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LANGUAGE CHANGE IN THE WAKE OF EMPIRE:

SYRIAC IN ITS GRECO-ROMAN CONTEXT

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Abstract

Greek-Aramaic bilingualism was wide-spread throughout Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. Among the various Aramaic dialects, Syriac underwent a particularly intense and prolonged period of contact with Greek. This contact led to changes in both languages. The present study provides a new analysis of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek, from the earliest attestations of Syriac at the turn of the Common Era up until the beginning of the eighth century when the socio-linguistic situation changed due to the Arab conquests. More specifically, the study argues that Syriac is the outcome of a particular socio-linguistic situation in which inherited Aramaic material was augmented and adapted through contact with Greek. Augmentation refers to the fact that Syriac-speakers added a large number of Greek loanwords to their inherited Aramaic vocabulary. Greek loanwords in Syriac are the subject of Chapters §4-7 of the study. Adaptation, in contrast, refers to instances in which speakers of Syriac replicated inherited Aramaic material on the pattern of Greek. This type of change, which is termed grammatical replication in this study, is the subject of Chapters §8-10. It is proposed that the augmentation and adaptation of inherited Aramaic material was a factor in the development of Syriac as it is now known.

This study is located at the intersection of two fields: contact linguistics and the study of ancient languages. It is based on the premise that these two fields can, and should, exist in a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship. To this end, the study analyzes the relevant data within a contact-linguistic framework. This enables a more precise description of the changes than has previously been possible. In addition, by analyzing the data from the perspective of contact linguistics, the study has been able to illuminate part of the previously hidden socio-

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historical context of ancient Syriac-speakers. This study also shows how an ancient language such as Syriac, with its large and diverse written record, can inform the field of contact linguistics as well as historical linguistics more generally. It documents in detail various types of contact-induced change over a relatively long period of time with a wealth of data. Of particular interest to the field of contact linguistics, the study presents several examples of the transfer of semantic-conceptual grammatical structure in a contact situation in which the agents of change were linguistically dominant in the recipient language.

Abbreviations for Bibliography

AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung.*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CAL	Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL), accessible online at <http://cal.huc.edu/>.
CBM	Chester Beatty monographs.
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca.
CPG	M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I-V (vol. V: M. Geerard and F. Glorie; vol. III A: J. Noret).
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus (des séances) de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres / Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus.*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSS	Cistercian Studies Series.
ELO	Elementa Linguarum Orientis.
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses.*
FC	Fontes Christiani.
GEDSH	S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, L. Van Rompay (eds.). 2011. *The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. Piscataway.
GOFS	Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe. Syriaca.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies.
Hugoye	*Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* [http://syrcom.cua.edu/syrcom/Hugoye].

JA	*Journal asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies.*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux.*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies.*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies.*
KAI	Donner and Röllig 1969-1973.
LAWS	Linguistic studies in ancient West Semitic.
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library.
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin.*
MPIL	Monographs of the Peshiṭta Institute Leiden.
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien.
OC	*Oriens Christianus.*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.
PAT	Hillers and Cussini 1996.
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium (neue Serie).
PO	Patrologia Orientalis.
PS	Patrologia Syriaca.
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*

SC	Sources chrétiennes.
TAD	Porten and Yardeni 1986-1993.
TEG	Traditio Exegetica Graeca.
TH	Théologie historique
WO	*Welt* des Orients
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.*
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für Antike und Christentum / Journal of Ancient Christianity.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*

Abbreviations in Linguistic Glosses

All examples larger than one word are provided with word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. Some examples are given inline in square brackets, especially for short examples or examples in footnotes. The Leipzig Glossing Rules have been followed as far as possible. It has, however, been necessary to introduce a number of categories for the Semitic languages. A full list of abbreviations occurring in linguistic glosses is as follows:

1	first person	DAT	dative
2	second person	DOM	direct object marker
3	third person	EMP	*status emphaticus*
ABS	*status absolutus*	EX	existential
ABSTRACT	Aramaic abstract suffix *ūt*	F	feminine
ACC	accusative	GEN	genitive
ACT	active	GN	geographic name
ADJ	Aramaic adjectival suffix *āy*	IMP	imperative
ADV	adverb	IND	indicative
AOR	aorist	INT	interrogative marker
ART	Greek definite article	M	masculine
CND	conditional	N	neuter
COM	comparative	NEG	negation
CON	*status constructus*	NML	nominalizer, i.e., the Aramaic particle *ðī* (Wertheimer 2001b)
CONT	continuous		

NOM	nominative		PN	personal name
PAST	past tense		QUOT	quotative
PL	plural		REL	relative
PART	participle		SG	singular
PARTICLE	particle		SUF	suffix-conjugation
PASS	passive		VBLZ	verbalizer
PRE	prefix-conjugation			

Abbreviations and Citations of Biblical Books

Following the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), Biblical books are abbreviated as follows:

HEBREW BIBLE / OLD TESTAMENT

Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Exod	Exodus	Song	Song of Solomon
Lev	Leviticus	Is	Isaiah
Num	Numbers	Jer	Jeremiah
Deut	Deuteronomy	Lam	Lamentations
Josh	Joshua	Ezek	Ezekiel
Judg	Judges	Dan	Daniel
Ruth	Ruth	Hos	Hosea
1Sam	1 Samuel	Joel	Joel
2Sam	2 Samuel	Amos	Amos
1Kgs	1 Kings	Obad	Obadiah
2Kgs	2 Kings	Jon	Jonah
1Chron	1 Chronicles	Mic	Micah
2Chron	2 Chronicles	Nah	Nahum
Ezra	Ezra	Hab	Habakkuk
Neh	Nehemiah	Zeph	Zephaniah
Esth	Esther	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah

Ps	Psalms	Mal	Malachi
Prov	Proverbs		

Eph	Ephesians	2Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1Thess	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
2Thess	2 Thessalonians		

Biblical texts are not provided with publication information. The Syriac Old Testament is cited according to the Leiden edition where it exists and otherwise according to the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition (1905-1920). The Syriac Gospels are cited according to Kiraz 1996, with the sigla C referring to the Curetonianus ms., S to the Sinaiticus ms., and P to the Peshiṭta. Other texts of the New Testament are cited according to the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition (1905-1920). The Hebrew Bible is cited according to the fourth-edition of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS). The Greek Septuagint is cited according to Ralphs' *Septuaginta* (1935). The Greek New Testament is cited according to the fourth revised edition of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft / United Bible Societies, *The Greek New Testament* (1993).

Transliteration

The Syriac consonants are transliterated ʾ, *b*, *g*, *d*, *h*, *w*, *z*, *ḥ*, *ṭ*, *y*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, ʿ, *p*, *ṣ*, *q*, *r*, *š*, and *t*. The fricative realization of the non-emphatic voiceless stops *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, and *t* are transliterated *b̠*, *ḡ*, *d̠*, *k̠*, *p̄*, and *t̠*, respectively (i.e. 'spirantization' or *rukkɔk̠ɔ*). The Syriac vowels are transliterated *a*, *ɔ*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. The symbol *ɔ* is used instead of the traditional *ā* (or *o* in West Syriac) because *ā* implies a quantitative distinction with *a* that is not synchronically accurate; historic **ā* had become *ɔ* already in early Syriac (Nöldeke 1904: §11; Boyarin 1978: 149). The symbol *e* is used for the vowel in the first syllable of *rešɔ* 'head' and *kepɔ* 'rock' in contrast with *ɛ* in *ḥɛlmɔ* 'dream' (on the history of this *e*, see Blau 1969).

The vowels in the Tiberian sub-linear system and the Babylonian supra-linear system are transliterated the same as Syriac, i.e., *a*, *ɔ*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* (Babylonian lacks *ɛ*). When indicated in the Babylonian system, the reduced vowel schwa is transliterated as *ə*; reduced vowels are not transliterated for the Tiberian system. In addition, *matres lectionis* are not represented in transliteration for either system.

Mandaic is transliterated according to the system developed by Macuch in the *Mandaic Dictionary* (Drower and Macuch 1963) and his *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (1965); note that the *matres lectionis* ʾ, *w*, and *y* are transliterated as **a**, **u**, and **i**, respectively. The only departure from Macuch's system is the use of **e** for ʿ following Burtea (2004: 92-93; 2011) and Voigt (2007: 150).

With the individual Semitic languages, one of the standard transliteration systems is generally followed: Hebrew according to Huehnergard 2002a (with the difference that reduced vowels are translitered as *ə*, *ă*, *ŏ*, and *ĕ*); Gəʿəz according to Leslau 1987; and Arabic according

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to Fox 2003: xvi-xvii.

The consonants of Proto-Semitic are reconstructed as follows: *ʾ, *ʿ, *b, *d, *ð, *g, *ɣ, *h, *ḥ, *x, *ẖ (see Huehergard 2003), *k, *ḳ, *l, *ɬ, *ɬ̣, *m, *n, *p, *r, *s, *ᵗs, *ᵗṣ, *t, *ṭ, *θ, *θ̣, *w, *y, and *ᵈz, and the vowels are *a, *i, *u, *ā, *ī, and *ū. Note that the sibilants *s, *ɬ, and *ᵗs correspond to traditional *š, *ś, and *s, respectively (as well as to s_1, s_2, and s_3; for the reconstruction of the sibilants, see Cantineau 1951; Faber 1981; 1985; Steiner 1977; 1982; Voigt 1979; 1992).

1   Introduction

"Language has a setting" (Sapir 1921: 207)

It is well-documented that one of the primary catalysts of intense language contact is the expansion of empire. This is true not only of recent history, as in the many examples of Western European colonization in the Americas, Oceania, India, and Africa, but it is equally applicable to the more remote past. An exemplary case, or better cases, of language contact in the wake of expanding empires is Aramaic. Aramaic is a member of the Semitic language family and is related to modern languages such as Hebrew, Arabic, and Amharic.[1] It is first attested in written records from the tenth century BCE in Syria and Mesopotamia and has continued to be spoken in this region until the present day. Throughout its long history, Aramaic has been in contact with a variety of languages due to the expansions of empires. These include Akkadian under the Neo-Assyrian (10th-7th cent. BCE) and Neo-Babylonian (7th-6th cent. BCE) Empires, Iranian under the Achaemenid (6th-4th cent. BCE), Parthian (3rd cent. BCE-3rd cent. CE), and Sassanian (3rd cent.-7th cent. CE) Empires, Greek under the Seleucid (4th-1st cent. BCE) and (Eastern) Roman (1st cent. BCE-7th cent. CE) Empires, and Arabic beginning with the Arab conquests in the seventh century and continuing until today. Each of these languages – and so also each of these empires – left its imprint on Aramaic in some way. The present study focuses on one particular episode in this long history of Aramaic language contact: the Syriac dialect of Aramaic in contact with Greek.

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[1] Overviews of the various dialects of Aramaic are available in Beyer 1986; Brock 1989; Fitzmyer 1979b; Kaufman 1992; 1997.

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Syriac is the best documented dialect of Aramaic. It likely originated in or around Edessa (Syriac *ʾurhɔy*), present-day Urfa in south-eastern Turkey. From there, it spread, as a language of Christianity, over most of Mesopotamia and Syria reaching as far as Ethiopia, India, and Central Asia. Syriac is first attested in non-Christian tomb inscriptions that date from the first to the third centuries.[2] The majority of Syriac literature, however, stems from the Christian communities that emerged in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria by the second century.[3] The 'Golden Age' of Syriac spanned from the fourth to the seventh centuries and produced a considerable corpus of original prose and poetry as well as translations from Greek and occasionally Middle Persian. After the Arab conquests in the seventh century, Syriac was gradually replaced by Arabic though it lived on for several centuries and even witnessed a renaissance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[4] Alongside the numerous Neo-Aramaic dialects, classical Syriac still functions today as a liturgical and literary language for Syriac Christians both in the Middle East and the worldwide diasporas.[5]

Throughout its long history, Syriac has been in contact with an array of different languages. In addition to inheriting words from Akkadian, Sumerian (via Akkadian), and different forms of Iranian, Syriac transferred words from a variety of languages, including Hebrew, Middle Persian, and – later in its history – Arabic. The language that has had the most

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[2] Edited in Drijvers and Healey 1999.

[3] Unfortunately, there is no up-to-date history of Syriac literature (so also Van Rompay 2000: sec. 1; 2007a: sec. 9); for now, see Assemani 1719-1728; Barsoum 2003; Baumstark 1922; Brock 1997; Macuch 1976; Ortiz de Urbina 1958; Wright 1894. In addition, the recently published *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (*GEDSH*) contains entries for most authors of Classical Syriac (Brock, Butts, Kiraz, and Van Rompay 2010). For a valuable bibliography of published Syriac text editions, see Brock *apud* Muraoka 2005: 144-155.

[4] For this renaissance, see recently Teule and Tauwinkl 2010.

[5] Brock 1989a; Kiraz 2007.

significant impact on Syriac is, however, Greek. It is widely acknowledged that a prolonged period of contact with Greek resulted not only in a large number of loanwords in Syriac but also in changes to Syriac morphology and syntax. In the preface to his classic treatment of Syriac grammar, for instance, Nöldeke states, "[t]he influence of Greek is shown directly, not merely in the intrusion of many Greek words, but also in the imitation of the Greek use of words, Greek idiom and Greek construction, penetrating to the most delicate tissues of the language (*bis ins feinste Geäder der Sprache*)" (1904: XXXII).

Although it is widely acknowledged that Syriac was influenced by Greek, the specific contours of this interaction remain unclear. The present study aims to present a fresh analysis of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek. More specifically, the study intends to show that Syriac is the outcome of a particular socio-linguistic situation in which inherited Aramaic material was augmented and adapted through contact with Greek. Augmentation refers to the fact that speakers of Syriac added a large number of Greek loanwords to their inherited Aramaic vocabulary. Greek loanwords in Syriac are the subject of Chapters §4-7. Adaptation, in contrast, refers to instances in which speakers of Syriac replicated inherited Aramaic material on Greek. This type of change, which will be termed grammatical replication in this study, is the subject of Chapters §8-10.

The time frame for the present study extends from the earliest attestations of Syriac at the beginning of the Common Era up to Yaꜥqub of Edessa who died in 708. The Arab conquests in the seventh century (Seleucia-Ctesiphon fell in 637) set into action a number of changes that would dramatically affect the Syriac-speaking population, including its interaction with the Greco-Roman world. These changes, however, took time. In the realm of language use, the Syriac *Chronicle of 1234* reports that Greek was not officially replaced by Arabic as

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the language of civil service until 708.[6] Eventually, however, the context of Syriac and Greek interaction changed due to the Arab conquests. Given the coincidence of the date of the introduction of Arabic as the language of civil service with the date of his death, Yaꜥqub of Edessa provides a convenient end point for this study.[7] This is not, however, to imply that Syriac and Greek did not continue to be in contact past the beginning of the eighth century. In fact, the contrary is certainly known to be true. The later contact between Greek and Syriac can be illustrated by the role that Syriac-speakers played in the Greco-Arabic translation movement in the early ꜥAbbāsid period (8th-10th cent.).[8] Or, to take even later examples, a number of previously unattested Greek loanwords appear in the poems of two fifteenth-century authors, Isḥaq Shbadnaya of the Church of the East and Dawid Puniqoyo of the Syriac Orthodox Church.[9] These different historical contexts, however, call for separate studies.

This study of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek is both comparative and diachronic. It is comparative in that it locates Syriac within the context of its Late Aramaic sister dialects of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, and Mandaic.[10] It will be shown that Syriac as well as Christian Palestinian Aramaic differ from their sister dialects of Late Aramaic due to contact with Greek. This study is also diachronic in that particular attention is paid to changes in the way Syriac interacted with Greek over time. While diachrony has played a role in some studies

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[6] The Syriac text is found in Chabot 1916: 298.28-299.1.
[7] For a similar cut-off date, see Brock 1996: 253. An additional reason to set 708 as an endpoint is that many Syriac texts from the eighth century and onwards have not yet been edited (cf. Brock 2010: 124).
[8] In general, see Gutas 1998.
[9] For the former author, see recently Carlson 2011, esp. at 200 n. 41 (Greek loanwords); for the latter, see Butts, in *GEDSH*, 177 and (with more detail) Butts 2009b.
[10] For the importance of this, see Brock 1996: 262.

of Syriac-Greek language contact, especially those by Brock, more work remains to be done in this area.[11]

There are at least two loci for contact between Syriac and Greek. The first is interactions between Syriac-speakers, Greek-speakers, and bilingual Syriac-Greek-speakers. Syriac was the native language of a large portion of the population in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia; Greek was the language of Empire. Given this situation, many native Syriac-speakers learned Greek to one degree or another, with some becoming fully bilingual whereas others had a more limited knowledge of Greek.[12] In addition, even individuals who had no knowledge of Greek would likely have been exposed to the language to some degree. Ephrem (d. 373), the most well-known Syriac author, for instance, is usually said to have known little to no Greek,[13] but he must have at the very least seen written Greek, since the baptistery in the Church at Nisibis where he was a deacon contains a Greek building inscription dated to 359/360.[14] This Greek inscription illustrates how far Greek had penetrated into the Syriac-speaking world. The interactions between Syriac-speakers, Greek-speakers, and bilingual Syriac-Greek-speakers provide one locus for the introduction of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek.

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[11] In one of his earliest papers on Greek-Syriac language contact, Brock states, "I have mentioned here only some of the more outstanding features a diachronic study of Greek words in Syriac would throw up; it remains a subject that has been almost completely untouched" (1975: 90). For Brock's diachronic work on Syriac-Greek language contact, see 1975; 1982; 1990 [diachronic changes more generally]; 1996; 1999-2000; 2003 [diachronic changes more generally]; 2004; 2010.

[12] This topic is examined in detail in §3.4 below.

[13] See, e.g., Pat-El 2006: 43. For additional references, see below at pp. 403-405.

[14] Bell 1982: 143-145 with plates 70-83; Canali De Rossi 2004: 39 (no. 62).

A second locus for contact between Greek and Syriac is translation. A small body of Syriac literature was translated into Greek, including the *Dialogue on Fate* attributed to Bardaiṣan (d. 222), works by Ephrem (d. 373), the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (written in the late seventh century), the works of Isḥaq of Nineveh (late seventh century), as well as various hagiographical texts. A much larger body of literature was translated from Greek into Syriac from the late fourth to the late ninth century.[15] These translations fall into three broad categories: 1. Biblical, 2. Patristic, including Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Evagrius of Pontus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Severus of Antioch, and Theodore of Mopsuestia; and 3. so-called Secular, including Aristotle, Galen, Isocrates, Lucian, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Themistius. The translation technique from Greek to Syriac changed from 'free' reader-oriented translations to 'literal' text-oriented ones over time.[16] This culminated in the seventh century with translations in which the lexical and morphological material of Syriac was mapped onto the semantic and grammatical categories of Greek producing what resembles a sub-type of mixed language called converted language.[17] The translations from the early ʿAbbasid period (8th-10th cent.), associated above all with Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 873), returned to more reader-oriented translations. The large number of translations from Greek to Syriac provides a second locus for the introduction of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek.

Like other studies of ancient language contact, this study does not have access to native speakers and must rely entirely on written documents. In the case of Syriac, written documents

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[15] For overviews with further references, see Brock, in *GEDSH*, 180-181 as well as Brock 2007a.

[16] A number of studies are available on Syriac translation technique; for a general orientation, see the classic study of Brock (1979) and the recent monograph of King (2008).

[17] For converted language, see Bakker 2003: 116-120.

represent a highly standardized literary language.[18] Written Syriac is, thus, remarkably uniform with almost no dialectical variation. In the context of a study analyzing contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek, it is interesting to note that texts written in the Roman Empire, where Greek was an official language, show only a few differences from those written in the Sassanian Empire, where Greek was much less prominent, though not non-existent. Written Syriac is not only a standardized literary language, but there is also evidence to suggest that it does not reflect, at least not exactly, the spoken variety – or better varieties – of the language in Late Antiquity. The orthography of written Syriac, for instance, is extremely conservative resembling the Standard Literary Aramaic of centuries earlier more than its late Aramaic sister dialects.[19] The fact that written Syriac is a literary language that does not entirely reflect the spoken language(s) has repercussions for this study since many of the contact-induced changes in the written literary language would have been mediated by the spoken language(s), which remain inaccessible to the modern researcher. This is especially the case for changes in which the locus of change was contact between speakers, though perhaps less so for changes in which the locus of change was translation. Thus, throughout this work, it must be borne in mind that the object of study is not the everyday spoken language of Syriac-speakers in Late Antiquity but their standardized literary language.

This study is located at the intersection of two fields: contact linguistics and the study of ancient languages. It is based on the premise that these two fields can, and should, exist in a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship. The study of one can, and should, inform the study of the other and vice versa. It is worth-while to treat each aspect of this intersection separately.

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[18] For Syriac as a standard language, see the influential study of Van Rompay 1994 as well as the recent remarks in Taylor 2002: 325.

[19] Beyer 1966. For the term Standard Literary Aramaic, see Greenfield 1974.

First, contact linguistics can inform the study of ancient languages. Following the publication of Thomason and Kaufman's classic *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (1988), the field of contact linguistics has seen a surge in research.[20] This has resulted in an increasingly robust theory of language contact that is, *inter alia*, better able to correlate socio-historical factors with particular types of contact-induced change. This development is particularly useful for the modern researcher of ancient languages, since it is precisely the concrete socio-historical background of the speakers that often remains opaque due to the passage of time. Within Syriac Studies, for instance, it continues to be debated when Syriac-speakers first had intense contact with the Greco-Roman world, with proposals ranging from the turn of the Common Era to the fifth century.[21] Notwithstanding the sparseness of the at times conflicting socio-historical information about this question, there is an abundance of linguistic data for contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek. If these data are analyzed from the perspective of contact linguistics, it is possible to illuminate the previously hidden socio-historical context of ancient Syriac-speakers. This question is addressed in detail in the Conclusion (§11.3). This is but one way in which the current study employs contact linguistics to inform the study of an ancient language as well as the socio-historical background of its speakers.

The study of ancient languages can also inform the field of contact linguistics. The linguist who studies only modern languages often lacks adequate historical data to outline in detail diachronic changes, including contact-induced changes. In the field of contact linguistics, this has proven to be a difficulty particularly in discussions of contact-induced changes in

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[20] For a recent survey, see Hickey 2010b.
[21] For the former, see, e.g., Drijvers 1992; for the latter, see, e.g., Brock 1982a.

(morpho-)syntax. To put the matter simply, the contact linguistic literature contains far too few cases in which a proposed contact-induced (morpho-)syntactic change has been systematically described with the support of convincing historical data.[22] This topic is addressed in detail in the Conclusion (§11.2). It is here that an ancient language such as Syriac can be put to good use. Syriac boasts an extensive written record spanning more than two millennia, a sizeable portion of which can be reliably dated. Written records also survive for five sister dialects of Syriac in addition to more fragmentary evidence for earlier Aramaic dialects. This considerable body of data often enables the historical linguist to trace changes, including contact-induced changes, step-by-step from their pre-history through their completion. The sister dialects of Syriac, in turn, provide an important control on determining whether or not a given change is contact-induced. Thus, the study of an ancient language such as Syriac, with its large and diverse written record, can inform the field of contact linguistics as well as historical linguistics more generally.

Given its location at the intersection of contact linguistics and the study of ancient languages, this study envisions several audiences. The primary audience is the field of Syriac Studies. In particular, this study aims to contribute to the ongoing contextualization of the Syriac Heritage – one of the primary exponents of which is the Syriac language – within its Greco-Roman milieu. In addition, this study addresses secondarily contact linguists and scholars in the field of ancient languages, especially Semitic Studies. For scholars in these two

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[22] So recently Poplack and Levy 2010. This holds true outside of (morpho-)syntactic contact-induced change as well. In their typological study of loanverbs, for instance, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008: 113) note that the lack of adequate diachronic data limited the definitiveness of the conclusions that could be drawn.

fields, the study aims to document in detail various types of contact-induced change over a relatively long period of time with a wealth of data.

Finally, a word about the organization of this study is in order. The study is divided into three parts: Prolegomena (§2-3), Loanwords (§4-7), and Grammatical Replication (§8-10). Part I sets the background for the study. Chapter §2 develops the contact-linguistic framework, and Chapter §3 outlines the socio-historical context for the Syriac-Greek contact situation. Part II, which consists of the next four chapters (§4-7), is dedicated to the topic of Greek loanwords in Syriac. Chapter §4 discusses the methodological framework for the study of loanwords. The next three chapters serve as a grammar of Greek loanwords in Syriac. Chapter §5 analyzes the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac, while Chapter §6 focuses on morpho-syntactic integration. Chapter §7 looks at secondary developments in Syriac involving Greek loanwords. Part III, which consists of the next three chapters (§8-10), turns to another category of contact-induced change termed grammatical replication, in which speakers of Syriac created new grammatical structures on the model of structures in Greek. Chapter §8 develops the methodological framework for grammatical replication. Chapter §9 presents a case study of the grammatical replication of the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(h)y* on Greek ἐστίν, and Chapter §10 presents a case study of the grammatical replication of the Syriac conjunctive particle *den* on Greek δέ. Conclusions of the study are presented in Chapter §11.

Part I: Prolegomena

2   The Contact-Linguistic Framework

> "It cannot be doubted that contact-linguistics is badly in need of a general theory" (Van Coetsem 2000: 39)

2.1   Overview

This chapter establishes the contact-linguistic framework that is employed in this study. It begins with a brief discussion of terminology (§2.2). It then turns to the various typologies of language contact that have been proposed, looking first at early typologies (§2.3), then the typology of Van Coetsem (§2.4), and finally the typology of Thomason and Kaufman (§2.5). In §2.6, these typologies are evaluated, and it is argued that Van Coetsem's typology is the most robust.

2.2   Contact-Linguistic Terminology

Before looking at the various typologies of language contact, it is necessary to say a few words about terminology. There unfortunately continues to be no common or standard terminology in the field of contact linguistics. This is at least partly a reflection of the fact that there is no generally agreed upon theory of language contact (see the quote by Van Coetsem at the beginning of the chapter). One example is sufficient to illustrate this lack of a unified terminology: borrowing. This seemingly benign term has been used in a multitude of ways throughout the contact-linguistic literature, not to mention beyond it. In *The Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, for instance, Trask defines borrowing as "[b]roadly,

the transfer of linguistic features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact" (2000: 44). Thus, borrowing is a cover-term for any type of contact-induced change, ranging from loanwords to lexical calques to the transfer of morpho-syntax. Borrowing is used in this sense by a number of other scholars.[1] In contrast, Heine and Kuteva restrict borrowing to the transfer of "phonetic substance, that is, either sounds or form-meaning units such as morphemes, words, or larger entities."[2] In this narrow definition, borrowing is restricted to a subset of the various categories of contact-induced change.[3] It includes only the transfer of "phonetic substance" whether in the form of a morpheme, a lexeme, or multiple lexemes. Thus, Heine and Kuteva exclude changes such as lexical calques and the transfer of morpho-syntax, which Trask's definition would include. Yet a third definition of borrowing is found in Thomason and Kaufman's classic *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (1988), in which the term is said to refer to one of the types of language contact – in the sense of a typology of language contact situations – that involves "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (1988: 37; cf. 21). For them, borrowing is to be contrasted with *interference through shift* in which "a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language (TL) perfectly" (1988: 38-39). Thus, interference through shift refers to a situation in which non-native speakers of the recipient language transfer features of their native language into the recipient language. This contrasts with their borrowing, which occurs when native speakers of the recipient language

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[1] See, e.g., Aikhenvald 1996; 2002; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001b; 2006; Bloomfield 1933: 444; Campbell 1993; Hafez 1996; Haspelmath 2009; Haugen 1950b; Hetzron 1976: 97; Sihler 1995: 1; Wohlgemuth 2009: 52.
[2] Heine and Kuteva 2006: 49. See also 2008: 59; 2010: 86.
[3] A similar definition is found in Ross 2001: 145.

transfer features from another language into the recipient language.[4] Thomas and Kaufman's definition of borrowing as one type of contact-induced change has been adopted by other contact linguists as well.[5] Thus, while Trask's and Heine and Kuteva's definitions of borrowing differ primarily in scope, Thomason and Kaufman use the term in an entirely different way to refer to a particular socio-historical setting for language contact and the changes associated with it. This example involving three very different – and at times mutually exclusive – definitions of the term borrowing illustrates the importance of defining terminology at the outset of any work on contact linguistics.

In this study, the broadest category covering all ways in which one language influences another is termed *contact-induced change*. This is used similarly by other contact linguists.[6] Rough equivalents found in the (contact-)linguistic literature include 'interference',[7] 'borrowing',[8] 'transfer',[9] 'transference',[10] and 'diffusion',[11] to name only a few. Contact-induced change involves the *transfer* of a *feature* from the *source language* (SL) to the *recipient language* (RL). Feature is a cover term for all types of linguistic material from phonology to morphology to syntax to discourse-pragmatics (Stolz 2008). Rough equivalents found in the (contact-)linguistic literature include 'material' and 'element'.[12] Transfer is used similarly by a

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[4] This typology is discussed in greater detail in §2.5-2.6 below.

[5] See, e.g., Hickey 2010b: 11; Winford 2003: 11-12.

[6] See, e.g., Poplack and Levey 2010, Ross 1987, Thomason 1986, and Winford 2005.

[7] Ciancaglini 2008; Janda 1976; King 2000; Poplack 1996; Rayfield 1970; Thomason 1986; 2003, 2004; 2007; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Weinreich 1953.

[8] See footnote 1 above.

[9] Silva-Corvalán 1994: 4; Smits 1996; Van Coetsem 1988; 1990; 1995; 1997; 2000; 2003; Weinreich 1953.

[10] Clyne 1967; Ross 1985.

[11] Foley 1986; Gumperz and Wilson 1971; Heath 1978.

[12] For the former, see Wohlgemuth 2009: 51; for the latter, see Weinreich 1953: 7. Van Coetsem (2000: 51) combines them.

number of scholars.[13] It is roughly equivalent to Johanson's 'copy'.[14] Alternative pairs for source language~recipient language include 'donor~recipient' (Wohlgemuth 2009: 51), 'originator~adopter' (Winter 1973), and 'model~replica' (Heine and Kuteva 2005; Weinreich 1953: 30-31; Wohlgemuth 2009: 54).

2.3   Early Typologies of Language Contact

The fact that certain linguistic features tend to be transferred in certain linguistic contexts was already recognized in some early works in the field of contact linguistics. One of the more influential such observations was that of Windisch (1897), who was a student of H. Schuchardt, a well-known figure in the field of contact linguistics. In his paper entitled "Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter" (1897), Windisch expounded the following principle: "Nicht die erlernte fremde Sprache, sondern die eigene Sprache eines Volkes wird unter dem Einfluss der fremden Sprache zur Mischsprache" (1897: 104). This principle was intended to account for the fact that bilingual speakers often introduce features of a foreign language into their own language, but they do not typically introduce features of their own language into a foreign language. As an example of this principle, Windisch cites the case of Frederick the Great (1712-1786) who introduced French lexemes into his native German, but not German lexemes into his French. Based on the examples that he cites, it seems that

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[13] See, e.g., Gołąb 1959: 8, Silva-Corvalán 1994: 4, Smits 1996, Thomason 2003; 2004; 2010, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Van Coetsem 1988; 1990; 1995; 1997; 2000; 2003, Weinreich 1953: 1, 7, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 89, Winter 1973, and Wohlgemuth 2009: 51.
[14] See, e.g., Johanson 2002a, 2002b. Cf. Stolz 2008.

Windisch had primarily loanwords in mind when formulating this principle, not other features, such as phonology or syntax.[15]

Windisch's principle, which is sometimes known under the moniker 'Windisch's Law', was subsequently adopted by a number of linguists. It was, for instance, included almost verbatim in the *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*: "Nicht die erlernte fremde Sprache, sondern die einheimische Sprache wird unter dem Einflusse der Sprache einer überlegenen Kultur zur Mischsprache" (Gröber 1904-1906: 1.404). Similarly, in his *Language. Its Nature, Development and Origin*, Jespersen cites Windisch before proceeding to explain:

> "When we try to learn and talk a foreign tongue we do not introduce into it words taken from our own language; our endeavour will always be to speak the other language as purely as possible, and generally we are painfully conscious of every native word that we intrude into phrases framed in the other tongue. But what we thus avoid in speaking a foreign language we very often do in our language. Frederick the Great prided himself on his good French, and in his French writings we do not find a single German word, but whenever he wrote German his sentences were full of French words and phrases" (1922: 208).[16]

The principle as well as the example in this quote are a direct reflection of Windisch's work. Similar applications of Windisch's Law can be found elsewhere in the linguistic literature.[17]

The influence of Windisch's principle was not restricted to the field of linguistics in the narrow sense, but was also employed in more practical applications. In a still important article entitled "Grec biblique" (1938), Vergote invoked Windisch's formulation in order to explain the contact-situation of Greek in Egypt. According to Vergote's analysis, an Egyptian who

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[15] Sandfeld (1938: 61) later argued that Windisch's principle only applied to loanwords (cf. Vildomec 1963: 96). Haugen states the problem in a different way by noting that Windisch's principle "does not apply to the mature language learner" (1950a: 280-281).

[16] This same paragraph is repeated almost verbatim in Jespersen's *Growth and the Structure of the English Language* (1948: §37).

[17] See, e.g., Dillon 1945: 13; Flom 1905: 425.

spoke Greek would not introduce Egyptian loanwords into Greek, though this person's native Egyptian language might occasionally influence Greek in other domains: "un bilingue égyptien, écrivant en grec, se gardait bien d'introduire des mots coptes dans cette langue étrangère (= Greek), mais il ne pouvait pas toujours se soustraire à certaines réactions de sa langue maternelle dans le domaine de la sémantique, de la syntaxe et de la phraséologie" (1365). Conversely, Egyptian, more specifically Coptic, does contain a number of Greek loanwords: "… l'action du grec sur le copte se manifeste en premier lieu par les mots d'emprunt …" (1365). Thus, by recourse to Windisch's principle, Vergote is able to explain the fact that Coptic contains numerous Greek loanwords whereas Greek texts in Egypt contain few Egyptian, including Coptic, words. Vergote also augments Windisch's principle by noting that Greek texts in Egypt do exhibit influence from Egyptian in other linguistic domains, such as semantics, syntax, and phraseology. This marks an important advancement in constructing a typology of contact-induced change, calling to mind later developments such as Van Coetsem's imposition and Thomason and Kaufman's interference through shift and imperfect learning.[18]

The distinction observed by Vergote, building upon Windisch, was further abstracted and systematized by Vildomec (1963: 80-86). Citing Windisch 1897, Vildomec notes that, "[t]here often is tendency for a multilingual to use words of an L^e [= foreign language] when he speaks (or writes) his L^m [= mother language], but this tendency does not always operate with the same intensity in the opposite direction" (80). Thus, loanwords are not typically introduced from the "mother language" into the "foreign language": "[i]f an educated adult has to use an L^e [= foreign language] he will usually try to handle it as well as possible; he is unlikely, therefore, to use many words of his L^m [= mother language] when talking the L^e [=

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[18] These are discussed in §2.4 and §2.5, respectively.

foreign language]" (81). What is transferred in this situation, however, is "accent" (82-84) and especially syntax (84). Thus, Vildomec distinguishes two broad types of language contact: 1. transfer from "foreign language" to "mother language" that involves primarily lexical features; 2. transfer from "mother language" to "foreign language" that involves primarily "accent" and syntactic features. This distinction is roughly equivalent to that which would later be established in the work of Van Coetsem and of Thomason and Kaufman.

The same binary noted by Vildomec was observed by several other scholars prior to the late 1980s. In a study of Eastern-European Jewish immigrants in the USA, for instance, Rayfield (1970) noted that when the primary language was the recipient language and the secondary language was the source language, it was lexical material that was typically transferred with the transfer of "structural" and "phonic" material being less prominent (103-106).[19] When the situation was reversed, however, and the primary language was the source language and the secondary language was the recipient language, the types of change encountered were also reversed, i.e., "structural" and especially "phonic" material were transferred, and the transfer of lexical material was less prominent. He attributes this distribution to the fact that "[t]he bilingual retains most persistently the earliest learned systems of his primary language" (106), arguing that the systems are learned in the following order: phonology, syntax, morphology, and lexicon (103). This last argument marks an early forerunner of Van Coetsem's stability gradient of language, which will be discussed in §2.4.

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[19] Rayfield never defines primary language and secondary language, and thus it is unclear whether these refer to language proficiency or native~foreign language. This is an important distinction, as will become clear in the discussion of Thomas and Kaufman's native language vs. Van Coetsem's linguistic dominance (§2.6).

Prior to the late 1980s, then, a number of scholars noticed that loanwords tended to be transferred in certain contact situations whereas phonology, syntax, and (rarely) morphology were transferred in others.[20] Notwithstanding these developments, a comprehensive typology of language contact was not formulated until 1988 with the publication of two important monographs, one by Van Coetsem and a second by Thomason and Kaufman. These two works commenced a discussion on the typology of language contact that has not yet abated, now two and a half decades later.[21] Though the typologies proposed by Van Coetsem and by Thomason and Kaufman share a number of similarities, it is important to review each of them individually.

2.4   The Typology of Van Coetsem

Van Coetsem first proposed a typology of language contact in his *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact* (1988). The basic typology that Van Coetsem espouses in this monograph is unfortunately at times obscured by his complicated argumentation as well as the many tangential discussions accompanying it. This led Van Coetsem to outline a more concise version of his typology in 1995 in an article that serves as a précis of his earlier monograph. Van Coetsem then revisited the typology of language contact in his *A General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language* (2000) along with its accompanying summary article (1997). These later two works do not in general depart from his earlier work, but rather provide an updated, more integrated analysis of the earlier

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[20] See also Bátori 1979; Janda 1976: 590; Lado 1957: 2; Winter 1973: 145-146.

[21] For subsequent work, see especially Guy 1990; Haspelmath 2009: 50-51; Hickey 2010b; Ross 1991; Smits 1996: 29-58; 1998; Thomason 2001: 59-98; 2003: 691-693; Van Coetsem 1990; 1995; 1997; 2000; 2003; Winford 2003: 11-24; 2005; 2009: 283-285.

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typology. Finally, in 2003, a lengthy article by Van Coetsem was published posthumously in which he treats a variety of issues related to language contact, including some further comments on his typology. In addition to his own work, brief overviews of Van Coetsem's typology of language contact are available by others.[22]

According to Van Coetsem, language contact can be divided into three basic types. First, there is *borrowing* or *recipient language agentivity*.[23] Borrowing occurs when the agents of change are dominant speakers of the *recipient language*. In cases of borrowing, it is the less stable domains of language, such as lexical items, that are transferred from the source language to the recipient language. To illustrate borrowing, Van Coetsem (2000: 53) refers to the case of a native speaker of French who incorporates an English lexeme into his language.

The second broad category of language-contact in Van Coetsem's typology is *imposition* or *source language agentivity*.[24] Imposition occurs when the agents of change are dominant speakers of the source language. In imposition, the more stable domains of language, such as grammatical and phonological features, are transferred from the source language to the recipient language. Imposition is usually associated with second language acquisition, though this is not necessarily the case. To illustrate imposition, Van Coetsem (2000: 53-55) refers to the case of a speaker of French who learns English and transfers some articulation habits to English, such as pronouncing the *p* of the English word *pear* without aspiration.

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[22] See particularly Smits 1996: 30-33; 1998: 378-380; Winford 2005: 376-382; 2007: 25-28; 2009: 283-285.

[23] Van Coetsem 1988: 10-11; 1995: 77-80; 1997: 358-359; 2000: 53, 67-73, 137-166.

[24] Van Coetsem 1988: 9-10; 47-76; 1995: 73-77; 1997: 358-359; 2000: 53-54, 73-82, 167-212.

These two types of language contact are summarized in Table 2-1, where A and B refer to different languages, underscoring indicates linguistic dominance, and the double-arrow (⇒) indicates transfer in contact-induced change:[25]

Table 2-1 Van Coetsem's Typology of Language Contact

| | A is linguistically dominant | | B is linguistically dominant | |
	B ⇒ A	A ⇒ B	A ⇒ B	B ⇒ A
agentivity	recipient lang.	source lang.	recipient lang.	source lang.
domain of transfer	less stable	more stable	less stable	more stable
type of transfer	borrowing	imposition	borrowing	imposition

In any contact situation involving two languages, there are then four basic forms of interaction (2000: 54-55): borrowing from B into A, imposition of A into B, borrowing of A into B, and imposition of B into A.

Van Coetsem's distinction between borrowing and imposition is based on what he terms *linguistic dominance*.[26] Linguistic dominance refers to the greater proficiency that a speaker has in one language as compared to another language. Van Coetsem's concept of linguistic dominance derives from Weinreich's claim that "[a] bilingual's relative proficiency in two languages is easily measured … one of the languages can hence be designated as dominant by virtue of the speaker's greater proficiency in it" (1953: 75). In many cases, a speaker will be linguistically dominant in her native language or first acquired language. Van Coetsem (1988: 15), however, notes that this is not necessarily the case.[27] This means, then, that an individual's

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[25] This summary is based on one of the additional synthesizing diagrams at the end of Van Coetsem 2000.

[26] Van Coetsem 1988: 13-17; 1995: 70-72; 1997: 358; 2000: 32, 42, 49, 58-62, 66-67. See also Smits 1996: 30-31.

[27] So already Weinreich 1953: 75 n. 1.

linguistic dominance can change over time.[28] Van Coetsem illustrates the change in linguistic dominance with the example of an immigrant in the United States whose native language is not English, but who over time becomes more fluent in English than in her native language.[29] The fact that an individual's linguistic dominance can change over time has important implications for the analysis of cases of language attrition, as will become clear below when comparing Van Coetsem's typology with that of Thomason and Kaufman (see §2.5). At this point, however, it is important to note that in Van Coetsem's framework linguistic dominance is not necessarily the same as native language (or first language). In addition to a diachronic change in linguistic dominance, it is also possible for a speaker's linguistic dominance to change according to register or context (1988: 16-17). That is, a speaker can be linguistically dominant in one language in one context, but linguistically dominant in another language in another context (2000: 84). To illustrate this change in linguistic dominance, Van Coetsem (2000: 84) refers to Weinreich's example in which "[a] child learning both languages in its familial and play environment … may be equipped to deal with everyday things in both tongues; but if it studies certain subjects in a unilingual school, it will have difficulty in discussing these 'learned' topics in the other language" (1953: 81). Finally, it should be noted that linguistic dominance is to be distinguished from social dominance (Van Coetsem 1988: 13; 2000: 57), which refers to the political or social status of one of the languages.

Alongside linguistic dominance, the other major factor that leads to the different effects between borrowing and imposition is what Van Coetsem calls the *stability gradient of*

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[28] Van Coetsem 1988: 16-17, 76, 85; 1995: 70-71, 81; 1997: 359; 2000: 52, 81.
[29] Van Coetsem 1988: 16; 1995: 70-71, 81; 2000: 52, 81. See also Weinreich 1953: 76.

language.[30] The stability gradient of language refers to the fact that certain features of language, such as phonological and grammatical features, are more stable and resistant to change than others, such as lexical items, especially contentive words. The concept of the stability gradient of language has long been recognized in the study of language contact, even if it has not always been termed as such. Already in the late 19th century Whitney (1881: 19-20) proposed a hierarchy of borrowing according to which nouns were transferred before adjectives, adjectives before verbs, verbs before adverbs, adverbs before prepositions and conjunctions, and so forth. Similar hierarchies have been proposed by a number of other scholars.[31] Though the concept of the stability gradient of language has long been recognized, the exact ranking of each feature of language remains controversial, as Van Coetsem correctly recognizes (1988: 34; 1995: 67-68). Despite the lack of a generally accepted ranking of features, the stability gradient of language has important implications for which features of language will be transferred in the different types of language contact. This is because in a contact situation the stable features of the dominant language will tend to be retained. If the agent of change is linguistically dominant in the source language, then the more stable elements of the source language, such as phonological and grammatical features, will be preserved and so transferred to the recipient language. This explains why source language agentivity, or imposition, results primarily in the transfer of phonological and grammatical features. If, however, the agent of change is linguistically dominant in the recipient language, then the more stable elements of the recipient language will be preserved while the less stable elements, such as lexical items, will be

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[30] Van Coetsem 1988: 25-34; 1995: 67-70; 1997: 358; 2000: 31-32, 50, 58-62, 105-134. See also Smits 1996: 31-32.

[31] For citations and discussion, see Campbell 1993: 100; Matras 2010: 76-82; Wohlgemuth 2009: 11-17.

transferred from the source language to the recipient language. This explains why recipient language agentivity, or borrowing, results primarily in the transfer of lexical items.

Alongside borrowing and imposition, Van Coetsem recognizes a third type of transfer called *neutralization*.[32] Neutralization occurs when an individual is equally dominant in two languages. In neutralization, the distinctions between recipient language agentivity and source language agentivity are no longer relevant, and any feature can be transferred. Van Coetsem uses this third category to explain contact situations such as Media Lengua,[33] Mednyj Aleut (also called Copper Island Aleut),[34] Michif,[35] and Ma'a,[36] which are more often termed "mixed languages" in the linguistic literature.[37] In his earlier work (1988: 87-91; 1995: 81), Van Coetsem limits the transfer types to borrowing and imposition and argues that neutralization is the state that occurs when the distinction between these two types is no longer clear. In his later work (1997, especially 2000), however, Van Coetsem follows Buccini (1992: 329-332) in recognizing neutralization as a third transfer type, with the caveat that it is of a different order than borrowing and imposition (2000: 43). He illustrates this difference between borrowing and imposition, on the one hand, and neutralization, on the other hand, by invoking the image of a triptych with the two outer panels corresponding to borrowing and imposition and the central panel representing neutralization (1997: 360; 2000: 42).

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[32] Van Coetsem 1988: 87-91; 1995: 81; 1997: 359-366; 2000: 82-99, 239-280.
[33] Muysken 1981, 1994, 1997.
[34] Golovko 1994, 1996; Golovko and Vakhtin 1990; Thomason 1997d; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 233-238.
[35] Bakker 1994, 1997; Bakker and Papen 1997; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 228-233.
[36] Mous 1994; 2001; 2003; Thomason 1997e.
[37] See, e.g., Bakker and Mous 1994; Matras and Bakker 2003; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 223-228.

To summarize, then, for Van Coetsem, borrowing occurs in situations of recipient language agentivity and results in the transfer of the less stable domains of language, such as lexical items. Imposition, in contrast, occurs in situations of source language agentivity and results in the transfer of the more stable domains of language, such as phonological and grammatical features. Finally, neutralization occurs when the distinction between recipient language agentivity and source language agentivity is no longer relevant, i.e., it is neutralized. In situations of neutralization, any feature can be transferred. These three types of transfer are based on the linguistic dominance of the agents of change. The different linguistic effects of each of these three types of transfer are determined by the interplay between the linguistic dominance of the agents of change and the stability gradient of language.

2.5   The Typology of Thomason and Kaufman

In the same year that Van Coetsem published his *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact*, Thomason and Kaufman published their *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (1988). In this influential book, they proposed a typology of contact-induced change that distinguishes two primary types.[38] First, there is *borrowing* which involves "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (1988: 37). In this case, the native language is maintained, i.e., there is *language maintenance*. The primary effect of borrowing is the transfer of lexemes (loanwords), though in cases of "strong long-term cultural pressure" anything can be transferred, including phonology, syntax, and even morphology. While the borrowing of

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[38] The foundation for this typology was already laid in Thomason 1986: 265-274, where a distinction was made between borrowing and substratum interference, or more fully "interference that results from imperfect group learning during language shift."

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vocabulary can occur quickly, longer periods of intense contact are needed for the borrowing of phonology, syntax, and morphology. To capture this continuum, Thomason and Kaufman propose a Borrowing Scale that on one extreme has casual contact involving loanwords only and on the other extreme has heavy structural borrowing in situations of very strong cultural pressure (1988: 74-109; cf. Thomason 2001: 69-71). Borrowing, then, occurs in situations in which native speakers maintain their language, and it is primarily associated with the transfer of lexemes, though structure can be transferred as well, especially in situations of longer, more intense contact.

The second type of language contact for Thomason and Kaufman is *interference through shift*, which is defined as a type of language contact "that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift. That is, … a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language (TL) perfectly. The errors made by members of the shifting group in speaking the TL then spread to the TL as a whole when they are imitated by the original speakers of that language" (1988: 38-39). The primary effect of interference through shift is the transfer of phonology and syntax as well as occasionally morphology. These changes can take place in a relatively short period of time, in fact, as little as a generation. Interference through shift, then, occurs during cases of language shift when shifting speakers have imperfect knowledge of the recipient language, and it is associated primarily with the transfer of structure, such as phonology, syntax, and occasionally morphology.

The key variables for Thomason and Kaufman, then, are native language and maintenance vs. shift. In cases of language shift, non-native speakers of the recipient language transfer features of their native language (= source language) into the recipient language. This is *interference through shift*. In cases of language maintenance, native speakers of the recipient

language transfer features from another language (= source language) into the recipient language. This is *borrowing*. Finally, it should be noted that Thomason and Kaufman's binary only includes cases of what they call "normal transmission" excluding mixed languages, pidgins, and creoles, which they argue are the result of different processes.[39]

2.6   Synthesis

The typology of Van Coetsem and of Thomason and Kaufman share a number of similarities. In a review of Thomason and Kaufman's monograph, Van Coetsem notes that their typology "basically agrees" with the one that he espouses (1990: 261). Similarly, Thomason (2003: 691; cf. 2001: 95) observes that Van Coetsem argues for "a nearly identical distinction" to that proposed in her joint work with Kaufman. The similarities between the typologies of Van Coetsem and of Thomason and Kaufman are also recognized by others working in the field of contact linguistics. Guy (1990) and subsequently Ross (1991), for instance, attempt to combine the two proposals into a unified typology of language contact. Applying the typology of language contact to a practical problem, Louden (2000) also combines Van Coetsem's proposal and Thomason and Kaufman's into a single typology. Notwithstanding their many similarities, however, there is a fundamental difference between the typology of Van Coetsem and that of Thomason and Kaufman. Van Coetsem's typology is based on the variable of linguistic dominance whereas Thomason and Kaufman's is based on the variables of native language and of language maintenance vs. shift.

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[39] For an important critique of this false dichotomy between normal transmission and whatever its presumable counterpart would be (ab-normal transmission?!?), see Mufwene 2001.

The difference between the two typologies is most apparent in cases of language attrition. Consider, for instance, the case discussed by Ross (1991, with more details in 1987) in which the inter-clausal syntax of the Bel Group of Austronesian languages corresponds not to languages belonging to the same language family, but to the unrelated Papuan languages with which they are in contact. Ross describes the sociolinguistic situation as one in which the socially dominant Papuan speakers did not learn the Bel languages whereas the socially-subordinate speakers of the the Bel languages often learned Papuan. Thomas and Kaufman would classify the changes in the Bel languages as borrowing since it is a situation of language maintenance involving native speakers. That is, the Bel languages continue to be spoken by the population. The difficulty, however, is that the contact-induced changes that occur are more in line with their shift-induced interference: systematic changes in syntax. It is in fact this difficulty that prompts Ross to classify this as an instance of imposition within the typology of Van Coetsem (in conversation with Guy 1990). What is important in this case, as Ross notes, is that native speakers of the Bel languages have become linguistically dominant in Papuan. In Ross' words, speakers of the Bel languages "were already more at home in the Papuan language than in their inherited Austronesian language" (1991: 122). Thus, native speakers of the Bel languages are switching to Papuan and concomitantly losing their native language. In Van Coetsem's typology, then, this is simply a case of imposition in which native speakers of the Bel languages have become linguistically dominant in Papuan. In Thomason and Kaufman's typology, however, the changes in the Bel languages must be analyzed as borrowing since the Bel languages are maintained and since the changes involve "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (1988: 37) – their very definition of borrowing. For Thomason and Kaufman, changes

associated with interference through shift would only apply to changes in the Papuan language due to shifting native-speakers of the Bel languages. Thus, this case illustrates that the important variable in the typology of contact-induced change is the linguistic dominance of the agents of change (in this case, Papuan), and that the variables of language maintenance vs. shift (in this case, language maintenance) and of native language (in this case, the Bel languages) are not viable indicators of the type of change to be expected.[40]

Thomas and Kaufman's model, then, does not provide an economic account of cases of language attrition.[41] In Thomas and Kaufman's model, language attrition is to be classified as borrowing since it occurs in situations of language maintenance, and the agents of change are native speakers of the recipient language. Cases of language attrition, however, usually witness systematic changes in phonology and/or syntax, which are more in line with their category of shift-induced interference that occurs in situations of language shift and that involves agents of change that are non-native speakers. Van Coetsem's typology, in contrast, does not face the same difficulty, since cases of language attrition are classified as imposition with the expected outcome. Van Coetsem's imposition then is wider than Thomason and Kaufman's interference through shift, whereas Van Coetsem's borrowing is narrower than Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing.[42] Crucially, Van Coetsem's typology is able to account for the fact that language shift and language attrition both involve linguistic dominance of the source language and that consequently language shift and language attrition both witness the same effects in the recipient language: systematic changes primarily in phonology and syntax as well as more rarely in

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[40] See also Ross 1991: 125-126.
[41] So also Smits 1996: 52-54 where similar cases are discussed, including Iowa Dutch and Asia Minor Greek.
[42] Louden 2000: 95; Smits 1996: 52-53.

morphology. As Smits notes, "[a]n important similarity between acquiring a language and 'losing' a language is that in both cases the recipient language is the linguistically non-dominant language. That is, in both cases knowledge of the recipient language is imperfect" (1996: 33). The inability of the typology of Thomason and Kaufman to account for cases of language attrition is indicative of a deeper theoretical problem. The crucial variable for a typology of language contact is not that of native language nor that of maintenance vs. shift, but rather it is that of linguistic dominance. Thus, the typology of Van Coetsem, with its basis on the variable of linguistic dominance, is the more robust typology of language contact.[43]

Finally, it should be noted that in her more recent work Thomason points out that the typology in Thomason and Kaufman 1988 needs to be revised since the crucial variable is not whether or not shift takes place, but whether or not there is imperfect learning.[44] Thomason's variable of imperfect learning is a close negative counterpart to Van Coetsem's linguistic dominance. Thus, Thomason's revised typology of contact-induced change closely approximates that of Van Coetsem. In Thomason's revised typology, *borrowing* occurs when "the agents of change are fully fluent in the receiving language" and "imperfect learning plays no role in the transfer process" (2004: 7). This is similar to Van Coetsem's borrowing in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the recipient language, i.e., there is not imperfect learning in Thomason's revised framework. Thomason's second type of contact-induced change is *shift-induced interference*, which occurs in situations of imperfect learning. In contrast to her earlier views (see §2.5), her revised shift-induced interference does *not* necessarily involve language shift: "[w]hen imperfect learning enters the picture, I call the process shift-induced

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[43] Similarly Smits 1996: 52-58; Winford 2005; 2007.
[44] Thomason 2001: 59-98; 2003: 691-693; 2004: 7.

interference, though sometimes there is no actual shift of one population to another group's language because the L2 learners maintain their original L1 for in-group usage" (2004: 7). This is similar to Van Coetsem's imposition in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the source language, i.e., there is imperfect learning of the recipient language in Thomason's revised framework. Thomason's revised category of shift-induced interference without actual shift is able to capture situations of language attrition, such as that involving the Bel Group of Austronesian languages discussed above (p. 28-30). Thus, in adopting imperfect learning as the key variable, Thomason's revised typology is very similar to Van Coetsem's typology that adopts linguistic dominance as the key variable.[45]

2.7   Conclusion

This chapter has focused on establishing a contact-linguistic framework for the study of contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek. After a brief discussion of terminology (§2.2), the chapter turned to the various typologies of language contact (§2.3-§2.5). It was argued that the typology of Van Coetsem, with its basis on the variable of linguistic dominance, is the most robust. Thus, following Van Coetsem, this study adopts a three-fold typology of contact-induced change. First, there is borrowing (recipient language agentivity) in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the recipient language. Borrowing results primarily in the

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[45] It should be noted that this revised typology has not been consistently implemented in Thomason's more recent work. In a 2003 paper, for instance, Thomason classifies a case in which a native speaker of Italian began to have an "American accent" in her Italian after spending twelve years in the United States as borrowing. This case should, however, be classified as imposition – or in Thomason's revised framework as shift-induced interference without actual shift – since the native Italian speaker arguably became linguistically dominant in the source language English.

transfer of lexemes. The second broad category of language-contact is that of imposition (source language agentivity), in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the source language. Imposition results primarily in the transfer of phonology, syntax, and to a more limited extent morphology. Finally, there is neutralization in which an individual is equally dominant in two languages. Any feature can be transferred in neutralization.

3 The Socio-Historical Setting

"… the linguist who makes theories about language influence but neglects to account for the socio-cultural setting of the language contact leaves his study suspended, as it were, in mid-air …"
(Weinreich 1953: 4)

3.1 Overview

This chapter outlines the socio-historical context for the contact-induced changes that will be the subject of this study. It begins with a brief historical narrative of Syria and Mesopotamia from the beginning of the Seleucid Empire up to the Roman Empire (§3.2). It, then, turns to the topic of Greco-Roman influence on early Syriac-speaking culture (§3.3). The final and longest section of the chapter investigates language use among the inhabitants of Late Antique Mespotamia and Syria with an eye towards establishing how contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek are to be classified within the typology of Van Coetsem (§3.4).

3.2 Historical Narrative

In November of 333 BCE, Alexander the Great defeated the Persian army led by Darius III at the plain of Issos in northwest Syria. Two years later, Alexander again defeated Darius III, this time in Gaugamela, east of the Tigris near Arbela (modern Erbil, Iraq). The outcome of these battles set into motion a number of changes that would affect the entire Near East.[1] It

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[1] See Briant 1979; 1999.

marked the beginning of the end of the Achaemenid Empire.[2] It also ushered in the Seleucid Empire, which would control Syria and Mesopotamia for the next two centuries.[3] With the Seleucid Empire came the foundation of Hellenistic cities throughout Syria and Mesopotamia.[4] In the case of Edessa, which would eventually become the geographic center of Syriac-speaking culture, Seleucus I Nicator transformed the older settlement of ʾUrhɔy (earlier Adme) into a Greek *polis* in 303/2 BCE and gave it the name of the ancient Macedonian capital.[5] Hellenistic cities were also established at Antioch, Apamea, Ḥarran (Carrhae), Nisibis, Reshʿayna, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and Singara, all of which were Aramaic-speaking at the time and would be at least partially Syriac-speaking in Late Antiquity. The Seleucids also brought the Greek language to Syria and Mesopotamia as the language of empire.[6] Even though it never fully supplanted Aramaic in Syria and Mesopotamia, Greek became a well-established language of communication and commerce throughout the area. Already by the last quarter of the fourth century BCE, then, the Aramaic-speaking population of Syria and Mesopotamia came into contact with the Seleucid Empire and its Greek language.

Greek influence in the Near East became even more pronounced with the Roman conquest of the area.[7] The second century BCE witnessed the partial disintegration of the Seleucid Empire. By 133 BCE, the region of Osrhoene and its important center of Edessa were

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[2] For an excellent history of the Achaemenid Empire, see Briant 2002.

[3] For Hellenistic Syria and Mesopotamia, see Bowersock 1990: 29; Millar 1987; Sartre 2001: 60-63; 2005: 5-12.

[4] See Briant 1978; Grainger 1990.

[5] For the connection of Edessa with cuneiform Adme, see Harrak 1992.

[6] It should be noted that Greek was present in Syria and Mesopotamia before the Seleucid Empire, as can be established by the existence of Greek loanwords in Aramaic beginning already in the mid-first millennium BCE (see §4.9).

[7] For the Roman Near East in general, see Millar 1993; Sartre 2001; 2005.

ruled by the Abgarid dynasty.[8] The area survived more or less as an independent state between the Roman Empire in the West and the Parthian Empire in the East until the middle of the third century. By the beginning of the second century CE, however, Rome began to play a more prominent role in the area. This reached a climax with the Abgarid ruler Abgar VIII (r. 177-212), who maintained close ties with the Roman Empire and was even granted Roman citizenship. Following the death of Abgar VIII and the short reign of his successor, Edessa was declared a Roman *colonia* in 212/213. Though the Abgarid dynasty was briefly restored in 239, Rome was again in power by 242. The (Eastern) Roman Empire would continue to control Syria and Mesopotamia up to the Arab conquests in the seventh-century (Seleucia-Ctesiphon fell in 637).[9]

Prior to the establishment of Roman control of Edessa, Greek was the language of international communication and commerce throughout the Seleucid Empire. The Roman Empire did not significantly alter this.[10] In general, the Roman Empire did not force the Greek-speaking provinces to adopt Latin. Rather, Greek remained the official language of empire in the eastern provinces. Latin had a more restricted use, being employed primarily in military matters. The use of Greek and Latin in a Roman city in Mesopotamia from the first centuries of the Common Era can be illustrated by the more than 150 documents discovered at Dura-Europos, an important military outpost on the Euphrates until its destruction in 256 CE.[11] A

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[8] In general, see Millar 1993: 457-467, 472-481; Ross 2001; Segal 1970: 1-61.

[9] Unfortunately, there continues to be no comprehensive study of the history of Syria and Mesopotamia during the Late Antique period. For Edessa during this period, see Segal 1970: 110-216. For the Late Antique world more broadly, see the excellent overviews in Brown 1989 and Cameron 2012.

[10] For the following, see Rochette 2010: 289-290.

[11] All the texts are edited in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959.

majority of the documents from this site are written in Greek or Latin. The documents from the archives of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum (a Roman military troop) are primarily in Latin (P.Dura 54-150). All of the texts associated with official military business are in Latin, including reports (P.Dura 82-97) and rolls and rosters (P.Dura 98-124). The famous *Feriale Duranum*, which is a calendar of official religious observances, is also in Latin (P.Dura 54). Correspondences by military officials are primarily in Latin though some are in Greek (P.Dura 55-81). Finally, judicial business and receipts from the archives of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum are primarily in Greek though a few are in Latin (P.Dura 125-129). In contrast to the predominance of Latin in the archive of the Cohors Vicesima Palmyrenorum, a vast majority of the texts found outside of this archive are in Greek (P.Dura 1-52). Thus, all of the texts from the registry office are in Greek (P.Dura 15-44), which include individual documents, such as a gift, loans, deeds of sale, deposits, a marriage contract, and divorce contracts. The lists and accounts are also in Greek (P.Dura 47-53) as are the texts associated with civil administration (P.Dura 12-14). Two letters are also in Greek, one of which may be an official letter (P.Dura 45) and the other of which is from a soldier (P.Dura 46). The documents from Dura-Europos, thus, illustrate the degree to which Latin was restricted to the military and even then to official military matters. Greek, on the other hand, was used by the military in some correspondences as well as in legal matters. Outside of the military, Greek was the official language for a vast majority of tasks. Thus, in Syria and Mesopotamia, Greek would have been the language of the Roman Empire with Latin restricted more or less to official military matters.

3.3 ʾUrhɔy is Edessa

The Syriac-speaking culture that comes into view in the first centuries of the Common Era was one that had been in contact with the Greco-Roman world for centuries. The effects of these centuries of contact can be seen in various places. The art and architecture from the region, for instance, reflect significant Greco-Roman influence.[12] This is perhaps most clear in the mosaics from the region around Edessa.[13] A recently discovered mosaic, dated to 194, for instance, depicts Orpheus charming wild animals.[14] Another depiction of Orpheus is known from a mosaic dated to 227/228.[15] Finally, a mosaic dated to 235/236 depicts a Phoenix.[16] Each of these mosaics has an inscription in Syriac; each, however, also depicts a clearly Greco-Roman motif. Thus, these mosaics reflect the influence of Greco-Roman culture in Edessa already from the late second century CE.[17]

A further indication of Greco-Roman influence is found in early Syriac literature. One of the earliest texts to survive is the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*.[18] The text is a philosophical-theological discussion, in the form of a Platonic dialogue, on fate and freewill. The main protagonist is Bardaiṣan (154-222), the earliest known author of classical Syriac, who was active in the court of the previously mentioned Abgar VIII (r. 177-212). The *Book of the*

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[12] See Possekel 1999: 28 and especially Mango 1982. Images of many of the relevant pieces are available in the plates in Segal 1970.

[13] See Bowersock 1990: 31; Possekel 1999: 28.

[14] Published in Healey 2006, with further discussion in Possekel 2008.

[15] Image in Segal 1970: pl. 44; Drijvers and Healey 1999: pl 53.

[16] Image in Segal 1970: pl. 43; Drijvers and Healey 1999: pl 52.

[17] This is not to minimize the Parthian features, which are also very much present.

[18] Edited with Latin translation in Nau 1907. The Syriac text with English translation is also available in Drijvers 1965. In general, see Brock, in *GEDSH*, 56-57; Drivers 1966: 217-218; Jansma 1969; Possekel 2004; 2006; 2009; 2012; Ramelli 2009: 54-90; Ross 2001: 119-123; Teixidor 1992: 65-70.

Laws of the Countries was probably written in Edessa in ca. 220. Based on its form as a Platonic dialogue and its philosophical subject matter, it is a clear example of Greco-Roman influence in Edessa during the first centuries of the Common Era.[19] Moving a little later in time, a more concrete example of Syriac and Greek interaction is found in the earliest extant dated Syriac manuscript (Brit. Libr. 12,150), which was written in Edessa in 411 CE.[20] This manuscript contains numerous translations of Greek works, including *Against the Manichaeans* by Titus of Boṣra, selections of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, as well as the *Theophany*, the *History of the Martyrs in Palestine*, and the *Panegyric on the Christian Martyrs* all by Eusebius of Caesarea. This manuscript establishes the existence of a well-developed translation program from Greek into Syriac by at least the fourth century CE in Edessa and is thus a testament to the interaction of Syriac-speakers in Edessa with the Greco-Roman world at this time.

In their literature and in their art and architecture, then, the Syriac-speaking population of the early centuries of the Common Era show signs of significant contact with the Greco-Roman world. This contact was not limited, however, to literature, art, and architecture, but it also extended to language. It is clear from inscriptions and documents that the Greek language was present throughout the Syriac-speaking world of Late Antiquity. A vast majority of the inscriptions west of the Euphrates are written in Greek.[21] In addition, a more limited number of Greek inscriptions come from east of the Euphrates, stretching from the Roman provinces of

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[19] Similarly, Bowersock 1990: 31-32; Millar 1987: 160; Possekel 1999: 29; Ross 2001: 119.

[20] For description, see Wright 1870-1872: 2.631-633. A color plate is available in *GEDSH*, 457.

[21] The inscriptions are currently being collected in *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (1929-). Various inscriptions are also discussed in Bowersock 1990: 29-30; Kennedy and Liebeschuetz 1988: 69-70; Millar 1987; 2007; Possekel 1999: 27-28; Taylor 2002: 304-317 as well as in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG).

Osrhoene and Mesopotamia to the Sasanian Empire and beyond.[22] Greek inscriptions are, for instance, known from Syriac-speaking centers such as Edessa, Tella, Amid, and Nisibis, to name only a few. As expressions of the so-called 'epigraphic habit', inscriptions are not necessarily indicative of language use.[23] These inscriptions do, however, at the very least establish that Greek was present in the Syriac-speaking world.

More compelling evidence for the interaction of Greek and Syriac derives from papyrological documents.[24] As already mentioned, more than 150 documents were discovered at Dura-Europos. A majority of these are written in Greek or Latin though there are also a few in Iranian or Aramaic.[25] In addition, one of the documents is (mostly) in Syriac: P.Dura 28, which is a bill of sale for a female slave dated 9 May 243.[26] The main text of the document is in Syriac as are most of the signatures; the signature of the στρατηγός Aurelius Abgar, however, is in Greek as is that of Aurelius Mannos, who is described in Greek as 'the one in charge of the sacred and civic (archives)' (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πολειτικοῦ). An even higher degree of interaction between Greek and Syriac is found in the third-century cache of texts known as P.Euph that likely originated from Appadana (Neapolis), just north of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. This cache includes two Syriac parchments (P.Euph 19, 20),[27] as

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[22] A useful collection is available in Canali De Rossi 2004. A number of these inscriptions are found with additional discussion in Merkelbach and Stauber 2005.

[23] Fraade 2012: 22*-23*. For the 'epigraphic habit', see MacMullen 1982; Meyer 1990.

[24] For a general discussion of papyrology in the Roman Near East, see Gascou 2009. A checklist of papyrological texts is available in Cotton, Cockle, and Millar 1995.

[25] All are edited in Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959.

[26] The most accessible version of the text is Drijvers and Healey 1999: 232-236 [s.v. P1]. See also Bellinger and Welles 1935; Goldstein 1966; Healey 2009: 264-275; Torrey 1935; Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 142-149 with pl. LXIX, LXXI. Plates are also found in Moller 1988: 185-186.

[27] P.Euph 19 is a transfer of debt dated 28 Dec. 240 (the most accessible version of the text is Drijvers and Healey 1999: 237-242 [s.v. P2]; see also Aggoula 1992: 391-399; Brock 1991;

well as nineteen Greek papyri and parchments.[28] On several of the Greek documents, there is additional writing in Syriac. P.Euph 6, for instance, along with its duplicate P.Euph 7, records the sale of a slave in Greek, which is followed by seven lines of Syriac summarizing the sale. These two caches of documents illustrate the high degree of interaction between Greek-speakers and Syriac-speakers, at least on the official level of administration, already in the third century CE.

3.4   Analyzing Contact-Induced Changes in Syriac due to Greek

Based on inscriptions and documents, it can be established that Greek and Syriac co-existed in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. It is now necessary to investigate how best to classify contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek within the typology of Van Coetsem. Based on the arguments presented in Chapter §2, this study adopts the three-fold typology of contact-induced change proposed by Van Coetsem. First, there is borrowing (recipient language agentivity) in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the recipient language. Borrowing results primarily in the transfer of lexemes. The second broad category of language contact is that of imposition (source language agentivity), in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the source language. Imposition results primarily in the transfer of phonology, syntax, and to a more limited extent morphology. Finally, there is neutralization in

Healey 2008; 2009: 252-264; Teixidor 1989: 220; 1990: 144-154 [includes two plates]). P.Euph 20 is a property lease dated 1 Sept. 242 (the most accessible version of the text is Drijvers and Healey 1999: 243-248 [s.v. P3]; see also Aggoula 1992: 391-399; Brock 1991; Teixidor 1989; 1990: 154-157; 1991-1992 [includes two plates]).
[28] These are edited in Feissel and Gascou 1989; 1995; 2000; Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997.

which an individual is equally dominant in two languages. Any feature can be transferred in neutralization.

The question to be addressed now is how best to classify contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek. Is this a situation of borrowing, imposition, or neutralization in Van Coetsem's typology? It is proposed that this contact situation is best analyzed as a situation of borrowing in which speakers linguistically dominant in the recipient language, Syriac, transferred features from the source language, Greek. This analysis is supported by the socio-linguistic context as well as by the linguistic data.

The evidence for this question is unfortunately slim being almost entirely restricted to literary sources that do not provide unbiased accounts of language use. In addition, the meager evidence that is available is not representative of the population as a whole, but rather it relates exclusively to a restricted subset of the population, particularly authors and public figures. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it is important to see what the literary sources can reveal about language use among the Late Antique population of Syria and Mesopotamia.[29]

It is convenient to divide the population of Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia into two categories: those whose native language was Greek and those whose native language was Syriac.[30] The latter group is discussed first. Among the segment of the population whose native language was Syriac, there was a continuum of knowledge of Greek. On one end of the continuum, there were those who had little to no knowledge of Greek. Included in this group was the 'Persian sage' Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345), author of 23 *Demonstrations* (*taḥwyɔtɔ*),[31] who

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[29] For the following, see the earlier discussion in Brock 1994: 153-158; 1998: 714-717.

[30] It should be recalled from the previous chapter that native language is not necessarily the same as dominant language (see p. 21-22, 28-30 above).

[31] Edited in Parisot 1894-1907. Several scholars, most notably Fiey (1968), have argued that the text transmitted as *Demonstration* 14 may have been written by a different author and only

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lived in the Sassanian empire and who probably did not know any Greek.[32] Similarly, the well-known author and poet Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), who spent most of his life in Nisibis, is usually said to have known little to no Greek.[33] It should be noted, however, that the baptistery in the Church at Nisibis where Ephrem was a deacon contains a Greek building inscription dated to 359/360.[34] So, at the very least, Ephrem must have been exposed to written Greek. Moving a little later in time, the influential West-Syriac poet Yaꜥqub of Serugh (d. 521) likely had no knowledge of Greek (Brock 1994: 157), even though he studied Syriac translations of Greek writings in Edessa.[35] Undoubtedly, a large number of other individuals in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia could be added to these who spoke (and wrote) in Syriac, but who had little to no knowledge of Greek. These people were all linguistically dominant in Syriac.

Among the people whose native language was Syriac, there were also those who learned some Greek but likely lacked a high degree of proficiency in the language. Within this group was likely Philoxenos (d. 523), bishop of Mabbug.[36] Philoxenos was born outside of the Roman Empire in Beth Garmai, and he was educated in Edessa at the School of the Persians.[37] Throughout his career, Philoxenos was actively involved in trying to incorporate Greek

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added secondarily to the collection, which would then have originally contained 22 (not 23) *Demonstrations*. For rebuttal, see Owens 1983: 4-9.

[32] So Brock 1975: 81; Van Rompay 1996: 621. For Aphrahaṭ more generally, see Baarda 1975: 2-10; Brock, in *GEDSH*, 24-25; Bruns 1991: 1.41-47; Parisot 1894-1907: ix-xxi; Pierre 1988-1989: 1.33-41; Ridolfini 2006: 14-22; Wright 1869: 1-10

[33] See, e.g,. Pat-El 2006: 43. For additional references, see below at pp. 403-405. For Ephrem more generally, see, Brock, in *GEDSH*, 145-147; a guide to Ephrem's works is available in Brock 2007b; a bibliography on Ephrem is available in den Biesen 2011.

[34] Bell 1982: 143-145 with plates 70-83; Canali De Rossi 2004: 39 (no. 62).

[35] Jacob mentions this in his *Letter 14* (ed. Olinder 1937: 58-61). For discussion, see Becker 2006: 52-53; Jansma 1965; Van Rompay 2010: 207 with n. 22.

[36] For Philoxenos, see de Halleux 1963; Michelson 2007.

[37] For the School of the Persians, see Becker 2006.

theological idioms into Syriac and even sponsored new translations of Greek works, including a new translation of the New Testament by Polykarpos (the now lost Philoxenian Version). Philoxenos's writings survive only in Syriac, but it is clear that he knew some Greek. There are, however, indications that his knowledge of Greek was limited. In his *Commentary on John*, for instance, Philoxenos discusses the similarity in spelling between the Greek words γένεσις 'becoming' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 343) and γέννησις 'birth' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344), stating:

> 'The reading of the words "becoming" and "birth" are similar to one another in the Greek language, because two *nwn*'s are placed one after another in "becoming," but only one in "birth"' (de Halleux 1977: 43.17-19).

Philoxenos is correct to point out that Greek γένεσις and γέννησις are similar in spelling; he, however, confuses the two words claiming that the former has two *n*'s and the latter only one.[38] It should be noted that this is not an isolated slip, but that other such mistakes involving Greek are found in Philoxenos's writings.[39] A further indication that Philoxenos had a limited knowledge of Greek is that he did not undertake translations from Greek himself, but rather he commissioned translators such as Polykarpos.[40] Finally, when writing to Maron of Anazarbus, Philoxenos mentions that his letter would be translated from Syriac to Greek, which was presumably the language that Anazarbus read.[41] This likely implies that Philoxenos was unable to respond in Greek, and so he wrote the letter in Syriac and then had it translated into Greek.[42] Thus, though he clearly had some knowledge of Greek, Philoxenos seems to have lacked a high degree of proficiency in the language, probably to the point that he could not write or speak

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[38] For discussion, see de Halleux 1963: 22.
[39] See de Halleux 1963: 123-124.
[40] So Brock 1994: 157.
[41] The relevant passage is found in Lebon 1930: 55.21.22 (Syr.); 80.12-13 (LT).
[42] For a similar interpretation, see de Halleux 1963: 21; Lebon 1930: 80 n. 2.

fluently. This is likely the case for a number of other native Syriac-speakers in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. People at this point of the continuum were linguistically dominant in Syriac even if they had some knowledge of Greek.

There were also native Syriac-speakers who learned enough Greek to be able to speak and/or write in the language. One such person was Yuḥanon of Tella (d. 538), who was born in Kallinikos in 482.[43] According to his *Vita*, Yuḥanon's father died when he was only two and half years old, but his mother and grandparents 'educated him in the writing (*sep̄rɔ*) and wisdom of the Greeks' (Brooks 1907: 39.22). The word 'writing' (*sep̄rɔ*) in this passage could refer to writing in the sense of 'literature', but it could also refer to writing in the sense of 'literacy'.[44] His education was facilitated by a 'teacher' (Syriac *pdgwgʾ* < παιδαγωγός [Liddell and Scott 1996: 1286]), who was charged with instructing him in the pagan Greek authors. Yuḥanon was also employed in the *praetorium* of the *dux* in Kallinikos (Brooks 1907: 39.23-24)[45] and had all of the preparation necessary for a profitable secular career. Against his mother's wishes, Yuḥanon adopted a monastic life and eventually became bishop of Tella. His writings that survive are only in Syriac, and there is no evidence that he ever wrote in Greek. It

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[43] For Yuḥanon of Tella, see Menze, in *GEDSH*, 447-448. An informative *Vita* of Yuḥanon of Tella survives (ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95 with an English translation in Ghanem 1970). A shorter *Vita* is found in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. 589) (ed. Brooks 1923-1925: 2.513-526).

[44] In a passage of special interest to literacy and gender in Late Antiquity, P.Dura 28 concludes: 'I PN confess that I wrote on behalf of PN my wife in the subscription because she does not know "writing" (*sprʾ*)' (lns. 20-22). This clearly establishes one of the meanings of *sep̄rɔ* as 'literacy', a definition not found, for example, in Sokoloff 2009: 1035.

[45] Both words in the Syriac text are ultimately of Latin origin: Latin *praetorium* (Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969: 1436) > πραιτώριον (Daris 1991: 93; Lampe 1961: 1126-1127) ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ *prṭwryn* 'governor's residence' (Brooks 1907: 39.23); Latin *dux* (Glare 1982: 582; Lewis and Short 1969: 621) > δούξ (Daris 1991: 41-42; Liddell and Scott 1996: 447) > ܕܘܟܣ *dwks* 'leader' (Brooks 1907: 39.23). For Latin loanwords in Syriac, see §4.8.

is, however, clear that he could speak Greek, because Greek is said to serve as the common language between Yuḥanon and his Persian captors in one episode in his *Vita*:

> 'When the Marzaban heard this, he immediately commanded that he (*viz.* Yuḥanon of Tella) sit before him on the ground, and he spoke with him through an interpreter. That one said to him in Greek, "How did a man such as you dare to cross into our place without us? Do you not know that this is another polity?"[46] The blessed one said to him through the interpreter in Greek, "It is not the first time that I have crossed into this land…' (Brooks 1907: 71.21-72.2).

This passage establishes that Yuḥanon of Tella could speak Greek; it also provides an interesting glimpse into the use of Greek in the Sassanian Empire in the early sixth century. Thus, Yuḥanon of Tella provides an example of a native Syriac-speaker who received a Greek education as a child that enabled him to communicate in Greek later in life. It seems clear that people like Yuḥanon of Tella, who knew enough Greek to communicate, would still have been dominant speakers of Syriac.

Moving along the continuum, there were those whose native language was Syriac and who also had a high degree of knowledge of Greek. To this group, one could point to translators such as Pawlos of Kallinikos (first half of 6th cent.) and Sergios of Reshʿayna (d. 536), both of whom clearly had high facility in Greek.[47] Unfortunately, little is known about their biographies so it is difficult to say much about their language use. More is, however, known about the language use of Rabbula (d. 435/436), the controversial bishop of Edessa.[48] In his *Vita*, Rabbula is said to have been instructed in Greek 'writing' as part of his education:[49]

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[46] The word translated here as 'polity' is Syriac *pwlyṭyʾ* < πολιτεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1434).

[47] For the former, see Van Rompay, in *GEDSH*, 323-324 and (with more detail) King 2007; 2008: 175-177, *passim*. For the latter, see Brock, in *GEDSH*, 366 with additional references.

[48] For Rabbula, see Blum 1969. A Syriac *Vita* of Rabbula survives (ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209 with an English translation in Doran 2006: 65-105).

[49] Cf. Becker 2006: 11; Drijvers 1999: 141.

'When he grew up, he was instructed in Greek "writing" (*sep̄rɔ*) as a child of rich nobles of the city of Qenneshrin' (Overbeck 1865: 160.25-27).

As in the case of Yuḥanon of Tella (discussed above), the word 'writing' (*sep̄rɔ*) in this passage could refer to 'literature' or 'literacy'. A clearer picture of Rabbula's language use can be obtained from the fact that Rabbula wrote and spoke in both Greek and Syriac. Several of his works related to regulating clergy and monastics were written in Syriac (*CPG* 6490-6492).[50] His *Vita* relays that he also wrote 46 letters in Greek.[51] In addition, he is said to have translated Cyril of Alexandria's 'On Orthodox Faith' from Greek to Syriac (*CPG* 6497).[52] Finally, it is known that he preached a homily in Constantinople in Greek (*CPG* 6496).[53]

The homily that Rabbula preached in Constantinople in Greek provides further evidence concerning his language use. He begins this homily by expressing hesitancy about speaking Greek in front of a native Greek-speaking audience:

'We are small in our word (*mɛllt̠ɔ*) and in our knowledge. You, however, are great in spiritual wisdom and in acuteness of language (*lṭišut̠ɔ dlɛ*š*ɔnɔ*). Because of this, who would not be afraid in a church such as this!' (Overbeck 1865: 239.5-8).

The contrast between Rabbula being small in word (*mɛllt̠ɔ*) and his audience being large in acuteness of language (*lṭišut̠ɔ dlɛ*š*ɔnɔ*) suggests that Rabbula was not entirely comfortable speaking Greek and that he probably would have preferred to deliver his homily in Syriac. A little later in the homily he goes on to apologize more explicitly for his facility in Greek, since he was a 'man of the countryside (*quryɔyɔ*) and living among country-folk (*quryɔye*) (where) it

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[50] Edited in Overbeck 1865: 210-221; Vööbus 1960: 24-50, 78-86. Cf. Vööbus 1970a: 128-138; 1970b: 307-315. Some of these are of dubious authenticity.
[51] Overbeck 1865: 200.18-23. Several letters that are attributed to him, or selections thereof, are preserved in Syriac (*CPG* 6493-6495; ed. Overbeck 1865: 222-238).
[52] For the question of authorship of this translation, see King 2008: 27-28. Cf. Brock 1998: 716 n. 17.
[53] The text survives only in Syriac translation (ed. Overbeck 1865: 239-244). For discussion, see Blum 1969: 131-149.

is Syriac that we mostly speak' (Overbeck 1865: 241.11-12). While these statements likely involve some rhetorical modesty,[54] they do still seem to suggest that Rabbula was linguistically dominant in Syriac. Thus, when Rabbula was speaking Greek in Constantinople, it would be a situation of imposition, since he had linguistic dominance in the source language, Syriac. This would have resulted in the transfer of Syriac phonology and syntax into his Greek, changes of which Rabbula himself seems to have been all too well aware.[55] When Rabbula was speaking Syriac, however, it would be a situation of borrowing since he had linguistic dominance in the recipient language. Thus, Rabbula seems to have had linguistic dominance in Syriac and so could borrow from Greek into Syriac; he also spoke Greek, though not as his linguistically dominant language, in which case he would have imposed Syriac features onto Greek.

Rabbula fell far along on the continuum of knowledge of Greek among native Syriac-speakers. He was not, however, at the end of this continuum. There were native speakers of Syriac who wrote exclusively in Greek and seem to have been more a part of the Greco-Roman world than the Syriac-speaking one. One such person is Eusebius of Emesa (died before 359).[56] Eusebius was born in Edessa around 300, and so his native language would have been Syriac. In addition, Eusebius spoke Greek fluently and wrote, it seems, entirely in that language.

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[54] So already Brock 1967: 155. In his *The Orator's Education* (4.1.9; ed. Russell 2001), for instance, Quintilian notes that a standard rhetorical 'trick' (*simulatio*) of the προοίμιον is to feign to be inexperienced or incompetent. As a Syriac comparison, many of the *memre* by Yaʿqub of Sarug (d. 521) begin with a προοίμιον in which he declares his inadequacy for expressing his subject matter (see Blum 1983: 308-309). For Greek rhetorical training in the Syriac milieu, see Watt 1985; 1986; 1987; 1989; 1990; 1993a; 1993b; 1994a; 1994b; 1995; 1998; 1999; 2005; 2009.

[55] As a comparison, the "Syrian rhetor" Lucian of Samosata mentions his foreign accent when speaking Greek (*The Double Indictment*; ed. Harmon 1921: 136-137; cf. Becker 2006: 11).

[56] For Eusebius of Emesa, see ter Haar Romeny 1997: 7-12; Petit, Van Rompay, and Weitenberg 2011: xxiii-xxix; Van Rompay, in *GEDSH*, 155; Winn 2011.

Unfortunately, little else can be definitively said about Eusebius's language use.[57] A clearer picture of language use, however, can be found with Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393-466).[58] Theodoret was born in Antioch to wealthy parents, and he seems to have received a thoroughly Greek education. He wrote a number of works in Greek, including biblical commentaries, dogmatic works, an ecclesiastical history, a hagiography of monks from Syria, as well as the *Cure for Hellenic Maladies*, which engages with pagan Greek thought and philosophy. His written Greek is of a very high literary character.[59] Notwithstanding his facility in Greek, it is known that Theodoret also spoke Syriac. This is clear from a number of passages in his *History of the Monks of Syria* in which he converses with monks in Syriac.[60] In one instance, Theodoret even understands a demon speaking to him in Syriac (21.15-16).[61] What is especially important for the argument being made here is that Theodoret not only spoke Syriac, but that Syriac seems to have been his native language. The clearest evidence for this derives from a passage in the *Cure for Hellenic Maladies*, in which Theodoret states:

> καὶ ταῦτα λέγω οὐ τὴν Ἑλλάδα σμικρύνων φωνήν ἧς ἀμηγέπη μετέλαχον οὐδὲ ἐναντία γε αὐτῇ ἐκτίνων τροφεῖα … 'I say these things not to belittle the Greek language, *in which I have obtained a share to some extent*, nor to not make a return to it for bringing me up …' (Canivet 1958: 5.75).[62]

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[57] For discussion, see ter Haar Romeny 1997: 9-10 along with Brock 1998: 715 with n. 15.

[58] For Theodoret, see Urbainczyk 2002.

[59] Photius (d. ca. 893) praises it in his *Bibliotheca*, 31 (Henry 1959-1991: 1.17-18).

[60] For discussion, see Urbainczyk 2000. The text is edited in Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen 1977-1979 with an English translation in Price 1985.

[61] It should be noted that Brock uses this as evidence that Theodoret "normally spoke Syriac" (1994: 154 n. 27).

[62] It remains unclear what exactly Theodoret intends with ἀμηγεπη, which typically means 'in one way or another' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 82). The translation above follows Urbainczyk (2002: 17) and Millar (2007: 117) in rendering it 'to some extent'. Canivet translates 'qui est bien un peu la mienne' (1958: 250).

In its most straight-forward interpretation, this passage implies that Greek was not Theodoret's native language.[63] Thus, Theodoret's native language seems to have been Syriac. In addition, based on his use of Syriac in the *History of the Monks of Syria*, it can be surmised that Theodoret continued to speak this language well into his adult life. Finally, it is clear that Theodoret also had a very high knowledge of Greek. Given these points, Theodoret would represent the very far end of the continuum of Syriac-speakers who learned Greek. In Van Coetsem's typology, he would probably be approaching neutralization in which an individual is equally dominant in two languages.

So, to summarize up to this point, there was a continuum of knowledge of Greek among people whose native language was Syriac in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. At one end of the continuum, there were those like Aphrahaṭ, Ephrem, and Yaʿqub of Serugh, who likely had little to no knowledge of Greek. At the other end of the continuum, there was someone like Theodoret, whose native language seems to have been Syriac, but who wrote extensively in a very high register of Attic Greek and who was fully at home in the Greco-Roman world. In between these two poles, there were a number of native Syriac-speakers who had some knowledge of Greek, from Philoxenos and his limited facility in the language to Rabbula and

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[63] So also Bardenhewer 1924: 221; Bardy 1948: 19; Brock 1998: 714; Canivet 1977: 38-39 with n. 11. More recently, however, this interpretation has been questioned. Urbainczyk (2002: 16-17), for instance, accepts the straight-forward interpretation of the sentence, but proposes that it is to be understood ironically, since Theodoret is after all writing in Greek. Similarly, Millar (2007: 117) argues that this is 'a conventional expression of modesty' on the part of Theodoret. It should be noted, however, that both Urbainczyk and Millar have an ulterior motive for rejecting the straight-forward interpretation of the passage: neither thinks that Syriac was in fact Theodoret's first language. Their arguments for this are, however, insufficient, being built around the logic that Theodoret is a major author of literary Greek, *ergo* he must have been a native speaker of Greek. This argument does not hold up, since literary ability and native language are not directly correlated.

his ability to write and speak fluently. Thus, there is ample – albeit mostly anecdotal – evidence that a number of native Syriac-speakers learned Greek to varying degrees, but remained linguistically dominant in Syriac.

Shifting now to the segment of the Late Antique population whose native language was Greek, an interesting difference emerges. There are no attested cases in which a native Greek-speaker is known to have learned Syriac. This is of course an argument from silence, but it is striking nonetheless. The lack of evidence for Greek-speakers learning Syriac provides an important contrast for the situation described above for Syriac-speakers learning Greek. One particularly remarkable foil is Severus (d. 538), who was patriarch of Antioch between 512 and 518 and who continued to serve as the leader of the anti-Chalcedonians until his death.[64] Severus was born to a pagan family in Sozopolis in Pisidia, a region in south-western Anatolia. As a native of Pisidia, his native language would have been Greek. He was educated in Alexandria and then in Beirut. While in Beirut, he converted to Christianity and eventually became a monk. He was elected Patriarch of Antioch in 512, but in 518 with the ascension of the pro-Chalcedonian Justin I he was forced to flee to Egypt, where he spent the remainder of his life. Of particular interest to the current discussion is Severus's time in Antioch as Patriarch. While Antioch had a large Greek-speaking population, many members of Severus's patriarchate would have been Syriac-speaking, especially moving east. Thus, he would have had good reasons to learn Syriac. There is, however, no indication that he ever did this. All of Severus's oeuvre was written in Greek and then translated into Syriac during his lifetime. In addition, and more importantly to the point being made here, there is no evidence that he had

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[64] For Severus, see Brock, in *GEDSH*, 368-369 and (with more detail) Allen and Hayward 2004.

the ability to use Syriac in any capacity. This is particularly interesting since Syriac-speakers were extremely receptive to Severus, who became one of the most popular and influential leaders of the anti-Chalcedonians. Thus, Severus provides an instructive contrast to Syriac-speakers learning Greek. He is a native speaker of Greek who had various reasons to learn Syriac, but there is no indication that he actually did so. Severus is not an isolated example; he seems to be representative of Greek-speakers in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia in that he did *not* learn Syriac.

With the socio-linguistic evidence now laid out, the discussion turns to how contact-induced changes in Syriac are to be analyzed within Van Coetsem's typology. There are no known examples in which a native Greek-speaker learned Syriac. Thus, there is no occasion for imposition with native Greek-speakers.[65] With native Syriac-speakers, there is a continuum of knowledge of Greek. In a vast majority of the known cases, if not all of them, these speakers remained linguistically dominant in Syriac.[66] Thus, they would have borrowed from Greek into Syriac when using Syriac and imposed from Syriac into Greek if using Greek. Based on the socio-linguistic evidence that is available, then, contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek

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[65] It is, of course, likely that there were at least a few native Greek-speakers who learned Syriac. Their numbers would, however, have been very small, and thus it is unlikely that any changes in their Syriac due to imposition would have spread throughout the Syriac-speaking population. For the distinction between contact-induced change on the individual level and the diffusion of those changes to the broader community, see Van Coetsem 2000: 40, 57, 281.

[66] At the very far end of the continuum of knowledge of Greek among native Syriac-speakers, there may have been a small segment of the population who had equal linguistic dominance in Greek and Syriac, such as perhaps Theodoret, or who even had a switch of linguistic dominance from Syriac to Greek. In these limited cases, there would have been neutralization or imposition, respectively. It should be noted, however, that the number of such individuals would again have been so small that it is unlikely that any changes in their Syriac would have spread throughout the Syriac-speaking population as a whole.

should be analyzed as borrowing in which the agents of change were dominant speakers of the recipient language.

The linguistic data corroborate this analysis of borrowing. Syriac contains a large number of Greek loanwords. There are in fact more than eight-hundred Greek loanwords attested in pre-eighth-century Syriac texts that were not translated from Greek.[67] As discussed earlier, the transfer of lexemes is the expected effect of borrowing.[68] In contrast, the types of changes that are associated with imposition are not found in Syriac: there is no evidence for the systematic transfer of phonological, morphological, or syntactic features from Greek to Syriac. The only phonological features transferred are associated with loanword integration, such as the 'emphatic' *p* (see §5.2.12). The only Greek morphological features in Syriac are secondary developments due to analogy, such as the *Berufsname* suffix *-ɔrɔ* (see §7.3.3). The syntactic features transferred are cases of grammatical replication in which speakers of Syriac created a new grammatical structure on the model of a structure in Greek (see §8-10). These cases of grammatical replication, however, are isolated, non-systematic, and of limited scope in contrast to the transfer typically witnessed in imposition.[69] Thus, the linguistic evidence also suggests that the contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek should be analyzed as borrowing and not as imposition or neutralization.

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[67] These are analyzed in detail in §3-7.

[68] See Smits 1996: 32-33, 38; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74-109; Van Coetsem 1988: 10-11; 1995: 77-80; 1997: 358-359; 2000: 53, 67-73, 137-166.

[69] For a discussion of how grammatical replication (or the transfer of structure more generally) fits within a situation of borrowing, see §11.2.

3.5   Conclusion

Aramaic-speakers were in contact with the Greek language from the middle of the first millennium BCE. Alexander the Great's defeats of Darius III in the 330s BCE ultimately led to the establishment of Seleucid control over Syria and Mesopotamia. With the Seleucid Empire came the foundation of Hellenistic cities and the use of Greek as the official language of Empire in the region. Contact between Aramaic and Greek became even more pronounced with the Roman conquest of the area in the first centuries of the Common Era. Thus, the Syriac-speaking culture that comes into view in the first centuries of the Common Era was one that had been in contact with the Greco-Roman world and its Greek language for centuries. Given that Greek was the official language of the (Eastern) Roman Empire, it is no surprise that many native Syriac-speakers learned it to one degree or another. Interestingly, there are no indications that Greek-speakers ever learned Syriac. This suggests that the contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek should be analyzed as the result of borrowing within the typology of Van Coetsem. That is, they are the result of dominant speakers of Syriac transferring features from Greek into their own language. This analysis is corroborated by the linguistic data, since it is primarily loanwords, which are more common in borrowing, that were transferred into Syriac from Greek and not phonology or syntax, which are more common in imposition.

Part II: Loanwords

4   Greek Loanwords in Syriac: The Methodological Framework

> "No language is entirely free from borrowed words, because no nation has ever been completely isolated" (Jespersen 1922: 208 n. 1)

4.1   Overview

It is widely recognized that one of the most basic effects of language contact is the transfer of lexemes from one language to another. In his *Language*, for instance, Sapir notes that "[t]he simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the 'borrowing' of words" (1921: 193). Given the prolonged period of contact between Syriac and Greek described in Chapter §3, it comes as no surprise that Syriac contains numerous Greek loanwords. There are in fact more than eight-hundred Greek loanwords attested in pre-eighth-century Syriac texts that were not translated from Greek. The passage in (4-1) provides several examples of Greek loanwords in Syriac:

(4-1)   *Memrɔ on Elijah and his Ascension into Heaven* by Yaʿqub of Serugh (d. 521; ed. Bedjan 1905-1910: 4.226-259; see also Kaufman 2009: 349-427)

ܗܘܐ ܐ ܓܠܐܐ ܘܩܝܪܘܣܐ ܦܘܠܓ ܒܗ ܒܕ ܗܠܟܐ ܒܠܗ ܫܒܐ

ܘܗܡܝ, ܓܠܝ ܗܒܪ ܚܒܝܗ ܡܒܪܟ ܐܪܝܬܐ ܘܗܒܕܐ ܟܐ ܓܠܝ ,ܗܡܒ

ܠܟܐ ܦܘܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܪܘܝܡܗ ܘܗܠܟܐ ܚܝܐ ܐܪܝ ܕܠܐܝܬܪܝ ܗܡܪܐ

ܘܫܘܪ ܐܪܝ ܐܡܟܐ ܐܪ ܚܒܡܒܕ ܪܐܟ ܘܗܡ ܗܡܝ ܒܪܚ

ܗܒܠ ܚܒܘܬܐ ܒܒܝܡܐ ܠܟܐܠ ܐܡܝ ܒܚܝܐ ܚܒܐ ܒܚܘܬܐ

kmɔ	ʾgᵂ̈nʾ	wqʾr̈sʾ	pḡaʿ(w)	beh
how	**contest-M.PL.EMP**	and + **battle-M.PL.EMP**	encounter-SUF.M.PL	in + him

	bʿɔlmɔ	bišɔ
	in + world-M.SG.EMP	evil-M.SG.EMP

whayden	ʿaḇreh	lʾaṯrɔ	dmawtɔ
and + then	cross-SUF.3.M.SG + him	to + place-M.SG.EMP	NML + death-M.SG.EMP

	wʾaḡhi	mɛnneh
	and + escape-SUF.3.M.SG	from + him

lakmɔ	paḥḥe	bʾurḥeh	dʿɔlmɔ
to + how	trap-M.PL.EMP	in + way-F.SG.CON + him	NML + world-M.SG.EMP

	ḥzɔ	daṭmirin
	see-SUF.3.M.SG	NML + be.hidden-PART.M.PL.ABS

wašwar	ʾennon	bʿamlɔ	rabbɔ
and + leap-SUF.3.M.SG	them-M	in + world-M.SG.EMP	great-M.SG.EMP

	wḵen	ʾɛtnaṣṣaḥ
	and + then	succeed-SUF.3.M.SG

kmɔ	**kyṁwnʾ**	nahzuh	lʾɛllp̄eh
how	**storm-M.PL.EMP**	shake-SUF.3.M.PL + her	to + boat-F.SG.CON + his

	byammɔ	miṯɔ
	in + sea-M.SG.EMP	dead-M.SG.DET

whayden	maṭṭi	lhɔnɔ	**lmʾnʾ**	dlɔ	mɔyote
and + then	arrive-SUF.3.M.SG	to + this-M	**harbor-M.SG.EMP**	NML + NEG	dead-M.PL.EMP

kmɔ	ʾeṯkattaš	ʿam	šalliṭɔ	dnɔṭar	**ʾʾr**
how	struggle-SUF.3.M.SG	with	ruler-M.SG.EMP	NML + guard-PART.M.SG.ABS	air

'How many **contests** and **battles** encountered him in this evil world

until he crossed over the place of death and escaped it?

How many hidden traps did he see in the path of the world

until he jumped over them with great effort and so succeed?

How many **storms** shook his boat in the mortal sea

until he arrived at the **harbor** of the immortals?

How much did he struggle with the ruler who guards the **air** ...' (233.11-17)

This seven line excerpt derives from a *memrɔ*, or metrical homily, written in Syriac by the influential West-Syriac poet Yaʿqub of Serugh (d. 521). The author was a native Syriac-speaker who probably had no knowledge of Greek.[1] In all likelihood, this homily was preached to a Syriac-speaking congregation located somewhere near the Euphrates, perhaps in either Ḥawra or Baṭnan da-Serugh. Five of the sixteen substantives in the excerpt have a Greek origin:

(4-2) a. ܐܐܪ *ʾʾr* 'air' < ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30)

   b. ܐܓܘܢܐ *ʾgwnʾ* 'contest' < ἀγών (Lampe 1961: 25; Liddell and Scott 1996: 18-19)

   a. ܟܝܡܘܢܐ *kymwnʾ* 'storm' < χειμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1983)

   c. ܠܡܐܢܐ *lmʾnʾ* 'harbor' < λιμήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1050)

   d. ܩܪܣܐ *qʾrsʾ* 'battle' < καιρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 859-860)

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[1] Brock 1994: 157.

These words illustrate the topic of the next four chapters (§4-7): Greek loanwords in Syriac. The current chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of research on Greek loanwords in Syriac, and then it turns to the relevant methodological issues.

4.2   History of Research

The Greek loanwords in Syriac have been an object of study for more than a millennium. Already in the ninth century, the well-known translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 873) wrote several treatises on Syriac lexicography that likely touched upon Greek loanwords in Syriac. In addition to his work on homographs *Kṯoḇo dašmohe domyoye* 'Book of Similar Words',[2] he wrote a *Compendious Lexicon* (*lhksyqwn bḇosiqoṯo*), which unfortunately does not survive, though it in all likelihood included lemmata for Greek loanwords in Syriac. In addition, Ḥunayn authored a work entitled *puššoq šmohe yawnoye bsuryoyo* 'Explanation of Greek words with (*or* in?) Syriac'. Though again this work does not survive, it may well have been an early treatment dedicated solely to Greek loanwords in Syriac.[3]

Ḥunayn's lexicographical work was incorporated into a number of later lexica. This includes the *Lexicon* of his student Ishoꜥ bar ꜥAli, who lived in the second half of the ninth century.[4] In the introduction to his *Lexicon*, Bar ꜥAli states that he employed the *Lexicon* of Ḥunayn as well as that of another ninth-century lexicographer, Ishoꜥ of Merv, when compiling

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[2] Edited in Hoffmann 1880a: 2-49 along with Gottheil 1887: *61-*67; 1889.
[3] So Taylor, in *GEDSH*, 392.
[4] The *Lexicon* is edited in Hoffmann 1874; Gottheil 1910-1928. There has been a good deal of confusion in the secondary literature concerning the biography and identity of the lexicographer Bar ꜥAli; for which, now see Butts, in *GEDSH*, 53-54 and (with more detail) Butts 2009a.

his own *Lexicon*.[5] Bar ʿAli's *Lexicon* includes a number of Greek loanwords that are explained in Syriac and/or in Arabic. In the mid-tenth century, another lexicographer Ḥasan bar Bahlul composed a large *Lexicon*,[6] which relied on Ḥunayn as well as other sources. Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, like Bar ʿAli's, contains a considerable number of Greek loanwords with Syriac and/or Arabic definitions. The lexica of Bar ʿAli and Bar Bahlul represent extensive treatments of Greek loanwords in Syriac within the Syriac tradition itself.

The lexica of Bar ʿAli and Bar Bahlul were incorporated into the two large Syriac lexica that were published at the end of the nineteenth century: the *Thesaurus Syriacus* by Robert Payne Smith (1879-1901), which appeared in an English abridgment as *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* by his daughter Jessie (1903), and, to a lesser extent, the *Lexicon Syriacum* by Carl Brockelmann (1895 [1st ed.]; 1928 [2nd ed.]), which was recently translated into English, with substantial updates and corrections, as *A Syriac Lexicon* by Michael Sokoloff (2009). These two large Latin lexica, along with their English versions, include lemmata for most of the Greek loanwords that are found in Syriac texts.

