Syrian Arabic grammatical summary

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A pdf of this post for pretty printing can be found here.

This grammar is under construction. The following topics are planned to be added:

- syllable structure
- exclamations(?)
- imperative
- gender
- adverbs
- the possessive exponent
- participles
- verbal noun

1 Introduction

This is a short pedagogical summary of the variety of Arabic spoken in the Damascus area in Syria. It is intended to be used for quick reference and overview for beginner to intermediate language learners. It is partially based on *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic* (Cowell 2005 [1964], Georgetown University Press¹) and *Arabisch-syrische grammatik* (Grotzfeld 1965, Harrasowitz), to which the reader is referred for detailed and comprehensive grammatical descriptions.

This grammar uses a Library of Congress' system of transcription (see Phonology). Words and examples are presented in transcription, translation, and, space permitting, also in Arabic script.² The Arabic script represents written vernacular as used in text messaging, advertisement, etc. There is considerable variation in vernacular Arabic orthography, especially in the extent to which Standard Arabic spelling is followed, and forms that differ from those presented here are therefore common.

Comparisons with Standard Arabic are made where relevant.

For corrections or suggestions on improvements, please contact the author at andreas.hallberg@sprak.gu.se.

2 Phonology

IPA symbols in square brackets are hyper-linked to sound samples from Wikipedia. Click on them to hear an example of the pronunciation.

2.1 Consonants

Compared to Standard Arabic, several consonants are missing in Syrian Arabic, namely the dentals $th \, \dot{\omega}$, $dh \, \dot{\imath}$, and $z \, \dot{\omega}$; as well as $q \, \dot{\omega}$. Furthermore, $j \, \dot{\varepsilon}$ is in Syrian Arabic pronounced [3], as opposed to the Standard Arabic affricate [dʒ].

 $^{^1} A vailable \ as \ pdf \ on \ https://ia801609.us.archive.org/31/items/AReference Grammar Of Syrian Arabic_201704/A_Reference_Grammar_of_Syrian_Arabic_text.pdf.$

²For an overview of the Arabic script, see *The Arabic Writing System* (available for download at http://andreasmhallberg.githu b.io/documents/).

2.1.1 Place and manner of articulation³

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar/Uvular	Pharyngal	Glottal
Fricative						
_			j	gh	c	
voiced						
_	f			kh	ḥ	h
voiceless						
Plosive						
_	b	d, d				
voiced						
_		t, ţ	k			5
voiceless						
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Nasal	m	n				
Sibilant						
_		z				
voiced						
		s, ș				
voiceless						
Semi- vowel	w		У			

The following consonants are used only in a few words:

- emphatic $m (m\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'mum')
- emphatic b ($b\bar{a}ba$ 'dad')
- emphatic *l* (*alla* 'God')
- g (ergīle 'water pipe')

The emphasis distinction in m, b, and l is not reflected in the transcription employed here.

 $^{^3}$ Images (modified) created by User:ish shwar (original .png deleted), .svg by Rohieb, CC BY-SA 3.0 http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/, via Wikimedia Commons

2.1.2 Pointers on pronunciation

r	ا ر	[r]	Rolled r , as in Spanish. Pronounced emphatically $[r^{s}]$ when adjacent to a or
			another emphatic consonant (mara 'wife', rṣās 'led').
j	ا ج	[3]	As in French <i>journal</i> .
ḥ		[ħ]	Hissing <i>h</i> formed by tensioning the throat.
kh	ا خ	$[x]/[\chi]$	As the German <i>ach</i> or (Castilian) Spanish <i>jota</i> .
gh	ا غ	$[\lambda] \setminus [R]$	As the French or German throaty <i>r</i> .
c	ا ع	[2]	Produced by using swolloing muscles to restrict the air flow. It is one of the
	-		most difficult sounds for language learners to produce. Learners often
			wrongly percieved as a vowel a.
,	ء	[?]	A stop and quick release of the air pressure by the vocal-cords, as the t in
			colloquial British better.
Ş	ا ص	$[s^{r}]$	Emphatic s.
ф	ا ض	$[d^{\varsigma}]$	Emphatic <i>d</i> .
ţ	ا ط	$[t^s]$	Emphatic <i>t</i> .

