



Universiteit  
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## **Bardaisan's Book of the Laws of the Countries : a computer-assisted linguistic analysis**

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*Bardaisan's*  
**Book**  
*of the*  
**Laws**  
*of the*  
**Countries**

*A computer-assisted linguistic analysis*

*Dirk Bakker*



BARDAISAN'S BOOK OF THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRIES  
A COMPUTER-ASSISTED LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van  
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*Aan mijn ouders*



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Finally, my deepest gratitude goes out to my dear parents—in the broadest sense of the word—to whom I dedicate this volume. *It's the simple things that mean the most to me.*



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

[...]	outer phrase boundaries
	phrase border
	clause border
<...>	outer phrase head boundaries
«...»	phrase head core boundaries
§	section (in cited works)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
54:12 etc.	page and line number in Drijvers 1965
a	column a
abs	absolute state
act	active
AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
b	column b
BLC	the Book of the Laws of the Countries
c	<i>communis generis</i>
c.	column
ch.	chapter (in cited works)
CP	Conjunction Phrase
cstr	construct state
d-P	d-Phrase
DPrP	Demonstrative Pronoun Phrase
emph	emphatic state
EPP	enclitic personal pronoun
f	feminine
fol(s).	folio / folia
imp	imperative

impf	imperfect
inf	infinitive
InjP	Interjection Phrase
InrP	Interrogative Phrase
IPrP	Interrogative Pronoun Phrase
l.	line
m	masculine
MT	Masoretic Text
NegP	Negative Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
pass	passive
p	plural
p.	page
PDP	phrase dependent part of speech
perf	perfect
POS	(inherent) part of speech
PP	Preposition Phrase
PPrP	Personal Pronoun Phrase
PrNP	Proper Noun Phrase
ptc	participle
r	recto side
RC	relative clause
s	singular
v	verso side
VP	Verb Phrase

## Chapter 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. THE BOOK OF THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRIES

### 1.1 *Textual Basis*

#### 1.1.1 *Manuscript B.L. Add. 14658*

The Syriac Book of the Laws of the Countries (BLC) is known to us through only one manuscript: British Library (formerly British Museum) Add. 14658.<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is part of the important collection that was acquired in 1841–1843 by Dr. Henry Tattam, Archdeacon of Bedford, from the Syrian convent of Deir al-Suryan ('The Syrian Monastery', also known as the monastery of Mary Theotokos / Deipara) in Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt. In 1847, when another collection was acquired from the same monastery by A. Pacho, several folia could be added to the manuscript, followed by four more in 1850.<sup>2</sup> Apart from BLC (fols. 129r–141r), the manuscript contains works by, or ascribed to, Sergius of Rās-‘ain,<sup>3</sup> Porphyry, Aristotle, Socrates, Isocrates, Ambrose, Menander, Pythagoras, Meliton, Mara Bar Serapion and Plato.<sup>4</sup>

The manuscript is written on vellum, measuring approximately 28.25 by 17.05 cm. At present the codex consists of 188 folia, but it must have contained at least 220, since the last quire is numbered 22 and each quire consisted of 10 folia. Many of the folia are stained and some more or less torn,

<sup>1</sup> I have acquired the information on the manuscript from Cureton 1848, Sims 1854, Cureton 1848 and 1855, Renan 1855, Land 1862 Wright 1872, supplemented by my own study of the microfilm (see note 6, below).

<sup>2</sup> A lively account of the acquisition of the collections from the monastery can be found in Cureton 1848, Preface, pp. i–xv.

<sup>3</sup> Wright 1872, p. 1154f.

<sup>4</sup> See Land 1862, pp. 29–30 and Wright 1872, pp. 1154–60 for a complete overview of the contents of the manuscript.

especially folia 1, 22, 31, 46, 49, 52, 53, 56 and 188. In page pairs, there is a tendency for the ink on the one page to be distinctly more worn than on the opposite page; presumably as a result of the difference in surface between the hair and flesh sides of the parchment.<sup>5</sup> The first quire has been lost, and the next three are very imperfect. Folia are now lacking at the beginning and end, as well as after fols. 1, 7, 16, 17, 18, 19, 42, 46, 52 and 149.

The manuscript is written in a large, bold estrangela hand of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, in two columns of 36–40 lines. Occasionally, Western Syriac vocalization has been added by a later hand (see Section 1.1.2, below). Headings are written in red. The manuscript appears to have been transcribed in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The folios have been numbered (by Cureton?) in the usual way with Western numbers on the recto sides. Where I refer to passages in the manuscript, this will be in the form of, e.g., 'fol. 131va, l. 16', meaning 'folio 131, verso side, right column, line 16'.

Since B.L. Add. 14658 is the only known witness of BLC, the text as it appears in this manuscript will form the authoritative textual basis of the present study. I have based the Syriac text as presented in this book directly on the manuscript, to which end I have made use of a black and white microfilm, kindly provided by the British Library.<sup>6</sup> For reference, quoted passages from BLC are identified using the page and line numbers as used in the 1965 edition of H.J.W. Drijvers (on which see Section 1.6, below), being the most recent and most readily available edition of the text. Page and line numbers are divided by a colon, so that the label 54:12 stands for 'page

<sup>5</sup> There is no directly observable consistency in the pairing of the pages: sometimes the more worn ink is on the recto side (in BLC, fols. 129, 130, 131, 137, 140), sometimes on the verso side (fols. 132, 134, 135, 136), and in some cases there is no clear difference (fols. 133, 138, 139).

<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding its excellent reproduction of the Syriac text, the film does not allow one to perform a thorough first-hand codicological autopsy. As a result, my remarks in this regard are necessarily brief and secondary. This also applies to observations on the use of ink colours. Where I refer to the use of 'red' vs. 'black' ink (see Section 1.1.2, below), the reader should bear in mind that these designations are deduced from the information provided by Cureton, Sims and Wright who state that these colours are used, combined with the (mostly clearly distinguishable) difference in greyscale that is visible in the black and white microfilm.

54, line 12' When a passage runs over several lines or pages, this is indicated with an *en dash*, e.g., 12:1–5, or 24:25–26:2.

### 1.1.2 *Separate textual layers of BLC in the manuscript*

For the definition of our textual basis it is relevant to distinguish the different layers of which the physical text consists. Within the physical text of BLC in the manuscript, a number of such layers can be distinguished, each of which may or may not have been performed by a separate hand and hence may represent a separate temporal stage in the writing process.

The layers can be divided into two main categories: A. the main text, written in black ink; and B. the headings given to several sections (such as those on the laws of the countries), written mostly in red ink.<sup>7</sup> Both categories contain some or all of the following layers:

1. Consonants. In the main text, these are written in black ink; those in the headings are written in red.

2. Vowels: very rarely, western vocalization is added to the main consonant text (A1) in black ink. The headings do not have any vocalization.

3. Diacritical signs, such as the *syame*, the upper and lower dot, etc. Both in the main text (A) and in the headings (B) these signs are written in black.

4. Interpunction, such as the *passoqa*, *shwayya*, *tahtaya*, *elaya*, *samka*, clusters, etc. For both Category A and B, the majority of the clusters are written in black as well as red ink, while other interpunction signs are predominantly black. For reasons explained below, this use of different colours throughout different categories demands the division of this layer into two more sublayers: 4b (black interpunction) and 4r (red interpunction). See Section 1.1.3, below, for a detailed description of diacritics and interpunction used in the manuscript text.

5. Marginal symbols: frequently, a <-shaped symbol (sometimes reversed) is placed to the left or right of a text line; less often, and only to the left of columns, a more elaborate symbol is used, consisting of what may be described as a Greek lower case epsilon with an extra loop on top, to the right of which stands a narrow T-shape turned 90 degrees clockwise: Ⲝⲓ. On a number of occasions both symbols occur simultaneously: the one to the

<sup>7</sup> See note 6, above, on my use of the terms 'black' and 'red' ink.

left of the line and the other to the right of it. Both symbols are probably section markers, since they often coincide with the presence of a rosette or the beginning of a new sentence in the line to which they are attached. The difference in distribution suggests that the Ⲅ-symbol marks the larger sections and the <-symbol the smaller ones.

6. Corrections, erasures, etc. In several occasions in the main text (A), letters have been added or changed. Examples of these are:

- fol. 130ra, l. 26 (8:14) Ⲅⲟⲙⲗ: a faint ⲟ is written across the ⲗ. Since the available space is too small for a proper-sized ⲟ, it is likely to be secondary.

- fol. 132rb, l. 25 (20:1) ⲕⲓⲛⲗ: the word apparently originally read ⲕⲓⲛⲗ, after which the second *nun* was changed into a *resh*, and a partial attempt was made to erase the line that connected the nun to the alaph.

- fol. 136va, l. 26 (40:20) ⲱⲓⲕ: a , seems to have been squeezed into the space between the ⲓ and the ⲱ; an additional , -shaped hook below it is apparently added to emphasize the correction.

- fol. 139va, l. 4 (56:1–2) Ⲅⲟⲙⲗ ⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁ: the *dalaths* before ⲛⲁⲛⲁ and ⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ have been added in a later, serito-style hand.<sup>8</sup>

- In two instances in BLC (fols. 137vb, ll. 23–29 (46:24–48:2) and 138vb, l. 37 (52:19)), a passage has been erased. The fact that the text in both cases deals with the (apparently objectionable) customs of the Greeks indicates beyond a doubt that these erasures have been performed deliberately, as Cureton (1855) already noted.<sup>9</sup>

Strictly speaking, it is necessary to define a third layer category besides A and B: C. Marginal notes. This category contains only one occurrence: the word ⲁⲗⲁⲗ written vertically in black East Syriac style characters next to the title of BLC (fol. 129rb, ll. 1–2). See below for more on this marginal note.

In the physical text not all possible layers occur for all categories. There are no vowels in the headings, so B2 does not exist. The same goes for B5,

<sup>8</sup> See also Chapter 3, Section 2.1.2.4, subsection 'Further extensions', subsection e.

<sup>9</sup> Since the Greek parallels of Eusebius include the erased passages, we can get an idea of what the Syriac may have read: 1. Παρ' Ἑλλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἔρωμένους ἔχοντες οὐ ψέγονται *Among the Greeks even the wise, when they have male lovers, are not reproached* (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Book 6, Chapter 10, section 25); 2. ἢ τοὺς Ἑλληνας μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν *or [prevent] the Greeks from practising with their bodies naked* (ibid., section 35): see Cureton 1855, p. 22 & 26.

B6, C2, C3, C5 and C6. In total, the physical text of BLC as we have it consists of the layers A1, A2, A3, A4b, A4r, A5, A6; B1, B3, B4b, B4r; C1; C4.

It is complicated to determine by how many hands these layers have been written, and, as a result, in what order they were created. We cannot even be entirely certain whether one specific layer has been written by one and the same hand, or whether it has evolved over several periods. The only reasonable assumption we can make is that the main consonant text (A1) was written first, and the uniformity of the script throughout the text suggests that this was done by one person within one and the same time frame.

The fact that the consonants of the headings (B1) are written in red makes it unlikely that they were written along with the main consonant text, since it would be impractical for a copyist to alternate constantly between ink colours. Rather, he would have finished the main consonant text in black first, and then proceeded to the headings in red (or left this task to a rubricist), possibly together with the other red parts of the text (A4r and B4r). The headings, therefore, are likely to have been included shortly after the completion of the main consonant text. This notion is further supported by the fact that both A1 and B1 are written within the same text block, meaning that the copyist anticipated the inclusion of the headings by leaving open space for them. Furthermore, the fact that there are no notable differences between the script style of the headings and that of the main text suggests that they may even have been written by the same person.









As for the diacritics and the black interpunctuation signs in the main text (A3 and A4b), we cannot be certain about the time of their creation, as their anatomy makes it virtually impossible to judge whether they are by the same hand as the surrounding text or not. We cannot exclude the possibility that some or all of the signs have been added (much) later by other hands. However, the fact that the ink colour resembles that of the consonants suggests that at least part of them were written in the same process as the main consonant text.

The same considerations apply where the diacritics and black interpunctuation signs in the headings (B3 and B4b) are concerned, but here we can at least be certain that they have not been added before the completion of the heading consonants (B1), for the obvious reason that it would be absurd to

add diacritics or punctuation to consonants that are not yet there. This means that we cannot simply state that the copyist(s) first wrote all the black parts of the text (the consonants as well as the diacritics and interpunction signs), and then the parts in red: the copyist(s) must have switched back from red to black at least once, in order to add the black diacritics and interpunction to the headings. This could mean that A3 and A4b were also added after the inclusion of the heading consonants (resulting in the order A1 – B1 – A3/4b + B3/4b), because it would be more economical to do the black diacritics and interpunction all at once. However, it is equally possible that the copyist(s) first added the diacritics to the main text, then wrote the heading consonants, and finally the diacritics to the headings (order A1 – A3/4b – B1 – B3/4b).

The vocalization to the main text (A2) is visibly written by a different hand than the main consonant text: the ink is of a darker type, and the vowel signs show a pronounced difference between thick and thin lines. It is likely, therefore, that this layer was added considerably later.<sup>10</sup> In any case, the Greek vocalization was not yet common in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the estimated time of origin of the manuscript.

Little can be said about the time of creation of the marginal symbols (A5). The fact that they frequently coincide with a red cluster in the text could indicate that they were meant as place markers for a rubricist, and therefore would have been added prior to the parts of the text in red. However, the absence of such a cluster in many of the occurrences makes it more likely that the symbols were added later; but how much later is hard to say.

The marginal note (C1)  is written in a different script style than the main text and headings: the  is connected with the  by its ascender () and its foot lacks the loop typical of the estrangela  throughout the main text. This might indicate that the script is *serto*, but because the  is rather angular, the  slightly squarish and the foot of the  notably curved, East Syriac is a more likely candidate. Either way, the note is clearly added at a (much) later time.

All in all, it seems likely that, regardless of their internal order, layers 1, 3 and 4 were written first and within a limited time frame. The other layers

<sup>10</sup> See also Wright 1872, p. 1154.

(A2, A5, C1 and C4) are from a (possibly much) later date. Based on these observations, we can attempt to devise a diagram in which the most likely order of layer creation is indicated. In the diagram, the following notation conventions apply: a new line means a later moment of creation than the previous line; elements on the same line have probably been created in one and the same process, starting with the leftmost element; decorative brackets indicate that the internal order of the elements is not certain.

DIAGRAM 1: A likely temporal order of creation of the layers in BLC

*I. Possibly within the same time frame:*

Main text: consonants (A1), {main text: diacritics (A3), main text: interpunction (A4)}  
 Headings: consonants (B1), {main text: red diacritics (A4r), headings: red diacritics (B4r)}  
 {Headings: diacritics (B3), headings: black interpunction, (B4b)}

*II. Probably later than I, but uncertain when and in which order:*

{Main text: vowels (A2)  
 Main text: marginal symbols (A5)  
 Main text: corrections etc. (A6)  
 Marginal note (C1)}

### *1.1.3 Diacritics and interpunction in the manuscript, and their reproduction in the present study*

In the manuscript text, many of the common 7<sup>th</sup> century diacritic and interpunction signs are found. All of these consist of dots or combinations thereof. The dots do not show a noteworthy variance in size. The diacritics and interpunction found in BLC are the following:

*Diacritics*

The most extensively used diacritic is the dot placed over or under a word, used to disambiguate otherwise homographic forms. These include, in various degrees of consistency:

- $\dot{\text{ܘܢ}}$  *from* ↔  $\text{ܘܢ}$  *who*<sup>11</sup>
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *who* + EPP 3ms (=  $\text{ܘܢ}$ ) ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *what* + EPP 3ms (=  $\text{ܘܢ}$ )
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *and*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *he/she* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *and*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  (EPP 3s) ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *and*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *that*<sup>12</sup>
  - pronominal suffixes 3s  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  (m) ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  (f)
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *and*  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *they* (m/f) ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *and*  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *those* (m/f)
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *counsel* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *king*
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *servant* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *work, thing*
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *ship* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *thousand*
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *judgment* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *judge*
  - $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *entire* ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *peace*

Verb forms (indicated here by the model root  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ):

- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  perf 3ms pe'al ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  ptc ms pe'al
- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  3fs / 2ms pe'al / pa'el ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  perf 1cs pe'al / pa'el
- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  ethpe'el ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  ethpa'al
- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  impf pe'al ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  impf pa'el
- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  impf 1cs pe'al ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  perf 3ms aph'el
- $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  ptc pa'el ↔  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  ptc aph'el

Several other words are provided with upper or lower dots, of which the potentially confusing homographs, however, are not attested in BLC. The fact that the dots are nevertheless present in those forms indicates that their use reflects common orthographic practice rather than ad hoc disambiguation. Examples are  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *evil*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *building*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *crossing*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *cause*;  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *which* (f)<sup>13</sup>,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *perfumers*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *lower*,  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *good*.

<sup>11</sup> There are two cases where  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  has an upper dot, where the context nevertheless requires the meaning *from*: 14:10  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *from all freedom*, and 16:6  $\text{ܘܢܘܐ}$  *or (to refrain) from hating*.

<sup>12</sup> Both for the masculine and the feminine, the distinction between the independent personal pronoun and the EPP is maintained rather consistently by providing the former with a lower dot and keeping the latter undotted, although in a few occasions the reverse is attested. The demonstrative pronoun, however, is invariably given the upper dot.

*Syame* in BLC are typically used to indicate the plural of a noun or participle, and, in a few cases, a finite feminine verb.<sup>13</sup> Following regular custom, *syame* are placed on the *resh* whenever the plural word contains that letter.<sup>14</sup> There are a few instances of a clearly plural form, which nevertheless lack *syame*; e.g., 44:1-2 *some of these Persian(s)*, where *some* does not have *syame* but must be plural. The reverse also occurs, e.g. in 36:17-18 *because of these divisions and points of view that are among the rulers*, where *because of* has *syame*, while the demonstrative *these* would require a singular noun.

### Interpunction

The most common interpunction signs are:

- *pasoga*: a dot placed on the line to the left of a word (•);
- *shwayya*: two dots on the line placed on top of each other, resulting in a colon shape (:);
- *elaya*: a combination of two dots, one placed on top of the last letter of a word, and one on the line to the left of it (••).
- *tahtaya*: a combination of two dots, one placed under the last letter of a word, and one on the line to the left of it (••). When the last letter of a word has a descending stroke and hence does not leave room for the lower of the two dots, it is placed under the letter before it. This is especially common in the ending *-ay* (e.g., *ay*).

In *elaya* and *tahtaya*, the upper viz. lower dot has the tendency to stand somewhat to the left of the middle of the letter, in contrast to the diacritical dot of the pronominal suffix, which is typically placed exactly above viz. below it.

- *samka*: a dot placed under the last letter of a word (•), or, like the lower dot of the *tahtaya*, under the penultimate letter if there is no room (••).

- *esyana*: a dot placed over the last letter of a word: •.

<sup>13</sup> 32:2 & 58:20 *perf pe'al 3fp*; 52:21 *impf pa'el 3fp*.

<sup>14</sup> In one occasion, a word has been given two sets of *syame*: 56:3 *settay*. Presumably the scribe mistook the *ay* for the *ay*, put *syame* over it, then realized his mistake and added another pair of *syame* at the correct position over the *ay* as well.

· cluster: a group of dots in diamond or cross shape, typically written entirely or partially in red ink. Three main varieties are found in BLC:

•••• · Four dots in diamond shape, the left and right dots written in black ink, the upper and lower dots in red ink. These clusters are mainly used at the end of the red headings.

•••• · Four dots in diamond shape, with a horizontal hairline interconnecting the left and right dots. All four dots are written in red ink, whereas the colour of the hairline is not always discernible: in most cases it seems to be written in black ink, but occasionally it might also be red. In some occurrences, the dots are written too closely together for a hairline to be distinguished. This is the most frequent cluster type, used in the main text as well as after some of the headings.

•••• · Five dots in a 'recumbant cross' shape: similar to the type described above, but with an extra dot added to the left. The dots, all written in red ink, are typically placed together tightly, causing them to partially overlap and preventing any hairline from being visible. Only a few of these clusters are found in BLC, and only at the ends of lines: presumably they are a 'broadened' variety of the four-dotted type, the extra dot added in order to fill up the line.

#### *Reproduction of diacritics and interpunction in the present study*

For the Syriac quotations from BLC in the present study, I have tried to reproduce the diacritics and interpunction signs as they are found in the manuscript text as accurately as possible. This means, for instance, that the exact position of a diacritical sign within a word has been preserved; e.g., when a plural noun has *syame* on the first letter, this fact is reproduced.

However, some divergences from the situation in the manuscript have also been made. It is not possible, for instance, to reproduce a diacritic placed in the middle between two letters: where this happens in the manuscript, I have placed the diacritic over or under the first of those two letters instead. Another divergence is my choice to follow common practice in printed Syriac in representing the *elaya* and *tahtaya* not as a dot to the left of a letter plus one above viz. below it (ⲛⲥ and ⲛⲥ), but as a 'diagonal colon', leaning to the right in case of the *elaya* (ⲛⲥ) and to the left in case of the *tahtaya* (ⲛⲥ). Finally, the different cluster types are rarely incorporated in my quotes, but where they are, they are all represented by the same sym-

bol ⚭. All other signs are reproduced in the same form as they appear in the manuscript.

In reproducing the interpunction and diacritics, I have had to employ a certain degree of interpretation. Strictly speaking, when one encounters, say, a dot over the last letter of a word and one to the left of it, one cannot be entirely sure whether this is an *elaya*, or an upper diacritical dot in combination with a *pasōqa*. There are indeed some cases where such potential ambiguities arise. In such cases, I have made use of the context, as well as the general habits of the text in its use of interpunction and diacritics, to make a decision as to which signs are to be read. An illustration of my approach is 12:16 ⚭⚭, where we can see that the ⚭ is surrounded by no less than three dots: one above it, one below it and one to the left of it. This particular configuration of dots theoretically allows for at least four different interpretations: 1. *elaya* + *samka*; 2. *tahtaya* + *esyana*; 3. *elaya* + lower diacritical dot; 4. *tahtaya* + upper diacritical dot. The first two options can be discarded, since it is unlikely that two interpunction signs are used at the same time. Option 3, consisting of a diacritic plus an interpunction sign, is possible. However, nowhere else in the text is a lower dot used to indicate the pronominal suffix 3ms: it always remains undotted. This leaves option 4, a *tahtaya* plus an upper diacritical dot, as the most likely candidate. This is further supported by the fact that the lower dot in the manuscript is positioned towards the left of the middle of the ⚭, indicating that it is more likely to be part of a *tahtaya* than a lower diacritical dot (see the remarks above). When, finally, we look at the context, we see that ⚭⚭ refers back to the feminine noun 12:16 ⚭⚭⚭ *evil*, and, knowing that the manuscript consistently employs the upper dot to indicate the feminine singular pronominal suffix, we can confirm that option 4 must indeed be the interpretation intended by the scribe.

## 1.2 Author, providence, date of BLC

BLC has been ascribed to the second century author Bardaisan, or Bardesanes (born ± 154 in Edessa – died 222). The text, however, may not have been written by Bardaisan himself, but, during or shortly after his lifetime, by one of his pupils called Philippus, as can be deduced from a number of passages in the text itself where Philippus' responses to Bardaisan are put in

the first person.<sup>15</sup> Be this as it may, the ascription to Bardaisan is justified in the sense that his remarks form the larger part of the discussion, whereas the part of his pupils is merely confined to brief questions.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.3 Content of *BLC*

The *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, or *Dialogue on Fate*, is the written account of a theological discussion between Bardaisan and a number of his pupils, three of which (Awida, Philippus and Bar Yamma) are mentioned by name. The discussion begins with the question of theodicy, posed by Awida, why God allows humans to sin, and why He has not created them so that they could not do wrong, but only do good.

Bardaisan explains that God has not created humans so because He did not want them to be mere instruments without any self-determination, like 'a cither played by another or a wagon guided by another' (8:1), but He wanted them to have free will (ܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܘܝܪܘܬܐ, literally 'freedom of one's self'). For if man were created such that he could not do evil, there would be no merit in his doing good, since his deeds would not be of his own, but only the result of the way he were created: 'For if he were so created that he could do no evil, so that he could not incur guilt, then in that way the good that he did would not be his own either and he could not justify himself by it' (8:24). Instead, God wants man to do good out of his own free will: he has to deserve the merit. By his free will man has the liberty to decide for himself whether he wants to do good or evil, and, accordingly, he is held responsible for that choice.

By giving man free will, God has associated him with the angels and has raised him above many other creatures, such as the animals, natural phenomena (such as the earth and the wind), the celestial bodies, etc., that do not possess free will. These creatures can only do what they are destined to do, and are not able to protest against their purpose: 'For the sun never says:

<sup>15</sup> 'He [Bardaisan] said to me: "Not for that in which they are determined, Philippus, will the components of nature be judged ..."' (14:13); 'He [Bardaisan] said to us: "Philippus and Bar Yamma, I know there are people called Chaldeans ..."' (26:19); 'He [Bardaisan] replied to me: "In the first place you must know, my son Philippus ..."' (54:11). See also Land 1862 I, p. 52; Wright 1894, p. 30; Chabot 1934, pp. 21-23; Brock 1997, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Drijvers 1966, pp. 67, 75.

“I will not rise at my regular time, nor the moon: “I will not change or wax or wane”, nor one of the stars: “I will not rise and not set”, etc. (8:9–11).

Free will, therefore, is what distinguishes humans from the creatures which are meant to serve them. But there are also factors that man has in common with those creatures, namely nature (حسنة) and fate (سنة). Nature stands for the characteristics that all members of a certain species have in common, for instance the fact that all lions eat meat, or that all sheep eat grass; also, the fact that all living creatures must be born, procreate, grow older, and die. Fate, on the other hand, determines the exact time and manner in which the influence of nature is implemented: *when* somebody is born, *what* he eats; whether he becomes ill or healthy, rich or poor, short or tall, etc. Fate is closely connected with the stars and planets that determine people’s horoscope (سنة ولد).

These three factors—nature, fate and free will—are the ‘guiding principles’ (مبادئ) that determine the way humans are and behave. However, those principles are not equally strong in their influence: in a way, free will is stronger, since it enables humans to influence the other two principles to a certain extent. For instance, the fact that people are able to choose not to answer to their natural tendency to sin shows that free will can be stronger than nature. Nevertheless, there is a limit to the power of free will, in that it cannot undo nature or fate completely: no matter how hard we want it, we cannot defy the fact that we must eventually grow old and die, nor can we always avoid becoming ill or poor, etc.

That free will can also be stronger than fate, Bardaisan illustrates by means of a lengthy exposition on the laws that people have laid upon themselves in different countries of the world. This is the part from which BLC has derived its title. The reasoning builds upon the observation that the inhabitants of a certain country all have the same customs. This is not what we would expect if fate were the strongest guiding principle, because, since every individual has a different fate, then all individuals in a certain country would observe different customs. It would be absurd to explain the similarity of habits of a certain people by stating that they all share the same fate, for, since fate is connected with the stars, that would mean that all individuals in that country were born under the same horoscope; i.e., at exactly the same time and exactly the same place. Obviously, this is not the

case, so we must conclude that the fact that all people in one country have the same habits cannot be caused by fate. The only remaining guiding principle that can be responsible is free will, by means of which people have created laws and customs to rule their countries.

As a final demonstration of his point that free will is the strongest, Bardaisan draws the attention to 'the new people of us Christians, that the Messiah has caused to arise in every place and in all climates by His coming' (58:24–60:1). No matter in which place the Christians live, they all observe the same rituals and way of living, and none of the laws of the countries can influence them to do otherwise. Even so, not even the Christians are placed entirely above all guiding principles, because they, too, become sick or healthy, wealthy or poor, regardless of where they live.

#### 1.4 *Relationship between BLC and other Syriac sources on Bardaisan*<sup>17</sup>

The philosophies of life expressed in BLC shed a different light on Bardaisan and his teachings than later Syriac authors do, who unanimously depict Bardaisan as a heretic. The most important of those authors is Ephrem (306–373), who is the principal source outside BLC of our knowledge of Bardaisan and his ideas.<sup>18</sup> In his *Hymns against the heresies*<sup>19</sup> and his *Prose Refutations*,<sup>20</sup> Ephrem directs many of his polemics against Bardaisan and his followers, who formed a major part of the religious society in Edessa in his lifetime and whom Ephrem saw as a threat to orthodoxy.<sup>21</sup> Amongst others, he accuses him of polytheism.<sup>22</sup> It is peculiar, then, to see a pronounced monotheistic view reflected in BLC, and, in all, a far more 'orthodox' standpoint than the viewpoints of which Ephrem seems to accuse Bardaisan. When BLC was discovered in 1843, part of the discussion regarding the authenticity of the work (see Section 1.5, below) concerned the ques-

<sup>17</sup> See Drijvers 1966, chapter 4.

<sup>18</sup> Other sources include Barhadbeshabba Arbaia, Moses bar Kepha, Iwannis of Dara and Theodore bar Koni. See Drijvers 1966, chapter 3.

<sup>19</sup> Hymns 1–6 and 51–6. Edited by Rucker 1928; Beck 1957.

<sup>20</sup> Edited by Mitchell et al. 1912–1921.

<sup>21</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 127–8.

<sup>22</sup> Strictly, the admitting of multiple 'beings' (ܠܘܕܝܢܐ) next to the one Being; i.e., God. Cf. Drijvers 1966, p. 130.

tion how to rhyme these differences in images of Bardaisan, and whether the Bardaisan of BLC could have been the same person as described by the later authors. Many of the scholars involved in the discussion<sup>23</sup> were of the opinion, that Ephrem gave the more accurate description of Bardaisan and his teachings, on which several scholars based their opinion that Bardaisan was a Gnostic. It is now generally assumed that the distance between the two 'Bardaisans' is not as big as Ephrem makes it seem, and that the main cause of the conflicting images lies in the fact that Ephrem did not so much attack Bardaisan himself as his followers, whose ideas may have differed considerably from those of their originator. Secondly, since it was Ephrem's goal to depict Bardaisan as a heretic, it seems plausible that he deliberately stressed the controversial points in his teachings and ignored the 'orthodox' ones.

### 1.5 *History of research: Syriac vs. Greek original and BLC vs. Dialogue on Fate*

Long before the Syriac version of BLC was discovered, parts of the text were already known from citations in the works of later authors: the *Praeparatio Evangelica*<sup>24</sup>, written in Greek by Eusebius in 313, and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, translated from its Greek original (written around 360 in Syria, now lost) into Latin by Rufinus in ± 405.<sup>25</sup>

After Cureton's edition of BLC in 1855, discussion arose concerning the relation between these works and BLC. One of the main questions was whether BLC was originally written in Syriac, or translated from Greek. In the former case, the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and the *Recognitions* would be derived (directly or indirectly) from the Syriac; in the latter case all three witnesses would go back to a Greek original. Cureton held the Syriac version to be the original<sup>26</sup>, in which opinion he was followed by such scholars as Hort<sup>27</sup>, Lechler<sup>28</sup> and Nöldeke<sup>29</sup>. Of the opposite opinion were, amongst

<sup>23</sup> Ewald 1856, Lipsius 1860; 1863; Land 1862-75; Hilgenfeld 1864.

<sup>24</sup> Edited by Gifford 1903 and Des Places 1980.

<sup>25</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 62.

<sup>26</sup> Cureton 1855, p. iii.

<sup>27</sup> Hort 1877.

<sup>28</sup> Lechler 1886, pp. 29-33.

others, Schultheß<sup>30</sup>, Ewald<sup>31</sup>, Hilgenfeld<sup>32</sup>, Wendland<sup>33</sup>, Von Harnack<sup>34</sup>, Land<sup>35</sup> and Merx<sup>36</sup>. Based on the philological studies by Nöldeke<sup>37</sup>, Levi della Vida<sup>38</sup>, and Schaeder<sup>39</sup>, Drijvers finally concluded that beyond any doubt the Syriac must be the original.<sup>40</sup> One of the philological arguments in favour of Drijvers' point is the distinction between two types of 'nature' in BLC, using the words **طَبِيعَة**, referring to the nature that every creature has, and **طَبِيعَة كَائِنِيَّة**, meaning nature as an entity. This distinction can only be made in Syriac, not in Greek.<sup>41</sup>

Another question concerned the title of the work. In his *Ecclesiastical History*<sup>42</sup>, Eusebius<sup>43</sup> refers to a number of works written by Bardaisan, among which there is the *Dialogue on Fate* (διάλογος περὶ εἰμορμένης), dedicated to a certain Antoninus. The question arose whether this *Dialogue on Fate* was the same work as from which the citations in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* were taken, or whether two separate works were at play; in other words: whether or not the *Dialogue on Fate* and BLC were identical. A number of arguments suggest against the texts being identical. Firstly, there is the difference of title: Eusebius (in the *Ecclesiastical History* or the *Praeparatio Evangelica*) does not mention the title 'Book of the Laws of the Countries', only *Dialogue on Fate*, the situation for BLC being exactly opposite. Furthermore, neither in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, nor in BLC, mention is made of a dedication to Antoninus. And finally, strictly speaking BLC is not written by Bardaisan but most likely by his pupil Philippus (see Section 1.2,

<sup>29</sup> Nöldeke 1910.

<sup>30</sup> Schultheß 1910a & b.

<sup>31</sup> Ewald 1856.

<sup>32</sup> Hilgenfeld 1864.

<sup>33</sup> Wendland 1892.

<sup>34</sup> Von Harnack 1895, 1915, 1958, 1960.

<sup>35</sup> Land 1862.

<sup>36</sup> Merx 1863, p. 115.

<sup>37</sup> Nöldeke 1910.

<sup>38</sup> Levi della Vida 1919–20.

<sup>39</sup> Schaeder 1932, pp. 33f.

<sup>40</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 66.

<sup>42</sup> Book IV, chapter 30. (Drijvers 1966, p. 1, n. 1.)

<sup>43</sup> For other Greek authors who refer to the *Dialogue on Fate*, see Drijvers 1966, p. 63.

above). However, it was again Drijvers who finally concluded that the works must be identical.<sup>44</sup>

### 1.6 Editions of BLC

The text of the Book of the Laws of the Countries is available in a number of editions and translations, listed here in chronological order.

- William Cureton, ‘Bardesan – The book of the Laws of Countries’<sup>45</sup> in *Spicilegium Syriacum: containing remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara Bar Serapion*, London: Francis and John Rivington, 1855.

This is the *editio princeps* of BLC, consisting of an English translation (pp. 1–34) followed by the Syriac text (pp. ܠ-ܠܘ), together with the corresponding passages from the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and the *Recognitions*,<sup>46</sup> as well as the second Dialogue of Caesarius of Nazianzus / Nyssa, which also contains parallels with the Syriac text. The text is preceded by an introduction (pp. i–xv), in which Cureton discusses the issues concerning the identity and authenticity of BLC (explained in Section 1.5, above) before concluding that we finally have here the long-lost original of the *Dialogue on Fate* mentioned by Eusebius.<sup>47</sup> The translation is provided with numerous footnotes on philological as well as content-related issues.

- Ernest Renan, ‘Lettre à M. Reinaud sur quelques manuscrits syriaques du Musée Britannique. Contenant des traductions d’auteurs grecs profanes et des traités philosophiques’ in *Journal Asiatique* 19 (April 1852): 295–8.

Unaware of Cureton’s intent to publish the above-mentioned work, Renan reports that he has discovered in the British Museum three Syriac manuscripts, including 14658. Cureton notified him of the fact that these works

<sup>44</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 67f.

<sup>45</sup> Cureton, as well as Drijvers (q.v.), seems deliberately to avoid translating ‘... the Countries’, presumably because Bardaisan does not list *all* countries in the world but only a selection of them. I have chosen not to adopt this practice and to translate ‘The Book of the Laws of the Countries’.

<sup>46</sup> See Section 1.5, above. See also Cureton 1855, Preface, p. iii–iv.

<sup>47</sup> Preface, pp. iii–iv.

were already planned to be printed by him, upon which Renan humbly took the greatest pains to restore the honour to Cureton.

The edition only contains the beginnings of the first and what Renan thought to be the last paragraph of BLC. Both in the rendition of the Syriac and the French translation he has made quite a few mistakes.

- Adalbert Merx, *Bardesanes von Edessa, nebst einer Untersuchung über das Verhältniss der clementinischen Recognitionen zu dem Buche der Gesetze der Länder*, Halle an der Saale 1863.

The first part of the book consists an introduction on Bardaisan, his life and teachings, which is followed by a German translation of BLC, based on Cureton's edition (pp. 25–55). Merx's footnotes to the translation mainly concern translational or interpretational issues; the text is provided with the page numbers as found in Cureton. The third part deals with 'das System des Bardesanes', the fourth with the connection with the *Dialogue on Fate* and the *Recognitions*. In his *Nachträge* Merx further discusses the authenticity problem, where he follows Land (1862) in his opinion that BLC cannot be the original version of the text.

- Benjamin Plummer Pratten, 'Bardesan. The book of the laws of divers countries,' in Roberts–Donaldson–Coxe 1886, pp. 721–734.

An English translation, based on Cureton 1855, provided with explanatory notes on philology and religious backgrounds, including references to Cureton and Merx.

- François Nau, *Bardésane - Le livre des lois des pays. Traduction française*, Paris 1899.

This work contains a French translation of BLC (pp. 27–57), based on a reproduction of the manuscript text provided by Rubens Duval and collated by E. Wallis Budge.<sup>48</sup> There are, however, many small variants between his text and that in the manuscript: see the remarks on Drijvers' edition, below. Nau has divided the translation in separate sections for the different

<sup>48</sup> Nau 1899, p. 7 and note.

subjects in the discussion, provided with explanatory titles.<sup>49</sup> He has also added the page numbers of Cureton's edition for quick reference.

- François Nau, 'Bardesanés – Liber Legum Regionum' in R. Graffin: *Patrologia Syriaca* I, 2, Paris 1907: 490–658.

This edition provides a vocalized Syriac text (written in *serto*) and a translation in Latin,<sup>50</sup> preceded by an introduction<sup>51</sup> and provided with notes (on manuscript readings, emendations, etc.) by Theodor Nöldeke. The notes also provide the page and line numbers in the manuscript to which the columns in the edition correspond. In the introduction, Nau explains that the vocalization as well as the interpunctuation are of his hand. Furthermore, he has normalized the orthography of some words which show variation in the manuscript: ܩܘܪܝܢܐ for ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (but ܩܘܪܝܢܐ for ܩܘܪܝܢܐ), ܩܘܪܝܢܐ for ܩܘܪܝܢܐ, etc.<sup>52</sup> Like Nau's translation from 1899, the text is divided into sections, but in a different arrangement.<sup>53</sup> The edition is followed by a *Lexicon*, more properly a concordance, of all forms occurring in the Syriac text (excluding frequent function words, particles, etc.)<sup>54</sup>, as well as an *Index Analyticus* of proper names and technical terms as used in the Latin translation.<sup>55</sup>

- Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Bardesane, Il dialogo delle leggi dei paesi* (Scrittori Cristiani Antichi 3), Rome 1921. Reprinted as G. Levi della Vida, *Pitagora, Bardesane e altri studi siriaci a cura di Riccardo Contini*, Università di Roma, Studi Orientali VIII, Bardi Editore, Rome 1989.

An annotated Italian translation, to which I have not been able to gain access.

- François Nau, *Bardésane – Le livre des lois des pays. Texte syriaque*, Paris 1931.

<sup>49</sup> There are 50 sections, numbered 9 to 58 (numbered through from the 8 sections that form Nau's introduction).

<sup>50</sup> cc. 536–611.

<sup>51</sup> pp. 492–535.

<sup>52</sup> pp. 528–9.

<sup>53</sup> There are 47 sections. Accidentally, the last section has been given the same number (46) as the one preceding it (pp. 608 & 611).

<sup>54</sup> cc. 616–51.

<sup>55</sup> cc. 652–7.

This edition gives the Syriac text (unvocalized estrangela), preceded by an *Avertissement*, in which a short introduction is given to Bardaisan and the content of the Book of the Laws of the Countries. Nau explains that this edition of the text is intended to be used by students, which is why it is not accompanied by a translation. Presumably, Nau 1899 (see above) is the translation of this edition.

- H. Wiesmann, *Die Schrift über die Gesetze der Länder. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt* (75 Jahre Stella Matutina), Feldkirch 1931.

A German translation. I have not been able to gain access to this work.

- H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries. Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen 1965. (Reprint: Gorgias Press, 2007)

Drijvers provides the Syriac text (unvocalized estrangela) and an English translation, preceded by a brief introduction to the content and backgrounds. The Syriac text is a photographic reproduction of that in Nau 1931 and therefore has the same page layout, apart from some 'obvious errors' corrected by Drijvers.<sup>56</sup> At the end of the edition he adds a number of proposals for emendation.<sup>57</sup> For reference, the Syriac text is accompanied with the column numbers corresponding to the edition of Nau 1907.

Drijvers explicitly states that he has based his text on Nau 1931 while also having consulted Nau 1907<sup>58</sup>, but it is not certain whether he has worked with the manuscript itself. Although he claims that '[t]he text printed here is identical with the Book of the Laws of Countries as it appears in the Ms.',<sup>59</sup> a comparison between his edition and the manuscript tells us that there are in fact many—albeit minor—differences. The majority of these concern the presence or placing of diacritics and interpunction, but there are also some errors in the reproduction of consonants. The fact that Drijvers in his notes fails to refer to so many of these cases makes it hard to believe that he has overlooked them, but rather suggests that he has not been aware of them, due to his neglecting the original manuscript. A further confirmation of this surmise is the fact that some of Drijvers' 'cor-

<sup>56</sup> Drijvers 1965, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Drijvers 1965, pp. 66–7.

<sup>58</sup> Drijvers 1965, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Drijvers 1965, p. 65.

rections' are even superfluous, since the errors they refer to are only present in Nau 1931, not in the manuscript. Drijvers's edition is the most recent and most accessible edition of BLC at the moment (the accessibility being highly increased by its recent re-issue by Gorgias Press in 2007<sup>60</sup>), so it is somewhat regrettable that this edition should provide a less than accurate reproduction of the original text. This is especially true since many (if not all) of these inaccuracies are reproduced in Jerome Lund's recent *Concordance*.<sup>61</sup> Although a number of excellent studies on Bardaisan and BLC have since been published, an up-to-date, accurate scholarly edition is thus far wanting.

As explained in Section 1.1.1, above, I have, notwithstanding its shortcomings, chosen to employ Drijvers' edition for reference in the present study, using its page and line numbers where passages from BLC are quoted. The Syriac text itself, however, is based directly on the manuscript.

- H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, Assen 1966.

In this dissertation on Bardaisan, Drijvers re-quotes a number of representative passages from BLC. This time, he has not reproduced the text photographically from Nau 1931, but he has re-typed it himself. It is quite clear that he did not consult the manuscript in this process, since, although there are many small differences with the edition of 1965 (mainly involving interpunction and diacritics<sup>62</sup>), almost none of these have led to a more accurate reproduction of the manuscript text.

<sup>60</sup> The 2007 re-issue is enriched with an introduction by Drijvers's son Jan Willem (pp. iii–xi), providing more background on Bardaisan's life and teachings in relation to BLC.

<sup>61</sup> Lund 2007. See also Bakker 2007, pp. 281–282.

<sup>62</sup> Drijvers 1966 has left out most of the interpunction and diacritic signs that are present in his edition of 1965 (and in the manuscript), and he has repositioned many of the diacritics that are present. For unknown typographical reasons, most of the *syame* are erroneously accompanied by a lower dot under the same letter (the same error occurs in the notes in Drijvers 1965 (pp. 66–67)). There are also a few differences in the consonant text, e.g., Drijvers 1966 ܘܢܝܘܢ for manuscript / Drijvers 1965 ܘܢܝܘܢ (26:20), ܘܢܝܘܢ for ܘܢܝܘܢ (28:23), etc.

- Sabri Ya'qub Isho, *Bardaisan. The Book of the Laws of Countries* (ܒܪܕܝܣܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܩܘܢܝܢܐ / شرائع البلدان لبرديسان), Stockholm: Assyrian Teachers Association, 1989.<sup>63</sup>

This edition, intended for the modern Syriac Christian community, contains the classical Syriac text (reproduced photographically from Nau 1907, hence vocalized),<sup>64</sup> a translation into Arabic<sup>65</sup> as well as a translation into modern Syriac<sup>66</sup>. Furthermore it provides an introduction in Arabic on the life and teachings of Bardaisan.<sup>67</sup>

- Franz Winter, *Bardesanes von Edessa über Indien. Ein früher syrischer Theologe schreibt über ein fremdes Land*, Thaur 1999.<sup>68</sup>

The appendix<sup>69</sup> of this work contains excerpts from the Syriac text dealing with the laws in India and Bactria,<sup>70</sup> with a German translation. The text is taken from Nau 1907 (and hence it is vocalized), but has been copied rather carelessly. A large number of errors has been made in the reproduction of consonants (e.g., ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>71</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>72</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>73</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>74</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>75</sup>, etc.), vowels (ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>76</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ instead of ܕܘܢܐ<sup>77</sup>, etc.) and interpunction; occasionally even whole words have been skipped (ܕܘܢܐ<sup>78</sup>; ܕܘܢܐ<sup>79</sup>), etc.

<sup>63</sup> I would like to thank my colleague Ariel Gutman for bringing this edition to my attention.

<sup>64</sup> pp. 117–170.

<sup>65</sup> pp. 35–68.

<sup>66</sup> pp. 69–113.

<sup>67</sup> pp. 9–34.

<sup>68</sup> Krannich & Stein 2004, p. 209.

<sup>69</sup> pp. 145–8.

<sup>70</sup> The passages correspond with Nau 1907 583:27–584:25 (not '26', as Winter has) (pp. 145–6); 596:13–20 (p. 146); 599:4–8 (p. 147); 600:22–6 (p. 147); 588:13–591, 1 (not '6', as Winter has) (p. 148) and 591:14–6 (p. 148).

<sup>71</sup> Nau 1907, 584:20.

<sup>72</sup> Nau 1907, 596:19; 600:24.

<sup>73</sup> Nau 1907, 599:5.

<sup>74</sup> Nau 1907, 588:23.

<sup>75</sup> Nau 1907, 588:15 (2×); 588:18.

<sup>76</sup> Nau 1907, 596:18.

- Torsten Krannich & Peter Stein, 'Das "Buch der Gesetze der Länder" des Bardesanes von Edessa' in *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 8/2 2005: 203-229.

A German translation, based on Nau 1907, preceded by an introduction on the study of Bardaisan's life and teachings in relation to BLC.

## 2. METHODOLOGY: THE TURGAMA MODEL

The aim of the present study is to provide a linguistic analysis of BLC. For this analysis I have used the computer-assisted model and tools that have been developed in the projects CALAP (Computer-Assisted Analysis of the Peshitta; 1999–2005) and Turgama (from 2005), two joint research initiatives of the Peshitta Institute Leiden and the *Werkgroep Informatica* of the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam, which focused on the study of ancient languages such as Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac. Since the underlying principles of both models are the same, I will henceforth refer to the model solely as the Turgama model.<sup>80</sup>

### 2.1 *Theoretical background: corpus-linguistic approach*

When one deals with texts in ancient languages, performing a linguistic analysis poses special problems. The scholar does not have the luxury of native speakers as a source of knowledge of the language, nor can traditional grammars or descriptions of the language be entirely sufficient for gaining a thorough insight into its peculiarities. The only primary material that the scholar has at his disposal for the study of a language that is no longer spoken exists in the form of the written corpora preserved in that language, and any information as to its underlying grammatical structures can only be extracted from the observed surface forms found in those corpora. It is on these surface phenomena, therefore, that the linguist should base his

<sup>77</sup> Nau 1907, 583:27; 588:13; 588:14; 588:15; 596:13; 596:14; 596:15; 596:20; 599:7 (3×); 599:8; 600:22; 600:23.

<sup>78</sup> Nau 1907, 596:14.

<sup>79</sup> Nau 1907, 600:24.

<sup>80</sup> Van Peursen 2007, chapters 7 and 8 (pp. 137–175) explain the CALAP model and methodology in detail. The Turgama project builds upon the same principles and tools.

analysis, relying solely on the distributional behaviour of the forms and constructions attested in his corpora, and without interference of 'external' or 'grammar-driven' knowledge about the language.<sup>81</sup>

Such a corpus-based analysis asks for a highly consistent approach, in which preferably all occurrences of a certain grammatical form or construction in a corpus are taken into account. This can be done manually, but because of the proneness to error present in even the most meticulous researcher, especially when dealing with large corpora, the aid of computational tools is much to be preferred. Not only can a computer deal with large amounts of data in a short time frame, it also eliminates inconsistencies and is unhampered by subjective human intuitions, generalisations etcetera, that may lead to biased results.

This does not mean that human input is to be eliminated altogether; quite the contrary. Even though the ideal is to take an approach that is as much 'data-driven' as possible,<sup>82</sup> there has to be a stage where the computer programs are provided with at least some linguistic rules, which are ultimately derived from external, human knowledge about the language. To avoid bias, then, the input of these grammar-driven rules should be kept at an absolute minimum, by inserting them into the computational process at the most basic level possible. This is precisely what the Turgama model does, by providing the basic rules, in the form of a lexicon and a 'word grammar', at the level of the lexical and inflectional morphemes, and working its way up from there to higher linguistic levels, as will be explained in further detail in Section 2.1, below.

## *2.2 Procedure of analysis: interactive bottom-up approach*

In the Turgama model, the computer-assisted linguistic analysis of a text is carried out on four separate linguistic levels: word, phrase, clause and text level. Word level concerns the build-up of words out of morphemes, phrase level the build-up of phrases out of words, clause level the build-up of clauses out of phrases, and text level the build-up of texts out of clauses. With the help of a set of computer programs, each of these levels is ana-

<sup>81</sup> See Bosker 2008, p. 4.

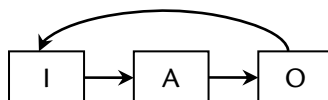
<sup>82</sup> Bosker 2008, p. 29, 34.

lyzed separately, following a bottom-up approach, i.e., the analysis starts from word level and consequently works its way up to the other three levels. The information acquired from the analysis at a lower level is included in the input for the analysis at a higher level.

The process of analysis is not fully automated, but allows for human intervention. For each of the four linguistic levels, the analysis comprises a stage in which human and computer work together interactively: the computer makes suggestions as to the grammatical parsing of the forms or structures at hand, and the user either chooses from these suggested parsings, or adds his own. The suggestions that the computer makes are retrieved from specific storage files, which contain all parsings made in prior analyses, and which are constantly updated with the new parsings that the user adds. In this controlled collaboration between human and computer, the advantages of both parties are combined.

For each of the four separate linguistic levels, the process of analysis can be depicted schematically as consisting of three interconnected 'blocks': the input, the analysis itself and the output. Each of these blocks involves several computer programs and/or files, each with its specific purpose. The input, among others, includes the file that contains the parsing suggestions; the output contains the file with the added parsings. In order for the latter to be used for giving new suggestions, it is fed back to the input, which is then used for the analysis of the next form or structure that the user encounters; and so forth, until all forms or structures of the level at hand have been treated. The arrows in Figure 1, below, illustrate this circular direction of information (I = input; A = analysis; O = output):

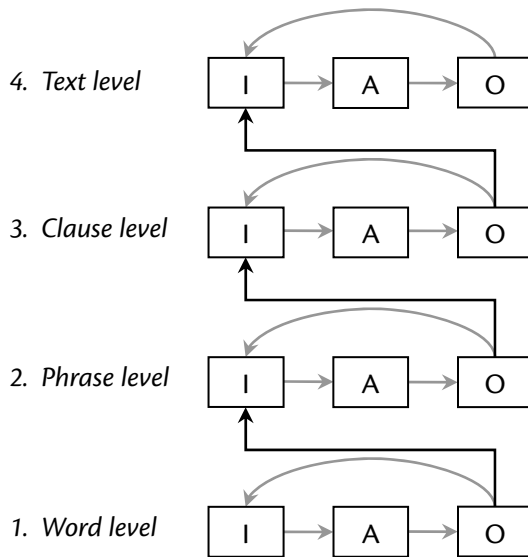
FIGURE 1: The direction of information at a specific linguistic level



When the analysis at a specific linguistic level is completed in this manner, the result is a set of output files that contain all relevant linguistic data for that level. Those output files are then ready for further processing. As I stat-

ed, the information acquired from the analysis at a lower level is incorporated into that of a higher level, meaning that (part of) the output of the one level is used as input for the next. The black arrows in Figure 2 illustrate this process for all four linguistic levels (the grey arrows correspond with those in Figure 1):

FIGURE 2: The direction of information at all four linguistic levels



Apart from being used as input, the contents of the output blocks are also saved separately. This ensures that no information is lost, and that all steps in the analysis can be retraced at any time, and, if necessary, reconsidered. When the analysis is completed at all four levels, the result is a multi-layered database consisting of the cumulative contents of all four output blocks. From this database all kinds of linguistic information can be retrieved with the help of search queries.

### 3. PREPARATION OF THE TEXT OF BLC FOR LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Before a text can be used for the computer-assisted analysis, it has to be prepared, i.e., presented to the computer in a format that it can read and process. Since ‘from a computer-linguistic perspective a text is a one-dimensional sequence of characters’,<sup>83</sup> this means that the several layers that may be present in the physical text have to be ‘flattened’ into a single, unidimensional string of data. Before this is done, it has to be established which of the layers are relevant to the linguistic analysis, and which are not.

#### 3.1 *Elements of textual basis incorporated in computational analysis*

As we have seen in Section 1.1.2, the physical text of BLC contains several layers. Of these, we have concluded that A/B1, 3 and 4, or at least their major part, are likely to be the oldest layers, and that they have been written within a limited time frame, possibly by one and the same person. It is these layers, then, that will form the textual basis for our linguistic analysis. The other layers are excluded from the computer-assisted analysis as such, but they are nevertheless helpful as a secondary aid in the decisions that the user makes (see Section 2.2.2, below).

#### 3.2 *Elements outside textual basis used as a help for encoding ambiguous forms*

As explained in Section 2.1, above, in the interactive part of the analysis, the user chooses from the parsing suggestions that the computer gives, or, if the right parsing is not (yet) among them, inserts it by hand. Aided by the grammatical knowledge that he has of the language, the user bases his parsing judgments primarily on the formal elements that are present in the textual basis (i.e., the layers which were identified in Section 1.1.2, above, as relevant for the analysis): graphemes, morphemes, diacritics, etc. Factors from outside the textual basis should not influence the decisions as long as the formal elements are sufficient. An example from BLC may clarify this. In 20:1, the manuscript text has *لَحْجٌ ۖ ۞*. The context would suggest that

<sup>83</sup> Van Peursen 2007, p. 137.

هو is a participle 'whom he *hates*'. This is also the interpretation that Nau (1907) gives, vocalizing the verb هو. <sup>84</sup> The lower dot under the verb (see Section 1.1.3, above), however, suggests that it is a perf 3ms ('whom he *hated*'). In such a case of conflicting information, the formal elements in the manuscript have the authority over other considerations. In this example, the formal element is the lower diacritical dot, which leads us to interpret هو as a perf 3ms.

There are, however, cases where the formal elements in the text are insufficient for the user to decide what is the correct parsing. For instance, in a construction like هو، هو، هو is ambiguous: based on its form, it could be either a perfect 3 ms or a ptc msa. There are no formal indications as to which of the options is the correct one: there are no diacritics (such as an upper dot for the participle or a lower dot for the perfect), nor does the context give any indication, since both options are equally grammatical in the given construction.

In problematic cases like these, the user has the possibility to rely on external information, provided that this is available. In case of BLC, there are two additional external aids for the making of parsing decisions: the vocalization in the manuscript (the few cases where it occurs), and the vocalization provided by Nau in his edition of 1907 (see Section 1.6, above). Of course, since neither of these vocalizations is authentic (especially the latter), they are to be used only as a last resort, when neither the formal elements in the text nor the grammatical knowledge of the language is sufficient for resolving the ambiguity. Nau is not used as a conclusive authority for the analysis of forms, but rather as a verifiable source that serves as a working hypothesis that is used in the subsequent analysis.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the textual basis for the present study. The situation where only one manuscript containing BLC has been preserved means that we do not have to deal with the complications associated with the presence of multiple textual witnesses, where a comparative analysis is needed to decide for each variant which of the manuscripts reflects the pre-

<sup>84</sup> C. 556, l. 1.

ferred reading. This does not mean, however, that our task is simple, since the study of a single witness presents its own problems, as described by C. Corley (1990) in a discussion on editing single-manuscript texts:

Editing a text which is found in only one manuscript is necessarily a special case; there is no choice of base manuscript to be made, no manuscript tradition to be studied, no decision to make on whether to produce an eclectic or a conservative version of the text. The editor's task is thus in many ways very much simpler than in the case of other editions. At the same time, however, he has very little to help him in resolving the inevitable textual problems. In short, editing a single manuscript text is a peculiar challenge.

