NOTE ON THE SECOND EDITION

In this second edition Dr. Stevenson's text remains unchanged, but it has been thought right to repair a long-standing omission by the addition of an Appendix on the Numerals, which has kindly been supplied by the Rev. J. A. Emerton, Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This introduction to Palestinian Jewish Aramaic presupposes a general knowledge of Hebrew or of some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. It is intended primarily to equip students for the reading of the Targums (OJ) and the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM), and to provide a help to the study of the Aramaic elements contained in the writings of the New Testament.

The Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel is perhaps best learned after a study has been made of one of the dialects just named. Its forms and uses, therefore, are noted in a supplementary way throughout the grammar. At the same time those who choose to begin with Old Testament Aramaic (OTA) may do so with the help of the special paradigms at the end of the book and by concentrating chiefly on the notes marked OTA, which have been placed towards the close of most of the sections into which the grammar is divided.

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supra-linear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).
Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references added to the syntactical notes, and in other cases also, are intended to show the range of the evidence found, and to make it easy to test and supplement the conclusions drawn. They are not intended to be used by beginners. The evidence for the syntax of PTM has been taken wholly from the texts of Dalman's *Dialektproben*.

The scantiness of the material available for the study of OTA often makes the formulation of general statements about its difficult and practically inexpedient. The method adopted, therefore, has frequently been that of giving a precise numerical statement of the facts. The paradigm of the verb, also, has been made, more closely than is usual, a reproduction of existing verbal forms. Strack's edition of the texts, in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, is assumed to be referred to, except when otherwise stated. Special note has been made of the evidence of the supra-linear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supra-linear editions of Kahle, Merx, and Praetorius, so far as they go (see Literature, p. 8). In the case of Gen. 1-4 and 24, the source is Merx's *Chrestomathy*, for other parts of the Pentateuch, Berliner's *Onkelos* is used. The references to Dalman's *Dialektproben* are made by means of figures referring to the page, paragraph, and line, generally without mention of the title, sometimes with the abbreviation Chrest. prefixed.

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supra-linear vocalization should be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after a few chapters of the Targum have been read. Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue. The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

The language of the *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, recently edited and translated by A. Cowley (1923), is closely related to the idioms of OJ, PTM, and OTA. The announcement by the editor of his intention to publish a grammar of the dialect of these papyri makes it superfluous to apologize for its exclusion from the scope of the present work. Still it may be said that, on the scale of treatment here attempted, no more than three dialects could properly be included. A more comprehensive work must be preceded by other detailed studies, which do not yet exist.

It is a very pleasant duty to acknowledge the help and encouragement the writer has received from the members of the *Society for Old Testament Study*, both individually and collectively. Without the assurance of their support and interest this grammar would never have been published nor expanded into its present form. Special thanks are due to my friend, the energetic and resourceful secretary, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff University College.

I am greatly obliged to the readers of the Clarendon Press for their vigilant attention to every detail and to the Delegates for the cordiality of their acceptance of my work. My Assistant, Mr. E. J. Harris, B.D., has twice read through the proofs and has verified many references and has helped to remove inaccuracies that might otherwise have escaped detection.

Glasgow, 5 March 1924

WM. B. STEVENSON
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PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

Dalman's Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of
§ 1. INTRODUCTION

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner’s edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner’s edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman’s interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.¹

¹ See especially Dalman’s Words of Jesus, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is

§ 2.¹ ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) נ, ק, נ, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: נון = שפ, נון = י, נון = קップ, נון = מ, נון = א, נון = י, נון = ו. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (אבות and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives אבות) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like יגש, יכש, &c. In unvocalized texts נ and ק may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. יָנָא = יָנָא), and ק for diphthongal או or for או pronounced as a double consonant, with dagesh (e.g. יִלָּד = יִלָּד). נ and ק both represent a final long vowel, especially ק. In PTM and OJ ק is the more commonly used. In OTA ק is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending ק (§ 8), ק in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination ק. In יָנָא (who?) and יָנָא (he entered) ק denotes the short ק, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions י and י. But י and י are generally used. Final diphthongal או is often denoted by ק.

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney’s Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

¹ This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.
3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for
daghes (a supralinear ֶ or ד) and raphe (supralinear ַ or נ), which,
however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS.
do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others
regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited
by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally
exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c)
and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent
to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however,
which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for
vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite
MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although
in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathah furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian
or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the
positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be
introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs.
The suffix מ (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treat-
ment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system
of the simplest type:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qames} & \quad \text{Holm} \\
\text{Pathah and seghol} & \quad \text{Shureq} \\
\text{Shere} & \quad \text{Vocal shewa} \\
\text{Hireq} & \quad \text{(including hâtephs)}
\end{align*}
\]

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels
and short vowels. Qames at first had only the sound of ָ in
‘psalm’ (approximately), not that of ַ in ‘ball’, and holm repre-
sented both Palestinian ָ and Palestinian holm. The later
Yemenite MSS., however, use qames for ָ, so that, at different

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is
used for hâteph pathah, following מ and י and sometimes following
י and ה (e.g. י for י and י for י). This usage occurs
in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29),
but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 י, 5. 5 יָ)

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ (=
Hebrew יָ, יָ, יָ), instead of forms commencing with מ or מ. It is possible that this orthography represents an alter-
native pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that
yodh, with shere, simply represented י, just as pathah stood for מ.
Similarly יָ (Chrest. 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor
a grammatical equivalent of יָ (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was,
originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use
of yodh (with shere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear
MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms
referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h (יָ = יָ).

9. Some supralinear MSS. write י instead of י, especially at the
beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in יָ = יָ, Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may
also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation—י or י
(cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way
of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa

10. Hâteph qames is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite
MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain
words, such as יָָּ.

11. With the exceptions already noted, the hâteph of the sub-
linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the hātephs were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ִ (and) and ֶ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with hāteph pathah. Hātephs may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ִ is the form of the conjunction ‘and’ before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3.21, 4.29, 5.20, 6.5, 6.17), even when that following consonant is ְ, ֲ, or ִ (Dan. 5.11, 6.11). Before ְ, ֲ, and ִ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ִ, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJA is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius’ edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner’s Onkelos).

18. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ִ or ִ (Gen. 1.10, 1.17, Judg. 1.17, 1.22, Dan. 3.21, 5.11, 6.17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew הַשָּׁלֶה and והָּלֶה, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 246). Some MSS. treat words that commence with וְ and וַ in the same way so that, for example, יָהַת may perhaps be an alternative for יָהַה (cf. Heb. יָהַה).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles ַ, ֵ, and ִ. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong ִ causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in יָהַה, יָהַה, יָהַה). Compare also, perhaps, יָהַהנ (§ 11, note 12) and יָהַהנ (Ps. 116.7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJA and PTM in such words as יָהַה, (§ 6), יָהַה (§ 11, note 7), יָהַה (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יָהַה and יָהַה (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>SING.</th>
<th>OJA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָהַה (יָהַה)</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָהַה, יָהַה, יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
<td>יָהַה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accent. 1. In OJA and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accentuated on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

Forms. 2. The shortened forms יָהַה, יָהַה, and יָהַה sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. יָהַה for יָהַה and יָהַה for יָהַה). They, and יָהַה, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3. יָהַה, יָהַה, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to יָהַה, &c. (§ 2.1).

OTA. 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of יָהַה is יָהַה three times and once יָהַה. יָהַה is
§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

a K'qhibb form, always changed to לָֽאִ֥י by Qere, but pointed הָֽאָם by the supersinline MSS. in Strack. לָֽאִ֥י and הָֽאָמַ֥ר occur, as nominatives, each one only.

Idioms. 5. The expressions לְֽאָם לְֽאָֽאָם (‘a certain man’, § 5, note 12) and לְֽאָם לְֽאָֽאָם are used by PTM in modesty for לָֽאִ֥י (cf. Hebrew לָֽאִ֥י) and in curses or protestations for לָֽאִ֥י. In polite address, for לָֽאִ֥י, OJ uses לָֽאִ֥י יְֽקָרָ֥י and PTM יְֽקָרָ֥י יְֽקָרָ֥י and יְֽקָרָ֥י יְֽקָרָ֥י (cf. Hebrew יְֽקָרָ֥י).

6. For ‘he himself’, &c., see § 4, note 6.

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>OJ, PTM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>יָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>1 com.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>יָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>2 masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>3 masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>נָֽאִ֥י</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

Forms. 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). יָֽאִ֥י, (2 s. f.) and נָֽאִ֥י, (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman’s Dialektsproben, p. 4 (11. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of יָֽאִ֥י. and נָֽאִ֥י, respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

3. Merx (Christ. Targum) prints נָֽאִ֥י in Gen. 2. 20 for נָֽאִ֥י, and נָֽאִ֥י for נָֽאִ֥י in Gen. 2. 21.

Accus. Cases. 4. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יָֽאִ֥י, &c., (3) by יָֽאִ֥י, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יָֽאִ֥י, &c., seldom יָֽאִ֥י, &c. For יָֽאִ֥י and יָֽאִ֥י after partic. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM יָֽאִ֥י, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יָֽאִ֥י, &c., occur after participles (18. 12, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impf. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms יָֽאִ֥י (in Ezra), יָֽאִ֥י (in Daniel) and יָֽאִ֥י (Dan. 6. 25) are used for ‘them’. יָֽאִ֥י with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, יָֽאִ֥י), יָֽאִ֥י, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

Ethio Dative. 5. יָֽאִ֥י, &c., are also used as ‘ethical datives’, especially after verbs of motion. Examples: יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י (26. 5), יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י (24. ii. 5).

Reflex. Pron. 6. In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by יָֽאִ֥י, &c., sometimes by יָֽאִ֥י, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, יָֽאִ֥י, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic ‘he himself’ is expressed by יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י, ‘this itself’ by יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י (יָֽאִ֥י = this, § 5). יָֽאִ֥י יָֽאִ֥י means, literally, ‘my bone’ (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

OTA. 7. In MT יָֽאִ֥י (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for יָֽאִ֥י, but cf. pausal יָֽאִ֥י (Dan. 3. 17). יָֽאִ֥י and יָֽאִ֥י occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to יָֽאִ֥י and יָֽאִ֥י. See Brockelmann, Grundriß, I. 113.
§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

PTM  PTM  OJ  OJ


this לְ, לָ, לְ, מַ, מַ (לְ) מַ, מַ

these מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ

Adjectives and Pronouns.

that מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ

those מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ

Forms. 1. מַ and מַ are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. מַ and מַ in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). מַ (16. ii. 7) is pointed מַ in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2. מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ occur as alternatives to מַ, etc. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. PTM has a number of forms such as מַ and מַ (28. 24) in which מ alternates with מ. It also frequently uses contracted forms (מַ, מַ, מַ, etc.). מַ and מַ coalesce with a following מ into מַ, and מַ, מַ, מַ, מַ join with מַ into מַ (Dalman, p. 112).

OTA. 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). מַ מַ מַ for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and מַ מַ for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. מַ 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

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Special usages. 6. מַ occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, Grammar, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate מַ after מַ (Gen. 25. 22) and also for מַ associated with a numeral (Gen. 27. 36, Judg. 16. 15). מַ is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew מַ (Gen. 45. 9, Exod. 3. 14 f., 5. 10, 7. 26, Josh. 24. 2, Judg. 11. 15, 2 Kings 19. 20).

7. מַ is usually equivalent to מַ (Judg. 6. 20, etc.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27. 33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by מַ (Gen. 2. 19, 41. 28, 42. 14, Exod. 16. 23, Amos 7. 6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

Syntax. 8. OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (a) מַ, מַ instead of מַ, after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10. 1, Josh. 2. 20, Judg. 6. 14), (c) the phrase מַ מַ = מַ מַ 'to-day' (cf. מַ מַ מַ 'this day'), (d) מַ (Judg. 13. 23, 15. 7).

9. In PTM מַ generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16. ii. 11 and 13, 18. ii. 3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15. 6, 16. ii. 12, 28. 24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18. ii. 10 and 11—מַ, 28. 13—מַ), in particular, occurs more often than מַ as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

10. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in Chrest. 20. 12 and 21. 15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2. 23, Judg. 16. 15, etc.). In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2. 44).
§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVES

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

Idioms. 12. מִי is used with proper names in the sense of 'the well-known' or 'the previously-mentioned' (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). מִי is sometimes equivalent to מִדֵי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases מִדְּלֵי אָדָם, מִדְּלֵי אָדָמָה. מִדְּלֵי... מִדְּלֵי (and מִדְּלֵי... מִדְּלֵי) express 'this... that' or 'one... another'.