2.1.3 Emphatic consonants

Emphatic consonants (technically "pharyngalized") are pronounced as their non-emphatic equivalents but with the back of the tongue raised, giving a darker, thicker sound. This affects the quality of surrounding vowels, most clearly heard in \bar{a} [æ:] (as English bad) becoming a backed [a:] (as in English far).

2.1.4 Consonant length

All consonants have a short and a long variant. The long variant is transcribed as a doubled letter. Consonant length is a central part of Arabic phonology, often changing the meaning of a word (*daras* 'he studied' vs. *darras* 'he taught', *ḥakat* 'she talked' vs. *ḥakkat* 'she scratched').

For plosives (', b, d, d, t, t, k) the long variant is produced by briefly holding the air pressure before releasing it and producing the sound.

Consonant length is not indicated in the Arabic script. Only very rarely is it marked with the diacritic: (*shadda*).

2.2 Vowels

		Long		
Short				
i	[i]	ī	[i:]	ي
e	[e]/[ə]	$ar{e}$	[e:]	 ي
u	[u]	$ar{u}$	[u:]	 و
0	[o]	$ar{o}$	[o:]	و
a	[a]/[a]	\bar{a}	[æ:]/[ɑ:]	1

Note:

• The Arabic letters only represent long vowels. Short vowels are normally not indicated.

• i and u occur primarily in word final position as part of inflections ($b\bar{e}t$ -i 'my house', bye'mel-u 'they do').

- The vowel here transcribes as *e* is pronounced
 - [ə] schwa (as in English the) before or at word stress
 - [e] (as in English when) after word stress
- Short and long a is pronounced backed [a] when adjacent to an emphatic consonant.
- There are no diphthongs in Syrian Arabic. The Standard Arabic diphthongs ay and aw correspond in Syrian Arabic to the long vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} respectively.

2.3 Word stress

Word stress in Syrian Arabic is largely predictable and corresponds with the rules of word stress in Standard Arabic. Word stress occurs on

- the last
 - long vowel followed by consonant (darrasúu-na 'they taught us')
 - short vowel followed by two consonants or a long consonant (*darásna* 'we studied', *byedárres* 'he studies')
- or else on the first vowel (dárasu 'they studied'), excluding any prefix (u-dárasu 'and they studied').

2.4 Standard to Syrian Arabic phonological conversion rules

aw	\rightarrow	ō	yawm	\rightarrow	yōm	day	يوم
			ṣawt		ș <i>ōt</i>	sound/voice	صوت
ay	\rightarrow	\bar{e}	bayn	\rightarrow	bēn	between	بين
			<i>ṣabāḥ</i> al-khayr		ṣbāḥ el-khēr	Good morning	صباح الخير
q	\rightarrow	,	daqīqa	\rightarrow	daʾīʾa	minute	دقيقة
			qalb		'alb	heart	قلب
			ţāriq		ṭāre'	Tariq (name)	طارق
<i>z</i>	\rightarrow	ф	zuhr	\rightarrow	duhr	noon	ضهر
)	\rightarrow	Ø	masā'	\rightarrow	masa	eavening	مسا
th	\rightarrow	t	thalātha	\rightarrow	tlāte	three	تلاتة
		(s)	mathalan	\rightarrow	masalan	for example	مثلا
dh	\rightarrow	d	dhahab	\rightarrow	dahab	gold	دهب
		(z)	idha	\rightarrow	iza	if	اذا

Loans from Standard Arabic, including foreign Arabic place names, often retain the Standard Arabic pronunciation. In such words, th and dh are pronounced s and z respectively. Some examples are:

Syrian Arabic	Standard Arabic		
saqāfe	thaqāfa	culture	ثقافة
ustāz	ustādh	teacher	أستاذ
demuqrāṭiyye	dimuqrāṭiyya	democracy	ديمقراطية
el-qurʾān	al-qurʾān	the Quran	القرآن
el-qāhira	al-qāhira	Cairo	القاهرة

3 Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

	Independent	Attached			متصل	منفصل
I	ana	-i	(-ya)		ي	انا
you (m.s.)	enta	-ak	(-k)		 ك	انت
you (f.s.)	enti	-ik	(-ki)	(کی)	ىك	انتي
he	huwwe	-0	(-h)	 (هـ)	۔و	 هو
she	hiyye	-a	(-ha)		لها	هي
we	пеḥпа	-na			ـنا	ي نحنا
you (pl.)	intu	-kon			حکن	انتو
they	honnen	-on	(-hon)	(ـهن)	-ن	هنن

Forms in parenthesis are used with words with final vowel: $a^ct\bar{a}-ki$ 'he gave you (f.)'.

