusions regarding the function (4). In two examples (Hermopolis), the APs of 'th "to come" and šbq "to leave" express posteriority to the speech time (5.2).

In the Hermopolis papyri, the compound *hwā + qāṭil* is attested and describes a punctual situation (dying) as imperfective which thus becomes atelic: *I was dying / was about to die* (2.1). In the same papyri, *hwī + qāṭil* expresses instructions to a second person, *yihwēS + qāṭil* instructions to a third person. This compound probably originally had a purely imperfective meaning (7.1). Finally, in the Sayings of Ahiqar, it is used after *hn* in real conditional clauses of the present / future (8).

#### 9.4 *Qṭil*

The PP *šmn* is used in a predicative function and probably has a resultative meaning: *they (have been and) are locked up* (2.1). Another example is *pthh* “open” that is used with the meaning of an adjective (7.1).

### 10 Analysis

Due to the relatively small size of the Old Aramaic text corpus, which is also largely limited to discussing texts, an analysis of the verbal system is only possible with reservations. It is by no means inconceivable that verb forms were in use that are not or only insufficiently attested due to the nature of the texts, as might be the case with the participle in Early Old Aramaic. With these reservations in mind, let us now look first at *qṭal* in Early Old Aramaic.

Its use for the expression of anteriority to the speech time can be interpreted temporally or aspectually; however, it indicates not only singular but presumably also habitual situations which rather speaks for a temporal character. The same applies to the fact that no imperfective counterpart can be proven, although this can of course be due to the nature of the evidence. On the other hand, *qṭal* is also used with the meaning of an anterior, and here it is not the temporal marking as past that is decisive but the completion of the situation from which a consequence for the present results. The use in the apodosis of conditional clauses is to be interpreted in the same way; the situation described by *šqrtm* can hardly be regarded as past but very well as completed. And also the use for the expression of anteriority to a reference point in the past rather points to an aspectual character of *qṭal*, since, as explained above (ch. 1, sect. 7), one and the same aspect form can easily express anteriority to the speech time and to a reference point in the past at the same time but hardly a tense form. And if we are correct in our interpretation of *qṭal* after *hn*, that is to say, that it emphasises the completion of the situation, this also speaks for its aspectual character. If we also take into consideration that the evidence regarding the expression of habitual situations is by no means

unambiguous and that the speaker or writer may also have perceived them as iterative and as completed, we can regard *q̄tal* without too much boldness as a marked verb form for the expression of the perfective aspect.<sup>57</sup> Finally, the use of a verb form to express the coincidence case allows only very limited conclusions to be drawn about its temporal or aspectual character, as explained above in chapter 1, sect. 7.

The second main verb form is *yiq̄tulL*. It probably denotes simultaneity with the speech time, habitual / extratemporal situations of the present and posteriority to the speech time. It therefore does not seem to be marked aspectually or temporally but rather modally as an indicative form of the present and future. The fact that it can also denote anteriority to a reference point in the future does not speak against this interpretation; first of all, this use is indicative, too, and moreover *yiq̄tulL* is attested in this function only in subordinate clauses in which the anteriority is already expressed by means of corresponding subordinators so that there is no need to attribute any temporal or aspectual properties to the verb form itself. Its use in conditional and final clauses does not argue against its interpretation as an indicative form either; in this case, the use of subordinators such as *hn* and *lm'n* clarifies the non-indicative character of the situations so that an indicative verb form can also be used here. The long form of *yiq̄tul* is thus a marked indicative form of the present and future.

The evidence from Tell Fekheriye is too uncertain to conclude with certainty that the participle is used in a verbal function.

The verbal system of Early Old Aramaic is dominated by an anterior perfective form (*q̄tal*) to which, however, no imperfective counterpart can be proven. In the modal domain, the following opposition pair can be identified:

*yiq̄tulL* (indicative) : *yiq̄tulS* (non-indicative)

The system is complemented by the imperative. What role *w + yiq̄tul* plays in this system must be left open.

In Late Old Aramaic, clearly visible in the Hermopolis papyri, the AP penetrates the verbal system. Despite its occasional use to indicate posteriority to the speech time, it has to be regarded as a marked imperfective form. It expresses imperfective situations of the present, whereas habitual situations are denoted by *yiq̄tulL* which, however, is probably still primarily an indicative form and thus forms an opposition pair with *yiq̄tulS*, not with the AP. The

57 This is also how Cohen (Phrase nominale 339) interprets *q̄tal*.



functional load of *yiqṭulL* is thus reduced while at the same time the verbal system becomes significantly more differentiated. The compounds with the AP are also to be regarded as imperfective. Combined with a *qṭal* form of *hwy*, it forms the imperfective counterpart of *qṭal*: *I was dying* : *I died*.

Late Old Aramaic has nine marked verb forms: *qṭal*, *yiqṭulL*, *yiqṭulS*, *qāṭil*, *hwā + qāṭil*, *yihwēS + qāṭil*, *hwī + qāṭil*, *qṭil + S*-suffix, imperative.

With past time reference, there exists the aspectual opposition:

*qṭal* (anterior perfective) : *hwā + qāṭil* (anterior imperfective)

The existence of a corresponding opposition for the future could not be proven. According to the definition given above (ch. 1, sect. 7), *qāṭil* and *yiqṭulL* cannot be considered an oppositional pair because they belong to different grammatical classes (aspectual and modal).

In the non-indicative realm, at least in the Hermopolis papyri, there are two aspectual oppositions; in the second person:

imperative (perfective) : *hwī + qāṭil* (imperfective),

in the third person:

*yiqṭulS* (perfective) : *yihwēS + qāṭil* (imperfective)

## Imperial Aramaic

### o The Text Corpus

The following texts were evaluated:

**TAD:** Textbook of Aramaic Documents. This collection, consisting of four volumes and published by Porten and Yardeni, comprises the texts from ancient Egypt published up to that time.

**WDSP:** Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri = Aramaic documents written in Samaria between 450 and 332 BC, quoted according to Dušek, Samarie.

**Bac.:** The Bactrian archive with Aramaic manuscripts from 353 to 324 BC, including the correspondence between 'Aḥmzd, probably governor of Bactria, and his subordinate Bgwnt, quoted according to Naveh-Shaked, Bactria.

At this point I would like to make a general remark on translations. If the publication of an Aramaic text includes an English translation, this is usually adopted, provided that it agrees with my own interpretation, without this being stated expressly.

**Preliminary Remarks:** Even if the texts summarised here under the term Imperial Aramaic show a considerable degree of standardisation, they can by no means be regarded as a homogeneous whole from a linguistic point of view. Kutscher (Aramaic 362f) has shown on the basis of selected isoglosses that a distinction must be made between a western and an eastern variety of Imperial Aramaic.

The texts were written by different scribes at different places over a period of more than 100 years, the places where they were found probably only rarely corresponding to the places of origin. The documents of the Aršam correspondence published by Driver, for example, were most likely not written in Egypt but in one of the Persian centres. The variations resulting from these circumstances have been investigated by Folmer (Variation).

Different genres of text witnesses are to be distinguished. Legal documents recording divorces, sales and the like are very strongly represented (e.g. Cow. 29 + 35 + 44; Krael. 6, the papyri from Samaria). The texts can be private (e.g. Cow. 42 + 80) or official like the Aršam correspondence or the correspondence between 'Aḥmzd and Bgwnt in Bactria. Literary texts form another group. First of all, the Ahiqar Narrative (Ah.-N.) should be mentioned which, as already

indicated above (chapter 2), has to be linguistically separated from the Sayings of Ahiqar. The literary genre also includes the rather short Bar Punesh narrative (Cow. 71 = TAD C1.2), and finally we have to mention the Behistun inscription which describes the campaigns of Darius I (Cow. Beh. = TAD C2.1).

## 1 The Verb Forms

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

The suffix conjugation has the following endings:

|      | sg.    | pl.          |
|------|--------|--------------|
| 3.m. | qṭl    | qṭl-w        |
| 3.f. | qṭl-t  | qṭl-w        |
| 2.m. | qṭl-t  | qṭl-tm / -tn |
| 2.f. | qṭl-ty | qṭl-tn       |
| 1.   | qṭl-t  | qṭl-n        |

Example:

yḥbt (Cow. 2,3 = TAD B4.4) “you gave”.

It is negated by *l'* or *lh*.<sup>1</sup> The passive voice can be expressed by using a t-stem or an internal passive:

š'yltm (Cow. 20,8 = B2.9) “you were interrogated”.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

As in Old Aramaic, a short and a long form can be distinguished which often coincide graphically. The long forms are:

|      | sg.        | pl.          |
|------|------------|--------------|
| 3.m. | y-qṭl      | y-qṭl-(w)n   |
| 3.f. | t-qṭl      | not attested |
| 2.m. | t-qṭl      | t-qṭl-(w)n   |
| 2.f. | t-qṭl-(y)n | t-qṭln       |
| 1.c. | '-qṭl      | n-qṭl        |

<sup>1</sup> See Muraoka, GEA §83.

<sup>2</sup> On the suffix conjugation, see Muraoka, GEA § 24 a–g.

In the 2.sg.f. and the 2. and 3.pl.m. there is a graphical distinction between *yiqtūL* and *yiqtūS*. In these cases the long form ends in -n which is apocopied in the short form:

l' ykhlwn “they will not be able” : yntnw “may they give”.<sup>3</sup>

With verba III y, short and long forms are also graphically distinguished in the 2.sg.m. and 3.sg.m./f. The long form is written with -h at the end, the short form with -y:

yhwh “he is” : yhw y “may he be”.<sup>4</sup>

However, the two forms are not always consistently distinguished. Compare: *kn yd[y]’ yhw h lk* (Driver 4,3 = TAD A6.8) “may it be known to you” and *kn ydy’ yhw y lk* (Driver 7,8 = TAD A6.10).<sup>5</sup> The long form is negated by l’ or lh, the short form by l.<sup>6</sup>

As in Old Aramaic, an /-n-/ can be added to a *yiqtūL* form also in Imperial Aramaic which historically is probably related to the Arabic *nūn-energicum*<sup>7</sup> and which will be discussed in more detail at this point. The /-n-/ occurs almost exclusively between verb form and object suffix: *yplh nk* (Krael. 4,11 = TAD B3.6) “he will serve you”. If an object suffix is added to a *yiqtūL* form that ends in -n, i.e. a 2.sg.f., 2. or 3.pl.m. (e.g. *yršwn km* [Cow. 20,13 = TAD B2.9]), the question arises as to whether the /-n-/ before the object suffix is the ending of the *yiqtūL* form or the /-n-/ that probably goes back to an *energicus* form. It is quite conceivable that /-n-/ represents // -nn- // in these cases, i.e. that /-n-/ expresses both the ending and the *nūn-energicum*. This is obviously the case in forms such as *ישמשוהו* (D 7,10) “they serve him” in Biblical Aramaic. The question cannot be answered with absolute certainty, but forms such as *ygrw hy* (Padua 2,4 = TAD A3.4) at least show that the *nūn-energicum* is not attached to *yiqtūS*.

The contexts of the verb forms with and without /-n-/ in front of an object suffix are not always clear enough to determine their exact function, but Folmer (Variation 244, 497f) seems to be right in claiming that *yiqtūS* and *yiqtūL* forms

3 Cow. 8, 15 = TAD B2.3 and Driver 8, 3 = TAD A6.11.

4 See also Muraoka, GEA § 24 h-k + § 37.

5 See also Muraoka, GEA § 37d.

6 See Muraoka, GEA § 83.

7 On this question, see also Beyer, ATTM 476; Folmer, Variations 241ff; Muraoka, GEA p. 107, note 493.

without /-n-/ in front of object suffixes are marked as volitive, while those with /-n-/, i.e. *yiqṭulL* and *yiqṭul* forms with /-n-/ in front of object suffixes, are not.

*yiqṭul* without a following object suffix but with /-n/ is attested only once in Imperial Aramaic texts: *šlmn* (Cow. 35,5 = B4.6,5) “I will pay”; three further examples are found in the Sayings of Ahiqar.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the four examples do not allow a precise determination of the function of /-n/, but Leander (LFÄ 41) makes the interesting observation that all verbs are transitive and one must still think of an object behind them. Syntactically, they are therefore in positions where otherwise an /-n-/ is to be expected.

In any event, a functional difference between *yiqṭulL* and the form extended by /-n-/ cannot be determined.<sup>9</sup>

The passive voice is usually expressed by a t-stem, I have only one example of an inner passive:

l' tšbq (Bac. A6,11) “you shall not be set free”.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The active participle, in the G-stem *qṭl*, in the non-G-stems with the prefix m-, has the following forms:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| sg.m. | qṭl      |
| sg.f. | qṭl-h    |
| pl.m. | qṭl-(y)n |
| pl.f. | qṭl-n    |

The AP can be combined with an inflected *qṭal*-, *yiqṭul*- or imperative form of *hwy* that precede the participle (*hwā* + *qāṭil*, *yihwē* + *qāṭil*, *hwī* + *qāṭil*); only in the case of stative verbs do the *hwy* forms follow the AP, *hwy* and AP being written as two words.

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

The passive participle, in the G-stem *qṭyl*, in the non-G-stems with the prefix m-, has the same endings.<sup>10</sup> The PP can be followed by a *qṭal*- or *yiqṭul* form of *hwy*; as with the AP, the participle and *hwy* are written as two words.

8 l' tqlḥn (Cow., Ah.-S. 119 = TAD C1.1) “do not take!”; hn šbqn (ibid. 82) “if I leave”; hn y'ḥdn (ibid. 171) “if he takes”. Cf. Muraoka, GEA § 24l.

9 Cf. Muraoka, GEA § 53g.

10 See Muraoka, GEA § 24 o + § 30.

### 1.5 *Imperative*

The imperative has the following endings:

|       |                            |
|-------|----------------------------|
| sg.m. | qṭl                        |
| sg.f. | qṭl-y                      |
| pl.m. | qṭl-w                      |
| pl.f. | not attested <sup>11</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Singular situations that are anterior to the speech time are expressed in both narrative and discussing passages by qṭal, regardless of the type of action. The evidence is so numerous that I will limit myself to one example each:

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. yḥbt ʾl-ydn š'[m] (Cow. 2,3 = TAD B4.4)  
 "You gave us bar[ley]."

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- b. ktb NN spr' znh (often at the end of documents, e.g. Cow. 5,15 = TAD B2.1;  
 6,16–17 = B2.2; 14,11 = B2.8)  
 "NN wrote this document."

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. ʾḥr š'yltm (Cow. 20,8 = TAD B2,9)  
 "Afterwards you were interrogated."

#### 2.1.4 Stative

- d. dhlt lm ʾḥyqr (Cow. Ah.-N. 45 = TAD C1.1)  
 "There I was, Ahiqar, truly terrified."

<sup>11</sup> See Muraoka, GEA § 24 n.

The passive use of *qṭal*, as in no. c, is mostly attested with the G-stem of *šym*, *yhb*, *šlh* and *š'l*<sup>12</sup> but also of *'bd*, *qṭl*, *šbq*<sup>13</sup> and with the D-stem of *mny* “to appoint”. The agent can be introduced by *mn*:

- e. *mn-tr' mr'y gbrn mnyw* (Bac. A1,6–7)  
 “By the court of my lord men were appointed.”<sup>14</sup>

The situation can remain indefinite in time as in the examples listed above or can be specified by a date:

- f. *b-ywm X'mr NN l-NN* (inter alia Cow. 1,1–3 = TAD B5.1; Beh. 3 = TAD C2.1)  
 “On day X, NN spoke to NN.”

The asyndesis of two verb forms is not uncommon; in this case, the situation expressed by the second verb form not only follows the previously mentioned one in time but is also logically mostly subordinate:

- g. *NN lqh 'bd l-npšh* (Driver 12,6 = TAD A6.15)  
 “NN took and made his own.”<sup>15</sup>

In an interesting example from Cow. 14,4–5 (= TAD B2.8), the AP describes a completed situation in the past:

- h. *'dyn mwm'h mṭ'h lyky wym'ty ly*  
 “Then the oath came to you (= was imposed on you) and you swore to me.”

The introductory *'dyn* and the following *ym'ty* make the perfective character of the situation expressed by *mṭ'h* clear.<sup>16</sup> Muraoka (GEA § 55d) interprets *mṭ'h* as a historical present tense form and quotes another form (*'mr*) which has quite clearly past time reference and is probably an AP. All in all, there are two examples that cannot be brought in line with the other use of the AP (see below), and I think that one should not attach too much importance to them. It does not seem unlikely to me that *mṭ'h* is a misspelling of *mṭ't*.

12 Cf. Folmer, Variation 38off.

13 Cf. Muraoka, GEA § 30 + 54.

14 Other passive constructions from Bactria can be found in: Bac. A1,3 (*š'yl* “was interrogated”); A1,4 (*l' 'myr* “was not pronounced”); A1,5 (*šlyh*, *šym* “was sent, was put”); C1, 46 (*yhyb* “was given”).

15 Further examples can be found in Muraoka, GEA § 73b.

16 On this sentence, see also Gzella, TAM 131.

The compound *qṭyl ly* (= *qṭille*), which will be discussed in more detail below (ch. 12, sect. 1.4), is attested twice. The situation expressed by the *PP* is anterior to its reference point which may coincide with the speech time or a point in the past. In sentences that are subordinated to a superordinate sentence with past time reference, it thus describes anteriority in the past (see 4.2 below). After the preposition *l-* the subject is introduced. *qṭille* seems to be limited to discussing passages:

- i. *wk'n tnh kn šmy' ly kzy ...* (Driver 7,3 = TAD A6.10)  
 “And now I have heard here that ...”

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

The most common form in subordinate clauses is *qṭal*. In these cases, the superordinate sentence usually has present time reference; *qṭal* can have the meaning of an anterior as in no. a:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. *h' šmht gbry' zy 'štkḥw b-bb' ...* (Cow. 34,4 = TAD A4.4)  
 “These are the names of the men who have been found at the gate ....”<sup>17</sup>

### 2.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- b. *b-yṛḥ Tmwz ... kzy NN npq w'zl 'l-mlk' kmry' ... lm* (Cow. 30,4–5 = TAD A4.7)  
 “In the month of Tmwz ... when NN went off and went to the king, the priests (said) ... as follows: ...”<sup>18</sup>

### 2.2.3 Causal Clause

- c. *kzy nkisy' [']lh wksp' zy ktybn b-spr' znh b-rḥmn yhbt lkm k'n šbyt 'hnšl hm* (Cow. 18,2–3 = TAD B6.4)  
 “Since I gave you these goods and this money, which are listed in this document, as a voluntary gift, I wish to take them away now.”

<sup>17</sup> See also: Cow. 8,23 = TAD B2.3 (*zy NN ktbly* “that NN wrote for me”); Krael. 4,4–5 = TAD B3.5 (*zy yldty ly* “whom you gave live to for me”); Berlin 23000,4–5 = TAD A3.10 (*zy 'nh yhbt* “that I gave”); Bac. A1,7 (*zy ... šbqw* “who released”); Bac. A5,1 (*zy mny šym ṭ'm* “which was ordered by me”); Bac. C4,22 (*zy NN gbh* “what NN collected”).

<sup>18</sup> See further Cow. 6,1–2 = TAD B2.2 (*kzy NN mlk' ytb b-krs'h* “when king NN sat on his throne”).



### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

To describe habitual situations in the past, the AP and the participle of the t-stems (3.2. no. b) can be combined with a qṭal form of hwy. If this compound expresses a dynamic situation, hwy usually precedes the AP (no. a), if the situation is stative, hwy follows (no. b):<sup>19</sup>

- a. ybltk l-byt' zyly tmh hwyt msbl lk (Cow, Ah.-N. 48 = TAD C1.1)  
"I brought you into my house. There I took care of you."<sup>20</sup>
- b. l' khl hwyt b-ydy (Krael. 9,17 = TAD B3.10)  
"I was not able (to work) with my hands."

In one place, we find a qṭal form of hwy followed by yiqṭul. However, the context is too badly damaged for the habitual character of the situation to be known with certainty:

- c. hwyt šlh šlmk (Cow. 41,3 = TAD A3.5)  
"I used to (?) send you greetings."

It seems unlikely that *hwyt šlh* is a misspelling and that the scribe had *hwyt šlh*, i.e. hwā + qāṭil, in mind, since immediately before this it says: *hwh y[']th*, i.e. the same compound is used.

#### 3.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

- a. [l'h gbr]y' zy qmn 'my hww '[d] 'nh [qṭlt] l-G[w]m[t] (Cow., Beh. 59 = TAD C2.1)  
"[These are the me]n who stood by me un[til] I [killed] G[au]ma[ta]."
- b. wmnḥt' wlbwnt' yqrbwn 'l-mdbḥ' zk lqbl zy l-qdmyn hwh mt'bd (Cow. 32,9–11 = TAD A4.9)  
"And they may make meal and incense offerings on that altar as it was done before."

19 See Muraoka, GEA § 55g.

20 See also: Cow. 17,3 = TAD A6.1 (hww šlh'n 'ly "they used to send me"); Cow. 30,15 = TAD A4.7 (lbšn hwyn wšymyn "we used to wear and to fast").

- c. 'bdw 'l-byt' zyly kn kzy pqydy' [qd]my' hww 'bdn (Driver 7,7–8 = TAD A6.10)  
 "Make (it = add to) to my property, as the [for]mer officials used to do."
- d. whlk' lqbl zy qdmn pmwn 'bwhy hwh ḥšl yḥšl 'l-byt' zyly (Driver 7,5–6 = TAD A6.11)  
 "And he shall pay the *hlk* tax into my estate corresponding to that which his father Pmwn used to pay before."<sup>21</sup>
- e. nsbl l-NN ... kzy hwyn 'bdn lk b-hyyk (Krael. 5,12–13 = TAD B3.6)  
 "We will care for NN ... as we used to care for you during your lifetime."

The evidence shows that hwā + qāṭil can be used for situations of very different durations. The situations in nos. 3.1 a and 3.2 b are not limited in time and can be regarded as habitual. The assistance in 3.2 a, on the other hand, only lasted until the killing of Gaumata, and also the care in 3.1 a was not habitual but limited to a certain circumstance and a fixed period of time. What the evidence has in common is that the situations occurred repeatedly.

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 Main Clauses

Situations that had taken place before a reference point in the past are not frequently attested in main clauses. In the only example I know of, qṭal is used:

- a. 'p qdmt znh b-'dn zy z' b'yšt' 'byd ln 'grh šlhñ mr'n (Cow. 30,17–18 = TAD A4.7)  
 "Also before that, at the time when this evil had been done to us, we had sent a letter to our Lord."

##### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

qṭal is used in subordinate clauses, too:

21 On ḥšl see Hoftijzer / Jongeling, Dictionary I 412.

## 4.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. 'nḥn yḥbn lky plg mn[t]' zy yḥbw ln dyny mlk' (Cow. 1,2–3 = TAD B5.1)  
 “We gave you half the shar[e] that the king’s judges had given us.”<sup>22</sup>

The compound hwā + qāṭil can indicate anteriority to a reference point in the past, too. The situation in the following example is resultative. Both the action and the following state are anterior:

- b. wbgħ zy hwh mhḥsn NN ... 'štbq (Driver 8,2 = TAD A6.11, 2)  
 “And the fief that NN had (taken possession of and then) owned ... was abandoned.”

NN was already dead at that time, i.e. *mhḥsn* was earlier.

Furthermore, qṭil + hwā is attested in two cases. It seems to be used as an anterior in both cases:

- c. byt mdbḥ' zy 'lh šmy' zy b-Yb byrt' bnh hwh mn-qdmn qdm NN (Cow. 32,2–6 = TAD A4.9)  
 “The altar house of the god of heaven which had been built in the fortress Yb even before (the time of) NN.”
- d. k't 'yty gbrn ... kl 13 'bšwkn mmnyn hww byn bgy' zyly ... 'ḥr kzy Mšryn mrdt ... (Driver 5,2–6 = TAD A6.7)  
 “Now there are men (list of names), together 13 'bšwkn, who had been appointed in my fiefs ... Afterwards, when Egypt rebelled ...”

No. d can also be understood resultatively: *who were appointed*.

Also simple qṭil can denote anteriority:

- e. šym ṭ'm gbry' 'lk 'štrpny' zy 'syrn l-mšbq (Bac. A1,5)  
 “Order was given to release those men, the camel keepers, who had been detained.”

In temporal and causal clauses qṭal and qṭille (no. g) are attested:

<sup>22</sup> See further: Cow. 30,16–17 = TAD A4.7 (zy b'w “who had wanted”); Cow. 30,16 = TAD A4.7 (zy qnh “that he had acquired”); Cow. 38,3–4 = TAD A4.3 (zy ḥšklw “which they had found”); Krael. 12,31 = TAD B3.12 (zy ktb ln NN “that NN had written for us”).

## 4.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- f. wkzy kznh 'byd 'nḥnh 'm-nšyn wbnyn šqqn lbšn hwyn wšymyn wmslyn  
l-Yhw (Cow. 30,15 = TAD A4.7)  
“And when these things had been done, we wore sackcloth with our  
women and children and fasted and prayed to Yhw.”<sup>23</sup>

The temporal clause refers to the destruction of the Yhw temple, so the wearing of sackcloth and fasting as a sign of mourning must be posterior.

- g. ktbṭ 'grt' z' kzy kn šmy' ln l-'mr: ... (Padua 1,13 = TAD A3.3)  
“I wrote this letter after we had heard as follows: ...”

## 4.2.3 Causal Clause

- h. 'p šgw' NN mlk' ṛḥmny 'l zy ḥḥytk wl' qṭtk (Cow., Ah.-N. 51 = TAD C1.1)  
“King NN was also very pleased with me because I had let you live and  
not killed you.”

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

One speaks of simultaneity with a reference point in the past when the situations in the main and subordinate clauses are parallel and thus represent reference points to each other; in this case both situations are imperfective. Moreover, only one of the two situations can be thought of as continuous and imperfective, while the other, which represents the reference point, is perfective: *his brother was reading the newspaper when he entered the room* (cf. above ch. 1, sect. 2).

Driver 7,1–2 = TAD A6.10 is an example of the first case; the verb form in the subordinate clause is clearly qṭal, the one in the main clause probably as well, although according to the form it could also be an AP:

- a. qdmn kzy mšry' mrdw 'dyn NN pqyd' qdmy' grd' wnksy' zyly [zy] b-Mšryn  
ḥsyn nṭr  
“In the past, when the Egyptians rebelled, NN, the former official, strictly  
guarded the domestic staff and our goods that were in Egypt.”

<sup>23</sup> See further Cow., Ah.-N. 13 = TAD C1.1 (kzy kn 'mr “when he had thus spoken”).

In the other cases, the main clause represents the reference point; the situation of the subordinate clause is mostly expressed by a *qṭal* form of *hwy* and therefore stative:

### 5.1 *Relative Clauses*

- b. w'mwdy' zy 'bn' zy hww tmh tbrw hmw (Cow. 30,9 = TAD 4.7)  
 "And the stone pillars that were there, they broke."<sup>24</sup>

### 5.2 *Temporal Clauses*

- c. wyhbth l-NN brty ḥlp nkšy' zy yhbt ly kzy hndz hwyt (Cow. 13,4 = TAD B2.7)  
 "And I give it to NN, my daughter, in exchange for the goods she gave me when I was Hndz."<sup>25</sup>

In another temporal clause, an actional situation is described; the verb form is *hwā* + *qāṭil*. Unfortunately, the main clause is not preserved:

- d. kzy 'nh hwyt 'th [ʿ]l-mr'[y ...] (Driver 3,2 = TAD A6.3)  
 "When I was just on the way to [my] Lord...."

Moreover, simultaneity can be expressed by an AP that describes a circumstance accompanying the main action. The AP can be part of the syntagma *w* + subject + predicate. The time reference is sometimes explicitly expressed by *hwā* (no. f):

- e. ḥ[zny] w'nh mhlk byn krmy' (Cow., Ah.-N. 40 = TAD C1.1)  
 "He sa[w me] while I was walking among the vineyards."
- f. yhbt l-NN brty b-mwty b-rḥmn lqbl zy sbłtny w'nh ymyn sb l' khl hwyt b-ydy (Krael. 9,16–17 = TAD B3.10)  
 "I give it to NN, my daughter, upon my death out of affection because she took care of me when I was old and could not (work) with my hands."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See further: Cow. 30,4–6 = TAD A4.7; Cow. 30,6–7 = TAD A4.7; Cow. 31,5 = TAD A4.8.

<sup>25</sup> *yhbth* probably expresses the coincidence case here. *hndz* is probably of the same origin as Arabic *handaza* and *muhandizun*, thus probably designating a technical profession; see Cow. p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> The word order in *ymyn sb* is striking, one expects *sb ymyn* according to BA *'attīq yōmīn*; cf. Krael., p. 242 and Muraoka, GEA § 6ii.

- g. 'tw 'ly kn 'mrn (Bac. A4,2)  
 "They came to me saying thus."<sup>27</sup>

## 6 Simultaneity with the Speech Time

### 6.1 Main Clauses

As in Old Aramaic, nominal phrases are often used to express this category. In these cases the situations are stative and non-actional.<sup>28</sup>

Actional situations that are performed simultaneously with the speech time are usually expressed by the AP. The action can be in progress and take place parallel to the speech time or in a period of time not yet completed. It is in the nature of the textual testimonies that the first category is rarely encountered, since the sender is just writing and therefore cannot be busy with anything else, i.e. at most he can only report what others are doing. This is the case in Cow. 38,5 = TAD A4.3 where the scribe informs the addressees that he has been released from prison thanks to the help of two men, then he goes on:

- a. k'n h' 'tyn tmh 'lykm  
 "Now look, they are just on their way to you there."

In the same document, there is another AP describing a situation that is currently taking place:

- b. b-zk šlh 'nh 'lykm (l. 9)  
 "For this reason I am sending you (this message)."

šlh refers not only to the sending of the letter but also to its being written.

The other examples refer to periods not yet completed:

#### 6.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- c. l' mhn'l (Bac. A6,4)  
 "He is not bringing (them) in."

<sup>27</sup> See also Bac. A1,2–3 (l' šbqn lhm ... l-mnṭr "not letting them guard").

<sup>28</sup> See for example: Cow. 15,4 = TAD B2.6 (hy 'ntty "she is my wife"); Cow., Ah.-N. 46 = TAD C1.1 ('nh hw 'hyqr "I am Ahiqar"); Krael. 4,4 = TAD B3.5 (zylky hw "it is yours"); Berlin 23000,2 = TAD A3.10 ('yty ly 'lp ḥdh "I have a boat").

## 6.1.2 Atelic

- d. nksy mr'yhm ḥsyn nṭrn (Driver 7,4 = TAD A6.10)  
 "They are strictly guarding the estates of their masters."<sup>29</sup>

## 6.1.3 Stative

- e. NN yd' ṭ'm' znh (Driver 4,4 + 6,6 = TAD A6.8 + A6.9)  
 "NN knows this order."

The situation can last from the past to the present. This is the case in since-clauses where the subordinate clause describes a situation in the past while the main clause indicates what has been happening since that time. The starting point in the past is determined by a time specification or a qṭal form, the situation reaching up to the present can be expressed by an AP.

In Cow. 30 = TAD A4.7 it says that in year 14 the temple of the Jews in Yb was destroyed by King Darius:

- f. 'p mn-yrḥ Tmwz šnt 14 D. mlk' w'd znh ywm' 'nḥnh šqqn lbšn wšymyn  
 nšy' zylṇ k-'rmlh 'bydn mšḥ l' mšḥyn wḥmr l' štyn (19–21)  
 "Furthermore, since the month of Tmwz of the year 14 of King D. until today we have been wearing sackcloth and been fasting, our wives have been made as widows, we have not been rubbing ourselves with oil and we have not been drinking wine."

The use of 'mr "say" in letters is not without problems. After the greeting, the actual concern of the writer is introduced as follows:

- g. k'n 'bdk Ydnyh wknwṭh kn 'mrn (Cow. 30,4 = TAD A4.7)  
 "Now your servant Ydnyh and his colleagues speak as follows."

First of all, it cannot be ruled out with certainty that Ydnyh, who is apparently the author of the letter, does not speak in the third but in the first person so that 'mrn does not represent a participle at all but the 1.pl. of qṭal. In Cow. 9,5 = TAD B2.4 a clear qṭal form is used in a very similar place. The scribe mentions a piece of land that he has given to his daughter and then says to the husband:

29 See also: Driver 7,5 = TAD A6.10 (l' 'bdn "you are not doing"); Driver 4,1–2 = TAD A6.8 (l' mštm'n ly "they do not obey me").

h. k'n 'nh NN 'mrtlk ...

"Now I, NN, say to you (: Do this and that.)"

It should be borne in mind, however, that nos. 30 and 9 are documents of a very different nature. No. 30 is a letter sent by the Jewish priests of Yb to the governor of Judea, no. 9 is a legal document in which the ownership of a piece of land was established. q̄tal in the latter presumably denotes the coincidence case: *I have done this and that and my action is now legally binding*.<sup>30</sup> In a letter, such an interpretation makes no sense. In addition, in line 22 of the same letter, the form 'mryn is used in a very similar place:

i. k'n 'bdyk Ydnyh wknwth wyhwdy' kl b'ly Yb 'mryn

"Now your servants, Ydnyh and his colleagues and the Jews, all inhabitants of Yb, say as follows: ..."

If the reading 'mryn is correct, it can only be interpreted as an AP.<sup>31</sup>

I therefore assume that the forms in question are participles. What the writer wanted to express by 'mrn can only be an action taking place at the moment. Even if what he says is only mentioned in the letter after 'mrn, he certainly already sees it in his mind's eye as progressing.

It has already been indicated above that q̄tal might be used to describe the coincidence case. The verb yhb "to give, to transfer", that in legal documents describes property transfers, is possibly used in this sense:

j. 'nh yhbth lky b-ḥyy wb-mwty 'nty šlyṭh bh mn-ywm' znh w'd-ḥlm  
(Cow. 8,8–9 = TAD B2.3)

Unfortunately, the context usually leaves open whether the transfer has already taken place and is now only confirmed in writing, or whether it only takes place through the written text so that one has to translate: "I hereby transfer it to you in my lifetime and after my death. You have full rights over it from this day forever."<sup>32</sup>

In some comparable documents, the cotext makes clear that the transfer and payment have already been made, as in Krael. 3,10–11 = TAD B3.4:

k. 'nḥn zbn wyhbn lk wrḥqn mnḥ mn-ywm' znh w'd-ḥlm.

30 On the coincidence case in Imperial Aramaic in general, see Gzella, TAM 206–214.

31 A similar use of 'mr is found in Bac. A2,5 (k'n 'mr NN "now NN says: ...").

32 For more examples of yhb, see Cow. 8,3 = TAD B2.3; Krael. 4,2–3 = TAD B3.5; 9,16–17 = B3.10.



Line 6 mentions the price paid by the recipient, i.e. the transfer had already taken place. In Cow. 8, the case is not so clear, as it concerns a property transfer from father to daughter.

So if *yhbth* cannot be considered as a clear witness for the use of *qṭal* to express the coincidence case,<sup>33</sup> the phrase *mn ywm' znh w'd-ʿlm* in Krael. 3 “from today until eternity” makes it clear that the situation expressed by *rhqn* only takes place when the document is being written. *rhq* is the translation of the Egyptian expression used in corresponding documents<sup>34</sup> and means “to be far away, to remove oneself”. The transferring person thus removes himself from all rights and claims he had on the corresponding object. The expression must be understood in a resultative sense, i.e.: *we have hereby removed ourselves and are now far*.<sup>35</sup> The fact that instead of *rhq*, the PP *rhṣq* can be used without any difference in meaning and that in the same syntactical position as *rhq* the adjective *šlyt* (šallit) is found, speaks for the stative character of the situation:

- l.    wrḥyqn ṛnhnh mnk wmn-bnyk (Cow. 28,11 = TAD B2.11)  
       “And we are far from all rights with respect to you and your children.”
- m.   ṛnty šlytḥ bh mn-ywm' znh w'd-ʿlm (Cow. 8,9 = TAD B2.3)  
       “You have full rights over it from this day forever.”

The divorce formula *śn'*, which probably originates from Babylonian, has to be understood in the same way as *rhq*:<sup>36</sup>

- n.    śn't l-NN ṛntty (Krael. 2,7 = TAD B3.3)  
       “I hereby divorce NN, my wife.”

*śn'* means “to develop hate” > “to hate”, i.e.: *I have developed hate against my wife and now I hate her, so we are divorced people*.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, the coincidence case includes the greeting formulas in letters where *qṭal* is also used:

33    On *yhb*, see also Gzella, TAM 208.

34    See Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyrus 7; Krael. page 161.

35    *rhqn* is clearly a *qṭal* form as is shown by corresponding evidence of the 1.sg.; see Cow. 14,6–7 = TAD B2.8; 43, 3–4 = B5.5; 25, 4 = B2.10.

36    See Krael. p. 148.

37    On *śn'*, see also Krael. 7, 21–22 = TAD B3.8.

- o. šlm wšrrt šgy' hwšrt l[k] (Driver 3,1 = TAD A6.3)  
 "I hereby send [you] much welfare and strength."<sup>38</sup>

However, the AP is also attested in situations that could be interpreted as coincidence cases:

- p. l-znh 'nh mhwd' (Bac. A1,3)  
 "I therefore inform (herewith my Lord)."<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, the qṭal form of the stative verb šby denotes simultaneity with the speech time:

- q. k't šbyt 'hnšl hm (Cow. 18,2–3 = TAD B6.4)  
 "I now wish to take them away."<sup>40</sup>

yiḳṭul primarily indicates posteriority to the speech time and sometimes has a non-indicative character but is sometimes also attested with present time reference.<sup>41</sup> The situations described by yiḳṭul are stative:

- r. ndhl kzy z'yryn 'nhnh bzz (Cow. 37,7 = TAD A4.2)  
 "We fear, since we are few, robbery."<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the PP has to be mentioned here. In the following example, it has a resultative meaning:

- s. nšy' zyln k-ʾrmlh 'bydn (Cow. 30,20 = TAD A4.7)  
 "Our wives are made widow-like."<sup>43</sup>

*l' mṭlln* in the following example is rather to be understood as an anterior:

38 See also: Cow. 42,1 = TAD A3.8; Driver 13,1 = TAD A6.16,1; the same expression is also used in Bactria; see Bac. B1,1 and B4,1. A corresponding use of qṭal to express greetings in letters is attested in the Arabic phrase *qara'tu 'alayka s-salāma*; see Diem, *katabtu 'ilayka* 333.

39 So again in A6,4.

40 See also Krael. 7,41–42 = TAD B3.8.

41 Cf. Gzella, *TAM* 197f.

42 See further: Cow., Ah.-N. 17 = TAD C1.1 (l' khl l-mplh "I cannot work"); Cow. 28,12 = TAD B2.11 (lk yhw "it is yours").

43 See also Cow. 27,6 = TAD A4.5 (bnh "is built") and Krael. 5,10 = TAD B3.6 (šbyqh "[you] are released"). Also *'bydn* in Padua 1,9 = TAD A3.3 is probably to be understood resultatively: "they are made".

- t.    šym t'm l-NN zy b-ḥlmy l-mṭll w'd-k'nm l' mṭlln (Bac. A6,3)  
 "Order was given to NN, who is in ḥlmy, to roof (them), but until now they have not been roofed."

*ptyḥ* in the following example, on the other hand, is rather adjectival:

- u.    wkwnh 1 ptyḥ l- ... (Krael. 12,21 = TAD B3,12)  
 "And its one window is open to ..."

The *qṭal* form of *hwy* is sometimes used in a resultative sense and then describes a process that results in a state:

- v.    'dn hwh 'wpšrh l-m'[bd] (Cow. 26,3 = TAD A6.2)  
 "The time has come to car[ry out] its repair."

Resultatively used *hwy* is also attested in a temporal clause with future time reference (see below 7.2).

## 6.2 Subordinate Clauses

### 6.2.1 Relative Clauses

As already seen, the PP can have a resultative meaning; from the G-stem:

- a.    nksy' [']lh wksp' zy ktybn b-spr' znh (Cow. 18,2 = TAD B6.4)  
 "[The]se goods and the money that are written down in this document."<sup>44</sup>

The following example of a D-stem PP, on the other hand, is to be understood as an anterior:

- b.    ḥyl' 'lk zy mmnyn qdmyk šbq yhkwn (Bac. A4,5)  
 "Those troops that have been appointed in your presence, set them free to go."<sup>45</sup>

The predicate can also be an AP:

44 See also Krael. 11, 10 = TAD B3,13.

45 See further Cow. 27,6 = TAD A4,5 (zy bnyh "that has been built").

- c. 'tn' zy b-yd N[N w N]N zy 'nt ršh ly '[lyh h'] plg zyly hw šdyq (Cow. 44,4–6 = TAD B7.3) "The donkey mare, owned by N[N and N]N, f[or which] you are suing me, [see], half of it is rightfully mine."<sup>46</sup>

### 6.2.2 Causal Clause

- d. 'tšt 'l-'gwr' zk l-mbnh kzy l' šbqn ln l-mbnyh (Cow. 30,23 = TAD A4.7)  
"Consider having this temple rebuilt, for they do not let us rebuild it."

### 6.2.3 Object Clause

- e. wk'n tnh kn šmy' ly kzy pqydy' ... mtnšhn (Driver 7,3–4 = TAD A6.10)  
"And now I have heard here that the officials ... are being diligent."

The APS in nos. c to e refer to situations that are not necessarily in progress but which are limited to a period of time not yet completed.

Furthermore, yiqṭul is attested. It can denote extratemporal situations:

- f. nsbl l-NN brk k-br zy ysbl l-'bwhy (Krael. 5,12 = TAD B3.6)  
"We will care for NN, your son, like a son who cares for his father."

In the following example, yiqṭul, after *l' d*, refers to a period of time not yet completed:

- g. 'p 'yty NN šmh 'mhm zy 'lymy' 'lh wNN brh zy l' 'd nplg 'lyn kzy [']dn yhw h nplg hmw 'lyn (Cow. 28,12–14 = TAD B2.11)  
"Then there is still NN by name, the mother of these boys, and NN, her son, whom we do not yet divide between us. When the [ti]me has come, we will divide them among us."<sup>47</sup>

qṭal and yiqṭul of the stative verbs *rḥm* and *šby* "want, desire" can refer to the present. The mentioning of the handing over of a possession is often followed by the phrase *l-mn zy + qṭal of rḥm / šby*: *To whom you want* (, *you may give it*). Sometimes the documents explicitly state that the new owner already has full rights to the new property, so *rḥm / šby* refer to the present:

46 See further: Krael. 3,3–4 = TAD B3.4 (*zy 'grwh qymn* "whose walls are standing"); Bac. A2,5 (*'zly* "that are going").

47 Of course, it cannot be ruled out that *nplg* is meant non-indicatively here, i.e.: *we do not want to divide them among us yet*.

- h. 'nty šlyth bh mn-ywm' znh w'd-ʿlm wbnyky ʿhryky l-mn zy rḥmty tntnn  
(Cow. 8,9–10 = TAD B2.3)  
“You have full rights to it from this day forever and your children after you. To whom you want, you may give it.”<sup>48</sup>

yiqtull of šby is attested in the same meaning:

- i. dylky hw ʿd-ʿlm wl-mn [zy] tšbyn hbhy (Cow. 13,16 = TAD B2.7)  
“It is yours forever, and to whom you want, give it.”

Finally, qṭal of šby is attested in an object clause describing a current state:

- j. ḥzw ʿlyhm mh šbw (Cow. 38,5–6 = TAD A4.3)  
“See what they want.”

## 7 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 7.1 Main Clauses

Situations that are posterior to the speech time can be problematic, as it is sometimes difficult to decide whether they are purely indicative or if they have an inherent non-indicative component; *nplg* in no. b below can be interpreted as “we will share” or “we want to share”; *kdb yhwḥ* in no. d, on the other hand, can only be understood as “it will be a fake”. In the case of contractual agreements, which are the subject of most of the following examples, the situations are indicative, since they are binding.

The form most often used is *yiqtull*.

#### 7.1.1 Punctual

- a. wʿp ʿnh NN mḥr ʿw ywm ʿhrn lʿ ʿhnsḥ mnky l-mntn l-ʿhrnn (Cow. 8,18–19 = TAD B3.2)  
“And also I, NN, will not take (it) away from you tomorrow or any other day to to give (it) to someone else.”<sup>49</sup>

48 For further examples of *rḥm*, see: Cow. 8,9–10; 8,19 = TAD B2.3; 13,8 = TAD B2.8; Krael. 9,21 = TAD B3.10; 12,23–24 = B3.12; for *šby* see: Cow. 15,28–29 = TAD B2.6; Krael. 3,11–12 = TAD B3.4.

49 For more punctual situations with future time reference, see: Cow. 35,5–6 = TAD B4.6 (ʿntnnh “I will give it”); Cow., Ah.-N. 61 = TAD C1.1 (ʿntn “I will give”); *ibid.* 53 = TAD C1.1 (yzkrny “he will remember me”); Krael. 7,25 = TAD B3.8 (mhrh yʿbd “her dowry will be

## 7.1.2 Telic

- b. kzy [ʿ]dn yhw h nplg hmw ʿlyn (Cow. 13,13 = TAD B2.7)  
 “When the [ti]me has come, we will divide it among us.”<sup>50</sup>

## 7.1.3 Atelic

- c. ʾnhn nplhnk zy ysbl br wbrh l-ʾbwhy b-hyyk wʾd-mwtk (Krael. 5,11–12 = TAD B3.6)  
 “We will serve you the way a son and a daughter care for their father during your lifetime until your death.”<sup>51</sup>

## 7.1.4 Stative

- d. sprʾ zy yhnppwn ʿlyky kdb yhw (Cow. 8,16–17 = TAD B2.3)  
 “The document they will present against you will be a forgery.”<sup>52</sup>

šlyt can also indicate posteriority to the speech time:

- e. bnyk mn-NN brty hmw šlytn bh ʾhrykm (Cow. 9,6–7 = TAD B2.4)  
 “Your children of NN, my daughter, they will have full rights to it after you.”<sup>53</sup>

However, in the same meaning yiqṭul can be used:

- f. ʾnh NN gbr ʾhrn ʾmy ... lʾ yšlt b-byth (Krael. 4,18–19 = TAD B3.5)  
 “I, NN, someone else, my mother ... will have no right to his house.”

A possible example of an AP in this function is *mqbl* testified in Samaria; unfortunately, the cotext is incomplete:

---

forfeited”); 7,26 (tntn “she will give”); 10,10 = B3.11 (ʾhnsł “I will take away”); 11, 3–4 = B3.13 (ʾntn “I will give”); WDSF 1,9 (ʾšlm [ʾ]ntn “I will pay, [g]ive”).

50 See also Bauer-Meissner 5–6 = TAD B1.1 (nplg “we will divide”).

51 *yplhnk* must be a misspelling for *nplhnk*; cf. Krael. p. 186. For more atelic situations, see: Krael. 5, 13–14 = TAD B3.6 (lʾ nsblnk “we will not care for you”); Cow., Ah.-N. 53–54 = TAD C1.1 (yhḥyny “he will let me live”).

52 See further: WDSF 3, 4 and Bac. B1,2 (yhw “it will be”); Cow. 5,6 = TAD B2.1 (lʾ khl ʾklʾnk “I will not be able to prevent you”); Cow. 8,15–16 = TAD B2.3 (lʾ ykhlwn yhnppwn “they will not be able to present”); negated *ykh* is quite common, see: Cow. 1 4–6 = TAD B5.1; 10,11–12 = B3.1; 13,11–12 = B2.7; 14,7 = B2.8; Krael. 10,5 = TAD B3.11.

53 See also: Krael. 2,10–11 = TAD B3.3; 4,18–19 = B3.5.

- g. l' mqlbl 'nh mnk 'p ksp' š 35 zy yhb[t ly] (WDSP 1,8)  
 "Nor will I receive from you the amount of 35 shekels that [you] have given [me]."

One could understand the sentence in such a way that the amount has already been paid and can no longer be claimed in the future. In the next line, however, *yiqtul* is used to express posteriority to the speech time.<sup>54</sup>

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

The long form of *yiqtul* is also predominantly used in subordinate clauses.

### 7.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. šbwt byt' zyly zy NN y'mr lk (Driver 4,2 = TAD A6.8)  
 "The matter of my good that NN will tell you about."
- b. 'p l' nkhl nršh l-br wbrh lkm ... 'w gbr zy tzbnwn lh byt' zk (Cow. 25,10–11 = TAD B2.10)  
 "Nor will we be able to sue a son or daughter of yours ... or anyone to whom you will / may sell this house."<sup>55</sup>

In no. b, as in many of the examples listed in the note, it is difficult to determine whether the writer had an indicative or non-indicative situation in mind. If he is not sure whether they are going to sell the house, *tzbnwn* is to be understood non-indicatively: *to whom you may sell it*.

Quite often the relative clause has the syntactic function of a subject:

- c. zy ykl' mnhm yntn lh ... (Cow. 5,10 = TAD B2.1)  
 "Whoever restrains one of them, shall pay him ..." <sup>56</sup>

In an interesting example, *yihwēL* + *qāṭil* is attested:

54 *mqlbl* is also attested in 2,6; 3,8 and 15,14 in a similarly destroyed cotext.

55 See further: Cow. 6,15–16 = TAD B2.2 (zy yqblwn 'lyk "that they will file against you"); Cow. 10,16–17 = TAD B3.1 (zy tškḥ "that you will find"); Cow. 38,6 = TAD A4.3 (zy yb'h "that he wants"); Cow. 42,6 = TAD A3.8 (zy yzbn "who will buy"); Krael. 2,10–11 = TAD B3.3 (zy yhwwn "who will be"); Krael. 4,20–21 = TAD B3.5 (zy yhnšl "who will take away"); Krael. 11,3–4 = TAD B3.13 (zy yt[nt]n "that will be given"); Driver 3,6–7 = TAD A6.3 (zy NN yhqrb "whom NN will present").

56 See also: Cow. 1,6–7 = TAD B5.1; 6,14 = B2.2; 8,11–13 = B2.3; Krael. 9,19–20 = TAD B3.10.

- d. wšlm[nh]y lk yrḥ b-yrḥ mn-prsy zy yn[t]nwn ly mn-ʿwšrʿ wtktb ly nbz  
 ʾl-kl ksp wmrby zy ʾhwh mšlm lk (Cow. 11,5–7 = TAD B4.2)  
 “And I will pay [it] back to you month by month from my salary that they  
 g[i]ve me from the treasury, and you will write for me a receipt for every  
 amount and all interest that I will pay you.”

According to the context, ʾhwh mšlm could denote anteriority in the future, i.e. each time he will have paid his amount, his creditor will issue him a receipt. However, since the AP hardly ever expresses the perfective aspect, this interpretation seems unlikely. The simple AP can denote the imperfective aspect (see above 6.1 + 6.2), combined with a qṭal form of hwy it describes habitual situations in the past and also those that have a longer duration (see above 3.1 + 3.2). If ʾhwh serves to shift the situation into the future, ʾhwh mšlm may express repeated situations in the future which is also suggested by the expression yrḥ b-yrḥ. The singular situation, the issuing of the receipt, on the other hand, is expressed by yiqṭul.<sup>57</sup>

In one passage, the AP of a verb of movement is attested. According to the context, the situation is posterior to the speech time:

- e. w hbw ptp l-gbrn ... ʾlymn zyly zy ʾzln ʾmh Mšryn (Driver 6,4 = TAD A6.9)  
 “And give rations to the men ... my slaves who will go with him to Egypt.”

## 8 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

In one main clause, this category is expressed by qṭal:

- a. sprʿ zy yhnppqn ʾlyky kdb yhwh ʾ ʾnh ktbth (Cow. 8,16–17 = TAD B2.3)  
 “The document they will present against you will be a forgery, not I will have written it.”

In temporal clauses introduced by kzy and ʾd, on the other hand, yiqṭul is used:

- b. kzy [ʿ]dn yhwh nplg hmw ʾlyn (Cow. 28,13–14 = TAD B2.11)  
 “When the time has come, we will divide them among us.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Gzella, TAM 264.

<sup>58</sup> The same phrase is attested in Bac. A4, 6; see further: Krael. 11,5–6 = TAD B3.13 ([k]zyytntn ly “as soon as it will have been given to me”); Bac. A1,10 (kzy tʾtwn “as soon as you will have come”); Padua 1,5 = TAD A3.3 (kzy tʾtwn “as soon as you will have come”).



- c. whn mṭ' tnyn šnh wl' šlmtk b-kspk wmrbyth zy ktyb b-spr' znh 'nt  
 NN wbnyk šlyṭn l-mlqḥ lk kl ... wkl zwn zy tškḥ ly 'd ttml' b-kspk  
 (Cow. 10,7–11 = TAD B3.1)  
 “And if a second year comes and I have not paid you back the money and  
 the interest on it that are written in this document, you, NN, and your  
 children have the right to take all ... and all food you find with me until  
 you will have been filled with your money (= fully paid).”<sup>59</sup>

## 9 Non-indicative Clauses

### 9.1 Main Clauses

As already indicated above, it is not always possible to determine clearly whether a situation with a reference to the future is thought of as indicative or as non-indicative. In the following, only those cases are listed which, due to their form or context, are clearly to be understood as non-indicative.

Indicative situations are mostly expressed by the long form of *yiqṭul*, non-indicative ones by the short form. The morphological differences between short and long form have been discussed in section 1 above. Based on the distinctive features given there, the following main clauses are to be understood as non-indicative:

- a. 'gwr' zy yhw 'lh' zy b-Yb byrt' yh'dw mn-tmh (Cow. 30,6 = TAD A4.7)  
 “The temple of the god Yhw, which is located in the fortress Yb, let them remove from there.”
- b. 'gwr' zy b-Yb byrt' yndšw (Cow. 30,7–8 = TAD A4.7)  
 “The temple, which is located in the fortress Yb, let them destroy.”

In both cases, a senior official gives instructions. Furthermore:

- c. 'lhy' kl yš'lw šlmky b-kl 'dn (Cow. 39,1 = TAD A3.7)  
 “May all gods seek your health at all times.”<sup>60</sup>

59 See further: Krael. 11,9–11 = TAD B3.13 ('d tšlm “until you will have been completed = been paid”); Berlin 23000,8 = TAD A3.10 + Driver 6,5 = TAD A6.9 ('d ymt' “until he will have reached”).

60 Greeting formula; see also: Cow. 30,1 = TAD A4.7; 37,2 = A4.2; 41,1 = A3.8; 56,1 = A.4.4; Berlin 23000,1 = TAD A3.10.

- d. yntnw ly ... (Driver 8,3 = TAD A6.11)  
 “May they give me ...”<sup>61</sup>

The negation *ʾl* combined with a first person denotes the negated cohortative, with a second person the vetitive, with a third person the negated jussive:

- e. ʾnhnh ʾl nqṭlnhy (Cow., Ah.-N. 61 = TAD C1.1)  
 “Let us not kill him!”
- f. ʾl tntnw lhm ... (Driver 6,6 = TAD A6.9)  
 “Do not give them ...”
- g. ʾl tšbq (Cow. 42,11 = TAD A3.8)  
 “Do not leave!”<sup>62</sup>
- h. ʾl yrḥq mnkm (Berlin 23000,8 = TAD A3.10)  
 “May he not be far from you.”

Also a *yiqṭul* form negated by *ʾl* can be non-indicatively coloured. Especially in the second person, *ʾl tiqṭul* sometimes has the meaning of a vetitive, which is usually expressed by *ʾl* + *yiqṭulS*. In contrast to *ʾl*, *ʾl* does not express a specific prohibition but rather a general one that claims to be valid in principle:

- i. tr<sup>o</sup> zk ʾl zylk hw wlʾ tnpq b-šwqʾ (Cow. 5,12 = TAD B2.1)  
 “(And I will not be able to say to you:) This gateway is not yours and you shall not go (through it) into the street.”

*ʾl tšbq* in the following example, on the other hand, refers to a very specific situation:

- j. hn nḥt ʾnt l-Mnpy ʾl tšbq l-NN (Cow. 42,11 = TAD A3.8)  
 “If you come down to Memphis, do not leave (anything) to NN.”

61 See further: Bac. A4,6 (yḥšdw “let them reap”); Bac. A2,6 (yhnppqw “let them take out”); Bac. A5,1 (yṭbny “let it be build”).

62 See also: Cow. 42,7 = TAD A3.8 (ʾl tqwm “do not stand up”); Cow. Ah.-N. 52,54 = TAD C1.1 (ʾl tqṭlny “do not kill me”, ʾl tdḥl “do not be afraid”); Bac. A5,2–3 (ʾl tʾbdw “do not do”).

Non-indicative according to the context are:

- k. [h]’ NN šmh bry rb’ whw yḥlp ly spr (Cow., Ah.-N. 18 = TAD C1.1)  
 “[Se]e, NN by name, my son, is fully grown, he is to replace me as a scribe.”<sup>63</sup>

The compound imperative of hwy + AP is mainly attested in the Hermopolis papyri (see above ch. 3, sect. 7.1 nos. f + g) but also occurs in Imperial Aramaic texts. Unfortunately, the context does not allow a decision as to whether the compound emphasises the repetition or the urgency of the imperative:

- l. hwy šlh šlm ynq’ (TAD D7.6,10)  
 “Send greetings of the child!”<sup>64</sup>

Finally, the compound qṭl + yiqṭulS of hwy has to be mentioned; the PP has a resultative meaning here:

- m. ydy’ yhwy lk (Drv. 7,8 = TAD A6.10)  
 “It should be known to you = You ought to know.”

## 9.2 Subordinate Clauses

Final clauses are usually expressed by the infinitive (see below nos. d–h). In addition, they can be introduced by kn kzy + yiqṭulL:<sup>65</sup>

- a. wmlh zy NN NN<sup>66</sup> yb’h mnkm ’ntm qmw qblhm kn kzy mlh b’yšh l’ yḥškḥwn lkm (Cow. 38,6–7 = TAD A4.3)  
 “And in the matter which NN (and) NN ask of you, stand by them so that they will find no evil in you.”<sup>67</sup>

A passive situation after /kzy can be expressed by qṭl + yiqṭulL of hwy:

63 See also: Cow., Ah.-N. 61–62 = TAD C1.1 (ytqṭl “let him be killed”).

64 Another possible example is found in Cow. 17,3 = TAD A6.1 (hww šlhñ) whose cotext is unfortunately destroyed and which could also be a qṭal form of hwy + AP.

65 Possible examples of short forms in subordinate clauses are discussed by Folmer (Variation 515–517), but none of them is beyond all doubt.

66 The second name was added and is above the line; this is certainly the reason why the verb is in the singular form.

67 See further: Driver 7,5–6 = TAD A6.10 (kn kzy ... l’ yhwh “so that there will not be”); Driver 12,10–11 = TAD A6.15 (kn kzy ... l’ yšlh “so that ... he will not send”).

- b. 'nt hndrz' 'bd kzy byty' 'lk ... tlyln yhwwn (Bac. A6,6–7)  
 “Give order that those houses ... be roofed.”<sup>68</sup>

It is remarkable that qṭl + yhwwn is used like a yiqṭl form of the t-stem because here it is not the result of the action that is meant but rather its beginning and progress.

In contrast to Muraoka (GEA § 52 f), I do not regard the two examples of kn + imperative + kzy as final but rather as consecutive clauses:

- c. kn 'b[dw] kzy ly tḥdwn (Driver 11,3–4 = TAD A6.14)  
 “Act in such a way that you please me.”<sup>69</sup>

The infinitive is usually subordinated to a verbal or nominal form. Combined with the preposition l-, it often has a final character:

- d. 'nh [']tyt bytk l-mntn ly [l-]brtk NN (Cow. 15,3 = TAD B2.6)  
 “I [c]ame to your house that you may give me your daughter NN.”

As can be seen from this example, the subject of a verbal reference word need not be identical with the logical subject of the infinitive construction.<sup>70</sup>

- e. m'rb šmš lh hw bb' zylk l-mnpq (Krael. 10,4 = TAD B3.11)  
 “West of it is your gate to go out.”<sup>71</sup>

After verbs of knowing, wanting and reasoning (khl, šby, 'bh, 'tšt) discussed by Muraoka (GEA, § 73c), the infinitive is to be understood as final, too, insofar as it describes the goal of knowing, wanting etc.:

- f. l' 'khl 'nh NN ... l-mršh 'lyk (Cow. 28,7–8 = TAD B2.11)  
 “I, NN, will not be able ... to sue you.”

68 See also Bac. A5,2 (kzy ... 'byd yhw “so that it be done”).

69 The second example can be found in Driver 13,2 = TAD A6.16.

70 Further examples with a verbal reference word: Cow. 5,3–4 = TAD B2.1; 5,6; 30,27; Cow. Ah.-N. 17 = TAD C1.1; 62–63; Cow. Beh. 4; Krael. 2,3 = TAD B3.3; 8,6 = B3.9; Berlin 23000,4–5 = TAD A3.10; Bauer-Meissner 3 = TAD B1.1, 3; Saq 29,14 = TAD B8.1.

71 For further examples with a nominal reference word, see: Cow. 5,11 = TAD B2.1; 8,16 = B2.3; 13,5 = B2.3 and Muraoka, GEA § 56e.

After verbs expressing an order, *l* + infinitive is used, too:

- g. mny śym ʿm l-mbny (Bac. A5,1)  
 “It was ordered by me to build ...”<sup>72</sup>

*l-ʿmr* introducing a direct speech was probably originally used in a purely final sense:

- h. šlh̄t l-ʿmr (Cow. 16,8 = TAD A5,2)  
 “I sent (a message) to say.”

## 10 Conditional Clauses

Real conditionals are introduced by *hn*, negated *hn lʿ*, counterfactual conditionals by *hn lw*, negated *hw lʿ*.

In the protasis, *qṭal* and *yiqṭul* are predominant. Both of them express real conditionals with reference to the future. The use of *qṭal* or *yiqṭul* is not determined by the type of action of the verbs and has no effect on the meaning of the sentences but depends on the distance between *hn* and verb.<sup>73</sup> If the verb follows *hn* directly, *qṭal* is preferably used; if the subject or an other part of the sentence is inserted, then we usually find *yiqṭul*; this is also the case if the protasis is not introduced by *hn*.

Let us illustrate these assertions with some statistical data. A total of 70 conditional clauses were included in the investigation. If the verb form directly follows *hn*, then in 23 cases *qṭal* is used and only in 10 cases *yiqṭul*, of which five appear in Kraeling’s document no. 7 written by Mʿwzyh br Ntn ([lines 33–42] = TAD B3.8). If the subject is named after *hn*, *yiqṭul* is used in eight cases and *qṭal* only twice (see example no. d below); if *hn* is separated from the verb by adverbials or objects, *yiqṭul* is found in ten cases and *qṭal* not at all; the same applies to the seven protases without *hn*, all of which have *yiqṭul*.

A nice example of this change between *qṭal* and *yiqṭul* can be found in Krael. 3,18–19 = TAD B3,4:

<sup>72</sup> See also A4,1–2 (l-mʿbd “in order to do”).

<sup>73</sup> This interrelation has already been recognised by Kutscher, Review 234.

- a. *hn grwk wgrw l-br wbrh lk yntnwn lk ... whn gbr 'hṛn ygrnk wygrh l-br ...*  
 “If they sue you or sue a son or daughter of yours, they will give you ... and  
 if someone else sues you or sues a son ...”

So it seems to be the interposed subject *gbr 'hṛn* which is responsible for the use of *yiqṭul* in the second sentence.

In the apodosis, the long form of *yiqṭul* predominates, as the morphologically clear cases show; in addition, the vetitive and the imperative are also attested. I will start with the type *hn + qṭal – yiqṭul*:

- b. *whn hnšlth mnk 'ntn l-NN ...* (Krael. 2,14 = TAD B3.3)  
 “And if I take him from you, I will give NN ...”<sup>74</sup>

*hn + qṭal – imperative*:

- c. *hn l' zbnw hmw b'y '[y]š zy ...* (Cow. 42,5–6 = TAD A3.8)  
 “If they do not sell them, look for a m[a]n who ...”

In two cases, the subject is inserted between *hn* and *qṭal*:

- d. *hn 'nh NN ršytkm ... yntn lkm* (Cow. 25,12–15 = TAD B2.10)  
 “If I, NN, sue you ... he will give you.”<sup>75</sup>

Normally *yiqṭul* is used in these cases.

Here are some more examples. As can be seen in no. g, the predicate of the apodosis can also be a nominal form:

- e. *hn 'nt hndrz' l' t'bd ... l' tšbq* (Bac. A6,8–11)  
 “If you do not give order ... you shall not be set free.”

74 See further: Cow. 5,7 = TAD B2.1 (*kl'tk – 'ntn*); 5, 8–9 (*myt – ykhl*); 5,13 (*klytk – 'ntn*); 10,7 = B3.1 (*mṭt – yrbh*); 10,14–15 (*mytt – yšlmwn*); 14,8–10 = B2.8 (*grytky – 'ntn*); 15,35–36 = B2.6 (*h'dt – 'ntn*); 28,9–10 = B2.11 (*ršynk – nntn*); Krael. 1,5–9 = TAD B3.2 (*qblt – 'ntn, grk – 'ntn*); 3,14–15 = B3.4 (*grynk – nntn*); 5,13–14 = B3.6 (*qmn – nḥwb*); 11,5–6 = B3.13 (*l' šlmt – 'hwb + 'ntn*); 11,8–9 (*mytt – yšlmwn*); H 4,9–10 = TAD A2.1 (*'škḥt – 'th*); Bauer-Meissner, 10–11 = TAD B1.1 (*l' qmt – 'tnhy*).

75 The second example can be found in Krael. 4,14–15 = TAD B3.5 (*grytky – 'ntn*).

- f. hn mħr 'w ywm 'ħrn NN 'w br zylh yršh 'l-byt' zk spr' zk hnpqy  
(Cow. 8,26–27 = TAD B2.3)  
“If tomorrow or any other day NN or his son should lay claim to this house, show this document.”
- g. whn NN tśn' l-b'lh NN ... ksp śn'h b-r'šh (Krael. 7,25 = TAD B3.8)  
“And if NN divorces her husband NN ... the price of divorce is on her head.”<sup>76</sup>

*tšbq* in no. e is also an example of an internal passive.

The situation of the protasis is usually anterior to that of the apodosis. Moreover, a reference point may be given in the protasis in the form of another situation or a time specification to which another situation, also belonging to the protasis, is anterior. The anterior situation is expressed by *qṭal* which in this case has a clearly perfective character:

- h. whn mytt wl' šlmtk b-ksp' znh wmrbyth bny hmw yšlmwn lk ... (Cow. 10,14–15 = TAD B3.1) “And if I die and have not repaid you this money and the interest thereon, my sons will pay you ...”<sup>77</sup>

*qṭal* in the protasis can also refer to past situations. In contrast to counterfactual conditionals of the past, the speaker indicates in this case that he does not know whether or not the condition formulated in the protasis has been fulfilled:

- i. h[n] zbntwn hmw 'bwr wyhbtwn 'l-btyn ṭb whn l' ksp' hbw l-yd NN  
(Berlin 23000,5–6 = TAD A3.10)  
“I[f] you bought grain (with) them and brought (it) to our houses, it is good. And if not, give the silver to NN.”

The 1. and 2.sg. of *qṭal* with verba III t are usually written with /-tt/ and /-tty/,<sup>78</sup> so *nħt* in the following example probably represents an AP:<sup>79</sup>

76 See also: Cow. 8,20–21 = TAD B2.3 (rśnky – 'ntn); 9,8–9 = B2.4 (tbnh + tśn'k – šlyth hy); 9,13–14 (rśnk – 'ntn); 15,33–34 = B2.6 ('mr – 'ntn); 18,3 = B6.4 (t'mr – l' yštm'); 20,13–14 = B2.9 (yršwnkm – yntn); 27,8–10 = A4.5 (yt'bd – yty[d']); Krael. 4,16 = TAD B3.5 (ygrmk – yntn); 4,18–19 ('mwt – šlytn); Driver 4,3 = A6.8,3 (yšlh – tšt'l); 7,8–9 = TAD A6.10 (yhwh + l' tb'wn – tšt'lwn); WDSF 3,5–6 (y'bd – ymrq, yntn); Bac A4.3 (n'bd).

77 See further: Cow. 10,7–8 = TAD B3.1; Cow. 11,7–8 = B4.2; Krael. 11,8–9 = TAD B3.13.

78 See for example: Cow. 10,14 = TAD B3.1; Krael. 11,8 = TAD B3.13.

79 Cowley (p. 144) and Muraoka (GEA § 84n) see it the same way.

- j. k'n hn nḥt 'nt l-mnpy 'l tšbq l-NN (Cow. 42,10–11 = TAD A3.8)  
 “Now, if you come down to Memphis, do not leave (anything) to NN.”

The protasis can also have nominal forms:

- k. hn 'l-mr'y ṭb yštlḥ ... (Driver 3,5 = TAD A6.3)  
 “If it seems good to my Lord, may it be sent ...”<sup>80</sup>

In one case, the apodosis has a qṭal form which appears to represent the coincidence case:

- l. hn knm hw ... 'ḥr 'nh bgh zy NN zk yḥbt l-NN (Driver 8,3–5 = TAD A6.11)  
 “If it is like that ... then I hereby give the fief of that NN to NN.”

The protasis can be introduced by the expression mḥr 'w ywm 'ḥrn + yiqṭul:

- m. mḥr 'w ywm 'ḥrn ymwt NN NN hy šlyṭḥ b-kl nksn (Krael. 2,10–11 = TAD B3.3)  
 “Tomorrow or any other day, (if) NN (m.) dies, NN (f.) shall have power over all property.”<sup>81</sup>

The construction *w* + subject + predicate can describe the circumstance under which the situation of the previous sentence takes place or the condition that must be fulfilled for it to take place and then has the meaning of a protasis:

- n. wl' ytlqḥ b-dyn wspr' znh b-ydky (Cow. 8,17–18 = TAD B2.3)  
 “It (i.e. a forged document) will not be accepted in court if this document is in your hand.”<sup>82</sup>

Finally, two sentences connected by *w* can have the meaning of protasis and apodosis, as in the phrase *yhk wl' yšdq*:

- o. w'hk b-dyn wl' 'šdq (Cow. 8,22 = TAD B2.3)  
 “(The house is certainly yours.) And if I go to court, they will not believe me.”<sup>83</sup>

80 See further: Driver 10,2 = TAD A6.13 (ṭb – tštlḥ); Bac. A1,9 + B5,5 (ṭb – yt'št); Berlin 23000,6–7 = TAD A3.10 (b-ydk[m] – [h]wd'w).

81 See also: Cow. 15,17–18 = TAD B2.6; 15,20–21; 15,22–23; Krael. 2,7–8 = TAD B3.3.

82 The phrase *wspr' znh b-ydk* is attested quite often; see for example Cow. 8,22 = TAD B2.3.

83 See also: Cow. 10,19 = TAD B3.1; Krael. 10,15 = TAD B3.11.



As can be seen in the previous examples, the apodosis usually follows asyndetically. It can, however, also be introduced by *w* or *ʾhr*:

- p.    *hn kn ʿbdw ʿd zy ʿgwrʾ zk ytbnh wšdqh yhwʾ lk qdm yhw* (Cow. 30,27 = TAD A4.7)  
       “If they do so that this temple be rebuilt, may it be for your benefit before Yhw.”<sup>84</sup>
- q.    *hn ršynk dynʾ ... ʾhr nntn lk ...* (Cow. 28,9–10 = TAD B2.11)  
       “If we sue you ... then we will give you ...”<sup>85</sup>

Let us now turn to protases introduced by *hn lw*. Unfortunately, the sentences are not completely preserved, but it seems that the conditions are conceived of as counterfactual:

- r.    *hn lw glyñ ʾnpyn ʾ-NN qdmn lkn lʾ k-znh hw[h]* (Cow. 37,8 = TAD A4.2)  
       “If we had appeared before NN before, then it would not be / would not have been this way.”

Cowley (pp. 133, 134) considers *lkn* to be the beginning of a new main clause and translates: “But it was not so”. *lkn*, however, is not attested in this meaning in Aramaic, but usually means *therefore, so then*,<sup>86</sup> so it seems more likely that *lkn* introduces the apodosis here. *hn lw* + *qṭal* in any case describe a counterfactual condition with past time reference.

*hn lw* is also attested in the Ahiqar Narrative:

- s.    *hnlw [ʾh]yq[r] zk šbʾ spr ḥqym [wyʿt kl ʾtw]r lmh hw yḥbl mtʾ ʾlyn*  
       (Cow., Ah.-N. 35–36 = TAD C1.1)

The king, who is speaking here, responds to a slander against Ahiqar and then orders one of his officers to find and kill Ahiqar. Perhaps he wants to express that Ahiqar is not a wise secretary at all and thus justify his order to kill him, that is:

84    The two *w* in Cow. 20,14 = TAD B2.9 and Cow. 25,15 = TAD B2.10 cited by Folmer (Variation 419), however, belong to the protasis, not to the apodosis.

85    For *ʾhr* introducing an apodosis, see also: Krael. 11,5–6 = TAD B3.13; 11,8–9; 9–10; Driver 6,6 = TAD A6.9; 8,3 = A6.11.

86    Cf. Beyer, ATTM 1 607.

If this [Ah]iq[ar], the old man, were a wise secretary [and advisor of all Assu]r, why would he corrupt the country against us?

Unfortunately, the sentence containing *lwl'* is not completely preserved either and difficult to interpret. It is not even certain whether the lines including protasis and apodosis belong together. Porten and Yardeni, whom I will follow here, differ in their arrangement of the lines from Cowley. If the two verb forms *qtl't* are the predicates of the main and subordinate clauses, it could be a counterfactual conditional of the past:

- t. *lwl' b-'tr ym' qtl't hmw [... q]tl't hmw* (Cow. 71,13 + 20 = TAD C1.2, 4)  
 “If you had not killed them in a place by the sea [...] I would have killed them.”

Or the other way round: *If I had not killed them ...*

## 11 Verbs of Perception

After a verb of perception, the AP can describe a situation that was simultaneous with the perception:

- a. *ḥzyt 'bd' zk mhlk tn[h]* (Saq. 5,4 = TAD B8.3)  
 “I saw that slave walking her[e].”

## 12 Summary

### 12.1 *Qṭal*

*qṭal* is used actively but also forms an internal passive (G- and D-stem; 2.1). Regardless of the type of action, it expresses anteriority to a reference point. The reference point can coincide with the speech time (2) or be in the past (4.1 + 4.2). *qṭal* can express situations that are relevant for the present and can thus have the meaning of an anterior (2.2).

Simultaneity with a reference point in the past cannot be expressed by *qṭal* except with stative verbs like *hwy* or occasionally with atelic ones like *mrd* “to rebel” and *nṭr* “to guard” (5).

With the verbs *rḥq* “to be removed”, *śn'* “to hate” > “divorce” and the greeting formula *šlm wšrrt šgy' hwšrt l[k]* “I hereby send [you] much welfare and strength”, *qṭal* denotes the coincidence case (6.1, nos. s + t). The same use is

also attested in the apodosis of a conditional clause (yhb “to give” [10]). qṭal of šby “to want” has present time reference in both main and subordinate clauses; the same holds true for the phrase l-mn zy + qṭal of rḥm / šby “to whom you want (give it)”; 6.1 + 6.2).

In one case, qṭal of hwy has a resultative meaning: *ʿdn hwh* “the time has come” (6.1). In one main clause, it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (8).

In the protasis of conditional clauses, qṭal is used in particular when the verb directly follows *hn*; it is also used in protases if the situation expressed there refers to the past, but the speaker does not know whether it has taken place and whether the condition is fulfilled or not. Furthermore, qṭal can express anteriority to a reference point mentioned in the protasis: *If I die and have not paid you* (*l' šlmtk*; 10, no. h). Moreover, qṭal is attested after *hnlw*. Both sentences are unfortunately very badly preserved, but probably *hnlw* + qṭal expresses counterfactual conditionals of the past (10).

## 12.2 *Yiqṭul*

In Bactria, an internal passive of the G-stem is attested in addition to the active forms (9.1 + 10). *yiqṭul* has a short and a long form which in many cases are graphically identical.

The long form can express posteriority to the speech time in both main and subordinate clauses; especially in subordinate clauses it is often not easy to decide with certainty whether the situations are meant indicatively or non-indicatively (7.1 + 7.2). It can be found in the protasis and apodosis of conditional clauses; in the protasis, it is mainly used if a sentence constituent is inserted between *hn* and the verb form, while in direct succession qṭal is preferred (10). In addition, the long form is found in consecutive clauses after *kn* + imperative + *kzy* and in final clauses after *kn kzy* (9.2); negated by *l'*, it can express general prohibitions to a 2. person, whereas *l' + yiqṭulS* expresses specific instructions (9. 1); in temporal clauses after *kzy* “when” and *ʿd* “until” as well as in the phrase *mḥr ʿw ywm ʿḥrn + yiqṭul* “tomorrow or another day, if ...”, which has the meaning of a protasis, it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (8 + 10). In the phrase *l-mn zy tšbyn* “to whom you will (give it)”, it is interchangeable with qṭal and refers to the present and future (6.2). The three *yiqṭul* forms of stative verbs used with present time reference and *ysbl* “he cares” expressing an extratemporal situation are probably the long forms (6.1 + 6.2, no. g). In *l' ʿd nplg* “we do not yet divide”, *yiqṭul* refers to a period of time that has not yet been completed (6.2).

In one case, *yiqṭul* is combined with a qṭal form of *hwy* (*hwyt ʿšlh*). Unfortunately, the cotext has been destroyed, so the meaning cannot be

deduced with certainty. Possibly the compound indicates habituality in the past (3.1).

The short form is used non-indicatively and expresses wishes and instructions in main clauses. Negated by 'l, it is used as a negated cohortative (1. pers.), a vetitive (2. pers.) or a negated jussive (3. pers.; 9.1). In subordinate clauses, it is, as far as I can see, not attested.

### 12.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP and the participle of the t-stems can be used alone and in combination with hwy. Without hwy it first of all describes situations in main and subordinate clauses which are simultaneous with the speech time. These can be taking place at the moment or in a period of time not yet completed which is not so extensive that the actions could be considered habitual (6.1 + 6.2). In a main clause from Samaria and a relative clause (zy 'zln "who will go"), it probably denotes posteriority to the speech time (7.1 + 7.2).

In since-constructions, the AP describes situations that have not yet been completed and that extend into the present (lbšn, šymyn, štyn; 6.1). In two examples, it possibly expresses the coincidence case, for which otherwise qṭal is used (6.1). It describes accompanying circumstances (in the compound w + subject + AP or alone) that define the situations of the superordinate sentence more precisely and are simultaneous with them (5, nos. e–g); after a verb of perception, it describes the situation that was perceived as proceeding (mhlk; 11). *nḥt* in a protasis after *hn* presumably represents an AP which describes a real condition with reference to the future (10, no. k).

In two main clause examples, the AP expresses anteriority to the speech time (mṭ'h and 'mr; 2.1); however, not too much weight should be attached to these two examples, especially since there may be a spelling mistake in at least one case.

Combined with a qṭal form of hwy, the AP describes situations that happened repeatedly in the past and may have occurred so frequently that they can be considered habitual; with dynamic verbs, hwy precedes the AP, with stative ones it follows (3.1 + 3.2). Furthermore, hwā + qāṭil is used in a temporal clause, the main clause of which has unfortunately not been preserved. Even if it is not possible to make any certain statements about this case, it is likely that the situation expressed by the AP (hwy'th) took place parallel to that mentioned in the main clause (5, no. d).

yihwēL + qāṭil indicates a repeated situation in the future in one example (7.2, no. d), hwī + qāṭil expresses an order, but it could not be decided with certainty whether the compound is meant to emphasise the repetition of the commanded or its urgency (9.1).

### 12.4 *Qtıl*

The PP can be combined with a following qtal-, yiqṭulL- and yiqṭulS form of hwy; hwy and PP are congruent in number and gender but are written as two words; it can be used in the sense of a resultative, an anterior or an adjective: *ptyh* “it is open”. With past time reference, the qtal form of hwy can follow, but in these cases simple PP is also possible: *zy ’syryn l-mšbq* “who had been detained” (4.2). Usually, however, simple PP has the speech time as its reference point: *l’ mṭlln* “they have not been roofed” (6.1 + 6.2). Combined with a yiqṭulL form of hwy, it can describe passive situations depending on a verb expressing a command: *kzy ... ṭṭyln yhwwn* “that ... they be roofed” (9.2). Interestingly, the PP in this compound has neither the meaning of an anterior nor a resultative but is used like a yiqṭul form of the t-stem. Combined with a yiqṭulS form of hwy, it is attested in the phrase *ydy’ yhwylk* “it should be known to you” (9.1). Finally, the PP is part of the compound qṭille. It denotes anteriority to the speech time and seems to be restricted to discussing passages (2.1).

## 13 Analysis

Let us first have a look at qtal. Its use to express anteriority to the speech time can be interpreted as aspectual or temporal, whereas its use to denote anteriority to a reference point in the past rather speaks for an aspectual character. The use in protases of real conditional clauses of the present / future likewise points to an aspectual function. Considering that in Old Aramaic predominantly yiqṭul is attested in the protasis, one might be inclined to attribute this use of qtal to the influence of Akkadian *iprus*, for this verb form also expresses primarily anteriority to the speech time and is used after *šumma* in real conditional clauses of the present / future.<sup>87</sup> Methodologically, however, it seems to me quite questionable to assume an external influence as long as a linguistic peculiarity can also be explained by a development within the language. As outlined in sect. 7 of chapter 1, on a noematic level there is nothing to be said against the use of a perfective verb form in the protasis of conditional clauses with reference to the present or future, and if qtal turns out to be a perfective signum, its use after *hn* can easily be understood as an inner-Aramaic development.

Its use to express the coincidence case must be considered in a differentiated way. *rhqt* and *šn’t* are to be understood in a resultative sense: *I have distanced myself and am now distant*, and: *I have started to hate and now hate*.

87 See v. Soden, GAG §§ 79 + 161; cf. Folmer, Variation 414f.

The resultative emphasises that the situation from which a state arises is completed, i.e. perfective, not that it is in the past. With *hwšrt* things are different; it expresses a coincidence case but is not resultative, so that it cannot be taken as an argument for the perfective character of *qṭal*.

The use of the *qṭal* form of *šby* and *rḥm* to express simultaneity with the speech time can probably be explained in the same way as in the case of *rḥqt* and *šn't*, i.e. resultatively: *someone has developed a desire and now desires*.

Accordingly, Imperial Aramaic *qṭal* must be taken as a marked perfective form.

*yiqṭulL* is not easy to analyse. It mainly expresses posteriority to the speech time but when used with stative verbs it has present time reference. Since its non-indicative use is limited to subordinate clauses, where subordinators already make the non-indicative character of the situation clear, one might be inclined to classify it as a modal signum for expressing indicativity, as in Old Aramaic. However, this interpretation is hampered by the existence of *yihwēL + qāṭil* which presumably denotes the extended imperfective aspect. I am therefore inclined to analyse it as an aspectual signum for the expression of posterior perfectivity. Due to its use with present time reference, it cannot be regarded as marked.

*yiqṭulS* is a marked signum expressing non-indicative situations. The existence of compounds such as *hwī + qāṭil* and *yihwēL + qāṭil* makes it likely that *yiqṭulS* was in opposition to *yihwēS + qāṭil* even if such a signum could not be proven.

*qāṭil* is an integral part of the verbal system. According to the evidence, it is a marked aspect form for the expression of imperfective situations. The compound *hwā + qāṭil*, on the other hand, does not only express imperfective but also habitual situations with past time reference. *hwī + qāṭil* and *yihwēL + qāṭil* could not be analysed with absolute certainty but are probably also to be understood as extended imperfective. This means that the imperative, which only has a non-indicative marking, is to be considered marked, whereas its counterpart *hwī + qāṭil* is to be regarded as unmarked because it not only has a non-indicative meaning component (*hwī*) but also an aspectual one (*qāṭil*) which is presumably to be considered extended imperfective and thus unmarked.

Interestingly, the AP of stative verbs is followed by *hwy*, while the AP of actional verbs is preceded by it. This means that stative *qāṭil* is considered a nominal form because also with a nominal predicate the form of *hwy* usually follows: *bry yhwh* 'he shall be my son'.<sup>88</sup> An extension of its main function is

88 See Muraoka, GEA § 77 bk.

its use to denote posteriority to the speech time. It is probably no coincidence that two of the three examples are verbs of movement (zy 'zln and nht in a protasis) because a movement that is just progressing is usually implicitly connected in the speaker's conception with a goal that is still in the future. Once this association of qāṭil with posteriority is given, it can easily be used if the whole situation is still in the future.

Although qṭil is occasionally used like a t-stem, it is primarily a resultative verb form. The fact that a form of hwy always follows the PP, suggests that it was conceived more as a nominal than as a verbal form. The compound qṭille is unfortunately attested only twice; it seems to be restricted to discussing passages and used in the sense of an anterior. It has to be considered as marked.

The verbal system of Imperial Aramaic has nine marked verb forms: qṭal, qāṭil, qṭil + S-suffix, qṭil + hwā, qṭil + yihwēL, qṭil + yihwēS, qṭille, yiqṭulS, imperative. Unmarked are: yiqṭulL, hwā + qāṭil, yihwēL + qāṭil, hwī + qāṭil.

In the indicative field, there are two aspectual oppositions:

qṭal (anterior perfective) : hwā + qāṭil (anterior ext. imperfective)  
 yiqṭulL (posterior perfective) : yihwēL + qāṭil (posterior ext. imperfective)

In the modal domain, we have the following pair:

imperative (perfective) : hwī + qāṭil (ext. imperfective)

The existence of an opposition pair:

yiqṭulS (perfective) : yihwēS + qāṭil (imperfective)

can not be proven but does not seem improbable.

## Biblical Aramaic

### o The Text Corpus

The following passages of the Old Testament are written in Aramaic: Jeremiah 10,11, Daniel 2,4–7,28, Ezra 4,8–6,18 and 7,12–7,26.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭal*

|      | sg.          | pl.                     |
|------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 3.m. | קָטַל        | קָטְלוּ                 |
| 3.f. | קָטְלָה      | קָטְלָהּ                |
| 2.m. | קָטַלְתָּ    | קָטַלְתֶּם              |
| 2.f. | not attested | not attested            |
| 1.   | קָטַלְתִּי   | קָטַלְתֶּם <sup>1</sup> |

The G-stem has an internal passive with /i/ after the second consonant: תִּלְיִטַּק (D 7,11) “she was killed”; the passive forms of qatṭel, šaqṭel, ’aqṭel and haqṭel are the corresponding t-stems and hāqṭel respectively.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

yiqṭul has a long and a short form. The long forms are:

|      | sg.          | pl.                       |
|------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 3.m. | יִקְטֹל      | יִקְטְלוּ                 |
| 3.f. | יִקְטְלָה    | יִקְטְלָהּ                |
| 2.m. | יִקְטַלְתָּ  | יִקְטַלְתֶּם              |
| 2.f. | not attested | not attested              |
| 1.   | יִקְטַלְתִּי | יִקְטַלְתֶּם <sup>3</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> See Bauer-Leander, GBA 100f.

<sup>2</sup> See Bauer-Leander, GBA 112, 115.

<sup>3</sup> See Bauer-Leander, GBA 96–99.



The long form is negated by אֵל and marked by an /n/ in the 3.pl. and generally in front of object suffixes: וְיִקְבְּלוּן (D 7,18) “and they will receive”, יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה (D 7,10) “they serve him”; the short form is negated by אֵל and has no /n/: יֵאָבְדוּ מֵאֶרֶץ “may they disappear from the earth” (J 10,11), אֵל־יִשְׁתַּנּוּ (D 5,10) “may they not change”.<sup>4</sup> A distinction between short and long forms with verba III y in the singular as in Old and Imperial Aramaic cannot be proven; both indicative and non-indicative forms can be written with a final א or ה.<sup>5</sup>

An internal passive of yiqṭal is not attested, the t-stems are used for this purpose.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The participles of the G-stem have the forms qāṭil / qāṭel and qṭil, those of the non-G-stems begin with the prefix m-. The stems qatṭel, haqṭel, 'aqṭel and šaqṭel distinguish between active and passive by the vowels /-i-/, /-e-/ and /-a-/ respectively after the second root consonant.<sup>6</sup> A form of hwy usually precedes the AP. Only with the verbs שָׁכַל, הִלֵּךְ, חִזָּה, אָתָה the word order is AP + qṭal of hwy. The endings in the stat. abs. are:

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| sg.m. | קָטַל ~ קֵטַל        |
| sg.f. | קָטְלָה              |
| pl.m. | קָטְלוּ              |
| pl.f. | קָטְלוּ <sup>7</sup> |

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

The PP has the same endings:

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| sg.m. | קֵטִיל                 |
| sg.f. | קֵטִילָה               |
| pl.m. | קֵטִילִין              |
| pl.f. | קֵטִילִין <sup>8</sup> |

A form of hwy may follow or precede.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bauer-Leander, GBA 89, 122ff.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, sect. 8.1 nos. i and j.

<sup>6</sup> See Bauer-Leander, GBA 118–121.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bauer-Leander, GBA 216, 239.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bauer-Leander, GBA 106.

### 1.5 *Imperative*

The imperative has the following forms:

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| sg.m. | קטל                       |
| sg.f. | קטלי                      |
| pl.m. | קטלו                      |
| pl.f. | not attested <sup>9</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority to the speech time is mainly expressed by *qṭal*. It is thus the primary signum in the narrative but is also used in passages that are to be regarded as discussing.<sup>10</sup> In the latter case, *qṭal* often has the meaning of an anterior. If both usages are attested, I will first give an example of narrating, then of discussing *qṭal*:

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. בח בליליא קטיל ב (D 5,30)  
"That night B. was killed."<sup>11</sup>
- b. והשתכחת חסיר (D 5,27)  
"You have been found defective."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Bauer-Leander, GBA 99.

<sup>10</sup> Rosén's classification of *qṭal* as "subordinative" and the assumption that adverbs such as *באדן* and *בען*, in combination with *qṭal*, have a subordinating function (Tenses 188–190), is hardly convincing even when viewed benevolently, especially since his functional attributions of other verb forms are also difficult to reconcile with the findings in the Book of Daniel. Rosén's nevertheless very attractive work will be discussed again below.

<sup>11</sup> The following overviews do not claim to be complete; for narrating *qṭal* see further: | D 2,14 (התיב "he gave back"); D 2,25 (דקו "they crushed (in a flash)"); D 2,46 (נפל על-אנפוחי "he fell on his face"); D 2,48 (יהב-לה "he gave him"); D 2,49 (מני "he appointed"); D 3,21 (רמיו "they were thrown"); D 5,5 (נפקו "they appeared"); D 5,10 (עללת "she entered"); E 6,15 (שיצא "it was completed").

<sup>12</sup> For discussing punctual *qṭal*, see also: D 3,10 (שמת טעם "you have given order"); D 5,11 (הקימה "he has appointed him"); E 4,14 (שלחנא "we sent"); E 5,3 (שם לכם טעם "he has given order to you"); E 6,12 (שמת טעם "I have given order").

## 2.1.2 Telic

- c. אָזל דניאל לביתה (D 2,17)  
 "Then Daniel went to his house."<sup>13</sup>
- d. אַנטה מלכא רעיוניך על־משכבך קִלקוּ (D 2,29)  
 "Thoughts have arisen on your bed, King."<sup>14</sup>

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. אָדן דניאל בָּרַךְ לאלה שמיא (D 2, 19)  
 "Then Daniel praised the god of heaven."<sup>15</sup>

## 2.1.4 Stative

- f. וּמלכין תקיפין הָיוּ על־ירושלם (E 4,20)  
 "Mighty kings were (= ruled) over Jerusalem."<sup>16</sup>

Most of the *q̄tal* forms referred to here as discussing are interpreted by Li (Daniel 24f, 32f) as present anterior / resultative, the narrating ones as simple past. By anterior, Li means situations in the past that are still relevant to the present. It is true that the situations in the discussing examples still have relevance for the present, but this meaning necessarily results from the discussing character of the corresponding passages and does not need to have anything to do with an anterior function of *q̄tal*. What is more significant is that the use of *q̄tal* in both narrating and discussing passages has something in common, namely that it denotes completed situations, i.e. it is used in a perfective sense.

13 See further: D 3,1 (עבד צלם "he made a statue"); D 3,8 (קרבו "they came closer"); D 3,19 (התמלי "he was filled"); D 5,3 (היתיו "they brought"); D 5,29 (הלבשו "they dressed"); D 7,1 (חלמא כתב "he wrote down the dream").

14 See also: D 4,32 (מה עבדת "what have you done?"); D 5,24 (כתבא דנה רשים "this document has been written"); E 4,15 (החרבת "it has been destroyed"); E 4,18 (נשתונא קרי "the document has been read out").

15 See further: D 5,3 (אשתיו בהון "they drank out of them"); D 5,4 (שבחו "they praised"); E 4,19 (בקריו "they searched"); E 5,1 (התנבי "he acted as a prophet").

16 See also: D 2,13 (בעו "they wanted"); E 5,5 (הות "she was"). הוי, however, is also used in a telic or punctual sense ("become"): וַאֲבנא ... הות לטור רב (D 2,35) "and the stone ... became a great mountain."

The PP is rarely used in the sense of an anterior or resultative. Much more common is its use, with or without hwy, as an adjective. Take the D-stem PP of the verb שני “to make different, to change”:

- g. והיא מְשִׁנִּיה מִן־כָּל־חַיּוֹתָא (D. 7,7)  
 “And she was different from all the animals.”<sup>17</sup>

The point here is not the action that may have brought about the condition but only how the animal was.

As Li (Daniel 62f) has convincingly shown, the PP can describe the result of a passive action as merely potential, as in:

- h. רוּה דְחִיל (D 2,31)

The AP of דחל is used in D 5,19 with the preposition מן in the sense of “to be afraid of”, whereas the PP in D 2,31 does not say that the sight of it was actually feared but only that it had the potential to be so, i.e. fear-able or frightening.

In addition, the AP and, in the Book of Daniel, yiqṭul are also used to express anteriority. Understanding the use of the AP and yiqṭul in this function is not easy and it seems to me more appropriate to discuss it in a separate section at the end of the chapter when we are more familiar with the other use of these two forms (see below section 14).

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

If the subordinate situation is to be anterior to the speech time, the superordinate clause is often related to the present or future. The corresponding evidence is therefore taken throughout from discussing passages. In the subordinate clause, qṭal is used:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵהוֹן דִּי־ש. 1 ע. דִּי־שָׁלַח מַלְאכָה (D 3,28)  
 “Blessed be the god of Sch. and ‘A. who sent his angel.”<sup>18</sup>

17 Likewise, פְּתִיחוֹן in D. 6,11 is probably to be understood as “open”, not “opened”, and נְקָא in D. 7,9 as “pure”, not “cleansed”.

18 Further qṭal forms in relative clauses which are anterior to the speech time can be found in: D 2,26 (דִּי־חִוִּית “that I have seen”); D 2,37 (יְהִב־לֶךְ ... דִּי “who ... has given you”); D 3,5 (דִּי הִקִּים “that he erected”); D 3,12 (דִּי־מָנִית “whom you have appointed”); D 4,17 (דִּי חִוִּית “that you have seen”); D 4,19 (דִּי רָבִית “you who have grown up”); D 4,21 (מָטָת “that”)

## 2.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. וּשְׁמַעַת עַלִיד דִּי ... חֲכָמָה יִתִּירָה הִשְׁתַּכַּחַת בְּךָ (D 5,14)  
 “I have heard about you (and now know) that ... great wisdom has been found in you.”<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2.3 Causal Clauses

- c. יָדַע אָנָּה דִּי עֲדָנָא אַנְתּוֹן זָבִנִּין כִּלְקַבֵּל דִּי חֲזִיתוֹן דִּי (D 2,8)  
 “I know that you are trying to buy time, since you have seen that ...”<sup>20</sup>

In one case, a qṭal form of הוּי is used with a following PP of the G-stem:

- d. בְּנִין בִּיתָא דִּי־הָוָא בְּנָה מִקְדַּמַּת דְּנָה שְׁנִין שְׁגִיאָן (E 5,11)  
 “We are rebuilding the house that was built many years ago.”

Perhaps the use of הוּי serves to underline the temporal distance expressed by שְׁנִין שְׁגִיאָן; at any rate, a reference point in the past to which the situation may have been anterior is not mentioned. In any case, we have here one of the few cases where the PP is used in the sense of an anterior. A further instance might be:

- e. עַל דִּי חֲזָה לְמִזְיָה (D. 3,19)  
 “(He ordered the stove to be heated seven times more) than it was usually heated”, literally: “than it had been seen (until now).”

The following PP in D 3,22 can be interpreted in different ways:

- f. כִּלְקַבֵּל דְּנָה מִן־דִּי ... אַתּוֹנָא אַזָּא יִתִּירָה

Depending on whether one interprets אַזָּא resultatively or adjectively, one has to translate: “Since the stove had been heated very strongly” or: “was very hot”.<sup>21</sup>

“that arrived”); D 4,27 (דִּי־אָנָּה בְּנִיתָה “that I have built”); D 5,13 (דִּי הֵי־תִי “that he brought”); E 4,11 (דִּי שְׁלַחוּ “that they sent”); E 7,15 (דִּי הִתְנַדְּבוּ “that they gave voluntarily”).

19 See also: E 4,12 (סִלְקוֹן ... דִּי “that ... they ascended”); E 5,8 (דִּי־אֶזְלָנָא לִיהוּדָא “that we have gone to Judaea”).

20 See further: D 2,10 (לֹא שְׁאַל ... כִּלְקַבֵּל דִּי “since nobody has asked yet”); D 2,23 (יְהִבְתָּ ... דִּי “since you have given”).

21 On this passage, see also Li, Daniel 64.

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

Habitual situations with reference to the past are expressed by a qṭal form of הוּי and an AP or a participle of a t-stem. As Li has shown, the participles of the t-stems are the passive-reflexive counterparts of the AP, not the PP.<sup>22</sup> הוּי can follow or precede the AP / participle of the t-stem. The compound AP + הוּי is only attested with the verbs שָׁכַל, הִלֵּךְ, חָזָה and אָתָה, otherwise the AP follows הוּי:

##### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. דִּי־הָוָה צָבִיא הָוָא קָטַל (D 5,19)  
 “Whoever he wanted, he killed.”<sup>23</sup>

##### 3.1.2 Atelic

- b. אֲדִין דְּנִיָּאל דְּנָה הָוָא מְתַנַּצַּח עַל־סַרְכִּיָּא וְאַח־שְׁדַּרְפַּנִּיָּא כְּלִי־קַבֵּל דִּי רוּחַ יִתִּירָא בָּהּ  
 (D 6,4)  
 “Now this Daniel showed himself superior to the highest officials and satraps because an extraordinary spirit was in him.”

Despite the introductory אֲדִין, it seems to me inappropriate to interpret הָוָא מְתַנַּצַּח as progressive or inceptive, as Li (Daniel 8of) does. The fact that an extraordinary spirit dwelt in him rather suggests that the superiority was a fundamental one.<sup>24</sup>

##### 3.1.3 Complex + Stative

- c. הָוּוּ זָאֲעִין וְדַחֲלִין מִן־קַדְמוּהִי (D 5,19)  
 “They trembled and were afraid of him.”<sup>25</sup>

hwā + qāṭil, however, also expresses situations that cannot be considered habitual but which merely extend over a longer period of time.

<sup>22</sup> Non-Active Participles, especially 125ff.

<sup>23</sup> The same expression, only with other verbs, follows three more times.

<sup>24</sup> This is also how Gzella (TAM 246) understands the passage.

<sup>25</sup> See also: D 6,5 הָוּוּ בָּעִין (‘they looked for’); 6,11 כְּלִי־קַבֵּל דִּי־הָוָא עָבַד (‘as he used to do’).

- d. ועד מעלי שמשא הוא מִשְׁתַּדֵּר להצלותה (D 6,15)  
 “And until sunset he made efforts to free him.”

### 3.2 Subordinate Clauses

One example of *hwā* + *qāṭil* in subordinate clauses has already been given above (no. a); another one is הָיָא עָבֵד in D 6,11:

- a. ודניאל כדי יִדַּע דִּי־רָשִׁים כתבא עַל לביתה וכּוּיִן פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד ירושלם וזמנין תלתא ביומא הוא בָּרַךְ עַל־ ברכוהי וּמְצִלָּא וּמוֹדָא קדם אלהה כל־קבל דִּי־הָיָא עָבֵד מִן־קדמת דנה  
 “When Daniel had learned that the document had been drawn up, he entered his house, whose windows in the upper chamber were opened to Jerusalem, and where he fell on his knees three times a day, praying and praising his god, just as he used to do before.”

This sentence also testifies to a very special use of the AP; בָּרַךְ, and מְצִלָּא וּמוֹדָא describe habitual situations, too, that, however, are to be understood as accompanying; this is the reason why the simple AP is chosen here. This use of the AP will be discussed in detail below (section 14).

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category is only attested in subordinate clauses and is expressed by *qṭal*.

### 4.1 Relative Clauses

- a. כל־קבל דנה דניאל עַל עַל־אריוך די מְנִי מלכא להובדה לחכימי בבל (D 2,24)  
 “Therefore Daniel went to Aryoch, whom the king had appointed to kill the wise men of Babylon.”<sup>26</sup>

### 4.2 Temporal Clause

- b. אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שְׁמַע שְׂגִיָּא בָּאֵשׁ עלוהי (D 6,15)  
 “Then, after the king had heard the matter, he was very displeased with it.”

26 For more relative clauses, see: D 2,14 (דִּי נָפַק “who had gone out”); D 2,35 (דִּי־מָחַת “that had crushed”); D 3,3 (דִּי הָקִים “which he had had erected”); D 6,25 (דִּי־אָבְלוּ קרצוהי “who had defamed him”); E 5,14 (דִּי הִנֵּפַק “which he had had removed”).

### 4.3 *Object Clause*

- c. וּכְעַן הוֹדַעְתָּנִי דִּי־בְעִינָא מִנְךָ (D 2,23)  
 “And now you have revealed to me what we had asked you to do.”

### 4.4 *Causal Clause*

Stative situations often do not allow a clear decision as to whether they are meant anterior or simultaneous due to the vagueness of their boundaries:

- d. וּכְלִי־חַבֵּל לֹא־הִשְׁתַּכַּח בֵּה דִּי הָיָמָן בְּאֱלֹהֵי (D 6,24)  
 “And no harm was found on him because he had trusted / trusted in his god.”

The passage describes Daniel’s condition after he was taken out of the lion’s den. Even if his faith in God was primarily relevant to the time in the den, it may of course be alluded to the fact that he was a believer in general.

## 5 *Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past*

Sentences describing accompanying circumstances of superordinate situations and the special use of the AP will be discussed below (section 14).

Apart from that, this category is usually expressed by qāṭil + hwā in main clauses.

- a. לִקְצַת יֶרֶחִין תִּרְי־עֶשֶׂר עַל־הֵיכַל מַלְכוּתָהּ דִּי בָבֶל מְהֵלֶךְ הָוָה (D 4,26)  
 “After 12 months he was walking on (the roof of) the royal palace in Babylon.”

The reference point to which the walking is imperfective is the following עֲנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר “the king spoke”.

qāṭil + hwā is often used with the verb חִזָּה “to see” when a dream is described:

- b. וְחֻזִּי רָאִשִּׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבֵי חִזָּה הָיִית וְאִלּוּ (D 4,7)  
 “Images in my head I saw (when I lay) on my bed, and behold: ...”

The king, who is speaking here, describes the situation of seeing as simultaneous with the events in the dream and thus as imperfective. After the description of the dream, he says in 4,15:



- c. דנה חלמא חזית אנה  
 “This dream I saw.”

Now the dream is viewed as a complete whole and *qṭal* is used. So here we have a clear example of the opposition *qāṭil* + *hwā* (imperfective aspect) : *qṭal* (perfective aspect).

The other examples are from subordinate clauses. Subordinate situations that are simultaneous with a reference point in the past can be expressed by the AP; it is not necessary to mark the past time reference with a *qṭal* form of הוי, i.e. the reference point of the AP is the superordinate clause, not the speech time. The subordinate situation can be habitual (no. d) or just be in progress (no. e):

- d. באדין דריוש מלכא כתב לכל-עממא ... די-דארין בכל-ארעא (D 6,26)  
 “Then King Darius wrote to all peoples ... that lived all over the world.”
- e. ומלכא חזה פס ידא די כתבה (D 5,5)  
 “And the king saw the tip of a hand that was writing.”

With stative verbs like ידע, also *qṭal* can denote simultaneity with a reference point. The verb form is to be understood in a resultative way: *he had experienced it and then knew*:

- f. לא השפלת לבבך כל-קבל די כל-דנה ידעת (D 5,22)  
 “You did not humiliate your heart even though you (had experienced and therefore) knew all this.”

Also a nominal clause can express simultaneity:

- g. אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על-סרכיא ואחשדרפניא כל-קבל די רוח יתירא בה (D 6,4)  
 “Now this Daniel showed himself superior to the highest officials and satraps because an extraordinary spirit was in him.”<sup>27</sup>

In a passage probably influenced by Hebrew, *k* + infinitive is used:

- h. וכמקרה לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב זעק (D 6,21)  
 “As he was approaching the den, he cried out to Daniel in a sad voice.”

27 See also D 6,5 (די-מהימן הוא “since he was reliable”).

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

Most examples of this category are non-indicative and will be dealt with in the section on non-indicative subordinate clauses (11.2). The indicative cases are expressed by *yiqṭul*:

- a. והכרזו עלוהי די־לְהוֹנָא שליט תלתא במלכותא (D 5,29)  
“And they announced him that he would be the third in power in the kingdom.”
- b. אדין גבריא אלך אמרין די לא נְהִשְׁבַּח (D 6,6)  
“Then these men said that we would not find ...”

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time

### 7.1 *Main Clauses*

Situations that take place while speaking as well as those that occur in a period not yet completed are expressed by the AP or a participle of a t-stem. Unfortunately, the evidence is not very numerous and does not cover all types of action.

#### 7.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a. קריתא מרדתא ובאישתא בְּנִין (E 4,12)  
“They are rebuilding the rebellious and evil city.”<sup>28</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. הא־אנה חֲזָה גברין ארבעה (D 3,25)  
“There I see four men.”<sup>29</sup>

#### 7.1.3 Stative

- c. מְדַעֵיב אנה די (D 2,8)  
“I know for sure that ...”<sup>30</sup>

28 See also: E 5,8 (מְתִבְנָא “it is being built”); E 5,11 (בְּנִין “[we] are building”).

29 See also D 4,34 (מְשַׁבַּח וּמְרוֹמֵם וּמְהַדָּר “[I am] praising, glorifying and honouring”).

30 See further D 3,16 (לֹא־חֲשָׁחִין “[we] have no need to”).

The participle of the t-stems, while being passive, is not resultative but describes a situation that is still ongoing:

- d. והוא מתבנא אבן גלל ... ועבדתא דך אספרנא מתעבדא (E 5,8)  
 “And it is being built of blocks of stone ... and the work is being done quickly.”<sup>31</sup>

The participle can also be used when the situation has begun in the past and is still going on:

- e. ומן־אדין ועד־כען מתבנא (E 5,16)  
 “From then until now it has been under construction.”

The examples of habitual and extratemporal situations are somewhat more numerous. The AP and participles of the t-stem indicate these categories as well:

#### 7.1.4 Punctual

- f. יהב חכמתא לחכימין (D 2,21)  
 “He (God) gives wisdom to the wise.”

#### 7.1.5 Telic

- g. משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין (D 6,28)  
 “He (God) delivers and rescues and performs miracles and signs.”<sup>32</sup>

#### 7.1.6 Atelic

- h. לא־להיך לא פלהין (D 3,12)  
 “Your god they do not worship.”

#### 7.1.7 Stative

- i. לא ... יכלין להחוייה למלכא (D 2,27)  
 “They ... are not able to tell the King.”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See also E 5,16 (מתבנא “it is being built”).

<sup>32</sup> See further D 2,43 (מתערב לא “it does not mix with”).

<sup>33</sup> For further examples of habitual and extratemporal AP, see: D 2,22 (גלא ... דע “[he] reveals ... and knows”); D 2,23 (מהודא ומשבח “[I] praise and glorify”); D 4,32 (עבד “[he] makes”).

In three instances, the AP is preceded by אִיתִי combined with a suffix to designate the subject. According to Gzella (TAM 197), אִיתִי serves to emphasise the present-individual character of a situation (*hic et nunc*). Li (Daniel 84f) doubts that אִיתִי specifically denotes the actual present and considers it a general present tense marker.

In fact, it seems that in D 2,26 אִיתִי + AP does not denote an actual ability but rather a general one:

- j. חֲאִיתִיךָ כְּהֵל לְהוֹדַעְתִּי חֲלָמָא  
 “Are you really able to let me know the dream?”

The king does not want to know whether Daniel is currently able to make the dream known; it is rather a question of whether he, in contrast to the others who had failed in this task, is indeed capable of doing so. אִיתִי does not express the actual present *hic et nunc* here nor does it generally emphasise the present time reference for the temporal relation is clear from the context both here and in the other instances. Rather, as Bauer-Leander (GBA 331) have already assumed, אִיתִי seems to emphasise the factuality of the statement: *Are you, unlike the others, in fact, as I have heard, able to ...?*

The same is true in D 3,14. The king learns that three Jewish men do not worship his god and then confronts them:

- k. לֹא־לֵהִי לֹא אִיתִיכֹן פְּלִחִין  
 “Do you really not worship my god?”

Here, too, the king is interested in the confirmation of what he has heard. The third example in D 3,18 is the direct reply of the three men to the king's question; the context leaves open whether the situation expressed by אִיתִי + AP is to be understood as habitual or as posterior, but in any case, it confirms the factuality of what the king has heard:

- l. לֹא־לֵהִיךָ לֹא־אִיתִנָּא פְּלִחִין  
 “(Be it known to you that) in fact we do (or: will) not worship your god.”<sup>34</sup>

Finally, we have to mention the PP. As explained above (2.1), it can denote not only an actual result but also the mere potential to achieve it:

34 אִיתִי in D 3,17 does not belong here in my opinion; rather, אִיתִי alone forms the predicate of the protasis: “if it is the case” or also: “if our God whom we worship exists”, and does not refer to כְּהֵל, which already belongs to the apodosis.

- m. מְהִימֵן פִּשְׁרָה (D 2,45)  
 “His interpretation is reliable.”

מְהִימֵן is the PP of *haqṭel* of אִמֵּן “to trust”. What is meant here, however, is not that the interpretation has actually been trusted but that this is possible in principle.<sup>35</sup>

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

First the examples of situations that are currently taking place:

### 7.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. וּמִלְתָּא דִּי־מִלְכָּא שְׂאֵל יְקִירָה (D 2,11)  
 “The matter the King is asking for is a difficult one.”<sup>36</sup>

The AP in the following object clause can also be understood in a non-indicative way:

- b. יָדַע אָנָּה דִּי עֲדָנָא אֲנַתּוֹן זְבִינִין (D 2,8)  
 “I know that you are playing for time / want to buy time.”

The following situations are habitual or extratemporal:

### 7.2.2 Relative Clauses

- c. מִלְכָּא לְכָל־עַמְמִיָּא ... דִּי־דִּדְאָרִין בְּכָל־אַרְעָא (D 3,31)  
 “King N. to all peoples ... who live all over the world: ...”<sup>37</sup>

35 See also חֲשִׁיבִין in D 4,32 “they can or must be considered” and בְּרִיד (D 3,28) “he is or ought to be praised” or potentially: “he is worthy to be praised”.

36 The scholars who are asked here are currently with the king. A similar situation expressed by שְׂאֵל can be found in D 2,27. See also E 5,4 בְּנִינָא בְּנִינָא (who are building that building”). On the AP in this function, see also Li, Daniel 51.

37 For further relative clauses, see: D 5,23 וְלֹא־חֲזִינִין וְלֹא־שְׁמַעִין “who neither see nor hear”; D 6,17 + 6,21 דִּי אֲנַתָּה פְּלַח־לָהּ “whom you worship”; E 4,17 דִּי יְתִבִּין בְּשַׁמְרִין “who live in Samaria”; an asyndetic relative clause is found in D 2,28 גִּלָּא “who reveals”).

## 7.2.3 Causal Clauses

- d. ומלכו רביעיה תהוּא תקיפה כפרזלא כל־קבל די פרזלא מְהִדֵּק וְחָשֵׁל כלא (D 2,40)  
 “A fourth kingdom will be hard as iron because iron crushes and shatters everything.”<sup>38</sup>

The intantum of a conditional clause can be expressed by a relative clause with a habitual or extratemporal meaning whose reference word is an indefinitum such as מן־די, כל־אנש די, כל־די. In Semitic, such relative clauses usually have the same verb forms as conditional clauses,<sup>39</sup> and so *yiqṭul* is used here (cf. below section 12):

- e. ומן־די־לא יפֿל ויִסְגֵּד יִתְרָמָא (D 3,11)  
 “And whosoever does not fall down and worship shall be thrown ... = And if anybody does not fall down ...”<sup>40</sup>

The indefinitum can be an indirect object:

- f. ולמן־די יִצְבֵּא יִתְנַנָּה (D 4,29)  
 “To whom he wants, he gives it.”<sup>41</sup>

Li (Daniel 102) assumes that יִכָּל in D 2,10 expresses a general present:

- g. לא־איתי אנש על־יבשתא די מלת מלכא יִכָּל להחוייה  
 “There is no one on earth who would be able to make known the King’s business.”<sup>42</sup>

However, one should not forget that the reference word of the relative clause is negated, making the ability expressed by יִכָּל purely hypothetical, so the form is probably used non-indicatively.

38 See also D 4,15 (לא־יִכָּלִין) “[because] they are not able to”). On the AP expressing habitual and extratemporal situations, see also Li, Daniel 50f.

39 See Beyer, Sem. Syn. 143ff.

40 See further: D 3,6; 3,10; 3,29; 5,7; 6,8; 6,13; 6,16.

41 Very similar phrases can be found in D 4,14; 4,22 and 5,21.

42 Similarly with יִכָּל again in D 3,29.

תּוֹבֵל in D 5,16 possibly expresses a habitual situation but is more likely to be interpreted non-indicatively:

- h. וְאִנָּה שְׁמָעַתָּ עֲלֶיךָ דִּי־תּוֹבֵל פִּשְׁרִין לַמֶּפֶשֶׁר  
 “I have heard about you that you are able / are supposed to be able to give interpretations.”

The king, who is speaking here, does not yet know Daniel personally. After all his wise men have failed in the interpretation, it would only be understandable if he also harbours certain doubts with regard to Daniel’s abilities.<sup>43</sup> *yiqṭul* thus probably denotes epistemic modality here.

## 8 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 8.1 Main Clauses

Posteriority to the speech time is predominantly expressed by *yiqṭul*,<sup>44</sup> in many cases, however, it is difficult to decide whether a posterior situation is to be understood indicatively or non-indicatively. Take, for example:

- a. אָמַר חֲלֵמָא לְעַבְדֵּיךָ וּפְשָׂרָא נְחִינָא (D 2,4)

First of all, it is difficult to say whether ו here functions as a simple conjunction that connects two main clauses, or whether it subordinates the second one so that it takes on a final meaning, i.e.: “Tell the dream to your servants so that we may make known the interpretation”. Assuming that ו serves as a simple conjunction, it still remains to be decided whether נְחִינָא is to be taken indicatively, i.e.: “... and we will make known the interpretation”, or non-indicatively: “... and we want to make known the interpretation.”<sup>45</sup>

Often the context helps. The interpretations of dreams in the Book of Daniel, for example, were considered to be divinely inspired and therefore certain and thus can be taken as indicative. These will be marked by a D in the following:

43 The *yiqṭul* forms in the other examples cited by Li (Daniel 102f) can, as Li himself says, just as well denote posteriority to the speech time.

44 The *qṭal* forms פְּרִיסִית and יְהִיבִית in D 5,28, to which often future time reference is ascribed, express with some certainty anteriority and are not taken into account here. See Gzella, TAM 237f and 238, note 400.

45 Similarly ambiguous are: וְאִנָּדַעַת (D 2,9) “and I will know” or “so that I know”; וְאִנָּחֵנָא ... ו (D 2,24) “and I will make known” or “so that I make known”.

## 8.1.1 Punctual

- b. וְיִקְבְּלוּן מַלְכוּתָא קַדִּישִׁי עֲלִיוּנִין (D 7,18)  
 “And the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom (D).”<sup>46</sup>

## 8.1.2 Telic

- c. וּבִיּוֹמֵיהּוֹן דִּי מַלְכִּיאָא אֲנוּן יְקִים אֱלֹהִי שְׁמִיא מַלְכוּ  
 “In the days of those kings, the god of heaven will establish a kingdom (D).”<sup>47</sup>

## 8.1.3 Atelic

- d. וּמְלִין לְצַד עֲלִיא יִמְלֵל (D 7,25)  
 “And he will talk about the Most High (D).”<sup>48</sup>

## 8.1.4 Stative

- e. וּמַלְכוּ רַבִּיעִיָּה תְּהוּא תְּקִיפָה כְּפַרְזֻלָּא (D 2,40)  
 “And a fourth kingdom will be hard as iron (D).”<sup>49</sup>

Occasionally, also the AP expresses posteriority to the speech time. The following passage is part of a dream interpretation:

- f. וְלֶךְ טְרִדִין מִן־אִנְשָׁא וְעַס־חַיּוֹת בְּרָא לְהוּהָּ מִדְּרַךְ וְעֵשְׂבָא כְּתוּרִין לֶךְ יִטְעֻמוּן וּמַטֵּל  
 שְׁמִיא לֶךְ מְצַבְעִין (D 4,22)  
 “They will drive you away from mankind, and among the beasts of the field will be your dwelling place; they will give you grass to eat like cattle, and they will wet you with the dew of heaven.”

46 See also: D 7,25 (יְתִי־הִבּוּן “they will be given”); D 7,25 (יִבְלָא “he will destroy” [D]); D 7,26 (יִתֵּב “he will sit down”; יִהְעֲדוּן “they will take away”); E 4,15 (תְּהִשְׁכַּח “you will find”).

47 See further: D 2,39 (תְּקוּם “she will arise” [D]); D 7,17 (יְקוּמוּן “they will arise” [D]).

48 See also: D 4,29 (יִטְעֻמוּן “they will eat” [D]); D 7,27 (יִשְׁתַּמְעוּן “they will serve and be obedient” [D]).

49 See further: D 2,41 + 2,42 (תְּחֻהָּ “she will be” [D]); D 4,22 (לְהוּהָּ “he will be” [D]); D 7,25 (יִסְבֵּר “he will expect” [D]).



טְרַדִּין and מַצְבָּעִין obviously have the same time reference as לְהוֹי and יִטְעֲמוּ.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, we have to mention the compound *lāhwē + qāṭil* which is attested once within a dream interpretation passage:

- g. מִתְעַרְבִין לְהוֹן בִּזְרַע אִנְשָׁא וְלֹא-לְהוֹן דְּבָקִין דְּנָה עַס-דְּנָה (D 2,43)  
 “They will mix through the procreation of human beings (= marriages),  
 but they will not stick together.”

This compound, however, can also be used with a non-indicative meaning (cf. sect. 11.1 below); unfortunately, it is not possible to decide whether תְּהוּא is a *yiqṭul*L- or *yiqṭul*S form:

- h. נִפְקֵתָא תְּהוּא מִתְּהִיבָא לְגַבְרִיא אֲלֹךְ דִּי-לֹא לְבַטְלָא (E 6,8)  
 “The costs are to be reimbursed to those men without interruption.”

*lāhwē + qāṭil* seems to express primarily repetitive situations; the mixing in D 2,43 is certainly not meant to be singular, but permanent.<sup>51</sup> In the second example, the expression לְבַטְלָא דִּי-לֹא makes the meaning sufficiently clear.

The PP with a *yiqṭul* form of *hwy* denotes an actual (no. i) or a merely potential (no. j) property:

- i. מַלְכוּ פְּלִיגָה תְּהוּה (D 2,41)  
 “The kingdom will be divided.”
- j. תְּהוּא תְּבִירָה (D 2,42)  
 “It (f.) will be breakable.”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

Clear evidence of indicative *yiqṭul*L forms expressing posteriority in subordinate clauses is difficult to find. Many of the corresponding situations can also be meant non-indicatively or habitually / extratemporally:

- a. הִשְׁפַּחַת גַּבְר מִן-בְּנֵי גִלּוּתָא דִּי יְהוּד דִּי פִשְׂרָא לְמַלְכָּא יְהוּדָע (D 2,25)  
 “I have found a man among the deported Jews who will / can / wants to make the interpretation known to the king.”

<sup>50</sup> A third example can be found in D 4,29. The AP is again טְרַדִּין.

<sup>51</sup> On D 2,43, see also Gzella, TAM 263f and Li, Daniel 88.

- b. שלטנה שלטן עלם די-לא יעדה ומלכותה די-לא תתחבל (D 7,14)  
 “His dominion is an eternal dominion that will not / does not pass away, and his kingdom (one) that will not / cannot be destroyed (D).”<sup>52</sup>

The following *yiqṭul* forms seem to be intended to be purely indicative:

- c. ידיע להוא-לך מלכא די לאלהיך לא-איתנא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימף לא נסגד (D 3,18)  
 “Let it be known to you, King, that we do indeed not worship your god nor will we prostrate before the golden statue you have erected.”

Li (Daniel 102) is inclined to interpret both נסגד and פלחין in a habitual sense and points out that the two verbs are often used in parallel. This is indeed correct, but in the two sentences that he cites as evidence (D 3,12 and 3,14), they both appear as APs and have a clear habitual meaning. Here, however, it makes perfect sense to regard the refusal to worship the foreign god as fundamental, whereas the refusal concerning the statue is a special case that is still to come.

The superordinate clause in the following example refers to the past, but the situation expressed by *yiqṭul* is posterior to the speech time and seems to be meant purely indicatively:

- d. אלה רב הודע למלכא מה די להוא אחרי דנה (D 2,45)  
 “The great god made known to the king what will be in the future (D).”<sup>53</sup>

In E 7,19 the participle of a t-stem in a relative clause describes a situation that is clearly posterior to the speech time:

- e. ומאניא די-מתיבין לך לפלחן בית אלהך השלם קדם אלה ירושלם  
 “And the vessels which will be given to you for the worship in the house of your god, return them before the god of Jerusalem.”<sup>54</sup>

52 The same holds true for the following relative clauses: D 2,44 די לעלמין לא תתחבל “which will not / cannot be destroyed forever” [D]; D 3,15 די ישיבבון “who will / can save you”; D 6,13 די-לא תעדא “which will not / cannot decay”; E 7,20 די יפל-לך “which is / will be incumbent upon you”.

53 A very similar use of *yiqṭul* can be found in D 2,28 and 2,29.

54 E 6,3 ביתא יתבחנא אתר די-דבחין דבחין in דבחין describes, strictly speaking, an posterior situation since the house is still to be built, but it is primarily meant as a general characterisation of the reference word אתר: “The house is to be built as a place where they make sacrifices / one makes sacrifices”. The situation described by the AP thus has the meaning of a timelessly used adjective and is not to be regarded as posterior.

## 9 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

### 9.1 *Main Clauses*

In main clauses, this category is attested twice. It is expressed by *yiqṭul*:

- a. וּשְׁבַעַה עֲדָנִין יִחְלֹפוּן עַד דִּי־תִגְדַּע (D 4,22)  
 “Seven times will have passed by until you realize ...”<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, a passage from D 7,27 is to be discussed. It is about a vision in which Daniel sees a haughty king who will rule on earth. Then, however, a court convenes and deprives him of power. These events are described by *yiqṭul*, and then it says:

- b. וּמַלְכוּתָא ... יְהִיבַת לְעַם קְדִישִׁי עַלְיוֹנִין מַלְכוּתָהּ מַלְכוּת עֵלְם וְכָל שְׁלֹטְנֵיאָהּ יִפְלַחוּן  
 וְיִשְׁתַּמְעוּן

Rogland (Remarks 426) considers *יְהִיבַת* to be either a past tense expressing a divine decision or a future perfect. A past time reference seems very unlikely to me in this case, since it is the court which takes away the king's power and which is yet to convene, whereas God is not mentioned at all at this point. It rather seems that *יְהִיבַת* expresses the anteriority to a reference point in the future which is given by the two *yiqṭul* forms at the end of the verse. The *qṭal* form is thus used aspectually as perfective, not temporally, as Segert (AA 375) assumes concerning this and corresponding examples. The actual main clause seems to begin only with *מַלְכוּתָהּ*, while *יְהִיבַת* is the predicate of a preceding circumstantial clause.<sup>56</sup> Thus:

The kingdom ... will have been given to the people of the saints of the Most High = When the kingdom ... will have been given to the people of the saints of the Most High, his kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom and all dominions will serve and obey him.

There is another interesting fact about this example. As will be shown below (section 14), the perfective aspect in circumstantial clauses that describe a superordinate situation with past time reference is expressed by *yiqṭul*. The

<sup>55</sup> So again in D 4,29.

<sup>56</sup> It is not unusual for a circumstantial clause to precede the superordinate clause, e.g. D 4,28: *עוֹד מַלְתָּא בְּפִם מַלְכָּא קָל מִן־שְׁמִיא נָפַל* “while the word was still in the king's mouth, a voice sounded from heaven.” See also the examples nos. v, x and bb in section 14.

superordinate situation in D 7,27, however, has future time reference which is expressed by *yiqṭul*. If the perfective circumstantial description were also expressed by *yiqṭul*, it would be formally indistinguishable from the superordinate sentence. Therefore *qṭal* was used.

## 9.2 Subordinate Clauses

In temporal clauses, *yiqṭulL* can denote anteriority to a reference point in the future which is mentioned in the main clause:

- a. בעדנא די־תשמעון קל ... תפלגון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא (D 3,5)  
“When you will have heard the sound of the ..., you shall fall down and worship the golden statue.”
- b. מלכותך לך קימה מן־די תנדע (D 4,23)  
“Your kingdom will be yours forever from the moment you will have realised ...”

## 10 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

This category is attested once in a relative clause. The situation is stative and expressed by *yiqṭul*:

- a. מלכו רביעיא תהוּא בארעא די תשנא מן־כל־מלכותא (D 7,23)  
“A fourth kingdom will be on earth which will be different from every kingdom (D).”

## 11 Non-indicative Clauses

### 11.1 Main Clauses

*yiqṭulL* can express deontic modality; with a third person subject it may have the meaning of a jussive:

- a. בתיכון גולי יתשמון (D 2,5)  
“Your houses shall be turned into heaps of rubble.”<sup>57</sup>

57 Not all of the following examples are morphologically unambiguous and could also represent short forms: D 3,6 (יתרמא “he shall be thrown”); 4,11 (תגד “they shall flee”); 4,12 + 4,20 (יצטבע “he shall be moistened”); 4,13 (יתיהב ... ישנון “they shall be made different ... let it

If the addressee is a superior, it rather expresses a polite request:

- b. מלכא חלמא יאמר (D2,7)  
 “May the king tell the dream.”<sup>58</sup>

It can also denote wishes:

- c. ישיבנך ... אלהך (D 6,17)  
 “May your god ... rescue you.”<sup>59</sup>

The negative form is אל + yiqtuS

- d. חלמא ופשרא אל־יבהלך (D 4,16)  
 “The dream and its interpretation may not frighten you.”<sup>60</sup>

If the subject is a second person, it can indicate an instruction:

- e. תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא (D 3,5)  
 “You shall fall down and worship the golden statue”,<sup>61</sup>

a permission:

- f. ומה די עליך ועל־אחיך ייטב ... תעבדון (E 7,18)  
 “Whatever seems good to you and your brethren ... you may do”,

a promise:

- g. ארגונא תלבש (D 5,16)  
 “You shall wear purple”,

---

be given”); 5,7 (לְבַשׁ “he shall wear”); 5,12 (יִתְקַרֵּי “let him be called”); E 6,5 (יְהִיבוֹן “they shall bring back”).

58 See also: D 4,24 (יִשְׁפַּר “may it please”); 5,17 (לְהוֹיִז “may they be”).

59 See also: D 3,31 (יִשְׁגֵּא “he may become big”); 5,12 (יִתְקַרֵּי “he may be summoned”).

60 See further D 5,10 (אֶל־יִבְהִלְדּוּ “they may not frighten you”, אֶל־יִשְׁתַּנּוּ “they may not change”).

61 See also: D 6,9 (תְּקִים אִסְרָא “may you impose a ban”); E 7,17 (תִּקְנָא “you shall buy”); E 7,18 (תִּעְבְּדוּן “you shall do”):

or a threat:

- h. הדמין תתעבדון (D 2,5)  
 “You shall be cut into pieces.”<sup>62</sup>

Nos. g and h are apodoses of conditional clauses and it cannot be excluded that they are intended to be indicative, i.e.: you will wear purple etc.

The vetitive is expressed by אל + yiqṭulS:

- i. לחכימי בבל אל-תהוֹבֵד (D 2,24)  
 “Do not execute the wise men of Babylon!”

yiqṭulS is also attested in affirmative statements and can be found in parallel to yiqṭulL. At the beginning of Jeremiah 10,11 it says:

- j. כדנה תאמרון  
 “Thus you shall say”,

but immediately afterwards yiqṭulS is used:

- k. יאבדו מארעא  
 “May they disappear from the earth.”

As already indicated above (8.1), the compound lāhwē + qāṭil is also used in a non-indicative sense. Except in one case (D 2,43, see 8.1 no. g above), להוא precedes the AP. It describes general instructions:

- l. וכל-די-לא להוא עבֵד ... דינה להוא מתעבֵד מנה (E 7,26)  
 “And whoever will not do ... let judgment be executed upon him.”<sup>63</sup>

Also the PP can be combined with להוא:

- m. ידיע להוא לך (D 3,18; E 4,12; 5,8)  
 “Be it known to you.”
- n. מְבָרַךְ ... להוא (D 2,10)  
 “He be ... praised.”

<sup>62</sup> See also D 3,15 תתְרִמון “you shall be thrown”).

<sup>63</sup> See further E 6,9 להוא מתְיָהב “it may be given”).

## 11.2 Subordinate Clauses

As in main clauses, many verb forms in subordinate clauses are morphologically ambiguous, but the unambiguous forms show that the long form of *yiqṭul* is used.

The non-indicative character of a sentence subordinated by **דִּי** can be deduced from the nature of the superordinate clause; this may contain a command or a request:

- a. **שָׁמַתְּ טַעַם דִּי כָּל־אָנָשׁ ... יִפֹּל וְיִסָּגֵד לְצֶלֶם דֶּהבָא** (D 3,10)  
 “You have commanded that everyone ... shall fall down and worship the golden statue.”<sup>64</sup>

After verbs expressing a command, however, **ל** + infinitive can also be used:

- b. **וְאָמַר לְהוֹבְדָה לְכָל חֲכִימֵי בָבֶל** (D 2,12)  
 “And he commanded that all the wise men of Babylon be executed.”<sup>65</sup>

After a verb of knowledge, however, both a non-indicative and an indicative statement is possible. In:

- c. **וְאֵנָדַע דִּי פִּשְׁרָה תִּהְיוֹנִי** (D 2,9)  
 “So that I know that you can give me its interpretation”,

**תִּהְיוֹנִי** is clearly used non-indicatively. **פִּלְחִין** in D 3,18 (see 8.2 no. c above), following a comparable expression of knowledge, on the other hand, is habitual and indicative.

Non-indicative *yiqṭul* is also used in relative clauses:

- d. **שָׁפַחַת גִּבֹּר ... דִּי פִּשְׁרָא לְמַלְכָּא יְהוּדַע** (D 2,25)  
 “I have found a man ... who wants to give the king the interpretation.”<sup>66</sup>

64 See also: D 2,16 (**יִנְתֵּן־לָהּ** דִּי זְמַן “that he may give him time”); D 3,29 (**יִתְעַבֵּד**) “that he is to be cut into pieces”; D 6,13 (**יִתְרָמָא**) “that he is to be thrown”; E 6,8 (**לְמַא דִּי־תַעֲבִדוּן**) “what you have to do”).

65 See further: D 3,19 (**לְמִזָּא**) “[he gave orders] to heat”; D 5,2 (**לְהִיָּתִיָּהּ**) “to bring”; D 6,24 (**לְהִיָּהּ**) “to take out”; E 4,21 (**לְבִטְלָא**) “to make [them] stop”).

66 See also: D 2,11 (**יִחוּנָהּ**) דִּי “who could communicate”; 4,32 (**וְיִאמַר**) “who could hit ... and say”; 6,2 (**לְהִיוֹן**) דִּי “that should be”).

יְהוֹדָע is clearly used non-indicatively, since Aryoch, who is speaking here, only knows about Daniel's offer to interpret the dream but not whether he is actually capable of doing so. As already stated above (7.2, no. g), a relative clause is generally non-indicative if the reference word is negative:

- e. ולא איתי דִּי־מִחָא בידה (D 4,32)  
 "There is nobody who could hit him in his hand."<sup>67</sup>

Not infrequently, a *yiqṭul* form after די has final meaning:

- f. לעבדוהי די הֶתְרַחֲצוּ עֲלוּהי וּמִלַּת מִלְכָּא שְׁנִי וַיְהִיבוּ גִשְׁמִיהוֹן דִּי לֹא־יִפְלַחוּן וְלֹא־יִסְגְּדוּן (D 3,28)  
 "... his servants, who trusted in him and transgressed the king's commandment and gave up their bodies to not have to worship and adore ..." <sup>68</sup>

A *yiqṭul* form introduced by ו can also be interpreted as final, but in these cases an indicative interpretation is also possible in most cases. וַיִּשְׁתּוֹן in D 5,2 seems to me best interpreted as non-indicative:

- g. אָמַר בִּטְעָם חֲמַרָא לְהִיתִּיהָ לְמֹאנִי דֶּהֲבָא וְכֶסֶּפָּא ... וַיִּשְׁתּוֹן בְּהוֹן מִלְכָּא וּרְבִרְבִּנוּהי  
 "He commanded in his wine mood to bring the golden and silver vessels ... so that the king and his nobles might drink from them."<sup>69</sup>

The compound *lāhwē qāṭil* is also attested in subordinate clauses. As in main clauses, it emphasises the repetitive or habitual character of the situation:

- h. וְעֹלָא מִנְהוֹן סִרְכִּין תִּלְתָּא ... דִּי־לְהוֹן אַחְשֵׁדְרֶפְנִיא אֲלִין יְהִבִּין לְהוֹן טַעְמָא וּמִלְכָּא לֹא־  
 זָזָק (D 6,3)  
 "And over them (the king appointed) three highest officials ... to whom those satraps had to give account so that the king would not suffer any harm."

67 Similar phrases can be found in D 2,10 and 3,29.

68 See also: D 2,18 (יְהוֹבְדִין) די לא "lest they kill"; D 2,30 (יְהוֹדָעוֹן) די ... "so that they make known"; 4,3 (יְהוֹדָעֲנִי) די "so that they make known to me"; 4,14 (יְנִדָּעוֹן) די "so that they recognise"; 5,15 (קִרְוֹן) די "so that they read"; 6,18 (לֹא־תִשְׁנֵא) די "lest it should change".

69 וַיִּצִיבָא אֲבָעָא in D 7,16 also seems to be meant non-indicatively: "in order to ask for certainty".



- i. מִן־קִדְמֵי שָׁמַיִם טַעַם דִּי בְּכָל־שְׁלֹטֵן מַלְכוּתֵי לְהוֹן זָאֲעִין וְדָחֲלִין מִן־קִדְמֵי אֱלֹהֵי דִּי־דִנְיָאֵל (D 6,27)  
 “I have given orders that in the whole territory of my kingdom people must tremble and fear before the god of Daniel.”<sup>70</sup>

## 12 Conditional Clauses

Only real conditional clauses with reference to the future are attested. The protasis is introduced by הֵן, the apodosis follows asyndetically. Often *yiqṭul* is used in the main and the subordinate clause:

- a. הֵן לֹא תְהוֹדְעוּנִי חִלְמָא וּפְשָׁרָהּ הַדְמִין תִּתְעַבְדּוּן (D 2,5)  
 “If you do not let me know the dream and its interpretation, you will be cut into pieces.”<sup>71</sup>

The predicate in protasis or apodosis can also be a nominal form:

- b. הֵן־חִלְמָא לֹא תְהוֹדְעֵנִי חֲדָה־הִיא דְּתַכּוֹן (D 2,9)  
 “If you do not make the dream known to me, there will only be one decree for you.”<sup>72</sup>
- c. הֵן אִיתִיכּוֹן עֲתִידִין דִּי ... וְהֵן לֹא תִסְגְּדוֹן (D 3,15)  
 “If you are willing to ... (it is good); but if you do not worship ...”<sup>73</sup>

As can be seen in the last example, the apodosis can be missing altogether and must then be imagined by the reader. The protasis can also be shortened and consist only of the negation לֹא, which refers to the preceding sentence:

- d. וְהֵן לֹא יְדִיעַ לְהוֹא־לֶךְ (D 3,18)  
 “And if not, let it be known to you ...”

<sup>70</sup> See further: E 6,10 (דִּי־לְהוֹן מְהֻקְרְבִין “so that they may offer”); E 7,25 (דִּי־לְהוֹן דְּאִנִּין “who are to judge”).

<sup>71</sup> Further examples of הֵן + *yiqṭul* – *yiqṭul* can be found in: D 2,6; D 3,15; D 5,16; E 4,13. Except for תּוֹכֵל and תִּלְבֵּשׁ in D 5,16, all *yiqṭul* forms can be clearly identified as long.

<sup>72</sup> Another nominal predicate in the apodosis is attested in E 4,16 (לֹא אִיתִי “there will not be”).

<sup>73</sup> Nominal predicates in the protasis are also found in D 3,17 (הֵן אִיתִי “if it is the case”) and E 5,17 (הֵן עַל־מַלְכָּא טָב “if it seems good to the king”).

In one case, *qṭal* is used in the protasis although the situation expressed by it is clearly posterior to the speech time; the protasis follows the apodosis and is introduced by להן “if not”:

- e.    להן הַשְׁכַּחְנָה עֲלוּהִי בְדַת אֱלֹהֵהּ (D 6,6)  
       “We will not find any charge against this Daniel unless we find it in connection with the law of his god.”

As seen above (ch. 4, sect. 10), also in Imperial Aramaic *yiqṭul* and *qṭal* are used in the protasis; whether the use of the one or the other verb form in Biblical Aramaic is due to the distance from הן, cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence. But in any case, there is no reason to interpret הַשְׁכַּחְנָה as a non-indicative verb form for the expression of a hypothetical condition, as Li (Daniel 35f) does, or to assume an archaic use of *qṭal* as a future tense, so Bauer-Leander (GBA 287n). If *qṭal* turns out to be a perfective signum, it is only too understandable that it is also used in the protasis of conditional clauses.

As already stated, the intentum of a conditional clause can be expressed by relative clauses whose reference word is an indefinitum, such as בְּלִי־אִנְשׁ, בְּלִי־דִי or מִן־דִּי “anyone who”. As already stated above (7.2), in the Semitic languages such relative clauses usually have the same verb forms as conditional clauses, and so *yiqṭul* is used here too. The corresponding examples have already been listed above.

### 13        Verbs of Perception

חָזָה followed by a *qṭal* form of הוּי is attested 12 times and introduces the description of a dream that the subject, a first or second person, has seen. The dream event is often introduced by וַאֲרוּ or וַאֲלוּ “and see”<sup>74</sup> and is then presented as parallel to the act of looking; in this case, simple AP can be used:

- a.    חָזָה הָיוּת בַּחֲזוֹי עַם־לִילִיָּא וַאֲרוּ אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא מְגִיחִין לִימָא רַבָּא וַאֲרַבַּע חִיּוֹן רַבְרַבִּין  
       סֻלְקִין מִן־יִמָּא (D 7,2–3)  
       “I looked during my vision at night and behold: The four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea and four great beasts were coming out of the sea.”<sup>75</sup>

74    D 2,31; 4,7; 4,10; 7,2; 7,6; 7,7; 7,13.

75    See also: D 2,31; 4,10–11.

In one case, the time reference is expressed explicitly by הָיָה:

- b. חָזָה הָיָה בַּחֲזוֹי לַיְלִיָּא וְאִרְו עַם-עֲנִי שְׁמִיא כְּבֵר אִנְשׁ אֶתְהָ הָהוּן (D 7,13)  
 “I looked during my night vision and behold: With the clouds of heaven there was coming someone who looked like a man.”

אִלּוּ / אִרְו can also be followed by a nominal clause:

- c. חָזָה הָיָה וְאִלּוּ אֵילָן בְּגוּא אֲרַעָא וְרומָה שְׁגִיָּא (D 4,10)  
 “I looked and behold: A tree in the earth and its height was enormous.”<sup>76</sup>

In four cases, what is seen is introduced by עַד דִּי. Already Bauer and Leander (GBA 286) have noticed that עַד דִּי has largely lost its original meaning “until” in many cases and then only serves to introduce a new situation. עַד דִּי is followed by a qṭal form in all instances:

- d. חָזָה הָיָה עַד דִּי הִתְגַּזְרַת אֲבָן (D 2,34)  
 “You looked until a stone came loose” or: “... then came loose ...”

In these cases, the imperfective character of חָזָה הָיָה and the perfective one of qṭal are clearly evident. The looking is described as a progressing situation which is suddenly joined by the situation expressed by qṭal which, however, is not progressing but is perceived as a complete whole. The same applies to the other cases: מְרִיטוּ (D 7,4) “they were uprooted”; יָתַב ... רָמְיוּ (D 7,9) “they were set up ... he sat down”; קָטִילַת (D 7,11) “she was killed”.

The following example is very interesting:

- e. מִשְׁתַּכַּל הָיָה בְּקִרְנִיָּא וְאִלּוּ קֶרֶן אַחֲרִי זַעֲרִירָה סְלָקַת בֵּינֵיהוֹן (D 7,8)  
 “I looked at the horns and behold, another small horn grew out from between them.”

After אִלּוּ, the qṭal form סְלָקַת is used. Above in D 7,3 (no. a), we find the אִפְּ סְלָקַת in a very similar context, also after a verb of seeing. The difference between the two forms is to be sought in the type of action of the situations observed. In 7,3 there are four animals emerging from the sea; the situation is complex and

<sup>76</sup> See also: D 7,6; 7,7.

can only be viewed with difficulty under a perfective aspect without changing its type of action; in 7,8, on the other hand, it is only a single horn that the dreamer sees growing forth; such a situation can easily be perceived as a whole and thus perfectly.

#### 14 qāṭil and yiqṭul

As has been shown above, the AP generally expresses imperfective as well as habitual and extratemporal situations (see in particular 7.1, 7.2 and 13); the time reference and mood of such situations can be determined by the use of a form of הוי (qṭal for past, yiqṭul for future and non-indicative situations). qṭal, on the other hand, generally indicates the perfective aspect (see 2.1, 2.2, 4 and 13).

Simple AP can describe circumstances accompanying superordinate situations with reference to the past which are usually expressed by a qṭal form. It cannot be maintained that the accompanying circumstance is of little importance and provides information that can be dispensed with, but it can be said that the superordinate situation could take place without the accompanying circumstance but not the accompanying circumstance without the superordinate situation:

- a. ב. מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי אלף ולקבל אלפא חמרא שְׁתָּה ב. אָמַר  
(D 5,1–2)  
“King B. gave a great feast for a thousand of his nobles during which he was drinking wine in front of the thousand (nobles). B. commanded ...”
- b. בה-שעתה נִפְקוּ אַצְבָּעוֹן דִּי יִדְאֻשׁ וְכִתְּבִין לִקְבֵּל נְבִרְשָׁתָא עַל-גִּירָא דִּי-כַתֵּל הִיכְלָא  
דִּי מַלְכָא וּמַלְכָא חֲזָה פִּס יִדָּא דִּי כְּתִיבָּח: אֲדִין מַלְכָא זִיוְהִי שְׁנוּהִי וְרַעִינְהִי יִבְחָלֻנְהָ  
וְקִטְרִי חֲרָצָה מִשְׁתְּרִין וְאַרְכַּבְתָּה דָּא לְדָא נִקְשִׁין: קִרָּא מַלְכָּא בַחִיל לְהַעֲלָה לְאַשְׁפִּיא  
(D 5,5–7)  
“(They took [qṭal] the cups and drank [qṭal] from them. They drank [qṭal] and praised [qṭal] the gods of gold and silver). At the same time, the fingers of a human hand appeared making writing movements opposite the chandelier on the lime of the wall of the royal palace while the king saw the hand that was writing. Then the colour of the king’s face changed while his thoughts were instilling terror in him, his hip joints threatened to loosen, his knees were banging together and the king finally shouted in a loud voice that one should make the soothsayers enter.”

- c. וּדְנִיאל כְּדִי יָדַע דִּי־רָשִׁים כְּתָבָא עַל לְבִיתָהּ וְכוּיָן פְּתִיחוּ לָהּ בְּעִלְיָתָהּ נֶגַד יְרוּשָׁלַם וּזְמַנָּן תְּלָתָהּ בְּיוֹמָא הוּא בְּרַךְ עַל־ בְּרוּכֵי וּמִיָּעִלָא וּמוֹדָא קִדְּם אֱלֹהֵהּ כְּל־קַבֵּל דִּי־הָוָא עֲבָד מִן־קִדְמַת דְּנָה (D 6,11)  
“(The king drew up a document to this effect [qṭal].) When D. had learned that the document had been drawn up, he entered his house whose windows in the upper chamber were opened to Jerusalem and where he fell on his knees three times a day, praying and praising his god just as he used to do before.”
- d. בְּאֲדִין קָרְבוּ וְאָמְרִין קִדְּם־מַלְכָא עַל־אִסֵּר (D 6,13)  
“Then they approached, speaking before the king concerning the prohibition.”
- e. תְּזַהּ הָוִית עַד דִּי כְּרִסוֹן רָמְיוּ וְעִתִּיק יוֹמִין יָתֵב לְבוּשָׁה כְּתִלְגַּ חוֹר וְשַׁעַר רָאשָׁה כְּעַמֵּר נִקָּא כְּרִסִּיה שְׁבִבִין דִּי־נֹר גִּלְגֻּלֹּהִי נֹר דִּלְק נָהַר דִּי־נֹר נִגִּיד וְנִפְקָ מִן־קִדְמוּהִי אֵלֶּף אֲלָפִים יִשְׁמְשִׁינָהּ וְרַבּוֹן רַבּוֹן קִדְמוּהִי יִקְוִמוּן דִּינָא יָתֵב וּסְפְרִין פְּתִיחוּ (D 7,9–10)  
“I was looking on when suddenly thrones were erected and a very old person took a seat. His clothes were white as snow, the hair of his head pure as wool. His throne was flames of fire, its wheels blazing flames; a stream of fire was pouring out and going out from him. Thousands upon thousands were serving him, myriads upon myriads rose before him. The court sat down and books were opened.”

The qṭal form עֲבָד in D 5,1 (no. a) describes the overall situation: King B. gave a feast. The AP שְׁתָּה expresses the accompanying circumstance and states what the king was doing during the feast: He was drinking wine. The circumstance is in no way less important than the overall situation because it is precisely his drinking that leads the king to have the cups brought which are to become important for the rest of the feast. If we consider qṭal as a perfective verb form, the narrator initially presents the feast as a complete whole that took place in the past and that forms the framework for the circumstance expressed by the AP.<sup>77</sup> The following command is not an accompanying circumstance but introduces a new situation, so qṭal is used here. The same applies to the

77 Li, Daniel 49, interprets שְׁתָּה as inceptive, i.e. describing the beginning of a situation: *he began to drink wine*. The meaning of the sentence resulting from this interpretation makes sense but can hardly be harmonized with the other functions of the AP. At least, Li admits that other explanations are possible as well. The same applies to עָלְלִין in D 4,4 which he considers to be another possible candidate for an inceptive AP (ibid. 50); here, too, the alternative suggestion he mentions, that the AP expresses an iterative situation, is far more plausible. See D 4,3–5 below (example no. i).

following situations of taking, drinking and praising. They result from the command and lead to another situation, namely the appearance of the hand. They do not accompany a superordinate situation but rather are independent and are seen as a complete whole, so *qṭal* is used again. The same holds true for the appearance of the hand in D 5,5 (no. b); the introductory *בה-שעתה* does not mean that this took place at the same time but that it immediately followed the situations mentioned before,<sup>78</sup> so here *qṭal* is used, too. The following AP *כְּתִבְּן*, on the other hand, describes the accompanying circumstance of *נִפְקֹוּ*. This is to be understood in such a way that the fingers performed writing movements as soon as they emerged. This interpretation can certainly be reconciled with the type of action of *נִפְקֹוּ* because this is not necessarily to be thought of as punctual but can also be telic if one assumes that the fingers gradually materialised. After all, there are several fingers, not just one. The following seeing of the king (*חִזָּה פס ידא*) is again to be understood as an accompanying circumstance to *כְּתִבְּן* which is then referred to again in the relative clause *די כְּתִבְּה*. After the introductory *אדִין*, the *qṭal* form *שְׁנוּהִי* refers to a new situation which continues the narrative and is again described in more detail by the following AP.

In D 6,11 (no. c), the entering of the house (*על*) is the superordinate situation which is immediately followed by a series of accompanying circumstances which, however, do not refer to the verb form but describe the nature of the house and what Daniel is used to do in it. The first circumstance concerns the arrangement of the windows, i.e. a state, and is expressed by a PP of the G-stem, whereas Daniel's daily activities are described by APs. When reference is then made to a habitual situation that is anterior to the situations just described, the narrator cannot of course use the simple AP but must add *הָנָא*. In D 7,9–10 (no. e), too, the superordinate situation (*יָתֵב* and *רָמִי*) is followed by several accompanying circumstances.

What remains is D 6,13 (no. d) with *קָרְבוּ* as the superordinate situation and *אָמְרִין* as the accompanying circumstance. It is difficult to think of the two situations as simultaneous. Usually one approaches or comes first and only then speaks. But after all, *קָרְבוּ* “they approached” is an atelic situation that has no fixed boundary. As long as the people concerned are at least still moving while they are talking, one can say that they are approaching.

In the passages quoted above, there are other accompanying circumstances expressed by an AP, but these are linked to independently used AP, which will be discussed now:

<sup>78</sup> Cf. for example D 3,6 + 3,15.

- f. באדן מִתְכַּנְּשִׁין אַחֲשֶׁרפִּנִּיא ... לַחֲנֹכַת צִלְמָא דִּי הָקִים נ. מַלְכָּא וְקָאֲמִין לְקַבֵּל צִלְמָא  
(D 3,3–4) די הָקִים נ. וְכַרְוֹזָא קָרָא בַּחֲלִיל  
“(The king sent out [qṭal] to assemble all the satraps ... to dedicate the  
statue he had erected [qṭal].) Then (little by little) the satraps were  
gathering ... for the dedication of the statue that King N. had erected,  
standing in front of the statue that N. had erected while a herald was cry-  
ing out with a loud voice: ...”
- g. כֹּל-קַבֵּל דְּנָה בָּה זְמַנָּא כְּדִי שְׁמַעֲיִין כֹּל-עַמְמִיא קֵל קֶרְנָא ... נִפְלִין כֹּל-עַמְמִיא אַמִּיא  
(D 3,7) וְלִשְׁנֵיא סְגִידִין לְצִלְם דִּהְבָּא  
“(Direct speech of the herald: As soon as you hear the musical instru-  
ments [yiqṭul], you must fall down [yiqṭul] and worship the statue  
[yiqṭul]. He who does not fall down [yiqṭul] and worship [yiqṭul], will be  
thrown into the furnace [yiqṭul]). When all the people heard the sound  
of the horn ... the people of every nation and language were falling down  
to worship the golden statue.”
- h. פְּקוּ וְאַתּוּ בְּאֲדִין נִפְקִין שׁ מ וְעַ גְּלוּ מִן-גּוּא נֹרָא וּמִתְכַּנְּשִׁין אַחֲשֶׁרפִּנִּיא סַגִּינָא ו ... חֲזִין  
(D 3,26–27) לְגַבְרִיא אֵלֶךְ דִּי לֹא-שָׁלַט נֹרָא בְּגִשְׁמָהוֹן וְשַׁעַר רֹאשֶׁהוֹן לֹא הִתְחַרְדַּךְ  
“(The king approached [qṭal] the furnace and said [AP]: ‘Go out and  
come’. Then Sh., M. and ‘A. were coming out of the fire while the satraps,  
provincial administrators and ... were gathering and looking at the men  
over whose bodies the fire had no power and whose hair of head had not  
been singed.”
- i. וּמְנֵי שֵׁים טַעַם לְהַנְעִלָה ... בְּאֲדִין עֲלִילִין חֲרַטְמִיא אַשְׁפִּיא ... וְחִלְמָא אָמַר אָנָּה  
קְדַמִּיהוֹן וּפִשְׁרָה לֹא-מְהוּדְעִין לִי וְעַד אַחֲרִין עַל קְדַמִּי דְּנִיָּאל ... וְחִלְמָא קְדַמִּיהוּי אָמַרְתָּ:  
(D 4,3–5)  
“(I [the king] saw [qṭal] a dream that terrified me [yiqṭul]). Order was  
given by me that ... should appear. Then the scholars, soothsayers were  
entering ... and I was telling them the dream over and over again but they  
were not able to give me its interpretation. Finally D. stepped in front of  
me ... and I told him the dream.”
- j. אֲדִין עֲלִילִין כֹּל חֲכִימֵי מַלְכָּא וְלֹא-בְּהִלִּין כְּתַבָּא לְמַקְרָא ... אֲדִין מַלְכָּא ב. שְׂגִיא מִתְבַּהֵל  
(D 5,8–9) וְזִיוֵּהִי שְׁנִין עֲלוּהִי וּרְבִרְבָּנוּהִי מִשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין  
“Then all the king’s wise men were entering but they could not read the  
inscription ... King B. was now very frightened and the colour of his face  
was changing while his nobles were getting confused. (As a result of the  
king’s shouts of terror, the queen entered [qṭal] and spoke [qṭal]).”

- k. אַדִּין גַּבְרִיא אַלְךְ אֲמַרִּין דִּי לֹא נְהִשְׁכַּח ... אַדִּין סַרְכִּיא וְאַחַשְׁדַּרפְּנִיא אַלֵּן הֲרִגְשׁוּ  
עַל-מַלְכָּא וּכְן אֲמַרִּין (D 6,6–7)  
“Then these men said that we shall not find ... Then these chief officials  
and satraps hastened to the king, saying ...”

At this point, we will first of all discuss the very interesting and elegant theory on the verbal system in the Book of Daniel which H.B. Rosén presented in the *Journal of Semitic Studies* in 1966. According to him, the use of the verb forms is conditioned by their type of action and he distinguishes between linear and point aspect verbs. Rosén (Tenses 192) summarises the result of his work using the verbs דָּאֵר “to live” and נָפַל “to fall” as follows:

|                      | linear aspect verb | point aspect verb                       |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Future-volitive      | לְהוּא דָּאֵר      | יִפֹּל                                  |
| Present              | דָּאֵר             | אִתֵּי נָפַל                            |
| Narrative-constative | יְדוּר             | נָפַל                                   |
| Subordinative        | הוּא דָּאֵר        | נָפַל (also used in a perfective sense) |

yiqtul of the punctual verb נָפַל is thus used to express future and non-indicative situations, while the AP is applied in the narrative etc.

As witty as Rosén’s work is, it unfortunately does not fully come up to the findings in the Book of Daniel. Take, for example, קֶאֱמִין in D 3,3 (see no. f above). It is used in the sense of “standing”, not as “getting up”, so it is linear. Nevertheless the AP is used although the passage is narrating and one should therefore expect yiqtul.

Rosén realised that the type of action does not only depend on the verb form but on the situation as a whole, so one and the same verb can have different types of action (Tenses 197ff). However, this insight is not adequately taken into account in his theory. Rosén is basically right when he classifies נָקַשׁ “to beat” under the point aspect verbs (Tenses 194), as it describes punctual situations in most cases. In D 5,6 (see no. b above), however, we find: וְאַרְכַּבְתָּהּ דָּא לְדָא נָקַשְׁן “his knees were banging together”; the situation is now no longer punctual but complex, and consequently it is to be understood as linear. Nevertheless the AP is used and not the expected yiqtul.

The examples could be multiplied, and also with regard to the yiqtul forms that are to be discussed immediately, it should be noted that Rosén’s work leaves more questions open than it answers. For example, יָקוּם in D 6,20 (see no. x below) is clearly used in the sense of “getting up”, i.e. as a point aspect verb, so that the AP would be expected. Similarly, qatṭel of טַעַם is, according to



Rosén (Tenses 194), a point aspect verb, but nevertheless we find יִטְעֻמוּנָה “they let him eat” (D 5,21; see no. w below) in a narrating passage.<sup>79</sup>

Bauer and Leander note with regard to the use of the AP that it serves, following a qṭal form, to express simultaneity in the past, which can include a shorter or longer duration (GBA 292), and moreover to describe a repetition in the past (ibid. 293), and they emphasise that in the Book of Daniel it can also be used as a kind of independent narrative tense and express single actions; in this function, they say, it can probably be interpreted as a historical present. As examples, they cite מִתְּכַנְשֵׁין in 3,3 and 3,27 (see above nos. f and h), קָרָא from 3,4 (no. f), נִפְקִין from 3,26 (no. h) and עֲלִילִין from 4,4 (no. i).<sup>80</sup>

Gzella (TAM 121f) also points to the fact that the AP is normally linked to a qṭal form and in this regard mentions שָׁלַח and קָרְבוּ in D 3,2 and 3,8 respectively (cf. no. f above) which frame the narrative section with the APs and thus clarify the time reference. The APs in this passage, he maintains, have to be regarded as equivalent to the qṭal forms with regard to tense and aspect.

First of all, it is striking that these APs, which are not subordinate to any other situation, are regularly introduced by באַדִּין or אַדִּין and usually precede their subjects which already clearly distinguishes them from the group just discussed; the introduction by באַדִּין or אַדִּין, which often mark breaks in content,<sup>81</sup> also underlines their independent character and brings them close to qṭal which is normally used in narrating passages after אַדִּין / באַדִּין.<sup>82</sup> And there is something else that is remarkable about these APs: they are almost all in the plural form and often refer to entire collectives as subjects. מִתְּכַנְשֵׁין in D 3,3 and 3,26 (nos. f and h) refer to all satraps etc. over whom the king commands;<sup>83</sup> נִפְקִין, שְׁמַעֲיָן and סְגִידִין in D 3,7 (no. g) have whole peoples and speech communities as their subject, עֲלִילִין in D 4,3 and 5,8 (nos. i and j) refers to all scholars etc. or all wise men, the AP in 6,6–7 (no. k) to “these men” or “these chief officials”. Particularly revealing in this respect is D 4,3–5 (no. i). The entering of the collective of the scholars etc. is expressed by the AP עֲלִילִין, but then it says: וְעַד אַחֲרַיִן עַל קַדְמֵי דְנִיאַל “and finally Daniel stepped before me”, now in the singular and with a qṭal form. This use of AP and qṭal is now quite easy to understand, assuming that qṭal expresses the perfective aspect while the AP denotes the imperfective aspect. The entering of an individual person can

79 On Rosén's work see also: Kutscher, Aramaic 378f; Shepherd, VSB 8–10.

80 GBA 294. Rogland, Remarks 430f, also interprets the AP in these cases as a historical present.

81 See Gzella, TAM 115f.

82 See for example: D 2,14 + 17 + 19 + 35 + 46 + 48; 3,19 + 21 + 24 + 26 + 30; 4,16; 5,3.

83 Already Li, Daniel 46, recognised that the use of the AP in D 3,3 depends on the number of the subjects.

easily be imagined as a complete whole and therefore as perfective, but this is not possible with a whole crowd of people. They can only enter individually or in small groups, so the situation is no longer punctual but complex and incompatible with the perfective aspect. An almost identical situation is described in D 5,8–10 (no. j). The entering of the wise men is expressed by the AP עָלְלִין, but when shortly afterwards in 5,10 the queen enters, qṭal is used: עָלְלַת.

The use of the AP in the above-mentioned passages can therefore be explained by the type of action of the situations. Due to the fact that a collective acts as a subject, the situation is complex. In order to maintain this type of action, the narrator must choose an imperfective verb form, as a perfective one would compress the situation in a way that could only be perceived as inappropriate. If in D 3,7 (no. g) the qṭal forms of שָׁמַע, נָפַל and סָגַד were used instead of the APs, the reader would get the impression that the peoples and speech communities were a perfectly drilled army that could fall to the ground simultaneously on command, which is certainly not what the narrator had in mind. In this respect, the qṭal form הִרְגִּישׁוּ in D 6,7 (no. k), which is framed by two APs (אָמְרִין), is remarkable. אָמְרִין is to be understood in such a way that the officials talked in disarray and finally came to the conclusion that they could not find any charge. The situation is therefore clearly complex. הִרְגִּישׁוּ has the same subject but this situation is now perfective and telic. They hastened to the king and arrived at the king's house before they started their speech. Perhaps the AP could have been used here as well, but it should be remembered that they were a limited number of people, not entire peoples as in D 3,7. This situation can therefore be conceived without any problems as telic and as a complete whole.

The two groups of APs can also occur together. מִתְכַּבְּנִין in D 3,3 (no. f), for example, is independent, while the following APs קָאָמִין and קָרָא describe the accompanying circumstances: *Then the satraps were gathering (little by little) ... standing in front of the statue and while a herald was exclaiming in a loud voice: ...* The same is true in D 4,4 (no. i):

בִּאֲדִין עָלְלִין חֲרַטְמִיא אֲשַׁפִּיא ... וְחִלְמָא אָמַר אָנָּה קִדְמִיהוֹן וּפְשָׁרָה לֹא-מְהוֹדְעִין לִי

The scholars etc. were entering, this is the superordinate situation to which מְהוֹדְעִין and אָמַר are subordinate, i.e. while they were entering, the king was telling his dream again and again and nobody was able to interpret it. By using APs, the narrator evokes the impression of a continuing stream of scholars all failing at the task, thus preparing the reader for Daniel's appearance and his solving of the problem. Daniel is an individual and the situations associated with him are no longer complex and can be expressed by a perfective verb

form without changing their type of action, and so the *qṭal* forms *על* and *אָמַרְתָּ* are used now.<sup>84</sup>

The independent AP does not necessarily have to refer to a collective as a subject. *נִפְקִין* in D 3,26 (no. h) has only three persons as subject, and interestingly, in D 5,5 (no. b), the *qṭal* form of the same verb is used although the number of subjects (*אֶצְבָּעוֹן*) is even slightly larger. It is possible that the choice of the verb form is due to the introduction (*בַּהֲשַׁעְתָּהּ* vs *בְּאֵדִין*), but it seems more likely to me that *נִפְקִין* is chosen in 3,26 by analogy with the following *מִתְכַּנְּשִׁין*. *מִתְכַּנְּשִׁין* describes an accompanying circumstance to *נִפְקִין* and has a collective as subject. Since the gathering of the satraps and the like is associated with a certain duration, the situation that accompanies it, the coming out of the fire, must also extend over a similar period of time. And this can of course best be illustrated if the speaker leaves the completion of the situation open and thus asks the reader to identify with the grammatical subjects. *מִתְבַּהֵּל* in D 5,9 (no. j) has only one subject, but the use of the AP is easy to understand here, since it describes the state of terror that lasted from the moment the wise men failed with their interpretation until the queen entered. So here, it is the extension of the situation that caused the choice of the AP.

Even apart from the cases discussed above, the AP can also have past time reference without a *qṭal* form of *הָיָה*. This is the case when its reference point is not identical with the speech time but has past time reference. The AP can be dependent on a verb of perception (see section 13 above) or be a predicate of a subordinate clause that is subordinate to a clause related to the past:

1. *בְּאֵדִין דְּרִיּוֹשׁ מַלְכָּא כְּתַב לְכָל־עַמְמַיָּא ... דִּי־דָאֲרִין בְּכָל־אַרְעָא* (D 6,26)  
 “Then King Darius wrote to all the peoples ... who lived all over the world.”<sup>85</sup>

However, participles are often combined with *הָיָה*, and the question arises as to what the difference between simple AP and AP + *הָיָה* is.

84 The fact that the AP *מִהוֹדֵעִין* is used here to express a modal situation instead of the otherwise usual *yiqṭul* becomes understandable when the function of *yiqṭul* in circumstantial sentences has been discussed. *yiqṭul* expresses, to anticipate the result of the investigation, the perfective aspect in circumstantial clauses, thus its use would be entirely inappropriate in D 4,4 (see below).

85 See also D 5,5 (*דִּי כְּתִבָּהּ* “that wrote”).

A review of the evidence quickly makes clear that the use or non-use of הוּי is determined by two factors: the unambiguity of the sentence and, closely related to this, the word order.

הוּי is generally used in the phrase הַזֵּה הַזֵּה which precedes the description of a dream or vision (see section 13 above). הַזֵּה הַזֵּה does not appear in narrating passages but in discussing ones. Usually a dream interpreter is present who is first informed about the circumstances that have accompanied the dream before the dream itself is described. In such a situation, the use of simple הַזֵּה would give the impression that the dream is now being seen because this is exactly the meaning of הַזֵּה in D 3,25 where the king tells the bystanders that he can see four men in the flames (see above 7.1 no. b).

The other examples of AP + הוּי have in common with הַזֵּה הַזֵּה that they are also independent participles. The only exception is the already mentioned הַזֵּה אֶתֶּה from D 7,13 (see above section 13 no. b). As we have seen, these independent APs are mostly introduced by בִּאֲדִין or אֲדִין and precede their subjects. Since they consistently occur in narrating passages and אֲדִין / בִּאֲדִין indicate caesurae within the narrative but not the transition from a narrating to a discussing section, it is clear to the reader that the APs also belong to the narrative and thus have past time reference. As far as the independent APs combined with הוּי are concerned, however, – I am discussing main and subordinate clauses together here – this is not the case. They are often not introduced by אֲדִין / בִּאֲדִין and they follow their subjects instead of preceding them. Let us take D 5,19 as an example:

- m. וּמִן־רִבּוּתָא דִּי יְהִב־לֵהּ כָּל עַמֻּמֵּיָא אַמִּיָּא וְלִשְׁנֵיָּא הָוּ וְאֲעִין וְדִחְלִין מִן־קִדְמוּהִי  
 “(Daniel told King B. about his father N.) Because of the greatness he (i.e. God) had given him, the people of every nation and language trembled and feared before him.”

There are no helping adverbs here, and the temporal relation is by no means self-evident. On the contrary, without הָוּ one would have to think that B's father was still alive and that the nations continued to tremble before him.

In the other cases, the APs are preceded by an introductory adverb, the passages are always narrating and the time reference would also be clear without a form of הוּי. However, in no instance does the AP directly follow the adverb but is always separated from it by other parts of the sentence, such as specifications of place or, if mentioned, the subject:

- n. אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שְׁמַע שְׁגִיָּא בְּאֶשׁ עֲלוּהִי וְעַל דְּנִיָּאל שָׁם בִּלְשִׁיזְבוּתָהּ וְעַד מַעְלִי  
 שְׁמַשׁ הָהוּא מְשַׁתְּדֵר לְהַצִּלוּתָהּ (D 6,15)  
 “Then, when the king heard of the matter, he was very displeased and  
 set his mind on delivering Daniel and made efforts to rescue him until  
 sunset.”

The AP is thus at some distance from the introductory אדין, and something else comes into play here. הָהוּא מְשַׁתְּדֵר directly follows the situation expressed by שָׁם and is not subordinate to it but joins it independently and merely expresses a change of aspect. However, a succession of situations in the narrative is usually expressed by qṭal,<sup>86</sup> and this was certainly one reason to add a qṭal form to מְשַׁתְּדֵר as well. The next example has already been cited above (section 5 no. a):

- o. לְקִצַּת יֶרְחִין תְּרִי־עֶשֶׂר עַל־הֵיכַל מַלְכוּתָהּ דִּי בָבֶל מְהֻלָּךְ הָהוּא  
 “After 12 months he was walking on (the roof of) the royal palace in  
 Babylon.”

Here again, the AP is quite distant from the introductory adverbial form.<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, the phrase עֵנָה וְאָמַר which serves to introduce direct speech needs to be discussed. In the 3.sg.m., the two verbs are mostly vocalised as APs,<sup>88</sup> an exception is found in D 2,27 where עֵנָה appears as qṭal, אָמַר as an AP. In the plural, on the other hand, we regularly find וְאָמְרִין עֵנּוּ, i.e. qṭal + AP.<sup>89</sup> Only in D 3,24 both plural forms appear as APs. In one case, finally, they both have qṭal forms: עֵנַת מַלְכָּתָא וְאָמְרַת (D 5,10).

Li (Daniel 54f) points to the verbs that serve to introduce direct speech in classical Greek; if these have past time references, perfective and imperfective forms are often used side by side, and he assumes that the distinction between the aspects in such phrases was irrelevant in Aramaic as well. This interpretation cannot be dismissed out of hand; Li is certainly correct when he emphasises the formulaic character of עֵנָה וְאָמַר (Daniel 44), and one should be careful not to infer from the use of the AP in this phrase its other functions without hesitation.

86 See the examples in Bauer-Leander, GBA 286.

87 Two further examples can be found in D 6,4 (הָיָא מְתַנְצָח “he stood out”) and D 6,5 (הָיוּ בְּעֵין “they were searching”).

88 See, inter alia: D 2, 4 + 5 + 8 + 15 + 20 + 26 + 47; 3,14 + 19 + 24 + 26 + 28; 4,17 + 27.

89 Thus in: D 2,7 + 10; 3,7 + 9.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the 3.sg.m. is only identifiable as AP by the Tiberian vocalisation; judged solely from the consonantal text, ענה and אמר could just as well be qṭal forms. The fact that in the plural, which can be clearly identified even without vowel signs, ענה appears, with one exception, as qṭal and אמר as AP indeed speaks in favour of the assumption expressed by Bauer and Leander (GBA 295) that one also has to vocalise the singular form ענה as qṭal.<sup>90</sup> Under this assumption, the phrase can easily be harmonised with the analysis of the AP given above: ענה represents the superordinate situation, אמר the accompanying circumstance: *he answered by speaking*. ענה originally probably had the meaning “to answer”<sup>91</sup> but experienced a semantic expansion in this phrase and was then also used without a previous question; a literal translation would be: *he spoke by saying*. ענין in D 3,24 and אמרת in D 5,10 would then have to be changed to ענו and אמרה. For what reason ענה was vocalised as AP in later times, is difficult to say. Maybe the use of w + AP to denote accompanying circumstances was no longer alive in everyday language and both forms were regarded as independent, whereupon they were also vocalised in the same way, i. e. as APs.

It can thus be stated that, although the independently used AP is equivalent to qṭal on a syntactic level, insofar as it can stand in the same positions in the sentence and describe foreground situations like the latter, it differs from qṭal aspectually: qṭal is perfective, the AP imperfective. And in any case, it is inappropriate to consider the AP as a historical present, since such a designation only makes sense for verb forms that are used temporally, as Li (Daniel 54) rightly points out who also regards the AP as an aspectual form.

We will have to come back to the AP describing accompanying circumstances below, as some of the evidence can be better understood if the function of yiqṭul, which will be discussed now, is already known. The translation of the examples is done in the light of the results of this investigation.

- p. אנה נ. שלח הוית בביתי ... חלם חזית וידחלני והרהרין על-משכבי וחזוי ראשי  
 (D 4,1–3) יבחלני ומני שים טעם  
 “I, N., was at ease in my house ... I saw a dream that was terrifying me, and  
 imaginations on my bed and images in my head were instilling terror in  
 me; an order was issued by me ...”

<sup>90</sup> On this point, see also Gzella, TAM 131ff.

<sup>91</sup> So still in D 3,24.

- q. חָזָה הָיִית ואלו אֵילִן בְּגוֹא אֶרֶעָ וְרוֹמָה שְׁגִיָּא רָבָה אֵילָנָא וְתִקְף וְרוֹמָה יִמְטָא לְשָׁמַיָּא (D 4,7–8)  
 “(A dream) I saw and behold: A tree in the earth and its height was enormous. The tree grew tall and strong so that its height reached to the sky, and it was visible to the ends of the earth.”
- r. עֲפִיָּה שְׁפִיר וְאִנְבָּה שְׁגִיָּא וּמִזֶּן לְכֹל־אֲבָה תַּחְתּוּהִי תַּסְלֵל חַיּוֹת בְּרָא וּבִעֲנָפוּהִי יִדְרִין צִפְרֵי שְׁמַיָּא וּמִנָּה יִתְזִין כָּל־בִּשְׂרָא (D 4,9)  
 “Its leaves were beautiful and its fruit was abundant; food was in it for all. Under it the beasts of the field were enjoying shade, and in its branches the birds of the heavens were dwelling, and from it every creature was being fed.”
- s. אֲדִין דְּנִיָּאל דִּי־שְׁמָה ב. אֲשֶׁתּוֹמָם כְּשַׁעָּה חָדָה וְרַעֲיָנָהּ יִבְהֻלָּנָהּ (D 4,16)  
 “Then Daniel, who bore the name B., was rigid with fright for a while, his thoughts instilling (even more) terror in him.”
- t. בַּה־שַׁעְתָּא מִלְתָּא סָפַת עֲלֵי־נ. וּמִן־אִנְשָׁא סָרִיד וְעִשְׂבָּא כְּתוּרִין יֵאָכֵל וּמִטֵּל שְׁמַיָּא גְשֻׁמָּה יִצְטָבַע עַד דִּי שַׁעְרָה כְּנִשְׂרִין רָבָה (D 4,30)  
 “(A voice came [qṭal] from heaven: The kingship has departed from you [qṭal], they will drive you out [AP], they will give grass to you to eat [yiqṭul], seven times will have passed over you [yiqṭul] until you realise [yiqṭul + עד די]). At the same hour the word was fulfilled to N. and he was driven away from human society so that he ate grass like cattle and his body was moistened by the dew of the sky until his hair was as long (as that) of an eagle.”
- u. וְלִקְצַת יוֹמִיָּא אָנָּה נ. עֵינֵי לְשָׁמַיָּא נְטִלָּת וּמִגְדַּעֵי עָלֵי יְתוֹב וְלַעֲלִיָּא בְּרַכְתָּ וְלַחֵי עֲלֵמָא שְׁבַחְתָּ (D 4,31)  
 “At the end of the days I, N., raised my eyes to heaven so that my mind returned to me, and I blessed the Most High and the Everlasting I praised.”
- v. בַּה־זְמַנָּא מִגְדַּעֵי יְתוֹב עָלֵי וְלִיקַר מַלְכוּתֵי הַדְרֵי וְזִיזֵי יְתוֹב עָלֵי וְלִי הַדְרֵי וּרְבִרְבֵּנִי יִבְעִין וְעַל־מַלְכוּתֵי חֲתָקְנָת<sup>92</sup> וּרְבוּ יִתִּירָה הוֹסְפֵת־לִי (D 4,33)  
 “Now at this time, when my mind returned, my glory and splendour returned to the dignity of my kingship, my counsellors and my nobles

<sup>92</sup> The verb is certainly to be read חֲתָקְנָת, not חֲתָקְנָת.

looked for me, that was when I was reinstated to my kingship and my power was greatly increased.”

- w. ומן־בני אנשא טְרִיד ולבבה עס־חיותא שְׁוִי ועס־ערדיא מדורה עשבא כתורין יִטְעֻמוּנָה ומטל שמיא גשמה יִצְטַבַּע עד דִּי־יִדַּע דִּי־שְׁלִיט אלהא עליא במלכות אנשא (D 5,21)  
 “(Daniel told N. about his father B.: When he became haughty [qṭal], they took away [qṭal] his kingship). He was driven from men and his heart became like that of a beast while his dwelling place was among the wild asses, (and) they were feeding him with grass like cattle, and his body was being moistened by the dew of heaven until he realised that the Most High God is mighty over the kingship of men and appoints in it whom He wills.”
- x. באדין מלכא בשפרפרא יְקוּם בנגהא ובהתבהלה לגבא דִּי־אריותא אָזַל (D 6,20)  
 “(The den behind Daniel was closed [qṭal], the king went [qṭal] to his palace, he did not let a concubine come to him [qṭal], sleep fled him [qṭal]). Then, early at daybreak, when he was hardly on his feet, the king went in fearful haste to the lion’s den.”
- y. חֲזָה הָיִית בַּחזוֹי לִילִיא וֹאֲרוּ עַס־עֲנֵנֵי שְׁמִיא כְּבֵר אֲנֵשׁ אָתָּה הָוָה וְעַד־עֵתִיק יוֹמִיא מָטָה (D 7,13–14)  
 “I had a nocturnal vision and behold: With the clouds of heaven came someone who looked like a man, and he came to the aged man. They brought him before him and he was given power, dignity and dominion so that the people of every nation and language served him.”
- z. אֶתְכַרִּית רוּחִי אֲנֵה דְנִיָּאל בְּגוֹ נְדָנָה וַחֲזוֹי רֹאשִׁי יִכְהַלְנִי (D 7,15)  
 “My, Daniel’s, spirit was distressed within its envelope<sup>93</sup> while the visions in my head were instilling (further) terror in me”
- aa. קִרְבַּת עַל־יָחַד מִן־קִאמִיא וַיִּצִּיבֹא אֶבְעָא־מְנָה עַל־כַּל־דְּנָה וְאַמְר־לִי וּפְשֵׁר מַלְיָא יְהוּדִי־עֲנִנִי (D 7,16)  
 “I approached one of the bystanders to ask him for certainty about all this, and he spoke, giving me the interpretation of these things.”

93 דְּנָנָה is probably to be vocalised as נְדָנָה, the possessive suffix הָ referring to רוּחַ, literally: “in her sword sheath”. Cf. Beyer, ATTM 633, s.v. ndn.



- bb. אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני יִבְהֶלְנִי וְזִיּוֹ יִשְׁתַּנּוֹן עָלַי וּמִלְתָּא בְּלִבִּי נִטְרָת (D 7,28)  
 “While my thoughts were instilling terror in me, Daniel, and my complexion was changing, I kept the matter in my heart.”

יִפְלָחוּ in D 4,8 (no. q), יֵאָכֵל and יִצְטַבֵּעַ in D 4,30 (no. t), יָתוּב in D 4,31 (no. u), יִפְלָחוּ in D 7,14 (no. y) and אֶבְעָא in D 7,16 (no. aa) will not be taken into account in the following, since in my opinion they describe final or consecutive facts, i.e. they express posteriority to a reference point. They have nevertheless been listed here because they are often cited as examples of past-related yiqṭul.<sup>94</sup>

First of all, it should be noted that the examples of interest here are not short forms of yiqṭul which were used perfectly in Proto-Semitic,<sup>95</sup> as the final -n in forms such as יִבְעֹן (no. v) shows.<sup>96</sup> The review of the examples confirms the generally held view that the yiqṭul forms do not reflect a main moment of the narrative but rather an accompanying circumstance that develops in the background and proceeds simultaneously with the foreground. The decisive factor here is the reference to a qṭal form or an adverb which clarify the past time reference.<sup>97</sup> In this function, yiqṭul thus seems to be used in a similar way as the non-independent AP so that the question arises as to the difference between the two. As seen above (sections 6 and 8), yiqṭul is mainly used to express the perfective aspect, i. e. the posterior perfective aspect. The use of a perfective verb form to describe accompanying circumstances, however, is subject to certain limitations. If such a verb form is to express a progressing situation, this can only be an atelic one; in the case of a telic or punctual situation, a perfective verb form automatically includes its completion. In the case of an imperfective verb form such as the AP, on the other hand, telic or punctual verbs<sup>98</sup> can also be used when there is an accompanying ongoing situation to be described; these, however, then change their type of action and become atelic or complex. And this is precisely what can be observed with the use of yiqṭul and the AP when they describe accompanying circumstances. The following rule can be formulated:

94 For example, אֶבְעָא, יִפְלָחוּ, and יֵאָכֵל in Bauer-Leander, GBA 281, or יֵאָכֵל and יִצְטַבֵּעַ in Li, Daniel 109.

95 Cf. Arab. *lammā ya'ti* “he has not come yet”.

96 As already correctly seen by Gzella, TAM 139, note 66.

97 Cf. Bauer-Leander, GBA 280; Gzella, TAM 136ff.

98 It should be emphasised again at this point that it is inappropriate to ascribe a certain type of action to a single verb form, since the type of action only results from the entire situation in which the verb form is embedded. When I speak of punctual or telic verbs, I mean that they have the potential to make a situation punctual or telic.

The AP is used with punctual and telic verbs when an ongoing accompanying situation is to be expressed. *yiqtul* is mostly used with atelic verbs when an ongoing accompanying situation is to be expressed, and it is used with punctual and telic verbs when the accompanying situation is to be described as a complete whole. With atelic verbs, the usage is not entirely consistent. As already mentioned, *yiqtul* is mostly used but the AP is also found which is not surprising, since an atelic situation remains atelic whether it is expressed by a perfective or an imperfective verb form (cf. ch. 1, sect. 7 above). The accompanying circumstances are usually introduced by *ו* when they follow the superordinate sentence.<sup>99</sup>

Let us illustrate this assertion with the example of D 7,9–10 (no. e):

חָזָה הָיִית עַד דִּי כְרִסוֹן רָמְיוֹ וְעֵתִיק יוֹמִין יִתְּב לְבוּשָׁה כְּתֻלָּג חוֹר וְשַׁעַר רֹאשָׁה כְּעֹמֶר  
נָקֵא כְרִסְיָה שְׁבִבִין דִּי־נֹר גְּלָלוּהִי נֹר דִּלְק (10) נָהַר דִּי־נֹר נָגַד וְנִפְק מִן־קְדְּמוּהִי אֲלֵף  
אַלְפִים יִשְׁמְשֻׁנָּה וּרְבוּ רְבוֹן קְדְּמוּהִי יִקְוֹמוֹן דִּינָא יִתְּב וְסַפְרִין פְּתִיחוּ

I was looking on when suddenly thrones were erected and a very old person took a seat. His clothes were white as snow, the hair of his head pure as wool. His throne was flames of fire, its wheels blazing flames; a stream of fire was pouring out and going out from him. Thousands upon thousands were serving him, myriads upon myriads rose before him. The court sat down and books were opened.

Thrones are set up and an aged man takes his seat. These two situations, expressed by *qtal*, represent the foreground, the superordinate situation. From *לבושה* to *יקומוֹן*, the accompanying circumstances follow. First, the aged man and the thrones are described with four nominal clauses. This is followed in 7,10 by the APs *נָגַד* and *נִפְק* which describe the stream of fire that pours from the throne. *נִפְק* “to go forth, to come forth” is mostly used in a telic sense, *נָגַד* is only attested in this place in Biblical Aramaic, but it must also mean as much as “to come forth”.<sup>100</sup> A perfective verb form would make the situation a telic one: *A stream of fire came forth and then was there*. But that can hardly have been what the narrator had in mind. As soon as a stream has run dry, it can no longer be called a stream. What is meant here is certainly the continuous flowing out that accompanies the foreground situation until the court takes its place. The case is different with the atelic verb *יִשְׁמְשֻׁנָּה*. A situation such as “serving someone” implies neither beginning nor end and does not lose its type

99 An exception to this rule is D 7,9–10 (no. e).

100 Cf. Syriac *ngad* “to spill out of sth”.

of action even with a perfective verb form. יָקוּמוֹן is punctual because yiqṭul of קוּם means “to rise, to stand up”, not “to stand” for which rather the AP would have to be used, as in D 3,3 (no. f) or also D 7,16 (no. aa) where the nominalised form קֹאמִיא is used in the meaning “the bystanders”. So myriads upon myriads rose up to – as can be assumed – pay their respects to the old man.

As for the foreground situation, it should be noted that it does not only consist of the situations of setting up the thrones and the old man taking his seat but also includes the period of time when he is sitting there. יָתַב primarily describes the taking of a seat but is ultimately also resultative: *he sat down and then sat there*. This picture represents the superordinate situation and the foreground. In the background, this situation is described in more detail by four states (the four nominal clauses), three ongoing accompanying situations (יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה, נָפַק, נָגַד) and one perfective accompanying situation (יָקוּמוֹן).

yiqṭul and AP also co-occur in D 5,6 (no. b).

אָדִין מַלְכָּא זִיוָּהִי שְׁנוּהִי וְרַעִינָהּ יִבְהֻלָּנָהּ וְקַטְרִי חֲרָצָה מִשְׁתַּרְרִין וְאַרְכַּבְתָּהּ דָּא לְדָא  
נִקְשָׁן

Then the colour of the king's face changed while his thoughts were instilling terror in him, his hip joints threatened to loosen, his knees were banging together.

The superordinate situation here is זִיוָּהִי שְׁנוּהִי “the colour of his face changed”. The accompanying circumstances are רַעִינָהּ יִבְהֻלָּנָהּ “his thoughts were instilling terror in him”, קַטְרִי חֲרָצָה מִשְׁתַּרְרִין “his hip joints threatened to loosen” and נִקְשָׁן לְדָא אַרְכַּבְתָּהּ דָּא “his knees were banging together”. It is not quite easy to determine the exact type of action of the qatṭel form of בָּהַל. Often the context allows an interpretation as punctual, i.e. “to frighten s.o.”. D 4,16 (no. s), however, hardly allows an interpretation as a punctual verb. The superordinate situation is expressed by אֶשְׁתּוּמָם introduced by אָדִין which already sufficiently emphasises Daniel's state of fright. It makes little sense to take the following רַעִינָהּ יִבְהֻלָּנָהּ to mean that his thoughts also terrified him. He was already terrified. What can only be meant is that his thoughts intensified the already existing terror, thus instilling further terror in him. יִבְהֻלָּנָהּ can therefore be regarded as atelic in 4,16 and also in 5,6. The situation is different with מִשְׁתַּרְרִין. The G-stem of שָׂרַח has the basic meaning “to let go”, and also in the secondary meanings it is punctual or telic. The hitqatṭal form is thus best translated as “to loosen”. So the verb is punctual. If the narrator had used the perfective yiqṭul in D 5,6, the impression would arise that the king's hip joints had actually loosened which would have been a bit much to ask of him. What is meant is that

the king thought that his joints were about to loosen due to the shock. נקש "to strike" is also punctual, but in the phrase דא לרא נקשן it describes repetitions and thus becomes iterative, i.e. complex. A perfective yiqṭul form would make the situation punctual, the knees would then only strike once from here to there which would of course be wholly inadequate to describe the king's state of fright.

Let us now look at the remaining yiqṭul forms. The atelic character of ביהל has already been discussed. It is found in D 4,2 (no. p), 4,16 (no. s), 5,6 (no. b), 7,15 (no. z) and also in 7,28 (no. bb), there with the peculiarity that the accompanying circumstances precede the superordinate situation. ביהלנני in D 4,2 (no. p)<sup>101</sup> describes, similar to בהל, an atelic situation: *he was instilling fear in me*. In D 4,9 (no. r), the tree mentioned in 4,7–8 is described. The description begins with two nominal clauses, followed by תטלל "they were enjoying shade", ידרון "they were dwelling" and יתזין "they were being fed". The yiqṭul forms are thus again atelic or stative.<sup>102</sup> In D 5,21 (no. w), the description of the accompanying circumstances again begins with a nominal clause, followed by יטעמונה "they were feeding him" and יצטבע "he was being moistened", thus by atelic verbs. יצבא יהקים at the end of the verse no longer belongs to the accompanying circumstance but represents an extratemporal statement depending on ידע. In D 7, 28 (no. bb), one finds the form ישתנון זיי in addition to יבהלנני. It can be assumed that this expression does not denote the complete transition from one colour to another but a rather vague change so that this situation can also be regarded as atelic. In D 7,16 (no. aa) אמר represents the superordinate situation; to call יהודענני an accompanying circumstance would be somewhat misleading, since it does not accompany the situation expressed by אמר but is identical with it and only specifies it more closely: *he spoke to me, giving me the interpretation*. So it is not surprising that the perfective yiqṭul is used here, since a perfective situation is described in more detail.

We are still left with the somewhat problematic yiqṭul forms from D 4,33 (no. v):

101 The syntactic relations of the individual parts of the sentence in D 4,2 to each other are ambiguous, as Gzella, TAM 137, note 60, has shown, but this does not affect the functional analysis of the two verb forms.

102 According to Li (Daniel 108f), the three verb forms express habitual or iterative situations and are not descriptions of circumstances. It is difficult to agree with this view. The whole passage is dependent on הויה הויה mentioned in D 4,7 and describes the situation which the king beheld during his dream, and one can only behold situations which are in progress but not habitual ones.

בה־זמנא מנדעי יְתוּב עלי וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזיוי יְתוּב עלי ולי הדברי ורברבני יְבַעֲזוּ  
ועל־מלכותי הִתְקַנַּת ורבו יתירה הוֹסַפְתִּי לִי

Now at this time, when my mind returned, my glory and splendour returned to the dignity of my kingship, my counsellors and my nobles looked for me, that was when I was reinstated to my kingship and my power was greatly increased,

and 6.20 (no. x):

באדִין מלכא בשפרפרא יְקוּם בנגהא ובהתבהלה לגבא דִּיאֲרִיּוּתא אֲזַל

Then, early at daybreak, when he was hardly on his feet, the king went in fearful haste to the lion's den.

Bauer and Leander (GBA 283) interpret the situations expressed by the *yiqṭul* forms in D 4,33 as accompanying circumstances that describe the superordinate situations expressed by הִתְקַנַּת and הוֹסַפְתִּי לִי. Gzella (TAM 143, note 81) objects to this explanation that there is no simultaneity between the main action and the accompanying circumstance, that N's convalescence does not accompany his rehabilitation but precedes it.

Gzella is basically correct when he emphasises the necessary simultaneity between the superordinate situation and the accompanying circumstance, but he does not seem to correctly assess the temporal framework of the superordinate situation. This is namely determined by the adverb of time בה־זמנא “at this time” and includes both the main action and the accompanying circumstances: *At this time, when now my mind returned ... and my nobles looked for me* (accompanying circumstances), *then I was reinstated to my kingship* (superordinate situation).

Even though מנדעי יְתוּב is temporally prior to the reinstatement, both situations are placed in one period of time expressed by בה־זמנא, and so it does not bother that the situations expressed by the *yiqṭul* forms יְתוּב and יְתוּב are perfective, since they are not parallel to the likewise perfective הִתְקַנַּת and הוֹסַפְתִּי לִי but to the time frame in which they are embedded.

D 6,20 is very difficult to interpret. Bauer and Leander assume that יְקוּם and אֲזַל are related to each other as accompanying circumstance and superordinate situation (GBA 283), and indeed nowhere is there a more suitable situation than that expressed by אֲזַל to which יְקוּם could be subordinate. It is true that the getting up usually precedes the going out, but one has to bear in mind that the king was anxiously worried about Daniel. As בהתבהלה suggests, he

hurried to the lion's den, and so it is not surprising when the narrator describes his getting up and going as being simultaneous: *While he was still getting up, he already hurried off.* יקום naturally changes its type of action in this interpretation and is now atelic; since the AP קאם is only used in the stative sense of "standing", the narrator had no choice but to use yiqṭul.

As already indicated above, we have to come back to some APs expressing accompanying circumstances because they can be better understood now that the function of yiqṭul is known.

In D 3,3–4 (no. f), we have קאמין and קרא:

באדן מתכנשין אחשדרפניא ... לחנכת צלמא די הקים נ. מלכא וקאמין לקבל צלמא  
די הקס נ. וכרוזא קרא בחיל

Then (little by little) the satraps were gathering ... for the dedication of the statue that King N. had erected, standing in front of the statue that N. had erected while a herald was crying out with a loud voice: ...

It has already been explained that only the AP of קום is capable of expressing a state which alone makes sense at this point. קרא "to exclaim" is, like אמרין in D 6,7 and 6,13 (nos. k + d), a verb of saying which always has as its object what is said. One can only claim that someone has said something when this something has actually already been said, so the situation of saying always implies an end and is thus telic. A perfective yiqṭul form would therefore presuppose the completion of the speech which cannot be true in the present cases because the superordinate situations do not extend beyond the accompanying circumstances, i.e. the direct speeches. If an accompanying circumstance is to be represented in a perfective way, it must either be identical with the superordinate situation, as in D 7,16 (no. aa; יהודעני), or it must be completed within the period of time set by the latter, as in D 7,10 (no. e; יקומון). However, this does not apply here. There is no indication whatsoever that the gathering in D 3,3, the hastening in D 6,7 or the approaching in D 6,13 would continue after the direct speech; on the contrary, one must rather assume that the accompanying circumstance extends beyond the superordinate situation. yiqṭul would thus be completely inappropriate in these cases.

In D 3,26–27 (no. h), מתכנשין and חזון denote the accompanying circumstances. מתכנשין "they were gathering" is telic, thus only the AP is possible in the case of an accompanying situation; חזון "they saw", on the other hand, is atelic so that theoretically also yiqṭul could be used. The same is true for שתה in D 5,1 (no. a); here, one speaks of drinking wine in general, so the situation is also atelic. כתבון "they were writing" in D 5,5 (no. b) is without an object so

that the situation at first appears to be atelic. However, the passage is about the *menetel* even if it is not explicitly mentioned there. The narrator probably already had it in mind and therefore chose the appropriate AP to express an accompanying action. *שָׁנִין* and *מִשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין* in D 5,9 (no. j) can be regarded as telic. However, the context suggests that the change in the colour of the faces and the confusion of the royal nobles were no sudden events but developed over a period of time so that the situations were intended to be atelic, i.e. “they were changing” and “they were getting confused”. Interestingly, in D 7,28 (no. bb) *יִשְׁתַּנֵּן*, the *hitqattal* form of *שָׁנָא*, which has the same meaning as *שָׁנִין*, is used.