Thus, in the present case, it is not a simple task to assess the textual basis of our analysis, because of the various textual layers that can be discerned within the single manuscript at our disposal, something with which the various editors have struggled over the years. As I discussed in Section 1.1.2, we can distinguish between the main text and the headings given to several sections. In these two main categories we can distinguish various layers: consonants, vowels, diacritical signs and interpunction. In addition, a number of corrections and erasures can be found, which may have been created much later than the other layers. Of these layers, I do not take the vowels as part of the textual basis of my analysis, although in ambiguous cases they may serve as a directive as to which morphological analysis is preferable.

Analysing this complex text requires a model of computer-assisted analysis that meets the needs of a sound philological analysis. The model that I have applied to BLC has been developed for small Hebrew and Syriac corpora and aims to go beyond the registration of surface phenomena, by taking into account various linguistic levels, and tries to meet philological requirements in interactive analytical procedures. The following chapters present the results of my linguistic analysis.

BLC is a fascinating early Syriac document. I have given a very brief outline of its contents and cultural and religious background. The present dissertation concerns a linguistic analysis and therefore we will not treat the religion and philosophy of this document in further detail. In some areas, however, the contents have an impact on the attestations or frequency of linguistic phenomena. Thus one of the main issues in Bardaisan's argument, namely the 'laws of the countries', is responsible for a high frequency

of names of peoples and places and thus provides a treasure trove for the analysis of the orthography of proper nouns and the treatment of foreign names, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

Although it can be assumed that BLC was written in the second or early third century, we cannot tacitly assume that our text reflects the Syriac language of that period, since our manuscript dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is well possible that the date of the manuscript is of more influence on the linguistic profile of the text than the date of the work itself.<sup>85</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 2, for example, the orthography and morphology fit well with what we find in general in manuscripts from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In the present state of research we can take BLC as a document of 'original Syriac' as contrasted to translational Syriac. Earlier claims, mainly from the middle of the nineteenth century that the Syriac text is a translation from Greek have been convincingly refuted.

<sup>85</sup> A similar situation can be observed in Peshitta manuscripts: see Van Peursen 2008.

## Chapter 2

# ORTHOGRAPHY AND MORPHOLOGY

### 1. ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN BLC

This chapter will treat a number of orthographic features of BLC. It will not only look at the variation present in the spelling of words, it will also go into the general trends that can be observed in terms of characteristics that may be common for a certain period.

It should be noted that the question whether a phenomenon concerns orthography is not always an easy one. In certain circumstances the distinction between orthography and morphology can be less clear than in others. When a perfect 3ms is written without a *waw*, does this mean that a morpheme is omitted, or rather that the orthography follows the phonetic phenomenon that final *waw* is not pronounced?<sup>1</sup> While the issues dealt with in this chapter are approached from an orthographical viewpoint, the possible overlap with morphology should be kept in mind. Section 1 will deal with the orthographic variation that can be observed in BLC, and also look at it from a diachronical point of view. In Section 2, the orthography of the names of persons, places and peoples will be discussed.

### 1. ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN BLC

The orthography in BLC shows a certain amount of variation, allowing for a number of words and constructions to be spelled in (typically two) different ways. The cases of variation in BLC can be organized in the following categories: a. plene vs. defective spelling; b. the use of prosthetic *alaph* (before an initial *i*-vowel) and c. the spelling of certain constructions as one vs. two words. In the following section, these cases of variation will be treated in detail.

<sup>1</sup> See Van Peursen 2009.

## 1.1 Cases of orthographic variation

### a. Plene vs. defective spelling

Whether a word is spelled plene or defective is a matter of the presence or absence of a mater lectionis *alaph*, *yodh*, or *waw*. BLC does not contain words that show variation in the use of vocalic *alaph*, only *waw* and *yodh*.

#### • *waw*:

Two words show variation in the use of *waw* as a mater lectionis:  $\text{ح} / \text{حح}$  and  $\text{و} / \text{وح}$ . Both of these show a mixture of defective and plene spelling, the former being prevalent:

$\text{ح} / \text{حح}$

Total: 136 occurrences:

$\text{ح}$ : 118 (86.67%)

$\text{حح}$ : 18 (13.24%)

$\text{و} / \text{وح}$

Total: 40 occurrences:

$\text{و}$ : 35 (87.5%)

$\text{وح}$ : 5 (12.5%)

#### • *yodh*:

BLC has only one word that shows variation in the use of *yodh* as a mater lectionis:  $\text{ي} / \text{يي}$ . This word shows variation on two interconnected levels: 1. different spellings for different paradigmatic forms (i.e., defective for the cstr s (with pronominal suffix) and plene for the emph s) and 2. different spellings for one and the same paradigmatic form (i.e., the emph p):

#### • Cstr s + pronominal suffix

Total: 1 occurrence, spelled defectively.

#### • Emph s:

Total: 3 occurrences, consistently spelled plene.

· *Emph p:*

Total: 5 occurrences:

ⲉⲓ 3 (60%)

ⲉⲓ 2 (40%)

*b. Prosthetic alaph before initial ī-vowel.*

The word ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛ 'knowledge' shows variation in its use of a prosthetic *alaph*:

Total: 4 occurrences:

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛ 2 (50%)

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ 2 (50%)

Presence of a particle before the word cannot explain the variation: of the four occurrences only one (ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ) is preceded by -ⲁ.

*c. Spelling as one vs. two words*· *genitive constructions*

Several genitive constructions show variation in their spelling as one vs. two words.

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛ

Total: 25 occurrences

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛ 19 (76%)

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ 6 (24%)

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ

Total: 46 occurrences

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ 31 (67.39%)

ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲛ 15 (32.62%)

· *constructions with ⲛⲓⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛ*

ⲛⲓⲛ / ⲛⲓⲛ

Total: 5 occurrences.

ⲛⲓⲛ 4 (80%)

ⲛⲓⲛ 1 (20%)

חל מדין / חלמדין

Total: 15 occurrences:

חלמדין 9 (60%)

חל מדין 6 (40%)

Most other constructions with חל / חלמדין are written as two words (חל מדין (2 occurrences); חל מדין (1 occurrence); חל מדין (2 occurrences)), except for חלמדין (1 occurrence).

· *Interrogative pronoun + personal pronoun*

חלמדין / חלמדין

Total: 4 occurrences.

חלמדין 3 (75%)

חלמדין 1 (25%)

The construction חלמדין (= חלמדין) is spelled as one word (2 occurrences).

· *Participle + personal pronoun*

In the construction ptc + personal pronoun, only the pronouns חלמדין and חלמדין can occur in the connected form.<sup>2</sup> All other personal pronouns preceded by a ptc only occur in their independent form.

ptc + חלמדין

Total: 6 occurrences

enclitical 1 (16.67%)<sup>3</sup>

non-enclitical 5 (83.33%)

<sup>2</sup> The feminine personal pronouns חלמדין and חלמדין do not occur at all in BLC. The pronoun חלמדין does occur in the enclitic form (see חלמדין etc. above), but not in constructions with a ptc. The latter should hardly be a surprise, seeing that the bare ptc is already sufficient for expressing the third person.

<sup>3</sup> Technically, this single enclitical occurrence of ptc + חלמדין (4:19 חלמדין) could also be a perfect 3ms: 'you have wanted,' but both the context (חלמדין חלמדין) and the presence of the upper dot make the ptc more likely: 'you want (to learn).' This is also how Nau 1907 interprets the form, judging from his vocalization (c. 539, l. 8).

ptc + **سج**

Total: 36 occurrences

Enclitical: 31 (86.11%)

Non-enclitical: 5 (13.89%)

## 1.2 Discussion

In the literature,<sup>4</sup> a number of the categories of variation treated in Section 1.1 above, are indicated as typical for manuscripts of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Manuscripts from this early period are known to show a less standardized orthography than manuscripts from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onward, allowing several spellings for one word, where the later manuscripts are more standardized and tend to prefer only one of the spellings that were possible in the older manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

The most noticeable category of diachronic variation is that of plene vs. defective spelling, i.e., the presence vs. absence of the *matres lectionis* *alph*, *waw* and *yodh*. Although much research still has to be done in this field, one can generally state that the more plene spelling is used, the newer the manuscript is, and vice versa.<sup>6</sup> One exception to this rule is the spelling of **ح** and **حھ**, for which it is the defective spelling that is generally newer, whereas older manuscripts show a mixture of both plene and defective spelling.<sup>7</sup> We have seen that such a mixture is also present in BLC, but with a significant tendency towards the newer form. In other circumstances that apply to plene or defective spelling, BLC rather consistently uses the later, plene standard.<sup>8</sup> The only exceptions where defective spelling is used are the cases of **ح** already treated in 1.2 above, and **حھ** for **حھھ** (1 occurrence). The few other examples of defective spelling concern the Greek loanwords **حھھ** for **حھھھ** and **حھھ** for **حھھھ**.

<sup>4</sup> Wernberg-Møller 1968, Van Rompay 1994, Brock 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Brock 2003, p. 95–6, Van Rompay 1994, Wernberg-Møller 1968.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g., Duval 1881, p. 56f.

<sup>7</sup> Brock 2003, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> **حھ** (1 occurrence), **حھھ** (1), **حھھھ** (23), **حھھھ** (2), **حھھھ** (1), **حھھھھ** (1), **حھھھھ** (2), **حھھھھ** (2), **حھھھ** (1), **حھھھ** (3), **حھھ** (1), **حھھ** (1), **حھھھ** (3), **حھھھ** (cstr) (1), **حھھھ** (2), **حھھھ** (2), **حھھھ** (3), **حھ** (1), **حھھ** (1).

For some diachronic features mentioned in the literature, BLC shows a consistent use of the newer form. This is the case for the writing of silent *alaph* (not to be confused with *alaph* as a mater lectionis), that is, consonantal *alaph* which is etymologically justified, but unpronounced; e.g., in words like  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܢܐ}$ , etc. The omission of this *alaph* is considered typical of older manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> but BLC is consistent in using the form with *alaph* in all circumstances that qualify for its use.<sup>10</sup> A closely connected phenomenon is the writing of the *alaph* in the adverbial ending  $\text{ܕܡܢ}$ -. Here, too, the form with *alaph* is considered the newer,<sup>11</sup> which is the form used throughout BLC.<sup>12</sup>

There are also diachronic phenomena where BLC uses the older spelling for some words and the newer for others. The first of these is the use of a prosthetic *alaph* before an initial  $\bar{i}$ -vowel.<sup>13</sup> Apart from  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  treated in 1.1 above, the words in this category are either consistently written with *alaph* ( $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  and  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ) or without it ( $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  and  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ). The other phenomenon for which BLC shows this hybrid behaviour is the use of a prosthetic *alaph* before a consonant cluster starting with  $\bar{i}$ :<sup>14</sup>  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  is consistently written in the newer form without  $\text{ܠ}$ ,<sup>15</sup> while  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (ptc pass of  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ) is always written in the older form with  $\text{ܠ}$ .<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Wernberg-Møller 1968, p. 144; Van Rompay 1994, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup>  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (2 occurrences),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (11),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (4),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (11),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (5);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (4);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (10);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ ;  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (2);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (2);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (3);  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (3ms / 1cp) (5),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1).

<sup>11</sup> Van Rompay 1994, p. 74; Brock 2003, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup>  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1 occurrence),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (6),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (3),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (2),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (2),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (5),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1),  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  (1).

<sup>13</sup> Wernberg-Møller 1968, p. 143; Brock 2003, p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Van Rompay 1994, p. 75; Brock 2003, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> 3 occurrences.

<sup>16</sup> 7 occurrences (3× ms; 4× mp) The first of these occurrences (6:25) is spelled  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ , which is probably an error for  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ : see Duval 1881, p. 90, n. 1; R. Payne Smith 1879–1901, c. 3943; J. Payne Smith 1903, p. 545a; Nöldeke 1966, p. 51. A possible explanation for the prosthetic *alaph* in  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  could be that it functions as an orthographical means of disambiguating the form from the ptc act  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$ . This could also explain why  $\text{ܠܘܠܘܬܐ}$  does not have the prosthetic *alaph*: there, the  $\text{ܠ}$ , already clearly indicates that the ptc is passive, so that there is no further need for disambiguation.

It is obvious that words which occur only once or twice in BLC cannot provide statistically conclusive data concerning the orthographic behaviour of the text in the manuscript, but looking at the overall situation, we can conclude that the orthography in BLC shows a clear tendency towards the newer standard. This is indeed what we would expect from a manuscript that was written near the end of the transitional period from the heterogeneous spelling of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries to the more uniform standard of the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The fact that some older spellings are still present (either consistent or as variants) is not so much to be explained by the retention of archaic spellings from the time of origin of BLC (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century), but is simply a reflection of the spelling standards at the time of creation of the manuscript.

This does not, however, explain the reasons behind the exact occurrences of variation, i.e., why a word shows spelling A in one particular location and spelling B in another. One might state that there is no particular system behind this practice, and that the scribe, more or less unconsciously, employed the natural variation allowed for that specific word, one time using the one spelling, another time the other. This may be true, but there is also some indication that for at least a number of cases, the particular spelling in certain positions is the result of a more conscious choice, namely to suit the layout of the text in the manuscript. The *mise-en-page* in the manuscript is very neat. The columns, which are rather narrow (the number of words in a line varies from two to about five), are kept as straight as possible, a feature that implies careful planning by a scribe (either the scribe of the present manuscript or that of a *Vorlage*), who, in order to create lines of equal length, has to justify his text, i.e., balance the placing of words and the spaces between them. Such a practice sometimes leads to lines with very large spaces, as well as to lines with barely any space at all—circumstances that a scribe may consider aesthetically undesirable. A way of avoiding such cases is to employ the possibility of certain words to be written in different ways, using the ‘longer’ version to fill up space and the ‘shorter’ version to create it. There are many examples in BLC where this scribal device could have been of influence, namely at those locations where there is a large space that would have been even larger had the defective spelling been used. This applies to about 13 out of the 18 plene-spelled

occurrences of *חבד*, and to 2 out of the 5 occurrences of *חבדל*. For constructions consisting of more than one word there is the additional possibility of spreading the components over two lines. For 2 out of the 6 occurrences of *כר רב*, and for 7 out of the 15 occurrences of *כר רב*, the disconnected spelling is explained in this way, while for many of the remaining cases the factor of space-filling seems to be of influence. Similar observations apply to the other constructions mentioned in Section 1.1, above.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. PROPER, GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENTILIC NAMES

BLC contains a considerable amount of names, not only for countries, but also for their inhabitants, as well as for persons, deities, astronomical figures, etc. Some of these names are of Semitic origin, others derive from Greek, and others from other languages still. As one might expect, the latter is especially the case for the names of the foreign countries that Bardaisan describes.

### 2.1 *List of names and occurrences*

The following list contains all proper, geographical and gentilic names that occur in BLC, together with the places where they occur. The names are organized alphabetically; their occurrences in order of appearance in the text. Where a name has various spellings in BLC, the alternatives are separated with slashes and labeled (a), (b), etc., in the order of occurrence in the text. The vocalization of the edition of Nau (1907) is given, and, where relevant, alternative spellings and vocalizations attested outside BLC are given.<sup>18</sup> In addition, some names are provided with a brief philological discussion. The names that show variation in orthography are treated in 2.2, some regularities in the rendering of graphemes in names derived from Greek are discussed in 2.3, while the relation between the geographical names and the gentilics derived from them are treated in 2.4.

<sup>17</sup> Spreading over two lines occurs for *חבד* (1 out of 1) *חבדל* (1 out of 6), *כר* + *רב* (3 out of 5), *כר* + *רב* (1 out of 5).

<sup>18</sup> These vocalizations and spellings are derived from dictionaries such as R. Payne Smith 1897-1901; J. Payne Smith 1903; 1927; Brun 1911; Brockelmann 1928 (and its revised edition by Sokoloff 2009); Costaz 1963, etc.

a. *proper names*

ܐܒܓܪ

*Abgar*, an Edessan king.

1 occurrence: 58:21.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'abgar.

Other vocalization outside BLC: 'abgār.

The name Abgar is carried by ten different kings of Edessa.<sup>19</sup> There is some disagreement as to which particular king is referred to here: Cureton thinks that it is probably Abgar VIII the Great;<sup>20</sup> Nau 1899 states that it is Abgar IX.<sup>21</sup> Both kings were contemporary with Bardaisan. The context in BLC is ܐܒܓܪ ܥܡܐ ܒܥܐ : ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܥܡܡܐ ,ܡܝܐܪܬܐ ,ܥܥܡܐ .ܡܥܪ ܕܥܥܡܐ : ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ : ܪܫܐ In Syria, namely<sup>22</sup> in Edessa, people used to cut off their masculinity for Tar'ata [see below], but when king Abgar came to the faith, he ordained that anyone who cut off his masculinity should have his hand cut off.<sup>23</sup> The mentioning of the 'coming to the faith' of a king Abgar reminds us of the Doctrina Addai, which recounts the story of the conversion of Abgar V "the Black" (ܕܥܒܪܐ) shortly after Jesus' death. It is not necessarily the case that both sources have the same Abgar in mind; it is quite possible that a tradition of a king Abgar being converted was generally known, and BLC and the Doctrina Addai connected it to different persons.<sup>24</sup>

ܐܠܘܗܝܡ

*Alohim*; God.

1 occurrence: 12:11.

The name is vocalized in the manuscript: 'alwhīm. Vocalization Nau 1907: 'alūhīm.

<sup>19</sup> See Segal 1970; 1982.

<sup>20</sup> If that is who he means by "Abgar, the son of Maanes, who began his reign A.D. 152" (p. 84). There are three Abgars who are "the son of Maanes" (Ma'nu): Abgar VI (AD 71-91); Abgar VIII the Great (AD 177-212) and Abgar X Frahad (AD 240-242). See Segal 1982.

<sup>21</sup> Abgar IX Severus (AD 212-214) is the son of Abgar VIII.

<sup>22</sup> I have chosen to treat the *waw* as a *waw explicativum*. Translating in Syria and in Edessa would be odd, since Edessa is part of Syria.

<sup>23</sup> 58:20-2.

<sup>24</sup> See also Drijvers 1980a, p. 77; Brock 1992, p. 109.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: 'elūhīm, 'alāwhīm.

The use of this Hebraism<sup>25</sup> for God forms an exception to the more commonly used ܐܠܗܝܢ (14:7; 30:3; see below) or ܐܠܗܝܘܢ (passim). The context may explain this use: ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ 'for he is made after the image of God'. The fixed expression ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ is a (direct or indirect) borrowing from the Hebrew OT (Gen 1:27 בְּצַלְמֵ אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֱתוֹ; Gen 9:6 כִּי בְּצַלְמֵ אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֶת-הָאָדָם – the Peshitta has ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ in these passages). The use of the Hebrew expression leads Nau to the observation that the Septuagint was not used in the composition of BLC, but rather a Hebrew version, or a Syriac one that retained the Hebrew expression.<sup>26</sup> Note that further on in BLC, the expression 'the image / likeness of God' is given in more idiomatic Syriac: ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܢ (24:2).

ܐܡܙܘܢܝܢ (a) / ܐܡܙܘܢܝܢ (b)

*Amazons.*

3 occurrences: 48:19 (a); 48:20 (a); 52:21 (b)

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'amazūnas (a) / 'amazānas (b).

Other spellings outside BLC: ܐܡܙܘܢܝܢ, ܐܡܙܘܢܝܢ, ܐܡܙܘܢܝܢ.

ܐܪܝܢܐ

*Aries.*

1 occurrence: 44:24.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'emrā'.

The word means 'lamb', but is also used for the constellation.

ܐܪܝܢܐ

*Ares; Mars.*

11 occurrences: 40:20; 40:23; 44:8; 44:24; 46:11; 46:11; 48:13; 50:23; 52:3; 52:8; 58:7.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'ares.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: 'aris, 'arīs, 'arī.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 78; Nau 1899, p. 31, n. 1; Merx p. 28, n. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Nau 1899, p. 31, n. 1. More discussion regarding this issue is provided by Jansma 1970, Van der Kooij 1997.

<sup>27</sup> In the manuscript (fol. 136va, l. 26), a later hand has attempted to insert a *yodh* in the occurrence in 40:20: see also Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2.

In 40:20 the name is followed by ܐܘܪܝܢܐ. This is an adjective (strictly a peal pass ptc m emph.), ‘mighty’,<sup>28</sup> but it is also the Syriac equivalent of Ares / Mars.<sup>29</sup> So either we have to translate ‘mighty Mars’, or ‘Mars[, that is,] ‘Azīzā’.

ܠܬܝܘܨܐ

*Belti; Venus.*

10 occurrences: 40:22; 44:6; 44:22; 44:24; 46:10; 48:12; 50:8; 50:9; 50:18; 56:5.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *belaty*.<sup>30</sup>

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: *baltī, baltīn, belatī, beltī, bīlatī, bīltī, blaty*.

Belti (< Babylonian “My Lady”) is the equivalent of Aphrodite / Venus.<sup>31</sup>

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (a) / ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (b)

*Bardaisan*. Literally ‘son of the Daišān’, the river that flows through Edessa.<sup>32</sup>

15 occurrences: 4:3 (a); 4:14 (b); 4:19 (b); 6:10 (a); 8:6 (b); 14:22 (a); 18:11 (b); 18:13 (a); 18:20 (a); 20:25 (b); 38:16 (a); 38:25 (a); 40:6 (b); 40:8 (a); 54:5 (b).

Vocalization Nau 1907: *bardaysān* (consistently written as one word).

For the variation in word spacing, see Section 2.2, below.

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ

*Bar Yama*, one of Bardaisan’s pupils.

1 occurrence: 26:19.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *bar yāmā*’.

The editors have various opinions as to the interpretation of this passage. The context is ...ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ. Some of the editors take ܐܘܪܝܢܐ as a proper name, whereas others see problems in the sudden occurrence of a name that has not appeared earlier in the text, and suggest that it is an adverbial construction with ܐܘܪܝܢܐ. Cureton translates

<sup>28</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> Nöldeke 1910, p. 559; Drijvers 1980a, chapter 6 (pp. 146–174).

<sup>30</sup> Nau vocalizes the occurrence in 40:22 *belatī* (Nau 1907 583:20), but this is corrected to *belaty* in the Errata (p. 658).

<sup>31</sup> See Drijvers 1980a, pp. 183–185; Van der Toorn et al. 1999, p. 171f.

<sup>32</sup> See Tubach 2000 for a detailed description of the etymology of the name Bardaisan.

it as a proper name (*Baryama*), but states that he is not entirely sure: the translation could also be “even profoundly” (literally “a son of the sea”), resulting in “I likewise, o Philippus, even profoundly know ...” Merx prefers the translation as a proper name. He sees no reasons for Cureton’s doubts, considering his alternative option highly artificial and unlikely to have parallels in Syriac.<sup>33</sup> Nau 1899 acknowledges the possibility of translating with a proper name, but he deems it more natural to read ܒܝܡܐ, an archaic word for ܒܝܢܐ “without doubt.” In his edition of 1907, however, Nau has reconsidered this option, translating “Bar Yamma”.<sup>34</sup> In the accompanying footnote, Nöldeke agrees that ܒܝܡܐ is unlikely to be equivalent to the ἔπι ἄκρον in the Greek parallel.<sup>35</sup> Schultheß 1910a has yet another suggestion: he proposes to see ܒܝܡܐ as an error for ܒܝܡܐ, caused by a combination of unclear writing in the *Vorlage* and lack of sleep of the scribe.<sup>36</sup> Drijvers 1966 suggests that ܒܝܡܐ might be a nickname for Marcion, who came from Sinope on the coast of the Pontos Euxeinos, and might therefore be called ‘Son of the Sea’.<sup>37</sup>

The interpretations of ܒܝܡܐ as an adverbial construction with ܒܝܡܐ do not seem very probable. Even if the presence of a *pasoqa* after ܒܝܡܐ and the lack of one after ܒܝܡܐ could be seen as an indication that ܒܝܡܐ and ܒܝܡܐ are to be taken as a single construction, it seems less far-fetched to accept a misplaced *pasoqa* and opt for the interpretation of ܒܝܡܐ as a proper name. Schultheß’s suggestion could be correct, but, since we have no way of verifying this, translating *Bar Yama* is the most straightforward option.

ܒܝܡܐ

*Brahmans*.<sup>38</sup>

6 occurrences: 42:2; 42:3; 42:10; 42:13; 42:16; 52:12.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *brakmānē*’.

<sup>33</sup> Merx 1863, p. 36, n. 1.

<sup>34</sup> c. 564, l. 20.

<sup>35</sup> c. 565, n. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Schultheß 1910a, p. 94. Nöldeke 1910, p. 559 wholeheartedly concurs with this suggestion.

<sup>37</sup> Drijvers 1966, pp. 82–3. Lund 2007, p. 233 reproduces this suggestion, but without giving any reference.

<sup>38</sup> See also Cureton 1855, pp. 80–81; Merx 1863, p. 44, n. 1; Nau 1899, p. 45, n. 7.

Other spellings outside BLC: ܩܕܝܐ, ܩܕܝܐ (pl.).

According to Nöldeke (1910), Syriac has not borrowed this name directly from Sanskrit but via the Greek (Βραχμῶνες).<sup>39</sup> See also 2.3 below.

ܩܕܝܐ

*Capricorn.*

1 occurrence: 44:22.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *gadyā*'.

The word means 'male goat', but is also used for the constellation.

ܩܘܐܝܢ

*Aquarius.*

1 occurrence: 44:22.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *dawlā*'.

The word means '(water) bucket', but is also used for the constellation.

ܩܘܝܡܐ (a) / ܩܘܝܡܐ (b)

*Hermes, Mercury.*<sup>40</sup>

5 occurrences: 48:12 (a); 50:8 (b) (2×); 50:18 (b); 56:5 (b).

Vocalization Nau 1907: *hermis* (a), *hermīs* (b).<sup>41</sup>

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: 'armīs, hermīsā', hrms'.

The name (in the spelling *hermīs*) also occurs in Acts 14:12. For the variation in orthography in BLC, see Section 2.2, below.

ܩܘܝܩܐ

The planet *Bel*; *Jupiter*.

1 occurrence: 46:11.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *kawkabīl*.

The word is a contraction of the genitive construction ܩܘܝܩܐ ܩܘܝܩܐ 'the star / planet of Bel.'<sup>42</sup> Bel is the equivalent of Jupiter.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Nöldeke 2010, p. 556, n. 4.

<sup>40</sup> See Drijvers 1980a, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> In 50:18 Nau 1907 (596:4) has spelling (a) where the manuscript has spelling (b).

<sup>42</sup> Nöldeke in his note to Nau 1907 (c. 591, n. 3) proposes to read the two-word spelling.

<sup>43</sup> Drijvers 1980a, chapter 3 (pp. 40–75).

ܟܘܢ

*Kewan; Saturn.*

4 occurrences: 44:7 (2×); 48:13; 52:8.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *kewān*.

Other spellings outside BLC: ܟܘܢܐ, ܟܘܢܐ, ܟܘܢܐ.

The name derives from the Babylonian name for Saturn, *kayyamānu* 'the Steady One'. It also occurs in Amos 5:26: ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ ܟܘܢܐ 'and Kewan, your star-idol' (MT וְיָצַת כִּיּוֹן צִלְמִיָּדָם בְּזָבָב).<sup>44</sup>

ܡܘܫܐ

*Moses.*

1 occurrence: 56:23.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *mūše'*.

ܠܘܕܐ

*The Lord.*

One can debate whether ܠܘܕܐ is to be treated as a proper name or merely as an epithet, but since it is used in BLC (and Syriac in general) exclusively to refer to God, the Turgama model treats the word as a proper noun.

ܢܘܡܝܕܐܘܢ

*Numidia / Numidians / Nomades.*

1 occurrence: 50:12.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *nūmrūs*.

Most editors propose to read a ܐ instead of a ܐ: ܢܘܡܝܕܐܘܢ / ܢܘܡܝܕܐܘܢ,<sup>45</sup> but some translate with the name of a people,<sup>46</sup> others with that of a land.<sup>47</sup> The context allows for both interpretations: ܢܘܡܝܕܐܘܢ ܠܘܕܐܘܢ 'in the place of ܢܘܡܝܕܐܘܢ'; BLC uses the construction -ܐ ܠܘܕܐܘܢ in combination with peoples (ܠܘܕܐܘܢ, ܠܘܕܐܘܢ, ܠܘܕܐܘܢ) as well as countries / regions (ܠܘܕܐܘܢ, ܠܘܕܐܘܢ). The

<sup>44</sup> Van der Toorn et al. 1999, p. 478.

<sup>45</sup> Schultheß 1910a, p. 94.

<sup>46</sup> 'Nomades' (Curetton 1855, p. 83); 'Numidier' (Merx 1863, p. 49); 'Numides' (Nau 1899, p. 51, n. 3); 'Numidarum' (Nau 1907, c. 595); 'Numider' (Krannich & Stein 2005, p. 225a); also Payne Smith 1897-1901, 'Nomades, Numidiani' (c. 2323).

<sup>47</sup> 'Numidien' (Schultheß 1910a, p. 94); Nöldeke 1910, p. 560; but it is not entirely clear from their commentary if this is how they propose to translate the name.

ending ܘܐ- can be explained by the possibility that the word was borrowed from a Greek accusative masc. pl. Νομάδους.<sup>48</sup>

ܦܘܠܘܘܢ

*Cancer.*

1 occurrence: 50:23.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *sarṭānā'*.

The word means 'crab', but is also used for the constellation.

ܐܘܘܕܐ

*Awida*, one of Bardaisan's pupils; the main interlocutor in the discussion.

16 occurrences: 4:8; 4:14; 4:17; 6:7; 6:25; 8:6; 8:10; 10:1; 14:19; 18:11; 18:18; 20:22; 38:8; 38:23; 40:4; 40:7.

Vocalization Nau 1907: '*awīdā'*.

The name is quite frequent in Edessa; it occurs in the *Doctrina Addai*. The Greek has Ἀβειδά. Other spelling outside BLC: ܐܘܘܕܐ.<sup>49</sup>

ܦܘܠܘܘܢ

*Philippus*, one of Bardaisan's pupils; the likely author of BLC (see remarks in Chapter 1, Section 1.2).<sup>50</sup>

3 occurrences: 14:13; 26:19; 54:11.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *pīlīpāws*.

Other vocalization outside BLC: *pīlepāws*.

ܫܡܫܘܓܪܡ

*Shemashgram*, a 'brother' of Bardaisan's pupils, at whose premises the location of the discussion is set.

1 occurrence: 4:2.

In the manuscript, the name has vocalization: ܫܡܫܘܓܪܡ, reproduced by Nau 1907.<sup>51</sup> The name means 'the sun has decided'. It also occurs in the

<sup>48</sup> "It is a feature of borrowings from Greek and Latin into many languages that the form taken over is the accusative", Brock 1992/6, p. 254. The same phenomenon may apply to ܘܐܘܘܘܢ / ܘܐܘܘܢ (see above), where the ending -s could represent the accusative fem. pl. Ἀμαζόνες (cf. the alternative spelling ܘܐܘܘܢܘܢ and the vocalization -as by Nau 1907).

<sup>49</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 77; Nau 1899, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> See also Nau 1899, p. 32, n. 1; Krannich & Stein 2005, p. 205, n. 18.

<sup>51</sup> Renan 1852 interpreted the word as a geographical name, translating ܫܡܫܘܓܪܡ "à Schemsgarm". He has taken the vowels ܘ and ܘ as belonging to ܫܡܫܘܓܪܡ 'and [he] came'

Doctrina Addai, and is attested in many other sources as well. The Greek has Σαμψιγέραμος.<sup>52</sup>

ܐܬܪܬܐ

*Tar'ata; Ataratha;* a Syrian goddess, in Greek also referred to as *Atargatis, Derketo* or *Deasura* (< *Dea Syra*, 'the Syrian goddess'), also identified with the Greek goddess *Rhea*. The name occurs in the *Doctrina Addai* as well.<sup>53</sup>

1 occurrence: 58:21.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *tar'ata'*.

### *b. geographical names*

ܡܝܨܪ

*Egypt.*

1 occurrence: 44:3.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *'egiptāws*.

Other spellings / vocalizations: *'agbṭāws*, *'agābṭws*, *'agibṭws*, *'agūbṭāws*, *'agep-ṭāws*, *'agiptāws*, *'agīpṭāws*, *'egūpṭās*, *'gwṭws*, *'ygwṭws*.

Note that the Greek name for Egypt is used, not the Semitic ܡܝܨܪ. The gentilic (see below) is spelled with ܥ instead of ܐ. For the orthography, see Section 2.4, below.

ܐܕܘܡ

*Edom.*

1 occurrence: 58:2

Vocalization Nau 1907: *'adūm*.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: *'ādūm*.

in the following line, and has translated the resulting word ܐܘܘܪܐ as a proper name "Évèthes". Cureton 1855, p. 77 already mentioned these errors. Nöldeke (Nau 1907, c. 536, n. 2) doubts whether the vocalization accurately reflects the original pronunciation: he supposes that the vocalization *šmešgram* would be more correct.

<sup>52</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 77. Nau 1899 (p. 27, n. 1) incorrectly translates the name as 'Le soleil a créé'.

<sup>53</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 84; Merx 1863, p. 53–4, n. 1; Hilgenfeld 1864, p. 18, n. 2; Nau 1899, p. 55, n. 1; Van der Toorn et al. 1999, p. 114f. On the cult of Atargatis at Edessa, see especially Drijvers 1980a, chapter 4 (pp. 76–121).

𐭪𐭣𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥

*Oceanus.*

1 occurrence: 50:12.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'ūqyanūs.

Other spellings/vocalizations outside BLC: 'wq''nws, 'āwqe'awnās, 'awqiya-nāws, 'ūqya'nāws, 'ūqiya'nāws, 'ūqīnāws, 'ūqiyanāws, 'wqyn', 'ēāwqiyanāws.

𐭪𐭮𐭥𐭮

*Urhay, Edessa.*<sup>54</sup>

3 occurrences: 58:20; 58:24; 60:10.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'ūrhāy.

The orthography 'ūrh- goes back to \*rūh- (cf. Arabic الروهة), according to the same phonetic process as \*yrwšlm > 'wršlm.<sup>55</sup>

𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮

*Hispania, Spain.*

1 occurrence: 50:13.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'espaniya'.<sup>56</sup>

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: 'spnwn, 'aspaniya', 'espanya'.

The name is typically spelled with prosthetic *alaph* to avoid the syllable-initial consonant cluster -*spn*.<sup>57</sup>

𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮

*Atropatene, Adorbigan, modern Azerbaijan.*

1 occurrence: 44:2

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'atarprātīn (written as one word).

The fact that this name is written as two words may indicate that the name is to be, or was, interpreted as 'place of the Parthians'.<sup>58</sup> However, the

<sup>54</sup> See also Cureton 1855, p. 82.

<sup>55</sup> Duval 1881, p. 90.

<sup>56</sup> The Greek and Latin parallels have represented this name with 'Scythia'; Nöldeke in his note to Nau 1907 (c. 595, l. 25) proposes to read 𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 accordingly. He does not give a reason for this suggestion; maybe it is the fact that Spain is not located in the same area as the countries and peoples together with which it is mentioned.

<sup>57</sup> Nöldeke 1966, § 51; Brockelmann 1960, § 64.

<sup>58</sup> This interpretation is reflected in the translations of Cureton 1855 (p. 18) and Merx 1863 (p. 45). In fact, Cureton translates the passage 𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 𐭪𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 as 'and in the country of Parthia' (p. 18), thereby either skipping one of the two terms, or fusing them into one construction. No explanatory footnotes are given.

name in the text is immediately followed by ܐܠܝܘܨܝܐ ‘and in Parthia’, so it seems odd to have two different names for the same country in a row. Especially the fact that the two terms are separated by ܐ makes it more likely that another region is referred to here. Payne Smith<sup>59</sup> suggests that ܦܪܝܘܐ might refer to the Euphrates (ܦܪܝܐ, see below); others interpret the name as Atropatene<sup>60</sup> / Adorbigan<sup>61</sup> / Azerbaijan, etc.<sup>62</sup>

ܒܒܠ

*Babel; Babylon.*

1 occurrence: 38:25.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *bābel*.

Other spellings outside BLC: ܒܒܠܠ.

ܒܪܘܣܐ

*Brusa*, probably a city in north-western Turkey (modern Bursa).

1 occurrence: 50:16.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *brūsā*'.

The context is ܐܝܘܢܐ ܕܪܘܪܐ ܒܪܘܣܐ *and in Brusa, which is across (the river) Duru*. It is not entirely clear which place and which river are referred to here.<sup>63</sup> Brusa is probably Bursa in north-western Turkey, the first capital of the Ottoman empire; for the Duru, see below.

ܒܠܝܐ

*Gallia; Gaul.*

2 occurrences: 48:11; 60:4.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *galiya*'.

<sup>59</sup> Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 3313.

<sup>60</sup> Greek Ἀτροπατήνη, named after the Persian satrap Atropates (4<sup>th</sup> century BC).

<sup>61</sup> Syriac ܦܪܝܘܐ, ܦܪܝܘܐ, ܦܪܝܘܐ (Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 36).

<sup>62</sup> Thus Nau 1907 (c. 587), Nau 1931 (p. 46), Drijvers 1965 (p. 45), Krannich & Stein 2005 (p. 222b). Nöldeke proposes to read ܦܪܝܘܐ (in his note to Nau 1907, c. 587, l. 4) / ܦܪܝܘܐ *Atrpatakān* (Nöldeke 1910, p. 556). No explanatory footnotes are given.

<sup>63</sup> See for discussion Cureton 1855, p. 83; Nau 1899, p. 51, n. 4. Since the Greek has ἐν Χρυσῇ (the equivalent of ܐܝܘܢܐ ܕܪܘܪܐ is absent in the Greek), Nöldeke in his note to Nau 1907 (c. 596, l. 1) suggests that the ܐ of ܒܪܘܣܐ is an error for a ܕ and proposes to read ܐܝܘܢܐ ܕܪܘܪܐ ܒܪܘܣܐ ‘et in Chryse quae est ultra Indiam’. Chryse was, among others, a name used to refer to modern Indo-China.

Other spellings/vocalizations outside BLC: *ga'liya'*, *ga'lliya'*, *g'lly's*, *glyws*, *glynws*.

𐌲𐌹𐌿𐌶

*Germania*.<sup>64</sup>

1 occurrence: 50:13.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *germaniya'*.

𐌳𐌹𐌶

The river *Duru*.

1 occurrence: 50:16.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *dūrū*.

See also the discussion under 𐌲𐌹𐌿𐌶 above. It is not entirely clear which river is meant by this name.<sup>65</sup> Nau 1899 suggests that it could be the Oder, or perhaps a river in Hybernia called Δούρ.<sup>66</sup> As mentioned in note 63, above, Nöldeke proposes to read 𐌳𐌹𐌶.<sup>67</sup> If it is true that 𐌲𐌹𐌿𐌶 is Bursa in north-western Turkey, then the 𐌳𐌹𐌶 must be located in the same area, somewhere between it and Edessa, because of the context '𐌲𐌹𐌿𐌶, which is across the 𐌳𐌹𐌶.' In the north-east of modern Turkey there is a river called Çoruh, which might fit this description: seen from Edessa, Bursa lies across it.

𐌳𐌺𐌹

*India*.

1 occurrence: 42:9.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *hendū*.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: 𐌳𐌺𐌹

BLC seems to use two different names to refer to India: see the discussion under 𐌲𐌺𐌹 below.

𐌲𐌺𐌹

*India*.

2 occurrences: 42:2; 42:9.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *hendiyā'* (42:2); *hendiya'* (42:9).

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: 𐌳𐌲𐌺𐌹

<sup>64</sup> See also Merx 1863, p. 50, n. 1.

<sup>65</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 83.

<sup>66</sup> Nau 1899, p. 51, n. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Nau 1907, c. 596, l. 1.

It seems that BLC synonymously uses two separate terms for India: אַיַּמָּ (see above) and אַיַּמָּ. It is unlikely that these two forms are mere orthographic variants representing the same pronunciation: rather, they seem to be separate lexemes with a separate etymology. R. Payne Smith gives the two names under two different lemmas;<sup>68</sup> J. Payne Smith and Costaz, however, give both names under the same lemma אַיַּמָּ.

אֶיַּמָּ (a) / אֶיַּמָּ (b)

*Hatra*.<sup>69</sup>

3 occurrences: 46:17 (a) (2×); 60:13 (b).

Vocalization Nau 1907: *ḥatra'* (a); *ḥūṭrā'* (b).

Other vocalization outside BLC: *ḥāṭrā'*.

For the variation in orthography, see Section 2.2, below.

אֶיַּמָּ

*Judea*.

1 occurrence: 60:6.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *yhūd*.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: *ihūdā'*.

אֶיַּמָּ

*Greece*.

1 occurrence: 58:3.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *yāwān*.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: *yawan*, *yawān*.

אֶיַּמָּ

*Libya*.

1 occurrence: 50:11.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *lībiya'*.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: *lwb''*, *lūbiyā'*, *lybw''*, *lwby''*, *lybw'y*, *lybwy*, *lwb'*, *lūbī*.

אֶיַּמָּ

*Media*.

4 occurrences: 44:2; 50:19; 50:21; 60:8.

<sup>68</sup> Cc. 1026 and 1027, respectively.

<sup>69</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 82; Nau 1899, p. 48, n. 4; Drijvers 1980a, *passim*.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *māday*.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: *maday*.

The gentilic to this name (see list c, below) is written in the same way.

ܡܝܕܝܐ

*Syria*.

1 occurrence: 58:20.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *sūrī*.

The spelling ending in ܝܐ, is exceptional: the more common orthography is ܫܝܐ (*sūriya*).<sup>70</sup>

ܫܡܫܝܐ

*Sarmatia*, roughly the area between the Vistula river and the Caspian Sea.

1 occurrence: 50:13.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *sarmaṭiya*'.

ܐܪܒܝܐ

*Araba*, the part of the Mesopotamian desert that fell under Roman rule.<sup>71</sup>

2 occurrences: 56:17; 58:2.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'rab.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: 'arab, 'ārāb.

ܩܘܢܝܐ

*Pontus*, a region in the northern part of Turkey.

1 occurrence: 50:14

Vocalization Nau 1907: *pānṭūs*.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: *pānṭāws, pāwnṭāws*.

ܫܪܝܓܝܐ

*Phrygia*.

1 occurrence: 44:3.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *prūgiya*'.

Other spelling outside BLC: *prīgiya*'.

ܠܝܦܪܝܬܝܐ

*Euphrates*.

1 occurrence: 46:21.

<sup>70</sup> Nöldeke (Nau 1907 p. 607, l. 10) proposes to read ܫܝܐ.

<sup>71</sup> Nau 1899, p. 54, n. 2; Nau 1907, c. 603, l. 25; Nöldeke 1910, p. 557-8.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *prāt*.

Other vocalization outside BLC: *prat*.

The name has no etymological connection with 𐎠𐎡𐎢 (see below).

𐎠𐎡𐎢

*Parthia*.

2 occurrences: 44:3; 60:5.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *partū*.

Other spellings / vocalizations outside BLC: *partway*, *partiya*'.

The name has no connection with 𐎡𐎢 'Euphrates', but is derived from the old Persian version of the name, *Parthava*.<sup>72</sup> See also Greek Παρθία / Παρθυαία / Παρθυηνή.<sup>73</sup> For the spelling with 𐎠, see 𐎠𐎡𐎢 below + note 90.

𐎠𐎡𐎢

*China*.<sup>74</sup>

1 occurrence: 40:17.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *šīr*.

### c. *gentilic names*

The term 'gentilic names' here refers to adjectives that are derived from geographical names.<sup>75</sup> For consistency's sake, in the following list they are given in the absolute singular. The form in which they occur in BLC, however, is always the emphatic state masculine plural (ending in 𐎠-), with only one exception where the gender is feminine: 46:10 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 'Bactrian women'. For the morphological relation between geographical names and gentilics, see Section 2.4, below.

<sup>72</sup> Merx 1863, p. 48, n. 3; Nau 1899, p. 50, n. 2. R. Payne Smith's suggestion (Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 3312) that the name is borrowed directly from Sanskrit *pārd(a)* is less likely. (I would like to thank my colleague prof.dr. A.F. de Jong for this observation.)

<sup>73</sup> Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 3312.

<sup>74</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 80; Merx 1863, p. 43, n. 1; Nau 1899, p. 45, n. 3; Nöldeke 1910, p. 556; Hegedus 2003, p. 340, n. 41.

<sup>75</sup> The names 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 and 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 do not fit this definition: although the terms do refer to certain peoples, their part of speech is not adjective, but (proper) noun. For this reason these two names have been treated in list 2.1a.

ܐܓܝܦܝܐ

*Egyptian*; the gentilic to ܐܓܝܦܝܐܢܝܐ (see above).

2 occurrences: 40:2; 40:5.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'egibṭāy.

Note the alternation ܐ / ܐ: see also Section 2.4, below.

ܥܕܝܣܝܐ

*Edessan*; The gentilic to ܥܕܝܣܝܐܢܝܐ (see above).

3 occurrences: 46:13; 46:14; 52:17.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'ūrḥāy.

For the formation, see Section 2.4 below.

ܐܠܒܢܝܐ

*Albanian*, referring to Caucasian Albania, i.e., the region to the west of the Caspian Sea; the east of modern Georgia.

1 occurrence: 50:15.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'albānāy.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: 'albanāy.

The gentilic to 'alba'niya' (not in BLC).

ܐܠܢܝܐ

*Alanian*, referring to the region to the north of the Caspian Sea.<sup>76</sup>

1 occurrence: 50:15.

Vocalization Nau 1907: 'alānāy.

Other vocalizations outside BLC: 'alanāy, 'elanāy.

The gentilic to 'ālān (not in BLC).<sup>77</sup>

ܒܒܠܝܐ

*Babylonian*; the gentilic to ܒܒܠܝܐܢܝܐ (see above).

1 occurrence: 40:5.

Vocalization Nau 1907: bāblāy.

ܒܚܝܬܝܐ (a) / ܒܚܝܬܝܐܢܝܐ (b) / ܒܚܝܬܝܐܢܝܐ (c)

*Bactrian*.

3 occurrences: 46:1 (a); 46:1 (b); 46:10 (c) (fem).

Vocalization Nau 1907: baḥtīrāy (a); buḥrātāy (b); baḥtrāy (c).

<sup>76</sup> Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 211.

<sup>77</sup> Payne Smith 1927, p. 20b.

Bactria lies in the north of modern Afghanistan. The name is derived from Persian *bakhtar* “the west”<sup>78</sup>; the Greek equivalent is Βάκτροι; see Section 2.3, below. For the variation in orthography, see Section 2.2, below.

𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (a) / 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (b)

*Britannic*.<sup>79</sup>

3 occurrences: 48:15 (a); 48:15 (b); 52:16 (b)

Vocalization / spelling Nau: *brīṭūnāy* (a, b).

The gentilic to 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭪𐭥𐭥, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (not in BLC).

R. Payne Smith translates the first occurrence in 48:15 with the name of the country, ‘Britannia’, instead of that of the people.<sup>80</sup> However, this interpretation is made untenable by the fact that the word in the manuscript has *syame*: 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. Payne Smith’s translation is explained by the fact that he has based himself on Cureton’s edition, where the *syame* are absent.<sup>81</sup>

𐭪𐭥 1

*Gelian*.

7 occurrences: 44:12 (2×); 44:17 (spelled 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥); 44:22; 44:23; 60:6.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *gelāy*. See also 𐭪𐭥 2, below.

The context in 44:17 is 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥. Because of the disagreement in gender between the pronominal suffix 𐭪𐭥- (fem) and 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (masc), Nau proposes to read 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥.<sup>82</sup> Schultheß proposes to read 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 “ihre Männer, die Gelen.” This interpretation is perfectly reasonable, but in order to arrive at it, there is no need to alter the text in any way: the 𐭪𐭥 does not have to be deleted, since it might well function as an explanatory particle here: ‘their (fem) men, to wit, the Gelians.’ Nau’s suggestion, on the other hand, could explain the spelling with the extra *alaph* as a corruption of a 𐭪 in the Vorlage.

<sup>78</sup> See also Nöldeke 1910, p. 556.

<sup>79</sup> See Merx 1863, p. 48, n. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 522.

<sup>81</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 𐭥, l. 12. In his translation, however, Cureton has ‘Britons’ (p. 23, l. 11), which suggests that he might have seen the *syame* in the manuscript, but failed to reproduce them in his edition. The edition of Nau 1899 also lacks the *syame* (p. 23, l. 15), and hence that of Drijvers 1965 (48:15)—although the latter does propose the emendation 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (p. 66). The *syame* are present in Nau’s edition of 1907 (c. 592, l. 16 + note).

<sup>82</sup> Nau 1899, p. 47, n. 2; Nau 1907, c. 587, l. 25 + note.

2 جال

*Gallic*, the gentilic to جال (see above).

1 occurrence: 52:20.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *galāy*.

Although this gentilic is a homograph of جال 1, the context in BLC makes it clear that the occurrence in 52:20 cannot refer to the Gelians:  $\text{ﻟﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻪ}$  [ﻟﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻪ] *nor (does fate force) the جال to refrain from having intercourse with one another*. This does not concur with what is said earlier about the Gelians—namely that their women show masculine behaviour and vice versa<sup>83</sup>—but rather with the description of the Germans and Gauls, whose men take boys as their husbands.<sup>84</sup>

جالمان

*Germanic*.

3 occurrences: 48:6; 52:5; 52:7.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *germanāy*.

ﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ

*Indian*; the gentilic to ﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ.

7 occurrences: 42:2; 42:14<sup>85</sup>; 42:18; 50:25; 52:2; 52:14; 54:21.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *hendwāy*.

Morphologically, this is apparently the gentilic to ﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ, not ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ, which, if the same derivation process as for the other gentilics in BLC is applicable here, would have been \*ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ or \*ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ.

ﻟﻮﺗﻮ

*Tayite*, an Arabic tribe; also used to refer to Arabs in general (see remarks at ﻟﻮﺗﻮ below).<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> 44:12-25.

<sup>84</sup> 48:6-15.

<sup>85</sup> The final part of this word is difficult to read in the manuscript (fol. 136v, l. 3): the area between ﺍ and ﻟ is worn and stained. It seems to contain two letters, the second of which might be a *yodh*. The remains of the first letter have the appearance of the right and top part of a ﺍ, or possibly a ﺍ, so that the result could be something like \*ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ. Since this does not make sense to me, I have chosen to follow the editors, who have ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ (sg). No *syame* are visible. Another possibility is that the sign between the ﺍ and the (possible) , is some kind of connective dash, maybe to indicate that a mistake has been made at that point, and that we are to read ﻟﻪﻫﻨﺪﻭﺗﻮ.

1 occurrence: 50:11.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *ṭayāy*.

ܣܘܪܝܝܢܐ

Greek; the gentilic to ܣܘܪܝܝܢܐ (see above).

2 occurrences: 44:10; 52:18.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *yawnāy*.

ܚܠܕܝܐ

Chaldean.

8 occurrences: 26:20; 28:6; 30:4; 38:25; 50:7 (2×); 54:7; 54:12.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *kaldāy*.

In BLC, the term is used in the sense of 'astrologers'.

ܡܕܝܐ

Median, the gentilic to the homograph ܡܕܝܐ (see b, above).

2 occurrences: 50:22; 52:15.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *mādāy*.

Other vocalization: *madāy*.

ܡܘܪܝܬܝܐܢܝܐ

Mauritanian.

1 occurrence: 50:12.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *mūrantāy*.

Other spelling outside BLC: *mwrytyn-*.

The editors propose to read ܡܘܪܝܬܝܐܢܝܐ or ܡܘܪܝܬܝܐܢܝܐ.<sup>87</sup> The spelling in the manuscript could be a mistake or an optional variant with metathesis of ܡܘ and ܝܐ.

ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ

*Saracene*, also used for Arabs in general.

1 occurrence: 50:11.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *sarqāy*.

The terms ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ (see above) and ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ can be used synonymously to refer to Arabs or Orientals in general, but BLC clearly uses the two names to refer to

<sup>86</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 83. The name is used to mean 'muslim' in several modern Aramaic dialects.

<sup>87</sup> Nau 1899, p. 51, n. 2; Nau 1907, c. 595; Schultheß 1910a, p. 94; Nöldeke 1910, p. 560. Schultheß (ibid.) further proposes to swap the names ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ (for ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ, see above) and ܣܪܩܝܐܝܐ(ܡ), because of the context.

different peoples (although they may live in the same area): *ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܩܝܢ ܘܕܬܝܝܬܝܢ* ‘and in the whole area of the Saracens and of the Tayites...’

ܐܪܒܝܐ

*Arabian*, the gentilic to ܐܪܒܝܐ (see above).<sup>88</sup>

2 occurrences: 46:13; 46:14.

Vocalization Nau 1907: ‘*arābāy* (46:13); ‘*arbāy* (46:14)

Other vocalization outside BLC: ‘*arabāy*.

ܦܪܫܝܐ (a) / ܦܪܫܝܐܐ (b)

*Persian*.<sup>89</sup>

6 occurrences: 42:22 (a) (2×); 44:6 (a); 44:2 (b) (written without *syame*); 52:13 (a); 54:23 (a).

Vocalization Nau 1907: *pārsāy* (a); *pūrsāy* (b).

The occurrence in 44:2 lacks the *syame*, but the context strongly suggests that we should read a plural: *ܘܗܝܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܦܪܫܝܐܐ ܕܡܪܘܘܢ ܘܗܝܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܐ* (*some*) of these Persians have moved out of their country and live in Media... It is not clear if there is a connection between the lack of *syame* and the spelling with *ܐ* in the same occurrence; it seems a coincidence. See also 2.2.

ܦܪܬܝܐ

*Parthian*, the gentilic to ܦܪܬܝܐ (see above)

4 occurrences: 44:9; 48:17; 48:17; 52:15.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *partwāy*.

The spelling with *ܐ* reflects the old Persian origin of the name, *Parthava*.<sup>90</sup>

ܫܫܝܐ

*Zazite / Sasite*.

1 occurrence: 50:15.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *şaşāy*.

It is not quite clear what people is meant by this name.<sup>91</sup> Hilgenfeld and Nau suggest that it could refer to the Saxons.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 82; Nau 1899, p. 54, n. 2;

<sup>89</sup> See Cureton 1855, pp. 81–2; Merx 1863, p. 45, n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Merx 1863, p. 48, n. 3; Nau 1899, p. 50, n. 2.

<sup>91</sup> See Cureton 1855, p. 83; Merx 1863, p. 41, n. 1.

𐤒𐤍𐤏

*Cushanian.*

4 occurrences: 46:1 46:9; 46:18; 60:7.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *qušanāy*.

Other vocalization outside BLC: *qašnāy*.

Some of the editors have trouble identifying this people,<sup>93</sup> but they are most likely to be the Cushans, a tribe of Chinese origin<sup>94</sup> that in Bardaisan's time ruled an empire in the region of Bactria (see under 𐤒𐤍𐤏 above).<sup>95</sup>

𐤓𐤌𐤍

*Roman.*

4 occurrences:

44:10; 46:20; 52:19; 56:17.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *rhūmāy*.

𐤓𐤕𐤍

*Rakamaean.*

2 occurrences: 46:13; 46:14.

Vocalization Nau 1907: *rqamāy*.

This gentilic probably refers to the town of Petra, which was formerly called Rekeme, or Reqem.<sup>96</sup> In the Peshitta, the name 𐤓𐤕𐤍 corresponds to Hebrew קְדָשׁ; e.g., Judges 4:6 בְּיַד־בִּינְעָם מִקְדָּשׁ נִפְתָּלִי, as well as to קְדָם; e.g., Judges 6:3 וַעֲמִלֵק וּבְגִי־קְדָם וְעָלוּ עָלָיו.

𐤔𐤓 (a) / 𐤔𐤓 (b)

*Chinese*, the gentilic to 𐤔𐤓 (see above + note 74).

5 occurrences: 40:16 (a); 40:16 (b); 40:20 (b); 40:23 (b); 52:12 (b).