13. מִי with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like מִי, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipatory pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (מִדְּלֵי מִי 'at that very time'). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM מִדְּלֵי מִי he said to this same R. Jochanan' (20. ii. 10).

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

PTM OJ
who? מַאֲשָׂ, מַאֲשָׂ מַאֲשָׂ
what? מַאֲשָׂ מַאֲשָׂ
which? מַאֲשָׂ מַאֲשָׂ sing. masc.
" מַאֲשָׂ מַאֲשָׂ fem.
" מַאֲשָׂ מַאֲשָׂ (מַאֲשָׂ) plural com.

Forms. 1°. For the spelling מַאֲשָׂ see § 2. 1. מַאֲשָׂ happens not to occur in OJ. מַאֲשָׂ, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of מִדְּלֵי, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM מַאֲשָׂ contracts into מַאֲשָׂ and מַאֲשָׂ into מַאֲשָׂ. In OJ מַאֲשָׂ = מַאֲשָׂ (note 4).

Usages. 3°. The meanings of מַאֲשָׂ are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! מַאֲשָׂ (מַאֲשָׂ) expresses 'why?' and מַאֲשָׂ (מַאֲשָׂ) 'how many?' Questions introduced by מַאֲשָׂ so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ מַאֲשָׂ or מַאֲשָׂ renders Hebrew מַאֲשָׂ (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but מַאֲשָׂ is used for מַאֲשָׂ (§ 5, note 6).

Syntax. 5. מַאֲשָׂ, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (Chrest. 23. 3 and 4, Isra. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

Interrog. Adverbs. 6. מַאֲשָׂ (OJ) and מַאֲשָׂ (PTM) = 'where?', מַאֲשָׂ = 'whither?' and מַאֲשָׂ = 'whence?' מַאֲשָׂ (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for מַאֲשָׂ.

OTA. 7. Only מַאֲשָׂ and מַאֲשָׂ occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former מַאֲשָׂ. In Dan. 3. 33 מַאֲשָׂ (with an adjective) = how!

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Forms. 1°. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is מַאֲשָׂ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds מַאֲשָׂ, &c., note 4) the form is מַאֲשָׂ.

Idioms. 2°. מַאֲשָׂ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. מַאֲשָׂ, מַאֲשָׂ, מַאֲשָׂ, מַאֲשָׂ, and מַאֲשָׂ are also used to express these combinations.

3°. מַאֲשָׂ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. מַאֲשָׂ = 'the people of my house'. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for 'the opinion of'.

Compounds. 4°. מַאֲשָׂ, מַאֲשָׂ, &c., 'that which is to me', 'that which is to thee', &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM מַאֲשָׂ, &c., are more usual. מַאֲשָׂ may be a phonetic variant of מַאֲשָׂ (Barth) or מַאֲשָׂ = מַאֲשָׂ, 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).
§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

5. נָּשָׁ עָ+ יַ+ לָ, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2), מְלָה).

6. In PTM לֶ is a contraction for מְלָע and יַ occurs as a contraction for מְלַע (Dalman, p. 98).

Conjunctival uses. 7. י is much used as a conjunction, of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew יַ = that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (יַ עַ = after, יַ עַ = until or whilst). יַ, 'when' and מָלֵּ עַ (lest 'or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23 מָלֵעַ יַ) are compounds with יַ and מָלֵעַ (§ 6, note 3) respectively. יַ, is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

Relative Adverbs. 8. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by יַ עַ, מָלֵעַ עַ, and מָלֵעַ עַ (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by מָלֵעַ עַ, מָלֵעַ עַ, and מָלֵעַ עַ (cf. OTA מָלֵעַ עַ, Ezra 6. 1).

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מָלֵּעַ</td>
<td>בָּ</td>
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<tr>
<td>מָלֵּעַ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>מָלֵּעַ</td>
<td>נָּ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Emphatic state. 1. The emphatic ending נָּ has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e.g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where מָלֵּעַ

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 2, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word יַ, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with יַ (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, Massorah, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In מָלֵעַ מָלֵּעַ (Judges, passim) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. מָלֵעַ מָלֵּעַ, Deut. 10. 10.

4. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic orm when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; Christ. 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. מָלֵעַ מָלֵּעַ (1 Sam. 12. 22), but מָלֵּעַ מָלֵּעַ (24. ii. 13).
§ 8. Nouns and Adjectives

Absolute state. 5°. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, המsicחץ 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, הַיָּדָה, 'hand'). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

Construct and Genitive. 6°. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, הבֵית 'the house'). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְהִי, כֶּלֶם, etc.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. פֶּעַגַּת (28. 11), נַחֲלַת (25. ii. 3), עֵדְּנָה, עֵדְּנָה 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), יִתְנָה יִתְנָה 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, אִישׁ הַשָּׁמְשִׁים 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases הָלַע means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (17. 15) and אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (Chrest. 17. 17, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7°. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. i. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—11.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in combination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: מִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ (Ezra 5. 17), אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ (Ezra 5. 16), פֶּעֲמָה 'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5. 5). Cf. Ezra 4. 15, 6. 5, 7. 12, 7. 17, Dan. 2. 14, 2. 49, 4. 26, 5. 3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5. 2, 13, 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 15, 19, 38, 41, 4. 12 (= 20), 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 24, 7. 4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5. 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 38, 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 7. 4, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both מִשְׂרָאֵל (6. 8, 13, 25) and אֲשֶׁר אֶלָּבֶּשׁ (6. 17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by הָלַע are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2. 44, 3. 28 ff., 4. 23, 6. 25, 27, Ezra 5. 11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2. 20, 3. 25, 3. 26).

Accusative case. 9°. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark. ָּלַע occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15. 11, 16. ii. 11, 21. 6, 7, 23. 8, 27. 6) and לָּלַע does so rarely (15. ii. 8). In OJ לָּלַע is the regular equivalent of Hebrew לָּלַע and לָּלַע seldom occurs (in Gen. 3. 17 לָּלַע = Hebrew לָּלַע; for Gen. 39. 15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending מָלַע survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. לָּלַע 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA ָּלַע is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.1

1 It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23) and the false gods (3. 18, 5. 4, 23; cf. 2. 34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3. 2, 6. 2) and wise men of Babylon (2. 12, 14. 24; 5. 7), to the
Inflexional endings. 11*. The feminine singular ending ש is attached especially to stems that end in א, hence מִקָּרָב (Gen. 1. 2) and מִשְׁפָּט. Feminine plural endings אָוָן and זַוָּן are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) וֹבר, וֹנָב, וֹנָב, וֹנָב, (b) וֹנָב, וֹנָב—from רָב, sign, and וֹנָב, sister. Cf. מִשְׁפָּט = מִשְׁפָּט and מִשְׁפָּט = מִשְׁפָּט. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of בֵּשׁ, וב, and בֵלֶשׁ are בֵלֶשׁ, בֵלֶשׁ, and בֵלֶשׁ, respectively.

13*. The termination י is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: מִשְׁפָּט (Gen. 1. 10), יָנָב (Gen. 2. 7), יָרָב (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like יָשָׁב (Chrest. 24. ii. 1), יָשָׁב (Exod. 12. 30), יָשָׁב (Josh. 1. 4), and יָשָׁב (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, פֶּדֶרֶם = פֶּדֶרֶם = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like מִשְׁפָּט (Num. 32. 4), from מִשְׁפָּט, village, and מִשְׁפָּט (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For אָוָן as a plural ending see Brockmann, Grundriss, vol. i, p. 450 f.

Duals. 15*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are יָנָב, יָנָב (‘two’), and יָנָב (200). But the ending י is, in words such as יָנָב may also be a dual ending (OTA יָנָב). In OTA (besides יָנָב, יָנָב, and יָנָב) יָנָב, יָנָב, and יָנָב occur.

§ 9*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (1. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 21, 34; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of י introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 מֹרַבְרְנָב may be regarded as a textual error.

A nouns. Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is א, י, or ז (OTA א). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

א class.  י class.  ז class.

א ים א ים א ים

originally disyllabic.

originally monosyllabic.

In the א class absolute forms like ים (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), ים (Exod. 30. 23), and ים (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supranilinear MSS. give ים for the ים of MT.

Words of the י class like ים are ים, ים, ים, ים, ים, and ים (OTA ים, ים, ים, ים, and ים, with ים in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (ים, ים, &c.). In OTA the uses of ים and ים, ים and ים, are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.)

יָם (Num. 5. 22) and יָם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from ים and ים (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the י subclass and the latter to the א subclass.

B nouns. Disyllabic nouns having א in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a short syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is şere or pethah) follow
§ 9. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

A distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: יְשֵׁר, אֱלֹהִים, לֵאמָּר, וּלְכֹל. A small number of monosyllables including יָבָא, לֹא, אֵל, וּלְכֹל, בֵּית (son), and רֹּבֶע (OTA אֵלֶּה) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

C nouns. Monosyllables from stems יָיְיָי have absolute forms like יָיָי, יָיָה, and יָיָהנה, in which the vowels ָי and ָי are frequently represented by יָי and יָי respectively (e.g. יָיָשְׁת, יָיָוּד). Dalman gives יָיָה (arrow) and יָיָה (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from יָיְי stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. יָיָשֶׁת, יָיָוּד). In OTA the MSS. of MT read יָיָשֶׁת (mouth), but the suprilinear MSS. have יָיָוּד, in accordance with the analogy of בֵּית, בֵּית, &c.

D nouns. Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. יָיָשֶׁת, יָיָוּד, יָיָר, יָיָר). Monosyllables like יָיָר, יָיָר, יָיָר, and יָי. The unchangeable יָי in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew יָי (יָיָוּד, &c.).

E nouns. It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like יָיָי are chiefly substantives and those like יָיָי יָיָי (OTA אֵלֶּה, יָיָי) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography יָיָי (Gen. 12:11) is equivalent to יָיָי (§ 2:8).

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations יָיָי (= Hebrew יָי) or יָי added to a triliteral stem. Examples: יָיָי (or יָיָי, § 2:1), יָיָי. The long vowel of OTA יָיָי (יָיָי, יָיָי, יָיָי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1:13, 19).

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

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1 The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the י and the ending may be pronounced as aim.
§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS

A nouns. 1°. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflectional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are ā, ī, and ū (OTA ə). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (a) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר), (b) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (נִבְנָה, נִבְנָה). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. מַרְאָה, Gen. 2.13, but מַרְאָה, Josh. 1.4).

2. Under the influence of medial p, b, and m (labials) ā is often substituted for ā and ī in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: אַרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אִשָּׁר, אֵשָׁר. The absolute form יִשָּׁר, for יִשָּׁר, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem גּוּפִּים. In OTA the plural forms of יִשָּׁר are always יִשָּׁר, &c.

3. The vowel ī is also frequently substituted for an original ā. Examples: אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא; OTA אַרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא, אָרְבָּא. The absolute form יִשָּׁר (Exod. 12.27) may be a secondary formation like יִשָּׁר. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of יִשָּׁר is ī in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. Chrest. 15.9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give ē (Josh. 5.15, 14.9).

4. In the ī sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hārek in the inflected forms. רִבָּא, from רִבָּא (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. רִבָּא, &c.). Hārek and seghol also interchange in the OTA group רִבָּא, רִבָּא, רִבָּא.

5. In the ā sub-class, when ēlōhīm occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent ē (§ 2.1). Examples: רִבָּא, Gen. 38.16, רִבָּא Exod. 28.40, רִבָּא Lev. 11.15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of ē-stems in OTA (Dan. 2.37, 4.12, 6.26) and one of an ē-stem (מְלֶלֶכֶת Ezra 5.8). Similarly the feminine מְלֶלֶכֶת is written מְלֶלֶכֶת in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4.14 and 5.23 the supralinear punctuation is מְלֶלֶכֶת, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and מְלֶלֶכֶת or מְלֶלֶכֶת. In OJ inflected forms like מְלֶלֶכֶת (Josh. 2.6) for מְלֶלֶכֶת sometimes occur.

6. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like יִבְנָא and יִבְנָא, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like יִבְנָא (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like יִבְנָא and inflected stems like יִבְנָא, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute ī for ā, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4.1). יִבְנָא is the plural of יִבְנָא. יִבְנָא is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32.12).