Outside of the standard Syriac lexica, the only monographic study of Greek loanwords in Syriac is A. Schall's *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen* (1960).[7] This book is divided into two parts. The first provides an inventory of Greek loanwords found in non-translated Syriac literature up to Ephrem in the middle of the fourth century. The second lists Greek loanwords related to religion, cult, and myth that are found throughout Syriac literature, (unfortunately) disregarding diachronic considerations. While the first part is relatively

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[5] Ishoʿ of Merv is probably to be distinguished from Zekarya of Merv, who is often cited in the *Lexicon* of Ḥasan bar Bahlul (mid-tenth century). See Baumstark 1922: 241-242; Butts, in *GEDSH*, 216-217, against Duval 1907: 297.
[6] Edited in Duval 1888-1901.
[7] A valuable Greek-Syriac index for this work is provided in Voigt 1998a.

comprehensive, the second is not only limited in scope, but it also lacks a number of words and references.[8]

Since Schall's monograph, a number of studies have appeared that analyze Greek loanwords in individual corpora or authors.[9] The greatest bulk of this work has been carried out by Brock.[10] Despite this ever growing body of literature, a contact-linguistic analysis of Greek loanwords in Syriac continues to be a *desideratum*.[11]

4.3   Definition

In this study, a loanword is defined as a lexeme that has been transferred from the source language into the recipient language.[12] Loanwords always involve the transfer of phonetic material. That is, they are instances of *global copying*, as opposed to *selective copying*, in the Code-Copying Model developed by Johanson (see, e.g., 2002a) and *matter borrowing*, as opposed to *pattern borrowing*, in the framework of Matras and Sakel (2007b; 2007c). If phonetic material is not transferred, then it is not a case of lexical-transfer, but of lexical calque, grammatical replication (see §8-9), or other kinds of change.[13]

In the scholarly literature, the terms loanword and lexical borrowing have often been employed interchangeably.[14] This is unfortunate since the term borrowing has been used in so

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[8] So already Brock 1967: 389 with n. 5.

[9] A useful bibliography is available in Voigt 1999-2000.

[10] See, e.g., Brock 1967, 1975, 1982, 1994, 1996, 1999-2000, 2004, 2005, 2010.

[11] So also Brock 1967: 389, 426; 1996: 251-253; 2004: 39; Taylor 2002: 327 n. 61.

[12] A similar definition is found in Haspelmath 2008: 46. See also Haugen 1950b: 213-214. It should be noted that occasionally the input involves more than one lexeme. This is, for instance, the case with ܕܝܛܣܪܘܢ *dyṭsrwn* 'Diatessaron', from the Greek phrase διὰ τεσσάρων, which literally means 'through (the) four (Gospels)'.

[13] For some of these, see §8.5.

[14] See, e.g., Haspelmath 2009: 36.

many (contradictory) ways throughout the contact-linguistic literature (see §2.2). In this study, borrowing refers to a *type* – in the sense of typology – of contact-induced change in which the agents of change are dominant speakers of the recipient language (see §2.3-2.6). Since the transfer of lexemes is attested not only in situations of borrowing but also in situations of imposition and of neutralization, this study avoids the use of the term lexical borrowing. Thus, the lexeme that is transferred from the source language to the recipient language is termed a *loanword* (never a lexical borrowing), and the process is termed *lexical transfer* (never lexical borrowing).

4.4 Corpus

The four chapters in this study that deal with loanwords (§4-7) are based on a corpus of more than 800 Greek loanwords and their derivatives found in pre-eighth century Syriac texts that were not translated from Greek. This corpus has been populated from several sources: concordances to text;[15] indices to text editions that list Greek loanwords in Syriac, especially those published in the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (CSCO);[16] the readings of the present author;[17] as well as a systematic exploitation of Michael Sokoloff's *A Syriac*

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[15] New Testament (Kiraz 1993); *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (Lund 2007); *Book of Steps* (Kmosko 1926); *Demonstrations* by Aphrahaṭ (Parisot 1894-1907).

[16] Ephrem (Beck 1955; 1957a; 1957b; 1959a; 1960; 1961a; 1961b; 1962; 1963; 1964a; 1964b; 1966; 1970a; 1970b; 1979; Brock 1976); Yoḥannan Iḥidaya (Strothmann 1972; 1988); Philoxenos (Watt 1978); Yaʿqub of Sarug (Alwan 1989); *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (Reinink 1993); Isḥaq of Nineveh (Brock 1995a; Chialà 2011); *Memrɔ on Alexander the Great* (Reinink 1983).

[17] The most important additions – but not all – include (in chronological order): the *Odes of Solomon* (ed. Charlesworth 1973); the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ed. Drijvers 1965); Discourse 1 of Ephrem's *Prose Refutations* (ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58); *Teaching of Addai* (ed. Howard 1981); *Life of Rabbula* (ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209); *Letter on the Ḥimyarite Martyrs* by Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (ed. Guidi 1881); *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella* by Eliya (ed.

Lexicon (2009), which is a translation (with correction, expansion, and update) of the *Lexicon Syriacum* by Carl Brockelmann (1895 [1st ed.]; 1928 [2nd ed.]). Some lemmata in the corpus contain only a few references (or sometimes only one) whereas others contain more than a hundred.

In addition, it has been possible to search for additional occurrences of loanwords in three large 'databases': 1. the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL);[18] 2. the Oxford-BYU Syriac Corpus;[19] and 3. Dr. Sebastian Brock's more than two-thousand card files listing Greek loanwords in Syriac.[20] These three 'databases' have been consulted on numerous occasions (though not systematically) and have proven especially useful for establishing the first occurrence of a loanword in Syriac.

In the following chapters, citations of Greek loanwords in Syriac are systematically provided with references to Sokoloff 2009 (only rarely is a loanword not found in this *Lexicon*). The English translations in this study also derive from Sokoloff 2009. At times, secondary literature relevant to the particular point being made is cited; these citations are not

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Brooks 1907: 29-95); *Life of Marutha* by Denḥa (ed. Nau 1905a: 52–96). Systematic analysis was also conducted on selections from several authors, including Acts 1-7 of *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333 [Syr.]); two *memre* by Narsai (ed. Frishman 1992: 3-20, 69-86 [Syr.]); two *memre* by Yaʿqub of Sarug (ed. Bedjan 1905-1910: 2.1-27, 4.226-259); selection of the *Julian Romance* (ed. Hoffmann 1880b: 5-36); selected letters by Philoxenos (ed. Frothingham 1886: 28-48; Vaschalde 1902: 93-126); selections from the *Lives of Eastern Saints* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (ed. Brooks 1923-1925: 1.137-158; 2.513-526; 2.624-641); selected letters by Yaʿqub of Edessa (ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24; Rignell 1979).

[18] Accessible online at <http://cal.huc.edu/>. I am grateful to Stephen Kaufman (Professor Emeritus of Bible and Cognate Literature at HUC-JIR/Cincinnati) not only for developing and curating this important resource, but also for responding to inquiries on various occasions.

[19] I am grateful to Kristian Heal (Brigham Young University), who was generous enough to provide me with a Beta-version of the Oxford-BYU Syriac Corpus.

[20] I am grateful to Sebastian Brock (Emeritus Reader in Syriac Studies at Oxford University), who allowed me to digitize his card files over several weeks in August of 2011.

intended as exhaustive histories of scholarship of the loanword in question. In a number of instances, it has been important to establish the earliest occurence of a Greek loanword in Syriac. When this is the case, the earliest text attesting the loanword that is known to the present author is cited with a heading in bold giving the century of composition. Consider, for instance, the following loanword: ἔθος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 480) > ܥܝܕܐ *htws* 'custom' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 84.26 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 356). To the present author's knowledge, then, this word is not found in Syriac until the sixth century when it occurs in the *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella* by Eliya, which was edited by Brooks (1907: 29-95).

4.5 *Lehn- oder Fremdwörter?*

In the scholarly literature, a distinction is usually made between *Lehnwörter* and *Fremdwörter*.[21] The former are said to have been integrated, to one degree or another, into the recipient language, whereas the latter remain foreign words in the recipient language. Though scholars have at times considered this to be a binary opposition, it is more likely that *Lehnwörter* and *Fremdwörter* represent a continuum.

Within the context of Syriac-Greek language contact, it is often difficult to distinguish where a given word falls on the continuum between *Lehnwörter* and *Fremdwörter*.[22] There are, however, occasional clues. One such clue is the degree of integration, especially on the morpho-syntactic level.[23] Some Greek loanwords in Syriac, for instance, do not regularly occur

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[21] See, e.g., Brock 1975: 81; 1996: 261 n. 35; Ciancaglini 2008: 5, 23-25; Haspelmath 2009: 43; Joosten 1998: 42-43; Mankowski 2000: 8; Schall 1960: 9.

[22] So Brock 1975: 81. For similar remarks concerning Syriac and Iranian, see Ciancaglini 2008: 5.

[23] This is analyzed in detail in §6.

with the synthetic suffixed genitive pronouns, but rather prefer analytic independent possessive pronouns based on *dil-*, as in the following examples from the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (ca. 589) (ed. Brooks 1923-1925):

(4-3) a. ܐܝܣܘܢ ܕܠܗܝܢ *ʾyswn dilhen* 'a copy of them' (143.7-8)

     b. ܦܠܛܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ *plṭyn dilɔh* 'her palace' (430.7)

     c. ܣܩܠܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ *sqlrʾ dilɔh* 'her treasurer' (420.9-10)

The use of *dil-* in these examples suggests that ܐܝܣܘܢ *ʾyswn* (< ἴσον [Liddell and Scott 1996: 839]), ܦܠܛܝܢ *plṭyn* (< παλάτιον [Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291] < Latin *palatium* [Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291]), and ܣܩܠܪܐ *sqlrʾ* (< σακκελάριος [Lampe 1961: 1221]) are not fully incorporated into the Syriac of the author, and thus that they are closer to the *Fremdwörter* side of the continuum.[24]

The most compelling reason for which a particular word is analyzed as a *Fremdwort* and not as a *Lehnwort* in this study is that it is specifically designated as Greek.[25] Consider, for instance, Greek κῆτος 'sea-monster' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 949-950), which occurs several times in *Letter 13* on biblical questions by Yaʿqub of Edessa.[26] In the first occurrence, the word appears as a gloss:

(4-4) *Letter 13* by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Wright 1867)

ܗܘ ܕܠܘܬ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܡܗ ܟܐܬܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܟܝܬ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܦܐ ܡܛܠ

haw	dalwɔt	ʿɛbrɔye	man	mɛštammah
that-M	NML + toward	hebrew-M.PL.EMP	on.the.one.hand	be.named-PART.M.SG.ABS

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[24] See similarly Brock 1967: 390 n. 7.

[25] For a similar criterion with Iranian words in Syriac, see Ciancaglini 2008: 23-25.

[26] This is edited in Wright 1867; a French translation is available in Nau 1905b: 198-208, 258-277.

lwyt'n   lwot   yawnoye   den   metqre

lwyt'n toward   greek-M.P.EMP   on.the.other.hand be.called-PART.M.SG.ABS

qytws

qytws

'which on the one hand is called *lwyt'n* (= Leviathan) among the Hebrews (and) on the

other hand *qytws* among the Greeks' (13.21-22)

In the next four occurrences, the word is again designated as a gloss, either with ܡܬܩܪܐ *metqre*

'it is called' (13.27; 14.28) or with an equation formulation, e.g., ܬܢܝܢܐ ܐܘܟܝܬ ܩܘܛܘܣ *tannino*

'awket qytws 'the sea-serpent, that is *qytws*' (14.5; similarly in 14.8). In the final instance, the

word is not marked as a gloss:

(4-5)   *Letter 13* by Ya'qub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Wright 1867)

ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܩܘܛܘܣ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܒܡܝܐ ܐܬܐܡܪܬ ܡܢܗ

lo   (h)wo   'al   hono   **qytws**   ḥayyuto   rabbto

NEG be-SUF.3.M.SG concerning this-M   ***qytws***   animal-F.SG.EMP   great-F.SG.EMP

dabmayyo   'et'amrat   menneh

NML + in + water-M.P.EMP   be.said-SUF.3.F.SG   from + him

'this was not said about this *qytws*, the great animal of the water, … ' (15.2)

The previous context and the referential demonstrative pronoun *hono* 'this' suggest that ܩܘܛܘܣ

qytws is also marked as a *Fremdwort* in this instance. In this study, then, ܩܘܛܘܣ *qytws* would

be considered a *Fremdwort* in each of these cases since the author specifically designates it as

Greek. In other contexts with other authors, ܩܘܛܘܣ *qytws* could be a *Lehnwort*, but in the

passages cited above Ya'qub clearly demarcates it as a *Fremdwort*.

4.6   Code-Switching

Connected to the question of *Lehnwörter* and *Fremdwörter* is the topic of code-switching and its relationship to lexical transfer. In the past two decades, a large body of literature has developed on code-switching.[27] In general, code-switching refers to cases in which lexical items and grammatical features from at least two languages appear in rapid succession in a single speech event.[28] Different types of code-switching are encountered in Syriac.

Several cases of discourse-related code-switching are found among the cache of documents from the Middle Euphrates region (P.Euph).[29] P.Euph 6, for instance, along with its duplicate P. Euph 7, records the sale of a slave on Nov. 6, 249.[30] The document begins with the text of the sale in Greek, and it continues with a Syriac summary. There is then a list of witnesses, which is again in Syriac, but with a significant number of Greek loanwords. The recto concludes with a single line in Greek stating that the document was written by Balesos the notary. Thus, the document switches from Greek to Syriac and then back to Greek again. Each switch involves not only a change in language, but also a change in script.

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[27] See, e.g., Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 1993; 2002; 2006; Winford 2003: 101-167. The vast majority of this research has dealt with code-switching in spoken conversations. A few studies have, however, dealt with code-switching in ancient documents. Yakubovich (2010), for instance, invokes code-switching on numerous occasions in analyzing the linguistic situation in ancient Anatolian involving Luwian and Hittite. Additional cases of code-switching are found in a wide-array of ancient documents, including Hurrian in Ugaritic texts, Greek in Demotic texts, and Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible and Rabbinic literature, to name only a few.

[28] This definition is adapted from Muysken 2000: 1, combining his code-mixing and code-switching.

[29] These are edited in Feissel and Gascou 1989; 1995; 2000; Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997. See also the discussion above at pp. 39-40.

[30] The text is edited in Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997: 6-18.

There are also examples of intra-clause code-switching in Syriac. When discussing the monastic communities in the area around Amid (modern Diyarbakır, Turkey), Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589) relates the following:

(4-6) *Lives of Eastern Saints* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589; ed. Brooks 1923-1925)

ܘܡܩܡ ܥܠ ܐܘܚܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܩܘܠܗ ܐܚܘܬܐ ܕܩܝܡ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܣܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܪܚܐ ܘܢܚܐ܂ ܘܪܝܫ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ܂

ܐܒܐ ܐܬܢܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܘܒ ܣܓܝ ܫܥܝ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ

'and all of the brotherhood stood on the tables along with all of the elderhood, the heads of the monasteries, and they called out, "*Lord, have mercy!*" with great fear, many times, with many tears' (414.9-11)

Embedded within this Syriac sentence is the Greek phrase κύριε ἐλέησον 'Lord, have mercy!'. Thus, this sentence is entirely in Syriac with the exception of a two word island that is in Greek.

Instances of code-switching such as these are generally easy to identify since they involve multiple words. It is, however, more difficult to distinguish single word code-switches from loanwords. In fact, this is the topic of one of the re-occurring theoretical discussions in the linguistic literature on code-switching and one without a clear consensus.[31] Myers-Scotton has, however, convincingly argued that code-switching and lexical transfer do not form a binary, but rather they represent a continuum (see especially 1993: 163-207). Thus, single word code-switches can eventually develop into loanwords when the frequency of their use increases and they are adopted by monolinguals (1993: 182, see also 174-176).

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[31] See, e.g., Aikhenvald 2002: 223-224; Hafez 1996: 383-384; Haspelmath 2009: 40-41; Heine and Kuteva 2003: 530; King 2000: 86-89; Myers-Scotton 1993: 163-207; Poplack 1993; Poplack and Meechan 1995; Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 102; Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988: 53, 93; Sakel and Matras 2008: 63-64; Salmons 1990: 466-470; Thomason 2003: 695-697; 2007: 189-195; Winford 2005: 378-379; Wohlgemuth 2009: 53-55.

The theoretical question of distinguishing lexical-transfer from single word code-switching becomes a practical one when analyzing contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek: how can one determine if a given word is closer to a loanword or to a single word code-switch? The most convincing criterion that has been suggested is relative frequency (Myers-Scotton 1993: 191-205). This, however, proves impractical in Syriac due to the nature of the corpus. The sixth-century Syriac *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, for instance, contains several words that are not otherwise attested in Syriac:[32]

(4-7) a. ἀκαταστασία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 48) > ܐܘܠܩܠܩܣܝܐ *ʾqtsṭsyʾ* 'disorder' (75.7; 80.5; Sokoloff 2009: 92)

b. Latin *ducatus* (Glare 1982: 576; Lewis and Short 1969: 615) > δουκᾶτον (Lampe 1961: 384) > ܕܘܩܛܘܢ *dwqṭwn* 'military command' (87.2; Sokoloff 2009: 287)

c. ἔθος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 480) > ܗܬܘܣ *htws* 'custom' (84.26; Sokoloff 2009: 356)

Given the nature of the composition, *i.e.,* hagiography, it is unlikely that the author Eliya intended to restrict his work to an exclusively bilingual audience, excluding monolingual Syriac-speakers.[33] Thus, these are in all likelihood loanwords and not single word code-switches. The fact that these words are not otherwise attested in Syriac seems, then, to be only an accident of survival. Cases such as this have important implications for the use of relative frequency as a criterion to distinguish single word code-switches from loanwords in a corpus such as Syriac. This study chooses to err on the side of loanwords. Thus, the study takes as a

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[32] See also ἀκριβῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 55) > ܐܩܪܝܒܘܣ *ʾqrybws* 'exactly' (91.2; Sokoloff 2009: 93), which is otherwise only found in the *Lexicon* of Bar Bahlul (ed. Duval 1888-1901: 278.2).

[33] For monolingualism as a criterion for distinguishing single word code-switches from loanwords, see Haspelmath 2009: 40; Myers-Scotton 1993: 193.

default that a Greek word in a Syriac text is a loanword (and not a code-switch), and the burden of proof lies on establishing that a particular Greek word is a code-switch.

4.7   Immediate Source and Ultimate Source

In this study, a loanword is defined as a lexeme that has been transferred from the source language into the recipient language. It is important to clarify what exactly is meant by source language in this context. In particular, it is necessary to distinguish between immediate source and ultimate source.[34] Immediate source refers to the language from which a lexeme was transferred to the recipient language whereas ultimate source is a reflection of a word's etymology. In many instances, the immediate source and the ultimate source are the same. This is the case, for instance, with Syriac ܗܪܛܝܩܐ *hrṭyqʾ* 'heretical; heretic' (Sokoloff 2009: 354), which was transferred from Greek αἱρετικός (Lampe 1961: 51). Greek is the immediate source since the word was transferred from Greek to Syriac, and Greek is the ultimate source since the word is a native Greek formation. There are, however, a number of loanwords in Syriac for which Greek is the immediate source, but it is not the ultimate source. Syriac ܣܛܪܦܐ *sṭrpʾ* 'satrap' (Sokoloff 2009: 998), for instance, is a loanword from Greek σατράπης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1585). The Greek word, however, is itself a loanword from Old Iranian *xšaθra-pā*.[35] Thus, Greek is the immediate source of Syriac ܣܛܪܦܐ *sṭrpʾ*, but Old Iranian is the ultimate source.[36] The largest group of words for which Greek is the immediate source, but it is not the ultimate source are the Latin words that are found in Syriac.[37] Conversely, there are

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[34] For this distinction, see Wohlgemuth 2009: 51.

[35] Ciancaglini 2008: 28, 220-221. For the Iranian form, see Tavernier 2007: 436.

[36] For additional cases like this, see Ciancaglini 2008: 28.

[37] These are discussed in §4.8 and collected in Appendix 1.

loanwords in Syriac for which Greek is the ultimate source, but it is not the immediate source. Greek κλῇθρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 957), for instance, is the ultimate source of Syriac ܩܪܩܠ *qrql* 'grated cover' (Sokoloff 2009: 1416). This Greek word, however, reached Syriac by way of Late Latin *cracli*, a form attested in the *Appendix Probi*.[38] Included within the group of words for which Greek is the ultimate source but not the immediate source are the Aramaic inheritances in Syriac that derive ultimately from Greek.[39]

4.8　Latin Loanwords in Syriac

More than one hundred Latin words are found in non-translated Syriac texts written up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708).[40] Most of these Latin words likely reached Syriac via Greek.[41] That is, Greek is usually the immediate source for Latin loanwords in Syriac.[42] In some cases, the phonology of the Syriac form is an indication that the word was transferred via Greek. The nasal *n* in Syriac ܦܠܛܝܢ *plṭyn* 'palace' (Sokoloff 2009: 119), for instance, indicates that the immediate source was Greek παλάτιον (Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291; cf. Mason 1974: 74) and not Latin *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291).[43] In

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[38] Baehrens 1922: 8 (s.v. ln. 209). Compare earlier Latin *clathri* (Glare 1982: 333; Lewis and Short 1969: 350).

[39] These are discussed in §4.9 and collected in Appendix 2.

[40] These are collected in Appendix 1.

[41] So already Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1975: 90; 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 443; 2005: 23; Ciancaglini 2008: 7; Healey 1995: 83; Rochette 2010: 292; Schall 1960: 243-244; Wasserstein 1995: 134.

[42] For immediate source, see §4.7. A similar situation is attested for other Aramaic dialects; all of the Latin words in Palmyrene Aramaic, for instance, likely arrived by way of Greek (Brock 2005: 23).

[43] There are occasional cases in which the phonology points to Latin as the immediate source. The initial voiced bilabial stop of Syriac ܒܘܪܓܐ 'tower' (Sokoloff 2009: 130) suggests, for

addition, a majority of the Latin words found in Syriac are also attested in Greek as loanwords. Thus, a possible Greek intermediary is known to have had existed. It is interesting to note in this regard that most of the Latin words in Syriac are attested in the Greek papyrological record from Egypt. This suggests that these Latin loanwords were used in the Koinē Greek of the Eastern Roman Empire (see §4.10), and it is in this way that many of them entered Syriac.

Latin words are already found in the Peshiṭta Bible, whether Old or New Testament.[44] Given their appearance in the biblical texts, many of these Latin loanwords also appear in later Syriac compositions. Latin loanwords continued to be introduced in Syriac in the fourth and fifth centuries. The sixth century saw a large increase in the number of new Latin loanwords. This increase is, however, largely due to Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. 581), who is known to have resided for a number of years in Constantinople, which was Greek speaking, but whose imperial court was officially Latinate.[45] The Latin loanwords in Yuḥanon's writings may be due to the particular socio-lect of Syriac that was in use in Constantinople by Yuḥanon and his audience, which was more influenced by the imperial language of Latin.[46]

4.9   Greek Loanwords as Inheritances in Syriac

Greek had been in contact with the Semitic languages of the Near East for at least half a millennium by the time that Syriac emerged in the first centuries of the Common Era.[47] Thus, it

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instance, that the immediate source is Latin *burgus* (Glare 1982: 245; Lewis and Short 1969: 255) and not Greek πύργος (Liddell and Scott 1996:1556) (cf. Schall 1960: 50-51).

[44] Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443-444.

[45] For Yuḥanon of Ephesus, see Harvey 1990.

[46] The *Ecclesiastical History* of Pseudo-Zacharias (6th cent.) is similar in this regard (ed. Brooks 1919-1924).

[47] Brock 1996: 251; 1998: 713. See also §3.2.

comes as no surprise that Greek loanwords are found in Aramaic dialects prior to Syriac. The earliest Greek loanword in Aramaic is the monetary term στατήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634), which is first attested on the Abydos Lion Weight from ca. 500 BCE (KAI 263).[48] This loanword is also found in the Imperial Egyptian Aramaic texts (TAD C3.7Ar2:3; 3.7Br1:13, 20)[49] as is an additional Greek loanword: πίναξ > *pynk* 'plate' (TAD D7.57:8).[50] The Aramaic of Daniel attests (at least) three Greek loanwords:[51]

(4-8) a. κιθάρα, κίθαρις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 950) > *qytrws* (k), *qaθros* (q) 'zither' (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1970), compare Syriac ܩܝܬܪܐ *qytrʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 1366)

   b. συμφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1689) > *sumponyɔ* (Dan. 3:5, 15), *sypnyh* (Dan. 3:10 [k]), *suponyɔ* (Dan. 3:10 [q]) 'symphony' (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1937-1938), compare Syriac ܣܦܘܢܝܐ *spwnyʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 1297)

   c. ψαλτήριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2018) > *psanṭerin* 'psaltery' (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1958)

Other dialects of Middle Aramaic also attest Greek loanwords, including the Aramaic of Targum Onqelos and Jonathan (Dalman 1905: 182-187), Nabatean Aramaic (Healey 1995), Palmyrene Aramaic (Cantineau 1935: 155; Brock 2005), Ḥatran Aramaic, and Judaean Aramaic. Finally, Greek loanwords are found not only in Syriac, but they occur in all of the Late Aramaic dialects.

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[48] Brock 1996: 251 n. 2; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 805.
[49] Brock 1967: 418; 1996: 251; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 805; Muraoka and Porten 1998: 377.
[50] Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 910; Muraoka and Porten 1998: 377.
[51] Brock 1975: 84; Kutscher 1970: 401-402; Rosenthal 1995: §191; Wasserstein 1995: 135.

In the current study, it is important, whenever possible, to account for how a particular Greek loanword in Syriac relates to the same Greek loanword in other Aramaic dialects, whether contemporary or earlier.[52] Consider, for instance, the Greek word πίναξ 'board, plank' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405). In Aramaic, it first appears as a loanword in an Imperial Aramaic text from Egypt that dates to the late third century BCE (TAD D7.57:8). In Syriac, the Greek loanword is found already in the New Testament translations, both Old Syriac and Peshiṭta (Brock 1967: 413-414), as well as in non-translated texts, beginning with the fourth-century authors Aphrahaṭ (*Demonstrations*, 1.729.3 [citing Mt 23:25] [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]) and Ephrem (*Maḏroše on the Nativity*, 104.13 [ed. Beck 1959]; *Maḏroše on Nisibis*, 2.87.12 [Beck 1963]). In addition to Syriac, the Greek word appears in the Late Aramaic dialects of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Sokoloff 2002a: 901), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Sokoloff 2002b: 431), Christian Palestinian Aramaic, (Schulthess 1903: 156), and Samaritan Aramaic (Tal 2000: 690). So, was this Greek word transferred into each of these dialects independently? Or, was it transferred into one early dialect and then inherited into later dialects? Or, is some combination of these two options possible? Or, is there another explanation altogether?

There is evidence suggesting that Greek loanwords were transferred between Aramaic dialects. This, for instance, seems to be the case with the verbal root √*qṭrg* 'to accuse', which is found in Syriac (Sokoloff 2009: 1348, 1358-1359) as well as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Sokoloff 2002b: 489), Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Schulthess 1903: 178), and Samaritan Aramaic (Tal 2000: 775). The Greek source for this root is either the noun κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) or the infinitive κατηγορεῖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 926-927).[53] The

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[52] For similar questions involving Iranian loanwords in Syriac, see Ciancaglini 2008: 25-28.
[53] This is discussed in §6.3.3.

Greek source, regardless of whether it was a noun or infinitive, has the voiced velar stop γ followed by the alveolar trill ρ. Each of the Aramaic dialects, however, attests the reverse order, with the alveolar trill preceding the voiced velar stop.[54] There is no regular sound change in Aramaic to account for this development, and so it is necessary to posit an *ad hoc* change. Given that it is such an irregular change, it is unlikely that this root metathesis would have occurred independently in each of the four Late Aramaic dialects that attest the word; this would after all be an extreme example of drift. It is more likely that the Greek word was transferred into one dialect of Aramaic, then the (irregular) root metathesis occurred, and only then the word was transferred to other dialects of Aramaic.

The example of √*qṭrg* establishes that in at least some cases Greek loanwords were transferred among Aramaic dialects. This leads to a new series of questions: are these cases of transfer inheritance from mother language to daughter language? Or, are they contact-induced transfer among Aramaic dialects? As established by Boyarin (1981), the Late Aramaic dialects cannot be divided into traditional sibling-type relationships with a mother in the Middle Aramaic period. That is, the late West Aramaic dialects of Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic do not share a common genetic source that is attested in the previous period of Middle Aramaic. This has important implications for the current series of questions, since it renders it impossible for a Greek word to have been transferred into a hypothetical proto-Late Aramaic, or even proto-Late West Aramaic, and then inherited in each of the daughter languages. Rather, a Greek loanword would have had to have been transferred into an Aramaic dialect, then transferred from there to other dialects of

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[54] It should be noted that an unmetathesized form is occasionally found in Syriac with the noun κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) + -ɔnɔ > ܩܛܓܪܢܐ *qṭgrnʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 1350), alongside ܩܛܪܓܢܐ *qṭrgnʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 1359).

Aramaic, and only from these other dialects inherited into the Late Aramaic dialects attested in the historic record. This scenario was likely facilitated by the existence of Standard Literary Aramaic.[55] This supra-dialect could have served as a repository of Greek loanwords, which would then have been transferred into other dialects, such as the dialect that would later have become Syriac.

To illustrate this process, it is worth returning to the example of πίναξ 'board, plank'. Given the history of Aramaic, one possible scenario would involve the transfer of this word from Greek into the Aramaic dialect attested in TAD D7.57. From this dialect, the word would then have been transferred into other Aramaic dialects, including potentially the ancestors of Syriac, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic. From these proto-languages, the Greek word would have been inherited in the dialects of Late Aramaic that preserve the word. This scenario could of course be complicated by inter-dialectical transfer at various stages, including in earlier times with Standard Literary Aramaic serving as a conduit as well as in Late Aramaic times. This would not, however, significantly affect the outcome. In the case of πίναξ, then, it is incorrect to suppose that Syriac, as well as the other Late Aramaic dialects, inherited the loanword directly from the dialect of Aramaic attested in TAD D7.57, where the word is first found. This cannot be the case since Syriac is not a later form of the Aramaic dialect attested in TAD D7.57. At the same time, however, this dialect could have served as the source for the word in Syriac. In this scenario, Syriac would have inherited the word from Proto-Syriac, which received the word from the Aramaic dialect attested in TAD D7.57, possibly via Standard

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[55] For Standard Literary Aramaic, see Greenfield 1974.

Literary Aramaic. Thus, Greek would not be the immediate source of the word, but rather it would be an inheritance from earlier Aramaic in Syriac.

It can be concluded, then, that Syriac likely contains Greek loanwords that were inherited from an earlier stage of Aramaic as well as Greek loanwords for which Greek was the immediate source.[56] The question is how to identify the inherited words. One potential criterion is the attestation of Greek loanwords in other dialects of Aramaic. More than sixty Greek loanwords that are found in non-translated Syriac texts from before Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) are also attested in Aramaic dialects prior to Late Aramaic, i.e., Imperial Aramaic (ca. 600 – 200 BCE) and Middle Aramaic (ca. 200 BCE – 200 CE).[57] The vast majority of these are attested in Syriac by at least the fourth century. This is, for instance, the case with the previously discussed example of πίναξ 'board, plank' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܝܢܟܐ *pynkʾ* 'dish, writing tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188). So, if a Greek loanword is attested both in an Aramaic dialect from the Middle Aramaic period or earlier and in Syriac by the fourth century, then it seems likely that it was transferred into Aramaic at an earlier period and inherited in Syriac. A list of all the words fulfilling these criteria is given in Appendix 2 at the end of this study.

There are a few Greek loanwords that are attested in Aramaic dialects prior to Late Aramaic, but are not attested in Syriac by the fourth century:

(4-9) a. βασιλική (Liddell and Scott 1996: 309-310) > ܒܣܝܠܝܩܘܣ *bsÿlyqws* 'colonnade, portico' (6th cent. Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 274.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 165), already in Palmyrene *bslqʾ* (Hillers and Cussini

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[56] For immediate source, see §4.7. Syriac could of course also contain Greek words from different immediate sources, such as Latin or another Late Aramaic dialect.

[57] These chronological divisions roughly follow Fitzmyer 1979b.

1996: 63 [PAT 260.4]; 71 [PAT 298.3]; cf. Brock 2005: 13)

b. δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) > ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmᵓ* 'doctrine' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 583.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; cf. Sokoloff 2009: 277-278), already in Palmyrene *dgm* 'decree, decision' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 355; cf. Brock 2005: 15), see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dygmᵓ*, *dwgmᵓ* 'illustration, model, example' (Sokoloff 2002b: 145, 830)

c. ὁμολογία (Lampe 1961: 957-958; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1226) > ܐܡܘܠܓܝܘܣ *ᵓmwlgyws*, ܐܡܠܘܓܝܣ *ᵓmlwgys* 'confession of faith' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 117.26; 131.20 [ed. Brooks. 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 53), already in Palmyrene *ᵓmlgyᵓ* 'contract [context damaged, sense uncertain]' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 339-340; cf. Brock 2005: 19)

d. ὕπαρχος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1853) > ܗܘܦܪܟܐ *hwprkᵓ*, ܐܘܦܪܟܐ *ᵓwprkᵓ* 'prefect' (**5th cent.** *Teaching of Addai*, 38.21 [ed. Howard 1981]; Sokoloff 2009: 19; 338), already in Nabatean *hprkᵓ* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 292; cf. Healey 1993: 108-109; this word has, however, also been connected to ἔπαρχος); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *hprkᵓ* (TgEsth1 10:1; Jastrow 1886-1903: 363)

Given that these words are not attested in Syriac until a later period, it is less certain that Syriac inherited them from earlier Aramaic. In fact, these may well be instances in which a word was independently transferred from Greek into different dialects of Aramaic. This is almost certainly the case for some of the words, such as δόγμα, since the loanword in Syriac differs in meaning from the other Aramaic dialect.

Moving into the Late Aramaic period, it becomes more difficult to use comparative

Aramaic evidence to determine whether or not a Greek loanword in Syriac is an inheritance. This is due to the fact that each of the Late Aramaic dialects is known to have had contact with Greek, though to varying degrees. Given this contact, it is impossible to exclude that a given loanword underwent cases of independent transfer from Greek into multiple dialects of Late Aramaic. Independent cases of transfer in fact seem likely in a number of cases based on the late date of first occurrence for a loanword in Syriac. Consider, for instance, Greek ταξιώτης, ταξεώτης 'imperial bodyguard' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756), which occurs in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Sokoloff 2002b: 230) and in Syriac (Sokoloff 2009: 529). Theoretically, this word could have been inherited from earlier Aramaic or transferred into each of the two dialects independently.[58] The latter is, however, by far the more likely scenario in this case since the word in question is not attested in Syriac until the sixth century when it appears in the *Ecclesiastical History* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (Part 3, 9.18; 158.17 [ed. Brooks 1935]). Thus, given their individual histories of contact with Greek, the Late Aramaic dialects do not provide reliable evidence for determining whether or not a Greek loanword in Syriac is an inheritance from earlier Aramaic.

In the end, comparative Aramaic evidence provides a criterion for identifying some of the Greek loanwords in Syriac that were inherited from earlier Aramaic. It is not, however, possible to identify all of them. Many of the Greek loanwords that are attested in the earliest layer of Syriac could well have been inherited from earlier Aramaic, and so they would not be the result of language contact between Syriac and Greek. Nevertheless, pending the discovery of extensive documentation of the Aramaic ancestor of Syriac, it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to identify these inheritances with any degree of certainty.

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[58] It is also possible that the word was transferred from one of the dialects to the other.

4.10 The Greek Source

The Greek language with which Syriac-speakers were in contact was not the Attic of the classical period, but rather Koinē and then early Byzantine Greek. Koinē Greek developed from Attic in the Hellenistic period and quickly spread over the classical world as well as over much of the Ancient Near East.[59] Koinē Greek eventually gave way to the Greek of the Byzantine Era.[60] The best source for the Greek with which Syriac-speakers were in contact is the inscriptions and documents that were written in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia.[61]

In a vast majority of cases, Greek loanwords in Syriac reflect Attic Greek. This is perhaps unsurprising since Attic continued to exert significant influence on the orthography of Koinē Greek. Occasionally, however, Greek loanwords in Syriac reflect non-Attic forms that also appear in the inscriptions and documents from Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia, for instance, attest an assimilation of κ to γ before a voiced stop.[62] This assimilation of [+voice] is also reflected in the *g* in ܐܩܠܝܣܓܕܝܩܘܣ *ʾqlysgdyqws* 'expert in church law' (Sokoloff 2009: 92). This suggests that the Syriac word was transferred from a Koinē form of Attic ἐκκλησιέκδικος (Lampe 1961: 433). Or, to take a different example, μ assimilates to ν before a labial in the Koinē of Syria and Mesopotamia.[63]

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[59] Browning 1983: 19-52; Horrocks 2010: 79-188.
[60] Browning 1983: 53-68; Horrocks 2010: 189-369.
[61] Publication information for these Greek texts is discussed above on p. 38-40.
[62] This is reflected in writings such as ἐγδικίας for ἐκδικίας (P.Euph. 2.13 [mid-3rd]); διεγδικήσειν for διεκδικήσειν (P.Euph. 9.22-23 [252]); ἐγβένω for ἐκβαίνω (P.Euph. 17.22 [mid-3rd]); ἐγ διακληρώσεως for ἐκ διακληρώσεως (P.Dura. 19.6 [88-89]). This assimilation of [+voice] is also found in the Koinē Greek of Egypt (Gignac 1976-: 6-80; Mayser 1970: 143-144).
[63] This assimilation is reflected in writings such as διαπενψαμένου for διαπεμψαμένου (P.Euph. 2.20 [mid-3rd]); ἐνποιηθῇ for ἐμποιηθῇ (P.Euph. 8.24 [251]); ἐνποιούμενον for ἐμποιούμενον (P.Euph. 9.23 [252]); ἔνπροσθεν for ἔμπροσθεν (P.Euph. 16.A.2 [after 239]); ἐνφράξι for ἐμφράξει (P.Euph. 13.16 [243]); συνβά[ν] for συμβάν (P.Euph. 2.5 [mid-3rd]);

This assimilation accounts for the first *n* in Syriac ܣܘܢܦܢܘܣ *swnpnws* 'supervisor of the trades people of Constantinople on behalf of the eparch of the city' (Sokoloff 2009: 984), which can be contrasted with the μ in the Attic form σύμπονος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1685; Lampe 1961: 1289). To give one final example, τ is occasionally written as θ after σ in the Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia.[64] This Koinē feature is reflected in the following Greek loanwords in Syriac:

(4-10) a. Latin *domesticus* (Glare 1982: 570; Lewis and Short 1969: 607-608) > δομεστικός (Daris 1991: 41; Lampe 1961: 380) > ܕܘܡܣܬܝܩܐ *dwmsṭyqʾ* '*domesticus*, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier' (Sokoloff 2009: 283), as well as ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmsṭyqʾ*

b. προστάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1526) → accusative singular προστάδα > ܦܪܘܣܬܕܐ *prwsṭdʾ* 'doorpost, lintel; vestibule, portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 1233)

c. πιστικός 'faithful' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1408) > ܦܣܛܝܩܐ *psṭyqʾ* 'sailor to whom responsibility for a ship is entrusted' (Sokoloff 2009: 1215-1216)

The *t* in each of these Syriac forms corresponds to Greek θ not τ (§5.2.6; 5.2.15), and so these forms reflect a Koinē form with θ after σ instead of τ. Thus, while in most cases Greek loanwords in Syriac reflect Attic Greek, occasionally they do reflect the Koinē of Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia.

The Greek loanwords in Syriac, thus, serve as a witness to the Greek of Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia (as so-called *Nebenüberlieferungen*). This is important because the

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συνπαρόντος for συμπαρόντος (P.Euph. 6.9 [249]; 9.14 [252]). This assimilation is also attested in the Koinē of Egypt (Gignac 1976-: 1.167-169; Mayser 1970: 203-207)

[64] See, e.g., κατεσθάθην for κατεστάθην (P.Dura. 46.r5 [early 3rd]); ἀφείσθασθαι for ἀφίστασθαι (P.Dura. 31.int.7, ext.33 [204]). This change is also attested in the Koinē of Egypt (Gignac 1976-: 1.87; Mayser 1970: 154).

number of Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia is quite limited compared to the extensive material found in Egypt. One of the questions that the abundance of the Egyptian material and the paucity of other material often raises is whether or not the Greek documents from Egypt are representative, in language, history, economics, etc., of the broader Late Antique Near East.

The Greek loanwords in Syriac, as *Nebenüberlieferungen* for the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, suggest that the Egyptian papyri are in some respects representative of a Koinē Greek spread across the Roman Near East. In Greek documents from Egypt, for instance, π is commonly deleted in the cluster μπτ.[65] This deletion is also attested in Syriac ܩܡܛܪܢ *qmṭrn* 'small chest' (Sokoloff 2009: 1377), which can be compared with the Attic form κάμπτριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 873). Syriac ܩܡܛܪܢ *qmṭrn*, thus, suggests that κάμτριον was the Koinē form in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. The fact that the Greek loanword in Syriac reflects a sound change attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt implies that this sound change was not restricted to Egypt, but rather it extended across the Roman Near East. Similarly, Greek γ is occasionally written instead of κ in word initial position in the Greek papyri from Egypt, as in γυβερνήτης (P.Grenf. 1.49.21 [220/221 CE]) for Attic κυβερνήτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1004).[66] The voiced velar stop, as opposed to the voiceless velar stop, is also found for this same word in Syriac ܓܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *gwbrnyṭ'* 'helmsman, pilot' (Sokoloff 2009: 210), which is attested once in Aphrahaṭ's *Demonstrations* (1.612.2; ed. Parisot 1894-1907), against the much more common spelling ܩܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *qwbrnyṭ'* (with orthographic variants) (Sokoloff 2009: 1323). Again, the agreement between the Greek loanword in the Syriac of Aphrahaṭ and

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[65] Gignac 1976-: 1.64; Mayser 1970: 152.
[66] Gignac 1976-: 1.77; Mayser 1970: 143-144.

the writing in the Greek papyri from Egypt suggests that γυβερνήτης with its initial voiced velar stop was a common Koinē form across the Roman Near East.[67]

The correspondence between the Greek papyri from Egypt and the Greek loanwords in Syriac is not restricted to phonology but extends also to morphology and lexicon. In the Greek papyri from Egypt, for instance, the ending -ιον is often realized as -ιν.[68] Thus, the frequent use of Syriac -yn to represent this ending almost certainly reflects a Koinē form -ιν and not the Attic form -ιον (see §6.2.3.9). This is, for instance, the case with γυμνάσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 362) > ܓܡܢܣܝܢ gmnsyn 'gymnasia' (Sokoloff 2009: 242) and Latin *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291) > παλάτιον (Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291) > ܦܠܛܝܢ plṭyn 'palace' (Sokoloff 2009: 1199). Thus, Syriac loanwords establish that, like the Greek of Egypt, the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia had -ιν for Attic -ιον.[69]

With regard to lexicon, it is well known that Latin had a significant influence on Koinē Greek.[70] This is probably nowhere more evident than in the large number of Latin loanwords that occur in Greek papyrological texts from Egypt.[71] Interestingly, a vast majority of the Latin words in Syriac are also attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt (cf. §4.8).[72] This suggests that these Latin words were part of the broader Koinē of the Eastern Roman Empire.

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[67] The voiced velar stop is also reflected in Latin *gubernare* (Lewis and Short 1969: 831), which is a loanword from Greek.

[68] Gignac 1976-: 2.25-29.

[69] This is confirmed by the Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia, which also have -ιν for Attic -ιον (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 48), e.g., δελματίκιν for δελματίκιον (P.Dura. 30.17 [232]); σεισύριν for σεισύριον (P.Dura. 33.13 [240-250]).

[70] See Browning 1983: 40-42, 67-68; Rochette 2010: 291-292.

[71] These are collected in Daris 1991.

[72] This can be illustrated by the numerous references to Daris 1991 in Appendix 1, which collects all of the Latin loanwords in non-translated Syriac texts up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708).

To summarize, then, most Greek loanwords in Syriac reflect the Attic Greek of the classical period. Occasionally, however, the Greek loanwords in Syriac reflect forms found in the inscriptions and documents that were written in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. This suggests that Greek loanwords in Syriac are an indirect witness to the Greek of Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia (as *Nebenüberlieferungen*). In addition, the Greek loanwords in Syriac at times attest a form that is also found in the Greek papyri from Egypt. In these cases, it is possible to posit a common Koinē form that was spread through the Eastern Roman Empire. Given this situation, throughout this study, Greek forms are cited not only from Attic Greek but also at times from the Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia as well as from Egypt.

4.11 Conclusion

With the methodological framework now established, the next four chapters (§5-7) provide a contact-linguistic analysis of the Greek loanwords in Syriac. Chapter §5 analyzes the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac, while Chapter §6 focuses on morpho-syntactic integration. Chapter §7 looks at secondary developments in Syriac involving Greek loanwords.

5   Phonological Integration of Greek Loanwords in Syriac

> "Likewise, other languages have certain letters that
> the rest of languages are unable to pronounce. As
> for Syriac-speakers, by which I mean the speech of
> Edessa, it is not their language that prevents them
> [from this], but it is their writing system because of
> its incompleteness and its lack of vowel signs"
> (Yaᶜqub of Edessa, *The Correctness of Speech*)[1]

5.1   Overview

While a fair amount of literature has been devoted to Greek loanwords in Syriac (see §4.2), very little attention has thus far been paid to their phonological integration. In the standard grammar of Syriac, Nöldeke (1904) discusses this topic in only a handful of paragraphs.[2] Other grammars, such as by Brockelmann (1981) and Muraoka (2005), offer even fewer remarks. In the only monographic study of Greek loanwords in Syriac, Schall (1960) makes a number of passing references to phonological integration,[3] but he never provides a systematic treatment. More recently, Brock (1996: 254-257) and Voigt (1998b) have provided additional insights; neither, however, offers a comprehensive description. Given the current

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[1] The Syriac text is edited in Wright 1871b: 2*.a.5-12. An English translation of the same quote can be found in Kiraz 2012: 59, where it is mistakenly said to come from Yaᶜqub's *Letter on Syriac Orthography* (ed. Phillips 1869).

[2] See, e.g., Nöldeke 1904: §4B, 25, 39, 40H, 46, 51.

[3] See, e.g., Schall 1960: 37, 42-44, 50-51, 61-62, 80, 93, 99, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 120, 121, 135-136, 148-150; 174, 217, 220, 232, 245.

state of affairs, the present chapter aims to supply for the first time a systematic description and analysis of the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac. It begins with the integration of consonants (§5.2) and then turns to vowels (§5.3). It concludes with a brief treatment of the integration of Greek syllable initial vowels in Syriac (§5.4).

In contrast to changes in syntax or lexicon, diachronic changes in orthography present a special challenge since even meticulous Syriac scribes, who were loathe to make drastic changes at the word level, were prone to update the orthography of the manuscript before them.[4] This is known anecdotally through Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708), who in his *Letter on Syriac Orthography* implores later scribes not to change his chosen orthography for various words, including Greek loanwords (Phillips 1869: 6.1-8-7). In addition, many cases of textual transmission betray scribal updates of orthography.[5] Given that scribes are known to have updated the orthography of Greek loanwords, it has been necessary in a few instances in this chapter to account not only for the date of composition of a work but also for the date of the manuscript that contains the work.[6]

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[4] This is not to say that scribes did not also make changes on the word level. To give but one example, ms. New Haven, Yale Syriac 5 (1888 CE) preserves the same recension of the *Syriac History of Cyriacus and his mother Julitta* as the earlier manuscript in London, Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (1569 CE); it, however, attests extensive syntactical and lexical variants that are best explained as scribal interference.

[5] This is especially clear in the works of Ephrem where the fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts from Dayr al-Suryān often preserve an older orthography compared to the later liturgical manuscripts. The Greek loanword ἀγών (Lampe 1961: 25; Liddell and Scott 1996: 18-19), for instance, appears in the earlier spelling of ܐܓܘܢܐ *'ygwn'* in ms. Brit. Libr., Add. 14,627 (sixth century) but in the standardized spelling of ܐܓܘܢܐ *'gwn'* in the later liturgical ms. Brit. Libr., Add. 14,506 (ninth-tenth century) (Beck 1964b: 10.14). For the dates of these manuscripts, see Wright 1870-1872: 2.415, 1.247-249, respectively.

[6] Ideally, future studies of Greek loanwords in Syriac – or for that matter Syriac grammatical studies more generally – will be able to account better for both date of composition *and* date of copying. A good model is provided by Hittotology, where it has become increasingly common

5.2 Consonants

5.2.1 Overview

The consonantal inventory of Koinē Greek contained sixteen phonemes, which are summarized in Table 5-1.[7] The consonantal inventory of Koinē Greek differs only slightly from that of Attic Greek. Attic Greek was characterized by a symmetrical system of nine stops, with three manners of articulation (voiceless unaspirated [κ, π, τ], voiceless aspirated [θ, φ, χ], and voiced [β, γ, δ]) and three places of articulation (bilabial [β, π, φ], dental [δ, θ, τ], and velar [γ, κ, χ]). By the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, the voiceless aspirated stops had become voiceless fricatives, i.e., $*p^h > f$, $*t^h > \theta$, and $*k^h > x$. Similarly, the voiced stops eventually became fricatives, as in Modern Greek, i.e., $*b > \beta$, $*g > \gamma$, and $*d > \eth$, though it is difficult to establish a precise *terminus post quem* for this change.[8] In addition to the stops, there were four sonorants in Attic Greek as well as in Koinē Greek. Two of these were liquids, one being an alveolar lateral approximant (λ) and the other being a voiced alveolar trill (ρ). The remaining two liquids were nasals, one being bilabial (μ) and the other being alveolar (ν). Alongside these two nasal phonemes, there was a velar nasal, which was an allophone of the alveolar nasal and the voiced velar stop. In addition to the stops and sonorants, there were two voiceless fricatives in Attic Greek, one alveolar (σ) and the other glottal (*spiritus asper*). The latter was lost sometime in the Late Antique period.[9] Attic and Koinē Greek also possess several monographs: ξ represents the voiceless unaspirated velar stop κ plus the voiceless

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to refer to the date of original composition as well as to the date of script, following the conventions of *The Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, e.g., OH/OS is an Old Hittite composition preserved in Old Script whereas OH/NS is an Old Hittite composition preserved in New Script.

[7] In general, see Allen 1987; Gignac 1976-: 1.63-179; Mayser 1970: 141-217.

[8] See the discussions in Allen 1987: 29-32; Browning 1983: 26-28; Gignac 1976-: 1.68-76.

[9] In general see, Harviainen 1976 as well as §5.2.13, 5.4.1.

alveolar fricative σ; ψ represents the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop π plus the voiceless alveolar fricative σ. In Attic Greek, ζ was a monograph for /zd/; it had, however, developed into a voiced alveolar fricative /z/ by the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Table 5-1 Consonantal Inventory of Koinē Greek

		bilabial	dental	alveolar	velar	glottal
stop	voiceless unaspirated	p (π)	t (τ)		k (κ)	
	voiced	b (β)	d (δ)		g (γ)	
fricative	voiceless	ɸ (φ)	θ (θ)	s (σ)	x (χ)	h (*spiritus asper*)
	voiced			z (ζ)		
liquid	trill			r (ρ)		
	lateral approximant			l (λ)		
nasal		m (μ)		n (ν)		

The consonantal inventory of Classical Syriac included twenty-eight phonemes, which are summarized in Table 5-2.[10] Syriac was characterized by several sets of consonantal triads consisting of a voiceless, voiced, and emphatic member. The emphatic member, which is traditionally represented with an under-dot in Semitic Studies, was likely glottalic/ejective in earlier stages of Semitic; it was, however, probably realized as pharyngeal in Syriac, as in

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[10] In general, see Daniels 1997; Muraoka 2005: §3; Nöldeke 1904: §2.

Arabic.[11] Triads were found for the dental stops (ܬ *t*, ܕ *d*, ܛ *ṭ*), the velar stops (ܟ *k*, ܓ *g*, ܩ *q*), and the alveolar fricatives (ܣ *s*, ܙ *z*, ܨ *ṣ*). In Syriac, the bilabial stops (ܦ *p*, ܒ *b*) and pharyngeal fricatives (ܚ *ḥ* [= IPA ħ], ܥ *ʿ*) lacked an emphatic member and so had only voiced and voiceless members.[12] It should be noted, however, that an emphatic member did exist for the bilabial stop series in Greek loanwords in Syriac (see §5.2.12). Following the Old Aramaic period, the non-emphatic bilabial, dental, and velar stops developed fricative allophones post-vocalically when ungeminated.[13] By the time of Syriac, these fricatives (both voiced and voiceless) had become phonemic, since the conditioning factor of the allophone was in many cases lost due to a regular vowel deletion rule. This led to minimal pairs such as **garbā́ > garbɔ́* 'leper' (Sokoloff 2009: 255) versus **garibā́ > garḇɔ́* 'leprosy' (Sokoloff 2009: 255) and **qaṭalatíh > qṭaltéh* 'she killed him' versus **qaṭaltíh > qṭaltéh* 'I killed him'.[14] The innovative bilabial, dental, and velar fricatives (both voiced and voiceless) were not distinguished from their stop counterparts in the consonantal writing system of Syriac, though diacritics were eventually developed to differentiate them.[15] In addition to the stops and fricatives that occur in triads or biads, there were two glottal phonemes, one being a voiceless stop (ܐ *ʾ*) and the other being a voiceless fricative (ܗ *h*), as well as a palato-alveolar voiceless fricative (ܫ *š*). Alongside the stops and fricatives, there were six sonorants in Classical Syriac. Two of these

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[11] For the emphatic consonsants in Semitc, see Kogan 2011: 59-61 with further references.

[12] An emphatic velar fricative **xʾ* may well have existed in Proto-Semitic, as argued by Huehnergard (2003) on the basis of correspondences of Akkadian *ḫ* and West-Semitic *ḥ*. The existence of an emphatic bilabial stop **pʾ* in Proto-Semitic is unlikely (see the discussion, with literature, in Kogan 2011: 80-81; Militarev and Kogan 2000: cv-cvicxvi).

[13] In Semitic Studies, these fricatives are traditionally indicated by underline or overline, i.e., *p̄* = IPA *f*; *ḇ* = IPA *β*; *ṯ* = IPA *θ*; *ḏ* = IPA *ð*; *ḵ* = IPA *x*; *ḡ* = IPA *ɣ*.

[14] This distinction was extended by analogy to other places in the verbal system: ܚܕܝܬ *ḥḏiṯ* 'I rejoiced' vs. ܚܕܝܬ *ḥḏiṯ* 'you (m.sg.) rejoiced'.

[15] Kiraz 2012: §210-216.

were liquids, one being an alveolar lateral approximant (ܠ *l*) and the other being an alveolar trill (ܪ *r*). Two of these were nasals, one being bilabial (ܡ *m*) and the other being alveolar (ܢ *n*). The remaining two were glides, one being bilabial (ܘ *w*) and the other being palatal (ܝ *y*).

Table 5-2 Consonantal Inventory of Syriac

		bilabial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	pharyngeal	glottal
stop	voiceless	p (ܦ)	t (ܬ)				k (ܟ)		ʾ (ܐ)
stop	voiced	b (ܒ)	d (ܕ)				g (ܓ)		
stop	emphatic	[ṗ (ܦ)]	ṭ (ܛ)				q (ܩ)		
fricative	voiceless	p̄ (ܦ)	t̠ (ܬ)	s (ܣ)	š (ܫ)		k̠ (ܟ)	ḥ (ܚ)	h (ܗ)
fricative	voiced	b̠ (ܒ)	d̠ (ܕ)	z (ܙ)			ḡ (ܓ)	ʿ (ܥ)	
fricative	emphatic			ṣ (ܨ)					
liquid	trill			r (ܪ)					
liquid	lateral approximant			l (ܠ)					
nasal		m (ܡ)		n (ܢ)					
glide		w (ܘ)				y (ܝ)			

In the vast majority of cases, each Greek consonantal phoneme is regularly represented by a single consonant in Syriac. The following sections provide a detailed description of how each Greek consonantal phoneme is represented in Syriac.

5.2.2 Greek β

Greek β was a voiced bilabial stop /b/ in Attic Greek.[16] The documentary record suggests that, at least in Egypt, it had changed into a voiced bilabial fricative /β/ by the first century CE.[17] Greek β is typically represented in Syriac by *b*,[18] which was realized either as a voiced bilabial stop or a voiced bilabial fricative, e.g., βῆμα (Lampe 1961: 295-296; Liddell and Scott 1996: 314) > ܒܝܡ *bym* (with alternative orthographies) 'tribunal, raised platform, *bema* of a Church' (Sokoloff 2009: 141) and συλλαβή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1672) > ܣܘܠܒܐ *swlbʾ* 'syllable' (Sokoloff 2009: 979-980).

Greek β is also represented in Syriac by *p*, which was realized either as a voiceless bilabial stop or a voiceless bilabial fricative, in the following words:[19]

(5-1) a. κάνναβις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 874) > ܩܢܦܐ *qnpʾ* 'hemp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1386)

  b. κύβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1005) > ܩܘܦܣܐ *qwpsʾ* 'cube; piece on a draft board; tessera, mosaic tile; mosaic work; hard stone, flint' (Sokoloff 2009: 1340), with derivatives

This correspondence is likely due to an interchange of β and π in the Greek source, a change that is sporadically attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[20]

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[16] Allen 1987: 29-32; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[17] Gignac 1976-: 1.63, 178; Mayser 1970: 145.

[18] Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §2).

[19] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §154).

[20] Gignac 1976-: 1.83; Mayser 1970: 145. Alternatively, the presence of *p* in ܩܘܦܣܐ *qwpsʾ* (< κύβος) could be due to the assimilation of [-voice]: **quḇsā > quṗsɔ*.

Greek β is also represented in Syriac by the bilabial glide *w* in Latin *velum* (Glare 1982: 2024; Lewis and Short 1969: 1965-1966) > βῆλον (Lampe 1961: 295) > ܘܐܠܐ *wˀlˀ* 'veil, curtain' (Sokoloff 2009: 358).[21] This irregular correspondence may be due to the ultimate Latin source that begins with consonantal *v*, which was probably a voiced bilabial fricative /β/ by this time.[22] Thus, Syriac ܘܐܠܐ *wˀlˀ* may be a direct transfer from Latin *velum* with Syriac *w* representing Latin *v* (see §4.8) or the ultimate Latin source may have influenced the representation in Syriac.[23]

5.2.3 Greek γ

Greek γ was a voiced velar stop /g/ in Attic Greek.[24] During the Roman and Byzantine periods, it was in the process of becoming a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/.[25] Greek γ is typically represented in Syriac by *g*,[26] which was either a voiced velar stop or a voiced velar fricative, e.g., γυμνάσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 362) > ܓܡܢܣܝܢ *gmnsyn* 'gymnasia' (Sokoloff 2009:

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[21] This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §156).

[22] Gignac 1976-: 1: 68 with n. 2.

[23] Compare Latin *velarium* (Glare 1982: 2022; Lewis and Short 1969: 1964) > ܘܐܠܪܐ *wˀlrˀ* 'curtains' with no attested Greek intermediary as well as Latin names such as Valens (Syriac ܘܠܝܣ *wlys* [Payne Smith 1879-1901: 1064]) and Valentinus (Syriac ܘܠܢܛܝܢܘܣ *wlnṭynws* [Payne Smith 1879-1901: 1064]). A datum against this analysis would, however, be Latin *vestiarium* (Glare 1982: 2048; Lewis and Short 1969: 1981) > ܒܣܛܝܪܝܢ *bsṭyryn* 'wardrobe (Sokoloff 2009: 163), where Latin *v* is represented by Syriac *b* without a known Greek intermediary, though it could of course just be unattested.

[24] Allen 1987: 29-32; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[25] Gignac 1976-: 1.74-75, 178; Mayser 1970: 141-143.

[26] Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §3).

242) and φλέγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1943) > ܦܠܓܡܐ *plgm'* 'phlegm' (Sokoloff 2009: 1195).

Greek γ is also represented by the emphatic velar stop *q* in πύργος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1556) > ܦܘܪܩܣܐ *pwrqs'* 'tower' (Sokoloff 2009: 1173; cf. Schall 1960: 50-51).[27] This may be the result of an assimilation of [+emphatic] due to the initial "emphatic" *p* (see §5.2.12).[28] It should be noted that this Greek word is realized in Mandaic as **parqsa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 365), with the same correspondence, suggesting that the same assimilation occurred in Mandaic or that the Mandaic is a loanword from Syriac.

Greek γ is also represented by the voiced dental stop *d* in πυργίσκος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1555-1556) > ܦܪܕܣܩܐ *prdysq'*, ܦܘܪܕܣܩܐ *pwrdsq'* 'wooden box, storeroom; chest inserted in a wall' (Sokoloff 2009: 1228-1229). Brockelmann (1908: §86d) explains this as a dissimilation of a velar to a dental in proximity to another velar. This is, however, *ad hoc*. It should be noted that the Greek word is realized in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic as *prdysq'* (Sokoloff 2002a: 928) and in Mandaic as **pardasa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 363), with similar correspondences.

In the sequences γκ, γγ, γχ, and γμ, Greek γ represents the velar nasal *ŋ*,[29] which serves as an allophone of the dental nasal ν and the voiced velar stop γ. In the vast majority of

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[27] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §162).

[28] Alternatively, it could be the result of an interchange of γ and κ in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt (Gignac 1976-: 1.63, 76-80; Mayser 1970: 143-144).

[29] Allen 1987: 33-39; Woodard 2004b: 616. The pronunciation of γ as the velar nasal *ŋ* is sometimes reflected in spellings in Greek documents, including those from Syria and Mesopotamia: for γγ, see ἀντισύνγραφα for ἀντισύγγραφα (P.Euph. 6.29-30 [249]; 7.23 [249]); στρονγυλοπρόσωπον for στρογγυλοπρόσωπον (P.Euph. 8.13 [251]; 9.12 [252]); συνγραφήν for συγγραφήν (P.Euph. 8.17 [251]); for γκ, see ἐνκαλέσῃ for ἐγκαλέσῃ (P.Dura.

cases, the Greek velar nasal is represented in Syriac with the dental nasal *n*, as in the following representative examples:

(5-2) a. ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *'nnq'* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63)

    b. κόγχη (Lampe 1961: 759) > ܩܢܟܐ *qnk'* 'the part of the church in which the holy service is preformed and where the altar stands' (Sokoloff 2009: 1385)

    c. μάγγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1070) > ܡܢܓܢܘܢ *mngnwn* 'instrument of torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 780)

In the following cases, however, the Greek velar nasal *ŋ* is not represented in Syriac:

(5-3) a. Latin *uncinus* (Glare 1982: 2090; Lewis and Short 1969: 1929) > ὄγκινος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1196) > ܐܘܩܝܢܐ *'wqyn'* 'hook; anchor; sailors' sounding line' (Sokoloff 2009: 20)

    b. ἀγκών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 10) > ܐܩܘܢܐ *'qwn'* 'hollow of the arm or knee' (Sokoloff 2009: 92)

    c. λόγχη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1059) > ܠܘܟܝܬܐ *lwkyt'* 'spear' (Sokoloff 2009: 679)[30]

    d. σπόγγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1628) > ܐܤܦܘܓܐ *'spwg'*, ܤܦܘܓܐ *spwg'*

31.int.16 [204]; P.Euph. 8.25 [251]); ἐνκαλῖν for ἐγκαλεῖν (P.Euph. 14.17 [241]); ἐνκαλλέσειν for ἐγκαλέσειν (P.Dura. 31.int.13 [204]); ἐνκαλοῦμε for ἐγκαλοῦμαι (P.Euph. 3.12 [252-256]; 4.12; [252-256]); ἐνκλήματα for ἐγκλήματα (P.Euph. 3.11 [252-256]; 4.12 [252-256]); πάνκαλα for πάγκαλα (P.Euph. 17.9-10 [mid-3rd cent.]); πάνκαλον for πάγκαλον (P.Euph. 17.2 [mid-3rd cent.]); συνκωμῆται for συγκωμῆται (P.Euph. 1.10-11 [245]); συνκωμήτης for συγκωμήτης (P.Euph. 4.6 [252-256]); for γχ, see τυνχάνομεν for τυγχάνομεν (P.Euph. 1.11 [245]).

[30] Compare, however, λογχίδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1059) > ܠܘܢܟܕܝܐ *lẅnkdy'* 'small spears' (Sokoloff 2009: 679)

'sponge' (Sokoloff 2009: 75)

The lack of representation of the Greek velar nasal ŋ in these examples is due to its assimilation to a following consonant (see also §5.2.10).[31]

5.2.4   Greek δ

Greek δ was a voiced dental stop /d/ in Attic Greek.[32] During the Roman and Byzantine periods, it was in the process of becoming a voiced dental fricative /ð/.[33] Greek δ is typically represented in Syriac by *d*,[34] which was either a voiced dental stop or a voiced dental fricative, e.g., ἀντίδοτον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 155) > ܐܢܛܝܕܛܘܢ *ʾnṭydṭwn* 'antidote' (Sokoloff 2009: 61) and δίπτυχον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 437) > ܕܝܦܛܘܟܐ *dypṭwkʾ* '*diptych*, tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 298).

Greek δ is also represented by the emphatic dental stop *ṭ* in ποδάγρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1425) > ܦܛܓܪܐ *pṭgrʾ* 'gout' (Sokoloff 2009: 124, 1180).[35] This is likely the result of an assimilation of [+emphatic] due to the "emphatic" *p* (see §5.2.12).[36] A similar correspondence is found in πανδοκεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1296-1297) > ܦܘܛܩܐ *pwṭqʾ* 'inn' (Sokoloff 2009: 1162, 1177), but also with assimilation of *n* (see §5.2.12). The Greek δ in

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[31] Alternatively, these cases could involve nasalization of the vowel.

[32] Allen 1987: 29-32; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[33] Gignac 1976-: 1.75 with n. 3, 178.

[34] Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: § 5).

[35] The expected representation ܦܘܕܓܪܐ *pwdgrʾ* also occurs.

[36] Alternatively, it could be the result of an interchange of δ and τ in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt (Gignac 1976-: 1.63, 82-83; Mayser 1970: 146-147).

πανδοκεῖον is also represented in Syriac with *t*, which was realized as either a voiceless dental stop or a voiceless dental fricative, e.g., ܦܘܬܩܐ *pwtq*ʾ. This representation is more difficult to explain; perhaps, it is due to an interchange of δ and θ in the Greek source, a change that is occasionally attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[37] It should be noted that these developments are not attested in the other dialects of Late Aramaic in which the Greek word is found: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *puddəqɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 888), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pwndq* (Sokoloff 2002b: 426), and Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗwndq* (Schulthess 1903: 159).[38]

Greek δ is not always represented in πινακίδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܢܩܝܬܐ *pnqyt*ʾ, ܦܢܩܝܕܬܐ *pnqydt*ʾ 'writing tablet, treatise; collection; small book, volume' (Sokoloff 2009: 1207). This is due to a regressive assimilation of *d* to *t*.[39] It should be noted, however, that in the later vocalization tradition ܦܢܩܝܬܐ *pnqyt*ʾ is realized as /pɛnqitɔ/ with *t̠* (not *tt*).[40] The fricativization of *t̠* is to be explained as secondary, likely due to an inner Syriac development whereby the Syriac ending -*it̠ɔ* was used to represent the Greek ending -ιδιον.[41]

In a few isolated cases, Greek δ is not represented in Syriac when it occurs in word initial position:

(5-4) a. διαφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 420) > ܝܦܢܣ *ypns* 'discord' (Sokoloff 2009: 579; only in Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 605.26; 677.5 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907])

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[37] Gignac 1976-: 1.96-97; Mayser 1970: 148-149.

[38] The developments found in Syriac thus preclude it from being the immediate source of Arabic *funduq-* (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 638; Lane 1863-1893: 2449).

[39] So already Wright 1870-1872: 2.633. For this sound change, see Nöldeke 1904: §26B and compare, e.g., *ḥadtā* > *ḥadtɔ* > *ḥattɔ* 'new', written ܚܕܬܐ *ḥ(d)t*ʾ.

[40] See, e.g., Luke 1:63 in Pusey and Gwilliam 1901.

[41] So, Van Rompay (personal communication). For similar cases, see p. 118 below.

b. δορυφόρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 446) > ܠܘܦܪܐ *lwprʾ* 'praetorian guardsman' (Sokoloff 2009: 680)

If these are not simply corruptions, then they can be explained as instances of meta-analysis in which the initial *d* was mis-analyzed as the nominalizing particle *d-*, which allowed it to be deleted from the word.[42]

5.2.5 Greek ζ

Greek ζ was a monograph for the consonant cluster /zd/ in Attic Greek.[43] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, it had developed into a voiced alveolar fricative /z/.[44] Greek ζ is always represented by the Syriac voiced alveolar fricative *z*,[45] e.g., ζωνάριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 759) > ܙܘܢܪܐ *zwnrʾ* 'belt' (Sokoloff 2009: 373-374) and τραπεζίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1810) > ܛܪܦܙܝܛܐ *ṭrpzyṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'money-changer' (Sokoloff 2009: 556).

5.2.6 Greek θ

Greek θ was an aspirated voiceless dental stop /tʰ/ in Attic Greek.[46] During the Roman period, it developed into a voiceless dental fricative /θ/,[47] which became the established

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[42] For a similar phenomenon, compare Gəʕəz *ʾəskəndərya* < Arabic *al-ʾiskandarīyat-* < Greek Ἀλεξάνδρεια, in which the initial syllable in Greek was mis-analyzed as the Arabic definite article *al-*, which was then removed in Gəʕəz.

[43] Allen 1987: 56-69; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[44] Gignac 1976-: 1.120; Mayser 1970: 176.

[45] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §7)

[46] Allen 1987: 18-26; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[47] Gignac 1976-: 1.64, 178.

pronunciation in the Byzantine period. Greek θ is typically represented in Syriac by *t*,[48] which was realized as a voiceless dental stop or a voiceless dental fricative, e.g., ἀθλητής (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܛܐ *ʾtlyṭ* 'athlete, fighter' (Sokoloff 2009: 111-112) and θέατρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 787) > ܬܐܛܪܘܢ *tʾṭrwn* 'theater; spectacle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618).

Greek θ is also represented by the emphatic dental stop *ṭ* in θόρυβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 803-804) > ܛܘܪܒܐ *ṭwrbʾ* 'turmoil, uproar' (Sokoloff 2009: 521). According to Brock (1967: 402), this is due to analogy with ܛܘܪܦܐ *ṭwrpʾ* 'torment' (Sokoloff 2009: 522). Alternatively, the spelling with *ṭ* could be due to the loss of aspiration of θ in the Greek source, which is occasionally attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[49]

5.2.7 Greek κ

Greek κ was a voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[50] Greek κ is typically represented in Syriac by the emphatic velar stop *q*,[51] e.g., εἰκῇ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 484) > ܐܝܩܐ *ʾyqʾ* 'in vain'

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[48] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §8).

[49] Gignac 1976-: 1.86-96, esp. 91 (word initial); Mayser 1970: 147-148. It should be noted that this irregular representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §8, 164).

[50] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 17-18; Woodard 2004b: 616. For Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.63, 178.

[51] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Schall 1960: 37; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §9).

(Sokoloff 2009: 37-38) and καιρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 859-860) > ܩܪܣܐ *q'rs'* (with alternative orthographies) 'time; mischance; distress, difficulty; war' (Sokoloff 2009: 1308).

In a few isolated cases, Greek κ is represented by the voiced velar stop *g*:[52]

(5-5) a. ἐκκλησιέκδικος (Lampe 1961: 433) > ܐܩܠܣܓܕܝܩܘܣ *'qlysgdyqws* 'expert in church law' (Sokoloff 2009: 92)

 b. καλλίας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 867) > ܓܠܣ *gls* 'ape, monkey' (Sokoloff 2009: 238)

 c. κυβερνήτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1004) > ܓܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *gwbrnyt'* 'helmsman, pilot' (Sokoloff 2009: 210; cf. Schall 1960: 107; only in Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.612.2 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]), though usually ܩܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *qwbrnyt'* (with orthographic variants) (Sokoloff 2009: 1323)

This representation is to be explained by an interchange γ for κ in the Greek source, which is encountered in Greek documents from Egypt as well as from Syria and Mesopotamia.[53] It should be noted that for at least one of the words in (5-5) the Greek form with γ is actually attested in a Greek document from Egypt: γυβερνήτης (P.Grenf. 1.49.21 [220/221 CE]).[54]

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[52] This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §9). See also Latin *scutum* (Glare 1982: 1714; Lewis and Short 1969: 1651) > σκοῦτα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1616), cf. σκουτάριον (Daris 1991: 104) > ܣܓܘܛܘܣ *sgwṭws* 'shield' (Sokoloff 2009: 967).

[53] For Egypt, see Gignac 1976-: 6-80; Mayser 1970: 143-144; for Syria and Mesopotamia, see, e.g., ἐγνεικῆται for ἐκνικῆται (P.Dura. 26.ext.r.23 [227]); ἐγδικίας for ἐκδικίας (P.Euph. 2.13 [mid-3rd]); διεγδικήσειν for διεκδικήσειν (P.Euph. 9.22-23 [252]); ἐγβένω for ἐκβαίνω (P.Euph. 17.22 [mid-3rd]); ἐγ διακληρώσεως for ἐκ διακληρώσεως (P.Dura. 19.6 [88-89]).

[54] The change from voiceless to voiced velar stop is also reflected in Latin *gubernare* (Lewis and Short 1969: 831), which is a loanword from Greek.

Greek κ is represented in Syriac by *k*, which was realized as a voiceless velar stop or a voiceless velar fricative, in the following isolated cases:[55]

(5-6) a. κερκίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 943) → accusative singular κερκίδα > ܟܪܟܝܕܐ *krkyd'* 'weaver's come' (Sokoloff 2009: 654-655)[56]

b. χαλκηδών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1973) > ܩܪܟܕܢܐ *qrkdn'* 'chalcedony' (Sokoloff 2009: 1411; cf. Joosten 1998: 47; Schall 1960: 121). This would not be the only irregular consonant correspondence in the word: χ = Syriac *q*, but usually *k* (see §5.2.17); λ = Syriac *r*, but usually *l* (see §5.2.8). The phonology is a better fit for καρχηδόνιος 'Carthaginian' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 881) or the like.

The seeming irregular correspondence found in these words is likely due to an interchange of κ and χ in the presence of a liquid in the Greek source, a change that is sporadically attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[57] A third case of this representation could potentially be found in ܦܝܢܟܐ *pynk'* 'dish, writing tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188; cf. Schall 1960: 104), if the input form is πίνακα, the accusative of πίναξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405). It is, however, preferable to follow Brock (1967: 413) in taking the input form to be the nominative πίναξ in which case Greek ξ would be realized as Syriac *ks*, as is typical (§5.2.11), followed by the loss of the case marker *-s*, leaving only *k* (see §6.2.3.12). If Brock's proposal is accepted, then Syriac ܦܝܢܟܐ *pynk'* is not an additional example of the correspondence of Greek κ with Syriac *k*.

In the *Ecclesiastical History* by Pseudo-Zacharias (6th cent.), Greek κ is represented by the emphatic dental stop *ṭ* in γλωσσόκομον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 353) > ܓܠܘܣܩܛܐ

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[55] See Schall 1960: 37, 220. This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §9).

[56] This representation is also found in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *krkd* 'staff used for beating' (Sokoloff 2002b: 269-270).

[57] Gignac 1976-: 1.89-90; Mayser 1970: 144-145.

glwsṭmˀ 'chest, box, case' (Sokoloff 2009: 233-234; cf. Nöldeke 1875: xxx; Brock 1967: 397).[58] This representation is difficult to explain. The fact that a similar spelling occurs in Mandaic **gluṣṭuma, gluṣṭma** (Drower and Macuch 1963) suggests that this is a loanword from Syriac.

5.2.8 Greek λ

Greek λ was an alveolar lateral approximant /l/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[59] It is typically represented by the Syriac alveolar lateral approximant *l*,[60] e.g., σελλίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) > ܣܠܝܢ *sylyn* 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (Sokoloff 2009: 149; 1001) and ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) > ܗܘܠܐ *hwlˀ* (with alternative orthographies) 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341).

Greek λ may be represented by the alveolar trill *r* in two words, though both are quite uncertain:

(5-7) a. ὑδραύλης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1884) > ܐܪܕܪܘܪܣ* *ˀdrwrsˀ* 'hydraulic organ' (Sokoloff 2009: 11) only possibly in *Acts of Thomas*, 279.8 (ed. Wright 1871a), which Fränkel (1903: 86) proposed as an emendation of ܕܪܘܣ *drws*.[61] Tubach (2011: 247 n. 72), however, has argued that this emendation is unnecessary,

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[58] The usual spelling in Syriac is ܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ *glwsqmˀ*, though ܓܠܘܨܩܡܐ *glwṣqmˀ* with assimilation of [+emphatic] is also attested. Compare also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *gwlwsqwmwn* 'bag, purse' (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 227; Schulthess 1903: 38) and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *glwsqwm* (Sokoloff 2002b: 129)

[59] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 39-40; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.

[60] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §10).

proposing instead that ܕܝܘܣܐ *dïws'* represents Greek ὑδραύλης with assimilation of *l* to *s* and the loss of initial *'*. Finally, it should be noted that ܗܕܪܘܠܐ *hdrwl'* (Sokoloff 2009: 332) is the more common form of the word.

b. χαλκηδών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1973) > ܩܪܟܕܢܐ *qrkdn'* 'chalcedony' (Sokoloff 2009: 1411). This would not be the only irregular consonant correspondence in the word (see p. 99).

If these examples are admitted, they could be explained by an interchange of ρ and λ in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[62]

Greek λ is not consistently represented in βαλανεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 303) > ܒܢܐ *bn'* 'bath' (Sokoloff 2009: 161) due to haplography.[63] This haplography is also found in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bny* (Sokoloff 2002b: 105) and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *banne*, *b'ny* (Sokoloff 2002a: 209). The form without haplography is, however, attested in Syriac *bln'* 'bath' (Sokoloff 2009: 158) as well as in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *blny* (Sokoloff 2002b: 104).

An irregular representation of Greek λ with Syriac *n* is found in λαμπτήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1028) > ܢܦܛܝܪܐ *npṭyr'* 'lantern, torch' (Sokoloff 2009: 930).[64] This representation might possibly be explained by a change of λ to ν in the Greek source, which is rarely attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[65]

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[61] Wright (1871a: 279), Fränkel (1903: 86), Brockelmann (1928: 167), Schall (1960: 120), and Tubach (2011: 247 n. 72) all give the ms. as reading ܕܝܘܣܐ *dïws'*, against Sokoloff (2009: 11), who has ܕܝܘܪܣܐ *dïwrs'*.

[62] Gignac 1976-: 1.102-107; Mayser 1970: 161-162.

[63] Brockelmann 1908: §97llα; Schall 1960: 61-62.

[64] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §161).

[65] Gignac 1976-: 1.109-110.

5.2.9   Greek μ

Greek μ was a bilabial nasal /m/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[66] It is typically represented by the Syriac bilabial nasal *m*,[67] e.g., γραμμάτιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 359) > ܓܪܡܛܝܘܢ *grmtywn* (pl.) 'promissory note' (Sokoloff 2009: 261) and μέν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1101-1102) > ܡܢ *mn* 'indeed' (Sokoloff 2009: 778).

In the following isolated cases, Greek μ is not represented in Syriac:[68]

(5-8)   a.   συμφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1689) > ܣܦܘܢܝܐ *spwny'* 'bagpipe' (Sokoloff 2009: 1297)

   b.   Latin *subsellium* (Glare 1982: 1848; Lewis and Short 1969: 1781) > συμψέλλιον (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1690) > ܣܦܣܠܐ *spsl'* 'bench' (Sokoloff 2009: 963, 1032), also attested as ܣܒܣܠܐ *sbsl'*, which likely represents the Latin

These examples are to be explained by a loss of the bilabial nasal μ before a labial stop in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[69]

Greek μ is represented by Syriac *n* in σύμπονος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1685; Lampe 1961: 1289) > ܣܘܢܦܘܢܘܣ 'supervisor of the trades people of Constantinople on behalf of the

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[66] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 33; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.

[67] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §11).

[68] See also λαμπτήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1028) > ܢܦܛܝܪܐ *npṭyr'* 'lantern, torch' (Sokoloff 2009: 930), which also attests the irregular correspondence of Greek λ with Syriac *n* (see §5.2.8).

[69] Gignac 1976-: 1.117; Mayser 1970: 165.

eparch of the city' (Sokoloff 2009: 984).[70] This is due to a dissimilation of μ to ν before a labial in the Greek source, which is encountered in Greek documents from Egypt as well as from Syria and Mesopotamia.[71]

5.2.10 Greek ν

Greek ν was an alveolar nasal /n/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[72] It is typically represented by the Syriac alveolar nasal *n*,[73] e.g., δρόμων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 450) > ـܢܘܡܪܕ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 324) and νομή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1178-1179) > ܢܘܡܐ *nwmᵓ* 'pasture' (Sokoloff 2009: 900).

In rare cases, Greek ν is not represented in Syriac:[74]

(5-9) a. ἀνδριάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 128) → accusative singular ἀνδριάντα > ܐܕܪܝܢܛܐ *ᵓdrynṭ*, ܐܕܪܝܛܐ *ᵓdryṭ* 'statue' (Sokoloff 2009: 11), with an additional spelling of ܐܢܕܪܝܢܛܐ *ᵓndrynṭ*

       b. πανδοκεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1296-1297) > ܦܘܬܩܐ *pwtqᵓ*, ܦܘܛܩܐ *pwṭqᵓ*

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[70] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §160).

[71] For Egypt, see Gignac 1976-: 1.167-169; Mayser 1970: 203-207; for Syria and Mesopotamia, see, e.g., διαπενψαμένου for διαπεμψαμένου (P.Euph. 2.20 [mid-3rd]); ἐνποιηθῇ for ἐμποιηθῇ (P.Euph. 8.24 [251]); ἐνποιούμενον for ἐμποιούμενον (P.Euph. 9.23 [252]); ἔνπροσθεν for ἔμπροσθεν (P.Euph. 16.A.2 [after 239]); ἐνφράξι for ἐμφράξει (P.Euph. 13.16 [243]); συνβά[ν] for συμβάν (P.Euph. 2.5 [mid-3rd]); συνπαρόντος for συμπαρόντος (P.Euph. 6.9 [249]; 9.14 [252]).

[72] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 33-39; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.

[73] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §12).

[74] See also Latin *mansio* (Glare 1982: 1074; Lewis and Short 1969: 1109) > ܡܣܝܘܢܐ *msywnᵓ* 'journey of ten parasants' (Sokoloff 2009: 790). It should be noted that Latin *ns* is normally realized simply as σ in Latin loanwords in Greek (Gignac 1976-: 1.117-118).

‘inn’ (Sokoloff 2009: 1162, 1177)

c. σάνδαλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1582) > ܣܕܠܐ *sdlʾ* ‘sandal’ (Sokoloff 2009: 971, 1022), with an additional spelling of ܣܢܕܠܐ *sndlʾ*

d. σινδών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1600) > ܣܕܘܢܐ *sdwnʾ* ‘fine linen cloth’ (Sokoloff 2009: 970)

This is either due to an assimilation of *ν* to a following dental in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt,[75] or to an inner Syriac development whereby *n* assimilates to a following consonant. Given the regularity of the latter, it seems more likely.

Initial *ν* is irregularly deleted in νεανίσκος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1164) > ܝܢܣܩܐ *ynsqʾ* ‘youth’ (Sokoloff 2009: 577), which also occurs as ܢܝܢܣܩܐ *nynsqʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 915).

5.2.11 Greek ξ

Greek ξ is a monograph for the voiceless unaspirated velar stop κ and the voiceless alveolar fricative σ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[76] Greek ξ is typically represented in Syriac by two consonants: *k*, which was realized as a voiceless velar stop or a voiceless velar fricative, and the voiceless alveolar fricative *s*,[77] e.g., Latin *dux* (Glare 1982: 582; Lewis and Short 1969: 621) > δούξ (Daris 1991: 41-42; Liddell and Scott 1996: 447) > ܕܘܟܣ *dwks* ‘leader’ (Sokoloff 2009: 281) and παράδοξον

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[75] Gignac 1976-: 1.116; Palmer 1945: 2. This change in Greek may additionally involve nasalization of the vowel.

[76] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 59-60; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.139-141; Mayser 1970: 184-185.

[77] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §12, 603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 529-531. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §13).

(Liddell and Scott 1996: 1309) > ܦܪܘܕܟܣܢ *prdwksn* 'paradox' (Sokoloff 2009: 1228). The use of *k*, instead of the emphatic velar stop *q*, suggests that the initial segment of Greek ξ was at least partially aspirated, i.e., /kʰs/, a realization that is supported by other evidence.[78]

Greek ξ is represented by the emphatic velar stop *q* and the voiceless alveolar fricative *s* in κόραξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 980) > ܩܪܩܣܐ *qrqsˀ* 'raven, crow; jay, magpie' (Sokoloff 2009: 1416). This representation corresponds to the expected representation of a monograph for the voiceless unaspirated velar stop κ and the voiceless alveolar fricative σ.[79]

In a few rare cases, Greek ξ is represented by *s*, without *k*:

(5-10) a.   Latin *excubitor* (Glare 1982: 637; Lewis and Short 1969: 680) > ἐξκούβιτωρ (Daris 1991: 44-45) > pl. ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ *ˀsqwbyṭrws* (*sic*; without *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܝܣ *sqwbyṭwïs*, ܣܩ̈ܘܒܝܛܝܐ *sq̈wbyṭïˀ* (*sic*; with two *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܝܘܣ *sqwbyṭwïws* 'excubitores, Byzantine palace guards' (Sokoloff 2009: 1037)

b.   λῶταξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1069; Lampe 1961: 818) > ܠܘܛܣܐ *lwṭsˀ* 'beggar, idler' (Sokoloff 2009: 677), also occurring more rarely is the expected ܠܘܛܐܟܣ *lwṭˀks*

There are no sound changes in Greek or Syriac that can account for this representation. Perhaps the former is due to the complex initial syllable cluster whereas the latter represents the triradicalization of a Greek loanword.

Greek ξ is irregularly represented by the emphatic velar stop *q*, without the voiceless alveolar fricative *s*, in Latin *sextarius* (Glare 1982: 1751; Lewis and Short 1969: 1688) >

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[78] See Harviainen 1976: 20 with the references in n. 3.

[79] This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §13).

ξέστης (Daris 1991: 76-77) > ܩܣܛܐ *qsṭ*ʾ 'vase, urn; measure' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387).[80] The same correspondence is found already in Palmyrene *qstwn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; cf. Brock 2005: 19) as well as in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *qsyṭ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 498), Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qysṭ* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 288; Schulthess 1903: 181), and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *qisṭɔ, qysṭ*ʾ (Sokoloff 2002a: 1014). This representation is difficult to account for, but it may be due to the triradicalization of a Greek loanword.

Greek ξ is irregularly represented by the voiceless palatal fricative *š* in χάλιξ 'gravel' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1972) > ܟܠܫܐ *klš*ʾ 'lime' (Sokoloff 2009: 627; cf. Schall 1960: 111).

5.2.12 Greek π

Greek π was a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[81] It is typically represented in Syriac by *p*,[82] which was realized either as a voiced bilabial stop or a voiceless bilabial fricative in native Syriac words, e.g., δίπτυχον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 437) > ܕܝܦܛܘܟܐ *dypṭwk*ʾ '*diptych*, tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 298) and πότε (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1454) > ܦܘܛܐ *pwṭ*ʾ 'ever' (Sokoloff 2009: 1162).

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
[80] Brock 1975: 83 n. 20; Voigt 1998b: 530. Various Greek sources have been proposed, for which, see Hillers and Cussini 1996: 1018.

[81] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 14-16; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.

[82] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §14).

Greek π is left unrepresented in κάμπτριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 873) > ܩܡܛܪܢ qmṭrn 'small chest' (Sokoloff 2009: 1377). This reflects the deletion of π in the cluster μπτ in the Greek source, a change that is well attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[83]

Syriac *p* was realized as a voiced bilabial stop /p/ or a voiceless bilabial fricative /p̄/ (= IPA /ɸ/) in native Syriac words. There is, however, evidence suggesting that Syriac *p*, when representing Greek π, was an *emphatic* bilabial stop. The clearest support for this from the period that is of interest to this study derives from cases of the assimilation of the feature [+emphatic] due to the presence of this "emphatic" *p* (< Greek π), as is illustrated in the following words:[84]

(5-11) a. ποδάγρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1425) > ܦܛܓܪܐ *pṭgrʾ* 'gout' (Sokoloff 2009: 124, 1180), as well as the expected representation ܦܘܕܓܪܐ *pwdgrʾ*

b. πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) > ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwpʾ* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250), for expected ܦܪܣܘܦܐ* **prswpʾ*

c. πύργος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1556) > ܦܘܪܩܣܐ *pwrqsʾ* 'tower' (Sokoloff 2009: 1173), for expected ܦܘܪܓܣܐ* **pwrgsʾ*

d. συμφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1689) > ܨܦܘܢܝܐ *ṣpwnyʾ* 'bagpipe' (Sokoloff 2009: 1297), for expected ܣܦܘܢܝܐ* **spwnyʾ*, cf. Aramaic of Daniel *sumponyɔ* (Dan. 3:5, 15), *sypnyh* (Dan. 3:10 [k]), *suponyɔ* (Dan. 3:10 [q]) (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1937-1938) without emphatic *ṣ*

In each of these cases, the presence of an "emphatic" *p* (< Greek π) led to the assimilation of a stop (whether voiced or voiceless) to its emphatic counterpart. An additional assimilation of

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[83] Gignac 1976-: 1.64; Mayser 1970: 152.
[84] Brock 1967: 420; Schall 1960: 80; Voigt 1998b: 531-532.

[+emphatic] occurs systematically in the Ct-stem of πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354) > rt. ܦܝܣ *pys* C 'to persuade, to convince; to demand, seek, beseech' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188), which is written ܐܬܦܝܣ *ʾttpys*.[85]

In the later Syriac vocalization traditions, the "emphatic" *p* is marked with the same diacritic point that is used to distinguish the non-emphatic voiceless stops from their fricative counterparts.[86] In his grammatical works, Bar ʿEbroyo (d. 1286) speaks on several occasions about the "Greek *pe*" (ܦܐ ܝܘܢܝܬܐ *pe yawnɔytɔ*) that is found in ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwpʾ* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250) < πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) and other Greek loanwords.[87]

An "emphatic" *p* also occurs with Greek loanwords in Christian Palestinian Aramaic,[88] e.g., ἀσπίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 259) > *ʾspys* 'snake' (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 241; Schulthess 1903: 15). In the Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, this "emphatic" *p* can be written either with the sign of the voiceless bilabial stop (ܦ) or with a reversed form of this sign (ܔ). The "emphatic" *p* in Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic can be compared to the Classical Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) characters that are usually transcribed as *p* (ፐ) and *ṗ* (ጰ).[89] These characters occur almost exclusively in loanwords of various origins, including from Greek,[90] e.g., πνεῦμα 'spirit' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1424) > *penəmu* 'Satan' (Leslau 1991: 413) and

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[85] See already Schall 1960: 80.

[86] Kiraz 2012: §214; cf. §63, 68; Nöldeke 1904: §15; Segal 1983: 488. In the later West-Syriac tradition, this point is placed in the middle of *p* thereby differentiating it from both the voiceless bilabial stop and the voiceless bilabial fricative (Kiraz 2012: §214).

[87] See Voigt 1998b: 532-536 with additional references.

[88] Müller-Kessler 1991: §2.1.2.4.

[89] It should be noted that the Classical Ethiopic reflex of the Proto-Semitic voiceless bilabial stop **p* is /f/.

[90] Gragg 2004: 435; Tropper 2002: §31.1.

πόλις 'city' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1433-1434) > *pólis* 'capital city' (Leslau 1991: 414). Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, and Classical Ethiopic each underwent a prolonged period of contact with Greek that resulted in, *inter alia*, the presence of a number of Greek loanwords in these languages. Each of these languages dealt in similar but distinct ways with Greek π: Classical Ethiopic went the furthest in innovating two characters to represent the foreign sound; Christian Palestinian Aramaic used an existing character, both in its normal form and in an inverted form; and Syriac used an existing character, which in the later tradition was marked with a diacritical point.

Since there is no independent sign for the "emphatic" *p* in the Syriac script and since Syriac *p* also represents Greek φ (§5.2.16), a few homographs result:[91]

(5-12) a. ܐܣܦܝܪ *ʾspyr*, ܣܦܝܪ *spyr* 'troop, cohort' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) < σπεῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1625) vs. ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ʾspyrʾ*, ܣܦܝܪܐ *spyrʾ*, ܐܣܦܝܪ *ʾspyr* 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) < σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738)

   b. ܛܪܘܦܐ *ṭrwpʾ* 'solstice' (Sokoloff 2009: 550) < τροπή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1826) vs. ܛܪܘܦܐ *ṭrwpʾ* 'nourishment, support' (Sokoloff 2009: 550) < τροφή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1827-1828)

This homography is limited to the bilabial triad since the emphatic members of the dental and velar triads have an independent sign in the Syriac consonantal script.

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[91] Brock 1996: 255.

5.2.13 Greek ρ

Greek ρ was a voiced alveolar trill /r/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[92] In Attic Greek, a voiceless allophonic realization, i.e., /r̥/, also occurred when in word initial position or when geminated.[93] This allophone was lost during the Roman period.[94] When not clause initial and not geminated, Greek ρ is typically represented in Syriac by the alveolar trill *r*,[95] e.g., ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *ʾr* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1) and συνήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1715) > ܣܢܓܪܐ *sngrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'advocate' (Sokoloff 2009: 1022).

Greek ρ is represented by the voiced alveolar lateral approximant *l* in δορυφόρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 446) > ܠܘܦܪܐ *lwprʾ* 'praetorian guardsman' (Sokoloff 2009: 680).[96] The representation of Greek ρ with Syriac *l* may be due to a dissimilation of ρ preceding another ρ in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[97] It should be noted, however, that there is an additional irregularity in this case with the loss of the initial syllable δο- (see §5.2.4).

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[92] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 39-45; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.

[93] Allen 1987: 41-45.

[94] For discussion, see Harviainen 1976.

[95] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §15).

[96] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §159). A similar representation also occurs in πρόεδρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1476) > Palmyrene *plhdr → plhdrw* 'presidency' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 400; cf. Brock 2005: 20, 24).

[97] Gignac 1976-: 1.103-104; Mayser 1970: 161. Harviainen (1976: 19) argues that the Palmyrene form (see previous footnote) is due to a dissimilation in Semitic; the sound change is, however, better attested in Greek.

Greek ρ is represented by the alveolar nasal *n* in μαργαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1080) > ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *mrgnyt'* 'pearl; Eucharistic wafer' (Sokoloff 2009: 826).[98] According to Ciancaglini (2008: 78), this is due to a dissimilation of *r* to *n* following another *r* in Syriac. It should be noted, however, that this dissimilation is mostly, if not entirely, limited to loanwords in Syriac.

When word initial, Greek ρ occurs with *spiritus asper* and was realized as a voiceless alveolar trill /r̥/ in Attic Greek.[99] During the Roman period, the allophonic realization was lost and initial Greek ρ was a voiced alveolar trill /r/.[100] Greek ρ can be represented either with *rh* or *r* in Syriac. In loanwords that are first attested in Syriac by the fifth century, initial Greek ῥ with *spiritus asper* is represented in Syriac with *rh*:[101]

(5-13) a. ῥητίνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1569) > ܪܗܛܢܐ *rhṭn'*, ܐܪܗܛܢܐ *'rhṭn'* 'resin' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 51.12 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b], already in Gen 37.25; 43.11; Sokoloff 2009: 1460)[102]

b. ῥήτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1570) > ܪܗܛܝܪܐ *rhyṭr'*, ܪܗܛܪܐ *rhṭr'* 'orator, rhetorician' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1, 58.21 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58]; Sokoloff 2009: 1442)

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[98] For the related Iranian forms, see Ciancaglini 2008: 207. This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §161).

[99] Allen 1987: 41-42.

[100] Harviainen 1976.

[101] Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 66; Nöldeke 1904: §39; Schall 1960: 99. See also ῥητορεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1569) → accusative singular ῥητορείαν > ܪܗܛܪܝܢ* *rhṭryn 'oratory, set speech' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 99.4 [ms. ܗܛܪܝܢ *hṭryn*] [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 1441; cf. Harviainen 1976: 66).

[102] The spelling ܪܛܝܢܐ *rtyn'* also occurs in later literature.

This representation reflects the older pronunciation.[103] In loanwords that are not attested until after the fifth century, however, initial Greek ῥ with *spiritus asper* is represented simply with *r* in Syriac,[104] e.g., ῥογα (Lampe 1961: 1217) > ܪܘܓܐ *rwg'* 'pay, wages; paying of wages' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 129.26; 270.26 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1443; cf. Harviainen 1976: 66). The representation with *r* (without *h*) reflects the loss of the allophonic realization of word-initial ρ in the Greek source.

As in the case of word-initial ρ, geminated Greek ρρ (written ῤῥ in the Byzantine orthography) was realized as a voiceless alveolar trill /r̥/ in Attic Greek.[105] The allophonic realization was lost in the Roman period. Harviainen (1976: 29-32) dates this change to the fourth century. Medial ῤῥ is represented in Syriac by the alveolar trill *r* with a following voiceless glottal fricative *h* in ἀῤῥαβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢܐ *rhbwn'* 'pledge, deposit' (Sokoloff 2009: 1439; cf. Harviainen 1976: 66), which is common from the fourth century onward in Syriac. This spelling reflects the older Attic pronunciation.[106] Medial ῤῥ is represented by the Syriac alveolar trill *r* without *h* in the following words:

(5-14) a. Latin *birrus* (Lewis and Short 1969: 239) > βίῤῥος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 316) > ܒܝܪܘܢܐ *byrwn'*, ܒܪܘܢܐ *brwn'* 'toga, cloak, patriarch's chlamys' (**5th cent.** *Life of Rabbula*, 184.26 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; Sokoloff 143, 187; cf. Harviainen

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[103] In his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) refers to writings of ῥ with *rh* as 'according to ancient custom' (*meṭṭol mʿayyduṯɔ ʿattiqtɔ*) (ed. Phillips 1869: 5.-10).
[104] Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 66. See also Ῥωμαῖος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܘܡܝܐ *rwmy'* 'Roman, soldier, lictor' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 78.25 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 1440), alongside ܪܗܘܡܝܐ *rhwmy'* (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 76.6; 102.24 [ed. Brooks 1935]; already in Acts 22:27; Sokoloff 2009: 1440; cf. Harviainen 1976: 66).
[105] Allen 1987: 44-45.
[106] In his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) refers to writings of ῤῥ with *rh* as 'according to ancient custom' (*meṭṭol mʿayyduṯɔ ʿattiqtɔ*). (ed. Phillips 1869: 5.-10).

1976: 66)

b. καταρράκτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 908-909) > ܩܛܪܩܬܐ *qṭrqṭ* 'sluice, floodgate; step of stairs' (**Bible** 1 Kg 6:8; Sokoloff 2009: 1359; cf. Harviainen 1976: 66)

The representation of ῤῥ by Syriac *r* (without *h*) reflects the later Koinē pronunciation after the allophonic realization was lost. It should be noted that the representation of Greek ῤῥ with Syriac *r* (without *h*) in ܩܛܪܩܬܐ *qṭrqṭ* from the Old Testament Peshiṭta does not necessarily reflect the date of composition (ca. 200), but rather may be due to a scribal update in the manuscripts, the earliest of which stem from the sixth century.

Various representations of ῤῥ are attested for παρρησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344). Table 5-3 provides a diachronic synopsis of these. In addition to *rh* and *r* (without *h*), Greek ῤῥ is represented by Syriac *rr* in this word. This is an unusual representation of Greek gemination in Syriac (§5.2.19); thus, it is likely a reflection of the allophonic realization of ῤῥ.

Table 5-3 Diachronic Synopsis of Spellings of παρρησία in Syriac

Pre-4th cent.	Old Syriac Gospels (ed. Kiraz 1996)	ܦܪܪܣܝܐ *prrsʾy* (John 11:54 [S])
	Acts of Thomas (ca. 200-250 CE) (ed. Wright 1871a)	ܦܪܪܝܣܐ *prrysʾ* (212.12; *passim*), ܦܪܪܣܐ *prrsʾ* (192.10)
4th cent.	*Demonstrations* by Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345) (ed. Parisot 1894-1907)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (1.545.12)
	Memrɔ on our Lord by Ephrem (d. 373) (ed. Beck 1966)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (11.24; 46.21)
5th cent.	*Teaching of Addai* (ca. 420) (ed. Howard 1981)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (46.1; 50.18)
	Julian Romance (5th cent.) (ed. Hoffmann 1880b)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (14.7; *passim*)
	Life of Rabbula (ca. 450) (ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (186.13; 198.26)
6th cent.	*Lives of Eastern Saints* by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589) (ed. Brooks 1923-1925)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (23.2, 12; *passim*)
	Life of Yuḥanon of Tella by Eliya (mid-6th cent.) (ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95)	ܐܦܪܣܐ *pʾrsʾ* (77.12)
7th cent.	*Part 3* by Isḥaq of Nineveh (late 7th cent.) (ed. Chialà 2011)	ܦܪܗܣܐ *prhsʾ* (99.9, 14)
	Life of Marutha by Denḥa (d. 649) (ed. Nau 1905a: 52–96)	ܦܪܪܣܐ *prrsʾ* (76.9)
	Letter on Syriac Orthography by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) (ed. Phillips 1869)	ܐܦܪܪܝܣܐ *pʾrrysʾ* (6.9)

5.2.14 Greek σ

Greek σ was a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[107] It is typically represented by the Syriac voiceless alveolar fricative *s*,[108] e.g., ἀσπίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 259) > ܐܣܦܣ *ʾsps* 'snake' (Sokoloff

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[107] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 45-46; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178; Mayser 1970: 176.

[108] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §16A).

2009: 77) and χρῆσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2006) > ܟܪܣܝܣ *krsys* 'evidence, testimony' (Sokoloff 2009: 652).

Greek σ is represented by the emphatic alveolar fricative *ṣ* in the following words:[109]

(5-15) a. γλωσσόκομον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 353) > ܓܠܘܨܩܡܐ *glwṣqm'* 'chest, box, case' (Sokoloff 2009: 234), but more commonly ܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ *glwsqm'* (Sokoloff 2009: 234; cf. Brock 1967: 397) as well as rarely ܓܠܘܣܛܡܐ *glwsṭm'* (Sokoloff 2009: 233-234)

   b. πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) > ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwp'* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250)

   c. συμφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1689) > ܣܦܘܢܝܐ *ṣpwny'* 'bagpipe' (Sokoloff 2009: 1297), already in Aramaic of Daniel *sumponyɔ* (Dan. 3:5, 15), *sypnyh* (Dan. 3:10 [k]), *suponyɔ* (Dan. 3:10 [q]) (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1937-1938) without emphatic *ṣ*

In each of these cases, the emphatic *ṣ* is due to the assimilation of [+emphatic] in the context of another emphatic consonant.

Greek σ is represented by the voiced dental fricative *z* in the following cases:[110]

(5-16) a. προθεσμία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1481) > ܦܪܬܘܙܡܝܐ *prtwzmy'* 'fixed time peri[c] spelling of ܦܪܘܬܣܡܝܐ *prwtsmy'* (Sokoloff 2009: 1235).

   b. σμάραγδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1619) > ܙܡܪܓܕܐ *zmrgd'* 'emerald' (Sokoloff 2009: 387), also in Samaritan Aramaic *zmrgdy* (Tal 2000: 234); Christian

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[109] This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §16C).
[110] This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §17D).

Palestinian Aramaic *zmrgd* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 254; Schulthess 1903: 56); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *zmrgd* (Sokoloff 2002b: 179), but note also ܣܡܪܓܕܐ *smrgd*ʾ (Sokoloff 2009: 1021)

c. σμίλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1619) > ܙܡܠܝܐ *zmly*ʾ 'small knife, scalpel' (Sokoloff 2009: 385), also in Targum Jonathan *ʾuzmil* (Jer 36:23); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾwzmyl* (Sokoloff 2002b: 38); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ʾzml* (TgJob 16:9; Jastrow 1886-1903: 46)

This representation is due to an assimilation of σ to ζ before μ in the Greek source, a change that is well attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[111]

Greek σ is represented by the voiceless palatal fricative *š* in εἶδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 482) > ܐܕܫܐ *ʾdš*ʾ 'form in the Platonic sense; species, kind; character, nature; fruit' (Sokoloff 2009: 11; cf. Schall 1960: 245). This representation also occurs in Mandaic **aṭšia** 'crops, fruits' (Drower and Macuch 1963: 14).[112]

An initial consonant cluster that begins with σ in Greek may be optionally represented in Syriac with a prothetic voiceless glottal stop, as in the following representative examples:[113]

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[111] Gignac 1976-: 1.120-121; Mayser 1970: 177.
[112] A parallel might possibly be found in μόσχος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1148) > ܡܘܫܚܐ *mwšḥ*ʾ 'calf' (Sokoloff 2009: 731), though the correspondence of Greek χ with Syriac *ḥ* would also be irregular (see §5.2.17).
[113] Brock 2005: 24; Kiraz 2012: §90; Nöldeke 1904: §51. This representation is also found in other dialects of Aramaic, such as Palmyrene (Brock 2005: 24), as well as in Post-Biblical Hebrew (Krauss 1898: §261-264).