Vocalization Nau 1907: *šrāy* (a) / *šīrāy* (b).

<sup>92</sup> Hilgenfeld 1864, p. 129; Nau 1899, p. 51. The latter also gives a few other suggestions. My colleague Johny Messo (2006, p. 16, n. 108) has suggested that the name might be connected to modern Chechnya.

<sup>93</sup> Cureton 1855, p. 82; Merx 1863, p. 46, n. 2.

<sup>94</sup> They were also known by the name Guìshuāng (貴霜) or Yuèzhī (月氏). See Nau 1899, p. 48, n. 1.

<sup>95</sup> See a.o. Nöldeke 1910, p. 556; Winter 1999, p. 154 + note 630; Nau 1907, c. 589, n. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Drijvers 1966, p. 91 + note 4.

## 2.2 Names with orthographic variation

As can be observed, a number of the names in 2.1 show variation in orthography:

𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮  
 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮

For most of these cases, the version with alternative orthography occurs only once: these ‘hapaxes’ have been framed in the list above. For 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, all three occurrences have a different orthography.

A regularity that can be observed in the variation of these seven words is the presence vs. absence of a *waw* (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮; 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮; 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮), *yodh* (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮; 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮) or both (𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮; 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮). One may be tempted to describe these as cases of plene vs. defective spelling, and this may indeed be the case, but we cannot be entirely sure. Here, the vagueness of the boundary between orthography and morphology becomes apparent. Do, for instance, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 and 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 refer to the same pronunciation (e.g., \**ḥuṭra*’), or to two different ones (e.g., *ḥaṭra*’ and *ḥūṭra*’, like Nau 1907 vocalizes)? If the former is the case, we are indeed dealing with a plene / defective issue, but if the latter is the case, the question becomes a morphological one. Similar considerations apply to the other cases.

The case of 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 is comparable with constructions like 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮 / 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮, etc. (see Section 1.1, above). The use of both spellings alongside each other results from the fact that the components 𐭪𐭫𐭮 and 𐭪𐭫𐭮 are still recognized as autonomous words that can be used independently.

The possible explanations for the orthographic variation in these names are comparable to those discussed in 1.2 above. The orthographic standards at the time of creation of the manuscript allowed for several possible spell-

ings, which, as can be seen from the numerous alternative spellings and vocalizations attested outside BLC (see Section 1.1, above), especially applies to proper, geographical and gentilic names. Here, too, the layout of the text may have had some influence on the choice of the scribe as to which spelling to use in which environment: the device of space filling or avoiding seems to have been applied to a number of cases.<sup>97</sup> Spreading over two lines does not occur, however: all six occurrences of two-word  $\text{ܟܝ ܕܝܫܝ}$  are written on the same line.

### 2.3 The rendering of foreign sounds and graphemes

Many of the names are of foreign (i.e., outside Syriac) origin, and are therefore subject to the complex process of rendering foreign sounds or graphemes into their Syriac equivalents. A considerable number of the names in BLC are derived from Greek, or at least show features that are typical for the rendering of Greek loanwords. These features are:

#### a. retention of Greek endings.<sup>98</sup>

-OS:  $\text{ܘܠܦܫܐܪ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܘܫܘܪ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܘܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܘܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܦܫܐ}$ ;

-ES:  $\text{ܘܠܘܫܘܪ}$  /  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪ}$ ;

-ŊS:  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪ}$ ,  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪܐ}$  /  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ;

-IA:  $\text{ܠܘܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ ,  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ .

#### b. regular grapheme correspondences:

The rendering of Greek loanwords in Syriac is often (but not always) based on graphemes, rather than pronunciation; e.g.,  $\text{ܘ}$  is frequently represented by  $\text{ܐ}$  (although the rendering with  $\text{ܘ}$ , also occurs).<sup>99</sup> The following corre-

<sup>97</sup> For  $\text{ܘܠܘܫܘܪ}$  /  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪ}$ , and even more clearly for  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪܐ}$  /  $\text{ܘܠܫܘܪܐ}$ , the shorter form occurs on a line that contains noticeably less space than the lines in which the longer forms are located. The form  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$  is an even clearer example: it occurs on a line together with only one other word, with an extraordinarily large space between the two; the two other occurrences in the shorter form  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$  have much less space around them. The same goes for  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$  /  $\text{ܠܫܘܪܐ}$ .

<sup>98</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 254–5.

spondences that are common in the rendering of Greek loanwords can be observed in BLC:

• *consonants:*

κ - ⲕ<sup>100</sup>: ⲟⲗⲙⲉⲟⲕ (Ὠκεανός), ⲙⲓⲟ (Σαρακηνός);

π - ⲡ<sup>101</sup>: ⲟⲗⲑⲁⲗⲕⲏⲣ (Αἴγυπτος), ⲕⲉⲑⲉⲕⲏ<sup>102</sup> (Σπανία), ⲟⲗⲑⲁ (Πόντος), ⲟⲗⲑⲁⲗⲏⲥ (Φίλιππος);

ρ - ⲣⲓ<sup>103</sup>: ⲡⲟⲣⲟⲓ (Ῥώμη);

τ - ⲧ<sup>104</sup>: ⲟⲗⲑⲁⲗⲕⲏⲣ / ⲧⲁⲗⲕⲏⲣ (Αἴγυπτος), ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲥ (Βρεττανία), ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲁ (Μαυριτανία), ⲕⲉⲑⲁⲓⲟⲩ (Σαρματία), ⲟⲗⲑⲁ (Πόντος);

σ - ⲟ<sup>105</sup>: *passim*; e.g., ⲕⲟⲟⲙⲟⲩ (νόμος);

φ - ⲑ<sup>106</sup>: ⲟⲗⲑⲁⲗⲏⲥ (Φίλιππος), ⲕⲉⲑⲁⲓⲟⲩ (Φρυγία);

χ - ⲕⲁ<sup>107</sup>: ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲓⲟⲩ (Χαλδαῖος), ⲕⲉⲑⲁⲓⲥ (Βραχμᾶνες).

• *vowels:*

α - ⲁ: ⲟⲓⲕⲏ (Ἄρης / Ἄρες), ⲁⲗⲑⲁⲓⲥ (Ἀλβανία), ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ (Ἄλανία), ⲟⲗⲙⲁⲗⲟⲛⲉⲥ (Ἀμαζόνες / -ας<sup>108</sup>);

α - ⲁ<sup>109</sup>: ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲥ / ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥ (Βρεττανία);

ι - ⲓ: *passim*;

η - ⲏ: ⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ (Ἑρμῆς);

ο - ⲟ: *passim*; e.g., ⲕⲟⲟⲙⲟⲩ (νόμος);

υ - ⲟ<sup>110</sup>: ⲕⲉⲑⲁⲓⲟⲩ (Φρυγία), ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩ (Συρία);

υ - ⲓ<sup>111</sup>: ⲗⲓⲑⲓⲧⲏⲩ (Λιβύη);

ω - ⲟ: ⲟⲗⲙⲉⲟⲕ (Ὠκεανός).

<sup>99</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 256.

<sup>100</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>101</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>102</sup> For the prosthetic *alaph* before consonant clusters, see Nöldeke 51; Brockelmann 64.

<sup>103</sup> This custom is typical for pre-7<sup>th</sup> century texts; later ρ was rendered simply by ⲓ. Nöldeke 1966, § 39; Costaz 100 5°; Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>104</sup> Duval 1881, p. 25; Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>105</sup> Duval 1881, p. 29.

<sup>106</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>107</sup> Duval 1881, p. 22; Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>108</sup> See note 48, above.

<sup>109</sup> Duval 1881, p. 46.

<sup>110</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 256.

Although this list of correspondences cannot be considered exhaustive, since it does not include any irregular grapheme correspondences (e.g., the rendering of Greek  $\pi$  with  $\text{ܥ}$  in  $\text{ܥܘܢܝܢ}$ ), we can still make the modest observations that some names were probably not borrowed from Greek, e.g., the spelling of  $\text{ܥܘܢܝܢ}$  (and its variants) with  $\text{ܥ}$  and  $\text{ܥ}$ : had the word been borrowed from Greek  $\text{Βάκτροι}$ , we would have expected a  $\text{ܥ}$  as the equivalent of the  $\kappa$ , and a  $\text{ܥ}$  for the  $\tau$ : \* $\text{ܥܘܢܝܢ}$ . The same goes for the names that in Syriac have graphemes that do not have an equivalent in the Greek, such as  $\text{ܥ}$ ,  $\text{ܥ}$ , etc.

## 2.4 Formation of gentilic names

When we compare the geographical names and the gentilics that are derived from them, we can observe a strict consistency in the formation of these gentilics. They are all formed by means of the Syriac derivational *nisba*-ending  $\text{-ܐܝܢܝܢ}$  (vocalized  $\text{-āy}$ ). There are several ways in which this ending is connected to the geographical name:

- connected directly: (after a consonant)  $\text{bābel} > \text{bāblāy}$ ;  $\text{yawān} > \text{yawnāy}$ ;  $\text{'arab} > \text{'arbāy}$ ;  $\text{šīr} > \text{š(i)rāy}$ ; (after a vowel)  $\text{hendū} > \text{hendwāy}$ , etc.;
- replacing  $\text{-ws}$ :  $\text{'ageptws} > \text{'agebtāy}$ .<sup>112</sup>
- replacing  $\text{-īa'}$ :  $\text{germanīa'} > \text{germanāy}$ ;
- replacing  $\text{-ay}$ :  $\text{māday} > \text{mādāy}$ .<sup>113</sup>
- fusing with  $\text{-āy}$ :  $\text{'ūrhāy} > \text{'ūrhāy}$ .<sup>114</sup>

Table 1 below lists all geographical names and their corresponding gentilics in BLC.

<sup>111</sup> Brock 1996/9, p. 255.

<sup>112</sup> The alternation between  $\text{ܥ}$  and  $\text{ܥ}$  is not likely to be the result of gentilic formation, seeing that both spellings are attested for the geographical name as well as the gentilic (see Section 1.1, above).

<sup>113</sup> See note 114, below.

<sup>114</sup> This fusion is the result of ellipsis of a syllable when it is preceded or followed by a (nearly) identical syllable: see Brockelmann 70 (p. 42). Maybe a similar process applies to  $\text{māday} > \text{mādāy}$ .

TABLE 1: The geographical names and their corresponding gentilics in BLC

<i>geographical name</i>	<i>gentilic</i>
ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ	ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ
ⲙⲁⲛⲁ	-
ⲥⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲁ	-
,ⲙⲁⲛⲁ	,ⲙⲁⲛⲁ
-	ⲛⲁⲃⲁ
-	ⲛⲁⲃⲁ
ⲛⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲁ	-
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ	-
ⲃⲁⲛⲁ	ⲃⲁⲛⲁ
-	,ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ / ,ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ / ,ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ
ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲁ	-
-	ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ / ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ
-	ⲛⲁ 1
ⲛⲁⲃⲁ	ⲛⲁ 2
ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ	ⲛⲁⲙⲁⲛⲁ
ⲁⲛⲁⲛ	-
ⲁⲛⲁⲛ	,ⲁⲛⲁⲛ
ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛ	-
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ / ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ	-
-	ⲛⲁ
ⲛⲁⲙⲁ	-
ⲛⲁ	ⲛⲁ
-	ⲃⲁⲛⲁ
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ	-
,ⲃⲁⲛⲁ	,ⲃⲁⲛⲁ
-	ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ
,ⲛⲁⲙⲁ	-
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ	-
-	ⲛⲁⲙⲁ
ⲛⲁⲃⲁ	ⲛⲁⲃⲁ
ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ	-

ⲛⲓⲁⲓ	-
-	ⲛⲓⲁⲓ / ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁ
ⲁⲓⲁ	-
ⲁⲁⲓⲁ	ⲁⲁⲓⲁ
-	ⲓⲥⲥ
-	ⲓⲥⲛ
-	ⲓⲁⲁⲓ
-	ⲓⲁⲓ
ⲓⲥⲥ	ⲓⲥ / ⲓⲥⲥ

### 3. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed various orthographical phenomena. In Section 1 I discussed various cases of orthographic variation within BLC; i.e., words and constructions that are written in more than one way. I have drawn the following conclusions:

1. BLC reflects a mixture of plene and defective spelling that is characteristic of older manuscripts;
2. For some diachronic features mentioned in the literature BLC shows a consistent use of the newer forms;
3. There are also diachronic phenomena for which BLC uses the older spelling for some words and the newer for others;
4. In some cases the layout of the text may have had some influence on the choice of the scribe between plene or defective spelling and between the use or non-use of optional spaces.

In general I concluded that BLC reflects the orthography that we would expect at the end of the transitional period from the heterogeneous spelling of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries to the more uniform standard of the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This means that the date of the manuscript, rather than that of the text it contains has been decisive for the linguistic profile of our text, at least at the level of orthography and morphology.

In Section 2 I focused on nouns of persons, places and peoples. In my analysis of the spelling of these names I touched upon the fact that a linguistic description of them is affected by the interaction between the ency-

clopedic and the linguistic, between the orthographical and the morphological, and between common nouns and proper nouns.

Regarding the first interaction, between the encyclopedic and the linguistic<sup>115</sup>, we can note that on the one hand some nouns which are completely different lexemes can refer to the same entity. This is the case, for example, with ܡܘܠܝܘܬܐ and ܠܝܘܬܐ, which both refer to God / the Lord. On the other hand, one and the same lexeme can refer to different encyclopedic entities, for which reason I distinguished between ܠܝܘܬܐ 1 (*Gelian*) and ܠܝܘܬܐ 2 (*Gallic*). Likewise, the question as to who of the many Abgars is meant by the Abgar mentioned in our text is an encyclopedic question, rather than a linguistic one. The status of ܝܘܘܪܐ as a lexeme with the part of speech ‘proper noun’ is undisputed, no matter to how many Abgars it is applied. The decision by some lexicographers to take ܝܘܘܪܐ and ܠܝܘܬܐ as one lexeme is also based on encyclopedic considerations (because both names are assumed to have the same referent *India*), rather than on morphological ones (because the differences between the two forms would support the decision to take them apart as two different lexemes).

The second interaction, that between orthography and morphology, becomes especially evident in those cases where we cannot decide whether variation in spelling (e.g., between ܠܝܘܬܐ and ܠܝܘܬܐ) merely reflects different orthographies, or also different realizations. In other cases, especially where foreign names are involved, we should perhaps describe this interaction as one between orthography and phonology, because it is not always clear whether the spelling reflects the pronunciation of a name, or rather a conventional transcription of the Greek, with established one-to-one correspondences between Greek and Syriac letters. The consistency with which these correspondences occur has led me to the conclusion that in the few cases in which they do not occur (e.g., the spelling of ܝܘܘܪܐ with ܝܘܘܪܐ and ܝܘܘܪܐ; cf. Greek Βακτρία) this word has not been borrowed from Greek.

The third interaction, between common nouns and proper nouns, is especially clear in the names of constellations, which in fact are all nouns (and are still used as such), but in their contexts in BLC function as proper nouns.

<sup>115</sup> See Falla 2004.

In the case of proper names, too, it seems that in some cases the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript influenced the scribe's choice of a certain spelling. This interaction between linguistic phenomena and layout, which is not generally taken into account in scholarly literature, deserves further study on the basis of a broader corpus.

## Chapter 3

# PHRASE STRUCTURE

## 1. PHRASES

In the CALAP and Turgama projects the analysis of phrase structure has played an important role.<sup>1</sup> The main characteristic of the approach of these projects is that it is distributional, searching for the complex structure of clause constituents rather than focusing on categories usually treated in the grammars such as ‘the genitive’ or ‘apposition’.

After a comprehensive introduction of the different phrase types and their characteristics (Section 1), I will provide a full survey of all phrase structures that are attested in BLC (Section 2).

### 1.1 *Formal Aspects of Phrases: Heads and Extensions*

Phrase structure, as every syntactic structure, is recursive in nature: phrases can embed other phrases, which in turn can embed still other phrases; and so forth, theoretically unto infinity. When a phrase embeds more than one other phrase, those subphrases differ in the function they have in the larger phrase (see Section 1.2, below). Those functions can be divided into two types: a subphrase can function as a *head* or as an *extension*.

The head is the minimally required unit in a phrase.<sup>2</sup> It is the ‘zero projection’ ( $X^0$ ) of the phrase, and by its part of speech<sup>3</sup> it determines the phrase type: a phrase with a noun as its head is a Noun Phrase (NP), one with an adverb as its head is an Adverb Phrase (AdvP); etc.<sup>4</sup> A head does not

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Dyk 2006; Dyk & Van Keulen, 2006; Van Peursen 2007, part Three (pp. 183–276).

<sup>2</sup> While the head must always be present, it does not necessarily have to be explicit: it can also be empty, as will be explained in Section 2.1.1, below.

<sup>3</sup> See Section 1.3.1, below, on the notion ‘part of speech’.

<sup>4</sup> See Section 1.3.2, below, for an overview of the different phrase types and their designations in the present study.

necessarily appear at the beginning of the phrase, as we will see below; nor does it always have to consist of one word. A phrase can also contain more than one head.

Extensions are phrases embedded in the larger phrase that is projected by the head, and stand in a certain functional relation to that head. They can precede or follow the head, and come in a variety of forms. For instance, the phrase 46:17–18 *ܩܘܘܠܐ ܩܘܘܠܐ* *a small thing* is an NP, the head of which, the noun *ܩܘܘܠܐ*, is extended by the Adjective Phrase (AdjP) *ܩܘܘܠܐ*. In this example, the functional relation of the extension to the head is that of semantic specification: the AdjP ‘says something about’ the NP.<sup>5</sup> Since extensions are phrases, they too consist of one or more heads, which can have their own extensions, etc. Here the recursive nature of phrase structure shows.

With these two building blocks—heads and extensions—all kinds of combinations are possible. A phrase can contain one or more heads, each of which can have one or more extensions; extensions can have extensions themselves, etc. In theory, the permutations are infinite, but, of course, in practice there are upper limits to the amount of complexity that a phrase shows. Nonetheless, we will see that BLC has many examples of phrases with a considerable complexity. The following are the basic configurations of heads and extensions that occur. (<...> indicate head boundaries and [...] indicate the outer phrase boundaries.)

- One head, no extensions  
[<head>]

Since the head is the only obligatory element in a phrase, and since some phrase types (such as NegP, CP) do not allow extensions altogether, this configuration is, not surprisingly, by far the most common.

- One head with one extension  
[<head> [extension]]

<sup>5</sup> Another functional relation between the head and its extension is that of an apposition; e.g., 58:21–22 *ܩܘܘܠܐ ܩܘܘܠܐ* *king Abgar*, where the proper noun phrase *ܩܘܘܠܐ* and the NP *ܩܘܠܐ* can be said to be the extension of the proper noun phrase *ܩܘܘܠܐ*, or *vice versa*. See the subsection ‘Apposition’, below.

Extensions can occur before or after the head; e.g., the phrase 14:19 ܐܕ ܥܦܬܐ *very beautiful*, an AdjP consisting of the head ܥܦܬܐ, which is extended by the AdvP ܐܕ. In these schematic representations, the extension is placed after the head, but this is only done for reasons of simplicity. While in Syriac most extensions do tend to follow the head, some can also precede it, e.g., AdjPs (see Section 2.1.2.2, below) and Demonstrative Pronoun Phrases (DPrPs; see Section 2.1.2.6, below).

- One head with multiple extensions  
[<head> [extension<sub>1</sub>][extension<sub>2</sub>]], etc.

E.g., the phrase 46:2 ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ <sup>6</sup>ܕܥܘܠܡܐ *nice clothes of men*, which is a Noun Phrase that consists of the head ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, which has two extensions: the Adjective Phrase ܕܥܘܠܡܐ and the d-Phrase (d-P)<sup>7</sup> ܐܘܪܝܬܐ:

- Multiple heads  
[<head<sub>1</sub>> conj <head<sub>2</sub>> conj <head<sub>3</sub>>, etc.]

When a phrase contains multiple heads, the heads are typically of the same part of speech<sup>8</sup> and they are put in parallel sequence by means of phrase-connecting conjunctions (typically -ܐ *and* or ܐܘܪ *or*)<sup>9</sup>, resulting in an enumeration, e.g., 54:4 ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ *fate and the horoscope*. Such strings of multiple heads connected by conjunctions will be indicated in the following survey as ‘parallel heads’.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The context is ܐܘܪܝܬܐ etc., with the *syame* above the ܐ; hence their seemingly odd placing here.

<sup>7</sup> A d-Phrase (d-P) is a phrase that starts with the preposition -ܐ and which always embeds another phrase: see Section 1.3.2.4, below.

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions in BLC are cases where the first head is a (personal or demonstrative) pronoun and the second head is a noun, e.g., 58:9–10 ܘܗܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ *them and their children* (see Section 2.5.1, below); 34:9–10 ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ *now these and many others* (see Section 2.6, below). These are the only two occurrences.

<sup>9</sup> See Section 1.3.2.11, below, on the distinction between phrase-connecting and clause-connecting conjunctions.

<sup>10</sup> See Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with parallel heads’; and Section 1.3.2.11, below.

- Multiple heads with extensions: extension scope

Each of the multiple heads can have its own extensions. There are two varieties in which this can occur: 1. one extension refers to one head only, or 2. one extension refers to several heads collectively:

1. Extension of one head at a time:

[⟨head<sub>1</sub>⟩ [extension<sub>1</sub>] conj ⟨head<sub>2</sub>⟩];

[⟨head<sub>1</sub>⟩ [extension<sub>1</sub>] conj ⟨head<sub>2</sub>⟩ [extension<sub>2</sub>]], etc.

E.g., 34:23–24 *ደብዳቤ ስሜት ስሜት ስሜት ደብዳቤ* *dearth of food and complaint of the bodies*, where each of the two heads (*ደብዳቤ* and *ስሜት ስሜት*) is extended with a d-P (*ደብዳቤ* and *ደብዳቤ*, respectively).

2. Extension of several (or all) heads collectively:

[⟨head<sub>1</sub>⟩ conj ⟨head<sub>2</sub>⟩] [extension]

E.g., 34:10–11 *ደብዳቤ ስሜት ስሜት* *the periods and modes of nature*, where the d-P *ደብዳቤ* is an extension to both heads *ደብዳቤ* and *ስሜት*;

34:14 *ደብዳቤ ስሜት ስሜት* *the growth and perfection of the body*, where *ደብዳቤ* is an extension to *ደብዳቤ* as well as to *ስሜት*.

These two scenarios can be described in terms of ‘extension scope’; i.e., the number of heads to which one extension belongs: scenario 1 has an extension scope of one head, whereas scenario 2 has a scope of two heads or more. Extension scope is a feature that is not extractable from the formal data. In a configuration like *head<sub>1</sub> + head<sub>2</sub> + extension*, contextual information is needed to determine whether the extension only refers to the last head (scenario 1) or to both heads collectively (scenario 2).<sup>11</sup>

- Extensions with multiple heads

Since extensions are phrases themselves, they too can contain more than one head:

[⟨head⟩ [⟨head⟩ conj ⟨head⟩]], etc.

<sup>11</sup> Technically there is a third option, where the extension would refer only to the *first* head, and not to the second. This scenario, however, seems to violate grammaticality: the extension scope must at least apply to the head closest to the extension, and can be broadened to encompass the subsequent heads further away from it. It does not seem to be possible for a head to be ‘skipped’ in this process. In any case such a scenario is not attested in BLC.

E.g., 42:16-17 *עֲשֵׂר דְבָרִים רָעִים וְשֵׁשׁ דְבָרִים טְהוֹרִים* *evil and impure things*, which is an NP that consists of a single head *עֲשֵׂר דְבָרִים*, which is extended with an AdjP that contains two heads: *טְהוֹרִים* and *רָעִים*.

- Extensions extended

Each of the heads of an extension, again, can take its own extensions, and so on:

[<head> [extension [extension]]]

E.g., 24:15 *אֲנִי אֶתְנֶנְךָ אֶתְנֶנְךָ אֶתְנֶנְךָ* *guidance of good counsels*, where the NP head *אֶתְנֶנְךָ* is extended with the d-Phrase *אֶתְנֶנְךָ*, which in turn is extended with the AdjP *אֲנִי*.

Here, again, there is the possibility of multiple heads, e.g., in the case:

38:6-7 *וְהָיָה כְּעֵצֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ וְכַדְמֹנִים וְכַחֲמֵץ הַיָּבֵשׁ* *the order of all beings and natures*, where *וְכַחֲמֵץ הַיָּבֵשׁ* is extended with the two-headed phrase *וְכַדְמֹנִים*, which is in turn extended with the phrase *וְהָיָה כְּעֵצֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ*.

Note the structural difference between parallel-headed extensions, multiple extensions, and extensions which are extended themselves:

- one extension, parallel-headed:

42:16-17 *עֲשֵׂר דְבָרִים רָעִים וְשֵׁשׁ דְבָרִים טְהוֹרִים* *evil and impure things*

- multiple extensions:

28:5-6 *וְהָיָה כְּעֵצֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ וְכַדְמֹנִים וְכַחֲמֵץ הַיָּבֵשׁ* *it is a deceitful craft of the Chaldeans*<sup>12</sup>

- one extension, extended:

24:15 *אֲנִי אֶתְנֶנְךָ אֶתְנֶנְךָ אֶתְנֶנְךָ* *guidance of good counsels*

### 1.1.1 Apposition

In linguistic literature, the term ‘apposition’ is used in a wide variety of meanings, and is often employed without an explicit definition. Often the term designates nothing more specific than ‘two asyndetically juxtaposed elements’, and is frequently used synonymously with terms like ‘coordination’. The relation in which the two elements stand to each other is rarely

<sup>12</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *וְהָיָה*: see Sections 2.1.2.15 and 3.1.3.1, below.

specified, and when it is, many different definitions are found, involving aspects of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, etc.<sup>13</sup>

In the present study I shall use a rather strict definition that describes apposition as a syntactic relation motivated by semantic features: *Apposition is the syntactic relation between two asyndetically juxtaposed nominal phrases, which do not modify each other semantically, but which refer to the same concept in the semantic domain.*

The fact that both phrases have the same semantic referent (or *participant*: see Chapter 4, Section 1.3) means that they have an equal status both syntactically and semantically. Within a clause constituent, two phrases in apposition share a syntactic slot which is normally reserved for one phrase. As a result of this status of equality, the order of the two phrases can be reversed, or one of the two phrases can be left out, without affecting the syntax or the semantic information structure.

In the Turgama model, apposition is treated as the extension of one NP by another. It should be noted, however, that in contrast to other phrase structures, here extension does not lead to semantic modification (which, as I have just explained, is absent in apposition), but instead to semantic redundancy: where a specification adds something new to the information conveyed by the phrase head, an apposition repeats the same information twice. Strictly speaking, therefore, we cannot even tell which of the two members of an apposition is the extension of which, although in the Turgama model the second member is by default labelled as the extension to the first. This is also the approach taken in the present study, which means that cases of apposition will be found in the section on NPs extended by NPs (Section 2.1.2.1, below).

As a result of the definition given above, certain juxtapositions of nominal phrases which are in some traditions called an apposition, are not treated in that manner here. These include:

*Not apposition: the 'cardinal-counted' relation*

As is widely recognized, the grammatical relation between a cardinal numeral and the item which it counts is a unique one.<sup>14</sup> In BLC, there are two

<sup>13</sup> See Acuña-Fariña 1999 for a treatise on the different uses of 'apposition'.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Van Peursen 2010, especially his section 3.

ways in which both elements can be combined: with pronominal agreement (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection ‘NPs with pronominal agreement’, below), and without<sup>15</sup>:

- with pronominal agreement:

34:17 ܠܝܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ *both heads*; 38:2 ܠܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ *the three things*;

- without pronominal agreement:

32:23 ܠܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ *fifteen years*; 54:7 ܠܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ *in seven regions*

Since a cardinal is morphologically a noun and the same is generally true for the item which is counted, the result of combining the two is the asyndetic juxtaposition of two nominal phrases. Furthermore, as can be seen in the examples above, the order of those two phrases can sometimes be reversed, which does not alter the syntax or the information structure. These characteristics have led some scholars to proclaim the ‘cardinal-counted’ configuration an apposition.<sup>16</sup>

However, the configuration violates a number of the above-mentioned requirements of an apposition. Although the order of the two phrases can sometimes be reversed, it is not possible to remove one of the two without affecting the semantic information. This is a direct result of the fact that the two members of the configuration are not semantically equal. The act of counting, i.e., indicating the amount of something, is by definition a type of semantic specification: the cardinal ‘says something’ about that which is counted, namely its quantity. In this respect, the cardinal can be said to have ‘attributive’ qualities, rather like an adjective. By violating the prerequisite of semantic equality, the ‘cardinal-counted’ relation loses its right to be called an apposition.

<sup>15</sup> BLC does not have attestations of cardinal numerals in a genitive construction with a noun (of the type ܠܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ *their six wings* (Nöldeke 1966, § 152).

<sup>16</sup> E.g., Phillips 1866, § 23 (p. 58): ‘Cardinal numbers from three are for the most part joined to the thing numbered by Apposition...’; Nestle 1889 I, § 33 (p. 36): ‘[The cardinals] are placed in apposition sometimes before—the more usual position—sometimes after the object numbered’; Duval 1881, § 369a (p. 350): “Les noms de nombre se mettent en apposition avec les substantifs, comme des adjectifs” (!); Nöldeke 1966, § 237 (p. 177): “Das Zahlwort steht als Apposition vor oder nach dem Gezählten.”; Coakley 2002, § 29 (p. 134): “The numbers in Syriac are nouns, standing in apposition to the nouns to which they are attached.”

In the present study, the 'cardinal-counted' relation will be treated as an NP extended with another NP. Irrespective of the order in which the two members of the construction occur, the cardinal (with or without pronominal suffix) is always treated as the extension to the item counted. See Sections 2.1.2.1, subsection 2; and 2.1.2.13, below.

*Not apposition: certain constructions with pronominal agreement*

In some literature, certain constructions with pronominal agreement (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection 'NPs with pronominal agreement', below) are treated as appositions. The reason for this is understandable, since such constructions often consist of the asyndetic juxtaposition of two nouns (one of which carries the pronominal suffix), the relative order of which is irrelevant; e.g. 40:6 *ṣḥōṣḥōṣ ṣḥōṣḥōṣ* *the two countries*; 40:15–16 *ḥōḥ ḥōḥ* *the whole world*, etc. However, as with the 'cardinal-counted' relation, here, too, there is a clear presence of semantic specification: the phrase containing the suffixed noun specifies the unsuffixed noun by indicating the quantity of the item expressed by the latter. As a result, it is not possible to delete one of the two phrases without affecting the information structure. The occurrence of specification means that there is no relation of semantic equality between the two nouns; hence, they do not stand in apposition.

## 1.2 Functional aspects of Phrases: Clause Constituents vs.

### *Subphrases*

Besides its internal structure, or *form*, a phrase has a certain *function* within a clause.<sup>17</sup> From a functional perspective, phrases can be divided into two main categories: phrases that function as clause constituents (e.g., subject, object, predicate, etc.), and those that do not.

A phrase that functions as a clause constituent incorporates the total amount of head(s) and (optional) extension(s) which belong to that phrase. Those separate heads and extensions are also phrases, but within the current environment they do not form clause constituents on their own: they are subphrases of the larger clause constituent phrase. Whether a phrase

<sup>17</sup> See Van Peursen 2007, section 7.2 (p. 140f) for the dichotomy of form and function within the linguistic approach of the Turgama model.

functions as a clause constituent or as a subphrase is a matter of context: the function does not depend on the internal structure or components of the phrase, but on the hierarchical position that it happens to occupy in the syntactic tree. A phrase with structure  $x$  might fulfil the role of a clause constituent in environment  $p$ , but that of a subphrase in environment  $q$ , and vice versa. E.g., in the clause 62:10-11 *וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַנְּשִׂימִים וְהַכְּנָעִי וְהַחִיטִי וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַנְּשִׂימִים וְהַכְּנָעִי וְהַחִיטִי* and the mixture of the one in the other tempers the power of the natures, the phrases *וְהַיְהוּדִים* and *וְהַנְּשִׂימִים* are not clause constituents on their own: in the present context, they are subphrases (in this case, a head and its extension, respectively) of the constituent (the object) *וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַנְּשִׂימִים וְהַכְּנָעִי וְהַחִיטִי*. The structures of both subphrases, 'noun' and '-noun', however, also occur as clause constituents themselves: in 32:19 *וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַנְּשִׂימִים וְהַכְּנָעִי וְהַחִיטִי* the body, then, is led by nature, *וְהַיְהוּדִים* is the Subject; in 22:7-8 *וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַנְּשִׂימִים וְהַכְּנָעִי וְהַחִיטִי* because they are of nature, *וְהַיְהוּדִים* is the predicate complement.

In this study I will distinguish between clause constituent phrases and non-clause constituent phrases, indicating the former with the term 'clause constituent', and the latter with 'subphrase'. The reader should keep in mind that both terms refer to phrases and that the distinction is only hierarchical, not structural. Subphrases are phrases seen from a grammatical-hierarchical perspective; clause constituents are phrases seen from their role as the distributional units that make up a clause. The present chapter, then, will provide a survey of the ways in which the latter are built up out of the former.

### 1.3 Phrase types

The phrase types recognized by the programs in the Turgama model are the following:

(Proper) Noun Phrases ((Pr)NP);

Adjective Phrases (AdjP);

Preposition Phrases (PP),

with the subcategories d-Phrase (d-P) and relative clause (RC);

Personal Pronoun Phrases (PPrP);

Demonstrative Pronoun Phrases (DPrP);

Interrogative Pronoun Phrases (IprP);

Interrogative Phrases (InrP);  
 Verb Phrases (VP);  
 Adverb Phrases (AdvP);  
 Conjunction Phrases (CP);  
 Negative Phrases (NegP);  
 Interjection Phrases (InjP).

I shall treat each phrase type separately. But before I describe phrase structure in detail, a small digression is needed for some explanation of the notion 'part of speech'.

### 1.3.1 *Part of Speech*

The type of a phrase is motivated by the part of speech of its head: a noun constitutes a Noun Phrase, a negative particle constitutes a Negative Phrase, etc. The notion 'part of speech' (or 'word class'<sup>18</sup>, 'lexical category'<sup>19</sup>, etc.), can be somewhat confusing. The term is often used rather vaguely without explicit definition, assuming that one knows intuitively what is meant. When given, definitions involve a mixture of criteria from a semantic, morphological or syntactic nature. Part of the difficulty is caused by a lack of proper distinction between a lexeme's intrinsic part of speech, and the part of speech that it assumes within a phrase. The part of speech of certain lexemes is not fixed, but can vary depending on the function that those words have within the phrase. What happens is that the original part of speech undergoes a transition into another part of speech. For instance, the word *good* has the inherent part of speech 'adjective'. In 46:5 *with pretty stones*, this is indeed the part of speech that the word has within the phrase. But in 12:17 *the good that he has done*, the word no longer has the function of an adjective, but that of a noun. In another context, e.g., 6:25 *I would very much like to hear it*, *very much* has become an adverb. Because of cases like these the Turgama model distinguishes between *default* (or *inherent*) part of speech (POS) and *phrase dependent* part of speech (PDP).<sup>20</sup> While the inherent part of speech is of

<sup>18</sup> E.g., Jackson 2007, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Trask 1993, p. 155.

<sup>20</sup> The question whether words have an inherent part of speech is open to debate. Francis I. Andersen 1995, followed by Terry C. Falla 2003; 2008 and A. Dean Forbes

great importance on morphological level, it is the PDP which is relevant syntactically. The PDP, not the POS, of a head is what determines its phrase type. Throughout the present chapter, therefore, the term ‘part of speech’ refers to the PDP, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

While for some words the inherent and phrase dependent part of speech are always the same, there are several others that are capable of a transition.<sup>21</sup> The transitions attested in BLC are the following:

- verb → noun<sup>22</sup>

Verbal part of speech transitions are typically reserved for (active and passive) participles.

22:16 *all sheep are grass-eaters*;

30:13-14 *and sometimes the rich become rich(er)*

- verb → adjective

24:17-18 *from the right guidance*;

36:11 *at high places*

- adjective → noun<sup>23</sup>

10:6-7 *a cither which another plays*;

44:10 *among the Romans and among the Greeks*

2008, have argued that the part of speech of a word is not a lexically determined feature, but is determined solely by syntactic distribution. In contrast, Janet W. Dyk (2005) argues that the processes by which a word can assume different parts of speech turn out to follow regular transition patterns, showing a distinct statistical distribution. On these statistical grounds one can state that a word does have an inherent, or at least default, part of speech, namely that which it assumes in the majority of syntactic environments where it occurs; all other parts of speech that the word can assume are derived from that default part of speech. In the Turgama model it has proven worthwhile to follow this approach, which I have adopted.

<sup>21</sup> All possible part of speech transitions (for Biblical Hebrew, as well as Syriac and other Aramaic dialects) are listed in Dyk 2005, p. 145f.

<sup>22</sup> The transition verb → noun can be described as the fusion of the two transitions verb → adjective and adjective → noun, with the adjective as an intermediate stage. See Dyk 2005, p. 146, for the full transition sequence.

<sup>23</sup> A special example of this transition in BLC is the noun *ܫܒܬܝܬܐ*, lit. *the Sevenths*, where the underlying adjective is an ordinal numeral of the *-i-āy(ā)* pattern. See Section 2.1.1, below.

- adjective → adverb

4:3-4 ܘܫܘܚܘܢ ܘܫܘܚܘܢ ܘܫܘܚܘܢ *and he saw that he was (made) well;*

46:22 ܘܠܐ ܝܘܪܘܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܝܘܪܘܥܐ *he doesn't become very angry*

- preposition → conjunction

This transition is restricted to the particle -ܐ; e.g.:

18:13-14 ܘܐܝܢܐ ܘܐܝܢܐ ܘܐܝܢܐ *and I say that they are easy;*

62:13 ܘܥܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܐ *and a time will come (lit. and it will happen that a time comes)*

The transition of -ܐ from 'preposition' to 'conjunction' is open to some debate: it is also possible that the reverse is true, i.e., that the inherent part of speech is 'conjunction' and that it transits to 'preposition' in certain circumstances. Solving this matter involves diachronical aspects of Syriac, but since the corpus-based approach of the Turgama project asks for a strict synchronical description of the language, we cannot rely on those diachronical features. In fact, both functions of -ܐ (prepositional and conjunctive) are diachronically related and can be described by the same process, referred to by Tesnière (1966) with the French term 'translation',<sup>24</sup> referring to a syntactic operation which transfers a word from one grammatical category to another. He calls the marker of this process a 'translatif'. An example from English is the suffix -ly, which functions as a translatif to transform an adjective into an adverb; e.g., quick → quickly.

Assigning an inherent part of speech to -ܐ, whether this be 'preposition' or 'conjunction', might therefore be somewhat artificial. I follow the Turgama convention of taking 'preposition' as the inherent part of speech of -ܐ.<sup>25</sup>

As can be deduced from the above, there are four parts of speech in BLC that can either be inherent or the result of a transition from another part of speech: nouns, adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions:

<sup>24</sup> Wertheimer 2001b, p. 261; Van Peursen 2007, p. 184.

<sup>25</sup> See also the discussion on part of speech in Section 1.3.1 + notes, above.

TABLE 1: Part of speech transitions

<i>PDP</i>		<i>POS</i>
noun	←	verb, adjective
adjective	←	verb
adverb	←	verb, adjective
conjunction	←	preposition

For all other parts of speech, the PDP is always the same as the inherent part of speech.

### 1.3.2 *The different phrase types*

Here, then, a survey will be given of the different phrase types and their characteristics.

#### 1.3.2.1 *Noun Phrases (NP)*

The head of an NP head consists of at least one (proper) noun,<sup>26</sup> which is obligatory and forms the core of the head. The head can also contain other nouns, which relate to the core noun in either of two possible ways: 1. in a genitive construction; 2. in a reduplication. In a genitive construction, the core noun is preceded by one or two nouns in the construct state<sup>27</sup>; a reduplication involves the repetition of the core noun, typically resulting in a distributive meaning.

The other possible component of the NP head is the pronominal suffix, attached to the core noun (which in that case assumes the construct state).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> In this survey, nouns and proper nouns will not be distinguished explicitly, since their syntactic behaviour is similar to a large extent. Where the difference is relevant, this will be indicated.

<sup>27</sup> For the corpus of BLC the maximum number of consecutive nouns in the construct state (the last of which can either have a suffix or a 'genitive' noun) is two: see Section 2.1.1, below for a more detailed treatment.

An NP can form a clause constituent of its own, but it can also form an extension to the head of a larger NP. An NP is often embedded in a PP, for a description of which see Section 1.3.2.3, below.

*NPs with pronominal agreement*

A few words must be devoted here to the phenomenon of pronominal agreement. Constructions with pronominal agreement come in many varieties (which have been studied in detail by Geoffrey Khan<sup>29</sup>); all of which are characterized by the presence of a personal pronoun (typically in the form of a pronominal suffix) that refers semantically, and agrees grammatically, to a nominal element (i.e., a noun or pronoun). The agreeing personal pronoun typically takes the form of a pronominal suffix, and can be located before the element to which it agrees (such as in 20:18–19 *ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ* *the deceit of love*), or after it (e.g. 40:3 *ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ* *all sorts*). The former scenario results in so-called *anticipatory* pronominal agreement (in which case the suffix is sometimes referred to as a ‘proleptic suffix’) whereas the latter results in *resumptive* pronominal agreement.

Since the pronominal suffix is part of the phrase head (see Section 2.1.1, below), its presence or absence does not affect the extension structure of the phrase. As a result, constructions with pronominal agreement will be treated in the same sections as their equivalent structures without pronominal agreement. The abovementioned example 20:18–19 *ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ* *the deceit of love*, therefore, is treated in the same section on NPs extended with d-Ps as, e.g., 24:4 *ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ* *the consumption of meat*: see Section 2.1.2.4, below.

For NPs, several categories of pronominal agreement are attested in BLC:

- The suffix is attached to a noun and stands in anticipatory or resumptive pronominal agreement with another noun. The suffixed noun can ei-

<sup>28</sup> The reason that the pronominal suffix is taken as being a part of the NP head and not of a separate phrase (e.g., a PPrP), is that a head cannot consist solely of a noun in the construct state without a genitive to complement it, nor can it consist of a stray pronominal suffix hanging in thin air, without an element to attach it to. For the same reason a construct noun and its genitive are taken as one unit; see Van Peursen 2007, § 9.1 (pp. 183–186).

<sup>29</sup> Khan 1988. For pronominal agreement in Syriac, see his section 3bB (pp. 128–131).

ther be a cardinal (with plural suffix), or  $\text{כ}$  (with singular or plural suffix); e.g., 40:6  $\text{כִּשְׁנַיִם מְּוֹתָם}$  *the two places*<sup>30</sup>; 52:5  $\text{כֻּלָּם גֵּרִים}$  *all Germans*. In the present study, the suffixed noun is treated as an extension to the unsuffixed noun, resulting in an NP extended with another NP: see Section 2.1.2.1, below. The NP containing the unsuffixed noun can be further extended with a number of different phrase types: see Sections 2.1.2.10; 2.1.2.11; 2.1.2.12; 2.1.2.13; 2.1.2.25; 2.1.2.26 and 2.1.2.31, below.<sup>31</sup>

- The suffix is attached to a noun that stands in a possessive construction with  $\text{-א}$ ; e.g., 42:10  $\text{מִגְּבֻלְךָ הַבְּרָחִים}$  *from the border of the Brahmans*. In this case, the unsuffixed noun is part of the extension, while the suffixed noun forms the head. This type of pronominal agreement only occurs in the anticipatory variety. In the present study it is treated as an NP extended with a d-P; see Sections 2.1.2.4 and 3.1.2.4.<sup>32</sup>

- The suffix is attached to a preposition and agrees with a noun which is also preceded by a preposition. There are three possible scenarios for this type of pronominal agreement, depending on whether  $\text{-א}$  or another preposition is involved: 1. both prepositions are the same and are not  $\text{-א}$ ; e.g., 42:13–14 <sup>33</sup> $\text{בְּרֵגֶל מְּוֹתָם}$  *in the very region of the Indians*; 2. the first preposition is not  $\text{-א}$ , the second is; e.g., 28:5  $\text{בְּרֵגֶל מְּוֹתָם}$  *in contrast to these*; 3. both prepositions are  $\text{-א}$  (the first of which takes the form of its functional equivalent  $\text{-לֵא}$ ); e.g., 18:21  $\text{וְהוּא מְּוֹתָם}$  *(it is) of man*<sup>34</sup>. These constructions mostly occur as autonomous clause constituents (treated in Sections 2.3 and 2.4.2.1, respectively), although cases of scenario 1 and 3 are also attested in the function of an extension to an NP (treated in Sections 2.1.2.3 (subsection ‘Further extensions’) and 2.1.2.21 (subsection ‘Further extensions’), respectively). Constructions that follow scenario 2 only occur as autonomous clause constituents.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This construction forms a part of an extension to another phrase: see Section 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’, below.

<sup>31</sup> Khan 1988, pp. 129–130 (section 1.4 ‘*kul*’). Khan does not treat the cardinal, and for  $\text{כ}$  only mentions the anticipatory variety.

<sup>32</sup> Khan 1988, p. 129 (section 1.3 ‘Periphrastic genitive constructions’).

<sup>33</sup> Sic, without *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection ‘Diacritics’.

<sup>34</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP  $\text{,ו}$ .

<sup>35</sup> Khan 1988, pp. 128–129 (section 1.2 ‘Prepositional complement’).

### *Other phrase types with pronominal agreement*

Other constructions with pronominal agreement involve phrases where the head is not a noun but a personal or demonstrative pronoun:

- A personal pronoun in the form of an objective suffix attached to a verb stands in pronominal agreement with the noun that forms the object; e.g., 10:13 *لَيُصْنَعُ لِحْيَتِهِ* *He would create man*. This construction is treated as a PPrP extended with an NP; see Section 2.5.2.1.<sup>36</sup>

- The unsuffixed element is a demonstrative pronoun used independently, and stands in resumptive pronominal agreement with *ح*-plural suffix: 16:9-10 *حَلَمَ حَلَمَ* *all these things*. This construction is treated as a DPrP extended with an NP; see Sections 2.6.2.1 and 2.6.2.4.<sup>37</sup>

- Finally, there is one type of pronominal agreement where the personal pronoun does not appear in the form of a suffix, but in that of a normal proclitic personal pronoun. In the constructions attested in BLC, the unsuffixed element is either 1) a noun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, and often followed by an RC; e.g. 32:16 *هَذِهِ هِيَ هِيَ* *this (lit. it, [namely] this) changing aspect*, or 2) an independently used demonstrative pronoun: 54:10 *هَذِهِ هِيَ هِيَ* *this (lit. it, [namely] this) is called law*. These 'proclitic pronominal agreement' constructions are treated as 1) PPrPs extended with NPs, which are themselves extended by a DPrP and / or an RC (see Section 2.5.2.1, subsection 'Further extensions', below), and 2) PPrPs extended with DPrPs (Section 2.5.2.3, below), respectively.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.3.2.2 *Adjective Phrases (AdjP)*

The head of an AdjP is an adjective, or a construction that functions as such. There are no additional head components. The function of the AdjP at clause level stands in direct relation to the function of the adjective that it contains. When that adjective is used predicatively, the AdjP always forms an autonomous clause constituent. When, on the other hand, the adjective is used attributively, the AdjP forms an extension to the head of another phrase, and is therefore invariably a subphrase.

<sup>36</sup> Khan 1988, p. 128 (section 1.1 'Direct object').

<sup>37</sup> This variety is not treated in Khan 1988.

<sup>38</sup> Khan 1988, p. 130 (§ 1.5 'An independent pronoun precedes a subject nominal').

In the survey of constituent structures below, separate sections will be devoted to the two different functions of the adjective: predicatively used adjectives are treated in a separate section on AdjPs (Section 2.2), while the attributively used cases will be treated in the several subsections devoted to AdjPs as an extension to other phrases.

An adjective can also be used adverbially or independently, but in those cases its PDP is no longer ‘adjective’, but ‘adverb’ or ‘noun’, respectively, and treated as such.

### 1.3.2.3 Preposition Phrases (PP)

The only possible components of a PP head are prepositions. Because a preposition always requires a complement, a PP must necessarily embed another phrase; without that, the PP would be ‘broken’. The phrase types that a PP can embed are Noun or Pronoun (Personal, Demonstrative or Interrogative) Phrases. When a PPrP is embedded, its head assumes the form of a pronominal suffix. Finally, the PP can also embed a Relative Clause, resulting in ‘composite conjunctions’ such as  $\text{-} \text{א} \text{א} \text{א}$ ,  $\text{-} \text{א} \text{א}$ , etc. (see Section 1.3.2.4, below).

In the survey on clause constituents in Section 2, below, PPs that form clause constituents will be presented in a slightly different way than the other phrase types, in that they will not be given a section of their own, but will be incorporated the sections devoted to other phrase types. The reason for this is that the presence of a preposition does not seem to affect the structure of the embedded phrase. Many phrase structures in BLC, especially NPs, have an equivalent structure which is embedded in a PP. For instance, the structure 20:15–16  $\text{א} \text{א} \text{א} \text{א} \text{א}$  *the calm of disease*, an NP extended with a d-Phrase that consists of  $\text{-} \text{א} + \text{noun}$ , has an equivalent in 20:20  $\text{א} \text{א} \text{א} \text{א} \text{א}$  *from the compassion of truth*, which is the exact same structure, only this time embedded in a PP. Equally, the DPrP 12:11  $\text{א} \text{א}$  *these things* has an equivalent in e.g. the PP 14:13  $\text{א} \text{א} \text{א}$  *herein*, etc. Since this equivalence occurs so frequently,<sup>39</sup> the examples of the different phrase structures given in the present chapter will often include examples of the equivalent structure embedded in a PP. Most of the time this will not be

<sup>39</sup> The equivalence not only applies to the extension structure but also to the head-internal structure.

mentioned explicitly, since those PPs are easily identifiable by the fact that they start with a preposition. Some special cases of PP embedding, however, will be discussed in Section 2.3, below.

However, PPs (and d-Ps) that are not clause constituents, but form extensions to the head of another constituent, will be treated explicitly, since there the above-mentioned balance is absent; moreover, there is a considerable syntactic difference between e.g., an NP extended with a (Pro)Noun phrase and one extended with a PP.

#### *PPs with pronominal agreement*

There is one category of PPs (either as constituents or as subphrases) that deserves special treatment. Those are PPs that stand in a construction with pronominal agreement (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection 'Other phrase types with pronominal agreement', above). Concretely, these consist of a PP embedding a PPrP (the pronominal suffix), extended by another PP which starts with the same preposition as the first or with -*ʔ*, and which embeds an NP. The PPrP agrees with the NP in number and gender, the result being a construction with anticipatory pronominal agreement, such as 16:1 *לְחַיֵּינוּ* *to freedom*. In the Turgama model, the NP embedded in the second PP is considered a specification of the PPrP embedded in the first.

#### *1.3.2.4 d-Phrases (d-P)*

A d-Phrase, that is, a phrase starting with the particle -*ʔ*, can be seen as a subcategory of the PP, but only partially. The reason that it is treated separately is that -*ʔ* shows a functional versatility which other prepositions lack. As explained in Section 1.3.1, above, it has the ability to operate as a preposition, but also as a conjunction. In both roles it can have several functions. As a preposition it can, for instance, indicate possession (e.g. 60:15 *מִן־הַחֹקֵי מִשְׁפַּחַת מְשִׁיחָם* *from the law of their Messiah*) or explication (e.g., 44:17 *וְהָיוּ לָהֶם גֵּלִיָּים* *their men, that is, the Gelians*<sup>40</sup>). As a conjunction, it can function as a relative particle (e.g. 44:19–20 *וְהָיוּ לָהֶם חֹקֵי מִשְׁפַּחַת מְשִׁיחָם* *because of the law which is set up for them*), or as a subordinative conjunction (54:6 *וְנִשְׂבַּח וְנִשְׁתַּבַּח וְנִשְׁתַּבַּח וְנִשְׁתַּבַּח* *and we know that they are true*). The function of -*ʔ* de-

<sup>40</sup> See Section 2.1.2.4, below, for a discussion of this case.

termines whether the resulting phrase can operate as an autonomous clause constituent or as an extension, resulting in three different types:

1. Phrase with  $-s$  as a preposition:  
     can be a constituent or an extension                      d-P
2. Phrase with  $-s$  as a subordinative conjunction:  
     can only be a constituent                                      CP
3. Phrase with  $-s$  as a relative particle:  
     can only be an extension                                      RC

Phrases of type 1 can be called a true subcategory of PPs, since there  $-s$  functions as a preposition. In the present survey, only phrases of this type will be labelled d-Ps; the cases where they form autonomous clause constituents will be treated in a separate section (Section 2.4, below), whereas the cases where they form extensions to other constituents (which is true for the far majority of d-Ps in BLC) will be treated in the different subsections on extensions. Like a PP, a d-P must by definition embed another phrase to avoid its being 'broken' (see Section 1.3.2.3, above). The phrase types that can be embedded in a d-P are the same as those for PPs (NPs, PPrPs<sup>41</sup>, DPrPs and IPrPs).

Phrases of type 2, where  $-s$  functions as a conjunction, are not d-Phrases but Conjunction Phrases (see 1.3.2.11, below), which form separate constituents, and will be treated accordingly in Section 2.11, below.

#### *Relative clauses (RC)*

Phrases of type 3, with  $-s$  functioning as a relative particle, form a special category. To a certain extent they are equivalent to proper d-Ps (phrases of type 1), in that they must also embed another element to complement them. The difference is that this embedded element is not a phrase, but a clause. The phrase embedding that clause forms an extension relative to the preceding phrase head. Since the extension proper appears in the form of a kind of d-Phrase, I will treat phrases of type 3 as a subcategory of phrases of type 1. However, because the embedded element is always a clause, I will

<sup>41</sup> When the embedded phrase is a PPrP, the preposition  $-s$  is replaced by its functional equivalent  $-s$ , while the PPrP takes on the form of a pronominal suffix:  $s$ ,  $s$ , etc.

refer to the whole of 'a d-Phrase embedding a clause relative to the preceding head' as a 'Relative Clause' (RC).

Like any clause, an RC can have a complex internal structure, but it can also be elliptical. Furthermore, it can be relative to an empty head (see Section 2.1.1, below). The combination of an elliptic RC with an empty head can result in such concise structures as 12:19  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$  (*that*) *which is good*.

Often a phrase extended by an RC has a second extension, typically a DPrP or an IPrP. This kind of combined extension occurs with NPs (where the additional extension can be a DPrP or an IPrP: see Sections 2.1.2.22 and 2.1.2.23, respectively) and with IPrPs (where the other extension is a DPrP: see Section 2.7.2.3, below). Extension by more than one RC also occurs (see Sections 2.1.2.30, 2.6.2.3 and 2.6.2.4).

Additionally, there is a number of constructions in BLC after which an RC *always* follows. These are:

- demonstrative pronoun +  $\text{ﻫﻮ}$ : see Section 2.1.2.22;
- NP extended with IPrP: see Sections 2.1.2.23; 2.1.2.26; 2.1.2.28; 2.1.2.30 and 2.1.2.31;
- $\text{ﻫ}$ -suffix + demonstrative pronoun + noun or demonstrative pronoun +  $\text{ﻫ}$ -suffix + noun: see Section 2.1.2.25;
- independently used  $\text{ﻫ}$ ,  $\text{ﻮ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$  and  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ : see Section 2.6.2.2;
- preposition + independently used  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$  or  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ : see Section 2.7.2.2;
- $\text{ﻫ}$ ,  $\text{ﻫ}$ : see Section 2.7.2.2;
- $\text{ﻻﻱ}$   $\text{ﻫ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$   $\text{ﻫ}$ : see Section 2.7.2.3.

#### *RC embedded in PP*

An RC, in turn, can be embedded in a PP, resulting in 'composite' conjunctions such as  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ , etc.: see also Section 2.11, below.

A special type within this category is where the RC is embedded in a PP starting with  $\text{ﻻﻱ}$  (as the complement to a preceding clause constituent). In this case the verb of the embedded RC is always an infinitive (with  $\text{ﻻ}$ ), resulting in the construction 'infinitive- $\text{ﻻﻱ}$   $\text{ﻻﻱ}$ '. See Sections 1.3.2.9 and 2.10.2.1, below.

