

*Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4*

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FIRST EDITION 1924  
REPRINTED LITHOGRAPHICALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
FROM SHEETS OF THE FIRST EDITION  
1950, 1956  
SECOND EDITION 1962

## 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 it 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 supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supralinear 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 supralinear 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.

WM. B. STEVENSON

Glasgow, 5 March 1924

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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

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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ה, ו, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מִלָּה = מִלָּה, אִינֹן = אִינֹן, מִקְטָל = מִקְטָל, עֵינָלָא = עֵינָלָא, אִיתִין = אִיתִין, אִיתִילִיד = אִיתִילִיד, חֶפְאָא = חֶפְאָא, חֶפְאָא or חֶפְאָא. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עֵיגְלָא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אִיתִילִיד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינֹן, מִקְטָל, &c. In unvocalized texts ו and יי may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e. g. לִילֹון = לִילֹון), and יי for diphthongal *ai* or for י pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e. g. קִיִּם = קִיִּם). א and ה both represent a final long vowel, especially *ā*. In PTM and OJ א is the more commonly used. In OTA א is preferred in some cases, e. g. to represent the emphatic ending א (§ 8), ה in other cases, e. g. in the feminine termination ה. In מֵאן (who?) and עָאָל (he entered) א denotes the short *ā*, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מֵן and עָל. But מֵן and עָל are generally used. Final diphthongal *ai* is often denoted by אִי.

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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 daghesh (a supralinear ʾ or ˆ) and raphe (supralinear ʳ or ˘), 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 ִי ( § 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

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

Qameṣ . . . . .	ˆ	Ḥolem . . . . .	˘
Pathah and seghol	˘	Shureq . . . . .	˘
Ṣere . . . . .	˘	Vocal shewa . . . . .	˘
Ḥireq . . . . .	˘	(including ḥatephs)	

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qameṣ at first had only the sound of *ā* in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of *ā* in 'ball', and ḥolem represented both Palestinian *ø* and Palestinian ḥolem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qameṣ for *ø*, so that, at different

periods, both ִּ and ֵּ were pronounced as Hebrew בָּל. No distinction is made in the representation of pathah and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathah into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathah and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥateph pathah, following *א* and *י* and sometimes following *ה* and *ח* (e.g. אֶמֶר for אָמַר, אֶעֱבִיר for אָעֱבִיר). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 עֲבַרְתָּ, 5. 5 שְׁעָתָה).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like אִירְחִים, אִילָהָא, אִינָשׁ (= Hebrew אֲנִיחִים, אֱלֹהִים, אָדָם), instead of forms commencing with *א* or *א*. It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with *šere*, simply represented *...*, just as pathah stood for *...*. Similarly נִצְעָלִי (*Chrest.* 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of נִצְעָלִי (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with *šere*) 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 (אָזֹר = אִזֹּר).

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

10. Ḥateph qameṣ is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as קָרָם.

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥatephs of the sub-

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥatephs were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ו (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 ḥateph pathah. Ḥatephs may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ו 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 כ, ט, or פ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before כ, ט, and פ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ו, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ו is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. 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 ו or ו (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 לַקְטֹל and וְהָיִי, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ח in the same way so that, for example, וְהָיִי may perhaps be an alternative for וְהָיִי (cf. Heb. לַחֲפֹר).

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 כ, כ, ל, and ו. 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 *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּיתֵהּ, הַיּוֹת, הַיְתִי). Compare also, perhaps, אֶתְּכִיָּהּ (§ 11, note 12) and קָנְוֵהֶיכִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as הַיְוֵיךָ (§ 6), עֲבַרְתָּהּ (§ 11, note 7), אֶתְּכִיָּהּ (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יְכִי- and יְהִי- (§ 13).

### § 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ		
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנִי	(נַחֲנָא) אֲנַחְנָא	אֲנִי	1 com.
אֲתָנוּ	אַתָּה (אַתָּה)	אַתָּנוּ	אַתָּה	2 masc.
—	אַתָּה (אַתָּה)	אַתָּנוּ	אַתָּה	fem.
הֵינּוּ, אֵינּוּ	הוּא	הֵנּוּ	הוּא	3 masc.
הֵינִי, אֵינִי	הִיא	הֵנִי	הִיא	fem.

**Accent.** 1\*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented 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 אֲנֵנוּ, אֵנּוּ, and אֲתָנוּ sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. אֲנֵנוּ for אֲנַחְנָא and אֵנּוּ for אֲנַחְנָא). They, and הָ = אֲתָהּ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3\*. אֵינּוּ, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אֲנֵנוּ, &c. (§ 2. 1).

**OTA.** 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אֲנַחְנָא is א three times and once ה. אַתָּה is

a Kethibh form, always changed to אָנִיָּהּ by Qere, but pointed אָנִיָּהּ by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אָנִיָּהּ and הָפוּל occur, as nominatives, each once only.

**Idioms.** 5. The expressions הָהוּא גִבְרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָהוּא אֲחֵתָא are used by PTM in modesty for אָנִיָּהּ (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדָךָ) and in curses or protestations for אָתָּה. In polite address, for אָתָּה, OJ uses רַבּוּנִי and רַבּוּנִי and PTM מָרִי, מָרָן, מָרִי and רַבִּי and רַבִּי (cf. Hebrew אֲרִנִּי).

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

#### § 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM	
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.	
וְ	וְ	וְ	1 com.
בּוֹן	בּוֹן	בּוֹן	2 masc.
בִּיָּן	בִּיָּן	בִּיָּן	fem.
הוֹן	הוֹן	הוֹן	3 masc.
הִיָּן	הִיָּן	הִיָּן	fem.

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). וְכִי (2 s. f.) and וְכִי (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of וְכִי and וְכִי respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> See § 3, note 1.

3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קְבִלָּהּ in Gen. 2. 20 for קְבִלָּהּ and קְבִלָּהּ for קְבִלָּהּ in Gen. 2. 21.

**Accus. Cases.** 4\*. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by וְכִי, &c., (3) by לִי, &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 וְכִי, &c., seldom לִי, &c. For לִי and לְהוֹן after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לִי, &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. וְכִי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

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

**Ethic Dative.** 5. לִי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: וְכִי (26. 5), וְכִי (24. ii. 5).

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

**OTA.** 7. In MT וְכִי (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for וְכִי, but cf. pausal וְכִי (Dan. 3. 17). וְכִי and וְכִי occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to וְכִי and וְכִי. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.



