

GENDER DOCUMENTATION OF NOUNS IN SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHY: REMARKS ON THE RENOVATED *LEXICON SYRIACUM*

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ABSTRACT

Since agreement with other sentence or phrasal constituents provides the key to gender recognition in Syriac, future dictionaries of Syriac need to substantiate gender claims made for nouns by translated citations. This essay contains twelve cases as illustration, where the renovated Lexicon Syriacum by Michael Sokoloff falls short.

INTRODUCTION

The publication of the translated and renovated *Lexicon Syriacum* by Michael Sokoloff¹ raises a number of issues pertaining to Syriac

¹ Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon, A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009). For reviews, see H. F. Van Rooy in the *Review of Biblical Literature* <http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/7340_7997.pdf> and Siam Bhayro in *Hugoye* 13/2 (2010) <<http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye/Vol13No2/HV13N2PRBhayro.pdf>>. I would like to

lexicography, among them the documentation of gender descriptions for nouns. As far as possible², Sokoloff describes each noun as either masculine or feminine, or in some cases as both.³ While these gender descriptions are useful and even necessary in lexicography, citations should demonstrate the gender claim in addition to demonstrating definition. Citations should substantiate all claims made in a given entry. Further, citations should readily lead the user to confirmation of gender identification.

Form alone does not define gender in Syriac. Rather, agreement with other sentence or phrasal constituents provides the key to gender identification. In this essay, I will present twelve examples of how agreement leads one to identify the gender of a noun. In all these cases, the renovated *Lexicon Syriacum* was deficient.⁴ It is my hope that, whenever a generation of scholars emerges to produce a comprehensive Classical Syriac dictionary, they will incorporate this principle into their lexicography.⁵

thank my unnamed reviewer for offering suggestions for the improvement of this essay.

² The gender of foreign words like ܡܠܚܐ ‘discord’ and ܐܢܬܝܡܝܐ ‘antimony’ (Sokoloff, 579 and 996 respectively) cannot always be determined.

³ The nouns ܕܠܐܗ ‘camel’, ܕܠܐܝܢܐ ‘time’, and ܕܠܐܝܢܐ ‘sword’ appear in Syriac texts both as masculine and feminine (Sokoloff, 241, 363, and 486 respectively).

⁴ These cases arose randomly as I consulted the various Syriac *lexica* for my collaborative work on the Old Testament Peshitta with Dr. Martin G. Abegg, Trinity Western University, Canada, for use in Accordance, a concordance program produced by Oaktree Software.

⁵ Largely through the initiative and persistence of Terry C. Falla, the International Syriac Language Project has been launched with a view to eventually producing a new Classical Syriac-English lexicon. Such a comprehensive undertaking may be a multi-generational task. See especially Terry C. Falla, “A Conceptual Framework for a New Comprehensive Syriac-English Lexicon,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography 1, Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project*, Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1, ed. A. Dean Forbes and David G. K. Taylor (Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2005), 1-80.

¹¹ Sokoloff, 1191.

shatters’ from the Syrohexapla of Jer 23:29, a citation of Aquila.¹² The full citation reads as follows: ܠܡܥ ܠܡܥܥܐ ܠܡܥܥܐ ‘a hammer that shatters rock’, removing any ambiguity about the function and form of the participle ܠܡܥܥܐ. The form ܠܡܥܥܐ is a feminine singular *paēl* participle that agrees with its nominal head ܠܡܥܥܐ in gender. Further, R. Payne Smith cites the noun phrase ܠܡܥܥܐ ܠܡܥܥܐ ‘the first hammer blow’, where the adjective ܠܡܥܥܐ agreeing with ܠܡܥܥܐ is feminine. Future lexicons should cite this noun as feminine, citing at least one gender-determining example.

3. ܠܡܥܥܐ ‘couch’

For the lexeme ܠܡܥܥܐ ‘couch’, Sokoloff is non-committal with regard to its gender, describing it only as a noun.¹³ While its plural form ܠܡܥܥܐܐ might lead one to consider it a feminine noun, agreement with an anaphoric pronoun attached to the preposition *beth* (that is, ܒܗ) in the Peshitta of Ezek 13:20 indicates that this noun is masculine in gender:

ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐ

‘Lo I am against your couches upon which you hunt souls’

The snippet ܠܡܥܥܐܐܐ ܠܡܥܥܐܐܐ cited by Sokoloff from Ezek 13:18 can be misleading, being left without a translation, since the feminine plural participle ܠܡܥܥܐܐܐ refers to the subject and the plural noun ܠܡܥܥܐܐܐ serves as its object, not its subject. The snippet should be rendered: ‘the women who sew cushions’. Mere citation of a Syriac snippet in a dictionary entry without sufficient context or without translation for guidance can mislead the user.

4. ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ‘cake’

Sokoloff is non-committal on the gender of the noun ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ‘cake’,¹⁴ even though his example ܠܡܥܥܐܐ ‘polluted cakes’ points to the masculine gender by agreement with a masculine adjectival form. His predecessor J. Payne Smith, at least, labeled this noun as

¹² Sokoloff, 1191, erroneously lists the citation as Jer 23:30.

¹³ Sokoloff, 163. Neither does Brockelmann, 547, list its gender.

¹⁴ Sokoloff, 376. Likewise Brockelmann, 208, does not record its gender.

masculine, though in keeping with her purpose did not bring citations as proof.¹⁵

5. ܦܪܬܪܝܓܐ ‘partridge’

Claiming to follow Nöldeke, Sokoloff lists the noun ܦܪܬܪܝܓܐ ‘partridge’ as feminine in gender.¹⁶ However, Nöldeke actually wrote as follows: “*Names of animals, which for the most part are feminine, appearing sometimes as masculine, especially when they denote male individuals,—are:*”¹⁷ Moreover, the title Nöldeke gave to this section of his grammar is “Fluctuation of Gender in Names of Animals”!¹⁸ In other words, certain nouns denoting animals can be both masculine and feminine. R. Payne Smith recorded the dual gender for this lexeme, citing Jer 17:11, a reference brought by Sokoloff, as demonstration of masculine gender (ܦܪܬܪܝܓܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ‘as a [male] partridge which calls’), and the citation ܦܪܬܪܝܓܐ ‘that partridge’ as demonstration of feminine gender.¹⁹ Actual attested agreement of this noun indicates that it should be listed in a dictionary as both masculine and feminine.

6. ܟܠܒܐ ‘stork’

On the basis of the citation ܟܠܒܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ,²⁰ the noun ܟܠܒܐ ‘stork’ appears to be masculine in gender. Sokoloff labels it

¹⁵ J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903; reprinted Winona Lake, Indiana, 1998), 114. R. Payne Smith does not give a gender for his first entry ܟܠܒܐ (col. 1163), but labels the second and third entries as masculine (col. 1164). The material in these three entries should be consolidated into one entry.

¹⁶ Sokoloff, 412-13. This was Brockelmann's assessment as well (214).

¹⁷ Theodor Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, transl. James A. Crichton (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), § 85.

¹⁸ Nöldeke, *Grammar*, “Contents”, XX, and in the margin of § 85.

¹⁹ R. Payne Smith, col. 1191.

²⁰ G. Bickell, *S. Isaaci Antiocheni, Doctoris Syrorum, Opera Omnia, ex omnibus, quotquot exstant, codicibus manuscriptis cum varia lectione*

accordingly.²¹ The complete sentence reads as follows: **ܠܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** **ܠܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** **ܠܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ**. ‘The stork which departs from your place prepares a path for you to your homeland’. However, in Jer 8:7, this noun is feminine in gender: **ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘even the stork in the sky knows her time’. Both the *peal* active participle **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘(she) knows’ and the personal pronoun attached to the noun **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘time’ are feminine in agreement with their governing noun **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘stork’. Furthermore, in Ps 104:17, the pronoun attached to the noun **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘nest’, referring to **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘stork’, is feminine, at least as vocalized in the Mosul edition: **ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ** **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘and as for the stock, her nest is in the cypresses’. It seems that this noun can be either masculine or feminine, depending on the context.²²

7. **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘right (hand)’

With regard to the lexeme **ܕܥܝܢܐ** used as a noun, Sokoloff seems to allege a gender differentiation between the meaning ‘right (side, hand)’, which he lists as masculine in gender, and the meaning ‘oath’, which he lists as feminine in gender.²³ In this Sokoloff differs from Brockelmann who describes the gender of **ܕܥܝܢܐ** as feminine only.²⁴ Over against this claim, the Peshitta of Ps 118:15b-16 witnesses to feminine agreement, where **ܕܥܝܢܐ** means ‘right (hand)’:

ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

The right hand of the Lord has wrought power,

The right hand of the Lord has wrought power,

The right hand of the Lord raised me up.

Syriace Arabiceque Primus Edidit, Latine Vertit, Prolegomenis et Glossario Auxit, vol. 2 (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1877), 324, verse 1474.

²¹ Sokoloff, 433. So did Brockelmann, 254.

²² Nöldeke, *Grammar*, § 85, makes this same observation.