(5-17) a. σκάμνιον (Lampe 1961: 1235) > ܣܩܡܢ *sqmyn*, ܐܣܩܡܢ *ʾsqmnyn* 'seat' (Sokoloff 2009: 79, 1040)

b. σπόγγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1628) > ܐܣܦܘܓܐ *ʾspwgʾ*, ܣܦܘܓܐ *spwgʾ* 'sponge' (Sokoloff 2009: 75)

c. στολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1648) > ܐܣܛܠܐ *ʾsṭlʾ*, ܣܛܠܐ *sṭlʾ* 'robe' (Sokoloff 2009: 69)

d. σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738) > ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ʾspyrʾ*, ܣܦܝܪܐ *spyrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031)

e. σχολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747-1748) > ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *ʾskwlʾ*, ܣܟܘܠܐ *skwlʾ* 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008)

As these examples illustrate, the prothetic voiceless glottal stop is optional. The appearance of the voiceless glottal stop in these words represents an inner Syriac (or better Aramaic) development according to which a consonant cluster beginning with a sibilant optionally occurs with a prothetic glottal stop, e.g., **s₁atiya* > **šəṯī* > **šṯi* > Syriac *ʾešṯi* 'he drank'.

5.2.15 Greek τ

Greek τ was a voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[114] Greek τ is typically represented in Syriac by the emphatic dental stop *ṭ*,[115] e.g., πιττάκιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1409) > ܦܛܩܐ *pṭqʾ*

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[114] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 16-17; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.178.
[115] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §17).

'letter; inscription' (Sokoloff 2009: 1182-1183) and στρατιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652-1653) > ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܐ *ʾsṭrṭywtʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'soldier' (Sokoloff 2009: 71, 998).

Greek τ is represented with Syriac *t*, which was either a voiceless dental stop or a voiceless dental fricative, in several different groups of words.[116] First, this representation occurs in words in which τ follows σ:[117]

(5-18) d. Latin *domesticus* (Glare 1982: 570; Lewis and Short 1969: 607-608) > δομεστικός
(Daris 1991: 41; Lampe 1961: 380) > ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmstyqʾ* '*domesticus*, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier' (Sokoloff 2009: 283), as well as ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmsṯyqʾ*

e. προστάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1526) → accusative singular προστάδα > ܦܪܘܣܬܕܐ *prwstdʾ* 'doorpost, lintel; vestibule, portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 1233)

f. πιστικός 'faithful' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1408) > ܦܣܛܝܩܐ *pstyqʾ* 'sailor to whom responsibility for a ship is entrusted' (Sokoloff 2009: 1215-1216)

The representation of Greek τ with Syriac *t* in these cases is due to a change of Greek τ to θ after σ in the Greek source, which is attested in Greek documents from Egypt as well as from Syria and Mesopotamia.[118] There are several additional examples in which Greek τ is represented by Syriac *t*:

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[116] This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §165).

[117] See also στατήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634) > ܐܣܛܝܪܐ *ʾstyrʾ*, ܐܣܛܪܐ *ʾstrʾ* 'stater, coin, weight' (Sokoloff 2009: 80), though the immediate source may be Iranian and not Greek (so Sokoloff 2009: 80).

[118] For Egypt, see Gignac 1976-: 1.87; Mayser 1970: 154; for Syria and Mesopotamia, see, e.g., κατεσθάθην for κατεστάθην (P.Dura. 46.r5 [early 3rd]); ἀφείσθασθαι for ἀφίστασθαι (P.Dura. 31.int.7, ext.33 [204]).

(5-19) a. κιβωτός (Lampe 1961: 753; Liddell and Scott 1996: 950) > ܩܒܘܬܐ *qbwtʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'box; ark; chest; Ark of the Covenant; Noah's Ark' (Sokoloff 2009: 1306; cf. Schall 1960: 109-110)

b. μαργαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1080) > ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *mrgnytʾ* 'pearl; Eucharistic wafer' (Sokoloff 2009: 826)

c. μηλωτή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1127) > ܡܝܠܬܐ *myltʾ* 'carpet; covering; pillow' (Sokoloff 2009: 752; cf. Schall 1960: 62)

In each of these cases, the irregular correspondence likely has a morphological motivation, i.e., Syriac *t* is used as a derivational/inflectional morpheme. Finally, Greek τ is represented with Syriac *t* in τάγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752) > ܛܓܡܐ *ṭgmʾ* 'order, class; command, precept; troop, cohort' (Sokoloff 2009: 185, 1623; cf. Schall 1960: 80).[119] The representation of Greek τ with Aramaic *t* is already found in Palmyrene Aramaic *tgmʾ* 'association' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 418). Brock suggests that this representation is due to assimilation of [-emphatic].[120]

5.2.16 Greek φ

Greek φ was an aspirated voiceless bilabial stop /pʰ/ in Attic Greek.[121] During the Roman period, it developed into a voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/,[122] which became the

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[119] Occasionally, however, ܬܓܡܐ *tgmʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 512) is found. Compare also διάταγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 414) > ܕܝܛܓܡܐ *dyṭgmʾ* 'order, charge' (Sokoloff 2009: 294) and πρόσταγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1525-1526) > ܦܪܘܣܛܓܡܐ *prwsṭgmʾ* 'command' (Sokoloff 2009: 1232).
[120] Brock 1975: 83 n. 20; 1996: 255-256; 2005: 22.
[121] Allen 1987: 18-26; Woodard 2004b: 616.
[122] Gignac 1976-: 1.64, 86-96, 178.

established pronunciation in the Byzantine period. Greek φ is typically represented in Syriac by *p*,[123] which was realized as a voiceless bilabial stop or a voiceless bilabial fricative, e.g., ἀπόφασις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 225-226) > ܐܦܘܦܣܝܣ *ʾpwpsys* 'judgment; negation' (Sokoloff 2009: 83) and φιλόσοφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1940) > ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ *pylwswpʾ* 'philosopher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1187).

5.2.17 Greek χ

Greek χ was an aspirated voiceless velar stop /kʰ/ in Attic Greek.[124] During the Roman period, it developed into a voiceless velar fricative /x/,[125] which became the established pronunciation in the Byzantine period. Greek χ is typically represented by Syriac *k*,[126] which was realized as a voiceless velar stop or a voiceless velar fricative, e.g., χειμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1983) > ܟܝܡܘܢܐ *kymwnʾ* 'storm' (Sokoloff 2009: 619) and μοχλός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1149) > ܡܘܟܠܐ *mwklʾ* 'bolt for fastening door' (Sokoloff 2009: 724).

Greek χ is represented by the emphatic velar stop *q* in the following words:[127]

(5-20) a. χαλκηδών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1973) > ܩܪܟܕܢܐ *qrkdnʾ* 'chalcedony' (Sokoloff 2009: 1411). This would not be the only irregular consonant correspondence in the word (see p. 99).

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[123] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Voigt 1998b: 528-529. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §20).

[124] Allen 1987: 18-26; Woodard 2004b: 616.

[125] Gignac 1976-: 1.64, 86-96, 178.

[126] Brock 1996: 255; Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §25; Schall 1960: 42-44; Voigt 1998b: 528. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §21).

[127] Schall 1960: 232. This representation is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §163).

b. χαράκωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1977) > ܩܠܩܘܡܐ *qlqwmʾ* 'siege engines, entrenchments' (Sokoloff 2009: 1375), compare the expected correspondence in Targum Jonathan *krqwmʾ* (1 Sm 26:7; Jastrow 1886-1903: 669) and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *krqwmʾ* (TgJob 20:24; Jastrow 1886-1903: 669), as well as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *krkwm* (Sokoloff 2002b: 270), where however the correspondence of κ is irregular

c. χάρτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1980), cf. Latin *charta* (Glare 1982: 309; Lewis and Short 1969: 325) > ܩܪܛܝܣܐ *qrṭysʾ* 'sheet of paper; papyrus' (Sokoloff 2009: 1405-1406), with the same correspondence in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *qrṭys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 269) and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *qrṭys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 269), though ܟܪܛܝܣܐ *krṭysʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 650) also occurs in Syriac, with the same correspondence in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *krṭys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 269) and Christian Palestinian Aramaic *krṭys* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 265; Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 12)

This seemingly irregular correspondence is due to a change of χ to κ before a liquid in the Greek source, a change that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[128]

5.2.18 Greek ψ

Greek ψ is a monograph for the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop π and the voiceless alveolar fricative σ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[129] It is represented in Syriac by two consonants: *p*, which was realized as a voiceless

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[128] Gignac 1976-: 1.86-96, esp. top of 91; Mayser 1970: 144-145.
[129] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 59-60; Woodard 2004b: 616; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.141-142; Mayser 1970: 185.

bilabial stop or a voiceless bilabial fricative, and the voiceless alveolar fricative *s*,[130] e.g., ψήφισμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2022) > ܦܣܦܝܣܡܐ *pspysm'* 'suffrage, vote' (Sokoloff 2009: 1210) and ὀψώνιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1283) > pl. ܐܦܣܘܢܝܬܐ *'pswnÿt'* 'wages' (Sokoloff 2009: 87-88).

5.2.19 Gemination in Greek

With the exception of γγ and ρρ,[131] Greek gemination, which is written with two consonants, was realized as a lengthened sound.[132] In the vast majority of cases, Greek gemination is represented by a single consonant in Syriac,[133] e.g., κόσσος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 985; Lampe 1961: 772) > ܩܣܘܣ *qsws* 'blow on the ear' (Sokoloff 2009: 1386) and τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢܐ *trwn'* 'tyrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 549). The Syriac consonantal script does not indicate gemination (Kiraz 2012: §217), and thus it cannot be determined whether or not gemination is represented in these cases without recourse to the later vocalization traditions.

Occasionally, Greek gemination is represented by two consonants in Syriac, as in μᾶλλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1076) > ܡܐܠܠܘܢ *m'llwn*, ܡܠܠܘܢ *mllwn* 'rather, more' (Sokoloff 2009: 766), as well as ܡܠܘܢ *mlwn*. The spelling of this word with two *l*'s in Syriac is not found until the sixth century. In contrast, the spelling with one *l* is already attested in the fourth century in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (ed. Leloir 1990: 30.19). This

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[130] Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Voigt 1998b: 529-531. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §22).

[131] These were discussed in §5.2.3 and §5.2.13, respectively.

[132] Allen 1987: 12-13.

[133] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. For the representation of Greek gemination in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §41.

suggests that the representation of Greek gemination with two consonants in Syriac is a late phenomenon.[134] This aligns with the trend that the Greek source tends to be represented more closely in Syriac over time.

5.2.20 Summary

The representation of Greek consonants in Syriac is remarkably regular. In the vast majority of cases, each Greek consonantal phoneme is represented by a single consonant in Syriac. The regular correspondences are summarized in the column labeled 'common' in Table 5-4. Correspondences that are labeled 'rare' in this table are usually the result of one of two causes. First, a Koinē form of Greek served as the source for some of the words that *prima facie* seem to exhibit irregular correspondences. This is, for instance, the case with the initial consonant of ܓܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *gwbrnyṭ* 'helmsman, pilot' in Aphrahaṭ's *Demonstrations* (ed. Parisot 1894-1907: 1.612.2; cf. Sokoloff 2009: 210), which does not derive from Attic Greek κυβερνήτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1004), but rather from Koinē γυβερνήτης, a form that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt (P.Grenf. 1.49.21 [220/221 CE]). Second, some of the irregular correspondences are due to secondary developments. This is, for instance, the case with πινακίδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܢܩܝܬܐ *pnqyt*, writing tablet, treatise; collection; small book, volume' (Sokoloff 2009: 1207), which results from the regressive assimilation of *d* to *t* in Syriac. Excluding cases subsumed under these two categories, very few of the secondary correspondences remain unexplained.

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[134] It should be noted that, among the many spellings of παῤῥησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344), ܦܪܪܝܣܐ *prrysy* and ܦܪܪܣܐ *prrsy* are found already in the third-century *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Wright 1871a: 212.12 and 192.10, respectively; see Table 5-3). This unusual spelling for consonantal gemination is, however, probably due to the voiceless pronunciation of ῤῥ (see §5.2.14).

Table 5-4 The Representation of Greek Consonants in Syriac

Greek	Syriac common	Syriac rare	Syriac	Greek common	Greek rare
β	ܒ *b*	ܦ *p*, ܘ *W*	ܒ *b*	β	
γ	ܓ *g*	ܩ *q*, ܕ *d*	ܓ *g*	γ	
γ /ŋ/	ܢ *n*	ø	ܕ *d*	δ	γ, κ
δ	ܕ *d*	ܜ *ṭ*, ܬ *t*, ø	ܘ *W*		β
ζ	ܙ *Z*		ܙ *Z*	ζ	σ
θ	ܬ *t*	ܜ *ṭ*	ܜ *ṭ*	τ	δ, θ, κ
κ	ܩ *q*	ܓ *g*, ܟ *k*, ܜ *ṭ*	ܟ *k*	χ	κ
λ	ܠ *l*	ܪ *r*, ø	ܟܣ *ks*	ξ	
μ	ܡ *m*	ø, ܢ *n*	ܠ *l*	λ	ρ
ν	ܢ *n*	ø	ܡ *m*	μ	
ξ	ܟܣ *ks*	ܩܣ *qs*, ܤ *S*, ܩ *q*, ܫ *š*	ܢ *n*	ν, γ /ŋ/	μ, ρ
π	ܦ *p*	ø	ܤ *S*	σ	ξ
ρ	ܪ *r*	ܠ *l*, ܢ *n*	ܦ *p*	π, φ	β
ρ̇-	ܪܗ *rh*, ܪ *r*		ܟܣ *ps*	ψ	
ρ̇ρ̇	ܪܗ *rh*, ܪ *r*	ܪܪ *rr*	ܨ *ṣ*		σ
σ	ܤ *S*	ܨ *ṣ*, ܙ *Z*,	ܩ *q*	κ	γ, ξ, χ
τ	ܜ *ṭ*	ܬ *t*	ܟܣ *qs*		ξ
φ	ܦ *p*		ܪ *r*	ρ	λ, ρ̇-, ρ̇ρ̇
χ	ܟ *k*	ܩ *q*	ܪܗ *rh*	ρ̇-, ρ̇ρ̇	
ψ	ܟܣ *ps*		ܫ *š*		ξ
			ܬ *t*	θ	δ, τ

The vast majority of common correspondences in Table 5-4 are unremarkable since Greek phonemes tend to be represented by similar Syriac phonemes, e.g., the Greek bilabial nasal μ by the Syriac bilabial nasal ܡ *m*, the Greek alveolar trill ρ by the Syriac alveolar trill ܪ *r*, etc. One set of correspondences does, however, require further comment. As discussed in §5.2.1, Attic Greek was characterized by a symmetrical system of nine stops, with three manners of articulation (voiceless unaspirated [κ, π, τ], voiceless aspirated [θ, φ, χ], and voiced [β, γ, δ]) and three places of articulation (bilabial [β, π, φ], dental [δ, θ, τ], and velar [γ, κ, χ]). By the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, the voiceless aspirated stops had become voiceless

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fricatives, i.e., *p^h > *f*, *t^h > *θ*, and *k^h > *x*. Similarly, the voiced stops eventually became voiced fricatives, i.e., *b > *β*, *g > *ɣ*, and *d > *ð*. The Greek voiced stops β, δ, and γ are regularly represented by the corresponding Syriac voiced stops ܒ *b*, ܕ *d*, and ܓ *g*. Similarly, the Greek voiceless fricatives φ, θ, and χ are regularly represented by the corresponding Syriac voiceless fricatives ܦ *p̄*, ܬ *ṯ*, and ܟ *k̲*. In contrast, however, the Greek voiceless stops π, τ, and κ are *not* regularly represented by the Syriac voiceless stops ܦ *p*, ܬ *t*, and ܟ *k*, as might be expected, but by the Syriac emphatic stops ܦ *ṗ*, ܛ *ṭ*, and ܩ *q*.[135] The Greek voiceless stops and the Syriac emphatic stops, thus, share the features of voiceless and non-fricative (Voigt 1998b: 528); they differ, however, in that the Syriac representations of the Greek voiceless stops are 'emphatic', i.e., pharyngealized.[136] This unexpected representation may have at least a partial orthographic motivation, since the signs for the Syriac voiceless stops were already being employed for the the Greek voiceless fricatives. One way to avoid ambiguity would have been to employ the signs for the emphatic stops, which like the Greek voiceless stops π, τ, and κ were voiceless and non-fricative.

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[135] It should be noted that these correspondences are found in other dialects of Aramaic, e.g., Palmyrene (Brock 2005: 23), as well as in other Semitic languages (Marrassini 1990: 39-41; 1999: 329-330).

[136] It is of course possible, though unlikely, that this representation indicates that the Syriac emphatic stops were in fact no longer realized as emphatic, i.e., pharyngealized, but simply as voiceless non-fricative stops.

5.3   Vowels

5.3.1   Overview

The vocalic inventory of Koinē Greek in the Roman period contained six phonemes, which are summarized in Table 5-5.[137] The Koinē vocalic system is the result of a number of developments from the much more complicated system of Attic Greek, which had five short and seven long vowels, plus five short diphthongs and five long diphthongs.[138] In the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, there were two high front vowels /i/ and /y/, which are distinguished by the presence or absence of rounding. The high front unrounded /i/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman period is written with ι, which was a high front unrounded vowel, either short /i/ or long /iː/, in Attic Greek, as well as with η, which was a long open-mid front /ɛː/ in Attic Greek, and with ει, which was a long close-mid front /eː/ in Attic Greek. The high front rounded /y/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman period is written with υ, which was a high front rounded vowel, either short /y/ or long /yː/, in Attic Greek, as well as with οι, which was a diphthong /oi/ in Attic Greek. By the middle of the Byzantine period, /y/ lost its rounding and so merged with /i/. Mid front /e/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods is written with ε, which was a mid-front short /e/ in Attic Greek, as well as with αι, which was a diphthong /ai/ in Attic Greek. Low central /a/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods is written with α, which was a low central vowel, either short /a/ or long /aː/, in Attic Greek. Mid back /o/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods is written with ο, which was a short mid-back /o/ in Attic Greek, as well as with ω, which was a long open-mid back /ɔː/ in Attic Greek. High back /u/ in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods

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[137] See Gignac 1976-: 1.183-333; Horrocks 2010: 160-163; Mayser 1970: 33-141.
[138] For the more complicated vowel inventory of Attic Greek, see Allen 1987: 62-95; Woodard 2004b: 617.

is written with ου, which was a long high-back /uː/ in Attic Greek. In addition to these six vowel phonemes, the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods has two diphthongs: αυ /au/ and ευ /eu/.

Table 5-5 Vowel Phonemes of Koinē Greek in the Roman Period

	front	central	back
high	i (ι, η, ει) / y (υ, οι)		u (ου)
mid		e (ε, αι)	o (ο, ω)
low		a (α)	

The vocalic inventory of fourth-century Classical Syriac can be reconstructed with eight phonemes, which are summarized in Table 5-6.[139] High back /u/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *ū as well as *u in unaccented syllables. Close-mid back /o/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *u in accented syllables as well as earlier Aramaic *aw in closed syllables. In later West Syriac, close-mid back /o/ merged with high back /u/. Open-mid back /ɔ/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *ā. In later West Syriac, this vowel was raised to close-mid back /o/. Low central /a/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *a. Open-mid front /ɛ/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *i. High front /i/ is the reflex of earlier Aramaic *ī. Close-mid front /e/ results from several different contractions, including non-final *-aʾ and word final *-áyu and *-íyu.[140] In later West Syriac,

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[139] In general, see Daniels 1997; Muraoka 2005: §4; Nöldeke 1904: §8-10.
[140] These are discussed in Blau 1969.

close mid front /e/ merged with /ɛ/. Mid front ẹ results from other contractions,[141] including

non-final *-i*, but it merges with /i/ in later West Syriac instead of /ɛ/.

Table 5-6 Reconstructed Vowel Phonemes of 4th-Century Syriac

	front	central	back
high	i		u
close-mid		e	o
mid		ẹ	
open-mid		ɛ	ɔ
low		a	

The vowel system described in the previous paragraph and summarized in Table 5-6

must be reconstructed. This is because the written Syriac vocalization traditions were not

developed until after the period that is of interest to this study.[142] These vocalization traditions

involve the layering of vowel signs, either in the form of diacritic points (East Syriac) or

adapted Greek vowels (West Syriac), onto an inherited consonantal skeleton.[143] Since all data

for these vocalization traditions derive from well after the time period that is of interest to this

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[141] There is no IPA symbol that represents the mid front unrounded vowel between close-mid *e* and open-mid *ɛ*. This is, however, often represented as *ẹ*, i.e., greater tongue lowering of close-mid *e*, or less commonly as *ɛ̣*, i.e., increased tongue height of open-mid *ɛ* (Roca and Johnson 1999: 127).

[142] The use of diacritic points for specific vowel phonemes does not appear until the eighth and ninth centuries (Kiraz 2012: §34). Traces of the five-vowel Greek system are also found at this time though it is not systematically in use until the tenth century (Coakley 2011; Kiraz 2012: §44).

[143] For these systems, see Kiraz 2012: §138-157, 174-83; Segal 1953: 24-47.

study, this chapter does not analyze the use of Syriac vowel signs to represent vowels in Greek loanwords. The primary evidence for Syriac vowels prior to the late seventh century is the use of so-called *matres lectionis*. In scholarship on Northwest Semitic languages, the term *matres lectionis* (sin. *mater lectionis*), literally 'mothers of reading', refers to the use of certain consonants to mark vowels in a consonantal script. In the word ܓܘܫܡܐ *gwšmʾ* /gušmɔ/ 'body' (Sokoloff 2009: 222-223), for instance, the bilabial glide *w* indicates the vowel /u/, and the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* indicates the final /ɔ/. In native Syriac words, the sign for the bilabial glide *w* serves as a *mater lectionis* for almost all cases of high back /u/ and close-mid back /o/;[144] the sign for the palatal glide *y* serves as a *mater lectionis* for all cases of high front /i/ as well as for some cases of close-mid front /e/ and mid front /ẹ/; and the sign for the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* serves as a *mater lectionis* for all cases of open-mid back /ɔ/ in final position as well as for many cases of close-mid front /e/ and mid front /ẹ/.[145] These same consonants also serve as *matres lectionis* in Greek loanwords in Syriac. In addition, toward the end of the seventh century, the sign for the voiceless glottal fricative *h* came to be used as a *mater lectionis* in Greek loanwords. The following sections are primarily concerned with outlining the use of *matres lectionis* in Greek loanwords in Syriac.

The orthography of native Syriac words is in general extremely stable with little to no variation for the vast majority of words in the lexicon. With Greek loanwords, however, variation in orthography is much more common. This variation revolves primarily around the use of *matres lectionis* for representing vowels.[146] Consider, for instance, Greek τήγανον

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[144] The only regular exceptions are *kol* 'all' and *mẹṭṭol* 'because of', where a *mater lectionis* is optional (Kiraz 2012: 101A).
[145] For the system of *matres lectionis* in Syriac, see Kiraz 2012: §23-26, 33, 131-137.
[146] See already Brock 1996: 256; 2004: 31 n. 5.

(Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786), which appears in Syriac as ܛܓܢܐ *ṭgn'*, ܛܐܓܢܐ *ṭ'gn'*, and ܛܝܓܢܐ *ṭygn'* 'frying pan' (Sokoloff 2009: 513). Greek η in this example is represented in three different ways in Syriac: with a *mater lectionis* of *y*, with a *mater lectionis* of *'*, and without a *mater lectionis*. This type of variation is simply unattested for native Syriac words, but it is not atypical of many Greek loanwords in Syriac. There are good indications that the representation of Greek vowels by *matres lectionis* in Syriac changed diachronically.[147] Table 5-7 provides a diachronic synopsis of various spellings of Greek διαθήκη in Syriac. In the fourth century, there is variation in the representation of the final η with either *'* or *y* in Syriac. The orthography then stabilizes as ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytq'*. Beginning in the sixth century, a new orthography ܕܝܐܬܝܩܝ *dy'tyqy* is found in the West-Syriac tradition.[148] This new orthography provides a fuller representation of the vowel hiatus ια.

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[147] Brock 1996: 256-257.
[148] Brock 1996: 257.

Table 5-7 Diachronic Synopsis of Spellings of διαθήκη in Syriac

Pre-4th	Peshiṭta Old Testament	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (1 Chr 15:25, 26, 28, 29)
4th cent.	*Demonstrations* by Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345) (ed. Parisot 1894-1907)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (1.52.19; *passim*), ܕܝܬܩܝ *dytqy* (1.533.11)
	Book of Steps (ca. 400) (ed. Kmosko 1926)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (40.7; *passim*), ܕܝܬܩܝ *dytqy* (201.3; *passim*)
	Maḏrɔše against Heresies by Ephrem (d. 373) (ed. Beck 1957a)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (103.18; *passim*)
5th cent.	*Teaching of Addai* (ca. 420) (ed. Howard 1981)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (35.9; 36.17)
	Julian Romance (5th cent.) (ed. Hoffmann 1880b)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (75.18)
	Memre, Narsai (d. ca. 500) (ed. Frishman 1992)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (73.60)
	Life of Rabbula (ca. 450) (ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (172.18)
6th cent.	*Cause of the Liturgical Feasts* by Qiyore of Edessa (6th cent.) (ed. Macomber 1974)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (17.16)
	Commentary on Matthew and Luke by Philoxenos (d. 523) (ed. Watt 1978)	ܕܝܐܬܝܩܝ *dyʾtyqy* (69.22)

Table 5-7, continued

7th cent.	*Part 2* by Isḥaq of Nineveh (late 7th cent.) (ed. Brock 1995)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (46.19, 20; *passim*)
	Letters by Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene (d. 659) (ed. Duval 1904-1905)	ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (31.14; *passim*)
	Letter 13 by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) (ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24)	ܕܝܐܬܝܩܝ *dyʾtyqy* (19.12)

The previous example of διαθήκη not only shows that the orthography of Greek loanwords in Syriac changed diachronically, but it also points to a more specific trend: over time vowels in Greek loanwords tend to be represented more fully in Syriac. This trend can be exemplified by the representation of vowels in Greek loanwords in the *Letter on Syriac Orthography* by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708).[149] Table 5-8 illustrates the orthography preferred by Yaʿqub, in which every Greek vowel is represented by a Syriac *mater lectionis*. This is the extreme end of the spectrum in the representation of Greek vowels in Syriac. It should, however, be noted that this is only Yaʿqub's ideal, which was never fully realized in Syriac.

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[149] The text is edited in Phillips 1869.

Table 5-8 Yaʿqub of Edessa's Preferred Orthography for Greek Loanwords

Greek Source	Yaʿqub's Orthography
σύνοδος	ܣܘܢܘܕܘܣ *swnwdws* (6.8)
παῤῥησία	ܦܐܪܪܝܣܝܐ *pʾrrysyʾ* (6.9)
κατάστασις	ܩܐܛܐܣܛܐܣܝܣ *qaṭasṭʾsys* (7.3)
φαντασία	ܦܐܢܛܐܣܝܐ *pʾnṭʾsyʾ* (7.3)
θεολογία	ܬܐܘܠܘܓܝܐ *tʾwlwgyʾ* (7.4)
πληροφορία	ܦܠܝܪܘܦܘܪܝܐ *plyrwpwryʾ* (7.4)
φιλοσοφία	ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܝܐ *pylwswpyʾ* (7.4)
εὐαγγέλια	ܐܘܐܢܓܐܠܝܐ *ʾwʾngʾlyʾ* (7.6)
διαθήκη	ܕܝܐܬܝܩܝ *dyʾtyqy* (7.7)
εὐαγγελιστής	ܐܘܐܢܓܠܝܣܛ *ʾwʾnglysṭʾ* (7.7)

The following sections detail how each Greek vowel is represented in Syriac with *matres lectionis*.

5.3.2   Greek α

In Attic Greek, α was a low central vowel, either short /a/ or long /aː/.[150] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the length distinction had been lost, and α was low central /a/.[151] In the vast majority of cases (over 95%), Greek α is left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., μάγγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1070) > ܡܢܓܢܘܢ *mngnwn* 'instrument of torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 780) and κἄν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 873) > ܩܢ *qn* 'and if' (Sokoloff 2009: 1379).

Very rarely (less than 5%), Greek α is represented with the voiceless glottal stop ʾ in Syriac:[152]

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[150] Allen 1987: 62-63; Woodard 2004b: 617.
[151] Gignac 1976-: 1.325; Mayser 1970: 117-118.
[152] Kiraz 2012: §133E, 603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §4B. The same representation is found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §23). See also

(5-21) a. ἀρχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 252) > accusative plural ἀρχάς > ܐܪܟܣ *ʾrkʾs 'magistracy; order of angels who rule the air; demons' (**6th cent.** Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 827.13 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910: 614-865]; Sokoloff 2009: 100), with additional spellings of ܐܪܟܣ *ʾrks* and ܐܪܟܘܣ *ʾrkws*

b. ἑορταστικός (Lampe 1961: 504; Liddell and Scott 1996: 601) → accusative plural ἑορταστικάς > ܐܪܛܣܛܝܩܣ *ʾwiṭʾsṭyqʾs* (pl.) 'festal' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter 13, to Yuḥanon the Stylite of Litarba on eighteen biblical questions*, 8.15 [ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24]; Sokoloff 2009: 9)[153]

c. ἐπαρχία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 611) > ܐܦܪܟܝܐ *ʾpʾrkyʾ* 'province; provence' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 104b.4 [ed. Chabot 1953]; Sokoloff 2009: 89, 353), with additional spellings of ܐܦܪܟܝܐ *ʾprkyʾ* as well as ܗܦܪܟܝܐ *hprkyʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 89, 353)

d. Latin *calendae, kalendae* (Glare 1982: 989; Lewis and Short 1969: 1022) > καλάνδαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 866) > ܩܠܢܕܘܢ *qʾlndwn* 'the first day of the month, esp. of January' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Canons*, 29.11 [ed. Kayser 1886]; Sokoloff 2009: 1307)

e. καταβιβάζων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 885) > ܩܛܒܝܒܙܘܢ *qʾtʾbybzwn* 'descending note of the zodiac' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 247.4 [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 1348)

f. κατάστασις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 913) > ܩܛܣܛܣܝܣ *qʾtʾsṭʾsys* (**7th cent.**

ἀράχνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 234) > ܐܪܟܢܐ* *ʾrʾknʾ* 'rete, part of the astrolabe' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 241.14 [ms. ܐܪܟܝܐ* *ʾrkʾyʾ*]; 268.8 [ms. ܐܪܟܢܐ* *ʾrkʾnʾ*] [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 93-94).

[153] The spelling ܐܪܛܣܛܝܘܩܣ *ʾwiṭʾsṭywqʾs*, which is given in Sokoloff 2009: 9, is not found in the edition of Wright 1867.

Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, 7.3 [ed. Phillips 1869]; Sokoloff 2009: 1354), with an alternative orthography of ܩܛܣܛܣܝܣ *qṭsṭsys*

g. λατόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1031) > ܠܐܛܘܿܡܐ *lʾṭwmʾ* 'stonecutters' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 273.19 [ed. Brooks 1935]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 666)

h. παράλληλος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1316) > ܦܪܝܠܝܠܘ *pʾïlylw* 'parallels' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 79.11 [ed. Nau 1899]; rare; Sokoloff 2009: 1152)

i. παῤῥησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344) > ܦܪܣܝܐ *pʾrsyʾ*, ܦܪܪܝܣܝܐ *pʾrrysyʾ* (6.9) 'freedom of speech; permission; liberty; familiarity, openness' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 77.12 [ed. Brooks 1907] [ܦܪܣܝܐ *pʾrsyʾ*]; **7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, 6.9 [ed. Phillips 1869] [ܦܪܪܝܣܝܐ *pʾrrysyʾ*] Sokoloff 2009: 1245-1246), with various other spellings (see

j. Table 5-2)

k. περάτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1365) > ܦܪܐܛܝܣ *pʾrʾṭys* 'wanderer, emigrant' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter 12, to Yuḥanon the Stylite of Litarba on eighteen biblical questions*, 21.7 [ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 1226)

l. πλάκιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1411) > pl. ܦܠܐܩܝܐ *plʾqÿʾ* 'slab, plank' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 117b.9, 120b.27 [ed. Chabot 1953]; not common; Sokoloff 2009: 1192)

m. μᾶλλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1076) > ܡܐܠܠܘܢ *mʾllwn* 'rather, more' (**7th cent.** Denḥa, *Life of Marutha*, 68.7; 73.12; 79.4, 11; 83.8 [ed. Nau 1905a: 52-96]; Marutha of Tagrit, *Homily on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany*, 59.4 [ed.

Brock 1982b]; Sokoloff 2009: 766), with additional spellings of ܡܠܘܢ *mlwn* and

ܡܠܠܘܢ *mllwn*

n. φαντασία (Lampe 1961: 1471; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1915-1916) > ܦܐܢܛܐܣܝܐ

p'nṭ'sy' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, 7.3 [ed. Phillips

1869]; Sokoloff 2009: 1205), with an alternative orthography of ܦܢܛܣܝܐ *pnṭsy'*

As these examples illustrate, the use of the Syriac voiceless glottal stop *'* as a *mater lectionis* to

represent Greek α is first attested in Yaʿqub of Serugh (d. 521). This aligns with the diachronic

trend that Greek vowels tend to be represented more fully over time in Syriac. In addition,

some of the words in (5-21) are rare or even *hapax legomena*, and thus they may be closer to

Fremdwörter than *Lehnwörter*.[154]

In a few rare cases, Greek α is represented by the bilabial glide *w* in Syriac:

(5-22) a. ἀναχωρητής (Lampe 1961: 129) > ܢܘܟܪܝܛܐ *nwkryṭ'* 'anchorite, monk' (Sokoloff

2009: 899), contrast Mandaic **nakriṭia** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 283)

b. Ἀρειομανίτης (Lampe 1961: 224) > ܐܪܝܡܘܢܝܛܐ *'rymwnyṭ'* 'Arian and Manichean'

(Sokoloff 2009: 99)

c. μετάνοια (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1115) > ܡܛܘܢܝܐ *mṭwny'* (with alternative

orthographies) 'bending, inclination; worship, adoration' (Sokoloff 2009: 745)

d. Latin *notarius* (Glare 1982: 1192; Lewis and Short 1969: 1217) > νοτάριος

(Lampe 1991: 74-75; Lampe 1961: 922-923) > ܢܛܘܪܐ *nṭwr'* '*notarius*, a Byzantine

official' (Sokoloff 2009: 898, 911), with an additional spelling of ܢܘܛܪܐ *nwṭr'*

e. πανδοκεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1296-1297) > ܦܘܬܩܐ *pwtq'*, ܦܘܛܩܐ *puṭq'*

'inn' (Sokoloff 2009: 1162, 1177), see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *puddəqɔ*

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[154] For this distinction, see §4.5.

(Sokoloff 2002a: 888), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pwndq* (Sokoloff 2002b: 426), and Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗwndq* (Schulthess 1903: 159), as well as Arabic *funduq-* (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 638; Lane 1863-1893: 2449)

f. τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢܐ *ṭrwn'* 'tyrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 549)

The use of Syriac *w* as a *mater lectionis* for Greek α in these examples is due to an assimilation of the low central vowel to a back vowel.[155]

Greek α is represented by the Syriac palatal glide *y* in ἀγών (Lampe 1961: 25; Liddell and Scott 1996: 18-19) > ܐܝܓܘܢܐ *'ygwn'* 'struggle' (Sokoloff 2009: 6). According to Brockelmann (1908: §94r), this is due to the dissimilation of the vowel in the initial syllable to *e* before the back vowel. It should be noted that the expected spelling ܐܓܘܢܐ *'gwn'* occurs much more commonly, especially later.

5.3.3   Greek ε

In Attic Greek, ε was a mid-front short /e/.[156] In the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, ε continued to be a mid-front /e/,[157] with which αι merged (§5.3.9). In a majority of cases (over 85%), Greek ε is left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., μέν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1101-1102) > ܡܢ *mn* 'indeed' (Sokoloff 2009: 778) and φλέγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1943) > ܦܠܓܡܐ *plgm'* 'phlegm' (Sokoloff 2009: 1195).

Greek ε is occasionally represented by the palatal glide *y* in Syriac:[158]

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[155] This assimilation is discussed in more detail in §5.3.16.
[156] Allen 1987: 63-64; Woodard 2004b: 617.
[157] Gignac 1976-: 1.330; Mayser 1970: 39-46.
[158] Nöldeke 1904: §46; Schall 1960: 33-34. The same representation is found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §24).

(5-23) a. Latin *veredarius* (Glare 1982: 2035; Lewis and Short 1969: 1973) > βερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 34), οὐερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 79) > ܣܠܝܕܪܐ *byldr'* 'letter carrier' (**5th cent.** *History of Shem'on bar Ṣabba'e*, 806.4 [ed. Kmosko 1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 141)

b. διακρινόμενοι (Lampe 1961: 354) > ܕܝܩܪܝܢܘܡܝܢܘ *dyqrïynwmynw* '*diakrinomenoi*, epithet of the Monophysties' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 137.24 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 299-300)

c. ἐπιθέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 634) > ܐܦܝܬܛ *'pytyṭ'* 'imposter' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 333.11 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 87)

d. Latin *centenarium* (Glare 1982: 298; Lewis and Short 1969: 315) > κεντηνάριον (Lampe 1961: 744) > ܩܢܝܛܢܪܐ *qynṭynr'* (with alternative orthographies) 'hundredweight' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 432.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1382)

e. μέρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1104-1105) > ܡܝܪܣ *myrs* 'part, faction' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 160.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 836), with additional spellings of ܡܪܣ *mrs* and ܡܐܪܘܣ *m'rws*.

f. μέταξα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1115) > ܡܝܛܟܣܐ *myṭks'* 'silk' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 538.11 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 752)

g. μέτωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1123) > ܡܝܛܘܦܐ *myṭwp'* 'metopes' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 556.8 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 751-752)

h. σελίδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) > ܣܠܝܕܝܐ *sylydy'* 'column, page' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 249.10 [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 1001)

i. σελλίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) > ܣܠܝܢ *sylyn* 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 392.5 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 149; 1001)

j. σχεδάριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1743) > pl. ܣܟܕܝܐ *skydïy'* 'leaves of paper' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 116.5 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1009)

k. τραπεζίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1810) > ܛܪܦܝܙܝܛܐ *ṭrpyzyṭ'* 'money-changer' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 11.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 556), with an additional spelling of ܛܪܦܙܝܛܐ *ṭrpzyṭ'*

l. ὑπηρέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1872) > ܗܘܦܪܝܛܐ *hypryṭ'*, ܐܘܦܪܝܛܐ *'wpryṭ'* 'slave, servant' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 61.23; 64.2, 20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 89, 338)

This representation is not attested until the fifth-century *History of Shemʿon bar Ṣabbaʿe*, and it becomes common only in the sixth century, especially with Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589). This representation illustrates the diachronic increase in the use of *matres lectionis* to represent Greek vowels.

Greek ε is represented in Syriac with the voiceless glottal stop ʾ in the following cases:[159]

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[159] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. The same representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §24).

(5-24) a. αἱρεσιώτης (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܐܪܣܝܘܛܐ ʾrʾsywṭʾ 'heretical; schismatical' (**6th cent.** Philoxenos, *Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, 42n [ed. Watt 1978]; Sokoloff 2009: 355), alongside the more common spelling of ܗܪܣܝܘܛܐ hrsywṭʾ and less common ܐܪܣܝܘܛܐ ʾrsywṭʾ

b. εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) → pl. εὐαγγέλια > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐ ʾwʾngʾlyʾ 'gospels' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, 7.6 [ed. Phillips 1869]; Sokoloff 2009: 17-18), with an alternative orthography of ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ʾwnglywn

c. μέρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1104-1105) > ܡܐܪܘܣ mʾrws (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 238.17 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 836), alongside ܡܪܣ mrs and ܡܝܪܣ myrs

As these examples illustrate, this representation is not attested until the sixth century in Syriac and is rare even then.

Greek ε is occasionally represented in Syriac by the voiceless glottal fricative *h*.[160]

(5-25) a. ἰσημερινός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 837) > ܐܣܡܗܪܝܐ ʾysmhryʾ 'meridian, equinoctial' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 81.15 [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 37)

b. μέθοδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1091) > ܡܗܬܕܘܣ mhtdws 'way of teaching, method' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 263.8 [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 862)

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[160] Kiraz 2012: §137; Nöldeke 1904: §4B; Schall 1960: 33-34, 174; Segal 1953: 13 n. 20; Wasserstein 1993: 205; 1995: 134-135.

This representation is, however, not attested until the seventh century, and it is rare in non-translated texts even from this time. In addition, both of the words in (5-25) may be closer to *Fremdwörter* than *Lehnwörter*.[161]

In the following examples, Greek ε is represented in Syriac by the bilabial glide *w*:

(5-26) a. Latin *speculator* (Glare 1982: 1802; Lewis and Short 1969: 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1626) > ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *ʾspwqlṭrʾ*, ܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *spwqlṭrʾ* 'executioner' (Sokoloff 2009: 75), compare Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ʾspqlṭwrʾ* (TgEsth2 5:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 56); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾspqlṭwr* (Sokoloff 2002b: 68); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *(ʾ)sṗqlṭwr* (Schulthess 1903: 15)

   b. δεσποτικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 381) > ܕܘܣܦܘܛܝܩܐ *dwspwṭyqʾ* 'servant of a master; imperial' (Sokoloff 2009: 284-285)

   c. προθεσμία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1481) > ܦܪܬܘܙܡܝܐ *prtwzmyʾ* 'fixed time period' (Sokoloff 2009: 1256)

This use of Syriac *w* as a *mater lectionis* for Greek ε is due to an assimilation of the mid-front vowel to a back vowel.[162]

5.3.4   Greek η

In Attic Greek, η was a long open-mid front /ε:/.[163] Though some Koinē dialects preserved η as an open-mid front /ε/ into the Roman period, most Koinē dialects attest a merger

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[161] For this distinction, see §4.5.

[162] This assimilation is discussed in more detail in §5.3.16.

[163] Allen 1987: 69-75; Woodard 2004b: 617.

of η with /i/.[164] Based on forms attested in Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia, Greek η seems to have merged fully into /i/ in this area by the Roman period.[165] Greek η can be represented in Syriac in three primary ways. In more than half of the cases, it is represented by the palatal glide *y*,[166] e.g., ὅμηρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1221) > ܗܡܝܪܐ *hmyrʾ* 'hostage, pledge' (Sokoloff 2009: 345) and νῆμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1173) > ܢܝܡܐ *nymʾ* 'thread' (Sokoloff 2009: 915). In 40% of the cases, Greek η is left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., δημόσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 387) > ܕܡܘܣܝܢ *dmwsyn* 'republic, state; public baths' (Sokoloff 2009: 307-308) and χρῆσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2006) > ܟܪܣܝܣ *krsys* 'evidence, testimony' (Sokoloff 2009: 652). The rarest representation of η is with the voiceless glottal stop ʾ, e.g., λιμήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1050) > ܠܡܐܢܐ *lmʾnʾ* 'harbor' (Sokoloff 2009: 691-692; cf. Schall 1960: 108) and Latin *velum* (Glare 1982: 2024; Lewis and Short 1969: 1965-1966) > βῆλον (Lampe 1961: 295) > ܘܐܠܐ *wʾlʾ* 'veil, curtain' (Sokoloff 2009: 358). Many words are attested with multiple representations of η, and some in fact attest all three:

(5-27) a. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) + -ܐܢܐ > ܩܛܪܓܢܐ *qtrgnʾ* (also ܩܝܛܪܓܢܐ *qtrgnʾ*), ܩܛܝܓܪܢܐ *qtygrnʾ*, ܩܛܐܓܪܢܐ *qtʾgrnʾ* 'accuser' (Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359)

b. συνήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1715) > ܣܢܓܪܐ *sngrʾ*, ܣܢܐܓܪܐ *snʾgrʾ*, ܣܢܝܓܪܐ *snygrʾ* 'advocate' (Sokoloff 2009: 1022)

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[164] Allen 1987: 74-75; Gignac 1976-: 1.235-242; Mayser 1970: 46-54; Palmer 1934: 170; 1945: 1.

[165] See Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 47 as well as the following spellings: ἡ for εἰ (P. Euph. 11.24 [232]); καθαροποιήσει for καθαροποιήσῃ (P.Euph. 8.27 [251]); ὑστερέσει for ὑστερήσῃ (P.Euph. 16.A.5 [after 239]).

[166] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This representation is common in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §25).

c. τήγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786) > ܛܓܢܐ *ṭgnʾ*, ܛܐܓܢܐ *ṭʾgnʾ*, ܛܝܓܢܐ *ṭygnʾ* 'frying pan' (Sokoloff 2009: 513)

There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the three representations. The multiple representations of Greek η may, however, be partially motivated by the fact that both the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* and the palatal glide *y* serve as *matres lectionis* for close-mid front /e/ and mid front /ẹ/ in native Syriac words.[167]

Greek η is occasionally represented by the voiceless glottal fricative *h*. This is, however, not regularly found until the seventh century, and it is still rare in non-translated texts from this time.[168]

Greek η is represented by the bilabial glide *w* in καμηλαύκιον (Lampe 1961: 699) > ܩܡܘܠܘܩܝܐ *qmwlwqyʾ* 'broad brimmed felt hat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376).[169] This is due to an assimilation of the high front vowel to a back vowel.[170]

In word final position, Greek η is represented by either the palatal glide *y* or the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ*,[171] e.g., ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ*, ܐܢܢܩܝ

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[167] In West Syriac, this situation is further exacerbated since mid front /ẹ/ merges with /i/.

[168] Brock 1996: 256. A potential exception might be found in παρρησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344) > ܦܪܗܣܝܐ *prhsyʾ*, a spelling attested already in *The Demonstrations* by Aphrahaṭ [fl. 345-367] (ed. Parisot. 1894-1907: 1.545.12). Wasserstein (1993: 206; 1995: 135 n. 58) has proposed that Syriac *h* in this case represents Greek η. It is, however, more likely, following Brock (1996: 256 n. 20), that Syriac *h* here represents Greek *spiritus asper* (see §5.4.2.1) and not Greek η.

[169] See also σωλήν (Liddell and Scott 1996:1748-1749) > ܣܝܠܘܢܐ *sylwnʾ* 'pipe, conduit; stream, brooklet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1000-1001).

[170] This assimilation is discussed in more detail in §5.3.16.

[171] Kiraz 2012: §133D. See also §6.2.3.2 below.

ʾnnqy 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63). Occasionally, final Greek η is additionally indicated by the Syriac plural marker *syɔme*.[172]

(5-28) a. διαθήκη > ܕܝܬܩܐ 'covenant' in ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܕܝܬܩܐ ܫܡܝܢܝܬܐ *nuk̲rɔyɔ ddÿtqʾ šmayyɔnɔytɔ* [stranger-M.SG.DET NML + covenant-F.SG.EMP heavenly-F.SG.EMP] 'stranger to the heavenly covenant' (*History of St. Cyriacus and his Mother Julitta* according to the Syriac ms. at the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, f. 182a, ln. 10 [CE 1569]),[173] in ܕܝܬܩܐ ܥܬܝܩܬܐ *dÿtqʾ ʿattiqtɔ* [covenant-F.SG.EMP old-F.SG.EMP] 'old testament' (Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 20.26-21.1, 73.17, 92.17, 109.23, 171.6, 172.17-18 [ed. Macomber 1974]),[174] etc.

b. νομή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1178-1179) > ܢܘܡܐ *nẅmʾ* 'pasture' in ܒܥܠܬܐ ܪܚܡܬ ܢܝܚܐ ܕܐܚܕ(ܘ) ܢܘܡܐ ܠܘܬܢ *bʿɛllt̲ɔ rɛḥmat̲ nyɔhe d'ɛḥad̲(w) nẅmʾ lwɔt̲an* [in + cause-F.SG.CON love-F.SG.CON pleasure-M.PL.EMP NML-to.take-SUF.3.M.PL pasture with + us] 'because of the love of pleasures which spread among us' (Isḥaq of Nineveh, *Part 3*, 104.16 [ed. Chialà 2011]).[175]

c. φυλακή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1960) > ܦܘܠܩܐ *pẅlqʾ* 'prison' in ܟܕ ܒܦܘܠܩܐ ܐܬܟܠܝܘ

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[172] Kiraz 2012: §158. Compare also σφυρισθῆναι > ܐܣܦܪܝܣܬܝܢ *ʾspïstynʾ* with ܗܘ̣ √*hwy* 'to be struck with hammers, beat' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 15.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1057), where Greek -αι /e/ is marked by Syriac *syɔme*.

[173] The singular is assured by the following adjective that does not have *syɔme* as well as by the witnesses of other manuscripts that have ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* without *syɔme* (Yale Syriac 5 [1888 CE] and Sachau 222 [CE 1881; ed. Bedjan 1890-1897: 3.272.21]). A critical edition of this text, taking into account the various manuscripts, is currently in preparation by Aaron Butts, Daniel Schriever, Karen Connor, and Shana Zaia.

[174] See also 94.14, 20; 146.20; 147.30; 162.21; 172.4.

[175] The singular would seem to be assured by the common idiom of √*ʾḥd* 'to take' plus *nwmʾ* 'pasture' to mean 'to spread' (Sokoloff 2009: 900). The editor's emendation (Chialà 2011: 104 n. 38) to ܢܘܡܐ *nwmʾ* should be rejected.

ܐܒ ܟܘܐ *kaḏ bpwlqʾ meṯnṭar (h)wɔ miṯ* [when in+prison be.guarded-PART.M.SG.ABS be-SUF.3.M.SG die-SUF.3.M.SG] 'when he was being guarded in the prison, he died' (Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 158.22 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1162)

d. τροφή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1827-1828) > ܬܪܘܦܐ *tïwpʾ* 'nourishment, support' in ܬܪܘܦܐ *tïwpʾ dhi ʾiṯeh daḵyuṯɔ wḥurrarɔ dmen ḥašše* [nourishment-F.SG.EMP NML+she EX+her purity-F.SG.EMP and+freedom-M.SG.EMP NML+from suffering-M.P.EMP] 'nourishment, which is purity and freedom from suffering' (Babai the Great, *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 468.14-15 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; Sokoloff 2009: 550)

The use of *syɔme* as a phonological marker for final /e/ in Syriac also occurs with various proper nouns of Greek origin:

(5-29) a. Κρήτη 'Crete' > ܩܪܝܛܐ *qïṭʾ* (Zeph 2:5, 6)

b. Κύρος 'Cyrus' → vocative Κύρε > ܩܝܘܪܐ *qywïʾ* (Qiyore of Edessa, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts*, 1.1 [ed. Macomber 1974]) [standardized as the normal form of the name, regardless of context]

c. Παῦλος → vocative Παῦλε > ܦܘܠܐ *p̈wlʾ* (Acts 27.24, according to Brit. Libr. Add. 12,138, fol. 303b [reading according to Segal 1953: 99]) [in a vocative context]

d. Σκήτη 'Skete' > ܐܣܩܝܛܐ *ʾsq̈ṭʾ* (*History of Abba Marcus of Mt. Tharmaka*, according to ms. Yale Syriac 5, p. 36 [ed. Look 1929: 1])

In all of these cases, *syɔme* serves as a phonological marker for final -*e*. It thus disambiguates the consonantal script of these Greek loanwords, which could be read with either final -*ɔ* or

final -*e*, in the same way as it disambiguates the consonantal script of many masculine nouns, e.g., singular ܡܠܟܐ *malkɔ* 'king' vs. plural ܡܠܟ̈ܐ *malke* 'kings'.[176] Occasionaly, the use of *syɔme* with singular nouns ending in Greek η led them to be used with pronominal suffixes as if they were plural, as in the following example:

(5-30) *Maḏrɔše on Virginity* by Ephrem (d. 373; ed. Beck 1962)

<div align="right">ܕܝ̈ܬܩܘܗܝ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܠܣܒܪܬܗ ܣܟܝܬ</div>

dÿtqwhy		dmuše	lasḇarteh		sakkyaṯ
convenant-FEM.SG.CON + his	NML + PN	to + good.news-F.SG.CON + his			wait-SUF.3.F.SG

'The covenant of Moses awaited His good news' (32.1)

In this example, ܕܝ̈ܬܩܘܗܝ *dÿtqwhy* must be analyzed as a singular noun given the verbal agreement with *sakkyaṯ* (3.F.SG), but it takes the pronominal suffixes of a plural noun, i.e., -*aw(hy)* instead of -*eh*. Thus, in this case, the use of *syɔme* as a phonological marker has led to the noun adopting plural morphology.

5.3.5 Greek ι

In Attic Greek, ι was a high front unrounded vowel, either short /i/ or long /iː/.[177] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, the length distinction had been lost, and ι was a high front unrounded /i/,[178] with which η (§5.3.4) and ει (§5.3.11) merged. By the middle of the Byzantine period, /y/, which was written υ (§5.3.7) or οι (§5.3.13), lost its rounding and so also merged with /i/. Greek ι can be represented in Syriac in two primary ways. First, it can be represented

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[176] The connection of *syɔme* with final -*e* is also found in the numerals for the feminine teens, which end in -*e* and usually take *syɔme* (Nöldeke 1904: §16), unlike their masculine counterparts, which do not end in -*e* and thus do not usually have *syɔme*.

[177] Allen 1987: 65; Woodard 2004b: 617.

[178] Gignac 1976-: 1.325; Mayser 1970: 117-118.

with the palatal glide *y*,[179] e.g., ἴσον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 839) > ܐܝܣܘܢ *ʾyswn ʾyswn* 'copy' (Sokoloff 2009: 37) and φύσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964-1965) > ܦܘܣܝܣ *pwsys* 'nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167). Second, it can be left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., ἀσπίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 259) > ܐܣܦܣ *ʾsps* 'snake' (Sokoloff 2009: 77) and πιττάκιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1409) > ܦܛܩܐ *pṭqʾ* 'letter; inscription' (Sokoloff 2009: 1182-1183). Many words are attested with both representations of ι,[180] e.g., χριστιάνος (Lampe 1961: 1530) > ܟܪܣܛܝܢܐ *krsṭynʾ*, ܟܪܝܣܛܝܢܐ *krysṭynʾ* 'Christian' (Sokoloff 2009: 652) and κελλαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 937; Lampe 1961: 741) > ܩܠܪܛܝܣ *qlrṭys*, ܩܠܝܪܝܛܝܣ *qlyryṭys* 'steward' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376). There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the two representations. The representation with *y* is, however, approximately three times as common as ι being left unrepresented.

Rarely, Greek ι is represented with the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* in Syriac, e.g., κιβωτός (Lampe 1961: 753; Liddell and Scott 1996: 950) > ܩܐܒܘܬܐ *qʾbwtʾ* 'box; ark; chest; Ark of the Covenant; Noah's Ark' (Sokoloff 2009: 1306), with additional spellings of ܩܒܘܬܐ *qbwtʾ* and ܩܝܒܘܬܐ *qybwtʾ*. This may be due to the fact that both the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* and the palatal glide *y* serve as *matres lectionis* for close-mid front /e/ and mid front /ẹ/ in native Syriac words, the latter of which merged with /i/ in West Syriac.

In the following examples, Greek ι is represented by the bilabial glide *w* in Syriac:

(5-31) a. κίνδυνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 952) > ܩܘܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qwndynws* 'danger' (Sokoloff 2009: 1363-1364), with additional spellings of ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ *qyndwnws* and ܩܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qndynws*

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[179] Kiraz 2012: §603-604; Nöldeke 1904: §4B. This is the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §26).
[180] Kiraz 2012: 105.

b. Latin *cubicularis* (Glare 1982: 463; Lewis and Short 1969: 486) > κουβικουλάριος (Lampe 1961: 779) > ܩܒܘܩܠܪܐ *qbwqlrʾ* 'chamberlain' (Sokoloff 2009: 1309)

c. περίζωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1374) > ܦܪܘܙܘܡܐ *prwzwmʾ* 'belt, girdle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1238-1239), with additional spellings of ܦܪܙܘܡܐ *przwmʾ* and ܦܪܝܙܘܡܐ *pryzwmʾ*

This is due to an assimilation of the high front vowel to a back vowel.[181]

5.3.6 Greek o

In Attic Greek, o was a short mid-back /o/.[182] In the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, o continued to be a short mid-back /o/,[183] with which ω merged (§5.3.8). Greek o is represented in two primary ways in Syriac. First, it can be represented by the bilabial glide *w*,[184] e.g., ὀρχηστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1258) > ܐܘܪܟܝܣܛܐ *ʾwrkysṭʾ* 'dancer' (Sokoloff 2009: 101) and χυμός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2013) > ܟܘܡܘܣ *kwmws* 'humory, fluid, juice' (Sokoloff 2009: 608). Second, it can be left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac,[185] e.g., δρόμων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 450) > ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 324) and Latin *stabulum* (Glare 1982: 1813; Lewis and Short 1969: 1749-1750) > στάβλον (Daris 1991: 107; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) > ܐܣܛܒܠܢ *ʾsṭbln* 'stable' (Sokoloff 2009: 67). Many words are attested with both representations of o,

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[181] This assimilation is discussed in more detail in §5.3.16.
[182] Allen 1987: 63-64; Woodard 2004b: 617.
[183] Mayser 1970: 70-75; Gignac 1976-: 1.330.
[184] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §27).
[185] Nöldeke 1904: §4B.

e.g., ὄργανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1245) > ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ ʾwrgnwn, ܐܪܓܢܘܢ ʾrgnwn, ܐܪܓܢ ʾrgnn 'instrument, tool' (Sokoloff 2009: 21) and ξενοδοχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) > ܐܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܐ ʾksnwdwkʾ, ܐܟܣܢܕܘܟܝܘܢ ʾksndwkywn, ܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ ksndkyn, ܐܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ ʾksndkyn, ܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܝܢ ksnwdwkyn 'hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 44, 640). The representation of o with w is approximately twice as common as o being left unrepresented. There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the two representations.

Rarely, Greek o is represented with the palatal glide y in Syriac:

(5-32) a. Latin *circus* (Glare 1982: 326; Lewis and Short 1969: 343-344) > κίρκος (Daris 1991: 55) > ܩܪܩܝܣ *qrqys* 'circus, stadium; ring' (Sokoloff 2009: 1415)

b. Latin *comitatus* (Glare 1982: 360; Lewis and Short 1969: 374) > κομιτᾶτος (Daris 1991: 58) → accusative singular κομιτᾶτον > ܩܡܛܛܘܢ *qymṭṭwn* 'retinue, suite' (Sokoloff 2009: 1363)

c. ὁλοσηρικόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1218) > ܐܠܣܪܝܩܘܢ *ʾlysryqwn* 'garment entirely of silk' (Sokoloff 2009: 49), with an additional spelling of ܐܠܘܣܪܝܩܘܢ *ʾlwsryqwn*

d. πόρφυρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1452) > ܦܝܪܦܪܘܢ *pyrprwn* 'purple garment' (Sokoloff 2009: 1191)

These examples may be due either to an interchange of o and ε or of o and υ in the Greek source; both interchanges are attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[186]

Rarely, Greek o is represented with the voiceless glottal stop ʾ in Syriac:

(5-33) a. Latin *moneta* (Glare 1982: 1130; Lewis and Short 1969: 1161) > μονήτα (Daris

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[186] For the former, see Gignac 1976-: 1.289-292; Mayser 1970: 72-73; for the latter, see Gignac 1976-: 1.211-214; Mayser 1970: 74-75, 77-78.

1991: 73; Lampe 1961: 880) > ܡܐܢܛܐ *mʾnṭʾ* 'coin; money; coin die' (Sokoloff 2009: 781), with additional spellings of ܡܢܛܐ *mnṭʾ* and ܡܘܢܝܛܐ *mwnyṭʾ*

b. κοπρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 979) → accusative plural κοπρίας > ܩܐܦܪܝܣ *qʾprïys* 'dung-hills' (Sokoloff 2009: 1307)

These examples are likely the result of an interchange of ο and α in the Greek source, a spelling that is attested in Greek documents from Egypt.[187]

5.3.7 Greek υ

In Attic Greek, υ was a high front rounded vowel, either short /y/ or long /yː/.[188] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, the length distinction had been lost, and υ was a high front rounded /y/,[189] with which οι merged (§5.3.13). By the middle of Byzantine Greek, υ had lost its rounding and so merged with /i/.[190] Greek υ can be represented in Syriac in three primary ways. Most commonly (ca. 60%), it is represented by the bilabial glide *w*,[191] e.g., ὑπατίσσα (Lampe 1961: 1436) > ܗܘܦܛܝܣܐ *hwpṭysʾ* 'consul's wife' (Sokoloff 2009: 337) and σύγκλητος

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[187] Gignac 1976-: 1.286-289; Mayser 1970: 70-71.

[188] Allen 1987: 65-69; Woodard 2004b: 617.

[189] Gignac 1976-: 1.262-275, 330; Mayser 1970: 80-83.

[190] Gignac 1976-: 1.267 with n. 1; Horrocks 2010: 162-163. For this merger in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 47 as well as the following spellings: κατηρτικυεῖα for κατηρτυκυῖαν (P.Euph. 10.3 [250]); κατηρτικυεῖαν for κατηρτυκυῖαν (P.Euph. 10.11 [250]); κρύσεως for κρίσεως (P.Dura. 31.ext.46; 31.int.18 [204]); σιμβίουσιν for συμβίωσιν (P.Dura. 31.ext.33 [204]); συνοικυσμὸν for συνοικισμὸν (P.Dura. 31.ext.31 [204]); συνοικυσμοῦ for συνοικισμοῦ (P.Dura. 31.int.14 [204]); ὑποχυρογραφηκότων for ὑποχειρογραφηκότων (P.Dura. 31.ext.28-29; 31.int.2-3 [204]); φύσκον for φίσκον (P.Dura. 31.ext.48 [204]). It should be noted that most of these spellings are found in P.Dura. 31, a text which departs in other ways from standard orthography (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 163).

[191] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §28)

(Liddell and Scott 1996: 1665) > ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ *swnqlyṭws* 'senate; senator' (Sokoloff 2009: 984-985). Second most commonly (ca. 30%), Greek υ is left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., σκῦτος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1618) > ܐܣܩܛܐ *ʾsqṭʾ* 'whip; blows' (Sokoloff 2009: 78) and γυμνάσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 362) > ܓܡܢܣܝܢ *gmnsyn* 'gymnasia' (Sokoloff 2009: 242). Least commonly (ca. 10%), Greek υ is represented by the palatal glide *y*:[192]

(5-34) a. εὑροκλύδων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 730) > ܐܘܪܩܠܝܕܘܢ *ʾwrqlydwn* 'name of a wind' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 184.2 [ed. Duval 1904-1905], but already in Acts 27:14; Sokoloff 2009: 23)

b. κίνδυνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 952) > ܩܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qndynws*, ܩܘܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qwndynws* 'danger' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 169.25 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; but already in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1363-1364), with an additional spelling of ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ *qyndwnws*

c. πολύπους (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 76.21 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1441-1442) > ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ *pylypws* 'polyp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1163), with alternative spellings of ܦܐܠܘܦܣ *pʾlwps* and ܦܐܘܠܘܣ *pʾwlws*

d. ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) > ܗܝܠܐ *hylʾ* 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏroše against Heresies*, 51.26 [variant] [ed. Beck 1957a]; **5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 2.218.21 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341), with alternative spellings of ܗܘܠܐ *hwlʾ* and ܗܘܠܝ *hwly*

e. φυλή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1961) → genitive singular φυλῆς > ܦܝܠܝܣ *pylys* 'tribe' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments, 1.21 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999:

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[192] Brock 1996: 256 with n. 18. This representation is also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §28).

231-248]), with an alternative spelling of ܦܠܝܣ *plys* (**Pre-4th cent.** P.Euph 10.21 [ed. Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997])

f. χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) > ܟܠܡܝܣ *klmys* 'cloak' (**5th cent.** *Cave of Treasures*, 410.11 [ed. Ri 1987], but already in Mt. 27:28 [P], 31 [P]; Sokoloff 2009: 626; cf. Brock 1967: 423)

g. χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) → accusative singular χλαμύδα > ܟܠܡܝܕܐ *klmyd*ʾ 'cloak' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ezra 9:3; Sokoloff 2009: 626)

Even though it did not fully merge with /i/ until the Byzantine period, Greek υ often interchanges with η and ι already in the Roman Period.[193] This explains the early examples in (5-34) in which Greek υ is represented with *y*. As the examples in (5-34) show, many words are attested with multiple representations of υ. There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the various representations.

5.3.8 Greek ω

In Attic Greek, ω was a long open-mid back /ɔː/.[194] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, ω had merged with ο as a short mid-back /o/.[195] Greek ω is represented in two primary ways in Syriac. First, it can be represented by the bilabial glide *w*,[196] e.g.,

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[193] Gignac 1976-: 1.262-275, 330; Mayser 1970: 80-83.
[194] Allen 1987: 75-79; Woodard 2004b: 617.
[195] Mayser 1970: 75-76, 117-119; Gignac 1976-: 1.275-277, 325. For this merger in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 47 as well as the following spellings: ἀκολούθος for ἀκολούθως (P. Euph. 12.24 [244]); ἀπωδώσω for ἀποδώσω (P.Euph. 17.9 [mid-3rd]); μείζωνος for μείζονος (P. Euph. 4.13 [252-256]); χ[ρ]ε̣οστεῖν for χρεωστεῖν (P.Dura. 30.r.27 [232]).
[196] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §29).

ἄσωτος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 267) > ܐܣܘܛܐ ʾswṭʾ 'intemperate' (Sokoloff 2009: 66-65) and κανών (Lampe 1961: 701-702; Liddell and Scott 1996: 875) > ܩܢܘܢܐ qnwnʾ 'rule, canon; order; tribute' (Sokoloff 2009: 1381). Second, it can be left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., Latin *speculator* (Glare 1982: 1802; Lewis and Short 1969: 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1626) < ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ ʾspwqlṭrʾ, ܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ spwqlṭrʾ 'executioner' (Sokoloff 2009: 75) and δρομωνάριος (Lampe 1961: 388) > ܕܪܘܡܢܪܐ drwmnrʾ 'sailor' (Sokoloff 2009: 324). Some words are attested with both representations of ω, e.g., ἀγωνιστής (Lampe 1961: 26; Liddell and Scott 1996: 19) > ܐܓܘܢܣܛܐ ʾgwnsṭʾ, ܐܓܢܣܛܐ ʾgnsṭʾ 'combatant, rival' (Sokoloff 2009: 6) and Latin *custodia* (Glare 1982: 478; Lewis and Short 1969: 504-505) > κουστωδία (Daris 1991: 63) > ܩܘܣܛܘܕܝ qwsṭwdy, ܩܣܛܘܕܝܐ qsṭwdyʾ 'guard' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387). There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the two representations, though the representation of ω with *w* is more than six times as common as ω being left unrepresented.

Given its merger with ο, it is expected that ω would be represented in Syriac in the same way as Greek ο (§5.3.8). The more frequent representation of ω with *w* compared to ο (see §5.3.8) may be explained by a tendency to imitate the written form of a Greek loanword, which in this case reflects the earlier length distinction between ο and ω. It is probably not to be understood as evidence for the lack of a merger of ω with ο in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia.

5.3.9   Greek αι

In Attic Greek, αι was a diphthong /ai/.[197] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, αι had merged with ε as a mid-front short /e/.[198] Greek αι is represented in three primary ways in Syriac.[199] In a majority of cases (ca. 80%), Greek αι is left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., παιδαγωγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1286) > ܦܕܓܘܓܐ *pdgwgʾ* 'teacher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1155-1156) and Latin *caesar* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καῖσαρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860) > ܩܣܪ *qsr* 'Caesar, emperor' (Sokoloff 2009: 1388). Greek αι is occasionally (ca. 15%) represented by the palatal glide *y* in Syriac, e.g., σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738) > ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ʾspyrʾ*, ܣܦܝܪܐ *spyrʾ* 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) and φαιλόνης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1912) > ܦܝܠܘܢܐ *pylwnʾ* 'woolen outer garment, cloak' (Sokoloff 2009: 1187). Finally, Greek ε is represented with the voiceless glottal stop *ʾ* in καιρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 859-860) > ܩܐܪܣܐ *qʾrsʾ* 'time; mischance; distress, difficulty; war' (Sokoloff 2009: 1308; cf. Nöldeke 1904: §46), with an additional spelling of ܩܪܣܐ *qrsʾ*.

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[197] Allen 1987: 79; Woodard 2004b: 617.

[198] Allen 1987: 79; Gignac 1976-: 1.191-193; Mayser 1970: 83-87. For this merger in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 47 as well as the following selected spellings from the P.Euph. documents: αἰωνημένης for ἐωνημένης (P.Euph. 6.17 [249]; 7.10 [249]); ἀναπέμψε for ἀναπέμψαι (P.Euph. 4.14 [252-256]); ἀσπάζομε for ἀσπάζομαι (P.Euph. 16.A.2 [after 239]); ἐνκαλοῦμε for ἐγκαλοῦμαι (P.Euph. 3.12 [252-256]; 4.12 [252-256]); εὔχομε for εὔχομαι (P.Euph. 16.B.7 [after 239]; P.Euph. 17.2 [mid-3rd]); κελεῦσε for κελεῦσαι (P.Euph. 2.15 [mid-3rd]); ται for τε (P.Euph. 9.27 [252]); ὑπόκειτε for ὑπόκειται (P.Euph. 2.14-15 [mid-3rd]); χέρειν for χαίρειν (P. Euph. 11.11 [232]).

[199] In addition to these three representations, Greek αι is represented by the voiceless glottal fricative *h* in texts after 708 (Nöldeke 1904: §4; Wasserstein 1993: 205), just like Greek ε (§5.3.3). For comparisons with Post-Biblical Hebrew and various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §30.

5.3.10 Greek αυ

Greek αυ was a diphthong /au/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[200] Greek αυ is always represented in Syriac with the bilabial glide *w*,[201] e.g., αὐτοκράτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 280-281) > ܐܘܛܩܪܛܘܪ *ʾwṭqrṭwr* 'emperor' (Sokoloff 2009: 14) and ναύκληρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1161) > ܢܘܩܠܝܪܐ *nwqlyrʾ* 'captain of a ship' (Sokoloff 2009: 882).

5.3.11 Greek ει

In Attic Greek, ει was a long close-mid front /eː/.[202] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, ει had merged with ι as a high unrounded short /i/.[203] Greek ει is represented in two primary ways in Syriac.[204] First, it can be represented with the palatal glide *y*,[205] e.g., εἰκῇ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 484) > ܐܝܩܐ *ʾyqʾ* 'in vain' (Sokoloff 2009: 37-38) and

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[200] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 79-80; Woodard 2004b: 617; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.226-228; Horrocks 2010: 163; Mayser 1970: 92-93.

[201] For comparisons with Post-Biblical Hebrew and various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §33.

[202] Allen 1987: 69-75; Woodard 2004b: 617.

[203] Allen 1987: 70; Gignac 1976-: 1.189-191, 235-262; Mayser 1970: 54-65; Palmer 1934: 170; 1945: 1. For this merger in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 47 as well as the following selected spellings from the P.Euph. documents: ἀποδώσι for ἀποδώσει (P.Euph. 17.9-10 [mid-3rd]); γένι for γένει (P.Euph. 8.12 [251]); εἰμει for εἰμι (P.Euph. 3.16 [252-256]; 4.17 [252-256]); ἐκτείσει for ἐκτίσει (P.Euph. 7.16 [249]; 9.23 [252]; 10.19 [250]); ἔνει for ἔνι (P.Euph. 16.A.4 [after 239]); ἐνκαλῖν for ἐγκαλεῖν (P.Euph. 14.17 [241]); ἐπὶ for ἐπεὶ (P.Euph. 3.11 [252-256]; 4.12 [252-256]; 5.4 [243]; 14.7 [241]); ἰς for εἰς (P.Euph. 14.11 [241]); ὀφίλω for ὀφείλω (P.Euph. 17.9-10 [mid-3rd]); πίστι for πίστει (P.Euph. 8.29, 30 [251]); σημῖον for σημεῖον (P.Euph. 10.12 [250]); ὑμεῖν for ὑμῖν (P. Euph. 11.12 [232]).

[204] For comparisons with Post-Biblical Hebrew and various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §31.

[205] Kiraz 2012: §603-604.

κλείς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 957) → accusative singular κλεῖδα > ܩܠܝܕܐ *qlyd⁾*, ܐܩܠܝܕܐ *⁾qlyd⁾* 'key; clasp, buckle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1370). Second, it can be left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., μάγειρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1071) > ܡܓܪܣܐ *mgrs⁾* 'cook' (Sokoloff 2009: 711). Some words are attested with both representations of ει, e.g., χειροτονία (Lampe 1961: 1523) > ܟܪܛܢܝܐ *krṭny⁾*, ܟܝܪܘܛܘܢܝܐ *kyrwṭwny⁾* (with alternative orthographies) 'ordination' (Sokoloff 2009: 650). There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the two representations, though the representation with *y* is significantly more common than it being left unrepresented (approximately 85% vs. 15%).

5.3.12 Greek ευ

Greek ευ was a diphthong /eu/ in Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[206] Greek ευ is always represented in Syriac with the bilabial glide *w*,[207] e.g., εὐχαριστία (Liddell and Scott 1996:738) > ܐܘܟܪܣܛܐ *⁾wkrsṭy⁾* 'Eucharist' (Sokoloff 2009: 16) and πραγματευτής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1458) > ܦܪܓܡܛܘܛܐ *prgmṭwṭ⁾* 'agent, merchant' (Sokoloff 2009: 1227).

5.3.13 Greek οι

In Attic Greek, οι was a diphthong /oi/.[208] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman period, οι had merged with υ as a high front rounded /y/.[209] By the middle of Byzantine Greek, οι had lost

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[206] For Attic, see Allen 1987: 80; Woodard 2004b: 617; for Koinē, see Gignac 1976-: 1.226, 228-229; Horrocks 2010: 163; Mayser 1970: 93-95.

[207] For comparisons with Post-Biblical Hebrew and various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §34.

[208] Allen 1987: 80-81; Woodard 2004b: 617.

its rounding and so merged with /i/.[210] Greek οι can be represented in Syriac in two primary ways.[211] By far the most common, it is represented by the bilabial glide *w*,[212] e.g., οἰκονόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1204) > ܗܘܩܘܢܡܐ *hwqwnmʾ*, ܐܘܩܘܢܡܐ *ʾwqwnmʾ* 'steward' (Sokoloff 2009: 339) and κληρικός (Lampe 1961: 756) → nominative plural κληρικοί > pl. ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘ *qlyrïyqw* 'cleric' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371). Much less common, Greek οι is represented by the palatal glide *y*:

(5-35) a. κοιτών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 970) > ܩܝܛܘܢܐ *qyṭwnʾ* 'bedroom' (**Pre-4th cent.** Exod 7:28; *passim*; Sokoloff 2009: 1361)

b. ξοίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1191) → accusative singular ξοίδα > ܐܟܣܝܕܐ *ʾksydʾ* 'tool of stonecutter' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1Chron 22:3; Sokoloff 2009: 44)

Even though it did not merge with /i/ until well into the Byzantine period, Greek οι interchanges with η and ι already in the Roman Period,[213] and this explains the early examples in (5-35) in which Greek οι is represented with *y* in Syriac.

5.3.14 Greek ου

In Attic Greek, ου was a long high-back /uː/.[214] By the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the length distinction had been lost, and ου was a high-back /u/ without

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[209] Allen 1987: 81; Mayser 1970: 87-91; Gignac 1976-: 1.197-202. For this merger in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see perhaps ου for σοι (SB 12.10772.14 [251-300?]).

[210] Gignac 1976-: 1.267 with n. 1; Horrocks 2010: 162-163. For this merger already in the Roman period in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia, see διδῖ for διδοῖ (SB 12.10772.14 [251-300?]).

[211] For comparisons with Post-Biblical Hebrew and various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §32.

[212] Kiraz 2012: §603-604.

[213] Gignac 1976-: 1.262-275, 330 and footnote 210 above.

[214] Allen 1987: 75-79; Woodard 2004b: 617.

phonemic length.[215] Greek ου can be represented in Syriac in two primary ways. First, it can be represented with the bilabial glide *w*,[216] e.g., οὐσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1274-1275) > ܐܘܣܝܐ *ʾwsyʾ* 'essence, substance; wealth' (Sokoloff 2009: 18) and ἀκ(κ)ούβιτον (Lampe 1961: 63) > ܐܩܘܒܝܛܘܢ *ʾqwbyṭwn* 'couch, bed' (Sokoloff 2009: 91). Second, it can be left unrepresented in the consonantal text of Syriac, e.g., Latin *illustris* (Lewis and Short 1969: 887; Glare 1982: 830) > ἰλλούστριος (Lampe 1961: 673) > ܐܠܘܣܛܪܝܘ *ʾlsṭr̈yw* 'bearers of title of "illustrious ones"' (Sokoloff 2009: 50). Some words attest both representations of ου, e.g., πολύπους (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1441-1442) > ܦܐܠܘܦܣ *pʾlwps*, ܦܐܘܠܘܣ *pʾwlws*, ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ *pylypws* 'polyp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1163) and Latin *custodia* (Glare 1982: 478; Lewis and Short 1969: 504-505) > κουστωδία (Daris 1991: 63) > ܩܘܣܛܕܝܐ *qwsṭdyʾ*, ܩܣܛܘܕܝܐ *qsṭwdyʾ* 'guard' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387). There are no clear factors (diachronic or otherwise) dictating the choice of the two representations; the representation with *w* is, however, more than four times as common as leaving ου unrepresented.

5.3.15 Accent

In Attic Greek, accent was related to pitch (melody) and was fixed on one of the last three syllables of a word.[217] By at least the end of the fourth century CE, Greek accent changed from melodic to stress, as it is in modern Greek.[218] In Syriac, accent is related to word stress

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[215] Gignac 1976-: 208-226; Horrocks 2010: 162; Mayser 1970: 77-79.

[216] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §35).

[217] Allen 1987: 116-139; Woodard 2004b: 619. For the historical development, see Probert 2006.

[218] Allen 1987: 130-131; Gignac 1976-: 1.325-327.

and falls almost always on the last syllable.[219] There is almost no evidence for how Greek accent was accommodated in Syriac.[220] Accent could be used to explain the rare representation of Greek ε by Syriac *y* in a word such as ἐπιθέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 634) > ܐܘܦܝܬܝܐ *ʾpyṭʾ* 'imposter' (Sokoloff 2009: 87).[221] Counter examples are, however, numerous, e.g., φλέγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1943) > ܦܠܓܡܐ *plgmʾ* 'phlegm' (Sokoloff 2009: 1195) with no *mater lectionis*. The distribution could theoretically be explained by the former word preserving the Greek accent (by this time word stress), possibly as a Fremdwort, and the latter adopting Syriac stress as a fully accommodated Lehnwort.[222] This hypothesis is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to prove.[223]

A place where accents does seem to play a clearer role is in the apocopation of final Greek vowels in Syriac. There are a few Greek loanwords in Syriac in which a final vowel is apocopated:[224]

(5-36) a. βῆμα (Lampe 1961: 295-296; Liddell and Scott 1996: 314) > ܒܡ *bym* 'tribunal, raised platform, *bema* of a Church' (Sokoloff 2009: 141), singular also attested as ܒܝܡܐ *bymʾ*, ܒܐܡܐ *bʾmʾ*

b. σπεῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1625) > ܐܣܦܝܪ *ʾspyr*, ܣܦܝܪ *spyr* 'troop, cohort'

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[219] There are only a few exceptions, such as the imperatives, e.g., *qṭólayn(y)* 'kill (ms) me!'.

[220] For the accommodation of accent in Post-Biblical Hebrew and invarious dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §36.

[221] For the representation of Greek ε in Syriac, see above at §5.3.3

[222] For the distinction between Fremdwörter and Lehnwörter, see §4.5.

[223] In fact, ܐܘܦܝܬܝܐ *ʾpyṭʾ* can undergo secondary nominal derivations with suffixes (§7.2.3), suggesting that it is a Lehnwort and not a Fremdwort. See ἐπιθέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 634) > ܐܘܦܝܬܝܐ *ʾpyṭʾ* 'imposter' (Sokoloff 2009: 87) + *-uṯo* → ܐܘܦܝܬܝܘܬܐ 'imposture' (Sokoloff 2009: 87).

[224] See also παράλια (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1316) >ܦܪܗܠܝ *prhly* 'seashore' (Lk 6:17 [S]; Sokoloff 2009: 1229; cf. Brock 1967: 411).

(Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031)

    c. τάχα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1762) > ܛܟ *ṭk* 'perhaps' (Sokoloff 2009: 528)

In all of these cases, the final α is unaccented and thus had the potential to be apocopated. It should be noted that this is only a potential since there are numerous examples of final unaccented α not being apocopated, e.g., εἶτα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 498) > ܐܝܛ *'yṭ'* 'then' (Sokoloff 2009: 33), where the preservation of final α cannot be accounted for by Syriac morphlogy. In contrast to unaccented vowels, which have the potential to be apocopated, there are no examples in which a final accented Greek vowel is apocopated in Syriac.

5.3.16 Assimilation of Front and Central Vowels to a Back Vowel

    In just over a dozen Greek loanwords in Syriac, Greek low central *a* (α), mid central *e* (ε), and high front *i* (η and ι) are irregularly represented in Syriac with the bilabial glide *w*. The relevant forms are summarized in Table 5-9. In a vast majority of these words, the Greek source has a high back *u* (ου) or a mid back *o* (ο, ω) in an adjacent syllable.[225] Thus, this would seem to be a clear case of assimilation of front and central vowels to back vowels. A similar assimilation is occasionally attested in Syriac, e.g., *la* + *qub(a)l* > *laqubal* > *luqubal* > Syriac *luqbal* 'in front of' (Sokoloff 2009: 680-681) and *la* + *qudām* > *laqudām* > *luqudām* > Syriac *luqdɔm* 'before' (Sokoloff 2009: 681).[226] This assimilation is, however, rare in Syriac.[227] In Greek documents from Egypt, a number of forms attest an

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[225] The one exception is καμηλαύκιον (Lampe 1961: 699) > ܩܡܘܠܘܩܝܐ *qmwlwqy'* 'broad brimmed felt hat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376), where there is the diphthong *aw*.

[226] For this assimilation, see Brockelmann 1908: §68gγ (p. 185); 1981: §52.

[227] The one exception is nouns of the pattern $*C_1uC_2C_3$, which regularly undergo the following developments in Aramaic: $*C_1uC_2C_3V$ (V = case vowel) > $*C_1uC_2C_3$ > $*C_1uC_2iC_3$ > $*C_1uC_2uC_3$ > $*C_1C_2uC_3$ > $C_1C_2oC_3$. The assimilation of the epenthetic vowel *i* to *u*, however,

assimilation of front and central vowels to back vowels (regressive or progressive).[228] Thus, it seems likely that the assimilations collected in Table 5-9 occurred in the Greek source. It cannot, however, be ruled out that some of the cases are the result of a secondary development in Syriac. Finally, it should be noted that this assimilation is not regular, and that the vast majority of Greek central and front vowels are not represented with a *mater lectionis* of *w* in Syriac.

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probably occured much earlier in the history of Aramaic, since it is attested in all of the later dialects.

[228] For the relevant forms, see Mayser 1970: §24a-b.

Table 5-9 Assimilation of Front and Central Vowels to a Back Vowel

low central *a* (α)	ἀναχωρητής (Lampe 1961: 129) > ܢܘܟܪܝܛܐ *nwkryṭ'* 'anchorite, monk' (Sokoloff 2009: 899), contrast Mandaic **nakriṭia** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 283)
	Ἀρειομανίτης (Lampe 1961: 224) > ܐܪܝܡܘܢܝܛܐ *'rymwnyṭ'* 'Arian and Manichean' (Sokoloff 2009: 99)
	μετάνοια (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1115) > ܡܛܘܢܝܐ *mṭwny'* (with alternative orthographies) 'bending, inclination; worship, adoration' (Sokoloff 2009: 745)
	Latin *notarius* (Glare 1982: 1192; Lewis and Short 1969: 1217) > νοτάριος (Lampe 1991: 74-75; Lampe 1961: 922-923) > ܢܛܘܪܐ *nṭwr'* '*notarius*, a Byzantine official' (Sokoloff 2009: 898, 911), with an additional spelling of ܢܘܛܪܐ *nwṭr'*
	πανδοκεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1296-1297) > ܦܘܬܩܐ *pwtq'*, ܦܘܛܩܐ *pwṭq'* 'inn' (Sokoloff 2009: 1162, 1177), see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *puddəqɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 888), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pwndq* (Sokoloff 2002b: 426), and Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗwndq* (Schulthess 1903: 159), as well as Arabic *funduq-* (Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 638; Lane 1863-1893: 2449)
	τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢ *ṭrwn'* 'tyrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 549)
mid front *e* (ε)	Latin *speculator* (Glare 1982: 1802; Lewis and Short 1969: 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1626) > ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *'spwqlṭr'*, ܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *spwqlṭr'* 'executioner' (Sokoloff 2009: 75), compare Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *'spqlṭwr'* (TgEsth2 5:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 56); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *'spqlṭwr* (Sokoloff 2002b: 68); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *(')spqlṭwr* (Schulthess 1903: 15)
	δεσποτικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 381) > ܕܘܣܦܘܛܝܩܐ *dwspwṭyq'* 'servant of a master; imperial' (Sokoloff 2009: 284-285)
	προθεσμία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1481) > ܦܪܬܘܙܡܝܐ *prtwzmy'* 'fixed time period' (Sokoloff 2009: 1256)
high front *i* (ι, η)	καμηλαύκιον (Lampe 1961: 699) > ܩܡܘܠܘܩܝܐ *qmwlwqy'* 'broad brimmed felt hat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376)
	κίνδυνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 952) > ܩܘܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qwndynws* 'danger' (Sokoloff 2009: 1363-1364), with additional spellings of ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ *qyndwnws* and ܩܢܕܝܢܘܣ *qndynws*
	Latin *cubicularis* (Glare 1982: 463; Lewis and Short 1969: 486) > κουβικουλάριος (Lampe 1961: 779) > ܩܒܘܩܠܪܐ *qbwqlr'* 'chamberlain' (Sokoloff 2009: 1309)
	περίζωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1374) > ܦܪܘܙܘܡܐ *prwzwm'* 'belt, girdle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1238-1239), with additional spellings of ܦܪܙܘܡܐ *przwm'* and ܦܪܝܙܘܡܐ *pryzwm'*

5.3.17 Summary

In contrast to the consonants, where the representation of Greek consonants in Syriac is remarkably regular, there is a great deal of variation in the representation of the Greek vowels in the Syriac script. The various possibilities are summarized in Table 5-10. The variety in the representation is due to at least two causes. First, the vowel system of Greek was far from stable, experiencing significant changes from Attic to the Koinē Greek of the Roman Period and then more changes into the Byzantine period. The changes in the Greek vowel system can account for a number of the variations in the representation of the Greek vowels. This is, for instance, the case with the various Syriac representations of Greek υ: the use of *y* in Syriac as a *mater lectionis* reflects the later pronunciation /i/ (unrounded), whereas the use of *w* in Syriac reflects the earlier pronunciation /y/ (rounded), which was likely reinforced by the written orthography of Greek. The second and greater source of variation in the representation of Greek vowels in Syriac stems from the optional use of *matres lectionis* for each of the Greek vowels (excluding diphthongs). Though there are clear tendencies for certain vowels (e.g., usually no *mater lectionis* with α and ε) and though certain words have a stable orthography (e.g., νόμος [Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180] > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' [Sokoloff 2009: 921-922]), a *mater lectionis* is entirely optional for the representation of many vowels in many Greek loanwords. This is, for instance, the case with the o's in Greek ὄργανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1245) > ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ *ʾwrgnwn*, ܐܪܓܢܘܢ *ʾrgnwn*, ܐܪܓܢܢ *ʾrgnn* 'instrument, tool' (Sokoloff 2009: 21). The optional use of *matres lectionis* in Greek loanwords in Syriac diverges starkly from their use in native Syriac works, where the orthography is extremely stable.[229] In some

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[229] Noting the exceptions of *kol* 'all' and *meṭṭol* 'because of', where a *mater lectionis* is optional for *o* (Kiraz 2012: 101A).

cases, the instability of the orthography of a Greek loanword may indicate that the word in question is closer to a *Fremdwort* than a *Lehnwort* (see §4.5). In other cases, however, the changing orthography of Greek loanwords in Syriac shows that Syriac-speakers continued to interact with the Greek source by updating a loanword. This is, for instance, the case with διαθήκη, which had a stable orthography of ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* from the late fourth to the sixth century, but then developed a new orthography of ܕܝܐܬܝܩܝ *dyʾtyqy* in the later West-Syriac tradition. This update in orthography represents a more specific diachronic trend: Greek vowels tend to be represented more closely in Syriac over time.

Table 5-10 The Representation of Greek Vowels in Syriac

Greek	Syriac		Syriac	Greek	
	common	rare		common	rare
α	ø	ܐ ʾ, ܘ W, , y	ø	α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω, αι, ει, ου	
ε	ø	, y, ܐ ʾ, ܗ h, ܘ W			
η	, y, ø	ܐ ʾ, ܗ h, ܘ W	ܐ ʾ		α, ε, η, ι, ο, αι
ι	, y, ø	ܐ ʾ, ܘ W			
ο	ܘ W, ø	, y, ܐ ʾ	ܗ h		ε, η
υ	ܘ W, ø	, y	ܘ W	ο, υ, ω, αυ, ευ, οι, ου	α, ε, η, ι, αι
ω	ܘ W, ø				
αι	ø	, y, ܐ ʾ			
αυ	ܘ W		, y	η, ι, ει	α, ε, ο, υ, οι
ει	, y, ø				
ευ	ܘ W				
οι	ܘ W	, y			
ου	ܘ W, ø				

5.4 Syllable-Initial Vowels

5.4.1 Overview

Greek allows vowel-initial syllables in word-internal and in word-initial position. Syriac, in contrast, does not tolerate vowel-initial syllables in any context. Thus, Syriac must resort to various strategies to accommodate Greek vowel-initial syllables. The following sections describe these strategies, beginning with vowel-initial syllables in word-initial position (§5.4.2) and then turning to vowel-initial syllables in word-internal position (§5.4.3).

5.4.2 Word-Initial Vowels in Greek

In Attic Greek, every word-initial vowel has either *spiritus lenis* (smooth breathing),

e.g., ὄρος /óros/ 'mountain' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1255), or *spiritus asper* (rough breathing),

e.g., ὄρος /hóros/ 'boundary' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1255-1256). These are realized

differently in Syriac.

5.4.2.1 *Spiritus Asper*

Greek words with initial *spiritus asper* were realized with an initial voiceless glottal

fricative /h/ in Attic Greek,[230] e.g., ὄρος /horos/ 'boundary' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1255-

1256). During the Late Antique period, *spiritus asper* in word initial position ceased to be

pronounced.[231] Greek *spiritus asper* is usually represented with *h* in Syriac,[232] e.g., ἡνίοχος

(Liddell and Scott 1996: 775) > ܗܢܝܘܟܐ *hnywkʾ* 'charioteer' (Sokoloff 2009: 348; cf.

Harviainen 1976: 59) and ὅμηρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1221) > ܗܡܝܪܐ *hmyrʾ* 'hostage,

pledge' (Sokoloff 2009: 345; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59). The representation of Greek *spiritus*

asper with Syriac *h* reflects the earlier Attic pronunciation.[233] In some manuscripts, the initial *h*

is marked with a sub-linear dot to indicate that it represents *spiritus asper*,[234] and perhaps that it

should not be pronounced.

Greek *spiritus asper* is, however, not represented with *h* in the following words:[235]

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[230] Allen 1987: 52-56. It has also been reconstructed as a voiceless laryngeal fricative /ħ/ (see, e.g., Harviainen 1976: 1 with n. 2).

[231] Harviainen 1976.

[232] Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 59-61; Wasserstein 1993: 204. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §78).

[233] In his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) refers to representations of *spiritus asper* with *h* in Syriac as 'according to ancient custom' (*meṭṭol mʿayyḏuṯɔ ʿattiqtɔ*) (ed. Phillips 1869: 5.-10).

[234] Kiraz 2012: §203; Segal 1953: 26.

[235] Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 61-63. This is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §79).

(5-37) a. ἕνωσις (Lampe 1961: 486-489; Liddell and Scott 1996: 579) > ܐܢܘܣܝܣ ʾnwsys 'combining into one, union' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 27.23 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 60; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61)

b. ἑορταστικός (Lampe 1961: 504; Liddell and Scott 1996: 601) > ܐܘܪܛܣܛܝܩܣ ʾwiṭʾsṭyqʾs (pl.) 'festal' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter 13, to Yuḥanon the Stylite of Litarba on eighteen biblical questions*, 8.15 [ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 9; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61)[236]

c. ἱερατεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 820) > ܐܝܪܛܝܘܢ ʾyrṭywn 'sacristy' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 12.16 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 38; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

d. ἱππικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 834) > ܐܝܦܩܘܣ ʾpyqws 'horse' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 114.26 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 87; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

e. ἱππόδρομος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 834) → accusative singular ἱππόδρομον > ܐܝܦܕܪܡܘܢ ʾypdrmwn 'hippodrome' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 151.7 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 81; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

f. ὁλοσηρικόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1218) > ܐܠܝܣܪܝܩܘܢ ʾlysryqwn, ܐܠܘܣܪܝܩܘܢ ʾlwsryqwn, ܐܠܣܝܪܝܩܘܢ ʾlsyryqwn 'garment entirely of silk' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 139.27 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 538.10; 540.10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 49; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

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[236] For the spelling, see footnote 153 above.

g. ὁμολογία (Lampe 1961: 957-958; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1226) > ܐܘܡܠܘܓܝܐ *’mwlwgy’* 'confession of faith' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 117.26; 131.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 53; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62), note already Palmyrene *’mlgy’* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 339-340; cf. Brock 2005: 19)

h. ὁρίζων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1251) > ܐܘܪܝܙܘܢ *’wryzwn* 'horizon' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Scholia*, 4.150.43 [ed. Benedictus 1732-1746]; *Hexaemeron*, 172.2.23 [ed. Chabot 1953]; Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 84.11 [pl. ܐܘܪܘܝܙܘܢܛܘܣ *’wrwyzwnṭws*] [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 22; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

In all of these cases, the word in question is not attested until the sixth or seventh century. The representation of Greek *spiritus asper* with the Syriac voiceless glottal stop *’* reflects the later Koinē pronunciation.

In addition, occasionally, two forms of a word are attested in Syriac, one with initial *h* and another with initial *’*.[237]

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[237] Brock 1996: 256; Wasserstein 1993: 203-204. See also ἁπλῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 191) > ܗܦܠܘܣ *hplws* 'simply, merely; in vain' (**6th cent.** Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 184.11, 185.11 [ed. Macomber 1974]; Sokoloff 2009: 352-353; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܦܠܘܣ *’plws* (**6th cent.** [translation] Theodosius of Alexandria, *Theological Discourse*, 164.129 [ed. Van Roey and Allen 1994]; Sokoloff 2009: 87; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61); ὕπατος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1854) > ܗܘܦܛܘܣ *hwpṭws* (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 72.3; 73.22 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 337; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. pl. ܐܦܛܘ *’pṭw* (*sic* without *syome*) 'consul' (**7th cent.** [translation] 1 Ezra 3.14; Sokoloff 2009: 19; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62); ὑποδιάκονος (Lampe 1961: 1448; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1879) > ܗܦܘܕܝܩܢܐ *hpwdyqn’* 'subdeacon, member of the minor clergy' (**7th cent.** Denḥa, *Life of Marutha*, 81.13 [ed. Nau 1905a: 52–96]; Sokoloff 2009: 336; cf. Harviainen 1976: 60) vs. ܐܦܘܕܝܩܢܘ *’pwdyq̈nw* 'subdeacon, member of the minor clergy'

(5-38) a. αἵρεσις (Lampe 1961: 51; Liddell and Scott 1996: 41) > ܚܪܣܝܣ *hrsys* 'difference, opinion; heresies' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 28.14; 36.17, 36.20 [ed. Drijvers 1965]; Sokoloff 2009: 180, 355; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܪܣܝܣ *ʾrsys* (**6th cent.** *Life of John bar Aphtonia*, 23.1 [ed. Nau 1902; Sokoloff 2009: 103; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61)

b. αἱρεσιώτης (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܗܪܣܝܘܛܐ *hrsywṭʾ* 'heretical; schismatical' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1, 47.16 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58]; Sokoloff 2009: 355; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܪܣܝܘܛܐ *ʾrsywṭʾ* (**6th cent.** Philoxenos, *Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, 28.26 [ed. Watt 1978]; Sokoloff 2009: 103; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61)

c. αἱρετικός (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܗܪܛܝܩܐ *hrṭyqʾ* 'heretical, schismatic' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 125.20 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; Narsai, *Memre on Biblical Themes*, 17.459; 18.490, 495, 506 [ed. Frishman 1992]; *Life of Rabbula*, 171.9; 193.11; 194.10, 20 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 354; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܪܛܝܩܐ *ʾrṭyqʾ* (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 601.10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 98; cf. Harviainen 1976: 61)

d. ἡγεμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 763) > ܗܓܡܘܢܐ *hgmwnʾ* 'prefect' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.973.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 645.20; 648.3 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 340; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܝܓܡܘܢܐ *ʾygmwnʾ* 'prefect' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 648.15 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 31; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

(**5th-6th cent.** [translation] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 10.9; 30.22; 111.16 [ed. Vööbus 1979]; Sokoloff 2009: 336; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62), but see 42.10.

e. ὑπηρέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1872) > ܗܘܦܪܛܐ *hwpryṭ'* 'slave, servant' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 64.2 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 338; cf. Harviainen 1976: 59) vs. ܐܘܦܪܛܐ *'wpryṭ'* 'slave, servant' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 61.23; 64.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 89; cf. Harviainen 1976: 62)

Again, there is a clear diachronic tendency: it is only after the fifth century that *spiritus asper* ceased to be consistently represented with *h*. The one exception to this tendency is ἡγεμών > ܐܝܓܡܘܢܐ *'ygmwn'* 'prefect', attested in the *Book of Steps*. This spelling in the *Book of Steps*, however, probably reflects the date of the manuscript (ca. 12th cent.) and not the supposed date of composition (ca. 400). This seems especially likely since the earlier spelling ܗܓܡܘܢܐ *hgmwn'* also occurs in this text and even within the very same passage (648.3; see also 645.20). Moreover, in the 7th- or 8th-cent. ms. Jerusalem Syr. 180, which was not used in the edition, but which the editor was later able to collate, the spelling with initial *h* is found instead of initial ʾ, again suggesting that the latter spelling is due to transmission history.[238] In addition, it should be noted that the existence of two forms for the loanwords in (5-38), one with initial ʾ and the other with initial *h*, suggests either that the orthography of these words was updated over time or that these words were transferred from Greek to Syriac on more than one occasion.

Harviainen (1976: 25-29, 31) has proposed that Greek *spiritus asper* was lost in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia by the mid-fourth century. Greek *spiritus asper* is not commonly represented by the Syriac voiceless glottal stop, however, until the sixth century in

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[238] See Kmosko 1926: ccciv (s.v. 648.15).

Greek loanwords in Syriac texts. This points to the conservative nature of Greek loanwords in Syriac, which often reflect a more Attic form and not necessarily the spoken Koinē form.

5.4.2.2 *Spiritus Lenis*

Greek words with *spiritus lenis* are realized as vowel initial, e.g., ὄρος /óros/ 'mountain' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1255). Word initial vowels are not, however, tolerated in Syriac. Thus, Greek words with *spiritus lenis* are usually realized with an initial voiceless glottal stop in Syriac,[239] e.g., εἰκῇ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 484) > ܐܝܩܐ *ʾyqʾ* 'in vain' (Sokoloff 2009: 37-38) and ἐξορία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 598) > ܐܟܣܘܪܝܐ *ʾkswryʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 43) 'exile'. In a few cases, however, Greek *spiritus lenis* is represented in Syriac with an initial *h*:[240]

(5-39) a. ἄρωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 254) > pl. ܗܪܘܡܐ *hr̈wmʾ* 'sweet spice, fragrant herb' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on Faith*, 96.8; 180.4; 199.14 [ed. Beck 1955]; *Maḏrɔše on the Church*, 80.22 [ed. Beck 1960]; *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 1.52.10 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; *Maḏrɔše on Paradise*, 7.8; 20.27; 49.12, 21 [ed. Beck 1957b]; *Maḏrɔše on the Nativity*, 42.1; 114.9; 128.12 [ed. Beck 1959]; *Maḏrɔše on Nisibis*, 127.1 [ed. Beck 1963]; already in Mark 16:1 [SP]; Luke 23:56 [SCP]; 24:1 [P]; Sokoloff 2009: 354; cf. Brock 1967: 394; Harviainen 1976: 63)

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[239] Kiraz 2012: §603-604. This is also the most common representation in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §77).

[240] Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 63-64. This is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §77). Note also ἐπαρχία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 611) > ܗܦܪܟܣ 'province' (**4-5th cent. [translation]** Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 76.17 [ed. Wright and McLean 1898]; Sokoloff 2009: 353; cf. Harviainen 1976: 63) alongside the more common ܐܦܪܟܐ (Sokoloff 2009: 89; cf. Harviainen 1976: 64).

a. ἔθος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 480) > ܚܬܘܣ *htws* 'custom' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 84.26 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 356; cf. Harviainen 1976: 63)

b. ἐποχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 677) > ܗܦܘܟܝ *hpwky* 'position with reference to celestial latitude and longitude' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, 244.10 [ed. Nau 1899]; Sokoloff 2009: 348; cf. Harviainen 1976: 63)

c. ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭ'* 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.404.26; 1.516.7; 1.693.19; 1.728.2; 1.817.7; 1.920.2 [ed. Parisot. 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 777.7, 10, 11, 12 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem, *Maḏroše on Faith*, 149.12; 150.15; 153.13, 17; 163.27; 166.8; 176.8; 242.21 [ed. Beck 1955]; *passim*; Sokoloff 2009: 331; cf. Harviainen 1976: 26 with n. 5, 64; Wasserstein 1993: 204)

d. οἰκονόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1204) > ܗܘܩܘܢܡܐ *hwqwnm'* 'steward' (**5th cent.** *Life of Sheʿmon the Stylite*, 4.535.3 [ed. Bedjan 1890-1897]; Sokoloff 2009: 339; cf. Harviainen 1976: 64), but note also ܐܩܝܢܡܘ *'qynmw* (*sic* without *syome*) (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 141.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 339; cf. Harviainen 1976: 64)

Initial *h* is the usual representation of *spiritus asper* in pre-sixth-century Syriac texts (see §5.4.2.1), not of *spiritus lenis*.[241] In some cases, the irregular correspondences in (5-39) are due to so-called Vulgäraspiration, i.e., Koinē Greek has aspiration in cases where Attic Greek does not.[242] The word ἰδιώτης, for instance, likely had *spiritus asper* in Koinē Greek, as reflected in

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[241] It should be noted that similar cases of Greek *spiritus lenis* being represented by initial *h* are found in Greek loanwords in Coptic (Brock 1996: 256; Harviainen 1976: 37, 75).
[242] Gignac 1976-: 1.133-138; Mayser 1970: 174-176.