### *d*-Ps with pronominal agreement

Being a subcategory of PPs, a *d*-P can likewise operate in a construction with anticipatory pronominal agreement (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection ‘Other phrase types with pronominal agreement’, above), resulting in a *d*-P embedding a PPrP, extended by another *d*-P embedding an NP, of the type *هذه هي الفاتمة*. These will be treated in Section 2.4.2.1, below.

#### 1.3.2.5 *Personal Pronoun Phrases (PPrP)*

The head of a PPrP is a personal pronoun. Personal pronouns can appear in different shapes, depending on their syntactic function within a clause: when the personal pronoun functions as the subject, it takes the form of a proclitic or enclitic personal pronoun (EPP); when it is governed by a noun, verb or a preposition it appears as a possessive, objective or prepositional pronominal suffix. Of these varieties, PPrPs in the form of a possessive or prepositional suffix always form an extension to the phrases that govern it, while the proclitics, enclitics and object suffixes always form clause constituents of their own. Hence, only the latter types will be given a separate section in the survey below (Section 2.5), while the treatment of the remaining categories will be explained in Section 2.1.1, below.

#### 1.3.2.6 *Demonstrative Pronoun Phrases (DPrP)*

A DPrP has as its head a demonstrative pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns show certain similarities to adjectives, in that they too can be used independently, predicatively or attributively.<sup>42</sup> As with AdjPs, an attributive demonstrative pronoun never forms a separate clause constituent but is always an extension, hence a subphrase. Substantively used demonstrative pronouns do form separate clause constituents (as do predicatively used demonstrative pronouns, but these happen to be absent in BLC), so those will be given a separate heading in Section 3, below, whereas attributively used demonstrative pronouns will be treated in the several sections devoted to extensions.

<sup>42</sup> Nöldeke 1966, § 226; Van Peursen 2007, p. 184.

### 1.3.2.7 Interrogative Pronoun Phrases (IPrP)

The head of an IPrP consists of an interrogative pronoun, which can be used attributively or independently. In the former case, the interrogative pronoun does not constitute a clause constituent of its own, but, as with attributive adjectives and demonstrative pronouns (see above) it forms an extension to the head of an NP. Independent interrogative pronouns, therefore, are given their own section (Section 2.7, below), whereas attributively used IPrPs are treated in the several sections on extensions to other phrases (Sections 2.1.2.23 and 2.1.2.30, below).

The interrogative pronouns attested in BLC are *ܩܘܢܐ* *which* (fs), *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *which* (cp); *ܩܘܢܐ* *which* (ms), *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *what*; *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *who* and *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ*, *what*, *why*. All of these can be used independently (and hence build separate clause constituents), while some can also be used attributively:

	<i>independent</i>	<i>attributive</i>
<i>ܩܘܢܐ</i>	+	+
<i>ܩܘܢܐܝܗ</i>	+	+
<i>ܩܘܢܐ</i>	+	+
<i>ܩܘܢܐܝܗ</i>	+	-
<i>ܩܘܢܐܝܗ</i>	+	-
<i>ܩܘܢܐܝܗ</i>	+	-

The other possible head component besides the interrogative pronoun is the construct noun *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ*, preceding it: *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *everything*, *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *every one*, etc.

### 1.3.2.8 Interrogative Phrases (InrP)

Interrogative phrases consist of interrogatives that do not belong to the category of pronouns. The only interrogative present in BLC is *ܩܘܢܐܝܗ* *how?*

### 1.3.2.9 Verb Phrases (VP)

The core of a VP head is a verb. That this includes finite verbs is obvious, but a few words must be devoted to the treatment of participles and infinitives.

### Participles

As in languages other than Syriac, it is at times problematic to establish the syntactic nature of participles (both active and passive). While participles are intrinsically derivations of verbal lexemes, their inflection is nominal; i.e., they follow the same paradigm as nouns and adjectives.<sup>43</sup> This duality of participles also shows in their syntactic behaviour: sometimes participles ‘act’ as a verb, sometimes as a noun, an adjective, or an adverb<sup>44</sup>, a versatility reflected in the Turgama model by the assignment of different PDPs (see Section 1.3.1, above).

The assignment of a single PDP, however, does not always do a participle justice: There are circumstances where it rather fulfils the role of several parts of speech at once. This is especially the case when a participle is used predicatively, e.g. 10:4 ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ *the matter is known*. Here, the participle ܡܝܢܐ can be said to have both the PDP ‘verb’ (analogous to a verbal clause like ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ *the matter will be known*) and ‘adjective’ (analogous to a bipartite non-verbal clause; e.g., ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ *the matter is good*).<sup>45</sup> The Turgama model, however, does not allow a grammatical form to be assigned more than one PDP, and forces us to make a choice. While ‘verb’ and ‘adjective’ are equally fitting candidates, the practice within the model is to give participles that are used predicatively the PDP ‘verb’. This choice is supported by Janet Dyk’s *Participle Reanalysis Corollary*, which states that ‘a participle is intrinsically a verb, and remains so unless it falls under the government of a nominal element.’<sup>46</sup> When, for instance, a participle stands in an attributive construction, it is governed by a noun or pronoun (e.g., 24:28 ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ *from the right path*, where the passive participle ܐܘܪܝܢܐ is governed by the noun ܡܝܢܐ), which means it is no long-

<sup>43</sup> At the morphological level in the Turgama analysis, this double nature of participles is expressed by combining the verbal and the nominal morpheme boundary marker: [ / ; e.g., ܡܝܢܐ QVL [ / JN. The same method is applied to infinitives, which, after all, are of a similarly dual verbal-nominal nature. See Van Peursen 2002; idem 2007, chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>44</sup> Dyk 2005, p. 149f.

<sup>45</sup> It is precisely this overlap in syntactic function that has led certain scholars to refer to adjectives and participles collectively as ‘participials’: see, e.g., Goldenberg 1983, pp. 115–117; Van Peursen 2007, p. 279; 309f.

<sup>46</sup> Dyk 1994; idem 2005, p. 153 + note 12.

er a verb, but an adjective.<sup>47</sup> A participle which is used predicatively, however, does not fall under the government of a nominal element, which means that it keeps the PDP 'verb'.<sup>48</sup>

As a result of the above, the present study includes among the possible components of a VP head not only finite verbs, but also participles that are used predicatively. Participles that function differently are treated under the sections belonging to their respective PDPs: nominal participles under NPs, adverbial ones under AdvPs, and those functioning as attributive adjectives under AdjPs.

### *Infinitives*

Like participles, infinitives show a dual nature in behaving semantically like verbs, whereas morphologically they behave like nouns. While recognizing this dichotomy, the Turgama model assigns all infinitives the PDP 'verb', and hence places them among the possible components of a VP head, along with finite verbs and participles used predicatively. Like these, infinitives always constitute their own clauses, in which they assume the function of the predicate.

### *Object suffixes*

In the Turgama model, the VP only includes the verb; the elements governed by it (objects, complements, etc.) form separate constituents.<sup>49</sup> This is also the case when an object takes the form of a pronominal suffix. The fact that the object is connected graphically to the verb does not alter its having a separate syntactic status.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> It should be stated that in BLC this issue only arises for passive participles: there are no instances of active participles used attributively.

<sup>48</sup> As we will see, the verbal nature of a participle sometimes even transpires in circumstances where Dyk's corollary would predict it to assume the PDP 'noun' or 'adjective', as can be seen in cases like 56:19 *ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܢܐ* "a powerful-one-over-himself" (treated in Section 2.1.2.2, below); 46:12-13 *ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܢܐ (...)* *ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܢܐ* women (who are) ... suppressive of their husbands in everything (treated in Section 2.1.2.3, below). It does not seem appropriate to analyse the *ܘ*-phrases that follow the participles as PP extensions to NPs or AdjPs, but rather as separate constituents, representing arguments of the verbs that are conveyed by the participles.

<sup>49</sup> Gutman & Van Peursen [2011], § 2.4.1.

<sup>50</sup> See Sikkel 2008.

### 1.3.2.10 Adverb Phrases (AdvP)

Adverbs can be used in two ways: independently or as a modification of another word. In the first case, the AdvP forms a separate clause constituent; in the second case it is an extension; i.e., a subphrase. Therefore, independently used adverbs are treated in their own section (Section 2.10, below), while adverbs that modify another word are treated in the several subsections dedicated to extensions.

### 1.3.2.11 Conjunction Phrases (CP)

#### *Conjunctions*

A conjunction is a particle that connects two syntactic units, and establishes the relation in which they stand to each other. Those syntactic units can be (sub)phrases, or clauses. In the first case, the conjunction functions within the boundaries of a single clause constituent, connecting two phrase heads or extensions into a parallel string; i.e., an enumeration; e.g.:

20:8 כְּחֵדָּה וְכְחֵדָּה *glory and blessing* (connecting two NP heads);  
 42:16-17 רָעָה וְרָעָה וְרָעָה *evil and impure things* (connecting two AdjP extensions)

In the second case, the conjunction functions on inter-clause level, connecting two clauses within a larger sentence, e.g.:

4:20 אֲנִי אֶעְזֹר לְךָ לִלְמַד *it would help you that you should learn*  
 16:11 הַחַסְדִּים וְהַרַחֲמִים *to have compassion and to bless*

A conjunction is characterized by the fact that it is semantically neutral; i.e., it does not modify the meaning of either of the two units which it connects. If, for example, a conjunction between two clauses is removed, this does not affect the internal proposition structure of those clauses: without the conjunction between them, their meaning remains the same as if they had been two clauses in their own right. A conjunction can be seen as the cement between two bricks, holding them together, but not influencing them internally.

What a conjunction does affect is the functional relation between the phrases or clauses that it connects: it establishes the syntactic hierarchy in which they stand to each other. If the two units stand on the same hierar-

chic level, the result is a coordinative, or paratactic, relation. If one unit is dependent on the other, the relation is a subordinative, or hypotactic, one. For phrase-connecting conjunctions, the hierarchy is always coordinative as illustrated above (expressed in BLC mainly by  $\alpha$  *and*, and in a few cases by  $\alpha\kappa$  *or*), whereas for clause-connecting conjunctions the hierarchy can either be coordinative or subordinative (expressed by a variety of conjunctions, on which see 'Conjunctions vs. "connective adverbs"', below).

Seeing its 'cement' function, one could argue that a conjunction does not belong syntactically to either of the two syntactic units which it combines, but forms an independent connective element in between them. The Turgama model, however, does treat conjunctions as belonging to the same syntactic tree as their surrounding elements, taking phrase-connecting conjunctions as part of the same constituents as the heads or extensions which they connect, and taking clause-connecting conjunctions as part of the clauses which follow them. Thus, clause-connecting conjunctions form autonomous CP clause constituents, whereas phrase-connecting conjunctions do not. Since the survey to follow in Section 2, below, deals with phrases as clause constituents, clause-connecting conjunctions will be treated in a separate section (see Section 2.11, below), while phrase-connecting conjunctions will be dealt with only implicitly under the different subheadings entitled 'Cases with parallel heads.'

*Phrase-connecting vs. clause-connecting conjunctions:  
enumeration vs. ellipsis*

It is clear that the distinction between phrase-connecting and clause-connecting conjunctions is essential for a sound syntactic analysis, because of its direct implications for the question as to what elements are considered to constitute a clause constituent and what elements are not. In this light it is unfortunate that there are circumstances where the difference between the two conjunctive functions is difficult to establish.

Subordinative conjunctions do not pose any problems, for, since phrase-connecting conjunctions are never subordinative, we know for sure that they are clause-connecting. Coordinative conjunctions, however—i.e.,  $\alpha$  and  $\alpha\kappa$ —are employable both as phrase-connecting and as clause-connecting conjunctions. It is this double employability which forms a potential source of confusion.

In quite a few cases, it is immediately clear which of the two functions the conjunction has. When, for instance, the parts before and after the conjunction both contain an explicit predicate, the conjunction can safely be identified as clause-connecting; e.g.,

28:18-19 *לַחֵכֶם וְלַבְּרִיתֵיכֶם וְלַחֲכָמֵיכֶם וְלַחֲסִידֵיכֶם וְלַחֲסִידֵיכֶם וְלַחֲסִידֵיכֶם* *God's wisdom, which has established the worlds and created man.*

where the predicates to both sides of the conjunction (the verbs *בָּרַךְ* and *בָּרַךְ*) indicate that *-ו* must be clause-connecting. Alternatively, when an explicit predicate is lacking at one of the sides of the conjunction, the presence of 'parallel elements' can help us out; i.e., constituents at the side without an explicit predicate that can be seen as functional counterparts of constituents at the side that has an explicit predicate; e.g.:

26:17-18 *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* *people sometimes behave badly, and sometimes appropriately;*

32:7-8 *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* *and in some of them we rejoice, and in others we do not.*

Here, we can see that an explicit predicate is present in the parts preceding the conjunction (*וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל*, respectively), while it is lacking in the parts that follow it. However, in both examples, constituents are present in the latter part which can be seen as parallels to constituents in the former part. In the first example, both instances of *יִשְׂרָאֵל* can be connected to each other, as well as *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל*. In the second example, both occurrences of *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* can be seen as parallels, while the same can be said of *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל*. The presence of such parallel elements in the part without an explicit predicate indicates that it is in fact an elliptic clause; and as a result, the conjunction is of the clause-connecting type.

However, there are many cases where the part to one side of the conjunction lacks both an explicit predicate and a parallel element, which is when ambiguity arises. Consider, for instance, the following clause:

24:19-20 *וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל* *they became whoremongers and voluptuaries.*

What, here, is the function of the conjunction *-ו*? Is it phrase-connecting or clause-connecting? The question comes down to distinguishing between enumeration and ellipsis. If the conjunction is phrase-connecting, the im-

plication is that  $\text{ሴኒ}$  and  $\text{ላዎሩ}$  are part of the same enumeration, and hence of the same clause constituent (namely the predicate complement to the verb  $\text{ሰጠ}$ ). If, on the other hand,  $\text{ኣ}$  is a clause-connecting conjunction, we must assume that  $\text{ላዎሩ}$  represents a separate, elliptic clause in which  $\text{ሰጠ}$  has been left implicit:  $\text{ላዎሩ (ሰጠ)ኣ ሴኒ ሰጠ}$ .

Which of the two analyses is to be preferred? The 'enumeration' version, or the 'ellipsis' version? From a syntactic viewpoint, both options are equally feasible. We may call on indications outside syntax, such as context, and argue that  $\text{ሴኒ}$  and  $\text{ላዎሩ}$ , because of their closely related meanings, are likely to be part of the same enumeration, making the conjunctions phrase-connecting. But this is a rather subjective method and it does not discard the alternative. Another suggestion might be to look at interpunction, the absence or presence of which could be helpful in making the decision. As it turns out, however, the use of interpunction in BLC does not stand in a precise one-to-one relation to the demarcation of syntactic units: the presence of an interpunction sign does not necessarily coincide with a border between phrases or clauses, nor does its absence always mean that no syntactic border is to be assumed. As a result, interpunction is an unreliable tool in discerning between clause- and phrase-combining conjunctions.

In BLC, the difficulty is particularly apparent where parallel strings of PPs (typically starting with the same preposition) are involved, e.g.:

10:14-15  $\text{ሩከሪ ና ሩከሪ ሩከሪ ሩከሪ ሩከሪ ነ ሳዓሳዓ}$  *for look at the sun and at the moon and at the Zodiac and at the other things.*

Here, again, the conjunctions may be phrase-connecting, making  $\text{ሩከሪ ና ሩከሪ ሩከሪ ሩከሪ ሩከሪ}$  all part of the same constituent; or they might be clause-connecting, in which case  $\text{ሩከሪ}$ ,  $\text{ሩከሪ}$  and  $\text{ሩከሪ ና}$  all represent separate elliptic clauses with the implicit predicate  $\text{ሳዓሳዓ}$ . Once more, both the 'enumeration' and the 'ellipsis' analysis seem equally appropriate.

These are but a few of the many examples in BLC of how difficult and subtle the distinction between clause- and phrase-connecting conjunctions can be. Nevertheless, as I have explained, our syntactic analysis requires that the distinction be indicated. Hence, a decision must be made to enable us to distinguish consistently between the two conjunctive types. With the argument, then, that ellipsis seems to be a more 'troublesome' (i.e., marked)

syntactic device than enumeration, I have decided to tip the balance in favour of the latter, following the guideline: *When at one side of the conjunction neither an explicit predicate nor a parallel element is present, the conjunction is taken to be phrase-connecting*. All the phrases conjoined by it are, therefore, part of the same clause constituent. A result of this decision is clause constituents can grow to considerable lengths, consisting of long strings of parallel elements. As we will see later on, this shall indeed turn out to be the case.

#### *Conjunctions vs. 'connective adverbs'*

Among the Syriac lexemes that are traditionally designated as 'conjunctions', there is a number for which that label is questionable. As I have said above, a typical trait of a conjunction is its semantic neutrality, its lack of influence on the meaning of the phrases or clauses that it combines. That neutrality is observed in such particles as -ו, -ו, ו, etc., but in others, such as ו, ו, ו, ו, and ו. These particles are not semantically neutral, but can modify the meaning of a clause or part of it; e.g. 16:15 ו ו ו *this too he can do*, where ו marks the pragmatic status of ו (see Chapter 4, Section 3.1.2); or 20:10 ו ו ו *but maybe somebody will say*, where ו affects the probability value of the entire proposition. This capability of semantic modification is a typical trait not of conjunctions, but of adverbs.<sup>51</sup>

Another telltale sign that these particles are not conjunctions is the fact that they can occur together with other (alleged or real) conjunctions in the same clause, something which real conjunctions do not typically do:

- 20:10–11 ו ו ו *but maybe somebody will say* (ו and ו);  
 62:3–4 ו ו ו ו (...) ו ו ו *nor do those people (...)*  
*stand in power* (ו, ו and ו);  
 6:10–11 ו ו ו *but know* (ו and ו)<sup>52</sup>;  
 etc.

Because of these characteristics, the particles mentioned above (ו, ו, ו, ו, ו and ו) are treated in the present study not as conjunctions,

<sup>51</sup> Crystal 2008, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> In fact, all six occurrences of ו in BLC are followed by ו.

but as adverbs, or, if one wishes to compromise, as ‘connective adverbs’, a term proposed for the second-place particles  $\text{ܘܘܢ}$  and  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$  by Terry Falla and Wido van Peursen.<sup>53</sup> Only the following particles, then, are treated here as ‘real’ conjunctions:<sup>54</sup>

- coordinative:       $\text{ܘܘܢ}$   
                              $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$   
                             -ܐ
- subordinative:     $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$   
                              $\text{ܘܘܢܐܐ}$   
                             -ܐ    (as a subordinative and as a relative)  
                             ܘܘܢ  
                             ܘܘܢܐ

### 1.3.2.12 Negative Phrases (NegP)

A NegP consists of the negative particle  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$  *no, not*. In Syriac,  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$  can negate a whole clause, or one or more of its constituents. Clause-negating  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$  always constitutes a constituent on its own; it is therefore treated in a separate section (Section 2.12 below). Phrase-negating  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$ , on the other hand, is a part of the phrase which it negates: it is an extension to its head. The difference between clause-negating and phrase-negating  $\text{ܘܘܢܐ}$  is not always easily discernable, due to the fact that it is difficult to deduce from the context what the scope of the negation is: see Chapter 4, Section 2.8 for more discussion on this matter. For this reason, most cases of negation in BLC have been analyzed as clause negation. One special category, which certainly involves phrase negation, is that of the construction  $\text{ܘܘܢܐܐ}$  *without*, which will be treated in Section 2.1.2.8, below.

### 1.3.2.13 Interjection Phrases (InjP)

Interjections form a special category of words. They are something of a ‘meaningless’ category within a clause: they are syntactically unrelated to other clause constituents and do not show any hierarchical connection to

<sup>53</sup> Van Peursen & Falla 2009.

<sup>54</sup> The Turgama model still treats a number of connective adverbs as conjunctions, but I have chosen not to follow this practice.

them. Still, interjections are not functionless: on the pragmatic level they fulfil a clear role, which could be described as an attempt of the speaking person to draw the attention to what follows. To achieve this goal, the speaker takes a temporary step out of the discourse and out of the syntactic framework of the clause. In this respect, interjections are quite comparable to vocatives, which could be said to fulfil a similar pragmatic role of interrupting the narrative to address, or get the attention of, another person.

While interjections do not form a part of the clause in syntactic terms, they are undeniably present within the linear string of linguistic data that we encounter in a written text, so we would like to deal with them in some sort of syntactic way. In the Turgama model this is done by assigning a phrase type: the InjP.

## 2. THE CLAUSE CONSTITUENT PHRASES IN BLC

I will now look at the head and extension structures of the clause constituents in BLC in more detail. As explained in Section 1, this survey will be organized according to the way in which clause constituents are built up out of subphrases (i.e., heads and extensions). The section will be divided according to the different phrase types, in the order presented in Section 1.3, above.

In this section, a system of symbols will be used for the indication of head and extension structures. These symbols are the following:

[]	phrase boundaries
◊	outer head boundaries
◄◄	head core (only for NPs)
NP, VP, etc.	phrase type

### 2.1 NP clause constituents

Of all phrase types, NPs allow for the most complex behaviour, both in their internal head structure and in their use of extensions.

### 2.1.1 NP head structure

The core element of the head of an NP clause constituent is a noun. As explained in Section 1.3.1, above, this can be an inherent noun, but it can also be a word of which the PDP is the result of a part of speech transition from an inherent verb (typically a participle) or adjective:

- Inherent nouns:

22:16 כַּחֲמֵי honey;

40:1 כִּכְּכֵי stars;

56:5 כְּחֵיכְּמֵי craft;

60:1 חֵיכְּמֵי His coming.

This category also includes some words that may be less recognizable as nouns, but nevertheless are; e.g.:

כֵּן there is (originally *existence*)<sup>55</sup>;

כֹּל all, every (originally *the whole*);

כֵּן something;

cardinal numerals; e.g., כַּחֲמֵי seven.<sup>56</sup>

- Nouns transitioned from inherent verbs:

18:25 חֵיכְּמֵי his friend;

24:2 כִּכְּכֵי those who have power;

50:21 כִּכְּכֵי the dead;

60:1 כִּכְּכֵי Messiah (lit. *anointed one*).

- Nouns transitioned from inherent adjectives:

18:21 כִּכְּכֵי the good;

28:8 כִּכְּכֵי small things;

30:17 כִּכְּכֵי many people;

58:25 כִּכְּכֵי Christians.

<sup>55</sup> Lund 2007 (pp. 9–10) gives this word the part of speech ‘verb’ (and even assigns the stem formation ‘peal’ to it), which might be understandable from a motivation by the English translation, but which is not appropriate in terms of Syriac morphology and syntax. See, e.g., Muraoka 1977b; Goldenberg 1983, §§ 11–17 (pp. 117–131); Van Peur- sen 2007, ch. 22 (pp. 335–352).

<sup>56</sup> See the subsection ‘Cardinal numerals’, below.

This category also includes the many gentilic names that occur in BLC (see Chapter 2, section 2.1c):

40:2 ⲉⲃⲓⲡⲏⲥ *Egyptians*;

46:13 ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ *Edessans*;

46:20 ⲉⲣⲟⲙⲁⲛⲏ *Romans*;

50:15 ⲉⲗⲁⲛⲏ *Alanians*.

A special case in this category is the word ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲥ *the Seven (Stars)* (lit. ‘*the Seventh(s)*’), which consists of an inherent adjective that is an ordinal number of the *-i-āy(ā)* pattern (see Section 2.1.2.2, below), transitioned into the PDP ‘noun’:

28:2–3 ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ *it is from the guidance of these stars which are called the Seven*

#### *Cardinal numerals*<sup>57</sup>

As explained in Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above, cardinal numerals belong to the morphological class of nouns, which means that they, too, can form the head of an NP. Cardinals can operate in two different qualities: independently, and ‘attributively’; i.e., in a ‘cardinal-counted’ relation with a nominal phrase that expresses the item which is being counted. In the latter case, the NP containing the cardinal forms an extension to another phrase, as a result of which they will not be treated here, but in Sections 2.1.2.1; 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Further extensions’, subsection a, subsection ‘Cardinal numerals’; and 2.1.2.13, below. The present section will deal only with the former type, since those are the NPs that can form autonomous clause constituents.

In BLC, the following cardinals occur in independent use<sup>58</sup>:

ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ 28:24–25 ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ *He who is powerful over everything is one*;

58:15 ⲉⲃⲉⲥⲥⲏⲥ *one of the things*<sup>59</sup>;

<sup>57</sup> On ordinal numerals, see Sections 2.1.2.2 and 2.1.2.4, below.

<sup>58</sup> It can be deduced from the given examples that BLC does not have attestations of independently used cardinals with a pronominal suffix. Suffixation only happens (and only in a few cases) with cardinals used ‘attributively’: see Section 2.1.2.1, subsection 2; and Section 2.1.2.13, below.

- אֶחָד 54:16 אֶחָד אֶחָד אֶחָד אֶחָד *nor twelve according to the number of the signs of the Zodiac;*
- אֶלֶף אֶלֶף 54:17 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *nor thirty-six according to the number of the Decanal Stars;*
- אֶלֶף 42:6-7 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *thousands of years*<sup>60</sup>;
- אֶלֶף 42:3 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *many thousands and myriads.*<sup>61</sup>

With the exception of אֶלֶף and אֶלֶף, the given examples are the only attestations of these cardinals being used independently. אֶלֶף and אֶלֶף are only used in the emphatic plural, in the sense of ‘thousands’ and ‘myriads’, respectively.

אֶלֶף can be used in distributive reduplication. When this occurs, the NP is invariably extended with a PP starting with אֶלֶף (see Section 2.1.2.3, below):

28:20 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *to each one of them;*

54:8-9 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *each one of these.*

#### NPs with single heads

As explained in Section 1.3.2.1 above, the possible components of the NP head are:

- 1) the core noun;
- 2) additional noun(s), either in distributive or construct relation to the core noun;
- 3) the pronominal suffix.

In BLC, the attested combinations of these NP head components are the following:

1. < «Noun» >; e.g.:

10:10 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *wagon;*

42:18 אֶלֶף אֶלֶף *bad things.*

<sup>59</sup> Here, the NP is extended with a PP, resulting in a ‘אֶלֶף אֶלֶף’ construction: see Section 2.1.2.3, below.

<sup>60</sup> In this case, the NP is extended with a d-P: see Section 2.1.2.4, below.

<sup>61</sup> This is a phrase with two parallel heads, the first of which is extended with an AdjP: see Section 2.1.2.2, below.

2. < «Noun»-Suffix >; e.g.:  
 18:25 ,כִּי בִּנְיָמִין *my son*;  
 48:18 כָּל חַמְלָה *all of them*.
3. <CstrNoun-«Noun» >; e.g.:  
 14:24 אֲנָשִׁים רַבִּים *people*;  
 54:16 יָבֵשׁ יָבֵשׁ *twelve*<sup>62</sup>;  
 60:24 כָּל הַיְּצִרִים *everything*.
4. <CstrNoun-«Noun»-Suffix >; e.g.:  
 42:23 בָּנֹתֵי בָנֹתֵי אֲנָשִׁים *their daughters' daughters*;  
 52:7 אֲנָשִׁים אֲנָשִׁים *their horoscopes*.
5. <CstrNoun-CstrNoun-«Noun» >; e.g.:  
 18:4 כָּל אֲנָשִׁים כֹּל *everybody*.<sup>63</sup>
6. < «AbsNoun»-«AbsNoun» ><sup>64</sup>; e.g.:  
 32:1 אֵלֶּי וְאֵלֶּי *each desire*;  
 54:3-4 אֲנָשִׁים אֲנָשִׁים *each man of them*;  
 54:8-9 אֵלֶּי וְאֵלֶּי *each one of these*.

These six possible combinations are listed in the grid in Table 2, below (< > = outer head boundaries; N = noun; «N» = core noun; suf = pronominal suffix):

This paired nature of patterns with and without pronominal suffixes indicates that they do not have influence on the number of elements in the head. This is the reason why I include them in the head structure and do not treat them as separate categories.

As can be seen from the given examples, the maximum number of consecutive nouns that stand in the construct state is two, whether the third element in the row is a suffix (combination 4) or a noun (combination 5). Longer strings have been attested in other corpora, e.g., in 1Kings 11:34 /

<sup>62</sup> Opinions among scholars differ as to whether the cardinals from 11 to 19 are in fact genitive constructions: see Van Peursen [2011], § 2.2.2.2.

<sup>63</sup> This is the only occurrence of this structure.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g., Nöldeke 1966, § 152C. While distributively reduplicated nouns can also stand in the emphatic state (e.g., *ibid.* Is. 19:2 אֲנָשִׁים אֲנָשִׁים), all occurrences in BLC are in the absolute state.

15:5 *כל ימי חייו*, *all the days of his life*, where the head has three construct nouns in a row.

TABLE 2: The combinations of NP head components attested in BLC

		< N	N	« N »	« N » suf >
single noun	1			x	
	2			x	x
construct chain	3		x	x	
	4		x	x	x
	5	x	x	x	
reduplication	6			x	x

#### NP heads containing *כל*

Since it shows behaviour that slightly differs from other nouns, the word *כל* *all, every* deserves to be treated separately.

- *כל* as the core noun

When *כל* is the core noun, it can be used either in its 'bare' form:

58:21 *כל יחזקו* *everybody who cuts off his masculinity*;

60:24 *כל נשנו* *we would be everything*.

Or with a pronominal suffix:

6:15 *לכל* *to us all*;

48:18 *כלם* *all of them*.

- *כל* as a construct noun

*כל* can also be the first element in the construct chain governing the core noun:

12:4 *כל הנה* *everything*;

18:4 *כל בני ישראל* *everybody*.

These constructions have a parallel in constructions where *כל* does not directly govern the noun, but has a pronominal suffix and stands in a construction of pronominal agreement (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection 'NPs with pronominal agreement', below) with the noun:

14:10 *כל מה שאתם רוצים*<sup>65</sup> *from all freedom;*

52:5 *כל הגרמנים* *all Germanians;*

62:1 *כל דבר* *all things.*

While in terms of semantic information structure, the *כל*-construction with pronominal agreement does not differ much from the genitive *כל*-construction, their phrase structure is entirely different: whereas the genitive construction constitutes a single-headed phrase with no extensions, the variety with pronominal agreement results in an NP head extended with an NP extension: see Section 2.1.2.1, subsection 1a, below.

• *כל* governing parallel core nouns

A typical trait of *כל* is that it can govern more than one core noun within the same head, connected by *-ו* («Noun» «Noun»):

44:4 *בכל מקום וכל ארץ* *in all places and climates where they have been.*<sup>66</sup>

This construction stands in contrast to cases where *כל* is repeated:

52:23 *בכל ארץ ובכל עם* *in every place and in every people*<sup>67</sup>;

54:2 *בכל ארץ וכל עם* *now in every place and in every people.*<sup>68</sup>

The difference between these two constructions lies in the governing domain<sup>69</sup> of *כל*, which in the first scenario spans two nouns, while in the second scenario it only spans one noun. This difference in governing domain results in two different constructions: in the former case the result is an NP with one head, which consists of a *כל*-construction with two core nouns; the latter case results in an NP with two parallel heads (see the subsection

<sup>65</sup> Sic, with upper dot: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection ‘Diacritics’, note 11.

<sup>66</sup> Note that in this example (which is the only case in BLC where *כל* governs more than one noun) the preposition *-ב* also governs both nouns.

<sup>67</sup> Note that in this example not only *כל* is repeated but also the preposition. The constituent consists of two NPs (*כל ארץ* and *כל עם*), each embedded in a PP with the preposition *-ב* as its head.

<sup>68</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *ועתה*: see Section 3.1.1, below.

<sup>69</sup> See the subsection ‘Parallel-headed NPs embedded in PPs and d-Ps’, below, on the notion of ‘governing domain’, applied to prepositions.

'NPs with parallel heads', below), each consisting of a  $\text{حـ}$ -construction with only one core noun.

*NPs with empty heads*

In certain cases when a nominal head is extended (see Section 2.1.2, below), that head can be unrealized, or empty, leaving a syntactic gap (  $\_$  ) in the surface structure.<sup>70</sup> Such an empty head can often be translated with a 'filler' word like *some(one, thing)* or *those*, etc. Since there is no lexical item present at the head position, we cannot tell its part of speech, and hence cannot know whether we are dealing with a Noun Phrase or with a (Personal, Demonstrative or Interrogative) Pronoun Phrase. In the present study, I will treat structures with empty heads as if they were NPs.

In BLC, there are three circumstances in which a head can be empty:

1. when the extension is a d-P<sup>71</sup>, e.g.:

40:5  $\text{قـ} \_ \text{قـ} \text{بـ} \text{بـ}$  *which ones are (those) of the Babylonians.*

Cases of this kind will be treated in Section 2.1.2.4, below.

2. when the extension is  $\text{حـ}$  + plural suffix, e.g.:

32:7  $\text{حـ} \_ \text{حـ}$  *in (some) of them;*

44:1-2 <sup>72</sup>  $\text{حـ} \_ \text{حـ} \text{حـ}$  *(some) of these Persians, etc.*

These cases will be treated in Section 2.1.2.3, below. See also the subsection 'double prepositions' in the present section.

3. when the extension is an RC<sup>73</sup>, e.g.:

24:9  $\text{حـ} \_ \text{حـ}$  *there are (those) who beat;*

4:13  $\text{حـ} \_ \text{حـ}$  *(that) which is good, etc.*

Cases of this type will be treated in Section 2.1.2.5, below.

<sup>70</sup> Crystal 2008, p. 205.

<sup>71</sup> Van Peursen 2007, § 14.1 (pp. 256-257) does not apply the concept of empty heads, and refers to this construction as 'independent use of - $\text{حـ}$ '.

<sup>72</sup> Sic, without *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection 'Diacritics'.

<sup>73</sup> Van Peursen 2007, § 22.3 (pp. 338-340) treats the RC following  $\text{حـ}$  as an 'independent relative clause'.

There are also attestations where the  $\text{ሕ}$  + plural suffix of category 2 is combined with the RC of category 3, e.g.:

24:3-4  $\text{ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ}$  *there are (some) of them who distinguish.*

In these cases, the empty head has two separate extensions: a PP ( $\text{ሕ}$  + plural suffix) and an RC. These cases will be treated in Section 2.1.2.19, below.

My treatment of structures like these differs from the approach taken by several scholars<sup>74</sup>, who do not recognize the concept of empty heads, but instead treat what I call the extension as the head of the phrase. True to a corpus-linguistic method as the analysis of these scholars may be (in dealing solely with the elements present in the surface structure), it also raises some syntactic difficulties, as it leads to unconventional circumstances where, e.g., a PP can fulfil the role of the grammatical subject. Treating the PP as an extension recognizes the nominal nature of the subject, while at the same time it retains the parallel with equivalent structures where the head is not empty, such as 36:18  $\text{ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ}$  *there are people who think...*; 54:3-4  $\text{ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ ሕገገገገ}$  *each of them*, etc.

#### *NPs with parallel heads*

It is possible for an NP to contain more than one head. In Section 1.1, above, I explained the concept of parallel heads, which are strung together with phrase-connecting conjunctions, resulting in an enumeration. In BLC, the amount of parallel heads in an NP ranges from two to six (with the exception of five):

- two heads:

12:19  $\text{ጠሕገገገገ ጠሕገገገገ}$  *his innocence and his guilt*;

20:8  $\text{ገሕገገገገ ገሕገገገገ}$  *glory and blessing*;

24:14-15  $\text{ገሕገገገገ ገሕገገገገ ገሕገገገገ}$  *they were whoremongers and drunkards*;<sup>75</sup>

34:25  $\text{ገሕገገገገገ ገሕገገገገገ}$  *intemperance and luxury.*

<sup>74</sup> E.g. Nöldeke 1966, § 209A (for cases with -ገ); Van Peursen 2007, §§ 14.1 (pp. 256-257) & 22.3 (pp. 338-340); Joūen & Muraoka 2006, §§ 154b (nominal clauses) & 155a (verbal clauses).

<sup>75</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the verb  $\text{ሕገገገገ}$ : see Section 3.1.1, below.

- three heads:  
18:16-17 *age, sickness and poverty*;  
50:8-9 *sculptors, painters and money-changers*.
- four heads:  
50:10 *perfumers, dancers, singers and poets*;  
60:17 *but sickness and health, richness and poverty.*<sup>76</sup>
- six heads:  
54:2-3 *rich and poor, masters and servants, healthy and sick*.

These are all examples of multi-headed phrases where the heads have no extensions themselves. As has been pointed out in Section 1.1, above, such extensions can and do occur, often leading to structures of considerable complexity.

#### *NPs embedded in PPs and d-Ps*

There is a universal balance in the fact that many NP structures have an equivalent counterpart which is embedded in a PP (or d-P). This equivalence not only applies to the NP extension structure (for which see Section 2.1.2 below), but also to the arrangement of the head-internal components. Five out of the six NP head structures listed in Table 2, above, have an equivalent embedded in a PP, the exception being structure number 5 (<CstrNoun-CstrNoun-«Noun» >):

1. Prep-(Prep-)[< «Noun» >]:  
22:7 *of nature*;  
24:12 *in righteousness*;  
44:19-20 *because of the law*;  
4:1 *a few days ago*;  
46:24 *as far as murder*.
2. Prep- (Prep-)[< «Noun»-Suffix >]:  
22:20 *with its sting*;

<sup>76</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *but*: see Section 3.1.1, below.

46:9 לַאִשְׁתּוֹ *to their wives*;

62:12-13 מִפְּנֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵלֵךְ *before the creation of the world*.

3. Prep-[<CstrNoun-«Noun»>]:

24:5 לְכָל בְּשָׂר *any meat*;

40:2 בְּכִסְיֵי תַלְמֵי *in the horoscopes*.

4. Prep-[<CstrNoun-«Noun»-Suffix>]:

14:5 בְּכֹחַ נַפְשֵׁיהֶם *in their own power* (lit. *in the power of their souls*);

40:23-24 בְּחַד חַדְוֵי חַדְוֵי חַדְוֵי *with his friend's wife*.

6. Prep-[<«AbsNoun»-«AbsNoun»>]:

24:13 מִלְּאֵי אֶחָדָם *any one of them*;

54:19 מִבְּרֵית אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ *from region to region*.<sup>77</sup>

### Double prepositions

As can be observed, prepositions occasionally occur in pairs. The combinations attested in BLC, with examples, are:

בְּ: 32:7/8 (2×) בְּכִסְיֵיהֶם *in some of them*.

מִן בְּ: 4:2 מִן מֵאֲחַדֵּי הַיָּמִים *a few days ago*;

32:24 מִן הַיָּמִים הַלְלוֹתֵי אֶת־יְהוָה *before the age of thirteen*.

מִן לְ: 4:5 מִן לְבָחוּד *from outside*.

מִן מֵ: 6:21 מִן מֵלֵאחֵינוּ *away from us*;

20:9 מִן מֵלֵאחֵיו *away from him*.

מֵ: 32:19 מֵעַד לְעַד *until the end of everything*;

48:23 מֵעַד לְעַד *until now*.

Except for בְּ (regarding which see below), these pairs are common, idiomized constructions. One could argue, therefore, that while etymologically speaking they consist of two separate prepositions, the pairs are no longer to be analyzed as such, but rather as a new construction that as a whole functions as a single preposition, somewhat like English *until*, evolved from

<sup>77</sup> This construction is part of the larger, parallel-headed constituent *בְּכָל מְלָכָה וּבְכָל אֶרֶץ וּבְכָל אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ* *in each kingdom and in each place and in every region and in all inhabited places that differ from each other*: see Section 2.1.2.5, subsection 'Cases with parallel heads', below. *מִן מֵ* is the only case in BLC of distributive reduplication with a plural noun.

the two ancient prepositions *und* and *till*. On the other hand, the combining of prepositions into pairs does not alter the meaning of their separate members: they retain the meaning which they have when occurring on their own:  $\text{מִן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ}$  = “*from before...*” = ... *ago*, etc. This aspect could be used as an argument in favour of an analysis where the two prepositions are not on the same level in the syntactic tree, but in such a way that the NP is embedded twice: [prep[prep [noun]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>PP</sub>]<sub>PP</sub>.

$\text{בְּ}$  is an entirely different case, in that it is certainly not to be analyzed as a paired preposition. The combination  $\text{בְּבְּ}$  is not idiomized, which is illustrated by the fact that  $\text{בְּ}$  can be replaced by any other preposition, a characteristic not shared by the other pairs:  $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$  *against some of them*,  $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$  *because of some of them*, etc., vs. \* $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$ , \* $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$ , etc. This free variation is explained by the fact that  $\text{בְּ}$  does not govern a PP, but a phrase with an empty head (see subsection ‘NPs with empty heads’ above in the present section). That head is extended by the specification PP  $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$ :  $\text{בְּכַסְפָּם}$  \_\_  $\text{בְּ}$ . The empty head constitutes a barrier between  $\text{בְּ}$  and  $\text{בְּ}$ , prohibiting the combination of the two into an idiomized pair.

#### *Parallel-headed NPs embedded in PPs and d-Ps*

It is possible for enumerations—i.e., a string of parallel NP heads interconnected with a phrase-internal conjunction  $\text{וְ}$  or  $\text{וְ}$ ; see ‘NPs with parallel heads’ above in the present section—to be embedded in PPs or d-Ps. The way in which this takes place depends on the distribution of the preposition(s), for which there are at least two options: 1. the same preposition is repeated before all members of the enumeration; 2. the preposition is used only before the first member and is absent before the others:

- Scenario 1: the preposition is repeated:<sup>78</sup>

24:6-7  $\text{וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם}$  *with their mothers and with their sisters and with their daughters;*

28:1-2  $\text{וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם}$  *in richness and in poorness and in sickness and in health and in defects of the body;*

28:21-23  $\text{וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם וְעִמָּם}$  *to God and to the angels and to the rulers and to the guiding signs and to the elements and to the people and to the animals;*

44:18 *with gold and with jewels;*

46:14 *Among the Rakamaeans and among the Edessans and among the Arabs.*

- Scenario 2: the preposition is not repeated:

36:17-18 *because of these divisions and opinions that are among the rulers;*

38:11 *from fate and destiny.*

The difference between the two scenarios lies in the governing domain of the preposition: in scenario 1 (which is the more common in BLC) the prepositions each govern only one head (i.e., they have a governing domain of 1), whereas in scenario 2 the one preposition governs all following heads (it has a governing domain larger than 1). This difference in governing domain of the preposition results in two different syntactic structures: where the preposition is repeated, we have a clause constituent with multiple heads, each of which embeds a single-headed NP<sup>79</sup>; where it is not repeated, we are dealing with a single-headed clause constituent that embeds a parallel-headed NP.

In BLC the maximum amount of heads governed by one preposition is three (the case in 46:13 being the only example), while the minimum is, of course, one.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> A subcategory of this scenario is formed by PPs where the prepositions used are not the same; e.g.:

34:14-15 *now outside of nature and in fate;*

46:21 *across the Euphrates and towards the east;*

58:23 *from that day and until now;*

52:8 *between Mars and Saturn.*

These constructions can be analyzed in the same way as scenario 1, namely as a parallel-headed PP with each head embedding an NP. The difference is that the preposition is not the same. Constructions like these are not so much enumerations as the combination of nouns into one construction where the prepositions ‘work together’, creating what at clause level would be labelled a locative adjunct (see Chapter 4, Section 2.4.2).

<sup>79</sup> See Section 1.3.2.11, subsection ‘phrase-connecting conjunctions vs. clause-connecting conjunctions’, above, for discussion as to why these constructions are treated as single constituents consisting of parallel PPs, not as separate PP constituents.

<sup>80</sup> Since prepositions are elements that require a complement (see Section 1.3.2.3, above), their governing domain must span at least one element. A phrase consisting of only a preposition would be ‘broken’.

It should be noted that the considerations in the above only apply to strings of PPs that are interconnected with coordinative conjunctions (ا or و). PPs that occur in succession without conjunctions typically form separate clause constituents, as in:

52:3-4 *كوكب المريخ والشمس في برج الجوز في الليل تحت الارض* *they have as their horoscope Mars and the Sun placed in Leo in the night below the Earth.*

where *كوكب المريخ* in *Leo*, *الشمس* in *the night* and *في برج الجوز* below *the Earth* form three separate clause constituents (a temporal adjunct and two locative adjuncts—see Chapter 4, Section 2.4).

### 2.1.2 NP clause constituents with extensions

In BLC, an NP head can get one or more out of nine possible extensions:

1. NP
2. AdjP
3. PP
4. d-P
5. RC
6. DPrP
7. IPrP
8. AdvP
9. NegP

Most of these extensions can get extensions themselves, and some of those second-degree extensions can even be extended again, resulting in third-degree extensions. The extensions can occur in combination with others; some of them always do: for example, when the NP is extended with an IPrP, it is always combined with extension by an RC.

The total possible extension structure of an NP head in BLC can be schematized as follows (> = extension):

TABLE 3: NP Extension structure

<i>Head</i>		<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>		<i>2<sup>nd</sup> degree extension</i>		<i>3<sup>rd</sup> degree extension</i>
NP	>	NP	>	AdjP		
				d-P	>	NP
	>	AdjP	>	PP		
	>	PP	>	AdjP		
			>	PP		
			>	d-P		
			>	RC		
			>	IPrP & RC		
	>	d-P	>	NP		
			>	AdjP		
			>	PP		
			>	d-P	>	NP
			>		>	RC <sup>81</sup>
			>	RC		
			>	DPrP		
	>	RC				
	>	DPrP				
	>	IPrP & RC	>	DPrP		
	>	AdvP				
	>	NegP				

As has been explained above, a phrase can consist of several heads, a single head can get several extensions with one or more heads, and several heads can get a single collective extension. I will now treat the possible NP extensions in more detail.

<sup>81</sup> Whether this extension is possible depends on the interpretation of the phrase structure at hand: see Section 2.1.2.27, below, for discussion.

## A. NPs with one extension

### 2.1.2.1 NP extended with NP

An NP head can be extended with another NP. There are three ways in which this can happen, resulting in three rather distinct constructions: 1. a construction with pronominal agreement; 2. a ‘cardinal-counted’ construction (see Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above); 3. an apposition.

#### 1. A construction with pronominal agreement

The pronominal agreement can either be anticipatory, when the suffixed noun precedes the head which it specifies; or it can be resumptive, when the suffixed noun follows the head. The suffixed noun is either  $\text{𐤃}$ , or a cardinal. In BLC, the former occurs in both the anticipatory and the resumptive variety (with a strong preference for the anticipatory type: roughly 80% in a total of 66 cases); the latter only in the anticipatory variety.

#### a. Pronominal agreement involving $\text{𐤃}$

Anticipatory:

22:8 𐤒𐤕𐤕 𐤓𐤃 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *to all people*;

22:21 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *all scorpions*;

40:10-11 𐤒𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *in the entire world*.

Resumptive:

40:3 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *all sorts*;

40:17-18 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *in all of China*;

52:5 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *all Germanians*.

Constructions of this type can be additionally extended with a DPrP and an RC: see Sections 2.1.2.25 and 2.10.2.1, below.

#### · Cases with parallel heads

There is one occurrence of an enumeration embedded in a two-headed PP, where the first member of the enumeration stands in a construction of anticipatory pronominal agreement with  $\text{𐤃}$ -suffix:

44:6 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 𐤃 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤅𐤆𐤇 *to all Magians and to the rest of the Persians*.

In this example, the second member of the enumeration (ḥadīḥ) is extended as well, with the d-P ḥadīḥ.

b. *Anticipatory pronominal agreement involving a cardinal*  
(see subsection 2. “‘Cardinal-counted’ construction’, below):

38:2 ḥadīḥ 3 ḥadīḥ *the three things.*

## 2. A ‘cardinal-counted’ construction

As explained in Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above, the combination of an ‘attributive’ cardinal with the noun expressing the counted item results in the extension of an NP by another NP, where ‘extension’ stands for semantic specification, not for apposition. Such a ‘cardinal-counted’ construction can occur with or without pronominal agreement, and with the extension (i.e., the NP carrying the cardinal) before or after the head (the NP expressing the counted item).

In BLC, there is a strong preference for the variety without pronominal agreement, and for the cardinal to be located before the counted item. The few attestations with pronominal agreement all have the cardinal at the first position:

a. *‘Cardinal-counted’ construction with pronominal agreement:*

The following are the only four cases in BLC where the cardinal stands in pronominal agreement to the counted item. As indicated, all of them are of the anticipatory variety:

28:14 ḥadīḥ 3 ḥadīḥ *these three points of view*<sup>82</sup>;

34:17 ḥadīḥ 2 ḥadīḥ *the two heads*<sup>83</sup>;

38:2 ḥadīḥ 3 ḥadīḥ *the three things*;<sup>84</sup>

40:6 ḥadīḥ 2 ḥadīḥ *the two places.*<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Here, the construction is further extended with the DPRP ḥadīḥ: see Section 2.1.2.13, below.

<sup>83</sup> This construction forms a part of an extension to another phrase: see Section 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’, below.

<sup>84</sup> Cureton, Nau 1931 and Drijvers have ḥadīḥ. Only Nau 1907 follows the manuscript correctly.

<sup>85</sup> This construction forms a part of an extension to another phrase: see Section 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’, below.

b. 'Cardinal-counted' construction without pronominal agreement:

- cardinal at first position:

20:25 **ገሥ** *one work*;

32:24 **ገሥ** *before thirteen years*.

- cardinal at second position:

54:7 **ገሥ** *into seven parts*;

48:24 **ገሥ** *fourteen days*.

The list below lists all attributive cardinals attested in BLC<sup>86</sup>, together with information as to whether it can be located at the first and / or second position, and (for the numbers 2–10) whether it occurs with pronominal agreement or not:

<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> position
<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> position, with and without pronominal agreement
<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> position, with pronominal agreement
<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> position, without pronominal agreement
<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> position (only one case)
<b>ገሥ</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> position (only one case)
<b>ገሥ</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> position (only one case)

### 3. An apposition

In Section 1.1, subsection 'Apposition', above, I have discussed the principles of apposition, defining it as the relation between two asyndetically juxtaposed nominal elements that have the same semantic referent and share a syntactic slot normally reserved for only one element. As explained, the Turgama model analyzes apposition as a special type of extension, which does not, unlike all other types of extension, express a semantic specification of one of the two members of the apposition by the other, but indicates a state of syntactic and semantic equality between the two members. This strict definition leaves but a few cases of real apposition in BLC:

<sup>86</sup> In the list, the masculine form of the cardinal is given as the representative form. In the corpus, cardinals of both genders occur.

a. *Noun without pronominal suffix:*

58:21–22 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 king Abgar.

b. *‘Kinship’ noun with pronominal suffix:*

4:2–3 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃<sup>87</sup> Shemashgram, our brother;

4:14 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 my son Awida;

54:5 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 our father Bardaisan;

54:11 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 my son Philippus.

As can be observed, these cases all concern appositions between a noun and a proper noun. Apposition between two nouns is also possible. Since, however, the two attested cases in BLC (one of which is even doubtful) both have further extensions, they will be treated in subsection ‘Further extensions’ below, and Section 2.1.2.9, respectively.

*Further extensions*

There is one case of apposition between two NPs where the second NP is extended with a d-P, which itself is extended further with another NP:

40:15–16 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 from the east, the beginning of the whole world.

The other attestation of a possible apposition between two NPs will be treated in Section 2.1.2.9, below.

2.1.2.2 *NP extended with AdjP*

As stated in Section 1.3.2.2, above, AdjPs that function as extensions always consist of adjectives used attributively; e.g.:

8:1–2 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 from another person<sup>88</sup>;

24:15 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 good counsels;

28:6–7 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 it is an empty name<sup>89</sup>;

52:1 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 their many wives.

<sup>87</sup> The vowels in the manuscript have been added by a later hand: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.

<sup>88</sup> Apart from the cases with 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃 mentioned further on, this is the only occurrence of an NP extended with an AdjP that stands in the absolute state.

<sup>89</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP 𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃: see Section 3.1.2.2, below.

Cases with *חַבֵּר* something:

8:12 *חַבֵּר מֵאֵלַי* something more;

10:19 *חַבֵּר אֲחֵר* something else.

While the far majority of cases has the adjective following the noun, there are also some rare occurrences where it precedes it. One of them is a construction with *אֲחֵר*:<sup>90</sup>

58:17 *אֲחֵר מִדְּבָרִים אֲחֵרִים* other things.

And the other two with uninflected *רַבִּים*:<sup>91</sup>

18:16 *רַבִּים מְאֹד* many things;

56:2 *רַבִּים חֲזָקִים* many peoples.

It should be noted that *מֵאֵלַי*, *אֲחֵר* and uninflected *רַבִּים* can, alternatively, be interpreted as adverbs: see Section 2.1.2.7, below.

### Ordinal numerals

The AdjP extending the NP can consist of an ordinal numeral of the *-i-āy(ā)* pattern. In BLC there is only one occasion where this happens:

58:6 *בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי* on the eighth day.<sup>92</sup>

In Section 2.1.1, above, we have seen that the *-i-āy(ā)* pattern also occurs for the number 'seven', but there the adjective has undergone a PDP transition into a noun.

### Cases with parallel heads

Extension by an AdjP also occurs with NPs that consist of multiple heads. The AdjP can extend the first head, or the second:

<sup>90</sup> All other occurrences of *אֲחֵר* follow the noun: 10:19 *חַבֵּר אֲחֵר* something else; 40:24 *אֲחֵרָה אֲחֵרָה* with another woman; 62:14-15 *אֲחֵרָה אֲחֵרָה* in a different mixture, etc.

<sup>91</sup> There is a third example with (inflected) *רַבִּים* preceding the noun, but its internal phrase structure is ambiguous: 34:9-10 *רַבִּים מְאֹד מִדְּבָרִים אֲחֵרִים* (now these and) many other things. See Section 2.6.1, below, for discussion. All other occurrences of attributive *רַבִּים* follow the noun and are inflected.

<sup>92</sup> This expression has a parallel in 56:24 *בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי* on the eighth day, where the ordinal is expressed by a 'i-cardinal' construction: see Section 2.1.2.4, below.

42:3 *many thousands and myriads;*

46:5 *with instruments of gold and with pretty stones.*

#### *Cases with parallel-headed extension*

Alternatively, the extending AdjP itself can contain multiple heads:

42:16-17 *evil and impure things;*

42:21 *with impure and hateful foods;*

44:25 *brave but effeminate men.*

A special category of AdjP extensions are those which consist of a genitive construction. Neither of its components have the PDP ‘adjective’, but as a whole they function as an AdjP:

44:20-1 *all of them are hunt-loving and war-waging men.*

One could argue that the genitive constructions do not constitute an attributive AdjP, but an NP in apposition to *حباة حله*: *\*(they are all) men: lovers of hunting and wagers of war*. This is, however, less likely when we look at the context. The fact that the persons discussed are men is already introduced in the preceding paragraph, which describes how the men of the Gelians have feminine traits of behaviour. The sentence of our concern then explains that those men nevertheless also like war and hunting.<sup>93</sup> Analyzing *حباة حله* as an NP in apposition to *حباة حله* would imply that the sentence repeats information that is already known.

#### *Further extensions*

The AdjP can be extended to the second degree by a PP:

<sup>93</sup> In any case, Drijvers’ translation of the sentence (p. 45, l. 17 ‘all men are fond of hunting and wage war’) is inaccurate. It suggests that *حباة حله* is the subject, and *حباة حله* is the predicative complement. Had this been the case, however, we would have expected the EPP *حله* to appear after *حباة حله* instead of before it. As it is, the position of *حله* indicates rather that the subject is *حله* and the predicative complement is *حباة حله*, resulting in the translation which I have provided.

46:12-13 *נשים עשירות וזנותות וקשות כל דברן* women (who are) rich, adulterous and oppressive of their husbands in everything.<sup>94</sup>

An alternative analysis of this construction is that *כל דברן* does not form an extension to an AdjP, but rather forms an argument of the verbal environment created by the participle *נשים*. Although we would not expect an attributively used participle to retain its verbal nature (see the discussion in Section 1.3.2.10, above), this nevertheless seems to be the case here. As we will see in the following section (Section 2.1.2.3, below), the same phenomenon can be observed in some participles which we would expect to assume the PDP 'noun'.

### 2.1.2.3 NP extended with PP

An NP can be extended with a PP, which can embed an NP, a PPrP or a DPrP:

46:16-17 *חוקי חטאי חטאי* laws in Hatra;

34:22 *אדם חסיד חסיד* sufficiency in moderation;

40:1-2 *כוכביהם בראשיהם* in their constellations in people's horoscopes.