Attached pronouns are used for:

possession	ktāb-o	his book	كتابو
prepositional complements	ma -o	with-him	معو
direct objects	katabt-o	I wrote it	كتبتو
indirect objects	katabt-l-o	I wrote for him	كتبتلو

The connective -l- 'for' for indirect objects may take the form -el- to prevent consonant clusters: katabt-el-kon 'I wrote for you (pl.)'. A direct object may then be added with the word $y\bar{a}$ -: katabt-l-ak $y\bar{a}$ -ha 'I wrote it (fem.) for you'.

3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

	Close	Distant	بعيد	قريب
m.s.	hāda	hadāk(e)	هداك	هادا
f.s	hāy	hadīk(e)	هديك	هاي
pl.	hadōl(e)	hādōlīk	هدوليك	 هدول

Note:

- Several forms have a stylistic variant with final *e*.
- $h\bar{a}da$ has a shortened form, $h\bar{a}d$, used only at the end of phrases: $sh\bar{u}$ $h\bar{a}d$? 'What is this?'.
- The distant plural has several variants not listed above, including hadōk, hadenk, and hadenken.

3.3 Indefinite pronouns

4 Nouns

Nouns are inflected for number and definiteness, and most animate nouns (referring to humans or animals) are also inflected for gender.

4.1 Plural

There are four ways to form plural: irregular, regular masculine, regular feminine, and general human:

		Singular	Plural		جمع	مفرد
Irrergula		bēt	buyūt	house	بيوت	بيت
Regular masculine	-īn	muslem	muslemīn	muslim	مسلمين	مسلم
Regular feminine	-āt	sheghle	sheghlāt	thing	شغلات	شغلة
General human	-(iyy)e	'erāqi	['] erāqiyye	Iraqi	عراقية	عراقي

4.2 Dual

The noun has three forms of number inflection: singular, plural, and dual. (The adjective, verb, and pronoun have no dual forms.) The dual form is used to indicate specifically two of something. It is formed by adding the ending $-\bar{e}n$ to the singular $(-t\bar{e}n$ for feminine formed with -e/-a).

		Singular	Dual		المثنى	مفرد
Masculine	-ēn	walad	waladēn	boy	ولدين	ولد
Feminine	-tēn	sā⁴a	sāʿatēn	hour	ساعتين	ساعة

The dual is used only in contexts where the precise number is important:

'inna sā'atēn bas We only have two hours.

ash-sha''a fī-ha ghurfatēn u-maṭbakh The apartment has two rooms and a kitchen.

Otherwise the plural is used:

rāḥu aḥmad u-rafīʿu ʿa-buyūt-un Ahmad and his friend went home [to their houses (pl.)] mā ʿinna wlād, bas banāt, rīm w-raniya we don't have any boys, only girls (pl.), Rim and Rania

The dual is avoided on nouns with attached pronouns, except for pairwise occurring body parts. The plural follow by an explicit $itn\bar{e}n$ 'two' is used instead:

akhwāt-i l-itnēnmy two sisterssayārāt-u l-itnēnhis two carsghassili īdē-kiwash your hands

Note:

• When used with an attached pronoun, the *n* in the dual ending is dropped.

 $\bar{\imath}d$ 'hand' $\rightarrow \bar{\imath}d\bar{e}n$ 'two hands' $\rightarrow \bar{\imath}d\bar{e}k$ 'your two hands'.

5 Prepositions

ʿa-/ʿalē-	to (place)	ع/عليـ
ʻala/ʻalē-	on	على/عليـ
ʻand	with, at	عند
barrāt	outside	برات
bēn	between	بين
bēn/bēnāt-	among	بين/بيناتـ
bi-/fī-	in, at	بـ/فيـ
fō'	above	فوق
ḥadd	next to	حد
juwwāt	inside	جوات
la-/el-	for (ownership)	د/اد
le ^c and	to (person)	لعند
ma ^c	with	مع
men/menn-	from	من/منـ
taḥt	below	تحت
'uddām	in front of	قدام
wara	behind	ورا

Note:

