Greek Words In Syriac: Some General Features

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Much of Abraham Wasserstein's work was concerned in one way or another with the interaction between Greek and Semitic cultures, and his own words, taken from the end of one of his recent articles,[1] provide a particularly fitting introduction to this present exploration, dedicated to his memory:

> The student of cultures in contact, particularly of adjoining and intermingling civilizations such as we find in the meeting between the two supranational civilizations of the Near East in antiquity — Hellenistic and Semitic — has the ... benefit of being able to observe the effects of varying degrees of mutual influences and borrowings from one international language into another over many centuries.

One important indicator of the way one culture interacts with another is the extent to which it makes lexical borrowings. Greek words began to penetrate the Semitic languages towards the end of the fifth century BCE and the first dated example features in one of the Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, dated 402 BCE, namely *sttry* = στατήρ.[2] This means that by the time that Syriac emerged, in the early centuries CE, as a major literary dialect of Late Aramaic, there had been at least half a millennium during which the impact of Greek vocabulary had been making itself felt on the Semitic languages of the Near East.[3] Although the topic of Greek and Latin words in Jewish Aramaic and in Hebrew has received a certain amount of attention — most notably in S. Krauss' well-known *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*,[4] and in the more recent studies by D. Sperber[5] — surprisingly little at-

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[1]   "A Note on the Phonetic and Graphic Representation of Greek Vowels and of the *Spiritus Asper* in the Aramaic Transcriptions of Greek Loanwords", *SCI* 12, 1993, 207-8.

[2]   Ed. E.G. Kraeling, 12:5, 14 (see his note on p. 276) = B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2 *Contracts*, 1989, B.3.12. The Abydos lion weight (CIS II.108), dating from about a century earlier, in fact has a form *stry'* that is closer to the later Syriac *'styr'*.

[3]   For Phoenician, see J. Friedrich, "Griechisches und Römisches in Phonizischem und Punischem Gewand", *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt*, ed. J. Fück, 1947, 109-24.

[4]   This still remains the standard authority, despite its excesses and the various criticisms it has received ever since its appearance; see especially F. Perles in *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift* 8, 1899, 539-46, G. Zuntz, "Greek Words in the Tal-

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tention has been paid to the topic of Greek and Latin words in Syriac. Apart from the information incorporated into R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* and C. Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* (not easy of access to the Greek scholar interested in the field), there have only been a small number of studies, the most important of which is A. Schall's *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen*.[6] Schall divided his book into two parts: in the first he lists and discusses Greek words found in original Syriac literature up to the mid-fourth century (thus excluding Ephrem), while in the second he gives an annotated list of Greek words referring to religion, cult and myth, this time without any date limit (the list is given Syriac-Greek and unfortunately a reverse index is not provided). While the first part is almost complete, the materials provided in the second part could be extended very considerably.

A small number of subsequent studies for the most part concern individual writings[7] or writers.[8] It is worth noting that many editions of Syriac texts now provide indices of Greek words; this applies, for example, to more recent volumes published in the *Scriptores Syri* series of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain), which means that indexes of Greek words in most of Ephrem's works (not covered by Schall) are available at the end of E. Beck's editions of his works in that series. Furthermore, a useful list of Greek words featuring in the Peshitta New Testament can be found in Appendix 4 of G.A. Kiraz's *Concordance to the Syriac New Testament*.[9]

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mud", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1, 1956, 129-40, and D. Sperber, "Prolegomena to a New Dictionary of Classical Words in Rabbinic Literature", reprinted in his *Essays on Greek and Latin in the Mishna, Talmud and Midrashic Literature*, 1982, 1-74. A survey article on the topic by D. Sperber is announced for *ANRW* II.29.3.

5   Notably D. Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature*, 1984.

6   Darmstadt, 1960; on this see F. Altheim and R. Stiehl in their *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, 1964, I, 608-17.

7   Thus my "Greek Words in the Syriac Gospels (vet and pe)", *Le Muséon* 80, 1967, 389-426. By an oversight I omitted *talaria* > *ṭelare* 'sandals' (Mark 6:9, Peshitta; also Acts 12:8).