Syriac ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭ*ʾ as well as in Coptic *hēdiōtēs* (Förster 2002: 344).[243] In other cases, however, examples of initial *h* for *spiritus lenis* may represent hypercorrections in which Syriac-speakers introduced *h* (mistakenly) supposing that the Greek source had once had *spiritus asper* though it was no longer pronounced.[244] This hypercorrection in language contact can be compared to English-speakers pronunciation of French *coup de grâce* as /kuː də graː/, in which the final sibilant of French *grace* /gʁas/ has been deleted by hypercorrection on the basis of the many French loanwords in English in which a final consonant is not pronounced, e.g., *foie gras* /fwaː graː/, *faux pas* /foː paː/, *coup d'état* /kuː də taː/, etc. The cases of hypercorrection involving Greek *spiritus lenis* provide additional support for the loss of *spiritus asper* in the Greek of Syria and Mesopotamia.[245]

5.4.2.3 Deletion

In rare cases, an initial Greek vowel is lost in Syriac,[246] e.g., ἀρραβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢܐ 'pledge, deposit' and ἀναχωρητής (Lampe 1961: 129) > ܢܚܘܪܝܐ 'anchorite, monk' (Sokoloff 2009: 899).

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[243] See also Harviainen 1976: 26 with n. 5.

[244] Wasserstein (1993: 204) prefers to see the *h* in these cases as a representation of Greek ε, η, or αι. This is, however, quite unlikely since *h* does not represent these vowels until well into the seventh century (see §5.3.3, 5.3.4, 5.3.9).

[245] See Harviainen 1976 and §5.4.2.1.

[246] This is also attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §226-230).

5.4.3 Vowel Hiatus

In Attic Greek as well as in the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, vowel-initial syllables can occur within words, e.g., δι | α | θή | κη. This results in hiatus (also called diaeresis). Syriac, in contrast, does not tolerate vowel-initial syllables in any context, including within words. The accommodation of Greek hiatus in Syriac is accomplished in two ways.[247] First, the vowel hiatus can be resolved by epenthesis of a voiceless glottal stop ʾ or a palatal glide *y*. This is, for instance, the case in πατριάρχης (Lampe 1961: 1051-1052) > ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ *pṭryrkʾ* 'patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184), where the consonant *y* resolves the hiatus in Greek ια. Second, Greek vowel hiatus can be contracted in Syriac into a monosyllable. This is, for instance, the case with Latin *quaestor* (Glare 1982: 1534-1535; Lewis and Short 1969: 1502-1503) > κυαίστωρ (Daris 1991: 63; Lampe 1961: 784) > ܩܣܛܘܪ *qsṭwr* '*quaestor*, Byzantine head of judiciary' (Sokoloff 2009: 1322), where neither a glide nor the voiceless glottal stop appears in the first syllable of the Syriac. The following sections describe the Syriac representation of various Greek vowel sequences.

5.4.3.1 Greek /ai/

The Greek sequence /ai/, which can be written αι, αει, or αη, is represented in Syriac with the voiceless glottal stop ʾ in ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *ʾʾr* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1). This is a case of epenthesis of a voiceless glottal stop ʾ to resolve the Greek vowel hiatus.

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[247] Nöldeke 1904: §40H. For the accommodation of Greek vowel hiatus in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic, see Krauss 1898: §138-151.

5.4.3.2 Greek /ao/

The Greek sequence /ao/, which can be written αο or αω, is represented in Syriac with the bilabial glide *w*, e.g., ταῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1763) > ܛܘܣܐ *ṭws'* 'peacock' (Sokoloff 2009: 519) and ναός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1160) > ܢܘܣܐ *nws'* 'temple; fortress, citadel' (Sokoloff 2009: 901). In the later vocalization tradition, these words are vocalized as /ṭawsɔ/ and /nawsɔ/, respectively, suggesting that they were accommodated by contraction in Syriac. Greek ταῶς, however, is realized as *ṭwɔsɔ* in Targum Jonathan (1 Kings 10:22), which represents accommodation by epenthesis. The Syriac vocalization /ṭawsɔ/, as well as *mutatis mutandis* /nawsɔ/, may then represent secondary developments in which the words were accommodated to a common Syriac nominal pattern (*$C_1aC_2C_3$).

5.4.3.3 Greek /ea/

The Greek sequence /ea/, which can be written εα or αια, is represented in Syriac by the voiceless glottal stop *'* in θέατρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 787) > ܬܐܛܪܘܢ *t'ṭrwn* 'theater; spectacle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618), but by the palatal glide *y* in δαφνηδαία (Lampe 1961: 334) → accusative singular δαφνηδαίαν ܕܦܢܝܕܝܢ *dpnydyn* 'laurel' (Sokoloff 2009: 316). In both of these cases, the Greek vowel hiatus seems to have been resolved by epenthesis.

5.4.3.4 Greek /eo/

In the vast majority of cases, the Greek sequence /eo/, which can be written εο, εω, αιο, or αιω, is represented in Syriac by the voiceless glottal stop *'* followed by the bilabial glide *w*, e.g., θεωρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 797) > ܬܐܘܪܝܐ *t'wry'* 'contemplation, theory, speculation' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618) and θεολογία (Lampe 1961: 627) > ܬܐܘܠܘܓܝܐ *t'wlwgy'*

'theology' (Sokoloff 2009: 1617). In these cases, the voiceless glottal stop ' is epenthetic to resolve the Greek hiatus, and the bilabial glide *w* serves as a *mater lectionis* for Greek /o/. Rarely, the Greek sequence /eo/ is represented in Syriac by the palatal glide *y*, e.g., ἡμίσεον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 773-774) > ܗܡܝܣܝܢ *hymysyn* 'half' (Sokoloff 2009: 341). The palatal glide *y* in this cases is likely epenthetic to resolve the Greek vowel hiatus.

5.4.3.5 Greek /ia/

In the vast majority of cases, the Greek sequence /ia/, which can be written ια, εια, or ηα, is represented in Syriac by the palatal glide *y*, e.g., ἐκκλησιατική (ἱστορία) (Lampe 1961: 433) > ܐܩܠܣܝܣܛܝܩܝ *'qlsysṭyqy* 'Church (history)' (Sokoloff 2009: 92) and ἀνδριάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 128) → accusative singular ἀνδριάντα > ܐܢܕܪܝܢܛ *'ndrynṭ'* (with orthographic variants) 'statue' (Sokoloff 2009: 11). In a few cases, Greek /ia/ is represented in Syriac by the palatal glide *y* followed by the voiceless glottal stop ', e.g., ἀμίαντος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 83) → accusative singular ἀμίαντον > ܐܡܝܐܢܛܘܢ *'my'nṭwn* 'salamander, creature which is not consumed in fire' (Sokoloff 2009: 54-55) and διάμεσον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 403) > ܕܝܐܡܣܘܢ *dy'mswn* 'middle' (Sokoloff 2009: 292). In isolated cases, Greek /ia/ is left unrepresented, e.g., καλλίας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 867) > ܓܠܣ *gls* 'ape, monkey' (Sokoloff 2009: 238). Thus, in a vast majority of cases, the hiatus in Greek /ia/ is resolved in Syriac by an epenthetic palatal glide *y* (whether with or without a *mater lectionis* of ' for α). In only a few cases is it left unrepresented, where it has contracted.

5.4.3.6 Greek /io/

The Greek sequence /io/, which can be written ιο, ειο, ηο, ιω, ειω, and ηω, is usually

represented in Syriac by the palatal glide *y* followed by the bilabial glide *w*, e.g., εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *'wnglywn* 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18) and ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭ'* 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (Sokoloff 2009: 331). In this representation, the palatal glide *y* is epenthetic to resolve the vowel hiatus whereas the bilabial glide *w* is a *mater lectionis* for the following /o/. In addition, there are several rare representations of Greek /io/. It is, for instance, represented by Syriac *w* in a few cases, e.g., κοινεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 968) > ܩܘܢܘܢ *qwnwn* 'meeting, council' (Sokoloff 2009: 1336, 1337), alongside ܩܘܢܝܢ *qwnyn*. It is represented by Syriac *'yw* in θεῖος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 788) > ܬܐܝܘܣ *t'yws* 'paternal uncle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618, 1641), where the voiceless glottal stop *'* is a *mater lectionis* for ει (see §5.3.11). In some cases, a word is attested with multiple representations of Greek /io/, e.g., Latin *centurio* (Glare 1982: 300; Lewis and Short 1969: 316) > κεντυρίων (Daris 1991: 53; Lampe 1961: 744) > ܩܢܛܪܝܘܢ *qnṭrywn*, ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ *qnṭrwn'* 'centurion' (Sokoloff 2009: 1382-1383). Thus, in a vast majority of cases, the hiatus in Greek /io/ is resolved in Syriac by an epenthetic palatal glide *y*.

In the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the Greek ending -ιον is often realized as -ιν.[248] Thus, the frequent use of Syriac -*yn* to represent this ending almost certainly reflects the Koinē form -ιν and not the Attic form -ιον (see §6.2.3.9). This is, for instance, the case with γυμνάσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 362) > ܓܡܢܣܝܢ *gmnsyn* 'gymnasia' (Sokoloff 2009: 242) and Latin *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291) > παλάτιον (Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291) > ܦܠܛܝܢ *plṭyn* 'palace' (Sokoloff 2009: 1199).

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[248] Gignac 1976-: 2.25-29. This is also found in the Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 48), e.g., δελματίκιν for δελματίκιον (P.Dura. 30.17 [232]); σεισύριν for σεισύριον (P.Dura. 33.13 [240-250]).

5.4.3.7 Greek /ye/

Two possible representations of the Greek sequence /ye/, which can be written υε, υαι, οιε, or οιαι, are attested in Latin *quaestor* (Glare 1982: 1534-1535; Lewis and Short 1969: 1502-1503) > κυαίστωρ (Daris 1991: 63; Lampe 1961: 784) > ܩܘܐܣܛܘܪ *qwʾsṭwr* and ܩܣܛܘܪ *qsṭwr* '*quaestor*, Byzantine head of judiciary' (Sokoloff 2009: 1322). In the former, hiatus is resolved by epenthesis of the voiceless glottal stop ʾ, whereas in the latter it has been contracted.

5.4.3.8 Greek /yi/

Three possible representations of Greek /yi/, which can be written υι, υει, υη, οιι, οιει, or οιη, are attested in ποιητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1429) > ܦܘܐܝܛܐ *pwʾyṭʾ*, ܦܘܐܛܐ *pwʾṭʾ*, ܦܘܝܛܐ *pwyṭʾ* 'poet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1158). In the first two, hiatus is resolved by epenthesis of the voiceless glottal stop ʾ, whereas in the latter it has presumably been resolved by epenthesis of the palatal glide *y*.

5.4.4 Summary

There is a large amount of variation in the accommodation of Greek vowel hiatus in Syriac. The various possibilities are summarized in Table 5-11. In most cases, Greek vowel hiatus is accommodated by epenthesis in Syriac. The voiceless glottal stop ʾ is attested as an epenthetic consonant to accommodate /ai/ (αι, αει, αη), /ea/ (εα, αια), /eo/ (εο, εω, αιο, αιω), and /yi/ (υι, υει, υη, οιι, οιει); the palatal glide *y* is attested as an epenthetic consonant to accommodate /eo/ (εο, εω, αιο, αιω), /ia/ (ια, εια, ηα), /io/ (ιο, ειο, ηο, ιω, ειω, ηω), and /yi/

(υι, υει, υη, οιι, οιει). In cases in which Greek vowel hiatus is accommodated by epenthesis, a *mater lectionis* can optionally occur to express one or more of the vowels, e.g., ποιητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1429) > ܩܘܐܝܛܐ *pwʾyṭ*, where Syriac *ʾ* is an epenthetic consonant to accommodate Greek vowel hiatus, and Syriac *w* and *y* are *matres lectionis* for Greek οι /y/ and η /i/, respectively. In addition to epenthesis, Greek vowel hiatus is accommodated by contraction into a monosyllable in a number of cases in Syriac. This is, for instance, a possibility with /ia/ (ια, εια, ηα), /io/ (ιο, ειο, ηο, ιω, ειω, ηω), and /ye/ (υε, υαι, οιε, οιαι). The Greek sequence /ao/ (αο, αω) is realized as *w* in Syriac; it remains unclear whether this represents contraction into a monosyllable, i.e., /aw/ (as the later Syriac vocalization traditions suggest), or epenthesis of *w*, i.e., /awo/ (as the Aramaic of Targum Jonathan suggests).

Table 5-11 Syriac Representations of Greek Vowel Hiatus

	common	rare
ai (αι, αει, or αη)		ܐ *ʾ*
ao (αο or αω)		ܘ *W*
ea (εα or αια)	ܐ *ʾ*, *, y*	
eo (εο, εω, αιο, or αιω)	ܐ *ʾ*	*, y*
ia (ια, εια, or ηα)	*, y*	ܝܐ *yʾ*, ø
io (ιο, ειο, ηο, ιω, ειω, and ηω)	ܝܘ *yW*, *, y*	ܘ *W*, ܐܝܘ *ʾyW*, ø
ye (υε, υαι, οιε, or οιαι)		ܘܐ *Wʾ*, ø
yi (υι, υει, υη, οιι, οιει)		,ܘܐ *Wʾy*, ܘܐ *Wʾ*, ,ܘ *Wy*

5.5 Conclusion

In the scholarly literature, very little attention has thus far been paid to the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac. This chapter has sought to fill this gap in the literature by providing a systematic description and analysis of the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac. It began with the integration of Greek consonants. It was shown

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that the representation of Greek consonants in Syriac is remarkably regular, and that almost all seeming deviations can be explained either by positing a Koinē Greek source that differs from Attic Greek or by appealing to secondary developments in Syriac. The vast majority of regular consonant correspondences are unremarkable, since Greek phonemes tend to be represented by very similar Syriac phonemes. The one exception to this is the series of Greek voiceless stops (π, τ, and κ), which are not represented by the expected Syriac voiceless stops (ܦ *p*, ܬ *t*, and ܟ *k*) but by the Syriac emphatic stops (ܦ *ṗ*, ܛ *ṭ*, and ܩ *q*).

In contrast to the consonants, the representation of Greek vowels, including Greek vowel hiatus, in Syriac is much less regular. While some Greek loanwords in Syriac exhibit a stable orthography, the representation of Greek vowels with Syriac *matres lectionis* varies significantly in a large number of words. In some cases, this variation suggests that a word is closer to a *Fremdwort* than a *Lehnwort*.[249] In other cases, however, the orthography of Greek loanwords in Syriac was clearly updated over time. Often, this update resulted in an orthography that more closely represents the vowels in the Greek source, in line with the diachronic trend that Greek vowels tend to be represented more fully over time in Syriac. This contrasts with a number of contact situations cross-linguistically in which loawords tend to become increasingly integrated over time. Thus, Syriac-writers can be seen updating the orthography of Greek loanwords, even well-established ones, as the mechanisms for phonological integration shifted. Phonological integration – and by extension lexical transfer more broadly – was, then, not a one-point-in-time event for Syriac-speakers. Rather, over time, they continued to interact with the Greek language not only by transferring new loanwords into their language but also by updating the loanwords that were already in their language. The

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[249] For this distinction, see §4.5.

dynamic nature of Greek loanwords in Syriac will continue to be explored over the next two chapters, which deal with the morpho-syntactic integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac (§6) and secondary developments involving Greek loanwords in Syriac (§7).

6   Morpho-Syntactic Integration of Greek Loanwords in Syriac

> "If loanwords are to be incorporated into the utterances of a new language, they must be fitted into its grammatical structure" (Haugen 1950b: 217)

6.1   Overview

The previous chapter (§5) analyzed the phonological integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac. The current chapter turns to their morpho-syntactic integration. In the scholarly literature, morpho-syntactic integration has garnered the least attention of all the topics related to Greek loanwords in Syriac. Nöldeke (1904) devotes only a few sections to this subject throughout his grammar.[1] Schall (1960) fails to provide more than a couple of passing remarks. More recently, Brock (1996: 254-256) has added several important pages to the discussion.[2] Despite the value of the overviews of Nöldeke and of Brock, a detailed description and analysis of the morpho-syntactic integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac is needed. The present chapter takes up this task. Given the lack of previous work on the topic, the chapter cites a large amount of data, which is not otherwise available in the secondary literature. The summaries at the end of each section provide an overview of the collections of data.

The chapter is organized according to part of speech: nouns, verbs, and then particles. Nouns are treated in §6.2. Since the vast majority of Greek loanwords in Syriac are nouns, their

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[1] See, e.g., Nöldeke 1904: §88-89, 202L.
[2] See earlier Brock 1967: 392-393.

discussion is the most extensive. The accommodation of verbs is treated in §6.3. The Syriac verbs of ultimate Greek origin are divided into two broad categories: denominative verbs (§6.3.2) and loanverbs (§6.3.3-6.3.5). Greek loanverbs are accommodated in Syriac according to three different strategies in the typology developed by Wohlgemuth (2009): direct insertion (§6.3.3), indirect insertion (§6.3.4), and light verb strategy (§6.3.5). The chapter concludes with the accommodation of particles §6.4.

6.2　Nouns

6.2.1　Overview

Greek nouns are marked for case, gender, and number. Five different grammatical cases are distinguished: vocative, nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. Three genders are distinguished: masculine, feminine, and neuter. Two numbers are distinguished: singular and plural.[3]

Syriac nouns are marked for gender, number, and state. Two genders are distinguished: masculine and feminine. Two numbers are distinguished: singular and plural. Three states are distinguished: *status absolutus*, *status emphaticus*, and *status constructus*. State is a morpho-syntactic category. The *status constructus* marks a noun that is dependent on a following noun, as in ܡܠܟܘܬ *malkuṯ* in the following example:

(6-1)　Peshiṭta Gospels (ca. 400 CE; ed. Kiraz 1996)

ܙܥܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܗܘ

zꜥurɔ	den	b**malkuṯ**	šmayyɔ	rabbɔ	(h)u
small-M.SG.DET	but	in+**kingdom-F.SG.CON**	heaven-M.PL.EMP	great-M.SG.DET	he

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[3] An earlier dual is preserved in a few remnants.

mɛnneh

from + him

  But, the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Matt 11:11)

In earlier Aramaic, the *status absolutus* was the unmarked form of the noun. In Syriac, however, it occurs in a limited number of syntactic uses, including distributive repetition, after the quantifier *kol* 'all' and cardinal numerals, with negatives, in idiomatic expressions introduced by a preposition, predicate adjectives, and in adverbial forms.[4] In earlier Aramaic, the *status emphaticus* was the definite form of a noun. In Syriac, however, it is the unmarked form of the noun.

    The following sections detail how Greek nouns are morpho-syntactically integrated in Syriac. The topics dealt with are input forms (§6.2.2), the accommodation of Greek case endings (§6.2.3), the accommodation of gender (§6.2.4), plural formations of Greek loanwords (§6.2.5), and the inflectional category of state with Greek loanwords (§6.2.5.5).

6.2.2   Input Forms

6.2.2.1   Overview

    Various input forms are attested for Greek loanwords in Syriac. Several of the possibilities can be illustrated with Greek χλαμύς, which entered Syriac in multiple forms:

(6-2)   a.   nominative singular χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) > ܟܠܡܝܣ *klmys* 'cloak' (Sokoloff 2009: 626)

        b.   nominative singular χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) → diminutive nominative singular χλαμύδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) > ܟܠܡܝܕܝܢ *klmydyn*

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[4] Muraoka 2005: §72; Nöldeke 1904: §205-210.

'cloak' (Sokoloff 2009: 626)

    c.   nominative singular χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) → accusative singular

χλαμύδα > ܟܠܡܝܕܐ *klmyd*ʾ 'cloak' (Sokoloff 2009: 626)

In this example, the nominative singular χλαμύς and the accusative singular χλαμύδα each served as an input form as well as the nominative singular diminutive χλαμύδιον.

6.2.2.2   Nominative Singular

The most common input form is the Greek nominative singular. Table 6-1 provides examples of nominative singular input forms for each of the three Greek declensions.[5] The nominative singular is the citation form in Greek and so the most unmarked form. Thus, the Syriac situation fits well with the cross-linguistic tendency for the unmarked form to serve as the input form.[6]

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[5] Several of the following nouns could also be interepreted as vocative singular; this, however, seems unlikely given the rarity of the vocative as an input form.

[6] The nominative singular is also the most common input form for Greek loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §87-93).

Table 6-1 Nominative Singular Input Forms

First Declension	ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ*, ܐܢܢܩܝ *ʾnnqy* 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63)
	κελλαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 937; Lampe 1961: 741) > ܩܠܪܛܝܣ *qlrṭys* (with alternative orthographies) 'steward' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376)
Second Declension	θρόνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) > ܬܪܘܢܘܣ *trwnws* (with alternative orthographies) 'throne' (Sokoloff 2009: 1665)
	θέατρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 787) > ܬܐܛܪܘܢ *tʾṭrwn* 'theater; spectacle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618)
Third Declension	ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *ʾʾr* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1)
	ἀρραβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢܐ *rhbwnʾ* 'pledge, deposit' (Sokoloff 2009: 1439)
	κόραξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 980) > ܩܪܩܣܐ *qrqsʾ* 'raven, crow; jay, magpie' (Sokoloff 2009: 1416)
	φύσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964-1965) > ܦܘܣܝܣ *pwsys* 'nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167)
	ἱερεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 821) > ܗܝܪܘܣ *hyrws* 'priest' (Old Syriac Parchments 3.5 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248])

6.2.2.3   Nominative Plural

The nominative plural also serves as an input form for some Greek loanwords in Syriac.[7] The Greek nominative plural ending -οι, for instance, is attested as an input form for Greek second declension nouns in -ος,[8] e.g., κληρικός (Lampe 1961: 756) → nominative plural κληρικοί > pl. ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘ *qlyrïyqw* 'clerics' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371), singular attested as ܩܠܝܪܩ *qlyryqʾ*, ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyryqws*, with additional plurals of ܩܠܝܪܝܩ *qlyrïyqʾ*, ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyrïqws* and

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[7] The nominative plural is also attested as an input form for Greek loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §94).

[8] Nöldeke 1904: §89.

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ὀρθόδοξος (Lampe 1961: 971-972; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1248) → nominative plural ὀρθόδοξοι > pl. ܐܘܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܘ *ʾwrtwdwksw*, ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܘ *ʾrtwdwksw* 'orthodox (pl.)' (Sokoloff 2009: 105), singular attested as ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܐ *ʾrtdwksʾ*, with additional plurals of ܐܘܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܐ *ʾwrtwdwksʾ*, ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܐ *ʾrtdwksʾ*. It should be noted that singular forms exist alongside plural forms in both of these examples, suggesting that Syriac-speakers manipulated the Greek loanwords in their language on the basis of the Greek source language. In addition, the existence of singular forms alongside plural forms in both of these examples enabled the analogical creation of a new plural ending *-w* in Syriac (see §6.2.5).

Other nominative plural forms may occasionally serve as an input form. The Greek nominative plural third declension ending -ες could, for instance, be attested as an input form in σειρήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1588) → nominative plural σειρῆνες > pl. ܣܝܪܝܢܣ *syrÿns* 'Sirens, name of an animal' (Sokoloff 2009: 1007), with an additional plural of ܣܝܪܝܢܘܣ *syrÿnws*. Alternatively, however, ܣܝܪܝܢܣ *syrÿns* could be analyzed as an instance of the analogically created plural ending *-(ʾ)s* or *-(w)s*.[9]

To the proceeding nominative plural input forms, Nöldeke (1904: §89) proposes that the nominative plural -αι occurs in cases such as διαθήκη (Lampe 1961: 348; Liddell and Scott 1996: 394-395) → nominative plural διαθῆκαι > ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytq̈ʾ* 'covenant' (Sokoloff 2009: 301), singular attested as ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (with alternative orthographies), with additional plurals of ܕܝܬܩܘܣ *dytqẅs*, ܕܝܬܩܣ *dÿtqs*.[10] There is, however, no clear evidence to substantiate Nöldeke's

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[9] For the development of these endings, see §7.3.2.

[10] It should be noted that the plural ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytq̈ʾ* is very rare. The form is mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul (Duval 1888-1901: 1.574). The absolute form ܕܝܬܝܩܝܢ *dytÿqyn* is, however, found in Ephrem, e.g., *Maḏroše against Julian the Apostate*, 73.20 (ed. Beck 1957b), suggesting that the plural ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytq̈ʾ* also existed at this time.

claim, especially since the plural ܕܝ̈ܬܐ *dytǟ* could be analyzed as a Syriac plural formation with the masculine plural *status emphaticus* ending *-e* (see §6.2.5).

6.2.2.4   Accusative Singular

In addition to the nominative, the accusative is the only other case that commonly serves as an input form.[11] Table 6-2 provides examples of accusative singular input forms for each of the three Greek declensions. The accusative singular also serves as an input form in other dialects of Aramaic, e.g., ἀνδριάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 128) → accusative singular ἀνδριάντα > Palmyrene *ʾdryṭ* 'statue' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 335; cf. Brock 2005: 12, 25).

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[11] Brock 1967: 393; 1996: 254-255. The accusative is also an input form for Greek loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §97).

Table 6-2 Accusative Singular Input Forms

First Declension	δαφνηδαία (Lampe 1961: 334) → accusative singular δαφνηδαίαν > ܕܦܢܝܕܝܢ *dpnydyn* 'laurel' (Sokoloff 2009: 316)
Second Declension	ἀμίαντος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 83) → accusative singular ἀμίαντον > ܐܡܝܢܛܘܢ *ʾmyʾnṭwn* 'salamander, creature which is not consumed in fire' (Sokoloff 2009: 54-55)
	πάπυρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1302) → accusative singular πάπυρον > ܦܦܪܘܢ *pprwn* 'papyrus' (Sokoloff 2009: 1218)
Third Declension	ἀνδριάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 128) → accusative singular ἀνδριάντα > ܐܢܕܪܝܢܛܐ *ʾndrynṭʾ*, ܐܕܪܝܢܛܐ *ʾdrynṭʾ*, ܐܕܪܝܛܐ *ʾdryṭʾ* 'statue' (Sokoloff 2009: 11, 59)
	κλείς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 957) → accusative singular κλεῖδα > ܩܠܝܕܐ *qlydʾ*, ܐܩܠܝܕܐ *ʾqlydʾ* 'key; clasp, buckle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1370)
	πλάξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1411-1412) → accusative singular πλάκα > ܦܠܩܐ *plqʾ* 'slab; tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1203)
	σπυρίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) → accusative singular σπυρίδα > ܐܣܦܪܝܕܐ *ʾsprydʾ*, ܣܦܪܝܕܐ *sprydʾ* 'basket' (Sokoloff 2009: 77)
	σῦριγξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1731) → accusative singular σύριγγα > ܣܘܪܓܐ *srwgʾ* 'portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 1043-1044)

6.2.2.5   Accusative Plural

The accusative plural also serves as an input form for some Greek loanwords in Syriac. This is, for instance, the case with Greek first declension nouns that end in -ας in the accusative plural,[12] as in the following representative examples:

(6-3)   a.   διαθήκη (Lampe 1961: 348; Liddell and Scott 1996: 394-395) → accusative plural

διαθήκας > pl. ܕܝܬܩܣ *dytqs* 'covenant' (Sokoloff 2009: 301), singular attested as

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[12] Nöldeke 1904: §89.

ܪܟܘܠܬ *dytqʾ*, ܪܘܠܬ *dytqy* (with alternative orthographies), with additional plurals of

ܪܟܘܠܬ *dytqẅs* and ܪܟܝܢܬ *dytÿqyn* (absolute)

b. κοπρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 979) → accusative plural κοπρίας > ܩܘܦܪܝܣ *qʾpïys* 'dung-hills' (Sokoloff 2009: 1307)

c. μοῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1140-1141) → accusative plural μοῖρας > pl. ܡܘܪܣ *mwïs*, ܡܘܪܐܣ *mwïʾs* 'step, stage, degree; share, portion' (Sokoloff 2009: 729), singular attested as ܡܘܪܐ *mwrʾ*

d. οὐσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1274-1275) → accusative plural οὐσίας > pl. ܐܘܣܝܣ *ʾwsÿs*, ܐܘܣܝܐܣ *ʾwsÿʾs* 'essence, substance; wealth' (Sokoloff 2009: 18), singular attested as ܐܘܣܝܐ *ʾwsyʾ*, with an additional plural of ܐܘܣܝܘܣ *ʾwsÿws*

e. πόρνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1450) → accusative plural πόρνας > pl. ܦܘܪܢܣ *pwïns* 'harlot, whore' (Sokoloff 2009: 1170), singular attested as ܦܘܪܢܐ *pwrnʾ*

f. σχολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747-1748) → accusative plural σχολάς > pl. ܐܣܟܘܠܣ *ʾskẅls* 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008), singular attested as ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *ʾskwlʾ*, ܣܟܘܠܐ *skwlʾ*

g. ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) → accusative plural ὕλας > pl. ܗܘܠܣ *hwlš* 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341), singular attested as ܗܘܠܐ *hwlʾ* (with alternative orthographies)

h. φωνή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1967-1968) → accusative plural φωνάς > pl. ܦܘܢܣ *pẅns* 'voice; (with *yhb*) to promise' (Sokoloff 2009: 1166), singular attested as ܦܘܢܐ *pwnʾ*, with an additional plural of ܦܘܢܘܣ *pẅnws*

i. χώρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2015) → accusative plural χώρας > pl. ܟܘܪܣ *kwïs* 'land, province' (Sokoloff 2009: 612), singular attested as ܟܘܪܐ *kwrʾ*

As these examples illustrate, alternative plurals are attested in many cases. In addition, it should be noted that a singular is attested for a number of these words, which enabled the analogical creation of a new plural ending -(ʾ)s in Syriac.[13]

The accusative plural -ους serves as an input from in some cases for Greek second declension masculine and feminine nouns:

(6-4) a. κληρικός (Lampe 1961: 756) → accusative plural κληρικούς > pl. ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyrÿqws* 'cleric' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371), singular attested as ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ *qlyryqʾ*, ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyryqws*, with additional plurals of ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ *qlyrÿqʾ*, ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘ *qlyrÿqw*

      b. Latin *uncinus* (Glare 1982: 2090; Lewis and Short 1969: 1929) > ὄγκινος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1196) → accusative plural ὀγκίνους > pl. ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ *ʾwqÿnws* 'hook; anchor; sailors' sounding line' (Sokoloff 2009: 20), singular attested as ܐܘܩܝܢܐ *ʾwqynʾ*

      c. σύγκλητος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1665) → accusative plural σύγκλητους > pl. ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ *sÿnqlyṭws* 'senate; senator' (Sokoloff 2009: 984-985), singular attested as ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ *swnqlyṭws*

      d. τόνος (Liddell and Scott 1996:1804) → accusative plural τόνους > pl. ܛܘܢܘܣ *ṭwnws* 'syllables' (Sokoloff 2009: 518), singular attested as ܛܘܢܘܣ *ṭwnws*, with additional plurals of ܛܘܢܣ *ṭÿns*, ܛܢܣ *ṭÿis*

The existence of a nominative singular form alongside the accusative plural enabled the analogical creation of a new plural ending *-ws* in Syriac.[14] The forms ܛܘܢܣ *ṭÿns* and ܛܢܣ *ṭÿis* in (6-4d) could also be cases of the Greek accusative plural -ους, since Greek ου is not always

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[13] For this development, see §7.3.2.

[14] For this development, see §7.3.2.

represented with a *mater lectionis* in Syriac (§5.3.14). Following this logic, the following examples could be added to (6-4):

(6-5) a. ἀγωγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 18) → accusative plural ἀγωγούς > pl. ܐܓܘܓܣ *'gwgs* 'aqueduct' (Sokoloff 2009: 6), singular attested as ܐܓܘܓܐ *'gwg'*

   b. κλῆρος (Lampe 1961: 757) → accusative plural κλῆρους > pl. ܩܠܝܣ *qlïs* 'clergy' (Sokoloff 2009: 184, 1371), singular attested as ܩܠܝܪܘܣ *qlyrws*, ܩܠܝܪܣ *qlyrs*

Alternatively, these examples, along with ܛܘܢܣ *ṭwns* and ܛܪܣ *ṭrïs*, could be instances of the analogically created plural ending *-(')s* (for which, see §7.3.2).

6.2.2.6   Nominative/Accusative Plural

The Greek nominative plural ending -ες or the accusative plural ending -ας serves as an input form for the following third declension noun: πολύπους (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1441-1442 → nominative plural πολύποδες, accusative plural πολύποδας > pl. ܦܘܠܘܦܕܣ *pwlwpds* 'polyp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1163), singular attested as ܦܐܠܘܦܣ *p'lwps*, ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ *pylypws*. One of these endings may also serve as an input form for the following third declension nouns ending in a consonant:

(6-6) a. ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) → nominative plural ἀέρες, accusative plural ἀέρας > pl. ܐܐܪܣ *'ïs* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1), singular attested as ܐܐܪ *'r*, with an additional plural of ܐܐܪܘܣ *'ïws*

   b. Latin *excubitor* (Glare 1982: 637; Lewis and Short 1969: 680) > ἐξκούβιτωρ (Daris 1991: 44-45) → nominative plural ἐξκούβιτορες, accusative plural ἐξκούβιτορας > pl. ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܪܣ *sqwbyṭwïs* 'Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards'

(Sokoloff 2009: 78, 1037), with additional plurals of ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ *ʾsqwbyṭrws* (*sic*; without *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܐ *sq̈wbyṭ̈ʾ* (*sic*; with two *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܝܘܣ *sqwbyṭwïws*

c. Latin *caesar* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καῖσαρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860) → nominative plural καῖσαρες, accusative plural καῖσαρας > pl. ܩܣܝܣ *qsïs* 'Caesar, emperor' (Sokoloff 2009: 1388), singular attested as ܩܣܪ *qsr*

d. Latin *curator* (Glare 1982: 474; Lewis and Short 1969: 501) > κουράτωρ (Daris 1991: 62; Lampe 1961: 773; Liddell and Scott 1996: 986) → nominative plural κουράτορες, accusative plural κουράτορας > pl. ܩܘܪܛܘܝܣ *qwrṭwïs* 'courator, an official responsible for financial matters' (Sokoloff 2009: 1344), singular attested as ܩܘܪܛܘܪ

e. πλάξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1411-1412) → nominative plural πλάκες, accusative plural πλάκας > pl. ܦܠܩܣ *p̈lqs* 'slab; tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1203), singular attested as ܦܠܩܐ *plqʾ*

Alternatively, these examples could be analyzed as instances of the analogically created plural ending -*(ʾ)s* or -*(w)s*.[15]

The Greek plural ending -ματα serves as an input form for some Greek third declension neuter nouns with stems in τ, e.g., δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) → nominative/accusative plural δόγματα > pl. ܕܘܓܡܛܐ *dẅgmṭʾ*, ܕܘܓܡܐܛܐ *dwgm̈ʾṭʾ* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278), singular attested as ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ*, with additional plurals of ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgm̈ʾ*, ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgm̈ʾ* and φλέγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1943) → nominative/accusative plural φλέγματα > pl. ܦܠܓܡܛܐ *plg̈mṭʾ* 'phlegm' (Sokoloff 2009: 1195),

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[15] For the development of these endings, see §7.3.2.

singular attested as ܦܠܓܡܐ *plgmʾ*. The input form in each of these cases could be analyzed as either nominative or accusative.

The Greek plural ending -ειϛ probably serves as an input form for some Greek third declension nouns with stems in ι,[16] e.g., αἵρεσις (Lampe 1961: 51; Liddell and Scott 1996: 41) → nominative/accusative plural αἵρεσεις > pl. ܗܪܣܝܣ, *hrʾsys* ܐܪܣܝܣ *ʾrsys* 'difference, opinion; heresies' (Sokoloff 2009: 103, 180, 355), singular attested as ܗܪܣܝܣ *hrsys*, ܐܪܣܝܣ *ʾrsys* and τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) → nominative/accusative plural τάξεις > pl. ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksÿs* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529), singular attested as ܛܟܣܐ *ṭksʾ*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys*, with an additional plural of ܛܟܣܐ *ṭk̈sʾ*. The input form in each of these cases could be analyzed as either nominative or accusative. In addition, each of these cases could be alternatively analyzed as instances in which the singular and plural have the same form (see pp. 237-237). If so, the input form is the nominative singular.

To the proceeding nominative/accusative plural input forms, Nöldeke (1904: §89) proposes that the nominative/accusative plural -α occurs in cases such as εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) → nominative/accusative plural εὐαγγέλια > pl. ܐܘܢܓܠܝ̈ *ʾwnglÿ* 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18), singular attested as ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *ʾwnglywn*. In this case, however, the plural ܐܘܢܓܠܝ̈ *ʾwnglÿ* could be analyzed as a Syriac plural formation with the masculine plural *status emphaticus* ending -*e* (see §6.2.5).[17] Thus, it is impossible to determine whether or not the nominative/accusative plural -α also serves as an input form.

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[16] Nöldeke 1904: §89.

[17] It should be noted that in his *Letter on Syriac Orthography* Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) vocalizes as if the source is εὐαγγελία (ed. Phillips 1869: 7.6).

6.2.2.7 Genitive

Cases other than the nominative and accusative only rarely serve as input forms. The genitive, for instance, occurs in the initial formula of P.Dura 28:[18]

(6-7)   Old Syriac Parchment (9 May 243; ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248)

ܐܘܪܠܝܣ ܚܦܣܝ ܒܪ ܫܡܫܝܗܒ ܐܕܝܣܐ ܡܢ ܦܠܝܣ ܕܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ

ʾwrls ḥpsy	br	šmšyhb	ʾdysyʾ	mn	pylys	dtrtʿšrʾ
PN	son-M.SG.CON	PN	of.Edessa-M.SG.EMP	from	tribe	NML + twelve

'PN son of PN, the Edessene from the twelfth tribe' (P1.20-21)

In this example, ܦܠܝܣ *pylys* reflects an input form of φυλῆς, the genitive singular of φυλή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1961) (cf. Brock 1996: 255). This may, however, represent a case of code-switching since the word follows Greek morpho-syntactic rules.[19]

6.2.2.8 Diminutives

Leaving aside inflection, it should be noted that the diminutive serves as an input form for a number of Greek loanwords in Syriac, as in the following representative examples:

(6-8)   a.   ζώνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 759) → ζωνάριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 759) >

ܙܘܢܪܐ *zwnrʾ* 'belt' (Sokoloff 2009: 373-374)

b.   θρόνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) → θρονίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) >

ܛܪܘܢܝܘܢ *trwnywn* 'seat, chair' (Sokoloff 2009: 1665)

c.   κάραβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 877) → καράβιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 877) >

ܩܪܒܝܢ *qrbyn* 'pot' (Sokoloff 2009: 1401)

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[18] The genitive is also attested as an input form for Greek loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §95).
[19] For code-switching, see §4.6.

d. καῦκον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 931) → καυκίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 931) > ܩܘܩܝܢ *qwqyn* 'jar' (Sokoloff 2009: 1341)

e. κέρας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 941) → κεράτιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 941) > ܩܪܛܐ *qrṭ'* 'carob pods' (Sokoloff 2009: 1405)

f. κλῆρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 959) → κλήριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 959) > ܩܠܪܝܢ *qlryn* 'portion, provisions' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376)

g. κλωβός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 963) → κλωβίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 963) > ܩܠܘܒܝ *qlwby'*, ܩܠܘܒܝܘܢ *qlwbywn* 'cage, den' (Sokoloff 2009: 1368)

h. κοντός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 978) → κοντάριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 978) > ܩܘܢܛܪܐ *qwnṭr'* 'spear' (Sokoloff 2009: 1336)

i. πάππας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1301-1302; Lampe 1961: 1006) → παππίας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1302; Lampe 1961: 1006) > ܦܦܝ *ppy'* 'daddy, old man' (Sokoloff 2009: 1217)

j. σέλλα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) → σελλίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) ܣܠܝܢ *sylyn*, ܣܠܝܐ *syly'* 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (Sokoloff 2009: 149; 1001)

It is interesting to note that diminutive forms are more common in Koinē Greek than earlier dialects.[20] This likely explains the relatively high number of diminutives that serve as input forms for Greek loanwords in Syriac.

6.2.2.9 Summary

The various input forms attested for Greek loanwords in Syriac are summarized in Table 6-3. The most common input form is by far the nominative singular. This fits well with

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[20] Gignac 1976-: 2.28 and especially Palmer 1945: 84-90.

the cross-linguistic tendency that the most unmarked form usually serves as the input form. The accusative singular is the next most common input form. In addition to singular input forms, a number of Greek loanwords also entered Syriac as plurals. Interestingly, in most (if not all) of these cases, the plural is attested as an input form only when the singular is also found. This suggests that there were multiple transfers of the same lexeme in (at least) two different forms. This is a reflection of the dynamic nature of lexical transfer in Greek-Syriac language contact. Over time, Syriac-speakers continued to manipulate the Greek loanwords in their language on the basis of the Greek source language. In the case of input forms, they did this by transferring Greek plural forms into Syriac for Greek loanwords that already existed in their language in the singular. These Greek plurals forms came to be used as plurals for the words in question (§6.2.5.3) as well as provided the basis for the analogical creation of new plural markers in Syriac (§7.3.2).

Table 6-3 Summary of Input Forms for Greek Nouns

		nom. sg.	nom. pl.	acc. sg.	acc. pl.	nom. / acc. pl.
First Declension	in -η (or -α)	✔	?		✔	
	in -ης	✔				
Second Declension	in -ος	✔	✔	✔	✔	
	in -ον	✔				?
Third Declension	with stems in liquids	✔				?
	with stems in a nasal	✔	?			
	with stems in velars	✔		✔		?
	with stems in dentals	✔		✔		✔
	with stems in -ι	✔				✔
	with stems in -υ	✔				

6.2.3   Accommodation of Greek Case Endings

6.2.3.1   Overview

A Greek case ending can be accommodated in four possible ways in Syriac. First, it can be removed with the addition of a native Syriac ending, e.g., ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭ'* 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (Sokoloff 2009: 331). Second, it

can be removed without the addition of a native Syriac ending, e.g., βῆμα (Lampe 1961: 295-296; Liddell and Scott 1996: 314) > ܒܝܡ *bym* 'tribunal, raised platform, *bema* of a Church' (Sokoloff 2009: 141), alongside ܒܝܡܐ *bym*' and ܒܐܡܐ *b'm*'. Third, it can be kept with the addition of a native Syriac ending, e.g., νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmws*' 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922). Fourth, it can be kept without the addition of a native Syriac ending, e.g., φύσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964-1965) > ܦܘܣܝܣ *pwsys* 'nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167). The following sections outline the accommodation of Greek case endings in Syriac for each class of Greek noun attested in Syriac.

6.2.3.2   Greek First Declension Nouns in -η

In the vast majority of cases, Greek first declension nouns in -η end in -' in Syriac,[21] e.g., ἀκμή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 51) > ܐܩܡܐ *'qm*' 'highest point, prime of life' (Sokoloff 2009: 92-93, 193) and κόγχη (Lampe 1961: 759) > ܩܢܟܐ *qnk*' 'the part of the church in which the holy service is preformed and where the altar stands' (Sokoloff 2009: 1385). In the vocalization tradition, the final *mater lectionis* ' is realized either as /e/, e.g., ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *'skwl*' /ʾɛskole/ 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008), or as /ɔ/, ܐܣܛܠܐ *'stl*' /ʾɛsṭlɔ/ 'robe' (Sokoloff 2009: 69). Nouns that are realized in Syriac with final -*e* occasionally take the Syriac plural marker *syɔme*, e.g., διαθήκη > ܕܝܬܩܐ *dÿtq*' 'covenant'.[22] The vocalization with final /e/ represents the Greek ending, whereas the vocalization with final /ɔ/ represents the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending, at least in most cases. The latter, then, show a greater degree of integration compared to the former.

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[21] Brock 1996: 254.
[22] For discussion with additional examples, see §5.3.4.

This scenario is slightly more complicated for Latin loanwords of the first declension that arrived in Syriac via Greek since these can be realized in Greek with either -η (a more Greek-type declension) or -α (a more Latin-type declension).[23] Latin *scala* (Glare 1982: 1698; Lewis and Short 1969: 1638), for instance, is attested both as σκάλη (Daris 1991: 104) and σκάλα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1603) in Greek. Thus, if Syriac ܣܩܠܐ is in fact to be vocalized as /sqɔlɔ/ as given by Brockelmann (1928: 495) and Sokoloff (2009: 1039),[24] then two scenarios are possible: 1. the source is σκάλη (Daris 1991: 104), which has been accommodated with the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending; or 2. the source is σκάλα, which is accommodated according to the usual pattern for nouns ending in -α (for which, see §6.2.3.3).

Greek first declension nouns ending in -η occasionally end in *-y* in Syriac, e.g., ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܝ *ʾnnqy* 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63), singular also attested as ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* and ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) > ܗܘܠܝ *hwly* 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341), singular also attested as ܗܘܠܐ *hwlʾ*. In the vocalization tradition, the final *mater lectionis -y* is realized as *-e* representing Greek -η. As is illustrated by both of these examples, the same word can be accommodated by both *-ʾ* and *-y*.

The feminine ending *-tɔ* is occasionally added to Greek first declension nouns ending in -η, e.g., λόγχη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1059) > ܠܘܟܝܬܐ *lwkytʾ* 'spear' (Sokoloff 2009: 679) and φερνή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1922) > ܦܪܢܝܬܐ *prnytʾ* 'dowry, marriage gift' (Sokoloff

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[23] This flexibility exists in Greek due to the fact that first declension nouns in -η derive from nouns in -α by a regular sound change in Attic (and Ionic).

[24] The vocalization of ܣܩܠܐ as /sqɔlɔ/ is quite uncertain. The end of the word is not vocalized in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul (Duval 1888-1901: 2.1385), and thus, the only evidence for the final *-ɔ* seems to be the input form, which could be either σκάλη (Daris 1991: 104) or σκάλα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1603).

2009: 1243). This accommodation strategy achieves a congruence between the Syriac feminine ending and the femine gender of Greek first declension nouns in -η.

6.2.3.3   Greek First Declension Nouns in -α

In the vast majority of cases, Greek first declension nouns ending in -α are realized with final -ʾ in Syriac,[25] e.g., θήρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 799) > ܬܪܐ *tr*ʾ 'hunt' (Sokoloff 2009: 1663) and σειρά (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1588) > ܣܝܪܐ *syr*ʾ 'thread; chain' (Sokoloff 2009: 1007). In the vocalization tradition, the final *mater lectionis* ʾ is realized as /ɔ/, i.e., the *status emphaticus* ending.

Greek first declension nouns ending in -α are also occasionally found without any ending in Syriac, as in σπεῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1625) > ܐܣܦܝܪ *ʾspyr*, ܣܦܝܪ *spyr* 'troop, cohort' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031). A similar case is found with the indeclinable noun πάσχα (Lampe 1961: 1046-1049) > ܦܣܟ *psk* 'Passover of the Jews' (Sokoloff 2009: 1210), singular also attested as ܦܣܟܐ *psk*ʾ. It is important to note that the final -α could apocopate only when short and unaccented (see §5.3.15). Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6).

As is the case with Greek first declension nouns in -η (§6.2.3.2), the feminine ending *-tɔ* is sometimes added to Greek first declension nouns in -α, e.g., Latin *tabula* (Glare 1982: 1898-1899; Lewis and Short 1969: 1832) > τάβλα (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752)

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[25] The ending -(ε)ια is set aside for a moment; see §6.2.3.4.

> ܛܒܠܝܬܐ *ṭblyt²* 'plank, table, altar; gaming board' (Sokoloff 2009: 510).[26] Again, this reflects an accommodation of the feminine gender of τάβλα.

6.2.3.4 Greek First Declension Nouns in -(ε)ια

A sub-category of Greek first declension nouns in -α are those with the ending -(ε)ια. In the vast majority of cases, Greek -(ε)ια is realized as -*y²* in Syriac,[27] e.g., θεωρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 797 > ܬܐܘܪܝܐ *t²wry²* 'contemplation, theory, speculation' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618) and ὑπατεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1854) > ܗܘܦܛܝܐ *hwpṭy²*, ܗܦܛܝܐ *hpṭy²* 'consulship; gift of a consul' (Sokoloff 2009: 337). Though attested already in the earliest layer of Syriac, nouns with this ending become particularly common in the sixth and seventh centuries.[28]

As is the case with Greek first declension nouns ending in -η (§6.2.3.2) and -α (§6.2.3.3), the feminine ending -*tᵓ* is sometimes added to Greek nouns in -(ε)ια, e.g., Latin *fascia* (Glare 1982: 677; Lewis and Short 1969: 726) > φασκία (Daris 1991: 114) > ܦܣܩܝܬܐ *psqyt²* 'bandage used to wrap a corpse' (Sokoloff 2009: 1215). This again is an example of a feminine Syriac ending accommodating the feminine Greek ending.

6.2.3.5 Greek First Declension Nouns in -ης

Greek first declension nouns in -ης are accommodated in two different ways in Syriac. First, the Syriac ending of the *status emphaticus* can replace Greek -ης,[29] e.g., ἀγωνιστής

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[26] Perhaps also Latin *cella* (Glare 1982: 295; Lewis and Short 1969: 309-310) > κέλλα (Daris 1991: 51; Lampe 1961: 741) > ܩܠܝܬܐ *qlyt²* 'cell' (Sokoloff 2009: 184, 1371-1372), unless the diminutive κέλλιον (Daris 1991: 52; Lampe 1961: 741) served as the input form.
[27] Brock 1996: 254.
[28] Brock 1996: 254.
[29] Brock 1967: 392; 1996: 254.

(Lampe 1961: 26; Liddell and Scott 1996: 19) > ܐܓܘܢܣܛܐ *ʾgwnsṭʾ*, ܐܓܢܣܛܐ *ʾgnsṭʾ* 'combatant, rival' (Sokoloff 2009: 6) and ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭʾ* 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (Sokoloff 2009: 331). This is the more common of the two strategies accounting for almost 90% of the cases.

Second, the Greek ending -ης can be realized as Syriac *-(y)s* without the addition of a Syriac morphological ending:[30]

(6-9) a. εὐτυχής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 736) > ܐܘܛܘܟܣ *ʾwṭwks* 'fortunate' (Old Syriac Parchments 1.1 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248])

b. κελλαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 937; Lampe 1961: 741) > ܩܠܪܛܝܣ *qlrṭys* (with alternative orthographies) 'steward' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376)

a. μητροπολίτης (Lampe 1961: 870) > ܡܝܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܝܣ *myṭrpwlyṭys* 'metropolitan' (Sokoloff 2009: 749-750), singular also attested as ܡܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ *mṭrwpwlyṭʾ*

c. παραβάτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1305) > ܦܪܒܛܝܣ *prbṭys* 'wicked' (Sokoloff 2009: 1226)

d. πατριάρχης (Lampe 1961: 1051-1052) > ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ *pṭryrkys* 'patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184), singular also attested as ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ *pṭryrkʾ*

e. περάτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1365) > ܦܪܐܛܝܣ *prʾṭys* 'wanderer, emigrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 1226)

f. πλήρης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1419) > ܦܠܝܪܝܣ *plyrys* 'full' (Sokoloff 2009: 1201)

g. στρατηλάτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652) > ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ *ʾsṭrṭlṭys* 'commander' (Sokoloff 2009: 71)

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[30] Brock 1996: 254.

Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6). This is the less common of the two strategies accounting for less than 10% of the examples. As is illustrated by the forms cited in (6-9), several words attest both accommodation strategies.

6.2.3.6 Greek Second Declension Nouns in -ος

Greek second declension nouns in -ος are accommodated in three different ways in Syriac.[31] First, the Syriac ending of the *status emphaticus* can replace Greek -ος,[32] e.g., μοχλός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1149) > ܡܘܟܠܐ *mwklʾ* 'bolt for fastening door' (Sokoloff 2009: 724) and παιδαγωγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1286) > ܦܕܓܘܓܐ *pdgwgʾ* 'teacher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1155-1156). This is the most common of the three strategies accounting for almost 60% of the cases.

The second accommodation strategy for Greek second declension nouns in -ος involves retaining the Greek ending -ος as Syriac -*ws* without the addition of a Syriac morphological ending,[33] e.g., ἔθος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 480) > ܚܬܘܣ *htws* 'custom' (Sokoloff 2009: 356) and ὄχλος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1281) > ܐܟܠܘܣ *ʾklws*, ܐܘܟܠܘܣ *ʾwklws* 'crowd; rebellion' (Sokoloff 2009: 42). This is the second most common strategy accounting for just over 25% of the examples. The plural of these nouns is typically formed with the ending -*w* and *syɔme* (see §6.2.5). Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6).

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[31] Brock 1996: 253-254. For comparisons with Palmyrene Aramaic, see Brock 2005: 24.
[32] Brock 1967: 392; 1996: 254.
[33] Brock 1996: 254, which includes additional examples from a later period.

Third, the Syriac ending of the *status emphaticus* can be added to Greek -ος.[34] This is the rarest of the three strategies occurring less than 15% of the time. In a majority of these cases, the Greek consonant -ς was kept to create a triliteral root:[35]

(6-10) a. βωμός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 334) > ܒܘܡܣܐ *bwms³* 'altar' (Sokoloff 2009: 127)

b. γένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344) > ܓܢܣܐ *gns³* 'kind, species; family; race, nation' (Sokoloff 2009: 179, 249)

c. δόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 444), cf. Latin *domus* (Glare 1982: 572; Lewis and Short 1969: 609-610) > ܕܘܡܣܐ *dwms³* 'house; foundation, basis' (Sokoloff 2009: 283)

d. εἶδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 482) > ܐܝܕܫܐ *³dš³* 'form in the Platonic sense; species, kind; character, nature; fruit' (Sokoloff 2009: 11)

e. κάδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 848) > ܩܕܣܐ *qds³* 'cauldron, kettle; helmet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1319)

f. καιρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 859-860) > ܩܐܪܣܐ *q³rs³*, ܩܪܣܐ *qrs³* 'time; mischance; distress, difficulty; war' (Sokoloff 2009: 1308)

g. κύβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1005) > ܩܘܒܣܐ *qwps³* 'cube; piece on a draft board; tessera, mosaic tile; mosaic work; hard stone, flint' (Sokoloff 2009: 1340)

h. μῖμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1135; Lampe 1961: 872), cf. Latin *mimus* (Glare 1982: 1110; Lewis and Short 1969: 1145) > ܡܝܡܣܐ *myms³* 'mimic actor, mime' (Sokoloff 2009: 753)

i. ναός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1160) > ܢܘܣܐ *nws³* 'temple; fortress, citadel'

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[34] Brock 1996: 254.
[35] Brock 1967: 392; 1996: 254.

(Sokoloff 2009: 901)

j. νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmws'* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922)

k. πόρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1450-1451) > ܦܘܪܣܐ *pwrs'* 'means, way, manner; provisions, resources; reason, motive; pretext; work' (Sokoloff 2009: 1171)

l. τόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1804) > ܛܘܡܣܐ *twms'* 'tome' (Sokoloff 2009: 518)

m. τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835) > ܛܘܦܣܐ *twps'* 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' (Sokoloff 2009: 520, 1464)

In each of these cases, Greek -ος was incorporated into the Syriac root.

The Syriac ending of the *status emphaticus* can be added to Greek -ος for other reasons as well. In the following cases, Greek -ς seems to have been retained in order to avoid homophony, or near homophony, with native Syriac words:[36]

(6-11) a. ἀγρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 15-16) > ܐܓܘܪܣܐ *'gwrs'* 'field; estate, country house; poorhouse, hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 6-7), compare ܐܓܪܐ *'aḡrɔ* 'wages' (Sokoloff 2009: 318), note also the homograph ܐܓܪܐ *'eggɔrɔ* 'roof' (Sokoloff 2009: 318)

b. δεκανός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 376) > ܕܩܢܣܐ *dqns'* 'Decan; messenger' (Sokoloff 2009: 318), compare ܕܩܢܐ *daqnɔ* 'beard' (Sokoloff 2009: 318)

c. πύργος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1556) > ܦܘܪܩܣܐ *pwrqs'* 'tower' (Sokoloff 2009: 1173), compare ܦܘܪܩܐ *purrɔqɔ* 'loosening' (Sokoloff 2009: 1172)

Finally, in the following cases, it is less clear why the final Greek -ς was retained:[37]

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[36] Brock 1967: 392; 1996: 254.

[37] An additional case of the retention of Greek -ος could potentially be found in ܛܝܛܠܘܣܐ *ṭyṭlws'* with ܥܒܕ *'bd* 'to make a public case of' in Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 77.7 (ed.

(6-12) a. εὐνοῦχος (Lampe 1961: 572; Liddell and Scott 1996: 724) > ܐܘܢܟܣܐ *ʾwnksʾ*, ܐܘܢܘܟܣܐ *ʾwnwksʾ* 'eunuch' (Sokoloff 2009: 18)

    a. θεολόγος (Lampe 1961: 628) > ܬܐܘܠܘܓܘܣܐ *tʾwlwgwsʾ* 'theologian' (Sokoloff 2009: 1617), singular also attested as ܬܐܘܠܓܘܣ *tʾwlgws*

    b. ψῆφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2022-2023) > ܦܣܦܣܐ *pspsʾ* 'small pebble; game with dice' (Sokoloff 2009: 1212), perhaps mimicking a native Semitic pattern of $C_1C_2C_1C_2$

It remains unclear why Greek -ς was retained in these words.

    In a few cases, the Greek case ending -ος is accommodated in two different ways:[38]

(6-13) b. δημόσιος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 387) > ܕܝܡܘܣܝܐ *dymwsyʾ*, ܕܡܣܝܣ *dmsys* 'public' (Sokoloff 2009: 296, 311)

    c. ἐξάρχος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 586) > ܐܟܣܪܟܐ *ʾksrkʾ*, ܐܟܣܪܟܣ *ʾksrks* 'rector' (Sokoloff 2009: 45), both forms in the

    d. θεολόγος (Lampe 1961: 628) > ܬܐܘܠܓܘܣ *tʾwlgws*, ܬܐܘܠܘܓܘܣܐ *tʾwlwgwsʾ* 'theologian' (Sokoloff 2009: 1617)

    e. σεβαστός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1587-1588) > ܣܒܣܛܘܣ *sbsṭws*, ܣܒܣܛܐ *sbsṭʾ* 'emperor; *sebastus*, a high rank in the Byzantine Empire' (Sokoloff 2009: 963)

    f. σύγκελλος (Lampe 1961: 1270) > ܣܘܢܩܠܐ *swnqlʾ*, ܣܘܢܩܠܘܣ *swnqlws* 'syncellus' (Sokoloff 2009: 984)

Brooks 1907: 29-95), if it derives from τίτλος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1799). Nevertheless, since there would not be a motivation for the preservation of -ς in this case, it seems more likely that the Greek source is the aorist infinitive τιτλῶσαι and that this a loanverb (see §6.3.5). So also Ghanem 1970: 142 n. 268; Sokoloff 2009: 1057.
[38] Brock 1996: 254: n. 14.

There are no discernible motivations for the use of two different strategies. The two forms of ἐξάρχος, for instance, occur on the same page of the *Julian Romance* (Hoffmann 1880b: 25.9, 19). It should be noted, however, that the use of multiple accommodation strategies for the same word suggests that these words either entered Syriac on multiple occasions or that Syriac-speakers re-adjusted them on the basis of the Greek source.

6.2.3.7   Greek Second Declension Nouns in -ως

Greek second declension nouns in -ως are extremely rare in Syriac. An example, however, can be found in ταῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1763) > ܛܘܣܐ *ṭws'* 'peacock' (Sokoloff 2009: 519). In this case, Greek σ is represented by Syriac *s*, and the ending of the *status emphaticus* is added. This creates a triliteral root in Syriac and so can be compared with similar cases in which Greek σ was retained to create a trilateral root.[39]

6.2.3.8   Greek Second Declension Nouns in -ον

Two strategies are attested for accommodating Greek second declension nouns in -ον.[40] First, the Greek ending -ον can be retained as Syriac *-(w)n* without the addition of a Syriac morphological ending,[41] e.g., θέατρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 787) > ܐܬܐܛܪܘܢ *t'ṭrwn* 'theater; spectacle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618) and παράδοξον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1309) > ܦܪܕܘܟܣܢ *prdwksn* 'paradox' (Sokoloff 2009: 1228). This is the more common of the two strategies accounting for approximately 75% of the examples. Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6). Second, the Syriac ending of the *status*

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[39] See above at p. 205-206.
[40] The ending -ιον is set aside for a moment; see §6.2.3.9.
[41] Brock 1996: 254.

emphaticus can replace Greek -ον, e.g., γλωσσόκομον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 353) > ܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ *glwsqm'* (with alternative orthographies) 'chest, box, case' (Sokoloff 2009: 233-234) and πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) > ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwp'* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250). This is the less common of the two strategies, accounting for 25% of the examples. In several cases, the Greek case ending -ον is accommodated in two different ways:[42]

(6-14) a. διάμετρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 403) > ܕܝܡܛܪܘܢ *dymṭrwn*, ܕܝܡܛܪܐ *dymṭr'* 'diameter; diametrically opposed elements'

b. Latin *castra* (Glare 1982: 282; Lewis and Short 1969: 299) > κάστρον (Daris 1991: 50-51) > ܩܣܛܪܐ *qsṭr'*, ܩܣܛܪܘܢ *qsṭrwn* 'fortified place' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387)

c. συνοδικόν (Lampe 1961: 1334) > ܣܘܢܕܝܩܐ *swndyq'*, ܣܘܢܗܕܝܩܘܢ *swnhdyqwn* 'synodical epistle; synodical one' (Sokoloff 2009: 982)

d. δίπτυχον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 437) > ܕܝܦܛܘܟܐ *dypṭwk'*, ܕܝܦܛܟܝܢ *dypṭkyn*, ܕܘܦܛܝܟܘܢ *dwpṭykwn* '*diptych*, tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 298)

e. Latin *tractatus* (Glare 1982: 1955; Lewis and Short 1969: 1882-1883) > τρακτάτον (Lampe 1961: 1398) > ܛܪܩܛܛܐ *ṭrqṭṭ'*, ܛܪܩܛܛܘܢ *ṭrqṭṭwn* 'negotiation' (Sokoloff 2009: 557)

There are no discernible motivations for the use of two different strategies. The two forms of τρακτάτον, for instance, both occur in Yuḥanon of Ephesus's *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3 (Brooks 1935: 73.2; 319.8). Again, the use of multiple accommodation strategies for the same word suggests that these words either entered Syriac on multiple occasions or that Syriac-speakers re-adjusted them on the basis of the Greek source.

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[42] Brock 1996: 254: n. 14.

6.2.3.9 Greek Second Declension Nouns in -ιον (Koinē -ιν)

A sub-category of second declension nouns in -ον are those with the ending -ιον. In the Koinē Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the Greek ending -ιον is often realized as -ιν.[43] These nouns are accommodated in three different ways. First, Greek -ιον can be represented in Syriac as *-(y)(w)n*, as in the following representative examples:

(6-15) a. ἀρχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 251) > ܐܪܟܝܘܢ *'rkywn* 'archive' (Sokoloff 2009: 100-101)

b. εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *'wnglywn* 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18)

c. θρονίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) > ܬܪܘܢܝܘܢ *trwnywn* 'seat, chair' (Sokoloff 2009: 1665)

d. κοιμητήριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 968) > ܩܘܡܛܪܝܢ *qwmṭryn*, ܩܡܛܪܢ *qmṭrn* 'cemetery' (Sokoloff 2009: 1334)

e. κοινεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 968) > ܩܘܢܝܢ *qwnyn*, ܩܘܢܘܢ *qwnwn* 'meeting, council' (Sokoloff 2009: 1336, 1337)

f. κρανίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 989) > ܩܪܢܝܢ *qrnyn* 'blad scalp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1413)

g. μαγειρεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1071) > ܡܓܝܪܘܢ *mygrywn* 'cook-shop, kitchen' (Sokoloff 2009: 148)

h. Latin *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291) > παλάτιον

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[43] Gignac 1976-: 2.25-29. This is also found in the Greek documents from Syria and Mesopotamia (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959: 48), e.g., δελματίκιν for δελματίκιον (P.Dura. 30.17 [232]); σεισύριν for σεισύριον (P.Dura. 33.13 [240-250]).

(Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291) > هلٮٮ *plṭyn* 'palace' (Sokoloff 2009: 1199)

i. πορνεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1450) > ܦܘܪܢܝܘܢ *pwrnywn* 'brothel' (Sokoloff 2009: 1170)

j. προάστ(ε)ιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1469) > ܦܪܘܣܛܝܘܢ *prwsṭywn*, ܦܪܣܛܝܘܢ *prsṭywn* 'house or estate in the suburbs' (Sokoloff 2009: 1232)

k. σάρδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1584) > ܣܪܕܘܢ *srdwn* 'sardian stone' (Sokoloff 2009: 1043)

This is the most common of the three strategies accounting for almost 60% of the examples. The forms -*wn* and -*n* are rare; -*yn* occurs slightly more often than -*ywn*. The fact that -*yn* is the most commonly occurring representation likely reflects the Koinē form -ιν (< -ιον). As the examples illustrate, the phonological accommodation of Greek -ιον can vary in the same word.

Second, Greek -ιον can be entirely replaced by the ending of the Syriac *status emphaticus*, e.g., βαλανεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 303) < ܒܠܢܐ *blnʾ*, ܒܢܐ *bnʾ* 'bath' (Sokoloff 2009: 158, 161) and Latin *subsellium* (Glare 1982: 1848; Lewis and Short 1969: 1781) > συμψέλλιον (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1690) > ܣܦܣܠܐ *spslʾ*, ܣܒܣܠܐ *sbslʾ* 'bench' (Sokoloff 2009: 963, 1032). This is the second most common of the accommodation strategies accounting for almost 30% of the examples.

Third, the -(ο)ν part of Greek -ι(ο)ν can be replaced by the ending of the Syriac *status emphaticus* with the ι represented by Syriac -*y*, e.g., καμηλαύκιον (Lampe 1961: 699) > ܩܡܘܠܘܩܝܐ *qmwlwqyʾ* 'broad brimmed felt hat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1376) and πλουμίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1422) > ܦܠܘܡܝܐ *plwmyʾ* 'embroidery work' (Sokoloff 2009: 1196). This is the least common of the three strategies accounting for just over 10% of the examples. It should be

noted that all of these forms may be representations of Koinē -ιν (< -ιον).

In several cases, multiple accommodation strategies are attested for the same word:

(6-16) a. δικαστήριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 429) > ܕܝܩܣܛܪܝܢ *dyqsṭryn*, ܕܝܐܩܣܛܪܝܘܢ *dyʾqsṭrywn* 'court, tribunal' (Sokoloff 2009: 299)

b. κλωβίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 963) > ܩܠܘܒܝ *qlwbyʾ*, ܩܠܘܒܝܘܢ *qlwbywn* 'cage, den' (Sokoloff 2009: 1368)

c. ξενοδοχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) > ܐܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܐ *ʾksnwdwkʾ*, ܐܟܣܢܕܘܟܝܘܢ *ʾksndwkywn*, ܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ksndkyn*, ܐܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ʾksndkyn*, ܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܝܢ *ksnwdwkyn* 'hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 44, 640)

d. στάδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) > ܐܣܛܕ *ʾsṭdʾ*, ܐܣܛܕܝ *ʾsṭdyʾ*, ܐܣܛܕܝܘܢ *ʾsṭdywn*, ܐܣܛܕܝܢ *ʾsṭdyn* '*stade* (length of measure); stadium' (Sokoloff 2009: 68, 995)

There are no discernible motivations for the use of different strategies, though the existence of multiple strategies again shows that Syriac-speakers either transferred these words on multiple occasions or that they never entirely disconnected the loanwords from their Greek source.

6.2.3.10 Greek Third Declension Nouns in -ρ

Greek third declension nouns in -ρ are accommodated in two ways in Syriac. First, Greek -ρ is represented by Syriac -r without the addition of the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending, e.g., ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *ʾʾr* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1) and Latin *praetor* (Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969: 1436) > πραίτωρ (Daris 1991: 92; Lampe 1961: 1126) > ܦܪܛܘܪ *prṭwr* 'praetor' (Sokoloff 2009: 1237). Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6). Second, Greek -ρ is represented by

Syriac -*r* with the addition of the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending, e.g., ῥήτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1570) > ܪܗܝܛܪܐ *rhyṭrʾ*, ܪܗܛܪܐ *rhṭrʾ* 'orator, rhetorician' (Sokoloff 2009: 1442) and Latin *speculator* (Glare 1982: 1802; Lewis and Short 1969: 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1626) > ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *ʾspwqlṭrʾ*, ܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *spwqlṭrʾ* 'executioner' (Sokoloff 2009: 75). The former is about twice as common as the latter.

6.2.3.11 Greek Third Declension Nouns in -ν

Greek third declension nouns in -ν are accommodated in two ways in Syriac. First, Greek -ν is represented by Syriac -ν with the addition of the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending, e.g., ἀρραβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢܐ *rhbwnʾ* 'pledge, deposit' (Sokoloff 2009: 1439) and λιμήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1050) > ܠܡܐܢܐ *lmʾnʾ* 'harbor' (Sokoloff 2009: 691-692). Second, Greek -ν is represented by Syriac -*n* without the addition of the Syriac *status emphaticus*, e.g., δρόμων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 450) > ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 324) and ὁρίζων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1251) > ܐܘܪܝܙܘܢ *ʾwryzwn* 'horizon' (Sokoloff 2009: 22). Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6). The former is about three times as common as the later. Some words attest both accommodation strategies, e.g., Latin *centurio* (Glare 1982: 300; Lewis and Short 1969: 316) > κεντυρίων (Daris 1991: 53; Lampe 1961: 744) > ܩܢܛܪܝܘܢ *qnṭrywn*, ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ *qnṭrwnʾ* 'centurion' (Sokoloff 2009: 1382-1383) and Latin *patronus* (Glare 1982: 1311; Lewis and Short 1969: 1316-1317) > πάτρων (Daris 1991: 88; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1349) > ܦܛܪܘܢ *pṭrwn*, ܦܛܪܘܢܐ *pṭrwnʾ* 'patron' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184).

6.2.3.12 Greek Third Declension Nouns with Stems in Velars

Only a limited number of Greek third declension nouns with stems in velars are found in Syriac, as in the following representative examples:

(6-17) a. Latin *dux* (Glare 1982: 582; Lewis and Short 1969: 621) > δούξ (Daris 1991: 41-42; Liddell and Scott 1996: 447) > ܕܘܟܣ *dwks* 'leader' (Sokoloff 2009: 281)

b. κόραξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 980) > ܩܪܩܣܐ *qrqs'* 'raven, crow; jay, magpie' (Sokoloff 2009: 1416)

c. πίναξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܝܢܟܐ *pynk'* 'dish, writing tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188)

These three nouns follow patterns seen with other noun types. In the case of δούξ, Greek ξ is represented by Syriac *k* and *s* without the addition of the *status emphaticus* ending. Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6). In contrast, in the case of κόραξ, the *status emphaticus* ending is added to *qs*, which represents ξ.[44] Finally, in the case of πίναξ, the case ending *-s* is removed, and the *status emphaticus* ending is added.[45]

6.2.3.13 Greek Third Declension Nouns with Stems in Dentals

The most common category of Greek third declension nouns with stems in dentals in Syriac are neuters in τ. These nouns end in *-'* in Syriac, e.g., δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) > ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgm'* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278) and χρῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2012) > ܟܪܘܡܐ *krwm'* 'color; nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 648).

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[44] It should be noted that the representation with *q* is irregular (see §5.2.11).

[45] For this analysis, see p. 99 above as well as Brock 1967: 413. Alternatively, the accusative singular πίνακα could have served as the input form.

In the vocalization tradition, the final *mater lectionis* ꞌ is realized as /ɔ/, i.e., the *status emphaticus* ending.

Greek third declension nouns with stems in a dental are also occasionally found without any ending in Syriac, as in βῆμα (Lampe 1961: 295-296; Liddell and Scott 1996: 314) > ܒܝܡ *bym* 'tribunal, raised platform, *bema* of a Church' (Sokoloff 2009: 141), singular also attested as ܒܝܡܐ *bymꞌ*, ܒ̄ܐܡܐ *bꞌmꞌ*. It should be noted that the final -α is apocopated only when short and unaccented (see §5.3.15). Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6).

Other categories of Greek third declension nouns with stems in dentals are rare in Syriac, but include πολύπους (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1441-1442) > ܦܐܠܘܦܣ *pꞌlwps*, ܦܐܠܘܣ *pꞌwlws*, ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ *pylypws* 'polyp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1163) and χλαμύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1993) > ܟܠܡܝܣ *klmys* 'cloak' (Sokoloff 2009: 626). In both of these cases, the ending -υς is represented in Syriac without the ending of the *status emphaticus*.

6.2.3.14 Greek Third Declension Nouns with Stems in ι

Greek third declension nouns with stems in ι are accommodated in three different ways in Syriac. First, the Greek ending -ις can be represented in Syriac as -*(y)s* without the addition of a Syriac ending,[46] e.g., ἀσπίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 259) > ܐܣܦܣ *ꞌsps* 'snake' (Sokoloff 2009: 77) and χρῆσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2006) > ܟܪܣܝܣ *krsys* 'evidence, testimony' (Sokoloff 2009: 652). This is the most common of the three strategies accounting for over 80% of the cases. Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6).

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[46] Brock 1996: 254.

Second, the Greek ending -ις can be replaced by the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending:[47]

(6-18) a. ἄθλησις (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܣܐ *ʾtlysʾ* 'fight, struggle' (Sokoloff 2009: 112)[48]

b. κάνναβις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 874) > ܩܢܦܐ *qnpʾ* 'hemp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1386)

c. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) > ܛܟܣܐ *ṭksʾ* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529), singular also attested as ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys*

This strategy is rare accounting for only 10% of the cases. As τάξις demonstrates, the same word can occur with different accommodation strategies.

Finally, the Syriac *status emphaticus* ending can be added to the Greek ending -ις:

(6-19) a. μαγίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1071) > ܡܓܣܐ *mgsʾ* 'jar, dish' (Sokoloff 2009: 710)

b. Latin *follis* (Glare 1982: 719-720; Lewis and Short 1969: 765) > φόλλις (Daris 1991: 115) > ܦܘܠܣܐ *pwlsʾ* 'follis, obole' (Sokoloff 2009: 1202)

This strategy is rare accounting for fewer than 10% of the cases. This accommodation strategy incorporates the Greek consonant -ς into a Semitic triliteral root.

6.2.3.15 Greek Third Declension Nouns with Stems in υ

Greek third declension nouns with stems in υ are rare in Syriac. Two are, however, found in the Old Syriac parchments (ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248): ἱερεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 821) > ܗܝܪܘܣ *hyrws* 'priest' (3.5) and ἱππεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 833) >

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[47] Brock 1996: 254 n. 15. Perhaps also κίθαρις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 950) > ܩܝܬܪܐ *qytrʾ* 'cithern, lyre' (Sokoloff 2009: 1366), though κιθάρα is also a potential input form.

[48] Sokoloff (2009: 112) gives the input form as the aorist infinitive ἀθλῆσαι. Since the word is more often used as a substantive 'fight, struggle', Brock's proposed input of ἄθλησις seems more likely (1996: 254 n. 15). For the use of ܐܬܠܝܣܐ *ʾtlysʾ* with a form of √*ʿbd* in the meaning 'to fight, struggle', compare ܐܓܘܢܐ *ʾgwnʾ* plus √*ʿbd* 'to struggle' (see §6.3.5).

ܗܦܘܣ *hpws* 'eques' (1.5, 6). In both cases, Greek -υς is represented by Syriac -*ws* without the addition of the *status emphaticus* ending. Nouns accommodated with this strategy are not declined for state in Syriac (see §6.2.6).

A different strategy is found in ἀμφορεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 95) > ܐܡܦܘܪܐ *ʾmpwrʾ* 'measure of tonnage of a ship' (Sokoloff 2009: 56), where Greek -υς is replaced by the *status emphaticus* ending. Finally, a third strategy is encountered in ἔγχελυς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 475) > ܐܢܩܠܣܐ *ʾnklsʾ* 'eel' (Sokoloff 2009: 62), where Greek -υς is represented by Syriac *s* with the addition of the ending of the *status emphaticus*. This can be compared with βυρσεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 333) + adjectival ending -*ʾyʾ* > ܒܘܪܣܝܐ *bwrsyʾ* 'tanner' (Sokoloff 2009: 131), where Greek ς was retained, undoubtedly to create a triliteral root.

6.2.3.16 Summary

The accommodation of Greek case endings in Syriac is accomplished by either the removal or retention of the Greek case ending as well as by the addition or non-addition of a Syriac ending. This results in four possibilities: 1. removal of the Greek case ending with the addition of a native Syriac ending; 2. removal of the Greek case ending without the addition of a native Syriac ending; 3. retention of the Greek case ending with the addition of a native Syriac ending; 4. retention of the Greek case ending without the addition of a native Syriac ending. The distribution of each of these four possibilities across the various Greek noun types is summarized in Table 6-4. The removal of the Greek case ending without the addition of a native Syriac ending is rare throughout all Greek noun types, being restricted to Greek nouns ending in unaccentend short -α (whether first declension or third). The next rarest category is the retention of the Greek case ending with the addition of a native Syriac ending. In these

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cases, the accommodated loanword has both a Greek case ending and a Syriac ending. This is attested with various noun types, but it is not of high frequency with any of them. In most of these cases, the Greek case ending was retained in order to create a triliteral root in Syriac. The two most common accommodation strategies for Greek case endings in Syriac involve either the removal of the Greek case ending with the addition of a native Syriac ending or the retention of the Greek case ending without the addition of a native Syriac ending. That is, both result in an ending from only one of the languages, whether fully Greek or fully Syriac. In most cases, there is a clear tendency to associate one of these strategies with a particular noun class. Third declension nouns in -ις, for instance, tend to retain the Greek ending without the addition of a Syriac ending whereas first declension nouns in -ης tend to replace the Greek ending with a Syriac ending. The motivating factors for this distribution, however, remain unclear. Finally, it should be noted that it is not rare for the same Greek loanword to be accommodated according to different strategies. This suggests either that the same Greek loanword was transferred into Syriac on multiple occasions or that Syriac-speakers re-accomodated a Greek loanword on the basis of the Greek source.

Table 6-4 Summary of the Accomodation of Greek Case Endings

		- Greek Ending + Syriac Ending	- Greek Ending - Syriac Ending	+ Greek Ending + Syriac Ending	+ Greek Ending -Syriac Ending
First Declension	in -η	-ʾ			-y, -ʾ
	in -α	-ʾ	-ø (rare)		
	in -ης	-ʾ (>90%)			-(y)s (<10%)
Second Declension	in -ος	-ʾ(60%)		-(w)sʾ(<15%)	-(w)s (>25%)
	in -ον	-ʾ(25%)			-(w)n (75%)
Third Declension	with stems in liquids			-rʾ(rarer)	-r
	with stems in a nasal			-nʾ	-n (rare)
	with stems in velars	✓		✓	✓
	with stems in dentals	✓	✓ (rare)		✓ (rare)
	with stems in -ι	-ʾ(10%)		-(y)sʾ (<10%)	-(y)s (>80%)
	with stems in -υ	-ʾ		-(w)sʾ	-(w)s

6.2.4   Gender

6.2.4.1   Overview

Greek has three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), whereas Syriac has only two

genders (masculine and feminine). Most Greek masculine nouns are realized as masculine in Syriac, though the feminine is rarely found (§6.2.4.2). Similarly, most Greek feminine nouns are realized as feminine in Syriac, though the masculine is also found (§6.2.4.3). Greek neuter nouns are realized as both masculine and feminine, with the former being more common than the latter (§6.2.4.4).

6.2.4.2   Greek Masculine Nouns

Greek masculine nouns are usually realized as masculine in Syriac,[49] e.g., masc. γένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344) > masc. ܓܢܣܐ *gns'* 'kind, species; family; race, nation' (Sokoloff 2009: 179, 249) and masc. τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835) > masc. ܛܘܦܣܐ *ṭwps'* 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' (Sokoloff 2009: 520, 1464). Rarely, however, Greek masculine nouns are realized as feminine in Syriac:[50]

(6-20) a. masc. διαβήτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 390) > fem. ܕܝܒܛܐ *dybṭ'* 'scale' (Sokoloff 2009: 293)

b. masc. δρόμων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 450) > fem. ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 324)

c. masc. θρόνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) > fem. ܬܪܘܢܘܣ *trwnws* (with alternative orthographies) 'throne' (Sokoloff 2009: 1665)

d. masc. κέρκουρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 943) > fem. ܩܪܩܘܪܐ *qrqwr'* 'light boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1416; cf. Nöldeke 1904: §88)

e. masc. κηρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 948) > fem. ܩܪܘܬܐ *qrwt'* 'wax' (Sokoloff

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[49] Nöldeke 1904: §88.
[50] Brock 1996: 256; Nöldeke 1904: §88.

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f. masc. μαργαρίτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1080) > fem. ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *mrgnyt'* 'pearl; Eucharistic wafer' (Sokoloff 2009: 826)

g. masc. σπόγγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1628) > fem. ܐܣܦܘܓܐ *'spwg'*, ܣܦܘܓܐ *spwg'* 'sponge' (Sokoloff 2009: 75; cf. Nöldeke 1904: §88)

Several of these cases may be due to secondary developments in Syriac, e.g., fem. ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' and fem. ܩܪܩܘܪܐ *qrqwr'* 'light boat' due to the feminine gender of ܐܠܦܐ *'ellp̄ɔ* 'boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 50-51) < Akkadian *elippu* (Gelb et al. 1956-: 90-95; cf. Kaufman 1974: 48). In addition, the feminine gender of ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *mrgnyt'* (< μαργαρίτης) may have been phonologically motivated, since the Syriac form has the feminine ending *-tɔ* presumably (though irregularly) corresponding to Greek τ (see §5.2.15).

6.2.4.3 Greek Feminine Nouns

Greek feminine nouns are usually realized as feminine in Syriac,[51] e.g., fem. πολιτεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1434) > fem. ܦܘܠܝܛܝܐ *pwlyṭy'* 'republic, state' (Sokoloff 2009: 1164) and fem. ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) > fem. ܗܘܠܐ *hwl'* (with alternative orthographies) 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341). Occasionally, however, Greek feminine nouns are realized as masculine in Syriac:[52]

(6-21) a. fem. ἀπουσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 225) > masc. ܐܦܘܣܝܐ *'pwsy'* 'waste, excrement; latrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 83)

b. fem. εἰκών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 485) > masc. ܐܝܩܘܢܐ *'yqwn'* 'image,

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[51] Nöldeke 1904: §88.
[52] Nöldeke 1904: §88; Brock 1996: 256.

representation' (Sokoloff 2009: 38, 569)

c. fem. καθέδρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 851) > masc. ܩܬܕܪܐ *qtdrʾ* 'seat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1421)

d. fem. κάττα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 930) > masc. ܩܛܐ *qṭʾ* 'cat' (Sokoloff 2009: 1347)

e. fem. κλείς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 957) → accusative singular κλεῖδα > masc. ܩܠܝܕܐ *qlydʾ*, ܐܩܠܝܕܐ *ʾqlydʾ* 'key; clasp, buckle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1370)

f. fem. λίτρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1054) > masc. ܠܝܛܪܐ *lyṭrʾ* 'Roman pound' (Sokoloff 2009: 688)

g. fem. προστάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1526) → accusative singular προστάδα > masc. ܦܪܘܣܬܕܐ *prwstdʾ* 'doorpost, lintel; vestibule, portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 1233)

h. fem. σινδών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1600) > masc. ܣܕܘܢܐ *sdwnʾ* 'fine linen cloth' (Sokoloff 2009: 970)

i. fem. σπυρίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) → accusative singular σπυρίδα > masc. ܐܣܦܪܝܕܐ *ʾsprydʾ*, ܣܦܪܝܕܐ *sprydʾ* 'basket' (Sokoloff 2009: 77)

j. fem. στάσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634) > masc. ܐܣܛܣܝܣ *ʾsṭsys*, ܐܣܛܣܝܢ *ʾsṭsyn*, ܣܛܣܝܣ *sṭsys* 'uproar, disturbance' (Sokoloff 2009: 69-70, 997)

k. fem. στοά (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1647) > masc. ܐܣܛܘܐ *ʾsṭwʾ* 'portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 68)

l. fem. συμβολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1676) > masc. ܣܘܒܠܐ *swblʾ* 'revelry, feast; share, lot' (Sokoloff 2009: 974-975)

m. fem. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) > masc. ܛܟܣܐ *ṭksʾ*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529)

This occurs more commonly than the opposite phenomenon (see §6.2.4.2), but it is still relatively rare. Most of the cases are probably to be explained by the accommodation of final Greek -α by Syriac -ʾ, which is the ending of masculine singular nouns in the *status emphaticus*.

6.2.4.4   Greek Neuter Nouns

Syriac has no neuter gender, and so Greek neuter nouns must be accommodated in Syriac either as masculine and/or feminine. Greek neuter nouns are usually realized as masculine in Syriac,[53] as in the following representative examples:

(6-22) a.   Latin masc. *denarius* (Glare 1982: 514; Lewis and Short 1969: 545) > neut. δηνάριον (Daris 1991: 40; Liddell and Scott 1996: 388) > masc. ܕܝܢܪܐ *dynrʾ* 'gold *denar*' (Sokoloff 2009: 297)

b.   neut. δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) > masc. ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278)

c.   neut. ἐντολικόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 576) > masc. ܐܝܢܛܘܠܝܩܘܢ *ʾnṭwlyqwn* 'authorization, power of attorney' (Sokoloff 2009: 61)

d.   neut. ζωνάριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 759) > masc. ܙܘܢܪܐ *zwnrʾ* 'belt' (Sokoloff 2009: 373-374)

e.   neut. θρονίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 807) > masc. ܬܪܘܢܝܘܢ *trwnywn* 'seat, chair' (Sokoloff 2009: 1665)

f.   neut. κλίμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 960) > masc. ܩܠܝܡܐ *qlymʾ*, ܩܠܡܐ *qlmʾ* 'clime; region, zone' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371)

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[53] Brock 1996: 256; Nöldeke 1904: §88.

g. neut. μέταλλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1114) > masc. ܡܛܠܘܢ *mṭlwn* 'metal; mine, quarry' (Sokoloff 2009: 747)

h. neut. πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) > masc. ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwpʾ* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250)

i. neut. τήγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786) > masc. ܛܓܢܐ *ṭgnʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'frying pan' (Sokoloff 2009: 513)

Greek neuters are, however, also realized as feminine in Syriac,[54] as in the following representative examples:

(6-23) a. neut. βαλανεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 303) > fem. ܒܠܢܐ *blnʾ*, ܒܢܐ *bnʾ* 'bath' (Sokoloff 2009: 158, 161)

b. neut. βῆμα (Lampe 1961: 295-296; Liddell and Scott 1996: 314) > fem. ܒܝܡ *bym*, ܒܝܡܐ *bymʾ*, ܒܐܡܐ *bʾmʾ* 'tribunal, raised platform, *bema* of a Church' (Sokoloff 2009: 141)

c. neut. δημόσιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 387) > fem. ܕܡܘܣܝܢ *dmwsyn* 'republic, state; public baths' (Sokoloff 2009: 307-308)

d. neut. θέατρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 787) > fem. ܐܛܪܘܢ *tʾṭrwn* 'theater; spectacle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618)

e. neut. καυκίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 931) > fem. ܩܘܩܝܢ *qwqyn* 'jar' (Sokoloff

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[54] Brock 1996: 256; Nöldeke 1904: §88.

2009: 1341)[55]

f. neut. μάγγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1070) > fem. ܡܢܓܢܘܢ *mngnwn* 'instrument of torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 780)

g. neut. μέρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1104-1105) > fem. ܡܪܣ *mrs* (with alternative orthographies) 'part, faction' (Sokoloff 2009: 836)

h. Latin neut. *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291) > neut. παλάτιον (Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291) > fem. ܦܠܛܝܢ *plṭyn* 'palace' (Sokoloff 2009: 1199)

i. neut. στάδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) > fem. ܐܣܛܕܐ *ʾsṭdʾ* (with alternative orthographies) '*stade* (length of measure); stadium' (Sokoloff 2009: 68, 995)

The realization of Greek neuter nouns as masculine is more common than feminine by approximately a three to two margin. There are no discernible motivations for the accommodation of a particular Greek neuter noun as either masculine or feminine.

In a few rare cases, a Greek neuter noun is found with both genders in Syriac, e.g., neut. ξενοδοχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) > masc./fem. ܐܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܐ *ʾksnwdwkʾ*, ܐܟܣܢܕܘܟܝܘܢ *ʾksndwkywn*, ܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ksndkyn*, ܐܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ʾksndkyn*, ܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܝܢ *ksnwdwkyn* 'hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 44, 640) and neut. τάγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752) > masc./fem. ܬܓܡܐ *tgmʾ*, ܬܓܡܐ *tgmʾ* 'order, class; command, precept; troop, cohort' (Sokoloff 2009: 185, 512, 1623).

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[55] Sokoloff (2009: 1341) gives the gender as masculine. The word, however, occurs in the *Julian Romance* with a feminine referent: ܘܐܚܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܩܘܩܝܢ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܟܕ ܡܠܝܐ ܡܫܚܐ ܡܛܢܦܐ ܕܫܐܕܐ *wʾaḥiḏ hwɔ bʾideh qwqyn ddahḇɔ kaḏ malyɔ mešḥɔ mṭannpɔ dšede* [and + hold-PART.M.SG.ABS was-SUF.3.M.SG in + hand-F.SG.CON + his jar NML + gold-M.SG.EMP while **full-FEM.SG.ABS** oil-M.SG.EMP to.be.defiled-PART.M.SG.EMP NML + demons-M.SG.DET] 'and he held in his hand a gold jar full of the defiled oil of demons' (119.22-23; ed. Hoffmann 1880b). For other problems with gender assignment in Sokoloff 2009, see Lund 2013.

6.2.4.5   Summary

The accommodation of Greek gender in Syriac is uneventful. Most masculine nouns in Greek are realized as masculine in Syriac, and most feminine nouns in Greek are realized as feminine in Syriac. Exceptions are, however, found. In some cases, these exceptions are due to the association of a loanword with another word in the lexicon, e.g., fem. ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' and fem. ܩܪܩܘܪܐ *qrqwrˀ* 'light boat', both of which are from masculine Greek words, but are feminine in Syriac due to association with feminine ܐܠܦܐ *ˀellp̄ɔ* 'boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 50-51) < Akkadian *elippu* (Gelb et al. 1956-: 90-95; cf. Kaufman 1974: 48). In other cases, differences in gender between the Greek source and Syriac can be explained by phonological accommodation and secondary developments. This is the case, for instance, with masc. ܐܘܣܝܐ *ˀwsyˀ* 'essence, substance; wealth' (< fem. οὐσία), where the masculine gender can be explained by the accommodation of the final Greek -α with Syriac -ˀ, which is the ending of the masculine singular *status emphaticus*. Finally, some cases of incongruence between the gender of a noun in the Greek source and in Syriac remain unexplained. The fact that a vast majority of Greek loanwords in Syriac retain the gender of the Greek source suggests a relatively high degree of bilingualism for at least part of the Syriac-speaking population.[56] Greek neuter nouns are realized both as masculine and feminine in Syriac with the former being more common than the latter. In the vast majority of cases, the selection of gender in Syriac remains unclear.

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[56] For a similar argument involving French loanwords in Brussels Flemish, see Winford 2003: 49-50.

In addition to the cases discussed above, a Greek loanword is rarely found with both genders in Syriac. This occurs for different reasons. In some cases, this is due to the Greek source, which itself attests multiple genders, e.g., masc./fem. ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > mostly fem., occasionally masc. ܐܐܪ ʾʾr 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1).[57] In other cases, however, a Greek loanword in Syriac takes both masculine and feminine agreement due to an inner Syriac development. This is most common with feminine Greek nouns that end in final -ʾ in Syriac, e.g., fem. σειρά (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1588) > masc./fem. ܣܝܪܐ syrʾ 'thread; chain' (Sokoloff 2009: 1007) and fem. χώρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2015) > masc./fem. ܟܘܪܐ kwrʾ 'land, province' (Sokoloff 2009: 612). In both of these cases, the use of the feminine Greek word with a masculine gender in Syriac is to be explained by an inner Syriac development based on the form of the word, i.e., most Syriac nouns ending in -ʾ are masculine (as opposed to feminines in -tʾ). Finally, there are cases in which it is unclear why a Greek loanword is attested with multiple genders in Syriac, e.g., Latin masc. *uncinus* (Glare 1982: 2090; Lewis and Short 1969: 1929) > masc. ὄγκινος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1196) > masc./fem. ܐܘܩܝܢܐ ʾwqynʾ 'hook; anchor; sailors' sounding line' (Sokoloff 2009: 20).

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[57] A similar phenomenon is found with masc. χάρτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1980) > masc./fem. ܟܪܛܝܣܐ krṭysʾ, ܩܪܛܝܣܐ qrṭysʾ 'sheet of paper; papyrus' (Sokoloff 2009: 650, 1405-1406), where the feminine gender is to be explained by the feminine Latin *charta* (Glare 1982: 309; Lewis and Short 1969: 325).

6.2.5   Number

6.2.5.1   Overview

Greek loanwords in Syriac are declined for number either according to Syriac morphology (§6.2.5.2) or according to Greek morphology (§6.2.5.3). Many Greek loanwords in Syriac attest multiple plural formations.

6.2.5.2   Syriac Morphology

Most Greek loanwords in Syriac are declined for number according to Syriac morphology.[58] The Syriac masculine plural is illustrated in the following representative examples: ἀγών (Lampe 1961: 25; Liddell and Scott 1996: 18-19) > ܐܓܘܢܐ *ʾgwnʾ* 'struggle' (Sokoloff 2009: 6) → pl. ܐܓܘ̈ܢܐ *ʾgwnʾ* and χειμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1983) > ܟܝܡܘܢܐ *kymwnʾ* (Sokoloff 2009: 619) → pl. ܟܝܡܘ̈ܢܐ *kymwnʾ* 'storm'. The Syriac feminine plural is illustrated in the following representative examples: λόγχη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1059) > ܠܘܟܝܬܐ *lwkytʾ* 'spear' (Sokoloff 2009: 679) → pl. ܠܘ̈ܟܝܬܐ *lwkytʾ* and μηχανή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1131) > ܡܐܟܢܐ *mʾknʾ*, ܡܝܟܢܐ *myknʾ* 'machine, siege engine; irrigated land' (Sokoloff 2009: 701) → pl. ܡܐܟܢܘܬܐ *mʾknwtʾ*, with additional plurals of ܡܐܟܢܣ *mʾkns* and ܡܐܟܢܘܣ *mʾknws*. The Syriac masculine plural ending is significantly more common than the feminine plural.

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[58] This is also the case for Greek loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §315-325).

6.2.5.3 Greek Morphology

Alongside the singular, the plural also serves as an input form for some Greek loanwords in Syriac.[59] This is, for instance, the case with Greek second declension nouns with nominative singular -ος ~ nominative plural -οι.[60] The plural αἱρετικοί, for instance, was transferred into Syriac as ܗܪܛܝܩܘ *hrṭyqw* along with the singular αἱρετικός (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܗܪܛܝܩܐ *hrṭyqʾ* 'heretical, schismatic' (Sokoloff 2009: 354). The ending -*w* in ܗܪܛܝܩܘ *hrṭyqw* marks plurality. This ending -*w* functions as a plural marker for many other Greek loanwords in Syriac that have a corresponding Greek plural in -οι. The ending -*w* is, however, also found as a plural marker with Greek loanwords that do not have a corresponding plural in -οι in the source language. This is, for instance, the case with δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) > ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278), one of the plurals of which is ܕܘܓܡܘ *dwgmw*. The plural ending -*w* in ܕܘܓܡܘ *dwgmw* is due to an inner Syriac analogy:

(6-24) ܗܪܛܝܩܐ *hrṭyqʾ* : ܗܪܛܝܩܘ *hrṭyqw* :: ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* : X = ܕܘܓܡܘ *dwgmw*

This analogy led to the creation of a new plural ending -*w* that is used with Greek loanwords in Syriac that do not have a Greek plural in -οι:

(6-25) a. ἀργυροπράτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 236) > ܐܪܓܘܪܦܪܛܐ *ʾrgwrprṭʾ* 'money changer, banker' (Sokoloff 2009: 95) → pl. ܐܪܓܘܪܦܪܛܘ *ʾrgwrprṭw* [the expected Greek nominative plural is ἀργυροπράται]

b. δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) > ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278) → pl. ܕܘܓܡܘ *dwgmw*, with additional plurals

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[59] For details, see §6.2.2.
[60] See §6.2.2.3.

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of ܕܘܓܡܛܐ *dẅgmṭ'*, ܕܘܓܡܝ̈ܐ *dwgṁ'ṭ*, ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgṁ'* [the expected Greek

nominative plural is δόγματα]

c. ψάλτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2018) > ܦܣܠܛܝܣ *pslṭys* 'player on the cithara'

(Sokoloff 2009: 1210) → pl. ܦܣܠܛܘ *pṡlṭw* [the expected Greek nominative plural is

ψάλται]

The plural ending -*w* is not used with native Syriac words in contrast to the plural

endings -*(w)s* and -*(')s.*[61]

In addition to the case above that involves the Greek nominative singular and plural, the

nominative singular and accusative plural serve as input forms for some Greek loanwords in

Syriac.[62] This is, for instance, the case with Greek second declension nouns with nominative

singular -ος ~ accusative plural -ους. The accusative plural σύγκλητους, for instance, was

transferred into Syriac as ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ *sẅnqlyṭws*, along with the nominative singular σύγκλητος

(Liddell and Scott 1996: 1665) > ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ *swnqlyṭws* 'senate; senator' (Sokoloff 2009: 984-

985).[63] As in the case of -*w* discussed above, a new plural ending -*ws* was created by analogy

in Syriac. This new plural ending -*ws* is found with the following Greek loanwords in Syriac

that do not have a corresponding Greek accusative plural in -ους:[64]

(6-26) a. ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *'r* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1) → pl. ܐܐܪܘܣ

'ṙws, with an additional plural of ܐܐܪܣ *'ṙs*

b. ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *'nnq'* (with alternative

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[61] This is discussed immediately below as well as in §7.3.2.

[62] For details, see §6.2.2.5.

[63] For additional examples, see (6-4) above.

[64] See already Schall 1960: 99. In the following examples, the ending -*s* in some of the
additional plurals could be either a defective writing of -*ws* or the analogically created plural
ending -*(')s* (for this development, see §7.3.2).

orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63) → pl. ܐܢܢܩ̈ܘܣ *ʾnnq̈ws*, with an additional plural of ܐܢܢܩ̈ܣ *ʾnnq̈s*

c. ἀξία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 170) > ܐܟܣܝܐ *ʾksyʾ* 'rank; salary' (Sokoloff 2009: 43-44) → pl. ܐܟܣܝ̈ܘܣ *ʾksÿws*

d. βασιλική (Liddell and Scott 1996: 309-310) > ܒܣܠܝܩܐ *bslyqʾ* 'colonnade, portico' (Sokoloff 2009: 165) → pl. ܒܣܝ̈ܠܝܩܘܣ *bsÿlyqws*

e. διαθήκη (Lampe 1961: 348; Liddell and Scott 1996: 394-395) > ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'covenant' (Sokoloff 2009: 301) → pl. ܕܝܬܩ̈ܘܣ *dytqẅs*, with additional plurals of ܕܝ̈ܬܩܣ *dÿtqs*, ܕܝܬܩ̈ܐ *dytq̈ʾ*

f. διακονία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 398) > ܕܝܩܘܢܝܐ *dyqwnyʾ* 'hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 299) → pl. ܕܝ̈ܩܘܢܝܘܣ *dÿqwnyws*, with an additional plural of ܕܝ̈ܩܘܢܝܣ *dÿqwnys*

g. ἐξορία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 598) > ܐܟܣܘܪܝܐ *ʾkswryʾ* 'exile' (Sokoloff 2009: 43) → pl. ܐܟܣܘܪ̈ܝܘܣ *ʾkswrÿyws*, with an additional plural of ܐܟܣܘܪ̈ܝܣ *ʾkswrÿys*

h. θεωρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 797) > ܬܐܘܪܝܐ *tʾwryʾ* 'contemplation, theory, speculation' (Sokoloff 2009: 1618) → pl. ܬܐܘܪ̈ܝܘܣ *tʾwrÿyws*

i. Latin *candela* (Glare 1982: 264; Lewis and Short 1969: 276) > κανδῆλα, κανδήλη (Lampe 1961: 700; Liddell and Scott 1996: 874) > ܩܢܕܝܠܐ *qndylʾ* 'lamp, torch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1379-1380) → pl. ܩܢܕܝ̈ܠܘܣ *q̈ndylws*, with additional plurals of ܩܢܕܝ̈ܠܣ *q̈ndyls*, ܩܢܕܠܐ *q̈ndlʾ*

j. Latin *castra* (Glare 1982: 282; Lewis and Short 1969: 299) > κάστρον (Daris 1991: 50-51) > ܩܣܛܪܐ *qsṭrʾ*, ܩܣܛܪܘܢ *qsṭrwn* 'fortified place' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387) → pl. ܩܣܛܪ̈ܘܣ *qsṭrÿws*, with an additional plural of ܩܣܛܪ̈ܣ *qsṭrÿs*

k. μετάνοια (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1115) > ܡܛܘܢܝܐ *mṭwnyʾ* 'bending, inclination;

worship, adoration’ (Sokoloff 2009: 745) → pl. ܡܸܛܘܐܢܝܘܣ *ṁṭw’nyws*

l. μηχανή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1131) > ܡܐܟܢܐ *m’kn’* ‘machine, siege engine; irrigated land’ (Sokoloff 2009: 701) → pl. ܡܐܟܢܘܣ *m’k̈nws*, with additional plurals of ܡܐܟܢܘܬܐ *m’k̈nwt’*, ܡܐܟܢܣ *m’k̈ns*

m. οὐσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1274-1275) > ܐܘܣܝܐ *’wsy’* ‘essence, substance; wealth’ (Sokoloff 2009: 18) → pl. ܐܘܣܝܘܣ *’wsÿws*, with additional plurals of ܐܘܣܝܣ *’wsÿs*, ܐܘܣܝܐܣ *’wsÿ’s*

n. σκρίβων (Lampe 1961: 1242) > ܐܣܩܪܝܒܢܘܣ *’sqrybnws* ‘attendants of the king’ (Sokoloff 2009: 79) → pl. ܐܣܩܘܪܝܒܢܘܣ *’sqwr̈ybnws*, with an additional plural of ܐܣܩܪܝܒܘܢܐ *’sqr̈ybwn’*

o. ὑπαρχεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1853) > ܗܘܦܪܟܝܐ *hwprky’* ‘prefecture; diocese’ (Sokoloff 2009: 19, 338) → pl. ܗܘܦܪܟܝܘܣ *hwpr̈kyws*, with an additional plural of ܗܘܦܪܟܝܣ *hwpr̈kys*

p. φωνή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1967-1968) > ܦܘܢܐ *pwn’* ‘voice; (with *yhb*) to promise’ (Sokoloff 2009: 1166) → pl. ܦܘܢܘܣ *pẅnws*, with an additional plural of ܦܘܢܣ *pẅns*

The new Syriac plural ending *-ws* that is illustrated in these examples is also rarely found with native Syriac words.[65]

The Greek plural also serves as an input form with Greek first declension nouns with nominative singular -η (or -α) ~ accusative plural -ας. The accusative plural ἀνάγκας, for instance, was transferred into Syriac as ܐܢܢܩܣ *’nnq̇s*, along with the nominative singular ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *’nnq’* (with alternative orthographies)

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[65] For this development, see §7.3.2.