B nouns. 7°. The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

C nouns. 8°. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflectional endings and the stem vowel is normally ā or ī or ū, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר). Before final ūesh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence יִשָּׁר from יִשָּׁר (country)). Some nouns put ī for ā in the inflected forms (יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר). In OTA יִשָּׁר, from יִשָּׁר, is unique (Dan. 7.11); in OJ יִשָּׁר (fem. absolute) is also used.

9°. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word יִשָּׁר with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always ā, the emphatic form is regularly יִשָּׁר (Josh. 11.19), pointed in Berliner's Onkelos sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29.24, Lev. 8.27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6.19, 20, 16.12, Lev. 1.9). In Lev. 8.27 Berliner prints יִשָּׁר. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have יִשָּׁר (five
§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). Ḥolem in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading אֵן (= אֵן) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to אֵן (cf. Berliner).

10. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew יָד is represented by יָד and Hebrew יָד by יָד. In Gen. 1–2 (Merx), Josh. 1–2, and Judg. 1–2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both יָד and יָד, generally the former. Strack’s supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read יָד.

11. Plurals of the form יָד occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in יָד (Exod. 32. 19), from יָד (cf. § 26, note 9). The form יָד (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

D nouns. 13. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word דַּבָּר (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (דַּבָּר, &c.).

E nouns. 14. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like יָד is either like יָד or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like יָד is either like יָד or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like עָדָּר and עָדָּר, from עָדָּר, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In עָדָּר it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15. יָד is contracted from יָד and יָד from יָד. Adjectives of the form יָד have contracted plurals of the form יָד (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (יָד, Dan. 3. 25).

16. יָד (Hebrew יָד) is used in the plural only. For plurals in

ַד see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like יָד as incorrect.

17. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in יָד) the vowel of the stem is usually א, but sometimes א or א (OTA א). Examples: יָד from יָד, יָד from יָד. The supralinear pathah of יָד in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA יָד (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like יָד, יָד, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in י are feminine (וֹדָּר, יָד) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

F nouns. 19. In the inflected forms of אֶי stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from ayya to א (', or א). The inflected forms of stems terminating in א (יָדָּר, יָדָּר) are treated like those of יָד (E class).

EF nouns. 20. A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 e) and OTA (יָדָּר, Dan. 4. 24, from יָדָּר). See also § 12, note 8.

21. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in אַדָּנ or אַדָּנ, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: יָדָּר, יָדָּר, יָדָּר, יָדָּר (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 3).

OTA. 22. The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.
§ 11. INFXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

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Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending ū is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in ū or ū are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually אַלְפָּא, joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא. אַלְפָּא is added to the stem אַלְפָּא in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like אַלְפָּא). Examples (from Dalman): אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא (absolute אַלְפָּא). Berliner's Onkelos gives אַלְפָּא (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from אַלְפָּא), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from אַלְפָּא). The emphatic sing. fem. of אַלְפָּא (= שָׁלֹם) is אַלְפָּא.

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal sheva following the middle radical (אַלְפָּא, Dan. 2. 9), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the sheva following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

B nouns. 3. In this class the emphatic ending is אַלְפָּא and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 (אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of אַלְפָּא 'daughter', is אַלְפָּא, and that of אַלְפָּא 'year', is אַלְפָּא.

C nouns. 4. In the C class אַלְפָּא is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. אַלְפָּא, like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form. אַלְפָּא 'sleep', although not from an יָע stem, is inflected like words of this group (אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא).

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually אַלְפָּא (אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא). אַלְפָּא is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is ū or ū (אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא). אַלְפָּא, אַלְפָּא, and אַלְפָּא, belong rather to the B class.
Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (*מֵאָשֶׁר, מֵאָשֶׁר; מִשְׁכֵּב, מִשְׁכֵּב; מֵעָרָיִם, מֵעָרָיִם; מֵעָרָיִם, מֵעָרָיִם*), although not exclusively (cf. מִשְׁכֵּב, Lev. 5.2, and מֵגֶּה, Exod. 5.7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

**E nouns.** 6. There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the מֵאָשֶׁר group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the מִשְׁכֵּב group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: מֵאָשֶׁר (Gen. 4.5) and מִשְׁכֵּב or מִשְׁכֵּב ‘city’ (emphatic מִשְׁכֵּב, plural מִשְׁכְּבָּם). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflections see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are מִשְׁכּט (Gen. 40.16). The absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew מִשְׁכּט seems to be מִשְׁכּט (Isa. 36.23). The construct is מִשְׁכּט (Lev. 9.17, Ex. 19.23), the emphatic מִשְׁכּט (Josh. 6.26) and the plural מִשְׁכְּבָּה (Mic. 6.26, Ex. 19.23). Berliner’s מִשְׁכְּבָּה &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

**F nouns.** 7. After the diphthong מִשְׁכּט the emphatic termination is מִשְׁכּט, with mutated ש, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before מ is א. Supralinear plurals like מִשְׁכְּבָּה Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

מִשְׁכְּבָּה (= Hebrew מִשְׁכְּבָּב) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (מִשְׁכְּבָּה, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms מִשְׁכּט and מִשְׁכּט (§ 10, note 20).

**G nouns.** 8. The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.

§ 11*. INFLEXION OF NOUNS

Old Testament Aramaic

**A, B, and C nouns.** 9. The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending מֵאָשֶׁר in the A class, viz. מֵאָשֶׁר (Dan. 2.10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as מַשְׂכֶּר (Gen. 1.9) or מַשְׂכֶּר (§ 2.6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are מִשְׁכְּבָּה (Ezra 4.11), מִשְׁכּט (Dan. 4.27), and מַשְׂכֶּר (Dan. 2.8).

**D nouns.** 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive מַשְׂכֶּר as their emphatic singular ending (מַשְׂכְּבָּה, מַשְׂכְּבָּה, מַשְׂכְּבָּה, מַשְׂכְּבָּה, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, מִשְׁכְּבָּה (Dan. 4.11) and מַשְׂכָּה (Ezra 6.2), both receive the emphatic ending מַשְׂכָּה (for the reading מַשְׂכָּה see Ginsburg and Strack). MT מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 3.6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into מַשְׂכָּה and included in the D class.

**E nouns.** 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. מַשְׂכָּה (Ezra 4.12) and מַשְׂכָּה (Ezra 4.14) belong to the מַשְׂכָּה group, מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 7.3) to the מַשְׂכָּה (Mish. 6.9) to the מַשְׂכָּה group. מַשְׂכָּה, from מַשְׂכָּה, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 25.25), from מַשְׂכָּה, is also a noun of this declension.

**F nouns.** 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of מַשְׂכָּה, as in מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 7.4), מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 7.19), some MSS. read מַשְׂכָּה (cf. note 7). Shewa after מַשְׂכָּה is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (מַשְׂכָּה). מַשְׂכָּה (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4.24).

**G nouns.** 13. מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 3.5) is an inflected form of the מַשְׂכָּה group and מַשְׂכָּה (Dan. 2.44) an example of the מ group.

1 If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.
§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1st. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2nd. כ, נ, and ב with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>PTM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>כ</td>
<td>כ</td>
<td>כ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ב</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes כ, נ, ב, and ב are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. כ is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and כ (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, Massorah, p. 62 f.). The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's Onkelos (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3rd. For כ OJ uses כ (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, δβα). כ כ 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally כ, from an older כ, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 כ (MT) may originally have meant כ (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. כ כ is sometimes contracted into כ (Chrest. 18. 12).

A nouns. 4th. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between כ and כ is paralleled by the distinction between כ and כ. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the כ type. E.g. כ (Josh. 10. 42), כ (Judg. 8. 7), but also כ (Judg. 9. 2).

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ כ כ, OTA כ כ). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between כ כ and כ כ. For ל with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

B nouns. 5th. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: כ כ, כ כ, כ כ, כ כ (OTA כ כ).

C nouns. 6th. The supralinear orthography represented by כ כ is normal, although the vowel כ is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA כ כ with suffixes has כ as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have כ.

E nouns. 7th. In the E class words like כ כ use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the כ sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem כ, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: כ כ (Judg. 9. 11), כ כ (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like כ כ and כ כ either employ their emphatic stem (כ כ, כ כ) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

F nouns. 8th. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like כ כ (OJ) and כ כ (OTA), have suffixed forms like כ כ (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and כ כ (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like כ כ with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

Feminine stems. 9th. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is כ כ, כ כ, or כ כ.

1. Nouns that use the ending כ כ join suffixes to the emphatic stem (כ כ, כ כ).

2. In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is כ כ, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (כ כ, כ כ, כ כ, כ כ).
§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

(3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is נָּאִי, add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same (נָּאִי, נָּאִי, נָּאִי). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10. יְָּבָּר (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as deriving from an absolute form נָּבָּר (cf. § 11, note 4).

Feminine suffixes. 11. The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

Plural Suffixes.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יְָּבָּר</td>
<td>אֵבָּר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יַָּבָּר</td>
<td>אַבָּר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יֵָּבְּר</td>
<td>אֵבְּר</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Singular Suffixes.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יָּבָּר</td>
<td>אֵבָּר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יָּבְּר</td>
<td>אֵבְּר</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffix forms. 1. יָּבָּר, אֵבָּר, and אֵבְּר are simply orthographical variants for יָּבְּר, אֵבָּר, and אֵבְּר. For יָּבְּר, see § 2.14. יָּבְּר is an alternative in OJ for יָּבְּר (see § 29, note 8).

2. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending אֵיל, which in a majority of cases has become א or א or א. The connective א or א or א of יָּבְּר is explained either as a nominative plural ending = א (Barth) or as a dissimilation from א (Dalman). The terminations יָּבְּר, יָּבְּר, and יָּבְּר were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-

teristic of PTM. א is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix י is used by PTM in יָּבָּר 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the Kasibh implies the earlier pronunciations יָּבְּר, א, and א, which the Qere alters into יָּבְּר, א, and א. See paradigm, p. 93.

4. It may be observed that several of the א suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (א, א, א). Unvocalized א in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

Plural stems. 5. Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e.g. יָּפְר, תָּפְר, אֵפְר). Only the יָּפְר group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (יָּפְר). In other E nouns א suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (לָפְר, תָּפְר, אֵפְר). In Dan. 2.32 this treatment is extended to the form יָּפְר, although presumably its uninflected singular is יָּפְר, as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses יָּפְר (Gen. 2. 25), instead of יָּפְר, and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

Singular stems like plurals. 7. The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending ע of certain nouns of the E class, like יָּפְר and יָּפְר, produces a set of א suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable (יָּפְר, תָּפְר). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like יָּפְר, are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8. יָּפְר 'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh (יָּפְר, Chrest., p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 (יָּפְר, Exod. 21. 29, יָּפְר, Dan. 4. 16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section (יָּפְר, Exod. 21. 34).
§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

In the Kethibh form יאָרַע (Dan. 4.16, 21) נ might represent עי (§ 2.1) but probably נ stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

θ*. Prepositions that originally ended in י, for that reason take עי suffixes (וָעַי, הָוָעַי, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (וָעַי, הָוָעַי, &c.). In OTA וָעַי or וָעַי (Ezra 4.12, &c.), an old form of the suffix וָע, is preserved (cf. note 3).

Fem. plur. suffixes. 10. The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

§ 14*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

Borrowed עי Suffixes. Normal Suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>OJ and PTM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מַעְבַּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְבַּרְבָּרְבָּרְבָּרְb</td>
<td>מַעְבַּרְb</td>
<td>מַעְb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td>מַעְb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (וָע, וָע, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed עי suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. ה for ה occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f). In Dan. 2.23 some MSS. read וָע for וָע (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. נאָסוּנְו, נאָנְו, ETC.

Forms. 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11.26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) נאָנְו occurs for נאָנְו. In OTA the forms used are נאָנְו and נאָנְו.

Subject pronouns. 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. נאָנְו). נאָנְו coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds נאָנְו, נאָנְו, and נאָנְו.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are עי suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA נאָנְו). In the 1 person singular the ending עי has become עי and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: נאָנְנֵי, נאָנְנֵי, נאָנְנֵי. The inflected stem of נאָנְנֵי has two forms, as in לֵו לֵו. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with נאָנְנֵי, as in PTM (נאָנְנֵי). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1.9 נאָנְנֵי נאָנְנֵי נאָנְn). 4. In OTA the subject pronouns of נאָנְn are expressed by means of suffixes of the עי form (וָע, וָע, &c.).