• For the prepositions with two alternate forms, the first is used with nouns and the second with pronouns:

$$bi$$
- l - $b\bar{e}t$ in the house بالبيت $f\bar{i}$ - h in it

6 Verbs

6.1 Inflection

	Non-past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-ktob	katab-t	اكتب	كتبت
you (ms.)	t(e)-ktob	katab-t	تكتب	كتبت
you (fs.)	t(e)-ktob-i	katab-ti	تكتبى	كتبتى
he	ye-ktob	katab	یکتب	 كتب
she	t(e)-ktob	katab-et	تكتب	كتبت
we	n(e)-ktob	katab-na	نكتب	كتبنا
you (pl.)	t(e)-ktob-u	katab-tu	تكتبو	كتبتو
they	ye-ktob-u	katab-u	يكتبو	كتبو

The pronoun is often omitted. The e in parenthesis is omitted on stems beginning with a single consonant t-sh $\bar{u}f$ -i 'you (fs.) see'.

The non-past verb form is preceded by one of the following:

<i>b</i> -	habitual, generalities	ب
'am	ongoing (progressive)	عم
ḥa-/raḥ	future	حـ/ رح
lāzim	'have to'	لازم
auxiliary verb		,-

Note:

- For 1s, the initial letter alif is normally omitted when preceded by b: bektob بكتب.
- For 1pl. the *b* prefix is partially assimilated and pronounced as *m: mnektob*. This is often reflected in orthography: سنكتب.
- Some speakers combine *b* and 'am: 'am *b*-yektob.

6.1.1 Hollow verbs

Hollow verbs have a long vowel in the middle of the stem. They are of three types, each with different middle vowel in non-past tense: 1) \bar{u} , 2) \bar{i} , and 3) \bar{a} . The inflection of the three types does not differ in past tense, where the middle long vowel is invariably \bar{a} , reduced to e in past tense in forms with consonantal suffixes (1s, 2ms, 2mf,1pl, and 2pl).

1. Middle \bar{u} ($r\bar{a}h$ 'went'):

	Non-Past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-rūḥ	reḥ-t	اروح	رحت
you (ms.)	t-rūḥ	reḥ-t	تروح	رحت
you (fs.)	t-rūḥ-i	reḥ-ti	ترو <i>حي</i>	رحتي
he	ye-rūḥ	rāḥ	" يروح	راح "
she	t-rūḥ	rāḥ-et	تروح	راحت
we	n-rūḥ	reḥ-na	نروح	رحنا
you (pl.)	t-rūḥ-u	reḥ-tu	تروحو	رحتو
they	ye-rūḥ-u	rāḥ-и	يروحو	راحو

Some other frequent verbs of this type are $k\bar{a}n$ 'was', ' $\bar{a}l$ 'said', $r\bar{a}h$ 'went', $sh\bar{a}f$ 'saw'/'met', ' $\bar{a}m$ 'stood up', and $m\bar{a}t$ 'died'.

2. Middle \bar{i} (sār 'became'):

	Non-Past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-ṣīr	șert	اصير	 صرت
you (ms.)	t-ṣīr	șert	تصير	صرت
you (fs.)	t-ṣīr-i	șert-i	تصيري	صرتى
he	ye-ṣīr	ṣār	يصير	 صار
she	t-ṣīr	ṣār-et	تصير	صارت
we	n-ṣīr	șer-na	نصير	صرنا
you (pl.)	t-ṣīr-u	șer-tu	تصيرو	صرتو
they	ye-şīr-u	ṣār-u	يصيرو	صارو

Some other frequent verbs of this type are ' $\bar{a}sh$ 'lived', $j\bar{a}b$ 'fetched', $b\bar{a}$ 'sold'. and $d\bar{a}r$ 'turned'.

3. Middle \bar{a} ($n\bar{a}m$ 'slept'):

	Non-Past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-nām	nem-t	انام	نمت
you (ms.)	t-nām	nem-t	تنام	نمت
you (fs.)	t-nām-i	nemt-i	تنامى	نمتي
he	ye-nām	nām	ينام	 نام
she	t-nām	nām-et	تنام	نامت
we	n-nām	nem-na	ننام	نمنا
you (pl.)	t-nām-u	nem-tu	تنامو	نمتو
they	ye-nām-u	nām-u	ينامو	نامو

Some other frequent verbs of this type are $kh\bar{a}f$ 'was frightened' and $gh\bar{a}r$ 'was jealous'.