8   C. Elsas, "Studien zu griechischen Worten im Syrischen", *Paul de Lagarde und die syrische Kirchengeschichte*, 1968, 58-89 (on Sergius of Resh'aina's translation of Ps.Aristotle, Περὶ Κόσμου). More general studies include my "Some Aspects of Greek words in Syriac", *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, ed. A. Dietrich (Abh. Ak. Wiss. in Göttingen 96, 1975), 80-108, reprinted in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London, 1984), ch. IV; and M. Maroth, "Der politische Wortschatz altgriechischer Herkunft im Syrischen", *Das Fortleben altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe in der Sprachen der Welt*, II, ed. E.C. Welskopf, 1982, 485-507.

9   In vol.VI, 1993, 4591-2.

In the course of the fourth to seventh centuries Syriac literary culture underwent some profound changes. The earliest major writers, Aphrahat (active 337-345) and Ephrem (d. 373), although far from untouched by the influence of Greek language and culture, are nevertheless comparatively unhellenized in their style and language.[10] During the fifth, and above all in the sixth and seventh centuries, the ever increasing prestige of all things Greek in the eyes of most Syriac writers brought about a dramatic change that affected almost all areas of Syriac writing:[11] the impress of Greek can thus be seen in genre and syntax, as well as in vocabulary where there is a vast increase during this period in the number of Greek and Latin words which enter Syriac and very often gain wide currency. Accordingly, in any study of these borrowings into Syriac it is always important to maintain a diachronic, as well as a synchronic, perspective. Given the fact that a considerable amount of Syriac literature for the period 4th-7th centuries is approximately datable, we are in the fortunate position of being able to plot chronologically certain developments in the way in which Greek words were received into Syriac. Indication of several of these will be given in the course of the present study.

The end of the seventh century is chosen as a cut-off date here since the separation of Syriac writers from direct contact with the Greek cultural world, effected by the Arab conquests,[12] meant that subsequent borrowings from Greek (of which there is a very large number) are usually of a different, and more learned, character: thus a great many concern technical terms, while others result from an artificial display of Greek learning.[13]

Before turning to particular features where diachronical developments can be discerned, a few preliminary remarks of a general nature may be helpful. The vast majority of Greek (and Latin) words that are taken over into Syriac are nouns. These can be taken over in a number of different ways, usually reflecting the extent to which they become naturalized in their new home. Thus, to take the case of the large number of nouns in -os, there are three main ways in which they may be taken over:

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[10] Much of what Abraham Wasserstein says in his 'Non-hellenized Jews in the semi-hellenized East', *SCI* 14, 1995, 111-37, would be applicable to the main fourth-century Syriac writers.

[11] See my "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning", in T. Mathews, N. Garsoian and R. Thomson, *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, 1982, 17-34, reprinted in *Syriac Perspectives*, ch. V.

[12] The demise of Greek in Syria and Palestine will have been significantly hastened by the replacement of Greek by Arabic in the civil service in 706.

[13] Many examples of the former can readily be found in the voluminous writings of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), and of the latter in both liturgy and poetry of the Middle Ages.

(1) The Syriac emphatic ending -*a* replaces the Greek inflectional ending -*os*: e.g. ἐπίτροπος > '*epitropa*. This occurs with a very large number of cases, which can thus take suffixes and act in general like native Syriac words; the same thing is frequently found with other Greek endings, e.g. βουλευτής > *bulewta*, δηνάριον > *dinara* etc.

(2) The Syriac emphatic ending -*a* is added to the Greek -*os*. This category includes some fifteen borrowings which occur very commonly in all periods: e.g. γένος > *gensa*, καιρός > *qirsa*, ναός > *nawsa*, νόμος > *namosa*, πόρος > *pursa*, τύπος > *tupsa*. It will be noticed at once that the Greek inflection has been preserved in order to triradicalize the borrowing; the only exceptions to this seem to be ἀγρός > '*agursa*, δεκανός > *deqansa* (both, no doubt, in order to avoid homographs with '*agra* 'wage' and *deqna* 'beard'), εὐνοῦχος > '*unuksa*, μάγειρος > *magirsa*, and στοιχεῖον > '*estuksa* (where the -*s*- will be due to analogy).