As in Section 2.1.2.2, above, there are certain cases where the PP does not so much seem to be an extension to an NP, but rather an argument of the verb conveyed by the participle that constitutes the NP:

46:16 *נשים חסיד* punishment (lit. placing on the head)<sup>95</sup>;

56:19 *אדם חסיד* a-powerful-one over himself (lit. over his soul).

Constructions with *אחד* one of the...:

50:5 *אחד מהכוכבים* one of the stars;

42:6 *אחד מהם* one of these.

Distributive reduplication followed by *אחד*:

<sup>94</sup> My translation renders the AdjPs as if they were used predicatively, since attempts at a translation which reflects the fact that they are used attributively would violate the rules of English grammar.

<sup>95</sup> See the discussion in 2.1.2.11, below, concerning PP as an extension in idiomized constructions.

24:13 לְכֹל אֶחָד מֵהֵם *to each one of them;*

54:3-4 אֶחָד מֵהֵם אֶחָד מֵהֵם *each man of them.*

Construction with *לְכֹל* outside of... (literally *to the outside of*: note that *כֹּחַ* is a noun in the absolute state):

34:14 חוּץ לְכֹל חַסֵּד *outside of nature.* (only 1 occurrence)

#### *Cases with empty heads*

As explained in Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with empty heads’, above, extension of an NP with a PP can also occur when the head is empty and the extension consists of *כֹּחַ* + plural suffix. The result is a partitive construction translatable by *some of* ...:

32:7-8 וְכֹחַ מֵהֵם מְפֹרָשׁ וְכֹחַ מֵהֵם לֹא מְפֹרָשׁ *and with some of them we are pleased, and with some of them we are not.*<sup>96</sup>

#### *Further extensions*

The phrase embedded in the PP can be extended further: a. with an AdjP; b. with a PP; c. with a d-P; d. with an RC; e. with an IPrP and an RC.

##### *a. Extension with an AdjP*

Only one occurrence (*כֹּחַ*-construction):

40:23 אֶחָד מֵהַיָּפְתָּיִם *to one of the Chinese men.*

##### *b. Extension with a PP*

There are only two attestations of the PP being extended with another PP, resulting in pronominal agreement of the type where the same preposition is repeated (see Section 2.3, subsection ‘Pronominal agreement with identical prepositions’, below, for the equivalent structures functioning as autonomous clause constituents):

54:9 אֶחָד מֵהַמְּקוֹמִים *in each of the places;*

54:13-14 אֶחָד מֵהַחֲסֵדִים *in each of the parts.*

<sup>96</sup> See also Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘double prepositions’, above.

*Cases with empty heads*

One of the cases with pronominal agreement has an empty head. Furthermore, the NP embedded in the second PP is itself extended with a DPrP  
 44:1-2

44:1-2 *97* *some of these Persians have left.*

*c. Extension with a d-P*

There is one occurrence of a *wa*-construction where the NP embedded in the PP is further extended with a d-P:

26:7-8 *in one of the defects of the body.*

*d. Extension with an RC:*

58:15-16 *one of the things that all people ... do.*

*e. Extension with an IPrP and an RC:*

18:1-2 *one of those crafts that some people have.*

*2.1.2.4 NP extended with d-P*

A d-P has as its head the preposition *-i*, and embeds another phrase (typically a noun or pronoun phrase). When a phrase is extended with a d-P, typically a relation of possession is expressed: 'X of Y', comparable in meaning (but not in distribution) to the genitive construction. Within such a possessive d-P construction, the head of the extended phrase can either be 'bare', or it can be provided with a pronominal suffix that agrees with the head of the phrase embedded in the d-P, resulting in a construction with pronominal agreement. As explained, this tends to occur more often when the d-P refers to a person, deity or the like. In BLC both types are attested, the version without pronominal agreement forming the majority.<sup>98</sup> As can

<sup>97</sup> Sic, without *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection 'Diacritics'.

<sup>98</sup> The exact extent of the different syntactic and semantic functions associated with d-P constructions with and without pronominal agreement has been discussed extensive-

be seen below, not all cases with pronominal agreement have a reference to a person (e.g., 52:21–22 *כַּלְמֵי אֶרֶץ עוֹלָם* *on the outskirts of the world*), nor do all references to a person have pronominal agreement.

#### *Cases without pronominal agreement*

- 18:23 *עֲשֵׂת הַיָּדָיִם הַזֵּאת עֲמַל שָׂדֵה עֵשֶׂת* *it is the work of the devil*<sup>99</sup>;  
 38:22 *הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה הוּא הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה* *the nature of physis*;  
 42:6–7 *רִבְעֵי אֲלָפֵי שָׁנִים* *thousands of years*;  
 54:22 *בָּשָׂר מִבְּהֵמָה* *meat of animals*.

#### *Cases with pronominal agreement*

- 8:20–21 *לֹא יִירָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּדָיִם הַזֵּאת* *for one who has no fear of God*<sup>100</sup>;  
 18:3 *כְּחֵן מִלְּפָנֵי הַיְיָ* *according to God's sweetness*;  
 22:5 *הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה הוּא הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה* *man's nature*;  
 30:2 *טוֹב הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה* *God's goodness*;  
 30:5 *רִבְעֵי אֲלָפֵי אָדָם* *the majority of the people*;  
 42:10 *מִן הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה* *from the borders of the Brahmins*;  
 52:21–22 *כַּלְמֵי אֶרֶץ עוֹלָם* *on the outskirts of the world*;  
 62:12–13 *לִפְנֵי הַיָּסוּד הַזֶּה* *before the creation of the world*.

A special case is the following:

- 44:17 *אֲנָשֵׁי גֵלִי* *their men, that is, the Gelians*.

What we have here may look at first sight like a possessive d-P construction with pronominal agreement: *the men of the Gelians*. However, if this were true, the proleptic feminine plural suffix *-הָ* does not agree in gender with the masculine plural noun *אֲנָשֵׁי*. Thus we must either conclude that the text contains an error (*-הָ* for *-וֹ*, or *אֲנָשֵׁי* for *אֲנָשֵׁי*), or interpret the relation between head and extension not as a possessive relation, but as an explicative one. In that case, *-הָ* is not to be translated with ‘of’, but rather as ‘that is’ or ‘namely’, and the suffix *-הָ* is not to be analysed as re-

ly, e.g., in the works of Jan Joosten (1996, ch. 2) and Peter J. Williams (2001, ch. 2). The use of the construct state, of course, is another story altogether.

<sup>99</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *וְ*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

<sup>100</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *וְ*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

ferring to ܡܠܝܚܐ, but rather to 'the women of the Gelians', whose habits were explained in the preceding text passage (44:12–16).

### Ordinal numerals

There is one occurrence of an NP extended with an ordinal numeral of the '3-cardinal' structure<sup>101</sup>:

56:24 ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ *on the eighth day*.<sup>102</sup>

### Cases with empty heads

There are two cases of an empty-headed phrase extended by a d-P, occurring within the same sentence:

40:5 ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ *which ones are those of the Babylonians, and which ones are those of the Egyptians*.

One might argue that no empty heads are to be assumed here, and that ܡܠܝܚܐ and ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ are not extensions, but autonomous d-P clause constituents: *which ones are of the Babylonians, and which ones are of the Egyptians*, analogous to e.g. 22:7–8 ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ *they are of nature* (see Section 2.4.1, below). This would imply that in both clauses the d-P fulfils the role of predicate. However, this analysis does not comply with the location of the EPP ܡܠܝܚܐ in the first of the two clauses. As is generally known, the EPP in Syriac is typically located directly after (the first element of) the predicate.<sup>103</sup> This strongly suggests that the IPrP ܡܠܝܚܐ is the predicate here, while the d-P ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ must represent the subject. Since, as I have discussed in Section 2.1.1, subsection 'NPs with empty heads', above, a PP in the role of subject is highly uncommon, we cannot but conclude that ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ must be the extension to an empty head. Although an EPP is lacking in the second clause, it seems reasonable to assume that the underlying syntactic structure of both clauses is identical, making ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ the extension to an empty head as well.

<sup>101</sup> See Van Peursen 2007, § 14.2 (pp. 257–259).

<sup>102</sup> We have seen in Section 2.1.2.2, above, that this expression is paralleled by 58:6 ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ *on the eighth day*, where the ordinal is expressed by an adjective of the -i-āy(ā) pattern.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Goldenberg 1983, p. 100f.

*Cases with parallel heads*

As explained in Section 1.1, subsection ‘Multiple heads with extensions’, above, there are two possible scenarios for extensions in relation to multiple heads, in terms of extension scope: 1. one extension belongs to one head, resulting in an extension scope of one head; 2. one extension belongs to several heads collectively; i.e., the extension has a scope of more than one head. For NPs extended with d-Ps. both scenarios are attested.

- Scenario 1: one d-P belongs to one head (extension scope = 1 head)

34:16–17 *רָעוּ אֲנָשִׁים וְנָשִׁים וְרִצְוֹן לְשֵׁנֵי שְׁנֵי הַצָּדָיִם* *the mingling of males and females and the satisfaction of the two parties* (lit. heads);

34:23–24 *רָעוּ אֲנָשִׁים וְנָשִׁים וְרִצְוֹן לְשֵׁנֵי שְׁנֵי הַצָּדָיִם* *dearth of food and complaints of the bodies*;

36:15–16 *לְאֲנָשִׁים וְלַבְּהֵמָה וְלָאֵשׁ וְלַמַּיִם וְלָאֵרֶב וְלַפְּרִי הָאָרֶץ וְלָאֵשׁ וְלַמַּיִם וְלָאֵרֶב וְלַפְּרִי הָאָרֶץ וְלָאֵשׁ וְלַמַּיִם וְלָאֵרֶב וְלַפְּרִי הָאָרֶץ* *to the animals and to the trees and to the fruits and to the produce of the year and to the water springs and everything that is in nature which is under their control*<sup>104</sup>;

44:6 *וְלָאֵשׁ וְלַמַּיִם וְלָאֵרֶב וְלַפְּרִי הָאָרֶץ* *to all Magians and to the rest of the Persians*;

46:21 *עַד הַיַּרְדֵּן וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן* *across the Euphrates and towards the east*;

48:6 *וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן* *now in the north and in the country of the Germanians*<sup>105</sup>;

48:12–13 *בְּבֵית שַׁבְּתַי וּבְשָׂדֵי מַרְס וּבְכִלְכִּילֵי הַמַּזְלָמוֹת* *(in) the house of Saturn and in the fields of Mars and in the constellations of the west*;

32:18 *בְּרַחֲמֵי יְהוָה וּבְטוֹבָה* *in the mercy of God and in goodness*.

- Scenario 2: one d-P belongs to several heads collectively (extension scope = more than one head):

34:10–11 *וְהַיָּמִים וְהַיָּמִים וְהַיָּמִים* *the periods and modes of nature*;

34:14 *וְהַיָּמִים וְהַיָּמִים וְהַיָּמִים* *the growth and perfection of the body*;

<sup>104</sup> As can be seen, the last head in this example has an additional extension in the form of an RC.

<sup>105</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *וְ*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

<sup>106</sup> Nau 1907 and Drijvers propose to read *בְּבֵית שַׁבְּתַי* *in the house* etc., which is indeed contextually more preferable.

38:5-7 רַחֲמֵי כָּל בְּרִיאָה וְהַתְּקִיפָה לְכָל בְּרִיאָה: וְהַיְסוּד לְכָל בְּרִיאָה וְהַיְסוּד לְכָל בְּרִיאָה *the way of life and the perfection of all creatures, and the order of all beings and natures.*

The third of these examples is of a rather complex structure. It consists of three heads: רַחֲמֵי, וְהַתְּקִיפָה and וְהַיְסוּד. The d-P extension וְהַיְסוּד (itself further extended by the NP וְהַיְסוּד) belongs to the first two of those heads collectively. The third head is extended with another d-P, consisting of the two parallel heads וְהַיְסוּד and וְהַיְסוּד, which are collectively extended by the NP וְהַיְסוּד. Because of the extension structure of the third head, this example also belongs under the subheading 'Cases with parallel-headed extension', below.

#### *Cases with parallel-headed extension*

As explained in Section 2.2.1, subsection 'Parallel-headed NPs embedded in PPs and d-Ps', above, when parallel-headed PP (including d-P) extensions are involved, there are two scenarios: 1. the preposition -וְ is repeated for each of the heads; 2. -וְ stands only at the beginning of the first head, while it is absent before all others. In the first scenario, the governing domain of -וְ is one head; in the second scenario, the governing domain spans more than one head.

- Scenario 1: -וְ is repeated (governing domain = 1 head):

24:18-19 כַּדְּבָרֵי הַיְסוּד וְכַדְּבָרֵי הַיְסוּד *against the commands of the Deity and of their teacher;*

34:16-17 וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד. וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד *the mingling of males and females and the satisfaction of the two parties (lit. heads);*

38:20 וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד: וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד *the judgment of the fates and of the rulers;*

50:18 וְהַיְסוּד וְהַיְסוּד *the influence of Mercury and Venus.*

- Scenario 2: -וְ is not repeated (governing domain = more than 1 head):

38:5-7 רַחֲמֵי כָּל בְּרִיאָה וְהַתְּקִיפָה לְכָל בְּרִיאָה: וְהַיְסוּד לְכָל בְּרִיאָה וְהַיְסוּד לְכָל בְּרִיאָה *the way of life and the perfection of all creatures, and the order of all beings and natures*<sup>107</sup>;

<sup>107</sup> The structure of this case has been explained in the subsection 'Cases with parallel heads', above.

46:13 *לְחֻמֵּי הָרַקַּמְאֵי וְלְחֻמֵּי אֲדֵסָס וְלְחֻמֵּי אַרְבֵּי* *the laws of the Rakamaeans, the Edessans and the Arabs.*

#### Further extensions

The NP embedded in the d-P can be extended further: a. with an NP; b. with an AdjP; c. with a PP; d. with a d-P; e. with an RC; f. with a d-P and an RC; g. with a DPrP and an RC.

#### a. Extension with an NP:

Resumptive pronominal agreement with *ל*-suffix:

40:15-16 *מִמֶּנֶם וּמֵעַתָּה יִשְׁרָאֵל מֵעַתָּה* *from the east, the beginning of the whole world.*<sup>108</sup>

#### • Cardinal numerals

There are two occurrences where the extension of the d-P by an NP results in a ‘cardinal-counted’ relation (see Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above). In the first of those two cases, the cardinal stands in anticipatory pronominal agreement with the NP expressing the counted item, in the second example it does not:

40:6 *עַל שְׁנֵי מַמְלָכוֹת* *the doctrine of the two countries;*

54:15 *לְפִי מְנַחֵם הַשָּׁמַיִם* *according to the number of the seven planets.*

#### • Cases with parallel heads

34:16-17 *וְהִתְחַבְּרוּ הָרָגְלִים וְהִתְחַבְּרוּ הָרִאשִׁים* *the mingling of males and females and the satisfaction of the two parties (lit. heads).*

#### b. Extension with an AdjP:

24:15 *וְהָיָה לְךָ נְסִיחָה* *the guidance of good counsels;*

56:8-9 *מִמֶּנֶם וּמֵעַתָּה יִשְׁרָאֵל מֵעַתָּה* *from the mingling of many people.*

#### c. Extension with a PP:

14:16-17 *וְהָיָה לְךָ נְסִיחָה* *in the mixture of the one with the other;*

62:10 *וְהָיָה לְךָ נְסִיחָה* *the mixture of the one in the other.*

<sup>108</sup> In this example, there is also pronominal agreement between *מֵעַתָּה* and *לְחֻמֵּי*.

## d. Extension with a d-P:

4:1 *ḥāḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥā* the Book of the Laws of the Countries.

This construction can be extended even further with an NP, resulting in an anticipatory pronominal agreement construction with *ḥ*-suffix:

62:17-18 *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* from the gift of the Lord of all natures.<sup>109</sup>

## e. Extension with an RC:

42:1-2 *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* the laws of the Brahmans who are in India;

56:1-2 <sup>110</sup> *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* the mysteries of which they have transmitted to them.

Extension with an RC also happens when the phrase embedded in the d-P is not an NP but an IPrP:

14:22-23 *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* it is the answer of someone who does not want to do that which is good<sup>111</sup>;

42:9-12 *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* in the climate of those who are not from the borders of the Brahmans.

## f. Extension with a d-P and an RC

12:3-4 *ḥāḥā ḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* instruments of God's wisdom which does not err.

## g. Extension with a DPrP and an RC:

28:2-3 *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā* from the guidance of these stars which are called the Seven.<sup>112</sup>

The construction *ḥāḥā ḥāḥā* is always extended by an RC:

<sup>109</sup> Note that this example also shows pronominal agreement between *ḥāḥāḥāḥā* and *ḥāḥāḥā*.

<sup>110</sup> The two *dalaths* before *ḥāḥā* and *ḥāḥāḥā* have been added by a later, serto hand; the original read *ḥāḥāḥā ḥāḥā ḥāḥāḥā*. See Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2, and Chapter 4, Section 2.6.2 + note 52.

<sup>111</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *ḥāḥā*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

<sup>112</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *ḥāḥā*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

32:17-18 *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*<sup>113</sup> *to the aid of that thing which, by God's mercy and goodness, has been and is being helped.*

The same construction occurs when the phrase embedded in the d-P is an IPrP:

10:3-4 *למנוחה ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* *it is the instrument of the one who sets it in motion*<sup>114</sup>;

10:11-12 *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* *to the use of the one who has the knowledge.*

#### Cases with parallel heads

Like in subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’ above in the present paragraph, here, too, there are two possible scenarios with regard to the extension scope of the d-P:

- Scenario 1: the d-P functions as an extension to one head (extension scope = 1 head):

10:14-16 *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* *at the sun and at the moon and at the constellations and at the rest of those things that are bigger than us.*

This is a four-headed NP, embedded in an PP, the last head of which is extended with the d-P *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*, which in turn is extended with the DPrP *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* and the RC *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*.

- Scenario 2: the d-P forms an extension to several heads collectively (extension scope = more than 1 head):

32:16 *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* *the fate and horoscope of this combination that is being mixed and purified.*

Here we have an NP with two heads, both of which are extended collectively by the d-P *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*, which is in turn extended with the DPrP *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל* and the RC *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*.

<sup>113</sup> Sic, with the plural ending *ו*. Nau 1907 proposes to read *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*; equally Drijvers, who suggests that the *ו* is probably a dittography of the *ו* before *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*.

<sup>114</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the verb *והיה זהו ויגור ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל ויחנך ויגדל*: see Section 3.1.2.3, below.

See also 2.1.2.6, subsection 'Cases with parallel heads' and 2.1.2.22, subsection 'Cases with parallel heads').

### 2.1.2.5 NP extended with RC

Extension of an NP with an RC is very common:

6:19-20 *כּוּרְבָנֵי הַבָּיִת לְאֵלֶיךָ לְרֵאשִׁית* like somebody who for the first time has joined the pupils;

10:7-8 *מֵעֵבֶר מִן הַבַּיִת מִי שֶׁנִּדְרֵשׁ מִשָּׁמַיִם* from a wagon that somebody else drives;

10:11 *כְּלֵי מִשְׁכַּן הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַלְלוּ* they are instruments which are made<sup>115</sup>;

52:4-5 *בְּעֵשֶׂת הַיָּמִים הַלְלוּ* people who are burnt with fire;

etc.

Cases with *מִדְּבַר* something:

6:1 *מִדְּבַר הַיָּד הַזֹּאת* whatever they want;

12:8 *מִדְּבַר הַיָּד הַזֹּאת* for something which is one.<sup>116</sup>

Cases with *כֹּל* all, everything:

12:13 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים* everything which is possible.

Often an RC is connected to *כֹּל*:

48:11 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* all those who are in Gaul;

40:3 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* all those things which happen;

56:23 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* all those who have received the law.

Or to *כֹּל* + noun:

16:2 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* everything which is evil;

18:4 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* every human being in whom is a soul;

44:4 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* in all places and climates where they were;

60:13-14 *כֹּל הַיְּהוּדִים הַבְּגָלִים* in every place where they are.

<sup>115</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *וְעַתָּה*: See Section 3.1.2.4, below.

<sup>116</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *וְעַתָּה*: see Section 3.1.2.4, below.

### *Cases with parallel heads*

When the NP consists of multiple heads, there are two possible scenarios for its extension scope (see Section 1.1, subsection ‘Multiple heads with extensions’, above): 1. the RC can specify only one of the NP heads, in which case its extension scope is one; or 2. it specifies all heads collectively; i.e., its extension scope is more than one.

- Scenario 1: the RC belongs to one head (extension scope = 1):

34:25 *intemperance and luxury which is not necessary*<sup>117</sup>;

46:6-7 *with their servants and with the foreigners who have come to that place.*

- Scenario 2: the RC belongs to all heads collectively (extension scope = more than 1):

54:18-20 *in all kingdoms and in all places and in all regions and in all inhabited places that differ from each other.*

In this example, the first three heads consist of distributive reduplications, while the fourth consists of a construct chain governed by *حل*.

### *Cases with empty heads*

Constructions where the RC is an extension to an empty head (see Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with empty heads’, above) are the following:

20:2-3 *when somebody does that which is good;*

24:7-8 *there are some who do not approach women at all;*

28:24-25 *for He who is powerful in everything is One.*

<sup>117</sup> Technically, the extension scope of the RC in this example could also include the first head, but this is less likely in view of the context: it would seem superfluous to specify *intemperance* with the notion of not being necessary.



32:13-14 *according to this course and order*<sup>121</sup>;

36:17 <sup>122</sup> *because of these divisions and opinions*;

36:20 *these opinions and divisions and innocence and guilt.*

See Section 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Further Extensions’, subsection g, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’ for similar examples at higher extension degrees.

Cases with two different prepositions:<sup>123</sup>

58:23 *from that day and until now.*

#### 2.1.2.7 NP extended with AdvP

An NP can be extended with an AdvP, in a constructions with *so many*, *how many*, etc.:

48:4 *often* (lit. *so many times*).

See also Section 2.1.2.18, below, where the same construction of a noun extended with *so many* is provided with an additional extension by an AdjP; and Section 2.1.2.24, below, where the additional extension is an RC.

#### 2.1.2.8 NP extended with NegP

As indicated in Section 1.3.2.12, above, the difference between clause negation and phrase negation is not always easily discernible, due to the difficulty of establishing the scope of the negation. For this reason, most cases of negation have been analyzed in the present study as negation on clause level (Section 2.12, below).

One type of negation, however, clearly operates on phrase level, namely in constructions involving *without*, followed by a noun:

6:24 *without hard feelings*;

<sup>121</sup> Note that this NP is embedded in a PP in a construction with pronominal agreement: see Section 1.3.2.3, below.

<sup>122</sup> Nau 1907 and Drijvers propose to read *without syame*, which would solve the problem of the singular demonstrative pronoun *these*.

<sup>123</sup> See note 78, above.

34:7 *לֹא אֵרָא וְלֹא שָׁתָּה* without food and without drink.

One could argue that *לֹא* is no longer to be treated as the combination of *א* and *ל*, but that its original components have fused into a single preposition.<sup>124</sup> This interpretation, however, seems driven a bit too much by the English translation *without*. Syntactically, there is no reason to introduce a new lexeme, since *א* and *ל* fulfil the same syntactic functions as they do when they occur independently: *א* functions as a preposition, *ל* as a phrase-negating element. The construction *לֹא* + noun can be seen as the negated version of the positive *א* + noun. Therefore, I treat the construction as a d-P which embeds an NP that is extended by a NegP.

### B. NPs with Two Extensions

In Section 2.1.2.1, above, I explained that when an NP is extended with another NP, this either results in a construction with pronominal agreement, or in a numeral construction. The same is true when next to the NP extension additional extensions are present, as can be seen in the following sections where one of the extensions is an NP.

#### 2.1.2.9 NP extended with two NPs

An NP can be extended with two NPs:

48:20 *לְכָל עַמּוּת אַמְזוֹנִיָּה* to all Amazons, the entire people.

In this example (which is the only occurrence of this particular phrase structure) the NP head is extended with the NP *עַמּוּת* in a construction with resumptive pronominal agreement; and with the NP *לְכָל*, which itself is further extended with the AdjP *אַמְזוֹנִיָּה*.

The two NPs *עַמּוּת אַמְזוֹנִיָּה* and *לְכָל עַמּוּת אַמְזוֹנִיָּה* could be said to stand in apposition (see Sections 1.1, subsection 'Apposition', and 2.1.2.1, subsection 'Further extensions', above), since they more or less share the same semantic referent. However, the overlap in reference is not complete, and although *לְכָל עַמּוּת אַמְזוֹנִיָּה* could be left out without much impact on the information structure, *עַמּוּת אַמְזוֹנִיָּה* could not. Nor would it seem possible to swap the order of the two NPs. It seems more likely, therefore, that *לְכָל*

<sup>124</sup> This is, for instance, how Lund treats *לֹא* (Lund 2007, p. 78).

ܘܠܗܘܢ modifies ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ semantically, thus discarding the option of an apposition.

#### 2.1.2.10 NP extended with NP and AdjP

The NP is extended with ܠܘܫܘܒܐ-suffix in a construction with anticipatory pronominal agreement, and with an AdjP:

- 46:10 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *to all Bactrian women*;  
62:15-16 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *all evil movements*.

#### 2.1.2.11 NP extended with NP and d-P

When an NP is extended with another NP and a d-P, the result is either a pronominal agreement construction with ܠܘܫܘܒܐ, or a ‘cardinal-counted’ construction (see Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above) with the cardinal ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ:

- ܠܘܫܘܒܐ + suffix (occurs in anticipatory as well as resumptive variety):

- 8:9-10 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *all knowledge of truth*;  
44:13 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *all things of labourers*;  
48:3 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *in the entire region of the East*;  
50:15 ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܠܗܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ *in the entire region of the Alanians*.

- Cardinal ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ:

- 54:21 ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ *in one region of the Indians*;  
60:2 ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ *in (the) one name of the Messiah*.

#### Cases with parallel-headed extension

There is one case where the head of the NP is extended with the NP ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ in a construction of resumptive pronominal agreement, and with a two-headed d-P, which embeds ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ and ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ, respectively:

- 50:10-11 ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ *in the entire country of the Tayites and of the Saracens*.

#### Further extensions

The latter structure with ܘܠܘܫܘܒܐ can be extended further, with a PP:

60:3 *on one day, namely Sunday* (lit. 'One-in-the-week').

In fixed constructions like *on one day*, *on Sunday* (see Section 2.1.2.3, above), etc., it is debatable whether the PP can still be seen as an extension, and whether the construction has not been lexicalized into a noun because of its common use. Connected spellings such as *on Sunday* and *on Sunday* (not attested in BLC) could be considered supportive of this notion. However, while such a lexicalizing process may certainly be going on diachronically, if we look at the state of the language synchronically from a corpus-linguistic point of view, there are no reasons to treat these constructions differently from e.g., 46:16–17 *laws in Hatra*. The individual building blocks of the constructions are still recognizable and productive in the language, and have not, for instance, fused into a new, undividable lexical item (such as *on* + *one* into *one*). For this reason, I have decided to be strict and analyze these constructions with the PP as a proper extension.

#### 2.1.2.12 NP extended with NP and RC

The NP can be extended with a *ḥ*-suffix block in (anticipatory or resumptive) pronominal agreement, and an RC:

40:10 *all people that are in the whole world;*

50:14 *in all places that are to the north of Pontus;*

56:17–18 *all laws that were before them;*

56:23 *all Jews that have received the law from Moses.*

#### 2.1.2.13 NP extended with NP and DPrP

There is one occasion where an NP is extended with another NP and a DPrP. The NP extension consists of a cardinal with pronominal suffix in pronominal agreement with the NP head:

28:13 *these three points of view.*

There are other occurrences of this extension structure where the NP extension consists of *ḥ*-suffix: 28:23 *these three points of view*, 50:6 *in all places*

وَأَجْرَهُمْ وَأَجْرَهُمْ, etc. However, in BLC, all attestations of this construction have a third extension in the form of an RC; hence they are treated in Section 2.1.2.25, below.

#### 2.1.2.14 NP extended with AdjP and PP

This structure only occurs with an extension to the second degree, the AdjP being extended with a d-P in a comparative construction:

44:11 وَأَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ *a punishment worse than revenge.*

Although the use of -أ in a comparative construction is remarkable (since *أ* is the more commonly used preposition in such cases<sup>125</sup>), it is not impossible: the construction -أ *أ* in the meaning *more than* is attested outside BLC.<sup>126</sup> The alternative would be to translate -أ with *namely*: *\*a punishment which is worse, namely revenge*. This is, however, contextually less likely. The preceding sentence (44:8–10) explains how the Parthians kill their wives, brothers and sons, and do not deserve revenge ( *أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ* ( *أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ*)). The sentence which contains the above-mentioned phrase (44:10–12) then goes on to explain that among the Romans and Greeks someone who would do such a thing, deserves a punishment which is *worse* ( *أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ*). In the light of the context we can only conclude that this is to be interpreted as *worse than revenge*. If, then, we translated -أ with *namely*, this would result in the strange statement that the Romans and Greeks receive a punishment *which is worse than revenge, namely revenge*. The comparative interpretation, therefore, makes the most sense.

There are no other attestations in BLC of a comparative construction involving an adjective used attributively; all cases of comparison concern either adjectives that are used predicatively (see Section 2.2.2.1, subsection b, below), or adverbs (Section 2.10.2.1, subsection b, below). In all cases, the preposition *أ* is used.

<sup>125</sup> See, e.g., Costaz 1955, §§ 535–544.

<sup>126</sup> See Payne Smith 1897–1901, c. 1650.

## 2.1.2.15 NP extended with AdjP and d-P

28:5-6 *ܐܘܢ ܕܢܘܨܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܝܢܐ ܐܘܢ ܕܢܘܨܝܢܐ* it is a deceitful device of the Chaldeans.<sup>127</sup>

*Cases with parallel heads*

This construction also occurs in a case where the NP consists of three heads (ܐܘܢܐ, ܐܘܢܐ and ܐܘܢܐ). The first of these is extended with an AdjP (ܐܘܢܐ) and a d-P (ܐܘܢܐ); the second and third are each extended with an AdjP (ܐܘܢܐ and ܐܘܢܐ respectively):

46:2-3 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* in pretty clothes of men and with much gold and with pretty ornaments.

*Further extensions*

This structure can be extended to the second degree, where the d-P is extended with an AdjP. In both examples the d-P contains parallel heads, with the extension applying to one of them:

16:20 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* heavy burdens of stones or of pieces of wood or of anything else;

18:14-15 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* good guidance of the free mind and of the soul.

## 2.1.2.16 NP extended with AdjP and RC

36:11-12 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* on high places that are in the constellation in their own regions;

42:8-9 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* another law that is in India;

56:2-3 *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ* I have told of many peoples who encircle the earth.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *ܐܘܢܐ*: see Section 3.1.3.1, below.

<sup>128</sup> Sic, with two pairs of *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection 'Diacritics', note 15.

<sup>129</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the clause *ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ*: see Section 3.1.3.2, below.

*Cases with parallel heads*

28:11-12 *defects, injuries and hateful things that happen to him.*

The RC is most likely an extension of all three heads collectively, but the adjective, because of its feminine gender, can only be an extension to the last head.

2.1.2.17 *NP extended with AdjP and DPrP**Cases with parallel-headed extension*

There is one case of an NP extended with a DPrP and an AdjP (in that order), the latter of which consists of two heads:

62:2-3 *to that great and holy will.*<sup>130</sup>

2.1.2.18 *NP extended with AdjP and AdvP*

There is one occurrence of an NP extended with an AdvP and an AdjP. As in the case discussed in Section 2.1.2.7, above, the AdvP consists of the adverb:

56:9-10 *how many wise men, do you think.*<sup>131</sup>

2.1.2.19 *NP extended with PP and RC**Cases with empty heads*

As explained in Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with empty heads’, above, two of the possible extensions of an empty head are by means of a PP consisting of *عن* + plural suffix, and by an RC. The combination of those two also occurs, e.g.:

24:2-3 *now there are some of them who eat meat;*

<sup>130</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *فان*: see Section 3.1.3.3, below.

<sup>131</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the clause *فان*: see Section 3.1.3.4, below.



2. Both the DPrP and the d-P (in that order) follow the NP head:

40:13 *לְמַלְכֵי הָעֹלָמִים* *that fate of the rulers.*

### 2.1.2.22 NP extended with DPrP and RC

Often, extension with an RC occurs in combination with extension with a DPrP, consisting of an attributive demonstrative, which can be positioned before or after the NP:

8:13 *אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם לֹא אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *those people who have no faith;*

26:20–21 *וְאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *those others who love this knowledge of the art;*

34:2 *בְּשָׁנֵים אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *before these years which I have mentioned.*

### Cases with parallel heads

The NP can contain more than one head:

36:7–8 *וְאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *the rulers and guiding signs based upon which comes the mixture.*

Note that DPrP extension refers to both heads collectively; i.e., it has an extension scope of 2 heads (see Sections 1.1, subsection ‘Multiple heads with extensions’ and 2.1.2.6, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’, above).

The noun extended with a DPrP is often the ‘filler’ noun *מְדַבֵּר* (*some-thing, matter*, etc. As stated in Section 1.3.2.4, subsection ‘Relative clauses’ above, the construction ‘demonstrative pronoun + *מְדַבֵּר*’ is always followed by an RC:

14:25 *וְאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *that thing which they can do;*

30:1 *בְּאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *in that over which they have power;*

58:5 *וְאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *this thing which they do.*

The demonstrative always appears before *מְדַבֵּר*, never after it.

There is one anomalous case where *מְדַבֵּר* is doubled:

8:22 *וְאֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם אֵלֶּם* *that which they do not believe.*

It is not entirely clear how this doubling in combination with a demonstrative pronoun is to be interpreted. The duplication of *מְדַבֵּר* could be a copyist’s mistake, but the construction as such is not ungrammatical, only con-

textually difficult. The editors seem to have cast two different verdicts. Judging from their translations, Cureton and Nau 1907 have interpreted the double  $\text{וְכֵן}$  as a distributive reduplication, translating [*with respect to*] *that, whatever it may be, which they do not believe*<sup>133</sup> and *Neque enim diversa illa quae non credunt*<sup>134</sup>, respectively. In his apparatus to Nau 1907, however, Nöldeke implies that the second  $\text{וְכֵן}$  is an error: he proposes to delete it, thereby disagreeing with the Latin translation.<sup>135</sup> In his earlier edition of 1899, translates as if there is only one  $\text{וְכֵן}$ : *ce qu'ils ne croient pas*.<sup>136</sup> The same goes for Drijvers: *that which they do not believe*.<sup>137</sup> I have chosen to follow this latter interpretation.

### 2.1.2.23 NP extended with IPrP and RC

IPrPs that are extensions consist of interrogative pronouns used attributively. As stated in Section 1.3.2.4, subsection 'Relative clauses', above, when an NP is extended with IPrP, it is always accompanied by an RC (see also Sections 2.1.2.26, 2.1.2.28; 2.1.2.30 and 2.1.2.20, below):

12:17  $\text{וְכֵן אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ}$  *the good which he does;*

14:4-5  $\text{וְכֵן אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ}$  *others, those who have done the will of their Lord;*

56:20  $\text{וְכֵן אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ}$  *to the law that is imposed upon him.*

In contrast to demonstrative pronouns (see Sections 2.1.2.6, 2.1.2.13, 2.1.2.17, 2.1.2.21 and 2.1.2.22, above, and Sections 2.1.2.25 and 2.1.2.29, below), interrogative pronouns have the preference of following the head. The only interrogative pronoun which can also precede the head is  $\text{אֵלֶּיךָ}$ , in the following three cases:

42:18-19  $\text{וְכֵן אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ}$  *those stars which are properly placed;*

48:7  $\text{וְכֵן אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ}$  *those youngsters who are among them;*

<sup>133</sup> Cureton, 1855, p. 3.

<sup>134</sup> Nau 1907, c. 542.

<sup>135</sup> Nau 1907, c. 543, ll. 17-18 (the footnote incorrectly has '18-19').

<sup>136</sup> Nau 1899, p. 29.

<sup>137</sup> Drijvers 1965, p. 9.

48:13-14 *now regarding those men who are born thus.*<sup>138</sup>

#### *Further extensions*

This structure can be extended to the second degree, the IPrP being extended with a DPrP:

56:20-21 *by another, the one who also possesses a free will.*

#### 2.1.2.24 NP extended with AdvP and RC

It is possible for an NP to be extended with an AdvP and an RC. The two examples in which this happens are both interrupted by an *and*-clause (see Section 3.1.3.7, below):

56:11-12 *how many laws are there which they have abandoned out of necessity;*

56:12-14 *how many kings are there who (...) have abandoned the laws which they had.*

### C. NPs with three extensions

#### 2.1.2.25 NP extended with NP, DPrP and RC

An NP can be extended with another NP, a DPrP and an RC. The NP extension, consisting of *and*-suffix in a construction of pronominal agreement with the NP head, can either precede or follow the DPrP:

28:23 *all these orders about which I spoke;*

50:6 *all those males who are born.*

A third occurrence of the same structure is 12:22-23 *all these elements about which we talked.* Here, however, the NP is part of a larger AdvP constituent, which will therefore be treated in Section 2.10.2.1, subsection b, below.

<sup>138</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *and*: see Section 3.1.3.6, below.



make the one more likely than the other. Without discarding either analysis, then, I have chosen to follow the first.

#### 2.1.2.28 NP extended with AdjP, IPrP and RC

In one case, the NP is extended with an AdjP, an IPrP and an RC:

42:12-13 *other hateful things that are not fitting to the Brahmans.*

See Sections 2.1.2.23 and 2.1.2.26, above, and Sections 2.1.2.28; 2.1.2.30 and 2.1.2.31, below, on other constructions involving extension by an IPrP and an RC.

#### 2.1.2.29 NP extended with d-P, DPrP and RC

There are a few cases where an NP is extended with a d-P, a DPrP and an RC:

28:18 *the wisdom of God which has erected the worlds;*

32:21 *from that fate of all things which it has done one by one.*

#### 2.1.2.30 NP extended with IPrP and two RCs

There is one case where an NP is extended with an IPrP, consisting of the interrogative pronoun *هل*, and two RCs:

48:7 *those young boys who are among them who are beautiful.*

See also Sections 2.1.2.23; 2.1.2.26; 2.1.2.28, above, and Section 2.1.2.31, below, on other constructions that involve extension by an IPrP and an RC.

### D. NPs with four extensions

#### 2.1.2.31 NP extended with NP, d-P, IPrP and RC

In one case, the number of extensions reaches four, where the NP head (*بعض*) is extended with the NP *بعض* in a pronominal agreement construction, with the d-P *بعض*, the IPrP *هل* and the RC *بعض*:

52:2 *all women of the Indians, those who are burnt.*

See Sections 2.1.2.23; 2.1.2.26; 2.1.2.28; 2.1.2.30 and 2.1.2.31, above, on other constructions that involve extension by an IPrP and an RC.

## 2.2 *AdjP clause constituents*

As indicated in Section 1.3.2.2, above, this category of phrases only includes constructions with predicatively used adjectives. AdjPs that consist of attributive adjectives are always an extension to the head of another subphrase (typically an NP), not a clause constituent on its own. As for nominalised and adverbialized adjectives: since these do not contextually function as adjectives but have assumed the PDP 'noun' and 'adverb' respectively (see Section 1.3.1, above), they are treated as if they were real nouns and adverbs.

### 2.2.1 *AdjP head structure*

The only head of which an AdjP can consist is the adjective itself. There are no additional elements that can occur in it.

#### *Cases with parallel heads*

There are several cases of an AdjP consisting of parallel heads:

20:5 *he is troubled and confused*<sup>139</sup>;

50:5 *they are all brave and warlike.*

### 2.2.2 *AdjP clause constituents with extensions*

The extensions that an AdjP can take are 1. an AdvP; and 2. a PP.

TABLE 4: AdjP extension structure

<i>Head</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>
AdjP	> AdvP > PP

<sup>139</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the EPP *om*: see Section 3.2, below.

2.2.2.1 *AdjP extended with PP*

An AdjP extended with a PP comes in three subvarieties:

a. *The PP has the role of a complement or adjunct*

8:22 *صَادِقِينَ لَهُمْ* true to them;

18:24 *صَالِحٍ فِي طَبْعِهِ* healthy in his nature;

28:24–25 *قَادِرِينَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ* powerful in everything.<sup>140</sup>

b. *The PP constitutes a comparative construction with* *أَنَّ*

The element following *أَنَّ* can be either a PPrP:

4:19–20 *أَنَّ أَحَدَهُمْ أَكْبَرُ مِنْهُمْ* somebody who is older than them.

Or it can be a clause starting with the conjunction *أَنَّ*:

16:5 *أَنَّ أَمْرَهُمْ خَفِيفٌ* too weak to refrain from stealing (lit. weaker than that he does not steal).

These comparative constructions have equivalents in AdvP clause constituents: see Section 2.10.2.1, subsection b, below. There are no attestations of comparative constructions with adjectives used attributively, except for the case treated in Section 2.1.2.14, above, where the preposition marking the comparative construction is not *أَنَّ* but *أَنَّ*. All other cases of comparison concern either adjectives that are used predicatively (see Section 2.2.2.1, subsection b, below), or adverbs (Section 2.10.2.1, subsection b, below).

c. *The PP embeds a VP consisting of an infinitive with* *أَنَّ*

18:12 *يَسِيرٌ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ* easy to do.

*Cases with parallel heads*

As stated in Section 1.1, subsection ‘Multiple heads with extensions’, when an extended phrase consists of multiple heads, there are two possible scenarios in terms of extension scope: 1. separate heads with separate extensions, resulting in an extension scope of 1 head; 2. a collective extension to all of the heads. For AdjPs extended with PP, both types occur:

<sup>140</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *وَأَنَّ*: see Section 3.2.2.1, below.

- Scenario 1. The PP refers to only one head (extension scope = 1 head):

30:6 *rich and powerful over their fellows.*

- Scenario 2. The PP refers to all heads collectively (extension scope = more than one head):

20:9-10 *troubled in them and worried.*

The following case is an example of the occasional ambiguity between the two scenarios:

16:9 *poor and sick and old and disabled in his limbs.*

Here, the PP extension can either refer solely to the last of the four heads (*poor*), but also to more of the heads at once (where *sick* seems less fit a candidate, because of the odd expression *poor in his limbs* in which its inclusion would result).

### 2.2.2.2 AdjP extended with AdvP

There are only two attestations of an AdjP extended with an AdvP. In both cases, the adverb precedes the adjective:

14:19 <sup>141</sup> *quite beautiful;*

20:20 *very far.*

## 2.3 PP clause constituents<sup>142</sup>

In section 1.3.2.3, above, I have explained that the head and extension behaviour of PPs shows a high degree of similarity to the phrases that they embed, which is the reason why I have decided not to treat autonomous PP clause constituents in a separate section. However, there is one category of PP that deserves special treatment, since there the preposition is as essential

<sup>141</sup> Cureton and Nau 1931 / Drijvers have only Nau 1907 correctly follows the manuscript.

<sup>142</sup> PPs that occur in the role of subject (starting with the preposition *with* or *by*, or with the relative conjunction *that* followed by an RC), which are treated by some scholars as autonomous clause constituents, are treated in the present study as PP extensions to empty heads: see Section 2.1.1, subsection 'NPs with empty heads', above.

a part of the syntactic structure as the phrase(s) governed by it. These are PPs that consist of a pronominal agreement construction.

We have seen several categories of pronominal agreement where a PP forms the second part of the construction (such as the “*صلى الله عليه*” and “*صلى الله عليه وسلم*” varieties—see Section 1.3.2.1, above). In the category at hand, however, the PP contains both parts of the pronominal agreement construction: the part that carries the PPrP as well as the part that agrees with it. As such, a PP with pronominal agreement can be described as a PP that is extended with another PP (or d-P), the first of which embeds a PPrP in the form of a pronominal suffix; and the second of which embeds the phrase with which the PPrP agrees.

In contrast to other types of pronominal agreement, where the extension is connected to the PPrP only (and not to the phrase which it governs), extension in PPs with pronominal agreement not only occurs between the embedded phrases, but also between the prepositions themselves. The process can be described as a combined effort where the whole of the second PP and the phrase embedded in it forms an extension to the whole of the first PP and the phrase embedded in it. It is this close interconnection between the two prepositions and the phrases governed by them that sets PPs with pronominal agreement apart from other constructions with pronominal agreement.

Two main categories of PPs with pronominal agreement can be discerned: those where the two prepositions are identical (e.g., *لم* *ل* *الحل*), and those where two different prepositions are used, the second being *-ا* (e.g., *عن* *من* *الحل*). Both types are attested in BLC. (Cases where both the first and the second preposition is *-ا* are as a result d-Ps and will be treated in Section 2.4.2.1, below.)

The phrase which is embedded in the second PP can be an NP, a DPrP, or an IPrP accompanied by an RC. The phrase may consist of several heads, or may get extended itself, by means of a DPrP.

### *Pronominal agreement with identical prepositions*

Within this category, several prepositions are attested. For most prepositions there are attestations where the phrase embedded in the second PP is unextended, as well as cases where it is extended by a d-P and/or a DPrP.

-כ:

Unextended:

12:23-24 כחֲדָרֵיכֶם חֵן *in freedom*.

Extended with a d-P:

42:9-10 כְּחַדְרֵיכֶם לְעַמְּתֵיכֶם הַיָּמִינִיתִים וְלְעַמְּתֵיכֶם הַיְּמִינִיתִים חֵן *in the climate of those who are not from the borders of the Brahmans;*

42:13-14 <sup>143</sup> כְּחַדְרֵיכֶם חֵן *in the climate of the Indian[s].*

Extended with a DPrP:

58:18 כִּי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה חֵן *on this very day*.

-ל:

Unextended:

16:1 לְחֵן חֵן *to freedom;*

18:24 לְחֵן חֵן *to hateful things;*

34:13 לְחֵן חֵן *to nature;*

36:25 לְחֵן חֵן *to fate.*

Extended with a DPrP:

42:7 לְחֵן חֵן *to these people.*

Extended with a d-P and a DPrP:

26:21 לְחֵן חֵן חֵן *to this knowledge of the craft.*

ה:

Unextended:

24:20 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה חֵן *from their fall;*

34:24 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה חֵן *from fate.*

Equivalents of this structure where the PP does not form an autonomous clause constituent but an extension to another constituent have been treated in Section 2.1.2.3, subsection 'Further extensions', subsection b., above.

<sup>143</sup> Sic, without *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection 'Diacritics'.





TABLE 5: Attested forms of the personal pronoun

	<i>proclitic form</i>	<i>enclitic form</i>	<i>objective suffix / objective enclitic</i>
1cs	ﻟﻨﺎ: 8x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 28x	-
2ms	ﻟﻨﺎ: 1x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x; ﻟﻨﺎ: 1x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 3x
2fs	-	-	-
3ms	ﻟﻨﺎ: 12x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 56x; ﻟﻨﺎ: 10x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x; ﻟﻨﺎ: 4x; ﻟﻨﺎ: 2x
3fs	ﻟﻨﺎ: 2x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 9x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 7x
1cp	ﻟﻨﺎ: 3x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x; ﻟﻨﺎ: 29x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x
2mp	-	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x	-
2fp	-	-	-
3mp	ﻟﻨﺎ: 13x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 20x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 8x
3fp	ﻟﻨﺎ: 5x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 10x	ﻟﻨﺎ: 1x

*Cases with parallel heads*

The PPrP can get multiple heads, where the second head is an NP:

58:9–10 ﻟﻨﺎ ﻟﻨﺎ *they and their children.*

2.5.2 PPrP clause constituents with extensions

The maximum extension structure of PPrPs is as follows:

TABLE 6: PPrP extension structure

<i>Head</i>		<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>		<i>2<sup>nd</sup> degree extension</i>
PPrP	>	NP	>	DPrP
	>	PP		
	>	d-P		
	>	RC		

### 2.5.2.1 PPrP extended with NP

A PPrP can be extended by an NP, when that PPrP takes the form of an objective suffix attached to a verb and stands in a construction of anticipatory pronominal agreement with the noun that forms the (direct or indirect) object (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection 'NPs with pronominal agreement, above'). There are only three such cases in BLC, one of which is extended further (see subsection 'Further extensions', below). The other two occurrences are:

10:13 ܠܚܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *He would create man;*

20:4 ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *he would see his deed.*

#### *Further extensions*

There is one case of the construction described above where the object noun is extended with a DPrP ܕܡܢ. Note that in contrast to the two cases listed above, a *nota obiecti* is absent here:

54:12 ܕܡܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *they have made up this matter.*

#### *Cases with 'proclitic pronominal agreement'*

Quite another type of PPrP extended with an NP is when pronominal agreement occurs between a proclitic personal pronoun and a noun (see Section 1.3.2.1, subsection 'Other phrase types with pronominal agreement', above):<sup>145</sup>

22:12 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *it, (namely) nature;*

28:16 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *they, (namely) the people;*

36:22 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *they, (namely) the workers.*

In these constructions, the NP is often itself extended, with a DPrP or an RC:

- with a DPrP:

26:24 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *they, (namely) these people;*

28:21 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *it, (namely) this power;*

32:16 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *it, (namely) this changing aspect;*

46:5 ܐܝܘܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܘܢܐ *they, (namely) these women.*

<sup>145</sup> See also Costaz 1955, § 574; Nöldeke 1966, § 227.

In one occasion, the construction following the proclitic consists of multiple heads:

36:19–20 *... it, (namely) this point of view and these different opinions and innocence and guilt.*

‘Proclitic pronominal agreement’ also occurs when a PPrP is extended with an independently used demonstrative pronoun: see 2.5.2.2, below.

· with an RC:

14:8 *... they, (namely) the things of which I have said...*

#### 2.5.2.2 PPrP extended with d-P

There is one occurrence of the independent personal pronoun *we* extended with the d-P:

6:23–4 *we, in turn, will speak without hard feelings.*

#### 2.5.2.3 PPrP extended with DPrP

A phenomenon equivalent to the ‘proclitic pronominal agreement’ described in Section 2.5.2.1, above, occurs when a proclitic PPrP is extended with a DPrP. There is only one occurrence of this construction:

54:10 *this (lit. it, [namely] this) is called law.*

#### 2.5.2.4 PPrP extended with RC

It is possible for a PPrP in the form of a pronominal suffix to be extended with an RC:

8:11 *to you, who believe.*

This is the only occurrence of this construction.

### 2.6 DPrP clause constituents

As has been explained in Section 1.3.2.6, above, the head of a DPrP contains a demonstrative pronoun, and DPrPs that are clause constituents only



TABLE 7: DPrP extension structure

<i>Head</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>
DPrP	> NP
	> RC

### A. DPrPs with one extension

#### 2.6.2.1 DPrP extended with NP

When a DPrP head consists of a plural demonstrative pronoun, it can be extended with an NP, consisting of  $\text{ל}$ -suffix in a construction with pronominal agreement:

16:9–10  $\text{אלה כלם}$  *all those things*.

The same construction is attested with two additional RCs: see Section 2.6.2.4, below. In contrast to demonstratives used attributively, where the  $\text{ל}$ -suffix block can either precede or follow the demonstrative pronoun (12:22–23  $\text{אלהם כלם}$ ; 28:23  $\text{אלהם כלם}$ , etc.—see Sections 2.1.2.25 and 2.10.2.1, subsection b., above), demonstrative pronouns used independently only have attestations where  $\text{ל}$ -suffix follows it: the reverse (\* $\text{כלם אלהם}$ ) does not occur as an autonomous clause constituent.

Extension of a demonstrative pronoun by  $\text{ל}$ -suffix can co-occur with extension by an RC: see Section 2.6.2.4, below.

#### 2.6.2.2 DPrP extended with RC

As stated in Section 1.3.2.4, above, the independently used demonstrative pronouns  $\text{הם}$ ,  $\text{הן}$ ,  $\text{אלהם}$  and  $\text{אלהן}$  are always extended by an RC:

12:6–7  $\text{הוא ששירתו}$  *who is he who is serving*;

14:14  $\text{הוא שבהם}$  *for that in which they have power*;

20:7–8  $\text{אלהם שבהם}$  *those things in which he rejoices*<sup>148</sup>;

<sup>148</sup> This is the only occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun  $\text{אלהם}$ .

- 42:20 *אלוהם אשר יאכלו בשר בני אדם* to those who eat meat of humans;  
 62:3-4 *אלוהם אשר יעמדו נגדו ויאמרו לא נאמר כן* those who think that they can stand up against Him.<sup>149</sup>

The other independently used demonstrative pronouns in BLC are either never extended (אנן) or can occur unextended as well as extended by an RC (אלוהם, אלהם).

In contrast to these demonstrative pronouns, independently used אלוהם and אלהם can either be unextended, or be extended by an RC:

- 6:13 *אלהם אשר תאמרו* in these things that you say;  
 12:5 *אשר יאכלוהו מי הוא* who is the one that is served?

## B. DPrPs with two extensions

### 2.6.2.3 DPrP extended with two RCs

- 16:15-16 *מה היא, ואם לא יאמרוהו, ואם לא יאמרוהו, ואם לא יאמרוהו* what it is, then, which is not possible, about which those who lack faith complain;  
 20:7-9 *ואשר יאמרוהו, ואשר יאמרוהו, ואשר יאמרוהו*. And those things in which he rejoices, after which also come glory and blessing...

## C. DPrPs with three extensions

### 2.6.2.4 DPrP extended with NP and two RCs

There is one case of a DPrP extended with an NP in a pronominal agreement construction with *ל* + suffix, and with two RCs:

- 48:10-11 *אלהם אשר יאמרוהו, ואשר יאמרוהו* all those who are in Gallia who are guilty to this infamy.

<sup>149</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb *כי*: see Section 3.4.2.1, below.

## 2.7 IPrP clause constituents

### 2.7.1 IPrP head structure

The elements of which an IPrP head can consist are: 1. the interrogative pronoun itself; 2. construct  $\text{ح}$  governing it.

As stated in 1.3.2 above, IPrP clause constituents always consist of interrogative pronouns used independently. All six different interrogative pronouns attested in BLC ( $\text{مَنْ}$ ,  $\text{مَنْ}$ ,  $\text{مَنْ}$ ,  $\text{مَنْ}$ ,  $\text{مَنْ}$ ,  $\text{مَنْ}$ ) can be used as such:

6:4  $\text{مَنْ} \text{ حِصَّتْ}$  *what is his will;*

12:5  $\text{مَنْ} \text{ حِصَّتْ} \text{ مَن} \text{ حِصَّتْ}$  *who is the one that is being served?;*

24:22  $\text{مَنْ} \text{ حِصَّتْ} \text{ مَن} \text{ حِصَّتْ}$  *now which is the nature of man?*

IPrPs consisting of independently used  $\text{مَنْ}$  or  $\text{مَنْ}$  are always extended by an RC; hence, they are treated in Section 2.7.2.2, below.

The IPrP can be embedded in a PP:

6:17  $\text{مَنْ} \text{ حِصَّتْ}$  *why? (lit. because of what?)*

This is the only example of an IPrP embedded in a PP without additional extension by an RC. In all other cases, an interrogative pronoun preceded by a preposition is extended with RC: see Section 2.7.2.2, below.

The interrogative pronouns  $\text{مَنْ}$  and  $\text{مَنْ}$  can occur in a genitive construction with  $\text{ح}$ .<sup>150</sup> This, too, always occurs in combination with extension by an RC: see Section 2.7.2.2, below.

### 2.7.2 IPrP clause constituents with extensions

The maximum extension structure of IPrPs is as follows:

TABLE 8: IPrP extension structure

<i>Head</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>
IPrP	> PP
	> RC
	> DPrP & RC

<sup>150</sup> Nöldeke 1966, § 218.