The APs *כָּרַךְ* “he fell on his knees”, *מַצֵּלָא* “he prayed” and *מוֹדָא* “he praised” in D 6,11 (no. c) are probably due to the fact that these are habitual situations which outside of accompanying circumstances are also expressed by the AP.

Finally, a word should be said about how Bombeck (Daniel) explains the use of *yiqtul* with past time reference. In the passages where the Book of Daniel speaks of the king, Bombeck says, the writer used the Aramaic verb form that looks most like the Akkadian present or preterite, namely *yiqtul*. In this way, the scribe wanted to give the impression that the text originates from the time of the Neo-Babylonian kings (Daniel 8).

Even if the author of the Aramaic part of the Book of Daniel was familiar with Akkadian, this still does not explain why he used *yiqtul* with past time reference only to describe accompanying circumstances. Such a restriction does not apply to the Akkadian present or preterite.<sup>103</sup>

All the evidence so far is taken from the Book of Daniel. The independent use of the AP is not attested in Ezra, but the subordinate use to describe accompanying circumstances is:

cc. *אָדִין ת. ש. וְכִנּוּתָהוֹן לְקַבֵּל דִּי ... עֲבָדוּ וּשְׁבִי יְהוּדִיא בְּנִין וּמַצְלָחִין* (E 6,13–14)

“And then T., Sch. and their colleagues were doing according to ... while the elders of the Jews were working on the building and making good progress.”<sup>104</sup>

Let us briefly summarise what has been said about the AP and *yiqtul* in the Book of Daniel: It has been shown that *yiqtul* and the AP are also used with past time reference according to their other functions: The AP expresses imperfectivity, *yiqtul* perfectivity. Unlike *yiqtul*, the AP can denote foreground situation

103 Cf. von Soden, GAG 127–129.

104 See further: E 4,20 (*מְחִיָּהֵב לָהוֹן*) ... 1 “while ... was being given to them”; 5,2 (*מְסַעְדִּין*) ... 1 “while they were supporting”; 5,3 (*וְכִן אֲמָרִין*) “while they were thus speaking”.

in independent main clauses for which *qṭal* is usually used. The use of *qṭal* or the AP depends on the type of action of the verbs. If the subject is a plural or a collective, and the situation is therefore complex, the AP is used, since complexity is only compatible with the imperfective aspect but not with a perfective verb form such as *qṭal* which would make the situation punctual or telic. In addition, the AP is used together with *yiqṭul* in the description of accompanying circumstances that are usually introduced by *ו* if they follow the situation to which they are subordinate. The perfective *yiqṭul* is used with punctual and telic verbs when the situation is to be described as a complete whole; with the same verbs, on the other hand, the AP is used when the accompanying circumstance is described as ongoing and not complete; in this case, the type of action changes and becomes mostly atelic. Atelic situations are compatible with the perfective as well as the imperfective aspect, and accordingly both the AP and *yiqṭul* are used with these, although *yiqṭul* is attested more frequently. The AP can be combined with a *qṭal* form of *הוי* to emphasise the past time reference. With one exception, this only happens with independently used APs and mostly when it is at some distance from time adverbs so that the time reference cannot be directly inferred from the context. In the book of Ezra only the AP describing accompanying circumstances is attested.

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭal*

*qṭal* is used in main and subordinate clauses in narrating as well as in discussing passages to indicate anteriority to the speech time; discussing *qṭal* often has the meaning of an anterior; resultative situations, on the other hand, are expressed by the PP of the G-stem (2.1 + 2.2). If the superordinate situation has past time reference, *qṭal* in the subordinate clause expresses anteriority to it (4). In a rather uncertain instance in a circumstantial clause, it presumably expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (9.1 no. b). Furthermore, *qṭal* is attested once in the protasis of a real conditional clause after *להן* where it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (12). The aspectual character of *qṭal* is clearly recognisable in the phrase *הָזַה + qṭal* form of *הוי* followed by *עַד דִּי* and *qṭal*: *he was looking when suddenly this and this happened*, which is used to describe dreams; in these cases, *qṭal* expresses a singular completed situation which, as part of the dream event, is the object of the imperfective looking and clearly perfective (13). The same applies to *הָזַה הָוִית : הָזַית*; the *qṭal* form is used when the seeing of the dream is mentioned as a complete whole, whereas the AP describes it as parallel to the dream event (5, nos. b + c).



### 15.2 *Yiqṭul*

*yiqṭul* has a short and a long form. The short form appears after the negation particle **לֹא** and is used once in the Book of Jeremiah with a non-indicative meaning. Otherwise, the long form is used to express non-indicative as well as indicative situations; it is characterised by an /-n-/ in the 3. pl. and generally before object suffixes, but in the remaining cases does not differ formally from the short form.

*yiqṭul* is mainly used to express posteriority, the reference point can be in the past (6) or the present (8.1 + 8.2). In these cases, it is often difficult to decide whether it is used indicatively or non-indicatively. It is clearly used in a non-indicative sense in relative clauses whose reference word is negated: *There is no one on earth who would be able to* (דַּי ... יוֹכֵל). Furthermore, it is found in relative clauses expressing habitual or extratemporal situations and introduced by indefinita such as כֹּל-דַּי; in such relative clauses which express the intentum of a protasis, the Semitic languages usually have the same verb forms as in conditional clauses, and so also in Biblical Aramaic: מְזַדְדִּילָא יִפֹּל “whosoever does not fall down = if anybody does not fall down” (7.2). In main clauses and temporal clauses, it can express anteriority to a reference point in the future (9.1 + 9.2); in a relative clause, the *yiqṭul* form of a stative verb expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future (10). Furthermore, it is used in main clauses to denote different nuances of deontic modality in the second and third persons; in most cases, the forms are clearly identifiable as *yiqṭulL*, but *yiqṭulS* is attested in the same meaning. The vetitive and the negated jussive are expressed by **לֹא** + *yiqṭulS*. In non-indicative subordinate clauses, *yiqṭulL* is also found, for example after expressions of command (next to **לְ** + infinitive) and after דַּי with a final meaning (11.1 + 11.2). Moreover, *yiqṭulL* is used in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses with present or future time reference (12) and finally, in the Book of Daniel, in dependent circumstantial clauses which describe a superordinate situation in more detail. In these cases, it expresses the perfective aspect and is in opposition to the AP (14).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

The participle of the t-stems has to be regarded as the passive-reflexive counterpart to the AP and like the latter it describes situations that are not yet completed. The compound AP / participle of the t-stems + *qṭal* form of הוּי is only used with the verbs אָתָה, חֲזָה, שָׁכַל, הלך, otherwise הוּי precedes the AP. In main and subordinate clauses, it describes habitual situations or those that extend over a longer period of time (3.1 + 3.2). Furthermore, in main clauses it expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the past, whereas in subordinate clauses

mostly simple AP is used; such situations can be habitual or in progress (5). In main and subordinate clauses, the simple AP describes simultaneity with the speech time; such situations can be in progress (*hic et nunc*), limited to a specific period of time, habitual or extratemporal; here, the participle of the t-stem is also attested which is passive but not resultative; in three cases, the AP is preceded by אִתִּי with a subject suffix in order to emphasise the factuality of the situation (7.1 + 7.2). Occasionally, the simple AP is used to indicate posteriority to the speech time (e.g. טָרְדִין “they will drive away”; 8.1, no. f + 8.2).

If the AP is preceded by a *yiqṭul* form of הוּי, it denotes habitual or repetitive situations that are posterior to the speech time (8.1); this compound is also used non-indicatively to express instructions that claim general validity (11.1 + 11.2). The morphologically unambiguous forms of הוּי can be identified as *yiqṭulL* in both cases.

Moreover, the AP is used after הִזָּה + *qṭal* form of הוּי and אֵלּוּ / אֲרוּ “behold!” to describe a dream event as proceeding parallel to the seeing and is here again in opposition to the perfective *qṭal* that is used after עַד דִּי when a sudden event is to be described (13).

Finally, the use of the AP with past time reference is to be mentioned. In the Book of Daniel it can be used independently without a *qṭal* form of הוּי if the time reference is made clear by the word order or adverbs such as בְּאַדִּין. Here, too, the AP is in opposition to *qṭal*, and it is used when the subject is a larger number of persons or even a collective and the situation is supposed to be a complex one. In such cases, only an imperfective verb form can ensure that the situations retain their type of action; if the perfective *qṭal* were used here, the complex situations would be perceived as telic or punctual. The AP is also used to express accompanying circumstances that describe superordinate situations with past time reference in more detail and is here in opposition to *yiqṭulL*. The perfective *yiqṭul* is used with punctual and telic verbs when the situation is to be described as a complete whole; with the same verbs the AP is used when the accompanying circumstance is described as ongoing and imperfective which has the consequence that the type of action changes and becomes mostly atelic. Atelic situations are compatible with the perfective as well as the imperfective aspect, and accordingly both the AP and *yiqṭul* can be used with these, although *yiqṭul* is attested more often (15).

#### 15.4 *Qṭil*

The PP can be combined with a *qṭal*- or *yiqṭul* form of הוּי; the *yiqṭul* form of הוּי is probably to be interpreted as *yihwēL*. Simple PP can be used with past time reference and has a predominantly adjectival meaning: פְּתִיחוֹן “they were open”, not “opened” (2.1). Often it describes not an actual but only a potential

quality: דָּהִיל “he was fearsome”, not actually “feared” (2.1), מְהִימָן “he is trustworthy” (7.1). A form of הוּי can make the time reference or mood clear: תְּהוּא תְּבִירָה “she will be fragile” (8.1). Sometimes it is used in the meaning of an anterior or resultative: הָוָא בְּנָה “(that) was built” (2.2), יָדִיעַ לְהוּא לָךְ “be it made known to you” (11.1).

## 16 Analysis

qṭal is an aspectual verb form expressing the perfective aspect. In main clauses it is in opposition to the imperfective qāṭil which is often combined with a qṭal form of הוּי but does not necessarily have to be if the time reference is made clear by the context. In subordinate clauses, the opposition is qṭal : qāṭil; here, the time reference of qāṭil is only specified in exceptional cases by a form of הוּי. Furthermore, the perfective character of qṭal is demonstrated by its use in a circumstantial clause with future time reference where it expresses anteriority to the superordinate situation.

According to Li (Daniel 38), qṭal, as used in the Book of Daniel, is in a transitional phase from an old anterior to a simple past, i.e. it first expressed past situations that are still relevant to the present but was then also used to indicate situations that are purely temporally anterior to the speech time. In Daniel, Li says, it is predominantly used as a simple past while its use as an anterior represents the remnant of an older phase of Aramaic.

In his review of Li's work (Li 125), Gzella has already pointed out that the use of qṭal as simple past is merely conditioned by the narrative character of the text; the same applies, as already stated above, to its use as anterior, for in this function qṭal is attested only in discussing passages. Moreover, Gzella (ibid.) objects that the use of qṭal in Daniel does not differ significantly from that in older Aramaic; so if there was indeed a transition from anterior to simple past, it would have to have begun long before the composition of the Book of Daniel. For even in Old Aramaic, qṭal can be used in the meaning of an anterior or a simple past, depending on whether it is found in a narrating or a discussing passage. Let us take as an example lines 3–4 of the inscription of King Zkr from the 9th century BC, already quoted above (ch. 3, sect. 2.1):

hmlkny b'lšm[yn] “B'lšm[yn] has made me king.”

The passage is discussing, the speaker wants to emphasise that he has been crowned and is still king. In line 10 of the same inscription (see ch. 3, sect. 2.1, no. g), qṭal is also used, but this passage has to be regarded as narrating and qṭal accordingly as simple past:

hrmw šr mn-šr ḥzrk “They built a wall higher than the wall of Ḥzrk.”

It seems more appropriate, thus, to consider qṭal as a verb form for expressing the perfective aspect. It describes situations as completed and anterior to a reference point which may be identical with the speech time, be in the past or, rarely, the future. The fact that qṭal can easily be taken as anterior or simple past with the speech time as the reference point is due to the nature of the text passage (discussing vs. narrating) and to the fact that all three categories have in common that the corresponding situations are completed when viewed from the speech time. Li (Daniel 21f) himself shares an important observation that speaks for the perfective character of qṭal, namely that a perfective verbal form presupposes cross-linguistically the existence of an imperfective verb form of the past. And precisely such a verb form exists, namely the compound hwā + qāṭil which is in opposition to qṭal. If qṭal were a purely temporal simple past, it would also have been used to express the imperfective aspect, but this is not the case.

Let us now turn to qāṭil. Simple qāṭil and the participle of the t-stems denote imperfective, habitual, and extratemporal situations; the time reference and the distinction between indicative and non-indicative use is expressed by a form of הוי, and איתי emphasises the factuality of the situation. Furthermore, it occasionally indicates posteriority to the speech time. This use can be explained by its function to express imperfective or also habitual situations, as these mostly also extend to the future. qāṭil could therefore be interpreted aspectually as extended imperfective or temporally as present tense. However, if we also consider its use in circumstantial clauses, where it forms an imperfective : perfective opposition pair with yiqṭull, it becomes clear that the AP can only be an extended imperfective form. The same holds probably true for the compound yihwēL + qāṭil. The existence of a compound yihwēS + qāṭil cannot be proven.

At this point, one question that has not yet been discussed above needs to be dealt with. This is the position of qāṭil and the form of הוי in relation to each other. It has been stated above (3.1) that the compound qāṭil + hwā is only attested with the verbs שכל, הלך, חזה and אהה, and that otherwise qāṭil follows הוי. Bauer and Leander, on the one hand, formulate a rule that does not refer to the verb form but to the grammatical person: with third persons, qāṭil usually follows the form of הוי, otherwise it precedes it (GBA 293). Formulated as a rule, this is correct, but as seen above (sections 5 and 13), there are two instances of qāṭil + hwā in a third person (אֶתְהָהּ in D 7,13 and מְהִלֵּךְ in D 4,26), which is not a small percentage in the total number of instances. When discussing the verbal system of Imperial Aramaic, we saw that the form of הוי there usually follows a stative qāṭil form but otherwise precedes it (3.1). Even a glance at the

verbs in question shows that this rule does not apply here. Nor can a dependence of the word order on the aspect of the situations be proven, for example, in such a way that the pure imperfective aspect is expressed by one word order and the extended imperfective aspect, i.e. habitual and extratemporal situations, by another.

It therefore seems most likely to me that the grammaticalisation of the compound has not yet been fully completed, as Li (Daniel 90f) suggests. With reference to the work of Bybee and Dahl, Li assumes that a free word order points to a lower degree of grammaticalisation. This means that *qāṭil* and *הוי* have either not yet been reanalysed as related elements of one compound and *הוי* is still perceived as an independent means of time expression, or else that this reanalysis has taken place but is still quite recent.

Finally, let us turn to *yiqtūl*. Its use to express posteriority to the speech time can be interpreted temporally or aspectually. Moreover, however, it also expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future which rather speaks for an aspectual main function, and it should be emphasised that this usage is not limited to subordinate clauses, where subordinators already clarify the time relationship, but can also be found in main clauses. The fact that it can denote posteriority to a reference point in the past also suggests an aspectual character. This interpretation is not contradicted by the example in which *yiqtūl* expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future, as the situation in question is stative and thus neutral towards the category of aspect. Another argument against the temporal character of *yiqtūl* is its use in circumstantial clauses with past time reference. Here it describes situations as perfective but does not determine their temporal reference which is rather given by the superordinate clause. The clearest indication of the aspectual character of *yiqtūl*, however, is provided by the existence of the compound *yihwēl* + *qāṭil*, to which it is in opposition both in the indicative and non-indicative fields. The compound is only used once with an indicative function and Li (Daniel 82) warns, not without justification, against drawing too far-reaching conclusions from this. However, the compound is also attested nine times in a non-indicative sense<sup>105</sup> which brings us to ten attestations which should not be underestimated in view of the total size of the text corpus. And what is decisive is that, even if the opposition *yiqtūl* : *yihwēl* + *qāṭil* was not used too often, there can be no doubt about its existence. It can thus be stated that *yiqtūl* is not a signum to express indicativity – as in Old Aramaic – but denotes the posterior perfective aspect with both indicative and non-indicative situations.

105 Three times in main clauses (see sect. 11.1, no. l and 8.1, no. h), six times in subordinate clauses (see sect. 11.1, no. l and 11.2, nos. h + i).

A word about the imperative still needs to be said. Even if no signum corresponding to *hwā + qāṭil* is attested in BA, i.e. one must assume that the simple imperative also fulfils its function, it seems inappropriate to me to analyse it as unmarked, since it basically still only expresses *one* intentum, namely the command.

The verbal system of Biblical Aramaic has six marked verb forms: *qṭal*, *qṭil + S-suffix*, *hwā + qṭil*, *yihwēL + qṭil*, *yiqṭulS*, imperative. The remaining verb forms have to be considered unmarked: *yiqṭulL*, *qāṭil*, *hwā + qāṭil*, *yihwēL + qāṭil*.

In the indicative domain, there are the following oppositions:

*qṭal* (anterior perfective) : (*hwā +*) *qāṭil* (anterior ext. imperfective)  
*yiqṭulL* (posterior perfective) : *yihwēL + qāṭil* (posterior ext. imperfective),

and in the non-indicative domain:

*yiqṭulL* (perfective) : *yihwēL + qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)

A corresponding opposition for the imperative, as in Imperial Aramaic, could, as I said, not be proven.

There is a special opposition in circumstantial clauses, namely:

*yiqṭulL* (perfective) : *qāṭil* (imperfective)

*yiqṭulS* only occurs sporadically and its functions, except after the negation particle ܠܐ, seem to have been almost completely taken over by *yiqṭulL*. The system is supplemented by the resultatively used PP of the G-stem which, however, is not in direct opposition to any other verb form.

This section should have made clear the limitations of a purely text-linguistic approach such as that advocated by Shepherd. The verbal forms do indeed serve text-linguistic purposes, in that *qṭal*, for example, usually marks a text passage as narrating, while *qāṭil* marks it as discussing. However, these criteria cannot provide a full understanding of the use of these verb forms as the function of *yiqṭul* and *qāṭil* in circumstantial clauses in particular shows. Shepherd includes these forms in his list of verb forms used in Biblical Aramaic main clauses and classifies them as narrative or discourse (vsB 142 ff), but here they are mixed with *qṭal* forms and other *qāṭil*- and *yiqṭul* forms which can be used in the same function without it being possible to see what the difference between them is. The fact that circumstantial clauses containing *yiqṭul* or *qāṭil* can in no way be equated with independent main clauses does not become clear from Shepherd's work in any way. An in-depth study of the verbal system of a given language, therefore, cannot avoid considering the good old aspects and types of action.

## Hasmonean

### o The Text Corpus

The texts included in the study are cited according to Beyer's ATTM. Simple ATTM stands for Volume I, ATTM II for Volume II. The abbreviations and datings of the texts are taken from Beyer. The first group of texts are the Old Testament Apocrypha:

**Gen. Ap.** = Genesis Apokryphon, probably from the beginning of the 1st century BC (ATTM 165–186; ATTM II 89–168)

**Q** = Qahat's farewell speech, probably written in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC (ATTM 209–210; ATTM II 114–117)

**R** = Amram's farewell speech, probably written in the 1st half of the 2nd century BC (ATTM 210–214; ATTM II 117–126)

**J** = The heavenly Jerusalem, passed down on seven manuscripts from the time around Jesus' birth (ATTM 214–222; ATTM II 129–138)

**N** = The Prayer of Nabonid, completed before 164 BC, the manuscript dates from the 2nd half of the 1st century BC (ATTM 223–224)

**G** = The Giants, from the 1st century BC (ATTM 258–268; ATTM II 153)

**K** = The Apocalypse of the Son of God, written in the 2nd half of the 1st century BC (ATTM II 145–149)

**U** = The document of Darius, the manuscript dates from the 2nd half of the 1st century BC but goes back to an older original (around 200 BC; ATTM II 149–153)

Hasmonean, moreover, are the private documents from the Wadi Murabba'at (M) which were written between 120 BC and 135 AD (ATTM 306–318; ATTM II 202–204).

If only the document is mentioned in the references, it is taken from the main volume ATTM I; in the case of quotations from the second volume, this is mentioned as such.

# 1 The Verb Forms

## 1.1 *Qṭal*

qṭal has the following endings:

|      | sg.          | pl.          |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3.m. | קטל          | קטלו         |
| 3.f. | קטלת         | קטלא         |
| 2.m. | קטלת         | קטלתם        |
| 2.f. | not attested | not attested |
| 1.   | קטלת         | קטלן         |

qṭal has an internal passive: לא קטילת (Gen. Ap. A20,10) “I was not killed”.<sup>1</sup> Besides the G-stem, Hasmonean further has qatṭel, ’aqṭel and the corresponding t-stems.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

yiqṭul has a long and a short form. The long forms are:

|      | sg.   | pl.            |
|------|-------|----------------|
| 3.m. | יקטל  | יקטלון ~ יקטלן |
| 3.f. | תקטל  | יקטלן          |
| 2.m. | תקטל  | תקטלן          |
| 2.f. | תקטלן | not attested   |
| 1.   | אקטל  | נקטל           |

The short form differs from the long form by the absence of the final -n in the 3. pl.:

יסגדון (K 2,7; ATTM II 148) “they will fall down”, but:  
יתמנו (G 8,3; ATTM II 157) “they are to be counted”.

No /-n-/ is inserted on the short form when object suffixes follow:

לא ירתנך (Gen. Ap. A22,34) “he will not inherit your estate”, but:  
ינדעוך (Gen. Ap. A20,15) “they shall recognise you”.

<sup>1</sup> On qṭal, see Beyer, ATTM I 469.

<sup>2</sup> See Beyer, ATTM I 461–469.



After the negation **אֵל**, the short form is used:

ואֵל תִּרְגֹּז עִלִּי (Gen. Ap. A2,25) “do not be angry with me”.<sup>3</sup>

I do not know of any examples of an internal passive.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP has the following forms:

|       |       |                       |
|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| sg.m. | קטל   | (see Gen. Ap. A19,9)  |
| sg.f. | קטלא  | (see Gen. Ap. A20,17) |
| pl.m. | קטלין | (see Gen. Ap. A19,24) |
| pl.f. | קטלן  | (see M 21,10)         |

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

|       |              |                       |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------|
| sg.m. | קטיל         | (see N 1,3)           |
| sg.f. | קטילא        | (see Gen. Ap. A22,19) |
| pl.m. | קטילין       | (see Gen. Ap. A22,20) |
| pl.f. | not attested |                       |

The derived stems form the participles with the prefix *m-*. Both AP and PP can be combined with a *qṭal-* or *yiqṭul* form of **הוּי** which, with few exceptions, precede the AP but follow the PP.

### 1.5 *Imperative*

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| sg.m. | קטל                      |
| sg.f. | קטלי                     |
| pl.m. | קטלו                     |
| pl.f. | קטלה ~ קטלא <sup>4</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority to the speech time in main clauses is predominantly expressed by *qṭal* in both narrating and discussing passages. As in the languages discussed

<sup>3</sup> On *yiqṭul*, see Beyer, ATTM I 471f.

<sup>4</sup> See Beyer, ATTM I 473.

so far, discussing qṭal often has the meaning of an anterior. As far as both are attested, I will first give an example of narrating, then of discussing qṭal. The further examples given in the notes are not exhaustive but only represent a selection:

### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. ואזל לארך מת לפרוין ותמן אשכחה (Gen. Ap. A2,23)  
“And he went to Uruk, a district of Prwyn, and there he found him.”<sup>5</sup>
- b. כען חלפנא ארענא ועלנא לארע בני חם (Gen. Ap. A19,13)  
“Now we have left our land and entered the land of the sons of Ham.”<sup>6</sup>

### 2.1.2 Telic

- c. ובנית תמן מדבח (Gen. Ap. A21,20)  
“And there I built an altar.”<sup>7</sup>
- d. מא עבדתה לי (Gen. Ap. A20,26)  
“What have you done to me?”

### 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. אנתתי בחלק תקיף עמי מללת (Gen. Ap. A2,8)  
“Then B., my wife, spoke to me with strong emphasis.”<sup>8</sup>
- f. ארו תרינא מן שרש [ח] ד צמח[נ]א (Gen. Ap. A19,16)  
“Behold, [we] have grown from [o]ne root.”<sup>9</sup>

5 For punctual qṭal in narrating passages, see also: Gen. Ap. A20,10 (לא קטילת) “I was not killed”; A21,19 (יתבת) “I sat down”; A22, 5 (בכא) “he burst into tears”; G 9,20 (דחלו) “they fell into fear”; U 16; ATTM II 150 (השתכח) / פתיחת “she was opened / it was found”.

6 For discussing qṭal, see also: Gen. Ap. A2,3 (אתבהלת ועלת) “I was startled and entered”.

7 For telic situations in narrating passages, see further: Gen. Ap. A2,19 (רטת על) “I ran to”; Gen. Ap. A12,9; ATTM II 96 (ילידו) “they were born”; Gen. Ap. A12,16–17; ATTM II 96 (אתכנשנא / אולנא) “we gathered / we went to”.

8 In passages that are narrated in the first person or at least refer to a first person, it is not always easy to decide whether they are meant to be narrating or discussing. However, Enoch, who is speaking here, seems to be narrating what his wife said. Other narrating qṭal forms expressing atelic situations can be found, among others, in: Gen. Ap. A19,21 (בכת) “she wept”; G 9,4 (גדת) “it [f.] fled”; R 1,7; ATTM II 118 (אכל ואשת) “he ate and drank”.

9 For discussing qṭal expressing an atelic situation, see also: Gen. Ap. A2,2 (אשתני) “it changed”.

## 2.1.4 Stative

- g. ארו צדותא הוואת שגיא בארעא (Gen. Ap. A12,9; ATTM II 96)  
 “Behold, the desolation on earth was great.”<sup>10</sup>

As can be seen from the examples, qṭal in discussing passages is often used with the meaning of an anterior insofar as the situation expressed by it still has effects on the present.

Furthermore, hwā + qāṭil or participle of a t-stem is attested. The difference to simple qṭal is not always easy to see. Here is the evidence first:

- h. ונגדת ל [...] ו הוית אזל לדרומא [...] ואתית עד די דבקת לחברון (Gen. Ap. A19,9)  
 “I moved to ... and I headed south ... and I walked until I reached Hebron.”
- i. ושאלו לי [...] והווא יהבין (Gen. Ap. A19,24)  
 “(And after 5 years [there came] three men from the great men of Egypt [to me, Abram]) and gave [...] and asked me ...”
- j. והוואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל למקרב בהא (Gen. Ap. A20,17)  
 “(God sent [qṭal] a spirit of plague to Pharaoh that night to strike him) and he (in Aramaic fem.) was tormenting (striking) him and all the members of his household so that he could not approach her (i.e. Abraham’s wife).”
- k. מא עבדתה לי בדיל [מא] הוית אמר לי די אחתי היא (Gen. Ap. A20,26–27)  
 “What have you done to me? Why did you say to me: *She is my sister?*”
- l. ורמה עליהון בליליא מן ארבע רוחיהון והווא קטל בהון בליליא ותבר אנון והוא רדף (Gen. Ap. A22,8–10)  
 “He rushed on them in the night from all four sides, was making a slaughter among them in the night and defeated them; he was pursuing them while they were all fleeing from him until they reached Helbon.”
- m. וכדי נפקת מן מעי אמי לקושט נצחת וקושטא כול יומי דברת והוית מהלך בשבילי (Gen. Ap. A6,1–2; ATTM II 91)  
 “After I had come out of my mother’s womb, as was fitting, I became victorious and led the truth all my days and walked in the ways of the eternal law.”

<sup>10</sup> For discussing qṭal denoting a stative situation, see further: Gen. Ap. A2,1 (חשבת) “I thought”).

- n. ועם כולהון מלחא הוית יהב ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מי סלק (Gen. Ap. A10,17; ATTM II, 94)  
 "(I offered various animal sacrifices [qṭal].) And to each I gave salt, and the smell of my burnt offering went up to [hea]ven."
- o. קרית לבני ... ואתכנשנא כחדא ואזלנא [למדבח מרה] שמיא והוית מברך למרה שמיא (Gen. Ap. A12,16–17; ATTM II 96)  
 "I called my sons ... and we gathered and went [to the altar of the Lord] of heaven, and I praised the Lord of heaven."
- p. ולא הוינא יכלין למתב למצרין (R 2,6; ATTM II 119)  
 "And we could not return to Egypt."

Let us start with **הוא רדף** and **הווא ערקין** in A22,8–10 (no. l); the main clause situation of an until-construction can be imperfective if it extends to and includes the until-situation. This is the case here. The previously mentioned **הווא קטל** is remarkable. It is in a sequence of actions extending from **רמה** "he rushed" to **תבר** "he defeated". In a sequence of several actions, one expects the perfective aspect when all the situations involved take place strictly one after the other. It is important to bear in mind, however, that **קטל** in this situation has lost its punctual type of action and is now used atelically, for it does not mean that Abraham killed all the enemies but only that he killed among them (**בהון**), i.e. he made a slaughter. The change of the type of action punctual > atelic is first of all due to the use of the prepositional phrase **בהון** instead of a direct object. An atelic situation can now be viewed from a perfective or imperfective point of view without changing its type of action. Since **qṭal** seems to express the perfective aspect, it is probably best to assume that **הווא קטל** is meant imperfectively here, especially, since it is difficult to see what else it could mean. Accordingly, the narrator makes a break after **רמה** and lets the narrative stand still for a moment, asking the reader to identify with the grammatical subject and look at the situation from the inside which at the same time gives it duration and liveliness. With the following **תבר**, the reader changes the perspective again and views the situation as a complete whole.

**hwā + qāṭil** seems to express the imperfective aspect in Gen. Ap. A20,17 (no. j), too. The situation expressed by **הואת כתשא** extends over the whole night. Assuming that **qṭal** expresses the perfective aspect, simple **כתשא** would have to be understood as "he struck him" which does not fit the time frame. An imperfective way of looking at it changes not only the type of action of the situation but also the semantic value of the verb form which is now more appropriately translated as "to torment". The situation is now atelic and can

easily be viewed as extended and also as imperfective insofar as the narrator asks the reader to take on the role of the king and look at the situation from his point of view.

In other cases, *hwā* + *qāṭil* seems to indicate the repetition of a situation, as *יהב הוית* in Gen. Ap. A10,17 (no. n). Previously, several animals were mentioned, all of which were sacrificed. *יהב הוית* expresses here that salt was added each time. *הוית אזל* in no. h, on the other hand, seems to be intended to emphasise the duration of the situation.

The other attestations are not easy to explain. The understanding of *הווא יחבין* in Gen. Ap. A19,24 (no. i) is greatly complicated by the following gap. Possibly the men repeatedly brought gifts. *הוית אמר* in Gen. Ap. A20,26–27 (no. k) is quite puzzling. Nowhere is it mentioned that Abraham repeatedly told Pharaoh that Saray was his sister, and also the original Hebrew (Gen. 12,18) has simple *qāṭal*.<sup>11</sup> *הוית מהלך* in Gen. Ap. A6,2 (no. m) is clearly habitual, and it is surprising that *דברת* appears as a *qṭal* form although *כול יומי* refers to both verb forms. It seems that the *qṭal* form of *הלך* is not often used in Aramaic.<sup>12</sup> Regarding *הוית מברך* in Gen. Ap. A12,16–17 (no. o), it can only be assumed that the praising took place repeatedly. Finally, *לא הוית יכלין* in R 2,6 (no. p) refers to a longer period of time, since the return to Egypt was prevented by a war.

Following a *qṭal* form, also simple *qāṭil* can express anteriority to the speech time:

- q. *ובני אנוש אתו ובעין למקץ ולמעקר ל[א]רזא* (Gen. Ap. A19,15–16)  
 “And people came and wanted to cut down the [ce]dar and uproot it.”

The PP with a following *qṭal* form of *הו* is clearly used resultatively in the following example:

- r. *כתיש הוית שנין שבע [...] בשחנא באיש בפתגם א[לה]א בתימן* (N 1,2–3)  
 “With the bad ulcer by the decree of G[od] in Taima ... I (had been struck and then) was struck for seven years.”

Even without *הו*, the PP can have past time reference:

- s. *חזות דח[י]ל* (R 2,13)

11 Cohen (Phrase nominale 435) refers to the publication of the Apocrypha by Fitzmyer, and there it reads: *w-t'mr ly* instead of *לי אמר*, which can be interpreted as a circumstantial clause: *en me disant*.

12 See ATTM I 562 and ATTM II 385 s.v. *הלך*.

“The appearance was terrifying.”

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, only *qṭal* is attested:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. מלי צ[ל]טא די צלי נבני (N 1,1)  
 “Words of the prayer that Nabonid prayed.”<sup>13</sup>

### 2.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. ואל תרגז עלי די לתנא אחית לארך (Gen. Ap. A2,25)  
 “Do not be angry with me because I have come here to Uruk.”

## 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

This category is very rarely attested. An example has already been given above (2.1, no. m). As already indicated there, it is not easy to understand why *qṭal* is used once, then *hwā* + *qāṭil*. In the same passage there is probably another example of *hwā* + *qāṭil*:

- a. ושקרא [לא] הו[י]ת עבד  
 “And the lie I did [not] use [to do].”

In the following example, *qṭal* is used again:

- b. ב[אדי]ן הוית אנה נוח גבר ואחדת בקושטא (Gen. Ap. A6,6; ATTM II 92)  
 “T[he]n I, Noah, became a man and (continued to) hold on to the truth.”

According to the context, the holding on to the truth is to be understood as an enduring characteristic of Noah.

<sup>13</sup> See further Gen. Ap. A22,16–17 (די סגר “who has enclosed”).

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

The category in question can be expressed by *qṭal* and *hwā + qāṭil*:

- a. ואף לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין ונסב לה אנתה מן בנת מצרין (Gen. Ap. A20,34)  
“(I departed [*qṭal*] with Lot from Egypt) and Lot also had acquired for himself much property and had taken a wife from the daughters of Egypt.”
- b. ואף אנה אוספת לה על דילה שג (Gen. Ap. A21,6)  
“(Lot settled [*qṭal*] with his possessions in the Jordan Valley) and also I had added much to his own.”

In Gen. Ap. A21,8–22, Abraham's journey and his stay in Mamre is described. Then in A21,23–24, it says:

- c. קדמת יומיא אלן אתה כ. מלך עילם ... ועבדו קרב עם  
“Before these days K., king of Elam, and ... had gone out and had waged war with....”

The events of the war, which ended with the victory of the king of Elam, are thereupon described by *qṭal* forms, and in A21,26–28 it says:

- d. תרתי עשרה שנין הווא יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה ובשנת ארבע עשרה דבר מלך עילם לכול חברוהי וסלקו ארחא די מדברא והווא מחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא ומחו לרפאייא  
“For 12 years they had paid tribute to the king of Elam but in the year 13 they had revolted against him. Then in the year 14, the king of Elam had put himself at the head of all his allies and they had gone up the desert road, ravaged and plundered from the Euphrates and then defeated the Rapaianians.”

The situation expressed by *יהבין הווא* cannot be called habitual, since it is limited in time, but it has to be considered permanent and repeated within the given framework. The assumption that *hwā + qāṭil* serves to express the imperfective aspect in this case, that the narrator is thus asking the reader to identify with the grammatical subject and to experience the situation from within, is highly improbable because the period of time is much too long for this. For *הווא קטל* in Gen. Ap. A22,8–10 the same seems to apply as for *הווא* מחין ובזין

(see above 2.1 no. 1). Also the verb מחין has lost its usual punctual type of action here and is now used atelically and is in clear opposition to the following מחו with direct object which is used punctually and perfectly. The narrator thus interrupts the narrative flow again in order to let the reader dwell within the situation for a moment. That hwā + qāṭil describes a circumstance accompanying the previously mentioned situation, the ascent on the desert road, seems unlikely to me, since it cannot be assumed that the road was still called a desert road after reaching the Euphrates. מחין והוא probably rather describe an independent situation that reaches up to the beating of the Rapaian.

## 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses only qṭal is attested:

### 4.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. וכבית אנה אברם בכי תקיף ... כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס (Gen. Ap. A20,10–11)  
“And I, Abram, wept very much ... after Saray had been taken from me by force.”<sup>14</sup>

### 4.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. וימא לי מלכא במומה די לא ידעהא (Gen. Ap. A20,30)  
“And the king swore to me with an oath that he had not made acquaintance with her (= had not lain with her).”<sup>15</sup>

### 4.2.3 Relative Clauses

- c. מטו דמא די אשדו נפיליא (Gen. Ap. A10,1; ATTM II, 93)  
“They came across the blood that the giants had shed.”<sup>16</sup>

14 See also: Gen. Ap. A2,12 (כדי חזות “after she had seen”); R 1,7–8; ATTM II, 118 (כדי אשתציון “after they had passed”).

15 See further: Gen. Ap. A6,16; ATTM II 92 (די ידעת “that I had got to know”); A21,7 (די פרש “that he had separated”); A22,3 (די שבי “that he had been taken prisoner”); G 9,1–2 (די מאמר “what he had said”).

16 See also: Gen. Ap. A21,1 (די בנית תמן “[the place,] where I had built”); A10,1; ATTM II, 93 (די פלטנא “who had saved us”); A12,17; ATTM II, 93 (די מני “that he had appointed”).



## 4.2.4 Causal Clause

- d. וברכת די רחם על ארעא (Gen. Ap. A11,13)  
 “And I praised (him) because he had had mercy on the earth.”

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

5.1 *Main Clauses*

Similar to Biblical Aramaic (see ch. 5, sect. 14), in Hasmonean a formally independent accompanying clause can define a superordinate situation in more detail. The accompanying clause, whose predicate is an AP, and the superordinate clause are always simultaneous. The first example from G 9,15–18 (ATTM II, 157–158) is similar in content to the dream of D 7,9–10 discussed above (sect. 14, no. e):

- a. אף אנה חזית בחלמי בליליא דן גברוא הא שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת וברסון יחיסו  
 וקדישא רבא ית[ב מאה מ]און לה משמשין אלף אלפין לה [סגדין]  
 “I also saw something unusual in my dream this night: Behold, the Ruler of heaven descended to the earth and thrones were set up, and the great Holy One sat [down. Hundreds upon hun]dreds were serving him, thousands upon thousands [were falling down] before him.”

The serving and the prostration, which can be added with some certainty, are the accompanying circumstances that describe the sitting down and the subsequent sitting of the saint in more detail. As we have seen, in D 7,9–10 the serving is expressed by *yiqṭul*, but as also explained with regard to that passage, atelic accompanying circumstances can be described by both the AP and *yiqṭul* in Biblical Aramaic.

- b. וחזיה די שבי לוט ... ודי נגדו מלכיא ארחא[די] חלתא רבתא למדינת[ה]ן ושבין ובזין  
 ומחין וקטלין ואולין למדינת דרמשק (Gen. Ap. A22,3–5)  
 “And he told him that Lot had been taken captive ... and that the kings had passed through the great valley towards their territory, taking captives, plundering, devastating, killing and advancing towards the province of Damascus.”

The accompanying situations אולין, קטלין, מחין are to be understood as complex and can only have this type of action when an imperfective verb form is used. The same holds true for the next example:

- c. וחבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה ותברן לה (Gen. Ap. A13,16; ATTM II, 97)  
 “They (= the four winds) destroyed (qṭal, 3.pl.f.) this olive tree by cutting off its branches and breaking it.”

The following description makes it clear that it was a gradual work of destruction in which all four winds participated. The situation is therefore to be regarded as imperfective and complex. Things are different with the following two yiqṭul forms which I would like to interpret as accompanying as well:

- d. באדין אנסת רוחהא ועמי תמלל ולי תאמר (Gen. Ap. A2,13)  
 “Then she overmastered her soul speaking and saying to me: ...”

The second verb form is followed by a direct speech which is rendered as a whole; the two yiqṭul forms are thus used perfectly.

The accompanying clause sometimes has the form w + subject + predicate. The predicate can be a simple AP:

- e. בלילא דן צליית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא ודמעי נחתן (Gen. Ap. A20,12)  
 “That night I prayed and begged and pleaded for mercy and said sorrowfully while my tears were flowing down: ...”

In two instances, the predicates are הוית יתב and הוא יתב “I / he lived”. We can only speculate why the predicates are oriented towards the speech time. Possibly it has to do with the resultative character of the verb: to settle > to dwell, but there are no sufficient comparative cases to draw firm conclusions:

- f. זבן לה בסודם בי ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל (Gen. Ap. A21,6–7)  
 “He bought a house in Sodom and moved into it while I was living in the mountain country of Bethel.”<sup>17</sup>

If the predicate is a stative verb, qṭal can also be used:

- g. בדיל [מא] הוית אמר לי די אחתי היא והיא הואת אנתתך (Gen. Ap. A20,26–27)  
 “Why did you tell me: *She is my sister*, when she was your wife?”

Simultaneity with a reference point in the past can also be found in until-constructions if the main clause situation is imperfective and still includes the

17 The other example is found in Gen. Ap. A22,2–3.

situation of the until-clause. In this case, the main clause has *hwā* + *qāṭil*, the until-clause *qṭal*:

- h. והוא רדף להון וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי עד דבקו לחלבון (Gen. Ap. A22,8–10)  
 “He was pursuing them while they were all fleeing from him until they reached Helbon.”<sup>18</sup>

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In a temporal clause, *qāṭil* + *hwā* is used in the main clause, *qṭil* + *hwā* in the subordinate clause. *qṭil* + *hwā* is resultative; an action had occurred and then resulted in a state that lasted seven years. *qāṭil* + *hwā* in the main clause does not express the imperfective aspect but rather emphasises the duration and continuity of the situation:

- a. כדין] כתיש הוית בשחנא ב[אישא] בתימן [...] שנין שבע מצלא הוין[ת קדם] אלהי  
 כספא (N,5–7)  
 “[When] I [had been struck and then] was struck by a b[ad] ulcer in Taima, I pray[ed before] the gods of silver for seven years.”

In a relative clause, the simple AP is used which is oriented towards the superordinate clause. The situations of both the relative and the superordinate clause are anterior to another reference point:

- b. וכדי שמע מלכא מלי ח. ומלי תרי<sup>19</sup> חברוהי די פם חד תלתהון ממללין שגי רחמה  
 ושלח (Gen. Ap. A20,8)  
 “And when the king had heard the words of H. and the words of his two companions, all three of whom had spoken as from one mouth, he fell in love with her and sent ...”

The simultaneous situation can also be expressed by a nominal clause:

- c. ותקף מלך עילם ומלכיא די עמה למלך סודם (Gen. Ap. A21,25–26)  
 “And the king of Elam and the kings that were with him defeated the king of Sodom.”<sup>20</sup>

18 Other until-constructions following this pattern can be found in: Gen. Ap. A19,26 (לא הו) (הוית שרה – דבקת) “they didn’t want to until I showed it”); A20,34–21,1 (הוית שרה – דבקת) “I was camping until I reached”); A21,16–18 (הוית אתה – דבקת) “I was moving along until I reached”); A22,7 (הווא רדף – דבק) “he was pursuing until he reached”).

19 The text has here by mistake תרין.

20 See also: Gen. Ap. A2,1 (די מן ערין הריונא) “that the conception is from angels”); A19,10 (די שבעא שג[י] במצרין) “that there is great abundance in Egypt”).

## 6 Simultaneity with the Speech Time

Situations that are simultaneous with the speech time can be taking place *hic et nunc*, be limited to a period of time that is not yet completed, habitual or extratemporal. Since these four categories are not attested too often, they will be dealt with together in this section.

### 6.1 *Main Clauses*

Mostly the AP is used. With stative verbs, the length of time is often difficult to assess, especially as to whether the present *hic et nunc*, a period of time that has not yet been completed or habituality is intended. In no. a, the last two categories come into question:

- a. הוא בעה למורתני (Gen. Ap. A22,34)  
 “He wants to be my heir.”

In the following instances, the AP seems to denote a situation that is just taking place:

- b. [ארו אנה] בקושט ממללא עמך (Gen. Ap. A2,18)  
 “[Behold, I (fem.)] am speaking truthfully to you.”

The passage is part of an address to Lamech that only ends with these words.

- c. [א]מר לי חזא אנתה די (J 7,24; ATTM II, 136)  
 “He [s]aid to me: *You see that ...*”

Even though the cotext is heavily destroyed here, it can be considered reasonably safe that the situation is just in progress, since it is about a seer who is shown the heavenly Jerusalem by an angel.

The AP can also express the coincidence case:

- d. מרים אנה ידי יומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא (Gen. Ap. A22,10–21)  
 “I hereby raise my hand today to the Most High God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, (and swear) ...”<sup>21</sup>

21 See further: Gen. Ap. A2,14 (אמיא אנה “I (fem.) hereby swear”); Gen. Ap. A11,16–17; ATTM II 96 (י[הב לך] הא אנה “Behold, I hereby [g]ive you”); M 19,2–3 (לכי ... שבק ומתרד “I hereby dismiss and expel ... you”).

In one case, *qṭal* is used. The context allows only an interpretation as a coincidence case:

- e.    וּכְעַן קִבְּלְתָּךְ מִרִי עַל פִּרְעֹו צַעַן (Gen. Ap. A20,13–14)  
       “And now I hereby bring a charge before you, my Lord, against the  
       Pharaoh of שָׁח.”

The next situation is habitual:

- f.    קָרִין לֵה תִרַע יוֹסֵף (J 1,18; ATTM II 130)  
       “‘They call it the Gate of Joseph.’”<sup>22</sup>

Simultaneity with the speech time can also be expressed by a nominal clause:

- g.    אֲנָה שְׁלִיט עַל כּוֹל נְהוּרָא (R 3,16)  
       “I have power over all the light.”<sup>23</sup>

In addition, there is an example of a clearly resultatively used PP:

- h.    וְהוּא מְשַׁלֵּט עַל כּוֹל חֲשׁוּכָא (R 3,15)  
       “‘And he is empowered over all the darkness.’”

*yiqtul* is rarely attested indicatively and with present time reference, but the following two statements, which are taken from a description of Sarah’s beauty, are certainly to be understood habitually:

- i.    כִּמָּא יֵאֵין לְהוֹן לֵה עֵינֵיהָא (Gen. Ap. A20,3)  
       “‘How beautiful her eyes are!’”
- j.    וְכָל בְּתוּלָן וְכֹלָאן דִּי יַעֲלֹן לִגְנוֹן לֹא יִשְׁפְּרֵן מִנְהָא (Gen. Ap. A20,6)  
       “‘And no virgin or bride who enter a bridal chamber are more beautiful  
       than her.’”<sup>24</sup>

22    The cotext of some APS is so badly destroyed that what is meant cannot be determined with certainty. These include: Gen. Ap. A0,3 (דֹּאֲלִין וּזֹאֲעִין “they tremble and quiver”); A2,21 (מַחֲוִין “they communicate”); G 2,10 (קִבְּלִין “they [fem.] charge”).

23    See also, inter alia, Gen. Ap. A11,15 (עִמָּךְ אֲנָה “I am with you”).

24    On this passage, see also Cohen, *Phrase nominale* 434f.

## 6.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

### 6.2.1 Relative Clauses

The AP of יתב can be used in a resultative sense (settle down > live) and the resulting state can be simultaneous with the speech time:

- a. אתר די אנתה יתב (Gen. Ap. A21,9)  
 “The place where you are living right now.”

The following PP is probably to be interpreted as an anterior:

- b. וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא די מהשלמא לכון ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון (Q 1,4–5; ATTM II 115)  
 “And now, my children, take care of the inheritance which has been handed down to you and which your fathers have given you.”

In Gen. Ap. A22, on the other hand, it is used resultatively:

- c. נפשא די איתי לי די שביא עמך  
 “The people who belong to me who are in captivity with you.”

A participle of the t-stem, however, is neither resultative nor anterior and can express a situation in a period of time that has not yet been completed:

- d. כול מכתשיא ונגדיא אלן די מתכתש ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי (Gen. Ap. A20,24–25)  
 “All these blows and plagues with which my Lord the King is being beaten and scourged are because of Saray.”

The AP in the next example indicates habituality:

- e. עליא די אנתון דחלין ו[פ]לחין הו שליט ב (U 6,1; ATTM II 152)  
 “The Most High whom you fear and honour has power over ...”

When the reference word is an indefinitum, yiqṭul is used; we have already seen above (ch. 5, sect. 7.2) that such relative clauses usually have the same verb forms as conditional clauses (cf. below sect. 10):

- f. כול די יצבא קריב בי[ד]ה (U 6,1; ATTM II 152)  
 “All that he (i.e. God) wills is near at his ha[nd].”<sup>25</sup>

### 6.2.2 Causal Clause

Unfortunately, the main clause of the only example has not been preserved. The AP in the subordinate clause is preceded by איתי + suffix:

- g. זי לא איתיני ידע למן הוה אמר [...] (M 72,4)  
 “... because I do not know whom he told.”

## 7 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 7.1 Main Clauses

This category is mostly expressed by the long form of *yiqṭul* in both main and subordinate clauses:

#### 7.1.1 Punctual

- a. ארו לך ולזרעך אנתננה אחרוך (Gen. Ap. A21,14)  
 “Behold, to you and to your descendants after you I will give it.”<sup>26</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. וינהר נהירה עליכון (Q 1,1; ATTM II 115)  
 “And his light will shine upon you.”

#### 7.1.3 Stative

- c. וישתארון כל צדיקיא (Gen. Ap. B5,1)  
 “All the righteous will remain.”<sup>27</sup>

*yiqṭul* also denotes future situations that are to be thought of as habitual, such as ינהר in Q 1,1 (no. b). See further:

25 In U 4,6 (ATTM II 151), on the other hand, the AP א[ב]צ is used in a very similar situation.

26 Further examples of punctual situations can be found in: Gen. Ap. A21,12 (אנתן “I will give”); A22, 33–34 (ירתנני לא ירתנך “he will inherit my estate; he will not inherit your estate”); Gen. Ap. B5,2 (לא ישתכח “it will not be found”); K 2,2–3; ATTM II 148 (ידשון “they will trample down”).

27 For more stative situations, see: Gen. Ap. A19,17–18 (אדחל “I will be afraid”); Gen. Ap. A19,20 (אחה “I will live”); R 5,9–10 (להוון “they will be”); M 19,7 (להוי לכי “it will be for you”); M 20,3 (תהוא “you will be”); K 2,2; ATTM II 148 (ימלכון “they will reign”).

- d. בֶּרֶךְ קִדְמִיָּא כּוֹל יוֹמוֹהִי לֹא יִפְרֹשׁ מִנִּי (Gen. Ap. A14,12; ATTM II 98)  
 “Your first son will never part from you for the rest of his life.”

In addition, the AP is attested in a few passages which, according to the context, are posterior. Quite certain is יִהְיֶנָּה from M 19,8:

- e. בְּדִין [כּוֹלֵךְ] סָף יִהְיֶנָּה וְכּוֹל  
 “Then I will give (you) [all sil]ver and all ...”

What is remarkable about this example is that the subject pronoun and the AP are already written as one word.

Also the following instance has clear future time reference:

- f. וְכַעַן לְךָ<sup>28</sup> אֲנִי אֹמֵר בְּרִי וְלֹךְ אֲנִי מִחוּהָ כּוֹל דְּ[י שְׂאִי] לְ (Gen. Ap. A5,9; ATTM II 90)  
 “And now, my son, I will tell you and inform you of everything th[at has been ask]ed.”<sup>29</sup>

מִגֵּן in Gen. Ap. A22,30–31 follows a *yiqṭul* form and is probably to be understood as part of an accompanying clause:

- g. וְכַעַן אֵל תְּדַחֵל אֲנִי עִמָּךְ וְאִהְיֶה לְךָ סֹעֵד וְתִקְּךָ וְאֲנִי מִגֵּן עֲלֶיךָ  
 “(God to Abraham) And now fear not! I am with you and will be your help and strength, protecting you.”

The future character of the whole situation is also underlined by the following נִכְסֶיךָ יִשְׁגּוּן (line 32) “your possessions will increase”.

The following passage is about the future rule of the people of God. In addition to *yiqṭul* and the AP, a nominal phrase with future time reference is used:

- h. חָרַב מִן אֶרֶעָא יִסֵּף וְכּוֹל מְדִינָתָא לֵה יִסְגְּדוּן אֵל רַבָּא בְּאִילָה הוּא וְעַבְדָּ לֵה קִרְבָּ  
 (K 2,6–8; ATTM II, 148)  
 “Destruction he will make disappear from the earth and all provinces will fall down before him. The great God will be at his aid and will wage war for him.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The text has לְכָא.

<sup>29</sup> Something similar again in Gen. Ap. A3,9.

<sup>30</sup> For a nominal phrase with future time reference, see also: ATTM II 148 (מְלִכּוּתָהּ מְלִכּוּת) “his kingdom will be an eternal kingdom”); another possible example of an AP with future time reference can be found in M 18,5.



Furthermore, the compound *yihwēL* + *qāṭil* is attested. Unfortunately, the cotext is missing:

- i.     נהוה מזבנין [...] ויהבין לך מן די לנה (M 27,2 + 4)  
       "We will sell [...] and give you of what is ours."

Of course, this example alone does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the function of *yihwēL* + *qāṭil*. The private documents handed down in the Mishnah are not taken into account here, since they are not written in pure Hasmonean but also contain foreign elements.<sup>31</sup> However, as this compound is so rarely attested, I may be permitted to refer to the Mishnah here for once:<sup>32</sup>

- j.     בנן נקבן דיהויין לך מני יהויין יתבן בביתי ומתזנן מן נכסי  
       "The female offspring you will have from me will dwell in my house and  
       be nourished from my possessions."

The compound thus seems to be used to express habitual situations that are expected in the future.

## 7.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Here, too, *yiqṭulL* is mostly used:

### 7.2.1 *Relative Clauses*

- a.     את רשיא בנפשכי למהך ולמהוי אנת{א} לכול גבר יהודי די תצבין (M 19,5–7)  
       "You are free to go and become the wife of any Jewish man you want."

Besides *yiqṭul*, we also find an AP with a clearly posterior meaning:

- b.     חזי כול ארעא דא די אנה יהב לך ולזרעך (Gen. Ap. A21,9–10)  
       "(God to Abraham) Look at all this land that I will give you and your  
       descendants."

The future time reference is made clear in A21,11 where it says that Abraham had climbed a hill two days later and was looking at the promised land when

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Beyer, ATTM I, 324.

<sup>32</sup> From Hasmonean I know of three more examples of *yihwēL* + *qāṭil*, namely M 21, 10–11 (see below sect. 9, no. h), Gen. Ap. A22,22–23 (see below 8.2, no. d) and J 7,27 (see 7.2, no. c).

God spoke to him again: לזרעך אנתן כול ארעא דא “To your descendants I will give all this land.”

As indicated above, yihwēL + qāṭil is also attested in a subordinate clause. Unfortunately, the cotext is destroyed here as well:

- c.     [בש]רא די להוון אכלין (J 7,27; ATTM II 137)  
 “The [me]at that they will eat.”

We are talking about the heavenly Jerusalem here. It is possible that the meat is intended for the priesthood that have been mentioned before, i.e. presumably a ritual act is being described here that is to be regarded as habitual.

In temporal clauses, yiqṭulL also describes anteriority to a reference point in the future:

- d.     ובזמן די תמרין לי אחלף לכי שטרה כדי חיא (M 19,10–11)  
 “And when you tell me (will have told me), I will renew the document for you, provided I am still alive.”<sup>33</sup>

## 8 Non-indicative Clauses

### 8.1 Main Clauses

Commands to a second person are expressed by the imperative:

- a.     הב לי (Gen. Ap. A22,19)  
 “Give me ...!”

yiqṭulL, however, can also be used to give an instruction to a second person:

- b.     עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני ה [...] עד בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבין (Gen. Ap. A2,5–7)  
 “You must tell me everything truthfully ... truthfully you must talk to me, not with lies.”

The vetitive is expressed by אל + yiqṭulS:

33 See further U 4,6; ATTM II 151 (תמ[ות] כדי “when you die”).

- c. אל תקוצו ל[א]רזא (Gen. Ap. A19,16)  
 “Do not cut down the [c]edar!”<sup>34</sup>

לא + yiqṭulL, however, can also be used. The difference between אל and לא seems to correspond to that between אל and לא in Hebrew. Whereas אל negates immediate and very specific commands, לא indicates general and fundamentally valid prohibitions:

- d. כול דם לא תאכלון (Gen. Ap. A11,17; ATTM II 96)  
 “(God to Noah) No blood shall you eat!”

The jussive is also negated by אל:

- e. אל ישלט (Gen. Ap. A20,15)  
 “He shall not be empowered!”

The jussive itself is expressed by the short form of yiqṭul. Although the two examples of this are in a very fragmentary state, they do reveal what is meant:

- f. [...] יתחשבו בחשבון שניא למן [...] [ארעא בכל] יתמנו בכל (G 8, 3–4; ATTM II 157)  
 “They shall be counted throughout the [earth ...] they shall be taken into account by the counting of the years for ...”

As in the Hemopolis-papyri, the imperative of הוי can be combined with a following AP. This compound seems to emphasise that the order must be followed always and in principle:

- g. והו[ו]א קד[י]שין ודכין מן כול [ער]ברוב ואחדין בקושטא ואזלין בישרותא (Q 1, 8–9; ATTM II 115)  
 “Be holy and pure from all [mi]xture and hold fast to the truth and walk in integrity.”

The PP can also be used in a non-indicative way:

- h. נבסיא כולהון שביקין לך (Gen. Ap. A22,19–20)  
 “All possessions be left to you!”<sup>35</sup>

34 For more examples of vetitives with אל; see: Gen. Ap. A2,25 (אל תרגז “do not be angry”); A22,30 (אל תדחל “do not be afraid”); Q 1,5; ATTM II 115 (אל תתנו “do not give”).

35 See also Gen. Ap. A20,12 (בריד אנתה “praised be you!”).

The PP can be combined with להוא that probably represents the long form of yiqṭul:

- i. ידיע להוא לכון (G 4,6)  
“Let it be known to you ...”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

The subordinate clause can be marked as such by subordinators such as די or דלמא. The exact non-indicative meaning is determined by the cotext, such as a verb of wanting in the superordinate clause which in turn may have past or present time reference. The subordinate clause has the long form of yiqṭul:

- a. ובעא מני די אתה ואצלה על מלכא (Gen. Ap. A20,21)  
“He wanted me to come and pray for the king.”
- b. [ואנה יהב לכה אף] כול כתבי בשהדו די תזדהרון בהון (Q 2,11–12)  
“[... And I also give you] all my books as a testimony that you may be warned by them.”
- c. ומני עמי אנוש די ינפקונני (Gen. Ap. A20,32)  
“And he appointed people for me to take me out.”<sup>36</sup>

In one case, the predicate of the subordinate clause is yihwē + qāṭil which appears to emphasise the duration of the subordinate situation. The yiqṭul form is morphologically ambiguous:

- d. אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך דלמא תהוה אמר דמן נכסי כול עתרה די אברם (Gen. Ap. A22,22–23)  
“(If I take =) I do not take anything from what is yours so that you will not constantly say: *From my possession is all the wealth of Abram.*”

The coordination of two formally independent sentences by ו is also quite popular, the second sentence often having a final meaning:

- e. וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי ותתגער מנגה רוחא דא באישתא (Gen. Ap. A20,28)  
“And now pray for me and my house that this evil spirit may be cast out of us.”<sup>37</sup>

36 Another example with a non-preserved main clause is found in Gen. Ap. A19,23 (די לא יחזנה “so that nobody may see him”).

37 See further: Gen. Ap. A19,8 (ואנדע “so that I may know”); A20,23 (וישלח “so that he may send”); G 9,14–15; ATTM II 157 (ויפשר “so that he may interpret”).

The predicate of a final clause introduced by ו can also be the short form of yiqṭul, as the negation by אֵל shows:

- f. ואחזי ידך רבתא בה ובכול ביתה ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמיא אנתחי (Gen. Ap. A20,14–15)  
 “And show thy great power upon him and upon all his house that it may not be possible for him this night to defile my wife.”

The intentum of a final clause can also be expressed by ל + infinitive:

- g. ועדא לחנוך אבוהי למנדע מנה כולא בקושטא (Gen. Ap. A2,22)  
 “And he hastened to Enoch, his father, to learn everything truthfully.”<sup>38</sup>

## 9 Conditional Clauses

The attested conditional clauses are all meant to be real and refer to the future. The protases are introduced by הן, occasionally by אן or אם, the predicate may be a yiqṭul form:

- a. [הן א]נת לבית עלמא תהך [...] (M 20,7)  
 “[If y]ou go down to the grave [...]”
- b. [הן אנה אהך לב[ית] ע[ל]ם קד[מיד]] (M 21,14–15)  
 “[If I go down into the g[rave] be[fore you]”<sup>39</sup>
- c. [אם תש[תבא]] (M 20,6)  
 “If you are ta[ken captive]”
- d. [ואם בנן לה[וין לך מני]] (M 20,8)  
 “And if daughters will b[e yours from me].”

In one case, the predicate of the apodosis is a nominal form:

- e. [ואם לא אעבד תשלום[תא]] לך מנכסי ודי אקנה לקובלדך (M 18,7–8)  
 “And if I do not do so, there will be a substitute for you from my possessions and what I earn will be at your disposal.”

38 See also: Gen. Ap. A20,16 (למכתשה “in order to strike him”); A6,2–3; ATTM II 91 (לאזהרותני “in order to protect me”); A 13,13 (למחזה “in order to see”).

39 The same expression is probably also used in M 20,9: [עלמא אחך] אן הן אנה לבת “or if I [descend] into the gr[ave].”

A qṭal form in the protasis can emphasise the completion of a situation by a certain point in the future. The apodosis has a yiqṭul- form:

- f. אָנָה מְזַבֵּי אֵין [ה] לֹא דִי זְבִינְתָּ עַד זְמָנָא [נָא] דְּנָה אַפְרֹעֲנֵךְ בַּחֲמִשׁ (M 18,5–6)  
 “I will r[epa]y ... [but i]f I have not repaid by that time, I will pay you (in addition) one fifth (as a penalty).”

As far as I can see, this is the first evidence of the subordination of the predicate in the protasis by דִּי, so popular later in Syriac.<sup>40</sup> qṭal is also attested in an incompletely preserved protasis from G 10,8:

- g. הֵן הוּבֵל [...] [ה] לֹא  
 “If he brings / will have brought ...”

The predicate of the apodosis can also be yihwēL + qāṭil:

- h. וְהֵן [...] לֹא הוּיִן יִתְבֵּן בְּבֵיתִי [ו] מִתְזוֹנָן (M 21, 10–11)  
 “And if [you have daughters of mine, they w]ill dwell in my house [and] be nourished.”

The intentum of a conditional clause can also be expressed by a combination of imperative and yiqṭul:

- i. אֲתִיבֻּנָּה לְשָׂרַי לְאַבְרָם בְּעֵלָהּ וַיִּתּוֹךְ מִנְכָּה מִכְתָּשָׂא דֵּן (Gen. Ap. A20,25–26)  
 “Let Saray return to Abram her lord and this plague spirit will depart from you = If you let her return ...”

## 10 Verbs of Perception

As in Biblical Aramaic (see above ch. 5, sect. 13), חֲזָה הוּיָא can be followed by דִּי which has lost its original meaning “until” and now denotes the sudden occurrence of a situation:

- a. חֲזָה הוּיָא עַד דִּי אֲסִיפּוּהִי שְׂרָן אַרְעָא וְשְׂרָן מֵאָה (Gen. Ap. A13,11; ATTM II 97)  
 “I was looking when suddenly the crawlers of the earth and water destroyed him.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See below ch. 11, sect. 14.

<sup>41</sup> See further G 9,9 (חֲזָה – שְׂכָנוּ) “I was looking when they settled down”).

The dream event can also be represented as proceeding parallel to the looking. In this case, the AP is used:

- b. חזה הוית לשמשא ולשהרא ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה (Gen. Ap. A13,10–11; ATTM II 97)  
 “I saw the sun and the moon and the stars cutting off and taking something from him.”<sup>42</sup>

In these cases, *qāṭil* + *hwā* and *qṭal* clearly express the opposition imperfective : perfective aspect. When in Gen. Ap. A14,9 (ATTM II 97) the interpretation is given and the dream event is summarised retrospectively, simple *qṭal* is used: שמע אנתה הוא ארזא רבא די חזיתא “Hear: You are the great cedar which you have seen.”

In a passage that has unfortunately only been preserved incompletely, the compound *hwā* + *qāṭil* is attested after הוית חזא:

- c. [...] חלמי הוית חזא בליליא דן [...] גננין הווא משקין [...] (G 9,6–7)  
 “[In] my dream that night I was looking [...] gardeners were watering [...]”

The verb of seeing can also be a *qṭal* form and that which is seen be expressed by an AP. In this case, the seeing is represented as a complete whole while the perceived situation is described as unfinished. There are two examples, in both cases the verb of seeing is subordinated:

- d. אנתה הוא ארזא רבא די חזיתא קאם לקובלך בחלמך (Gen. Ap. A14,9; ATTM II 97)  
 “You are the great cedar that you saw standing before you in your dream.”<sup>43</sup>

## 11 Summary

### 11.1 *Qṭal*

In both main and subordinate clauses, *qṭal* expresses anteriority to the speech time, regardless of the type of action. There is no restriction to narrating or

42 In a similar way in Gen. Ap. A13,9–10; ATTM II 97; in R 2,9–10 simple חזית is used and the dream event is introduced by הא “behold”: הא תרין דאננין עלי ואמרין: “behold: two (angels) were judging me, saying: ...”.

43 The other example is found in Gen. Ap. A14,11; ATTM II 97 (חזיתה דבקא “you have seen sticking”). The same aspectual relationship can be observed in Gen. Ap. A22,7–8 where אשכח is used instead of חזי: אשכח אנון שרין: “he found them encamping”.

discussing passages; in discussing passages it often has the function of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). In subordinate clauses of until-constructions, it is used after  $\text{עד ד} / \text{עד}$  to denote a suddenly occurring situation and is here in opposition to  $\text{hwā} + \text{qāṭil}$  used in the main clause which describes a situation that proceeds up to and includes the until-situation (2.1). It has a clearly perfective function in these cases and also in the description of dream events. If the perception of a dream is presented as simultaneous with what is perceived, the AP of  $\text{חזי}$  with a  $\text{qṭal}$  form of  $\text{ה}$  is used, whereas if the dream is summarised retrospectively, the  $\text{qṭal}$  form of  $\text{חזי}$  is found (11).

Occasionally, simple  $\text{qṭal}$  is used to express habituality in the past, although the more common form for this purpose is  $\text{hwā} + \text{qāṭil}$  (3). It is regularly found in main and subordinate clauses to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the past, but  $\text{hwā} + \text{qāṭil}$  is also attested here when the anterior situation is to be represented as imperfective and permanent (4.1 + 4.2).  $\text{qṭal}$  of a stative verb is attested in an accompanying clause (1 + subject + predicate; 5.1, no. f).

Once it is attested alongside the more common AP for the expression of the coincidence case (6.1), and finally, it is found in the protasis of conditional clauses when the completion of a situation by a certain point is to be expressed; in these cases, it denotes anteriority to a reference point in the future (9).

### 11.2 *Yiqṭul*

$\text{yiqṭul}$  has a short and a long form. Although it cannot be clearly identified morphologically, it is probably the long form that is used in a circumstantial clause which is presumably to be interpreted as perfective, in contrast to the AP which denotes the imperfective aspect in this position (5.1). The same verb form expresses an extratemporal situation in a relative clause whose reference word is an indefinitum ( $\text{כּוֹל דִּי יַעֲבֹא}$  “all that he wills”) and generally denotes posteriority to the speech time (6.2; 7.1 + 7.2). Occasionally, the long form describes habitual situations of the present, although the AP is normally used for this purpose. (6.1). The long form is also attested in non-indicative subordinate clauses after subordinators such as  $\text{די}$  and  $\text{דלמא}$  as well as in final clauses introduced by coordinating  $\text{ו}$ . In a logically subordinate but formally independent final clause, however,  $\text{yiqṭulS}$  is used (8.2). Furthermore,  $\text{yiqṭulL}$  is attested in protases and apodoses of conditional clauses (9) and can be used to denote instructions to a second person:  $\text{תמללין}$  “you must tell”. To express the jussive, i.e. the instruction to a third person, on the other hand,  $\text{yiqṭulS}$  is attested (8.1). Combined with the negation particle  $\text{לא}$ ,  $\text{yiqṭulL}$  expresses general prohibitions to a second person, while  $\text{אל} + \text{yiqṭulS}$  indicates specific prohibitions (8.1). Finally, the combination imperative –  $\text{yiqṭul}$  can replace protasis and apodosis of a conditional clause (9).



### 11.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP is used alone or in combination with a qṭal-, yiqṭul- or imperative form of הָיָה. Apart from two cases (חֲזוּהָ הָיִיתָ and מִצְלָא הָיִיתָ in 10, nos. a + b and 5.2, no. a), the forms of הָיָה always precede the AP.

hwā + qāṭil can be used between qṭal forms to describe successive situations. Here, hwā + qāṭil clearly serves to let the narration step on the spot for a while and to allow the reader to identify with the grammatical subject and thus to experience the situation from within in its course (2.1, no. l). It is also used to emphasise the extension of the situation. The extension can consist of repetitions that are not limited in time so that the situation can be considered habitual, but the repetitions can also be limited. This use is not restricted to simple anteriority to the speech time but is also possible when the situation is anterior to a reference point in the past (4.1).

As in Biblical Aramaic, simple AP is used in accompanying clauses that describe a superordinate situation with past time reference. In two cases, the time reference is specified by a qṭal form of הָיָה. In subordinate clauses, simple AP describes simultaneity with a reference point in the past (5.1 + 5.2).

Furthermore, simple AP expresses simultaneity with the speech time, the situations being habitual or progressing, and the coincidence case (6.1). With certain verbs, the AP of the G-stem as well as the participle of non-G-stems have a resultative meaning (יָתַב “settle down” > “live”, מִהֲשִׁלְמָא “handed down” > “be at one’s disposal”); however, this is not true for the participle of the t-stem which is non-resultative and can describe situations that have not yet been completed. In a causal clause with present time reference, the AP preceded by אֵיתִי + suffix is attested: זִי לֹא אֵיתִינִי יָדַע “because I do not know” (6.2).

In rare cases, the AP is used in both main and subordinate clauses alongside the usual yiqṭul to describe posteriority to the speech time; noteworthy in this context is the form יִהְבֵּנָא “I will give”, where AP and pronoun are written as one word; in one case, the AP presumably denotes an accompanying situation to a future event (7.1 + 7.2).

In addition, the AP can be combined with a yiqṭul form of הָיָה. The cotexts are mostly not fully preserved in the relevant places but it seems that this compound expresses posterior situations in main and subordinate clauses which are thought to be permanent and extended (7.1 + 7.2). The compound is also attested in non-indicative subordinate clauses (8.2) and in the apodosis of conditional clauses (9). Unfortunately, it cannot be decided whether, in addition to yihwēL + qāṭil, there is also a short form yihwēs + qāṭil, as the corresponding evidence is morphologically ambiguous (cf. 8.1). Furthermore, as in the Hermopolis-papyri, the AP can be combined with an imperative form of הָיָה and then probably emphasises the duration of the commanded (8.1).

Finally, the compound חזיה הוית should be mentioned which is used when describing dreams. If a sudden dream event is reported after עד די, qṭal is used; if, on the other hand, the dream event takes place parallel to the perception, the AP is used (10).

#### 11.4 qṭil

The PP of the G-stem is mostly used in a resultative way. The resulting state can refer to the speech time or, with or without a qṭal form of הוי, be projected into the past (2.1, 5.2, 6.1). In one case, it is probably to be interpreted as an anterior (די מהשלמא “which has been handed down”; 6.1). Followed by yihwēL, it has a non-indicative meaning (ידיע להוא לבון “let it be known to you”), but also the simple PP can be used in this sense: שביקין לך “be they left to you” (8.1).

### 12 Analysis

Let us start with qṭal. Its use both to express anteriority to the speech time and anteriority to a reference point in the past and moreover its attestation in protases of conditional clauses make a temporal main function very unlikely. The attested opposition to hwā + qāṭil in until-constructions, the contrast חזיה הוית : חזיה and qṭal : qāṭil in the description of dream events rather speak in favour of an aspectual character of qṭal. This is not contradicted by its use to express the coincidence case because, as seen above (ch. 1, sect. 7), this category is not bound to any particular tense or aspect form on the noematic level.

The long form of yiqṭul has two main functions: it expresses indicative posterior situations and non-indicative ones. In the first function it denotes the posterior perfective aspect and is in opposition to yihwēL + qāṭil. The occasional use to indicate habitual situations can be understood as a relic of an earlier stage in the development of Hasmonean. In its second function, it competes with yiqṭulS which seems to be used mainly as a jussive and after the negation אלא. There is also an opposition to yihwēL + qāṭil in the non-indicative domain. Its use in circumstantial clauses speaks in favour of an aspectual rather than a temporal character of yiqṭul.

qāṭil expresses situations that must clearly be interpreted as imperfective: non-completed situations in main clauses of until-constructions, accompanying situations, object situations after verbs of perception, progressing situations with present time reference. Particularly revealing are the compounds of the AP with a form of הוי. Although the evidence does not allow for a clear functional analysis of the individual compounds, a counterpart can be found for each with which it seems to form an aspectual opposition perfective : ext.

imperfective. In particular, its use in circumstantial clauses, in which it is used with past time reference, makes a temporal marking very unlikely. Although the AP is used to express posteriority to the speech time more frequently than in Biblical Aramaic, it is inappropriate to analyse it modally as an indicative form since posteriority is primarily expressed by *yiqṭulL*. In addition, the use in circumstantial clauses and the existence of the compounds with the AP argue against an interpretation as a modal form. The AP must therefore be regarded as extended imperfective. The same applies to the compounds with the AP.

The verbal system of Hasmonean has five marked verb forms, namely: *qṭal*, *qṭil* + S-suffix, *qṭil* + *hwā*, *qṭil* + *yihwēL*, *yiqṭulS* and the imperative. *qāṭil* and its compounds as well as *yiqṭulL*, on the other hand, are unmarked.

In the indicative domain, there are the following oppositions:

*qṭal* (anterior perfective) : *hwā* + *qāṭil* (anterior ext. imperfective)  
*yiqṭulL* (posterior perfective) : *yihwēL* + *qāṭil* (posterior ext. imperfective).

In circumstantial clauses, one can find instances of the opposition:

*yiqṭulL* (perfective) : *qāṭil* (imperfective).

In the non-indicative domain:

*yiqṭulL* (perfective) : *yihwēL* + *qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)  
 imperative (perfective) : *hwī* + *qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)

The system is complemented by *qṭil*, which, however, is not in direct opposition to any other verb form, and the non-indicative signum *yiqṭulS* which, however, is losing ground to *yiqṭulL* in both main and subordinate clauses.

## Targum to the Pentateuch (Genizah)

### o The Text Corpus

Klein's edition of the Targum fragments of the Cairo Genizah has been used.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭal*

|      | sg.          | pl.    |
|------|--------------|--------|
| 3.m. | קטל          | קטלו   |
| 3.f. | קטלה         | קטלן   |
| 2.m. | קטלה         | קטלתון |
| 2.f. | not attested | קטלתין |
| 1.   | קטלית        | קטלנן  |

The 1.sg. is written with and without /-y-/ before the -t: פלחת (Gen. 31,41) “I served”. The 3.m.pl. of verba III ' / y / w / has the ending -wn: הוון (Gen. 29:2) “they were”; with other verbs this ending is attested only four times.<sup>1</sup> I have not found an internal passive with either qṭal or yiqṭul. Besides the G-stem, qatṭel, 'aqṭel and the corresponding t-stems are in use.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

|      | sg.          | pl.          |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| 3.m. | יקטל         | יקטלון       |
| 3.f. | תקטל         | יקטלן        |
| 2.m. | תקטל         | תקטלון       |
| 2.f. | not attested | not attested |
| 1.   | אקטל         | נקטל         |

<sup>1</sup> See Fassberg, Genizah 165.

<sup>2</sup> See Fassberg, Genizah 172–178.

In 11 cases, the 1.sg. has the prefix n- which always occurs in a non-indicative context: נהוי (Gen. 43,9) “let me be”; forms with ’- are used with an indicative and non-indicative sense.<sup>3</sup> A short form is not attested, the 2. and 3.pl. always have a final -n. The vowel after the second root consonant is often written plene: ירחום (Gen. 29,32) “he will love”.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP has the following forms:

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| sg.m. | קטל               |
| sg.f. | קטלה              |
| pl.m. | קטלין             |
| pl.f. | קטלן <sup>4</sup> |

### 1.4 *Qtīl*

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| sg.m. | קטיל   |
| sg.f. | קטילה  |
| pl.m. | קטילין |
| pl.f. | קטילן  |

The sg.f.-ending of the AP and PP can also be indicated by א.<sup>5</sup>

AP and PP can be combined with different forms of הוי which precede the AP and follow or precede the PP (see 11 and 12.1). The participles of the derived stems begin with m-. The AP is negated by לית (Gen. 32,27; 38,25), the other verb forms by לא.

### 1.5 *Imperative*

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| sg.m. | קטל          |
| sg.f. | קטלי         |
| pl.m. | קטלו         |
| pl.f. | not attested |

As with qṭal, the pl.m. of verba III ’ / y / w / has the ending ון.<sup>6</sup>

3 See Fassberg, Genizah 166; for an explanation, see *ibid.* 167.

4 See Fassberg, Genizah 175.

5 See Fassberg, Genizah 175.

6 Cf. Fassberg, Genizah 168.

## 1.6 עתיד

עתיד “prepared, ready”, inflected according to number and gender, with a following infinitive or participle is attested ten times to express posteriority: עתיד עבד (Gen. 41,25) “he will do”.<sup>7</sup>

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

2.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority to the speech time is expressed in both discussing and narrating passages and regardless of the type of action predominantly by qṭal which corresponds to Hebrew qāṭal or wayyiqṭōl. In discussing passages, it can have the function of an anterior (no. a). I will limit myself to one example for each type of action:

## 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. הא טרדת יתי יומה הדן (Gen. 4,14)  
“Behold, you have cast me out today.”

## 2.1.2 Telic

- b. וברא ... ואיתי יתהון לות אדם (Gen. 2,19)  
“He created ... and brought them to man.”

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. עשרין שנין בביתך פלחת (Gen. 31,41)  
“Ten years I served in your house.”

## 2.1.4 Complex

- d. וחמון כל עמה ואודעזאעו (Ex. 20,18)  
“All the people saw and trembled.”

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fassberg, Genizah 170.

### 2.1.5 Stative

- e. ורחם יעקב ית רחל (Gen. 29,18)  
 “And Jacob loved Rachel.”

In addition, the *qṭal* form of *הוי* + *qāṭil* is used. The form of *הוי* precedes the participle, regardless of whether it is a *qṭal*- or *yiqṭul* form or an infinitive. *hwā* + *qāṭil* expresses habituality and imperfectivity but is also used to denote situations which, although considered as a complete whole, extend over a longer period of time. The Hebrew original may have an infinitivus absolutus in these cases:

- f. והַיּוֹ הַלֹּךְ וְחָסָר עַד יָרַח עֲשִׂירִיָּה (Hebr.: וְחָסָר, Gen. 8,5)  
 “And the waters receded little by little until the tenth month.”
- g. וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹא וַיָּשׁוּב וַיֵּלַךְ יֵת עוֹרְבָא וְהוּא אֵזִל וְחֹזֵר אֵזִל וְחֹזֵר (Hebr.: וַיָּשׁוּב, Gen. 8,7)  
 “And he sent out a raven, and it went and came, went and came.”

### 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, *qṭal* is mostly used and has the same Hebrew equivalents as in main clauses:

#### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. אֲשֵׁרֵי יֵת כָּל בִּרְיֵיתָהּ דִּי בְרִית (Gen. 7,4)  
 “I will destroy every creature I have created.”<sup>8</sup>

#### 2.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. הֵב לִי יֵת אֲנַתִּי אֲרוֹם אֲשַׁלְמוּ יוֹמֵי פִלְחִי (Gen. 29,21)  
 “Give me my wife for the days of my service are completed.”

#### 2.2.3 Object Clause

- c. וְאַתָּן חֲכַמְתִּין אֲרוֹם בְּכָל חֵילִי פִלְחִית עִם אֲבוּכִין (Gen. 31,6)  
 “You know that I have served your father with all my strength.”

<sup>8</sup> See also: Gen. 9,17 דִּי קִיַּמִּית “which I have set up”; Gen. 28,22 דִּי אֲקִיַּמִּית “which I have set up”; Ex. 12,32 דִּי מַלְלַתוֹן “that you have told”).

Furthermore, *hwā + qāṭil* is attested which corresponds to *yiqṭōl* in Hebrew that can also be used without a *waw* consecutivum for regular and continuous situations in the past as long as the context clarifies the time reference;<sup>9</sup> *hwā + qāṭil* describes a situation that is to be regarded as completed but took place repeatedly:

- d. כל מה דהוה קרי ליה אדם נפש דחיתה הוא שמה (Hebr.: יקרא־לו, Gen. 2,19)  
 “And just as Adam named a living creature, so was his name.”

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

Habitual situations are expressed in main and subordinate clauses by *hwā + qāṭil*:

- a. הות ארעא מרביה לה פירין (Gen. 4,16)  
 “The earth let fruits be numerous for him.”
- b. ולא יתבששו הון ידעין מה היא בהתתה (Hebr.: יתבששו, Gen. 2,25)  
 “And they did not know what shame is.”<sup>10</sup>

*hwā + qāṭil* is also used in interpolations or where the original has non-verbal predicates:

- c. ואמר יעקב לבניו [ד] הווא קרא להון אחוי (Gen. 31,46)  
 “And Jacob said to his sons [whom] he used to call his brothers.”
- d. ואסתכרו פומיהון דהון מגדפין בהון (Ex. 15,10)  
 “And their mouths were closed with which they used to blaspheme.”
- e. תברתנן לדקמו על עמד לאבאשא דהון מעיקין להון (Ex. 15,7)  
 “You broke those who maliciously opposed your people, who used to oppress them.”

9 Cf. Num. 9,18: על־פי יהוה יסעו בני ישראל ועל־פי יהוה יחנו “by the command of the Lord the children of Israel set out, and by the command of the Lord they encamped”.

10 See further Gen. 29,2 (הון משקיין) “they used to water” = (ישקו).



In one passage, hwā + qāṭil is used in parallel with qṭal:

- f. וקרא ליה לבן יגר שהדוּתא ויעקב־הוּוה קרא־ליה בלשן בית־קדשא גלעד (Gen. 31,47)  
 “Laban called it (i.e. the stone block) Yegar Sahadutha, while Jacob called it Gal-Ed in the language of the sanctuary (i.e. Hebrew).”

The original has ויקרא and קרא. Why hwā + qāṭil is used in the second case, is not easy to say. In any case, the Targumim Neofiti and Onqelos have qṭal forms (CAL) here. Presumably, the author of this Targum assumed that Jacob generally referred to the stone block as Gal-Ed.

In Gen. 29 and 31 the form הוּנא is attested four times which at first glance appears to be an AP with the enclitic S-suffix of the 1.sg. The time reference of the form is not always easy to determine. In Gen. 31,40 it says:

- g. הוּנא באיממא אכיל יתי שרבא בליליא ונדת שנתי מן עיניי

The Hebrew original reads: הָיִיתִי בְיוֹם וּבַלַּיִל. It seems that הָיִיתִי stands for itself: “I was, with me it was so and so, by day ...” The Targum Neofiti (CAL) has יתי שרבא באיממא אכיל with הוּנא instead of אכיל. The Targumim Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan have הוּנא and אכיל. Thus, it seems that הוּנא and אכיל are not to be understood as a periphrastic construction consisting of הוּנא + AP but, like the Hebrew original, as two independent verb forms, אכיל being a misspelling for אכל, thus: “That is the way it was with me: By day the heat consumed me, by night sleep fled my eyes.”

The time reference in the next example seems to be the past, too; as in 31,40, also in this passage Jacob lists what he has done for Laban during his service:

- h. ית מה דהוּון גנבייא גנבין באיממא אנא הוּנא משלם (Gen. 31,39)

The Hebrew original formulates the passage differently, as do the Targumim Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, but Neofiti also has הוּנא משלם. The time reference seems to be the past, the situation habitual: “What thieves stole by day, that I used to pay back in full”.<sup>11</sup>

The fourth example is found in a subordinate clause:

- i. ואמרת ארום גלי קודם הי ארום לא הוּוּנה רחימה באפי בעלי (Gen. 29,33)

<sup>11</sup> The expression הוּנא משלם occurs twice in this verse.

Here, too, there seems to be a reference to the past because the speaker was probably loved again at the time of the utterance, since she had conceived a child by her husband in the meantime: “And she said that it had been revealed before the Lord that I was not loved by my husband.” The negated form **לא הווינה** is very revealing. To begin with, the feminine form of the AP of **הוי** is **הויה**,<sup>12</sup> so we would expect **הויהנה** or **הויהנה** when it is combined with the S-suffix of the 1.sg; furthermore, the AP is negated by **לית**, not by **לא**. **qṭal**, on the other hand, is negated by **לא**, and it seems that Bombeck (Partizip 19) is correct in his assumption that **הויהנה**, which is also often attested in the Targumim Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti<sup>13</sup> and also in the Palestinian Talmud,<sup>14</sup> is not an AP at all but owes its existence to a contraction of **הויה אנה** to **הויהנה**, i.e. it is a **qṭal** form. **הויהנה משלם** therefore represents the compound **hwā + qāṭil**. The same applies to the four examples in which **הוי** is combined with suffixes of the 2.sg.m. and 1.pl.<sup>15</sup> which probably also represent **qṭal** forms.

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 Main Clauses

In a main clause, **qṭal** is attested; the Hebrew version has a nominal clause:

- a. **וקרא ית ... ברם אלאהן לוז הווה שמ[ה דקר]תה מן שירויה** (Gen. 28,19)  
 “He called (the place) ...; however, the nam[e of the to]wn had been Luz since the beginning.”

In an interpolated passage, a **qṭal** form of **הוי** with following **qṭal** is used:

- b. **אתבשר דמיתת רבקה אמיה ועד כען לא הווא אתנייה מן צערה** (Gen. 35,9)  
 “It was announced that Rebekah, his mother, had died, and so far he had not been relieved from his pain.”

This compound is also attested in other Targumim, in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Midrash (Dalman, *Grammatik* 257f) and enjoys great popularity in Syriac where, however, the word order is **qṭal + הוי** (see below ch. 11, sect. 2),

<sup>12</sup> See Bombeck, hwy 20.

<sup>13</sup> See Bombeck, Partizip and hwy.

<sup>14</sup> See Beyer, Syntax 90.

<sup>15</sup> See Fassberg, Genizah 113.

and in these languages it does not necessarily describe anteriority to a reference point in the past but usually to the speech time.

## 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

qṭal is also used in subordinate clauses; the Hebrew original usually has qāṭal forms:

### 4.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ובני אדני אלהים ית אלעא די נסב מן אדם לאתא (Gen. 2,22)  
 “And God formed the rib that he had taken from Adam into a woman.”<sup>16</sup>

### 4.2.2 Object Clause

- b. שלח ... למחמי הא אין אתקללו מיא (Gen. 8,8)  
 “He sent ... out to see if the water had receded.”

### 4.2.3 Temporal Clause

- c. והוה כדי נפקו תריהון לאפי ברא עאני [קין] ואמר להבל (Gen. 4,8)  
 “When the two of them had set off for the field, [Cain] said to Abel.”

The use of hwā + qāṭil in the main clause, to which a wayyiqṭōl form corresponds in Hebrew, is difficult to explain. The subordinate clause in the original has בְּהִיָּתָם, that is, preposition and infin. constr.

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

The situation described in the main clause can progress parallel to another main clause situation connected by ו (no. a) or to a previously mentioned situation (no. b), or it can be interrupted by a second situation that is expressed by qṭal (no. c). The Aramaic version uses hwā + qāṭil to express the progressing situation while the Hebrew one has yiqṭōl (no. a), qāṭal (no. b) or no equivalent (no. c):

16 See further: Gen. 3,1 (די ברא “that he had created”); 8,6 (דעבד “that he had built”); 7,5 and Ex. 12,28 + 19,7 (די פקד “that he had ordered”).

- a. משה הוּוה ממלל ומן קודם הי הוּוה מתעני (Hebr. יַעֲנֵנוּ ... וַיִּדְבֹּר, Ex. 19,19)  
 “Moses was speaking and being answered by God.”<sup>17</sup>
- b. וטורה דסיני הוה תנן ועטר (Hebr. עָשָׂן, Ex. 19,18)  
 “Mount Sinai was smoking and covered in smoke.”

The parallel situation is the previously mentioned approaching of the Israelites.

- c. והוון מדינין תריהון באפי ברא וקם קין על הבל אחוי וקטל יתה (Gen. 4,8)  
 “The two of them were trying to decide the case in front of the field, and Cain rushed at Abel, his brother, and killed him.”

The main clause situation can also be expressed by simple AP; the Hebrew version also has a participle in this case:

- d. הא עד כדון ממלל עמהון ורחל אתת (Hebr. בָּאָה ... ו ... מְדַבֵּר, Gen. 29,9)  
 “He was still talking to them when Rachel came.”

Accompanying circumstances to a superordinate situation are expressed by the AP; this may correspond to a Hebrew inf. absol:

- e. והלודן ושוב וחזרו מייא מן עלאוי ארעא אזלין וחזרין (Hebr. הִלְוֹךְ וְשׁוּב, Gen. 8,3)  
 “The waters receded from the surface of the earth, going and returning.”

Quite common is the phrase ו + AP of the verb אמר “to say” which introduces direct speech after another verb of saying. The Hebrew version uses wayyiqṭōl:

- f. וענו כל עמא כחדא ואמרין (Hebr. וַיֹּאמְרוּ, Ex. 19,8)  
 “And all the people answered with one accord, saying ...”<sup>18</sup>

With certain verbs, the PP is used with an active meaning. In our Targum, the verb טען “to carry” is one of these:

- g. וגמליהון טעינין שעבא (Gen. 37,25)  
 “(There came a group of Arabs) their camels bearing storax.”<sup>19</sup>

17 See also Gen. 30,36 (ויעקב הוּוה רעי ית ענה) “while Jacob was pasturing his flock”).

18 See further: Ex. 15,1; Num. 20,3. On the use of hwā + qāṭil in the Palestinian Targumim in general, especially the Targum Neofiti, see also Cohen, Phrase nominale 448–452.

19 Another example of a PP of טען in a circumstantial clause is found in Ex. 12,39.

Furthermore, the PP of זקף “to raise” with a qṭal form of הוי is used with an active meaning.

- h. ואהרן וחור הון זקיפין בידוי (Ex. 17,12)  
 “And Aaron and Hur were raising his hands.”

The active use of the PP is discussed in more detail below (ch. 12, sect. 1.4).

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

Also in subordinate clauses hwā + qāṭil is used; the Hebrew version has different forms.

### 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. קטל כל ... עד בכורה דשביתה דהוה יתיב בבית חבושה (Ex. 12,29)  
 “He killed all ... up to the firstborn of the prisoner who was sitting in the dungeon.”

In Hebrew, the relative clause has a nominal construction.

- b. תברתנן לדקמו על עמד לאבאשא דהו מעיקין להון (Ex. 15,7)  
 “You broke those who maliciously opposed your people, who were oppressing them.”

The Hebrew version has a completely different construction. In the next cases, the original has nominally used participles; in Aramaic, hwā + qāṭil (c) and simple AP, expressing a habitual situation (d), are used:

- c. בל יִשְׁבִּי כְנָעַן אתברו כל דהו יתבין בכנען (Hebr. Ex. 15,15)  
 “All who were living in Canaan trembled.”
- d. אַשְׁתִּיבָא כָּל-בָּשָׂר הָרֹמֵשׁ [Gen. 7,21] (Hebr. אשתיצי כל בשרה דרח[ש] על ארעא)  
 “And destroyed was all life that was crawling on the earth.”

### 5.2.2 Temporal Clause

- e. תמן אתגלון עלוי מלאכיא כד הוה עריק מן קדם עשו (Gen. 35,7)  
 “There the angels revealed themselves to him when he was fleeing from Esau.”

The Hebrew version has a prepositional phrase in place of a temporal clause.

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category can be expressed by a qṭal form of הוי followed by עתיד and ל + infinitive:

- a. קטל כל בכוריה ... מן בכורה דפרעה <ד>הוה עתיד למתב על כורסי מלכותה  
(Hebr. הַיָּשׁב, Ex. 12,29)  
"He killed all the firstborn ... from the firstborn of Pharaoh who would ascend the king's throne ..." <sup>20</sup>

עתידי with following infinitive or AP is also attested in other Targumim <sup>21</sup> as well as in CPA, Syriac and Samaritan. <sup>22</sup>

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

The AP is used to express this category; Hebrew has yiqṭōl (no. a), a participle (no. b) or qāṭal (no. c):

#### 7.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a. ולהן את אול (Gen. 32,18)  
"Where are you going?" <sup>23</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. קל אדמהון ... צוחין עליך קדמי מן ארעא (Gen. 4,10)  
"The voice of their blood ... is crying out before me from the earth against you." <sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See further Gen. 4,10 (דהוון עתידין למקם "who would rise").

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Onqelos (Gen. 4,10; 41,25; Ex. 12,29), Neofiti (Gen. 4,10; Ex. 12,29; Lev. 22,33), Pseudo-Jonathan (Gen. 41,25), and compare below. sect. 9.1 + 9.2.

<sup>22</sup> See Fassberg, Genizah 171.

<sup>23</sup> See further: Gen. 29,6 (אתיה "she is coming"; in Hebr. also expressed by an AP); 9,9 (אנה מקיים "I am establishing"; in Hebr. = AP).

<sup>24</sup> See also: Gen. 4,8 + 31,5 (חמי אנה "I see"; without Hebrew equivalent or expressed by an AP); Gen. 22,5 (את חמי "can you see ..."; without Hebrew equivalent).

## 7.1.3 Stative

- c. חכמין אנן (Gen. 29,5)  
 “(Do you know NN?) We know (him).”<sup>25</sup>

Also a resultatively used PP can describe simultaneity with the speech time:

- d. והא אנון יהיבין בארעא דגשן (Gen. 47,1)  
 “They are now in the land of Gosen (literally: have been given).”<sup>26</sup>

7.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In two relative clauses, APs are used in Aramaic as in Hebrew:

- a. כל מה די את חמי ידיי אנן (Gen. 31,43)  
 “Everything you see is mine.”<sup>27</sup>

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

8.1 *Main Clauses*

yiqtul and the AP are attested. yiqṭul is used to render Hebrew yiqṭōl, and it seems that its use does not reflect a living usage of the language but is purely mechanically oriented towards the Hebrew original, whereas the AP, which corresponds to qāṭal with waw consecutivum (no. a), is the actual signum for expressing habitual situations.<sup>28</sup> The same use of AP and yiqṭul has also been noted by Kutý for the Targum Jonathan on Samuel:<sup>29</sup>

- a. יַעֲזֹב ... [ב]גין כדן יפרש גבר ... ומדבק באתתיה [ו]הווין תריהון לבשר חד  
 וְהָיוּ ... וְדָבַק ... (Hebr. ... יַעֲזֹב ... Gen. 2,24)  
 “And therefore the husband leaves ... and cleaves to his wife, and both become one flesh.”

25 See further: Gen. 4,9 לֹא יָדַע “I do not know”, qāṭal in Hebr.); 29,8 + 34,14 לֹא יָדָעוּ “we are not able”, yiqṭōl in Hebr.); 30,29 אַתָּה חָכָם “do you know ...?”, qāṭal in Hebr.).

26 See also Gen. 30,33 גָּנֵב הוּא “it is stolen”.

27 See further Gen. 9,12 דִּי אֲנִי יוֹסֵד “that I am establishing”.

28 The mechanical rendering of formally similar verb forms in translations from Hebrew into Aramaic is treated in detail by Cohen, *Phrase nominale* 443–447.

29 Kutý, *Jonathan* 211f.

- b. לא יתעבד כן באתרן (Hebr. לֹא־יִעָשֶׂה, Gen. 29,26)  
 “That is not how it is done here.”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

Also in subordinate clauses, *yiqtul* and the AP are used. The Hebrew original has nominally used participles:

### 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. כאלהים ידעי טוב (Hebr. כאלהים יִדְעִי טוֹב, Gen. 3,5)  
 “And you will be like the angels before the Lord who know how to distinguish good from evil.”
- b. כהנייה דקיימין ומשמשין קודם הי יתקדשון (Hebr. הַכֹּהֲנִים, Ex. 19,22)  
 “The priests who stand and serve before God are to sanctify themselves.”

In the following two examples, an Aramaic *yiqtul* corresponds to a Hebrew AP. The reference word in both cases is an indefinitum, and as explained above in chapter 5 on Biblical Aramaic (7.2), in Semitic such relative clauses usually have the same verb form as conditional clauses, i.e. *yiqtul* (see below sect. 13):

- c. וכל די תרמוס על ארעה תרין תרין עלו לוות נח (Hebr. וְכָל־דִּי תִרְמוֹס, Gen. 7,8–9)  
 “And of everything that crawls on the ground, two came to Noah each.”
- d. כל דיכל ... ותשתצא נפשה ההיא (Hebr. כָּל־אֹכֵל, Ex. 12,15)  
 “Anyone who eats ... that person shall be destroyed.”

A resultatively used PP can have a habitual meaning:

- e. היך מא די אנון גזרין (Gen. 34,22)  
 “... the way they are circumcised.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See also Ex. 22,15 (בתולה די לא מארסה) “a virgin who has not been betrothed”).



## 9 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 9.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is expressed in main and subordinate clauses by *yiqṭul* or the AP which almost always correspond to the Hebrew forms:

#### 9.1.1 Punctual

- a. לא־מות תָּמָתוֹן (Hebr. *לֹא־מוֹת תָּמָתוֹן*, Gen. 3,4)  
 “You will not die.”<sup>31</sup>

Then in Ex. 12,33, both the Aramaic and the Hebrew versions use the AP with the same verb, this time, however, without an inner object:

- b. כּוֹלֵן מִיתִין (Hebr. *כָּלְנוּ מִתִּים*)  
 “We will all die.”

#### 9.1.2 Atelic

- c. הָא מִן כִּיפָּה הָדֵן נִפֵּק לִכּוֹן מִיָּה (Hebr. *וְנֹצִיא*, Num. 20,10)  
 “Will water gush out of this rock for you?”
- d. יִזְדַּמֵּן בְּעִלִּי לְוֹתִי (Hebr. *יִלְוֶה*, Gen. 29,34)  
 “My husband will have intercourse with me.”

#### 9.1.3 Stative

- e. כְּדוֹן יִרְחוּם יִתִּי בְּעִלִּי (Hebr. *יֵאֱהָבֵנִי*, Gen. 29,32)  
 “Now my husband will love me.”
- f. הָא אֲנָא קִים מַעְתֵּד (Hebr. *וַנֶּצֵּב*, Ex. 17,9)  
 “Behold, I will stand, prepared.”

In Gen. 32,27, an Aramaic AP renders Hebrew *yiqṭol*:

- g. לֹא אֶשְׁלַחְךָ (Hebr. *לֹא־אֶשְׁלַחְךָ*)  
 “I will not let you go.”

<sup>31</sup> See further Ex. 19,9 (מתגלי “I will be revealed”).

Moreover, posteriority can be expressed by עתיד. As seen above (sect. 6), עתיד can be followed by an infinitive; however, participles are also possible; so in the following interpolated passage:

- h. בניהון עתידין משתעבדין בארעא דמצרים ועתידין מתפרקין (Gen. 40,12)  
 “Their sons will be enslaved in Egypt and they will be freed.”<sup>32</sup>

## 9.2 Subordinate Clauses

### 9.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ארום [ת] עלון לארעה די אנא יהב לכון (Hebr. ונתן, Lev. 23,10)  
 “[When] you enter the land that I will give you ...”<sup>33</sup>

### 9.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. יהוון מזמנן ... ארום ... יתגלי (Hebr. יגד, Ex. 19,11)  
 “They shall be ready ... for it will be revealed.”

At times, Hebrew and Aramaic have different forms; the latter has yiqṭul in the following cases:

- c. כל די יקרויב בטורא מתקטלא יתקטל (Ex. 19,12)  
 “Anyone who approaches the mountain will be killed.”

The Hebrew version has a substantivised participle in this place.

- d. ארום ביומה די תאכלון מנה יתפתחון עיניכון (Gen. 3,5)  
 “... for on the day you eat of it your eyes will be opened.”

The original has an infinitive (ביום אֲכָלְכֶם “on the day of your eating”).

The AP is also found in a passage that is formulated quite differently in the original:

- e. לעלמה דאתי (Gen. 4,7)  
 “... for the world to come.”

<sup>32</sup> See further Gen. 41,25 (עתיד עבד “he will do”).

<sup>33</sup> See further: Gen. 28,22 (די תתן “that you will give” = ונתן); Ex. 14,13 (די יעביד “that he will make” = יעשה).

As in main clauses, עתיד + participle can also be used in subordinate clauses:

- f. ית מה דממ' דה' עתיד עבד חוי לפרעה (Hebr. עֲשֶׂה, Gen. 41,25)  
 “What God will do, he has shown Pharaoh.”<sup>34</sup>

## 10 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

### 10.1 Main Clauses

This category is attested in a main clause introduced by ו which is followed by a second one, also beginning with ו. The Aramaic version uses yiqṭul, the original has two qāṭal forms with waw consecutivum:

- a. וְשָׁכַבְתִּי ... וְנִשְׁאַתְנִי (Hebr. וְנִשְׁאַתְנִי, Gen. 47,30)  
 “When I have passed away in peace to my fathers, take me away from Egypt.”

### 10.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, yiqṭul is used. The Hebrew version has yiqṭōl (no. a) or a prepositional phrase (no. b):

- a. לִית אֲנִי יִכְלִין עַד זֶמֶן דִּי יִתְכַּנְשֹׁן כָּל [עֲדַר]יָה (Hebr. יִאֲסְפוּ, Gen. 29,8)  
 “We cannot (do it) until all the flocks will have been gathered.”<sup>35</sup>
- b. בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ אֹרֹם בְּיוֹמָה דִּי תֹאכֹל מִנֶּה מִמַּת תָּמוּת (Hebr. אֲכָלְךָ, Gen. 2,17)  
 “For on the day that you will have eaten of it, you will die.”<sup>36</sup>

## 11 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

This category is attested in two main clauses coordinated by ו; Aramaic uses yiqṭul, Hebrew qāṭal with waw consecutivum:

34 For עתיד + infinitive, see: Ex. 17,16 (דעתיד למתב “who will sit” [interpolated passage]) and Lew. 22,33 (עתיד במימרי למפרוק) די “who, by my word, will rescue” [Hebr. הַמּוֹצִיא]).  
 35 See also: Gen. 34,12 (הֵיךְ מָה דִּי תִימְרוּן) “as you will have said”; Lev. 23,10 (אָרוֹם תְּעָלוֹן) “when you will have entered”).  
 36 See further Gen. 32,20 (בּוֹזְמָנָא דִּי תֹאֲרַעֹן) “when you will have met him”).

- a. וְהִיְתָה ... וְנִאֲתִיָּהּ (Hebr. וְהִיְתָה ... וְנִאֲתִיָּהּ, Gen. 9,16)  
 “And when the arch is in the clouds, then I will look at him.”

yihwē + qāṭil in Gen. 4,12 probably emphasises the duration and repetition of the situation:

- b. (תַּעֲבֹד ... לֹא־תִסֵּף (Hebr. לֹא־תִסֵּף ... תַּעֲבֹד)  
 “When(ever) you will plough in the earth, it will no longer give you its best.”<sup>37</sup>

In one case, the simultaneity is expressed by a yiqṭul form of הוּא with a following resultatively used PP:

- c. אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה [ות] לְ[ות] (Hebr. אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה, Deut. 26,3)  
 “[And you are to go t]o the priest who will have been appointed (and will thus be in office).”

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 Main Clauses

Non-indicative categories are mostly expressed by simple yiqṭul to which corresponds a Hebrew yiqṭōl, jussive or qāṭal with waw consecutivum; I will limit myself to one example for each person:

- a. מָה אֶתֶּן לָךְ (Hebr. מָה אֶתֶּן, Gen. 30,31)  
 “What shall I give you?”
- b. כֹּדֶן תִּימַר (Hebr. לֹא־מַר, Ex. 19,3)  
 “This is how you shall say.”
- c. יִדְוֹנוּן בֵּינֵינוּ (Hebr. יִשְׁפֹּטוּ, Gen. 31,53)  
 “Let them judge between us.”

Of particular interest is the 1.sg. which is used 9 times in predominantly interpolated passages with the prefix n-. It looks as if Fassberg (Genizah 166) is

37 This compound is attested far more often in the Targum Neofiti; cf. Cohen, *Phrase nominale* 454.

correct in his observation that *niqṭul* is only used non-indicatively, whereas *ʾiqṭul* is used non-indicatively and indicatively. Compare:

- d. *וַאֲיךְ אַעֲבֹד בִּישְׁתָּהּ רֹבְתָהּ הָדָה וְנִתְחַיֵּיב בִּיהָ קוֹדֶם ה'* (Gen. 39,9)  
 “And how could I commit this great evil and be guilty of it before God?”<sup>38</sup>

Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti have *ʾiqṭul* forms in this case. For indicative *ʾiqṭul*, see above section 11, no. a (*וְאֶחָמִי*) [Gen. 9,16] “and I will look”).<sup>39</sup>

The form is difficult to explain. *niqṭul* is also attested once in the Book of Daniel,<sup>40</sup> also occurs in other Targumim and in Galilean Aramaic, and is also attested in Arabic.<sup>41</sup> Dalman (Grammatik 265) does not regard *niqṭul* as an independent form of the 1.sg. but as a plural form used for self-encouragement. Lund has shown that *niqṭul* in Targum Neofiti is used in non-translation portions non-indicatively, whereas *ʾiqṭul* expresses indicative and non-indicative posteriority.<sup>42</sup> *niqṭul* thus seems to be used primarily non-indicatively, and so Fassberg’s explanation (Genizah 167) that it possibly goes back to a *liqṭul* form with the modal particle *l-* has some merit.<sup>43</sup> The fact that it is primarily attested in interpolated passages speaks for its genuinely Aramaic character.

In addition, a special feature of the 1.pl. should be mentioned; in three cases, the *yiqṭul* form still has an *-h*, which resembles the Hebrew cohortative *-h*. Two of the three instances are indeed to be understood as cohortatives:

- e. *וְנִהְיֶה וְנִשְׁלַחְהוּ וְנִקְטֹל אֹתוֹן וְנִקְטֹל יִתָּהּ* (Hebr. *וְנִהְיֶה וְנִשְׁלַחְהוּ*, Gen. 37,20)  
 “And now come let us kill [him and] let us throw him.”<sup>44</sup>

The third *niqṭulh*, which is in an interpolated passage, is not cohortative but still non-indicative, since the superordinate sentence is negated:

38 The remaining examples can be found in: Gen. 29,35; 30,2; 30,3; 38,16; 38,26 (2x); 43,9; Ex. 15,21.

39 For further examples, see Fassberg, Genizah 166. Wesselius’ assertion (Subjunctive 197) that *ʾiqṭul* is limited to indicative use does not apply to the Targum fragments of the Genizah. *ʾiqṭul* is clearly non-indicative in Gen. 2,18 (*אֶבְרָא* “I want to create”); Gen. 30,31 (*מָה אֶתֶּן* “what shall I give?”); Gen. 31,43 (*מָה אַעֲבִיד* “what shall I do?”).

40 2,36 (*נֹאמֶר* “I want to say”).

41 On Arabic, see Woidich, *Ägyptisch-Arabisch* 221f.

42 According to Fassberg, Genizah 166f.

43 *niqṭul* is also attested in the Babylonian Talmud, but a non-indicative use could not be proven (see below ch. 9, sect. 12.1).

44 The other instance of cohortative *niqṭulh* is found in 37,27 (*אֶתֶּן וְנִזְבֹּנְהָ יִתָּהּ* “come let us sell him” = *לָכֹוּ וְנִמְכְּרֶנּוּ*).

- f. לית לן מה נקרבה מן (Lev. 22,27)  
 “We have noting that we could sacrifice from ...”

The fact that the forms with -h in no case reflect a Hebrew cohortative -h could speak for their genuine character. To what extent niqṭulh has a fixed place in the linguistic system, insofar as it serves to distinguish between the 1.sg. and 1.pl. in the non-indicative field, cannot be decided with absolute certainty, but in my opinion it is rather unlikely, since non-indicative situations are much more frequently expressed by simple niqṭul in the 1.pl.<sup>45</sup>

Imperatives are negated by לא and yiqṭul which is also used where the Hebrew version has אל + jussive:

- g. לא תקרבון (Hebr. אֲלֹתֶיךָ, Ex. 19,15)  
 “Do not approach!”

To emphasise that the commandment or prohibition has permanent validity, yihwē qāṭil can be used. The Hebrew original has simple yiqṭul:

- h. תהוון צימין צומיכון ושבתינן שוביכון (Hebr. תִּשְׁבְּתוּ, Lew. 23,32)  
 “(From the evening until the following evening) you are to fast and keep the Sabbath.”
- i. לא תענה דשקר (Hebr. לֹא תִעֲנֶה, Ex. 20,16)  
 “You shall not bear false witness.”<sup>46</sup>

For this purpose, the compound imperative of הוי + PP is also attested. The PP in the following example has an active meaning:<sup>47</sup>

- j. הוון [דכ] ירין ית יומא דשובתה (Hebr. זָכוֹר, Ex. 20,8)  
 “Remember the Sabbath Day.”<sup>48</sup>

Nos. i and j belong to the 10 Commandments and also no. h expresses a divine instruction, so the commandments are fundamental ones; however,

45 Cf. Fassberg, Genizah 167f.

46 See also Gen. 4,7 (תהוי שליט “you shall rule”). The example from Num. 19,7 given by Fassberg (Genizah 170), however, does not belong here because מסאב and מרחק are adjectives.

47 On the active use of the PP of dkr, see below ch. 12, sect. 1.4.

48 For yihwē + PP, see Gen. 4,11 (וּכְדוֹן לִיט יהווי קין “and henceforth be Cain accursed”).

compounds with the AP are not obligatory in these cases, otherwise the commandments and prohibitions are expressed by simple *yiqṭul* and *l' yiqṭul*.<sup>49</sup>

In one example, the Targum uses the participle of a t-stem to render Hebrew *yiqṭōl*, thus presenting the commandment as a fact:

- k. דשפק אדמיה דברנש על ידי ברנש אדמיה משתפך (Hebr. יִשְׁפֹךְ, Gen. 9,6)  
 “Whoever sheds the blood of man, by the hand of man his blood is shed.”

*qṭal* + הָלֹוֹי is used to express an counterfactual desire, the Hebrew version has *qāṭal*:

- l. וְלוֹ גָּנְעֵנוּ הָלֹוִי מִיָּתֵנָּה (Hebr. וְלוֹ גָּנְעֵנוּ, Num. 20,3)  
 “If only we had died.”

## 12.2 Subordinate Clauses

*yiqṭul* is also used in subordinate clauses; it is found after subordinators such as *די* with a final meaning:

- a. אַשְׁהֵד בְּעַמָּה דְּלֹא יִדְחֲפוּן (Hebr. פְּנִי־יִהְיֶה֩, Ex. 19,21)  
 “Warn your people lest they break through.”
- b. לֹא יִמְלַל עִמָּן מִיִּמְרָה דְּהֵי דְּלֹא נָמוּת (Hebr. פְּנִי־נָמוּת, Ex. 20,19)  
 “Do not let God speak to us lest we die.”

*די* can also introduce a non-indicative relative clause:

- c. אֵילִין דִּיבִירִיא דִּי תִמְלַל (Hebr. וְדִבַּר, Ex. 19,6)  
 “These are the words you are to speak.”

Final clauses are mostly expressed in Hebrew and Aramaic by *ל* + infinitive:

- d. וְאֵיתִי יִתְהוֹן לֹות אָדָם לְמַחְמִי (Hebr. לְרִאוֹת, Gen. 2,19)  
 “He brought them to Adam to see ...”<sup>50</sup>

49 Prohibitions expressed by *l' yiqṭul* can be found in: Ex. 20,4; 20,5; 20,7; 20,10; 20,13; for commandments expressed by *yiqṭul*, see Ex. 20,9; the Hebrew original likewise has *lō yiqṭōl* and *yiqṭōl* here.

50 See also, inter alia: Gen. 4,11 (לְמַקְבִּלָּה “in order to accept”); 8,8 (לְמַחְמִי “in order to see”); 38,20 (לְמִסֵּב “in order to get”); Ex. 12,23 (לְמַקְטִלָּה “in order to kill”).

If the duration or repetition of a final situation is to be emphasised, ל can be combined with the infinitive of הוי and a following participle; an inflectional ending can be suffixed to the infinitive which is congruent with the subject of the participle (no. e); besides the AP, a participle of the t-stem is also attested:

- e.    למהוויין מתיחמן ... ושוּי יעקב (Hebr. לִיְחַמְנָה, Gen. 30,41)  
       "And Jacob put ... so that they (pl.f.) would be in heat."
- f.    אליפת יתן למהוי מברכין לחתנא ולכלתא (Gen. 35,9)  
       "You taught us to bless the bridegroom and the bride."<sup>51</sup>

Sentences introduced by ו + yiqṭul can also fulfil the function of non-indicative subordinate clauses in both languages:

- g.    וְאַשְׁלַח־ךָ למה ... לא תנית לי ואשלח יתהון (Hebr. וְאַשְׁלַח־ךָ, Gen. 31,27)  
       "Why did you not ... tell me anything so that I might have sent them?"<sup>52</sup>

### 13 Conditional Clauses

Real conditional clauses with present or future time reference are mostly expressed by אן or אין followed by yiqṭul; the apodosis, like in the Hebrew original, is often introduced by waw and has a yiqṭul form as a predicate which can have an indicative or non-indicative meaning. The Hebrew version has yiqṭōl or qāṭal with waw consecutivum in both the main and subordinate clauses; the protasis is introduced by אם:

- a.    אַם-לֹא תִשְׁמָעוּ ... וְלִקְחָנוּ (Hebr. וְלִקְחָנוּ, Gen. 34,17)  
       "If you do not agree with us about circumcision, we will take our daughters and go away."<sup>53</sup>

51 This compound is also attested in Gen. 35,9 and 44,18.

52 See also Gen. 20,25 (וְאֵל "so that I go").

53 See also: Gen. 4,7 (יִשְׁתַּבַּח לְךָ "if you let it be good ... you will be forgiven"); 34,15 (אֵן תְּהוֹן "we will agree if you are"); 28,21–22 (וְיִהְיֶה "if he is ... so he shall be"); 30,31 (אֵן תַּעֲבֹד "if you do ... I will do again"); Ex. 4,7 (אֵין יִהְיִימֶנּוּ "if they do not believe", the main clause is missing); 19,5 (אֵן מִשְׁמֹעַ "if you hear ... you will be"); 21,3 (אֵין יִעוֹל "[if] he enters ... he shall [le]ave"); 21,23 (וְיִהְיֶה "if there is ... he shall give").



Hebrew **כִּי** is rendered by **אֲרוּם**. This mostly introduces general conditions in the sense of “whenever”:

- b. **כִּי־יִנָּצוּ ... יִעָנֵשׁ** (Hebr. **וְאֲרוּם יִתְנַצֵּן גּוֹבְרִין ... מִתְקַנֶּסֶת יִתְקַנֵּס**, Ex 21,22)  
 “Whenever two men quarrel with each other ... he shall be punished with a fine.”<sup>54</sup>

It can, however, also be used to introduce very specific conditions:

- c. **כִּי יִפְגֹּשְׁךָ ... וְאָמַרְתָּ** (Hebr. **אֲרוּם יֵאָרַע יִתְךָ עֲשׂו ... וְתֹאמַר**, Gen. 32,18–19)  
 “When Esau meets you ... you shall say ...”

**אֵין / אֵין** can also be followed by a nominal clause:

- d. **וְאִם־יִמָּעַט ... וְיִסַּב** (Hebr. **וְאֵין זְעִירִין אֲנֻן ... וְיִסַּב**, Ex. 12,4)  
 “And when they are few ... he shall take ...”

A real but anterior condition is expressed by **qṭal**:

- e. **אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי ... אֵין כֵּעַן אֲשַׁכַּחֲתִי חֵן וְחֶסֶד קִדְמְךָ שׁוּי** (Hebr. **אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי ... אֵין כֵּעַן אֲשַׁכַּחֲתִי חֵן וְחֶסֶד קִדְמְךָ שׁוּי**, Gen. 47,29)  
 “If now I have found favour and grace before you, so put ...”

In two case, however, **qṭal** is also used where the condition clearly refers to the future:

- f. **אֵין לֹא אֵייתִית יִתָּה לְוֹתֶךָ וְאִקִּימַת יִתָּה קוֹדֵמִךְ נְהוּי מִרְחַק** (Gen. 43,9)  
 “If I do not bring him back to you and set him before your, let me be detested.”
- g. **לִית־אֲנִי מְשַׁלַּח יִתְךָ אֲרוּם אֵיל־אֶהֱיָן בְּרִיכַת יִתִּי** (Gen. 32,27)  
 “I will not let you go if you do not bless me.”

The original also has **qāṭal** forms here.

If the situation formulated as a condition takes place repeatedly, **hwā + qāṭil** can be used; the Hebrew version has **yiqṭōl**:

- h. **אִם־כֵּה יֹאמַר ... הוּוֹת יִלְדָּה** (Hebr. **אִם־כֵּה יֹאמַר ... הוּוֹת יִלְדָּה**, Gen. 31, 8)  
 “If (whenever) he spoke like this ... she gave birth ...”

<sup>54</sup> Several other examples can be found in Ex. 21,22ff where general regulations are issued.

There are two examples of counterfactual conditions introduced by אֱלֹהִי and אֱלֹהֵי ד "were it not for"; the situations of both the main and the subordinate clause are anterior to the speech time and q̄tal is used in both cases:

- i. הָיָה לִי ... אֱלֹהֵי אֲלֵדִיהָ דִּאֲבָא ... הוּוּה בִּסְעָדִי אַרוּם כְּדוֹן רִיקָן שְׁלַחַת יָתִי שְׁלַחְתָּנִי (Hebr. ... לִי הָיָה, Gen. 31,42)  
"If the God of my father ... had not been with me, you would have sent me away empty-handed now."
- j. אַרוּם אֱלֹהֵי דִּאֲשְׁתֵּהִינָן אַרוּם כְּדוֹן חֲזֹרְנָן דְּנָא תְּרִיין זְמַנָּן (Gen. 43,10)  
"For if we had not procrastinated so long, we would have returned twice by now."

The second example closely follows the original which also uses q̄ātal forms in the main and subordinate clauses and has כִּי twice instead of אַרוּם.

In one place, there is an AP where the context clearly shows the condition to be counterfactual:

- k. דִּאִין שְׁבִיק טְלִיא יֵת אֲבֹי שְׁעָה חֲדָא זְעִירָא מִיֵּית (Hebr. without conditional particle: וְעָזַב אֶת־אֲבִיו וָמָת, Gen. 44,22)  
"(He cannot leave his father,) for if the boy left his father, he would die on the spot."

#### 14 Verbs of Perception

If the observed situation is described as not yet completed, the AP is used; it can be subordinated by ד:

- a. חֲמִי כָּל דְּכַרְיִיָּה דְּסִלְקִין עַל עֵנָה קְרוּחִין (Hebr. הָעֵלִים, Gen. 31,12)  
"Behold, all the rams that are mating with the sheep are spotted with white",

or can be directly dependent on the verb of perception:

- b. וְחַמַּת שָׂרָה יֵת בְּרָה דְּהָגֵר ... מִ[ג]חִיד עִם בְּרָה (Hebr. מֵצָחֵק, Gen. 21,9)  
"And Sarah saw Hagar's son ... deriding her son."

Accordingly, the AP is also used after the particle הֵא "behold!" when introducing dreams:

- c. והאֵנִי עֹמֵד עַל גֵּף נְהַרָּה (Hebr. הֵנִי עֹמֵד, Gen. 41,17)  
 “And behold, I am standing on the bank of a river.”

If the situation is completed, *q̄tal* is used:

- d. חֲמִיתוֹן אֲרוֹם מִן שָׁמַיִה מִלֵּלָה (Hebr. דִּבַּרְתִּי, Ex. 20,22)  
 “You saw that I spoke to you from heaven.”

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Q̄tal*

*q̄tal* is used in both main and subordinate clauses, in discussing and narrating passages with all types of action to express anteriority to the speech time and corresponds here to Hebrew *wayyiq̄tōl* or *q̄ātal*; in discussing passages, it can have the meaning of an anterior. (2.1 + 2.2). It regularly indicates anteriority to a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses, once also in a main clause; in an interpolated passage, this category is expressed by the compound *q̄tal* form of *hōi* + *q̄tal* which is also attested in other Targumim, in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Midrash (4.1 + 4.2). If a progressing situation is described by *q̄ātil* or *hwā* + *q̄ātil*, an intervening situation that interrupts the first one is expressed by *q̄tal* (5.1, nos. c + d). It is used after *אִם* in real conditional clauses when the situation of the protasis has past time reference but also when it refers to the future; the Hebrew original also has *q̄ātal* in the latter case; furthermore, it is found after *אִלּוּלִי* in protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses with past time reference (13). After *הִלּוּי* it is used in an counterfactual optative sentence with past time reference (12.1) and it is attested after a verb of sensual perception when what is perceived is past and completed (14).

### 15.2 *Yiq̄tul*

Only a long form is attested and it is negated by *לֹא*. It can denote habitual situations that are simultaneous with the speech time; in these cases, it renders Hebrew *yiq̄tōl*, and *yiq̄tul* seems to be used here in a purely mechanical way (8.1); in two relative clauses, on the other hand, it corresponds to Hebrew APs, but here it refers to an indefinitum in the superordinate clause, and in such relative clauses the same verb forms are generally found as in conditional clauses (8.2). When used to express posteriority to the speech time, where it is found besides the AP, it also usually, but not always, renders Hebrew *yiq̄tōl* (9.1 + 9.2). In a main clause introduced by *waw*, it denotes anteriority to a

reference point in the future and here corresponds to Hebrew *qāṭal* with waw consecutivum (10.1), in subordinate clauses it is attested twice after *די* where it renders Hebrew *yiqṭōl* or a prepositional phrase (10.2). Once, with a stative verb (*הוי*), it indicates simultaneity with a reference point in the future; with an atelic verb, on the other hand, *yihwē + qāṭil* is used (11). Furthermore, it is used in real conditional clauses of the present / future after *אין / אן* and corresponds here to Hebrew *yiqṭōl*; after *ארום*, it expresses general conditions in the sense of “whenever” (13). Finally, it is used non-indicatively in both main and subordinate clauses and corresponds in these cases to Hebrew *yiqṭōl*, jussive or *qāṭal* with waw consecutivum. Of particular interest are the first persons. The 1.sg. is *niqṭul* in nine cases, all of which are to be interpreted non-indicatively, while *’iqṭul* is used non-indicatively and indicatively; the same usage is found in the Targum Neofiti. The 1.pl., on the other hand, has the suffix -h in three cases, strongly reminiscent of the cohortative -h of Hebrew, and indeed *niqṭulh* is attested with a non-indicative sense only. It was considered rather unlikely that *niqṭulh* had a fixed place in the verbal system, insofar as it served to distinguish between the 1.sg. and the 1.pl. in the non-indicative realm, since the latter is usually expressed by *niqṭul* without -h. Finally, it should be mentioned that final clauses are mostly expressed by *ל* + infinitive or *ל* + infinitive of *הוי* + AP (12.1 + 12.2).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP can be used alone or in combination with a form of *הוי*. The form of *הוי* precedes the participle. *hwā + qāṭil* expresses, in both main and subordinate clauses, situations which are to be regarded as a complete whole but which extended over a longer period of time or were repeated; it corresponds to a Hebrew inf. absol. or *yiqṭōl* in these cases (2.1 + 2.2); furthermore, *hwā + qāṭil* indicates habitual situations of the past (3 + 5.2), also after *אין / אן* in conditional clauses (13), and situations which progress simultaneously with a reference point in the past; if such a progressing situation is interrupted by another one, then *qṭal* is used (5.1 + 5.2). *הוינא*, which is attested four times and is also often used in other Targumim, is certainly not an AP but a *qṭal* form (3).

Simple AP can denote accompanying circumstances where the Hebrew version has an inf. absol.; quite popular is the phrase *ו* + AP with the verb *אמר* “to say”: *וואמרין ... ענו* “they answered ... saying”; simple AP is also attested in subordinate clauses if the time reference is made clear by the superordinate clause (5.1 nos. e + f + 5.2). Furthermore, it is used to express singular situations that proceed simultaneously with the speech time; the original usually has a participle or a *yiqṭōl* form (7.1 + 7.2). The AP is also used to denote habitual situations with present time reference and corresponds in these cases to *qāṭal* with

waw consecutivum or a substantivised AP (8.1 + 8.2). Moreover, it expresses, besides *yiqṭul*, posteriority to the speech time where the Hebrew version has an AP or, in one case, a *yiqṭōl* form (9.1 + 9.2). Once, simple AP after *אִם* is used in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional clause with present / future time reference (13).

*yihwē* + AP is used in a subordinate clause to denote an atelic situation with future time reference and probably emphasises duration and repetition; the Hebrew version has a *yiqṭōl* form (11). The same compound expresses, besides simple *yiqṭul* and *l' yiqṭul*, non-indicative situations when the commandment or prohibition has permanent validity as in the 10 Commandments; the Hebrew original has mostly *yiqṭōl* forms in these cases (12.1). A final intantum is usually expressed by *ל* + infinitive; if the duration is to be emphasised, the infinitive form of *הוי* is used to which an AP is added (13.2). After verbs of sensual perception and *הא* “behold!”, we find the AP if the perceived situation cannot be considered completed (14).

#### 15.4 *Qṭl*

A form of *הוי* usually precedes but can also follow. The PP is mostly used resultatively and can thus denote states, singular or habitual ones, that are simultaneous with the speech time (7.1, 8.2). Combined with a *yiqṭul* form of *הוי*, it can be used non-indicatively (*וּבְדוֹן לִיט יִהְיוּ קִין* “and from now on Cain be accursed”, 12.1) or to express simultaneity with a reference point in the future (*דִּי יִהְיוּ מִמְּנִי* “who will have been appointed [and thus be in office]”, 11), the imperative of *הוי* + PP is only attested once, the PP being used with an active meaning; the compound seems to emphasise the duration of the commanded (12.1).

#### 15.5 *עתיד*

It is inflected according to number and gender and is followed by an AP or a participle of the *t*-stem or *ל* + infinitive. Combined with a *qṭal* form of *הוי*, it serves to express posteriority to a reference point in the past (6), without *הוי* it denotes posteriority to the speech time; in contrast to *yiqṭul*, it is only used with an indicative meaning (9.1 + 9.2). Compounds with *עתיד* are also attested in other Targumim as well as in CPA, Syriac and Samaritan.

### 16 Analysis

Let us start with *qṭal*. Its use to express anteriority to the speech time and to a reference point in the past, and this also in one main clause, makes a temporal main function quite unlikely. Although there is also a compound *hwā* + *qṭal*,

which expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past in one main clause, this is a single instance to which I do not want to attach too much importance, especially as qṭal is in clear opposition to hwā + qāṭil which can only be interpreted in an aspectual way. Its use in a protasis with future time reference can only be taken into account with reservations in this respect, since the Hebrew version also has a qāṭal form in this case and a purely mechanical rendering cannot be ruled out. A non-indicative secondary function cannot be proven because the situations expressed by אָלוּלִי and הָלוּי + qṭal have past time reference; it is thus conceivable that the non-indicative meaning is conveyed by the particles alone while qṭal expresses only the anteriority. qṭal thus seems to denote the anterior perfective aspect.

yiqtul mainly expresses posteriority in the non-indicative as well as in the indicative domain and it does not seem to be a temporal but rather an aspectual verb form, as can be seen in particular from its opposition to yihwē + qāṭil. The occasional use of yiqtul to express habitual situations with present time reference need not contradict its interpretation as a signum to express the posterior perfective aspect, since it mostly renders Hebrew yiqṭōl here and the translation may have been purely mechanical. It is true that it also often corresponds to a Hebrew yiqṭōl form when it describes posteriority to the speech time, but it is also used in this function in cases where the original has other predicates (e.g. 9.2. nos. c and d).

Presumably, the functional load of yiqtul has been felt to be somewhat too high because in the indicative domain it is joined by עָתִיד + qāṭil which is used only indicatively.

The use of the AP in an counterfactual conditional clause after אִם is remarkable, but this is an isolated case to which one should not attach too much importance. Certainly, this usage does not indicate a non-indicative function of qāṭil but at most states that אִם is not necessarily only used to indicate real conditions. As in the languages discussed so far, qāṭil expresses predominantly the extended imperfective aspect but is also increasingly used to denote posteriority to the speech time and does not only render the Hebrew AP but also yiqṭōl. However, as in Hasmonean, posteriority to the speech time is also expressed by yiqtul, so here, too, it is inappropriate to analyse it as a modal form. Rather, the AP as well as the compounds with the AP should be analysed as extended imperfective.

qṭil is unfortunately not very often attested, but it seems to be established at least to some extent in the verbal system, namely for the expression of the resultative.

The verbal system of the Targum fragments of the Cairo Genizah has eight marked verb forms, namely: qṭal, hwā + qṭal, qṭil + S-suffix, hwī + qṭil, yihwē +

qṭīl, עתיד + qāṭīl / infinitive, hwā + עתיד + qāṭīl / infinitive, imperative. To be regarded as unmarked are: qāṭīl, hwā + qāṭīl, yihwē + qāṭīl, hwī + qāṭīl, yiqṭul.

In the indicative domain, there are the following oppositions:

qṭal (anterior perfective) : hwā + qāṭīl (anterior ext. imperfective),  
 yiqṭul (posterior perfective) : yihwē + qāṭīl (posterior ext. imperfective),

and in the non-indicative domain:

yiqṭul (perfective) : yihwē + qāṭīl (ext. imperfective),  
 imperative (perfective) : hwī + qāṭīl (ext. imperfective),  
 ל + infinitive (perfective) : ל + infinitive of הוי + qāṭīl (ext. imperfective).

Even if a mechanical rendering of the Hebrew verb forms could not be ruled out in individual cases, all in all, we seem to be dealing with a genuine Aramaic verbal system after all.

## Christian Palestinian Aramaic

### o Text Corpus

The following texts have been evaluated: The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert (Mart.); Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter (Eul.); Anastasia (Anas.); the gospel according to Matthew (Matt.); the biblical passages of the Chrestomathy of Schulthess's grammar (pp. 103–113), i.e. from Genesis (Gen.), Numeri (Num.), Jonas, Lukas (Luk.) and the letters to the Philippians (Phil.) and Colossians (Kol.); the Acts of the Apostles (Acts) and the Letter to the Ephesians (Ephes.); the four portions from the Old and New Testaments published by Margoliouth (PS).

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭal*

qṭal has the following forms:

|      | sg.             | pl.                          |
|------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 3.m. | ܩܬܠ             | ܩܬܠܐ ~ ܩܬܠܝܢ                 |
| 3.f. | ܩܬܠܬ            | ܩܬܠܬܐ ~ ܩܬܠܬܝܢ <sup>1</sup>  |
| 2.m. | ܩܬܠܬܐ           | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ                       |
| 2.f. | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ          | not attested                 |
| 1.c. | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ ~ ܩܬܠܬܝܢ | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ ~ ܩܬܠܬܝܢ <sup>2</sup> |

#### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

There is only a long form which is used indicatively and non-indicatively and negated, as qṭal, by ܩܬܠ:

<sup>1</sup> Fem. forms ending in -n are very rare; see Boyarin, Middle Aramaic 626f.

<sup>2</sup> See Schulthess, Grammatik 61f.



|      | sg.           | pl.                |
|------|---------------|--------------------|
| 3.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ         | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ           |
| 3.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ         | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ           |
| 2.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ         | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ           |
| 2.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ         | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ           |
| 1.c. | ܡܠܝܬܐ ~ ܡܠܝܬܐ | ܡܠܝܬܐ <sup>3</sup> |

An internal passive is not attested for *qṭal* and *yiḡṭul*. When *yiḡṭul* is combined with an object suffix, an /-n-/ is normally inserted between verb and suffix: ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ "he will find him".<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The participles are inflected for number and gender only.<sup>5</sup> The AP has the following forms:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| sg.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ    |
| sg.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ    |
| pl.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ |
| pl.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ |

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| sg.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ                 |
| sg.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ                 |
| pl.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ              |
| pl.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ <sup>6</sup> |

AP and PP can be combined with a form of ܡܠܝܬܐ that usually precedes the participle. They are negated by ܠܐ or ܠܐܝܬܐ. The derived stems have the prefix *m-*, the

<sup>3</sup> See Schulthess, *Grammatik* 63.

<sup>4</sup> See Schulthess, *Grammatik* 78f.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes an AP is followed by the independent pronoun designating the subject, but pronoun and AP are always written separately, for example: Acts 25,9 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ "you want"); Matt. 27,10 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ "I am looking"); Luk. 15,18 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ "I am getting up"); Matt. 5,26 + 10,18 + 18,13 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ "I say").

<sup>6</sup> Feminine plural forms of AP and PP are only rarely attested. Two examples of APs can be found in Matt. 25,9 and 25,11 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ), one of a PP in Eul. 81a,18 (ܡܠܝܬܐܝܬܐ).

D- and C-stems differentiate between AP and PP by an /-e-/ and /-a-/ respectively after the second root consonant.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.5 *Imperative*

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| sg.m. | ܕܐܠܡ                  |
| sg.f. | ܕܐܠܡܐ                 |
| pl.m. | ܕܐܠܡܐܝܢ ~ ܕܐܠܡܐܝܢ     |
| pl.f. | ܕܐܠܡܐܝܢܐ <sup>8</sup> |

### 1.6 *Qāṭōl*

Unlike in the dialects discussed so far, the pattern qāṭōl is used in CPA as well as in Samaritan Aramaic not only to express nomina agentis but also with the meaning of an AP. It is inflected like a participle and can be combined with a form of ,ܐܡܢ: ܠܥܡܡܐ ܕܐܡܢ “she was divining” (see below 3.2 no. b).

### 1.7 *Qaṭṭīl*

This pattern is inflected like qāṭīl; its predicative use seems to be much rarer in CPA than in Syriac (cf. ch. 11, sect. 1).

## 2 *Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)*

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is predominantly expressed by qṭal. This applies to both discussing and narrating passages. In CPA, too, qṭal can be used in the sense of an anterior (no. b). I will limit myself to one example each:

#### 2.1.1 *Punctual*

- a. ܘܚܝܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܡܐ ,ܐܡܢ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܡܡܐ (Mart. 27b,4–9)  
“At that time the old man stretched out his hands to heaven, prayed and died.”

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schulthess, Grammatik 64.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schulthess, Grammatik 62f.

## 2.1.2 Telic

- b. **ኢሊ ድረድረ ስራ** (Mart. 24a,13–15)  
 “When have you come here?”

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. **ከፊት ለፊት ስራ** (Eul. 78a,4–7)  
 “I did four weeks (like this).”

## 2.1.4 Complex

- d. **ኢሊ ስራ ስራ** (Mart. 25b,4–5)  
 “Someone knocked at the door.”

## 2.1.5 Stative

- e. **ከፊት ለፊት ስራ** (Mart. 22b,16–18)  
 “He lived in the cell for 30 years.”

In addition, the compound qṭal form of **ሰራ** + AP is used to express anteriority to the speech time. *hwā* + *qāṭil*, with *hwā* normally preceding the AP,<sup>9</sup> describes situations that are thought of as habitual (see next section) but also singular ones. The use of the verb forms is strongly oriented towards the Greek original.<sup>10</sup> While the Greek Aorist and the Participle as well as the Perfect are regularly rendered by qṭal, *hwā* + *qāṭil* mostly corresponds to an Imperfect in Greek. The Greek Imperfect generally expresses the progression and duration of a situation, and also the situations expressed by *hwā* + *qāṭil* all have a certain extension. As will be seen, *hwā* + *qāṭil* primarily expresses the imperfective aspect; it is thus understandable that it is used to render the Greek Imperfect, precisely because it denotes a similar intentum.<sup>11</sup> At times, how-

9 Three exceptions are Mart. 18b,9–10 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “he used to receive”), Acts 26,32 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “it could be”; cf. below sect. 14, no. o) and Acts xvi 16, Margoliouth, PS 26 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “she used to do”; cf. below sect. 3.2, no. b).

10 Only the New Testament passages have been compared with the Greek original.

11 Examples of qṭal rendering a Greek Aorist can be found on almost every page. For *hwā* + *qāṭil* to express the Greek Imperfect, in main as well as subordinate clauses, see: Acts 19,33 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “he wanted”); 20,4 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “they were going around”); 20,5 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “they were waiting”); 20,7 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “he was speaking”); 21,4 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “they kept saying”); 25,2 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “they were begging”); 25,7 (**ሰራ** **ሰራ** “they were begging”).

ever, hwā + qāṭil seems to be used quite mechanically to render the Imperfect, without the situation described justifying its use, as for example in Acts 25,20:

- f. ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢ ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܐܝܡ  
“I asked him if he wanted to go to Jerusalem.”

ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢ corresponds to the Imperfect form ἔλεγον. It introduces a simple question which is difficult to imagine as extended and imperfective; a qṭal form would seem more appropriate at this point.<sup>12</sup>

But such cases are rather the exception; not infrequently a Greek Imperfect is rendered by qṭal when the situation is to be thought of as perfective:

- g. ܕܝܡܗ ܕܗܝܬ ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܡܗ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ (Acts 21,18)  
“And the next day Paul entered with us NN’s house.”

ܕܝܡܗ renders the Imperfect form εἰσῆει in this example.<sup>13</sup>

Viewed from the speech time, the situations expressed by hwā + qāṭil often appear as a complete whole. However, they always have a certain temporal extension that allows a view on their middle phase:

- h. ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ... ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ  
ܐܝܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ (Matt. 2,3–4)  
“He was startled (εταρραχθῆ, 3.sg. Aorist Ind.) ... and he assembled (συνα-  
γαγῶν; Part. Aorist) all the chief priests ... and questioned (επισυνθάνετο;  
Imperfect) them as to where the Messiah would be born. They said ...”

The questioning expressed by ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ is clearly to be understood as completed, for the immediately following answer of the chief priests is also

“they were able”); 26,31 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were speaking”); 27,1 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were transmitting”); 27,9 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “he was advising”); 27,13 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were doing”); 27,15 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were going”); ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were helping”); Matt. 4,23 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “he was walking around”); Matt. 8,31 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were begging”); Matt. 13,56 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they were taking offence at him”); Matt. 18,28 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “he was strangling”); Luk. 6,7 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “they paid attention”); Luk. 15,28 (ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ “he did not want”).

12 Compare also Matt. 2,7 where the king conducts a questioning very similar to that in Matt. 2,3–4 (see below no. h). Both situations can be imagined as roughly the same in extension, however the Greek original now uses a different verb and the Aorist (ηξεριβω-σεν), and the Aramaic translator uses qṭal (ܡܠܚܬܐ) accordingly.

13 For other qṭal forms rendering a Greek Imperfect, see, inter alia: Acts 21,19 (ܡܠܚܬܐ “he narrated”); 21,20 (ܡܠܚܬܐ “they glorified”); 26,1 + 26,32 (ܡܠܚܬܐ “he said”).

mentioned. However, the situation can be imagined as more extended than the previously mentioned assembling which probably only consisted of a short command. However, the questioning on such an important matter was certainly more intensive and took more time. Further:

- i. **וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֵּצְאוּ** (Matt. 2,9)  
 “They listened to the king (ακουσαρτες; Part. Aorist) and went off (επορευθησαν; Aorist Ind.), and behold, the star which they had seen in the east was going before them (προηγεν; Imperfect) until ...”
- j. **וַיִּפְתָּח וַיְבָרֵךְ** (Matt. 5,2)  
 “And he opened (ανοιξας; Part. Aorist) his mouth and was teaching (εδιδασκεν; Imperfect) them, speaking (λεγων; Part. Present) ...”

In these cases, too, the situations expressed by hwā + qāṭil have to be regarded as completed when seen from the speech time; in no. i the situation introduced by **וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ** represents the completion, in no. j the following sermon which is quoted in full. Nevertheless, they are much more extended than the preceding situations expressed by qṭal and the Aorist respectively and easily allow the hearer or reader to view the actions from within in their progression.

hwā + qāṭil of punctual verbs describes the situation as either habitual (see next section) or at least repetitive:

- k. **וַיַּהַרְגוּ כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־לָקְחוּ** (Mart. 41b,7–10)  
 “And everyone they met they killed.”<sup>14</sup>

The difference between qṭal and hwā + qāṭil can be seen very clearly in the following example:

- l. **וַיֵּשֶׁב שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה** (Mart. 21a,7–13)  
 “He used to live there on the mountain ... He lived there for 40 years.”

The temporally indeterminate living is expressed by hwā + qāṭil, the period considered as a complete whole by qṭal.

In until-constructions, qṭal is normally used, both in the main clause and in the subordinate clause after **וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ** “until”. The main clause situations always extend directly to those of the subordinate clause:

14 See also Luk. 15,16 (**וַיִּתֵּן** “he did not give”).

- m. **ܡܬܬܬܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Eul. 66a,9–13)  
 “He did not speak to the old man until he came to Sketes.”
- n. **ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Matt. 24,39)  
 “They did not know (it) until the Deluge came.”<sup>15</sup>

Once hwā + qāṭil is attested:

- o. **ܘܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Matt. 1,25)  
 “He did not know her until she gave birth to a son.”

The reason why qṭal is used in no. n but hwā + qāṭil in the semantically similar no. o, is not easy to say. Maybe there is a difference in the type of action. **ܠܗܝܠܐ** is stative according to the context, with **ܘܗܝܠܐ**, on the other hand, the translator could also have had in mind the action behind the euphemism, and such a situation could also be rendered imperfectly. But it looks more likely to me that the translator was simply guided by the Greek original and rendered the Aorist Indicative in no. n (ἐγνώσαν) mechanically by qṭal, but the Imperfect in no. o (ἐγνώσκειν) by hwā + qāṭil.

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, qṭal is used, too:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. **ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Matt. 2,2)  
 “Where is he who was born King of the Jews?”<sup>16</sup>

### 2.2.2 Causal Clauses

- b. **ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Eul. 75a,12–14)  
 “I am hungry because I have not eaten anything yet today.”<sup>17</sup>

### 2.2.3 Object Clause

- c. **ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ** (Matt. 5,17)  
 “Do not think that I have come to abolish the law.”

15 See further Matt. 2,15 (**ܘܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ...ܠܗܝܠܐ** “he stayed ... until he died”).

16 See also: Jonas 1,10 (**ܘܗܝܠܐ** “that you have done”); 2,10 (**ܘܗܝܠܐ** “what I have vowed”).

17 See further: Luk. 1,68 (**ܘܗܝܠܐ** “for he has afflicted”); Jonas 1,2 (**ܘܗܝܠܐ** “for it has ascended”).

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

Habitual situations of the past are expressed by hwā + qāṭil:

##### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. וּבְבֹרֵךְ הַיּוֹם הָיוּ לִקְחֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Mart. 4a, 4–6)  
 “And in the morning they used to take the Holy Communion.”<sup>18</sup>

##### 3.1.2 Telic

- b. וּכְלִיכֵי הָיִיבֵי לְבֵיתֵיהֶם (Mart. 4a, 12–14)  
 “Each one used to go to his cell.”<sup>19</sup>

##### 3.1.3 Atelic

- c. וּבְהִיבֵי לְבָרְנָבָא (Acts 14,12)  
 “And they used to call Barnabas Zeus.”

#### 3.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, this category is only rarely attested:

- a. וְחַיֵּי הָיִיבֵי הָאֵלֶּיךָ הַמִּצְרִי (Eul. 61b,10–12)  
 “The life of Eulogios the Egyptian who used to hew stones.”

That וְ is used nominally here seems rather unlikely to me; one would expect a וְ as in וְהָיִיבֵי “fishermen” (Matt. 4,18).

Finally, the pattern qāṭōl should be mentioned. It mostly expresses the nomen agentis but is also used like an AP in CPA and Samaritan Aramaic.<sup>20</sup> The compound hwā + qāṭōl in the following example is used in parallel with qāṭil + hwā and is clearly habitual:

18 See further: Mart. 18a,4–5 (וּבְהִיבֵי “we used to give”); Mart. 18b,9–10 (וּבְהִיבֵי “he used to receive”).

19 See also: Mart. 3b,20–21 (וּבְהִיבֵי “they used to gather”); Mart. 17b,15 (וּבְהִיבֵי “he used to eat”); וּבְהִיבֵי “he used not to taste” in Mart. 18a,21–22 is problematic. As far as I know, the PP of וּבְהִיבֵי is not used actively; presumably the וּבְ is used as mater lectionis to express the /-i-/ after the second root consonant.

20 See Macuch, GSA 248f and Cowley, SL xxxviii. Furthermore, Kutscher (SGA 30) cites some examples of verbally used qāṭōl from the Bereshit Rabbah.

- b. **ܫܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܥܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ**  
**ܠܡܥܬܐ** (Acts XVI 16, Margoliouth, PS 26)  
 “And she brought great profit to her masters by the divinations she made.”<sup>21</sup>

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is only rarely found in main clauses. qṭal can be used:

- a. **ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** (Mart. 52a,18–22)  
 “He thought he had killed him, but he had not hurt him at all.”<sup>22</sup>

Especially with verbs of movement, qatṭil can be used in the sense of an anterior and be combined with a qṭal form of **ܐܡܢ**. I have found this compound only in Schulthess's grammar (p. 87):

- b. **hewēnan ‘arriqīn** “We had fled.”<sup>23</sup>

##### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Subordinate clauses usually have qṭal which renders the Aorist or its participle:

###### 4.2.1 *Relative Clauses*

- a. **ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܡܥܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ ܠܫܝܠܬܐ** (Mart. 41a,17–20)  
 “They left the two fathers whom they had killed in the courtyard.”<sup>24</sup>

###### 4.2.2 *Temporal Clauses*

- b. **ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** (Mart. 44a,15–18)  
 “And after he had died, they beat him very much.”<sup>25</sup>

21 On qātōl in CPA, see further Bar-Asher, PSS 291–295 and Müller-Kessler, Grammatik 161.

22 See further Acts 14,8 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “he had not gone”).

23 Cf. also Schulthess, Grammatik 46.

24 See further: Num. 13,24 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “who had cut off”); Num. 13,27 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “that you had sent”); Mart. 13a, 6–10 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “who had lived”).

25 See also: Gen. 50,4 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “after they had passed”); Num. 13,25 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “after they had explored”); Matt. 2,1 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “after he had been born”); Matt. 2,3 + 2,22 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “when he had heard”); Matt. 2,11 (**ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ** “when they had come”);







ܣܚܝܠܝܢ in the following example probably represents an actively used PP, not an AP:<sup>32</sup>

- f. ܠܗ ܣܚܝܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܐ (Jonas 2,6) “The waters were poured out, washing over me.”

In Eul. 81a,11–19 we find the construction **ܐ** + subject + PP:

- g. ܐܠܝܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
“... that ... they should hang me with my hands tied behind me.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

The situations of the subordinate clauses expressed by *hwā* + *qāṭil* may have been progressing parallel to their reference point, but they may also have extended over a longer period of time or been habitual. If the reference point is an intervening situation, this is expressed by *qṭal*:

### 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
(Mart. 3a,7–14)  
“So I went into the desert with God-fearing people who were just going there to pray.”
- b. ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
(Matt. 8,16)  
“And all who were suffering he healed.”<sup>33</sup>

### 5.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- c. ܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
(Eul. 63b,7–10)  
“And while they were talking, there came an old man.”<sup>34</sup>

32 Other actively used PPs are: ܡܚܝܠܝܢ “bearing”, ܡܚܝܠܝܢ “terrifying”, ܡܚܝܠܝܢ “surrounding”; see Schulthess, *Grammatik* 46.

33 See also: Mart. 2a,2–3 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “who was hiding”); Mart. 5b,3–4 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “who were living”); Acts 26,30 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “who were sitting”); 25,7 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “who were not able”); 25,18 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “which I hoped”).

34 See further: Mart. 1a,14–1b,3 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while I was living ... there was”); Mart. 42a,1–2 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while he was narrating”); Acts 20,9 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while he was speaking”); 24,25 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while he was speaking”); 26,24 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while he was trying to convince”); 26,31 (ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ “while they were going”).







This sentence is not meant habitually. It refers to Nineveh and its inhabitants who are living there right now and are in danger of perishing with the city.

### 7.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. **ክብሩ ንዚ ይገባኝ ንዚ ይገባኝ ንዚ ይገባኝ** (Matt. 15,32)  
 “I have mercy on this people for they have already been waiting with me for three days.”

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 Main Clauses

Habitual situations, in main and in subordinate clauses, are expressed by an AP or a participle of a t-stem which correspond to a Present form in Greek:

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. **ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ** (Matt. 5,15)  
 “One does not light (καίουσιν, 3. pl. Pres. Ind.) a lamp and puts (τιθεῖσιν, 3.pl. Pres. Ind.) it under a bushel but on the lampstand, and it shines (λαμπει, 3.sg. Pres. Ind.) on all who are in the house.”

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- b. **ከዚ ይገባኝ ንዚ ይገባኝ ንዚ ይገባኝ** (Gen. 50,3)  
 “For this is how the days of embalming are counted.”

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. **ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ ከብርሃኑ** (Matt. 7,3)  
 “What do you see the splinter that is in your brother’s eye, and the beam that is in your eye, you do not see.”<sup>47</sup>

47 See also: Matt. 5,6 (ክብሩ “they do”); Matt. 12,30 (ክብሩ, ክብሩ “he assembles, he scatters”); Matt. 13,55 (ክብሩ “she is called”).

## 8.1.4 Stative

- d. ܠܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ (Jonas 1,9)  
 “The Lord, the God of heaven I fear.”<sup>48</sup>

Occasionally, the PP is used in a habitual sense:

- e. ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ (Matt. 13,57)  
 “The prophet is nowhere as disdained as in his city and in his house”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

## 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ (Matt. 5,9)  
 “Blessed are those who make peace.”<sup>49</sup>

## 8.2.2 Causal Clauses

- b. ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
 (Matt. 25,13)  
 “Be watchful therefore for you know neither day nor hour.”<sup>50</sup>

## 8.2.3 Object Clauses

- c. ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
 ܕܥܠܡܐ (Matt. 18,10)  
 “But I say to you that their angels in heaven always see the face of the Father.”<sup>51</sup>

48 See further: Matt. 5,36 (ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “you are able”); Matt. 6,7 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “they think”); Matt. 23,28 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “you seem to be”); Acts 21,20 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “they are zealous”).

49 See also: Matt. 5,6 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “those who starve”); Matt. 25,9 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “who sell”); Acts 27,23 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ ... ܕܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “whom I serve”); 27,24 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “who travel with you”); Num. 13,32 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “that [f.] eats”).

50 See also: Matt. 23,13 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “because you shut”); Matt. 23,14 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “because you eat”).

51 See further Acts 21,21 (ܡܬܬܬܝܒܐ “that you teach”).





## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 *Main Clauses*

Situations that are posterior to the speech time are expressed by the AP or yiqṭul. It is difficult to establish a rule for when the AP and when yiqṭul is used. Both render the Greek Future. In prophecies, yiqṭul is preferred, but the AP is also used there. All in all, the AP seems to be more common. Here are the examples of yiqṭul:

### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. ܐܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܩܬܝܢ (Matt. 24,9)  
 “Then they will deliver you over to distress (παράδωσουσιν, 3.pl. Fut. Ind.)  
 and kill you (ἀποκτενουςιν, 3.pl. Fut. Ind.).”<sup>55</sup>

### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. كثيرون يقيمون باسمي (Matt. 24,11)  
 “Many false prophets will arise (εγερθησονται, 3.pl. Fut. Ind.) and lead  
 many astray (πλανησουσιν, 3.pl. Fut. Ind.).”<sup>56</sup>

### 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. ሕዝብህን ለጳጳስ መመከር ... ዓ ከእነ ሕዝቡ አንዱን ቢያደርግ  
 ሕዝብህን ለጳጳስ መመከር (Matt. 23,34)  
 “I will send you prophets and ... some of them you will kill and crucify,  
 others of them you will scourge in your synagogues.”

### 10.1.4 Stative

- d. **ḥm ʾmṣrāṭ ʾmṣrāṭ ʾmṣrāṭ ʾmṣrāṭ** (Matt. 25,1)  
 “Then the kingdom of heaven will be like ten virgins.”<sup>57</sup>

55 See further: Matt. 5,18 (ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܝܬܝܠܝܩܝܢ “he will not pass away”; in Greek, however, the Subjunctive of the Aorist is used); Matt. 19,29 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “he will receive”); Matt. 24,7 (ܕܡܝܬܐ “he will arise”).

56 See also: Matt. 24,5 (അർത്ഥം “they will come”); Acts 21,11 (നർത്ഥം അർത്ഥമല്ല “they will bind him”).

57 See further Matt. 19,27 (ⲛⲓⲙⲓ “it will be”).

The AP or a participle of a t-stem, however, can be used in the same sense and even occurs in free alternation with *yiqṭul*. Compare Matt. 25,32:

- e. וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם יִקְרְאוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְהָאֵל יִפְרֹדֵם אֶחָד מֵאֶחָד  
וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם יִקְרְאוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְהָאֵל יִפְרֹדֵם אֶחָד מֵאֶחָד  
 “And then all the nations will gather before him and he will separate them from one another.”

Both וְהָיָה and יִפְרֹדֵם render Greek Future tense forms. Further:

- f. וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם יִקְרְאוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְהָאֵל יִפְרֹדֵם אֶחָד מֵאֶחָד  
 (Matt. 1,23)  
 “Behold, the virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call him Emanuel.”

As already said, the AP can be found in prophecies as well:

- g. וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם יִקְרְאוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְהָאֵל יִפְרֹדֵם אֶחָד מֵאֶחָד  
 (Matt. 13,49)  
 “This is how it will be at the end of the world: angels will go out and separate the wicked from the righteous.”

More often, however, the AP is found outside prophecies, especially when the situation is imminent:

- h. וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם יִקְרְאוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְהָאֵל יִפְרֹדֵם אֶחָד מֵאֶחָד (Eul. 75a,16) “I (f.) will give you (something to eat).”<sup>58</sup>

According to Fassberg (Genizah 171), עתיד is also used in CPA to express posteriority to the speech time, however, I have not found any corresponding evidence.

58 For further evidence of the AP, see: Num. 13,31 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “we will not ascend”); Mart. 27a,14 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will go”); Mart. 29a,9–10 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “we will not kill”); Mart. 29a,16 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “we will bring”); Mart. 35b,17 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “he will receive”); Mart. 36a,4 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “we will make”); Matt. 17,27 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “you will find”); Matt. 4,19 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will make”); Matt. 18,26 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will pay”); Matt. 25,21 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will set”); Luk. 19,8 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will give”); Jonas 3,4 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “it (f.) will be destroyed”); Acts 24,25 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “I will send”); 25,22 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “you will hear him”); Ephes. 6,21 (וְהָיָה כֵּן “he will inform”).

### 10.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

This category is only rarely attested in subordinate clauses; these mostly have APS:

#### 10.2.1 Relative Clause

- a. ܠܚܝܬ ܠܡ ܥܡܬܐ ܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܥ ܐܡ ܠܚܝܬ  
(Matt. 21,41)  
“He will lease the vineyard to other winegrowers who will give him fruit.”

#### 10.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. ܕܠ ܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬ ܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܥ ܐܡ ܠܚܝܬ  
“Tell no one what I am going to tell you (now).”<sup>59</sup>

The causal clauses after ܐܡܝܬܐ “be blessed” in Matt. 5, however, have yiqṭul (Fut. Ind. in Greek):

- c. ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܐ ܥܝܬܐ ܥܡܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ (Matt. 5,5)  
“Blessed are the humble, for they will inherit the land (κληρονομήσουσιν, 3.pl., Fut. Ind.).”

## 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

This category is attested in temporal clauses, in until-constructions after ܐ ܠܚܝܬ “until” and a relative clause and is expressed by yiqṭul. The Greek version uses the Aorist Subjunctive in both the temporal clauses (after ܐܡܝܬܐ “as soon as” or ܕܡܥܝܬܐ “when, as soon as” and ܐܡܝܬܐ “until”) and the relative clause:

- a. ܕ ܡܕܐ ܥܝܬܐ ܥܡܬܐ ܥܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ (Matt. 2,8)  
“When you will have found (εὕρητε, 2.pl. Aorist Subj.), come and report to me.”

59 See also Matt. 24,42 (ܠܚܝܬ “[on which] he will come”).

- b. **הָאֵלֹהִים יִבְרָכְךָ וְאַתָּה יִבְרָכְךָ וְאַתָּה יִבְרָכְךָ** (Matt. 21,40)  
 “Now, when his lord himself will have come (ελθῇ, 3.sg., Aorist Subj.), what will he do with these tenant farmers (ποιήσει, 3.sg. Fut. Ind.)?”<sup>60</sup>
- c. **אֲמַרְתִּי לָכֶם וְאַתָּה יִבְרָכְךָ וְאַתָּה יִבְרָכְךָ** (Matt. 5,26)  
 “Verily, I say to you that you will not go out from there until you will have paid back the last penny.”<sup>61</sup>

As has already been seen repeatedly, in relative clauses with indefinite reference words, the same verb forms as in conditional clauses are normally used, and there, too, CPA uses *yiqṭul* forms (see sect. 14 below):

- d. **וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** (Matt. 5,19)  
 “So anyone who will have abrogated (λυσῇ) one of these little commandments and have taught (διδαξῇ) the people so, he will be called low in the kingdom of heaven (κληθήσεται, 3.sg. Fut. Ind.).”

## 12 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

This category can be expressed by a *yiqṭul* form of **אֲמַר** + AP. It is attested once in a main clause where it is in opposition to two simple *yiqṭul* forms that describe not simultaneity with but posteriority to a reference point; the reference point is the expected arrival of the Son of Man:

- a. **וְכָל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** (Matt. 24,41)  
 “Two (fem.) will be grinding (αληθουσai, Part. Pres. act. pl.) at the mill; one will be led away (παράλαμβανεται, 3.sg. Pres. Ind.), and one will be left behind (αφιετα, 3.sg. Pres. Ind.).”

60 See also Kol. 3,4 (**וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** “when he will have appeared”).

61 See also: Eul. 67a,9–13 (**וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** “until you will have told me”); Matt. 2,13 (**וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** “until I will have told you”); Matt. 5,18 (**וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** “until everything will have happened”); Matt. 24,34 (**וְכֹל הַיּוֹדֵם לְבָרִית הַזֶּה יִקְרָא נָמוֹל** “until all of it will have happened”).

As indicated in the translation, the Greek version uses a Present Participle to express simultaneity in the future.

In the same context, another situation is described, this time by a *yiqṭul* form of ܐܢܬܐ:

- b. ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ (Matt. 24,40)  
 “Then there will be two on the field.”

Furthermore, this category is attested in temporal clauses after ܐܢܬܐ. In the main clauses, general instructions are given, in the temporal clauses *yihwē* + *qāṭil* is used. The Greek original uses the Present Subjunctive after the subordinator *οταν* or the Present Participle when formulated without a subordinator:

- c. ܐܢܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ (Matt. 6,2)  
 “When you do (will be doing) justice (*οταν ουν ποιης*, 2.sg., Pres. Subj.), blow not the horn before you.”
- d. ܐܢܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ (Matt. 6,17)  
 “When you fast (*συ δε νηστευων*, Present Part. act. sg.), anoint your head.”<sup>62</sup>

### 13 Non-indicative Clauses

#### 13.1 Main Clauses

This category can be expressed by *yiqṭul*. The first person is used in the sense of a cohortative:

- a. ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ (Jonas 1,7) “Come, let us throw lots.”<sup>63</sup>

In addition to the simple imperative form, the compound *hwī* + *qāṭil* can be used to express commands to a second person:

- b. ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ (Matt. 6,9)  
 “This is how you shall pray.”<sup>64</sup>

62 See further: Matt. 6,3 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “when you do”); Matt. 6,5 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “when you pray”).

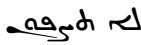
63 See further Mart. 58b,10 (ܕܝܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “let us rise”).

64 See also: Matt. 7,12 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “do!”); Phil. 4,1 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “stand!”); Phil. 4,8 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “think!”); Phil. 4,9 (ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ “do!”).

To all these forms corresponds an imperative form in the Present tense in Greek, and in each case these are general instructions to be carried out over a longer period of time. However, it cannot be maintained that such instructions are always expressed by *hwī + qāṭil*. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5–7), for example, in which several general instructions are given, the simple imperative form is used.

*hwī + qāṭil* can be negated by *lā yihwē + qāṭil*:

- c.  (Matt. 6,31)  
“Do not worry.”<sup>65</sup>

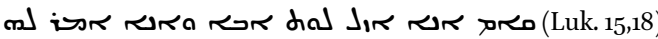
In Matt. 6,25, however, it says  in exactly the same sense. The only difference that can be detected is that the command in 6,31 is expressed in Greek by *μη + Aorist Subj.*, that in 6,25, on the other hand, by *μη + Imperative Pres.*

The jussive is denoted by *yiqṭul*, negated  + *yiqṭul*:

- d.  (Matt. 5,16)  
“So let your light shine before men.”<sup>66</sup>

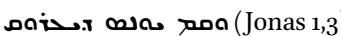
- e.  (Jonas 3,7)  
“They shall eat nothing and not tend (their flocks).”

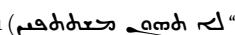
In one place, the 1.sg. of an AP is probably used in the sense of a cohortative:

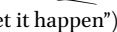
- f.  (Luk. 15,18)  
“Let me arise and go to my father and say to him.”

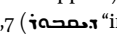
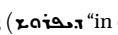
### 13.2 Subordinate Clauses

*yiqṭul* is also used in subordinate clauses. Many of the instances are introduced by *ܐ* and have a final meaning:

- a.  (Jonas 1,3)  
“And Jonah arose to flee.”<sup>67</sup>

65 See further Ephes. 5,11 ( “do not take part!”).

66 See also Acts 21,14 ( “let it happen”).

67 See further, inter alia: Gen. 50,7 ( “in order to bury”); Jonas 1,3 ( “in order to set sail”).

It is also found after ܐܠܚܝܠ:

- b. ܡܚܒܝܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܠܚܝܠ ܕܝܫܬܐ (Matt. 5,16)  
 “So let your light shine before men that they may see ...”,

and ܐܠܚܝܠ:

- c. ܕܠ ܠܚܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܢܥܡܠ ܠܚܝܠ ܠܫܐ (Matt. 17,27)  
 “So that we do not give offence to them, go to the sea.”

Moreover, it is used after expressions of wanting and commanding:

- d. ܡܬܐ ܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܝܠ ܠܚܝܠ (Mart. 43a,1–3) “They did not want to kill him.”  
 e. ܕܝܠ ܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ (Gen. 50,2)  
 “And Joseph commanded his servants, the embalmers, to embalm his father.”<sup>68</sup>

The compound *yihwē + qāṭil* can be used here as well. In the majority of cases, it expresses that the situation in question is to be carried out in general or at least over a longer period of time, as can be seen in particular in no. g where it renders the Hebrew compound *l + infinitive*:

- f. ܡܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ (Mart. 18b,12–16)  
 “... who came in order to ask him.”  
 g. ܡܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ (Gen. 2,15, Margoliouth, PS 22)  
 “He placed him in the paradise of Eden that he might cultivate it.”  
 h. ܡܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ (Matt. 6,1)  
 “Be careful not to practice your righteousness in front of (other) people.”<sup>69</sup>

68 See also: Acts 24,27 (ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “he wanted to do”); 25,6 (ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “he told them to bring”); 27,24 (ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “you have to stand”).

69 See further: Acts 19,26 (ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “that you may keep calm”); Epes. 5,15 (... ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “that you may walk around”); Acts 16,21 ([Margoliouth, PS 27] ܕܝܠ ܕܝܠ “that we may accept [them]”).



Sometimes, however, it is used for situations that can only be conceived as singular:

- i. וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה לְתַלְמִידוֹ מְלֵא (Anas. 89b,18–21)  
 “And the old man ordered his disciple to fill him a jar.”

In no. f it is a matter of habitual questioning, and the instruction in no. h is also a general one; in no. i, on the other hand, we are dealing with a singular situation which is quite easy to survey because of its telic nature. As with the compound *hwī + qāṭil* above, it is often difficult to determine the difference between the compound and the simple form.

#### 14 Conditional Clauses

Real conditional clauses are introduced by אם or כי. The New Testament examples in particular often express general conditions that are similar in meaning to temporal clauses (whenever). The protasis mostly contains an AP or *yiqtul*. The AP is used especially where the Greek version has *εἰ* with an indicative form, whereas *yiqtul* is used more often to render *εἰν* with a following subjunctive form. In the apodosis, the AP and *yiqtul* are attested, moreover the imperative, the vetitive, nominal forms and in one case *qṭal*. I will begin with the evidence of the AP in the protasis:

- a. אם יעשה עיניך עני (Matt. 5,29)  
 “If (*εἰ*) your right eye makes you stumble (*σκανδαλίζει*, 3.sg. Pres. Ind.), pluck it out.”<sup>70</sup>
- b. אם תדעו ... כמה יתן לכם אבתי (Matt. 7,11)  
 “If (*εἰ*) you ... know (*οἰδατε*, 2.pl. Perfect Ind.) ... how much more will your Father in heaven give good things to those who ask him (*δωσει*, 3.sg. Fut. Ind.)?”
- c. אם תשלכו (Matt. 8,31)  
 “If (*εἰ*) you cast us out (*εχβαλλεις*, 2.sg. Pres. Ind.), send us to ...”

<sup>70</sup> The same again, only now with “hand”, in Matt. 5,30.

However, the AP can also be used to render Greek  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  + Subjunctive:

- d.  $\text{ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  (Matt. 8,2)  
 “If ( $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ ) you want ( $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , 2.sg. Pres. Subj.), you can make me pure.”<sup>71</sup>

As already stated, *yiqṭul* is mostly used to render  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  + Subjunctive which in turn is used when the fulfilment of the condition depends on certain circumstances.<sup>72</sup> But just as in Greek the difference between  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  is sometimes blurred and one and the same intendment is sometimes expressed in one way and sometimes in another, so also the difference between *yiqṭul* and the AP is difficult to determine. Both signs express conditions whose fulfilment can be considered possible:

- e.  $\text{ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$   
 $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  (Matt. 5,20)  
 “If ( $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ ) your righteousness be not much greater ( $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\eta$ , 3.sg. Aorist Subj.) than that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven ( $\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ , 2.pl. Aorist Subj.).”
- f.  $\text{ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$   
 $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  (Matt. 5,47)  
 “And if ( $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ ) you only greet your brothers ( $\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\sigma\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , 2.pl. Aorist Subj.), what are you doing special ( $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ , 2.pl. Pres. Ind.)?”

As already indicated above, *qṭal* is attested in one apodosis:

- g.  $\text{ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  (Matt. 18,15)  
 “But if ( $\epsilon\alpha\nu$ ) he (i.e. your brother) listens to you ( $\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta$ , 3.sg. Aorist Subj.), you have won back your brother ( $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , 2.sg. Aorist Ind.).”

$\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  after  $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  is a variant of  $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  (=  $\delta\epsilon$ ). As can be seen, the Greek original also has a past tense in the apodosis which identifies the two situations of the main and subordinate clauses: *if you do this, you have done that at the same time*.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> For more examples of  $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  + AP, see: Eul. 64a,4–7 ( $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ} - \text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  “[if] you agree, come”); Eul. 70a,19–22 ( $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ} - \text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  “[if] you want, pledge”); Eul. 76a,5–9 ( $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ} - \text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  “[if] you sell, do not linger”); Acts 19,39 ( $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ} - \text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  “[if] if you want, it will be decided”).

<sup>72</sup> See Dey, *Schola Verbi* 129f.

<sup>73</sup> Compare the corresponding evidence in Old Aramaic (above ch. 3, sect. 8). For further examples of  $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  + *yiqṭul*, see: Mart. 45b,22–46a, 5 ( $\text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ} - \text{ܕܢܚܝܬܐ}$  “[if]”



- m. **ܐܡܚܡܐ ܩܪܝܐ ܦܠܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܡܢܐܢܐ ܐܡܚܡܐܝܬܐ ܦܠܐܢ ܠܐܪ**  
(Matt. 23,30)  
“If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partners with them.”
- n. **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܡܨܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܐܪܐܢ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܬܡܢܐܢܐ ܬܡܢܐܢܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** (Eul. 84a,17–22)  
“If I had become a patrician, could I see you?”
- o. **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** (Acts 26,32)  
“This person could be released if he had not appealed to the emperor.”

**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** in no. o does not describe a repeated or habitual situation but a singular one and thus seems to have a purely non-indicative meaning.

Furthermore, relative clauses with an indefinite subject can have the meaning of conditional clauses. After **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** or **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ**, CPA mostly uses APS:

- p. **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** (Matt. 10,38)  
“And whoever does not take his cross and follow me (= If someone does not take his cross ...), he is not worthy of me.”<sup>76</sup>

In these cases, the Greek version has an indicative form of the Present or even a Present Participle. The Aorist Subjunctive, on the other hand, seems to be rendered rather by a yiqṭul form:

- q. **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** (Matt. 5,22)  
“And he who says to his brother (εἰπῇ, 3.sg. Aorist Subj.): you fool, is (ἐσται, 3.sg. Fut. Ind.) guilty before the council.”<sup>77</sup>

However, an Aorist Subj. is not always rendered by yiqṭul. In Matt. 5,21, the Greek version has an Aorist Subj. (φονεύσῃ), but in Aramaic an AP is used: **ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “who kills”.

76 See also: Matt. 5,22 (**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “anyone who is wrathful”); Matt. 5,31 (**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “who beats”); Matt. 7,24 (**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “everyone who hears”); Matt. 10,37 (**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “who loves”).

77 Similarly again in Matt. 5,22; yiqṭul also appears in Matt. 10,32 (**ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪ** “everyone who confesses”), here it renders an indicative future form.

## 15 Verbs of Perception

The verb of perception or of finding can be followed by an object or relative clause introduced by **ገ**. The subordinate clause has *hwā* + *qāṭil* if the situation was not perceived as a complete whole:

- a. ገዕዞህ ለዕብራይገ ጠራሕ ርዕዮ ልዩገ ለዩሎገ ገዕዞ ሕይወቱ  
 ገደ (Eul. 71b,6–11)  
 “And I saw that two of them were giving great wealth into Eulogios’s bosom.”<sup>78</sup>

The completion of the situation is expressed by *qṭal*:

- b. ሕዝብገ ጠራ ሕይወቱ (Eul. 82a,7–8) “I saw that she left.”<sup>79</sup>

If the subject of the perceived situation is directly dependent on the predicate of the superordinate sentence, an *AP* or *PP* are used. The *AP* expresses that the situation was not yet completed when it was observed; the Greek version has an active Present Participle here:

- c. ገደ ለዩሎገ ገደገ... ሕይወቱ ገደ (Matt. 4,18)  
 “He saw (εἶδεν, 3.sg. Aorist Ind.) two brothers ... casting their net into the sea (βαλλοντας, Part. Pres. act. pl.).”
- d. ገደ ገደ ሕይወቱ ገደ (Matt. 9,9)  
 “He saw a man sitting in the custom house (καθήμενον, Part. Pres. med. sg.).”<sup>80</sup>

The *PP*, on the other hand, expresses that the situation had already been completed and that the result was now at hand:

78 See also Matt. 22,11 (ገደ ገደ ገደ “who was not wearing”).

79 See further: Eul. 77b,5–6 (ገደ “that he came out”); Mart. 51b,13–15 (ገደ ሕይወቱ ለዩሎገ “I found that all of them had been killed”).

80 See also: Mart. 25b,7–10 (ገደ “standing”); Mart. 30a,6–10 + 30a,12–15 (ገደ “coming [f.]”); Mart. 53b,5–7 (ገደ ሕይወቱ ገደ “weeping and mourning”); Eul. 80b,13–16 (ገደ “sitting”); Matt. 4,21 (ገደ “completing”).

- e. ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ (Matt. 8,14)  
 “He saw his mother-in-law thrown down (> lying down) with fever  
 (βεβλημενην [Part. Perf. pass. of βαλλω “to throw”] καὶ [and] πυρεσσοουσσαν  
 [Part. Pres. act. of πυρεσσω “to be feverish”]).”<sup>81</sup>

## 16 Summary

### 16.1 *Qṭal*

For *qṭal* as well as for *yiqṭul* no internal passive is attested. *qṭal* is used in narrating and discussing passages, in main and subordinate clauses, to express singular situations that are anterior to the speech time and may or may not have an effect on the present. It is used especially when describing sequences of situations and when the situations are further specified by adverbs of time. In these cases, it mostly renders the Greek Aorist Ind., while the Imperfect is usually expressed by *hwā + qāṭil*. Furthermore, it is used in main clauses of until-constructions with past time reference, even if the situation expressed there extends directly to that of the subordinate clause; here *hwā + qāṭil* can also be used without any difference in meaning being discernible, and it has been assumed that the translator rendered the Greek Aorist purely mechanically by *qṭal*, the Imperfect, on the other hand, by *hwā + qāṭil*. The subordinate clause after ܐܰܕܰܝܰܢ “until” also has *qṭal* (2.1 + 2.2).

It is also used in main and subordinate clauses to express anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1 + 4.2) and can describe situations that form the reference point to a situation in the past that was just in progress: ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ “while they were talking, there came an old man”. In these cases, *qṭal* is clearly used perfectly, while *hwā + qāṭil* is imperfective (5.2).

Once it expresses an extratemporal situation rendering a Greek Aorist (9). It is used in subordinate clauses introduced by ܐܰܕܰܝܰܢ after verbs of perception when the situation is to be described as a complete whole (15) and is found in the apodosis of conditional clauses when the main and subordinate clauses are to be identified: *if you do this, you have done that at the same time*. At times it is used beside the more common *yiqṭul* and AP in the protasis even when the fulfilment of the conditions is expected in the future, and it has to be used when

81 See further: Mart. 48a,13–17 (ܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ “destroyed [sg.f.] and killed [sg.m.]”); Mart. 53b,10–13 (ܡܬܪܝܢܐ “split”); Mart. 60a,21–60b,9 (ܡܬܪܝܢܐ “written”); Eul. 72a,13–14 (ܡܬܪܝܢܐ “filled”); Anas. 90b,20–21 (ܡܬܪܝܢܐ “written”).

the situation is anterior:  $\text{אם אמצא חסד}$   $\text{אם}$  “if I have found favour”. Moreover, it is used after  $\text{אם}$  in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future (with the verb  $\text{אם}$ ) and the past. The apodosis can also have a qṭal form ( $\text{אם}$ ) even if it refers to the present / future. (14).

### 16.2 *Yiqṭul*

A short form is not attested, the long form having taken over the functions of both old yiqṭulS and yiqṭulL. yiqṭul is used to express extratemporal situations when the Greek version uses the Future Indicative in the same place, whereas a Greek Present to express this category is rendered by an AP (9). Moreover, it describes situations that are posterior to the speech time, especially in prophecies, for which, however, the AP can also be used; both AP and yiqṭul render the Greek Future in these cases (10.1). In temporal clauses after  $\text{אם}$ , until-clauses after  $\text{אם}$   $\text{אם}$  and a relative clause, yiqṭul expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future. The Greek original has an Aorist Subj. in these places (11). Furthermore, it is found after  $\text{אם}$  “if” in real conditional clauses, especially when the Greek original uses  $\epsilon\alpha\nu$  + Subjunctive. It is also attested in relative clauses after  $\text{אם}$   $\text{אם}$ , expressing the intension of a conditional clause, where it renders a Greek Aorist Subjunctive (14). Mostly, however, yiqṭul is used in non-indicative main and subordinate clauses. In main clauses, it can express the cohortative and jussive and serves – with the negation  $\text{אם}$  – to negate the imperative and jussive (15.1). In subordinate clauses after  $\text{אם}$ , it often has a final meaning but it is also used after expressions of wanting and commanding (15.2).

### 16.3 *Qāṭil*

The participles are inflected only for number and gender and can be used alone or preceded by a form of  $\text{אם}$ . Only in three cases does a qṭal form of  $\text{אם}$  follow qāṭil (sect. 2.1). I will start with the use without  $\text{אם}$ .

In subordinate clauses, it can express simultaneity with a reference point in the past when the subordinate clause is oriented towards the superordinate one, not towards the speech time. In the latter case, hwā + qāṭil is used (5.2). Moreover, it can denote situations that are posterior to a reference point in the past (6) and simultaneity with the speech time. It describes situations that are in progress at the moment of speaking as well as those that take place in a period of time that has not been completed yet (7.1 and 7.2). Furthermore, it indicates – in main and subordinate clauses – habitual (8.1 and 8.2) and extratemporal situations when the Greek original has a present tense form; a Greek future tense, however, is rendered by yiqṭul (9). In addition, it denotes – alongside yiqṭul – posteriority to the speech time, yiqṭul primarily expressing

prophecies, qāṭil imminent situations, although the latter can also be found in prophecies (10.1 and 10.2). Furthermore, it is used after verbs of perception when the perceived situation has not yet been completed (15). It is also found after 𐤀 in real conditional clauses, especially when the Greek version has εἰ + Indicative, whereas εἰ + Subjunctive is mostly rendered by 𐤀 + yiqṭul. Moreover, the intension of a conditional clause can be expressed by relative clauses introduced by 𐤁 𐤍 + qāṭil (𐤁 𐤍 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 “and whoever does not take ...”); in Greek one usually finds the Present Participle or the Present Indicative in such relative clauses; the Aorist Subjunctive, on the other hand, is rendered by yiqṭul (14). In one case, qāṭil is probably used non-indicatively (𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 “let me arise”; 13.1), very often it describes accompanying circumstances of superordinate clauses (6.2).

hwā + qāṭil can describe singular situations that are anterior to the speech time if they have some extension and can be viewed from within; in these cases it renders a Greek Imperfect to which it corresponds semantically to some extent (2.1). It is regularly used to denote habitual situations of the past (3.1 and 3.2) and can also express situations that are anterior to a reference point in the past when these are to be regarded as completed but when the emphasis of the statement is on their extension and progression (𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀 “who had sought the boy’s life”; 4.2). Furthermore, in main and subordinate clauses it expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the past (5.1 and 5.2) and in subordinate clauses introduced by 𐤁 it is found after verbs of perception when the situation was not perceived as a complete whole (15). Finally, qāṭil + hwā and hwā + qāṭil are attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses with future time reference (sect. 14, nos. k + o).

The compound yihwē + qāṭil expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future, in temporal clauses after 𐤁 as well as in main clauses (12). The same compound can also be used in non-indicative subordinate clauses where it mostly describes situations that are to be carried out over a longer period of time, although it can also be used for singular ones (13.2).

The same holds true for the compound hwā + qāṭil. It is used to express commands that are mostly to be followed over a longer period of time. However, such instructions can also be denoted by the simple imperative form, as can be seen in numerous examples from the Sermon on the Mount (13.1).

#### 16.4 Qṭil

The PP is mostly used resultatively. Simple PP and hwā + PP express in both main and subordinate clauses that a situation had been completed and that its result was simultaneous with a reference point. The reference point can have past time reference or be identical with the speech time. In the first case,



qṭīl can be preceded by hwā which, however, can also be absent if the context clarifies the time reference (ܩܬܝܠ ܕܪܝܫܐ “his head was cut off” [5.1 + 5.2; 7.1]). The state can also be a habitual one (8.1 + 8.2). After verbs of perception and finding, it expresses that the situation perceived or found has already been completed and that its result is now present (15); the same applies when it describes accompanying circumstances (5.2). As in other Aramaic dialects, qṭīl has an active meaning with some verbs such as ܬܚܝܬ “frightening” (5.1).

### 16.5 *Qāṭōl*

hwā + qāṭōl expresses habitual situations in the past and is probably also used imperfectively (3.2), while simple qāṭōl indicates singular and habitual situations that are simultaneous with the speech time (7.1 + 8.2).

### 16.6 *Qaṭṭīl*

Especially with verbs of motion, qaṭṭīl has the meaning of an anterior and, combined with a preceding qṭal form of ܩܬܠ, can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1).

## 17 Analysis

qṭal seems to express the perfective aspect in its main function, i.e. the anterior perfective aspect. This is supported in particular by its occasional use in protases of conditional clauses when the fulfilment of the condition is still in the future, as well as its interaction with hwā + qāṭīl in temporal clauses such as the one cited in 5.2. A purely temporal verb form is not likely to be used in protases with reference to the future, and in temporal clauses it could also describe progressing situations if it were marked only temporally. A non-indicative function seems unlikely because in this case one would expect different forms to be used for real and counterfactual conditional clauses. The use in main clauses of until-constructions does not argue against its classification as a perfective verb form because even if the main clause situation reaches directly to that of the subordinate clause, it can still be thought of as completed and perfective. Sometimes it cannot be ruled out that the Aramaic translators quite mechanically rendered the Greek Aorist by qṭal, the Imperfect, on the other hand, by hwā + qāṭīl, but this of course does not exclude the interpretation of these two signs as perfective and imperfective respectively. They were chosen precisely because they have roughly the same meaning as the Aorist and Imperfect. The use of qṭal in counterfactual apodotes with present / future time reference is

striking. Even if there is only one example of this (with the verb ܐܬܡܢ) and if the counterfactuality of the condition is already expressed by ܐܠܐ in the protasis, the situation of the apodosis is nevertheless posterior both to that of the protasis and to the speech time, so qṭal cannot express the perfective aspect here and must therefore be used non-indicatively. We will go into more detail about this use below when the corresponding phenomenon in Syriac will have been discussed (ch. 11, sect. 17), but it should already be said at this point that this circumstance does not change the fundamental perfective character of qṭal, which is thus to be regarded as a marked verb form expressing the perfective aspect.

Let us now turn to yiqṭul. It seems to have a perfective character when expressing anteriority to a reference point in the future, but it must be borne in mind that in these cases the anteriority is already sufficiently expressed by the subordinators ܕܐ and ܐܢܝܢ alone. Furthermore, one should not forget that yiqṭul renders a Greek subjunctive form here; the same applies to its use in conditional clauses after ܐܢܝܢ and in relative clauses after ܐܢܝܢ. The suspicion of a mechanical rendering of the Greek Subjunctive by yiqṭul is all the more likely, since yiqṭul is used primarily to denote non-indicative situations which are also expressed in Greek mainly by the Subjunctive or Optative. The same applies to the expression of extratemporal situations; in these cases, yiqṭul is used quite mechanically to render the Greek Future Indicative

The situation is different with the expression of simple posteriority to the speech time. Although yiqṭul also in these cases, like the AP, primarily renders the Greek Future Indicative, it is in direct opposition to the compound yihwē + qāṭil here which is used quite clearly in an imperfective way: *Two will be grinding* (ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ), *then one of them will be led away* (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ). In this case, Greek uses the Present Indicative and yiqṭul is quite clearly used perfectly here.

The question regarding the main function of yiqṭul is not easy to answer, especially, since its use seems to be strongly influenced by the Greek original in many cases. A temporal main function seems unlikely because in this case one would expect that it could also fulfil the function of yihwē + qāṭil. And the fact that both non-indicative and indicative situations are negated by ܐܠܐ rather argues for an aspectual than a non-indicative main function. So I assume that yiqṭul is perfective and posterior.

Some uses of qāṭil are clearly imperfective. It describes situations that proceed parallel to the speech time or, combined with a qṭal- or yiqṭul form of ܐܬܡܢ, parallel to a reference point in the past or the future. yihwē + qāṭil is in opposition to yiqṭul and hwī + qāṭil to the simple imperative. It is used after verbs of perception when the perceived situation has not yet been completed,

and it describes accompanying circumstances that qualify a superordinate situation in more detail. Finally, *hwā + qāṭil* can express situations which, seen from the speech time, must be regarded as completed but which can easily be viewed from within as they progress.

In addition, however, it not only expresses habitual and extratemporal situations but is increasingly used to denote posteriority to the speech time. It indicates this category more frequently than is the case in Hasmonean and in the Targum fragments of the Genizah and therefore also shows a greater similarity to a modal form. However, since posteriority can also be expressed by *yiqṭul*, it seems to me more appropriate to analyse the AP and its compounds as extended imperfective here as well. The isolated use to express a non-indicative situation should not be overrated. *hwā + qāṭil*, however, expresses counterfactuality in a secondary function.

(*hwā +*) *qāṭōl* is used in the same function as *qāṭil*, while (*hwā +*) *qaṭṭil* denotes, especially with verbs of motion, the anterior.

*qṭil* is clearly marked as a resultative form and as such is integrated into the verbal system.

The verbal system of CPA has six marked verb forms: *qṭal*, *qṭil* + S-suffix, *hwā + qṭil*, *qaṭṭil* + S-suffix, *hwā + qaṭṭil*, imperative. The other verb forms are to be considered unmarked: *yiqṭul*, *qāṭil*, *hwā + qāṭil*, *yihwē + qāṭil*, *hwī + qāṭil*, *qāṭōl* + S-suffix, *hwā + qāṭōl*.

In the indicative domain there is the following opposition pair:

*yiqṭul* (posterior perfective) : *yihwē + qāṭil* (posterior ext. imperfective)

*qṭal* and *hwā + qāṭil*, however, do not form an opposition pair according to the definition given above (ch. 1, sect. 7) because *hwā + qāṭil* does not only express the extended imperfective aspect but also counterfactuality and can thus not be regarded a pure aspect form.

*yiqṭul* and *yihwē + qāṭil*, on the other hand, both express not only indicative but also non-indicative situations, i.e. they belong to the same class as regards marking and meaning. There are therefore two pairs in the non-indicative domain:

*yiqṭul* (perfective) : *yihwē + qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)

Imperative (perfective) : *hwī + qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)

The system is complemented by the resultatively used *qṭil*, by *qāṭōl* and *qaṭṭil*.

# The Babylonian Talmud

## o Text Corpus

The textual basis are the tracts Nedarim, Berakoth and Makkoth as published in the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL) of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and the works of Schlesinger (Satzlehre), Siegal (JBA) and Margolis (BT).

The following abbreviations are used:

Bq. = בבא קמא; Men. = מנחות; Hag. = חגיגה; Ber. = ברכות; Roš Haš. = ראש השנה; Šab. = שבת; Yom. = יומא; Ned. = נדרים; Ta'an. = תענית; Sanh. = סנהדרין; Bb. = בבא בתרא; Kr. = כריתות; 'Ab. Z. = עבודה זרה; Pes. = פסחים; Suk. = סוכה; Ketub. = כתובות; Qidd. = קידושין; Bm. = בבא מציעא; Tam. = תמיד; Hul. = חולין; Soṭ. = סוטה; Meg. = מגילה; Mq. = מועד קטן; Bech. = בכורות; Yeb. = יבמות; Giṭṭ. = גטין; B. Meṣ. = בבא מציעא; 'Erub. = עירובין; Mak. = מכות; Beṣ. = ביצה

## 1 The Verb Forms

It should be pointed out once again at this point that Judeo-Babylonian Aramaic cannot be regarded as a uniform linguistic entity. The numerous variants both in the phonetic-orthographic as well as in the morphological field, which often occur in one and the same cotext, have already been briefly mentioned above (chapter 2).

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

qṭal is inflected as follows:

|      | sg.          | pl.            |
|------|--------------|----------------|
| 3.m. | קטל          | קטלו ~ קטול    |
| 3.f. | קטלת ~ קטלה  | קטלו ~ קטול    |
| 2.m. | קטלת         | קטלתון ~ קטלתו |
| 2.f. | קטלת         | not attested   |
| 1.   | קטלית ~ קטלי | קטלן ~ קטלנן   |

Forms without ת- and ן- in the 1.sg., 3.sg.f. and 2.pl.m. go back to the apocopation of /-t/ and /-n/ in final position,<sup>1</sup> before object suffixes, however, the unapocopated forms occur.<sup>2</sup> The 1.sg. sometimes has the ending נא- which was presumably formed by analogy with the independent personal pronoun. The 3.pl. also has a special feminine form קטלן. The 1.sg., 1.pl. and 2.pl.m. are attested with an inserted -י- and without it, i.e. קטלין, קטלית, קטליתון, קטליתון. Presumably, as Margolis (BT 36) assumes, the -י- was added analogously to the corresponding plural forms of the AP. It is also conceivable that it was taken from the verba III y, as Siegal (JBA 114) suggests.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the G-stem there is the D-stem qat̥el, the causative stem 'aq̥el, in the older language also haq̥el, and the corresponding t-stems: הודעת "you announced" (haq̥el of ידע "to know"); שדרי "I sent" (qat̥el) etc.<sup>4</sup> I have found no internal passive forms for either q̥al or yiq̥t̥ul.

## 1.2 *Yiq̥t̥ul*

There is no evidence of a functional distinction between short and long forms. The forms in detail:

|      | sg.                   | pl.                   |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 3.m. | יקטול ~ לקטול ~ נקטול | יקטלו ~ לקטלו ~ נקטלו |
| 3.f. | תקטול                 | יקטלו ~ לקטלו ~ נקטלו |
| 2.m. | תקטול                 | תקטלו                 |
| 2.f. | תקטלי                 | תקטלו                 |
| 1.   | נקטול ~ לקטול ~ אקטול | לקטול ~ נקטול         |

The regular prefixes of the 3.sg.m. and the 3.pl. are -נ- and -ל-, the older form -י- is occasionally found in archaic passages. The plural forms of the 2. and 3. person as well as the 2.sg.f. usually end in ו- and י-, the old forms in ון- and ין- are rather rare; the same applies to the old feminine ending ן- of the 3.pl. The prefix -נ- of the 1.sg. probably goes back to the procliticisation of the independent personal pronoun; the use of -ל- is presumably analogous to the 3. person, although a purely phonetically conditioned alternation of /n/ and /l/ cannot be ruled out.<sup>5</sup> The same applies to the 1.pl.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Siegal, JBA 51f.

<sup>2</sup> See Morgenstern, Studies 87f.

<sup>3</sup> For other variants in the suffix conjugation, see Morgenstern, Studies 82–96 and Siegal, JBA 112–115.

<sup>4</sup> See Siegal, JBA 124–128.

<sup>5</sup> See Siegal, JBA 68.

<sup>6</sup> On yiq̥t̥ul, see Siegal, JBA 115–118; Morgenstern, Studies 96–101, 189f.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The participles are inflected for all persons; the AP of the G-stem has the following forms:

|      | sg.   | pl.   |
|------|-------|-------|
| 3.m. | קטל   | קטלי  |
| 3.f. | קטלא  | קטלן  |
| 2.m. | קטלת  | קטלתו |
| 2.f. | קטלת  | קטלתו |
| 1.   | קטלנא | קטלנן |

The 3.pl.m. sometimes has the archaic ending ין. As with *qṭal*, the ending of the 1. and 2. pl. can be preceded by a י-, i.e. קטלינו and קטליתו. The 1.pl. also occurs as קטלנא with only one נ-י. In the 3.sg.m., the vowel after the second root consonant is often indicated by י-, but this is less frequent with the forms with suffixes. The masculine form of the 1.sg. is often also used with feminine subjects, but separate feminine forms such as ידעאנא “I know” are also attested.<sup>7</sup>

The non-G-stems have the prefix m-: מתרחשי “they happen” etc.<sup>8</sup>

The AP is often preceded by the particle ק or קא “why are you crying?”.<sup>9</sup> The particle probably goes back to the AP of the verb קום<sup>10</sup> and is written as כ in Geonic Babylonian Aramaic.<sup>11</sup> The AP can, standing alone or with קא / ק, be preceded by a form of הוי. הוי is often congruent with the AP, especially in the plural, but also often remains uninflected: הוו קאזלי “they were walking”; but: הוה קאימנא “I was standing”.<sup>12</sup>

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

The forms of the G-stem are:

|      | sg.    | pl.     |
|------|--------|---------|
| 3.m. | קטיל   | קטילי   |
| 3.f. | קטילא  | קטילן   |
| 2.m. | קטילת  | קטיליתו |
| 2.f. | קטילת  | קטיליתו |
| 1.   | קטילנא | קטילינן |

<sup>7</sup> See Morgenstern, *Studies* 120f.

<sup>8</sup> See Siegal, JBA 125; Margolis, BT 42.

<sup>9</sup> The particle can be connected to the following word or stand separately; see Morgenstern, *Studies* 172–174.

<sup>10</sup> See below ch. 21, sect. 3.2.

<sup>11</sup> See Siegal, JBA 162.

<sup>12</sup> See Margolis, BT 81 and below 3.1.

The PPs of *qat̥el* and *'aq̥el* begin with *m-* and have an */-a-/* after the second root consonant.<sup>13</sup> As with the AP, for the 3.pl.m. an older form with the ending *ן-* is attested. Morgenstern (Studies 121) gives an example of a special 1.sg. feminine form: *חזיאנא* “I am fitting”.

The PP can also be combined with a form of *הוי* that usually precedes the participle.

*q̥ille* is well attested in the Babylonian Talmud: *שמיע לי* “I have heard”.<sup>14</sup> The PP can be congruent with the grammatical subject, but often the 3.sg.m. is used for all persons.<sup>15</sup>

The verb forms are negated by *לא*, participles also by *לית* in which case they have no inflectional endings.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.5 *Imperative*

The imperatives have the following forms:

|       |                             |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| sg.m. | קטול                        |
| sg.f. | קטלי ~ קטולי                |
| pl.m. | קטלו ~ קטולו                |
| pl.f. | קטולון ~ קטלן <sup>17</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by *q̥tal* in narrating as well as discussing text passages. In discussing passages it can have the meaning of an anterior (no. b):

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. מטא תיתור (Ned. 41a)  
“He reached the bridge.”
- b. אישתקיל מילוליה (Hag. 2b)  
“His language has been taken from him.”