§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND  
ADJECTIVES

	PTM ADJECTIVES.	PTM PRONOUNS.	OJ ADJECTIVES.	OJ PRONOUNS.
this	הָ, הַ, הֵ, הֵן, הֵם, הֵי	הֵן, הֵם, הֵי	הֵן	הֵן (הֵן)
these	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן
	ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.			
that	הַ, הָ, הֵ, הֵן, הֵם, הֵי	הַ, הָ, הֵ, הֵן, הֵם, הֵי	הַ, הָ, הֵ, הֵן, הֵם, הֵי	הַ, הָ, הֵ, הֵן, הֵם, הֵי
those	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן	—	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן	הֵם, הֵי, הֵן

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

2\*. הֵ, הֵן, and הֵם are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. הֵ, הֵן, and הֵם occur as alternatives to הַ, &c. (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 הֵ and הֵן (28. 24) in which ה alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (הַ, הֵ, &c.). הַ and הֵן coalesce with a following הַ into הַ and הֵן. הַ, הַ, הַ join with הַ into הַ, הַ, הַ (Dalman, p. 112).

**OTA.** 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). הַ for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and הַ for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. הַ '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.

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

7\*. הַ is usually equivalent to הַ (Judg. 6. 20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27. 33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by הַ (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) הַ instead of הַ, 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 הַ = הַ 'to-day' (cf. הַ 'this day'), (d) הַ (Judg. 13. 23, 15. 7).

9. In PTM הַ 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—הַ, 28. 13—הַ). הַ, in particular, occurs more often than הַ 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, &c.). In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2. 44).

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

**Idioms.** 12. הַרְרִין 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). הַרְרִיא is sometimes equivalent to פְּלָנִי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases הַרְרִיא יוֹטָא, הַרְרִיא גַבְרָא (and חַר . . . חַר) express 'this . . . that' or 'one . . . another'.

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

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

## § 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ
who?	פֶּן, פֶּאן	פֶּן
what?	קָה	קָא
which?	היירדין	אֵירִין sing. masc.
"	היירא, איירא	אֵירָא fem.
"	היילין, איילין	(אֵילִין) plural com.

**Forms.** 1\*. For the spelling פֶּאן see § 2. 1. אֵילִין happens not to occur in OJ. היירדין, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of הַרְרִין, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM פֶּן הוּא contracts into פֶּנּוּ and קָא הוּא into קָיי. In OJ קָרִין = קָרִין (note 4).

**Usages.** 3\*. The meanings of קָא are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! לְקָא (לְקָה) expresses 'why?' and

לְקָא (קָקָה) 'how many?' Questions introduced by לְקָא so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ קָא רִין or קָרִין renders Hebrew מַהוּא (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but לְקָא רִין is used for לְמַהוּא (§ 5, note 6).

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

**Interrog. Adverbs.** 6. אָן (OJ) and הָן (PTM) = 'where?', אֵן = 'whither?' and מֶן אָן = 'whence?' מֶן אָן (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for אָן מֶן.

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

## § 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

**Forms.** 1\*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is הָ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (הַרְרִיא, &c., note 4) the form is רִי.

**Idioms.** 2\*. הָ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. הָ הַרְרִין, הָ הַרְרִיא, מֶן הָ, and קָא הָ are also used to express these combinations.

3\*. הָ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. הַרְרִיתִי = '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\*. הַרְרִיא, הַרְרִיא, &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 הַרְרִיא, &c., are more usual. הַרְרִיא may be a phonetic variant of הַרְרִיא (Barth) or = הָ + רִי 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).

5. **לְךָ + הָ + לְ**, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2, **מְדֹלָיִה**).

6. In PTM **וְ** is a contraction for **וְהִיא** and **וְ** occurs as a contraction for **וְהִיא** (Dalman, p. 98).

**Conjunctive uses.** 7\*. **וְ** is much used as a conjunction,—of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew **כִּי** 'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (**וְ** **אַחַר** = after, **וְ** **עַד** = until or whilst). **כַּד** 'when' and **לְמָאן** 'lest' or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23 **וְהִיא לְמָאן**) are compounds with **וְ** and **לְמָאן** (§ 6, note 3) respectively. **וְ** **בְּדִיל** is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

**Relative Adverbs.** 8\*. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by **וְ** **הֵן**, **וְ** **לְהֵן**, and **וְ** **הֵן** (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by **וְ** **לְהֵן** . . **וְ** **הֵן**, and **וְ** **הֵן** . . **וְ** (cf. OTA **וְ** **הֵן** . . **וְ**, Ezra 6. 1).

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	
<b>מְבָרָא</b>	<b>מְבָרָא</b>	singular absolute.
<b>מְבָרַת</b>	<b>מְבָרָא</b>	construct.
<b>מְבָרָתָא</b>	<b>מְבָרָא</b>	emphatic.
<b>מְבָרָן</b>	<b>מְבָרָן</b>	plural absolute.
<b>מְבָרַת</b>	<b>מְבָרָא</b>	construct.
<b>מְבָרָתָא</b>	<b>מְבָרָא</b>	emphatic.

**Emphatic state.** 1\*. The emphatic ending *ā* 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 **שְׁמֵינָא**

= '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. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word **חַד**, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with **חַד** (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 **מְבָרָתָא** (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. **מְבָרָתָא**, Deut. 10. 10.

4\*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. **מְבָרָתָא** (1 Sam. 12. 22), but **מְבָרָתָא** (24. ii. 13).

**Absolute state.** 5\*. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, *בֵּית עֵלָם* 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, *דֵּי־יַסֵּס*, *פִּילִי*). 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, *עֲמִידֵי גִּיתָהָ*). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (*לְעֵיל*, *בְּנוֹ*, *לְסוֹף*, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. *בַּר נֶשֶׁת* (28. 11), *בֵּית עֵלָם* (25. ii. 3), *מִטְמַעֵי שָׁמֶשׁ* 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), *פְּרוֹס עֲרֹסִי* 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) *דֵּשְׁמָא דִּשְׁמָא*, *עוֹפֵא דְחַבִּירִיה*, *בֵּיתָא דְחַבִּירִיה* 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) *בֵּיתָא דְאֵמָה*, *שְׁמִיה דְאֵמָה* 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) *רְמוֹנֵי דְדָהָב* 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases *דְ* means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like *מִלֵּין דְחַכְמָתָא* (17. 15) and *מְרִי דְבֵיתָא* (*Chrest.* 17. 7, *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. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—*נְחֻלֵין דְּמִיִּין*.