## A. IPrPs with one extension

### 2.7.2.1 IPrP extended with PP

An IPrP can be extended with a PP:

18:19 *which of the people.*

### 2.7.2.2 IPrP extended with RC

More often than not, the IPrP is extended with an RC, thus resulting in a relative construction:

6:22 *those things which I say to you;*

14:22-23 *of someone who does not want to do which is good;*

26:12-13 *now those things which we do of our free will<sup>151</sup>;*

30:22-23 *those things which they want;*

44:11 *someone who kills one of these.*

While the three interrogative pronouns in these examples (אֵלֶּיךָ, מִי, וְהַיֵּהוּדָה and הַיֵּהוּדָה) can also occur without extension by an RC (as can be seen from the examples given under 2.7.1, above), אֵלֶּיךָ and independent מִי are always extended with an RC (see Section 1.3.2.4, above):

10:9 *what is being played on it<sup>152</sup>;*

46:15-16 *she on who is the name of adultery.*

As explained in Section 1.3.2.4, subsection 'Relative Clauses', above, an IPrP is also always extended by an RC in the following circumstances:

- when a preposition precedes אֵלֶּיךָ, מִי or הַיֵּהוּדָה:

4:19-20 *from one who is older than they;*

16:14 *to one who is ill;*

<sup>151</sup> Note that this phrase is interrupted by the connective adverb וְ: see Section 3.3.1.1, below.

<sup>152</sup> The IPrP אֵלֶּיךָ extended by an RC also occurs in the non-relative, conjunctive use, in the constructions מִי מִיכָּא *when* and מִי מִיכָּא (such) *as*: 18:6 *when he does which is good*; 32:2-3 *as we wish*.

32:3-4 *להם כל אשר לא רצו כלפינו* towards those things that we do not want;  
 62:7 *במה הם נאמרים* in what they are.

• when *כל* or *כֹּחַ* stands in a genitive construction with *ל*:

12:1-2 *לכל אשר נאמר להם* everything which is above me;  
 14:6-7 *כֹּחַ הַכֹּל הַיֹּשֵׁב* everyone who exists;  
 16:12 *לכל אשר ידע* everything he knows.<sup>153</sup>

• when *ל* or *כֹּחַ* is extended by the DPrP *אִתּוֹ*. Since this is a case of double extension, it is treated in Section 2.7.2.3, below.

The combination IPrP + RC often occurs as an extension to an NP. These constructions have been treated under Section 2.1.2.23, above.

## B. IPrPs with two extensions

### 2.7.2.3 IPrP extended with DPrP and RC

Extension of an IPrP with an RC is often combined with extension by a DPrP. In fact, all occurrences of IPrPs extended by a DPrP (*ל* or *אִתּוֹ* or *כֹּחַ*) are also extended by an RC, as explained in Section 1.3.2.4, subsection ‘Relative clauses’, above.<sup>154</sup> In those cases, the DPrP always precedes the IPrP head:

6:13-14 *אִתּוֹ הַיֹּשֵׁב* to the one who is being questioned;  
 10:3-4 *הוא כֹּחַ הַיֹּשֵׁב*: he is an instrument of the one who sets him in motion;  
 26:4 *אִתּוֹ הַיֹּשֵׁב* the One who created them.

## 2.8 InrP clause constituents

In BLC there is only one interrogative: *למה* how, why. It occurs only once, in contraction with the enclitic personal pronoun *אִתּוֹ*:

<sup>153</sup> These three examples are the only ones to occur in BLC.

<sup>154</sup> The same observation goes for *אִתּוֹ*: see Section 2.1.2.22, above.

10:1-2 *why God has not created us so that we would not sin and become guilty.*<sup>155</sup>

## 2.9 VP clause constituents

As I explained in Section 1.3.2.9, above, the possible components of a VP head are finite verbs, participles used predicatively, and infinitives. Elements governed by the verb (objects, complements, etc.) are not included in the VP, whether they appear in the form of a pronominal suffix or not.

When they occur in a paronomastic construction<sup>156</sup>, infinitives appear in their bare form:

- 6:13 *he is very pleased;*  
 8:3-4 *you must believe!*  
 8:19 *they are utterly divided.*

These constructions often occur in pairs, indicating an opposition or contrast:

- 6:2-3 *they are asked; they do not ask (themselves);*  
 12:4-7 *for if everything is serving, who is it that is being served? And if everything is being served, who is it that is serving?;*  
 34:2-4 *not only do they give birth before this age that I mentioned, but they are even too old to give birth.*

Elsewhere, infinitives are embedded in a PP with -Δ:

- 38:2 *to believe;*

<sup>155</sup> In his concordance (p. 6), Lund has provided the Δ with an upper dot. This dot is not present in the manuscript, but is a speck of ink in the edition of Nau 1931, and hence that of Drijvers.

<sup>156</sup> In most of its occurrences, the paronomasia serves to focalize the verb, often indicating an opposition or contrast: 'not (only) [verb x], but (also) [verb y].', 'on the one hand [verb x], on the other hand [verb y]'; etc. See e.g. Lambrecht 1994; Shimasaki 2002.

62:3 *to withstand it.*

As mentioned in Section 1.3.2.4, above, the infinitive with *-l* can be part of the construction [infinitive]-*l* (see also Section 2.10.2.1, below) as the complement of an adverb or a verb:

18:20 *more than to abstain from evil* ( *being adverbial to the predicate of the preceding clause it is easy to do good*);

34:3 *they are even too old to give birth*;

58:10-11 *they refrain (...) from buying and selling.*

## 2.10 AdvP clause constituents

### 2.10.1 AdvP head structure

As indicated, only independent adverbs are treated here. Adverbs that function as a modification of words with another part of speech are extensions and therefore treated as such.

An AdvP head consists of an adverb. As has been pointed out in Section 1.3.1, above, a word with the PDP ‘adverb’ can be an inherent adverb, or transitioned either from a verb (typically a participle) or an adjective.

*Inherent adverbs:*

*how, there,* <sup>157</sup> *easily, etc.*

*Adverbs transitioned from inherent verbs:*

50:4 *less.*<sup>158</sup>

<sup>157</sup> One might raise the question why adverbs ending in *-l* are treated as inherent adverbs, not as inherent adjectives that have assumed the PDP ‘adverb’. The reason is that, while the ‘original’ adjective may still be recognizable, the ending *-l* is a derivational suffix, not an inflectional one; so the result is a new lexeme, namely an inherent adverb.

<sup>158</sup> The word is part of the multi-headed phrase *a little more or a little less*, which in turn is used adverbially to the preceding clause *they also bring forth in one month*. See also 2.4.2.1 below. *more* is also used adverbially here, but its inherent part of speech is not ‘verb’ but ‘adjective’ (Payne Smith 1903, c. 199b): therefore, it is mentioned under adjective → adverb, below.

*Adverbs transitioned from inherent adjectives:*

14:19 <sup>159</sup> *بالت عفتة* quite beautiful;

50:4 *بالمنا ملل* a little more.

The AdvP can be embedded in a PP or in a d-P:

6:20 *بالمنا من سأل* who has recently<sup>160</sup> (begun to) ask questions;

32:4 *بالمنا من سأل* we are powerfully constrained;

60:22 *بالمنا من سأل* he can free himself immediately.

*Cases with parallel heads*

There is one occurrence of an AdvP with two heads:

4:16 *بالمنا من سأل* that people should behave uprightly and justly.

### 2.10.2 AdvP clause constituents with extensions

The maximum extension structure of AdvPs is as follows:

TABLE 9: IPrP extension structure

<i>Head</i>	<i>1<sup>st</sup> degree extension</i>
AdvP	> PP
	> RC
	> AdvP

#### 2.10.2.1 AdvP extended with PP

Like an AdjP (see Section 2.2.2.1, subsection b, above), an AdvP can be extended by a PP with *بالمنا*, resulting in a comparative construction. The only adverb in BLC to which this applies is *بالمنا* more. The PP with *بالمنا* can embed an NP, or a clause.

<sup>159</sup> Cureton and Nau 1931 / Drijvers have *بالت عفتة*; only Nau 1907 correctly follows the manuscript.

<sup>160</sup> See Duval 1955, § 295.

## a. The PP embeds an NP:

25:21–22 *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם ויהיה לך חכם יותר מכל חכם אחר* which can convince fools more than anything.

b. The PP embeds a clause which starts with the conjunction *ו*:

This clause can consist of an infinitive with *ל*, resulting in the construction [infinitive]-*ו* (see Section 2.9, above):

18:20–21 *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם ואל תעשה רע* more than to abstain from evil (*אשר* being adverbial to the predicate of the preceding clause *אל תעשה רע* it is easy to do good).

The clause can also be elliptic; i.e., with an implicit predicate:

16:16–18 *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם ואל תעשה רע* I for myself believe that, more than in anything, (it is) in these commandments (that) man is strong.

## 2.10.2.2 AdvP extended with AdvP

## Cases with parallel heads

There is one occurrence of a two-headed AdvP, where both heads (*אשר* *more* and *אשר* *less*, respectively) are extended with another AdvP (*אשר* *a little*):

50:4 *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם ואל תעשה רע* a little more or a little less (*אשר* and *אשר* being adverbial to the preceding clause).

Note that without its context, this phrase could also have been an AdjP. However, when we take a look at the preceding clause, we see that the phrase modifies a clause constituent of that clause: either the predicate *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם* or the temporal adjunct *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם*: 50:3–4 *אשר יגידו לך כל חכם* because they all become pregnant in the same month, they also give birth in the same month, a little more or a little less. Hence, the phrase must be an AdvP.

## 2.11 CP clause constituents

As I have explained in Section 1.3.2.11, above, the conjunctions of concern here are those of the clause-connecting type, which, in contrast to phrase-

connecting conjunctions, form clause constituents of their own. Furthermore, I have explained that a number of alleged 'conjunctions' are in fact to be treated as 'connective adverbs', and hence will be left out here. This leaves the following real, clause-connecting conjunctions:

• coordinative conjunctions:

אִם 12:14–15 אִם יִצְדַּק אִם יִשְׁפָּט וְאִם יִבְרָא וְאִם יִשְׁפָּט *and he will justify or condemn himself.*

אֲלֵךְ 26:11 אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם: אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ *those things that do not lie in our hands but happen to us from nature.*

-א 26:14–15 בְּיָדָם נִשְׁפָּט וְנִשְׁפָּט וְנִשְׁפָּט *by them we become guilty and are reproached.*

• subordinative conjunctions:

אֲלֵךְ 10:2–3 אֲלֵךְ אִם הָיָה אִם הָיָה אֲלֵךְ *if man were made thus.*

אֲלֵךְ 4:9 אֲלֵךְ אִם אֵל אֵל *if God is one.*

-א (as a subordinative)

56:2–3 וְאֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם *and furthermore remember that I talked to you about many peoples.*

-א (as a relative)

52:25–54:1 מֵחַוְלַת גִּבְעוֹת וְאֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם *because of the body that they are wearing.*

ב 34:8–9 אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ *while he has food and drink.*

אֲלֵךְ 4:8–9 אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲלֵךְ אֵלֵינוּ *we then said to him: Awida here said to us...*

The conjunction -א as a subordinative can be preceded by a preposition (resulting in what might be described as a PP embedding an RC), by an adverb (resulting in an AdvP extended with an RC – see Section 2.10.2.2, above) or by an interrogative pronoun. The attested constructions are:

- כּוּמִי 50:2 כּוּמִי וּפְקֹדֵי חֻמֶּיךָ *such as nature commands*.<sup>161</sup>  
 חֲפָלָה(וֹ)לֵנוּ 32:6 חֲפָלָה לֵנוּ כִּי שָׂמַח בָּהֶם *because we rejoice in them*.  
 חַי 42:7-8 חַי וְכֹסֵם נִחְמָסֶה (...) חֲזֵנִיבִיבִי *since they have behaved according to this law*.<sup>162</sup>  
 חֲדַתָּה 38:3-4 חֲדַתָּה הַיְעֲשֶׂה לְךָ חֲדַתָּה *until the course is ended*.<sup>163</sup>  
 אַחֲרֶיךָ 4:9 אַחֲרֶיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲמֹרֶם *as you say*.  
 אַחֲרָיו 18:22 אַחֲרָיו, וַיַּחֲבֵד לַחֲבֵדָה *when he does a good thing*.

## 2.12 NegP clause constituents

The Negative Phrase consists of the negative particle לֹא. לֹא can modify clauses, but also phrases. Only the former type is treated here, since לֹא as a phrase modifier is an extension, which has been treated under Section 2.1.2.8, above.

A special type of clause negation is performed by לֹא followed by uninflected אָמַם:

- 22:23-24 אָמַם אֲמַרְתָּ אֲמַרְתָּ חֲזֵנִיבִיבִי *human beings, however, do not behave thus*.

See Chapter 4, Section 2.8, for more on the behaviour of negative phrases.

## 2.13 InjP clause constituents

In BLC, three interjections are attested: לוֹ lo, behold, look etc; אוֹ oh (in addressing somebody) and אוֹה oh (similar in meaning as אוֹ but a different lexeme: see Payne Smith 1903, c. 6b).<sup>164</sup>

<sup>161</sup> There are only two occurrences of this construction. The other is 46:8-9 חֲפָלָה לֵנוּ כִּי שָׂמַח בָּהֶם לֵנוּ כִּי שָׂמַח בָּהֶם *because the Kushanians regard their women as (if they were) masters*.

<sup>162</sup> This is the only occurrence of חַי.

<sup>163</sup> This is the only occurrence of חֲדַתָּה.

<sup>164</sup> In fact, אוֹה is ambiguous. It occurs only once, in a context that makes it hard to discern whether it is the 'addressing' אוֹה oh, or its homograph, the Greek loanword οὕτως, therefore (see Payne Smith 1897-1901, c. 70; Brock 1975; 1996/9). The context, 18:11-12 אַחֲרֵיכֶם חֲדַתָּה אֲמַרְתָּ אֲמַרְתָּ אֲמַרְתָּ אֲמַרְתָּ *Of these things Bardaisan, you say that they are easy to do?*, allows for both possibilities: אוֹה could be the addressing particle, since it is followed by a proper noun, but it could also be the Greek אוֹה, used by the speaker to recapitulate Bardaisan's earlier statements. However, when

These interjections can be divided in two types:

- 'emphatic': אָמ <sup>165</sup>
- 'addressing': אָר, אָרָר

While the emphatic interjection always occurs on its own, the addressing interjection is invariably followed by a proper name, resulting in a vocative: 14:13 אָר פֿיליפּוס אָר *oh Philippus*; 18:11 אָר בֿאַרדאַיסאַן אָר *oh Bardaisan*; 26:19 אָר בֿאַר יאַמאַ אָר פֿיליפּוס אָר *oh Philippus and Bar Yama*.<sup>166</sup> Since the proper name is part of the 'stepping out of the discourse' initiated by אָר / אָרָר, it does not form a phrase of its own, but belongs to the InjP. If we use the same terminology as that for other phrase types, we could say that אָר / אָרָר is the head of the InjP, and the proper name is the extension.

### 3. INTERRUPTED CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

In certain contexts a clause constituent phrase with a complex internal structure (i.e., consisting of various heads and / or extensions) can be 'interrupted' by another element that is not part of that clause constituent. The phrase starts, is interrupted, and carries on after the interruption. Syntactically this results in the creation of three separate 'chunks', or 'phrase atoms'<sup>167</sup>: 1. the first part of the interrupted phrase; 2. the interrupting element; 3. the remainder of the interrupted phrase:

<i>phrase A:</i>	<i>interruption:</i>	<i>rest of phrase A:</i>
phrase atom 1	phrase atom 2	phrase atom 3

we take a statistical look at the behaviour of other vocatives in BLC, we see that they are all preceded by either the addressing word אָר or the familiar introduction ,בֿ *my son* (four occurrences, two of which are followed by a proper name) or אָרָר *our father* (one occurrence: 54:5 אָרָר בֿאַרדאַיסאַן). If in 18:11-12 אָר were the Greek loanword οὖν, that would mean an exception to that practice. From a corpus-linguistic perspective, therefore, אָר is more likely to be the addressing particle, which is why I have chosen to treat it as such, while still recognizing that grammatically it is not the only option.

<sup>165</sup> See also Chapter 4, Section 3.1.2.

<sup>166</sup> These are all three occurrences of אָר / אָרָר in BLC.

<sup>167</sup> See Van Peursen 2007, p. 183.

The interruptive elements are of a varied nature. Those attested in BLC are:

- the second-place conjunction (conj)  $\text{ﻻ}$  or a connective adverb (conn)  $\text{ﻻﺀ}$ ,  $\text{ﻻﺀﻻ}$
- an enclitic personal pronoun (EPP):  $\text{ﻮﻡ}$ ,  $\text{ﻮﻡ}$ ,  $\text{ﻮﻡﻮ}$ , etc.
- a form of the verb  $\text{ﻮﻡ}$
- a clause (cl)

There are two cases where the interruption is performed by a pair of elements: an EPP and a connective adverb: see Sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2, below.

What these elements have in common is the position where they turn up. No matter the structure of the phrase, the interruption invariably takes place directly after the first subphrase. Whether this subphrase is the head or an extension is irrelevant, as is the nature (head or extension) of the remaining subphrases.

At first sight, PPs appear to form an exception to this regularity, for there the interruption does not take place after the first subphrase (i.e. the preposition) but after the first phrase atom of the phrase that is embedded in the PP. However, this is not so much an exception as an indication that the presence or absence of a preposition does not affect the structure of the phrases that they embed (see Section 1.3.2.3, above). The interruption structure can, therefore, be depicted as follows:

(prep) [first subphrase] [interruption] [remaining subphrases]

The remainder of this section provides a survey of all types of phrase interruption attested in BLC, organized according to the types of the phrases in which they occur.

### 3.1 *Interrupted NP clause constituents*

#### 3.1.1 *Interrupted NP unextended*

See Section 2.1.1, above, on this phrase structure.

- $\text{ﻮﻡ}$ : 24:14–15  $\text{ﻮﻡﻮﻡ ﻮﻡﻮﻡ}$  *they were whoremongers and drunkards.*

- conn: 40:24–25 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ<sup>168</sup> *but there are rich and poor, sick and healthy, ruler(s) and subjects;*
- 54:2 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ *now in every place and in every people;*
- 60:17 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ *but sickness and health, richness and poverty.*

An interesting case is 34:14–15 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ *now outside nature and in fate*, where we would expect the interruption to take place after ܘܥܡܘܬܐ, since that noun is the first subphrase after the preposition ܘܥܡܘܬܐ. It seems that the ‘noun-ness’ of ܘܥܡܘܬܐ was no longer really recognized as such and that the whole construction ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ was felt as a composite preposition.

### 3.1.2 Interrupted NP with one extension

#### 3.1.2.1 Interrupted NP extended with NP

There is one occurrence of an interrupted ‘cardinal-counted’ relation (see Section 1.1, subsection ‘Apposition’, above):

- EPP & conn: 14:25–16:1 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ *for two commandments are placed before us.*<sup>169</sup>

#### 3.1.2.2 Interrupted NP extended with AdjP

See Section 2.1.2.2, above, on this phrase structure.

- EPP: 28:5–6 ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ *that this is an imposturous art of the Chaldeans*<sup>170</sup>;

<sup>168</sup> Nau 1931 / Drijvers 1965 and Lund have *syame*, but these are absent in the manuscript, as correctly reflected by Cureton and Nau 1907.

<sup>169</sup> The clause is an ‘imperfectly transformed cleft sentence’ (see Goldenberg 1977), with ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ as the predicate and ܘܥܡܘܬܐ as the lesser subject; literally *for it is two commandments (that) are placed before us*.

<sup>170</sup> Drijvers’ translation ‘this art is an imposture of the Chaldaeans’ is too free: it suggests that ܘܥܡܘܬܐ is attributive to ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ, and that ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ is a noun in the function of predicate complement. There are at least three objections to this interpretation: Firstly, if the interpretation implied by Drijvers were correct, we would expect the EPP ܘܥܡܘܬܐ at another position: \*ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܩܪܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܘܥܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ. Secondly, the *samka* under ܘܥܡܘܬܐ would be hard to explain. And thirdly, a noun ܘܥܡܘܬܐ does not exist: it is an adjective (a part of speech transition adjective → noun does not seem likely here).

28:6-7 *אם רשע* it is an empty name.

- EPP & conn: 6:5 *אם יצא עמל* for this is a good work.

### 3.1.2.3 Interrupted NP extended with d-P

See Section 2.1.2.4, above, on this phrase structure.

- conn: 8:20-21 *אם לא יראת* for one who has no fear of God;
- 48:6 *אם בארץ גרמאניא* now in the north and in the country of the Germanians;
- 50:9 *אם בית ונוה* but in the house of Venus.
- EPP:<sup>171</sup> 12:21 *אם טובה* God's goodness;
- 16:7 *אם תחת דעת* they are (placed) under man's mind;
- 18:23 *אם עמל* it is the work of the devil;
- 28:2-3 *אם שבעה* from the guidance of these stars which are called the Seven.<sup>172</sup>
- ,אם 10:4 *אם יתנו* he would be an instrument of the one who sets it in motion<sup>173</sup>;
- 60:25-62:1 *אם ארבע* they are the instruments of others.

### 3.1.2.4 Interrupted NP extended with RC

See Section 2.1.2.5, above, on this phrase structure.

- EPP: 10:11 *אם ארבע* they are instruments which are made;
- 36:20-21 *אם ארבע* from the guiding signs which were given in freedom.
- conn: 12:8 *אם נהיה* for something which is one.
- 8:17-18 *אם לא יאמרו* they have no hope in which they can trust;
- 8:19-20 *אם לא יאמרו* they lack the fear for Him that saves them from all fears.

<sup>171</sup> אם, א, and א are the only three EPPs attested for this construction.

<sup>172</sup> Note that the NP is extended with a d-P, which is itself extended by an RC.

<sup>173</sup> The NP is extended with a DPrP and an RC.

### 3.1.2.5 Interrupted NP extended with DPrP

See Section 2.1.2.6, above, on this phrase structure.

- EPP<sup>174</sup>: 4:17 אֲשַׁלְּא אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי I asked these peers.
- conj: 4:8-9 אַחֲרַיְתָא אֲמַרְתִּימָא אֲמַרְתִּימָא אֲמַרְתִּימָא אֲמַרְתִּימָא אֲמַרְתִּימָא We then said to him: 'Awida here (lit. this Awida) said to us...'

As can be observed, the DPrP extension can either precede or follow the head; this does not have any influence on the nature of the interruption.

### 3.1.3 Interrupted NPs with two extensions

#### 3.1.3.1 Interrupted NP extended with AdjP and d-P

See Section 2.1.2.15, above, on this phrase structure.

- EPP: 28:5-6 אֲשַׁלְּא אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי it is a deceitful device of the Chaldeans.

#### 3.1.3.2 Interrupted NP extended with AdjP and RC

See Section 2.1.2.16, above, on this phrase structure.

- cl: 56:2-3 אֲשַׁלְּא אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי I have told of many peoples who encircle the earth.

#### 3.1.3.3 Interrupted NP extended with AdjP and DPrP

See Section 2.1.2.17, above, on this phrase structure.

- conn: 62:2-3 אֲשַׁלְּא אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי to that great and holy will.

#### 3.1.3.4 Interrupted NP extended with AdjP and AdvP

See Section 2.1.2.18, above, on this phrase structure.

- cl: 56:9-10 אֲשַׁלְּא אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי אֶתְּעִיבִי how many wise men do you think have abandoned the laws from their countries?

<sup>174</sup> Only the EPP אֶתְּעִיבִי is attested for this construction.



### 3.2.2 *Interrupted AdjPs with one extension*

#### 3.2.2.1 *Interrupted AdjP extended with PP*

See Section 2.2.2.1, above, on this phrase structure.

- conn: 28:24–25 *הוא חזק בכל שם* *for He who is powerful in every-thing is one.*

### 3.3 *Interrupted IPrP clause constituents*

#### 3.3.1 *Interrupted IPrPs with one extension*

##### 3.3.1.1 *Interrupted IPrP extended with RC*

See Section 2.7.2.2, above, on this phrase structure.

- conn: 26:12–13 *אלה הדברים אשר אנחנו עושים בחפזנו* *now those things which we do in our free will.*

### 3.4 *Interrupted DPrP clause constituents*

See Section 2.6.1, above, on this phrase structure.

#### 3.4.1 *Interrupted DPrPs unextended*

- conn: 34:9–10 *אלה ואלה ואלה ואלה* *now these and many other things.*

#### 3.4.2 *Interrupted DPrPs with one extension*

##### 3.4.2.1 *Interrupted DPrP extended with RC*

See Section 2.6.2.2, above, on this phrase structure.

- conn: 20:9–10 *אחרי הדברים אשר הוא מתקרב ודואג* *now after these things in which he is troubled and worried;*  
62:3–4 *אלה אשר חשבו שהם יעמדו על רגליהם* *those who think that they can stand up against Him.*

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have dealt with the way in which clause constituents in BLC are structured. For an adequate analysis it has proven necessary to address a number of methodological and terminological issues. In doing this, I have made use of several terminological distinctions and refinements that are current in general linguistics, but which are not typically applied in Syriac studies.

Regarding the formal aspects of clause constituents I have distinguished between the *head*; i.e., the minimally required unit in a phrase, and optional *extensions*, referring to phrases which are embedded in the larger phrase projected by the head, and which stand in a certain functional relationship to that head. Due to the *recursive* nature, an indefinite number of phrase patterns is possible, at least theoretically. Since I have based my analysis on a corpus, not on the language as a whole, the number of concretely attested phrase patterns is by definition limited. To describe the relationships between the various parts of a phrase, I needed to introduce the notions of *extension scope*; i.e., the number of heads to which one extension belongs, and *governing domain*, being the span of phrases covered by a governing element, such as a preposition or a construct noun.

On the functional level I have made a distinction, in grammatical-hierarchical terms, between *clause constituents*; i.e., the distributional units that make up a clause, and *subphrases*, which are the building blocks out of which clause constituents are constructed; i.e., the above-mentioned heads and extensions.

Some of the clause constituents attested in the corpus at hand are interrupted by, e.g., an EPP or a second-place connective adverb. These elements always come directly after the first of the subphrases of which the constituent consists. I have provided a survey of the different patterns of such interrupted clause constituents, along with the different types of interrupting elements.

I also had to take a position in the debate concerning the assignment of the Syriac parts of speech. In order to do justice both to the observation that words appear to carry an intrinsic part of speech, and to the fact that within certain contexts they can assume a different function, I have distinguished between the terms *inherent* or *default part of speech*, and *phrase de-*

*pendent part of speech*. In BLC I have observed the following transitions from the former into the latter:

- verb → noun
- verb → adjective
- adjective → noun
- adjective → adverb
- preposition → conjunction (restricted to the particle -*ā*).

Accordingly, there are four parts of speech in BLC that can either be inherent or the result of a transition from another part of speech: nouns, adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions.

Regarding another controversial issue in Syriac (and Semitic) linguistics, namely the parsing of participles, I have tried to do justice to the double nature of the participle, which shares characteristics with both nouns and verbs, by applying the *Participle Reanalysis Corollary* that Janet Dyk has developed for Biblical Hebrew, which assumes that 'a participle is intrinsically a verb, and remains so unless it falls under the government of a nominal element'.

I further tried to give linguistically sound and unequivocal definitions of various linguistic terms. Thus I have defined apposition as 'the syntactic relation between two asyndetically juxtaposed nominal phrases, which do not modify each other semantically, but which refer to the same concept in the semantic domain'. This definition is somewhat more restricted than the loose use of this term for all kinds of juxtaposed words, and thus excludes; e.g., the 'cardinal-counted' combination and certain constructions with pronominal agreement that are sometimes treated as appositions, such as 16:9-10 *ܐܘܢ ܗܘܢ ܗܘܢ* *all those things*. I defined pronominal agreement as the functional relation where 'a personal pronoun (typically in the form of a pronominal suffix) (...) refers semantically, and agrees grammatically, to a nominal element (i.e., a noun or pronoun)'. Starting from these definitions I have distinguished the various types of apposition and pronominal agreement constructions attested in BLC.

Concerning relative clauses I have observed that a phrase with which it is extended often contains an additional extension, typically a DPrP or an IPrP. With regard to conjunctions it is appropriate to make a distinction between phrase-connecting and clause-connecting conjunctions. Where the

latter are concerned, I have argued that, in order to do justice to their function as the linking element between two syntactic units, it is preferable to consider a clause-connecting conjunction not as a functional part of either of the two clauses which it connects. For particles with a combining function that clearly do form a functional part of a clause, I prefer to use the term ‘connective adverb’.

Since this distributional approach has only tentatively been applied to Syriac studies, possibilities to compare the results of the analysis with other corpora were limited. In existing grammars we do find thorough treatises on different types of phrase patterns, such as the construct chain or the apposition, but the essential question as to how these (sub)phrases are combined into clause constituents, and what the concretely attested patterns are in which this occurs, is not generally given much attention. Many of my observations, however, also seem to hold for the linguistic characteristics of other Syriac corpora, not that of BLC exclusively. For this reason I expect this chapter to contribute not only to the description of the linguistic profile of BLC, but to that of the peculiarities of phrase building in Syriac as a whole.

A consequence of this corpus-based approach is that we are dealing with formal aspects based in the text. As stated in the above: theoretically, an indefinite number of phrase patterns is possible, due to the recursive nature of phrase structure. We can speculate as to how long a phrase may be in theory, and whether the concatenation of construct forms (*A of B of C of D*, etc.) or of parallel elements (*A and B and C and D*, etc.) is really infinite, but what matters in a corpus-based approach are the actually attested patterns. Thus, for example, we see that the head of an NP in BLC consists of at most two consecutive construct nouns followed by an absolute noun, or of one construct noun followed by a noun with pronominal suffix (Section 2.1.1, Table 2); that the maximum number of parallel heads within an NP constituent is six (Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with parallel heads’); and that the maximum amount of separate extensions which an NP can have is four (Section 2.1.2, part D).

Although my analysis concerned the description of the language of a corpus, my linguistic description more than once referred to philological questions. A good example is 44:17 *ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*, which at first sight

may be translated as 'the men of the Gelians', but which, due to the presence of the feminine possessive suffix  $\text{־}ת$ , has to be analyzed either as a scribal error, or as a construction in which  $\text{-}ג$  is not possessive but explicative (*their men, that is, the Gelians*; see Section 2.1.2.4). Another example is the anomalous case 8:22  $\text{אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּן אֹתָם וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּן אֹתָם}$  *that which they do not believe*, where the repetition of  $\text{וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּן}$  is striking. As is shown by the discussion of this example in Section 2.1.2.22, I have chosen to describe the text, as much as possible, in the way in which it is presented to us in the manuscript, and to be reserved in postulating scribal errors. Where possible, I have observed this reservation even in the case of diacritics, which has sometimes led me to make choices that differ from the suggestions for emendation provided by editors (see, e.g., Section 2.1.2.21, note 132 concerning the upper dot in 6:3  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ ).

Also where parsing, translation or interpretation are concerned, my analysis has in certain cases led to corrections of suggestions made by other scholars, such as 44:20–1  $\text{כֻּלָּם רִצְוֵי צַדִּיקִים וְרִצְוֵי מִלְחָמָה וְרִצְוֵי צַדִּיקִים וְרִצְוֵי מִלְחָמָה}$ , which should be translated as *they are all hunt-loving and war-waging men*, rather than *all men are fond of hunting and wage war* (pace Drijvers; Section 2.1.2.2, note 93); similarly, 28:5–6  $\text{וְזֶה הוּא אֲמִתּוּת אֲרִיִּים וְזֶה הוּא אֲמִתּוּת אֲרִיִּים}$  is to be translated as *this is an imposturous art of the Chaldeans* rather than *this art is an imposture of the Chaldeans* (pace Drijvers; see Section 3.1.2.2, note 170).

My distributional approach has forced me not to be confined to cases with unequivocal analyses, but also to treat ambiguous cases (see, for example, Section 2.6.1, note 146 concerning 34:9–10  $\text{וְזֶה הוּא אֲמִתּוּת אֲרִיִּים}$ ) and less frequent phenomena, such as the use of  $\text{-}ג$  in the comparative construction  $\text{-}ג$   $\text{לְ}...$  (Section 2.1.2.14). Especially in circumstances where such uncommon or ambiguous phenomena are observed the distributional approach shows its value, since it does not halt at such cases, but rather attempts to give them a place within the whole of the description of the language of the corpus.

## Chapter 4

# CLAUSE STRUCTURE

### 1. VERBAL CLAUSES

In the preceding chapter I have analyzed the internal structure of phrases. In the present chapter I will investigate how phrases are used as building blocks for clauses. When describing the formal characteristics of a clause, the unit of interest is the clause constituent. As explained in the previous chapter, a clause constituent consists of the maximum projection of a phrase; i.e., the whole of a phrase head (or heads) and its (optional) extensions. At clause level, constituents fulfil syntactic roles, such as subject, predicate, complement, etc. It is the behaviour of these units which will be the focus of the present chapter.

The Turgama model defines a clause as a syntactic unit in which predication takes place.<sup>1</sup> In Syriac, there is a considerable number of formal means by which predication can be expressed; e.g., with a (finite or non-finite) verb, a (bi-, tri-, or even quadripartite) nominal construction, a construction with (suffixed or unsuffixed) ܘܢܪܥ; etc. Predication can also be expressed implicitly, e.g., in elliptical clauses. All these different predicational devices allow for a wide variety of verbal and non-verbal clause types.

In the scholarly study of Classical Syriac clause structure there is an imbalance between non-verbal (or nominal) and verbal clauses, in that the former have received much more attention than the latter. The structure of Classical Syriac nominal clauses has been debated intensively in studies by

<sup>1</sup> Van Peursen 2007, § 16.1 (p. 279f). Note that the notion 'clause' does not necessarily coincide with the notion 'sentence'. A sentence may consist of one clause, but may also be built up out of many clauses, which can have all kinds of mutual relations and interdependencies. Since it has proven to be very hard to determine on syntactic grounds where a sentence begins and where the next one starts, while on the other hand it is relatively easy to determine the boundaries of a single unit of predication, it is the clause that the Turgama model chooses as the relevant unit of analysis at this level.

Goldenberg, Muraoka, Joosten, Van Peursen and others.<sup>2</sup> Since verbal clauses have received much less attention, I considered it appropriate to concentrate on them in the present chapter.

Considered as verbal are those clauses of which the predicate is expressed by a finite verb; i.e., a perfect, imperfect or imperative.<sup>3</sup> This includes clauses with compound tenses containing one or more finite verbs (such as ptc. + perf., impf. + ptc., perf. + perf., etc.).<sup>4</sup>

Like all clauses, verbal clauses can be organized into a range of categories, depending on the internal or external aspects described. Internal aspects include the formal organization of the clause components (e.g., whether a clause is (pseudo-) cleft, elliptical, etc.) as well as the functional aspects of the verb (determining such factors as tense, mood and aspect; whether a clause is interrogative or declarative, positive or negative, etc.). External aspects involve the relation of a clause to its surrounding clauses (determining, e.g., whether a clause is a main clause or a dependent clause). There is no strict separation between these internal and external factors: they are interdependent and have a mutual influence on each other. For instance, when a Syriac clause is relative to a main clause, this fact is reflected in its internal structure: it typically starts with the relative particle  $\text{-}\aleph$ , and it typically lacks an explicit subject which has the same participant as the subject of the main clause. Such factors must be taken into consideration when describing the syntactic behaviour of a clause.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Cohen 1975; Muraoka 1975; 1977b; 1987 / 1996; Goldenberg 1977; 1983; 1990; 1991; Khan 1988; Joosten 1992a; Van Peursen 2006a + responses by Goldenberg, Joosten and Muraoka; Van Peursen 2007.

<sup>3</sup> In this I adhere to the 'Verbalsatz-These', described by Groß 1996, pp. 9–10: verbal clauses include 'alle Wortreihen mit einem konjugierten Verb (also Imp, PK, SK), gleichgültig, welche weitere Wörter und Wörterverbindungen die Wortreihe ausmachen, gleichgültig auch, ob es Hauptwörter, Pro-Elemente, Deiktika oder Funktionswörter sind.' (Richter 1980, p. 11)

<sup>4</sup> The inclusion of compound tenses may seem to give rise to an imbalance in the treatment of clauses referring to the past and their equivalents referring to the present: e.g., a 'past' construction like  $\aleph\text{ܩܘܡܐ}$  *he was saying* is treated here, whereas its 'present' counterpart  $\text{ܩܘܡܐ}$  *he is saying* is not. This, however, is a semantic issue. From a formal viewpoint the two examples are of an entirely different syntactic structure: the former clause is verbal because of the finite perfect  $\aleph\text{ܩܘܡܐ}$ ; the latter clause is not verbal because of the non-finite ptc.

For reasons to be outlined below (Section 1.1), our main focus in the verbal clauses will be on the order of the constituents, in particular on their behaviour in the so-called preverbal field.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.1 *Constituent order: fronting*

Although the constituent order for Aramaic, including Syriac, has often been described as ‘free’<sup>6</sup>, detailed studies have demonstrated that clauses in Syriac do show a preference for a standard order of subject and object in relation to the verb.<sup>7</sup> As in most Semitic languages,<sup>8</sup> those constituents typically occur after the verb, in the order VSO. All other non-conjunctive constituents (complement, adjunct, etc. – see Section 1.4, below), are normally placed after the verb as well.<sup>9</sup>

The preference for a VSO order can also be observed in BLC, albeit indirectly. If we take all uninterrupted verbal clauses<sup>10</sup> in the corpus that contain V, S and O (26 cases in total) and compare the six possible permutations of those elements, we find that the preference in BLC is not VSO, but rather VOS or SVO (9 cases for both orders). However, if we look at the relative orders of only two out of the three elements (V and S, V and O or S and O), we see that the prevalent orders are VS, VO and SO. The same picture arises if we look at clauses that contain only two out of the three elements (of which there are 133 cases). Integrating these preferences for VS,

<sup>5</sup> Similar studies on word order from a discourse-analytic perspective have been conducted for Biblical Hebrew (e.g., Rosenbaum 1997; Van Hecke 2005; Groß 1996; 2001; Van der Merwe 1999, Shimasaki 2002; Joüon-Muraoka 2006) and non-Syriac Aramaic (e.g., Buth 1987; Kutty 2008, ch. 5).

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Bauer & Leander 1927, § 101; Rosenthal 1995, § 183; Nöldeke 1966, § 324; Nöldeke 1875, § 282; Kutscher 1971, p. 127; Kaufman 1997, p. 127; Coakley 2002, p. 37. See Kutty 2008, ch. 5, § 2 + notes; Gutman & Van Peursen [2011], Section ‘Clause syntax’, subsection ‘Verbal clauses and word order’.

<sup>7</sup> See Kutty 2008, ch. 5.

<sup>8</sup> For other dialects of Aramaic, see Buth 1987 (Imperial and Biblical Aramaic), p. xxiv; Kutty 2008 (Targum Aramaic), p. 300.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Carbajosa 2008, p. 22 gives the following standard constituent order, based on Peshitta Psalms 90–150: *verb + subject + direct object + indirect object + adverbial modifier*.

<sup>10</sup> That is, verbal clauses without other clauses embedded in them. On interrupted verbal clauses, see Section 2.6, below. As will be shown there, interrupted clauses without fronting are very rare.

VO and SO with each other results in an overall preference for the VSO sequence. The scheme below lists the exact data, with the preferred orders printed in bold. As can be seen under points 1b and 2b, the preference for VO over OV is especially notable, the other ratios showing a more modest bias.

1. Clauses containing V, S and O (25 cases):

a. permutations of all three elements:

VSO: 5 (20%)

**VOS: 9** (36%)

**SVO: 9** (36%)

SOV: 2 (8%)

OVS: 0 (0%)

OSV: 0 (0%)

b. permutations of two elements:

**VS: 14** (56%)      SV: 11 (44%)

**VO: 23** (92%)      OV: 2 (8%)

**SO: 16** (64%)      OS: 9 (36%)

2. Clauses containing only two out of the three elements (133 cases):

a. Clauses containing only V and S (55 cases):

**VS: 35** (63.64%)      SV: 20 (36.36%)

b. Clauses containing only V and O (78 cases):

**VO: 69** (88.46%)      OV: 9 (11.54%)

Notwithstanding the general VSO preference, the data show that there are nevertheless many occasions in which this prevalent constituent order is abandoned. Not only does the order of constituents after the verb deviate from the standard order (VOS), but constituents can even move to the other side of the verb (SVO, SOV and OVS). It is interesting to investigate what might be the underlying reasons for such deviations: are they perhaps motivated syntactically, or rather semantically or pragmatically?

Of special interest is the movement of constituents to the other side of the verb, a phenomenon known as *fronting*.<sup>11</sup> Since in the standard order no constituents (except for conjunctions) occur before the verb, the question is relevant as to when and why certain constituents do get fronted. In the study of Biblical Hebrew, Walter Groß and Christo van der Merwe have addressed this question from the perspective of the *Vorfeld* or preverbal field.<sup>12</sup> Their approach proved to be very useful in Hebrew studies, but to the best of my knowledge no-one has ever attempted to apply their approach to Classical Syriac. In this chapter I will try to analyze the behaviour of the clause constituents that occur in the preverbal field in BLC. As we will see, this approach is a fruitful way to address various aspects of Syriac clause structure, such as the marking of pragmatic roles, participant activation, negation, etc.

### 1.2 Pragmatic markedness: theme and rheme

In many languages, fronting is a formal device to indicate that a constituent has a marked status, as opposed to the unmarked status of constituents that occur in their standard position.<sup>13</sup> For Syriac, that would mean that the standard constituent order VSO is unmarked, whereas all other sequences are to a certain extent marked.

Generally, markedness has a pragmatic value, in that it serves to indicate an element that belongs to the *theme* or the *rheme* of the clause. There is

<sup>11</sup> Fronting is not to be confused with extraposition. While the two phenomena are closely related in that they both show the occurrence of one or more constituents before the verb, the difference is that extraposition (also referred to as dislocated, or *casus pendens* construction) is characterized by pronominal *resumption*: the extraposed constituent is repeated in the form of a (personal or demonstrative) pronoun: ܠܫܝܘܘܬܝ ܠܫܝܘܘܬܝ *the cloud, I saw it*. This resumptive pronoun is lacking when fronting is at play: ܠܫܝܘܘܬܝ ܠܫܝܘܘܬܝ *the cloud, I saw*. See Khan 1988, p. xxvi; Van der Merwe 1999, pp. 337–339. In the Turgama model the two constructions are analyzed in two radically different ways: a fronted constituent is analyzed as a regular constituent at a non-typical position in one and the same clause, whereas an extraposed element is assigned a clause atom separate from that containing the resumption.

<sup>12</sup> As a part of the *Stellungfeldermodell*: Groß 1996, p. 44f; 2001; see also Van der Merwe 1999, Chapter 7.

<sup>13</sup> Van Hecke 2005, p. 60.

quite some variety in the use and definition of these terms,<sup>14</sup> but I use them in the sense of the two pragmatic parts, or areas, into which every (non-elliptic) clause can be divided. Basically, the theme contains the information which the clause is 'about'. The theme is the information that the 'speaker' (writer) assumes or portrays to be known by the 'listener' (reader); the rheme is the information that is given about the theme. In short: the theme is the given information, the rheme is the added or asserted information.<sup>15</sup> The difference can often be checked by rephrasing a clause into the statement 'Regarding x, y is the case', where x is the theme and y is the rheme.

A theme or rheme can be carried by a single clause constituent, or by a set of constituents. In the latter case, it is often possible to further divide the theme or rheme into a 'core'; i.e., its most salient part, and a 'periphery'; i.e., the lesser salient part(s). Often it is the core which is indicated by marking.

### 1.3 *Participant activation*

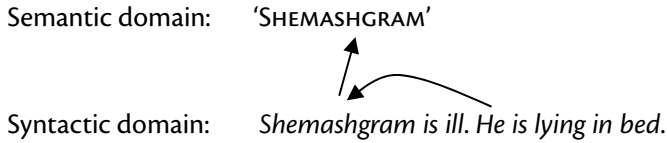
Cross-linguistically, clause constituents tend to show a certain correlation between their formal aspects and their pragmatic function as a theme or rheme; more specifically, between their *phrase type* and their type of *participant activation*. Each theme or rheme refers to a certain entity, or concept, in the semantic domain, also known as a discourse *participant*.<sup>16</sup> This term is not only confined to concrete, animate partakers in the discourse, but to any concept, concrete or abstract, that might be the subject of conversation.

<sup>14</sup> Quite a number of different terms are in use for these two pragmatic parts of a clause: instead of 'theme' we encounter terms such as 'topic' and 'logical subject'; other terms for 'rheme' are 'comment', 'focus', 'logical predicate', etc. In some approaches these terms are synonymous, in others they are not. For instance, the label 'focus' can be equivalent to 'rheme', whereas elsewhere it can refer to an element which is *marked*, either a theme or rheme. To avoid confusion, I have chosen not to use the common labels 'topic' and 'focus', but to employ the more traditional terms of the Prague school.

<sup>15</sup> Payne 2004, p. 271; 267; Van Hecke 2005, p.53f; Baasten 2006, pp. 30–34.

<sup>16</sup> See De Regt 1991–1992; 1999. The participant can alternatively be labeled 'discourse theme', but I choose not to use that term, to avoid confusion with the clausal theme.

The type of reference to a participant depends on whether or not it is referred to for the first time in the narrative. If so, the reference is a direct one: the theme or rheme that expresses the semantic concept refers to it directly. If not (i.e., the concept has already been referred to earlier in the narrative), the reference is indirect. An example should clarify the difference. Consider, for instance, the narrative *Shemashgeram is ill. He is lying in bed*:



In the first of these two sentences, the theme (*Shemashgeram*) refers directly to the participant 'SHEMASHGRAM' located in the semantic domain (depicted by the leftmost arrow). The theme in the second sentence (*He*) refers to the same concept, but not directly: it first refers back to the theme in the first sentence (the right arrow), which in turn refers to the initial semantic concept (the left arrow).<sup>17</sup>

The directness of reference stands in relation to the *discourse activeness* of the participant, i.e., its amount of prominence in the short-term memory of the addressee / reader / listener. From the moment it is expressed, a participant becomes active. In subsequent clauses, its activeness can either be continued (i.e., the participant remains the same), or taken over by another participant. In the latter case the discourse activeness of the initial participant drops, and keeps decreasing as new participants are activated after it, gradually fading out of the short-term memory of the addressee. The initial participant can be made fully active again by re-mentioning it.

There are, therefore, basically three ways in which the theme or rheme can activate a participant:

1. *Introduction*: the participant is mentioned for the first time in the discourse;

<sup>17</sup> The act of reference does not have to be performed by an explicit clause constituent: especially in the activation type of continuation, the participant may be represented merely by the inflection of the verb.

2. *Reactivation*: the participant was introduced earlier on in the discourse, but it has been rendered less active by the subsequent activation of other participants;

3. *Continuation*: the participant was last mentioned shortly before (typically in the immediately preceding clause) without any intervening participants: it is therefore still fully active.

These types of activation can be performed either by the theme or by the rheme. During its period of activeness, one and the same participant can be 'carried' by themes as well as by rhemes, or a combination of both.<sup>18</sup>

An example may serve to illustrate the principle of the three activation types. In the narrative outlined in Table 1, below, the themes of clauses a–d (underlined) show a participant activation sequence 1; 1; 3; 2. In clause a, participant A ('BOB') is introduced, and thereby made discourse active. That activeness, however, is diminished in clause b, where the theme introduces a new participant B ('BOB'S GIRLFRIEND') which then becomes the most active participant. It remains equally active in clause c, where it is continued by the theme 'She'. Finally, clause d decreases the activeness of participant B by reactivating participant A.

<sup>18</sup> In total, the following continuation sequences can occur:

- theme–theme: The king is ill. He is lying in bed.
- rheme–rheme: Is the king ill? Yes, he is ill.
- rheme–theme: The king is ill. That is bad news.

A fourth sequence would be 'theme–rheme' continuation, but this does not seem to be a logical possibility. Most likely this is due to the above-mentioned trait of a rheme, that it provides either *new* or *asserted* information. The combination of those two factors virtually eliminates the possibility of a rheme continuing a participant activated by a theme. For information to be new, it must not already be activated in the previous clause, as is the case in continuation. For information to be asserted, it must have been introduced or reactivated by the rheme of the previous clause (since it is by default the information *about* the theme of that clause which is to be asserted), not its theme.

TABLE 1: A sequence of participant activation types

CLAUSE	ACTIVE PARTICIPANT	ACTIVATION TYPE
a. <i>Bob</i> is coming home.	A ('BOB')	1: introduction of participant A
b. <i>His girlfriend</i> is watching TV.	B ('BOBS GIRLFRIEND')	1: introduction of participant B
c. <i>She</i> is eating crisps.	B	3: continuation of participant B
d. <i>Bob</i> rings the doorbell.	A	2: reactivation of participant A

The three activation types vary in 'strength'; i.e., the amount of increase in activeness they cause. Introduction is the strongest activation type: since a participant that is introduced for the first time has no earlier mentionings in the discourse, its mentioning effects a sudden jump in activeness from zero to a hundred percent. Continuation, on the other hand, is the lightest type of activation: there is virtually no difference in the activeness of the participant between the instances of its mentioning. Finally, reactivation can have a strength that varies from anywhere near zero to anywhere near a hundred percent, depending on how long ago the participant was activated for the last time and/or how many intervening participants there are.

This is where the formal aspects of a clause constituent and its pragmatic functions become clear: the stronger the activation type, the more explicitly the constituent that the theme or rheme expresses needs to be indicated. Concretely, introduction and reactivation are most often expressed by means of a nominal phrase, whereas continuation tends to be expressed in the form of either a pronominal phrase (since the reference scope of a pronoun is very limited, i.e. it typically refers back to an element which is still discourse active) or by being left implicit.<sup>19</sup>

Because of these and similar close connections between the act of participant activation and its formal implications, the following survey of fronting will focus strongly on its pragmatic aspects.

<sup>19</sup> The activeness of a participant is an important factor in the notion of 'participant tracking': see e.g., De Regt 1991–1992; 1999.

### 1.4 *The clause constituents that can be fronted*

Before we can investigate the aspects of fronting, we need to distinguish between those circumstances where fronting is optional and those where it is obligatory, i.e., where the rules of the language demand it. The location of a conjunction, for instance, is not optional, but imposed by the rules of the language. The occurrence of a conjunction or connective adverb (see Chapter 3, Section 1.3.2.11) before the verb is not the result of its movement out of the main field, and it is therefore not an indication of pragmatic marking. A similarly imposed position at the beginning of a clause is occupied by constituents containing an interrogative element: interrogative pronouns (such as *who* *مَنْ* and *which* *أَيُّهَا*), interrogatives (e.g., *where* *أَيْنَ*) and adverbs functioning as such (*how much* *كَمْ*, *how* *كَيْفَ*, etc.). Conjunctive and interrogative constituents, therefore, are to be excluded from the investigation of fronting behaviour.

We should not confuse these constituents, which *must* always be fronted, with clause constituents that *happen* to always be fronted in the corpus at hand. An example is the adjunct *only, solely* *فقط*, etc. In BLC, all occurrences of this word (twelve in total) occur before the verb. There is no compelling linguistic rule, however, that strictly forbids *فقط* to be located after the verb: there just happens to be a strong tendency towards the position before the verb. For this reason, cases like these do count as fronting and will be duly treated in the following survey.

A category that should be disregarded when describing fronting would be that of constituents which *never* occur before the verb. In BLC, however, there are no constituents that belong to this category. In other words: in BLC, all constituents other than those mentioned above can be located either in the main field or in the preverbal field. These constituents are the following:

- **Subject:** a nominal or pronominal constituent (NP, PPrP, DPrP); the head may be empty (see Chapter 3, Section 2.1.1, subsection 'NPs with empty heads');
- **(Direct) object:** a nominal or pronominal constituent; may be embedded in a PP with *-ا*; the head may again be empty;

- **Complement:** a nominal or pronominal constituent which is an argument of the predicate, other than the subject or object. It includes the indirect object. It may be embedded in a PP.

- **Adjunct:** a clause constituent which is not an argument of the predicate, and hence is optional. It may or may not be *subject* or *object oriented*, i.e., describing a state or quality of the subject or object. Adjuncts include the subcategories temporal adjunct, locative adjunct and figurative adjunct, which are treated separately.

- **Modifier:** a constituent which is not an argument of the predicate, and which modifies (i.e., functions as an adverbial to) another clause constituent, or an entire clause.

Of the roughly 365 verbal clauses in BLC, the majority (about 275 cases, or approximately 75%) have an empty preverbal field. The remaining clauses (about 90 cases, or 25%) have one or more of the abovementioned constituents in fronted position. It is the latter category that will be described in detail in the following sections. I will investigate the different constituents which can be fronted, as well as the possible pragmatic functions which the fronting may have.

### 1.5 Methodological approach and structure of the chapter

For the research presented in the present chapter I have made a number of methodological decisions that may require some clarification. The most important of these is the treatment of verbal clauses that contain an EPP (or in negative clauses, the negator  $\neg_{\text{om}}$   $\Delta$ ), also known as ‘pseudo-cleft’ sentences<sup>20</sup>, in the same way as clauses that do not employ an EPP or  $\Delta$   $\neg_{\text{om}}$ . This treatment implies that I do not consider these particles as elements that entirely restructure the syntactic framework of the clause, but rather as particles that tend to function as a rheme marker. By choosing this approach I do not wish to deny the diachronical validity of the ‘pseudo-cleft’ analysis, but rather to indicate that from a synchronic point of view, in the stage of Syriac at hand, this analysis is no longer necessary to account for the presence of the EPP or  $\neg_{\text{om}}$   $\Delta$ .

<sup>20</sup> Also referred to as ‘imperfectly-transformed cleft sentences’, see Goldenberg 1977.

Another decision is to address fronted constituents regardless of the presence of other clause constituents, whether those be fronted or not. In a separate section I will investigate the simultaneous fronting of multiple clause constituents, and their interaction. This treatment will necessarily result in certain examples from BLC being treated at several different locations in the chapter. For example, a clause that has a fronted subject and a fronted object theoretically belongs to three different categories: 1. clauses with a fronted subject, 2. clauses with a fronted object, and 3. clauses with a fronted subject and object. This apparent redundancy is justified by the fact that each treatment of a specific example focuses on a different feature.

Taking these decisions into account, the structure of this chapter is as follows. First, I will investigate the separate clause constituent types that can be fronted, in relation to the way in which they mark the emphatic roles (Sections 2.1–2.5). A separate section is devoted to fronted constituents in interrupted clauses, including a survey on the relation between interruption and fronting (Section 2.6). Next, cases with multiple fronted constituents are treated (in continuous as well as interrupted clauses) (Section 2.7), followed by a survey on the relative order in which the multiple fronted constituents are attested (Section 2.7.2). Section 2.8 treats fronting in negative clauses. Finally, Section 3 is devoted to the possible formal characteristics of syntactic structure which may be connected with fronting, the marking of pragmatic roles and participant activation.

## 2. FRONTED CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

As explained above, I will examine the behaviour of fronted clause constituents in the light of the pragmatic roles they represent; i.e., whether they belong to the theme or the rheme, and which types of participant activation (introduction, reactivation or continuation) they perform. To determine those factors, I will make use of the context. Especially in written language, where matters of prosody and such are lacking to help us disambiguate between different possible interpretations, the context is the only reliable tool we have to solve the matter. In the following inventarisation of fronted constituents, therefore, I will refrain from using formal structures as an indication to determine which pragmatic functions are expressed. Only in

Section 3, below, will I try to investigate whether those pragmatic aspects can be associated with specific formal characteristics.

Relying solely on the context is to some extent a speculative approach, so in order to minimize the subjective element, a number of general guidelines will be followed. In determining what is the theme and what is the rheme, we can rephrase the description given in Section 1.2, above, into the following guideline:

If the constituent at hand conveys new or asserted information about the remaining part of the clause, the former will most likely be the rheme, and the latter the theme.

This guideline applies in a mutually exclusive manner: if an element does not belong to the theme, it must therefore be part of the rheme, and vice versa. This is helpful in cases where positive identification of the theme or rheme is problematic: if the pragmatic role of a certain part of the clause is unclear, but we do know that of another part of the clause, we can identify the former by induction.

The guidelines for determining the participant activation type can be put more concretely:

- If the participant expressed by the constituent at hand was not mentioned (or implied) earlier in the text, its activation type is introduction;
- If it was mentioned earlier, but other participants have been activated in the meantime, then the activation type is reactivation;
- If the participant was mentioned earlier without the intervention of other participants (which is mostly the case when it occurs in the immediately preceding clause) the activation type is continuation.

Despite these guidelines, there will be circumstances where the information provided by the context is insufficient, as we will indeed observe to be the case.

## 2.1 Fronted subject

There are 43 verbal clauses<sup>21</sup> in BLC that have a fronted subject, as opposed to 50 clauses with the subject in the main field ( $\pm 46\% - 54\%$ ).