6.1.2 Doubled verbs

Doubled verbs have a stem ending in a lengthened (doubled) consonant. In past tense forms with consonantal suffixes, \bar{e} is added.

Hass 'felt':

	Non-Past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-ḥess	ḥassē-t	احس	حسيت
you (ms.)	t-ḥess	ḥassē-t	تحسى	حسيت
you (fs.)	t-ḥess-i	ḥassē-ti	 تحس	حسيتي
he	y-ḥess	ḥass	يحس	۔ حس
she	t-ḥess	ḥass-et	تحس	حست
we	n-ḥess	ḥassē-na	نحس	حسينا
you (pl.)	t-ḥess-u	ḥassē-tu	تحسو	حسيتو
they	ye-ḥess-u	ḥass-u	يحسو	حسو

Some other frequent verbs of this type are *radd* 'answered' and *dall* 'remained'.

6.2 Auxiliary verbs

The main verb may be preceded by an auxiliary verb. Both the auxiliary and the main verb are inflected for person:

beddo yektob	'he wants to write'	بدو يكتب
byeḥebb yektob	'he likes to write'	بيحب يكتب
kān yektob	'he was writing'	کان یکتب
şār yektob	'he began to write'	صاريكتب

$6.3 \quad k\bar{a}n \text{ 'was'}$

The verb $k\bar{a}n$ 'was' is used

1. to make a verb-less clause past or future tense:

aḥmad kān ṭālebAhmad was a studentaḥmad ḥa-yekūn ṭālebAhmad will be a student

2. to express a past ongoing (progressive) event:

aḥmad kān (ʿam) yedros Ahmed was studying

It is a hollow verb with middle \bar{u} in non-past tense:

	Non-past	Past	المضارع	الماضي
I	e-kūn	ken-t	اكون	كنت
you (ms.)	t-kūn	ken-t	تكون	كنت
you (fs.)	t-kūn-i	kent-i	تكون <i>ي</i>	كنتي
he	ye-kūn	kān	يكون	۔ کان
she	t-kūn	kān-et	تكون	كانت
we	n-kūn	ken-na	نكون	کنا
you (pl.)	t-kūn-u	ken-tu	تكونو	كنتو
they	ye-kūn-u	kān-u	يكونو	كانو

6.4 Pseudo-verbs

$$bedd$$
- want بد $`and$ - has عند fi there is

The pseudo-verbs are negated as verbs with $m\bar{a}$ (see Negation) but do not follow verbal person and tense inflection. bedd- and 'and- are inflected for person with attached pronouns, like nouns, while $f\bar{\imath}$ is not inflected:

bedd-a ktāb	she wants a book [her wish is a book]	بدها كتاب
ʻand-a ktāb	she has a book [with her is a book]	عندها كتاب
fī ktāb	there is a book	في كتاب

Pseudo-verbs are inflected for tense with an auxiliary $k\bar{a}n$:

kān 'and-a ktābShe had a book.كان عندها كتابḥa-yekūn 'and-a ktābShe will have a book.

7 Question words

shu	what	شو
mīn	who	مين
ēmta	when	ايمتى
kīf/shlōn	how	كيف/شلون
wēn	where	وين
minnen	from where	منين
lawēn	whereto	لوين
lēsh	why	ليش
addēsh	how much	قديش
kam	how many	کم
ayyi/anu	which	اي/انو

Question words are normally clause-inital, and may be preceded by a preposition:

ma' mīn 'am teḥki? 'Who are you talking to?' مع مين عم تحكي؟

 $W\bar{e}n$ and $k\bar{i}f$ may take attached pronouns:

wēn-ak? Where are you? رينك؟ kīf-ak? How are you?

Yes/no-question are formed with rising intonation. The Standard Arabic particle *hal* is in Syrian only used for rhetoric questions.