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 com-

ination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: *בֵּית גִּנְזָא דִּי מְלֵכָא* (Ezra 5. 17), *אֲשָׁא דִּי־בֵּית אֱלֹהָא* (Ezra 5. 16), *אֲצַבְעֵן דִּי יַד־אָנָּשׁ* '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 *גַּב אַרְיֹתָא* (6. 8, 13, 25) and *גַּבְא דִּי אַרְיֹתָא* (6. 17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by *דְ* are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2. 44, 3. 28f., 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. *לְ* occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15. 11, 16. ii. 11, 21. 6, 7, 23. 8, 27. 6) and *תְ* does so rarely (15. ii. 8). In OJ *תְ* is the regular equivalent of Hebrew *את* and *לְ* seldom occurs (in Gen. 3. 17 *לְמִיֶּסֶר* = Hebrew *לְקוֹל*; for Gen. 39. 15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending *ā* survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. *תַּתָּתָא* 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA *לְ* is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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 Babyion (2. 12, 14, 24; 5. 7), to the

**Inflexional endings.** 11\*. The feminine singular ending **א** is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence **רִיקְנִיָּא** (Gen. 1. 2) and **פְּלִנְיָּא**. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *\*wān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) **לִילָנָו**, **בִּירָנָו**, **דִּירָנָו**, **חֵילָנָו**, (b) **אָתָנָו**, **אָחָנָו**—from **אָת**, sign, and **אָחָת**, sister. Cf. **מָאָנָו** = **מָאָנָו** and **קָאָנָו** = **קָאָנָו**. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12\*. The plurals of **אָב**, **אָם**, and **שׂוֹם** are **אָבָהָו**, **אָמָהָו**, and **שׂוֹמָהָו**, respectively.

13\*. The termination **ַ** is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: **יָמָי** (Gen. 1. 10), **חַי** (Gen. 2. 7), **תּוֹרִי** (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like **בִּיתָאִי** (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), **מַצְרָאִי** (Exod. 12. 30), **הַתָּאִי** (Josh. 1. 4), and **בְּשָׂרָאִי** (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεσημανη = **שָׂמָנִי** = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like **בְּפָרְגִין** (Num. 32. 4), from **קָפַר**, village, and **בְּנַתִּין** (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

**Duals.** 15\*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין** ('two'), and **כַּאתָן** (200). But the ending **ִין** in words such as **עֵינִין** may also be a dual ending (OTA **עֵינִין**). In OTA (besides **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין**, and **כַּאתָן**) **יָדִין**, **רְגֵלִין**, **קָרְנִין**, and **שֵׁנִין** 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 (2. 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. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of **ל** introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 **לְעֵבֶרֶת** 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 *ā*, *ī*, or *ǎ* (OTA *ē*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

<i>ū</i> class.	<i>ī</i> class.	<i>ǎ</i> class.
	<b>כְּתָר</b>	<b>רְהַב</b> originally disyllabic.
	<b>נָרַר</b>	<b>נַפֶּשׁ</b> originally monosyllabic.
<b>קָשׁוּט</b>	<b>רְחִישׁ</b>	<b>לְחִים</b>
<b>בוֹסָם</b>	<b>עֵינַל</b>	<b>עָבַד</b>
	<b>תְּבוֹן</b>	

In the *ǎ* class absolute forms like **רְנָו** (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), **בָּסָם** (Exod. 30. 23), and **כְּתַל** (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give **כְּתַל** for the **כְּתַל** of MT.

Words of the *ā* class like **לְחִים** are **בְּעֵיל**, **מַעִים**, **חַקִּיל**, **מְלִיָּה**, **מְעִיר**, and **רְעִים** (OTA **בְּעֵל**, **מַעֵם**, **צָלָם**, and **לְחָם**, with **עָבַד** in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

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

**יִרְךָ** (Num. 5. 22) and **יִיתָם** (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from **יָרַךְ** and **יָתָם** (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ī* sub-class and the latter to the *ǎ* sub-class.

**B nouns.** Disyllabic nouns having *ā* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is *šere* or *pathah*) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: עֵלֶם, אֶרְבַּע, אֶמֶר, קָהִיד. A small number of monosyllables including יָר, דָּם, וָו, חָר, בָּר (son), and שׁוֹב (OTA שָׁם) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

**C nouns.** Monosyllables from stems ע"ע have absolute forms like עָם, אָם, and פָּל, in which the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  are frequently represented by ' and i respectively (e. g. נְשִׂית, פֹּם). Dalman gives נִיר (arrow) and נִיב (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from ע"ע stems follow the inflexion of this class (e. g. פֹּם, עֵו). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פֶּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פֹּם, in accordance with the analogy of דִּב, גִּיב, &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. אֲנִישׁ, שְׁלֹם, נָבֵר, עֵוִיר, עֵוִיר), and monosyllables like חוֹר, יוֹם, טוֹר, and דִּין. The unchangeable  $\bar{a}$  in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew  $\bar{o}$  (שְׁלוֹם, &c.).

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

**F nouns.** In this class are included all nouns with the terminations  $\bar{a}i$  (= Hebrew  $\bar{i}$ ) or  $\bar{e}$  added to a trilateral stem. Examples: קְרָמִי (or קְרָמָי, § 2. 1), חֲמִנִי, רְבִיעִי. The long vowel of OTA (בְּשָׂדִי, רְבִיעִי, קְרָמִי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

## § 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מְלֻכָּיָא	מְלֻכֵי	מְלֻכִין	מְלֻכָּא	מְלֻךְ	מְלֻךְ	A
בְּעֻלָּיָא	בְּעֻלֵי	בְּעֻלִין	בְּעֻלָּא	בְּעֻל	בְּעֻל	
נְדָרָיָא	נְדָרֵי	נְדָרִין	נְדָרָא	נְדָר	נְדָר	
נְהַרְיָא	נְהַרֵי	נְהַרִין	נְהַרָא	נְהַר	נְהַר	
לְבָבָיָא	לְבָבֵי	לְבָבִין	לְבָבָא	לְבָב	לְבָב	
עֲלֻמָּיָא	עֲלֻמֵי	עֲלֻמִין	עֲלֻמָּא	עֲלֻם	עֲלֻם	B
יְדָיָא	יְדֵי	יְדִין	יְדָא	יָד	יָד	
עֵזָיָא	עֵזֵי	עֵזִין	עֵזָא	עֵז	עֵז	C
גְּבָרָיָא	גְּבָרֵי	גְּבָרִין	גְּבָרָא	גְּבָר	גְּבָר	D
טָלָיָא	טָלֵי	טָלִין <sup>1</sup>	טָלָא	טָלִי	טָלִי	E
	טָלֵי	טָלִין				
סְנִיָּא	סְנֵי	סְנִין <sup>1</sup>	סְנִיָּא	סְנִי	סְנִי	
		סְנִין				
חֲוִיָּיָא	חֲוִי	חֲוִיין	חֲוִיָּא	חֲוִי	חֲוִי	
עֲבָרָיָא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָא		עֲבָרִי	F
עֲבָרָיָא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָא			
בִּירְסוֹתָא	בִּירְסוֹת	בִּירְסוֹן	בִּירְסָא	בִּירְסִי	בִּירְסִי	

<sup>1</sup> The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the  $\bar{a}$  and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

**A nouns.** 1\*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ā*, *i*, and *ū* (OTA *ḏ*). 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 (מַלְכֵי, *b*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (דְּנֵבִין, לְבָבָא). 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. נְהָרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נְהָרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial *p*, *b*, and *m* (labials) *ū* is often substituted for *ā* and *i* in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: רַמְשָׁא, גַּבְרָא, גַּפְנָא; רַבְשָׁא, רַבְשָׁא. The absolute form גַּפְנָא, for גַּפְנָא, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גַּבְרָא are always גַּבְרִין, &c.