'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63).[66] The ending *-(ʾ)s* is one of the regular plural formations for Greek loanwords in -η (or -α) in Syriac. As is the case with *-w* and *-ws*, a new plural ending *-(ʾ)s* was created by analogy in Syriac:

(6-27) a. Latin *velum* (Glare 1982: 2024; Lewis and Short 1969: 1965-1966) > βῆλον (Lampe 1961: 295) > ܘܠܐ *wlʾ*, ܘܐܠܐ *wʾlʾ* 'veil, curtain' (Sokoloff 2009: 358) → pl. ܘܠܣ̈ *ẅls*

   b. Latin *castra* (Glare 1982: 282; Lewis and Short 1969: 299) > κάστρον (Daris 1991: 50-51) > ܩܣܛܪܐ *qsṭrʾ*, ܩܣܛܪܘܢ *qsṭrwn* 'fortified place' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387) → pl. ܩܣܛܪ̈ܣ *qsṭẗs*, with an additional plural of ܩܣܛܪ̈ܘܣ *qsṭẗws*

   c. ξενοδοχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) > ܐܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܐ *ʾksnwdwkʾ*, ܐܟܣܢܕܘܟܝܘܢ *ʾksndwkywn*, ܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ksndkyn*, ܐܟܣܢܕܟܝܢ *ʾksndkyn*, ܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܝܢ *ksnwdwkyn* 'hospital' (Sokoloff 2009: 44, 640) → pl. ܟܣܢܘܕܘܟܣ *ksnwdwks*, ܐܟܫܘܢܕܘܟܣ *ʾkšwndwks*

   d. προάστ(ε)ιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1469) > ܦܪܘܣܛܝܘܢ* **prwsṭywn* 'suburban areas' (Sokoloff 2009: 1232) → pl. ܦܪܘܣܛܣ *pẗwsṭys*

   e. σελλίον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1590) > ܣܠܝܢ *sylyn* 'small chair; latrine, toilet' (Sokoloff 2009: 149; 1001) → pl. ܣܠܝܣ̈ *sẏlys*, with an additional plural of ܣܠܝܐ̈ *sẏyʾ*

Since the plural ending *-ws* can be written defectively as *-s*, it cannot be ruled out that these examples represent the plural ending *-ws*. The existence of the plural ending *-(ʾ)s* can, however, be definitively established by the writing of *-ʾs*, which occurs rarely with native Syriac words.[67]

The Greek nominative plural ending -ες or the accusative plural ending -ας is found as a plural marker in Syriac for the third declension noun πολύπους (Liddell and Scott 1996:

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[66] For additional examples, see (6-3) above.
[67] For this development, see §7.3.2.

1441-1442) → nominative plural πολύποδες, accusative plural πολύποδας > pl. ܦܘܠܘܦܕܣ *pwlwpdš* 'polyp' (Sokoloff 2009: 1163), singular attested as ܦܐܠܘܦܣ *p'lwps*, ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ *pylypws*. One of these endings may also serve as a plural marker for the following third declension nouns ending in a consonant:

(6-28) a. ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) → nominative plural ἀέρες, accusative plural ἀέρας > pl. ܐܐܪܝܣ *'yš* 'air' (Sokoloff 2009: 1), singular attested as ܐܐܪ *'r*, with an additional plural of ܐܐܪܝܘܣ *'yws*

b. Latin *excubitor* (Glare 1982: 637; Lewis and Short 1969: 680) > ἐξκούβιτωρ (Daris 1991: 44-45) → nominative plural ἐξκούβιτορες, accusative plural ἐξκούβιτορας > pl. ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܪܝܣ *sqwbyṭwyš* 'Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards' (Sokoloff 2009: 78, 1037), with additional plurals of ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ *'sqwbyṭrws* (*sic*; without *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܝ *sɔ̈wbyṭi'* (*sic*; with two *syɔme*), ܣܩܘܒܝܛܘܝܘܣ *sqwbyṭwyws*

c. Latin *caesar* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καῖσαρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860) → nominative plural καῖσαρες, accusative plural καῖσαρας > pl. ܩܣܝܣ *qsyš* 'Caesar, emperor' (Sokoloff 2009: 1388), singular attested as ܩܣܪ *qsr*

d. Latin *curator* (Glare 1982: 474; Lewis and Short 1969: 501) > κουράτωρ (Daris 1991: 62; Lampe 1961: 773; Liddell and Scott 1996: 986) → nominative plural κουράτορες, accusative plural κουράτορας > pl. ܩܘܪܛܘܝܣ *qwrṭwyš* 'courator, an official responsible for financial matters' (Sokoloff 2009: 1344), singular attested as ܩܘܪܛܘܪ *qwrṭwr*

e. πλάξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1411-1412) → nominative plural πλάκες, accusative plural πλάκας > pl. ܦܠܩܣ *p̈lqs* 'slab; tablet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1203), singular attested

as ܦܠܩܐ *plqʾ*

Alternatively, these examples could be analyzed as instances of the analogically created plural ending *-(ʾ)s* or *-(w)s*.[68]

The Greek plural ending -ματα serves as a plural marker for some Greek third declension neuter nouns with stems in τ, as in the following representative examples:

(6-29) a. ἀνάλωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 112) → nominative/accusative plural ἀνάλωματα > pl. ܐܢܠܘܡܛܐ *ʾnlwmṭʾ* 'outlay, expense' (Sokoloff 2009: 63), singular attested as ܐܢܠܘܡܐ *ʾnlwmʾ*

b. δικαιωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 429) → nominative/accusative plural δικαιώματα > ܕܝܩܐܘܡܛܐ *dyqʾwmṭʾ* 'documents' (Sokoloff 2009: 299)

c. δόγμα (Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441) → nominative/accusative plural δόγματα > pl. ܕܘܓܡܛܐ *dwgmṭʾ*, ܕܘܓܡܝܛܐ *dwgmiʾṭʾ* 'doctrine' (Sokoloff 2009: 277-278), singular attested as ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ*, with additional plurals of ܕܘܓܡܝܐ *dwgmiʾ*, ܕܘܓܡܝܐ *dwgmiʾ*

d. ζήτημα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 756) → nominative/accusative plural ζήτηματα > pl. ܙܛܝܡܐ *zṭiʾmʾ*, ܙܝܛܝܡܛܐ *zyṭiʾmʾṭʾ* 'inquiry; reproach; fault' (Sokoloff 2009: 377), singular attested as ܙܛܡܐ *zṭmʾ*, ܙܛܐܡܐ *zṭʾmʾ*

e. κλίμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 960) → nominative/accusative plural κλίματα > pl. ܩܠܡܛܐ *qlmʾṭʾ* 'clime; region, zone' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371), singular attested as ܩܠܝܡܐ *qlymʾ*, ܩܠܡܐ *qlmʾ*

f. μηχάνημα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1131) → nominative/accusative plural μηχανήματα > ܡܟܢܝܡܛܐ *mknyiʾṭʾ* '(siege) machines, works' (Sokoloff 2009: 760)

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[68] The analogical developments are discussed in detail in §7.3.2.

g. περίζωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1374) → nominative/accusative plural περίζωματα > pl. ܦܪܝܙܡܛܐ *pïyzmṭ'* 'belt, girdle' (Sokoloff 2009: 1238-1239), singular attested as ܦܪܙܘܡܐ *przwm'* (with alternative orthographies)

h. σῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1749) → nominative/accusative plural σώματα > ܣܘܡܛܐ *swmṭ'* *(sic;* without *syɔme)* 'bodies' (Sokoloff 2009: 981)

i. ὑπόμνημα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1889) → nominative/accusative plural ὑπόμνηματα > ܗܘܦܡܢܡܛܐ *hŭpmnmṭ'* 'memoirs, records, remembrances' (Sokoloff 2009: 338)

j. φλέγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1943) → nominative/accusative plural φλέγματα > pl. ܦܠܓܡܛܐ *plgṁṭ'* 'phlegm' (Sokoloff 2009: 1195), singular attested as ܦܠܓܡܐ *plgm'*

In this case, the existence of singular and plural forms did not lead to the analogical creation of a new plural ending.

The Greek plural ending -εις may serve as a plural marker for some Greek third declension nouns with stems in ι in Syriac:[69]

(6-30) a. αἵρεσις (Lampe 1961: 51; Liddell and Scott 1996: 41) → nominative/accusative plural αἱρέσεις > pl. ܗܪܣܝܣ, *hïsys* ܐܪܣܝܣ *'ïsys* 'difference, opinion; heresies', singular attested as ܗܪܣܝܣ *hrsys,* ܐܪܣܝܣ *'rsys*

b. σύναξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1696) → nominative/accusative plural σύναξεις > pl. ܣܘܢܟܣܝܣ *swṅksys* 'religious gathering, assembly' (Sokoloff 2009: 982), singular attested as ܣܘܢܟܣܝܣ *swnksys*

c. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) → nominative/accusative plural τάξεις > pl.

[69] Nöldeke 1904: §89.

ܬܟܣܝܣ *ṭksÿs* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529), singular attested as ܬܟܣܐ *ṭks'*,

ܬܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys*, with an additional plural of ܬܟܣܐ *ṭḱs'*

These examples could alternatively be analyzed as cases in which the singular and the plural are

the same.[70]

6.2.5.4   No Distinct Plural Form

In a few, rare cases, the singular and the plural are exactly the same for a Greek

loanword in Syriac:

(6-31) a. γραμμάτιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 359) > ܓܪܡܛܝܘܢ* *grmṭywn*, pl. ܓܪܡܛܝܘܢ

gr̈mṭywn 'promissory note' (Sokoloff 2009: 261)

b. κοιμητήριον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 968) > ܩܘܡܛܪܝܢ *qwmṭryn*, ܩܡܛܪܢ *qmṭrn*, pl.

ܩܝܡܛܪܝܢ *qymṭr̈yn* 'cemetery' (Sokoloff 2009: 1334)

c. μάγγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1070) > ܡܢܓܢܘܢ *mngnwn*, pl. ܡܢܓܢܘܢ

m̈ngnwn 'instrument of torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 780)

d. πατριάρχης (Lampe 1961: 1051-1052) > ܦܛܪܝܪܟ *pṭryrk'*, ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ *pṭryrkys*, pl.

ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ *pṭryr̈kys* 'patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184)

e. πρόσοδος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1520) → accusative singular πρόσοδον >

ܦܪܘܣܕܢ* *prwsdn*, pl. ܦܪܘܣܕܢ *pr̈wsdn* 'revenues' (Sokoloff 2009: 1232)

The only marker of plurality in these cases is *syɔme*.

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[70] For this, see §6.2.5.4 directly below.

6.2.5.5 Summary

As described in the previous sections, most Greek loanwords in Syriac are declined for number either according to Syriac morphology (§6.2.5.2) or according to Greek morphology (§6.2.5.3).[71] *Prima facie*, one might expect this distinction to correlate roughly with Lehnwörter and Fremdwörter, respectively.[72] That is, Greek loanwords that decline for number according to Greek morphology might be expected to be closer to Fremdwörter than Lehnwörter. Interestingly, however, many of the words that take Greek plural morphology are among the most commonly attested Greek words in Syriac. In addition, they seem to be accommodated fully in Syriac in all other regards. This is, for instance, the case with Greek ἀνάγκη > Syriac ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity', which has Greek morphology plurals of ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnqws* and ܐܢܢܩܣ *ʾnnqs*. Where does a word such as this fall on the continuum of Fremdwörter versus Lehnwörter? Its plural morphology suggests Fremdwort, since Greek plural morphology in Syriac is predominantly linked to words of Greek origin.[73] In all other regards, however, the word is a fully incorporated Lehnwort. It is, for instance, attested in Syriac already in the early third-century *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (6.17, 60.12; ed. Drijvers 1965), and it occurs frequently in Syriac texts of all genres from all time periods. In addition, setting aside its plural morphology, the word is fully accommodated in Syriac. This situation is not restricted to Syriac ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* but exists for a number of the Greek words in Syriac that attest Greek plural morphology.

The fact that a Syriac word such as ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* 'necessity' occurs with Greek plural morphology suggests at the very least that Syriac-speakers categorized it with a number of

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[71] There are also a few that have no plural marking other than Syriac *syɔme* (§6.2.5.4).

[72] For this continuum, see the discussion in §4.5.

[73] For the few exceptions that result in new plural endings in Syriac, see §7.3.2.

other words that had marked plural morphology (known by the contact linguist to be ultimately of Greek origin). This could indicate that the word is not entirely on the Lehnwörter side of the continuum, but that it is shaded a little to the Fremdwörter side. Another interpretation is, however, also possible and in fact more likely given what is known about the Syriac-Greek contact situation more generally. The Greek plural morphology of Syriac ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* 'necessity' is probably a reflection of the dynamic nature of Greek lexical transfer in Syriac. That is, even though Greek ἀνάγκη was transferred into Syriac by at least the second century, some Syriac-speakers never entirely disconnected the Syriac word from its Greek source since they continued to be in contact with Greek. This connection is what provided the basis for the word to continue to take a Greek type of plural morphology. It is interesting in this regard that Syriac ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* not only attests a plural of ܐܢܢܩܣ *ʾnnqs*, which accurately reflects the Greek plural ἀνάγκας, but also a plural of ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnq̈ws*, the ending of which reflects a different Greek plural of -ους. The plural ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnq̈ws* rules out the interpretation as a code-switch. It also indicates that Syriac ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* takes Greek-*looking* plural morphology that does not necessarily accurately reflect the Greek source. Thus, Syriac-speakers categorized a word such as ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* as taking a special type of plural marking, and it is likely that this categorization was based on an active knowledge that the word was from Greek.

The dynamic nature of Greek lexical transfer in Syriac is also evidenced by the fact that many Greek loanwords in Syriac attest multiple plural formations, as illustrated in many of the examples in the previous sections. The plural of ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* 'doctrine' (< δόγμα [Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441]), for instance, is attested with three different plural endings: 1. the native Syriac plural in ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgm̈ʾ*; 2. the Greek plural in ܕܘܓܡܛܐ *dwgmṭʾ* (< δόγματα); and 3. the analogically created plural ending -*w* in ܕܘܓܡܘ *dwgm̈w*.

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The following examples illustrate additional cases in which a Greek loanword has multiple plural formations in Syriac:

(6-32) a. διαθήκη (Lampe 1961: 348; Liddell and Scott 1996: 394-395) > ܕܝܬܩܐ *dytq'*, ܕܝܬܩܝ *dytqy*, pl. ܕܝܬܩܘ̈ܣ *dytqẅs*, ܕ̈ܝܬܩܣ *dÿtqs*, ܕܝܬܩ̈ܐ *dytq̈'* 'covenant' (Sokoloff 2009: 301)

  b. κληρικός (Lampe 1961: 756) > ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ *qlyryq'*, ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyryqws*, pl. ܩܠܝܪ̈ܝܩܐ *qlyÿyq'*, ܩܠܝܪ̈ܝܩܘ *qlyÿyqw*, ܩܠܝܪ̈ܝܩܘܣ *qlyÿyqws* 'cleric' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371)

  c. κλίμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 960) > ܩܠܝܡܐ *qlym'*, ܩܠܡܐ *qlm'*, pl. ܩܠܡ̈ܐܛ *q̈lm'ṭ*, ܩܠܡܝܢ *q̈lmyn* (abs.) 'clime; region, zone' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371)

  d. μηχανή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1131) > ܡܐܟܢܐ *m'kn'*, ܡܝܟܢܐ *mykn'*, pl. ܡܐܟܢܘ̈ܬܐ *m'ǩnwt'*, ܡܐܟܢܣ *m'ǩns*, ܡܐܟܢܘܣ *m'ǩnws* 'machine, siege engine; irrigated land' (Sokoloff 2009: 701)

  e. ὀρθόδοξος (Lampe 1961: 971-972; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1248) > ܐܪܬܕܘܟܣܐ *'rtdwks'*, pl. ܐܘܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܘ *'wrtwdwksw*, ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܘ *'rtwdwksw*, ܐܘܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܐ *'wrtwdwks'*, ܐܪܬܕܘܟܣܐ *'rtdwks'* 'orthodox' (Sokoloff 2009: 105)

  f. οὐσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1274-1275) > ܐܘܣܝܐ *'wsy'*, pl. ܐܘܣܝ̈ܣ *'wsÿs*, ܐܘܣܝ̈ܐܣ *'wsÿ's*, ܐܘܣܝܘܣ *'wsÿws* 'essence, substance; wealth' (Sokoloff 2009: 18)

  g. σκρίβων (Lampe 1961: 1242) > ܐܣܩܪܝܒܢܘܣ *'sqrybnws*, pl. ܐܣܩܝܒܘܢܐ *'sqÿybwn'*, ܐܣܩܘܝܒܢܘܣ *'sqwÿybnws* 'attendants of the king' (Sokoloff 2009: 79)

  h. συγκλητικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1665) > ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܝܩܘܣ *swnqlyṭyqws*, pl. ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܝܩܘ *sẅnqlyṭyqw*, ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܝܩܐ *sẅnqlyṭyq'*, ܣܘܢܩܠܝܛܝܩܣ *swnq̈lyṭyqs* 'senate; of senatorial rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 985)

Native Syriac nouns only rarely have multiple plural formations. Thus, Greek loanwords in Syriac depart from native Syriac nouns in this way. These cases in which Greek loanwords in

Syriac have multiple plural formations again likely reflects the dynamic nature of Greek lexical transfer in Syriac. To return to the example of ܕܘܓܡܐ *dwgmʾ* 'doctrine' (< δόγμα [Lampe 1961: 377-378; Liddell and Scott 1996: 441]), the native Syriac plural in ܕܘܓܡ̈ܐ *dwgm̈ʾ* represents a word fully accommodated in Syriac. In contrast, the Greek plural in ܕܘܓܡܛܐ *dẅgmṭʾ* (< δόγματα) likely reflects that at least some Syriac-speakers never lost sight of the Greek source. Finally, the analogically created plural ending -*w* in ܕܘܓܡ̈ܘ *dwgm̈w* falls somewhere in between, with Syriac-speakers continuing to realize that the word takes marked plural morphology (i.e., Greek-looking morphology), but not actually applying the correct Greek plural.

6.2.6   State

State is a morpho-syntactic category found in Syriac, but not in Greek. Thus, whether or not a Greek loanword in Syriac follows the normal morpho-syntactic rules for state in Syriac depends entirely on whether or not the word in question was accommodated with a Syriac ending.[74] Greek loanwords that are accommodated with a Syriac ending occur in all three Syriac states, as the following examples involving ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) < νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) illustrate:

(6-33) *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

ܠܐ ܢܡ̈ܘܣܝ ܐܬܪܘܘܬܐ ܡܦܪܩܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܢܡ̈ܘܣܐ ܕܣܝܡܝܢ

lɔ	nm̈wsy	ʾatrawwɔtɔ	maprqin	lhon
NEG	**law-M.PL.CON**	place-M.PL.EMP	remove-PART.M.PL.ABS	to+them-M

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[74] The accommodation of Greek endings in Syriac is discussed in detail in §6.2.3 and summarized in Table 6-4.

men   **nmws'**   damšiḥhon

from   **law-M.SG.EMP**   NML + messiah-M.SG.CON + their

'the laws of the places will not separate them from the law of their Messiah' (60.14-15)

(6-34) *Julian Romance* (5th cent.; ed. Hoffmann 1880b)

ܘܠܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܐ ܛܪܘܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪ ܨܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܣ

wlɔ   mɛkkel   'it   leh   dnɛt'ɛmar   malkɔ

and + NEG   therefore   EX   to + him   NML + be.called-PRE.3.M.SG   king-M.SG.EMP

'ɛllɔ   ṭrwn'   damḏabbar   ṣḇwɔtɔ

but   tyrant-M.SG.EMP   NML + conduct-PART.M.SG.ABS   thing-F.PL.DET

dlɔ   **nmws**

NML + NEG   **law-M.SG.ABS**

'and it is not proper for him to be called a king, but rather a tyrant who conducts affairs

lawlessly' (35.1-2)

In these sentences, ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmws'* follows the normal morpho-syntactic rules for state in Syriac.

Greek loanwords that are not accommodated with a Syriac ending, in contrast, do not follow the normal morpho-syntactic rules for state in Syriac, but occur only (or mostly) in a bare form without ending.[75] This is illustrated in the following example:

(6-35) *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella* by Eliya (mid-6th cent.; ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95)

ܘܐܦܠܘܗܝ, ܒܦܪܛܘܪܝܘܢ ܕܕܘܟܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܒܝܬܗܐ

'a플̣u(h)y   bprṭwrwn   ddwks   dilɔh

make.work-SUF.3.M.PL + him   in + **praetorium**   NML + **general**   her

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[75] Brock 1967: 392; Nöldeke 1904: §202L.

damḏi(n)ttɔ

NML + city.F.SG.DET

'they made him work in the *praetorium* of the general of the city' (39.23-24)

Syriac syntax demands the *status emphaticus* for ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ *prṭwryn* (< πραιτώριον [Daris 1991:

93; Lampe 1961: 1126-1127] < Latin *praetorium* [Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969:

1436]) and for ܕܘܟܣ *dwks* (< δούξ [Daris 1991: 41-42; Liddell and Scott 1996: 447] < Latin

dux [Glare 1982: 582; Lewis and Short 1969: 621]); both, however, occur in a bare form. In

addition, the independent possessive pronoun ܕܝܠܗ *dilɔh* 'her' is used instead of a pronominal

suffix with ܕܘܟܣ *dwks*. Thus, these two nouns do not follow the normal morpho-syntactic rules

for Syriac state, but occur in an under-inflected bare form.[76] The various noun types that occur

in this bare form are outlined in detail in the sections on accommodation of Greek case endings

(§6.2.3).

It should be noted that whether or not a Greek loanword obeys the morpho-syntactic

rules of Syriac state is not necessarily related to the degree of incorporation of the loanword

(see §4.5). This is shown by the fact that some nouns that do not take the *status emphaticus*

ending can still be subject to secondary derivations:[77]

(6-36) a. ἀρχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 252) → accusative plural ἀρχάς > ܐܪܟܣ *'ïks*

+ *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܪܟܘܣܝܐ *'rkwsy'* 'angelic' (Sokoloff 2009: 100; cf. Brock 1967: 393 n.

12; 1996: 260-261 with n. 32)

b. εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ

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[76] A similar situation is attested for Greek loanwords in other dialects of Aramaic, e.g., Biblical
Aramaic (for which, see Rosenthal 1995: §46).

[77] Brock 1996: 260 n. 32. Secondary derivations involving Greek loanwords in Syriac are
analyzed in detail in §7.2.3.

ʾwnglywn 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐܝܬ 'according to the gospel' (**7th cent.** Sahdona, *Works*, 3.112.23 [ed. de Halleux 1960-1965]; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

c. φύσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964-1965) > ܦܘܣܝܣ *pwsys* 'nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167) + -ɔyɔ → ܦܘܣܝܣܝܐ *pwsysyʾ* 'of natural philosophy' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167; cf. Brock 1996: 260-261 with n. 32)

d. ὠκεανός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2031) > ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ *ʾwqynws* 'ocean' (Sokoloff 2009: 20) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܐܘܩܝܢܐܝܬ *ʾwqynʾyt* 'like an ocean' (Sokoloff 2009: 20)

6.3 Verbs

6.3.1 Overview

Syriac contains a number of verbs that are ultimately of Greek origin. A majority of these are denominative formations from nouns transferred from Greek and thus are not in the strict sense loanwords. These are analyzed in §6.3.2. In addition to denominative verbs, there are also verbs in Syriac that are loanwords from Greek. These are analyzed according to the typological study of Wohlgemuth (2009), which distinguishes four major strategies for the accommodation of loanverbs in the world's languages. Syriac attests three of the four accommodation strategies in Wohlgemuth's typology: direct insertion (§6.3.3), indirect insertion (§6.3.4), and light verb strategy (§6.3.5).

6.3.2 Denominative Verbs

A majority of the verbal roots in Syriac that are ultimately of Greek origin are denominative formations.[78] The Syriac verbal root √ṭgn D 'to fry, roast; to torture', for instance, is derived from the noun ܛܓܢܐ ṭgnʾ 'frying pan', which was transferred from Greek τήγανον 'frying pan' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786). As this example illustrates, most transitive denominative roots from Greek loanwords that are triliteral occur in the D-stem in Syriac; the C-stem and G-stem also occur, though less commonly.[79] Passives of these denominatives are formed with the respective T-stems. This follows the typical pattern for denominative verbs in Syriac, e.g., ܐܠܗܐ ʾalɔhɔ 'god' (Sokoloff 2009: 47) → ܐܠܗ √ʾlh D 'to deify', Dt 'to be deified' (Sokoloff 2009: 47). Denominative verbs from Greek loanwords that involve more than three root consonants follow the typical pattern for these roots in Syriac.[80]

The following denominative verbs from Greek loanwords are found already by the fourth-century in Syriac:[81]

(6-37) a. ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757) > ܗܘܓܐ

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[78] Brock 1967: 401; 1975: 87-88; 1996: 257; 2004: 31-32, 35; Ciancaglini 2008: 8-9. Denominative verbs involving Greek loanwords are also common in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §280-282).

[79] G-stem corresponds to Syriac pʿal; D-stem to paʿʿel, C-Stem to ʾap̄ʿel. The respective T-stems are ʾetpʿel (Gt); ʾetpaʿʿal (Dt), and ʾettap̄ʿal (Ct).

[80] See Nöldeke 1904: §180-182.

[81] Perhaps also μελέτη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) > ܡܠܬܐ* mlṭʾ → rt. ܡܠܛ √mlṭ G 'give attention to; attend to' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on the Fast*, 2.23 [ed. Beck 1964b]; *Maḏrɔše against Heresies*, 4.15 [ed Beck 1957a]; Sokoloff 2009: 768), though it is more likely that this is a direct insertion (see §6.3.3).

zwgʾ 'yoke, pair; chariot' (Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370) → rt. ܙܘܓ √*zwg* D[82] 'to yoke; to join'; Dt 'to be married' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 183.7 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 369; cf. Ciancaglini 2008: 8)[83]

b. ζήτημα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 756) > ܙܛܡܐ *zṭmʾ*, ܙܛܐܡܐ *zṭʾmʾ* 'inquiry; reproach; fault' (Sokoloff 2009: 377) → rt. ܙܛܡ √*zṭm* D 'to reproach, accuse'; Dt 'to be blamed, to be accused' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 84.5, 9 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 377)

c. παρρησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344) > ܦܪܗܣܝܐ *prhsyʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'freedom of speech; permission; liberty; familiarity, openness' (Sokoloff 2009: 1245-1246) → rt. ܦܪܣܝ √*prsy* 'to lay bear, reveal, uncover; to put to shame, expose' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 113.10; 421.10, 21; 660.17, 24 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 38.16 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; *Maḏrɔše against Julian the Apostate*, 84.25 [ed. Beck 1957b]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1245)

d. πόρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1450-1451) > ܦܘܪܣܐ *pwrsʾ* 'means, way, manner; provisions, resources; reason, motive; pretext; work' (Sokoloff 2009: 1171) → rt. ܦܪܣ √*prs* Dt 'to be diligent; to device, invent' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 316.16 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 249.7; 733.3; 736.5; 744.3; 889.10 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 90.1 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; *Maḏrɔše on Paradise*, 4.16 [ed. Beck 1957b]; *Maḏrɔše on the*

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[82] Also rarely C-stem (Brock 2004: 35 n. 9).

[83] In several publications, Brock (1975: 88; 1996: 257; 2004: 36) has also seen this as a denominative formation. On one occasion, however, he has argued that it was not denominative but a loanverb from a noun (2004: 31).

Nativity, 115.10; 120.14; 135.21 [ed. Beck 1959]; *Memre on Faith*, 29.12 [ed. Beck 1961b]; Sokoloff 2009: 1244)

e. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) > ܛܟܣܐ *ṭks'*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529) → rt. ܛܟܣ √*ṭks* D 'to order', Dt 'to be set in order, arranged' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 201.18; 240.11 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 28.19 [ed. Drijvers 1965]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 529; cf. Brock 1996: 257; 1999-2000: 442)

f. ταῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1763) > ܛܘܣܐ *ṭws'* 'peacock' (Sokoloff 2009: 519) → rt. ܛܘܣ *ṭws* G 'to fly around, flutter' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 24.18 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 518)

g. τήγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786) > ܛܓܢܐ *ṭgn'* (with alternative orthographies) 'frying pan' (Sokoloff 2009: 513) → rt. ܛܓܢ √*ṭgn* D 'to fry, torture' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 246.1 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in OT; Sokoloff 2009: 512-513)

The fifth and sixth centuries saw the addition of several additional denominative verbs from Greek loanwords:[84]

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[84] Brock 1975: 88; 2004: 36. Additional denominative verbs from Greek loanwords are found in translation literature from this time, e.g., καθαίρεσις (Lampe 1961: 681) > ܩܬܪܣܝܣ *qtrsys* 'deposing, excommunication; condemnation, disapproval' (Sokoloff 2009: 1423) → rt. ܩܬܪܣ √*qtrs* 'to depose' (Sokoloff 2009: 1422-1423; cf. Brock 1975: 88; 1996: 257; 2004: 35); Latin *falsarius* (Glare 1982: 673; Lewis and Short 1969: 722) > ܦܠܣܪܐ *plsr'* 'forger' (Sokoloff 2009: 1202) → rt. ܦܠܣܪ √*plsr* 'to falsify' (Sokoloff 2009: 1202; cf. Brock 2004: 36); σχῆμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1745) > ܐܣܟܡܐ *'skm'* (with alternative orthographies) 'form' (Sokoloff 2009: 74, 178) → rt. ܣܟܡ √*skm* D 'to feign, fashion; to represent; to ornament, decorate; to adorn' (Sokoloff 2009: 1010-1011; cf. Brock 2004: 36).

(6-38) a. κύβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1005) > ܩܘܦܣܐ *qwps*ʾ 'cube; piece on a draft board; tessera, mosaic tile; mosaic work; hard stone, flint' (Sokoloff 2009: 1340) → rt. ܩܦܣ √*qps* D 'to provide with mosaics'; Dt 'to be provided with mosaics' (**5th cent.** Inscription l5-6, r9 [possibly 406/407; ed.   Briquel Chatonnet and Desreumaux 2011b]; **6th cent.** Inscription 1.5 [dated to 556; ed. Abū ʿAssāf 1972]; Sokoloff 2009: 1394-1395; cf. Briquel Chatonnet and Desreumaux 2011b: 48 n. 3)

b. ληστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1046) + adjectival ending -ܝܐ > ܠܣܛܝܐ *lsṭy*ʾ 'bandit' (Sokoloff 2009: 692-693) → rt. ܠܣܛܝ √*lsṭy* 'to rob' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 265.1 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 693; cf. Brock 2004: 35)

c. τέχνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1785) > ܬܟܢܐ *tkn*ʾ 'guile' (Sokoloff 2009: 528-529) → rt. ܬܟܢ √*tkn* D 'to bestow care upon'; Dt 'to give attention, be busy with; to devise, contrive; to beguile, deceive' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 2, 45.9 [ed. Nau 1913]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 19.18; 157.2; 174.14 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 28; cf. Brock 2004: 36)

d. τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835) > ܛܘܦܣܐ *ṭwps*ʾ 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' (Sokoloff 2009: 520, 1464) → rt. ܛܦܣ √*ṭps* G 'to present typologically'; D 'to represent by a figure; compose; arrange'; Dt 'to be represented, to be established' (**6th cent.** Babai the Great, *Life of Giwargis*, 542.17 [ed. Bedjan 1895]; *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 422.36;

426.26 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; Sokoloff 2009: 547; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 2004: 36)[85]

Finally, a couple of additional denominative verbs from Greek loanwords are found first in seventh-century Syriac:[86]

(6-39) a. εἰκών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 485) > ܐܝܩܘܢܐ *ʾyqwnʾ* 'image, representation' (Sokoloff 2009: 38, 569) → rt. ܝܩܢ √*yqn* D 'to delineate' (**7th cent.** Ḥnanišo I, *Memrɔ on Ishoyahb III*, ms. Cambridge Add. 2818, f. 127b, according to Brock [personal communication]; Sokoloff 2009: 582; cf. Brock 2003: 36)

b. φιλόσοφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1940) > ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ *pylwswpʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'philosopher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1187; cf. Brock 1975: 88) → rt. ܦܠܣܦ √*plsp* 'to philosophize' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 192.10, 11 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1202; cf. Brock 1975: 88; 2004: 36)[87]

These denominative verbs represent the vast majority of Syriac verbal roots that are of Greek origin. It should be noted, however, that they are not loanwords in the strict sense, but they are rather secondary formations from Greek loanwords.[88]

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[85] Brock (2004: 36) claims that this word is first attested in the fifth century, but this would seem to be in translation literature.

[86] Brock 2004: 36. See also πατριάρχης (Lampe 1961: 1051-1052) > ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ *pṭryrkʾ*, ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ *pṭryrkys* 'patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184) → rt. ܦܛܪܟ √*pṭrk* 'to make patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184; cf. Brock 2004: 36), which occurs in a set of Questions and Answers on Liturgical Topics (ed. van Unnik 1937: 48.6 [Syr.]) attributed to Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene (d. 659). The editor has, however, shown that this text belongs to a later date, and he has identified Ishoʿyahb IV (d. 1025) as the author.

[87] Brock (2004: 36) claims that this word is first attested in the sixth century, but this would seem to be in translation literature.

[88] Thus, they can be compared to the secondary developments analyzed in detail in §7.

6.3.3 Loanverbs: Direct Insertion

In Wohlgemuth's typology, *direct insertion* is an accommodation strategy in which a transferred verb is used in the same way as a native verb without any morpho-syntactic adaptation.[89] Direct insertion is illustrated in (6-40).

(6-40) Sahidic Coptic Gospels (ed. Horner 1911-1924)

aupisteue etegrap^{h}ē

believe-PAST.3.M.SG   to + ART-F.SG + scripture-F.SG

'they believed the scripture' (John 2:22)

In this example, the loanverb *pisteue* (< Greek πίστευε [Liddell and Scott 1996: 1407-1408]) is inflected in the same way as a native Coptic verb without any morphological adaptation.[90] This is the simplest accommodation strategy and is also the most common cross-linguistically.

Cases of direct insertion are rare in Syriac.[91] The only potential case involving a triliteral root is μελέτη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) or μελετᾶν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) > rt. ܡܠܛ √*mlṭ* G 'give attention to; attend to' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on the Fast*, 2.23 [ed. Beck 1964b]; *Maḏrɔše against Heresies*, 4.15 [ed Beck 1957a]; Sokoloff 2009: 768). This derivation is, however, disputed by Brockelmann (1928: 391), followed by Sokoloff (2009: 768), who propose that Syriac rt. ܡܠܛ √*mlṭ* is a denominative from ܡܠܛܐ *mlɔṭɔ* 'care, attention; zeal' (Sokoloff 2009: 768), which in turn would derive from μελέτη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096). Nevertheless, based on its vocalization, the noun ܡܠܛܐ *mlɔṭɔ* is more likely

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[89] Wohlgemuth 2009: 87-93; Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 99-102. This is equivalent to a combination of 'borrowing of bare verb' and 'inserted stems with native affixes' in Muysken 2000: 185-191.

[90] See Layton 2004: §191-192.

[91] Brock 1975: 88-89; 1996: 257.

to be a secondary formation from the verbal root √*mlṭ* based on the nominal pattern $C_1C_2\partial C_3\partial$.[92] Thus, since there is no probable nominal intermediary, Syriac ܡܠܛ √*mlṭ* is best analyzed as a verbal transfer either from the noun μελέτη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) or the infinitive μελετᾶν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096).[93]

Additional cases of direct insertion in Syriac are found with the following quadriliteral roots:

(6-41) a. δυσκόλως (Liddell and Scott 1996: 458) > rt. ܕܣܩܠ √*dsql* T-stem 'to tarry' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 77.15 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; only here; Sokoloff 2009: 314)

  b. θαρσέω (Liddell and Scott 1996: 784-785) > rt. ܬܪܣܝ √*trsy* 'to be courageous' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 110.21 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; also in Judith 11:1, 3 and NT; very rare; Sokoloff 2009: 1669; cf. Brock 1975: 88-89; 1996: 258)

  c. καταλαβεῖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 897) > rt. ܩܛܠܒ √*qṭlb* 'to occupy' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, *Homilies*, 1.88.7 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; not uncommon; Sokoloff 2009: 1352-1353)

  e. παραγγέλλειν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1306) > rt. ܦܪܓܠ √*prgl* 'to admonish, warn; to send a declaration, warning; to excite, urge on; to forbid, prohibit; to hold back, restrain; to impede, hinder' (**5th cent.** Balai, *Memre on Joseph*, 11.1 [ed. Bedjan 1891]; Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Letters*, 154.8 [ed. Olinder 1937]; fairly common; Sokoloff 2009: 1226-1227; cf. Brock 1996: 257; 2004: 32)[94]

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[92] For this nominal pattern in Syriac, see Nöldeke 1904: §109; Fox 1996: 185-186, 226-227, 235.

[93] For the latter, see Brock 2004: 35 n. 9.

[94] Alternatively, this could be a denominative formation from ܦܪܓܠܐ *prglʾ* 'whip' (Sokoloff 2009: 1227) < φραγέλλιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1952) < Late Latin *fragellum* (attested

Additional cases of direct insertion involving quadriliteral roots could possibly be found with the following two verbal roots:

(6-42) a. προνοητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1491) or προνοῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1490-1491) > rt. ܦܪܢܣ √*prns* 'to divide, distribute; to provide for, supply; to manage, administer' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 4.19; 60.13, 14; 76.19; 381.14 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; common; Sokoloff 2009: 1243), attested already in Palmyrene √*prns* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 401; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 940); Targum Jonathan √*prns* (Ez 34.8 [2x]; Is 57.8; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1231); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic √*prns* (Sokoloff 2002b: 448, 842); Christian Palestinian Aramaic √*prns* (Schulthess 1903: 163); Samaritan Aramaic √*prns* (Tal 2000: 704-705); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic √*prns* (Sokoloff 2002a: 935); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic √*prns* (PsJ Gen 30:30, Lev 25:35; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1231)

  b. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) or κατηγορεῖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 926-927) > rt. ܩܛܪܓ √*qṭrg* 'to accuse; to apply' (**4th cent.** common in Ephrem; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1348, 1358-1359); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic √*qṭrg* (Sokoloff 2002b: 489); Christian Palestinian Aramaic √*qṭrg* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 260; 1998b: 292; 1999: 254; Brock 1999c: 4v.2; Schulthess 1903: 178); Samaritan Aramaic √*qṭrg* (Tal 2000: 775)

Both of these verbal roots, however, existed in earlier forms of Aramaic.[95] Given their long history in Aramaic, it is possible that both of these roots are denominative formations from nouns that have been subsequently lost. Thus, it remains unclear whether these roots are

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in the *Appendix Probi*, ed. Baehrens 1922: 6 [s.v. ln. 77]) < Latin *flagellum* (Glare 1982: 708; Lewis and Short 1969: 755).

[95] For discussion, see §4.9 as well as Appendix 2.

denominative formations or direct insertions. If the latter is the case, then the input form could have been either a noun or a verbal form, such as an infinitive.

6.3.4   Loanverbs: Indirect Insertion

In Wohlgemuth's typology, *indirect insertion* is an accommodation strategy in which an affix is required to accommodate loan verbs.[96] This affix may have the sole function of accommodating loanverbs in the recipient language, or it may have additional functions, such as forming causatives, denominative, factitives, etc. Indirect insertion is illustrated in (6-43).

 (6-43) Alyawarra (central Australian language)

work-ir-iyla   ra

work + VBLZ + PRES.CONT   he-NOM

'he is working' (Yallop 1977: 67; cited in Wohlgemuth 2009: 97)

In this example, the English (possibly via the English-based creole Kriol) loanverb *work* requires the verbalizing affix *-ira*, realized here as /ir/. In Alyawarra, *-ira* is a derivational suffix which forms intransitive verbs from nouns, especially adjectives, as in, e.g., *akaltja* 'wise' → *akaltjiriyla ayinga* 'I am learning' [wise + VBLZ + PRES.CONT I-NOM] (Yallop 1977: 66-67). Indirect insertion is the third most common of the four strategies cross-linguistically.

Indirect insertion is rare in Syriac being limited to the following cases in non-translated texts up to Yaʿqub of Edessa:[97]

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[96] Wohlgemuth 2009: 94-101; Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 97-99. This is equivalent to 'adapted stems' in Muysken 2000: 191-193.

[97] Brock 1967: 401; 2004: 31-32. On one occasion, Brock (2004: 31) has argued that rt. ܗܘܓ √*zwg* D 'to yoke; to join'; Dt 'to be married' (Sokoloff 2009: 369) is not a denominative. If that is the case, then it would be another instance of indirect insertion. There does not, however, seem to be any reason not to take the root as denominative from ܙܘܓܐ *zwgʾ*

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(6-44) a. καλῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 871) > rt. ܩܠܣ √qls D 'to praise' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2, 6.5 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; relatively common thereafter; Sokoloff 2009: 1373)

b. ναυαγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1161) > rt. ܢܘܓ √nwg D 'to wreck a ship'; Dt 'to suffer shipwreck' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 13.7; 89.29; 99.7; 143.17; 145.28 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; never common; Sokoloff 2009: 895; cf. Brock 2004: 35)

These cases are analyzed as indirect insertion and not direct insertion, since a derived stem (usually D but also C) is required to accommodate the loanverb.

An additional case of indirect insertion can possibly be found in πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354) > rt. ܦܝܣ √pys C 'to persuade, to convince; to demand, seek, beseech'; Ct 'to be persuaded; to obey' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 172.17; 180.15; 181.19; 182.6; 221.3, 5; 240.6; 241.3 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 14x [see Lund 2007: 200-201] [ed. Drijvers 1965]; *Odes of Solomon*, 8.17; 39.8 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; extremely common thereafter; Sokoloff 2009: 1188).[98] This verbal root is, however,

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(Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370) < ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757), as Brock (1975: 88; 1996: 257; 2004: 36) has also done on several occasions.

[98] Ciancaglini (2008: 9) argues that this is not a loanverb, but rather that it is denominative from a purported noun ܦܝܣܐ *payso* 'persuasion', which she claims derives from the aorist infinitive πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354). No such noun **payso, however, exists in Syriac. The only possibly nominal intermediary for a denominative verb is ܦܝܣܐ *pyoso* 'persuasion, conviction' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188). Given its vocalization, however, this noun is better analyzed as deverbal from √pys according to the nominal pattern $C_1C_2\circ C_3\circ$ (for which, see Nöldeke 1904: §109; Fox 1996: 185-186, 226-227, 235) (against Sokoloff [2009: 1188] who sees it as a Greek loanword). The noun ܦܝܣܐ *pyoso*, then, is not the source of √pys, and thus, this verbal root is best analyzed as a transfer from the Greek infinitive.

almost certainly an inheritance in Syriac given that it already occurs in Targum Onqelos *pys* (Cook 2008: 108 [s.v. *ṭps*]; see Butts 2012: 158).[99]

6.3.5   Loanverbs: Light Verb Strategy

In Wohlgemuth's typology, *light verb* is an accommodation strategy in which a loanverb is employed in combination with a light verb such as 'to do', 'to make', or 'to be' from the recipient language, which bears the inflection and/or grammatical information.[100] Light verb accommodation is illustrated in (6-45).

(6-45) Bohairic Coptic

naferdokimazin   mmof   pe

do-PAST-IMPERFECT.3.M.S＋tempt   DOM＋him   he

'he was tempting him' (ed. Van Rompay *apud* Datema 1978: 275.28)

In this example, *dokimazin* (< δοκιμάζειν 'to tempt' [Liddell and Scott 1996: 442]) is used in combination with the native Coptic verb *er* 'to do' (Crum 1929-1939: 83-84), which bears the grammatical information. The verb *er* functions almost as an auxiliary with the semantic information contained in the loanverb. Light verb is the second most common strategy cross-linguistically.

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[99] For Greek loanwords as inheritances in Syriac, see §4.9 as well as Appendix 2.

[100] Wohlgemuth 2009: 102-117; Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 93-96. This is roughly equivalent to 'bilingual compound verbs' in Muysken 2000: 193-206. For the term 'light verb', see Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 91 with reference to Jespersen 1954: 117-118.

Light verb strategy is occasionally found in non-translated Syriac texts prior to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708).[101] In the active voice, the Syriac verbal root ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to do, make' (Sokoloff 2009: 1054-1056) is used with a transferred Greek aorist active infinitive:

(6-46) *Scholia* by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Phillips 1864)

ܓ̇ܝܪ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܠܝܪܘܦܘܪܝܣܐ ܢܥܒܕܝܘܗܝ

ṣɔḇe	(h)wɔ	dplyrwpwrysʾ	neʿbḏiw(hy)
want-PART.M.SG.ABS	be-SUF.3.M.SG	NML + inform	do-PRE.3.M.SG + him

'he wanted to inform him' (3.17)

In this example, a conjugated form of the verbal root ܥܒܕ √ʿbd occurs with *plyrwpwrysʾ*, which derives from the Greek aorist active infinitive πληροφορῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1419). The following Greek aorist infinitives occur with ܥܒܕ √ʿbd in non-translated Syriac texts up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708):

(6-47) a. κοσσίσαι, see κόσσος 'box on the ear, cuff' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 985) >
ܩܘܣܝܣܐ *qwsysʾ* with ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to give a blow on the ear' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 516.10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1059)

b. πληροφορῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1419) > ܦܠܝܪܘܦܘܪܝܣܐ *plyrwpwrysʾ* with ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to exercise (office); to inform; to satisfy' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Scholia*, 3.17 [ed. Phillips 1864]; Sokoloff 2009: 1058-1059)

c. προσελθῆναι (with passive morphology), for the expected aorist infinitive προσελθεῖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1511) > ܦܪܣܠܬܝܢܐ *prsltynʾ* with ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to

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[101] Brock 1996: 257-258; 1975: 88; 2004: 37; Ciancaglini 2006; 2008: 10, 48-52; Schall 1960: 248.

present a petition to the emperor' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 140.18 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1059)

d. συγκροτῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1667) > ܣܘܢܩܪܛܝܣܐ *swnqrṭys'* with ܥܒܕ √*ʿbd* 'to unite closely' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 37.17 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1058)

e. τιτλῶσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1799) > ܛܝܛܠܘܣܐ *ṭyṭlws'* with ܥܒܕ √*ʿbd* 'to make a public case of' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 77.7 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 526, 1057)[102]

In the passive voice, the Syriac verbal root ܗܘܝ √*hwy* 'to be(come)' (Sokoloff 2009: 333-334) is used with the Greek aorist passive infinitive:[103]

(6-48) *Works* by Rabbula of Edessa (d. 435/436; ed. Overbeck 1865: 210-248, 362-381)

ܘܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܕܢܝܐ ܐܟܣܘܪܝܣܛܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ

wmɛn	pardayso	haw	ʿḏɛnɔyɔ	**ʾksẅīstyn'**
and + from	paradise-M.SG.DET	that-M	of.Eden-M.SG.EMP	**to.be.exiled**

hɔwenan

be-PART.M.PL.ABS + we

'and we were exiled from that paradise of Eden' (365.14)

In this example, a conjugated form of the verbal root ܗܘܝ √*hwy* occurs with *ʾksẅīstyn'*, which derives from the Greek aorist passive infinitive ἐξορισθῆναι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 598). The

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[102] Alternatively, this word could derive from τίτλος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1799). This would, however, be an unmotivated case of the retention of Greek -ς (see §6.2.3.6), and thus it seems more likely that the Greek source is the aorist infinitive τιτλῶσαι (so Ghanem 1970: 142 n. 268; Sokoloff 2009: 1057).

[103] For a possible case of the Greek aorist passive infinitive used with Syriac √*ʿbd*, see n. 104 below.

following Greek aorist passive infinitives occur with ‎,ܗܘ‎ √*hwy* in non-translated Syriac texts up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708):

(6-49) a. ἐξορισθῆναι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 598) > ‎ܐܟܣܘܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾkswrstynʾ* with ‎,ܗܘ‎ √*hwy* 'to be exiled' (**5th cent.** Rabbula of Edessa, *Works*, 365.14 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 210-248, 362-381]; Sokoloff 2009: 334)

b. χειροτονηθῆναι (Lampe 1961: 1522-1523) > ‎ܟܝܪܘܛܘܢܝܬܝܢܐ‎ *kyrwṭwnytynʾ* with ‎,ܗܘ‎ √*hwy* 'to be ordained' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 173.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 334)

c. σφυρισθῆναι (Liddell and Scott 1996: Supplement 289) > ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ* with ‎,ܗܘ‎ √*hwy* 'to be struck with hammers, beat' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 16.3 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1057)[104]

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[104] The verb occurs in the following passage: ‎ܫܕܪ ܩܠܝܪ̈ܩܘ ܘܐܣܟ̈ܘܠܪܝܣ ܘܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ ‎ܢܥܒܕܘܢܝܗܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܦܘܩ ܕܡܐ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܛܦܝܣ ܕܢܫܬܘܬܦ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ ‎ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܣܪ ܐܣܟܘ̈ܠܪܝܣ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܫܬܬܩ‎ 'and he sent clerics and excubitors commanding them *to have him beaten* until blood spilt forth unless he be convinced to join them. Thus, **he was beaten** by twelve excubitors until he fell among them and was silent' (15.27-16.4). In his *Lexicon*, Brockelmann (1928: 37), followed by Sokoloff (2009: 1057), cites the first occurrence of ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ* and gives an active meaning. He does not, however, explain the incongruence of the passive Greek form used with Syriac √ʿ*bd*, which usually occurs with the active voice. In addition, he neglects to mention that the same form occurs several lines later with a passive meaning and with Syriac √*hwy*. Given the context, it is clear that the second occurrence of ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ* in 16.3 has a passive meaning, which conforms to the general pattern of passive infinitive with √*hwy*. This is the example cited above. As for the first occurrence of ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ*, the sense seems to be '…that they make him to be beaten…'. For a similar pattern, compare Biblical Aramaic *ubʿo doniyye(ʾ)l wəḥabrohi ləhitqəṭolo* 'and they sought Daniel and his companions to be put to death' (Dan 2:13) [and + seek-SUF.3.M.PL PN and companion-M.PL.CON + his to + to.be.killed-INF]. In this case, then, ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ* would still be passive but used with Syriac √ʿ*bd*. It is unclear, however, if this should be interpreted as a light verb strategy or if Syriac √ʿ*bd* is a full finite verb and ‎ܐܣܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ‎ *ʾsprstynʾ* is a directly inserted infinitive.

Brock has pointed to the late fifth- to early sixth-century translations of the *Didascalia* (ed. Vööbus 1979) and *Athanasius' Life of Antony* (ed. Draguet 1980) as the earliest texts attesting the light verb strategy in Syriac.[105] The example of ܐܟܣܘܪܣܛܝܢܐ *'kswrstyn'* in (6-49a) would represent an earlier, if not the earliest, case of light verb strategy in Syriac, if the work is in fact genuine Rabbula of Edessa (d. 456/6).[106] Regardless, the light verb strategy is extremely rare in the fifth century and only becomes more frequent in the sixth and seventh centuries.[107] Light verb strategy is, however, never common in non-translated Syriac texts, though it does occur more frequently in texts translated from Greek.[108]

The development of the light verb strategy in Syriac has been linked to different external factors. Brock, for instance, has argued that the use of the light verb strategy in Syriac is due to contact with (non-Sahidic) Coptic, where a similar construction exists consisting of the native Coptic verb *er* 'to do' and a Greek infinitive.[109] The Coptic construction was illustrated in (6-45). The Coptic construction is indeed structurally similar to the Syriac active-voice construction, and so it could have potentially provided the model for this.[110] Coptic could not, however, have served as the model for the passive-voice construction in Syriac, since no

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[105] Brock 1996: 257-258 n. 25; 2004: 38.

[106] Ciancaglini (2006: 175; 2008: 50) claims that the light verb strategy is already attested in Ephrem (d. 373), citing πληροφορῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1419) > ܦܠܪܘܦܘܪܝܣܐ *plrwpwrys'* with ܥܒܕ √*'bd* 'to inform' in Benedictus 1732-1746: 4.157.44 (correct the citation of ln. 43 in Sokoloff 2009: 1059). The commentary edited by Benedictus (1732-1746: 4.116-193), however, is not genuine Ephrem, but the scholia of Yaʿqub of Edessa (the title of the work even mentions Yaʿqub of Edessa!).

[107] Brock 1996: 257-258; 2004: 37.

[108] For examples, see Ciancaglini 2008: 49; Sokoloff 2009: 334; 1056-1060.

[109] Brock 1975: 88; cf. 2004: 37 n. 13. Citing Brock, Van Rompay similarly notes that the use of the light verb strategy in Syriac "parallels, and may be derived from, a similar structure in all Coptic dialects except Sahidic" (in *GEDSH*, 106).

[110] For criticisms, however, see Ciancaglini 2006; 2008: 50.

comparable construction exists in Coptic. Given that contact with Coptic cannot account for the entire Syriac construction (active and passive), it seems more likely that the use of the light verb strategy in Syriac is an internal development. This is especially the case since Syriac follows a well-established pattern of using a light verb meaning 'to do' with the active voice and a light verb meaning 'to be(come)' with the passive voice.[111]

Ciancaglini has also argued that language contact played a role in the introduction of the light verb strategy in Syriac, but in her case it is contact with Iranian, not with Greek.[112] Her proposal is, however, unlikely, since most, if not all, of the examples of the light verb strategy in Syriac are found in authors (and translators) who wrote within the Roman Empire, such as Yuḥanon of Ephesus and Yaʿqub of Edessa. If contact with Iranian had played a role in the development of the light verb strategy in Syriac, then one would expect the strategy to feature in texts from Iranian-speaking areas. This is not, however, the case.

In response to arguments that external factors played a role in the development of the light verb strategy in Syriac, it should also be stressed that the light verb strategy is common cross-linguistically – the second most common in fact – occurring in over 104 languages in Wohlgemuth's sample. Thus, even though two languages with which Syriac was in contact have light verb strategies ([non-Sahidic] Coptic and Iranian) and even though cases of the transfer of accommodation strategies are attested cross-linguistically,[113] there is not sufficient evidence to suggest that external factors played a role in the development of the light verb strategy in Syriac. Rather, it seems to have been an internal Syriac development.

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[111] Wohlgemuth 2009: 109, 253.
[112] Ciancaglini 2006; 2008: 48-52.
[113] Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 105-106, 108 with reference to Bakker 1997.

Finally, it should be noted that in Syriac the verbal root ܥܒܕ √ʿbd is found in several constructions that are superficially similar to the light verb strategy, as in the following example:

(6-50) *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250; ed. Wright 1871a)

ܗܿܘ ܕܥܕܡܐ ܠܣܘܦܐ ܐܓܘܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܥܡ ܟܝܢܟ

haw	daʿdammɔ	lsawpɔ	ʾgwnʾ	ʿbad
that-M.SG	NML + until	to + end-M.SG.EMP	**struggle-M.SG.EMP**	**do + SUF.3.M.SG**

ʿam	kyɔnɔk
with	nature-M.SG.CON + your-M.SG

 'who struggled against your nature until the end' (200.1-2)

In this example, a conjugated form of ܥܒܕ √ʿbd is used with the noun ܐܓܘܢܐ ʾgwnʾ < ἀγών (Lampe 1961: 25; Liddell and Scott 1996: 18-19). Cases such as this are not, however, to be analyzed as the light verb accommodation strategy since the Greek source ἀγών is a noun.[114] A similar case is found with ἄθλησις (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܣܐ ʾtlysʾ with ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'fight, struggle' (Sokoloff 2009: 112).[115]

6.3.6 Summary

The vast majority of Syriac verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin are denominative formations. These represent secondary developments in Syriac based on Greek

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[114] See Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008: 91. This contrasts with Ciancaglini (2006; 2008: 48-52) who argues that these are the same phenomenon.

[115] Alternatively, Sokoloff (2009: 112) gives the input form as the aorist infinitive ἀθλῆσαι. Brock's proposed input of ἄθλησις, however, seems more likely since the word is more often used as a substantive 'fight, struggle'.

loanwords,[116] and they are not in the strict sense loanwords themselves. Most Greek loanverbs in Syriac are accommodated by the light verb accommodation strategy in which the native Syriac verbal roots ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to do, make' and ܗܘܐ √hwy 'to be(come)' are used with Greek aorist infinitives. This strategy is perhaps already attested in the fifth century. It, however, only becomes more frequent in the sixth and seventh centuries with authors within the confines of the Roman Empire, and it is never common in non-translated Syriac texts. In this strategy, Greek verbs are not accommodated to the root and pattern morphology of Syriac. Finally, Greek verbs seem to be rarely accommodated by direct and indirect insertion in Syriac. These strategies are both already attested by the fourth century in Syriac. They are, however, extremely infrequent. In addition, several of the examples are clearly inheritances in Syriac from earlier Aramaic. Direct and indirect insertion, then, represent marginal strategies for the accommodation of Greek verbs in Syriac.

In general, the number of Greek loanverbs in Syriac is relatively small. While there are hundreds of Greek nouns and even fifteen Greek particles in Syriac,[117] there are only a limited number of Greek loanverbs in Syriac (leaving aside the denominative formations). In addition, the majority of these, those which use the light verb accommodation strategy, are not accommodated to Syriac root and pattern morphology. The relatively small number of Greek loanverbs in Syriac is likely due to the complex morphological structure of the Syriac verb.[118] Thus, the higher frequency of the light verb accommodation strategy can be seen as a result of a more simple accommodation process, whereas direct and indirect insertion are more complex and thus more infrequent.

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[116] Thus, they can be compared to the changes discussed in §7.
[117] Greek particles in Syriac are analyzed immediately below in §6.4.
[118] For structure playing a role in lexical transfer, see Winford 2003: 52.

6.4   Particles

Approximately fifteen Greek particles are attested in non-translated Syriac texts up to

Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708).[119] Several Greek particles are already found in pre-fourth century

Syriac:[120]

(6-51) a.   μέν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1101-1102) > ܡܢ *mn* 'indeed' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of*

Solomon, 18.7 [ed. Charlesworth 1973; for this interpretation, see Butts

Forthcoming]; **4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, 33.21-27 [ed. Overbeck 1865];

though not common until the sixth and seventh centuries; also in NT; Sokoloff

2009: 778)

b.   εἰκῇ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 484) > ܐܝܩܐ *ʾyqʾ* 'in vain' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of*

Thomas, 220.10 [ed. Wright 1871a]; **4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.568.8, 9

[ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 288.20; 508.8 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem,

Prose Refutations, 44.4; 53.24 [ed. Overbeck 1865], *Maḏrāše against Julian the*

Apostate, 87.28 [ed. Beck 1957b], *Maḏrāše on Nisibis*, 53.1; 122.7; 124.10 [ed.

Beck 1963]; also in OT and NT; occurs throughout Classical Syriac; Sokoloff 2009:

37-38; cf. Brock 1967: 398; 1975: 89; 1996: 259)

c.   τάχα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1762) > ܛܟ *ṭk* 'perhaps' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 32:30;

Num 23:3; **4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.632.9; 1.696.14; 1.753.20;

2.133.18 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907], Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, 34.6 [ed. Overbeck

1865], 2.24.46 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; *Memrā on our Lord*, 31.9 [ed. Beck 1966];

Maḏrāše on Nisibis, 22.9 [ed. Beck 1961a], 90.9, 15 [ed. Beck 1963]; *Maḏrāše*

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[119] Greek particles are also found in Post-Biblical Hebrew and in various dialects of Jewish
Aramaic (Krauss 1898: §113-115).
[120] Brock 1975: 89; Butts Forthcoming.

against Heresies, 9.4; 44.3; 142.25 [ed. Beck 1957a]; *Letter to Publius*, 285.14; 293.18 [ed. Brock 1976]; remains common throughout Classical Syriac; Sokoloff 2009: 528; cf. Brock 1967: 421; 1975: 89; 1996: 260)

Several additional Greek particles are first attested in fourth-century Syriac:[121]

(6-52) a. γοῦν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 358) > ܓܘܢ *gwn* in ܒܕܓܘܢ *bdgwn* 'at any rate' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on Nisibis*, 13.15; 16.8; 37.3; 25.8, 9; 37.3; 42.13; 44.12 [ed. Beck 1961a]; 4.23; 20.9; 31.8 [ed. Beck 1963]; *Maḏrɔše on the Church*, 2.2; 56.20 [ed. Beck 1960]; *Maḏrɔše on the Fast*, 27.5; 35.17 (Appendix) [ed. Beck 1964b]; *Maḏrɔše on Pascha*, 22.3; 28.15, 20; 41.11 [ed. Beck 1964a]; *Memre on Faith*, 17.13; 18.24; 37.22 [ed. Beck 1961b]; remains common throughout Classical Syriac; Sokoloff 2009: 118; cf. Brock 1996: 258; 1999-2000: 440)

b. κᾶν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 873) > ܩܢ *qn* 'and if' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 317.25 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; extremely rare; Sokoloff 2009: 1379; cf. Brock 1996: 259)

c. οὖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1271-1272) > ܐܘܢ *'wn* 'really' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 328.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, 52.7 (quote); 62.21; 68.21; 70.7; 98.21 (quote); 108.2; 116.18; 160.9; 170.12 [ed. Leloir 1963]; **5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 120.19 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; not common; cf. Brock 1975: 89; 1996: 259)

d. μᾶλλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1076) > ܡܠܘܢ *mlwn*, ܡܐܠܠܘܢ *m'llwn*, ܡܠܠܘܢ *mllwn* 'rather, more' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, 30.19 [ed. Leloir 1963, 1990]; Sokoloff 2009: 766)

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[121] Brock 1975: 89.

After the fourth century, Greek particles continue to be added to Syriac:[122]

(6-53) a. ἀκριβῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 55) > ܐܩܪܝܒܘܣ *ʾqrybws* 'exactly' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 91.2 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; very rare; Sokoloff 2009: 93; cf. Brock 1975: 89; 1996: 259)

   b. ἁπλῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 191) > ܗܦܠܘܣ *hplws*, ܐܦܠܘܣ *ʾplws* 'simply, merely; in vain' (**6th cent.** Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 184.11; 185.11 [ed. Macomber 1974]; Sokoloff 2009: 87, 352-353; cf. Brock 1975: 89 with n. 56; 1996: 259)

   c. ἄρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 232-233) > ܐܪܐ *ʾr* 'therefore, then' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre on Biblical Themes*, 20.551 [ed. Frishman 1992]; Sokoloff 2009: 9; cf. Brock 1996: 259; 1999-2000: 440)[123]

   d. ἆρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 232-233) > ܐܪܐ *ʾr* '(introducing a question)' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre on Biblical Themes*, 20.549 [ed. Frishman 1992]; Sokoloff 2009: 9; cf. Brock 1996: 259; 1999-2000: 440)[124]

   e. εἶτα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 498) > ܐܝܛܐ *ʾyṭ* 'then' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 581.9; 605.5 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 33; cf. Brock 1996: 258)

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[122] Brock 1975: 89. Perhaps also ὤ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2029), εὖ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 704) > ܐܝܘ *ʾyw* 'oh, woe!' (**5th cent.** Balai, *Memre on Joseph*, 26.7 [ed. Bedjan 1891]; Narsai, *Memre*, 1.138.3 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 32).

[123] The Narsai example reads: ܐܪܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܘ ܕܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܐܠܗܝܐ *ʾr (ʾ)nɔšɔ ḥdaw dahwayton ʾalɔhɔye* 'Therefore, rejoice, people, for you have become divine beings' [therefore rejoice-IMP.M.PL NML+be-SUF.2.M.PL divine-M.PL.DET]. For the use of ἄρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 232-233) in first position in Koinē Greek, see Luke 11:48.

[124] The Narsai example reads: ܐܪܐ ܣܟܠܐ ܠܡܢ ܟܐܪܝܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܪܘܡܪܡܢ *ʾr saḵle lmɔn kɔryɔ lḵon ʿal rumrɔman* 'Why, foolish ones, are you pained by our exaltation?' [INT foolish-M.PL.DET to+what to.grieve-PART.FEM.SG.ABS to+you-M.PL concerning exaltation-M.S.CON+our].

f. μάλιστα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1076) > ܡܠܝܣܛܐ *mlysṭ* 'most especially, exceedingly' (**6th cent.** Išay, *Cause of the Martyrs*, 18.7, 39.10 [ed. Scher 1909]; Sokoloff 2009: 771; cf. Brock 1975: 89; 1996: 259)

g. πάντως (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1301) > ܦܢܛܘܣ *pnṭws* 'certainly, absolutely' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 151.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1204-1205; cf. Brock 1996: 259)

h. πότε (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1454) > ܦܘܛܐ *pwṭ* 'ever' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 434.5; 435.5, 9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1162)

i. τέως (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786) > ܛܐܘܣ *t'ws* 'awhile, at least' (**6th cent.** Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 116.9; 122.16 [ed. Macomber 1974]; Sokoloff 507; cf. Brock 1996: 260 ['very probably a seventh-century introduction'])

A majority of these particles entered Syriac at the height of Syriac-Greek contact in the sixth century.

Morphologically, the Greek particles in Syriac do not require accommodation. Syntactically, many of them preserve features of their Greek source. The particle ܡܢ *mn* 'indeed' (< μέν [Liddell and Scott 1996: 1101-1102]), for instance, occurs in second position in Syriac, just as its Greek source does.

In addition to these Greek loanwords in Syriac, there are two frequently occurring Syriac particles that are associated with Greek: ܕܝܢ *dyn* 'then, but' (Sokoloff 2009: 296-297) and ܓܝܪ *gyr* 'indeed' (Sokoloff 2009: 230). These two particles function in the same was as Greek δέ 'but' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 371-372) and γάρ 'for' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 338-339),

respectively, even to the point of occurring in second position. These Syriac particles are not, however, loanwords from Greek; rather, they represent the adaptation of native Semitic material on the model of Greek.[125]

It has often been pointed out that the transfer of particles is rarer than the transfer of nouns, adjectives, and verbs cross-linguistically.[126] Thus, the transfer of these Greek particles into Syriac points to a high degree of contact between Syriac and Greek. Interestingly, three Greek particles were transferred into Syriac already in its earliest history with another four being added by the fourth century. This suggests that there was significant contact between the two languages already at an early period.[127] In addition, a number of Greek particles were transferred into Syriac in the sixth century pointing to an increase in contact at this period.

6.5   Conclusion

The morpho-syntactic integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac varies significantly by part of speech. Particles require basically no integration. Verbs, in contrast, require more integration. Greek loanverbs that are accommodated by direct and indirect insertion must be integrated into the root and pattern morphology of Syriac. Thus, a root must be created and then a verb can be inflected according to Syriac morphology. Interestingly, this type of accommodation is quite rare in Syriac, probably reflecting the difficulty of integrating Greek verbs into the completely different derivational structure of a Semitic language such as Syriac. In contrast, the majority of Greek loanverbs in Syriac are accommodated by a strategy termed light verb in which the native Syriac verbal roots ܥܒܕ √ʿbd 'to do, make' and ܗܘܐ √hwy 'to

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[125] Their development is discussed in detail in §10.
[126] See, e.g., Muysken 1980; Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988: 62-65; Winford 2003 2003: 51.
[127] This is discussed in more detail in §11.2-11.3.

be(come)' occur in conjunction with Greek infinitives. This strategy does not require the Greek verb to be integrated into Syriac root and pattern morphology, but rather the Greek verb is left basically un-integrated with a native Syriac light verb containing all of the inflectional information. Thus, for most Greek loanverbs in Syriac, morpho-syntactic integration is minimal.

In contrast to verbs and particles, Greek nouns undergo more involved morpho-syntactic integration in Syriac. In fact, Greek nouns, which are marked for one of five cases (vocative, nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative), one of three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter), and one of two numbers (singular and plural) are often integrated as fully inflectional Syriac nouns, which are marked for one of two genders (masculine and feminine), one of two numbers (singular and plural), and one of three states (*status absolutus*, *status emphaticus*, and *status constructus*). This requires significant accommodation on the morphological level. It should be noted, however, the Greek nouns are not always – or even usually – accommodated to Syriac derivational structure. Thus, a loanword such as τόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1804) > ܛܘܡܣܐ *ṭwms'* 'tome' (Sokoloff 2009: 518), where ܛܘܡܣܐ *ṭwms'* could reflect a native Syriac nominal derivation of the pattern $C_1uC_2C_3o$, represents an exception rather than the rule. Many Greek nouns are integrated into the inflectional structure of Syriac to one degree or another, but far fewer are integrated into the derivational structure of Syriac.

In contrast to the particles and verbs, Greek nouns in Syriac show a significant degree of variation in their accommodation. In fact, in a number of cases, a single Greek noun can attest multiple input forms, multiple accommodations for the Greek case endings, multiple accommodations of gender, and/or multiple plural formations in Syriac. This multiplicity suggests that some Greek nouns was transferred into Syriac on more than one occasion and

accommodated differently at different times. In addition, in some cases, Syriac-speakers seem to have maintained a connection between the loanword in Syriac and its Greek source enabling them to adjust the accommodation of the loanword over time. This type of variety in the morpho-syntactic accommodation of loanwords is only possible in a contact situation that stretches over an extended period of time. The Greek particles and verbs in Syriac, in turn, establish a high level of contact at various times. The existence of Greek particles in the earliest period of Syriac literature suggests a significant degree of contact already in the first centuries of the Common Era. The addition of a number of Greek particles and verbs into Syriac in the sixth century reflects the peak of contact at this time.

7   Secondary Developments Involving Greek Loanwords in Syriac

"Once incorporated, [loanwords] become fair game for both derivational and inflectional processes internal to the recipient language" (Winford 2003: 59)

"After complete adaptation, the loan-word is subject to the same analogies as any similar native word" (Bloomfield 1933: 454)

7.1   Overview

The previous two chapters analyzed the phonological and morpho-syntactic integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac (§5 and §6, respectively). Integration is not, however, the end of the story for Greek loanwords in Syriac. Rather, integrated loanwords can undergo the same derivational and analogical processes as native Syriac words (see the initial two quotations). The noun ܛܪܘܢܘܬܐ *ṭrwnwt*' 'tyranny' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184), for instances, derives from ܛܪܘܢ *ṭrwn*' 'tyrant' (< τύραννος [Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836]) with the addition of the suffix -*uṯɔ*, which forms abstract substantives. The use of the abstract suffix -*uṯɔ* in ܛܪܘܢܘܬܐ *ṭrwnwt*' does not differ from its use with native Syriac words, e.g., *malkɔ* 'king' (Sokoloff 2009: 772) + -*uṯɔ* → *malkuṯɔ* 'kingdom' (Sokoloff 2009: 772-773). In addition to being available for further derivations, integrated Greek loanwords can also serve as the source for analogical developments in Syriac. The Syriac noun ܐܠܦܪܐ *'ɛllp̄ɔrɔ* 'sailor' (Sokoloff 2009: 51), for

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instance, derives from ܐܠܦܐ *ʾellp̄ā* 'boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 50-51) plus the *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ*. The suffix -*ɔrɔ* reflects Greek -άριος; its appearance in Syriac, however, is due to an analogical development within Syriac involving pairs of Greek loanwords with and without the suffix.[1] In this case, then, Greek loanwords were the basis of an analogy that created a new suffix that came to be used with Syriac words that are not of Greek origin.

This chapter analyzes secondary developments involving Greek loanwords in Syriac. It begins with secondary nominal derivations involving Greek loanwords, such as ܛܪܘܢܘܬܐ *ṭrwnwtʾ* 'tyranny' mentioned above. The chapter then turns to two cases in which Greek loanwords serve as the basis for analogical developments in Syriac: 1. the development of the plural suffixes -*(w)s* and -*(ʾ)s* (§7.3.2); 2. the development of the *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ* (§7.3.3).

7.2   Secondary Nominal Derivations

7.2.1   Overview

This section analyzes secondary nominal derivations involving Greek loanwords in Syriac. These derivations are divided into two categories: 1. nominal derivations involving root and pattern morphology (§7.2.2); 2. nominal derivations involving suffixes (§7.2.3).

7.2.2   Root and Pattern Morphology

Syriac literature up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) contains more than twenty verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin.[2] From these verbal roots, various nouns can be derived

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[1] For further analysis, see §7.3.3 below.
[2] These are analyzed in §6.3.2-6.3.4 above.

according to standard Syriac nominal patterns.[3] An active and passive participle can be theoretically derived for all of the verbal roots, e.g., ܡܙܕܘܘܓܐ *mɛzdawwḡɔ* 'the married one' [PART.M.SG.EMP] ← rt. ܙܘܓ √*zwg* D 'to yoke; to join'; Dt 'to be married' (Sokoloff 2009: 369) ← ܙܘܓܐ *zwgʾ* 'yoke, pair; chariot' (Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370) < ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757). In addition, many roots attest a *nomen agentis* form,[4] e.g, ܡܝܩܢܢܐ *myaqqnɔnɔ* 'characteristic' (Sokoloff 2009: 754) ← rt. ܝܩܢ √*yqn* D 'to delineate' (Sokoloff 2009: 582) ← ܐܝܩܘܢܐ *ʾyqwnʾ* 'image, representation' (Sokoloff 2009: 38, 569) < εἰκών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 485). The *nomen agentis* can occur with a number of additional suffixes, including *-ɔyɔ* (§7.2.3.3.6), *-ɔʾiṯ* (§7.2.3.3.7), *-ɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.8), and *-uṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.9).

Outside of the participle and *nomen agentis*, the only nominal pattern that is widely attested with verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin is CuCCɔC- (< *CuCCāC-), which is the usual pattern for deriving abstract substantives from D-stem verbal roots and, by extension, quadriliteral roots in Syriac.[5] The following nouns are formed according to this pattern from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin:[6]

(7-1) a. ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757) > ܙܘܓܐ *zwgʾ* 'yoke, pair; chariot' (Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370) → rt. ܙܘܓ √*zwg* D 'to yoke; to join'; Dt 'to be married' (Sokoloff 2009: 369) → ܙܘܘܓܐ *zuwwɔḡɔ* 'marriage' (Sokoloff 2009: 371; cf. Brock 1967: 400 n. 21; 2004: 37)

     b. καλῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 871) > rt. ܩܠܣ √*qls* D 'to praise' (Sokoloff 2009:

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[3] For Syriac nominal patterns, see Nöldeke 1904: §92-140 as well as Fox 2003, with comparative Semitic evidence.

[4] For the suffix *-ɔnɔ* that is used with *nomina agentis* in derived stems, see §7.2.3.2.5.

[5] For this pattern, see Nöldeke 1904: §117, 123.

[6] Brock 2004: 37.

1373) → ܩܘܠܳܣܳܐ *qullɔsɔ* 'praise, elegy' (Sokoloff 2009: 1329)

c. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) or κατηγορεῖν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 926-927) > rt. ܩܛܪܓ √*qṭrg* 'to accuse; to apply' (Sokoloff 2009: 1348, 1358-1359) → ܩܛܪܳܓܳܐ *quṭrɔḡɔ* 'accusation' (Sokoloff 2009: 1327)

d. κύβος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1005) > ܩܘܒܣܐ *qwps'* 'cube; piece on a draft board; tessera, mosaic tile; mosaic work; hard stone, flint' (Sokoloff 2009: 1340) → rt. ܩܦܣ √*qps* Dt 'to be provided with mosaics' (Sokoloff 2009: 1394-1395) → ܩܘܦܣܐ *quppɔsɔ* 'provision of mosaics' (Inscription 1.8, 2.9 [dated to 509, 595] [ed. Krebernik 1991]; for this interpretation, see Brock 2004: 37, against the editor)

e. ναυαγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1161) > rt. ܢܘܓ √*nwg* D 'to wreck a ship'; Dt 'to suffer shipwreck' (Sokoloff 2009: 895) → ܢܘܘܳܓܳܐ *nuwwɔḡɔ* 'shipwreck' (Sokoloff 2009: 896)

f. παραγγέλλειν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1306) > rt. ܦܪܓܠ √*prgl* 'to admonish, warn; to send a declaration, warning; to excite, urge on; to forbid, prohibit; to hold back, restrain; to impede, hinder' (Sokoloff 2009: 1226-1227) → ܦܘܪܓܳܠܳܐ *purgɔlɔ* 'order; precept; confinement; threats' (Sokoloff 2009: 1169; cf. Brock 2004: 37)

g. παῤῥησία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1344) > ܦܪܗܣܝܐ *prhsy'* (with alternative orthographies) 'freedom of speech; permission; liberty; familiarity, openness' (Sokoloff 2009: 1245-1246) → rt. ܦܪܣܝ √*prsy* 'to lay bear, reveal, uncover; to put to shame, expose' (Sokoloff 2009: 1245) → ܦܘܪܣܳܝܳܐ *pursɔyɔ* 'revealing, laying bare; uncovering, shame; male genital area, pudenda' (Sokoloff 2009: 1171)

h. προνοητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1491) or προνοῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1490-1491) > rt. ܦܪܢܣ √*prns* 'to divide, distribute; to provide for, supply; to

manage, administer' (Sokoloff 2009: 1243) → ܦܘܪܢܣܐ *purnɔsɔ* 'nourishment, food; help; divine providence; administration; diocese' (Sokoloff 2009: 1170-1171; cf. Brock 1996: 261)

i. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) > ܛܟܣܐ *ṭks'*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529) → rt. ܛܟܣ √*ṭks* D 'to order', Dt 'to be set in order, arranged' (Sokoloff 2009: 529) → ܛܘܟܣܐ *ṭukkɔsɔ* 'arrangement, rule' (Sokoloff 2009: 529)

j. τέχνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1785) > ܛܟܢܐ *ṭkn'* 'guile' (Sokoloff 2009: 528-529) → rt. ܛܟܢ √*ṭkn* D 'to bestow care upon'; Dt 'to give attention, be busy with; to devise, contrive; to beguile, deceive' (Sokoloff 2009: 28) → ܛܘܟܢܐ *ṭukkɔnɔ* 'guile' (Sokoloff 2009: 517)

k. τήγανον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1786) > ܛܓܢܐ *ṭgn'* (with alternative orthographies) 'frying pan' (Sokoloff 2009: 513) → rt. ܛܓܢ √*ṭgn* D 'to fry, torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 512-513) → ܛܘܓܢܐ *ṭuggɔnɔ* 'torment, torture' (Sokoloff 2009: 515)

CuCCɔC- is the only nominal pattern outside of the participle and *nomen agentis* that is widely attested with verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin.

The nominal pattern $C_1C_2ɔC_3$- is attested with two verbal roots that do not occur in the D-stem:[7]

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[7] For this nominal pattern in Syriac, see Nöldeke 1904: §109; Fox 1996: 185-186, 226-227, 235.

(7-2) a. πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354) > rt. ܦܝܣ √*pys* C 'to persuade, to convince; to demand, seek, beseech'; Ct 'to be persuaded; to obey' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188) → ܦܝܳܣܳܐ *pyɔsɔ* 'persuasion, conviction' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188)

b. μελέτη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) or μελετᾶν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1096) > rt. ܡܠܛ √*mlṭ* G 'give attention to; attend to' (Sokoloff 2009: 768) → ܡܠܳܛܳܐ *mlɔṭɔ* 'care, attention; zeal' (Sokoloff 2009: 768)

The use of the pattern $C_1C_2ɔC_3$- (instead of CuCCɔC-) in these cases is to be explained by the fact that these roots are not associated with the D-stem. In addition, it should be noted that other nouns can be derived from these nouns, e.g., *pyɔs-* + *-(a)t* → ܦܝܳܣܬܳܐ *pyɔsṭɔ* 'persuasion' (Sokoloff 2009: 1189).

Additional nominal patterns are only sparsely attested with verbal roots of ultimate Greek origin. The *Berufsname* pattern CaCCɔC- is, for instance, attested in ܦܪܢܳܣܳܐ *parnɔsɔ* 'steward, administrator' (Sokoloff 2009: 1243-1244) ← rt. ܦܪܢܣ √*prns* 'to divide, distribute; to provide for, supply; to manage, administer' (Sokoloff 2009: 1243) < προνοητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1491) or προνοῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1490-1491).[8]

In general, then, derivations involving root and pattern morphology with Greek loanwords are restricted in two important ways. First, root and pattern morphology is only attested with Greek loanwords that have an independent verbal root. This shows that the root plays an essential role with internal nominal derivations in Syriac, reflecting the broader Semitic situation more generally.[9] There are no examples in Syriac in which a Greek loanword that does not have an independent verbal root produces internal nominal derivations involving

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[8] For the *Berufsname* pattern CaCCɔC- in Syriac, see Fox 2003: 260-261; Nöldeke 1904: §115.

[9] For the broader Semitic context, see Fox 2003: 44-45.

root and pattern morphology. That is, a noun **$nummɔsɔ$ 'legality' is never derived from

ܢܡܘܣܐ $nmws^{\jmath}$ 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) < νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180)

according to the abstract pattern CuCCɔC-, since no independent verbal root **√nms exists in

the language. Second, even when an independent verbal root does exist, there are only a limited

number of nominal derivations that are possible. Participles, *nomina agentis*, and abstracts of

the pattern CuCCɔC- can be derived for most roots, and the abstract pattern $C_1C_2ɔC_3$ and the

Berufsname pattern CaCCɔC- are also found in isolated cases. No other internal nominal

patterns are, however, attested, including common substantive patterns such as $C_1aC_2C_3$-,

$C_1iC_2C_3$, and $C_1uC_2C_3$-, and common adjective patterns such as $C_1aC_2C_2iC_3$-. This suggests that

internal nominal derivations were not fully productive in creating new nominal derivations

synchronically in Syriac. Some patterns could indeed be used, but many patterns were simply

not productive. Derivations involving root and pattern morphology with Greek loanwords, then,

are restricted in that: 1. they can only occur if there is an independent verbal root; 2. they are

only found with a limited set of nominal patterns, including participles, *nomina agentis*, and

abstracts of the pattern CuCCɔC-, and are not attested with most of the internal nominal

patterns in Syriac.[10] In both of these ways, nominal derivations involving root and pattern

morphology differ from derivations with Syriac suffixes, which is the subject of the next

section (§7.2.3).

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[10] It is likely that both of these restrictions are not limited to Greek loanwords in Syriac but apply more broadly to all lexemes in the language. That is, even for native Syriac lexemes, it is unlikely that nouns can be derived via root and pattern morphology unless a verbal root exists. In addition, it is likely that synchronically Syriac only has a limited number of productive internal nominal patterns. That is, a Syriac-speaker could not freely form a $C_1aC_2C_3$- noun from any verbal root in the language, but rather speakers learned a set of lexemes that were $C_1aC_2C_3$-nouns.

7.2.3 Suffixes

7.2.3.1 Overview

This section analyzes cases in which Greek loanwords in Syriac undergo further derivation with Syriac suffixes. The analysis is organized according to simple suffixes (§7.2.3.2) and complex suffixes (§7.2.3.3). On several occasions, Brock has pointed out that the addition of suffixes to Greek loanwords becomes more frequent over time.[11] Thus, this section pays particular attention to diachronic developments.[12] In this context, however, it should be noted that these diachronic developments do not indicate an increase in the intensity of Syriac-Greek contact over time; rather, they are indicative of the degree of integration of Greek loanwords in Syriac as well as of a diachronic change in internal Syriac developments in which the use of derivational suffixes becomes more common over time.[13]

7.2.3.2 Simple Suffixes

7.2.3.2.1 Overview

The simple suffixes in Syriac are the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ*, the adverbial suffix *-ɔʾiṯ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ* (so-called *nisba*), and the *nomen agentis* suffix *-ɔnɔ*. Each of these occurs with words that are ultimately of Greek origin. The simple suffixes are also incorporated into the complex suffixes discussed in §7.2.3.3.

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[11] Brock 1996: 260-261; 1999-2000: 440-442; 2004.

[12] As discussed in §4.4, the earliest text attesting the word in question that is known to the present author is cited with a heading in bold giving the century of composition.

[13] For the latter change, see Brock 1990; 2010.

7.2.3.2.2 Abstract Suffix -*uṯɔ*

The suffix -*uṯɔ* (< *-*ūt*-) is productive in deriving abstract substantives in Syriac,[14] e.g.,

malkɔ 'king' (Sokoloff 2009: 772) + -*uṯɔ* → *malkuṯɔ* 'kingdom' (Sokoloff 2009: 772-773).

This suffix occurs not only with native Syriac words, but also with Greek loanwords in

Syriac.[15] Several Greek loanwords with the abstract suffix -*uṯɔ* are attested already in pre-

fourth-century Syriac:[16]

(7-3) a. ἄρχων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 254) > ܐܪܟܘܢܐ *'rkwn'* 'ruler, archon; leader, chief'

   (Sokoloff 2009: 100) + -*uṯɔ* → ܐܪܟܘܢܘܬܐ *'rkwnwt'* 'rulership' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old

   Syriac Parchments, 3.5 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; only here; cf.

   Brock 2004: 32 with n. 7; 2005: 12; Healey 1995: 81)

   b. ἄσωτος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 267) > ܐܣܘܛܐ *'swṭ'* 'intemperate' (Sokoloff

   2009: 66-65) + -*uṯɔ* → ܐܣܘܛܘܬܐ *'swṭwt'* 'intemperance' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Book of

   the Laws of the Countries*, 34.25 [ed. Drijvers 1965]; *Acts of Thomas*, 296.18 [ed.

   Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 67; cf. Brock 1967: 395;

   1999-2000: 441; 2004: 32)[17]

   c. στρατηγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652) > ܣܛܪܛܓܐ *sṭrṭg'* 'strategos' (Sokoloff

   2009: 71, 998) + -*uṯɔ* → ܣܛܪܛܓܘܬܐ 'strategos-ship' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac

   Parchments, 1.5 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 71; cf.

   Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 32 with n. 7; 2005: 21), already in Imperial Aramaic

   'sṭrṭg[w] (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 87-88); Palmyrene *'sṭrṭgw* (Hillers and

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[14] Nöldeke 1904: §138.

[15] In general, see Brock 1967: 395; 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 441; 2004: 32-34.

[16] Brock 2004: 32.

[17] The reference to Is 28:7 in Brock 2004: 32 is incorrect and should be corrected to the adverbial form ܐܣܘܛܐܝܬ *'swṭ'yt*; see (7-8) with n. 28.

Cussini 1996: 341; cf. Brock 2005: 21)

It is interesting to note that two of these types occur already in the Old Syriac documents.

Greek loanwords with the abstract suffix -*uṯo* become more common in fourth-century Syriac:[18]

(7-4) a. ἀθλητής (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܛܐ *ʾtlyṭ*ʾ 'athlete, fighter' (Sokoloff 2009: 111-112) + -*uṯo* → ܐܬܠܝܛܘܬܐ *ʾtlyṭwt*ʾ 'strength, courage' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.248.18 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 112; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 441 with n. 9; 2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th cent.])

b. ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭ*ʾ 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (Sokoloff 2009: 331) + -*uṯo* → ܗܕܝܘܛܘܬܐ *hdywṭwt*ʾ 'simplicity, plainness' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 777.9; 861.8 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1, 29.26; 30.6; 42.2 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58]; *Maḏroše on Faith*, 167.3; 261.12 [ed. Beck 1955]; *Memre on Faith*, 51.3 [ed. Beck 1961b]; Sokoloff 2009: 331; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 441)

c. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) + -*ono* > ܩܛܪܓܢܐ *qṭrgn*ʾ (with alternative orthographies) 'accuser' (Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359) + -*uṯo* → ܩܛܪܓܢܘܬܐ *qṭrgnwt*ʾ 'accusation' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 127.19 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359; cf. Brock 1967: 403; 1996: 260)

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[18] Brock 2004: 32-33. See also ܐܓܡܛܪܘܬܐ *g*ʾ*mṭrwt*ʾ 'geometry' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 2.31.36 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; Sokoloff 2009: 198; cf. Brock 2004: 33), which is built upon γεωμετρία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 356) with the Syriac abstract ending -*uṯo* representing Greek -ία.

d. ξένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) + *-ɔyɔ* > ܐܟܣܢܝܐ *ʾksnyʾ* 'strange, foreign; stranger' (Sokoloff 2009: 44) + *-uṯɔ* → ܐܟܣܢܝܘܬܐ 'exile; alien status; life as stranger to the world' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.12.19; 2.48.16 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 148.12 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; Sokoloff 2009: 45; cf. Brock 2004: 34)

e. τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢܐ *ṭrwnʾ* 'tyrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 549) + *-uṯɔ* → ܛܪܘܢܘܬܐ *ṭrwnwtʾ* 'tyranny' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše of Nisibis*, 73.21 [ed. Beck 1963]; also in Wisdom of Solomon 16.4; Sokoloff 2009: 549; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 441 with n. 13; 2004: 32 [pre-4th cent.])

f. φιλόσοφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1940) > ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ *pylwswpʾ* 'philosopher' (with alternative orthographies) (Sokoloff 2009: 1187) + *-uṯɔ* → ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ *pylwspwtʾ* 'philosophy' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1, 58.23 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58]; already in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1187; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 33 [attested in 4th-5th cent.])

g. χριστιάνος (Lampe 1961: 1530) > ܟܪܣܛܝܢܐ *krsṭynʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'Christian' (Sokoloff 2009: 652) + *-uṯɔ* → ܟܪܣܛܝܢܘܬܐ 'Christianity' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 772.12 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 652)

The fifth century sees an even larger increase in the use of the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ* with Greek loanwords:[19]

(7-5) a. ἀγωνιστής (Lampe 1961: 26; Liddell and Scott 1996: 19) > ܐܓܘܢܣܛܐ *ʾgwnsṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'combatant, rival' (Sokoloff 2009: 6) + *-uṯɔ* → ܐܓܘܢܝܣܛܘܬܐ *ʾgwnysṭwtʾ* 'struggle' (**5th cent.** *Julian Romance*, 9.26 [ed. Hoffmann

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[19] Brock 2004: 32-33.

1880b]; Sokoloff 2009: 6; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th cent.])

b. αἱρετικός (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܗܪܛܝܩܐ *hrṭyqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'heretical, schismatic' (Sokoloff 2009: 354) + *-uṯɔ* → ܗܪܛܝܩܘܬܐ *hrṭyqwtʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'heresy' (**5th cent.** Narsai, quoted in Barḥadbshabba, *Cause of the Schools*, 71.12 [ed. Scher 1907]; **6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 2, 33.6; 124.3; 140.8 [ed. Nau 1913]; Sokoloff 2009: 354)

c. Latin *galearius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 800) > γα(λ)λιάριος (Daris 1991: 38) > ܓܠܝܪܐ *glyrʾ* '*galearius*, military servant' (Sokoloff 2009: 237-238) + *-uṯɔ* → ܓܠܝܪܘܬܐ *glyrwtʾ* 'group of *galearii*, military servants' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, *Homilies*, 1.286.2 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; Sokoloff 2009: 238)

d. γραμματικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 359) > ܓܪܡܛܝܩܐ *grmṭyqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'grammarian, teacher of literature' (Sokoloff 2009: 261) + *-uṯɔ* → ܓܪܡܐܛܝܩܘܬܐ *grmʾṭyqwtʾ* 'grammar, philology' (**5th cent.** Yoḥannan Iḥidaya, *Dialogues and Letters*, 10.237 [ed. Strothmann 1972]; Sokoloff 2009: 261; cf. Brock 2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th cent.])

e. ἐπισκοπός (Lampe 1961: 532-534; Liddell and Scott 1996: 657) > ܐܦܣܩܦܐ *ʾpsqpʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'overseer, bishop' (Sokoloff 2009: 86) + *-uṯɔ* → ܐܦܣܩܦܘܬܐ *ʾpsqpwtʾ* 'bishopric, office of bishop' (**5th cent.** *Life of Rabbula*, 170.7; 183.18; 205.11 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 86-87; cf. Brock

2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th cent.])[20]

f. ἡγεμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 763) > ܗܓܡܘܢܐ *hgmwnʾ* 'prefect' (Sokoloff 2009: 31, 340) + *-uṯɔ* → ܗܓܡܢܘܬܐ *hgmnwtʾ* 'leadership, prefecturship' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 1.274.15 [ed. Mingana 1905]; but already in Luke 2:2 [P]; 3.1 [SCP]; Sokoloff 2009: 31, 330)

g. κάπηλος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 876) > ܩܦܠܐ *qpylʾ* 'tavern keeper' (Sokoloff 2009: 1391) + *-uṯɔ* → ܩܐܦܠܘܬܐ *qʾplwtʾ* 'tavern keeping' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 1.360.10 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1393; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 441 ['Narsai is the earliest witness'])

h. κυβερνήτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1004) > ܩܘܒܪܢܝܛܐ *qwbrnyṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'helmsman, pilot' (Sokoloff 2009: 210, 1323) → ܩܘܒܪܢܝܛܘܬܐ *qwbrnyṭwtʾ* 'steering a ship; art of steering' (**5th cent.** Yoḥannan Iḥidaya, *Letters*, 49*.11 [ed. Rignell 1941]; Sokoloff 2009: 1323)

i. ποιητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1429) > ܦܘܐܛܐ *pwʾṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'poet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1158) + *-uṯɔ* → ܦܘܐܛܘܬܐ *pʾwṭwtʾ* 'poetic art, poem' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memra on Workers in the Vineyard*, 72, v. 148 [ed. Siman 1984]; Sokoloff 1158; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 441 ['Narsai is the earliest witness'])

j. ῥήτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1570) > ܪܗܛܪܐ *rhṭrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'orator, rhetorician' (Sokoloff 2009: 1442) → ܪܗܛܪܘܬܐ *rhṭrwtʾ* 'eloquence, rhetoric' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 2.77.9 [ed. Mingana 1905]; *Memra*

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[20] Brock (2004: 33) erroneously states that the word is found in Peshitta Acts; it is ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ *ʾpsqwpʾ* that is found in Peshitta Acts 20:28.

on *Workers in the Vineyard*, 71, v. 104; 72, v. 148 [ed. Siman 1984]; Sokoloff

2009: 1442; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 441 with n. 11; 2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th

cent.])

    k.   συνήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1715) > ܣܢܓܪܐ *sngrʾ* (with alternative

orthographies) 'advocate' (Sokoloff 2009: 1022) + *-utɔ* → ܣܢܐܓܪܘܬܐ *snʾgrwtʾ*

(with alternative orthographies) 'entreaty' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Amid,[21] *Memre on the*

Royal City, 299.26 [ed. Moss 1929, 1932]; Narsai, *Memre*, 1.167.12, 1.275.22;

2.137.20 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1022; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 441 with

n. 12)

The following examples of the abstract suffix *-utɔ* with Greek loanwords are first attested in

sixth- and seventh-century Syriac:

(7-6) a.   ἄθλησις (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܣܐ *ʾtlysʾ* 'fight,

struggle' (Sokoloff 2009: 112) + *-utɔ* → ܐܬܠܝܣܘܬܐ *ʾtlyswtʾ* 'fight' (**6th cent.**

Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 2.79.19 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 112; cf.

Brock 1996: 260)

    b.   Latin *veredarius* (Glare 1982: 2035; Lewis and Short 1969: 1973) > βερεδάριος

(Daris 1991: 34), οὐερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 79) > ܒܝܠܕܪܐ *byldrʾ* 'letter carrier'

(Sokoloff 2009: 141) + *-utɔ* → ܒܝܠܕܪܘܬܐ *bylydrwtʾ* 'function of a letter carrier or

courier' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 2, 93.11 [ed. Nau

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[21] This text is attributed to Isḥaq of Antioch, and this attribution was recently reaffirmed in the study of Bou Mansour (2003). It should be noted, however, that there are at least three persons named Isḥaq in the fourth to sixth centuries (see Matthews, in *GEDSH*, 212-213; Brock 2011: 9) and that one of them, Isḥaq of Amid, is known to have spent time in Constantinople. Thus, it seems likely that the *memrɔ* on Constantinople edited by Moss actually belongs to Isḥaq of Amid (so also Brock 1997: 41; 1998: 708; Ortiz de Urbina 1965: 94).

1913]; Sokoloff 2009: 141)

c. ἐπιθέτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 634) > ܐܦܝܛܛܐ *ʾpyṭyṭʾ* 'imposter' (Sokoloff 2009: 87) + *-uṯo* → ܐܦܝܛܛܘܬܐ *ʾpyṭyṭwtʾ* 'imposture' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 98.6 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 87)

d. μητροπολίτης (Lampe 1961: 870) > ܡܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ *mṭrwpwlyṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'metropolitan' (Sokoloff 2009: 749-750) + *-uṯo* → ܡܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܘܬܐ *mṭrwpwlyṭwtʾ* 'office of a metropolitan' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 2, 19.11 [ed. Nau 1913])

e. μῖμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1135; Lampe 1961: 872), cf. Latin *mimus* (Glare 1982: 1110; Lewis and Short 1969: 1145) > ܡܝܡܣܐ *mymsʾ* 'mimic actor, mime' (Sokoloff 2009: 753) + *-uṯo* → ܡܝܡܣܘܬܐ *mymswtʾ* 'mime's art' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 518.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 753)

f. Latin *notarius* (Glare 1982: 1192; Lewis and Short 1969: 1217) > νοτάριος (Lampe 1991: 74-75; Lampe 1961: 922-923) > ܢܘܛܪܐ *nwṭrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) '*notarius*, a Byzantine official' (Sokoloff 2009: 898, 911) + *-uṯo* → ܢܘܛܪܘܬܐ *nwṭrwtʾ* 'office of a *notarius*' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 103.12 [ed. Nau 1932])

g. ὀρχηστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1258) > ܐܪܟܣܛܐ *ʾrksṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'dancer' (Sokoloff 2009: 101) + *-uṯo* → ܐܪܟܣܛܘܬܐ *ʾrksṭwtʾ* with alternative orthographies) 'dancing' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 113.6 [ed. Nau 1932]; Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memra on Theatre*, 97.4, 101.6 [ed. Moss 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 101)

h. πατριάρχης (Lampe 1961: 1051-1052) > ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ *pṭryrkʾ* 'patriarch' (Sokoloff 2009: 1184) + -*uṯɔ* → ܦܛܪܝܪܟܘܬܐ *pṭryrkwtʾ* 'patriarchate' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Cause of the Schools*, 66.2; 76.2 [ed. Scher 1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 1184)

i. Latin *patronus* (Glare 1982: 1311; Lewis and Short 1969: 1316-1317) > πάτρων (Darius 1991: 88; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1349) > ܦܛܪܘܢܐ *pṭrwnʾ* 'patron' (Sokoloff 2009: 1183) + -*uṯɔ* → ܦܛܪܘܢܘܬܐ *pṭrwnwtʾ* 'patronship' (**7th cent.** Isḥaq of Nineveh, *Part 1*, 266.1 [ed. Bedjan 1909]; Sokoloff 2009: 1184; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

j. σατράπης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1585) > ܣܛܪܦܐ *sṭrpʾ* 'satrap' (Sokoloff 2009: 998) + -*uṯɔ* → ܣܛܪܦܘܬܐ *sṭrpwtʾ* 'satrapy' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 284.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 998)

k. σοφιστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1622) > ܣܘܦܝܣܛܐ *swpysṭʾ* 'sophist' (Sokoloff 2009: 988) + -*uṯɔ* → ܣܘܦܝܣܛܘܬܐ *swpysṭwtʾ* 'sophistry' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 103.14 [ed. Nau 1932]; Sokoloff 2009: 988)

l. ὕπαρχος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1853) > ܗܘܦܪܟܐ *hwprkʾ* 'prefect' (Sokoloff 2009: 19; 338) + -*uṯɔ* → ܗܘܦܪܟܘܬܐ *hwprkwtʾ* 'prefecture' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 108.8 [ed. Nau 1932]; Sokoloff 2009: 338)

Diachronically, then, the fifth and sixth centuries represent the largest expansion in the use of the abstract suffix -*uṯɔ*,[22] with a number of forms also being introduced in the fourth century. This shows that many Greek loanwords were already fully incorporated in Syriac by at least the fourth century with many more being fully incorporated by at least the fifth and sixth centuries.

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[22] Brock 1999-2000: 441.

In addition, it points to a general increase in the frequency of the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ* in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In addition to being used with Greek loanwords, the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ* also occurs with nominal derivations from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin,[23] e.g., ܡܙܘܓܘܬܐ *mzawwḡuṯɔ* 'matrimony' (Sokoloff 2009: 733; cf. Brock 2004: 36 [first attested in 6th cent.]) ← rt. ܙܘܓ √*zwg* D 'to yoke; to join'; Dt 'to be married' (Sokoloff 2009: 369) ← ܙܘܓܐ *zwgꜣ* 'yoke, pair; chariot' (Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370) < ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757).

The abstract suffix *-uṯɔ* also occurs with Greek loanwords in the complex suffixes *-tɔnuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.3), *-tɔnɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.4), *-ɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.5), *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.8), and *-ɔnuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.9).

Outside of Syriac, the abstract suffix *-ūt-* is used with Greek loanwords in other dialects of Aramaic. In Palmyrene Aramaic, for instance, the following words occur with the abstract suffix *-ūt-*:[24]

(7-7)   a.   ἐπιμελητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 645-646) > *ꜣpmlṭ* 'curator' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 342) + *-ūt → *ꜣpmlṭw* 'curatorship' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 342; cf. Brock 2005: 16)

        b.   πρόεδρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1476) > *plhdr* 'president' + *-ūt → *plhdrw* 'presidency' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 400; cf. Brock 2005: 20)

        c.   στρατηγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652) > *ꜣsṭrṭg* 'general' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341) + *-ūt → *ꜣsṭrṭgw* 'term as general, command, campaign, expedition'

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[23] Brock 2004: 36.

[24] Brock 2005: 25. The ending *-w* in the following examples is the *status absolutus* of the abstract suffix *-ūt*.

(Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341; cf. Brock 2004: 32 n. 7; 2005: 16), also already in

Imperial Aramaic *ʾsṭrṭg[w]* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 87-88)

These words show that external nominal derivations involving Greek loanwords in Aramaic are already attested in the Middle Aramaic period. Outside of Syriac, the abstract suffix *-ūt* is used in the Late Aramaic period in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, e.g., ἀθλητής (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > *ʾtlyṭ* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 108; Schulthess 1903: 20) + *-ūt* → *ʾtlyṭw* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 108). These examples from Palmyrene Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic are important for establishing that secondary nominal derivations involving the use of native Syriac suffixes with Greek loanwords are not limited to Syriac, but are also found in other dialects of Aramaic, albeit in a limited number.[25] It is interesting to note in this regard that Palmyrene Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic after Syriac are the two dialects that had the most significant contact with Greek. Thus, the use of secondary nominal derivations involving native suffixes with Greek loanwords correlates with degree of contact with Greek.

7.2.3.2.3 Adverbial Suffix *-ɔʾiṯ*

The suffix *-ɔʾiṯ* (< *-āyīt*) is productive in deriving qualitative adverbs in Syriac,[26] e.g., *ʾalɔhɔ* 'god' (Sokoloff 2009: 47) + *-ɔʾiṯ* → *ʾalɔhɔʾiṯ* 'divinely' (Sokoloff 2009: 47). This suffix occurs not only with native Syriac words, but also with Greek loanwords in Syriac.[27] Greek

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[25] Compare Brock, who states, "Syriac is the only Late Aramaic dialect which develops this potential" (2004: 32).

[26] Nöldeke 1904: §155. Diachronically, the adverbial suffix *-ɔʾiṯ* derives from the adjectival suffix *-āy* and the feminine ending *-(a)t-* (Butts 2010). Synchronically, however, this etymology is opaque; thus, it is considered a simple suffix in this study.

[27] Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 32-34.

loanwords with the adverbial suffix -ɔʾiṯ are rare in the earliest period of Syriac, with only the following types attested by the fourth century:

(7-8) a. ἄσωτος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 267) > ܐܣܘܛܐ *ʾswṭʾ* 'intemperate' (Sokoloff 2009: 66-65) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܐܣܘܛܐܝܬ *ʾswṭʾyt* 'immoderately, intemperately' (**Pre-4th cent.** Is 28.7; **4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 828.21; 833.8 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 67; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 442; 2004: 32-33)[28]

       b. ἰδιώτης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 819) > ܗܕܝܘܛܐ *hdywṭʾ* 'unskilled, simple, ordinary; stupid' (Sokoloff 2009: 331) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܗܕܝܘܛܐܝܬ *hdywṭʾyt* 'in an experienced manner' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏroše against Heresies*, 47.22 [ed. Beck 1957a]; *Maḏroše of Nisibis*, 95.17 [ed. Beck 1963]; *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 2.217.15 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; Sokoloff 2009: 331; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 442)[29]

       c. νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ *nmwsʾyt* 'according to the law' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 249.4 [ed. Wright 1871a: 171-333]; Sokoloff 2009: 922; cf. Brock 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 441 n. 14, 442; 2004: 33 [first attested in 4th-5th cent.])[30]

Several additional loanwords occur with the adverbial suffix -ɔʾiṯ in fifth-century Syriac:

(7-9) a. ἀθλητής (Lampe 1961: 46; Liddell and Scott 1996: 32) > ܐܬܠܝܛܐ *ʾtlyṭʾ* 'athelete' (Sokoloff 2009: 111-112) + -ɔʾiṯ → ܐܬܠܝܛܐܝܬ *ʾtlyṭʾyt* 'like an athlete' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre on Biblical Themes*, 11.267 [ed. Frishman 1992]; cf. Brock 1996:

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[28] Correct Brock (2004: 32), where ܐܣܘܛܘܬܐ *ʾswṭwtʾ* is erroneously given for Is 28:7.