(3) The Greek inflectional ending -*os* (also neuters in -*on*) is taken over, but no emphatic ending is provided.[14] Not surprisingly this applies to quite a number of technical and specialized terms, such as ἀνθύπατος, ἔκδικος, πανσέληνος, οὐδέτερος, προδιορισμός, σεβαστός etc; if a plural is required, -*ws* is replaced by -*w* and the plural marker (two supralinear points) is added. A small number of words in this third category are, however, of common occurrence: θρόνος > *tranos*, κίνδυνος > *qindunos* (also *qundinos*), κλῆρος > *qliros*, and ὄχλος > '*oklos*.

The absence of any emphatic ending is also a fairly regular feature of Greek nouns in -*is*,[15] e.g. ἔκλειψις > '*eqlipsis*, καθαίρεσις > *qataresis*, στάσις > '*estasis*, τάξις > *taksis* (also *teksa*, for which see below; *taksis* normally has the sense of 'entourage, bodyguard'). Similarly, Greek neuters in -*ion* frequently are taken over as -*in*, e.g. λεκτίκιον > *leqtiqin*, κοινόβιον > *qanobin*, παλάτιον > *palatin*.

Among other Greek endings, -*on* normally is Syriacized as -*ona*; -*e* is represented by *alaph* (later also *yodh*), though in a small number of cases the Syriac feminine marker *tau* is added, as κέλλα > *qellayta*, λόγχη > *lokita*, πινακίδιον > *penqita* (the intermediary *penqidta* occurs in a colophon of November 411 CE), τάβλα > *tablita*, and φερνή > *pernita*; and -*ial*-*eia* are represented by -*y'* (these only become common in the sixth and seventh centuries).

It is a feature of borrowings from Greek and Latin into many languages that the form taken over is in the accusative. Many examples of this can be found in Syriac; in the case of singulars, the emphatic ending -*a* is normally present (whether or not this was suggested by the Greek accusative ending -*a* is unclear): e.g. ἄρχοντα > '*arkonta* (but '*arkona* is also found), δελφῖνα > *dolpina*, κλεῖδα

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[14]   For a few words two different forms, one preserving -*os* and the other substituting the emphatic -*a*, are attested (e.g. *gramatiqos and gramatiqa*).

[15]   An exception which is quite commonly found is '*atlisa* < ἄθλησις.

> *('a)qlida*. Greek accusative plurals in *-as* are taken over with the spelling *-'s* (or *-ws*), and are left without any emphatic ending, e.g. ἀρχάς > *'arkas* (or *'arkos*), δαπάνας > *dapanos*, κανδήλας > *qandilas*, φωνάς ('acclamations') > *ponas*. These endings may also be used to provide a plural to a Greek word normally found in the singular, such as ἀήρ > *'a'er*, but plural *'a'eros* (*''rws*), or θεωρία > *te'orya*, plural *te'oryas*; furthermore, they may be found attached by analogy to Greek neuter plurals, e.g. βαλανεῖα > *balanas*, κάστρα > *qasṭras* (alongside *qasṭra*).

A few Greek neuter plurals in *-ata* are taken over direct: thus in the case of δόρατα, θεωρήματα, παραδόγματα, σοφίσματα, ὑπομνήματα, χρήματα. In at least four cases both the Greek singular and plural forms are borrowed: e.g. both δόγμα and δόγματα (likewise with μάλαγμα, παράδειγμα and τέλεσμα). This also applies to a few neuters in *-on* and *-ion*: thus beside the common θέατρον > *te'aṭron* and εὐαγγέλιον > *'ewangelyon* we also encounter (especially in seventh-century texts) the plurals *te'aṭra* and *'ewangelya*.

Only in exceptional circumstances does one find cases other than nominative or accusative as the basis for the borrowing. Most of these concern terms in formulaic contexts, such as P.Dura 28 (of 243 CE) where Aurelius Hophshi is described as "an Edessene from the twelfth tribe" (*men pilis* < φυλῆς), or in Roman date formulae (thus Νωνῶν > *nonon*). Needless to say, the same applies to prepositional phrases taken over wholesale, like ἀπὸ σωφιστῶν > *'aposopisṭon*, or *a secretis* > *'aseqriṭis*.