3. The vowel *i* is also frequently substituted for an original *ā*. Examples: בְּסָרָא, דְּבָרָא, כְּטָרָא, שְׂמֵשָׁא, דְּבָרָא; OTA בְּשָׂרָא, וְסָנָא, נְשָׂרָא, דְּבָחִין, דְּבָחִין, נְשָׂרִין. The absolute form דְּיָבַח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גַּפְנָא. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רַגְלָא is *i* 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 *ā* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the *i* sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hireq in the inflected forms. חֲלֵם from חֲלָמָא (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עֲגִילָא, &c.). Hireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גַּשְׁמָהוּן, גַּשְׁמָה, גַּשְׁמָהוּן.

5. In the *ū* sub-class, when *ḥolem* occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent *ḏ* (§ 2. 1). Examples: אֹרְחָא Gen. 38. 16, קֹבְעִין Exod. 28. 40, עֹרְבָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *ḏ*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *ū*-stem (אֲרָחֵיָא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine אֲרָחָא is written אֲרָחָא in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֲרָחָא, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אֲרָחָא or אֲרָחָא. In OJ inflected forms like אֲרָחָא (Josh. 2. 6) for אֲרָחָא sometimes occur.

6\*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בַּיְתָא and עֵין, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בַּיְתָא (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *e* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בַּיְתִין is the plural of בַּיְתָא. הֵיל 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 inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ā* or *i* or *ū*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עֲמָא, אֲמָא, אֲמָא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence אֲמָרָא from אֲמָר (country)). Some nouns put *i* for *ā* in the inflected forms (פַּת, אֲפַת). In OTA אֲשָׁא, from אֲשָׁא, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֲשָׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9\*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כַּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ū*, the emphatic form is regularly כַּלָּא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with dagesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כַּלָּא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כַּלָּא (five

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

10\*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew **כָּל** is represented by **כָּל** and Hebrew **כָּל** by **כָּל**. 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 **כָּל** and **כָּל**, generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read **כָּל**.

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

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in **חֲנִינִי** (Exod. 32. 19), from **חֲנִי** (cf. § 26, note 9). The form **חֲנִינִי** (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 **שָׁלֵם** (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (**שָׁלֵם**, &c.).

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

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

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

*āwān* see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like **כָּלִי** as incorrect.

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

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

**F nouns.** 19\*. In the inflected forms of *ai* 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 *aiya* to *ē* ('. or *ā*..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (**כָּלִי**, **כָּלִי**) are treated like those of **כָּנִי** (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 *ε*) and OTA (**כָּלִי**, Dan. 4. 24, from **כָּלִי**). See also § 12, note 8.

21\*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ēwān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: **כָּלִי**, **כָּלִי**, **כָּלִי** (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

**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.\* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מְלֻכְתָּא	מְלֻכְתָּ	מְלֻכּוֹ	מְלֻכְתָּא	מְלֻכְתָּ	מְלֻכָּא	A
כְּנֻשְׁתָּא	כְּנֻשְׁתָּ	כְּנֻשּׁוֹ	כְּנֻשְׁתָּא	כְּנֻשְׁתָּ	כְּנֻשָּׂא	
אֲמֻרְתָּא	אֲמֻרְתָּ	אֲמֻרּוֹ	אֲמֻרְתָּא	אֲמֻרְתָּ	אֲמֻרָּא	B
מְלֵיאָא	מְלֵיאָ	מְלֵיּוֹ	מְלֵיאָא	מְלֵיאָ	מְלֵיאָ	C
מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְתָּ	מְנִירּוֹ	מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְתָּ	מְנִירָּא	D
חֵיּוֹתָא	חֵיּוֹתָ	חֵיּוֹ	חֵיּוֹתָא	חֵיּוֹתָ	חֵיּוֹתָ	
טְלֵיאָתָא	טְלֵיאָתָ	טְלֵיּוֹ	טְלֵיאָתָא OJ	טְלֵיאָתָא PTM	טְלֵיאָתָא	E
סְנִינְתָּא	סְנִינְתָּ	סְנִינּוֹ	סְנִינְתָּא	סְנִינְתָּ	סְנִינָּא	
גְּלֻתָּא	גְּלֻתָּ	גְּלֻתּוֹ	גְּלֻתָּא	גְּלֻתָּ	גְּלֻתָּ	
צְלוֹתָא	צְלוֹתָ	צְלוֹתּוֹ	צְלוֹתָא	צְלוֹתָ	צְלוֹתָ	
מְנֻתָּא	מְנֻתָּ	מְנֻתּוֹ	מְנֻתָּא	מְנֻתָּ	מְנֻתָּ	
עֲבָרְתָּא	—	עֲבָרְתָּ	עֲבָרְתָּא	—	עֲבָרְתָּא	F
וִרְעֵיָתָא	וִרְעֵיָתָ	וִרְעֵיָו	וִרְעֵיָתָא	וִרְעֵיָתָ	וִרְעֵיָתָ	G
מְלֻכְתָּא	מְלֻכְתָּ	מְלֻכּוֹ	מְלֻכְתָּא	מְלֻכְתָּ	מְלֻכּוֹ	

## Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending  $\bar{a}$  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  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{u}$  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  $\text{תָּא}$ , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples:  $\text{מְלֻכְתָּא}$ , usually  $\text{תָּא}$ , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples:  $\text{מְלֻכְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{כְּנֻשְׁתָּא}$ ,  $\text{אֲמֻרְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{בְּרֻכְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{נְשֻׁמְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{קָטְלָא}$  in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like  $\text{צֶדֶקָה}$ ). Examples (from Dalman):  $\text{צֶדֶקְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{נְדֻבְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{אֲדֻמְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{צֻחְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{חֲבֻרְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{חֲבֻרְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{כְּנֻשְׁתָּא}$  (absolute  $\text{כְּנֻשָּׂא}$ ). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives  $\text{עֲנֻלְתָּא}$  (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from  $\text{עֲנֻלָּא}$ ), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from  $\text{עֲנֻלָּא}$ ). The emphatic sing. fem. of  $\text{חֲדַרְתָּא}$  (=  $\text{חֲדַרְשָׁא}$ ) is  $\text{חֲדַרְתָּא}$ .