<sup>13</sup> See Siegal, JBA 125f.

<sup>14</sup> See Siegal, JBA 211f.

<sup>15</sup> See Schlesinger, Satzlehre 45 and below 2.1 no. k.

<sup>16</sup> See Siegal, JBA 105.

<sup>17</sup> See Siegal, JBA 118.

## 2.1.2 Telic

- c. אתא ראש השנה אשתקד (Ber. 27a)  
 “He came to Rosh Hashanah last year.”
- d. מאי עבדת (Šab. 156 b)  
 “What did you do?”

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. ובעו רבנן רחמי עליה (Ber. 6a)  
 “The rabbis prayed for him.”

## 2.1.4 Stative

- f. תרי נשפי הו (Ber. 3b)  
 “There were two twilights.”
- g. הא מילתא הואי בידין (Roš Haš. 13a)  
 “This thing was in our hands.”

qṭille is also attested. As far as I can see, it is only used in discussing passages; it is formed mainly from verbs of sensual perception but can be found with others as well including verbs of the t-stem. The PP of transitive non-t-stem verbs is often resultative, and so in these cases qṭille mostly describes situations that have already been completed but have relevance for the speech time:

- h. לדידי חזי לי ההוא אתרא והו חמשה מילי (Pes. 93b)  
 “I have have seen this place myself, and it were 50 miles (to Sodom).”<sup>18</sup>

The discussion in question is about the distance to Sodom, and it increases the credibility of the speaker if he has seen the place himself. It is, however, not easy to decide if there is a semantic difference to qṭal because in discussing passages, the situation expressed by qṭal often has a relation to the speech time, too.

If this resultative quality is missing, as in the case with the participles of the t-stems, the past time reference is made clear by a qṭal form of יהי:

18 See also, inter alia: Ned. 41a (לא שמיע לי) “I have not heard”; Ber. 5b (שמיע לן ד) “we have heard that ...”; Šab. 82a (לא קטיל לכו) “you have not killed”).



- i. לא הוה מסתגי לן (Bb. 74a)  
 “We could not go.”<sup>19</sup>

Often the masculine singular form of the PP is used independently of the grammatical subject (no. k), but the PP can also be congruent with it in number and gender:

- j. חזיא ליה (Hag. 13b)  
 “He has seen her.”
- k. מאן דשמיע ליה מילתא (Margolis, BT 82)  
 “Who has heard something.”

The agent can additionally be introduced by ל + noun:

- l. שמייעא ליה לשמואל הא דתניא (Men. 101a)  
 “Samuel has heard what has been handed down.”<sup>20</sup>

A qṭal form can be followed by an AP, with or without קא / ק; q-qāṭil is mostly used when the situation in question is to be understood as extended:

- m. יהב ליה וקמזיג איהו חמר (Ned. 55a)  
 “He gave it (i.e. the cup) to him and he mixed the wine.”<sup>21</sup>

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, qṭal is mostly used. I will content myself with one example in each case:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clause

- a. כל פסוקא דלא פסקיה משה אנן לא פסקינן ליה (Ta'an. 27b)  
 “Every verse that Moses did not divide we do not divide either.”

19 Compare ביהדיא להו מסתגי in Šab. 7a, where a situation with clear present time reference is described: “since they cannot walk (in it) directly”.

20 On qṭille, see also Schlesinger, Satzlehre 45f; Siegal, JBA 211f.

21 See also Mak. 10a (לא קא יכיל) “but he was not able”; Margolis (BT 80f) lists some further examples.

## 2.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. הב ליה ... תמניא דעברת במיא (Sanh. 109b)  
 “Give him ... 8 (zuz) because you crossed the water.”

qṭille (no. c) and qāṭil (no. d) are attested in subordinate clauses, too:

- c. הא תליסר שנין דלא חזיא לי (Bb. 8b)  
 “Now it is 13 years that I have not seen her.”
- d. תרמוסא דשלקו ליה שבע זימנין ואכלין ליה (Ber. 38b)  
 “The lupine which they cooked seven times and ate.”

## 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

3.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by hwā + qāṭil (or a participle of a t-stem). The participle and הוי can agree in number, gender and person, a fully inflected form of הוי can be combined with a participle which is only marked for number and gender; most often, however, a fully inflected participle is combined with the invariable 3.sg.m. of הוי:

## 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. הוו עיילי ביה NN ו NN ומצלי (‘Ab. Z. 43b)  
 “NN and NN used to go in and pray.”<sup>22</sup>

## 3.1.2 Telic

- b. אנא נמי הוה רהיטנא (Ber. 6b)  
 “I also used to run (there).”

## 3.1.3 Atelic

- c. כל יומא הוה אזיל ושתי חמרא (Pes. 110b)  
 “Every day he used to go and drink wine.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See further: Šab 156b (הוינא מרמינן “we used to throw”); Ber. 62a (הוו מיתוקין “they got hurt”).

<sup>23</sup> See further Ketub. 103a (הוינא טחין “I used to grind”).

## 3.1.4 Stative

- d. כדו הויתי דאיר בקרתא דא ארבעין שנין (Suk. 44b)  
 "I have now lived in this town for forty years."<sup>24</sup>

Siegal (JBA 168–170) is probably correct when he regards the construction with fully inflected הוּ and partially inflected AP as the original one; הוּ is used like the predicate in a nominal clause in these cases; when the AP was integrated into the verbal system and now also received personal endings, the inflection of הוּ became economically superfluous and was finally omitted.

If the context makes the time reference clear, simple AP can be used:

- e. מאן דיהיב ליה אגרא מפשר ליה למעליותא (Ber. 56a)  
 "Whoever gave him money, for him he used to interpret (the dream) in a favourable way."<sup>25</sup>

The reference word of the relative clause is an indefinitum and the sentence has the meaning of a conditional clause, and as already stated repeatedly, in this case the same verb form is used as in conditional clauses, namely the AP (see section 12 below).

Schlesinger (Satzlehre 41) points to an interesting use of the AP. It is often used to express an action or opinion of a scholar. Although these are singular events or sayings, they nevertheless take on general significance as legal principles:

- f. רב חנין משתעי (Gitṭ. 6a)  
 "Rabbi Ḥ. narrated."

Simple AP, however, is also used in other cases, provided the time reference is clear:

- g. לא מצלי בביתא דאית בה שיברא NN (ʿErub. 65a)  
 "NN would not pray in a house where there was an alcoholic beverage."<sup>26</sup>

24 See further: Pes. 106b + Suk. 44b (הוּה קאימנא "I used to stand"); Suk 44b (הוּיתי דייר "I used to dwell").

25 For further evidence, see Schlesinger, Satzlehre 41f.

26 See also: Ber. 24a (מנח "he used to place"); Ned. 40b (עביד "he used to make").

Even q-qāṭil is attested:

- h.   הא קא מצער ליה בקראי טובא נקת תרנגולא ועיין (Ber. 7a)  
 “He used to annoy him very much with (his) reading (of scriptural texts).  
 He took a rooster and watched.”

qāṭil is usually negated by לית, so the predicate of the following example is probably a qṭal form:

- i.   ולא שקל ידא מן ביסיה (Ber. 58b)  
 “He did not remove his hand from his money bag (i.e. he always gave).”

### 3.2 Subordinate Clauses

Here, too, hwā + qāṭil is usually used:

#### 3.2.1 Temporal Clause

- a.   כל אימת דהוה עייל רבי לבי מדרשא הוּו עיילי (Ḥag. 3a)  
 “Every time R. entered the teaching house, they also entered it.”

#### 3.2.2 Object Clause

- b.   ידענא ביה ב NN דלא הוה שתי חמרא (Ketub. 65a)  
 “I know that NN would not drink wine.”

An example of simple qāṭil has already been given above (3.1, no. e).

With certain verbs, the PP has an active meaning and is then no longer resultative:

- c.   כמה דהוּו דכירי לה לר' יהוד' לא הוּו מהימני (Ḥul. 93b)  
 “As long as they remembered R. Jehudah, they were not to be trusted.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Other verbs whose PP have an active meaning are: פלג “to divide” (PP = “to differ over a matter”); שכב “to lie down; to die” (PP = “to die”); טען “to carry” (PP = “to carry”); לבש “to clothe oneself” (PP = “to wear”); נקט “to take, to hold” (PP = “to hold”); עסק “to be occupied with” (PP = “to be occupied with”); דכר “to remember” (PP = “to remember”); cf. Margolis, BT 82; Schlesinger, Satzlehre 46 and below ch. 12, sect. 1.4.

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is expressed in one example by *qṭal*:

- a. הא מקמי דאתא NN מאן אמרה (Ta'an. 17b)  
 "Who had said this before NN came?"

### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, too, *qṭal* is mostly used:

#### 4.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. באתר דבעו מינאי תמן שדרתינהו (Suk. 53a)  
 "To the place they had asked me about, that is where you sent them."<sup>28</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. לא שכיב שיבחת ברי אלא דקץ תאינתא בלא זמנה (Bq. 91b)  
 "My son S. died only because he had cut down a fig tree too early."

The PP is usually resultative, but in the following example it is clearly used with the meaning of an anterior:

- c. לא הוו ידעי היכא הוה שכיב (Margolis, BT 82)  
 "They did not know where he had died."<sup>29</sup>

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 *Main Clauses*

The AP is used. It can be combined with a *qṭal* form of הוּי, but this is often missing if the time reference is clear. In addition, the particle קא / ק can precede the AP, but this is by no means obligatory, especially with stative verbs like יתב "to sit". The reference point can be mentioned in a following main clause:

28 See further Ḥag. 2b (דתנו) "which they had handed down".

29 See also Ber. 44a (דהוו נסיבן) "who had been taken away".

## 5.1.1 Punctual &gt; Atelic

- a. אתת לאתחזאה ליה קא מדחן לה רבנן (Ned. 50a)  
 “She went to see him, (but) the disciples wanted (were about) to repulse her. (Then he told them to let her pass.)”

## 5.1.2 Telic &gt; Atelic

- b. NN ו NN (Šab. 156b)  
 “NN and NN were sitting while certain people were going to a meadow (or a swamp).”

## 5.1.3 Atelic

- c. יומא חד יתיב קא גריס תותי דיקלא נפל גלימא מעיליית (Šab. 156b)  
 “One day he was sitting under a palm tree studying when his coat fell off.”

## 5.1.4 Stative

- d. NN ו NN הוו יתבי בסעודתא קמי NN ולא הוו קא אמרי ולא מידי אמר להו (Sanh. 38a)  
 “NN and NN were sitting in front of NN at the meal and were not speaking a word. Then he said to them ...”<sup>30</sup>

Accompanying circumstances are mostly expressed by subordinate clauses introduced by subordinators. In this function, however, ו with a following AP is also used:

- e. הוה אתי מיטרא ואנן מעניגן ואזליגן וצוחיגן ומצעריגן נפשן (Ber. 20a)  
 “The rain would come while we were afflicting and going around, crying and tormenting ourselves.”<sup>31</sup>

30 הוה קא יתיב, however, can also be combined with קא; see, inter alia, Mq. 28a: “he was sitting”; Mak. 11b: “he did not know”. The evidence of this category is quite numerous; for further examples, see Margolis, BT 81.

31 Some further examples can be found in Schlesinger, Satzlehre 195.

The AP can be combined with a qṭal form of הוי:

- f. צלי והוה קאי NN אחוריה וקא מצלי (Ber. 27a)  
 “He prayed ... while NN was standing behind him and praying.”

In addition, הוי + resultatively used PP can describe a simultaneous state:

- g. טבע' ספינת' וכוליה עיסק' הוה מחית בהו' גוואז (Ned. 50a)  
 “A ship sank and all the merchandise (had been and) was deposited in that wooden chest.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, the same verb forms are used. In relative clauses, the time reference is normally indicated by a qṭal form of הוי, in temporal clauses after subordinators such as כי and בהדי it is usually missing:

### 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. חזייה לההיא איתתא דהוה לבישא כרבלתא בשוקא (Ber. 20a)  
 “He saw a certain woman who was wearing a k-type head covering in the street.”<sup>32</sup>

### 5.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- b. כי קא שכלא לה הוה קא סריד ואתי חייוא בתרה (Šab. 156b)  
 “While she was removing it (the garment), the snake was adhering and following her.”<sup>33</sup>

With stative verbs like הוי and occasionally with others, simultaneity can be denoted by qṭal:

32 For hwā + qāṭil, see, among others: Hul. 139b (דלא הוות ידעא “who did not know”); Bb. 34b (דהוו מינצו “who were quarrelling”); Sanh. 98a (דהוו קיימי “who were standing”); Ned. 41a (דהוה רכיב “who was riding”); but without הוי in Šab. 33b: דקא כרבי וזרעי “who were ploughing and sowing”.

33 Further evidence of simple AP after subordinators can be found, inter alia, in: Kr. 7a (בהדי “while he was eating”); Tam. 32a (כי שקיל ואתי “while he was on his way”); Ned. 31.b (בהדי דהדר “when he was returning”); but with הוי in: Bm. 85b (כי הוו מינצו “while they were quarrelling”); Ned. 41a (כד הוה גרס “when he was studying”); for further examples, see Margolis, BT 79–81.

- c. אָנא דהואי בי מדרשא קבילתה (Ta'an. 24b)  
"I, who was in the academy, received it."
- d. רב אשכחיה רב חונא דקדיש אשיכרא (Pes. 107a)  
"The Rabb met R.H. who was just consecrating beer."

A simultaneous state can also be expressed by a resultatively used PP, with or without הוי:

- e. חזא תוב דהוה כתיב (Bb. 58a)  
"He saw again that it (had been and) was written ..."
- f. קדיש בההיא יומא דמישלם שית (Qidd. 79a)  
"He betrothed (her) on that day when the six (months had been and) were completed."

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category can be expressed by an AP:

- a. הוית ידע' דאמרן (Ned. 21b)  
"(If) you had known that they would say ..." <sup>34</sup>

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

This category is denoted in main and subordinate clauses by the AP which can be reinforced by ק/א:

#### 7.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a. ואת להיכא אזלת (Ned. 50a)  
"And whereto are you going?" <sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See also Ned. 22a (דפתחין "that they would open").

<sup>35</sup> See further: Ber. 42a (קא מברכיתו "are you saying the blessing?").



## 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. כולי עלמא קא עבדי מלאכה והוא לא קא עביד (Ber. 17b)  
 “Everyone is working but he is not.”<sup>36</sup>

## 7.1.3 Static

- c. היכא יתיב (Sanh. 98a)  
 “Where is he sitting?”<sup>37</sup>

קא / ק mostly expresses situations that progress parallel to a reference point, it thus seems to indicate the imperfective aspect. However, as can be seen above (3.1) and below (8.1), קא / ק can also denote habitual situations; moreover, it is attested with stative verbs such as הוי “to be”,<sup>38</sup> פחד (G + D) “to fear”<sup>39</sup> and בדח “be cheerful”,<sup>40</sup> thus with verbs which, due to their type of action, are neutral towards the category of aspect and actually do not require aspectual marking. So there seems to be another point of view that plays a role which I think can be seen well in the following example:

- d. קא חזית כמה יקרא עבידנא לך א'ל את עבדת לי יקרא אוריית קא עבדא לי יקרא (Ber. 48a)  
 “Do you see how much I am honouring you?” He said to him: ‘You are honouring me? It is my Torah that honours me.’”

קא עבדא can in no way be understood as imperfective here because the honour he receives from the Torah is a fundamental one, the situation therefore habitual. Imperfective, on the other hand, are the preceding עבידנא and עבדת, for these situations are taking place during the conversation. קא עבדא therefore does not describe a progressing situation but rather stresses that it is the Torah that honours him, not the host. In this case, קא marks the rheme and emphasises it.

36 See also: Ned. 50a (קא עבד “he is doing”); Ned. 62a (לא אכלי “they are not eating”); Bq. קאזיל “he is going by”); Ber. 30a (קא עביד מאי “what is he doing?”); Ber. 39b (קא מתחזי “it looks like”).

37 See further: Ned. 21b (כדו תהית “do you regret now?”); Ned. 50b (ידע' ליה “do you know him?”); Ber. 29b (יכילנא “I am able”); Ber. 27b (בדילנא “I am abstaining”).

38 Ber. 38a (קא הויא).

39 Ber. 60a (קא מפחד).

40 Ber. 30b (קא בדח).

The following example is similar:

- e. קא כליא 'ברכה על הפרוסה' דכי כליא (Ber. 39a)<sup>41</sup>  
 "Because when the blessing is concluded, it is concluded over a broken piece."

That the blessing is concluded, is already known and is the theme, that, however, it is concluded over a broken piece, is a new aspect and consequently the rheme.<sup>42</sup>

However, the designation of the rheme is by no means the main function of קא / ק + AP, for this is just as often expressed by simple AP. Its main function is rather to express the imperfective aspect, as is shown not only by its use to express the category discussed in this section but also by its use after verbs of perception (see section 14 below).<sup>43</sup>

When the AP is negated by לית, it remains uninflected:

- f. ולית אנא ידע מה הן אמרין (Hul. 137b)  
 "And I do not know what they say."<sup>44</sup>

Furthermore, the PP should be mentioned. It often has a resultative meaning:

- g. שקילי ניביה (Bq. 83a)  
 "His teeth (have been and now) are removed."<sup>45</sup>

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

### 7.2.1 Relative Clause

- a. גברא דקא בעינא הכא הוא (Bm. 86a)  
 "The man I am looking for is here."<sup>46</sup>

41 Passages marked by ' are in Hebrew.

42 The same is true for קא מיתחזי and קא מתחזי in Ber. 39b.

43 See also Heinrichs, *Senāya* 250–253, where several other examples are given.

44 Cf. Siegal, *JBA* 105.

45 The following examples are also to be understood in a resultative way: Ned. 38b (עבידי "they [have been made and now] are made"); Ned. 78a (כתב "it [has been written and now] is written"); Ber. 40b (ברך "he [has been blessed and now] is blessed"); Ber. 56a (גהיט "the waw [has been erased and now] is erased"); Mak. 13b (לא פסיקא "it has not been decided yet"); cf. Siegal, *JBA* 209f and qṭl li II 71; Margolis, *BT* 82.

46 See also: Sanh. 5b (ידעי דלא "who do not know"); Gitṭ. 52b (דקא עביד "that he is doing"); Ber. 42a (דקא שמענא "that I can hear").

### 7.2.2 Object Clause

- b. ידענא דרבנן משום מיטרא קא אתו (Ta'an. 23b)  
 "I know that rabbis are coming because of the rain."<sup>47</sup>

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is normally expressed in both main and subordinate clauses by simple qāṭil or a participle of a t-stem; the evidence is very numerous, I will content myself with one example each:

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. מאן דלא יהיב כרגא משתעבד למאן דיהיב כרגא (Bm. 73b)  
 "Whoever does not pay the poll tax can be enslaved to whoever pays the poll tax."

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- b. מי מהדרינן טעותא (Ber. 27b)  
 "Do we repeat an error?"

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. חמרא סעיד מיטש' לא סעיד (Ber. 35b)  
 "Wine sustains, oil does not sustain."

#### 8.1.4 Stative

- d. מאן דאכיל תחלי ולא משי ידיה מפחיד תלתין יומין (Pes. 111b)  
 "Whoever eats cress and does not wash his hands will be in fear for 30 days."

In addition, the PP and qṭille of a t-stem verb are attested in a clearly habitual sense.

<sup>47</sup> For further examples, see Margolis, BT 79–81.

- e. ענבי נמי מיזרדן מקצצן בידא (Ned. 61b)  
"Grapes are also trimmed (and) cut off by hand."
- f. בנופו מתדר ליה בעיקרו לא מתדר ליה (Mak. 12a)  
"In its branch he can dwell, at its trunk he cannot dwell."<sup>48</sup>

As already indicated above, q-qāṭil can also be used to express habitual situations:

- g. קא משתעי 'דבמחוג' שאני פרסאי (Ber. 46b)  
"The Persians differ in that they talk with gestures."<sup>49</sup>

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

### 8.2.1 Relative Clause

- a. מאן דלא עסיק בתורה לא ירית (Ketub. 108b)  
"Does the one who does not study Torah not inherit?"

### 8.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. כיון דלא משתעי לא גמר (Ḥag. 3a)  
"Since he does not speak, he does not learn."

qṭille of a D-stem expresses the ability to do something in the following example:

- c. ניתנייה בהדיא משום דלא מתני לה (Qidd. 67a)  
"Let him teach it because he cannot teach (it in this way)"

## 9 Extratemporalis

The AP is used:

- a. שיתא אלפי פרסי הוי עלמא (Pes. 94a)  
"6000 Parsang measures the world."

<sup>48</sup> See further Yom. 51b (לא מתעייל ליה "he cannot enter").

<sup>49</sup> A few lines later, a similar description follows, but now simple qāṭil is used.

- b. טבא לא הוי בישא (Ber. 29a)  
 “A good one does not become a bad one.”

In addition, extratemporal statements can be made by nominal clauses:

- c. ריפתא דאיניש איניש הוא (Bm. 23a)  
 “The bread of man is man.”

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed, in main and subordinate clauses, by qāṭil:

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. האי גברא אזיל ולא אתי טריק ליה חיויא ומיית (Šab. 156b)  
 “This man is going and will not return; a snake will bite him and he will die.”<sup>50</sup>

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. אחינא עיילנא לגבך (Hul. 7b)  
 “I will come and enter your (house).”<sup>51</sup>

#### 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. למחר שתינ' חמר' (Ned. 51a)  
 “Tomorrow I will drink wine.”<sup>52</sup>

#### 10.1.4 Stative

- d. בריך גנבא הוי (Šab. 156b)  
 “Your son will be a thief.”<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See further: Ned. 3b (מיית “he will die”); Ned. 62b (לא יהיבנ' “I will not give”).

<sup>51</sup> See also Ned. 50a (להיב' אזלת “where will you go?”).

<sup>52</sup> See also: Ned. 16a (לא אכילנא “I will not eat”).

<sup>53</sup> See further Ber. 56a (הוית ודחלי “you will be and they will revere”). For more evidence of the AP, see Margolis, BT 79.

yiqtul is primarily used non-indicatively, but occasionally it also denotes situations that are to be interpreted indicatively:<sup>54</sup>

- e. למחר נבדקיה (Soṭ. 36b)  
 “Tomorrow we will examine him.”<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, qṭille of a D-stem verb describes a situation that is clearly posterior. It expresses the ability to act:

- f. דילמא מתעקרא שרגא ולא מקדש לכו (Pes. 101a)  
 “Maybe the lamp goes out and you will not be able to recite the qiddush.”

In another reading, however, the t-stem מתקדש לכו is used.<sup>56</sup>

## 10.2 Subordinate Clauses

### 10.2.1 Relative Clause

- a. דחיי טפי או דחיינא (Ta'an. 25a)  
 “Is it more what I have lived, or what I will live?”

### 10.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. לא ידעה למחר ממרדא ונפקא ואתיא ונפלה עילויא (Ketub. 57b)  
 “Now she does not know (that) tomorrow (in the future) she will rebel, leave, then come back and fall upon me.”<sup>57</sup>

## 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

Usually, the AP is used, but yiqtul is also attested:

- a. כי הדרנא אחינא עיילנא לגבך (Ḥul. 7b)  
 “When I will have returned, I will come to you.”

54 On this point, see Siegal, JBA 163f and Margolis, BT 77.

55 דילמא מתעקרא שרגא in Ned. 50a is probably also meant indicatively: “I will go back.”

56 See Schlesinger, Satzlehre 45.

57 See further Nd. 28b (דלא מיתצלן “that they will not be saved”).

- b.   ההוא יומא דעיילא לבי גננא טריק לה חויא ומיתא (Šab. 156b)  
 “On the day she will have entered the bridal chamber, a snake will bite her and she will die.”
- c.   ווי לדין בד יקום דין (‘Ab. Z. 11b)  
 “Woe to this one when that one will have risen.”

The AP or yiqṭul can also be found after one and the same subordinator such as עד ד:

- d.   לא איעביד עד דאיעול לבי בני ואשקול במזייה (Meg. 16a)  
 “I will not do (it) until I will have gone to the bathroom and have cut my hair.”<sup>58</sup>
- e.   לא תיתי(ב) אברעיך עד דמפרשת לה להא מילתא (Men. 38b)  
 “You will not sit on your legs until you will have explained this matter.”

מפרשת, however, can also be understood in an imperfective sense here, insofar as he is only allowed to sit down when he is already in the process of explaining. To express situations that have not yet been completed, as far as I can see, only the AP can be used, as in Ber. 28a:

- f.   כי חלפי רבנן איקום מקמיהו  
 “When the Rabbis will be passing by, I will stand up in their presence.”<sup>59</sup>

Also qṭal can express anteriority in the future:

- g.   כי מטא ההיא שעתא אלטייה (Ber. 7a)  
 “When the hour will have come, I will curse him.”

The same meaning, however, can also be expressed by an AP:

- h.   כי מטיא ההיא שעתא אלטייה (‘Ab. Z. 4b).

58 Other manuscripts have the AP עייל here; cf. Siegal, JBA 166f. See further Ber. 53b (עד דניהדר “until I will have returned”).

59 See further Bm. 85b (כי סלקי “when they will be going up”).

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 *Main Clauses*

The different deontic categories are mostly expressed by *yiqṭul*; in the third person:

- a.     בר בי רב דזבין ירקא ליזבין אריכא (Šab. 140b)  
        “A student who buys vegetables should buy long ones”,

the second person:

- b.     תיזרע ולא תיחצד (Margolis, BT 78)  
        “You shall sow but not harvest”,

or the first person:

- c.     אף אנן נמי בשעת רחמי נמרינהו (Ber. 29a)  
        “We, too, should say them at the moment of prayer.”<sup>60</sup>

I have not found any examples of *niqṭul* of the 1.sg. that is used non-indicatively in the Targum fragments of the Genizah (see above ch. 7, sect. 12.1). The usual form is *’iqṭul*:

- d.     היכי אעביד (Ta’an. 5b)  
        “How shall I do?”

Negated *yiqṭul* of a second person denotes the vetitive:

- e.     לא תזלזל בנשיאותך (Ḥag. 5b)  
        “Do not debase your office as Nasi (leader).”

Also the AP can be used in a non-indicative sense:

- f.     מרי כולי לא טעימני לך (Ned. 22b)  
        “By the Lord of all! I shall not taste (anything) of yours.”

<sup>60</sup> Further evidence can be found in Margolis, BT 77f and Schlesinger, Satzlehre 37f.



- g. דאית ליה חד תורא מרעי חד יומא (Sanh. 9a)  
 “Whoever has a bull, he shall let (it) graze for a day.”<sup>61</sup>

qṭal can express wishes and curses:

- h. איתחיל גופיה (Mq. 10a)  
 “May his body be desecrated.”<sup>62</sup>

## 12.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, we usually find yiqṭul, for example after בעי “to want” after which the predicate can follow syndetically or asyndetically:

- a. בעינא דאיזיל למדינת אפריקי (Tam. 32a)  
 “I wish to go to Africa.”
- b. בעינא אשתבועי (B. Meṣ. 4b)  
 “I want to swear.”<sup>63</sup>

The same applies to final clauses after כי היכי ד or simple ד:

- c. כסי רישך כי היכי דתיהוי עלך אימתא דשמיא (Šab. 156b)  
 “Cover your head so that the fear of heaven may be upon you.”
- d. זיל גבייהו דליברכוך (Mq. 9b)  
 “Go to them so that they may bless you.”<sup>64</sup>

A final intentum is also often expressed by l + infinitive:

- e. ולית לי מידעם לאגנוייה (Ned. 50a)  
 “And I have nothing for her to lie on.”

After מצי “can” an asyndetic AP, l + infinitive or a yiqṭul form introduced by ד can be used:

- f. אנן לא מצינן עבדינן (Qidd. 23b)  
 “We cannot do (it).”

61 On this use of the AP, see also Margolis, BT 80 and Schlesinger, Satzlehre 40.

62 For more examples, see Schlesinger, Satzlehre 36.

63 Cf. Siegal, JBA 216.

64 For more examples, see Schlesinger, Satzlehre 261f.

- g. לא מצינא דאתי (Sanh. 96b)  
"I cannot come."
- h. לא אמצי למיתנא (Ned. 89b)  
"He could not teach Tannanite tradition."<sup>65</sup>

Siegal (JBA, 163 note 186) gives one example of *yihwē + qāṭil*:

- i. דתורה 'חסה על גופן של ישראל' כי היכי דלא ליהוי דאיג (Kr. 25a)  
"For the Torah has considerations for the body of Jews so that he should not be anxious."

### 13 Conditional Clauses

Real conditional clauses are usually introduced by **אי**, negated **לא אי**. If the condition refers to the present or future, protasis and apodosis usually have APs:

- a. אי חדרת בד יהיבנא לך אחותי (Bm. 84a)  
"If you turn back, I will give you my sister."<sup>66</sup>

Occasionally, the protasis has *yiqṭul*; the predicate of the apodosis can be an imperative or *yiqṭul*:

- b. אי בר אחתיך דיילא נהוי חזי (Yom. 18a)  
"If your nephew becomes (should become) a herald, see ..."<sup>67</sup>
- c. אי לא אתינא עד תלתין יומין ליבטלון הלץ זכוותאי (Ned. 27a)  
"If I have not returned in 30 days, then these benefits of mine shall become invalid."

The protasis can be subordinated by **ד**, i. e. "if it is the case that ...":

- d. אי דקאמר בהדין לישנא בהיתירא קא מיתפיס (Ned. 11b)  
"If he uses this expression, he is in line with what is permissible."

65 For more details, see Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 184f.

66 Further examples of APs can be found in Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 269f.

67 Other manuscripts, however, have an AP here; see Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 270; on *yiqṭul* after **אי**, see also Ber. 4b (אי הכי לימא ... תימא) "if he says ... you say thus".

A condition conceived as real can refer to the past; in this case, *qṭal* is used:

- e. **אי איתמר הכי איתמר** (Bm. 25a)  
 “If it was said, it was said that way.”

Counterfactual conditions are introduced by **אילו**, **איכו**, **אלמלא** or **אי**. When referring to the present, the predicates of protasis and apodosis are usually APS:

- f. **ואלו בטלי כותים עבדין חד יומא** (Yom. 4b)  
 “If there were no Samaritans, would we do only one day?”<sup>68</sup>

Occasionally, one also finds *yiqṭul* in the protasis (no. g) or apodosis (no. h):

- g. **אי ניהוי כיחושע בן נון לא יהיבנא ליה ברתא** (Yeb. 45a)  
 “Even if he were like J.b.N., I would not give him my daughter.”
- h. **ואם איתה ני[ח] ליה לקנוי[ה]** (Siegal, JBA 164)  
 “And if this were the case, he could renounce his warning against extra-marital affairs.”

Instead of the AP, *qṭal* can also be used when referring to the present / future. As far as the apodosis is concerned, I only know of examples containing the verb **הוי**:

- i. **אי הוו סגו הוו גמירי טפי** (Ned. 50b)  
 “If they were ugly, they would even be more learned.”

The predicate of the apodosis can also be *hwā + qāṭil*:

- j. **אי הוה ... הוה אמר** (Giṭṭ. 7a)  
 “If he were ... he would say.”<sup>69</sup>

When referring to the past, both the predicates of the main- and the subordinate clause can be *qṭal* forms; the following example is at the same time one of the rather rare instances of the introduction of the apodosis by **ו**:

68 See also: Ned. 31b (**לא מזבין ... אילו משכח** “if he found ... would he not sell?”); Bm 85b (**מהדרנא ... אי משתכחא** “if it were forgotten ... I would bring it back”).

69 For further *qṭal* forms in the protasis, see: Yeb. 45a (**יהבי ליה ... אי הוה** “if he were ... they would give him”); Beṣ. 4b (**עבדין ... אילו בטלו** “if they were not any more ... we would make”); on *hwā + qāṭil* in the apodosis, see Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 270.

- k. השתא איכו שכיבי ולא אמרי לכו הא מילתא (Šab. 152b)  
 “Now if I had died, I would not have told you this thing.”<sup>70</sup>

Frequently, however, protasis and / or apodosis have *hwā* + *qāṭil* without any difference in meaning:

- l. אי הואי ידענא ... לא הוה קטילנא להו (Bb. 4a)  
 “If I had known ... I would not have killed her.”<sup>71</sup>

It is noteworthy that *hwā* + *qāṭil* in the apodosis denotes neither duration nor repetition but a singular situation.

Occasionally, one finds simple *qāṭil* with past time reference:

- m. אילו לא מרגזין לי לא בעינא כלום (Ned. 21b)  
 “If they had not angered me, I would not have asked for anything.”

There is also an example of *qṭille* in the protasis:

- n. אי שמייע ליה לרב הונא ... הוה הדר ביה (Ḥag. 4a)  
 “If R.H. had heard ... he would have retracted it.”

Finally, the predicate of the protasis can also be a nominal form. In this case, the time reference is specified by the verb form in the apodosis:

- o. אי לאו את בהדן לא הוה סליק לן דינא (Sanh. 30a)  
 “Had you not been with us, our judgement would not have been conclusive.”<sup>72</sup>

## 14 Verbs of Perception

When a progressing situation is perceived, the AP is used which is usually combined with קא / ק and introduced by ד. If the superordinate situation has past

<sup>70</sup> For some more examples, see Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 271.

<sup>71</sup> See further: Ned. 22a (נדרת ... אילו הוית ידע’ “if you had known ... would you have vowed?”); with a *qṭal* form in the protasis: Ḥag. 15b (הוה קרענא ... אי הואי “if there had been ... I would have mangled”); Bq. 40b (הוה שקלי ... אי אהדרתיה “if I had given back ... they would have taken away”).

<sup>72</sup> Conditional clauses are treated in detail in Schlesinger, *Satzlehre* 269–291; see also Siegal, JBA 222–224 and Margolis, BT 96f.

time reference, a qṭal form of הוּי can be added to the AP, but in most cases this is omitted:

- a. חזייה דקא בכי ואחיד (Ber. 18b)  
“He saw him crying and laughing.”
- b. חזייה דקא מנמנם (Mq. 28a)  
“He saw him dozing off.”
- c. אשכחיה צדקיה לנבזכדנצר דהוה קאכיל ארנבא חיה (Ned. 65a)  
“Ṣ. found N. eating a live rabbit.”<sup>73</sup>

qṭal is also attested. In a relative clause, one situation is expressed by qṭal, another one by q-qāṭil:

- d. חזייה להו' עקרב' דאיתיב על אקרוקית' וקעבר' נהר' NN (Ned. 41a)  
“NN saw a certain scorpion that had sat down on a frog and was crossing a river.”<sup>74</sup>

After אשכח, q-qāṭil is attested, too:

- e. אשכח' לשמע' דהוה קמזיג קמ' כס' דחמר' (Ned. 55a)  
“He found a servant who was mixing a cup of wine before him.”<sup>75</sup>

Resultative states are expressed by the PP:

- f. חזא תוב דהוה כתיב (Bb. 58a)  
“He saw again that it was written ...”

Some PPs are used with an active meaning, for example רבע “to lie down”:

- g. אשכחו' דרביע על מרגנית' (Ned. 50b)  
“They found it lying on precious pearls.”

73 See further: Šab. 33b (דקא כרבי זורעי) “ploughing and sowing”; Ned. 50a (דקא “saying”); Ned. 65a (דקעבד “making”); Ber. 30b (קא ברח “being cheerful”); Ber. 42b (דבריד “blessing”); Ber. 46b (דקא מירתת “trembling”).

74 See further Ber. 56a (דאיתבר “which collapsed”). There are three more examples in this passage.

75 See also: Yom. 27a (דיתיב וקא מסבר “who was sitting and explaining”); Ber. 36a (דקא זריק “throwing”).

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭal*

qṭal is used in both discussing and narrating passages to express anteriority to the speech time in main and subordinate clauses and can have the meaning of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2); occasionally, it denotes habitual situations of the past alongside the more usual hwā + qāṭil (3.1). Furthermore, it is found in main and subordinate clauses to express anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1 + 4.2), and with stative verbs it can denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past (5.2). It is sometimes used to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future in temporal clauses, but here the AP and yiqṭul are the usual forms (11). Moreover, it can express wishes and curses (12) and counterfactual conditions with past or present time reference. It is attested in the protasis with present and past time reference, in the apodosis only the qṭal form of הוי – in addition to the compound hwā + qāṭil and simple qāṭil – seems to be possible with reference to the present / future (13).

### 15.2 *Yiqṭul*

yiqṭul is mostly used non-indicatively in main and subordinate clauses (12.1 + 12.2) but occasionally also denotes indicative situations that are posterior to the speech time (10.1). In temporal clauses after subordinators, it can express, in addition to qāṭil, anteriority to a reference point in the future (11). The same time reference it has in the protasis of real and counterfactual conditional clauses in which it is sometimes used besides the more usual AP (13).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP can stand alone or be combined with a form of הוי or the particle אק, both of which always precede the AP. The participle and הוי can agree in number, gender and person or a fully inflected form of הוי can be combined with a participle which is only marked for number and gender; most often, however, a fully inflected participle is combined with the invariable 3.sg.m. of הוי. Presumably, the combination with fully inflected הוי and only partially inflected AP represents the original one when הוי + AP was still understood as the predicate of a nominal clause. When the AP was then integrated into the verbal system and combined with enclitic personal pronouns, the inflection of הוי became superfluous and was then omitted for economic reasons (3.1). If the AP is negated by לית, it is not inflected (6.1).

The AP, with or without ק / קא, can follow a qṭal form of הוי and describe past situations that extend over a certain period of time (2.1). Simple AP, with

or without ק / אק, is occasionally used to express habitual situations of the past if the context makes the time reference clear, otherwise הוי is added (3.1 + 3.2). Simple AP can also be used to indicate singular situations of the past; these are mostly acts or sayings of legal scholars from which general principles of law are derived (3.1). With a q̄tal form of הוי and occasionally the particle אק, it mostly expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the past in main clauses as well as in relative clauses, while in temporal clauses after subordinators like כי and בהדי, the simple form is normally used. The progression can be emphasised by a preceding אק, but it does not have to be. Accompanying circumstances are usually expressed by subordinate clauses introduced by subordinators, but ו + AP or הוי ו + AP is also possible (5.1 + 5.2). Simple AP can express posteriority to a reference point in the past (6) and, with or without אק, singular situations that progress parallel to the speech time (7.1 + 7.2), while habitual and extratemporal situations are normally denoted by simple q̄āṭil, although q-q̄āṭil can also indicate habitual situations (8.1 + 8.2; 9). It has been shown that ק / אק usually serves to express the imperfective aspect, but occasionally it also marks the rheme of a statement. Furthermore, simple q̄āṭil can express posteriority to the speech time (10.1 + 10.2) and simultaneity with a reference point in the future in subordinate clauses; anteriority to a reference point in the future can be indicated by q̄āṭil and yiqṭul (11). Occasionally, it has a non-indicative meaning in main clauses (12.1), it can be asyndetically combined with the AP of מצי “can” and is also found after דלמא “lest”. In one example, the AP is combined with a yiqṭul form of הוי; the context suggests that the situation this compound refers to is meant to be non-indicative and of general significance (12.2). Moreover, it is used in the protasis and apodosis of real and counterfactual conditionals with present or future time reference. The verb form of the protasis can be subordinated by ד, the apodosis be introduced by ו. In counterfactual conditionals with past time reference, however, hwā + q̄āṭil is used or q̄tal. Remarkably, hwā + q̄āṭil can also be used in the apodosis when referring to the present / future. When referring to the past, it does not express repetition or duration but singular situations (13). Finally, the AP is attested after verbs of sensual perception; in this case, it is subordinated by ד and can be, but does not necessarily have to be, combined with הוי when referring to the past (14).

#### 15.4 Q̄ṭil

The PP is inflected completely with S-suffixes and forms a unit with the suffixes. A form of הוי usually precedes it. It often has a resultative meaning and then describes that a state which has resulted from an action is simultaneous with a reference point. This is usually the speech time (7.1); in the case of past

time reference, it can be preceded by a *qṭal* form of הָיָה. Occasionally, it is also used with the meaning of an anterior (4.2; 5; 14). With a number of verbs, the PP has an active meaning, such as טָעַן “to carry” or נָקַט “to take, to hold” (3.2 + 14).

### 15.5 *Qṭille*

*qṭille* is especially attested with verbs of sensual perception, but it is also used with other verbs – transitive and intransitive ones – of the G-stem and the derived stems. The PP of transitive non-t-stem verbs is often resultative, and so also *qṭille* mostly describes situations in these cases that have been completed but still have some relation to the speech time. This is not the case with participles of t-stems; past time reference is then expressed by a *qṭal* form of הָיָה. The PP is often used in its basic form (3.sg.m.), independently of the grammatical subject, but can also be congruent with it. Sometimes the agent is expressed by לְ + noun. In both main and subordinate clauses, it serves to express anteriority to the speech time and is used primarily in discussing passages (2.1 + 2.2); furthermore, it denotes habitual situations, situations that are posterior to the speech time (t-stems; 8.1 + 8.2; 10.1) and is attested in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional clause with past time reference (13).

## 16 Analysis

*qṭal* seems to be an aspectual verb form. This is supported by its use to express anteriority to a reference point in the future in temporal and counterfactual conditional clauses, but above all by its opposition to the clearly imperfective compound *hwā + q-qāṭil*. In addition, it can express wishes and curses and is also attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the present / future even if the protasis is introduced by אִם which also introduces real conditions. This usage is, as far as I can see, quite rare and restricted to the verb הָיָה, but it shows that *qṭal* could also be used non-indicatively. This problem will be discussed again below (ch. 11, sect. 17). Nevertheless, *qṭal* has to be considered as a marked verb form expressing perfectivity.

Old *yiqṭulS* and *yiqṭulL* have merged in one *yiqṭul* form. It can be assumed that *yiqṭulS* was combined with the prefix לְ – probably related to Akkadian *lū* and Arabic *li-*, *yiqṭulL*, on the other hand, with לֹ. As we have seen (ch. 3, sect. 7.1), *liqṭul* – presumably the short form – is attested in the inscription from Tell Fekheriye and in Samalian in a jussive meaning. This *liqṭulS* was probably also originally used in JBA in a non-indicative sense and was in opposition to *yiqṭulL* which certainly primarily denoted indicative situations but could probably also express non-indicative ones. It is not unlikely that the



merger of *liqṭulS* and *yiṭṭulL* is related to the penetration of the participle into the verbal system, as Kaufman assumes.<sup>76</sup> This process can be understood in such a way that the *AP* took over more and more the functions of *yiṭṭulL* in the area of simultaneity with the speech time until finally the differentiation between two *yiṭṭul* forms with similar functions was perceived as uneconomical and thus *liqṭulS* took over the functions of *yiṭṭulL*. This process was certainly supported by the fact that final *ṭ*- was apocopied in JBA. This caused the endings of *yiṭṭulL* and *liqṭulS* to become identical, and since *yiṭṭulL* expressed categories that were quite similar to those of *liqṭulS*, the latter took over the indicative functions of the former *yiṭṭulL* form. This interpretation, however, presupposes that the modal force of *-ṭ* had already faded to such an extent that it could be used in indicative as well as non-indicative contexts. If the prefixes *l*- and *n*- are related and *niṭṭul* also originally denoted non-indicative situations, the development in Syriac and Mandaic (see below ch. 10 and 11) must have been different because there *niṭṭul* is combined with the plural ending *-n*, i.e. the long form. This case can only be understood in such a way that the prefix *n*- was transferred from *niṭṭulS* to *yiṭṭulL*. A similar process took place in Western Aramaic, except that there *yiṭṭulL* replaced the short form *yiṭṭulS*.

The question of how to explain the change between *-ṭ* and *-ṭ* – JBA and Mandaic have both, Hatran only *-ṭ* and Syriac only *-ṭ* – is very difficult and will not be pursued any further here.<sup>77</sup> Here, it is rather necessary to determine the main function of *yiṭṭul*. *yiṭṭul* is predominantly used to express non-indicative situations, while it has been almost completely displaced by the *AP* in the field of posteriority. *yihwē + qāṭil* is too rarely attested to allow conclusions about a possible perfective use of *yiṭṭul*. Its main function, therefore, seems to be the expression of non-indicative situations.

*qāṭil* has undergone two important innovations compared to the languages discussed so far. It is inflected for all persons and can be combined with the particle *ṭ / ṭṭ*; although *q-qāṭil* is occasionally used to express habitual and stative situations and to denote the rheme of a sentence, this compound expresses predominantly the imperfective aspect in the narrower sense, whereas simple *qāṭil* denotes primarily habitual and extratemporal situations, and one is best advised to regard simple *qāṭil*, as Siegal (JBA 163) does, as unmarked with respect to the categories of tense and aspect. Also modally it has to be considered unmarked, since it can denote both indicative and non-indicative situations. Like *q-qāṭil*, *hwā + q-qāṭil* is a marked imperfective form, whereas

<sup>76</sup> Akkadian Influence 124–126.

<sup>77</sup> This point has been dealt with in detail by Rubin (*l*- / *n*-) who also assumes that *-ṭ* in Eastern Aramaic goes back to a jussive form (ibid. 15).

hwā + qāṭil is extended imperfective and expresses counterfactuality in a secondary function. yihwē + qāṭil is difficult to analyse due to its low occurrence which can be explained – following Siegal (JBA 163, note 186) – by the fact that the same categories can also be expressed by simple qāṭil; it is probably best to regard it as extended imperfective.

This leaves qṭil and qṭille. As in the other Aramaic languages and dialects, qṭil is mainly used resultatively. In the text corpus it is only found standing alone or in combination with hwā, but this does not mean that it could not also be combined with a yiqṭul form.

The exact place of qṭille within the verbal system is difficult to determine. It is attested from a limited number of verbs only and is used complementarily to other verb forms rather than being in opposition to one of them. While Siegal (Passiveness) has made it likely that qṭille was still understood as a passive form in JBA, this does not change the fact that a form like קטלית can be used in almost the same sense as קטיל לי. Both forms can be found in discussing passages and then describe completed situations that are still relevant to the speech time. When qṭille is formed from t-stem verbs, it can be replaced by a simple participle at any time. qṭille of transitive non-t-stem verbs can thus be considered an anterior verb form which is largely restricted to discussing passages, while the t-stem-derived qṭille is used like an AP. It is thus unmarked

The verbal system of JBA has six marked verb forms: qṭal, q-qāṭil, hwā + q-qāṭil, qṭil + S-suffix, hwā + qṭil, imperative. As unmarked have to be considered: qṭille, yiqṭul, qāṭil, hwā + qāṭil, yihwē + qāṭil.

In the indicative domain, there is the following opposition:

qṭal (anterior perfective) : hwā + q-qāṭil (anterior imperfective)

Whether one can speak of an opposition yiqṭul (perfective) : yihwē + qāṭil (ext. imperfective) seems doubtful in view of the rare occurrence of yihwē + qāṭil.

# Classical Mandaic

## o Text Corpus

The Ginza (Ginza, according to the CAL), the Sidra di Nišmata (Sidra), the Book of John (John) and the evidence listed in Nöldeke (MG) have been analysed. With regard to the transcription, I will follow the system used by Macuch and others, i.e.:  $\aleph$  = a,  $\text{ʾ}$  = u,  $\text{ʿ}$  = i,  $\text{ā}$  =  $\underline{h}$ .

## 1 The Verb Forms

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

The G-stem has the theme vowels /a/, /i/ or /u/. It is inflected as follows:

|      | sg.    | pl.     |
|------|--------|---------|
| 3.m. | qṭal   | qṭal    |
| 3.f. | qitlat | qṭal    |
| 2.m. | qṭalt  | qṭaltun |
| 2.f. | qṭalt  | qṭaltun |
| 1.c. | qitlit | qṭalnin |

In most cases, the 3.pl. is qṭal without endings for both genera, but special forms for masculine (-iun /-un) and feminine (-ian) are also attested: *npaqiun* “they (m.) went out”, *shaṭian* “they (f.) spread out”.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the G-stem, the derived stems qatṭel, ʾaqṭel, etqeṭel, etqaṭṭal and ettaqṭal are in use. The /t/ of etqeṭel and etqaṭṭal may be missing: ‘triṣ “he was erected” (etqeṭel of trṣ); ‘parqit “I was saved” (etqaṭṭal of prq).<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

yiqṭul of transitive verbs has mostly the form niqṭul (qṭal), with intransitive ones it is niqṭal (qṭil) or niqṭul (qṭul). There is no distinction between yiqṭulS and yiqṭulL. The forms are:

<sup>1</sup> See Macuch, Man. 263f; cf. Nöldeke, MG 223.

<sup>2</sup> See Macuch, Man. 264–267.

|      | sg.    | pl.      |
|------|--------|----------|
| 3.m. | niqṭul | niqṭilun |
| 3.f. | tiqṭul | niqṭilan |
| 2.m. | tiqṭul | tiqṭilun |
| 2.f. | tiqṭul | tiqṭilun |
| 1.c. | ‘qṭul  | niqṭul   |

The 2.pl.m. is also used with feminine subjects.<sup>3</sup> The usual 3.m. prefix is ni-, but also li- is attested without difference in meaning.<sup>4</sup> As with qṭal, an internal passive is not attested.<sup>5</sup> The 3.pl.f. often appears without final /-n/.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP has the following forms:

|      | sg.     | pl.             |
|------|---------|-----------------|
| 3.m. | qaṭil   | qaṭlin (qaṭlia) |
| 3.f. | qaṭla   | qaṭla(n)        |
| 2.m. | qaṭlit  | qaṭlitun        |
| 2.f. | qaṭlit  | qaṭlitin        |
| 1.m. | qaṭilna | qaṭlinin        |
| 1.f. | qaṭlana | qaṭlinin        |

The feminine form of the 2.pl., qaṭlitin, is mostly replaced by the masculine form. The same applies to the 1.sg.f.<sup>7</sup>

The AP can be combined with a preceding form of hwy which mostly remains uninflected, and it can be preceded by qa-: *hwa q-akil* “he was eating”, *uniḥuia amritun* “you will say”.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.4 *Qṭil*

|      | sg.    | pl.             |
|------|--------|-----------------|
| 3.m. | qṭil   | qṭilin (qṭilia) |
| 3.f. | qṭila  | qṭila(n)        |
| 2.m. | qṭilit | qṭilitun        |

<sup>3</sup> See Macuch, Man. 271–273.

<sup>4</sup> See Nöldeke, MG 215f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, MG 210.

<sup>6</sup> See Nöldeke, MG 228.

<sup>7</sup> See Macuch, Man. 277f and Nöldeke, MG 233.

<sup>8</sup> See Nöldeke, MG 383, 385.

|      |        |                       |
|------|--------|-----------------------|
| 2.f. | qṭilit | qṭilitun              |
| 1.c. | qṭilna | qṭilinin <sup>9</sup> |

The bond between PP and S-suffix is probably not as close as with the AP because if several PPs follow each other, the suffix does not need to be repeated: *mšābit ubrik* “praised are you and blessed”.<sup>10</sup>

With qatṭel and ‘aqtel, the active forms have an /i/ after the second root consonant, the passive ones have an /a/. If these vowels have been elided for phonetic reasons, active and passive forms are identical. Different forms exist only for the 3.sg.m. and the 1.sg.m. (mbaṭilna “I annihilate”: mpaqadna “I am ordered”).<sup>11</sup>

The PP can be preceded by a mostly uninflected form of hwy: *diwan d-hua ktiba* “a divan (fem.) that was written”.<sup>12</sup>

All verb forms are negated by *la*.

### 1.5 *Qṭille*

The passive participle can be combined with an L-suffix to express the logical subject. As far as I can see, this compound is only possible with third persons as logical objects; as in Syriac and JBA, there is sometimes no congruence between the PP and the logical object, the 3.sg.m. of the PP being also used with a 3.sg.f. or 3.pl. reference word. qṭille can describe transitive and intransitive situations: *hzilia* “I saw them”; *b-škinatun ... d-škinalh l-ab* “in their residences, which my father had inhabited”; *la qimlh* “he did not stand”.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.6 *Imperative*

The masculine singular form qṭul is usually used for both numbers and genders; plural forms in -un are rare, but the /-u-/ appears before enclitics: *sgudulh* “whorship him!”<sup>14</sup>

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category can be expressed in narrating and discussing passages by qṭal. In example no. a, it has the meaning of an anterior. I will only give one example each:

9 See Macuch, Man. 277–278.

10 See Nöldeke, MG 381.

11 See Macuch, Man. 277–279.

12 See Nöldeke, MG 384.

13 See Nöldeke, MG 381–383.

14 See Macuch, Man. 258; Nöldeke, MG 229.

## 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. hašta npalt b-‘daian (John 64,1)  
“Now you have fallen into our hands.”

## 2.1.2 Telic

- b. uata ptahil uarim šumia d-mia (Ginza 33)  
“Ptahil came and uplifted the sky of water.”

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. ašqian (Sidra 16)  
“He let me drink.”

## 2.1.3 Complex

- d. man andinin l-škinata (John 9,1)  
“Who shook the Škinās?”

## 2.1.4 Stative

- e. huit zuṭa (John 19,13)  
“You were small.”

In discussing passages, one can also use qṭille:

- f. ana šmilia mn-ab (John 35,10)  
“I have heard from my father.”<sup>15</sup>

The functional difference to qṭal is not easy to determine. The situations expressed by qṭille usually still have a relevance for the present, in the present case, for example, that he now knows about what he has heard. But qṭal can be used in exactly the same sense, as example no. a shows.

Furthermore, the AP or a participle of a t-stem can denote anteriority to the speech time. It does not merely express accompanying circumstances but also independent situations which usually follow another situation described by qṭal:

15 The use of qṭille is by no means limited to verbs of hearing and seeing; see, among others: John 26,1–4 (šty “to drink”; ‘kl “to eat”; gdl “to twist”; trṣ “to set right”). Further examples of qṭille can be found in Nöldeke, MG 382.

- g. nisbh l-‘ngirta u‘l-‘dh q‘lizar rma pahtalh uqarilh (John 70,16)  
 “He took the letter and put it in Elizar’s hand. The latter opened it and read.”

The qṭal form can be the predicate of a subordinate clause, the AP that of a superordinate one:

- h. kd haza šimat miriai mn-‘mh gahka uhadia (John 140,6)  
 “When Miriyai heard this from her mother, she laughed and rejoiced.”<sup>16</sup>

In narrating passages, verbs of saying often have the yiqṭul form:

- i. ruha l-bnh timar (Nöldeke, MG 371)  
 “Ruha said to her sons.”

The PP is mostly used resultatively, but it is also attested in the sense of an anterior and even in combination with adverbs such as “yesterday”:

- j. ‘la ‘tmal ... arza mn-gintai ‘qir (Nöldeke, MG 379)  
 “But yesterday ... a cedar tree was uprooted from my garden.”
- k. bnh b-qiria gṭilia (John 29,11)  
 “His sons have been killed in a misfortune.”<sup>17</sup>

A situation that is to be regarded as completed but which extended over a certain period of time can be expressed by hwā + qāṭil, especially if a perfective verb form would change the type of action of the situation:

- l. hua naidia arqahata unaqšin ṭuria umalka mn-kursiiah qam (John 18,6–7)  
 “The earths trembled and the mountains struck against each other. The king rose from his throne.”

More often, however, simple qāṭil is used in these cases:

- m. radinin umasginin alma l-bit iušamin mṭin (John 220,6–7)  
 “We wandered and walked until we reached the house of Jošamin.”<sup>18</sup>

16 For further evidence, see Nöldeke, MG 374–375.

17 See also Nöldeke, MG 380 (man hualh bra ugnib “to which [woman] was a son and he is stolen”).

18 A similar interplay between qāṭil and qṭal is found, inter alia, in John 221,2; 253,12–13; 255,15; 275,5.

Finally, the infinitive with possessive suffix can also have the function of an inflected verb. In terms of form, these are nominal sentences; the time reference must be made clear by the context:

- n. uluat liluk mizlh̄ (Nöldeke, MG 389)  
 “And to Liluch (was) his going = to L. he went.”<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, q̄tal is usually used:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ana hu alaha brh̄ ḏalaha ḏab l-haka šadran (Ginza 28,24)  
 “I am God, the Son of God, whom the Father has sent here.”<sup>20</sup>

### 2.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. hzia mʿ huat nihuta b-alma (Nöldeke, MG 470)  
 “See if peace has come to the world.”<sup>21</sup>

The PP of some intransitive verbs can express situations which, according to the context, are to be interpreted as active and anterior. In no. c, the PP (h̄ṭin) is used in parallel with q̄tal (askil):

- c. nišmata ḏhaiabia ḏh̄ṭin uaskil b-alma (Ginza 53,19)  
 “The souls of the sinners who have sinned and transgressed in the world.”

q̄ṭille is attested in subordinate clauses, too:

- d. hakima ḏla h̄zilak ... ula štilak (John 26,1–2)  
 “How long has it been since you have not seen ... and not drunk?”

<sup>19</sup> For more evidence, see Nöldeke, MG 389.

<sup>20</sup> See further: Ginza 7,24 (ḏʿhablun “that he gave them”); 11,20 (ḏasbar “who understood”); 26,6 (ḏʿthiblh̄ “that was given to him”); 42,3 (ḏʿthiblkun “that was given to you”); 52,17 (ḏ ... ‘tit “I who ... came”); Sidra 7 (ḏnhit “who descended”); John 15,1 (ḏʿhablia “that he gave me”); see also Nöldeke MG, 449, 457f.

<sup>21</sup> See also Nöldeke, MG 471f.



### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

To emphasise the duration and repetition of situations with past time reference, *hwā* + *qāṭil* can be used, *hwy* mostly being uninflected; the particle *qa*- can be placed in front of the AP (no. b):

- a. *hua hakimit* (John 20,1)  
“You used to be wise.”
- b. *dilia hua qa-dakria ...* (Nöldeke, MG 383)  
“They used to call me ...”

Occasionally, the form of *hwy* is inflected:

- c. *kḏ b-kana huat yatba* (John 51,1)  
“... when she was sitting in the Kana.”<sup>22</sup>

Simple *qṭal*, however, can also denote repetition and habituality:

- d. *ṭubaihun l-šalmania ḏḏuk b-liba dakia uḏikruk b-riuiana kšīṭa uhaima-nubak b-tirata mšalmata* (Ginza 5,7)  
“Hail to the perfect ones who knew you with a pure heart, thought of you with a sincere mind, believed in you with a sound conscience.”

### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

#### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

The category is not often attested in main clauses.

In the main clause of before-constructions, *qṭal* is used

- a. *mn-qudam ḏanat tihiua ana napšai bihšit* (Nöldeke, MG 373)  
“Before you were there, I had examined myself.”<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, *qṭal* and *qṭille* are attested:

<sup>22</sup> For some more examples, see *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Another example can be found in Nöldeke, MG 373.

## 4.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ham ṭaba d̄la himlḥ (Nöldeke, MG 382)  
 “The good man, who had never become heated, became heated.”<sup>24</sup>

## 4.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- b. kḏ haza amar kuṣṭa iukašar br ‘tapraš (John 7,9–10)  
 “When Kuṣṭa had said this, my son Jōkašar pondered.”<sup>25</sup>

## 4.2.3 Object Clauses

- c. ualiphṭḥ ma d̄hiia paqdun (Nöldeke, MG 449)  
 “And I taught him what life had commanded me to do.”

## 4.2.4 Causal Clauses

- d. šauiuia daiana aminṭul d̄hibil ziua ašplḥ (John 8,8)  
 “They made him a judge because Hibil-Ziwa had humbled him.”<sup>26</sup>

Especially with verbs of movement, the infinitive with possessive suffix is often used to express anteriority. The infinitive is neither introduced by subordinators nor prepositions:

- e. maṭuiiai bit ṭabia sigdit (Nöldeke, MG 389)  
 “When I had come to the house of the good (Lady), I worshipped.”<sup>27</sup>

qṭille can be combined with a qṭal form of hwy:

- f. d̄la hua hzilḥ (Nöldeke, MG 384)  
 “Whom he had not seen.”

<sup>24</sup> For more relative clauses containing qṭille, see Nöldeke, MG 382.

<sup>25</sup> See also John 17,9 (kḏ mṭa “when he had arrived”).

<sup>26</sup> See further John 8,3 (aminṭul d̄ba “because he had wanted”).

<sup>27</sup> On this use, see Nöldeke, MG 388f.

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

The situation described in its progress is usually expressed by *qāṭil*, sometimes also with preceding *hua*, an intervening one by *qṭal*:

- a. ʾl-dqaimia umamlilia kahnia minḥ ... ata nišra dakia (John 141,6–8)  
 “While the priests were standing there talking to her ... there came a pure eagle.”<sup>28</sup>

Two situations can progress parallel to each other as in the following habitual example:

- b. nišimta kḏ b-kana huat iatba la kapna ula šahia nišimta (John 51,1–2)  
 “When the soul was still sitting in the Kana, it was neither hungry nor thirsty.”

With stative verbs, *qṭal* can also be used:

- c. kma darit b-gauḥ la huabḥ hasir ubšir (Nöldeke, MG 453)  
 “As long as I lived in it, there was nothing deficient or lacking.”<sup>29</sup>

A state can also be expressed by a resultatively used PP preceded by *hua*:

- d. uahribt ʾbidata ḏhua mtaqnān (John 20,9)  
 “You destroyed the works that (had been and) were well-ordered.”<sup>30</sup>

The PP of some verbs can be used actively:

- e. hzit b-hizuan kḏ šikibna (John 69,5)  
 “I saw in my dream, as I was lying.”<sup>31</sup>

28 See further: John 132,7–8 (ḏiatbia ... aqar “while they were sitting ... it destroyed”); 106,11–12 (man ḏšapil atiiḥ “the one who was in misery, he brought”); Nöldeke, MG 375 (uhazilh l-iama ... uhaizak nihtat “they were looking at the sea ... and there she came down”).

29 See further Nöldeke, MG 453f.

30 Nöldeke, MG 384, gives some further examples.

31 The PP of *lgṭ* “to seize” has also an active meaning, cf. John 173,4–5 (gauaza ḏlgṭ b-ḏḥ “the staff he was holding in his hand”); cf. below ch. 12, sect. 1.4.

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category can be expressed by *yiḡṭul* or *qāṭil*:

- a. ‘mrit d’huia rba (John 9,3)  
“I said (to myself) I would become a great one.”<sup>32</sup>
- b. la ‘dit NN dmaṭia zibnai uligal mšadria ‘lai (John 125,5)  
“I did not know, NN, that my time would come and then they would send for me so quickly.”

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is normally expressed by *qāṭil* which is sometimes preceded by *qa-* or *qi-*; however, *qa-* is by no means obligatory even if the situation clearly takes place at the moment of speaking:

#### 7.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. hinun ramilh li-qraḇa rba (John 14,2)  
“They are throwing (arousing) the great fight.”<sup>33</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- b. lia azlit gabra nukraia (John 197, 16)  
“Where are you going, stranger?”<sup>34</sup>

#### 7.1.3 Atelic

- c. uananh b-ṭinba qa-sagian (John 31,9)  
“His wives are walking around in mourning.”<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> In a similar way again in 37,13 and 263,6.

<sup>33</sup> See also Nöldeke, MG 379 (q-aiil [besides aiil] “he is entering”).

<sup>34</sup> See also: John 23,4 (l-arqa nahta “it is flowing down to the earth”); Nöldeke, MG 379 (q-atia “he is coming”).

<sup>35</sup> See further: John 65,4 (mahu bakit “what are you crying?”); 93,1 (mahu bakitun “what are you crying?”); Nöldeke, MG 379 (mud qa-hazit “what can you see?”).

## 7.1.4 Stative

- d. b-baba qaiim (John 28,10)  
 “He is standing at the gate.”<sup>36</sup>

In the case of a PP, it is again the state resulting from an action that is simultaneous with the speech time:

- e. psiq riših dgubran (John 18,5)  
 “The head of the Gubran is cut off.”<sup>37</sup>

As already seen, the PPs of intransitive and also of some transitive verbs have an active meaning, such as lgiṭ “holding” or ngid “pulling”:

- f. l-qina lgiṭatlh (John 31,5)  
 “You are sticking to your jealous rancour.”<sup>38</sup>

With verbs of mental activities and also hwy, qṭal is sometimes used resultatively and then denotes states that are still persisting:

- g. ‘dit (Nöldeke, MG 369)  
 “I know.”
- h. ana la huit nasib šuda (ibid. 370)  
 “I have not become a bribe taker = I do not take bribes.”

Occasionally, also yiqṭul expresses proceeding situations:

- i. tum ‘mar l-kun (Nöldeke, MG 370)  
 “(I used to say to you: so and so) now I say to you ...”

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, the same verb forms are used:

36 See further John 21,2 (iadit “you know”).

37 See also: John 12,13 (liṭit “you are cursed”); 19,3 (la ktiblak “it [has not been and] is not written [prescribed] to you”); 30,2 (rmilh “it is put for him”).

38 See further John 26,7 (la mšina “I am not able”). Nöldeke (MG 380f.) further lists the following verbs: dškinbin “in which he lives”; ziuā lbišitun unhura mkasitun “with splendour you are clothed, with light you are dressed”, dria (= dri‘) “bearing”, ngid “dragging”.

## 7.2.1 Temporal Clause

- a. hašta druḥṣanai ʾl-hiia hua (Nöldeke, MG 370)  
 “Now that my trust in life (has come into being and) exists.”

## 7.2.2 Relative Clause

- b. gabra dmn-aqrḥ mapaq umšamar b-zaina mn-daria (John 29, 10–11)  
 “(This is) the man who [has been and] is removed from his fortress and chased from his home with weapons.”

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

8.1 *Main Clauses*

Habitual situations are usually expressed by qāṭil and the participle of a t-stem:

## 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. unapqan ... (Ginza 4,6)  
 “And they emerge ...”

## 8.1.2 Telic

- b. uazlin parahiata dtagḥ l-kul atar (Ginza 4,5–6)  
 “The sparks of his crown fly to every place.”

## 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. ula šatin hamra dšihā ula zamria qudamḥ (Ginza 6,18–19)  
 “They do not drink wine of pleasure or sing before him.”

## 8.1.4 Stative

- d. alip alip parsia rahiqia mn-hdadia (Ginza 8,12)  
 “1000 times 1000 miles apart from each other they are.”<sup>39</sup>

39 Evidence of this use of the AP can be found on almost every page of the Ginza, Sidra or John.

Also q-qāṭil can denote habitual situations:

- e. halin karsauata qa-naṭria l-nišmata (Nöldeke, MG 379)  
 “They guard these thrones for the souls.”

The PP of some verbs can denote habitual situations with an active meaning:

- f. lbiš lbušia hadtia dšupra (Ginza 5,15–16)  
 “He wears new robes of splendour.”<sup>40</sup>

Occasionally, yiqṭul is used:

- g. umuta nitiqria b-alma (Nöldeke, MG 371)  
 “And death he is called in the world.”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, the same verb forms are used:

### 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. mšābin ruban ‘utria dḡaimia qudama dabatur (Sidra 3)  
 “Blessed be the Miriads of Utra who stand before Abatur.”<sup>41</sup>
- b. ‘it manaihun dḡbušia dhšuka lbišia (Ginza 25,9–10)  
 “And there are among them those who wear the garments of darkness.”<sup>42</sup>

The use of yiqṭul in the next example is possibly conditioned by the fact that the superordinate sentence is negated:

- c. la iit dṇiqiriḥ ula iit dṇiqum (Nöldeke, MG 374)  
 “There is not one who calls him and who stands.”

40 See also Ginza 29,4 (lbiš “he wears”). For passively used PPs, see: Ginza 9,17 (mpalgia “they are divided”); Nöldeke, MG 380 (‘mir ‘lauaihun “it is said about them”).

41 For more APs in relative clauses, see, inter alia: Ginza 1,19 (d ... mitaprišia “who seek instruction”); 2,6 (dṭakilbḥ “who trusts in him”); 6,6 (dḡaima “which exists”); 17,15 (dšamin “who listen”); 42,5 (danatun abditun “that you do”); John 40,7 (d ... rahim “who loves”).

42 For more PPs, see: Ginza 3,21 (dškinbin “that he lives in”); 6,19 (dḡbiš “with which he is dressed”); 12,15 (dminḥ gbil “that is formed from it”); John 66,4 (dḡdib “that is written”).

In relative clauses with an indefinite reference word and in the meaning of a conditional clause (see sect. 12 below), *yiqṭul* or the AP can be used:

- d. kul ḏzahba ukaspa ... nirhum u'lauḥ gaṭla nigṭul napil (Nöldeke, MG 370)  
"Anyone who loves gold and silver ... and commits murder for it, will fall."
- e. man ḏsagid l-saṭana nistar b-nura ḏiaqda (Ginza 35,9–10)  
"Whoever worships Satan will be hidden in the blazing fire."<sup>43</sup>

### 8.2.2 Object Clauses

- f. la timrun mindam ḏla iaditun ula glilkun (Ginza 25,18)  
"Say nothing that you do not know and is not revealed to you."
- g. uḏšailia mina umithiblun (Sidra 33)  
"And what they ask of him is given to them."<sup>44</sup>

### 8.2.3 Temporal Clauses

- h. ukḏ bagin bi-ḥdadia šahlia ulabšia b-ʿuṣria ḏhdadia (Ginza 11,6–7)  
"And when they meet each other, they undress and clothe themselves with each other's treasures."

An infinitive form can also be used in the function of a temporal clause:

- i. l-miqmak ul-mitbak hzia l-marak manšiatlh (John 246,7–8)  
"In your standing and in your sitting, see that you do not forget your Lord."<sup>45</sup>

43 See also: Ginza 35,17 (kul man ḏapik dina napil b-nura "whoever perverts the law will fall into the fire"); 38,5 (kul man ḏgazel ... migzil "whoever robs ... will be cut off"); 38,19 (kul man ḏiamia ... mištkin "whoever swears ... will be lodged"); John 97,2–3 (kul man ḏ ... hasar ... hauia "whoever fails morally ... will be").

44 See further John 71,2–3 (mahu kdib "what has been written"); Nöldeke, MG 472 (mahu ḏmithašbia "what they think").

45 See also Nöldeke, MG 389 (mišqal ainh "when he lifts his eyes").



## 9 Extratemporalis

Extratemporal situations are predominantly expressed by qāṭil or participles of a t-stem:

- a. iatib b-girbia ʾlaiia (Ginza 3,11)  
“He (God) sits in the far north.”
- b. kul dmitlid maiit (Ginza 41,21)  
“Everyone who is born dies.”
- c. nhura rba dla baṭil (Ginza 1,24)  
“The great light (= God) that does not cease.”<sup>46</sup>

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 *Main Clauses*

Posteriority to the speech time is mostly expressed by qāṭil, sometimes also by yiqṭul. Some of the instances with yiqṭul allow a non-indicative interpretation, but in other cases it seems to be meant in a clearly indicative way:

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. ukariuta minak la baṭla (John 21,7–8)  
“And the grief will not leave you.”

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. anat salqit l-atrak azlit uhaua zauak abatrak tisaq (Nöldeke, MG 375)  
“You will ascend (AP), go (AP) to your place, and Eve, your spouse, will ascend (yiqṭul) after you.”

<sup>46</sup> See also, inter alia: John 6,1–2 (kd miṣṭarar ʾula “when a fetus is formed”); Nöldeke, MG 453 (kma d mia azlin “the way water flows”).

## 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. usahria udaiuia qudamḥ ništabdun ub-šubianḥ dilḥ masgin (Ginza 27, 10–11)  
 “The demons and devils will submit to him (yiqṭul) and go according to his will (AP).”

## 10.1.4 Stative

- d. umitlid hauia šlimun malka br dauud (Ginza 27,8–9)  
 “And he shall be born and shall be king Solomon, the son of David.”<sup>47</sup>

As can be seen in nos. b and c, qāṭil and yiqṭul are sometimes used side by side. Here is another example:

- e. dgairia ʿl-nura azlia ... uḏzamria zmara ḏsaṭana tiklinun nura ḏiaqda (John 57,4–6)  
 “Those who commit adultery will go (AP) into the fire ... those who sing the songs of Satan, the blazing fire will consume (yiqṭul) them.”

Nöldeke (MG 385) lists some examples of the compound niḥuia (3.sg.m. yiqṭul of hwy) + qāṭil. It is only rarely attested and the context mostly does not reveal what difference there might be between the compound and simple qāṭil. Sometimes the former seems to emphasise the duration of a situation:

- f. uanaton niḥuia mitqaimitun  
 “And you will persist.”

In other cases, it expresses quite clearly singular situations:

- g. niḥuia amar udaiin dinaikun  
 “He will say and pass your judgement.”

47 For further instances of yiqṭul and participles, see Nöldeke, MG 370–377.

## 10.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, too, *yiqṭul* and the AP are used:

### 10.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. rušumaikun rušuma ḍmia hiia ḍsalqitubḥ l-atar nhur (Ginza 18,13)  
 “Your sign is the sign of the living water by means of which you will ascend to the place of light.”<sup>48</sup>

### 10.2.2 Temporal Clause

- b. la tiqrḥ l-daura ḍbnaith iuma ḍdramilak tigma (John 10,13)  
 “Do not destroy the dwelling you have built on the day when they will raise quarrel against you.”

### 10.2.3 Object Clause

- c. mhaui ‘lḥ ḍqala nihwia ‘l-anašia (Nöldeke, MG 462)  
 “It is shown concerning him that his voice will be over the people.”

Occasionally, the AP of *hwy* is combined with another AP:

- d. kḍ hu hauia iadalun (Nöldeke, MG 385)  
 “... for he will know them.”

According to Nöldeke (*ibid.*), there is no difference between this compound and simple *qāṭil*.

## 11 *Anteriority to and Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future*

The first category is attested in temporal and relative clauses. The AP, *qṭal* and the PP (no. c) are used.

48 See also: Ginza 56,2–3 (*ḍšabqia* “who will leave”); John 36,10 (*ḍamarna ana* “that I will say”).

### 11.1 *Temporal Clauses*

- a. *kḏ hanath zibna mṭa* (Nöldeke, MG 368)  
“When this time will have come.”
- b. *kḏ napqitun mn-pagraikun tisimkun ʿl-ʿubadia ʿdaikun* (Ginza 21,18)  
“When you will have stepped out of your bodies, you will be able to lean on the works of your hands.”<sup>49</sup>
- c. *kḏ mpalgia bnia ʿsraii ʿurašlam mdinta mitbinia* (Ginza 52,23)  
“When the children of Israel will have been dispersed, the city of Jerusalem will be built.”

### 11.2 *Relative Clauses*

- d. *uarqa amra dina mn-man ḏašadbḥ zma* (Nöldeke, MG 368)  
“And the earth will pronounce a judgement on the one who will have shed blood on it.”
- e. *ʿzal l-duka ḏmšadritulia* (Nöldeke, MG 452)  
“I will go to the place where you will have sent me.”<sup>50</sup>

The main clause situation of an until-construction can include the subordinate clause situation and end only when the latter is completed. In this case, the AP is also used in the subordinate clause:

- f. *napil b-iaqdania ḏnura alma ḏhaṭaiiḥ šalmia* (Ginza 36,18)  
“He will fall into the blazing fire (and remain there) until his sins will be finished.”<sup>51</sup>

Simultaneity with a reference point in the future is attested in a temporal clause; in the subordinate clause an AP is used, in the superordinate clause *yiqṭul*:

49 For more example of the AP, see: John 16,4 (*kḏ maṭitun* “when you will have arrived”); 21,3 (*kḏ napqa* “when it will have left”); 113,4 (*kḏ ... aii* “when it will have entered”).

50 For more examples, see Nöldeke, MG 368.

51 See further: Ginza 15,22 (*alma ḏhaṭaiia šalmia* “until his sins will be finished”); 22,12–13 (*alma ḏkilaikun šalim* “until your measure will be full”); 53,17–18 (*alma ḏmaṭia zibna* “until the time will have come”).

- g. kḏ ana hauina daiana manu škinata nitaqin (John 261,1–2)  
 “When I will be the judge, who will maintain the Škinās?”

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 *Main Clauses*

Non-indicative statements can be expressed by yiqṭul. Object suffixes may be preceded by the plural forms with (no. f) as well as without /-n-/ (no. e):<sup>52</sup>

- a. niligṭh sipia (John 12,4)  
 “Let us take swords!”
- b. n’iul (Nöldeke, MG 371)  
 “Let us enter.”
- c. haṭaiaṇ tišbuqlan (Nöldeke, MG 271)  
 “May you forgive us our sin.”
- d. man nišabak (Ginza 4,17)  
 “Who is to praise you?”<sup>53</sup>

The imperative is negated by la + yiqṭul:

- e. la tirihmuia (Nöldeke, MG 372)  
 “Do not love (pl.) him!”
- f. la tišrunḥ (Nöldeke, ibid.)  
 “Do not untie (pl.) him!”

The AP is also attested in some cases which probably express desires:

- g. qabil butkun (Sidra 6)  
 “May he accept your prayer.”

<sup>52</sup> See Nöldeke, MG 372.

<sup>53</sup> Some more examples of yiqṭul: Sidra 23 + Ginza 33,9 (nitun “may they come”); Sidra 34 (nihzun “let them see it”); Ginza 12,19 (n’huian “let them come into being”); see further Nöldeke, MG 371.

- h. hazinin (Nöldeke, MG 378)  
 “Let us see.”<sup>54</sup>

Counterfactual wishes after *man* “who” are indicated by *qṭal*:

- i. man ḥablia (Nöldeke, MG 369)  
 “Who would give me? = O that someone would give me!”<sup>55</sup>

But *qṭal* is also attested without *man*:

- j. la hun iahuṭaiia (John 140,9)  
 “If only the Jews were not!”

*qṭal* of *hwy* + PP can express counterfactual statements of the past:

- k. la hua mṣinin (Nöldeke, MG 384)  
 “We would not have been able.”

The compound *nihuia* + *qāṭil* presented in 10.1 can also be used in a non-indicative sense:

- l. ula nihuia amrit (Nöldeke, MG 385)  
 “And you shall not say.”

## 12.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, *yiqṭul* is usually also used when the superordinate clause has past time reference. After expressions of wishing, commanding etc., it is introduced by *d*:

- a. bit d‘marlun (Nöldeke, MG 372)  
 “I wanted to tell them.”
- b. uamarlun ... dṇibda (ibid.)  
 “And he told them to do ...”<sup>56</sup>

54 On this point, see Nöldeke, MG 378.

55 For more evidence, see Nöldeke, MG 369.

56 See further Nöldeke, MG 372f.

ḏ + yiqṭul often has a final meaning:

- c. ukḏab halin sidria ḏnihuilīa dukrana b-tibil (Ginza 1,16)  
 “And they wrote these books that there might be a memory for them in the Tibil.”<sup>57</sup>

Final yiqṭul can also follow *asyndetically*:

- d. la tiklun ... hbulia ... la tidainun b-hšuka (Ginza 20,12–13)  
 “Do not consume interest ... lest you be judged in the darkness.”

However, the AP can also be used in this case:

- e. nišbuq ‘lh mahra rba ḏmanšilh l-marh (John 60,16)  
 “Heavy sickness let us unloose against him that he may forget his Lord.”
- f. uamarlun ḏramin mia (Nöldeke, MG 377)  
 “And he commanded them to pour water.”<sup>58</sup>

The AP is also clearly non-indicative when it is dependent on an optative clause introduced by ‘u:

- g. ‘u ʔarṭabuna ḏziua unhura huit ḏmkasainak (Nöldeke, MG 381)  
 “If you were a headscarf of splendour and light that I might clothe myself with you.”

The *intentum* of a final clause can also be expressed by l + infinitive:

- h. atia ... l-apuqan (Nöldeke, MG 386)  
 “He is coming ... to lead me out.”

The infinitive may also be without a preposition:

- i. baiina mizal (Nöldeke, MG 387)  
 “I wish to go.”

57 See also: Ginza 14,1 (ḏ ... nišabun “so that they praise”); 19,21 (ḏla nitakšal “so that he may not stumble”); 34,20 (ḏninhar “that it may be enlightened”); John 61,4 (ḏla nisaq “so that he may not ascend”); see also Nöldeke, MG 372f.

58 For more examples of the AP, see Nöldeke, MG 377f.

- j. gabra ḏabuia šadrḥ mibnia šumia uarqa (ibid.)  
 “A man whom his father sent to build heaven and earth.”<sup>59</sup>

### 13 Conditional Clauses

Both real and counterfactual conditional clauses are introduced by *‘u* or *hin*. Real conditionals of the present / future have an AP or participle of the t-stem, *yiqṭul* or a nominal form in the protasis. These forms, in addition to the imperative, are also found in the apodosis. *yiqṭul* in the apodosis sometimes has a non-indicative meaning:

- a. hin la šama ... ništaial (Ginza 15,7–8)  
 “If he does not hear ... he will be interrogated.”
- b. hin la mahuitulun ula malpitulun bit dina mithaibitun (Ginza 22,17–18)  
 “If you do not instruct and teach them, you will be punished for your guilt in the court of justice.”
- c. ‘u ... tišmun ... tilkun (Ginza 18,14)  
 “If you listen ... I will give you.”
- d. ‘u ‘marlak la tirgaz (John 29,7–8)  
 “If I say (it) to you, do not be angry.”<sup>60</sup>

Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future can only be distinguished from those of the past by the context. Both usually have *qṭal* in protasis and apodosis:

- e. ‘u mizal umitia hua armalta b-tibil la huat (John 115,3–4)  
 “If there were a going and returning, there would be no widow in the Tibil.”

59 On the use of the infinitive in detail, see Nöldeke, MG 386ff.

60 For the AP in the protasis, see, inter alia: John 11,5 (‘u ana ramina “if I throw”); 11,8 (‘u abditun “if you do”); 15,2–3 (‘u anat ... ramiatlun “if you throw against them”); 30,3 (‘u baiit “if you want”); 63,11 (‘u šabqin “if they let go”); for *yiqṭul*: John 243,6–7 (‘u ‘hut “if I descend”). Numerous other examples are listed in Nöldeke, MG 473–480.



- f. ‘u ‘l-dilak šauuiuk dauar abatur l-haka la tiuia (John 57,9–10)  
 “If they had made you the judge, they would not have brought Abatur here.”<sup>61</sup>

The use of q̄ṭal in the apodosis is not restricted to the verb hwy as in no. e:

- g. ‘u ‘ṣṭla d̄ziua unhura huit ... minai l-bit hiia sliqt (Nöldeke, MG 476)  
 “If you were a robe of splendour and light ... you would climb up with me to the house of life.”

However, the predicates of the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future can also be APs, yiqṭul- or nominal forms:

- h. ‘u anat hauit mkika ziuak la šna mn-dukth̄ (John 34,12–13)  
 “If you were humble, your splendour would not have left its place.”
- i. hin puman kḏ iama nihiua ... la maṭialin d̄nisaiik unimar ‘l-hailak (Ginza 11,12–14)  
 “Even if our mouth were (like) the sea ... we could not comprise and portray your power.”<sup>62</sup>
- j. ‘u hilmia lika b-iahud ‘u hizuania lika b-‘urašlam kul mahu ḏamar miša kadba (John 73,2–3)  
 “If there were no dreams in Judea, if there were no visions in Jerusalem, then everything Miša said would be a lie.”

Nöldeke (MG 384) gives an example of hua + actively used PP:

- k. ‘u hua mṣ‘iit  
 “If you were able.”

## 14 Verbs of Perception

The perceived situation can be introduced by *d̄* or *kḏ*. If it is perceived in its progress, q̄ṭil or the compound hwā + (q-)q̄ṭil is used:

61 See also: John 55,12–13 + 55,15 (‘u ... la huat “if there were not”). For some more examples, see Nöldeke, MG 476.

62 For further evidence, see again the chapter on conditional clauses in Nöldeke, MG 473ff.

- a. hzinan ḏqaiminan b-atra ḏ ... (Sidra 5)  
“See us standing in the place of ...”
- b. aškath l-‘urba ḏiatib ... umn-ašlanda hua q-akil (Nöldeke, MG 383)  
“She found the raven sitting ... and eating from a corpse.”

As can be seen from example no. b, even with past time reference simple AP is used if it directly follows the superordinate verb; only if it is at some distance, hwy is added. See also:

- c. ‘zlit uaškitinun l-ahai ul-ahuatai ḵd miqam qaimia udrašia daršia (John 128,7–9)  
“I went and found my brothers and sisters standing and preaching.”<sup>63</sup>

If the situation is perceived as a complete whole, q̱tal is used:

- d. hzit ... ḏata kukba l-‘nišbai qam nura b-aba saba zakria iaqda (John 67,3–6)  
“I saw that a star appeared and stopped over ‘Enišbai, fire was burning at Abā Sābā Zakria.”

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Q̱tal*

q̱tal is used in both discussing and narrating passages to express anteriority to the speech time and can have the meaning of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). It usually denotes singular situations but can also indicate repeated ones which are usually expressed by hwā + q̱aṭil (3). In subordinate clauses, it serves alongside q̱tille to express anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.2). If a situation is described by an AP in its progress, an intervening situation is expressed by q̱tal (5). With stative verbs, q̱tal can describe states that are probably thought to be habitual (5).

With verbs of mental activity as well as with hwy, q̱tal can be used resultatively; the resulting state is simultaneous with the speech time: ‘dit “I know” (7.1 + 7.2). In subordinate clauses it describes, besides the AP, anteriority to a reference point in the future (11). It is used non-indicatively in counterfactual optative clauses after *man* “who” and without *man* (12.1) and also in the

63 See further Nöldeke, MG 374 (uhzaith l-ruha ḏiatba “and I saw the Ruha sitting”).

apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the present / future (13). Finally, it is attested after verbs of perception if a situation is not perceived in its progress but as a complete whole (14).

### 15.2 *Yiqṭul*

*yiqṭul* has only one form which ends in -un in the plural and has the prefix *ni-* in the 3.sg.m. and 3.pl.m./f. There is a shortened form without /-n/ in the plural before object suffixes, a functional difference between the two forms, however, does not exist (12.1 + 12.2).

With verbs of speaking, it can denote anteriority to the speech time in narrating passages (2.1), and it may also express posteriority to a reference point in the past (6). It rarely indicates simultaneity with the speech time; the AP is mostly used here. This applies to singular, habitual and extratemporal situations (7–9). More frequently it denotes posteriority to the speech time (10.1 + 10.2). Its actual field of application, however, seems to be the expression of non-indicative situations, both in main and subordinate clauses. Finally, it is used in the apodosis and protasis of real conditionals and is also attested in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future (13).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP is fully inflected as the PP is. It can denote singular situations that are anterior to the speech time (AP and participle of the *t*-stem); in these cases, it usually follows a *qṭal* form. It can also be used, with or without preceding *hua*, to express anterior situations when these extended over a certain period of time (2.1). Combined with mostly uninflected *hua*, it denotes duration and habituality in the past. In these cases, the AP can be preceded by *qa-* (3). It indicates, usually without *hua*, situations in the past that are in progress, whereas an intervening situation is expressed by *qṭal* (5), and it can denote, besides *yiqṭul*, posteriority to a reference point in the past (6).

Furthermore, it indicates simultaneity with the speech time with singular (7), habitual (8) and extratemporal (9) situations. When expressing singular situations, it is sometimes combined with *qa-*. Furthermore, it can denote situations that are posterior to the speech time (10.1 + 10.2). Here, it is sometimes combined with a form of *hwy*, namely with its AP or the uninflected *yiqṭul* form *nihua*. *hāwe + qāṭil* is very rare and does not seem to differ in meaning from simple *qāṭil*. *yihwē + qāṭil* seems to emphasise duration and repetition in the future but also expresses situations that are to be considered singular (10.1 + 10.2). Furthermore, the AP, in addition to *qṭal*, can express anteriority to and, with stative verbs, simultaneity with a reference point in the future

in subordinate clauses (11) and is occasionally found in non-indicative main and subordinate clauses; in main clauses, the compound *yihwē + qāṭil* is also attested (12.1 + 12.2). The AP is used in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses of the present / future but is also found in counterfactual conditionals of the present / future (13). Finally, after verbs of sensual perception, it describes a situation in its progress even if the main clause situation has past time reference. In addition to simple AP, also the compound *hwā + q-qāṭil* is used when it is at some distance from the verb of perception (14).

#### 15.4 *Qṭil*

*qṭil* is fully inflected with S-suffixes. When formed from transitive verbs, it is mostly used resultatively. Preceded by a *qṭal* form of *hwy*, it can thus denote states that are simultaneous with a reference point in the past (5), without *hwy*, the state is mostly simultaneous with the speech time (*hic et nunc* or habitual; 7.1 + 7.2, 8.1 + 8.2). However, it can also be used as an anterior; it is mostly formed from transitive verbs and is passive in this case, the PP of intransitive verbs, on the other hand, has the meaning of an active anterior: *nišmata dḥaiaḇia dḥṭin uaskil b-alma* “the souls of the sinners who have sinned and transgressed in the world” (2.1 + 2.2). The same is true of some other verbs where the PP is attested with an active meaning (5, 7.1). There are two examples of *hwā* and actively used *qṭil* (*mšy* “be able”) describing counterfactual situations, one with present time, one with past time reference (*la hua mšinin* “we would not have been able”, *ʿu hua mšʿūt* “if you were able”; 12.1 + 13). Simple PP is attested once to express anteriority to a reference point in the future (11).

#### 15.5 *Qṭille*

*qṭille* is much less frequently attested than *qṭal*; like the latter, it expresses anteriority to the speech time but seems to be restricted to discussing passages. It is by no means limited to verbs of hearing and seeing but seems to be formed only from the G-stem. The functional difference to *qṭal* is not easy to determine; the situation expressed by *qṭille* mostly has some relevance for the speech time, but in this sense *qṭal* can also be used (2.1 + 2.2). Moreover, it can express, besides *qṭal*, anteriority to a reference point in the past; in this function it may be combined with a *qṭal* form of *hwy* (4.2).

#### 15.6 *Infinitive*

The infinitive with a possessive suffix is formally a nominal phrase, but it can be used like a finite verb and express anteriority to the speech time (2.1) and have the meaning of a temporal clause indicating anteriority to a reference

point in the past (maṭuiai “my arrival” > “when I had arrived”; 4.2), but it may also have present time reference (mišqal ain “he lifts his eyes”; 8.2). I + infinitive expresses the intentum of a final clause; also after verbs of wishing, commanding etc., an infinitive can be used instead of a finite verb form (baiina mizal “I wish to go”; 12.2).

## 16 Analysis

qṭal primarily indicates perfectivity. In addition, however, it not only expresses counterfactuality in optative clauses but also in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future, and, unlike in JBA, CPA and Syriac (see below ch. 11, sect. 14), is not limited to the verb hwy in this function but is also used with others. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter (sect. 17), at this point it should only be noted that although qṭal expresses the perfective aspect in its main function, it cannot be regarded as marked.

The main function of yiqṭul is not easy to determine. It is mainly used non-indicatively but also describes indicative posteriority to the speech time. Although the compound yihwē + qāṭil is only rarely attested, it seems to be used more frequently than in JBA. Assuming that yihwē + qāṭil primarily expresses duration and repetition, this suggests that yiqṭul primarily describes perfective situations in the indicative as well as in the non-indicative realm. In any case, its main function seems to be the expression of non-indicative situations.

The use of simple qāṭil is so manifold that it does not seem to be marked in any way. The fact that it does not only denote posteriority to the speech time sporadically but seems to be the main signum to express this category, makes it inadvisable to regard it as an extended imperfective form. Moreover, since it can denote non-indicative situations as well as indicative ones, it seems most appropriate not to regard it as marked either temporally, aspectually or modally. The compound hwā + qāṭil denotes the extended imperfective aspect with reference to the past; yihwē + qāṭil could not be analysed with absolute certainty, but it probably indicates primarily the extended imperfective aspect with reference to the future. Analysing q-qāṭil and hwā + q-qāṭil is not unproblematic. Although the two signa also express the imperfective aspect, q- is by no means obligatory here; on the contrary, this category is expressed far more frequently by simple qāṭil and hwā + qāṭil. In addition, the forms with q- can also denote habitual situations. This is also the case with the corresponding signa in JBA which have nevertheless been analysed as marked imperfective verb forms. There is, however, a decisive difference between JBA and Mandaic, and this lies in the frequency of use. The forms with q- are used far more

frequently in JBA than in Mandaic,<sup>64</sup> and even if they occasionally describe habitual situations in JBA, the large number of instances in which *q-qāṭil* and *hwā + q-qāṭil* describe the imperfective aspect shows that they had already developed into imperfective signa or were at least well on the way to doing so. This is decidedly not the case in Mandaic; here, forms with *q-* are rather the exception, and although no such convincing examples of a presentative use have been found as in JBA, where *q-qāṭil* can denote the rheme of a statement, the corresponding forms in Mandaic seem to be primarily presentative and emphasising in character. It is not surprising that a presentative verb form also describes imperfective situations, but this does not make it an imperfective verb form. I am therefore inclined to analyse *q-qāṭil* and *hwā + q-qāṭil* in Mandaic as marked verb forms, however, not as imperfective but as presentative ones.

*qṭil* is occasionally used as an anterior, but with transitive verbs it primarily expresses resultative situations. The fact that it is occasionally used to express counterfactual situations does not mean that it is modally coloured. The counterfactuality in these cases is rather expressed by the accompanying form of *hwy*. The question of why *qṭil* of certain verbs can be used with an active meaning will be discussed below (ch. 12, sect. 1.4).

*qṭille* is used in the function of an anterior; *hwā + qṭille* is too rarely attested to be analysed unambiguously. If it only serves to express anteriority to a reference point in the past, it should be interpreted temporally.

The use of the infinitive in the function of a finite verb form is only in its initial stage and, as with *qṭille*, this function could be fulfilled by another form at any time. Since it can also be used purely nominally,<sup>65</sup> it has to be considered unmarked.

The verbal system of Mandaic has the following marked verb forms: *q-qāṭil*, *hwā + q-qāṭil*, *qṭille*, *qṭil + S-suffix*, *hwā + qṭil*, imperative. Not marked are: *qṭal*, *yiqṭul*, *qāṭil*, *hwā + qāṭil*, *yihwē + qāṭil*, infinitive.

In the indicative domain, there is the following opposition pair:

*yiqṭul* (posterior perfective) : *yihwē + qāṭil* (posterior ext. imperfective)

*qṭal* and *hwā + qāṭil*, on the other hand, cannot be regarded as opposition partners because *qṭal* does not only express perfectivity but also counterfactuality.

In the non-indicative domain:

*yiqṭul* (perfective) : *yihwē + qāṭil* (ext. imperfective)

64 Cf. Nöldeke, MG 379.

65 See Nöldeke, MG 386ff.

# Syriac

## o Text Corpus

The following texts were evaluated: The Doctrina of the Apostle Addai (Addai), The Life of Saint Ephraem the Syrian (Vita Eph.), Saint Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns contra Haereses (Eph. Haer.), The Story of Matthew and Andrew (M & A).

In addition, the Old Syriac inscriptions and parchments according to Drijvers / Healey (Old Syriac 45–252, abbreviated Ins. and P.) are included in the study.

## 1 The Verb Forms

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

qṭal has the theme vowels /a/ and /e/, /o/ is only preserved in ܡܚܪ “be reluctant” and ܚܚܪ “be black”.<sup>1</sup> It has the following endings:

|      | sg. | pl.                    |
|------|-----|------------------------|
| 3.m. | ܡܠܐ | ܡܠܐ ~ ܡܠܐ              |
| 3.f. | ܡܠܐ | ܡܠܐ ~ ܡܠܐ ~ ܡܠܐ        |
| 2.m. | ܡܠܐ | ܡܠܐ                    |
| 2.f. | ܡܠܐ | ܡܠܐ                    |
| 1.c. | ܡܠܐ | ܡܠܐ ~ ܡܠܐ <sup>2</sup> |

The inflected qṭal form of the main verb is often followed by an equally inflected qṭal form of ܐܡܢ “to be”: ܐܡܢ ܐܡܢ “he wrote” (Addai 12,13). The /h/ of ܐܡܢ is marked by a linea occultans, so the qṭal form and ܐܡܢ form a fixed unit qṭalwā. This also applies to the compounds of yiqṭul, qāṭil and qṭil + ܐܡܢ. An internal passive is, except in Old Syriac (see below 2.1), attested neither for qṭal nor for yiqṭul; besides the G-stem, the derived stems also used in the other dialects are attested (qaṭṭel, ʾaqṭel, etqṭel, etqaṭṭal and ettaqṭal).

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke, SG 103.

<sup>2</sup> See Nöldeke, SG 105.

1.2 *Yiqṭul*

There is only a long form which is used indicatively and non-indicatively and is negated, as qṭal, by ܠ:

|      | sg.    | pl.                 |
|------|--------|---------------------|
| 3.m. | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| 3.f. | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| 2.m. | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| 2.f. | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| 1.c. | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ | ܕܡܠܝܬܐ <sup>3</sup> |

In the Old Syriac inscriptions, the prefix of the 3.m. is not only n-, but also y- which is attested in texts between 6 and 165 AD.<sup>4</sup> The oldest attestation of n- known to me dates from 194 AD.<sup>5</sup> An assumed sound change /y/ > /n/ is phonetically not unproblematic, and considering that the y-prefix still occurs in younger Eastern Aramaic incantation bowls as well as in JBA, it seems more appropriate to me to assume, following Healey (Early Syriac 226), the existence of two contemporary varieties of Syriac, one with a y-, another with an n-prefix.

yiqṭul can be followed by an inflected qṭal form of ܕܡܠܝܬܐ: ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “that he may send” (Addai 17,23).

1.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP has the following forms:

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| sg.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ |
| sg.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ |
| pl.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ |
| pl.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ |

1.4 *Qṭil*

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| sg.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| sg.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| pl.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ              |
| pl.f. | ܡܠܝܬܐ <sup>6</sup> |

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Drijvers / Healey, Old Syriac 29.

<sup>5</sup> See Healey, Early Syriac 222.

<sup>6</sup> Nöldeke, SG 104–105.



AP and following subject pronoun can be written as one or two words: **ܡܠܟܐ** or **ܡܠܟܐܐ**,<sup>7</sup> as for the PP, I am only aware of examples of separate spelling: **ܠܚܒܐ** “I am clothed” (see below sect. 7.2). AP and PP can be combined with a qṭal form of **ܐܡܐ** that normally follows. These compounds are referred to as qāṭilwā and qṭilwā respectively. They are negated by **ܠܐ** or **ܠܐܐ**. The derived stems have the prefix m-, AP and PP of the D- and C-stems are marked by an /e/ and /a/ respectively after the second root consonant.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.5 *Qṭille*

It is usually formed from transitive verbs of the G-stem, less often from the derived stems and intransitive verbs: **ܠܐ ܚܒܐ** “I have done”. It can be combined with a qṭal form of **ܐܡܐ**, as in: **ܠܐ ܚܐ ܡܠܟܐܐ ܠܐܡܐ** “had he not read?”.<sup>9</sup> This compound is referred to as qṭilwāle. Both the PP and the form of **ܐܡܐ** are mostly congruent with the logical object: **ܠܚܒܐܐ ܡܠܟܐܐ ܠܚܒܐܐ** “which (pl.m.) had been built by the Persians”.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes, however, the 3.sg.m. is also used with feminine or plural objects: **ܠܐ ܚܐ ܡܠܟܐܐ ܠܚܒܐܐ** “the miracles we have heard about” (see below 2.2 no. c).

### 1.6 *Qatṭil*

This pattern, inflected like qāṭil, originally expressed permanent properties, like Hebr. **אָדוּר** “extended; mighty”, **חָכִים** “wise”, but in Syriac it is also formed from dynamic verbs, especially those of movement, and is mostly used with the meaning of a resultative or anterior; it can be combined with a form of **ܐܡܐ**.

### 1.7 *Imperative*

|       |                                     |
|-------|-------------------------------------|
| sg.m. | <b>ܡܠܟܐܐ</b>                        |
| sg.f. | <b>ܡܠܟܐܐ</b>                        |
| pl.m. | <b>ܡܠܟܐܐ ~ ܡܠܟܐܐܐ</b>               |
| pl.f. | <b>ܡܠܟܐܐ ~ ܡܠܟܐܐܐ</b> <sup>11</sup> |

7 Ibid. 45.

8 Ibid. 105f.

9 Ibid. 210.

10 Ibid. 210.

11 Ibid. 105.

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 Main Clauses

Anteriority to the speech time is mostly expressed by simple qṭal regardless of the types of action, in both narrating and discussing passages. In discussing passages it can have the meaning of an anterior (no. b). In addition, qṭal + qṭal form of ܩܬܠܐ (= qṭalwā), AP + qṭal form of ܩܬܠܐ (= qāṭilwā) and qṭille are used:

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. ܕܝܗ ܕܡ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (Vita Eph. 25,20)  
“Shortly afterwards he died.”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- b. ܕܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (Vita Eph. 35,10)  
“Why have you come?”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. ܕܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (Vita Eph. 37,11)  
“He slapped the blessed man on the cheek, but he did not speak.”

#### 2.1.4 Complex

- d. ܕܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (M & A 56a, qkg 4)  
“All the inhabitants of the city, however, trembled.”

#### 2.1.5 Stative

- e. ܕܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (Addai 13,10)  
“And they were there in Jerusalem ten days.”

Also Old Syriac uses qṭal:

- f. ܕܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ ܡܠܝܕ (Ins. 7,1–3)  
“I made for myself this house of eternity.”<sup>12</sup>

12 See further: Ins. 5,1 (ܕܡܠܝܕ “you saw”); P. 3,IV (ܕܡܠܝܕ “I leased”).



qṭalwā is also found in subordinate clauses in narrating passages and here expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past:

- i. ܩܬܠܘܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ (Addai 13, 13f)  
 “And they stepped before King Abgar, their lord, who had sent them.”<sup>16</sup>

Rundgren (Verbalsystem 63f) regards the emergence of qṭalwā as a renewal of what he calls the constative aspect on the tunc-level that is accompanied by a weakening of the constativity of qṭal which now stands between qṭalwā and qāṭilwā and, like the latter, can be used to express progressing situations. He illustrates his thesis by quoting two instances from the Doctrina Addai in which qṭal and qṭalwā oppose each other, namely: ܐܕܝܪܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ “they set out and came on their way to Jerusalem”, and: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ “they set out and came to Edessa” (Verbalsystem 64). In the second example, Rundgren says, ܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ is merely a statement, whereas ܡܠܟܐ in the first example describes a situation that is made slightly progressive by the statement ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ (ibid.). First of all, it should be noted that a verb like “to come” can only be made progressive with difficulty without losing its type of action, and even in the first example it is clearly telic, since it is not the gradual coming to Jerusalem that is described but that they arrived on the way thereto, and this situation is clearly perfective or constative. Moreover, hwā “was” primarily denotes past time reference, not the perfective aspect, and even if these two categories correlate closely with each other, it can be assumed that hwā emphasises first of all the temporal, not the aspectual side of the verb form here.

Of course, the question remains why the necessity was felt to form a new verb form, qṭalwā, at all. If one assumes that hwā primarily emphasises the temporal side, it is reasonable to suppose that simple qṭal no longer expressed anteriority to the speech time as clearly as it was considered necessary. And indeed, qṭal can also have present time references in counterfactual statements<sup>17</sup> or with certain stative verbs such as ܕܡܠܟܐ “to be mistaken”, ܕܡܠܟܐ “to know”, ܕܡܠܟܐ “to believe”.<sup>18</sup> But however one has to explain the emergence of this form, it can

16 See further: Addai 13,2–3 (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ “because he had gone out”); 13,15 (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ “that they had brought”); 15,11 (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܓܪ “what he had heard”). See also Morrison, qṭal hwā 108f. Exceptions to this are rare, for example in 13,16–17: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ “(they reported [qṭalwā]) all that they had seen”.

17 See Nöldeke, SG 195f.

18 See, inter alia: Vita Eph. 34,9f; M & A 56a,qkb 4–5; Addai 14,17; 18,13.







- o. ܡܠ ܝܚܝܐ ܕܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 “And blessed Andrew heard a voice speaking to him.”<sup>27</sup>

In summary, it can be said that *q̄talwā* occurs in the story of Matthew and Andrew only very exceptionally in subordinate clauses and not after adverbs such as ܡܠܝܬܐ and ܡܠܝܬܐ. The fact that it does not follow expressions that in themselves mark the beginning of a new narrative section could indicate that *q̄talwā* fulfils the same function, but this assumption cannot be substantiated by the text. The combination *q̄talwā ... wq̄tal*, on the other hand, which expresses a close logical or temporal connection between the two situations, is well attested. *q̄tal ... wq̄talwā* possibly has the same function and is used after adverbs that are not compatible with *q̄talwā*. But the latter combination is too weakly attested to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn.

Moreover, the compound *qāṭilwā* can denote situations that are anterior to the speech time. It expresses habituality (see the next section) and also repeated situations within a limited period of time which cannot yet be considered habitual:

- p. ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (Addai 17,11–12)  
 “And also in the whole town he performed great healings and showed amazing miracles in it.”
- q. ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (Vita Eph. 40,13–14)  
 “The sons of the town, however, gathered together in the great palace of the apostle Thomas and prayed there.”<sup>28</sup>

In addition, *qāṭilwā* is used to describe singular situations that are not considered as a complete whole but are described in their progress. The situations are mostly atelic or stative. The difference to *q̄talwā* can be seen very clearly in the following example:

- r. ܡܠ ܐܢܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (Vita Eph. 37,17–18)

27 Similarly in: qyḥ 14 (ܝܠܝܬܐ “he saw”); qkb 3 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܝܠܝܬܐ “he looked and saw”); qkg 8 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “they came”).

28 See further: Addai 19,14 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “he did not force”); M & A 50a, qg 4 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “they threw”).





- u.  (Nöldeke, SG 210)  
“Have you read the books?”
- v.  (ibid.)  
“I have not stood before rulers.”<sup>30</sup>

Occasionally, the PP of derived stems is attested:

- w.    ܠܗܝܬܐ (Nöldeke, SG 210)  
“I have walked.”

The AP of **قَالَ** is often used to introduce direct speech, also with past time reference. As in BA, it is often combined with **قَالَ**:

- x. **וַיִּשְׁכַּח** (Nöldeke, SG 206)  
“And they spoke.”

Furthermore, qatṭil should be mentioned. This pattern has been studied by Barsky and Loesov (Preterite). Originally used to denote permanent properties, it is also formed from dynamic verbs in Syriac, especially those of movement, and can be used as an anterior:

- y. nāšā menhōn men-ruḥqā 'attīn (NT, according to Barsky and Loesov, Preterite II)  
 "Some of them have come from far away."

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

The usual form in subordinate clauses is qṭal:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ܐܒܓܪܝܟܟܡܐ ܬܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܒܠܐ ܕܡܥܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܐܠܝܡ  
(Addai 14,7)  
“Abgar Ukkama to Jesus, the good physician who appeared in the  
Jerusalem area.”<sup>31</sup>

30 See further M & A 52a, qh 16 (لر، لار “I have seen”) and Nöldeke, SG 210.

31 See also: Addai 14,14 (ܕܢܫܕܠܐ “you who descended”); 14,22 (ܕܢܫܠܡܐ “who sent you”); Eph. Haer. VIII 5 (ܕܡܠܚܐ “who crossed over”); M & A 50b, qh 11 (ܕܡܠܚܐ “who created you”);





### 3.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- b. **ወገን ስላዩ ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ ... ወ ስላዩ ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ**  
(Addai 19,18–20)  
“When they read the Old Testament and ... they meditated on them every day.”<sup>38</sup>

Simple qāṭil is also attested:

- c. **ላዩ ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ**  
(Vita Eph. 43,10–11)  
“He was buried in the churchyard where the strangers would be buried.”<sup>39</sup>

Besides qāṭilwā, yiqṭul with a following qṭal form of **ወገን** is sometimes used to describe repeated situations. I have found examples of this compound in this function only in Nöldeke (SG 200):

- d. **ወገን ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ**  
“for as often as he came to any place ...”

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 Main Clauses

This category is found mostly in subordinate clauses. A main clause example from M & A has already been cited above in 2.1 (no. j). As we have seen, qṭalwā is used there (**ወገን ስላዩ** “he had gone to sleep”). qṭalwā is also attested once in the Vita Eph. (42,12–13):

- a. **ወገን ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ ወገን ስላዩ**  
“He had seen that they were without mercy.”

The expression of anteriority in main clauses is certainly not the main function of qṭalwā, which, as we have seen, is rather to be sought in the field of text-linguistics; nevertheless, it is perhaps no coincidence that qṭalwā is used precisely in texts for the expression of anteriority in the past in which

come”); 43,15 (**ወገን ስላዩ** “where they used to put”); M & A 54a, qyw 1 (**ወገን ስላዩ** “in which they used to slaughter”).

38 See also Addai 20,18–19 (**ወገን ስላዩ** “when such a one used to die”).

39 See further: Vita Eph. 28,13 (**ወገን** “that surrounded”); 32,24–25 (**ወገን** “where [the ships] docked”).

it is otherwise relatively rarely attested and certainly does not have the same text-linguistic function as in the *Doctrina Addai*. Possibly, as Nöldeke (SG 197) assumes, it actually emphasises the moment of the past.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, qṭilwāle is attested:

- b. ܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܠ ܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ (Vita Eph. 23,21)  
“The Persians had not yet conquered it (i.e. the city = fem.).”
- c. ܐܢ ܠܡ ܕܗܘܢ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܐܢ ܠܡ ܕܗܘܢ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܐܢ ܠ (Nöldeke, SG 210)  
“Had he not read or heard that?”

Also qattīl + qṭal form of ܐܢܐ can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past:

- d. wlā ’attī-hwā lwāthōn Yešū’ (NT, according to Barsky and Loesov, Preterite 13)  
“And Jesus had not come to them.”
- e. da ḥtītā mayyīt-hwā (Commentary of Išo’dad of Merv on the Old Testament, according to Barsky and Loesov, Preterite 15)  
“He had died a death of sin.”

#### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

Anteriority to a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses is mainly expressed by qṭal and qṭalwā. Which verb form is used depends on the text. In the *Doctrina Addai*, as we have seen, qṭalwā is used to mark narrating passages in both main and subordinate clauses. Accordingly, qṭalwā is predominantly used there, whereas simple qṭal is found in the other texts. The superordinate situations are often expressed by the same verb forms:

##### 4.2.1 Relative Clauses

##### 4.2.1.1 Qṭalwā – Qṭalwā

- a. ܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ (Addai 13, 13–14)  
“And they came before King Abgar their lord, who had sent them.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The same function qṭalwā seems to have in the Peshitta to Matthew; see Joosten, *Syriac Language* 110.

<sup>41</sup> For more evidence of qṭalwā in main and subordinate clauses, see: Addai 13,14–15 (ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ... ܐܢܐ “they gave ... which they had brought”); 13,17 (... ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ “he read ... what he had written down”); 15,11 (ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ... ܐܢܐ “he read ... what he had written down”); 15,11 (ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ... ܐܢܐ “he read ... what he had written down”).

4.2.1.2 *Qṭal* – *Qṭal*

- b. לעצמיהו דהבדו סלח דעצמיהו (M & A 52a, qṭ 15–16)  
 “Have you not heard of the miracles he had performed before them?”<sup>42</sup>

## 4.2.2 Temporal Clauses

4.2.2.1 *Qṭalwā* – *Qṭalwā*

- c. כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם אדם חל הב (Addai 13,5–6)  
 “And after they had entered Jerusalem, they saw the Messiah.”<sup>43</sup>

4.2.2.2 *Qṭal* – *Qṭal*

- d. כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם (Vita Eph. 27,22–23)  
 “After they had gone away, he handed it over to the Persians.”<sup>44</sup>

## 4.2.3 Object Clauses

- e. כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם (Vita Eph. 30,4)  
 “They thought that the hermit had written the book.”<sup>45</sup>

כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “he told ... everything he had heard”; 17,22 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “he commanded to ... who had been healed”).

- 42 See also: Vita Eph. 40,6 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “he wrote down ... what they had done”); Eph. Haer. II 6 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “she subjugated ... who had inclined”). This combination is also attested in Old Syriac (P3, II–III i כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “which he had given me as a pledge”).

- 43 Further evidence of *qṭalwā* in main and subordinate clauses in the Doctrina Addai: 12,11–12 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when they had come, he welcomed”); 15,5–7 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had seen, he took”); 16,9–11 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had seen, he fell down and worshipped”); 19,21–24 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had built ... and equipped it ... he built”).

- 44 On *qṭal* in main and subordinate clauses, see further, among others: Vita Eph. 25,14–17 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had been banished and excommunicated ... he returned”); 30,3–4 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “after they had read it, he wondered”); 30,9–10 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had discovered ... he fled”); 31,3 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had left ... they saw him”); 32,14 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had gone, he found”); 35,15 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when they had done ... he said”); 36,7 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had heard ... he said”); 37,8–9 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had arrived ... he met”); 37,12–13 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when a little time had passed, they sat down.”); 37,8–19 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had returned and seen the dead man, he wept and commanded”); M & A 50a, qb 20–21 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם ... כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “when he had entered, they caught him”).

- 45 See also M & A 52a, qṭ 4–5 (כעסר אדם סמורסא על ירושלם “for we heard that he had shown”).

qṭal is quite rare in narrating subordinate clauses in the Doctrina Addai; one example can be found in 13,3–5:

- f. **ܩܬܠܝܢ ܕܥܡܬܐ ܕܥܡܬܐ ܕܥܡܬܐ ... ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܥܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ**  
 “After they had seen those people.... they also went with them to Jerusalem.”<sup>46</sup>

Occasionally, qṭal and qṭalwā alternate, as in 13,16–17:

- g. **ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ**  
 “They began to tell before the king everything they had seen and what the Messiah had done.”

In direct speech or in discussing passages, however, qṭal is the rule, as in 14,12–13:

- h. **ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ**  
 “And after I had heard about these great miracles that you are performing, it came to my mind ...”<sup>47</sup>

The Vita of Ephraem, too, has some examples of qṭalwā:

- i. **ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ** (Vita Eph. 39, 20–21)  
 “He also made hymns to ... who had suffered martyrdom in Edessa.”<sup>48</sup>

Anteriority to a reference point in the past can be expressed by qṭilwā or qṭilwāle. qṭilwā has mostly a resultative meaning but is sometimes also used in the sense of an anterior (no. j) and then differs from qṭilwāle (no. k) only by the diathesis:

- j. **ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ** (M & A 50b, qg 20)  
 “(The place) where he had been captured.”

46 See further: 15,15–16 (ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ... ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ “when he had come ... he lived”); cf. also Morrison, qṭal hwā 120f.

47 See also 16,24 (ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ... ܕܡܝܬܝܢ “when he had finished ... he was raised”).

48 See also Vita Eph. 32,22–24 (ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ... ܕܡܝܬܝܢ “when ... he had written”).





## 5.1.2 Stative

- b. ܐܡܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ (M & A 51a, qh 19–20)  
 “(He went and saw a ship [qṭal].) And in the ship there were sitting three men.”<sup>53</sup>

With certain verbs, the PP of the G-stem has an active meaning<sup>54</sup> and can then be used like an AP:

- c. ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ (Nöldeke, SG 211)  
 “The women, however, were carrying water.”

Also resultative qāṭīlāwā can denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past:

- d. hū dēn Yešū‘ dammīk-hwā<sup>55</sup>  
 “But he, Jesus, was sleeping.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, qāṭīlāwā is mostly used. The main clause usually has qṭal or qṭalwā; if the main and subordinate clauses progress parallel to each other, both clauses normally have qāṭīlāwā:

## 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ܡܠ ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ (Addai 13,6–7)  
 “And they were rejoicing with the crowd that was accompanying him.”
- b. ܡܠ ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ (Addai 20, 16–17)  
 “And all the townspeople who saw him were amazed at him.”<sup>56</sup>

53 See further: Vita Eph. 37,13 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “he was sitting”); Eph. Haer. IV 8 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “they were able”).

54 A list of the most common forms can be found in Nöldeke, SG §280.

55 NT, according to Barsky and Loesov, Preterite 20.

56 See also Addai 13,1–2 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “who were coming”); 13,11 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “that he saw”); 13,7 + 13,20 + 16,12 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “who were standing”); 13,24 + 15,23 + 19,8 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “what he was doing”); Vita Eph. 29,12 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ ... ܕܡܢ “who were living”); 30,9 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “where he was living”); 33,22 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “who [fem.] was speaking”); M & A 53b, qyd 15–16 (ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ ... ܐܡܢ ܕܡܢ “where he was sitting ... and teaching”).

The situations can also be habitual:

- c. **כל איש כי נכנס אל העיר ההוא** (M & A 50a, qb 15–16)  
 “Every man who entered that city, they used to seize him.”

#### 5.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- d. **כאשר חשב על אלה האלה, הנהיג** (Vita Eph. 33,19–20)  
 “As he was pondering over these things, behold, he ascended to the pulpit.”
- e. **והנה אולם המים חצוהו כאן וכן** (M & A 56b, qkd 4–6)  
 “And as they were following him, the waters were dividing here and there before his feet.”<sup>57</sup>

#### 5.2.3 Causal Clauses

- f. **הוא עשה זאת מפני שהיה מפחד** (Vita Eph. 38,25–39,1)  
 “He was doing this because he was afraid of the priesthood.”<sup>58</sup>

The verb, however, can also be oriented towards the superordinate situation. In this case, simple AP is used:

- g. **והוא עזב את המלך** (Vita Eph. 31,20–21)  
 “And they left him when there was only little life left in him.”<sup>59</sup>

57 See further: Vita Eph. 32,17 (**כאשר** “while he was admonishing”); 40,19–20 (**כאשר** “while he was crossing”); M & A 50a, qg 18 (**כאשר** “while he was praying”); A 50b, qd 11–13 (**כאשר** “while they were entering”); M & A 53a, qyb 7–8 (**כאשר** “while they were beating ... and spitting”).

58 See also: Addai 13,9 (**כאשר** “because they saw”); Vita Eph. 28,23–24 + 32,10 (**כאשר** “because he did not know”).

59 See further: Addai 16,8 (**כאשר** “while they were standing”); Vita Eph. 24,7–9 (**כאשר** “that he was talking to”); 31,14 (**כאשר** “who was walking around”); 32,5 (**כאשר** “who was standing”); 37,16 (**כאשר** “who was begging for bread”); 38,23–24 (**כאשר** “who were searching”). Cf. Nöldeke, SG 206f.

When the situation is stative, qṭal is also possible:

- h. **ܡܬܐܠ ܡܠ ܫܡܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ**  
(Addai 18,6–7)  
“He saw that a lot of the townspeople were staying there with him.”<sup>60</sup>

Resultative qṭilwā can also express simultaneity with a reference point in the past:

- i. **ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ**  
(Addai 14,6)  
“And the letter was read before him which (had been and) was written as follows.”<sup>61</sup>

At this point, we should also mention those sentences that describe accompanying circumstances of superordinate situations in more detail. They are preferably indicated by **ܐܬ** + qāṭil or, more rarely, **ܐܬ** + qāṭilwā. The superordinate situation is expressed by qṭal:

- j. **ܡܬܐܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ**  
**ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** (M & A 57a, qkh 22–qkw 1)  
“And he spent seven days there, teaching and strengthening them in their faith in our Lord.”<sup>62</sup>
- k. **ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** (M & A 52b, qy 18–19)  
“Wondering about what had happened, he woke them up.”<sup>63</sup>

60 See also: Vita Eph. 42,11 (**ܡܬܐܠ ܡܠ ܫܡܐ** “for he had mercy”); M & A 52b, qy’ 13 (**ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “since they were worthy”). In the Old Syriac manuscripts and the Peshitta to Matthew, too, stative verbs are mostly in the qṭal form even if they render a Greek Imperfect; see Joosten, *Syriac Language* 119f.

61 See also: Vita Eph. 35,12–13 (**ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “that were accumulated in his heart”); M & A 50a, qb 18 (**ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “which was mixed with magic”); M & A 54a, qyh 20–21 (**ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “which was built”).

62 For **ܐܬ** + qāṭil see also, inter alia: Eph. Haer. 11 13 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “denying”); 11 14 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “thinking”); 11 14 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “killing”); M & A 54a, qyw 13 + 56a, qkb 5–6 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “saying”); qkg 56a, 8–9 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “proclaiming loudly”); Addai 16,7–9 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “standing”). For an example of asyndetically following qāṭil, see Joosten, *Syriac Language* 133.

63 For **ܐܬ** + qāṭilwā, see also M & A 51b, qh 11 (**ܐܬ ܠܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ** “not knowing”).

The PP of transitive verbs has a resultative function here as well:

- l. **ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ** (M & A 55a, qk 5–6)  
 “They threw him into prison with his hands tied behind his back.”

After **ṣṣ** there may also follow a qṭal form. The situation is anterior now but is necessary for the understanding of the superordinate situation:

- m. **ṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ**  
**ṣṣṣṣ** (M & A 56b, qkg 20–21)  
 “How can you tell me to have pity on you when you did not even have pity on your children!”

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category is only very sparsely attested. If the speech time serves as a reference point, we find qṭal or qāṭilwā (nos. a and b), whereas simple qāṭil is used when the reference point is in the past (no. c):

- a. **ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ**  
**ṣṣṣṣ** (Addai 20,1–3)  
 “After all this, he fell ill with the disease due to which he would leave this world.”<sup>64</sup>
- b. **ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ** (Vita Eph. 23,23–24)  
 “(His father was priest of an idol there). That one which he later would overthrow.”
- c. **ṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ** (Vita Eph. 32,11–12)  
 “And he saw a ship that would dock in Egypt, and he went on board.”<sup>65</sup>

64 On qāṭilwā in this function, see also Nöldeke, SG 208.

65 For more examples of qāṭil, see Nöldeke, SG 206.





## 7.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. ܐܢܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܕܐܝܢ ܕܝܡܪܡܪܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܕܝܢ ܕܥܡܕܝܢ (Addai 14,17–18)  
 “This also I have heard, that the Jews are murmuring against you and persecuting you.”<sup>75</sup>

## 7.2.3 Causal Clauses

- c. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܕܡܠܟܐ (M & A 54a, qyw 17–18)  
 “Gather ... because we are hungry.”<sup>76</sup>

Furthermore, the PP is attested which again has a resultative meaning:

- d. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (M & A 50b, qh 7–8)  
 “For you know, my Lord, that I am clothed in flesh.”<sup>77</sup>

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (habitual)

## 8.1 Main Clauses

Habitual situations are usually expressed by the AP:

## 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (Vita Eph. 30,17–18)  
 “No one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel.”<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> See further Addai 17,12–13 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܕܡܠܟܐ “that you are doing”).

<sup>76</sup> See also Addai 14,16 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “since I adore you”). For Old Syriac see P1,22 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “for she cannot write”); P2,26 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “since he does not know how to write”).

<sup>77</sup> See further: Addai 18,14–15 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “as it [has been and] is commanded”); M & A 52b, qyb 1 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “who are imprisoned”); Vita Eph. 28,18–19 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܕܡܠܟܐ “for I am taken”); Nöldeke, SG 209 (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ “that is given to them”). The PP is also attested in this function in Old Syriac: ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ NN (P2,4) “NN who is honoured with the rank of a consul in Urhay.”

<sup>78</sup> See also, inter alia: Eph. Haer. 1 2 (ܕܡܠܟܐ “he hurts”); 1 4 (ܕܡܠܟܐ “he steals from you”); Addai 14,9 (ܕܡܠܟܐ “you open”).



## 8.1.2 Telic

- b. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Eph. Haer. v 8)  
 “They proclaim that we have freedom.”<sup>79</sup>

## 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Eph. Haer. VIII 12)  
 “His slave respects him.”<sup>80</sup>

## 8.1.4 Stative

- d. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Eph. Haer. VII 4)  
 “The numbskulls do not know that ...”<sup>81</sup>

Also the PP can be used in a habitual sense:

- e. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Eph. Haer. VIII 3)  
 “The virgins are (live) enclosed.”

As seen above (5.1), the PP of the G-stem has an active meaning with certain verbs and can then be used like an AP:

- f. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Nöldeke, SG 211)  
 “The righteous carry the earth.”

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, the AP is used:

## 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. **ܡܚܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** (Eph. Haer. VII 3)  
 “All the evil that he hears, he believes.”<sup>82</sup>

79 See further, inter alia: Eph. Haer. II 21 (**ܡܚܒ** “he testifies”); IV 9 (**ܡܚܒܝܢ** “they persuade”).

80 See also: Vita Eph. 34,23 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he speaks”); Eph. Haer. I 1 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he inflicts suffering”).

81 See further: Vita Eph. 34,10 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he does not know”); Eph. Haer. I 2 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he shines”); I 5 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he lives”); II 22 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “he pleases”); xxxviii 3 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “why are they silent?”).

82 See also: Eph. Haer. I 1 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “who cuts”); I 3 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “that he forms”); II 20 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “which they read”); VIII 2 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “who [fem.] closes”); VIII 3 (**ܡܚܒܐ** “who enrage”).

## 8.2.2 Object Clause

- b. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** (Vita Eph. 36,9)  
 “For it is written that he does the will of those who fear him.”

In addition, the PP and qṭal are used; the PP again has a resultative function:

- c. **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** (Vita Eph. 34,2–3)  
 “And there you will find a monk wrapped in a hood and dressed in rags.”

I have found qṭal forms only of the verb hymn “to believe”:

- d. **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** (Addai 17,3)  
 “Since you believe thus, I will lay my hand upon you in the name of him in whom you believe.”<sup>83</sup>

The use of qṭal with this verb, however, is not obligatory. Directly before the passage quoted in no. d, it says:

- e. **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** (Addai 17,1–2)  
 “I also believe in his father.”

I cannot see a difference in meaning between the AP and the qṭal form. qāṭilwā is also attested (**ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** “those who believed” [19,9]). Interestingly, when referring to the past and in direct speech, qṭalwā is used although this is otherwise reserved for narrating passages in the Doctrina Addai:

- f. **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ** (Addai 16,16–17)  
 “Since you believed from the beginning ...”<sup>84</sup>

In a relative clause with an indefinite reference word, the Doctrina Addai (16,18–19) uses a yiqṭul form in a habitual sense:

- g. **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ**  
 “All that you believe in shall be yours.”

83 See further: Addai 14,17; 14, 23; 18,13; cf. Nöldeke, SG 194.

84 In 16,19, however, it says simply **ܕܡܠܟܐ** “I believed”.

## 9 Extratemporalis

Extratemporal situations are often described in the hymns of Ephraem. The verb forms used are the active and passive participles:

- a. **ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም** (VI 14)  
“Truth is unique and its power cannot be divided.”
- b. **ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም** (VIII 11)  
“For fate makes the bodies change in all colours.”<sup>85</sup>

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 Main Clauses

This category is mostly expressed by the AP. This is especially true when the occurrence of the situation is considered certain and is further determined by adverbs of time:

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. **ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም** (M & A 56a, qkb 6–7)  
“His body has perished and this night he will die.”<sup>86</sup>

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. **ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም ሰላም** (Addai 15,1)  
“I will ascend to my father.”<sup>87</sup>

85 See also Nöldeke, SG 202.

86 See further: Addai 15,2 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will send”); 17,3 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will put”); 18,19 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will give”); Vita Eph. 24,10 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will enter”); 34,2 (ሰላም ሰላም “you will find”); M & A 50b, qd 2 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will save you”); 53a, qyg 5 (ሰላም ሰላም “I will send”); 53b, qyd 1–2 (ሰላም ሰላም “you will find”); 56b, qkd 1–2 (ሰላም ሰላም “very soon they will go”).

87 See further: M & A 50b, qd 16–17 (ሰላም ሰላም ... ሰላም ሰላም “we will take him out and slaughter him”); 51a, qh 13–14 (ሰላም ሰላም “it will bring you there”).

## 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. ܠܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ (Eph. Haer. VIII 5)  
 “Those scales will weigh at (the time of) the resurrection.”<sup>88</sup>

## 10.1.4 Stative

- d. ܠܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܝܬ (Addai 17,18)  
 “I will not be silent about this.”<sup>89</sup>

In addition, some *yiqṭul* forms are attested which seem to be meant indicatively but can also be understood non-indicatively:

- e. ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ (Addai 15,3–4)  
 “And everyone who is with you he will (is supposed to?) convert to eternal life.”

The sentence refers to a disciple whom Jesus wants to send to Abgar. The *yiqṭul* form ܠܥܬܐ can, of course, also express that the promised conversion is an instruction of his master.<sup>90</sup>

In Old Syriac texts, some *yiqṭul*- or *niqṭul* forms express situations with future time reference which are quite clearly meant indicatively, as in the following contractual provision:

- f. ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ ... ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ (P1,19)  
 “One copy ... will enter the archive of Antoniana.”<sup>91</sup>

In the Old Syriac manuscripts and the Peshitta to Matthew, on the other hand, *yiqṭul* is regularly used besides the AP to render Greek future tense forms and also when the Greek version does not have a future tense form but the context

88 See further: M & A 55a, qyṭ 13 (ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ “we will act upon you”); Vita Eph. 33,4 (ܕܡܝܬ ܕܡܝܬ “you will see”).

89 See also M & A 52a, qz 15–16 (ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ “we will be with you”).

90 See further: M & A 50b, qd 1 (ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ “because I will not [do not want to?] abandon you”); 50b, qd 6 (ܠܥܬܐ “I will [want to?] send”); 54b, qyḥ 18 (ܠܥܬܐ ܕܠܥܬܐ “he will [may?] humble and cast you”). Cf. also Nöldeke, SG 198; the evidence listed there can, of course, also be interpreted non-indicatively.

91 See also: P1,11–12 (ܠܥܬܐ ... ܠܥܬܐ “you will have authority”); P3,17 (ܠܥܬܐ “he will use”); P3,18 (ܠܥܬܐ “he will plaster”); P3,21 (ܠܥܬܐ “he will not be empowered”).



In relative clauses with indefinite reference words, Old Syriac uses *yīqtul*:

- e. ܠܡܢ [ܕܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ] ܕܠܝܬܝܢ ܗܝܬܝܬܝܢ ܗܝܬܝܬܝܢ (Ins. 55,5–7)  
 “Everyone who comes to this [tomb] ...”<sup>92</sup>

## 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

This category is usually expressed by *qṭal*:

- a. ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ (Addai 15,1–2)  
 “When I will have ascended to him, I will send you one of my disciples.”<sup>93</sup>

After the subordinators ܕܐܝܬܝܢ and ܕܐܝܬܝܢ, the AP is also attested:

- b. ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ (M & A 57a, qkh 17–18)  
 “When you will have entered the town, then bring upward ...”
- c. ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ (Vita Eph. 38,19–20)  
 “When you will have entered Edessa, you will find ...”

The AP in the following until-clause expresses a situation that is clearly to be understood as perfective:

- d. ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ (M & A 51b, qz 11–12)  
 “Stay ashore until I will have completed what I have been commanded to do.”

## 12 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

I have found only one example of this category. The AP is used:

92 See also: Ins. 20,5 (ܕܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ “whoever removes”); Ins. 60,3–4 (ܕܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ “whoever destroys”).

93 See further: Addai 15,25 (ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ “when I will have ascended”); M & A 54a, qyz 2–3 (ܕܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ “unless they will have ordered us to”); 55a, qyt 20 (ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ “when he will have died”); on ܕܐܝܬܝܢ + *qṭal*, see also Nöldeke, SG 194f.



In addition to the simple imperative, the imperative of ܐܡܪ + AP can be used to express instructions. This compound seems to be preferred when the situations commanded are to take place over a longer period of time or repeatedly:

- h. ܐܡܪ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܠܗܝܟܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܐܡܪ (M & A 53a, qyg 8)  
“Obey the apostles in everything they will tell you!”
- i. ܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚ ܠܡ ܬܠ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܕܠܐ ܬܠܝܢ (M & A 55a, qk 14–15)  
“Hit him on the mouth so that he does not talk.”

The imperative is negated by ܠ + yiqṭul:

- j. ܠܐ ܬܬܝܫܝܐ (M & A 51b, qh 1)  
“Do not be afraid!”

Wishes and commands can also be expressed by a qṭal- or yiqṭul form of ܐܡܪ and following AP, PP or adjective. The function of this compound and its difference to yiqṭul are not easy to determine, but often it seems to emphasise the duration; in both cases, the wishes or commands refer to the present:

- k. ܐܡܪ ܬܬܝܫܝܐ (Nöldeke, SG 196)  
“Be healthy!”
- l. ܐܡܪ ܬܬܝܫܝܐ (ibid.)  
“Know, then!”
- m. wahwayn pīšīn (Peshitta to Ex.)  
“And we want to be separated.”<sup>99</sup>
- n. ܐܡܪ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܠܗܝܟܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܐܡܪ (Nöldeke, SG 229)  
“A deacon who is about to depart from the world shall leave his possessions to the church.”
- o. ܐܡܪ ܬܬܝܫܝܐ (ibid. 230)  
“It is to be done.”

99 Quoted according to Bombeck, *Verbalsystem* 33; numerous further examples can be found there. See also Joosten, *Syriac Language* 129f.



,ל and אִם + qṭal can express counterfactual wishes; if the verb is ,אם, qṭal seems to indicate only counterfactuality, not anteriority:

- p. אִם בָּסִילִיּוֹס וְאִם אֶנִּי אֶפְרַיִם ,ל (Vita Eph. 35,21–22)  
 “If only you were Basilios and I were Ephraem.”
- q. אִם אֶנִּי הָיִיתִי אֶתְּחַטֵּא בְּחַטֹּאתֶיךָ ,ל (Vita Eph. 36,15)  
 “If only I had your sins.”

With other verbs, however, qṭal denotes anteriority:

- r. לֹא הָיָה זַמְרִי (Peshitta to the Prophets)<sup>100</sup>  
 “If only Zamri had not been born.”

With an AP, the wish has present time reference, for which, however, qāṭilwā can also be used:

- s. לֹא הָיָה רִגְזִי (Peshitta to Job; see note on no. r)  
 “If only my anger were weighed.”
- t. אִם אָדָּם ,ל (Nöldeke, SG 208)  
 “If only you worshipped!”

The compound אִם/אִי + qṭal, which expresses counterfactual wishes and renders Hebr. אִם מִי in the Peshitta to the Old Testament, also belongs here:

- u. אִם אִי יִגְדֹּל (Nöldeke, SG 195)  
 “That someone would roll (it) away!”

Even though these wishes have present time reference, the use of qṭal here can be understood as a rhetorical question with past time reference, as Bombeck assumes: Who did? Nobody!<sup>101</sup>

qāṭilwā can also be used to express counterfactual statements that may refer to the present or the past:

<sup>100</sup> Quoted according to Bombeck, Verbalsystem 29.

<sup>101</sup> Verbalsystem 28, where more evidence of this compound is given.

- v.    **ḥm ḥm ḥm** (Nöldeke, SG 208)  
 “Could not he have been able to?”<sup>102</sup>

Counterfactuality can also be expressed by *yiqtūl* and a *qtāl* form of **qān**. I have not found this compound in the texts in main clauses; according to the evidence listed in Nöldeke (SG 200f), it can refer to the past and the present. The reader may remember that *yiqtūlwā* also expresses repeated situations of the past (see sect. 3.2); the situations described here, however, are singular:

- W. כִּי־יִשְׂכַּח לֹא־יִשְׁכַּח  
“How could it not be beautiful?”
- X. לָמָּה־יָצָא לָמָּה  
“Why should he have fled?”

## 13.2 Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses introduced by **ʔ** usually have simple *yiqṭul*. *yiqṭul* is often used with a final sense and also when the superordinate clause contains an expression of wanting, willing, being able, asking or allowing:<sup>103</sup>

- a. **וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים**  
(Addai 13,1–2)  
“And they saw many people coming from afar to see the Messiah.”<sup>104</sup>
- b. **וַיֹּאמֶר הוּא ... לֹא יִהְיֶה קָבֵר** (Vita Eph. 43,12)  
“He ordered that ... he not be buried ...”<sup>105</sup>
- c. **וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים** (Addai 16,20–21)  
“I wanted to take an army, move out and destroy them.”
- d. **וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ רַבִּי מֵעַל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים** (Addai 13,25)  
“For he could not cross ...”

102 See also Bombeck, *Verbalsystem* 30.

103 On this point in general, see Nöldeke, SG 199f.

104 See further: Vita Eph. 24,11 (ܐܚܕܝܢܐ “so that they may be reconciled”); Vita Eph. 31,13 (ܕܡܝܢ “so that he buy”); Vita Eph. 33,20 (ܐܡܪܝܢܐ “so that he interpret”); Vita Eph. 36,6 (ܕܡܝܢܐ “so that I speak”); Vita Eph. 37,8 (ܐܡܪܝܢܐ “so that they come”); Eph. Haer. I 12 (ܕܡܝܢܐ “so that he darkens”); Eph. Haer. v 5 (ܕܡܝܢܐ “so that we recognise”).

105 See also M & A 55b, qk 22 (**ḥmll** “that they kill him”).

- e. **ṯ ṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** (Vita Eph. 26,14–15)  
 “My lord Jacob requested of him that he allow him ...”<sup>106</sup>
- f. **ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** (Eph. Haer. VIII 4)  
 “Fate allowed the man to commit an outrage.”

Also a formally independent sentence introduced by **ṯ** can have a final meaning:

- g. **ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** (Addai 17,20–21)  
 “Assemble for me the whole town that I may sow in it the word of life.”<sup>107</sup>

Instead of simple *yiqṭul*, the compound *yiqṭulwā* can be used. The superordinate clause always has past time reference in the examples collected here and those listed in Nöldeke (SG 201). Sometimes *yiqṭul* and *yiqṭulwā* alternate freely (no. h):

- h. **ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** (Addai 13,22–24)  
 “But Abgar wanted to go over there himself and go to Palestine and see with his own eyes all that the Messiah was accomplishing.”
- i. **ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** ... **ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯ** (Addai 17,22–24)  
 “Abgar ordered the ... to send out a herald who would proclaim throughout the whole town that all the people were to assemble.”<sup>108</sup>

**ṯṯṯ** seems to mark the subordinate clause situation temporally as past in these cases.

In subordinate clauses, as in main clauses, the *qṭal*- or *yiqṭul* form of **ṯṯṯ** followed by a participle or an adjective can denote actions and states that are to be regarded as permanent. The compound may be dependent on an expression of command or volition, or it may be final. It should be emphasised that the compound with a *qṭal* form of **ṯṯṯ** can also be used when the superordinate clause has present time reference (no. l):

106 See further Vita Eph. 37,18 (**ṯṯṯṯṯ** “that he may turn back”).

107 See also M & A 55b, qk’ 22 (**ṯṯṯṯṯ** “so that I may become stronger”).

108 See further: Eph. Haer. II 1 (**ṯṯṯ ṯṯṯṯṯ** “so that it may become blunt”).

- j. ܐܡܪܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ... ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (Nöldeke, SG 196)  
 “He ordered them ... not to spend the night in their huts.”
- k. hālēn dēn ṭupsā lanū hwaw dlā hwayn rāggīn bīšātā (Peshitta to Cor.)  
 “This was done, then, as an example for us so that we may not desire evil.”<sup>109</sup>
- l. ܕܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (Nöldeke, SG 196f)  
 “They are not to allow the deaconesses to come to church one by one.”
- m. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (M & A 51a, qw 12)  
 “I want you to know.”<sup>110</sup>
- n. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (M & A 56b, qkh 3–4)  
 “And he outlined to them the commandments and laws by which they were to live.”<sup>111</sup>

Finally, the use of the AP after imperatives should be mentioned. After an imperative of a verb of saying or ordering, the AP expresses what was said or ordered:

- o. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (Nöldeke, SG 205)  
 “Order them to kill me.”

After other verbs, the AP often has a final meaning:

- p. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (Nöldeke *ibid.*)  
 “Bring him to his father that he may come and see.”<sup>112</sup>

The AP can also be used after verb forms other than imperatives:

- q. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ (M & A 55a, qyt 13)  
 “They began to consult among themselves.”<sup>113</sup>

109 Quoted according to Bombeck, Verbalsystem 34.

110 See also M & A 50b, qd 18 (ܕܡܢܐ ܠܝܠܐ “so that they knew”).

111 For further evidence of yiqṭul of ܐܡܪ + AP / PP, see Nöldeke, SG § 300.

112 An example of final AP after a qṭal form can be found in Joosten, Syriac Language 132.

113 Cf. Nöldeke, SG 205f.



qṭal, on the other hand, is attested quite often in the protasis. Ephraem in particular likes to use it in his hymns when the condition does not refer to a specific situation but is kept general and comes close to the meaning of a temporal clause: *whenever*. No. f, however, shows that qṭal can also be used for very specific situations:

- e. ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ (Eph. Haer. I 6)  
 “If you see a snake, do not get too scared.”
- f. ܡܢ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (M & A 53b, qyd 3–4)  
 “If I am late, you will find in him ...”<sup>116</sup>

qṭal or qṭille must be used if a condition thought to be real is anterior:

- g. ܕܥܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Eph. Haer. VI 21)  
 “If it created a mute and he is mute at all times, fate created a hand (such) that it murders everywhere.”<sup>117</sup>
- h. ܡܢ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Nöldeke, SG 210)  
 “If the mountains have been explored by him ...”

Nominal forms are not seldom in the protasis:

- i. ܕܥܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Vita Eph. 28,21–22)  
 “If the women of the town are so wise, how (wise) will its men and sons be?”<sup>118</sup>

116 See also: Eph. Haer. III 10 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ܕܥܠܐ “if he is brought to account, he denies”; the passage is parallel to ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ܕܥܠܐ “he confesses”, so the time reference seems to be the habitual present); VI 7 (ܡܢ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ “if they devour ... then why don’t they kill?”); VI 9 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if it is not ... let us ask”).

117 See also: Eph. Haer. III 11 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if there was ... let them show”); IV 12 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if he was bad ... why (was) he good?”); V 4 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if they became numerous ... why did not (the others also) become numerous?”); VI 22 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if there was ... who revealed?”); IX 5 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if they saw and gave [it, it is good]”).

118 See further, inter alia: Eph. Haer. V 3 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if she is autocratic ... then they will not fall”); IX 3 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if they are rational ... they will know”); VI 1 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if it is powerful, force will subdue it”); VI 6 (ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ ... ܕܥܠܐ “if ...”)

A qṭal form in the apodosis can express that the situations of main and subordinate clause are identical: *if he does this, he has done that at the same time*:

- j. ܡܬܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ (Eph. Haer. v 13)  
 “If someone commits adultery with the wife of a Chaldean ... if he avenges himself and his wife, he has thereby declared the horoscope null and void.”

In the text corpus there are no examples of *yiqtūlwā* after ܕܢܝܚܐ. According to Nöldeke (SG 200), it is used if the situation of the protasis is considered as repetitive; the sentences listed by Nöldeke always have past time reference:

- k. ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ (Nöldeke *ibid.*)  
 “si quis dicebat.”

The conditionals with ܕܢܝܚܐ listed so far are meant to be capable of fulfilment, but ܕܢܝܚܐ can also introduce situations that the speaker obviously does not expect to be fulfilled. In the protasis, the AP, qṭal or *yiqtūl* are attested. In the available examples, the predicate of the apodosis is a qṭal form of ܕܢܝܚܐ or *qāṭilwā*:

- l. ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ (Nöldeke, SG 301)  
 “If we were unable to do anything with our hands, we would be the tools of others.”
- m. ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ (M & A 53a, qyb 23–24)  
 “If you said them, heaven and earth would quake.”
- n. ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ (M & A 55a, qyṭ 14–16)  
 “If we removed his head, it would not be a bitter death, and if we burned him with fire, it would be nothing either.”<sup>119</sup>

If qṭal formed from a verb other than ܕܢܝܚܐ is used in the apodosis, it denotes here as well as in the examples to be listed below situations that are anterior to

he is strong ... why is his companion weak?”); v1 22 (ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ “if it is from fate ... why is it loved?”).

119 For more examples, see Nöldeke, SG § 376.







“And the blessed Ephraem saw the Holy Spirit speaking through his mouth.”<sup>124</sup>

If the result of a situation is perceived, the PP is used:

- e. ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ (M & A 53b, qyh 2–3)  
“They found the gates of the prison open.”

The predicate can be oriented towards the speech time:

- f. ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ (M & A 53a, qyg 9–10)  
“He saw those men who were detained there.”<sup>125</sup>

With stative verbs, one also finds qṭal forms:

- g. ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ  
(Addai 18,6–7)  
“He saw that a lot of the townspeople were staying there with him.”<sup>126</sup>

Especially with verbs of movement, also qatṭil can be used which describes the movement as completed:

- h. ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ (NT)<sup>127</sup>  
“And she found that her daughter was lying on the bed and the demon had departed from her.”

## 16 Summary

### 16.1 *Qṭal and Qṭalwā*

Regardless of the type of action, qṭal is used in narrating and discussing passages to express anteriority to the speech time, in both main and subordinate clauses, and can be used with the meaning of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). The same

<sup>124</sup> See further: Addai 13,1–2 (ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ “who were just coming”); 13,7 (ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ “who were standing”); 19,4 (ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ “which he was doing”); Vita Eph. 38,6 (ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ “that was captured”).

<sup>125</sup> See also Eph. Haer. v 12 (ܡܬܬܬܝܬ ܕܥܕܝܬܐ “who were dressed”).

<sup>126</sup> Cf. above 5.2.

<sup>127</sup> According to Barsky and Loesov, Preterite 12.

function can also be fulfilled by *qṭalwā*, the opposition to simple *qṭal* not being to be sought on a grammatical level but rather on a text-linguistic one. C. Morrison has found out in his study on the *Doctrina Addai* that *qṭalwā* is used there in narrating passages, *qṭal*, on the other hand, in direct speech. The results of his work, however, cannot be applied indiscriminately to all texts. In the Acts of Judas Thomas, for example, *qṭal* occurs in direct speech and in narrating passages. *qṭalwā* seems rather to mark caesurae in the narrative here. In the Story of Matthew and Andrew, too, *qṭalwā* is much rarer than in the *Doctrina Addai*; whether it serves here, as in the Acts of Judas Thomas, to mark caesurae in the narrative, could not be proven beyond doubt; but it can at least be said positively that after **ܐܬܝܬܐ** “thereupon” and **ܥܝܢܐ** “suddenly” simple *qṭal* is used, not *qṭalwā*. Moreover, the combination *qṭalwā* ... *qṭal*, the use of which has been proven by Morrison for the *Doctrina Addai* and which emphasises the close temporal or logical connection between two situations, is also found in Matthew and Thomas (2.1).

Occasionally, *qṭalwā* is used in main clauses to express anteriority to a reference point in the past, but this is hardly the main function of this verb form (4). In subordinate clauses, this function is expressed by *qṭal* or *qṭalwā*, depending on the text. In the *Doctrina Addai*, as we have seen, it is mainly *qṭalwā*, whereas in the other texts it is mostly simple *qṭal* (4).

With stative verbs, *qṭal* can be used to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses; with these verbs, *qāṭilwā* is used rather rarely. But it also denotes perfective situations in superordinate clauses which serve as reference points for a subordinate clause situation expressed by *qāṭilwā*: **ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ** “as he was pondering over these things, behold, he ascended to the pulpit.” If both situations proceed simultaneously, *qāṭilwā* is used in both cases (5.2). Moreover, it indicates posteriority to a reference point in the past when the verb form is oriented towards the speech time, whereas the AP is used when oriented towards a reference point in the past (6). Sometimes *qṭal* is used in a resultative function, i.e. the result of a situation completed in the past has present time reference: **ܕܥܝܬܐ** “I have experienced and now know”. Until the 4th century, **ܐܠ** + *qṭal* form of **ܐܡܐ** is readily used with present time reference (7.1). With the same time reference, *qṭal* is also frequently used with the verb **ܥܡܝܢܐ** “to believe” and has a habitual meaning here; however, the AP is attested with the same meaning (8.2).

In the combination **ܐܡܐ ... ܐܡܐ** “either ... or”, *qṭal* has future time reference: **ܕܥܝܬܐ ܐܡܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ ܐܡܐ** “may he kill me or I him” (10.1). After **ܕܥܝܬܐ** “when, after”, *qṭal* expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future; in this position, the AP is also attested (11).

After ,ܐܠ and ܐܕܒܝܬܐ and following ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ / ܡܢ, qṭal expresses desires thought to be unfulfillable, the latter compound probably originally being understood as a rhetorical question: *Who made? Nobody!* It seems that only with the verb ,ܐܡܐ does a qṭal form indicate counterfactuality rather than anteriority (13.1). In addition to the AP, yiqṭul and nominal forms, qṭal is used after ܐܬܐ or ܐܢ ܐܡܐ ܐܬܐ in the protasis of real conditional clauses with reference to the future; especially in the hymns of Ephraem, qṭal is readily used here when referring to generally held conditions, but it is also found with reference to very specific situations. It must be used if the condition, which is thought to be real, refers to the past; in the apodosis we find it when condition and consequence are to be identified with each other: *if you do this, you have done that at the same time*. ܐܬܐ + qṭal or AP or yiqṭul is also used to indicate counterfactual conditions with future time reference; in the apodosis there is usually also a qṭal form in these cases if the verb is a form of ,ܐܡܐ; with other verbs, qṭal, it seems, always has past time reference. Counterfactuality, however, is explicitly expressed by ܐܠܐ, which is combined with a qṭal form in both counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and past (14). Finally, qṭal occasionally describes accompanying circumstances with past time reference after ܐܬܐ which, however, unlike those expressed by the AP, do not describe a situation in its progress but rather qualify the superordinate reference situation more closely by their result (5.2).

## 16.2 *Yiqṭul*

In Old Syriac and the Peshitta, yiqṭul is probably still used to express posteriority to the speech time (10.1) but is then displaced by the AP in the field of indicativity. yiqṭul is now predominantly used non-indicatively. In main clauses it expresses different non-indicative nuances and can be used cohortatively, jussively, optatively etc. In subordinate clauses, it often has a final meaning and is also used after expressions of commanding, willing, asking or permitting in the superordinate clause (13.1 + 13.2). The use for the expression of indicative situations that are posterior to the speech time is very limited; only one clear subordinate clause instance could be found where yiqṭul is used in parallel with the otherwise usual AP (10.2). It is attested after ܐܬܐ in real conditional clauses, but it is not as frequent here as the AP. More often it is found in the apodosis when the consequence of the fulfilment of the condition is meant to be non-indicative. In counterfactual conditional clauses with reference to the present or future after ܐܬܐ or ܐܠܐ, it can be used besides qṭal, the AP or nominal forms (14).

yiqṭul can be followed by a qṭal form of ,ܐܡܐ. On the one hand, this compound is used to describe repeated situations in the past (3.2). Moreover, it can

express counterfactuality of the present and of the past: **لِمَ هَارَىٰ** “why should he have fled?” (13.1). In non-indicative subordinate clauses, on the other hand, **هَارَىٰ** seems to be used purely temporally, since the superordinate clauses always have past time reference. Instead of *yiqtūlwā*, simple *yiqtūl* can be used here as well (13.2). Finally, it is attested in real conditional clauses of the past after **وَإِن** when the situation is meant to be repeated (14).

### 16.3 *Qāṭil*

The AP is inflected for number and gender and is found standing alone or combined with a form of **هَارَىٰ**. I will start with the simple AP.

It is used in isolated instances in narratives, for example with the verb **قَالَ** “to say” (2.1). In subordinate clauses, in addition to the more usual *qāṭilwā*, it can denote habitual anteriority to the speech time (3.2) as well as simultaneity with a reference point in the past (5.2). In these cases, the verb form is oriented towards the superordinate clause which has past time reference. The same orientation is given when it expresses posteriority to a reference point in the past (6). In addition, it denotes simultaneity with the speech time in both main and subordinate clauses and describes singular (7.1 + 7.2), habitual (8.1 + 8.2) and extratemporal situations (9). Barhebraeus mentions a form with *kā-* (*kā ʾākel*) that probably denotes a progressing situation but that did not find its way into the standard language (7.1). Furthermore, it indicates posteriority to the speech time; sometimes *yiqtūl* is found here, which, however, can always also be interpreted in a non-indicative way (10.1 + 10.2). In a temporal clause after **عِنْدَ**, it denotes, in addition to the more usual *qṭal*, anteriority to a reference point in the future, likewise in one case after **حَتَّىٰ** “until” (11). In one passage, it indicates simultaneity with a reference point in the future in a temporal clause (12). Occasionally, it is also used non-indicatively: **مَاذَا نَفْعَلُ** “so what shall we do?” (13.1). It can follow the imperative forms of certain verbs; after imperatives of saying and commanding, an asyndetically following AP expresses what has been said or commanded: **قَالَ لَهُمْ قَاتِلُوهُ** “command them to kill me!”. It is also used in dependency of verbs such as **بَدَأَ** “to begin” (13.2). Furthermore, it is found in subordinate clauses after verbs of perception and of finding. In relative clauses, orientation to the speech time and the use of *qāṭilwā* is also possible when referring to the past (15). Furthermore, it is used in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses and also occurs in counterfactual ones after **وَإِن** and **لَوْ**, provided the condition refers to the future (14). Finally, it is used to describe accompanying circumstances after **عِنْدَ**; in these cases, the reference situation to be described in more detail always has past time reference (5.2).

In the compound qāṭil + qṭal form of ܩܬܐ, the /h/ of ܩܬܐ is marked by a linea occultans, as is the case with qṭil and yiqṭul + ܩܬܐ, qāṭil and *hwā* thus form a fixed unit qāṭilwā. It can describe main clause situations with past time reference that are limited to a certain period of time and cannot yet be considered habitual, or are singular but are presented in their progress and as not completed. In this case, the reader is asked to identify with the grammatical subject of the sentence and to look at the situation from the inside (2.1). Moreover, in main as well as in subordinate clauses and regardless of the types of action, this compound indicates habitual situations that are anterior to the speech time; in subordinate clauses, simple AP is also possible in this case (3.1 + 3.2). qāṭilwā is further used to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past. Here, it is in direct opposition to qṭal and has a clearly imperfective character (5.1 + 5.2). In addition, it can denote posteriority to a reference point in the past if it is oriented towards the speech time (6). It can indicate counterfactual statements with reference to the present and the past, for example after ܐܠ and other optative particles (13.1). After verbs of perception and finding with past time reference, it is attested in relative clauses (besides simple AP; 15). In the protasis of counterfactual conditionals with present or past time reference, it is quite rare but is often found in the apodosis where it can denote situations of the present / future and the past. In these cases, it describes neither duration nor repetition but seems first and foremost to express counterfactuality. (14). Moreover it can describe accompanying circumstances after ܕܥܝܝܢܐ; the reference sentence always has a qṭal form in these cases (5.2).

Finally, the AP may follow a qṭal-, a yiqṭul- or an imperative form of ܩܬܐ to express desires and commands: ܩܬܐ ܕܥܝܝܢܐ “know, then!”. qṭal and yiqṭul of ܩܬܐ + AP are attested in both main and subordinate clauses, and although the exact function of these compounds and their difference to yiqṭul are not easy to determine, they often seem to emphasise the duration (13.1 + 13.2). In older texts, qṭal of ܩܬܐ + AP occasionally expresses repeated situations of the past (3.1).

#### 16.4 *Qṭille / Qṭilwāle*

qṭille is mostly formed from transitive verbs of the G-stem but is also attested from D- and C-stem verbs and from intransitive ones: ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܩܬܐ “I have not stood”, ܐܢܐ ܩܬܐ “I have walked”. In the text corpus analysed, it is almost only found in discussing passages where it is used in the sense of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). The PP as well as the qṭal form of ܩܬܐ in qṭilwāle are usually congruent with the logical object, but sometimes the 3.sg.m. is also used with feminine or plural objects. qṭilwāle describes anteriority to a reference point in the

past in main and subordinate clauses, occasionally, it also denotes the simple anteriority to the speech time (2.2, 4.1 + 4.2).

### 16.5 *Qṭīl / Qṭīlwā*

The PP is inflected according to number and gender, can stand alone or be combined with a form of **ܩܬܝܠ** which usually follows.

The PP is predominantly used resultatively and describes states that are simultaneous with the speech time and can be singular, habitual or extratemporal (7–9). When referring to the past, *qṭīlwā* is used (5.2). *qṭīl* and *qṭīlwā*, however, are also used in the sense of an anterior (2.2 + 4.2).

The compound *qṭal*- or *yiqṭul* form of **ܩܬܝܠ** + PP denotes states that are desired (13.1). Moreover, the PP can follow verbs of perception and finding when the result of a situation is perceived or found (15). After **ܩܬܝܠ** it describes accompanying circumstances (5.2). With certain, mostly doubly transitive verbs, the PP of the G-stem has an active meaning and is then used like an AP (5.1 + 7.1).

### 16.6 *Qaṭṭīl*

Originally denoting permanent properties, *qaṭṭīl* in Syriac is increasingly also formed from dynamic verbs and has the meaning of an anterior; it is mainly used with verbs of movement but is also attested with other verbs (2.1, 15). It can be combined with a *qṭal* form of **ܩܬܝܠ** and then denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1 + 4.2).

## 17 Analysis

The main function of *qṭal* seems to be the expression of the perfective aspect. This becomes clear from its relationship with *qāṭīlwā*. *qāṭīlwā* can describe imperfective situations that were just in progress, whereas *qṭal* expresses an intervening situation that has to be regarded as a complete whole. If *qṭal* were a tense form, it could denote both situations. Furthermore, it is found in conditional clauses and after **ܩܬܝܠ** to express situations that are anterior to a reference point in the future. Here, it describes situations that are perfective but not anterior to the speech time. Its restricted use as a resultative can also be derived from a perfective main function, since the action of a resultative situation is completed and perfective. The *qṭal* form **ܩܬܝܠ** is possibly also to be understood as resultative (“finding faith” > “believing”). It is in opposition to *qṭalwā* less on a grammatical than on a text-linguistic level. The expression of counterfactuality, especially with the verb **ܩܬܝܠ**, is not easy to explain; in

some cases the counterfactuality probably results from a rhetorical question (ܠܗ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ "Who rolled (it) away? Nobody rolled (it) away. > That someone would roll (it) away!"), but not all instances can be explained in this way. As we remember, *q̄tal* of ܐܠܡ is also used in JBA and CPA in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future, and in Mandaic also with other verbs. And ܐܠܡ also expresses counterfactuality in the compounds *qāṭilwā* and *yiṭṭulwā*. It is quite conceivable that this usage has its origin in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future. There, *q̄tal* certainly denoted, first and foremost, the anteriority of the subordinate clause situation to that of the main clause, i.e. it was used in a purely perfective way but was simultaneously associated with the category of counterfactuality and accordingly also used in the apodosis. Of course, this does not explain why this use was restricted to the verb ܐܠܡ. As we have seen, the negated *q̄tal* form of ܐܠܡ was used with present time reference until the 4th century, and also the affirmative form is used in Syriac as well as in Mandaic and elsewhere in Semitic with present time reference.<sup>128</sup> This usage probably goes back to the resultative use of the verb *hwy* in the meaning "to become" which is especially common in Mandaic (*hwa* = he has become and now he is).<sup>129</sup> *hwā* was therefore always associated with the present, and so it is not surprising that it was also used with this time reference in the apodosis. With verbs other than *hwy*, however, *q̄tal* expresses the perfective aspect, which is completely out of place in the apodosis if posteriority of the subordinate clause situation is to be expressed. For this reason, in Syriac, JBA and CPA, the *q̄tal* form of *hwy*, already regarded as counterfactual due to its use in apodoses, was combined with *qāṭil*, which was also used in real conditional clauses of the present / future. It is difficult to say why in Mandaic *q̄tal* was also used with dynamic verbs in the apodosis. Perhaps this usage is related to the fact that Mandaic is the only classical Aramaic language that does not have different subordinators to distinguish real from counterfactual conditionals. Both are introduced by *ʿu* or *hin*. Certainly, in Syriac, JBA and CPA, only simple *qāṭil*- and *yiṭṭul* forms were initially used in the apodosis, since the counterfactual character of the situation was already made clear by the subordinator. It was only later that the *q̄tal* form of *hwy*, now taken as counterfactual, was combined with *qāṭil*. In Mandaic, such differentiating subordinators were not available, and it is possible that one wanted to compensate for this deficiency by choosing a verb form in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals that in its indicative main function did not denote posteriority, so that it was clear from the outset that it could not be used in its usual indicative

<sup>128</sup> See Nöldeke, SG 193 and MG 369, note 3.

<sup>129</sup> See Nöldeke, MG 369f.



function but rather counterfactual. However, this view is by no means compelling, for as we have seen (ch. 10, sect. 13), in Mandaic counterfactual conditionals of the present / future can also be expressed by *yiḡṭul*- and *qāṭil* forms in the protasis and apodosis.

In Syriac, JBA and CPA, the counterfactual use of *qṭal*, unlike in Mandaic, is thus restricted to the verb *hwy*, while its use in the protasis results from its perfective character. The same probably also applies to the fact that it can express wishes. The urgency of what is desired is probably simply emphasised here by presenting it as already realised.<sup>130</sup> For this reason, *qṭal* has to be classified, in Syriac as well as in JBA and CPA, as a marked signum to indicate the perfective aspect, whereas the Mandaic *qṭal*, whose counterfactual use in the apodosis is not restricted to *hwy*, is to be regarded as unmarked. *qṭalwā*, on the other hand, which can perform quite different functions depending on the text, is to be considered unmarked.

*yiḡṭul* occasionally denotes the indicative posteriority to the speech time; remnants of an indicative use can be seen in the compound *yiḡṭulwā* which describes repeated situations of the past. *yihwē* + *qāṭil* and *hwā* + *qāṭil* are unfortunately not attested often enough to guarantee a clear analysis, but it does seem that at least *yihwē* + *qāṭil* forms an aspectual opposition pair with *yiḡṭul*. The latter thus seems to denote perfective non-indicativity in its main function; due to its indicative use, it must be considered unmarked.

*qāṭil* cannot be reduced to a main function and seems to be an unmarked verb form. On the one hand, it is used to express the imperfective aspect with present and future time reference, although there is only one example where it indicates the last category (temporal clause); with future time reference, *qāṭil* denotes both the perfective and the imperfective aspect which can probably be understood by the fact that the *yiḡṭul* form of ܝܓܬܘܠ, which could be the signum for the expression of posterior imperfectivity when combined with *qāṭil*, is used almost exclusively non-indicatively. It is also used in a perfective manner when it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future, although it should be noted that this usage is restricted to subordinate clauses after subordinators such as ܐܝܬܐܢ, ܐܝܬܐܢܐ and ܐܝܬܐܢܐܐ, which in themselves make the anteriority sufficiently clear. On the other hand, *qāṭil* denotes habitual and extratemporal situations, i.e. categories that are incompatible with aspectuality, and furthermore, it occasionally expresses non-indicative situations. *qāṭilwā* not only indicates the extended imperfective aspect but is also used non-indicatively in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the

<sup>130</sup> This is also how Nöldeke, MG 369, note 2, interprets this use of *qṭal*.

present / future so that neither qāṭil nor qāṭilwā can be considered marked with respect to tense, aspect or mood. The compounds preceded by ܐܡܠܐ – hwā + qāṭil, yihwē + qāṭil, hwī + qāṭil – could not be analysed with absolute certainty, but in view of the indeterminacy of qāṭil, it is to be expected that they can express not only repetition but also imperfectivity and thus have to be considered unmarked.

qṭille is an anterior. qṭilwāle is not so clearly classifiable. Its use to express simple anteriority to the speech time makes it doubtful that it is a mere relative tense form to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the past. Rather, -wā- seems to merely emphasise the past time reference of the situation. In the end, there is too little evidence for an in-depth analysis, and the question of the markedness of this form must be left open.

Also qaṭṭil and qaṭṭilwā are used with the meaning of an anterior, but their use is largely limited to verbs of movement. They have to be considered as marked.

Although qṭil / qṭilwā are sometimes used as anteriors, their main function is clearly that of a resultative, and they and the compounds with ܐܡܠܐ have to be considered as marked.

The verbal system of Syriac has nine marked verb forms: qṭal, qṭille, qaṭṭil + S-suffix, qaṭṭilwā, qṭil + S-suffix, qṭilwā, hwā + qṭil, yihwē + qṭil, imperative.

The following verb forms are unmarked: yiqṭul, yiqṭulwā, qāṭil, qāṭilwā, hwā + qāṭil, yihwē + qāṭil, hwī + qāṭil, qṭalwā. qṭilwāle must be left undecided.

qṭal and qāṭilwā cannot be considered an opposition pair according to the definition given in chapter 1 (sect. 7), since qāṭilwā not only expresses the extended imperfective aspect but also counterfactuality and thus cannot be regarded as an aspectual form. In the indicative domain there is thus just one opposition pair on a text-linguistic level:

qṭal : qṭalwā

In the non-indicative domain:

Imperative (perfective aspect) : hwī + qāṭil (ext. imperfective aspect)

yiqṭul occasionally denotes the indicative posteriority to the speech time and thus cannot be considered a pure non-indicative form; however, since this category is predominantly expressed by qāṭil, it nevertheless seems appropriate to me to consider it as an opposition partner of yihwē + qāṭil:

yiqṭul (perfective) : yihwē + qāṭil (ext. imperfective)

# Classical Aramaic: Summary and Analysis

## 1 The Verb Forms

At this point, the verb forms of Aramaic will first be presented individually and discussed in their development without placing them in the overall context of the verbal systems.

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

*qṭal* goes back to a form that has the same origin as the Akkadian Stative which is basically an inflected noun, e.g. *šar* “he is king”. When derived from adjectives, the Stative has the meaning of a verbal adjective, when from dynamic verbs, it is mostly used as an anterior or resultative. It has no fixed time reference, *damiq* can mean “he is good” or “he was good”, *lamdū* “they have learned and now know” or “they had learned and knew”.<sup>1</sup> Such a tense-less nominal form carries within itself far more the potential to be an aspectual than a temporal form, and thus *qṭal* in Aramaic can be interpreted throughout its history as a signum to express the perfective aspect.

In addition to the active form, *qṭal* has an internal passive with an /i/ after the second root consonant which we can probably also assume for the oldest Aramaic even if it is not attested there. In the course of history, however, it is increasingly displaced by the t-stems; it is probably still attested in Old Syriac but not in Classical Syriac, the Babylonian Talmud, Mandaic, CPA and the Genizah Targum fragments.<sup>2</sup> Even if *qṭal* sporadically describes habitual situations of the past, as in Hasmonean (ch. 6, sect. 3) or in the Babylonian Talmud (ch. 9, sect. 3.1), all in all it has to be regarded as an aspect form expressing perfectivity,<sup>3</sup> as can be seen, on the one hand, in its use in subordinate clauses to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future (conditional clauses, temporal clauses) which can be proven for almost all languages and dialects dealt with here. A tense form expressing the past could not be used here. The fact that it can indicate not only anteriority to the speech time but also anteriority to a reference point in the past, also speaks for its perfective

1 von Soden, GAG 124–126.

2 See the first sections of the corresponding chapters.

3 This also seems to apply to Samaritan, which has not been discussed here; see Macuch, GSA 144–147.

character. And finally, the penetration of qāṭil into the verbal system should be mentioned which can be clearly observed from Imperial Aramaic onwards. Although qāṭil develops quite a wide range of functions in the course of history, it always expresses, in combination with a form of hwy or alone, also the imperfective aspect and is the counterpart of the perfective qṭal. It can be ruled out that the expression of the anterior is part of the very nature of qṭal. That it can express this category, is not due to the verb form but to the fact that qṭal indicates the perfective aspect in both narrating and discussing passages, and in a discussing passage a perfective situation often has quite automatically the meaning of an anterior. The use of qṭal to indicate simultaneity with the speech time with certain verbs can also be explained by its perfective nature in most cases. Just as a perfective verb form in discussing passages sometimes automatically takes on the meaning of an anterior, with certain verbs it takes on the sense of a resultative. In this way, we can explain, for example, the use of the qṭal form of yd' with present time reference in Syriac (ch. 11, sect. 7.1) or Mandaic (ch. 10, sect. 7.1): I have experienced > I know.

That, finally, the expression of non-indicative situations can be derived from the perfective character of qṭal, has been shown in chapter 11 (sect. 17).

## 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

yiqṭul distinguishes between a short form, expressing non-indicative situation, and an indicative long form which, however, are often identical in the written form. There is a difference in the 2. and 3.pl. (yiqṭulL ends in /-n/, yiqṭulS in /-w/) and, at least in Old and Imperial Aramaic, in the singular of verba III y (yiqṭulL with final /-h/, yiqṭulS with /-y/). In addition, the long form is negated by *l* or *l'*, the short form by *ʾl*. The infix /-n-/, which is presumably related to the n-energicum of Arabic, appears in indicative use between verb form in the singular and an object suffix: *yḥnsnh* "he will remove it". This /-n-/ is attested in Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Hasmonean, CPA, Samaritan,<sup>4</sup> JMP<sup>5</sup> but not in Mandaic,<sup>6</sup> JBA<sup>7</sup> and very rarely only in Syriac.<sup>8</sup> In the Targum to the Pentateuch, in JMP,<sup>9</sup> CPA, Syriac and Mandaic only the long form is in use for indicative and non-indicative situations, in the Babylonian Talmud forms with /-n/ are quite rare, usually a short form is used; the same is true of Samaritan

4 See Macuch, GSA 228f.

5 Dalman, Grammatik 368–374.

6 Nöldeke, MG 269–283.

7 Siegal, JBA 197–199.

8 See Beyer, Einschlag 250.

9 Dalman, Grammatik 264ff.

Aramaic.<sup>10</sup> In most Aramaic languages, the 3.m. and 3.pl.f. have the prefix *y-*, only Syriac and Classical Mandaic have *n-*, the Babylonian Talmud also has *y-* and *l-*<sup>11</sup> in addition to *n-*. *l-* is also attested as a prefix of the short form in Tell Fekheriye and in Samalian. Kaufman (Akkadian Influences 126f) is probably right when he sees a connection between the preservation of the indicative infix */-n-/* and the indicative *yiqṭul*L: In Western Aramaic the indicative forms were generalised, in Eastern Aramaic, on the other hand, the non-indicative forms. Mandaic and Syriac are problematic in this context, however, because here the prefix *n-* is combined with the plural ending */-n/*, i.e. with the long form. If the prefix *n-*, as can be assumed for *l-*, originally had a non-indicative character and was combined with the short form of *yiqṭul*, it must have been transferred from the short form to the long form.

In the Targum to the Pentateuch, the 1.sg. has the form *niqṭul* in nine cases that are always to be interpreted in a non-indicative way. In the earliest languages an internal passive of *yiqṭul* is attested (Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic), later this function is taken over by the *t*-stems.<sup>12</sup> The compound *w + yiqṭul*, attested in Old Aramaic and expressing situations that are anterior to the speech time, should also be mentioned here. It had to be left open, however, whether this compound corresponds to Hebrew *wayyiqṭōl* or whether *yiqṭul* is not rather a long form used as a historical present (see ch. 3, sect. 2.1).

The long form is used in Old Aramaic to express habitual, extratemporal and probably also imperfective situations with present time reference and posteriority to the speech time (ch. 3, sect. 4 + 5). In addition, it is attested in final clauses after *lm'n* "so that", in the protasis and apodosis of real conditionals of the present / future (ch. 3, sect. 7.2 + 8) and has been analysed in this work as a marked indicative form of the present / future which forms a modal opposition pair with the non-indicative short form *yiqṭul*S (sect. 7.1). In Imperial Aramaic, the long form is largely displaced from the domain of the present by the AP and is henceforth more or less restricted to the expression of situations that are posterior to the speech time; with stative verbs it still has present time reference and in subordinate clauses it can also describe anteriority to a reference point in the future (protases, temporal clauses; ch. 4, sect. 6 + 7 + 10). The short form, on the other hand, is used – as in Old Aramaic – to express non-indicative statements in main clauses. (9.1, 9.2). Noteworthy is the compound *hwyt šlh* which presumably indicates a habitual situation in the

10 See Macuch, GSA 147f.

11 Also in the Midrash and the Palestinian Talmud, *l-* is occasionally used in indicative as well as non-indicative sentences; see Dalman, Grammatik 264.

12 See the sections 1 of the respective chapters.

past (3.1). In Biblical Aramaic and Hasmonean, *yiḡtūlL* and *yiḡtūlS* are used in a similar way. Here too, the long form is largely restricted to the expression of posteriority to the speech time but is also used non-indicatively. It can no longer be considered a modal signum to express indicativity but rather has an aspectual character. Particularly noteworthy is the use of the long form in accompanying clauses in the Book of Daniel where it expresses the perfective aspect and is in opposition to *qāṭil* which describes imperfective accompanying situations.<sup>13</sup> In the Targum to the Pentateuch, *yiḡtūl* is also used to denote habitual situations of the present, although it had to be left open whether this reflects living language use or merely a mechanical rendering of Hebrew *yiqṭōl*. The use to express posteriority to the speech time, on the other hand, does not seem to be purely mechanical even though also in this case it mostly renders Hebrew *yiqṭōl*. Moreover, the long form has taken over the function of the short form and thus also indicates non-indicative situations. In CPA, too, only *yiḡtūlL* is still in use; its exact function is difficult to determine, since in many cases its use seems to be determined more by the Greek original than by the living language use. However, it seems reasonable to assume that it can still indicate posteriority to the speech time even if it is primarily used to express non-indicative categories. In the Babylonian Talmud, which likewise no longer distinguishes between a long and a short form, the use of *yiḡtūl* to express posteriority to the speech time is already very limited; mostly *qāṭil* describes this category; its actual field of application is the expression of non-indicative statements in main and subordinate clauses. In Classical Mandaic, it occasionally denotes habitual and imperfective situations of the present; more often, it is used to express posteriority to the speech time, but here, too, its main field of application is the expression of non-indicative situations in main and subordinate clauses. In Old Syriac and in the Peshitta, it probably still describes posteriority to the speech time but is then displaced by *qāṭil* to the non-indicative domain; in Classical Syriac, there is only one unambiguous instance of *yiḡtūl* describing an indicative posterior situation. In addition, it is attested in the protasis of real and counterfactual conditionals of the future, but here, too, it is being displaced more and more by *qāṭil*.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

In Early Old Aramaic, *qāṭil* is only attested in a nominal function (kl ʾl “anyone who enters”); in the Hermopolis Papyri and the Ahiqar Sayings, there are nine attestations of verbal use, the participle being inflected according to number

13 See the summaries at the end of each chapter.

and gender and the subject can be indicated by a personal pronoun placed after it ('bd 'nh lh "I am taking care of him"). In the Ahiqar Sayings, it denotes habitual and extratemporal situations, in the Hermopolis Papyri imperfective ones and in two cases (šbq "to leave" and 'th "to come") posteriority to the speech time (ch. 3, sect. 4 + 5.2). In the Hermopolis Papyri, moreover, the compound hwā + qāṭil indicates the anterior imperfective aspect (sect. 2.1), yihwēS + qāṭil expresses instructions to a third person and hwī + qāṭil probably emphasises the urgency and insistence of an instruction given to a second person (sect. 7.1). The use of qāṭil in Imperial Aramaic hardly differs from that in the Hermopolis papyri. Here, several participles of t-stems are attested which make it clear that these are by no means used resultatively or as anteriors but have to be regarded as passive and reflexive counterparts to the active participle. This also applies to the following classical languages. Thus, participles from the t-stems, like qāṭil, denote imperfective situations of the present (ch. 4, sect. 6), sometimes indicate posteriority to the speech time (sect. 7) and are also found in circumstantial clauses and after verbs of sensual perception when a situation is perceived as it progresses (sect. 5 + 11). qāṭil can be combined with forms of hwy. hwā + qāṭil (dynamic verbs) and qāṭil + hwā (stative verbs) express repeated and habitual situation or states in the past, in one case probably also the imperfective aspect (sect. 3), yihwēL + qāṭil denotes repeated situations in the future and hwī + qāṭil is also attested (sect. 7.2). In Biblical Aramaic, too, qāṭil expresses imperfective, habitual and extratemporal situations in main and subordinate clauses and can be preceded by אִתִּי for emphasis of factuality, and is sometimes used alongside the more usual yiqṭulL to indicate posteriority to the speech time (ch. 5, sect. 7 + 8). After וְאֵלֹהִים or וְאֵרָא "behold", it describes a dream event in its progress and is here in opposition to qṭal which expresses the sudden occurrence of an event (sect. 13). A peculiarity of the Book of Daniel is the use of qāṭil in narrating passages; it has been shown that it is only used when the subject consists of a larger number of persons or a collective, i.e. when the situation is complex and a perfective verb form would make the situation telic or punctual. Moreover, it is used in circumstantial clauses where it also describes imperfective situations and is in opposition to the perfectly used yiqṭulL (sect. 14). The qṭal form of hwy usually precedes qāṭil and only follows it in the case of שָׂכַל, הִלֵּךְ, חָזָה and אָתָה. This compound expresses habitual, repeated or imperfective situations with past time reference (sect. 3 + 5). In Hasmonean, too, qāṭil indicates habitual and imperfective situations of the present, occasionally denotes posteriority to the speech time instead of the more usual yiqṭul and can be combined with אִתִּי (ch. 6, sect. 7). As in Biblical Aramaic, a form of hwy usually precedes qāṭil. hwā + qāṭil expresses habitual or repeated situations but can also be used in

narrating passages when the narrative is interrupted and intended to stand on the spot (sect. 2 + 3); in addition to simple qāṭil, the compound is also attested in circumstantial clauses (sect. 5); yihwē + qāṭil, probably with the yiqṭulL form of hwy, presumably expresses repeated situations in the future and is also used to denote non-indicative situations in subordinate clauses, while hwī + qāṭil seems to emphasise that the order must be followed always and in principles (sect. 8 + 9). Also in the Targum to the Pentateuch, qāṭil expresses imperfective and habitual situations with present time reference, sometimes indicates situations that are posterior to the speech time and is attested after verbs of perception when the situation was perceived in its progress (ch. 7, sect. 7–9 + 14). When combined with forms of hwy, the use of qāṭil does not differ from that of other Aramaic languages. hwā + qāṭil denotes habitual, repeated or imperfective situations of the past (sect. 2 + 3 + 5), yihwē + qāṭil expresses situations that proceed parallel to each other in the future but also indicates commandments and prohibitions of permanent validity, such as the 10 Commandments (sect. 11, 12.1). Moreover, we have to mention the use of qāṭil after עתיד to express situations that are posterior to the speech time (sect. 9.1). In CPA, too, qāṭil can denote imperfective, habitual and extratemporal situations and is used, in addition to yiqṭul, with future time reference and, moreover, after verbs of sensual perception (ch. 8, sect. 7–10 + 15); it is also attested in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future, especially when the Greek original has an indicative form, while a Subjunctive is usually rendered by yiqṭul (sect. 14). hwā + qāṭil expresses the Greek Imperfect when it describes past situations that have some temporal extension or are to be viewed from within (sect. 2. 1); this compound also denotes habitual situations and those that proceed parallel to another one in the past (sect. 3 + 5) and is found after verbs of sensual perception when the observed situation is introduced by א, whereas simple qāṭil is used when it follows directly (sect. 15). yihwē + qāṭil can describe simultaneity with a reference point in the future in main clauses and temporal clauses (sect. 12) but is also attested in non-indicative subordinate clauses where it seems to emphasise the duration of the situation, although it is not always easy to determine the difference to simple yiqṭul. hwī + qāṭil seems to express general instructions, the simple imperative, however, can also be used for this purpose (sect. 13.2). In the Babylonian Talmud, qāṭil is fully inflected and forms a unit with the subject suffix. Simple qāṭil or q-qāṭil can express habitual situations even when referring to the past or situations that extend over a certain period of time if the context makes the time reference clear (ch. 9, sect. 2.1 + 3). Usually q-qāṭil is used to emphasise the imperfective character of a situation or to mark the rheme of a statement, whereas simple AP mostly expresses habitual and extratemporal situations



(sect. 7–9). It also denotes posteriority to the speech time and, along with *yiqṭul*, anteriority to a reference point in the future in subordinate clauses (sect. 10 + 11). Furthermore, it is found in the protasis and apodosis of real and counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and after verbs of sensual perception (sect. 13 + 14) and is sometimes used non-indicatively in main (מרעי “he shall let it graze”) and subordinate clauses (sect. 12). *hwā + qāṭil* appears most frequently in such a way that *qāṭil* is fully inflected, while the 3.sg.m. of *hwy* is used for all persons, but it is also possible that both are fully inflected or only *hwy*. It expresses habitual and imperfective situations of the past and may be preceded by *q-* in the latter case (sect. 3, 5). After verbs of sensual perception it can be used if the superordinate clause has past time reference, but simple *qāṭil* is also possible in this case (sect. 14); moreover, in addition to *qṭal*, it is attested in the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the past and in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future (sect. 13). *yihwē + qāṭil* is attested in a final clause and is presumably intended to emphasise the common validity of the statement made there (sect. 12.2). In Classical Mandaic, too, *qāṭil* is fully inflected and forms a unit with the subject suffix and can be combined with a preceding form of *hwy*. It expresses imperfective situations with present time reference and may be preceded by *q-* in this case, and it also indicates habitual and extratemporal situations (ch. 10, sect. 7–9). In Mandaic, however, the particle *q-* cannot be considered a means of expressing the imperfective aspect, but rather has a purely presentative character. Furthermore, *qāṭil* indicates posteriority to the speech time and is attested in the protasis and apodosis of real conditionals of the present / future and occasionally also – alongside the more usual *qṭal* – in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present (sect. 10 + 11 + 13). Finally, it is used after verbs of sensual perception, with or without *q-*; if it is at some distance from the verb of perception and the situation has past time reference, (*q-*)*qāṭil* may be preceded by *hwā* (sect. 14). The compound *hwā*, usually uninflected, + *qāṭil* expresses habitual and imperfective situations of the past (sect. 2.1 + 3 + 5). *qāṭil* can also be preceded by the uninflected *yiqṭul* form *nihuia*. This compound is rarely attested and may denote non-indicative situations or indicative ones that are posterior to the speech time. The difference to simple *qāṭil* is difficult to determine, sometimes it seems to emphasise duration and repetition, but it also expresses singular and perfective situations (sect. 10.1 + 12.1). Similarly rare is the compound *qāṭil* of *hwy + qāṭil* which can be used with future time reference (sect. 10.1). In Syriac, *qāṭil* is inflected according to number and gender and may be written separately from a following subject pronoun or combined with it as a unit. It describes imperfective, habitual and extratemporal situations, can also be used with past time reference if the

context clarifies the time reference and also denotes posteriority to the speech time; for this purpose, *yiqṭul* may also be used which, however, can mostly also be interpreted non-indicatively. Barhebraeus mentions the forms *kā ʾākel* and *kā ʾāzel* which probably express the imperfective aspect (ch. 11, sect. 2.1 + 7–9). In subordinate clauses, it can denote anteriority to a reference point in the future – instead of the more common *qṭal* –, it is attested after verbs of sensual perception, in circumstantial clauses and in the protasis of real and counterfactual conditionals of the future (sect. 11 + 14 + 15). Sometimes, it also has a non-indicative meaning (ܩܬܠ ܕܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܕܐ “so what are we supposed to do?”; sect. 13.1). In older texts such as the Peshitta, an inflected *qṭal* form of *hwy* often precedes *qāṭil*, later it usually follows. *qāṭil* and *hwy* are written separately, but the /h/ of *hwy* is marked by a *linea occultans*, i.e. it was not spoken so that the two components probably formed a fixed compound *qāṭilwā*. It is used to express habitual, repeated and imperfective situations of the past (sect. 2 + 3 + 5), it can denote counterfactual situations of the present, for instance after particles like ܐܕ “if only”, is found rather rarely in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals but more frequently in the apodosis both with reference to the present / future and to the past (sect. 13.1 + 14). Verbs of sensual perception can be followed by *qāṭilwā* or simple *qāṭil* when referring to the past (15). *hwā* and *yihwē* + *qāṭil* are used non-indicatively; they express wishes and commands in main and subordinate clauses and are used to emphasise the duration of what is desired or commanded (sect. 13.1 + 13.2).

#### 1.4 *Qṭil and Qṭille*

The PP can be summarised more briefly.

In Old Aramaic, the PP is only attested twice in a predicative function. In one case, it is used resultatively (*šmn* “they are locked up”), in the other adjectivally (*pthh* “[shall be] open”; ch. 3, sect. 2.1 + 7.1). The PP is more abundantly attested in Imperial Aramaic. It can be used with S-suffixes and with following *hwā*, *yihwēL* and *yihwēS*. It can have the meaning of an anterior, resultative and adjective: *bnh hwh* “(which) had been built”, *mmnyn hww* “(who) had been appointed” (sect. 4.2), *bydn* “they are made”, *kybn* “(that) are written” (sect. 6.1 + 6.2), *ptyh* “open” (sect. 6.1). In two cases, however, PP + *yihwēL* has neither the meaning of a resultative nor of an anterior but is used like a *yiqṭul* form of a t-stem: *tlyln yhwwn* “(give order that) they be roofed”, *byd yhw* “so that it be done” (sect. 9.2). Finally, the compound PP + l, which will be discussed in more detail below, is attested for the first time in Imperial Aramaic: *šmyʿ ly* “I have heard” (sect. 2.1 + 4.2).

What was said about Imperial Aramaic basically also applies to the other classical languages. In Mandaic and JBA, the PP is fully inflected with S-suffixes

which form a unit with the PP, while in Syriac the corresponding forms can be written separately or as one word. The PP is mainly used with a resultative meaning, a form of *hwy*, including the imperative *hwī*, can follow or precede it. And at this point a few words about the active use of certain PPs of the G-stem and the use of *qṭille* are necessary.

Let us begin with *qṭille*. It is often traced back to the Old Persian compound *manā krtam* and accordingly interpreted as a possessive construction,<sup>14</sup> but Siegal (*qṭil lī 11*) has shown quite convincingly that the compound can just as well be the result of an inner Aramaic development. Siegal points out that the agent of a passive construction in Syriac and JBA is readily introduced by *l-*: *etīdaʿ l-hon* “they recognised him”, *hāde tetīdaʿ l-kon* “be this known unto you” (ibid. 72). He then argues that the dative is often used across languages to introduce non-subcategorised arguments, that is, it introduces entities that are not lexically predicted by the verb. This kind of dative can introduce the semantic role of the possessor, the beneficiary / sufferer, attitude holder, or even the experiencer, as in JBA: *hwā mʿīsā leh* “it was repulsive to him” (ibid. 80).

In a sentence like Modern Hebrew: *lo yadua la-hem hexan hu* “it is unknown to them where he is”, *la-hem* has the same semantic role as *hem* in: *hem einam yod'im hexan hu* “they do not know where he is”, and so Siegal (ibid. 83) proposes to look for the origin of the *qṭille*-construction in the context of verbs where a dative like *la-hem* has the same semantic role as a sentence element that can be encoded as the subject of an active sentence. Here, one has to think of verbs like *ydʿ* “to know” which, as we have seen, is regularly combined with the preposition *l-* in the phrase *לְדַע לְהוּא* “be it known unto thee” (among others in BA). Another example from Syriac, which Siegal (ibid.) cites in support of his thesis, is: *ʿaynā d-men qaddīm ʾīdī-wā leh* “which he foreknew”. I thus assume that *qṭille* is not an original possessive but rather a dative construction. As we have seen, *qṭille* is used primarily in discussing passages and accordingly the subjects are often first and second persons. Sometimes the agent is expressed by an independent personal pronoun but usually it is only recognisable by the L-suffix. With a third person, on the other hand, the agent can also be expressed in a nominal form, and regarding this case, Siegal (ibid. 87) distinguishes three constructions:

1. [qṭil] [l + agent]
2. [qṭil] [l + pronoun] [l + agent]
3. [qṭil] [l + pronoun] [agent]

14 Amongst others by Kutscher, Passive.

According to Siegal, construction 1 is the usual one in Syriac: *ʾaynā dabnēwā l-ṭubānā* “which was built by the blessed one” (ibid. 87), while in JBA no. 2 is the most common one: *šmʿ leh l-mar* “my master has heard” (ibid.). Construction 3 is also in use in JBA but only when the agent is topicalised: *rabbī yehuda k-rabbānā sbīrā leh* “as for Rabbi Yehuda – on this matter he agrees with the Rabbis” (ibid. 88). Once the topic is reanalysed as a subject, the anticipatory pronoun can be reanalysed as a verbal inflection (ibid. 91).

Construction 2 is certainly more frequently attested in JBA,<sup>15</sup> but it is not unknown in Syriac: *ʾap kārōze šbīqīn le l-malkā d-nakrezun* (Siegal, ibid. 87) “the king has also permitted heralds to proclaim”, and in Mandaic: *b-škinatun ... dškinālḥ l-ab* (Nöldeke, MG 383) “in their dwellings which my father has inhabited”.

qṭille is attested in Imperial Aramaic only twice, both times from the verb *šmʿ* “to hear”. In Syriac and Mandaic it is by no means restricted to verbs of perception but is formed from verbs of quite different kinds, from transitive and intransitive ones, also from stative ones like *hwy* and *qym*, mainly from the G-stem but also from the derived ones. In JBA, as Siegal (qṭil lī II 92) states, it seems to be formed primarily from verbs of perception, but here, too, it is not limited to these and is attested from both transitive and intransitive verbs. The evidence will not be repeated here; one may look it up in the preceding chapters and in Nöldeke (SG 210; MG 382f) and Schlesinger (Satzlehre 45f). After qṭille has been attested for the first time in Imperial Aramaic, it is henceforth confined to Eastern Aramaic, and if one assumes an inner-Aramaic development of this construction, the question arises as to why it did not also take place in Western Aramaic. I do not have an answer to this question, but may I at least be allowed to make an assumption.

First of all, it should be emphasised that the development of an ergative construction such as qṭille is an innovation that cannot be regarded as commonplace; it is therefore not surprising that it took place and spread in only one linguistic centre in the East but not in the West. However, Western Aramaic has a special feature that is rarely found in the East and which raises the question of whether the linguistic prerequisites that are necessary for the development of qṭille were fulfilled in the West at all.

In JBA as well as in Syriac and Mandaic, a determinate object argument introduced by *l-* is often accompanied by an anticipatory pronominal suffix, as in JBA: *šumārā ki maškaḥ leh l-ḥiwyā* “as for a cat, when it finds a snake ...” (Siegal, qṭil lī II 88), or Syriac: ܡܫܟܐ ܠܗ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ (Nöldeke,

15 In addition to Siegal's examples, see those given in Schlesinger, Satzlehre 45 and above, ch. 9, sect. 2.1 and 13.

SG 219) “the tyrant flattered the inhabitants of Q.”<sup>16</sup> Siegal has shown that JBA is quite capable of distinguishing between an argument of a predicate and a mere adjunct: an argument is accompanied by an anticipatory pronominal suffix but not a pure adjunct. In: *qašyā l-rav* “it is difficult for Rab” (ibid. 90), *l-rav* is not a necessary argument of the predicate but merely an adjunct which could also be absent, and so no anticipatory pronominal suffix is used here. According to Siegal (ibid. 90), the transition from construction 1 to construction 2 is quite analogous. [1 + agent] in 1 is the argument of the predicate [qṭīl] and accordingly it is combined with the anticipatory pronominal suffix [1 + pronoun] and one obtains construction 2, even though *l-* does not introduce a direct object here but the experiencer. The importance of the anticipatory pronominal suffix and the existence of the phrase **ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܠܝܬܐ** on the formation of construction 2 cannot be underestimated. Should it now be possible that the emergence of construction 2 is related to another isogloss that distinguishes Western from Eastern Aramaic, I mean the nota accusativi? *yāt-* introduces a mostly pronominal object and is not attested at all in Mandaic and only very sparsely in Syriac,<sup>17</sup> in the Babylonian Talmud it does occur but almost only in Palestinian stories and sayings of Palestinian scholars.<sup>18</sup> It is attested for the first time in the Old Aramaic inscription of Sfire,<sup>19</sup> whether *yth* in Kraeling 3,22a represents the nota accusativi, however, is doubtful; furthermore, it is found once in the Book of Daniel (3,12) and is then regularly used in the western languages and dialects.<sup>20</sup> The introduction of a direct object by *l-* is also possible in Western Aramaic, but especially with a pronominal object *yāt-* is usually used; compare Syriac: **ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܠܝܬܐ**, and CPA: *ʿadleq yātēh le-būsīnēk* (Schulthess, Grammatik 88) “light your lamp”. The double use of *l-* with indirect objects, analogous to *ʿqrīlḥ qala l-nu* (Nöldeke, MG 330) “a voice was called to Noah”, is of course also possible in Western Aramaic, but all in all the double use of *l-* is clearly restricted by the presence of *yāt-* compared to Eastern Aramaic. In addition, the use of an anticipatory pronominal suffix seems to be rather rare in Western Aramaic. I am not aware of an in-depth study on this point, but a perusal of the first eight chapters of the Book of Genesis in the Targumim Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti (CAL) has revealed that there are about 40 definite nominal accusative objects.

16 For the corresponding evidence from Mandaic, see Nöldeke, MG 390f.

17 In the Peshitta of the Old Testament, *yāt-* is attested 15 times; see Beyer, Einschlag 252; cf. also Nöldeke, MG 390, note 2.

18 Schesinger, Satzlehre 105.

19 III 11 and 13.

20 See Schulthess, Grammatik 88; Beyer, ATTM 601; Fassberg, Genizah 119f; Dalman, Grammatik 360; Macuch, GSA 133.

In none of these cases the object is anticipated by an anticipatory pronominal suffix, either directly on the verb or after l-. In four cases, the direct nominal object is introduced by l- (1.5; 1.7; 1, 10; 1, 12), once it follows the verb directly (4.23), in all other cases yāt- is used. The prerequisite for the emergence of the Syriac phrase **ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ** would therefore not have been fulfilled even if direct objects had been introduced by l- instead of yāt-. It is therefore conceivable that construction 1 may well have been used in the vernacular of Western Aramaic but that the limited occurrence of a model in which an argument of a verb is introduced twice by l- prevented the emergence of construction 2. The grammaticalisation of qṭille thus stopped halfway so that it was finally abandoned before it could find its way into the written language. That the presence of yāt- alone was sufficient to prevent the development and establishment of qṭille in Western Aramaic, I dare not say; that it played a role in this respect, however, seems to me quite possible.