The great majority of borrowings from Latin reach Syriac by way of Greek, and not surprisingly most of these belong to the sphere of military, administrative and legal terms. A few of the Latin words in Syriac, however, are not to be found in S. Daris' *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*,[16] which may mean that they came direct, though it is of course possible that Greek borrowings from Latin in Syria were not always the same as those current in Egypt; among Syriac borrowings from Latin that are absent from Daris' list the following are noteworthy (I give just the Latin form): *diligentia, carruca, comitatus, cubicularius, emancipati, falsus, furtum, mansio, marra*,[17] *securis*.

It will have become apparent solely on the basis of the examples cited above that in most borrowings there is a regular equivalence between Greek and Syriac consonants: thus *kappa* is regularly represented by *qoph*, but *chi* by *kaph*; *theta* by *tau*, but *tau* by *teth*; *xi* by *kaph + semkath*. Since *pe* represents both Greek *pi* and *phi* there are occasional homographs as a result: thus *'spyr'* may represent < σπεῖρα or σφαῖρα. Where exceptions to the standard set of equivalences are to be

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16   2nd ed., Barcelona, 1991.
17   This, however, probably reached Syriac direct from Akkadian; cf. S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 1974, 70, and U. Seidel, "Studien zum Vokabular der Landwirtschaft im Syrischen, I", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15, 1988, 167.

found, such as τάγμα > *tegma*, this will be due to the influence of the character of the neighbouring consonant. It is also clear that most Greek words were taken over in their written form, rather than as pronounced: this is indicated by the retention of *upsilon* represented by *waw* (the case of *men pilis* < φυλῆς, given above in a different context, happens to be an exception).[18] It is also noticeable that only a few Greek borrowings in Syriac feature in a form that must represent spoken usage: the most striking example of this is provided by *bana* < *balana* < βαλανεῖον.[19] Aspiration may or may not be preserved: thus αἵρεσις > *haresis* (but *'aresis* is also found, less commonly), ἡνίοχος > *henyoka*, ὅμηρος > *hmayra* (already in Peshitta Num. 21:29), ὕλη > *hule*. In a few cases *he* features erroneously (examples of this also occur in Coptic), as in ἄρωμα > *haroma*, ἰδιώτης > *hedyota* (similarly in Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew). A *he* may also feature internally where Greek compounds are concerned: thus σύνοδος > *sunhados*. In seventh-century usage *he* is frequently employed to represent *epsilon*: this feature is, however, very rarely found earlier. In pre-seventh-century texts the aspiration of *rho* is normally represented, e.g. *Rhomaye* (later *Romaye*), ῥήτωρ > *rhe/itra* (*rhtr'/rhytr'*; later, *rytr'*), and likewise internally in παρρησία > *parhesya* (*prhsy'*, later *p'rysy'/ p'rrysy'*).[20]

As far as gender is concerned, it should be noted that Greek neuters in some cases are treated as masculines (e.g γλωσσόκομον > *glosqma*, μίλιον > *mila*), but others feature in Syriac as feminines (e.g. βαλανεῖον > *bana/balana*, βῆμα > *bim/bima*,[21] κοιμητήριον > *qomitrin*.[22] Greek masculines may sometimes become Syriac feminines, and Greek feminines Syriac masculines: thus ἀήρ masc. > *'a'er* fem., as well as masc.; and conversely τάξις fem. > *teksa* masc., χώρα fem. > *kora* masc.

There can be considerable variation in orthography, as far as representation of Greek vowels is concerned,[23] and sometimes orthographical practice may change

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18   *pirma* < πύρωμα is another exception (in early manuscripts this is spelled *prm'*, but later *pyrm'*).

19   Other forms are also found such as *bl'ny*. In the early Syriac translation of the Clementine Recognitions the word is given a Syriac feminine plural, *balanawata* (ed. de Lagarde, 76, line 35).

20   On this point I would disagree with Abraham Wasserstein, who preferred to see the *he* (also in Jewish Aramaic for this word) as representing *eta*: see his "A Note on the Phonetic and Graphic Representation of Greek Vowels and of the *Spiritus Asper* in the Aramaic Transcriptions of Greek Loanwords", *SCI* 12, 1993, 206 (also *SCI* 14, 1995, 135, n. 58).