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical ( $\text{כְּדֻבְתָּא}$ , 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 shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

**B nouns.** 3. In this class the emphatic ending is  $\text{תָּא}$  and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 ( $\text{אֲמֻרְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{יְלִידְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{יְחִיבְתָּא}$ —see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of  $\text{בְּרָתָא}$  'daughter', is  $\text{בְּרֻתָּא}$ , and that of  $\text{שְׁנָא}$  'year', is  $\text{שְׁתָּא}$ .

**C nouns.** 4. In the C class  $\text{תָּא}$  is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms.  $\text{מְלֵיאָא}$ , like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form.  $\text{שֵׁינָא}$  'sleep', although not from an  $\text{ע"ע}$  stem, is inflected like words of this group ( $\text{שְׁנָתָא}$ , &c.).

**D nouns.** 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually  $\text{תָּא}$  ( $\text{דְּרֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁעֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{בִּיעֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{עֲבִירְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁבֻעֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{הִקְפֻתָּא}$ ,  $\text{תָּא}$ ).  $\text{תָּא}$  is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{u}$  ( $\text{שְׁפִילְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{גְּנוּבְתָּא}$ ,  $\text{מְהוּלְתָּא}$ ).  $\text{יְלִידְתָּא}$  and  $\text{יְחִיבְתָּא}$  belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאִילָא, שְׂאִילָתָא; בְּגִישָׁא, בְּגִישָׁתָא; נְבִילָא, נְבִילָתָא; נְבִילָתָא, נְבִילָתָא), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִילָתָא, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבַגִּין, 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 טְלִיָּא 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 קְנִי 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: רַעְיָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרִיָּא or קְרִיָּא 'city' (emphatic קְרִיָּתָא, plural קְרִיָּין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are מְיֻבֵּי, זְבֻי, קֶצֶת, רְשֻׁי, רְבוּי, זְבוּי. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עֹלָה seems to be עֲלָא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֲלָתָא (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֲלָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֲלָתָא (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֲלָתָא &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 *āi* the emphatic termination is אֵי, with mutated *t*, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before אֵי is *ē*. Supralinear plurals like עֲבֵרְתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

עֲוֵיָּא (= Hebrew עֲוִיָּה) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲוֵיָּין, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲוֵיָּי and עֲוֵיָּי (§ 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.

## 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 אֵי in the A class, viz. יְבִישָׁתָא (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as יְבִישָׁתָא (Gen. 1. 9) or יְבִישָׁתָא (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אֵיִרְתָּא (Ezra 4. 11), אֵיִרְתָּא (Dan. 4. 27), and מִלְתָּא (Dan. 2. 8).

**D nouns.** 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive אֵי as their emphatic singular ending (עֲבִירְתָּא, שְׂאִילְתָּא, מְרִירְתָּא, יְקִירְתָּא, נְבִירְתָּא, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, חִיּוּתָּא (Dan. 4. 11) and בִּירְתָּא (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending אֵי (for the reading בִּירְתָּא see Ginsburg and Strack). MT שְׁעֵתָּא (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into שְׁעֵתָּא and included in the D class.

**E nouns.** 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. קְרִיָּתָא (Ezra 4. 12) and עֲרִיּוּתָא (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the טְלִיָּא group, שְׁנִיָּין (Dan. 7. 3) to the קְנִי (גְּלִיָּה) group, and עֲלָתָא (Ezra 6. 9) to the מְנָתָא group. מְנָתָא, from מְנָתָא, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. גְּלִיָּתָא (Dan. 2. 25), from גְּלִיָּה, is also a noun of this declension.

**F nouns.** 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of *āi*, as in קְרִיָּתָא (Dan. 7. 4), רְבִיעֵתָא (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read *āi* (cf. note 7). Shewa after *āi* is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (קְרִיָּתָא). עֲוֵיָּא (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

**G nouns.** 13. מִשְׁרֻקִיָּתָא (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *i* group and מִלְכֻרְתָּא (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *ū* group.

<sup>1</sup> If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

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

2\*. אב, אח, and חם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אָחוּהָא	אָחוּהָי	אָחוּיָיָךְ	אָחוּךְ	אָחִי	
		אָחוּךְ			
אָחוּהָן	אָחוּהוּן	אָחוּכֵן	אָחוּכֹן	אָחוּנָא	OJ
				אָחוּנָן	PTM

The suffixes הַי, הָא, הָן, הַנ, and הַי are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. הַי is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and הַי (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).

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

**A nouns.** 4\*. 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 מְלֻכָּא and לְבָנָא is paralleled by the distinction between מְלֻכֵי and לְבָנֵי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטָל type. E. g. אָרְעָהוּן (Josh. 10. 42), בְּסָרְבוּן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בְּסָרְבוּן (Judg. 9. 2).

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

**B nouns.** 5\*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: יָדֵי, מִימְרֵהוּן, מִימְרֵי (OTA יָדֵהֶם).

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

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

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

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

(1) Nouns that use the ending תָּא join suffixes to the emphatic stem (אֲמֹרָתִי, אֲמֹרָתֵךְ).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּי, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מְלֻכָּתִי, מְלֻכָּתֵךְ; מְלֻכָּתֵהוּן, מְלֻכָּתֵי; עֲבִידָתִי, עֲבִידָתֵךְ).

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

10. אֲשֶׁרְתָּה (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form אֲשֶׁרָּה (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.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.		
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	
יָנְ	אָנְ	אִי, אִי	י	1 com.
יָכֹן	יָכֹן	אָרְ, אָרְ	אָרְ	2 masc.
יָכֹן	יָכֹן	אִיכִי, אִיכִי	אִיכִי, אִיכִי	fem.
			אִיכִי, אִיכִי	
יָהוֹן	יָהוֹן	אָהִי, אָהִי	אָהִי	3 masc.
יָהִין	יָהִין	אִיהָ, אִיהָ	אִיהָ	fem.

**Suffix forms.** 1\*. אִי, אִיכִי, and אִיכִי are simply orthographical variants for אִי, אִיכִי, and אִיכִי. For אִיכִי and אִיהָ see § 2. 14. אִי is an alternative in OJ for אִי (see § 29, note 8).