As already repeatedly noted, the PP can be used with certain verbs, as far as I can see, only in the G-stem, with an active meaning. It will be difficult to find a uniform explanation for all attested cases; rather, one has to proceed individually. First of all, there are cases where the active meaning results directly from the passive one and where a passive translation is just as appropriate as an active one. These include plg which in the G-stem means “to divide, to distribute” and is used in the Babylonian Talmud (ch. 9, sect. 3.2) and in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Dalman, *Grammatik* 283) in the sense of “to hesitate”: **וְעַמִּי פְּלִיגִין לְמַתָּב לְאַוְרִיתִי** “my people hesitate to return to my teaching” (Bab. Tal. according to CAL, s.v. plg), where one could just as well translate: “they are divided (in opinion) concerning the return to my teaching”.

Nöldeke (SG 211) has already correctly noted that the active use of the PP can result from the fact that the verbs in question are used doubly transitive, although only a few of the verbs he cites have this property, such as ṭ'n “to load something with” where the second object expresses in an adverbial way what something is loaded with: **וּטְיִינוּ לֵה חַאֲלָא** “they loaded it with sand” (Bab. Tal. according to CAL, s.v. ṭ'n). The PP of ṭ'n has the meaning “loaded” and, as in active use, what one is loaded with is expressed by a direct object: loaded with > carrying: **וְנָרְוָהּ ܕܡܢ ܡܝܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܪܝܬܐ** “the women then were carrying water” (Syr., see above ch. 11, sect. 5.1). The PP of ṭ'n with this meaning is further found in the Bab. Tal. (see above ch. 9, sect. 3.2), the Targum to the Pentateuch (see above ch. 7, sect. 5.1), in CPA (ch. 8, sect. 5.1) and also in Neo-Aramaic.<sup>21</sup> The active use of the PP, however, is also attested with

21 See Khan, *Barwar Lex.* s.v. ṭyn; Israel of Alqosh 4,32.

numerous verbs that govern only one object or no object at all, such as *dkr* “to remember”. If the verbs of this group govern an object, they are characterised by a low degree of transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Thompson,<sup>22</sup> insofar as the verbal action has little or no effect on the grammatical object. In a sentence like: *He beat up his neighbour*, the verbal action has a very direct influence on the object and changes its state, the neighbour has experienced it first hand and is in the state of being beaten up. In: *He remembered his neighbour*, the neighbour, on the other hand, does not even know about the action. Here, it is not the grammatical object that is affected by the action but the subject itself in which the memory is evoked, insofar as a change of state is brought about, namely from the state of not remembering to that of remembering, and it is not without reason that the signum expressing this intentum is combined in many European languages with a reflexive pronoun, as in German (*sich erinnern*) and several Romance languages (*se souvenir*, *ricordarsi*, *acordarse*), just as in Semitic a t-stem can be used here instead of the G-stem.<sup>23</sup> In either case, with or without reflexive pronouns, *remembering* consists primarily in a change of state that the grammatical subject brings about in itself, and it is this change of state to which the passive meaning component of the PP refers. Since the PP is mostly used resultatively in Aramaic, a form like *dkr* can describe the change of state as completed: *put into the state of remembering*, while an active verb form formulates it as a process. In both cases, the process of remembering is understood as active and thus in the Targum Onqelos, for instance, *yiqṭul* and PP can both govern a direct object: *וּדְכַרְנָא / וְאִדְכַר יְת קִימִי* “I remember my oath” (according to CAL, s. v. *dkr*). Apart from JMP, *dkr* is also used actively in Syriac.<sup>24</sup> However, it is not always the case that the passive meaning component of the PP refers to the change of state; in Hasmonian, for example, it is the *remembering* itself that is understood as passive, so the PP there means “remembered”.<sup>25</sup> The active use of the PP in the following cases can be explained in the same way as with *dkr*: *lbš* “to clothe oneself with (= dir. obj.)” > “put into the state of having clothed oneself”,<sup>26</sup> *škb* “to lie down” > “put into the state of having lain down”,<sup>27</sup> *rbʿ* = the same,<sup>28</sup> *škn* “to settle down” > “put into the state of having

22 Transitivity.

23 So in Syriac the Gt-stem, in Arabic stems V and VIII.

24 See the chapter on the Targum to the Pentateuch, sect. 12.1, Dalman, *Grammatik* 283, and Brockelmann, *Lex Syr.* s.v. *dkr*.

25 See Beyer, *ATM* 554.

26 In general. For example in the Bab. Tal. (ch. 9, sect. 3.2), in Syriac (Nöldeke, *SG* 211), Mandaic (ch. 10, sect. 8.1).

27 So in the Bab. Talm. (sect. 4.2), Mand. (sect. 5), Syriac, JMP, CPA (CAL, s.v. *škb*).

28 Bab. Tal. (sect. 14), Syriac, CPA, Targum Jonathan, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (CAL, s.v. *rbʿ*).

settled down”,<sup>29</sup> sbr “to think”, “to reason” > “put into the state of thinking”.<sup>30</sup> Presumably mšy “to be able” also belongs here. In Hebrew the root means “to find”, in Ethiopian “to reach”, which probably has to be regarded as the basic meaning.<sup>31</sup> If the verb originally expresses the movement towards a goal, it is again the subject that is primarily affected by the verbal action and has to be understood as the logical object of the verbal action, not the goal it reaches. The meaning of the PP may have been originally understood as “being put into the state of having arrived” or “of having gone”, from where it can easily have acquired the meaning of being enabled to do something. The PP is used in this sense in Mandaic: *la mšina* “I am not able” (Nöldeke, MG 380), in Syriac and in the Targum Jonathan.<sup>32</sup>

Another group consists of verbs of taking and holding where the PP denotes the result of the active action, i.e. “having taken” or “holding”, such as nsb “to take” > “having taken”, “possessing” in Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211). Unlike the verbs discussed above, the degree of transitivity is here much higher because the object is primarily affected by the action, not the subject. The explanation for this use of the PP seems to me to be that in this way an intentum can be expressed that the other signa cannot express or can only express inadequately. The perfective qṭal can be used resultatively with certain verbs (e.g. ydʿ “to know”), but as a rule it simply describes the completion of an action. The same applies to qṭille which is usually used in the sense of an anterior. qāṭil and yiqṭul are also predominantly used with a dynamic meaning. To express the result of taking, only the PP remains, and once forms like *dkīr* were used with an active sense and qṭille had already become more or less part of the verbal system, by analogy *nsīb* was also used actively with the meaning “having taken” or “holding”. This group also includes: nqṭ “to grasp” > “holding”,<sup>33</sup> lqṭ = the same,<sup>34</sup> drʿ “to carry, to lift” > “carrying”,<sup>35</sup> ʾhd “to take” > “holding”,<sup>36</sup> lbk = the same, šql “to lift” > “carrying”, qny “to take possession of” > “possessing”.<sup>37</sup>

The PP is also to be understood in a resultative way in the case of verbs of surrounding, enclosing: to enclose > to hold enclosed. This use of the PP is to be explained in the same way as with the above group of verbs. These include hgl “to gird around”, “to surround” > “surrounding”.  in CPA (Schulthess,

29 Mand. (dškinbin “in which he resides”; Nöldeke, MG 380).

30 JMP (Dalman, Grammatik 283).

31 See Nöldeke, ZDMG 40 (1886) 736. Compare Arabic *maḍā*.

32 Brockelmann, Lex. Syr. and CAL, s.v. mšy.

33 JBA (see Bab. Tal., sect. 3.2 + CAL, s.v. nqṭ).

34 Mandaic (Nöldeke, MG 380).

35 Mandaic (sect. 7.1).

36 Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211), Targum Jonathan (CAL, s.v. ʾhd).

37 The last three forms are Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211).



Grammatik 46) may also be a *qāṭil* form, since short /e/ is readily rendered by /y/ there (ibid. 60 and ch. 8, sect. 5.1), but the CAL (s. v. ḥgyl) mentions the same form also for JMP: חֻבַּתְךָ דְּחִגְלָהּ לֶךְ “your sin that surrounds you”. Here, too, one can see the semantic gap that the PP fills, for *qāṭil* would describe the surrounding as a process, whereas the sentence can only mean that the sin already firmly embraces him. Compare the following passage from CPA with *qāṭil*: ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “myriads of nations that are surrounding me” (CAL, s.v. ḥgl). With such a large number of nations, it can hardly be meant that they all hold him enclosed; the situation is rather to be understood dynamically as a constant surrounding. Further to this group belong ṭrs “to go around” > “surrounding” in CPA (ch. 8, sect. 5.1), ḥdr and krk = the same in Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211), ḥzq “to gird around”, “to hold” > “holding” and ‘pq “to surround”, “to entwine” > “holding” also in Syriac (Nöldeke ibid.).

Moreover, there are verbs with the meaning “to pull” whose PP does not describe a result but dynamically a process. This use of the PP is not so easy to understand since the same intentum can be, and is, described by *qāṭil*, as with *ngd* in Syriac: ܐܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ “four war-horses are pulling it” (CAL, s.v. *ngd*). The PP, however, also has the active meaning “pulling” in Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211) and Mandaic (7.1), and even if it does not fill a semantic gap here, this use is certainly due to an analogy with other verbs. Furthermore, these verbs include *dbr* “to lead”, “to drive” > “dragging along” (ܕܒܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ “that they were leading him like a lamb to the slaughter”, CAL, s. v. *dbyr*) and *grr* “to pull” > “pulling” both in Syriac (Nöldeke, SG 211).

### 1.5 *Qāṭōl*

In most Aramaic languages, this pattern has only the meaning of a *nomen agentis*, but in CPA and Samaritan it is also used predicatively like an AP and denotes imperfective and habitual situations (ch. 8, sect. 3.2 + 7.1).

### 1.6 *Qaṭṭil*

*qaṭṭil* originally denotes permanent properties but is used in CPA (ch. 8, sect. 4.1) and more frequently in Syriac (ch. 11, sect. 2.1 + 4 + 5.1 + 15) especially with verbs of movement in the sense of an anterior. Combined with *hwā*, it can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past.

## 2 The Verbal Systems

### 2.1 *Introductory Remarks*

This overview already clearly shows that the aspectual marking of a verb form in Classical Aramaic is far more important than the temporal or modal ones.

The marked signa, i.e. qṭal, qṭille, qṭil and qṭṭil, primarily mark a situation as completed, while the time reference results from the aspect of the verb form and the context. This also applies to yiqṭul. A purely temporal signum, however, which only determines the time frame of a situation, could not be proven. Nowhere did qṭalwā, qṭilwā and qṭilwāle develop into pure temporal forms. qṭalwā serves primarily to express text-linguistic subtleties, -wā in qṭilwā and qṭilwāle shifts a situation or a state into the past so that a past perfect must often be used in the translation, but these signa can also express the simple anteriority to the speech time, just as anteriority to a reference point in the past can be expressed by forms without -wā.<sup>38</sup> The verb hwy is an exception, but it is primarily used as an auxiliary verb to specify other signa temporally but also modally. I am thinking first of all of qāṭil but also of yiqṭul in Syriac which expresses habitual situations in the past with suffixed -wā and modal subordinate clause situations when the main clause has past time reference.<sup>39</sup> Nor is too much urgency attached to the expression of non-indicative categories by special signa. Admittedly, there is a signum in the older language phases, yiqṭulS, which describes non-indicative situations and is in opposition to the indicative yiqṭulL, but this is later displaced by indicative signa which are capable of expressing posteriority to a reference point, initially yiqṭulL which later in turn has to give way to qāṭil. The signa used in conditional clauses also hardly express anything that they could not also describe outside of them in the indicative realm. If qṭal is used in the protasis of real or counterfactual conditionals of the present / future, it expresses perfectly the anteriority of the subordinate clause situation to that of the superordinate clause; if, on the other hand, qāṭil or yiqṭul are used, they denote the posteriority of the subordinate clause situation to the speech time, while the expression of the non-indicative character of the situation is left to subordinators and the context in both cases. Exceptions are only the qṭal form of hwy and qāṭilwā and, in Mandaic, qṭal. But even if these forms are used non-indicatively in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses and in wishes, this use can be derived without difficulty from their perfective main function as was shown in chapter 11 (sect. 17), and in any case it is not appropriate to assume an original non-indicative colouring in the case of qṭal and qāṭilwā.

The fact that modal categories in classical Aramaic do not have the same status as aspectual ones is also suggested by the fact that no classical Aramaic language is able to distinguish between counterfactuality of the present / future and the past. It is therefore to be expected from the outset that the languages discussed so far are aspect-prominent.

38 See, among others, Syriac (ch. 11, sect. 2.2 + 15) and JBA (ch. 9, sect. 5.2).

39 See ch. 11, sect. 3.2 + 13.2.

Even a cursory glance at the verbal forms dealt with here clearly reveals a tendency that characterises the Aramaic languages from Late Old Aramaic onwards and by which they differ from Early Old Aramaic. I mean the tendency towards analysis, i.e. the tendency to dissolve compact linguistic constructions and to distribute linguistic elements from one word to several, as can often be observed in the development from Latin to the Romance languages or also in Egyptian. During the reign of King Akhenaton in the 18th Dynasty, a language was used in written documents that in many respects had the character of a spoken language and was quite different from Middle Egyptian which had been used until then. This form of language, known as Late Egyptian, uses constructions that in many cases are to be considered analytical compared to the corresponding ones used in Old and Middle Egyptian. “he heard” is in Middle Egyptian *sčm.n.f*, *sčm* being a lexical morpheme meaning “to hear”, .n expressing the time reference and .f the person. In Late Egyptian it says: *iri.f sčm*; this compound consists of *iri.f* “he made” and the infinitive *sčm*, thus literally: “he made hearing”. In the Middle Egyptian expression, *sčm* conveys the meaning “to hear”, and at the same time the two grammatical morphemes .n and .f are suffixed to it. In Late Egyptian, on the other hand, *sčm* merely conveys the lexical meaning, while a new verb form *iri* is introduced to which the grammatical morpheme is attached.<sup>40</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed in Aramaic, especially in the use of the participles which initially displace *yiqṭul* and later *qṭal*. Let us take the Early Old Aramaic form *’bd* (Sfiré III 3) “I will do”; *’bd* conveys the lexical meaning, and at the same time the morpheme *’*, which denotes the 1.sg., is attached to it. In *šbq ’nh* (H 3,4) “I will leave”, *šbq* only conveys the lexical meaning, while the subject is expressed by an independent pronoun. The situation is similar with the pp. In Syriac ܡܠܝܟܐ “I killed her”, ܡܠܝܟܐ conveys the lexical meaning and is combined with the morphemes that express subject and object. In ܡܠܝܟܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ “she is a killed one to me” = “I have killed her”, ܡܠܝܟܐ just conveys the lexical meaning and is combined with the morpheme that denotes the logical object, while the subject is introduced by a preposition. The analytical mode of expression can, of course, turn back into a synthetic one when AP and subject pronoun are contracted and become an inflected form *šbqnh* or when ܡܠܝܟܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ becomes *qiṭlali* in Neo-Aramaic.

## 2.2 The Verbal Systems

Let us now have a look at the verbal systems and their development. Due to the limited text corpus, little can be said with certainty about Early Old Aramaic. *qṭal* can be identified with some probability as a marked signum expressing

<sup>40</sup> See Junge, Neuägyptisch 49f.

the anterior perfective aspect, to which, however, no imperfective counterpart can be proven. The domain of the present and future, on the other hand, is not characterised by aspectual or temporal signa but by the modal opposition pair *yiqṭul*L (indicative) : *yiqṭul*S (non-indicative), both of which are to be regarded as marked. In addition, there is the imperative which presumably could denote perfective and imperfective / habitual commands and thus has to be considered unmarked. Furthermore, a predicatively used PP is attested and also the compound *w + yiqṭul* whose exact function, however, had to be left open.<sup>41</sup>

The verbal system of Late Old Aramaic, clearly tangible in the Hermopolis papyri, can be described in a more differentiated way. Marked signa are indicated in bold letters in the following, those with present time reference are listed above the arrow, the others below:

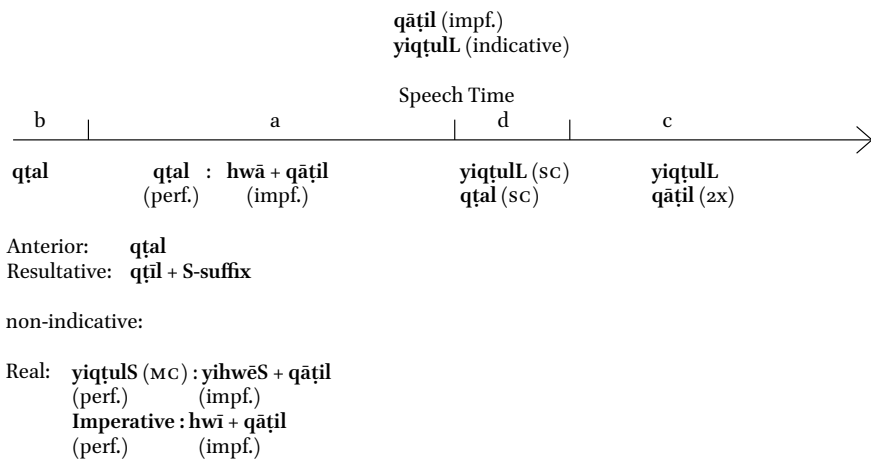


FIGURE 5 Late Old Aramaic

a = anteriority to the speech time, b = anteriority to a reference point in the past, c = posteriority to the speech time, d = anteriority to a reference point in the future, SC = subordinate clause, MC = main clause, ext. = extended.

The penetration of the AP has made the verbal system clearly more aspect-prominent than was the case in Early Old Aramaic. In the field of the past, there exists an opposition pair perfectivity : imperfectivity, possibly also for the future, although no corresponding imperfective form could be proven. It is probably no coincidence that especially in the Hermopolis papyri, *qṭal* is also attested in the protasis of conditional clauses; it now had an opposition partner

41 See the sections *Analysis* of the corresponding chapters.

(hwā + qāṭil) and was probably perceived more clearly as an aspect form than before when it had been the only form in the field of anteriority to the speech time. And so it could also denote anteriority to a reference point in the future in the protasis after *ʾn* / *hn*, since it describes a situation as completed and not as past. In the domain of the present, the imperfective qāṭil is contrasted with yiqṭulL, a signum that expresses not only habitual situations but also posteriority to the speech time and is probably – as in Early Old Aramaic – modally marked as indicative. In the non-indicative domain, there are two pairs of aspectual oppositions. It cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty that qāṭil could also denote habitual situations, but since the corresponding evidence is too uncertain and positive proof cannot be provided, one must assume that it is a pure imperfective form even if it occasionally also expresses posteriority to the speech time. However, it still has clearly nominal properties since it is only inflected according to number and gender, while a following subject pronoun is written separately from the AP. The penetration of the AP has the effect that yiqṭulL is functionally clearly relieved in the area of the present where it is now restricted to the expression of habitual situations.

The verbal system of Imperial Aramaic differs in some respects from that of Late Old Aramaic. In contrast to Late Old Aramaic, there is clear evidence that hwā + qāṭil is also used to express habitual situations. From this circumstance one can probably conclude that simple AP can also denote habitual situations – although corresponding evidence is missing. yiqṭulL can presumably no longer be analysed as a modal signum to express indicativity; rather, it indicates the posterior perfective aspect and is in opposition to yihwēL + qāṭil. A non-indicative opposition pair yiqṭulS : yihwēS + qāṭil cannot be proven, although its existence is probable. An important innovation first observed in Imperial Aramaic is the use of qṭille. It is attested twice in discussing passages (šmyʿ ln and šmyʿ ly) and is probably to be understood as an anterior. qṭille, however, has not yet found a fixed place in the verbal system, since it expresses a category for which qṭal could also be used at any time.

Imperial Aramaic also has to be regarded as strongly aspect-prominent but we can already foresee what will become clear in the following period. As the AP increasingly takes over the functions of yiqṭulL, it moves away from its aspectual properties. To what extent it was originally used purely aspectually to indicate imperfective situations is not easy to say – presumably it could also express habituality from the beginning – but it cannot be denied that in Late Old Aramaic it still bears far more resemblance to an aspect form than later, for example, in Syriac where it can also denote posterior and non-indicative situations, and already now it can be stated that it is difficult to speak of a tendency in Aramaic to form a perfect aspectual system.

The verbal system of Biblical Aramaic can be illustrated as follows:

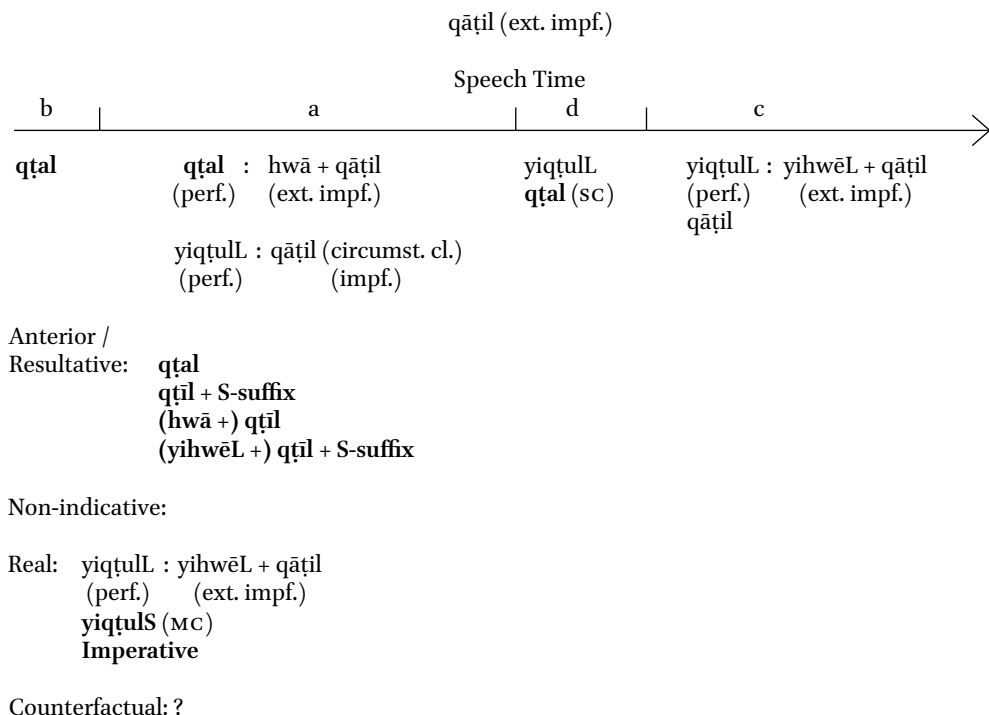


FIGURE 6 Biblical Aramaic

All in all, the verbal system has pronounced possibilities for differentiation and can be considered strongly aspect-prominent. Not only does it distinguish between perfectivity and imperfectivity in the indicative and non-indicative spheres, but in particular the use of qāṭil and yiḳṭulL in circumstantial clauses shows that the author of the Aramaic parts of the Book of Daniel must have had a very fine sense in dealing with aspectual forms. By and large, the verb forms represent a balanced and coherent system in which each element has a relatively fixed place. This is especially true of yiḳṭulL. While in Imperial Aramaic it could still occasionally denote simultaneity with the speech time, it is now a pure aspect form that is firmly anchored in the verbal system by two oppositional relations. Of particular interest is its use in circumstantial clauses with past time reference which clearly shows that yiḳṭul was not understood as a temporal verb form. The fact that this function of yiḳṭul and qāṭil can only be found in the Book of Daniel is probably due to the nature and size of the text corpus.

yiḳṭulL, however, is no longer a pure indicative form as it is now increasingly taking over the function of yiḳṭulS which still has its own forms without final



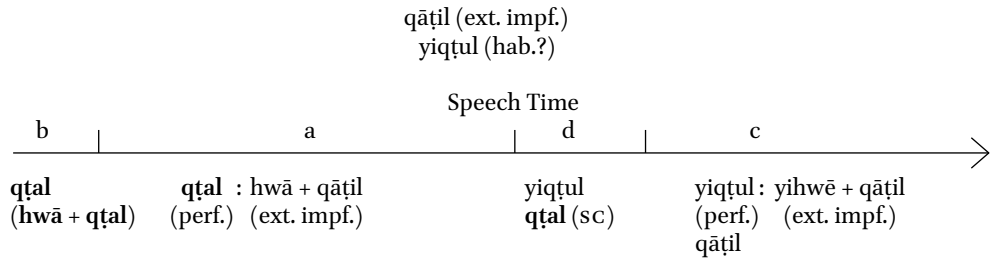
First of all, it is remarkable that, as in Biblical Aramaic, an opposition *yiqṭulL* : *qāṭil* can be found in circumstantial clauses. Even if *yiqṭulL* occasionally describes habitual situations, it must have been perceived primarily as an aspectual signum which is used both in the indicative and non-indicative domain. *yiqṭulS* seems to be restricted to main clauses; although it is attested once in a logically subordinate clause, this is coordinated by ו and can formally be considered a main clause. Furthermore, the compound of *qāṭil* with preceding אִתִּי + personal pronoun should be mentioned which is not attested in the languages discussed so far, and also the fact that in Hasmonean the subordination of the protasis by דִּי is attested for the first time. It should also be noted that the compound of participle + הוּ is further grammaticalised here. הוּ almost always precedes *qāṭil*, only two examples of *qāṭil* + *hwā* are attested, and follows a form of *qṭil*. This also applies to the compound *qāṭil* + subject pronoun.

Even if the verbal system of Hasmonean can be regarded as aspect-prominent, especially because of the compounds of the AP, it nevertheless makes a rather unfinished overall impression and much seems to be in a state of flux. The AP has largely displaced *yiqṭulL* from the realm of the present, is already entering the domain of posteriority and seems to be well on the way to developing into a modal form. *yiqṭulL* has not yet displaced *yiqṭulS* – unlike in the Targum fragments – but is already taking over more and more of its functions and exhibits characteristics of both an indicative and a non-indicative verb form. It is already clearly recognisable here what will happen in later stages of Aramaic, namely that the AP also penetrates into the non-indicative area and that only one *yiqṭul* form remains in use.

The verbal system of the Targum fragments from the Genizah is shown in Fig. 8.

The verbal system described here differs in some respects from those discussed so far. In the morphological field, the verba III w / y, which end in -wn in the plural of the imperative and the 3.pl.m. of *qṭal*, should be mentioned first. The 1.sg. of *yiqṭul* has the prefix n- instead of the usual ʾ- in nine cases. Furthermore, the fragments differ from the other languages in the use of the compound *hwā* + *qṭal* which is only attested once but also occurs in other Targumim and in the Palestinian Talmud. Another special feature is the absence of *yiqṭulS*; the long form is used in both the indicative and the non-indicative domain although the extent to which its use to express habitual situations reflects living language usage or is merely a mechanical rendering of Hebrew *yiqṭōl* had to be left open. In the non-indicative field, there are not only the oppositions *yiqṭul* : *yihwē* + *qāṭil* and imperative : *hwī* + *qāṭil* but also one containing the infinitive, namely ל + infinitive : ל + infinitive of הוּ + *qāṭil*.





Anterior: qṭal

Resultative: (yihwē / hwī + ) qṭil + S-suffix

non-indicative:

Real: yiqṭul : yihwē + qāṭil  
(perf.) (ext. impf.)

‫ל + Infinitive : ‫ל + Infinitive of הוי + qāṭil  
(perf.) (ext. impf.)

Imperative : hwī + qāṭil  
(perf.) (ext. impf.)

Counterfactual: ?

FIGURE 8 The Targum fragments from the Genizah

Finally, we have to mention the compound עתיד + infinitive / qāṭil which is also found in other Targumim, in CPA, Syriac and Samaritan.

The significance of the compound hwā + qṭal is difficult to determine due to its low frequency. We can only speculate as to whether a tense form was in the process of being established here. In any case, simple qṭal is still used in a clearly aspectual sense. This also applies to yiqṭul whose aspectual character is confirmed by its opposition to yihwē + qāṭil; though yiqṭulL has supplanted old yiqṭulS in the non-indicative field, it is losing ground in the indicative domain due to the emergence of עתיד. Though it is not attested all too often, it expresses posteriority without any non-indicative flavour, in contrast to yiqṭul. With regard to the grammaticalisation of the compounds of the participles with הוי, the verbal system is on the same level as Hasmonean; here, too, הוי precedes the AP, only in the case of the PP it can also follow. Even if the AP cannot be considered marked, the verbal system gives an even more aspect-prominent impression than those of the preceding languages due to the presence of the opposition ‫ל + infinitives : ‫ל + infinitives of הוי + qāṭil, although the absence there may of course be due solely to the size of the text corpus. The system is also somewhat more economical than that of Hasmonean, insofar as posteriority to the speech time can be expressed by the AP and yiqṭul, but there is no

longer any fluctuation in the non-indicative domain, since only the long form is still in use here.

The verbal system of CPA differs from that of the Genizah fragments in the absence of hwā + qṭal and l + infinitive of hwy + qāṭil; moreover, neither yihwē nor hwī + qṭil are attested but hwā + qṭil is which, however, might be due to the selection of the text corpus. In addition, CPA is characterised by the verbal use of qāṭōl and hwā + qāṭōl in the meaning of an AP as is also attested in Samaritan and the Bereshit Rabba. In addition, (hwā +) qāṭṭil is attested – as in Syriac – in the sense of an anterior, especially with verbs of movement. yiqṭul hardly expresses simultaneity with the speech time; corresponding evidence of the extratemporalis probably goes back to the mechanical rendering of a Greek future tense. qāṭil, on the other hand, increasingly expresses future situations and is once even used in a non-indicative function. As in the Genizah fragments, the oppositions yiqṭul : yihwē + qāṭil and imperative : hwī + qāṭil also exist in CPA, and even if qṭal : hwā + qāṭil was not classified as an opposition pair, since hwā + qāṭil also expresses counterfactuality, a consistent distinction is made between perfective and extended imperfective situations with past time reference. The verbal system can therefore be considered rather aspect-prominent. There is no evidence of qāṭil merging with a subject pronoun but when a participle and a form of ,אמ are combined, the latter always precedes the former with very few exceptions. Another special feature that must be mentioned here is the use of the qṭal form of ,אמ and of qāṭil + hwā in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses with future time reference where qāṭil + hwā does not describe habitual but singular situations.

We now come to the first representative of Eastern Aramaic. The verbal system of the Babylonian Talmud can be summarised as shown in Fig. 9.

The verbal system of JBA has some important special features compared to those of Western Aramaic. On the one hand, qāṭil and qṭil are fully inflected and form fixed units with their subject pronouns; the position occupied by a form of הוי, which almost always precedes the participle, also indicates a high degree of grammaticalisation of the participles. Another peculiarity is the use of the particle קא / ק before qāṭil. Although the compound q-qāṭil sometimes expresses, with or without hwā, habitual and stative situations or the rheme of a statement, it is nevertheless to be considered a marked imperfective form. Simple qāṭil must be regarded as unmarked both aspectually and temporally as well as modally; it expresses not only habitual and imperfective situations but also posteriority to the speech time and non-indicativity, thus exhibiting a range of functions that can also be observed in Neo-Aramaic. As in CPA, the compound hwā + qāṭil can indicate counterfactuality. Furthermore, the Eastern Aramaic languages are characterised by the use of qṭille which we have

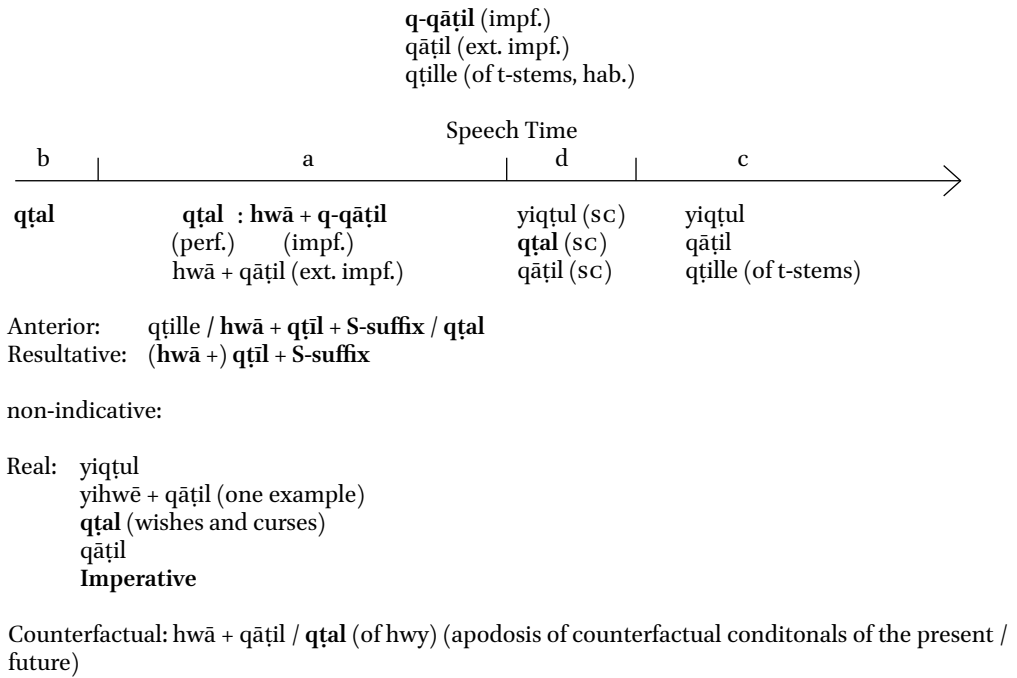


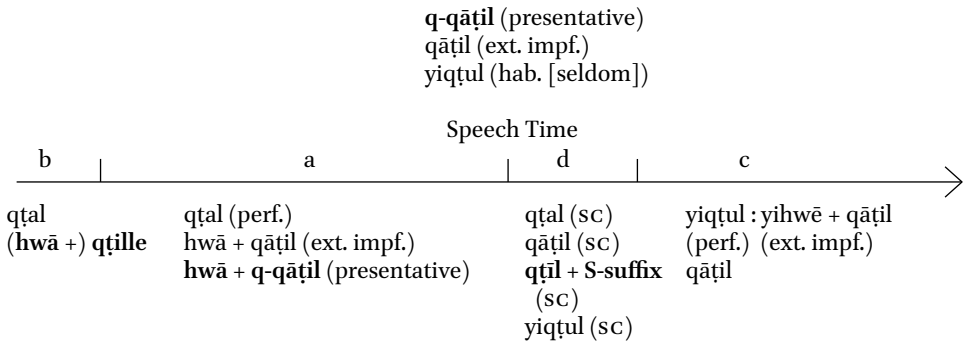
FIGURE 9 The Babylonian Talmud

already encountered in Imperial Aramaic, and interestingly, in the Babylonian Talmud this is not only formed from transitive verbs but also from reflexive ones of the t-stems and can denote present and future situations. Otherwise, it is mostly used as an anterior in discussing passages, but here it does not form an opposition pair with **qṭal** but rather represents a complement to it since the latter can also be used in the sense of an anterior.

There is no longer a distinction between **yiqtulL** and **yiqtulS**, only one form without final **ṭ**- is used in the plural. The prefix of the third persons is **-ṭ** or **-ṭ**, only rarely **-ṭ**, and it was assumed that the displacement of **yiqtulL** from the domain of the present by (q-)qāṭil led to one of the two **yiqtul** forms being removed from the verbal system for economic reasons as both forms expressed very similar categories. It was further assumed that the form with **-ṭ**, which is presumably related to Akkadian *lū* and Arabic *li-*, had largely lost its non-indicative force and could therefore also take over the indicative functions of **yiqtulL**. This was facilitated by the fact that **yiqtulL** was formally almost identical to **li-/niqtulS** due to the apocopation of the final **ṭ**-, as was common in the Babylonian Talmud.

All in all, the verbal system of JBA can be considered as rather aspect-prominent; thanks to the particle -ן, an aspectually marked opposition pair can be found in the field of the past for the first time since Late Old Aramaic: qṭal : hwā + q-qāṭil. In the non-indicative domain, yiqṭul and yihwē + qāṭil are opposed, in the future domain perhaps qāṭil and yihwē + qāṭil, although this opposition could not be proven. However, it should be noted that the morphological possibilities are by no means consistently utilised. Indeed, all the prerequisites were fulfilled to form purely aspectual opposition pairs such as qṭal : hwā + q-qāṭil, yiqṭul : yihwē + q-qāṭil with the corresponding habitual forms hwā + qāṭil and qāṭil, but none of these were realised with ultimate consistency. hwā + qāṭil is by no means limited to the expression of habitual situations but also denotes imperfectivity; the same applies to qāṭil; if corresponding oppositions exist in the field of future and non-indicativity, these can hardly have been used consistently, since the corresponding forms would then have to be attested more often. The use of qāṭil in particular clearly shows that the text corpus used here developed over a period of several centuries and is by no means to be regarded as a unified whole.

Let us now turn to Classical Mandaic:



Anterior: qṭille / hwā + qṭil + S-suffix / qṭal

Resultative: (hwā +) qṭil + S-suffix

non-indicative:

Real: yiqṭul : yihwē + qāṭil  
(perf.) (ext. impf.)  
qāṭil  
**Imperative**

Counterfactual: qṭal (counterfactual wishes, apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future)

FIGURE 10 Classical Mandaic

yiḡṭul, only attested in a long form, can indicate – alongside qāṭil – posteriority to, but hardly ever simultaneity with the speech time. Its main field of application is the expression of non-indicative situations. With regard to the opposition yiḡṭul : yihwē + qāṭil, it should be noted that the compound mostly expresses duration and repetition but is also used to indicate situations that are to be considered singular. The participles qāṭil and qṭil are, as in JBA, fully inflected and form fixed units with their subject pronouns and the word order hwy + participle is also adhered to quite consistently. This circumstance indicates a high degree of grammaticalisation of the participle. qāṭil is used in a similarly indefinite way as in JBA and is already beginning to displace yiḡṭul from the area of non-indicativity, thus already foreshadowing the function it will have later in Neo-Aramaic. Unlike in JBA, q-qāṭil and hwā + q-qāṭil cannot be regarded as imperfective signa in Mandaic; rather, the forms seem to be used presentatively which was certainly also the original function of the compound \*qā'im + qāṭil. Considering that qṭal clearly has perfective properties – even if it cannot be considered marked because of its use to express counterfactuality – and that the signa yiḡṭul and yihwē + qāṭil are probably to be interpreted as an aspectual opposition pair, and that the differentiation of temporal and modal categories is not given too much importance, the Mandaic verbal system can be described as slightly aspect-prominent. Although Mandaic had all the morphological means at its disposal to realise a pure aspectual system, these means were used with even less consistency than in JBA.

The last verbal system, that of Syriac, is shown in Fig. 11.

Bombeck (Verbalsystem 35) summarises the Syriac verbal system as follows:

|                    | simple | continuous/repeated | state            |
|--------------------|--------|---------------------|------------------|
| Anteriority        | qṭal   | qāṭilwā             | qṭilwā           |
| Simultaneity       | qāṭil  | qāṭil               | qṭil             |
| Posteriority       | qāṭil  | qāṭil               | qāṭil            |
| Possibility / wish | yiḡṭul | hwā / yihwē qāṭil   | hwā / yihwē qṭil |

All in all, this summary is consistent with the results of this work.

First of all, it should be emphasised that a qṭal form of hwy does not usually precede a qāṭil-, qṭil- or qṭal form, as in the languages discussed so far, but is attached to them and forms a fixed unit with them. hwā + qāṭil does describe repeated situations, but this usage is limited to older texts, while it otherwise indicates non-indicativity. The verb ܩܬܠ plays a special role and is used in

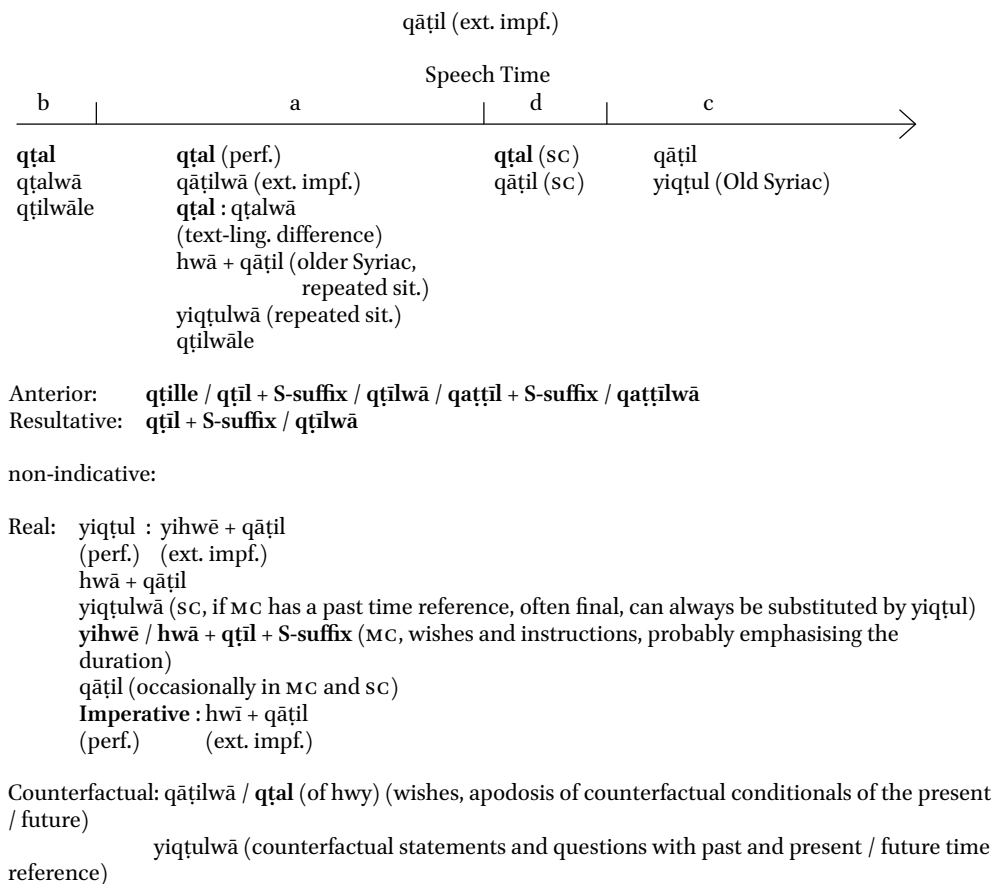


FIGURE 11 Syriac

a similar way as in JBA and CPA. The qṭal form *hwā* can temporally denote the past and, alone or in the compounds *qāṭilwā* and *yiqṭulwā*, seems to be the only qṭal form capable of expressing counterfactuality with reference to the present / future in wishes and apodoses. Other qṭal forms can also denote counterfactuality, but this results either from a rhetorical question or the time reference is the past, so qṭal presumably only expresses the anteriority, while the counterfactuality is indicated by subordinators or the context. Moreover, it should be noted that *yiqṭul*, which is only used in a long form, has also been displaced from the field of the future by *qāṭil*, except in Old Syriac, and is now restricted to the expression of non-indicative situations.

A striking feature of the verbal system is the functional diversity of the AP; unlike JBA and Mandaic, Syriac has no particles that, combined with the AP, denote extended imperfective situations or have a presentative function, even

if Barhebraeus attests to this for the vernacular. Not only does the AP express the extended imperfective aspect, but it is also used to denote posterior and non-indicative situations. On the other hand, Syriac has a large number of *signa*, but in many cases their function can also be fulfilled by other *signa* at any time. The function of *qṭille* as an anterior can also be fulfilled by *qṭal*, *yiḡṭulwā* in non-indicative subordinate clauses can be replaced by simple *yiḡṭul*, as a *signum* to indicate habitual situations of the past by *qāṭilwā*, and also *qṭilwāle* expresses nothing that *qṭal* or *qṭalwā* could not express. If these forms were limited to one function that could be clearly distinguished from the functions of other *signa*, this would certainly give Syriac an extraordinary variety of differentiation, but as it stands, much of it makes a rather unfinished impression. This impression, however, and this should not be forgotten, is primarily due to the fact that the texts examined here were composed over a period of several centuries.

Remarkable is the use of the *qṭal* form of ܩܬܐܠ, which, when prefixed and used alone, describes desires and counterfactuality but denotes anteriority when attached to *qāṭil* or *qṭil*. A special case is *qāṭilwā* which can not only express the extended imperfective aspect but also counterfactuality. So in this case, a suffixed form of ܩܬܐܠ expresses counterfactuality. Moreover, *hwā* + *qāṭil* was used in older texts to describe repeated actions in the past, but apart from these cases, it actually looks like, as Bombeck (Verbalsystem 36) points out, that forms in which the person is expressed by suffixes denote certainty, whereas those in which it is expressed by prefixes indicate possibility.

If we look at the verbal system as a whole, we can hardly speak of a tense-prominence since no pure tense form can be proven; the non-indicative *signa* are all derived from indicative ones and there is also no consistent distinction between real and counterfactual situations. Even though only one marked aspect form can be found (*qṭal*) and there is no particle corresponding to *q*- in Mandaic and JBA, aspectual categories are still expressed in the most differentiated way and so the verbal system is rather to be regarded as slightly aspect-prominent.

The languages and dialects following Early Old Aramaic are characterised by the intrusion of four nominal forms into the verbal system: *qāṭil*, *qṭil* and later *qāṭol* and *qāṭṭil*. We can only speculate as to what the reasons for this may have been, especially as the processes responsible for this are probably to be found in the spoken language which has only an inaccurate reflection in the ancient Aramaic inscriptions. It does not seem unlikely, however, that the functional load of *yiḡṭul* played a not insignificant role here. But be that as it may, the penetration of *qāṭil* and *qṭil* into the verbal systems more or less

predetermined the path on which they subsequently had to develop. Both originally describe states, *qāṭil* qualifies a subject by means of an action that it performs, *qṭil* describes a state that has resulted from an action. As the semantic value shifted from denoting the state to that of the corresponding action, *qāṭil* could only develop into a signum describing imperfective and habitual situations, while the main field of application of *qṭil*, although it could be used to some extent as an anterior, remained that of a resultative. So it was quite natural that *qṭil* initially developed into an anterior and only later in Neo-Aramaic was it to denote the perfective aspect and replace *qṭal*. With regard to the underlying action, *qāṭil* and *qṭil* as well as *qāṭōl* and *qāṭṭil* first of all describe its completion or lack of completion, whereas the time reference – especially with *qāṭil* and *qāṭōl* – and the mood are quite flexible. The speech time is the natural time reference and the indicative the natural mood, but if these are to be determined more precisely, appropriate aids are necessary. From Late Old Aramaic onwards, these are provided by the verb *hwy*, and the result was a verbal system of simple and periphrastic signa which, compared to Early Old Aramaic, is characterised by a more analytical mode of expression and a clear aspectual prominence which arose quite naturally, not to say: inevitably, from the basic signa *qṭal*, *qāṭil*, imperative and *qṭil*. This verbal system applied to Imperial Aramaic and can also be assumed for the languages and dialects that lay dormant under its cloak before some of them came to life for us when they were made into written languages. The verbal systems of these new written languages are not fundamentally different, and it is fair to speak of a fundamental determinism in their development. One should, however, be wary of assuming a goal-orientation in the development, i.e. arguing in the other direction on the timeline and assuming an endeavour to perfect the aspect system. For Imperial Aramaic, the opposition pairs *yiqṭulL* (perf.) : *yihwē* + *qāṭil* (impf.) and *qṭal* : *hwā* + *qāṭil* can be assumed for the future and past. In the non-indicative domain, a corresponding opposition existed for the imperative and probably also for *yiqṭulS*. The essential prerequisites for the formation of a pure aspect system were thus fulfilled. Basically, all that was missing were marked signa to express habitual situations of the present and past. However, this did not happen, neither in Imperial Aramaic nor in the later attested written languages. Rather, *qāṭil* increasingly took over the functions of *yiqṭul* until it finally lost its aspectual properties completely in Hasmonean and the Targum fragments of the Genizah and suddenly very similar circumstances prevailed again as they once did in Old Aramaic. At that time, *yiqṭulL* had been used as an indicative form in opposition to the non-indicative *yiqṭulS*. Now it was *qāṭil* which, though it still expressed extended imperfective situations when



combined with forms of *hwy*, fulfilled very similar functions to *yiḡṭulL* and was not analysed as a marked indicative form only because its counterpart, *yiḡṭul*, was used not only non-indicatively but also indicatively and because it is difficult to speak of a modal opposition indicative : non-indicative in this case. *yiḡṭul* was increasingly slipping into the non-indicative domain now. But it did not stop there; in the Eastern Aramaic languages, *qāṭil* was also used to express non-indicative situations. JBA and Mandaic counteracted the functional overload of *qāṭil* by introducing the particle *qa-* / *q-* and now had an excellent means of optimising the aspectual system. However, as we have seen, *q-* was not only used to express imperfective situations in JBA but could also denote habitual ones or emphasise the rheme, whereas in Mandaic, especially in combination with *qāṭilwā*, it was never to find the same spread as in JBA.

Although, with the exception of Old Aramaic, one can always speak of an aspectual prominence, none of the classical languages was able to achieve a consistent and harmonious verbal system; one always finds different signs that denote one and the same intension or fulfil a whole range of functions. On the one hand, the extended periods of time in which the text corpora analysed here were created can certainly be held responsible for this; this explanation is particularly true in the case of Syriac and JBA. Not only can we expect developments within a given language during this period, but forms of different varieties of one and the same language presumably also found their way into the written language as was the case with *yiḡṭul* and *niḡṭul* in Syriac and probably also in JBA. In addition, in many cases there is a lack of authoritative texts that the scribes could have used for orientation. The authoritative script of the Jews was written in Hebrew, the Peshitta surely had a standardising effect to a certain extent in linguistic terms, but it certainly did not have the same influence as ancient Arabic poetry and the Quran had on the standardisation of Classical Arabic. And what is more, the organising hand of the grammarians was largely missing here.

Though the general prominence of aspect cannot be overlooked, there are also some isoglosses that distinguish the classical languages. Firstly, there are those that are most likely to be considered from a chronological point of view. These include the internal passive of *qṭal* which is attested in Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Hasmonean and Old Syriac but not in the other languages. As far as *yiḡṭul* is concerned, the internal passive can only be proven for Old Aramaic and Imperial Aramaic. Furthermore, the opposition *yiḡṭulS* : *yiḡṭulL* should be mentioned here which can only be proven for Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic and Hasmonean. I would also like to place the inflection of *qāṭil* and *qṭil* here. While the participle and subject

pronouns were written separately in the older languages and were probably also perceived as different linguistic units, they grew together more and more in the course of grammaticalisation and were written, while simplifying the pronouns, as one word in JBA and Mandaic and to some extent also in Syriac. Finally, the opposition *qāṭil* : *yiḡṭul* in circumstantial clauses deserves mention. This is attested in Biblical Aramaic and Hasmonean. The fact that it is not found in Imperial Aramaic is probably due to the nature of the texts written in this language. In the other languages, however, the reason is that simple *qāṭil* had already taken over most of the functions of *yiḡṭul* and hardly had anything in common with an aspect form, while the latter had largely been pushed into the non-indicative area.

Some isoglosses, on the other hand, separate Eastern Aramaic, which here only means JBA and Mandaic, from Western Aramaic. These include *qtille* which is attested in Eastern but not in Western Aramaic. In Imperial Aramaic, neither construction 1 nor 2 discussed above are attested but only the first person of simple *qtyl ly*, but this isogloss nevertheless moves Imperial Aramaic closer to Eastern than to Western Aramaic. Furthermore, the nota accusativi *yāt-* should be mentioned which is not at all attested in Mandaic, and in JBA only in passages of Palestinian origin but is used in Western Aramaic as well as in Old Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic. East and West are also separated by the 3.m. and 3.pl.f. prefix of *yiḡṭul*. In the Western languages as well as in most Old Aramaic inscriptions, Imperial Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, the prefix is *yi-*, whereas in the East it is *ni-* (Mandaic [next to *li-*] or *li-* (JBA [next to *yi-* and *ni-*], Tell Fekheriye). Furthermore, the particle *q-* in *q-qāṭil* should be mentioned that is attested in Mandaic and JBA but not in Western Aramaic. Moreover, Western Aramaic is characterised by the insertion of */-n-/* between the indicative *yiḡṭul* and an object suffix which is not found in Mandaic and JBA. Finally, *qāṭōl* in predicative function is attested in CPA and Samaritan but not, as far as I can see, in Eastern Aramaic. Syriac holds an intermediate position between Western and Eastern Aramaic. Like JBA and Mandaic, it uses *qtille* and shares with these two languages the plural ending of masculine nouns in the status emphaticus (*-ē* as opposed to *-ayyā* in Western Aramaic). The 3.m. and 3.pl.f. prefix of *yiḡṭul* is *ni-* in Classical Syriac, whereas the Old Syriac inscriptions use *yi-* as in the West. The prefix *kā-* is attested by Barhebraeus for the vernacular, but it did not find its way into the written language. Although *yāt-* is not used as regularly as in Western Aramaic, it is well attested in the Peshitta, and the infix */-n-/* is also found in the Gospel translations. The infinitive will be discussed in more detail below (ch. 21, sect. 3.3), but already at this point I would like to emphasise that forms such as *ʾaqtōlē*

in JBA suggest that the derived stems were originally formed without *m*-. The infinitives with *m*- thus represent an innovation that Syriac shares with JMP but not with JBA and only partially with Mandaic which has forms with and without *m*-. Furthermore, the use of *qaṭṭil* in predicative function, which Syriac shares with CPA but which is unknown in the East, has to be mentioned. Boyarin (Middle Aramaic) reports some further common isoglosses between Syriac and Western Aramaic including the 3.sg.m. possessive suffix on masculine plural nouns (-*auhī*; pp. 615–618) and the 3.pl.f. ending of *qṭal* (-*ī*; pp. 623–626). The special position of Syriac is further emphasised by the suffixation of (h)*wā* to *qāṭil*. Although this usage is also found in Imperial Aramaic, it is limited to stative verbs there; *qāṭilwā* is used regularly only in Syriac. These characteristics suggest that Kaufman (Aramaic 117) and Kim (Subgrouping 511) are right to deviate from the usual division of Middle Aramaic into a Western and an Eastern branch and instead divide it into three parts: Palestinian, Syrian and Babylonian Aramaic. As explained above, *niqṭul* and *yiṭṭul* are not derived from each other by a sound change /*y*/ > /*n*/, but rather two dialects or varieties, one with *niqṭul*, the other with *yiṭṭul*, are to be assumed. Boyarin (Middle Aramaic 640) draws attention to a passage from the Old Testament in which it is said that the king of Assyria settled people from Syria, including Hamath, in Samaria (Kings 11 17,24). If this report is based on a historical fact, it is easy to imagine that the Syrians in question spoke a *yiṭṭul*-dialect from which not only the language of the Old Syriac inscriptions originated but also some of the languages and dialects spoken in Palestine. It can presumably be assumed, as Boyarin (*ibid.* 640f) believes, that Palestinian and Syriac Aramaic continued to be in contact and influenced each other. However, a second variety, in which *niqṭul* was used and which was much closer to Babylonian Aramaic than was the case with the language of the Syrians who brought Aramaic to Palestine, must have contributed to the formation of Classical Syriac.

The previous chapters should have shown that the family tree model (*Stammbaum*) which can be applied with some benefit to the NENA dialects (see below ch. 21, sect. 4) would hardly lead to satisfactory results in the case of Classical Aramaic. On the one hand, as seen above (ch. 4, sect. 1), Imperial Aramaic – the only language that could theoretically be regarded as the proto-dialect of the languages and dialects of the following periods –, despite a certain standardisation, is by no means a homogeneous whole but rather shows the influence of different dialects. Even more important, however, is the fact that no innovations can be found in the classical languages that would necessarily link them to a common origin, as is the case with the NENA dialects and the personal pronouns of the third persons (see below ch. 21, sect. 4).

On the contrary, the differences between Imperial Aramaic and the following languages and dialects listed in chapter 2 indicate that the classical languages developed from dialects that were certainly influenced by Imperial Aramaic but were not identical with it. Another isogloss that should be mentioned in this context is the prefix l- which can be found at the outermost edges of the Aramaic language area but is missing in Imperial Aramaic.



**PART 3**

*Neo-Aramaic*





## Early Jewish Neo-Aramaic

### o Text Corpus

The 17th-century Midrash on Exodus 13,17ff published by Sabar (Midrash) was evaluated. The text, written in Hebrew letters and probably reflecting the dialect of the Jews of Nerwa and Amadiya (see Sabar, Midrash XXI), is rendered here in Sabar's transcription (Midrash 37–82).

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qāṭil*

The AP of stem I (< qṭal) has the following forms:

|      | sg.    | pl.                 |
|------|--------|---------------------|
| 3.m. | qāṭil  | qaṭli               |
| 3.f. | qaṭla  | qaṭli               |
| 2.m. | qaṭlit | qaṭlētun            |
| 2.f. | qaṭlat | qaṭlētun            |
| 1.m. | qaṭlin | qaṭlax              |
| 1.f. | qaṭlan | qaṭlax <sup>1</sup> |

To certain forms an -in can be suffixed which usually has the effect of preserving the length of a preceding vowel. Thus, we find qaṭlit and qaṭlat in the 2.sg. as well as qaṭlētun and qaṭlātin. The 1.sg.m. is qaṭlin as well as qaṭlēna.<sup>2</sup>

Stem II (< qaṭtel) is mqaṭt, mqaṭṭa, mqaṭti etc., stem III (< 'aqtel) maqṭil, maqṭla, maqṭli.<sup>3</sup> The AP can be preceded by k- / g- and bid-: k-qāṭil / g-qāṭil, bed-qāṭil, -wā can be suffixed: qāṭilwā.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Sabar, Midrash XXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> See Sabar, Midrash XXXIV and XXXVII.

<sup>3</sup> See Sabar, Midrash XXXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> See Sabar, Midrash XXXIXf.



### 1.2 *Qṭille*

The forms of stem I (< qṭal) are:

|      | sg.     | pl.                             |
|------|---------|---------------------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭille  | qṭillu                          |
| 3.f. | qṭilla  | qṭillu                          |
| 2.m. | qṭillox | qṭillēxun                       |
| 2.f. | qṭillax | qṭillēxun                       |
| 1.   | qṭilli  | qṭillan / qṭillēni <sup>5</sup> |

The forms of stem II (< qatṭel) are mqōṭille, mqōṭilla etc., of stem III (< 'aqṭel) muqṭil, muqṭilla etc., of quadriliteral verbs mquṭlil, mquṭlilla etc.<sup>6</sup> Before the L-suffix -wā- can be inserted: qṭilwāle. An S-suffix added to the stem of the participle can express a direct object of all persons: *mpuṭṭiwāle* “he had taken them out”.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.3 *Qṭil*

qṭil + S-suffix has mostly passive meaning and is mainly attested with verba III y: *qre šimme naḥšōn* (16,1) “he was named Naḥshon”. Occasionally, it is also found with intransitive verbs: *yṭin* (5,22) “I have come”.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.4 *Qṭilā*

The status emphat. of the PP (qṭilā, qṭiltā [f.] and qṭilē [pl.]) can be combined with the present copula. This compound is quite rare and usually has a passive meaning: *qbiltēla* (< qbiltā + ila; 15,14) “it (f.) has been accepted”,<sup>9</sup> but occasionally it also occurs with intransitive verbs: *win iṭya* “I have come”.<sup>10</sup> The compound can be combined with -wā: *wirewa* “they had entered”,<sup>11</sup> or with the past copula. I have found the past copula only in a subordinate clause after *d*: *dwāwa simta* (23,4) “because it (fem.) had been enraged”.

5 See Sabar, Midrash XXXVII.

6 See Sabar, Midrash XXXVIII.

7 See Sabar, Midrash XL.

8 Cf. Sabar, Midrash 43, note 56; further examples can be found in Goldenberg, Perfects 123.

9 But see also *tkilelu* “they have trusted”, with an active meaning; see Sabar, Midrash XL.

10 According to Goldenberg, Perfects 123.

11 See Sabar, Midrash XL.

### 1.5 *Infinitive*

The infinitive has the forms qṭāla (stem I), mqaṭōle (stem II), maqṭōle (stem III) and mqaṭlōle (quadrilit. verbs).<sup>12</sup> The infinitive can be combined with the past copula: *dwēwa mar'ōye* “who were grazing”, but the copula can also be absent with past time reference. I have not found any evidence of combinations with the present copula.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.6 *Imperative*

The imperative is qṭōl (sg.) and qṭōlun (pl.), the vetitive has the form *la* + qāṭil. The other verb forms are negated by *la*, *k-qāṭil* also by *lag* + qāṭil. If a verb form contains a copula, the latter is negated: *'āna lēwin 'itya* (18,9) “I have not come”.<sup>14</sup>

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by qṭille in both narrating and discussing passages regardless of the type of action; the situation can last for several days but is considered a complete whole (nos. c and d). In discussing passages it may have the meaning of an anterior (no. b). I will limit myself to one example each:

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. uṣliḫāle (20,20)  
“And he split it (fem.).”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- b. ma yṭēla b-rēše! (1,9)  
“What has come to his head (= what has befallen him)!”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. uṭrēlu ṭlāha yōmāta 'ibbid bariya (32,14)  
“They travelled for three days in the wilderness.”

<sup>12</sup> See Sabar, *Midrash xxxviii*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Sabar, *Midrash xl*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sabar, *Midrash xli*.

## 2.1.4 Stative

- d. ṣimle ṭlāha yōmāṭa (6,5)  
 “He fasted for three days.”

Furthermore, qṭīl + S-suffix can express anteriority to the speech time. It is predominantly used with third person subjects of transitive verbs and has a passive meaning in these cases:

- e. mḥōke ṭla-Par‘o (10,9)  
 “Pharaoh was told.”<sup>15</sup>

qṭīl + S-suffix of ‘ty “to come” has an active meaning; it seems to be used with the sense of an anterior:

- f. ‘itya sā‘id ... (4,1)  
 “The hour (fem.) of ... has come.”
- g. ‘yṭin ‘illid dīn yiśrā‘el (5,22)  
 “I have come to (adopt) the religion of Israel.”<sup>16</sup>

Occasionally, qṭīlā + pres. copula is attested. It is used in the sense of an anterior or resultative:

- h. xidda ‘ālid yāma hēš ṣlixtēla (24,4)  
 “One side of the sea is still split.”
- i. lēwin ‘itya (18,9)  
 “I (m.) have not come.”

qṭīlā is thus formed both from transitive verbs and then has a passive meaning<sup>17</sup> but also from intransitive ones such as ‘ty, ‘wr baṭir “to follow after” or kwš “to descend” (see below 4.2 no. d).

15 See further: 1,13 + 13,11 + 27,24 (mīr / mīrin “it was said”); 16,1 + 32,15 (qre “it was called”); for some more examples, see Goldenberg, *Perfects* 125.

16 For three further examples with ‘ty, see Sabar, *Midrash* 43, note 56.

17 Compare also the non-predicative use of qṭīlā in, for instance, 18,9: *qāṣūdīwin mšudra ‘il-‘ilāha* “I am a messenger sent by God”.

Finally, the AP of 'mr "to say" is attested in a clearly narrative function. Only one example needs to be cited here:

- j. 'amri: la. 'āmīr (7,5)  
"They said: 'No.' He said ..."

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, qṭille and qṭilā + pres. copula are attested:

- a. u'āna qāṣud dīdeīwin 'awd xliqle 'ōlām (17,15)  
"And I am the messenger of him who created the world."<sup>18</sup>
- b. uṣlixāle dixxiḏile ktīwa b-tōra (20,20)  
"And he split it (i.e. the sea [fem.]) as it (has been and now) is written in the Torah."

## 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

I have found only one example that is clearly habitual. qāṭilwā is used:

- a. kullu šō'ī lišāne yā'ēwālu uḥākimwa 'illēhun (1,16)  
"He knew all seventy languages and mastered them."

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 Main Clauses

In main clauses, this category is attested three times; in two cases qṭilwāle is used, in one case construction 1 of qṭille discussed above (no. b; cf. ch. 12, sect. 1.4):

- a. umqamāye xwa mirwāle Mōše (30,24)  
(This and this happened [qṭille].) "Now, then, earlier Moses had said: ..." <sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See further 21,3 (ṭlad munšifle "so that he dried it").

<sup>19</sup> See further 9,4 (šwiqwāle "he had let").

- b. ḥilla ham ḥāwa xīl ḥillid kalwe (2,11)  
 (She buried her children and returned to the one that was still alive [qṭille].) “Behold, that one, too, had been eaten by dogs, or: dogs had eaten it.”

#### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, simple qṭille is predominantly used; this is especially true for temporal clauses introduced by subordinators:

##### 4.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. hallid dqwīrīla mīte siqla ṭlābe (2,11)  
 “When she had buried the dead ones, she went up to look for him.”<sup>20</sup>

##### 4.2.2 Relative Clauses

- b. mḥurdifilox ḥannid qimlu ḥil-pāṭox (29,1)  
 “You destroyed those who had risen against you.”<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, qṭilwāle is attested twice in relative clauses. In these cases, there are no temporal subordinators which would clarify the time reference:

- c. pəlišṭāye mizdeṭṭid diqṭilwālu minnid yiśrā’el (31,4)  
 “(All Canaan was worried when Israel were saved from the Egyptians.)  
 The Philistines out of fear because they had killed from the Israelites ...”<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, we have to mention qṭilāwā which is used in the sense of an anterior or resultative, insofar as the situation is still relevant for the subsequent reference point or overlaps with it in the form of a state. The verbs are intransitive or stative and the corresponding situations active or stative:

<sup>20</sup> See further, among others: 1,7 (kīman xzēle “when he had seen”); 4,5 (dixxiḍ šme’le “when he had heard”); 4,11 (kīman muxwēla “when she had shown”); 6,14 (kīman dišme’le “when he had heard”); 32,4 (dixxiḍ di’wirru “when they had marched”). In 6,1, however, qṭilwāle is used: kīman dīmgōyirwāla “when she had converted”.

<sup>21</sup> See also 29,4 (dmubnēlu “which they had built”); another subordinate clause with qṭille: 10,9 (ḥinni ḥriqla “that he had fled”).

<sup>22</sup> See further 29,4 (dixxiḍ drēwālu “for they had put”).

- d. mkōsēlu kullu 'anne rakāwe ... d'wīrewa baṭir yiśrā'el 'il go-yāma (23,9)  
“(The waters) covered all these horsemen ... who had followed after Israel into the sea.”<sup>23</sup>

Instead of -wā, the past copula can be used:

- e. ud'irra yāma b-ruḡza dīda ub-karba 'aw qamāya dwāwa simta (23,4)  
“And the sea turned back to its former fury and anger because it had been enraged.”

The fact that the copyist of manuscript J uses the qāṭilwā form *d'ōrīwa* instead of *d'wīrewa* in no. d and the qṭille form *kwišle* instead of *kwišewa* in 25,8 (see note 23) shows that qṭilāwā could not have been very common in the underlying dialect.<sup>24</sup>

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

This category can be expressed by qāṭilwā. The reference point may be an adverbial expression of time:

- a. b-ay sā'a šəbāṭīm nāšēwa u 'amrīwa (15,24)  
“At that moment the tribes were quarrelling and saying: ...”

It can also be a subordinate clause. According to the context, the situation of the following temporal clause proceeds parallel to the main clause situation, but interestingly, qṭille is used and it is thus described as a complete whole:

- b. kud 'riqlu mišrāye baṭir yiśrā'el 'illid yāma 'āwīdwa 'āwīdwa rakāwa ṭlad dāwīqwāle rēšid sūse (26,14)  
“When the Egyptians were pursuing Israel into the sea, the horseman was trying and trying to restrain the horse.”

qāṭilwā also describes complex situations with several subjects performing an action over a limited period of time:

23 See also: 25,8 (mud kwišewa “for they had descended”); 29,16 (d'qīdewa “which had congealed”).

24 See Sabar, Midrash 69, no. 316.

- c. bēta dla hāwēwa 'ibbe mindi buxra māyitwa rēšāyid bēta (2,3)  
 "In a house where there was no firstborn, the head of the house would die  
 (i.e. on the night when God caused the firstborn to die)."

A specific individual fate, on the other hand, is described by qṭille:

- d. xidda baxta 'itwāla 5 bnōne ukullu buxre ukullu mitlu b-aw lēle (2,7)  
 "One woman had five children, all of them firstborn, and all of them died  
 that night."

qāṭilwā can also describe uncompleted situations that extend over a longer period of time without a reference point being given:

- e. uzilla go-mōxe u'axlawāle hallid ṭālibwa mōte (5,5)  
 "It (i.e. a gnat) proceeded to his brain and kept eating it until he begged  
 for his death."<sup>25</sup>

The same category, however, can also be expressed by (b-) infinitive + past copula:

- f. bale Par'o san'a bī-māra wēwa (29,11)  
 "(The waters of the Red Sea rose [qimlu].) However, Pharaoh the foe was  
 saying: ..."

The past copula, however, can also be missing

- g. u šəxīna d'ilāha bī-zāla qāmēhun qāmēhun dyiśrā'el (4,16)  
 "The Divine Presence was going at the head of Israel."

Moreover, simultaneity with a reference point in the past can be expressed by circumstantial clauses. They are introduced by u + subject, followed by k-qāṭil or b + infinitive:

- h. uxzēlu 'Onqəlōs 'illa 'āhun go-ḥaxāmīm u'anwār d'ilāha xadīrwāne  
 ubehra g-dāre 'illid ḥaxāmīm (6,16)  
 "And they saw Onqelos among the sages, God's light surrounding him  
 while he was illuminating the sages."

<sup>25</sup> See also 5,6 (šāqī'wāle "he kept striking it").

- i. qimle šimle ṭlāha yōmāta u'āhun go-yəšīḇa bi-qrāya (6,5)  
 “Thereupon he fasted for three days while studying in a yeshiva.”<sup>26</sup>

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In a relative clause, past copula + infinitive is attested:

- a. maṭla lxa šivān dwēwa mar'ōye 'irwe 'il-marzid māya, yṭelu dēwe 'il-'irwe  
 (20,11)  
 “An example for this is the shepherd who was gazing his sheep by a river-side (when suddenly there) came wolves (and attacked) the sheep.”

Interestingly, the qṭille form of an atelic verb can also describe a situation which, according to the context, is to be understood in a clearly imperfective way:

- b. hallid 'āni žgillu b-naṣūṭa 'immid nērig šivān mu'ūrile 'irwe dīde l-'ay 'āla  
 xēta dmāya (20,14)  
 “While they (i.e. the wolves) were busy fighting with the he-goat, the shepherd moved his sheep to the other side of the river.”

It should be borne in mind, however, that in this case, the subordinator *hallid* already clarifies the aspectual relationship.

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 6.1 Main Clauses

This category is expressed in one instance by *bed-qāṭilwā*; the posterior situation is habitual:

- a. nabliwāle l-kisle, bid-bāsimwa b-'amrid 'ilāha (9,6)  
 “They would bring him to him and he would be healed by God's will.”

Simple *bed-qāṭil*, however, is also possible as in the following singular situation where the original meaning of *bid* (“to want”) is still clearly noticeable:

<sup>26</sup> See also 13,22 (u'āhun bi-rxāta “while he was hurrying”).



- b. qbiḏlu b-ḡaḏab u'šqillu bid-nablile. dixxiḏ mumṭēlu 'il-tar'id Yərūšālayim bid-mpalṭile, 'illa dwiqle 'īde (7,3f)  
 “They seized him by force and took him, were about / wanted to carry him off. When they came with him to the gates of Jerusalem and were about / wanted to take him out, he put forth his hand ...”

The reason why *bed-qāṭil* is used in one case and *bed-qāṭilwā* in the other is difficult to say. The fact that the situation was carried out in no. a but not in no. b, cannot be decisive, for in 6.2 no. b below the situation also remained unperformed in the end, but *bed-qāṭilwā* is nevertheless used there.

## 6.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

After verbs of knowledge, *bed-qāṭil* is attested:

- a. yā'ēwa 'inni b-zəxūt dNN bid-'ōri yisrā'el go-yāma upalṭi b-salāme (3,19)  
 “They knew that with the virtue of NN Israel would pass through the sea and come forth in safety.”<sup>27</sup>

In a relative clause, *bed-qāṭilwā* is used:

- b. laykun hēš kaydid bābēni 'Esāw dim'ōdēle bābēhun Ya'aqōḇ ubid-qāṭilwāle b-libbēhun-ile 'illēni (31,8)  
 “Maybe the plot of our father Esau, who acted (against) their father Jacob and was about / wanted to kill him, is (still) in their hearts.”

## 7 *Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)*

Unfortunately, this category is not very well attested. In two cases, an action and a state that are clearly thought of as proceeding or existing are expressed by *k-qāṭil*:

- a. 'awn m-šimme k-ētēlu (14,3)  
 “Help from heaven is coming for them (you can already see the helping angel).”

<sup>27</sup> See further 4,9 (*bid-sanqi* “they would need”).

- b. ubənē yiśrā'el wēle<sup>28</sup> g-ṣadlu (15,15)  
 “Behold, the Israelites are frightened.”<sup>29</sup>

In one case, simple qāṭil is used. The situation extends from the past to the speech time and is not yet completed:

- c. dix 'idyō t̄lāha yōmāta la lēpax tōra umiṣwōt (33,1)  
 “How is it that for three days now we have not learned (any) Torah and religious law!?”

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 Main Clauses

Also this category is expressed by k-qāṭil:

- a. g-kaṭwaxle ug-dāraxle 'illid tar'e dēni u'ahun g-nāṭirran (7,7)  
 “We write it down and put it on our gates and it protects us.”<sup>30</sup>

If a habitual situation is described as the consequence of another, bed-qāṭil is used:

- b. kud g-nābillēxun 'il-'askar 'axtun bid-nāṣētun m-gēbe umaqṭilētun gyānēxun (7,14)  
 “When he takes you into the army, you fight for him and you get killed.”

Finally, a circumstantial clause describing a habitual situation is attested. It has the form u + subject + k-qāṭil:

- c. umaqṭilētun gyānēxun u'ahun m-riqqa gi-m'ṭnix bēxun (7,14)  
 “And you get killed while he looks at you from afar.”

<sup>28</sup> wēle is used here as an uninflected particle in the sense of Hebr. *hinne*; see Sabar, Midrash 53, note 145.

<sup>29</sup> Also *g-ṣadlu* in 9,14 probably describes a situation that takes place simultaneously with the speech time.

<sup>30</sup> See also: 6,4 (la gi-mqōma “it is not possible”); 7,5 (k-ṭētun “you know”); 7,8 (lag hāwe “there is not”); 33,1 (lag xāyaxni “we can not live”).

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, *k-qāṭil* is used:

- a. wāy 'illid 'aw gōra dk-ēmīr xabra dla sāmīx 'ibbe (1,14)  
 “Woe to that man who says something that he cannot support.”<sup>31</sup>

As already seen above in 8.1, a habitual situation resulting from another one is described by *bed-qāṭil*:

- b. plīṭlu 'ix šulṭāna u'askar dīde dig-yasri čakke dēhun ug-palṭi l-'askar yān  
 bid-qaṭlīlu kullu yān bid-'ōḍi murād dēhun (3,9)  
 “They came out like a ruler and his army who gird themselves with their  
 weapons and go out against an army, either killing all of them or impos-  
 ing their will on them.”

## 9 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 9.1 Main Clauses

This category can be expressed by *bed-qāṭil*; at times it is difficult to decide whether the situations are meant indicatively or rather non-indicatively. In the following instances, the intension seems to be indicative:

#### 9.1.1 Punctual

- a. b-'izziti bid-yāwinnox m-gēbēhun 'illid xa xa palga (24,13)  
 “By my glory, I will give for each one of them one and a half.”<sup>32</sup>

#### 9.1.2 Telic

- b. bid-'ādimlu 'ilāha (9,20)  
 “God will destroy them.”<sup>33</sup>

31 See further 4,21 (d ... g-manhiri finde “that they light candles”); 17,20 (dig-'ōḍin 'ibbe burhāne “with which I perform miracles”).

32 See further 24,14 (bid-yāwinnox “I will give you”).

33 See also: 5,19 (bid-marma rēša “it will rise”); 5,20 (bid-mārimla “he will elevate it”).

## 9.1.3 Atelic

- c. ʾlāha bid-nāše m-gēbēxun ʾimmid mišrāye (15,10)  
 “God will battle for you with the Egyptians.”

Other cases are less clear, such as:

- d. bid-ʾōdax ʾixwātēhun (13,14)  
 “We are going to act / want to act as they did.”<sup>34</sup>

Often, however, k-qāṭil is used for situations that are clearly posterior to the speech time.

- e. yā Mōše, ʾāna wēle g-maqwinne libbid Parʿo ulibbid mišrāye ug-ʾarqi baṭir  
 yiśrāʾel ubid-mḡabrēna b-xēli ʾzīm ʾillid Parʿo (10,5)  
 “O Moses, I am going to stiffen the heart of Pharaoh and the heart of the  
 Egyptians so that they will pursue Israel, then I am going to overcome  
 Pharaoh with my great strength.”

*g-maqwinne* can hardly be meant here in a habitual sense, rather a very specific situation is meant, as is also suggested by *wēle* which is again used in the sense of Hebrew *hinne*. *g-maqwinne* and *bid-mḡabrēna* are thus parallel to each other and both describe what God intends to do with Pharaoh. Compare also the subordinate clauses after *zxy* “to see” in 9.2 where we sometimes find *k-qāṭil*, sometimes *bed-qāṭil*.<sup>35</sup>

There is, however, a difference between the two forms, namely *bed-qāṭil* seems not to be able to be negated, as is also the case in many Neo-Aramaic dialects. In this case, *la k-qāṭil* is used when there is still a word between negation and the AP (see no. f), or else *lag qāṭil*:

- f. ya Parʿo, yiśrāʾel ula pīš g-daʾri ʾil-kisloḡ (10,19)  
 “O Pharaoh, Israel will never come back to you!”<sup>36</sup>

34 See further, inter alia: 15,25 (*mani bid-ʾāwir* “who will / wants to enter?”; *bid-raxṭēna* “I will / want to pursue”).

35 Another example of *k-qāṭil* can be found in 24,4 (*g-palṭi ... ug-halkilan* “they will come out ... and destroy us”).

36 See also: 12,4 (*lag šōqax* “we will not leave”); 14,13 + 15,9 (*la pīš g-xāzītūlu* “you will not see them”); 18,11 (*lag ṭabtan* “I will not return to a firmer state”).

## 9.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

The same verb forms are used in subordinate clauses:

- a. uxzūn d'īlāha dix bid-mxālišlēxun (14,10)  
“See how God will deliver you.”<sup>37</sup>
- b. di dxāzax dix g-hāwe (18,8)  
“Let us see what will happen.”<sup>38</sup>

## 10 *Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future*

This category is attested in a temporal clause. In both the main and subordinate clauses, *k-qāṭil* is used:

- a. yā Mōše, kīman g-šalxa yāma 'aykar 'āna wēle g-maqwinne libbid mišrāye (16,19)  
“O Moses, when the sea will have been split, I will stiffen the heart of the Egyptians.”

## 11 *Non-indicative Clauses*

### 11.1 *Main Clauses*

Deontic modality can be expressed by *qāṭil*:

- a. 'īlāha marziq ṭla-kullu yiśrā'el hādax (6,14)  
“May God grant the same to all Israel.”
- b. ušakrinne (26,20)  
“Let me thank him.”

*bed-qāṭil* is used in a dubitative question:

- c. ma bid-šātaxni (32,20)  
“What shall we drink?”

37 See further: 4,1 (*bid-palṭi* “that they will go out”); 18,19 (*ma bid-'ōḏin* “what I will do”).

38 See also: 18,20 (*dla g-nābil raḥme* “for he will not deal mercifully”); 30,9 (*dlaḡ mdā'innax* “that I will not hold you to account”).

Counterfactuality seems to be expressed by -wā; this is attached to the existential particle ʾt in the following example and serves here to express a counterfactual state of the present / future:

- d. ʾinni bišto ʾitwālan bassīma bi-xdāmid mišrāye (14,9)  
 “It would truly be better for us to serve the Egyptians.”

-wā can also be attached to k-qāṭil and indicates, according to the context, a counterfactual state of the present / future. The words of God wayyōmarū lēmōr from Ex. 15,1 are quoted and then it says:

- e. xidda k-malyāwa (27,2)  
 “One (word) would be enough.”

That is, wayyōmarū or lēmōr alone would be sufficient; thereupon the writer explains why both words are used, so the statement is counterfactual, and furthermore, it can be assumed that the statement refers to the text at hand and not to God’s utterance which means that we are dealing with a counterfactual state of the present.<sup>39</sup>

In the following example with bid-qṭilwāle, however, there seems to be past time reference:

- f. uṭlama mirra tōra ... bid-mirwāla ... (29,1)  
 “Why did the Torah say ...? It should have said ...”

The introductory qṭille form *mirra* suggests that *bid-mirwāla* also has past time reference. After the modal particle *šud*, simple qṭilwāle is used to express a counterfactual past situation:

- g. šud šwīqīwāle hādax (29,23)  
 “(God had the dead Egyptians covered by the earth [qṭille].) He should have left them as they were.”

## 11.2 Subordinate Clauses

In final clauses, after expressions of command, permission etc., simple qāṭil is used if the superordinate clause has present or future time reference:

39 Similarly again in 28,5 (uxa g-mālēwa) and 30,25 (ug-malyāwa).

- a. qūmun plōṭun ... b-sababi dla mētēna (1,26)  
“Rise up and go forth ... so that I do not die.”<sup>40</sup>
- b. marri ṭrōsa dix ’ōdēna (5,14)  
“Tell me honestly what I should do.”<sup>41</sup>

By contrast, if the superordinate sentence has past time reference, qāṭilwā is used:

- c. kullu ’an makkōṭ qbilile ... ṭla xāṭirid yiśrā’el la ’azīwa (1,9)  
“He accepted all those plagues ... so that Israel would not go away.”<sup>42</sup>

Occasionally, we also find simple qāṭil:

- d. pišle bi-ṭāya ’illid garmid NN ṭlad nābillu ’imme (3,19)  
“He started to look for the bones of NN in order to take them along with him.”
- e. frižle ’illēhun ’arbe’ma šinne dxadmīlan (10,22)  
“He imposed upon them four hundred years to serve us.”

Perhaps the choice of qāṭil in the second example is due to the fact that the subordinate clause situation extends into the speech time, since only 210 years have been served so far. To answer this question precisely, however, there is not enough evidence.

It should be emphasised that the situation expressed by qāṭilwā was not carried out; if the subordinate clause situation was carried out, qṭille is used:

- f. ṭlama šwiqlan dzillu yiśrā’el (11,3)  
“Why did we Israel let go away?”

This question was asked when Israel was already gone.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For another final clause, see 23,1 (ṭlad ḡalqa yāma “so that the sea may be closed”).

<sup>41</sup> For qāṭil after *mar* “tell”, see also: 5,15 (zōnēna “[what] I should buy”); 8,13 (da’ri bar baṭruh “[that] they turn back”); 9,25 (šāre uyatwi “[that] they encamp and stop”).

<sup>42</sup> See further: 1,19 (dla māyitwa “[he feared] that he would die”); 1,19 (ṭlad maxwēwāle “in order to show him”); 1,23 (ṭlad mpaltīwa “in order to have them take out”); 14,4 (ṭlad qōriwālan “so that they bury us”); 29,25 (d’axliwālu “so that they eat them”).

<sup>43</sup> See further 12,6 (ṭlad la qṭilila “so that it did not kill them”). An exception is 29,3: *ṭla bānēwa* “so that he may build”. In this case, the building actually took place.

## 12 Conditional Clauses

Unfortunately, conditional clauses are not attested all that often, and the few attestations show highly different modes of formation. In 3,5, a real conditional clause of the present / future is expressed by *bed-qāṭil* in protasis and apodosis; the protasis is introduced by *'in-kān*:

- a. *'in-kān bid-naplax b-mindi 'ēqu ... bid-šōqax uda'rax 'il-Miṣṣir*  
 “If we get into any kind of trouble ... we will leave and return to Egypt.”

In contrast, in another conditional clause, also introduced by *'in-kān*, *k-qāṭil* is used in both the main and subordinate clauses:

- b. *'in-kān g-ōḏētun parwāri lag dārin 'illēxun ču bala* (33,19)  
 “If you carry out my utterance, I will not set upon you any grief.”<sup>44</sup>

This statement made by God has a general character, whereas the situation in no. a is quite specific; presumably for this reason, the protasis of no. b uses *k-qāṭil* that normally expresses habitual situations. *lag dārin* in the apodosis can of course also represent the negation of *bid-dārin*, since forms with *bid-* are not negated (see sect. 9.1 above).

In a protasis introduced by *'in* describing a specific situation, *qṭille* is used, and the apodosis has *k-qāṭil*:

- c. *'in 'āhit gliqlōx 'urxa 'illēhun ... ula g-naf'a hādax* (17,19)  
 “If you block the way against them ... that will not be proper.”

The last example is not without problems. God's instruction to Moses from Ex. 14,16 is quoted: *Let Israel march into the sea on dry ground (b-yōša)*. Then it says explanatorily:

- d. *'in bid-ōri go-yāma ṭlama bid-'āmirwa b-yōša? u'in bid-ōriwa b-yōša ṭlama bid-'āmirwa b-yāma?* (15,20). Sabar (Midrash 103) translates:  
 “If they were to march into the sea, then why does (the Scripture) say *on dry ground*? And if they were to march on dry ground, why does it say *into the sea*?”

44 Similarly again in 33,14.



First of all, it should be noted that the apodosis is missing and should be supplemented with: *so the question arises* or similar. *bed-qāṭil* in the first protasis can be explained by its property of describing posteriority to or the consequence of a situation (see sect. 8 + 9 above) for the march into the sea results directly from God's instruction. *bid-* in the two questions can be explained in the same way for they result directly from the situations of the protases. *-wa* in *bid-ʿāmīrwa* presumably serves to express counterfactuality (see sect. 11.1 above). The statement is not counterfactual, since it is actually written in this way in the Torah, but through the rhetorical use of a counterfactual form, the speaker or writer can emphasise the contradiction that exists between the two expressions *go-yāma* and *b-yōša*. Consequently, *bed-qāṭilwā* must also be used in the second question, since the same situation is mentioned there that was previously described as counterfactual. A more appropriate translation would then be: If they were to march into the sea, then why should (the Scripture) say *on dry ground*?

### 13 Verbs of Perception

After verbs of perception, *k-qāṭil* and *qṭille* are attested depending on whether the observed situation was perceived in its course or as a complete whole:

- a. *kīman dixzēle Mōše ʿaḏ yāma g-maxya b-ʾixdāde ... mirrēla* (18,5)  
 “When Moses saw the waves<sup>45</sup> hitting each other ... he said to them: ...”<sup>46</sup>
- b. *xzēlu yiśrāʾel sardārid miṣrāye m-šimme kwišle* (13,22)  
 “Israel saw the guardian angel of the Egyptians descend from heaven.”<sup>47</sup>

### 14 Summary

#### 14.1 *Qṭille*

*qṭille* expresses anteriority to the speech time regardless of the type of action in main and subordinate clauses and can also be used as an anterior in discussing passages (2.1 + 2.2). Construction 1 with a nominal agent indicates

45 Lit.: *the sea*.

46 See also 9,10 (*g-šāyip* “rubbing”).

47 See further: 15,25 (*ndēle* “jump”); 21,20 (*wirre* “enter”).

anteriority to a reference point in the past in one main clause example (ʿāwa xīl ʾillid kalwe “dogs had eaten it”), but more often it denotes this category in temporal and also in relative clauses, qṭilwāle being attested only rarely in these cases (4.1 + 4.2). Only once in a temporal clause after *hallid* “until, when, while” does it denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past with an atelic verb (5.2). Furthermore, it is found in the protasis of a real conditional clause and here expresses a situation that is anterior to another one in the future (12), and finally it is attested after verbs of perception when the perceived situation is to be represented as a complete whole (13).

#### 14.2 *Qṭilwāle*

qṭilwāle can express anteriority to a reference point in the past; there are two main clause examples; in subordinate clauses, this category is usually denoted by qṭille, but if there are no temporal subordinators that clarify the time relationship, qṭilwāle is used (4.1 + 4.2). After the modal particle *šud*, it indicates a counterfactual situation with past time reference (šud šwīqīwāle “he should have left them”). The same category, however, can also be expressed by bid-qṭilwāle (bid-mirwāla “it should have said”; 11.1).

#### 14.2 *Qṭil + S-Suffix*

The status absol. of the PP + S-suffix is used predominantly with a third person as subject and represents the passive counterpart of qṭille. qṭil of ʾty “to come”, however, is attested with an active meaning and seems to be used in the sense of an anterior: ʾytin “I have come” (2.1).

#### 14.3 *Qṭilā + Pres. Cop. / Qṭilāwā / Past Cop. + Qṭilā*

qṭilā is formed from transitive and intransitive verbs and can have a passive or an active meaning. Only three instances of qṭilā + present copula could be found. It is used with the sense of an anterior or a resultative (2.1 + 2.2). Also qṭilāwā / past copula + qṭilā do not seem to have been very common, as can be seen from the fact that the copyist of one of the manuscripts used qṭille and qāṭilwā instead of qṭilāwā / past copula + qṭilā in two of the four attested examples. These compounds are also used in the meaning of an anterior or a resultative, except that the reference point is not the speech time but a point in the past (4.2).

#### 14.4 *Qāṭil*

In a narrating passage, simple qāṭil of the verb ʾmr “to say” is used perfectly (2.1). Once it is used imperfectly, expressing a situation that extends from the past to the present and is not yet completed; usually k-qāṭil is used in this

case (7). It mainly denotes deontic modality in main clauses and appears after expressions of commanding, permitting etc. if the superordinate clause has present time reference; with past time reference, on the other hand, qāṭilwā is used (11.1 + 11.2).

k-qāṭil expresses singular and habitual situations that are simultaneous with the speech time (7 + 8.1 + 8.2). It can be the predicate in circumstantial clauses with both present and past time reference (5.1 + 8.1) and can also express posteriority to the speech time; here, it seems primarily to describe future situations whose occurrence is considered certain, but in these cases bed-qāṭil is also found which is sometimes used in parallel with k-qāṭil (9.1 + 9.2). In one case, it indicates anteriority to a reference point in the future in a temporal clause (10); in addition, it is used in the protasis and apodosis of a real conditional clause with reference to the future (12) and finally, it is attested after verbs of perception when a situation has been perceived in its course; here, it is in opposition to qṭille which is used when the situation has been observed as a complete whole (13).

bed-qāṭil is used in a main clause and after verbs of knowledge to indicate posteriority to a reference point in the past (9.1 + 9.2), but it also denotes habitual situations of the present that temporally and logically follow another one (8.1 + 8.2). Its main field of application seems to be the expression of posteriority to the speech time, sometimes indicating not purely temporally the posteriority but non-indicatively the will to perform a situation. It cannot be negated, in this case la k-qāṭil or lag qāṭil is used (9.1 + 9.2). In one example, it is attested in the protasis and apodosis of a real conditional clause with future time reference and refers to a specific situation here, while k-qāṭil expresses a general condition in the same position (12).

qāṭilwā is used to express habitual and imperfective situations of the past (3 + 5.1). In addition, it is used non-indicatively after expressions of commanding, permitting etc. when the superordinate sentence has past time reference, while simple qāṭil is used with present time reference (11.2). In one example, k-qāṭilwā is used to express a counterfactual situation with present time reference (k-malyāwa “it would be enough”), similarly -wā is used with the existential particle *ʾit* to express counterfactuality (*ʾitwālan* “it would be for us”; 11.1).

bed-qāṭilwā, finally, can describe posteriority to a reference point in the past but can also express situations that are only intended (bid-qāṭilwāle “he was about / wanted to kill him”; 6.1 + 6.2). Furthermore, it is attested once in the protasis and twice in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future (12).

#### 14.5 *Infinitive*

(b-) Infinitive + past copula serves to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past, although the past copula can also be absent when referring to the past. It is noteworthy that the copula in a relative clause does not follow the infinitive but is attached to the relative pronoun. Furthermore, the compound u + subject + infinitive is attested in a circumstantial clause with past time reference (5.1 + 5.2).

### 15 *Analysis*

qṭille is clearly perfective in character. This is indicated by its use, albeit sporadic, in the protasis of conditional clauses with reference to the future and in subordinate clauses to express anteriority to a reference point in the past. The singular use to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past should not be overrated and one should bear in mind that the verb in question is atelic and that the subordinator *hallid* already clarifies the intension. qṭille must therefore be regarded as a marked perfective form.

qṭilwāle seems to be primarily a temporal verb form that expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past. Whether it also has a non-indicative meaning component cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence, but it seems rather unlikely to me. In one case, the non-indicative meaning is expressed by *šud*, in the other by *bid-* which is also found in the counterfactual form *bed-qāṭilwā*. qṭilwāle seems to express primarily anteriority in these cases. As the evidence stands, qṭilwāle must be regarded as a marked relative tense form expressing anteriority to a reference point in the past. I do not dare to decide whether *bid-qṭilwāle* should be regarded as an independent verb form.

qṭil + S-suffix is difficult to analyse, especially as it is very rarely attested. It can be used perfectly and as an anterior, having either passive or active meaning depending on whether the verb in question is transitive or intransitive. It is similar to qṭilā + present copula; with intransitive verbs, the two forms seem to have the same meaning, *ʔyṭin* and *lēwin iṭya* hardly differing apart from the negation. With transitive verbs, however, qṭil + S-suffix is perfective, whereas qṭilā + present copula is anterior or resultative. Since qṭilā + present copula basically has the function of an anterior / resultative, whereas qṭil + S-suffix is used perfectly and as an anterior, it seems more appropriate to analyse the former as marked and the latter as unmarked. The same applies to the forms of qṭilā supplemented with -wā or the past copula.

Simple qāṭil is predominantly used to express real non-indicative situations of the present / future. The perfective use with the verb 'mr is a fossil from earlier language stages (see above ch. 4, sect. 2.1); how the isolated use to express an indicative and imperfective situation is to be interpreted, is difficult to say, but in view of the fact that qāṭil is largely displaced from the indicative domain in the younger Neo-Aramaic dialects, one can probably conclude that it was already strongly in retreat here; moreover, the one instance may be due to a scribal error, and I would like to consider qāṭil as a marked verb form to express non-indicative real situations.

k-qāṭil expresses imperfective and habitual indicative situations with present time reference and those that are posterior to the speech time or, in subordinate clauses, anterior to a reference point in the future. It can best be classified as a modal signum expressing indicativity. As we remember, in Hasmonean and in the Targum fragments, qāṭil expresses not only indicative situations with present but also with future time reference. Nevertheless, it was not classified as a modal signum for the expression of indicative situations because posteriority to the speech time is primarily expressed by yiqṭul (see ch. 6, sect. 12 and ch. 7, sect. 16). Early Jewish Neo-Aramaic also has a signum that can likewise express posteriority, namely bed-qāṭil, so one could argue that, consequently, k-qāṭil should not be interpreted as a modal signum either. However, there is a significant difference between bed-qāṭil in Early Jewish Neo-Aramaic and yiqṭul in Hasmonean and in the Targum fragments: bed-qāṭil can only describe affirmative situations, and even if it was later to become the main form in Neo-Aramaic to express posteriority, its use here is still very limited. Therefore, the classification of k-qāṭil as a marked modal form seems quite justified to me.

bed-qāṭil seems to be an aspectual form, namely for the expression of posteriority to a reference point which can be located in the past or present. Of course, the form has not yet been completely grammaticalised, since it is sometimes still used in its original function to express will and intention. Since no opposition perfectivity : imperfectivity can be proven, it is to be assumed that it can express both and thus has to be considered unmarked.<sup>48</sup>

qāṭilwā is another unmarked verbal form. It expresses habitual and imperfective situations with past time reference and is also used non-indicatively in subordinate clauses when the superordinate clause has past time reference. -wā seems to have a purely temporal character in this compound.

---

48 On the problem of classifying a perfective verb form that can also be used imperfectively, see ch. 1, sect. 7 above.

The mere three instances of *k-qāṭilwā* make an analysis very difficult. Whether it is a marked verbal form expressing counterfactual situations of the present is impossible to decide under these circumstances. The situation is similar with *bed-qāṭilwā*. The original function seems to be that of expressing a merely willed and planned action in the past, from here the use to indicate posteriority to a reference point in the past can be plausibly explained. The extent to which it also serves to express non-indicative categories, however, cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence.

(b-) Infinitive with or without copula clearly serves to express the imperfective aspect and has to be considered marked. Whether it can only be used with the past copula and past time reference cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence.

The dialect studied here has eight marked verbal forms: *qṭille*, *qṭilwāle*, *qṭilā* + present copula, *qṭilāwā* / past copula + *qṭilā*, *qāṭil*, *k-qāṭil*, inf. + past copula, imperative.

Three verb forms have to be considered unmarked: *qṭil* + S-suffix, *bed-qāṭil*, *qāṭilwā*.

*k-qāṭilwā*, *bed-qāṭilwā* and *bid-qṭilwāle* had to be left undecided.

On the indicative aspectual level, there is the following opposition:

*qṭille* (anterior perfective) : inf. + past copula (anterior imperfective)

The following opposition is restricted to transitive verbs:

*qṭille* (active) : *qṭil* + S-suffix (passive)

It should, however, not go unmentioned that the last opposition is only of minor importance due to the low occurrence of *qṭil*.

The modal area has the following opposition:

*qāṭil* (non-indicative) : *k-qāṭil* (indicative)

## Early Christian Neo-Aramaic

### o Text Corpus

The six poems of Israel of Alqosh (Is) and Joseph of Telkepe (Jos) from the 17th century published by Mengozzi, Alqosh II 1–172, were evaluated. The Roman numeral after Is and Jos refers to the number of the poem (I–VI), the Arabic numeral thereafter to the stanza. For the manuscripts used by Mengozzi, see Alqosh II, V–VI.

The poems are written in Nestorian script but are rendered here in Western Syriac Serṭā.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qāṭil*

The AP of the G-stem has the form qāṭel, the derived stems are mqāṭel and maqṭel (< old qaṭṭel and ʾaqṭel). The old t-stems are, as in early Jewish Neo-Aramaic, no longer used. The AP is inflected as follows:

|      | sg.             | pl.                                    |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | ܩܬܠ (qāṭel)     | ܩܬܠܝ (qaṭli)                           |
| 3.f. | ܩܬܠܐ (qāṭlā)    | ܩܬܠܝܐ (qaṭli)                          |
| 2.m. | ܩܬܠܬ (qaṭlet)   | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ ~ ܩܬܠܬܝܬܝܢ (qaṭlitun ~ qaṭlitu) |
| 2.f. | ܩܬܠܬܐ (qaṭlat)  | ܩܬܠܬܝܢ ~ ܩܬܠܬܝܬܝܢ (qaṭlitun ~ qaṭlitu) |
| 1.m. | ܩܬܠܝܢ (qaṭlen)  | ܩܬܠܝܬܝܢ (qaṭlex)                       |
| 1.f. | ܩܬܠܝܢܐ (qaṭlan) | ܩܬܠܝܬܝܢܐ (qaṭlex) <sup>1</sup>         |

With the prefix ܕ, the AP has an indicative meaning: ܕܩܬܠܝܢܐ (lā k-nāṭer) “he does not observe” (Jos VI 18), with ܕܐܘܪܝܬܝܢܐ or ܕܐܘܪܝܬܝܢܐ it expresses posteriority: ܕܐܘܪܝܬܝܢܐ (be-mpašmni) “they will regret” (Jos IV 119). To indicate past time reference, ܠܒܝܬܝܢܐ can be added to the participle in which case usually no prefix is used: ܠܒܝܬܝܢܐ ܩܬܠܝܢܐ (lābeš wā) “he was dressed” (Jos VI 76).<sup>2</sup> In the manuscript of the Sachau collection, the AP can be preceded by the prefix ܕܐܘܪܝܬܝܢܐ to denote past time reference. These forms are negated by ܠܐ.

<sup>1</sup> See Mengozzi, Alqosh I 29.

<sup>2</sup> An exception can be found in Jos VI 111.

1.2 *Qṭille*

The passive participles *qṭil* and *mquṭel* ~ *mquṭel* as well as *muqṭel* can be followed by L-suffixes:

|      | sg.                   | pl.                                  |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | ܠܝܠܝܬܐ (-le ~ lē)     | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢ (-lay ~ lāy ~ layhin)       |
| 3.f. | ܠܝܠܝܬܐ (-lā)          | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢ (-lay ~ lāy ~ layhin)       |
| 2.m. | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢ (-lox ~ lux) | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ (lxon ~ lāxon ~ lāwxon)   |
| 2.f. | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢ (-lāx)       | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ (lxon ~ lāxon ~ lāwxon)   |
| 1.   | ܠܝܠܝܬܐ (-li)          | ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ <sup>3</sup> (-lan ~ lān) |

A logical object can be expressed by an S-suffix between the stem and the L-suffix: ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "he saved us" (Jos IV 83). In the manuscript of the Sachau collection, the designation of a logical object by a S-suffix is usually not tolerated and what is meant is expressed differently, e.g. by the use of *kem-qāṭil*. Thus instead of ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ, the Sachau manuscript has ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢܝܢ (kem-xālešlan).<sup>4</sup> *qṭille* can be formed from transitive as well as intransitive verbs. The L-suffix can be preceded by the particle *-wā-* (= *qṭilwāle*): ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "he ordered" (Jos v 63).

1.3 *Qṭil / Qṭilā*

*qṭil*, the stat. absol. of the passive participle, is used with transitive verbs to express passive actions with past time reference; the subject is indicated by S-suffixes: ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "he was crucified and killed" (Is I 48); ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "we were allowed to take part" (Jos v 39). Occasionally, *qṭil* is also used with intransitive verbs: ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "I have become old" (Is II 13). The author of the Sachau collection manuscript does not tolerate this usage and instead uses *qṭille*, as in Jos VI 98 where he has ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ (*meṭlē*) "he died" instead of ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ as in the other manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to *qṭil*, the stat. emph. *qṭilā* with a following copula can be used in the function of a predicate, as in Is II 100: ܠܝܠܝܬܐܝܢܝܢ "it (fem.) was told". It sometimes seems to be used for reasons of metre and rhyme,<sup>6</sup> but this explanation does not apply to all cases (cf. below 2.1 no. g).

<sup>3</sup> See Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 31.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 39f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 39.

<sup>6</sup> For example in Is III 9 and Jos v 108.



#### 1.4 *Imperative*

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| sg.m. | ܡܠܐ                       |
| sg.f. | ܡܠܐ                       |
| pl.m. | ܡܠܝܬܐ                     |
| pl.f. | not attested <sup>7</sup> |

#### 1.5 *Infinitive*

The compound ܐܝܬܐ + infinitive can be used like a verb form: ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐܪܐ (be-z'ārā) "it is becoming feeble" (Is II 13).

#### 1.6 *Qṭal*

There are isolated attestations of qṭal, but these are always borrowings from Classical Syriac.<sup>8</sup>

### 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

#### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by qṭille in both narrating and discussing passages; in discussing passages, it can have the meaning of an anterior (no. b). I will limit myself to one example each:

##### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. ܠܗܒܠܢ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܠܐ (hbelē lan) ܠܥܝܢܐ (Jos IV 2)  
"He gave us speaking mouths."

##### 2.1.2 Telic

- b. ܠܗܠܠܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܠܐ (xrulā) ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܠܐ (Is II 33)  
"My master, man has become corrupt."

##### 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. ܠܗܠܠܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܠܐ (pqidilay) ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܗܠܠܐ (Is I 19)  
"And they instructed their students."

<sup>7</sup> See Is II 54 (ܡܠܐ), III 34 (ܡܠܐ), Jos V 58 (ܡܠܐ).

<sup>8</sup> On this point see Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 17–20.

## 2.1.4 Stative

- d. (hwele) ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (Is II 4)  
 “He was the beloved of his Lord.”

In addition, qṭīl + S-suffix is used. With transitive verbs, the situation is passive, with intransitive ones, it is active. With transitive verbs, it is only attested with a perfective sense (no. e), but with intransitive ones, it can also have the meaning of an anterior (no. f):

- e. ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (Is I 48)  
 “He was crucified and killed.”<sup>9</sup>
- f. (siwen) ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝܬܒܐ (Is II 13)  
 “I have become old.”<sup>10</sup>

As noted above in section 1, the author of the manuscript of the Sachau collection uses qṭīlle in the latter case.

Occasionally, we also find the stat. emph. Sometimes, it seems to be used for reasons of metre and rhyme, such as ܡܝܬܒܐ “he remained” at the verse end of Jos v 108, but this is not true in cases like:

- g. ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (Jos IV 79)  
 “The divinity dwelt in the son.”

The stat. emph. is regularly used when the PP is combined with a form of the copula. Unfortunately, the evidence is not numerous enough for a detailed analysis, but it seems that qṭīlā + present copulae *ylē, ylā, ylay* (pl.) denotes a kind of anterior, insofar as the action is completed but still has an impact on the speech time:

- h. ܠܗܘܐ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (ymertā) ܠܗܝܠܐ (Is II 100)  
 “It (fem.) has been told by the priest Israel the old.”

9 See further: Is I 63 (ܠܗܘܐ “it (fem.) was told”); II 29 (ܠܗܘܐ “it was taken by force”); II 74 (ܠܗܘܐ “they were deprived”); Jos v 39 (ܠܗܘܐ “we were allowed to take part”); VI 79 (ܠܗܘܐ “he was taken”); VI 80 (ܠܗܘܐ “he was put”).

10 See also: Is I 35 (ܠܗܘܐ “he arrived”); Jos VI 98 (ܠܗܘܐ “he died”).

The reference to the present is confirmed by the following verses which describe with a present tense form what Israel was doing; he was therefore still alive at that time.

When qṭilā is preceded by the past copulae *wēlē*, *wēlā* or *wēlay*, the time reference is clearly anterior to the speech time; the following example seems to be resultative:

- i. (lā wēlā prišt') ܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܝܨܬܐ (Is III 29)  
 “(Her sons were killed but) she was not separated from her Lord.”<sup>11</sup>

It should also be noted that the loss of the old t-stems has caused many verbs to be used both actively and passively, so a root like ܢܬܬܐ can be used in the sense of “to open” as well as “to be opened”, as in Jos IV 39: ܡܬܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ (ptexlā šmayā) “heaven was opened”. The author of the manuscript of the Sachau collection, however, uses these verbs only with an active meaning.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, qṭilwāle can express anteriority to the speech time. It can also denote anteriority to a reference point in the past but often describes simple anteriority and then seems to be used purely for metrical reasons. Take for example stanza 56 of Jos IV:

- j. (ktēm̄wāl') ܠܚܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ  
 (qṣēwāl') ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ  
 (muṣaywālē) ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ  
 “He ate the passover and gave the blessing, and his body he broke for his disciples in the upper room that he had ordered.”

*ktēm̄wāl'* and *qṣēwāl'* have the same time reference as the preceding *ykelē*, while qṭilwāle in the relative clause precedes them. The reason for its use actually seems to be due to the rhyme.<sup>13</sup> Let us have a look at another instance in which qṭilwāle is used in parallel with qṭille:

- k. (mxulelwālē) ܠܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ('widāl') ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ  
 (Jos IV 58)  
 “And he did this service: He washed the feet of the apostles.”

11 See further Jos VI 13 (ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ “it [m.] was written”).

12 On this point, see Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 54.

13 It is quite similar in Jos VI 58. Note that *mutēwālē* “he brought back” at the end of the stanza is taken up again in the first verse of the following stanza in the same meaning, but now simple qṭille is used.

*mxulebwālē* and *'widāl'* represent identical actions.<sup>14</sup>

Occasionally, Classical Syriac is resorted to and old *q̄tal* is used such as ܩܪܒ (qareb) "he offered" in Jos IV 34.<sup>15</sup>

In one case, *k-qāṭilwā* is used which clearly describes a singular anterior situation and is parallel to *q̄tille*:

- l. (mpwl'til') ܩܩܬܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܕܝܗܘܕܐܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ (k-qāṭēwāl') ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ (Jos VI 111)  
 "He cut down for him the fig-tree, the nation of the Jews, he took them out like a plant."

The form is difficult to interpret and also seems to have caused difficulties for the author of the manuscript of the Sachau collection who used *b-qāṭilwā* instead of *k-qāṭilwā*: "he would have cut down", which, however, does not really make sense either.

As already mentioned above, in the manuscript of the Sachau collection, the designation of the logical object by S-suffixes attached to the stem of the participle is usually not tolerated and what is meant is expressed differently, for instance by the use of *kem-qāṭil*. Thus, instead of *mxolṣexlē* "he liberated us" (Jos IV 83), the Sachau manuscript has *kem-xāleṣlan*.

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, *q̄tille* and *q̄ṭil* are attested. *q̄ṭil* of transitive verbs has a passive meaning, of intransitive ones an active meaning; in no. c it is used quite clearly in the sense of an anterior:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. (šmēli) ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܕܡܠܟܐ (Is I 24)  
 "I, a sinner, who heard this."<sup>16</sup>

14 For *q̄tilwāle* used in the function of *q̄tille*, see also: Jos v 63 (ܩܩܬܝܠܘܬܐ "he transgressed"); Jos v, 118 (ܩܩܬܝܠܘܬܐ "he arrived").

15 For details, see Mengozzi, Alqosh I 17–20.

16 See also: Is I 26 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܐܢܝ "I who read"); Jos IV 84 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "who gave us"); v 2 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "who created us"); v 9 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "that we heard"); v 15 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "that our Lord taught us"). *q̄ṭil*: Is II, heading in S (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "that [fem.] was made"); III 19 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "that [fem.] was broken"); III 28 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܐܢܝ [with -īn instead of -i!]) "who were killed"; VI 12 (ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "that were written"). In one case, *q̄ṭilā* is attested: ܕܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܕܕܡܠܟܐ "a house ... that was built" (Jos v 108).

### 2.2.2 Object Clauses

- b. (tyublay) ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ (Jos IV 119)  
 “The sinners will be sorry that they did not repent.”<sup>17</sup>

### 2.2.3 Causal Clauses

- c. ይቃወሙ (mṭē) ምሽት ሞት ... ምሽት ሞት (Is I 35)  
 “Stop drinking ... because death has reached you.”<sup>18</sup>

## 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 3.1 Main Clauses

qṭille can also express situations that lasted over a longer period of time or have to be considered habitual. The prerequisite for this is by no means that it is a stative situation which by itself has a certain extension; qṭille is also used, albeit rarely, with other types of action:

#### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. (tpeqlay) ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ (Is I 16)  
 “Every day they used to run into a hundred (causes of) death.”<sup>19</sup>

#### 3.1.2 Atelic

- b. (‘melay wplexlay) ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ (Is I 22)  
 “The forefathers worked and acted.”<sup>20</sup>

#### 3.1.3 Stative

- c. (klēlay) ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ (Is I 20)  
 “And they stayed among chamois.”<sup>21</sup>

17 See also Is I 54 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “what he has shown you”).

18 See further Is I 39 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “because I demolished”).

19 See also Is I 30 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “you stretched out”).

20 See further VI 119 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “they did not serve him”).

21 See further: Is I 16 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ [with assimilation of /l/ to /r/] “they were embittered”); I 16 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “they dwelt”); II 10 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “I have been corrupt”); Jos VI 118 (ሕጻናት ይህን ይታዩ “he loved”).





## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

The evidence of this category is unfortunately not very numerous, so main and subordinate clauses are discussed together.

qāṭilwā can be used:

- a. ܠܗܒܠܐ ܠܐܒܝܐ ܠܡܫܐܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (gāb' wā) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ  
(mšāh' wā) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ (Jos VI 77)  
“(He went to him) and begged but he did not give him the crumbs of his table that he wished.”

The begging and the wishing are simultaneous with each other and, unlike the punctual non-giving, can be imagined as extended in their course; however, it cannot be ruled out that the qāṭilwā forms at the end of the verse were chosen for metrical reasons, since all four verses of the stanza end in -wā.

But also qṭille can express a situation that must be understood as proceeding parallel to another one:

- b. (mṣulēlē) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ... ܠܡܫܐܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (mṣulēlē) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ  
(Jos VI 64)  
“The Pharisee was praying ... and the publican was praying there, too.”<sup>25</sup>

Accompanying circumstances are often introduced by ܐ; it can be followed by the subject and an infinitive:

- c. (xdārā wqṭāyā) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ... (pešlay) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ (Is I 24)  
“They became ... while I was going around and turning around.”

I do not know how to interpret ܐܡܝܢ; perhaps it is related to Kurdish *har* “certainly”; but it does not seem to be too important, since it is omitted in the manuscript of the Sachau collection. It is noteworthy that the infinitives are not introduced by a preposition here, as is the case with the following example:

- d. (k-šārḫā be-škāyā) ܠܡܫܐܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (Is II 52)  
“The sea cries out while accusing.”

25 In Jos VI 100 even qṭilwāle is attested at the end of a verse in a relative clause (dzelwāl'), but here again metrical reasons seem to play a role, since all verses end in -ālē.



α + subject can also be followed by qāṭil or a noun with a preposition; at this point, we will also mention an example with present time reference:

- e. ገለጸው ለእነሱ ሲሆን (glelē ly) ለእነሱ (Jos IV 57)  
“He revealed to them, while they were at dinner, his wickedness.”
- f. (qayli) ለእነሱ (xānqanay) ሲሆን (Is II 55)  
“Let me strangle them while they are speaking.”<sup>26</sup>

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

This category is attested in an object clause and is expressed by bed-qāṭil:

- a. ለእነሱ ሲሆን (bed-kāper) ለእነሱ (kšēplē) ሲሆን (Jos IV 59)  
“He explained that Simon would deny him that night.”

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular and Habitual)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

Habitual situations are predominantly expressed by k-qāṭil. There are so many instances of this that I will limit myself to one example each:

#### 7.1.1 Punctual

- a. ለእነሱ ሲሆን (k-yahbelē) ሲሆን (Is I 1)  
“He gives him understanding.”

#### 7.1.2 Telic

- b. ለእነሱ ሲሆን (k-māwrxī) ሲሆን (Jos V 55)  
“They prolong the prayer.”

#### 7.1.3 Atelic

- c. ለእነሱ ሲሆን (ke-mšamšilʾ) ሲሆን (Jos IV 5)  
“They serve him at all times.”

26 See also Jos V 59 (ሲሆን ሲሆን “while you are desiring her in your hearts”).

## 7.1.4 Stative

- d. (k-bē) ܟܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (Jos v 44)  
“He does not desire glory.”

k-qāṭil is also used to express extratemporal situations:

- e. ܟܝܠܐܝܠܐ (ke-mdabrālay) ܠܗܝܠܐ (Jos v 77)  
“Mercy provides for them (i.e. for the birds).”

Occasionally, one finds simple qāṭil in this function:

- f. ܩܬܠܐܝܬܘܢ (qāṭlitun) ܥܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ (Is II 28)  
“You kill each other on a pretext.”

It is of course possible that ܐ was omitted here and elsewhere for metrical reasons. The verses in Israel’s poem consist of seven syllables and an additional ܐ would have made the verse eight syllables long.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, qṭilā + present copula is attested. The compound is used resultatively and the resulting state can be considered habitual:

- g. ܩܬܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (ptixt’ yl’) ܠܗܝܠܐ ܩܬܠܐܝܬܐ ܩܬܠܐܝܬܐ (Jos v 122)  
“The kingdom (has been opened and) is open to everyone who does penance.”<sup>28</sup>

b + infinitive describes a situation in its course

- h. ܒܝܬܐܝܠܐ (be-z’ārā) ܩܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ (siwen) ܩܝܠܐ  
(late<sup>29</sup> d’ār’) ܩܝܠܐ ܩܝܠܐ (Is II 13)  
“I have become old and my heart is becoming feeble, but it is not turning away from its nature.”

27 See also: Jos v 111 (ܕܝܠܐ “they come”, ܡܝܬܐ “it strikes”, ܩܬܐ “it falls”); for the metre of the poems, see Mengozzi, *Alqosh* I 74–75.

28 Likewise in: Jos v 54 (ܡܠܐ “they are full of”); v 112 (ܡܠܐ ܩܝܠܐ “they are considered by him”).

29 *late* is contracted from *lyt* + *l* meaning “not to have”, thus literally: it has no turning away.

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, *k-qāṭil* expresses habitual situations, but **א** is regularly omitted if it follows directly the subordinator **א**. This is the case in relative clauses:

- a. (qār' li) **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (Jos v 8)  
 "I answer everyone who appeals to me."<sup>30</sup>

Occasionally, however, the **א** is written, as in:

- b. (k-ḥāṭāy) **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (Is II 46)  
 "What will those who sin answer?"<sup>31</sup>

### 7.2.1 Temporal Clause

- c. **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (qarbek) **א** **א** **א** (Is I 53)  
 "Whenever we celebrate the Eucharist, he sanctifies us."

### 7.2.2 Object Clause

- d. (ke-b'aytwn) **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (Jos v 78)  
 "God knows that you want food and clothes."

## 8 Posteriority to the Speech Time

I have found this category attested only in main clauses. It is usually expressed by *b-* or *bed-qāṭil*:

### 8.1 Punctual

- a. **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (tābē) **א** **א** **א** **א** **א** (b-šābeq) **א** **א** (Jos v 63)  
 "He will leave his father and mother and follow his wife."<sup>32</sup>

30 See further, inter alia: Jos v 30 (**א** "who stands"); v 43 (**א** "who prays").

31 **א** in Is I 2 also has a **א**, but here, the AP is separated from **א** by another word.

32 See also: Is II 46 (**א** "they will arrive"); Jos VI 73 (**א** "they will take them").

8.2 *Telic*

- b. ܡܠܒܝܬܐ (b-malbešlay) ܕܡܠܝܬܐ (Jos IV 94)  
 “He will clothe the first apostles.”<sup>33</sup>

8.3 *Atelic*

- c. (yāsqi) ܡܡܝܐ (b-parxi) ܕܡܝܬܐ (Jos VI 35)  
 “They will fly and ascend.”

8.4 *Stative*

- d. (bed-qāšē) ܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Is II 80)  
 “Their torment will be hard.”

In nos. a and c, simple qāṭil is used because ܕ is already prefixed to the preceding verb. Simple qāṭil, however, is also attested in other places:

- e. (mqādem) ܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Is II 8)  
 “In the morning he will face Gehenna.”

Interestingly, the verse is repeated at the beginning of the next stanza, but now the predicate is in the second position and has the form ܕܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ, so that the verse has one more syllable than the required seven. The case is difficult to explain; perhaps a non-indicative nuance is intended in the first case.

In Jos VI 24:

- f. (māwseq ... wpāqed) ܡܡܝܐ ... ܡܡܝܐ  
 “He will let ascend ... and order ...”,

the word ܡܡܝܐ is taken up from the previous stanza where it is preceded by the relative pronoun ܐ, in which position simple qāṭil is usually used (see 7.2 above), and so the author has omitted ܕ here, too; in the manuscript of the Sachau collection, on the other hand, ܕ is written.<sup>34</sup>

33 See further: Jos IV 93 (ܕܡܠܝܬܐ “he will clothe them”); Is I 28 (ܕܡܡܝܐ “it will become warm”).

34 Further qāṭil forms with a clear future time reference are ܡܡܝܐ “he will resurrect” and ܡܡܝܐ “he will let ascend” in Jos IV 108; ܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ in Is II 49 is possibly meant non-indicatively, i.e. “let me repay”.

## 9 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

This category is only attested in temporal clauses; simple qāṭil is used:

- a. (maytet) **ከከሁኑ ከከሁ ከከሁ ከከሁ ከከሁ ከከሁ** (Jos v 67)  
 “And those things they will ask from you after you will have died.”<sup>35</sup>

## 10 Non-indicative Clauses

### 10.1 Main Clauses

The different nuances of deontic modality can be expressed by qāṭil.

- a. **ክሰ (xazenay) ክሰ ክሰ ... ክሰ** (Is I 36)  
 “Christ ... may I find in you my life!”
- b. **ክሰ (payšēnā) ክሰ ክሰ** (Is I 45)  
 “May I be right in your light.”
- c. **ክሰ ክሰ ክሰ (masqet) ክሰ** (Jos IV 116)  
 “May you let all believers ascend to the light.”
- d. **ክሰ (mhāwsi) ክሰ ክሰ** (Is I 40)  
 “May my thoughts roar within you.”

The non-indicative character of a statement can be emphasised by using the optative particle **ክ** (kwān):

- e. (qābel') **ክ ክ ክ** (Is II 17)  
 “May God accept him.”<sup>36</sup>

The imperative can be negated by simply prefixing **ክ** to the imperative or by **ክ** + qāṭil:

- f. **ክ (xurwn) ክ ክ** (Jos v 58)  
 “Do not look (pl.) at them.”

35 See also: Is I 27 (**ከከሁ ከከሁ** “when they will have opened”); Is I 42 (**ከከሁ ከከሁ** “when I will have died”); Is I 60 (**ከከሁ ከከሁ** “when he will have arrived”); Jos VI 45 (**ከከሁ ከከሁ** “when he will have come”).

36 For further evidence of **ክ** + AP, see, among others: Jos IV 86 + 99; v 8 + 32.

In the following stanza, on the other hand, it says: ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (hbelēlay) ܕܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (bed-‘aqriwāly) ܕܝܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Jos VI 61)

Counterfactuality can be expressed by bed-qāṭilwā. As will be seen below in the section of conditional clauses, this compound can denote counterfactual conditionals of the present; otherwise, it is only used with past time reference:

- g. ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (hbelēlay) ܕܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (bed-‘aqriwāly) ܕܝܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Jos VI 61)  
 “They would have destroyed them without a trace, but he did not give them orders.”<sup>37</sup>

## 10.2 Subordinate Clauses

qāṭil is also used in subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause introduced by ܐ often has a final meaning; the superordinate clause can have present (a) or past (b) time reference:

- a. (šābeq lan) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Jos V 24)  
 “Forgive a lot so that our Lord may forgive us a lot.”<sup>38</sup>
- b. (masqxl’) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (ḥamdexlē) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (hwelēlan) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Jos IV 84)  
 “He gave us ... so that we may praise and give glory to him.”

The final character can be emphasised by the preposition ܠܗܝܬܝܢ or ܠܗܝܬܝܢ “to”, “for”:

- c. (‘axli) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Is II 59)  
 “I bring crops and fruits so that they may eat.”<sup>39</sup>

A formal subordination, however, is not obligatory:

- d. (mxālš layhyn) ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (bed-‘ātē) ܕܝܠܕܝܢ (Jos IV 31)  
 “He will come to save them.”<sup>40</sup>

37 Another instance is found in Jos VI 114 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “he would have cut down”).

38 See also, among others: Is I 8 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “that he may give to you”); I 42 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ ... “that I may not fall into misfortune”); Is III 12 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “lest I do not cook you”).

39 See further: Jos Is I 4 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “so that you may become”); v 7 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “so that you may ask for me”).

40 See also Jos IV 72 (ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢ “to resurrect”).

qāṭil is also used after expressions of commanding or requesting:

- e. (šabqenay) **שִׁבְעֵנַי אֶל־לֹא חַסְדָּם** (Is II 54)  
 “Command me not to spare them”,<sup>41</sup>

or of ability:

- f. (laybāk) **לֹא־לַיְבָאֵךְ מִיִּשְׁכְּנִי** (Is I 34)  
 “You are not able to make a dwelling place for me.”<sup>42</sup>

After an expression of desire, also qāṭilwā is attested. It seems that the speaker wants to soften the imperative character of the wish:

- g. (šabqetwāl) **חַסְדָּם אֶל־לֹא־תִשְׁבַּחֵם** (Jos VI 110)  
 “I wish you would leave it alone this year.”

What is at issue here is a tree that the person addressed has ordered to be cut down.

## 11 Conditional Clauses

The protasis is introduced by **אִם**. Real conditionals of the present / future are expressed by qāṭil, bed- and k-qāṭil as well as copula forms and, in the apodosis, by imperatives. Sometimes the verb forms indicate the same intent as outside conditional clauses. Thus, k-qāṭil can be used when the statement of protasis or apodosis has general validity: whenever ... so ...:

- a. (kē-mgayri) **אִם־יִבְטְחוּ־בְךָ** ... (k-xāyri) **יִבְטְחוּ־בְךָ** (Is II 78)  
 “If (whenever) they look at something ... they commit adultery.”<sup>43</sup>

bed-qāṭil can be used when a specific situation has future time reference. Unlike in the Jewish texts, it can be negated:

41 *šabqenay* with assimilation of /l/ to /n/ < \**šabqenlay*; see further: Jos v 10 (**אֶל־לֹא־יִסְמַח־בְּכֶם** “he told [us] that”); Jos v 51 (**אֶל־לֹא־יִבְטְחוּ־בְכֶם** “beg ... that”).

42 *laybāk* < *lyt* + *b*, so literally: “not is in you”.

43 See further: Is II 70 (**אִם־יִשְׁכַּח־אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** ... **אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** “if she is ... they take her away”); Jos v 71 (**אִם־יִשְׁכַּח־אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** ... **אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** “if they darken ... it becomes ...”); v 90 (**אִם־יִשְׁכַּח־אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** ... **אֶת־הַיְּהוָה** “if you want ... love them”).

- b. ܒܕ ܡܓܘܒܝ ܒܕܐܬܝܝܐ (bed-ʾātāy) ܕܝܐ ܒܝܕܝܐ ܒܕܐܬܝܝܐ  
(bed-mgāwbi) ܒܕܐܬܝܝܐ (Is II 45)  
“If they do not come to me, what will they answer?”

However, k-qāṭil can also describe specific situations.

- c. ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (ke-xlitun) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (ylē) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ  
(k-xalšitun) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (Is III 13)  
“If it be that you do not eat ... you will not be saved from death.”<sup>44</sup>

In Jos v 116 it says:

- d. ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (k-taybet) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (k-ḥāṭet) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ  
“If you sin or if you repent, this is in your hand.”

The idea is taken up again in the first verse of the next stanza, but now it says: ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ, that is, with simple qāṭil. Otherwise, too, qāṭil is found where one would expect k- or bed-qāṭil:

- e. ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (ʾāwed) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (d ā'er) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ  
ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (bed-hāwy) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (Jos VI 18)  
“If he does not repent and do penance before his death, perdition in the Gehenna of fire will be his end.”

Here, the unbelievers are spoken of in general terms, and the context does not at all suggest that the fulfilment of the condition is considered less probable than, for instance, in no. a.<sup>45</sup>

qṭille in protasis and apodosis expresses a real condition that was fulfilled in the past

- f. (šbiqilē) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ (šbeqlan) ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ  
(Jos v 34)  
“For if we forgave the sin of our fellow, he forgave our sins.”<sup>46</sup>

44 Similarly in the apodosis of Is II 44 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “I will accept”).

45 See also: Jos v 28 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if you do not lie, you will have”); v 54 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ... ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if it does not surpass ... I do not accept you”); v 61 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ... ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if ... it looks and makes you sin ... tear it out”); Jos v 92 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ ... ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if you lack ... do not blaspheme”).

46 See further: Jos v 27 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if you forgave”); v 59 (ܕܝܐܝܬܝܐ “if you desired her”).



A counterfactual consequence can be expressed by *bed-qāṭilwā* in the apodosis. The protasis in the following example has *ሕድ* as a predicate and present time reference; an inserted relative clause with *qāṭil* + copula *wāwā* is also counterfactual:

- g. (zāwdā wāwā) አላለው ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ  
(*bed-nāp'ā wā*) አላለው ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ (Jos v 36)  
“If there were somebody whose faith were stronger, his prayer would be useful for the one who is weaker than him.”

## 12 Verbs of Perception

In the only example I could find, *ሕድ* + infinitive is used:

- a. (be-qwāl') አላለው ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ ሕድ (šmēlē) ሕድ  
(Is II 32)  
“He heard a voice, and look! The sun and the moon were speaking.”

## 13 Summary

### 13.1 *Qṭille*

*qṭille* is formed from transitive and intransitive verbs of all types of action and can have, in discussing passages, the meaning of an anterior. It is used in main as well as subordinate clauses in both discussing and narrating passages to express anteriority to the speech time and is occasionally found here alongside *qṭilwāle* which can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past but also denotes simple anteriority; it can be assumed that metric considerations play a role in these cases (2.1 + 2.2). *qṭille* normally expresses singular situations, but it can also indicate habitual ones (3.1 + 3.2). Finally, *qṭille* is attested in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses of the past (11).

### 13.2 *Qṭilwāle*

As seen above, *qṭilwāle*, like *qṭille*, can describe anteriority to the speech time. Moreover, it is used in two main clauses and one subordinate clause to express anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1 + 4.2).

### 13.3 *Qṭīl / Qṭīlā*

qṭīl and qṭīlā have a passive meaning with transitive verbs and an active meaning with intransitive ones. With transitive verbs, qṭīl is only attested with a perfective meaning (ܩܬܝܠ “he was crucified”), but with intransitive ones it is also used as an anterior. The author of the manuscript of the Sachau collection does not tolerate the use of qṭīl with intransitive verbs and uses qṭille instead, i.e., for example, ܩܬܝܠܝܢ instead of ܩܬܝܠ “he died”. qṭīlā with a following present copula or a preceding past copula is used with the meaning of an anterior or resultative; combined with a past copula the resulting state has past time reference: ܩܬܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܠܐ “she was not separated”, with *ylē, ylā, ylay* present time reference: ܕܐܡܪܝܢܐ ܩܬܝܠܝܢ “it (fem.) has been opened and is now open.” The attested qṭīlā forms of transitive verbs have a passive meaning, those of intransitive verbs an active one. Occasionally, it is attested without a copula and in these cases seems to describe simple anteriority to the speech time (2.1 + 2.2; 7.1).

### 13.4 *Qāṭil*

qāṭil can be combined with the prefixes *k-*, *b- ~ bed-* and *kem-* and with the suffix *-wā*. In one case, that is difficult to interpret, *k-qāṭilwā* expresses anteriority to the speech time (2.1). *qāṭilwā* denotes habitual situations in main and subordinate clauses and simultaneity with a reference point in the past, but in one instance, *qṭille* is attested for this purpose (3.1, 3.2 + 5). *b- ~ bed-qāṭil* can be negated by *lā* and indicates posteriority to a reference point in the past and to the speech time; the latter category, however, can also be expressed by simple *qāṭil* (6 + 8). If *bed-qāṭil* is combined with *-wā*, it indicates counterfactuality both with present (apodosis of a conditional clause) and with past time reference: ܕܐܡܪܝܢܐ ܩܬܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܐ “they would have destroyed them without a trace” (10.1 + 11). *k-qāṭil* denotes habitual and extratemporal situations; habituality, on the other hand, can also be expressed by simple *qāṭil* which is regularly used after the subordinator **ܐ** in subordinate clauses (7.1 + 7.2). *qāṭil* is thus also found after subordinators in temporal clauses to denote anteriority to a reference point in the future (9). The actual function of *qāṭil*, however, is the expression of non-indicative situations; it denotes different deontic nuances in main clauses and regularly occurs in final clauses after **ܐ** or after expressions of wanting and commanding; in one case, it is combined with *-wā*, probably to soften the imperative character of the wish expressed there (10.1 + 10.2). *qāṭil* is, however, also found in contexts where one would expect *b-* or *k-qāṭil*, e.g. in conditional clauses. Here, *k-qāṭil* is used in the apodosis and protasis when

general conditions are formulated (whenever, then), b-qāṭil for specific conditions with reference to the future, i.e. they fulfil the same functions they have outside of conditionals. Sometimes, however, simple qāṭil is found in this function, whereas k-qāṭil is used with future time reference. It cannot be ruled out that metrical reasons play a role for the use of one or the other verbal form in these cases (11). Moreover, simple qāṭil is attested after w + subject to describe accompanying circumstances: **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** “while they are speaking” (5). Finally, kem-qāṭil has to be mentioned. It has past time reference and is used in the manuscript of the Sachau collection where in the other manuscripts an S-suffix is added to the verb stem of qṭille to express the logical object, i.e. instead of *mxolṣexlē* “he liberated us”, it says in *S kem-xāleṣlan* where the object is introduced by an L-suffix (2.1).

### 13.5 *Infinitive*

b + infinitive can express situations that are progressing at the moment (7.1). Moreover, it is used after w + subject, with and without b-, to denote accompanying circumstances (5) and, finally, after verbs of perception to express what is being perceived (12).

## 14 *Analysis*

Due to the limited size of the text corpus, an analysis of the verbal system is of course only possible with reservations.

As in the early Jewish texts, qṭal, which occurs only in borrowings from Syriac, and yiqṭul have disappeared from the verbal system and their functions have largely been taken over by qṭille and qāṭil. qṭille is no longer restricted to discussing passages but can also be found in the narrative. It is true that it is in opposition to qṭilwāle in one main clauses where the latter denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past, the former anteriority to the speech time. However, it is doubtful whether one can ascribe a temporal character to qṭille, since in this case, one would expect that it would also express simultaneity with a reference point in the past; furthermore, one must bear in mind that in subordinate clauses, anteriority to a reference point in the past is usually expressed by qṭille, not by qṭilwāle, and that qṭilwāle can also denote anteriority to the speech time. It is probably best to regard qṭille as a marked aspect form expressing the anterior perfective aspect; the occasional use to express habitual situations should not be overrated, as it is largely limited to stative and atelic verbs; qṭilwāle cannot be analysed unambiguously because of the paucity of evidence. It does not seem to be a relative tense form, since it can

also denote simple anteriority to the speech time. It evokes the impression of a hybrid form oscillating between aspect and tense, and it is probably best to regard it as an aspect form that at the same time emphasises the past time reference through the inserted *-wā-*. Since a specific function cannot be proven, it has to be classified as unmarked.

*qṭīl* + S-suffix and *qṭīlā* + copula are difficult to analyse because of their limited occurrence. Both can be used passively and, in the case of intransitive verbs, actively. *qṭīl* of transitive verbs is attested only with a perfective meaning, and even if its use in the sense of an anterior with intransitive verbs is very limited, it has to be analysed as unmarked, as in the Jewish texts. *qṭīlā* + copula, on the other hand, seems to be limited to the expression of the anterior / resultative and has to be considered as marked.

The functions of *qāṭīl* are largely determined by prefixes; *k-qāṭīl* denotes habitual and extratemporal situations, *bed-qāṭīl* posterior ones, *kem-qāṭīl* is used instead of *qṭīle* when the verb has a direct object pronoun while simple *qāṭīl* is primarily used non-indicatively. *bed-qāṭīl* is not only used to express posteriority to the speech time but also to denote situations that are posterior to a reference point in the past; it is thus not a tense but an aspect form, but it must be considered unmarked, since no opposition perfectivity : imperfectivity can be proven, *bed-qāṭīl* thus probably expresses both. Even if *k-qāṭīl* occasionally indicates posteriority to the speech time in conditional clauses, its main function is to express habitual and extratemporal situations, and it must be regarded as marked. Marked is also *kem-qāṭīl*. The main function of simple *qāṭīl* is clearly to express non-indicative real situations, and even if its indicative use is restricted to subordinate clauses after subordinators, it has to be considered unmarked. *qāṭīlwā* indicates the extended imperfective aspect with past time reference. Moreover, it is attested in a rather obscure subordinate clause in which it describes a non-indicative situation; to what extent, however, it can be used in general to express non-indicative situations must be left open. In any case, it has to be considered unmarked. *bed-qāṭīlwā* expresses counterfactuality, both with present and past time reference. It has to be considered marked.

The infinitive can be combined with the preposition *b-* but is not attested with a form of the copula; the compound expresses the imperfective aspect with present time reference and is marked.

The verbal system of Early Christian Neo-Aramaic has eight marked verbal forms: *qṭīle*, *qṭīlā* + pres. cop., past cop. + *qṭīlā*, *k-qāṭīl*, *kem-qāṭīl*, *bed-qāṭīlwā*, *b* + inf, imperative.

Not marked, on the other hand, are: *qṭīl* + S-suffix, *qṭīlwāle*, *bed-qāṭīl*, *qāṭīl*, *qāṭīlwā*.

How *k-qāṭilwā* is to be interpreted must be left open.

Even if it could not be determined with absolute certainty to what extent *qāṭilwā* can also express non-indicative situations, it does not seem to be a form used only aspectually, as the use of simple *qāṭil* also suggests. It therefore does not seem appropriate to speak of an opposition *qṭille* (anterior perfective) : *qāṭilwā* (anterior ext. imperfective)

There are thus only the following indicative oppositions:

*k-qāṭil* (habitual) : *b* + infinitive (imperfective)

In the case of transitive verbs, *qṭille* forms a pair with *qṭil*:

*qṭille* (active) : *qṭil* (passive)

## Western Neo-Aramaic

### o Text Corpus

The dialects of Bax'a (B) and Ma'lūla (M) have been examined on the basis of the texts published by W. Arnold. The size of the corpus is 96 texts from Bax'a and 99 from Ma'lūla which deal with topics from different aspects of life, such as religion, agriculture and hunting and also include stories and fairy tales.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭal*

In addition to the G-stem, the following stems are in use: qatṭel (= II, < Aramaic qatṭel and Arabic qattala), qōṭal (= III, < Arab. qātala), 'aqṭel (= IV, < Aram. 'aqṭel and Arab. 'aqṭala), itqṭel (< Aram. etqeṭel), tqatṭal (< Aram. etqatṭal and Arab. taqattala), tqōṭal (= VI, < Arab. taqātala), ttaqṭal (< Aram. ettaqṭal); ineqṭal (= VII, < Arab. 'inqatala), iqeṭṭal (= VIII, M only, < Arab. 'iqṭatala), staqṭel (= X, < Arab. 'istaqṭala).<sup>1</sup>

qṭal mostly has the theme vowel /a/ with transitive verbs, intransitive ones normally have /e/. The forms in Ma'lūla are as follows (variations in Bax'a are given in brackets):

|      | sg.    | pl.                                                   |
|------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | iqṭal  | iqṭal                                                 |
| 3.f. | qaṭlaṭ | iqṭal                                                 |
| 2.m. | qaṭlič | qaṭličxun (B qaṭlič and qaṭličxun, 2.pl.m. = 2.pl.f.) |
| 2.f. | qaṭliš | qaṭličxen                                             |
| 1.   | qaṭlit | qaṭlinnaḥ <sup>2</sup>                                |

qṭal is negated by *la*.

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 59–66.

<sup>2</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 70.

### 1.2 *Qāṭil*

The AP of the G-stem has the following forms:

|      | sg.               | pl.                                               |
|------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | qōṭel             | qōṭlin                                            |
| 3.f. | qōṭla             | qōṭlan (B 3.pl.m. = 3.pl.f.)                      |
| 2.m. | čqōṭel            | čqōṭlin (B čqōṭel and čqōṭlin, 2.pl.m. = 2.pl.f.) |
| 2.f. | čqōṭla (B šqōṭla) | čqōṭlan                                           |
| 1.m. | nqōṭel            | nqōṭlin                                           |
| 1.f. | nqōṭla            | nqōṭlan (B 1.pl.m. = 1.pl.f.)                     |

The AP can be combined with the particle ‘amma- borrowed from Arabic, usually shortened to ‘am- or ‘a-: *‘amṭō’en* “he is carrying”. Past time reference can be expressed by prefixed *wōb* (in Ğubb‘adīn *wa*). The AP is negated by *ču* or – in Bax‘a – *ču*.<sup>3</sup> The AP of the derived stems are formed with the prefix m-: II = mqaṭtel, III = mqōṭal (M) etc.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3 *Qṭil*

The passive participles qṭil and qaṭṭil, negated by *ču* and *ču* respectively, are also fully inflected. In Ma‘lūla it says:

|      | sg.                 | pl.                                                 |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | iqṭel               | qṭilin                                              |
| 3.f. | qṭila               | qṭilan (B 3.pl.m. = 3.pl.f.)                        |
| 2.m. | čiqṭel              | čiqṭilin (B čiqṭel and čiqṭilin, 2.pl.m. = 2.pl.f.) |
| 2.f. | čiqṭila (B šiqṭila) | čiqṭilan                                            |
| 1.m. | niqṭel              | niqṭilin                                            |
| 1.f. | niqṭila             | niqṭilan (B 1.pl.m. = 1.pl.f.)                      |

The PP has mostly an active meaning. The difference between qṭil and qaṭṭil will be discussed in more detail below; at this point, it should only be noted that the former is more often formed from transitive verbs, the latter more often from intransitive ones: *iṭhen* “he has ground”, but *naḥheč* “he has descended”. The PP of the derived stems is formed without m- and is characterised by a long /-ī-/ after the second root consonant which is retained in open syllables:

3 See Arnold, Grammatik 75; on the possible origin of the negation particle, see Correll, Negation 271–285.

4 See Arnold, Grammatik 79–98.

II = qaṭṭel (m.), qaṭṭīla (f.); III = qōṭel (m.), qaṭīla (f.) etc.<sup>5</sup> These forms are described in more detail in section 2.1.

Like the AP, the PP can also be combined with *wōb* or *wa*.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1.4 *Yiqṭul*

No distinction is made between a short and a long form. The forms in Ma'lūla are:

|      | sg.    | pl.     |
|------|--------|---------|
| 3.m. | yiqṭul | yquṭlun |
| 3.f. | čiqṭul | yquṭlan |
| 2.m. | čiqṭul | čquṭlun |
| 2.f. | čiqṭul | čquṭlan |
| 1.   | niqṭul | niqṭul  |

In Bax'a the prefixes of the 3.sg.f. and the 2. persons begin with /č/ instead of /č̣/ and the 2. and 3.pl. do not distinguish between masculine and feminine. yiqṭul is negated by *la*.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1.5 *Imperative*

Ma'lūla has the following forms:

|       |                              |
|-------|------------------------------|
| sg.m. | iqṭul ~ qṭōl                 |
| sg.f. | iqṭul ~ qṭūl                 |
| pl.m. | quṭlun ~ quṭlōn              |
| pl.f. | quṭlen ~ quṭlēn <sup>8</sup> |

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Singular situations that are anterior to the speech time are mostly expressed by qṭal in both discussing and narrating passages; it can be used with the meaning of an anterior (no. a); I will limit myself to one example each:

<sup>5</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 79–98.

<sup>6</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 77–78.

<sup>7</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 72.

<sup>8</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 74.



## 2.1.1 Punctual

- a.    ćqawwas NN (B 40, 76)  
       “NN has been shot.”

## 2.1.2 Telic

- b.    silqinnah ‘a-Taləftōya (B 40, 33)  
       “We went up to Tall Fṭāye.”

## 2.1.3 Atelic

- c.    l-muhimm allxinnah ‘isər w arpa‘ šō‘ (B 15, 26)  
       “Anyway, we went for 24 hours.”

## 2.1.4 Stative

- d.    ya‘ni riḥmull qa‘əṭṭa b-ōṭ qriṭa (B 27, 8)  
       “That is, they loved staying in this village.”

qṭal is used in particular when several consecutive situations are to be described:

- e.    ešna mn-išnō sōfriṭ ana w marḥūma eppay mn-ōxa, allxinnah kuḥkull  
       l-‘ašər, qatṭa‘lahəl Yabrud, dimxinnah b-arə‘wōṭəl Napka w tēni yōma  
       allxinnah, imṭinnah l-arə‘wōṭlə Brēḡ (B 15, 25)  
       “One year I and my late father set out from here, we went at noon, passed  
       Yabrūd and slept in the fields of Nabk, and the next day we went on and  
       reached the fields of Brēḡ.”

In narrating passages, the AP can also be used in addition to qṭal. The prerequisite for its use, however, is that the time reference is made clear by the context or a preceding qṭal form:

- f.    xaṭərṭa a‘zmannah ḥōli ... (6) ē, anah ču nyōḏ‘in niščgel b-ann šaḡlōṭa  
       (M 17, 5–6)  
       “Once my uncle invited us ... Yes, we didn’t understand anything about  
       working with such things.”

- g. iʒfal baġla. (g) baġla marheṭ w ana nmarheṭ (M 26, 8–9)  
 “The mule shied. The mule ran and I ran (after it).”<sup>9</sup>

The AP is often used when it is not the progress of the narrative that is being described but rather the circumstances under which the situations expressed by qṭal took place:

- h. qī’laḥlaḥ hel, kayyafinnaḥ, ʔarša nḥōlpin, nimḡappanin (B 40, 7)  
 “We stayed there and made life nice by milking the sheep and making cheese.”<sup>10</sup>

The AP is regularly used after ingressive expressions such as q’y and tqn:

- i. itqan mḥarrakilla (B 83, 36)  
 “They began to shake her.”<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the PP has to be mentioned. As stated in the beginning, the PPs qṭil and qaṭṭil can be used actively. qṭil, however, is also attested passively, e.g. iʒzem “he has been invited”.<sup>12</sup> Both qṭil and qaṭṭil are formed mainly from the G-stem but also from the derived ones:<sup>13</sup>

III: ʾōwet (fem. ʾawīta) “he has returned” (Arnold, Grammatik 85).

IV: aḥrīfle “he has answered him” (ibid. 89), but rakkeš “he has woken up” (ibid. 88).

9 See also: B 83, 19 (mallxa mallxa “she went and went”); B 91, 44 (ōxla “she ate”); M 12, 18 (nmaytyin ... nmišwillun “we fetched ... we made”); M 30, 22 (nmarheṭ “I ran”); M 60, 17f (mraʒī’in ... taqqill ʔar’a ... nōḥeč “we returned ... knocked at the door ... he came out”). The AP of ʾmr “to say” is regularly used with past time reference in the introduction of direct speech; cf. Correll, Syntax § 28b.

10 See further: B 70, 12–14; M 20, 2–3.

11 See also, inter alia: B 14, 21 (ṭiqnaṭ šōcya “she started drinking”); B 16, 4 (itqan šōcya “they started drinking”); M 30, 5 (q’inn [= q’ill] nimša’el “I started to ask”); M 30, 51 (itqen bōx “he began to cry”); M 31, 45 (ibəčlaš msawleḥla “he began to tell her”); M 68, 8 (q’ill atar nimqattar “so I started to argue”).

12 In B 85, 37, however, qṭil of the same verb is used with an active meaning: ʾzīmīn “they had invited”. On qṭil with a passive meaning, see Spitaler, Grammatik § 187a; Correll, Syntax § 30e; Arnold, Grammatik 76.

13 Unless otherwise stated, the following examples are from Ma’lūla.

v: *čhammīlin* “they have taken upon themselves” (ibid. 90).

viii: *xčlīfin* “they have become at odds” (Correll, Syntax § 30).

x: *sčaslem* “he has surrendered” (Arnold, Grammatik 98).

In the case of formations of stem II, which generally has a doubled second radical, it is difficult to decide whether the PP is formed under the influence of *qṭīl* or *qaṭṭīl*. Only the meaning can give an answer here. As can be seen below, verbs of motion are usually formed according to *qaṭṭīl* so that *allex* (fem. *allīxa*), stem II of *ʾlx*, must be regarded as a *qaṭṭīl* form, formed parallel to *naḥḥeč* “to go down” or *salleq* “to go up”.

*qṭīl* is predominantly formed from transitive verbs such as *ʾxl* “to eat”, *ṭʿm* iv “to give to eat”, *ṭlb* “to demand”, *zbn* “to buy”, *nxs* “to slaughter” but also not infrequently from intransitive ones, such as *ḍmx* “to sleep”, *mwt* “to die”, *qʿy* “to sit”, *sql* “to stay”, *skn* “to live”.

*qaṭṭīl* is used mainly with intransitive verbs such as *bḥč* “to be ashamed”, *wqf* iv “to stand”, *rkš* iv “to wake up”, *nḥč* “to go down”, *šmt* “to flee”, *slq* “to go up”, *tyr* vii “to walk around”, *ʾlx* “to go”, *mrq* “to pass by; to come”. In addition, derivations of verbs that can be combined with an object are also attested: *ʿty* iv “to bring”, *ḥml* “to carry”, *ḥmy* “to see”, *šmʿ* “to hear”, *ḍwq* “to taste”. A close examination of the evidence shows that both *qṭīl* and *qaṭṭīl* serve primarily to express the anterior and the resultative:<sup>14</sup> *idmex* “he (has fallen asleep and) is now sleeping”. The difference between the two forms is often not easy to determine. Verbs with very similar meanings can have the pattern *qṭīl* or *qaṭṭīl*; compare, for example, *ḍwq* and *ʾxl* in M 3, 17:

j. *čḍayyīqla hačč ḡbeččlā blōta? čixel menna?*

“Have you tasted the cheese of the village? Have you eaten it?”

Both verbs are used as anteriors; the speaker wants to know whether his collocutor has tasted or eaten the cheese and thus now knows its taste, and yet *ḍwq* is formed according to *qaṭṭīl* but *ʾxl* according to *qṭīl*. Nor do the dialects always behave uniformly in the formation of forms. Thus, the resultative of *qʿy* I is in Maʿlūla *iqəʿ* “he has sat” and of stem iv *aqʿīle* “he has set him”, whereas in Baxʿa it is *qaʿ* and *qiʿīli* with a doubled second root consonant.<sup>15</sup>

All in all, however, there are quite clear differences between *qṭīl* and *qaṭṭīl*. It has already been noted that *qṭīl* is more often formed from transitive verbs, *qaṭṭīl* more often from intransitive ones. Related to this is the fact that *qṭīl*

14 Cf. Correll, Syntax §§ 29, 30. Arnold refers to both forms as “Perfekt” in his grammar.

15 Arnold, Grammatik 176f.

often puts more emphasis on the action, the state only resulting from a subsequent implication, whereas the relationship between action and state is usually a much closer one with *qaṭṭīl*. *šultōna ṭlibliš* “the Sultan has asked for you” (Spitaler, Grammatik § 187i). The implication that arises from this statement is that the person addressed is now in a state of being obliged to go to the Sultan. Compare with this *‘ayyīzlax* “he (has become needy of you and) now needs you” (Correll, Syntax §29a) or *rakkeš* “he (has woken up and) is now awake” (Arnold, Grammatik 88). In these cases, the states result automatically from the actions and hardly need any implications. *qaṭṭīl* is thus used here as a resultative, *qṭīl* as an anterior. This circumstance becomes particularly clear in the case of verbs of motion; they are formed primarily according to *qaṭṭīl* which in these cases usually expresses the same thing as the AP in the Arabic dialect of Beirut. While *‘amyiqṭul* of e.g. *nzl* “to go down” denotes in Beirut the beginning of the movement, the AP means that he has already set out and is now on his way.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, *allex* means that he has already set out and is now on his way. The time relationship is determined by the reference point. If this is identical with the speech time, the action is anterior to and the consequence, the being on the way, is simultaneous with it; if, on the other hand, the reference point is in the past, the action is anterior to this reference point. This characteristic of *qaṭṭīl* can be well seen by comparing it with *qṭal*. M 19, 48–49 states:

- k. *xaṭərta nnaḥḥīčin ‘a-Ḍemsek xett m-mekro, wōb šufēr aḥḥad ušme NN (49) bess mṭinnaḥ ...*  
 “Once we also went down to Damascus by minibus, and the driver was someone called NN. When we ... reached ...”

The beginning of the journey is not important; all that matters is that the bus was already on its way when the following events took place, and therefore *qaṭṭīl* is used. The following events continue the narrative and they are expressed by *qṭal* forms, including that of *nḥč*: *willa iməḥ frōma ... niḥčinnaḥ* (51–52) “Suddenly he stepped on the brake ... we got off.”

Another example is from M 32, 33–34:

- l. *inḥeč, ana q‘ill p-qahwe. ninṭīrle, willa sallek li‘əl*  
 “He went downstairs and I sat down in the coffee house. I (had got into the state of waiting and) was waiting for him, and there he came up to me.”

16 See Bruweleit, ATA 122.

The *q̄tal* form *inheč* describes the progress of the narrative; the situation is not simultaneous with any other, so here only the action can be meant, not the result that follows from it, the being-on-the-way. Things are different with *salleg*. The speaker was waiting for him when he came up, so here the movement was already in full swing and the beginning of it is irrelevant. The waiting, *ninṭirle*, is expressed by a *q̄tīl* form and is clearly stative. The underlying action refers to the beginning of the state in this case.

One can see particularly clearly that *q̄atṭīl* with verbs of movement denotes the movement that has already begun when it is used with verbs that indicate the continuation of a situation:

- m.    *ačimmaṭ šammīṭa w salliqa* (M 30, 68)  
       “She kept escaping and went upstairs.”<sup>17</sup>

Or if a second situation interferes with an already ongoing movement:

- n.    *orḥa nṣarreḥ b-‘izzō ... (2) walla nṣarriḥin b-ann ‘izzō walla salcīt ‘a-xašə‘ta*  
       (B 70, 1–2)  
       “Once I was walking with the goats ... When we were walking with the goats, I slipped on a boulder.”

*nṣarriḥin* can only mean that the movement had begun and the subject was still on its way.

But this is not the only function that *q̄atṭīl* can perform with verbs of movement. Correll (Syntax § 29b) has gathered some convincing evidence in which *q̄atṭīl* indicates not the progress but the completion of the movement:

- o.    *‘apper batte yakrez*  
       “He has come in to preach.”

In this case, *q̄atṭīl* is not used as a resultative but as an anterior; the completion of the movement implies that he is now in the house and can begin with the sermon (cf. also below 4.2 nos. d to f). This usage can be explained, as Correll (*ibid.*) does, in that movements can be viewed from their starting point, i.e. ingressively, or from their end point, i.e. terminatively. In the present case, the use is terminative.

17 See further: B 60, 95 (*ačiminnah nillixin* “we went on and on”); B 96, 13 (*isqel šammeṭ* “he kept on fleeing”); M 44, 12 + 52, 15 (*isqel allixin* “they went on and on”).

Here are some more examples of verbs other than verbs of movement where *qṭil* and *qaṭṭil* denote the state resulting from an action:

- p. zill walla NN qa<sup>c</sup> šarreḥ bə-ktiša (B 70, 6)  
 “I went (*qṭal*<sup>18</sup>), and there NN (had sat down and) was sitting and tending the horses.”
- q. NN (fem.) xissīya xarōṭčil maṭṭōṭ (B 71, 10)  
 “NN (had dressed and) was wearing a rubber apron.”<sup>19</sup>

Sometimes, the PP is used in a sequence of actions and one expects it to describe the action and not the resulting state. In fact, however, the state is meant here, too, and the PP serves the purpose – by skipping the action – of emphasising the suddenness of the beginning of the state: *We did this and that and already we were in such and such a state*:

- r. rixpinnaḥ w naḥḥīčin ‘a-Demseq (M 19, 2)  
 “We got in and already we were on the way down to Damascus.”
- s. iqša‘ r-roḥla w aqīmər rawṭa. cūṭ ya‘ni ext barqa wōb qitṭe‘əl ‘aqəptil Ma‘lūla (B 51, 18)  
 “He jumped back and ran on and on, there was no (stopping), like lightning he had crossed the pass to Ma‘lūla (and was now on the other side).”<sup>20</sup>

However, the functional distribution of *qṭal* and PP are not as clear-cut as they may seem at first glance. *qṭal* can also be used resultatively:

18 On the inflection of the verb “to go” in B, see Arnold, *Grammatik* 171.

19 See also, inter alia: B 60, 138 (*iḏmex* “he [had fallen asleep and] was sleeping”); B 71, 19 (*ḥimmīrin* “they [had disguised themselves and] were now in a state of disguise”); B 83, 8 (*ḥu yaḏḏī’a* “she did not know”); B 84, 20 (*ḥu biyyen e‘la* “it had not become apparent on her = you could not tell by looking at her”); B 84, 34 (*ḥwīḥīša* “she [has gone wild and now] is wild”); B 85, 4 (*raxxep ‘a* “he [had mounted and] was sitting on”); B 91, 1 (*skīnin* “they [had settled down and] were now living”); B 91, 76 (*tayyer* “it [had got going and] was now in progress”); B92, 5 (*ṭīna* “she [had taken up and] was carrying”); M 7, 11 (*šattir* “he had sent [me] off [and I was now on my way]”).

20 See further: M 69, 3–4 (*w naḥḥīčin* “and already we were riding down”); on this point, see also Spitaler, *Grammatik* § 188e.

- t. hōš bnōp inšaf l-axercā, la isqel mō b-anna nahra bnōp (B 38, 13)  
 “Now it has dried up completely, there is no water left in this stream at all.”<sup>21</sup>

Interestingly, in B 14, 12 the qṭīl form of nšf is used where quite clearly the action and not the state is meant:

- u. m-mett e’sar išən inšef hanna nab’a w itqan ommṭa ḥōfrin be birō  
 “About ten years ago, this spring dried up and people started digging wells in it.”

The basic vowel of the 3.sg.m. of qṭal is usually /a/ in Bax’a,<sup>22</sup> so *inšef* should be a qṭīl form. However, B 38, 13 (no. t) has *la isqel* where the negation *la* shows that *isqel* must be a qṭal form. It is therefore possible that *inšef* also represents a qṭal form, perhaps borrowed from Ma’lūla or Ġubb’adin.

There are other examples of qṭal forms that are used as anteriors and resultatives:

- v. ‘aya taššrīčəl ‘izzō w tičlax? (M 7, 7)  
 “Why have you left the goats behind and come?”

The person addressed is still with the speaker and the goats are still gone.

- w. ḥasslat ḥkōyṭa (M 1, 30)  
 “The story is now over (at the end of the text).”
- x. id’ič exət? (M 28, 18 + 29, 5)  
 “Do you know how (I mean it)?”
- y. aḥkinnaḥ mi’layy, mazbūt? (M 4, 33)  
 “We have talked about them, haven’t we? (= I have mentioned them before in the text).”<sup>23</sup>

It is, however, quite obvious that qṭal – apart from cases such as *id’ič* – is used when the relationship between action and state is not as close as, for example, in *fall asleep* > *sleep*. With qṭal, the action is in any case much more emphasised than the following state, i.e. it is usually used as an anterior, not as a resultative.

<sup>21</sup> Similarly again in B 38, 1.

<sup>22</sup> See Arnold, Grammatik 68f.

<sup>23</sup> See also M 12, 6 (šattrinnaḥ ... w qayya la ṭalla “we have sent ... but she has not come yet”).

At this point, we should also discuss until-clauses with past time reference. It is sometimes not easy to decide whether the main clause situation has already been completed and is therefore perfective or whether it is still in progress when the subordinate clause situation begins. In most cases, the type of action of the verbs in the main and subordinate clauses indicates how the situation is to be understood. Thus, the main clause can have *ʿam-qāṭil* but also *qṭal* and simple *qāṭil*. In the subordinate clause introduced by *ḥatta* or *ta*, we usually find *qṭal* and in one case, after *la-ḥatta bass*, *yiqṭul* (no. aa):

- z.     *ahtaṭ ḥatta tōle NN* (M 30, 61)  
       “It (i.e. the horse = fem.) remained calm until NN arrived.”<sup>24</sup>
- aa.   *ʿamḥōwlin la-ḥatta bass yanhull wağʿa mn-īd* (B 15, 38)  
       “‘They kept trying until the pain in my hand stopped.”<sup>25</sup>
- bb.   *tlōta yūm nmisqillin ta nḥassel rğōma lə-blis* (B 21, 37)  
       “Three days we stayed until we had finished stoning Iblis.”<sup>26</sup>

The attempt to treat and the subsiding of the pain in no. aa can well be imagined as overlapping so that *ʿamḥōwlin* is to be understood as imperfective. The main clause situations in nos. z and bb, on the other hand, are stative and thus neutral with regard to aspect even if the one in no. bb is precisely determined in time.

With ingressive verbs in the main clause, the listener has to add for himself that the activity lasted until the beginning of the subordinate clause situation:

- cc.   *ṭiqnaṭ mʿallamōlun la-ḥatta ṭiqnaṭ xićyōr* (B 27, 4)  
       “‘She began to teach them (and then kept teaching them) until she grew old.”<sup>27</sup>

Also the PP can be used in the subordinate clause. The main clause situation continued until the state expressed by the PP began:

24 For *qṭal* in main clauses, see also B 53, 11 (*squillit nimḥōwel – xallašicćil* “I kept trying ... until I saved ...”).

25 For *ʿam-qāṭil* in main clauses, see also B 38, 14 (*ʿammašəqyin* “they kept irrigating [until the year ...]”).

26 For *qāṭil* in the main clause, see further: B 24, 15 (*bōʿ – ōqfaṭ – tōli* “he wanted ... until she stopped ... until he came”); B 83, 20 (*mallxa – imṭaṭ* “she was walking ... until she arrived”).

27 See also M 44, 13 (*itqen mtawwrin – šcaḥyunne* “they began to search ... until they found it”).



- dd. affačća ta đmīxa eććti (B 91, 22)  
 “She waited until his wife (had fallen asleep and) was sleeping.”

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

The superordinate clause in these cases has present time reference and the evidence is from discussing passages. In the subordinate clauses, qṭal and the PP are attested. As with main clauses, qṭal can be used in the function of an anterior:

### 2.2.1 Syndetic Relative Clauses

- a. ḥayla birō ċi affqiććun (qṭal) (B 18, 11)  
 “There are lots of wells that I have made.”
- b. wrāx hanna mō ti čšawwille (PP) b-rayšax? (M 32, 37)  
 “Gosh, what is that thing that you have put on your head?”<sup>28</sup>

### 2.2.2 Asyndetic Relative Clauses

- c. wrāx ōṭ aḥḥaḍ zbīs (= zbīl < zbīnəl) sayyōrča ḥačča (M 32, 47)  
 “Gosh, there is one who has bought a new car.”
- d. mazəkrin baḥar baḥar ‘žibōṭa šwačćen (M 52, 51)  
 “She is remembered for many miracles she has worked.”<sup>29</sup>

### 2.2.3 Object Clauses

- e. mbayyen nšamme‘ ḥessa (B 40, 72)  
 “It seems to me that I heard a voice.”
- f. haćć ċu ċimsatteq inni alō xaləqna? (B 96, 20)  
 “Do you not believe that God created it?”<sup>30</sup>

28 For qṭal in syndetic relative clauses, see further: B 27, 1 (ċi ḥmīćni “that you saw”); B 76, 26 (ċi qatḥull “who killed”); B 85, 42 (ċi a’zmaććaḥ “who invited us”); M 30, 33 (ti amet “who died”).

29 The ending -aṭ of the 3.sg.f. of qṭal becomes -ač in Ma’lūla before object suffixes, see Arnold, *Grammatik* 200. See further M 62, 7 (čnawwīla “that you have resolved to do”).

30 See also: B 23, 7 (innu ... inḥač “that he descended”); B 43, 4 (ōmrin ḥammīyin “they say that they saw”); M 4, 31 (kōn čḍayyīqla “whether you have tasted them”).

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

Habitual anteriority to the speech time is expressed by *wōb* + *qāṭil*, in Bax'a also *fōš* + *qāṭil*.<sup>31</sup> If the time reference is made clear by the context, simple *qāṭil* can also be used:

##### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. b-zamōn nmiščgel p- ... nzill 'a-Yabruḏ, nzōben ... (M 26, 1)  
"Once I worked with ... I went to Yabrūd and bought ..."32

##### 3.1.2 Telic

- b. fōš nmišwillun iṭṭar qisəm (B 14, 23)  
"We used to make two parts."33

##### 3.1.3 Atelic

- c. wōb mḥakkem (M 27, 1)  
"He used to treat the sick."34

##### 3.1.4 Stative

- d. m-mett ṭlēt irpi' išan taqriban wībin xull marōylə qṛīṭa mxassyin xussō maḥallay (B 14, 1)  
"About 30 or 40 years ago, all the inhabitants of the village used to wear the local costume."35

31 On *wōb* and *fōš*, see Arnold, *Grammatik* 190, 195.

32 See further B 1, 1–2 (ḏarkill "they reached").

33 See also: B 1, 1 + 10 (wībin m'ammrin ... mišwin "they used to build ... and to make"); B 1, 3 + 5 + 12 (mēšṭin "they used to bring"); B 1, 15 (faršill xulli "they used to spread everything out"); B 14, 23 (mišṭill "they used to bring"); B 27, 10 (wība zlōla "they used to go"); B 27, 42 + 43 (wībin ṭlillun "they used to come"); M 53, 2 (nōḥča "they used to descend").

34 See further: B 14, 4 (zōr'in "they used to sow"); B 14, 10 (wōb šōc "it was irrigated"); B 48, 7 (wībin rōdyin "they used to plough"); M 33, 32 (waybin mašəqyin ... waybin mišča'mlill "they used to irrigate ... and to use").

35 See also: B 11, 4 (wībin raḥmilla "they liked her"); B 82, 13 (qa'yōla "she used to sit there").

Occasionally, the PP denotes habitual situations:

- e. illex ‘emmil ommṭa w ommṭa raḥmōli (B 11, 2)  
 “He used to interact with the people and the people liked him.”

The example is remarkable, especially since the AP of *’lx 11* can be used with a habitual meaning.<sup>36</sup> As seen above, *qaṭṭil* with verbs of movement usually expresses that the movement has already begun and that the subject is now on the way. Even though *’lx 11* is not used here in the sense of “to go” but “to interact”, the principle is the same. He has entered the state of interaction which in this case is apparently meant to be so extended that it is already habitual. Accordingly, the Arabic PP *maqtūl* as well as the passive *qṭil* can also be used with a form of *wōb* to express habitual states:

- f. ḥayōṭun wība manzūm ḥayla w nwībin ḥayla ya’ni ni’zīzin, nikrīmin  
 (B 11, 5)  
 “Their life was very orderly and we were very popular, respected.”

In one instance, *fōš* is combined with a *qṭal* form:

- g. fōš ašīginnah yōmāḡ ḡum’a (B 13, 29)  
 “We used to wash on Friday.”

Finally, *‘am-qāṭil* is to be mentioned which in one passage indicates habitual situations. In M 5, 18, it is first stated that unlike today, women were always very exhausted in the past (*ča’bōnan*). Then we are told (19–20):

- h. lōyšan, ōfyan ‘a-šōža w sōleq nohra w hinnen qayyōman šhīran. (20)  
 ‘ammōfyan w ‘amlōšyan w ‘amraqq’an w ‘ammišwan zwaḡō  
 “They kneaded the dough, they baked on the baking tray, and when it got light, they were still awake. They baked and kneaded the dough, they mended and prepared the provisions.”

Possibly the four situations in 5, 20 are meant to be parallel to the sunrise and expressed by *‘am-qāṭil* to emphasise the simultaneity.

<sup>36</sup> See for example B 49, 3 + 4 + 6.

### 3.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

If the superordinate clause has past time reference, the habitual situation in the subordinate clause, which is now simultaneous with that of the superordinate sentence, is expressed by *qāṭil*:

- a. *itqan kahraba ... w xull hann šaḡlōṭa ʿi tōlbin paytō yaʿni* (B 14, 29)  
“Electricity came ... and all the thing that the houses needed.”
- b. *arkʿit niḥcīt ʿa-mō ʿi ōza ʿa-qrīṭa* (B 18, 7)  
“I went back to the water that flowed in the village.”<sup>37</sup>

## 4 *Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past*

### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

The category of this section is expressed by the *PP*, also combined with *wōb* or *fōš*, or *qṭal*. The *PP* is used to denote resultative situations where the action precedes the reference point while the state resulting from it or, in the case of verbs of movement, the atelic situation is simultaneous with it. *qṭal* is rarely attested; two of the examples (nos. e and g) are VIII and VI stem verbs of Arabic origin which rarely form a *PP*:

#### 4.1.1 *Punctual*

- a. *čḡayyarinnaḥ hanik battaḥ nzēḥ ana w rufqōṭ – alō šittirəl rufqōṭa ḥamōyin w m-Raṣṭam* (B 21, 6)  
“We did not know where to go, my comrades and I – God had sent me comrades from Ḥama and Raṣṭam (*qatṭil*).”
- b. *qōm tōli hanna, ifćker malek ida nšell mufćḥa* (B 83, 53)  
“Then he came, it had occurred to the king (*qṭil*<sup>38</sup>) that he had forgotten the key (*qṭal*).”<sup>39</sup>

37 See further B 24, 5 (*mnaffet* “that led”).

38 *qṭal* would have an /a/ as a basic vowel; cf. Arnold, *Grammatik* 94.

39 For more punctual situations expressed by a *PP*, see: B 45, 6 (*nizrīpin* “we had locked up”); B 49, 19–20 (*nwībin niskīnin* “we had settled down”); B 56, 11 (*čippīra minnēn qesma* “they had destroyed part of it”); B 56, 26 (*ču tʿīsa* “she had not stepped”); M 32, 9 (*tʿisōle* “she had driven over it”).

## 4.1.2 Telic

- c. willa qsīma baṭṭixča w šawwiyōla ‘a-xotla (M 66, 4)  
“She had cut up a melon (qṭīl) and placed it on the wall (qaṭṭīl).”
- d. ṭab‘an ‘sofra hinn fōš ġihhizill ḥalēn. nxīsin dbīḥca w ġihhizill ḥalēn  
m-xulla mett (B 20, 6)  
“Of course they had prepared themselves in the morning (fōš + qaṭṭīl).  
They had slaughtered an animal (qṭīl) and prepared everything (qaṭṭīl).”<sup>40</sup>
- e. w iščma‘ uppe ‘asra ḥōd (M 30, 67)  
“And there were about 10 people gathered (qṭal).”<sup>41</sup>

## 4.1.3 Atelic

- f. ixīla minnēn (B 56, 11)  
“She had eaten from it.”

Sometimes very similar situations are first expressed by a PP, then by qṭal. Compare:

- g. hū yā wōb ġarreq yā čxōyal m-mett fayya (M 19, 53)  
“Either he had fallen asleep (wōb + qaṭṭīl) or he had been deceived by a shadow (qṭal),”

and:

- h. šufēr aġreq w aḥḥčannah ‘a-būra (M 31, 18)  
“The driver had fallen asleep (qṭal) and had driven us into the wasteland (qṭal).”

In both cases, the speaker is talking about a sleepy driver. It is possible that in no. g, he wants to emphasise that the driver was really asleep, whereas in no. h he only alludes to a brief nodding off.

<sup>40</sup> For more telic situations expressed by PPs, see: B 49, 20 (n‘immrin “we had built”); B 56, 32 (ḥfira “she had dug”); B 83, 12 (tmīra “she had hidden”); B 84, 37 (ču ixellun “he had not eaten them”); M 97, 17 (niṭmer “I had hidden”).

<sup>41</sup> On qṭal see further B 59, 30 (ṭōraṭ “she had flown away”).

#### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In relative clauses, anteriority to a reference point is usually expressed by a PP or *fōš* / *wōb* + PP. In the majority of cases, as in main clauses, it is used resultatively, i.e. the action is anterior to the reference point, the resulting state or atelic situation is simultaneous with it:

- a.    *ūḥ šbōpča wayba xallifa, naččīža* (M 11, 2)  
       ‘We had a neighbour who had given birth, she had given birth (and so at the time of the story she had a child).’
- b.    *wa id naffad ōbu w ebər dōda allixin lḥiqilla* (M 52, 16)  
       ‘And then her father and her paternal uncle’s son came who had set off and pursued her.’
- c.    *wōt dēba fallec b-rawta* (B 58, 7)  
       ‘There was a wolf that had fallen into trot.’<sup>42</sup>

The PP, however, is occasionally also used when both the action and the following state have already been completed:

- d.    *haṭinnun ci wābin rxīpin bikāp cūt ‘immēn ...* (B 60, 87)  
       ‘Those who had travelled on the pick-up truck had no ...’

Both the boarding of the pick-up and the ride in the same had already passed at the time in question.

Further:

- e.    *eppay zalli ēštil ... m-dokkil ma fōš niḏmixin bil-lēya* (B 15, 40)  
       ‘My father went and fetched ... from the place where we had slept during the night.’

In the following example with a verb of movement, the movement was also already completely finished:

42 See also: B 15, 37 (*b-dokkil ma qriṭal* ‘where he had stung me’); B 58, 17 (*taqqen* ‘who had become’); B 60, 75 (*hirreblun* ‘which he had [illegally] brought across the border’); B 95, 19 (*šimmēla* ‘whom he had given the name’); M 32, 46 (*ti nḥawwel ḡappe* ‘with whom I had stayed’); M 73, 12 (*či nšawwiyl* ‘that we had made’).

- f. itqan nōfeq hū w man? hū w ebril hōnəl amīra ċi naḥḥeċ ġappi (B 88, 12)  
 “Who did he start going out with? With the son of the prince’s brother  
 with whom he had stayed.”

Moreover, qṭal can be used. In one case, PP and qṭal are used side by side:

- g. ext taṇaġelċa ninxesla w nḥissel, šwiċċa p-payṭin nūra šċawyaṭ w tōrat?  
 (B 96, 19)  
 “How should a chicken which I had slaughtered (qṭil) and which was  
 ready (qaṭṭil), which I had put in the oven (qṭal), where it had become  
 cooked (qṭal), have flown away (qṭal)?”<sup>43</sup>

The qṭal forms can be explained by the fact that the situations expressed by them are unlikely to have been understood as resultative.

In temporal clauses, on the other hand, qṭal is used, even with verbs that could form a PP without any problems:

- h. bōtar rob’iš ša’ṭa niḥċinnaḥ, willa aṣḥaṭ hōt tunya xann (M 8, 29)  
 “A quarter of an hour after we had descended, the world lightened up.”<sup>44</sup>
- i. atar bōtar mil awqef hanna sayla, ōxef mōya qalles, niḥċinnaḥ (M 9, 17)  
 “So after this torrent had stopped and the water was subsiding a bit, we  
 descended.”<sup>45</sup>

Another example may be given here:

- j. ‘oqbil ma tōli daktor aḥḍirlaḥəṭ ṭiflō (B 20, 7)  
 “After the doctor had come, we went to fetch the children.”<sup>46</sup>

In two examples with verbs of movement, simple qāṭil is used; in the first one, a temporal clause, we find qāṭil also in the main clause followed by a PP:

43 For more examples of qṭal, see: B 21, 21 (b-dokkil ma amrēḥ “at the place he had told us”); B 69, 19 (ċi innahap “that had been stolen”); M 19, 55 (ti ta’sē “that he had run over”).

44 Cf. above no. f with *naḥḥeċ*.

45 Cf. below no. m with *waqqef*. See also *bass ḥimnaḥ* “after we had seen” (B 60, 205).

46 See further: B 14, 19 (‘oqbil ma biṣraṭ ... w ġaffaṭ “after it had become less ... and dried up”); B 21, 18 (lummen ṭalla “after she had come”); B 24, 11 (‘oqbil ma ‘ammerni “after he had built it”); B 27, 15 (luqqa ḥassliṣ šoġli “after he had finished his work”); M 11, 20 (yōmāz zlinnaḥ “when we had gone”); M 30, 55 (bess nafḍinnaḥ “when we had reached”); M 44, 13 (waqċil imṭ “when they had arrived”); M 52, 11 (ḍukkil šċaḥyaṭ “when she had found”).

- k. 'oqbil ma ōz eppay, ōṭya, naḥḥīca hī (B 56, 10)  
 "After my father had left, she came and invaded (the maize field)."

The second example is an object clause:

- l. fekri inni nōṭyin nīzamōyin (B 60, 168)  
 "He thought we had come legally."

Finally, we have to mention sentences coordinated by *w* which are probably due to Arabic influence.<sup>47</sup> The construction subject + *w* + PP, as well as, especially in Ma'lūla, *w* + subject + PP, describes resultative situations whose actions had taken place before those of the superordinate clause and whose results are simultaneous with them. These can be states or, in the case of verbs of movement, atelic situations:

- m. anaḥ w niḏmixin b-anna lēlya, walla qarṭin aqərba (B 15, 28)  
 "That night, when we (had fallen asleep and thus) were sleeping, a scorpion stung me."
- n. hī w illīxa ktīšca ta'traṭ (B 27, 19)  
 "When she (had set out and thus) was going, the mare stumbled."<sup>48</sup>

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

In main clauses, this category is usually expressed by 'am-qāṭil or the PP. The past time reference can be made clear by a preceding form of *wōb* (no. d), but for the most part this is left to the context. 'am-qāṭil denotes non-resultative situations, the PP resultative ones; with the latter, the action is again anterior, whereas the resulting state or, with verbs of movement, the atelic situation is

47 Cf. Correll, Syntax § 77e.

48 See further: B 45, 8 (anaḥ w nqa'yin "we [had sat down and] were sitting"); for *w* + q'y see also: B 40, 70; B 45, 10; B 45, 19; B 80, 4; B 83, 16; B 45, 28 (anaḥ w niḏmixin "we were sleeping"); B 53, 7 (ana w naḥḥec "I was coming down"); B 62, 2 (ana w nṣarreḥ "I was walking around [with the cattle]."); B 91, 23 (hī w ḏammīxa "she was sleeping"); M 8, 37 (w ana nalleḥ "I was going"); M 19, 30 (anaḥ w nsallīqin "we were driving up"); M 52, 12 (w hī allīxa "she was going"); M 61, 13 (hinn w naffīqin "they were going out"); M 78, 7 (w hann šappō žmī'in "the young men were gathered"); M 88, 9 (anaḥ w nallīxin "we were going").



simultaneous. The reference point can be an intervening event or a parallel situation. The former is mostly expressed by *q̄tal*, the latter by *‘am-qāṭil* or the PP:

5.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. *hū ‘ammaḥīl, alō šatterli šurṭa* (B 40, 18)  
 “He was just beating me when God sent him the police.”

5.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- b. *qōm yōma m-yumō bisnīṭa ‘amnaššrōl išōra ‘a-‘akkōra, qōm īṭar hanna išōra* (B 83, 3)  
 “One day the girl was unfurling her shawl on the roof, when the shawl flew away.”

5.1.3 Atelic

- c. *ōqfiṭ, ra’yō ‘ammaḥōlpin* (B 44, 4–5)  
 “I stopped. The shepherds were just milking.”
- d. NN (fem.) *wayba qa’ya b-‘ayna ‘ammažəlya* (M 9, 3)  
 “NN was just sitting at the spring washing dishes.” (RP is a previously mentioned torrent)<sup>49</sup>

5.1.4 Complex

- e. *willa ‘amtaqqōṭ ṭar’a. qōmit, faṭḥilla* (M 12, 1–2)  
 “Then she was knocking at the door. I got up and opened it for her.”

5.1.5 Stative

- f. *laṭēri nwaqqef ‘a-qo’ša* (B 44, 7)  
 “Lo and behold, I was standing on her hole.”

49 For more atelic situations, see: B 51, 8 (*‘am’ēn* “he was looking”); B 58, 8 (*wōb ‘am’ōw* “he was howling”); B 60, 189 (*nillixin* “we were going”); B 68, 2 (*‘amdarryin* “they were threshing”); B 81, 2 (*‘anšōhrin* “we were enjoying the evening”); B 83, 38 (*‘ammićmaššyin* “they were going around”); M 11, 22 (*nwaqqīfin ... ‘anbōxya* “we were standing ... I was crying”); M 11, 26 (*šagğilin ... ‘ambōxyin* “they were doing ... they were crying”); M 31, 28 (*‘ammōfya* “she was baking”); M 52, 6 (*‘amkarrzin* “they were preaching”); M 64, 13 (*‘am’aynīl w ‘amfarrağ* “he was gazing at me and looking”); M 68, 1 (*nōb nalex* “I was going”).

- g. ‘ammanhar sa‘rlə ffōye (B 63, 15)  
 “The hair of his face was shining.”<sup>50</sup>

Sometimes ‘am-qāṭil and PP are used without difference in meaning. Compare:

- h. nībin nišhīrin ġappil NN, willa aptaṭ rayya činḥuč (M 9, 13)  
 “We were just enjoying the evening at NN’s place when the rain started to fall”

and:

- i. yōma m-yumō nqa‘yin ‘anšōhrin ġappil NN, amerli (B 81, 2)  
 “One day we were sitting together and enjoying the evening at NN’s place when he said to him.”

Occasionally, simple qāṭil is used to express simultaneity:

- j. nfaṭaḥəl lanna ṭar‘a qalles qalles w nmaffeqəl lanna baġla w lann saḥḥaryōṭa, willa ščalqaṭ a‘əl (M 8, 31)  
 “I was opening the door very slowly and taking out the mule and the boxes when she noticed me.”

In the following example, qāṭil and ‘am-qāṭil are used in parallel. The type of action in both cases is telic > atelic:

- k. qaššunnun w hanna ḥarīma ‘zīqan atar. eḥḍa mbaššla kūza ḥašš ... w eḥḍa ‘ammišwōt tabbūle (M 23, 7–8)  
 “They were shearing them, and the women were busy, too. One of them was cooking stuffed courgettes ... and one was making parsley salad.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, simultaneity is also expressed by ‘am-qāṭil and the PP:

### 5.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ‘ibrinnaḥ ‘al-anna šōyḡa či ‘ammiščaġlin ġappi bnōyəd dōd (B 60, 160)  
 “We entered the goldsmith’s shop where my cousins were working.”

<sup>50</sup> See also M 61, 4 (qa‘ya “she was sitting”).

- b. riḥlō cí nṣarreḥ bun riḥlō išla' w zallun (B 62, 5)  
 “The sheep I was tending bolted and ran away.”<sup>51</sup>

Interesting is the following example with two PPs:

- c. willa iḥ šbōpča ušma NN 'žīqa naffīqa 'appīra (M 66, 2)

It is clear from the context that the speaker was watching the neighbour as she came in and out. The PP here can only serve to emphasise the suddenness and speed of the event by omitting the action associated with a resulting situation and immediately mentioning the following state: “We had a neighbour called NN who hurriedly went in and out = who, as soon as she was outside, was already inside again.”

Example no. a shows that 'am-qāṭil also denotes situations that take place during a period of time that has not yet ended because the cousins were not at work at the time. The employment, however, was not habitual but temporary.

Occasionally, simple qāṭil is used:

- e. taqqen payṭil NN ab'ad dukkil ma nqa'yin nšōhrin anah  
 “NN's house was the furthest away from where we were staying and enjoying the evening.”<sup>52</sup>

### 5.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- f. lummen 'ammayyel mi'əl ... amrit (B 63, 17)  
 “When he was moving away from me ... I said (to myself).”
- g. m-yōmēl nōb 'amzara'əl lann ḥittō imreq (sic!) a'əl bisnīta (M 52, 18)  
 “The day I was sowing this wheat, a girl came by.”

At this point, the construction w + subject + PP already discussed in the previous section should be mentioned, since the result that follows from the action

<sup>51</sup> See also B 68, 85 (cí 'ammamaḥəkyin me'li “whom they were just talking about”).

<sup>52</sup> For more relative clauses, see: B 45, 3 (cí nqa'yin bē “in which we were living”); B 81, 10 (cí 'annōmrin “of which we were saying”); B 86, 19 ('ammatōyeh “that was flapping”); B 91, 1 (skīnin “who were living”); B 96, 27 (cí 'amṣalḥillun “who were trying to reconcile them”); M 8, 41 (ti 'amḡōrfin “who were shovelling”); M 52, 7 (ti 'ammahəkyin bē “whom they were talking about”); M 84, 8 (ti 'ammawḡ 'a-bās “who was steering the bus”).

is simultaneous with a reference point in the past. With non-resultative situations, 'am-qāṭil or simple qāṭil is used here. The use of simple qāṭil, however, is restricted to verbs of movement. The intervening situation is usually expressed by a qṭal form; if the reference situation proceeds parallel to that of the sentence coordinated by *w*, as in no. k, 'am-qāṭil is used:

- h. šwullaḥ xōla w anaḥ nqa'yin 'anmaqərṭin willa tōle NN (M 30, 18)  
"They made us food, and as we were sitting there eating lunch, NN came in."
- i. w ana nōz ibəčlaš hanna ṭelka zōčeč (M 8, 16)  
"As I was walking along, this snow began to fall."
- j. w anaḥ nōtyin oṭ mazra'ṭa (M 31, 8)  
"As we were walking along, there was a plantation."
- k. hū w mallex w hanna ḥessa 'ammaqreb a'le (M 63, 5)  
"As he was walking along, a voice was approaching."
- l. w hū 'amzōra' ḥittō sallmaṭ a'le (M 52, 14)  
"As he was sowing the wheat, she greeted him."<sup>53</sup>

The use of simple qāṭil with 'lx II, however, is by no means obligatory. The PP seems to be more common:

- m. hī w illīxa ktīšca ta'ṭrat (B 27, 19)  
"As she was going, the mare stumbled."

A difference in meaning is difficult to determine. In both cases, the movement had already begun and the subject was on its way.

---

53 See further: B 42, 4 (w ana nim'aṭ'eṭ "while I was trying to escape"); B 51, 14 (ana w 'anmaṭar "while I was having breakfast"); B 52, 2 (ana w 'ammanzōre "while I was sowing"); B 60, 208 (hinn w oṭyin "while they were coming"); B 68, 12 (hinn w 'amḍarryin "while they were threshing"); B 71, 7 (anaḥ w nōtyin "while we were coming"); B 88, 13 (hū w 'ammanōfeq w 'ober "while he was just going out and coming in").

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 6.1 *Main Clauses*

I have not found any main clause examples for this category. There are only two instances to be mentioned that express that someone was about to do something. *batt* + *yiqtul* and *wōb* + *batt* + *yiqtul* are used:

- a. *siqtaṭ ktīšća w batta ćifəx l-erra* ‘a-sayla (B 27, 19)  
“The mare fell and was about to plunge down into the stream.”
- b. *wōb batti yuxlill* (B 52, 4)  
“He was about to eat me.”

### 6.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Most of the evidence of this category is non-indicatively coloured and is expressed by *yiqtul* or *batt* + *yiqtul*. However, *batt* + *yiqtul* is also used in cases that are meant to be indicative according to the context:

- a. *w allxaṭ w hī xulla imōna innu batta čisčahyell əşlība* (M 44, 11)  
“And she went and was full of confidence that she would find the cross.”
- b. *mifčkar b-‘ēdəl mar Sarkes bōṭar* ‘isər yūm batte yitqan (M 74, 5)  
“He remembered that the feast of St. Sergius would be in 20 days’ time.”

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 *Main Clauses*

Situations that are in progress at the time of speaking and situations that are taking place within a period of time that has not yet ended are predominantly expressed by *‘am-qāṭil* and the PP with the difference already mentioned. Some evidence of resultative situations whose state extends into the present has already been given above in 2.1.

I will start with progressing situations:

#### 7.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. *ya’ni hanna ‘ammabət ġiffōfa b-ann mō, ya’ni ‘ammaqilla mō* (B 38, 16)  
“So this water shortage is now starting little by little, i.e. the water is getting less and less.”

## 7.1.2 Telic &gt; Atelic

- b. wrēš hanna ‘amṭōleb debša (M 80, 20)  
“Man, this one is asking for grape honey.”

## 7.1.3 Atelic

- c. ‘anōfyin ‘a-šōža (M 5, 11)  
“We are baking on the baking tray.”<sup>54</sup>

## 7.1.4 Complex

- d. ‘amtōqeq naqōša bib-lēlya (M 52, 48)  
“The bell is ringing in the night.”

## 7.1.5 Stative

- e. walla ana riḡlōy ‘ammawk‘ill w ana nqa“ ḡappayxun (B 70, 8)  
“By God, my feet are hurting while I am sitting here with you.”
- f. ču čbaqqīra? (M 11, 4)  
“Do you not know (one)?”<sup>55</sup>

If ‘am-qāṭil is formed from verbs of movement, the beginning of the movement is described, not the being on the way:

- g. hū ‘amnōḥeč? (M 64, 11)  
“Is it (i.e. the divining rod = mas.) pointing downwards?”

Situations that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed are, as I said, expressed in the same way:

54 For further examples of atelic situation expressed by ‘am-qāṭil, see: in: M 5, 14 + 88, 11 (mō ‘ačmišwin “what are you doing?”); M 11, 24 (‘aya ‘ačbōx? “why are you crying?”); B 12, 24 (‘anmaḥəkyā “I am telling”); M 62, 25 (‘amšawbar “he is gesticulating”); by a PP: M 62, 4 (ḥammila “she is carrying”).

55 For more stative situations expressed by PPs, see: M 32, 8 (ču nfakker “I do not remember”); M 32, 13 (niqə‘ hōxa “I am sitting here”); M 32, 47 (hōš ‘ayyez “he needs”); M 35, 3 (išher “he is famous”); M 62, 9 (naḥḥeq “it [has gone out and now] is on its way”); M 70, 8 (ču nzayyī’in “we are not afraid”); M 73, 9 (iḏmex “he is sleeping”).

- h. šippīrin b-illāh w ‘ammamēštin ommṭa m‘allamin ġulūġya (B 38, 20)  
 “They are persevering with God and bringing people who have studied geology.”<sup>56</sup>

The following example requires a special explanation:

- i. hōš b-anna ‘ahta hōš ‘ammamxapparill ... (B 38, 15)  
 “Now, at this time, they are just notifying me ...”

He certainly has not been notified when speaking, but the meaning can only be that he has recently been informed. The use of ‘am-qāṭil here is merely a rhetorical device to emphasise the topicality of the news by making the listener think it is just coming in.

Finally, simple qāṭil can be used. With ’zl and some stative verbs, it indicates progressing situations and current states:

- j. wrāx lina čōz? (M 8, 32)  
 “Man, where are you going?”<sup>57</sup>
- k. ću nyōḍa‘ mā (B 15, 32)  
 “I do not know, what (I shall do).”<sup>58</sup>
- l. anaḥ mō battaḥ nišw? ću nimbaqqrin (M 12, 7)  
 “What shall we do? We have no idea about it.”<sup>59</sup>
- m. mā ćbō‘ (B 78, 16)  
 “What do you want?”

Furthermore, qāṭil is attested with two verbs that are neither stative nor involve movement:

- n. qešṣṭa bēla bēla ... mō čmōšer hačč? (M 30, 22)  
 “The thing is so and so ... What are you advising (me) to do?”

56 See also: B 60, 164 (‘ammamiščaġlin “they are working”); B 78, 10 (ću ‘amma ōxel “he is not eating”).

57 For qāṭil of ’zl, see also: M 14, 25–26; M 31, 14; M 32, 12.

58 For qāṭil of yd‘, see further: B 24, 9; B 60, 60; B 78, 2.

59 Unlike yd‘, I have found bqr II only in M: M 30, 56; 31, 40; 71, 1.

- o. dōd tqelle idmex mett šett šō‘ w ntaqeqat tar‘a w ču ‘ammarkeš (M 73, 9)  
 “My uncle has been sleeping for six hours and I am knocking at the door, but he is not waking up.”

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

The few instances in subordinate clauses I found also have ‘am-qāṭil and the PP:

- a. haćć ebrid dōdlə flanō, hanna či ‘ammamiščgel ġapp (B 60, 162)  
 “You are the cousin of NN who is working for me.”
- b. oṭ aḥḥad idmex (B 60, 137)  
 “There is someone (in it) who is sleeping.”
- c. či ‘ammaḥək NN (B 24, 25)  
 “The one who is speaking (this text) is NN.”

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 Main Clauses

Habituality with reference to the present is predominantly expressed by qāṭil, regardless of the type of action. Texts describing still existing customs in the villages almost always use qāṭil. I will limit myself to one example in each case:

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. el‘el ‘öllin ‘a-ḏayra (M 46, 11)  
 “At the top they enter the monastery.”

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- b. awwal mett nmišṭill lann mišmišyōṭa (B 3, 2)  
 “First we bring the apricots.”

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. ē, loḡṭaḥ aramōy, nmaḥəkyin bā b-werṭa m-žittawōṭaḥ (M 33, 2)  
 “Yes, our language is Aramaic, we speak it as a heritage from our forefathers.”



## 8.1.4 Stative

- d. *anaḥ hōxa bə-blōta nmi‘cabrill ‘inbō maṣtra ra’išō lə-blōta* (M 1, 2)  
 “Here in the village, we consider grapes to be the main source of income for the village.”

But ‘am-qāṭil can also be used to express habitual situations:

- e. *bayna ma hōš waq‘aḥ ču barš ‘am‘ammar bē* (B 2, 5)  
 “But now, in our time, no one builds with it any more.”<sup>60</sup>
- f. *w hanna yōma xull ommṭa ‘žīqa w ‘amžahhza xōla* (M 44, 35)  
 “On this day all people are hectic and prepare food.”
- g. *hōž žamə‘ta ‘amrōqḍin w əm‘annyin, hōta žamə‘ta ‘amtōpkin w xann*  
*(M 44, 47)*  
 “One group dances and sings, the other group dances a round dance and so on.”
- h. *misqillin allixin w ‘am‘annyin w mišwin rayōta* (M 44, 75)  
 “They go on and on and sing and bring ovations.”
- i. *ti ‘ammišwin mašə‘lō mišwin mašə‘lō, ti ču ‘ammišwin mašə‘lō tōpkin w*  
*m‘annyin* (M 45, 17)  
 “Those who make torches make torches, those who do not make torches dance the round dance and sing.”
- j. *‘ammišwin xōla* (M 46, 27)  
 “They make food.”

The reason for the use of ‘am-qāṭil is not easy to determine. The examples show telic and atelic situations, but it seems to me that the type of action is not the decisive factor. In examples nos. g and i, the choice of ‘am-qāṭil seems to be caused by the fact that in each case two situations are mentioned which proceed parallel to each other. This makes the situations seem more imperfective than habitual. For the other evidence, on the other hand, it is difficult to find an explanation, especially since the simple qāṭil forms of the corresponding verbs can express habituality as well.<sup>61</sup>

60 *‘am‘ammara* is attested once again in B 2, 15.