Usages. 5. נאָנְּו and נאָנְּו express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. נאָנְּו נאָנְּו נאָנְּו 'there is here a Jew' (20.9). They are regularly combined with נאָנְּו, נאָn, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. נאָn נאָn נאָn 'if you have no money' (15.9). Sometimes נאָn may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. נאָn נאָn נאָn 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ נאָn is used absolutely, like Hebrew נאָn (Gen. 5.24, 37.30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. נאָn נאָn נאָn 'I am not a king' (20.10). נאָn נאָn נאָn 'this house will not be destroyed' (20.12). A subject noun or pronoun follows נאָn (נאָn), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.
§ 15. וה, ו, etc.

Before prepositional phrases, where וה may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. ולpeq sober, 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26.14; cf. Dan. 2.30).

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

Reflexive and Passive. Active.

Ithpēl | Pēl | Simple
Ithpāl | Pēl | Intensive
Ittaphal | Apēl | Causative

1°. The stems having preformative ih are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2°. The Pēl, Apēl, and Ithpēl of verbs final וה, ו, and י take paṭḥah for šere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

Pēl. 3°. Pēl perfects with י or י in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: יִשָׁר ‘be strong’ (Gen. 1.28) or ‘be angry’ (Gen. 4.5), יֵשׁ עָשֶׂה יֵשׁ עָשֶׂה (Gen. 3.10), יֵשֶׁר (Judg. 1.1), יֵשֶׁר (Gen. 15.16), ובוּלְךָ יֵשֶׁר (Gen. 2.21); יֵשֶׁר and יֵשֶׁר (Gen. 2.21). י occurs for י (Kahle, p. 219) and י for י, especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA י and י both occur, the latter generally in pause (יבכ, יכ, יכ). Where MT has י the supralinear MSS. sometimes have י (Dan. 6.21, יכ).

Haphel. 4°. Haphels sometimes take the place of Apēls in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are יִשָׁר, קֵרֵד, and יִשָׁר (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In י comes, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is י (Gen. 45.26—Berliner) or י (Gen. 15.6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both י (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and י (Merx). In Dan. 6.24 the sublinear vowel is י and the supralinear is י.

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

Ith forms. 6°. The Ithpēl and Ithpāl of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) י of the prefix is assimilated to a following י, י, or י (thus יִשָׁר).
(b) י changes places with a following sibilant and after י and י becomes י and ي respectively. Examples: יִשָׁר, יִשָׁר, יִשָׁר.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (וָיָם, Exod. 21.29).

7. In PTM assimilation of י to י, י, י, י, י, י and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: יִשָׁר = יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר = יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר (21.4), יִשָּׁר = יִשָּׁר, יִשָּׁר = יִשָּׁר (28.4). Dalman compares יִשָּׁר (Mark 7.34) = יִשָּׁר (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also Childst. 4.19, יִשָּׁר = יִשָּׁר.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative וה, in the perfect and other tenses (עָבְרָא).

Shaphel, &c. 9°. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are יִשָּׁר ‘complete’ (passive יִשָּׁר, Gen. 2.1), יִשָּׁר יִשָּׁר ‘subdue’ (Gen. 12.5), יִשָּׁר יִשָּׁר ‘rescue’ (Gen. 37.21), יִשָּׁר יִשָּׁר ‘finish’ (Gen. 2.2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pōēl and Pāēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. יִשָּׁר, Gen. 24.14). The Pōēl, Pāēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems יִשָּׁר and יִשָּׁר (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

OTA. 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Haphals and a perfect passive Pēl of the form Pēl, especially in the 3 person (וָיָם, Dan. 5.28; יִשָּׁר, Ezra 5.14; cf. יִשָּׁר, Childst. 1.8). Haphels for Apēls and preformative וה for וה are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With יִשָּׁר ה (Dan. 4.16) the Syriac forms having preformative וה may be compared.

12. Where OJ has י in the final syllable (Pēl, Apēl, Ithpēl) OTA sometimes has י and sometimes י. It is difficult to make
§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those מָשָׁל (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and יִשָּׁע and יִשָּׁע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels א and א in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of א number four, against one example of א (Dan. 6:1); in the imperfect and participle there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have א (excluding יִשָּׁע, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of א and two of א (viz. יִשָּׁע and יִשָּׁע), in the participle two cases of א. In the HITHPÈL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of א and one of א, and in the participle two examples of א. The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Pael perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

Table. 1*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in א, א, and א. The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced רַבָּר rather than רַבָּר될 (§ 2. 6).

Endings. 2*. The distinctive ending א is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (א). 3*. The PTM plural endings א and א are borrowed from the imperfect tense, to which they properly belong. א and א also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM יִשָּׁע occurs for יִשָּׁע and יִשָּׁע for יִשָּׁע, especially in Aphels. The א may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: יִשָּׁע (25:5), יִשָּׁע (23:9). The form יִשָּׁע (19:11, 9) = יִשָּׁע+א.

Accent. 5*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

OTA. 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The latter occurs in two Peals (רַבָּר) and in the few cases there are of Hithpèl (רַבָּר) and Haphal (רַבָּר) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (רַבָּר) and in two of three Hophals (רַבָּר). In the Pael, Paal, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (דָּרַב, דָּרַב). In the Haphal, besides הָרַב (§ 33), only הָרַב (Dan. 2:25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be רַב (as יִשָּׁע) or רַב (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.
§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

7. In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (asyndenton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after קֵנֵי (26. 18) and כֵּכָה (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2f).

§ 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

**Paal.—OJ and PTM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יֶהָבְּנֵי</td>
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**Paal.—OJ and PTM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יֶהָבְּנֵי</td>
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<td>יֶהָבְּנִים</td>
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<td>יֶהָבְּנִים</td>
<td>יֶהָבְּנִים</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Stem vowels.**

1. The stem vowel of the imperf. Paal is rarely ה, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יִהֵּב, יַהֵּב, יִהֵּב). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. Paal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of ה for ה and of ה for ה may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2. The stem vowels of other imperff. than the Paal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: מֵהָבְּנֵי, מֵהָבְּנִים.

**Preformative vowels.**

3. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Paal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (רָבַּה, רָבַּה) and hireq once (רָבַּה).

4. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly ה, and א is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of theVT seghol (§ 2. 8). הָבָה in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is מַהְרֵי (Dan. 2. 24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperff. Pael and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. מַהְרֵה = מַהְרֵה, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpael (§ 16, note 8).

**Prefix 5.**

6. Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative מ (Brockelmann, Grundriss, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6).

Examples: מַלְאָה, מַלְאָה, מַלְאָה, מַלְאָה (Malch, מַלְאָה). They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after מ and מֵלָה) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms מַלְאָה (Malch), מַלְאָה, and מַלְאָה occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name מֶהְלָה.

**OTA.**

7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Paal are ה (Malch), ה (Malch), and ה (Malch) and those of the impff. Paal and Haphef ה or ה (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphef imperff. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (כֵּכָה, כֵּכָה). The plural ending ה (or ה), for הר, occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3. 4 and 6.

**Syntax.**

8. In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

1. It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

---

1 In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).
and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18.9, 28.6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after י and נָבְרָה to express purpose (18.13, 18.ii. 4, 21.15), after נָבְרָה = lest (24.3) and after ר (or נָבְרָה) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21.2) and ordering (23.5).

(3) It is used modally (21.3), especially in questions (19.ii. 9, 20.ii. 7, 24.ii. 2, 25.ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19.iii. 3 ‘that I should go out’, 22.1 ‘should be married’, 28.6, לֹא יִשְׁתַּקֵּם, ‘everything that any one may bid me I will do’), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and volitional, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6.21, Exod. 22.24, Deut. 16.18, Josh. 23.8, 13, 1 Sam. 24.13), and resolves (Gen. 6.7, Josh. 24.15, 1 Sam. 24.11).

(2) After יָבֵא in purpose clauses (Gen. 12.13, 27.25, Exod. 8.6, 11.7, Deut. 4.1, 5.16, 8.1, 11.8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperf. (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). ‘Could’ is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2.22, 1 Kings 8.5) or a participle (1 Kings 18.10, Jer. 24.2), or by יָבֵא with an imperf. (Gen.13.16). ‘Can’ may also be expressed by יָבֵא (Isa. 49.15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2.17, 3.4, 49.1, Exod. 4.1, 6.1, Deut. 16.18, Josh. 1.3, 18, 3.5, 10, 13, 18.8, 23.5, 1 Sam. 24.21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following 믹 (Gen. 18.26, Exod. 22.24, Josh. 23.12) and רָק (Hebrew יָרֵא), Josh. 24.20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43.4 f.).

6. As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2.19, Exod. 2.4, 1 Sam. 22.22, 2 Kings 13.14—for which a participle (Gen. 43.25, 1 Kings 7.7) or יָבֵא with an imperf. (2 Kings 3.27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OJA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. יָבֵא (‘ready’, ‘prepared’) or יָבֵא, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4.10, 41.28, Exod. 16.23; Dalman, Grammar, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without י (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29.21, בָּהֵן קָנָה הָעָלִים, ‘Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall’). Cf. מָמַע בְּאֵל מִמְּלֶךְ הָיָה לְעָלִים (19.iii. 3) ‘the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here’. For יָבֵא see note 13.

18. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. imperf. (19.iii. 3, 21.1, 24.ii. 7, 29.21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2.36, and see § 21, note 14.
§ 19. IMPERATIVES

1*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only $u$ as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. $i$ was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as $a$ (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). אֶלֶה might have been given as the paradigm form.

4*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperative Peal is also ambiguous (וָעָלַה, וָעָלַה).

5. אָפָהָדָא is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having $n$ assimilated to $b$ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Oehren'). Accordingly בָּאָפָהָדָא = בָּאָפְּהָדָא (נ not being distinguished from נ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OFA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to בָּאָפָהָדָא and בָּאָפְּהָדָא are בָּאָפְּהָדָא (one example) and בָּאָפָהָדָא (two examples).

§ 20. INFINITIVES

Orthography. 1*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by $n$, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

BAB. 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

OJ. 3*. The OJ forms in בָּאָפְּהָדָא are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate $a$ is unchangeable (בָּאָפָהָדָא, Gen. 14. 17).

PTM. 4*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (בָּאָפָהָדָא, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of בָּאָפָהָדָא).

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative $n$ for $ם$ (see paradigm, p. 95). בָּאָפְּהָדָא (Ex. 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

Infin. Peal. 6*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Peal are inflected as nouns of the B class וָעְקָדָא, וָעְקָדָא (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination ב (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (בָּאָפָהָדָא).

Syntax. 7. The adverbal use of the Hebrew infinn. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written בָּאָפָהָדָא in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. בָּאָפָהָדָא in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by ב, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 21, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ב is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ב (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ב (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by ב with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.
§ 20. INFINITIVES

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

10. The Hebrew negative יָלַשׁ is represented in OJ by בְּּאֵלַשׁ (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA בְּּאֵלַשׁ with an infin. means 'must not be'.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APHEL.</th>
<th>PAEL.</th>
<th>PPEAL.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTM</td>
<td>OJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קָנֵלַשׁ</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms. 1°. Since verbs final guttural and resh have ב for י in all final syllables קָנֵלַשׁ is the partic. PPEAL of קָנֵלַשׁ, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Paelel and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, בְּּאֵלַשׁ (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and בְּּאֵלַשׁ (from בְּּאֵלַשׁ, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2°. In OJ י sometimes appears for final י (so יָרָשׁ in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and יָרָשׁ in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

PPEAL particc. used as nouns always have ב in the suprinal punctuation (so יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ). In OTA י is usual, but eight words have ב for י, viz.:

יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ, יָרָשׁ.

3°. The partic. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples: יָרָשׁ (also יָרָשׁ) 'sleeping'; יָרָשׁ (also יָרָשׁ) 'fearing'.

4°. Words of the form יָרָשׁ may have an active sense. Examples: יָרָשׁ 'thinking'; יָרָשׁ 'remembering'; יָרָשׁ (also יָרָשׁ) 'wondering'.

5°. The form יָרָשׁ occurs occasionally in PTM and יָרָשׁ (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

Inflections. 6. Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the partic. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (רקּּאֵל). Forms like יָרָשׁ (17. ii. 18), יָרָשׁ (23. 8), יָרָשׁ (27. 2), and יָרָשׁ (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as יָרָשׁ, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a suprinal vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7°. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (אָנֵל, אָנֵל, אָנֵל) joined to partic. make a new tense form. Examples: יָרָשׁ (Gen. 4. 9), יָרָשׁ (Berlin) or יָרָשׁ (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, יָרָשׁ (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יָרָשׁ (25. ii. 8), יָרָשׁ (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8°. Tense forms got by uniting partic. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. יָרָשׁ (or יָרָשׁ, § 28, note 1), meaning 'they prayed' (Dalman, p. 284).