2\*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending *ai*, which in a majority of cases has become *ē* or *ā* or *ā*. The connective *ō* of אָהִי is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations אִי, אִיכִי, and אִיהָ 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. אָנְ is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix אִי is used by PTM in אָנְנְנְנְנְ 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the K<sup>e</sup>thibh implies the earlier pronunciations אִי, אִי, and אִי, which the Q<sup>e</sup>re alters into אָרְ, אִי, and אִי respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4\*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (אָרְ, אִי, אִי). Unvocalized אִי 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. מְלֻבְּוֹתַי, אִיכִי, אִיכִי). Only the אִי group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (מְלֻבְּוֹתַי). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (אִיכִי, אִיכִי). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form אִיכִי, although presumably its uninflected singular is אִיכִי, as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses אִיהוֹן (Gen. 2. 25), instead of אִיהוֹן, 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 *ē* of certain nouns of the E class, like אִיכִי and אִיכִי, produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable (אִיכִי, אִיכִי). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like אִיכִי, are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

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

In the Kethibh form מראי (Dan. 4. 16, 21) אִי might represent *ai* (§ 2. 1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9\*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (בְּתַרְי, בְּתַרְמִי). In OTA עֲלֵינָא or עֲלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix עָלַי, 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 <i>ai</i> SUFFIXES.		NORMAL SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	OJ and PTM	
	אֲמַרְתִּי	אֲמַרְתָּנָא OJ	אֲמַרְתִּי 1 com.
	—	אֲמַרְתֶּן PTM	—
אֲמַרְתִּיכֹן	—	אֲמַרְתִּיכֹן	אֲמַרְתֶּךָ 2 masc.
	אֲמַרְתֶּךָ	—	אֲמַרְתֶּיךָ fem.
אֲמַרְתִּיהֶן	אֲמַרְתֶּיהוּ	אֲמַרְתֶּיהֶן	אֲמַרְתֶּיהוּ 3 masc.
	אֲמַרְתֶּיהָ	—	אֲמַרְתֶּיהָ fem.

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 (אֲמַרְתֶּיהֶן, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. אֲמַרְתֶּי for אֲמַרְתֶּי occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אֲמַרְתֶּי for אֲמַרְתֶּי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. לֵית, אֵית, ETC.

**Forms.** 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) לֵית occurs for לֵית. In OTA the forms used are אֵיתִי and אֵיתִי.

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

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA אֵיתִי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: אֵיתִיכֹן, אֵיתִיךָ, אֵיתִי. The inflected stem of לֵית has two forms, as in לֵיתִי and לֵיתֶיךָ. 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 לֵית, as in PTM (לֵיתֶיהֶן). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לֵית אֲנִי יָבֵל).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of אֵיתִי are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (אֵיתִיכֹן, &c.).

**Usages.** 5. אֵית and לֵית express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. אֵית הָכָא חַר יְהוּדִי 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with לֵי, לָךְ, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. אֵית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes אֵית may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. לֵא אֵית בְּחַיִּי 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ לֵית is used absolutely, like Hebrew אֵין (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. לֵית אֲנִי מֶלֶךְ 'I am not a king' (20. 10), לֵית בֵּיתָא הָדִין הָרַב, אֲנִי מְלֵךְ 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows לֵית (לֵית אֵית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אִיח may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. כָּל כֹּהֵן דְּאִיח בֵּה 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26. 14; cf. Dan. 2. 30).

## § 16. VERBAL STEMS

REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.		ACTIVE.	
אִתְּחַתֵּב	Ithp <sup>el</sup>	כָּתַב	Peal Simple
אִתְּחַתֵּב	Ithpaal	כָּתִיב	Pael Intensive
אִתְּחַתֵּב	Ittaphal	אִכְתִּיב	Aphel Causative

1\*. The stems having preformative *ith* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2\*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithp<sup>el</sup> of verbs final ה, ח, and ע take pathaḥ for šere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

**Peal.** 3\*. Peal perfects with  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{u}$  in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: חָמַד 'be strong' (Gen. 1. 28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4. 5), דָּחַל (Gen. 3. 10), קָרַיב (Gen. 12. 1), שָׂאֵל (Judg. 1. 1), שָׁלִים (Gen. 15. 16), נָכַב and נָסִיב (Gen. 2. 21); דָּמַק and דָּמִיק (Gen. 2. 21).  $\bar{o}$  occurs for  $\bar{u}$  (מָרַד, Kahle, p. 219) and  $\bar{i}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  both occur, the latter generally in pause (קָרַב, שָׂאֵל, דָּמַק). Where MT has  $\bar{i}$  the supralinear MSS. sometimes have  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 21, וָעַק).

**Haphel.** 4\*. Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are הִימִין, הוֹרַע, and הוֹפַע (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הִימִין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is  $\bar{i}$  (Gen. 45. 26—Berliner) or  $\bar{e}$  (Gen. 15. 6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הִימִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הִימִין (Merx). In Dan. 6. 24 the sublinear vowel is  $\bar{i}$  and the supralinear is  $\bar{e}$ .

**Ith forms.** 6\*. The Ithp<sup>el</sup> and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) ה of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אִתְּדַבֵּר becomes אִדְּבֵר).

(b) ה changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אִשְׁתַּמַּע, אִצְטַרַּךְ, אִזְדַּרַּךְ.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אִתְּסַהֵר, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of ה to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אִתְּפַסֵּי = אִתְּפַסֵּי, אִתְּבַרֵּי = אִתְּבַרֵּי (21. 4), אִתְּמַלֵּי = אִתְּמַלֵּי, אִתְּשַׁמַּח = אִתְּשַׁמַּח (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφάθα (Mark 7. 34) = אִתְּפַתַּח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְּמַנֵּה = מִתְּמַנֵּה.

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

**Shaphel, &c.** 9\*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שִׁכְלִיל 'complete' (passive אִשְׁתַּכְּלֵל, Gen. 2. 1), שִׁעֲבִיד 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שִׁצִּיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שִׁצֵּי 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pō'el and Pā'el (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. נִמִּין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlël, Pālël, and Palpël are formed from stems ע"י and ע"ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

**OTA.** 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals a perfect passive Peal of the form Pe'il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבַת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבֵי, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אִתְּהִירַת, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הִת for אִת are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אִשְׁתַּחֲוִים (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative אִת may be compared.