61 For žhz, see, inter alia, B 15, 7; for tpk and ‘ny, see M 46, 22, and for šwy, see M 44, 70.

The PP can also be used in a habitual sense if the result following the action is understood as a habit:

- k.    *tēni yōma* ‘sofra qōymin, *ṭul’cil mōma šarriḥin* (B 15, 24)  
       “The next day they get up (and) move around all day (with the sheep).”<sup>62</sup>

The PP is often used after expressions of persistence:

- l.    *w ɔ’rōba xett mačimmin šhirin l-ša’ta tarč’asər* (M 39, 10)  
       “And in the evening they stay and enjoy the evening until 12 o’clock.”<sup>63</sup>

If, however, the action is meant, simple *qāṭil* is used. Compare *nōḥč’in* and *naḥḥič’in* in M 44, 69–70:

- m.    *w nōḥč’in* ‘a-bisčanō. *w hinn naḥḥič’in ... mišwillun rayōta*  
       “And then they go down to the Bisčano. And when they are on their way down ... they offer them ovations.”

Also until-clauses can be used in a habitual sense. In the main clause, we find *qāṭil*, after *ḥatta* or *ta yiqṭul* is used:

- n.    *misqillin mišta’yin xull aḥḥad m-ḡappōni m-manqalca ḥatta yḥuslun bizqō* (B 10, 7)  
       “They continue to play the Manqalca game, each on their own side, until the stones run out.”<sup>64</sup>

Extratemporal situations are also expressed by *qāṭil*:

- o.    *ḡamla uḏō tōqen b-xarmō* (Correll, Syntax § 28a)  
       “The chameleon is found in vineyards.”

62 See further: M 15, 18 (*čanniḥan* “they are rested”); M 33, 31 (*mapšūṭin w allex ḥōlun* “they are content and doing well”); B 38, 18 (*i’cēmīta ommṭa* “the people rely”).

63 See also: M 42, 23 (*mačimmin allixin* “they keep on going”); M 43, 9 (*mačimmin ša’‘ilin nūra* “they continue to light fires”); M 44, 68 (*misqillin waqqifin* “they remain standing”).

64 See further, among others: B 1, 17 (*mēštin ... mōṭṭin – yḡaṭṭull* “they bring ... and paint ... until they have covered”); B 8, 3 (*nimqallyilli – yitqan* “we fry them ... until they become”); B 15, 8 (*mallxin – yimṭun* “they go ... until they arrive”); B 28, 5 (*nōṭrin – yqreš* “they wait ... until it cools down”); M 25, 5 (*nimžahhezle – yityullun* “I prepare it ... until they come”).

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

If the subordinate clause situation is simultaneous with that of the superordinate clause, *qāṭil* is mostly used. The PP indicates resultative situations, i.e. the action is anterior while the result that follows from it is simultaneous with the superordinate clause:

### 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. *nimnažžar sintō ti rōḍyin bōn fallahō* (M 22, 1)  
“I carpenter ploughs with which the farmers plough.”<sup>65</sup>
- b. *miqimlilli hann wu‘yōṭa ċi xissēlun e‘li xullun* (B 25, 6)  
“They remove all the clothes he (has put on and thus) wears.”<sup>66</sup>

In one case *‘am-qāṭil* is used:

- c. *w hann šappō ti ‘amraqībin*<sup>67</sup> ... *yōḍ‘in* (M 44, 52)  
“And these young men who watch ... know ...”

### 8.2.2 Temporal Clauses

Subordinators denoting anteriority are followed by *qāṭil*. Exceptions are *bess*, after which *yiḡṭul* is used, and *min*, which is followed by *qṭal*:

- d. *bōṭar ma mōṭya šurṭa ‘a-blōta, mballšin ommṭa yiṭyullun* (M 44, 43)  
“After the police have arrived in the village, the people start to come.”<sup>68</sup>

65 For more APs, see: B 17, 1 (*ċi mišwin* “which they make”); B 17, 8 (*amrillun* “which they call”); B 19, 47 (*ma‘zmill lann šappō* “who invite the young men”); B 9, 79 (*rōḥmin* “who like”); B 23, 2 (*tōxel* “that enters”); B 26, 8 (*mḥannyill mīta* “who dye the corpse with henna”); B 43, 2 (*namrillun* “which we call”); B 54, 4 (*mḥarrsill lanna ṭarša* “that he makes guard the flock”).

66 For further PPs, see: B 1, 26 (*ċi nqa‘yin bun* “in which we dwell”); B 16, 22 + 25, 2 (*ċi qa‘yin* “who sit”); B 39, 36 (*nšiwīyilla* “that we have laid”); M 42, 21 (*ti šawwīyin* “who have made”); M 42, 25 (*ti šaww* “who has made”); M 47, 4 (*ti xallifa* “who has given birth”); M 64, 2 (*nšakkikin bā* “about whom we assume”).

67 The form *‘amraqībin* is strange; one expects *‘amrōqbin*.

68 For more evidence of the AP, see: B 3, 3 (*‘oqba nmašigillun* “when we have washed them”); B 6, 4 (*‘oqam ma nimqallyilli* “when we have fried it”); B 7, 3 (*‘oqam ma nšalqill* “when we have cooked”); B 7, 5 (*‘oqam ma mišcw* “when it has become cooked”); B 8, 5 (*uqḍum ma nmaḥašyilli* “after we have filled them”); B 13, 26 + 35 (*‘oqam ma mḥannanōs sa‘ra* “when she has dyed the hair with henna”); B 19, 23 (*‘oqba mḥasslin* “when they are ready”); B 19, 57 (*‘oqbil ma maḥašmin* “when they have had dinner”); B 19, 69 (*luqqa tōqen mō‘ta*

- e. *bess yažmet tōqen žōhez l-xōla* (M 1, 24)  
 “When it has become firm, it is ready to eat.”<sup>69</sup>

- f. *min ḥislat nfakilla* (B 41, 4)  
 “When she is ready, we untie her.”<sup>70</sup>

If the situation of the temporal clauses is simultaneous with that of the main clause, *qāṭil* is used again:

- g. *‘emmil ma layḥilli tōqna hōt zobəṭṭa ‘a-ffō* (B 28, 28)  
 “When they shake it, the butter comes to the top.”<sup>71</sup>

A situation expressed by the construction subject + *w* + predicate or *w* + subject + predicate can also be habitual. The *PP* and *‘am-qāṭil* are attested as predicates:

- h. *mintaritt tawəṛṭa xulla sawa w hinn allixin ḥifyan* (M 42, 29)  
 “They go around this whole circuit walking barefoot.”
- i. *nōḥčin šappō m-rayšil šenna ... w hinn ‘am‘annyin* (M 44, 6)  
 “The young men come down from the top of the rock ... singing.”<sup>72</sup>

## 9 Posteriority to the Speech Time

Posteriority to the speech time, which I have only found attested in main clauses, is expressed by *qāṭil*. Occasionally, *batt* + *yīqṭul* is used which, however, can often also be interpreted non-indicatively:

---

“when the time has come”); B 25, 2 (*luqqa mōyeṭ* “when he has died”); M 1, 6 (*bōṭar ma mžamm‘illun* “after they have collected them”); M 1, 8 (*bōṭar ma nōkbin* “when they have dried”); M 2, 2 (*ḏukkil miščawyan* “when they have ripened”).

69 See also: M 2, 5 (*bess yšaffull mō* “when the water has dripped off”); M 2, 15 (*bess yanšef* “when it has become firm”); M 6, 19 (*bess niḥḥuṣ* “when we have descended”); M 17, 4 (*bess nṭēḥ* “when we have come”).

70 See further: B 17, 4 (*bass min tiqnaṭ* “when she has become”); B 29, 8 (*min išcūw* “when it is ripe”); B 46, 3 (*bass min iṭqan* “when he has become”).

71 See also B 31, 13 (*waqčil bōrmin* “when they circle”).

72 See further: M 38, 50 (*hinn w naḥḥiṣin* “when they come down”); M 48, 19 (*hinn w ‘ammičnawilin w hinn salliḳin ... w hinn ‘ammafəṭrin* “when they receive communion ... and go up ... and have breakfast”).

### 9.1 *Punctual*

- a. ču maḥēx (M 10, 8)  
“He will not beat you.”<sup>73</sup>

### 9.2 *Telic*

- b. hōš axiləl (B 51, 9)  
“In a moment he will eat me.”<sup>74</sup>

### 9.3 *Atelic*

- c. roḥəl lanna tarba bax čišmaʿ b-žamʿətlə ḥdawōta (M 62, 2)  
“(Fortune teller:) After this path you will hear a festive assembly.”<sup>75</sup>

### 9.4 *Stative*

- d. hannun čmiʿčazlun ʿa-tarba (M 8, 10)  
“You will need these (things) on the way.”<sup>76</sup>

qāṭil is attested as well. It comprises the action and the following state:

- e. či nnaḥfiqa meʿlax  
“I will not leave you.”<sup>77</sup>

Cohen (Phrase nominale 468) further mentions the construction qāṭil of ʿzl + yiqṭul for Maʿlūla:

- f. inne sayla ʾōz yšuqləl l-dorč l-Merhež  
“The river will carry away the house of Merhež.”

73 For more punctual situations expressed by qāṭil, see: B 11, 32 (ču nimṭaššarōle “I will not leave him”); B 17, 13 (nōfeq ... ču nōfeq “he will come out ... he will not come out”); B 86, 11 (mōyet “he will die”); M 18, 6 (nmaḥmillēx “I will show it to you”); M 30, 87 (nmappēx “I will give you”).

74 For more telic situations denoted by qāṭil, see: B27, 52 (ntaḥlill ʿakkarō “we will roll the roofs”); B 60, 117 (nmawpellxun l- “I will bring you to”); B 91, 62 (ššaqlōli “you will marry him”); M 30, 20 (nōt “I will come”); by batt + yiqṭul: M 79, 15 (batta čtēla “she will come”).

75 See also M 10, 10 (nimʿann “I will sing”).

76 See further M 11, 8 (raḥmōl šehra “she will love her son-in-law”).

77 Correll, Syntax § 30 c, where some more examples are listed.

## 10 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

This category is only attested in subordinate clauses. Which verb form is used to express it in temporal clauses seems to depend on the subordinator. After *bess* one finds *yiqṭul*:

- a. *bess nallex qalles ḥrīṭa ‘a-qomma nlamemlun* (M 19, 4)  
“When we will have driven some more, I will collect it (i.e. the money).”
- b. *bess niščahyell ašlība baḥ nislaq ‘a-a‘la ‘arqūba w nša‘el nūra* (M 44, 8)  
“When we will have found the cross, we will climb the highest mountains and light a fire.”

After *min*, on the other hand, *qṭal* is attested:

- c. *ana min ḏōhriṭ nḏōmex b-Ḍemseq* (B 63, 23)  
“When I will have arrived at noon, I will sleep in Damascus”,<sup>78</sup>

and after *‘oqəm ma* the AP:

- d. *‘oqəm ma maḏəlma qalles tunya nzill* (B 89, 34)  
“As soon as it will have become a bit dark, I want to set off.”<sup>79</sup>

In an object clause after *innu*, anteriority is expressed by *qṭal*:

- e. *bess čihmun nūra ‘a-‘arqubō čyōḏ‘in innu šcaḥylaḥlā šlība* (M 44, 9)  
“When you see fire on the mountains, you will know that we will have found the cross.”

## 11 Non-indicative Clauses

### 11.1 Main Clauses

A non-indicative intantum can be expressed by *yiqṭul* or *batt + yiqṭul* which can denote a wanting, an obligation etc. *la + yiqṭul* indicates the vetitive.<sup>80</sup>

78 For a further example, see Correll, Syntax § 25d; in B 27, 14, however, *batt + yiqṭul* is used after *bass min*: *bass min batt nzill ‘a-qriṭa* “as soon as I will have gone to the village”, and after *bōtar min* “after”, *yiqṭul* can be used, too, see Correll *ibid*.

79 An example of *awwal ma* “as soon as” + *qāṭil* is given by Correll, Syntax §28 g.

80 Cf. Correll, Syntax § 26a.

- a. anah mō battah nišw (M 12, 7)  
“What shall we do?”
- b. batt nappēlun (B 11, 22)  
“I want to give (her) to them.”
- c. ćityillxun ‘al-anna funduq (B 21, 20)  
“You are to come to that hotel.”
- d. alō yarəḥmenne (M 27, 1)  
“May God have mercy on him.”<sup>81</sup>

In non-indicative clauses, *yīb*, the *yiqṭul* form of *ōb* “he is / was”,<sup>82</sup> is often used. Depending on the verb form used after *yīb*, the modal situation can be described as simultaneous with or as anterior to a reference point. Anteriority is usually expressed by the *pp*, sometimes also by *qṭal*. The *pp* has a resultative function, i.e. an action has already been carried out, but the result is still ongoing. The situations described are mostly habitual:

- e. w yīb žahhīzin xett xōla (M 36, 7)  
“And they must also have prepared food (so that it is available then).”
- f. b-ğappōncá yīb ḥifrill qabra (B 25, 20)  
“They must have already dug the grave at the cemetery.”<sup>83</sup>
- g. bess yislaq əḥmīra yīb tōlun (qṭal) šağğalō (M 25, 16)  
“When the leaven rises, the workers must have already come.”<sup>84</sup>

81 See further, inter alia: B 10, 2 (batti yīb “there must be”); B 11, 23 (batt nappēlun “I want to give it to them”); B 18, 12 (nḥuṣəplēx “shall I list them for you?”); B 32, 20 (batti yardell lanna xarma “he must plough the vineyard”); B 40, 93 (la barəš yappil “no one shall give me anything”).

82 See Arnold, *Grammatik* 188.

83 For *yīb* + *pp*, see also: B 9, 3 (nḥiyīrin “we must have prepared”); M 38, 21 (ayyītin “they must have brought”); M 38, 32 (zayyinill klēšya “they must have decorated the church”); M 40, 7 (it‘en “he must [have taken up and] carry”); M 45, 53 (žammi‘ill “they must have gathered”).

84 For *yīb* + *qṭal*, see also M 44, 25 (itqen “it must have become”).

For the expression of simultaneity, *qāṭil* or *‘am-qāṭil* can be used. Compare:

- h. *yīb nqi‘q‘ill* (PP) *hanna ḥalbir riḥlō* (B 8, 4)  
 “We must have already boiled the milk of the sheep”,

with B 8, 6:

- i. *‘oqəm ma nimqallyilli yīb hanna ḥalbir riḥlō mqa‘qa‘* (*qāṭil*)  
 “After we have fried them, the milk of the sheep must already be boiling.”

However, *‘am-qāṭil* can also be used in the same function:

- j. *nim‘apparla b-īda w yīb kaffi ‘ammalōṭeḥ ‘al-anna ‘amra* (M 28, 20)  
 “I push in with my hand, my palm having to press on the wool.”

## 11.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Final subordinate clauses can be introduced by *minšōn*, *ḥatta* or *ta* or follow asyndetically, the predicate is usually a *yiqṭul* form. The situation of the main clause can have past time reference:

- a. *šattar xebra l-ḥunō w l-qarribō bə-M‘arra yiṭlullun* (B 27, 31)  
 “They sent word to their brothers and relatives in M‘arra that they should come.”<sup>85</sup>

But it can also be habitual with present time reference:

- b. *mqappēlun əp-xifō minšōl la yṭēli riḥlō yir‘unnun* (B 32, 8)  
 “He covers them with stones so that the sheep do not come and graze them.”<sup>86</sup>

85 See further: B 21, 36 (*battaḥ n‘ōwet ‘a-muna, nuḏmux* “we wanted to return to Muna to sleep”); B 24, 28 (*itqan minxell ... yiḥbarra‘un* “he started ... cheering them on to donate”); B 40, 99 (*lā qawwisliḥəl ... ḥatta nušqul* “you did not shoot him ... so that I would assume”); B 45, 5 (*zilaḥlaḥ nuḏmux* “we went in order to sleep”).

86 See also: B 4, 4 (*nim‘aḡḡanillun ... ta ytuqnun* “we knead them ... so that they become”); B 5, 4 (*nmišwin nūra ... ta yišcawyun* “we make fire ... so that they are cooked”); B 7, 7 (*nmitiridd ... ḥatta la yufruṭ* “we stir ... so that it does not get lumpy”); B 17, 16 (*maḏləqin ... ta yitqan ...* “they burn ... so that comes into being ...”); B 40, 50 (*mišṭilli mett yrakkazell payta* “they bring him so that he puts up the tent”).



Occasionally, the predicate of the final clause is *qāṭil*:

- c. *qōm miššōn nmičšammaʿin eʿli niḥəm ma ōt xibrō* (B 81, 8)  
 “Stand up so we can listen (to the radio), so we can see what news there is.”<sup>87</sup>

## 12 Conditional Clauses

The protases of real conditional clauses with present / future time reference are usually introduced by *iḍa* in Baxʿa, in Maʿlūla also by *lōb*, *kōn*, *nkōn*, and Correll (Syntax § 66f) further mentions *emmat*, *bess* and *dōb*. In the protasis, one usually finds *qṭal*, but *qāṭil* is not unusual either; however, no fixed rules for their use can be established.<sup>88</sup> The situation of the apodosis is often expressed by *qāṭil*, but *batt* + *yiḡṭul*, nominal forms or imperatives are also attested:

- a. *iḍa aḥəq mett nqəṭelli* (B 60, 134)  
 “If he says anything, I will kill him.”<sup>89</sup>
- b. *iḍa ʿmasəmhin battaḥ niṣṭell ʿarūsə* (B 19, 60)  
 “If you permit, we will go and fetch the bride.”<sup>90</sup>

Conditional clauses are often used to express habitual situations and then have more the character of temporal clauses: whenever ...:

- c. *w nkōn mbaššla bila mawzōṭa ... mōmrin* (M 4, 28)  
 “And if (/ whenever) she cooks it without mutton shanks ... they say: ...”<sup>91</sup>

87 See further B 54, 5 (*miššōl mʿawwatin* “so that they keep away”).

88 Correll’s assumption (Syntax § 25d) that the use of *qṭal* in protases goes back to Arabic influence is not compelling. If *qṭal* does not fulfil a temporal function but serves to express the perfective aspect, it is not surprising if it can denote anteriority in the future in conditional clauses. As seen above (section 10, nos. c + e), it also fulfils this function outside of conditional clauses.

89 For more singular situations in the protasis expressed by *qṭal*, see: B 27, 68 (*iḍa tōl* “if he comes”); M 11, 11 (*lōb irəṣ* “if they agree”).

90 For more singular situations in the protasis expressed by *qāṭil*, see: B 19, 69 (*iḍa ʿōmrin* “if you say”); B 83, 56 (*iḍa ʿu šmiščḥōlun* “if you do not find them”); B 91, 63 (*iḍa ʿu šamrōl* “if you do not tell me”).

91 For more habitual situations in the protasis expressed by *qāṭil*, see: B 26, 11 (*iḍa bōʿa* “if she wants”); B 40, 50 (*iḍa anaḥ ʿu nimbaqqrin* “if we do not get along”).

- d. *iḏa qarṭaʿcī maʿəzyōle* (B 43, 7)  
 “If she bites someone, she hurts him a lot.”<sup>92</sup>

The conditional particle can be missing:

- e. *ṭefla aw šappa mićcaḡaʿ aw tōqen ʿemmi ḥōtsa ōmrin* (B 27, 79)  
 “If a child or a young person falls ill or has an accident, they say: ...”<sup>93</sup>

In addition to the verb forms mentioned above, also the PP is attested in the apodosis:

- f. *lōb irəṣ anah nraṣṣīyin, ču raṣṣīyin hinn anah ču nraṣṣīyin* (M 11, 11)  
 “If they agree, we agree, if they do not agree, we do not agree either.”
- g. *iḏa ōṭ uppa mett allex* (B 60, 56)  
 “If there was anything (i.e. dirt) on it, it is gone now.”

*irəṣ* and *ču raṣṣīyin* express exactly the same except for the negation. The reason for the choice of *qṭal* can therefore only be the subordinator *lōb*. As far as the PPs in protasis and apodosis are concerned, the situations expressed by them are clearly stative, i.e. it is not the action which brings about the state that is meant but the result. It is the same with *allex*, the dirt has, taken literally, set out and is now gone.

No. g also shows that not only *qṭal* and *qāṭil* are possible in the protasis; besides *ōṭ*, *ōb* “there is / was” and other nominal forms are also attested;<sup>94</sup> *batt* + *yiqṭal* is used if a wish is to be formulated as a condition:

92 For more habitual situations in the protasis expressed by *qṭal*, see: B 13, 23 (*iḏa ibʿat* “if [a woman] wishes”); B 16, 18 (*iḏa ibʿ* “if someone wishes”); B 26, 8 (*iḏa miṭat* “if she dies”); B 27, 5 (*iḏa ayṭep* “if he recovers”); B 40, 27 (*iḏa aḥḥad azəʿlin* “if someone annoys me”); B 40, 73 (*iḏa iḡtal* “if he kills”); B 43, 8 (*iḏa iḡrat* “if he bites”); B 43, 14 (*iḏa axal* “if he eats”); B 46, 7 (*iḏa ićcaḡaʿ* “if he has pain”); B 52, 5 (*iḏa kōn tōli* “if he comes”); B 55, 4 (*iḏa inəfqat* “if it is missing”); B 60, 187 (*iḏa la šcaḥcunnun* “if you do not find them”); M 20, 1 (*iḏa ḥmōra zalle* “if the donkey goes”); M 25, 12 (*lōb la ṭalla* “if she does not come”); M 46, 28 (*lōb tōle* “if he comes”); M 52, 15 (*iḏ kōn tōle* “if he comes”).

93 See also: B 60, 147 (*qāṭil* – *qāṭil*); M 11, 11 (PP – PP); M 25, 12 (*qāṭil* – *qāṭil*).

94 M 30, 31 (*lōb hačči m-maʿlūla* “if you are from M.”); M 47, 15 (*iḏa ṭefla izʿur* “if it is a little boy”); B 16, 14 (*iḏa ibin* “if they are there”); B 19, 72 (*iḏa cūt* “if there was not”); B 29, 11 (*iḏa ḡappēn ḥayla zarʿa* “if there is a lot of grain with them”).

- h. w kōn batte ya'zem aḥḥaḍ barnaš bə-mḍinča mšattarlun kartō (M 49, 8)  
 "If he wants to invite someone from the town, he sends them invitation cards."<sup>95</sup>

The condition formulated in the protasis can refer to the past, as in no. g. If the situation in the apodosis also has past time reference and the condition is thought to be real, the construction can have a habitual-temporal character: whenever such and such happened, such and such followed. The predicates of the protasis are qṭal- or nominal forms, the apodosis can have a PP or qāṭil (no. j):

- i. lōb ataq žarsa ḥosna ču tēle (M 27, 8)  
 "If (/ when) the death knell rang, he would not come."
- j. atar lōb aḡəlṭinnaḥ mett ḡaləṭṭa w šwinnaḥ mett saḡəlṭa tyillun ustazō qaṭlillaḥ (M 70, 2)  
 "So if (/ when) we made a mistake or did something wrong, the teachers would come<sup>96</sup> and beat us."
- k. awwalča ida cūt makīna w dōkkṭa ba'īda mišṭill 'arūsca 'a-ḥšōna (B 19, 72)  
 "In the past, if (/ when) there was no car and the place was far away, they would bring the bride on a horse."

Counterfactual protases are introduced by *law*, *yīb* and *ida*. The time reference is made clear by the context; with both present / future and past time references qṭal-, nominal forms or a PP (no. q) can be used in the protasis; past time reference in the apodosis can be expressed by qṭal (no. o), PP (nos. p + r) and in one case by qāṭil (no. n), present / future time reference by yiqṭul (no. m) and a nominal form (no. l)

- l. rezəqṭa 'al-alō law nībin em'a aḥḥaḍ (B 78, 44)  
 "The sustenance comes from God, and if we were a hundred people."
- m. ... miššōn ya'ni ida tōli be'la awwalnō yišclaḡ hanna (B 89, 37)  
 "... so that if her first husband came (qṭal), he would notice (yiqṭul) it."

95 See further: B 26, 6 (*ida* battun yaḥḥcun "if they want to go down"); B 27, 13 (*ida* cīslaḡ "if you want to go up").

96 On *tyillun*, see Arnold, Grammatik 174.

- n. iḏa la ʔaʔnaćcil lanna qīsəl luzō tuğray qaṭlilla (B 27, 28)  
 “If she had not carried (qṭal) this stick of almond wood with her, they would have killed her (AP) immediately.”
- o. ana m-lawla haćxun la iṭqan ‘imm xann (B 40, 94)  
 “If it had not been for you, this would not have happened (qṭal) to me.”<sup>97</sup>
- p. la-iḏa ša“lunnaḥ ‘hanik ćwaybin?’ ću ši“ilin (B 60, 228)  
 “And if they had asked us, ‘Where were you?’, they would not have asked (PP).”
- q. yīb ćidmix ġappil silfiṭ wōb ōṭ qōbla naxsaććax (Correll, Syntax § 26 f)  
 “If you had spent the night (PP) at my sister-in-law’s, it would have been possible for her to kill you.”

In one case, yiṭṭul is attested after *law*:

- r. law yubrum ṭēni ġappōna wōb qaṭṭe‘ (B 51, 30)  
 “If he had come from the other side, he would have passed (you; PP).”<sup>98</sup>

### 13 Verbs of Perception

If a PP is used after a verb of perception or of finding, the perceived situation is usually described as resultative, sometimes also as anterior, i.e. the action is anterior to the reference point in the superordinate clause while the result is simultaneous. Non-resultative situations, on the other hand, are mostly expressed by ‘am-qāṭil:

- a. iḥmiṭ ana šafrōna waqqef bə-ṭ‘ūma (B 59, 17)  
 “I saw a bird (having sat and now) sitting on a fruit tree.”<sup>99</sup>

97 Five more examples of qṭal in the apodosis are listed in Correll, Syntax § 66 f. qṭal can be preceded by *wōb*, which, however, refers to the entire apodosis, not only to the verb form: *lawla ćšaww mette wōb alō la laqqḥax* “if you had not done something wrong, God would not have struck you” (Correll *ibid.*).

98 Further evidence of yiṭṭul in protases of counterfactual conditional clauses is given by Correll, Syntax § 26 d.

99 See further: B 56, 4 (iḥel “[we found,] that he had eaten”); B 56, 20 (ćippīra “[I found] that he had destroyed”); B 57, 20 (waqqef “[see] him seated”); B 62, 8 (ğirriya “that had given birth”); B 68, 94 (ğmī’in “[I found] them having gathered”); B 82, 41 (ćixxīra “[she found]

- b. ḥōmya fallōḥa ‘amzōra‘ ḥittō (M 52, 13)  
 “She saw a farmer sowing wheat.”<sup>100</sup>

The subject of the subordinate clause can be attached in pronominal form to the verb of seeing or finding; thus, the PP or ‘am-qāṭil do not introduce an asyndetic relative clause but are directly dependent on the predicate of the superordinate clause:

- c. ščḥačća gizlōlun (B 85, 25)  
 “She found (her that) she had already spun (the wool).”<sup>101</sup>

Interestingly, instead of the PP, qṭal can also be used:

- d. iḥmič mett bisnīta mirqaṭ mn-ōxa? (M 52, 17)  
 “Did you see a girl who came by here?”

In this case, one might be inclined to interpret the subordinate clause as an asyndetic relative clause.

See further:

- e. ... laḥatta iḥam eḥda nifqaṭ mn-anna payta (B 89, 28)  
 “... until he saw one come out of the tent.”
- f. aqam ḥmićciš šimša silqaṭ amriṭ (B 61, 5)  
 “When I saw the sun rise, I said.”

The use of qṭal to express simultaneity is remarkable, especially since ‘am-qāṭil is available for this purpose. The reason why qṭal is used here instead of ‘am-qāṭil can only be seen in the fact that the situations are perceived or found as a complete whole, i.e. perfectly, whereas ‘am-qāṭil describes the

---

that she had been late”); B 91, 34 (dammex “[we saw someone] sleeping”); M 9, 18 (‘appīrin “that had entered”); M 72, 3 (dmīxa “[I found her] sleeping”); M 86, 8 (ixṭeb “[he saw his name] written [on it]”); M 99, 3 (allex “[he sah him] going / on his way”).

100 See further: B 62, 7 (šim’it mett ‘ammamašw “I heard something howling”); B 85, 7 (‘ammōxla qatēlta “as she was getting beatings”); B 89, 49 (‘amqaṭṭrin “as they were fighting”); B 91, 62 (‘amma ōmrin “as they were saying”); M 52, 13 (‘amzōra “as he was sowing”); M 60, 11 (‘amxallfa “as she was giving birth”).

101 See also, inter alia: B 85, 32 (ščḥačcun flikin “she found them unravelled”); B 89, 37 (išcaḥna dmīxa “he found her sleeping”); M 60, 22 (mišcaḥyōla lṭīxa “she found her sullied”); B 84, 22 (iščḥičća ‘amsarqōs sa’ra “I found her as she was combing her hair”).

situations as proceeding, i.e. imperfectly. The relationship between *q̄tal* and *‘am-qāṭil* thus corresponds to that between infinitive and *ing* form in English: *He saw him enter the house*, i.e. the whole process, opposite: *He saw him entering the house*, i.e. he did not see the whole situation but only a part of it.

This explanation causes no problems for example no. e. Regarding no. f, it must be assumed that he saw the whole sunrise, but it is ultimately a matter of personal judgement what period of time may be necessary for this to happen so that it cannot be ruled out that the whole sunrise is actually meant here.

If the perceived situation is a habitual one, simple *qāṭil* is used:

- g.     *awwal metti čhamēl lann bisinō mintōrin* (M 45, 13)  
        “First you see the boys walking around.”

WNA can thus use the PP after verbs of perception and finding if the situation in the subordinate clause is resultative, i.e. if an action has already taken place and the result is simultaneous with the situation of the superordinate clause. If an action is to be described in its progress, i.e. imperfectly, one uses *‘am-qāṭil*; if the action is to be described as a complete whole, *q̄tal* is used, while simple *qāṭil* describes habitual situations.

## 14       Summary

### 14.1     *Q̄tal*

*q̄tal* is used in both main and subordinate clauses to denote anteriority to the speech time. It can be used in the function of an anterior, sometimes also of a resultative, but the relationship between action and result is much looser than is the case with *q̄ṭil* and *qaṭṭil*; with *q̄tal* the action is emphasised much more than the result which always has to be deduced by implication (see the examples nos. v to y in 2.1). It is found in narrating and discussing passages and is used especially when several successive situations are described. With stative situations, it is also found in main clauses of until-constructions (2.1 + 2.2).

In main clauses, it only occasionally serves to express anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1); usually, the PP is used here. In relative clauses, too, it is sometimes attested in this function if the situation is not understood as resultative; it is, however, regularly found in temporal clauses after subordinators which indicate anteriority to a reference point, even with verbs which can form a PP (4.2). After verbs of perception, *q̄tal* is used when a situation was perceived as a whole. It is in opposition to *‘am-qāṭil* that describes situations which were viewed in their progress (13).

q̄tal is generally used to denote the reference point of progressing situations expressed by ‘am-q̄āṭil. In this case, q̄tal can appear in the main or in the subordinate clause. The same applies to the construction subject + w + ‘am-q̄āṭil; if this describes a past situation in its progress, q̄tal is usually used in the main clause to describe an intervening situation that is regarded as perfective; if, however, the second situation is to be described as progressing in parallel, ‘am-q̄āṭil is used (5.1 + 5.2).

q̄tal is also attested in temporal clauses after *min* “when, after” to express anteriority to a habitual situation with reference to the present (8.2). *min* + q̄tal can also denote anteriority to a reference point in the future, and in one instance q̄tal expresses this category after *innu* “that” (10).

Furthermore, q̄tal can be the predicate in protases of real conditional clauses of the present / future; q̄āṭil is also found in this position, and it is difficult to determine the difference between the two forms. Moreover, q̄tal is used in the apodosis and protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past and is also attested in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present (12).

Finally, q̄tal is found after *yīb* to express that something must have already taken place before something else can take place (*yīb tōlun* “they must have come”; 11.1).

#### 14.2 q̄āṭil

The participles q̄āṭil, q̄ṭil and q̄aṭṭil are special in comparison with Classical Aramaic and the other modern dialects in that they are not inflected by suffixes alone, but by analogy with *yiqṭul* also by prefixes (first and second persons).

q̄āṭil can be used alone or in combination with ‘am-. In the narrative, simple q̄āṭil is attested alongside q̄tal if the time reference is made clear by the context. It is often used to describe accompanying circumstances of situations expressed by q̄tal and it is found after ingressive expressions such as *q’y* and *tqn* (2.1). In the main clause of until-clauses, it can be used with certain stative and atelic verbs such as *nmiṣqillin* “we stayed” or *malkxa* “she left” (2.1 no. bb).

wōb / fōš + q̄āṭil is used to express habitual situations in the past; simple q̄āṭil is also possible if the time reference is clear (3.1). Moreover, simple q̄āṭil is found in subordinate clauses when these are simultaneous with a habitual main clause situation with past time reference (3.2).

The q̄āṭil forms of ’zl and ’ty are attested in a temporal clause and an object clause to express anteriority to a reference point in the past; usually q̄tal or the PP are used in this position (4.2).

Occasionally, q̄āṭil denotes simultaneity with a reference point in the past in main and subordinate clauses; usually ‘am-q̄āṭil or the PP are used here (5.1). The predicates of the construction w + subject + predicate or

subject + w + predicate are occasionally qāṭil forms of verbs of movement (*mallex*, *nōzin*), but at least with 'lx 11, the PP is also possible in this case (5.2).

With 'zl, some stative verbs (b'y, yd', bqr 11) as well as mšr "to guess" and tqq "to knock", qāṭil can express simultaneity with the speech time *hic et nunc* in main clauses (7.1).

The actual field of application of qāṭil seems to be the expression of habituality with present time reference; it is found in main as well as in subordinate clauses and is also used in temporal clauses – except after *bess* and *min* – to express anteriority to a habitual main clause situation (8.1 + 8.2). It is also attested after verbs of perception if the observed situation is habitual (13).

Furthermore, qāṭil is used – next to occasional batt + yiqṭul – to indicate posteriority to the speech time (9). In temporal clauses after *'oqam ma* "as soon as", it expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (10).

Moreover, it is found alongside qṭal in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future and also occurs in the apodosis; in one case, it is attested in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional clause of the past (12).

After *yīb* it is in opposition to qṭal and expresses here the simultaneity of the demanded situation (*yīb mqa'qa'* "she must cook"), while qṭal denotes its anteriority. However, 'am-qāṭil can also be used to denote simultaneity (11.1).

Finally, qāṭil occurs sporadically in final clauses after *minšōn*; the normal form in this position, however, is yiqṭul (11.2).

'am-qāṭil is attested in one main clause of an until-construction (*'amḥōwlin* "they are trying", 2.1 n. ff) and once to express a habitual situation in the past; in the latter case, the choice of 'am-qāṭil is possibly due to the fact that the situation expressed by it is thought to be parallel to a previously mentioned reference point (3.1).

It is used in main and subordinate clauses, sometimes with preceding *wōb*, to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past when the situation is not resultative, in which case the PP is used; it has the same function in the construction subject + w + 'am-qāṭil / w + subject + 'am-qāṭil (5.1 + 5.2); after verbs of perception and finding, it indicates that the situation was perceived or found in its progress; here, it is in opposition to qṭal, which describes the situation as a complete whole, and to the PP which is mostly used resultatively (13).

When referring to the present, it expresses simultaneity with the speech time in main and subordinate clauses; this can be the present *hic et nunc* or situations that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed. In the case of verbs of movement, the beginning of the movement is described, not the being on the way (7.1 and 7.2).

Furthermore, 'am-qāṭil can express habitual situations with present time reference. The difference to simple qāṭil is not easy to determine. Sometimes



the situations expressed by 'am-qāṭil proceed in parallel and are more imperfective than habitual in character; in other cases, there is no difference to simple qāṭil, one and the same habitual situation being expressed on one occasion by 'am-qāṭil and on the other by qāṭil (8.1). The construction w + subject + 'am-qāṭil / subject + w + 'am-qāṭil can also be used to express habitual situations when they are not resultative (8.2).

Finally, 'am-qāṭil is once attested after *yīb*; the situation expressed by *yīb* + 'am-qāṭil proceeds in parallel with another one and the total situation is habitual (11.1).

Finally, the compound qāṭil of 'zl + *yiqṭul* can express situations that are posterior to the speech time (9).

### 14.3 *Qṭil and Qaṭṭil*

In this work, the patterns *qṭil* and *qaṭṭil* are summarised under the term PP. *qṭil* can have a passive meaning but is predominantly used as an active form of the G-stem and is formed more often from transitive than from intransitive verbs, whereas *qaṭṭil* is more often derived from intransitive verbs, especially from verbs of movement. Both patterns describe the result of an action, but the relationship between action and result is a closer one with *qaṭṭil* than with *qṭil*; in the latter case, the result usually has to be inferred through an implication, that is, *qṭil* is used more often in the sense of an anterior, *qaṭṭil* more often with the meaning of a resultative. With verbs of movement, *qaṭṭil* expresses that the movement has already begun and that the subject is now on the way; sometimes, it expresses the completion of the entire movement and has the meaning of an anterior in these cases, insofar as the movement produced a result that is still significant at the time of the reference point (2.1). When used with past time reference, the PP can be combined with *wōb* or *fōš*, but these are not obligatory. It can describe the sequence of actions and emphasises the suddenness of the occurrence of a situation in this case; since the PP, in particular *qaṭṭil*, often expresses a result in the form of a state, the action being merely implicitly presupposed, the impression of a rapid sequence of situations is given, since the action is skipped over, so to speak: *He did this and that and already this state had begun* (2.1 nos. w-x; 3.1). In subordinate clauses which denote anteriority to the speech time, the PP is used alongside *qṭal* and has a resultative / anterior function here, too; the action is anterior, but the result is simultaneous with the speech time (2.2).

It denotes not only anteriority to the speech time but also that to a reference point in the past, with and without *wōb*, in both main and subordinate clauses; as a rule, it is also resultative / anterior here, that is, the action is anterior, the

result simultaneous with the reference point. Thus, it can also denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past and is here in opposition to ‘am-qāṭil which expresses non-resultative situations. With some verbs, such as šhr “to enjoy the evening”, PP and ‘am-qāṭil can be used in the same meaning (4.1 + 4.2; 5.1 + 5.2).

The PP also maintains its resultative / anterior character after verbs of perception and of finding as well as in the construction subject + w + PP / w + subject + PP (4.2 + 5.2 + 13). In the latter construction, it is in opposition to ‘am-qāṭil which is used when no result is to be described but a situation in progress. After verbs of perception and finding, it is also in opposition to qṭal which expresses the perception of the whole situation, whereas ‘am-qāṭil again indicates its progress (13).

If the reference point of the PP is the speech time, the action is anterior to it while the result is simultaneous (7.1 and 7.2). The PP can also be used if the result is meant to be habitual; if, on the other hand, the action is meant to be habitual, qāṭil must be used. Also the construction w + subject + PP / subject + w + PP may have a habitual meaning (8.1 and 8.2). Occasionally, it describes situations that are posterior to the speech time and comprises the action and the following state in this case (9).

In addition, it is attested in protases of real conditional clauses if the situation expressed there has a resultative character and is also found in the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the past (12).

#### 14.4 *Yiqṭul*

With past time reference, the compound batt + yiqṭul, possibly preceded by wōb, expresses that someone was about to do something but did not do it in the end (6.1); the same compound is used to denote indicative posteriority to a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses (6.2). batt + yiqṭul can indicate – alongside the more common qāṭil – posteriority to the speech time (9) and is attested in the apodosis of real conditional clauses (12). Moreover, batt + yiqṭul expresses, besides simple yiqṭul, real non-indicative situations in main clauses (11.1).

Simple yiqṭul is used after the subordinator *bess* to express anteriority to habitual situations with present time reference (*after they have come, they do such and such*; 8.2) and also denotes anteriority to a reference point in the future (10). In one case, yiqṭul is attested after *law* in a counterfactual conditional clause of the past (12). The main function of yiqṭul is the expression of real non-indicative situations in main clauses and in subordinate clauses after subordinators like *minšōn*, *ḥatta* or *ta* (11.1 + 11.2).

## 15 Analysis

Let us start with *q̄tal*. It clearly shows a perfective character which is particularly striking in comparison with *ʿam-qāṭil*. In the construction subject + *w* + *ʿam-qāṭil*, *ʿam-qāṭil* is used in a clearly imperfective sense, whereas an intervening situation, that possibly interrupts the first one, is expressed by *q̄tal*. The latter situation can only be considered as a complete whole and thus perfective. The same opposition is found after verbs of perception; here, *ʿam-qāṭil* describes the perceived situation as it unfolds, whereas *q̄tal* depicts it as a complete whole. Its use in subordinate clauses to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future and in protases of real and counterfactual conditional clauses also makes clear that it cannot have a temporal marking, since in this case it would have to be able to express past and future alike. Correll's assumption (Syntax § 25d) that the use of *q̄tal* in protases goes back to Arabic influence is not compelling. If *q̄tal* does not fulfil a temporal function but serves to express the perfective aspect, it is not surprising if it can also denote anteriority in the future in conditional clauses. This usage can therefore just as well be attributed to an internal Aramaic development.

*q̄tal* is thus a marked signum for the expression of the anterior perfective aspect.

*qāṭil* seems to be in a not yet completed stage of development in *wNA*. It can be used in narratives, denotes anteriority to a reference point in the future in subordinate clauses after certain subordinators and expresses posteriority to the speech time; in these cases it is used aspectually and expresses the perfective aspect. On the other hand, it can also be used imperfectively denoting simultaneity with a reference point, although this usage is highly restricted and usually left to *ʿam-qāṭil*. Moreover, it indicates habitual situations with present and past time reference and is occasionally used in a non-indicative way (after *yīb* and in final clauses). It thus seems to be marked neither aspectually nor temporally or modally.

The compound *wōb* / *fōš* + *qāṭil*, on the other hand, seems to express only habitual situations of the past and therefore has to be considered marked.

The compound (*wōb* +) *ʿam-qāṭil* indicates in its main function the imperfective aspect and is in opposition to the perfective *q̄tal*. This opposition can be observed firstly in the construction *w* + subject + *ʿam-qāṭil* / subject + *w* + *ʿam-qāṭil*. Here, *ʿam-qāṭil* expresses a progressing, non-completed situation, whereas a perfective situation is expressed by *q̄tal*. Furthermore, both *q̄tal* and *ʿam-qāṭil* can follow verbs of perception and of finding. The former describes the perceived situation as a complete whole, the latter as proceeding.

Finally, a progressing situation in the past is expressed by (wōb +) 'am-qāṭil, whereas qṭal describes an intervening situation. The fact that 'am-qāṭil is occasionally also used to express habitual situations does not speak against its imperfective character but results from it. An imperfective situation always has a certain temporal extension which can easily be understood as habitual. 'am-qāṭil is thus an imperfective verb form. Even though it is occasionally used to express habitual situations, it has to be considered marked. The same holds true for wōb + 'am-qāṭil.

The main function of qṭil and qaṭṭil is quite clearly the expression of resultative and anterior situations, with qṭil being more often formed from transitive verbs and used as an anterior, while qaṭṭil is more frequently derived from intransitive verbs and used as a resultative. It is true that also qṭal is occasionally used with the sense of a resultative or an anterior, but this meaning always results from the context and the perfective function of qṭal.

The main function of yiqṭul is the expression of non-indicative situations in main as well as in subordinate clauses. Only in subordinate clauses after subordinators it can also be used with an indicative meaning; this usage must be regarded as a relic from an earlier evolutionary stage because fixed compounds of subordinators and verb forms are more resistant to language change than independent verb forms; one should therefore not overestimate the indicative usage and regard yiqṭul as marked. batt + yiqṭul, on the other hand, is used in main clauses both indicatively and non-indicatively and must be regarded as unmarked. wōb + batt + yiqṭul, by contrast, expresses only intended situations in the past and is marked.

It is interesting to ask why the compound batt + yiqṭul was borrowed from Arabic although the inherited forms qāṭil and yiqṭul can also express its functions. An answer is not easy to find. According to its etymology, batt + yiqṭul must initially have been used purely non-indicatively to express volition and intention, thus competing with yiqṭul, not with qāṭil. So it is conceivable that the adoption of batt + yiqṭul into the verbal system took place at a time when yiqṭul was still used indicatively even in main clauses and one therefore felt the need for a signum that clearly identified a situation as non-indicative. It is possible that Arabic was considered more prestigious than Aramaic at that time which would certainly have encouraged the adoption of an Arabic form.

The absence of a special verb form to express counterfactuality is striking. Counterfactual situations are only attested in conditional clauses, but here, the counterfactuality is expressed by subordinators and the context, whereas the verb forms do not denote anything they would not express outside of conditional clauses as well. As we have seen, qṭal is the signum for expressing the

perfective aspect, and accordingly it is used in the protasis of real and counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and also in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past.

The verbal system has eleven marked verbal forms: *q̣tal*, ‘*am-qāṭil*, *wōb + qāṭil*, *wōb + ‘am-qāṭil*, *q̣ṭil*, *qaṭṭil*, *wōb + q̣ṭil*, *wōb + qaṭṭil*, *yiṭul*, *wōb + batt + yiṭul*, imperative. In addition, there are two unmarked ones: *qāṭil* and *batt + yiṭul*.

In the indicative domain, there is an almost pure aspectual system dominated by four marked verb forms. For the past:

*q̣tal* (anterior perfective) : (*wōb +*) ‘*am-qāṭil* (anterior imperfective)

In addition, *q̣tal* and (*wōb +*) ‘*am-qāṭil* are in opposition to *wōb + qāṭil* which is used to express habitual situations. With present time reference, ‘*am-qāṭil* expresses imperfectivity, but as simple *qāṭil* is neither an aspectual nor a habitualis form, the two signs do not form an opposition pair.

Since *q̣tal* is also used in the sense of an anterior or resultative in discussing passages, it is inappropriate to speak of an opposition *q̣tal* (anterior perfective) : *q̣ṭil* / *qaṭṭil* (anterior / resultative).

## Modern Mandaic (Khorramshahr)

### o Text Corpus

The texts published in Häberl, Khorr. (pp. 274–292) served as a textual basis. I will follow Häberl's practice and specify the vowel quantity only for /a/ (cf. Khorr. 49).

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭal*

The G-stem has the theme vowels /a/, /e/ or /o/. Verbs with /a/ are mostly transitive, those with /e/ or /o/ usually intransitive. qṭal is inflected as follows:

|      | sg.    | pl.                  |
|------|--------|----------------------|
| 3.m. | qəṭal  | qəṭalyon             |
| 3.f. | qəṭlat | qəṭalyon             |
| 2.   | qəṭalt | qəṭaltan             |
| 1.   | qəṭlit | qəṭalni <sup>1</sup> |

The derived stems are inflected accordingly:

#### 1.2 *Qaṭṭel*

|      | sg.     | pl.                         |
|------|---------|-----------------------------|
| 3.m. | qaṭṭel  | qaṭṭelyon                   |
| 3.f. | qaṭṭlat | qaṭṭelyon etc. <sup>2</sup> |

#### 1.3 *ʾAqtel*

|      | sg.     | pl.                        |
|------|---------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | aqṭel   | aqṭelyon                   |
| 3.f. | aqṭelat | aqṭelyon etc. <sup>3</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 180.

<sup>2</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 200.

<sup>3</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 212.

The reflexes of *etqeṭel* and *etqaṭṭal* are formed without /t/:

*ehṭer* “he was pleased” (*etqeṭel* of *hṭr*), *kammar* “he returned” (*etqaṭṭal* of *kmr*).<sup>4</sup>

The /t/ of old *ettaqṭal* is preserved: *etaqlab* “he turned around”; the same is true for the other t-stems when the first root consonant is a sibilant and metathesis takes place: *eṣṭəḃā* “he was baptized” (*etqeṭel* of *ṣḃw*).<sup>5</sup>

#### 1.4 *Qāṭil*

The old AP has the following forms:

|      | sg.     | pl.                   |
|------|---------|-----------------------|
| 3.m. | qāṭel   | qāṭlen                |
| 3.f. | qāṭla   | qāṭlen                |
| 2.   | qāṭlet  | qāṭletton             |
| 1.   | qāṭelnā | qāṭlenni <sup>6</sup> |

Indicatively used *qāṭil* can be combined with the prefix q-: *qə-gāṭel* “he kills”. The derived stems have the prefix m-.

#### 1.5 *Qaṭṭel*

|      | sg.      | pl.                        |
|------|----------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | əmqaṭṭel | əmqaṭlen                   |
| 3.f. | əmqaṭlā  | əmqaṭlen etc. <sup>7</sup> |

#### 1.6 *ʾAqṭel*

|      | sg.     | pl.                        |
|------|---------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | maqṭel  | maqṭilen                   |
| 3.f. | maqṭilā | maqṭilen etc. <sup>8</sup> |

<sup>4</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 221.

<sup>5</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 221.

<sup>6</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 180.

<sup>7</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 202.

<sup>8</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 214.

In *etqeṭel* and *etqaṭṭal*, the /t/ is missing again: *meḥter* “he is pleased” (*etqeṭel* of *hṭr*); *mekammar* “he returns” (*etqaṭṭal* of *kmr*); *metaqlab* “he turns around” (*ettaqṭal* of *qlb*).<sup>9</sup>

The t-stems can have a passive meaning (*eṣṭəḥā* “he was baptized”); more often, however, a passive intentum is expressed impersonally by the 3.pl.: *nedā abadyon* “they proclaimed = it was proclaimed”.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.7 *Qṭil*

*qṭil* can be combined with a form of *hwy* “to be” or special copulae, which have a long and a short form, to express passive situations. The copulae, whose short form is only used in the singular, have the following forms:

|      | short copula     | long copula         |                         |
|------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
|      | sg.              | sg.                 | pl.                     |
| 3.m. | <i>qəṭel-ye</i>  | <i>qəṭel ext-i</i>  | <i>qəṭilen ext-u</i>    |
| 3.f. | <i>qəṭil-i</i>   | <i>qəṭil ext-a</i>  | <i>qəṭilen ext-u</i>    |
| 2.m. | <i>qəṭel-yāt</i> | <i>qəṭel ext-ax</i> | <i>qəṭilen ext-əxon</i> |
| 2.f. | <i>qəṭel-yāt</i> | <i>qəṭil ext-ex</i> | <i>qəṭilen ext-əxon</i> |
| 1.   | <i>qəṭel-nān</i> | <i>qəṭel ext-e</i>  | <i>qəṭilen ext-an</i>   |

*gəṭel-ye* “he is killed”, *gəṭil-i* “she is killed”, *gəṭel-yāt* “you (m. + f.) are killed” etc.

Long form: *gəṭel ext-i* “he is killed”, *gəṭil ext-a* “she is killed”, *gəṭilen extu* “they are killed” etc.

A *qṭal-* or *qāṭil* form of *hwy* can follow or precede *qṭil*:

*gəṭel həwā* “he was killed”, *qəṭil həwat* “she was killed”, *gəṭilen həwon* “they were killed” etc.

*gəṭel qə-hāwi* “he is being killed”, *qəṭil qə-hāwyā* “she is being killed” etc.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.8 *Yiqṭul*

As far as I can see, only *yiqṭul* of the verb *hwy* is still used: *rəhāwā nehwiła* (II 34) “May she rest in peace”.

The verb forms are negated by *lā*.

<sup>9</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 221f.

<sup>10</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 254.

<sup>11</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 233.



### 1.9 *Imperative*

The imperative has the forms qətol (sg.m.), qətul (sg.f.) and qətolyon (pl.).<sup>12</sup> It is negated by lā + qāṭil.<sup>13</sup>

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by qṭal, in both discussing and narrating passages and regardless of the type of action. It may have the meaning of an anterior (nos. a and e):

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. gənaḇtonn əl-kəṛāye! (VII 9)  
“You have stolen my leg!”<sup>14</sup>
- b. qam ganzibṛā (IV 91)  
“The ganzibṛā rose.”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- c. elli ezgā? (IX 11)  
“Where did he go?”
- d. aṭon əm-Aḥwāz (II 5)  
“They came from Ahwāz.”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. ana ekkā ḥusən la hzīt! (IV 53)  
“I have never seen such beauty!”
- f. kef əḇadyon (IV 69)  
“They celebrated.”

<sup>12</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 178.

<sup>13</sup> See Häberl, Khorr. 247.

<sup>14</sup> See further II 34 (mextat eštā “she has died [and is dead] now”).

## 2.1.4 Complex &gt; Punctual

- g. məh əl-bābā (IX 5)  
 “He knocked at the door.”

## 2.1.5 Stative

- h. šeršan m-awwal ālm həwat (I 8)  
 “Our religion has existed from the first epoch of time.”
- i. ārbīn yumā bandir tammon (IV 129)  
 “For 40 days they were confined (to their houses).”

In narrating passages, one frequently finds q-qāṭil. The compound is often preceded by a qṭal form:

- j. aṭon qāri u qə-mšielu (IV 12)  
 “They came to him, and he asked them.”<sup>15</sup>

Not infrequently, however, it is also used independently:

- k. la qə-mbašqar inglizi (II 18)  
 “I did not speak English.”<sup>16</sup>

The verb bwy “to want” is attested in the texts only in the form of q-qāṭil:

- l. qə-beyyen āṭen Moḥamrā ... u aṭon ... (II 29)  
 “They wanted to come to Mohammerah ... and they came (qṭal) ...”<sup>17</sup>

2.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, qṭal is attested:

15 See also: II 31 (nefqat qə-mšiel “she came out and asked”); III 2 (aṭon ... qə-beyyen “they came ... and wanted”); IV 20 (qamyon qāren azimat q-āḥden “they began to chant and made incantations”); IV 47 (gənā u qə-hāzya “he fell asleep and she watched”); IV 101f (qāmat q-alla u q-āṭya “she rose, went back and forth”).

16 See further: II 14 (qə-hazen “we saw”); IV 7 (qə-hazelli “they saw it”); IV 8 (q-āṭi “it came”).

17 See Häberl, Khorr. 305 s.v. bwy.

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. qabin əmer farwāhxon geš illi aṭiton qam-kānfərāns (I 3)  
 “I want to thank all of you who have come to the conference.”<sup>18</sup>

## 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 3.1 Main Clauses

This category can be expressed by *q-qāṭil* and a *qṭal* form of *hwy*. The form of *hwy* can precede *q-qāṭil* and be congruent with it, as in:

- a. həwini qə-mṭallen gāw-maḥallat ġihelā geš-dan (II 4)  
 “All of us children used to play in the neighborhood.”

*qāṭil* can also be without *q-* and not be congruent with a following *qṭal* form of *hwy*:

- b. yaʿani Moḥamrā geš məḥatten (3.pl.) mandāyi həwā (3.sg.; II 32)  
 “That is, (in) Mohammedrah everybody used to speak Mandaic.”

Simple *q-qāṭil* of ’ll “to go” without *hwy* can denote situations with past time reference that are clearly habitual; ’ll is only attested as a *qāṭil* form with or without *q-*:

- c. ax waxt ezgini qam-Haft Tappe u q-allen qam-Bandare Mašur (III 6)  
 “At that time we went to Haft Tappe, and we used to go to Bandare Mašur.”<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, *q-qāṭil* is attested:

- a. ya qahwi həwat ḥašiš qə-šiten (VII 1)  
 “There was a coffee shop in which they used to smoke hashish.”

18 See further: I 5 (illi aḥdonn “who made”); I 6 (illi genz əḥād aḥdat “who (f.) has done so much work”); I 11 (ke bašqarni “who [we] recognized”); IV 83 (ke ləxt “that captured”).

19 The form *q-allen* is attested two more times in this passage.

- b. la q-yāde tarmidi ... ekkax la qə-mbašqeren əmhatt mandāyi (II 25)  
 “I did not know that the tarmidas ... there did not know how to speak Mandaic.”<sup>20</sup>

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority to a reference point in the past is usually indicated by qṭal:

##### 4.1.1 Punctual

- a. yaʿani Mandayānā geš pəradyon, gaṭlonnu geš-du (III 23)  
 “That is, the Mandaeans had all fled, or they were all killed (lit.: they had killed them).”

##### 4.1.2 Telic

- b. kef əḅadyon. ʿumər hattī atā qamdi-du (IV 116f)  
 “(The earth stopped quaking [qṭal].) They celebrated. A new age had  
 downed upon them.”<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the compound qṭal form of hwy + qṭil is attested. The situation is passive and resultative:

- c. həwā pəseq ax waxt (III 20)  
 “It (had been and) was broken then.”

##### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

qṭal is also used in subordinate clauses:

20 See also: III 4 (qə-mbašqarle “who knew me”; qə-mzabnen əlāwwu “to which we used to sell”); IX 1 (q-āheḅ “who used to give”).

21 See further: III 21 (əḅadyon “they had built”); III 24 (dəronnu “they had taken them away”); X 2 (bədaq “he had put”).

## 4.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. bas tāḡer ezgā amānatdār dərīlu (v 5)  
 “As soon as the merchant had left, the trustee took them.”<sup>22</sup>

## 4.2.2 Causal Clause

- b. pešimān tammon kammā bandir la bḡešyon (iv 146)  
 “They regretted that they had not stayed put.”

## 4.2.3 Relative Clause

- c. qə-mšiyel ḡizər ke həwā ekkax, goḇrā ke gāw-metelā Mandāyi abdonni  
 (III 20)  
 “I asked about the bridge that was there, the men who, according to the stories, were Mandaean who had done it.”

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

In main clauses, this category can be expressed by hwā + qṭīl:

- a. həwā pahlidi do nafar yəhimen, ham qə-šīten hašiš (vii 6)  
 “There were two people sitting beside him (and) were also smoking hashish.”<sup>23</sup>

*həwā yəhimen* is probably to be understood as resultative: *they had been seated and were sitting now*. As can be seen from this example, a transitive situation is expressed by q-qāṭīl. An intervening action that interrupts the progressing situation is denoted by qṭal. In VII 7 it says:

- b. tum šatonni  
 “Then they heard him.”

22 See also: iv 137 (ba’ad ... bəḡašyon “after they had stayed”); v 9 (waxti ke an atīṭ “when I had arrived”).

23 See also vi 3 (həwā ... yəhemye “he was sitting”).

There is another example of q-qāṭil in II 13:

- c. nəfaqyon barra ani qə-mṭallen<sup>24</sup>  
 “They came outside where we were playing.”

Accompanying circumstances can be introduced by w:

- d. so waxt qāren u benyān qə-bānen (IV 18)  
 “They read three times while (the others) were building.”<sup>25</sup>

In this function, however, simple qāṭil without w can also be used:

- e. əmar ā tāḡer narm tammā āmer rāst q-amennā (V 14)  
 “He said (to himself): ‘This merchant has become soft (in his head)’; while saying: ‘I am telling the truth.’”<sup>26</sup>

## 6 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 6.1 Main Clauses

Progressing situations hic et nunc and those that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed are mostly expressed by q-qāṭil:

#### 6.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. muyye ekkā qə-hāreb ḡisrā? (IV 12)  
 “What is destroying the bridge like this?”

It should be mentioned that the bridge has already been destroyed. In the following, however, it is destroyed repeatedly, and so it is conceivable that the speaker regards the destruction as belonging to a period of time that has not yet been completed. But it is also thinkable that what is meant here is more the ability to do such a deed, that is: *What is able to destroy the bridge like this?*

<sup>24</sup> On qə-mṭallen instead of qə-mṭallenni, see Häberl, Khorr. 94.

<sup>25</sup> See also IV 17 (w ahni olamā qāren “while these scholars were reading”).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Häberl, Khorr. 249.

## 6.1.2 Telic &gt; Atelic

- b. mu qa-mretton? (IV 33)  
 “What do you say / what are you suggesting?”<sup>27</sup>

## 6.1.3 Atelic

- c. qə-hāzen biētṡwāt baʿid (III 10)  
 “We see distant houses.”<sup>28</sup>

## 6.1.4 Complex

- d. deštā āhā šuštār qə-nidā genza (IV 105)  
 “This land, Shushtar, is shaking very much.”

## 6.1.5 Stative

- e. mu qə-bāt? (IX 8)  
 “What do you want?”

qṭīl + copula expresses resultative situations:

- f. kədebye gāw-kədāb moqaddas-dan ... (I 9)  
 “It is written in our sacred book ...”<sup>29</sup>

qṭīl + q-qāṭīl of hwy describes passive but no longer resultative situations. The construction is not attested in the texts but only in a paradigm and some examples given by Häberl (Khorr. 233f). It can be assumed that q-qāṭīl has the same functions here as elsewhere and that the construction describes not only imperfective but also habitual situations:

- g. yəhimen qə-hawenni (Häberl, Khorr. 233)  
 “We are being / are usually seated.”

27 See further: IV 77 (mu q-āmret? “what do you say / think?”); V 23 (āt zif q-ahḡet “you are lying”).

28 See also IV 57 (aziyat q-āḡdet “you are causing trouble”).

29 See further I 4 (həṡernān “I am glad”) and Macuch, Man. 433.

## 6.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Here, too, q-qāṭil is used:

- a. anā genz həṭernān qə-hazinxon geš m-ork hədādā (I 4)  
“I am very glad to see you all together.”
- b. qa-bin əmer mendi qə-daxarnā (II 1)  
“I want to say something that I remember.”
- c. dahel zif q-āheb (IV 132)  
“I fear that he is lying.”

## 7 *Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)*

Habitual situations are expressed by q-qāṭil:

- a. gāw-Erāq tarmidi u ganzibrā la qə-mḥaṭṭen mandāyi. hənā ḥatta ḡihelā qə-mḥaṭṭen! (II 21)  
“In Iraq the tarmidās and the ganzibrās do not speak Mandaic. Here, even the children speak (it).”
- b. kol šettā qə-bannanni u qə-hāreb! (IV 34)  
“Every year we build it, and it is destroyed!”
- c. eṣṭebyon gāw-nafš maṣbettā illi eštā qə-meṣṭeben gāwwa (I 10)  
“They baptized with the same baptism ceremony with which we baptize today.”

Occasionally, simple qāṭil is found; in IV 59, it describes the same situation which in IV 34 (no. b) is expressed by q-qāṭil:

- d. kol šettā banelli u qə-mahreḇāti!  
“Every year they build it and you destroy it!”

## 8 *Posteriority to the Speech Time*

This category is only attested in main clauses; q-qāṭil is used:



### 8.1 *Punctual*

- a. tum la q-mahrem (IV 61)  
“I will not destroy (it) any longer.”<sup>30</sup>

### 8.2 *Telic*

- b. qə-mwadinxon ə.K. (IV 120)  
“I will take you to ə.K.”<sup>31</sup>

The construction q̄tīl + q-q̄tīl of hwy already presented above (6.1) can also have future time reference:

- c. yəhimen qə-hawenni (Häberl, Khorr. 233)  
“We will be seated.”

## 9 Non-indicative Clauses

### 9.1 *Main Clauses*

The yiq̄tūl form of hwy can be used to express wishes:

- a. rəhāwā nehwiā (II 34)  
“May she rest in peace.”<sup>32</sup>

More often, however, deontic modality is expressed by simple q̄tīl:

- b. əmḥattēn bienā-dan bel-ənāšā (IV 81)  
“Let’s talk among ourselves without anybody else.”
- c. ātī (VII 9)  
“He may come.”

30 See further: IV 78 (qə-hāreb “it will be destroyed”); IV 98 (qə-mandin “I will cause to shake”).

31 See also: IV 63 (q-əbed qamdax “I will do (it) for you”); IV 64 (q-alin bieṭa “I am going home”); IV 122 (hemdā qə-mwadyātan? “when will you take us [to ...]?”); V 17 (perš q-aṭīnā “I will come tomorrow”).

32 See further: I 2 (asuṭā nehwilxon “may health be for you = welcome”); III 8 (rəhāwā nehwiā “may he rest in peace”).

- d. lā hāreb pol Šuštār (IV 24)  
“May the bridge of Shushtar not be destroyed.”
- e. ani nešemti la gaṭlen (IV 96)  
“Let us not kill anyone.”

Non-indicative situations can also be expressed by qṭīl + qāṭīl of hwy:

- f. yəhimen hawen (Häberl, Khorr. 234)  
“Let us be seated.”

## 9.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, too, one usually finds simple qāṭīl, for example, after expressions of wanting, obligation and permitting:

- a. qa-bin əmḥadetṭ mendi (I 7)  
“I want to say a few things.”<sup>33</sup>
- b. lābud kef āḇden ənāšā! (IV 72)  
“The people must celebrate!”
- c. la šabqonnan allenni ekkax (III 13)  
“They did not let us go there.”<sup>34</sup>

Simple qāṭīl is also found in asyndetic final clauses:

- d. ezgā rağ’a-da āḇed (IX 12)  
“He has gone to patch it up.”<sup>35</sup>

q-qāṭīl, however, can also be used in these cases:

- e. šadder əlāw Rišāmmā q-āṭi qārax (IV 73)  
“Send for the Rišāmmā to come before you.”

33 əmḥadetṭ is the contextual form of the 1.sg. of qāṭīl; see Häberl, Khorr. 327. See also: I 3 (qa-bin əmer “I want to say”); IV 39 (qa-bin ... āḇdetton “I want you to do”); IV 95 (qə-bāt alin? “do you want me to go?”).

34 See further: VIII 11 (la q-šāḇeqnā allet “I cannot let you go”).

35 See also: I 4 (aṭiton ... məḥadṭetton “you have come ... to discuss”).

In IV 74, the narrative continues and here, the same situation is expressed by simple qāṭil:

- f. šadder əlāw Rišāmmā āṭi qāri  
“He sent for the Rišāmmā to come before him.”

See further:

- g. ani nešemti la gaṭlen haṭāyā qāran la q-hāwi (IV 96–97)  
“Let us not kill anyone lest the sin be upon us.”

## 10 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by Persian *agar*. The predicate of a real conditional clause of the present / future is the pseudo-verb *ehl*- “there is” in one case, qṭal in the other; the apodosis has q-qāṭil or an imperative:

- a. agar pərāhā ehle turti qə-zabennā (Häberl, Khorr. 250)  
“If I have money, I will buy a cow.”
- b. anā agar gənit āt guš əḥud (IV 46)  
“If I fall asleep, keep an eye out.”

Unfortunately, the text corpus contains only one counterfactual conditional of the present / future; the protasis has q-qāṭil, the apodosis simple qāṭil:

- c. āhā qam-enši la q-mallef w agar qə-mallef miet<sup>36</sup> (IV 84)  
“I will not teach this to anybody, for if I did teach it, I would die.”

There are three instances of counterfactual conditionals with past time reference; in two cases, protasis and apodosis have qṭal; in one case, the predicate of the protasis is a simple qāṭil form (no. f):

- d. agar an la hwit la aṭṭat əl-yanqā (Häberl, Khorr. 251)  
“If I had not been there, she would not have given birth to the baby.”

36 The word is surely to be read *miet*, not *met*, as given in the text; cf. Häberl, Khorr. 335 s.v. mwt. The context form of the 1. person is without ending; see *ibid.* 181.

- e. agar pərāhā həwāle turti zaḥnit (ibid.)  
 “If I had had money, I would have bought a cow.”<sup>37</sup>
- f. an agar gāw ā ‘aqəl hawinā əzgit (III 16)  
 “If I had known (lit.: If I had been in this mind), I would have gone.”

The qāṭil form in no. f is striking. According to Häberl (Khorr. 250), simple qāṭil is used with past time, q-qāṭil with present time reference (see no. c), but he supports his assertion only with the example cited in no. f. Unfortunately, the evidence does not allow this question to be conclusively clarified, but that qāṭil expresses the time reference in this example, seems rather unlikely, especially since the past time reference is already made clear by the qṭal form in the apodosis.

## 11 Summary

### 11.1 *Qṭal*

In both narrating and discussing passages, qṭal is used to express main and subordinate clause situations that are anterior to the speech time, and it can have the meaning of an anterior (2.1 + 2.2). Furthermore, it indicates, in main and subordinate clauses, anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1 + 4.2). qṭal is also used to denote situations with past time reference that intervene with another one that has not yet been completed and is expressed by q-qāṭil (5). Finally, qṭal is found in conditional clauses; it is used in the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the past and is attested once in the protasis of a real conditional of the present (10).

### 11.2 *Qāṭil*

qāṭil can be combined with the prefix q- and a form of hwy.

q-qāṭil is used very frequently. It can be found in narrating passages; often, but not necessarily, it is preceded by a qṭal form in these cases (2.1). Furthermore, q-qāṭil is attested in main clauses to denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past; an intervening situation, conceived as perfective, is expressed by qṭal; w + q-qāṭil and also simple qāṭil can describe accompanying circumstances (5). Moreover, q-qāṭil is used in main and subordinate clauses to denote simultaneity with the speech time, both with progressing situations

37 Examples nos. d and e are adapted from Macuch's Handbook.

hic et nunc, habitual ones and with situations that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed. With habitual situations, also simple qāṭil is attested (6.1 + 6.2; 7). Furthermore, q-qāṭil indicates posteriority to the speech time (8) and is used in conditional clauses; here, it is found once in the apodosis of a real conditional of the present / future and in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional of the present / future, simple qāṭil also in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional of the present / future and in the protasis of a counterfactual one of the past (10).

Combined with a qṭal form of hwy, which may precede or follow, q-qāṭil expresses habitual main clause situations of the past and probably also imperfective ones, although it is not attested in this function. hwy may be congruent in person and number with qāṭil; q- may also be absent in these cases and the invariant form *həwā* be used (3.1). In subordinate clauses, simple q-qāṭil without *həwā* is used (3.2).

Simple qāṭil is attested in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional of the present / future and in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional of the past (10). Moreover, it expresses deontic modality in main clauses and is found after expressions of wanting, obligation and permitting as well as in final clauses. In final clauses, also q-qāṭil is sometimes used (9.2). Occasionally, in addition to the usual q-qāṭil, it denotes habitual situations of the present and accompanying circumstances of the past (5; 7).

### 11.3 *Qṭil*

qṭil can be combined with a form of hwy or a suffixed copula. In the paradigm given by Häberl (Khorr. 233), the copula and hwy always follow the PP, but examples of preceding hwy are also attested in the texts. Unfortunately, the text corpus offers only a few examples, but it seems that qṭil has a passive meaning with transitive verbs and an active meaning with intransitive ones, such as yhm “to sit”; except when combined with the (q-)qāṭil form of hwy, qṭil always has a resultative meaning.

Combined with a qṭal form of hwy, it describes situations that had been completed before a reference point in the past while the resulting state was simultaneous with it: *həwā pəseq ax wəxt* “it had been [and was] broken then” [4.1]; *həwā pahlidi do nəfar yəhimen* “there were two people sitting beside him” [5].

Also when combined with a suffixed copula, the use is resultative, the reference point now being in the present: *kədebye gāw-kədāb moqaddas-dan* “it is written in our sacred book” (6.1).

qṭil + q-hāwe expresses passive situations which can have present or future time reference: *yəhimen qə-hawenni* “we are being / will be seated”; it probably

can denote imperfective and habitual situations (6.1; 8); qṭīl + hāwe, on the other hand, is non-indicative: *yəhimen hawen* “let us be seated” (9.1); these constructions, however, are not attested in the texts.

#### 11.4 *Yiqṭul*

*yiqṭul* is only attested with the verb *hwy* and is used modally in this case: *rəhāwā nehwi* “may she rest in peace” (10).

### 12 Analysis

The use of qṭal in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future as well as the fact that it cannot express imperfective situations in the past are indicative of the perfective character of the form. It is to be regarded as marked.

Simple qāṭil is occasionally attested in accompanying clauses, which have to be considered imperfective, and sometimes indicates habitual situations, but it predominantly expresses non-indicative situations and cannot be replaced by any other verb form in main clauses. It therefore seems to me most appropriate to regard it as a marked modal form expressing non-indicative situations.

q-qāṭil is predominantly indicative and is used to express imperfectivity (simultaneity with the speech time *hic et nun*), perfectivity (posteriority to the speech time, narratives) and also habituality, i.e. it is neither temporally nor aspectually marked. Even though it is occasionally attested in final clauses, it seems to be first and foremost a modal signum to express indicative situations and has to be considered marked.

hwā + q-qāṭil denotes habitual and probably also imperfective situations of the past, although it is not attested in the last-mentioned function. Accordingly, it expresses the extended imperfective aspect and must be considered unmarked.

qṭil + copula and hwā + qṭil are mostly used resultatively; with transitive verbs they have a passive, with intransitive ones an active meaning; they are to be considered marked. qṭil + q-hāwe, on the other hand, is also passive with transitive verbs but not necessarily resultative. An analysis is not unproblematic due to the evidence, but it seems that, in addition to passivity, it primarily expresses indicativity, like q-qāṭil. qṭil + hāwe is also passive and seems to be the non-indicative counterpart of qṭil + q-hāwe. These compounds have to be regarded as marked.

In total, Modern Mandaic has eight marked verbal forms: qṭal, qāṭil, q-qāṭil, qṭil + q-hāwe, qṭil + hāwe, qṭil + cop., hwā + qṭil, imperative.

hwā + q-qāṭil is unmarked.

In the indicative field, there is the following opposition pair:

qṭal (anterior perfective) : hwā + q-qāṭil (anterior ext. imperfective)

In addition, there are the modal oppositions:

qāṭil (non-indicative, active) : q-qāṭil (indicative, active)

qṭil + hāwe (non-indicative, passive) : qṭil + q-hāwe (indicative, passive)

# Turoyo

## o Text Corpus

In this chapter, the verbal system of the Aramaic urban dialect of Midyaḏ is described. For this purpose, the texts nos. 1 to 30 of H. Ritter's text collection were analysed. Ritter's transcription is largely adopted, and I also render the pronunciation variants, such as kil- for kal- (e.g. 24, 71), as they are given by Ritter in the texts. Furthermore, reference is made to the village dialect of Midin, about 30 km from Midyaḏ.

## 1 The Verb Forms

### 1.1 Qṭille

The old status abs. of the passive participle has the forms qṭīl (stem I < qṭal), mqāṭal (stem II < qaṭṭel) and maqṭal (stem III < 'aqṭel).<sup>1</sup> The long /ī/ of qṭīl is shortened when L-suffixes are added:

|      | sg.     | pl.                     |
|------|---------|-------------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭille  | qṭille <sup>2</sup>     |
| 3.f. | qṭilla  | qṭille                  |
| 2.m. | qṭillox | qṭillxu(n) <sup>3</sup> |
| 2.f. | qṭillix | qṭillxu(n)              |
| 1.   | qṭilli  | qṭillan                 |

*msikle* can mean “he grabbed” or “he grabbed him”. If the logical object is a 3.sg.f. or 3.pl., it is suffixed directly to the participle: *msikōle* “he grabbed her”, *msikile* “he grabbed them”. The masculine form of the participle is also used when a nominal object is mentioned, regardless of whether it is masculine or

1 Unlike Ritter, I refer to old qaṭṭel as stem II, to old 'aqṭel as stem III.

2 The preposition l- is usually assimilated to the preceding consonant when a 3.pl. pronoun is suffixed even with consonants where otherwise no assimilation takes place, as with /h/ and /l/ in *ftiḥḥe* “they opened”; see Ritter, Gr. 63.

3 The triple consonance can be simplified, e.g. *msikxu* < \**msiklxu* “you grabbed”; see Ritter, Gr. 66, note 2 where the full paradigm is given.



feminine, singular or plural. So it says: *msikle u-ṭairo* “he caught the bird” and *msikle ad-dīnōre* “he grabbed the gold pieces”. If, on the other hand, the logical subject is a noun, it is introduced by l-: *msikle lu-mālko* “the king grabbed (him)”. A first or second person object is expressed by another L-suffix which may indicate the accusative and the dative. *msiklelox* thus means “he grabbed you” as well as “he caught for you”.<sup>4</sup> *qṭille* is predominantly formed from transitive verbs, can be preceded by k- (before vowel) / kō- (before consonant) and is sometimes reinforced by kal-: *k-hūloxli* “you have given me”.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.2 *Qṭilwāle*

Between the base of the PP and L-suffix, the old *qṭal* form -wō- (< \**hwō* < *hwā*) or -wā- (when the logical object is a 3.sg.f) can be inserted. The forms of the L-suffixes are the same as with *qṭille*, except that the 3.pl may end in /-n/: *msikwōle* “he had grabbed (him)”, *msikwōla* “she had grabbed (him)”, *msikwōlin* ~ *msikwulle* “they had grabbed (him)”, *msikōwāle* “he had grabbed her”.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.3 *Qaṭṭil*

The old nomen agentis is inflected with S-suffixes, i.e. it has the endings -o (f.), -i (pl) or the zero ending (m.) in the third persons, and a shortened form of the independent personal pronoun is added with the first and second persons. The second root consonant is degeminated and the /a/ in the first syllable lengthened. The long /i/ is shortened in closed syllables and when the accent moves to the third syllable. *qaṭṭil* is used with intransitive verbs, especially with verbs expressing movement and states,<sup>7</sup> and with verbs that have an object but where no direct influence on the object can be determined, as with *šmʿ* “to hear”:

|      | sg.                  | pl.      |
|------|----------------------|----------|
| 3.m. | qāṭil                | qāṭīli   |
| 3.f. | qāṭilo               | qāṭīli   |
| 2.m. | qāṭilit              | qāṭilītu |
| 2.f. | qāṭilit <sup>8</sup> | qāṭilītu |
| 1.m. | qāṭilno              | qāṭilīna |
| 1.f. | qāṭilōno             | qāṭilīna |

<sup>4</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 64f.

<sup>5</sup> Ritter, Gr. 50.

<sup>6</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 81f.

<sup>7</sup> See Barsky and Loesov, Preterite 23f.

<sup>8</sup> Midin distinguishes between the 2.sg.m. (-ət) and the 2.sg.f (-at); see Jastrow, Midin 72.

Not all verbs obey the definition given above, i.e. *qaṭṭil* for intransitive, *qṭille* for transitive verbs. Sometimes both forms of the same verb are attested. *qṭille* usually denotes the perfective, *qaṭṭil* the imperfective aspect in these cases: *dāmīx* “he was sleeping”, *dmīxle* “he fell asleep”.<sup>9</sup>

Very irregularly inflected is the verb *ʾzl* “to go”: *ʾazzē* “he was going”, *ʾazzox* “you (m.) were going”, *ʾazzī* “I was going”.<sup>10</sup>

Also *qaṭṭil* can be combined with *-wo-* or, with feminine forms, with *-wa-*: *dāmīxwo* “he had slept”, *dāmīxōwa* “she had slept”.<sup>11</sup> In the surrounding villages like Midin, *-way-* precedes the S-suffix in the first persons: *gaḥəkwayno* “I (m.) had laughed”.<sup>12</sup> Like *qṭille*, *qaṭṭil* can also be combined with (kal-) *k-* / *kō-*: *ʾeh, k-āṭi ʾu-mʿallim* “Ha! Here comes the professor!”.<sup>13</sup>

#### 1.4 *Qāṭil*

The active participle is formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs. Verbs of stem II (< *qaṭṭel*) have the form *mqāṭil*, those of stem III (< *ʾaqṭel*) *maqṭil*. Just like *qaṭṭil*, it is inflected with S-suffixes. The G-stem is *qōṭil*, the /-ō-/ becomes /-u-/ in closed syllables. The participle can be preceded by *k-*, in the surrounding villages like Midin mostly *kō-*, which denotes the indicative, or by *gid-*, which expresses posteriority to the speech time. The /-d-/ in *gid-* can be dropped and /g-/ be assimilated to a following unvoiced consonant so that it is identical to the indicative prefix *k-*:

|      | sg.       | pl.                     |
|------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 3.m. | k-qōṭil   | k-quṭli                 |
| 3.f. | k-quṭlo   | k-quṭli                 |
| 2.m. | k-quṭlit  | k-quṭlītu               |
| 2.f. | k-quṭlit  | k-quṭlītu               |
| 1.m. | k-quṭalno | k-quṭlīna               |
| 1.f. | k-quṭlōno | k-quṭlīna <sup>14</sup> |

Also *qāṭil* of *ʾzl* is irregular; it differs from the *qaṭṭil* form only with respect to the vowel of the first syllable which here is /-u-/ or, after *d-* and *gid-* and in the absence of a prefix, /-i-/: *k-uzzē* “he goes” etc.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 84f.

<sup>10</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 753f.

<sup>11</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 94.

<sup>12</sup> Jastrow, Midin 154.

<sup>13</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 50; in Midyaḏ, however, *kō-* is often shortened to *k-* even before consonants.

<sup>14</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 96.

<sup>15</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 757f.

Here, too, -wo or -wa can be added; in this case, k- is rarely found but gid- is: *musakwo* “he used to grab”, *muskōwa* “she used to grab”, *gi-quṭlatwo* “you would kill / would have killed”.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.5 *Qāṭōlo / Qāṭilo*

The nomen agentis of the G-stem has the forms *qāṭōlo* (fem. *qāṭulto*, pl. *qāṭōle*), of stem II *mqaṭlōno* (fem. *mqaṭlōnīto*, pl. *mqaṭlōne*) and of stem III *maṭṭilōno* (fem. *maṭṭilonīto*, pl. *maṭṭilōne*). It is used, among other things, to form occupational titles, such as *šāḡōlo* “worker”, but is also used in the sense of an active participle. It can, with or without a form of the copula, form the predicate of a sentence, especially in the case of verbs of movement: *nāḥōto-no lī-walāe d B*. “I am travelling down to the city of B.”<sup>17</sup> A group of mostly intransitive verbs such as *ytw* “to sit”, *dmx* “to sleep”, *rxw* “to ride” prefers the pattern *qāṭilo*, fem. *qāṭilto*, pl. *qāṭile*.<sup>18</sup> It is often used resultatively and denotes the state resulting from an action: *dāmīxo* “fall asleep > sleeping”.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.6 *Qṭil*

The G-stem of the old status absolutus of the passive participle has the form *qṭil*, the forms of stems II and III are *mqaṭil* and *mmaṭil* and, unlike the *metqeṭel* forms (see below), have no / -ī- / in the first syllable; the origin of the first /m-/ of stem III is hard to explain and it is usually not heard in fast speech; the fact that in Kfärze and Midin stem III has *mt-* instead of *mm-*, i.e. *mtaqṭal* and, in Midin, *mtaqṭal*, suggests that these forms go back to the old t-stems.<sup>20</sup> The forms have the same S-suffixes as *qaṭṭil* and *qāṭil*. The active and the passive participles of stem II thus have identical forms. *mḥālaq* in Midin, for instance, means both “he throws” and “he was thrown”.<sup>21</sup>

16 See Ritter, Gr. 112f.

17 See Ritter, Gr. 121f, 152, 170; on the forms of the present and past copula, see *ibid.* pp. 7 + 9. Jastrow lists seven verbs of movement for Midin which are formed according to the pattern *qāṭōlo*, plus *ghk* “to laugh” and *tʿb* “to grow tired” (p. 118).

18 Ritter, Gr. 57; on this point, see also Jastrow, Midin 71, 117f.

19 According to the rules given by Jastrow for Midin (71, 117f), however, *qāṭilo* should also be formable from verbs like *bxy* “to cry”, *dʿt* “to sweat” and *bʿ* “to want”.

20 See Ritter, Gr. 155. The textbooks of Turoyo usually also give *mtaqṭal* as the passive of stem III; see e.g. Talay, Turoyo 272; for Midin, see also Jastrow, Midin 106. The omission of the /-ī-/ can probably be explained by the fact that the stems II and III have been transformed analogously to the corresponding *qṭille* forms, i.e. in the case of stem II: *metqaṭṭal* > \**miq-qāṭal* > \**mīqāṭil* > *mqaṭil*, analogous to *mḥālaqle* “he threw him”.

21 See Jastrow, Midin 144.

## 1.6.1 G-stem

|      | sg.     | pl.                   |
|------|---------|-----------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭīl    | qṭīli                 |
| 3.f. | qṭīlo   | qṭīli                 |
| 2.m. | qṭīlit  | qṭīlītu               |
| 2.f. | qṭīlit  | qṭīlītu               |
| 1.m. | qṭīlno  | qṭīlīna               |
| 1.f. | qṭīlōno | qṭīlīna <sup>22</sup> |

## 1.6.2 Stem II

|      | sg.    | pl.                       |
|------|--------|---------------------------|
| 3.m. | mqaṭīl | mqaṭli                    |
| 3.f. | mqaṭlo | mqaṭli etc. <sup>23</sup> |

## 1.6.3 Stem III

|      | sg.      | pl.                         |
|------|----------|-----------------------------|
| 3.m. | mmaqṭīl  | mmaqṭīli                    |
| 3.f. | mmaqṭīlo | mmaqṭīli etc. <sup>24</sup> |

qṭīl can be followed by -wo or -wa (= qṭīlwā): *msikwo* “he had been grabbed”, *msikōwa* “she had been grabbed” etc.<sup>25</sup>

1.7 *metqeṭel*

The forms referred to as *metqeṭel* in this work go back to the participles of the old t-stems. Stem I is derived from the participle of old *etqeṭel* and has the form *miqṭīl* (< \**miqqṭel* < \**metqeṭel*), which, like *qāṭīl*, can be combined with the prefixes *gid-* and *k-*. The inflectional endings are also the same as those of *qāṭīl* and *qaṭṭīl*:

<sup>22</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 124f.

<sup>23</sup> Kfärze has in the 3. sg.m. as well as in the corresponding form of *qāṭīl* an /a/ in the last syllable instead of an /i/, i.e. *mqāṭal*, see Ritter, Gr. 163, 171f. Forms with /a/ are also given by Talay, Turoyo 246f.

<sup>24</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 153f.

<sup>25</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 128.

|      | sg.          | pl.                        |
|------|--------------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | k-miqt̃il    | k-miqt̃ōli                 |
| 3.f. | k-miqt̃ōlo   | k-miqt̃ōli                 |
| 2.m. | k-miqt̃ōlit  | k-miqt̃īlitu               |
| 2.f. | k-miqt̃ōlit  | k-miqt̃īlitu               |
| 1.m. | k-miqt̃alno  | k-miqt̃īlina               |
| 1.f. | k-miqt̃ilōno | k-miqt̃īlina <sup>26</sup> |

metqeṭel of stem II is derived from the participle of old etqaṭṭal: metqaṭṭal > \*miqqāṭal > mīqāṭil:

|      | sg.       | pl.                     |
|------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 3.m. | k-mīqāṭil | k-mīqāṭli               |
| 3.f. | k-mīqāṭlo | k-mīqāṭli <sup>27</sup> |

metqeṭel of stem III has developed from the participle of old ettaqṭal:

|      | sg.         | pl.                       |
|------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 3.m. | k-mītaqṭil  | k-mītaqṭili               |
| 3.f. | k-mītaqṭilo | k-mītaqṭili <sup>28</sup> |

-wo / -wa can also be suffixed to metqeṭel: *li k-midmaxwo* “one could not sleep”.<sup>29</sup>

### 1.8 Qṭilā

The G-stem of the status emphaticus of the old passive participle has the forms qṭilo, fem. qṭīlo, pl. qṭīle etc, the derived stems are formed with the prefix m-. It is often used in the function of an adjective, e.g. qṭīlo “killed”, but can also, combined with a form of the copula, form the predicate: *mma'zimo-yo* “he (has been and) is invited”.<sup>30</sup>

The verb forms mentioned so far are negated by *lō* which becomes *lu* or *li* before double consonants: *lō dāmīx* “he did not sleep”, *li qṭi'le* “he did not cut it off”.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 129.

<sup>27</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 172.

<sup>28</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 155.

<sup>29</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 131, 174.

<sup>30</sup> See Ritter Gr. 57, 157, 175.

<sup>31</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 55.

### 1.9 *Imperative*

The imperative forms of the G-stem are qṭal (sg.) and qṭālu (pl.).<sup>32</sup>

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority to the speech time is usually expressed by qṭille (transitive) and qaṭṭīl (intransitive), in both discussing and narrating passages. As can be seen from some of the examples (e.g. no. c), the forms can also be used in the sense of an anterior:

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. naqqa ḥḏō qrēli ḥā māq-qāšāni (1, 7)  
“Once I invited a clergyman.”
- b. māṭīli 500 nōṭat (15, 2)  
“500 banknotes have reached me.”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- c. ʾāšir ʾāṭīno (29, 89)  
“Well, I have come.”
- d. ʾu dāʾiri ʾu<sup>33</sup> twīri (29, 21)  
“And they returned defeated.”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. qrēli tārtē sāʿāyat ʾu fälge (10, 2)  
“I read for two and a half hours.”
- f. ḥkimle ḥikim dīde b-ʿadāle (24, 255)  
“He exercised his rule with justice.”

<sup>32</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 56.

<sup>33</sup> Ritter states that he writes hamza as he heard it and that he ignores it in *u* “and” (Texte, vol. 1, p. 31). I will generally indicate it at the beginning of a new speech unit and after vowels.

## 2.1.4 Stative

- g. 'a trē-ste bāsimme 'u-bayto (1, 62)  
 “They both liked the house.”
- h. 'u mandāmla (26, 154)  
 “And she repented.”

In narratives, also *k-qāṭil* is used; especially in text no. 6, this usage is very popular:

- i. k-ōwe 'ū-lālyāwo 'a'layye, g-dumxi (6, 90)  
 “Night fell upon them, they lay down to sleep.”

Moreover, *qṭil* can be used:

- j. mu-sābābāno fṣiḥīna ḡalabe 'a'mox (29, 278)  
 “That is why we were so pleased about you.”<sup>34</sup>

The anterior can be expressed by *k-qatṭil* and *k-qṭille*. It is not attested too often. *k-qatṭil* seems to be used primarily with the verb 'ty “to come”. In the attested cases, greater weight seems to be given to the action than to the resulting state, so they seem to be in fact anteriors, not resultatives:

- k. 'eh! k-āṭi 'u-m'allim (1, 56)  
 “Ha! Here comes the professor!”<sup>35</sup>
- l. k-āṭi nōšo (21, 43)  
 “People have come.”

*k-qatṭil* of 'zl can also express the immediate future:

- m. k-āzzīno (29, 51)  
 “I am leaving now (I am already gone).”

34 See further: 1, 8 (mma'mir “it was built”); 11, 38 (binyo “it (f.) was built”); 11, 107 (ḥzē “he was seen”); 19, 1 (fṣiḥno “I was pleased”); 24, 90 (ftiḥ “it was opened”); 24, 94 (mlē “it was filled”); 29, 455 (m'aḡbo “she wondered”); 30, 23 (qlif “it peeled off”). Further evidence can be found in Ritter's grammar in the sections on the passive voice.

35 See also: 26, 78 (k-āṭin “they have come”); 29, 124 (k-āṭin af-fērisin d bābi “here come my father's riders”).

I know of only one example of k-qṭille:

- n. k-hūloxli ʾu-baxšiš dīdi (Ritter, Gr. 50)  
 “You have already given me my present.”

However, as already explained, qṭille and qaṭṭil can also be used in the sense of an anterior. For instance, after 21, 43 it says: *msikīlan yāšīre* “we have imprisoned them”; even though the people are still imprisoned, the action seems to be more important because the speaker has seen it himself. Here are two more examples of qaṭṭil:

- o. l āti (6, 16)  
 “He has not come.”
- p. mu-sābābāno ʾāṭīno mʾaxro (7, 20)  
 “That is why I have come too late.”<sup>36</sup>

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

With the exception of k-qāṭil, k-qṭille and k-qaṭṭil, the same verb forms are attested in subordinate clauses as in main clauses:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ḥatta d ... ʾu ʾū-mēde di gnuwwe-ste fōiš lāšānayna (25, 59)  
 “So that ... that which they have stolen remains for us.”
- b. kīto ʾitāwōto di bnin bū-dōro 350 (11, 54)  
 “There are churches that were built around 350.”<sup>37</sup>

### 2.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- c. ʾu hā mādām millix hawxa, ʾuno lu k-uzzi m-ärke (29, 177)  
 “And after you have said this, I am not leaving from here.”<sup>38</sup>

36 See further: 6, 24 (māit “he has died”); 11, 282 (ʾāṭīna “we have come”); 14, 3 (ʾadyawma dāʾinno mi-Miḏyaḏ “I returned from Miḏyaḏ today”); 24, 24 (l-min ʾāṭit sidi? “why have you come to me?”); 26, 37 (l-min ʾāṭitu? “why have you come?”); 26, 162 (ʾāṭit “you have come”); 29, 63 (m-ayko ʾāṭit? “where have you come from?”).

37 See also: 2, 1 (d maḥkēli “that I have told you about”); 23, 39 (di mḥālaqlan “that we have thrown”); 25, 57 (di gnūlan “that we have stolen”).

38 See further 26, 248 (biṭir mid simlox “after you have done”).



Moreover, q̄lā + present copula is attested; it is used in the meaning of an anterior:

- d.   zlām fāqīro ḏlīmo-yo (26, 109)  
       “He is a poor man who has been wronged.”

Occasionally q̄l̄wāle can be found:

- e.   lāzim li ’i-māgmū’a d hūliwolxu (17, 2)  
       “I need the magazine I gave you.”

### 3       Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1     *Main Clauses*

This category is mostly expressed by q̄l̄wā:

##### 3.1.1     Punctual

- a.   ’utēwo ṭayro ’u nutāšwo ’u-ḥāwūšāwo (21, 2)  
       “A bird always came and stole the apple.”
- b.   ’u marfēwo ’an-nā’ime b-ḥdōde (29, 295)  
       “And he would always let the sons go at each other.”

##### 3.1.2     Telic

- c.   naqqāwōto ’utēwolan ḏāyfe (1, 60)  
       “Sometimes guests came to us.”
- d.   ḥulaqwole kul yawmo (27, 28)  
       “He shaved him every day.”

##### 3.1.3     Atelic

- e.   qāimi xudmīwo ’u-bābo (24, 257)  
       “They served the father.”
- f.   kuraxwo bu-bayto (1, 51)  
       “He used to walk around in the house.”

## 3.1.4 Stative

- g. fuhamwo mu-šuglāno (1, 20)  
“He knew how to do this work.”
- h. ruḥamwo ḡalabe (1, 53)  
“He loved it very much.”<sup>39</sup>

In addition, metqeṭelwā is attested:

- i. li midmaxwo (2, 31)  
“(It was not slept =) Sleeping was out of the question.”<sup>40</sup>

## 3.2 Subordinate Clauses

qāṭilwā is also used in subordinate clauses:

## 3.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. ’u ’i-gāmlo-ste, ’i-naqqa d ro’yōwa, mḥalqōwa fēma lu-gēlo (26, 31)  
“And when the camel grazed, it stretched out its mouth for the grass.”
- b. ’i-naqqa d ’uṭēwo maṭro, xayrīwo ’am-māe (1, 17)  
“When it rained, the water flowed.”<sup>41</sup>

## 3.2.2 Relative Clauses

- c. ’u-qaṭ d yutāwno-wo ’u-qaṭ da tlōto-we (2, 63)  
“The floor I lived on was the third floor.”<sup>42</sup>

39 Further evidence can be found in Ritter’s grammar in the sections on the Habitualis.

40 See also: 2, 41 (mibāšalwo “it was cooked”); 2, 42 (mīsamwo “[coffee] was made”); 2, 82 (mixliṭiwo bi-ḥdōde “they intertwined”); 25, 3 (mīštā’ēwo “he played”); in one case, metqeṭelwā is combined with k-: *li k-mīsamwo ’a’le* “he could not be fooled” (11, 251).

41 See further, inter alia: 2, 93 (d ub’īnawo “when we wanted”); 11, 229 (d maḥkēwo “when he narrated”); 11, 236 (d mašma’nowole “when I let him hear”).

42 See also 2, 59 (d uṭēwolān “who used to come to us”).

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

In main clauses, this category is usually expressed by q̣ṭilwāle:

#### 4.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'amma mwā'adwulle 'am-ḥdōde (26, 230)  
"But they had given each other the word."<sup>43</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Telic

- b. mlēwōli ḥā šārīt xuṣūṣi zmuryōto 'arabi b-Murde (11, 195)  
"I had filled a special tape with Arabic chants in Mardin."<sup>44</sup>

Occasionally, simple q̣ṭille, which is used in parallel with q̣ṭilwāle in the following example, or q̣ṭṭil is attested:

- c. 'ay-yirūte d 'arīf Pāša fligge 'u-qōnāgāno 'al-ḥdōde 'u simwulle kmo  
'apartmānāt (2, 57)  
"The heirs of 'Arif Pasha had divided this villa among themselves and had made some rental flats out of it."<sup>45</sup>
- d. 'āṭīna l-ārke (24, 188)  
"We had come here."

Also q̣ṭṭilwā can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past:

- e. 'u-lālyāwo nōšo minayye li dāmīxwo (30, 154)  
"None of them had slept that night."<sup>46</sup>

I have found no evidence of q̣ṭilwā for Miḍyaḍ, but there is one example in a text from Midin:

43 See further: 1, 47 (mhādilewolan "he had given us"); 2, 87 (mhādilewoliyo "he had given it to me"); 2, 94 (šqiwōli "I had purchased").

44 See also: 5, 12 (makṭawlewolox "he had dictated to you"); 29, 55 (lwišwōle "he had put on [the clothes]").

45 See further 24, 11 (millele "he had said to him").

46 See also: 2, 101 (māyṭōwa "she had died"); 2, 118 (yātūwo "he had settled"); 11, 274 (šāmi'inawo "I had heard").

- f. 'annaqla hiye lēbe qṭi'wa (73, 418)  
 "At that time his heart had been broken = all courage had left him."

#### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, one usually finds qṭille and qatṭil:

##### 4.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. biṭir midi shidle 'a'le millele (27, 50)  
 "After he had given testimony against him, he said to him: ..." <sup>47</sup>
- b. biṭir mid māit ... marfalle 'u-ṭayro (24, 311)  
 "After he had died ... they let the bird go." <sup>48</sup>

##### 4.2.2 Relative Clauses

- c. mōbēle trälfo suwāriye 'a'me di mnāqēle b-ṭide (29, 182)  
 "He took 2000 riders with him whom he had selected with his own hand."
- d. maṭma'le 'u-šēx lu-tāğirāno d 'āṭi (26, 92)  
 "That merchant who had come made the sheikh greedy." <sup>49</sup>

Occasionally, however, qṭilwāle is also used in subordinate clauses:

- e. māḥitnowo tāmo ... d mantiyōwāli m-'Almanya (2, 67)  
 "There I put the ... that I had brought from Germany." <sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, anteriority to a reference point in the past can be expressed by qṭil:

47 For more qṭille forms after *biṭir midi* or *biṭir d*, see, among others: 10, 10 (ḥliqli "I had shaved"); 11, 201 (mkāmēli "I had finished"); 24, 90 (fiḥla "she had opened"); 24, 136 (ṭlibbe xāṭir "he had said goodbye"); 24, 173 (mqātälle "they had fought"); 24, 203 (māḥatle "he had pitched [the tent]"); 27, 13 (manḥatle "he had brought down"); after *'i-naqqa d* "after, when": 12, 5 (ḥzēle "he had seen"); 30, 32 (millele "he had spoken to him").

48 For more qatṭil forms after *biṭir midi*, see, inter alia: 11, 94 (fāyišno "I had stayed"); 21, 9 ('azzē "he had gone"); 24, 255 (yātu "he had sat down"); after *'i-naqqa d*: 11, 9 (māṭino "I had arrived"); 23, 5 (šāmi' "he had heard"); 23, 23 ('āṭi "he had come"); 26, 7 (yāqir "it had become heavy").

49 See further: 2, 85 (d ktūwulle "that they had written"); 21, 57 (di ḥzēle "that he had seen").

50 See also 2, 96 (d ḥulewoli "who had given me").

- f. 'u-mälko qṛēle l-āwo di zbīṭ yāsīro (21,45)  
 “The king called the one who had been taken prisoner.”

The same applies to qāṭīlo, except that here the action is performed actively:

- g. 'i-naqla d rāwī'o 'i-gāmlo 'u d nāḥīto ... (26, 30)  
 “When the camel had lain down (qāṭīlo) and she dismounted (qaṭṭīl) ...”

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

This category is rarely attested in main clauses. It can be expressed by qāṭīlo which may be preceded by the fully inflected deictic particle kal-. qāṭīlo is often attested with ytw “to sit (down)” dmx “to sleep” or rxw “to ride” and always has a resultative meaning in these cases: to sit down > to sit; to fall asleep > to sleep; to mount (a horse) > to ride. With another verb, k-metqetel is attested (no. a). As can be seen from example no. a, an intervening situation is expressed by qṭille:

- a. ḥā may-yawme yāṭīwe 'u-mälko wīy-ätto 'al-i-muklo 'al-i-sufro 'uw-abratte-  
 ste sīdayye k-mištā'e ... ḥzēle (24, 5–6)  
 “One day the king and his wife were sitting at the table to eat and their son was playing next to them .... Then he saw ...”<sup>51</sup>

But qaṭṭīl of a verb of movement can also describe a situation that is meant to be in progress:

- b. fāyitno 'am-gābe. 'al-ḡaflika mḥālaqla rūḥe 'a'li (7, 4–5)  
 “I was walking past him. Then he suddenly jumped on me.”

Accompanying circumstances, which may be introduced by an independent subject pronoun, are usually described by qāṭōlo- and qāṭīlo forms; the reference point is expressed by qṭille or qaṭṭīl, in one case by a qāṭīl form with past time reference (no. f):

<sup>51</sup> See further: 2, 120 (kille yāṭīwo “he was sitting”); 24, 71 (kilā dāmixto “she was sleeping”); 26, 23 (rāxīwo “he was riding”).

- c. hūwe qīmo māḥiso midle ʿu-ḥāwūšo mōbēle (21, 12)  
“While that one was standing awake on his feet, it (the bird) took the apple and carried it away.”
- d. hāno, hiya ṭāwiḥto dāmixto, mawfaqla m-ʿīda (24, 141)  
“As she was lying asleep, he slipped it off her hand.”
- e. hinne ʿāzōle bu-dārbo, yātiwi b-dukto ḥdō (26, 21)  
“As they were going on their way, they sat down (qaṭṭil) in one place.”
- f. ḥā māl-lālye, dāmīxo, ḥōze bū-ḥilmayde ḥā mālāxo (23, 2)  
“One night, as he was sleeping, he saw in a dream an angel.”<sup>52</sup>

I have not found any examples of qāṭilwā or k-qāṭilwā in Ritter’s work. Jastrow, however, cites a main clause example with k-qāṭilwā in his textbook (p. 30):

- g. g-domaxwayno ʿal-i-goro naqla šaməʿno mede  
“I was sleeping on the roof when suddenly I heard something.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

In a temporal and a relative clause, qāṭilo and qāṭōlo with preceding kit + wa “was” are attested:

- a. ʿi-naqla d kitwox hāt u ʿēmi yātiwe ʿal-ōu-muklo ... ḥā ṭayro hūle šawt dīde mu-šubbak (24, 250)  
“When you were sitting eating with my mother ... a bird from the window let its voice be heard.”
- b. madʿalle ḥā mas-sōwānik d kitwe tāmo dāwōro k-bōxe k-ōmir (24, 234)  
“One of the old men who was ploughing there answered crying.”

As seen above (sect. 1), these two patterns are attested primarily with intransitive verbs; with other verbs, by contrast, qāṭilwā is used which, according to Jastrow, is hardly ever found with k- in Midin (p. 151f) when describing habitual and imperfective situations:

52 See also: 11,98 (ʿu-dārbo d ʿazzāno [qaṭṭil] būwe mhalxōne [qāṭōlo] “the path we were walking ...”); 29, 79 (hēš dāmīxo “while he was still sleeping”). For more examples, see Ritter, Gr. 121f.

- c. 'i-naqla d kosaḥwa 'u-karmo, 'i-kərfo dwəṣla b-ṣaw'e 'i-rabto  
 "When he was pruning his vineyard, the snake bit him in the thumb."

qāṭilwā is also used when the situation is habitual:

- d. 'i-naqqa d kuraxnowo lāf Bābāk, 'ubēnowole b-fēme gāzēta ṭwīto (1, 55)  
 "When I went for a walk to Bebek, I always put a folded newspaper in his mouth."<sup>53</sup>

There are also some temporal clauses with qatṭil and qṭille, but for the most part it cannot be ruled out that the situations in question are regarded as already completed:

- e. 'i-naqla d nāfiqi mī-walāyāyo, 'u-ta'lo-ste 'āṭi l-qāmūtayye (21, 71)  
 "As they were riding out of the town (had ridden?), the fox came towards them."  
 f. 'i-naqla di mqādāmli, ḥzēli, mi ḥzēli? (2, 72)  
 "When I was coming closer (had come closer?), I saw, what did I see?"<sup>54</sup>

The following qatṭil form, however, is quite clearly simultaneous:

- g. 'i-naqqa d gāḥix 'u-bābo qhīr mille (24, 8)  
 "When he was laughing, the father became angry and said: ..."

Also k-qāṭil can be used with past time reference and then denote simultaneity:

- h. 'i-naqla di g-dumxo 'i-'amto, k-qōyim (6, 30)  
 "When the aunt was sleeping, he got up."

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

I have found this category attested only in subordinate clauses. gid-qāṭil is used:

53 See also: 11, 229 ('i-naqqa d maḥkēwo – yāqūrowe "when he talked, he was dignified"); 11, 245 ('i-naqqa d uḡaznowo – mqāfēnowo "when I was tired, I looked for").

54 See further: 28, 104 (mid gāni "when [the sun] was going down [had gone down?]); 29, 279 ('i-naqqa di mqādāmle "when he was approaching [had approached?]").

- a. 'awwil d šāmi'no gid-māhīdi 'u-baytāno ... (2, 114)  
"As soon as I heard that they would demolish this house ..."
- b. bās heš l uḍa'nowo šuḡli 'aydarbo gid-hōwe (5, 4)  
"But I did not know how it would turn out with my work."
- c. mu-sābāb d 'ādi' NN gd-'ōṭe (25, 24)  
"For he knew that NN would come."<sup>55</sup>

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

Situations that are just in progress as well as those that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed are predominantly expressed by *k-qāṭil*, in the villages mostly *kō-qāṭil*; in addition, the nomina agentis *qāṭōlo* and *qāṭilo* are attested which are often combined with the particle *kal*:-

#### 7.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. k-nušaḡno 'iḍox (5, 19)  
"I am kissing your hand (end of a letter)."

#### 7.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- b. kile 'uw-abro du mālko 'ātōyo (24, 240)  
"The son of the king is coming."<sup>56</sup>

#### 7.1.3 Atelic

- c. qai g-bōxit? (6, 38)  
"Why are you crying?"<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See also 27, 43 (g-qōṭi' "that he would cut").

<sup>56</sup> *k-qāṭil* of 'ty, however, is also attested: *k-'uṭēli šāmto* (6, 27) "sleep is coming to me, I am sleepy".

<sup>57</sup> See also: 5, 5 ('ō'do k-'uwadno "now I am working"); 6, 51 (min g-dūrit? – g-duwarno ṭlawḡe "what are you cultivating? – I am cultivating lentils"); 11, 270 (k-sōyim ta'lim "he is exercising"); 13, 4 (k-šiqlo 'u-his "she is recording the voices"); 20, 5 (k-'uwadno "I am working"); 24, 8 (g-gōḡix "he is laughing"); 24, 24 (mi k-saymit? "what are you doing?"); 24, 196



## 7.1.4 Complex

- d. ʾam-māe du-baḥar, d ʾummit, killin taḥti raḡli k-mabriqi (4, 15)  
 “The water of the sea is flashing under my feet, so to speak.”

## 7.1.5 Stative

- e. ʾu-mālko qāmōyo k-fōiš sāḡ? (24, 238)  
 “Is the former king living?”<sup>58</sup>

k-qāṭil also denotes situations that last from the past to the present:

- f. ʾuno hāni šwaʿ išne k-xudamno bī-baxčaydox (24, 196)  
 “I have been serving in your garden for seven years now.”

In addition, simultaneity with the speech time can be expressed by qṭilā + present copula. It has a resultative meaning:

- g. ʾu-mālkaydan msīko-yo (24, 234)  
 “Our king (has been captured and now) is captured.”<sup>59</sup>

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, the same verb forms are used:

## 7.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. mi-dukto d kitno yātīwo g-maḥwin nāḍife ḡalabe (4, 16)  
 “From the place where I am sitting, it looks quite pure.”
- b. NN d k-ōbiʿ yōlif ʾu-lišōno (11, 1)  
 “NN who wants to learn the language.”<sup>60</sup>

---

(k-xudamno “I am serving”); 26, 95 (k-šumʿitu lō? “are you listening?”); 29, 369 (li k-ūdo “she is not doing”).

58 See further: 24, 70 (kila dāmixto “she is sleeping”); 24, 259 (k-ruḥmanne “I love them”); 24, 238 (yātīwo ʾal-u-taxt “he is sitting on the throne”).

59 See also: 6, 97 (ʾu-ṭarʿo ftīho-yo “the door is open”); 11, 12 (bnīto-yo “it is built”); 26, 109 (lēbi twīro-yo “my heart is broken, grieved”).

60 See further: 5, 10 (k-ubaʿno “that I want”); 11, 255 (di k-samnole darmāla “in which I am fattening him”); 30, 153 (d kityo yātūto “who is sitting”); 29, 247 (d kitna yātīwe “where we are sitting”).

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is expressed by *k-qāṭil*; *k-metqetel* is also attested:

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. b-midde d yārḥo k-mifriṭ dukto m-dīda (9, 21)  
“Within a month a part of it bursts open.”

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- b. kul šāto b-yawmo mbayno 'ak-kuhne dar-Rūm k-ōṭin (1, 6)  
“Every year on a certain day the Greek priests come.”

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. kul šāto ... ki-mṣālin (1, 6)  
“Every year ... they pray.”

#### 8.1.4 Stative

- d. k-mamṭe māl qaçağ mi-Sūrīya ... li k-yōtu rāḥa (11, 225)  
“He brings in contraband from Syria ... He does not sit still.”<sup>61</sup>

### 8.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

The same verb forms are used:

#### 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. 'i-ṭto d ki-mṣāle biya k-miṭāmalla NN (11, 176)  
“The church where he holds the service is called NN.”
- b. 'u-ḥā d k-uzzē k-ōbe waraqa tarte (4, 53)  
“The one who goes there gives a banknote or two.”<sup>62</sup>

61 Several other examples can be found in text no. 9 and in Ritter's grammar in the sections dealing with the Imperfect.

62 See also, inter alia: 4, 33 (d k-ōṭin “who come”); 11, 75 (di k-miṣāle binne “in which service is held”); 11, 176 (d ki-mṣāle biya “in which he holds service”).

### 8.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- c. 'i-naqqa di k-rōyiš 'am-māe qādiše 'al-ū-'ulmo k-'ōmir (12, 12)  
“When he sprinkles the holy water on the people, he says: ...”
- d. 'i-naqla di k-fayti ... g-gurši 'u-bayraq d-Turkīya (4, 35)  
“When they pass through ... they raise the Turkish flag.”<sup>63</sup>

After *d*, however, simple qāṭil can also be used:

- e. 'u-ḥā d ubēle tlōto finēgin k-ḥuṣwile dižmin (29, 314)  
“The one to whom you give three cups (of coffee) is considered an enemy.”

qṭilā with a form of the copula can also be used in a habitual sense:

- f. 'uno rḥimli 'u-baytāno ḡalabe mu-sābāb d kit-yo mšalṭo 'al-u-Bōḡāz (4, 14)  
“I liked this house very much because it overlooks the Bosphorus.”<sup>64</sup>

## 9 Extratemporalis

Extratemporal situations are also expressed by *k-qāṭil* or *k-metqeṭel*:

- a. 'u-sawko ki-mḥāfiḍ 'u-qar'o mi-šimšo (3, 5)  
“The hair protects the head from the sun.”
- b. 'u-šikil ... k-mībādil (3, 21)  
“The shape (of the eye) ... changes.”<sup>65</sup>

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 Main Clauses

This category is expressed in main and subordinate clauses by *gid-qāṭil* or *gid-metqeṭel* (no. e):

63 See further: 4, 19 ('i-naqqa di k-fōit “when he passes through”); 11, 224 ('i-naqqa d li k-miwāfiq “when he does not succeed”).

64 See also 29, 268 (mḥaršo-yo “he is immune”).

65 Several further examples can be found in text no. 3 which describes the human body in general.

## 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. gid-izzīno gd-ubēnole kallāt (23, 7)  
 “I will go and give him money.”<sup>66</sup>

## 10.1.2 Telic

- b. ‘ahna g-mublīnale li-maqbaro qūrīnale (25, 46)  
 “We will take him to the cemetery and bury him.”<sup>67</sup>

## 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. ḡalabe gi-mhauri ‘a’lox (21, 35)  
 “They will shout at you a lot.”<sup>68</sup>

## 10.1.4 Stative

- d. hāni li g-manfīline (29, 297)  
 “These will not be of any use to me.”

I have found no evidence of gid-metqetel in Ritter’s texts, but Talay gives one example in his text book (p. 274):

- e. gid-mizwōno ‘i-raḡaytayḡux adyawma  
 “Today your car will be sold.”

Besides gid- / g-, k- is also used, but this is probably the shortened and voiceless variant of gid-:

- f. tāmo k-fulḡina ‘ak-kāllatāni (25, 57)  
 “There we will share the money.”<sup>69</sup>

66 See also: 2, 120 (gid-nōfiq “he will go out”); 23, 11 (g-quṭannole “I will kill him”); 29, 292 (gd-ubēnolox “I will give it to you”); 29, 275 (g-mīčik “he will get into it”).

67 See further, inter alia: 6, 69 (gid-iṭēlan “they will come to us”); 29, 382 (g-uzzīno-la “I will go to her”); 29, 528 (g-ḡulabli “he will defeat me”); 30, 168 (ḡ-ōṭin “they will come”).

68 See also 21, 62 (gi-mdābānno ‘u-ṣuḡlāno “I will take care of the matter”).

69 See also, among others: 21, 24 (k-ḡōzīt “you will see”); 26, 8 (li k-yōriṭ “he will not inherit”).

## 10.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

### 10.2.1 Temporal Clause

- a. kit yawmo d 'ēmox 'u-bābox g-maḥti mae 'al-īdox (24, 11)  
 “There will come a day when your mother and father will pour water over your hand.”

### 10.2.2 Relative Clause

- b. kitli bārto gd-ubēnoloxyo (24, 183)  
 “I have a daughter whom I will give to you.”

### 10.2.3 Object Clause

- c. d ḥuzyōno 'ālōho 'āydārbo k-sōyim (26, 149)  
 “... that I see what God will do (with me).”

## 11 *Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future*

In Midin, this category can be expressed by gid-qāṭil of hwy “to be” and following qṭille or qatṭil:

- a. towe mtāṣər (Jastrow, Midin 150)  
 “He will have been bound.”
- b. towe moqadle bayto d tawno mede (ibid.)  
 “He will have burnt a straw barn or the like.”

After 'i-naqqa / naqla d and 'u-yawmo d, qāṭil is used:

- c. 'i-naqqa d ōtēno li-Ştambul gim-maḥkēnox (14, 14)  
 “When I will have come to Stambul I will tell you.”<sup>70</sup>
- d. 'u-yawmo d izzox l-Murde, gd-uṭēno l-sū-’ōtobus (11, 285)  
 “On the day you will have gone to Mardin, I will come to the bus.”<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See further: 21, 33 ('i-naqla d izzox “when you will have gone”); 23, 40 ('i-naqla d ōte “when he will have come”); 24, 261 ('i-naqla d ōtin “when they will have come”). See also 26, 64: 'ayna minayna d huwēle 'abro “when one of us will have had a son”.

<sup>71</sup> See also 11, 326 ('u-yawmo d izzoxu “on the day you will gone”).

After *mid* / *midi* “when, as soon as”, however, *q̄t̄ile* or *q̄t̄t̄il* are used:

- e. *biṭir* ma š-šaw‘o yawme, *midi* mḥēlox, g-mufqo gdayto ‘u ṭlamto d laḥmo (6, 48)  
“After seven days, when you will have beaten (with it), it will bring out chicken and curly bread.”
- f. *mid* ‘āṭi g-muṣyālle (24, 189)  
“When he will have come, I will talk to him.”

After *biṭir* *d*, *metqetel* without prefix is attested:

- g. *biṭir* bi-kmō yawme ‘inšallah d mī‘ādil, ‘i-naqlāyo gi-msāḡalno ḥis diḏe (15, 8)  
“When he will hopefully be recovered after a few days, I will record his voice on tape.”

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 Main Clauses

Non-indicative statements can be expressed by *q̄āṭil* or *metqetel*:

- a. ‘ālōho mawrix ‘umrayxu (11, 332)  
“May God prolong your life.”
- b. qay qut̄lit ‘uw-abraydox? (24, 9)  
“Why do you want to kill your son?”
- c. ‘ayna mublina? (21, 21)  
“Which one shall we bring?”

I have not found any examples of simple *metqetel* in main clauses, but this is certainly due to the textual situation; in any case, it is used in the neighbouring villages:

- d. miḥāse bābox!  
“May your father be forgiven.”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> See Ritter, Gr. 423f.

The imperative is negated by *l* + *qāṭil*:

- e. *lu xušnit!* (10, 16)  
 “Do not get too fat!”<sup>73</sup>

The passive *qṭil* and the status emphaticus *qṭilā* can also be used in a non-indicative way:

- f. *hdim bayto!*<sup>74</sup> (29, 163)  
 “May his house be demolished!”
- g. *brixto!* (26, 245)  
 “May she be blessed!”

Not infrequently, *gid-qāṭil* and *gid-metqeṭel* are used in a non-indicative sense

- h. *g-malḥiqītulla hul lu-tar‘o duw abro du ‘ammo* (26, 170)  
 “You will take her to her cousin’s door!”
- i. *g-miqṭil* (27, 58)  
 “He has to be killed.”
- j. *‘abri, ‘aydārbo g-nuḥrīna ‘u-ṭawro simōqo?* (6, 12)  
 “My son, how shall we slaughter the red ox?”<sup>75</sup>

Counterfactual statements of the present and the past, on the other hand, are expressed by *qāṭilwā*:

- k. *quṭlatwo ‘a-trētayna ‘u l immatwo ‘u-xabrāno!* (29, 135)  
 “Would you rather have killed us both and not said that word!”

73 The evidence of *qāṭil* in this sense is so numerous that I will limit myself to the examples given here.

74 The /i/ of the 3. sg.m. is usually long but is shortened in fast-spoken imprecations; see Ritter, Gr. 125.

75 See also: 6, 3 (*gid-izzāno* “let us go!”); 6, 55 (*gi-nuṭarno?* “am I to keep watch?”); 21, 22 (*gid-izzox* “you have to go”); 24, 169 (*l-ayko gid-izzāno?* “where shall we go?”); 29, 113 (*gi-marwixatli* “you shall let me ride!”).

- l. gälo ħizyōwa ‘ayni naqqa ħrēto ‘u-šēxatxu ‘utēwo l-ārke! (30, 75)  
 “If only my eye could see your sheikh once more, that he would come here!”

### 12.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, qāṭil and metqetel (no. d) are used, both after superordinate clauses with present and with past time reference. Expressions of fear, obligation, desire, etc. are usually followed by the subordinator *d*:

- a. ‘aḥna zāy‘īna d nayto ‘i-nūro l-gābayna (1, 12)  
 “We feared that the fire would jump over to us.”
- b. ruḥamwo ḡalabe d mōsik mēde b-fēme (1, 53)  
 “He loved very much to hold something in his mouth.”
- c. k-ub‘ēno di mzābnātli ‘uw-abrāno (23, 13)  
 “I want you to sell me the son.”
- d. k-lōzim hāni d mīṭandīfi (9, 9)  
 “These must be cleaned.”<sup>76</sup>

The subordinator, however, is not obligatory:

- e. k-ōbi‘ yōlif (11, 1)  
 “He wants to learn.”<sup>77</sup>

qāṭilwā can express counterfactual situations:

- f. lāzim d mādwo ‘u-baḥro l-qāmūṭa (26, 134)  
 “He should have held the light in front of her.”

<sup>76</sup> For more qāṭil forms after *d* and superordinate clauses with past time reference, see: 1, 7 (d ōte “that he comes”); 2, 6 (d dumaxno “that I sleep”); 6, 4 (d sōim šuḡlo “that he works”); 24, 32 (d dumxi “that they sleep”); 27, 49 (d ‘ōbe ḡuwāb “that he answers”); with present time reference: 3, 22 (d maḥti “that they put on”); 11, 52 (di mbāḥasno “that I tell”); 23, 13 + 24, 57 (d maṭniḥ “that he heals”); 24, 120 (d izzox “that you go”); 24, 169 (d ubāṭlan “that you give us”); 25, 32 (d maxširatle “that you harm him”); for more metqetel forms, see: 29, 39 (d miqtōlit “that you be killed”); 29, 435 (d mitfōkit ... d miqtōlit “that you go away ... that you be killed”).

<sup>77</sup> See also 26, 220 (maqni‘ōle “that she prevents him”).



- g. 'uba'wo d mītaqwo (29, 462)  
 "He would have liked to burst."

It is not easy to decide, however, whether -wo in these cases denotes anteriority or counterfactuality.

Final clauses can be introduced by *d*, *ḥatta d* or *lāšān d*:

- h. 'aṭ-ṭar'e ftiḥe-ne d mahzimīna? (6, 97)  
 "Are the doors open so that we can slip away?"<sup>78</sup>
- i. 'azze 'ābir lu-čādir diḍa ḥatta d gōnu mēde mēna (24, 139)  
 "He went into her tent to steal something from her."<sup>79</sup>
- j. lāšān d mīšāfe 'u-dayno d a'la, 'am-mōre du dayno mawfaqqe ... (2, 77)  
 "For her debts to be cleared, the creditors had auctioned ..."

### 13 Conditional Clauses

The protasis of real conditionals of the present / future is usually introduced by *d* or *'ida d*, rarely by simple *'ida*, the predicate is *qāṭil* or *metqeṭel*; if the condition is of a general character, also *k-qāṭil* can be used (no. c). If the consequence mentioned in the apodosis is a singular situation with future time reference, *gid-qāṭil* and *gid-metqeṭel* (no. d) are used, whereas *k-metqeṭel* (no. b) indicates general statements; the imperative is also attested in the apodosis (no. a):

- a. 'ida d 'ōṭe d misniqītu l-mēde ḥrēno 'ayko d huwētu mōdē'illi! (24, 135)  
 "If you need anything more, let me know, wherever you are!"
- b. 'u-qisim d lawḡul d ōwe kāyīwo 'u saqaṭ, li k-mišmi' (3, 44)  
 "If the inner part (of the ear) becomes sick and paralysed, one does not hear."

<sup>78</sup> See further: 23, 22 (d mōsik "so that he may catch"); 24, 272 (d maswa'nolox muklo "so that I may give you plenty to eat"); 29, 16 (d hužmīna "so that we may attack"); 29, 89 (d mahzāmnolix "so that I may abduct you").

<sup>79</sup> See also: 21, 8 (ḥatta d lō 'ōṭe "lest he come"); 23, 11 (ḥatta d lu yōrit "lest he inherit").

- c. ʾida li k-rōḏit buno, naqla ḥrēto ḡāmo layt (26, 107)  
 “If you are not happy with me, there is no harm in that.”
- d. d lō tulēle mī-dukto g-miqṭil (21, 50)  
 “If he does not remove it (the mountain), he will be killed.”
- e. kitla ṭāṣe. d gunwatla w ʾamṭatliyo, miqqāiṣ d ubʾit gd-ubēnolox kaʿbe (25, 9)  
 “She has a bowl. If you steal it and bring it to me, I will give you as many knuckles as you want to have.”<sup>80</sup>

Also law d + qāṭil is attested in the protasis of a conditional clause which is probably meant to be real:

- f. law d ṭulabno mēne dahwo k-tōqil muqābil di bārṭaydi (26, 83)  
 “If I ask (it) of him, he will weigh my daughter with gold.”

Arabic *kān*, probably shortened from *ʾin kān* or *ʾida kān*, can also introduce the protasis of real conditionals with present / future time reference. It is followed by qṭille:

- g. kān ḡliblilox, gu-ṣuqanno mēnox ʾi-sistayḏox (29, 365)  
 “If I beat you, I will take your horse.”<sup>81</sup>

The verb form in these cases seems to depend on the use or non-use of *d*. If *kān* is followed by *d*, then qāṭil is used:

80 For *ʾida d* with following qāṭil, see, inter alia: 11, 4 (msāʾid – k-mīwāfiq “if he helps, he will have success”); 11, 273 (ḥuzēna – g-muḥēna “if we see, we will throw”); 21, 18 (lo quṭlatli – g-maḥwēnolox “if you do not kill me, I will show you”); 24, 19 (ruḥmīna – kīban “if we want, we will be able”); 24, 68 (ḥuzēnola – gid-ubēnolox “if I see her, I will give you”); 25, 17 (mufqit – gid-ubāllox “if you find, I will give you”); 26, 90 (ʾubēli – lu k-ōwe “if he gives me, nothing can be done”); 25, 18 (ʾobātli – gd-amṭēno “if you give me, I will bring you”). For simple *d* with qāṭil, see: 2, 44 (ʾubʾit – g-uzzox “if you want, you will go”); 2, 68 (li dayqo – gid-ruḏēno “if she does not touch, I will agree”); 2, 103 (ʾōṭin – hōwe “if they come, it will be”); 5, 8 (uwēlox – ktawli “if you have, write to me”); 11, 267 (ʾubʾit – li k-maḥkēno “if you want, I do not narrate”); 14, 12 (quḏrit – gid-ōwe “if he can, it will be”).

81 See also 29, 366 (kān hat myāṣarloxli “if you take me captive”).

- h. ṛḏa kân di m'amrit ... ṛuno g-maytênoloxyo (21, 83)  
 "If you command ... I will bring him to you."<sup>82</sup>

qatṭil is attested in a protasis introduced by ṛḏa without *d*:

- i. ṛḏa hât qâdirit ... di mfâtšit ... bälki mufqit 'aḥūnox (24, 296)  
 "If you succeed ... in having it searched ... you may be able to get your brother out."<sup>83</sup>

Protases can be negated by ṛilla:

- j. w ṛilla d ôṭe d lu šim'at li, 'aḥūnox 'azze (24, 289)  
 "And if you do not listen to me, your brother is lost."

The predicate of protases of counterfactual conditionals with present / future time reference can be qâṭilwâ; the apodosis has gid-qâṭilwâ:

- k. ṛö'do di mraṣṣatwoli, gid-izzīnowo suw-abro d 'ammi (26, 115)  
 "If you gave me permission now, I would go to my cousin."

If the protasis is introduced by wälaw "even if", qâṭil may be used; depending on whether the consequence is considered likely or unlikely to happen, the apodosis may have gid-qâṭilwâ or simple qâṭil:

- l. wälaw hōwe malko, gid-ṭuranwole bi-dukto (30, 8)  
 "Even if he were a king, they would leave him in that place."
- m. wälaw fiyāšno dāyim hawxa d-lō 'atto, ġēr mēnix lu šuqanno (24, 34)  
 "Even if I always had to stay without a wife, I will not take anyone else but you."<sup>84</sup>

82 See further: 24, 237 (ṛḏa kân d ôṭe "if he comes"); 24, 262 (ṛḏa kân d ôṭe d li mkāmli "if they do not fulfil"); 29, 38 (kân d ummällox "if I tell you"); 26, 89 ('in kân d ḏulmatli-ste "if you wrong me"); 29, 109 ('in kân d qudrīt "if you are able").

83 See also 21, 27 (ṛḏa 'ātī d "if the case arises that").

84 See further 29, 119 (wälaw 'uḏa'no "even if I knew"); if the condition is considered real, k-qâṭil can be used: 24, 63 (wälaw lu k-qōdir "even if he cannot").

After *law d*, *qāṭilwā* is attested in the protasis and the apodosis:

- n. *law d utēwo hāwo bālki maxlaṣwolan* (24, 236)  
 “If that one came, perhaps he would set us free.”

Counterfactual conditionals with past time reference have the same verb forms as those with present time reference, i.e. *qāṭilwā* in the protasis and *gid-qāṭilwā* in the apodosis; moreover, *k-qāṭilwā* (no. r) and *k-metqeṭelwā* (no. p) are attested. The protasis is usually introduced by *d*:

- o. *haka d ityōwa lafēlayna hālbāt u-bayto gid-yuqaḍwo* (1, 14)  
 “If it (the wind = fem.) had blown towards us, the house would certainly have caught fire.”
- p. *b-K. d l ōwewo haqqāyış qalabāliġ u tōz, bālki li k-mifraqnowo mi tāmo* (2, 55)  
 “If there had not been so much noise and dust in K., I would perhaps not have parted from there.”
- q. *d ’utātwo gd-ōwātwo ġalabe šapirzā* (14, 8)  
 “If you had come, you would have been very miserable.”<sup>85</sup>
- r. *’u hōnne d lo ʔōnwayle-ze, lo ko-məsqiwayle* (Jastrow, Mīdin 152)  
 “Even if they had not forgotten him, they would not have pulled him up.”

Simple *metqeṭel* is also attested in the protasis:

- s. *d mi’wiġ ’u-qamyon-ste muḥaqqaq gi-qulbīnawo* (11, 145)  
 “If the lorry had tilted over, we would certainly have fallen down.”

## 14 Verbs of Perception

If a situation is observed in its progress, *k-qāṭil* may be used, sometimes combined with the particle *kal*:-

85 See also: 26, 124–125 (*d ōwatwo – gid-ubatwo* “if you had been – you would have given”); 26, 187 (*d ōwatwo – gi-marfatwo* “if you had been – you would have let go”).

- a. 'u ḥā yawmo k-ḥuzēno ... killa k-munqo 'u-farxo di qāṭin (2, 102)  
 “And one day I see ... her suckling the kitten.”<sup>86</sup>
- b. k-ḥōyir 'u-bābo k-ōte mi-frēzo (6, 18)  
 “He looks: the father is coming from the stubble field.”

In addition, qāṭōlo and qāṭīlo are attested. They, too, can be combined with kal-:

- c. ḥzinne killin yāṭīwe (26, 22)  
 “They saw them sitting.”
- d. mid ḥizyōle 'āṭayto side, qāyim (24, 97)  
 “When he saw her coming towards him, he stood up.”<sup>87</sup>

'ty can thus have the patterns k-qāṭil (no. b) and qāṭōlo (no. d). Unfortunately, the evidence is not numerous enough for definitive conclusions, but possibly the difference in usage is due to the verb. ḥzy is transitive, whereas ḥyr, as far as I can see, is only used intransitively, i.e. “to look”. Thus, ḥyr is followed by a grammatically independent sentence, and the predicates of such sentences are far more often k-qāṭil forms than the patterns qāṭōlo and qāṭīlo which are primarily nominal forms and are more frequently used as objects than as predicates.

With a verb of movement, also qatṭil is attested:

- e. ḥōze bu-ḥilmayde ḥā mālāxo nāḥit mi-šmāyo (23, 2)  
 “In his dream he saw an angel descend from heaven.”

Here the whole process of the descent is presumably meant because in the following it is described how the angel converses with the dreamer.<sup>88</sup>

86 For more situations depending on ḥzy, see: 6, 18 (k-ōte “him coming”); 21, 39 (k-nuṭri “them keeping watch”); 23, 9 (k-ōmir “him saying”); 24, 140 (k-mabriq “it sparkling”).

87 See further: 21, 29 (yāṭīwo “him sitting”); 23, 22 ('āṭōyo “him coming”); 24, 71 (kila dāmixto “her sleeping”); 24, 233 (dāwōre “them ploughing”); 26, 22 (yāṭīwe “them sitting”; fāyōte “them coming by”).

88 The same is probably true for: *kile k-'āṭin tlōtō zlāmāt*, in 25, 56.

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭille / Qṭilwāle and Qaṭṭīl / Qaṭṭīlwā*

Both verb forms are used actively. *qṭille* is used primarily with transitive verbs, the old nomen agentis *qaṭṭīl* with intransitive and with transitive verbs, provided the acting subject does not exert a direct influence on the object, as with *ḥzy* “to see”.

*qṭille* and *qaṭṭīl* indicate anteriority to the speech time in main and subordinate clauses, in both discussing and narrating passages. In the former, *k-qṭille* and *k-qaṭṭīl* are also attested which are used as anteriors (2.1 + 2.2).

In subordinate clauses, the two forms denote anteriority to a reference point in the past, whereas in main clauses, this category is mostly expressed by *qṭilwāle* or *qaṭṭīlwā*. Occasionally, *qṭilwāle* is also used in subordinate clauses (4.1 + 4.2).

In some subordinate clauses with past time reference, *qṭille*- and *qaṭṭīl* forms are attested that possibly express simultaneity with a reference point in the past, but the context mostly also allows an interpretation of the situation in question as being anterior; in one case, however, *qaṭṭīl* denotes an atelic situation that has to be interpreted quite clearly as simultaneous. In addition, *qṭille* and *qaṭṭīl* denote the reference points for situations that are in progress and expressed by *qāṭōlo* / *qāṭīlo* (5.1 + 5.2).

After *mid* ~ *midi* “when”, *qṭille* and *qaṭṭīl* indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future but not after *ʾi-naqla d* and *ʾi-naqqa d* after which this category is denoted by *qāṭīl*. In Midin, the compound *gid-qāṭīl* of *hwy* + *qṭille* / *qaṭṭīl* is used to express this category in main clauses (11).

After *ʾīda kān* or simple *kān* in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future, *qṭille* is used, after *ʾīda* one also finds *qaṭṭīl*; if *kān* is followed by *d*, however, *qāṭīl* is used (13). Finally, *qaṭṭīl* is attested after a verb of perception and here describes the observed situation as a complete whole (14).

### 15.2 *Qṭilā*

When used predicatively, the status emphaticus of the passive participle is mostly combined with a copula or a form of *kit*-. It is passive and usually used with the meaning of a resultative: *msīko-yo* “he has been captured and is now captured”. It is found in both main and subordinate clauses and can also be used in a habitual and non-indicative sense (2.2; 7.1; 8.2; 12.1).

### 15.3 *Qṭīl*

The status absolutus of the passive participle *qṭīl* is inflected with S-suffixes and is the passive counterpart of *qṭille*. It is unfortunately nowhere near as well

attested as *q̄ille* and *qaṭṭil* but seems to express the same temporal / aspectual categories as those. It can indicate anteriority to the speech time (2.1) and to a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses (4.2); in a text from Midin, it is attested with *-wā* and describes a main clause situation that is anterior to a reference point in the past (4.1). It is also used modally in imprecations: *hdīm bayto!* “may his house be torn down!” (12.1).

#### 15.4 *Qāṭil*

The old active participle can stand alone, it can be combined with the prefixes *k-*, in the surrounding villages also *kō-*, and *gid-* and the suffix *-wā*.

*k-qāṭil* is used by some informants besides *q̄ille* and *qaṭṭil* in the narrative (2.1). In subordinate clauses, it can denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past, even if only one example could be cited; in this example, both the progressing and the intervening situations are indicated by *k-qāṭil* (5.2). Furthermore, it expresses singular and habitual situations with present time reference and the extratemporalis (7.1 + 7.2; 8.1 + 8.2; 9). Finally, it can be used besides *qāṭōlo* and *qāṭīlo* after verbs of sensual perception when a situation is observed in its course (14).

*qāṭilwā*, usually without *k-*, is used in main and subordinate clauses to express habitual situations of the past (3.1 + 3.2) and can also denote imperfectivity with past time reference. Only one example of *k-qāṭilwā* expressing an imperfective situation with past time reference could be found (5.1 + 5.2). In addition, it describes counterfactual situations with present / future or past time reference. It is often used in optative sentences: *quṭlatwo* “if only you had killed!”, *ḥiṣyōwa ‘ayni* “if only my eye could see!” (12.1), and it also expresses counterfactuality in subordinate clauses: *lāzim d mādwo ‘u-baḥro l-qāmūta* “he should have held the light in front of her” (12.2). Accordingly, it is also used in the protasis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the present / future and the past. In the apodosis, *gid-qāṭilwā* is used, sometimes also *k-qāṭilwā* (13).

*gid-qāṭil* denotes posteriority, both to a reference point in the past (6) and to the speech time (10.1 + 10.2). It is used non-indicatively when expressing instructions to a second person and dubitative questions (12.1). Furthermore, it is found in the apodosis of real conditional clauses with future time reference; the protasis usually has simple *qāṭil* in these cases (13).

Simple *qāṭil* is most commonly used non-indicatively and after subordinators such as *d*. Thus, it is used after *‘i-naqla d* and *‘u-yawmo d* to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future but not after *mid ~ midi* where *q̄ille* and *qaṭṭil* are used instead (11). Moreover, it is the usual signum to make non-indicative statements of various kinds, provided that the realisation of the situations in question is considered possible. It can be found in both main

and subordinate clauses even when the superordinate clause has past time reference (12.1 + 12.2). Finally, it is used in protases of real conditionals of the present / future that are introduced by *d*, *ʾida d*, *wālaw* “even if”, *kān d* and *law d* but not if the *d* after *kān* is missing; in this case, *qṭille* and *qaṭṭil* are used instead (13).

### 15.5 *Metqeṭel*

The signa of this section denote passive and reflexive situations. *metqeṭelwā* expresses habitual situations of the past and is used here besides *qāṭilwā* which expresses the corresponding active situations. It is mostly used without the particle *k-* in these cases; whether it may, like *qāṭilwā*, also denote imperfective situations, could not be proven but is probable (3.1). Since *qāṭilwā* can indicate counterfactual situations, one might assume that *metqeṭelwā* would also be able to do so, but the respective evidence is rather uncertain. In a sentence like *ʾubaʿwo d mītaqwo* “he would have liked to burst”, *-wo* may also indicate the anteriority of the situation (12.2).

*k-metqeṭel* can express habitual situations of the present and the extratemporalis and is the passive equivalent of the active *k-qāṭil* (8.1 + 8.2; 9). It can also denote a progressing situation in main clauses with past time reference (5.1). The fact that there are no examples of imperfectively used *k-metqeṭel* with present time reference, is certainly due to the text corpus; furthermore, it is attested in the apodosis of a real conditional clause and expresses there a general statement (13). Like *qāṭilwā*, *metqeṭelwā* is rarely combined with *k-*; *k-metqeṭelwā* is attested only once in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional clause of the past, and it cannot be ruled out with complete certainty that *k-* represents *gid-* in this case (13).

*gid-metqeṭel* denotes posteriority to the speech time; its active counterpart is *gid-qāṭil* (10.1). It is also attested in the apodosis of a real conditional clause with present / future time reference (13). I have not found any examples of *gid-metqeṭelwā* in the texts, but Ritter mentions it in the grammar (p. 132): *gi-mifṭašwa* “he would have died”.

Simple *metqeṭel* after *bīṭir d* expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (11) and is attested in the protasis of a real conditional clause of the present / future after *d* (13). Moreover, it is used besides *qāṭil* in non-indicative main and subordinate clauses (12.1 + 12.2).

### 15.6 *Qāṭōlo / Qāṭīlo*

The two forms are normally used predicatively only with verbs of movement (*qāṭōlo*) or when expressing resultative situations (*qāṭīlo*) and are often combined with the particle *kal-*. *qāṭīlo* is usually used resultatively and describes



the state that results from an active action and can thus express states with past time reference that resulted from an anterior action (4.2). qāṭīlo can indicate simultaneity with a reference point in the past in main clauses and is well attested with ytw “to sit down > to be seated”, dmx “to fall asleep > to sleep”, rxw “to mount (a horse) > to ride” (5.1). qāṭōlo / qāṭīlo describe the accompanying circumstances of a superior situation, and combined with a preceding copula form kīt + wā, they express simultaneity with a reference point in the past in a temporal and a relative clause; an intervening situation is indicated by qṭille or qaṭṭīl (5.1 + 5.2). In addition, they express simultaneity with the speech time (7.1 + 7.2). Furthermore, they are attested after verbs of perception when a situation is described in its progress; this intentum can also be indicated by k-qāṭīl (14).

## 16 Analysis

Some functions clearly speak in favour of a perfective marking of qṭille and qaṭṭīl. They express anteriority to a reference point in the future in temporal and conditional clauses when the corresponding subordinator does not end in *d*. They also denote the perfective reference point to imperfective situations in the past. Although qaṭṭīl is used clearly imperfectively in at least one instance, one should not overestimate this one example, especially since qaṭṭīl expresses there an atelic situation in a subordinate clause following a subordinator. In main clauses, there is admittedly an opposition qṭilwāle / qaṭṭīlwā (anteriority to a reference point in the past) : qṭille / qaṭṭīl (anteriority to the speech time), but this in no way justifies the assumption of a temporal marking of qṭille and qaṭṭīl, since in subordinate clauses they can very well also denote anteriority to a reference point in the past. It seems most appropriate, thus, to regard them as marked signa for the expression of the perfective aspect. k-qṭille and k-qaṭṭīl, which are used as anteriors but are rarely attested, must also be considered marked. qṭilwāle and qaṭṭīlwā, on the other hand, are rather to be regarded as temporally marked. Although the two forms are only rarely attested in subordinate clauses, they have to be classified as relative tense forms as they are apparently not used to express simple anteriority to the speech time. They must therefore be classified as marked.

qṭilā, the status emphaticus of the passive participle, with a following copula is used passively and mostly resultatively. It has to be regarded as marked.

qṭīl + S-suffix is the passive counterpart of qṭille and it is appropriate to consider it aspectually marked like the latter. The same applies to qṭilwā which,

however, is not to be regarded as the passive counterpart to q̄ṭilwāle, since the latter is a tense form.

Let us now turn to q̄ṭil. Simple q̄ṭil is a non-indicative verb form that can be used independently in main clauses and in dependence on certain subordinators. In subordinate clauses it can, like its passive counterpart metq̄ṭel, also denote indicative anteriority to a reference point in the future, but in this function it is only attested after the subordinator *d* that mostly introduces non-indicative subordinate clauses; it thus has to be regarded as a marked verb form for the expression of real non-indicative situations. *k-q̄ṭil* predominantly expresses indicative situations with present time reference, singular as well as habitual and extratemporal ones, and is also used in narratives to make them more lively. It can therefore be analysed temporally as a present tense form or as an extended imperfective form. Since a temporal counterpart cannot be proven for either the future or the past, an interpretation as extended imperfective and unmarked seems more appropriate to me. *gid-q̄ṭil*, on the other hand, is used to express posteriority to a reference point in the past as well as to the speech time; this circumstance speaks in favour of an aspectual rather than a temporal character of the verb form. The occasional use to indicate non-indicative situations can be derived directly from this. Since there is no aspectual counterpart to *gid-q̄ṭil*, it probably can describe both perfective and imperfective situations and must therefore be considered unmarked. *q̄ṭilwā*, which usually appears without *k*-, expresses indicative habitual and imperfective situations with past time reference and counterfactual situations with present and past time reference. The suffixed *-wā* has here undergone an expansion of meaning from a tense marker to a marker of counterfactuality. The signum is marked neither aspectually nor temporally or modally. How *k-q̄ṭilwā* is to be judged is difficult to say, since there are only two attestations, once in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional clause of the past from Midin, once to express an imperfective situation of the past. This is too little for an analysis. Finally, there is *gid-q̄ṭilwā* which is attested only in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and the past. Like simple *gid-q̄ṭil*, it describes posteriority independently of the time reference of the reference point. It indicates posterior counterfactuality and has to be regarded as marked.

The next forms are those referred to as *metq̄ṭel*. Simple *metq̄ṭel* is used non-indicatively and is the passive counterpart of *q̄ṭil*, it is a marked signum for the expression of passive real non-indicative situations. *k-metq̄ṭel*, on the other hand, is the passive counterpart of *k-q̄ṭil* and has to be analysed as extended imperfective and unmarked. *gid-metq̄ṭel* is the passive counterpart

of *gid-qāṭil* and like the latter has to be regarded as unmarked. *metqeṭelwā* is the passive counterpart of *qāṭilwā* and, like the latter, is mostly used without *k-*; it presumably expresses not only habitual but also imperfective situations of the past and can probably also denote counterfactuality, although the evidence does not allow any definite conclusions; in any case, it must be regarded as unmarked. How the one instance of *k-metqeṭelwā* is to be interpreted must be left open; *gid-metqeṭelwā* is also very sparsely attested, but it seems to be the passive counterpart of *gid-qāṭilwā* and I would like to regard it as marked like the latter.

This leaves *qāṭōlo* and *qāṭilo*. *qāṭōlo* is formed mainly from verbs of movement and describes the movement as progressing, so it is clearly imperfective. *qāṭilo*, on the other hand, is resultative and, like *qāṭōlo*, is formed only from a limited number of verbs. Both forms have to be considered marked.

The verbal system has 18 marked verbal forms: *qṭille*, *qaṭṭil* + S-suff., *k-qṭille*, *k-qaṭṭil* + S-suff., *qṭilwāle*, *qaṭṭilwā*, *qṭilā* + copula, *qāṭil*, *gid-qāṭilwā*, *qṭil* + S-suff., *qṭilwā*, *metqeṭel*, *gid-metqeṭelwā*, *qāṭōlo*, *qāṭilo*, *kītwā qāṭōlo*, *kītwā qāṭilo*, imperative.

Six signs are unmarked: *k-qāṭil*, *k-metqeṭel*, *qāṭilwā*, *gid-qāṭil*, *gid-metqeṭel*, *metqeṭelwā*.

In the indicative domain, there is an aspectual opposition pair with marked verb forms:

*qaṭṭil* (anterior perfective) : *kītwā qāṭōlo* (anterior imperfective)

However, this opposition only applies to a small number of verbs, since *qāṭōlo* is primarily formed from verbs of movement. For the present, on the other hand, there is no opposition *qāṭōlo* (impf.) : *k-qāṭil* (hab.), as *k-qāṭil* can also have an imperfective meaning with verbs of movement such as *'ty* (see sect. 7.1, no. b, note). Since *qāṭilwā* not only expresses the extended imperfective aspect but also non-indicativity, it is inappropriate to speak of an opposition *qṭille* / *qaṭṭil* (anterior perfective) : *qāṭilwā* (anterior ext. imperfective). The same holds true for *qṭille* / *qaṭṭil* (anteriority to the speech time) : *qṭilwāle* / *qaṭṭilwā* (anteriority to a reference point in the past); in this case, aspectual and temporal signs are opposed to each other. There is no opposition between *qṭille* (perfective) and *qṭilā* (resultative) either, since the latter has a passive meaning with transitive verbs.

Strongly developed is the opposition active : passive. Six pairs are attested (the active forms are in first place):

qṭille : qṭil + S-suffix (anterior perfective)

qāṭilwā : metqeṭelwā (ext. imperfective; maybe also counterfactual)

qāṭil : metqeṭel (non-indicative real situations)

gid-qāṭil : gid-metqeṭel (posterior perfective)

gid-qāṭilwā : gid-metqeṭelwā (counterfactual)

k-qāṭil : k-metqeṭel (ext. imperfective)

# Hertevin

## o Text Corpus

The texts published in Jastrow, Hertevin (pp. 108–175) were evaluated. These consist of 683 text passages containing an average of two to three sentences. The numbers in quotations refer to these passages. The vowel length is only indicated if a vowel is realised long in deviation from the general rules.<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Verb Forms

### 1.1 *Qāṭil*

The old active participle of the G-stem (stem I, < old qṭal) and stem II (< old qaṭṭel)<sup>2</sup> has the following forms:

|      | sg.    | pl.      |
|------|--------|----------|
| 3.m. | qaṭel  | qaṭli    |
| 3.f. | qaṭla  | qaṭli    |
| 2.m. | qaṭlet | qaṭliton |
| 2.f. | qaṭlat | qaṭliton |
| 1.m. | qaṭlen | qaṭlaḥ   |
| 1.f. | qaṭlan | qaṭlaḥ   |

The AP of stem III (< old 'aqṭel) has the prefix ma-:

|      | sg.     | pl.                       |
|------|---------|---------------------------|
| 3.m. | maqṭel  | maqṭeli                   |
| 3.f. | maqṭela | maqṭeli etc. <sup>3</sup> |

1 On the phonetic realisation of the vowels, see Hert. 15f.

2 Only three verbs have active participles of stem II with the prefix m-; see Hert. 41.

3 See Hert. 48.

The old t-stems are no longer in use. qāṭil is negated by *le*, when used non-indicatively by *la*. A pronominal object is introduced by the preposition l-: ḥazet + le > *ḥazette* “you (m.) see him”.<sup>4</sup>

qāṭil can be combined with the prefixes bed-, which may be shortened to b-: *bet-hawet* (571) “you will be”,<sup>5</sup> ked-, that expresses the ability to do something: *le ket-ʿazaḥ* (424) “we are not able to go”,<sup>6</sup> and with -wā: *dameḥwa* “he was sleeping”.<sup>7</sup> k-qāṭil, attested in many other dialects, is formed only from the verb bʿy “to want”.<sup>8</sup> As with simple qāṭil, indicative qāṭilwā is negated by *le*, non-indicative qāṭilwā by *la*: *le kem-maḥkewa* “he was not able to speak” (604); *ʿen la teḥanwa* “if I (fem.) were not so ashamed” (410). bed- cannot be negated, the negation of bed-qāṭil is *le qāṭil*.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.2 Qṭille

qṭille of the G-stem has the following forms:

|      | sg.     | pl.                   |
|------|---------|-----------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭelle  | qṭelle(hen)           |
| 3.f. | qṭella  | qṭelle(hen)           |
| 2.m. | qṭelloḥ | qṭelleḥon             |
| 2.f. | qṭellaḥ | qṭelleḥon             |
| 1.   | qṭelli  | qṭellan <sup>10</sup> |

The base of stem II is qatēl, it is thus identical to the 3.sg.m. of the G-stem of the AP, i.e. qatelle, qatella etc.: *šaderre* “he sent”.<sup>11</sup> Also the base of stem III is identical to that of the active participle of the corresponding stem, i.e. maqṭelle, maqṭella etc: *maḥleple* “he exchanged”.<sup>12</sup> An object of the 3s.f and 3.pl. can be added directly to the stem of the passive participle (-a [fem. sg.] or -i [pl. com.]): *ṣirili* (257) “I tied them up”. The zero ending, however, never denotes an object, *wedli* can only mean “I have made”, but not: “I have made him / it”, which is rather expressed by *wedlenne*.<sup>13</sup> In addition, direct and

4 Cf. Hert. 75.

5 Cf. Hert. 54.

6 Cf. Hert. 55.

7 Cf. Hert. 51.

8 See Hert. 69.

9 See Hert. 56.

10 See Hert. 72.

11 See Hert. 41.

12 See Hert. 42.

13 See Hert. 62.

indirect objects can be attached to 3. person verb forms by L-suffixes: *metele* “he brought”, *meteleli* “he brought me (or: to me)”. In the case of 1. and 2. person verb forms, by contrast, no L-suffixes are used after the first -l- but the S-suffixes that denote the subject when attached to qāṭil forms, i.e. -et, -at, -iton, -en, -an, -aḥ: *wedli + loḥ > (\*wedlenloḥ >) wedlennoḥ* “I made you”.<sup>14</sup>

qṭille is negated by *la*: *la ḥzelele* (498) “he did not see him”.

Like qāṭil, qṭille can be combined with *ked-* (= *ked-qṭille*) and *-wā-* (= *qṭilwāle*): *la ked-wedlebe ḥila* (351) “he could not seduce him”, *npeqwaloh* “you (m.) had come out”.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.3 *Qṭil*

The old status absolutus of the passive participle can only be formed from the G-stem and quadriliteral verbs; with the other verbs, qṭille takes over its function; it has the same endings as qāṭil:

|      | sg.    | pl.                  |
|------|--------|----------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭel   | qṭili                |
| 3.f. | qṭila  | qṭili                |
| 2.m. | qṭilet | qṭiliton             |
| 2.f. | qṭilat | qṭiliton             |
| 1.m. | qṭilen | qṭilah               |
| 1.f. | qṭilan | qṭilah <sup>16</sup> |

No negated forms of qṭil are attested. It can be derived from intransitive and transitive verbs; with transitive verbs, the meaning is reflexive or passive: *kima* (342) “she has become black”, *dewen* (553) “he has gone mad”, *člika* (462) “she has been torn”. In the texts, there is only one instance of actively used qṭil + S-suffix of a transitive verb (see sect. 2.1, no. x). Like qāṭil and qṭille, qṭil can be combined with *-wā*: *npilawa* “she had fallen”.<sup>17</sup> It is often preceded by *hole* “voilà”: *hole ʾite talga* (143) “snow has fallen”.

### 1.4 *Imperative*

The imperative has a singular (qṭol) and a plural form (qṭulen).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Hert. 61.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hert. 52.

<sup>16</sup> See Hert. 58, 71.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hert. 58.

<sup>18</sup> See Hert. 52.

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is usually expressed by *qṭille* or *ked-qṭille* in both discussing and narrating passages, irrespective of the type of action. In discussing passages, it can have the meaning of an anterior (no. d):

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. *qṭe'lenne reṣehen* (129)  
“I cut off their heads.”
- b. *'ami npelle dewa l-qenyana* (167)  
“They said: ‘The wolf has fallen upon the sheep.’”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- c. *taze metela maye* (9)  
“She brought water once more.”
- d. *'e babo, peli laḥma* (61)  
“Yes, father, I have baked bread (and it can now be eaten).”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. *'aṭṭore tule megles didew* (461)  
“Then his council held a meeting.”
- f. *wešle 'o qašqa* (17)  
“The cheese dried.”

#### 2.1.4 Complex > Punctual

- g. *mḥele l-tar'ed malka Dawod* (576)  
“He knocked at the door of King David.”

#### 2.1.5 Stative

- h. *tu mendi la pešlele* (358)  
“There was nothing left for him.”



- i. la ked-wedlebe ḥila (351)  
 “He could not seduce him.”

Construction 1 (see ch. 12, sect. 1.4 above) is also attested in Hertevin, that is, a nominal subject is introduced by *l-*:

- j. l-dewe ḥellek, l-naše qṭellek? (432)  
 “Have the wolves eaten him, have the people killed him?”<sup>19</sup>

qṭille is also used when the situation is limited to a defined period of time and cannot yet be considered habitual:

- k. kolle ’amellenbe ḥa ’ešta šo’a yome (66)  
 “I worked on it for six or seven days.”<sup>20</sup>

Occasionally, qṭille denotes situations that have to be understood as completed but iterative:

- l. ṭrelele parḥehen. ḥderre w ptelle ḥderre w ptelle, la ḥzelele Yosep (498)  
 “They let go of their bird. He looked and circled, looked and circled, but he did not find Joseph.”

qāṭil can also be used to denote singular situations that are anterior to the speech time. Notably ’mr “to say” is used in much the same way as in Syriac (see above ch. 11, sect. 2.1). If it introduces direct speech, simple qāṭil is used, otherwise one finds other verb forms that denote anteriority to the speech time:

- m. spedahi ’amen: brati, šodle laḥmi w mayi (113)  
 “In the morning I said: ‘Daughter, prepare my bread and water.’”

The corresponding evidence is so numerous that I will limit myself to one example. When not introducing direct speech, qāṭilwā can be used:

- n. ḥda ’amiwale Yosep (539)  
 “One whom they called Joseph”,

19 On -ek, see Hert. 53; see also 405 (l-parḥe ḥel “the birds have eaten him”).

20 See further: 54 (wedlenna ’iroqta “I threshed”); 90 (grešli kepe “I brought stones”); 176 (pešla “it lasted”); 521 (pešlehen “they remained”).

or q̄ille:

- o. daned merrele mallaxa hada (582)  
 “After the angel had spoken to him in this way ...”<sup>21</sup>

With other verbs, too, simple q̄aṭil can denote anteriority if the time reference is clear. It is often found after *hole* “voilà” and is used in particular when the situation lasted longer or was habitual:

- p. npelle go ḥaqla. ’aṭṭore hole garšiba ’odiba golane (227)  
 “They spread out (q̄ille) in the field. Then they drew (q̄aṭil) in it (furrows) and made (q̄aṭil) irrigated plots.”

*npelle*, literally: “they fell into the field”, is a telic situation with little temporal extension. In contrast, the drawing of the furrows and the making of the plots may have lasted all day. The following example is about a kidnapped boy who was cared for by a demon during several years of captivity. The first verb is q̄ille, the rest are simple q̄aṭil- and two bed-q̄aṭil forms which can also describe habitual situations with past time reference (see below sect. 3):

- q. mettulele korra w hole ’awedle korra mmare. mat ke-p’e korra hole mete w moḥelle w ’awedle mmare. w ’ahu koyyom b-ṭarele korra b-škapta w ’ahu b-’azu l-niçer (648–649)  
 “He sat the boy down and fed him. Whatever the boy wanted, he brought him and fed him and took care of him. He would leave the boy in the cave every day and go hunting.”<sup>22</sup>

Also q̄il can be used here. It can have the meaning of an anterior (no. s) or a resultative. The action that results in a state can be anterior to a reference point in the past or anterior to the speech time. The first two examples are discussing, the others are narrating:

- r. hole ’ite talga (143)  
 “Snow has fallen (and it is still there).”

21 See also, among others: 540 (merrehen “they said”); 586 (merre “he said”); 603 (merretti “you said to me”).

22 See also: 70 (hole ’azen “I went [every day]”); 368 (le ket-’awedbe ḥila “he could not seduce him”); 451 (le qayem “he would not rise”); 584 (saqed w ’awed hiwitiye “he knelt and called for help”; koyyom ḥa dareḡe b-yaseq “every day he climbed a step”).

- s.    ḥa zalama 'ite laḥḥa (447)  
      "A man has come here."
- t.    mlila w mlila w mlila (342)  
      "She had turned all blue."
- u.    w Saṭana hole tiwa kamew (359)  
      "And Satan (had sat down and) sat before him."<sup>23</sup>

As explained above (sect. 1), qṭīl can only be formed from the G-stem and from quadriliteral verbs, in all other cases qṭille is used.

As seen above (no. d), qṭille can also have the meaning of an anterior; this is especially true when it is combined with *hole*:

- v.    hole tele Yosep! (554)  
      "There, Joseph has come!"<sup>24</sup>

Anteriority to the speech time can further be expressed by -wā which is attached to non-verbal forms such as 'et "there is", let "there is not":

- w.    'etwaba serde, 'etwaba 'ilane (65)  
      "There were bushes there, there were trees there."
- x.    Yosep l-ḥodewwa 'emmehen (429)  
      "Joseph was alone with them."

Finally, the only instance where qṭīl of a transitive verb is used in an active sense has to be mentioned here:

- y.    'ayasse qbilenna (636)  
      "I have also accepted this."<sup>25</sup>

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

There are only very few examples of subordinate clauses. qṭīl (nos. a + b) and qṭille (no. c) are attested:

23 See further: 190 (hole 'ečča waxt "the time has come"); 522 (miti "they have died"); 549 (hwen "I have become"); 553 ('izu "he has gone"; dewen "he has become crazy").

24 See also 168 (hole npel "he has attacked") and cf. Hert. 57.

25 Cf. Hert. 58.

- a. le bale madamki har 'izen hawet peḥel w ḥalal (595)  
"But since I have passed away anyway, be you forgiven and pardoned."
- b. metonne korrone laḥḥa ḥazaḥle, ḥazaḥ ke daḥ 'ečča b-rešew (461)  
"Just bring the boy here so we can see him, so we can see how this has happened to him."
- c. madamki merrennoḥ b-šaqlenne māl didew-se mennew (355)  
"Since I have told you, I will also take away his wealth."

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is expressed by qāṭilwā, negated le qāṭilwā (no. f), only the verb 'zl regularly has the form b- / bed-qāṭilwā.<sup>26</sup> The two signa, however, do not only designate habitual situations that always took place but also those that only happened regularly during a longer period of time, such as a season. Signal words include *koyyom* "every day" and *dayem* "always":

##### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. koyyom koyyom yaldiwa be'e (273)  
"Day after day they laid eggs."
- b. yaldiwaba w maḥrmiwale w nopqiwa parxe (281)  
"They put (eggs) in it, brooded them and let the young ones hatch out."<sup>27</sup>

##### 3.1.2 Telic

- c. koyyom b-'aziwa saxle, ḥa ḡwala 'en ḥa ṭa'na 'en ḥa kesta metewa l-beta w 'aḥliwa (194)  
"Every day the children went, brought home a sack, a carrying load or a bag and ate."

26 All the evidence of bed-qāṭilwā is from the verb 'zl (194, 204, 207, 224). Note in particular no. 207 where *b-'azenwa* is in parallel with *ṭarenwale* and *mašqenwale*. Simple qāṭil without bed- and -wā (279) as well as qāṭilwā of 'zl (see below 3.2 n. a), however, are also attested.

27 See also: 207 (ṭarenwale "I let it go").

- d. koyyom qeṭ'e w meṭ'e meččatwa (390)  
 "Every day you brought single little pieces."<sup>28</sup>

### 3.1.3 Atelic

- e. dayman 'ahu w šanampareze gadliwa b-ḥdade (560)  
 "He and the idolaters constantly fought with each other."
- f. maḥkyawa mellat 'emmew, 'ašarat 'awedwalehen le kem-maḥkewa (604)  
 "People spoke to him, but he gave them signs. He could not speak."<sup>29</sup>

### 3.1.4 Stative

- g. 'aḥnew 'aksiwa mennew (420)  
 "His brothers did not like him."
- h. bala 'ahu yate'wala (376)  
 "After all, he knew her."<sup>30</sup>

Simple qāṭil / bed-qāṭil can also be used in this function, provided the context makes the time reference clear:

- i. 'adat dihen 'ayiwa 'ami: ḥa parḥa d dawelta 'ettek, b-maḥišila mellat kolle w b-ṭarele parḥa (495)  
 "There was a custom, and that was: There was a bird of fortune. They gathered all the people and let the bird fly."
- j. koṭṭor metwale l-kartem mata 'en l-kartem medita w 'ačča maḥiša gawem mata (371)  
 "Each time she dropped him off at the edge of the village or town and went to collect in the village."<sup>31</sup>

## 3.2 Subordinate Clauses

qāṭilwā is also used in subordinate clauses:

<sup>28</sup> See further: 204 (bet-'azenwa "I went there"); 224 (b-'aziwa l- "they went to").

<sup>29</sup> See also: 210 (mašqenwale "I irrigated it").

<sup>30</sup> See further 492 (le hoyawa "she was not").

<sup>31</sup> See also 279 ('azi w 'ate "they flew around").

- a. danet 'aziwa l-'eta mšalewa l-'alaha ddihen ... 'e țore nopqiwalehen m-'eta (598).  
 "When they went to church and prayed to their God ... they used to send them out of the church."<sup>32</sup>

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

Anteriority is predominantly expressed by q̣īlwāle and q̣īlwā. The former is used when the emphasis of the statement is on the anterior action which can have an effect on its reference point but does not have to. q̣īlwā, on the other hand, is strictly resultative and emphasises the state following from the action which is simultaneous with its reference point. I will first list the examples of q̣īlwāle (a + b):

- a. drewalan ھا pel'a gendore. ھا yoma zili l-gawew (158)  
 "We had planted a piece of land with sugar melons. One day I went there."
- b. mettuwalanne go-kolbešša (411)  
 "I had put him into a basket."<sup>33</sup>
- c. le bale dehan hole hwewa ھا kome garme (411)  
 "But now he had become a pile of bones."
- d. npelwa m-ḥarakat (597)  
 "He had fallen from the movement" = "He was no longer active."<sup>34</sup>

The relationship between the two signa can be seen quite clearly in the following example:

32 For more temporal clauses, see: 600 (sa'at maḥdriwa "when they carried around"); 617 (danet hawewala "when she had").

33 See also: 352 + 420 (huwalele "he had given to him"); 599 (la huwalehen "he had not given to them").

34 See further: 166 (tiwenwa "I [had sat down and] was sitting"); 501 (hwewa kora "he [had become blind and then] was blind"); 561 ('izawa "she [had gone out and] was gone").

- e. walḥašel ṣḥlaḥbe. ḥakma qenyana pešwa mḥewalela ruḥew l-ḥa taḥta 'ešya (171)  
 “Finally we reached (qṭille) them (i.e. the sheep). A few sheep were left over (qṭilwā), they had taken refuge (qṭilwāle) on a rock.”

*pešwa* describes first of all the state that the sheep keepers found, whereas *mḥewalela* is not resultative but refers primarily to the anterior action.

However, -wā can also be missing and simple qṭil or qṭille express anteriority to a reference point:

- f. 'ahi metta, hulale ḡawabew (441)  
 “She had died, she answered him” = “Although she had died ...”

Here, the order of the verbs may have sufficed for the speaker to express the time relationship. This is not the case in the following example:

- g. wedlale 'adam 'arnowwa, kolle maḥrulale (159)  
 “(I went to the field [qṭille].) The hare had ruined it, he had destroyed everything.”<sup>35</sup>

In 160, the same *maḥrulale* is also used in direct speech: 'ebri, *maḥrulale* “My son, he has destroyed it.”

Simple qṭil is also attested:

- h. spedahi qemli, hole 'ite ḥa ṣita talga (152)  
 “I got up in the morning; a span of snow had fallen.”
- i. ḥšiḥi 'eneb babew (501)  
 “His father's eyes had darkened.”

#### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

The main clause has qṭille in the following examples. The use of the verb forms in the subordinate clauses depends on the syntactic environment. If corresponding subordinators already indicate that a situation is anterior to a reference point, qṭille is used. Otherwise, the particle -wā- is inserted. Thus, in temporal clauses after *daned* “when”, “after” one always finds simple qṭille:

35 See also: 158 (ḥella “she had eaten”); 168 (qṭe'le “he had separated”; wedle ... ber “he had lost sight of”).

- a. hwela haqli. daned hwela qemli 'obelli hakma naše l-'ari ddidi (51)  
 "My field became ripe. When it had ripened, I set out and took some people to help me."<sup>36</sup>

In other subordinate clauses, q̣ilwāle is usually used. The following causal clause is interesting:

- b. la tele l-baled ... do naša hole Yosep go-ḥabs čenki mat'erwalele 'alaha balew mennew (476)  
 "It did not occur ... to this man that Joseph was in prison, for God had diverted his thoughts from him."

A very similar situation is described in 477 but now in a temporal clause after *daned*, and accordingly simple q̣ille is used:

- c. danem mat'errele balew l-Yosep ...  
 "When he had brought his thoughts back to Joseph ..."

q̣ilwāle is also attested in relative clauses:

- d. 'awa d 'oremwalehen 'obellele w zile (647)  
 "He took the one they had hidden and left."<sup>37</sup>

Further:

- e. mnelaḥle ke kma ptile čle'walan (117)  
 "We counted how many strands we had made."<sup>38</sup>

In one relative clause, however, simple q̣ille is used:

- f. mendi d hule 'alaha qesmat šedlenne (131)  
 "That which God had given as a share, I caught."

36 See further: 17 + 119 (danew wešle "when it had dried"); 54 (daned tela "when she had come"); 94 (danew wedlenne hazeri "when I had prepared it"); 105 (daned hwela bormaše "when evening had come"); 208 (daneš šedlala ruḥo "when she had recovered"); 215 (danet ... pešla "when it had passed"); 392 (dam-se la qerre zapi "when my hair had not yet risen"); 449 (danet ḥzelale "when she had caught sight of him"). Also after *bater* "after", q̣ille is used: 310 (bater xlesle "after it had passed").

37 See further: 431 (l-doktem merwalan "to the place we had named").

38 See also: 118 (ke muqaša čle'walan "how much we had mowed"); 164 (ḥen dad merrenwale "as I had told him").



## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 *Main Clauses*

The evidence of this important category is unfortunately not too numerous. A progressing, not yet completed situation is usually expressed by *qāṭilwā*. No negated situations are attested, but since the corresponding category with present time reference is negated by *le* (see 7.1), it can be assumed that we are talking about *le qāṭilwā*:

- a. 'ahi yapyawa laḥma w 'ana qaṭ'anwala qṭa'e (344)  
 "She was baking bread and I was cutting the pieces (of dough) for her."

The reference point to these two situations is a lightning strike, which is described in 340:

- b. 'ahi w Kawo terwehen ḥaṭḥa ḡohtek kame tanura yapewa laḥma. 'amma 'emmet ḥaṭḥa mḥewa berqa  
 "She and Kawo (were standing) like this in front of the oven and baking bread. But suddenly the lightning had struck."

It is remarkable that the situation that represents the reference point, *mḥewa*, is expressed by *qṭilwā*, a form that otherwise denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past (see 4.1 above). Presumably, however, it is precisely this category that is meant for the speaker first relates that he was sitting in front of his house and suddenly heard a scream. Seen from the speech time, the lightning strike is anterior to the scream. The baking, on the other hand, that is simultaneous with the lightning, can only be expressed by *qāṭilwā*, which is used for simple anteriority (see above sect. 3), since there is no signum that could move the situation further back into the past. When Kawo recounts her experience, i.e. in a discussing passage, *qṭille* and simple *qṭil* are used:

- c. 'e dana nṭerri šriqēn m-šmaya tela, 'e dana nṭerri 'ana pandeqan 'izan l-tamoha (345)  
 "Suddenly (literally: when I looked) there came a crash from the sky, yes, and suddenly I was hurled there."

### 5.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, too, the situation in progress can be expressed by *qāṭilwā*:

- a. xodeki 'e baḥta maniwa tamoha ḥepawa (564)  
"Who on earth was that woman who was bathing there?"
- b. ṭoret 'aziwa naṭriwabe dawarehen, kodda ḥa kela ṣ'are hole kame dawarehen hole 'aḥli (520)  
"And as they were going and looking after their pack animals, they had every one a measure of barley before them, and they were eating."

As can be seen from the previous example, simple qāṭil can also be used with past time reference. The same applies to the following instance:

- c. w maq qadmi w 'ahu b-'amer (554)  
"The more they were approaching, (the more) he was shouting: ..."

At times, daned + qṭille expresses situations that at first glance seem imperfective:

- d. daneq qrele kekwani, kekwane kiwi-sse hulele ḡawabeheh (126)

If the crying out and the answering are thought of as simultaneous, both situations are imperfective. But probably the speaker had in mind that his rock partridges cried out first and only then came the answer, thus: "When my rock partridges cried out, the wild rock partridges answered them."

- e. danew wedle ḥeḡḡom l-kekwani ... npelleheh l-neṣwe (127)

It must be assumed that they fell into the snares during the attack, that the situations expressed by qṭille are thus simultaneous with each other. It must be borne in mind, however, that both situations are punctual and would become atelic when described imperfectively. But that can hardly be what is meant for the wild rock partridges actually attacked and fell into the snares. Thus, one has to translate: "When they attacked my rock partridges ... they fell into the snares."

An imperfective use of qṭille can thus not be proven.

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 6.1 *Main Clauses*

The two corresponding examples have qāṭilwā as predicates:

- a. zila l-mdita d maḥišawa go-šuqa go-bete. ḥa rezqa yahuwala 'alaha (374)  
"She went into the town to collect at the market and in the houses. Something to eat God would give her."
- b. 'emed mad yahuwala meččawale w 'aḥliwale (ibid.)  
"Whatever he might give her, she would bring it to him and they would eat it."

## 6.2 Subordinate Clauses

In a subordinate clause, *bed-qāṭil* is attested:

- a. daney yate'wa b-'ate darweše 'amer l-baḥtew (640)  
"When he knew that the dervishes would come, he said to his wife: ..."

*le xales* in no. b can be a *bed-qāṭil* form or simple *qāṭil* because these are identical when negated:

- b. dimen nṭerre Yosep le xales 'amer (456)  
"When Joseph saw that he would not escape, he said: ..."

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

This category is expressed by simple *qāṭil*, negated *le qāṭil* (no. b), in one case, with the verb 'zl, by *bed-qāṭil* (no. a). This is true both when the situation is just in progress and when it is confined to a limited period of time that has not yet ended. I will begin with the progressing situations:

#### 7.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a. meka 'atet, leka b-'azet? (681)  
"Where are you coming from and where are you going to?"

#### 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. lemme le maḥkeyat (409)  
"Why are you not talking?"<sup>39</sup>

39 See further: 179 (ḥazetti "you see me"); 377 (l-me ḥadrat? "what are you looking for?"); 404 (lemme baḥyat? "why are you crying?"); 629 (l-mahi ḥadriton? "what are you looking for?").

### 7.1.3 Stative

- c. me 'amiton dar haqq daz zalama-ha? (460)  
 “What do you think (lit.: say) about the case of this man?”<sup>40</sup>

The second case is represented by the following example:

- d. maḥele 'enew le 'wana-sse šaqella mennoḥ (581)  
 “He is casting his eye also upon this sheep to take it away from you.”

As already stated, qṭīl can have the meaning of an anterior or resultative. When used as a resultative, the resulting state can be simultaneous with a reference point in the past (see 4.1 nos. h + i), but it is more often parallel to the speech time (2.1 nos. r + s). Here is another example:

- e. qenyana hole b-maxxal. hole dmiḥa (2)  
 “The sheep are in the pen. They (have fallen asleep and) are sleeping.”

### 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

In two asyndetic relative clauses, qāṭil is used:

- a. 'ani mayer rešoḥini mašḥenet (656)  
 “That is water for your head that you are heating up.”<sup>41</sup>

A syndetic relative clause has qṭīl, the situation is resultative:

- b. w 'oha p peš Benyamenile (539)  
 “And the one who is left is Benjamin.”

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 Main Clauses

This category is expressed by bed-qāṭil, sometimes also by simple qāṭil (nos. b and d). The difference between the two signa is not easy to determine. As with habitual situations of the past (see 3.1 above), 'zl is predominantly used

40 See also 362 (me ṭalbet? “what are you demanding?”).

41 See further 654 (mahile 'odet? “what is it that you are doing?”).

with b-, except when directly preceded by a form of *qwm*,<sup>42</sup> whereas 'ty is only attested without b- or bed-. As with singular situations, the negative form is *le qāṭil* (no. a):

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. *ḥakma ṭurane 'atele, 'ate napli l-nešwe, ḥakma ṭurane le qadmibe* (130)  
 “To some parts of the mountain they come and fall into the snares, other parts they do not approach.”<sup>43</sup>

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- b. *bet-qayem naša spedahi bet-'azu, hole b-ṭura, naša bet-'azu ḥalule qen-yanew w metele w 'ate* (20)  
 “The people rise early – (the cattle) are in the mountains – they go, milk their sheep and bring (the milk with them).”<sup>44</sup>

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- c. *ṭlata yarḥe b-'awedle maruta, 'eč'a yarḥe b-'aḥel mennew* (19)  
 “Three months he takes care of them, nine months he eats from them.”<sup>45</sup>

#### 8.1.4 Stative

- d. *'ani dayem go-maye hawe, 'ani ša'uteni* (300)  
 “They are constantly in the water, they are yellow.”

States can also be expressed by adding the copula forms *-le*, *-la* etc. to the predicative:

- e. *šapirele w rahwalile* (303)  
 “They are beautiful and lively.”

42 See 21: *bet-qemi 'azi* and *qemi 'azi* “they set out”. Another exception is *'azi ḥakma* “they pass (years)”, in 250.

43 See also 21 (*bet-'oblila* “they take her with them”).

44 See further 315 (*'ate* “it comes”).

45 See also 20 (*bet-'aḥel mennew* “he eats thereof”).

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

Anteriority in habitual temporal clauses is mostly expressed by *qāṭil*:

- a. danep preḥle, 'aṭṭore 'ahu b-qare l-ḥa ḥura ḥena (148)  
 "When it has flown away, he calls out to another friend: ..."46

After *daned* also *qāṭil* can be used:

- b. daned 'ate l-beta, b-qemi hada mmarreṣ maṣḥnile ḥalwehen (25)  
 "When they have got home, they heat their milk carefully."
- c. kekwane daned ḥazaḥle 'enḡa 'en l-hawa b-ṭaraḥbe teppak qaṭlaḥle, 'en l-'ar'a b-'ormaḥla ruḥan (134)  
 "When we have seen the rock partridges, be it in the air, we shoot at them and kill them, be it on the ground, we hide."

## 9 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 9.1 Main Clauses

This category is expressed by *bed-qāṭil*, negated *le qāṭil* (no. b), sometimes also by simple *qāṭil* (no. f). Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a statement is meant indicatively or non-indicatively. The following examples are indicative according to the context:

#### 9.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'al lele m-naplale (163)  
 "Tonight she will fall into it."
- b. le qayem (Hert. 56)  
 "He will not get up."<sup>47</sup>

46 See further: 20 (daned hwela "when she has become"); 24 (daned ḥlulele "when they have milked"); 30 (daned me'lala "when she has buttered it"); 234 (daned hwele "when he has become"); 319 (daneč čle'laḥle "when we have mown it").

47 See also: 143 ('eḡḡu b-napli "today they will fall"); 324 (mahi b-yawattan "what will you give us?"); 472 (maḥele rešoḥ "they will cut off your head"); 490 (bed-napqa "she will come out"); 520 (me b-'awedban "what will he do to us?"); 602 (b-hoya ḥamla "she will become pregnant").

## 9.1.2 Telic

- c. dade hole bet-ʼazen l-ʼatra xarīb (441)  
“Mother, I will now go to a foreign country.”
- d. mḥelenba qarar: bale b-ʼodenne beti bebbḥa (88)  
“I decided: Yes, here I will build my house.”<sup>48</sup>

## 9.1.3 Atelic

- e. pneta me b-ʼaḥlah (329)  
“What will we eat for snack?”
- f. ʼawedla xezmat didan gaweb beta (453)  
“He will serve us in the house.”

bed-qāṭil can also be used in the sense of an instruction. Job’s wife gave the devil one of her hairs in exchange for a loaf of bread. After being rebuked by Job, she went back and:

- g. b-yawette zapi, hole laḥmoḥ (398)  
“You will give me back my hair! Here is your bread.”

bed-qāṭil is also attested in the main clause of an until-construction:

- h. bet-pešet lala ḥel hawe ʼad šoʼla (603)  
“You will be mute until this matter will have been done.”

9.2 *Subordinate Clause*

There is one example of qāṭil in a relative clause:

- a. zwonnan ḥa kteta d metwaḥlalan qope, napli ḥakma čičoke batro (265)  
“Buy us a chicken that we will take as a hatcher with a few chicks running after it.”

---

<sup>48</sup> See further 255 (bet-ʼazen “I will go”).

## 10 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

The following three main clause situations expressed by two *bed-qāṭil* forms and one *qāṭil* form are meant to be simultaneous with each other in the future and can be rendered by a temporal clause:

- a. 'ahet m-nadet (= *bed-qāṭil*) batreṣ ṣeṭla, w 'ahu m-nade batreč čačcoloḥ ṣaṭe'loḥ l-gawo (658)  
 "While you are reaching for the cauldron, he will grab you by the lower leg and throw you in."

## 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

This category is attested in temporal clauses after *daned*. The predicate is *qṭille*:

- a. daneq qṭellele w go-šarr qṭellele, tu naša le ket'amerri: lemno hada wedloḥ (569)  
 "When they will have killed him, and will have killed him in battle, then no one can say to me: 'Why have you done this?'"<sup>49</sup>

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 Main Clauses

Non-indicative main clause situations are predominantly expressed by simple *qāṭil* which can indicate different deontic nuances and is used when the subject is a first, second or third person. It is negated by *la*. In addition, however, *bed-qāṭil* also appears in a clearly non-indicative sense and in very similar contexts as simple *qāṭil* (cf. 9.1, no. g). Compare:

- a. me bet-'oden (89)  
 "What shall I do?"

49 See also: 590 (*danet 'werreboḥ* "when he will have forgiven you"); 664 (*danen ndele* "when he will have grasped").



and:

- b. me 'oden babo (161)  
“What shall I do, father?”

Further examples of *bed-qāṭil*:

- c. ḥa hōsta ṭawa bet-ḥazen (95)  
“A good builder I want to find.”
- d. 'Awriyel-se bet-'awerboḥ (588)  
“Oriyel has to forgive you.”<sup>50</sup>

More common, however, is simple *qāṭil*:

- e. ḥalwaḥle (23)  
“Let us milk them.”<sup>51</sup>
- f. quwat haweloḥ (22)  
“May you have strength.”<sup>52</sup>
- g. 'ana wedli w 'ahet la 'odet (595)  
“I have made, but you may not make.”
- h. le bale la ra'ešba (525)  
“But he must not realise it.”<sup>53</sup>

## 12.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, simple *qāṭil* and *qāṭilwā* are attested. Simple *qāṭil* can be used after the subordinators *dad*, *d* and *ḥel*; also 'zl is used without *bed-* (see 8.1); in these cases, *qāṭil* always has a final meaning:

50 The following examples also allow for an indicative interpretation: 103 (*b-yatwaḥba* “we want to [will?] settle there”); 174 (*bet-'azen* “I want to [will?] go”).

51 For the first person, see also 455 (*'odenne?* “shall I do it?”).

52 For the second person, see: 439 (*noḥqetti* “may you let me out”); 442 (*'azet* “you may go”).

53 For the third person, see: 22 (*neḥi* “they may rest”); 579 (*qaṭelli w šaqella* “he wants to kill me and take them away”).

- a. drowwenneḥon ḥa bdana warza dad la peša 'eneḥon l-naše (181)  
 "Take one dönüm<sup>54</sup> (land) as a melon field so that your eyes do not stick on the people = so that you do not become envious."<sup>55</sup>

qāṭil often follows a superordinate clause asyndetically:

- b. brati, de metilan 'aḥlaḥ (61)  
 "Daughter, bring it to us so that we may eat."<sup>56</sup>

qāṭil can also be dependent on b'y "to want" and *lazem* "necessary":

- c. ke-p'e dohrili (542)  
 "They want to kill me."<sup>57</sup>
- d. lawa lazem rakwetti (674)  
 "But it is not necessary that you mount me."

qāṭilwā is used when the main clause has past time reference. Unfortunately, the forms do not allow us to decide whether we are talking about la or le qāṭilwā, but since with present time reference la qāṭil is used (see no. a above), we can probably assume that the non-indicative form is meant here, too:

- e. hama ndele l-şeṭla l-čembolyateş şeṭla d mettuwala l-'ar'a (668)  
 "Then he reached for the kettle, for the handles of the kettle, to put it on the ground."
- f. zila l-mdita d maḥişawa go-şuqa (374)  
 "She went into town to collect on the market."<sup>58</sup>

The prerequisite for the use of qāṭilwā seems indeed to be the presence of a past tense verb; in the absence of such a verb, simple qāṭil is used even if the situation has past time reference:

54 dönüm is a square measure.

55 See also: 41 + 113 (dad ... 'azen "so that I go"); 242 (d metwaḥba "so that we plant there"); 446 (ḥel 'azu ḥazele "so that they come and see"); 542 (dad doherre "so that he kills him").

56 See further: 43 ('aḥlen "so that I eat"); 427 (şate "so that they drink"; garşi maye "so that they draw up water").

57 See also 542 (ke-p'aḥ 'azaḥ "we want to go").

58 See also 459 (d 'awedwala xezmat "so that he serves").

- g. w mendi-sse lettek garši maye šate (427)  
 “And they had nothing with them to draw up water with it and drink.”<sup>59</sup>

### 13 Conditional Clauses

Real as well as counterfactual conditionals are introduced by *’en*, but this is often omitted. The apodosis is usually without introductory particle. If a condition is thought to be real and the consequence refers to the future, the protasis has simple *qāṭil*, negated by *la* or *’ella*;<sup>60</sup> the predicate of the apodosis is normally *bed-qāṭil* or non-indicatively used *qāṭil*:

- a. ma ’en ḥazyatte gorah b-yat’atte? (407)  
 “If you see your husband, will you recognise him?”<sup>61</sup>

The condition described in the protasis can be habitual and then resemble a temporal clause in meaning: whenever ...:

- b. ’en hoyā ferṭonya w ’en hawē qorša b-goma b-yawaḥle (110)  
 “If there is a storm or it is cold, we give him (his food) in the stable.”

Sometimes the protasis is not introduced by a conditional particle so that formally two main clauses follow each other:

- c. qemen qaṭlenne gorennā baḥtew šari’at le qabla (565)  
 “I will set out and kill him and marry his wife, the court will not accept that” = “If I set out and kill him ...”<sup>62</sup>

59 See further: 427 (šate “so that they drink”); 446 (ḥel ’azu ḥazele “so that they come and see him”).

60 See 469: *’ella ’oditon b-xabri* “if you do not act according to my word”, and 534: *la ’aten ’ana* “if I do not come”.

61 See also: 425 (’en ’azu ... b-ṭarahle “if he goes, we will leave him”); 635 (’en ’odaḥ ... me b-yawettan? “if we do, what will you give us?”). With non-indicatively used *qāṭil* in the apodosis: 443 (’en hoyā ... hawē “if she is, it shall be”); 264 (’en ’aziton ... ḥazeton “if you go, you shall look”); with indicatively used *qāṭil* in the apodosis: 157 (’en ’ačča ... ṭarenba ḥa teppak qaṭlenna “if she comes I will shoot at her and kill her”); 258 (’en la hawē ... ’azi “if it is not ... they will come”).

62 See also: 325 (ke-p’et meččannoḥ “if you want, I will bring it to you”); 593 (šaqlenna ... le qabla mellat “if I take her, the people will not accept it”); 388 (la ’amatti ... la qadmatbi “if you do not tell me, do not approach me”); 479 (naktet ... b-’ačča “if you tear out, she

In one case, both sentences have *q̄tille* although the condition refers to the future:

- d. 'obellatte 'an laḥme w metelatte zapaḥ metelatte. la 'obellatte w metelatte zapaḥ 'ana zilaḥ menni (395)<sup>63</sup>  
 "If you take away the loaves and bring back your hair, you have brought it back (so it is good). But if you do not take them away and bring back your hair, you have separated yourself from me."

If the situation in the protasis is resultative, *q̄tīl* is used:

- e. 'en m-kamew člika qamestew sūč didewila (462)  
 "If his shirt is torn at the front, the blame is with him."

Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future are attested four times. While the condition refers to the present or future in all cases, the consequence has past time reference in three instances. The apodosis always has *bed-q̄āṭilwā*; in the protasis, *la q̄āṭilwā* is found twice, once the negated past copula *laweḥtonwa* and once *q̄ṭilwā* (no. i):

- f. 'en la teḥanwa mennoḥ b-'amanwa (410)  
 "If I (fem.) were not so ashamed before you, I would say: ..."
- g. 'en la hawetwa ḥakomed Meššer 'emmet ḥzelennoḥ b-'amenwa (544)  
 "If you were not the ruler of Egypt, I would have said when I saw you: ..."
- h. 'en laweḥtonwa gonnahkār b-yahuwaleḥon 'alaha ḥa saxla (601)  
 "If you were not sinners, God would have given you a child."

The situation of the apodosis in the last example can also be thought of as referring to the present: ... so God would give you.

- i. 'en 'alaha la krebwa mennoḥ la ḡgerwa mennoḥ 'en korre 'en kačcata ... b-ṭarewaloh (359)  
 "If God were not angry with you, if He were not displeased with you ... He would have left you a boy or a girl."

---

will come out"); 539 (bet-paṭṭaḥ ... bet-'amaḥle 'arew "if we get out [here], we will pay him back").

63 On the endings of *q̄tille* in front of object suffixes, see Hert. 61.

*krebwa* and *ğgerwa* could also refer to the past: if God had not been angry ...

Counterfactual conditionals of the past are attested three times. The situation of the apodosis refers to the past in two cases and is expressed by *bed-qāṭilwā* (nos. j and l), in one case to the present (*le qāṭilwā* = *qāṭilwā* or *bed-qāṭilwā*; no. k). The protasis is in one case reduced and without verb form (no. l), in the other two instances *qṭilwāle* (no. k) and *qṭilwā* (no. j) are used:

- j. 'en la huyawa m-kalweč čaṭaye b-temawali (179)  
"If it had not been for the Čaṭ people's dog, she would have finished me off."
- k. 'en ṭrelaḥwale b-ḥa nērra qṭellaḥwale, 'en wedlaḥwabe ḥa mendi 'eğğū le 'awedwaban ḥaṭḥa (531)  
"If we had led him into a forest and killed him, if we had done something to him, then he would not treat us like this now."<sup>64</sup>

The situation of the third example follows the scene described in no. j above:

- l. nexwa b-qatlawali (180)  
"(The dog came and it [i.e. the bear = fem.] fled.) Otherwise it would have killed me."

## 14 Verbs of Perception

First of all, the phrase *dimen nṭerre* "when he looked" should be mentioned. The main clause, which describes what he saw, has almost always *qṭille*:

- a. dimen nṭerre 'werra baḥtonta tama (376)  
"When he looked, the woman was walking (walked) past there."<sup>65</sup>

On one occasion, simple *qāṭil* is used in the main clause:

- b. dimen nṭerre ḥa qarwan bošta hola 'ačča me-'ida (515)  
"When he looked, a large caravan was coming from that direction."

<sup>64</sup> Similarly again in 538 and 539.

<sup>65</sup> For *dimen nṭerre*, see also: 402 (*tela* "saw her coming [come]"); 434 (*tele* "saw him coming [come]").

The phrase, however, seems to have already become frozen and not necessarily to imply actual viewing but to emphasise the sudden occurrence of a situation, as the evidence suggests in which the main clauses do not describe what is seen but what is heard first and foremost:

- c.    ḥa yoma dimen nṭerre te darweše mḥele l-tar'a (628)  
       "One day he suddenly heard two dervishes knocking (knock) at the door."<sup>66</sup>

The main clause situations thus seem to be understood in a perfective rather than imperfective way.<sup>67</sup> The situation is different with ḥzy after which qāṭil and qāṭilwā are attested:

- d.    ḥzeli b-ḥelmi 'al lele m-ḥa dalita ḥel spedahi ḥazqenwa 'enwe (467)  
       "I saw in my dream that tonight I was pressing grapes from a vine until morning."  
 e.    ḥzeli b-ḥelmi ... hole hama maḥele reši (468)  
       "I saw in my dream ... how they were hitting my head."

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭille and Qṭilwāle*

Regardless of the type of action, qṭille, negated la qṭille, is used in narrating and discussing passages to express anteriority to the speech time. In discussing passages, it can have the meaning of an anterior, especially when it is combined with *hole*. It does not only denote strictly singular situations but also those that extend over specific periods of time (four, five days) without being habitual (2.1 + 2.2). In main clauses, anteriority to a reference point in the past is usually expressed by qṭilwāle, only occasionally by simple qṭille. In subordinate clauses, qṭille denotes this category when corresponding subordinators already suggest the anteriority, such as *daned*, otherwise qṭilwāle is used. qṭil and qṭilwā, on the other hand, are used resultatively when an anterior action is involved, but the focus of the statement is on the resulting state (4.1 + 4.2). In two cases, qṭille at first glance seems to describe imperfective situations in

66 See also 337: 'e dana nṭerri wedlehen hawar "when I looked, they called for help = suddenly they called for help".

67 On qṭil after nṭr, see above 4.2. nos. b + c.

temporal clauses, but the relevant examples are most likely to be interpreted as perfective (5.2).

In temporal clauses after *daned*, *qṭille* expresses anteriority to a habitual situation described by *qāṭil*: *when this has happened, such and such always happens* (8.2). In addition, *daned* followed by *qṭille* expresses anteriority to a reference point in the future (11). In a conditional clause without an introductory *ʿen*, *qṭille* is used although the situation in question has future time reference; usually *qāṭil* is found in this case. *qṭilwāle* is attested after *ʿen* in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional with past time reference (13). Finally, *qṭille* is used after *dimen nṭerre* “when he looked”. It seems that *qṭille* does not so much describe the situation as it unfolds but is rather intended to emphasise the suddenness of its occurrence (14).

### 15.2 *Qṭil*

*qṭil* + S-Suffix is derivable from verbs of the G-stem and from quadriliteral verbs only; it is attested with transitive and intransitive verbs; with transitive ones, it has a reflexive or passive meaning, with intransitive ones it is active; there is only one attested exception to this rule where a *qṭil* form of a transitive verb is used with an active meaning (2.1. no. x, *qḃilenna* “I have accepted this”); *qṭil* most often has the meaning of a resultative but is also used as an anterior. Its reference point can be in the past in which case the action is anterior and the following state or the influence is simultaneous with it; in main clauses, however, *qṭilwā* is more often used in this case; but the reference point can also be the speech time in which case the state is simultaneous with it: *ʿite talga* “(it has snowed and now) there is snow” (2.1 + 2.2; 4.1 + 4.2; 7.1 + 7.2).

Moreover, simple *qṭil* is attested after *ʿen* in the protasis of a real conditional clause and also has a resultative function there; *qṭilwā* is found in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional with past time reference; the protasis of another counterfactual example may have present or past time reference (13).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

*qāṭil* can be combined with *bed-* / *b-*, *ked-* and *-wā*. *k-qāṭil* can only be formed from the verb *b’y* “to want” (see 12.2, no. c). The negated form *la qāṭil* expresses non-indicative situations including subordinate situations in conditional clauses, otherwise *le qāṭil* is used. *bed-qāṭil* has no negative form, it is negated, like indicatively used *qāṭil*, by *le qāṭil*.