1 So Dalman (cf. Gram., p. 290); why not יָרָשׁ?
§ 21. PARTICIPLES

Syntax. 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15.9, 16.5—בַּקֵּשׁ, 20.11, 23.ii.8, 26.3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16.ii.13), and they express promises (15.10, 20.ii.11) and general truths (23.8). With יָשָׁנֶה ‘while’ (14.ii.4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16.ii.11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24.2). The use of partic. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24.ii.3, 25.ii.2 ff., 27.9—רָאָם).

10. In OJ partic. often represent Hebrew imperfect (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18.15, Num. 11.12, Deut. 1.31 and 44, Judg. 7.5, 10.4, 1 Sam. 5.5, 16.7, 2 Kings 9.20) or in the past (Gen. 29.2, Num. 9.20, Judg. 2.19, 6.5, 14.10, 1 Sam. 1.3, 6, 7, 2.13 f. and 19) are expressed by partic. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperfect is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32.29 = 32.30, 37.15, Exod. 2.13, 3.3, Judg. 17.9, 19.17, 1 Sam. 1.8, 25.10, 28.16).  

So, also, when the Hebrew imperfect denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2.25, Exod. 13.22, 1 Sam. 1.13, Isai. 10.7) or the future (1 Sam. 1.14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2.8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4.4, Ezra 5.3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3.25—מָאָסְלָא) or the past (Dan. 5.5—ֶחָרָב), and in stating general truths (Dan. 2.21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4.29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (Chrest. 15.11, 16.ii.3, 20.8, 24.10, 27.9; Dan. 4.4, 4.32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: Chrest. 27.11, ‘men despise’; Ezra 6.3, ‘men sacrifice’; Dan. 4.28, equivalent to a passive ‘you are addressed’.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: יָשֵׁב (14.ii.1), יָשַׁל (16.ii.9, 20.10), יָשֵׁל (19.13). יָשֵׁל (‘begin’) is used with partic. in the Peshitta, but with infinn. in OJ (Gen. 6.1, Deut. 2.31, Judg. 10.18, 13.5, 1 Sam. 14.35) and in OTA (Ezra 5.2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1*. The tenses of the verb מָלָל ‘become’ form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of מָלָל joined to a present participle expresses:

(a) A past progressive tense, in sentences introduced by ‘who’ or ‘when’ (14.ii.1, 15.ii.1, 22.7) and in circumstantial clauses (15.6, 16.ii.5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22.3, 27.ii.1) or a preferable (16.ii.5, 16.ii.8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: יִשָּלוּ בָּנָיהָ ‘when he was coming’, יָשֵׁל בַּמָּלָל ‘now he
knew'. In the sentence (29.6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) A pluperfect progressive tense, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16.6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) A habit or custom, in the present (21.12) or the past (22.ii.2, 23.ii.7, 27.1, 28.6, 'he used to say').

(d) An act repeated in the past a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15.3, 19.ii.15—ךְלָם מְאֹן דְּבָרָם לְשֵׁנָה הָאָרֶץ—21.13, 22.7).

(e) A future in the past (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17.ii.4.f).

(f) A past conditional, expressing 'would have' (22.9, after בָּנָי, 24.2, 27.12, both in apodosis of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

8. The participle tense of מָנַח (see §21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: מָנַח חָצֵר 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22.7), מָנַח הָעַצְמִי נְשִׁי הָאָרֶץ 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29.28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OJA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2.31, 5.19—ךְלָם מְאֹן 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (b) Dan. 5.19—ךְלָם מְאֹן 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6.11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (ךְלָם מְאֹן מָרְבִּית קַרְחָה) and Dan. 6.5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (ךְלָם מְאֹן). In Dan. 6.15 מָנַח מְאֹן may be classed under (a) or (d).

5. In OJA a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2.6, 19, Josh. 4.14, 'as they had revered') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31.18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11.39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43.7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4.17, 37.2, &c.).

6. The imperfect מָנַח joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1.16, after בָּנָי), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2.43), and (c) after בָּנָי and מָנַח to express result or effect (Chrest. 16.ii.14, 18, 15, 20.5; Dan. 6.3, Ezra 6.10, 7.25.f.) or the substance of a command (22.ii.3.f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (Chrest. 19.ii.17; cf. Ezra 6.8.f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see §18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5.19—ךְלָם מְאֹן—Ezra 7.26, Chrest. 19.ii.15).

8. מָנַח joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17.ii.2, 25.ii.10; Dan. 6.4, Ezra 5.11). מָנַח with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3.18, Ezra 4.12, 6.8.f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of מָנַח (Dalman, p. 257f.).

10. מָנַח in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20.ii.10—ךְלָם מְאֹן מֵמֶרֶבֶן מִשְׁכָּבָה 'after (he) had conquered the city').
§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ח, כ, ב) and of י upon the vowels of verbal forms is not so extensive as in Hebrew, but, as far as it goes, is similar in character.

1. Pathah holds the place of normal šere in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. Pael, &c.). In the final syllable of imperfect and imperatives Pael pathah is usual, but ב occurs before final resh and final ‘ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathah is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

2. In the imperfect Pael preformative pathah is used in some verbs (e.g. בובא, רַכָּב, וִינָב, אֶלְעָב), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA הָרֵאשׁ (twice), הָרַס (once) and הָרְס אוֹרְס (thrice), with the imperfect forms of מֲרִא (ומְרָא), &c., are the only Pael imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of רְשָׁע equivalent to seghol (hence Christ. 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

3. Apparently the only infin. with preformative pathah is יִשָּׂעַר. In OTA the form is יָרְשׁ (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his Dialektproben (18. 14, 29. 7).

4. Pathah furtive is used in the pass. partic. Pael of verbs final guttural (הָרֵאשׁ). See also § 32, note 1.

5. An intrusive pathah separates the termination ה from the stem of verbs final guttural. E.g. מִמְרַא (Dan. 5. 27).

6. Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear ḫateph would be. Supralinear pathah in perf. like יִשָּׂעַר signifies ḫateph pathah and šere in imperative forms like יִשָּׂעַר and יָרְשׁ signifies ḫateph seghol. See § 2. 7, 8.

7. An intrusive ḫateph (before vocal shewa an intrusive

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
| חַטְפֵּלָה | לְפֹסְמ | יַבָּכֵב | הַמְּגַלֵּב | אָבָּב | כַּמְּגַלֵּב | פֶּלַע | imperf. |
Assimilation. 1°. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impf. and infn. Pēal and in all the tenses of the Apel and Itaphal. Nun and its vowel (sheva) generally disappear in the imperat. Pēal.

2°. In verbs medial n and medial y assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, גָּלֹל). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, כָּלָל; Gen. 26. 11, כָּלָל).

3°. The vocalization of verbs medial n̄, according to the supralinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Apel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote hataph pathah (§ 2. 7).

Pēal imperatt. and infn. 4°. The stem vowels of the imperative Pēal do not become vocal sheva in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. כָּל (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to כָּל.

5. Infinitives like כָּל are normal in OJ, and those like כָּל in PTM.

Ithpēel. 6. Ithpēel forms sometimes assimilate n of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

7°. In כָּל l assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הָכָל (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

O.T.A. 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1-4 apply to O.T.A. The only verb medial guttural is כָּל, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (כָּל), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, כָּל or כָּל) and partic. (כָּל), but not in the Hophal (כָּל). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are כָּל (imperf., infn.), כָּל (Apel), and כָּל (Apel). There are two כ imperfects, כָּל (as Syriac; OJ כָּל) and כָּל or כָּל. For the imperat. see § 27, note 10, and for כָּל, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apel</th>
<th>Pēal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>כָּל</td>
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<td>כָּל</td>
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1°. In the imperf. and infn. Pēal and in the Apel כ coalesces with the preformative vowel into כ and כ respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (כָּל).

Pēal imperf. 2°. The imperfects Pēal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are כָּל, כָּל, כָּל, and כָּל (but also כָּל). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew כָּל). כָּל does not belong to the group (unlike כָּל).

Imperat. 3°. The supralinear imperatives כָּל, כָּל, כָּל, &c., although pointed with šere, should probably be pronounced כָּל, כָּל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in O.T.A (כָּל). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ כָּל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and כָּל (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is כָּל. כָּל does not belong to the group (unlike כָּל). כָּל in the singular Berliner’s Onkelos has both כ (Deut. 10. 11) and כ (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal sheva).

4°. Some verbs (e.g. כָּל, כָּל) use shortened imperatt. Pēal as alternatives to the full forms (כָּל, כָּל; כָּל, כָּל—in Dalman כָּל). For the ending כ in כ see § 29.
§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

5°. The stem vowel ֗ of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to ֗ or ֑ (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing ֗ and ֗ (23. 1) seems unlikely.

Aphel. 6°. Of the Aphels with preformative ֗ that occur in PTM only ֗ and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אנה, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298f.) as correct. The salutation יִיחַ 'hail' (Chrest. 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA ית (§ 16, note 5) and ינ or יִת (OTA ית, יית), from ית, are used.

Contracted forms. 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of ית (יִת, יִתָּה, יִתָּה, &c.). Contracted Ithpaels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. יִתָּה = ית and יִתָּה = ית). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in רת, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

Unusual forms. 8. יִתָּה and ית (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of ית and ית (cf. § 23, note 9). ית (יִת) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). ית (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for ית (§ 21, note 7) or ית.

OTA. 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (ית, ית), except in the cases of ית and ית, from ית and ית (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. א is generally followed by heth seghol and in ית (Ezra 5. 15) ֗ is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and ית, Dan. 3. 22, ית, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has ית, Strack's supralinear text reads ית, i.e. ית (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. ית (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

Aphel. Peal.

<table>
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<th>יִתָּה</th>
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Peal prefixes. 1°. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1) ֗ and (2) ֗ followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense ֗ is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh (ית, ית) and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: ית (Ezek. 17. 10—Kahle, p. 46), ית (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18). ית (Josh. 9. 19, for ית 'we are able'), ית (Josh. 24. 19, for ית 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

Stem vowels. 2. Imperf. Peal with א as their stem vowel are ית (OTA ית) and ית (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like ית, (Gen. 3. 16) and ית, (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

Imperat. 3°. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (ית, ית).

Aphel. 4°. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally ֗ (ית, ית). Where א occurs in the MSS, it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307f.). Dalman recognizes ית in OJ and ית and ית as possibly correct in PTM ית occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5°. In OJ ית is used for ית and the uncontracted forms ית, ית.
and שִׁפְּרָב more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

**Shaphel.** 6. The Shaphel שִׁפְּרָב (OTA שִׁפְּרָב) ‘rescue’ has no Piel in use (יִשְׁפְּרָב). (Ezra 6.3) may be regarded as a causative of הבש, with ב as in some Syriac forms. For יִשְׁפְּרָב (י from יִשְׁפְּרָב) see § 27, note 8.

**Ithpel.** 7. For elision of yodh in Ithpeil forms see § 25, note 7.

8. In PTM forms with elided י are used (e.g. יִשָּׁת = יִשָּׁת, Chrest. 29.8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of יִשָּׁת take the place of the corresponding parts of הבש and are the only parts of יִשָּׁת in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to הבש or הבש, and יִשָּׁת.

**OTA.** 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Piel perf. and imperf. the stem vowel י corresponds to OJ י (יִשָּׁת, יִשָּׁת, יִשָּׁת). In the imperf. Piel preformative י and י both occur (יִשָּׁת, יִשָּׁת). יִשָּׁת is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יִשָּׁת (seven times). The normal Haphel form is יִשָּׁת (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (יִשָּׁת) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

**ITTAPHAL. ITTPHAL. ITTPHAL. APHEL. PAEL. PIEL.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shapheil</th>
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<th>Pert.</th>
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imperf.

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infin.

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act. ptc.

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pass. ptc.

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PTM

**Pass. partic.** 7. The passive partic. Piel is sometimes pointed with final י by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25.10, Josh. 7.10).

**Shaphel.** 8. The Shaphel form יִשָּׁת ‘complete’, may be derived from יִשָּׁת. For the י of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

**OTA.** 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perf., imperf., and participles of OTA are י, י and י, as in

**Final vowels of stem.** 1. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into י or י or י or י. י occurs only in the perfect Piel (3 s.m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). י comes from עי (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography יִשָּׁת is more common, in this verb, than יִשָּׁת (cf. יִשָּׁת).