21   In earlier texts the form taken over is normally *bim* (*bym* or occasionally *b'm*).

22   This can also apply to the Greek neuter plural, e.g. ὑπομνήματα > *hwpmnmt'* is treated as a fem. sing. in W. Cureton ed., *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 63.

23   This can pose considerable problems in locating certain Greek words in the standard Syriac dictionaries. It should also be recalled that the earliest vocalization tradition in Syriac only dates from the late seventh century, and what later

over the course of time (this applies especially to the West Syriac tradition): thus διαθήκη is always written *dytq'* in early texts, but especially from the seventh century onwards *dy'tyqy* is also commonly found in the West Syriac tradition. In this respect scribes often feel themselves free to alter the spelling, updating it to the current orthographical norm.

In a few cases two different Syriac forms of the same Greek word occur; thus εἰκών normally appears as *yuqna* (an early example is Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* XXII.4), but occasionally *'iqona* is also found (e.g. regularly in the early Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (IX.9, 10 etc.); similarly στοιχεῖον first appears in the plural as *'estukse,* whereas in some later texts, of the sixth century onwards, *stukaye* is found (thus frequently in Philoxenus, d. 523).

It was mentioned at the outset that the vast majority of Greek words taken over into Syriac are nouns. Exceptions are rare, and in the period under consideration these are virtually limited to the following cases.

Verbs
Denominatives based on an original nominal form of the borrowing are in fact reasonably common and some thirty or so can found in texts prior to c.700 CE; in these denominatives the verbal form appears in the pa'el, e.g. ζεῦγος > *zawga* > *zawweg* (usually in the sense 'to marry'), τάξις > *teksa* > *takkes* 'to arrange, set in order'. Several quadriliteral verbs are also created in this way, e.g. καθαίρεσις > *qataresis* > *qatres* 'to depose'. Verbs taken over direct from Greek verbal forms are very rare, though one of these is used extremely frequently: this is *'appis,* an aph'el form based on the aorist infinitive πεῖσαι. In this case the nominal forms in Syriac, such as *pyasa, mettpisanuta* etc. are secondary. One other verb may be taken over directly from a Greek verb, *pargel* < παραγγέλλω (the only nominal form in Syriac is *purgala,* clearly based on the verbal form). The cases of *parnes* < πρόνοος[24] and *qatreq* < κατήγωρ are exceptional, in that they seem to be based directly on the Greek nominal forms.

Probably from the late fifth century,[25] but especially in the sixth and seventh centuries, we encounter a limited number of borrowings based on the Greek

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became the standard vocalization of Greek words may not reflect their original pronunciation in Syriac (for this reason I have sometimes left the Syriac forms without vowels); in particular, it is often uncertain whether the various *matres lectionis* (which may or may not be present) represent a or e, e or i, o or u.

24   Unless it comes to Syriac by way of the noun *parnasa,* not found in Syriac but attested already in Aramaic form (*parnasin*) in a Hebrew letter from Murabba'at (*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* II, no. 42) of c.134/5.

25   The earliest datable occurrences are all from the sixth century, but two translations of uncertain date may belong to the late fifth century; these are the Didascalia (χειροτονηθῆναι and κινδυνεῦσαι, ed. A.Vööbus, I, 28; 66, 125, 178

aorist infinitive, either active, or passive: these active infinitives are construed with *'bad* 'to make' (possibly in imitation of Coptic practice where ρ ('to make') + Greek infinitive is regularly found), and passives with the auxiliary *hwa*, e.g. *pilosopise [pylwswpys']* *'bad* 'he philosophised', *qindewnewse 'bad* 'he was in danger'; and for the passive, *pliroporitine [plyrwpwrytyn']* *hwa* 'he was informed'.

Apart from these there are only some isolated cases such as *trsw* representing θαρσεῖτε in the Sinaitic manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels at Matt.14:27 and Mark 6:50,[26] or legal or liturgical phrases taken over, such as δεπορτατεύεσθαι[27] or στῶμεν καλῶς.