²³ Sokoloff, 576. To be fair, the siglum ‘n.m’ (noun masculine) comes before the gloss ‘right (side, hand)’ but appears to govern that meaning.

²⁴ Brockelmann, 303.

Three times in this Psalm, the noun **יָמִין** meaning ‘right (hand)’ agrees with a feminine verb. Therefore, its gender is feminine.

Further, of all the citations offered by Sokoloff, only one can be construed, or rather misconstrued, as masculine. Sokoloff cites a seemingly determinative case from Ephrem's hymn against Julian.²⁵ The text snippet cited reads as follows: **ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ**, partially glossed incorrectly by Sokoloff as "made dark w. sins." The fuller context reads as follows:

[illegible]

“For, when the right was saddened by sinners,
the offspring of the left were rejoicing exceedingly.”

Contra Sokoloff, it would be better to render the phrase **יָמֵינוּ** **יָמֵינוּ** ‘the right was saddened by sinners’. The adjective **יָמֵינוּ** appears in this phrase as a feminine singular absolute form used predicatively; it is not a masculine singular determined form. This is the only citation offered by Sokoloff that could appear to substantiate interpreting the lexeme **יָמֵינוּ** as masculine. However, upon closer examination, the agreement with a feminine predicate adjective does the exact opposite. It confirms that the gender of the lexeme **יָמֵינוּ** used as a noun meaning ‘right (side, hand)’ is feminine.

8. لَوْقَة ‘tablet’

Sokoloff correctly describes the noun **לִּפְתָּל** ‘tablet’ as feminine.²⁶ However, none of his citations demonstrates this fact. He should replace his first citation, namely **לִּפְתָּלֵי לִּבְנֵי שֵׁנִי** ‘tablets of stone’ (Exod 24:12), with **שְׁנֵי לִפְתָּלֵי לִבְנֵי שֵׁנִי** ‘two tablets of stone’ (Exod 34:4). In doing so, he would substantiate his statement that this noun is feminine, by agreement with the feminine numeral.

²⁵ Edmund Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*, CSCO 174, Scriptores Syri 78 (Louvain, 1957), 72, l. 23.

²⁶ Sokoloff, 677, following Brockelmann, 361.

9. ܡܚܝܬܐ ‘accuser’

On the basis of the lone citation (ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ‘your accusers are standing’), the description of the noun ܡܚܝܬܐ ‘accuser’ as feminine²⁷ appears to be a blunder, missed in proofreading. Agreement in gender with the participle ܡܚܝܬܐ indicates that the noun ܡܚܝܬܐ is masculine. This case raises another issue, namely the question of whether participles, functioning as substantives,²⁸ deserve separate status as lexemes.²⁹ This question, however interesting, extends beyond the scope of this essay and so will not be treated here.

10. ܡܚܝܬܐ ‘sapphire’

Sokoloff describes the gender of the noun ܡܚܝܬܐ ‘sapphire’ as masculine, without demonstrating his claim.³⁰ Both R. Payne Smith and J. Payne Smith label the same noun as feminine.³¹ Ishodad of Merv in his commentary on Ezekiel uses the word in a sentence that demonstrates that its gender is feminine: ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ “that is to say, in the likeness of a

²⁷ Sokoloff, 760. Brockelmann, 846, lists no gender.

²⁸ The form ܡܚܝܬܐ could be placed under the verb ܡܚܝܬܐ, as a second participle of the *afel* conjugation. It is cases such as this that led Theodor Nöldeke, Carl Brockelmann’s mentor, to prefer organization on the basis of root rather than form (see Sokoloff, 1681, for a translation of Nöldeke’s preface to the first edition of *Lexicon Syriacum*). Pedagogically, his view makes sense.

²⁹ Janet W. Dyk (“Desiderata for the Lexicon from a Syntactic Point of View,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography 1, Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project, Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1*, ed. A. Dean Forbes and David G. K. Taylor [Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2005], 152) advocates that the participle, whether active or passive, transitive, intransitive, or stative, should appear under the verb in the lexicon. Yet, she continues that concession should be made for the benefit of the student by making separate entries for other functions like substantive and adjective with cross references to the verbal root.

³⁰ Sokoloff, 1030. Brockelmann, 490, gives no gender for this noun.

³¹ R. Payne Smith, col. 2698, and J. Payne Smith, 385.

footstool, under the throne, sapphire was put.”³² The verbal construction **ܕܝܗܢ ܡܠܚܒܐ** is feminine in agreement with the subject of its sentence, the noun **ܡܠܚܒܐ**. Citation of such a determinative example is a *desideratum* of dictionary writing. While one might not expect this to appear in a *Handwörterbuch* (Sokoloff’s aim), one does expect it to appear in a scientific dictionary.