Simple *qāṭil* has past time reference with the verb *ʿmr* “to say”, as in Syriac, when it introduces direct speech, otherwise corresponding verb forms such

as qṭille or qāṭilwā are used. With other verbs, too, simple qāṭil or bed-qāṭil can indicate anteriority to the speech time as long as the time reference is made clear by the context. The situations described in this way are progressing or habitual (2.1; 3.1). qāṭil can also be used alongside qāṭilwā to denote simultaneity with a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses (5.2) and possibly – besides bed-qāṭil – posteriority to a reference point in the past (6.2). Singular situations that are simultaneous with the speech time are usually expressed by simple qāṭil, apart from the verb 'zl which normally has the form bed-qāṭil; habitual situations, on the other hand, are usually indicated by bed-qāṭil, more rarely by simple qāṭil, which is, however, always used with the verb 'ty “to come” (7.1 + 7.2; 8.1). Occasionally, qāṭil is found in temporal clauses after *daned*, denoting the anteriority of a habitual situation: *when this has happened, such and such always happens*; usually, however, qṭille is used in this case (8.2). Posteriority to the speech time, on the other hand, is usually denoted in main and subordinate clauses by bed-qāṭil, rarely only by simple qāṭil (9.1 + 9.2). In one case, bed-qāṭil expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future (10). In addition, qāṭil describes non-indicative situations. In this case, it is negated by *la*, not by *le*. In main clauses, bed-qāṭil is also used, but in subordinate clauses only simple qāṭil is attested. The prerequisite for its use in subordinate clauses is that the superordinate clause has a present tense form; otherwise, qāṭilwā is used. Simple qāṭil is also used after b'y “to want” and *lazem* “necessary” (12.1 + 12.2). After ḥzy “to see”, qāṭil describes a situation in its progress (14), and finally, it is used after 'en in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future. While only simple qāṭil is attested in the protasis, negated by *la*, the apodosis normally has bed-qāṭil (13).

qāṭilwā expresses habitual situations of the past. bed-qāṭilwā is also attested in these cases but only with the verb 'zl “to go”, the difference between the two forms being difficult to determine (3.1 + 3.2). Moreover, it indicates simultaneity with and posteriority to a reference point in the past. In subordinate clauses, simultaneity can also be denoted by simple qāṭil (5.1 + 5.2; 6.1). In non-indicative subordinate clauses, qāṭilwā is found when the superordinate clause has past time reference; otherwise simple qāṭil is used (12.2). Once it is attested after ḥzy “to see” where the observed situation has past time reference (14). Furthermore, qāṭilwā is used after 'en in the protasis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the present / future. In the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, bed-qāṭilwā is used, regardless of whether the consequence resulting from the fulfilment of the condition refers to the past or the present / future (13).



## 16 Analysis

The occasional use of *q̣ṭille* in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future and after *daned* to express anteriority to a reference point in the future speaks in favour of a perfective character. The fact that it expresses not only anteriority to the speech time but occasionally even anteriority to a reference point in the past in main clauses, points in the same direction, whereas there is no clear indication of an imperfective or temporal use. Even if *q̣ṭille* is probably used more often in the sense of an anterior in Hertevin than in other dialects, since the actual signum of this category, *q̣ṭil* + S-suffix, can only be formed from a limited number of verbs, it must be analysed as a marked verb form for the expression of the perfective aspect. *q̣ṭilwāle*, on the other hand, describes situations that are anterior to a reference point in the past; even if it is only rarely attested in subordinate clauses, it must be interpreted as a marked relative tense form, since according to the evidence it is not used to express simple anteriority to the speech time. Its use in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional with past time reference is interesting. Unfortunately, only one example is available so that it is not possible to decide whether in conditional clauses one can speak of an opposition counterfactuality of the present / future (*q̣āṭilwā* – *bed-q̣āṭilwā*) : counterfactuality of the past (*q̣ṭilwāle* – *bed-q̣āṭilwā*). Despite this occasional use in conditional clauses, *q̣ṭilwāle* is to be regarded as a tense form, not as a modal form.

*q̣ṭil* + S-suffix can only be formed from verbs of the G-stem and from quadriliteral verbs, has a passive meaning with transitive verbs – with one exception – and an active meaning with intransitive verbs and is used with the meaning of a resultative or an anterior. As already noted by Jastrow (Hert. 59), it is only incompletely integrated into the verbal system, since, on the one hand, it cannot be formed from the derived stems and furthermore it is not in real opposition to any other verb form, such as *q̣ṭille*, since it cannot be used with an active meaning when formed from transitive verbs. Nevertheless, it has to be considered marked. *q̣ṭilwā* is attested in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional which possibly refers to the present. However, the corresponding situations can also be understood as anterior and resultative so that a non-indicative use is not clearly proven. *q̣ṭilwā* is therefore to be analysed as a marked signum for the expression of the anterior / resultative with past time reference.

With regard to *q̣āṭil* and *q̣āṭilwā*, a distinction must be made between the forms negated by *la* and those negated by *le*. *le q̣āṭil* is used indicatively, especially to express singular but also habitual situations of the present; even if the *q̣āṭil* form used with past time reference is only attested affirmatively, it can be

assumed that the negated form in these cases is *le qāṭil*. In addition, it denotes indicative posteriority to the speech time. *la qāṭil*, on the other hand, expresses real non-indicative situations. The forms negated by *le* probably go back to \**lā y-qāṭil* with \**lāy* > *le*, i.e. the indicative form originally probably had the prefix *y-* or *'i-*, also attested in other NENA dialects, which was later dropped in affirmative sentences. *(la) qāṭil* can therefore be classified as a marked modal signum expressing negated non-indicative situations; *(le) qāṭil*, on the other hand, is modally marked as indicative. *bed-qāṭil* which, like indicative *qāṭil*, is negated by *le qāṭil*, cannot be considered marked in any way; it is not marked aspectually, since it can describe both posteriority to and simultaneity with a reference point and can be used to express perfective, imperfective and habitual situations. Temporally it is not marked either as it describes situations with future and present time reference. In addition, it expresses indicative and non-indicative situations, so it is also modally unmarked. The indicative form *(le) qāṭilwā* expresses the extended imperfective aspect with past time reference and is therefore unmarked, while the non-indicative *(la) qāṭilwā* describes, on the one hand, counterfactual situations in the protasis of conditional clauses of the present / future; in this case, *-wā* expresses counterfactuality. On the other hand, it is also used in real non-indicative subordinate clauses when the main clause situation has past time reference; in this case, *-wā* is used temporally. The *qāṭilwā* form which in one example describes posteriority to a reference point in the past, is presumably also the non-indicative variety. *(la) qāṭilwā* is thus a non-indicative verb form for expressing real as well as counterfactual situations and thus has to be considered unmarked. Although *bed-qāṭilwā* of the verb *'zl* is also used to denote habitual situations of the past, it is otherwise only attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the present / future and the past. It is to be classified as a marked signum for the expression of counterfactual posteriority.

The verbal system of Hertevin has eight marked signa: *qṭille*, *qṭilwāle*, *(la) qāṭil*, *(le) qāṭil*, *bed-qāṭilwā*, *qṭil* + S-suffix, *qṭilwā*, imperative. Unmarked are: *bed-qāṭil*, *(le) qāṭilwā*, *(la) qāṭilwā*.

In the indicative domain, there is the following opposition:

*qṭille* (anterior perfective) : *(le) qāṭilwā* (anterior ext. imperfective)

There is no opposition *qṭille* : *qṭilwāle*, since the former is an aspect and the latter a tense form. There is no opposition between *qṭille* and *qṭil* + S-suffix either, as *qṭille* has an active meaning with transitive verbs, *qṭil*, on the other hand, a passive one.

In the modal domain, two marked signs are opposed to each other

(le) qāṭil (indicative) : (la) qāṭil (non-indicative)

Regarding non-indicative subordinate clauses, a temporal distinction can be made:

qāṭil (main clause with present time reference) : qāṭilwā (main clause with past time reference)

## J. Arbel

### o Text Corpus

The texts published in Khan's work on the Jewish dialect of Arbel (pp. 422–541) were evaluated. I will follow Khan's practice and mark vowel lengths only in the case of /a/; on the quantity of the other vowels, see Khan, Arbel 44–53.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qāṭil*

The old AP of the G-stem (stem I, < old qṭal) has the following forms:

|      | sg.    | pl.      |
|------|--------|----------|
| 3.m. | qaṭil  | qaṭli    |
| 3.f. | qaṭla  | qaṭli    |
| 2.m. | qaṭlet | qaṭletun |
| 2.f. | qaṭlat | qaṭletun |
| 1.m. | qaṭlen | qaṭlex   |
| 1.f. | qaṭlan | qaṭlex   |

Stem II (< old qaṭṭel and 'aqṭel) has the prefix ma-:

|      | sg.     | pl.                       |
|------|---------|---------------------------|
| 3.m. | maqṭil  | maqiṭli                   |
| 3.f. | maqilṭa | maqiṭli etc. <sup>1</sup> |

Most verbs 1 ' with original /ʔ/ as well as some irregular verbs distinguish between a non-indicative and an indicative form with prefixed g- / k- (= k-qāṭil): 'axil "that he eats" : k-xil "he eats".<sup>2</sup>

The inflected form of qāṭil can be followed by -wā to express past time reference: *palixwa* "he used to open", *palxawa* "she used to open".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Khan, Arbel 91f.

<sup>2</sup> See Khan, Arbel 96.

<sup>3</sup> See Khan, Arbel 111.

qāṭil and qṭille can be preceded by lā-, which probably goes back to the 3.sg.f of the present copula. It primarily expresses aspectual qualities. With few exceptions, k-qāṭil is used after lā-: *lā-g-bi* “they want”.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.2 *Qṭille*

qṭille from verbs of the G-stem has the following forms:

|      | sg.     | pl.       |
|------|---------|-----------|
| 3.m. | qṭille  | qṭillu    |
| 3.f. | qṭilla  | qṭillu    |
| 2.m. | qṭillox | qṭilluxun |
| 2.f. | qṭillax | qṭilluxun |
| 1.m. | qṭilli  | qṭillan   |

Stem II (< old qatṭel and 'aqṭel) has the prefix mi-:

|      | sg.      | pl.                        |
|------|----------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | miqṭille | miqṭillu                   |
| 3.f. | miqṭilla | miqṭillu etc. <sup>5</sup> |

A pronominal object of the third person is usually attached to the base: *giršāle* “he dragged her”; *giršile* “he dragged them”. However, the use of *'ill-* to introduce the object, common with the first and second persons, is also possible here: *gizyāle* or *gzele-llaw* “he saw her”. A 3.sg.m. object cannot be expressed by a zero ending, “he saw him” can in Arbel only be *gzele-lleu*, not *gzele* (= he saw).<sup>6</sup>

qṭille can be combined with -wā- (= qṭilwāle) and lā- (= lā-qṭille): *plixwāle* “he had opened”, *plixwāla* “she had opened”, etc.;<sup>7</sup> *šmeli* “I heard” : *lā-šmeli* “I have heard”.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.3 *Qṭilā*

The old status emphaticus of the passive participle can be combined with a copula when used predicatively.<sup>9</sup> However, it is only used with a limited number

4 See Khan, Arbel 11f and 27f.

5 See Khan, Arbel 94.

6 See Khan, Arbel 95, 119.

7 See Khan, Arbel 111.

8 See Khan, Arbel 11f.

9 On the forms of the past and present copula, see Khan, Arbel 105.

of mostly intransitive verbs, these include, among others, *xml* “to stand”, *skn* “to dwell”, *dmx* “to sleep”, *ytw* “to sit”.<sup>10</sup> The compound expresses a state that can usually be understood as a result of a preceding action: to fall asleep > to sleep: *skina-wet* “you (m.) dwell”; *skinta-wat* “you (f.) dwell”; *skine-wetun* “you (pl.) dwell”.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally, it is also formed from transitive verbs, and then has a passive meaning, and is used with the past or the present copula: *ʔyya kliwa-wele geb ʔilha* “it was written with God”.<sup>12</sup>

All verb forms including the imperative are negated by *la*. It differs from the particle *lā-* mentioned above by the vowel quantity: *la plixle* “he did not open”.<sup>13</sup>

#### 1.4 *Imperative*

|     |                                |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| sg. | qʔol                           |
| pl. | qʔolun / qʔolmun <sup>14</sup> |

#### 1.5 *Infinitive*

The infinitive of the G-stem is *qʔāla*, of stem II *maqʔōle* and of quadrilateral verbs *qaʔlōle*.<sup>15</sup>

### 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

#### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is predominantly expressed by *qʔille* which occurs mainly in narrating passages but is also attested in discussing ones. In the latter case, it often has the meaning of an anterior (nos. b and d):

##### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. *dwiqle-lleu, xniqle-lleu, qʔille-lleu, mindele-lleu ga-maʔake* (L 504)  
 “He seized him, strangled him, killed him and threw him into the water.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See the list in Khan, Arbel 284.

<sup>11</sup> See Khan, Arbel 284.

<sup>12</sup> See Khan, Arbel 285.

<sup>13</sup> See Khan, Arbel 115.

<sup>14</sup> See Khan, Arbel 95.

<sup>15</sup> See Khan, Arbel 89–90.

<sup>16</sup> The translations are usually taken from Khan.

- b. 'ila, bronax mille (Y 166)  
 "Come! Your son has died."

2.1.2 Telic

- c. murwele-llox (Y 11)  
 "He has brought you up."
- d. bāban tama la lyele? (L 96)  
 "Why has our father not come?"

2.1.3 Atelic

- e. soneu 'isri šinne tora 'iliple bet midraš 'il-'Arbel (Y 33)  
 "His grandfather learnt Torah for 20 years in a bet midrash in Arbel."
- f. 'iyya bšilmānake bxele bar-soneu (Y 265)  
 "The Muslim wept for his grandfather."

2.1.4 Stative

- g. la y'ille ma 'ol (S 17)  
 "He did not know what to do."<sup>17</sup>

As no. e shows, qṭille can also express situations of very considerable temporal extension which, however, cannot be considered habitual.

Although qṭille can be used in discussing passages in the sense of an anterior, the more common form to denote this category is lā-qṭille:

- h. bronan hula'a lā-qṭille-lleu (Y 209)  
 "A Jew has killed our son."

<sup>17</sup> qṭille is, as already mentioned, predominantly attested in narrating passages. For more examples of qṭille in discussing passages, see: L 65 ('ilyelu "they have come"); L 173 (manni wille? "who has made [them]?"); L 321 + S 38 (ma willox? "what have you done?"); L 499 ('ilyele šiqłāle "he has come and taken her away"); L 514 (manni qṭille-lleu? "who has killed him?"); Y 196 (priqlan "we have escaped"); Y 232 (manni qṭille-llox? "who has killed you?"); S 116 (qṭillox-illi "you have killed me"). On this point, see also Khan, Arbel 263.

- i.    'iyya ši'a golki lā-dibhāle hawa (S 15)  
       "This madman has slaughtered my heifer."

The opposition qṭille : lā-qṭille can be seen very clearly in the following example. In S 46 it says:

- j.    'āti bābid iyya gora lā-qṭillox  
       "You have killed the father of this man."

In S 32–33, the murder is told from the point of view of the informant and here, qṭille is used:

- k.    lele l-iyya kābra dbihle hawa  
       "In the night he slew that man."<sup>18</sup>

lā-qṭille can also denote situations that happened far in the past as long as they are still relevant to the speaker:

- l.    soni-š 'il-Ruwandiz lā-ḡdire ... sonit bābi 'il-Barzan ḡdire (B 14)  
       "Also my grandfather was born in Ruwandiz ... The grandfather of my father was born in Barzan."

The great-grandfather, whom the speaker probably did not know at all, is of lesser importance to him and so his birth is expressed by qṭille.<sup>19</sup>

lā-qṭille is also used in narratives. Sometimes it introduces narrating passages which continue with qṭille forms:

- m.    'o lā-qimle, b-ṣalmi kome fitle (B 111)  
       "He got up and went out with a face dark (with anger)."

The reference point of lā-qṭille in these cases seems to be the situation expressed by the following qṭille form, and the situation described by lā-qṭille still has a bearing on the subsequent situation. First he got up and in this state of standing he then left. In these cases, lā-qṭille actually seems to form the background to the following situation, as Khan assumes.<sup>20</sup>

18 For further evidence of lā-qṭille in discussing passages, see Khan, Arbel 268f.

19 See also Khan, Arbel 269, where more examples can be found.

20 Arbel 270f, where one can also find further evidence.



Moreover, there is some evidence, both narrating and discussing, in which *qṭille* and *lā-qṭille* are used in parallel. The difference is difficult to determine, but Khan (Arbel 274) is probably correct in attributing greater discourse prominence to *lā-qṭille* which can be used to indicate the climax in verb sequences:

- n.   ʾaz ʾo-daʾat ʾiyya Waḥīd xalwa hiwla bāqi b-yāluli ʾu daʾi-š xalwa lā-hiwla  
bāqeu (L 352)  
“So the mother of this Waḥīd gave me milk when I was an infant and my  
mother gave milk to him.”

*qṭille* can also be used in main clauses of until-constructions even if the situation extends directly to that of the subordinate clause and at first glance seems to be imperfective:

- o.   ʾaxči mxele-lleu ḥatta pilgit nišāmeu niblāle (S 13)  
“He beat him to the extent that he took from him half of his life.”

It should be borne in mind, however, that although the beating consists of several blows and extends to the subordinate clause situation, it also leads to a very specific result: the other person was half dead. It is therefore likely that the speaker understood the beating to be a complete whole and thus perfective.

Sometimes also *qṭilwāle* is attested which usually denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past. Here, however, the situation is still related to the speech time, and the use of *qṭilwāle* is probably due to the temporal distance:

- p.   dukkake basimta-wela. ʾāna-š ġizyawāli (Y 251)  
“The place was pleasant. I have seen it myself.”<sup>21</sup>

The past copula can indicate temporally limited and unlimited states:

- q.   ʾArbil māla rubta wela (L 11)  
“Arbel was a big town.”
- r.   xa yarxa l-Baġdad welan (B 98)  
“We were in Baghdad for a month.”<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 264f.

<sup>22</sup> See Khan, Arbel 276f.

Finally, qṭilā of transitive verbs + past copula is attested. It has a resultative meaning:

- s. 'iyya kliwawele geb-ʾilha (Khan, Arbel 285)  
 “It was written with God.”

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, qṭille and lā-qṭille are attested:

### 2.2.1 Object Clauses

- a. xorun ʾagar ʾiyya yāla lā-qimle yan lā (Y 97)  
 “See whether the child has got up or not.”
- b. kliwle xa šem. la č-en ma kliwle (L 80)  
 “He wrote a name. I do not know what he wrote.”<sup>23</sup>

### 2.2.2 Relative Clauses

- c. ʾāti-wet lā-mxelox il-iyya yāla? (L 304)  
 “Is it you who have beaten this boy?”
- d. ʾiyya mindixānox ʾot mirox bāqi (L 176)  
 “Here are the things of yours that you asked for from me.”<sup>24</sup>

The situations expressed by lā-qṭille forms in nos. a and c have a clear reference to the present; the boy is now up or not up, the man who presumably beat the boy is now to be held accountable. *kliwle* in no. b, on the other hand, refers to a situation from the narrative.

23 For more lā-qṭille forms in object clauses, see: L 96 (mā lā-willu-lleu “what they have done to him”); L 445 (ma lā-ḡdire “what has happened”); S 91 (čikma lā-xille minnu “how many of them he has eaten”); for more qṭille forms, see: L 513 (mā-ḡdirāle, leka zille, manni ḡniwlu-lleu “what happened to him, where he went, who kidnapped him”); S 82 (ma willi “what I did”).

24 For more relative clauses with qṭille, see L 81 (t kliwli “which I wrote”); for lā-qṭille, see: Y 225 (ʾiyyat lā-qṭillu-lleu “the one whom they killed”); B 53 (lā-mindele-llan “who has shot at us”).

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

This category is mostly expressed by *k-qāṭilwā*. It should be remembered that the particle *k-* is used only with verba 1' and some irregular verbs but that otherwise the indicative form *k-qāṭilwā* is morphologically identical with the non-indicative form *qāṭilwā* (cf. sect. 1 above):

#### 3.1 *Punctual*

- a. *naš 'avoda la k-ulwāle, naš šalma la k-ulwāle* (S 2)  
 "Nobody gave him work, nobody talked to him (lit.: gave him face)."

#### 3.2 *Telic*

- b. *waxtit qeṭa ge-zixwa ltaṃ* (L4)  
 "In summertime we used to go there."

#### 3.3 *Atelic*

- c. *ḥaqeniwa ma 'itwa, ma litwa min 'awwal* (L 9)  
 "They used to talk about what was and what was not formerly."

#### 3.4 *Stative*

- d. *yatuwwa lel-a-seder* (Y 33)  
 "He used to sit on Sedar night."<sup>25</sup>

A habitual resultative situation can be expressed by the compound *qṭilā + k-qāṭilwā* of *hwy*:

- e. *tre nāše qāmeu fetiwa, tre bāreu, 'o-š rkiwa k-wewa reš suse* (B 39)  
 "Two people would go before him and two behind him, and he would be riding on a horseback."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Numerous other instances of *k-qāṭilwā* are found in text Y which up to line 146 deals almost exclusively with habitual situations of the past. See also Khan, Arbel 259.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 285.

In addition, simple *k-qāṭil* following a preceding *k-qāṭilwā* form can be used:

- f. *g-olixwa ixāla reš nura, la reš gaz. nura malqex 'u manixex* (Y 68)  
 “We used to make food on a fire, not on a gas light. We used to kindle and extinguish the fire.”<sup>27</sup>

Also in until-constructions, *k-qāṭilwā* is used when the situation is habitual:

- g. *raqliwa, xlula g-oliwa ḥatta šiwake parqiwa* (Y 40)  
 “They danced and were merry until the (burning) wood went out.”<sup>28</sup>

I have hardly found any habitual subordinate clauses. In one case, *k-qāṭilwā* is used:

- h. *'āna č-en b-ma šikil g-oliwālu* (L 438)  
 “I know how they made them.”

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

In main clauses, this category is often expressed by *qṭilwāle*:

##### 4.1.1 Punctual

- a. *māt 'it bo-'olam ga-belan mtiwwālu qāmaw* (L 249)  
 “Whatever was in our house they had put before her.”

##### 4.1.2 Telic

- b. *'izla nbilwāle gebeu* (B 126)  
 “He had brought wool to him.”

<sup>27</sup> See Khan, Arbel 249.

<sup>28</sup> After *ḥatta* also the non-indicative form can follow; cf. Khan, Arbel 406f, where further evidence can be found.

## 4.1.3 Stative

- c. w o-šāta – soni la pišwāle, ḥaxam NN – w o-šāta Rūs 'ilyele (B 17)  
 “In that year – my grandfather, the ḥaxam NN, had not remained there – in that year the Russians came.”<sup>29</sup>

qṭille and lā-qṭille, however, are also used in this function. Let us start with qṭille:

- d. mṭelan, ya'ni kixwe plitlu (L 538)  
 “We arrived. The stars had come out.”
- e. bābeu 'ilyele ḥdudit Surya gal-soneu (Y 168)  
 “His father had gone to the borders of Syria with his grandfather.”

In the following example, a situation that is viewed once from the speech time and then from a reference point in the past is expressed by qṭille in both cases:

- f. tikad avoda minšyāle 'iyya ... baxtake 'ibqatta lā-xera ma? 'iyya kābra tikeu minšyāle (S 56–57)  
 “He forgot his work-bag ...what does the wife see in the morning? The man had forgotten his bag.”

Main clauses of before-constructions also regularly have qṭille:

- g. 'amman qamol 'ezen mire bāqi (L 492)  
 “But before I went, he said to me.”<sup>30</sup>

In the aforementioned examples with qṭille, the anterior situation usually has a bearing on the reference point to which it is anterior. This is also regularly the case with lā-qṭille:

- h. xa mez lā-mtiwlu bāqaw (L 248)  
 “They had set up a table for her (and the table was set up then).”

<sup>29</sup> See further Khan, Arbel 264.

<sup>30</sup> See Khan, Arbel 408f, where further examples can be found.

- i. ma lā-willan? (Y 171)  
 “What had we done (to deserve it)?”<sup>31</sup>

#### 4.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In relative clauses, q̣ilwāle and q̣ille are attested:

- a. faqire ... ’ot ’ilyewālu min-dašta ... ’oni gaw-ḥāṣār-welu (B 8)  
 “The poor ... who had come from the countryside ... they were in an enclosure called a ḥāṣār.”<sup>32</sup>
- b. wo ’ot q̣ille-lleu mire šimmake (Y 246)  
 “He gave the name of the one who had killed him.”<sup>33</sup>

In object clauses, lā-q̣ille is attested twice. In both cases, the anterior situation has a bearing on the reference point of the superordinate clause:

- c. bābit brāta čilwa tama lā-lyelu (B 80)  
 “The father of the girl knew why they had come (and were now here).”<sup>34</sup>

In one case q̣ille is used:

- d. ’o la y’ille pare hiwle bāqi (L 115)  
 “He did not know that he had given me money.”

In temporal clauses, q̣ilwāle is quite rare. It is found mostly in asyndetic constructions when the time relationship is not clarified by subordinators:

- e. niṭṭar ḡdirwāle, ’ilyelu bar-bābi (B 22)  
 “(When) he had died, they came to my father.”<sup>35</sup>

31 See also: L 252 (lā-lyela gebi “she had come to me”); B 142 (goraw lā la ḡdire ḥātan “her husband had not consummated the marriage”).

32 Another example of q̣ilwāle can be found in B 70 (’ot ’aqafot pilwāla qāmeu “whoever the haqqafot had fallen to”).

33 For further examples of q̣ille, see: B160 (kepit pille “the stone that had fallen”); L 502 (’iyya ḡinwāle “the one who had stolen her”).

34 The second example can be found in Y 157 (da’aw lā-lyela “that her mother had come”).

35 See further B 55 (bqatta ḡdirwāla “when morning had broken”).

Subordinators like *waxit* “when” or *bar* “after” are usually followed by *q̄tille*:

- f.    ʾo waxtit ʾilyele šmele, šrixle-lli (L 159)  
      “When he had come and heard, he called me.”
- g.    bar q̄tililu, ʾilyelu hawa (Y 223)  
      “After they had killed them, they came back.”<sup>36</sup>

*q̄āṭilwā*, which is certainly to be interpreted as *k-q̄āṭilwā*, is used to express anterior situations if they are habitual:

- h.    bar parqixwa, kulla qanšixwa marisixwāle (Y 9)  
      “After we had finished, we used to sweep it all and mop it clean.”<sup>37</sup>

However, *q̄tilwāle* is also attested here:

- i.    bar priqwālan min tihilim, kud nāša brāxi nošeu k-mewālu (B 76)  
      “After we had finished the Psalms, everyone said his own blessings.”

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

This category can be expressed by *q̄āṭilwā*; the evidence is neutral as to the form, but it can be assumed that the indicative form is meant:

#### 5.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a.    ʾisri w arba saʾate, lele wi yoma, bābew wele l-bet ʾalmīn, nāše qabriwa (Y 191)  
      “For 24 hours, day and night, his father was in the cemetery, (while) they were burying people.”

36 For *q̄tille* after *waxit*, see also: Y 213 (*waxti ġzyālu* “when they had seen”); B 45 (*xa waxit rišli* “when I had awoken”); S 26 (*xa waxit čuča nimle* “when he had somehow fallen asleep”); cf. also Khan, Arbel 404f. For *q̄tille* after *bar*, see: L 35 (*bar milla* “after she had died”); L 55 (*bar xiṭte plitla* “when the time of the wheat harvest had come”); L 83 (*bar mšiqla* “after she had erased”); L 201 (*bar gwiri* “after I had married”); Y 237 (*bar qrele* “after he had recited”); Y 245 (*bar priqle* “after he had finished”); S 14 (*bar niblāle* “after he had taken her away”); *q̄tilwāle* can also be used after *bar*: *bar xilwālu* “after they had eaten” (Khan, Arbel 406).

37 See also: Y 52 (*bar parqiwa* “after they had finished”); B 76 (*bar parqixwa* “after we had finished”).

## 5.1.2 Atelic

- b. yālake baxewa la maṣewa marewāle (L 77)  
“The child was crying, he could not (pass urine) and was in pain (during the examination).”
- c. ḥaqeniwa b-turki, gal-bābi ḥaqewa b-turki (L 97)  
“They were speaking in Turkish, he was speaking with my father in Turkish (during the previously quoted dialogue).”

Accompanying circumstances of main situations are mostly expressed by *k-qāṭil* or *lā-k-qāṭil*, even with past time reference.<sup>38</sup> They are mostly asyndetic but can be introduced by *w* “and” (no. f). The logical relationship between the accompanying circumstances and the reference situation can be one of pure circumstance, but it can also be understood as concessive or adversative:

- d. la maṣyanwa ḡazyānwa nāša litte ’āna yatwan ’axlan (Y 273)  
“I could not see a person who had nothing while I sat down to eat.”
- e. plitḥe bābi lā-g-be ’ez (L 115)  
“My father went out, wishing to go home.”
- f. miskenīm! lā-zadeni, w-oni maṣeni maxenilu (L 297)  
“The poor people! They are afraid, although being able to strike them.”<sup>39</sup>

In addition, *b* + infinitive and *qṭilā* + present copula can be used; the examples of *qṭilā* are resultative:

- g. ’ilyele xa min-dūr bu-rkāwa (Y 255)  
“Someone came from afar, riding.”<sup>40</sup>
- h. ’itiwa-wen xa waxit hawār ’imxelu (B 133)  
“I was sitting when (suddenly) they shouted.”<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 249.

<sup>39</sup> See further: S 101 (*lā-makuš* “while shedding”); L 237 (*lā-čer* “while looking”); L 324 (*ḡazeni* “while looking”); L 434 (*lā-g-ez* “while going”).

<sup>40</sup> See Khan, Arbel 287.

<sup>41</sup> See also B 44 (*’āna l-bela dmixa-wen* “whereas I was sleeping in the house”).



qṭilā + past copula, however, is also attested:

- i. 'iyya kliwaweḷe geb-'ilha (Y 201)  
"It (had been and then) was written with God."

When negated, the copula precedes the PP:

- j. karpučake la welu misimqe (B 4)  
"The bricks were not baked."

## 5.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In object clauses, lā-k-qāṭil is attested:

- a. 'o la y'ille pāre hiwle bāqi yan mindixāne lā-mašdir bāqeu ta-beleu (L 115)  
"He did not know that he had given me money or that he was sending him things to his house."
- b. k-imriwa reš-hula'e lā-matwi (Y 189)  
"They said that they were firing them at the Jews."<sup>42</sup>

In relative clauses, qṭilā + present copula is attested; the examples are again resultative; the superordinate clauses have qṭille:

- c. kulla bšilmānake qṭililu 'od gaw-saray 'itiwelu (Y 178)  
"They killed all the Muslims who were sitting in the palace."
- d. šimmit ṭirnu-š mele, 'innat pišelu (Y 246)  
"He mentioned the names of both of them, those who (had survived and) were still alive."

If the simultaneous situation is habitual, k-qāṭilwā is used:

- e. ġazixwa mannit maxeniwa (L 297)  
"We saw whom they were beating."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See further: Y 15 (mā nāše lā-k-imri "what people were saying").

<sup>43</sup> For more relative clauses, see: B 18 (k-imriwāle "that was called"); L 15 (č-iwa baneniwa "who knew how to build"); L 69 (g-oritwa "that you entered").

If the reference word of the relative clause is indefinite or generic, the relative clause has the non-indicative form of qāṭilwā:

- f. la damxixwa 'o-yomit ḥašta hawewālan (Y 104)  
 “We did not sleep on any day that we had work to do.”<sup>44</sup>

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

I have only found one example of this category in an object clause. qāṭil (neutral) is used:

- a. mira xalunti malpāla (Y 262)  
 “My sister said that she would teach her.”

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 *Main Clauses*

Situations that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed or proceed parallel to the speech time are mainly expressed by lā-k-qāṭil; states can also be indicated by simple k-qāṭil (no. d):

#### 7.1.1 Telic > Atelic

- a. leka lā-g-ezetun? (Y172)  
 “Where are you going?”<sup>45</sup>

#### 7.1.2 Atelic

- b. lā la baxe, lā-k-xil, lā-šate (L 99)  
 “He is not crying, he is eating, he is drinking.”

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 390.

<sup>45</sup> See also: S 9 (lā-qardi “they are gathering”); S 104 (lā-baqret “you are asking”); L 245 (leka lā-g-ezex? “where are we going?”).

- c.    *lā-čerex bar malla* (L 513)  
       ‘We are searching for the mullah.’<sup>46</sup>

7.1.3        Stative

- d.    *’atta yālake zadeni* (L 94)  
       ‘Now the children are afraid.’
- e.    *lā-taxren* (L 209)  
       ‘I remember.’<sup>47</sup>

The main function of *lā-* seems indeed, as Khan (Arbel 271f) assumes, to be to give prominence and intensity to a statement. Dynamic situations can be better described in such a way than states or non-indicative statements where *lā-k-qāṭil* is generally not used.

*qṭilā* + present copula describes states that result from a previous action:

- f.    *’itiwawen*  
       ‘I am sitting’
- g.    *dmixawen*  
       ‘I am sleeping’
- h.    *’attāne-š pištela*  
       ‘She is still alive.’

With transitive verbs, *qṭilā* has a passive meaning:

- i.    *gaw kaxta kliwele min-ilid mal’axe*  
       ‘The content of the letter is written by the hand of angels.’<sup>48</sup>

One of Khan’s informants occasionally uses the old status absolutus *qṭil* + S-suffix; its usage seems to be restricted to the verb *pyš* ‘to remain’:

46    See also: L 528 (*yālake lā-baxeni* ‘the children are weeping’); L 544 (*ma lā-g-olet?* ‘what are you doing?’).

47    See further: L 513 (*lā la č-ex* ‘we do not know’); L 575 (*lā-g-bet* ‘you want’); L 576 (*xašwen* ‘I think’); S 42 (*lā-g-binne* ‘I want’); S 85 (*lā-naxpen* ‘I am embarrassed’).

48    The last four examples are cited according to Khan, Arbel 284f.

- j.    či hula'e la piši gaw (B 45)  
       "There are no Jews left in it."<sup>49</sup>

Finally, we have to mention the present copula. Like the past copula, it can describe permanent or temporary states:

- k.    Bablu brindāřile (B 51)  
       "Bablu is wounded."<sup>50</sup>
- l.    Pesah šo'a yomele (B 72)  
       "Passover is seven days."

## 7.2    *Subordinate Clauses*

This category is rarely attested in subordinate clauses. There are two instances of k-qāṭil and one of the present copula:

- a.    'āna č-en ma g-be (L 360)  
       "I know what he wants."
- b.    ... ta-xātrit 'iyya mišḥāfit g-olitte, pirsomet šimmit hula'at 'Arbel (L 478)  
       "... so that the book that you (= G. Khan) are preparing will publicise<sup>51</sup> the good name of the Jews of Arbel."
- c.    xašwen 'atta 'āti gisa-wet (L 576)  
       "I think that now you are tired."

## 8       Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1    *Main Clauses*

Habitual simultaneity with the speech time is generally expressed by k-qāṭil or lā-k-qāṭil:

<sup>49</sup> See Khan, Arbel 284f.

<sup>50</sup> According to Khan, Arbel 275.

<sup>51</sup> *pirsomet* is Hebrew.

## 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. qemi bqatta sa'ata 'arba, xamša (L 502)  
"They rise in the morning at four or five o'clock."
- b. tama 'āti mazidet? (L 184)  
"Why do you (habitually) add (to the price asked)?"

## 8.1.2 Telic

- c. lixma, lixmid doqa 'atta-š lā-g-olex (Y 91)  
"We still make bread (prepared) in doqa."

## 8.1.3 Atelic

- d. lele u yoma lā-qare (L 107)  
"He reads day and night."
- e. čay la šateni be-'ela (Y 61)  
"They do not drink tea during a festival."<sup>52</sup>

As already mentioned above, the present copula can also describe permanent and habitual states (see 7.1 no. I).

8.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Here, too, *k-qāṭil* and *lā-k-qāṭil* are used:

- a. 'āna baxtit flān-wan 'ot gebox šaqil dehwa (L 228)  
"I am the wife of NN who buys gold from you."
- b. 'āna 'ağben 'il-laxxāne 'arabne, kullu 'arabne 'ixālan lā-k-ixlile (B 100)  
"I am amazed that here the Arabs, all of the Arabs, eat our food."

If the reference word of a relative clause is indefinite, the non-indicative form of *qāṭil* without *k-* is used in the relative clause:

---

<sup>52</sup> See further Khan, Arbel 248 (*k-qāṭil*) and 265f (*lā-k-qāṭil*).

- c. ḥaštawalāna magon laxxa, xarkanas 'ol, 'ez xipāra 'ol, 'o 'ez ḡāde tariṣ, litwa min-'anne, geban litwa (L 15)  
 "A labourer like (we have) here, who works with a shovel, goes and digs, or goes and repairs the roads – there were none like them in our place."<sup>53</sup>

## 9 Extratemporalis

This category is expressed by the same verb forms as habitual situations:

- a. peš gaw-moxit nāše xabre (Y 228)  
 "Stories remain in the mind of people."
- b. ben-adam lā-zade (L 414)  
 "A man is (naturally) afraid."
- c. talga qardela (Khan, Arbel 275)  
 "Snow is cold."

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is expressed by k-qāṭil or lā-k-qāṭil:

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'idlel lu-hula'e lā-qāṭlilu (Y 167)  
 "Tonight they will kill the Jews."

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. 'āna lā-k-en (Y 229)  
 "I will come."

---

53 See Khan, Arbel 390.

## 10.1.3 Atelic

- c. ḥašta g-olen, pāre mašdirinnax (Y 154)  
 “I will work and send you money.”

## 10.1.4 Stative

- d. ’āti ’axča xa’et, ’axča ’atxa ḡadret (L 140)  
 “You will live for such-and-such a time, you will become such-and-such (prophecy).”<sup>54</sup>

10.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses the same verb forms are used:

- a. šo’it k-e,<sup>55</sup> yomit ṭlahušabit k-e, ḥaqex bi-zoda (L 149)  
 “The week that is coming, on the Tuesday that is coming, we shall speak more.”
- b. har māt ’it ḡadir tara la palxinne (S 398)  
 “Whatever (there is that) will happen, I shall not open the door to him.”
- c. ’imanit k-et ’iyya beli belaxile (L 273)  
 “Whenever you will come to my house, it is your house.”

11 *Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future*

Subordinators like *’iman* can be followed by the non-indicative form of qāṭil:

- a. ’iman alex ’ereṣ Yisra’el ... (L 147)  
 “When we will have come to the land of Israel ...”

qṭille, however, is also attested:

- b. waxtit ’il-’onit ruwṭāne qṭililxun, hula’e ’isri w-arba s’ate b-ilxunilu (Y 220)  
 “When you will have killed those great men, the Jews will be in your power 24 hours (a day).”

54 For more examples, see Khan, Arbel 250, 267.

55 k-e = 3.sg.m. k-qāṭil of ’ly “to come”; see Khan, Arbel 100.

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 *Main Clauses*

The different types of non-indicative situations are mostly expressed by the non-indicative form of qāṭil:

- a. xa dirham hawinnox (L 405)  
“Let me give you a dirham.”
- b. balāš hawinne bāqeu? (L 160)  
“Should I give it to him free of charge?”
- c. flān yoma ’etun reš-xlinda (B 153)  
“On such-and-such a day you should come to the valley.”
- d. ’agar āti ya’et (S 31)  
“If only you knew!”
- e. la zadetun (Y 185)  
“Do not fear.”
- f. nāše ... sa’oda ’oli (S 111)  
“Let people ... make a feast!”<sup>56</sup>

As can be seen from no. e., the vetitive is expressed by negated qāṭil.

Also k-qāṭil can denote instructions to a second person:

- g. gebi k-awet (L 545)  
“You will be with me (= I want you to stay with me).”<sup>57</sup>

Occasionally, the non-indicative form of qāṭilwā without k- has an epistemic function with reference to the present:

- h. ’o-nāša la melwa, xa ḡimmit pisra ’axilwa bi-swāteu (S 3)  
“This man, it seems, is not dying but is eating his fill of a portion of meat.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For more examples, see Khan, Arbel 250ff.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 250.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Khan, Arbel 261.



In isolated cases, *lā-k-qāṭil* describes non-indicative situations:

- i.     ʾatxan la č-ixwa. mi-leka atxan lā-č-ex<sup>59</sup> malʾaxīm ʾit b-lele (Y 189)  
       “We did not know. From where should we know that there are angels in  
       the night?”

## 12.2     *Subordinate Clauses*

The non-indicative form of *qāṭil* is also predominantly used in subordinate clauses, for example after verbs such as *ʾby* “to want”, *qbl* “to permit”, *mšy* “to be able”:

- a.     ʾatxan lā-g-bex ʾisqāṭ ʾolex (B 42)  
       “We want to cancel our citizenship.”<sup>60</sup>

If the superordinate sentence has past time reference, the subordinate situation can be expressed by *qāṭil* or *qāṭilwā*:

- b.     la maṣewa ġoreu ʾolwa (L 59)  
       “He could not pass his urine.”
- c.     la maṣyāwa ʾamra: ʾāna la qablan (B 77)  
       “She could not say ‘I do not agree.’”<sup>61</sup>

Final clauses often follow the main clause *asyndetically*:

- d.     lā-lyeli zoʾit kre hawitta (B 126)  
       “I have come for you to give (me) the suit.”<sup>62</sup>

After final *ta*, on the other hand, the infinitive can also be used:

- e.     ʾizla nbilwāle gebeu ta-zqāra (B 126)  
       “He had taken wool to him in order to weave it.”<sup>63</sup>

59     č-ex = 1.pl. k-qāṭil of yʾl “to know”; see Khan, Arbel 126.

60     For more examples, see Khan, Arbel 254f.

61     For more examples, see Khan, Arbel 261f.

62     See further Khan, Arbel 257.

63     See also Khan, Arbel 287.

### 13 Conditional Clauses

The protasis is in most cases introduced by *ʾagar*. Real conditionals of the present / future can be expressed by *qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil*. As far as I can see, the indicative form only occurs with stative verbs and has present time reference. It seems that Khan (Arbel 410) is correct in assuming that *k-qāṭil* is used when describing observable states. Simple *qāṭil*, on the other hand, is only attested with dynamic verbs and the situations always have future time reference. The apodosis usually has verb forms that in main clauses outside of conditional clauses are also used to express posteriority:

- a. *ʾagar la g-bet, palṭen* (L 385)  
“If you do not want (me to do this), I will leave.”<sup>64</sup>
- b. *ʾagar ʾāti qurtar la ʾolittan, kulla hulaʿe qatḥilu* (Y 210)  
“If you do not save us, they will kill all the Jews.”<sup>65</sup>

Occasionally, also *lā-qāṭil* is found after *ʾagar*. In the present case, the condition considered to be fulfillable refers to the speech time:

- c. *ʾagar ʾo lā-qabil, ʾo lā-č-il kulla dinīm* (Y 62)  
“If he (now) gives permission, (so be it), he knows all the religious laws.”<sup>66</sup>

Moreover, *qṭille* can be used after *ʾagar*. It can denote the anteriority of the situation of the protasis to the speech time but can also, like the non-indicative form of *qāṭil*, refer to a reference point in the future (no. e):

- d. *ʾagar ruwwāne zillu ... ʾinna la maṣeni nāš qatḥi* (Y 194)  
“If the senior men have gone ... they cannot kill anybody.”
- e. *ʾagar la qbille, ʾila gebi* (L 395)  
“If he does not accept, come to me.”

64 For more examples with the indicative form, see Khan, Arbel 410.

65 For non-indicative forms in the protasis, see Khan, Arbel 411.

66 The permission has already been granted. What is meant here is that it is still valid now.

In the same sense, *lā-qṭille* can be used:

- f.    ʿagar xalwa *lā-xille* galli ... ʿanne ʿaxawāle (L 354)  
       “If he has sucked milk together with me ... they are brothers.”
- g.    ʾāti bqatta ʿagar iyya kābra har-xoš *lā-ḡdire*, tre nāše ʿazom (S 35)  
       “In the morning, if that man will have left, summon two men.”<sup>67</sup>

Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future are not attested too often. In one instance that might be intended as a counterfactual conditional the protasis has a neutral form of *qāṭil*, the apodosis the indicative form:

- h.    historya ʿagar ḥaqinnox lele u yoma, piška la g-ol (L 477)  
       “If I told you about history day and night, it would not be enough.”

However, it cannot be ruled out that this sentence is intended as a real conditional of the present / future because after all, the speaker actually tells something about history in the following. Another example has neutral forms of *qāṭilwā* in apodosis and protasis:

- i.    ʿagar yasqitwa ʾil ʾo-qalʾa, ḡazitwāla kulla ʾArbil (L 1)  
       “If you went up to that citadel, you would see all of Arbil.”

In this case, it is not clear whether the sentence refers to the present / future or the past. The speaker of the story, who lives in Israel now, is addressing the listener, and it cannot be ruled out that he is pointing to the time when he still lived in Arbel, i.e.: *If you had gone up ...*

Counterfactual conditionals of the past have the non-indicative form of *qāṭilwā* in the protasis, the *qāṭilwā* forms in the apodosis are neutral:

- j.    ʿagar ... la ʾoliwa atxa, qāṭliwa anne bišilmāne (L 555)  
       “If they had not done that, those Muslim would have killed (them).”<sup>68</sup>

The situation of the apodosis may have present time reference and be expressed by *k-qāṭilwā*:

67    On this point, see Khan, Arbel 412f.

68    For more examples, see Khan, Arbel 413.

- k. 'agar ġa'enāti 'olinwa, 'atta la k-imrinwa bāqox, kābra (S 97)  
 "If I had been treacherous, I would not be telling you (this) now, man!"

In one case, the protasis has the non-indicative form of qāṭil while the predicate of the apodosis is a neutral form of qāṭilwā:

- l. 'agar la 'olile ma'ake košwa, košwa ga-bāte (L 24)  
 "If they had not done it, the water would have run down, it would have run down into the houses."

Habitual situations with past time reference in the protasis can be expressed by the indicative and the non-indicative form of qāṭilwā:

- m. 'agar ya'ilwa ḥašta 'olwa, moxa hawewāle, 'itwāle maḥṣūl rāba (L 335)  
 "If someone knew how to do a job and he had (non-ind.) a brain, he had a good livelihood."<sup>69</sup>
- n. 'agar xa g-ezwa 'ileu paṣiṭwāla, k-imriwāle ... (Y 147)  
 "If someone came (ind.) and stretched out his hand, they would say (ind.) to him ..."

qṭilwāle is attested twice in the protasis; in these cases, the apodosis has the indicative or the neutral form of qāṭilwā that denote habitual situations of the past, while qṭilwāle seems to express a kind of resultative:

- o. 'agar xa ḥaywān ṭāref ġdirwāle, nabliwāle, zabniwāle bāqu (B 104)  
 "If an animal (had become and then) was impure, they took it and sold it to them."
- p. 'agar 'ebewāla-š, bāng g-oliwa (B 79)  
 "If she (had taken a liking for him and then) liked him, they sent out an invitation."<sup>70</sup>

Sometimes the protasis is not introduced by a conditional particle; the verb forms are the same as in sentences with 'agar:

69 See also B 161 (naxoṣ hawewa "[if] he was ill"); for a neutral qāṭilwā form in the protasis, see L 570 (napilwa "if someone fell").

70 Cf. Khan, Arbel 414.

- q. bas 'alitwa gebi, biš harzan k-awunwālox (L 390)  
 “If only you had come to me, I would have given (them) to you cheaper.”

## 14 Verbs of Perception

The perceived situation is often expressed by *lā-k-qāṭil*:

- a. ġzelan xa misken hula'a mi-ltam lā-g-ez (L 285)  
 “We saw a poor Jew coming out from there.”<sup>71</sup>

*qṭille* seems to express that the totality of the situation has been observed:

- b. ġzelan xa malla lyele (B 109)  
 “We saw a mullah come.”

*meliwa* in the following example, probably a *k-qāṭilwā* form, indicates habituality:

- d. ġazet kulla anne bišilmāne meliwa m-kipnu (L 334)  
 “You would see all the Muslims dying of hunger.”

Moreover, resultatively used *qṭilā* is attested:

- e. 'ila qadome ġazitta xliṣta (Khan, Arbel 286)  
 “Come tomorrow and you will see it finished.”
- f. ġzeli-lleu ġgira (L 241)  
 “I saw that he was angry.”

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭille and Qṭilwāle*

*qṭille* is first of all attested in narratives. Here, it is used in main and subordinate clauses regardless of the type of action. Occasionally, it is also found

<sup>71</sup> See further: Y 215 + L 519 (*lā-ḥaqeni* “speaking”); B 48 (*lā-da'ri-(ha)wa* “returning”).

in discussing passages and sometimes has the meaning of an anterior although this category is usually expressed by *lā-qṭille*. In a main clause of an until-construction, it describes a situation that extends directly to that of the subordinate clause, but nevertheless the use of *qṭille* in this example is to be interpreted as perfective (2.1 + 2.2). Occasionally, it is used besides *qṭilwāle* in main clauses to denote anteriority to a reference point in the past; in subordinate clauses, especially after *waxit* “when” and *bar* “after”, it regularly expresses this category (4.1 + 4.2).

On one occasion, it indicates anteriority to a reference point in the future after *waxtit*; this category can also be expressed by the non-indicative form of *qāṭil* (after *ʿiman*, 11). Furthermore, it is attested in the protasis of real conditionals. Here, it can denote anteriority to the speech time but also, like the non-indicative form of *qāṭil*, anteriority to a reference point in the future (13). After verbs of perception it is attested only once and probably expresses that the situation was perceived as a whole. If this is the case, it is in opposition to *lā-(k-)qāṭil* which describes the progress of the situation in this position (14).

*qṭille* can be preceded by the particle *lā-* which probably has the function of expressing a greater discourse prominence. *lā-qṭille* mainly describes completed situations that still have a bearing on the present even if the situation itself lies far away in the past. However, it can also introduce narrating passages which are continued by *qṭille*. The reference point of *lā-qṭille* is represented by the following situation expressed by *qṭille* to which it is related and forms its background. On the other hand, it can also be part of a sequence of situations and denote the climax here (2.1 + 2.2).

Furthermore, it can be used to express anteriority to a reference point in the past and is occasionally found here in main clauses instead of the more common *qṭilwāle*; it is also attested twice in object clauses where the situations indicated by it still has a bearing on the situation of the main clause. (4.1 + 4.2). In real conditionals, after *ʿagar*, it can denote anteriority to the speech time but also, like *qāṭil* and *qṭille*, anteriority to a reference point in the future (13).

*qṭilwāle* expresses primarily anteriority to a reference point in the past in main clauses (4.1) but can also indicate anteriority to the speech time if there is a large temporal distance to it (2.1). In subordinate clauses, where corresponding subordinators often already clarify the temporal relationship, it is quite rare; here, it is only attested in a relative clause and an asyndetic temporal clause (4.2). Moreover, it is found twice after *ʿagar* in conditional clauses where it denotes a kind of habitual resultative: *whenever an action with a certain result had taken place, this or that consequence followed* (*ʿagar ... ṭāref ġdirwāle ... “if it had become [and then was] impure ...”; 13).*

### 15.2 *Qāṭil*

qāṭil and qāṭilwā distinguish between an indicative form with *k-* / *g-* with certain verbs and a non-indicative form without prefix. After *lā-*, the non-indicative form is used very rarely.

(*k-*)qāṭil can describe habitual situations of the past, but it is usually only used in this function if a preceding (*k-*)qāṭilwā form clarifies the time reference (3). *lā-(k-)qāṭil* is attested in two object clauses to express simultaneity with a reference point in the past (5.2). Furthermore, qāṭil (neutral) indicates posteriority to a reference point in the past in an object clause (6); with stative verbs, (*k-*)qāṭil denotes simultaneity with the speech time, with dynamic verbs, this category is expressed more frequently by *lā-(k-)qāṭil*; this applies to singular as well as habitual situations; if, however, the reference word of a relative clause is indefinite, the non-indicative form is used (7 + 8). Furthermore, (*k-*)qāṭil and *lā-(k-)qāṭil* are used to express extratemporal situations and posteriority to the speech time (9 + 10). In a temporal clause after *ʾiman* “when”, (*k-*)qāṭil denotes anteriority to a reference point in the future; here, however, after *waxtit*, qṭille is also possible (11). In one example *lā-(k-)qāṭil* denotes a non-indicative situation (12.1).

The main use of simple qāṭil is the expression of non-indicative situations in both main and subordinate clauses. There is only one example of a non-indicative qāṭil form that is combined with *lā-*. If the main clause refers to the past, the non-indicative form of qāṭil or of qāṭilwā is used in the subordinate clause. If the subject is a second person, instructions can also be expressed by (*k-*)qāṭil (12.1 + 12.2).

In the protasis of real conditional clauses, the indicative form (*k-*)qāṭil is mainly used with stative verbs, the state being simultaneous with the speech time; with dynamic verbs and future time reference, on the other hand, the non-indicative form is preferred; occasionally, *lā-(k-)qāṭil* and qṭille are used. A neutral form of qāṭil is found in the protasis of a conditional clause of the present / future that can be interpreted as real or counterfactual while non-indicative qāṭil is attested in a counterfactual conditional of the past (13).

*lā-(k-)qāṭil* is used after verbs of perception when the situation is described in its progress, and it is possibly in opposition to qṭille which probably describes the observed situation as a complete whole in one example (14). Finally, (*k-*)qāṭil and *lā-(k-)qāṭil* can describe accompanying circumstances, even when referring to the past. These circumstances can be purely temporal but can also be interpreted as concessive or adversative (5.1).

(*k-*)qāṭilwā, as already mentioned, indicates primarily habitual situations of the past. In subordinate clauses, it can denote anteriority to a reference point

in the past: *bar parqixwa, kulla qanšixwa marisixwāle* “after we had finished, we used to sweep it all and mop it clean” (3 + 4.2). It is also attested in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional clause and has present time reference in this case (13). After a verb of perception, it describes a habitual situation with past time reference (14). Furthermore, the neutral form of *qāṭilwā*, which is probably intended as indicative, is attested in main clauses to indicate simultaneity with a reference point in the past; in a relative clause whose reference word is indefinite, the non-indicative form *qāṭilwā* is used (5.1 + 5.2).

The non-indicative form *qāṭilwā* occasionally expresses epistemic modality with present time reference; in non-indicative subordinate clauses it is used when the superordinate clause has past time reference, although in this case simple *qāṭil* is also attested (12.1 + 12.2). The same form is found in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past; the apodosis has an indicative or a neutral form of *qāṭilwā* in these cases. Whether *qāṭilwā* can also designate counterfactual situations of the present could not be proven with certainty but can nevertheless be considered probable. If the situation mentioned in the protasis is habitual, the indicative and the non-indicative forms are attested after *ʿagar* (13).

### 15.3 *Qṭilā*

The old status emphaticus of the passive participle can be combined with a copula or a form of the verb *hwy* “to be”. With transitive verbs it has a passive and resultative meaning (2.1 + 7.1). It is also used resultatively with a limited number of intransitive verbs: *rkiwawen* “I (have mounted and) am now riding”. *qṭilā* + *k-qāṭilwā* of *hwy* can thus denote habitual resultative situations of the past (3). *qṭilā* + past copula expresses situations that had been completed before a reference point in the past and resulted in a state. Also *qṭilā* + present copula is occasionally found with past time reference. (5.1 + 5.2). More often, however, *qṭilā* + present copula is used to indicate simultaneity with the speech time (7.1). After verbs of perception, it describes states that result from an action (14) and it is also attested, combined with a form of the present copula, in sentences describing accompanying circumstances (5.1). The resultatively used status absolutus *qṭil* + S-suffix is only attested with the verb *pyš* “to remain” (7.1).

### 15.4 *The Infinitive*

The use of the infinitive is very limited. It is used after the preposition *ta* in final clauses (12.2) and also serves to describe circumstances after *b-* (5.1). It has not been mentioned so far that it is used in combination with the verb *ʿly*



“to come” to express the passive voice, the subject of ’ly being the patient of the action: *bābi ’ilyele qṭāla* “my father was killed”.<sup>72</sup>

## 16 Analysis

The main function of *qṭille* seems to be the expression of anterior perfectivity as suggested in particular by its use to denote completed situations in the future. Although there is a signum that primarily expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past, I mean *qṭilwāle*, this category can also be indicated by *qṭille* even in main clauses. In addition, *qṭilwāle* not only denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past but may also indicate a significant temporal distance from the speech time and can thus hardly be regarded as a relative tense form to which *qṭille* would be in opposition. *qṭille* should thus be classified as a marked signum expressing the perfective aspect. *qṭilwāle*, on the other hand, like the corresponding form in the Christian texts from the 17th century, is a hybrid form between tense and aspect which emphasises the temporal distance but has not developed into a true tense form. It can therefore not be considered marked.

*lā-qṭille* fulfils the function of an anterior and generally denotes greater discourse prominence. It has to be considered as marked.

*lā-(k-)qāṭil* is used almost exclusively as an indicative form. It can express simultaneity with a reference point in the past and with the speech time, it denotes singular as well as habitual situations, especially with dynamic verbs, and is also used alongside *(k-)qāṭil* to indicate posteriority to the speech time. It is thus used imperfectively as well as perfectly, can indicate present and future situations. Like *lā-qṭille*, it seems to express primarily a greater discourse prominence, but it cannot be considered marked either aspectually or temporally. Rather, it seems to be a marked modal form for expressing indicative situations. The same is true for *(k-)qāṭil* which denotes simultaneity with the speech time, especially with stative verbs, but also expresses extratemporal and future situations. It seems to differ from *lā-(k-)qāṭil* primarily in its lack of discourse prominence. Accordingly, it is used more frequently with stative verbs because discourse prominence is far more difficult to emphasise with these than with dynamic verbs. *(k-)qāṭilwā* denotes habitual and certainly also imperfective situations of the past and is also attested in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional of the present, and it can be assumed that the

<sup>72</sup> See Khan, Arbel 283f.

neutral qāṭilwā forms in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional clauses of the past also represent k-qāṭilwā forms. In the indicative domain, it is thus restricted to the past, but otherwise it cannot be considered marked aspectually, temporally or modally.

Simple qāṭil is used to express real non-indicative situations. The neutral qāṭil form in the protasis of a conditional clause in sect. 13, no. h does not necessarily have to be interpreted as counterfactual, but *ʔolile* in no. l, which moreover has past time reference, does. However, one should not overestimate this one instance; it should be taken into account that a qāṭilwā form follows in the apodosis; the speaker may have omitted the first -wā for reasons of convenience, especially since the intentum is made sufficiently clear by the main clause and the context. Its non-indicative character is particularly evident in its use in protases of conditional clauses. As we have seen, it is used when the situation is dynamic and refers to the future, whereas (k-)qāṭil is preferred when referring to the present. A conditioning situation expected only in the future seems more indeterminate and vague than one that can already be observed. The use in relative clauses with a generic reference word does not argue against this interpretation either, and the combination *ʔiman* + qāṭil expressing anteriority to a reference point in the future can be understood as a fossilised language use. qāṭil can thus be considered a marked modal verb form to express real non-indicative situations. qāṭilwā is used in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past; no clear evidence of counterfactual use with present time reference in conditionals could be found, but since it also expresses epistemic modality of the present (12.1, no. h), it can be assumed that it is also used in this function. This is also supported by the use of (k-)qāṭilwā in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present, -wā thus seems to express not so much the time reference but rather counterfactuality, although, of course, it must not be forgotten that -wā can also have a temporal meaning in the case of qāṭilwā, namely when it describes non-indicative but real subordinate clause situations after main clauses with past time reference. Since it furthermore expresses counterfactuality with both past and present time reference, it has to be considered unmarked.

qṭilā + present copula denotes states resulting from an action which are mostly simultaneous with the speech time while those described by qṭilā + past copula have past time reference. In addition, qṭilā + k-qāṭilwā of hwy is attested that indicates habitual states of the past. All three signa have to be considered as marked. The same applies to the qṭil + S-suffix attested by one informant only.

The final signum is the infinitive. The compound b + infinitive in circumstantial clauses is to be classified as imperfective and marked.

The verbal system of our dialect has eleven marked verb forms: qṭille, lā-qṭille, lā-(k-)qāṭil, (k-)qāṭil, qāṭil, qṭilā + present copula, qṭilā + past copula, qṭilā + k-qāṭilwā of hwy, b + infinitive, qṭil + S-suffix, imperative. Three signs are not marked: qṭilwāle, (k-)qāṭilwā, qāṭilwā.

In the indicative field, we have one opposition pair:

qṭille (anterior perfective) : lā-qṭille (anterior)

Although simple qṭille is also sometimes used in the function of an anterior, this use is conditioned by the nature of the text passage (discussing). qṭille and (k-)qāṭilwā cannot be considered an opposition pair according to the definition given in the theoretical part, since (k-)qāṭilwā not only expresses the extended imperfective aspect but also counterfactuality and thus cannot be regarded as an aspectual form.

In the modal field, there is the following pair:

lā-(k-)qāṭil / (k-)qāṭil (indicative) : qāṭil (non-indicative)

## C. Barwar

### o Text Corpus

Khan's excellent grammar is so extensive that I have been able to confine myself largely to evaluating it and have only consulted some of the texts for checking purposes.

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qāṭil*

The old AP of the G-stem (stem I, < old qṭal) has the following forms:

|      | sg.    | pl.                 |
|------|--------|---------------------|
| 3.m. | qaṭəl  | qaṭli               |
| 3.f. | qaṭla  | qaṭli               |
| 2.m. | qaṭlət | qaṭlitu             |
| 2.f. | qaṭlət | qaṭlitu             |
| 1.   | qaṭlən | qaṭləx <sup>1</sup> |

Stem II (< old qaṭṭel) has the form mqaṭəl:

|      | sg.    | pl.         |
|------|--------|-------------|
| 3.m. | mqaṭəl | mqaṭli      |
| 3.f. | mqaṭla | mqaṭli etc. |

Stem III (< old 'aqṭel):

|      | sg.               | pl.                                |
|------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | maqṭəl            | maqṭli ~ maqṭəli                   |
| 3.f. | maqṭəla ~ maqṭəla | maqṭli ~ maqṭəli etc. <sup>2</sup> |

1 When rendering the vowels, no distinction is made here between short and long vowels; on the quantity of vowels, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 66–75.

2 The first and second persons sg. also have long forms which distinguish between masculine and feminine: *paṭxeti* (2.sg.m.), *paṭxati* (2.sg.f.), *paṭxena* (1.sg.m.), *paṭxana* (1.sg.f.). The 1.pl. also has a long form: *paṭxexi*. See Khan, Barwar Gr. 158–164.

qāṭil is sometimes preceded by the particle 'i-; the compound is always indicative: 'i-*qaṭal* "he kills". Regularly, 'i- appears only with verba I'; hamza is elided in these cases and 'i- becomes y-: 'i + 'axəl > y-axəl. y- forms the onset of the syllable and the number of syllables also remains unchanged.<sup>3</sup>

bəd-, mostly reduced to b-, bḵ- or ṭ-, with a following qāṭil form (= bed-qāṭil) usually indicates posterior situations: *bəd-šaqaṭal* "he will take".<sup>4</sup>

qəm- + qāṭil (= qem-qāṭil) expresses past time reference and is used only with L-suffixes to indicate an object: *qəm-paṭaxle* "he opened it".<sup>5</sup> Its temporal / aspectual value is the same as that of qṭille.<sup>6</sup>

All these qāṭil forms can be combined with the particle -wā: *paləṭwa* "he used to leave", *bəd-paləṭwa* "he would have left", *qəm-paṭaxwale* "he opened it / had opened it".<sup>7</sup>

## 1.2 Qṭille

The base to which the L-suffixes are attached has the forms qṭil- (G-stem), mqoṭəl or mquṭəl (stem II) and muqṭəl (stem III):

|      | sg.     | pl.             |
|------|---------|-----------------|
| 3.m. | qṭille  | qṭillä ~ qṭilla |
| 3.f. | qṭilla  | qṭillä ~ qṭilla |
| 2.m. | qṭillux | qṭilläxu        |
| 2.f. | qṭilləx | qṭilläxu        |
| 1.   | qṭilli  | qṭillən         |

Stem II:

|      | sg.                 | pl.                                            |
|------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 3.m. | mqoṭəlle ~ mquṭəlle | mqoṭəlla ~ mquṭəlla ~ mqoṭəllä ~ mquṭəllä      |
| 3.f. | mqoṭəlla ~ mquṭəlla | mqoṭəlla ~ mquṭəlla ~ mqoṭəllä ~ mquṭəllä etc. |

Stem III:

|      | sg.      | pl.                      |
|------|----------|--------------------------|
| 3.m. | muqṭəlle | muqṭəlla ~ muqṭəllä      |
| 3.f. | muqṭəlla | muqṭəlla ~ muqṭəllä etc. |

3 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 174 and 569f.

4 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 175–176.

5 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 176–177.

6 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 651.

7 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 177.

To denote a 3.sg.f. and 3.pl. logical object, an /-a-/ and an /-i-/ is affixed to the stem of transitive verbs: *q̣tilale* “he killed her”, *q̣tilile* “he killed them”. *q̣tille* may be preceded by the deictic copula *hole*<sup>8</sup> and be combined with the particle -wā- (= *q̣tilwāle*): *pliṭwale* “he left / had left”.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.3 *Q̣tilā*

The old status emphaticus of the PP is formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs and can be combined with the deictic copulae *hole*, *hola* etc. or with the enclitic ones: -le, -la etc.:

*hole priqa / priqāle*

“he has finished”

*hola priqta / priqtāla*

“she has finished”

*hola priqe / priqela*

“they have finished”

*hot priqa / priqāwæt*

“you (m.) have finished”

*hot priqta / priqtāwæt*

“you (f.) have finished”

*hotu priqe / priqewitu*

“you (pl.) have finished”

*hon priqa / priqāwæn*

“I (m.) have finished”

*hon priqta / priqtāwæn*

“I (f.) have finished”

*hox priqe / priqewæx*

“we have finished”<sup>10</sup>

*q̣tilā* can further be combined with the past enclitic copula: *p̣tixawewa* “he had opened”, *p̣tixawawa* “she had opened”, etc.<sup>11</sup> and with a *q̣āṭil* form of the verb *hwy* “to be”: *hawē priqa* “he has finished”.<sup>12</sup> The copula is usually attached to the predicate but can also be in another position: *xuwwēle q̣tila* “the snake is killed”.<sup>13</sup>

8 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 164–171.

9 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 177.

10 The /w/ of the enclitic forms of the 1. and 2. persons can be elided, i.e.: *p̣riqāt*, *p̣riqtāt* etc. See Khan, Barwar Gr. 188–189.

11 The first /-w-/ of the copula can be elided: *p̣rixāwa* “he had flown”; see Khan, Barwar Gr. 190; for the forms of the past enclitic copula, see *ibid.* 183f.

12 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 191.

13 On the position of the copula in detail, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 622–641.

#### 1.4 *Qṭil*

The old status absolutus of the PP can be combined with the S-suffixes of a third person. The compound always has a passive meaning: *qṭil* “he was killed”, *qṭila* “she was killed”.<sup>14</sup>

#### 1.5 *Imperative*

The imperative forms of the G-stem are *qṭul* (sg) and *qəṭlu* (pl.).<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.6 *Infinitive*

The infinitive has the forms *qṭāla* (G-stem), *mqāṭōle* (stem II) and *maqṭōle* (stem III). It can be combined with the deictic copulae *hole*, *hola* etc.: *hole xpara* “he is digging”, *hola xpara* “she is digging”, etc. With a first or second person, an L-suffix can be affixed to the copula: *hot xpara* ~ *holux xpara* “you are digging”. In addition to the deictic copula, the enclitic copula and forms of hwy are also used: *xparāle* “he is digging”, *xparāla* “she is digging”, etc. *hole* and the forms of hwy precede the infinitive. It can also be preceded by the preposition *b-*: *hole b-xpara*, *b-xparāle*. Past time reference is expressed by adding the past enclitic copula: *xparawewa* “he was digging”, *xparawawa* “she was digging”, etc.<sup>16</sup>

The verb forms are negated by *la*. An exception is *bed-qāṭil* which cannot be combined with *la* and is negated by *la qāṭil* or *la y-qāṭil* > *le y-qāṭil*.<sup>17</sup> When the compounds of copula and *qṭilā* or infinitive are negated, *la* is prefixed to the copula:

*priqāle* “he has finished” : *lāle priqa* “he has not finished”

*priqawewa* “he had finished” : *lāwa priqa* “he had not finished”

*xparāle* “he is digging” : *lāle xpara* “he is not digging”

*xparawewa* “he was digging” : *lāwa xpara* “he was not digging”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 170f.

<sup>15</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 283.

<sup>16</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 191–194.

<sup>17</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 604.

<sup>18</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 196–199.

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category can be expressed by q̣ille in both narrating and discussing passages. In discussing passages, it may have the meaning of an anterior; this category, however, can also be indicated by hole + q̣ille (no. d):

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. m̄tele garre diye, wirre kəs-malka (A<sub>1</sub>, 7)  
“His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king.”
- b. mu ştimlux bāti ’ati widlux hatxa hatxa biyi? (A<sub>15</sub>, 14)  
“Why have you ruined my house and done such a thing to me?”

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- c. gawri tele. m̄taşi ganux! (A 22, 29)  
“My husband has come back. Hide yourself!”
- d. NN hole tele (A 26, 46)  
“NN has come.”

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- e. ’aw bxele ’u mq̄uhərre (A 37, 6)  
“He wept and became sad.”
- f. xzeli b-xəlmi ’ina ’ana zila l-pardäsa (A<sub>2</sub>, 7)  
“I dreamt that I went to Paradise.”

#### 2.1.4 Complex > Punctual

- g. mxele l-tara (A<sub>18</sub>, 17)  
“He knocked at the door.”

#### 2.1.5 Stative

- h. tmanyayomane wele tama xlula (A 32, 25)  
“The wedding took place there 8 days.”



- i. malkuṭi päša ṭlaləx, weləx hawnanta (A40, 16)  
 “My kingdom will be yours, (since) you have been clever.”<sup>19</sup>

In addition, qṭilā + pres. cop. or hole qṭilā is often used in discussing passages to express situations that are anterior to the speech time. qṭilā describes situations or states that result from a previous action. Whether it is to be interpreted adjectivally or verbally depends on the type of action of the verb and the transitivity of the sentence. Telic verbs, that imply an achievement, allow a verbal and an adjectival interpretation: *ʾaw hole tiwa* “he has sat down” or “he is seated”. With verbs that do not imply a final stative endpoint, on the other hand, only a verbal interpretation is possible: *ʾaw-naša hole zmira* “the man has sung”, *ʾaw-naša hole zdiya* “the man has feared”; if qṭilā governs an object, it is also always used verbally: *ʾaw-naša hole dwiqa baxta* “the man has seized a woman”. qṭilā of transitive verbs without an object has a passive meaning: *ʾay-baxta hola dwiqa* “the woman is seized” or “the woman has been seized”.<sup>20</sup>

In affirmative clauses, the use of qṭilā + pres. cop. or hole qṭilā is open to subjective variation, but in general, hole qṭilā emphasises the present result more strongly while in questions qṭilā + pres. cop. is used.<sup>21</sup>

In verbal usage, qṭilā describes the result of an unspecified situation, whereas qṭille and qem-qāṭil refer directly to the situation. Thus, *hole ʾəṭya* “he has come” is used if the guest is already in the house and one has not seen anything of his coming. *diya tele* “he has come just now”, on the other hand, is used if at least one phase of the coming has been observed by the speaker.<sup>22</sup> Thus, after adverbs such as *ču-ga* “never”, the negated form of qṭilā is used, since no specific event in the past is negated in this case, but it is generally stated that something never happened:

- j. ču-ga läle ʾəṭya (Gr. 665)  
 “He has never come.”

Another example:

- k. šqul ganux, sigən ʾati bāṭi muxrulux! (A23, 32)  
 “Be off with you! Go away! You have destroyed my house!”

19 Several more example of qṭille can be found in Khan’s Grammar (pp. 614–619) and in the texts.

20 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 655–657.

21 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 659f.

22 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 660f.

The uncle who is speaking to his nephew here has witnessed the causing of the damage, or at least its final phase. The *q̄t̄ille* form *muxruluh* thus refers directly to the situation, not to the result. The nephew then goes to his aunt and tells her what happened, and she says to him:

- l.    *hatxət wiḍa? mərə hot ştiməlle bātət xalux* (A23, 39)  
       “Have you done this?” She said ‘You have ruined your uncle’s house.’”

Here, the focus is no longer on the action itself but on the result that it has brought about: The uncle is ruined now.<sup>23</sup> In these cases, *q̄t̄ilā* is thus used in the function of an anterior or, more often, especially in the compound hole *q̄t̄ilā*, of a resultative.

*q̄t̄ilā* is also used in the narrative, here mostly with an enclitic copula, and then denotes situations that have no bearing on the speech time; this use is rather unusual for a resultative form and probably goes back to Turkish influence:<sup>24</sup>

- m.    *qimela b-läle ɾipəlla Zine ’u mutyəlla, nubləlla kəs-Mamo. nubləlla kəs-Mamo. dmixela. rištāla, ziptəllela ɾla-Mamo* (A 26, 3)  
       “‘At night they went out and seized Zine and brought her, they took her to Mamo. They took her to Mamo. They slept. She woke up and pushed Mamo.’”

*q̄t̄ilā* + pres. cop. and *q̄t̄ille* or *qem-q̄t̄il* are often used in parallel without a noticeable change in tense or type of action.<sup>25</sup> Often, however, the change coincides with a change of subject:

- n.    *siqāle l-gare maxzoyəlle NN. Zine ’u ’an xaddamyəta diya şlela rəş-’āna*  
       (A 26, 40)  
       “‘He went up to the roof to show him NN. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring.’”

Moreover, the change of verb forms can express a kind of reorientation in the text, as in:

23    For more examples of hole *q̄t̄ilā* / *q̄t̄ilā* + pres. cop. and *q̄t̄ille* with an extensive discussion, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 665–669.

24    See Khan, Barwar Gr. 679f.

25    Instead of *mxele* “he knocked” (see example no. g), *məxya* (A14, 28; A18, 18) and *məxyäle* (A14, 75) are used in very similar contexts.

- o. qimela musqəlla b-dawla w zorna drätət tope. 'u hadəx widla xlula (A4, 56)  
 "They brought them up with drum and pipe and the firing of rifles. In this way they held the wedding."

The qille form *widla* does not continue the narrative but merely recapitulates what has been said before.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, qille is preferred with certain verbs. These are primarily verbs that require an object clause, such as 'mr "to say", šry III "to begin", šbr "to dare", mşy "to be able", kyz "to try".<sup>27</sup>

qille and qilwäle can be combined with object suffixes, e.g. qille-llä "he killed them", but far more often qem-qāṭil or qem-qāṭilwā + L-suffix are used in these cases which indicate the same time relation as qille or qilwäle respectively.<sup>28</sup>

- p. tēla qəm-mparqili m-gu-ʾiṭatux (B17, 15)  
 "They came and saved me from your hands."<sup>29</sup>

As we have seen, situations expressed by qille can have a relation to the speech time in discussing passages insofar as the speaker has experienced the end point of the situation. This is not the case with qilwäle or qem-qāṭilwā. A relationship between the described situation and the speech time does not exist here. In the realm of the recent past, qille and qilwäle overlap, but according to Khan's informants, it is rather inappropriate to use qille and qem-qāṭil to express situations that took place on the previous day or before it, whereas qilwäle and qem-qāṭilwā are not limited backwards. Accordingly, one can say: *dīya tēle* "he has now come", *tēle* or *tewale qam xamša daqīqe* "he came five minutes ago", but only: *tewale tammāl* / *qam xa šeta* "he came yesterday / a year ago".<sup>30</sup>

See further:

- q. 'u hadiya zilwali xzewali qa-t 'o-ʾumra tlixäle kulla (B3, 20)  
 "Recently I went and saw that the church was completely destroyed."

<sup>26</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 671f.

<sup>27</sup> For 'mr, see, among others: A1, 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12. For the other verbs, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 673f.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 282f.

<sup>29</sup> On qem-qāṭil, see also Khan, Barwar Gr. 609–612.

<sup>30</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 612 + 619f.

In narrating passages, q̄ilwāle usually expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past (see section 4.1). Sometimes it can also describe a situation that overlaps in time with the previously mentioned ones:<sup>31</sup>

- r. nčiltəlle reše w ruše w kulla rupätəlla. 'ap 'aw mitwale har-a-dana (A12, 53)  
 "She pulled its head and its shoulder apart and threw everything down. At the same time he also died."

q̄āilwā serves primarily to express habitual situations, but in narratives it also denotes singular ones. The difference to q̄ille and q̄ilā + pres. cop. is not so easy to determine, but it seems that Khan (Barwar Gr. 585) is correct in his assertion that it expresses the background to a foreground situation described by q̄ille or q̄ilā + pres. cop.:

- s. gu-dargušta qāmawa šaryawa banuda diya 'u 'azawa gu-maṭa 'axlawā xa brona, 'aṭyawa damxawa (A18, 1)  
 "She stood up in the cradle, untied her bands, went into the village, ate a child, then came back and went to sleep."

This introductory passage, which is clearly not meant to be habitual, states that the king has a child-eating daughter and is the background for the following complaints of the villagers which consists mainly of direct speech. Then the narrative continues and now q̄ille is used. The king ordered guards to be posted:

- t. zilla dwiqla nawba l-aya'ha qunğəltə t-hodəx ... zilla xilla xa yala xena 'u tela dmixla (A18, 3)  
 "They went and kept a guard in that far corner ... She went and ate another child, then came back and went to sleep."

Simple q̄āil from both verba I ' and I # ' can also be used in the narrative. It mostly follows verb forms like q̄ille in these cases and describes situations that clearly belong to the foreground of the narrative:

- u. xačča xena mumžəlla, klela hatxa. šalya 'ap xa xeta 'axlala (A18, 21)  
 "She delayed a little, waited, then went down and ate another one."

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 621f.

- v. mtele garre diye wirre kəs-malka ... qayəm yawəlle 'alpa dawə (A1, 7)  
 "His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king ... He gave him a thousand gold coins."<sup>32</sup>

With the verb 'mr "to say", 'i-qāṭil is occasionally used in the narrative:

- w. kulla musəqle. bena y-amər Toma (Khan, Barwar Gr. 594)  
 "He took it all up. Then Toma said: ..."

Furthermore, the infinitive is to be mentioned. It is used in narrating passages and is mostly combined with the enclitic copula. The copula can also be omitted; this happens mainly when the identity of the subject can be deduced from the context and when several closely related situations are described. The infinitive has no imperfective but rather a perfective meaning in these cases:

- x. mutätäla tre glase. tla-d-ay drayäla xačča tla-d-aw raba. 'a-d-ay mlayəlla kulle miya 'a-d-aw har malya. štayäla w praqäla biya diya (A17, 25)  
 "She brought two glasses. Into hers she poured a little and into his a lot. She filled hers all with water. His was continuously full. They drank and finished it."<sup>33</sup>

The infinitive can be preceded by the particle *har* which describes, among other things, the continuation and repetition of a situation:<sup>34</sup>

- y. har dəborre zaläla w taya durr durr durr (A20, 6)  
 "The hornets constantly flew back and forth."

Moreover, we have to mention qṭil that can be used with a third person subject only; it is only rarely attested and has a passive perfective meaning:

- z. bāṭa dwiq qarawət diya (A21, 7)  
 "The house was filled by her bed."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 570.

<sup>33</sup> See further Khan, Barwar Gr. 710f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 761.

<sup>35</sup> See Khan, Barwar 750.

q̄tīlā + pres. cop. and hole q̄tīlā may have a passive meaning as well:

- aa. xuwwe q̄tīlāle (A24, 42)  
“The snake has been killed.”
- bb. broni hole xila ’ədlāle (A18, 2)  
“My son was eaten tonight.”<sup>36</sup>

## 2.2 Subordinate Clauses

The corresponding evidence is from discussing passages. The predicate is predominantly q̄tīlā, mostly combined with the enclitic copula:

### 2.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. ’ana ’o-xa qaša ʔ-in ’ətya gu-Tiyare (B17, 15)  
“I am that priest who came to Tiyara.”
- b. ’ap an zuze kulla ʔ-in šqiləlla palənnā palge (A1, 17)  
“I shall divide into halves also all the money that I took.”<sup>37</sup>

### 2.2.2 Causal Clause

- c. ’ap ’ayya p-aqənnā ’əllux sab witāla b-reši ’up ayya (B15, 85)  
“I shall tell you also about this, since this also happened to me.”

### 2.2.3 Object Clauses

- d. lāle xəzya ču naša bas yaḏəx hola tlixə ’anna bate (A29, 52)  
“Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed.”
- e. taš’itət Mar Gwirgis maxzoyəlla qa-t-xamša-mma ’arba-mma hatxa šənnə bar Mšixa pišāle bənya (B1, 6)  
“The history of Saint George shows that it was built 500 or 400 years or so after Christ.”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For further examples, see Khan, Barwar 751.

<sup>37</sup> See also: A1, 18 (ʔ-in šqila “that I took”); A5, 10 (’ədyo ʔ-ila miṭta “today when she died”).

<sup>38</sup> On the expression of the passive by pyš + q̄tīlā, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 752f. For further evidence of q̄tīlā in object clauses, see: A1, 2 (modin xəzya “what I have seen”); B5, 162 (kulla naše qimela siqe “[that] all the people got up and went up”).

In addition, *q̣ille* and *qem-qāṭil* are attested:

- f. 'anna kulla t-wiḍili qamux ḍilux modila? (Khan, Barwar Gr. 965)  
“All these things that I have done in front of you – do you know what they are?”
- g. bar qəm-amrətla 'anna xabrane 'əlli qəm-paqdətli hatxa ʔ-odən b-xabrux (A8, 50)  
“After (since) you have said these things to me and have given me instructions, I shall do as you say.”

The difference between *q̣ilā* and *q̣ille* / *qem-qāṭil* seems to be the same as described above for main clauses. Whereas *q̣ilā* emphasises the result that followed from a previous event, *q̣ille* and *qem-qāṭil* refer more to the event itself, as can be seen in particular in no. d.

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

#### 3.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is usually expressed by *qāṭilwā* (see no. b) and 'i-*qāṭilwā* (see no. d). As already explained, these two verb forms can solely be clearly distinguished in the case of *verba I'* and some irregular verbs because 'i- usually only occurs with these.

##### 3.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'an šədle šalxiwala mən-tama maxāwala gu-məššara (B7, 11)  
“They would uproot the seedlings from that place and plant them in the paddy field.”

##### 3.1.2 Telic

- b. kut yum 'azawa l-ṭura (A10, 6)  
“Every day she would go to the mountain.”<sup>39</sup>

39 Compare with this B5, 1, where 'i-*qāṭilwā* expresses a very similar situation: *y-azīwa* “they would go”.

## 3.1.3 Atelic

- c. bašliwa rəzza, bašliwa šorba (B7, 3)  
 “They would cook rice, they would cook soup.”

## 3.1.4 Stative

- d. y-atwiwa zmara rqaḍa (B5, 13)  
 “They would sit singing and dancing.”<sup>40</sup>

With verba 1 # ’, simple qāṭilwā is the expected form, not ’i-qāṭilwā, and it seems that the usage of ’i- with these verbs is used functionally, since Khan has observed that ’i-qāṭilwā is attested in these cases especially when the speaker wishes to emphasise a situation. Thus, ’i-qāṭilwā can indicate discourse prominence:

- e. ’axnən zorəxwa ’i-zadəxwa ’ap mən-rabiye diyən. ’ä gət y-azəxwa xa xlıla xazəxwala rabiye diyən tiwe mən-’awahaṭən, mən-babawaṭən, le maşəxwa şabrəxwa ’azəxwa qarbənəxwa ’əlley (B 15, 10)  
 “(When) we were young, we were afraid of our teachers. When we went to a wedding and we saw our teachers sitting with our parents, with our fathers, we did not dare approach them.”

The main point here is that they were afraid of the teachers (’i-zadəxwa); the rest of the passage is merely an explanation of this statement.<sup>41</sup>

In addition, ’i-qāṭilwā is sometimes used to, as Khan (Barwar, Gr. 596) puts it, flag the clause as a boundary in a section of discourse:

- f. ’an t napliwa l-’arra ’ani le y-axliwala naşe. ’ani dariwala qam-qənyane. ’i-mğamiwala gu-guniya ’u dariwala gu-goma (B15, 50)  
 “People did not eat those that fell on the ground. They gave these to the animals. They gathered them in a sack and put them in the basement stable.”

First, there is a general description of what was done with the fallen apples. Here, too, a ’i-qāṭilwā form is used, but from a verb 1 ’ (’xl) where it is to be expected. ’i-mğamiwala, on the other hand, is from the root ġm’; here, the

<sup>40</sup> For further examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 586f + 595.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 595f.



listener learns in detail what happened to the apples. *ʾi-qāṭilwā* thus marks the boundary between general and special description.<sup>42</sup>

Simple *ʾi-qāṭil* can also indicate habitual situations in the past if the time reference is made clear by a preceding verb that is marked as past:

- g. *y-azəlwa l-bāṭa w y-amər čidetu* (B5, 22)  
 “He would go to a house and say ‘You are invited.’”<sup>43</sup>

Also *bed-qāṭilwā* can be used in a habitual sense. The exact function of this form is not easy to determine, but the evidence in question has in common that the situation denoted by *bed-qāṭilwā* depends in some way on a preceding one. Similar to *ʾi-qāṭilwā*, it can specify a general statement made earlier:

- h. *qam-šwama ʾit xošebə. bnaṭa kulla bṭ-aziwa bāṭa, b-šaqliwa ʾixala mən d-awwa d-awwa d-awwa, ṭ-aziwa gu xa ṭura* (B16, 18)  
 “Before the fast was Girls’ Sunday. All the girls went home, took food from here and from there, then went to a mountain.”

It can also describe the logical consequence of a situation:

- i. *ma t y-aṭewa talga, y-aṭewa, la mšiwa ʾap axxa palṭiwa. ṭ-attəxwa bena gu-bāṭa* (B16, 27)  
 “So much snow fell that people could not go out even to here. We sat in the house.”<sup>44</sup>

*ʾi-qāṭil* of *hwy* + *qṭilā* describes states that result from a habitual action. The state can result from an implication or automatically:

- j. *y-asqiwa malwəšiwalə ḡull diye ʾu y-atwiwa. y-awa wiḍe xa ramša yoma. y-awa wiḍe duxwa* (B5, 26–27)  
 “They would come up and dress him in his clothes. Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *duxwa*.”

42 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr.597f.

43 See also Khan, Barwar Gr. 593.

44 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 606ff.

- k.   bena Rustamo 'ä-gət daməx t̪aṭa yomaṭa 'u t̪aṭa lälawaṭa y-awe dmixa lä rayəš (A29, 19)  
 "Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake."<sup>45</sup>

The time reference can be explicitly expressed by adding -wā to the AP of hwy:

- l.   'i-baləšwa y-awəxwa tiwe mbarxoše, 'umma šənne (B 10, 12)  
 "It would cook (while) we would be sitting stirring it, for a hundred years."<sup>46</sup>

Finally, we have to mention y-āwewa + inf. This compound can denote habitual situations that regularly progressed in parallel with another:

- m.   šalənwa y-awewa rxata (B5, 212)  
 "I would go down while it was fermenting."

On the other hand, y-āwewa + inf. can also denote repeated situations that are limited in time and do not progress parallel to a reference point:

- n.   hal xamši w xamša šənne y-awewa sxaḍa 'alaha, y-amər ya 'alaha, yawətlən xa brona. 'imət 'alaha yiwle 'əlley brona šurela manšoyəlle 'alaha (A15, 17)  
 "For 55 years they were worshipping God, he would say 'Oh God, give us a son.' When God gave them a son, they began to forget God."<sup>47</sup>

Besides y-āwewa + inf., also y-āwe + inf. is attested in one example. The compound is oriented towards a preceding 'i-qāṭilwā form and has past time reference:

- o.   tmanyā sa'ətte y-awe mxaya 'u naše dwiqe (B15, 77)  
 "They would be playing for eight hours while the people held (each other)"

### 3.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

qāṭilwā and 'i-qāṭilwā are also used in subordinate clauses:

45 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 696–698.

46 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 698.

47 On y-āwewa + inf., see Khan, Barwar Gr. 723.

### 3.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. fa l-gare 'iman-t<sup>48</sup> aryawa dunye 'itwalən mandorta (B 5, 145)  
"On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller."
- b. 'imət 'aṭiwa Barzanaye kəsle y-amər (B19, 1)  
"When the people of Barzan came to him, he would say: ..."

### 3.2.2 Relative Clauses

- c. 'ina bušala t 'oḍəxwala ṭlalən xanči miyanta, la raba (B10, 17)  
"But the stew which we made for ourselves was somewhat watery, though not too much."
- d. 'u bena 'itwa ləxma y-amrəxwa zəḍaye (B5, 15)  
"There was bread which we called zəḍaye."

Moreover, an infinitive with a preceding present copula is attested; the time relationship is determined by the main clause:

- e. 'iman ṭ-ix naboḷe 'an tawre šalwəxwala (B5, 83)  
"When we took the oxen, we would tether them."

## 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

This category can be expressed by hole qṭilā. It indicates the result of an action which forms the background of the narrative and can be used in the meaning of an anterior or resultative:

- a. hole tiwa l-kepa, hatxa. 'anna piḍela mənne diye (A15, 13)  
"He (had sat down and) was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed him."

48 ṭ probably represents the subordinator which can also be realised as ṭ (see Khan, Barwar Lex. 1260), not the shortened form of bed-, the following verb form is thus to be understood as qāṭilwā, not as bed-qāṭilwā; the same applies to t in no. c, since the reference word of the relative clause is definite; cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 952.

- b. zilla bara diya ta t-xazāla, 'ina la har ču dukta litwa. hola prixta zilla (A27, 26)  
 "They went after her to find her, but she was nowhere. She had flown and gone away."<sup>49</sup>

More often, however, qṭilā + past copula is used in these cases. The difference to hole qṭilā is very subtle, but it seems that *hole* emphasises the result more:

- c. malka krible 'u b-gane malka mirāwa (A 25, 8)  
 "The king became angry, (although) the king himself had said: ..."
- d. xamšušeba wewa. nəšyawewa qaša t-wewa yomət tre ruta. (A2, 4)  
 "It was Thursday. The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday."
- e. 'ay šwiqtəlwa mağma tama (A4, 53)  
 "She had left a tray there."

Sometimes simple qṭilā is used:

- f. pišla dəžmənne, 'u 'ani la xəzye ġdāde 'u la mšute hatxa məndi (B 19, 2)  
 "They became enemies, (although) they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing."
- g. kulla 'askarwaṭa piše kepa (A8, 53)  
 "All the army (had become and) was stone."

Furthermore, qṭilwāle is sometimes used in narrating passages. Here, too, the state is less emphasised than with hole qṭilā:

- h. dərya 'iḡe b-brōn diye. brōn diye qimwale (A9, 6)  
 "He put his hand on his son. His son had woken up."

The reference situation can be habitual:

- i. kut yoma šale, wiḡwale xa dukta mtašewa tama (A14, 81)  
 "Every day he would go down. He had made a place to hide in."<sup>50</sup>

49 For further examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 674f.

50 On this point, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 621f.

The main clause of before-constructions has 'i-qāṭilwā forms when the situations are habitual:

- j. qam šāriwa bnaya y-aziwa y-oḍiwa 'atuna (B5, 182)  
"Before they began building, they went and set up a furnace."
- k. gu-goma mpaltəxwale qam zariwa naše rəzza (B5, 134)  
"We took it out of the stable basement before people sowed the rice."<sup>51</sup>

Also qṭille can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past. In the following example, the qṭille form *tele* indicates both anteriority to the speech time and to a reference point in the past:

- l. bronux tele ... xena řišäle. brone diye tele (A14, 95)  
"Your son has come' ... (he fainted). Then he woke up again. His son had come back!"

#### 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

In temporal clauses, qṭille (no. a), qem-qāṭil (no. b) and qṭilā + copula (c) are attested. qṭilā is by no means used only in a resultative sense. There seems to be a certain dependence of the verb form on the subordinator used. After 'iman, qṭille, qem-qāṭil and qṭilā may be used:

- a. 'imət mitla ṭlatney qimtāla pṭixtāla tara (A22, 35)  
"When the three of them had died, she opened the door."<sup>52</sup>
- b. xaddamṭa diya šlela 'imət qəm-xazyale (A25, 56)  
"Her maid-servant came down when she had seen him."<sup>53</sup>
- c. 'iman ṭ-ile xəzyəlla ... 'ay řrixla (A4, 4)  
"When he had seen her ... she screamed."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 990.

<sup>52</sup> See further: A8, 4 ('imət rišle "when he had woken up"); A15, 10 ('imət siqla "when they had gone up"); A16, 4 ('imət mṭele "when he had arrived"); A17, 31 ('imə zille "when he had gone"); A17, 33 ('imət mṭela ṭunte "when they had become ripe"); A20, 9 ('imət xilla "when they had eaten").

<sup>53</sup> See also: A8, 10 ('imət qəm-šaqlila "when they had taken her").

<sup>54</sup> See further: A8, 83 ('iman ṭ-ila piše naše "when they had become men"); A16, 6 ('iman ṭ-ila muṭyəlla "when they had brought her").

*ʾax* can be used in a temporal sense. It seems to be combined preferably with *q̣īlā* + pres. cop. When *q̣īlā* follows *d*, the copula precedes the participle:

- d. ʾanna dax ʾ-ila zile Mamo dəyəlle gu-zəndana (A26, 74)  
 “When they had gone, he put Mamo into prison.”<sup>55</sup>

After *baṭər* ~ *bar*, *q̣īlle* and *q̣īlā* are used:

- e. hadəx m-bar t gwirra ʾalaha qəm-yawəlla xa brona (A4, 57)  
 “So, after they had married, God gave them a son.”<sup>56</sup>
- f. ziltāla bar ʾ-ile bāta priqa (A14, 99)  
 “She went off after the house had been finished.”<sup>57</sup>

The intension of a temporal clause can also be expressed by the asyndetic juxtaposition of two verbal forms:

- g. hadiya mkopəšla šlela (A7, 15)  
 “After they had gathered it, they went down.”

The anterior situation may be habitual in which case *ʾi-qāṭilwā* is used:

- h. ʾiman-t y-atāwa dwara qurba l-maṭa y-asqiwa beriye (B5, 159)  
 “When they had come to the pasture land near the village, milkmaids would come up.”

When *q̣īlā* is used in syndetic relative clauses, the anteriority is usually marked by the past copula:

- i. qimle b-zdaya m-xəlme diye t-wewa xəyəlle (A8, 19)  
 “He began to be afraid of his dream which he had dreamt.”<sup>58</sup>

55 See also: A25, 80 (*ʾax ʾ-ila məṭye* “when they had arrived”); A26, 30 (*ʾax ʾ-ila pliṭta* “when she had come out”).

56 See further: A20, 5 (*bar pišla spay* “after she had got better”); A21, 38 (*m-baṭər ʾana zilli* “after I had gone”).

57 See also: A4, 4 (*bar ʾ-ila ḍita* “after she had realized”); A14, 55 (*baṭər šmiṭalla* “after they had defeated them”); A23, 6 (*baṭər ʾ-ile priqa* “after he had finished”).

58 See further: A4, 44 (*t-wewa ʾətye biya* “who had brought her”); A8, 19 (*t-wewa xəyəlle* “which he had seen”); A8, 64 (*duḳta t-wewa šəlyā* “the place where he had come down”); A 8, 69 (*t-wewa dmixa reša* “that he had slept on”); A11, 10 (*t-wewa wira* “which he had

In object clauses after *'ina*, on the other hand, the copula is usually missing:

- j. xəzyəlle 'ina šənya npila (A14, 88)  
 "They saw that he had fainted and fallen."<sup>59</sup>

After *'ina*, however, *q̄tille* is also attested:

- k. xa bena xirela hatxa 'ina bronət malka tele (A14, 93)  
 "Then they looked and saw that the son of the king had come."<sup>60</sup>

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 Main Clauses

This category is usually expressed by the infinitive that can be combined with *hole*, in which case the time reference must be made clear by the context, or with the past copula:

#### 5.1.1 Punctual > Atelic

- a. xdarənwa l-ay goti, 'aqli tiwla š-'aqlət baxta (A16, 11)  
 "I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg settled on the leg of the woman."

#### 5.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- b. qaša xašawewa l-'Urəšlēm 'u malla zalāwa l-ħağğ (A2, 1)  
 "The priest was going to Jerusalem and the mullah was going to the pilgrimage."

---

entered"); A11, 17 (t-wewa bənya "who had built"); A12, 53 (t-wewa mutyəlla "who had brought her"); A14, 70 (t-wewa hiwəlle "who had given"); A14, 71 (t-wawa mite "who had died"); A20, 4 (t-wewa zqirəlla "which he had woven"); A25, 54 (t-wewa 'ətya "who had come"); B10, 45 (t-iwāwa šəlye "who had gone down"). The past copula is missing in: A15, 3 (t-ile zuze munšya "who had forgotten his money"); A17, 21 (t-ile gwirəlla "whom he had married"); A18, 12 (t-ile zila "who had gone"); A26, 32 (t-ile 'ətya "to which he had come"); A34, 11 (t-ila wirta gawe "which he had entered").

59 See also: A6, 6 ('ina lwiša "that he had been dressed [and was wearing]"); A8, 58 ('ina piše kepa "that they had turned stone"); A 48, 3 ('ina təpya ... qida "that [fire] had been kindled ... had burnt down").

60 See further: A14, 81 ('ina ... tiwla "that they had alighted").

These two situations form the background; in the following it is described what happened during their journey.

### 5.1.3 Atelic

- c. xa yoma dābba xdarawawa gu-ṭurane. tfiqla b-xa tela (A20, 1)  
 “One day a bear was wandering around the mountains. It (= fem.) met a fox.”

### 5.1.4 Complex

- d. ʾətyāle xa naša xena ... b-läle rumxe diye hola mxaya kizekke, ma ṭ-ile  
 ʾo naša raba xālana (A12, 9)  
 “Another man came ... In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man.”

No specific reference point is given here. Rather, the reader is asked to look at the situation from the inside and thus imperfectly.<sup>61</sup>

hole + infinitive can describe successive situations that in their entirety progress parallel to a reference point:

- e. NN modile waḍa? hole dwaqalle reṣət xorta makyopəlle, yalunke zore  
 hola ṭaya ʾu saqa b-a-xorta (A29, 15–16)  
 “(He [NN] saw his uncle Rustam going off [qəm-xazele]) What was NN doing? He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down, young children were coming and going up the poplar.”<sup>62</sup>

The infinitive can also be without a copula:

- f. läwa yomət šabṭa ʾina ṣṭaya xālanäle (A14, 58)  
 “It was not Saturday and it (the river) was flowing in force.”

Accompanying circumstances are usually expressed by an asyndetic infinitive that can be combined with *hole*:

61 For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 708–715.

62 Cf. on this point Khan, Barwar Gr. 709.



- g. siqtāla, 'o paṛa hole mbarbore, har mbarbore, läle klaya (A34, 28)  
 "She went up, while the lamb was bleating and bleating, incessantly",<sup>63</sup>

with the present enclitic copula:

- h. dmixle kəs d-ay šaqiṭa 'o-xena zrayäle (A9, 1)  
 "He went to sleep by that channel while the other one was ploughing",

with the past enclitic copula:

- i. zaläwa xa bena xzele m-rəḥqa xa mdi xwara (A14, 28)  
 "As he was going along, he suddenly saw from afar something white",<sup>64</sup>

or without copula:

- j. w ana qəm-maxäli w ati xyara biyi (A2, 10)  
 "They beat me while you were looking at me."<sup>65</sup>

No. j is also an example of the introduction of the circumstance clause by *w* + pronoun which is conditioned in this case by the subject change.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, we have to mention *wele* + *inf.* and *wiyäle* + *inf.*, i.e. *qṭille* of *hwy* and *qṭilä* of *hwy* + *pres. cop.* with a following infinitive. Both describe situations of the past that are regarded as a complete whole but extend over a certain period of time:

- k. 'u-'awwa huḍaya wele mašyote nṭara 'əlli l-gare (A6, 10)  
 "This Jew was listening and watching me on the roof (during a period mentioned before)."

63 See further: A4, 35 (*w 'ayya hola mparöge* "while she was watching"); A30, 42 (*'ani hola waḍa tagbir* "while they were making a plan").

64 See also: A14, 15 (*saqäwa* "as they were coming up"); A14, 24 (*har wewa xḍara* "when he was still searching around"); A18, 25 (*knašawawa* "while she was sweeping").

65 See further: A4, 10 (*xḍara* "while he was wandering"); A4, 11 (*mšawote ... mara* "while they were saying ... telling"); A4, 33 (*bxaya w ḡnana* "while they were weeping and singing dirges"); A7, 6 (*mxaya šabiba* "while he was playing a pipe"); A10, 12 (*maxzoyəllux* "by showing you"); A14, 91 (*praxa* "while she was flying"); A14, 94 (*'aw raqa* "while he was running"); A22, 7 (*bxaya mxaya l-gane diye* "while he was weeping, beating himself"); A25, 42 (*mätöye dwaqəlla 'urxi* "bringing and blocking my road"); A25, 72 (*'ani xyapa* "while they were bathing").

66 Another example can be found in A4, 35 (*w 'ayya hola mparöge* "while she was watching").

- l. wiyəx plaša m-ʾašərtā hal-gu-mbadlaṭa (A12, 19)  
“We fought from evening until morning.”

## 5.2 Subordinate Clauses

Temporal clauses introduced by subordinators, which express the category dealt with here, are not too frequently attested. After *ʾiman*, the infinitive with an enclitic copula can be used:

- a. ʾimə ṭ-in praməlle xzayən natyaṭe ʾina t-hāwane (A23, 38–39)  
“When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals.”

A habitual situation is expressed by qāṭilwā that is probably to be interpreted as an ʾi-qāṭilwā form:

- b. ʾu ʾiman garšiwa sula dārāwa xāš dawāra (B5, 136)  
“And when they transported manure, they would put them on the back of a mule.”

The infinitive is also attested in relative clauses; in a syndetic one, it is combined with the past copula (no. c):

- c. zilāle mukləlla tawre t-wāwa zraya (A9, 5)  
“He went and stopped the oxen which were ploughing.”
- d. qəm-xazele xa naša miṭa naboləlle mṭamorəlle (A17, 1)  
“He saw a dead person whom they were taking to bury.”
- e. ʾitwa xa naša gora zala b-ʾurxa (A17, 1)  
“There was once a man, an elderly man, who was going along the road.”

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

### 6.1 Main Clauses

I have found only one instance; the predicate is bed-qāṭil, so the verb form is oriented towards the reference point in the past:

- a. nəšya-wewa qaša t-wewa yomət tre ruta. malla ṭ-axəlla ʾaw la ʾaxəl ču mdi sab rutāla (A2, 4)  
“The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday. The mulla would eat it and he would eat nothing because it was Friday.”

## 6.2 Subordinate Clauses

As can be seen from *t-wewa* in example no. a above, the posterior situation can also be marked as past, i.e. it can be viewed from the speech time. This is also the case in the following example with *qāṭilwā*:

- a. 'o yomət goranwa 'ətyäle 'awwa 'afrīt gniwəlli (A13, 14)  
 "The day I would have got married, this demon came and stole me."

The following relative clause, however, has simple *qāṭil*:

- b. 'ä šetət mäti qəm-yawəlla xa brona zora (A4, 57)  
 "In the year they would die he gave them a little son."

In the next two examples, it is not clear whether the *ṭ* before the *qāṭil* forms represents the subordinator *d* or whether the subordinate clauses are asyndetic and the predicates are thus a *bed-qāṭil*- and a *bed-qāṭilwā* form:

- c. 'ana biṭənnux tiṭən baṭrux w ana lādən ṭ awətwā 'ati xayən palṭətwā mənni (A14, 101)  
 "I loved you and followed you, and I did not know that you would turn out to be treacherous to me."
- d. malka rhiwa xabra ṭ-azi šāda (A13, 4)  
 "The king announced that they would go hunting."

Subordinate clauses after *yḏ'* are more often introduced by *d* than they would follow asyndetically so that the predicate in no. c is probably a *qāṭilwā* form.<sup>67</sup> After verbs of saying, as in no. d, the subordinator is often omitted<sup>68</sup> so that the predicate is possibly a *bed-qāṭil* form in this case.

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 Main Clauses

Situations that are progressing at the time of speaking and those that take place in a period of time that has not yet been completed are preferably expressed by

67 See A4, 39; A12, 67; A39, 6; A48, 3. In A14, 3, however, without *d*: *yaḏana mbadla qaṭəlli 'aw malka* "I know that the king will kill me in the morning".

68 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 980.

the infinitive. The infinitive can be combined with *hole*, an enclitic copula or no copula at all. As Khan (Barwar, Gr. 704ff) has convincingly shown, the choice between these three possibilities is largely determined by the communicative salience of a statement. This is greatest with *hole* + inf. and least with simple infinitive. When they are negated, the order is *läle* + inf. > *la* + inf. *hole* + inf. is thus preferably used when the speaker wants to draw the listener's special attention to a situation that is actually taking place. A question, on the other hand, has less communicative power, and thus, *hole* is not used in this case. Mental processes tend to be expressed more frequently by inf. + pres. cop., and the copula is often missing altogether with impersonal expressions (no. i).

The infinitive is occasionally combined with the preposition *b-* (nos. a + h), but it regularly appears only in *b-xšawən* "I think" (Khan, *ibid.* 704):

#### 7.1.1 Punctual > Complex

- a. 'u țarpət dārübər hola b-n̄tara (A25, 46)  
"The leaves of the wood are falling."
- b. hola dwaqa naše (A25, 80)  
"They are seizing people."

#### 7.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- c. hola šlaya rəš-'äna (A26, 40)  
"She is going down to the spring."
- d. m-äkət țaya? (A23, 2)  
"Where are you coming from?"

#### 7.1.3 Atelic

- e. modit wađa? (A4, 18)  
"What are you doing?"
- f. 'anən wađa šula diya (A4, 23)  
"I am in charge of her business."

#### 7.1.4 Stative

- g. 'ətye mərə zdaləx (A14, 40)  
"They came back and said 'We are afraid.'"

- h. b-xšawən gawri tele (A39, 18)  
“I think my husband has returned.”
- i. mabyone ʔura gu-čol ramanäle (A8, 70)  
“It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.”<sup>69</sup>

With stative verbs, such as by “to want”, tɁr “to remember”, ydʔ “to know”, xšw “to think”, zdʔ “to fear”, šbr “to dare”, mšy “to be able” as well as xzy “to see”, the usage is not consistent. Besides the infinitive, qāṭil is also used. Unfortunately, only the verb ʔmš, a variant of mšy, allows a clear identification as a qāṭil form.<sup>70</sup>

- j. la məš (< la ʔaməš) xonux dareli gu-səndana (A26, 44)  
“Your brother cannot put me in prison.”

The other examples are verba ɪ # ʔ and can formally also represent ʔi-qāṭil forms.

- k. ʔu ʔana xašwən ʔap brōn malka b-tarəš (A8, 88)  
“I think, furthermore, that the son of the king will be cured.”

Compare example no. h above where the infinitive of xšw is used.

## 7.2 Subordinate Clauses

As in main clauses, the infinitive and the AP are used:

### 7.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. nəmu ʔayya bərke d-ānila ʔ-it ʔati sxaya gawa? (A25, 61)  
“Whose is this pool in which you are swimming?”
- b. ʔədyo ku mändi ʔ-iwən šmaʔa ʔaxxa, yəmmi mtunātəlle ʔlali (B8, 15)  
“Today, everything that I hear here, my mother has told me.”
- c. ʔitlən xa mändi bayəx ʔ oḍəxxe ʔlaləx (A4, 48)  
“There is something that we want to do for you.”

69 For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 705–707.

70 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 572f.

### 7.2.2 Object Clauses

- d. xazən 'an 'ərwe 'äkäla xaša, ɫla-modi tlaqa (A10, 1)  
 "Let me see where these sheep are going, why are they disappearing."

## 8 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)

### 8.1 *Main Clauses*

Habitual situations are predominantly expressed by 'i-qāṭil, but occasionally also simple qāṭil is attested (no. a):

#### 8.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'u maxa xa məšxa gu-be-'ene diye 'oḍile rušma 'ax šliwa (B6, 36)  
 "They put some oil on his forehead and make for him the sign of the cross."  
 b. šaqli läša mattile š-xa parša pṭoxa (B6, 46)  
 "They take the dough and put it on a wide stone."

#### 8.1.2 Telic

- c. qedamta y-azi naše l-'umra y-oḍi qurbana (B6, 23)  
 "In the morning the people go to church and take communion."  
 d. 'aw naša sawäle bas heš y-azəl šula kut yum (Khan, Barwar Gr. 759)  
 "He is an old man, but he still goes to work every day."

#### 8.1.3 Atelic

- e. kut bāṭa mbašəl xa məndi (B5, 64)  
 "Every household cooks something."

#### 8.1.4 Stative

- f. y-atwi faṭri qamaye (B5, 71)  
 "They sit and have breakfast first."

- g. 'aw qəqwana gu-ṭura y-awe (B5, 147)  
 "The partridge is in the mountains."<sup>71</sup>

When 'i-qāṭil is formed contrary to the rule from verba I #', this often serves to draw the listener's attention to the situation thus expressed:

- h. 'ani xəṭṭe huwedi sama zoda 'i-zarila t-la maštoye y-amrəxxa demi. 'ani zari gu-ṭura (B5, 94)  
 "The huwedi-wheat they generally sow without irrigation, we call it 'unirrigated'. They sow it in the mountains."

Shortly before, also in B5, 94, it was explained that there is irrigated and non-irrigated land. So this is the issue at stake. The fact that huwedi-wheat belongs to the varieties that are not irrigated (*'i-zarila t-la maštoye*) is thus much more significant in this context than the fact that it is sown in the mountains (*zari gu-ṭura*).<sup>72</sup>

y-āwe qṭilā is used to denote habitual situations that have taken place before another, also habitual situation and result in a still ongoing state:

- i. qāmi qedamta naša 'u ḡami ... m-maṭwata y-awa 'ətye maṭwata kulla y-awa lwiše ḡulle šalla (B5, 46–47)  
 "The people get up the next morning and gather together ... They have come from the villages, from the villages. All have put on the šalla."

The infinitive, with or without a copula, can also be used to express habitual situations. According to Khan (Barwar, Gr. 715), in contrast to qāṭil, the infinitive denotes only iterative but no permanent situations. The evidence in the grammar (pp. 715–717) and in the texts, however, can certainly be interpreted as habitual:

- j. bar hadəx, bar ṭ-ila baxta pyaša rasmi tama ya'ni wara gu-l-bāṭa ṭayāle qaša 'u sara gnunāle (B5, 44)  
 "When the woman becomes official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the bands."

<sup>71</sup> For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 570–572, 590.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar, Gr. 592, where further examples with explanations can be found.

The infinitive can be combined with *hole*:

- k. hadiya hon nšayəlla 'ina d-ä-ga taxranna raba (B8, 20)  
 “Now I forget things, but I remember well what (I learnt) then.”<sup>73</sup>

## 8.2 Subordinate Clauses

'i-qāṭil and the infinitive are also found in subordinate clauses; an exception are relative clauses whose reference word is indefinite in which case simple qāṭil is used (nos. a + b):

### 8.2.1 Relative Clauses

- a. kul naša ʔ awele xa brona ... 'i-nablile l-'umra (B6, 35)  
 “Anybody who has a son ... they take him to the church.”
- b. kut dukṭa 'aza 'awra 'ap ya xeta bara lazəm haya (B12, 2)  
 “Every place that she goes to and enters, the other (fem.) has to follow after her.”<sup>74</sup>

### 8.2.2 Temporal Clauses

- c. 'imə ʔ-ile zmara bulbule ǧma'ela l-qale (A25, 46)  
 “When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice.”
- d. 'iman t qamxa läšile läša 'u 'i-xame dārä xmira gawe 'i-xame (B6, 45)  
 “When they knead flour into a dough and it rises, they put yeast in it and it rises.”

Habitual simultaneity is also often expressed by two independent main clauses:

- e. 'axni plaṭa gu-bāṭa bayəx ʔayəx xa məndi ʔ axləx hola xzayəllən qaṭu raqa baṭrən xaləlläni (A44, 1)  
 “(When) we go out into the house searching for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.”<sup>75</sup>

73 See also A3, 2 (har hole mṭarṭone “he always grumbles”).

74 See further: A17, 22 (kut 'aze “whoever comes”); B6, 7 (ʔ oya “that is”); B6, 41 (t päši “that remains”).

75 See also, inter alia: B6, 43 ('i-barəz y-amrile qaška “[when] it dries, they call it qaška”).



ʾi-qāṭil is also used after *m-bar* “after” when the subordinate clause is anterior:

- f. m-bar t y-odī nura gawe xayəm raba (B6, 48)  
“After they have put fire in it, it heats a lot.”
- g. m-bar t y-axli mätä dawära (B5, 37)  
“After they have eaten, they bring a mule.”

In relative clauses after an indefinite reference word, however, anteriority is expressed by *hāwe qṭilā*, i.e. the AP of *hwy* + *qṭilā*; this compound is only rarely attested:

- h. kulla ʾan ʔ awa zəryəlla (B5, 114)  
“Everything that they have sown.”

## 9 Extratemporalis

Also in this case, ʾi-qāṭil is used, even with some verba #ʾ (nos. a and e):

- a. xəlma naša har ʾi-xaze (A4, 7)  
“People always dream.”
- b. šəmša ganya ʾu bišta la ganya (D2, 5)  
“The sun sets but evil does not set (with it).”

ʾi-qāṭil of *hwy* “to be” is often used to express extratemporal states:

- c. talga xwara y-awe (Khan, Barwar Gr. 647)  
“Snow is white.”
- d. kalba gu-tarət mare ləbbana y-awe (D2, 64)  
“A dog at the door of his owner is brave.”

The same holds true for subordinate clauses:

- e. rabbən ʾawwa ʔ i-saxəḍ l-ʾalaha ʾu ʔ i-mšale u le y-ʾaxəl bəsra (A15, 4)  
“A monk (is) somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat.”

- f. 'o t payəš b-hiwi t naše miṭāle mən-bərmaše (D2, 28)  
 “He who relies on people is dead by the evening.”<sup>76</sup>

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 Main Clauses

This category is primarily expressed by qāṭil and bed-qāṭil. While simple qāṭil mostly describes situations about whose realisation the speaker is not certain and is used after particles such as *balki* “perhaps” (no. c), bed-qāṭil denotes events that are expected with certainty.<sup>77</sup> qāṭil in particular often has a non-indicative tinge; this applies in particular to verba ɪ ' used affirmatively (see no. c and cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 577). The negative counterparts of bed-qāṭil are la qāṭil and le y-qāṭil (cf. above sect. 1):

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. qazi ʔ-awədla ʔlalux, la 'awədla ʔlali (A6, 8)  
 “The judge will make (a decision) in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.”
- b. qaṭlənnux (A15, 4)  
 “I will kill you.”

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- c. balki 'atya (A8, 49)  
 “Perhaps she will come.”
- d. malla ʔ-axəlla, 'aw la 'axəl ču mdi (A2, 4)  
 “The mullah will eat it, and he will eat nothing.”

#### 10.1.3 Atelic

- e. tama b-xazət xa ʔura ramana (A8, 47)  
 “There you will see a high mountain.”

<sup>76</sup> There is a lot more evidence in section D2 (pp. 1264ff, proverbs and sayings).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 577–579.

- f.    ʿay šaqiṭa bṭ-aza (A8, 11)  
       “The channel will flow.”

10.1.4       Stative

- g.    balki la hawe tama (A1, 10)  
       “Perhaps he will not be there.”
- h.    ʿawwa naša faqira ṭ-aweḷe xa brona (A8, 3)  
       “This poor man will have a son.”<sup>78</sup>

There are, however, exceptions to the rule given above: *bed-qāṭil* = certainty, *qāṭil* = uncertainty. *qāṭil* of *verba I # ʿ* sometimes expresses situations that are expected with certainty:

- i.    ʿaw mayəṭ ʿu ʿupra payəš biyi (A26, 25)  
       “He will die and his land will remain for me.”
- j.    ʿo Mar Muše xālanāle, maxelāxu (B18, 11)  
       “Saint Muše is strong. He will strike you.”<sup>79</sup>

*bed-qāṭil* of the first person, on the other hand, often expresses the speaker’s intention and is then used non-indicatively rather than indicatively:

- k.    b-šalyən b-tapqən biye. xazəx mo ṭ-awəd (A4, 21)  
       “I shall go down and meet him. Let’s see what he will do.”<sup>80</sup>

The non-indicative character is particularly clear in dubitative questions:

- l.    mo ṭ-odən? (A1, 17)  
       “What shall I do?”

*bed-qāṭil* can also follow *diya* or *hadiya* “now” and denote the immediate future:

<sup>78</sup> For further evidence, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 577–579, 598f.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 578.

<sup>80</sup> See also Khan, Barwar Gr. 599.

- m. diya ʔ-aʔi pārmilən (A4, 54)  
 “Now they are going to come to slaughter us.”<sup>81</sup>

This intantum, however, can also be expressed by ga- (probably < *gaya* “time, instance”) + d + qāʔil:

- n. ga ʔ-aʔən (Khan, Barwar Gr. 583)  
 “I am about to come.”

The negated form of ʔi-qāʔil can also be used:<sup>82</sup>

- o. le y-axlena  
 “I will not eat.”<sup>83</sup>

The fact that le ʔi-qāʔil, which otherwise denotes habitual situations (see above sect. 8), is also used with future time reference may be explained – as Khan (Barwar Gr. 605) does – by the temporal indeterminacy of negated statements. The time reference of a statement such as “I will eat” can usually be determined quite precisely by the context, whereas “I will not eat” can have all possible time references and can therefore also be regarded as habitual. However, as will be shown below (ch. 21, sect. 4), both ʔi-qāʔil and k-qāʔil were originally used with some probability as indicative forms, i.e. they could express situations with present and future time reference. It is therefore just as well possible that the use of ʔi-qāʔil with future time reference is a relic from an earlier stage of development.

Occasionally, also qʔille expresses posteriority, especially after *balki* “perhaps”:

- p. balki zilli b-ʔurxa ʔu kpinni (A23, 5)  
 “Perhaps I will go on the road and become hungry.”

Khan (Barwar Gr. 700) gives two examples of bed-qāʔil of hwy “to be” + resultatively used qʔilā (*tiwta* and *dmixa*) that express continuing states in the future:

81 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 599.

82 Simple qāʔil of verba ʔ after *la*, however, is often enough attested; see, among others: A6, 6 (*la ʔaʔən* “I will not come”); A6, 8 (*la ʔawəḍla* “he will not make it”); A 21, 43 (*la ʔawḍən* “I will not do”); A24, 39 (*la ʔaxəlləx* “he will not eat you”).

83 Khan, Barwar Gr. 604f, where some more examples can be found.

- q. 'əšti šənnə xene ʔ-oya rəš d-ä-qora tiwta bxaya (A4, 45)  
 "She will sit for another sixty years weeping over that grave."

bed-qāṭil of hwy can be combined with the infinitive. This compound expresses simultaneity with a reference point in the future (see sect. 12 below) but is also used to denote extended but temporally limited situations in the future whose reference point is the speech time:

- r. tre ʔla yomane xene bʔ-awət maṭroye xāš susa (A8, 46)  
 "You shall ride on horse back two or three more days."  
 s. hal 'iman ʔ-awət hatxa mdagole? (A26, 56)  
 "For how long will you be telling lies?"<sup>84</sup>

Inf. + pres. cop. and hole + inf., however, can also indicate future situations:

- t. 'ayya 'əšti šənnə xene xayala (A4, 45)  
 "She will live another sixty years."  
 u. hole b-ṭaya 'axəlläxu (A13, 14)  
 "He will come and eat you."

The realisation of both situations is considered certain, insofar as they are presented as already in progress, as can be seen especially in the second example. The statement was made to intimidate: *Look, he is already on his way to devour you.*

### 10.2 Subordinate Clauses

qāṭil and bed-qāṭil are also used in subordinate clauses. The difference between the two signa shown above, qāṭil for uncertain, bed-qāṭil for certain situations, can only be verified with reservations. Compare the following two object clauses:

- a. yaḍana mbadla qatəlli 'aw malka (A14, 3)  
 "I know that the king will kill me in the morning."

84 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 723f.

- b. 'up 'alaha la yaḍe 'ati 'iman mäteti (A16, 11)  
 “Even God does not know when you will die.”

The king in no. a had the habit of killing the women he had married in the evening the next morning. It is therefore obvious that the speaker, the youngest wife of the king, has to expect a similar fate. In no. b, the negation of the main clause already makes the uncertainty regarding the subordinate clause situation clear.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, qāṭil is used in both cases.

In the following example:

- c. 'u 'ana xašwən 'ap brōn malka b-tarəš (A8, 88)  
 “I think, furthermore, that the king will be cured”,

the speaker makes it clear by using the verb *xašwən* that the subordinate clause situation is merely an assumption, not a certainty, but nevertheless, bed-qāṭil is used.

After *kut/ku* “each, every; whoever”, one normally finds qāṭil:

- d. kut mätela 'ana t-yanne zuze (A27, 30)  
 “Whoever brings her back, I will give money to him.”<sup>86</sup>

By leaving the reference word undefined, it also remains uncertain whether, and if so, when the situation associated with it will be carried out. The situation of the main clause, on the other hand, is specified by that of the subordinate clause. In this case, therefore, qāṭil actually describes uncertain and bed-qāṭil certain situations in the future.

## 11 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future

In a relative clauses after *kut*, qāṭil is used while the main clause has bed-qāṭil:

85 Similar in A16, 1: *bayən t-yaḍən 'ana 'iman mätən* “I want to know when I shall die.”

86 See further: A1, 12 (*ṭla kut 'amərre* “to whomsoever tells him”); A14, 55 (*ku našət 'awər* “any person who enters”); A14, 46 (*ku ... 'ate* “whoever comes”); A14, 92 (*kut mäteli* “whoever brings me”); A27, 18 (*kut mätela* “whoever brings her”). Here, too, the main clauses always have bed-qāṭil.

- a. 'alpa dawə bəd-yawəl ʔla kut 'amərrə modile xəlme (A1, 12)  
 "He will give a 1000 gold pieces to anyone who tells (will have told) him what his dream is."

In temporal clauses after *'iman* or *baṭər*, *qāṭil* is also used. The particle *d* after the subordinators can be missing:

- b. ʔ-oya maləkta b-šopi 'iman t-ana mätən (A4, 39)  
 "She will be queen in my place when I will have died."<sup>87</sup>
- c. 'ina m-baṭər maqḍali 'aw qəṭma šaqlitule mxamitule (A26, 85)  
 "After she will have burnt me, take the ashes and keep them."<sup>88</sup>

After *baṭər*, also *qṭille* is attested:

- d. 'u baṭər priqalən qəššəttən rešux pärəxle (A24, 51)  
 "After we will have finished our story, we shall cut off your head."

*har* is used as a particle with different meanings.<sup>89</sup> It often appears in main clauses and is then clearly used as a particle. However, it can also coordinate sentences and in this case, it has more the function of a subordinator with the meaning "as soon as". After *har*, *qṭille* is used:

- e. har wela danət kawuṭra, xzelux xa naša ṭaya malla bṭ-ate (A22, 22)  
 "As soon as luchtime will have come and you have seen a man come, the mullah will come."<sup>90</sup>

*qāṭil*, however, is also attested:

- f. 'u hadiya bratət malka har xazya 'axni zmara w rqaḍa 'ay ḡal ḡalde ʔ-asqa l-gare (A27, 28)  
 "Now, as soon as the daughter of the king will have seen that we are singing and dancing, she will quickly come up to the roof."

87 See also: A4, 16 ('iman ʔ atyət "when you will have come back").

88 See further: A30, 41 ('u bar ʔ azəl "after he will have gone away").

89 On *har* in detail, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 761–766.

90 See also: B19, 6 (har dīlāxu priqlən "as soon as you know that we have finished"); Khan, Barwar Lex. 1291 (har qitla biyux "as soon as they will have hit you").

## 12 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Future

I have found only one example of this category in a main clause. *bed-qāṭil* of *hwy* + infinitive is used:

- a. 'iman maṭən təmməl 'aw ʔ-awe plaxa gu-bāṭa (Khan, Barwar Gr. 724)  
"When I arrive tomorrow, he will be working in the house."

## 13 Non-indicative Clauses

### 13.1 Main Clauses

The different deontic categories are mostly expressed by *qāṭil*:

- a. de maxəxle? (A14, 8)  
"Should we beat him?"
- b. 'amrənnəx xa məndi (A4, 15)  
"Let me tell you something."
- c. läka 'azexi? (A26, 18)  
"Where should we go?"
- d. 'ap xa la qablət ʔ awər gu-bāṭa (A23, 25)  
"You should not allow anybody to come into the house."
- e. hawət həšyər 'itlən ġənnə (A22, 26)  
"Be careful, we have jinn!"
- f. la mšawṭət! (A26, 89)  
"Do not speak!"
- g. hoyə mxīṭa l-mila (A4, 29)  
"Let it be covered in blue!"

*qāṭil* can be combined with some modal particles. *de* has already been introduced in no. a. It probably derives from *dīya* "now" and usually precedes the imperative.<sup>91</sup> *xoš*, imperative of *rxš* "to go", should also be mentioned. It is

<sup>91</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 576f, where further evidence can be found.



attested in both affirmative and negative sentences with all persons but is particularly frequent with a third person:<sup>92</sup>

- h. kulla xoš damxi (A14, 56)  
“Let everybody sleep!”
- i. xoš la ’ate! (Khan, Barwar Gr. 576)  
“Do not let him come!”

The deontic particle *šut* is also attested in affirmative and negative sentences:

- j. šut ’odala (C1, 11)  
“Let her do it!”
- k. šut la ’aṭe (Khan, Barwar Gr. 577)  
“Do not let him come!”

As already stated above (10.1), the first person of *bed-qāṭil* often expresses the speaker’s intention. However, it also has other non-indicative functions. It is used cohortatively and in dubitative questions:

- l. bṭ-arqexi (A30, 41)  
“Let us flee.”<sup>93</sup>
- m. mo ṭ-oḡen? (A1, 17)  
“What should / can I do?”

It can also be used non-indicatively in the second and third person:

- n. ’ati bt-azet (A8, 46)  
“You should go.”
- o. t-azel ṭaləbla m-be baba diye (A29, 39)  
“He should go and ask her father’s family for her (hand).”

*hāwe* + *qṭilā* can be used epistemically and express the speaker’s uncertainty as to whether a situation has taken place or not, for instance after *balki* “perhaps”:

<sup>92</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 576.

<sup>93</sup> See also B6, 47 (t-amrəx “let us say”).

- p. balki hawe 'ətya l-bät qora (A25, 91)  
 "Maybe he has gone to the cemetery."

Questions referring to counterfactual situations in the past are expressed by *bed-qāṭilwā*:

- q. 'ina m-äka t-odənwale gəšra? (A17, 18)  
 "But from where could I have made him a bridge?"<sup>94</sup>

Simple *qāṭilwā*, however, is also attested:

- r. m-äka tayanwalux 'ana? (A30, 23)  
 "From where could I have carried (this) for you?"

*qāṭilwā* also denotes counterfactual wishes with past or future time reference:

- s. bas xati Nozali xazənwala! (A8, 57)  
 "If only I could see my sister Nozali!"
- t. päšənwə mevan diya! (C2, 1)  
 "(If only) I could become her guest!"

The *t* after *tuwe* in the following example probably represents *d*, not *bed-*, so that *xazənwale* and *baryawa* are likely to be *qāṭilwā* forms:<sup>95</sup>

- u. tuwe t xazənwale! (Khan, Barwar Gr. 589)  
 "If only I had seen him!"
- v. tuwe t baryawa šarre! (C2, 63)  
 "If only there would be war!"

Counterfactual statements about past events can also be expressed by *hāwewa* + *qṭilā*:

- w. 'ana garəg hawənwə spay zuze šqila (B1, 19)  
 "I should have got a good sum of money."<sup>96</sup>

94 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 606.

95 Cf. Khan, Barwar Gr. 589.

96 See Khan, Barwar Gr. 699.

### 13.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses, *qāṭil* is mostly used. After *garəg*, *lazəm* and *baye* “it is necessary”, *qāṭil* follows asyndetically:

- a. *garəg ’amrəx* (A4, 38)  
“We must say.”
- b. *hadiya baye mpalṭətle* (A26, 77)  
“Now you must take him out.”<sup>97</sup>

After verbs of wanting, allowing or capability, the subordinate clause is sometimes introduced by *d*, but not consistently:

- c. *maṣəx ʔ amrəx* (B4, 3)  
“We can say.”
- d. *maṣəx ’amrəx* (B15, 16)  
“We can say.”
- e. *’ap ’ana bayən ’azən* (A1, 5)  
“I also want to go.”
- f. *bayən ʔ azən* (A8, 65)  
“I want to go.”
- g. *’ap xa la qablət ʔ awər gu-bäṭa* (A23, 25)  
“You should not allow anybody to come into the house.”

Even if the subjects of the superordinate and subordinate clauses are not identical, *d* can be dispensed with:

- h. *bayəx xa mändi gu-tara qablitula* (B10, 36)  
“We want you to pledge her something on the doorstep.”<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> See also Khan, Barwar Gr. 581.

<sup>98</sup> See further Khan, Barwar Gr. 579–581.

Final clauses can be introduced by *d* which is usually preceded by *qa* or *ta*:

- i.    şraxäle qa t şama bratət malka (A21, 16)  
      “He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears.”
- j.    mṭamrətle spay ta t la dayər (A22, 37)  
      “Bury him well so that he does not return.”
- k.    şəlyäle ta t ’azəl ’urxa (A15, 5)  
      “He went down to set off on the road.”

*d* can also be missing:

- l.    taxtāla mutte hatxa ta şali tama (A22, 10)  
      “‘They have put a board like this in order to go down there.”<sup>99</sup>

As can be seen from example no. k, simple qāṭil can also be used when the main clause has past time reference.<sup>100</sup> In these cases, however, qāṭilwā is attested as well:

- m.    raqənwa ta t mbaşlanwa (A27, 42)  
      “I was running in order to cook.”<sup>101</sup>

qāṭilwā can also follow the expressions mentioned above (by “to want”, qbl “to permit”, mşy “to be able” etc.):

- n.    bayewa paləṭwa (A22, 45)  
      “He wanted to go out.”
- o.    la qabəlwa ’axni saxəxwa (A25, 20)  
      “He did not allow us to swim.”

After verbs of movement and taking, the infinitive can be used to express the purpose of the action:

<sup>99</sup> See also Khan, Barwar Gr. 582–584.

<sup>100</sup> See further: A21, 8 (ta t axəl “to eat”); A23, 24 (ta t la ’awər “so that nobody would go in”).

<sup>101</sup> See also: A37, 2 (qa t qarwawa “to take communion”); B5, 139 (qa t ... mbarzəxwale “in order to dry it”); B8, 36 (ta zoniwala “so that they would buy it [hab.]”).

- p. Zine zille dwaqəlla prixla (A25, 72)  
 “Zine went to grab it, (but) it flew off.”
- q. ’ana šqilənnə ’awwa qatīya mxaya ’əlle diye (A29, 23)  
 “I took this stick to strike at it.”<sup>102</sup>

#### 14 Conditional Clauses

Real conditionals of the present / future usually have ’ən + qāṭil in the protasis. The apodosis mostly has bed-qāṭil, but simple qāṭil is also frequently attested:

- a. bas ’ən ’atya xa baxta ... ’ana bṭ-azana (A8, 78)  
 “But if a woman comes ... I shall go.”<sup>103</sup>
- b. ’ən la ’azən mšaydən (A4, 27)  
 “If I do not go, he will go mad.”<sup>104</sup>

In addition, the predicate of the protasis can be resultative used qṭilā + pres. cop.:

- c. ’ən ile miṭa garəg mātən (A8, 61)  
 “If he is dead, I must die”,

or qṭile or qem-qāṭil:

- d. ’ən kpinni ṭ-axlənnə (A23, 5)  
 “If I am hungry, I shall eat it.”
- e. ’ən šarəṭ diyi qəm-yadətla xo b-gawrannux (A25, 62)  
 “If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you.”<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 732f.

<sup>103</sup> See also, inter alia: A8, 97 (’ən la ’oḍət ... b-talqeti “if you do not do ... you will be obliterated”); for more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 1004f + 1012.

<sup>104</sup> See further, among others: A1, 6 (’ən ’ana ’amrənnux ... palətla? “if I tell you ... will you divide?”); C1, 11 (’ən mašya ... ’oḍala “if she can ... let her do”); for more evidence, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 1004f. + 1013.

<sup>105</sup> For more evidence, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 1006f.

In no. e. we have an example of the introduction of the apodosis by *xo* which is used in particular to intensify negations.<sup>106</sup>

If habitual situations are described, *'i-qāṭil* is used in the apodosis. This construction is semantically similar to a temporal clause: whenever ...:

- f.    '*ən 'it pawxa 'i-marmile gu-hawa* (B5, 97)  
      "If there is wind, they raise it in the air."<sup>107</sup>

If the situations of protasis and apodosis overlap in time, the protasis has *hāwe* + infinitive:

- g.    '*ən hawe plaṭa mən-'ərxe ṭiša qamxa la hamənət 'alle* (D2, 61)  
      "If he is coming out of the water mill covered in flour, do not trust him."<sup>108</sup>

Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future have *qāṭilwā* in the protasis and *bed-qāṭilwā* in the apodosis:

- h.    '*ən hawəṭwa gu-'aṭra diyi ku məndi bayəṭwa t-yanwalux* (A26, 57)  
      "If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted."<sup>109</sup>

*qāṭil* of *hwy* in the protasis can express real conditionals of the present / future but also counterfactual ones:

- i.    '*ən haweli brata t-yanna qa-bronäxu* (A25, 8)  
      "If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son."<sup>110</sup>

*'ən* + *qāṭilwā* – *bed-qāṭilwā* also expresses counterfactual conditionals of the past:

- j.    '*ən yaḍənwā manay diye modiwa ṭ-amrənwalux bas la yaḍənwā* (Khan, Barwar Gr. 606)  
      "If I had know what its meaning was, I would have told you, but I did not know."<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 906f.

<sup>107</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 1013.

<sup>108</sup> See Khan, Barwar Gr. 722.

<sup>109</sup> For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 605f.

<sup>110</sup> On *hāwe*, see also Khan, Barwar Gr. 1010.

<sup>111</sup> For more examples, see Khan, Barwar Gr. 605f.

Much more often, however, this category is expressed by *hāwewa + qṭilā*, i.e. *qāṭilwā* of *hwy + qṭilā*, in the protasis; the apodosis can have *qāṭilwā*, *bed-qāṭilwā* or, as in no. k, *bed-qāṭilwā* of *hwy + qṭilā*:

- k. 'ən 'ana hawənwa qṭiləlla 'ayaha 'aqərwa 'awwa xuwwe ʔ-awewa qṭila ʔla-broni (A9, 6)  
 "If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son."<sup>112</sup>

According to the evidence given by Khan (Barwar Gr. 1011), the situations expressed by *hāwewa + qṭilā*, such as 'zl "to go", dry "to throw", qyt "to hit", are not necessarily to be understood as resultative or anterior. Rather, the focus of the statement is on the action itself that does not automatically result in a state but where the latter follows from an implication at the most. See also:

- l. 'ən hawewa kalba zila qamaya qatliwa kalba (C8, 5)  
 "If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog."

Habitual situations of the past are indicated by 'ən + *qāṭilwā*:

- m. 'ən bayəxwa tuma ʔla-mbašalta kefənile (B10, 24)  
 "If we wanted garlic for cooking, it was up to us."<sup>113</sup>

## 15 Verbs of Perception

The perceived situation can follow the verb of perception *asyndetically* or be introduced by *'ina*. The infinitive is used when the observed situation is in progress; this applies both when the superordinate sentence has past and when it has present time reference:

- a. 'ayya baxtux xzi modila waḍa (A13, 8)  
 "Look what your wife is doing."  
 b. qəm-xazele xale diye Rustamo zala (A29, 15)  
 "He saw his uncle Rustam going off."

<sup>112</sup> Several other examples are given in Khan, Barwar Gr. 699 + 1011f.

<sup>113</sup> See further Khan, Barwar Gr. 1005.

- c. qimäle plīṭa xəzya 'ina bātət NN qaḍa (A26, 53)  
 “He went out and saw that the house of NN was burning.”<sup>114</sup>

The infinitive can be preceded by *hole*:

- d. 'ina xazela Zine w Mamo hola mə-gḍade mšawoṭe (A26, 57)  
 “He saw Zine and Mamo speaking with each other.”<sup>115</sup>

If the situation is perceived as a complete whole, *qṭille* is used. The completion is particularly clear in the following example:

- e. 'awwa Xano xzele 'o didwa plīṭle mən-naxirət malka (A11, 5)  
 “Xano saw the fly come out of the nose of the king.”

The coming out of the fly from the royal nose is a telic situation with very little temporal extension which must be perceived almost automatically as a whole.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, *qṭilā* + pres. cop. can be used even if no state but the action is meant. The example is probably to be interpreted as perfective:

- f. xa bena xəzya 'ətyāle xa xuwwə 'ax praxa (A14, 31)  
 “Then he saw a snake come, as if flying.”

## 16 Summary

### 16.1 *Qṭille and Qṭilwāle*

*qṭille* can be combined with the deictic copula *hole* and with *-wā-*: *qṭilwāle*. *qṭille* is formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs and has an active meaning. It is used in narrating passages regardless of the type of action to express anteriority to the speech time. It is primarily attested in main clauses but is also found in subordinate ones (2.2). In discussing passages, especially if it is combined with *hole*, it can denote situations that were completed shortly before the speech time and may still have a bearing on the present. *qṭille* is thus quite closely related to *hole* + *qṭilā* and *qṭilā* + pres. cop. which first of all fulfil the functions of a resultative and anterior. While *qṭilā* + pres. cop. and

114 For more examples of *'ina*, see: A7, 6 + A22, 22 + A 26, 79 + Bi, 11 (ṭaya “coming”); A10, 2 (xala “eating”), A10, 10 (pyša “becoming”).

115 See further: A14, 52 (hola xaləlla qṭaləlla “eating and killing”).

116 See further: A10, 1 (riqlə siqlə l-ṭura “run up the mountain”); A18, 9 (šrela “untie”).



hole + qṭilā refer primarily to the state resulting from an action, qṭille alludes directly to the action. Thus, with regard to a guest, one uses the qṭille form *dīya tele* “he has just come” if one has seen at least a part of his coming; *hole ʿatyā*, on the other hand, is said if one knows he is already in the house but has not noticed his arrival (2.1).

If a situation with past time reference is described in its progress and another one intervened, the former is expressed by the infinitive, the latter by qṭille (5.2).

qṭille is often used in narratives with the same meaning as qṭilā + pres. cop.; not infrequently, however, the two forms are used text-linguistically to indicate a change of subject or a reorientation of the text (2.1).

qṭille and qṭilwāle can be combined with object suffixes, but more often their equivalents qem-qāṭil and qem-qāṭilwā are used in these cases. In narratives, qṭilwāle expresses anteriority to a reference point in the past, but it can also denote simple anteriority when there is no bearing on the speech time. As far as the recent past in discussing passages is concerned, it overlaps with qṭille, but while it is considered inappropriate to use qṭille and qem-qāṭil to indicate situations prior to the present day, qṭilwāle and qem-qāṭilwā are not limited backwards (2.1).

Anteriority to a reference point in the past in main clauses is usually expressed by qṭilwāle and hole qṭilā or qṭilā + past copula, but sometimes simple qṭille is used (4.1). More often, it denotes this category – besides qṭilā – in temporal clauses after *ʿiman* “when” or *baṭar* “after” and in object clauses after *ʿina* (4.2). Occasionally, qṭille denotes posteriority to the speech time, as after *balki* “perhaps” (10.1). After *baṭar*, it is used alongside the more common qāṭil to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future. The same category it expresses – besides isolated qāṭil forms – also after *har* “as soon as” (11.2). Furthermore, qṭille can be used instead of the more usual qāṭil after *ʿan* in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future (14) and finally it is attested after verbs of perception when the situation has been perceived as a complete whole (15).

## 16.2 *Qṭilā and Qṭil*

qṭil, the old status absolutus of the passive participle, can be used with third person subjects (qṭil, qṭila, qṭili) in a passive and perfective meaning: *qṭil* “he was killed”.

qṭilā represents the old status emphaticus of the passive participle. It is sometimes used alone but is usually combined with the present and past enclitic copula, the deictic copula (hole + qṭilā) or forms of the verb hwy, the

two last-mentioned forms preceding the participle. *qṭilā* describes situations or states that result from a previous action that can be active or, with transitive verbs, passive. It can be interpreted adjectivally or verbally; with telic verbs, that imply an achievement, a verbal and an adjectival interpretation is possible: *ʾaw hole tiwa* “he has sat down” or “he is seated”. With verbs that do not imply a final stative endpoint and with verbs governing an object, on the other hand, only a verbal interpretation is possible: *ʾaw-naša hole zmira* “the man has sung”, *ʾaw-naša hole zdiya* “the man has feared”; *ʾaw-naša hole dwiqa baxta* “the man has seized a woman”. Also when used passively, an adjectival or verbal interpretation is possible: *kulla hola qṭile* “they all have been killed” or: “they are all killed”.

In verbal use, it describes the result of an unspecified action, while *qṭille* and *qem-qāṭil* refer to the action itself. *hole* + *qṭilā* emphasises the resulting state more than *qṭilā* + pres. cop., while only *qṭilā* + pres. cop. appears in questions. *qṭilā* + pres. cop. is also found in narrating passages and here, often in parallel with *qṭille* and *qem-qāṭil*, it denotes situations that have no bearing on the present. Certain verbs are used more often in the *qṭille*- than in the *qṭilā* form, especially those that require an object clause such as *ʾmr* “to say”, *šry III* “to begin”. Not infrequently, the opposition *qṭilā* + pres. cop. : *qṭille* is used to mark a change of subject or a reorientation in the text (2.1). It is also found in subordinate clauses where it emphasises the result that follows from an action (2.2).

*hole* + *qṭilā* can denote anteriority to a reference point in the past in main clauses. The action is anterior, the resulting state simultaneous. In the same function *qṭilā* + past copula can be used. The difference is quite subtle, but it seems that here, too, *hole* emphasises the resulting state more strongly (4.1). In subordinate clauses, *qṭilā* + pres. cop. is attested alongside *qṭille* after *ʾiman*, and it is also used after *ʾax* “when”; in syndetic relative clauses introduced by *d*, it mostly appears with the past copula which, however, is usually absent in object clauses after *ʾina* (4.2).

Moreover, *qṭilā* + pres. cop. is attested after *ʾən* in real conditional clauses of the present / future (14) and after verbs of perception where it describes the perceived situation as completed (15).

*hāwe* + *qṭilā*, i.e. *qāṭil* of *hwy* + *qṭilā*, is attested only rarely; this compound may express anteriority to the speech time in relative clauses with an indefinite reference word (8.2) or epistemically the speaker’s uncertainty as to whether a situation has taken place or not (13.1).

Combined with *y-āwe*, i.e. the *ʾi-qāṭil* form of *hwy*, *qṭilā* describes states that resulted from past habitual situations: *y-awa wiḍe duxwa* “they would

have made duxwa". The time reference can be emphasised by the particle -wā affixed to *y-āwe*: *y-awəxwa tiwe* "we would be sitting" (3.1). *y-āwe* + *qṭilā* is used not only with past but also with present time reference, and in this case, it denotes habitual situations that took place before another habitual situation and resulted in a state: *kulla y-awa lwiše ġulle šalla* "all have put on the šalla" (8.1).

There are two examples of *bed-qāṭil* of *hwy* + resultatively used *qṭilā* (*tīwta* and *dmixa*) that denote continuing states in the future (10.1). *bed-hāwewa* + *qṭilā* is attested in the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional of the past, and here, *qṭilā* is not used with a resultative meaning (*ṭ-awewa qṭila* "it would have killed"; 14).

*hāwewa* + *qṭilā* can be used to express counterfactual statements of the past besides *bed-qāṭilwā* and *qāṭilwā*: *hawənwa šqila* "I should have got" (13.1); furthermore, it is used in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past and is found there more often than the likewise attested *qāṭilwā*; here, it may also express situations that do not automatically result in a state but where the latter follows from an implication at the most (14).

### 16.3 *Qāṭil*

To the old active participle, *bed-*, *'i-* and *qem-* can be prefixed and the particle -wā be suffixed. *'i-qāṭil* and *'i-qāṭilwā* always express indicative situations, while *qāṭil* can be used in an indicative and a non-indicative way. The prefix *'i-* is regularly preserved only with verba 1 ' where it normally becomes *y-*. *qem-qāṭil* and *qem-qāṭilwā* behave temporally and aspectually like *qṭille* and *qṭilwāle*, respectively, and are preferably used when an object suffix is added to the verb form; it can thus be used to indicate anteriority to the speech time or to a reference point in the past (2.1 + 2.2; 4.2).

Following a *qṭille* form, simple *qāṭil* can be used to indicate singular situations in the narrative. *'i-qāṭil* of the verb *'mr* "to say" is used perfectly in narratives (2.1).

*bed-qāṭil* is used in a main clause to express posteriority to a reference point in the past; it is thus oriented towards the main clause. In subordinate clauses, on the other hand, *qāṭil*, *qāṭilwā* and possibly *bed-qāṭil* are attested (6.1 + 6.2).

While the present *hic et nunc* is usually expressed by the infinitive, with certain stative verbs such as *by* "to want", *yd'* "to know", *mṣ* "be able to", also *qāṭil* can denote this category. Unfortunately, only the verb *'mṣ* permits an unambiguous identification as a *qāṭil* form; from a purely morphological point of view, the other verbs could also represent *'i-qāṭil* forms (7.1 + 7.2). Habitual situations that are simultaneous with the speech time are expressed by *'i-qāṭil*, in relative clauses whose reference word is indefinite and sometimes also in

main clauses, simple qāṭil is used. Here, the use of 'i- with verba I # ' serves for emphasis (8.1 + 8.2). In addition, 'i-qāṭil denotes extratemporal situations (9).

qāṭil and bed-qāṭil are used to express posteriority to the speech time. qāṭil often indicates situations for whose realisation the speaker does not want to give a guarantee, for example after *balki* "perhaps", while bed-qāṭil is used when the situation is considered certain. However, bed-qāṭil is also attested in dubitative questions and sometimes expresses – in the first person – the speaker's intention, so it is used more non-indicatively here, just as, conversely, simple qāṭil can indicate situations whose realisation is assumed to be certain. In subordinate clauses, too, the distinction certain : uncertain cannot always be clearly assigned to bed-qāṭil or qāṭil. In negative sentences, 'i-qāṭil, which usually expresses habitual situations, is also used with future time reference. The immediate future can be expressed by ga- (probably < *gaya* "time, instance") + d + qāṭil or diya or hadiya + bed-qāṭil (10.1 + 10.2).

After *har* "as soon as", *'iman* "when", *baṭar* "after" and in relative clauses after *kut*, qāṭil can denote anteriority to a reference point in the future (11).

Moreover, qāṭil expresses different deontic nuances in main clauses and is used after modal particles such as *šut*, *de* or *xoš*. However, also bed-qāṭil can be used non-indicatively. With a first person, it can be cohortative, express the speaker's intention or formulate dubitative questions; it is also frequently used non-indicatively with second and third persons. (13.1). In non-indicative subordinate clauses, qāṭil is usually found after verbs of necessity, ability, etc., and after qa / ta + d to express final clauses. qāṭil can be used when the superordinate situation has present or past time reference, but in the latter case, qāṭilwā is also possible (13.2).

Real conditional clauses of the present / future usually have 'ən + qāṭil in the protasis and bed-qāṭil in the apodosis. In the protasis, qṭille is also possible. If a habitual situation is formulated as a condition, 'i-qāṭil is used in the apodosis (14).

qāṭilwā describes habitual situations in the past, but it can also express singular situations in narratives. The difference to qṭille and qṭilā + pres. cop. in narratives is not easy to determine, but it seems that qāṭilwā is used more often to express background, qṭille more often to indicate foreground situations (2.1). The main function of qāṭilwā and 'i-qāṭilwā is to describe habitual past situations in main and subordinate clauses. If the prefix is also used with verba I # ', it often serves to highlight a situation or mark a new section in the discourse. If the time reference is clear, simple 'i-qāṭil without -wā is sometimes used. Occasionally, also bed-qāṭilwā denotes habitual situations; in these cases, the situation expressed by bed-qāṭilwā is usually dependent in some way on a preceding situation (3.1; 5.2). Moreover, the forms with -wā

express counterfactual situations. Questions referring to counterfactual situations in the past are expressed by *bed-qāṭilwā* or, occasionally, by *qāṭilwā* (*m-lāka t-odānwale* “from where could I have made?”). *qāṭilwā* also denotes counterfactual desires of the present or past (13.1). Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and past are expressed by *ʿən qāṭilwā* – *bed-qāṭilwā*, but in the protasis *hāwewa + qṭilā* is more common; *qāṭilwā* is also found in the apodosis (14).

#### 16.4 *Infinitive*

The infinitive can be combined with the present and past enclitic copula, the deictic copula (*hole*) or with forms of the verb *hwy* “to be”. *hole* and *hwy* precede the infinitive. It can be combined with the preposition *b-* which, however, regularly appears only in *b-xšawən* “I think” (7.1).

In most cases, the infinitive expresses progressing situations, but it is also found, with or without an enclitic copula, in narrating passages where it denotes completed successive situations (2.1).

*y-āwewa + inf.* indicates situations that were habitually parallel to another but also repeated situations that were limited in time and not parallel to a reference point; in one example, *y-āwe + inf.* is used with past time reference (3.1). Moreover, the infinitive + present copula is attested in a habitual temporal clause with past time reference after *ʿiman*; the temporal relation is determined here by the verb form of the main clause (3.2).

*hole + inf.* and *inf. + past cop.* express simultaneity with a reference point in the past in main clauses. *hole + inf.* also denotes successive situations that progress parallel to a reference point in their entirety; the simple infinitive is also possible here. Furthermore, the infinitive, combined with *hole*, an enclitic copula or standing alone, can be used to describe the circumstances under which a main clause situation takes place; the infinitive is usually asyndetic but is introduced by *w + subject pronoun* when the subject changes. *wēle* and *wiyāle*, i.e. *qṭille* of *hwy* and *qṭilā* of *hwy + pres. cop.*, with a following infinitive describe completed situations of the past which, however, extend over a certain period of time (5.1). The infinitive with or without copula is also used in subordinate clauses to express progressing situations with past time reference (5.2).

In both main and subordinate clauses, the infinitive describes singular situations that progress parallel to the speech time. *hole + inf.* has the highest communicative salience, followed by *inf. + pres. cop.* and simple infinitive (7.1 + 7.2). Occasionally, (*hole +*) infinitive and *inf. + pres. cop.* also indicate habitual situations of the present (8.1 + 8.2).

Furthermore, inf. + pres. cop. and hole + inf. can be used to express posteriority to the speech time (10.1). bed-hāwe + inf. indicates simultaneity with a reference point in the future (main clause) but also expresses extended but temporally limited situations in the future whose reference point is the speech time (10.1; 12).

After verbs of movement and taking, the infinitive is used with a final meaning: *zille dwaqella* "he went to grab it" (13.2).

In the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future, hāwe + inf. is used when the situations of protasis and apodosis overlap (14). After verbs of perception, simple infinitive or hole + inf. denote that the situation is perceived in its progress. The superordinate sentence can have present or past time reference. The infinitive is in direct opposition to qṭille here which is used when the situation is perceived as a complete whole (15).

## 17 Analysis

qṭille is predominantly used perfectly. It is in opposition to the imperfectively used infinitive. In subordinate clauses, it may also express anteriority to a reference point in the future. Although there is some hint of a temporal opposition to qṭilwāle, it should be borne in mind that qṭilwāle, as in Arbel, is not a pure relative tense form expressing anteriority to a reference point in the past but can also denote the temporal distance from the speech time and thus cannot be regarded as marked. Moreover, also simple qṭille sometimes indicates anteriority to a reference point in the past even in main clauses. qṭille must therefore be regarded as a marked signum expressing the perfective aspect. hole qṭille is unfortunately too rarely attested for a detailed analysis, but it seems that *hole*, as Khan (Barwar G. 631) assumes, is primarily intended to draw the hearer's attention to a situation. It thus seems to be used in the sense of an anterior and, like simple qṭille, has to be considered marked.

hole + qṭilā and qṭilā + pres. cop. are used in the sense of a resultative or anterior, depending on the type of action. hole + qṭilā can be considered marked but not qṭilā + pres. cop., since it also appears in narratives where it is used in a perfective way. qṭilā + past copula is also used as a resultative and anterior, but its reference point is always in the past; it is marked. qṭil + S-suffix, the old status absolutus, is only attested with a 3. person subject and is used passively and perfectly; it has to be considered marked but is not attested too often. y-āwe + qṭilā describes the result following from a situation as habitual and simultaneously with the speech time, occasionally also with a reference point

in the past, *y-āwewa + qṭilā* as habitual and simultaneously with a reference point in the past; the forms are marked. If the reference point of a singular situation has past time reference, *qṭilā + past copula* is used; if it has future time reference, one finds *bed-hāwe + qṭilā*; this form is also marked. *hāwewa + qṭilā*, finally, is a signum for the expression of counterfactuality with past time reference and occurs especially in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past. In this case, it does not have the meaning of a resultative or anterior; rather, the focus of the statement is on the action, not on any result that may follow. *hāwewa + qṭilā* is also marked. The same is true of *bed-hāwewa + qṭilā* which is attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the past, and *hāwe + qṭilā* that describes non-indicative real situations that are anterior to a reference point. Not included in the study is *wele + qṭilā* attested in only one rather obscure instance (Khan, Barwar Gr. 700).

Let us now turn to *qāṭil*. Simple *qāṭil* is used indicatively and non-indicatively. In narratives and when describing anteriority to a reference point in the future, it is used perfectly; with stative verbs, it denotes present states *hic et nunc*, but it also indicates habitual, extratemporal, future and real non-indicative situations. It is therefore to be regarded as unmarked. *qāṭilwā* is also unmarked. It expresses habitual situations of the past but can also denote singular ones in narratives; furthermore, it indicates counterfactual situations of the present and past, e.g. desires, and occurs in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and past. (*i*-)*qāṭil* describes habitual situations of the present; the perfective use with the verb *'mr* “to say” has to be considered as an archaism,<sup>117</sup> the same applies to the fact that the negative form *le y-qāṭil* occasionally indicates posteriority to the speech time.<sup>118</sup> (*i*-)*qāṭil* is thus to be regarded as a marked signum expressing habitual situations of the present. The same applies to (*i*-)*qāṭilwā* which is used with past time reference. *bed-qāṭil* expresses posteriority to the speech time and is found in the apodosis of real conditionals of the present / future. Its occasional non-indicative use can easily be derived from its use to express posteriority. Since there is an imperfective counterpart (see below), one has to classify *bed-qāṭil* as a marked aspect form for the expression of posterior perfectivity. *bed-qāṭilwā* sometimes denotes habitual situations of the past when these are in dependence on a preceding situation. Mainly, however, it is attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and the past; it thus expresses real but also counterfactual situations and must therefore be regarded as unmarked.

117 Compare the corresponding usage of the AP in Syriac, see above ch. 11, sect. 2.1.

118 Cf. below ch. 21, sect. 4.

Finally, there are *qem-qāṭil* and *qem-qāṭilwā* which exhibit the same aspectual and temporal properties as *qṭille* and *qṭilwāle* and are used when the verb forms have object suffixes.

The infinitives (simple inf., inf. + pres. cop., hole + inf.) express mainly singular imperfective situations (simultaneity with the speech time, in circumstantial clauses, after verbs of sensual perception), but they also fulfil functions which are not compatible with imperfectivity, such as the expression of perfective situations in narratives (simple infinitive, inf. + pres. cop.), habitual situations of the present and posteriority to the speech time (simple infinitive, inf. + pres. cop., hole + inf.). The use of a temporal present tense form or a habitual signum in narratives is not unusual, but the situation is different with an imperfective form which does not allow a narrative to progress. The infinitives in question can therefore hardly be analysed as pure imperfective forms, especially since their use in narratives is by no means rare (Khan, Barwar Gr. 710). A temporal interpretation as a present tense forms is also inappropriate, as no temporal counterparts can be found. The three signa mentioned must therefore be understood as extended imperfective.

The situation is different with inf. + past cop. that seems to indicate only situations which proceed parallel to a reference point in the past. It is a marked imperfective form with past time reference. The compounds containing a form of *hwy* also have to be regarded as marked. First, there is *hāwe* + inf. which is used in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future when the situations of apodosis and protasis overlap; *y-āwewa* + inf. describes habitual situations with past time reference that proceeded in parallel with another, only occasionally does it denote habitual situations that are not parallel to a reference point; *bed-hāwe* + inf. indicates simultaneity with a reference point in the future. That *y-āwe* + inf. can also be used with present time references could not be proven but is very likely. Finally, there are *wele* + inf. and *wiyāle* + inf. which imply the beginning and end of a situation, but which are nevertheless to be interpreted as imperfective, since they allow the hearer to view the situation from within and thus imperfectively; they are to be regarded as marked.

The verbal system has 22 marked verbal forms: *qṭille*, hole + *qṭille*, *qem-qāṭil*, hole + *qṭilā*, *qṭilā* + past copula, *hāwe* + *qṭilā*, *y-āwe* + *qṭilā*, *y-āwewa* + *qṭilā*, *bed-hāwe* + *qṭilā*, *hāwewa* + *qṭilā*, *qṭil* + S-suffix, ('i-) *qāṭil*, ('i-) *qāṭilwā*, *bed-qāṭil*, inf. + past cop., *hāwe* + inf., *y-āwewa* + inf., *y-āwe* + inf., *bed-hāwe* + inf., *wele* + inf., *wiyāle* + inf., imperative.

Nine forms are unmarked: *qṭilwāle*, *qem-qāṭilwā*, *qṭilā* + pres. cop., *qāṭil*, *qāṭilwā*, *bed-qāṭilwā*, infinitive, inf. + pres. cop., hole + inf.

31 verbal forms is a very impressive number which speaks for the capacity of the verbal system to differentiate. First of all, the aspectual system stands out.



In the area of anteriority to the speech time, we have the following opposition pair:

qṭille / qem-qāṭil (anterior perfective) : inf. + past cop. (anterior imperfective)

Its aspectual character is underlined by the existence of (ʿi-)qāṭilwā which expresses habitual situations of the past. In addition to inf. + past cop., there are wele + inf. and wiyāle + inf. that describe a situation as completed but at the same time emphasise its temporal extension. In the field of simultaneity with the speech time, the three infinitives (simple infinitive, inf. + pres. cop., hole + inf.) express the extended imperfective aspect; since they can also describe habitual situations, it is inappropriate to speak of an opposition to (ʿi-)qāṭil whose use is restricted to the expression of this category. There is also an aspectual opposition for the future:

bed-qāṭil (posterior perfective): bed-hāwe + inf. (posterior imperfective)

An aspectual opposition can also be proven for the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future:

qāṭil (perfective) : hāwe + inf. (imperfective)

With restrictions, one can also take the opposition

(ʿi-)qāṭilwā : y-āwewa + inf.

as aspectual. The superordinate habitual situation expressed by these two signs is incompatible with the category of aspect but not the individual situations of which the superordinate one is composed, and at this level (ʿi-)qāṭilwā expresses perfectivity, whereas y-āwewa + inf. indicates imperfectivity. Presumably, for the present there is a corresponding opposition ʿi-qāṭil : y-āwe + inf. Finally, a quantitative opposition pair should be mentioned:

qṭilā + past copula (singular) : y-āwewa + qṭilā (habitual)

## J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa

### o Text Corpus

Khan's grammar JSH and the corresponding texts were evaluated. Concerning the transcription of vowels, I will follow Khan, i.e. lengths are only given if they do not result from the general rules on vowel quantity (see JSH 40ff).

### 1 The Verb Forms

#### 1.1 *Qṭille / Qṭil*

A distinction must be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs of the G-stem (stem I < qṭal) have the form qṭille, i.e. qṭil + L-suffix:

|      | sg.     | pl.                  |
|------|---------|----------------------|
| 3.m. | qṭille  | qṭillu               |
| 3.f. | qṭilla  | qṭillu               |
| 2.m. | qṭillox | qṭillaxun            |
| 2.f. | qṭillax | qṭillaxun            |
| 1.   | qṭilli  | qṭillan <sup>1</sup> |

Stem II (< 'aqṭel) of transitive verbs has the form miqṭil:

|      | sg.      | pl.                        |
|------|----------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | miqṭille | miqṭillu                   |
| 3.f. | miqṭilla | miqṭillu etc. <sup>2</sup> |

Old qatṭel has merged into the G-stem or stem II. Direct objects of the third person are attached to the base, i.e. qṭil (m.s), qṭila (f.s) and qṭili (pl.): *qṭilale* "he killed her" (besides *qṭille 'illaw*), *qṭilili* "I killed them" (besides *qṭilli 'illu*).

<sup>1</sup> See Khan, JSH 87.

<sup>2</sup> See Khan, JSH 91.

If the object is a second or first person, it must be introduced by 'ill + suffix: *q̣tille* 'illox "he killed you".<sup>3</sup>

-wā can be affixed to the verb stem: *plixwale* "he had opened". The same applies to *q̣tīl*, which will be discussed immediately: *prīqwa* "he had finished" *prīqnawa* "I had finished".<sup>4</sup>

Stem I of intransitive verbs has the form *q̣tīl* with a long /ī/ which is retained throughout the inflection. Like *qāṭil*, it is inflected with S-suffixes:

|      | sg.           | pl.                |
|------|---------------|--------------------|
| 3.m. | <i>q̣tīl</i>  | <i>q̣tīli</i>      |
| 3.f. | <i>q̣tīla</i> | <i>q̣tīli</i> etc. |

*prīq* "he finished".<sup>5</sup>

Stem II is quite rare. The /i/ can be short, as with transitive verbs, i.e.: *mibriq* "he shone", *mbirqa* "she shone", or it can be long: *miskīr* "he was lost", *miskīra* "she was lost", *miskīri* "they were lost".<sup>6</sup>

Of some verbs, both *q̣tille* and *q̣tīl* can be formed; *q̣tille* is used in these cases when the verb governs an object which is the affectee; if it is used without an object, the subject is the affectee and the sentence often has a passive meaning; in this case, *q̣tīl* is used: *ma'ake bizrile* "he poured the water", *ma'ake bziri* "the water was poured (by somebody)" or: "the water spilt"; *ganawake plīṭle* "he brought out the thief", *ganawake plīṭ* "the thief came out".<sup>7</sup>

## 1.2 *Qāṭil*

The old AP of the G-stem has the following forms:

|      | sg.            | pl.                        |
|------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 3.m. | <i>qaṭil</i>   | <i>qaṭli</i>               |
| 3.f. | <i>qaṭla</i>   | <i>qaṭli</i>               |
| 2.m. | <i>qaṭlet</i>  | <i>qaṭletun</i>            |
| 2.f. | <i>qaṭlat</i>  | <i>qaṭletun</i>            |
| 1.m. | <i>qaṭilna</i> | <i>qaṭlex</i>              |
| 1.f. | <i>qaṭlan</i>  | <i>qaṭlex</i> <sup>8</sup> |

3 See Khan, JSH 156f.

4 See Khan, JSH 103.

5 See Khan, JSH 86f.

6 See Khan, JSH 91f.

7 See Khan, JSH 296f.

8 See Khan, JSH 83f.

Stem II has the pattern *maqtil*:

|      | sg.                      | pl.                           |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3.m. | <i>maqtil</i>            | <i>maqitli ~ maqtili</i>      |
| 3.f. | <i>maqitla ~ maqtıla</i> | <i>maqitli ~ maqtili</i> etc. |

*qātil* + *-wā* is used to express past time reference: *palixwa* “he used to open”.<sup>9</sup> Both *qātil* and *qātilwā* can be preceded by the particle *k-* that may become *g-* before voiced consonants. It is preserved only with *verba I ’* and some irregular verbs and denotes indicativity. With *verba I # ’*, the indicative is indistinguishable from the non-indicative form: *’wl* “to do”: *k-ol* “he does”, *hol* “he may do”.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3 *Qitlā / Qtīlā*

An enclitic copula can be affixed to the old status emphaticus of the passive participle. Here, too, a distinction must be made between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs again have a short /i/, intransitive ones a long one:

*qitlā* (m.), *qtīltā* (f.) and *qitlē* (pl.) : *qtīlā* (m.), *qtīltā* (f.) and *qtīlē* (pl.).

The forms of transitive verbs are:

|      | sg.              | pl.             |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| 3.m. | <i>qitlay</i>    | <i>qitlen</i>   |
| 3.f. | <i>qtīltaya</i>  | <i>qitlen</i>   |
| 2.m. | <i>qitlet</i>    | <i>qitletun</i> |
| 2.f. | <i>qtīltayat</i> | <i>qitletun</i> |
| 1.m. | <i>qitlena</i>   | <i>qitlex</i>   |
| 1.f. | <i>qtīltayan</i> | <i>qitlex</i>   |

*šiqalay* “he has bought”.

With intransitive verbs it says:

|      | sg.             | pl.           |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| 3.m. | <i>qtīlay</i>   | <i>qtīlen</i> |
| 3.f. | <i>qtīltaya</i> | <i>qtīlen</i> |

<sup>9</sup> See Khan, JSH 102.

<sup>10</sup> See Khan, JSH 102.

|      |           |                      |
|------|-----------|----------------------|
| 2.m. | qṭīlet    | qṭīletun             |
| 2.f. | qṭīltayat | qṭīletun             |
| 1.m. | qṭīlena   | qṭīlex               |
| 1.f. | qṭīltayan | qṭīlex <sup>11</sup> |

The corresponding forms of stem II are *mqiṭlay* and *miqṭīlay*: *mridxay* “he has boiled sth.”, *mirdixtaya* “she has boiled sth.” etc., but: *miskīray* “he has been lost”, *miskirtaya* “she has been lost” etc.<sup>12</sup> A combination of *qiṭlā* with the past copula is not possible.<sup>13</sup>

In the following, both forms are referred to as *qiṭlā* + pres. cop.

#### 1.4 *Imperative*

The imperatives of the G-stem are *qaṭil* (sg.) and *qaṭilmun* (pl.).<sup>14</sup>

#### 1.5 *Infinitive*

The infinitive, G-stem *qāṭōla*, stem II *maqṭōla*, is combined with the same suffixes as *qiṭlā*:

|      | sg.       | pl.       |
|------|-----------|-----------|
| 3.m. | qaṭolay   | qatolen   |
| 3.f. | qaṭolaya  | qaṭolen   |
| 2.m. | qaṭolet   | qaṭoletun |
| 2.f. | qaṭolayat | qaṭoletun |
| 1.m. | qaṭolena  | qaṭolex   |
| 1.f. | qaṭolayan | qaṭolex   |

*garošay* “he is pulling”

With stem II it is: *maṣdoray* “he is sending”, *maṣdoraya* “she is sending” etc.<sup>15</sup>

All verb forms are negated by *la*: *la kenwa ba-lagan* (R 3) “They did not come to us.”

<sup>11</sup> See Khan, JSH 97f.

<sup>12</sup> See Khan, JSH 99.

<sup>13</sup> See Khan, JSH 313.

<sup>14</sup> See Khan, JSH 93.

<sup>15</sup> See Khan, JSH 100f.

## 2 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Singular)

### 2.1 *Main Clauses*

This category can be expressed in both discussing and narrating passages by *q̣ṭille* (transitive) and *q̣ṭil* (intransitive). In discussing passages they may have the meaning of an anterior (no. a):

#### 2.1.1 Punctual

- a. *miṭex Bağdad* (R 161)  
“We have arrived in Baghdad.”<sup>16</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Telic

- b. *kništake nošu ’ay ṭlaḥa gure tirṣalu* (R 22)  
“These three men built the synagogue by themselves.”<sup>17</sup>

#### 2.1.3 Atelic

- c. *ṣrelu tre sa’ate* (M 4)  
“They prayed for three hours.”<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.1.4 Stative

- d. *la lila Zare. mira la lili ga raba mindix yele* (R 71)  
“Zare did not know (how to stick bread to the oven). She said ‘I did not know that it was such a difficult thing.’”<sup>19</sup>

*q̣ṭille* and *q̣ṭil* can also express longer-lasting situations which are precisely determined by time specifications. See no. c and further:

16 For more punctual situations, see, among others: M 5 (*duqali* “I took it”; *čiqyali* “I opened it”); R 88 (*pil tex* “he fell down”); Khan, JSH 296 (*ganawake q̣ṭil* “the thief was killed”).

17 See further, among others: R 80 (*xīṭili* “I have sewed them”); R 93 (*hiye-wa* “he came back”); R 161 (*tiwa* “she sat down”); 163 (*’aya ma-ya myalox?* “why have you brought her?”).

18 See also: R 181 (*xizyali* “I have seen her”); R 201 (*wilalu qrawa* “they had a battle”); Z 43 (*šagirdi willi* “I worked as a servant”).

19 For more stative situations, see: R 79 (*min-’aṣirta-wa tiwan* “I sat from the evening onwards”); R92 (*tiwa* “she stayed”); R 93 (*piš* “he stayed”).

- e. xa šata 'asxa wille (R 195)  
"He did this for a year."
- f. tiwi ba-lagan šo'a yome (R 100)  
"They stayed with us for seven days."

If qṭīl is formed from a transitive verb, it often has a passive meaning:

- g. min-ilha gẓīr ba-rešan (Z 41)  
"It was decreed by God concerning us."<sup>20</sup>

In addition, anteriority to the speech time can be expressed by qṭlā + pres. cop. As already stated, qṭille and qṭīl can describe situations in discussing passages that still have a bearing on the speech time. This is also the case with qṭlā + pres. cop., but here, the result is more emphasised than the action, it is thus rather used in the sense of a resultative:

- h. baxti hiya  
"My wife has come."
- i. baxti hitaya  
"My wife has come."

According to Khan (JSH 316), the qṭīl form *hiya* is appropriate when the speaker has seen the woman coming; this is not necessarily the case with *hitaya*, here the emphasis of the statement is on the fact that the woman is now in the house, so the result is still lasting.

Khan's observation is largely confirmed by the texts:

- j. 'ay brata ma-ya mitawyet? (R 163)  
"Why have you brought this girl?"

Here, the main point is that the girl is now in the house. In the next example, where qṭlā + pres. cop. is used, it is not the conversion that is important, which has not yet taken place in the case of the speaker, but the fact that the others are now Muslims, while she herself is still Jewish:

---

<sup>20</sup> See further Khan, JSH 296f.

- k. 'oni šilmanen. 'ana heštan la mišlimta-ana (R 160)  
 “They are Muslims, but I have not yet converted to Islam.”<sup>21</sup>

However, the distinction given above is not always so evident. In response to the question in no. j, it says:

- l. 'ay brata min-šimme pila tex (R 163)  
 “This girl has fallen from heaven.”

The speaker will hardly have seen the girl fall from heaven. Even if one relates the statement to her arrival in Baghdad, it makes no sense because the speaker only met her when she had already left the train and was walking around on the platform. The focus of the statement can only be on the fact that she is now here, but nevertheless, qṭīl is used, not qṭīlā + pres. cop.

In the following examples, one and the same event is first described by qṭille, then by qṭīlā + pres. cop.:

- m. Sara xa brata ba-ḥnaqta xizyala (R 198)  
 “Sarah has given birth to a dead girl (lit.: has seen a girl [afflicted] with throttling).”

We are dealing here with a rumour, so the speaker cannot have seen anything of the birth. When the speaker passes on the slander, she uses almost the same words, except that now she says *xzitawya* (R 199). The matter continues to make the rounds and at the next station, qṭille is used again: *Dina mira xa brata ba-ḥnaqta xizyala* (R 200).

qṭīlā + pres. cop. / qṭīlā + pres. cop., however, can also indicate situations that occurred far in the past. In one case qṭīlā + pres. cop. is in direct opposition to qṭīl which expresses a corresponding more recent event:

- n. xayu qame tre šinne mīl, Moše. 'aval 'o xa xet qame xamšasar šinne bi-zoda milay (R 111)  
 “One brother, Moše, died (qṭīl) two years ago, but the other one died (qṭīlā + pres. cop.) more than fifteen years ago.”

21 See further: A 5 (qarār plitṭaya “he has issued a decree”); R 99 (milay “he is dead”).



Also in:

- o. ba-lha 'ana noši noši ğulle kalda xiṭṭayan (R 76)  
 “By God, I myself, on my own, sewed the clothes of a bride”

qitlā + pres. cop. denotes a remote action, and Khan (JSH 317) is probably correct in assuming that it is worth remembering for the speaker and thus still significant.<sup>22</sup>

Like qṭil, also qṭilā + pres. cop. can have a passive meaning when formed from transitive verbs:

- p. miskīray (Khan, JSH 99)  
 “He has been lost.”

Sometimes k-qāṭil is used in narratives to depict a situation more vividly:

- q. kwiša tex-u 'o-gora 'ilha ždirre baqaw. mire baqaw ma k-olat? 'asxa sayr k-ola u sayr k-ola (R 169)  
 “She alighted (from the train) and God sent her that man. He said to her ‘What are you doing?’ She looks and looks at him like this.”<sup>23</sup>

## 2.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, qṭille and qṭil are attested:

### 2.2.1 Object Clauses

- a. naš la k-aye qṭillu, naš la kaye b-mola lha mīl (R 157)  
 “Nobody knows whether they killed him, nobody knows whether he died with a death of God (= a natural death).”<sup>24</sup>

### 2.2.2 Relative Clause

- b. 'ay bratake Sara-ya ga mirax ba-ḥnaqta xizyala (R 208)  
 “That girl is Sarah who you said had given birth to a dead child.”

<sup>22</sup> For more examples, see *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> See Khan, JSH 284, where some more examples are given.

<sup>24</sup> See also: R150 (leka liblale “where he took her”); R 173 (zila “whether she went”).

### 3 Anteriority to the Speech Time (Habitual)

This category is expressed by *k-qāṭilwā*. Simple *k-qāṭil*, however, is also possible if the time reference is made clear by the context or a preceding verb form (no. c):

#### 3.1 *Punctual*

- a. ma'e smoqe k-wiwalu marire marire (R 129)  
 "They would give them very bitter red water."<sup>25</sup>

#### 3.2 *Telic*

- b. yarxa-x-ka min-Bağdad k-ewa-wa, yoma rota, yom šabbat 'u rota lagan k-wewa xšaba g-ezil-awa<sup>26</sup> ta-Bağdad (R 87)  
 "Once a month he would come back from Baghdad, he would be with us on Friday, Saturday and Friday, and on Sunday go back to Baghdad."
- c. naše k-en 'u g-ezi (R 90)  
 "People would come and go."<sup>27</sup>

#### 3.3 *Atelic*

- d. kulle yomake k-ixliwa šatenwa nanden ḥatta 'aşırtā (M 18)  
 "All the day they would eat, drink and dance until evening."

#### 3.4 *Stative*

- e. yatwiwa ga-kništa qarenwa (R 7)  
 "They would sit and read in the synagogue."<sup>28</sup>

25 See further: R 114 (šiwe šaqliwa "they would buy wood"); R 132 (kaxata žadrilu "they would send them a letter").

26 -awa ~ -wa is not the past particle but a postverbal particle of Kurdish origin with the meaning "back"; cf. Khan, JSH 329f.

27 See also: R1 + R 25 (g-ezixwa ta "we used to go to"); R 3 (la k-enwa ba-lagan "they did not come to us"); R 34 (labliwala ta "they would take her to"); R 56 (g-eziwa dabḥiwalu "they would go and slaughter them").

28 See further: R 6 (k-ayenwa "they knew"); R 87 (k-wewa "he would be"); R 125 (ganixwa "we used to sleep"). For more evidence of this category, see Khan, JSH 291.

The past copula can describe singular or habitual states:

- f. ba-yoma rošana kulle hula'e ga-kništa-yelu (Z 19)  
 "At New Year all Jews were in the synagogue."

#### 4 Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

##### 4.1 *Main Clauses*

In main clauses, this category is mostly expressed by qṭilwāle or qṭilwā:

- a. xalusta piš. ga-Ḥalabğa gora wilwala (R 158)  
 "There remained a sister. She had married in Ḥalabğa."<sup>29</sup>
- b. mire qila. ka-či la qilawa 'intyawale (R 105)  
 "He said 'It has been burnt', but it had not burnt, he had taken it away."

Simple qṭil, however, can also express anteriority to a reference point in the past:

- c. trumbele la labli ba-'ila, kulle zili ta-Meron (R 188)  
 "They could not<sup>30</sup> get hold of any cars. Everybody had gone to Meron."

Once qṭilā without a copula is attested:

- d. ga hiye-wa baba qurbasarake, brata min-gare pilta tex. brata xetew-iš zila ta-šilmane (R 147)  
 "When the wretched father came, the girl had fallen down (qṭilā) from the roof. His other daughter had gone (qṭil) over to the Muslims."

In main clauses of before-constructions, qṭille is used:

- e. qame hena ga-Slemani 'ana baxta meli (Z 1)  
 "Before I came, I had married in Sulemaniyya."<sup>31</sup>

29 For more examples of qṭilwā, see: M5 (hiyawa "it had come"); R 80 (la xdirawa "it had not become").

30 labli = qāṭil, but according to the context, it has past time reference.

31 See also: R 106 (hiwle "he had given").

## 4.2 Subordinate Clauses

In subordinate clauses one usually finds q̇ille or q̇il:

### 4.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. bar ka<sup>32</sup> lbillu Bağdad, loka yele (Khan, JSH 432)  
“After they had taken him to Baghdad, he was there.”
- b. waxta d-mittalu ga-šwila bratake, da’akaw mira (R 208)  
“When they had put the girl to bed, her mother said ...”<sup>33</sup>

### 4.2.2 Object Clauses

- c. brona šilmanake lile ga hiya-wa ta-bela (R 145)  
“The Muslim boy knew that she had gone back home.”<sup>34</sup>

### 4.2.3 Relative Clauses

- d. bratake ga mira brata ba-ḥnaqta xzela, ’o brata gora willa (R 204)  
“The girl who said that she had given birth to a dead daughter, that girl married.”<sup>35</sup>

Occasionally, q̇iṭlā + pres. cop. is used:

- e. xzelu limma miṭyen (R 92)  
“They saw when they had arrived.”
- f. la lila ga hitaya ta-’areṣ (R 173)  
“She did not know that she had come to the Land (of Israel).”<sup>36</sup>

Anteriority of habitual situations is expressed by k-q̇āṭilwā:

32 ka is a subordinator used to introduce, for instance, temporal clauses; see Khan, JSH 605 s.v. ka.

33 See further: Z 3 (miqlalu “[when] they had burned”).

34 hiya-wa is not a q̇iṭlā-form; -wa is rather a post-verbal particle with the meaning ‘back’ (see Khan, JSH 596), see also: R 153 (leka liblale “where he had taken her”); R 204 (xzela “[that] she had seen”).

35 See further R 203 (xzela “[where] she had seen”).

36 Cf. Khan, JSH 315f.

- g. ga g-eziwa lo'a xadrawa ba-kalda, 'o-waxta ḥatan 'il-kalda xazewa (R 36)  
 "When they had gone inside and she had become a (full) bride, the groom would see the bride."<sup>37</sup>

## 5 Simultaneity with a Reference Point in the Past

### 5.1 *Main Clauses*

This category is regrettably quite rarely attested. Interestingly, the past copula is not compatible with the infinitive qāṭōla (Khan, JSH 318) although it can be combined with the present copula to express simultaneity with the speech time (see sect. 7 below).

There are two instances in main clauses whose predicates are k-qāṭilwā forms, one of which can be clearly identified as an indicative form (no. a). The perfective reference point is expressed by qṭille in one case (a) and by qṭil in the other (b):

- a. brata xalusti min-dašta k-yawa, nawagtaw. mira Le'a Le'a (R 180-181)  
 "The daughter of my sister, her (my mother's) granddaughter, was coming out of the field. She said 'Leah, Leah.'"
- b. xa yoma šabbat ... ga-reḥob tob ta'lixwa. 'az hiye postači šilmana (M 5)  
 "One Sabbath ... we were playing ball in the street. A Muslim postman came."

In addition, a morphologically neutral qāṭil form is attested which describes an accompanying circumstance and is certainly to be interpreted as k-qāṭil:

- c. 'o-mayt la dwiqlu, trumbelči-ši reṭ (R 190)  
 "They did not stop (the van with) the corpse, but the driver was shaking."

### 5.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Only habitual situations are attested in subordinate clauses. In temporal clauses after *ka* / *ga*, the non-indicative form qāṭilwā is used. After *waxtara* a neutral form is attested, probably also a qāṭilwā form:

37 The other qāṭilwā forms are morphologically neutral: R 7 (parṭawa "[when] it had departed"); R 8 (xadirwa "[when] he had been born"); R 130 (parqawa "[when] it had finished").

## 5.2.1 Temporal Clauses

- a. ga naxla hawewa, tre tilḥa parče pisra palṭiwa (Z 10)  
“When there was rain, they took out two or three pieces of meat.”
- b. waxtara kiftake bašliwalu, min d-awa darenwa gaw (R 53)  
“When they cooked meat-balls, they would add (it) from this (pot).”<sup>38</sup>

The same form is used in relative clauses when the reference word is a generic expression or negated:

- c. manit-iš ’ileu la ’ezawa raba holwa, leša ’ečiwa (R 63)  
“Somebody who was not able (lit.: whose hand did not go) to make much (bread), they would knead the dough.”
- d. mani d abewa ba-qilya k-olwa (R 43)  
“Whoever wanted would make it with something fried.”<sup>39</sup>

Otherwise the indicative form is used:

- e. šwawe hīṭwa lagan ḡigru k-enwa minnan (R 198)  
“We had some neighbours who disliked us.”
- f. dastār hīṭwa k-oliwa baw sawar (Z 24)  
“There was also a hand-mill, in which they would make burghul.”<sup>40</sup>

## 6 Posteriority to a Reference Point in the Past

k-qāṭil is attested in two main clauses:

- a. kora u bara yela, qadome simḥa tora k-oli (R 96)  
“It was afternoon and the next day they would celebrate Simḥat Torah.”

<sup>38</sup> See also V 12 (ga xa ’ela hawyawa qarwa “when a festival was near”).

<sup>39</sup> For more examples, see Khan, JSH 293f.

<sup>40</sup> See also Khan, JSH 415f.

- b. ga-Sleman-i-š zadenwa k-en baqa didan-iš, k-en baqa didan 'u-llan-iš qaṭli (A 1)  
 “They were afraid also in Sulemaniyya (thinking that) they would come also to us, they would come to us and kill also us.”

k-qāṭil is also used in two asyndetical object clauses:

- c. k-ayawa k-e labilla (R 145)  
 “She knew that he would come to take her.”<sup>41</sup>

## 7 Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Singular)

### 7.1 *Main Clauses*

Situations proceeding parallel to the speech time are expressed by k-qāṭil – most examples, however, being morphologically neutral – or the infinitive qāṭōla with a following present copula. The infinitive is not attested very often, and according to Khan (JSH 318), it is increasingly being replaced by k-qāṭil in this function:

#### 7.1.1 Punctual > Atelic / Complex

- a. 'axni 'atta maṭex (R 191)  
 “We are arriving now.”
- b. 'ewa gargomay (Khan, JSH 318)  
 “It is thundering.”

#### 7.1.2 Telic > Atelic

- c. Dina maštoxaya (R 206)  
 “Dina is giving birth.”
- d. 'o kwašay tex (Khan, JSH 318)  
 “He is coming down.”

<sup>41</sup> The other example can be found in Khan, JSH 442 (k-e “that he would come”).

## 7.1.3 Atelic

- e. tama 'asxa k-oletu? (Z 18)  
"Why are you doing that?"
- f. heştan kaloy (Khan, JSH 318)  
"He is still writing."

## 7.1.4 Stative

- g. 'at k-ayat? (R 198)  
"Do you know (what has happened)?"
- h. 'o xa-mindi xet haboy (Khan, JSH 319)  
"He wants something else."<sup>42</sup>

The following example of *k-qāṭil* refers to a period that has not yet been completed:

- i. mire baqaw ma k-olat? (R 169)  
"He said to her 'What are you doing?'"

The present copula can refer to permanent or temporary states. In no. j, it states that the person in question is just here, whereas the state in no. k is more likely to be regarded as permanent:

- j. laxxa-ya (R 173)  
"She is here."
- k. 'ay naše šet-yen (M 6)  
"These people are mad."<sup>43</sup>

*qiṭlā* + pres. cop. mostly denotes resultative situations. With certain intransitive verbs like *smx* "to stand", *ytw* "to sit", *skr* "to be drunk", *skn* "to dwell", *myl*

42 For more examples of the infinitive, see Khan, JSH 318f. For *k-qāṭil*, see also: R 29 (*g-be* "he loves"); R 150 (*la qabinna* "I do not allow"); R 162 (*tama čerat?* "why are you wandering about?").

43 Cf. Khan, JSH 308.



“to die”, *pyš* “to remain”, *pyl* “to fall”, the action results in a state that is parallel to the speech time:

- l. *smixay*  
“He is standing.”
- m. *tiway*  
“He is sitting.”
- n. *’ana la pištayan brata*  
“I am no longer a girl.”<sup>44</sup>

In one instance, the simple infinitive is used to describe an accompanying circumstance:

- o. *tiwa haqoy u tanoye* (R 90)  
“He sits talking and telling stories.”

## 7.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

In subordinate clauses, the same verb forms are used:

- a. *’o baxta ka xazitta ga-doka šwawti-ya* (Khan, JSH 422)  
“The woman whom you see there is my neighbour.”
- b. *’o baxta xazo’et ga-doka šwawti-ya* (ibid.)  
“The woman whom you see there is my neighbour.”

## 8 *Simultaneity with the Speech Time (Habitual)*

I have only found examples of *k-qāṭil* in both main and subordinate clauses:

- a. *kulle ka ’axoni g-ezil doka* (R 192)  
“All the time my brother goes there.”
- b. *dax g-ezi ta-Baǧdad?* (R 161)  
“How do people go to Baghdad?”

---

<sup>44</sup> All three examples are from Khan, JSH 315.

- c. hula'e la g-ben ta-laxxa (Z 18)  
 "People do not want Jews here."

Subordinate clause:

- d. hula'e hīt šabbat la doqi? (M 6)  
 "Are there Jews who do not keep the Sabbath?"

## 9 Extratemporalis

According to Khan (JSH, 311), the k-qāṭil form of hwy "to be" describes permanent rather than temporary states and can thus also be used for extratemporal statements:

- a. talga qarda k-iwya (Khan, JSH 311)  
 "Snow is cold."

## 10 Posteriority to the Speech Time

### 10.1 *Main Clauses*

In both main and subordinate clauses, this category is predominantly expressed by k-qāṭil:

#### 10.1.1 Punctual

- a. 'il hula'e qaṭli (Z 27)  
 "They will kill the Jews."

#### 10.1.2 Telic

- b. limma k-metula? (R 187)  
 "When will you bring her?"<sup>45</sup>

45 For more telic situations, see: R 22 (tarṣexila "we will build it"); R 100 (k-ex hawa "we will come back"); R 150 (la g-ezan-awa "I will not go back"); R 185 (la g-ezan laga "I will not go to"); R 207 (brata xazyat "you will give birth"); A 2 ('asxa la k-ol "he will not do this").

## 10.1.3 Stative

- c. xa šata xet 'isra šinne k-we (Khan, JSH 311)  
 "Next year he will be ten."<sup>46</sup>

Occasionally, inf. + pres. cop. is used to indicate the immediate future:

- d. lapolay (Khan, JSH 319)  
 "He is about to fall."

10.2 *Subordinate Clauses*

Indicative subordinate clauses are also expressed by k-qāṭil:

- a. min-garağ trumbele hit g-ezan ta-Karkuk (R 168)  
 "From the garage there are cars in which I will go to Karkuk."  
 b. baqir minnu 'agar razi-yen ka da'waw k-olex (A 11)  
 "Ask them whether they agree for us to make suit for her."

In another case, however, the non-indicative form is attested. It seems to be chosen because the subject of the subordinate situation is indefinite:

- c. xazena xa xa-mindix hol (Z 30)  
 "I shall see whether anybody does anything."

11 *Anteriority to a Reference Point in the Future*

This category is only attested in a few subordinate clauses. In one case, k-qāṭil is used (no. c), the other two qāṭil forms are morphologically neutral:

- a. kulle kiteb ka kalwitta, holle baqi (Khan, JSH 415)  
 "Give to me every book that you will have written."  
 b. waxta 'ana menna, 'ay tre brone ruwwe baxew la k-oli l-yalax (R 17)  
 "When I (mas.) will have died, these two older boys will not look after your children."

<sup>46</sup> For more examples of hwy, see Khan, JSH 311.

- c. limma k-imretun, 'axni k-mixila (R 187)  
 "When you will have told us, we shall bring her."

In one case, qṭīl is used:

- d. limma d milan, labilmuli Yeruṣalayim (R 185)  
 "When I (fem.) will have died, take me to Jerusalem."<sup>47</sup>

## 12 Non-indicative Clauses

### 12.1 Main Clauses

A second person of k-qāṭīl can be used to express instructions:

- a. k-wattu xale u male (R 106)  
 "You will give them (the children) all kinds of food."<sup>48</sup>

Usually, however, the different deontic modalities are expressed by qāṭīl:

- b. qaṭlexilu, pare 'antexilu (Z. 27)  
 "Let us kill them and take their money."
- c. ma holex? (R 135)  
 "What should we do?"
- d. 'alet dax-yela! (R 164)  
 "Would that you knew how (beautiful) she was!"
- e. ḥaṣta hola u 'axla (R 170)  
 "Let her work and eat."
- f. brixā hawe (A 14)  
 "May he be blessed."<sup>49</sup>

47 *milan* must be a qṭīl form, since the second root consonant of qāṭīl forms of verba II y is contracted to /e/; see Khan, JSH 111.

48 Cf. Khan, JSH 285.

49 For more examples, see Khan, JSH 286f.

qāṭil is also used after some particles of Kurdish origin like *ba* and *mar*:

- g.    *ba he* (Khan, JSH 287)  
       “Let him come.”

The negated form of a second person has the function of a vetitive:

- h.    *la samxetun!* (Z 30)  
       “Do not wait!”

qāṭilwā can express counterfactuality with past time reference:

- i.    *mani hamewalan?* (R 191)  
       “Who could have brought us?”<sup>50</sup>

## 12.2    *Subordinate Clauses*

The non-indicative form *qāṭil* is used after expressions of wanting, intending, ability, etc. when referring to the present:

- a.    *’ana lazim hezinna* (Khan, JSH 288)  
       “I must go.”
- b.    *k-elaxun*<sup>51</sup> *hetun* (A 12)  
       “You can come.”
- c.    *g-be he* (Khan, JSH 288)  
       “He wants to come.”
- d.    *la qablan naş ’ale* (R 168)  
       “I shall not permit anybody to know.”<sup>52</sup>

It is also found in asyndetical final clauses:

- e.    *’ana k-un naw ta-naş xet, ya’ni gorila, gora hola ba’u* (R 165)  
       “I shall give her to some other person, that is for them to marry her, for her to marry them.”

<sup>50</sup> See further R 73 (*la qatliwale?* “would they not have killed him?”) and Khan, JSH 293.

<sup>51</sup> Lit.: it comes to you.

<sup>52</sup> See further Khan, JSH 288–290.

Occasionally, it is also used when the superordinate sentence has past time reference:

- f.    šitqa beli hena (Khan, JSH 288)  
      “Last year I wanted to come.”
- g.    har ninden, polise smixe baru, ka-hič-la ’oli ’il ’inše hulaye šilmane (R 137)  
      “‘They continued dancing, while the police was standing behind them, so that the Muslims would do nothing to the Jewish women.”

As a rule, however, qāṭilwā is used in these cases:

- h.    g-benwa hamenwala baqew (V 9)  
      “‘They wanted to bring her to him.”
- i.    dehwa ’anye la qbillu hamixwa (R 19)  
      “‘These did not allow us to bring gold.”
- j.    ’o-lele barxiwala xlula holawa (R 36)  
      “‘On that night they blessed her in order for her to marry.”<sup>53</sup>

qāṭilwā is also used after *’it(wa)le* in the sense of “can”:

- k.    ma ’itwalu holiwa? (Z 28)  
      “‘What could they do?”<sup>54</sup>

In final clauses after *ta*, the infinitive is also possible:

- l.    dwa’i qīm ta ġore wala (R 89)  
      “‘Then he got up to urinate.”
- m.   mattiwala ’o-ptilya ta xala bašole (Khan, JSH 323)  
      “‘They used to set up that oil stove to cook food.”<sup>55</sup>

---

53    See further Khan, JSH 289, 295.

54    See Khan, JSH 364.

55    Cf. Khan, JSH 323.

### 13 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by *ʾagar* “if” or can be asyndetic (no. b). Real conditionals of the present / future can be expressed by *k-qāṭil* in protasis and apodosis:

- a. ʾagar la g-bitta, ʾana k-un naw ta-naš xet (R 165)  
“If you do not love her, I shall give her to some other person.”<sup>56</sup>
- b. qaṭlitti, ʾana har g-benaw (R 153)  
“If you kill me, I shall still love her.”<sup>57</sup>

In the protasis, also *qṭille* is attested:

- c. mištara dwiqla ʾillox, mar: ʾana ba-mašwa labinnaw (R 189)  
“If the police stop you, say ‘I am taking her as a mišwa.’”<sup>58</sup>

Quite often attested are real conditional clauses of the past referring to habitual situations. They are close to temporal clauses: *whenever* ... The predicates of protasis and apodosis are *qāṭilwā* and *k-qāṭilwā* respectively:

- d. ʾagar gorake pare holwala, g-ezawa ta-ḥammām (Z 34)  
“If the husband gave her money, she would go to the baths.”<sup>59</sup>

However, this category can also be expressed by simple *qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil*:

- e. ʾagar ʾurxale dwiqe hawen, la g-ezi (V 26)  
“If the roads were blocked, they would not go.”<sup>60</sup>

I have not found any evidence of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future. Counterfactual conditionals of the past usually have *qāṭilwā* forms in protasis and apodosis:

56 See also: R 29 (*k-wetula* – *k-wetula* “[if] you give her, you will give her”); M 6 (*la doqetun* – *xafad k-ixli* “[if] you do not keep, they will be in trouble”).