2. Transitive perfects Piel ending in י in OJ are: יִשָּׁת, יִשָּׁת, יִשָּׁת, &c. יִשָּׁת (or יִשָּׁת), with a prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA יִשָּׁת (or יִשָּׁת) and יִשָּׁת occur.

3. Where י appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman).

4. In Yemenite MSS. Piel imperatt. of the form יִשָּׁת are corrections of יִשָּׁת under the influence of Hebrew (Dietrich, ZATW, xx, p. 151).

**Infin. forms.** 5. In OJ the third radical of feminine infin., is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like יִשָּׁת, &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. י is used in PTM less frequently than י to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Piel of the form יִשָּׁת is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form יִשָּׁת may have been pronounced יִשָּׁת, from יִשָּׁת. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points י in the final syllable (יִשָּׁת).

**Pass. partic.** 7. The passive partic. Piel is sometimes pointed with final י by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25.10, Josh. 7.10).

**Shaphel.** 8. The Shaphel form יִשָּׁת ‘complete’, may be derived from יִשָּׁת. For the י of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

**OTA.** 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perf., imperf., and participles of OTA are י, י and י, as in
§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is ı́ (יָּדָה) and in יָדָה (Dan. 5. 13). In other cases—when the final vowel is ַ or ָ—פִּ or פ is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: יָּדָע and יָּדָק; יָּדָק; יָּדָק and יָּדָף; יָּדָף. For the form יָּדָה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is יָּדָה, the Qere יָּד or יָּדָה.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (יָּדָה, Ezra 7. 25, for יָּדָה) and two Páals (יָּדָה, in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and יָּדָה, Ezra 5. 15, from יָּדָה).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (יָּדָה, &c.). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS, in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms יָּדָה (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and יָּדָה (Dan. 2. 30) or יָּד (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural יָּדָה (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Páals (§ 16, note 11).

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(perfect tenses)

<table>
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Endings. 1°. The OJ plural terminations יָּדָה (3 masc.) and יָּדָה (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Páal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM יָּדָה and יָּדָה (?) and extends the use of יָּדָה to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2°. The distinctive endings יָּדָה and יָּדָה occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are יָּדָה and יָּדָה respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

3rd radical. 3°. Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesce with the preceding stem vowel into ָ or ֵ, as shown in the table. In יָּדָה perfects the reading יָּדָה, for יָּדָה, by Yemenite MSS, is due to late correctors (Dietrich, ZATW., vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4°. In the 3 s. f. of יָּדָה perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (יָּדָה, 18. 3; יָּדָה, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (יָּדָה, Dan. 7. 15; and יָּדָה, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading יָּדָה. In PTM יָּדָה and יָּדָה are unvocalized forms for יָּדָה (יָּדָה or יָּדָה) and יָּדָה. In OJ יָּדָה appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all יָּדָה perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Páal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like יָּדָה and יָּדָה respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of יָּדָה (22. 19) and יָּדָה (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form יָּדָה (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Páal with consonantal yodh (יָּדָה, Dan. 4. 21).

OTA. 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes י in יָּדָה perf. (יָּדָה), aY in the 2 s. m.
§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

of ordinary perf. P'tl (יַּדָּה) and in יַדָּֽה or יָדָֽהוֹ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), יָדָֽה in other forms (יָדוֹ, יָדוּ). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. P'tl the forms יָדָֽה and יָדָֽהוֹ are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints יָדָֽה. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with P'TM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (יָדָֽהוֹ, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (יָדוֹ), with a variation of orthography in the i perfections (יָדוֹ, יָדוּ), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, Massorah, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack's supralinear text reads יָדוּ. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is יָדוּ (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read יָדוּוּ.

9. Baer's reading of seghol for שֵׁרֶה in the final syllable of pausal imperf. P'tl and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4. 7. 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfecfes, imperatives and infinitives)

P'tl.

Plural. SINGULAR. IMPERFECT.

PTM OJ

יָדָֽה 3 masc.

יָדוֹ fem.

יָדָֽהוֹ 2 masc.

יָדוּ fem.

יָדוֹת 1 com.

Imperf. 1st. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination או is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to P'TM. The 2 s. f. endings in P'TM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as או and או respectively. יָדָֽה might be understood to signify יָדָֽה (§ 2. 1).

2nd. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and P'TM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA יָדוֹ, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in P'TM see note 1.

3. Forms like יָד (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for יָד (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

Imperat. 4th. The P'TM imperative ending או is got by analogy from the או of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending או is shortened from או and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from P'TM. In OJ או = או (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (נְגָּרְבָּה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: יָד (P'tl—Gen. 24. 14). יָד (P'tl—Gen. 24. 2). יָד or יָֽד (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and P'TM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in P'TM and the P'tl imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

Infinit. 7. Infinitives of the form יָדָֽה are found in P'TM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, יָדָֽה.

8. P'tl infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural.
§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that ḫ is used for a in as the suffix of the 1st singular and that itt is employed for א. Examples: אֵתָה, יִתְנָה. PTM has forms like אֵתָה וְתַּנְתָה or אֵתָה וְתַּנְתָה (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (יִתְנָה, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ (יִתְנָה, Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e.g. אֵתָה מִתְנָה from the Pael infinitive אֵתָה יִתְנָה).

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperfects. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperf. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form אֵתָה (Dan. 5. 10), with 信息安全 for אֵת אָה, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(inflexion of participles)

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1st. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is ain in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always an, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2nd. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination אֵתָה (§ 8, note 11). Examples: אֵתָה, from אֵת אָה ‘shepherd’; and אֵתָה, from אֵת אָה ‘physician’.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

8*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (אֵתָה, אֵתָה). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Pael passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4th. Words like אֵת אָה with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination א as with a plural ending (אֵתָה, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained (אֵתָה, Deut. 25. ii. 8, from אֵת אָה), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ אֵת אָה always retains א with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also אֵת אָה, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are אֵת אָה (26. 6), fem. אֵת אָה (Dalman, p. 352), אֵת אָה (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16). אֵת אָה (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like אֵת אָה in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.1 אֵת אָה, אֵת אָה, אֵת אָה, אֵת אָה

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1 To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.
§ 31. נָמַג, נָמִי, נָמָה, נָמָה

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like נָמַג (נָמַג, נָמִי, נָמָה, נָמָה). Of these only נָמָה has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperf. and imperatt. Paal and Apel of נָמַג are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). נָמַג is both infin. Paal and partic. Apel.

Imperat. 3. In the imperat. Paal the OJ suprilinear form נָמַג is equivalent to נָמַג (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original a. In PTM וּנְמָה (24. ii. 13), נָמָה (22. ii. 8), and נָמַג (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner’s Onkelos i is written in נָמַג, נָמָה, &c. (cf. לָמַג). The final vowel of נָמַג may be corrected into a (similarly in the case of נָמָה, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2. s. f. imperat. Paal of נָמַג is נָמַג (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or נָמַג (Christl. 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Apel imper. 2 plur. masc. נָמָה (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. המָנָה (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being נָמִי, המָה ‘Come, our Lord’. WH and von Soden both divide the word into מָנָה וָה.

OTA. 6. For נָמַג see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms וּנְמָה (Dan. 6. 18) and וּנְמָה (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = וּנְמָה (3 s. f. perf.) and וּנְמָה (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Paal of נָמַג are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with וּנְמָה or וּנְמָה in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both נָמַג and נָמָה occur. For PTM וּנְמָה and OTA וּנְמָה, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. imperf. in OTA is וּנְמָה or וּנְמָה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Paal imperf. of נָמַג are written וּנְמָה and וּנְמָה, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (וְיָה)

§ 31. נָמַג, נָמִי, נָמָה, נָמָה

9. In the verb נָמַג the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) Paal and in all parts of the Apel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also נָמִי and Hebrew נָמָה. For OTA see table below.

10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of נָמָה elide the medial יַ and assume the forms יָהִי (plur. יָהִים) and יָהִי respectively (cf. בָּלָה, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Paal forms (cf. OTA לָהִי). The imperf. and infin. Paal also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL. Paal. Paal. HAPHEL. Paal. OTA

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (וְיָה)

ITTAPHAL. ITHAPHAL. Apel. Paal.

PTM OJ and PTM

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§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the Pəal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. Perfecta in i are יָד 'die', בֵּית 'be old', and יִרְאוּ 'spit'. Imperfects in o are יַהֲנָה, יָבֵית, and יִינִי (or יִואוּ) from יָד 'pass the night', יִסְעֵת 'place', and יִפְקָד 'judge'.

Verbs final guttural generally have ã in the imperfect and imperative (e.g. נָשָּׁה), but יָד 'shake' has imperf. יָדָּה and imperat. יָד (plur. יָדִים). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed ã in speech, whether written or not (§ 2.5). Verbs with imperf. in ã have imperatives in i (נָשָּׁה, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2°. In supralinear MSS. the Apel stem vowel ã (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written i and the stem vowel ã (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written ã. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Apel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally i (נָשָּׁה, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

Preformative vowels. 3. The preformative vowels of the Pəal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ñ (§ 34), so that forms like יָלֵב, יָשֵׁי and יָשֵׁית and יָשָׁה occur. Examples: יָלֵב, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יָשֵׁי, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יָשֵׁית, Exod. 12. 23.

4°. The preformative vowel of the imperf., imperatt., infinn., and partic. Apel is often written ã in supralinear MSS. Examples: יָלֵב (Gen. 24. 5—Marx), יָשֵׁי (Judg. 1. 1), יָשֵׁית (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), יָשֵׁית (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), יָשֵׁית (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative ã occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יָשֵׁית (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and יָשֵׁית (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is ã.

5°. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Apel instead of preformative vocal sheva, it may be understood to denote vocal sheva (§ 2.7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ñ (§ 34).

Ithpəel. 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithpəel is sometimes written ã (נָשָּׁה, Judg. 5. 20) and the ã of the preformative syllable may become ã before initial ã (hence יָשָּׁה = יָשָּׁה).

Intensives. 7°. The intensive forms in use are יָשֵׁית, יָשֵׁית (OJ supralinear), יָשֵׁית, יָשֵׁית (OJ supralinear), and יָשֵׁית. The passive of the Palpep is like יָשֵׁית (Gen. 4. 12) or יָשֵׁית (Gen. 4. 16).

Verbs medial waw. 8°. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are יָלֵב, יָשֵׁי, יָשֵׁית, יָשֵׁית 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, יָשֵׁית, &c.

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the Pəal and Haphep are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. perf. Haphep the stem vowel ã occurs as an alternative to ã (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) ã occurs as an alternative to ã. Preformative šeṭeph seghol occurs in one Haphep form in most (?) MSS. (נָשָּׁה, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPEP is ã in one verb (נָשָּׁה) and ã in another (נָשָּׁה). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are יָשֵׁית (Dan. 6. 8), יָשֵׁית (Dan. 4. 34) and יָשֵׁית (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, יָשֵׁית (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form יָשֵׁית (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written יָשֵׁית (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflated forms)

Pəal.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Imperat.} & \text{Perfect.} & \text{Partic.} & \text{Perfect.} \\
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\text{יָשַּׁה} & \text{יָשַּׁה} & \text{יָשַּׁה} & \text{יָשַּׁה} \\
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§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

**Peal perf.** 1°. The forms of the table are those of the supralinear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is ʼə only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA ʼə is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektsproben*. The inflected forms of ṣer are treated like those of perfects in ेre.

**Participle.** 2°. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninsected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have א in the Kethibh and ʼ in the Qere, except in מְדֵּד (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain א in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; Chrest., 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

**OTA.** 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is א (משה, Ezra 6. 12; משֵּה, Dan. 3. 14). For the form וָא (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (עֵע)

**Aphel.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peal</th>
<th>Peal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>אִיבִּלְג</td>
<td>אָבִּלְג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אִיבּ</td>
<td>אָבּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>אֵב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>אָב</td>
</tr>
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<td>אָב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אֵיבּ</td>
<td>אָב</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Disyllabic stems.** 1°. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: אִיבּ, אָבּ, אֵיבּ. See also § 35, note 4.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

**2°.** The intensive forms are of the types בֵּלֵל, בִּלֵּל (especially PTM), בֵּלֵל (OJ), and בָּלֵל is borrowed from the ית stems (§ 32). The use of בֵּלֵל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. יֵלֵל (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

**Stem vowels.** 3°. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathaḥ in Syriac and OTA, is always ʼə in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either ʼə or ʼ (בָּלָל, בָּלָל).