11. **ܡܠܚܒܐ** ‘cage’

While Sokoloff is non-committal on the gender of **ܡܠܚܒܐ** ‘cage, den’,³³ two of the examples he brings demonstrate that it is masculine in gender. In the case of Jer 5:27, **ܡܠܚܒܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܗܢ** ‘a cage which is full of birds’, the peal passive participle **ܕܡܠܬܐ**, which agrees with the noun **ܡܠܚܒܐ**, is masculine. In the case **ܡܠܚܒܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ** ‘a cage of gold’, the use of the masculine numeral **ܕܡܠܬܐ** indicates that the noun in question is masculine. Agreement with other phrasal constituents in both examples demonstrates masculine gender.

12. **ܡܠܚܒܐ** ‘spirit’

Sokoloff describes the gender of **ܡܠܚܒܐ** as feminine, without any qualification.³⁴ By contrast, J. Payne Smith makes the following observation: “usually fem. except when used of the Holy Spirit.”³⁵ Now, the unreferenced citation (“*passim*”) brought by Sokoloff under his definition 6 substantiates the observation made by Payne Smith, where the adjective is masculine in agreement with its headword ‘Spirit’: **ܡܠܚܒܐ ܡܠܚܒܐ** ‘the Holy Spirit’. For actual

³² Celas van den Eynde, ed., *Commentaire d'Išho'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament: V. Jérémie, Ézéchiél, Daniel*, CSCO 328; Scriptorum Syri 146 (Peeters, Louvain): 1972, 50, ll. 11-12.

³³ Sokoloff, 1368. From the evidence presented in citations, I do not find the definition ‘den’ warranted as alleged by Sokoloff. Brockelmann, 667, brings only the definition *cavea*, noting its Greek origin from *κλωβίον*, without defining its gender. Further, the headword **ܡܠܚܒܐ** is not substantiated by any of the citations offered by Sokoloff. There is only evidence for the spellings **ܡܠܚܒܐ** and **ܡܠܚܒܐ**. The headword of the entry should fit the evidence.

³⁴ Sokoloff, 1445. In this, Sokoloff follows Brockelmann, 718.

³⁵ J. Payne Smith, 533.

prophets who had urged the king of Israel to go up against Aram and take back Ramoth Gilead, reports that he had seen a spirit volunteering in the heavenly court to be a lying spirit in the false prophets. The text reads as follows: **ܠܥܡܐ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ** 'and a spirit went forth and stood before the Lord'. The noun **ܠܥܡܐ** stands in agreement with the masculine verbal forms **ܥܡܐ** and **ܡܠܟܐ**. Job 20:3 reads **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** 'and the spirit of my understanding will answer me', where the noun **ܠܥܡܐ** agrees with the masculine verbal form **ܕܡܠܟܐ**. In Qoh 1:6 **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ** 'The wind goes to the south and whirls around to the north, indeed whirls around and goes. The wind returns to its circuits', the noun **ܠܥܡܐ** agrees with the masculine participles **ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ**, and **ܕܡܠܟܐ**. This evidence pushes the masculine use of **ܠܥܡܐ** back to the late second century, when the Old Testament Peshitta was translated.

Conclusion

To sum up, gender agreement of nouns with other sentence or phrasal constituents unlocks the gender of that noun in Syriac. Agreement demonstrates that the nouns **ܪܝܒܐ** 'rib', **ܡܠܟܐ** 'hammer', **ܡܝܢܐ** 'right (hand)', **ܬܒܠܐ** 'tablet', and **ܬܠܡܝܢܐ** 'sapphire' are feminine and that the nouns **ܡܠܟܐ** 'couch, cushion', **ܬܠܡܝܢܐ** 'cake', **ܡܠܟܐ** 'accuser', and **ܡܠܟܐ** 'cage' are masculine. Further, agreement indicates that the nouns **ܡܠܟܐ** 'partridge' and **ܡܠܟܐ** 'stork' can be masculine or feminine, depending on the context. Though the noun **ܠܥܡܐ** is feminine in the overwhelming majority of cases, it is masculine in its use in the theological phrase 'the Holy Spirit' especially in texts dating after AD 400 and even appears so a few times in the Old Testament Peshitta. A Syriac dictionary should state this fact. Further research could bring one to modify these soundings, but the method is clear: Syriac lexicographers must incorporate gender agreement documentation into their lexical entries of nouns. Citations in dictionary entries of nouns should demonstrate gender as well as meaning.

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