[29] Brock (1999-2000: 441-442) states that there are no examples of -ɔʾiṯ with Greek loanwords in Ephrem; this should be corrected in light of these examples.

[30] Brock (2004: 32) includes this reference within texts of the fourth and fifth centuries; the *Acts of Thomas*, however, likely dates to an earlier period, perhaps the first half of the third century (see the discussion in Bremmer 2001b: 73-77).

260; 1999-2000: 441 ['Narsai is the earliest witness'])

    b. ἀρραβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢܐ *rhbwnʾ* 'pledge, deposit' (Sokoloff 2009: 1439) + -*ʾit* → ܪܗܒܘܢܐܝܬ *rhbwnʾyt* 'as a pledge' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 1.284.5 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1439; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 442 ['Narsai is the earliest witness'], 447 n. 36)

    c. μηχανή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1131) > ܡܐܟܢܐ *mʾknʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'machine, siege engine; irrigated land' (Sokoloff 2009: 701) + -*ʾit* → ܡܟܐܢܐܝܬ *mkʾnʾyt* 'skillfully' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, 2.204.v4 [ed. Bickell 1873-1877]; Sokoloff 2009: 756)

    d. ῥήτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1570) > ܪܗܝܛܪܐ *rhyṭrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'orator, rhetorician' (Sokoloff 2009: 1442) + -*ʾit* → ܪܗܝܛܪܐܝܬ *rhyṭrʾyt* 'like an orator' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 2.344.18 [ed. Mingana 1905]; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 442 [Narsai and Yaʿqub of Serugh are the earliest witnesses])

The sixth century sees the adverbial suffix -*ʾit* used with several additional loanwords:

(7-10) a. κανών (Lampe 1961: 701-702; Liddell and Scott 1996: 875) > ܩܢܘܢܐ *qnwnʾ* 'rule, canon; order; tribute' (Sokoloff 2009: 1381) + -*ʾit* → ܩܢܘܢܐܝܬ *qnwnʾyt* 'according to the cannons' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 65.7 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

    b. ὀρθόδοξος (Lampe 1961: 971-972; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1248) > ܐܪܬܕܘܟܣܐ *ʾrtdwksʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'orthodox' (Sokoloff 2009: 105) + -*ʾit* → ܐܪܬܕܘܟܣܐܝܬ 'in an orthodox way' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, 138.12 [ed. Nau 1932])

    c. σωλήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1748-1749) > ܣܝܠܘܢܐ *sylwnʾ* 'pipe, conduit;

stream, brooklet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1000-1001) + -ʾiṯ → ܣܝܠܘܢܐܝܬ *sylwnʾyt* 'like a pipe' (**6th cent.** Babai, *Book of the Union*, 269.13 [ed. Vaschalde 1915]; Sokoloff 2009: 1001)

d. ταραχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1758) + -ānā > ܛܪܟܢܐ *ṭrknʾ* 'whisperer, tale-bearer; shrew, sagacious' (Sokoloff 2009: 553-554) + -ʾiṯ → ܛܪܟܢܐܝܬ *ṭrknʾyt* 'perfidiously' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 250.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 554)

e. τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢܐ *ṭrwnʾ* 'tyrant' (Sokoloff 2009: 549) + -ʾiṯ → ܛܪܘܢܐܝܬ *ṭrwnʾyt* 'tyrannically' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 42.5 [ed. Nau 1932]; Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 96.11 [ed. Macomber 1974]; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

Finally, new formations involving the use of the adverbial suffix -ʾiṯ with Greek loanwords are even more common in the seventh century:

(7-11) a. ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63) + -ʾiṯ → ܐܢܢܩܐܝܬ 'necessarily' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 181.28 [ed. Duval 1904-1905])

b. αὐθέντης (Liddell and Scott 1996: 275) > ܐܘܬܢܛܐ *ʾwtnṭʾ* 'master, holder of authority' (Sokoloff 2009: 24) + -ʾiṯ → ܐܘܬܢܛܐܝܬ *ʾwtnṭʾyt* 'by itself, of its own accord' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, quoted in Michael Rabo, *Chronicle*, 4.76.20 [ed. Chabot 1899-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 24)

c. γραμματικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 359) > ܓܪܡܛܝܩܐ *grmṭyqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'grammarian, teacher of literature' (Sokoloff 2009: 261) + -ʾiṯ → ܓܪܐܡܛܝܩܐܝܬ *grʾmʾṭyqʾyt* 'grammatically' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *On Syriac*

Orthography, 68.19 [ed. Phillips 1869]; Sokoloff 2009: 261)[31]

d. εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *ʾwnglywn* 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18) + -*ʾiṯ* → ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐܝܬ 'according to the gospel' (**7th cent.** Sahdona, *Works*, 3.112.23 [ed. de Halleux 1960-1965]; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

e. οὐσία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1274-1275) > ܐܘܣܝܐ *ʾwsyʾ* 'essence, substance; wealth' (Sokoloff 2009: 18) + -*ʾiṯ* → ܐܘܣܝܐܝܬ *ʾwsyʾyt* 'essentially, substantially' (**7th cent.** Marutha of Tagrit, *Sedro*, ms. Brit. Libr. Add 17,128, f. 91.10, according to Brock [personal communication]; Sokoloff 2009: 18; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

f. ποιητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1429) > ܦܘܐܛܐ *pwʾṭʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'poet' (Sokoloff 2009: 1158) + -*ʾiṯ* → ܦܘܐܛܐܝܬ *pwʾṭʾyt* 'as a poet' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 21.b.9 [ed. Chabot 1953]; Sokoloff 2009: 1185; cf. Brock 1996: 260)

g. πρόσωπον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1533) > ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *prṣwpʾ* 'face, countenance; person, party' (Sokoloff 2009: 1249-1250) + -*ʾiṯ* → ܦܪܨܘܦܐܝܬ 'according to person' (**7th cent.** Yoḥannan bar Penkaye, *World History*, 101.14 [ed. Mingana 1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 1250)

h. σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738) > ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ʾspyrʾ* 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) + -*ʾiṯ* → ܐܣܦܝܪܐܝܬ *ʾspyrʾyt* 'spherically' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Geographical Fragments*, 132.10 [ed. Sachau 1870: 127-134]; Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 97.a.12 [ed. Chabot 1953]; Sokoloff 2009:

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[31] Sokoloff (2009: 261) states that ܓܪܐܡܐܛܝܩܐܝܬ *grʾmʾṭyqʾyt* is a loanword from γραμματικῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 359); while it may be calqued on Greek, the word is certainly an inner Syriac formation.

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    i. φαντασία (Lampe 1961: 1471; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1915-1916) > ܦܢܛܣܝܐ *pnṭsy'* 'fantasy, imagination; image; display, exhibition' (Sokoloff 2009: 1205) + -*ɔ'iṯ* → ܦܢܛܣܝܐܝܬ 'fantastically' (**7th cent.** Isḥaq of Nineveh, *Part 1*, 183.21 [ed. Bedjan 1909]; Sokoloff 2009: 1205)

    j. φιλόσοφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1940) > ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ *pylwswp'* (with alternative orthographies) 'philosopher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1187) + -*ɔ'iṯ* → ܦܝܠܣܘܦܐܝܬ *pylswp'yt* 'philosophically' (**7th cent.** Isho'yahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 177.2; 178.20 [ed. Duval 1904-1905])

    k. ὠκεανός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2031) > ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ *'wqynws* 'ocean' (Sokoloff 2009: 20) + -*ɔ'iṯ* → ܐܘܩܝܢܐܝܬ *'wqyn'yt* 'like an ocean' (**7th cent.** Babai the Great, *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 14.32 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; Sokoloff 2009: 20)

From these examples, it is clear that the adverbial suffix -*ɔ'iṯ* came to be used more frequently with Greek loanwords over time. This points to the gradual incorporation of Greek loanwords in Syriac. It is also indicative of the increase in the frequency of the adverbial suffix -*ɔ'iṯ* throughout the history of Syriac.[32]

    In addition to being used with Greek loanwords, the adverbial suffix -*ɔ'iṯ* also occurs with nominal derivations from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin,[33] e.g., ܡܛܟܣܐܝܬ *mṭakksɔ'iṯ* 'in an orderly way' (Brock 1996: 261; 1999-2000: 442; 2004: 36 [first attested in 5th cent.]) ← rt. ܛܟܣ √*ṭks* D 'to order', Dt 'to be set in order, arranged' (Sokoloff 2009: 529)

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[32] Cf. Nöldeke 1875: 200 n. 3.
[33] Brock 2004: 36.

← ܛܟܣܐ *ṭksʾ*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529) < τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756).

The adverbial suffix *-ɔʾiṯ* also occurs with Greek loanwords in the complex suffixes *-tɔnɔʾiṯ* (§7.2.3.3.2) and *-ɔnɔʾiṯ* (§7.2.3.3.7).

7.2.3.2.4 Adjectival Suffix *-ɔyɔ*

The so-called *nisba* suffix *-ɔyɔ* (< *-āy-) is productive in forming various types of adjectives,[34] e.g., ܐܠܗܝܐ *ʾalɔhɔyɔ* 'divine' (Sokoloff 2009: 47) ← ܐܠܗܐ *ʾalɔhɔ* 'God' (Sokoloff 2009: 47) + *-ɔyɔ*. This suffix occurs not only with native Syriac words, but also with Greek loanwords in Syriac.[35] These formations are, however, rare before the sixth century.[36] There are, for instance, no examples in Ephrem,[37] and the only type attested in Narsai is ܢܡܘܣܝܐ *nmwsyʾ* 'legal' (5th cent. Narsai, *Memre*, 1.32.2; 2.74.8, 2.311.17, *passim* [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 922; Brock 1996: 260 n. 33; 1999-2000: 442 [no less than 27 times in Narsai]; 2004: 32 [pre-6th cent.]; 2010: 13-14) ← ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) + *-ɔyɔ* < νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180). After the fifth-century, Greek loanwords with the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ* become much more common:[38]

(7-12) a. ἀγρός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 15-16) > ܐܓܘܪܣܐ *ʾgwrsʾ* 'field; estate, country house; poorhouse, hospital' (2009: 6-7) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܓܘܪܣܝܐ *ʾgwrsyʾ* 'rustic' (7th cent. Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 179.11 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 7; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

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[34] Nöldeke 1904: §80-83; see also p. 325-329 below.
[35] Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 32-34.
[36] Brock 2004: 32.
[37] Brock 1999-2000: 442.
[38] Brock 1996: 260; 1999-2000: 442; 2004: 33-34.

b. ἀδάμας (Liddell and Scott 1996: 20) > ܐܕܡܘܣ *ʾdmws* (with alternative orthographies) 'hardest iron, steel' (Sokoloff 2009: 10) + -ܝܐ → ܐܕܡܘܣܝܐ *ʾdmwsyʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'hard as steel' (**6th cent.** Babai the Great, *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 412.25 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; *Book of the Union*, 4.25 [ed. Vaschalde 1915]; **7th cent.** Sahdona, *Works*, 1.35.16 [ed. de Halleux 1960-1965]; Sokoloff 2009: 10; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

c. αἱρετικός (Lampe 1961: 51) > ܗܪܛܝܩ *hrṭyqʾ*, ܐܪܛܝܩ *ʾrṭyqʾ* 'heretical, schismatic' (Sokoloff 2009: 354) + -ܝܐ → ܗܪܛܝܩܝܐ *hrṭyqyʾ*, ܐܪܛܝܩܝܐ *ʾrṭyqyʾ* 'heretical' (**6th cent.** *Life of John bar Aphtonia*, 20.7 [ed. Nau 1902]; **7th cent.** Babai the Great, *Life of Giwargis*, 543.3 [ed. Bedjan 1895]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 312.13; 321.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 354; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.]; 2004: 33 [6th cent.])

d. ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩ *ʾnnqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63) + -ܝܐ → ܐܢܢܩܝܐ *ʾnnqyʾ* 'necessary' (**7th cent.** Isḥaq of Nineveh, *Part 2*, 14.4, 7, 15 [ed. Brock 1995]; *Part 3*, 101.8 [ed. Chialà 2011]; Yoḥannan bar Penkaye, *World History*, 152.20 [ed. Mingana 1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 63; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.];2004 : 33 [6th cent.])

e. ἀρραβών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 146) > ܪܗܒܘܢ *rhbwnʾ* 'pledge, deposit' (Sokoloff 2009: 1439)+ -ܝܐ → ܪܗܒܘܢܝܐ *rhbwnyʾ* 'pledge-like' (**7th cent.** Dadishoʿ Qaṭraya, *Commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah*, 11.24 [ed. Draguet 1972]; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

f. ἀρχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 252) > ܐܝܟܘܣ *ʾïkws* + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܝܟܘܣܝܐ *ʾrkwsyʾ* 'angelic' (**6th cent.** Babai the Great, *Life of Giwargis*, 489.17 [ed. Bedjan 1895]; Sokoloff 2009: 100; cf. Brock 1967: 393 n. 12; 1996: 260-261 with n. 32)

g. βαλανεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 303) > ܒܠܢ *blnʾ* 'bath' (Sokoloff 2009: 158, 161) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܒܠܢܝ *blnyʾ* 'bathhouse attendant' (**6th cent.** *Life of Ephrem*, Ch. 12a [P, V] [ed. Amar 2011]; Sokoloff 2009: 158; cf. Brock 2004: 33 [6th cent.])[39]

h. διαλεκτικός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 401) > ܕܝܐܠܩܛܝܩܘܣ *dyʾlqṭyqws* 'dialectician' (Sokoloff 2009: 292) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܕܝܠܩܛܝܩܝܐ *dylqṭyqyʾ* 'dialectic' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 37.15 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 296; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

i. ἐπισκοπός (Lampe 1961: 532-534; Liddell and Scott 1996: 657) > ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ *ʾpysqwpʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'overseer, bishop' (Sokoloff 2009: 86) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܦܣܩܘܦܝܐ *ʾpsqwpyʾ* 'episcopal' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 172.27 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

j. εὐαγγέλιον (Lampe 1961: 555-559; Liddell and Scott 1996: 705) > ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *ʾwnglywn* 'gospel' (Sokoloff 2009: 17-18) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐ *ʾwnglyʾ* 'of a gospel, evangelical' (**7th cent.** Sahdona, *Works*, 3.80.20; 3.152.27 [ed. de Halleux 1960-1965]; Sokoloff 2009: 17; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.]; 2004: 33 [6th cent.])

k. καθολική, καθολικός (Lampe 1961: 690-691) > ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ *qtwlyqʾ* '*catholicos*, Catholic' (Sokoloff 2009: 1411) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܩܬܘܠܝܩܝܐ *qtwlyqyʾ* 'universal' (**7th cent.**

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[39] Sokoloff (2009: 158) states that ܒܠܢܝ *blnyʾ* is a loanword from βαλανεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 303); while it may be calqued on Greek, the word is certainly an inner Syriac formation from ܒܠܢ *blnʾ* < βαλανεῖον.

Isho'yahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 208.11; 209.22; 210.15 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1421; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

l. μητροπολίτης (Lampe 1961: 870) > ܡܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ *mṭrwpwlyṭ'* (with alternative orthographies) 'metropolitan' (Sokoloff 2009: 749-750) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܡܝܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܝܐ *myṭrpwlyty'* 'pertaining to a metropolitan' (**7th cent.** Isho'yahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 172.27 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 752)

m. πανδοκεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1296-1297) > ܦܘܬܩܐ *pwtq'* 'inn' (Sokoloff 2009: 1162, 1177) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܦܘܬܩܝܐ *pwtqy'* 'innkeeper' (**7th cent.** Sahdona, *Works*, 1.72.20; 1.73.12 [ed. de Halleux 1960-1965]; but already in Luke 10:35 [SCP]; Sokoloff 2009: 1177; cf. Brock 1996: 260 n. 33; 1967: 410-411; 2004: 32 [pre-6th cent.])

n. στοίχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1647) > ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ *'sṭwks'* 'element' (Sokoloff 2009: 68) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܣܛܘܟܣܝܐ *'sṭwksy'* 'elementary' (**7th cent.** Babai the Great, *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 200.20 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; Sokoloff 2009: 68; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.];2004 : 33 [6th cent.])

o. σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738) > ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *'spyr'* 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܣܦܝܪܝܐ *'spyry'* 'spherical' (**7th cent.** Severos Sebokht, *Geographical Fragments*, 132.13 [ed. Sachau 1870: 127-134]; Sokoloff 2009: 76; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

p. σχολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747-1748) > ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *'skwl'* 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܐܣܟܘܠܝܐ *'skwly'* 'scholar, disciple' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 2, 120.12 [ed. Nau 1913]; Sokoloff

2009: 73; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.]; 2004: 33 [6th cent.])

q. τύραννος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1836) > ܛܪܘܢܐ *ṭrwn* + *-ɔyɔ* → ܛܪܘܢܝܐ *ṭrwny* 'tyrannical' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 58.2 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 549-550; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

r. φιλόσοφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1940) > ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ *pylwswp* (with alternative orthographies) 'philosopher' (Sokoloff 2009: 1187) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܝܐ *pylwswpy* 'philosophical' (**7th cent.** Isho‘yahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 178.20, 22 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [7th cent. or late 6th cent.])

s. φύσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964-1965) > ܦܘܣܝܣ *pwsys* 'nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 1167) + *-ɔyɔ* → ܦܘܣܝܣܝܐ *pwsysy* 'of natural philosophy' (**7th cent.** Babai the Great, *Commentary on the* 'Gnostic Chapters' *by Evagrius of Pontus*, 264.18 [ed. Frankenberg 1912]; Sokoloff 2009: 1167; cf. Brock 1996: 260-261 with n. 32)

The large number of examples from the sixth and seventh centuries illustrate the degree of incorporation of these loanwords by this time. It also shows that the *nisba* suffix *-ɔyɔ* became more common after the fifth century.[40]

There are a small group of Greek loanwords in Syriac that are only attested with the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ*:

(7-13) a. Latin *praetor* (Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969: 1436) > πραίτωρ (Daris 1991: 92; Lampe 1961: 1126; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1458) + *-ɔyɔ* > ܦܪܛܘܪܝܐ *prṭwry* 'praetor' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 309.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 159.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1237)

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[40] In §8.3, it is argued that this increase in frequency is due to contact with Greek.

b. βάρβαρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 306) + -ܐܝܐ > ܒܪܒܪܝܐ *brbry* 'barbarian' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrāše on the Church*, 89.16 [ed. Beck 1960]; already in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 186)

c. βυρσεύς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 333) + -ܐܝܐ > ܒܘܪܣܝܐ *bwrsy* 'tanner' (**6th cent.** Philoxenos, *Discourses*, 142.9 [ed. Budge 1894]; already in Acts 9:43; 10:6, 32; Sokoloff 2009: 131; cf. Brock 1996: 260 n. 33; 2004: 32 [pre-6th cent.], 34)

d. γερδιός, γέρδιος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 345); cf. Latin *gerdius* (Glare 1982: 761; Lewis and Short 1969: 811) + -ܐܝܐ > ܓܪܕܝܐ *grdyy* 'weaver' (**Pre-4th cent.** Jdt 16:14; 1Sam 17:7; 1Chron 11:23; 20:5; Sokoloff 2009: 258)

e. λῃστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1046) + -ܐܝܐ > ܠܣܛܝܐ *lysty* 'bandit' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.337.25 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 165.6, 9 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 692-693; cf. Brock 1967: 406-407; 2004: 32 [pre-6th cent.], 35)

f. ξένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) + -ܐܝܐ > ܐܟܣܢܝܐ *ʾksny* 'strange, foreign; stranger' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 175.5, 7; 183.12; 231.3; 242.11 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Odes of Solomon*, 17.6 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 44), already in Palmyrene *ʾksny* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 337-338; cf. Brock 2005: 19); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾaksənāyā* (Sokoloff 2002a: 131); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾksnyy* (Sokoloff 58); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾksnʾy* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 106; 1998a: 219; Schulthess 1903: 8)

These words should be distinguished from the examples in (7-12), since they are not cases of secondary developments in Syriac from a loanword, but rather related to the integration of the

loanwords. In addition, it should be noted that several of these words are found early in the history of Syriac.

The adjectival suffix -ɔyɔ also occurs with Greek loanwords in the complex suffixes -ɔyuṯɔ (§7.2.3.3.5), -ɔnɔyɔ (§7.2.3.3.6), and -ɔnɔyuṯɔ (§7.2.3.3.8).

7.2.3.2.5 *Nomen Agentis* Suffix -ɔnɔ

The suffix -ɔnɔ (< *-ān-) is used with derived-stem participles to form *nomina agentis*,[41] e.g., *mšabbḥɔnɔ* 'one who praises' (Sokoloff 2009: 840) ← √šbḥ D 'to praise' (Sokoloff 2009: 1500-1501). This suffix also occurs with derived-stem *nomina agentis* from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin,[42] e.g., ܡܛܟܣܢܐ *mṭakksɔnɔ* 'someone who puts in order' (Sokoloff 2009: 747; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 2004: 36 [first attested in 6th cent.]) ← rt. ܛܟܣ √ṭks D 'to order', Dt 'to be set in order, arranged' (Sokoloff 2009: 529) ← ܛܟܣ *ṭks*, ܛܟܣܝܣ *ṭksys* 'order; rank' (Sokoloff 2009: 181, 529) < τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756).

There are a small group of Greek loanwords in Syriac that are only attested with the adjectival suffix -ɔn:

(7-14) a. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) > ܩܛܪܓܢܐ *qṭrgnʾ*, ܩܛܓܪܢܐ *qṭgrnʾ* /qṭeḡrɔnɔ/ (with alternative orthographies) 'accuser' (Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359)

b. ταραχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1758) > ܛܪܟܢܐ *ṭrknʾ* 'whisperer, tale-bearer; shrew, sagacious' (Sokoloff 2009: 553-554)

The use of -ɔnɔ in these words can be compared to the Greek loanwords in Syriac that only occur with the adjectival suffix -ɔyɔ, which are listed in (7-13).

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[41] Nöldeke 1904: 128-130.
[42] Brock 2004: 36.

In general, then, the suffix *-ɔnɔ* is quite restricted with Greek loanwords in Syriac, occurring primarily in derived stem *nomina agentis*. This is a reflection of its rather limited use in Syriac more broadly.

The suffix *-ɔnɔ* also occurs with Greek loanwords in the complex suffixes *-tɔnɔ* (§7.2.3.3.1), *-tɔnɔʾiṯ* (§7.2.3.3.2) *-tɔnuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.3), *-tɔnɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.4), *-ɔnɔyɔ* (§7.2.3.3.6), *-ɔnɔʾiṯ* (§7.2.3.3.7), *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.8), and *-ɔnuṯɔ* (§7.2.3.3.9).

7.2.3.3 Complex Suffixes

The complex suffixes in Syriac include the adjectival suffix *-tɔnɔ*, the adverbial suffix *-tɔnɔʾiṯ*, the abstract suffix *-tɔnɔyuṯɔ*, the abstract suffix *-ɔyuṯɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔyɔ*, the adverbial suffix *-ɔnɔʾiṯ*, and the abstract suffix *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ*. Some of these suffixes are not even attested for native Syriac words until the fifth century or later.[43] All of these are, however, eventually attested with Greek loanwords.

7.2.3.3.1 Adjectival Suffix *-tɔnɔ*

The adjectival suffix *-tɔnɔ* (< *-tān-) derives from the feminine suffix *-tɔ* and the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ*, which is found primarily with derived-stem *nomina agentis* in Syriac (§7.2.3.2.5). Greek loanwords with the adjectival suffix *-tɔnɔ* are as follows:[44]

(7-15) a. σχῆμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1745) > ܐܣܟܝܡܐ *ʾskymʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'form' (Sokoloff 2009: 74, 178) + *-tɔnɔ* → ܐܣܟܡܬܢܐ *ʾskmtnʾ* 'modest; just; hypocritical' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.604.25 [ed.

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[43] Brock 2004: 34.
[44] Brock 2004: 35.

Parisot 1894-1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 73; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 1999-2000: 442; 2004: 35 [first attested in 4th cent.])

b. χρῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2012) > ܟܪܘܡܐ *krwmᵓ* 'color, nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 648) + *-tɔnɔ* → ܟܪܘܡܬܢܐ *krwmtnᵓ* 'bold-faced, audacious' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 1.44.12, 1.215.20; 2.313.2, 2.334.21, 2.362.25 [ed. Mingana. 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 648-649; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 442 with n. 17; 2004: 35 [first attested in 5th cent.])

While there are no attestations in Ephrem,[45] the use of *-tɔnɔ* with Greek loanwords is attested already in the fourth century in Aphraḥaṭ. In addition, these formations must go back at least a century earlier, since the adverbial suffix *-tɔnɔᵓiṯ* is found already in the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (see §7.2.3.3.2).

7.2.3.3.2 Adverbial Suffix *-tɔnɔᵓiṯ*

The adverbial suffix *-tɔnɔᵓiṯ* (< *-tānāyīt*) derives from the feminine suffix *-tɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ*, and the adverbial suffix *-ɔᵓiṯ*. Greek loanwords with the adverbial suffix *-tɔnɔᵓiṯ* are as follows:[46]

(7-16) a. πόρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1450-1451) > ܦܘܪܣܐ *pwrsᵓ* + *-tɔnɔᵓiṯ* → ܦܘܪܣܬܢܐܝܬ *pwrstnᵓyt* 'craftily' (**7th cent.** Isḥaq of Nineveh, Part 1, 269.13 [ed. Bedjan 1909]; Sokoloff 2009: 1171; cf. Brock 2004: 35 [first attested in 7th cent.])

b. σχῆμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1745) > ܐܣܟܡܐ *ᵓskymᵓ* (with alternative

[45] Brock 1999-2000: 442. Syriac ܟܪܘܡܬܢܐ *krwmtnᵓ* occurs in the texts published as Ephrem, *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam*, 6.4 (ed. Beck 1979), but this collection is later than Ephrem (Brock 1999-2000: 442 n. 16).
[46] Brock 2004: 35.

orthographies) 'form' (Sokoloff 2009: 74, 178) + *-tɔnɔʾit̠* → ܐܣܟܡܬܢܐܝܬ *ʾskmtnʾyt* 'cleverly; in pretense, feignedly' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 6.10 [ed. Drijvers 1965]; Sokoloff 2009: 73; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 1999-2000: 442; 2004: 35)

c. χρῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2012) > ܟܪܘܡܐ *krwmʾ* 'color, nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 648) + *-tɔnɔʾit̠* → ܟܪܘܡܬܢܐܝܬ *krwmtnʾyt* 'audaciously' (**6th cent.** Qiyore of Edessa, *Cause of the Liturgical Feasts*, 25.14 [ed. Macomber 1974]; Brock 2004: 35 [first attested in 6th cent.])

The pre-fourth-century attestation of ܐܣܟܡܬܢܐܝܬ *ʾskmtnʾyt* (7-16b) demonstrates that the adjectival suffix *-tɔnɔ* must also go back to at least this time.[47]

7.2.3.3.3 Abstract Suffix *-tɔnut̠ɔ*

The abstract suffix *-tɔnut̠ɔ* (< *-tānūt-*) derives from the feminine suffix *-tɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ*, and the abstract suffix *-ut̠ɔ*. Greek loanwords with the abstract suffix *-tɔnut̠ɔ* are only attested in translated literature up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708), e.g., ܐܣܟܡܬܢܘܬܐ *ʾskymtnwtʾ* 'nature; hypocrisy; irony' (Sokoloff 2009: 73-74) ← ܐܣܟܡܐ *ʾskymʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'form' (Sokoloff 2009: 74, 178) + *-tɔnɔʾut̠* < σχῆμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1745).

7.2.3.3.4 Abstract Suffix *-tɔnɔyut̠ɔ*

The abstract suffix *-tɔnɔyut̠ɔ* (< *-tānāyūt-*) derives from the feminine suffix *-(a)tɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ*, and the abstract suffix *-ut̠ɔ*. Greek loanwords

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[47] So already Brock 1999-2000: 442.

with the abstract suffix *-tɔnɔyutɔ* are not attested before Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708), though they do occur in later Syriac literature.[48]

7.2.3.3.5 Abstract Suffix *-ɔyuta*

The abstract suffix *-ɔyutɔ* (< *- *āyūt-*) derives from the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ* and the abstract suffix *-utɔ*. Greek loanwords with the abstract suffix *-ɔyutɔ* are as follows:[49]

(7-17) a. νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) + *-ɔyutɔ* → ܢܡܘܣܝܘܬܐ *nmwsywtʾ* 'legality' (**6th cent.** *Life of John bar Aphtonia*, 21.26 [ed. Nau 1902]; Sokoloff 2009: 922; cf. Brock 2004: 34 [first attested in 6th/7th cent.])

   b. σφαῖρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1738) > ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ʾspyrʾ* 'sphere; circle; ball; pine cone; cake' (Sokoloff 2009: 76, 1031) + *-ɔyutɔ* → ܐܣܦܝܪܝܘܬܐ *ʾspyrywtʾ* 'sphericity' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 177.a.10 [ed Chabot. 1953]; Sokoloff 2009: 76; cf. Brock 2004: 35)

   c. σχολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747-1748) > ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *ʾskwlʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008) + *-ɔyutɔ* → ܐܣܟܘܠܝܘܬܐ *ʾskwlywtʾ* 'position of a scholar' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 32.20 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 73; cf. Brock 2004: 34 [first attested in 7th cent.])

As these examples illustrate, the complex suffix *-ɔyutɔ* is not attested with Greek loanwords until the sixth century.

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[48] Brock 2004: 35.
[49] Brock 2004: 34.

The suffix *-ɔyut̠ɔ* is also found with Greek loanwords in Syriac that only occur with the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ*,[50] e.g., ܐܟܣܢܝܘܬܐ 'exile; alien status; life as stranger to the world' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.12.19; 2.48.16 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 148.12 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; Sokoloff 2009: 45; cf. Brock 2004: 34) ← ܐܟܣܢܝܐ *ʾksnyʾ* 'strange, foreign; stranger' (Sokoloff 2009: 44) + *-ut̠ɔ* < ξένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) + *-ɔyɔ.*

7.2.3.3.6 Adjectival Suffix *-ɔnɔyɔ*

The adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔyɔ* (< *-ānāy-*) derives from the the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ* and the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ*. Greek loanwords with the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔyɔ* are as follows:[51]

(7-18) a. ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848) > ܗܘܠܐ *hwlʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341) + *-ɔnɔyɔ* → ܗܘܠܢܝܐ *hwlnyʾ* 'material' (**6th cent.** *Life of John bar Aphtonia*, 17.12, 13 [ed. Nau 1902]; **6th/7th cent.** Grigorios of Cyprus, *Treatise on the Monastic Life*, 84.3 [ed. Hausherr 1937]; Sokoloff 2009: 335; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.];2004 : 34 [first attested in 7th cent.])

   b. τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835) > ܛܘܦܣܐ *ṭwpsʾ* 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' + *-ɔnɔyɔ* → ܛܘܦܣܢܝܐ *ṭwpsnyʾ* 'typical, symbolic' (**7th cent.** Isḥaq of Nineveh, *Part 2*, 8.1 [ed. Brock 1995]; Sokoloff 2009: 520; cf. Brock 1996: 260 [6th cent.], 261; 2004 : 34 [first attested in 7th cent.])

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[50] For these, see (7-13) above.
[51] Brock 1996: 260; 2004: 34.

As these examples illustrate, the complex suffix -ɔnɔyɔ is not attested with Greek loanwords until the sixth century.

7.2.3.3.7 Adverbial Suffix -ɔnɔ'it

The adverbial suffix -ɔnɔ'it (< *-ānāyīt) derives from the the adjectival suffix -ɔnɔ and the adverbial suffix -ɔ'it. This suffix is most common with nominal derivations from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin,[52] e.g., ܡܛܦܣܢܐܝܬ mṭappsɔnɔ'it 'figuratively' (Brock 1996: 261; 2004: 37 [first attested in 7th cent.]) ← rt. ܛܦܣ √ṭps G 'to present typologically'; D 'to represent by a figure; compose; arrange'; Dt 'to be represented, to be established' (Sokoloff 2009: 547) ← ܛܘܦܣܐ ṭwps' 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' (Sokoloff 2009: 520, 1464) < τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835). The adverbial suffix -ɔnɔ'it is also rarely found with Greek loanwords:[53]

(7-19) a. γένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344) > ܓܢܣܐ gns' 'kind, species; family; race, nation' (Sokoloff 2009: 179, 249) + -ɔnɔ'it → ܓܢܣܢܐܝܬ gnsn'yt 'generically' (**6th cent.** Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre on Creation*, 1.73 [ed. Alwan 1989]; *Memre*, 5.883.18 [ed. Bedjan. 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 249; cf. Brock 2004: 34 [first attested in 6th cent.])

b. σοφιστής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1622) > ܣܘܦܝܣܛܐ swpyst' 'sophist' (Sokoloff 2009: 988) + -ɔnɔ'it → ܣܘܦܣܛܢܐܝܬ swpsṭn'yt 'like a sophist' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 176.20 [ed. Duval 1904-1905])

c. στοίχεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1647) > ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ 'sṭwks' 'element' (Sokoloff

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[52] Brock 2004: 37.
[53] Brock 2004: 34.

2009: 68) + *-ɔ'iṯ* → ܐܣܛܘܟܣܢܐܝܬ *'sṭwksn'yt* 'elementally' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 107.15 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; cf. Brock 2004: 34 [first attested in 7th cent.])

d. τύπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1835) > ܛܘܦܣܐ *ṭwps'* 'example, copy; shape, form; symbol; edict' (Sokoloff 2009: 520, 1464) + *-ɔnɔ'iṯ* → ܛܘܦܣܢܐܝܬ *ṭwpsn'yt* 'figuratively' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*, 32.a.6 [ed. Chabot 1953]; Marutha of Tagrit, *Homily on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany*, 59.4 [ed. Brock 1982b]; Sokoloff 2009: 520; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 2004: 34 [first attested in 7th cent.])

As these examples illustrate, the complex suffix *-ɔnɔ'iṯ* is not attested with Greek loanwords until the sixth century.

7.2.3.3.8 Abstract Suffix *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ*

The abstract suffix *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ* (< *-ānāyūt-*) derives from the the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ*, the adjectival suffix *-ɔyɔ*, and the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ*. Greek loanwords with the abstract suffix *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ* are extremely rare in the time period that is of interest to this study.[54] An example can, however, be found in ܗܘܠܢܝܘܬܐ *hwlnywt'* 'material' (**7th cent.** Yaqʿub of Edessa, *Discourse on the Myron*, 28.4 [ed. Brock 1979b]; Sokoloff 2009: 335; cf. Brock 2004: 35 [first attested in 7th cent.]) ← ܗܘܠܐ *hwl'* (with alternative orthographies) 'woods, forest; matter, material; firewood' (Sokoloff 2009: 335, 341) + *-ɔnɔyuṯɔ* < ὕλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1847-1848).

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[54] Brock 2004: 35.

7.2.3.3.9 Abstract Suffix *-ɔnuṯɔ*

The abstract suffix *-ɔnuṯɔ* (< *-ānūt-*) derives from the the adjectival suffix *-ɔnɔ* and the abstract suffix *-uṯɔ*. This suffix is most common with nominal derivations from verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin,[55] e.g., ܡܬܛܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ *mttpysnwt'* 'state of being convinced' (Sokoloff 2009: 880; cf. Brock 1996: 261; 2004: 38) ← rt. ܦܝܣ √*pys* C 'to persuade, to convince; to demand, seek, beseech'; Ct 'to be persuaded; to obey' (Sokoloff 2009: 1188) < πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354). The abstract suffix *-ɔnuṯɔ* also occurs in the following two words:

(7-20) a. κατήγορος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 927) + *-ɔnɔ* > ܩܛܪܓܢܐ *qṭrgn'* (with alternative orthographies) 'accuser' (Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359) + *-uṯɔ* → ܩܛܪܓܢܘܬܐ *qṭrgnwt'*, ܩܛܓܪܢܘܬܐ *qṭgrnwt'* (with alternative orthographies) 'accusation' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 127.19 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1350, 1359; cf. Brock 1967: 403; 1996: 260)

   b. ταραχή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1758) + *-ɔnɔ* > ܛܪܟܢܐ *ṭrkn'* 'whisperer, tale-bearer; shrew, sagacious' (Sokoloff 2009: 553-554) + *-uṯɔ* → ܛܪܟܢܘܬܐ *ṭrknwt'* 'mischief-making' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 19.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 554)

Both of these words, however, always have the suffix *-ɔnɔ* (see §7.2.3.2.5).

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[55] Brock 2004: 37.

7.2.3.4 Summary

Greek loanwords in Syriac can undergo derivation with Syriac suffixes, whether simple suffixes or complex suffixes. Table 7-1 summarizes the date that each suffix is first attested with a Greek loanword in Syriac. The date of first attestation of a particular suffix with a Greek loanword is not indicative of an increase in the intensity of Syriac-Greek contact at that time. Rather, these dates reflect changes in the use of Syriac suffixes in nominal derivation more broadly.[56] In addition, the occurrence of a Greek loanword with a Syriac suffixes shows that the word has been fully incorporated into Syriac by that time. Thus, the occurrence of ܐܣܟܡܬܢܐܝܬ *ʾskmtnʾyt* 'cleverly; in pretense, feignedly' already in the second-century *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (6.10; ed. Drijvers 1965) shows only: 1. that ܐܣܟܡܐ *ʾskymʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'form' was fully incorporated into Syriac at that time; and 2. that the suffix -*ɔnɔʾiṯ* was productive in Syriac at that time. Similarly, the fact that the adjectival suffix -*ɔyɔ* became increasingly common with Greek loanwords after the fifth century does not indicate – at least not directly – an increase in Greek contact at this time, but rather reflects a more general increase in the suffix -*ɔyɔ* at that time.[57]

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[56] For this topic, see Brock 1990; 2010.

[57] In §8.3, it is argued that this increase in frequency is actually due to contact with Greek.

Table 7-1 Summary of Secondary Nominal Derivations with Suffixes

		Pre-4th	4th	5th	6th	7th	post-7th
Simple	*-utɔ*	✓					
	-ɔʾit	✓					
	-ɔyɔ			✓			
	-ɔnɔ	✓					
Complex	*-tɔnɔ*		✓				
	-tɔnɔʾit	✓					
	-tɔnutɔ						✓
	-tɔnɔyutɔ						✓
	-ɔyuta				✓		
	-ɔnɔyɔ				✓		
	-ɔnɔʾit				✓		
	-ɔnɔyutɔ					✓	

The distribution of Syriac suffixes with Greek loanwords is similar to their distribution with non-Greek words. The suffix *-ɔnɔ*, for instance, is used almost exclusively with derived stem *nomina agentis* in Syriac. This explains its restricted use with Greek loanwords in Syriac. Or to take another example, the suffixes *-tɔnutɔ* and *-tɔnɔyutɔ* are not attested with Greek loanwords in pre-seventh century Syriac texts that were not translated from Greek. This reflects the use of these suffixes more broadly, which are quite rare before the seventh century. Thus, the use of suffixes with Greek loanwords tells more about changes in Syriac nominal derivation than about Syriac-Greek language contact.

As described in §7.2.2, secondary nominal derivations involving root and pattern morphology with Greek loanwords are restricted in Syriac in that: 1. they can only occur if there is an independent verbal root; 2. they are only found with a limited set of nominal

patterns, including participles, *nomina agentis*, and abstracts of the pattern CuCCɔC-. Secondary nominal derivations involving suffixes, in contrast, do not show the same restrictions. Syriac suffixes can be used with any incorporated Greek loanword, whether or not it has an independent verbal root. Thus, ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ *nmwsʾyt* 'according to the law' can be derived from ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) < νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180), despite the fact that an independent verbal root **√*nms* does not exist in the language. In addition, the set of Syriac suffixes used with Greek loanwords is the same as that used with non-Greek words in Syriac. This indicates that, in contrast to secondary nominal derivations involving root and pattern morphology, secondary nominal derivations involving Syriac suffixes are fully productive in Syriac with Greek loanwords.

7.2.4 Summary

This section has analyzed nominal derivations involving Greek loanwords in Syriac. These were divided into two categories: those involving root and pattern morphology (internal derivation) and those involving suffixes (external derivation). These two categories have a number of differences. To begin, the only Greek loanwords that undergo nominal derivations involving root and pattern morphology are those for which an independent verbal root is also attested in Syriac. That is, a noun **nummɔsɔ 'legality' cannot be derived from ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmwsʾ* 'law' (Sokoloff 2009: 921-922) < νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) according to the pattern CuCCɔC-, since no independent verbal root exists. This illustrates the essential role that root plays in internal nominal derivations in Syriac. This contrasts with nominal derivations involving suffixes (external nominal derivation) where no such restriction exists, as is illustrated by ܢܡܘܣܐܝܬ *nmwsʾyt* 'according to the law'. A second difference between the two

categories of nominal derivation relates to the issue of productivity. Roots of ultimate Greek origin are fully productive in Syriac as verbal forms. In addition, participles, *nomina agentis*, and abstracts of the pattern CuCCɔC- can be derived for most, if not all, roots. Beyond this, however, root and pattern morphology is severaly restricted in creating new nouns from verbal roots of ultimate Greek origin. In contrast, nominal derivations from Greek loanwords involving suffixes do not seem to be limited. In fact, suffixes can be productively applied to Greek loanwords already in the earliest period of Syriac. Over time, the use of suffixes with Greek loanwords continues to increase as these suffixes become used more frequently and as Greek loanwords become more integrated into Syriac.

7.3   Structural Consequences of Loanwords

7.3.1   Overview

It is well-known that the incorporation of loanwords can result in structural consequences in the phonology and the morphology of the recipient language.[58] In English, for instance, there are a number of loanwords from Latin in which both the singular and plural were transferred:

(7-21) a.   *alumnus ~ alumni*

b.   *fungus ~ fungi*

Based on pairs such as these, English-speakers developed a new plural suffix -*i* for singular nouns ending in -*us*. This plural suffix -*i* is found with Latin loanwords such as *status* and

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[58] See, e.g., Bloomfield 1933: 452-454; King 2000: 46-47; Sapir 1921: 201-202; Smits 1996: 39; Van Coetsem 2000: 90-91; Weinreich 1953: 31; Winford 2003: 53-58; 2005: 386-388; Winter 1973: 145-146.

apparatus where the plural is occasionally found as *stati* and *apparati* instead of the Latinate plurals *statūs* and *apparatūs* (both fifth declension, not second) or the now common English plural *statuses* and *apparatuses*. The plural suffix *-i* also occurs with English nouns that are not of Latin origin, such as the Greek loanword *octopus*, where the plural *octopi* is frequently found instead of the Greek plural *octopodes*. The plurals *stati*, *apparati*, and *octopi* are the result of analogy within English:

(7-22)   *alumnus* : *alumni* :: *syllabus* : *syllabi* :: *status* : X = *stati*

:: *apparatus* : X = *apparati*

:: *octopus* : X = *octopi*

The plural ending *-i* does not, then, represent the transfer of a morpheme from Latin to English, but rather it is the result of analogy in English. This process is no different from analogy involving native words. Thus, the plural ending *-i* in English is contact-induced only in the sense that the words on which the analogy is based are the result of language contact; the ending does not, however, represent the direct transfer of a morpheme from Latin to English.

Given the substantial number of Greek loanwords in Syriac, it is not surprising that these words served as the basis for secondary analogical developments in Syriac. This section discusses two cases of this: 1. the development of the Syriac plural suffixes *-(w)s* and *-(ʾ)s* (§7.3.2); and 2. the development of the Syriac *Berufsname* suffix *-ɔrɔ* (§7.3.3).

7.3.2   The Syriac Plural Suffixes *-(w)s* and *-(ʾ)s*

The first instance to be discussed in which Greek loanwords provide the basis for analogical developments in Syriac has already been introduced in the analysis of Greek plural

morphology with Greek loanwords.[59] As outlined in §6.2.2, the Greek plural at times serves as an input form alongside the singular. The accusative plural κληρικούς, for instance, was transferred into Syriac as ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyrïyqws*, along with the nominative singular κληρικός (Lampe 1961: 756) > ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ *qlyryqʾ* 'cleric' (Sokoloff 2009: 1371). In this case, then, the suffix *-ws* functions as a plural ending. This plural ending *-ws* also occurs with Greek loanwords that do not have a corresponding Greek plural in -ους, e.g., ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnǵws*, which is one of the plural forms of ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63) < ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101). This use of *-ws* as a plural marker is the result of analogy:

(7-23) ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ *qlyryqʾ* : ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyrïyqws* :: ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* : X = ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnǵws*

The plural suffix *-ws* is found primarily with Greek loanwords in Syriac, as in the examples of ܩܠܝܪܝܩܘܣ *qlyrïyqws* and ܐܢܢܩܘܣ *ʾnnǵws*.[60] It does, however, also occur with at least one native Syriac word. One of the attested plurals of Syriac ܩܪܝܬܐ *qriṯɔ* 'village, town', for instance, is ܩܘܪܝܘܣ *qwrïyws* (5th cent. *Life of Rabbula*, 161.6 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]). The form ܩܘܪܝܘܣ *qwrïyws* derives from the native Syriac plural ܩܘܪܝܐ *qurïyɔ* with the analogically created plural suffix *-ws*. The basis for this analogy is difficult to determine, but it may stem from the fact that Syriac ܩܪܝܬܐ *qriṯɔ* has an irregular – i.e., marked – native Syriac plural in ܩܘܪܝܐ *qurïyɔ*.[61] Thus, the plural suffix *-ws* is not a direct transfer from Greek, but rather it represents

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[59] See §6.2.5.3 above.

[60] For additional examples of the former, see (6-25); for additional examples of the latter, see (6-26).

[61] This is one of the few words in Syriac reflecting the so-called 'broken plurals' that are common in Arabic, Ethiopian Semitic (especially Gəʿəz), Old South Arabian, and Modern South Arabian and that are probably to be reconstructed to Proto-Semitic. For an analysis of the broken plurals in the Semitic langauges, see Ratcliffe 1998a, 1998b. For their reconstruction to Proto-Semitic, see, *inter alia*, Goldenberg 1977: 473-475 (= 1998: 298-300);

an analogical development in Syriac based on Greek loanwords. This development led to the use of the plural suffix -*ws* (ultimately from Greek -ουϛ) with many Greek loanwords, including those that do not have a plural in -ουϛ, as well as to at least one native Syriac word.

A similar development led to the creation of a plural suffix -(ʾ)s in Syriac. The Greek plural served as an input form with Greek first declension nouns with nominative singular -η (or -α) ~ accusative plural -αϛ. The accusative plural ἀνάγκας, for instance, was transferred into Syriac as ܐܢܢܩܣ *ʾnnqs*, along with the nominative singular ἀνάγκη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 101) > ܐܢܢܩܐ *ʾnnqʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'necessity' (Sokoloff 2009: 63).[62] Based on a pair such as this, Syriac-speakers analogically created a new plural suffix -(ʾ)s. This analogically created plural suffix -(ʾ)s is occasionally attested with native Syriac words. Alongside ܩܘܪܝܘܣ *qwrïyws*, which was discussed above, one of the attested plurals of Syriac ܩܪܝܬܐ *qrit̠ɔ* 'village, town' is ܩܘܪܝܐܣ *qwryʾs* (**7th cent.** *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 8.12 [ed. Reinink 1993]). The form ܩܘܪܝܐܣ *qwryʾs* derives from the native Syriac plural ܩܘܪܝܐ *qurïyɔ* with the analogically created plural suffix -(ʾ)s. Though outside of the time period that is of immediate interest to this study, the plural suffix -(ʾ)s also occurs in ܓܢܣ *gñs* (**8th cent.** *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 1.131.14 [ed. Chabot 1927-1949]), which is one of the plurals of the native Syriac word ܓܢܬܐ *gannt̠ɔ* 'garden' (Sokoloff 2009: 250).[63] While the analogical basis for the extension of the plural -(ʾ)s to ܩܘܪܝܐܣ *qwryʾs* could again be explained by the existence

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Greenberg 1955; Hetzron 1976: 102; Huehnergard 1987; 2005: 159; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 272-273.

[62] For additional examples, see (6-3).

[63] An alternative spelling of ܓܐܢܣ *gʾnʾs* (without *syɔme*) occurs in a section from the history of Dionysios of Tel Maḥre (d. 845), which is quoted in the twelfth-century *Chronicle* by Michael Rabo (Chabot 1899-1910: 4.448c.12). It should be noted that the irregular orthography of the first syllable of ܓܐܢܣ *gʾnʾs* is recorded neither in Nöldeke 1904: §89 nor in Brockelmann 1927: 122.

of an irregular plural in Syriac, it remains much less clear what the analogical basis for the extention of the plural -(ʾ)s to ܓܐܢܐܣ gʾnʾs could have been.

To summarize, the plural suffixes -(w)s and -(ʾ)s derive ultimately from the Greek accusative plural endings -ους and -ας, respectively. These are not, however, direct transfers from Greek. Rather, they represent analogical developments based on a number of Greek loanwords in Syriac that appear both in a singular and plural form. Both plural suffixes occur commonly with Greek loanwords of various types, but they are extremely rare with native Syriac words, being restricted to only a handful of examples.

7.3.3 The Syriac *Berufsname* Suffix -ɔrɔ

The second instance to be discussed in which Greek loanwords provide the basis for analogical developments in Syriac involves the Syriac *Berufsname* suffix -ɔrɔ. The most common nominal formation for *Berufsnamen* in Syriac is $*C_1aC_2C_2\partial C_3$-,[64] e.g., ܓܢܒܐ *gannɔb̠ɔ* 'thief' (Sokoloff 2009: 244) ← √gnb 'to steal' (Sokoloff 2009: 243-244). In addition to this nominal pattern, *Berufsnamen* are also occasionally formed with the suffix -ɔrɔ in Syriac:[65]

(7-24) a. ܐܠܦܪܐ *ʾɛllp̄ɔrɔ* 'sailor' (Sokoloff 2009: 51)[66] ← ܐܠܦܐ *ʾɛllp̄ɔ* 'boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 50-51) < Akkadian *elippu* (Gelb et al. 1956-: E 90-95; cf. Kaufman 1974: 48)

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[64] Fox 2003: 260-261; Nöldeke 1904: §115.

[65] Brockelmann 1908: §223b1; Ciancaglini 2008: 7; Nöldeke 1904: §140. Though these words are loanwords, it is improbable that Syriac-speakers would have analyzed all of them as such, especially ܐܠܦܐ *ʾɛllp̄ɔ* 'boat'.

[66] This Syriac noun is likely the source of Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾlpr* 'sailor' (Schulthess 1903: 1; Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 243) (so also Müller-Kessler 1991: §4.2.1.10.2).

b. ܐܣܛܘܢܪܐ *ʾesṭonɔrɔ* 'stylite' (Sokoloff 2009: 69) ← ܐܣܛܘܢܐ *ʾesṭonɔ* 'pillar' (Sokoloff 2009: 68) < Iranian (Ciancaglini 2008: 7, 110), cf. Pahlavi *stun(ag)* (MacKenzie 1971: 78)

c. ܒܙܝܩܪܐ *bɔziqɔrɔ* 'falconer' (Sokoloff 2009: 133) ← ܒܙܝܩܐ *bɔziqɔ* 'falcon' (Sokoloff 2009: 133) < Iranian (Ciancaglini 2008: 125), cf. Pahlavi *bāz* (MacKenzie 1971: 18)[67]

d. ܐܣܛܣܝܪܐ *ʾesṭasyɔrɔ* 'quarrelsome, factious' (Sokoloff 2009: 70) ← ܐܣܛܣܝܣ *ʾsṭsys* 'uproar, disturbance' (Sokoloff 2009: 69-70) < στάσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634)

The *Berufsname* suffix -ɔrɔ in these words ultimately reflects later Greek -άριος, which itself is from Latin *-arius*.[68] The suffix -ɔrɔ was not, however, a direct morphological transfer from Greek into Syriac. Rather, the development of the suffix -ɔrɔ in Syriac is due to inner-Syriac analogy.

In Syriac, there are a number of Greek loanwords that contain the -άριος suffix, as is illustrated in the following examples:

(7-25) a. ἀποκρισιάριος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 204) > ܐܦܘܩܪܝܣܪܐ *ʾpwqrysrʾ*, ܐܦܩܪܝܣܪܐ *ʾpqrysrʾ* 'legate' (Sokoloff 2009: 89)

b. Latin *veredarius* (Glare 1982: 2035; Lewis and Short 1969: 1973) > βερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 34), οὐερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 79) > ܒܝܠܕܪܐ *byldrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'letter carrier' (Sokoloff 2009: 141)

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[67] Compare, however, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *bɔzyɔr* 'falconer' (Sokoloff 2002a: 182-183), which derives not from an Iranian noun with the Greek suffix -άριος, but rather from an Iranian noun with an Iranian suffix, e.g., Modern Persian *bāzyār* (Steingass 1892: 146).

[68] For the relationship between the Latin and Greek suffixes, see Mason 1974: 3; Palmer 1945: 48-49.

c. Latin *vestiarius* (Glare 1982: 2048; Lewis and Short 1969: 1981) > βεστιάριος (Daris 1991: 34) > ܒܣܛܝܪܐ *bsṭyrʾ* 'person in charge of wardrobe' (Sokoloff 2009: 163)

d. Latin *galearius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 800) > γα(λ)λιάριος (Daris 1991: 38) > ܓܠܝܪܐ *glyrʾ* '*galearius*, military servant' (Sokoloff 2009: 237-238)

e. δρομωνάριος (Lampe 1961: 388) > ܕܪܘܡܢܪܐ *drwmnrʾ* 'sailor (Sokoloff 2009: 324)

f. Latin *cancellarius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 276) > καγκελλάριος (Daris 1991: 48; Lampe 1961: 681) > ܩܢܩܠܪܐ *qnqlrʾ* 'notary' (Sokoloff 2009: 1386)

g. Latin *cubicularis* (Glare 1982: 463; Lewis and Short 1969: 486) > κουβικουλάριος (Lampe 1961: 779) > ܩܘܒܩܠܪܐ *qwbqlrʾ* 'chamberlain' (Sokoloff 2009: 1309)

h. Latin *quaestionarius* (Glare 1982: 1535; Lewis and Short 1969: 1502) > κυαιστιωνάριος (Daris 1991: 63) > ܩܣܛܘܢܪܐ *qsṭwnrʾ* 'torturer' (Sokoloff 2009: 1387)

i. Latin *lecticarius* (Glare 1982: 1012; Lewis and Short 1969: 1045-1046) > λεκτικάριος (Daris 1991: 66) > ܠܩܛܝܩܪܐ *lqtyqrʾ* 'priest who carry funeral biers' (Sokoloff 2009: 697)

j. Latin *notarius* (Glare 1982: 1192; Lewis and Short 1969: 1217) > νοτάριος (Lampe 1991: 74-75; Lampe 1961: 922-923) > ܢܘܛܪܐ *nwṭrʾ* (with alternative orthographies) '*notarius*, a Byzantine official' (Sokoloff 2009: 898, 911)

k. παραμονάριος (Lampe 1961: 1022) > ܦܪܡܘܢܪܐ *prmwnrʾ* 'verger, church keeper' (Sokoloff 2009: 1242)

l. σακκελάριος (Lampe 1961: 1221) > ܣܩܠܪܐ *sqlrʾ* 'treasurer' (Sokoloff 2009: 1040)

m. Latin *silentarius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1698) > σιλεντιάριος (Liddell and Scott

1996: 1598) > ܣܠܢܛܝܪܐ *slnṭyrʾ* 'silentary' (Sokoloff 2009: 1013)

n. σπαθάριος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1623) > ܐܣܦܬܪܐ *ʾsptrʾ* 'guardsman' (Sokoloff 2009: 78)

o. σχολάριος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747) > ܐܣܟܠܪܐ *ʾsklrʾ* 'palace guard' (Sokoloff 2009: 74)

p. Latin *tabellarius* (Glare 1982: 1897-1898; Lewis and Short 1969: 1831) > ταβελλάριος (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752) > ܛܒܠܪܐ *ṭblrʾ* 'keeper of records' (Sokoloff 2009: 510-511)

q. Latin *tabularius* (Glare 1982: 1899; Lewis and Short 1969: 1832) > ταβουλάριος (Daris 1991: 110; Lampe 1961: 1370) > ܛܒܘܠܪܐ *ṭbwlrʾ* 'keeper of records' (Sokoloff 2009: 509)

r. χαρτουλάριος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1980), cf. Latin *chartularius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 326) > ܟܪܛܘܠܪܐ *krṭwlrʾ* 'archivist' (Sokoloff 2009: 650)

Given the large number of Greek loanwords that have the suffix -άριος in Syriac and given their consistent semantics, Syriac-speakers would certainly have been able to deduce the meaning of the suffix *-ārā* < -άριος. In addition, several of these Greek loanwords in -άριος were also transferred in a form without the suffix:

(7-26) a. δρόμων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 450) > ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat' (Sokoloff 2009: 324) ~ δρομωνάριος (Lampe 1961: 388) > ܕܪܘܡܢܪܐ *drwmnrʾ* 'sailor (Sokoloff 2009: 324)

b. σχολή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747-1748) > ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *ʾskwlʾ* (with alternative orthographies) 'lecture hall' (Sokoloff 2009: 73, 1008) ~ σχολάριος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1747) > ܐܣܟܠܪܐ *ʾsklrʾ* 'palace guard' (Sokoloff 2009: 74)

Based on pairs such as these, Syriac-speakers created a new *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ* through analogy:

(7-27) ܐܣܟܘܠܐ *ʾskwlʾ* 'lecture hall' : ܐܣܟܠܪܐ *ʾsklrʾ* 'palace guard' :: ܕܪܡܘܢ *drmwn* 'ship, boat'

: ܕܪܘܡܢܪܐ *drwmnrʾ* 'sailor :: ܐܠܦܐ *ʾellp̄ɔ* 'boat' : X = ܐܠܦܪܐ *ʾellp̄ɔrɔ* 'sailor'

The Syriac *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ* does not, then, represent the direct transfer of Greek -άριος (or Latin -*arius*), but rather it results from an analogical development in Syriac based on Greek loanwords. This new *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ* is only rarely attested with non-Greek words in Syriac, and all of these non-Greek words are not native Aramaic. In cases, such as ܐܣܛܘܢܪܐ *ʾesṭonɔrɔ* 'stylite', the motivation for the analogical extention of -*ɔrɔ* may have been that ܐܣܛܘܢܐ *ʾesṭonɔ* 'pillar' is obviously not Aramaic. In other cases, however, such as ܐܠܦܪܐ *ʾellp̄ɔrɔ* 'sailor', it seems less likely that Syriac-speakers would have been cognizant of the Akkadian origin of ܐܠܦܐ *ʾellp̄ɔ* 'boat'.

7.3.4   Summary

Prima facie, the Syriac *Berufsname* suffix -*ɔrɔ* could represent the direct transfer of the Greek derivational suffix -άριος (or Latin -*arius*). Similarly, the Syriac plural suffixes -*(w)s* and -*(ʾ)s* could represent the direct transfer of the Greek inflectional endings -ους and -ας, respectively. Upon closer examination, however, a different explanation is more likely. These three suffixes in Syriac are not cases of the direct transfer of morphology from Greek to Syriac. Rather, they are instances in which Syriac-speakers analogically created new morphological suffixes on the basis of Greek loanwords in their language. The analogical creation of the plural suffixes -*(w)s* and -*(ʾ)s* was made possible by the fact that different input forms exist for the

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same Greek loanword in Syriac.[69] Similarly, the existence of Greek loanwords with the suffix -άριος as well as without it enabled the analogical creation of the *Berufsname* suffix -ɔrɔ. These changes, then, illustrate the ramifications of the influx of a large number of Greek loanwords into Syriac. While the changes discussed in this section do not represent the transfer of morphology from Greek into Syriac, they do show, in an extended way, the effects that contact with Greek had on Syriac. In these particular cases, this contact resulted in changes that reached all the way to the morphology of Syriac, or in Nöldeke's words, "to the most delicate tissues of the language (*bis ins feinste Geäder der Sprache*)" (1904: XXXII). It should be noted, however, that these new suffixes were never productive in Syriac, but rather they are attested with only a limited subset of words, most of which are not native to Syriac.

7.4   Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed secondary developments in Syriac that involve Greek loanwords. The first half of the chapter (§7.2) discussed secondary nominal derivations involving root and pattern morphology and suffixes. It was shown that these two types of derivation (internal versus external) have significant differences from one another. The former is restricted to verbal roots that are ultimately of Greek origin, and even then it can only be used with a small subset of the Syriac nominal patterns. In contrast, the latter is fully productive in Syriac occurring with the full range of Syriac derivational suffixes and with any incorporated Greek loanword. The second half of the chapter (§7.3) turned to analogical developments in Syriac that were based on Greek loanwords. It was shown that the Syriac *Berufsname* suffix -ɔrɔ and the plural suffixes -*(w)s* and -*(ʾ)s* do not represent the direct transfer

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[69] For the multiple input forms, see §6.2.2.

of Greek inflectional endings, but rather are the result of analogical developments within Syriac. In both of these cases, the analogically created suffixes were never fully productive being attested only with a very limited subset of words, most of which are not native to Syriac. These suffixes do, however, represent changes to Syriac morphology that are ultimately the result of contact with Greek.

None of the secondary developments analyzed in this chapter are in the strictest sense related to language contact. That is, these are internal developments in the history of Syriac. From a broader perspective, however, they are concerned with language contact since they involve words that are only in Syriac due to its contact with Greek. In particular, these developments illustrate the way in which Syriac-speakers continued to interact with Greek loanwords long after these words had been integrated into their language. Once integrated into Syriac, Greek loanwords were no longer (only) Greek words; they were rather Syriac words. As Syriac words, they continued to interact with the Syriac language as it changed and developed over the centuries.

Part III: Grammatical Replication

8   Grammatical Replication: The Methodological Framework

> "Knowledge of syntax is important in any language, and in Aramaic where the syntax in particular reflects the history of language most faithfully, it is of crucial significance." (Rosenthal 1995: 1)

8.1   Overview

Almost all previous scholarly literature discussing contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek has been restricted to loanwords. Loanwords are, however, only one of the many different categories of contact-induced change. The next three chapters discuss a different category of contact-induced change in which speakers of Syriac *adapted* inherited Aramaic material by replicating it on a model in Greek. This category of change will be termed *grammatical replication*. The current chapter discusses the methodological framework for grammatical replication. It is followed by two chapters containing case studies of grammatical replication in Syriac due to Greek: the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* replicated on Greek ἐστίν (§9) and the Syriac conjunctive particle *den* replicated on Greek δέ (§10).

8.2   Definition

This chapter discusses a category of contact-induced change that will be termed *grammatical replication*, following the work of Heine and Kuteva.[1] Grammatical replication is

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[1] Heine and Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2006: 48-96; 2008; 2010.

defined in this study as a contact-induced change in which speakers of the recipient language create a new grammatical structure on the model of a structure of the source language.[2] Unlike loanwords, which involve the transfer of phonetic material, grammatical replication involves the transfer of semantic-conceptual material from the source language to the recipient language (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 68).

8.3   Change in Frequency of a Pattern

The most basic change in grammatical replication involves an increase in the frequency of a pattern.[3] In such cases, a pattern of low frequency in the recipient language becomes more frequent because it corresponds to a pattern in the source language. This represents a raising of a minor use pattern to a major use pattern.[4] This change often involves the selection and favoring of one pattern in the recipient language at the expense of another pattern.[5] This aspect of grammatical replication includes *indirect transfer* in the work of Silva-Corvalán (1994), which she defines as "the higher frequency of use of a form in language S … in contexts where a partially corresponding form in language F is used either categorically or preferentially" (1994: 4). It also includes Aikhenvald's *enhancement*, "whereby certain marginal constructions come to be used with more frequency if they have an established correspondent in the source language" (2002: 238). Finally, it is similar to Mougeon and Beniak's *covert interference*

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[2] Following Weinreich (1953: 30-31), Heine and Kuteva use replica language and model language in lieu of what is here termed recipient language and source language, respectively. The latter terms have been preferred in this study, since they can be used with other types of contact-induced change, such as loanwords (see §2.2).

[3] Heine and Kuteva 2003: 547; 2006: 50-57; 2010: 89; see also Thomason 2003: 711 n. 6.

[4] Heine and Kuteva 2006: 52; see also Poplack and Levey 2010: 393 with literature cited therein.

[5] King 2000: 89; Poplack 1996: 289.

(1991: 10-12, *passim*), in which "a minority-language feature may undergo a gradual decline and eventual loss because it lacks an interlingual counterpart in the majority language … [and which] is accompanied by a concomitant rise in the use of the feature taking over the function vacated by the disappearing feature" (11).

The increase in the frequency of a pattern due to grammatical replication can be illustrated with an example from Syriac-Greek language contact involving Syriac adjectives derived with the so-called *nisba* ending -*ɔy* (< *-*āy*).[6] In Syriac, as in other dialects of Aramaic, the *nisba* ending -*ɔy* forms gentilics, as in (8-1a), ordinal numbers, as in (8-1b), and other types of adjectives, as in (8-1c):

(8-1) a.　　ܐܪܡܝܐ *ʾrɔmɔyɔ* 'Aramean' (Sokoloff 2009: 101) < *ʾarām* 'Aram' + *-āy-*

　　b.　　ܬܠܝܬܝܐ *təliṯɔyɔ* 'third' (Sokoloff 2009: 1649) < *θalīθ-* '(passive participle of √*θlθ* 'to be three')' + *-āy-*

　　c.　　ܐܠܗܝܐ *ʾalɔhɔyɔ* 'divine' (Sokoloff 2009: 47) < *ʾalāh-* 'God' + *-āy-*

It is the last type, i.e., excluding gentilics and ordinal numbers, that is of concern here. Throughout Classical Syriac, this type of *nisba* adjective increased in frequency (Brock 2010). This increase is illustrated in Table 8-1, which charts the percentage of *nisba* types per total lexeme types (verb, noun, and particle) across a corpus of more than 125,000 tokens from a selection of twelve prose texts.[7] The same data are charted in Graph 8-1.

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[6] For the *nisba* ending in Semitic, see Butts 2010: 81-82.

[7] In this study, 'type' refers to a pattern, whereas 'token' refers to actual instances of said pattern. Thus, in this case, 'type' tracks whether a lexeme occurs in a given corpus (i.e., it is binary), whereas 'token' tracks how many times a lexeme occurs in a given corpus. The selection of texts is the same as that used below for the verbless clause (§9.4; 0).

Table 8-1 Frequency of *Nisba* Adjectives (excluding gentilics and ordinal numbers)

	total types	*nisba* types	percentage
Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220)	740	3	0.43
Acts of Thomas (ca. 200-250 CE), Acts 1-7	1241	9	0.73
Selection of Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345)	996	4	0.40
Ephrem (d. 373), *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1	992	7	0.71
Teaching of Addai (ca. 420)	922	7	0.76
Life of Rabbula (ca. 450)	1512	18	1.19
Selection of Philoxenos (d. 523)	1006	12	1.12
Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548)	579	3	0.52
Eliya (mid-6th cent.)	1493	27	1.81
Selection of Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589)	1087	20	1.84
Denḥa (d. 649)	1082	21	1.94
Selection of Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708)	1109	22	1.98

Graph 8-1 Diachronic Frequency of *Nisba* Adjectives
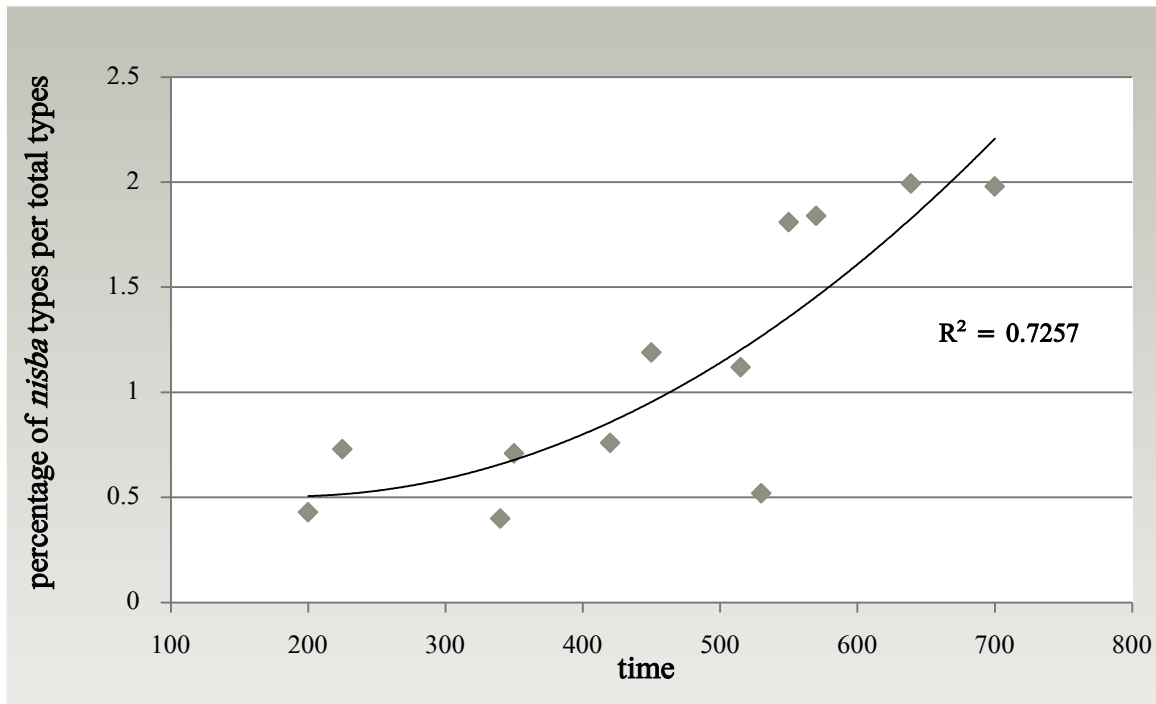
As can be seen in the chart, the percentage of *nisba* types per total types increases from

0.43% in the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220) to 1.98% in the selected *Letters* of Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708). While this may *prima facie* seem to be a small increase, it must be remembered that this represents the increase of types of the *nisba* adjective relative to all of the types in the corpus. In other words, the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* contains 740 different words (or types), and only three of these are *nisba* adjectives (0.43%). In contrast, the selected *Letters* of Yaʿqub of Edessa contain twenty-two different *nisba* adjectives (types) in a corpus of 1109 different words (1.98%). This means that the frequency of *nisba* adjectives in the selected *Letters* of Yaʿqub of Edessa is more than four times as much as that in the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (an increase of 460% to be exact). The diachronic increase in the data set is further illustrated by the trend line in Graph 8-1. The relatively high R^2 value of 0.7257 suggests that the trendline is an accurate representation of the data.[8] Both the chart and the graph, then, clearly demonstrate that *nisba* adjectives, excluding gentilics and ordinal numbers, became increasingly more common throughout the history of Syriac.[9]

The increase in *nisba* adjectives over the history of Syriac is due to contact with Greek. Syriac, at least in the early period, contained far fewer adjectives than Greek, often using other constructions, such as the so-called adjectival genitive,[10] e.g., *daḵyɔnɔ* '(lit.) of nature',[11] where

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[8] For readers less familiar with statistics, the coefficient of determination, or R^2, ranges from 0 to 1.0 and reflects how well the regression line fits the data, with 1.0 indicating that the line perfectly fits the data.

[9] It should be noted that there is one statistical outlier in the data: Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548), who has a relatively low percentage of *nisba* types per total types. This can be explained by the fact that Shemʿun is of Persian origin and had less exposure to Greek, the language of the Eastern Roman Empire. If Shemʿun of Beth Arsham is excluded from the dataset, the R^2 value jumps to 0.8633.

[10] For the term adjectival genitive, see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 148-154.

[11] See, e.g., ܟܬܢ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܡܛܠ *meṭṭol daḏkyɔnɔ ʾennen* 'because they are natural' [because NML + NML + nature-M.SG.EMP they-F] (*Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 22.7-8 [ed. Drijvers 1965]).

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Greek would use an adjective, e.g., φυσικός 'natural' (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1964). Over time, however, Syriac innovated new adjectival formations to replace the adjectival genitives.[12] Many of these were formed with the *nisba* ending *-ɔy*, e.g., *kyɔnɔyɔ* '(lit.) pertaining to nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 620; cf. Brock 2010: 113). It is the creation of new adjectival formations such as *kyɔnɔyɔ* to replicate Greek adjectives that led to the diachronic increase in the *nisba* adjective discussed in the previous paragraph.

One final piece to this puzzle is that it must be demonstrated that Syriac-speakers actually equated Syriac adjectives, especially those derived with the *nisba* ending *-ɔy*, with Greek adjectives.[13] They could, of course, have chosen to identify Greek adjectives, such as φυσικός 'natural', with Syriac adjectival genitive constructions, such as *dakyɔnɔ* '(lit.) of nature'. This did not, however, in fact happen. Rather, it is Syriac adjectives that Syriac-speakers identified with Greek adjectives. This identification can be established from the typology of translation technique, as is illustrated in the following example:

(8-2) *Second Epistle to Succensus* by Cyril of Alexandria (ed. Schwartz 1927: 1.1.6.157-162)

ἵνα   ᾖ   τὸ   πάθος

that   be-PRES.ACT.SUBJ.3.SG   ART-NOM.SG.NEUT   incident-NOM.SG.NEUT

ἑκούσιον

voluntary-NOM.SG.NEUT

'so that suffering would be voluntary' (161.7)

(8-3) Earlier Syriac Translation (ed. Ebied and Wickham 1975: 47-53 [Syr.], 39-43 [ET])

ܕܗܘܐ ܐܠܟ ܗܝ ܕ ܫܒܐ ܨܒܝܢܐ

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[12] This trend was noted already in Brock 1990: 322; 2010; Becker 2006: 136.

[13] This is what Weinreich calls "interlingual identification" (1953: 7). Cf. Heine and Kuteva 2003: 531; Van Coetsem 1988: 21.

dnɛhwe	ḥaššɖ	dṣeḇyɔnɔ
NML + be-PRE.3.M.SG	suffering-M.SG.EMP	NML + will-M.SG.DET

'so that suffering would be of the will' (51.27-28 [Syr.], 42.32-33 [ET])

(8-4)   Later Syriac Translation (Brit. Libr. Add. 12,154, f. 188r, cited according to King 2008: 216)

<div dir="rtl">ܡܛܠ ܕܨܒܝܢܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܫܐ</div>

mɛṭṭol	dṣeḇyɔnɔyɔ	nɛhwe	ḥaššɖ
because	NML + voluntary-M.SG.EMP	be-PRE.3.M.SG	suffering-M.SG.EMP

'so that suffering would be voluntary'

In the earlier translation, cited in (8-3), the Greek adjective ἑκούσιον 'voluntary' is rendered by the Syriac adjectival genitive *dṣeḇyɔnɔ* 'of will'. A different translation of this same word is, however, found in the later translation in (8-4), in which the adjectival genitive was replaced by the Syriac *nisba* adjective *ṣeḇyɔnɔyɔ* '(lit.) pertaining to will'. Thus, in the later translation, the Syriac *nisba* adjective *ṣeḇyɔnɔyɔ* replicates the Greek adjective ἑκούσιον in contrast to the earlier translation with the adjectival genitive. According to the well-established typology of Syriac translation technique, later translations, such as that in (8-4), tend to provide a more formal equivalence in comparison with earlier translations, such as that in (8-3), often to the point that the lexical and morphological material of Syriac is mapped onto the semantic and grammatical categories of Greek.[14] This example, thus, shows that Syriac-speakers equated Greek adjectives with Syriac adjectives, including those derived with the *nisba* ending -*ɔy*, rather than, for instance, adjectival genitives.

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[14] On the translation technique in this particular passage, see King 2008: 216, 266-268. For the broader typology, see Brock 1979a; 2007a: 937-942; King 2008: 175-276.

Throughout the history of Syriac, then, the *nisba* ending *-ɔy* became more frequent as Syriac speakers attempted to replicate Greek adjectives. This example of grammatical replication did not result in a new function for the *nisba* ending *-ɔy* since it already formed adjectives in early Syriac. Rather, contact with Greek resulted in an increase in the frequency of the ending. That is, the *nisba* ending *-ɔy* was raised from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern. This example is illustrative of one of the more basic changes in grammatical replication, in which there is a diachronic increase in the frequency of a pattern in the recipient language due to its identification with a pattern in the source language. Additional examples involving a diachronic increase in the frequency of a pattern are illustrated in the case studies following this methodological introduction.

8.4   Creation of a New Structure

In addition to causing a change in frequency of a pattern in the recipient language, grammatical replication can result in the creation of new structures in the recipient language. This occurs when a structure in the recipient language comes to be used in new contexts on the model of the source language.[15] This, then, represents an *extension* in the function of a structure in the recipient language due to the function of the corresponding structure in the source language.[16]

The creation of a new function due to grammatical replication can again be illustrated with an example from Syriac-Greek language contact, this time involving the use of Syriac *lwɔt* 'toward; at, with' with the verbal root √*ʾmr* 'to say' on the model of the use of Greek πρός 'on

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[15] Heine and Kuteva 2006: 52.
[16] Weinreich 1953: 30-31. For extension as a mechanism of syntactic change, see Harris and Campbell 1995: 97-119.

the side of, in the direction of' with a verb of speech. The uses of Syriac *lwɔṯ* overlap significantly with those of Greek πρός in that both can express spatial relations, whether directional or locative.[17] Consider, for instance, the following example:

(8-5)   Hebrew Vorlage

    wəhinne   ʾiššɔ   šoḵɛḇɛṯ   margəloṯɔ(y)w

    and + behold   woman-F.SG   lay.PART.F.SG   from + feet-F.PL.CON + his

    'and behold a woman was lying at his feet' (Ruth 3.8)

(8-6)   Greek Septuagint

    καὶ ἰδοὺ   γυνὴ   κοιμᾶται   πρὸς   ποδῶν

    and behold woman-NOM-F.SG   sleep-PRES.IND.MID.3.SG   πρὸς   feet-GEN.M.PL

    αὐτοῦ

    he-GEN.M.SG

    'and behold a woman was sleeping at his feet' (Ruth 3.8)

(8-7)   Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.)

    ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܕܡܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ

    ʾa(n)ttɔ   ddɔmkɔ   lwɔṯ   rɛḡlaw(hy)

    woman-F.SG.EMP   NML + sleep-PART.F.SG.ABS   lwɔṯ   feet-F.PL.CON + his

    'a woman, who was sleeping at his feet' (Ruth 3.8)

The Greek in (8-6) and the Syriac in (8-7) are independent translations of the Hebrew *Vorlage* in (8-5). Thus, it is noteworthy that Syriac *lwɔṯ* and Greek πρός are used in the exact same context: both are used for a locative relation. In addition, and particularly important for the

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[17] For Syriac *lwɔṯ*, see Sokoloff 2009: 682. For Greek πρός, see Humbert 1960: §544-547; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1496-1499.

point being argued here, Syriac *lwɔt* and Greek πρός overlap in a large number of verb-preposition combinations (i.e., particle verbs). Both, for instance, are used with verbs of returning, as is illustrated in the following example:

(8-8) Hebrew Vorlage

      wənɔšuḇɔ   ʾăleḵɛm

      and + return- PRE.1.C.PL   toward + you-M.PL

      'and we will return to you' (Gen. 22:5)

(8-9) Greek Septuagint

      ἀναστρέψωμεν   **πρὸς**   ὑμᾶς

      return-FUT.ACT.IND.1.P **toward**   you-ACC.M.PL

      'and we will return to you' (Gen. 22:5)

(8-10) Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.)

      ܘܢܗܦܘܟ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ

      wnɛhpoḵ   **lwɔt**ḵon

      and + return-PRE.1.C.PL   **toward** + M.PL

      'and we will return to you' (Gen. 22:5)

This example shows that Greek uses πρός, in (8-9), and Syriac uses *lwɔt*, in (8-10), in verb-preposition combinations that express 'return to', in this case (independently) translating the Hebrew *Vorlage* in (8-8). There are a number of other verb-prepositions combinations in which Greek uses πρός and Syriac uses *lwɔt*, including to 'bring to' (Gen. 2:19; 43:23); 'to go to' (Gen. 15:15); 'to turn aside to' (Gen. 19:3); 'to be gathered to/at' (Gen. 25:8); 'to draw near to' (Gen. 27:22; 37:18; 43:19; 45:4); 'to send to' (Gen. 32:4); 'to go up to' (Gen. 44:17, 24; 45:9); 'to go down to' (Gen. 45:9); and even 'to cry out to' (Gen. 4:10).

The uses of Syriac *lwɔṯ*, then, overlap in a number of places with those of Greek πρός; they do not, however, overlap entirely. One such use where they do not – or at least, did not initially – overlap is with verbs of speech. In early Syriac texts, the verbal root √*ʾmr* 'to say' governs a dative object marked with the preposition *l-* 'to, for', as in the following example:

(8-11) *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

<div dir="rtl">ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܕܝܨܢ</div>

ʾɔmar	lɛh	bar dayṣɔn
say-PART-M.SG.ABS	to + him	PN

'Bardaiṣan said to him' (4.14)

In contrast, Greek πρός marks the dative object of various verbs of speech, such as λέγειν and εἰπεῖν:

(8-12) Luke

εἶπεν	δὲ	**πρὸς** αὐτὸν	ὁ	ἄγγελος
say-AOR.ACT.IND.3.sg	but	**to** he-ACC.M.SG	ART-NOM.M.SG	angel-NOM.M.SG

'and the angel said to him' (1.13)

This, then, represents a difference between the usage of Greek πρός and pre-sixth-century Syriac *lwɔṯ*. By the sixth century, however, the dative object of the verbal root √*ʾmr* 'to say' in Syriac could also be marked with the preposition *lwɔṯ* 'toward' (Brock 2008: 4), as in the following example:

(8-13) *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (692; ed. Reinink 1993)

<div dir="rtl">ܐܡܪ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܥܘܢ</div>

ʾɛmar	**lwɔṯ**	šɛmʕon
say-SUF.3.M.SG	**toward**	PN

'he said to Simon' (20.9)

This represents an extension in the use of *lwɔṯ* on the model of Greek πρός. This extension resulted in a new function for Syriac *lwɔṯ* as it came to be used in a new context with the verb √*ʾmr* 'to say'.[18] The extension was facilitated by the fact that Syriac *lwɔṯ* and Greek πρός already overlapped in a number of uses, especially for spatial relations (whether directional or locative); the extension merely added one more use to Syriac *lwɔṯ*. Though admittedly of limited scope, this example is illustrative of a more dramatic type of change in grammatical replication in which a form in the recipient language becomes used in a new context on the model of the source language. Additional examples involving the creation of a new grammatical function are illustrated in the case studies following this methodological introduction.

As this last example illustrates, grammatical replication is not itself a mechanism of change, but rather it involves various mechanisms of change, such as reanalysis and extension. In the case of Syriac *lwɔṯ*, for instance, the major mechanism of change was extension. In addition to reanalysis and extension, cases of grammatical replication may also involve grammaticalization.[19] In these cases, a structure in the source language is replicated in the recipient language by following a common path of grammaticalization. It should be stressed, however, that there are cases in which grammatical replication does not involve

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[18] Similar cases involving contact-induced changes in verb-preposition combinations in the French of Prince Edward Island are analyzed in detail in King 2000.

[19] Heine and Kuteva 2003; 2005: 79-122; 2006: 57-68; 2008; 2010: 87. Literature on grammaticalization theory is vast; for introductions, see Heine et al. 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Heine and Kuteva 2002. For grammaticalization in Semitic, see Huehnergard 2006 and especially Rubin 2005.

grammaticalization.[20] These are called *restructuring* in the terminology of Heine and Kuteva.[21] Grammatical replication, then, is a broader category which sometimes encompasses grammaticalization.[22] Thus, grammatical replication is not itself a mechanism of change, but rather it can involve various mechanisms of change, such as reanalysis, extension, and/or grammaticalization.[23]

In the contact-linguistic literature, it has become increasingly clear that contact-induced change and internally-motivated change are not mutually exclusive.[24] Thus, this study does not adopt a binary framework according to which a change is *either* contact-induced *or* internally-motivated. Rather, a change can be contact-induced, internally-motivated, or both. Nevertheless, it is still important to establish whether or not language contact played a role in a given change. A good deal of scholarly literature has, in fact, been devoted to this question.[25] Establishing that language contact is a factor is especially important in cases involving grammatical replication, since these are often the most difficult to prove.[26] In the case studies of

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[20] This differs from Sakel who states that cases of pattern replication, which is roughly equivalent to grammatical replication in this study (see below p. 336), "inherently involve a process of grammaticalization" (2007: 17).

[21] Heine and Kuteva 2006: 64-65; 2010: 86-87.

[22] Heine and Kuteva 2006: 65; see also the diagrams in 2006: 95 (figure 2.1); 2008: 59 (figure 1); 2010: 87 (figure 4.1).

[23] See similarly Aikhenvald 2003, esp. 3. This differs from Harris and Campbell (1995) who argue that *borrowing*, which is roughly equivalent to grammatical replication in this study (see below pp. 336), is itself a mechanism of change alongside extension and reanalysis.

[24] See, e.g., Dorian 1993; Heine and Kuteva 2003: 531-532; 2006: 7, 73-79; Hickey 2002; 2010b: 15-16, 21; Jones and Esch 2002 [with many additional references]; Poplack 1996: 290; Thomason 1986: 278-279; 2001: 86, 88; 2010: 32, 34.

[25] See, e.g., Harris and Campbell 1995: 407-408; Haugen 1950b: 226-228; Heine and Kuteva 2006: 73-79; Kutscher 1954: 240-243; Mønnesland 1999: 327-336; Poplack 1996: 290; Poplack and Levey 2010; Thomason 2001: 86, 88, 91-95; 2003: 708-710; 2004: 8-9; 2010: 34-35.

[26] See Thomason 2003: 709 and especially Poplack and Levey 2010.

grammatical replication that follow, an attempt has been made to trace systematically the contact-induced changes in question with the support of historical data. This allows for a convincing case to be made for language contact playing a role in the described changes. As a final control for proving contact, the sister dialects of Syriac have also proven useful.

8.5   Alternative Designations for Gramamtical Replication

It has already been noted that the field of contact linguistics lacks a uniform terminology (§2.2). This is particularly the case for changes that are termed grammatical replication in this study, which it seems that almost every contact linguist calls by a different name. Thus, it will be useful to conclude this methodological introduction with a survey of various alternative designations that have been applied to similar types of contact-induced change in the contact linguistic literature.[27]

Grammatical replication is similar to the replication of linguistic patterns within Matras and Sakel's typological project on Language Convergence and Linguistic Areas.[28] In this framework, the replication of linguistic patterns "pertains to the semantic and grammatical meanings and the distribution of a construction or structure" in contrast to the replication of linguistic matter, which involves "actual phonological segments" (2007b: 7; cf. 2007c). Thus, their replication of linguistic patterns is an exact synonym for grammatical replication as used in this study.

Grammatical replication also encompasses what Harris and Campbell term *borrowing*, which they define as "a change in which a foreign syntactic pattern (either a duplication of the

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[27] See also the surveys in Kuteva 2005: 6-13; Ross 2006: 96-97; 2007: 132-135.
[28] Matras and Sakel 2007a, 2007c; Sakel 2007. See also <http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/lcla/>.

foreign pattern or at least a formally quite similar construction) is incorporated into the borrowing language through the influence of a donor pattern found in a contact language" (1995: 122).[29] A number of other linguists have also termed types of contact-induced change similar to grammatical replication as 'structural borrowing',[30] 'syntactic borrowing',[31] or 'grammatical borrowing'.[32]

Grammatical replication also shares similarities with *metatypy*, a type of contact-induced change which has been described in a series of studies by Ross and also employed by others.[33] Ross defines metatypy as "a diachronic process whereby the morphosyntactic constructions of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community are restructured on the model of the constructions of the speakers' other language" (2007: 116). In his various publications, Ross vacillates over whether this restructuring affects morpho-syntactic constructions, as in this definition, or is restricted to "syntax" (2006: 95) or is extended to "semantic and morphosyntactic structure" more generally (1996). In his work before 2006, Ross included varying degrees of restructuring within the category of metatypy. Since 2006, however, Ross has narrowed his definition of metatypy to include only such restructuring that results in a change in type, with type to be understood in the sense of typology, e.g., a change from SOV to SVO word order. Ross now refers to similar kinds of contact-induced change that do not result in a change in type as *calquing* or more specifically *grammatical calquing*. Thus,

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[29] For a slightly different definition that incorporates "replication," see Harris and Campbell 1995: 51.

[30] See, e.g, Aikhenvald 2002; 2003; Emeneau 1962; Nadkarni 1975; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 67; Winford 2003: 12.

[31] See, e.g, Appel and Muysken 1987: 158-162; Mønnesland 1999.

[32] See, e.g., King 2000; Matras and Sakel 2007a: 1; Wohlgemuth 2009: 224, 272.

[33] See, e.g., Ross 1996; 2001; 2003; 2006; 2007; 2008 as well as Bowden 2005. Cf. Noonan 2010: 56.

in Ross' more recent work, grammatical calquing and metatypy result in similar changes, but differ in degree (occasional vs. systemic). Grammatical replication as defined in this study, then, is a broader category of contact-induced change, which encompasses both Ross' metatypy and grammatical calquing.

A number of linguists in addition to Ross have labeled contact-induced changes similar to grammatical replication as *calques*.[34] Some prefer to further qualify the term calque, such as 'lexicon-syntactic calques' (Silva-Corvalán 1994: 174-184).

Grammatical replication is similar to selective copying in the Code-Copying Model developed by Johanson (see, e.g., 2002a) and subsequently employed by others.[35] The Code-Copying Model describes contact-induced change in terms of "elements of a foreign code being copied into the code of the recipient language" (Johanson 2002a: 8-9). This copying can be either global or selective. In global copying, a unit of a foreign code is copied into the basic code in its entirety, i.e., as "a block of material, combinational, semantic and frequential structural properties" (2002a: 9). The most common examples of global copying are what are called loanwords in this study. In selective copying, in contrast, the original is only one of these selected properties. Johanson's selective copying is a broader category than grammatical replication in that it can also include, *inter alia*, copies of phonology and semantics; nevertheless, grammatical replication, as employed in this study, is similar to the selective copying of (morpho-)syntax in Johanson's Code-Copying Model.[36]

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[34] See, e.g., Heath 1984: 367, Hetzron 1976: 99.
[35] See, e.g., Csató 2001; 2002; Hayasi 2000; Kıral 2000; and Menz 2000.
[36] For the relationship between grammatical replication and Johanson's Code-Copying Model, see Heine and Kuteva 2005: 6-7.

Grammatical replication overlaps with what a number of scholars term *convergence*. Though the term convergence was employed in earlier contact-linguistic literature (e.g., Weinreich 1953: 113), its more recent use seems to be based primarily on the influential study of language contact in the Kupwar village (India) by Gumperz and Wilson (1971). In their study, Gumperz and Wilson use convergence to refer to a series of contact-induced changes that led Marathi, Hindi, and Kannada to develop the same surface syntactic structure resulting in the intertranslatability of the three languages. This use of convergence has been adopted by a number of linguists. Silva-Corvalán, for instance, defines convergence as "the achievement of greater structural similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or more languages, assumed to be different at the onset of contact" (1994: 4-5; 1995: 8). Similarly, Thomason (2007: 187; cf. 2003: 700) uses convergence to refer to a type of contact-induced change that usually occurs in situations of long-term bilingualism in which structures common to both languages are favored, often resulting in a change of frequency of existing patterns and not in the addition of new patterns. In addition, Aikhenvald employs convergence in the sense of "structural isomorphism, whereby the grammar and semantics of one language are almost fully replicated in another" (2002: 6). Matras (2010) has also used convergence in the sense of his pattern replication, which was mentioned above (p. 336). Convergence is used in similar senses by a number of scholars.[37] In many of these cases, convergence involves systemic changes.[38] Thus, grammatical replication would be a broader category, including convergence.

Grammatical replication is similar to *indirect diffusion* in the work of Aikhenvald (2002; cf. Heath 1978). In Aikhenvald's framework, indirect diffusion refers to the transfer "of

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[37] See, e.g., Myers-Scotton 2006: 271; Poplack 1996: 286; Poplack and Levey 2010: 399; Pray 1980; Sridhar 1978; Winford 2009: 281-282.

[38] See also Matras 2010: 68.

categories, or of terms within a category" (2002: 4). Indirect diffusion can involve a number of different changes, including 1. "the emergence of new categories and new paradigms … through reanalysis of existing grammatical patterns and through shared grammaticalization processes" (2002: 237); 2. "the creation of new categories – by what can be called 'loan translation' … or by introducing new morphemes" (2002: 237); and 3. "changes known as 'enhancement' – whereby certain marginal constructions come to be used with more frequency if they have an established correspondent in the source language" (2002: 238). In each of these, Aikhenvald's indirect diffusion is similar to grammatical replication, as used in this study.

These represent only a few of the many different terms by which contact-induced changes similar to grammatical replication are known in the contact-linguistic literature. Others include 'modelling',[39] 'convert interference',[40] 'pattern transfer',[41] 'indirect transfer',[42] 'loanshift',[43] 'congruence',[44] 'interference',[45] 'resyntactization',[46] 'loan translation',[47] etc.

From all of these various terms, grammatical replication has been adopted in this study because it is broad enough to include various kinds of change that affect the structural material of language, especially (morpho-)syntax. In addition, the theory of grammatical replication as developed by Heine and Kuteva can be equally applied to situations of borrowing, imposition, and neutralization.[48]

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[39] Silva-Corvalán 1994.
[40] Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 10-11, *passim.*
[41] Heath 1984: 367.
[42] Silva-Corvalán 1994.
[43] Haugen 1950a: 289; 1950b: 215, 219-220.
[44] Corne 1999: 8, 9, *passim*; Mufwene 2001: 23, *passim.*
[45] Weinreich 1953: 30-31.
[46] Appel and Muysken 1987: 158-159.
[47] Türker 1999.
[48] For this typology, see §2.3-2.6.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has established the methodological framework for a kind of contact-induced changed termed grammatical replication. Grammatical replication was defined as a contact-induced change in which speakers of the recipient language create a new grammatical structure on the model of a structure of the source language. Grammatical replication can result in various kinds of change in the recipient language. Two in particular were discussed and illustrated: 1. an increase in the frequency of a pattern; 2. the creation of new structures. Grammatical replication, as defined in this study, is similar to a number of other changes discussed in the contact-linguistic literature, including borrowing, metatypy, calque, and convergence. The next two chapters provide extended case studies of grammatical replication in Syriac due to Greek. Chapter §9 argues that the development of the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* 'he is' is due, at least partly, to its replication on the Greek verbal copula ἐστίν 'he is'. Chapter §10 discusses the replication of the Syriac conjunctive particle *den* 'then, but' on the model of Greek δέ 'but'.

9 The Syriac Copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* Replicated on Greek ἐστίν

> "No doubt even the best original writings in Syriac give evidence of the strong influence of Greek Syntax … The Greek idiom exercised its influence with all the greater force and effect, precisely at those points where Syriac itself exhibited analogous phenomena" (Nöldeke 1904: ix-x)

9.1 Overview

The past several decades have witnessed a number of syntactic studies on Syriac. While Nöldeke's *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (1904) – with an occasional clarification from Duval (1881) and Brockelmann (1981) – remains unsurpassed in its description of the phonology and morphology of classical Syriac,[1] studies of word order,[2] cleft sentences,[3] and the particle *d-*,[4] to name only a few, have not so much refined Nöldeke's description as entirely replaced it.[5] Within this resurgence of syntactic research on Syriac, the most significant progress has arguably been made in the analysis of the verbless clause. Stemming from the

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[1] So also Goshen-Gottstein 1989: 236-237; Van Rompay 2001.

[2] Avinery 1975; 1976; 1984; Joosten 1993; Muraoka 1972.

[3] Goldenberg 1971; 1990; Wertheimer 2001a; 2001c.

[4] Wertheimer 2001b.

[5] It is for this reason that the present author is currently preparing a new syntax of Classical Syriac to be published with Ugarit-Verlag in the series Lehrbücher orientalischer Sprachen (LOS).

watershed study of Goldenberg (1983) with important additions by others,[6] the Syriac verbless clause has become increasingly well understood. That being said, however, its description is far from complete. In particular, studies of the Syriac verbless clause – like Syriac grammatical studies in general – have been limited by a lack of diachronic perspective. In addition, there continues to be no agreement on the possible role that contact with Greek played in changes in verbless clause formation in Syriac, with some arguing that contact with Greek was a factor,[7] whereas others maintain that it was not.[8] The current chapter explores the role that contact with Greek played in the creation of a fully functioning copula in Syriac from the existential particle *ʾit* 'there is' plus a pronominal suffix. Among the many attested changes in this development, it is argued that two are specifically the result of contact with Greek: 1. the extension of the copulaic use of *ʾit* to verbless clauses with substantival predicates (§9.3); 2. the raising of copulaic *ʾit* from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern throughout the history of Syriac (§9.4).

Throughout this chapter, particular attention is paid to establishing that language contact did in fact play a role in the described changes. This is important for the field of Syriac Studies since, as has already been mentioned, this remains an open question in the literature. In addition, this represents a valuable contribution to the field of Contact Linguistics. In the contact-linguistic literature, it continues to be disputed whether or not structure can be transferred in situations of borrowing. In the words of Poplack, "[t]he transfer of grammatical

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[6] See, e.g., Goldenberg 1991; 2006; Joosten 1989; 1992; 1996: 77-96; 2006; Muraoka 1975; 1977; 1997: §102-109; 2006; Pat-El 2006; van Peursen 2006a; 2006b; Van Rompay 1991; Wertheimer 2002.

[7] See, e.g., Jenner 2003: 307; Joosten 1996: 107; 1999: 213-214; Muraoka 1985: 77; 2006: 131-134; Wertheimer 2002: 12-13.

[8] See most recently Pat-El 2006: 342-344.

structure in a situation of language contact has had a contentious history in linguistic thought, and no consensus has yet been reached regarding its nature, extent, or even its existence" (1996: 285). At least part of this disagreement stems from the fact that many of the purported cases of structural transfer in situations of borrowing are based on insufficient data and lack adequate analysis.[9] This chapter, thus, aims to add an additional example of the transfer of structure in a situation of borrowing.[10]

9.2   Verbless Clause Formation in Syriac

It is necessary to begin with an overview of verbless clause formation in Syriac. In Syriac, verbless clauses can be constructed in two basic ways (Wertheimer 2002), which will be termed Pattern A and Pattern B.[11] Pattern A consists of the word order predicate-subject with the subject restricted to an enclitic personal pronoun, as in the example in (9-1):[12]

(9-1)   Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (3rd cent. CE; ed. Wright 1871a)

ܘܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ

wgaḇrɔ   (ʾ)nɔ   ʿɛḇrɔyɔ

and + man-M.SG.EMP   I   Hebrew-M.SG.DET

'I am a Hebrew man' (172.13)

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[9] See recently Poplack and Levey 2010.

[10] Arguments in favor of analyzing contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek as borrowing are presented in §3.4.

[11] There is a third (marginal) pattern for the verbless clause in Syriac, which consists of the simple juxtaposition of subject and predicate (Nöldeke 1904: §310, 312b; Muraoka 1987: §103; Joosten 1992: 586-587; 1996: 91-93; Butts 2006: 58-61). For my use of 'verbless clause' instead of 'nominal clause' or 'non-verbal clause', see Butts 2006: 56 n. 13.

[12] For this pattern, see Goldenberg 1983 with additions in Goldenberg 1991; Joosten 1989; 1992; 1996: 77-96; Muraoka 1975; 1977; 1997: §102-109; Pat-El 2006; Van Rompay 1991; Wertheimer 2002.

In this sentence, the nexus between the subject *(ʾ)nɔ* 'I' and the predicate *gaḇrɔ* 'man' is expressed by the syntactic juxtaposition of the two terms.[13] The subject in this type of verbless clause is restricted to an enclitic personal pronoun in Syriac.[14] In the example in (9-1), the enclitic status of the pronoun *(ʾ)nɔ* 'I' is indicated by its phonologically reduced form – the independent form is *ʾɛnɔ* – as well as by the fact that it interrupts the noun-adjective phrase *gaḇrɔ ʿɛḇrɔyɔ* 'Hebrew man'.

When a subject other than a personal pronoun is to be expressed with a Pattern A verbless clause, the logical subject is extraposed either to the front or to the rear of the predicate-subject nucleus with the personal pronoun resuming the extraposed logical subject:[15]

(9-2) Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (3rd cent. CE; ed. Wright 1871a)

ܡܛܠ ܕܛܝܒܘܬܝ ܥܡܟ ܗܝ,

mɛṭṭul	dṭaybuṯ(y)	ʿammɔḵ	(h)i
because	NML + grace-F.SG.CON + my	with + you-M.SG	she

'because my grace is with you' (172.16)

In this example, the predicate is *ʿammɔḵ* 'with you', and the subject is *(h)i* 'she', which refers to the extraposed logical subject *ṭaybuṯ(y)* 'my grace'. This type of extraposition in verbless clauses is not limited to Syriac, but occurs in other dialects of Aramaic, such as Egyptian

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[13] Goldenberg 1983: 111-112; 1987-1988: 113-115.

[14] There are rare instances in which the pronoun does not seem to be enclitic: *ʿam hɔy ger d'alɔhɔ ʾa(n)tton* [with that-F.SG for NML-god-M.SG.EMP you-M.PL] 'For, you are with that of God' (Philoxenos, *Letter to the Monks of Beth Gawgal*; ed. Vaschalde 1902: 158.16). It should be noted that the second person pronouns, including *ʾa(n)tton*, do not have a marked non-attached enclitic form of the pronoun (in contrast to the first and third person pronouns); it is, however, still noteworthy that *ʾa(n)tton* is not in the enclitic word position in this example. It should also be noted that the pronoun is not enclitic in some other dialects of Aramaic (see fn. 23 below).

[15] Zewi 1996: 41-55 and especially Goldenberg 1998: 165-167.

Aramaic (Muraoka and Porten 1998: 294-296) and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Butts 2006: 61-64).

Verbless clauses belonging to Pattern B are constructed with the existential particle *ʾiṯ* 'there is' plus a possessive pronominal suffix:[16]

(9-3) Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (3rd cent. CE; ed. Wright 1871a)

ܒܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܐܝܬܝ ܝܘܡܢܐ

bar	ʿɛsrin	ger	waḥḏɔ	šnin
son-M.SG.CON	twenty-M.PL.ABS	for	and + one-F.SG.ABS	years-M.PL.ABS

ʾiṯay	yawmɔnɔ
EX + my	today

'for I am twenty-one years old today' (317.19-20)

In this example, *ʾiṯ* serves as the nexus between the subject 'I', which is expressed by a possessive pronominal suffix, and the predicate *bar ʿɛsrin* … 'son of twenty …'. In Syriac, there are also rare examples in which an enclitic personal pronoun occurs instead of a possessive pronominal suffix:[17]

(9-4) *Letter 47* by Timotheos I (d. 823; ed. Braun 1901)

ܠܝܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܓܡܪ ܒܗܘ ܡܐ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢܢ

layt	ʾɛnnɛn den laḡmar	bhaw	mɔ	dʾaḥiḏinan
NEG + EX	they-F but completely	in + that-M.SG	what	NML + be.held-PART.M.PL + we

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[16] For the various uses of *ʾiṯ* in Syriac, including the copulaic use, see Jenner 2003; Joosten 1996: 97-107; Goldenberg 1983: 117-131; Muraoka 1977; 2006; Nöldeke 1904: §301-308; Wertheimer 2002: 4-5.
[17] Nöldeke 1904: §302; Goldenberg 1983: 117; Van Rompay 1994: 82-83; Joosten 1996: 107.