**Preform. vowels.** 4°. The imperf., imperat., and infinit. Peal and all the tenses of the Apel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infinit. Peal preformative ʼə is lengthened to ʼ before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (בָּל, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (לָב, Dan. 4. 24; לָב, Dan. 2. 40).

**Participles.** 5°. In PTM the participle form בֵּלֵל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of בֵּלֵל. In OJ contracted plurals like בֵּלֵל, for בֵּלֵל, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA בֵּלֵל (Kethibh) is replaced by בֵּל or בֵּל or ב (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

**6.** Apel participles like בֵּלֵל and בֵּל in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

**7.** מִיבַּלְג (25. 8), from בֵּלֵל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מִיבַּל (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

**Borrowed forms.** 8°. The forms appropriate to ית stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 מְדֵּד = מִיבַּל).

**Ittaphal.** 9°. The Ittaphal forms are like בֵּלֵל and בֵּלֵל.

**OTA.** 10°. For the Peal perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infinit. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: בֵּלֵל (three verbs), בֵּלֵל (Dan. 2. 40), and בֵּל (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative
§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

pathah becomes seghol before י (ָי, Dan. 5:7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (יֵלֶל, Dan. 2.25, 6.19, and יֵלֶל, Dan. 4.3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (יִלֶל).

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(Inflected forms)

**Aphel.**

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<thead>
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<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>יֵלֶל</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Peal.**

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<tbody>
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<td>יֵלֶל</td>
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**Perfect.**

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<th>Sing.</th>
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<td>יֵלֶל</td>
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</table>

**Imperfect.**

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<td>יֵלֶל</td>
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**Imperative.**

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<td>יֵלֶל</td>
<td>יֵלֶל</td>
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</table>

2°. In the 3-pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel ָ (appropriate to יֵלֶל stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for ָּ. The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (יֵלֶל, Dan. 2.35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperfect forms like יֵלֶל (Deut. 10.11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing חָטֵה pathah (§ 2.7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like יֵלֶל (PTM), יֵלֶל (Dan. 5.10, Kethibh), and יֵלֶל (Dan. 4.9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

**OTA.** 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative Peal the stem vowel is ָּ (יֵלֶל, Dan. 4.11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (יֵלֶל, Dan. 5.15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (ָ) becomes vocal shewa, it is written חָטֵה seghol in some MSS. (יֵלֶל, Dan. 7.7, 19, יֵלֶל, Dan. 7.23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יֵלֶל (Ezra 4.12) was originally intended for יֵלֶל (cf. § 2.8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an יֵלֶל verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for יֵלֶל or יֵלֶל (Dan. 2.34, 45). § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1°. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, ָּ or ָּ for ָ, and in the 3 plural,
where the independent pronoun  פָּנָה is substituted for  הָנָה. For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2*. In OJ  פָּנָה is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, ה being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to פ in the 3 s. f. perf and to פ in union with stems ending in a vowel (םָנָה, הָנָה, פָּנָה). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before פָּנָה except in the 1 s. perf., in which הָנָה and פָּנָה are used for הָנָה, &c.

3*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending  פָּנָה, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending  פָּנָה. Examples: נָהָנָה (25. ii. 2), נָהָנָה (Gen. 19. 16).

Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. 4. For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (ךְּנָא, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (וָאֶנָא, 21. 1, יָאֶנָא). OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, יָאֶנָא). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman’s Dialektproben are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. 1, יָאֶנָא should be יָאֶנָא, and in 28. 5, יָאֶנָא should be יָאֶנָא.

2 sing. and 1 sing. 5. In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like פָּנָה, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form פָּנָה for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like נָהָנָה ‘I have found her’ (Gen. 38. 22) and ‘thou hast found her’ (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. פָּנָה (Gen. 31. 28) = σαβαθαβαί (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean ‘thou hast forsaken me’. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination inn (note 8) before suffixes (ךְּנָה, פָּנָה). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination י before suffixes (ךְּנָה, פָּנָה).

3 s. f. 6*. The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (ךְּנָה, פָּנָה ‘she counselled him’; Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are: נָהָנָה, נָהָנָה, נָהָנָה; פָּנָה, פָּנָה, פָּנָה.

1 plur. and 2 plur. 7. The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without ה (ךְּנָא). Instead of נָהָנָה the form נָהָנָה is used. In PTM the forms נָהָנָה, נָהָנָה, are used with suffixes. Dalman explains ה as derived from the accus. particle ה (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like נָהָנָה in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like נָהָנָה in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

Imperf. stems. 8*. The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable inn is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew נָהָנָה), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography נָהָנָה for נָהָנָה, נָהָנָה, נָהָנָה for נָהָנָה in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Dietrich in ZATW. xx. 152).

Imperat. stems. 9. In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and
§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Pael imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels ə or ə following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like *הננה (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. נוחנה ‘bring her out’ = נוחנה).

ירו stems. 10°. The forms of ירו verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

Syntax. 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, יתכן יছל ליהו, ‘he left his garment beside me’) and PTM (22. ii. 4, אתן ליהו ‘he ordered the messenger’; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by 7 is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, יתכן יחפ kto found that he had been selling ’). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, יתכן יחפ ליהו ‘he found that the buyer was standing behind him ’).

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for ‘some people’ (28. 4, יתכן יחפ יתכן ‘he saw some men killing’ (mice); for the verbal stem יתכן see § 37, note 1).

§ 37. VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH יתכן STEMS

Perf. 3 s. m. 1. In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

1 To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: יתכן and יתכן (or יתכן), יתכן, יתכן. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Pael יתכן is always ambiguous, ‘he saw him’ or ‘she saw him’ (note 5).

2. In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Pael with suffixes either retains (consonantal) יתכן (דיתכן, ייתכן, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (יתכן, ייתכן). With יתכן the suffixed forms are like יתכן.

3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. 3. In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: יתכן (Gen. 2. 15), יתכן (Gen. 2. 22), יתכן (Gen. 3. 13), יתכן (Judg. 1. 7). With יתכן the ordinary stem is used (ייתכן).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Pael perfects (25. iii. 7, יתכן = ייתכן), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

3 s. f. 4. In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of יתכן (§ 27) is generally contracted to יתכן before suffixes. Examples: יתכן, יתכן (Judg. 4. 19), יתכן (Chrest. 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

Perf. stems. 5. In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: יתכן (3 s. f.), יתכן (OJ 2 s. m.), יתכן (1 sing.), יתכן יתכן (OJ 3 pl. perf. Pael), יתכן יתכן (PTM 3 pl.). For יתכן (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Pael with suffixes is written יתכן instead of יתכן (ייתכן, Judg. 1. 8; ייתכן, Judg. 1. 4).

Impf. stems. 6. In all impf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding יתכן to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יתכן, יתכן. When יתכן is used the forms are like that of יתכן.

In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before יתכן are יתכן instead of יתכן, and יתכן instead of יתכן (ייתכן, ייתכן). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.
§ 37. VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH נל" STEMS

Imperat. stems. 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (/rec, י conteúdo). In some MSS. או is written for ו and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (סינ, Judges. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination ו of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23, ii. 7, חטאת). 2 pl. m. forms are like חטאת (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts חטאת).

Participles. 8. מי is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e.g. with participles (29, 7, הינשימ, i.e. הינשימ).

§ 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

Suffix forms. 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—ית (eight times), ות (three times), and ית (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that י is 'me' and that מי is written for מי in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: י, י (2 s. m.), יא (§ 12), מי, and יוב.

Perf. stems. 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: יסס, יסס, יסס.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (יסס and יסס) and one (סס) of a מי verb (note 5).

Imperf. stems. 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). יש is combined with stems ending in a consonant and יש with stems ending in a vowel. Examples: יסס. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. יש is written, without dagesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (סס, Dan. 3. 15; חטאת, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without מי (סס, Dan. 4. 16; חטאת, Dan. 5. 10).

Imperat. stems. 4. The only imperatt. with suffixes in OTA are (Dan. 2. 24), (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a מי verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

 מי verbs. 5. There are seven cases in OTA of מי verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form יסס 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having ו for י (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read יסס. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (סס, יסס) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERATIVE before יש the šere of the independent form יסס is replaced by hireq (סס, סס) and in the plural יש is replaced by מי (סס, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only מי IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel יסס (Dan. 2. 6).

 מי verbs. 6. No change takes place in the stems of מי verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITTAPHAL.</th>
<th>ITTPAAL.</th>
<th>ITTPEL.</th>
<th>APHEL.</th>
<th>PAEL.</th>
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</table>
OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (nominatives).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
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Inflection of Nouns.

- Singular absolute.
- Construct.
- Emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
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<th>Singular</th>
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<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ḥאַנְכָר</td>
<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
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<td>אכאַנְכָר</td>
<td>יאַנְכָר</td>
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</table>

1 sing. | 2 s. m. | 3 s. m. | 1 plur. | 2 pl. m. | 3 pl. m. |
## OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

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### Imperative

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### Infinitive

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1 See § 16, note 12. 2 See § 18, notes 3 and 4.
APPENDIX ON THE NUMERALS
by J. A. EMERTON

Introduction
When the late Dr. W. B. Stevenson compiled this grammar, he apparently accepted Dalman’s views about the Aramaic dialects of Palestine. Dalman believed that the best evidence for the Aramaic spoken in Palestine in the early centuries of our era was to be found in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, and in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim. He thought that the Jerusalem Targums were later in date and of much less value.

Dalman’s views have been challenged in more recent years, notably by P. E. Kahle. Largely as a result of his work on fragments of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan with Babylonian pointing, and on fragments of the Palestinian Targum, he argues that the former Targums were produced in Babylonia in an artificial literary Aramaic, and that they are not good evidence for the language spoken in Palestine. On the other hand, he believes that the Jerusalem Targums contain material derived from the older Palestinian Targum. This Palestinian Targum (which is not to be regarded as a single, uniform translation) reflects the spoken Palestinian language. Since Kahle published fragments of this version, A. Diez Macho has discovered the Palestinian Targum to the whole Pentateuch in a Vatican manuscript. Kahle’s conclusions have not been universally accepted.

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1 I am indebted to Professor G. R. Driver, Professor D. Winton Thomas, and the Rev. A. E. Goodman for their kindness in reading the first draft of the first few pages of this appendix.
E. Y. Kutscher, for example, has recently\(^1\) maintained that the Targum of Onkelos has an ultimately Palestinian origin, even though it does not reflect ordinary spoken usage. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Dalman’s views are now out of date. The Palestinian Targum ought now to be used in the preparation of a grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, and it is, at least, questionable whether the language of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan should be included.

If, therefore, Stevenson were preparing this Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic today, it is likely that he would make a different selection of dialects. Nevertheless, although its contents no longer adequately represent modern knowledge of Palestinian Aramaic, his work retains its usefulness as a description of the dialects with which it deals. This appendix describes the numerals in OJ and PTM, so as to add to the usefulness of the book without altering its scope.

Similarly, I have adopted Stevenson’s policy of transliterating supralinear punctuation into the more familiar sublinear system.\(^2\) This policy is sometimes unsatisfactory, but it seems desirable that the appendix should be uniform with the rest of the book. I have also brought the spelling of some words into line with Stevenson’s methods of orthography. Consonantal waw and yodh, for example, are shown by single, not double, letters.\(^3\) This procedure is justified by the fact that this book is intended primarily for fairly elementary students. For the same reason, I have simplified other matters. For instance, some fairly rare forms have been omitted, and no attempt has been made to record all the varieties of punctuation or of the consonantal text which are found in the manuscripts and editions.\(^4\)

It will be obvious to many readers that this treatment of the numerals is greatly indebted to G. Dalman’s *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1905) and draws on the material which he has collected. I have also been able to use several works which have appeared since Stevenson wrote, including H. Odeberg’s *The Aramaic Portions of Bereshit Rabbah with Grammar of Galilaean Aramaic* (Lund, 1939) and J. F. Stenning’s *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford, 1949).

In 1959 Alexander Sperber published the first two volumes of *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden), containing the Targums of Onkelos on the Pentateuch and of Jonathan on the Former Prophets. A future volume will contain the text of the Latter Prophets, and the final volume will give a full introduction to the edition. Until this last volume is published, it will not be possible fully to evaluate Sperber’s work, but there can be no doubt of the importance and usefulness of an edition based on so many manuscripts and printed texts. I have made extensive use of the first two volumes in the preparation of this appendix.

For Old Testament Aramaic, I have used *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle, 1927) by H. Bauer and P. Leander. The references to the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra are taken from the text in the third edition of Rudolf Kittel’s *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart, 1937).