The fronted subject can consist of a pronoun phrase (PPrP, DPrP or IPrP) or an NP.<sup>22</sup> The subject consisting of a PPrP is not expressed in the unfronted order (i.e. it never occurs after the verb: \* $\text{om } \text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ), but it is when it is fronted. In other words, in the unfronted order the inflection of the verb suffices to indicate its subject. Only if there is a (pragmatic or other) reason to put the subject before the verb, the pronoun is used. It follows from what I have explained in Section 1.3, above, that in these cases fronting does not serve to introduce or reactivate a participant (because then we would not expect a pronoun), but rather to continue a discourse-active participant. Non-pronominal subjects, on the other hand, can occur both before and after the verb (the latter being the most common).

TABLE 2: The subject in fronted and unfronted positions

	<i>unfronted</i>	<i>fronted</i>
PPrP subject	verb – $\emptyset$ : $\emptyset \text{ h}^{\text{h}}$	subject – verb: $\text{h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}}$
non-PPrP subject	verb – subject: $\text{h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}}$	subject – verb: $\text{h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}}$

It follows that all occurrences in BLC (in verbal as well as non-verbal clauses) of subjects that consist of a personal pronoun are fronted. In total,

<sup>21</sup> These include twelve interrupted clauses, some of which will be treated separately in Section 2.6, below.

<sup>22</sup> As stated above, the subject may also consist of an empty head with extension(s) (see Chapter 3, Section 2.1.1, subsection ‘NPs with empty heads’). Such constructions, too, may be fronted; e.g., 44:1–2  $\text{h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}} \text{ h}^{\text{h}}$  *Some of these Persian(s)* (the word in the manuscript lacks *syame*: see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection ‘Diacritics’) *have left*, where the fronted subject consists of an empty head extended with the two PPs  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  and  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ . (If the extension to a fronted head is an RC, the result is an interrupted clause: see Section 2.6, below.)

there are 36 such cases, as opposed to 518 subjects (fronted as well as non-fronted) that consist of one of the other possible phrase types, resulting in a ratio of 6.5% – 93.5%.

### 2.1.1 Fronted subject expressing the theme

In the majority of clauses with a fronted subject, the subject expresses the theme. All three participant activation types are represented; although continuation is the most frequent.

#### Introduction

There is only one case of introduction by a fronted subject theme:

4:8-9 ל אומ רמז רמז ל רמז *Awida here said to us.*

Here, the subject רמז רמז (interrupted by the ‘second place’ direct speech marker ל) introduces the participant ‘AWIDA’ as one of the persons present here for the first time in the discourse.

#### Reactivation

There are six cases where the fronted subject theme expresses reactivation, e.g.:

8:12 אם יבין משה *and he will hear something more.*

The subject אם refers to ‘AWIDA’, which was last activated six clause atoms earlier, by the subject רמז in 8:10 כי לא יאמין *Now because Awida does not want to believe...* The participant then is deactivated by a number of intermediate participants, before it is reactivated in the present clause.<sup>23</sup>

10:12 כי לא יבין *God, however, in His goodness did not want...*

The participant of the subject רמז, ‘GOD’, was activated for the last time 25 clause atoms earlier in 10:1-2 כי לא יבין *as to why God did not create us*, and has been replaced by many subsequent participants.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Note that the object (יבין) in this clause is fronted as well: see Section 2.7, below, on this.

Note that the subject is followed by the connective adverb *וְ*, which, as we will see, often seems to indicate that the fronted constituent preceding it is a (reactivating) theme (see Section 3.2, below).

12:21-22 *וְכַדּוֹת אֱלֹהִים רַבּוֹת לְפָנֵינוּ כִּי אֱלֹהִים רַבּוֹת לְפָנֵינוּ* that God's goodness is abundant towards man.

The participant of the fronted subject *אֱלֹהִים רַבּוֹת* God's goodness was not activated earlier in the exact same wordings, but in 10:12 there is mentioning of His *שְׂדֵדוֹתָּא* sweetness, which can be considered synonymous to *רַבּוֹתָּא*. Hence, this is a case of reactivation.

Note that this clause is a pseudo-cleft clause, a structure typically associated with rheme fronting.<sup>25</sup> However, here it is not the rheme that is fronted, but the theme. See Section 3.1.3, subsection 'EPP and *אֶת* *וְ*', below, for further discussion.

56:6 *וְאִם כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים אִם כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים* if the laws were of the climates.

The participant 'LAW' (in the singular) was activated for the last time 12 clause atoms earlier (56:1 *וְהֵיוּ כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים* they have kept to the law of their forefathers), but the context indicates that the present mentioning refers to 'LAWS' in the plural, the last mentioning of which was in 54:13-15 *וְאִם כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים אִם כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים*: *וְאִם כִּי הָיוּ הַמִּשְׁכָּנִים* yet in each of the parts many laws are found that differ from each other.

### Continuation

There are six cases where the fronted theme expresses continuation. These include the following:

4:10 *וְהוֹרֵא לְפָנֵינוּ אֱלֹהִים* and He has created man.

The subject *אֱלֹהִים* continues the participant 'GOD', activated by *אֱלֹהִים* in the previous same-level clause.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Here, too, a second constituent is fronted along with the subject; in this case an adjunct. See Section 2.7, below.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Van Peursen 2007, ch. 24 (pp. 372-377).

<sup>26</sup> With 'same-level clause' I refer to a clause that lies on the same syntactic level. The construction in this case, namely, is *אֱלֹהִים || אֱלֹהִים רַבּוֹת לְפָנֵינוּ || אֱלֹהִים רַבּוֹת לְפָנֵינוּ*

6:1 *that they ask you whatever they want.*

Here the subject *they* continues the participant 'THEY' activated in the previous clause 6:1 *but that you convince them.*

12:14-15 *and he can justify himself.*

The subject *he* is the final step in a long continuation string that starts with the participant 'MAN' activated by *in* in 12:9-10 || *but those things which are destined to serve are in the power of man*, and which is continued (implicitly and explicitly) nine times in the intermediate clauses 12:10-14 *because he was created in the image of Elohim; therefore these things have been given to him out of goodness, that they should serve him for a while. And it has been given to him that he can behave according to his free will, and that he can do whatever he wants, or not do it if he does not want.*

There are a number of cases that are similar to continuation but rather seem to belong to subcategories of it. These involve the following:

• *Recapitulation*

58:19-20 *these, however, are not of the power of man.*

The theme *these* does not refer back to a single participant but to a set of four participants summed up in the previous sentence: *while on that day they too beget children and are born, fall ill and die.* The activation type, therefore, is best described as recapitulation, which could be considered a subcategory of reactivation or of continuation.

• *Direct speech continuation*

There is another case of continuation that may belong to a special category, because it involves an utterance in direct speech:

*if God is one, as you say, and He has created man...* The embedded clause *if God is one, as you say, and He has created man...* does not really affect the activeness of the participant 'GOD'.

4:17 *Awida said: 'I, my master, asked these peers (of mine).'*'

The theme of the introductory clause (حَمِيدَا) and that of the clause in direct speech (أَنَا) clearly have the same semantic participant 'AWIDA'. It seems incorrect, however, to treat this construction as a normal case of continuation, since the activation of the participant occurs on two different levels in the discourse: that of the narrator (i.e., the composer of the text) and that of the speaker (Awida). For the narrator, the participant is someone other than himself, but for the speaker the participant is himself. It is this switch from third to first person reference that makes cases like these different from normal continuation (i.e., within the same discourse level), where the reference does never switch between persons. It is appropriate, therefore, to assign cases like these a special subcategory of continuation, e.g., 'direct speech continuation.'

· *Narrowing of reference scope*

44:1-2 *some of these Persians have left.*

The subject expresses a type of activation that resembles continuation or activation, but with a special feature: it refers back to a participant and makes a selection out of it: it 'narrows down' the scope of the participant from a group, 'THE PERSIANS', to a smaller group: 'SOME OF THE PERSIANS'.

*Nonspecific participant*

There is also a category of themes that does not seem to express any of the three activation types, which appears to be due to their intrinsic quality of having a nonspecific, 'vague' participant: *somebody*, *something*, etc.<sup>28</sup> The same characteristics seem to apply to participants that express a category or group: *all people*, *most people*, etc. For fronted subjects, there are six such cases:

<sup>27</sup> The word *somebody* lacks *syame* in the manuscript, but it is obvious from the context that it is to be read as a plural noun. See Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3, subsection 'Diacritics'.

<sup>28</sup> There is no special tendency for these 'vague' words to occur in the preverbal field: cases like 4:6-7 *that we were discussing something before him*; 6:5-6 *that somebody should know*, etc. show that they can occur in the main field as well.

- 20:4 *לְכָל־אָדָם יֵרָאֵה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה* *that everybody will see his deed;*  
 20:10-11 *אָמַרְתָּ אֲשֶׁר יֵרָאֵה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה* *but maybe somebody will say;*  
 20:25-22:1 *אִם־כָּל־אָדָם יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־עֲמָלָם* *if all people were doing one work;*  
 30:5 *אִם־רַב־הָעָם יִשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־קוֹלִי* *that the majority of people would want;*  
 46:22-23 *אִם־יִשְׁכַּח אִישׁ אֶת־נֶפְשׁוֹ וְיָרֶם אִישׁ אֶת־עֵינָיו אֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם* *if, however, somebody is condemned as someone who sleeps with men;*  
 60:24-25 *אִם־יָבֹא־לָנוּ מָה־לֵּךְ* *if nothing comes in our hands.*

A possible exception might be the following case, where a nonspecific theme does seem to reactivate or continue an earlier nonspecific theme:

- 20:1-2 *אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׂנֵאֵם אִישׁ אֶת־עַמּוֹתָם לֹא־יִשְׁמַח* *however, for somebody not to provoke and revile whom he hates is not easy.*

Here, the theme *איש* is a repetition of *איש* in the preceding sentence 18:25-20:1 *אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׂמַח אִישׁ אֶת־עַמּוֹתָם לֹא־יִשְׂנֵאֵם* *for somebody to honour and bless whom he loves is easy*. It could be that the same ‘somebody’ is referred to here twice, which would make this a case of reactivation or continuation. On the other hand, it is equally possible that two different ‘somebodies’ are meant: there is no way to be sure.

### 2.1.2 Fronted subject expressing the rheme

There are only a few cases where the fronted subject marks the rheme. In most of these cases the identification of the rheme has been performed inductively (see the guidelines formulated in Section 2, above): it is evident which part is the theme, therefore we can induce what is the rheme.

#### Reactivation

- 22:2 *אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׂמַח אִישׁ אֶת־עַמּוֹתָם לֹא־יִשְׂנֵאֵם* *that their nature leads them.*

Here, *איש* is the theme (continuing the participant ‘ALL PEOPLE’ activated in 20:25-22:1 *אִם־כָּל־אָדָם יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־עֲמָלָם* *if all people were doing one*

*deed*)<sup>29</sup>, hence the remaining part of the clause must belong to the rheme. This is confirmed by the fact that that part contains new information about the theme. As we can see, the rheme consists of two participants (the subject  $\text{ܘܡܡܘܨܐ}$  and the predicate  $\text{ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$ ): one of those constitutes the rheme core, the other its periphery (see Section 1.2, above). Relying purely on contextual information, one cannot tell for sure which one is which, since both elements provide information about the theme that is equally 'new'. The fact that  $\text{ܘܡܡܘܨܐ}$  is fronted, though, might be an indication that that element is meant to be the more salient part of the rheme. Additionally, the fact that this is a pseudo-cleft clause (see Section 3.1.3, subsection 'EPP and  $\text{ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$ ', below) can be an indication that  $\text{ܘܡܡܘܨܐ}$  is the rheme. This, however, is a formal aspect, which, as we explained in Section 2, above, will be disregarded as indicative of the identification of the theme or rheme.

26:22  $\text{ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  *such as I, too, have once loved it.*

The fronted subject  $\text{ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ}$  expresses a kind of reactivation that is slightly different from other cases, in that the participant which is activated is not an discourse-external entity, but is implicit in the fact that Bardaisan is the person speaking.

Note that the fronted subject is preceded by the adverb  $\text{ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  *also*. As we will see, this turns out to be an element that is heavily associated with fronting (see Sections 3.1.2 and 3.2, below).

### *Nonspecific participant*

There are four cases where the rheme performs nonspecific reference:

24:12-13  $\text{ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  *if someone says about any of them.*

The theme is the complement  $\text{ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$ , which means that the rheme is expressed by  $\text{ܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$ . Again, the rheme consists of two elements: the subject  $\text{ܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  and the verb  $\text{ܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$ . Since  $\text{ܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  is an element with a nonspecific participant, it seems unlikely that it represents the rheme core. This only leaves the verb as the candidate for the most salient part of the theme.

<sup>29</sup> Note that, although  $\text{ܘܚܒܘܢܐ}$  has a nonspecific participant (see Section 2.1.1, above), it is nevertheless possible for another element to activate it.

56:9-10 *حک || هجتي رلهه || لجتير نحصت رحتيه بختهم ج*  
*هتلايهتير how many wise men, do you think, have brought the laws*  
*from their countries?*

Here, the non-specificity of the fronted subject (*حک لجتير نحصت* *how many wise men*) is of a slightly different kind. Whereas it does seem to have a specific participant 'WISE MEN', the mere fact that it is the number of wise men that is asked for by means of the adverb *حک* makes the reference type indefinite. *حک* functions as an interrogative here, which suggests that the fronted subject to which it belongs is the rheme, since interrogatives by their nature form a natural rheme.<sup>30</sup> Note that the subject is split up by the interruptive clause *هجتي رلهه*: see Section 2.6.1, below on this.

The two remaining cases where the fronted subject expresses the rheme involve negation (See also Section 2.8, below):

42:15-16 *هله حقهك صنع رلي ه لجتير*  
*the Brahmans.*

Here, the theme is expressed by *لجتير*, reactivating the participant 'THE BRAHMANS' that was introduced in 42:2-3 *هت صا رلهه ر رلهه رلهه لجتير* Furthermore, among the Indians, the Brahmans have a law... The rheme, therefore, is expressed by *هله حقهك صنع رلي ه*. It consists of two different participants: the subject *هله حقهك صنع* and the verb *رلي ه*. The question, then, is which of these elements represents the most salient part of the rheme. Again it might be the element closest to the clause beginning, i.e., the negator.

42:16-17 *هله حقهك رلي رلهه رلهه لجتير*  
*encouraged the rest of the Indians.*

The object *رلهه رلهه لجتير* is the theme, performing an activation type similar to the 'narrowing down' described in Section 2.1.1, above.

<sup>30</sup> Van Peursen 2007, p. 375.

## 2.2 Fronted object

Of the 103 verbal clauses that contain an object, there are eleven cases ( $\pm 10\%$ ) where the object occurs in the preverbal field.<sup>31</sup> In contrast to the subject, the fronted object in the majority of cases marks the rheme instead of the theme.

### 2.2.1 Fronted object expressing the theme

In only three out of the eleven cases, the fronted object marks the theme. In all three cases it activates the participant by means of recapitulation (see Section 2.1.1, above):

38:23 *show this to me*

The object *show this to me* does not refer back to a single participant, but to an entire set of statements made in the preceding paragraph: 38:19–22 (Arabic text): *... (if we can show you) that the influence of the fates and the rulers is not equally distributed (lit. mixed) for all people, but that we have freedom over ourselves; that we are not submitted to physical nature and that the deeds of the rulers do not set us in motion.*

54:5 *us, our father Bardaisan, you have convinced of these things.*

Here, the reference scope of the object *us* is even larger, for it sums up the statements in the entire preceding passage where Bardaisan sums up the laws of the countries (40:16–54:4). More specifically, it refers to the conclusion made at the end of each description of a people, namely that the behaviour of that people cannot be explained by assuming that all its members have the same horoscope, for that would mean that they are all born at exactly the same moment, which they obviously are not.

58:16 *who have not received this law.*

<sup>31</sup> There are four additional cases where the object is expressed by an interrogative pronoun. Since, as I have explained in Section 4, above, interrogative elements are always located before the verb, they will not be included in the present survey.

The participant ‘THIS LAW’ recapitulates the entire previous passage that describes the law of the Jews, which they observe regardless of where in the world they are.

### 2.2.2 Fronted object expressing the rheme

In the majority of cases (eight out of the eleven cases), the fronted object marks the rheme. As in the previous section, identification of the rheme is primarily achieved by induction. The occurring participant activation types are introduction and reactivation. Also, there is a number of cases where the fronted rheme has a nonspecific participant.

#### Introduction

8:14 *וְהֵם לֹא קִבְּלוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם הַאֲמִתִּים וְהֵם לֹא קִבְּלוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם הַאֲמִתִּים and they have not received the knowledge from true wisdom*

Here, the theme ‘THEY’ is expressed implicitly by the inflection of the verb, meaning that the entire remaining clause expresses the rheme, including the fronted object. Which elements constitute this object is not entirely clear, however, since the syntactic function of the element *וְהֵם לֹא קִבְּלוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם הַאֲמִתִּים* from true wisdom is somewhat ambiguous: it may either be part of the object in the form of an extension to *אֶת הַחֵכֶם*, or it may be a separate clause constituent (an adjunct) apart from the object *אֶת הַחֵכֶם*. Either way, both sub-phrases belong to the rheme. See Sections 2.4.3.3 and 2.8, below, for more discussion on this case.

38:10-11 *עַתָּה אִם יָדָעְתָּ עֲשֵׂה נְכוֹן כֵּן עַתָּה אִם יָדָעְתָּ עֲשֵׂה נְכוֹן now if you could also demonstrate this.*

We might not expect *עַתָּה* to express introduction, since a demonstrative pronoun often refers back to something that has already been introduced earlier. In this case, however, it does not refer back, but forward: it functions as a placeholder for the immediately following subordinate clause 38:11-12 *כִּי אֵלֵינוּ בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים וְעַתָּה אִם יָדָעְתָּ עֲשֵׂה נְכוֹן that those who sin do not sin because of fate and the decree, which is in fact the real carrier of the theme.<sup>32</sup>*

<sup>32</sup> See Section 2.6.6, below, which treats a similar case of forward reference by means of a placeholder.



### 2.3.1 Fronted complement expressing the theme

#### Recapitulation

There are two occurrences of recapitulation by a fronted complement as the theme:

18:7-8 *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ לְעַלְמָא דְּלִיבָא* *who were not created for this good.*

The complement *לְעַלְמָא דְּלִיבָא* *for this good* refers to the ability to feel the joy of acting rightly and avoiding wrong behaviour, described in the preceding clauses (18:3-7). Note that, whereas this clause is pseudo-cleft, which is generally assumed to mark the rheme, here it is the theme which is marked. See also Section 3.1.3, subsection 'EPP and *לְעַלְמָא דְּלִיבָא*', below.

26:10 *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ לְעַלְמָא דְּלִיבָא* || *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* *for behold, from this it shows...*

The complement *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* refers back to the preceding passage (24:22-26:10), where Bardaisan explains that man is not judged by the traits that belong to his nature, but by the things he does out of his own free will.

#### Continuation

In four cases, the activation type is that of continuation, e.g.:

8:18 *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* *on which they can hope.*

The complement *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* refers back to the participant 'CONFIDENCE', introduced in the immediately preceding clause 8:17-18 *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* *and they do not have the confidence*, to which the present clause is relative.

It is interesting to note that the relative clause before this one has the same structure, except for the fact that the complement is located after the verb instead of before it: 8:16-17 || *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ* *for they do not have the foundation of faith on which they can build*. It seems that the fronting of the complement in the case at hand is not so much the result of pragmatic marking as it is of literary freedom.

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript does not have a *א* before *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְדָּקוּ*, but contextually it is desirable to read it, as most of the editors have noted.

22:19 *so that it can feed from it in winter.*

The complement *from it* refers to the participant 'FOOD SUPPLY', introduced in the preceding clause 22:18-19 *and the ant gathers a food supply in the summer.*

### 2.3.2 Fronted complement expressing the rheme

There are eight cases where the fronted complement expresses the rheme. The activation types that occur are introduction and continuation.

#### Introduction

4:17 *I, my master, asked these peers (of mine).*

There are two fronted constituents here. The theme is expressed by the fronted subject *I*, referring to the speaker, Awida, whereas the rheme is carried by the fronted complement *asked these peers*, introducing the other pupils present at the scene, two of which are later identified as Philippus and Bar Yama.

12:13 *that he can behave according to his free will.*

The theme, referring to 'MAN' (activated in 12:10), is implicitly expressed by the inflection of *behave*. The rheme consists of two parts: *according to his free will* and *behave*. Since it is fronted, it is likely that the former is the rheme core.

24:17 *(and there are some) who behaved in chastity and in modesty.*

As is common for a relative clause where the theme has the same participant as that of its matrix clause (in this case 'some people', expressed implicitly by the empty-headed subject<sup>36</sup> of the preceding clause atom *there are some who...* etc.) this theme is not expressed by an explicit constituent, but only by the inflection of the verb. This means that in this example, the entire clause consists of the rheme. It consists of three separate

<sup>36</sup> See chapter 3, Section 2.1.1, subsection 'NPs with empty heads'.



tive adjunct, and a rest category which might be dubbed figurative adjunct. These three types will be treated separately below.

### 2.4.1 Temporal adjunct

Temporal adjuncts express a moment or period in time. They can consist of an NP (e.g., 48:24 *לְאַרְבָּעֵי עָשָׂר יָמִים* (*for*) *fourteen days*), a PP (e.g., 52:4 *בַּלַּיְלָה* *at night*) or an AdvP (e.g., 34:11 *אָז* *then*).<sup>38</sup> There are 60 occurrences of a temporal adjunct in BLC. Eleven of those occur in a verbal clause;<sup>39</sup> in six of these eleven cases the temporal adjunct is located in the preverbal field.

The fronted temporal adjuncts in BLC have in common that their participant activation type is nonspecific: rather than referring to a specific entity or concept, they have the characteristic of 'setting the scene' for the statements expressed in the clause.<sup>40</sup> Examples include the following:

4:2 *בְּיָמֵינוּ* *Some days ago we were entering.*

The fronted temporal adjunct *בְּיָמֵינוּ* *some days ago* sets the scene for the following narrative: it explains when the discussion between Bardaisan and his pupils took place.

26:22 *כִּי אֲנִי וְכָל אֲנָשִׁים* *such as I, too, have once loved it.*

Here, the fronted temporal adjunct *כִּי* *once* is preceded by the additional fronted subject *אֲנִי*.

52:19 *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲנָשִׁים* *that they refrain from always taking countries;*

56:17 *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲנָשִׁים* *that recently the Romans have taken Arabia;*

<sup>38</sup> An AdvP consisting of a temporal adjunct can also combine with the conjunction *וְ* to introduce a temporal adjunct clause: *כִּי*, *אֲזַי*, *אֲזַי* *when*, *אֲזַי* *until*; etc. (see also Chapter 3, Section 2.11). Since this conjunctive use is associated with inter-clausal behaviour, it will not be discussed in the present chapter.

<sup>39</sup> This includes one case of a fronted temporal adjunct in an interrupted verbal clause: see Section 2.6, below.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g., Van Hecke 2005, p. 57 on Dik's pragmatic notion of 'Setting', applied to Biblical Hebrew. See also Buth 1987; Kutu 2008, p. 267.

58:13–14 אָר טאָג אַזאַל אָר טאָג אַזאַל אָר טאָג אַזאַל *that on the day of the Sabbath he will either judge and become justified, or judge and become guilty.*

Although *the day of the Sabbath* could be considered quite a specific participant, the context makes it clear that *any Sabbath* is meant, which makes the participant activation type nonspecific.

#### 2.4.2 Locative adjunct

A locative adjunct expresses a location, or direction, in space. It can be represented by a PP (e.g., 42:2 אַנטוּן אַנטוּן *among the Indians*) or an AdvP (e.g., 40:25 אַזאַל *there*).<sup>41</sup> In the present survey, only those cases where the spatial factor is to be taken literally are labelled as a locative adjunct. Figurative cases like 6:19 אַזאַל *in your mind* are not included here, but under the category of ‘figurative adjuncts’ (see Section 2.4.3, below).

In BLC, there are 78 occurrences of a locative adjunct.<sup>42</sup> Thirteen of those occur in a verbal clause. Only three of these occur in the preverbal field:

54:24–25 אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל *that not only in the region of Persia did they take their daughters and their sisters;*

58:20–21 אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל *in Syria, namely<sup>43</sup> in Edessa, they used to cut off their masculinity for Tar‘ata;*

<sup>41</sup> There is also one occurrence where a locative adjunct seems to be expressed by an NP: 48:12–13 אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל *the house of Saturn and in the borders of Mars and in the constellations of the west*. It is reasonable, however, to follow Nau 1907 and Drijvers in proposing to read אַזאַל *in the house* here. See also Chapter 3, Section 2.1.2.4, subsection ‘Cases with parallel heads’, note 106. As with temporal adjuncts (see note 38, above), a locative adjunct can also combine with conjunction -אָ to introduce a locative adjunct clause; e.g., 58:8 אַזאַל *where...*

<sup>42</sup> This includes one case of a fronted locative adjunct in an interrupted clause: see Section 2.6, below. There is also a possible 79<sup>th</sup> occurrence which has not been included in this inventarisation, since it occurs, barely readable, in one of the two locations in the manuscript that have been erased (46:4–48:2, manuscript fol. 137vb; see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2). Since we can infer from the Greek and Latin versions that this passage deals with the laws of the Greeks, it is quite likely that the text once read אַזאַל *among the Greeks*; i.e., a locative adjunct. Since, however, we cannot be sure of the exact reading of this passage, this occurrence has not been counted.

58:25-60:1 *ܡܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ* *which in all places and all regions the Messiah has established in His coming.*

In the first of these three occurrences, the fronted locative represents the rheme; in the second, it represents the theme. The third seems to express a less salient part of the rheme.

### 2.4.3 *Figurative adjunct*

Figurative adjuncts form a category that contains all adjuncts which are not literally temporal or locative in meaning. This includes constructions like e.g., 8:2 *ܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ* *from my mind*, 10:16 *ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ* *in some respect*; 38:14 *ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ* *because of this*, etc. In addition, the adjunct may be subject or object oriented; i.e., describing a state or quality of the subject or object rather than that of the verb.

In BLC, there are approximately 190 clauses containing a figurative adjunct. 43 of these occur in a verbal clause, seventeen of which are fronted.<sup>44</sup> The fronted adjunct can express the theme or the rheme.

#### 2.4.3.1 *Fronted figurative adjunct expressing the theme*

In seven cases, the fronted adjunct expresses the theme. There is one case of introduction:

##### *Introduction*

10:13-14 *ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ* *but in freedom He has raised him above many things.*

Here for the first time in the discourse the concept of 'FREEDOM' is introduced, expressed here by the fronted theme *ܕܡܫܝܚܐ*.

##### *Reactivation*

In one case the activation type is reactivation:

12:23-24 *ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܢܐ* *for in freedom he will justify himself.*

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 2, note 22.

<sup>44</sup> This includes three cases of interrupted clauses. See Section 2.6, below.

The theme *אֱלֹהִים* refers to 'FREEDOM', activated in 12:22 *אֱלֹהִים* *אֱלֹהִים* and he is given freedom, but reduced in its activeness by a couple of interruptive subordinate clauses, 12:22-23 *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* || *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* || *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* more than to all these elements about which we were talking.

#### Recapitulation

In three cases the activation type is that of recapitulation:

4:13 *וְכַל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* for hereby His will would be fulfilled.

The DPrP *אֲנִי* refers to the preceding question of Awida, why God has not created man in such a way that he could not sin (4:9-13). Note that *אֲנִי* is followed by the second-place connective adverb *כִּי*: see Section 3.2, below for discussion.

12:11 *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* because of this, these things have been given to him in goodness.

In this case *אֲנִי* refers to the immediately preceding sentence 12:10-11 *אֲנִי* *אֲנִי* because he was created in the image of Elohim.

12:20-22 *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* || *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* because of this, it will be clear to you that God's goodness is abundant towards man.

Here, *אֲנִי* refers to the major part of the entire preceding statement, where Bardaisan explains that people are not mere instruments, but that they have a free will of their own (10:1-12:20).

#### 2.4.3.2 Fronted figurative adjunct expressing the rheme

Cases where a fronted figurative adjunct expresses the rheme include the following:

22:1 *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* and were thinking in one mind.

The theme, referring back to *אֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ* all people in the previous clause is only expressed by the inflection of the predicate *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְנוּ*. This means that the rest of the clause consists of the rheme, including the adjunct *אֲנִי*



## 2.5 Fronted modifier

In the Turgama model, a modifier is a constituent that semantically specifies another constituent, to which it acts as an adverbial. Modifiers are invariably expressed by an AdvP (occasionally embedded in a PP).

In a clause, the constituent being modified is often the verb, in which case the mode of action of that verb is specified (as in 12:24 *וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* and he shall behave godly, where *אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* is the modifier of the verb *וְהָיָה*). However, any other clause constituent can be the recipient of modification (e.g., 6:18 *אִם יִשְׁאַלְךָ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים אֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר מַה לְּךָ לֵדָע* || *אִם יִשְׁאַלְךָ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים אֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר מַה לְּךָ לֵדָע* if only this matter you want to know, where the adverb *אִם* modifies the preceding object *מַה לְּךָ לֵדָע*). Alternatively, the scope of a modifier can be an entire clause, in which case it functions as an operator comparable to clause negation (see Section 2.8, below).<sup>45</sup> In a way similar to negation, it is not always possible to deduce from the context what the exact scope of a modifier is: the verb, another constituent or the complete clause.

A typical trait of a modifier is that it does not really perform any kind of participant activation. This is inherent in its characteristic that it does not so much refer to an entity or concept, but rather to a state of affairs. Very much like temporal and locative adjuncts (see Section 2.4, above), modifiers can be described as elements that express ‘setting’, the typical position of which is generally at the beginning of a clause.<sup>46</sup>

There are 26 verbal clauses in BLC that contain a modifier. Remarkably, 21 of these have it in fronted position, whereas only five are unfronted. For the complete picture, all 26 cases are listed here:

### *Verbal clauses with a modifier in the preverbal field*

4:16 *וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* that people should behave rightly and justly;

6:4 *וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* that he will ask questions properly;

6:5–6 *וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* how he must ask;

6:18 *אִם יִשְׁאַלְךָ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים אֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר מַה לְּךָ לֵדָע* || *אִם יִשְׁאַלְךָ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים אֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר מַה לְּךָ לֵדָע* if only this matter you want to know;

6:20 *וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵי אֱדֹמָה* who has newly joined the pupils;

<sup>45</sup> See Crystal 2008, p. 14 under ‘adverb’.

<sup>46</sup> See Section 2.4.1 + note 40, above.

- 6:21 *that you will not vainly leave us;*
- 10:18-19 *that they shall only do that which they are told;*
- 16:4 *that it may happen likewise to us as well;*
- 20:22-23 *that Awida here, then, spoke thus<sup>47</sup>;*
- 24:13 *that he should do thus;*
- 24:20 *who subsequently repented from their fall;*
- 26:16 *subsequently he asked him;*
- 36:5 *and know readily;*
- 38:5-7 *how was to be the way of life and the manner of perfection of all creatures, and the condition of all substances and natures;*
- 42:22 *and subsequently the Persians have established laws for themselves;*
- 54:11 *firstly know;*
- 54:23-24 *and subsequently I have told you about the Persians and about the Magians;*
- 54:24-25 *that not only in the region of Persia did they take their daughters and their sisters;*
- 56:2 *and furthermore remember;*
- 62:11 *that they do not entirely harm;*
- 62:11-12 *and are not entirely harmed.*

#### Verbal clauses with a modifier in the main field

- 6:7-8 *firstly, then, I started;*
- 10:2-3 *if man were made thus;*
- 12:22 *and he has been given freedom more than...;*
- 12:24 *and he shall behave godly;*

<sup>47</sup> This case even contains two modifiers: *thus* which modifies the verb, and *then, furthermore* which modifies the clause.

62:1-2 *all things can be without hindrance;*

This distribution shows the reverse of what we have observed with the other constituent types, where the unfronted order is the most frequent. This observation is not only true for modifiers in verbal clauses, but also for those in non-verbal clauses: of the roughly 95 clauses in BLC that contain a modifier,<sup>48</sup> 75 have the modifier in fronted position. It is interesting to note that for some specific lexemes,<sup>49</sup> the fronting ratio even reaches or nears 100%, e.g.:

- *thus*: 16 out of 18 occurrences are fronted; verbal clauses only: 2 out of 4;
- *only*: 11 out of 12 are fronted<sup>50</sup>; verbal clauses only: all 3;
- *now then, furthermore, etc.*: 11 out of 12 are fronted; verbal clauses only: all 6;
- adjective-derived adverbs ending in *-ly*: 18 out of 24<sup>51</sup> are fronted; verbal clauses only: 6 out of 7;
- other adjective-based adverbs (*very* and *so*): all ten occurrences (eight for *very*, two for *so*) are fronted.

This preference of modifiers to occur in the preverbal field may seem remarkable, but it can be explained in terms of the notion of ‘setting’ mentioned in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.5, above. In Section 3.1, below, I will further discuss the possible reasons behind the prominent tendency of these and other specific lexemes to be fronted.

<sup>48</sup> Obviously, this excludes elliptic clauses, where the lack of an explicit predicate prevents us from determining whether a constituent is fronted or not.

<sup>49</sup> Section 3.1.2, below, will elaborate on the issue of fronting in relation to specific lexemes.

<sup>50</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> occurrence is in an elliptic clause (i.e., an explicit predicate is lacking), which makes it impossible to say whether *only* is fronted there.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 2, Section 1.2, note 12 for the exact occurrences. In Section 3.1.1, below, I will discuss the fronting behaviour of these and other adjective-derived adverbs.

## 2.6 Fronting in interrupted clauses

The clauses treated thus far have in common that they are continuous; i.e., they are not interrupted by other clauses. It is possible, however, for a clause to embed one or more other subordinate clauses, inserted between two of its constituents. Such interruptive clauses mostly take the form of an RC relative to a constituent of the matrix clause, but can also take other forms such as an adjunctive clause, an infinitive, or an interjection or vocative. Like continuous clauses, interrupted clauses can contain constituents that are fronted. As we will see, interruption and fronting even turn out to be strongly connected.

### 2.6.1 Interrupted clauses with a fronted subject

There are twelve cases of an interrupted verbal clause with a fronted subject. All except one express the theme, employing various kinds of activation, e.g.:

12:9-10 *כל אשר ישרת להם || והכל להם || כל אשר* *but those things which are destined to serve are in the power of man.*

Here the interruption is the RC *והכל להם* *which are destined to serve*, which is relative to the subject *כל אשר* *those things*. The subject refers back to 12:6-7 *אשר ישרת || און ||* *who is the one who serves?*

14:1-3 *אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו* *אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו* *if they had not possessed free will, would not have mingled with the daughters of men.*

Here the interruption is the subordinate clause *אם לא ישרתו* *if they had not possessed free will*. The theme *אם לא ישרתו* *the angels*, is of the reactivating or continuing type, referring to the rheme *אם לא ישרתו* of the previous sentence: 12:24-25 *אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו* *and he is associated with the angels.*

56:6-7 *אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו || אם לא ישרתו* *this would not have been able to happen.*

Here the interruption is the infinitive *אם לא ישרתו* *to happen*. The theme *אם לא ישרתו* *this* is of the recapitulative type, referring to the preceding statements that Bardaisan makes concerning the alleged influence on the laws by the climates.

A special case of interruption in a clause with a fronted subject is the following:

56:9-10    *כחם || שבין אנשים || לכתורח נחבטו רבנים נבוכים מן ארצותיהם*  
*how many wise men, do you think, have brought the laws*  
*from their countries?*

What makes this case special is that the interruptive clause *do you think* is not located after the fronted clause constituent as a whole (*how many wise men* – see also Chapter 3, Sections 2.1.2.18 and 3.1.3.4), but between the extension of that constituent (*כחם*) and its head (*לכתורח נחבטו*).

The only case of a fronted subject that expresses the rheme is the following:

42:18-20    *הלא רבים חכמים || נמצאו במקומות אשר להם || נבוכים ורבים*  
*nor have those stars which are*  
*properly placed in the places that suit them and in the constellations of*  
*mankind, convinced those people.*

The interruptive clause between the fronted subject and the verb, itself consists of three separate subclauses: *which are properly placed in the places*, *that suit them*, and *and in the constellations of mankind*. The theme is the complement *למנו*, referring to ‘THE BRAHMANS’, last activated in 42:15-16 *הלא חכמי כנען כערו אל בני ישראל* *nor have the evil stars forced the Brahmans*. This means that the rheme is expressed by the two remaining constituents in the main clause: the subject *those stars* and the verb *have convinced*. As in other cases where the theme or rheme consist of several elements, it is likely that the element which is fronted expresses the core and the other(s) the periphery.

### 2.6.2 Interrupted clauses with a fronted object

There are three cases of interruption in a clause with a fronted object. Two of these have an additional fronted constituent, which will be treated in Section 2.7.1, below. The remaining case is:

56:1-2  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  and they have kept the mysteries of that which they transferred to them.<sup>52</sup>

Here the interruption is  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  which they transferred to them. The fronted object expresses the rheme, the theme only being represented by the inflection of the verb  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$ .

### 2.6.3 Interrupted clauses with a fronted complement

There are two cases of an interrupted clause with a fronted complement. It has an additional fronted constituent, so it will also be treated in Section 2.7.1, below.

18:13-14  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  for / to whom is willing, I have said and (still) say, that they are easy

This is a rather complex case of interruption. To start with, the sentence structure allows for two different analyses, depending on how the complement  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  to whom is interpreted. It can be the complement of the verb  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  in the main clause, or of the nominal predicate  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  of the subordinate clause. In the former case,  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  is part of the main clause, and the interruption is  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ . In the second case, the resulting analysis is more complicated:  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  is part of the subordinate clause  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ . This clause is interrupted, again, by  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ , but also by the main clause pair  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ .

<sup>52</sup> The reading of this sentence is somewhat enigmatic. While not ungrammatical, the construction  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ} \parallel \text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  the mysteries of that which they have transferred does not seem to make much sense in the context. A complicating factor is that in the manuscript the *dalaths* before  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  and  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  have been added in a later, serto-style hand (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2), meaning that the original text read  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ . In that reading  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  would have to be analyzed as a specification of  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  whatever mysteries (they had). However, this yields a conflict between the two subsequent perfects in  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ . It is possible that we are to read these as two asyndetically connected verbs: they transferred and kept whatever mysteries they had (similar to 4:3  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  Bardaisan came and found us there). An alternative option would be to follow Nau 1907 (c. 603) and Drijvers 1965 (p. 66), who propose to read only the second of the two added  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$ 's:  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$ . That reading would result in a translation similar to that of the option without the two *dalaths*, only this time with  $\text{ܘܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܗܘܢ}$  in an RC to  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$ : they have kept any mysteries which they transferred to them. Contextually, the reading with only the second  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$  seems the most fitting. However, since the reading with the two added  $\text{ܘܗܝܘܢ}$ 's is not ungrammatical, there is no compelling reason to diverge from the approach to take the manuscript text as it is.

and  $\text{לֹא יָדָע}$ . This would mean that, in contrast to other cases of interruption, here we have a subordinate clause which is interrupted by a main clause. In either case, the complement  $\text{לֹא}$  carries the theme, and has a nonspecific reference.

#### 2.6.4 Interrupted clauses with a fronted locative adjunct

There is one case of interruption in a clause with a fronted locative adjunct:

54:25–56:1  $\text{וְהָיוּ כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכְלִים וְהַמְּשַׁבְּחִים לְפָנָיו כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ} \parallel \text{כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ}$  *but in every place where they went they have kept to the law of their forefathers.*

The interruption is the RC  $\text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו}$  relative to  $\text{וְהָיוּ}$ . The fronted locative adjunct carries the theme. Note that the clause has an additional fronted constituent; i.e.,  $\text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו}$ : see Section 2.7.1, below.

#### 2.6.5 Interrupted clauses with a fronted temporal adjunct

There is only one case of interruption in a clause with a fronted temporal adjunct. Since it concerns a case with a second fronted constituent (an object), it will be treated in Section 2.7.1, below.

#### 2.6.6 Interrupted clauses with a fronted figurative adjunct

There are three cases of interrupted clauses with a fronted figurative adjunct:

30:1–2  $\text{וְהָיוּ כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכְלִים וְהַמְּשַׁבְּחִים לְפָנָיו כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ} \parallel \text{כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ}$  *for in that over which they have power, God's goodness shows;*

30:2–3  $\text{וְהָיוּ כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכְלִים וְהַמְּשַׁבְּחִים לְפָנָיו כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ} \parallel \text{כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ}$  *and by that over which they do not have power, they will know that they have a Lord.*

These two cases, occurring directly after each other, are of the same structure. In both cases, there is an RC relative to the fronted adjunct  $\text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו}$ , which in both cases expresses a theme with nonspecific reference.

36:16–17  $\text{וְהָיוּ כָּל־הַמְּשָׁכְלִים וְהַמְּשַׁבְּחִים לְפָנָיו כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ לְפָנָיו} \parallel \text{וְהָיוּ} \parallel \text{כִּי־יֵצֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ}$  *because of this, that people do not behave equally, you are convinced.*

Here the interruption is a  $\gamma$ -clause, subordinate to the fronted adjunct  $\text{ܣܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܘܰܢܰܐ}$ . The latter could be said to carry the theme, but it is more accurate to say that it functions as a placeholder for the interrupting subordinate clause, which is the actual carrier of the theme. This is a similar construction as 38:11–12 described in Section 2.2.2, above.

### 2.6.7 *The relation between interruption and fronting*

It is interesting to note that interruption seems to be strongly connected with fronting. In the verbal clauses in BLC, nearly all cases of interruption occur after a constituent in the preverbal field, not in the main field. There are only two cases of interruption occurring in (the main field of) a clause without fronted constituents:

16:12  $\text{ܕܰܠܰܘܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܢܰܐ ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  ||  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  ||  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  *and that he prays for what is good for everyone he knows.*

Here the interruption is the RC  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  what is good, which is relative to the empty-headed object<sup>53</sup> of the main clause.

40:14–16  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  ||  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  ||  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  ||  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  *I will begin to tell, as far as I can remember, (starting) from the east, the beginning of the whole world.*

In this case there is a double interruption: firstly by the infinitive  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ}$  to tell, and secondly by the clause  $\text{ܰܕܰܐܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܗܰܘܰܐ ܰܕܰܝܰܘܰܪܰܘܰܝܰܐ}$  *as far as I can remember*.

We may deduce from this observation that in Syriac (or at least the Syriac of BLC) there are only three positions where a subordinate clause is allowed to occur in relation to a matrix clause:

- before the matrix clause: *'Because I don't want to, I'm not going.'*
- after the matrix clause: *'I'm not going, because I don't want to.'*
- in the middle of the matrix clause, after a fronted constituent: *'I, because I don't want to, am not going.'* When the matrix clause lacks fronting, interruption in the middle of it does not occur.

Interruption also occurs in clauses with more than one fronted constituent. These cases will be treated in Section 2.7.1, below.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 3, Section 2.1.1, subsection 'NPs with empty heads'

## 2.7 Multiple fronted constituents

For verbal sentences, there is a handful of occasions where a fronted constituent is accompanied by another. For verbal clauses in BLC, the maximum amount of fronted constituents occurring together is two.<sup>54</sup> Some of the cases have already been included in the sections above, where the attention was on one of the two fronted elements. Here we will look at the behaviour of the constituent pairs themselves.

### *Subject + object*

There are two occurrences with a fronted subject and object, as opposed to 9 cases with fronted subject that have the object in the main field:

8:12 וְיִשְׁמָע אֲזָנָיו מִכֵּן וְיִשְׁמָע מִכֵּן *and he will hear something more;*

20:25–22:1 וְכָל אֲנָשִׁים עֹשִׂים עֵצָה יַעֲשׂוּ אֶת עֲמָלָם *if all people were doing one work.*

### *Subject + complement*

In two occurrences both the subject and the complement are fronted, as opposed to eight cases with a fronted subject that have the complement in the main field:, and two cases of a fronted complement with the subject in the main field.

10:3 וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע מִיָּדוּתוֹ *he would not be of himself.*

The other occurrence is an interrupted case, which is treated in Section 2.7.1, below.

### *Subject + adjunct*

There are three occurrences of a fronted subject together with an adjunct (one of which is a temporal adjunct), as opposed to four cases of clauses with a fronted subject and an adjunct in the main field:

10:12 וְלֹא יִשְׁמָע מִיָּדוּתוֹ אֱלֹהִים *God, however, in His goodness did not want...;*

26:22 וְכִי אֲנִי וְכִי אֲנִי *such as I, too, have once loved it;*

<sup>54</sup> Thus resulting in what Groß (2001) refers to as a *doppelt besetztes Vorfeld*.

36:22-23 *ܘܗܘܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* || *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* .  
*that these active beings, too, by their self-authority either justify themselves or become guilty.*

#### Object + adjunct

In one case the object is fronted together with an adjunct (There are no cases (for verbal as well as non-verbal clauses) of an object in the preverbal field and an adjunct in the main field):

8:14 *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* and they have not received the knowledge from true wisdom.

#### Object + modifier

6:18 *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* || *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* if only this matter you want to know.

Note that this is a pseudo-cleft sentence. Here the object, *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ*, is split up by the EPP *ܘܗܘܢ*. See Section 3.1.3, subsection 'EPP and *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ*', below, for further discussion.

#### Complement + modifier

There is one case of a complement fronted together with a modifier:

16:4 *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* that it may happen likewise to us as well.

### 2.7.1 Multiple fronted elements in interrupted clauses

There are four cases where multiple fronting occurs in an interrupted clause.

#### Subject + complement

4:17 *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* || *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* || *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ* I, my master, asked these peers (of mine).

The clause is interrupted by the vocative *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ*, my master. While not strictly a clause, since it does not carry predication, the vocative is nevertheless an interruptive element that takes a momentary step out of the discourse (See Chapter 3, Section 1.3.2.13).

Note that this is a pseudo-cleft sentence, the EPP of which interrupts the complement *ܘܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܘܢ*.

*Object + modifier*

10:18-19 *that they shall only do that which they are told.*

*Complement + object*

54:5 *us, our father Bardaisan, you have convinced of these things.*

Here, again, the interruption is performed by a vocative *our father Bardaisan*. The complement  $\Delta$  carries the rheme core, the rheme periphery being *and the theme*. The fronted theme  $\Delta$  creates a contrast with 'THE CHALDEANS' in the following clause 54:6-8 *but you know that the Chaldeans maintain that the earth is divided in seven parts called climates.*

*Locative adjunct + complement*

54:25-56:1 *but in every place where they went they have kept to the law of their forefathers.*

*Temporal adjunct + (empty-headed) object*

4:8 *that at all time they would do that which is good.*

As we can observe, the interruptive clause can be located after the first fronted element (4:17; 10:18-19; 54:5), or after the second (4:8, although there the second constituent is empty-headed).

*2.7.2 Relative order of multiple fronted constituents*

If we look at the uninterrupted clauses that have multiple fronting and compare the fronted constituent pairs with each other, we can observe that there is a prevalent relative order in which those constituents appear in the preverbal field. This order can be summarized as:

*subject – complement – object – adjunct / modifier*<sup>55</sup>

The existence of such a consistent order seems to indicate that there is no hierarchy of markedness between the fronted elements, where, e.g., the first element would be more marked than the second. If this had been the case, we would have expected deviations in the order.

The fronted constituents in the interrupted clauses (see Section 2.7.1., above) keep to the same relative order (the attested constituent combinations being object – modifier, and complement – object), except for 4:8 and 54:25–56:1, where the locative or temporal adjunct is placed at the beginning. This may indicate that the observed order is not so strict after all, or that exceptions are more likely to occur when interruption is at play. Also, it may be that temporal and locative adjuncts behave differently from other types of adjuncts: as we have explained in Section 2.4, above, temporal and locative adjuncts (as well as modifiers – see Section 2.5, above) show a profound preoccupation with the preverbal field, which concurs with their implicit function of ‘setting the scene’. Which of these explanations is most suitable can only be decided by means of a larger data sample than is available in BLC.

*2.7.3 Theme and rheme in multiple fronted constituents*

In some clauses with multiple fronting, the first of the two fronted constituents expresses the theme, whereas the second constituent is (part of) the rheme. This is true for at least the following cases:

4:8  $\text{גַּבְרֵי} \parallel \text{וְכָל־זְמַן} \parallel \text{—} \parallel \text{וְעָשׂוּ} \parallel$  *that at all time they would do that which is good;*

4:17  $\text{וְעַתָּה} \parallel \text{אֲנִי} \parallel \text{שָׁאַלְתִּי} \parallel \text{אֶת־עֲמָלָיִם} \parallel$  *I, my master, asked these peers (of mine);*

8:12  $\text{וְהִשְׁמָעוּ} \parallel \text{מִשְׁמַע} \parallel$  *and he will hear something more;*

20:25–22:1  $\text{וְכָל־עַמְּךָ} \parallel \text{עֹשֶׂה} \parallel \text{אֶת־הַשְּׂמֵרָה} \parallel$  *if all people were doing one work;*

54:5  $\text{וְאֵלֵינוּ} \parallel \text{אֲבֹתֵנוּ} \parallel$  *us, our father Bardaisan, you have convinced of these things.*

<sup>55</sup> Since there is no occurrence where both an adjunct and a modifier are fronted, we cannot determine their relative position.

In about as many cases, however, the theme-rheme order is reversed (i.e., either the first fronted element is the rheme and the second one the theme, or both fronted elements form the rheme, while the theme is located in the main field):

6:18 *if only this matter you want to know;*

10:18-19 *that they shall only do that which they are told;*

16:4 *that it may happen likewise to us as well;*

26:22 *such as I, too, have once loved it;*

36:22-23 *that these active beings, too, by their self-authority either justify themselves or become guilty;*

54:24-25 *that not only in the region of Persia did they take their daughters and their sisters.*

It is telling that in all of these latter examples, the first of the fronted elements is either followed by *לשון* or preceded by *אם*. It seems that next to being strong ‘fronters’, *אם* and *לשון* are also rhematizers, capable of altering the standard theme-rheme order: see Sections 3.1.2 and 3.2, below, for further discussion.

Finally, there are some cases where the context does not provide sufficient information to determine whether the second fronted constituent belongs to the rheme, or to the theme together with the first fronted constituent (in which case the rheme would be located in the main field):<sup>56</sup>

8:14 *and they have not received the knowledge from true wisdom;*

10:3 *he would not be of himself;*

10:12 *God, however, in His goodness did not want...*

As can be observed, all of these cases are negative clauses, which might be of influence on the ambiguity concerning the theme-rheme distribution of

<sup>56</sup> See also Section 2.4.3.2, above.

the second fronted constituent. See Section 2.8, below, for further discussion.

## 2.8 *Fronting in negative clauses*

This section will deal with the phenomenon of fronting in negative verbal clauses, i.e., clauses in which negation occurs by means of the negation particle (or 'negator') ܐܢܝܢ. Before we examine the different types, it is appropriate to enter into a small digression on what is meant by negation and what are its characteristics.

Semantically speaking, negation can be seen as the logical operation of inversion, whereby the truth value of a proposition is swapped from 'true' to 'false', or vice versa. By negating a linguistic unit, a language user presents that unit as being 'not the case', either by introducing it as such or by contradicting a statement that was made earlier on in the discourse.

In terms of pragmatics, the element in a clause that is negated, regardless of its syntactic function (subject, object, etc) or constituent type (NP, VP, etc.), typically coincides with the rheme, or part thereof (generally the rheme core). This concurs with the definition of a rheme given in Section 1.2, above, that it provides added or asserted (in this case, 'disasserted') information about something considered known.

Since the rheme may be carried by any syntactic unit in a clause, this means that the same goes for the negated elements. Negation can be applied to the entire clause, or only to the predicate, or to any other constituent. In other words, negation can differ in scope.<sup>57</sup> The scope of a negator is related to the syntactic level on which it operates (phrase level or clause level), and has its implications for the proposition structure of a clause: Whereas negation on clause level results in a clause with truth value 'false', negation on phrase level creates a clause with truth value 'true', containing a constituent with truth value 'false'.<sup>58</sup>

In theory, therefore, it should be possible to organize the types of negation in Syriac according to their scope and the syntactic level on which they

<sup>57</sup> See also Crystal 2008, p. 324.

<sup>58</sup> As a result, the negation at clause level would form a separate constituent (a NegP), while in negation on phrase level it would be the extension to the head of another constituent.

operate.<sup>59</sup> In practice, however, it is often rather difficult to determine either one of these aspects. Identifying the element(s) affected by the negation requires information from the context, which in practice is rarely sufficient in providing conclusive evidence. An example from BLC should clarify this difficulty:

8:14 *לֹא יָדְעוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם מִחֵכֶם הַאֲמִינִים* and they have not received the knowledge from true wisdom,

In this example, the theme ‘THEY’ is not expressed explicitly by a constituent, but only by the inflection of the verb *לֹא יָדְעוּ*. The entire clause *לֹא יָדְעוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם מִחֵכֶם הַאֲמִינִים*, therefore, forms the rheme, i.e., the area in which the negator *לֹא* is of influence. Its negation scope might extend to any of the phrases (constituents as well as subphrases), or string of phrases, of which the rheme consists, e.g.: *אֶת הַחֵכֶם* (not knowledge have they received from true wisdom), *מִחֵכֶם הַאֲמִינִים* (not from true wisdom have they received knowledge), *לֹא יָדְעוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם מִחֵכֶם הַאֲמִינִים* (not knowledge from true wisdom have they received), *יָדְעוּ* (not from true wisdom have they received knowledge), *לֹא יָדְעוּ אֶת הַחֵכֶם מִחֵכֶם הַאֲמִינִים* (they have not received knowledge from true wisdom), etc. Finally, the negation might refer to the rheme as a whole. The context hardly provides any clues as to which of these options could be the intended negation scope. Even if we were able to eliminate some options that are less likely candidates, there still remains a whole set of semantically indistinguishable possibilities that seem equally fit.

For these reasons, we shall not make an inventarisation of negated clauses based upon the scope or syntactic level of the negation, but on the form of the negator itself, and the way in which it interacts with the clause constituents that surround it.

With regard, then, to the formal characteristics of the negator, one can distinguish two main types of clause negation, which can be referred to as the ‘bare’ type and the ‘pseudo-cleft’ type.<sup>60</sup> In the bare negation type, the negator consists solely of the NegP *לֹא*, located at a position before the finite

<sup>59</sup> See Pat-El 2006, p. 330 + notes.

<sup>60</sup> Joosten 1992a, Wertheimer 2001a, p. 229f; Pat-El 2006.

verb (main or auxiliary).<sup>61</sup> The pseudo-cleft type is constructed with **ﻻ** + uninflected **ﻗﻮﻟ** in the first part of the cleft (the 'vedette') and the main predication in the second (the 'glose').

Both of these negation types occur in BLC, and both types show cases of constituent fronting. The two types have their own characteristic ways of doing this, which I will investigate here, as well as the possible differences in function they might have.

### 2.8.1 *Fronting in clauses with bare negation*

The core of a verbal clause with bare negation is constituted by the negative particle **ﻻ** and the finite verb, occurring in that order but not necessarily adjoining. Other clause constituents, if present, can occur at three different positions in relation to the core: 1. before the negator (e.g., **ﻻ ﺣﺪﺙ**); 2. between the negator and the verb (**ﻻ ﺣﻠﻜ**); or after the verb (**ﻻ ﺣﻠﻜ**). Constituents may also turn up at more than one of these positions, or one position can be filled with several constituents.

There are 67 verbal clauses (with and without fronting) in BLC that have bare negation. All three of the above constituent orders are attested. As can be expected from the observed VSO order described in Section 1.1, above, the order with the verb in first position is by far the most common (53 cases). The other two orders, with fronted constituents, are far less common (7 cases for both), which strongly suggests that they are marked. These latter two orders, therefore, will be the focus of our attention in the present section. In the overview below, all 14 occurrences of both marked orders are listed.