'But, they are not at all in that (book) that we possess' (306.10-11)[18]

(9-5)   Syriac Translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (before 420;[19] ed. Wright and

McLean 1898)

<div dir="rtl">ܠܝܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ</div>

layt   ʾennon   nbiye

NEG+EX   **they-M**   prophet-M.PL.EMP

'they are not prophets' (297.13-14)[20]

As the latter example illustrates, most cases of *ʾit*, or the negative *layt* (< *lā + *ʾīθay), with

an enclitic personal pronoun occur in translations from Greek. It should be noted that this

construction with an enclitic personal pronoun instead of a possessive pronominal suffix is

more common in other dialects of Late Aramaic.[21]

So, to summarize, the verbless clause in Syriac can be constructed according to two

different patterns, which are illustrated in the following examples:

(9-6)   *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

<div dir="rtl">ܐܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ</div>

ʾɛllɔ   mɔ(ʾ)ne   ʾɛnnon

---

[18] Compare this to a similar construction, but with a suffix, several lines later: *wlaytaw(hy) hɔnɔ pɛtgɔmɔ bšabʿin* [and+NEG+EX+his this-M sentence-M.SG.EMP in+seventy-M.PL.ABS] 'and this sentence is not in the Septuagint' (*Letter 47* by Timotheos I; ed. Braun 1901: 306.14). Similarly see Braun 1901: 304.21-22.

[19] This translation is preserved in one of the earliest dated Syriac manuscripts, St. Petersburg, Public Library, Cod. Syr. 1 (461/462). The translation must, however, have predated this manuscript by at least half a century since the Syriac version was the basis of an Armenian translation from the first decades of the fifth century (Van Rompay 1994: 73 n. 15; cf. Merx, *apud* Wright and McLean 1898: xiii-xvii).

[20] Translating Greek οὐκ εἰσὶ προφῆται [NEG be-PRES.ACT.IND.3.P prophet-M.P.NOM] 'they are not prophets'.

[21] See below pp. 357-364.

but   instruments-M.PL.EMP   they-M

'But, they are instruments …' (10.10-11)

(9-7)   *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

<div align="right">ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܡܐܢܐ</div>

ʾiṯayhen   ger   mɔ(ʾ)ne

EX + they-F.P   for   instruments-M.P.DET

'For, they are instruments …' (12.3)

Based on pairs such as (9-6) and (9-7), it is clear that these two types of verbless clauses are functional equivalents in Syriac.[22] These two patterns, however, have different linguistic histories. Pattern A is an inheritance from earlier Aramaic and is attested already in the Old Aramaic period, as in (9-8):[23]

(9-8)   Zakur (800-775 BCE)

ʾš   ʿnh   ʾnh

man-M.SG.ABS   humble-M.SG.ABS   I

'I am a humble man' (KAI 202 A 2)

Pattern B, on the other hand, represents one of the final stages in the development of a copula from an earlier existential particle. This is discussed in the next section.

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[22] Joosten 1996: 103, 107; Muraoka 1977: 22. Wertheimer (2002) discusses the distribution of these two types of verbless clauses.

[23] As this example illustrates, the subject pronoun in this type of verbless clause is not enclitic in Old Aramaic as it is in Syriac (at least usually, see fn. 14). This is also the case with other dialects of Aramaic, such as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Butts 2006: 62 with n. 38).

9.3   Extension in the Copulaic Use of *ʾit̠*

The etymological source of the Syriac particle *ʾit̠* is earlier Aramaic **ʾīθay*.[24] In dialects prior to middle Aramaic, the only attested use of **ʾīθay* is as an existential particle meaning 'there exists, there is':[25]

(9-9)   Egyptian Aramaic (460-459 BCE)

ʾp	ʾyt̠y	spr	mrḥq	1
also	EX	document-M.SG.CON	renunciation-M.SG.ABS	one

'Moreover, there is one document of renunciation' (TAD B2.3:23)

The particle **ʾīθay* is used as an existential particle throughout the history of Aramaic, even up until Neo-Aramaic:

(9-10) Neo-Aramaic of Qaraqosh (ed. Khan 2002: 540-707)

ʾít̠ə	gùrgur	ʾu-ʾít̠ə	xə́ṭṭə	grìsə
EX	burghul	and+EX	wheat-PL	be.ground-PART.PL

'There is burghul, and there is ground wheat' (S:50)

In this example, Neo-Aramaic *ʾít̠ə* (< **ʾīθay*) functions as an existential particle, just like its cognate from Imperial Aramaic almost two and half millennium before, which was illustrated in (9-9).

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[24] For Semitic cognates of **ʾīθay*, see Blau 1972: 58-62; Gensler 2000: 234-236.

[25] Proposed examples of the copulaic use of **ʾīθay* in Egyptian Aramaic are evaluated and rejected in Muraoka and Porten 1998: 290-291 n. 1141. As per Tropper (1993: 137-138; 1997: 106), *lyšh* in KAI 216.16 should not be analyzed as **ʾīθay* plus a pronominal suffix – be it singular (e.g., Gibson 1975: 91; Blau 1972: 60; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 576) or plural (e.g., Cross and Freedman 1952: 30) – but rather as a non-suffixed form with the final *h* functioning as a *mater lectionis* for *ē* < **-ay(V)*. Similar writings with final *h* occur in Old Aramaic with the *Langimperfekt* and some nominal forms from third weak roots; for which, see Cross and Freedman 1952: 31; Degen 1969: §19; Garr 1985: 46.

By the time of the Aramaic of Daniel, *ʾīθay is also found with possessive pronominal suffixes and a new function as a copula.[26] In the Aramaic of Daniel, however, the copulaic use of *ʾīθay is limited to adverbial predicates, as in (9-11), and participial predicates, as in (9-12):

(9-11) Biblical Aramaic of Daniel (Middle Aramaic)

   məḏɔrhon   ʿim   biśrɔ   lɔ   **ʾiṯohi**

   dwelling-M.SG.CON + their   with   flesh-M.SG.EMP   NEG   **EX + his**

   'their dwelling is not with mortals' (Dan 2.11)

(9-12) Biblical Aramaic of Daniel (Middle Aramaic)

   le(ʾ)lɔhay   lɔ   ʾiṯeḵon   pɔləḥin

   to + god-M.PL.CON + my   NEG   **EX + you-PL**   serve-PART.M.PL.ABS

   'you do not serve my gods' (Dan 3.14; see also Dan. 2.26; 3.15, 18)

There are no examples in Daniel where *ʾīθay plus a pronoun functions as a copula with a substantival predicate. These types of verbless clauses are constructed without a copula:

(9-13) Biblical Aramaic of Daniel (Middle Aramaic)

   dənɔ   ḥɛlmɔ

   this-M.SG.EMP   dream-M.SG.DET

   'this is the dream' (2.36)

In the Aramaic of Daniel, then, *ʾīθay plus a pronominal suffix functions as a copula only with adverbial and participial predicates, but not with all predicate types.

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[26] Bauer and Leander 1927: §68z; Rosenthal 1995: §95. It should be noted that the following developments are only attested in the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel and not that of Ezra. Thus, while many of the phonological – and even morphological – differences between the two corpora have been leveled through their complex transmission history, this represents an important (morpho-)syntactic distinction between the two corpora, suggesting that they represent two different dialects of Aramaic from different time periods.

By the time of Syriac, however, * *ʾīθay* plus a pronominal suffix also functions as a copula with substantival predicates. This use of * *ʾīθay* is already attested in early Syriac, as in the following example from the second-century *Odes of Solomon*:[27]

(9-14) *Odes of Solomon* (2nd cent.; ed. Charlesworth 1973)

ܟܗܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܬܝ,

kɔhnɔ	dmɔryɔ	ʾiṯay
priest-M.SG.EMP	NML + lord-M.SG.EMP	EX + mine

'I am a priest of the Lord' (20.1)

The use of a Pattern B verbless clause with a substantival predicate, then, represents an innovation in Syriac, already found in the earliest attested layer of the language.[28]

The development of a copula from an existential particle follows a well-attested path of development. This is summarized in Figure 9-1:

Figure 9-1 Existential to Copula

Stage 0: existential (± adverbial complement)	'There is money (on the table)'
↓ reanalysis ↓	
Stage 1: copula with adverbial predicate	'Money is on the table'
↓ extension ↓	
Stage 2: copula with nominal predicate	'Money is the root of all evil'

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[27] Most scholars date the *Odes of Solomon* to the second century, though slightly later dates are occasionally suggested (see Lattke 1993a; 1995: 20-35; 2009: 6-10 with additional references).

[28] The Old Syriac inscription As10, which probably dates to the third century, begins: *ʾytwhy qbrʾ hnʾ dywḥnn …* [EX + his grave-M.SG.EMP this-M.SG. NML + PN …]. Based on their translation 'this is the grave of John …', Drijvers and Healey seem to analyze the substantive *qbrʾ* 'grave' as the predicate of the clause. Nevertheless, based on the word order, it seems more likely that *qbrʾ hnʾ* is the subject and *dywḥnn …* is the predicate, i.e., 'This grave is John's …'. Thus, this is probably not a case of the copulaic use of *ʾiṯ* with a substantival predicate.

In Stage 0, the existential particle expresses existence: 'there is money' or 'money exists'. This simple existential clause can take various complements, including adverbial complements, as in 'money is on the table'. This is the stage found with *ʾīθay in pre-Middle Aramaic. By the time of Middle Aramaic (= Stage 1), reanalysis has occurred: 'there is money on the table' becomes 'money is on the table'. This does not result in a change to the surface structure, but it does affect the deep structure where the existential particle is now a copula with an adverbial predicate. A further development involving extension occurs in Stage 2 when the predicate type is no longer limited to an adverbial predicate but occurs with other predicate types, such as substantival predicates.

The change that is of primary importance to the current discussion is the extension that occurred in Syriac whereby ʾiṯ plus a pronominal suffix came to be used with substantival predicates. It is argued here that this extension is due to its replication on the Greek verbal copula ἐστίν. Before looking at this extension, however, it is necessary to show that Syriac-speakers did in fact equate Syriac ʾiṯ plus a pronominal suffix with Greek ἐστίν. This identification can be established from the typology of translation technique, as is illustrated in the following example:

(9-15) Greek

κύριος	γάρ	ἐστίν	τοῦ	σαββάτου
lord-NOM.M.SG	for	be-PRES.ACT.IND.3.SG	ART-GEN.M.SG	Sabbath-GEN.M.SG

ὁ	υἱὸς	τοῦ	ἀνθρώπου
ART-NOM.M.SG	son-NOM.M.SG	ART-GEN.M.SG	man-GEN.M.SG

'For, Lord of the Sabbath is the Son of Man' (Matt 12.8)

(9-16) Old Syriac Sinaiticus (3rd cent. [?]; ed. Kiraz 1996)

mɔrɔh	ger	dšabbtɔ	breh	**(h)u**
lord-M.SG.CON + her	for	NML + Sabbath-F.SG.EMP	son-M.SG.CON + his	**he**

d(ʾ)nɔšɔ

NML + man-M.SG.DET

'For, the Lord of the Sabbath is the Son of Man' (Matt 12.8)

(9-17) Peshiṭta (ca. 400 CE; ed. Kiraz 1996)

mɔrɔh	ger	dšabbtɔ	ʾitaw(hy)	breh
lord-M.SG.CON + her	for	NML + Sabbath-F.SG.EMP	**EX + his**	son-M.SG.CON + his

d(ʾ)nɔšɔ

NML + man-M.SG.DET

'For, the Lord of the Sabbath is the Son of Man' (Matt 12.8)

In the Old Syriac Sinaiticus version in (9-16), the Greek clause with the verbal copula ἐστίν 'he is' is rendered by a Pattern A verbless clause: *brεh* 'his son' is the predicate and is followed by the subject *(h)u* 'he', which refers to the extraposed logical subject 'Lord of the Sabbath'. In contrast, in the Peshiṭta version, the Pattern A verbless clause is abandoned, and in its place one finds a form of the existential particle *ʾit* plus a third person masculine singular pronominal suffix. In the Peshiṭta version, then, the 'conjugated' form of *ʾit* exactly replicates the Greek verbal copula ἐστίν. Such a replacement is not limited to this one example, but it is indicative of a broader trend. In Matthew, for instance, the copulaic use of *ʾit* plus pronominal suffix is attested only four times in each of the Old Syriac versions (Curetonianus and Sinaiticus), but twenty-two times in the Peshiṭta version (Joosten 1996: 150). This replacement is even more

dramatic when one turns to the seventh-century Ḥarqlean version, where most of the verbless clauses without a copula have been replaced by the pattern with a copula. In the book of Psalms, for instance, there is only one token of copulaic *ʾiṯ* in the Peshiṭta version compared to more than eighty examples in the Ḥarqlean version (Jenner 2003: 300-307). Given that it is well-established that later Syriac translations tend to provide a more formal equivalence in comparison with earlier translations, this example suggests that Syriac-speakers equated Syriac *ʾiṯ* plus pronoun with the Greek verbal copula ἐστίν.

Now that it has been established that Syriac-speakers equated *ʾiṯ* plus a pronominal suffix with Greek ἐστίν, it is possible to turn to the extention whereby Syriac *ʾiṯ* plus a pronominal suffix came to be used with substantival predicates. It is argued that this extension is due to its replication on Greek ἐστίν, with which it was identified by Syriac-speakers. In Greek, ἐστίν has several uses.[29] First, it can function as a verb of existence, as in (9-18):

(9-18) P.Dura 12 (225-250 CE)

ἐὰν	δὲ	μηθεὶς	τούτων	ᾖ
if	but	none-NOM.M.SG	this-GEN.M.PL	**be-PRES.ACT.SUB.3.SG**

ἀδελφοὶ	ὁμ[οπ]άτριοι
brother-NOM.M.PL	of.the.same.father-NOM.M.PL

'If there are none of these, brothers of the same father (receive the inheritance).' (8-9)

In addition, Greek ἐστίν functions as a copula with various predicate types, including adjectival predicates, as in (9-19), adverbial predicates, as in (9-20), and substantival predicates, as in (9-21).

(9-19) P.Dura 12 (225-250 CE)

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[29] Liddell and Scott 1996: 487-489; Smyth 1956: 257.

βασιλικὴ	ἡ	οὐσία	ἔστω
royal-NOM.F.SG	ART-NOM.F.SG	property-NOM.F.SG	be-PRES.IMP.ACT.3.S

'Let the property be the king's.' (15-16)

(9-20) P.Dura 12 (225-250 CE)

κατὰ	δὲ	ταῦτα	ἔστωσαν	καὶ
according	but	these-ACC.NEUT.PL	be-PRES.IMP.ACT.3.PL	and

αἱ	ἀγχιστίαι
ART-NOM.F.PL	right.of.kin-NOM.F.PL

'Let the rights of kin be according to these things.' (16-17)

(9-21) P. Euphrates 6 (Nov. 6, 249 CE)

ἥτις	ἐστὶν	μηνὸς	Δίου
REL-NOM.FEM.SG	be-PRES.ACT.IND.3.SG	month-NOM.M.SG	Dios-GEN.M.SG

'which is the month of Dios' (5-6)

As outlined above, in Aramaic dialects prior to Syriac, *ʾīθay plus a pronominal suffix functions as an existential particle and as a copula with adverbial and participial predicates, but not as a copula with substantival predicates. Thus, Greek ἐστίν and Aramaic *ʾīθay plus a pronominal suffix are structural equivalents in a number of uses with the crucial exception of the copulaic use with substantival predicates.[30] This is summarized in Table 9-1. In contrast to earlier dialects of Aramaic, Syriac ʾiṯ plus a suffix can function as a copula with a substantival predicate. Thus, it is easy to see how extension could have occurred in Syriac based on the uses of ἐστίν in Greek.

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[30] This leaves aside questions of Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM). Syriac ʾiṯ plus a pronominal suffix often occurs with a conjugated form of √hwy 'to be(come)' that marks for TAM, whereas this information is encoded within the conjugated form of ἐστίν in Greek.

Table 9-1   Existentials and Copulas in Middle Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek

		Middle Aramaic *ʾīθay + suffix	Syriac ʾiṯ + suffix	Greek ἐστίν
existential		X	X	X
copula	w/ adverbial predicate	X	X	X
	w/ participial predicate	X	X	X
	w/ substantival predicate	Ø	X	X

It could be objected, however, that extensions such as this are common cross-linguistically. How then can it be established that this particular extension is the result of language contact and not simply an internal language development? This is of course one of the methodological issues with grammatical replication specifically and so-called 'structural' contact-induced changed more generally.[31] In this particular case, confirmation that the change is contact-induced is found in the distribution of the pattern among the Late Aramaic dialects.[32] In particular, the one dialect that is known to have had as significant contact with Greek as Syriac did, namely Christian Palestinian Aramaic, attests a similar extension. In contrast, the other four dialects of Late Aramaic, which had less contact with Greek than Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, do not attest the same extention. The following pages briefly outline the use of *ʾīθay in the Late Aramaic dialects (moving from East to West) in order to provide additional support for analyzing the extension of the copulaic use of *ʾīθay to verbless clauses with substantival predicates in Syriac as a contact-induced change due to Greek.

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[31] See p. 335, 343-344 as well as §11.2.
[32] For earlier surveys, see Joosten 1996: 106-107; Pat-El 2006: 343-344.

In the Late East Aramaic dialects of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic, reflexes of *ʾīθay function roughly similar to the uses found in the Aramaic of Daniel. In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, the reflexes of *ʾīθay are restricted to a relatively small set of uses.[33] In positive clauses, Jewish Babylonian ʾyt plus a pronominal suffix functions as a copula with adverbial predicates:

(9-22) Babylonian Talmud (cited according to CAL)

ky   ʾyth   gbyh   lʾ   ʾklʾ

when   EX + her   with + him   NEG   eat-PART.F.SG.ABS

'that when she is with him, she may not eat' (San 51a.23)

Many of these clauses can still be interpreted as existential statements with adverbial complements. This construction with an adverbial predicate is also found in negative clauses:

(9-23) Babylonian Talmud (cited according to CAL)

lytyh   bmtʾ

NEG.EX + his   in + town-F.SG.DET

'he is not in the town' (Ket 94a.23)

In addition, in negative clauses, ʾyt occurs with pronouns as a negation of participial predicates:

(9-24) Babylonian Talmud (cited according to CAL)

wnysn   lyt   ʾt   ḥzy

and + Nisan   NEG.EX   you-2.SG   see-PART.M.SG.ABS

'and you will not see Nisan' (Ber 56b.12)

In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, ʾyt plus a pronoun (whether independent or with a suffix) does not, however, function as a copula with substantival predicates.

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[33] Schlesinger 1928: 9, 140-142; Sokoloff 2002a: 126-128.

A situation similar to Jewish Babylonian Aramaic is encountered in Mandaic.[34] In Mandaic, reflexes of *ʾīθay most commonly function as an existential particle:

(9-25) *Ginza Rba* (ed. Petermann 1867)

    laiit   taga   bmalkutai

    NEG + EX   crown-M.SG.EMP   in + kingdom-M.PL.CON + my

    'there is no crown in my kingdoms' (1.207.21-22)

In addition to this independent use, reflexes of *ʾīθay occur with possessive pronominal suffixes and function as a copula in Mandaic with adverbial predicates, as in (9-26), and participial predicates, as in (9-27).

(9-26) *Ginza Rba* (Late Aramaic; ed. Petermann 1867)

    kma   daitinkun   balma

    like + what   NML + EX + you-M.P   in + world-M.SG.EMP

    'as long as you are in the world' (1.19.10)

(9-27) *Ginza Rba* (Late Aramaic; ed. Petermann 1867)

    ukianh   biša   aith   mn   qudam

    and + nature-M.SG.CON + his   evil-M.SG.EMP   EX + his   from   beginning

    'his nature is evil from the beginning' (1.278.19)[35]

These uses of *ʾīθay with pronominal suffixes are, however, relatively rare in Mandaic.[36] As is the case with the Aramaic of Daniel as well as Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic reflexes of *ʾīθay never function as a copula with substantival predicates.

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[34] Macuch 1965: §294; Nöldeke 1875: §272.

[35] For this interpretation, see Nöldeke 1875: §272; Drower and Mauch 1953: 15 (s.v. **ait-**), both of which erroneously refer to Petermann 1867: 1.155.15.

[36] Nöldeke 1875: §272.

The function of *ʾīθay in late West Aramaic differs according to the dialect. In Samaritan Aramaic, the positive reflex of *ʾīθay, which is written ʾyt, is rare, whereas the negative reflex, which is usually written lyt, occurs much more frequently. The negative lyt occurs independently as an existential particle, as in the following example:

(9-28) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

lyt   hwry   lbr   mnh

NEG＋EX   another-M.SG.ABS   to＋outside-M.SG.ABS   from＋his

'there is none outside of him' (41.9)

It also occurs in conjunction with two different sets of pronouns, *viz.*, suffixed genitive pronouns, as in *lyty* in (9-29), and enclitic personal pronouns, as in *lytw* (< *lyt* + *hw*) in (9-30):

(9-29) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

w**lyty**   šbq   lwn

and＋EX＋my   leave-PART.M.SG.ABS   to＋their

'I will not leave them' (53.186)

(9-30) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

lytw   mšlḥ   lh

NEG＋EX＋he   send-PART.M.SG.ABS   to＋him

'he will not send him' (53.200-201)

With pronouns, the negative *lyt* occurs with various predicate types, including adverbial predicates, as in (9-31), participial predicates, as in (9-32), and substantival predicates, as in (9-33):

(9-31) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

lynh   hk   mh   dhwyk[37]

NEG＋EX＋we   like   what   NML＋be-SUF.2.M.SG

'we are not like you were' (43.46)

(9-32) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

lynn   bᶜyn   mnk

NEG＋EX＋we   seek-PART.M.SG.ABS   from＋you-M.SG

'we do not seek from you' (71.541)

(9-33) Samaritan Aramaic *Piyyuṭim* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1967)

lytw   tᶜtyd   dmykl

NEG＋EX＋her   delicacy-M.SG.ABS   of＋food-M.SG.ABS

'it is not a delicacy of food' (Marqe 14.3)

Negative reflexes of *ʾīθay are especially common with participial predicates as in (9-32). As the example in (9-33) illustrates, Samaritan Aramaic does witness *ʾīθay plus a pronoun in verbless clauses with substantival predicates. This, however, occurs only in negative clauses. In positive clauses, *ʾīθay plus pronoun is not attested as a copula with substantival predicates. This distribution is illustrated by the following example:

(9-34) Samaritan Aramaic *Piyyuṭim* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1967)

lytw   tᶜtyd   dmykl   mmh   dᶜtdw

EX＋he   delicacy-M.SG.ABS of＋food-M.SG.ABS from＋what NML＋prepare-SUF.3.M.PL

mʾtyn   tᶜtyd   qᶜymh   hwʾ

die-PART.M.PL.ABS   delicacy-M.SG.CON everlasting-M.SG.EMP he

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[37] Reading with a variant ms. (see note 5 in Ben-Ḥayyim 1988: 42).

'it is not a delicacy of food from what mortals prepare; it is a delicacy of the

Everlasting' (Marqe 14.3-5)

The first verbless clause in this example is negative, and thus the existential *lytw* 'he is not' (<

*lā + *ʾīθay + *hū) can be used; in contrast, the second verbless clause is positive and thus

the existential *ʾīθay does not occur. In Samaritan Aramaic, then, the negative *lyt* (< *lā +

*ʾīθay) can be used with verbless clauses of all predicate types, including those with a

substantival predicate. This development represents a generalization of *lyt* as a negative marker.

It does not, however, represent the extension of *ʾīθay plus pronoun to verbless clauses with

substantival predicates more generally. This in fact did not occur: *ʾīθay plus pronoun is never

attested in positive clauses with substantival predicates in Samaritan Aramaic. These types of

verbless clauses are formed through the juxtaposition of subject and predicate, as in (9-35).

(9-35) *Tibat Marqe* (ed. Ben-Ḥayyim 1988)

ʿbdk ʾnh

servant-M.SG.CON + you-M.SG   I

'I am your servant' (57.287)

Samaritan Aramaic, then, presents a complex situation. It is true that *lyt*, the negative of *ʾīθay,

is used as a copula with substantival predicates in Samaritan Aramaic, as illustrated in (9-33).

Given that this expansion in the use of *ʾīθay is only found in negative clauses, it is best to

attribute it to the generalization of *lyt* as a negative marker. Thus, Samaritan Aramaic does

illustrate a general tendency to expand the uses of *ʾīθay. It does not, however, attest the same

extension that is found in Syriac: *ʾīθay plus a pronoun does not occur in positive verbless

clauses with substantival predicates in Samaritan Aramaic.

A situation similar to Samaritan Aramaic is encountered in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, the negative *lyt* occurs with enclitic personal pronouns as a copula in verbless clauses with adverbial predicates, as in (9-36), with participial predicates, as in (9-37), and with substantival predicates, as in (9-38).

(9-36) *Targum Neophyti* (ed. Díez Macho 1968-1979)

    wṭlyʾ   **lyt**   hwʾ   ʿmy

    and+boy-M.SG.EMP   NEG+EX   he   with+me

    'and the boy is not with me' (Gen. 44.34)

(9-37) *Bereshit Rabba* (ed. Kutscher *apud* Rosenthal 1967)

    lmh   **lyt**   ʾt   sbr

    for+what   NEG+EX   you-M.SG   understand-PART.M.SG.ABS

    'Why do you not understand?' (I/1.60-61)

(9-38) Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *Piyyuṭim* (ed. Yahalom and Sokoloff 1999)

    w**lyt**   ʾt   prwq

    and+EX.NEG   you-M.SG   redeemer-M.SG.ABS

    'and you are not a redeemer' (37.9, 13, 15, 29, 39)[38]

Negative reflexes of *ʾīθay* are common with participial predicates as in (9-37). As the example in (9-38) illustrates, the negative *lyt* plus pronoun can be used as a copula in verbless clauses with a substantival predicate. As in Samaritan Aramaic, however, this use is restricted to negative clauses. Positive verbless clauses with substantival predicates are not attested with *ʾīθay* plus a pronoun, but are formed through the juxtaposition of subject and predicate:[39]

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[38] On a philological note, it should be added that in each case the manuscript has been secondarily changed to read: *whyk ʾt prwq* [and+how you-M.SG redeemer-M.SG.ABS] 'and how can you be a redeemer?'

[39] For a full description, see Butts 2006.

(9-39) Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *Piyyuṭim* (ed. Yahalom and Sokoloff 1999)

    rḥmyy   hnwn

    friend-M.PL.CON + my   they

    'they are my friends' (4.20)

Like Samaritan Aramaic, then, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic illustrates a general tendency to expand the uses of *ʾīθay*. In fact, the two dialects attest the same generalization of *lyt* as a negative marker. Nevertheless, once again like Samaritan Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic does not attest the use of *ʾīθay* plus a pronoun in positive verbless clauses with substantival predicates, and thus it does not attest the same extension that is found in Syriac.

In contrast to Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic in the East and Samaritan Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in the West, Christian Palestinian Aramaic does witness the extension of *ʾīθay* to positive verbless clauses with substantival predicates. In Christian Palestinian Aramaic, the reflexes of *ʾīθay* combine with enclitic personal pronouns to form a copula.[40] This copula can be used with adverbial predicates, as in (9-40), and with participial predicates, as in (9-41).

(9-40) *Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert* (Christian Palestinian Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996)

    wʾyt   **hw** dy byt   knwšʾ   ṭḥwt ṭwrʾ

    and + EX he   then house-M.SG.CON congregation-F.SG.ABS under mountain-M.SG.EMP

    'and a chapel is under the mountain' (22.1.20-22.2.1)

(9-41) *Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert* (Christian Palestinian Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996)

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[40] Nöldeke 1868: 511-512.

’yt　hw　gr　’tr’　　　　šw’

EX　he　for　place-M.SG.EMP　flat-M.SG.ABS

'the place is flat' (21.1.16-18)

These uses are similar to those found in Daniel as well as in the other Late Aramaic dialects. Christian Palestinian Aramaic, however, also attests ’yt (and the negative lyt) plus a personal pronoun used as a copula with substantival predicates, as in the following examples:

(9-42) *Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert* (Christian Palestinian Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996)

w’yt　　　hw　ywmdn　br　　　　m’’　　　　　w‘sïyn

and + EX　he　today　son-M.SG.CON　100-F.SG.ABS　　　and + twenty-M.SG.ABS

'and today he is 120 years old' (76.2.2-5)

(9-43) Old Testament (Christian Palestinian Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997)

’t’　　　　　　　　bqšyw　　　　　　　’yt　　’n’

woman-F.SG.ABS　　　in + hardness-F.SG.ABS　　EX　　I

'I am a woman in difficulty' (1Sam 1.15)

In (9-43), ’yt expresses the nexus between ’n’ 'I' and the substantive ’t’ 'woman'. So, like Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic attests an extension whereby the existential particle *’īθay plus a pronoun came to be used as a copula with substantival predicates.

To summarize, the existential particle *’īθay plus a pronoun is used as a copula with substantival predicates in two dialects of Late Aramaic, Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic. In Mandaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, it is not. The distribution of this change is indicative of its catalyst. The two dialects, in which the extension occurred, are *a priori* known to have had significant contact with Greek.

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In contrast, the other four dialects did not have as extensive contact with Greek, and so the extension did not occur there. This lends additional support to the argument that the extension of the copulaic use of *ʾīṯay to verbless clauses with substantival predicates that occurred in Syriac, as well as Christian Palestinian Aramaic, was due to language contact with Greek.

9.4   The Increase in the Frequency of ʾīṯaw(hy)

The second contact-induced change involving the copulaic use of ʾīṯ is its change from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern throughout the history of Syriac. As was outlined in §9.2, verbless clauses in Syriac can be formed according to either Pattern A or Pattern B. This does not, however, address the diachronic issue. In earlier Syriac, Pattern B was much less common than Pattern A. Over the course of Classical Syriac, however, this distribution changed, and Pattern B became increasingly more common. This diachronic change can be demonstrated by comparing Syriac compositions from different time periods.

Table 9-2 provides an overview of the distribution of verbless clauses with substantival predicates in a corpus of more than 125,000 tokens from twelve prose texts spanning from the second century up until Yaʿqub of Edessa.[41] Graph 9-1 Distribution of Verbless Clauses with Substantival Predicates provides a graphic overview of the same data. Both the chart and the graph clearly bear out a diachronic increase of Pattern B vis-à-vis Pattern A in verbless clauses with a substantival predicate.

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[41] Negated verbless clauses are included; verbless clauses that are marked for tense with a form of √hwy are not, however, included. References to the individual verbless classes are given in §0.

Table 9-2 Distribution of Verbless Clauses with Substantival Predicates

	Pattern A	Pattern B	% of Pattern B
Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220)	25	1	3.85
Acts of Thomas (ca. 200-250 CE), Acts 1-7	34	5	12.82
Selection of Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345)	31	6	16.21
Ephrem (d. 373), *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1	35	4	10.26
Teaching of Addai (ca. 420)	31	4	11.43
Life of Rabbula (ca. 450)	15	1	6.25
Selection of Philoxenos (d. 523)	57	34	37.36
Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548)	11	7	38.89
Eliya (mid-6th cent.)	16	13	44.83
Selection of Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589)	3	12	80.00
Denḥa (d. 649)	2	7	77.78
Selection of Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708)	1	41	97.62

Graph 9-1 Distribution of Verbless Clauses with Substantival Predicates
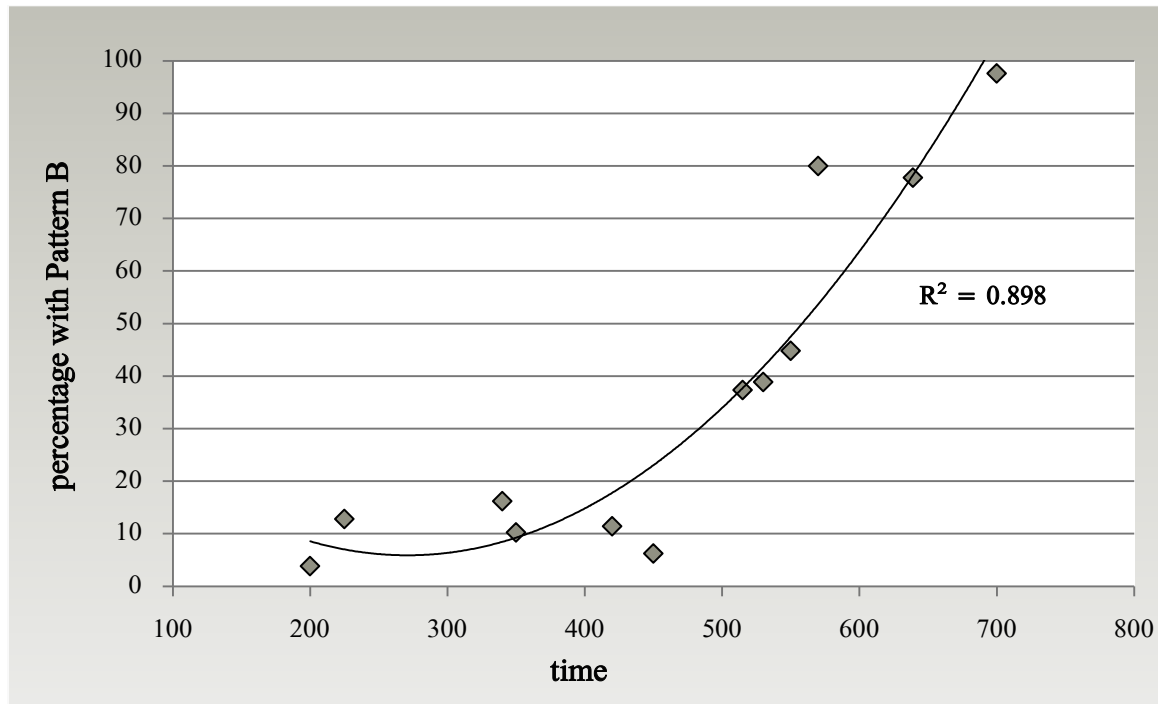
This increase is not restricted to substantival predicates, but occurs with other predicate types as well. Table 9-3 provides an overview of the distribution of verbless clauses with prepositional phrase predicates in the same corpus spanning from the second century up until

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Yaʿqub of Edessa.[42] Graph 9-2 provides a graphic overview of the same data. Again, the chart and the graph both clearly bear out a diachronic increase in Pattern B vis-à-vis Pattern A, but this time in verbless clauses with the inherited prepositional phrase predicates.

Table 9-3 Distribution of Verbless Clauses with Prepositional Phrase Predicates

	Pattern A	Pattern B	% of Pattern B
Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220)	3	2	40.00
Acts of Thomas (ca. 200-250 CE), Acts 1-7	8	4	33.33
Selection of Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345)	7	2	22.22
Ephrem (d. 373), *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1	7	3	30.00
Teaching of Addai (ca. 420)	1	1	50.00
Life of Rabbula (ca. 450)	1	1	50.00
Selection of Philoxenos (d. 523)	2	21	91.30
Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548)	0	2	100
Eliya (mid-6th cent.)	3	17	85.00
Selection of Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589)	3	7	70.00
Denḥa (d. 649)	0	2	100
Selection of Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708)	2	10	83.33

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[42] Again, negated verbless clauses are included; verbless clauses that are marked for tense with a form of √*hwy* are not, however, included. References to the individual verbless classes are given in §0.

Graph 9-2 Distribution of Verbless Clauses with Prepositional Phrase Predicates
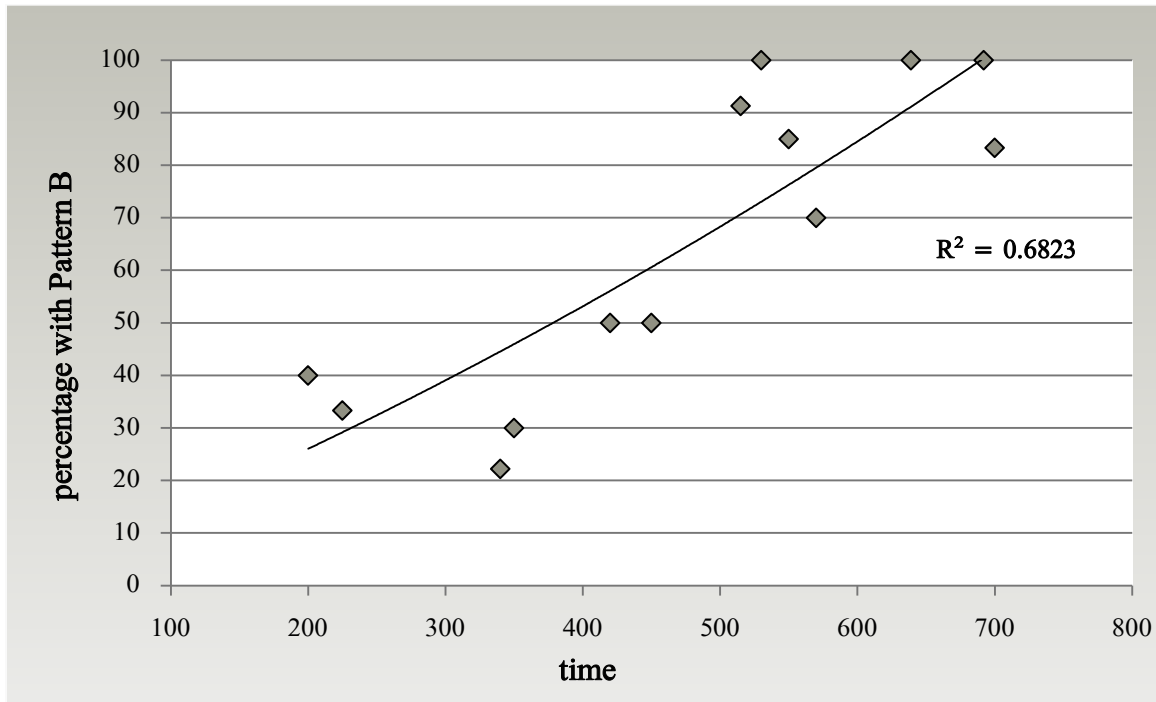
When forming verbless clauses, then, Syriac-speakers had the option of either using Pattern A or Pattern B. In an attempt to replicate Greek verbless clauses with the verbal copula ἐστίν, Syriac-speakers constructed verbless clauses according to Pattern B with a copula of *ʾiṯ* plus pronominal suffix. This attempt to replicate the Greek copula resulted in a diachronic change in Syriac in which Pattern B became increasingly more frequent in verbless clause formation at the expense of Pattern A from the second to the beginning of the eight century.[43] This did not result in a new function for the copula *ʾiṯ* plus pronominal suffix; rather, this is a case in which contact with Greek resulted in the selection and favoring of one pattern in the recipient language (Pattern B) at the expense of another (Pattern A).

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[43] See similarly Muraoka 2006: 134.

9.5   Conclusion

In the scholarly literature of Semitic Studies as well as of Contact Linguistics, there are far too few cases in which a proposed contact-induced (morpho-)syntactic change has been systematically described with the support of convincing diachronic data. One of the primary aims of this chapter has been to add one such case to the literature: the replication of the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* on the model of Greek ἐστίν. This grammatical replication resulted 1. in the extension of the copulaic use of *ʾiṯ* to verbless clauses with substantival predicates by at least the early second century; and 2. the raising of copulaic *ʾiṯ* from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern throughout the history of Syriac. These two changes are illustrative of two different aspects of grammatical replication. The latter change involved the selection and favoring of one pattern in the recipient language at the expense of another pattern. In contrast, the former change involved the introduction of a new grammatical function for the copula in Syriac. Particular attention was paid to establishing that contact with Greek was a motivating factor in these changes. This case of grammatical replication has implications for the field of Syriac Studies as well as that of Contact Linguistics. For Syriac Studies, it provides arguments in favor of analyzing the development of a fully functioning copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* in Syriac as at least partially the result of contact with Greek. In addition, it provides important evidence for determining when Syriac-speakers first had intense contact with the Greco-Roman world. This is addressed in detail in the Conclusion (§11.2). For Contact Linguistics, it serves as an indication that structure can be transferred in situations of borrowing. This issue is also discussed in the Conclusion (§11.3).

10   The Syriac Conjunctive Particle *den* Replicated on Greek δέ

> "[Grammatical replication] concerns meanings and the structures associated with them, but not forms, that is, phonetic substance is not involved" (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 49)

10.1   Overview

The present chapter continues to explore the topic of grammatical replication in Syriac due to Greek. It does this by presenting an additional case study involving the replication of the Syriac conjunctive particle *den* 'then, but' on the model of Greek δέ 'but'. As is illustrated in (10-1) – (10-3), both Syriac *den* and Greek δέ are conjunctive particles that introduce clauses and occur in second position:[1]

(10-1) Hebrew Vorlage

wattiššaq   ʿɔrpɔ   laḥămoṯɔh   wǝruṯ

and + kiss-PRE.3.F.SG   PN   to + mother-in-law-F.SG.CON + her   and + PN

dɔḇǝqɔ   bɔh

cling-SUF.3.F.SG   in + her

'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, and Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

(10-2) Greek Septuagint

καὶ   κατεφίλησεν   Ορφα τὴν   πενθερὰν

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[1] For the term 'conjunctive particle', see the discussion in van Peursen and Falla 2009: 66-67.

and   kiss-AOR.ACT.IND.3.SG   PN   ART-ACC.F.SG   mother-in-law-ACC.F.SG

αὐτῆς   . . . Ρουθ   δὲ   ἠκολούθησεν   αὐτῇ

she-GEN.SG … PN   **de**   follow-AOR.ACT.IND.3.SG   she-DAT.SG

'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law … but Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

(10-3) Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.)

ܘܢܫܩܬ ܥܪܦܐ ܠܚܡܬܗ . . . ܪܘܬ ܕܝܢ ܢܩܦܬܗ

wnɛšqat̲   ʿarp̄ɔ   laḥmɔt̲ɔh   …   rʿut̲   **den**

and + kiss-SUF.3.F.SG   PN   to + mother-in-law-F.SG.CON + her   …   PN   **den**

nqɛp̄t̲ɔh

cling-SUF.3.F.S + her

'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law … but Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

The Greek in (10-2) and the Syriac in (10-3) are both translations of the Hebrew passage in

(10-1). Given that these two translations were conducted independently of one another, it is

noteworthy that Syriac employs *den* in the exact same manner as Greek uses δέ: both occur in

second position, and both mark a change in topic from the first clause to the second clause.

Despite the obvious semantic, syntactic, and phonological similarity between Greek δέ and

Syriac *den*, it has long been known that the etymological source of Syriac *den* is not Greek δέ,

but earlier Aramaic * *ʾiðayn*.[2]

This chapter will explore how earlier Aramaic * *ʾiðayn* was replicated on Greek δέ to

produce Syriac *den*. This case has been chosen as an example because it clearly involves the

transfer of both semantic and syntactic material from Greek to Syriac and so would seem to be

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[2] See, e.g., Brock 1967: 423; 1996: 258; Brockelmann 1908: §108h; 1928: 151; 1981: §53;
Ciancaglini 2008: 6; Joosten 1988: 180 n. 22; 1999: 209-210; Lattke 1993b: 288; Nöldeke
1904: 101 n. 1; Van Rompay 2007b: 99.

a case of grammatical replication as defined in this study. It is not, however, entirely removed from the phonological sphere since the motivation for the grammatical replication seems to have been, at least partly, phonological. In addition, the replication may have even led to a phonological change in Syriac. Thus, this case helps to expand the picture of grammatical replication as articulated in the previous two chapters (§8-9).

10.2 Earlier Aramaic Antecedents of Syriac *den*

The etymological source of Syriac *den* is earlier Aramaic **ʾiðayn*. Aramaic **ʾiðayn* is to be analyzed as an accretion of **ʾið* + **(a)y* + **n*. The **ʾið* element is probably to be reconstructed as a substantive that originally meant 'instant, moment'.[3] Several different grammaticalization trajectories are attested for the reconstructed substantive **ʾið* 'instant, moment' in the Semitic languages. First, **ʾið* was grammaticalized into a temporal adverb meaning 'then' in Hebrew *ʾɔz* (Koehler and Baumgartner 1994-2000: 26-27), Arabic *ʾið* (Lane 1863-1893: 38c-39c), and Ugaritic *idk* (Tropper 2000: 744-745; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 17). A similar development in which **ʾið* was grammaticalized into a temporal conjunction meaning 'when' is attested in Arabic *ʾið* (Lane 1863-1893: 38c-39c) and Sabaic *ʾð* (Beeston et al. 1982: 2).[4] A different grammaticalization trajectory for the reconstructed

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[3] Wright 1896-1898: 1.292; Tropper 2000: 377-378; 2003: 66. A different etymology is proposed by Pardee (2003-2004: 207-208), who relates **ʾið* to the demonstrative element **ð*. So already Brockelmann 1908: 324. This does not, however, seem as likely since it remains unexplained how a demonstrative element developed into a marked temporal element in various Semitic languages. For the demonstrative element **ð* in Semitic, see Hasselbach 2007.

[4] This is a common grammaticalization trajectory cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 298). For Semitic examples, see Leslau 1987: 21. This development may perhaps also be found in Ugaritic *id* 'when' (Tropper 2000: 796; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 16); Pardee (2000: 208 n. 275, 482-483; 2003-2004: 381) has, however, disputed this analysis preferring to understand all instances of Ugaritic *id* as a temporal adverb meaning 'then'.

substantive *ʾiḏ is found in Ugaritic and Sabaic, where it developed into a multiplicative morpheme, e.g., Ugaritic šbʿ(i)d 'sevenfold' and Sabaic s²lṯʾd 'three times'.[5] In Arabic, *ʾiḏ also occurs in a number of frozen expressions,[6] including ʿāmaʾiḏin 'in that year', ʿašiyyataʾiḏin 'on that evening', ɣadātaʾiḏin 'on that morning', ḥīnaʾiḏin 'at that time', laylataʾiḏin, 'on that night', sāʿataʾiḏin 'at that hour', waqtaʾiḏin 'at that time', and yawmaʾiḏin 'on that day'. Finally, *ʾiḏ occurs as the middle element in Gǝʿǝz yǝʾǝze 'now' (Leslau 1987: 625), which is most likely a combination of the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun yǝʾǝ-ti (< *hiʾi-tī < *siʾǎ̄-tī, with several ad hoc changes), the substantive *ʾiḏ, and the particle *(a)y.[7]

In Aramaic, *ʾiḏ is attested independently only in Samʾalian, where it is limited to two occurrences, both of which are written ʾz (KAI 214.7; 215.9).[8] Although the context of both passages is broken, in the second instance ʾz seems to occur in clause-initial position.[9] Assuming a proto-form *ʾiḏayn, Tropper (1993: 65, 184) explains the absence of the final n in ʾz by the general weakening of word-final nasals in Samʾalian. If this were the case, however, one would still expect the *ay element in *ʾiḏayn to be represented in the consonantal orthography by y.[10] Thus, it is more likely that the writing ʾz in Samʾalian represents the unexpanded form *ʾiḏ, which only later in the history of Aramaic was expanded to *ʾiḏ-ay-n.

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[5] For Ugaritic, see Tropper 2000: 377-379; for Sabaic, see Beeston 1984: 38; Stein 2003: 241.

[6] Lane 1863-1893: 39a; Wright 1896-1898: 1.292; Fischer 2002: §447 note 2.

[7] For a similar etymology of Gǝʿǝz yǝʾǝze, see already Dillmann 1907: 121, 377. Alternative etymologies are reviewed in Leslau 1987: 625. For the particle the particle *(a)y, see Aartun 1974: 44-47; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 61; Pardee 2004: 310; Tropper 1994; 2000: 833-835; 2003: 70 n. 33.

[8] For early interpretations of ʾz, see Dion 1974: 172 with notes 1 and 2.

[9] Tropper 1993: 65, 116.

[10] Compare the writing ywmy 'the days of' for /yawmay/ (KAI 215.10).

Roughly a century after the attestation of *ʾz* in Samʾalian, the expanded form *ʾzy* is attested three times in the Aššur ostracon (KAI 233.6, 14 [2x]). Unfortunately, here again the context is badly broken, though *ʾzy* seems to occur in clause-initial position as well as other syntactic positions.[11] The form *ʾzy* consists of *ʾið plus the expanding particle **(a)y*, the meaning of which remains unclear. The combination of *ʾið and **(a)y* is also found in Hebrew *ʾăzay* 'then' (Koehler and Baumgartner 1994-2000: 27), Tigre *ʾäze* 'now' (Littmann and Höfner 1956: 380), and Gəʿəz *yəʾəze* 'now' (Leslau 1987: 625).

The full form *ʾiðayn is first attested in Imperial Aramaic. This form consists of earlier *ʾiðay plus an expanding particle **-n*, the meaning of which remains unclear. A different etymology was proposed by Torczyner (1916: 66-67), who suggested that the final *-n* of *ʾiðayn is to be analyzed as the accusative ending with nunation. If this were the case, however, one would expect **ʾiðayan and not *ʾiðayn. Thus, it seems preferable to analyze the final *-n* in *ʾiðayn as an enclitic particle. A similar accretion of *ʾið and **-n* (but without *ay) might also be found in Arabic *ʾiðan* 'then'.[12]

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[11] Hug 1993: 20-21, 73.

[12] Brockelmann (1908: §246DAaα) analyses the final *-an* of Arabic *ʾiðan* as the accusative ending with nunation. Given the parallel with Aramaic *ʾiðayn, where such an analysis is impossible, the final *-an* in Arabic *ʾiðan* may be better analyzed as an enclitic particle (so already Aartun 1974: 5). Furthermore, it should be noted that the final *-an* of *ʾiðan* can be written either with *tanwīn fatḥa*, i.e. <ʾð>, or with consonantal *nūn*, i.e. <ʾðn>. This provides additional support that the final *-an* is to be analyzed as an enclitic particle and not the accusative ending with nunation, since the latter is always written with *tanwīn fatḥa*, whereas other particles in Arabic occasionally exhibit variable orthography, such as the Energic II ending, which can be written either with *tanwīn fatḥa* or with consonantal *nūn* (Fischer 2002: §111 note 1).

In Egyptian Aramaic, the reflex of *ʾiðayn, which is written ʾdyn, or more rarely ʾdn, occurs at least nineteen times.[13] In the Aramaic of this period, *ʾiðayn functions as a temporal adverb, which is best glossed 'then, at that time':

(10-4) Egyptian Aramaic (5th cent. BCE)

hkṣr	kl	kṣyr	wʿbd	kl
harvest-IMP.M.SG	all-M.SG.CON	harvest-M.SG.ABS	and+work-IMP.M.SG	all-M.SG.CON

ʿbydh	**ʾdyn**	tʾkl	wtšbʾ	
work-F.SG.ABS	**then**	eat-PRE.2.M.SG	and+be.satisfied-PRE.2.M.SG	

'Harvest every harvest and do every work! Then, you will eat and be satisfied' (TAD C1.1:127)

As is illustrated by this example, *ʾiðayn occurs in clause-initial position in Egyptian Aramaic. The best attested use of *ʾiðayn in Egyptian Aramaic is to mark the transition from an initial date formula to the main clause at the beginning of a contract:[14]

(10-5) Egyptian Aramaic (402 BCE)

b	10+2	lthwt	šnt	3+1	ʾrthššš	mlkʾ
on	12	to+Thoth	year-F.SG.CON	4	PN	king-M.SG.EMP

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[13] Attestations include TAD A6.7:6; A6.10:1; B2.8:4; B2.9:1; B2.10:1; B3.6:1; B3.7:1; B3.9:1; B3.10:1; B3.11:1; B3.12:1; B3.12:10; B3.13.1; B4.6:1; B5.5:1; B8.1:8; C1.1:78; C1.1:127; D2.9.1. Porten and Lund (2002: 3-4) list twenty-two total occurrences; three are, however, in lacunae. See also Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 13. The difference between the spelling ʾdyn and ʾdn is merely orthographic, suggesting that the diphthong ay has monophthongized, i.e., /ʾəḏēn/, and that the /ē/ can be written with or without a *mater lectionis*.

[14] It is unclear if this is to be understood as the primary use of *ʾiðayn in this dialect or if this distribution is the result of the accident of survival. For additional examples, see TAD B2.9:1; B2.10:1; B3.7:1; B3.9:1; B3.10:1; B3.11:1; B3.12:10; B3.13:1; B4.6:1; B5.5:1; B3.6:1; D2.9.1.

ʾdyn	ʾmr	ʿnny	...
then	say-SUF.3.M.SG	PN	...

'On the 12th of Thoth, year 4 of King Artaxerxes, then Anani said …' *or* 'On the 12th of Thoth, year 4 of King Artaxerxes. At that time, Anani said …' (TAD B3.12:1)

As indicated by the double translation, the syntax of the clause in (10-5) is ambiguous since the date formula could be construed either within the clause, as in the former translation, or outside of the clause, as in the latter translation. This syntactic ambiguity likely played a role in the reanalysis of the word order that led to the movement of *ʾiðayn from clause-initial position to other positions in later dialects of Aramaic. In Egyptian Aramaic, then, it can be generalized that *ʾiðayn is a temporal adverb meaning 'then, at that time' and is restricted to clause-initial position.

In the Aramaic of both Ezra and Daniel, the reflex of *ʾiðayn is ʾĕḏayin. The adverb ʾĕḏayin occurs seven times in Ezra and twenty times in Daniel.[15] As is illustrated in (10-6) and (10-7), ʾĕḏayin occurs exclusively clause-initial and functions as a temporal adverb in both dialects of Biblical Aramaic:

(10-6) Biblical Aramaic of Ezra (Imperial Aramaic)

ʾĕḏayin	šʾelnɔ	lśɔḇayyɔ	ʾillek
then	ask-SUF.1.PL	to+elder-M.PL.EMP	that-PL

'Then, we asked those elders' (5.9)

(10-7) Biblical Aramaic of Daniel (Middle Aramaic)

ʾĕḏayin	dɔniye(ʾ)l	lḇayṯeh	ʾăzal

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[15] Ezra 4.9, 23; 5.4, 9, 16 (2x); 6.13; Daniel 2.15, 17, 19 (2x), 25, 48; 3.24; 4.16; 5.6, 8, 9; 6.4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 19, 22; 7.19.

then	PN	to + house-M.SG.CON + his	go-SUF.3.M.SG

'Then, Daniel went to his house' (2.17)

In addition to *ʾĕḏayin*, the composite form *be(ʾ)ḏayin*, which consists of *ʾiðayn plus the proclitic preposition *b-* 'in', is first attested in Biblical Aramaic. All instances of *be(ʾ)ḏayin* in Ezra and Daniel are clause-initial.[16]

In Qumran Aramaic, the reflex of *ʾiðayn, which is written *ʾdyn*, continues to function as a temporal adverb.[17] In addition to occurring in clause-initial position, as in (10-8), *ʾdyn* is also attested in other syntactic positions, as in (10-9):

(10-8) *Genesis Apocryphon* (ca. 50 BCE; ed. Fitzmyer 2004; Machiela 2009)

ʾdyn	btʾnwš	ʾntty	bḥlṣ	tqyp
then	PN	wife-F.SG.CON + my	in + strength-M.SG.ABS	strong-M.SG.ABS

ʿmy	mllt
with + me	spoke-SUF.3.F.SG

'Then, Bitenosh, my wife, spoke to me with great vehemence' (2.8)

(10-9) *Genesis Apocryphon* (ca. 50 BCE; ed. Fitzmyer 2004; Machiela 2009)

wšgy	lby	ʿly	**ʾdyn**	ʾštny
and + great-M.SG.ABS	heart-M.SG.CON + my	on + me	**then**	be.changed-SUF.3.M.SG

'And my mind was then greatly changed within me' (2.11)

The clause-initial position of *ʾdyn* is the more common of the two. In the Genesis Apocryphon, for instance, the example in (10-9) is the only certain case in which *ʾdyn* is not clause-initial

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[16] The adverb *be(ʾ)ḏayin* occurs three times in Ezra (4.24; 5.2; 6.1) and twenty-five times in Daniel (2.14, 35, 46; 3.3, 13 [2x], 19, 21, 26 [2x], 30; 4.4; 5.3, 13, 17, 24, 29; 6.13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 26; 7.1, 11). For additional details on *ʾĕḏayin* and the related *be(ʾ)ḏayin* in Biblical Aramaic, see Buth 1990: 35-40.

[17] Beyer 1984: 505; Díez Merino 1992: 38.

(perhaps also 5.9) compared to four cases in which it is clause-initial (2.8; 11.11 [probable]; 11.12; 22.20). In Qumran Aramaic, the composite form *b'dyn* occurs more frequently than the simple *'dyn*.[18] Again, most cases of *b'dyn* are clause-initial, though there are examples where it occurs in second position. In the Genesis Apocryphon, there are at least eight certain cases where *b'dyn* is clause-initial.[19] In contrast, there are only three cases in which *b'dyn* occurs in second position (2.1; 5.16; 22.2).

10.3 The Replication of Syriac *den* on Greek δέ

As was illustrated in the previous section, * *'iðayn* is a temporal adverb meaning 'then' in the Aramaic dialects that pre-date Syriac. In a majority of cases, it occurs in clause-initial position though there is a minor use pattern in which * *'iðayn* occurs outside of initial position. It is this particle * *'iðayn* that was replicated on Greek δέ to produce Syriac *den*. The identification of Aramaic * *'iðayn* with Greek δέ is perhaps somewhat surprising given that the former was a clause initial temporal particle and the latter a second-position conjunctive particle that marks a change in topic. They are, however, both function words that mark progression (the former temporal, the latter logical). In addition, their identification was likely facilitated by their phonological similarity. Other cases in which phonological similarity promoted inter-lingual identification are known in the literature;[20] they are, however, rare.

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[18] According to CAL, *'dyn* is attested 26 times in Qumran Aramaic whereas *b'dyn* occurs 60 times. For an example of *bdyn* in Middle Aramaic, not from Qumran, see Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978: 40.20. For possible attestations in Ḥatran Aramaic, see Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 13.

[19] 2.3; 2.13; 2.19; 6.10; 6.18; 10.1; 20.21; 22.18. Less certain examples include 6.6 and 6.8, both of which are at least partially restored, and 10.11 and 10.18, where the context is badly broken.

[20] See, e.g., Heine and Kuteva 2003: 537-538.

Thus, the identification of Aramaic *ʾiðayn with Greek δέ, which seems to have been based at least partly on phonology, is noteworthy. Having been identified with one another, Aramaic *ʾiðayn was replicated on Greek δέ to produce Syriac *den*. This grammatical replication led to Syriac *den* more closely resembling Greek δέ than its earlier Aramaic predecessor *ʾiðayn. The similarities to Greek δέ encompass at least three aspects: syntax, semantics, and phonology.

Syntactically, Syriac *den* occurs almost exclusively in second position like Greek δέ.[21] This is illustrated in the following example:

(10-10) *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

ܚܢܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܢ ܠܗ

ḥnan	**den**	ʾɛmarn	leh
we	**den**	say-SUF.1.C.PL	to + him

'Then, we said to him' (4.8)

The placement of *den* in second position marks a significant innovation in Syriac, since conjunctive particles occur almost exclusively in first position in earlier forms of Aramaic, as well as in Semitic more generally. It should also be noted that *den* is not the only particle that was moved to second position due to contact with Greek, but that this also occurred with Syriac *kay* 'surely, therefore' (Sokoloff 2009: 618), *lam* 'clearly, (quotative)' (Sokoloff 2009: 691), and probably also *ger* 'truly, indeed' (Sokoloff 2009: 230; see also §10.6).

Semantically, Syriac *den* no longer has the marked temporal meaning that is found in earlier Aramaic reflexes of *ʾiðayn, but rather it usually functions as a conjunctive particle that

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[21] For minor exceptions, see Nöldeke 1904: §327.

marks a change in topic, just like Greek δέ.[22] This use is illustrated in the following example, which is repeated from (10-1) – (10-3) above:

(10-11) Hebrew Vorlage = (10-1)

    wattiššaq   ʿɔrpɔ   laḥămoṯɔh   wərut̲

    and+kiss-PRE.3.F.SG   PN   to+mother-in-law-F.SG.CON+her   and+PN

    dɔḇəqɔ   bɔh

    cling-SUF.3.F.SG   in+her

    'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

(10-12) Greek Septuagint = (10-2)

    καὶ   κατεφίλησεν   Ορφα τὴν   πενθερὰν

    and   kiss-AOR.ACT.IND.3.SG   PN   ART-ACC.F.SG   mother-in-law-ACC.F.SG

    αὐτῆς   … Ρουθ δὲ   ἠκολούθησεν   αὐτῇ

    she-GEN.SG … PN   **de**   follow-AOR.ACT.IND.3.SG   she-DAT.SG

    'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law … but Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

(10-13) Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.) = (10-3)

                                ܘܢܫܩܬ ܥܪܦܐ ܠܚܡܬܗ … ܪܥܘܬ ܕܝܢ ܢܩܦܬܗ

    wnɛšqaṯ   ʿarp̄ɔ   laḥmɔṯɔh   …   rʿuṯ **den**

    and+kiss-SUF.3.F.SG   PN   to+mother-in-law-F.SG.CON+her   …   PN   **den**

    nqɛp̄ṯɔh

    cling-SUF.3.F.S+her

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[22] For Greek δέ, see Bakker 1993; Denniston 1996: 162-189; Humbert 1960: §706-712. This use of Syriac *den* was described by E. Bar-Asher in a paper entitled "The particle *den* – A diachronic and a synchronic analysis," which was presented at the Dorushe Annual Graduate Student Conference on Syriac Studies, Yale University, March 29, 2009. See also van Peursen and Falla 2009: 89-91.

'Orpah kissed her mother-in-law … but Ruth clung to her' (Ruth 1.14)

Syriac *den* in (10-13) does not have the marked temporal meaning of earlier Aramaic reflexes

of * *ʾiðayn*. Rather, Syriac *den*, like Greek δέ in (10-12), marks a change in topic from the first

clause to the second clause: Orpah is the subject of the first clause, Ruth is the subject of the

second clause. In this example, the change in topic is contrastive with a translation equivalent

of 'but' in English, translating the disjunctive *waw* in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.[23] The change in

topic does not, however, necessarily have to be disjunctive with either Greek δέ or Syriac *den*.

This can be illustrated by the following example from only several verses later in Ruth:

(10-14) Hebrew Vorlage

        watterɛ   ki-   miṯʾammɛṣeṯ   hi   lɔlɛ̱ḵeṯ   ʾittɔh

        and + see-PRE.3.F.SG   that   be.determined-PART.F.SG   she   to + go-INF   with + her

        wattɛḥdal   lədabber   ʾelɛhɔ

        and + cease-PREF.3.F.SG   to + speak-INF   toward + her

        '(Naomi) saw that she was determined to go with her, and she stopped speaking to her'

        (Ruth 1.18)

(10-15) Greek Septuagint

        ἰδοῦσα   δὲ   νωεμιν   ὅτι   κραταιοῦται

        see-AOR.ACT.PART.NOM.F.SG **dè**   PN   that   strengthen-PRES.PASS.IND.3.SG

        αὐτὴ   τοῦ   πορεύεσθαι   μετ' αὐτῆς   ἐκόπασεν

        she-NOM ART-GEN.M.SG go-PRES.MID.INF with she-GEN grow.weary-AOR.ACT.IND.3.SG

        τοῦ   λαλῆσαι   πρὸς   αὐτὴν   ἔτι

        ART-GEN.M.SG   speak-AOR.ACT.INF   toward she-ACC   yet

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[23] For the disjunctive *waw* in Biblical Hebrew, see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 650-652.

'When Naomi saw that she was strengthened to go with her, she grew weary of

speaking to her again' (Ruth 1.18)

(10-16) Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.)

ܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܕܝܢ ܢܥܡܝ ܕܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ ܐܣܬܒܝܬ ܠܡܐܙܠ ܥܡܗ ܫܠܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐܙܠ

kaḏ	ḥzoṯ	**den**	naʿmi	dšarriroʾiṯ	ʾesṭaḇyaṯ	lme(ʾ)zal
when	see-SUF.3.F.SG	**den**	PN	NML+true-ADV	be.inclined-SUF.3.F.SG	to+go-INF

ʿammoh	šɛlyaṯ		mɛn	dalme(ʾ)mar	loh	lme(ʾ)zal
with+her	be.silent-SUF.3.F.SG		from	NML+to+speak-INF	to+her	to+go-INF

'When Naomi saw that she was certainly inclined to go with her, she stopped telling her

to go' (Ruth 1.18)

In the verses directly before this example, Naomi tells Ruth to go back to her people with her

sister-in-law Orpah; Ruth, however, responds with a moving speech in which she states her

refusal to leave Naomi. The Syriac *den* in (10-16) and the Greek δέ in (10-15), then, mark the

change in topic from Ruth to Naomi. This is not, however, contrastive, but it is simply a

change in topic. Thus, in contrast with earlier Aramaic *ʾiðayn*, which was a marked temporal

particle, the primary function of *den* in Syriac is marking a change in topic, whether contrastive

or not.[24] This use of Syriac *den* is modeled on Greek δέ, which has the same function.

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[24] In addition to marking a change in topic, Syriac *den* has several marginal uses, especially in exclamatory clauses (Nöldeke 1913: 30; Joosten 1988: 180; 1999: 209-210). One such exclamatory clause consists of *mon den* plus a suffix-conjugation verb with the meaning 'would that …' (for this pattern, see Van Rompay 2007b): ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܥܝܢܝ ܥܘܪ ܘܥܝܢܝܟܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܟܝ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܒܝ ܒܥܝܕܗܝܢ. *mon* **den** *ḥḏo mɛn ʿaynay ʿwar wʿaynayk(y)* **den** *dilek(y) hoyron hway bi baʿyoðhɛn* [who **den** one-F.SG from eye-F.PL.CON+my blind-SUF.3.M.SG and+eye-F.PL.CON+your-F.SG **den** your-F.SG look-PART.F.PL.ABS be-SUF.3.F.PL on+me in+custom-M.SG.CON+their-F] 'Would that someone blind one of my eyes and that your eyes would look upon me according to their custom!' (*Acts of Thomas*, 286.12-13; 3rd cent. CE; ed. Wright 1871a).

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Finally, and particularly interesting for this study, Syriac *den* has been phonologically reduced from earlier Aramaic *ʾiðayn* to resemble more closely Greek δέ. The aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop is not a regular sound change in Syriac. According to regular sound changes, one would expect the following development: *ʾiðáyn* > *ʾidáyn* > *ʾḏáyn* > *ʾiḏáyn* > **ʾeḏén.[25] It should be noted, however, that there are isolated cases in which an initial glottal stop is lost in Syriac, e.g., *ʾunāsaʾ* > nɔšɔ 'man, humanity' (but written < ʾnšʾ>) (Sokoloff 2009: 65). This occurs more commonly before ḥ,[26] e.g., *ʾaxātaʾ* > ḥɔtɔ 'sister' (Sokoloff 2009: 503) and *ʾaxarataʾ* > ḥartɔ 'end' (Sokoloff 2009: 497). These cases of aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop are, however, irregular phonological developments. This suggests that the aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop in Syriac *den* (< *ʾiðayn*) is due to its replication on Greek δέ. One possibility is that the aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop is a result of the phonological erosion that often occurs in grammaticalization.[27] This phonological erosion would not be surprising given that many cases of grammatical replication also involve grammaticalization.[28] Another possibility is that the initial glottal stop was deleted in an effort to make Syriac *den* resemble Greek δέ more closely. This would then be a case in which Syriac *den* was replicated *phonologically* on Greek δέ, which would be significant since grammatical replication involves the transfer of semantic-conceptual material, but it is usually not thought to involve the transfer of phonological material. Given the paucity of comparable cases in the literature, it is difficult to choose between these two options (or perhaps it is not an either/or). Regardless, it is clear

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[25] For the reduction of the pre-tonic short vowel followed by the secondary epenthesis of *i (or more rarely *a), compare *ʾamára > *ʾamár > *ʾmár > *ʾimár > ʾemár 'he said'.

[26] See Huehnergard 1998: 269 n. 19 with references therein.

[27] For phonological erosion in grammaticalization, see, *inter alia*, Hopper and Traugott 2003: 154-159; Rubin 2005: 4-5.

[28] Heine and Kuteva 2003; 2005: 79-122; 2006: 57-68; 2008.

that the aphaeresis of the initial glottal stop in Syriac *den* (< *ʾiðayn*) is due to its replication

on Greek δέ and that this development led to the former resembling the latter phonologically.

These developments in the syntax, semantics, and phonology of Syriac *den* can be

contrasted with Syriac *hɔyden* 'then' (Sokoloff 2009: 340), which derives from *ʾiðayn* with a

prefixed *hā-*.[29] Syriac *hɔyden* more closely resembles earlier Aramaic reflexes of *ʾiðayn* than

Syriac *den*, as is illustrated in the following example:

(10-17) *Demonstrations* by Aphrahaṭ (336/7; ed. Parisot 1894-1907)

ܘܡܘܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܣܓܝ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܐܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ

wmuše	(h)wɔ	bmɛdyan	tlɔtin	šnin	**hɔyden**	kaḏ
and + PN	become-SUF.3.M.SG	in + GN	thirty	year-F.PL.ABS	**hɔyden**	when

sgi	ʿlayhon	ʾulṣɔnɔ	ʾappɛq
great-M.SG.ABS	against + them-M	hardship-M.SG.DET	bring.out-SUF.3.M.SG

ʾɛnnon	mɛn	mɛṣren
them-M	from	GN

'And Moses was in Midian for thirty years. Then, when the suffering was great against

them, he led them out of Egypt' (65.2-4)

In this example, Syriac *hɔyden* occurs in clause initial position and functions as a temporal

adverb meaning 'then, at that time', just like earlier Aramaic reflexes of *ʾiðayn*.[30] In addition,

hɔyden even preserves a trace of the initial syllable of Aramaic *ʾiðayn* in the palatal glide *y*:

hā + *ʾiðayn* > *hāʾidayn* > *hāyiḏayn* > *hɔyden*.[31] The syntactic, semantic, and

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[29] For the broader Semitic context of *hā-*, see Hasselbach 2007: 21, *passim*.

[30] In fact, in his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) specifically states that *hɔyden* is a *ba(r)t qɔlɔ zaḇnɔytɔ* 'word of time' (ed. Phillips 1869: 6.12-13).

[31] All of these changes are regular, except for the loss of the fricativization of *ḏ*, which can be explained by analogy to Syriac *den*.

phonological differences between Syriac *hɔyden* and *den* highlight the degree to which the latter has been replicated on Greek δέ.

Syriac *den* is already attested in the Peshiṭta version of the Pentateuch, which was translated (from Hebrew) by the middle of the second century.[32] Thus, these developments in syntax, semantics, and phonology had already occurred in Syriac by at least that time. Nevertheless, *den* is rare in the Peshiṭta Pentateuch occurring only 48 times in over 115,000 total tokens.[33] This is less than once every 2,400 tokens. In texts from the third and fourth centuries, *den* is encountered much more frequently, occurring once every 190 tokens in the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965), once every 207 tokens in Acts 1-7 of the *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250 CE; ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-251 [Syr.]), once every 327 tokens in *Demonstrations* 1-3 by Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345; ed. Parisot 1894-1907), and once every 80 tokens in Discourse 1 of the *Prose Refutations* by Ephrem (d. 373; ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58). This is summarized in Table 10-1. Thus, by the third century, Syriac *den* occured much more frequently than it did in the second century.

Table 10-1 Frequency of Syriac *den* in Early Syriac prose

	tokens of *den*	total tokens	frequency
Peshiṭta Pentateuch (ca. 150)	48	115,523	1 : 2,407
Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220)	39	7,420	1 : 190
Acts of Thomas (ca. 200-250 CE), Acts 1-7	77	15,721	1 : 204
Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345), *Demonstrations*, 1-3	36	11,772	1 : 327
Ephrem (d. 373), *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1	118	9,322	1 : 79

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[32] For the date, see Weitzman 1999: 248-258.
[33] These numbers are based on CAL and differ slightly from Taylor 2002.

The dramatic increase in the frequency of Syriac *den* is due to its replication on Greek δέ. Greek δέ occurs at a much higher frequency than once every 2,400, which is the rate of occurrence of *den* in the Peshiṭta Pentateuch. The comparatively higher frequency of Greek δέ can be illustrated by the following legal text from Dura-Europos, in which δέ is used to introduce most new sentences:

(10-18) P.Dura 12 (225-250 CE)[34]

τῶν **δὲ** τελευ[τη]ṣάντω[ν τ]ὰς κληρονομείας ἀποδίδοṣ[θ]ε τοῖς [ἄγ]χιστα γένους, ἀγχιστῆς **δὲ** οἵδε· ἐὰν μὴ [τέ]ḳνα λείπῃ ἢ υἱοποιήσητε κατὰ τὸν νόμον πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ, μὴ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικοῦσα· ἐὰν **δὲ** μηθεὶς τούτων ᾖ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμ[οπ]άτριοι· ἐὰν **δὲ** μηδὲ οὗτοι ὦσιν ἀδελφὲ ὁμοπάτριοι· ἐὰν **δὲ** μηθὶς τούτων ᾖ, πατρὸς **δὲ** πατὴρ ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ ἢ ἀνεψιὸς ἀπὸ πατρὸς γεγεννημένος, τούτων ἡ κληρονομία ἔστω. ἐὰν **δὲ** μηθὶς τούτων ὑπάρχῃ βασιλικὴ ἡ οὐσία ἔστω. κατὰ **δὲ** ταῦτα ἔστωσαν καὶ αἱ ἀγχιστίαι

'(δέ) The inheritance of those who have died are to be rendered to the next of kin of the family; (δέ) the next of kin are these: If (the deceased) does not leave children or has not legally adopted a son, the father or the mother who has not been married to another man (receives the inheritance). (δέ) If neither of these is alive, brothers of the same father (receive the inheritance). (δέ) If none of these is alive, sisters of the same father (receive the inheritance). (δέ) If none of these is alive, (δέ) the inheritance belongs to the father's father, the father's mother, or a male cousin on the father's side. (δέ) If

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[34] The text is reproduced as on the actual document; note the following differences from standard Koinē orthography: κληρονομείας for κληρονομίας; ἀποδίδοṣ[θ]ε for ἀποδίδοσθαι; ἀγχιστῆς for ἀγχιστεῖς; υἱοποιήσητε for υἱοποιήσηται; ἀδελφὲ for ἀδελφαὶ; μηθὶς for μηθεὶς (2x); ἀγχιστίαι for ἀγχιστείαι.

none of these is alive, the property is the king's. (δέ) The rights of kin should also be according to these things.' (3-18)

In this text, δέ occurs 8 times, or once every 9.75 tokens. While this very high frequency of occurrence is not representative of all Greek texts, it does clearly illustrate that δέ occurs at a much higher frequency in Greek than *den* did in the phase of Syriac represented in the Peshiṭta Pentateuch. It is the comparatively high frequency of Greek δέ that led to an increase in the frequency of *den* in the early history of Syriac. Thus, by the third century, Syriac *den* had not only been replicated on Greek δέ in its syntax, semantics, and phonology, but it had also become more frequent due to contact with Greek.

In addition to being replicated on Greek δέ in its syntax, semantics, and phonology, Syriac *den* underwent a further development. In Greek, δέ can be used in conjunction with the second-position particle μέν to form a construction glossed 'on the one hand … on the other hand …' (Smyth 1956: §2904):

(10-19) P.Dura 31 (204 CE)[35]

Ναβουσάμαος μὲν τῇ Ἀκόζζει συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ὃ ἂν αὐτὴ αἱρῆται Ἄκοζζις δὲ τῷ Ναβουσαμάῳ γαμεῖν ἄλλην γυναῖκαν ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται

Ναβουσάμαος	μὲν	τῇ	Ἀκόζζει	συνοικεῖν	ἑτέρῳ
PN	men	ART-DAT.F.SG	PN	cohabit-INF.PRES.ACT	another-M.SG.DAT

ἀνδρὶ	ὃ	ἂν	αὐτὴ	αἱρῆται	Ἄκοζζις	δὲ
man-M.SG.DAT	REL-ACC.SG	CND	she-NOM	take-PRES.ACT.SUBJ.3.SG	PN	de

τῷ	Ναβουσαμάῳ	γαμεῖν	ἄλλην

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[35] The text is reproduced as on the actual document; note the following differences from standard Koinē: γυναῖκαν for γυναῖκα.

ART-DAT.M.SG	PN		marry-INF.PRES.ACT	another-ACC.F.SG

γυναῖκαν ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται

woman-ACC.F.SG	REL-ACC.SG	CND	he-NOM	want-PRES.ACT.SUBJ.3.S

'Nabusamaos, on the one hand (μὲν), (gives) to Akozzis to cohabitate with another man whom she chooses; Akozzis, on the other hand (δὲ), (gives) to Nabusamaos to marry another woman whom he wants.' (9-12)

In Syriac, a similar construction is formed with *man* (Sokoloff 2009: 778), a loanword from Greek μέν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1101-1102), and *den*:

(10-20) Letter 13 by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24)

ܠܩܪܩܣܐ ܡܢ ܛܪܕ ܡܢ ܚܩܠܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܝܢ ܢܝܚܐܝܬ ܘܚܢܝܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܒܪܗܡ

lqarqɔse	**man**	ṭraḏ	mεn	ḥaqleh	d'aḇrɔhɔm
to + vulture-M.PL.EMP	**man**	expel-SUF.3.M.SG	from	field.M.SG.CON + his	NML + PN

l'aḇrɔhɔm	**den**	niḥɔʾiṯ	whanyɔʾiṯ	ʾεmar	ʾaḇrɔhɔm	ʾaḇrɔhɔm …
to + PN	**den**	gentle-ADV	and + pleasant-ADV	say-SUF.3.M.SG	PN	PN

'On the one hand (*man*), He (= God) expelled the vultures from the field of Abraham. On the other hand (*den*), He called out gently and pleasantly to Abraham, "Abraham, Abraham, …"' (5*.10-11)

The Syriac *man … den …* construction in (10-20) exactly replicates the Greek μέν … δέ … construction in (10-19). This construction is already attested in the fourth-century Syriac of Ephrem:

(10-21) *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 1 by Ephrem (d. 373; ed. Overbeck 1865)

ܐܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܗܘܢ. . ,ܘܬܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ

ܕܚܕ. ܚܢ, ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܢܟܪܢ. ܐܬܩ, ܘܣܪ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ, ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܪܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܗܪ ܚܡܪܐ ܘܚܡܪܐ ܘܕܒܫܐ ܘܒܣܪܐ

ܠܢ ܐ̇ܡܪ ܗ̇ܝ، ܕܢܝ ܐܚܫܒܘ̇ ܗ̇ܝ، ܦܘ̣ܫ ܐܟܢܘ̈ܫ ܐ̇ܠܐ ܟܕ ܢܘܣܐ ܡܚܣܪ̈ ܒܥܒ̇ܘܗܝ ܗ̇ܝ܀

šmaʿ	tuḇ	ḥp̄ɔktɔh	dhɔḏe	d(ʾ)en
hear-IMP.M.SG	then	opposite-F.SG.CON + her	of + this-F.SG	NML + if

ʾɛnɔš	nḥus	ʿal	zarʿɔ	knišɔ	dlɔ
man-M.SG.ABS	spare-PRE.3.M.SG	on	seed-M.SG.EMP	gather-PART.M.SG.EMP	NML + NEG

nḇaddriw(hy)	ḥakkimɔʾiṯ	**man**	mɛstbar
scatter-PRE.3.M.S + him	wise-ADV	**man**	be.considered-PART.M.SG.ABS

dʿɔḇɛḏ	bhɔy	dḥɔs	dlɔ
NML + do-PART.M.SG.ABS	in + that-F.SG	NML + spare-SUF.3.M.SG	NML + NEG

nḇaddar	ʾɛmaṯ(y)	**den**	dnɛḥzeh
scatter-PRE.3.M.SG	when	**den**	NML + see-SUF.1.C.P + her

lizɛp̄teh	mḇaddartɔ	dʾakkɔrɔ
to + investment-F.SG.CON + his	be.scattered-PART.F.SG.EMP	NML + farmer-M.SG.EMP

kaḏ	bqarnɔ	wrɛbbiṯɔ	mḵannšɔ
when	in + principal-F.SG.EMP	and + interest-F.SG.EMP	gather-PART.F.SG.ABS

wp̄ɔrʿɔ	leh	ʾarʿɔ	hɔy den[36]
and + recompense-PART.F.SG.ABS	to + him	land-F.SG.EMP	then

mɛtḥazyɔ	hɔy	pɔrošuṯɔ	dḥɔsaṯ
be.seen-PART.F.SG.ABS	that-F.SG	discernment-F.SG.EMP	NML + spare-SUF.3.F.SG

dlɔ	tḇaddar	daʿwiruṯɔ	(h)y …
NML + NEG	scatter-PRE.3.F.SG	NML + blindness-FEM.SG.ABS	she …

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[36] The temporal adverb ܗܝܕܝܢ *hɔyden* is written here as two words (for this, see Payne Smith 1879-1901: 1002). In his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708) seems to imply that when written separately *hɔy den* is not marked for time (ed. Phillips 1869: 6.12-15).

'…hear then the opposite of this. If a man spares the gathered seed so as not to scatter it, **on the one hand (*man*)**, it is thought that he acted wisely in sparing (it) so as not to scatter it; **on the other hand (*den*)**, when we see the scattered investment of the farmer being collected in capital and interest as well as the earth rewarding him, that discernment which spared (the seed) so as not to scatter it (now) appears to be blindness …" (33.21-27)

This example establishes that the *man … den …* construction is already attested in Syriac by the fourth-century.[37] The construction is, however, rare in this period and does not become common until the fifth century.

10.4 Late Aramaic *Comparanda*

Most dialects of late Aramaic do not exhibit a development with *ʾiðayn* similar to that witnessed in Syriac *den*. In Samaritan Aramaic, for example, the reflex of *ʾiðayn*, which is written *ʾdyn*, functions as a clause-initial temporal adverb meaning 'then' (Tal 2000: 8), as is illustrated in the following example:

(10-22)   Ms. C of the Samaritan Targum (Late Aramaic; ed. Tal 1980-1983)

ʾdyn	šry	lmqry	bšm	yhwh
then	begin-SUF.3.M.SG	to + call-INF	in + name-M.SG.CON	PN

'Then, (the people) began to call upon the name of the LORD' (Gen. 4.26)[38]

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[37] It also shows that *man* (< Greek μέν) is attested by at least this time in Syriac; for additional details, see Butts Forthcoming.

[38] The Hebrew Vorlage reads *ʾāz huḥal liqro(ʾ) bšem YHWH* [then begin-SUF.3.M.SG for + call-INF on + name-M.SG.CON PN] 'Then, (people) began to call on the name of the LORD', with Samaritan Aramaic *ʾdyn* translating its Hebrew cognate *ʾāz* 'then'. For this verse more broadly, see Fraade 1984 with comments on the Samaritan version at p. 29.

As this example illustrates, the use of *ʾdyn* in Samaritan Aramaic is similar to that of **ʾiðayn* in earlier dialects of Aramaic.

Outside of Syriac, the only late Aramaic dialect in which **ʾiðayn* may have been replicated on Greek δέ is Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Like Syriac *den* and Greek δέ, Christian Palestinian Aramaic *dy* is a conjunctive particle that is restricted to second position:[39]

(10-23) Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Late Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a)

ʾzlw　　　　　　　　**dy**

go-SUF.3.M.P　　　**then**

'then they went' (Mark 11.4)[40]

Unlike Syriac *den*, Christian Palestinian Aramaic *dy* does not have a final nasal. Thus, it is impossible to determine whether *dy* is a loanword from Greek δέ or another example of the grammatical replication of Aramaic **ʾiðayn* on the model of Greek δέ.[41] If the latter is the case, then Christian Palestinian Aramaic *dy* represents a further step of phonological erosion as compared to Syriac *den*.

10.5 Conclusion

Both Syriac *den* and Greek δέ are conjunctive particles that occur in second position and mark a change in topic from the first clause to the second clause. Despite the obvious semantic, syntactic, and phonological similarities between the two, Syriac *den* is not a

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[39] Schulthess 1903: 44; Müller-Kessler 1991: 148; numerous additional attestations can be found in Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999.

[40] The Greek Vorlage reads καὶ απῆλθον [and go-AOR.ACT.IND.3.P] 'and they went', with καὶ 'and' instead of δέ.

[41] For the former interpretation, see Müller-Kessler 1991: 148. For the latter interpretation, see Schulthess 1903: 44. The latter is also implied in Brock 1996: 258.

loanword from Greek, but rather it represents an inheritance from Aramaic *ʾiḏayn that has been replicated on Greek δέ. This grammatical replication resulted in changes in the syntax, semantics, and phonology of Syriac *den*. These changes occurred already by the time of the translation of the Old Testament Peshiṭta in the mid-second century. In addition, this grammatical replication resulted in an increase in the frequency of Syriac *den* from the second century to the third century. Finally, by the fourth century, Syriac *den* (< *ʾiḏayn*) occurs with *man*, a loanword from Greek μέν, in a construction that exactly replicates Greek μέν … δέ … 'on the one hand …, on the other hand …'. This case of grammatical replication is particularly interesting since the identification of Aramaic *ʾiḏayn with Greek δέ seems to have been at least partly based on phonology. In addition, grammatical replication led to a closer phonological similarity between the two function words, either through grammaticalization or through the transfer of phonology. Thus, this case establishes that, while grammatical replication is primarily related to the semantic-conceptual and results in the transfer of (morpho-)syntactic material, it is not entirely removed from phonology. Rather, in this case, phonology played a key role: it facilitated the grammatical replication and may have even been transferred in the replication process.

10.6 Excursus: Syriac *ger* and Greek γάρ

It is impossible to discuss the replication of Syriac *den* on the model of Greek δέ without mentioning Syriac *ger* 'truly, indeed' and Greek γάρ 'for'. Both of these are

conjunctive particles that occur in second position and introduce a reason or a cause or more generally strengthen a proposition.[42] This is illustrated in the following example:

(10-24) Hebrew Vorlage

kol	ʾăšer-	to(ʾ)məri	ʾɛʿĕśɛ-	lɔ<u>k</u>	ki
all-M.SG.ABS	REL	say-PRE-2.F.SG	do-PRE-1.C.SG	to+you-F.SG	for

yo<u>d</u>eaʿ	kɔl-	šaʿar	ʿammi	ki
know-PART.M.SG.ABS	all-M.SG.CON	gate-M.SG.ABS	people-M.SG.CON+my	that

ʾešɛ<u>t</u>	ḥayil	ʾɔt
woman-F.SG.CON	strength-M.SG.ABS	you-F.SG

'whatever you say, I will do for you, for all of the assembly of my people know that you are a woman of strength' (Ruth 3:11)

(10-25) Greek Septuagint

πάντα	ὅσα	ἐὰν	εἴπῃς
all-ACC.NEUT.PL	as.great.as-ACC.NEUT.PL	if	say-AOR.ACT.SUBJ.2.SG

ποιήσω	σοι	οἶδεν	**γὰρ** πᾶσα
do-FUT.ACT.IND.1.SG	you-DAT.SG	know-PERF.ACT.IND.3.S	**gar** all-NOM.F.SG

φυλὴ	λαοῦ	μου	ὅτι	γυνὴ
tribe-NOM.F.SG	people-GEN.M.SG	my-GEN	that	woman-NOM.F.SG

δυνάμεως	εἶ	σύ
power-GEN.F.SG	be-PRES.ACT.IND.2.SG	you-NOM.SG

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[42] For Syriac *ger*, see Sokoloff 2009: 230. For Greek γάρ, see Denniston 1996: 56-114; Humbert 1960: §689-696; Liddell and Scott 1996: 338-339.

'whatever you say, I will do for you, for all of the assembly of my people know that

you are a woman of strength' (Ruth 3:11)

(10-26) Old Testament Peshiṭta (latter half of 2nd cent.)

<div dir="rtl">

ܟܠ ܕܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܝ ܐܥܒܕ ܠܟܝ ܝܕܥܐ ܓܝܪ ܟܠܗ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܕܥܡܢ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܢܬܝ ܕܥܘܫܢܐ

</div>

kol	dte(')mrin	li	ʾεˤbεd	lεk
all-M.SG.ABS	NML + say-PRE.2.F.SG	to + me	do-PRE.1.C.SG	to + you-F.SG

yɔdˤɔ	**ger**	kollɔh	šarbtɔ
know-PART.F.SG.ABS	**ger**	all-M.SG.CON + her	tribe-F.SG.EMP

dˤamman	dʾa(n)ttɔ	ʾa(n)t(y)
NML + people-M.SG.CON + our	NML + woman-F.SG.EMP	you-F.SG

dˤušnɔ
NML + strength-M.SG.EMP

'whatever you say to me, I will do for you, for all of the tribe of our people know that

you are a woman of strength' (Ruth 3:11)

The Greek in (10-25) and the Syriac in (10-26) are independent translations of the Hebrew

passage in (10-24). Thus, it is noteworthy that Syriac *ger* and Greek γάρ both occur in second

position, and that both introduce the second clause, which gives the reason for the first clause.

Thus, like Syriac *den* and Greek δέ, Syriac *ger* and Greek γάρ share phonological, syntactic,

and semantic similarities. The question here is whether Syriac *ger* is a loanword from Greek

γάρ or whether Syriac *ger* is an inheritance from earlier Aramaic that has been replicated on

Greek γάρ, just as Syriac *den* was replicated on Greek δέ. Both opinions are found in the literature.[43]

Unfortunately, the wealth of data that are available for tracking the development of *ʾiðayn* to Syriac *den* is lacking for Syriac *ger*. There is, in fact, no evidence for its pre-Syriac history in Aramaic. This *prima facie* makes the interpretation of Syriac *ger* as a loanword appealing. Nevertheless, there are two arguments in favor of analyzing Syriac *ger* as the replication of earlier Aramaic material on Greek γάρ. First, and most importantly, the representation of Greek α by Syriac *y* would be quite unusual.[44] It should, however, be noted that two alternative orthographies occur:

(10-27) a.   ܓܪ *gr* in Old Syriac Gospels, Luke 18.25 (Sinaiticus) (ed. Kiraz 1996; cf. Brock 1996: 258 n. 28)

b.   ܓܐܪ *gʾr* in Aphrahaṭ's *Demonstrations*, variant at 368.17 (ed. Parisot 1894-1907)

These (early) alternative orthographies are, however, exceedingly rare. Thus, the standard orthography of Syriac *ger* with medial *y* provides a strong argument against the loanword hypothesis. Second, though earlier Aramaic evidence for Syriac *ger* is lacking, there is a potential cognate in Arabic *jayri*, rarely *jayra*.[45] This particle occurs in clause initial position and can be glossed as 'verily, truly; yes', as in the following example:

(10-28) Classical Arabic

jayri	lā	ʾafʿalu	ðālika
truly	NEG	do-PRE.1.SG	this-M.SG

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[43] For the former, see, e.g., Brock 1967: 423; 1975: 89; for the latter, see, e.g., Brockelmann 1981: §53; Brock 1996: 258; Ciancaglini 2008: 6.

[44] For a discussion of the full possibilities, see §5.3.2.

[45] Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 361; Lane 1863-1893: 493; Wright 1896-1898: 286B.

'Truly, I will not do this' (Lane 1863-1893: 493)

The phonological correspondence between Arabic *jairi* and Syriac *ger* is entirely regular,[46] and thus they could well be cognate. Together, these two pieces of evidence suggest that Syriac *ger* is not a loanword from Greek γάρ, but that it is an inheritance from earlier Aramaic that has been replicated on Greek γάρ, just as Syriac *den* was replicated on Greek δέ. In this case, the inter-lingual identification of Syriac *ger* with Greek γάρ would have been due to the fact that they are both function words with an overlapping use of strengthening a proposition. In addition, their phonological similarity would have facilitated their identification, again as in the case of Syriac *den* and Greek δέ. Having been identified with one another, Syriac *ger* was replicated on Greek γάρ leading to the movement of Syriac *ger* to second-position as well as to the new use of Syriac *ger* to introduce a reason or a cause.

The only late Aramaic dialect that attests a cognate to Syriac *ger* is Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[47] Like Syriac *ger* and Greek γάρ, Christian Palestinian Aramaic *g(y)r* is a second position particle that introduces a reason or a cause or more generally strengthens a proposition,[48] as is illustrated in the following example:

(10-29) Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Late Aramaic; ed. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997)

nṭyr	**gr**	hwꜣ	lmrꜣ
be.kept-PART.M.SG.ABS	**gr**	he	to + lord-M.SG.DET

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[46] For the monophthongization of the diphthong in Syriac, compare *bayt > *bet* 'house of'.

[47] The form *gyr* 'for' occurs in Targum Proverbs at 29.19 (Jastrow 1886-1903: 241). While this text is written in Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, it is a translation from Syriac. Thus, *gyr* here is to be explained as a loanword from the Syriac *Vorlage*.

[48] Schulthess 1903: 44; Müller-Kessler 1991: 148; numerous additional attestations can be found in Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999.

'For, it was kept for the Lord' (Exod 12:42)[49]

Christian Palestinian Aramaic *g(y)r* is likely an inheritance from earlier Aramaic that has been replicated on Greek γάρ, since it is otherwise difficult to explain the orthography with medial *y*.[50] Thus, both Christian Palestinian Aramaic *g(y)r* and Syriac *ger*, while cognate with Arabic *jairi*, occur in second position and can introduce a reason or a cause due to their replication on Greek γάρ. The case of Syriac *ger* and Christian Palestinian Aramaic *g(y)r* then adds an additional example in which phonological similarity led to inter-lingual identification and ultimately to grammatical replication.

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[49] The Greek Vorlage reads νυκτὸς προφυλακή ἐστιν τῷ κυρίῳ [night-GEN.F.SG vigil-NOM.F.SG be-PRES.ACT.IND.3.SG ART-DAT.M.SG lord-DAT.M.SG] 'it was a vigil of the night for the Lord', without γάρ.

[50] In this context, it should be noted that Brock (1996: 258) attributes the spelling without *y* to a secondary adaptation of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic form to the Greek spelling.

11   Conclusion

> "… *le* grand problème, le problème éternel, celui de la symbiose et de l'interpénétration de la civilisation occidentale, c'est-à-dire grecque, et de la culture orientale dans le Proche Orient, un processus qui commença après la conquête de l'Orient par Alexandre, et qui continue toujours …"
>
> (Rostovtzeff 1943: 44-45)

11.1   Overview

In the Introduction (§1), it was noted that this study is located at the intersection of the fields of contact linguistics and the study of ancient languages. It was also suggested that each of these fields can, and should, inform the study of the other. The first two sections of this conclusion aim to substantiate this claim. Section §11.2 illustrates how Syriac data can add to ongoing debates in the field of contact linguistics concerning the transfer of structure in situations of borrowing. Section §11.3 shows that analyzing Syriac data within a contact linguistic framework can help to answer questions about when Syriac-speakers first had intense contact with the Greek language. After these two sections, the study concludes with a discussion of the Greco-Roman context of Syriac (§11.4).

11.2 The Transfer of Structure in Situations of Borrowing

The transfer of structure has a long and contested history in the field of contact linguistics.[1] This section focuses on one particular aspect of this question that has been raised several times in recent scholarship: Can structure be borrowed? It should be noted that borrowed here refers to the technical sense established in §2, i.e., transferred in situations in which the agents of change are linguistically dominant in the recipient language. Most contact-linguists would seem to agree that structure can be transferred in cases of imposition (source language agentivity), in which the agents of change are linguistically dominant in the source language, or in Thomason and Kaufman's terms language shift. It, however, remains an open question about whether or not structure can be transferred in borrowing, in which the agents of change are linguistically dominant in the recipient language. On the affirmative side of this question are Thomason and Kaufman, who in their borrowing scale have categories ranging from slight structural borrowing to heavy structural borrowing.[2] Similarly, Van Coetsem allows for an *extended mode of borrowing* in which phonological and grammatical material can be transferred alongside lexical material.[3] There are, however, a number of linguists who restrict what can be transferred in situations of borrowing. In a study of contact-induced changes in Prince Edward Island French due to English, for instance, King (2000) argues that the seeming cases of grammatical borrowing were not due to the direct transfer of grammatical structure, but rather that they are the result of the transfer of lexical items.[4] Based on this, she calls into

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[1] For a recent overview of the question of what can be transferred, see Curnow 2001.
[2] Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74-109. See also Thomason 2001: 69-71.
[3] Van Coetsem 2000: 215-236; 2003: 86-88.
[4] A summary article is available in King 2005.

question whether grammatical structure can actually be transferred in situations of borrowing.[5] King concludes her study by stating that, "[i]t is expected that in other case studies of language contact in which structural borrowing seems superficially to have occurred, it will also be discovered that the actual path of change has instead involved core lexical borrowing followed by reanalysis" (2000: 176). This is but one example in which structural borrowing has been questioned in the literature. A discussion of the issue, with similar conclusions, can be found in Winford's textbook on contact linguistics (2003: 61-100).[6]

At least part of the disagreement over whether or not structure can be transferred in situations of borrowing stems from the fact that many of the purported cases of structural borrowing in the contact-linguistic literature are based on insufficient data and lack adequate analysis. Poplack, in particular, has drawn attention to this, noting that, "[i]n theory, the view that anything can be borrowed under the right circumstances seems uncontroversial. But in practice, when an apparent case of convergence is pursued scientifically, it often disappears" (1996: 304). The question of structural borrowing is then inextricably tied up with the question of proving that a given change is in fact contact-induced.[7] Poplack and Levey (2010) conclude a recent study that stresses this point by stating, "[c]ontact-induced change is *not* an inevitable,

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[5] King does not explicitly make a distinction between situations of borrowing (recipient language agentivity) versus imposition (source language agentivity). Nevertheless, she does note that three speakers in her corpus are "not fluent in French" and often transfer "elements or structures" from English into French (2000: 89, 175-176). This forces her to restrict her general conclusion that there is no evidence for the transfer of grammatical structure to "fluent speakers of French," excluding the three "non-fluent speakers" from this conclusion (2000: 175-176). King thus seems to adopt implicitly a distinction similar to that of borrowing (recipient language agentivity) versus imposition (source language agentivity), and it is for this reason that her thesis has been restricted to borrowing here.

[6] For others, see, e.g., Hickey 2010b; Louden 2000: 96; Silva-Corvalán 1995b.

[7] See also King 2000: 46-47 as well as the discussion above at p. 335-336.

nor possibly even a common, outcome of language contact. Only more accountable analyses of more contact situations will tell. In the interim, the burden of proof is on those who claim that it has occurred" (2010: 412). It is here that an ancient language such as Syriac can be of assistance. The extensive written record of Syriac, which spans more than two millennia, combined with the considerable body of comparative data available for earlier and contemporaneous dialects of Aramaic, enables the historical linguist to trace changes, including contact-induced changes, step-by-step from their pre-history through their completion as well as to establish in many cases whether or not contact played a role in these changes.[8]

The current study has presented several examples in which structure was transferred in a situation of borrowing (§8-10).[9] In §8.3, it was argued that the Syriac adjectival ending -ɔy became more frequent throughout the history of Syriac due to its identification with the more frequently occurring Greek adjectives. This resulted in its raising from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern. In §8.4, it was shown that Syriac /wɔṯ 'toward' came to be used with the verb √ʾmr 'to say' due to its identification with Greek πρός 'toward', which could be used with various verbs of speech. Thus, Syriac /wɔṯ acquired a new function due to its replication on Greek πρός. Chapter §9 presented a more detailed case in which the Syriac copula ʾiṯaw(hy) 'he is' was replicated on the model of Greek ἐστίν 'he is'. This resulted in the extension of the

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[8] The Syriac situation, thus, contrasts with that usually encountered by the historical linguist. Dorian, for instance, notes that "… there will seldom be the ideal breadth and depth of material on which to base an assessment of change in terms of external or internal motivation…" (1993: 152). Similarly, Poplack and Levey state that, "[t]he first step in establishing the existence of change is comparison over time. This may not be simple or straightforward, given the often fragmentary nature of surviving diachronic evidence" (2010: 394).

[9] It was established in §3.4 that contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek are to be analyzed as borrowing, in which speakers linguistically dominant in the recipient language, Syriac, transferred features from the source language, Greek.

copulaic use of *ʾiṯ* to verbless clauses with substantival predicates and in the raising of copulaic *ʾiṯ* from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern throughout the history of Syriac. Finally, Chapter §10 showed how earlier Aramaic **ʾiðayn* 'then, at that time' was replicated on Greek δέ 'then, but' to produce Syriac *den* 'then, but'. This replication resulted in changes in the syntax, semantics, and phonology of Syriac *den* as well as in an increase in its frequency. In each of these examples, an attempt was made to trace systematically the contact-induced changes in question with the support of historical data so that a convincing case could be made for language contact playing a role in the described changes.

This study, then, has presented several cases in which structure was transferred in a situation of borrowing. Thus, in answer to the question 'can structure be borrowed?', this study responds with a definite 'yes'. This 'yes', however, comes with an immediate caveat, since the structure transferred in each of the cases investigated is quite restricted. Several of the cases discussed in this study do not involve the creation of a new structure but rather a change in the distribution of an existing structure. This is, for instance, the case with the increase in the frequency of the adjectival ending *-ɔy* (§8.3), the increase in the frequency of the copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* (§9.4), and the increase in frequency of Syriac *den* (§10.3). Several other changes discussed did involve the creation of a new grammatical function, but only as an extension of an existing grammatical structure. This is, for instance, the case with the extension of Syriac *lwɔṯ* to verbs of saying (§8.4) and the extension of the copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* to substantival predicates (§9.3). In general, then, all of the examples of grammatical replication analyzed in this study differ from the transfer typically witnessed in imposition in that they are isolated, non-systematic, and of limited scope.

The cases presented in this study are similar to some of the changes in Los Angeles

Spanish investigated by Silva-Corvalán (1994). The extension of the Syriac copula to verbless clauses with substantival predicates is, for instance, comparable to a case described by Silva-Corvalán in which Spanish *cómo* acquired an additional meaning due to its replication on English 'how' (1994: 176-177). In the case of both Spanish *cómo* and Syriac *ʾiṯaw(hy)*, there are not radical changes to the grammatical system of the recipient language, but rather extensions of an already existing variant. Once more cases such as these are identified and adequately analyzed in the literature, it will be possible to formulate parameters on how structure is transferred in situations of borrowing.[10] For now, however, this study has provided several cases in which structure was transferred in situations of borrowing, though the structure transferred in each case is quite restricted. In this way, then, this study has also illustrated how an ancient language such as Syriac can contribute to the field of contact linguistics.

11.3 The Beginning of Syriac-Greek Language Contact

Having shown that an ancient language such as Syriac can contribute to the field of contact linguistics (§11.2), it is now fitting to look at how contact linguistics can inform the study of Syriac. One of the more contested questions in the study of Syriac-Greek language contact revolves around when intense contact between Syriac and Greek began. While it is widely accepted that by the fifth century Syriac authors were influenced by Greek, there is no consensus in the scholarly literature concerning how much earlier this intense contact extends back. According to the traditional view, fourth-century Syriac authors such as Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373) lived in a purely Semitic (or Aramaic) linguistic and cultural

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[10] For another potential case, see Smits 1999 with the comments of Van Coetsem 2003: 86-87.

context that had not yet been influenced by Greek.[11] In his classic study of Greek loanwords in Syriac, for instance, Schall states that, "Afrahaṭ (schrieb zwischen 337 und 345) war wesentlich frei vom Einfluss des griechischen Geistes" (1960: 3). Similarly, in an encyclopedia article on Ephrem from the late 1960s, Murray claims that, "Ephrem knew no Greek, shows no debt to Greek philosophy, and expresses contempt for Greek thought," and a little later he adds, "Ephrem is heir to a Judaeo-Christian tradition which developed largely in isolation from the Greek-speaking world" (1967: 221, 222).[12] This traditional view was predominant primarily in the twentieth century,[13] but still continues to be held by some scholars today. In a recent article, for instance, Pat-El argues that the development of a productive copula in Syriac, which was discussed in detail in a previous chapter (§9), was not due to contact with Greek, because this verbless clause pattern is already found in the Syriac of Ephrem who, according to her line of thought, was "among writers who have no knowledge of Greek" (2006: 343).

Among the most vocal opponents of this traditional view is H. J. W. Drijvers.[14] Throughout his work, Drijvers maintains that Edessa and the surrounding areas were "thoroughly hellenized" by the turn of the Common Era with wide-spread Syriac-Greek bilingualism. Other scholars have adopted this position, especially in more recent years. In a recent book on Ephrem, for instance, Shepardson notes that "…by the fourth century Edessa

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[11] For a synopsis of this traditional view with citations of many representatives, see Shepardson 2008: 65-66 with n. 191 and especially Possekel 1999: 1-7. Cf. Healey 2007: sec. 5.