8 Negation

Syrian Arabic has three main forms of negation:

werbs ما mā

 $mar{u}$ مو non-verbal clauses

lā y imperative

For declarative clauses, in effect, $m\bar{u}$ is only used to negate a verbless clauses in present tense, otherwise the $m\bar{a}$ is used:

	Verbal clause	Verbless ("is") clause
Past	Ahmed is studying. aḥmad mā daras	Ahmed is a student. aḥmad mā kān ṭāleb
Present	أحمد ما درس aḥmad mā byedrus	أحمد ما كان طالب aḥmad mū ṭāleb
Future	أحمد ما بيدرس aḥmad mā ḥa-/raḥ yedrus أحمد ما حارح يدرس	أحمد مو طالب aḥmad mā ḥa-/raḥ yekūn ṭāleb أحمد ما حـ/رح يكين طالب

8.1 $m\bar{a}$ -n-

 $m\bar{a}$ - followed by a connecting -n- and an attached pronoun ($m\bar{a}n$ -i, $m\bar{a}n$ -ak, $m\bar{a}n$ -ik, etc.) may be used to reply in the negative to a statement, question, or implication. For example,

can be used to answer someone saying that you are hungry, asking whether you are hungry, or urging you to eat.

9 Numerals 1-100

The independent form of the numeral in the table below is used when the numeral stands by itself and is not followed by a noun, and the counting-form is used when the numeral is followed by counted a noun: *tlāte* 'three', but *tlatt ewlād* 'three boys.'

	Independent	Counting	مضاف	غير مضاف
1 2	wāḥed (m.)/waḥde (f.) etnēn (m.)/tentēn (f.)			واحد/وحدة اتنين/تنتين
				<i>C</i> , <i>C</i>
3	tlāte	tlatt	تلات	تلاتة
4	arbaʻa	$arba^{\mathfrak{c}}$	أربع	أربعة
5	khamse	khams	خمس	خمسة
6	sette	sett	ست	ستة
7	sabʿa	sab°	سبع	سبعة
8	tmāne	tman	تمان	تمانة
9	tes ^c a	tes ^c	تسع	تسعة
10	ʿashara	ʿashar	عشر	عشرة
11	eddaʻsh	eddaʻshar	ادعشر	ادعش
12	eṭnaʿsh	eṭnaʿshar	اطنعشر	اطنعش
13	tlaṭaʿsh	tlaṭaʿshar	تلاطعشر	تلاطعش
14	arbaʻṭaʻsh	arbaʻṭaʻshar	اربعطعشر	اربعطعش
15	khamasṭaʻsh	khamsṭaʻshar	خمسطعشر	خمسطعش
16	seṭṭaʿsh	seṭṭaʿshar	سطعشر	سطعش
17	sabʿaṭaʿsh	sabʻaṭaʻshar	سبعطعشر	سبعطعش
18	tmanṭa ^c sh	tmanṭaʿshar	تمانطعشر	تمانطعش
19	tesʿaṭaʿsh	tes'aṭa'shar	تسعطعشر	تسعطعش
20	^c eshrīn			عشرين
30	tlātīn			تلاتين
40	arbaʿīn			اربعين
50	khamsīn			خمسين
60	settīn			ستين
70	sabʿīn			سبعين
80	tmānīn			تمانين
90	tes ^c īn			تسعين
100	тіууе	mīt		مية

Note:

- Except for 1 and 2, numerals are not inflected for gender, as opposed to Standard Arabic.
- 1–2 are used only for emphasis or contrast, or when ordering in restaurants and the like ($etn\bar{e}n$ $sh\bar{a}y$ 'two tea', see also Dual). Otherwise, the lone noun in singular or dual is used ($kt\bar{a}b$ '[a/one] book'; $ktab\bar{e}n$ 'two books'). 1 and 2 are the only numerals that inflect for gender.
- 3-10 have a special form with a final -t when used with one of three following nouns:

eyyām	days	(khamst eyyam five days)
eshhur	months	(khamst eshhur 'five months')
ālāf	thousands	(<i>'ashart ālāf 'ten thousand'</i>)

• For 3–10, the counted noun is in the plural: *tlatt kutub* 'three books', and for numerals above 10,

it is in the singular: *idda'ashar ktāb* 'eleven book[s]'.

• 11—19 are constructed from the counting form of the unit number and the ending -ta'sh, with irregularities in 11, 12, and 15.

- Decades (20, 30, etc.) are constructed from the counting form of the unit number and the ending $-\bar{\imath}n$, with only 20 having an irregular form. In complex numbers, the unit in independent form appears before the decades with the two parts connected with u- 'and': sab'a u- $tl\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}n$, 'thirty-six'.
- For numbers above one hundred there is no counting form for 100: miyye u-tlāte kelime '103 words'.