Particles and Adverbs
Already in some of the earliest surviving Syriac texts we encounter the particles *den* and *ger*. While both these seem definitely not to be borrowings from Greek,[28] they both nevertheless function in the same way as the Greek particles δέ and γάρ (in Christian Palestinian Aramaic the spellings *dy* and *gr* are in fact adapted to the Greek). A number of other Greek particles do get taken over direct into Syriac; these are, in Greek alphabetical order: ἄρα > *'r',* found quite frequently in texts of the fifth century onwards (there are no examples in Aphrahat or Ephrem); among early examples is the Syriac translation of Josephus, *Bellum* VI.328 (ed. P.Bedjan, 819, line 15). Most frequently *'r'* comes first in a phrase and introduces a rhetorical question; occasionally, however, it can be inferential, in which case it features as second (or later) word: thus the Harkleian (early seventh century) version of Romans 7:21 uses *'r'* (= Greek ἄρα) where the Peshitta has *hakil* 'therefore'.

γοῦν taken over in the hybrid form *badgun* (with the preposition *beth* and relative particle *dalath*). This is first attested in Ephrem, e.g. *Carmina Nisibena* 3:11, 7:4 etc., and is commonly found in subsequent texts.

εἶτα > *'yṭ'*. The earliest instances known to me are from the sixth and seventh centuries; it never gained great currency in Syriac (in contrast to Christian Arabic).

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respectively) and Athanasius' Life of Antony (46, ἐξοριασθῆναι, ed. R. Draguet, 75). For the disputed date of the former, see my "Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation", in *V Symposium Syriacum* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236, 1988), 328-30.

26   For two other isolated occurrences, see my "Greek Words in the Syriac Gospels" (above, n. 7), 402.

27   See my review of W. Selb, *Sententiae Syriacae* in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39, 1994, 302.

28   T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, repr. ed. A. Schall, 1966, 98 n. 2. It should be observed that in old Syriac manuscripts the spelling *gr* (not *gyr*) is sometimes found.

κ' ἄν > qn. This is extremely rare, and the only instances I know are in the *Liber Graduum*[29] (c. 400 CE) and the Acts of Silvester, incorporated into Ps.Zacharias, *Ecclesiastical History*,[30] of the late sixth century.

μέν > mn. This is not found before the fifth century, from which date onwards it is reasonably common. An early example is in Eusebius, *Eccl.Hist.*VIII.7.5.

οὖν > 'wn, attested for the Diatessaron at Matt. 8:4 and 12:39 in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (XII.24 and XI.2 respectively), and found a number of times elsewhere in his Commentary, as well as in a few other places (e.g. XI.13, XIII.8, XIV.5). It is also found once each in Aphrahat (*Demonstration* VII.10), the Syriac translations of Athanasius's *Life of Antony* (ed. R. Draguet, 32, 53) and Palladius' *Lausiac History* (ed. Draguet, I, 114), and in the Julian Romance (ed. G. Hoffmann, 120). Subsequently, however, it appears to have dropped out of use in Syriac, though it is interesting to note that it features quite often in Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

The number of Greek adverbs taken over is likewise limited, and the following probably represents a nearly complete list of all those that occur in published texts up to the end of the seventh century:

ἀκριβῶς > 'aqribos. This is an isolated case, to be found in the late sixth-century Life of John of Tella (ed. Brooks, 91 line 2).

ἁπλῶς > haplos (or 'aplos). This already occurs in the Syriac version of the Clementine Recognitions, preserved in a manuscript of 411 CE (ed. de Lagarde, 79, line 16); it is never very common, but continues to feature occasionally in later texts.

εἰκῆ > 'iqe ('yq'). This already occurs in the Peshitta translation of the Hebrew Bible at Job 15:31 and Jer. 46:11, as well as in the Old Syriac (and Peshitta) of Mark 5:22. Though never very common, it nevertheless features in a wide variety of Syriac writers of all periods.

εὖ > 'yw. Not infrequently used as an exclamation; thus already in the Old Syriac Gospels at Luke 19:17.

μάλιστα > malista. This is not found before the sixth century, and is never very common.

μᾶλλον > malon (mlwn, but later, especially seventh century onwards, often m'llwn). This is not uncommon from the late fourth century onwards; early examples include Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* IV.13, and Josephus, *Bellum* VI.401 (ed. P. Bedjan, 831 line 7).