[12] In his later work, Murray steps back from this position conceding that early Syriac authors were influenced by Greek (1982: 9-10). In the new introduction to the reprint of his *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, Murray clarifies that "the homelands of the authors studied in this book would have been mainly Syriac-speaking, though with varying knowledge of Greek" (2004: 3).

[13] It in fact goes back much earlier. Already in the fifth century, the church historian Sozomen states that Ephrem was 'ignorant of Greek learning' (Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἄμοιρος) (*Ecclesiastical History*, 3.16; ed. Bidez et al. 1983-1996: 2.152).

[14] See, e.g., Drijvers 1970; 1980; 1998.

had been strongly influenced culturally and linguistically by the Greek- and Latin-speaking empire to its west" (2008: 16). She goes on to state that, "[w]hile Ephrem wrote in Syriac, given the multilingual nature of his context, we can no longer imagine that he was wholly unfamiliar with the Greek language or with hellenistic ideas…" (2008: 67). In her recent monograph on Iranian loanwords in Syriac, Ciancaglini moves the date of intense contact even earlier, writing, "[t]he area of western Syria and northern Mesopotamia was once part of the Seleucid empire; linguistic and archaeological evidence shows that the area was thoroughly Hellenized from the beginning of the Christian era" (2008: 6). Thus, there is a growing contingent of scholars who maintain that intense contact between Syriac-speakers and the Greco-Roman world extends back at least to the fourth-century with authors such as Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373), if not to the turn of the Common Era.[15]

Between these two poles of the spectrum, there are a number of intermediate positions. In his most recent work, Brock proposes that Syriac authors from the fourth century had relatively limited contact with Greek, but that a major transition occurred in the fifth century when contact became increasingly more intense: "The earliest major writers, Aphrahat (active 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373), although far from untouched by the influence of Greek language and culture, are nevertheless comparatively unhellenized in their style and language" (1996: 253). Thus, for Brock, fourth-century Syriac authors were influenced by Greek, just relatively less so than later authors.[16]

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[15] See also Bowersock 1990: 34 (on Ephrem); Bremmer 2001b: 78 (on *Acts of Thomas*).

[16] This marks a departure from Brock's earlier work in which he adopts the traditional view that Syriac authors from the fourth century were basically devoid of Greek influence. In a study from 1975, he states, "Aphrahat was a writer who was virtually untouched by Greek culture, and one can safely assume that he knew little, if any, Greek" (1975: 81). Similarly, in another study from slightly later, he considers Aphrahaṭ and Ephrem to be "representatives of a Syriac

It is clear, then, that there is no agreement in the scholarly literature over when the period of intense contact between Syriac and Greek began. This study, however, has introduced new evidence pertaining to this question from grammatical replication. The previous chapters have presented several cases in which grammatical replication occurred in Syriac already by the second century. Chapter §9 established that by at least the early second century the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* 'he is' had been extended to verbless clauses with substantival predicates on the model of Greek ἐστίν 'he is'. In addition, Chapter §10 showed that, already by the time of the translation of the Old Testament Peshiṭta in the mid-second century, Aramaic **ʾiðayn* 'then, at that time' had been replicated on Greek δέ 'but, then' in its syntax, semantics, and phonology to produce Syriac *den* 'but, then'. This grammatical replication also resulted in an increase in the frequency of Syriac *den* from the second century to the third century. Finally, the Excursus in §10.6 argued that by the second century Syriac *ger* 'indeed, for' had been replicated in its syntax and semantics on Greek γάρ 'indeed, for'.

These cases of grammatical replication have significant implications for establishing a *terminus ante quem* for extensive contact between Syriac-speakers and the Greek language. It is well-established that for contact-induced changes such as grammatical replication to take place

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culture that is still essentially semitic in its outlook and thought patterns" (1982: 17). In a later study, however, he states: "… by the fourth century AD, Greek and Semitic cultures had already been interacting in the Middle East for over half a millennium: no Syriac writer of Ephrem's time is going to be purely Semitic in character or totally unhellenized…" (Brock 1992: 143). In a more recent study, Brock concludes that, "the fact that Ephrem was evidently heir to a Syriac lexical stock that had already been considerably enriched by borrowings from Greek gives support to the view that he was living in a milieu that was already considerably hellenized" (1999-2000: 449). He, however, adds the caveat that a diachronic perspective still allows one to "characterize the writings of fourth-century Syriac authors as being *comparatively* unhellenized" (1999-2000: 449 n. 45; italics mine). For the progression in Brock's thought on this issue, see Possekel 1999: 5-7.

in a situation of borrowing there must be a high degree of bilingualism that extends over a considerable period of time.[17] This is due to the nature of the change itself. In grammatical replication, speakers of the recipient language equate a grammatical structure in their own language (the recipient language) with a grammatical structure in the source language. This necessitates that speakers of the recipient language have a high enough proficiency in the source language to make such structural equations. In the words of Thomason: "you can't borrow what you don't know" (2010: 41).[18] In addition, this bilingualism must extend for at least several generations. In fact, Heine and Kuteva note that in many cases bilingualism lasts for as many as three to five centuries before grammatical replication occurs.[19] Even adopting a more conservative estimate, the cases of grammatical replication that had occurred in Syriac by the second century indicate that there must have been significant Syriac-Greek bilingualism by at least the turn of the Common Era. Returning then to the initial question of when intense contact between Syriac and Greek began, the traditional view that rejects intense Syriac-Greek contact before the fifth century is in need of revision. In their language, fourth-century Syriac

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[17] See, e.g., Heine and Kuteva 2003: 531; 2005: 13; Johanson 2002a: 50; Poplack 1996: 285; Thomason 2010: 37. It should be noted that this applies only to contact situations of borrowing (recipient language agentivity). In situations of imposition (source language agentivity), these types of changes can occur as quickly as a generation. It was established in §3.4 that contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek are to be analyzed as borrowing in which speakers linguistically dominant in the recipient language, Syriac, transferred features from the source language, Greek.

[18] In less colorful terms, Hickey states, "…it is probably true that the borrowing of 'systemic' material – inflections, grammatical forms, sentence structures – can only occur via bilinguals" (2010b: 8).

[19] Heine and Kuteva 2003: 531. Similarly, Poplack (1996: 305-306) concludes that, "[a]ll cases of borrowing involving extensive structural change in the borrowing language have a history of several hundred years of contact."

authors such as Aphrahaṭ and Ephrem must have been heirs to an Aramaic culture that had long been in contact with the Greco-Roman world and its Greek language.

11.4 Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context

In a recent article, J. F. Healey discusses "The Edessan Milieu and the Birth of Syriac" (2007). He points out that Syriac began as the local Aramaic dialect of the region around Edessa, being witnessed in the Old Syriac inscriptions and legal documents. The Edessan dialect of Aramaic, according to Healey, was eventually transformed into a prestigious literary language due to several factors, including its use as an administrative language, as a royal language, and above all as a religious language. According to Healey, one factor that did not, however, play a role in this transformation is Syriac's interaction with Greek. Healey argues that Greek linguistic influence in Edessa is "mostly connected with Romanization in the third century A.D." (2007: 121). Thus, a figure such as Bardaiṣan (154-222) represents only a narrow circle associated with the royal court and is not indicative of more widespread Greco-Roman contact at the time (2007: 120). In Healey's words:

> "though Bardaisan may form a prominent peak of Hellenism, it is not clear that he is the tip of an iceberg of any great significance. That there was Greek culture in Edessa is clear, but much more clear is the underlying dominance of native religious and linguistic tradition" (2007:124).

Thus, Healey emphasizes Syriac's continuity with earlier Aramaic and downplays its Greco-Roman context. Healey concludes his discussion of "The Edessan Milieu and the Birth of Syriac" by stating, "in the formative period the Edessan milieu was not hellenized to any significant extent, while Syriac's ancestry is to be sought in the local Aramaic dialects of northern Mesopotamia, gradually transformed into a prestige language of religious literature" (2007: 125).

This study proposes a modification to Healey's picture of the birth of Syriac. As Healey notes, Syriac represents a local Aramaic dialect from the region around Edessa that was transformed into a prestigious literary language during the first centuries of the Common Era. In addition, again as Healey argues, this transformation was motivated by Syriac becoming an administrative language, a royal language, and above all a religious language. This study, however, proposes that an additional factor transformed the local Aramaic dialect of Edessa into the prestigious literary language known as Syriac: its Greco-Roman context and language contact with Greek. This study has argued that Syriac is the outcome of a particular socio-linguistic situation in which inherited Aramaic material was augmented and adapted through contact with Greek. Chapters §3-7 of this study analyzed Greek loanwords in Syriac. These loanwords represent the augmentation of inherited Aramaic material through contact with Greek. Chapter §8-10 discussed instances of grammatical replication in Syriac on the model of Greek. These cases of grammatical replication represent the adaptation of inherited Aramaic material through contact with Greek. It is proposed that this augmentation and adaptation of inherited Aramaic material was also a factor in the development of Syriac.

Aramaic was in contact with Greek already from the mid first millennium BCE when the Greek monetary term στατήρ appears in the Abydos Lion Weight (KAI 263). Contact between Aramaic and Greek increased with Alexander's defeat of Darius III in the 330s BCE, which brought Syria and Mesopotamia under the control of the Seleucid Empire for the next two centuries. Thus, by the time that Edessa became a Roman *colonia* at the beginning of the third century, the Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia had already been in contact with the Greco-Roman world and its Greek language for more than half a millennium. The effects of this contact are witnessed in the more than sixty Greek loanwords that were

transferred into Aramaic prior to Syriac and then inherited in Syriac.[20] These words include typical Greco-Roman cultural terms such as στρατηγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652) > ܣܛܪܛܓܐ *sṭrtg* 'strategos' (Sokoloff 2009: 71, 998) and ἐπίτροπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 669) > ܐܦܛܪܘܦܐ *'pṭrwp'* 'prefect; manager' (Sokoloff 2009: 86). There are, however, also nouns belonging to more abstract semantic groups, such as γένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344) > ܓܢܣܐ *gns'* 'kind, species; family; race, nation' (Sokoloff 2009: 179, 249), κίνδυνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 952) > ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ *qyndwnws* 'danger' (Sokoloff 2009: 1363-1364), and χρῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2012) > ܟܪܘܡܐ *krwm'* 'color; nature' (Sokoloff 2009: 648). In addition, several Greek verbs were inherited in Syriac from earlier Aramaic. The Greek loanwords that were inherited in Syriac from earlier Aramaic point to more than casual contact between Greek and pre-Syriac Aramaic already before the Roman period.

In the first couple of centuries CE, the Roman Empire expanded eastward with the region of Osrhoene and the important Syriac-speaking center of Edessa coming under greater Roman influence in the mid-second century. The earliest Syriac texts, such as the Old Testament Peshiṭta (translated from Hebrew), the *Odes of Solomon* (ca. 2nd cent.), and the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220), stem from this period.[21] These texts already show signs of significant contact with the Greco-Roman world and its Greek language. The *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, for instance, contains 25 different Greek loanwords that occur a

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[20] These are collected in Appendix 2 and are discussed more generally in §4.9.

[21] The Old Testament Peshitta is in the process of being re-edited under the auspices of the Leiden Peshitta Institute (for this text, see also the important monograph by Weitzman 1999). The *Odes of Solomon* are edited with English translation in Charlesworth 1973; a facsimile edition of the witnesses is also available in Charlesworth 1981. It should be noted that both the date (first to third century) and the original language (Syriac or Greek) of the *Odes* continues to be disputed. The *Book of the Laws of the Countries* is edited with English translation in Drijvers 1965.

total of 114 times.[22] This means that 5.26% of the noun types and 5.35% of the noun tokens in this text are Greek loanwords. This can be compared to 4.68% of the noun types and 2.84% of the noun tokens that are Greek loanwords in Discourse 1 of the *Prose Refutations* by Ephrem (d. 373).[23] Thus, the early third-century *Book of the Laws of the Countries* contains a higher percentage of Greek loanwords than the equally philosophical *Prose Refutations* by Ephrem, which stems from the latter half of the fourth century. This illustrates the degree of contact between Greek and Syriac already by the second century CE.

The effects of language contact by at least the first centuries of the Common Era are not limited to loanwords, but also extend to changes such as grammatical replication. Already by the time of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch (ca. 150), for instance, Aramaic *ʾiðayn 'then, at that time' had been replicated on Greek δέ 'but, then' in its syntax, semantics, and phonology to produce Syriac *den* 'but, then'. By the time of the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, Syriac *den* had also become more frequent due to its replication on Greek δέ.[24] Or, to take a different example, the Syriac copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* 'he is' is attested with a substantival predicate already in the *Odes of Solomon* (20.1). This is the result of an extension that occurred on the model of Greek ἐστίν 'he is'.[25] As argued in §11.3, these cases of grammatical replication indicate that there must have been significant Syriac-Greek bilingualism by at least the turn of the Common Era.

During the first centuries of the Common Era, then, the local Aramaic dialect of Edessa was in the process of changing into a prestigious literary language that would come to be known as Syriac. As this study has shown, the Aramaic dialect of Edessa was also changing

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[22] For an earlier treatment of the Greek loanwords in this text, see Schall 1960: 71-80.
[23] Edited in Overbeck 1865: 21-58 with an English translation in Mitchell 1912-1921: 1.i-xxviii.
[24] These changes involving Syriac *den* (< *ʾiðayn) were analyzed in §10.
[25] This was discussed in detail in §9.3.

due to contact with Greek at this very same time. In particular, Greek loanwords were augmenting the native Aramaic vocabulary, and native Aramaic material was being adapted to replicate constructions in Greek. Thus, this study proposes that language contact with Greek, which resulted in the augmentation and adaptation of native Aramaic material, was a factor in the birth of Syriac, as it is now known, in the first centuries of the Common Era.[26]

According to this scenario, fourth-century Syriac authors such as Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373) were heirs to an Aramaic language that had already been significantly changed by the Greek language. It has often been noted that all, or almost all, of the Greek loanwords in Aphrahaṭ are also found in the Syriac Bible.[27] It is usually concluded from this that Aphrahaṭ, who lived in the Sassanian Empire and who likely had no knowledge of Greek, adopted these words from the Bible. A different conclusion is, however, possible in light of the scenario being proposed here. The fact that words of ultimate Greek origin occur in the Syriac Bible and in early Syriac literature could well suggest that these words were already part of the Syriac language by Aphrahaṭ's time. This seems to be the case with Greek loanwords in the Syriac Old Testament Peshiṭta, as it was translated from Hebrew not from Greek.[28] This may well also be the case with the Old Syriac Gospels, which are much less tied to the Greek *Vorlage* than even the fourth-century Peshiṭta translation.[29] Similarly, each of the Greek loanwords in Aphrahaṭ could have already been part of Syriac by at least the fourth century.[30]

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[26] While social factors inevitably play the largest role in the speciation of a language, linguistic factors are certainly not non-existent. See the discussion in Noonan 2010.

[27] See, e.g., Brock 1967: 390; 1975: 81; Haefeli 1932: 190; Schall 1960: 87.

[28] There is not yet an exhaustive treatment of the Greek loanwords in the Syriac Old Testament Peshiṭta. See, however, the initial remarks in Joosten 1998.

[29] In the preface to the second edition of his grammar, Nöldeke states, "[t]he Syriac Bible has been more largely drawn upon than in the former edition, particularly as regards the Gospels, and especially the Synoptic Gospels. These last exhibit almost invariably an exceedingly

Contact between Greek and Syriac was not restricted to the early centuries of the Common Era, but continued and even increased throughout the period of Classical Syriac. By comparing loanwords in Ephrem (d. 373) and Narsai (d. ca. 500), Brock has convincingly shown that Greek-Syriac contact became more intense in the century after the death of Ephrem. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the Greek loanwords found in other texts. In the first seven acts of the *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250), for instance, 5.03% of the noun types and 2.52% of the noun tokens are of Greek origin.[31] This can be compared with the *Life of Rabbula* (ca. 450), where Greek loanwords account for 6.59% of the noun types and 3.37% of the noun tokens.[32] This demonstrates an increase in Greek loanwords from the third to the fifth century. Moving even later in time, 10.47% of the noun types and 6.00% of the noun tokens are of Greek origin in the mid-sixth-century *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella* by Eliya.[33] This demonstrates

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flowing, idiomatic style of Syriac, which upon the whole reads better than the Semitic Greek of the original. This feature comes into still stronger relief in the more ancient form of the text – as contained in C. (*Curetonianus*) and S. (*Sinaiticus*) – than in our usual text P. (*Peshitā*)" (1904: xiii). For the Greek loanwords in the Old Syriac and Peshiṭta Gospels, see Brock 1967.

[30] Brock hints at a similar conclusion when he states that, "the vast majority of Greek words to be found in the Old Syriac and Peshiṭta Gospels became well established in the literary language, and *it is very likely that many of them were already so*" (1967: 426; italics mine). He goes on, however, to state that "there is hardly any surviving evidence for this" (1967: 426).

[31] The Syriac text of the *Acts of Thomas* is edited in 1871: 2.171-333 (Syr.); a commentary is available in Klijn 2003. The text was in all likelihood composed in Syriac (Attridge 1990). The date of composition is most likely the first half of the third century (Bremmer 2001b: 73-77). The Syriac original was translated into Greek at an early date (the Greek text is edited in Bonnet 1903: 99-291). The content of the Syriac text that is now extant shows signs of revision, often bringing it more in line with the emerging orthodoxy. The language of the Syriac text, however, contains a number of early forms (Wright 1871a: 2.xiv-xv), which indicate that the language belongs to the earliest period of Syriac.

[32] The Syriac text is edited in Overbeck 1865: 159-209 with an English translation in Doran 2006: 65-105.

[33] The Syriac text is edited in Brooks 1907: 29-95 with an English translation in Ghanem 1970. An earlier edition, with a Dutch translation, is available in Kleyn 1882.

the increasingly intense contact between Syriac and Greek throughout the period of Classical Syriac. Similar conclusions can be reached based on the number of Greek particles and Greek verbs that entered Syriac during the sixth century.[34]

The picture provided by loanwords can be corroborated by two of the cases of grammatical replication presented in this study. In §8.3, it was shown that throughout the history of Syriac the adjectival ending -ɔy became increasingly more frequent as Syriac speakers attempted to replicate Greek adjectives. There was, for instance, a 460% increase in the frequency of *nisba* adjectives from the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (ca. 220) to the selected *Letters* of Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708). This demonstrates an increase in Syriac-Greek contact from the early third century to the beginning of the eighth century. The distribution of verbless clauses points to a similar conclusion. It was argued in §9.4 that Syriac verbless clauses with a copula of ʾiṯ plus pronominal suffix became increasingly more common throughout the history of Syriac due to their identification with Greek verbless clauses with the verbal copula ἐστίν. In the selections from the fourth-century authors Aphrahaṭ and Ephrem, for instance, less than 20% of the verbless clauses with substantival predicates are formed with ʾiṯaw(hy). In contrast, ʾiṯaw(hy) occurs in just fewer than 40% of the verbless clauses with substantival predicates in the selections from the sixth-century authors Philoxenos (d. 523) and Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548). Finally, almost all (98%) of the verbless clauses with a substantival predicate are formed with ʾiṯaw(hy) in the selection from Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708). This again illustrates that contact between Syriac and Greek continued up until at least the beginning of the eighth century.

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[34] See §6.4 and §6.3.5-6.3.6, respectively.

Syriac was, then, in contact with Greek for centuries. One of the many interesting aspects of this continuity of contact is that it enabled contact-induced changes to extend over generations of speakers. This is perhaps most obvious in the cases of grammatical replication involving the increase in the adjectival ending *-ɔy* (§8.3) and the copula *ʾiṯaw(hy)* (§9.4), which were mentioned in the previous paragraph. The dynamic nature of contact between Syriac and Greek is, however, also witnessed in the Greek loanwords in Syriac. Since a number of Syriac-speakers knew Greek to one degree or another, some Greek loanwords in Syriac never became entirely disassociated from their Greek source. This can be seen, for instance, in the diachronic changes to the orthography of Greek loanwords in Syriac. In contrast to what is generally witnessed cross-linguistically, Greek loanwords did not always become more integrated in Syriac over time. Rather, in a number of cases, the opposite occurred, and Greek loanwords in Syriac came to represent the Greek source more closely over time. In these cases, some Syriac-speakers never lost sight of the Greek origin of certain loanwords and were thus able to reshape them based on the source language. This trend reaches its apex with the bilingual Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708), who in his *Letter on Syriac Orthography*, uses a *mater lectionis* in Syriac to represent every vowel in Greek loanwords.

In the end, the Greco-Roman context of Syriac was clearly a factor in the language's development. As the dialect of Edessa was transformed into the literary language of Syriac during the first centuries of the Common Era, a number of contact-induced changes due to Greek were taking place. These changes led to a dialect of Aramaic that differed in a number of ways from its sister Aramaic dialects of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic in Mesopotamia and of Samaritan Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in the Levant. The vocabulary of Syriac was augmented with a number of Greek loanwords, far exceeding those

found in the other dialects. In addition, inherited Aramaic material was adapted to replicate Greek constructions, thereby departing not only from the earlier Aramaic dialects but also from the other Late Aramaic dialects. Only Christian Palestinian Aramaic, with its similar socio-linguistic context, shares some of these changes with Syriac. The differences between Syriac and the other Late Aramaic dialects – excluding Christian Palestinian Aramaic – were only further accentuated as Syriac continued to be in contact with Greek throughout its history. This study has, thus, shown how contact with Greek led to changes that affected the lexicon, morpho-syntax, and to lesser degrees the morphology and phonology of Syriac. It is for this reason that it is proposed that one of the factors that led to the transformation of the local dialect of Edessa into Syriac is its contact with the Greco-Roman world and its Greek language.

Appendix 1: Latin Loanwords in Syriac

No source is currently available for the Latin loanwords in Syriac. Schall (1960: 244), for instance, lists only fourteen Latin loanwords in the only existing monographic treatment of Greek loanwords in Syriac. Thus, it is useful to collect them here. The following lists include all Latin loanwords found in Syriac texts not translated from Greek up to Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708). Based on the discussion in §4.8, it seems likely that the vast majority of these Latin words reached Syriac via Greek. Thus, the probable Greek intermediary is provided for all cases in which the Latin word is actually attested in Greek, usually in the Greek from Egypt. The Latin loanwords are grouped by approximate date of first appearance in Syriac. Latin loanwords that first appear in pre-fourth century Syriac, including the Peshiṭta Bible (both Old and New Testament), are as follows:

(1)   a. Latin *assarium* (Glare 1982: 186) > ἀσσάριον (Daris 1991: 31; Liddell and Scott 1996: 260) > ܐܣܪܐ *ʾsrʾ* '*assarius*, small copper coin' (**NT** Mt 10:29 [SP]; Lk 12:6 [SP]; Sokoloff 2009: 80; cf. Brock 1964: 394; 2005: 12-13)

       b. Latin *caesar* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καῖσαρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860; cf. Mason 1974: 58) > ܩܣܪ *qsr* 'Caesar, emperor' (**NT** Mt 22.17 [SCP], 21 [SCP]; Mk 12.14 [SCP], 16 [SCP], 17 [SCP]; Lk 2.1 [SCP]; 3.1 [SCP]; 20.22 [SCP]; Jn 19.12 [P], 15 [P]; Acts 11:28; 17:7; 18:2; 25:8; Phil 4:22; Sokoloff 2009: 1388; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443)

a. Latin *carrarius* (Glare 1982: 279) > ܩܪܪܐ *qrrʾ* 'driver' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 238.7, 9, 13; 241.16 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; Sokoloff 2009: 1417)[1]

c. Latin *carruca* (Glare 1982: 279; Lewis and Short 1969: 295) > καρούχα (Lampe 1961: 703) > ܩܪܘܟܐ *qrwkʾ* 'chariot' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 14.6; Is 66:20; Sokoloff 2009: 1403; cf. Brock 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 444)

d. Latin *cassis*, accusative singular *cassida* (Glare 1982: 282; Lewis and Short 1969: 297) > κασσίς (Daris 1991: 50; Lampe 1961: 704) → accusative singular κασσίδα > ܩܣܕܐ *qsdʾ* 'helmet; azure of the sky' (**Pre-4th cent.** Job 38:29; 41:12; Sokoloff 2009: 1307)

e. Latin *cella* (Glare 1982: 295; Lewis and Short 1969: 309-310) > κέλλα (Daris 1991: 51; Lampe 1961: 741) [→ κέλλιον (Daris 1991: 52; Lampe 1961: 741)] > ܩܠܝܬܐ *qlytʾ* 'cell' (**Pre-4th cent.** Num 25:8; Sokoloff 2009: 184, 1371-1372)

f. Latin *centurio* (Glare 1982: 300; Lewis and Short 1969: 316) > κεντυρίων (Daris 1991: 53; Lampe 1961: 744; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 60, 163) > ܩܢܛܪܝܘܢ *qnṭrywn*, ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ *qnṭrwnʾ* 'centurion' (**NT** Mt 8:5 [CP], 13 [CP]; 27:54 [SP]; Mk 15:39 [SP], 44 [SP]; Lk 7:2 [SP], 6 [SP]; 23:47 [SCP]; Sokoloff 2009: 1382-1383; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443)

g. Latin *circus* (Glare 1982: 326; Lewis and Short 1969: 343-344) > κίρκος (Daris 1991: 55) > ܩܘܪܩܣܐ *qwrqsʾ* 'ring' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 26:6; Sokoloff 2009: 1415; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 444; 2005: 17)

h. κλῆθρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 957) > Latin *clathri* (Glare 1982: 333; Lewis and

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[1] Cf. Latin *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (Glare 1982: 279; Lewis and Short 1969: 295) > κάρρον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 880).

Short 1969: 350) > Late Latin *cracli* (attested in the *Appendix Probi*; ed. Baehrens 1922: 8 [s.v. ln. 209]) > منقل *qrql* 'grated cover' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 27:4; 39:39; Sokoloff 2009: 1416)

i. Latin *collarium, collare* (Glare 1982: 350; Lewis and Short 1969: 365) > κολλάριον (Daris 1991: 56; Liddell and Scott 1996: 972) > ܩܘܠܪܐ *qwlrʾ* 'iron collar' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Chr 20:3; 2 Sam 12:31; Sokoloff 2009: 1330)

j. Latin *colonia* (Glare 1982: 355; Lewis and Short 1969: 370) > κολωνία (Daris 1991: 56; Lampe 1961: 766; Liddell and Scott 1996: 974; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 6, 62, 109) > ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ *qwlwnyʾ* 'colony' (**NT** Act 16:12; Sokoloff 2009: 1329)

k. Latin *copula* (Glare 1982: 443; Lewis and Short 1969: 467) > κῶπλα (Daris 1991: 64) > ܩܘܦܠܐ *qwplʾ* 'band, chain' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Chr 20.3; Sokoloff 2009: 1340)

l. Latin *custodia* (Glare 1982: 478; Lewis and Short 1969: 504-505) > κουστωδία (Daris 1991: 63) > ܩܤܛܘܕܝ, *qsṭwdy* 'guard' (**NT** Mt 27:65 [S], 66 [S]; Sokoloff 2009: 1387; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

m. Latin *denarius* (Glare 1982: 514; Lewis and Short 1969: 545) > δηνάριον (Daris 1991: 40; Liddell and Scott 1996: 388) > ܕܝܢܪ *dynr* 'gold *denar*' (**NT** Mt 18:28 [SCP]; 20:2 [SCP], 9 [SCP], 10 [SCP], 13 [SCP]; 22:19 [SCP]; Mk 6:37 [SP]; 12:15 [SP]; 14:5 [SP]; Lk 7:41 [SCP]; 10:35 [SCP]; 20:24 [SCP]; Jn 6:7 [SCP]; 12:5 [SP]; *passim*; Sokoloff 2009: 297; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443)

n. Latin *fascia* (Glare 1982: 677; Lewis and Short 1969: 726) > φασκία (Daris 1991: 114) > ܦܤܩܝܬܐ *psqyt* 'bandage used to wrap a corpse' (**NT** John 11:44 [SP]; Sokoloff 2009: 1215)

o. Latin *flagellum* (Glare 1982: 708; Lewis and Short 1969: 755) > Late Latin

fragellum (attested in the *Appendix Probi*; ed. Baehrens 1922: 6 [s.v. ln. 77]) > φραγέλλιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1952) > ܦܪܓܠܐ *prgl*ʾ 'whip' (**NT** Mt 27:26 [SP]; Jn 2:15 [P]; Sokoloff 2009: 1227; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

p. Latin *legio* (Glare 1982: 1013-1014; Lewis and Short 1969: 1047) > λεγιών, λεγεών (Daris 1991: 65; Lampe 1961: 794; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 6, 7, 8, 65, 138, 163-165) > ܠܓܝܘܢܐ *lgywn*ʾ 'legion' (**Pre-4th cent.** Num 24:24; **NT** Mt 26:53 [SP]; Mk 5:9 [SP], 15 [P]; Lk 8:30 [SCP]; Sokoloff 2009: 673; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443)

q. Latin *lorarius* (Glare 1982: 1043; Lewis and Short 1969: 1078) > ܠܘܠܪܐ *lwlr*ʾ 'harness or saddle maker' (**NT** Acts 18:3; Sokoloff 2009: 679)

r. Latin *macellum* (Glare 1982: 1057; Lewis and Short 1969: 1091-1092) > μάκελλον (Daris 1991: 70; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1074) > ܡܩܠܘܢ *mqlwn* 'meat-market' (**NT** 1 Cor 10:25; Sokoloff 2009: 821)

s. Latin *mille* (Glare 1982: 1109; Lewis and Short 1969: 1144) > μίλιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1134) > ܡܝܠܐ *myl*ʾ 'one-thousand paces; mile-stone' (**NT** Mt 5:41 [SCP]; Jn 11:18 [S]; Sokoloff 2009: 752; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46; 1999-2000: 443)

t. Latin *modium* (Glare 1982: 1123; Lewis and Short 1969: 1155) > μόδιος (Daris 1991: 73; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1140) > ܡܘܕܝܐ *mwdy*ʾ 'corn measure, peck; container' (**NT** Matt 5:15 [C]; Sokoloff 2009: 721-722; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

u. Latin *ponto*, *pontonium* (Glare 1982: 1403; Lewis and Short 1969: 1397) > ܦܛܘܢܐ *pṭwn*ʾ 'ferry boat' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 174.8; 185.11 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; Sokoloff 2009: 1204)

v. Latin *praetorium* (Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969: 1436) > πραιτώριον (Daris 1991: 93; Lampe 1961: 1126-1127; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 78) > ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ *prṭwryn* 'governor's residence' (**NT** Mt 27:27 [SCP]; Mk 15:16 [SCP]; Jn 18:28 [SCP], 33 [SCP]; 19:9 [SCP]; Acts 23:35; Phil 1:13; Sokoloff 2009: 1237; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

w. Latin *quaestionarius* (Glare 1982: 1535; Lewis and Short 1969: 1502) > κυαιστιωνάριος (Daris 1991: 63) > ܩܣܛܘܢܪܐ *qsṭwnr³* 'torturer' (**NT** Mt 27:65 [P], 66 [P]; 28:11 [P], 12 [P] [these may be corruptions of ܩܣܛܘܕܝܐ *qsṭwdy³* (Brock 1967: 405)]; also in Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.705.24 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 1387; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

x. Latin *sextarius* (Glare 1982: 1751; Lewis and Short 1969: 1688) > ξέστης (Daris 1991: 76-77) > ܩܣܛܐ *qsṭ³* 'vase, urn; measure' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 16:33; Judg 6:19; **NT** Mk 7:4 [SP], 8 [P]; Heb 9:4; Sokoloff 2009: 1387; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

y. Latin *speculator* (Glare 1982: 1802; Lewis and Short 1969: 1739) > σπεκουλάτωρ (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1626; cf. Mason 1974: 4, 85) > ܐܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *³spwqlṭr³*, ܣܦܘܩܠܛܪܐ *spwqlṭr³* 'executioner' (**NT** Mk 6:27 [SP]; Sokoloff 2009: 75; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

z. Latin *strata* (Glare 1982: 1826; Lewis and Short 1969: 1758 [s.v. *sterno*]) > στράτα (Daris 1991: 108) > ܐܣܛܪܛܐ *³sṭrṭ³*, ܐܣܛܪܛ *³sṭrṭ* 'street; road (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 239.7 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; Sokoloff 2009: 71)

aa. Latin *subsellium* (Glare 1982: 1848; Lewis and Short 1969: 1781) > συμψέλλιον (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1690) > ܣܦܣܠܐ *spsl³* 'bench' (**Pre-4th cent.** 2 Chr 9:11; Sokoloff 2009: 963, 1032)

bb. Latin *sudarium* (Glare 1982: 1859; Lewis and Short 1969: 1790) > σουδάριον (Daris 1991: 106; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1621) > ܣܘܕܪܐ *swdrʾ* 'cloth; turban, tiara' (**Pre-4th cent.** Jer 13:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11; **NT** Jn 11:44 [SP]; 20:7 [SP]; Acts 19:12; Sokoloff 2009: 976; cf. Brock 1967: 424 n. 46)

cc. Latin *tabellarius* (Glare 1982: 1897-1898; Lewis and Short 1969: 1831) > ταβελλάριος (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752; cf. Mason 1974: 4, 6, 90-91) > ܛܒܠܪܐ *ṭblrʾ* 'keeper of records' (**Pre-4th cent.** 2 Sam 15:1; 2 Kg 11:4; Prov 24:34; 2 Chr 30:6, 10; Sokoloff 2009: 510-511; cf. Brock 1992: 229 n. 4)

dd. Latin *talaria* (Glare 1982: 1901; Lewis and Short 1969: 1835) > ταλάριον (Daris 1991: 110) > pl. ܛܠܝܐ *tlyʾ* 'sandals' (**NT** Mk. 6:9 [P]; Acts 12.8; Sokoloff 2009: 535)

ee. Latin *trulla* (Glare 1982: 1981; Lewis and Short 1969: 1905) > τροῦλλα (Daris 1991: 113; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1827) > ܛܪܘܠܐ *ṭrwlʾ* 'iron spoon or pan' (**Pre-4th cent.** Num 4:7; not attested otherwise; Sokoloff 2009: 549)

ff. Latin *uncinus* (Glare 1982: 2090; Lewis and Short 1969: 1929) > ὄγκινος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1196) > ܐܘܩܝܢܐ *ʾwqynʾ* 'hook; anchor; sailors' sounding line' (**NT** Acts 27:28, 29, 40; Heb 6:19; but not common until the fifth century; Sokoloff 2009: 20; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 444 with n. 23)

Latin loanwords that first appear in fourth-century Syriac include:

(2) a. Latin *caesarianus* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καισαριανός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860; cf. Mason 1974: 6, 58) > ܩܣܝܢܐ *qsïynʾ* 'of the caesars' (**Pre-4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.220.15, 17 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 1388)

b. Latin *indulgentia* (Glare 1982: 888; Lewis and Short 1969: 928) > ܕܠܓܢܬܐ *dylgnty*ʾ (corrupt) 'amnesty' (**4th cent.** Aphraha, *Demonstrations*, 1.589.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 295)

c. Latin *moneta* (Glare 1982: 1130; Lewis and Short 1969: 1161) > μονήτα (Daris 1991: 73; Lampe 1961: 880; cf. Mason 1974: 68) > ܡܘܢܛܐ *mwnt*ʾ, ܡܘܢܝܬܐ *mwnyt*ʾ 'coin; money; coin die' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏroše against Heresies*, 81.3; 166.24 [ed. Beck 1957a]; not uncommon; Sokoloff 2009: 781; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 443-444)

d. Latin *orbita* (Glare 1982: 1264; Lewis and Short 1969: 1276) > ܐܘܪܒܬܐ *ʾwrbt*ʾ 'orbit' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 138.38; 139.2 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; Sokoloff 2009: 20)

e. Latin *palatium* (Glare 1982: 1284; Lewis and Short 1969: 1291) > παλάτιον (Daris 1991: 85; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1291; cf. Mason 1974: 74) > ܦܠܛܝܢ *pltyn* 'palace' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 293.16; 525.7 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 119)

f. Latin *patronus* (Glare 1982: 1311; Lewis and Short 1969: 1316-1317) > πάτρων (Daris 1991: 88; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1349; cf. Mason 1974: 5-7, 12, 152) > ܦܛܪܘܢܐ *ptrwn*ʾ 'patron' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 389.11; 392.18 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 1183)

g. Latin *securis* (Glare 1982: 1722; Lewis and Short 1969: 1655-1656) > ܣܩܘܪܐ *syqwr*ʾ 'axe' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 773.11 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 1007)

h. Latin *statio* '*lit.* standing' (Glare 1982: 1814; Lewis and Short 1969: 1751) >

στατίων (Lampe 1961: 1251; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634; Daris 1991: 107) > ܐܣܛܛܝܘܢܐ *ʾsṭṭywnʾ* 'hymns' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 181.10; 185.7, 16, 18; 309.6; 312.17, 18; 748.27; 924.5; 932.2 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; Sokoloff 2009: 69), calqued on στάσεις (Lampe 1961: 1251; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634)

Latin loanwords that first appear in fifth-century Syriac include:

(3) a. Latin *birrus* (Lewis and Short 1969: 239) > βίρρος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 316) → accusative singular βίρρον > ܒܝܪܘܢܐ *byrwnʾ*, ܒܪܘܢܐ *brwnʾ* 'toga, cloak, patriarch's chlamys' (**5th cent.** *Life of Rabbula*, 184.26 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; **6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 115.10 [ed. Nau 1932]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 527.2 [ed. Brooks. 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 143, 187)

b. Latin *cervical, cervicarium* (Glare 1982: 305; Lewis and Short 1969: 322) > κερβικάριον (Daris 1991: 53-54) > ܩܠܒܝܩܪܐ *qlbyqrʾ* 'pillow, cushion' (**5th cent.** *Life of Rabbula*, 185.2 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; **6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 48.6 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 1367-1368)

c. Latin *comitatus* (Glare 1982: 360; Lewis and Short 1969: 374) > κομιτᾶτος (Daris 1991: 58) → accusative singular κομιτᾶτον > ܩܡܝܛܛܘܢ *qymṭṭwn* 'retinue, suite' (**5th cent.** Rabbula of Edessa, *Works*, 219.18 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 210-248, 362-381]; Sokoloff 2009: 1363; cf. Brock 1996: 255)

d. Latin *dux* (Glare 1982: 582; Lewis and Short 1969: 621) > δούξ (Daris 1991: 41-42; Liddell and Scott 1996: 447; cf. Mason 1974: 3, 6, 11, 39) > ܕܘܟܣ *dwks* 'leader' (**5th cent.** *Martyrdom of Shmona, Gurya, and Ḥabbib*, 5.16 [ܕܘܟܣ; ed. Burkitt 1913: 3*-43*]; **6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 39.23 [ed. Brooks

1907: 29-95]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 175.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 281)

e. Latin *exceptor* (Glare 1982: 634; Lewis and Short 1969: 676) > Greek ἐξκέπτωρ (Daris 1991: 44) > ܐܟܣܩܦܛܘܪ *ʾksqpṭwr*, ܐܟܣܩܦܛܘܪܣ *ʾksqpṭwrs* 'amanuensis, scribe' (**5th cent.** *Martyrdom of Shmona, Gurya, and Ḥabbib*, 14.20; 41.20 [ed. Burkitt 1913: 3*-43*]; *Acts of Sharbel*, 61.23 [ed. Cureton 1864: *41-*63]; Sokoloff 2009: 45)

f. Latin *fabulator* (Glare 1982: 665; Lewis and Short 1969: 713) > ܦܠܒܘܠܝܪܐ *plbwlyrʾ* 'storyteller' (**5th cent.** *Acts of Sharbel*, 52.18 [ed. Cureton 1864: *41-*63]; Sokoloff 2009: 1193)

g. Latin *falsus* (Glare 1982: 673-674; Lewis and Short 1969: 722) > φάλσον (Lampe 1961: 1470) > ܦܠܣܘܢ *plswn* 'false' (**5th cent.** Rabbula of Edessa, *Works*, 220.11 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 1202; cf. Brock 1996: 255)

h. Latin *famulus* (Glare 1982: 676; Lewis and Short 1969: 725) > ܦܡܠܝܐ *pmlyʾ* 'servant' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, *Memre*, 1.286.3 [ed. Bickell 1873-1877]; Sokoloff 2009: 1204)

i. Latin *forma* (Glare 1982: 722-723; Lewis and Short 1969: 768) > φόρμα (Daris 1991: 115) > ܦܘܪܡܐ *pwrmʾ* 'imperial edict' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, *Memre*, 1.440.1 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; Sokoloff 2009: 1170)

j. Latin *galearius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 800) > γα(λ)λιάριος (Daris 1991: 38) > ܓܠܝܪܐ *glyrʾ* '*galearius*, military servant' (**5th cent.** Isḥaq of Antioch, *Memre*, 1.234.8 [ed. Bedjan 1903]; *Julian Romance*, 132.6; 158.21 [ed. Hoffmann 1880b]; Sokoloff 2009: 237-238)

k. Latin *mansio* (Glare 1982: 1074; Lewis and Short 1969: 1109) > ܡܣܝܘܢܐ *msywn*ʾ

'journey of ten parasants' (**5th cent.** Balai, *Memre on Joseph*, 210.8 [ed. Bedjan

1891]; Narsai, *Memre*, 1.183.7 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Yoḥannan Iḥidaya, *Letters*,

1.148 [ed. Strothmann 1972]; Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 1.99.10; 1.504.9;

2.341.14; 4.140.21; 5.16.11 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 790; cf. Brock

1967: 424; 1996: 255; 1999-2000: 444 with n. 25)

l. Latin *orarium* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1274) > ὡράριον (Daris 1991: 117;

Lampe 1961: 1557) > ܐܘܪܪܐ *ʾwrr*ʾ 'type of garment, stole' (**5th cent.** Narsai,

Memre, 1.350.19 [ed. Mingana 1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 23 [the Greek intermediary

should be added]; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 444)

m. Latin *sacer* (Glare 1982: 1674; Lewis and Short 1969: 1610-1611) > σάκρα

(Lampe 1961: 1221; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1581; cf. Daris 1991: 100) > ܣܩܪܐ

*sqr*ʾ 'imperial letter, imperial archives' (**5th cent.** *History of Shemʿon bar Ṣabbaʿe*,

791.2; 811.14, 24; 814.1, 2, 3, 5; 815.17; 818.8, 11 [ed. Kmosko 1907];

Brockelmann 1928: 495-496)

n. Latin *tabularius* (Glare 1982: 1899; Lewis and Short 1969: 1832) > ταβουλάριος

(Daris 1991: 110; Lampe 1961: 1370) > ܛܒܘܠܪܐ *ṭbwlr*ʾ 'keeper of records' (**5th

cent.** *Teaching of Addai*, 1.13; 2.8, 16, 25; 3.11; 4.10, 21; 5.5; 31.19; 53.3 [ed.

Howard 1981]; Sokoloff 2009: 509)

o. Latin *uncia* (Glare 1982: 2090; Lewis and Short 1969: 1929) > οὐγκία (Liddell

and Scott 1996: 1268; Daris 1991: 79) > ܐܘܢܩܝܐ *ʾwnqy*ʾ 'ounce' (**5th cent.** *Life of

Rabbula*, 182.10 [ed. Overbeck 1865: 157-248]; **6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon

of Tella*, 46.23 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95])

p. Latin *velarium* (Glare 1982: 2022; Lewis and Short 1969: 1964) > ܩܘܐܠܪܐ *wʾlrʾ* 'curtains' (**6th cent.** Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 1.28.3 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 357)

q. Latin *velum* (Glare 1982: 2024; Lewis and Short 1969: 1965-1966) > βῆλον (Lampe 1961: 295) > ܘܠܐ *wlʾ*, ܘܐܠܐ *wʾlʾ* 'veil, curtain' (**5th cent.** Narsai, *Memre*, 2.133.1 [ed. Mingana 1905]; *Acts of Sharbel*, 59.13 [ed. Cureton 1864: *41-*63]; **6th cent.** Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 1.23.8; 1.48.4; 1.106.11; 4.13.6 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 358; cf. Brock 1999-2000: 444)

r. Latin *veredarius* (Glare 1982: 2035; Lewis and Short 1969: 1973) > βερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 34), οὐερεδάριος (Daris 1991: 79 > ܒܝܠܕܪܐ *byldrʾ*, ܒܝܠܝܕܪܐ *bylydrʾ* 'letter carrier' (**5th cent.** *History of Shemʿon bar Ṣabbaʿe*, 806.4 [ed. Kmosko 1907]; Sokoloff 2009: 141

Latin loanwords that first appear in sixth-century Syriac include:

(4) a. Latin *annona* (Glare 1982: 135-136; Lewis and Short 1969: 125-126) > ἀννώνα (Daris 1991: 28-29; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 6, 22) → accusative plural ἀννώνας > ܐܢܘܢܣ *ʾnwns* 'yearly produce' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 339.9 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 60)

b. Latin *balnearius* (Glare 1982: 224; Lewis and Short 1969: 220) > ܒܢܪܐ *bnrʾ* 'bath attendant' (**6th cent.** Barḥadbshabba, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 1, 92.12 [ed. Nau 1932]; Sokoloff 2009: 162)

c. Latin *campus* (Glare 1982: 263; Lewis and Short 1969: 275) > κάμπος (Daris 1991: 49) → accusative singular κάμπον > ܩܡܦܘܢ *qmpwn* 'plain' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 300.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1379)

d.   Latin *cancellarius* (Lewis and Short 1969: 276) > καγκελλάριος (Daris 1991: 48; Lampe 1961: 681; cf. Mason 1974: 4, 58) > ܩܢܩܠܪܐ *qnqlr'* 'notary' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 543.2; 545.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1386)

e.   Latin *cancellus* (Glare 1982: 264; Lewis and Short 1969: 276) > κάγκελλος (Daris 1991: 48) > ܩܢܩܠܐ *qnql'* 'trellis, grating' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 266.23 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1386)

f.   Latin *castra* (Glare 1982: 282; Lewis and Short 1969: 299) > κάστρον (Daris 1991: 50-51; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 59, 138) > ܩܣܛܪܐ *qsṭr'*, ܩܣܛܪܘܢ *qsṭrwn* 'fortified place' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 327.20 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 35.4, 6; 326.11 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 66.19 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 1387)

g.   Latin *castrensis* (Glare 1982: 283; Lewis and Short 1969: 298) > καστρήσιος (Daris 1991: 50; cf. Mason 1974: 4, 59) > ܩܣܛܪܝܣܝܣ *qsṭrysys* 'palace steward' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 546.2; 547.10, 13; 552.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1388)

h.   Latin *comes* (Glare 1982: 359; Lewis and Short 1969: 373-374) > κόμης, κόμες (Daris 1991: 57-58; Lampe 1961: 766-767; Liddell and Scott 1996: 975; cf. Mason 1974: 3, 6, 11, 62) > ܩܘܡܝܣ *qwmys*, ܩܘܡܣ *qwms*, ܩܡܝܣ *qmys* 'governer' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 66.14; 68.13; 69.6, 8; 87.22; 90.21; 93.5 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.6 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 459.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-

1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1334)

i. Latin *cubicularis* (Glare 1982: 463; Lewis and Short 1969: 486) > κουβικουλάριος (Lampe 1961: 779) > ܩܒܘܩܠܪܐ *qbwqlr'* , ܩܘܒܩܠܪܐ *qwbqlr'* 'chamberlain' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.13, 27 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 25.3; 431.1, 7; 432.4; 433.10; 436.4; 437.2, 3; 439.2; 535.6; 546.2; 552.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1309; cf. Brock 1996: 255)

j. Latin *curator* (Glare 1982: 474; Lewis and Short 1969: 501) > κουράτωρ (Daris 1991: 62; Lampe 1961: 773; Liddell and Scott 1996: 986; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 6, 63) > ܩܘܪܛܘܪ *qwrṭwr* '*courator*, an official responsible for financial matters' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 59.20 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 69.12 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1344)

k. Latin *diarium* (Glare 1982: 536; Lewis and Short 1969: 569) > διάριον (Daris 1991: 40; Liddell and Scott 1996: 409) > ܕܝܝܐ *dyïy'* 'stipend, pay' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 11.24 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 300)

l. Latin *domesticus* (Glare 1982: 570; Lewis and Short 1969: 607-608) > δομεστικός (Daris 1991: 41; Lampe 1961: 380) > ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmstyq'*, ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmsṭyq'* '*domesticus*, a Byzantine imperial guard soldier' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 9:19 [ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmstyq'*] [ed. Brooks 1935]; Pseudo-Zacharias, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2.60.4 [ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmstyq'*], 6 [ܕܘܡܣܛܝܩܐ *dwmsṭyq'*] [ed. Brooks 1919-1924]; Sokoloff 2009: 283)

m. Latin *donativum* (Glare 1982: 572; Lewis and Short 1969: 610) > ܕܘܢܐܛܝܒܐ *dwnʾṭybʾ* 'largess, gift' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 137.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 284)

n. Latin *ducatus* (Glare 1982: 576; Lewis and Short 1969: 615) > δουκᾶτον (Lampe 1961: 384) > ܕܘܩܛܘܢ *dwqṭwn* 'military command' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 87.2 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 287)

o. Latin *excubitor* (Glare 1982: 637; Lewis and Short 1969: 680) > ἐξκούβιτωρ (Daris 1991: 44-45) > pl. ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ (*sic*; without *syɔme*), ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ, ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܐ (*sic*; with two *syɔme*), ܐܣܩܘܒܝܛܪܘܣ *ʾsqwbyṭrws* 'Excubitors, Byzantine palace guards' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 15.28; 30.10; 168.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 28.13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 78, 1037)

p. Latin *exercitus* (Glare 1982: 641) > ἐξέρκετον (Daris 1991: 44; Lampe 1961: 495) > ܐܟܣܪܩܝܛܘܢ *ʾksrqyṭwn* 'army' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 279.13 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 45)

q. Latin *follis* (Glare 1982: 719-720; Lewis and Short 1969: 765) > φόλλις (Daris 1991: 115) > ܦܘܠܣܐ *pwlsʾ* 'follis, obole' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 526.8, 9, 10 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1202)

r. Latin *fossa* 'ditch, trench' (Glare 1982: 728; Lewis and Short 1969: 774) > ܦܣܐ *psʾ*, ܦܐܣܐ *pʾsʾ* 'army' (**6th cent.** Yaʿqub of Serugh, *Memre*, 5.202.14; 5.229.15; 5.297.2 [ed. Bedjan 1905-1910]; Sokoloff 2009: 1208)

s. Latin *illustris* (Glare 1982: 830) > ἰλλούστριος (Lampe 1961: 673) → nominative plural ἰλλούστριοι > ܐܠܘܣܛܪܝܘ *ʾlsṭr`yw* 'bearers of title of "illustrious

ones"' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 165.15 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 50)

t. Latin *indulgentia* (Glare 1982: 888; Lewis and Short 1969: 938) > ܐܢܕܘܠܓܢܛܝܐ* **ʾndwlgnṭyʾ* 'indulgence' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 165.3 [ms. ܐܢܕܘܓܠܢܛܝܐ *ʾndwglnṭyʾ*] [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 59)

u. Latin *lectica* (Glare 1982: 1012; Lewis and Short 1969: 1045) > λεκτίκιον (Daris 1991: 66; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1037) > ܠܩܛܩܝܢ *lqṭqyn*, ܠܩܛܝܩܝܢ *lqṭyqyn* 'small litter' (**6th cent.** *Life of Aba I*, 270.9; 271.13 [ed. Bedjan 1895: 206-287]; Qiyore of Edessa, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts*, 111.19 [ed. Macomber 1974]; Sokoloff 2009: 697)

v. Latin *lecticarius* (Glare 1982: 1012; Lewis and Short 1969: 1045-1046) > λεκτικάριος (Daris 1991: 66) > ܠܩܛܝܩܪܐ *lqṭyqrʾ* 'priest who carry funeral biers' (**6th cent.** Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 88.24 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 697)

w. Latin *legatum* (Glare 1982: 1013; Lewis and Short 1969: 1047) > ληγάτον, ληγᾶτον (Daris 1991: 66; Lampe 1961: 799; cf. Mason 1974: 65-66) > ܠܓܛܘܢ *lʾgṭwn* 'bequest' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 258.8 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 688)

x. Latin *libellus* (Glare 1982: 1022-1023; Lewis and Short 1969: 1056) > λίβελλος (Daris 66-67; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1047; cf. Mason 1974: 6, 66) → accusative singular λίβελλον > ܠܝܒܠܘܢ *lyblwn* 'deposition, written accusation; letters of resignation of office' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 41.29 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 687-688)

y.   Latin *magister* (Glare 1982: 1062; Lewis and Short 1969: 1097) > μάγιστρος

(Daris 1991: 69; Lampe 1961: 819; cf. Mason 1974: 67) > ܡܓܣܛܪܘܣ *mgysṭrws*

‘*magister*’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 315.30

[ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 28.13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925];

Sokoloff 2009: 708)

z.   Latin *magistrianus* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1098) > μαγιστριανός (Daris 1991:

69; Lampe 1961: 819) > ܡܓܣܛܪܝܢܐ *mgysṭryn’* ‘*magistrianos*’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon

of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 207.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; cf.

Sokoloff 2009: 708)

aa.   Latin *mandatum* (Glare 1982: 1071; Lewis and Short 1969: 1106) > μανδᾶτον

(Daris 1991: 70; Lampe 1961: 825) > ܡܢܕܛܐ *mndṭ’* ‘command’ (**6th cent.**

Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 162.30 [ed. Brooks 1935];

Sokoloff 2009: 780)

bb.   Latin *mantele, mantile* (Glare 1982: 1075; Lewis and Short 1969: 1110) > ܡܢܕܝܠܐ

mndyl’ ‘towel, handkerchief, shroud’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the*

Eastern Saints, 540.6 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 780)

cc.   Latin *metatum* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1140 [s.v. *meto*]) > μήτατον (Daris 1991:

72) > ܡܝܛܛܘܢ *myṭṭwn* ‘house, dwelling’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of*

the Eastern Saints, 329.3 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 752)

dd.   Latin *notarius* (Glare 1982: 1192; Lewis and Short 1969: 1217) > νοτάριος

(Lampe 1991: 74-75; Lampe 1961: 922-923; cf. Mason 1974: 69-70) > ܢܘܛܪܐ

nwṭr’, ܢܛܘܪܐ *nṭwr’* ‘*notarius*, a Byzantine official’ (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus,

Ecclesiastical History, Part 3, 94.5 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*,

187.2; 188.6, 10; 213.7 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Eliya, *Life of Yuḥanon of Tella*, 85.15; 87.24 [ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95]; Sokoloff 2009: 898, 911)

ee.   Latin *optio* (Glare 1982: 1260; Lewis and Short 1969: 1273) > ὀπτίων (Daris 1991: 78; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1242; cf. Mason 1974: 5, 71) > ܐܦܛܘܢܐ *ʾpṭwnʾ* 'army paymaster who distributes rations to soldiers' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 133.1 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 84)

ff.   Latin *ostiarius* (Glare 1982: 1276; Lewis and Short 1969: 1284) > ὀστιάριος (Daris 1991: 79) > ܐܣܛܝܪܐ *ʾsṭyrʾ* 'porter' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 464.10, 11 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 30.10 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 69)

gg.   Latin *paganus* (Glare 1982: 1282; Lewis and Short 1969: 1290) > παγάνος (Daris 1991: 83; Lampe 1961: 1990; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1284) > ܦܓܢܐ *pgnʾ*, ܦܓܐܢܐ *pgʾnʾ* 'commoner, peasant' (**6th cent.** Philoxenos, *Discourses*, 1.192.14 [ed. Budge 1894]; Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 133.3 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1154)

hh.   Latin *papilio* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1299) > ܦܦܠܝܘܢܐ *pplywnʾ* 'pavilion' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 298.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1217)

ii.   Latin *paragauda* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1301) > παραγαῦδιον (Daris 1991: 86) > ܦܪܓܘܕܝܢ *prgwdyn* 'bordered garment' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 69.4 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1226)

jj.   Latin *porta* (Glare 1982: 1407; Lewis and Short 1969: 1400-1401) > πόρτα

(Daris 1991: 91) > ܦܘܪܬܐ *pwrṭʾ* 'gate' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 566.9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1170)

kk. Latin *praepositus* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1426) > πραιπόσιτος (Lampe 1961: 1126) > ܦܪܦܣܝܛܘܣ *prpsyṭws* '*praepositus*, chamberlain in the court of the Byzantine empire' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 67.28 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 546.8; 548.2 [ms. ܦܪܦܣܝܛܘܣ *prpysṭws*; ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1248-1249)

ll. Latin *praetor* (Glare 1982: 1448; Lewis and Short 1969: 1436) > πραίτωρ (Daris 1991: 92; Lampe 1961: 1126; cf. Mason 1974: 3, 6, 7, 78) > ܦܪܛܘܪ *prṭwr* 'praetor' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 161.30 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1237)

mm. Latin (*comes*) *privati* (Glare 1982: 1461; Lewis and Short 1969: 1447) > (κώμης τῶν) πριβᾶτων (Lampe 1961: 1131; cf. Mason 1974: 79) > ܦܪܝܒܛܘܢ *prybṭwn* 'private treasury of emperor' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 72.27 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1238)

nn. Latin *protector* (Glare 1982: 1503; Lewis and Short 1969: 1477-1478) > προτέκτωρ, πρωτήκτωρ (Daris 1991: 96; Lampe 1961: 118; cf. Mason 1974: 4, 11, 82) > ܦܪܛܩܛܘܪܐ *prṭqṭwrʾ* '*protector*, a military officer at the Byzantine court' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 467.2 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 1231)

oo. Latin *quaestor* (Glare 1982: 1534-1535; Lewis and Short 1969: 1502-1503) > κυαίστωρ (Daris 1991: 63; Lampe 1961: 784; cf. Mason 1974: 3, 6, 63) > ܩܣܛܘܪ *qsṭwr* '*quaestor*, Byzantine head of judiciary' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus,

Ecclesiastical History, Part 3, 24.29[2] [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 1322)

pp. Latin *saccellus* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1610) > σάκκελλα (Daris 1991: 100) →
> σακκέλλιον (Lampe 1961: 1221) > ܣܩܠܝܢ *sqlyn* 'public treasury' (**6th cent.**
Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 136.24 [ed. Brooks 1935];
Sokoloff 2009: 1040)

qq. Latin *scala* (Glare 1982: 1698; Lewis and Short 1969: 1638) > σκάλη, σκάλα
(Daris 1991: 104; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1603) > ܣܩܠܐ *sqlʾ* 'ladder' (**6th cent.**
Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 29.4 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925];
Sokoloff 2009: 1039)

rr. Latin *scrinium* (Glare 1982: 1710-1711; Lewis and Short 1969: 1648) > σκρίνιον
(Daris 1991: 105; Lampe 1961: 1242) > ܐܣܩܪܝܢܝ *ʾsqrynyʾ* 'box, chest of
documents' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 162.1
[ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 79)

ss. Latin *stabularius* (Glare 1982: 1812-1813; Lewis and Short 1969: 1749) >
ܐܣܛܒܠܪܐ *ʾsṭblrʾ* 'stable-master' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the
Eastern Saints*, 519.10, 13; 520.3, 13 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 67-
68)

tt. Latin *stabulum* (Glare 1982: 1813; Lewis and Short 1969: 1749-1750) >
στάβλον (Daris 1991: 107; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1631) > ܐܣܛܒܠܢ *ʾsṭbln*
'stable' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 519.2, 5 [ed.
Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 67)

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[2] Brockelmann (1922: 679), along with Sokoloff (2009: 1322), also list 114.22, but the edition
does not contain the word.

uu. Latin *tremis* (Lewis and Short 1969: 1895) > τριμήσιον (Daris 1991: 113; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1820) > ܛܪܝܡܝܣܝܢ *trymysyn* 'tremissus (coin)' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 525.11; 526.2, 3, 9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; Sokoloff 2009: 552)

vv. Latin *tribunus* (Glare 1982: 1972; Lewis and Short 1969: 1897) > τριβοῦνος (Daris 1991: 112; Lampe 1961: 1407; cf. Mason 1974: 6, 7, 94) > ܛܪܝܒܘܢܐ *trybwnʾ* 'tribune, military commander' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 309.22 [ed. Brooks 1935]; *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 459.1; 668.9 [ed. Brooks 1923-1925]; but already in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 184.17 [ed. Wright and McLean 1898]; Sokoloff 2009: 552)

ww. Latin *vestiarium* (Glare 1982: 2048; Lewis and Short 1969: 1981) > ܒܣܛܝܪܝܢ *bysṭyryn* 'wardrobe' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 269.6 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 163)

xx. Latin *vestiarius* (Glare 1982: 2048; Lewis and Short 1969: 1981) > βεστιάριος (Daris 1991: 34; cf. Mason 1974: 12) > ܒܣܛܝܪܐ *bsṭyrʾ* 'person in charge of wardrobe' (**6th cent.** Yuḥanon of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part 3, 94.17 [ed. Brooks 1935]; Sokoloff 2009: 163)

Latin loanwords that first appear in seventh-century Syriac include:

(5) a. Latin *calendae*, *kalendae* (Glare 1982: 989; Lewis and Short 1969: 1022) > καλάνδαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 866) > ܩܠܢܕܘܢ *qʾlndwn* 'the first day of the month, esp. of January' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Canons*, 29.11 [ed. Kayser 1886]; Sokoloff 2009: 1307)

b. Latin *pagus* (Glare 1982: 1283; Lewis and Short 1969: 1290) > πάγος (Daris 1991: 84) > ܦܓܘܣ *pgws* 'village' (**7th cent.** Ishoʿyahb III of Adiabene, *Letters*, 164.18 [ed. Duval 1904-1905]; Sokoloff 2009: 1154)

c. Latin *tabula* (Glare 1982: 1898-1899; Lewis and Short 1969: 1832) > τάβλα (Daris 1991: 109; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752) > ܛܒܠܝܬܐ *ṭblyt* 'plank, table, altar; gaming board' (**7th cent.** Yaʿqub of Edessa, *Letter 18*, 60.13; 62.2 [ed. Rignell 1979], but already in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 297.17 ['gaming board'] [ed. Wright and McLean 1898]; Sokoloff 2009: 510)

Appendix 2: Greek Loanwords Inherited in Syriac

The following words are attested both in an Aramaic dialect prior to the second century CE (Middle Aramaic or earlier) and in Syriac by the fourth century. Thus, based on the arguments presented in §4.9, it is likely that they were transferred into Aramaic at an earlier period and then inherited in Syriac.

(1) a. ἀήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 30) > ܐܐܪ *ʾr* 'air' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of Solomon* 5.5 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1), already in Targum Onqelos *ʾawwer* 'air' (Cook 2008: 5); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾr* (Schulthess 1903: 1; Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 239; 1999: 223; Brock 1995: 123.22); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾawwer, ʾbyr* 'air, space' (Sokoloff 2002b: 38); Samaritan Aramaic *ʾwyr* 'open space' (Tal 2000: 13); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾăwerɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 87-88); Mandaic **aiar** 'upper atmosphere, air, ether, wind' (Drower and Macuch 1963: 14)

 b. ἀνδριάς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 128) → accusative singular ἀνδριάντα > ܐܢܕܪܝܢܛܐ *ʾndrynṭʾ*, ܐܢܕܪܝܛܐ *ʾdryṭʾ* 'statue' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Inscriptions As1.5 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999]; also in 2 Chr 14:2; Sokoloff 2009: 11), already in Palmyrene *ʾdrṭ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 335; cf. Brock 2005: 12); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ʾndrṭʾ* (TgEsth1 3:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 81); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾndrṭ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 64); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾandrɔṭɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 144)

 c. ἀρχαί (Liddell and Scott 1996: 252) > ܐܪܟܐ *ʾrkʾ*, in the phrase ܒܝܬ ܐܪܟܐ *byt ʾïkʾ* 'archive' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Sermons I*, 43.11 [ed. Beck 1970a]; Sokoloff 2009: 100,

145), already in Palmyrene *ʾrkʾ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 347; cf. Brock 2005: 12)

d. ἄρχων (Liddell and Scott 1996: 254) > ܐܪܟܘܢܐ *ʾrkwnʾ* 'ruler, archon; leader, chief' (**Pre-4th cent.** P.Euph. 6.36, 43; 7.34, 38 [ed. Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997], also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 100), already in Palmyrene *ʾrkwn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 343; cf. Brock 2005: 12); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ʾrkwn* (TgJob 21:28; Jastrow 1886-1903: 121); Mandaic **arkun** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 37-38); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾrkwn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 108; 1998b: 245; Schulthess 1903: 18); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾrkwn* (Sokoloff 2002b: 75); Judean Aramaic *ʾrkwn* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 109); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʿrkn* (Sokoloff 2002a: 881-882)

e. Latin *assarium* (Glare 1982: 186) > ἀσσάριον (Daris 1991: 31; Liddell and Scott 1996: 260) > ܐܣܪܐ *ʾsrʾ* '*assarius*, small copper coin' (**Bible** Mt 10:29 [SP]; Lk 12:6 [SP]; Sokoloff 2009: 80; cf. Brock 1967: 394), also in Palmyrene *ʾsr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341; cf. Brock 2005: 12-13); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾsr* (Schulthess 1903: 16); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾissɔrɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 123)

f. αὐτοκράτωρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 280-281) > ܐܘܛܩܪܛܘܪ *ʾwṭqrtwr* 'emperor' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments 1.1; 2.2; 3.1 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 14), already in Palmyrene *[ʾw]tqrṭwr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 335; cf. Brock 2005: 13)

g. βάσις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 310) > ܒܣܣ *bss* 'base' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 25:31; 35:16; 37:17; 38:5; 39:39; etc.; Sokoloff 2009: 166), already in Nabatean *bss* (Healey 1993: 69-70, 255; 1995: 77); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bsys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 106); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *bsys* (Müller-Kessler and

Sokoloff 1997: 246)

h. βουλευτής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 324-325) > ܒܘܠܘܛܐ *bwlwṭʾ* 'counsellor, senator' (**NT** Mk 15:43 [SP]; Lk 23:50 [SCP]; Sokoloff 2009: 127; cf. Brock 1967: 396), already in Palmyrene *b(y)lwṭ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 346; cf. Brock 2005: 13); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *bwlwṭys* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 223; Schulthess 1903: 23); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bwlwwṭys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 87)

i. βωμός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 334) > ܒܘܡܣܐ *bwmsʾ* 'altar' (**Pre-4th cent.** 2 Chr 14:2; 31:1; Sokoloff 2009: 127), already in Nabatean *bms* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 168; or βῆμα); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *bwms* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 244; Schulthess 1903: 23); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *bimosɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 201)

j. γένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 344) > ܓܢܣܐ *gnsʾ* 'kind, species; family; race, nation' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 201.17; 244.16; 245.5 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Odes of Solomon*, 41.8 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 179, 249), already in Palmyrene *gns* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 354; cf. Brock 2005: 13); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *gynsʾ* (TgPJ Ex 12:47; Jastrow 1886-1903: 260); Mandaic **ginsa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 91); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *gynws* (Sokoloff 2002b: 128); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *gns* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 228; 1999: 230; Schulthess 1903: 39); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ginsɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 297); Samaritan Aramaic *gnws* (Tal 2000: 154)

k. Latin *denarius* (Glare 1982: 514; Lewis and Short 1969: 545) > δηνάριον (Daris

1991: 40; Liddell and Scott 1996: 388) > ܕܝܢܪܐ *dynrʾ* 'gold *denar*' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments 1.ii [abbreviation], 9; 2.ix, 16, 17, 18, 22 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; P.Euph. 7.29; 10.22 [ed. Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 297), already in Palmyrene *dnrʾ*, *dynr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 356; cf. Brock 2005: 14); Judean Aramaic *dynr* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 256); Ḥatran *dnr* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 256); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *denɔrɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 334); Mandaic **dinara** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 108); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *dynr* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 229; Schulthess 1903: 45); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *dynrʾ* (TgPJ Ex. 30:13; Jastrow 1886-1903: 302)

l. διάταγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 414) > ܕܝܛܓܡܐ *dyṭgmʾ* 'order, charge' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ezra 4:18; 8:36; Sokoloff 2009: 294), already in Palmyrene *dyṭgmʾ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 356; cf. Brock 2005: 14); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dyyṭgmh* (Sokoloff 2002b: 145); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *dyṭgmʾ* (TgEsth2 3:15; Jastrow 1886-1903: 294)

m. ἐξέδρα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 589) > ܐܟܣܕܪܐ *ʾksdrʾ* 'exedra' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Kg 7:4; Ezek 40:38, 45, 46; 41:10; 42:1, 4, 5, 7; 44:19; Sokoloff 2009: 43), already in Targum Jonathan *ʾaksadrɔ* (Judg 3:23; Jastrow 1886-1903: 64); Palmyrene *ʾksdrʾ*, *ʾkšdrʾ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 337; cf. Brock. 2005: 15; Blau 1970: 58 n. 17 [on the spelling with *š*]); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾaksadrɔ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 131)

n. ἐπαρχία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 611) > ܗܦܪܟܝܘܣ *hprkyws* 'province; provence' (**4th cent. [translation]** Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 76.17 [ed.

Wright and McLean 1898]; Sokoloff 2009: 89, 353), already in Judean Aramaic *hprkyh* (Sokoloff 2003: 44); Nabatean *hprky'* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 292); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *'prky'* (TgLam 1:1; Jastrow 1886-1903: 59); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *'yprkyyh* (Sokoloff 2002b: 53); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *'prky'*, *hprky'* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 257)

o. ἐπίτροπος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 669) > ܐܦܛܪܘܦܐ *'ptrwp'* 'prefect; manager' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 464.7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 22; 465.1, 3, 6 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 86), already in Palmyrene *'pṭrp* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 342; cf. Brock 2005: 16); Judean Aramaic *'pṭrp* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 94); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *'pwṭrwpws* (TgPJ Gen 39:4; Jastrow 1886-1903: 102); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *'pyṭrwpws*, *hpyṭrwp'* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 244; Schulthess 1903: 16); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *'appiṭroppɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 155); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *'pyṭrwpws* (Sokoloff 2002b: 69-70)

p. ζεῦγος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 754), ζυγόν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 757) > ܙܘܓܐ *zwg'* 'yoke, pair; chariot' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 215.6; 231.9; 238.5; 242.3, 9 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333], also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 180, 369-370), already in Targum Jonathan *zoḡ* (2 Kings 9:25); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *zoḡ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 400); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *zoḡɔ* 'pair' (Sokoloff 2002a: 400-401), *zyg'* (Sokoloff 2002a: 406); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *zwg* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1999: 234; Schulthess 1903: 54); Samaritan Aramaic *zwg* (Tal 2000: 223-224)

q. ἡγεμών (Liddell and Scott 1996: 763) > ܗܓܡܘܢܐ *hgmwn'*, ܐܝܓܡܘܢܐ *'ygmwn'*

'prefect' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.973.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; *Book of Steps*, 645.20; 648.3; 648.15 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 31, 340), already in Palmyrene *hgmwn*, *hygmwn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 359; Brock 2005: 16); Nabatean *hgmwn* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 270); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *hyg(y)mwn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 231; 1998b: 256; 1999: 233; Schulthess 1903: 50); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *haḡmonɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 360); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *hgmwnʾ* (TgEsth2 8:7; Jastrow 1886-1903: 331)

r.   Latin *caesar* (Glare 1982: 254; Lewis and Short 1969: 265) > καῖσαρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 860) > ܩܣܪ *qsr* 'Caesar, emperor' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Inscriptions As49.7 [mostly restored] [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999]; Old Syriac Parchments 1.1; 2.2; 3.1 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1388), already in Judean Aramaic *qysr* (Sokoloff 2003: 77-78); Palmyrene *qysr* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; cf. Brock 2005: 17); Nabatean *qysr* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 1018-1019; Healey 1995: 81); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *qesɔr* (Sokoloff 2002a: 1014-1015); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qysr* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 260; 1998b: 292; 1999: 254; Schulthess 1903: 179)

s.   Latin *centurio* (Glare 1982: 300; Lewis and Short 1969: 316) > κεντυρίων (Daris 1991: 53; Lampe 1961: 744) > ܩܢܛܪܝܘܢ *qnṭrywn*, ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ *qnṭrwnʾ* 'centurion' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.92.6 [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on Faith*, 35.3, 15; 196.4 [ed. Beck 1955]; *Maḏrɔše on the Nativity*, 18.4 [ed. Beck 1959]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1382-1383), already in Nabatean *qnṭryn* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 1015; Healey 1993: 209, 264; 1995: 77); Palmyrene

qṭrywn (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 405-406; cf. Brock 2005: 17); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qnṭrywn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 261; 1998b: 293; Schulthess 1903: 181)

t. κιθάρα, κίθαρις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 950) > ܩܝܬܪܐ *qytr*ʾ 'cithern, lyre' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of Solomon*, 6.1; 7.17; 14.8; 26.3 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1366), already in Daniel *qytrws* (k), *qaθros* (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1970); Targum Jonathan *qtrws* (Is 5:12; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1434); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qytr* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 292; Schulthess 1903: 186)

u. κίνδυνος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 952) > ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ *qyndwnws* 'danger' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of Solomon*, 38.5; 39.8 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1363-1364), already in Palmyrene *qdns* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 404; cf. Brock 2005: 17); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qyndnws* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 133; 1998b: 292; Schulthess 1903: 179)

v. Latin *collarium, collare* (Glare 1982: 350; Lewis and Short 1969: 365) > κολλάριον (Daris 1991: 56; Liddell and Scott 1996: 972) > ܩܘܠܪܐ *qwlr*ʾ 'iron collar' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Chr 20:3; 2 Sam 12:31; Sokoloff 2009: 1330), already in Targum Jonathan *qolɔr* (Ezek 19:9; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1330); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *qwlr* (Sokoloff 2002b: 479)

w. Latin *colonia* (Glare 1982: 355; Lewis and Short 1969: 370) > κολωνία (Daris 1991: 56; Lampe 1961: 766; Liddell and Scott 1996: 974) > ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ *qwlwny*ʾ 'colony' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments, 1.4; 3.4 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1329), already in Palmyrene *qlny*ʾ

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(Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; cf. Brock 2005: 18); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *qəlɔnyɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 1021)

x. Latin *legio* (Glare 1982: 1013-1014; Lewis and Short 1969: 1047) > λεγιών, λεγεών (Daris 1991: 65; Lampe 1961: 794) > ܠܓܝܘܢܐ *lgywnʾ* 'legion' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 153.9 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; common in Ephrem; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 673), already in Palmyrene *lgywn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 376; cf. Brock 2005: 18); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *l(y)gywn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 243; Schulthess 1903: 101); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *liḡyon* (Sokoloff 2002b: 281); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *lgywnʾ* (TgJob 15:24; Jastrow 1886-1903: 692)

y. λεκάνη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1037) > ܠܩܢܐ *lqnʾ* 'platter, basin' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 221.14 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 697), already in Targum Jonathan *ləqinəʾ*, variant *liqnɔ* (Jud 6:38; Jastrow 1886-1903: 719); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *liqnɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 633); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *lqynʾ* (TgJob 32:19; Jastrow 1886-1903: 719)

z. λιμήν (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1050) > ܠܡܐܢܐ *lmʾnʾ* 'harbor' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 206.19 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Odes of Solomon*, 38.3 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 691-692), already in Palmyrene *lmn* 'emporium' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 377; cf. Brock 2005: 18); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *lmyn* (Sokoloff 2002b: 284); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *lmyn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 271; 1996: 123)

aa. μαγίς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1071) > ܡܓܣܐ *mgsʾ* 'jar, dish' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex

37.16; Num 4:7; Sokoloff 2009: 710), already in Targum Onqelos *məgisəṯə* (Num 4:7; Cook 2008: 144); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *mḡisɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 640); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *mgysˀ* (TgPs 123:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 728)

bb. μηλωτή (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1127) > ܡܝܠܬܐ *myltˀ* 'carpet; covering; pillow' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on the Nativity*, 46.6 [ed. Beck 1959]; Sokoloff 2009: 752), already in Palmyrene *mlṭ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996:381-382; to be added to Brock 2005); Targum Onqelos *melɔ* 'fine wool' (Gen 49:11; Cook 2008: 151); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *melṯɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 669-670); Samaritan Aramaic *mylt* (Tal 2000: 464); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *myltˀ* (TgEsth2 1:6; Jastrow 1886-1903: 775)

cc. Latin *mille* (Glare 1982: 1109; Lewis and Short 1969: 1144) > μίλιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1134) > ܡܝܠܐ *mylˀ* 'one-thousand paces; mile-stone' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 195.17; 196.10; 238.11 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 752), already in Palmyrene *m(yl)* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 380; cf. Brock 2005: 18); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *milɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 667); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *myl* (Schulthess 1903: 109); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *myl* (Sokoloff 2002b: 304-305)

dd. Latin *modium* (Glare 1982: 1123; Lewis and Short 1969: 1155) > μόδιος (Daris 1991: 73; Liddell and Scott 1996: 1140) > ܡܘܕܝܐ *mwdyˀ* 'corn measure, peck; container' (**NT** Matt 5:15 [C]; Sokoloff 2009: 721-722), already in Palmyrene *mdˀ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 378; cf. Brock 2005: 18-19); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *mwdyˀ* (Schulthess 1903: 107); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *moḏyɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 645); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *mwdyy* (Sokoloff 2002b:

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ee. μοχλός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1149) > ܡܘܟܠܐ *mwkl'* 'bolt for fastening door' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of Solomon*, 17.10 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT; Sokoloff 2009: 724), already in Targum Onqelos *mugləsayyə* (1 Kg 7:50; Jastrow 1886-1903: 738)

ff. ναός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1160) > ܢܘܣܐ *nws'* 'temple; fortress, citadel' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 174.8; 181.7; 185.12 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 901), already in Nabatean *nws* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 723); Palmyrene *nws* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 231 [PAT 1608.2]; cf. Brock 2005: 19); see also Mandaic **nausa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 282); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *nwws* (Sokoloff 2002b: 344); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *nws, n'ws* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 126; 1997: 274; 1998a: 250; 1998b: 278; 1999: 246; Schulthess 1903: 121)

gg. νόμος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1180) > ܢܡܘܣܐ *nmws'* 'law' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 225.12, 16; 226.6, 8; 229.8 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 48x [see Lund 2007: 180-181] [ed. Drijvers 1965]; Old Syriac Parchments, 1.16 [ed. Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 921-922), already in Palmyrene *nmws* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 389; cf. Brock 2005: 19); see also Mandaic **nimusa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 298); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *nimos, nwmws* (Sokoloff 2002b: 349, 839); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *nymws* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 275; 1998a: 251; 1998b: 279; 1996: 127; 1999: 247; Brock 1999c: 4r.17; Schulthess 1903: 123); Samaritan Aramaic *nymws* (Tal 2000: 523); Late Jewish Literary

Aramaic *nmws⁾* (TgPs 1:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 905)

hh. ξένος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1189) + adjectival ending *-ɔyɔ* > ܐܟܣܢܝܐ *⁾ksny⁾* 'strange, foreign; stranger' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 175.5, 7; 183.12; 231.3; 242.11 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Odes of Solomon*, 17.6 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 44), already in Palmyrene *⁾ksny* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 337-338; cf. Brock 2005: 19); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *⁾aksənɔyɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 131); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *⁾ksnyy* (Sokoloff 58); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *⁾ksn⁾y* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 106; 1998a: 219; Schulthess 1903: 8)

ii. Latin *sextarius* (Glare 1982: 1751; Lewis and Short 1969: 1688) > ξέστης (Daris 1991: 76-77) > ܩܣܛܐ *qsṭ⁾* 'vase, urn; measure' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 146.21, 22 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1387), already in Palmyrene *qsṭwn* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 406; cf. Brock 2005: 19); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *qsyṭ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 498); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *qysṭ* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997: 288; Schulthess 1903: 181); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *qisṭɔ, qysṭ⁾* (Sokoloff 2002a: 1014)

jj. πεῖσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1353-1354) > rt. ܦܝܣ √*pys* C 'to persuade, to convince; to demand, seek, beseech', Ct 'to be persuaded; to obey' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 172.17; 180.15; 181.19; 182.6; 221.3, 5; 240.6; 241.3 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 14x [see Lund 2007: 200-201] [ed. Drijvers 1965]; *Odes of Solomon*, 8.17; 39.8 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; Sokoloff 2009: 1188), already in Targum Onqelos √*pys* (Cook 2008: 108 [s.v. √*ṭps*];

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see Butts 2012: 158); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic √*pyys* (Sokoloff 2002a: 899-900); Christian Palestinian Aramaic √*ṗys* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 131; 1997: 283; 1998a: 257; 1998b: 287; 1999: 251; Brock 1999c: 2r.6; 5r.1; 5v.9; Schulthess 1903: 156); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic √*pyys* (Sokoloff 2002b: 430-431); Samaritan Aramaic √*pys* (Tal 2000: 676)

kk. πινακίδιον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܢܩܝܬܐ *pnqytʾ* 'writing tablet, treatise; collection; small book, volume' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Odes of Solomon*, 23.21 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1207), already in Targum Jonathan *penəqas* (Ezek 9:2; cf. Jastrow 1886-1903: 1166); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *pinaqsɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 901); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗynqs* (Schulthess 1903: 156); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pynqs* (Sokoloff 2002b: 431); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *pnqsʾ* (TgEsth2 4:1; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1166)

ll. πίναξ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1405) > ܦܢܟܐ *pynkʾ* 'dish, writing tablet' (**4th cent.** Aphrahaṭ, *Demonstrations*, 1.729.3 [citing Mt 23:25] [ed. Parisot 1894-1907]; Ephrem, *Maḏrɔšē on the Nativity*, 104.13 [ed. Beck 1959]; *Maḏrɔšē on Nisibis*, 2.87.12 [Beck 1963]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1188), already in Imperial Aramaic *pynk* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 910); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *pinḵɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 901); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pynk* (Sokoloff 2002b: 431); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗynks* (Schulthess 1903: 156); Samaritan Aramaic *pnk* (Tal 2000: 690)

mm. πλατεῖα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1413-1414), cf. Latin *platea* (Glare 1982: 1388; Lewis and Short 1969: 1385) > ܦܠܛܐ *plṭyʾ* 'open space, square' (**Pre-4th cent.** Jer 5:1; 9:20; Song 3:2; Sokoloff 2009: 1199), already in Palmyrene *plṭyʾ*

(Hillers and Cussini 1996: 400-401; cf. Brock 2005: 20); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *plṭyh* (Sokoloff 2002b: 435); Samaritan Aramaic *plṭyh* (cf. Sokoloff 2002b: 435); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *plṭyh* (TgJob 29:7; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1179)

nn. πολιτεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1434) > ܦܘܠܝܛܝܐ *pwlyṭyʾ* 'republic, state' (**4th cent. [translation]** Eusebius of Caesarea, *Theophania*, 56 [ed. Lee 1842]; Sokoloff 2009: 1164), already in Palmyrene *plṭyʾ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 400; cf. Brock 2005: 20); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ṗwlyṭyʾ* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996: 130; 1998b: 286-7; 1999: 251; Schulthess 1903: 158)

oo. πόρπη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1451) > ܦܪܦܐ *prpʾ* 'clasp, buckle, ring' (**Pre-4th cent.** Ex 35:11; Sokoloff 2009: 1248), already in Targum Onqelos *purpin* (Ex 26.6; Cook 2008: 229); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *prp* (Sokoloff 2002b: 450)

pp. πραγματευτής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1458) > ܦܪܓܡܛܘܛܐ *prgmṭwṭʾ* 'agent, merchant' (**Pre-4th cent.** P.Euph 6.36, 7.34 [ed. Feissel, Gascou, and Teixidor 1997]; Sokoloff 2009: 1227), already in Palmyrene *prgmṭt* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 401; cf. Brock 2005: 20); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *prgmṭwwṭ* (Sokoloff 2002b: 444)

qq. προνοητής (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1491) or προνοῆσαι (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1490-1491) > rt. ܦܪܢܣ √*prns* 'to divide, distribute; to provide for, supply; to manage, administer' (**4th cent.** *Book of Steps*, 4.19; 60.13, 14; 76.19; 381.14 [ed. Kmosko 1926]; also in OT; Sokoloff 2009: 1243), attested already in Palmyrene √*prns* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 401; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 940); Targum Jonathan √*prns* (Ez 34.8 [2x]; Is 57.8; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1231); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic √*prns* (Sokoloff 2002b: 448, 842); Christian Palestinian

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Aramaic √*prns* (Schulthess 1903: 163); Samaritan Aramaic √*prns* (Tal 2000: 704-705); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic √*prns* (Sokoloff 2002a: 935); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic √*prns* (PsJ Gen. 30:30, Lev. 25:35; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1231)

rr. σάνδαλον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1582) > ܣܢܕܠܐ *sdlʾ* 'sandal' (**NT** Mk 6.9 [S]; Sokoloff 2009: 971, 1022), already in Targum Jonathan *sandəlin* (Is 11:15; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1004-1005); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *sndl* (Sokoloff 2002b: 383); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *sndl* (TaPs 108:10; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1004-1005); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *sandlɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 821); Mandaic **sandla** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 313)

ss. σημεῖον (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1593) > ܣܡܝܘܢ *smywn smywn* 'sign; zenith; example' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*, Discourse 2-5, 108.28 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; Sokoloff 2009: 1017-1018), already in Palmyrene *smy* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 392; cf. Brock 2005: 20); see also Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *symywnʾ* 'bond, shackle' (TaJob 13:27; Jastrow 1886-1903: 1000); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *sym(y)wn* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1999: 248; Schulthess 1903: 135)

tt. σμίλη (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1619) > ܙܡܠܐ *zmlyʾ* 'small knife, scalpel' (**Pre-4th cent.** Jer 36:23; Sokoloff 2009: 385), also in Targum Jonathan *ʾuzmil* (Jer 36:23); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾwzmyl* (Sokoloff 2002b: 38); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ʾzml* (TgJob 16:9; Jastrow 1886-1903: 46)

uu. στατήρ (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1634) [> Pahlavi *stēr* (MacKenzie 1971: 77) (?)] > ܐܣܬܝܪܐ *ʾstyrʾ*, ܐܣܬܪܐ *ʾstrʾ* 'stater, coin, weight' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše against Julian the Apostate*, 75.3 [ed. Beck 1957b]; Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on Nisibis*,

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2.55.4 [Beck 1963]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 80), already in Imperial Aramaic *sttry* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 805); Ḥatran *ʾstr* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 92); see also Mandaic **astira** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 30); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾisterɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 123); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾsṭyr* (Schulthess 1903: 15)

vv. στοά (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1647) > ܐܣܛܘܐ *ʾsṭwʾ* 'portico' (**Pre-4th cent.** 1 Kg 6:3; *passim*; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 68), already in Palmyrene *ʾsṭwʾ* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341; cf. Brock 2005: 21); Ḥatran *ʾsṭwʾ* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 87); Judean Aramaic *sṭwh* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 783); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *sṭw* (Sokoloff 2002b: 372); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾsṭwʾ* (Schulthess 1903: 15)

ww. στρατηγός (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1652) > ܣܛܪܛܓܐ *sṭrṭgʾ* 'strategos' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments, 1.v3 [Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231-248]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 71, 998), already in Nabatean *ʾsrtgʾ* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 92; cf. Healey 1993: 108; 1995: 77); Palmyrene *ʾsṭrṭg* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 341; cf. Brock 2005: 21); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ʾysṭrṭyg* (Sokoloff 2002b: 52); Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ʾisṭrɔṭeḡɔ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 122); Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾsṭrṭygws* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998b: 281; Schulthess 1903: 15)

xx. συμφωνία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1689) > ܣܦܘܢܝܐ *spwnyʾ* 'bagpipe' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Acts of Thomas*, 174.14 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; also in OT and NT; Sokoloff 2009: 1297), already in Daniel *sumponyɔ* (Dan. 3:5, 15), *sypnyh* (Dan. 3:10 [k]), *suponyɔ* (Dan. 3:10 [q]) (Koehler and Baumgartner 2000: 1937-1938)

yy. σῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1749) → nominative/accusative plural σώματα >

ᕁ᠊ᠵᠣᠣᠣ *swmṭ᾿* (*sic*; without *syɔme*) 'bodies' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Prose Refutations*,

Discourse 2-5, 2.6.45 [ed. Mitchell 1912-1921]; Sokoloff 2009: 981), already in

Palmyrene *swm* (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 391; cf. Brock 2005: 22); see also Jewish

Palestinian Aramaic *smh* (Sokoloff 2002b: 381) [possibly a code-switch]

zz. τάγμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1752) > ᠷᠣᠵᠵᠬ *tgm᾿* 'order, class; command,

precept; troop, cohort' (**Pre-4th cent.** *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, 28.23 [ed.

Drijvers 1965]; *Odes of Solomon*, 35.4 [ed. Charlesworth 1973]; also in OT;

Sokoloff 2009: 185, 512, 1623), already in Palmyrene *tgm᾿* 'association' (Hillers

and Cussini 1996: 418; cf. Brock 2005: 22)

aaa. Latin *talaria* (Glare 1982: 1901; Lewis and Short 1969: 1835) > ταλάριον

(Daris 1991: 110) > pl. ᠷᠢᠪᠪᠷ *tlīᵓ* 'sandals' (**NT** Mk. 6:9 [P]; Acts 12.8; Sokoloff

2009: 535), already in Targum Jonathan *tallɔritɔ* (1 Kg 2.5; Jastrow 1886-1903: 538)

bbb. τάξις (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1756) > ᠷᠣᠣᠵ *tks᾿* 'order; rank' (**Pre-4th cent.**

Acts of Thomas, 240.2 [ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-333]; *Book of the Laws of the*

Countries, 32.12, 32.14, 62.9 [ed. Drijvers 1965]; also in NT; Sokoloff 2009: 181,

529), already in Palmyrene *tksys* 'row' (Hillers and Cussini 1996: 368; cf. Brock

2005: 22); see also Mandaic **ṭaksa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 174); Christian

Palestinian Aramaic *tks*, *tksys* (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1998a: 237; 1998b:

263; 1999: 237; Schulthess 1903: 74); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *tqs* 'banner'

(Sokoloff 2002b: 224), *tqsys* 'regiment of troops' (Sokoloff 2002b: 230)

ccc. ταῶς (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1763) > ᠷᠣᠣᠵ *tws᾿* 'peacock' (**4th cent.**

Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 59.22 [ed. Tonneau. 1955];

Maḏrɔše against Heresies, 170.16 [ed. Beck 1957a]; also in OT; Sokoloff 2009: 519), already in Targum Jonathan *ṭwɔsin* (1 Kg 10:22); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ṭwwsʾ* (Sokoloff 2002a: 496); Mandaic **ṭausa** (Drower and Macuch 1963: 173); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ṭwws* (Sokoloff 2002b: 221); Samaritan Aramaic *ṭʾws* (Tal 2000: 307); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *ṭwwsʾ* (TgEsth2 1:2; Jastrow 1886-1903: 522)

ddd.   ὑπατεία (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1854) > ܗܘܦܛܝܐ *hpṭyʾ* 'consulship; gift of a consul' (**Pre-4th cent.** Old Syriac Parchments, 1.2; 2.4; 3.2 [ed. Drijvers and Healey: 231-248]; Sokoloff 2009: 337), already in Judean Aramaic *hpṭyh* (Sokoloff 2003: 44)

eee.   Latin *fascia* (Glare 1982: 677; Lewis and Short 1969: 726) > φασκία (Daris 1991: 114) > ܦܣܩܝܬܐ *psqyʾ* 'bandage used to wrap a corpse' (**NT** John 11:44 [SP]; Sokoloff 2009: 1215), already in Targum Jonathan *pɔsiqayyɔ* (Is 3:24); see also Christian Palestinian Aramaic *psqyʾ* (Schulthess 1903: 160); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *pysqy* (Sokoloff 2002b: 432)

fff. χαράκωμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1977) > ܩܠܩܘܡܐ *qlqwmʾ* 'seige engines, entrenchments' (**Pre-4th cent.** Deut 20:20; *passim*; Sokoloff 2009: 1375), already in Targum Jonathan *karqomɔ* (1 Sm 26:7; Jastrow 1886-1903: 669); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *krkwm* (Sokoloff 2002b: 270); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *krqwmʾ* (TgJob 20:24; Jastrow 1886-1903: 669)

ggg.   χιλίαρχος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 1992) > ܟܠܝܪܟܐ *klyrkʾ*, ܟܝܠܝܪܟܐ *kylyrkʾ* 'chiliarch' (**NT** Mt 8:5 [S], 8 [S], 13 [S]; Mk 6:21 [SP]; Jn 18:12 [SP]; *passim*; Sokoloff 2009: 618), already in Nabatean *klyrkʾ* (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 512;

cf. Healey 1995: 77)

hhh.   χρῶμα (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2012) > ܟܪܘܡܐ *krwmʾ* 'color; nature' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše on the Church*, 28.21 [ed. Beck 1960]; *Commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus*, 127.21; 151.22, 24, 25 [ed. Tonneau 1955]; *Maḏrɔše against Heresies*, 32.1; 46.4; 145.18 [ed. Beck. 1957a]; also in OT; Sokoloff 2009: 648), already in Targum Onqelos *kərum* (Ex 28:20; 39:13; Cook 2008: 131); see also Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *krwm* (Sokoloff 2002b: 268); Samaritan Aramaic *krwm* 'gem' (Tal 2000: 408); Late Jewish Literary Aramaic *krwn* (TgPJ Ex 28:20; Jastrow 1886-1903: 665)

iii. ψῆφος (Liddell and Scott 1996: 2022-2023) > ܦܣܦܣܐ *pspsʾ* 'small pebble; game with dice' (**4th cent.** Ephrem, *Maḏrɔše against Heresies*, 35.26 [ed. Beck 1957a]; Sokoloff 2009: 1212), already in Judean Aramaic *psyps* 'mosaic' (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 922); see also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *psyps* 'mosaic stone, mosaic floor' (Sokoloff 2002b: 440)

Appendix 3: Citations for Verbless Clauses

This appendix contains references for the data cited for the diachronic increase in the frequency of Pattern B verbless clauses (§9.4).

VERBLESS CLAUSES WITH SUBSTANTIVAL PREDICATES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

- Pattern A 25x (4.9, 15, 15-16; 6.5; 10.11; 12.8 [2x]; 14.22, 25; 18.23; 20.14, 15, 16; 22.5, 11, 22.14-15, 16, 17-18; 28.6-7, 25; 32.12; 36.7-9; 50.1 54.6; 60.23)

- Pattern B 1x (12.3-4).

Acts 1-7, *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250 CE; ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-251 [Syr.])

- Pattern A 34x (172.13; 178.15-16; 179.17-18, 19; 181.1 [negative], 2, 9; 183.8; 185.8; 186.17; 188.3, 5 [2x]; 195.10; 198.2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9; 199.4-5, 11; 202.10; 213.13; 214.21-215.1; 216.21-217.1; 219.6; 220.18; 223.14; 227.6-7; 236.18; 237.2-3; 240.7-8; 248.17)

- Pattern B 5x (217.2; 240.12, 13-14, 15-16; 249.3)

Demonstrations 1-3 by Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345; ed. Parisot 1894-1907)

- Pattern A 31x (8.5, 9, 12; 9.4 [biblical quotation], 8 [biblical quotation]; 12.5; 13.5, 16-17, 21-22 [biblical quotation], 24; 16.6, 14; 17.26; 21.15 [biblical quotation], 17; 24.14; 24.23-25.1; 25.2 [biblical quotation]; 29.8; 33.1; 45.4; 52.12, 21-22, 25; 57.5, 8; 60.24-25 [biblical quotation]; 96.10; 97.2-3; 101.19; 132.14-15 [biblical quotation]).

- Pattern B 6x (8.5-6; 20.12; 24.8; 52.19; 97.14; 136.7)

Prose Refutations, Discourse 1 by Ephrem (d. 373; ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58)

- without copula 35x (21.12, 14; 22.6, 21; 24.26-27; 30.6, 7-8; 31.2, 4-5; 33.4, 33.27;

34.17-18; 36.4; 37.20; 38.16, 19, 26; 40.12; 41.2, 25; 44.12 [full cleft]; 44.17 [negative], 18; 47.20, 23-24 [negative], 24; 48.2, 3; 49.15-16 [negative]; 52.7; 55.4 [2x], 6; 57.24; 58.14)

- Pattern B 4x (23.2-3, 6; 35.11; 58.21-22)

Teaching of Addai (ca. 420; ed. Howard 1981)

- Pattern A 31x (3*.25; 4*.1; 6*.12-13; 9*.18-19; 10*.8; 13*.12; 15*.6; 17*.21, 21-22; 18*.25; 19*.17; 20*.8-9; 24*.24, 25; 25*.5; 13-14, 21, 26*.18-19; 27*.5, 21-22; 28*.11-12, 13, 23; 29*.1 [2x], 1-2; 33*.12-13; 34*.18-19; 36*.2; 42*.4; 44*.1)

- Pattern B 4x (19*.4-5, 6; 27*.1, 4)

Life of Rabbula (ca. 450; ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209)

- Pattern A 1x (197.26)

- Pattern B 15x (162.9, 27; 163.1, 3; 163.8-9 [negative], 9, 10, 12; 173.6, 18; 177.4; 183.20-21; 184.18, 20; 208.14-15)

Four Letters by Philoxenos (d. 523; ed. Frothingham 1886: 28-48; Vaschalde 1902: 127-173)

- Pattern A 57x: 30.12; 34.24; 34.24-36.1; 36.19-20; 42.22; 130.18-131.1 [biblical quotation]; 136.18 [2x]; 137.1 [2x], 2, 17; 138.1, 1-2, 12, 13; 139.8, 11, 14; 142.10; 143.16; 145.7; 147.2-3, 14-15; 148.8; 149.3, 17; 150.20; 151.4; 152.14-15, 18, 21; 153.1 [2x], 9, 18-19, 19, 19-20; 154.15-16; 155.3, 6, 8, 9; 156.19-20; 157.5-6, 7; 159.6; 164.6; 166.15; 167.13; 168.15-16, 17; 169.2-3, 18; 170.5, 11; 171.16

- Pattern B 34x: 28.12; 30.5; 30.18; 32.22; 34.9; 40.17; 46.18-20, 22; 129.3-4; 130.9; 131.6-7; 132.4; 133.16-17; 134.6-7; 140.12; 143.16-17; 146.16; 147.7; 148.1-2; 149.6; 151.6; 154.5; 155.1, 11-12; 156.19; 163.6-7, 8, 9; 165.5, 7; 168.2-3, 5-6; 172.2, 10-11

Letter on Ḥimyarite Persecution by Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548; ed. Guidi 1881)

- Pattern A 11x (3*.12, 12-13, 18 [2x], 22, 22-23; 4*.20; 6*.17; 11*.7; 12*.26; 15*.1)

- Pattern B 7x (1*.4-5; 2*.7-8; 3*.10, 11-12, 25-26; 9*.7, 26)

Life of Yuḥanon of Tella by Eliya (mid-6th cent.; ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95)

- Pattern A 16x (44.10-11; 55.24-25; 61.4; 64.13-14 [biblical citation]); 68.17; 71.16 [2x]; 71.25-26; 72.2; 73.24; 81.15; 84.4-5; 85.3; 86.1-2; 89.13; 91.9)

- Pattern B 13x (31.8-9; 34.8-9; 45.6; 53.14; 53.18-19; 71.21; 72.9; 73.19; 78.6-7; 82.13; 84.25-26; 92.11; 94.4-5)

Lives of Eastern Saints 10, 24, 36 by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589; Brooks 1923-1925: 1.137-158, 2.513-526, 2.624-641)

- Pattern A 3x (147.2-3, 3-4; 150.8; 154.10)

- Pattern B 12x (142.4; 145.3; 145.6; 146.11-12; 147.13; 150.5; 151.2; 311.11-312.1; 314.13-315.1; 422.8-9; 423.8-9; 429.9-10)

Life of Marutha by Denḥa (d. 649; ed. Nau 1905a: 52–96)

- Pattern A 2x (72.8-9 [citation of Gregory the Theologian]; 72.13)

- Pattern B 7x (63.10; 72.5; 79.6; 86.10-11; 86.14-87.1; 91.13; 94.4)

Letter 13 and 18 by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24; Rignell 1979)

- Pattern A 1x (13.8*.1)

- Pattern B 41x (13.2.22; 13.3.30-13.4.1; 13.5.3; 13.6.11; 13.7.3-4; 13.9.6, 8, 12; 13.12.12-13, 15, 21-23; 13.13.6-7 [biblical quotation]; 13.14.27, 29; 13.15.8, 27; 13.15.28-13.16.1; 13.16.13, 14, 29; 13.17.2-4, 10-11, 15-16, 17-18; 13.18.19; 13.19.1-2, 5, 6; 13.20.3, 6, 10, 13, 20-21; 13.21.8-9; 13.22.5-6; 13.23.15; 18.52.9-10; 18.56.7; 18.62.2; 18.64.12-13; 18.66.13)

Book of the Laws of the Countries (ca. 220; ed. Drijvers 1965)

- Pattern A 3x (16.6-7, 17; 58.2)

- Pattern B 2x (18.1-2, 22.8)

Acts 1-7, *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250 CE; ed. Wright 1871a: 2.171-251 [Syr.])

- Pattern A 8x (172.16; 182.18; 198.1-2; 204.17; 206.7; 209.20; 237.1-2; 244.16)

- Pattern B 4x (198.8; 204.1; 205.4; 206.8)

Demonstrations 1-3 by Aphrahaṭ (fl. 337-345; ed. Parisot 1894-1907)

- Pattern A 7x (9.10 [biblical quotation], 10-11 [biblical quotation]; 49.19-20 [negative]; 61.21-22; 64.5-6; 88.14-15; 132.13-14 [biblical quotation])

- Pattern B 2x (72.18-19, 23-24; cf. also 61.13-14 but the predicate is probably the adverb *hɔkannɔ* 'thus')

Prose Refutations, Discourse 1 by Ephrem (d. 373; ed. Overbeck 1865: 21-58)

- Pattern A 7x (39.10 [negative]; 40.17; 43.6-7, 23, 24-25; 55.23-24; 56.21-22)

- Pattern B 3x (34.25 [negative]; 44.11; 46.27)

Teaching of Addai (ca. 420; ed. Howard 1981)

- Pattern A 1x (47*.5-6)

- Pattern B 1x (21*.19)

Life of Rabbula (ca. 450; ed. Overbeck 1865: 159-209)

- Pattern A 1x (192.6 [biblical quotation])

- Pattern B 1x (195.19)

Four Letters by Philoxenos (d. 523; ed. Frothingham 1886: 28-48; Vaschalde 1902: 127-173)

- Pattern A 2x (148.11-12 [biblical quotation]; 158.16)

- Pattern B 21x (34.23 [biblical quotation]; 44.4, 8; 130.12-13; 131.8-9; 133.12; 135.5; 138.7; 140.10; 141.13; 148.2; 149.18; 150.3-4; 151.4; 158.10; 161.14; 163.10, 13, 14; 165.17; 171.22-172.1)

Letter on Ḥimyarite Persecution by Shemʿun of Beth Arsham (d. before 548; ed. Guidi 1881)

- Pattern A 0x

- Pattern B 2x (10*.18-19, 26)

Life of Yuḥanon of Tella by Eliya (mid-6th cent.; ed. Brooks 1907: 29-95)

- Pattern A 3x (77.9-10; 83.24 [biblical quotation]; 91.11-12)

- Pattern B 17x (31.4; 32.24-25; 34.17-18; 42.6; 43.22; 61.20-21; 69.3, 7-8; 70.14; 72.10, 10-11, 11 [2x]; 76.13; 82.18-19; 95.6, 12)

Lives of Eastern Saints 10, 24, 36 by Yuḥanon of Ephesus (d. ca. 589; Brooks 1923-1925: 1.137-158, 2.513-526, 2.624-641)

- Pattern A 3x (145.6, 9; 150.4)

- Pattern B 7x (142.5; 146.8-9; 147.14; 150.6; 317.8; 318.9; 424.1;

Life of Marutha by Denḥa (d. 649; ed. Nau 1905a: 52–96)

- Pattern A 0x

- Pattern B 2x (71.9; 83.6)

Letter 13 and 18 by Yaʿqub of Edessa (d. 708; ed. Wright 1867: *1-*24; Rignell 1979)

- Pattern A 2x (13.13.5-6 [biblical quotation]; 13.16.16)

- Pattern B 10x (13.2.24; 13.3.1-2; 13.8.19; 13.14.22-23; 13.15.22-23; 13.16.3, 16-17; 13.21.30, 13.22.23; 13.23.26)

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