57 See further R 149 (*k-imrit* – *tob-ye* “[if] you say, that is good”).

58 Cf. Khan, JSH 439.

59 For more examples, see Khan, JSH 293.

60 See also Z 33 with *qāṭil* – *k-qāṭilwā*: *naše la hawe* – *g-ezawa* “(if) there were no people, she would go”.

- f. 'agar halewa hamirwalox (Khan, JSH 438)  
"If he had known, he would have told you."
- g. 'agar laxxa hewa 'ixala hawiwale (ebd.)  
"If he had come, they would have given him food."<sup>61</sup>

In the apodosis, however, *k-qāṭilwā* is also attested:

- h. 'agar lītwalox 'ana kre'axun k-wanwale (R 175)  
"If you had not have (money), I would have paid your fare."

#### 14 Verbs of Perception

After a verb of seeing, *qṭīl* is attested twice:

- a. 'agar sayr k-olan xazyān mila (R 180)  
"When I look, I see that she has died."
- b. xazyā da'akake mšilma (R 168)  
"She sees that the mother has converted to Islam."

It seems that *qṭīl* is used in both cases more in the sense of an anterior, less as a resultative. In R 168 it is further mentioned that the mother converted to Islam in order to be able to marry a Muslim, so the conversion seems to be given more weight than the fact that she is now a Muslim. And also in no. a, according to the context, the dying is considered more significant than the state of being dead.

*qṭīlā* + pres. cop. in no. c, on the other hand, is used in a clearly resultative sense:

- c. ḡzele tilḥa šilmane reša-gare smixen (M 1)  
"He saw three Muslims standing on the roof."

Dynamic situations that have not yet been completed are expressed by *qāṭīl* which in the following example denotes a habitual situation in the past. The verb is morphologically neutral but probably represents a *k-qāṭīl* form:

61 See further R 154 (*hawewala – la mašilmawa* "if she had had, she would not have converted to Islam").



- d. ka ǧazya tafqa maṭenila ga-ʾurxa, ʃalmaw kasyale (V 14)  
 “When it happened that she saw them coming up to her on the road, she would cover her face.”

If the verb of perception has past time reference, the perceived situation can also be expressed by *k-qāṭilwā*:

- e. ʾana xzeli ʾilha manixle Yaʾqob Mamjana ǧolaʾi k-olwa (Z 25)  
 “I saw Yaʾqob Mamjana, God grant him rest, weaving.”

## 15 Summary

### 15.1 *Qṭille / Qṭil + S-Suffix and Qṭilwāle / Qṭilwā*

*qṭille* is normally used with transitive, *qṭil* with intransitive verbs.

The two forms are attested in main and subordinate clauses to express anteriority to the speech time. The situations can extend over longer periods of time, such as weeks or even years, without being considered habitual. This applies to narrating and discussing passages. In discussing passages, the situation expressed by *qṭille / qṭil* can still have a bearing on the speech time, and in this case, the two forms are in opposition to *qṭilā + pres. cop.* While *qṭille / qṭil* usually emphasise the action, *qṭilā + pres. cop.* highlights the result that followed from the action, that is, *qṭille / qṭil* are used in the sense of an anterior, *qṭilā + pres. cop.* with the meaning of a resultative. However, this is more of a rule than a principle because there are instances where *qṭille / qṭil* are used even though the result seems to be more important than the action. Some verbs can form both patterns, *qṭille* and *qṭil*; if the verb can govern a direct object, *qṭil* often has a passive meaning (*qṭil* “he was killed”; 2.1 + 2.2).

*qṭil* can express anteriority to a reference point in the past in main clauses, although *qṭilwāle* and *qṭilwā* are usually used for this purpose. In subordinate clauses, however, *qṭille* and *qṭil* regularly indicate this category; *qṭille* is also found in main clauses of before-constructions (4.1 + 4.2).

*qṭil* is attested once in a subordinate clause to express anteriority to a reference point in the future; normally, this category is indicated by *(k-)qāṭil* (11).

Furthermore, *qṭille* is found in an asyndetic protasis of a real conditional clause of the present / future; after *ʾagar* “if”, however, *qṭille* is not attested (13).

Finally, *qṭil* is used after verbs of perception where it emphasises the action more than the resulting state (*mila* “[that] she has died”, *mšilma* “[that] she has converted to Islam”; 14).

### 15.2 *Qitlā + Pres. Cop. / Qtīlā + Pres. Cop.*

The form designated here as *qitlā + pres. cop.* goes back to the old status emphaticus of the passive participle and has a short /i/ with transitive verbs (*qitlā + pres. cop.*) and a long /ī/ with intransitive ones (*qtīlā + pres. cop.*). When *qtīlā + pres. cop.* is formed from transitive verbs, it can have a passive meaning.

It mostly expresses situations that have already been completed but still have a bearing on a reference point. In discussing passages, it is in opposition to *qtīle / qtīl* which place the emphasis of the statement on the action, while *qitlā + pres. cop.* emphasises the result. Occasionally, it also refers to situations that happened far back in time but which seem worth remembering to the speaker for some reason (2.1).

In one main clause, *qitlā* without a copula denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past (4.1).

With certain intransitive verbs like *smx* “to stand”, *ytw* “to sit”, *skr* “to be drunk”, *skn* “to dwell”, *myl* “to die”, *pyš* “to remain”, *pyl* “to fall”, *qitlā + pres. cop.* describes a state that persists parallel to the speech time, be it in independent main clauses (*tīwa-y* “he is sitting”; 7.1) or after verbs of perception (*smixen* “standing”; 14).

### 15.3 *Qāṭil*

*qāṭil*, the old active participle, has an indicative and a non-indicative form which are, however, formally distinguished only with *verba 1'* and some irregular verbs by the prefix *k-* or *g-* that denote the indicative. This applies to simple *qāṭil* as well as to *qāṭilwā*.

The indicative form (*k-*)*qāṭil* is sometimes used in narratives and is also found in circumstantial descriptions with past time reference; in both cases, the time reference is made clear by a preceding verb or the context (2.1 + 5.1). Moreover, it expresses posteriority to a reference point in the past in main and subordinate clauses (6) and situations that proceed parallel to the speech time; in the latter function, it increasingly replaces the infinitive (7.1 + 7.2). In addition, it indicates habitual and extratemporal situations (8 + 9).

Furthermore, (*k-*)*qāṭil* expresses posteriority to the speech time in main and subordinate clauses; in subordinate clauses, the non-indicative form *qāṭil* is also possible if the subject is indefinite (10.1 + 10.2). In subordinate clauses, (*k-*)*qāṭil* indicates anteriority to a reference point in the future (11). Instructions to a second person can be expressed by (*k-*)*qāṭil*, otherwise *qāṭil* is used to denote various kinds of non-indicative statements in main and subordinate clauses. Moreover, *k-qāṭil* is attested in the protasis and apodosis of real conditional clauses of the present / future even when the protasis is not introduced

by *'agar* “if”; in this case, however, also *q̄ille* is attested (13). After verbs of perception, a neutral *q̄āṭil* form – probably representing *k-q̄āṭil* – is attested which describes a dynamic habitual situation with past time reference in its progress (*maṭenila* “coming up to her”); with past time reference, however, *k-q̄āṭilwā* is also possible (*ḡola'i k-olwa* “weaving”; 14).

Simple *q̄āṭil* describes non-indicative situations in main and in subordinate clauses; it normally refers to the future in these cases but is also attested after verbs with past time reference (*beli hena* “I wanted to come”) where we normally find *q̄āṭilwā* (12.1 + 12.2).

(*k*)-*q̄āṭilwa* expresses habitual situations of the past (3). It is also used in subordinate clauses to indicate anteriority to a reference point in the past, provided the situation is habitual (4.2), and is also attested twice in main clauses to denote the simultaneity of a singular situation with a reference point; in these cases, the reference point is expressed by *q̄ille* / *q̄īl* (5.1). With regard to the category simultaneity with a reference point in the past in subordinate clauses, only habitual situations are attested. Here, in temporal clauses after *ga* / *waxtara*, the non-indicative form *q̄āṭilwā* is used which is also found in relative clauses when the reference word is negative or a generic expression (*mani d abewa* “whoever wanted”). Otherwise, the indicative form (*k*)-*q̄āṭilwā* expresses habitual simultaneity in subordinate clauses (5.2).

*q̄āṭilwā* denotes non-indicative situations in subordinate clauses when the superordinate clause has past time reference; with present time reference, *q̄āṭil* is usually used (12.2). Moreover, it indicates counterfactual situations of the past (*mani hamewalan?* “who could have brought us?”) and is used in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past; the predicate of the apodosis are *q̄āṭilwā*- or *k-q̄āṭilwā* forms. The sequence *'agar* + *q̄āṭilwā* – *k-q̄āṭilwā* is also found in conditional clauses describing habitual situations of the past. Counterfactual conditionals of the present / future are unfortunately not attested (13).

#### 15.4 *Infinitive*

In verbal use, the infinitive can only be combined with the present but not with the past copula. *q̄āṭōla* + present copula indicates simultaneity with the speech time but is more and more replaced by *k-q̄āṭil* in this function. Moreover, it can describe, without a copula, accompanying circumstances (*tiwa ḥaqoy u tanoye* “he sits talking and telling stories”; 7.1 + 7.2). Furthermore, it occasionally denotes the immediate future (10.1). In final clauses after *ta*, it is used without a copula (*ta gore wala* “in order to urinate”); here, the non-indicative form *q̄āṭil* is also possible (12.2).

## 16 Analysis

It seems that *q̣ille* / *q̣il* + S-suffix are to be regarded as aspectual rather than temporal forms. The use of *q̣ille* / *q̣il* in asyndetic real conditional clauses of the present / future as well as for the expression of anteriority to a reference point in the past and in the future and the fact that *q̣ille* / *q̣il* can denote the reference point to a proceeding situation expressed by *k-q̣ātilwā* speak in favour of an interpretation as aspectual forms. There is only a limited opposition to *q̣ilwāle* and *q̣ilwā*, which denote anteriority to a reference point in the past, since *q̣ille* and *q̣il* can also indicate this category and do so regularly in subordinate clauses. *q̣ille* and *q̣il* are therefore to be taken as marked perfective forms; since there is no evidence of *q̣ilwāle* and *q̣ilwā* expressing simple anteriority to the speech time, they must be regarded as marked relative tense forms.

*q̣ilā* + pres. cop. and *q̣ilā* + pres. cop. are mostly used in the sense of a resultative, sometimes also of an anterior, and are in opposition to *q̣ille* / *q̣il*. They have to be considered as marked.

(*k*-)*q̣ātil* is not a tense form because it can denote situations with present and future time reference, it is not an aspect form because it can be used imperfectively (singular situations of the present, circumstantial clauses), perfectly (posteriority to a reference point, anteriority to a reference point in the future) and habitually. Rather, it is a marked modal form used to express indicativity. (*k*-)*q̣ātilwā* is also indicative; it describes singular and habitual situations with past time reference and has to be considered as an extended imperfective form. *q̣ātil* is only used non-indicatively. It expresses real non-indicative situations and is also found in a subordinate clause whose subject is indefinite. Although it is also attested in subordinate clauses whose superordinate clause has past time reference, as a rule it is only used with present and future time references. It is thus the non-indicative counterpart of *k-q̣ātil*. Also *q̣ātilwā* is mostly used non-indicatively. It is only attested with past time reference and expresses real as well as counterfactual situations. In the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals and also outside of conditional clauses it can indicate counterfactual situations of the past, but it describes real situations when used in temporal clauses after subordinators such as *ga* or in relative clauses with past time reference when the reference word is negated or generic. The same applies to its use in protases when the situations described there have to be considered habitual. The use in temporal clauses is presumably bound to certain subordinators and cannot even be called non-indicative on a noematic level. Whether it can also express counterfactuality with present

and future time reference is not proven but probable. *qāṭilwā* thus describes predominantly non-indicative situations of the past, which can be regarded as real or counterfactual, and is not marked.

That leaves the infinitive. It can be used with the present copula and then describes situations that proceed parallel to the speech time, but interestingly, it cannot be combined with the past copula. When combined with the copula, it can also denote the immediate future. Without a copula, it is used in circumstantial clauses and in final clauses after *ta*. The compound inf. + pres. cop. can be regarded as a marked form that expresses the imperfective aspect of the present; this is not contradicted by its occasional use for expressing the immediate future because a situation that is already in progress automatically extends into the future. The use of the infinitive without a copula in circumstantial clauses possibly goes back to Hebrew influence,<sup>62</sup> and its use after prepositions still clearly reveals its nominal origin.<sup>63</sup>

The verbal system thus has ten marked verbal forms: *qṭille*, *qṭil* + S-suffix, *qṭilwāle*, *qṭilwā*, *qṭilā* + pres. cop., *qṭilā* + pres. cop., *qāṭil*, (k-) *qāṭil*, inf. + pres. cop., imperative. Two signs are unmarked: (k-) *qāṭilwā*, *qāṭilwā*.

With past time reference, there is the opposition pair:

*qṭille* / *qṭil* + S-suffix (anterior perfective) : k-*qāṭilwā* (anterior ext. imperfective)

Moreover, the signs expressing perfective and anterior / resultative situations are opposed to each other. With transitive verbs:

*qṭille* : *qṭilā* + pres. cop. (anterior / resultative);

with intransitive verbs:

*qṭil* + S-suffix : *qṭilā* + pres. cop. (anterior / resultative)

Furthermore, there is the modal opposition pair:

k-*qāṭil* (indicative) : *qāṭil* (non-indicative)

62 Cf. the use of the infinitivus absolutus in Biblical Hebrew; see Gesenius, HG 355.

63 For more details, see Khan, JSH 322–324.

# Neo-Aramaic: Summary and Analysis

## 1 The Verb Forms

This section provides just a rough overview of the use of the Neo-Aramaic verb forms; they will be analysed in more detail below. While only a small selection of dialects has been discussed in the previous chapters, we will also deal with the remaining ones here. The number after the name of a dialect refers to the source from which the corresponding information was taken. Unless otherwise stated, the following sources have been used:

J. Nerwa 17th cent. (Sabar, Midrash); J. Koy Sanġaq (Mutzafi, Koy Sanġaq); J. Čalla (Fassberg, Challa); J. Amadiya (G. = Greenblatt, Amadya; H. = Hoberman, Amadiya); J. Betanure (Mutzafi, Betanure); J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabġa (Khan, jsh); J. Urmia (Khan, J. Urmi); J. Dohok (Molin, Dohok); J. Sanandaġ (Khan, J. Sanandaj); J. Barzan (Mutzafi, Barzan); J. Araġin (Mutzafi, J. Aradhin), J. Rustaqa (Khan, Rustaqa).

C. Alqoš 17th cent. (Mengozzi, Alqosh I + II); C. Pioz 18th cent. (Poizat, Pioz); C. Alqoš mod. (Coghill, Alqosh); C. Qaraqoš (Khan, Qaraqosh); C. Pešabur (Coghill, Peshabur); C. Txuma (Jacobi, Thuma); C. Ġilu (Fox, Jilu); C. Bešpen (Sinha, Bēšpēn); C. Gaznax (Gutman, Gaznax); C. Barwar (Khan, Barwar Gr.); C. Araġin (Krotkoff, Aradhin); C. Hertevin (Jastrow, Hertevin); C. Urmia (Khan, C. Urmi); C. Maha Khtaya (Mutzafi, Maha Khtaya); C. Bohtan (Fox, Bohtan); C. Sanandaġ (Heinrichs, Senāya); C. Telkepe (Coghill, Telkepe); C. Armoṭa (Askar, Armoṭa); C. Xabur (Talay, Khabur); C. Tiyari (Talay, Tiyari); C. Diyana (Napiorkowska, Diyana); C. Mlaḥso (Jastrow, Mlaḥsō), Ṭuroyo (Ritter, Gr.); Midin (Jastrow, Midin); C. Sardarid (Younansardaroud, Sardarid); C. Sat (Mutzafi, Sat);<sup>1</sup> C. Karamleš (Borghero, Karamlesh).

WNA (Arnold, Grammatik).

Mandaic (Macuch, Man.); Mandaic Khorramshahr (Häberl, Khorr.).

### 1.1 *Qṭal*

In the Christian texts of the 17th century from Alqoš and Telkepe, some *qṭal* forms are still found which, however, are all to be regarded as borrowings from

1 Sat is a village south-east of Ġilu whose inhabitants were settled in the area around Mosul after the First World War (pp. 19f). Talay (Khabur) does not mention the village, but presumably the dialect belongs to the Xabur dialects.

Classical Syriac (ch. 13.2, sect. 2.1); afterwards in the modern dialects, this form has only survived on the periphery of the Aramaic language area in WNA (ch. 14, sect. 2.1 + 2.2) and Neo-Mandaic (ch. 15, sect. 2.1 + 2.2) where it continues to express the perfective aspect, whereas in the remaining dialects it has been replaced by q̄ille.

### 1.2 *Yiqṭul*

In Neo-Aramaic, yiqṭul is only used in WNA. It is found in the compound batt + yiqṭul which, alongside the more common qāṭil, can express posteriority to the speech time and is also attested in the apodosis of real conditionals of the future. After *bess*, yiqṭul can indicate anteriority to a reference point in the future, otherwise it denotes non-indicative situations in main and subordinate clauses. In modern Mandaic, it has only survived in the phrase *rəhāwā nehwila* “may she rest in peace”.

### 1.3 *Qāṭil*

Except in WNA, the AP has displaced yiqṭul everywhere. It is usually inflected with S-suffixes which go back to the shortened forms of the independent personal pronouns, whereas WNA uses a combination of prefixes and suffixes. Simple qāṭil predominantly expresses non-indicative situations,<sup>2</sup> while indicativity is indicated by k-qāṭil and ʾi-qāṭil. The prefixes k- and ʾi-, the derivation of which will be discussed in 3.2, can be used with all verbs in one group of dialects, in others only with verba 1ʾ and some irregular verbs. In addition to k-qāṭil, ki-, ci- or či-qāṭil are attested which certainly go back to the compound \*k(ā) + \*ʾi and are found, inter alia, in the Xabur dialects and C. Sardarid (see below sect. 3.2). k-qāṭil often expresses habitual situations of the present and is often in opposition to constructions with the infinitive which express the imperfective aspect, such as in J. Amadiya (G. p. 97, 104) or J. Čalla (p. 106f, 118f); in other dialects, k-qāṭil is a modal form expressing indicativity and is in opposition to the non-indicative qāṭil, as in the 17th-century Jewish texts from Nerwa (see below sect. 4). In order to express the imperfective aspect, k-qāṭil can be combined with other elements which are discussed in detail in 3.2. Only C. Qaraqoş may be mentioned here where k-qāṭil is preceded by the copula k-ilə, i.e. k-ilə + k-qāṭil (p. 331). bed- with different phonetic variants + qāṭil expresses posteriority to the speech time in most dialects. In Țuroyo, this category is indicated by gid-qāṭil (ch. 16, sect. 10), in Mlaḥso by d-qāṭil<sup>3</sup> which are

2 Sometimes it is also used to express indicative and non-indicative situations, as in Ašīta; see Khan, Indicative Markers 89.

3 See p. 100, no. 189: *lo dosi gebi?* “will they not come to me?”.

difficult to explain. The immediate future, on the other hand, can be expressed by *k-qāṭil* of *b'y* “to want” with a following *qāṭil* form, as in J. Betanure: *gāba mahūya* “she is about to give birth” (p. 62). This category can also be indicated by a form of the verb *'zl* “to go” + *qāṭil*, as in C. Telkepe where the *qṭil* form *zil* is combined with S-suffixes and following *qāṭil*: *zila yalpa* “she is going to learn” (p. 255). *kem-* / *qam-qāṭil*, very widespread in the modern dialects, is attested as early as the 17th century in the Christian texts from Alqoš and is used instead of *qṭille* when an object pronoun is to be added to the verb form. Furthermore, the inflected form of *qāṭil* can be combined with *-wā* (< \**hwā*). *k-qāṭilwā* often expresses habitual situations of the past, as in C. Qaraqoš (p. 311) and J. Betanure (pp. 63f), sometimes it also denotes habitual and imperfective situations, as in J. Arbel (ch. 18, sect. 3, 5) and J. Sanandağ (pp. 28of). The dialects that use *'i-qāṭil* with present time reference instead of *k-qāṭil* have *'i-qāṭilwā* with past time reference, such as C. Ğilu (pp. 87f) or C. Beşpen (p. 134).

Simple *qāṭilwā* is usually used non-indicatively, it can describe real and counterfactual situations and expresses subordinate clause situations when the superordinate clause has past time reference, for example in J. Koy Sanğaq (pp. 110f). *bed-qāṭil* can also be followed by *-wā*; this compound often indicates counterfactual situations and often occurs in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the past, as in J. Čalla (p. 110). *kem-* / *qam-qāṭilwā*, on the other hand, is indicative and can be regarded as the counterpart of *qṭilwāle* which takes its place when an object pronoun is attached to the verb form. It often denotes anteriority to a reference point in the past but can also only emphasise the temporal distance from the speech time, as in C. Qaraqoš (pp. 317f). Finally, *(k-)qāṭil* and *(k-)qāṭilwā* can be combined with different forms of the verb *hwy*, such as *k-āwe(wā) k-qāṭil(wā)*, *bed-hāwe qāṭil* in C. Qaraqoš (pp. 336f).

#### 1.4 *Qṭille, Qṭil, Qṭilā*

In Neo-Aramaic, the *PP* plays a far more important role than in Classical Aramaic. Even in the early Jewish and Christian texts from the 17th century, there is hardly any trace of *qṭal* which, except in *WNA* and Neo-Mandaic, has been completely replaced by *qṭille*. *qṭille* generally expresses the perfective aspect and is formed in most dialects from both transitive and intransitive verbs, as was already the case in the Babylonian Talmud, in Classical Mandaic and Syriac. In some Jewish dialects east of the Zab, such as J. Kerend (p. 287), J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa (ch. 20, sect. 2), J. Sanandağ (pp. 71f) as well as in Ṭuroyo (ch. 16, sect. 2), however, it is only formed from transitive verbs, while intransitive situations are expressed by *qṭil* + S-suffix or, in Ṭuroyo, by *qaṭṭil* + S-suffix (see below sect. 3.4). Another point in which the dialects differ in the use of



q̄tille concerns the expression of pronominal objects which will be discussed in more detail below (3.5.1).

The compound q̄til + hwā + L-suffix has become a fixed unit in Modern Aramaic. Whereas in Syriac, for example, the form of hwy could still be inflected in congruence with the logical object, q̄tilwāle is now used with an invariable -wā-. This form is used everywhere, with a few exceptions such as Neo-Mandaic, WNA or C. Mlaḥso, and is often used to express anteriority to a reference point in the past but can also emphasise the temporal distance to the speech time, as in C. Barwar (see above ch. 19, sect. 2.1) or C. Qaraqoş (p. 331). The same temporal and aspectual function is fulfilled by kem- / qam-q̄tilwā which is used when object suffixes are attached.

q̄til, however, can be used not only with L-suffixes but also with S-suffixes to denote the subject; WNA is characterised by the fact that it inflects q̄til as well as q̄at̄til with prefixes and suffixes (see ch. 14, sect. 1 + 2 above). It can be used in the function of a resultative / anterior and has a passive meaning with transitive verbs and an active meaning with intransitive ones, as in J. Koy Saṅṅaq: *zil* “he has gone”, *mālū xriwa* “their village has been ruined” (p. 105). However, it can also denote the perfective aspect, as in J. Sanandağ where the resultative and the anterior are expressed by the status emphaticus q̄tilā: *smixa* “she stood up”, *grişex* “we were pulled” (p. 72), and be combined with -wā: *zilwa* “he had passed away” (J. Sanandağ, p. 285). More frequently, however, the resultative and the anterior are expressed by q̄tilā which is combined in predicative function with a copula or a form of hwy and is already attested in Jewish and Christian texts from the 17th century (see above ch. 13.1 and 13.2, sect. 1 + 2). In the majority of dialects, it is formed from transitive and intransitive verbs and can have active and passive meanings when used with the former, as in C. Barwar: *’aw hole tiwa* “he has sat down” or: “he is seated”, *’aw naşa hole dwiqa baxta* “the man has seized a woman”, *’ay baxta hola dwiqa* “the woman is seized” (pp. 653–659). C. Txuma is characterised by the special feature that q̄tilā can be combined in active meaning with L-suffixes to express the subject: *griştāli* “I (f.) have pulled” (pp. 146f). q̄tilā can be combined not only with the copula but also with forms of hwy whereby some dialects create a considerable degree of differentiation capacity: *d-winwa xizya* “whom I had seen” (C. Araḍin, p. 35), *p-awe* (= bed-q̄til of hwy) *zila* “he will have gone”, *kulle k-awe dmixe* “(when) everyone is usually at sleep” (J. Amadiya, G. pp. 288, 304). There are dialects that express the resultative / anterior of transitive and intransitive verbs by a single verb form, such as J. Čalla (p. 117) or C. Alqoş (p. 190); several Jewish dialects east of the Zab as well as Turoyo, however, make a distinction here, and sometimes the quantity of the vowel after the second root consonant of q̄tilā is

used to differentiate between them, as is the case in J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa as we have seen above (ch. 20, sect. 1)

### 1.5 *Infinitive*

Whereas in Classical Aramaic the infinitive still had the character of a nominal form, in modern Aramaic, after it has been combined with a copula or a form of hwy and is now inflected according to tense and person, it has acquired the status of a finite verb form: *b-spare-na*, literally: “in waiting I (am)” = “I am waiting”.<sup>4</sup> Corresponding constructions consisting of an expression of place and a form of “to be” are frequently used across languages to express the imperfective aspect.<sup>5</sup> In Modern Aramaic, there are dialects that denote the imperfective aspect using the infinitive and those that use other means for this purpose, in particular the AP. The latter group includes WNA and Neo-Mandaic as well as the Christian dialects of ʿTuroyo / Mlaḥso and Hertevin.

### 1.6 *Qāṭōl, Qaṭṭīl*

qāṭōl was already used predicatively like an AP in CPA and Samaritan; in ʿTuroyo, qāṭōlo often indicates professional titles but also expresses the imperfective aspect, especially with verbs of movement. qaṭṭīl, already used in CPA and more frequently in Syriac in the sense of an anterior, especially with verbs of movement, is still in use in WNA, ʿTuroyo and Mlaḥso (qāṭīl; pp. 52f). Here, too, it is predominantly formed from intransitive verbs, especially those of movement, and expresses the perfective aspect in ʿTuroyo but the anterior in Mlaḥso and in WNA.

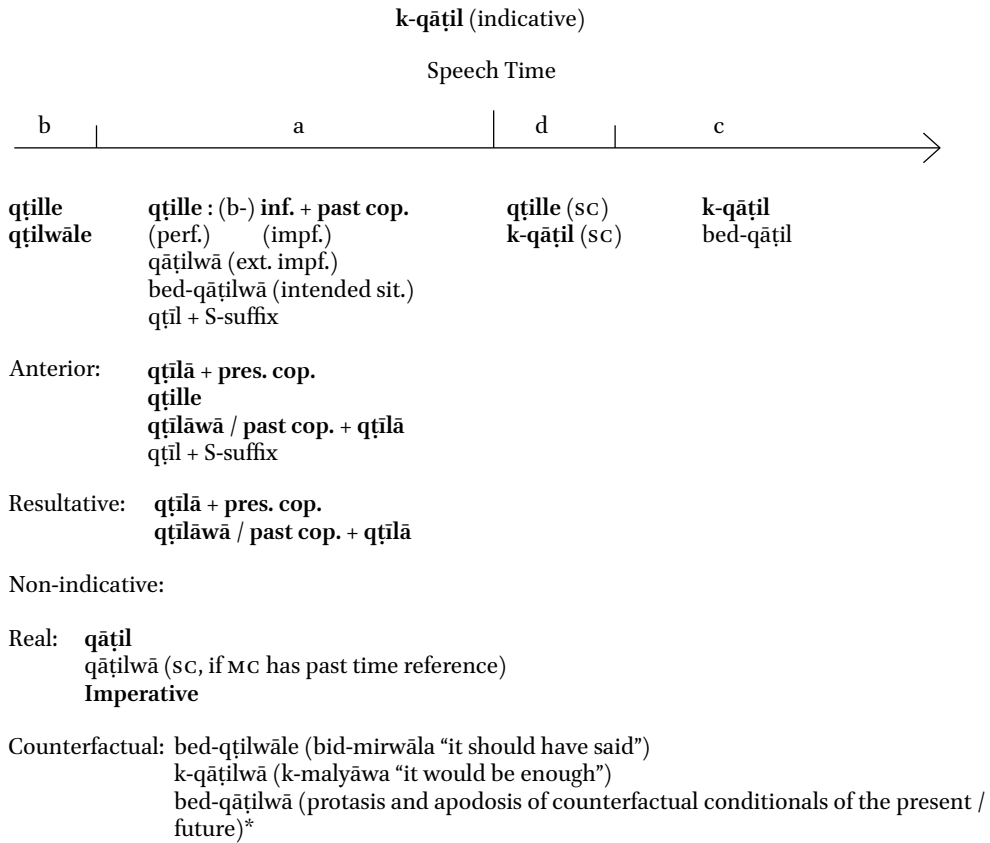
## 2 The Neo-Aramaic Verbal Systems of Part 3

In the previous chapters, we primarily investigated which signa are used to express the different aspectual, temporal and modal categories and whether these are to be considered marked or unmarked. In this section, we will look at the verbal systems as a whole and examine the question of aspect-, tense- or mood-prominence.

Let us first take a look at the verbal system of Early Jewish Aramaic. It can be represented as follows (marked verb forms are again indicated in bold letters):

<sup>4</sup> Fox, Jilu 87.

<sup>5</sup> See Bybee, Evolution 127ff.



\* The three counterfactual signa could not be clearly analysed due to their low occurrence.

FIGURE 12 Early Jewish Aramaic

a = anteriority to the speech time, b = anteriority to a reference point in the past, c = posteriority to the speech time, d = anteriority to a reference point in the future, sc = subordinate clause, MC = main clause, ext. = extended

Even if the analysis of the verbal system of Early Jewish Aramaic is only possible with reservations due to the small text corpus, its Neo-Aramaic character and the difference to Classical Aramaic can be seen very clearly. qṭal and yiqṭul have disappeared, their functions been taken over by qṭille and qāṭil; as in most other Neo-Aramaic dialects, qāṭil is largely restricted to the expression of non-indicative situations, and the complements with which it can be provided – bid-, k-, -wā – are also well known in Neo-Aramaic. And two more innovations can be observed which distinguish Neo-Aramaic from Classical

Aramaic, and these are, first, the use of the infinitive to express the imperfective aspect and, moreover, the use of *qṭilā* with the newly formed copula in the meaning of an anterior.

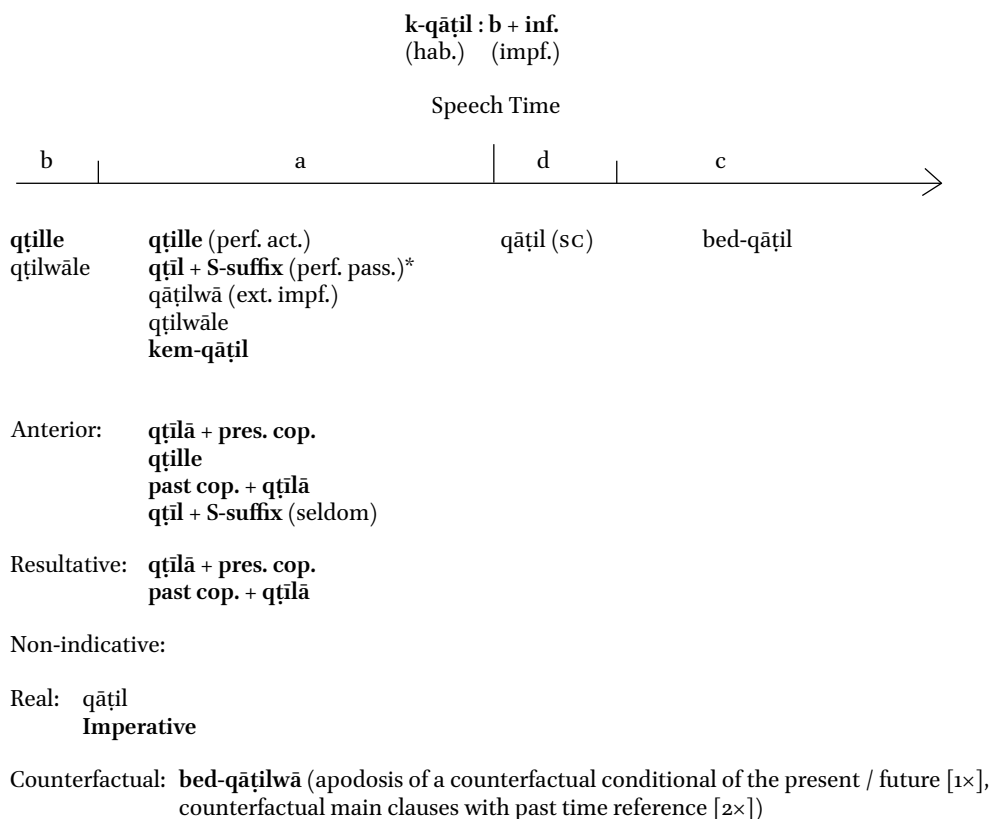
The verbal system has seven marked and four unmarked verb forms, most of which go back to the old participles *qāṭil* and *qṭil(ā)*. It has an aspectual opposition pair consisting of marked verb forms (*qṭille* : inf. + past cop.) and a modal pair expressing non-indicative and indicative situations (*qāṭil* : *k-qāṭil*).

The overview makes clear that the expression of aspectual and modal categories is given far more weight than that of temporal categories. Although *qṭilwāle* has been analysed as a marked temporal form, it should not be forgotten that the analysis is based on only four examples in which it describes anteriority to a reference point in the past, so it can by no means be ruled out that it is also able to describe anteriority to the speech time, as in Classical Aramaic and in most Neo-Aramaic dialects. And even if it turns out to be a temporal form, it should be borne in mind that its counterpart *qṭille* is not another tense but rather an aspect form. The non-indicative field cannot be analysed unambiguously due to the available evidence, but with regard to the category of counterfactuality there still seems to be a lot in flux and a distinction between present and past counterfactuality is quite unlikely. The perfective *qṭille* has an imperfective counterpart (the compound inf. + past cop.), but it should not be forgotten that this aspectual opposition is limited to the past. Rather, in the area of the present and future, the modal opposition *qāṭil* : *k-qāṭil* dominates, which, as will be shown below (sect. 4), represents the starting point for the development of the Neo-Aramaic verbal systems. It should also be borne in mind that there is no signum available – neither with present nor with past time reference – that only describes habitual situations. On the other hand, the existence of a separate form to describe the anterior (*qṭilā*), which on a noematic level is much closer to the category of aspect than to that of tense, rather speaks in favour of an aspectual prominence. The emergence of *bed-qāṭil*, which must probably be interpreted as an aspectual form, points in the same direction. The same applies to the perfective opposition *qṭille* (active) : *qṭil* + S-suffix (passive) which is at least recognisable to some extent. Thus, one might cautiously speak of a slight aspect-prominence which, however, is not nearly as pronounced as in dialects such as Barwar.

All in all, the verbal system described here gives a rather unfinished impression which is far from having grown together into a coherent whole. *qāṭil* is largely restricted to the non-indicative domain, *qāṭilwā*, on the other hand, is predominantly used indicatively; *k-qāṭil* is an indicative form, *k-qāṭilwā*,

however, expresses counterfactuality. The use of *-wā* is also by no means uniform. In *q̣ṭilwāle*, *q̣ṭilāwā* and *q̣āṭilwā* it has a temporal character, whereas in *k-q̣āṭilwā* and *ʾitwa* it expresses counterfactuality.

Let us now turn to early Christian Aramaic:



\* The oppositions active : passive are not marked as such in the overviews.

FIGURE 13 Early Christian Aramaic

The verbal system of Early Christian Neo-Aramaic has a not insignificant difference compared to the Jewish texts: *k-q̣āṭil* is not to be analysed modally as an indicative form but as a marked signum expressing habitual situations. It has eight marked and five unmarked signa, plus *k-q̣āṭilwā* which is difficult to analyse and is only attested in one example where it denotes simple anteriority to the speech time. Three of the marked signa are aspectual, two of them indicating the perfective aspect (*q̣ṭille*, *kem-q̣āṭil*), one the imperfective aspect (*b + inf.*), in addition there are *bed-q̣āṭil* and *q̣ṭil + S-suffix*; *q̣āṭilwā*

was not analysed as an aspect form because it is also used non-indicatively. A purely temporal verb form could not be proven. In the non-indicative domain, a distinction is made between real (qāṭil) and counterfactual situations (bed-qāṭilwā) but not between past and present. The verbal system can be labelled aspect-prominent without hesitation. It also differs from the Jewish texts in the use – at least in one manuscript – of kem-qāṭil and of the infinitive without a copula. Here again, the opposition k-qāṭil (hab.) : b + inf. (impf.), which is so important for an aspect system, should be emphasised even if this is not attested with past time reference where qāṭilwā describes imperfective and habitual situations. The fact that an imperfective form based on the infinitive is not attested for the past does not, of course, automatically mean that such a form would not have existed. And as with the Jewish texts, the incongruence between present and past is also noticeable here. When referring to the present, k-qāṭil denotes habitual situations but with past time reference, qāṭilwā is used without k-. Unfortunately, the exact role that k-qāṭilwā plays in this dialect had to be left open due to the lack of evidence. qṭil and qṭilā are used in a very similar way to the Jewish texts. Here, too, there is an opposition between qṭille (active) and qṭil + S-suffix (passive), but qṭil can also be used in the sense of an anterior or a resultative.

Neo-Western Aramaic differs in many respects from the two dialects discussed above. Here is an overview first:

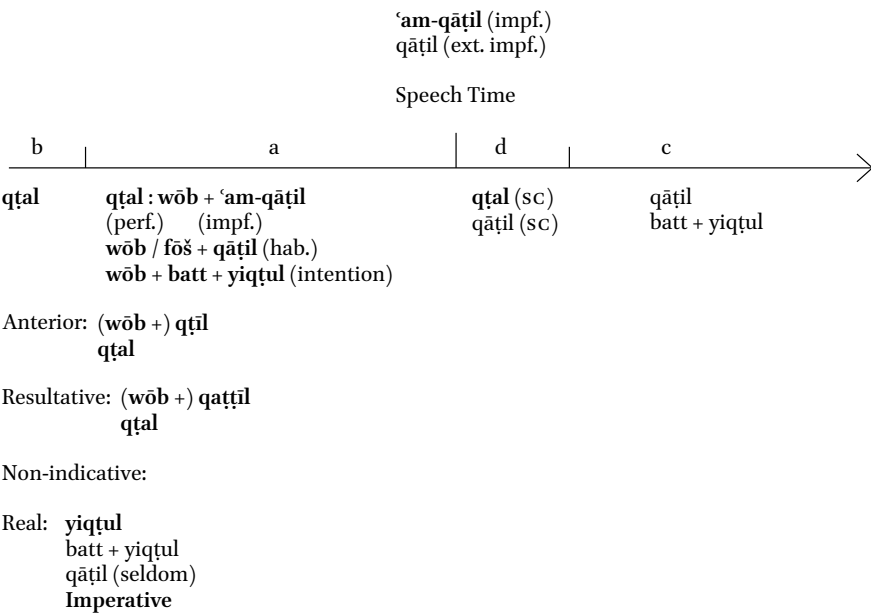


FIGURE 14 WNA

The verbal system of WNA differs in essential points from the dialects discussed so far and those still to be discussed. On the one hand, old *q̄tal* and *yiqtul* are preserved and – related to this – *qāṭil* is hardly used for non-indicative situations; furthermore, *qaṭṭil* occupies a central place and, finally, *qāṭil*, *q̄ṭil* and *qaṭṭil* are inflected not only with suffixes in the first and second person but also with prefixes by analogy with *yiqtul*. The inflectional system thus shows an astonishing uniformity, insofar as the person is still expressed by suffixes in the case of the inherited *q̄tal* forms but by prefixes in all other cases. Furthermore, the verbal system of WNA is characterised by the absence of two elements, namely *q̄ṭille* and the status emphaticus *q̄ṭilā*.<sup>6</sup>

The WNA verbal system has eleven marked and two unmarked verb forms. Three of the marked verb forms are *signa* expressing aspectual categories (*q̄tal*, *‘am-qāṭil* and *wōb + ‘am-qāṭil*), and there is also a marked *signum* expressing habitual situations with past time reference. Only in the field of the future, where the highly vague *qāṭil* prevails, no aspectual differentiation can be observed. A pure tense form, on the other hand, could not be proven, and in the non-indicative domain, there is probably a marked *signum* expressing real situations but there is no counterfactual verb form. One thus gets the impression of a strongly aspect-prominent verbal system, and this impression is reinforced by the not insignificant role played by *q̄ṭil* and *qaṭṭil*; being *signa* that express the anterior and resultative, they primarily describe situations as completed but do not assign them a temporal value.

Correll considers the verbal system of WNA to be a tense system with a strong aspectual admixture and justifies his view with the only partially developed ability of the verbal forms to be relativised and with the trinity of categories (*q̄tal*, *‘am-qāṭil* and *qāṭil*) which speaks more in favour of a tense system than an aspect system.<sup>7</sup> In his otherwise very careful argumentation, however, Correll overlooks the fact that *q̄tal* cannot describe both imperfective and perfective situations, as one would expect from a tense form, but only perfective ones and that it is also in clear opposition to the imperfective (*wōb + ‘am-qāṭil*). It is true that the ability to be relativised is not fully developed with respect to posterior situations, but at least with regard to the past, the verbal system behaves exactly as can be expected of an aspect system, and also in the realm of the present there is a marked aspect form even if this is not in opposition to a marked habitualis form due to the functional indeterminacy of *qāṭil*. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of an aspect system that is not fully extended into the realm of posteriority.

<sup>6</sup> Tsereteli (Klassifikation 245–248) has compiled further features that distinguish WNA.

<sup>7</sup> Syntax 85f.

The verbal system is in fact the least uniform in the field of posteriority. Firstly, there is no evidence of an opposition pair indicating perfective and imperfective situations, moreover, the indicative posteriority can be expressed by qāṭil and batt + yiqṭul, the latter, however, is also used modally and competes in this context with yiqṭul; both qṭal and qāṭil are attested in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future; in final clauses after *minšōn*, yiqṭul is used alongside qāṭil. Here, as Correll (Syntax 86) has already correctly noted, the system is still in flux, and it is conceivable that, for economic reasons, either batt + yiqṭul will disappear from the linguistic system and posteriority will be expressed solely by qāṭil, or else that qāṭil will be restricted to the expression of habitual situations and leave posteriority to batt + yiqṭul. The anterior and resultative also seem to be in flux. It is true that qṭil is predominantly formed from transitive verbs and used as an anterior, whereas qaṭṭil is formed from intransitive ones and used as a resultative, but deviations from this are not uncommon since some verbs are sometimes used in this way, sometimes in that way, while qṭal can also be used in these functions. Apart from this, however, the verbal system displays an admirable uniformity that is still lacking in 17th-century texts.

Let us now turn to modern Mandaic:

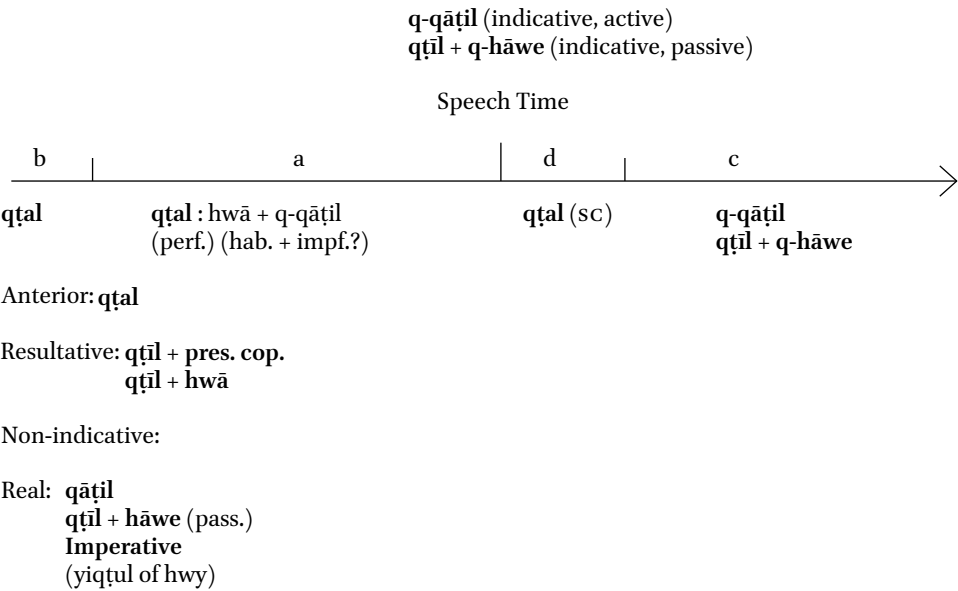


FIGURE 15 Modern Mandaic (Khorramshahr)



First of all, it is striking that *qṭille*, which is attested in Classical Mandaic and in most Neo-Aramaic dialects, has not been able to assert itself against *qṭal*. The same is true of *yiṣṭul* which has only survived in insignificant remnants and had to give way to *qāṭil* in the non-indicative domain and to *q-qāṭil* in the future domain. Unlike most other Neo-Aramaic dialects, modern Mandaic has refrained from integrating the status emphaticus *qṭilā* into the verbal system.

The verbal system of the modern Mandaic of Khorramshahr has eight marked and one unmarked verb forms. A pure tense form could not be identified. One of the marked verb forms expresses the perfective aspect (*qṭal*), while its imperfective counterpart (*hwā + q-qāṭil*) is unmarked and presumably denotes imperfective and habitual situations. The area of the present and future is not characterised by temporal or aspectual signs but by the modal opposition *q-qāṭil* (indicative) : *qāṭil* (non-indicative). The use of *q-qāṭil* is thus more extensive than in Classical Mandaic, where it has been analysed as a presentative form, and is more similar to that of *k-qāṭil* in the 17th-century Jewish texts. The distinction between indicativity and non-indicativity is also extended to the passive domain: *qṭil + q-hāwe* (indicative) : *qṭil + hāwe* (non-indicative), but no differentiation between real and counterfactual situations can be observed. The protases of conditional clauses, for example, are introduced indiscriminately by *agar* and the verb forms used as predicates denote the same thing that they also express outside of conditional clauses. Although a final judgement on *qṭil* is not possible due to the limited text corpus, it would seem that Mandaic has not created an excess of differentiation possibilities. Although *qṭil* can be combined with forms of the copula and *hwy* and thus describe both indicative and non-indicative situations, it always seems to be used passively with transitive verbs. Mandaic does not seem to have a signum corresponding to *qaṭṭil* or *qṭilā* to express an active anterior. In this case, *qṭal* has to help out.

With its single perfective verb form and the lack of habitual and imperfective signs, the verbal system can hardly be regarded as aspect-prominent, and even less so as tense-prominent. The modal oppositions are indeed the most conspicuous so that the verbal system of Neo-Mandaic should be classified as mood-prominent.

Let us now turn to Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso. The verbal system of Ṭuroyo can be summarised as follows:

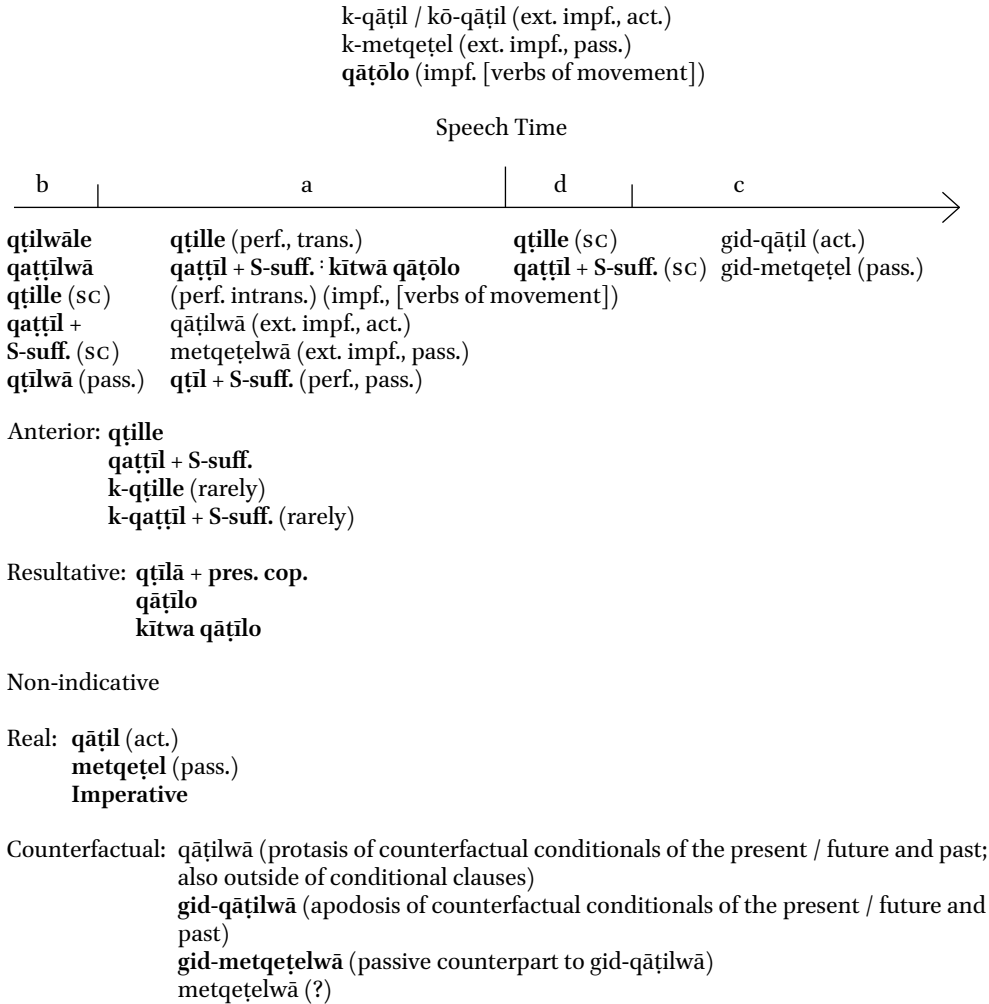


FIGURE 16   Ṭuroyo

The verbal system of Ṭuroyo is characterised by the predicative use of the patterns qāṭōlo and qāṭilo, by the expression of the perfective aspect using two different verb forms, depending on whether a transitive (qṭille) or an intransitive (qaṭṭil) situation is being described, by the use of gid- instead of bed-, and also the – albeit rare – use of k- before the perfective signa to express the anterior (k-qṭille and k-qaṭṭil) is not attested in the dialects discussed so far.

What is most striking, however, is the preservation of the old *t*-stems and the consequent distinction between active and passive / reflexive situations.<sup>8</sup>

The verbal system has an impressive 24 signa, 18 of which have been classified as marked and six as unmarked. *k-qāṭilwā* and *k-metqeṭelwā* have been left out due to their limited occurrence. Of the 18 marked signa, six are used aspectually, four of them actively (*qṭille*, *qaṭṭil*, *qāṭōlo* and *kītwā qāṭōlo*), two passively (*qṭil* and *qṭilwā*), and also the unmarked forms *qāṭilwā*, *metqeṭelwā*, *gid-qāṭil* and *gid-metqeṭel* express aspectual categories. Although a consistent distinction is made between perfective and imperfective situations when referring to the past, we are reluctant to speak of an aspect-prominence. First of all, it should be noted that no distinction is made between habitual and imperfective situations except with verbs of movement. In addition, the most frequently used signa to express the imperfective aspect (*k-qāṭil* and *qāṭilwā*) are unmarked. Only situations that involve movement can be unambiguously described as imperfective. Although the anterior perfective aspect is generally expressed by special signa, there is no systematicity here as different verb forms are used to indicate transitive and intransitive situations. *gid-qāṭil* and *gid-metqeṭel* have only been classified as aspectual forms because they can also denote posteriority to a reference point in the past; with future time reference, there is no opposition perfectivity : imperfectivity. Pervasiveness is thus not at its best since only in the indicative domain with past time reference a distinction is made between perfectivity and imperfectivity. The verbal system is certainly not tense-prominent either. Although *qṭilwāle* and *qaṭṭilwā* have more temporal than aspectual properties and have therefore been analysed as relative tense forms, it should be borne in mind that they consistently denote anteriority to a reference point in the past only in main clauses but not in subordinate clauses where the forms without *-wā* are used. The modal categories are expressed in a more differentiated way. Indicative situations are distinguished from real non-indicative situations by the prefix *k-* (*qāṭil* / *metqeṭel* : *k-qāṭil* / *k-metqeṭel*), real from counterfactual ones by *-wā* (*qāṭil* / *metqeṭel* : *qāṭilwā* / *metqeṭelwā*; *gid-qāṭil* / *gid-metqeṭel* : *gid-qāṭilwā* / *gid-metqeṭelwā*). However, it should not be forgotten that *k-qāṭil* is not a modal signum but an extended imperfective one.

What is most striking, however, is the consistent distinction between active and passive. There are six opposition pairs, five of which consist of a *qāṭil* form for active and a *metqeṭel* form for passive situations; the sixth pair is formed by *qṭille* and *qṭil* + *S*-suffix (anterior perfective aspect). It therefore seems that

8 On the characteristics of Turoyo, see also Tsereteli, *Klassifikation* 249f.

diathesis and, related to this, the distinction between transitivity and intransitivity or the valency of a verb is at least as important as tense, aspect and mood. The following patterns are mainly used with monovalent verbs, i.e. verbs with only one argument: qat̤īl, k-qat̤īl, qat̤īlwā, metqeṭel, gid-metqeṭelwā, gid-metqeṭel, metqeṭelwā, qāṭōlo, kītwā qāṭōlo, qāṭīlo, kītwā qāṭīlo, qṭīl.

The following patterns, on the other hand, are used with bivalent and trivalent verbs: qṭille, k-qṭille, qṭīlwāle.

Let us now turn to the dialect of Hertevin:

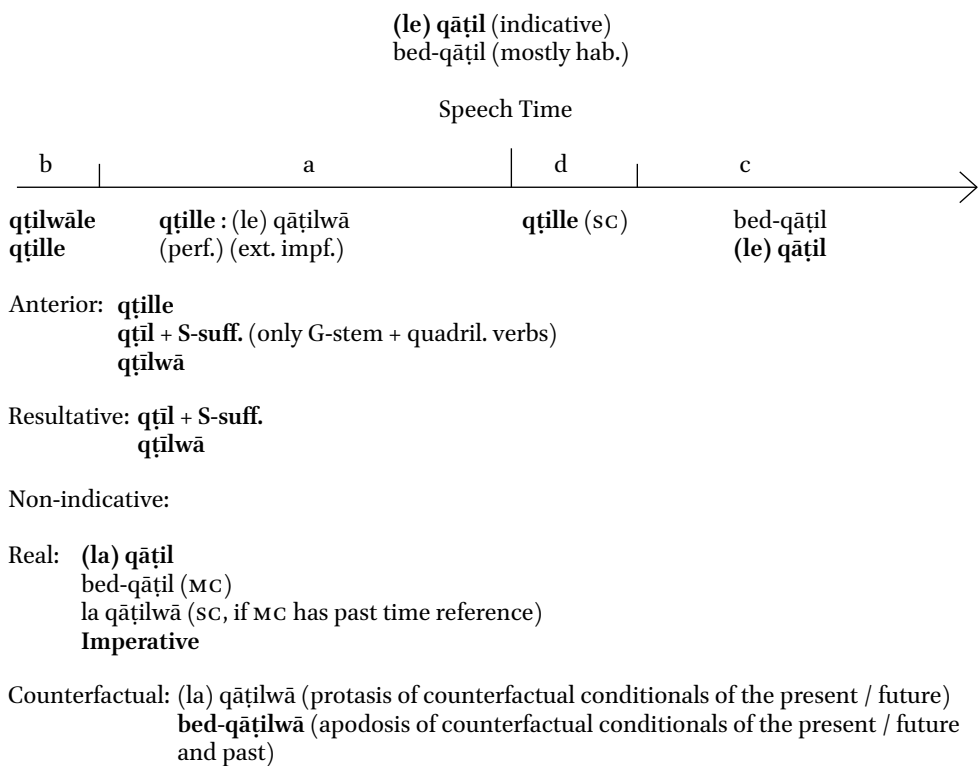


FIGURE 17 Hertevin

The verbal system of the Hertevin dialect is characterised by the absence of some important signa which are otherwise attested in almost the entire Neo-Aramaic dialect area. Neither the old status emphaticus of the passive participle qṭīlā nor the signa k- or ʾi-qāṭīl – apart from *ke-pʿe* – or the infinitive are in use. The absence of the latter two forms in particular severely restricts the dialect's ability to differentiate.

There are eight marked signa: qṭille, qṭīlwāle, qṭīl + S-suffix, qṭīlwā, bed-qāṭīlwā, (la) qāṭīl, (le) qāṭīl and the imperative. A striking feature of the verbal

system is the lack of systematicity and differentiation in many areas. *q̣ṭilwāle* must be interpreted as a relative tense form which, however, has no counterpart since *q̣ṭille* is by no means a further tense form but rather an aspectual one. The perfective *q̣ṭille* is in opposition to (le) *q̣āṭilwā* that, however, denotes not only imperfective but also habitual situations, and apart from that, neither in the indicative nor in the non-indicative domain signa can be found that would form an aspectual opposition. In the area of habituality, the absence of *k-* and *ʔi-q̣āṭil* is clearly noticeable; neither in the field of the present nor the past, this category can be expressed unambiguously. Things do not look much better in the temporal domain, but at least there is an opposition between *q̣āṭil* and *q̣āṭilwā* in the non-indicative field, *q̣āṭil* being used when the main clause refers to the present, *q̣āṭilwā* when it has past time reference. But that is about it. The verbal system can therefore be considered neither aspect- nor tense-prominent.

*q̣ṭil* + S suffix is only incompletely integrated into the verbal system; it can neither be formed from all verbs nor is it in opposition to another signum; if it were to form a pair with *q̣ṭille*, it should be able to be used actively with transitive verbs, but this is not possible with one exception. Somewhat greater care is devoted to the expression of modal categories. Here, two marked signa are in opposition to each other, describing indicative and non-indicative situations, although it should be borne in mind that they can only be formally distinguished in the negated form (le *q̣āṭil* : la *q̣āṭil*); in the protasis of conditional clauses, a consistent distinction is made between real (la *q̣āṭil*) and counterfactual (la *q̣āṭilwā*) situations, counterfactuality in the apodosis is throughout expressed by *bed-q̣āṭilwā*, and the fact that the non-indicative forms of *q̣āṭil* are used in the protasis of real conditional clauses also seems to indicate a keen awareness of modal categories. If necessary, we can therefore speak of a slight mood-prominence, which is, however, severely limited by the fact that it is restricted to the negative domain.

Let us now turn to the dialect of J. Arbel illustrated in Fig. 18.

Three characteristics that immediately catch the eye when looking at the verbal system are the lack of a special signum to express posteriority, the presence of the forms *lā-q̣ṭille* and *lā-(k-)q̣āṭil* with *lā-* and the existence of a modal opposition pair *lā-(k-)q̣āṭil* / *(k-)q̣āṭil* (indicative) : *q̣āṭil* (non-indicative). There are a total of eleven marked and three unmarked verb forms.

It is difficult to detect some kind of prominence here. The verbal system can hardly be considered aspect-prominent. There is actually only one aspectual form, namely *q̣ṭille*; although imperfective situations with past time reference can be expressed without problems, the corresponding verb form, *(k-)q̣āṭilwā*, cannot be considered an aspectual form as it can also express

(k-)qāṭil (indicative, mostly with stat. verbs)  
lā-(k-)qāṭil (indicative, mostly with dyn. verbs)

Speech Time

| b         | a                                                                     | d              | c            |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| qṭilwāle  | qṭille (perf.)                                                        | qṭille (sc)    | (k)-qāṭil    |
| qṭille    | qṭilwāle                                                              | lā-qṭille (sc) | lā-(k)-qāṭil |
| lā-qṭille | (k-)qāṭilwā (ext. impf.)<br>b + inf. (impf., seldom in circ. clauses) | (k)-qāṭil (sc) |              |

Anterior: lā-qṭille  
qṭille

Resultative: qṭilā + pres. cop. (can only be formed from a limited number of verbs)  
qṭilā + past cop.  
qṭilā + k-qāṭilwā of hwy  
qṭil + S-suff. (only attested by one informant)

Non-indicative:

Real: qāṭil  
qāṭilwā (sc, if MC has past time reference; qāṭil, however, is also possible here)  
Imperative

Counterfactual: qāṭilwā (protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past and probably also of the present / future)  
(k-)qāṭilwā (apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and probably also of the past)

FIGURE 18 J. Arbel

counterfactuality. Although there is a marked signum to express imperfective situations, i.e. b + infinitive, this is attested very rarely and only in circumstantial clauses. qṭilā + present / past copula can describe imperfective situations such as *rkiwawen* “I am riding”, but this compound is only attested from a limited number of intransitive verbs. Apart from this, context and adverbs must be used at all tense levels in both the indicative and non-indicative domain to distinguish perfective from imperfective situations; a marked signum to express habitual situations is also sought in vain. The morphological means for this purpose are certainly available, I mean the particle lā- and qāṭil; an opposition \*lā-k-qāṭilwā : k-qāṭilwā and the corresponding forms without -wā could wonderfully distinguish imperfective from habitual situations, but lā- has not become an aspectual particle but serves primarily to emphasise the discourse prominence of a situation. The infinitive, on the other hand, expresses the imperfective aspect but leads a shadowy existence. The system cannot be regarded as tense-prominent either. qṭilwāle has not established itself as a

relative tense form as it can denote not only anteriority to a reference point in the past but also that to the speech time and gives the impression of a hybrid form between tense and aspect. A temporal differentiation can otherwise only be found to some extent in non-indicative subordinate clauses where *qāṭilwā* can be used with past time and *qāṭil* with present time reference of the main clause situation. However, this distinction is not entirely consistent as *qāṭil* can also refer to the past. In the modal area, a differentiation is made between indicative and non-indicative situations, but it should be noted that a formal distinction is only maintained with a few verb roots, otherwise the indicative particle *k-* has been elided.<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to say why most verbs do not distinguish between indicative and non-indicative *qāṭil*. The emergence of *lā-*, which is almost exclusively used with indicative forms, may have played a role. Where *lā-* was used, the marking of a verb form as indicative by *k-* became superfluous and was omitted for economic reasons. However, this does not alter the fact that the majority of *qāṭil-* and *qāṭilwā* forms are ambiguous and that their exact interpretation depends on the context or corresponding subordinators. Nevertheless, the differentiation of modal categories seems to be given greater attention than that of temporal and aspectual ones as a distinction is also made between real and counterfactual situations in conditional clauses. One can therefore speak of a slight mood-prominence; in addition, the significance of *lā-* should be emphasised. Even if it has not been integrated into the aspect system, it still plays a not insignificant role on a text-linguistic level.

Let us now turn to the dialect of the Christians of Barwar (Fig. 19).

The verbal system of the Christian dialect of Barwar impresses by the multitude of its verbal forms. By combining the old participles *qāṭil*, *qṭilā*, *qṭil* and the infinitive with forms of *hwy*, copula forms and *L-* and *S-* suffixes, 22 marked and 9 unmarked verb forms were created, more than in any other of the dialects under investigation.

One can hardly speak of a tense-prominence. Although *qṭilwāle* and *qem-qāṭilwā* have temporal properties, they cannot be regarded as relative tense forms and ultimately do not express anything that could not also be expressed by *qṭille* and *qem-qāṭil*. There is no evidence of other tense forms. Modal categories are represented in a somewhat more differentiated way. A distinction is made between real (*qāṭil*) and counterfactual (*qāṭilwā*) situations, the distinction between counterfactuality of the present / future and the past, however, is less consistent, since *'ən + qāṭilwā – bed-qāṭilwā* can express both counterfactual conditionals of the present / future and the past, just

9 On the question of why *k-* has been preserved with verba I', see below ch. 21, sect. 3.2.

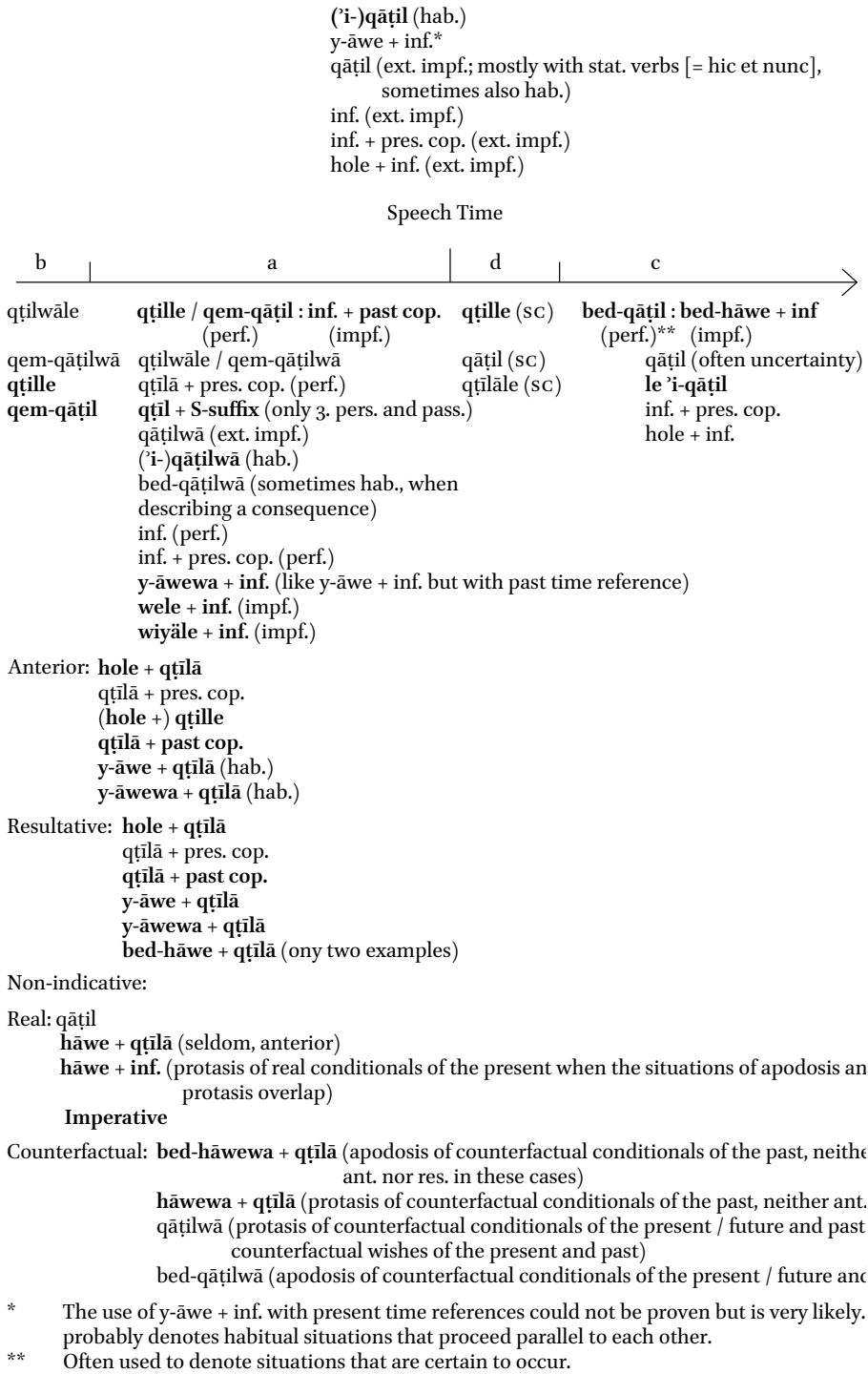


FIGURE 19 C. Barwar



as qāṭilwā can express counterfactual wishes of the present / future and the past. The use of qāṭil in the protasis of real conditionals of the present instead of the indicative form (ʾi-)qāṭil also speaks in favour of an alert awareness of modal categories. Conditional clauses are relatively consistently structured: ʾən + qāṭil – bed-qāṭil (real conditionals of the present / future), ʾən + qāṭilwā / hāwewa qṭilā – bed-qāṭilwā (counterfactual conditionals of the present / future + past). However, it should be noted that a morphological distinction between ʾi-qāṭil and qāṭil is only made with verba 1 and some irregular verbs because ʾi- is only used occasionally with other verbs; in the case of a mood-prominent verbal system, one would expect a little more care in this respect. The differentiation is most pronounced in the aspectual area, not least thanks to the infinitive. For both the past and the future, aspectually marked signa differentiate between perfectivity and imperfectivity, and there are also marked verb forms to express habitual situations with present and past time reference. A distinction is also made in the non-indicative domain because in the protasis of real conditionals of the present / future, the perfective qāṭil is in opposition to the imperfective compound hāwe + inf. The infinitive has even penetrated into the realm of the habitualis and describes the individual situations that make up an overall habitual situation as imperfective. The corresponding signa y-āwewa + inf. and y-āwe + inf. have only been proven with past time reference, but the latter can certainly also be used for the present.

The expressive possibilities offered by the passive participle qṭilā are also used very consistently. It usually has the meaning of a resultative or anterior and can be used adjectivally or verbally and actively or passively, depending on the type of action and valency of the verb. Exceptions to this are hāwewa qṭilā attested in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals of the past, bed-hāwewa qṭilā (apodosis of counterfactual conditionals of the past) and qṭilā + pres. cop. when used in narratives. In these cases, it is not the result that is emphasised, but rather the main focus is on the action itself.

The compounds formed with qṭilā make it possible to express singular anterior and resultative situations with three different reference points. This can be in the past (qṭilā + past cop.) or the future (bed-hāwe + qṭilā) or identical with the speech time (qṭilā + pres. cop. / hole + qṭilā). In the case of habitual situations, a distinction is made between past (y-āwewa + qṭilā) and present (y-āwe + qṭilā), and even with non-indicative situations, there is a signum (hāwe + qṭilā) that can express the result of an action.

The verbal system of C. Barwar can be considered as highly aspect-prominent. This impression is created not only by the variety of aspectual verb forms but also by the position that qṭilā occupies. The majority of verb forms in the indicative and non-indicative domains are used to denote the completion or

progression or the result of a situation, whereas the temporal differentiation is hardly of any importance in these fields.

Finally, let us turn to the dialect of the Jews of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa:

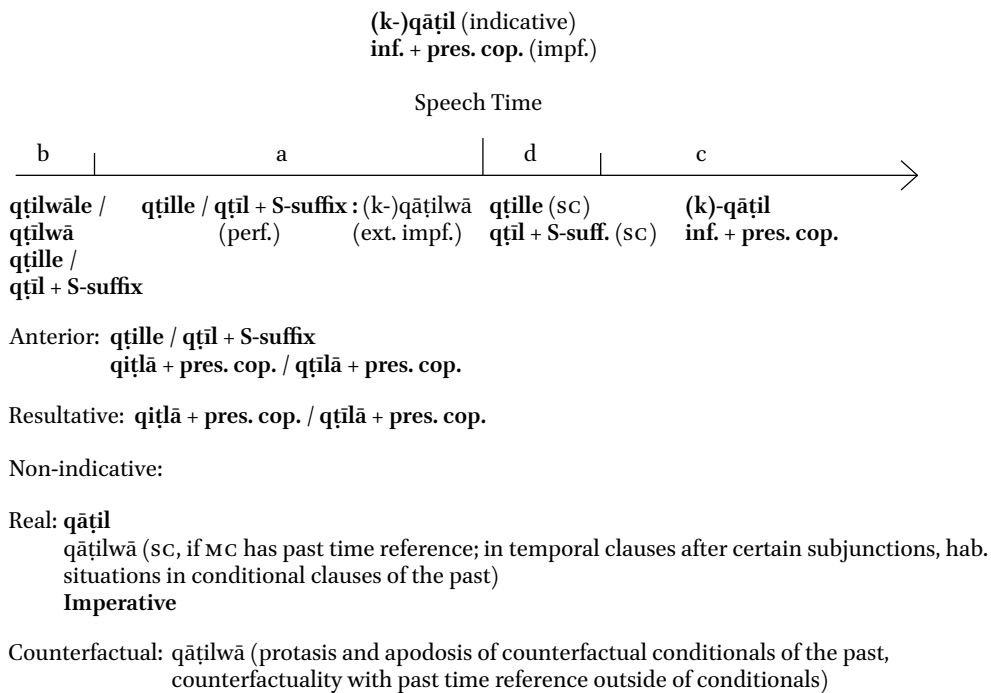


FIGURE 20 J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa

A striking characteristic of the verbal system is the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, both with signa expressing the perfective aspect and with the anterior / resultative.

An inventory of ten marked and two unmarked verbal forms looks quite modest compared to the dialect of Barwar, for example, and chapter 20 has shown that it is often left to the context and explanatory particles and subordinators to clarify what is meant.

The verbal system can hardly be considered aspect-prominent. It is true that it has three marked aspectual forms (qṭille / qṭil + S-suff. and inf. + pres. cop.) which express the perfective and the imperfective aspect, but these are not in direct opposition to each other since the infinitive cannot be combined with the past copula; with past time reference, the imperfective aspect is rather expressed by the unmarked signum (k-)qāṭilwā; furthermore, there is no marked habitual form for either the past or the present. With present time

reference, the inf. + pres. cop. expresses the imperfective aspect, but according to Khan this compound is increasingly being replaced by (k-)qāṭil which, however, is not an aspectual verb form but rather a modal one expressing indicativity. The fact that a modal signum is used to express imperfective situations although the clearly imperfective compound inf. + pres. cop. is available does not indicate a strong awareness of aspectual categories.

One cannot speak of tense-prominence either. Although qṭilwāle and qṭilwā have to be analysed as relative tense forms and also the opposition between qāṭil and qāṭilwā in non-indicative subordinate clauses has a temporal character, the dialect of the Jews of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa is just as far from a three-part tense system with past, present and future as the other dialects discussed so far.

The modal categories play a more important role. In this field, as in the Jewish texts from the 17th century, the two modally marked signa (k-)qāṭil (indicative) and qāṭil (non-indicative) are in opposition to each other. However, the differentiation possibilities resulting from this are severely limited by the fact that a distinction between these two forms finds regular morphological expression with verba 1' and some irregular verbs only. Within the non-indicative domain there is a distinction between real and counterfactual situations, but a corresponding distinction between present / future and past in the case of counterfactuality could not be proven; presumably both categories are expressed by qāṭilwā which is used not only in protases but also in apodoses. Moreover, the fact that the situations in the protasis of real conditional clauses of the present / future, which are to be viewed as non-indicative on a noematic level, are expressed by the indicative verb form (k-)qāṭil does not speak in favour of an acute awareness of modal categories.

If one wants to make a decision, one can speak of a slight mood-prominence; however, much greater importance is attached to another field of the verbal system, namely the valency of a verb. The fact that even in the case of two categories, perfectivity and anterior / resultative, a distinction is made between transitive and intransitive verbs, is a peculiarity that is rarely found in Neo-Aramaic.

### 3 The Other Neo-Aramaic Dialects

#### 3.1 *The Copula*

Only a small selection of Neo-Aramaic dialects was discussed in Part 3 of this work. In this section, also the remaining dialects will be included and

individual features of the verbal systems which can be useful for classifying the Neo-Aramaic dialects will be examined. We will start with the copula.

An important feature that distinguishes the Neo-Aramaic dialects from Classical Aramaic is the use of copula forms which allow inherently nominal forms to be used in a predicative function. In the majority of NENA dialects, the present copula has the element /l/ in the third persons and a /w/ in the first and second persons.

Three groups can be distinguished within these dialects, the distinguishing feature being the form of the 3.pl.; in group A this form is *ilä* or *ilay*, in group B *ilu* and in group C *ina*. A fourth group D consisting of Jewish dialects forms the copula with neither /l/ nor /w/ but with /y/. Finally, group E has forms with /y/ in the first and second persons but an /l/ in the third. The dialect of C. Araḍin (pp. 37, 40)<sup>10</sup> may serve as a representative of group A, J. Amadiya (H. p. 32) of group B, C. Urmia (pp. 248, 254) of group C, J. Sanandağ (pp. 85–87, 97) of group D and C. Qaraqoş (pp. 125, 129) of group E:

TABLE 2      The copula

|         | A<br>C. Araḍin | B<br>J. Amadiya | C<br>C. Urmia | D<br>J. Sanandağ | E<br>C. Qaraqoş |
|---------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 3.sg.m. | ile            | ile             | ilə           | ye               | ilə             |
| 3.sg.f. | ila            | ila             | ila           | ya               | ila             |
| 3.pl.   | ilä            | ilu             | ina           | yen              | ina             |
| 2.sg.m. | iwit           | iwit            | ivət          | yet              | iyət            |
| 2.sg.f. | iwat           | iwat            | ivat          | yat              | iyat            |
| 2.pl.   | iwutu(n)       | iwetun          | itun          | yetun            | iyetu           |
| 1.sg.m. | iwin           | iwin            | ivən          | yena             | iyən            |
| 1.sg.f. | iwan           | iwan            | ivan          | yan              | iyān            |
| 1.pl.   | iwax           | iwax            | ivax          | yex              | iyax            |

Nöldeke (Urmia 200–206) assumes two different derivations of the copula forms used in C. Urmia; the third persons singular go back to \*ʔt̪ + l + suffix, the others to \*ʔt̪ + qāṭil of hwy + enclitic pronoun, that is to say:

10    If two page numbers are given, the first refers to the affirmative, the second to the negative forms.

- \*īt + lēh > ile
- \*īt + lāh > ila
- \*īt + hāwī + enēn > ina
- \*īt + hāwē + at > iwet
- \*īt + hāwyā + at > iwat
- \*īt + hāwī + aton > itun
- \*īt + hāwē + enā > iwen
- \*īt + hāwyā + enā > iwan
- \*īt + hāwī + aḥnan > iwax<sup>11</sup>

The derivation of the element /w/ in groups A, B and C from the participle of hwy is convincing, but Nöldeke's assumption that the initial /i/ goes back to the existential particle īt is problematic. First of all, it seems doubtful to me that the /t/ or /t/ of īt would simply disappear before the /h/ of hāwē or the /l/ of lēh and lāh; one would rather expect an assimilation as can be observed in C. Qaraqoş; in this dialect, the 3.pl. of the existential particle has the variant 'attan which can only have arisen from the also attested form 'athan (p. 146). The semantic presupposition of this derivation seems even more questionable to me because \*īt + lēh means first of all "he has" and not "he is". The assumption of an expansion of meaning from "to have" to "to be" is not unproblematic. More appropriate seems a derivation from an enclitic feminine form of the personal pronoun that regularly contains an /ī/, such as CPA ,  or Syriac , ,<sup>12</sup> compare the contraction of ,  to ,  "she is" in Syriac.<sup>13</sup> In Aramaic, a feminine form is used not only with feminine reference words but also to describe situations that are neutral in terms of gender and are usually rendered by "it" in English. In J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa one can say: 'ana k-yena ma basimta yela "I know how pleasant it was" (p. 237). The feminine form *basimta yela* does not have a feminine reference word in this sentence but rather refers to a situation that has been described above. The situation is similar in: 'at bdelox baw? "have you begun?" (p. 238). The preposition b- with the feminine suffix does not refer to a specific feminine noun but to a series of situations that the person addressed wanted to carry out. Also the use of *lā* in *lā* + k-qāṭil (see below sect. 3.2, Table 7), which certainly goes back to the 3.sg.f. of the copula, is to be

11 The forms of the 1.pl. with /x/ are striking. They cannot go back to -nan which is used as an enclitic in Syriac and CPA but must have their origin in forms with /h/, as is the case with the independent pronouns ܐܢܗܝܢ and ܐܢܗܝܢ in Syriac, ܐܢܗܝܢ in Biblical Aramaic and ܐܢܗܝܢ in Imperial Aramaic and Hasmonian. See Schulthess, *Grammatik* 32; Nöldeke, *SG* 44; Bauer-Leander, *GBA* 69; Muraoka, *GEA* 45; Beyer, *ATM* 516.

12 Schulthess, *Grammatik* 32; Nöldeke, *SG* 45.

13 Nöldeke, *SG* 25.

interpreted in this way because it is used independently of the gender and number of the subject. It is therefore quite conceivable that the enclitic feminine form was not only used with feminine reference words but also when referring to gender-neutral situations so that ܡܐ not only meant “she is” but also “it is” or “it is the case that”. Once the particle had lost its semantic link to the feminine gender and was able to express or emphasise the existence of abstract facts in general, it was only a small step before it was also used as a deictic and presentative element as is still the case today in C. Qaraqoṣ: *ʾi-ʾaxa* “here”, *ʾi-hadaṣ* “like this” (p. 147). A form like \*ʾi-hāwyāt would have meant something like: “it is the case, you are!”, or also: “behold, you are!”. It is also conceivable that the copula does not go back to the feminine but to the masculine enclitic form because in Syriac this also has the element /y/: ܡܝܬܐ “he is”.<sup>14</sup> The 3.sg.m./f. copula *yo* in Ṭuroyo and in Mlaḥso (see below) certainly goes back to such a masculine form. Such a derivation, however, is hardly possible with the forms listed above. If necessary, one could assume the following derivation: \*yū + hāwē + at > \*yūwat, or one could argue that the first and second persons of the copula were formed without *hāwē* and that the /w/ was intended to avoid a hiatus that was bound to arise when a pronoun beginning with a vowel was preceded by \*yū, i.e.: \*yū + at > \*yūwat, but then one would also have to explain what happened to the long /ū/. One would expect that there would be a trace of the /ū/ before the /l/ of the third persons. It thus seems to me more advisable to assume two different origins of the copula forms in Neo-Aramaic: \*yū > *yo* (3.sg.m. / f.) in Ṭuroyo and in Mlaḥso, \*yī > \*ʾī in the other dialects.

Khan (Qaraqoṣ 14f) also believes that the element *ʾi-* in the copula is presentative in origin and identifies the /l/ of the third persons with the preposition *l-* which is used, among other things, to introduce direct objects. Accordingly, the original meaning of the copula is: “behold him, behold he is”. I do not know of any parallel to such a usage in Aramaic, i.e. that a presentative particle is followed by a direct object, but there are some in Arabic. In Iraqi Arabic, for example, the presentative particle *hiyyāt-* “here is!” is combined with the same object suffixes that are also attached to verb forms: *hiyyātni* “here I am!”.<sup>15</sup> In Baḥrain, *hā-* is used in a similar way: *hāk* “there you (sg.m.) are, take!”, *hākum* “there you (pl.) are, take!”.<sup>16</sup> And at this point, the question arises as to why \*ʾi- is used with an object pronoun in the third persons but with an inflected verb form in the first and second persons. The answer is probably to be found in the presentative character of the particle. The main task of such a particle

14 See Nöldeke, SG 44.

15 Erwin, Iraqi Arabic 290.

16 Prochazka, Baḥrain 51.

is primarily to refer to an object or state of affairs, and if reference is made to a third person who may not be present, then certainly more presentative power is required than with a first or second person that is in the immediate vicinity. And without a doubt, the presentative power of \* $\bar{t}$ - is greater if it is combined with a pronoun that points directly to the object than if the object can only be inferred from the inflectional ending of a verb form: \* $\bar{t}$ -lēh “behold him, he is”: \* $\bar{t}$ -hāwet “behold, you are”. This interpretation is supported by the fact that some dialects only use the element /l/ in the affirmative but not in the negative form; in J. Amadiya, for example, it says affirmatively: *ile, ila, ilu*, but the negative forms are: *lewe, lewa, lewu*.<sup>17</sup> The reason for this can only be that a positive statement requires a greater presentative power of the signum by which it is expressed than a negative one.

In the dialects of group D, where the copula has the element /y/, two developments are conceivable. Khan (Copula 105f) has drawn attention to the fact that in dialects such as J. Sanandağ the copula forms are identical with the endings of qāṭil of verba III y. šty, for example, is inflected in J. Sanandağ as follows: *šate* “he drinks”, *šatya, šaten* (3. pers.), *šatet, šatyat, šatetun* (2. pers.), *šatena, šatyan, šatex* (1. pers.) .

Theoretically, it is conceivable that the endings of qāṭil were still perceived as enclitic personal pronouns and accordingly were also used as copulae. This assumption, however, presupposes that /y/ was transferred from the feminine to the masculine and plural forms, that is, three forms would have been sufficient to change the entire paradigm. Moreover, one would expect that the qāṭil-endings of the far more numerous firm verbs would have been used as copulae which, however, have no /y/. It therefore seems more appropriate to me to assume the same starting point for group D as for the others and to look for the reason for the different developments in the domain of phonetics. In groups A, B and C, \* $\bar{t}$  + hāwē + at became \* $\bar{t}$ wē + at > \* $\bar{t}$ wet, whereas in group D \* $\bar{t}$ w changed to \* $\bar{t}$ y: \* $\bar{t}$  + hāwē + at > \* $\bar{t}$ wē + at > \* $\bar{t}$ yē + at > \* $\bar{t}$ yet. In the third persons, forms with /l/ were initially used, as in groups A, B and C, until the paradigm was unified and the element /y/ was transferred to the third persons by analogy with the first and second persons. This interpretation is confirmed by dialects such as C. Qaraqoş which have forms with /y/ in the first and second persons but forms with /l/ in the third persons.

In addition to C. Araḍin, group A includes the following Christian dialects:

17 The same applies to J. Dohok, J. Araḍin, J. Betanure, J. Čalla, J. Koy Saṅṅaq, J. Arbel, J. Barzan, C. Bohtan and C. Armoṭa. The sources can be found in the following Tables.

TABLE 3      The copula (group A)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-----------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Xabur dialects | <b>Barwar</b> (pp. 180, 196)<br><b>Ġilu</b> (pp. 40f)<br><b>Txuma</b> (pp. 133f)<br><b>Tiyari</b> (pp. 57f)                                                                               |
|           | Judi group     | <b>Beşpen</b> (p. 144)<br><b>Gaznax</b> (p. 309)                                                                                                                                          |
|           | Southern group | <b>Alqoš 17th cent.</b> (1 pp. 226, 248)<br><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (pp. 168, 171)<br><b>Peşabur</b> (pp. 44f)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (p. 258)<br><b>Bohtan</b> (pp. 171f)<br><b>Diyana</b> (p. 170) |

In addition to J. Amadiya, group B also includes the following Jewish dialects:

TABLE 4      The copula (group B)

|        |                                         |                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni dialects                    | <b>Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (pp. 44, note 63, 139)<br><b>Čalla</b> (p. 98, 101)<br><b>Betanure</b> (p. 50)<br><b>Dohok</b> (pp. 222, 224)<br><b>Aradin</b> (p. 483) |
|        | Central-Zab group<br>Trans-Zab dialects | <b>Barzan + Šahe + Beğil</b> (p. 55)<br><b>Koy Sanğaq</b> (p. 83)<br><b>Arbel</b> (pp. 103, 115)<br><b>Rustaqa</b> (p. 408)                                     |

The 3.pl. *ina* (group C) is attested in five other Christian dialects besides C. Urmia, namely in Sat (p. 129), Qaraqoš (p. 125), which also belongs to group E, Diyana (p. 170), Hertevin (ini; p. 28), and in Txuma *ina* is used as a variant of *ilun* and *ile* (p. 133). As the paradigms of C. Urmia and C. Qaraqoš already show, the copula forms of this group, apart from those of the 3.pl., are not necessarily identical.

Group D consists of Jewish Trans-Zab dialects, namely J. Sanandağ, J. Sulemaniyya / Ĥalabğā (pp. 94, 105) and probably also J. Kerend (p. 291) while



group E comprises Christian dialects from the Southern group: C. Qaraqoş, C. Sanandağ (p. 260), C. Armoṭa (pp. 54, 59).

The dialects mentioned above have some special features not all of which are apparent from the overview. First of all, the dialect of C. Gaznax from group A should be mentioned. In the first person, the singular forms have /w/ (*iwin*, *iwan*) but in the plural it says *iyux*. In C. Txuma, there are variants with /w/ and /y/ in the first and second persons: *iwan* ~ *iyān*, *iwan* ~ *īyan*, *iwaḫ* ~ *īyaḫ* etc (p. 133).

C. Maha Xtaya and J. Urmia have taken special paths; in Maha Xtaya, there are still older variants with /w/ in the first and second persons, in addition, however, with all persons forms are used which are identical to the L-suffixes that otherwise express objects when attached to qāṭil forms: *le*, *la*, *lay* (3. pers.), *lox*, *lax*, *lāxu* (2. pers.), *li*, *lan* (1. pers.; pp. 307f). It seems that the third person forms with /l/ were analysed as L-suffixes and their paradigm then transferred to the other persons. A similar process can be observed in J. Araḍin (group B). There, the second persons are *iwit*, *iwat*, *iwetun* with /w/, the first persons, however, are identical to the L-suffixes: *ili*, *ilan*. In J. Amadiya, also group B, *iwin* and *iwan* (1.sg.) have the variant *ili*. The situation is different in J. Urmia where the negated forms also have the element /w/ (*lewe*, *lewa*, *lewu* etc; p. 63); the positive forms, however, exhibit an /l/ which in the first and second persons does not form an L-suffix but rather a compound of /l/ and those S-suffixes which in the other dialects serve as inflectional endings of the copulae: *ile*, *ila*, *ilu* (3. pers.), *ilet*, *ilat*, *iletun* (2. pers.), *ilen*, *ilan* (1. pers.; pp. 61, 63). Here, too, the third persons were probably originally formed with \*ī + l-, the first and second persons with \*ī + hāwē; then the paradigm was unified by generalizing /l/, but here, not the L-suffixes were used, as in Maha Xtaya, but rather, by analogy with the negative forms, the compound of l- + S-suffix.

The copula forms of the 3.pl. are of particular importance for the classification of the NENA dialects. As can be seen from Table 2, in C. Araḍin the 3.pl. is *ilä*, in J. Amadiya = *ilu* and in C. Urmia = *ina*. A closer look reveals that there is a correlation between form and religion: in all Jewish dialects of group B, the 3.pl. is *ilu*, in the Christian dialects of groups A, C and E it is, with two exceptions, *ilä* / *ilay* or *ina*.

Here are some further examples: J. Rustaqa (p. 408) and J. Dohok = *ilu* (p. 222) whereas C. Tiyaṛi (p. 57) and C. Alqoş = *ilä* (p. 68). And the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects, which form the copula with /y/, also fit into this picture, because even if they have no /l/ in the third persons of the copula, they still have L-suffixes (qāṭille, objects). And in all cases, the third person forms are *le*,

*la, lu*,<sup>18</sup> while in the Christian dialects, whose 3.pl. copula is *ilä / ilay*, it is *le, la, lä / lay*.<sup>19</sup> The two Christian exceptions are C. Sanandağ (copulae = *ile, ila, ilu*; p. 260) and C. Armoṭa (copulae = *ile, ila, ilu*; L-suffixes = *le, la, lu*; pp. 54, 92) which also exhibit some special features in other respects. Besides Qaraqoṣ, they are the only Christian NENA dialects that have copula forms with /y/ in the first and second persons, and Armoṭa is moreover characterised by a very special 2.pl. pronoun with /t/ and /m/. The copula is *itām* (p. 54), the independent pronoun *ʾaxtōxām ~ ʾatōxām* (p. 47), the L-suffix = *lōxām* (p. 92). An independent 2.pl.m. personal pronoun with final -tm is attested in Imperial Aramaic (Muraoka, GEA 45), but I do not know of such forms in Neo-Aramaic. It seems we are not dealing with a spontaneous sound change /n/ > /m/, as /m/ does not appear in only one form; rather, it looks as if the dialect of Armoṭa has retained a relic from very ancient times.

A few more comments on group C, where the copula of the 3.pl. is *ina*, are necessary. As already said, this group shows some differences. The forms in C. Urmia and C. Diyana have the element /w/ in the first and second persons and are, apart from the 3.pl., identical to those of the Christian group A. C. Qaraqoṣ has the element /y/ in the same positions and is thus similar to the Jewish group D, while C. Txuma exhibits variants with /y/ and /w/. C. Hertevin is a special case that will be discussed below. The representatives of this group also behave differently regarding the L-suffixes. Three of them have, like the Jewish dialects, 3.pl. forms with /u/ or /o/, namely Urmia (*lun*; p. 265), Txuma (*lon*; p. 107) and Diyana (*lu[n]*; p. 186). In Hertevin, however, it says *le* or *lehen* (p. 50), in Qaraqoṣ *hən* with elision of /l/ (p. 93).

Let us now turn to the derivation of the 3.pl. The fact that /ä/ in C. Araḍin resulted from the monophthongisation of /ay/ (p. 37) and secondary forms such as *iley* (C. Barwar; p. 180) and *ilay* (Gaznax; p. 309; Pešabur; p. 44) suggest that the Christian copula *ilä* is derived from \*ī + l- and a 3.pl.f. suffix used after prepositions which is related to CPA and Syriac ܐܠܗ, JBA ܐܠܗ.<sup>20</sup> *ilu* of the Jewish dialects, on the other hand, seems to have its origin in the corresponding masculine form (JBA ܐܠܗ, BA ܐܠܗ<sup>21</sup>), as is also suggested by the L-suffix *lohun* which is attested as a variant of *lu* (e.g. J. Amadiya; H p. 91). *ina*, as already

18 See J. Sanandağ 68, J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa 86, Kerend 287.

19 See Barwar 164; Araḍin 19; Alqoṣ mod. 127; Tiyyari 59; Bohtan 173; Ğilu 36; Beşpen 71; Gaznax 309; Telkepe 251; Pešabur 42.

20 Nöldeke, SG 99; Schulthess, Grammatik 33; Margolis, BT 35.

21 Margolis, BT 16; Bauer-Leander, GBA 72.

realised by Nöldeke, has its origin in the enclitic personal pronoun of the 3.pl.f. (Syriac and CPA ܐܢܝܐ<sup>22</sup>), to which, as we might assume, the ending -a of the 3.sg.f was added (copula or AP). *ini* in Hertevin is not unproblematic. It is conceivable that it has the same origin as *ina* and was only given the AP plural ending -i instead of -a. A look at the independent personal pronouns, however, suggests that the copula forms represent combinations of \*ī- and the short forms of those same pronouns. Compare the independent personal pronouns of the first and second persons with the corresponding copula forms: *'ahet*, *'ahet*, *'ahniton* (2. pers.), *'ana*, *'ahnaḥ* (1. pers.; p. 22). The copula forms are: *ihet*, *ihat*, *eḥton* (2. pers.), *ina*, *eḥnaḥ* (1. pers.; p. 28). It is thus also conceivable that *ini* goes back to the independent pronoun of the 3.pl., i.e. to \*ī + 'ahni. The negated forms, which consistently contain the element /w/ (lawe, lawa, lawe [3. pers.] etc.; p. 29), suggest that \*hāwē was originally used in Hertevin, too; however, the negated forms cannot be derived from \*lā + ī + hāwē, since in this case we would expect \*lewe, \*lewa etc.

The copula forms of the first and second persons as well as the 3.pl. in Țuroyo and in Mlaḥso can certainly be traced back to the enclitic short forms of the independent personal pronouns. Compare the forms of Țuroyo (the copula is in the first place): *hinne : ne* (3.pl.), *hat : hat*, *hit : hat*, *hatu : hatu* (2. pers.), *no : 'uno*, *no : 'uno*, *na : 'ahna* (1. pers.; Ritter, Gr. 3, 7).<sup>23</sup> The copulae of the 3.sg.m. / f., on the other hand, go back to the masculine presentative particle \*yū, as already explained above: *yo : huwe*, *yo : hiya*.<sup>24</sup>

The copula forms in WNA are also based on \*ī. In Ma'lula it says: *ile*, *ila*, *ilun* (3. pers.), *iḥ*, *iš*, *ilxun* (2. pers.), *ili*, *iḥ* (1. pers.; Spitaler, Grammatik 206). As in Maha Xtaya, \*ī is thus combined with the L-suffixes in all persons.<sup>25</sup> In Mandaic, the situation is similar to that in Țuroyo, except that the presentative particle does not go back to \*yū, but to \*ī; here, too, the 3. persons singular contain the presentative particle while the other persons represent shortened forms of the independent personal pronouns which, however, cannot be derived from the modern forms but from the classical ones. In the first position are the modern copula forms, in the second the shortened forms of the classical independent personal pronouns: *ye : hu*, *i : h'*, *non : hinun* (3. pers.), *yat : it*, *ton : tun* (2. pers.), *na : na*, *ni(n) : nin* (1. pers.).<sup>26</sup> The third persons of the

22 Nöldeke, SG 44; Schulthess, Grammatik 33.

23 On Mlaḥso, see p. 30.

24 See also Midin 33.

25 On the forms of the 2.sg. and 1.pl. without /l/, see Spitaler, Grammatik 55. Spitaler (ibid. 206), however, does not derive the copula from \*ī but, like Nöldeke, from the existential particle 't.

26 Macuch, Man. 443 and Nöldeke, MG 86f.

modern independent pronouns are *hax* (m. + f.) *hannox* (pl.m.) and *hannex* (pl.f.)<sup>27</sup> from which the corresponding copula forms can hardly have arisen.

The development of the copula forms in Neo-Aramaic can be summarised as follows: In the Jewish dialects, the forms of the first and second persons go back to the compound \**ʾī* + *hāwē* + enclitic personal pronoun, those of the third persons to \**ʾī* + L-suffix, the preposition *l-* in the case of the 3.pl. being combined with the masculine plural form \**ʾn*, and accordingly, the L-suffix in all Jewish dialects is *lu*. In a small group of Trans-Zab dialects, which also share a number of other special features (Sanandağ, Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa, Kerend), \**ʾī* + *hāwē* has not developed into \**ʾīw-* but into \**ʾīy-*, and the /y/ has been transferred to the third person. The starting point for most Christian NENA dialects is the same, only here the preposition *l-* was not combined with the 3.pl.m. of the suffixed pronoun but with the 3.pl.f. (\**ʾn*). Accordingly, in the Xabur and Judi dialects as well as in the Southern group west of the Great Zab, both the copula and the L-suffix of the 3.pl. are mostly (*i*)*lä* or (*i*)*lay*. It can be assumed that in both Christian and Jewish dialects, the 3.pl. of the L-suffix originally distinguished between masculine and feminine, only in one case the masculine form was generalised and in the other the feminine one. In a group of geographically unrelated Christian dialects (Urmia, Diyana, Qaraqoş, Txuma), the 3.pl. copula was not formed with \**ʾī* + *l-* but with \**ʾī* + enclitic personal pronoun pl.f. (\**ʾn*). The L-suffix of the 3.pl. contains /u/ or /o/ in these cases as in the Jewish dialects, only Qaraqoş has *hən*. Copula forms with /y/ are not unknown in Christian dialects either. Qaraqoş, Sanandağ, Armoṭa have forms with /l/ in the third person but with /y/ in the first and second, just as variants with /y/ are sometimes attested in the Christian dialects of group A. C. Sanandağ and C. Armoṭa are moreover the only Christian dialects in which the copula of the 3.pl. is *ilu* as in the Jewish dialects. The dialects of C. Maha Xtaya and J. Urmia have taken special paths. In the former, the copula forms are identical with the L-suffixes, the latter also uses /l/, but in the first and second persons it is followed by the S-suffixes which are attached to /w/ or /y/ in the other dialects. The situation is different in the dialects on the periphery. In Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso and in Neo-Mandaic, \**ʾī* and \**yū* only appear in the singular forms of the third person, otherwise shortened forms of the independent personal pronouns are used as copulae which in the case of Neo-Mandaic are not derived from the modern but from the classical pronouns. Presumably, the copula forms of the first and second persons in Hertevin also go back to

27 Macuch, Man. 154.

the independent pronouns, although the negated copulae have /w/. In WNA, finally, the copulae are formed with \*ʔī + L-suffixes as in Maha Xtaya.

Once again, ʔuroyo / Mlaḥso have proven their special position; while the copula forms of the third persons in all other dialects are based on \*ʔī, these forms go back to the presentative particle \*yū in ʔuroyo / Mlaḥso. And if we assume that the Jewish dialects of group D originally also had copulae with /l/ in the third persons, we can conclude that \*ʔī + L-suffix is the starting point for the 3.sg.m. and f. in all Neo-Aramaic dialects except Mandaic and ʔuroyo / Mlaḥso.

3.2 *Qāṭil and Infinitive*

As we have already seen, the presence or absence of marked verb forms is crucial for deciding what kind of prominence prevails in a verbal system. If the signum expressing the imperfective aspect is marked, this presupposes that another signum is used to express habitual situations. In the following, we will therefore summarise in which way imperfective and habitual situations are expressed. In group A, imperfective situations of the present are expressed by the infinitive and the present copula (deictic or enclitic), those of the past by the past copula and the infinitive; we will not take into account in the presentation whether the infinitives follow or precede the copulae. The preposition b- may precede the infinitive, but this will not be taken into account either. The signa for the expression of habitual situations will be given in brackets, first the one for the present, after the semicolon the one for the past. If no information is available for a category, this will be indicated by ?

TABLE 5      qāṭil and infinitive I (group A)

|           |                      |                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects | <b>Amadiya</b> (hab. = k-qāṭil; k-qāṭilwā [also impf.]; G. pp. 97, 104f)<br><b>Betanure</b> (hab. = k-qāṭil; k-qāṭilwā; pp. 61, 63f) |
|           | Trans-Zab dialects   | <b>Urmia</b> (hab. = [k-]qāṭil; <sup>a</sup> [k-]qāṭilwā; 251–255, 274–279)                                                          |
| Christian | Urmia                | <b>Urmia</b> (hab. = [ci-]qāṭil; [ci-]qāṭilwā; 274f, 283f)                                                                           |

a A prefix in brackets means that it is only used with a limited number of verbs, usually with verba I'.

TABLE 5      qāṭil and infinitive I (group A) (*cont.*)

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                | <p><b>Sardarid</b> (hab. = čī-qāṭil; čī-qāṭilwā; pp. 845, 847)</p> <p>In general:<sup>b</sup> hab. = 'i- / (ki-/k-/čī-/)qāṭil; 'i- / (ki-/k-/čī-/)qāṭilwā; (pp. 285f, 306, 312); in particular:</p> <p><b>Ġilu</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil; 'i-qāṭilwā; pp. 84, 87f)</p> <p><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (hab. = y-qāṭil; y-qāṭilwā; p. 310)</p> <p><b>Barwar</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil; 'i-qāṭilwā; see above ch. 19, sect. 3,5,7,8)</p> <p><b>Txuma</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil [seldom also ke-qāṭil]; 'i-qāṭilwā; pp. 98f, 135,142f)</p> <p><b>Sat</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil; 'i-qāṭilwā; p. 30)</p> |
| Judi group     | <p><b>Beṣpen</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil; 'i-qāṭilwā; 130f, 134)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Southern group | <p><b>Gaznax</b> (hab. = [ʔi-]qāṭil; ?; pp. 312f)</p> <p><b>Pioz 18th cent.</b> (1 example of past cop. + inf. [p. 173]; hab. = k-qāṭil; ? [p. 174, no. 10])</p> <p><b>Karamleš</b> (the inf. is only rarely used; hab. = k-qāṭil; ?; pp. 79, 82f)</p> <p><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (hab. = k-qāṭil; qāṭilwā [= ind. + non-ind.]; pp. 136–139, 189)</p> <p><b>Diyana</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil [but also qāṭil]; 'i-qāṭilwā [but also qāṭilwā]; pp. 330, 339f, 344, 350f)</p> <p><b>Aradin</b> (hab. = 'i-qāṭil; 'i-qāṭilwā; p. 33)</p>                                            |

- b After *Xabur dialects: in general*, the information provided by Talay in general on the dialects he studied is given; after *in particular*, the information from the special studies on the Txuma dialects, Barwar, Maha Xtaya, Sat or Ġilu is mentioned even if this does not differ from that of Talay.

In group B, the infinitive is only attested with present time reference. The copula precedes or follows:

TABLE 6      qāṭil and infinitive II (group B)

|           |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects | Čalla (hab. = k-qāṭil; past: hab. = k-qāṭilwā, impf. = ?; pp. 106f, 118f)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|           | Trans-Zab dialects   | – Western group:<br><b>Koy Sanḡaq</b> (hab. = [k-]qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. = [k-]qāṭilwā, impf. also: dā + qṭille; pp. 104, 111f)<br><b>Rustaqa</b> (lā + inf. + S-suff. / lā + inf. + pres. cop.; hab. = lā [k-]qāṭil [also impf.]; past: impf. + hab. = [k-]qāṭilwā; pp. 402, 407) <sup>a</sup>               |
| Christian | Southern group       | <b>Alqoṣ</b> 17th cent. (b + inf. without cop.; hab. = k-qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. = qāṭilwā; see above ch. 13.2, sect. 3.5.7)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (hab. = k-qāṭil; past: hab. = k-qāṭilwā, impf. = ?; pp. 255, 259)<br><b>Peṣabur</b> (hab. = k-qāṭil; past: hab. = k-qāṭilwā, impf. = ?; pp. 42–45) <sup>b</sup> |

a On lā (k-)qāṭil, see Khan, Indicative Markers 87.

b Also Rhétoré (Grammaire 86) mentions an infinitive construction for the Mosul plain only with present time reference (b + inf. + pres. cop.; hab. = k-qāṭil).

In the 17th cent. Jewish texts from Nerwa, inf. + past cop. is attested for the past (alongside qāṭilwā) but no corresponding form for the present (see above ch. 13.1, sect. 5).

Group C, finally, expresses imperfectivity not by means of infinitives but by a form of qāṭil:

TABLE 7 qāṭil and infinitive III (group C)

|        |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni dialects | <p><b>Nerwa</b> 17th cent. (pres.:<br/>impf. + hab. = k-qāṭil; past:<br/>impf. = inf. + past cop / qāṭilwā;<br/>hab. = qāṭilwā; see above ch. 13.1,<br/>sect. 3,5,7,8)<br/><b>Dohok</b> (pres.: impf. = wel / hol /<br/>hole + k-qāṭil, hab. = k-qāṭil [sometimes<br/>also impf., pres. cop. + inf. very seldom];<br/>past: impf. + hab. = k-qāṭilwā; pp. 296,<br/>321, 324ff, 352f)<br/><b>Barzan + Šahe + Beḡil</b> (pres.:<br/>'ale + 'i-qāṭil ['i- is often omitted; with<br/>6 verba r' / h ('i-)k-qāṭil is used]; in<br/>Beḡil qam-qāṭil is found as a variant<br/>[probably &lt; *qāyim + qāṭil] which is<br/>identical in form to the perfective form<br/>qam-qāṭil in other dialects: qampātəxle<br/>“he is opening it”; hab. = 'i-qāṭil; past:<br/>impf. + hab. = 'i-qāṭilwā; pp. 60, 70)<br/><b>Sandu</b> (pres.: impf. = le + k-qāṭil;<br/>past = ?)<sup>a</sup><br/>– Western group:<br/><b>Arbel</b> (pres.:<br/>impf. + hab. + fut. = [k-]qāṭil / lā + [k-]qāṭil;<br/>past: impf. + hab. = [k-]qāṭilwā, b + inf.<br/>only occasionally in circumstantial<br/>clauses; see above ch. 18, sect. 3,5,7,8)<br/><b>Dobe</b> (pres.: impf. = nā + [k-]qāṭil,<br/>hab. = ?; past = ?)</p> |
|        | Central-Zab group    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|        | Trans-Zab dialects   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

<sup>a</sup> See Khan, Indicative Markers 87.



TABLE 7      qāṭil and infinitive III (group C) (*cont.*)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |                | <p><b>Rawanduz + Rustaqa</b> (pres.:<br/>impf. = lā + [k-]qāṭil, beside lā + inf.,<br/>hab. = ?; past = ?)<sup>b</sup><br/>– Southern group:</p> <p><b>Sulemaniyya/Ḥalabğā</b> (pres.:<br/>impf. + hab. = [k-]qāṭil, inf. + pres.<br/>cop. is possible but is being displaced<br/>more and more by [k-]qāṭil; past:<br/>impf. + hab. = [k-]qāṭilwā; see above<br/>ch. 20, sect. 3,5,7,8)</p> <p><b>Sanandağ</b> (pres.: impf. + hab. =<br/>[k-]qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. =<br/>[k-]qāṭilwā; pp. 275, 280f)</p> <p><b>Saqqiz</b> (pres.: impf. + hab. = qāṭil;<br/>past = ?)<sup>c</sup></p>                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Christian | Southern group | <p><b>Qaraqoş</b> (pres.: impf. = k-ilə + k-qāṭil<br/>[sometimes also hab.], hab. = k-qāṭil;<br/>past: impf. = k-iwa + k-qāṭil,<br/>hab. = k-qāṭilwā; inf. only with 'zl + 'ty<br/>in: k-ilə / k-iwa + inf.; pp. 300, 311, 333,<br/>337, 349)</p> <p><b>Armoṭa</b> (pres.: impf. = lā + k-qāṭil;<br/>hab. = k-qāṭil; past = ?; b + inf. + pres. /<br/>past cop. very seldom; pp. 122–124)</p> <p><b>Sanandağ</b> (pres.: impf. = [k-]qāṭil + pres.<br/>cop., hab. = [k-]qāṭil; past:<br/>impf. = [k-]qāṭilwā + past cop.,<br/>hab. = [k-]qāṭilwā; pp. 244, 260)</p> <p><b>Koy Sanğaq</b> (pres.: impf. = lā + k-qāṭil,<br/>hab. + fut. = k-qāṭil; past:<br/>impf. + hab. = k-qāṭilwā)<sup>d</sup></p> <p><b>Aqra</b> (pres.: impf. = ni + k-qāṭil, hab. = ?;<br/>past = ?)</p> |

b For the last three dialects, see Khan, Indicative Markers 87.

c See Heinrichs, C. *Senāya* 257.

d See Mutzafi, *Features* 255.

TABLE 7      qāṭil and infinitive III (group C) (*cont.*)

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                 | <p><b>Bedyal</b> (pres.: impf. = ma + k-qāṭil, hab. = ?; past = ?)</p> <p><b>Ankawa</b> (pres.: impf. = di + k-qāṭil, hab. = ?; past = ?)<sup>e</sup></p> <p><b>Bohtan</b> (only mentioned that impf. is expressed without inf.; p. 174)</p> <p><b>Karamleš</b> (pres.: impf. = k-ilə + k-qāṭil, hab. = k-qāṭil; past: impf. = k-iwa + k-qāṭilwā, hab. = ? [sometimes also k-ilə / k-iwa + infinitive]; pp. 79, 82f)</p> |
| h-group         | <p><b>Hertevin</b> (pres.: impf. + hab. = qāṭil / bed-qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. = qāṭilwā / bed-qāṭilwā; see above ch. 17, sect. 3,5,7,8)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso | <p><b>Mlaḥso</b> (pres.: impf. + hab. = [x-]qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. = [x-]qāṭilwā; p. 51)</p> <p><b>Ṭuroyo</b> (pres.: impf. = k-qāṭil / k-metqetel / qāṭōlo [verbs of movement], hab. = k-qāṭil / k-metqetel; past: impf. + hab. = qāṭilwā / metqetelwā; see above ch. 16, sect. 3,5,7,8)</p>                                                                                                                         |
| WNA             | <p>(pres.: impf. = ‘am-qāṭil, hab. = qāṭil; past: impf. = wōb + ‘am-qāṭil, hab. = wōb + qāṭil; see above ch. 14, sect. 3,5,7,8)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Mandaic         | <p><b>Khorramshahr</b> (pres.: impf. + hab. = q-qāṭil; past: impf. + hab. = hwā + q-qāṭil; see above, ch. 15, sect. 3,5,6,7)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

<sup>e</sup> For the last three dialects, see Khan, Indicative Markers 87.

The use of the infinitive in any case is an important isogloss. It should be emphasised that the infinitive constructions must all be regarded as marked. Although they are sometimes used alongside other, unmarked verbal forms which can also express the imperfective aspect they are always used imperfectively, with the exception of occasional use to indicate the immediate

future. In the indicative domain, both with present and past time reference, the dialects of group A fulfil an important condition imposed on aspectual languages. With present and past time reference, an imperfective verbal form is contrasted with one for the expression of habitual situations, and with past time reference, the infinitive and *q̄ille* form a pure aspectual pair. Statements about group B can often only be made with reservations, as it cannot be ruled out that the absence of one verb form or the other is not merely due to the evidence. However, at least for J. Koy Sanğaq, for which a very competent monograph is available, it can be assumed that the infinitive construction is only used with present time reference. With regard to group C, it should be noted that infinitive constructions are also used here from time to time but only marginally alongside other verbal forms that primarily express the imperfective aspect. These dialects primarily use forms of *qāṭil*, in Țuroyo also *qāṭōlo*, which are combined with invariable particles or a form of the copula and are usually unmarked, i.e. they not only express the imperfective aspect but also fulfil other functions.

The constructions with *qāṭil* will now be discussed. Sometimes *k-qāṭil* does not only express habitual but also imperfective situations. Nöldeke (Urmia 294) already related *k-* – certainly rightly – to JBA and Mandaic *qā-* < \**qā'im*. Nöldeke's derivation is supported by the compound *qā'im qāṭil* in uncontracted form, as found in JBA.<sup>28</sup> As seen above in the chapter on Syriac (ch. 11, sect. 7.1), Barhebraeus mentions in his grammar a form with *k-*, i.e. *kā-qāṭil*, which, although it did not enter the Syriac written language, was certainly used in the vernacular, and also in JBA a variant *kā-* is attested.<sup>29</sup> *k-qāṭil* in the modern dialects can be easily derived from *kā-qāṭil*. Some dialects combine *qāṭil* with the prefix *'i-*, sometimes shifted > *y-*, which is derived by Nöldeke (Urmia 294) and, following him, Cohen (Phrase nominale 520) from the existential particle ܐܝܢ. Khan<sup>30</sup> rightly objects to this derivation, arguing that in this case one would expect that the /t/ would have been preserved in front of verb bases beginning with a vowel, as can be observed with the prefix *b(ed-)*. It therefore seems more appropriate to me to assume a derivation from the 3. person of the present copula \**il* + vowel, as Khan does.<sup>31</sup> This interpretation is supported by the dialects of C. Qaraqoş and Karamleş where the copula in uncontracted form is combined with *k-qāṭil*: *k-ilə k-qāṭil* (m.), *k-ila k-qāṭil* (f.; p. 331; p. 82). The contraction of \**ilā qāṭil* > *'i-qāṭil* presumably goes

28 See Khan, Indicative Markers 91.

29 See Heinrichs, *Senāya* 249.

30 Indicative Markers 92, note 16.

31 See Khan, Indicative Markers 92, note 16.

back to the negated form \*lā ʾilā qāṭil which became \*lā ʾi-qāṭil by dissimilation whereupon the affirmative form also underwent a shortening from \*ʾilā > \*ʾi. If this interpretation is correct, it means that very similar verb forms arose twice independently of each other in the course of Aramaic language history. Initially, the copula of the first and second persons arose from \*ʾi + hāwē, later the copula of the 3. person was used to form ʾi-qāṭil.

The two prefixes also occur in combination as ki- (< \*k + ʾi), namely in the Xabur dialects (ki- / čī- / ke-), C. Sardarid (či-), C. Urmia (ci-) and occasionally in other Christian dialects which will be discussed below (sect. 4). Heinrichs (Senāya 247) considers it possible that ki- also goes back to qā'im, i.e.: qā'im > \*qā'ē, then by regressive assimilation > \*qey > \*key > \*kē > kī. This interpretation, however, is refuted by Neo-Aramaic dialects such as C. Urmia (p. 286) in which the affirmative form is ki- or ci-qāṭil, the negated one, however, is le qāṭil; le qāṭil can only have arisen from \*lā ʾi-qāṭil, not from \*lā ki-qāṭil. It can therefore be assumed that in some Neo-Aramaic dialects ʾi-qāṭil and k-qāṭil were originally used in parallel with slightly different meanings and that at some point ʾi-qāṭil was reinforced by k-. The significance of this for the classification of the Neo-Aramaic dialects will be discussed below (sect. 4).

As can be seen from Tables 5–7, k-qāṭil is used to express the imperfective aspect in J. Arbel (next to lā qāṭil), J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa (next to inf. + pres. cop.), J. Sanandağ (impf. + hab.), J. Nerwa 17th cent. (impf. + hab.) and Țuroyo (impf. + hab.); x-qāṭil in Mlaḥso is not easy to explain but probably also goes back to k-qāṭil.<sup>32</sup> kō- in the village dialects of Țuroyo is striking; kā should have become kō here, but the /ā/ in kā- was probably dropped quite early on, as it is not preserved anywhere else; it cannot be ruled out that kō- goes back to *kwā* of the Anatolian qaltu dialects,<sup>33</sup> but it seems more likely to me that it was formed by analogy with k-qāṭil forms of verba 1' and of hwy. /ʾ/ and /h/ are elided here and /ā/ becomes /ō/, giving rise to forms such as *kōxal* "he eats" and *kōwe* "he becomes";<sup>34</sup> from here, kō- was transferred to verbs with a firm initial sound. Finally, q-qāṭil in the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr has to be mentioned where the original /q/ is preserved.

In addition, qāṭil is used in the compound lā + k-qāṭil. lā, which can also be placed before qṭille (see below), probably goes back to ʾila, i.e. to the 3.sg.f. of the copula,<sup>35</sup> and like k / kā it presumably originally had a presenta-

32 On this form, see Heinrichs, Senāya 245.

33 So Jastrow, qaltu-Dialekte 300f.

34 See Jastrow, Midin 145f.

35 See Khan, Indicative Markers 92.

tive character. *lā* + *k-qāṭil* is used in J. Rawandaz and Rustaqa, C. Armoṭa and C. Koy Saṅṣaq.

The inflected form of the copula can be combined with *k-* in the compound *k-ilə* + *k-qāṭil* in C. Qaraqoş and Karamleš, in C. Sanandağ, on the other hand, it follows *k-qāṭil* without *k-*.

Instead of *lā*, the copulae *wel* / *hol* / *hole* can be combined with *k-qāṭil*, as in J. Dohok. *le* + *k-qāṭil*, on the other hand, goes back to the 3.sg.m. of the copula. This compound is attested in J. Sandu.

*nā* + (*k-*)*qāṭil* in J. Dobe is probably a variant of *lā-*, as is *ma* + *k-qāṭil* in C. Bedyal and *ni* + *k-qāṭil* in C. Aqra, while *di* + *k-qāṭil* in C. Ankawa probably goes back to the particle that also serves to emphasise an imperative, and *ʾale* in *ʾale* + (*ʾi-*)*qāṭil* in J. Barzan probably reflects the sound change /*t*/ > /*l*/ typical of the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects and can be traced back to *ʾty* “to come”, i.e.: “he is coming”.<sup>36</sup> Noteworthy is *qam-qāṭil* which can be used in J. Beğil as a variant of *ʾale* + *ʾi-qāṭil* and, like the /*k*/ in *k-qāṭil*, probably goes back to old *qāʾim*.

In J. Saqqiz and C. Hertevin, finally, simple *qāṭil* describes imperfective and habitual situations which can also be expressed by *bed-qāṭil* in Hertevin, while WNA uses *ʾam-*, borrowed from Arabic, as a prefix.

The expression of the imperfective aspect by an infinitive construction is primarily found in the northern NENA region in both Jewish and Christian dialects but is absent – in addition to WNA, Neo-Mandaic and ʿTuroyo / Mlaḥso – in Hertevin and Bohtan. The use of the infinitive to express the imperfective aspect in Neo-Aramaic is sometimes attributed to the influence of Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian or the Iranian dialects of the Tati group.<sup>37</sup> However, this assumption is by no means compelling. Firstly, the derivation from the languages and dialects mentioned is not unproblematic<sup>38</sup> and, moreover, the use of a locative preposition and a nominal verb form to express the imperfective aspect is very popular in languages worldwide and may well represent an inner-Aramaic development.<sup>39</sup>

And one more thing that catches the eye when looking at the Tables must be mentioned here. It is striking that in none of the dialects which express the imperfective aspect by *qāṭil* and a form of the copula, *ʾi-qāṭil* or *ki-qāṭil* are used to indicate habitual situations. As can be seen from Tables 5–7 and 8–12 (see below), in the Xabur and Judi dialects as well as in and around Urmia, habitual situations are primarily expressed by *ʾi-qāṭil* and *ki-qāṭil*, and it is precisely there that imperfective situations are indicated by the infinitive and

36 See Khan, *Indicative Markers* 93.

37 So by Khan, *Indicative Markers* 93f, for example.

38 Cf. Heinrichs, *Senāya* 259f.

39 Cf. Bybee, *Evolution* 129f.

a form of the copula. This fact is not surprising. Already the prefixes 'i- and ki- go back to copula forms and consequently there was a reluctance to combine 'i- and ki-qāṭil with a further copula, and in fact no such combination is attested in any dialect.<sup>40</sup>

This means that the dialects with 'i- and ki-qāṭil had little choice but to choose the infinitive with a copula form to express the imperfective aspect, if we ignore such extravagant constructions as 'ale + 'i-qāṭil in J. Barzan. The use of the infinitive is therefore primarily due to a system-immanent necessity which makes the assumption of an external influence rather unlikely. If necessary, one could argue that only non-Aramaic languages would have sharpened the awareness of imperfective categories and thus contributed to the formation of corresponding signa, but this argument loses a good part of its persuasive power if one takes into account that the vast majority of dialects have imperfective signa so that one would consequently have to assume an external influence for almost the entire Aramaic language area. One is therefore best advised to regard the use of the infinitive as the result of an inner-Aramaic development.

As we have seen, indicativity can be marked by k- or 'i- which, however, are regularly only preserved with verbs whose original first root consonant is /ʔ/ or /h/. Here is an overview, the dialects with the prefix ki- (< k + 'i) provisionally being categorised as k-dialects. Let us start with the dialects with k-qāṭil which preserve k- with all verbs:

TABLE 8      k- is preserved with all verbs

|        |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni<br>dialects | <b>Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (p. XXXIX)<br><b>Čalla</b> (p. 106)<br><b>Amadiya</b> (G. p. 97)<br><b>Betanure</b> (before cons. often omitted; p. 54)<br><b>Dohok</b> (p. 125)<br><b>Zaxo</b><br><b>Mangeš<sup>a</sup></b> |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

a On Zaxo and Mangeš, see Heinrichs, *Senāya* 244.

40 A possible exception is C. Sanandağ. As can be seen above, imperfective situations are expressed by (k-)qāṭil + pres. cop. there. The negation *le qāṭil* (p. 257), however, shows that also 'i-qāṭil must have been in use in C. Sanandağ at some point. It can be assumed that the prefix 'i- had long since been replaced by k- and forgotten when (k-)qāṭil + pres. cop. was formed.

TABLE 8     k- is preserved with all verbs (*cont.*)

|           |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Central-Zab group | <b>Beğil</b> (k- or y-, optional; p. 69)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|           | Northern group    | <b>Salamas</b> (ci-) <sup>b</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|           | Urmia             | <b>Urmia</b> (ci-, optional, in the northern and western varieties also 'i-; p. 274f)<br><b>Sardarid</b> (či-; p. 845)                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Mandaic   | Southern group    | <b>Alqoš 17th cent.</b> (see above ch. 13.2, sect. 7)<br><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (p. 136)<br><b>Qaraqoš</b> (before cons. sometimes omitted; p. 98)<br><b>Pešabur</b> (pp. 42f)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (p. 255)<br><b>Karamleš</b> (before cons. sometimes omitted; p. 79)<br><b>Armoṭa</b> (pp. 122f) |
|           |                   | <b>Ṭuroyo</b> (very seldom with qāṭilwā; p. 112)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|           | Ṭuroyo/Mlaḥso     | <b>Khorramshahr</b> (q-qāṭil, q- is sometimes omitted; p. 179)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|           |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|           |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

b    Khan, C. Urmi 274.

In the following dialects, k- is only preserved with verba I ':

TABLE 9     k- is only preserved with verba I '

|        |                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Trans-Zab dialects | <b>Koy Saṅṅaq</b> (p. 85)<br><b>Arbel</b> (p. 96)<br><b>Sulemaniyya/Ḥalabḡa</b> (p. 102)<br><b>Urmia</b> (p. 75)<br><b>Sanandaḡ</b> (p. 98)<br><b>Saqqiz</b> <sup>a</sup><br><b>Rustaqa</b> <sup>?b</sup> |
|        | Central-Zab group  | <b>Barzan + Šahe</b> (p. 61)                                                                                                                                                                              |

a    See Heinrichs, *Senāya* 244.

b    The topic is not dealt with explicitly; in the paradigms (p. 401), forms without k- are given, but on page 402 one finds the example *'āna lā k-en* "I know", i.e. with k-.

TABLE 9      k- is only preserved with verba I ’ (*cont.*)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Xabur dialects | ( <b>Gundek</b> [k-], <b>Mazra</b> [ki-], <b>Tiyari</b> [či-], normally ’i-qāṭil; pp. 306f; Jacobi mentions ’i ~ ke as variants in <b>Txuma</b> ; p. 96) |
|           | Southern group | <b>Sanandağ</b> (p. 241)                                                                                                                                 |
|           | Ṭuroyo/Mlaḥso  | <b>Mlaḥso</b> ([x-]qāṭil; pp. 37f)                                                                                                                       |

The following dialects have the prefix ’i- that is preserved with all verbs:

TABLE 10      ’i- is preserved with all verbs

|           |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Central-Zab group | <b>Barzan</b> + <b>Šahe</b> + <b>Beğil</b> (an optional y- can be placed before qāṭil and k-qāṭil (I ’): (y-)nāšəq, (y-)k-exəl; pp. 6of)                                                                        |
| Christian | Xabur dialects    | In general (p. 307); in particular:<br><b>Barwar</b> (’i- is often omitted; p. 174)<br><b>Ğilu</b> (’i-is sometimes omitted; p. 32)<br><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (p. 310)<br><b>Txuma</b> (p. 96)<br><b>Sat</b> (p. 30) |
|           | Southern group    | <b>Araḍin</b> (p. 32)<br><b>Diyana</b> (p. 199)                                                                                                                                                                 |
|           | Judi group        | <b>Beşpen</b> (p. 129)                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|           |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

In some dialects, ’i- is only preserved with verba I ’:

TABLE 11      ’i- is only preserved with verba I ’

|           |                |                                                                               |
|-----------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Southern group | <b>Bohtan</b> (k-qāṭil only with the verb b’y “to want”: ibe ~ k-ibe; p. 173) |
|           | Judi group     | <b>Gaznax</b> (p. 312)                                                        |



Finally, two dialects know neither 'i- nor k-qāṭil:

TABLE 12     Without 'i- / k-qāṭil

|           |         |                                                                                                                      |
|-----------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | ḥ-group | <b>Hertevin</b> (k-qāṭil only with the verb b'y "to want"; see above ch. 17, sect. 1)<br>(see above ch. 14, sect. 1) |
|           | WNA     |                                                                                                                      |

It can be assumed that all dialects except WNA originally had 'i- or k-qāṭil, and the question arises as to why, in the dialects that have basically discarded the prefixes, they are preserved in the case of verba 1' / h. Heinrichs (Senāya 256) gives a plausible answer to this question. He argues that after the loss of /'/, the prefixes were followed by a vowel and in this position they have far greater prominence and audibility than before consonants, as in *k-pāṣex* where the k- is hardly audible; moreover, among these verbs there are those with meanings such as "say", "come", "eat", "go" etc., which occur very frequently in everyday language use so that the constant use merged the prefix and verb base into an inseparable unit. Furthermore, we have to ask ourselves why the prefixes were discarded in certain dialects at all. In this regard, Heinrichs<sup>41</sup> makes an interesting observation. Full k-dialects, as he calls them, express the imperfective aspect by (b +) inf. + cop., restricted k-dialects use a compound of qāṭil such as lā + qāṭil or qāṭil + cop. The reason he gives for this phenomenon is the excessive markedness of pairs with the same verb base such as k-qāṭil and lā + qāṭil which is more obvious here than when a k-qāṭil form is contrasted with an infinitive construction; for this reason, the k- was elided. A look at the Tables shows that this observation can be confirmed for some dialects. Thus for the following full k-dialects: J. Amadiya, J. Čalla, C. Alqoš (17th cent.), C. Alqoš (modern), C. Telkepe, C. Urmia, for J. Nerwa (17th cent.) at least the infinitive with past copula is attested. On the other hand, there are also some reservations to be made. J. Betanure uses infinitives with present and past time reference, but k- is often omitted before consonants; J. Dohok and C. Qaraqoš generally preserve k-, but they use infinitive constructions only very rarely; the same applies to C. Armoṭa; Neo-Mandaic generally preserves the prefix but does not use an infinitive.

In the case of the restricted k-dialects, this observation is confirmed for J. Arbel, J. Sanandağ, J. Saqqiz, C. Mlaḥso and C. Sanandağ but not for J. Koy

41     Senāya 257.

Sanġaq and J. Urmia, both restricted k-dialects which, however, express the imperfective aspect by inf. + cop.; finally, in J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabġa, the infinitive is increasingly displaced by k-qāṭil but is still in use. All in all, however, we can still speak of a tendency; Heinrich's explanation, however, that the excessive markedness is more noticeable in pairs of the same verb base such as k-qāṭil and lā + qāṭil and has thus led to the elision of k- does cause difficulties if we consider the dialects that are restricted or have no k-qāṭil at all but use one and the same verb form for imperfective and habitual situations, such as J. Sanandaġ ([k-]qāṭil for both), C. Mlaḥso ([x-]qāṭil), C. Hertevin (qāṭil) and J. Saqqiz (qāṭil). I think we get closer to an explanation of the facts if we take the signa that express posteriority to the speech time into account. Heinrichs claims that none of the restricted k-dialects developed a prefix to indicate this category.<sup>42</sup> This is not true for C. Armoṭa and the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr which belong to the full k-dialects but do not have a future prefix. And on the other side, there are some restricted k-dialects that do have a future prefix, such as C. Urmia (p. 275) and C. Mlaḥso (p. 52). But there is a tendency here as well, and I think that the relationship between the use of the prefixes and the expression of the imperfective aspect becomes clearer when the dialects without a future prefix are grouped together:

TABLE 13     The use of prefixes

| Dialect                     | Fut.                                                | Hab.                          | Impf.                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| J. Koy Sanġaq               | (k-)qāṭil (p. 111)                                  | (k-)qāṭil (p. 111)            | (b + inf. only occasionally in circumstantial clauses)                                      |
| J. Arbel                    | (k-)qāṭil /<br>lā + (k-)qāṭil<br>(ch. 18, sect. 10) | (k-)qāṭil /<br>lā + (k-)qāṭil | (k-)qāṭil / lā + qāṭil                                                                      |
| J. Sulemaniyya /<br>Ḥalabġa | (k-)qāṭil (ch. 20,<br>sect. 10)                     | (k-)qāṭil                     | (k-)qāṭil (inf. + pres. cop. is possible but is being displaced more and more by [k-]qāṭil) |

42     Senāya 257.

TABLE 13 The use of prefixes (*cont.*)

| Dialect      | Fut.                                          | Hab.      | Impf.                |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| J. Sanandağ  | (k-)qāṭil (p. 277) <sup>a</sup>               | (k-)qāṭil | (k-)qāṭil            |
| C. Armoṭa    | k-qāṭil (p. 122f)                             | k-qāṭil   | lā + k-qāṭil         |
| C. Sanandağ  | qāṭil (p. 241)                                | k-qāṭil   | k-qāṭil + pres. cop. |
| WNA          | qāṭil / batt +<br>yiqṭul (ch. 14,<br>sect. 9) | qāṭil     | 'am-qāṭil            |
| Mand. Khorr. | q-qāṭil (ch. 15,<br>sect. 8)                  | q-qāṭil   | q-qāṭil              |

a J. Rustaqa probably also belongs to the dialects that express the future by (k-)qāṭil; cf. *paṣix* "he will be pleased" (p. 409).

Compare this with k- or 'i-dialects such as J. Betanure and J. Barzan:

| Dialect     | Fut.                   | Hab.    | Impf.           |
|-------------|------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| J. Betanure | b-qāṭil (p. 61)        | k-qāṭil | cop. + b + inf. |
| J. Barzan   | b- ~ bed-qāṭil (p. 60) | y-qāṭil | 'ale + 'i-qāṭil |

What is striking about the five Jewish dialects without a future prefix, which belong to the western and south-eastern group of the Trans-Zab dialects, is the uniformity of the paradigms. Apart from *lā* + *qāṭil* in Arbel, no prefixes are used to express temporal and aspectual categories, and in Koy Saṅṅaq, which uses the infinitive, the copula is in second position; the verba 1', where k- is preserved, also fit into the scheme because k- is phonetically fully integrated into the verb form in this case and is probably perceived less as a prefix and more as a first root consonant. The situation is quite different in Betanure and Barzan; not only are prefixes used to express habitual and future situations, moreover, the copula or *'ale* also precede the verb form when it comes to indicating imperfective situations. There is thus indeed a correlation between the use of k- and the expression of future and imperfectivity, but this does not seem to be primarily due to an excessive markedness but rather to the endeavour to standardise the verbal paradigm. In the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects, there is a tendency to use *qāṭil* and infinitives without prefixes and preceding copula forms; in the other dialects, including those that do not use *bed-*, such as C. Armoṭa and M. Khorramshahr, there is often a tendency to use such prefixes. This tendency also applies to the compound *qam* + *qāṭil* to be discussed below which is used in many dialects instead of *qṭille* when object suffixes are

added to the verbal form but which is not found in the Trans-Zab dialects. The consequence of this tendency in these dialects is a clear loss of differentiation capacity because simple *qāṭil* of verba 1 # ' expresses four categories there: non-indicative (that he kill), hab. (he always kills), fut. (he will kill) and impf. (he is killing), and *qāṭil* of verba 1 ' expresses no less than three categories.

Please note that these explanations only refer to the k-dialects. Also in the dialects with 'i-qāṭil, the prefix is usually retained and imperfectivity is, as in some full k-dialects, expressed by the infinitive; however, as already mentioned, the use of the infinitive here is probably due to the prefix 'i-, which goes back to the copula and caused a reluctance to combine 'i-qāṭil with another copula, which is why the infinitive was chosen.

At this point, we must return to the prefix *bed-* that is only found in the NENA dialects.<sup>43</sup> This may be derived from the compound *bā'ē* "to want" + *d* that is reported by Maclean (Urmia 122) for the dialect of Ṭāl: *bā'ēn d zāmrēn* "I will sing". If *bed-* goes back to the AP of b'y, it must be assumed that the 3.sg.m. was also transferred to the other persons, or else, like Nöldeke (Urmia 295) and Cohen (Phrase nominale 520), one takes an impersonally used PP *b'ī* as the starting point, i.e.: *quaesitum (est) ut. gid-* in Ṭuroyo, on the other hand, could go back to \**qāyim d*, i.e. originally: *he has risen so that he ...*: \**qāyim d* > \**qēm d* > \**qemd* > \**qimd* > \**qidd* > \**kid* > *gid*. An ad hoc sound change such as that of *q* > *k* > *g* is not unproblematic, but it should be borne in mind that particles, once they have lost their etymological connection with their original word, develop quite freely.<sup>44</sup>

A peculiarity that immediately catches the eye regarding the use of *bed-qāṭil* is the fact that it cannot be negated in the majority of dialects and that *la k-qāṭil* or *la 'i-qāṭil* is rather used to negate *bed-qāṭil*, *la* + 'i usually becoming *le*, as in C. Ġilu: 'i-qāṭil (hab.), *bt-qāṭil* (fut.), *le qāṭil* (negated 'i-qāṭil and *bt-qāṭil*; pp. 32f). From among the NENA dialects, I know of only four dialects in which *bed-* can be negated, these are J. Urmia (*b-qāṭil* : *b-la qāṭil*; p. 85), C. Alqoš 17th cent. (*bed-qāṭil* : *la bed-qāṭil*; ch. 13.2, sect. 11),<sup>45</sup> C. Qaraqoš (*bəd-qāṭil* : *la bəd-qāṭil*; p. 100), C. Txuma (*bəd-qāṭil* : *le bəd-qāṭil*, rarely with *la*; p. 164).<sup>46</sup> *gid-* ~ *g-* or *d-* in Ṭuroyo and in C. Mlaḥso can also be negated: *gid-* ~ *g-qāṭil* :

43 For the individual forms in the dialects, see Coghill, Verbal System 23–26.

44 A derivation of *gid-* from Syriac *kaḏ d*, as Talay (Khabur 306, note 354) assumes, seems doubtful to me. The evidence of *kaḏ qāṭil* in Nöldeke (SG 206f), to which Talay refers, all represent circumstantial descriptions with past time reference. For another possible derivation of *gid-*, see Cohen, Phrase nominale 566.

45 Negated *bed-* is attested here only once, but Rhétoré (Grammaire 90) also confirms the use of *la bed-qāṭil* for the Mosul plain.

46 Talay does not explicitly comment on the negation of *bed-qāṭil* in the Xabur dialects, but it seems that, like 'i-qāṭil, it is negated by *le qāṭil*; cf. p. 329.

li g-qāṭil (ch. 16, sect. 10.1), d-qāṭil : lo d-qāṭil.<sup>47</sup> How can it be explained that bed- cannot be negated in most dialects? I think the answer to this question is less to be found in the phonological or morphological area but rather in semantics.

The combination of an auxiliary verb of volition and a finite or infinite main verb first of all expresses a state in which the situation associated with the main verb appears as something merely volitional and is to be regarded as completely non-indicative. If this semantic unity of the will expressed by the auxiliary verb and the situation of the main verb is dissolved, the actual realisation of the situation can be inferred from the existing will, and the stronger the will takes shape in the imagination of the speaker, the more certain the realisation of the action must appear to him until at a later stage of development the certainty of the realisation finally comes to the forefront of the imagination and the original meaning of the auxiliary verb fades. In the case of a negation, the matter is quite different. It is true that from a sentence like *he does not want to come*, one may conclude that the action will not be carried out, but there is a big difference to the corresponding positive sentence and this consists in the absence of the will from which one has inferred the certainty that the action will occur. To conclude from the existence of a strong will to the actual realisation of an action, is not difficult; conclusions from the absence of a will, on the other hand, must be far more vague and uncertain in the mind of the speaker. And it is precisely the presence of certainty that characterises an indicative situation. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the original meaning of the auxiliary verb can be completely lost, resulting in a purely indicative form; however, it can also be retained to a certain extent as with the will-future in English which, in contrast to other future forms, is used precisely when the situation is hypothetical.<sup>48</sup> In all likelihood, bed-qāṭil or gid- / d-qāṭil was quickly understood as an indicative form in the six dialects mentioned above, while this was not the case in the others; here, the original meaning of will was still felt in bed- and consequently its negation was dispensed with, as this would have given the statement a degree of uncertainty that the situation would not have been understood as posterior and indicative, and instead the negated forms of k-qāṭil and 'i-qāṭil were used. For at that time, as we shall see below (sect. 4), these two signa did not only denote habitual situations but also future ones.

47 See p. 100, no. 189: *lo d-osi gebi?* "will they not come to me?"

48 Accordingly, in weather reports, which in previous years often resembled a lottery game, one usually finds the will-future, while the going-to-future is used for forecasts that are based on direct observation: *Look at the clouds! It is going to rain.*

This observation allows at least some conclusions to be drawn about the relative chronology of the verb forms. When *bed-qāṭil* was introduced, simple *qāṭil* must have already been used in a non-indicative function and *k-qāṭil* / *ʾi-qāṭil* must have expressed not only situations with present time reference – as the use in the classical languages and modern dialects implies – but also future situations. This means that the latter two verb forms could not have been aspectual or temporal signa at that time but rather modal ones expressing indicativity. This scenario applies to the dialects that do not negate *bed-qāṭil*. In the others, *bed-* was probably perceived as indicative very quickly and accordingly it was not only used to express affirmative but also negative statements; and it should be borne in mind that future situations, at least in Turoyo and C. Tsuma, are not negated by *la* but by *li* or *le*; this means here, too, the indicative *ʾi-qāṭil* must originally have been used in negations.

As has already been seen from the above, the individual dialects use different numbers of signa to express the categories discussed here, i.e. non-indicativity, imperfectivity (pres.), habituality (pres.) and future, and it may be worthwhile to arrange the dialects in this respect. The sources for the signa expressing imperfectivity and habituality can be found in Tables 5–7, the signum for non-indicative situations is always *qāṭil* except in WNA, the page references here refer to the category of future / posteriority.

### 3.2.1 Dialects with Two Signa

J. Sanandağ: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*k*-)*qāṭil* (impf., hab., fut.; p. 277); C. Hertevin: *qāṭil* (non-ind., impf., hab.), *bed-qāṭil* (fut., hab.; p. 55f); Mand. Khorramshahr: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), *q-qāṭil* (impf., hab., fut.; pp. 178f). And J. Arbel should also be included here since, although it has three signa, two of them are used in approximately the same way: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*k*-)*qāṭil* / *lā* (*k*-)*qāṭil* (impf., hab., fut.; p. 250).

### 3.2.2 Dialects with Three Signa

One group of dialects uses one signum for imperfectivity and habituality:

J. Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*k*-)*qāṭil* (impf., hab., fut.; p. 104), *inf.* + *cop.* (impf., more and more replaced by [*k*-]*qāṭil*); C. Mlaḥso: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*x*-)*qāṭil* (impf., hab.), *d-qāṭil* (fut.; p. 52); C. Bohtan: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*ʾi*-)*qāṭil* (impf., hab.), *bed-qāṭil* (fut.; p. 174); Turoyo: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), *k(ō)*-*qāṭil* (hab., impf.), *gid-qāṭil* (fut.; ch. 16, sect. 9, 10).

Another group uses one signum for habituality and future / posteriority:

J. Koy Sanğaq: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), (*k*-)*qāṭil* (hab., fut.; p. 111), *inf.* + *cop.* (impf.); C. Armoṭa: *qāṭil* (non-ind.), *k-qāṭil* (hab., fut.; p. 121), *lā* + *k-qāṭil* (impf.).

C. Sanandağ, finally, only has one signum for non-indicativity and future / posteriority: *qāṭil* (non-ind., fut., but negated by *la* and *le*; p. 241), (*k*-)*qāṭil* (hab.), (*k*-)*qāṭil* + *cop.* (impf.).

### 3.2.3 Dialects with Four Signa

The remaining dialects included in the study use simple *qāṭil* for non-indicativity, 'i- or *k-qāṭil* for habituality, *bed-qāṭil* for future / posteriority and a construction with the infinitive or *qāṭil* for imperfectivity. A dialect with four signa is that of J. Betanure:

*qāṭil* (non-ind.), *k-qāṭil* (hab.), *b-qāṭil* (fut.; p. 61), *cop.* + *b* + *inf.* (impf.).

### 3.3 Verbal Stems

The old t-stems have only been preserved in WNA (see above ch. 14, sect. 1), Țuroyo (see above ch. 16, sect. 1), Mlaḥso (pp. 33f) and in Neo-Mandaic (see above ch. 15, sect. 1) and express passive and reflexive situations. WNA has also adopted some stems from Arabic. The NENA dialects only have verbs derived from t-stems in individual cases which are often taken from Arabic, such as *mištāhe* “to desire” < Arab. VIII šhy in J. Nerwa 17th cent. (p. xxxviii).<sup>49</sup> Apart from that, however, they have merged into the non-t-stems. Some dialects have three stems that have developed from old *qṭal* (= I), *qatṭel* (= II) and 'aqṭel (= III). However, the PPS of stems II and III are not direct descendants of the old participles with an /a/ after the m- or the first root consonant, as *mqatṭal* and *maqṭal* in Syriac and JBA, but rather go back to forms with a /u/ in the corresponding places which are attested in some Jewish languages and dialects and are also present in Hebrew *mqutṭāl*. *mqutṭal* is attested in the Targum Onqelos and occasionally in the Yemenite Targumim as well as in a manuscript of Babylonian Biblical Aramaic; the Targum Onqelos has occasional *muqṭal*.<sup>50</sup> In addition, the geminated consonant of *qatṭel* is reduced to the corresponding singleton in Neo-Aramaic. Such a system consisting of three stems is found in J. Amadiya. The 3.sg.m. of *qāṭil* and *qṭille* are as follows:

|     |               |                               |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------------|
| I   | <i>qāṭel</i>  | <i>qṭelle</i>                 |
| II  | <i>mqāṭel</i> | <i>mqōṭelle</i>               |
| III | <i>maqṭel</i> | <i>muqṭelle</i> <sup>51</sup> |

49 See further J. Betanure (p. 45), J. Čalla (p. 95), C. Telkepe (p. 252) and C. Qaraqoş (pp. 86f).

50 See Dalman, *Grammatik* 253; Fassberg, *Genizah* 169.

51 G. pp. 94, 99, 183f, 193f.

The following dialects have the same system:

TABLE 14 Dialects with three verbal stems

|           |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects | <b>J. Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (p. xxxviii)<br><b>Dohok</b> (p. 128)<br><b>Betanure</b> (pp. 46f)<br><b>Čalla</b> (pp. 95–97)<br><b>Amadiya</b> (see above)                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Christian | Urmia                | <b>Urmia</b> (pp. 26of)<br><b>Sardarid</b> (p. 844)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|           | Xabur dialects       | In general: (pp. 219–223); <sup>a</sup> in particular:<br><b>Barwar</b> (see above ch. 19, sect. 1)<br><b>Txuma</b> (pp. 85f)<br><b>Ğilu</b> (pp. 29ff)<br><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (p. 306)<br><b>Sat</b> (p. 28)                                                                                                              |
|           | Southern group       | <b>Alqoš 17th cent.</b> (see above ch. 13.2, sect. 1)<br><b>Pioz 18th cent.</b> (p. 174, nos. 3, 4)<br><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (pp. 122f)<br><b>Pešabur</b> (p. 41)<br><b>Karamleš</b> (p. 76)<br><b>Arađin</b> (pp. 25–27)<br><b>Qaraqoš</b> (pp. 85f)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (p. 252)<br><b>Diyana</b> (pp. 182–185) <sup>b</sup> |
|           | Judi group           | <b>Beşpen</b> (pp. 97–100) <sup>c</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|           | ḥ-group              | <b>Hertevin</b> (see above ch. 17, sect. 1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|           | Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso      | <b>Mlaḥso</b> (+ t-stems; pp. 33f)<br><b>Ṭuroyo</b> (+ t-stems; see above ch. 16, sect. 1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|           | WNA                  | (+ t-stems; see above ch. 14, sect. 1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Mandaic   |                      | <b>Khorramshahr</b> (see above ch. 15, sect. 1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

a In some dialects of this group, such as Barwar and Ğilu, stem II can also be formed without an m-prefix; p. 221.

b Here, too, stem II is formed without the prefix m-; see pp. 183f.

c The prefix m- of stem II is regularly used only with the status emph. of the PP; since the second root consonant is degeminated, qāṭil, qṭille and imperative are mostly identical in stems I and II; see p. 98f.



In other dialects, qat̤tel has merged with old q̤tal or ʾaq̤tel. This is the case in J. Sanandağ where it has completely merged with q̤tal except in the imperative. The 3.sg.m. of q̤atil and q̤ille have the following forms in this dialect:

|    |                        |                                                       |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| I  | garəš “he pulls”       | grəšle “he pulled him” (< q̤tal)                      |
|    | paləṭ “he brings out”  | pləṭle “he brought him out (< qat̤tel)                |
| II | marxəš “he makes walk” | mərxəšle “he made him walk” (< ʾaq̤tel) <sup>52</sup> |

Such a system consisting of two stems is found in:

TABLE 15     Dialects with two verbal stems

|           |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Trans-Zab dialects                  | – North-eastern group:<br>Urmia (p. 73)<br>– Western group:<br>Rustaqa (p. 399)<br>Koy Sanğaq (pp. 74–76)<br>Arbel (pp. 89f)<br>– South-eastern group:<br>Sanandağ (see above)<br>Kerend (pp. 282f)<br>Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa<br>(see above ch. 20, sect. 1)<br>Barzan + Šahe + Beğil (pp. 56f) |
| Christian | Central-Zab group<br>Southern group | Aqra <sup>a</sup><br>Armoṭa (pp. 68–72)<br>Bohtan (pp. 172f)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

a See Coghill, Features 102.

Regarding the Jewish dialects, the Great Zab forms the boundary between dialects with three stems (Lišana Deni dialects) and those with two (Trans-Zab dialects and Barzan). It is difficult to categorise the Christian dialects geographically. In general, systems with three stems predominate, while only three dialects with two stems have been identified. If a cross-religious statement is permitted, it can be said that the Jewish and Christian dialects to the west of

52 Pp. 69, 74.

the Zab are more conservative in preserving three stems than the Jewish dialects to the east of this river.

The formation of the infinitive is important for the history of Aramaic and the classification of the individual dialects and will also be discussed here. Some dialects, which distinguish between three stems, form the infinitive according to qṭāla (I), mqaṭōle (II) and maqṭōle (III). These include:

TABLE 16     Dialects with qṭāla (I), mqaṭōle (II) and maqṭōle (III)

|           |                                                   |                                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects                              | <b>Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (p. xxxviii)<br><b>Betanure</b> (pp. 46f)<br><b>Čalla</b> (pp. 95–97)<br><b>Amadiya</b> (G. p. 87)<br><b>Dohok</b> (p. 128) |
| Christian | Xabur dialects<br>(pp. 221–223)<br>Southern group | <b>Alqoš</b> (pp. 122f)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (p. 252)<br><b>Karamleš</b> (p. 76)<br><b>Aradin</b> (p. 24)                                              |

In the Christian dialects of Alqoš, Telkepe and Karamleš,<sup>53</sup> the initial m- in stem II is sometimes elided in direct contact with the first root consonant. In other dialects it is generally omitted, for example in the Christian dialects of Beşpen (qaṭōle; p. 98) and Urmia (qaṭūle; p. 260);<sup>54</sup> noteworthy is C. Qaraqoš which distinguishes three stems and forms the AP and PP with m- in stems II and III but not the infinitive: mqaṭəl + maqṭəl (AP), mquṭil + muqṭil (PP) but qaṭōlə + 'aqṭōlə (p. 85f). Țuroyo also has infinitive forms, but these are primarily used paranomastically. In stem I it is qṭālā (> qṭōlo; p. 123), the others also have forms without m- (II = qiṭōlo, III = tuqṭilo, tēqṭilo, taqṭōlo; pp. 153, 171). In WNA, the infinitive of old 'aqṭel has an m-: qṭōla, quṭṭōla / qiṭṭōla, muqṭōlta / muqṭōlta.<sup>55</sup> In Neo-Mandaic the infinitive is probably no longer in use.<sup>56</sup>

Dialects with only two stems sometimes form the infinitive of the G-stem according to qṭāla and that of stem II according to maqṭōle, as in J. Arbel

53     II = mqaṭōle ~ qaṭōle; see *ibid*.

54     Rhétoré (*Grammaire* 113) mentions the same phenomenon for the Hakkari Mountains.

55     Spitaler, *Grammatik* 149f.

56     See Macuch, *Man.* 284.

(p. 89) and J. Koy Sanġaq (pp. 74–76); C. Bohtan (p. 173), on the other hand, has qṭāla and qaṭōle; i.e. the infinitive of stem II is not formed according to the pattern that dialects with three stems use to express the infinitive of stem III but according to the pattern of stem II. In some Jewish Trans-Zab dialects, on the other hand, the pattern of stem II was transferred to the G-stem, namely:

**Urmia** (I = qaṭōle, II = maqṭōle; pp. 65f); **Sanandaġ** (I = qaṭōle, II = maqṭōle; pp. 65f); **Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabġa** (I = qaṭōle, II = maqṭōle; p. 80); **Rustaqa** (I = qaṭōla, II = maqṭōla; p. 399)

The compilation confirms once again that the Jewish Lišana Deni dialects are more conservative than the Trans-Zab dialects; in the former, three stems are preserved (qṭāla, mqaṭōle, maqṭōle), in the latter, stem II without m- was transferred to the G-stem (qaṭōle, maqṭōle). The only exceptions among the Trans-Zab dialects are Arbel and Koy Sanġaq which have qṭāla in the G-stem. The Christian dialects behave more like the Jewish Lišana Deni dialects in that they also have a triple system consisting of qṭāla, mqaṭōle and maqṭōle even if the m- in stem II does not appear to be as stable.

qṭāla certainly goes back to qaṭāl, a very old infinitive pattern. In Akkadian and Arabic, qaṭāl is used as an infinitive of the G-stem,<sup>57</sup> the same applies to Ugaritic, qāṭōl expresses the inf. absol. in Hebrew and qīṭāl, with vowel dissimilation, is the regular infinitive of stem III in Arabic (qāṭala). Its vowel pattern with /ā/ after the second root consonant has been transferred to a number of derived stems in Arabic and, more completely, in Aramaic, in Christian, Jewish and Mandaic dialects and languages. In Syriac, for example, we find meqṭal (G), mqaṭṭālū (D), maqṭālū (C), metqṭālū (Gt), metqaṭṭālū (Dt) and mettaqṭālū (Ct),<sup>58</sup> in JBA miqṭāl (G), qaṭṭōlē (D), 'aqṭōlē (C), 'itqṭōlē (Gt) and 'itqaṭṭōlē (Dt),<sup>59</sup> in Classical Mandaic miqṭal (G), (m)qaṭulia (D), (m)aqṭulia (C), (m)itqaṭulia (Dt), 'itaqṭulia (Ct).<sup>60</sup>

qṭāla itself, on the other hand, is not used as an infinitive in Aramaic except in Neo-Aramaic. Although this pattern is well attested, it primarily expresses nomina actionis of the G-stem, such as *hwāyā* “becoming” from hwy in Syriac<sup>61</sup> or *zmara* “singing” from zmr in Classical Mandaic.<sup>62</sup> It is of course difficult to

57 See Brockelmann, GVG 345.

58 Nöldeke, SG 105f.

59 Siegal, JBA 125.

60 Nöldeke, MG 233f.

61 Nöldeke, SG 68.

62 Nöldeke, MG 115.

decide whether the Neo-Aramaic infinitives of the G-stem developed from the *nomina actionis* or go back to old Semitic infinitive forms that were only used in the vernacular and did not find their way into a written language.<sup>63</sup> *mqaṭōle* and *maṭōle*, on the other hand, can in principle only go back to *\*qaṭṭōlē* and *\*ʾaṭṭōlē* which are preserved in almost exactly this form in JBA and C. Qaraqoṣ. In the other dialects, however, these forms were provided with a prefix *m-* by analogy with the participles which was, however, often elided again in stem II, while it was preserved in stem III. A derivation from *\*mqaṭṭōlē* and *\*maṭṭōlē*, on the other hand, is not unproblematic, as in this case the form *ʾaṭṭōlē* in Qaraqoṣ would be difficult to explain. A transition from *\*mqaṭṭōlē* > *qaṭōle* is phonetically easy to understand but not one from *\*maṭṭōlē* > *ʾaṭṭōlē*, since in this case, the *m-* is protected by the following /a/ and should actually have been preserved. The starting point is therefore *\*qṭāla*, *\*qaṭṭōle* and *\*ʾaṭṭōle*, i.e. forms that have an /ō/ in stems II and III but no *m-*.

As can be seen above, the D- and C-stem infinitives of both JBA and Mandaic have an /ō/ after the second root consonant. These forms are also attested in the Palestinian Targumim and the Palestinian Talmud, and even if Dalman (Grammatik 279) is correct in his assumption that these forms go back to Babylonian influence and one assumes that this influence primarily affected the written language, one can nevertheless postulate that these forms had some distribution. An occasional sound change /ā/ > /ō/ is already attested in the Hermopolis papyri, in Biblical Aramaic and in the Dead Sea texts,<sup>64</sup> occurs regularly in Western Syriac, especially before /n/,<sup>65</sup> but is also occasionally observed in Mandaic and, especially after /u/, in CPA.<sup>66</sup> Since infinitives with /ō/ also occur in dialects that do not know this sound change, these forms must be very old, and the fact that the /ō/ in the infinitives is subject to the same sound laws as the /ō/ in other words also speaks in favour of their old age. In C. Urmia, for example, /ō/ generally becomes /ū/ and accordingly, the infinitives there are *qaṭūlē* and *maṭūlē*.<sup>67</sup>

The sound change /ā/ > /ō/ is thus well attested in Aramaic. What about the *m-* in the infinitive? As we have seen, Mandaic has forms with and without *m-* in the D- and C-stems, JBA only those without *m-* and Syriac with *m-*. The other classical languages also possess forms with and without *m-* in the derived

63 On this point, see Fox, *NENA* 10, who equates *qṭāla* in Neo-Aramaic with the old Semitic infinitive and considers it possible that Akkadian substratum is responsible for its dominance in the *NENA* dialects.

64 See Beyer, *ATM* 137.

65 Nöldeke, *SG* 31.

66 Nöldeke, *MG* 21; Schulthess, *Grammatik* 23f.

67 See Khan, C. Urmī 190f.

stems. Old Aramaic forms these infinitives without *m*-,<sup>68</sup> only the Hermopolis papyri have forms with *m*-, although this can also be absent in Imperial Aramaic.<sup>69</sup> Hasmonean has *qatṭālā* and *ʾaqtālā*,<sup>70</sup> the forms of the Genizah fragments have *m*-<sup>71</sup> as do those of JMP,<sup>72</sup> while Biblical Aramaic has no *m*-.<sup>73</sup> Schulthess (Grammatik 64f) mentions *mqatṭālū* for the D-stem of CPA, *maqṭālū* and *ʾaqtālū* for the C-stem while Samaritan Aramaic forms the infinitive with *m*- in the D-stem but without it in the C-stem.<sup>74</sup> The above-mentioned conditions (with /ō/ but without *m*-) are therefore only fulfilled by JBA and with restrictions by Mandaic because the latter has infinitives with and without *m*-. The infinitives thus suggest that the proto-dialect of at least the NENA dialects was closely related to the dialect from which JBA emerged.

In summary, it can be said that the patterns *\*qṭāla*, *\*qatṭōle* and *\*ʾaqtōle* can be taken as the starting point for the development of the infinitives in the NENA dialects. In most dialects, the infinitives of stems II and III received – by analogy with the participles – an *m*- which was sometimes elided again in the case of *\*mqatṭōle*, whereas it was retained in *\*maqṭōle*. An exception is C. Qaraqoṣ which forms the participles with *m*- but has retained the original forms of the infinitives. The LD dialects and most Christian dialects have systems with three infinitives. Țuroyo has taken a special path, using forms with *t*- in stem III. In other dialects, the original system with three stem forms was simplified, with *qaṭōle* (< *mqatṭōle*) replacing old *qṭāla* as the infinitive of the G-stem and now forming with *maqṭōle* a system of two infinitives. This is the case in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects with the exception of Arbel and Koy Saṅṅaq where *qṭāla* has asserted itself in the G-stem and forms a system with *maqṭōle*. In C. Bohtan, on the other hand, *qaṭōle* has prevailed over *maqṭōle* (*qṭāla*, *qaṭōle*).

### 3.4 *The Passive Participle*

Let us now take a closer look at the development of the PP. As already explained, there is hardly any trace of *qṭal* in the early Jewish and Christian texts from the 17th century; except in WNA and Neo-Mandaic, it has been completely displaced by *qṭille* which generally expresses the perfective aspect.<sup>75</sup>

68 Degen, AG 117; Hug, AG 77.

69 Muraoka, GEA 109.

70 Beyer, ATTM 464, 468.

71 Fassberg, Genizah 168.

72 Dalman, Grammatik 280–282.

73 Bauer-Leander, GBA 120f.

74 Macuch, GSA 157, 161.

75 The main criteria for classifying *qṭille* as perfective are the presence of an imperfective counterpart for the past and its use to express anteriority to a reference point in the future,

qṭille is also used in the sense of an anterior in discussing passages; this usage, however, is conditioned by the type of speech situation not by the verb form itself, just as this was the case with the perfective qṭal which in Classical Aramaic could also be used in this function (see above Imperial Aramaic ch. 4, sect. 2.2). In addition to qṭille, qṭil + S-suffix has also found a continuation in Neo-Aramaic; a new formation is qṭilā + copula to express the anterior / resultative. qṭille generally expresses the perfective aspect and is formed in most dialects from both transitive and intransitive verbs as was already the case in the Babylonian Talmud, Classical Mandaic and Syriac. In some Jewish dialects east of the Zab, namely in Sanandağ (pp. 71f), Kerend (p. 287), Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa (see above ch. 20, sect. 2) as well as in Țuroyo (see above ch. 16, sect. 2), it is used primarily to express transitive situations, while intransitive ones are indicated by qṭil + S-suffix and, in Țuroyo, by qaṭṭil + S-suffix. Some dialects also differentiate between transitive and intransitive situations when expressing the anterior / resultative and it should be remembered here that the term intransitive refers to intransitive situations in the narrower sense but also to passive ones. The dialects in question are:

TABLE 17     Anterior/resultative: dialects that differentiate between transitive and intransitive situations

|        |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Trans-Zab dialects – North-Eastern group:<br>Urmia (res. / ant.: intr. = qṭil + S-suff.,<br>trans. = qṭilā + cop.; perf. asp.: qṭille for<br>trans. + intr.; pp. 70, 72, 263, 293f) |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

for example in the protasis of conditionals or in temporal subordinate clauses. The signa that serve to express the imperfective aspect can be found in Tables 5–7 in section 3.2. The sources of the dialects that were not presented in detail in Part 3 are listed below. The first page number refers to the data on qṭille in general, the second, after the semicolon, to the use with future time reference. If there is no sufficient information about a dialect to show the character of qṭille, this is marked by ?:

Jewish: Amadiya (H. pp. 71–74; 74); Urmia (pp. 258f; 260); Dohok (pp. 306f; ?); Sanandağ (pp. 282f; ?); Rustaqa (?; ?); Betanure (pp. 55; 262 no. 414, 264 no. 423); Čalla (pp. 110f; 174 nos. 2f, 176 no 7); Koy Sangaq (?; p. 104); Barzan (p. 60; ?).

Christian: Pioz 18th cent. (p. 174, nos. 1,2; ?); Alqoš mod. (pp. 329–331 [A traditional Doctor]; 341 no. 201); Telkepe (p. 254; ?); Araḍin (pp. 34; 61); Urmia (p. 269; ?); Bohtan (pp. 174f; ?); Sanandağ (p. 242; ?); Beşpen (pp. 135; 198 no. 103); Xabur (251–257; ?); Qaraqoš (pp. 318f; ?); Mlaḥso (pp. 52f; 100 no. 189); Armoṭa (pp. 218ff [hudaye]; 243 Z/3); Ġilu (pp. 85f; 89); Diyana (pp. 358f; 360f).

TABLE 17 Anterior/resultative: dialects that differentiate (*cont.*)

|           |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|           |         | <p>– Western group:</p> <p><b>Koy Sanğaq</b> (res. / ant.: intr. seldom = qṭīl + S-suff. [pp. 96, 105], mostly qṭīlā + cop. is used for trans. + intr. situations [p. 105]; in the negated form, however, a distinction is made between trans. and intr. situations: <i>dmixele</i> “he is asleep”, negated like an adjective: <i>dmixe lewe</i> “he is not asleep”; but with trans. situations: <i>nšiqele</i> “he has kissed” : <i>lewe nšiqe</i> “he has not kissed” [p. 106]; perf. asp.: intr. + trans. = qṭille [pp. 81f, 122f])</p> <p><b>Rustaqa</b> (res. / ant.: intr. = lā + qṭīl + S-suff. and qṭīlā + cop., trans. = lā + qṭille; perf. asp.: intr. + trans. = qṭille [pp. 403f])</p> <p>– South-Eastern group:</p> <p><b>Sanandağ</b> (res./ ant.: intr. = qṭīlā + cop., trans. = qṭīlā + cop. [only with 3. pers., with 1. + 2. pers. qṭille is used; pp. 91f, 284]; perf. asp.: intr. = qṭīl + S-suff., trans. = qṭille; pp. 71f, 91f)</p> <p><b>Kerend</b> (res. / ant.: intr. = qṭīlā + cop. [p. 288], trans. = qṭīlā + cop. [cop. = only 3. persons referring to the object; p. 291]; perf. asp.: intr. = qṭīl + S-suff., trans. = qṭille [pp. 286f])</p> <p><b>Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa</b> (res. / ant.: intr. = qṭīlā + cop., trans. = qṭīlā + cop. [p. 98]; perf. asp.: intr. = qṭīl + S-suff., trans. = qṭille [pp. 295–297])</p> <p><b>Hertevin</b> (res. / ant.: intr. = qṭīl + S-suff. [only from stem I + quadril. verbs, with other verbs qṭille is used instead], trans. = (hole +) qṭille; perf. asp.: intr. + trans. = qṭille [see above ch. 17, sect. 1])</p> |
| Christian | ḫ-group |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

TABLE 17    Anterior/resultative: dialects that differentiate (*cont.*)

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso | <b>Ṭuroyo</b> (res. / ant.: intr. = qāṭilo and k(ō)-qaṭṭil, trans. = k(ō)-qṭille; perf. asp.: intr. = qaṭṭil + S-suff. / qṭil + S-suff. / qṭilā + cop, trans. = qṭille [see above ch. 16, sect. 1, 2, 5, 7]) |
| WNA             | (res. / ant.: intr. = qaṭṭil, trans. = qṭil [both inflected by prefixes and suffixes]; perf. asp.: trans. + intr. = qṭal [see above ch. 14, sect. 1, 2])                                                     |

The following dialects do not distinguish between transitive and intransitive situations in the field of the anterior / resultative:

TABLE 18    Anterior/resultative: dialects that do not differentiate between transitive and intransitive situations

|        |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni dialects | <b>Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (qṭilā + cop.; perf. asp. = qṭille, passive = qṭil + S-suff. [seems to be used also as an anterior]; see above ch. 13.1, sect. 1,2)<br><b>Čalla</b> (cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 113–116, 120])<br><b>Betanure</b> (cop. + qṭilā = ant., qṭilā + cop. ~ cop. + qṭilā = res. [pp. 56f]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 67–69])<br><b>Amadiya</b> (cop. + qṭilā [H. pp. 82–90]; perf. asp. = qṭille [H. pp. 71–74, 90f])<br><b>Dohok</b> (cop. + qṭilā [use with trans. verbs is restricted; p. 346]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 294, 306]) |
|        | Central-Zab group    | <b>Barzan + Šahe + Beḡil</b> (ʿale + qṭille: ʿale nšəqtle “he has kissed”, negated: lewe nšiqā [qṭilā]; perf. asp. = qṭille [p. 60])                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|        | Trans-Zab dialects   | – Western group:<br><b>Arbel</b> (lā qṭille; of a limited number of mostly intransitive verbs also qṭilā + cop. is formed.; perf. asp. = qṭille [see above ch. 18, sect. 1, 2])                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |



TABLE 18 Anterior/resultative: dialects that do not differentiate (*cont.*)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Urmia          | <b>Urmia</b> (qṭilā + cop. / cop. + qṭilā [p. 281]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 270f])                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|           | Xabur dialects | In general: qṭilā + cop. / cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille (pp. 265–273); in particular: <b>Barwar</b> (qṭilā + cop. / cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille [see above ch. 19, sect. 2])<br><b>Txuma</b> (cop. + qṭilā ~ qṭilā + cop. ~ qṭilāle, with an active meaning rarely also qṭilā + L-suff.: <i>grišali</i> ~ <i>grištali</i> “I (f) have pulled” [pp. 145–147] perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 100f])<br><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (qṭilā + cop. / cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 310f])<br><b>Ġilu</b> (qṭilā + cop., also used like qṭille for perf. asp.; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 82, 86])<br><b>Sat</b> (cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 30f])                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|           | Southern group | <b>Alqoš 17th cent.</b> (qṭilā + cop.; perf. asp. = qṭille, qṭil + S-suff. = passive [see above ch. 13.2, sect. 1, 2])<br><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (qṭilā + cop. / cop. + qṭilā [p. 190] / qṭil + S-suff. [very seldom; p. 191]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 144f])<br><b>Telkepe</b> (cop. + qṭilā / qṭil + S-suff. [very seldom; p. 253]; perf. asp. = qṭille [p. 254])<br><b>Karamleš</b> (k-ilə + qṭilā / qṭilā + cop.; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 79f])<br><b>Qaraqoš</b> (ant. = k-ilə + qṭilā [ <i>qamxa k-ilə ṭxina</i> “the flour has been ground”], res. = qṭilā + cop. [ <i>qamxa ṭxinela</i> “the flour is ground”; pp. 340–345]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 218f])<br><b>Aradin</b> (cop. + qṭilā; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 34f])<br><b>Armoṭa</b> ([lā +] qṭilā + cop. [p. 126]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 122, 126])<br><b>Sanandağ</b> (gī + qṭille; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 241, 261])<br><b>Bohtan</b> (qṭil + S-suff.; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 174, 176]) |

TABLE 18    Anterior/resultative: dialects that do not differentiate (*cont.*)

|                    |                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                    | <b>Diyana</b> (cop. + qṭilā / qṭilā + cop., the use, however, seems to be restricted to intransitive situations; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 357f; 364ff]) |
| Judi group         | <b>Beṣpen</b> (deic. cop. + qṭilā [pp. 135f]; perf. asp. = qṭille [p. 126])                                                                             |
| Ṭuroyo /<br>Mlaḥso | <b>Mlaḥso</b> (qāṭīl [< qaṭṭīl] + S-suff. [only from stem 1]; perf. asp. = qṭille [pp. 33f, 52f])                                                       |
| Mandaic            | <b>Khorramshahr</b> (qṭīl + cop. [short and long form]; perf. asp. = qṭal [see above ch. 15, sect 2])                                                   |

The Neo-Aramaic dialects can be categorised according to the number of signa they use to express the categories discussed here. Firstly, there is the south-eastern group of the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects of Sanandaḡ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabḡa which express the distinction between transitive and intransitive situations in the case of the anterior / resultative by the vowel quantity of the PP and use a total of four signa:

|                    |               |                |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
|                    | <b>trans.</b> | <b>intr.</b>   |
| <b>Perf. asp.</b>  | qṭille        | qṭīl + S-suff. |
| <b>Ant. / res.</b> | qṭilā + cop.  | qṭilā + cop.   |

Ṭuroyo also distinguishes between transitive and intransitive situations. As regards the perfective aspect, qṭille and qaṭṭīl are in opposition to each other, in the case of the anterior / resultative, k-qṭille and k-qaṭṭīl are used which, however, are only rarely attested; in addition, there is qāṭīlo which predominantly describes resultative situations (ch. 16, sect. 2, 7).

The other dialects do not distinguish between transitive and intransitive situations in the domain of the perfective aspect and use qṭille for both. Of these, four have different signa to denote the anterior / resultative, namely the two Jewish Trans-Zab dialects of Rustaqa and Urmia, C. Hertevin and WNA which uses qṭal for the perfective aspect. The signa in Urmia are:

|                    |               |                |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
|                    | <b>trans.</b> | <b>intr.</b>   |
| <b>Perf. asp.</b>  | qṭille        | qṭille         |
| <b>Ant. / res.</b> | qṭilā + cop.  | qṭīl + S-suff. |

Rustaqa, on the other hand, has a more uniform system in that *qṭille* denotes not only the perfective aspect but also, preceded by *lā-*, the anterior / resultative: *lā-qṭille* (trans.) and *lā-qṭil* + S-suffix (intr.). The situation is similar in Hertevin. There, too, (hole +) *qṭille* indicates the anterior / resultative with transitive situations – but can also express intransitive situations –, while a transitively used *qṭil* + S-suffix is only attested once with an active meaning. In WNA, the anterior / resultative of transitive situations is usually expressed by a form of *qṭil* inflected with prefixes and suffixes, whereas intransitive situations of that category are indicated by *qaṭṭil*.

The other dialects have two signa. The following system is the most common one:

|             | trans.              | intr.                             |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Perf. asp.  | <i>qṭille</i>       | <i>qṭille</i>                     |
| Ant. / res. | <i>qṭilā</i> + cop. | <i>qṭilā</i> + cop. <sup>76</sup> |

It is found in the Jewish Lišana Deni dialects and also in J. Koy Sanğaq as well as in Christian NENA except in the dialects of Hertevin, Bohtan and Sanandağ.

In C. Bohtan, the anterior / resultative is expressed by *qṭil* + S-suffix instead of *qṭilā* + cop. while C. Mlaḥso uses *qāṭil* (< *qaṭṭil*) + S-suffix which, however, is restricted to verbs of stem 1. The Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr also uses two signa, namely *qṭal* for the perfective aspect and *qṭil* + cop. for the anterior / resultative.

The dialects of J. Arbel, C. Sanandağ and J. Barzan show a particularly high degree of uniformity. Here, *qṭille* does not only express the perfective aspect but also the anterior / resultative. J. Arbel has the following system:

|             | trans.           | intr.            |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| Perf. asp.  | <i>qṭille</i>    | <i>qṭille</i>    |
| Ant. / res. | <i>lā-qṭille</i> | <i>lā-qṭille</i> |

C. Sanandağ uses *gī* + *qṭille* to express the anterior / resultative, in J. Barzan *qṭilā* is only found in the negated form: 'ale + *qṭille*: *lewe qṭilā*.

First, a few remarks on some of the forms should be made. *gī-* in C. Sanandağ is probably derived from the prefix *k(ī)*,<sup>77</sup> while *lā-* in *lā-qṭille* as well as in *lā-qāṭil* goes back to the 3.sg.f. of the copula (see above). 'ale- in J. Barzan, which

76 The abbreviation *qṭilā* + cop. is generally used for combinations of *qṭilā* with a form of the copula, whether it follows or precedes the PP.

77 See Heinrichs, *Senāya* 261f.

is also prefixed to (y-)qāṭil, goes back to the root 'ty "to come". Interestingly, the corresponding root in Barzan today is 'hy (p. 60); /\*t/ has different reflexes there, mainly /h/, but sometimes also /t/ or /l/ (p. 42). A sound change l > h or vice versa is phonetically not unproblematic, and since it cannot be assumed that \*ty developed once into 'ly, once into 'hy, it seems quite likely that 'ly entered the dialect from outside, possibly in the compound 'ale + qṭille or 'ale + (y-)qāṭil. Also noteworthy is the expression of the anterior / resultative by qṭlā + cop. (trans.) and qṭlā + cop. (intrans.) in the south-eastern group of the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects of Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa. It is certainly no coincidence that only in these dialects also in the domain of perfectivity a distinction is made between transitive (qṭille) and intransitive (qṭil + S-suff.) situations. The transitive forms of both the anterior / resultative and the perfective aspect have a short /i/, whereas the intransitive ones have a long /ī/, and there is no doubt that the forms of the anterior / resultative developed by analogy with those of the perfective aspect which, since qṭille is already attested in Imperial Aramaic, must be considered the older ones. Anterior transitive situations of the 3. persons are expressed in Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa by: *šiqłá-y* "he has bought", *šqiltá-ya*, *šiqłén*, intransitive ones by: *smīxá-y* "he has waited", *smīxtá-ya*, *smīxén* (p. 98), just as perfective situations are indicated by: *plixle* "he opened", *plixla*, *plixlu* and *prīq* "he finished", *prīqa*, *prīqi* (pp. 86f). In *smīxá-y*, the original length of /ī/ was preserved under the influence of forms such as *prīq* and *prīqa*, even in closed syllables, but not in *šiqłá-y* where the corresponding perfective form already had a short /i/. In \**šqilā*, when the copula was added, the accent was shifted to the /a/ and /ī/ was shortened to /i/ and finally elided: \**šqilá-ye* > \**šqilá-ye* > \**šqlá-ye* > *šəqlá-y*; this form is found in J. Kerend (p. 295) and J. Sanandağ (p. 92), for there the perfective form is *grəšle* "he pulled" (p. 287; p. 74), while Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa have *plixle* (p. 87), so here the development went on to *šiqłá-y*.

On a synchronic level, it can be stated that dialects which distinguish between transitive and intransitive situations in the field of perfectivity also do so in the case of the anterior / resultative. These are the Jewish dialects of Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa as well as Țuroyo. Conversely, however, it cannot be said that all dialects that distinguish between transitivity and intransitivity in the domain of the anterior / resultative also do so in the case of perfectivity, as J. Rustaqa, J. Urmia and Hertevin make such a distinction with the anterior / resultative but not with the perfective aspect. Already Goldenberg (Perfects 125) has drawn attention to another interrelation. He states that dialects where the stem of qṭille is fully inflected with enclitic pronouns of all persons indicating the undergoer (e.g. *qṭilaxlə* "he killed us"; cf. 3.5.a below) do not allow the compound qṭil + S-suffix, i.e. dialects using qṭil + S-suff. do not

know the model A full to be discussed below. A look at Table 19 in 3.5.a below shows that Goldenberg is largely correct in his assumption. *qṭīl* + S-suffix to express the perfective aspect or anterior / resultative occurs regularly in the Jewish dialects of Urmia, Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya, Ḥalabğa, Rustaqa as well as in the Christian dialects of Bohtan, Hertevin and Țuroyo, and here only the reduced version of Model A is known. However, it should be noted that in the 17th century Jewish and Christian texts from Alqoş and Nerwa, *qṭille* and *qṭīlā* + cop. are used first and foremost but that *qṭīl* + S-suff. is not uncommon there, and yet model A full is in use.

On a diachronic level, the first question that arises is why a new signum to express the anterior / resultative was introduced in the Neo-Aramaic dialects at all. The answer to this question must remain speculative, but a few considerations may nevertheless be permitted. The original signa for the expression of perfectivity and the anterior / resultative are *qṭal*, *qṭille* and *qṭīl* + S-suff. In the classical languages, the anterior was not expressed by *qṭal* alone but also with the help of the context, as *qṭal* primarily indicated the perfective aspect and only acquired the meaning of an anterior through the context; the resultative could also be expressed by *qṭal* with certain verbs and moreover by the PP. When *qṭille* appeared from Imperial Aramaic onwards, the Aramaic verbal systems had a verb form which was used predominantly in discussing passages and, as it seems, finally took on the function of an anterior. Thus, *qṭille* seems to have created a true awareness of the anterior as a grammatical category for the first time in Aramaic which was probably reinforced by the use of *qāṭīl* in a predicative function. As seen above (ch. 1, sect. 2), perfectivity and anterior / resultative are closely related on a noematic level. The one expresses completed situations without effect on a reference point, in the other case such an effect is given. When *qṭal* and *qāṭīlwā* developed into an aspectual opposition pair with past time reference, *qṭille* and simple *qāṭīl* were presumably perceived as a kind of present counterpart that did not represent an aspectual opposition pair but which, like *qṭal* and *qāṭīlwā*, could describe a situation as completed or as progressing. In this way, an initially marginal form became an integral part of the verbal system. When *qṭille* later began to replace *qṭal* as the signum of perfectivity, the category of anterior was already so firmly anchored in the speakers' consciousness that they felt compelled to close the resulting gap in the system with a new verb form.

Even more pressing, however, is the question of why the originally passive *qṭīl(ā)* can also be used actively in the Neo-Aramaic dialects. As we have seen, *qṭīl* and *qṭīlā* are predominantly used passively in the classical languages; it is only in the 17th century Jewish texts that *qṭīl* + S-suff. is also used in larger numbers with intransitive verbs. Goldenberg (Perfects 124) regards the merger

of the participle form *q̄tel* (< *qaṭil*) and the passive *q̄ṭil* of roots III y as the main reason behind this usage. It is true that in the Nerwa texts *q̄ṭil* is primarily formed from verba III y (see above ch. 13.1, sect. 1), but the question arises as to whether sufficient *q̄tel* forms, which are rather rarely used compared to *q̄aṭil*, were formed from roots III y to be able to bring about such a change. And it should also be noted that only the masculine forms of *q̄tel* are identical to those of *q̄ṭil*, whereas the feminine and plural forms (*damka*, *damkīn* “sleeping”) have retained the /a/.<sup>78</sup>

Perhaps one should rather consider an influence of the *q̄ṭil* forms discussed above (ch. 12, sect. 1.4) which are used in an active sense, among which there are also verba III y such as *m̄ṣy* “can”. These can often be understood as anterior or resultatives, such as *ʾhīd* “grasped” > “holding”, *qn̄y* “taken possession of” > “possessing”, and usually have a low degree of transitivity so that intransitive verbs such as *ʾty* may have been formed according to *q̄ṭil* by analogy with these. In individual cases, the reflexes of these PPs can be found directly in Neo-Aramaic, as in the case of the compound *q̄ṭilā* + cop. of *ṭʾn* which Rhétoré (Grammaire 89) mentions for the Mosul plain:  “tu as supporté une grande douleur”. In addition, we have to take the influence into account that *q̄ṭille* must have had on the development of *q̄ṭil* and *q̄ṭilā* which in the latter case can still be directly recognised in the dialects of J. Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa, as we have seen above. It can therefore be assumed that numerous *q̄ṭil* forms of intransitive verbs were already in use in the proto-dialects from which the Neo-Aramaic dialects emerged. Under the influence of *q̄ṭille*, whose stem is also a PP and which nevertheless has an active meaning, its use expanded and eventually even transitive verbs, also by analogy with *q̄ṭille*, were used in an active meaning. It must have been very similar in the case of *q̄ṭilā*. This form could only be used attributively in the classical languages, so its use with a predicative function was only possible after the emergence of the copula: \*NN *q̄ṭilā-ile* “NN is a killed person” > “NN has been killed”. Again under the influence of actively used *q̄ṭilā* forms such as *ṭʾmā* and *q̄ṭille*, this usage was then transferred to intransitive verbs and finally transitive verbs were used in an active meaning.

The development may have proceeded as follows. In a group of dialects, the use of *q̄ṭille* was restricted to transitive verbs, but at the same time *q̄ṭil* + S-suff. was also formed from intransitive verbs and initially used as an anterior / resultative; both verb forms were then also used to express perfectivity and eventually replaced *q̄tal* in this function. *q̄ṭilā* + cop., which was certainly used

78 Cf. Brockelmann, GvG 337; Nöldeke, SG 63.

parallel to *qṭille* and *qṭil* + S-suff. during a transitional period, finally took over the function of the anterior / resultative and was split into *qṭilā* + cop. for intransitive verbs and *qṭilā* + cop. for transitive verbs by analogy with *qṭille* and *qṭil* + S-suff. This was the case in the Jewish south-eastern Trans-Zab dialects of Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa. In the vast majority of dialects, however, *qṭille* was also transferred to intransitive verbs, and accordingly there is no opposition *qṭilā* : *qṭilā* in the case of the anterior / resultative, but *qṭilā* is used indiscriminately for transitive and intransitive verbs. This system is found in the Lišana Deni dialects and the Christian NENA dialects except for those in the periphery of the Aramaic language area. In C. Bohtan, however, not *qṭilā* + cop. but *qṭil* + S-suff. was generalised for the expression of the anterior / resultative which in J. Urmia remained restricted to intransitive verbs, while *qṭilā* + cop. was introduced for transitive ones. *qṭil* + S-suff. very rarely expresses active situations with transitive verbs. This use is sporadically found in Hertevin (p. 58) and C. Alqoš mod. (pp. 191f), but of the dialects examined, *qṭil* + S-suff. seems to be used regularly in this function only in C. Bohtan. There they say: *ona la ptixanne əl-tara* “I have not opened the door”, *owat qriyatla* “you (fem.) have read it” (p. 174), just as it says with intransitive verbs: *izən* “I have gone” and *iza* “she has gone” (p. 177). In the other dialects, *qṭille* has also entered the realm of the anterior / resultative, usually with a particle in front. *’ale-*, *lā-* and *gī* + *qṭille* in J. Barzan, J. Arbel and C. Sanandağ are used with transitive and intransitive verbs. In these dialects, the last stage of the generalisation of *qṭille* has been reached.<sup>79</sup> C. Mlaḥso and Turoyo, which use reflexes of *qaṭṭil*, and also WNA and Neo-Mandaic, where *qṭal* has been preserved, have taken a special path. It is difficult to decide why *qṭille*, which is attested in classical Mandaic, did not prevail. In WNA, spoken in a language island within an Arabic-speaking environment, Arabic *qatal* certainly favoured the preservation of *qṭal*, while in Mandaic the Persian past tense (*kardam* “I made”, *kardi* “you made”, *kard* “he / she made” etc.) may have played a role. Like *qṭal*, it is inflected by adding suffixes to the verb stem, not prepositional expressions, and the 3.sg.m. has no ending in both cases: *komak aḥd* (Mand.; p. 296) : *komak kard* (Pers.) “he helped”.

### 3.5 *Object Pronouns*

#### 3.5.1 Object Pronouns on *Qṭille*

The Neo-Aramaic dialects that use *qṭille* differ with regard to the possibility of combining it with pronouns to denote direct objects. F.A. Pennacchietti has

79 Cf. Khan, Developments 429–431.

analysed the possibilities and limitations in the use of these pronouns in an important article (Preterito). He distinguishes between four models. In the first model, referred to here as A full (Preterito 266), S-suffixes denoting first, second and third person direct objects can be inserted between the stem and the L-suffix. This model can be found, among others, in C. Urmia. There it says: *q̣ṭilalə* “he killed her”, *q̣ṭilatlə* “he killed you (sg.f)”, *q̣ṭilaxlə* “he killed us” etc. (p. 384). This model is used in the following dialects (the other models that are also used in the dialect in question are given in brackets next to the source):

TABLE 19     Model A full

|           |                      |                                                                                         |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects | Nerwa 17th cent. (+ C; p. xxxix)                                                        |
|           |                      | Čalla (+ C; p. 124)                                                                     |
|           |                      | Amadiya (+ B + C; p. 100)                                                               |
| Christian | Central-Zab group    | Araḍin (+ B; p. 481)                                                                    |
|           |                      | Barzan + Šahe + Beḡil (+ C; p. 65)                                                      |
|           | Urmia                | Urmia (+ C; p. 384)                                                                     |
|           | Southern group       | Alqoš 17th cent. (+ B in Sachau’s manuscript; see above ch. 13.2, sect. 1) <sup>a</sup> |
|           |                      | Ašīta + Marga (Molin, J. Dohok 196)                                                     |
|           | Judi group           | Beṣpen (+ C [1 example; p. 194, no. 76]; p. 142)                                        |
|           |                      | Gaznax (+ C [seldom]; pp. 314f)                                                         |

a    A full is also mentioned by Rhétoré (Grammaire 227f) for the plain of Mosul.

Model A res. (= restricted; Preterito 265f) differs from model A full in that the use of S-suffixes to designate the object is limited to third persons. This is the case in the following dialects:

TABLE 20     Model A res.

|        |                      |                                            |
|--------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni dialects | Betanure (+ B + C [with two verbs]; p. 86) |
|        |                      | Dohuk (+ B; p. 195)                        |
|        | Trans-Zab Dialects   | Zaxo (+ B; Gutman, J. Zakho 65)            |
|        |                      | – North-Eastern group:                     |
|        |                      | Urmia (+ C; p. 71)                         |
|        |                      | – Western group:                           |



TABLE 20    Model A res. (*cont.*)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Xabur dialects | Koy Sanğaq (+ C; p. 77)<br>Arbel (+ C; p. 119);<br>Rustaqa (+ C; p. 405)<br>– South-Eastern group:<br><b>Sulemaniyya/Ḥalabğā</b> (+ C; p. 156)<br><b>Sanandağ</b> (+ C; pp. 157f)<br><b>Kerend</b> (+ C; p. 297)<br>In general: + B, + C (seldom;<br>pp. 316–318); in particular:<br><b>Barwar</b> (+ B + C; pp. 282f)<br><b>Ğilu</b> (+ B; p. 38)<br><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (+ B; p. 314)<br><b>Sat</b> (+ B; p. 33) |
|           |                | <b>Southern group</b><br><b>Pioz 18th cent.</b> (+ B; p. 174, nos. 1, 8, 12)<br><b>Qaraqoş</b> (+ B + C; p. 92)<br><b>Aradın</b> (+ B; p. 28)<br><b>Alqoş mod.</b> (+ B; p. 175)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (+ B; p. 254)<br><b>Karamleş</b> (+ B; pp. 86f)<br><b>Diyana</b> (+ B; p. 209)                                                                                                                                |
|           |                | <b>ḥ-group</b><br><b>Ṭuroyo/Mlaḥso</b><br><b>Hertevin</b> (+ C + D; p. 62)<br><b>Ṭuroyo</b> (+ C; Ritter, Gr. 63; Jastrow,<br>Midin 137f)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

Model B (Preterito 267ff) uses the compound qam-qāṭil / kem-qāṭil; the object is expressed by L-suffixes that are attached to the AP. This usage is already attested in the 17th-century Christian texts (see above ch. 13.2, sect. 1) and is also very popular in modern dialects:

TABLE 21    Model B

|        |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish | Lišana Deni dialects | <b>Amadiya</b> (qam-; + A full + C; p. 101)<br><b>Betanure</b> (qam-; + A res. + C [with two verbs]; p. 86)<br><b>Dohok</b> (qam-; + A res.; pp. 193f)<br><b>Aradın</b> (qam-; + A full; p. 482)<br><b>Zaxo</b> (qam-; + A res.; Gutman, J. Zaxo 65) |
|--------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

TABLE 21 Model B (*cont.*)

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Northern group | <b>Salamas</b> (qam-; Khan, C. Urmia 36)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|           | Urmia          | <b>Urmia</b> (qam-, but only in the northern varieties; pp. 36, 276)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|           | Xabur dialects | In general: qam- ~ qəm-; + A res. + C (seldom; pp. 309, 316–318); in particular:<br><b>Barwar</b> (qəm-; + A res. + C; pp. 282f)<br><b>Ġilu</b> (qem-; + A res.; p. 38) <sup>a</sup><br><b>Maha Xtaya</b> (kəm-; + A res.; p. 314)<br><b>Txuma</b> (qam- [Krotkoff, Bibliography 18]; + C; p. 153); Sat (qam-; + A res.; p. 33)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|           | Southern group | <b>Alqoš 17th cent.</b> (kem-, in Sachau's manuscript instead of A full; see above ch. 13.2, sect. 1)<br><b>Alqoš mod.</b> (kem-; + A res.; p. 175)<br><b>Pioz 18th cent.</b> (kem-; + A res.; p. 175, nos. 116–118)<br><b>Qaraqoš</b> (kəm-; + A res. + C; p. 140)<br><b>Pešabur</b> (gəm-; + ?; p. 42)<br><b>Karamleš</b> (kəm-; + A res.; pp. 86f)<br><b>Araḏin</b> (qam-; + A res.; p. 28)<br><b>Telkepe</b> (kəm-; + A res.; p. 254)<br><b>Armoṭa</b> (qa-; + C; p. 124)<br><b>Sanandağ</b> (tem-; only dialect in which A, C and D are not possible; p. 242)<br><b>Diyana</b> (qam-; + A res.; p. 210) |

a According to Talay (p. 309), the form in Ġilu is kəm-, with a postvelar /k/.

In Model C (Preterito 270ff), a direct as well as an indirect object is expressed by an L-suffix attached to the inflected qṭille form. The first L-suffix indicates the subject, the second one the object. This model also includes the expression of the direct object by independent LL-suffixes or other prepositional phrases. This model is used in:

TABLE 22 Model C

|           |                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewish    | Lišana Deni dialects | <p><b>Nerwa 17th cent.</b> (+ A full; no. 5,25 [umir-rē-lu “and he said to him”]<br/> <b>Čalla</b> (+ A full; p. 123)<br/> <b>Amadiya</b> (+ A full + B; p. 336, no. 15)<br/> <b>Betanure</b> (only with two verbs, + A res. + B; p. 86)</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|           | Trans-Zab dialects   | <p>– North-Eastern group:<br/> <b>Urmia</b> (+ A res.; p. 140; there is a difference between xəzyale [A res.] and xzelela [C] “he saw her”, A res. refers to the recent past, C to the more distant past; p. 259)<br/> – Western group:<br/> <b>Koy Sanġaq</b> (+ A res.; p. 100)<br/> <b>Arbel</b> (+ A res.; p. 119)<br/> <b>Rustaqa</b> (+ A res.; p. 405)<br/> – South-Eastern group:<br/> <b>Sulemaniyya/Ḥalabġa</b> (+ A res.; p. 156)<br/> <b>Sanandaġ</b> (+ A res.; pp. 157f)<br/> <b>Kerend</b> (+ A res.; p. 287)</p> |
| Christian | Central-Zab group    | <b>Barzan</b> + <b>Šahe</b> + <b>Beġil</b> (+ A full; p. 65)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|           | Urmia                | <b>Urmia</b> (qat- + pronominal suffix; + A full; p. 385)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|           | Xabur dialects       | In general: C very seldom, + A res. + B (pp. 316–318); in particular:<br><b>Barwar</b> (+ A res. + B; p. 282)<br><b>Txuma</b> (+ B; p. 153)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|           | Southern group       | <b>Qaraqoš</b> (very seldom, normally B; p. 141)<br><b>Armoṭa</b> (+ B; p. 129)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|           | Judi group           | <b>Beşpen</b> (1 example [p. 194, no. 76], + A full)<br><b>Gaznax</b> (a direct object is usually introduced by b-: nšiqli biyux “I kissed you”; [pp. 314f] + A full) <sup>a</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

a Rhétoré (Grammaire 230) states that Model C is also very popular in Bohtan.