πάντως > pantos (pntws). This occurs occasionally in texts of the late fifth century onwards.[31]

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29   *Liber Graduum* (*Patrologia Syriaca* III), XIII.7.
30   Ed. E.W. Brooks, I, 61, line 21.
31   For its possible occurrence in the poem on the months in the Fragment Targum to Ex. see my "A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts",

τέως > *t'ws* (or *thws*). Like εἶτα, this is very probably a seventh-century introduction; it too never gained wide currency.

τάχα > *ṭak* (*ṭk*). This already occurs in the Syriac translation of the Pentateuch at Exod. 32:30 and Num. 23:3; in the Sinaitic manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels at Mark 11:13 *ṭak* renders εἰ ἄρα. It remains in current use in Syriac writers of all periods.

Some inner Syriac developments
Instead of taking over Greek adverbs, Syriac much more frequently creates its own new adverbial forms in *-a'it* on the basis of Greek nouns that had previously been borrowed. Those commonly encountered include *'atlita'it* (< ἀθλήτης), *'asoṭa'it* (< ἄσωτος), *'ewangela'it* (< εὐαγγέλιον), *kanona'it* (< κανών), *namosa'it* (< νόμος), *'usya'it* (< οὐσία), *po'iṭa'it* (< ποιητής), *ṭrona'it* (< τύραννος), *pilsopa'it* (< φιλόσοφος).

Abstract nouns in *-uta* are also frequently created on the basis of Greek words already taken over. The following are all quite commonly found: *'agonistuta* (< ἀγωνιστής), *'atlisuta* (< ἄθλησις), *heparkuta* (< ἔπαρχος), *'epitraputa* (< ἐπίτροπος), *hegmanuta* (< ἡγεμών), *hedyoṭuta* (< ἰδιώτης), *qapiluta* (< κάπηλος), *qṭigranuta* (< κατήγωρ), *patronuta* (< πάτρωνος < *patronus*), *'estraṭiguta* (< στρατηγός), *pilsaputa* (< φιλόσοφος; *pilsopya*, direct from φιλοσοφία, is also found in texts of the seventh century or later).

Adjectival forms, created by the suffix *-aya* (occasionally *-anaya*), also become very common,[32] especially from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards. Here a chronological development can be seen fairly clearly; the earliest attested[33] is *namosaya* 'legal, pertaining to the Law', which is already found in the early Syriac translations of Titus of Bostra's *Adversus Manichaeos* (ed. de Lagarde, 176) and Eusebius's *Theophania* (III.2), and then in fifth-century Syriac writers such as John the Solitary and Narsai. Probably from the late fifth century comes *qanonaya* 'canonical'. First attested (it seems) in sixth-century texts are: *'adšaya* (< *'adša* < εἶδος), *'ewangelaya, 'usyaya, 'eskulaya, 'areṭiqaya/hareṭiqaya, gensanaya, dimosaya, hulanaya, ṭupsanaya, 'estuksaya, saṭanaya.* The seventh century witnesses a notable increase, and the following are probably all introductions of this (or possibly the late sixth) century: *'a'eraya, 'agursaya, adamosaya* (< ἀδάμας), *'ananqaya, 'espiraya* 'spherical', *'apodiqṭiqaya,*

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32 *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30, 1985, 211 (a few other examples in Jewish Aramaic are known).

This can apply even when the Syriac form of the noun does not have an emphatic ending *-a*; two examples of this can be found in the list below (< ἀρχάς and < φύσις).

33 A few cases such as *putqaya* 'innkeeper' < πανδοκεῖον (*sic.*, rather than -δοχεῖον) or *bursaya* 'tanner' < βυρσεύς are in fact earlier, but here the suffix *-aya* serves to denote a profession or trade, rather than an adjective proper.

'episqopaya, 'arkosaya (< ἀρχάς), *'atlitaya, dogmatiqaya, diyaleqtiqaya, tronaya*
'tyrannical', *lestayaya, sunhodiqaya, sopistaya* and *sopistiqaya, pedagogaya,
politiqaya, patryarkaya, pilsopaya, pusisaya* (< φύσις), *parsopaya, qomedaya,
qomiqaya, qanobaya, qatoliqaya, rahbonaya* (< ἀρραβών).