12. Where OJ has  $\bar{e}$  in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithp<sup>el</sup>) OTA sometimes has  $\bar{e}$  and sometimes  $\bar{i}$ . It is difficult to make

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 א"ל (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and ו"ע and ע"ע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of  $\bar{i}$  number four, against one of  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. 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  $\bar{e}$  (excluding הִימִין, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of  $\bar{i}$  and two of  $\bar{e}$  (viz. הִתְחַבֵּר and פָּתַח), in the participle two cases of  $\bar{i}$ . In the HITHPEL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of  $\bar{i}$  and one of  $\bar{e}$ , and in the participle two examples of  $\bar{e}$ . The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

## § 17. PERFECT TENSES

PAEL.		PEAL.		
PTM	OJ	OJ	PTM	OJ
	פְּתִיב	דְּמוּדָה	פְּתַב	3 s. m.
	פְּתִיבַת	דְּמוּבַת	פְּתַבַת	f.
	פְּתִיבְתֵּ-הָא	דְּמוּבְתֵּ-הָא	פְּתַבְתֵּ-הָא	2 s. m.
	פְּתִיבְתִּי	דְּמוּבְתִּי	פְּתַבְתִּי	f.
	פְּתִיבִית	דְּמוּבִית	פְּתַבִּית	1 sing.
פְּתַבּוּ	פְּתִיבוּ	דְּמוּבוּ	פְּתַבּוּ	3 pl. m.
פְּתַבְּוּ	פְּתִיבֻּא	דְּמוּבֻּא	פְּתַבְּוּ	f.
	פְּתִיבְתֻּנּוּ	דְּמוּבְתֻּנּוּ	פְּתַבְתֻּנּוּ	2 pl. m.
	פְּתִיבְתֵּינּוּ	דְּמוּבְתֵּינּוּ	פְּתַבְתֵּינּוּ	f.
פְּתִיבְנּוּ	פְּתִיבְנָא	דְּמוּבְנָא	פְּתַבְנָא	1 plur.

**Table. 1\*.** The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ , and  $\bar{i}$ . The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced פְּתַבְתֵּ rather than פְּתַבְתִּי (§ 2. 6).

**Endings. 2\*.** The distinctive ending אָתָּה is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (תָּה).

**3\*.** The PTM plural endings  $\bar{a}n$  and  $\bar{a}n$  are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong.  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{a}$  also occur in PTM.

**4.** In PTM יִנּוּ occurs for נִנּוּ and יִתּוּ for תִּתּוּ, especially in Aphels. The  $\bar{e}$  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: אֶפְתִּינּוּ (25. 5), אֶפְתִּינּוּ (23. 9). The form אֶתְתִּינּוּ (19. ii. 9) = אֶתְתִּינּוּ + נִנּוּ.

**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 former occurs in two Peals (אֶמְרַת, אֶמְרַת) and in the few cases there are of Hithpeal (הִתְחַבְּרַת) and Haphel (הִדְקַת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (סִלְקַת) and in two of three Hophals (הִתְחַבְּרַת). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (בְּרַחַת, יִדְעַת). In the Haphel, besides הִקְיַחַת (§ 33), only הִשְׁבַּחַת (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 הִשְׁבַּחַת (as הִקְיַחַת) or הִשְׁבַּחַת (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.

**Syntax.** 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 (asyndeton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אִין (26. 18) and אִלּוּ (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

PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיב
יִכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתִּיב
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתִּיב
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ

P<sup>e</sup>AL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.	
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיב	3 masc.
יִכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתִּיב	fem.
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתִּיב	2 masc.
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	fem.
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	1 m. and f.

**Stem vowels.** 1\*. The stem vowel of the imperf. P<sup>e</sup>al is rarely  $\bar{e}$ , except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יִעֲבִיר, יִחַי, יִחַי). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. P<sup>e</sup>al of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of  $\bar{u}$  for  $\bar{o}$  and of  $\bar{i}$  for  $\bar{e}$  may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2\*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the P<sup>e</sup>al agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְכַּנֵּשׂ, יִתְבַּחַר, יִשְׁבַּח, יִתְבַּחַר.

**Preformative vowels.** 3\*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. P<sup>e</sup>al (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 (אִתְּרָא, אִתְּרָא)<sup>1</sup> and hireq once (אִתְּרָא).

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

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. Pael and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יִשְׁלַחַן = יִשְׁלַחַן, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithp<sup>e</sup>al (§ 16, note 8).

**Prefix ל.** 6. Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: לִיפֵק, לִיכֹחַ, לִיכֹל, לִיחַו, לִיפֵק. They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after לִי and לִי) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לִיחַו, לִיחַו, and לִיחַו occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

**OTA.** 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. P<sup>e</sup>al are  $\bar{u}$  (יִסְגֹּר),  $\bar{a}$  (יִלְבֹּשׁ), and  $\bar{e}$  (יִפֹּל) and those of the imperf. Pael and Haphel  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{i}$  (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יִשְׁפַּח, יִשְׁפַּח). The plural ending  $\bar{u}$  (or  $\bar{o}$ ), for  $\bar{u}$ , 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)

<sup>1</sup> 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  $\text{וְ}$  and  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after  $\text{לְמַעַן}$  = lest (24. 3) and after  $\text{ד}$  (or  $\text{דָּלָא}$ ) 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,  $\text{כָּל דְּיִצְמַר לִי בַר נְשָׂא אֶעֱבִיד}$  '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 voluntative, 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  $\text{וְ}$   $\text{בְדִיל}$  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 imperfects (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  $\text{אִם־אֶפְשֶׁר}$  with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by  $\text{אִם־אֶפְשֶׁר}$  (Isai. 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  $\text{אִם}$  (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and  $\text{אִם־יִצְרָח}$  (Hebrew  $\text{אִם־יִצְרָח}$ ), 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  $\text{וְעָתִיד}$  with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA 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.  $\text{עָתִיד}$  ('ready', 'prepared') or  $\text{לְעָתִיד}$ , 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  $\text{וְ}$  (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21,  $\text{רָבִצְנוּ הָרַבָּנִים בְּעֵינֵי גִיּוֹחֹת מִטְרָא}$  'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf.  $\text{כָּל סִפּוֹא דְּמִלְתָּא נְפוּק לִי מִן הָכָא}$  (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For  $\text{נִיצְלִי}$  and  $\text{נְפוּק}$  see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (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

PAEL.		PeAL.	OJ
$\text{בְּתִיב}$	$\text{מְנַע}$	$\text{עֲבִיד}$	$\text{בְּתוּב}$ 2 s. m.
$\text{בְּתִיבִי}$	$\text{מְנַעִי}$	$\text{עֲבִידִי}$	$\text{בְּתוּבִי}$ f.
$\text{בְּתִיבוּ}$	$\text{מְנַעוּ}$	$\text{עֲבִידוּ}$	$\text{בְּתוּבוּ}$ 2 pl. m.
$\text{בְּתִיבֵיכֶם}$	$\text{מְנַעוּ}$	$\text{עֲבִידוּ}$	$\text{בְּתוּבֵיכֶם}$ f.
			PTM
$\text{בְּתִיב}$	$\text{מְנַע}$	$\text{עֲבִיד}$	$\text{בְּתוּב}$ 2 s. m.
$\text{בְּתִיבִין}$	$\text{מְנַעִין}$	$\text{עֲבִידִין}$	$\text{בְּתוּבִין}$ f.
$\text{בְּתִיבוֹן}$	$\text{מְנַעוֹן}$	$\text{עֲבִידוֹן}$	$\text{בְּתוּבוֹן}$ 2 pl. m.
$\text{בְּתִיבָן}$	$\text{מְנַעוֹן}$	$\text{עֲבִידָן}$	$\text{בְּתוּבָן}$ f.