TABLE 22    Model C (*cont.*)

|               |                                                                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| h-group       | Hertevin (with 3. pers. subject only,<br>with 1. + 2. pers. subject = D, + A res.;<br>p. 61) |
| Ṭuroyo/Mlaḥso | Ṭuroyo (+ A res.; Ritter, Gr. 65; Jastrow,<br>Midin 137f)<br>Mlaḥso (pp. 54f)                |

Model D is still used today in C. Hertevin but must have been more widespread in earlier times as evidence in Christian texts from Telkepe and the area around Mosul from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries shows (Preterito 274f). Model D is similar to model C, but here, the first l- used to denote the subject in the first and second persons is not followed by the suffixes that are normally attached to prepositions but by the S-suffixes that otherwise denote the subject of the AP. “I have made” means in Hertevin *wedli*, but “I have made you” is *wedlennoḥ* (< \*wedlenloḥ), i.e. the first l- is followed by the same suffix -en which denotes the subject when it is attached to an AP: *damḥen* “I sleep”. Another example: *huloḥ* “you gave”, *hulette* (< \*huletle) “you gave him”. If the subject is a third person, model C is used: *metele* “he brought” and *meteleli* “he brought me / to me” (p. 61).

Firstly, we should take a closer look at qam-qāṭil / kem-qāṭil used in Model B and its derivation. With regard to its distribution, it can be stated that among the Jews it is limited to the Lišana Deni dialects and always has the form qam-qāṭil, while in Christian dialects also kem-qāṭil is used. Nöldeke (Urmia 296) derives qam- from ܩܡܐ “earlier, before”, according to Maclean (Urmia 82) it goes back to *qaddem* “he was before”. The first problem regarding Nöldeke’s derivation is that it can hardly explain the forms with /e/ and /ə/; in addition, Pennacchietti (Preterito 280f) objects that in Semitic, preverbal particles never derive from adverbs or prepositions but always from finite verb forms, while he argues against Maclean’s explanation that a form with geminated /d/ could hardly have been reduced to qam. Fassberg (kəm / qam-qāṭalle) assumes that qam- / kem- goes back to the indicative prefix k- in combination with the m- of a non-G-stem AP. The problem with this explanation lies in the fact that several dialects with qam- / kem-qāṭil do not express indicativity by k-qāṭil but by ʾi-qāṭil, such as C. Barwar, C. Ġilu, C. Maha Xtaya and C. Araḏin. Pennacchietti’s thesis (Preterito 281–283), according to which qam- / kem- goes back to the 3.sg.m. of the AP of qym, seems more plausible to me. His view is supported by the compound *qāymā qāṭlā lēh* reported by Rhétoré (Grammaire 225f) which

the latter describes as a *forme énergique* and translates as “aussitôt elle le tua”. The use with past time reference could go back to the narrative use of the AP and might have been transferred from there to discussing passages. It is also conceivable that *qāymā* was not understood as a resultative but as an anterior, i.e.: she has risen (as) one who was about to kill him. From *qāymā* (> \*qēma), kem- and qem- can be derived without difficulty, but what about qam-? One could trace it back to the qṭal form *qām* and thus plausibly explain its use with past time reference, but of course this explanation presupposes a very high age of the compound, it would have to originate from a time when qṭal was still in use. Hence it seems more appropriate to assume a derivation from the AP here, too, but this time \*qāyim became > \*qāym > \*qām > qam. The prefix raḥ- (< \*rāyih), which expresses the future tense in some Arabic dialects, developed in a very similar way, and the shift from /ay/ to /a/ is not unknown in Neo-Aramaic either.<sup>80</sup>

It is striking that the Jewish dialects with this prefix, all Lišana Deni dialects, have qam-, whereas the Christian dialects predominantly have a form with /e/ or /ə/. Araḍin, Diyana and Armoṭa are exceptions. We must therefore assume two independent developments of \*qāyim, one resulting in qam-, the other in qem- / kem-. As already mentioned, the Christian dialects predominantly have qem- / kem-, and the oldest texts from Alqoṣ and Pioz also have kem-. As far as those Xabur dialects are concerned for which individual studies exist, for the most part only qem- and kem- are attested there (Barwar, Ğilu and Maha Xtaya), but according to Talay, in most Xabur dialects there is a variant qam-. It is therefore doubtful whether we can assume an isogloss that separates the Christian (= qem-) from the Jewish (= qam) dialects. It is true that many Assyrians left the Hakkari Mountains during the First World War and moved to Iraq via Urmia and Hamadan before settling on the Xabur River in North-East Syria from 1934.<sup>81</sup> They certainly came into contact with many other dialects, and the Jewish villages such as Araḍin and Amadiya are not far from the settlement area of the Assyrians on the Xabur. Whether, however, the contact between the Jewish and Christian communities was so intensive that the latter adopted qam- from the former seems rather doubtful. We must therefore probably also assume two different developments within the Christian dialects (\*qāyim > qem and \*qāyim > qam), the variant with /e/ probably having its origin in the area around Mosul. The form tem- in Sanandağ is difficult to explain. Maybe a similar sound change has taken place as can be assumed for C. Urmia where \*qi-qāṭil developed into \*ki-qāṭil > ci-qāṭil only that the result was not a

80 For example in Bohtan: \*bayta > bata (p. 167).

81 Talay, Khabur 16–19.

palatal but a dental stop. There is, however, no parallel for such a sound change in the dialect of Sanandağ.<sup>82</sup>

If the derivation just given is correct, one has to assume three different developments of the AP of *qym*. On the one hand, it has developed into the prefix *k-*, which denotes indicativity in the compound *k-qāṭil*, and *qam-qāṭil*, that is used in C. Beğil to express the imperfective aspect (see above 3.2, Table 7), probably also goes back to *\*qāyim*.

Pennacchietti (Preterito 277–280) believes that the models just presented developed in the order A C D B. He is certainly correct in assuming that A was at the beginning of the development. A *res.* is already attested for Syriac, Mandaic and JBA, and in JBA the PP can already be combined with all persons of the S-suffixes (see above ch. 9, sect. 1). *qṭilat* (2.sg.m.) then developed parallel to *qṭil lī* and *qṭilā lī* into *qṭilat lī* and *qṭilatlī*. It is difficult to say whether A full was originally used throughout the entire Neo-Aramaic territory – apart from WNA and Neo-Mandaic –, but considering that it is attested in an area from Urmia to Beşpen and Alqoş, it can be assumed that its distribution was once more extensive than it is today. The reason why it was discarded again in some dialects or supplemented by other models is not easy to determine, but one aspect that certainly played a role is the fact that *qṭil* and L-suffix must have been perceived as a fixed unit as the grammaticalisation of the compound progressed so that an inserted object suffix had to appear like a foreign body. Thus, as with the AP, the direct object was designated by an L-suffix and this was attached to the verb form as a whole. The extent to which the ambiguity of *qṭille*, which in some dialects can only mean “he killed” but in others also “he killed him”, played a role is difficult to decide. There is no evidence of an interrelation between the presence of this ambiguity and the choice of a model. Dialects in which this ambiguity exists can have all five models. But something else stands out: Except in J. Arbel and J. Urmia, *qṭille* can mean both “he killed” and “he killed him” in all Jewish dialects for which I have found corresponding data. These are: Nerwa 17th cent. (p. 47, no. 6,5), Koy Sangaq (p. 100), Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabğa (p. 156), Sanandağ (p. 74), Kerend (p. 297), Barzan (p. 65), Čalla (p. 124), Amadiya (G. p. 99), Betanure (p. 86), Dohok (p. 195). In Urmia (p. 139) and Arbel (p. 119) it means only “he killed”. The Christian dialects are not uniform. In Beşpen (p. 143), Barwar (p. 282), Urmia (p. 272), Diyana (p. 209) and in Turoyo (p. 64) it means “he killed” and “he killed him”, in Qaraqoş (p. 140), Araḍin (p. 28), Alqoş mod. (p. 175), Sanandağ (p. 242), Čilu (p. 38), Hertevin (p. 62), Mlaḥso (p. 54) and in most Xabur dialects (p. 317)

82 Cf. Panoussi, Senaya 107–109.

it can only mean “he killed”. The only conclusion that can be drawn here is that in the dialects in which *q̄tille* can only mean “he killed”, the 3.sg.m. zero ending of the PP is no longer perceived as an object and the form has a higher degree of grammaticalisation.

But let us now return to the different models. Pennacchietti (Preterito 276) distinguishes between dominant and facultative models and has drawn up a list of the compatibilities between the models, which, however, is not entirely unproblematic for the very reason that it is often difficult to decide which model is dominant and which one is facultative. According to Pennacchietti, C as a dominant model does not permit A full as an facultative model, just as conversely A full as a dominant model does not permit C as a facultative model. As we have seen, there are some dialects in which only the models A full and C are attested, such as J. Nerwa (17th cent.), J. Čalla, J. Barzan, J. Šahe and J. Beğil. Regardless of which model is the dominant one, it is always combined with a model with which it should not be combined according to Pennacchietti.

Often one and the same object can be expressed not only by one model but by several, i.e. one and the same intentum is expressed by several signa, and it does not seem superfluous to me to include these linguistic-economic aspects in the analysis. C. Sanandağ and Mlaḥso behave most effectively in this respect, using only B and C respectively and excluding all other models. In this case, exactly one signum is assigned to each intentum. The next dialects to be mentioned are the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects which only have model C in addition to A res. Here, only a third person object can be expressed by two different signa. Whether A full was never used or was discarded in favour of C cannot be decided. What is certain, however, is that the Trans-Zab dialects differ strikingly from the Jewish Lišana Deni dialects and also from the central group around Barzan. With the exception of Betanure and Dohok, A full is used everywhere in the last mentioned dialects, alongside which the models C (Nerwa 17th cent., Čalla, Amadiya, Barzan) or B (Araḍin, Amadiya) are also used. Another important isogloss that distinguishes the Lišana Deni dialects from the Trans-Zab dialects is the use of model B with the prefix *qam-*. *qam-* can be found in the Lišana Deni dialects everywhere except in Čalla and the Nerwa texts from the 17th cent. but is missing in the Trans-Zab dialects. Model C, on the other hand, is found in all Jewish dialects east and west of the Zab, except in Araḍin and Dohok, and this model is probably to be regarded as the original one to which Model B was later added for unknown reasons. In most Lišana Deni dialects and in Barzan, two signa are available for the expression of each intentum (A full + C or A full + B), in Amadiya even three (A full, B, C), while in Dohok and Betanure C was completely or almost completely discarded and only one signum per intentum is used except for the third persons.

The same applies to the Trans-Zab dialects, in which the models A res. and C are in use.

In the Christian dialects, too, A full was probably originally more widespread than it is today, and it seems that it is on the retreat even where it is still in use. Thus, Khan reports for C. Urmia (p. 385) that A full is used, but model C is favoured in the first and second persons. In any case, A res. is more widespread than A full, as it is in the Jewish dialects. Model B is more popular in the Christian than in the Jewish dialects where it is restricted to the Lišana Deni dialects. Although Model C is attested both west and east of the Zab, in most cases it is used alongside Model B which is even the clearly dominant variant in Qaraqoş (p. 141). There is a difference between the eastern dialects and Țuroyo / Mlaḥso and Hertevin spoken further west which have model C but not B. There are some dialects in which a first, second and third person object can be expressed by two signa, namely Qaraqoş (B, C), Barwar (B, C), Armoṭa (B, C), Beşpen (A full, C), Urmia (A full, C) and also Alqoş 17th cent, assuming that kem-qāṭil, which is only attested in the Sachau manuscript, is to be regarded as an integral part of the dialect. In the majority of cases, only one signum is available for a first and second person object and only a third person can be expressed in two ways. This is the case in Araḍin, Alqoş, Karamleš, Telkepe, Ġilu, Maha Xtaya, Sat and probably also Pioz 18th cent.<sup>83</sup> (all A res. + B) and Hertevin (3. persons = C + A res., 1. and 2. persons = D). Mlaḥso (C) and Sanandağ (B), where also a 3. person object can be expressed by one signum only, are the most effective.

Let us summarise the essentials. At the beginning of the development was model A res. which was soon joined by A full. Even though in Syriac and JBA the singular masculine form of the PP could also be used when the grammatical object was a 3.sg.f. or 3.pl., the present-day distribution of model A res. suggests that it was in use in all proto-dialects of NENA as well as in Țuroyo. A full was also originally more widespread than it is today. In the course of the increasing grammaticalisation of qṭille, the object suffix between the stem and L-suffix must have been perceived more and more as a foreign body and the expression of direct objects was adapted to that on the AP. Model A full was increasingly restricted or even superseded by C, which developed into D in Hertevin, and finally B; it must, however, be left open why two models are in use in the majority of dialects although one of them must be regarded as redundant. In the case of Model B, two presumably independent developments can be assumed. In the Christian dialects in the area around Mosul, \*qāyim

83 Of course, the size of the text corpus in this case allows a classification only with reservations.



developed > \*qāym > \*qaym > \*qēm > qem > kem, in the Jewish Lišana Deni dialects and some Christian dialects, on the other hand, > \*qāym > \*qām > qam. Model B is very common in the Christian dialects and is only absent in the western dialects of Țuroyo / Mlaḥso and in Hertevin. In the Jewish dialects, B is only used in the Lišana Deni dialects but not in the Trans-Zab dialects. While the former behave quite differently and also use A full, A res. and C in addition to B, the Trans-Zab dialects uniformly use the A res. and C models. The central group around Barzan takes a middle position insofar as it does not use B but also has model A full in addition to C. The general tendency seems to be to use only one signum for the a first and second person object, as is already the case in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects (A res. + C) and the majority of Christian dialects (A res. + B).

3.5.2 Object Pronouns on Qṭilā and Infinitives

Direct objects on qṭilā can be expressed by L- / LL-suffixes or possessive suffixes, sometimes both possibilities are combined, as in J. Koy Saṅḡaq. There, one uses qṭilā + cop. + L-suffix if the subject is a first or second person: lbilta + wan + le > *lbiltawanne* “I (fem.) have taken him along”. However, if the subject is a third person, possessive suffixes are used: qṭilā + possessive suffix + cop.: nšiqta + i + la > *nšiqtila* “she has kissed me”, just as it says *beli* “my house”; the same rules apply to the infinitive. With a first or second person subject, it says: mapṣoxa + wet + lū > *mapṣoxawəttū* “you (sg.m.) are making them happy”, whereas with a third person subject an object is expressed by possessive suffixes: nšāqa + i + le > *nšāqile* “he is kissing me” (pp. 60, 100f). The following dialects express a direct object by possessive suffixes independently of the subject:

TABLE 23 Direct objects are expressed by possessive suffixes

|           |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian | Urmia          | Urmia (qṭəltula “she has killed him”; likewise on the inf.: bə-qṭalulə “he is killing him” [pp. 388f])                                                                                                   |
|           | Xabur dialects | Generally possible in all dialects (pp. 319–321); in particular: Ġilu (šqilole “he has taken it [f]”; likewise on the inf.: haynole b-grašu “he is pulling you” [poss. suff. 2.sg.m = -u, p. 44; p. 38]) |

TABLE 23    Direct objects are expressed by possessive suffixes (*cont.*)

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Southern group | <b>Txuma</b> (xzīti ʾīla “she has seen me”; on the inf.: mbaqōri ʾīwəṭ “you are asking me / for me” [pp. 155f])                                                                       |
|                | <b>Sat</b> (haydole xzidew “he has reaped it”; on the inf.: babi ha-bb-əzrayən “my father is sowing them”; p. 33)                                                                     |
|                | <b>Qaraqoš</b> (k-ilə nqīši “he has hit me”; the inf. is used only nominally here: xalša lyašəḥ “(when) she finishes kneading it” [pp. 362–364])                                      |
|                | <b>Alqoš mod.</b> (nʾisaḥ-ile xūwe? “has a snake bitten her?”, man-ile muyelpux? “who has taught you?”; likewise on the inf.: wexwa be-spāraḥ “we were waiting for it (f.)” [p. 181]) |
|                | <b>Karamleš</b> (kilə šqiləḥ “he has taken him”; on the inf.: kilə b-šqalax “he is taking you [f.]”; p. 88)                                                                           |
| Judi group     | <b>Armoṭa</b> (šqilewyəṭ “you have taken it” [pp. 129f])                                                                                                                              |
|                | <b>Diyana</b> (ptixtola “she has opened it [sg.f.]”; on the inf.: hole ptaxo “she is opening it [sg.f.]”; pp. 211f)                                                                   |
|                | <b>Gaznax</b> (only an example of an inf. is given: awa nšaḳaw brati “he is kissing my daughter”; p. 313)                                                                             |

With regard to the Xabur dialects, it should first be noted that Talay (p. 320) also includes Barwar among the dialects that can express the object by possessive suffixes, whereas Khan (Barwar 284–288) only mentions the use of L-suffixes.

The use of the infinitive in Armoṭa is not dealt with, but for the remaining dialects it can be stated that the objects on the infinitive and on qṭilā are equally expressed by possessive suffixes, and one can assume that their use was transferred from the former to the latter. In Syriac, objects on the infinitive are expressed by the object pronouns that are also used on qṭal and yiqṭul, i.e.: ܡܬܝܬܝܢܐܠ “to serve me”, but occasionally also the possessive suffix is used,



TABLE 24 Direct objects are expressed by LL- or L-suffixes (*cont.*)

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                | <p><b>Barwar</b> (qṭilälele [usually contracted to qṭiləlle] “he has killed him”, qṭiltälale [qṭiltəlle] “she has killed him”; sometimes also by LL- instead of L-suffixes.: qṭiläləlle “he has killed him”; hole + qṭilā + LL-suff.: hole qṭiləlle “he has killed him”; infinitives normally have L-suffixes: qṭaləlle “he, she is, they are killing him”, qṭalətle “you (sg.m. + f.) are killing him”; sometimes also by LL-suffixes: qṭaläləlle “he is killing him” [pp. 284–287])</p> <p><b>Araḏin</b> (t-ilā mkusyille “which have covered it”; on the inf.: howin ġzāya ille &gt; howin ġzāyille “I see him (right now)” [pp. 33–35])</p> |
| Southern group |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| WNA            | <p>(objects on qṭil and qaṭṭil are expressed by L + suffixes: fṭiḥa “she has opened”, fṭiḥōle “she has opened it”; šammī’in “they have heard”, šammī’ille “they have heard him” [p. 221])</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

The four dialects that distinguish between transitive and intransitive perfective situations, i.e. the Jewish dialects of Sanandağ, Kerend, Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa, show some remarkable peculiarities in the designation of objects. In Sanandağ and Kerend, the object can only be expressed on the verb stem if object and subject are third persons; in this case, however, PP and copula do not agree with the subject, which remains indefinite according to number and gender, but with the object. In Kerend it is: *gəršay* “he / she / they has / have pulled him”, *grəštaya* “he / she / they has / have pulled her”, *gəršen* “he / she / they has / have pulled them”. *gəršay* is also used if no object is mentioned or if it is indefinite: “he / she / they has / have pulled”. If the subject is a first or second person, qṭille is used: *gəršāli* ~ *əlaf grəšli* “I have pulled her”; if the object is a first or second person, əl + qṭilā + cop. is used: *əli gəršay* “he has / they have pulled me” (p. 292). The same system is found in Sanandağ and the neighbouring Jewish dialects in Western Iran, such as Sakəz and Bokaṇ (Khan, Sanandağ pp. 323–327). How can this system be explained? And is there an interrelation

with the fact that it is attested precisely in those dialects where a distinction is made between transitive and intransitive situations both in the perfective aspect and in the anterior / resultative?

As explained above, there can hardly be any doubt that the opposition /i/ : /i/ has been transferred from the perfective signa to the anterior / resultative to differentiate between intransitivity and transitivity, and it seems that a very similar influence has taken place here, as can easily be seen by contrasting *qıtlā* + cop. with the corresponding *qıtle* forms. *qıtlā* + cop. is used in Sanandağ as follows:

tati gorake gərša-y “My father has pulled the man”,  
 tati baxtake grəšte-ya “My father has pulled the woman”,  
 tati baruxawali gəršen “My father has pulled my friends”,  
 tati baxta gərša-y “My father has pulled a woman” (p. 292);

the corresponding *qıtle* forms are:

tati gorake grəşle “My father pulled the man”,  
 tati baxtake gərşale “My father pulled the woman”,  
 tati baruxawali gərşile “My father pulled my friends”,  
 tati baxta grəşle “My father pulled a woman”,  
 tati grəşle “My father pulled” (//grəş-le//) and “My father pulled him” (//grəş-Ø-le//).<sup>85</sup>

The object pronouns -Ø-, -a- and -i- on *qıtle* are thus contrasted with the original subject expressions -ay-, -teya and -en on *qıtlā* + cop. And now, it is important to bear in mind that the dialects analysed here use different signa to express transitive and intransitive situations. In dialects such as C. Alqoş, where *qıtlā* indicates both transitive and intransitive situations, it says: *molpēlä* “they have been taught”, and when an object is mentioned: *man-ile muyelpux?* “who has taught you?” (p. 190), *qıtlā* can thus be active or passive. *gərša* in J. Kerend and J. Sanandağ, on the other hand, is always active, so there is no doubt from the outset that *grəšte-ya* in a sentence like *tati baxtake grəšte-ya* expresses a pulling and not a being-pulled. And so -ay-, -teya and -en could be reinterpreted as object pronouns without any problems by analogy with -Ø-, -a- and -i- in *qıtle*.

The development might have been as follows. Like *qıtl*, *qıtlā* was used with an active meaning under the influence of forms such as \**nsibā* and \**nsibā-ye* (see above ch. 12, sect. 1.4) and then developed into \**qıtlāye* > \**qıtlāye* > \**qətlāy*

85 According to pp. 74, 157.

by analogy with *qṭille*. *gəršay* originally meant “he pulled” and could be used without object or with a nominal object, i.e. it could only be interpreted as *gərša-y*, not as *gərša-Ø-y*. The perfective counterpart *grəšle*, on the other hand, split into the homophonic signa *grəš-le* “he pulled” and *grəš-Ø-le* “he pulled him”. And since *gəršay* had been formed by analogy with *grəšle*, it was also split into *gərša-y* and *gərša-Ø-y*. However, the analogy with *qṭille* went so far that the copula *-y* was no longer interpreted as such, as *qṭille* has an L-suffix at the corresponding position. Consequently, *-y* was perceived as belonging to *-a-* and the compound *-ay* was analysed together as an object pronoun. This meant that *gəršay* no longer contained a morpheme to express the subject which thus was indicated at will by nominal or pronominal sentence constituents. *grəšteya* and *gəršen* were then used by analogy with *gəršay*.

In Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa, the case is slightly different. A third person direct object is added to *qṭlā* in the form of the possessive suffix, followed by the copula. The peculiarity here is that the PP appears in the feminine form not only when the subject is feminine but also when the object is feminine regardless of whether the subject in this case is masculine, feminine or plural. It thus says: *qṭlew-ye* “he has killed him”, *qṭiltew-ya* “she has killed him”, *qṭiltew-yat* “you (fem.) have killed him”, and also: *qṭiltaw-ye* “he has killed her”, *qṭiltaw-ya* “she has killed her” and *qṭiltaw-yen* “they have killed her”. When the object is a first or second person, it is introduced by an LL-suffix: *qṭla-y ʾilli* “he has killed me”, *qṭla-y ʾillax* “he has killed you (fem.)”. It is the same with the object expression on the infinitive, a third person is expressed by possessive suffixes, a first or second person object by LL-suffixes: *garošew-ye* “he is pulling him”, but: *garoša-y ʾilli* “he is pulling me” (pp. 137–139). This peculiarity is not easy to explain, but I think it is related to the use of the possessive suffixes to denote the direct object. As explained above, this usage has been transferred with some certainty from the object designation on the infinitive to the PP. I do not know how the infinitive is used in J. Kerend, but in J. Sanandağ, unlike in Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa, it is restricted to nominal use and is rarely combined with possessive suffixes to denote the object, as in: *ʾila dile ba-gäroši* “he began to pull me” (p. 331). It is conceivable that in Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa the same system originally existed as in Sanandağ, i.e. *\*grište-ya* there also meant “he / she / they has / have pulled her.” Possibly the lack of differentiation of this construction was perceived as disturbing and the third persons of the possessive suffixes were transferred from the infinitive to the PP. This step was possible without problems in Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa where the infinitive is also used verbally, but not in Sanandağ. Thus, *\*girša-ye*, *\*grište-ya* and *\*girš-en* developed into *\*giršew-ye*, *\*grištew-ya* and *\*giršew-yen*. Of course, *-ye*, *-ya* and *-en* could now no longer be interpreted as components of the object

designation but were again understood as what they originally were, namely copulae for the expression of the subject, i.e.: *he has pulled him, she has pulled him, they have pulled him*. It is striking that the stems of the PP are identical in both cases, namely *girš-* for mas. sg. and plural, *grišt-* for fem. sg.: *\*girša-ye* “he / she / they has / have pulled him”, as opposed to *\*giršew-ye* “he has pulled him”. The stem is thus identical whether *-ye* is congruent with the object or with the subject, and analogously the feminine form *grišt-* was generalised and used both when the copula is congruent with the subject and when it is congruent with the object.

#### 4 The Proto-dialects of Neo-Aramaic and Diachronic Considerations

In the preceding sections, considerations have already been made repeatedly on a diachronic level when it came to determining the origin of certain forms. This section aims to give these considerations a somewhat more systematic form and perhaps shed some light on the genesis and development of the Neo-Aramaic language area.

We know very little about the starting point from which the Neo-Aramaic dialects emerged as they did not develop from the written languages but from the vernacular which had given rise to the former and certainly influenced them henceforth but is unfortunately not attested itself unless the ancient grammarians gave it a voice from time to time. It is therefore primarily the Neo-Aramaic dialects themselves that must provide information about their origins.

Whether the Neo-Aramaic dialects emerged from one or more language centres can be answered by means of linguistic isoglosses that are shared by the largest possible number of dialects. Apart from the use of the copula in general, I am not aware of any innovation that is common to all dialects, but there are some that are shared by the vast majority, such as *qṭille* which is used everywhere except in WNA and Neo-Mandaic. In order to answer the questions of interest here, it must first be clarified how likely it is that different dialects have formed the innovation in question independently of each other. The significance of such an innovation is of course very limited as any dialect may have created it at some point in its history without us being able to draw any conclusions about its relationship to other dialects. If the independent formation of an innovation can be ruled out, there are two possible scenarios. There was a single language centre and the innovation in question originated in this centre. In the further course of history, various speech communities separated from this centre of origin and took this innovation with them. In this case, one can speak of a *Stammbaum* (tree model). The other possibility is that several

centres existed from the beginning; the innovation originated in one of these centres and then spread through language contact. In this case, as well as in the case of speech communities that form a *Stammbaum*, dialect continua can develop if the contact between them is not interrupted.

In the following, we will repeatedly talk about *Stammbaum* and proto-dialects, so these two terms must first be defined here. In this work, a proto-dialect is understood to be a dialect with a certain number of isoglosses from which other dialects have emerged. A group of dialects goes back to a common proto-dialect if they share isoglosses that can only be traced back to this one proto-dialect. The stem or the trunk of a *Stammbaum* consists of a dialect or several varieties that have a certain number of characteristic isoglosses in common. These varieties may have differences except for the characteristic isoglosses, but they are mutually intelligible and are in such close contact with each other that innovations can spread easily. This homogeneous language form consisting of several varieties represents the original proto-dialect from which speech communities branch off at some point and develop new language forms which in turn can become proto-dialects from which new dialects emerge during the next split. All dialects together from the original proto-dialect to the individual modern dialects form the *Stammbaum*.

How should q̣ille be rated in this regard? If one assumes that q̣ille represents the result of an inner-Aramaic development and excludes external influence, then it is conceivable, in principle, that this form emerged independently in several places. However, it should be borne in mind that q̣ille is limited to eastern Aramaic, and even if it was not ruled out (see above ch. 12, sect. 1.4) that it was also used in the western language area, its use there must have been very limited. In addition, the development of an ergative verb form is certainly much less likely to occur than, for example, a sound change. I am therefore inclined to assume that q̣ille only originated in the east of the Aramaic language area. The spread of q̣ille makes it very unlikely that the Neo-Aramaic dialects emerged from a single original proto-dialect, for in this case, one would have to assume that WNA and Neo-Mandaic would have initially used q̣ille and then discarded it again after splitting off from the original proto-dialect. q̣ille probably originally had the meaning of an anterior before it replaced q̣tal and also described perfective situations. If WNA and Neo-Mandaic already had a signum to express the anterior, i.e. q̣ille, it is difficult to understand why they should have replaced it by q̣il and q̣aṭṭil or – in the case of Neo-Mandaic – by q̣tal.

However, the question of whether the spread of q̣ille is due to the existence of an eastern *Stammbaum* or to the mutual influence of different eastern language centres has not yet been answered. In order to make a decision in



this regard, it is necessary to assess the probability of a linguistic innovation being adopted by one dialect from another. A lexical feature certainly spreads more quickly than a grammatical innovation. If the possibility of an adoption can be ruled out, this speaks in favour of a *Stammbaum*. As just explained, *qtille* probably originally expressed the anterior, a category that had previously been indicated by the perfective *q̄tal* as a secondary function. There was therefore definitely a gap in the verbal systems of the dialects of that time which was certainly only too willingly filled by *qtille*. An adoption is therefore entirely conceivable. *qtille* therefore neither proves the existence of an eastern *Stammbaum* nor excludes it. However, in both cases it makes a close contact between the varieties or dialects of early eastern Neo-Aramaic probable even if we should not forget that *qtille* is already attested in Imperial Aramaic and therefore had a very long period of time to spread.

Another important isogloss is the copula. If the derivation advocated in this work is correct, the forms of the 3.sg.m. and 3.sg.f. contain an element that goes back to *\*yū* and *\*ʔī* (see 3.1 above). The formation of a copula from an initially presumably presentative enclitic pronoun is not unusual and can certainly have taken place independently of each other in different language centres. The same applies to the forms that go back to *hwy*; deriving a copula from a verb with the meaning “to be” is obvious and not unusual. The situation is different with the compounds of *\*ʔī* and the preposition *l-* which express the third persons singular. Although parallels from Arabic could be cited for combining a presentative particle with an object pronoun, such a combination can hardly be considered commonplace. It therefore seems appropriate to assume only one language centre in which this isogloss originated. Statements about a *Stammbaum*, however, are not possible, since a spread of the copula through language contact can by no means be ruled out; although the enclitic pronouns could also be used in the sense of a copula,<sup>86</sup> it cannot be denied that the new formations closed a gap in the language system and were therefore certainly only too readily adopted. However, it can be assumed that the centres in which *\*ʔī* + *l-* was used, i.e. primarily the proto-dialects of *NENA* including Hertevin, were in active contact with each other, and if we exclude an independent formation, the proto-dialect of *WNA* must also have been influenced by this group because there, too, the third persons of the copulae are *ile*, *ila*, *ilun* even if the derivations of *hwy* did not prevail here. *Ṭuroyo* / *Mlaḥso* and Neo-Mandaic, on the other hand, have gone their own way, as *\*ʔī* + *l-* is unknown there. They also differ from the *NENA* dialects and *WNA* with regard to the first and second

86 See Fox, Cliticization 76.

persons, insofar as they use shortened forms of the independent personal pronouns as copulae. Hertevin stands between the two groups in this respect in that it has forms with \* $\bar{\text{I}}$  + l- in the third persons sg. but otherwise presumably uses the independent pronouns.

Hoberman (Pronouns) presents another important isogloss. According to his convincing reconstruction, the independent personal pronouns of the third persons in Proto-NENA, including the proto-dialect of Hertevin, were \**ahu* (m.), \**ahi* (f.) and \**anhi(n)* / \**ani*, with the singular forms having mostly developed into *awa* and *aya* (p. 84). And indeed in Hertevin *'ahu*, *'ahi*, *'ahni* are used (p. 22), just as in J. Amadiya, for example, we find *'ahu*, *'ahi*, *'ani* (G p. 77), while Turoyo (p. 3) / Mlaḥso (p. 28), WNA (p. 42) and Neo-Mandaic (Macuch, Man. 154) have forms with initial /h/ (Mlaḥso: *hiye*, *hiya*, *hiyen*; Ma'lula: *hu*, *hi*, *hinn*). It is noteworthy that C. Qaraqoṣ once again emphasises its conservative character, insofar as it has not only preserved the /h/, moreover, the plural form is *'anhən* (p. 75) from which the forms with final /i/ certainly have arisen. The 17th-century Jewish texts already use *'awa*, *'aya* and *'ani* (xxxv), while the corresponding Christian forms from Alqoṣ are still *'ahu* and *'ahi* in the singular but already fluctuate between *'anhi* and *'anhin* in the plural (I pp. 177, 187). The 3.pl. sometimes also begins with /ʔ/ in the classical languages; as seen above (3.1), the enclitic pronouns in Syriac and CPA begin with /ʔ/, and Biblical Aramaic (D 2,44; 7,17; E 5,4) and Samaritan (Macuch, GSA 131) also have forms with /ʔ/.

Forms with /h/ and preceding /ʔ/, however, are only known to me from JBA (איהו [sg.m.], איהי [sg.f.], אינהו [pl.m.], אינהי [pl.f.])<sup>87</sup> and occasionally from JMP,<sup>88</sup> the latter, however, probably under Babylonian influence. The origin of /ʔ/ is therefore completely different in the two cases. Forms such as *'ennōn* and *'ennēn* certainly originated from \**hennōn* and \**hennēn* through a sound change /h/ > /ʔ/, whereas in איהו etc. the /h/ is preserved and the /ʔ/ is placed in front. It seems very unlikely to me that such forms developed independently of each other in several language centres. The very special character of this innovation is not only confirmed by the fact that it can only be observed in JBA but also by Arabic. The starting point there is almost the same as in Aramaic. In Classical Arabic, the forms of the third persons are *huwe*, *hiya* and *hum*, *hunna*, and I am not aware of a single dialect of Modern Arabic in which these pronouns would begin with a sound other than /h/.<sup>89</sup> Though the emergence in several language centres is therefore very unlikely, the question remains as to how likely

87 Margolis, BT 16.

88 Dalman, Grammatik 107.

89 For example, *huwwa*, *hiyya*, *humma* in Cairo. See the relevant sections in the HAD.

it is that these forms were spread through language contact. Compared to the two isoglosses discussed above, there is a significant difference here. Both *q̄tille* and the copula filled gaps in the language system, since *signa* for expressing the intenta in question had not existed before. The situation is different in the case of the personal pronouns because these already existed, albeit with an initial /h/. If one assumes that several language centres existed and that the forms with initial /ʔ/ arose in one of them, the question naturally arises as to why the centres with /h/ should have adopted the forms with /ʔ/ when they already had corresponding *signa* that expressed exactly the same thing. Such an assumption would only make sense if it were assumed that the centre with the ʔ-forms had special prestige and thus influenced the other centres. It is conceivable that the dialects of, for example, centres of Jewish scholarship such as Sura and Pumbedita were particularly prestigious, but it seems very doubtful to me that they were able to exert such an influence. Rather, the forms of the Neo-Aramaic personal pronouns suggest the existence of at least two independent language centres. The centre in which the personal pronouns of the third person were transformed into \**ahu* (m.), \**ahi* (f.) and \**anhi*(n) must have been closely related to JBA. The Christian and Jewish NENA dialects, including Hertevin, emerged from this centre so that we can speak of a *Stammbaum* in this case according to the definition given above. It is not possible to make a corresponding statement about the other dialects, as no innovation took place in these, but a feature was merely preserved. The personal pronouns alone are not sufficient to decide whether WNA, Turoyo / Mlaḥso and Neo-Mandaic developed independently of each other or not.

Another isogloss that is characteristic of the entire Aramaic language area are the t-stems. These are preserved in WNA, Turoyo / Mlaḥso and Neo-Mandaic but have been discarded in the other dialects. In contrast to the pronouns, it is quite conceivable that this innovation, i.e. the discard of the t-stems, took place in several language centres independently of each other. Mutual influence cannot be ruled out either so that it is not possible to draw conclusions about a possible *Stammbaum*.

Gender, number and person of *qāṭil* are expressed by suffixes in almost the entire Neo-Aramaic language area as was already the case in the classical languages. The only exception is WNA which uses a combination of prefixes and suffixes for this purpose (see ch. 14, sect. 1 above). The inflection by suffixes may have arisen independently in several language centres and also a spread through language contact is conceivable here. The situation is different with the inflection of WNA which is so strikingly different from that in the other dialects and for which I know of no parallel from the classical languages; it probably originated in only one centre and remained there.

Furthermore, the infinitives should be mentioned. As seen above (sect. 3.3), these probably go back to \*qṭāla (I), \*qaṭṭōle (II) and \*ʾaqtōle (III) in the NENA dialects, i.e. to forms with /ō/ instead of /ā/, as is the case in the vast majority of the classical languages. Only JBA and Mandaic have infinitives with /ō/ which are sometimes preceded by an m- in Mandaic but not in JBA. Except in C. Qaraqoṣ, \*qaṭṭōle and \*ʾaqtōle were prefixed with an initial m- by analogy with the participles which in the case of stem II, however, was often elided again, while it was retained in stem III. The forms in WNA and ʿuroyo / Mlaḥso also have /ō/, but this is probably due to the usual shift from \*/ā/ > /ō/ in these dialects so that it is not possible to decide whether these forms originally contained /ā/ or /ō/. Whether infinitives are still in use in Neo-Mandaic had to be left open.

Although the shift from \*/ā/ > /ō/ is not exactly rare in Classical Aramaic, infinitives with /ō/ are only attested in JBA and Mandaic so that the emergence of these forms in several language centres seems rather unlikely. However, the assumption that the infinitives in the NENA dialects as a whole go back to \*qṭāla, \*qaṭṭōle and \*ʾaqtōle is not the only possible one. It is also theoretically conceivable that this derivation only applies to the forms in C. Qaraqoṣ, while those in the other dialects go back to \*qṭāla, \*mqaṭṭōle and \*maqtōle, as attested in classical Mandaic. It is possible that the NENA dialects and Mandaic had a common proto-dialect in which forms with and without m- occurred as variants. Before the personal pronouns with initial /a/ were formed, the proto-dialect of Neo-Mandaic had split off from this language community in which infinitives with and without m- were used side by side. This scenario is theoretically conceivable, but it should be borne in mind that it is by no means certain whether \*ahu, \*ahi and \*anhi(n) actually arose after the infinitives with /ō/, and in view of this uncertainty factor, it seems more appropriate to assume a single original form without m- for the NENA dialects. The language centre in which this innovation originated must have been in close contact with JBA. With regard to the spread of these forms through language contact, the same applies as was said above about the personal pronouns with initial /a/. Here, too, it can be assumed that infinitive forms had already been present in all dialects. So why should dialects with ā-infinitives adopt those with /ō/ which meant exactly the same thing? It thus seems more appropriate to consider the infinitives as a further argument in favour of the existence of a *Stammbaum* and one original proto-dialect from which the NENA dialects emerged.

The next isogloss does not concern a single feature but rather a part of the verbal system, and in order to make it understandable I have to go into a little more detail.

As has already been seen repeatedly, a group of dialects expresses indicative situations with present time reference, mostly habitual but sometimes also imperfective ones, by *k-qāṭil* or *ʾi-qāṭil*, *k-* and *ʾi-* being used with all verbs or only with a certain class of verbs, mostly *ɪ ʾ*. The corresponding dialects be compiled again here:

*k-full*: LD dialects (Nerwa 17th cent., Čalla, Amadiya, Betanure, Dohok, Zaxo; Mangeš) and from among the Central-Zab group Beğil where *k-* is used at least occasionally.

Christian: Alqoš 17th cent., Alqoš mod., Qaraqoš, Peşabur, Telkepe, Karamleş, Armoṭa, Turoyo, and moreover the Neo-Mandaic dialect of Khorramshahr.

*k-res.*-dialects are: the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects (Koy Sanğaq, Arbel, Sulemaniyya, Ḥalabğa, Sanandağ, Saqqiz, Rustaqa) and the Central-Zab group (Barzan, Šahe).

Christian: Sanandağ, Mlaḥso.

*ʾi-full*: the Central-Zab group (Barzan + Šahe + Beğil) where an optional *y-* can be placed before *qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil*.

Christian: Xabur dialects, Araḍin, Diyana, Beşpen.

*ʾi-res.*: C. Bohtan, C. Gaznax.

WNA, finally, has neither *k-qāṭil* nor *ʾi-qāṭil*.

As already indicated above (3.1, Table 5), there is another group that uses a combination of *k-* and *ʾi-* as a prefix. These include C. Urmia (*ci-*), C. Sardarid (*či-*), C. Txuma (*ke-*), C. Mazra (*ki-*), C. Tiyyari (*či-*). Presumably, the Christian dialects of Hertevin, Bohtan and Ḥassana were also originally part of this group. All three dialects have *ki-qāṭil* only in the case of isolated verbs; in Hertevin (pp. 55f) and Bohtan (p. 173) it is the verb “to want” *ke-pʿe* and *ki-be*, in Ḥassana *ki-te* “he comes”, *ki-zil* “he goes”, *ki-za* “she goes” (Beşpen 9). It can sometimes be observed that the first syllable of *qāṭil* of verba *ɪ ʾ* is elided when the prefix *k-* is added, as in J. Arbel: *ʾāxil* : *k-xil*; if a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to the verb stem, an auxiliary vowel is inserted, thus: *kixli* “they eat” (p. 96). It cannot be ruled out with complete certainty that the first /i/ in the forms from Ḥassana represents such an auxiliary vowel; however, since it is used both when the final sound is a consonant and when it is a vowel, it seems more appropriate to interpret it as the prefix (ʾ)i-. The situation is different with *ke-pʿe* and *ki-be*. These forms go back to *\*bāʿē*, i.e. to a verb *ɪ san*. The loss of the long *\*/ā/* can only be explained by the existence of a preceding originally full vowel, presumably a long one, which drew the accent to itself and thus caused the shortening and finally elision of *\*/ā/*: *\*kī-bāʿē* > *\*kī-bāʿē*

> \*kī-ba'ē > \*kī-b'ē. In principle, of course, one should not draw too many conclusions from such individual examples, as borrowing from foreign dialects is always to be expected. In the present case, however, it should be borne in mind that Ḥassana and Bohtan are 'i-dialects, so the /i/ can be plausibly explained, and Hertevin must also have once belonged to them as the negated form *le qāṭil* (< \*lā + 'i-) shows. And even if these forms are borrowings, it still means that *ki-qāṭil* must have been more widespread in the past than it is today. C. Sanandağ should also be counted among the 'i-dialects. Although (k-)qāṭil is used there today, the negation *le qāṭil* still testifies to the former existence of 'i- (p. 257). From among the Jewish dialects, only the Central-Zab group around Barzan has the prefix 'i-. It is optional there and is used alongside *k-qāṭil* which, however, is only used with six verbs ʾ / h. These dialects are the only ones I know of in which 'i- can be placed before k-. Problems now arise regarding dialects such as Hertevin which no longer have 'i- but in which the negative form *le qāṭil* reveals its former existence. In verbs ʾ / h, 'i- often becomes y- and then merges with the verb stem, as in C. Barwar where it says 'i-*qaṭal* "he kills", but *yaxal* "he eats" (p. 200). One would actually expect 'i- or y- to be preserved in such cases, as is the case in Bohtan. However, it should be borne in mind that /ʾ/ is always stable in Hertevin, both in initial and in middle position (p. 6), so it can be assumed that the prefix 'i- and the /ʾ/ of the verb stem were consistently spoken separately so that 'i- (or ki-) could later be elided without leaving a trace.

Apart from WNA, as far as I can see, all Neo-Aramaic dialects have either *k-qāṭil* or 'i-qāṭil, and these two signs allow not insignificant conclusions to be drawn about the development of the Aramaic verbal systems. The spread of *k-qāṭil* in the classical languages and in the modern dialects suggests that it was already part of the NENA proto-dialect. It cannot be ruled out that 'i-qāṭil was also created during this period, but it probably only led a shadowy existence here and was only fully integrated into the verbal system after the proto-dialect had split (see below).

As seen above, in CPA, Syriac, Classical Mandaic and JBA, simple qāṭil already expressed not only simultaneity with and posteriority to the speech time but even began to compete with *yiṣṭul* in the non-indicative domain.<sup>90</sup> It has also already been mentioned that the Neo-Aramaic dialects suggest that *k-qāṭil* and 'i-qāṭil did once not only express simultaneity with but also posteriority to the speech time. On the one hand, the negation of *bed-qāṭil* by *la k-qāṭil* and *le qāṭil* cannot be explained in any other way; and moreover, also affirmative *k-qāṭil* still indicates posteriority to the speech time in some dialects today

90 See the relevant sections in chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11.

(see above sect. 3.2); simple qāṭil, on the other hand, has established itself as a signum denoting non-indicative situations in the entire Aramaic language area apart from WNA.<sup>91</sup> k- and 'i- could hardly have originally been imperfective or temporal prefixes; the classical languages as well as the modern dialects rather suggest that they were originally of a purely presentative character; this can be deduced not only from the use of q-qāṭil in Classical Mandaic<sup>92</sup> but also from the fact that this signum could indicate the rheme in JBA,<sup>93</sup> just as 'i- is still used in a presentative function in the modern dialect of C. Qaraqoṣ (see above 3.1). And when viewed from a noematic perspective, it is easy to understand that a presentative signum like q-qāṭil, which originally only served the purpose of emphasis, was not only used to express imperfective situations but also indicated habituality, as was the case in JBA and Classical Mandaic, just as k-qāṭil can still denote both categories in modern Aramaic, especially in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects. The classical languages and the Neo-Aramaic dialects make it clear that simple qāṭil denoted both indicative and non-indicative situations in the NENA proto-dialect. How exactly the relationship between qāṭil, k- / 'i-qāṭil and yiqṭul developed is not easy to determine. Written languages generally behave more conservatively than spoken vernaculars and only reflect them very inaccurately. Certainly, yiqṭul was preserved longer in the former than in the latter. It is theoretically conceivable that k- / 'i-qāṭil entered the verbal system when simple qāṭil did not yet express posteriority to the speech time but was limited to the extended imperfective aspect. In this case, k- / 'i-qāṭil and qāṭil could have initially formed an imperfective : habitual opposition pair. It is also conceivable that qāṭil entered into opposition to k- / 'i-qāṭil when it expressed simultaneity with and posteriority to the speech time so that the two signa would have formed a temporal opposition pair present : future. If, however, we consider that qāṭil could denote simultaneity with and posteriority to the speech time without being supplemented by any prefixes, for example in the Targum fragments of the Genizah (ch. 7), the two possibilities mentioned do not seem very realistic; it seems far more likely that the introduction or expansion of k-qāṭil and 'i-qāṭil was due to the penetration of qāṭil into the non-indicative domain. When it had replaced yiqṭul here as well, it certainly expressed not only non-indicative situations but also posteriority to and simultaneity with the speech time. Its functional load was now decidedly too great and k-qāṭil / 'i-qāṭil were formed or, what is more likely, their use was extended to the expression of posteriority to the speech time. After the

91 Cf. above ch. 21. sect. 1.

92 See ch. 10, sect. 16 (Classical Mandaic).

93 See ch. 9, sect. 7.1.

functional expansion of the originally purely presentative verb forms *k-qāṭil* / *ʾi-qāṭil*, these must therefore have been primarily indicative forms that were intended as counterparts to the non-indicative *qāṭil*.

And here the question arises as to why *ʾi-qāṭil* was combined with *k-* in some dialects, and it should be emphasised that this newly created prefix was only used with present but not with future time reference because the dialects with *ki-qāṭil* like C. Urmia (p. 286) negate posterior situations by *le qāṭil*, not by *\*la ki-qāṭil* or *\*la ci-qāṭil*.

The development might have been similar to what can probably be assumed for C. Qaraqoş. There, habitual situations are expressed by *k-qāṭil*, imperfective ones by *k-ilā + k-qāṭil*. It can be assumed that *k-qāṭil* originally denoted imperfective and habitual situations and that *k-* was then combined with the copula in order to have a separate signum to indicate the imperfective aspect. The situation may have been similar in the case of *ki-qāṭil*, except that habitual and imperfective situations were expressed by *ʾi-* or *\*ilā qāṭil*. In order to distinguish imperfective from habitual situations, *ʾi-* / *\*ilā qāṭil* was combined with *k-* and the newly formed *ki(lā)-qāṭil* denoted the imperfective aspect. When the infinitive was introduced later – unlike in Qaraqoş –, *ki-qāṭil* became superfluous and disappeared in dialects such as C. Bohtan and Ḥassana except for some verba ɪ inf. or h, but in these cases it was reanalysed as a habitualis form by analogy with *ʾi-qāṭil*. In other dialects, such as C. Urmia and Sardarid, *ki-qāṭil* remained even after the introduction of the infinitive but was now used to express habitual situations and replaced *ʾi-qāṭil*. This interpretation presupposes that *ki-qāṭil* was no longer perceived as an appropriate signum to express imperfective situations because otherwise it would probably not have been replaced by the infinitive. It is possible that the phonetic difference to *ʾi-qāṭil* was considered too small.

There is another possibility, namely that the phonetic difference between *ʾi-qāṭil* and the non-indicative *qāṭil* was felt to be too small and therefore *ʾi-qāṭil* was reinforced by *k-*. However, this explanation is only possible with regard to dialects such as C. Urmia, in which no *ʾi-qāṭil* is used, as it presupposes that *ki-qāṭil* did not coexist with *ʾi-qāṭil* but replaced it. We will return to this topic below.

The development in the proto-dialect from which at least the NENA dialects emerged may have been as follows. *qāṭil* expressed the extended imperfective aspect and also pushed *yiqṭul* out of the domain of posteriority and non-indicativity. Probably before this process was completed, the prefixes *k-* and *ʾi-* arose from *qāyīm* and the newly created *ʾilā* which originally presumably had a purely presentative and emphasising character, for example in denoting the rheme. This changed when *qāṭil* no longer simply denoted



simultaneity with and posteriority to the speech time but also established itself as a signum for expressing non-indicative situations. The functional burden of qāṭil had now become too huge and k- and 'i- became prefixes to express indicativity and the opposition k- / 'i-qāṭil (indicativity) : qāṭil (non-indicativity) arose. Such a system exists in the 17th-century Jewish texts in which there is no evidence of a present imperfective verb form but only of k-qāṭil which is used with present and future time reference and is the indicative counterpart of the non-indicative qāṭil. k- / 'i- were probably transferred to qāṭilwā around the same time so that now also with past time reference a distinction was made between indicativity and non-indicativity. It is striking that the verbal system, as can be reconstructed with some probability for this transitional phase, was fundamentally different from that of the previous periods. Since the AP was used in a predicative function from Late Old Aramaic onwards, the verbal systems took on a clearly aspectual character. Although qāṭil and its compounds with hwy never became pure aspectual forms but rather generally denoted duration and repetition, they formed opposition pairs with perfective verb forms with past time, sometimes with future time reference and even in the realm of non-indicativity and thus gave the respective verbal systems a very aspect-prominent character. Things look completely different in the transitional phase leading to Neo-Aramaic. The only opposition that can be reconstructed with any certainty is that between indicativity and non-indicativity, while the existence of aspectual verb forms or oppositions is quite unlikely. As already mentioned, k- and 'i-qāṭil were certainly no original imperfective signa, but rather had a purely presentative character. k- and 'i-qāṭilwā probably indicated habitual and imperfective situations, but they were surely perceived primarily as indicative forms that were in opposition to simple qāṭilwā, especially since they were probably not opposed to a perfective verb form. The perfective qṭal had – except in the predecessor dialects of WNA and Neo-Mandaic – probably already largely given way to qṭille which, however, was originally not a perfective form but an anterior. And it is very unlikely that the infinitive had already been used predicatively. On the one hand, the fact that there is no trace of such use in the classical languages suggests that it was only introduced after k- and 'i-qāṭil. And there is an even more important reason against it. A compound like b + infinitive + copula, i.e. literally: to be in an activity, can only have an imperfective meaning due to its composition, as the Neo-Aramaic dialects confirm. If an imperfective verb form is introduced into a verbal system, it is to be expected that an opposition partner is already present there, i.e. a perfective signum with past and future time reference and a signum to indicate habituality with present time reference. And such a partner was not present at the time qāṭil replaced yiqṭul. The only verb form to which the infinitive could

have been in opposition was simple qāṭil, but this expressed not only habitual situations of the present but also future and non-indicative ones. The only verb form that would have fit into the verbal system at this point would not have been an imperfective one but one that simply expressed indicativity, i.e. k- or 'i-qāṭil. It can therefore be considered reasonably certain that the infinitive only entered the verbal system when the two qāṭil forms were already established as indicative signa.

If we pause for a moment at this point and look at the development of the Aramaic verbal systems in its entirety, one striking thing immediately becomes apparent: that it did not proceed linearly but rather went in circles and ultimately returned exactly to where it had begun in Old Aramaic times. At that time yiqṭul had been the indicative counterpart of the non-indicative form yiqṭulS, now it was k- and 'i-qāṭil that were in opposition to the non-indicative qāṭil. And whereas in those days it had been – from Late Old Aramaic onwards – qāṭil that had given the verbal systems an aspectual character, this was now achieved by the infinitive.

This stage of development, when simple qāṭil could describe both indicative and non-indicative situations of the present and the future, was probably passed through by almost the entire Aramaic language area. As seen above (sect. 3.2), gid- and bed-qāṭil can be negated in Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso as well as in some NENA dialects. Of course, for these dialects it cannot be considered proven that k- and 'i-qāṭil could originally also designate future situations which is the prerequisite for the thesis presented here, i.e. that the verbal systems in this transitional phase leading to the Neo-Aramaic proto-dialects were neither dominated by aspectual nor by temporal verb forms but by the modal opposition k- / 'i-qāṭil : qāṭil; but at least there is no evidence to the contrary. WNA, which has neither k- nor 'i-qāṭil, cannot be assessed in this regard. It is difficult to answer whether this development could have occurred in several centres independently of each other. In principle, a participle is quite flexible in its development possibilities so that independent developments are fundamentally conceivable, especially since it was always yiqṭul from which qāṭil took over functions. On the other hand, however, WNA shows that the disappearance of yiqṭul – which is quite difficult to understand from a common sense perspective – was by no means inevitable; if a verb form was already as functionally overloaded as qāṭil when it designated simultaneity with as well as posteriority to the speech time, one would not actually expect it to take on another function. In this regard, the development of qāṭil into a non-indicative signum seems rather unusual and speaks against the assumption of different centres in which this innovation emerged. And if one also takes into account the consistency with which qāṭil penetrated the Neo-Aramaic verbal systems

in their entirety, the spread of this innovation through mere language contact does not seem very likely. The history of qāṭil thus argues for the existence of a *Stammbaum*. Whether Turoyo / Mlaḥso and Neo-Mandaic are also part of this *Stammbaum*, will be discussed below. In any case, at this point the original proto-dialect was split. In one group of dialects or varieties the indicative k-qāṭil formed an opposition pair with qāṭil, in the other it was 'i-qāṭil. At a later stage of development, the compound \*bā'ē d or \*bī d + qāṭil lost its non-indicative character and denoted the future / posteriority in most dialects, but for the reasons explained above it remained limited to affirmative statements while the negation was expressed by le qāṭil and la k-qāṭil. It can no longer be decided whether bed-qāṭil or – in Turoyo – gid-qāṭil were temporal or aspectual forms. Later, some dialects reinforced 'i-qāṭil by k- to ki-qāṭil > ci-qāṭil; this process can only have taken place after bed-qāṭil had been established as a signum for expressing the future / posteriority because in these dialects future situations are negated by le qāṭil, not by la ki-qāṭil.

The last isoglosses to be discussed are qam- and kem-qāṭil. Even if these forms are by no means used in all dialects, there is still some evidence to suggest that their origin has to be sought in the NENA proto-dialect. This is supported not only by their spread from Salamas in the north to the Xabur dialects and down to the Mosul plain but even more by the improbability that they emerged independently in several language centres. As explained above (sect. 3.5), they probably go back to \*qāyim-qāṭil; it is not unusual for a compound with a verb meaning “to stand” to develop into an imperfective signum,<sup>94</sup> but it is unusual for it to take on a perfective meaning. I thus assume a single place of origin. The starting point for the development in the Neo-Aramaic dialects is the form \*qāym-qāṭil which developed, on the one hand, > \*qām-qāṭil > qam-qāṭil and, on the other hand, > \*qēm-qāṭil > qem-qāṭil > kem-qāṭil. And it should be emphasised here that it is not the use of \*qāym-qāṭil to express direct objects that is considered an isogloss of the NENA proto-dialect but only its use with a perfective meaning. In this way, we can easily explain why the compound was later discarded in many dialects. As already indicated above, \*qāym-qāṭil was probably originally used in the sense of an anterior: *he has risen*, and must have had a similar meaning as qṭille. If \*qāym-qāṭil was nevertheless able to exist alongside the latter in many dialects, it was only because qṭille was no longer combined with infixed object suffixes (model A full) due to its increasing grammaticalisation and another means was needed for this purpose. In those

94 Compare Italian *sta facendo*, Spanish *está haciendo* “he is doing”, or the Neo-Arabic dialects in which the semantic counterpart to “stand”, i.e. *qā'id* “sit”, is used in a very similar way; see HAD 75.

dialects in which direct objects could be expressed by the models A full, C or D, there was no longer any need to retain another signum with the same meaning as qṭille in the verbal system and \*qāym-qāṭil was discarded in most of them.

Although qam- and kem-qāṭil probably originated in only one language centre, a spread through language contact cannot be ruled out. The forms can thus not serve as an argument in favour of a *Stammbaum*.

All in all, the AP of qwm has undergone three different developments because, as seen above (sect. 3.2), k-qāṭil and qam-qāṭil, used in J. Beḡil to express the imperfective aspect, probably have the same origin. It can be assumed that k-qāṭil (< qā-qāṭil) was already part of the NENA proto-dialect, only that it had primarily a presentative character and was not yet considered the indicative counterpart to simple qāṭil; when its origin (< \*qāyim-qāṭil) was forgotten, the compound AP of qwm + AP emerged a second time, but this time it developed into a signum to express the perfective aspect. It seems quite unlikely that the perfective \*qāym-qāṭil arose first, since \*qāym is still clearly recognisable as the AP of the root qwm. How to assess the qam-qāṭil form used in J. Beḡil is not easy to say. It can go back to the old \*qāyim-qāṭil (> k-qāṭil), but it can also be a new formation because the emergence of an imperfective signum from a verb of standing is, as already said, nothing unusual.

What conclusions can be drawn from the innovations discussed so far for the classification of the proto-dialects of Neo-Aramaic? Four of the innovations speak in favour of the existence of a *Stammbaum*, at least in the case of the NENA dialects, namely the compound \*ī + l- to express the 3.sg. copula, the personal pronouns of the third persons with initial /a/, the infinitives of stems II and III with /ō/ and the non-indicative use of simple qāṭil. The personal pronouns alone make it clear that neither the proto-dialects of WNA nor of Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso and Neo-Mandaic could have been part of this *Stammbaum*. WNA differs from NENA in several other isoglosses. First of all, there is the sound change /ā/ > /ō/ (p. 22) which can be observed in West Syriac but only very occasionally in the NENA dialects (see below). Furthermore, the preservation of the t-stems, the inflection of qāṭil with prefixes and suffixes and the preservation of qṭal and yiqṭul should be mentioned; the absence of qṭille and the use of qatṭil also separate WNA from NENA but connect it to CPA. Kim (Subgrouping 506) draws attention to two further isoglosses that connect WNA with Western Aramaic. We have already mentioned above (A2) an important distinguishing feature between Eastern and Western Classical Aramaic, namely the plural mas. which ends in -ē in the East, e.g. in Mandaic, but in -ayyā in the West. In Maʿlula it says *tarʿō* “doors”, while the corresponding plural forms in Ṭuroyo and the NENA dialects end in -e or -i. Furthermore, in Western Aramaic the infix -n- is inserted between the verb base of yiqṭul

and an object suffix which is missing in Eastern Aramaic. This infix is also used in Maʿlula: *yīṭʿun* “that he carry”, but: *yīṭuʿnennax* “that he carry you”. Although it shares important characteristics with Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso, such as the transition from /ā/ > /ō/, the use of *qaṭṭil* and the personal pronoun with initial /h/, the important and certainly very old difference in the plural mas. makes it very unlikely that the two dialects shared a common proto-dialect. For the same reason, WNA is to be separated from Mandaic because Classical Mandaic forms the plural with -ē, modern Mandaic with the suffix -ānā.<sup>95</sup>

Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso was or is undoubtedly in contact with the NENA dialects, as the common use of *qṭille* alone shows, but its proto-dialect can hardly have been part of the NENA *Stammbaum*. Not only the third person personal pronouns speak against this but also the copula (\*yū : \*ī) and the sound change /ā/ > /ō/.<sup>96</sup> The last two isoglosses also make it unlikely that Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso and Mandaic go back to a common proto-dialect. Finally, Mandaic must be separated from the NENA dialects because of the personal pronouns and from WNA because of the masculine plural form of the noun, the inflection of *qāṭil* and the sound change /ā/ > /ō/. Four independent language centres can therefore be assumed as the starting points for the formation of the Neo-Aramaic dialects. One of these centres was very close to JBA and can be considered the original proto-dialect from which the NENA dialects emerged.<sup>97</sup> The other centres also have the status of proto-dialects: the three Neo-Western Aramaic dialects emerged from a centre that was close to Western Aramaic; Ṭuroyo and the dialect of Mlaḥso have some not unimportant differences which will be discussed below, but I can already anticipate that one can assume a single proto-dialect for both dialects; Neo-Mandaic goes back to the fourth proto-dialect which was probably closer to JBA than to Classical Mandaic (cf. ch. 2).

The following primarily deals with the development of the NENA dialects, and therefore the isoglosses that characterise the proto-dialect from which they developed are listed here: In addition to *qṭille*, \*qāym-qāṭil is used with approximately the same meaning; the copulae of the 3.sg.m. and f. go back to \*ī + l-, the first and second persons to \*ī + hāwē + enclitic pronoun; the third person personal pronouns are \*ahu (m.), \*ahi (f.) and \*anhi(n); the infinitives of *qaṭṭel* and *ʾaqtel* have an /ō/ (\*qaṭṭōle \*ʾaqtōle); *qāṭil* expresses indicative and non-indicative situations of the present and future and is inflected with

95 Nöldeke, MG 161; Häberl, Khorramshahr 129; Macuch, Man. 206.

96 Jastrow, Mlaḥso 14.

97 Also Fox, NENA 14, emphasises that the NENA proto-dialect must have been quite close to JBA.

suffixes; k-qāṭil has a presentative function. The dialect that formed the starting point for the NENA *Stammbaum* was probably quite uniform and very close to the dialects or varieties from which JBA emerged.

So far we have dealt primarily with the early language centres from which the proto-dialects of Neo-Aramaic emerged. Now we will turn to the individual proto-dialects themselves and try, with the help of selected isoglosses that have been discussed in this chapter, to structure the Neo-Aramaic language area. The isoglosses are divided into primary (P) and secondary (S) isoglosses. If an isogloss is already attested in the classical languages, it is called primary, if not, it is considered secondary. It should be borne in mind that the primary isoglosses do not necessarily have to be older or more meaningful than the secondary ones, and it should also be noted that they usually do not represent innovations, such as the preservation of qaṭṭel as an independent root pattern. The cases where qaṭṭel has merged with the old G- or C-stems are of course more significant because this process represents an innovation. Nevertheless, I would not like to forego the separate presentation of the primary isoglosses as they at least sometimes provide information about the conservative or progressive character of a dialect. Of particular importance are the isoglosses where spread through language contact is rather unlikely. In these cases, the letters P and S are in bold.

The following isoglosses are to be considered primary:

P1: qaṭṭel is preserved (see sect. 3.2).

The negative counterpart to this isogloss is the loss of qaṭṭel. In either case, the spread or preservation of this isogloss may be due to language contact.

P2: k-qāṭil expresses habitual and / or imperfective situations (see sect. 3.1).

This isogloss is also considered given if k- is only prefixed to verba I inf. Dialects that have ki- are also listed here. Spread through language contact is again conceivable.

P3: Posteriority / future is expressed without bed- / gid- (see sect. 3.1).

In this case, posteriority / future is usually denoted by k-qāṭil. It is thinkable that \*bā'ē d + qāṭil or \*bī d + qāṭil did not develop into an indicative signum at all or – less likely – that it later disappeared from the verbal system again. An influence of other dialects cannot be ruled out in either case.

P4: qṭille only expresses transitive situations (see sect. 3.4).

According to the theory advocated here, qṭille was originally formed from transitive verbs, so the isogloss is to be considered primary. Spread through language contact seems very unlikely to me in this case, since this could hardly have been limited to qṭille but must also have affected the counterpart expressing intransitive situations. In the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects, the opposition qṭilā : qṭlā was most likely modelled according to qṭille : qṭil; in this case, one would have to assume that two or even four signa were taken over.

P5: (lā) qṭil + S-suffix expresses intransitive situations (see sect. 3.4).

For a limited number of verbs, this use is already attested in eastern and western Classical Aramaic, so the isogloss is primary. Spread through language contact is conceivable.

The following isoglosses are secondary:

S1: The imperfective aspect is expressed by infinitive + copula (present or past; see sect. 3.1).

Borrowing from other dialects is certainly possible.

S2: The imperfective aspect is expressed by copula + k-qāṭil (see sect. 3.1). Borrowing is also conceivable here.

S3: 'i-qāṭil denotes habitual situations (see sect. 3.1).

Spread through language contact is conceivable.

S4: Direct objects on qṭille are expressed by model C (see sect. 3.4.a).

In model C, a direct object is expressed by L-suffixes. Borrowing is possible.

S5: qṭilā + cop. is not used (see sect. 3.3).

This isogloss does not represent an innovation but rather the preservation of a feature and can at best be used as an indication of the conservative character of a dialect; in addition, it should be borne in mind that it can never be ruled out that qṭilā + cop. was once used but then replaced again.

S6: A direct object on qṭilā is expressed by possessive pronouns (see sect. 3.4.b).

The expression of an object by possessive pronouns is most likely transferred from the infinitive. A borrowing would presuppose that the expression of an object on the infinitive has also been borrowed because it seems quite unlikely to me that a dialect would adopt the object expression on qṭilā by a possessive suffix from another dialect if it has already developed a corresponding expression on the infinitive.

S7: A direct object on qṭilā is expressed by L-Suffixes (see sect. 3.4.b). Borrowing is more conceivable here as this isogloss does not presuppose the predicative use of the infinitive.

S8: Instead of qṭille + object, qam-qāṭil is used (see sect. 3.4.a). This isogloss does not exist in the classical languages. A borrowing is certainly conceivable as the variation of qam- and qem-qāṭil in the Xabur dialects shows.

S9: Instead of qṭille + object, qem- / kem-qāṭil is used (see sect. 3.4.a). See S8.

S10: Direct objects on qṭille are expressed by model A full (see sect. 3.4.a). Borrowing is conceivable.

First of all, a few comments about the characters used are necessary: x = the isogloss exists in the dialect in question; (x) = the isogloss only occurs to a limited extent; - = it does not exist; if a field is left blank, this means that no information is available or no statements are possible as in the case of isogloss P4 and WNA; since WNA does not use qṭille, it is not possible to say if this form can express transitive or intransitive situations. Here is an overview of the primary isoglosses:

TABLE 25 Primary isoglosses

| Dialect            | Isoglosses |    |                       |    |    |
|--------------------|------------|----|-----------------------|----|----|
|                    | P1         | P2 | P3                    | P4 | P5 |
| <b>Jewish</b>      |            |    |                       |    |    |
| LD dialects        |            |    |                       |    |    |
| – Nerwa 17th cent. | +          | +  | – (ch. 13.1, sect. 9) | –  | +  |



TABLE 25 Primary isoglosses (*cont.*)

| Dialect                | Isoglosses     |                 |                      |                |                |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                        | P <sub>1</sub> | P <sub>2</sub>  | P <sub>3</sub>       | P <sub>4</sub> | P <sub>5</sub> |
| – Čalla                | +              | +               | – (p. 108)           | –              | –              |
| – Amadiya              | +              | +               | – (H. p. 55)         | –              | –              |
| – Dohok                | +              | +               | – (p. 297)           | –              | –              |
| – Betanure             | +              | +               | – (p. 54)            | –              | –              |
| Central-Zab group      |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Barzan               | –              | +               | – (p. 60)            | –              | –              |
| – Šahe                 | –              | +               | – (p. 60)            | –              | –              |
| – Beğil                | –              | +               | – (p. 60)            | –              | –              |
| Trans-Zab dialects     |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Urmia                | –              | +               | – (p. 255)           | –              | +              |
| – Arbel                | –              | +               | +                    | –              | (+)            |
| – Rustaqa              | –              | +               | +                    | –              | +              |
| – Koy Sanğaq           | –              | +               | +                    | –              | +              |
| – Sanandağ             | –              | +               | +                    | +              | +              |
| – Suleman. + H̱alabğ̱a | –              | +               | +                    | +              | +              |
| – Kerend               | –              |                 |                      | +              | +              |
| <b>Christian</b>       |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso        |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Ṭuroyo               | +              | +               | – (ch. 16, sect. 10) | +              | +              |
| – Mlaḥso               | +              | +(x-)           | – (p. 52)            | +              | –              |
| <b>NENA</b>            |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| ḥ-group                |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Hertevin             | +              | – (only ke-p'e) | – (ch. 17, sect. 9)  | –              | +              |
| Urmia group            |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Urmia                | +              | +(ci-)          | – (p. 275)           | –              | –              |
| – Sardarid             | +              | +(či-)          | – (p. 845)           |                |                |
| Xabur group            |                |                 |                      |                |                |
| – Xabur in general     | +              | +(k-, ki-, či-) | – (p. 307)           | –              | –              |

TABLE 25 Primary isoglosses (*cont.*)

| Dialect                   | Isoglosses     |                   |                         |                |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                           | P <sub>1</sub> | P <sub>2</sub>    | P <sub>3</sub>          | P <sub>4</sub> | P <sub>5</sub> |
| – Txuma                   | +              | + (ke-)           | – (p. 99)               | –              | –              |
| – Barwar                  | +              | –                 | – (ch. 19,<br>sect. 10) | –              | –              |
| – Ġilu                    | +              | –                 | – (p. 84)               | –              | –              |
| – Maha Xtaya              | +              | –                 | – (p. 310)              | –              | –              |
| – Sat                     | +              | –                 | – (p. 30)               | –              | –              |
| Judi dialects             |                |                   |                         |                |                |
| – Beşpen                  | +              | –                 | – (p. 133)              | –              | –              |
| – Gaznax                  |                | –                 |                         |                |                |
| Southern group            |                |                   |                         |                |                |
| – Alqoš 17th cent.        | +              | +                 | – (p. 136)              | –              | +              |
| – Pioz 18th cent.         | +              | +                 | – (p. 171)              |                |                |
| – Alqoš mod.              | +              | +                 | – (p. 136)              | –              | +              |
| – Telkepe                 | +              | +                 | – (p. 255)              | –              | +              |
| – Peşabur                 | +              | +                 | – (p. 42)               |                |                |
| – Karamleş                | +              | +                 | – (p. 85)               | –              | –              |
| – Bohtan                  | –              | – (only<br>ki-be) | – (p. 174)              | –              | +              |
| – Qaraqoš                 | +              | +                 | – (p. 312)              | –              | –              |
| – Aradin                  | +              | –                 | – (p. 53)               | –              | –              |
| – Sanandağ                |                | +                 | +                       | –              | –              |
| – Armoṭa                  | +              | +                 | +                       | –              | –              |
| – Koy Sanğaq              |                | +                 |                         |                |                |
| – Diyana                  | +              | –                 | – (p. 351)              | –              |                |
| – Aqra                    | –              |                   |                         |                |                |
| WNA                       | +              | –                 | +                       |                | +              |
| <b>Mand. Khorramshahr</b> | +              | +                 | +                       |                | +              |

Let us now turn to the secondary isoglosses:

TABLE 26    Secondary isoglosses

| Dialect            | Isoglosses |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
|--------------------|------------|----|----|----|-----|----------------|----------------|----|----|-----|
|                    | S1         | S2 | S3 | S4 | S5  | S6             | S7             | S8 | S9 | S10 |
| <b>Jewish</b>      |            |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| LD dialects        |            |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Nerwa 17th cent. | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   |                |                | –  | –  | +   |
| – Čalla            | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   | –              | +              | –  | –  | +   |
| – Amadiya          | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   | –              | +              | +  | –  | +   |
| – Dohok            | (+)        | +  | –  | –  | –   |                |                | +  | –  | –   |
| – Betanure         | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   | –              | +              | +  | –  | –   |
| – Zaxo             |            |    |    | –  |     |                |                | +  | –  | –   |
| – Aradin           |            |    |    | –  |     |                |                | +  | –  | +   |
| Central-Zab gr.    |            |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Barzan           | –          | –  | +  | +  | +   | (only neg.)    |                | –  | –  | +   |
| – Šahe             | –          | –  | +  | +  | +   | (only neg.)    |                | –  | –  | +   |
| – Beğil            | –          | –  | +  | +  | +   | (only neg.)    |                | –  | –  | +   |
| – Sandu            | –          | +  |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| Trans-Zab dialects |            |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Urmia            | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   | –              | +              | –  | –  | –   |
| – Arbel            | (+)        | +  | –  | +  | (+) |                |                | –  | –  | –   |
| – Dobe             |            | +  |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Rawanduz         | +          | +  |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Rustaqa          | +          | +  | –  | +  | –   |                |                | –  | –  | –   |
| – Koy Sanğaq       | +          | –  | –  | +  | –   |                |                | –  | –  | –   |
| – Sanandağ         | –          | –  | –  | +  | –   | –              | + <sup>a</sup> | –  | –  | –   |
| – Suleman. +       | (+)        | –  | –  | +  | –   | + <sup>b</sup> | + <sup>c</sup> | –  | –  | –   |
| Hlabğa             |            |    |    |    |     |                |                |    |    |     |
| – Kerend           |            |    |    | +  | –   | –              | + <sup>d</sup> | –  | –  | –   |

a If the object is a 1. or 2. person.  
b If the object is a 3. person.  
c If the object is a 1. or 2. person.  
d If the object is a 1. or 2. person.

TABLE 26    Secondary isoglosses (*cont.*)

| Dialect            | Isoglosses |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
|--------------------|------------|----|----|-----|----|-----------------|----|-----|----|-----|
|                    | S1         | S2 | S3 | S4  | S5 | S6              | S7 | S8  | S9 | S10 |
| <b>Christian</b>   |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso    |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Ṭuroyo           | –          | –  | –  | +   | –  |                 |    | –   | –  | –   |
| – Mlaḥso           | –          | –  | –  | +   | +  |                 |    | –   | –  | –   |
| NENA               |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| ḥ-group            |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Hertevin         | –          | –  | –  | +   | +  |                 |    | –   | –  | –   |
| Northern group     |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Salamas          |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    | +   |    |     |
| Urmia group        |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Urmia            | +          | –  | –  | +   | –  | +               | –  | (+) | –  | +   |
| – Sardarid         | +          | –  | –  |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| Xabur group        |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Xabur in gen.    | +          | –  | +  | (+) | –  | +               | +  | +   | +  | –   |
| – Txuma            | +          | –  | +  | +   | –  | +               |    | +   | –  |     |
| – Barwar           | +          | –  | +  | +   | –  | + <sup>?e</sup> | +  | –   | +  | –   |
| – Ġilu             | +          | –  | +  | –   | –  | +               |    | –   | +  | –   |
| – Maha Xtaya       | +          | –  | +  | –   | –  |                 |    | –   | +  | –   |
| – Sat              | +          | –  | +  | –   | –  | +               | –  | +   | –  | –   |
| Judi dialects      |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Beşpen           | +          | –  | +  | +   | –  |                 |    | –   | –  | +   |
| – Gaznax           | +          | –  | +  | (+) |    | +               |    | –   | –  | +   |
| Southern group     |            |    |    |     |    |                 |    |     |    |     |
| – Alqoš 17th cent. | +          | –  | –  | –   | –  |                 |    | –   | +  | +   |
| – Pioz 18th cent.  | +          |    |    | –   |    |                 |    | –   | +  | –   |
| – Alqoš mod.       | +          | –  | –  | –   | –  | +               |    | –   | +  | –   |
| – Telkepe          | +          |    |    | –   | –  |                 |    | –   | +  | –   |
| – Peşabur          | +          | –  |    |     |    |                 |    | –   | +  |     |
| – Karamleš         | +          | +  | –  | –   | –  | +               | –  | –   | +  | –   |
| – Bohtan           | –          |    | +  | +   | +  |                 |    | –   | –  |     |

e The use of the possessive pronoun is mentioned by Talay but not by Khan; see above sect. 3.4.b.

TABLE 26    Secondary isoglosses (*cont.*)

| Dialect      | Isoglosses |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|--------------|------------|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
|              | S1         | S2 | S3 | S4  | S5 | S6 | S7 | S8 | S9 | S10 |
| – Qaraqoş    | (+)        | +  | –  | (+) | –  | +  |    | –  | +  | –   |
| – Aradin     | +          | –  | +  | –   | –  |    | +  | +  | –  | –   |
| – Sanandağ   | –          | –  | –  | –   | +  |    |    | –  | +  | –   |
| – Armoṭa     | (+)        | +  | –  | +   | –  | +  |    | +  | –  | –   |
| – Koy Sanğaq | –          | +  | –  |     |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| – Aqra       |            | +  |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| – Bedyal     |            | +  |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |     |
| – Diyana     | +          | –  | +  | –   | –  | +  |    | +  | –  | –   |
| WNA          | –          | –  | –  | –   | +  |    |    | –  | –  | –   |
| Mand. Khorr. | –          | –  | –  | –   | +  |    |    | –  | –  | –   |

As already explained above, WNA, Ṭuroyo / Mlaḥso and Neo-Mandaic go back to separate language centres. Let us start with WNA. In addition to the isoglosses already listed above (qṭal, yiqṭul, qaṭṭil, t-stems exist, qṭille is missing, third person personal pronouns with initial /h/), the following should also be mentioned here: qaṭṭel is preserved, ʾi-qāṭil, k-qāṭil, bed-qāṭil as well as qam- / kem-qāṭil and the use of the infinitive to express the imperfective aspect are missing; also worth mentioning is ʾam- in ʾam-qāṭil, borrowed from Arabic, which is otherwise not found in any Neo-Aramaic dialect (see above ch. 14, sect. 1). Although the differences within WNA are large enough that one can speak of different dialects, they are not so significant that one would have to assume different proto-dialects.<sup>98</sup> Thus there is:

*Proto-dialect 1* > Maʿlula, Baxʿa and Ġubbʿadin.

In addition to the isoglosses discussed above, Neo-Mandaic is further characterised by the following: qaṭṭel is preserved, qṭil and k-qāṭil are in use but not qṭille and bed-qāṭil.

*Proto-dialect 2* > M. Khorramshahr.

98    See Arnold, Sprachbeziehungen 4.

Ṭuroyo and the dialect of Mlaḥso must be viewed in a more differentiated manner. Both dialects have important isoglosses in common. In addition to those already listed above, the following should also be mentioned: qatṭel is preserved, qatṭil, k-qāṭil and gid-qāṭil are in use, and they agree completely regarding the secondary isoglosses, except for qṭilā + cop. (S5), including such important features as the absence of qam- / kem-qāṭil and the infinitive to express the imperfective aspect. Furthermore, the use of qatṭil should be mentioned and, which has not yet been discussed, the 1.sg. inflectional ending of the AP. The starting points for these forms are \*qāṭilnā and \*qāṭlānā. Under the influence of verba III y, as Khan (JSH 84) certainly rightly assumes, the majority of Neo-Aramaic dialects inserted an \*/ē/ before the ending of the masculine form which then was shortened to /e/, /ə/ or /i/. Completely analogous to \*ḥāzēnā and \*ḥāzyānā, forms such as \*qāṭlēnā and \*qāṭlānā were formed. In C. Araḍin, for example, it says: *palxin* “I (m.) work”, *palxan* “I (f.) work” (p. 26). The preservation of the original forms without \*/ē/, i.e. *palixna* and *palxan*, is known to me only from J. Sulemaniyya / Ḥalabḡa (p. 83), J. Rustaqa (p. 400), J. Rawanduz (Khan, JSH 84), J. Sanandaḡ (p. 69), C. Ġilu (p. 35), M. Khorramshahr (p. 180), Ṭuroyo (p. 96) and from Mlaḥso (p. 43). So here is another important isogloss that the two dialects share. Important similarities can also be found outside the verbal system. The transition from /ā/ > /ō/, otherwise only attested in WNA and Bohtan (see below), has already been alluded to. Also worth mentioning is the distinction between /ḥ/ and /k/, which otherwise have merged into /ḥ/ or /x/,<sup>99</sup> and the word for “woman”; while generally in Neo-Aramaic “woman” is denoted by the expression *baxta*, attested as early as the 11th century,<sup>100</sup> Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso use the inherited terms *atto* and *eso*.<sup>101</sup> But there are also differences. qṭil + S-suffix, qṭilā + cop. and qāṭōlo are attested in Ṭuroyo but not in Mlaḥso, Ṭuroyo distinguishes between perfective transitive (qṭille) and perfective intransitive (qatṭil + S-suffix) situations, in Mlaḥso qṭille is used for both, while qatṭil + S-suffix expresses the anterior / resultative. The plural ending /-n/ of the AP with verba III y is preserved in Ṭuroyo as well as in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects<sup>102</sup> but not in Mlaḥso: ḥozən (Ṭ): xosi (M) “they see”.<sup>103</sup> There is also a not unimportant difference in the phonological domain: the interdentals /t/ and /d/ are preserved in Ṭuroyo but shifted to /s/ and /z/

99 Jastrow, Midin XXI.

100 See Khan, Jewish Neo-Aramaic 17.

101 See Jastrow, Mlaḥso 173.

102 Mutzafi, Trans-Zab 422f.

103 Jastrow, Midin 66 and Mlaḥso 68.

in Mlaḥso.<sup>104</sup> The differences are not insignificant, three of them, however, can simply be attributed to the fact that Țuroyo behaves more conservatively, and in no case are the differences such that they would exclude a common origin, as is the case with the personal pronouns beginning with /h/ or /a/. This also applies to the isoglosses listed by Kim (Subgrouping 522f) which Țuroyo shares with the NENA dialects but not with Mlaḥso. The fact that not only Țuroyo but also the dialect of Mlaḥso was in contact with the NENA dialects is shown by the common use of qṭille alone, and relations with WNA were certainly much closer in the past than is the case today.<sup>105</sup> However, this does not change the fact that Țuroyo and the dialect of Mlaḥso are much closer to each other than to the other dialect groups. So I assume that the two dialects go back to one proto-dialect.

*Proto-dialect 3 > Țuroyo and Mlaḥso.*

Let us now turn to the NENA dialects. The more detailed classification of this dialect group is far more delicate than determining the language centre from which they emerged, since such important isoglosses as the third-person personal pronouns or the copula forms of the 3.sg., which are common to all dialects, are no longer available. Regarding the isoglosses listed in Tables 25 and 26, spread through language contact can hardly ever be ruled out, and even the two cases in which this is unlikely do not have the same significance as the two isoglosses mentioned above

P3 and P4, i.e. the absence of bed-qāṭil and the use of qṭille only for transitive situations, are no innovations but rather preservations of features that may have occurred independently in each dialect. S6, the expression of an object on qṭilā by possessive pronouns, is an innovation, but it may well have taken place in all dialects independently of one another. When deciding which dialects derive from a common proto-dialect, one will have to rely, nolens volens, on the number of isoglosses they share, and a good deal of subjective judgment on the part of the observer can hardly be avoided.

Let us first have a look at the dialect of Hertevin. It shares important isoglosses with the original proto-dialect that we reconstructed for the NENA dialects. The third person personal pronouns are *'ahu*, *'ahi*, *'ahni*, the 3.sg.m. and f. copula forms are *ile* and *ila*, the first and second persons probably go back to the independent personal pronouns, as in Țuroyo / Mlaḥso, but the negated forms show that the AP of hwy was once used here, too; the t-stems have been

104 Jastrow, Mlaḥso 13.

105 See Kim, Subgrouping 523f.

discarded. It also differs from ʦuroyo / Mlaḥso in other respects and agrees with the NENA dialects. It knows neither qatṭil nor qātōlo, old /ā/ has been preserved (pp. 10f), the word for “woman” (baḥta [p. 183]), unlike in ʦuroyo / Mlaḥso, goes back to \*baxta, the 1.sg.m. subject pronoun of the AP is -en (p. 47). The dialect differs from all dialects examined here in that old /k/ and /ḥ/ have merged into /h/ (p. 6) and that bed-qāṭil expresses not only posteriority to but also simultaneity with the speech time. It differs from the other Christian dialects in that it has neither k- nor ʾi-qāṭil, even though the verb “to want” and the negation le qāṭil suggest that these forms were once in use; qam- or kem-qāṭil, which is used everywhere except in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects and the dialects of the Central-Zab group, is missing; the same holds true for the infinitive that is used in the majority of Christian dialects to express the imperfective aspect; moreover, we have to mention model D for expressing the object on qṭille which within the modern dialects can only be proven in Hertevin. All of these features suggest that the Hertevin dialect belongs to the same *Stammbaum* as the NENA dialects, but they also show its special status and that it has its own proto-dialect:

*Proto-dialect 4 > C. Hertevin.*

Fox (Bohtan 166) highlights the similarity between the neighbouring dialects of Bohtan and Hertevin, and indeed they share some important isoglosses. They neither know k-qāṭil, kem- / qam-qāṭil nor qṭilā + cop. or the use of the infinitive to express the imperfective aspect, qṭille is used for transitive and intransitive situations, the interdentals are shifted to /t/ and /d/ (ibid. 168). However, there are also not insignificant differences. /ā/ becomes /ō/ in stressed open syllables in Bohtan (p. 167), /k/ and /ḥ/ have not merged into /h/ but into /x/, /ə/ often becomes /a/, giving qṭille the characteristic form qṭalle (< \*qṭalle): *ptaxle* “he opened” (p. 168); the second persons of the present copula differ quite clearly (wət, wat, xtun [p. 171] versus het, hat, ḥton in Hertevin [p. 28]), qṭilwāle is used in Hertevin but not in Bohtan (pp. 175f), qatṭel is preserved in Hertevin but not, if I understand Fox’s information (p. 173) correctly, in Bohtan; not to be forgotten is the use of qṭil + S-suffix that in Bohtan is regularly used with transitive verbs to express active situations which is only possible in very isolated cases in Hertevin and elsewhere in Neo-Aramaic. Bohtan shares with the Xabur and Judi dialects the use of ʾi-qāṭil and the merger of /k/ and /ḥ/ into /x/ but differs from these by the absence of important isoglosses (qam- / kem-qāṭil, qṭilā + cop., qatṭel, infinitive for the imperfective aspect) and by the presence of peculiarities such as /ā/ > /ō/, qṭalle, qṭil + S suffix for transitive situations.



The Assyrians from Bohtan lived for a long time in Azerbaijan and the Soviet Union before settling in Georgia (Fox, *ibid.* 165f), so it cannot be ruled out that some of the characteristic features penetrated the dialect from outside and that further similarities with the neighbouring dialects have been lost. Nevertheless, the dialect of Bohtan has enough peculiarities which justify the assumption of a separate proto-dialect:

*Proto-dialect 5* > C. Bohtan.

The dialect of C. Qaraqoş has a special position. Regarding the primary isoglosses, Qaraqoş agrees with the Jewish LD dialects, namely: qat̰el is preserved, k-qāṭil and bed-qāṭil are used but not qṭil, qṭille expresses transitive and intransitive situations. These isoglosses, however, are also shared by a number of Christian dialects of the southern group, such as Alqoş (17th cent. and mod.), Pioz and Telkepe with which Qaraqoş also agrees in the use of kem-qāṭil. Concerning the secondary isoglosses S1 to S6, Qaraqoş agrees with the dialect of C. Armoṭa and shares with most Christian NENA dialects the use of qṭilā + cop. and the expression of a direct object on this compound by possessive suffixes. There are, however, also important differences between Qaraqoş and the other dialects, the most important of which is the preservation of the old infinitive form 'aqṭōle which I have not been able to prove anywhere else and which underlines the conservative character of the dialect. Another special feature is the use of possessive pronouns on plural nouns. In other dialects, no distinction is made between singular and plural when possessive pronouns are attached to the noun, in Qaraqoş – as well as in classical Syriac –, however, it is. In Qaraqoş, a distinction is made between *kṭawhān* “their book” and *kṭawehān* “their books”. In Araḍin, for example, *kṭawāhin* means both “their book” and “their books” (p. 11). In addition, the 3.pl. copula, already mentioned above (section 3.1), is not *ilā* or *ilay* as in most Christian dialects but *ina* as can otherwise only be observed in the dialects of C. Urmia, C. Diyana, C. Txuma and C. Sat. Moreover, Qaraqoş is one of only four NENA dialects that can negate bed-qāṭil. These peculiarities justify the assumption of a separate proto-dialect for Qaraqoş, and Khan (Qaraqoş 17) is certainly correct when he assumes that this is closer to the Christian dialects of the Mosul area, such as Alqoş, than to the dialects east of the Zab or the Xabur dialects. In particular, the use of kem-qāṭil instead of qam-qāṭil supports this assumption.

*Proto-dialect 6* > C. Qaraqoş.

The Xabur dialects largely agree regarding the primary isoglosses. qat̄el is preserved, k- / ki-qāṭil is rarely attested, the normal prefix being ʾi-, bed-qāṭil is used but not qṭil, qṭille denotes transitive and intransitive situations. There is also agreement as regards the secondary isoglosses, i.e. A full is not used, objects are predominantly attached to kem- / qem-qāṭil, but qam-qāṭil is also attested; the imperfective aspect is expressed by the infinitive, the compound copula + ʾi- or k-qāṭil is unknown, model C is rather rare, model B predominates, qṭilā + cop. is used.

Like the residents of Bohtan, the Assyrians who later settled on the Xabur also had to leave their homeland. They originally inhabited the high valleys of the Hakkari Mountains in East Turkey but had to leave these because of the persecution of Christians during the First World War and first sought refuge in Urmia, Iran, and later in Iraq before settling in North Syria on the Xabur from 1934.<sup>106</sup> During this period they certainly came into contact with other dialects; the use of qam- and qem-qāṭil as free variants, for example, is certainly due to external influence since no dialect affords the luxury of developing two variants that mean one and the same thing (cf. above 3.5.1). qam-qāṭil is not attested in C. Urmia but is used in Salamas to the north and also on Iraqi territory in Armoṭa and Diyana-Zariwaw; it is therefore conceivable that it was adopted from one of these dialects.

Despite all the similarities, the Xabur dialects have enough differences to assume at least five proto-dialects as Talay has shown in his work. These are:

*Proto-dialect 7* > Tiyari dialects (i.a. /t/ > /š/; p. 47).<sup>107</sup>

*Proto-dialect 8* > Txuma dialects (i.a. preservation of the interdental, monophthongisation of /aw/ and /ay/ to /ō/ and /ē/; pp. 50f).

*Proto-dialect 9* > Hakkari dialects. These include, among others, the dialects of Barwar, Ğilu and Maha Xtaya. However, this group is the least homogeneous – just behold the special forms of the copula in Maha Xtaya – so it is better to speak of proto-dialects in this case (pp. 51f).

*Proto-dialect 10* > Šammesdin dialects (pp. 52f).

*Proto-dialects 11 + 12* > Halmun and Lewen. The two dialects have many similarities, but these are primarily due to the fact that they are spoken

<sup>106</sup> Talay, Khabur 15–19.

<sup>107</sup> The page numbers refer to Talay's study.

in close proximity. In their ancient homeland in the Hakkari Mountains, they were spoken in widely separated places and probably go back to different proto-dialects (pp. 53f).

The villages where Judi dialects are or were spoken are not too far from the Hakkari Mountains, home of the Xabur dialects,<sup>108</sup> and accordingly the two dialect groups share most primary and secondary isoglosses. qat̤tel is preserved, ʔi-qāṭil is used instead of k-qāṭil, bed-qāṭil is attested but not qṭil, qṭille indicates transitive and intransitive situations. Imperfective situations are expressed by the infinitive, the resultative and anterior by qṭilā + cop., an object on qṭilā is denoted by possessive suffixes. The forms of the present copula are the same as in most Xabur dialects (first and second persons with /w/, third persons with /l/), whereas formations with /y/ as in C. Sanandağ, C. Armoṭa or C. Qaraqoş are largely missing.<sup>109</sup>

Other features are less significant as they are not attested in all Xabur dialects. The independent personal pronouns are largely identical, apart from the 1.pl. *axnux* in Beşpen (p. 69) which is not attested in the Xabur dialects (Talay, Khabor 179). The individual forms of the possessive pronouns in Beşpen (p. 71) are all attested somewhere in the Xabur dialects (pp. 192f), but there is no complete agreement of the paradigm with any dialect. The shift of the interdental to /t/ and /d/ in Beşpen (p. 49) is also well attested along the Xabur (64f) but only in some of the dialects. An important difference concerns the secondary features: *qam-* / *kem-qāṭil* are not used in the Judi dialects, but – and related thereto – objects on qṭille are expressed by model A full which is not attested in the Xabur dialects.

The data do not allow us to decide whether the Judi dialects and any of the Xabur groups share a common proto-dialect that may have originated in the Judi and Hakkari Mountains, but it is probably best to trace the Judi dialects back to their own proto-dialect. In any case, it can be said with some certainty that the Judi and Xabur dialects are closely related to each other.

*Proto-dialect 13* > Judi dialects.

Five of the Christian dialects of the southern group show striking similarities; all of them are or were spoken west of the Great Zab and north of Mosul, namely Alqoş 17th cent., Alqoş mod., Pioz 18th cent., Telkepe and Peşabur. They show no differences as regards the primary isoglosses, i.e. qat̤tel is preserved,

<sup>108</sup> See Sinha, Bēşpən 5.

<sup>109</sup> An exception is the 1. pl. *iyux* in Gaznax; see above sect. 3.1.

k-qāṭil, bed-qāṭil and qṭil + S-suffix for intransitive situations are in use, qṭille expresses transitive and intransitive situations. Furthermore, kem-qāṭil or, in Pešabur, gām-qāṭil is used in all five dialects; model A full, on the other hand, is only found in the 17th-century texts from Alqoš but not in the other dialects. There is also agreement as regards the secondary isoglosses. The imperfective aspect is expressed by the infinitive, qṭilā + cop. is used but not ʾi-qāṭil. The third person copula contains the element /l/, the first and second persons a /w/.<sup>110</sup> The dialect of Karamleš probably also belongs to this group, even if the imperfective aspect is rarely expressed by the infinitive there but usually by k-ilā + k-qāṭil, as in Qaraqoš.

The dialect of C. Araḍin, spoken a little to the north of Alqoš and Pioz, on the other hand, shows some not unimportant deviations. Instead of k-qāṭil and kem-qāṭil, ʾi-qāṭil and qam-qāṭil are used, qṭil + S-suffix is not attested. Other isoglosses are less significant. The interdentalals are preserved in Araḍin (p. 8) as well as in Alqoš mod. (pp. 16f) and Telkepe (p. 243); this isogloss, however, does not characterise the group as a whole; in Pešabur, for example, /t/ and /d/ are shifted to /s/ and /z/ (p. 38). The enclitic copulae, on the other hand, show hardly any differences (/l/ for third, /w/ for second and first persons); the genitive exponent is *dīyy-* in Araḍin (p. 20), Alqoš (p. 118) and Telkepe (p. 247) – compared to *did-* in, for example, Armoṭa (p. 53) or the Tiyari dialects.<sup>111</sup> The form qam-qāṭil could, if necessary, be attributed to the influence of the Jewish dialect of Araḍin which also has qam-, but the other two isoglosses alone (ʾi-qāṭil, no qṭil + S-suffix) are sufficient to justify the assumption of a separate proto-dialect. Krotkoff's informant lists a total of eight clans that determined the fate of Araḍin (p. 103, nos. 105–107), so it can be expected from the outset that several dialects contributed to the formation of today's dialect. And these dialects appear to have been closer to the Xabur group, the Judi dialects and the dialect of Diyana than to the five dialects of the Mosul plain listed above. In all of these dialects, ʾi-qāṭil is used but not qṭil + S-suffix, qam-qāṭil is not attested in the Judi dialects but is in the Xabur group and in Diyana which has a number of isoglosses in common with the Šammesdin dialects,<sup>112</sup> and as regards the secondary isoglosses, only slight differences concerning the use of model C can be observed.

It is difficult to decide whether the dialect of Araḍin shares a common proto-dialect with one of the other dialects and, if so, with which one, especially

110 Alqoš 17th cent. (I p. 226), Alqoš mod. (p. 168), Telkepe (p. 258), Pešabur (p. 44f), Karamleš (p. 82).

111 Khan, Barwar Gr. 15.

112 Napiorkowska, Diyana 4.

since the clans mentioned cannot be identified and all that is said is that one of them comes from the area around Barzan (no. 107), and one is probably best advised to assume separate proto-dialects for both Diyana and Araḍin.

*Proto-dialect 14* > C. Alqoš 17th cent., C. Alqoš mod., C. Pioz 18th cent.,  
C. Telkepe, C. Peşabur, C. Karamleş

*Proto-dialect 15* > C. Araḍin.

*Proto-dialect 16* > C. Diyana.

For three of the Christian dialects east of the Great Zab there is sufficient material for a classification, these are the dialects of Armoṭa, Sanandağ and, to the north, Urmia.

The dialect of Armoṭa is characterised by some peculiarities. Apart from WNA and Sanandağ, it is the only Christian dialect discussed here that does not use *bed-qāṭil*. What is also striking is the expression of the imperfective aspect by the compound copula + *k-qāṭil* (*lā + k-qāṭil*), as is also attested in Koy Sanğaq, Aqra, Bedyal, Ankawa and Qaraqoş. Besides Sanandağ, Armoṭa is the only Christian dialect in which the 3.pl. copula is, as in the Jewish dialects, *ilu* instead of the usual *ilā / ilay*. Another special feature are the 2.pl. pronominal forms with the ending /m/; the independent personal pronoun is *ʔaxtōxəm ~ ʔatxōxəm*, a form that is attested in a similar way only in two villages in the province of Dohok (*ʔaxtāxum* and *ʔaxtōxum*; pp. 47, 49), instead of the usual *ʔaxtu(n)*;<sup>113</sup> the /-m/ is also found in the possessive suffix (-ōxəm; p. 51), the copula (-ītəm; p. 54) and *qīlle* (*grəšlōxəm*; p. 93). Armoṭa differs from the Christian dialects west of the Great Zab by the absence of *qīl + S*-suffix, the use of *qa-qāṭil* (< \**qam-qāṭil*) instead of *kem-qāṭil* and the use of model C. From C. Urmia it differs by the absence of *bed-qāṭil*, the use of *k-qāṭil* (versus *ci-qāṭil* in Urmia) and *qa(m)-qāṭil*, which is used in Salamas and the northern varieties of Urmia but hardly in the southern ones, and the expression of the imperfective aspect (infinitive [U.] : *lā + k-qāṭil* [A.]). Furthermore, the genitive exponent must be mentioned, which is *did-* in Armoṭa (p. 53) but *dīyy-* in Urmia (p. 245), and the 3.pl. copula (*ina* [U.] : *ilu* [A.]). Armoṭa has in common with Sanandağ the absence of *bed-qāṭil* and *qīl + S*-suffix and the use of *k-qāṭil* and the copula *ilu*. An important difference is the form *tem-qāṭil* in Sanandağ instead of *qem-* or *kem-qāṭil*, the use of which represents the only

<sup>113</sup> So for example in C. Araḍin (p. 19), Alqoš mod. (p. 107), Telkepe (p. 240), Peşabur (p. 40).

way to express a direct object on qṭille in this dialect, whereas in Armoṭa also model C, in Urmia models C and A full can be used. The expression of the imperfective aspect should also be mentioned. Apart from C. Sulemaniyya,<sup>114</sup> as far as I know, only the dialect of Sanandağ can add the enclitic copula to an inflected (k-)qāṭil form: *paṣxenyen* ‘I am opening’; with past time reference, (k-)qāṭilwā + past copula is used, i.e. the time reference is marked twice: *paṣxenwayenwa* ‘I was opening’ (p. 260).

The Sanandağ and Armoṭa dialects show enough differences to justify the assumption of separate proto-dialects. C. Urmia differs significantly from these but shows striking similarities with the Xabur and Judi dialects. It only differs from these in one primary isogloss, namely the prefix of qāṭil. But it should be borne in mind that in Urmia this is ci- which certainly goes back to \*k + \*i > \*ki > ci, as does ke- in Tsuma, čī- in Tiyyari and ki- in Ḥassana (see above). This means that the prefix ‘i-, which is still attested in the northern varieties (p. 275), must also have once been in use in Urmia itself. The 3.pl. copula should not be forgotten either. In Urmia this is *ina*, as it is only found in C. Qaraqoş, C. Diyana and Tsuma instead of the otherwise in Christian dialects usual *ilä*. There are differences in the use of qam- / qem-qāṭil; along the Xabur, forms with /a/ and /e/ can be found, in the northern varieties of Urmia and also in the dialects north of it, such as Salamas and Gawilan, qam- is used, while its use is rare in the southern varieties of Urmia,<sup>115</sup> whereas the Judi dialects do not know qam-qāṭil at all. Otherwise, there are no secondary isoglosses in Urmia that would contradict the entirety of the Xabur and Judi dialects. C. Urmia, or more precisely: its southern varieties, has the most in common with the Judi dialects. In addition to the commonalities already mentioned, there are the development of the spirant forms of the begadkepat, which is almost identical in Urmia (pp. 160–170) and Beşpen (pp. 48f; > /v + w/, /’/, /d/, /x/, /p/, /t/), and the forms of the possessive pronouns (Urmia, p. 242; Beşpen, p. 71). However, there are also differences that justify the assumption of different proto-dialects for both dialects or dialect groups. In addition to the use of ci-qāṭil and ‘i-qāṭil, the 2.pl. independent personal pronoun should not be forgotten which in Urmia is *’axtun*, *’axtoxun* and *’axnoxun* (p. 238), whereas in the Judi dialects it is *axnutan* and *axtutan* (Beşpen 69); the independent copula in Beşpen has the form *hole* (m.), *hola* (f.) etc. (p. 45), whereas in Urmia it says *dula*, *dula* etc. (p. 253). One can therefore assume three different proto-dialects:

<sup>114</sup> Khan, C Urmia 27.

<sup>115</sup> See Khan, C. Urmia 36, 276.

*Proto-dialect 17* > C. Armoṭa.

*Proto-dialect 18* > C. Sanandaḡ.

*Proto-dialect 19* > C. Urmia.

Let us now turn to the Jewish dialects and start with the very homogeneous Central-Zab group. The three dialects of Barzan, Šahe and Beḡil agree in all isoglosses (e.g. qaṭṭel is not preserved, k-qāṭil and bed-qāṭil are in use but not qṭil + S-suffix, qṭille expresses transitive and intransitive situations) and are further characterised by special features, such as the use of 'ale + qṭille to express the anterior / resultative. They appear to originate from a common proto-dialect but have enough individual characteristics to be considered independent dialects. One peculiarity of Beḡil should be highlighted here. While Barzan and Šahe express habitual situations by (y-)qāṭil with an optional y- and by k-qāṭil only with 6 verba 1 inf. and in the negated form la k-qāṭil, the dialect of Beḡil also uses k-qāṭil in positive statements with verba 1 san. even if the prefix k- is only optional in this case: (k-)pālax "he works" (p. 69).

*Proto-dialect 20* > J. Barzan, J. Šahe and J. Beḡil.

The Lišana Deni dialects spoken west of the Great Zab share the forms of the copula with the Central-Zab group. These contain, here and there, an /l/ in the third persons and a /w/ in the others and also have the 3.pl. ending -u typical of the Jewish dialects which is not only attached to the copula but also to the L-suffix. On the other hand, the Lišana Deni dialects differ from the Central-Zab group in the preservation of old qaṭṭel and, moreover, in the use of qam-qāṭil which is not yet attested in the old texts from Nerwa and is also not found in the dialect of Čalla but otherwise characterises all LD dialects. There are also not insignificant differences as regards the secondary isoglosses. In the LD dialects, the imperfective aspect is expressed by the infinitive, while the Central-Zab group uses 'ale + (y-)qāṭil and, in Beḡil, qam-qāṭil; habitual situations are expressed in the LD dialects by k-qāṭil which is regularly used in the Central-Zab group only with 6 verba 1 inf.; qṭilā + cop. indicates the anterior / resultative in the LD dialects, their colleagues in the Central group use 'ale + qṭille and have qṭilā only in the negated form: 'ale šədrilu "he has sent them" : lewe šdiralu "he has not sent them" (p. 65). From the phonological realm, the development of / t̪ / should be mentioned that is mainly shifted to /h/ and /Ø/ in the Central-Zab group (p. 42), whereas such a sound change does not occur in the LD dialects.

In addition to the isoglosses mentioned above, the LD dialects as a whole are characterised by two more to which Mutzafi (Aradhin 48of) has already drawn attention. The first is the use of the genitive exponent *did-* as opposed to *dīyy-* in e.g. C. Alqoš (p. 118) and Telkepe (p. 247), then the ending *-wun* of the imperative pl. of verba III y / w: *štūwun* “drink!”, as opposed to e.g. *xzo* “see!” in C. Barwar (p. 211). The possessive pronouns and the enclitic copulae (third persons with /l/, second and first with /w/) are also almost identical.<sup>116</sup> There are, however, also sufficient differences; the use of *qam-qāṭil*, which is known in all dialects except Čalla and Nerwa 17th cent., has already been mentioned. In the old texts from Nerwa, *qṭil* + S-suffix is still used but not in the modern dialects. Model A full is attested for Nerwa 17th cent., Čalla, Amadiya and Araḍin but not for Dohok, Betanure and Zaxo. The interdentalals are preserved in Dohok and Betanure, shifted in Zaxo to /s/ and /z/, in Amadiya to /t/ and /d/, in Čalla to /s/ and /d/.<sup>117</sup> The plural genitive exponent in Dohok (p. 106) and Betanure (p. 40) has the forms *dohun* (3.), *doxun* (2.) and *deni* (1.), whereas in Čalla it is in the 3. person *didu* (pp. 37f); as regards the second person of the independent personal pronouns, Betanure (‘ahət [m.], ‘ahat [f.]; p. 40), Dohok (‘ahət, ‘ahat; p. 101) and Nerwa 17th cent. (‘ahit, ‘ahat; p. xxxv) distinguish between mas. and fem. but not Čalla (‘ahat [m. + f.]; p. 35) and Amadiya (‘ahi; p. 77). Despite these differences, a common proto-dialect can be assumed for the LD dialects.

A glance at the Tables shows that the LD dialects are not only closely related to each other but also have similarities with the Xabur dialects, especially with regard to the primary isoglosses. The local proximity and the fact that many of the tribes living along the Xabur must have come into contact with other dialects before settling there suggest that mutual influence is at least not impossible. Especially with regard to *qam-* instead of *qem-* and *kem-qāṭil* in the Xabur dialects, such an influence cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty. To conclude from this that there was a common proto-dialect would, however, be going a bit far. Rather, a separate origin must be assumed for the LD dialects:

*Proto-dialect 21 > Lišana Deni Dialects.*

The Jewish dialects spoken east of the Great Zab differ quite clearly from both the LD dialects and the Central-Zab group. As in the Central group, but unlike in the LD dialects, *qaṭṭel* is not preserved; they differ from both groups in the use of *qṭil* + S-suffix and, most strikingly, in the absence of *bed-qāṭil* in most

116 Čalla: pp. 36, 98; Betanure: pp. 40, 50; Amadiya: G. pp. 78, 234; Dohok: pp. 104, 222; Nerwa 17th cent.: p. xxxv.

117 Molin, Dohok 27.



dialects. The Trans-Zab dialects behave very uniformly with regard to the secondary isoglosses. Neither qam-qāṭil nor Model A full are known to exist, while the other Jewish dialects have at least one of these features. The expression of the imperfective aspect by a form of the copula followed by qāṭil is very common in the Trans-Zab dialects but rather rare in the other dialects. Mutzafi (Trans-Zab) has compiled a number of other isoglosses that characterise this dialect group of which I would merely like to mention here the shift of the interdental to /l/ (pp. 411–414) and the plural ending -en of qāṭil and qṭil with verba III y: *šaten* “they drink”, already known from Biblical Aramaic (pp. 422f).

Mutzafi divides the Trans-Zab dialects into a north-eastern, western and south-eastern group (pp. 426f). He uses the forms of the enclitic copula as a categorisation criterion. As can be seen in sect. 3.1, Arbel (western group) has type B: (ile, ila, ilu [3.], wet, wat, wetun [2.], wen, wan, wex [1.]). Urmia (north-eastern group), on the other hand, uses l + S-suffixes in the first and second persons: ile, ila, ilu (3), ilet, ilat, iletun (2.), ilen, ilan, ilex (1). Finally, Sanandağ (south-eastern group) has type D: ye, ya, yen (3.), yet, yat, yetun (2.), yen, yan, yex (1.). Of these groups, the south-eastern one stands out most clearly, and the results of this study confirm the close relationship of the members of this group which includes Kerend, Ḥalabğa and Sulemaniyya in addition to Sanandağ. The most striking feature that these four dialects have in common is the consistent formal distinction between transitive and intransitive situations with respect to both the anterior / resultative and the perfective aspect. Intransitive situations are expressed by qṭilā + cop. and qṭil + S-suffix, while transitive ones are indicated by qṭlā + cop. and qṭille. In the case of the perfective aspect, such a distinction can only be found in Turoyo (qaṭṭil : qṭille). I do not know how posteriority to the speech time is expressed in Kerend, but in the other dialects bed-qāṭil is unknown and (k-)qāṭil is used instead; with present and future time reference, the group shows a conspicuous tendency to use verb forms without prefixes (see above sect. 3.2); furthermore, there are the peculiarities regarding the expression of a direct object on qṭilā which have been discussed in detail above (sect. 3.4.b) and the inflectional ending of the first person of qāṭil; as seen above, the 1.sg.m. predominantly has the ending -en, -ən or -in. I am not familiar with the Kerend form, but Sanandağ (p. 69), Ḥalabğa and Sulemaniyya (p. 83) have preserved the original -na. The use of qaṭōle – usually the infinitive of stem II – as the infinitive of stem I is also a significant isogloss. Apart from Sanandağ and Ḥalabğa / Sulemaniyya – and presumably also Kerend –, this usage is only attested in J. Rustaqa and J. Urmia (see sect. 3.3 above). There are also striking similarities outside the verbal system; the fricative allophones of the begadkepat have developed

identically in Sanandağ and Җалабğa / Sulemaniyya including the characteristic shift of the interdentals to /l/ (pp. 22–24; 27–32) which is also found in Kerend (Sanandağ, p. 11); the independent personal pronouns are also almost the same in Sanandağ and Җалабğa / Sulemaniyya, in all three dialects 2.sg. and 3.sg. communis forms are used (*ʾut* and *ʾo* = mas. + fem.; pp. 59; 73).

There are differences in the 3. person possessive pronouns which are -ef (m.) and -af (f.) in Sanandağ (p. 61) but -ew and -aw in Җалабğa / Sulemaniyya (p. 74) as well as in the genitive exponents which are almost identical in Sanandağ and Җалабğa / Sulemaniyya (*do, do, doni* etc; pp. 63; 75) but are missing in Kerend where they are replaced by the independent personal pronouns. In Sanandağ “my house” means *bela didi*, in Kerend it says *bela ʾana* (Sanandağ, p. 11). However, these differences are hardly an argument against the assumption of a common proto-dialect for these four dialects.

The western dialects of Arbel, Rustaqa and Koy Sanğaq, like the south-eastern group, are characterised by the absence of *bed-qāṭil* but differ from them in that *qṭille* can be used for transitive and intransitive situations, in the use of the copula followed by *qāṭil* (*lā* + [*k-*]*qāṭil*) to express the imperfective aspect, at least in Rustaqa and Arbel, and in the forms of the enclitic copula. Phonologically, there are hardly any differences between the three dialects<sup>118</sup> and the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes are almost identical.<sup>119</sup> Slight differences can be observed in the use of *qṭil* + S-suffix; this is hardly to be found in Arbel, in Koy Sanğaq and Rustaqa (*lā* + *qṭil* + S-suffix) somewhat more frequently; a more significant difference concerns the use of *lā* + (*k-*)*qāṭil* which is well known in Rustaqa and Arbel but not in Koy Sanğaq that uses the compound infinitive + cop. instead. Although the latter feature does not rule out the possibility that all three dialects go back to a common proto-dialect, it does make clear that there must have been a clear turning point when Koy Sanğaq separated from the other dialects. J. Urmia differs from the other Trans-Zab dialects in the use of *bed-qāṭil* and of *qṭil* + S-suffix and *qṭilā* + cop. to differentiate between intransitive and transitive situations when expressing the anterior / resultative. The south-eastern group uses *qṭilā* + cop. and *qṭilā* + cop. for this purpose, while the western group either makes no distinction at all or uses *lā qṭille* for transitive situations (Rustaqa) instead of *qṭilā* + cop. as in Urmia. In addition, there are the different forms of the enclitic copula, while there are hardly any differences in the phonological domain, the pronouns and the

118 See Arbel 27–33; Koy Sanğaq 35–38; Rustaqa 396.

119 See Arbel 81f; Koy Sanğaq 60; Rustaqa 398.

genitive exponent.<sup>120</sup> Thus, three proto-dialects can be assumed for the Trans-Zab dialects:

*Proto-dialect 22* > south-eastern group of the Trans-Zab dialects (Sanandağ, Hālabğa / Sulemaniyya, Kerend).

*Proto-dialect 23* > western group of the Trans-Zab dialects (Arbel, Rustaqa, Koy Sanğaq).

*Proto-dialect 24* > north-eastern group of the Trans-Zab dialects (Urmia).

At least 24 proto-dialects can thus be distinguished and we should now attempt to reconstruct the development and early classification of the NENA dialects. Determining how many branches the original NENA proto-dialect split into and finding out which isoglosses characterised these branches is no easy task, as in most cases an independent emergence of these isoglosses cannot be ruled out. Let us assume that the proto-dialect split into two parts, A and B, which then developed relatively independently. Both speech communities would have adopted \*qāym-qāṭil from the common NENA proto-dialect, to give an example. We do not know when \*qāym-qāṭil became qam- and qem-qāṭil. It is therefore conceivable that \*qāym-qāṭil remained unchanged in both branches and that monophthongisation only took place when A and B split into the branches A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub> respectively. Possibly in A<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub> \*qāym-qāṭil developed into qam-qāṭil, while in A<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>1</sub> it became qem-qāṭil. The same scenario is conceivable with the assumption of three or four original branches all of which could have split into new branches in which one or the other form arose; if two or more Neo-Aramaic dialects have qam-qāṭil or qem-qāṭil, this does thus not necessarily mean that they have a common origin.

Only isoglosses that are unlikely to have arisen independently can provide information in this respect. The most promising candidate in this regard seems to me to be 'i-qāṭil. As explained above, k-qāṭil very probably originated before the perfective \*qāym-qāṭil and can be attributed to the proto-dialect of NENA. Whether it penetrated every variety of the proto-dialect can no longer be determined with certainty, but its use in both classical and modern Aramaic makes it clear that it must have been very widespread. And it should be borne in mind that the modern dialects with ki- / ci-qāṭil (< k + 'i) must

<sup>120</sup> See J. Urmia 28–33, 55f, 58.

also have had *k-qāṭil*, as the presence of /k/ in *ki-* / *ci-* can hardly be explained otherwise. And since *ki-* / *ci-* are attested in Urmia, the Judi and Xabur dialects and probably also in Hertevin and Bohtan, it can be assumed that *k-qāṭil* was originally also used in the dialects with *'i-qāṭil*. The components of *'i-qāṭil*, i.e. *\*'ilā* and *qāṭil*, can be attributed to the proto-dialect; whether *\*'ilā qāṭil* already belonged to the NENA proto-dialect and, if so, what spread it had, is difficult to answer. Since it did not find its way into the written languages, it probably emerged later than *k-qāṭil*, and another circumstance makes it likely that it was only formed at a time when the NENA proto-dialect had already split. It should be borne in mind that *bed-qāṭil* is negated by *la k-qāṭil* in the modern dialects that have *k-qāṭil*, not by *le qāṭil*. There must therefore have been a group of dialects to which *\*'ilā qāṭil* was either completely foreign or where it merely led a shadowy existence. If *\*'ilā qāṭil* had already been in full bloom in the NENA proto-dialect, one would expect that it would also have left its mark in the *k-qāṭil* dialects.

As already explained above, *k-qāṭil* probably originally had a presentative character, and it is not unusual for such a signum to develop into a modal verb form to express indicativity. It was probably first used with present time reference and most likely served to emphasise the factuality of a situation, was then also used with future time reference and thus had the status of a modal indicative form. The situation is similar with *\*'ilā qāṭil*. Like *k-qāṭil*, it probably originally had a presentative character, so nothing stood in the way of its development into an indicative form. However, there is something that distinguishes the dialects with *'i-qāṭil* from those with *k-qāṭil*. In the latter, there was only one presentative verb form which developed into a modal indicative form. In the former, however, there were two. Here, *\*'ilā qāṭil* competed with a verb form that expressed roughly the same thing as itself. Both *\*'ilā qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil* were semantically capable of developing into an indicative form, but only *\*'ilā qāṭil* did so, while *k-qāṭil* presumably continued to have a purely presentative character and was probably in opposition to *\*'ilā qāṭil* on a stylistic rather than a grammatical level. This situation must be considered quite unusual and the emergence of this relationship between the two verb forms in several independent language centres seems very unlikely to me. It can therefore be assumed that only one speech community split off from the NENA proto-dialect in which *\*'ilā qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil* were used side by side. This language community consisted of Christians or speakers who were yet to embrace Christianity, and from it emerged the Christian Xabur and Judi dialects, the dialects of Bohtan, Araḍin and Diyana as well as those which use *ki-*, *či-* and *ci-qāṭil* (Urmia, Sardarid, Txuma, Mazra, Tiyari) or where at least the negation *le qāṭil* reveals that *'i-qāṭil* must once have been in use there (Hertevin, Sanandağ). These

dialects cover a huge area stretching from Hertevin / Bohtan in the west to Urmia in the north-east and Sanandağ in the south-east. *k-qāṭil* has mostly been discarded here. Talay (Khabur 306) mentions the form *k-awṭun* “you will be” for Gundek which is probably to be interpreted as *k-qāṭil*, but otherwise it seems to live on only in *ki-qāṭil*.

The development in this speech community could have proceeded as follows. *ʾi-qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil* initially denoted indicativity but were then displaced from the area of the future by the newly created *bed-qāṭil* and were henceforth restricted to the present. After the introduction of *bed-qāṭil*, *ʾi-qāṭil* was combined with *k-* in some parts of the speech community, resulting in *ki-qāṭil*. The reason for this and the exact function of *ki-qāṭil* at this point is difficult to determine. As explained above, it is conceivable that the phonetic difference to the non-indicative *qāṭil* was perceived as too small and that *ʾi-qāṭil* was therefore reinforced by *k-*. *ki-qāṭil* would have been a present tense form in this case and *ʾi-qāṭil* would have disappeared from the system. Such a development is conceivable for Urmia and Sardarid where *ki-qāṭil* alone is still in use. However, it is also conceivable that *ki-qāṭil* was created in order to have a separate signum to express imperfective situations. In this case, *ʾi-qāṭil* and *ki-qāṭil* would have existed side by side and formed an opposition pair habituality : imperfectivity. Presumably, four different dialect groups developed in the speech community in question. In group A, *ʾi-qāṭil* displaced *k-qāṭil* and expressed habitual and imperfective situations, whereas in group B, probably quite a small group, *k-qāṭil* prevailed. In group C, *ʾi-qāṭil* became *ki-qāṭil* which described habitual and imperfective situations; this may have been the case in dialects such as Urmia and Sardarid where *ʾi-qāṭil* is no longer used. Finally, in group D, *k + ʾi-qāṭil* also gave rise to *ki-qāṭil* but *ʾi-qāṭil* was preserved here and the two forms formed an opposition pair to express habitual and imperfective situations. The occurrence of *ki-qāṭil* in modern dialects from Urmia in the east to Hertevin in the west suggests that the latter two groups were the largest. This circumstance also makes it very doubtful that *ki-qāṭil* was spread through language contact alone and points to a common predecessor in which *ʾi-qāṭil* and *k-qāṭil* were used side by side. Then the infinitive was introduced. In groups A, B and C, it joined *ʾi-qāṭil*, *k-qāṭil* and *ki-qāṭil* and formed the imperfective counterparts to these; in group D, on the other hand, the infinitive replaced *ki-qāṭil* and formed with *ʾi-qāṭil* an opposition pair imperfectivity : habituality. In other dialects, such as Hertevin, the infinitive was not introduced or was later abandoned and *ʾi-* or *ki-* was elided.

Two isoglosses, which are preferably found either in Jewish or Christian dialects, can be used for a further subdivision. I mean *qam-* / *qem-qāṭil* and the L-suffix of the 3.pl., which was not listed separately in Tables 25 and 26

as its distribution is quite easy to survey. As explained above (3.1), the majority of Christian dialects are characterised by the fact that they generalised the feminine form of the L-suffix (-lā / -lay)<sup>121</sup> and monophthongised \*qāym-qāṭil to qem- / kem-qāṭil. However, these two processes could only have taken place after the newly formed language community had split, as there are 'i-qāṭil dialects in which qam-qāṭil (Xabur dialects [in addition to qem-], Araḍin, Diyana, Urmia; see sect. 3.5.1 Table 21) or -lu (Urmia, Txuma, Diyana; see sect. 3.1) occur. Even after the renewed division and the emergence of these new isoglosses ('i-qāṭil : ki-qāṭil, qam-qāṭil : qem-qāṭil, lā : lu), most of these dialects presumably remained in contact for quite a long time and formed a dialect continuum; exceptions are the dialects of Hertevin, Bohtan and Sanandağ which must have soon gone their own ways. Hertevin and Bohtan share the generalisation of the feminine form of the 3.pl. L-suffix with the majority of the 'i-qāṭil dialects but otherwise show such significant differences to these, including the discard of qem-qāṭil, that can only be explained by a fairly early isolation. The other dialects are significantly closer to each other, and presumably a dialect continuum existed between them after both the first and the second split; from this dialect continuum, separate proto-dialects then gradually crystallised from which the modern dialects emerged, namely the group around Urmia and Sardarid in the north-east, and the Xabur and Judi dialects as well as Diyana and Araḍin further west.

The speech communities that have chosen k-qāṭil alone as their indicative form do not represent such a unified whole. In order to identify these communities, other isoglosses must be consulted. Apart from the use of k-qāṭil, the Jewish dialects also have in common that only qam-qāṭil is attested there, although this is limited to the LD dialects, and that the masculine form of the L-suffix has been generalised in all dialects (-lu). Apart from Urmia and Arbel, they are also characterised by the fact that qṭille can mean “he killed” and “he killed him”, whereas in many Christian dialects it only means “he killed” (see sect. 3.4.a). These four common isoglosses make a common origin very likely. As seen above, they also show not inconsiderable differences, in particular I would like to emphasise the discard of qam-qāṭil except in the LD dialects and the use of 'i-k-qāṭil in the Central-Zab group. However, these isoglosses do not argue against a common origin; the discard of qam-qāṭil merely means that other models were chosen to express indirect objects on qṭille, and the

121 The copula of the 3.pl. has the same form in most cases, but deviations do occur, for example in the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects where the copula of the 3.pl. is *yen*, while the L-suffix has the regular form -lu (see 3.1 above). For this reason, the L-suffix is chosen here as an isogloss.

fact that 'i- precedes k- in the compound 'i-k-qāṭil makes it likely that it was introduced into the dialect from outside. The division into three large groups, however, is justified by these differences.

The Christian dialects of the Mosul plain (proto-dialect 14) are relatively uniform. All of them have monophthongised \*qāym-qāṭil to qem- / kem-qāṭil and generalised the feminine form of the L-suffix (-lā / -lay) and also exhibit other striking similarities which have already been listed above. The nearby dialect of Qaraqoş is also characterised by these isoglosses and probably originally belonged to the same community but must have separated from it quite soon as it otherwise differs from the other dialects in a number of conservative features. This leaves the dialect of Armoṭa to the east of the Great Zab which is spoken by Christians but has qam-qāṭil and -lu, as in the Jewish dialects, and also differs in other respects from both the Christian and Jewish dialects; it probably originated from a third language community with k-qāṭil.

The NENA *Stammbaum* can be illustrated as follows:

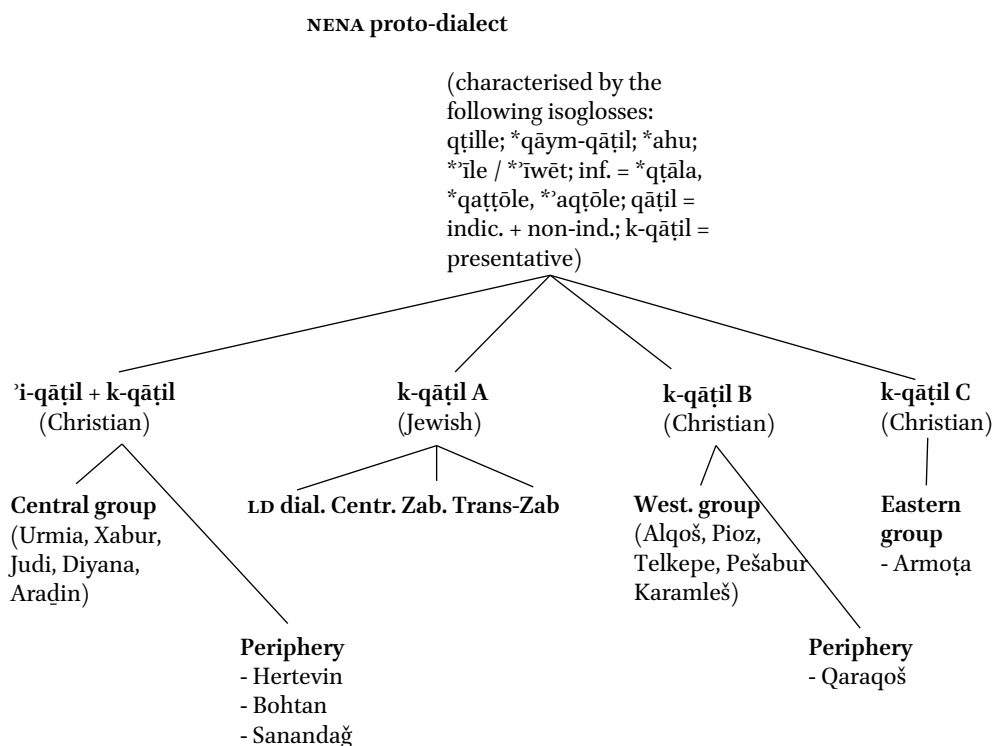


FIGURE 21 The NENA *Stammbaum*

This classification largely corresponds to that proposed at the beginning. With regard to the Jewish dialects, Mutzafi's division can be adopted. With regard to the Christian dialects, one should bear in mind that Urmia, the Xabur and Judi groups as well as Diyana and Araḍin probably have a common origin and that Hertevin is genetically closer to this group than to Țuroyo / Mlaḥso or the Christian dialects of the Mosul plain. As to the other dialects, one should not lose sight of the distinction between a western group around Alqoṣ and an eastern one around Armoṭa.

Major linguistic changes are usually caused by non-linguistic factors. Latin was spread by the Roman legions and developed in the provinces under the influence of various substrate languages into what we know today as Romance languages. The situation was similar with Arabic. And in the case of the Neo-Aramaic dialects, too, a non-linguistic event seems to have had a significant influence on the course of events. I am referring to the emergence of Christianity which quickly spread into the Persian Empire. Syriac probably only served as a written language there, while the local Aramaic vernacular continued to be used in everyday life.<sup>122</sup> However, the nature of the influence is quite different here from that in the case of Latin or Arabic because it was not the sword that was the decisive factor but rather the social and cultural isolation into which the newly established Christian communities certainly soon fell. This is not to say that contact with non-Christian communities was completely severed, but the influence that religious ties had on people's lives and language can hardly be overestimated. There is no doubt that the spiritual and probably also economic exchange between the Christian communities was much more intensive than that between Christians and non-Christians, and therefore the linguistic influence took place primarily within the religious communities.

In classifying the Neo-Aramaic language area, we have by no means relied solely on isoglosses from the verbal system, and at this point we should remember that the primary aim of this work concerns the question of whether the Aramaic languages and dialects are to be regarded as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent. Does the grouping of the dialects indicate a relationship with one type of prominence or another?

As we have seen, the NENA proto-dialect must have been strongly mood-prominent, and some Neo-Aramaic dialects are still quite close to the proto-dialect in this respect insofar as they, too, are dominated by two modal signs, one to express indicative and one to express non-indicative situations. These

---

122 See Nöldeke, SG xxxii.



are the dialects that can be described as rather mood-prominent, namely the dialect of the 17th-century Jewish texts (k-qāṭil : qāṭil; ch. 13.1), Neo-Mandaic (q-qāṭil : qāṭil; ch. 15), Hertevin (le qāṭil : la qāṭil; ch. 17), J. Arbel (k-qāṭil : qāṭil; ch. 18), J. Sulemaniyya + Ḥalabğa (k-qāṭil : qāṭil; ch. 20), J. Sanandağ (k-qāṭil : qāṭil; sect. 3.2, Table 7). Except in these dialects, modal categories play a subordinate role and the expression of temporal categories is generally not given excessive importance either. It is true that all NENA dialects use qṭille, a verb form that can be classified quite clearly as an aspectual form, and the fact that the anterior and resultative are regularly expressed by separate signa also tends to indicate an awareness of aspectual categories, but all in all it is by no means possible to speak of a general tendency towards aspect-prominent verbal systems. The question requires a differentiated approach and therefore the dialects will be grouped below according to their aspectual differentiation capacity. The main criterion for assessing this ability is the distinction between habitual and imperfective categories.

In group A, no consistent distinction is made between these two categories, neither with past nor with present time reference:

1. Modern Mandaic

past: qṭal (perf.) : hwā + q-qāṭil (hab. + impf.?)<sup>123</sup>

present: q-qāṭil (hab. + impf.)

2. Ṭuroyo

past: qṭille / qaṭṭil (perf.) : qāṭilwā / metqeṭelwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil / k-metqeṭel (hab. + impf.)

3. Mlaḥso

past: qṭille (perf.) : (x-)qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: (x-)qāṭil (hab. + impf.)

4. Hertevin

past: qṭille (perf.) : qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: qāṭil (hab. + impf.)

5. J. Arbel

past: qṭille (perf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

<sup>123</sup> The imperfective use of hwā + q-qāṭil could not be proven but is very likely. The sources for the individual categories can be found in the corresponding sections in Part 3 of this work and in sect. 3.2.

present: (k-)qāṭil (hab. + impf., mostly with stative verbs) / lā (k-)qāṭil (hab. + impf., mostly with dynamic verbs)

6. J. Sanandağ

past: qṭille (perf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: (k-)qāṭil (hab. + impf.)

The dialects with the least differentiation capacity are spoken by Christians, Jews and Mandaean and are located on the western edge of the Aramaic language area (Ṭuroyo, Mlaḥso, Hertevin) and on the eastern edge (Khorramshahr), with the Jewish Trans-Zab dialects in the centre. It is interesting to note that Mandaic and the three Christian dialects do not have separate signa that denote the imperfective aspect with the help of the infinitive or lā-. In J. Arbel such a signum does exist, but it is not consistently used to distinguish between imperfectivity and habituality.

In group B, a pure imperfective signum is attested only for the present or past. The following overview should be viewed with a certain reservation as there is a greater risk here than in group A that a signum attested only for one tense is also used in a modified form for the other one but is not attested for this one.

1. J. Nerwa 17th cent.

past: qṭille (perf.) : inf. + past. cop. (impf) / qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab. + impf.)

2.–3. J. Sulemaniyya + Ḥalabğā

past: qṭille / qṭil + S-suff. (perf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab. + impf.) : inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)

4. J. Koy Saṅğaq

past: qṭille (perf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: (k-)qāṭil (hab.) : inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)

5. J. Dohok

past: qṭille (perf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : hole + k-qāṭil (impf.)

6.–8. J. Barzan, Šahe, Beğil

past: qṭille (perf.) : (y-)qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: (y-)qāṭil (hab.) : 'ale + (y-)qāṭil (impf.)

## 9. C. Alqoš 17th cent.

past: q̇tille (perf.) : qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : b + inf. (impf.)

## 10. C. Koy Sanġaq

past: q̇tille (perf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab. + fut.) : lā k-qāṭil (impf.)

Group C has pure imperfective signa for the past and present.

## 1. WNA

past: q̇tal (perf.) : (wōb +) 'am-qāṭil (impf.) : wōb / fōš qāṭil (hab.)

present: qāṭil (hab.) : 'am-qāṭil (impf.)

## 2. J. Amadiya

past: q̇tille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. (impf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : pres. cop. + inf. (impf.)

## 3. J. Betanure

past: q̇tille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. (impf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : pres. cop. + inf. (impf.)

## 4. J. Urmia

past: q̇tille (perf.) : inf. + past cop. (impf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: (k-)qāṭil (hab.) : inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)<sup>124</sup>

## 5.–8. C. Ğilu, C. Maha Xtaya, C. Diyana, C. Sat

past: q̇tille (perf.) : inf. + past cop. (impf.) : 'i-qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: 'i-qāṭil (hab.) : inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)

## 9. + 10. C Beşpen, C. Araḍin

past: q̇tille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. (impf.) : 'i-qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: 'i-qāṭil (hab.) : pres. cop. + inf. (impf.)

<sup>124</sup> Garbell (Azerbaijan 67, 73) also mentions an opposition perf. : impf. for the future (yatowa kwen "I shall be sitting down" : gezex "we will go") and the modal domain (yatowa hawen "I may be sitting down" : ezex "we may go").

## 11. C. Qaraqoş

past: qṭille (perf.) : k- + past cop. + k-qāṭil (impf.) : k-qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : k- + pres. cop. + k-qāṭil (impf.)<sup>125</sup>

## 12. C. Sanandağ

past: qṭille (perf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā + past. cop. (impf.) : (k-)qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: (k-)qāṭil (hab.) : (k-)qāṭil + pres. cop. (impf.)

## 13. C. Urmia

past: qṭille (perf.) : inf. + past cop. (impf.) : (ci-)qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: (ci-)qāṭil (hab.) : inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)

The overview clearly shows the importance of the infinitive which is used in nine of the thirteen dialects. It is far more readily transferred from one temporal category to another than is the case with constructions with qāṭil. Dialects such as C. Sanandağ which can combine (k-)qāṭil and (k-)qāṭilwā with different forms of the copula are exceptions.

Group D comprises dialects that also distinguish between perfectivity and imperfectivity in categories other than those mentioned so far. C. Txuma makes this distinction also with future time reference:

past: qṭille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. / inf. + past. cop. (impf.) : ʾi-qāṭilwā (hab.)

present: ʾi-qāṭil (hab.) : pres. cop. + inf. / inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)

future: bed-qāṭil (perf.) : bed-qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.; pp. 99, 144)

C. Alqoş mod. distinguishes between perfective and imperfective habitual situations:

past sing.: qṭille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. (impf.)

past hab.: qāṭilwā (perf.) : qāṭilwā of hwy + inf. (impf.; p. 189)

present: k-qāṭil (hab.) : pres. cop. + inf. (impf.)

The front-runners in terms of differentiation capacity, however, are J. Amadiya and C. Barwar. Apart from the situations mentioned above, a distinction is also made in the modal domain:

<sup>125</sup> Certainly C. Karamleš also belongs here even if k-qāṭilwā is not mentioned. However, there is a difference in the expression of the imperfective aspect with past time reference. In Karamleš, the past time reference is marked twice, i.e. k- + past cop. + k-qāṭilwā (p. 82).

## J. Amadiya

past: qāṭille (perf.) : past cop. + inf. (impf) : k-qāṭilwā (hab. + impf.)  
 present sing.: pres. cop. + inf. (impf.)  
 present hab.: k-qāṭil (perf.) : k-qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.; G. p. 244)  
 present non-ind.: qāṭil (perf.) : qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.; G. 249)  
 future: bed-qāṭil (perf.) : bed-qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.; G. pp. 98, 107)

## C. Barwar

past sing.: qāṭille (perf.) : inf. + past cop. (impf)  
 past hab.: 'i-qāṭilwā (perf.) : 'i-qāṭilwā of hwy + inf. (impf.)  
 present sing.: inf. + pres. cop. (impf.)  
 present hab.: 'i-qāṭil (perf.): 'i-qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.)  
 present non-ind.: qāṭil (perf.) : qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.)  
 future: bed-qāṭil (perf.) : bed-qāṭil of hwy + inf. (impf.)

The overview and the preceding remarks show that a starting point that is presumably identical for most dialects can lead to completely different results. The choice of the prefix to reduce the functional load of qāṭil was of decisive importance for the further development of the verbal systems. For the reason explained above (sect. 3.2), dialects with an 'i-prefix have chosen the infinitive as the signum to express the imperfective aspect which can be transferred from one temporal or modal category to another far more conveniently with the help of appropriate forms of the copula or hwy than is the case with constructions with qāṭil. Dialects such as C. Sanandağ which can combine (k-)qāṭil and (k-)qāṭilwā with different forms of the copula are exceptions. Although dialects with the k- prefix also use the infinitive, they often make do with k-qāṭil, and so it is no coincidence that all dialects with 'i- or ki-qāṭil, i.e. the Christian Xabur and Judi dialects and those around Urmia, belong to groups C and D which are characterised by a high degree of differentiation capacity. It should not be forgotten, however, that the prefixes k- and also 'i- are often elided (verba 1 # '), that the signum to denote habituality, which is so important for an aspect system, is then identical to the non-indicative qāṭil.

# Abstract

qṭal can be analysed as a perfective verb form throughout its history. In Old Aramaic, however, it is not contrasted with another aspectual form, neither with present nor with past time reference, but rather with the modal signa yiqṭulL and yiqṭulS which denote indicativity and non-indicativity respectively. Only with the emergence of qāṭil from Imperial Aramaic onwards is the expression of aspectual categories given more weight. Although qāṭil and its compounds with hwy nowhere express pure imperfectivity but always denote habitual or repeated situations, the verbal systems are now far more aspect-prominent than was the case in Old Aramaic. Of particular interest is the opposition qāṭil : yiqṭulL in the Book of Daniel; yiqṭulL is no longer a modal form but a perfective signum to denote posteriority and forms a pair with qāṭil to express the opposition imperfectivity : perfectivity in circumstantial clauses. However, there is no tendency towards the development of a pure aspect system; rather, qāṭil largely loses its imperfective character as it increasingly takes on the functions of yiqṭul until it not only denotes the present and future but in JBA, Mandaic and Syriac even expresses non-indicative situations. In JBA and Mandaic, qāṭil can be combined with the prefix q- / qa-. Although q-qāṭil in JBA must be analysed as a marked imperfective form, it certainly originally only had a presentative function and served to emphasise the factuality of a situation. However, the possibilities for developing a pure aspectual system with a consistent distinction between perfectivity (qṭal / qṭille), imperfectivity (hwā + q-qāṭil / q-qāṭil) and habituality (hwā + qāṭil / qāṭil), which were certainly given with the introduction of q-, were neither utilised in JBA nor in Mandaic.

Another significant innovation alongside the predicative use of qāṭil is the combination of the passive participle with an L-suffix to denote the logical subject. This compound, attested since Imperial Aramaic and probably the result of an inner-Aramaic development, is used in the meaning of an anterior in JBA, Mandaic and Syriac and replaces qṭal in the majority of Neo-Aramaic dialects. Middle Aramaic, that follows Imperial Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Greco-Roman period, can be divided into an eastern (JBA and Mandaic) and a western branch (JMP, CPA, Samaritan); although Syriac has significant similarities with Eastern Aramaic, it ultimately is somewhere between these two groups. While one can speak of a *Stammbaum* with regard to the NENA dialects, this model cannot be applied to the classical languages. Although Imperial Aramaic, the only language that comes into question as a possible

proto-dialect, influenced the Aramaic of the Greco-Roman period as well as Middle Aramaic, the latter did surely not emerge from the former.

Neo-Aramaic as a whole cannot be traced back to a common proto-dialect; Turoyo / Mlaḥso as well as WNA and Neo-Mandaic each go back to their own proto-dialects. In the case of NENA, however, we can speak of a *Stammbaum* and a common proto-dialect which is characterised by the following isoglosses: qṭille expresses the perfective aspect or the anterior, \*qāym-qāṭil is used with past time reference, the independent personal pronouns of the 3. persons begin with /a/ (e.g. \*ahu “he”), the third persons of the copula goes back to the compound \*ʾī (presentative particle) + l- (preposition), that of the second and first persons to \*ʾī + hāwē, the infinitives of the derived stems have an /ō/ after the second root consonant (\*qatṭōle and \*ʾaqṭōle), qāṭil is used to express indicative and non-indicative situations, k-qāṭil has a presentative function. At least four speech communities separate from this proto-dialect at some point, one Christian community in which ʾi-qāṭil and k-qāṭil are used side by side, one Jewish community and two Christian communities in which only k-qāṭil is in use. These dialects, which form the starting point for Neo-Aramaic, are characterised by verbal systems that are similar to that of Old Aramaic. While Old Aramaic was characterised by the modal opposition yiqṭulL (indicative) : yiqṭulS (non-indicative), this opposition is now expressed by ʾi-qāṭil / k-qāṭil : qāṭil. The dialects emerging from these four speech communities have verbal systems with different prominences. While Early Jewish Aramaic and the dialect of Hertevin, for example, attach some importance to the expression of modal categories, the dialect of Barwar is clearly aspect-prominent. The choice of ʾi-qāṭil or k-qāṭil to express indicative situations has proven to be an important factor with regard to the prominence of a category. Dialects with ʾi-qāṭil do not express the imperfective aspect by combining qāṭil with a form of the copula – probably because ʾi- already goes back to a copula form – and use the infinitive for this purpose. Dialects with k-qāṭil do use the infinitive but also express imperfectivity by qāṭil + copula. The infinitive can be transferred more easily from one temporal or modal category to another with the help of different forms of the copula and hwy than is the case with compounds of qāṭil and a form of the copula, and therefore it is no coincidence that dialects with ʾi-qāṭil such as the Christian Xabur and Judi dialects represent aspectual categories in a more differentiated way than many dialects with k-qāṭil.

# Abbreviated Literature

- Acts = "Acts of the Apostles", in: CPA New Testament 15–49.
- Adams, Bilingualism = J.N. Adams et al. (eds). *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Addai = Die Lehre des Apostels Addai, in: Brockelmann, SG 12–21.
- Adon = B. Porten. "The Identity of King Adon", in: *Biblical Archeologist* 44 (1981), 36–52.
- Anas. = "Anastasia", in: CPA Martyrs 97–98.
- Arnold, Bax'a = W. Arnold. *Das Neuwestaramäische. I. Texte aus Bax'a*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1989.
- Arnold, Grammatik = W. Arnold. *Das Neuwestaramäische. v. Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1990.
- Arnold, Verbum = W. Arnold. "Das Verbum in den neuwestaramäischen Dialekten", in: Nebes, Tempus und Aspekt, 1–8.
- Arnold, Ma'lūla = W. Arnold. *Das Neuwestaramäische. III. Volkskundliche Texte aus Ma'lūla*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1991.
- Arnold, Sprachbeziehungen = W. Arnold and P. Behnstedt. *Arabisch-Aramäische Sprachbeziehungen im Qalamūn (Syrien)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993.
- Askar, C. Armoṭa = K.N. Askar. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von 'Armoṭa* (Diss.). Heidelberg 2020.
- Bache, vA = C. Bache. *Verbal Aspect: A General Theory and its Application to Present-Day English*. Odense: Odense University Press, 1985.
- Bache, ATA = C. Bache. *The study of aspect, tense and action: towards a theory of the semantics and grammatical categories*. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1997.
- Bar-Asher, PSS = M. Bar-Asher. *Palestinian Syriac Studies*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1977.
- Barsky and Loesov, Preterite = E. Barsky and S. Loesov. "A History of the Intransitive Preterite of Ṭuroyo: From a Property Adjective to a Finite Tense", in: G. Khan and P.M. Noorlander (eds): *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2021, 1–28.
- Bauer – Leander, GBA = H. Bauer and P. Leander. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1927.
- Bauer – Meissner = H. Bauer and B. Meissner. "Ein aramäischer Pachtvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius' I.", in: *Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1936), 414–424.
- Baumgartner, Daniel = W. Baumgartner. "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel", in: *ZAW* 45 (1927) 81–133.



- Baumstark, Syr. Literatur = A. Baumstark. Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922.
- Bergsträsser, Glossar = G. Bergsträsser. Glossar des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma'lūla (Reprint of the 1921 edition). Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1966.
- Berlin 23000 = Z. Shunnar. "Ein neuer aramäischer Papyrus ...," in: F. Altheim and R. Stiehl. Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum. Berlin, 1970, 111–118, 755–756.
- Bertejung, Wandering Arameans = A. Bertejung et al. (eds). Wandering Arameans: Arameans Outside Syria. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017.
- Bertinetto, Aspect = P.M. Bertinetto et al. (eds). Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality. Vol. 1: Semantic and Syntactic Perspectives. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1995.
- Beyer, Syntax = K. Beyer. Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament. Band 1: Satzlehre. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961.
- Beyer, Einschlag = K. Beyer. "Der reichsaramäische Einschlag in der ältesten syrischen Literatur", in: ZDMG 116 (1966) 242–254.
- Beyer, ATTM = K. Beyer. Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- Beyer, ATTM Erg = K. Beyer. Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
- Beyer, Ostmesopotamien = K. Beyer. Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.
- Beyer, ATTM II = K. Beyer. Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Tomb II. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- Bhat, Prominence = D.N.S. Bhat. The Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999.
- Blau, Ritter = J. Blau. "Review of Ritter, Texte and Gr.", in: BSOAS 31 (1968) 605–610.
- Bobzin, Sprich doch ... = W. Arnold and H. Bobzin (eds). Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.
- Bombeck, Partizip = S. Bombeck. "Das Partizip mit der enklitischen Subjektsform des Personalpronomens in den Targumen Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan und Neofiti", in: Biblische Notizen 80 (1995) 16–19.
- Bombeck, hwh = S. Bombeck. "Das Partizip von hwy in den Targumen Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan und Neofiti", in: Biblische Notizen 80 (1995) 19–22.
- Bombeck, Daniel = S. Bombeck. "Die Verwendung der Präformativkonjugation im Buche Daniel", in: Biblische Notizen 83 (1996) 5–8.
- Bombeck, Verbalsystem = S. Bombeck. "Das syrische Verbalsystem: hypothetische Sätze und *hwā* vor Adjektiv und Partizip", in: Nebes, Tempus und Aspekt, 23–36.
- Bordreuil, Til Barsib = P. Bordreuil / F. Briquel-Chatonnet. "Aramaic Document from Til Barsib", in: Abr-Nahrain 34 (1996–1997) 100–107.

- Borghero, Karamlesh = R. Borghero. "Some Features of the Verbal System of the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Karamlesh", in: Khan, *Dialect Studies* 75–89.
- Boyarin, Middle Aramaic = D. Boyarin. "An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects", in: Y.C. Arbeitman (ed.). *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1981, 613–649.
- Breuer, Karetot = Y. Breuer. "The Babylonian Aramaic in Tractate Keretot according to MS Oxford", in: *AS* 5 (2007) 1–45.
- Briquel Chatonnet, Syriac = F. Briquel Chatonnet. "Syriac as the Language of Eastern Christianity", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 652–659.
- Brock, Greek Words = S.P. Brock. "Greek Words in the Syriac Gospels", in: *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) 389–426.
- Brock, Outline = S.P. Brock. *A brief Outline of Syriac Literature*. Kottayam: Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997.
- Brockelmann, SG = C. Brockelmann. *Syrische Grammatik* (10th ed.). Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965.
- Brockelmann, GvG = C. Brockelmann. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. *Tomb 1*. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1908.
- Brockelmann, LS = C. Brockelmann. *Lexicon Syriacum* (3rd reprint of the 1928 edition). Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1995.
- Bruweleit, ATA = S. Bruweleit. *Aspect, Tense and Action in the Arabic Dialect of Beirut*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Burtea, Mandaic = B. Burtea. "Mandaic", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 670–685.
- Butts, Language Change = A.M. Butts. *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016.
- Ciancaglini, Loanwords = C.A. Ciancaglini. *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008.
- Coghill, Verbal System = E. Coghill. *The Verbal System of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic* (M.Phil. Degree). Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999.
- Coghill, Alqosh = E. Coghill. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Alqosh* (Diss.). Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2003.
- Coghill, Features = E. Coghill. "Some Notable Features in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Iraq", in: G. Khan, *Dialect Studies* 91–104.
- Coghill, Ditransitive constructions = E. Coghill. "Ditransitive constructions in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Telkepe", in: A. Malchukov et al. (eds). *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011, 221–242.
- Coghill, Telkepe = E. Coghill. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Telkepe", in: *Semantic Scholar* 2018, 234–271.
- Cohen, Neo-Aramaic = D. Cohen. "Neo-Aramaic", in: *EJ* 12 (1971) 948–951.

- Cohen, Phrase nominale = D. Cohen. La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique: études de syntaxe historique. Paris; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1984.
- Cohen, Conditional Pattern = E. Cohen. "Zakho Neo-Aramaic and Old Babylonian Akkadian: The (Concessive-) Conditional Pattern", in: Gideon Goldenberg 159–177.
- Comrie, Aspect = B. Comrie. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Comrie, Tense = B. Comrie. Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Cook, Qumran Aramaic = E.M. Cook. "Qumran Aramaic and Aramic Dialectology", in: *Abr-Nahrain Supplement* 3 (1992) 1–21.
- Correll, Negation = C. Correll. "Ein Vorschlag zur Erklärung der Negation *ĉu* (*ĉu*) in den neuwestaramäischen Dialekten des Antilibanon", in: *ZDMG* 124 (1974) 271–285.
- Correll, Syntax = C. Correll. Untersuchungen zur Syntax der neuwestaramäischen Dialekte des Antilibanon. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1978.
- Cow. = A.P. Cowley. Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
- Cowley, SL = A.P. Cowley. The Samaritan Liturgy. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
- CPA Martyrs = C. Müller-Kessler and M. Sokoloff (eds). A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Vol. III. The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia. Gröningen: STYX Publications, 1996.
- CPA New Testament = C. Müller-Kessler and M. Sokoloff (eds). A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Vol. II B. The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period. Gröningen: STYX Publications, 1998.
- Dalman, Grammatik = G. Dalman. Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinensischen Aramäisch (2nd ed.). Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1905.
- Degen, AG = R. Degen. Altaramäische Grammatik. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969.
- Dey, Schola Verbi = J. Dey. Schola Verbi. Lehrbuch des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (9th ed.). Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH & Co, 1996.
- Diem, katabtu 'ilayka = W. Diem. "katabtu 'ilayka 'Ich schreibe Dir' und Verwandtes", in: *ZDMG* 154 (2004) 285–345.
- Dion, Ya'udi = P.-E. Dion. La langue de Ya'udi. Waterloo: Editions, 1974.
- Drijvers / Healey, Old Syriac = H.J.W. Drijvers & J.F. Healey. The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 1999.
- Driver = G.R. Driver. Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.
- Dušek, Samarie = J. Dušek. Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Eph. Haer. = E. Beck (ed.). Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra Haereses. Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1957.
- Ephes. = "Ephesians", in: CPA New Testament 128–134.
- Erwin, Iraqi Arabic = W.M. Erwin. A short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1963.

- Eul. = "Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter", in: CPA Martyrs 69–97.
- Fales, Tell Shioukh Fawqani = F.M. Fales. "An Aramaic Tablet from Tell Shioukh Fawqani", in: Sem. 46 (1996) 89–111.
- Fassberg, Genizah = S.E. Fassberg. A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholar Press, 1990.
- Fassberg, Challa = S.E. Fassberg. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Challa. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Fassberg, *kəm/qam-qāṭəlle* = S.E. Fassberg. "The Origin of the Periphrastic Preterite *kəm/qam-qāṭəlle* in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic", in: G. Khan and L. Napiorkowska (eds). Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015, 172–186.
- Folmer, Variation = M. Folmer. The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period. A Study in Linguistic Variation. Leuven: Peeters Press & Department of Oriental Studies, 1995.
- Folmer, Imperial Aramaic = M. Folmer. "Imperial Aramaic as an Administrative Language of the Achaemenid Period", in: Weninger, Sem. Lang. 587–598.
- Fox, Cliticization = S.E. Fox. "Cliticization in Neo-Aramaic", in: Heinrichs, Studies 69–78.
- Fox, Bohtan = S.E. Fox. "A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Bohtan", in: Bobzin, Sprich doch ... 165–180.
- Fox, Jilu = S.E. Fox. The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Jilu. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997.
- Fox, NENA = S.E. Fox. "North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and the Middle Aramaic Dialects", in: Khan, Dialect Studies 1–17.
- Gai, Signifié = A. Gai. "The Signifié of the Non-Active Participle in Semitic Languages", in: ZDMG 155 (2005) 9–23.
- GAP = W. Fischer (ed.). Grundriss der arabischen Philologie. 1. Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1983.
- Garbell, Azerbaijan = I. Garbell. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan. The Hague: Mouton, 1965.
- Garr, Dialect Geography = R. Garr. Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Gesenius, HG = W. Gesenius. Hebräische Grammatik (28th ed.). Leipzig: Verlag von F.C.W. Vogel, 1909.
- Gianto, Moran = A. Gianto (ed.). Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2005.
- Gianto, Lost and Found = A. Gianto. "Lost and Found in the Grammar of First-Millennium Aramaic", in: Gzella, Setting 11–25.
- Gideon Goldenberg = T. Bar and E. Cohen (eds). Studies in Semitic and General Linguistics in Honor of Gideon Goldenberg. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007.
- Ginsberg, AST = H.L. Ginsberg. "Aramaic Studies Today", in: JAOS 62 (1942) 229–238.

- Greenblatt, Amədyā = J. Greenblatt. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Amədyā*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Greenfield, Early Aramaic = J.C. Greenfield. "The dialects of Early Aramaic", in: JNES 37 (1978) 93–100.
- Gropp, Notes = D.M. Gropp and T.J. Lewis. "Notes on Some Problems in the Aramaic Text of the Hadd-Yith'i", in: BASOR 259 (1985), 45–61.
- Gutman, J. Zakho = A. Gutman. "Reexamination of the Bare Preterite Base in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho", in: Aramaic Studies 6.1 (2008) 59–84.
- Gutman, Gaznax = A. Gutman. "Some Features of the Gaznax Dialect (Southeast Turkey)", in: Khan (ed.), *Neo-Aramaic* 305–321.
- Gzella, TAM = H. Gzella. *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.
- Gzella, Setting = H. Gzella and M. Folmer (eds). *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.
- Gzella, Li = H. Gzella. Review of Li, *Daniel*, in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 41 (2010) 125–127.
- Gzella, LIA = H. Gzella. "Late Imperial Aramaic", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 598–609.
- Gzella, Parthian = H. Gzella. "Aramaic in the Parthian Period", in: Gzella, *Setting* 107–130.
- Gzella, Cult. Hist. = H. Gzella. *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Gzella, Wandering Arameans = H. Gzella. "New Light on Linguistic Diversity in Pre-Achaemenid Aramaic: Wandering Arameans or Language Spread?", in: Bertejung, *Wandering Arameans* 19–37.
- H = E. Bresciani and M. Kamil. "Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli. Rome", in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei lincei*, Ser. VIII, 12/5 (1966) 356–428.
- Häberl, Khorr. = C. Häberl. *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2009.
- HAD = W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds). *Handbuch der Arabischen Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980.
- Healey, Early Syriac = J.F. Healey. "Variety in Early Syriac: The Context in Contemporary Aramaic", in: Gzella, *Setting* 221–229.
- Healey, Syriac = J.F. Healey. "Syriac", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 637–652.
- Heinrichs, Studies = W. Heinrichs (ed.). *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Heinrichs, Senāya = W. Heinrichs. "Peculiarities of the Verbal System of Senāya within the Framework of North Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA)", in: Bobzin, *Sprich doch ...* 237–268.
- Hoberman, J. Amadiya = R.D. Hoberman. *The Syntax and Semantics of Verb Morphology in Modern Aramaic*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1989.

- Hoberman, Pronouns = R.D. Hoberman. "Reconstructing Pre-Modern Aramaic Morphology: The independent Pronouns", in: Heinrichs, *Studies* 79–88.
- Hoftijzer / Jongeling, Dictionary = I. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions. 2 tombs*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Hopkins, Preterite = S. Hopkins. "Neo-Aramaic dialects and the formation of the preterite", in: *JSS* 34 (1989) 74–90.
- Hopkins, Kerend = S. Hopkins. "Preterite and perfect in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Kerend", in: Bobzin, *Sprich doch ...* 281–298.
- Hopper / Thompson, Transitivity = P.J. Hopper and S.A. Thompson. "Transitivity in grammar and discourse", in: *Language* 56 (1980) 251–299.
- Horst, Samaritanian = P. van der Horst. "The Samaritanian Languages in the Pre-Islamic Period", in: *JSJ* 32 (2001) 178–192.
- Huehnergard / Rubin = J. Huehnergard and A.D. Rubin. "Phyla and Waves. Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 259–278.
- Hug, AG = V. Hug. *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v. Chr.* Heidelberg: Heidelbergger Orientverlag, 1993.
- Jacobi, Thuma = H. Jacobi. *Grammatik des Thumischen Neuaramäisch*. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, 1973.
- Jastrow, qeltu-Dialekte = O. Jastrow. *Die Mesopotamisch-Arabischen qeltu-Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, 1978.
- Jastrow, Midin = O. Jastrow. *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im ʿTūr ‘abdīn* (3rd ed.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985.
- Jastrow, Mlaḥsō = O. Jastrow. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Mlaḥsō*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 1994.
- Jastrow, Hertevin = O. Jastrow. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Hertevin*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998.
- John = M. Lidzbarski (ed.). *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*. Giessen: Verlag von A. Töpelmann, 1915.
- Joosten, Negation = J. Joosten. "The Negation of the Non-Verbal Clause in Early Syriac", in: *JAOS* 112 (1992) 584–588.
- Joosten, hwā qāṭel = J. Joosten. "Biblical weqāṭal and Syriac hwā qāṭel expressing repetition in the past", in: *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5 (1992) 1–14.
- Joosten, Syriac Language = J. Joosten. *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew*. Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1996.
- Junge, Neuägyptisch = F. Junge. *Neuägyptisch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996.
- Kapeliuk, Language Contact = O. Kapeliuk. "Language Contact between Aramaic Dialects and Iranian", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 738–747.
- Kaufman, Akkadian Influences = S. Kaufman. *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.

- Kaufman, Aramaic = S. Kaufman. "Aramaic", in: R. Hetzron (ed.). *The Semitic Languages*. London: Routledge, 1997, 114–130.
- Khan, Arbel = G. Khan. *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic. The Dialect of the Jews of Arbel*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 1999.
- Khan, Rustaqa = G. Khan. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Jews of Rustaqa", in: Bobzin, Sprich doch ... 395–409.
- Khan, Qaraqosh = G. Khan. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2022.
- Khan, JSH = G. Khan. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Khan, Indicative Markers = G. Khan. "Indicative Markers in North Eastern Neo-Aramaic", in: Marco Moriggi (ed.). *XII Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camito-semitica (Afroasiatica)*. Ragusa: Rubbettino, 2007, 85–97.
- Khan, Barwar Gr. = G. Khan. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar. Vol. One: Grammar*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Khan, Barwar Lex. = G. Khan. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar. Vol. Two: Lexicon*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Khan, Barwar Texts = G. Khan. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar. Vol. Three: Texts*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Khan, J. Urmi = G. Khan. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2008.
- Khan, Dialect Studies = G. Khan (ed.). *Neo-Aramaic Dialect Studies*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2008.
- Khan, J. Sanandaj = G. Khan. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Khan, Ergativity = G. Khan and E. Doron. "The Debate on Ergativity in Neo-Aramaic", in: *Proceedings of IATL 26* (2010) 1–16.
- Khan, Copula = G. Khan. "Remarks on Constructions with the Copula in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic", in: *Aula Orientalis* 29 (2011) 105–119.
- Khan, Ergativity II = G. Khan. "The typology of morphological ergativity in Neo-Aramaic", in: *Lingua* 122 (2012) 225–240.
- Khan, Developments = G. Khan. "Some Historical Developments of the Verb in Neo-Aramaic", in: F. Josephson and I. Söhrman (eds.). *Diachronic and Typological Perspectives on Verbs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013, 425–434.
- Khan, Neo-Aramaic = G. Khan (ed.). *Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context*. Piscatway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015.
- Khan, C. Urmi = G. Khan. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi. Volume 1: grammar – phonology and morphology*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Khan, NENA = G. Khan. "North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic", in: Weninger, *Sem. Lang.* 708–724.

- Khan, Jewish Neo-Aramaic = G. Khan. "Jewish Neo-Aramaic in Kurdistan and Iran", in: B. Hary (ed.). *Language in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*. Mouton: De Gruyter, 2018, 9–34.
- Kienast HSS = B. Kienast. *Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001.
- Kim, Subgrouping = R. Kim. "Stammbaum or Continuum? The Subgrouping of Modern Aramaic Dialects Reconsidered", in: *JAOS* 128.3 (2008) 505–531.
- Kirtchuk, Aspect = P. Kirtchuk. "Aspect as the Source of Diathesis in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic and Beyond with Remarks on Transitivity, Accusativity, Ergativity and Case", in: Z. Guentchéva (ed.). *Aspectuality and Temporality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016, 705–726.
- Klein, Genizah = M.L. Klein. *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targumim to the Pentateuch*, 2 toms. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1986.
- Koopmans I / II = J.J. Koopmans. *Aramäische Chrestomathie*. 2 toms. Leiden, 1962.
- Koschmieder, Beiträge = E. Koschmieder. *Beiträge zur allgemeinen Syntax*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965.
- Kottsieper, Ahiqar = I. Kottsieper. *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990.
- Kottsieper, Aspekte = I. Kottsieper. "Aspekte des älteren aramäischen Verbalsystems und seiner Entwicklung", in: Nebes, *Tempus und Aspekt*, 55–76.
- Krael. = E.G. Kraeling. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Krotkoff, Aradhin = G. Krotkoff. *A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Kurdistan*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1982.
- Krotkoff, Bibliography = G. Krotkoff. "An Annotated Bibliography of Neo-Aramaic", in: Heinrich, *Studies* 3–26.
- Kutscher, Review = E.Y. Kutscher. *New Aramaic texts* (review article on Krael.). *JAOS* 74 (1954) 233–248.
- Kutscher, Passive = E.Y. Kutscher. "Two 'Passive' Constructions in Aramaic in the Light of Persian", in: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1965, 132–151.
- Kutscher, Aramaic = E.Y. Kutscher. "Aramaic", in: T.A. Sebk (ed.). *Current Trends in Linguistics*. vol. 6, *Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa*. Paris: Mouton, 1970, 347–412.
- Kutscher, SGA = E.Y. Kutscher. *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*. Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1976.
- Kuty, Jonathan = R.J. Kuty. "Remarks on the Syntax of the Participle in Targum Jonathan on Samuel", in: Gzella, *Setting* 207–220.
- Leander, LFÄ = P. Leander. *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*. Göteborg: Elanders, 1928.



- Li, Non-Active Participles = T. Li. "Non-Active Participles in the Aramaic of Daniel", in: *Aramaic Studies* 6.1 (2008) 111–136.
- Li, Daniel = T. Li. *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Li, Translation Technique = T. Li. *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels: Transition Technique and the Aramaic Verbal System*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2013.
- Lindenberger, Ahiqar = J.M. Lindenberger. *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar*. Baltimore – London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Lund, hwh = J.A. Lund. "The First Person Singular Past Tense of the Verb hwh in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic", in: *Maarev* 4 (1987) 191–199.
- M & A = "The story of Matthew and Andrew", in: Wright, Acts qb – qkw.
- Maclean, Urmia = A.J. Maclean. *Grammar of the dialects of vernacular Syriac*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895.
- Macuch, Man. = R. Macuch. *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965.
- Macuch, GSA = R. Macuch. *Grammatik des Samaritanischen Aramäisch*. Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1982.
- Margoliouth, PS = G. Margoliouth. *The Palestinian Syriac version of the Holy Scriptures: four recently discovered portions (together with verses from the Psalms and the Gospel of St. Luke)*. London: Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1897.
- Margolis, BT = M. Margolis. *Lehrbuch der aramäischen Sprache des Babylonischen Talmuds*. München: Beck, 1910.
- Mart. = "The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert", in: CPA Martyrs 9–69.
- Matt. = "Matthew", in: *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, re-edited by A. Smith Lewis and M. Dunlop. London: Kegan Paul & Co LTD, 1899.
- Mengozzi, Alqosh I + II = A. Mengozzi. *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe*. Vol. 1: Text and Glossary, Vol. II: Introduction and Translation. Lovanii: Peters, 2002.
- Molin, J. Dohok = D. Molin. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Dohok: A Comparative Perspective (Diss.)*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2021.
- Morgenstern, Diachronic Studies = M. Morgenstern. "Diachronic Studies in Mandaic", in: *Orientalia* 79 (2010) 505–525.
- Morgenstern, Contact = M. Morgenstern. "Jewish Babylonian Aramaic und Mandaic: Some points of contact", in: *Aram* 22 (2010) 1–14.
- Morgenstern, Studies = M. Morgenstern. *Studies in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- Morrison, qtal hwā = C. Morrison. "The Function of qtal hwā in Classical Syriac Narrative", in: *Gianto, Moran* 103–131.
- Morrison, Judas Thomas = C. Morrison. "The Function of qtal hwā in the Acts of Judas Thomas", in: *Gzella, Setting*, 257–285.

- Müller, Altarabisch = W.W. Müller. "Das Altarabische der Inschriften aus vorislamischer Zeit", in: GAP 30–36.
- Müller-Kessler, Grammatik = C. Müller-Kessler. Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen. Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 1991.
- Muraoka, GEA = T. Muraoka and B. Porten. A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic. Leiden – New York: Brill, 1998.
- Muraoka, Qumran = T. Muraoka. A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Murre-van den Berg, Urmia = H.L. Murre-van den Berg. From Spoken to Written Language. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1999.
- Mutzafi, Maha Khtaya = H. Mutzafi. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Maha Khtaya d-Baz", in: JSS XLV/2 (2000) 293–322.
- Mutzafi, Aradhin = H. Mutzafi. "On the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Aradhin and its Dialectal Affinities", in: Bobzin, Sprich doch ... 479–488.
- Mutzafi, Barzani = H. Mutzafi. "Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic and its dialects", in: Mediterranean Language Review 14 (2002) 41–70.
- Mutzafi, Koy Sanġaq = H. Mutzafi. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Koy Sanġaq. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004.
- Mutzafi, Features = H. Mutzafi. "Features of the Verbal System in the Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Koy Sanġaq and Their Areal Parallels", in: JAOS 124.2 (2004) 249–264.
- Mutzafi, Betanure = H. Mutzafi. The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betanure. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.
- Mutzafi, Trans-Zab = H. Mutzafi. "Trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic", in: BSOAS 71.3 (2008) 409–431.
- Mutzafi, Sat = H. Mutzafi. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sat (Hakkāri, Turkey)", in: Khan, Dialect Studies 19–37.
- Napiorkowska, Diyana = L. Napiorkowska. A Grammar of the Christian Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Diyana-Zariwaw. Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Narrog, Modality = H. Narrog. "On Defining Modality again", in: Language Sciences 27 (2005) 165–192.
- Naveh, Tel Arad = J. Naveh. "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Arad", in: Y. Aharoni et al. Arad Inscriptions. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Israel Exploration Society, 1986, 153–174.
- Naveh – Shaked, Bactria = J. Naveh and S. Shaked. Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (fourth century B.C.E.) from the Khalili Collections. London: The Khalili Family Trust, 2012.
- Nebes, Tempus und Aspekt = N. Nebes (ed.). Tempus und Aspekt in den semitischen Sprachen. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999.

- Nöldeke, Urmia = T. Nöldeke. *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1868.
- Nöldeke, MG = T. Nöldeke. *Mandäische Grammatik*. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875.
- Nöldeke, SG = T. Nöldeke. *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*. (Reprint of the 1898 edition). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977.
- Padua = E. Bresciani. "Papiri aramaici", in: *Revista degli studi orientali* 35 (1960) 11–24.
- Panoussi, Senaya = E. Panoussi. "On the Senaya Dialect", in: *Heinrichs, Studies* 107–129.
- Pennacchietti, Preterito = F.A. Pennacchietti. "Il preterito neoaramaico con pronome oggetto", in: *ZDMG* 144.2 (1994) 259–283.
- Pitard, Damascus = W.T. Pitard. *Ancient Damascus*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987.
- Poizat, Pioz = B. Poizat. "La Complainte sur la Peste de Pioz", in: *Heinrichs, Studies* 161–179.
- Prochazka, Bahrain = T. Prochazka. "The Shī'i-Dialects of Bahrain", in: *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 6 (1981) 16–56.
- Rhétoré, Grammaire = P.J. Rhétoré. *Grammaire de la Langue Soureth*. Mossoul: Imprimerie des Peres Dominicains, 1912.
- Ritter, Texte = H. Ritter. *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr 'Abdīn. A: Vols 1–3: Texte*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967–1971.
- Ritter, Gr. = H. Ritter. *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr 'Abdīn. C: Vol. 5: Grammatik*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990.
- Rogland, Remarks = M. Rogland. "Remarks on the Aramaic Verbal System", in: M.F.J. Baasten / W.Th. van Peursen (eds). *Hamlet on a Hill*. Leuven: Peeters, 2003, 421–432.
- Rosén, Tenses = H.B. Rosén. "On the use of the tenses in the Aramaic of Daniel", in: *JSS* 6 (1966) 183–203.
- Rubin, l-/n- = A.D. Rubin. "On the Third Person Performative l-/n- in Aramaic, and an Ethiopic Parallel", in: *ANES* 40 (2007) 1–28.
- Rundgren, Verbalsystem = F. Rundgren. "Das altsyrische Verbalsystem", in: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Upsaliensis* Jan. 1958–Dec. 1960, 49–75.
- Rybak, Nedarim = S.F. Rybak. *The Aramaic Dialect of Nedarim (Diss.)*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1980.
- Sabar, Midrash = Y. Sabar. *Pəšaṭ Wayəḥi Bəšallāḥ. A Neo-Aramaic Midrash on Beshallāḥ*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976.
- Saq. = J.B. Segal. *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqāra*. London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1983.
- Schlesinger, Satzlehre = M. Schlesinger. *Satzlehre der aramäischen Sprache des babylonischen Talmuds* (Reprint of the 1928 edition). Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1995.
- Schulthess, Grammatik = F. Schulthess. *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Reprint of the 1924 edition). Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 1982.

- Schwiderski, Inschriften = D. Schwiderski. Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. Vol. 2. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
- Shepherd, vSB = M.B. Shepherd. The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.
- Sidra = Sch. Ochser. “Sidra di Nischmata. Transkribiert, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen”, in: ZDMG 61 (1907) 145–177, 357–369.
- Siegal, qṭīl lī = E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal. “The Origin and the Typology of the Pattern qṭīl lī in Syriac and Babylonian Aramaic”, in: A. Maman et. al. (eds). Sha’arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Jewish Languages in Honor of Moshe Bar-Asher, vol. 11. Jerusalem: The Biliak Institute, 2007, 360–392.
- Siegal, Passiveness = E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal. “On the Passiveness of one Pattern in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic”, in: JSS LVI (2011) 111–143.
- Siegal, JBA = E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal. Introduction to the Grammar of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
- Siegal, qṭīl lī II = E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal. “From a Non-Argument-Dative to an Argument-Dative: The character and origin of the qṭīl lī construction in Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic”, in: Folia Orientalia 51 (2014) 59–101.
- Sinha, Bēšpən = J. Sinha. Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Bēšpən. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000.
- von Soden, GAG = W. von Soden. Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik (3rd ed.). Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995.
- Sokoloff, JBA = M. Sokoloff. “Jewish Babylonian Aramaic”, in: Weninger, Sem. Lang. 660–670.
- Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyrus = W. Spiegelberg. Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek. Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhardt, 1902.
- Spitaler, Grammatik = A. Spitaler. Grammatik des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma’lūla (Antilibanon; Reprint of the 1938 edition). Nendeln: Kraus Reprint LTD, 1966.
- TAD I–IV = B. Porten and A. Yardeni. A Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. 4 vols. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1986–1999.
- Talay, C. Tiyyari = Sh. Talay. “The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of the Tiyyari Assyrian Christians in Syria: With Special Attention to their Phonological Characteristics”, in: Khan, Dialect Studies 39–63.
- Talay, Khabur = Sh. Talay. Die neuaramäischen Dialekte der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordsyrien. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.
- Talay, Turoyo = Sh. Talay (ed.). Šlomo Surayt. Ein Einführungskurs ins Surayt-Aramäische (Turoyo). Istanbul: Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 2017.
- Taylor, Diglossia = D.G.K. Taylor. “Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia”, in: Adams, Bilingualism 298–331.
- Vita Eph. = “Das Leben des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers”, in: Brockelmann, SG 23–43.

- Weitzman, Old Testament = M.P. Weitzman. *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Weninger, Sem. Lang. = S. Weninger (ed.). *The Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.
- Wesseliuss, Subjunctive = J.W. Wesseliuss. "A Subjunctive in the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum", in: *JJS* 35 (1984) 196–199.
- Woidich, Ägyptisch-Arabisch = M. Woidich. "Das Ägyptisch-Arabisch", in: *HAD* 207–242.
- Wright, Acts = W. Wright. *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*. 2 vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1871.
- Younansardaroud, Sardarid = H. Younansardaroud. "Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Särärid", in: Bobzin, *Sprich doch ...* 841–852.
- Younger, Origins = K.L. Younger. "Late Bronze Age / Iron Age Transition and the Origins of the Aramaeans", in: K.L. Younger (ed.). *Ugarit at Seventy-Five*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007, 131–174.

ANES = Ancient Near Eastern Studies.

AS = Aramaic Studies.

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

EJ = Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem: Keter, 1971.

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JJS = Journal of Jewish Studies.

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

JSJ = Journal for the Study of Judaism.

JSS = Journal of Semitic Studies.

Sem. = Semitica.

ZAW = Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

# Index of Modern Authors

- Bache, C. 4–6, 8, 10, 15  
 Barsky, E. 329  
 Bauer, H. 123, 137f, 144, 149, 156, 163  
 Beyer, K. 33, 37n69, 40n87, 167  
 Bhat, D.N.S. 23  
 Bombeck, S. 158, 201, 342n72, 352, 359, 396, 398  
 Boyarin, D. 402
- Cohen, D. 71n57, 172n11, 206n28, 484, 747  
 Comrie, B. 6  
 Cook, F.M. 34  
 Correll, C. 460, 488, 488n88, 498, 710f  
 Cowley, A.P. 104f
- Dalman, G. 212, 755  
 Degen, R. 55n20, 66  
 Driver, G.R. 73
- Fassberg, S.E. 21nf, 242, 771  
 Fox, S.E. 755n63, 796n97, 807
- Garbell, I. 826m124  
 Gianto, A. 62  
 Gzella, H. 53, 123, 144, 152n96, 155m101, 156, 162
- Häberl, C. 40, 501, 515  
 Healey, J.F. 319  
 Heinrichs, W. 739, 744f  
 Hoberman, R.D. 41, 785  
 Huehnergard, J. 25  
 Hug, V. 47, 49n6, 57f, 62
- Jastrow, O. 522m19, 533, 556, 584, 739n34  
 Joosten, J. 324n22+23, 331, 342, 348
- Kaufman, S. 288, 372, 402  
 Khan, G. 587, 591f, 602, 609, 619, 626f, 631, 643, 646, 651, 662, 669, 673, 678, 680, 686, 689, 722, 725f, 738, 775, 777, 805, 808  
 Kienast, B. 26  
 Kim, R. 402, 806  
 Klein, M.L. 195  
 Koschmieder, E. 3  
 Kottsieper, I. 52f, 64–66
- Krotkoff, G. 811  
 Kutscher, E.Y. 29m18, 73, 100n73, 230n20, 378m14  
 Kutyl, R.J. 206
- Leander, P. 76, 123, 137f, 144, 149, 156, 163  
 Li, T. 144f, 117, 123, 125, 126n43, 129, 137, 140n77, 148f, 155n102, 162–164  
 Loesov, S. 329  
 Lund, J.A. 212
- Maclean, A.J. 41, 747, 771  
 Macuch, R. 40, 290  
 Margolis, M. 260  
 Mengozzi, A. 430  
 Morgenstern, M. 36, 262  
 Morrison, C. 322, 324, 362  
 Muraoka, T. 58n28, 63, 78, 99  
 Mutzafi, H. 41f, 815f, 823
- Narrog, H. 6  
 Nöldeke, T. 290, 306, 322, 333, 358, 368m130, 381, 723f, 730, 738, 747, 771
- Pennacchietti, F.A. 766–769, 771, 773f
- Rhétoré, P.J. 734nb, 747n45, 753n54, 765, 767na, 770na, 771f  
 Ritter, H. 20, 519, 525n33, 533, 539, 551  
 Rogland, M. 56, 130, 144n80  
 Rosén, H.B. 113n10, 143f  
 Rubin, A.D. 25, 288n77  
 Rundgren, F. 323  
 Rybak, S.F. 37n66
- Sabar, Y. 407, 423  
 Schlesinger, M. 266, 379  
 Schulthess, F. 231, 756  
 Shepherd, M.B. 165  
 Siegal, E.A. 260, 266, 281, 288f, 378–380  
 Spitaler, A. 730n25
- Talay, Sh. 41, 539, 701m, 733nb, 747n44+46, 772, 777, 803ne, 809, 820
- Wesselius, J.W. 212n39

# Index of Languages and Dialects

## Aramaic

### *Classical*

Biblical Aramaic 12, 18, 27, 30f, 75, 111–165,  
176, 194, 371, 373f, 389f, 400f, 724m1,  
750, 755f, 785, 816

Christian Palestinian Aramaic 35f, 205,  
220, 223–258, 367f, 370f, 373, 375, 380f,  
382n27+28, 383f, 392f, 401f, 705, 724,  
724m1, 729f, 755f, 785, 789, 795

Hasmonean 31f, 34, 166–194, 221, 258, 371,  
373f, 382, 390–392, 399–401, 428,  
724m1, 756

Hatran 27, 33f, 288

Imperial Aramaic 29–34, 63, 68, 73–110,  
137, 163, 371f, 374, 377, 379, 388–390,  
399–403, 724m1, 729, 756f, 763f,  
784

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic 27, 35–37, 40,  
212n43, 259–289, 292, 316f, 319, 342,  
367f, 371, 377–381, 393–398, 400–402,  
703, 729, 738, 750, 754–757, 773,  
785–790, 796f, 796n97

Mandaic 27, 36–38, 40, 288, 290–317, 342,  
367f, 370–373, 376f, 379f, 383–385,  
395–398, 400–402, 712, 738, 754–757,  
766, 773, 787, 789f, 795f

Nabataean 32–34

Old Aramaic 28f, 34, 47–72, 108f, 162,  
371–373, 377, 380, 386–388, 390, 395,  
399–401, 756, 792f

Palmyrene 32–34

Samalian 27n8, 61, 287, 372

Samaritan 35f, 205, 220, 225, 230,  
370n3, 371, 384, 392f, 401, 705, 756,  
785

## Syriac

Old Syriac 33f, 38, 319, 321f, 324n22+23,  
329n31, 334n42, 336n51, 339n60,  
341n67+68, 342n74, 343n76+77,  
347–349, 350n97, 356n115, 363, 373, 401f  
Classical Syriac 33, 38f, 189, 201, 205,  
220, 288, 292, 318–369, 370–373, 376,  
378–386, 388, 392f, 396–398, 400–402,  
432, 435, 438n23, 450, 560, 582,  
702–705, 724

## Targumic

T. Jonathan 206, 382n28, 383, 383n36  
T. Neofiti 200f, 203n18, 205n21, 211n37,  
212, 219, 380  
T. Onqelos 200f, 205n21, 212, 380, 750  
T. Pent. (Genizah) 35, 195–222, 258, 279,  
370–373, 375, 391–393, 399, 428, 790  
T. Pseudo-Jonathan 200f, 205n21, 212,  
380, 382n28

## Modern<sup>1</sup>

Alqoṣ, C (17th cent.) 39, 42, 381n21, 430–452,  
616, 701, 703, 708f, 727, 734, 742, 744,  
747, 751, 756, 760, 764, 767–769, 772,  
775, 785, 788, 801, 803, 808, 810–812,  
822, 826

Alqoṣ, C (modern) 42, 704, 727f, 729n19,  
742, 744, 751, 753, 756n75, 760, 766,  
768f, 773, 775, 777, 780, 788, 801, 803,  
808, 810–812, 815, 822, 827

Amadiya, J 42, 702, 704, 723, 726–729, 732,  
741, 744, 750f, 753, 756n75, 759, 767f,  
770, 772–774, 778, 785, 788, 800, 802,  
815, 815n116, 826–828

Ankawa, C 42, 737, 740, 812

Aqra, C 42, 736, 740, 752, 801, 804, 812

Araḏin, J 42, 726n17, 727f, 767f, 772, 802

Araḏin, C 42, 709, 723, 726–729, 733, 743,  
751, 753, 756n75, 760, 768f, 771–775,  
779, 788, 801, 804f, 808, 811f, 815, 819,  
821–823, 826

---

1 C = Christian, J = Jewish, M = Muslim.

- Arbel, J 23, 42, 587–618, 669, 703, 716–718, 726n17, 727, 735, 739, 742, 744, 746, 749, 752–754, 756, 759, 762, 766, 768, 770, 773, 788, 800, 802, 816–818, 821, 824f
- Armoṭa, C 42, 726n17, 728f, 731, 736, 740, 742, 744–746, 749, 752, 756n75, 760, 769f, 772, 775, 777, 788, 801, 804, 808–814, 822f
- Atruš, J 42
- Baraše, J 42
- Barwar, C 3, 20–24, 41, 619–672, 704, 707, 718–721, 727, 729, 733, 743, 751, 760, 768–773, 775, 777, 779, 789, 801, 803, 809, 815, 827f
- Barzan, J 42, 727, 735, 740–743, 746, 752, 756n75, 759, 762f, 766f, 770, 773f, 776, 788f, 800, 802, 814, 825
- Bašqala, J 42
- Bax'a, M. *See* Western Neo-Aramaic
- Baz, C 41
- Baznaye, C 42
- Bedyal, C 42, 737, 740, 804, 812
- Beḡil, J 42, 727, 735, 743, 752, 756n75, 759, 767, 770, 773f, 776, 788f, 800, 802, 814, 825
- Beşpen, C 42, 703, 727, 729m19, 733, 743, 751, 753, 756n75, 761, 767, 770, 773, 775, 788, 801, 803, 810, 813, 826
- Betanure, J 42, 703, 726n17, 727, 732, 741, 744, 746, 750, 750n49, 751, 753, 756n75, 759, 767f, 770, 773f, 778, 788
- Biḡar, J 42
- Bohtan, C 41f, 726n17, 727, 729m19, 737, 740, 743, 749, 752, 754, 756, 756n75, 760, 762, 764, 766, 770n4, 772n80, 788f, 791, 801, 803, 805, 807f, 819–822
- Čalla, J 42, 702–704, 726n17, 727, 734, 741, 744, 750n49, 751, 753, 756n75, 759, 767, 770, 773f, 778, 788, 799, 802, 814f
- Diyana-Zariwaw, C 42, 727, 729, 731, 733, 743, 751, 756n75, 761, 768f, 772, 777, 788, 801, 804, 808f, 811f, 819, 821–823, 826
- Diz, C 41
- Dobe, J 42, 735, 740, 802
- Dohok, J 42, 726n17, 727f, 735, 740f, 744, 751, 753, 756n75, 759, 767f, 773f, 788, 800, 802, 812, 815n16, 825
- Gaznax, C 42, 727–729, 733, 743, 767, 770, 777, 788, 801, 803, 810n109
- Gavilan, C 41
- Gawar, C 41
- Gawar, J 42
- Ğilu, C 41, 703, 727, 729m19, 733, 743, 747, 751, 756n75, 760, 768f, 771–773, 775f, 801, 803, 805, 809, 826
- Ğubb'adin, M. *See* Western Neo-Aramaic
- Gzira, J 42
- Ḥalabğa, J. *See* Sulemaniyya
- Halmun, C 41, 809
- Harbole, C 42
- Ḥassana, C 42, 788f, 791, 813
- Hertevin, C 41, 556–586, 705, 715f, 727, 729–731, 737, 740, 744f, 749, 751, 758, 761–764, 766, 768, 771, 773, 775, 784–786, 788f, 800, 803, 806f, 819–825, 830
- Išši, C 42
- Judi dialects, C. *See* Beşpen, Gaznax, Mer, Išši, Baznaye, Harbole, Ḥassana
- Kara, J 42
- Karamleš, C 42, 733, 737f, 740, 742, 751, 753, 760, 768f, 775, 777, 788, 801, 803, 811f, 811n10, 822, 827m125
- Kerend, J 42, 703, 727, 729m18, 731, 752, 757f, 761, 763–766, 768, 770, 773, 779–781, 800, 802, 816–818
- Koy Sanḡaq, J 21, 42, 703f, 726n17, 727, 734, 738, 742, 745f, 749, 752, 754, 756, 756n75, 758, 762, 768, 770, 773, 776, 788, 800, 802, 817f, 825
- Koy Sanḡaq, C 42, 736, 740, 801, 804, 812, 826
- Lewen, C 41, 809
- Lišana Deni dialects, J. *See* Betanure, Čalla, Gzira, Amadiya, Dohok, Nerwa, Zaxo, Baraše, Šuxo, Atruš, Kara, Aradīn, Mangeš



- Maha Xtaya, C 728, 730–733, 743, 751, 760, 768f, 771f, 775, 801, 803, 809, 826
- Ma'lula, C. *See* Western Neo-Aramaic
- Mandaic (Khorramshahr) 40, 501–518, 702–705, 711f, 730–732, 737, 739f, 742, 744f, 750f, 753, 756, 761f, 766, 773, 782–788, 792, 794–796, 801, 804, 824f
- Mangeš, J 42, 741, 788
- Mer, C 42
- Midin, C 519, 520n8, 521f, 530f, 533, 540, 547, 549f, 553, 730n24, 739n34, 768, 771, 805n99+103
- Midyad, C. *See* Turoyo
- Mlahso, C 40f, 702, 704f, 712–715, 725, 730–732, 737, 739f, 743–745, 747, 749–751, 761f, 766, 771, 773–776, 784–788, 793–797, 800, 803–807, 823–825, 830
- Nerwa, J (17th cent.) 39, 407–429, 702–709, 712, 722, 727, 734f, 739, 741, 744, 750f, 753, 756, 759, 764f, 767, 770, 773f, 785, 788, 792, 799, 802, 814f, 824f
- Pengwin, J 42
- Pešabur, C 42, 727, 729, 729n19, 734, 742, 751, 769, 788, 801, 803, 810–812, 822
- Pioz, C (18th cent.) 42, 733, 751, 757, 768f, 772, 775, 801, 803, 808, 810–812, 822
- Qaraqoş, C 42, 702–704, 723–729, 731, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 747, 750n49, 751, 753, 755f, 756n75, 760, 768–770, 773, 775, 777, 785, 787f, 790f, 801, 804, 808, 810–813, 822, 827
- Qočanəş, C 41
- Rawanduz, J 42, 736, 802, 805
- Rustaqa, J 42, 727f, 734, 736, 740, 742, 746na, 752, 754, 756n75, 758, 761–764, 768, 770, 788, 800, 802, 805, 816–818
- Salamas, J 42
- Salamas, C 41, 742, 769, 803, 809, 812f
- Sanandağ, J 42, 703f, 723, 726f, 729n18, 731, 736, 739, 742, 744–746, 749, 752, 754, 756n75, 757f, 761, 763–766, 768, 770, 773, 779–781, 788, 800, 802, 805, 816–818, 824f
- Sanandağ, C 42, 728f, 731, 736, 740, 741n40, 743f, 746, 750, 756n75, 760, 762, 766, 769, 772–775, 788f, 801, 804, 810, 812–814, 819–822, 827f
- Sandu, J 42, 735, 740, 802
- Saqqiz, J 42, 736, 740, 742, 744f, 788
- Sara, C 41
- Sardarid, C 41, 702, 733, 739, 742, 751, 788, 791, 800, 803, 819–821
- Sat, C 41, 727, 733, 743, 751, 760, 768f, 775, 777, 801, 803, 808, 826
- Sipurghan, C 41
- Solduz, J 42
- Solduz, C 41
- Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabğa, J 42, 43n97, 673–700, 703, 705, 721f, 724, 727, 731, 736, 739, 742, 745, 749, 752, 754, 757f, 761, 763–766, 768, 770, 773, 779, 781, 788, 800, 802, 805, 813, 816–818, 824f
- Šahe, J 42, 727, 735, 743, 752, 756n75, 759, 767, 770, 773f, 776, 788f, 800, 802, 814, 825
- Šaqlawa, J 42
- Šeno, J 42
- Šuxo, J 42
- Telkepe, C 42, 703, 727, 729n19, 734, 742, 744, 750n49, 751, 753, 756n75, 760, 768f, 775, 788, 801, 803, 808, 810–812, 815, 822
- Timur, C 41
- Tiyari, C 41, 701, 727f, 729n19, 743, 788, 809, 811, 813, 819
- Turoyo, C 20, 40f, 519–555, 702–705, 712–715, 725, 730–732, 737–740, 742, 747, 749–751, 753, 756f, 759, 761, 763f, 766, 768, 771, 773, 775f, 784–788, 793–796, 800, 803–807, 816, 823–825, 830
- Txuma, C 41, 704, 727–729, 731, 733, 743, 747, 749, 751, 760, 769f, 777, 788, 801, 803, 808f, 813, 819, 821, 827
- Urmia, J 41, 728, 731f, 742, 745, 747, 752, 754, 756n75, 757, 761, 763f, 766f, 770, 773, 778, 800, 802, 816–818, 821, 826
- Urmia, C 41, 723, 727–729, 731f, 739, 742, 744f, 751, 753, 755, 756n75, 760, 767, 769f, 772f, 775f, 788, 791, 800, 803, 808f, 812–814, 819–823, 827f

- Western Neo-Aramaic, C 39f, 453–500,  
702–705, 709–711, 730, 732, 737,  
740, 744, 746, 749–751, 753, 756, 759,  
761f, 766, 773, 779, 782–790, 792f,  
795f, 799, 801, 804–806, 812, 826,  
830
- Xabur dialects, C. *See* Tiyaṛi, Txuma, Barwar,  
Ğilu, Maha Xtaya, Baz, Diz, Gawar,  
Qočaneş, Sara, Timur, Sat, Halmun,  
Lewen
- Xanaqin, J 42
- Zaxo, J 42, 741, 767f, 788, 802, 815
- Zaxo, C 42
- Non-Aramaic*
- Akkadian 25f, 27n6, 30, 37, 108, 158, 287,  
370, 394, 754, 755n63
- Ammonite 26
- Amorite 26
- Arabic
- (North) Arabic 25f, 32, 34f, 38–40, 43,  
75, 84n25, 89n38, 212, 212n41, 287, 371,  
382n23, 383n31, 394, 400, 453f, 459,  
466f, 471, 488n88, 498f, 545, 725, 740,  
750, 754, 766, 772, 784f, 794n94, 804,  
823, 785n89
- South Arabic 26
- Eblaite 25f
- Egyptian 30, 88, 386
- English 4, 7, 12, 19, 493, 724, 748
- Ethiopian 25f, 383
- French 19, 382
- German 3, 19, 382
- Greek 32–34, 36, 38, 148, 226–229, 232–236,  
238, 240–246, 248–257, 339n60, 342,  
347, 373, 375, 393
- Hebrew 22, 26, 30, 35f, 53, 69, 120, 172, 186,  
197–216, 218–222, 247, 273n41, 372f, 378  
(modern), 383, 391, 400, 419, 603n51,  
700, 750, 754
- Italian 382, 794n94
- Kayardild (Australian language) 23
- Latin 17, 34, 386, 778, 823
- Mariote 26
- Moabitic 26, 53
- Persian 30 (old), 37 (old), 38n78, 40, 43, 378  
(old), 514, 766
- Phoenician 26f, 30
- Şayhadic 26
- Spanish 382, 794n94
- Ugaritic 25f, 754

I NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

*Edited by*

MARIBEL FIERRO · M. ŞÜKRÜ HANİOĞLU  
D. FAIRCHILD RUGGLES · FLORIAN SCHWARZ

*Volume 187*

In *The Verbal Systems of Aramaic*, Bruweleit analyses the Aramaic verbal systems from Old Aramaic to the modern dialects. He examines whether the verb forms are to be analysed as aspectual, temporal or modal and decides whether the verbal systems are to be regarded as aspect-, tense- or mood-prominent. On a diachronic level, the study investigates which conclusions the verbal systems allow regarding the classification and history of Aramaic. The work offers a hypothesis that explains the intricate use of the participle in Biblical Aramaic and shows that the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects can be traced back to a common proto-dialect that split into at least four branches from which in turn the modern NENA dialects emerged.

**Stefan Bruweleit**, PhD, is a linguist with a research focus on Aramaic and Arabic. His publications include a monograph on the Arabic dialect of Beirut (*Aspect, Tense and Action in the Arabic Dialect of Beirut*, Brill, 2015).

HdO



HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK  
*Handbook of Oriental Studies*, a careful selection of scholarly reference works of lasting value, under the editorship of major scholars in the field

ISBN 978-90-04-71415-1



9 789004 714151

[brill.com/ho1](http://brill.com/ho1)

ISSN 0169-9423