Here, as often elsewhere, it is significant that the earliest attestations are
often to be found in translations from Greek.

A variety of other secondary formations are to be found, and certain Greek
borrowings proved to be extremely productive in this respect. This applies in
particular to the following:

'appis < πεῖσαι, from which the following derivatives occur: *'ettpis, pis(a)* +
*'bad, pyasa, pyasta, mpisana, mpisanuta, mettpisana, mettpisana'it,
mettpisanuta.*

parnes < πρόνοος, whence *'etparnas, purnasa, mparnsana, mparnsana'it,
mparnsanuta, metparnsana.*

'eskima < σχῆμα, whence *'eskimuta, 'eskimtana, 'eskimtana'it,
'eskimtanuta, sakkem, 'estakkam.*

teksa < τάξις,[34] whence: *tukkasa, takkes, 'ettakkas, mtakksa'it, mtakksuta,
mtakksana, mtakksanuta* and *mettakksana.*

tupsa < τύπος, whence *tupsaya, tupsanaya, tupsana'it, tappes, mtappsuta,
mtappsana, mtappsana'it, mtappsanuta, mettappsanuta.*

Not surprisingly, Greek words can sometimes take on a different meaning or
nuance in Syriac. This is can be quite dramatically different, as in *kroma*
'insolence', and *kromtana* 'insolent' (< χρῶμα), *qi'rsa* 'battle' (< καιρός), or in
the various constructions used with *nome* (< νομή), such as *'ehad nome* 'take
control'. More frequently the difference is more one of nuance, as *'appis* 'request,
ask' (rather than 'persuade').

Finally, it is interesting to observe that, with the exception of some learned
technical terms and terms specifically connected with the administration of the
Later Roman Empire, a large number of the numerous Greek words taken over
into Syriac over the half millennium ending c. 700 CE have continued in use as
true loanwords[35] in Classical Syriac up to the present day.[36]

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34   For τάξις in other Semitic languages, see T. Nöldeke "τάξις im Semitischen",
      Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 23, 1909, 145-8, and J. W. van Bekkum, "Language
      and theme in the *piyyut*: סכן and its derivations", *Proceedings of the 9th World
      Congress of Jewish Studies, Division C*, 1986, 63-8.

35   I.e. Lehnwörter, as opposed to Fremdwörter. For a discussion of this distinction
      in connection with borrowings from Greek in Near Eastern languages, see H.-F.
      Weiss, "Zum Problem der Einwerkung des griechischen auf die Sprachen des
      byzantinischen Orients", *Von Nag Hammadi bis Zypern*, ed. P. Nagel (*Berliner
      Byzantinische Arbeiten* 43, 1972), 28-34.

36   For the continued use of Classical Syriac today, see my "Some Observations on
      the Use of Classical Syriac in the Late Twentieth Century", *Journal of Semitic
      Studies* 34, 1989, 363-75. In S. Atto's *Nederlands Suryoyo Woordenboek,*

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In this short contribution it has only been possible to touch on a few more general aspects of Greek words in Syriac. Needless to say, the subject is clearly also of considerable interest for the study of Greek words in Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, and in the appendix to his last article Abraham Wasserstein drew up a suggestive list[37] comparing the Syriac and Jewish Aramaic forms of select Greek borrowings: this is just one of many areas which deserve developing, preferably in the context of borrowings from Greek in Palmyrene and Nabatean as well. Although all these have many Greek words in common, nevertheless each Aramaic dialect frequently adapts them in its own particular way; furthermore, the frequently differing choices of borrowings may well often serve as useful indicators that reflect differences in the character of the various local Aramaic-speaking cultures of the Near East in Late Antiquity: as Abraham Wasserstein put it at the beginning of the article just mentioned,[38] "Hellenism took its place beside local aramaicised cultures; it did not supplant them".

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1986, which represents modern usage, just under 50 out of a total of nearly 400 entries under *alaph* are of Greek origin.

[37]   *SCI* 14, 1995, 132-5.
[38]   *SCI* 14, 1995, 111.