### THE NUMERALS

*Note.* There are many variations in spelling in the manuscripts and printed editions. In particular, most forms which are shown below as ending in י or י also appear with י or י respectively as the final letter. Similarly, ‘ten’ and related numbers frequently have ב instead of ד.

§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O.J. i. Cardinal numbers 1–19</th>
<th>With masculine nouns</th>
<th>With feminine nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ד</td>
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### § 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

#### With masculine nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>תָּלָה</th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>עֲבַרְבָּה</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(construct עֲבַרְבָּה) הָזָּה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(construct קָפָה) הָזָּה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(construct חָזָה) מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(construct יֵאָזֵר) מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>נַקְבָּה</td>
<td>נַקְבָּה</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(construct חָזָה) מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>שָׁבְעָה</td>
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<td>אֲרַבְּרָבָה</td>
<td>אֲרַבְּרָבָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>טִמְפִּיָּה</td>
<td>טִמְפִּיָּה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>שָׁטָן</td>
<td>שָׁטָן</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>שְׁבָעָה</td>
<td>שְׁבָעָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>שָׁמַע</td>
<td>שָׁמַע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>שָׁמַע</td>
<td>שָׁמַע</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such forms as the following are also found with masculine nouns: מְשַׁא, מְשַׁא, מְשַׁא, מְשַׁא, מְשַׁא, מְשַׁא.

#### PTM. 2

PTM use the same forms as OJ for the units, with the addition of the following variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With masculine nouns</th>
<th>With feminine nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>תָּלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>אֲרַבְּרָבָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>נַקְבָּה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>נַקְבָּה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Sometimes vocalized מָלָה.
2 I can find no example of this form in OJ, but this is presumably what it should be.
3 Note the tendency for the vowel to become w before the labials beth and mem.

#### § 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

#### PTM. 3

PTM differ from OJ in the numerals 10–19 in the following ways:

(a) נַשָּׁה is frequently used instead of נַשָּׁה.

(b) Sometimes, worn-away forms (cf. the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Targums) are used, in which the w of נַשָּׁה has been lost, e.g.

10 (with masculine noun) מָלָה
12 (with feminine noun) מָלָה
16 (with masculine noun) מָלָה

(c) There are minor differences, e.g. (with masculine noun) מָלָה, מָלָה.

#### OJ and PTM. 4. Tens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20</th>
<th>מָלָה</th>
<th>מָלָה</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
<td>מָלָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PTM also have מְשַׁא for 60, מְשַׁא for 70, and מְשַׁא for 80.

#### OJ and PTM. 5. Hundreds

The word for 'hundred' is מֶשֶׁל. OJ use the following forms:

| 200 | מֶשֶׁל | מֶשֶׁל |
| 400 | מֶשֶׁל | מֶשֶׁל |
| 600 | מֶשֶׁל | מֶשֶׁל |
| 800 | מֶשֶׁל | מֶשֶׁל |

PTM sometimes use the same forms, but also have מְשַׁא for 200, and, for 300–900, more frequently have מְשַׁא (the absolute plural of מֶשֶׁל) preceded by the short form of the numeral, e.g. מֶשֶׁל.

1 Note the tendency for the vowel to become w before the labials beth and mem.
§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

OJ and PTM. 6. Thousands

In both OJ and PTM, the word for ‘thousand’ is חמשה, emphatic state חמשים; plural: absolute חמשים, emphatic חמשים.

OJ and PTM use the plural of חמשה, preceded by the form of the numeral appropriate to a masculine noun, e.g. 2,000 חמשים פנים; 3,000 חמשים עשרים; 14,000 חמשים ארבעים וארבעים.

OJ and PTM. 7. Myriads

Tens of thousands can be expressed as in note 6 above, e.g. 20,000 חמשים עשרים; 200,000 חמשים עשרים וعشרים.

Sometimes, however, the word for ‘myriad’ is used: absolute state וחמשים, emphatic וחמשים; plural: absolute וחמשים, emphatic וחמשים, or construct וחמשים. As the noun is feminine, any other numerals preceding it take the form appropriate to this gender, e.g. 1 Kings 8. 63 ושבעים וחמשים י שנים...

OJ and PTM. 8. Compound numerals

The higher numbers come first, and the lower numbers are joined by ל, e.g.

Gen. 5. 26 ושבעים שנה 782 years.
Num. 26. 22 ושבעים שנה 76,500.

PTM. 9

The numerals 3–10 and 20–90 also have a determinate form ending in ל, e.g. ל ‘the three’; ל ’the four’; ל ’the five’; ל ’the eight’; ל ’the thirteen’; ל ’the thirty’.

OJ and PTM. 10. Special forms for the days of the week or month

In PTM, special forms (ending in או or תאו) are used for the days of the week: Monday אחד; Tuesday שניים; Wednesday שלושים; Thursday ארבעים.

In OJ, the numbers 10–19, when referring to a day of the month, have the emphatic form אב, e.g.

Exod. 12. 3 אב ‘on the tenth of the month’.
Josh. 5. 10 אב ‘on the fourteenth day of the month’.

OJ and PTM. 11. Suffixes

In PTM, suffixes can be attached to the numerals 2–9, though examples of some of the possible forms are lacking.

2 medioso, נק ren; feminine נק ren.
3 medioso, נק ren.
8 medioso, נק ren.

Similar forms appear in OJ, e.g. נק ren. Before suffixes, the form corresponding to נק ren is used, e.g. נק ren.

OTA. 12

The following forms are found in OTA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With masculine nouns</th>
<th>With feminine nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 נון</td>
<td>נון</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Dalman emends this form to נון ren.
2 The reading נון ren in Dan. 7. 10 is probably a mistake.
§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

With a suffix וְ. In the only two examples of compound numerals, the lower number follows the higher and is linked to it by ו.

Dan. 6. 1 פֶּן יַעֲשֶׂה 62.
Dan. 6. 2 וַיְאַשְּפְּף יִבְשָׁם 120.

§ 40. ORDINAL NUMBERS

OJ and PTM. 1. ‘First’

The word for ‘first’ is פְּלֵם (or פְּלֵמִי; cf. p. 28), emphatic state פְּלֵמֶם; plural: absolute פְּלֵמִים, emphatic פְּלֵמִם; feminine singular emphatic פְּלְמִיה, plural emphatic פְּלְמִים.

The suffix יִ is attached to the F class of nouns (cf. pp. 28–37), and variations in form occur, similar to those of יַבְשָׂם, e.g. masculine singular emphatic פְּלֶמֶם, masculine plural absolute פְּלֶמִים. PTM also have a form in which the daleth has coalesced with the mem, which is doubled in compensation: פְּלַם, &c. (also פְּלִים).

OJ and PTM. 2. ‘Second’

The word for ‘second’ is פְּלֶם, emphatic פְּלֶמִי; plural absolute פְּלֶמִים, feminine singular absolute פְּלֶמֲה, &c.

OJ and PTM. 3. ‘Third’–‘tenth’

The following forms, declined like F nouns, are used:

3rd פְּלֶמֶה 4th פְּלֶמֶם 5th פְּלֶמֶם 6th פְּלֶמֶם
7th פְּלֶמֶם 8th פְּלֶמֶם 9th פְּלֶמֶם 10th פְּלֶמֶם

The feminine singular emphatic is פְּלֶמֶם, פְּלֶמְּה, &c.

OJ and PTM. 4

The cardinal numerals serve as ordinals for higher numbers.

OTA. 5

OTA has the following forms:

‘First’: masculine plural emphatic פְּלֶמֶם
feminine singular emphatic פְּלֶמֶם, plural emphatic פְּלֶמֲה

§ 41. OTHER NUMERALS

Note. Some of these forms are very rare. For convenience, OJ and PTM are usually grouped together in this section, but this does not mean that all the forms mentioned are found in both dialects.

1. Distributives

These are expressed by repetition of the cardinal numeral, e.g.

Num. 3. 47 וְשָׁם לְשֵׁם עַל הַשֶּׁה הָשַׁת ‘five shekels each’.

Sometimes, the numbered object is also repeated, e.g.

Isa. 6. 2 וַיִּשָּׁמֵעְתָּנָא אֶלֶם וַיִּשָּׁמֵעְתָּנָא ‘each one had six wings’.

2. Ordinal adverbs

These are expressed by the masculine ordinal numeral in the absolute state, by the feminine ordinal numeral in the emphatic state with the preposition ב, and, in the case of certain numbers, by a form ending in י (th), e.g.

‘First’ וְשָׁם לְשֵׁם עַל הַשֶּׁה הָשַׁת (Isa. 60. 9 וַיֶּשָּׁמֵעְתָּנָא הַשֶּׁה הָשַׁת ‘Which spreads out its sails first?’)
‘Second’ וְשָׁם לְשֵׁם עַל הַשֶּׁה הָשַׁת; ‘third’ וְשָׁם לְשֵׁם עַל הַשֶּׁה הָשַׁת, &c.
§ 41. OTHER NUMERALS

The same forms are used to express the meaning 'the first time', 'the second time', &c. Note the form לַחֲמֵ֑י (lakhame"") 'the second time'. It is also possible to use a cardinal numeral with כָּל (kal) (cf. note 3 (a) below).

3. Multiplicatives

(a) The question 'How often?' is answered by the cardinal numeral with כָּל (kal), כְּלִי (keli), or לַחֲמֵ֑י (lakhame"") (treated sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine), e.g. אַרְבַּעַת (or כַּעַת רָד) 'once'; שֵׁשֶׁת חֲמֵ֑י (sheshet khami) 'seven times'. Sometimes, כָּל (kal) is used alone, e.g. כָּל חֲמֵ֑י 'once a year'.

In OTA (Dan. 6, 11, 14) the numeral follows לַחֲמֵ֑י (lakhame"") 'three times'.

Multiplication is expressed in PTM by the use of cardinal numerals, often with כָּל (kal) and the preposition מ (ma), e.g. כְּלִי מִפְּלֵפְלֶ֑ים (keli mipleplim) 50 × 100. When a number is squared, the preposition מ (ma) may be used, e.g. כְּלִי מִפְּלֵפְלֶ֑ים כְּלִי מִפְּלֵפְלֶ֑ים (keli mipleplim keli mipleplim) 50 × 50.

(b) The meaning 'threelfold', 'fourfold', &c., is expressed by the phrase כָּל מ (kal ma) followed by the appropriate numeral, e.g.

Gen. 26. 12 כָּל הָאַבְּרָהִים כְּלִי מִפְּלֵפְלֶ֑ים (kal eberhim keli miplepelim) 'and he found an hundredfold in that year'.

2 Sam. 12. 6 כָּל מְאֹ֑ד רַבִּ֑ים (kal maad ravim) 'he shall repay fourfold'.

In OTA, a slightly different construction is used in Dan. 3. 19 לָא מִשְּׁמַ֑ע לָא מֵאָֽֽיִן (lameishma limeiyn) 'to heat the furnace seven times hotter than it was usual to heat it'.

4. Fractions

There are two ways of expressing fractions:

(a) By the use of cardinal numerals and the preposition מ (ma), e.g. כָּל מִמְשִׁל (keli mimshiil) 1/6; כָּל מִמְשִׁל כָּל מִמְשִׁל (keli mimshiil keli mimshiil) 1/10.

(b) By the use of special forms:

(i) 'A half': כָּל מ (kal ma); emphatic state כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma).

1 Found also in OTA (Dan. 2. 7).
2 Other variants are also found in the manuscripts.

§ 41. OTHER NUMERALS

In addition to this form, which belongs to the A class of nouns, there is a form belonging to the G class: כָּל מ (kal ma), construct כָּל מ (kal ma), &c., e.g.

Exod. 37. 6 כָּל מ כָּל מ (kal ma kal ma) '2½ cubits'.

Num. 34. 15 כָּל מ כָּל מ (kal ma kal ma) 'the two tribes and the half tribe'.

(ii) Other forms:

1/3 כָּל מ (kal ma), also כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma), &c.; construct כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma), &c., &c.

1/4 כָּל מ (kal ma), emphatic כָּל מ (kal ma), and כָּל מ (kal ma); construct כָּל מ (kal ma), &c.

1/5 כָּל מ (kal ma)

1/6 כָּל מ (kal ma)

1/7 כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma)

1/8 כָּל מ (kal ma), כָּל מ (kal ma)

1/10 כָּל מ כָּל מ (kal ma kal ma) 'tithe'; כָּל מ כָּל מ (kal ma kal ma) '1/10 of an ephah'

1 Cf. Odeberg's note on the vocalization of these two forms.