#### *Constituent(s) at fronting position 1 (before the negator)*

6:21 **ﻻ ﺗﻮﺭﻛﻮﻥ ﺑﻮﺩﻭﻧﻲ ﻻ ﺗﻮﺭﻛﻮﻥ ﺑﻮﺩﻭﻧﻲ** *that you will not vainly leave us;*

8:14 **ﻻ ﺗﻮﺭﻛﻮﻥ ﺑﻮﺩﻭﻧﻲ ﻻ ﺗﻮﺭﻛﻮﻥ ﺑﻮﺩﻭﻧﻲ** *and they have not received the knowledge from true wisdom;*

<sup>61</sup> This type of negation is often referred to as 'predicative negation' (e.g., Joosten 1992a; Goldenberg 1995, p. 27; Wertheimer 2001a; Pat-El 2006), but since this is a term that seems to refer to the semantics of the negation rather than to its form (implying that it is always the verb that is negated), I choose not to use that terminology in the present survey.

- 10:3 *he would not be of himself;*  
 10:12 *God, however, in His goodness did not want...;*  
 58:16 *who have not received this law;*  
 58:19-20 *these, however, are not of the power of man;*  
 60:24-25 *if nothing comes in our hands.*

*Constituent(s) at fronting position 2 (between the negator and the verb)*

- 42:4 *that they shall not commit a murder;*  
 42:4 *and that they shall not worship idols;*  
 42:16-17 *nor have the evil stars forced the Brahmans;*  
 42:17-18 *nor have the good stars encouraged the rest of the Indians;*  
 52:19-20 *that they refrain from always taking countries;*  
 62:11 *that they do not entirely harm;*  
 62:11-12 *and are not entirely harmed.*

It is interesting to investigate what the difference between these two marked word orders might be in terms of their pragmatic behaviour. If we look at the cases with constituents at fronting position 1, we can observe that that position often corresponds with the theme, whereas constituents in fronting position 2 generally carry the rheme. Two exceptions to this tendency might be 6:21 *that you will not vainly leave us*, where the modifier at fronting position 1 is not likely to be the theme; and 52:19-20 *that they refrain from always taking countries*, where the constituent at fronting position 2 does not seem to be part of the rheme (at least not of the rheme core). In Section 2.8.4, below, I will elaborate on the behaviour of pragmatic roles in negated clauses.

### 2.8.2 Fronting in clauses with pseudo-cleft negation

In pseudo-cleft negation the negator has the form of *no*, where *no* is an uninflected, fossilized form, not to be confused with inflected forms of

the verb ,om. Uninflected as it is, though, ,om still carries functional remnants of a predicate-bearing element, which causes the clause that contains it to take on the characteristics of a pseudo-cleft sentence. The negator א לא ,om, which could be seen as a 'lesser predicate' of sorts, constitutes the *vedette*, after which follows the real predicate, expressed in the *glose*.

The majority of clauses with pseudo-cleft negation is non-verbal (as can be expected, since ,om א clauses are generally seen as the standard negative counterpart of the EPP in tripartite nominal clauses<sup>62</sup>), leaving only four genuine verbal cases. Almost all cases of cleft negation in BLC (in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences) contain constituents in fronted position.

Similar to what we have observed in bare negation (Section 2.8.1, above), there are two different positions where those fronted constituents can be located, 1. before the negator; 2. between the negator and the verb. Here, too, it is possible for both positions to be filled at the same time, as well as for one position to be filled with more than one constituent.

8:1-2 אלא לא שמעתי מן אדם אחר || (כי לא היה זה ענין) (*because this matter, I have not heard it from anyone else.*)

The object אלא לא *this matter* stands in extraposition (see note 11, above), which can be seen from its resumption by the pronominal suffix -ם in אלא לא. Hence, the part before the clause boundary is not treated as part of the same clause, which starts with אלא לא. Then follows the adjunct מן אדם אחר *from anyone else*, located at fronting position 2 and representing the rheme.

12:16-17 אלא לא עשה הטוב || אלא לא עשה הטוב || אלא לא עשה הטוב *in this way, the good that he did would not be of himself either.*

Here, both fronting positions are occupied: the subject אלא לא *the good* is located in fronting position 1, the predicate complement אלא לא *of himself* in position 2. The fronted subject represents the theme, the fronted predicate complement the rheme.

18:7-8 אלא לא עשה הטוב || אלא לא עשה הטוב *who were not created for this good.*

<sup>62</sup> Joosten 1992a, p. 586-587.

The fronted complement *כִּי־טוֹב* *this good* in position 2 forms the theme, referring back by means of recapitulation to the preceding passage 18:5-7 *לֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־עָשָׂה־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל* *For there is no one who does not feel joy when he does which is good, nor (someone) who does not rejoice in his soul when he refrains from doing hateful things.*

54:24-25 *וְלֹא־בְּמִדְבַּר־פָּרָס־בָּלְמָה־בָּתוּרֵיהֶן וְלֹא־בְּמִדְבַּר־פָּרָס־בָּתוּרֵיהֶן*  
*that not only in the region of Persia did they take their daughters and their sisters.*

The fronted locative adjunct *בְּמִדְבַּר־פָּרָס* *in the region of Persia* forms the rheme, which is put in contrast (by means of *בָּלְמָה ... רַחֵם לֹא־בְּלִישְׁתָּא* *not only...*—see Sections 3.1.2 and 3.2, below, for more discussion) to the following clause: 54:25-56:1 *וְכָל־כֹּהֵן־וְכָל־אֲדָמָה־וְכָל־אֲרָצָה־אֲשֶׁר־בָּרוּךְ־הוּא־יְהוָה־בָּהֶן וְכָל־כֹּהֵן־וְכָל־אֲדָמָה־וְכָל־אֲרָצָה־אֲשֶׁר־בָּרוּךְ־הוּא־יְהוָה־בָּהֶן* *but in every place where they went, they have kept to the law of their forefathers.* See Sections 3.1.2 and 3.2, below, for more discussion on the contrastive features of *בָּלְמָה*.

In some of the verbal clauses with pseudo-cleft negation, the fronted constituent belongs to the rheme (in 8:1-2 the complement *וְכָל־אֲדָמָה*; in 12:16-17 the predicative complement *וְכָל־אֲדָמָה*; in 54:24-25 the locative adjunct *בְּמִדְבַּר־פָּרָס* and the modifier *בָּלְמָה*). However, this is not true for all examples: in 18:5-7, the fronted complement *כִּי־טוֹב* expresses the theme, which has the participant activation type of recapitulation, summing up the preceding statement 18:5-7 *לֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־עָשָׂה־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל וְלֹא־יִשְׂמַח־בְּטוֹב־שָׁמַר־לֵּל* *For there is nobody who does not rejoice when he does which is good, nor (anybody) who is not pleased in his soul when<sup>63</sup> he refrains from hateful things.*

### 2.8.3 Ambiguous cases of negation

There are a three cases of negation that are ambiguous as to whether they belong to the pseudo-cleft type or to the bare type. These clauses have in common that they contain the form *לֹא*, followed by a nominal predicate which does not consist of a ‘participial’ (i.e., a participle or adjective)<sup>64</sup>. The

<sup>63</sup> Literally: *in that soul of his which refrains...* etc.

<sup>64</sup> See Joosten 1992a, p. 585; Van Peursen 2007, Chapter 20 (pp. 309–316).



one *oam* to be present (\**oam* *oamla* *la*, or \**oamla* *oam* *la*). If, alternatively, the negation had been of the pseudo-cleft type, we would not expect the first *oam* to be inflected (\**oam* *oamla* *oam* *la*). Since there are no other occurrences of this particular construction in BLC, it is hard to tell from a corpus-linguistic viewpoint whether we are dealing with an error, or with a grammatically acceptable construction.

#### 2.8.4 Pragmatic roles in negative clauses

We have treated the two main categories of negated verbal sentences: negation of the bare type and that of the pseudo-cleft type. As we have seen, both types can be further divided into two subtypes, depending on the position of the fronted element with relation to the negator (*oam*) *la*. We have also seen that these types of negation display clear preferences as to the marking of pragmatic roles: Whether the negation is of the bare or the pseudo-cleft type, constituents occurring at fronting position 1 (before the negator) typically represent the theme, whereas those located at fronting position 2 (between the negator and the verb) are likely to represent the rheme.

We should be careful not to jump to conclusions too quickly, as we have seen that there are exceptions to this preferred theme-rheme order (See Sections 2.8.1 and 2.8.2, above). But even with these exceptions taken into consideration, we can cautiously make the generalization that for all three attested word orders (the unmarked order without fronting and the two marked orders with fronting) the constituent which directly follows the negator tends to belong to the rheme, whereas constituents occurring at other positions in the clause (either preceding the negator or following the verb) tend to belong to the theme. A negated verbal clause, therefore, may be divided into three areas: a 'theme area' before the negator; a 'rheme area' that includes fronting position 2 and the verb, and finally a second 'theme area', corresponding with the remainder of the clause. Table 3, below, schematically depicts the different scenarios.

In cases with marked order 2, we should be careful not to assume that the element in fronting position 2 automatically coincides with the scope of the negation. As we have discussed in Section 2.8, above, negation scope is a feature which is often hard to establish in the first place, but in those

cases where the context provides some indication as to its boundaries, these are not necessarily limited to the element immediately following the negator. In Section 2.8.2, for instance, we have already seen the case of 18:7–8  $\text{ሕይወት ለሕይወት ለሕይወት ለሕይወት ለሕይወት}$  *who were not created for this good*, where it is obvious from the context that the negation does not apply only to  $\text{ሕይወት ለሕይወት}$  *this good*, but to the entire remainder of the clause, including the verb. This observation contrasts with the commonly held view that ‘ $\text{ሕይወት ለሕይወት}$  is used for the negation of [...] an element other than the verb in a verbal clause’<sup>67</sup>.

TABLE 3: Fronting and pragmatic roles in negative clauses

	unfronted position	verb	fronting position 2	negator	fronting position 1
Unmarked order	ሕይወት	ሕይወት		(ሕይወት) ለ	
Marked order 1		ሕይወት		(ሕይወት) ለ	ሕይወት
Marked order 2		ሕይወት	ሕይወት	(ሕይወት) ለ	
	THEME	RHEME			THEME

It should be noted that for pseudo-cleft negation, no verbal clauses are attested in BLC which have an empty fronting position 2: Regardless of the presence of constituents at other positions in the clause (either in fronting position 1 or in unfronted position), there is always a constituent present between the negator and the verb. In other words, we do not encounter  $\text{ሕይወት ለሕይወት}$ -clauses where the verb directly follows the negator (*\*ሕይወት ለሕይወት ሕይወት* or *\*ሕይወት ለሕይወት ሕይወት*). This observation may be coloured by the scarcity of our data (there being only four verbal clauses with pseudo-cleft negation), but if we look at pseudo-cleft negation in non-verbal clauses (of which there are 26 cases) we see the same trend: There, too, the area between negator and predicate is always filled with at least one constituent. Apparently (at least in BLC), it is a specific trait of the negator  $\text{ሕይወት ለ}$  to require a constituent between it and the predicate. Since that position is

<sup>67</sup> Van Peursen 2007, § 23.2.4 (p. 358) + note 20.

located in the preverbal field, this implies that  $\kappa_{\text{om}}$   $\Delta$ -clauses are by definition marked, which would explain why no pseudo-cleft negated clauses in the unmarked order are attested in the first place.

### 3. FORMAL PHENOMENA ASSOCIATED WITH FRONTING

In this section I will investigate the possible relations that may exist between the pragmatic processes associated with constituent fronting (the marking of theme and rheme, and the different types of participant activation) and the formal characteristics of the lexical and syntactic elements involved (part of speech, phrase type, etc.). Those elements may belong to different formal categories, such as part of speech, phrase type, specific lexemes or constructions, etc. They can display a number of different phenomena: some tend to be fronted themselves, while others tend to co-occur with other fronted constituents. Finally, they may be specific to a particular pragmatic action, such as the marking of theme or rheme, or the activation of a participant. The present paragraph will provide an overview of these different elements according to the formal and pragmatic characteristics which they have in common. Since the data on verbal sentences is occasionally sparse, additional information from non-verbal clauses is also relied upon.

#### 3.1 *Elements associated with constituent fronting*

##### 3.1.1 *Parts of speech associated with constituent fronting*

###### *Adjective-based adverbs*

Among the parts of speech, one specific category has a strong tendency to be fronted: that of adverbs based on adjectives. Morphologically, these fall into two categories: 1. lexemes with the intrinsic part of speech 'adverb' which were formed out of adjectives by means of derivation; and 2. lexemes with the intrinsic part of speech 'adjective' which assume the phrase-dependent part of speech 'adverb'.<sup>68</sup> Adverbs in the first category are characterized by the derivational ending  $\lambda_{\text{R}}$ -, whereas those in the second category

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 3, Section 1.3.1 on phrase dependent part of speech.





16:24 *which only seamen know how to do.*

It is worth mentioning that six out of the twelve clauses with *طلسه* are negated, and are followed by a clause atom introduced by (ع) ... *لع*, resulting in a construction that expresses contrast: 'not only ... but (also) ...'; for example in the following (non-verbal) case:

36:14-17 *and not only do they do harm to humans, but from time to time to animals as well, and to trees, to fruits, to the produce of the year, to water springs, and to everything in nature which is under their control.*

Since contrast is typically a marked device, it is not surprising that *طلسه* (and *ع*, see the following subsection) is located in the preverbal field.

Another noteworthy trait of *طلسه* is that when it occurs in the preverbal field, it is always preceded by an additional fronted constituent; See Sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.2, below, for more discussion.

*ع*, also, too, as well

Of the 51 times the particle *ع* occurs (including the cases where it is part of a contracted form such as *ع* or *لع*), 46 cases are fronted (90.20%), which includes all four verbal cases (100%), e.g.:

16:4 *that it may happen likewise to us as well;*

26:22 *such as I, too, have once loved it.*

Like *طلسه*, *ع* has a certain contrastive value, which may explain its preference for a marked position. Also like *طلسه*, when *ع* stands in the preverbal field is always accompanied by an additional fronted constituent, but here, that constituent follows the particle instead of preceding it. See Sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.2, below, for more discussion.

### 3.1.2.1 Co-occurrence

Of the lexemes treated here, *ع* and *طلسه* are noteworthy, in that they are not only fronted in almost all cases, but that they invariably co-occur with another fronted constituent, which they modify. In the case of *ع*, that

constituent always follows the particle, whereas with *طلسه* it precedes it. It is likely that this co-occurrence in the preverbal field indicates a functional / pragmatic relation between *ع* / *طلسه* and the constituent which it modifies. Whether that relation is direct (i.e., one element directly influences the other) or indirect (e.g., both elements are influenced by a common source) is hard to tell, since it depends on the direction of causality in the underlying pragmatic process which has led to the surface form as we have it. Two possible scenarios for that process could be:

1. The constituent is modified by *ع* / *طلسه*, which causes that constituent to be marked, hence fronted. Since *ع* / *طلسه* must always be adjacent to the constituent it modifies, it becomes fronted itself as well.
2. The constituent is fronted for reasons unrelated to the presence of other elements, and *ع* / *طلسه* is added, in its mandatory adjacent position, to modify it.

Scenario 1 would imply that *ع* / *طلسه* exerts a strong ‘fronting power’ over other constituents, whereas in scenario 2 it has no such influence. However, since the pragmatic process is hidden from our view, its direction of causality remaining speculative, we cannot determine which of the two scenarios is accurate.

The other words treated in Section 3.1.2 (*ع*, *ع* and *ع*) do also occur together with additional fronted constituents, but in just about as many cases they do not. Hence, there does not seem to be any relation between these particles and any constituents that are fronted.

### 3.1.2.2 *Intrinsic markedness*

The significant preference of these lexemes for the preverbal field seems to indicate that they have a certain intrinsic ‘markedness value’, either by being marked themselves or by triggering the markedness of adjacent constituents. As we have seen, this is the case to some extent for *ع* and *طلسه*, which express a certain degree of contrastivity, causing them, or at least the constituents under their modification, to be marked. In addition, we have seen that the preference of these two particles for the preverbal field may be



*EPP and ܐܘܡܢܐ*

It is generally accepted that the EPP and ܐܘܡܢܐ are each other's functional counterparts; i.e., a positive clause containing the structure 'constituent x + EPP'<sup>71</sup> is typically negated in the form 'ܐܘܡܢܐ + constituent x'.<sup>72</sup> Regardless of whether the EPP and ܐܘܡܢܐ are to be analyzed as elements that transform a clause into a pseudo-cleft sentence, or merely as emphatic particles, they are known as common devices for marking 'constituent x' as the rheme.<sup>73</sup> For most of the verbal clauses in BLC that contain an EPP or ܐܘܡܢܐ this assertion seems to hold:

## • Positive clauses:

4:17 ܐܘܡܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ || ܩܪܝܢܐ || ܩܪܝܢܐ *I, my master, asked these peers (of mine);*

6:18 ܐܘܡܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ || ܩܪܝܢܐ *if only this matter you want to know;*

<sup>71</sup> It should be noted that where the marked constituent consists of more than one subphrase (heads or extensions), the EPP is always located between the first of those subphrases and the remaining ones (4:17 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ; 6:18 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ; 12:21 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ; 54:11-12 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ). The same behaviour of the EPP is present in tripartite non-verbal clauses, where its position in the predicate is also between the first subphrase and the remaining ones; e.g., 6:5 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ *for it is a good work*, where the EPP ܐܘܡܢܐ interrupts the NP ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ *a good work* between its head and its AdjP extension. (Additionally, the phrase is interrupted by the 'second place conjunction' ܐܘܡܢܐ — see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.2). This is a common phenomenon in Syriac: see Goldenberg 1983, p. 100–102; Joosten 1992a, § 1.1 (c. 585a); van Peursen 2007, p. 299. When a constituent is interrupted by the EPP, it is not necessarily the case that the marking function of the EPP is limited to the part of the phrase that precedes it, but it can extend to the entire constituent which it interrupts. In case 4:17, for instance, the context makes it clear that the intended meaning of the clause is not \**I asked these peers* (as opposed to other peers), but rather *I asked these peers* (as opposed to somebody else). The same holds for 12:21 ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ, where we are not to understand God's *goodness* (as opposed to other traits of God), but *God's goodness* as a whole. In 6:18 ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ | ܩܪܝܢܐ it could be that the marked element is only the part preceding the EPP (*if only this thing that you want to know*, as opposed to another thing), but it is equally possible that the entire phrase is marked. For 54:11–12, it is even possible that the marked element is only the part following the EPP: *as a device of delusion* (as opposed to a device of something else).

<sup>72</sup> Joosten 1992a, c. 586b.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g., Van Peursen 2007, Chapter 24 (pp. 372–377).



### 3.2 Elements associated with marking theme and rheme

#### וַ and וְ as theme markers

וַ and וְ are generally known as ‘second place conjunctions’; i.e., their position in a sentence is typically after the first constituent (ignoring other conjunctions and the like). In Chapter 3, Section 1.3.2.11, I have already indicated that the label ‘conjunction’ for these and similar particles is debatable, and that a preferable designation for them would be ‘connective adverb’. Whichever their morphological label, וַ and וְ are both typical in marking the theme. The constituent marked as such always precedes וַ or וְ, and hence occurs at the beginning of the clause. It can be the predicate itself, or another constituent, which in that case is fronted. Furthermore, the theme marked by וַ or וְ seems to have a rather consistent tendency towards the reactivating type of participant activation, by means of ‘coming back’ to a subject discussed earlier on:

4:8 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר *we then said to him;*

10:12 וְאֵלֹהִים הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו כִּי טוֹב הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו *God, however, in His goodness did not want...;*

58:19-20 וְאֵלֵינוּ הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו כִּי טוֹב הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו *these, however, are not of the power of man.*

In all three cases, the participant was introduced earlier in the text, after which it was superseded by other themes. In the first case, the participant ‘WE’ is introduced in the theme in 1:2-3 and is then in 1:3 replaced by ‘Bardaisan’, which is re-mentioned twice (implicitly, by the inflection of the predicate) and remains the active theme until it is taken over by ‘we’ again.

In the second case, there is a considerable distance between the last and the present mentioning of the participant ‘GOD’: it is activated in 10:1-2 וְאֵלֹהִים הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו *as to why God did not create us*, after which a couple of different themes take over before ‘GOD’ is reactivated. It is noteworthy that in 10:1-2, the theme is not present at the same sentence level as its reactivation in 10:12: in 10:1-2 it is part of the embedded clause וְאֵלֹהִים הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו... הוֹדוּ אֵלָיו *now concerning what Awida said, as to...* etc., while in 10:12 it is part of a main clause. The third case is somewhat different from the other two, in that it refers back to a collection of participants expressed in

the previous clauses (58:18–19), namely the acts of fate that may befall man, such as becoming ill, growing old, having children, etc.

*and* and *as rheme markers*

As mentioned in Section 2.7.3, above, *and* and *as* are not only strongly associated with fronted constituents (see Section 3.1.2, above), they also typically mark the fronted constituent adjacent to them as the rheme. In doing this, *as* and *and* are capable of reversing the standard theme-rheme order, either by marking the fronted constituent as the rheme and the remainder of the clause as the theme, or by marking the first of two fronted constituents as the rheme and the second as part of the theme. This can be seen in the following examples:

6:18 *if only this matter you want to know;*

10:18–19 *that they shall only do that which they are told;*

16:4 *that it may happen likewise to us as well;*

26:22 *such as I, too, have once loved it;*

36:22–23 *that these active beings, too, by their self-authority either justify themselves or become guilty;*

38:10–11 *now if you could also demonstrate this;*

54:24–25 *that not only in the region of Persia did they take their daughters and their sisters;*

62:13–14 *that even the possibility of doing harm that exists in them will disappear through the doctrine.*

### 3.3 Elements associated with participant activation

As pointed out in Section 1.3, above, there is a considerable consistency in the type of participant activation (introduction, reactivation, continuation etc.) and the phrase type employed to perform the activation. Irrespective of the syntactic or pragmatic role of the constituent, the general tendency is

that the 'stronger' the activation type (in terms of the achieved amount of increase in discourse-activeness of the participant), the 'stronger' a phrase type will be used (with the PPrP at the one, the NP at the other end of the continuum). However, as we will see, this general tendency has its exceptions.

### Introduction

Introduction is the strongest type of activation, and the phrase type that it generally employs is the NP (optionally embedded in a PP):

- 10:13-14 *אֲשֶׁר הִרְבֵּה אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו מִכֹּל דְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר הִרְבֵּה אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו* but in freedom He has raised him above many things;
- 12:13 *וְיָכֹחַ כִּי יִפְעַל בְּחֵפְזוֹ* that he can behave according to his free will;
- 22:1 *וְהָיוּ בְּדַעְתָּם אֶחָד* and were thinking in one mind;
- 24:17 *וְהָיוּ בְּחַסְדָּם וּבְעִוְבָתָם אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ בְּחַסְדָּם וּבְעִוְבָתָם* (and there are some) who behaved in chastity and in modesty;
- 56:1 *וְהָיוּ בְּחֻקֵּי אֲבוֹתָם* they have kept to the law of their forefathers.

In some cases, the introductive NP is extended with a DPrP:

- 4:8-9 *אָמַר אַחַד לְאָחֵר אַחַד אָמַר אַחַד* Awida here said to us;
- 4:17 *אָמַר אֲנִי לְאֵלֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* || *אָמַר אֲנִי לְאֵלֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* || *אָמַר אֲנִי לְאֵלֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* I, my master, asked these peers (of mine).

### Reactivation

In the majority of cases where the fronted element expresses reactivation, the phrase type is NP:

- 10:12 *אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָרָא אֱלֹהִים* God, however, in His goodness did not want...;
- 12:21-22 *אֲשֶׁר הִרְבֵּה אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו מִכֹּל דְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר הִרְבֵּה אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו* that God's goodness is abundant towards man;
- 12:23-24 *וְיָכֹחַ כִּי יִפְעַל בְּחֵפְזוֹ* for in freedom he will justify himself;
- 22:2 *וְהָיוּ בְּדַעְתָּם אֶחָד* that their nature leads them;
- 42:15-16 *וְהָיוּ בְּחֻקֵּי אֲבוֹתָם* nor have the evil stars forced the Brahmans;

42:16-17 *לעזריאל לא יעצוהו הנכחים ולא יעצוהו הנכחים* nor have the good stars encouraged the rest of the Indians;

56:6 *אם לא יעצוהו הנכחים ולא יעצוהו הנכחים* if the laws were of the climates.

This includes a case of 'narrowing down', which, as we have explained in Section 2.1.1, above, can be considered a subcategory of reactivation:

44:1-2 *אם לא יעצוהו הנכחים ולא יעצוהו הנכחים* some of these Persians have left.

In a few other cases, reactivation can be performed by a PPrP in the first or second person:

4:8 *אמר לנו* we then said to him;

4:21 *אמר לנו* that you question them;

26:22 *אמר לנו* such as I, too, have once loved it.

First and second person PPrPs form a special category, in that they perform an 'implicit' kind of reactivation: the semantic entity to which they refer (namely to the persons present on the scene) was not introduced earlier by means of explicit referral by a constituent, but implied by the presence of the speakers themselves.

There is one exceptional case where reactivation is performed by a PPrP in the third person:

8:12 *אמר לו* and he will hear something more.

This is remarkable in the sense that all other cases of a third person PPrP express continuation (see below).

### Recapitulation

In all cases of recapitulation, a DPrP is involved: either as a constituent in itself, or as the specification to an NP.

6:18 *אמר לנו* if only this matter you want to know;

18:7-8 *אמר לנו* who were not created for this good;

26:10 *אמר לנו* for behold, from this it shows...;

38:23 *אמר לנו* show this to me;

54:5 *אמר לנו* us, our father Bardaisan, you have convinced of these things;

58:16 *who have not received this law;*

58:19–20 *these, however, are not of the power of man.*

#### Continuation

In all cases, continuation is performed by a PPrP in the third person (which, again, can be embedded in a PP, in which case it takes the enclitic form):

4:7–8 *so that he could talk with us about it;*

4:10 *and He has created man;*

4:18 *that they would answer me;*

6:1 *that they ask you whatever they want;*

8:18 *on which they can hope;*

10:3 *he would not be of himself;*

12:14–15 *and he can justify himself;*

22:19 *so that it can feed from it in winter;*

26:3 *that they are found without guilt.*

#### Direct Speech Continuation

4:17 *I, my master, asked these peers (of mine).*

Concludingly, we can state that in the relation between activation type and phrase type, the following preferences are displayed:

TABLE 4: Correspondences between activation type and phrase type

<i>Activation type</i>	<i>Prevailing phrase type</i>
Introduction	NP, may be extended with DPrP
Reactivation	NP or PPrP 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person
Recapitulation	DPrP, or NP extended with DPrP
Continuation	PPrP 3 <sup>rd</sup> person

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Where I treated the internal structure of phrases in the previous chapter, in the present chapter I have presented a survey of the way in which phrases combine into clauses, focusing on verbal sentences, the structure of which has been investigated far less thoroughly in the research than nominal sentences.

The model judged the most suitable for the analysis of the corpus at hand treats the VSO word order as the standard for Syriac, labelling any deviation from this order as marked. It should be noted, however, that this observation is based mainly on the prevailing frequency of the relative orders VS and VO, since clauses that contain only two out of the three constituents V, S and O show a more prominent preference for that order than clauses which contain all three constituents. It should be clear that elements which are forced by the rules of the language to be positioned before the verb (such as conjunctions and connective adverbs, as well as interrogative elements) are not to be treated as marked.

Deviations from the default VSO order can be described in terms of constituent fronting; i.e. the occurrence of constituents in the area preceding the verb, known as the preverbal field (*Vorfeld*), in contrast to those occurring in the main field, being the rest of the clause starting from the verb. In my analysis I have taken inspiration from studies by W. Groß and C.H.J. van der Merwe, who have performed analyses of the preverbal field in Biblical Hebrew. Like these scholars, I have investigated not only the factors which may lead to fronting (e.g., why the subject in an SVO clause is fronted), but also the internal structure of the preverbal field (e.g., the processes involved in the fronting of both a subject and an object).

The behaviour of fronted constituents and their formal characteristics (such as phrase type, part of speech, etc.) has been investigated in light of the pragmatic roles (i.e., theme or rheme) which they represent, and the types of participant activation (introduction, continuation or reactivation) which they perform. The interaction of these factors shows, for instance, from the fact that a subject consisting of a PPrP does not occur in unfronted position; i.e., we never encounter the sequence \**ܘܡܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ*. As my research has shown, the PPrP is the typical phrase type employed in participant continuation. Apparently, then, continuation of a participant by means of a

PPrP subject is only expressed in the marked word order (ܘܢܘܗܘܢ), whereas in the unmarked order, the presence of an explicit PPrP subject in addition to the inflection of the finite verb is unnecessary.

There also turns out to be a correlation between the grammatical function of a fronted element and its pragmatic function. For instance, a fronted subject in most cases represents the theme, a fronted object in the majority of cases represents the rheme, while for fronted complements the distribution between theme and rheme is more or less equal. Fronted adjuncts (especially temporal adjuncts) as well as modifiers often occur in fronted position. This behaviour might have a connection to their typical function of indicating the ‘setting’, or state of affairs.

Similar explanations can be given for the correlation between fronting and lexical elements, such as the tendency of certain lexemes to be fronted; e.g. ܘܢܘܗܘܢ, ܘܢܘܗܘܢ, etc. Another way in which lexical aspects interact with fronting mechanisms is the association between certain particles and the pragmatic roles, such as the ‘thematizers’ ܘܢܘܗܘܢ and ܘܢܘܗܘܢ and the ‘rhematizers’ ܘܢܘܗܘܢ and ܘܢܘܗܘܢ. In all these cases there is a correlation between the lexical motivation of fronting and the grammatical and semantic value of the lexemes and their associated pragmatic roles.

My research on the relation between fronting and embedding has shown that in interrupted clauses (clauses which embed one or more subordinate clauses) the interruption almost invariably occurs after an element in the preverbal field, not in the main field.

When several constituents are fronted (whether they occur in a continuous or in an interrupted clause), they always occur in a consistent relative order:

*subject – complement – object – adjunct / modifier*

This means that we do encounter clauses with an SOV order, but none with an OSV order.<sup>75</sup>

If we look at the pragmatic functions of multiple fronted constituents, we can observe that the theme tends to come in first position, the rheme in the second. Constituents expressing ‘contextualization’ or ‘setting’ can precede the theme. The preference for a theme-rheme order in combination

<sup>75</sup> This order seems to be very rare in Syriac in general.

with the preference for the subject to occur at the first position in a string of fronted constituents is in accordance with the general linguistic observation that the grammatical subject typically represents the theme rather than the rheme. The (setting)-theme-rheme order fits in the linguistic model developed by Dik and others, known as Functional Grammar.

In negated clauses with fronting, a number of peculiar features is observed. The core of a verbal clause with negation is constituted by the negator  $\neg$  or  $\neg_{\text{sc}} \neg$  and the finite verb. The negator either consists of  $\neg$ , which results in bare negation; or it can consist of  $\neg_{\text{sc}} \neg$ , in which case the negation is of the pseudo-cleft type. Both negation types can have fronted constituents, for which there are two possible positions: 1. before the negator (fronting position 1); 2. between the negator and the verb (fronting position 2). In terms of pragmatic roles, there is a significant tendency for constituents at fronting position 1 to express (part of) the theme, and for constituents at fronting position 2 to represent (part of) the rheme, although exceptions to this preference are also attested.

Typical of (verbal as well as non-verbal) clauses with pseudo-cleft negation is that they always have a filled fronting position 2; i.e., one or more constituents are always present between  $\neg_{\text{sc}} \neg$  and the finite verb. Since fronting of constituents results in a marked structure, this means that all pseudo-cleft negated clauses in BLC are marked. However, it is not necessarily the case that a constituent present at fronting position 2 in a pseudo-cleft negated clause is automatically the (only) element that is being negated. As far as negation scope can be established, several examples in BLC show that it sometimes also encompasses the verb, an observation that contradicts common assertions like ' $\neg_{\text{sc}} \neg$  in a verbal clause is used for the negation of elements other than the verb' or ' $\neg_{\text{sc}} \neg$  always negates the element directly following it'. It is more accurate to state that the element following the negator is usually (part of) the rheme, but not necessarily the (only) element affected by the negation.

## *Chapter 5*

# SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In my Introduction (Chapter 1, Section 2) I have explained the challenge which a linguist faces when he wants to analyze a language that is no longer spoken. The fact that native speakers are not available as a source of information, means that the language cannot be studied in its 'natural habitat', the only available information regarding its intricacies existing in the form of written corpora. This challenge has been the reason for the Turgama model to adopt a corpus-linguistic approach, which aims to focus as much as possible on the distributional surface phenomena in the texts themselves, with as little interference from external, 'grammar-driven' knowledge about the language as possible. That this ideal of an entirely 'data-driven' analysis can only be approximated is reflected in the fact that the Turgama model contains several stages where human input is required: firstly in the basic set of morphological rules in the form of a 'word grammar', and secondly in the interactive procedure (Chapter 1, Section 2.2) where human and computer provide their constant mutual feedback.

During my research it has become clear that what applies to the human input on the linguistic level is even more true where knowledge of the text itself is concerned. Even with the help of sophisticated computational methods, an accurate linguistic analysis of a corpus cannot be performed by relying solely on the grammatical aspects of its language. When unclear or ambiguous forms are encountered where the purely grammatical data is insufficient, the scholar must rely on context, content and his general knowledge of the world to be able to make a decision. In other words, the analysis of the language of a corpus entails a constant overlap between the linguistic and the philological.

That this interaction is relevant for the analysis of the Book of the Laws of the Countries as well does not only show in the mere fact that the topic

of the text has an influence on its linguistic aspects (e.g., the abundance of proper, geographical and gentilic names), but also in the various cases where I had to rely on philological considerations in order to make accurate linguistic judgments, be it in the interpretation of the *waw* in ܘܫܝܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܥܥܘܪܐ as a *waw explicativum* (in Syria, *namely* in Edessa: Chapter 2, note 22), the decision regarding the identity of the interjection ܘܗܝܘܐ (Chapter 3, note 164), the analysis of the construction ܘܗܝܘܐ ܘܗܝܘܐ (Chapter 3, Section 2.1.2.4) or the assessment of the theme and rheme in a clause (Chapter 4).

For these reasons, although the present study deals with the linguistic aspects of BLC, it cannot be complete without a brief outline of its contents, which I have provided in Chapter 1 (Section 1), along with a survey on the history of research concerning its provenance and authenticity. In the same chapter I have pointed out the difficulties that arise when assessing the textual basis for a text of which only one witness is available, such as discerning the several textual layers out of which it was composed and attempting to put those layers in a likely relative temporal order.

In Chapter 2, I have shown how the orthographical and morphological peculiarities of BLC reflect a linguistic profile that fits within the Syriac of the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century, thus concurring with the time when the manuscript was copied, rather than the time when the text itself was composed.

Furthermore, it became clear from my description of the orthography that its peculiarities are affected by a threefold interaction: 1. between the encyclopaedic and the linguistic (in the fact that one word can have several semantic referents; e.g., the name ܐܒܓܪ *Abgar*, which may refer to different persons; or that the same referent can be indicated by different terms; e.g. ܘܗܝܘܐ and ܘܗܝܘܐ for *God*, or ܘܗܝܘܐ and ܘܗܝܘܐ for *India*); 2. between the orthographical and the morphological (e.g., whether two varieties of the same word, such as ܘܗܝܘܐ vs. ܘܗܝܘܐ *Hatra*, merely reflect a difference in spelling or indicate the existence of two different lexemes with different pronunciations); and 3. between common nouns and proper nouns (the fact that, e.g., the names for the astrological constellations are inherently common nouns (ܘܗܝܘܐ *crab*, ܘܗܝܘܐ *lamb*, etc.) and only in the context gain status as proper nouns (*Cancer*, *Aries*, etc.)).

Chapter 3 consisted of a thorough survey of all phrase types and patterns attested in BLC. Instead of merely listing the separate building blocks

which can constitute a phrase, I have meticulously investigated the possible ways in which those building blocks (divided into heads and extensions) are used to create clause constituents. This survey proved especially insightful in light of the dichotomy between linguistic theory and observed practice. Whereas the recursivity of linguistic structure predicts a theoretical infinity of possible combinations, in practice there is always an upper limit to the complexity of the constructions that are attested in a corpus. Thus I found that in BLC, an NP can have a maximum of six parallel heads, that an NP head itself can consist of no more than two consecutive construct nouns, while the amount of separate extensions that an NP can take has a maximum of four. The amount to which phrase extension is recursive (i.e., the number of embedded steps whereby an extension is extended itself) turned out to be three at most (i.e., an extension to an extension to an extension to an NP head).

In Chapter 4, finally, I investigated the way in which clause constituents in BLC behave within a clause. I chose to focus on the phenomenon of constituent fronting in verbal clauses, in relation to its possible pragmatic implications (e.g., the marking of the theme and rheme) as well as its effects on participant activation (introduction, continuation or reactivation). Departing from the observation that the language of BLC keeps rather consistently to the default Semitic VSO constituent order, I have attempted to explain deviations from this standard in those cases where one or more constituents are fronted; i.e., located in a position before the verb. It turned out that BLC shows several correlations between the grammatical function of fronted constituents and their pragmatic functions. As I have shown, for instance, a fronted subject has a significant preference towards marking the theme, whereas a fronted object tends to mark the rheme. In contrast to other clause constituent types, adjuncts (especially temporal adjuncts) show a strong preference for a position in the preverbal field, a phenomenon that seems to fit well with their inherent function of describing a state of affairs, known in Functional Grammar as 'setting'. Even more pronounced than their role in marking the theme or rheme is the way in which fronted constituents perform participant activation. This is especially evident in the correlation between the 'heaviness' of the phrase type of which the fronted constituent consists, and the 'strength' of the type of participant activation:

generally speaking, fronted constituents consisting of NPs will typically perform the strongest type of activation; i.e., introduction, DPrPs tend to effect the weaker type; i.e., reactivation, whereas PPrP constituents are most likely to result in the weakest type; i.e., continuation. Furthermore, I have shown that when more than one constituent is fronted, they seem to show a rather consistent relative order:

*subject – complement – object – adjunct / modifier.*

In my survey of the linguistic peculiarities of BLC I have necessarily been selective, selecting only a few out of the tremendous amount of possible phenomena. Even so, I have attempted to focus on topics that have hitherto only been studied tentatively, such as the behaviour of internal clause constituent structure, and the peculiarities of the verbal, rather than the much-studied non-verbal clause.

Undoubtedly, much more research on the language of BLC can and must be done to do justice to this unique representative of early Syriac literature. Among many other things, a linguistically accurate and up-to-date scholarly edition of the text remains a desideratum. I hope to have offered a contribution towards such goals, providing a deeper insight not only in a variety of linguistic peculiarities of BLC, but in the language of the early Classical Syriac period in general.

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## SAMENVATTING

*Bardaisans*

Boek van de Wetten der Landen:

*Een computer-ondersteunde taalkundige analyse.*

Het *Boek van de Wetten der Landen* (BWL) is een van de oudste getuigen van de vroege Syrische literatuur. De tekst, een verhandeling in proza gecomponeerd in de 3<sup>e</sup> eeuw na Christus, wordt toegeschreven aan de auteur Bardaisan (Edessa, ± 154–222 n. Chr.), alhoewel hij, zo blijkt uit de tekst zelf, in werkelijkheid hoogstwaarschijnlijk op schrift is gesteld door een van zijn leerlingen, Philippus genaamd. Het werk behelst de beschrijving van een theologische discussie tussen Bardaisan en enkele van zijn leerlingen, waarbij verschillende nauw verwante geloofsvraagstukken de revue passeren. Sommige van de onderwerpen zijn van een verrassend actueel gehalte, zoals de vraag of de mens een vrije wil heeft, en of men dient te geloven om te kunnen begrijpen, of juist te begrijpen om te kunnen geloven.

De titel, 'Boek van de Wetten der Landen', dankt het werk aan een omvangrijke passage waarin Bardaisan de verschillende landen in de wereld en hun wetten aandraagt als argument tegen de bewering dat het menselijk handelen onder invloed staat van de sterren, zoals de astrologen beweren. Dat dit niet zo kan zijn, aldus Bardaisan, blijkt uit de observatie dat elk land zijn eigen gewoonten heeft, die ertoe leiden dat alle bewoners zich in hetzelfde land op dezelfde manier gedragen. Dit kan onmogelijk het gevolg van de sterren zijn, want dat zou betekenen dat alle mensen in dat land onder exact dezelfde horoscoop zouden moeten zijn geboren, wat evident niet het geval is. De verklaring van hun gedrag ligt veeleer in hun beschikking over een vrije wil, hun in staat stelt om zichzelf wetten op te leggen. Om zijn argument kracht bij te zetten beschrijft Bardaisan vervolgens een grote hoeveelheid landen en volkeren met hun respectievelijke wetten en gebruiken,

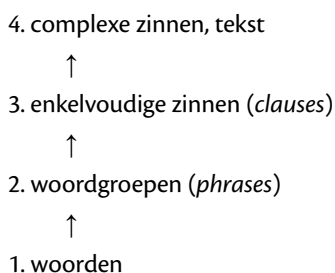
zoals de Brahmanen in India, die geen vlees mogen eten, of de Parthen, die polygaam leven.

De Syrische tekst van *BWL* is ons slechts in één 6<sup>e</sup>- of 7<sup>e</sup>-eeuws manuscript overgeleverd, dat halverwege de 19<sup>e</sup> eeuw samen met honderden andere handschriften werd ontdekt in het klooster van Deir as-Suryan in de Egyptische Wadi Natrun. Het feit dat er voor die tijd reeds fragmenten uit de tekst bekend waren via Griekse parallellen leidde tot jarenlange discussie over de authenticiteit van het werk, de toeschrijving ervan aan Bardaisan en de taal waarin de tekst oorspronkelijk was geschreven. Pas in de 20<sup>e</sup> eeuw werd de consensus bereikt dat die taal het Syrisch was en dat de tekst het gedachtegoed van Bardaisan weerspiegelt. Hiermee vormt het Boek van de Wetten der Landen een werk dat kan worden beschouwd als een representant van 'authentiek' (in plaats van vertaald) Syrisch proza. Wel moet er in dit opzicht rekening worden gehouden met het feit dat het manuscript uit de 6<sup>e</sup> of 7<sup>e</sup> eeuw stamt, dus grofweg drie eeuwen na de compositie van de oorspronkelijke tekst. We hebben te maken met een kopie (die zelf ook weer kan teruggaan op een kopie, etc.), die derhalve zowel wat taalgebruik als wat inhoud betreft kan afwijken van het origineel.

Het doel van deze dissertatie was het onderwerpen van de Syrische tekst van *BWL* aan een gedetailleerde taalkundige analyse. Voor deze analyse heb ik gebruik gemaakt van computer-ondersteunde methoden en modellen die zijn ontwikkeld in de projecten *CALAP* en *Turgama* in samenwerkingsverband tussen de Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit en het Peshitta Instituut Leiden. Die methoden en modellen zijn speciaal toegespitst op onderzoek naar oude talen, zoals het Hebreeuws en Syrisch, die als inherente problematiek hebben dat zij niet langer gesproken worden en dus geen *native speakers* meer hebben. Aangezien het onderzoek naar dergelijke dode talen noodzakelijkerwijs is aangewezen op overgeleverde, geschreven teksten, hanteert het *CALAP/Turgama*-model een corpuslinguïstische methode, die zich zo veel mogelijk richt op distributionele verschijnselen die in de tekst waarneembaar zijn, met zo min mogelijk interferentie van externe kennis over de taal. Dat dit ideaal van een zuiver op de data gebaseerde analyse in de praktijk slechts kan worden benaderd, blijkt uit het feit dat het *CALAP/Turgama*-model enkele fasen bevat waar menselijke inmenging vereist is: in het opstellen van een set morfologische basisregels in de vorm van

een *word grammar*, alsook in een interactief analyseproces waar mens en computer elkaar wederzijds aanvullen (Hoofdstuk 1, § 2.2).

De computerprogramma's die voor de analyse worden gebruikt stellen de onderzoeker in staat om een tekst nauwgezet te ontleden in taalkundige eenheden: morfemen, woorden, zinsdelen, etc. Op grond van het soort en de omvang van de taalkundige eenheid waarnaar gekeken wordt kent het analyseproces vier afzonderlijke stadia, die corresponderen met vier taalkundige niveaus: woordniveau, woordgroepniveau, zinsniveau en tekstniveau. Deze niveaus worden achtereenvolgens geanalyseerd volgens een *bottom-up* benadering, waarbij de data verkregen op een lager niveau telkens wordt geïntegreerd in het niveau erboven. Op het eerste, laagste niveau wordt gekeken naar de opbouw van woorden uit morfemen (lexemen en hun inflectie); op het niveau daarboven naar de opbouw van woorden in woordgroepen (*phrases*); vervolgens naar de opbouw van woordgroepen in enkelvoudige zinnen (*clauses*), en tenslotte naar de opbouw van enkelvoudige zinnen in complexe zinnen en grotere tekstpassages:



*De vier taalniveaus, van beneden naar boven*

De analyse van deze vier niveaus verloopt halfautomatisch, in een interactief proces tussen gebruiker en computer: op basis van eerder gemaakte keuzes door de gebruiker doen de computerprogramma's suggesties voor de analyse van een vorm of constructie, die de gebruiker op grond van zijn taalkundig inzicht accepteert, weigert of aanpast, waarna die beslissingen weer worden verwerkt in de lijst van suggesties die de computer kan doen. Na voltooiing van de analyse van een bepaald taalniveau wordt de verkregen data vervolgens gebruikt als input voor de analyse van het niveau erboven. Deze gecontroleerde wisselwerking tussen computer en gebruiker garandeert

niet alleen een hoge mate van consistentie, maar biedt tevens een effectieve mogelijkheid tot zelfcontrole: zodra een keuze van de onderzoeker op protest van de computer stuit kan dit duiden op een probleem in de programmatuur, maar ook op een taalkundige eigenaardigheid die nadere studie verdient. Aldus 'leren' de mens en de computer van elkaar.

Wanneer de onderzoeker op deze manier zijn hele corpus doorlopen heeft is het resultaat een zeer uitgebreide database van taalkundige informatie over de desbetreffende tekst. Die database dient vervolgens als basis voor het daadwerkelijke taalonderzoek, waarbij de onderzoeker de data met behulp van geavanceerde zoekopdrachten kan inventariseren, ordenen en bestuderen.

In mijn dissertatie heb ik, met deze database als uitgangspunt, de eerste drie taalniveaus (woordniveau, woordgroepniveau en zinsniveau) van BWL geanalyseerd, waarbij ik me per niveau telkens op een selectie uit de vele taalkundige fenomenen heb gericht.

Uit het onderzoek is gebleken dat wat voor de menselijke input op taalkundig niveau geldt, des te meer van toepassing is waar het kennis van de tekst zelf betreft. Zelfs met behulp van geavanceerde rekenmethoden is een adequate analyse van een corpus niet mogelijk op grond van de grammaticale taalverschijnselen alleen. Bij onduidelijke of dubbelzinnige vormen moet de onderzoeker, wanneer de grammaticale gegevens niet toereikend zijn, voor zijn oordeel afgaan op context en inhoud van de tekst of op zijn algemene kennis van de werkelijkheid. Met andere woorden: bij de taalkundige analyse van een corpus is er voortdurend sprake van wisselwerking tussen taalkunde en filologie.

De relevantie van deze interactie voor de analyse van Bardaisans BWL blijkt niet alleen uit het feit dat het onderwerp van de tekst de linguïstische kenmerken ervan beïnvloedt (bijv. de veelheid aan eigen-, volks- en geografische namen), maar ook in diverse gevallen van noodzakelijke filologische overwegingen voor een vellen van een adequaat taalkundig oordeel, bijvoorbeeld in de interpretatie van de *waw* in ܘܘܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ als *waw explicativum* (in Syrië, **namelijk** in Edessa: Hfst. 2, n. 22), de beslissing met betrekking tot de identiteit van de interjectie ܘܘܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (Hfst. 3, n. 164), de analyse van de constructie ܘܘܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ ܘܘܐܘܪܘܫܝܡܐ (Hfst. 3, § 2.1.2.4) of het bepalen van thema en rhema in een zin (Hfst. 4).

Ofschoon de onderhavige studie zich op de taalkundige aspecten van BWL richtte, was dus een beknopte beschrijving van de inhoud van de tekst noodzakelijk (Hfst. 1, § 1), alsook een overzicht van eerder onderzoek inzake de herkomst en authenticiteit ervan. Hoofdstuk 1 bevat tevens een uiteenzetting van de problemen bij het vaststellen van de textuele basis, wanneer—zoals in dit geval—slechts één tekstgetuige beschikbaar is. Vastgesteld diende te worden of er sprake is van verschillende tekstlagen en hoe deze zich chronologisch tot elkaar verhouden.

In Hoofdstuk 2 wordt uitgelegd dat de eigenaardigheden van BWL op het gebied van spelling en vormleer kenmerkend zijn voor het Syrische taaleigen van de 6<sup>e</sup> of 7<sup>e</sup> eeuw. Deze komen dus overeen met de tijd waarin het handschrift is gekopieerd en niet zozeer met de tijd waarin de tekst oorspronkelijk geschreven werd, iets waar terdege rekening mee moet worden gehouden bij verder taalhistorisch onderzoek.

Voorts is uit mijn onderzoek van de spelling gebleken dat deze kenmerken door drie verschillende factoren zijn beïnvloed, waarbij telkens twee principes een rol spelen: 1. encyclopedie en taalkunde (het feit dat één woord verschillende semantische referenten kan hebben; bijv. de naam ܐܒܓܪ *Abgar*, die naar verschillende personen kan verwijzen; of dat dezelfde referent door verschillende termen kan worden aangeduid; bijv. ܐܘܠܗܐ en ܐܘܠܗܐ voor *God*, of ܐܘܪܘܫܐܝܡ en ܐܘܪܘܫܐܝܡ voor *India*); 2. orthografie en morfologie (bijv. de vraag of twee varianten van hetzelfde woord, zoals ܠܗܬܪܐ en ܠܗܬܪܐ *Hatra*, slecht een verschil in spelling weergeven of duiden op het bestaan van twee verschillende lexemen met verschillende uitspraak); en 3. zelfstandige naamwoorden en eigennamen (het feit dat bijv. de namen voor de dierenriemtekens in oorsprong gewone zelfstandige naamwoorden zijn—ܠܗܬܪܐ *krab*, ܠܗܬܪܐ *lam*, enz.—en pas in de context tot eigennamen worden (*Kreeft*, *Ram*, enz.)).

Hoofdstuk 3 behelst een gedetailleerd overzicht van alle woordgroepstypen en -patronen die in BWL voorkomen. Daarbij heb ik niet alleen een lijst opgesteld van de afzonderlijke elementen die een woordgroep kunnen vormen, maar heb ik tevens de mogelijke manieren onderzocht waarop dergelijke elementen (ingedeeld naar 'hoofd' en 'extensie') worden gebruikt om zinsdelen te vormen. Dit overzicht bleek zeer inzichtelijk in het licht van de dichotomie tussen taalkundige theorie en waargenomen praktijk. Waar de

recursiviteit ('herhaalbaarheid') van talige structuren in theorie eindeloze combinaties zou kunnen opleveren, blijkt er in de praktijk steeds een bovenglimiet te bestaan voor de complexiteit van de constructies die in een corpus worden aangetroffen. Zo is gebleken dat in BWL een nominale woordgroep (*noun phrase*, NP) ten hoogste zes parallelle hoofden kan hebben, dat een dergelijk hoofd uit niet meer dan twee opeenvolgende nomina in de status *constructus* kan bevatten, terwijl het aantal afzonderlijke extensies dat een NP kan hebben maximaal vier is. De mate waarin de extensie van woordgroepen recursief is (d.w.z. het aantal malen dat een extensie zelf weer een extensie heeft) blijkt ten hoogste drie te zijn: een extensie van een extensie van een extensie van een NP-hoofd.

Tenslotte heb ik in Hoofdstuk 4 onderzocht hoe zinsdelen in BWL zich binnen een zin gedragen. Daarbij heb ik vooral gelet op het verschijnsel dat een zinsdeel vooraan in een werkwoordelijke zin wordt geplaatst (*fronting*) en de vraag gesteld wat de mogelijke pragmatische implicaties daarvan zijn (bijv. het markeren van thema en rhema) en het effect op *participant activation* (introducering, continuering of reactivering). Op grond van de vaststelling dat de taal van BWL tamelijk strak vasthoudt aan de standaard volgorde VSO (*verb - subject - object*) in het Semitisch, heb ik getracht afwijkingen van deze volgorde te verklaren bij vooropplaatsing (d.w.z. plaatsing vóór het werkwoord) van één of meer zinsdelen. Het is gebleken dat er in de taal van BWL verschillende correlaties bestaan tussen de grammaticale functie van vooropgeplaatste zinsdelen en hun pragmatische functie. Aangevoerd wordt bijvoorbeeld dat een vooropgeplaatst subject een significante neiging heeft als thema gemarkeerd te worden, terwijl vooropgeplaatste objecten juist veelal het rhema markeren. In tegenstelling tot andere zinsdeeltypen worden adjuncten (in het bijzonder temporele) vaak in pre-verbale positie geplaatst, een verschijnsel dat goed lijkt aan te sluiten bij hun inherente functie van het beschrijven van een toestand, wat in de Functionele Grammatica *setting* wordt genoemd. Nog duidelijker dan hun functie als markering van thema en rhema is de rol die vooropgeplaatste zinsdelen hebben ten behoeve van *participant activation*. Dit blijkt vooral uit de relatie tussen de 'zwaarte' van het type woordgroep waaruit het vooropgeplaatste zinsdeel bestaat, en de 'sterkte' van het soort *participant activation*: in het algemeen zullen vooropgeplaatste zinsdelen die uit NP's bestaan, de sterkste activering

bewerkstelligen, namelijk introducering. Demonstratieve pronominale woordgroepen behelzen een zwakkere activering, namelijk reactivering, terwijl persoonlijke voornaamwoordgroepen veelal de zwakste activering opleveren, namelijk continuering. Voorts heb ik aangetoond dat indien meer dan één constituent vooropgeplaatst is, deze zonder uitzondering geplaatst worden in de relatieve volgorde:

*subject – complement – object – adjunct / modifier.*

In mijn onderzoek naar het taaleigen van BWL heb ik uit een veelheid van mogelijke verschijnselen een keuze moeten maken. Daarbij is de aandacht vooral uitgegaan naar verschijnselen die tot dusverre slechts oppervlakkig bestudeerd waren, zoals de interne structuur van zinsdelen en de kenmerken van de verbale zin, die in vergelijking met de grondig bestudeerde non-verbale zin tamelijk onderbelicht is gebleven.

Verder onderzoek naar de taal van BWL is zeker mogelijk en gewenst om deze unieke getuige van de vroege Syrische literatuur recht te doen. Zo blijft onder andere een taalkundig verantwoorde en actuele wetenschappelijke editie van de tekst een desideratum. Aan dit doel hoop ik met dit proefschrift een bijdrage te hebben geleverd en een beter inzicht te hebben gegeven in zowel diverse taalkundige kenmerken van BWL als in de taal van de vroege Syrische literatuur in het algemeen.



## CURRICULUM VITAE

Dirk Bakker werd geboren op 3 juli 1978 te West-Terschelling. In 1998 behaalde hij zijn examen in het voortgezet wetenschappelijk onderwijs aan het Stedelijk Gymnasium te Leeuwarden, waarna hij in Groningen begon aan zijn studie Semitische Talen en Culturen. Tijdens een onderzoeksstage in voorbereiding op zijn doctoraalscriptie verbleef hij in maart-april 2003 in het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, vanwaar hij codicologisch onderzoek verrichtte in de Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Hiernaast studeerde hij Algemene Taalwetenschap. In augustus 2005 behaalde hij met lof het doctoraal examen Semitische Talen en Culturen met als hoofdvak Aramees / Syrisch. In de periode 2005–2009 was hij aangesteld als promovendus aan de Universiteit Leiden binnen het NWO-project *Turgama: Computer-Assisted Analysis of the Peshitta and the Targum: Text, Language and Interpretation* onder leiding van dr. W.Th. van Peursen, waarbinnen hij het onderzoek verrichtte voor onderhavige dissertatie. In die positie was hij verbonden aan het Leids Instituut voor Godsdienstwetenschappen aan de Universiteit Leiden, waar hij na voleindiging van het Turgama-project tot 2011 werkzaamheden heeft verricht als wetenschappelijk onderzoeker en docent.