- 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. *ı̄* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עֲבֹדוּ 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 imperat. Peal is also ambiguous (מְנַעֵן, מְנַעֵי).  
5. ἐφφαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֲתַפְתְּחִי = אֲפַתְחִי = ἐφφαθά (ת not being distinguished from פ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).
- OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to קָטוּב and אֲכַתִּיב are קָתַב (one example) and הִקָּתַב (two examples).

## § 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מִקְתִּיב		מִקְתִּיב	Peal
	מִקְתוּב			
	מִקְתִּיבָא			
פְּתוּבִי	מִקְתִּיבָא	פְּתִיבִית	פְּתִיבָא	Pael
אֲכַתוּבִי	מִקְתִּיבָא	אֲכַתִּיבִית	אֲכַתִּיבָא	Aphel
אֲתַפְתוּבִי	מִתַּפְתִּיבָא	אֲתַפְתִּיבִית	אֲתַפְתִּיבָא	Ithpeel
אֲתַפְתוּבִי	מִתַּפְתִּיבָא	אֲתַפְתִּיבִית	אֲתַפְתִּיבָא	Ithpaal
	מִתַּקְתִּיבָא	אֲתַקְתִּיבִית	אֲתַקְתִּיבָא	Ittaphal

**Orthography.** 1\*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by ה, 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 *ū/h* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָדְמִיּוּתִיהָ, Gen. 14. 17).

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

**OTA.** 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for פ (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנְיָמְתָּ (Ezra 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 (מִקְרָבֵהוּ, מִקְרָבֵי, § 12, note 5). In PTM the termination הַ (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (מִקְרָבֵייהָ).

**Syntax.** 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written מִקְתִּיב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מִזְבֵּן 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 ל, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ל is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ל (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ל (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 הַ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

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 לְבַלְתִּי is represented in OJ by בְּרִיל לְדָלָא (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לְאָלָא 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

APHEL.	PAEL.		PEAL.	
	PTM	OJ		
מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	כְּתִיב	active
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	כְּתִיב	passive
ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.		ITHPEL.	
מִתְכַתֵּב	מִתְכַתֵּב		מִתְכַתֵּב	

**Forms.** 1\*. Since verbs final guttural and resh have *ā* for *ē* in all final syllables אָמַר is the partic. Peal of אָמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשׂוּיֵב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מְשַׁחֲוֵיב (from שׂוּיֵב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2\*. In OJ *ī* sometimes appears for final *ē* (so עָבִיר in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and מְרַחֵם in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Peal partic. used as nouns always have *ī* in the supralinear punctuation (so כְּהִיז, כְּהִיר, כְּהִיר, כְּהִיר). In OTA *ē* is usual, but eight words have *ī* for *ē*, viz.:

יָכַל, נָחַת, דָּלַק, נָזַק, מְמַלֵּל, מְשַׁפֵּל, מַצֵּל, מְשׂוּיֵב.

3\*. The partic. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples: דְּמִיָּה (also דְּמִיָּה) 'sleeping'; רְחִיִּין (also רְחִיִּין) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דְּחִיל (also דְּחִיל) 'fearing'.

4\*. Words of the form כְּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples: סְבִיר 'thinking'; דְּכִיר 'remembering'; חִמִּיָּה (? also חִמִּיָּה) 'wondering'.

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

**Inflexions.** 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 (מְכַתֵּב, &c.). Forms like חִמִּיָּה (17. ii. 18), מְקִילִין (23. 8), יְתִיבָא (27. 2), and עֲבִירָא (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עֲבִירָא, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear 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 (אֲנִי, אֲנִי, אֲנִי, and אֲנִי) joined to partic. make a new tense form. Examples: יְדַעְנָא (Gen. 4. 9), רְכִבְתִּי (Berliner) or רְכִבְתִּי (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, וְרַעְתִּי (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), וְרַעְתִּי (25. ii. 8), וְרַעְתִּי (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

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

<sup>1</sup> So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not וְרַעְתִּי?

**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—חִיב, 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 עַד '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 particc. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אָמְרָה).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperf. (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 particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. 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).<sup>1</sup>

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. 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—מַהֲלִכִּין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—בַּתְּבָרָה), and in stating general

<sup>1</sup> In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

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: קִים (14. ii. 1), שָׁרִי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַר (19. 13). שָׂרִי ('begin') is used with particc. 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 הָיָה '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 הָיָה 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: וְהוּא הָיָה בָרֵךְ 'when he was coming', וְהוּא הָיָה יָרֵעַ 'now he

knew'. In the sentence *והוּת בְּכִיָּהּ נוֹ אֶמְסַרְתָּהּ וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהּ מָה לִּי* (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—*הָיוּ לְחַמְּוֵי הָיוּ*—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 *הָיִיתָ*, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of *הָיוּ* (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: *הָיוּנָא מְנַלְיָא* 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), *מָה הָיוּנָה מְסַעַר דְּעֵתִי*, '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 OTA 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—*הָיוּ יִיעִזְוּ* 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—*הָיוּ קָטַל* 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (*הָיוּ בָרַךְ*) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (*הָיוּ בְּעִזּוֹ*). In Dan. 6. 15 *הָיוּ מְשַׁבְּרִי* may be classed under (a) or (d).

5\*. In OJ 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 *יְהִי* joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after *בָּרַךְ*), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (c) after *וְ* and *לָא* 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—*הָיוּ צָבָא*—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8\*. *הָיוּ* 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). *יְהִי* 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 *הָיוּ* (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. *אֲתָא* in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10—*מְבַבְּשׁ מְרִינְתָא* 'after (he) had conquered the city').

### § 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע) and of ר upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so 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 imperf. and imperatives Pael pathah is usual, but *ō* also 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 imperf. Pael **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַחַבּוּט, יַעֲשׂוּק, יַעֲבִיר, יַעֲבֹר), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעֲבִירָן (twice), יַחַלְפִּינָן (once) and יַעֲדֶהָ or תַּעֲדֶהָ (thrice), with the imperfect forms of יַהֲוֶה (תַּהֲוֶה, &c.), are the only Pael imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יַעֲבִיר equivalent to *seghol* (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

3\*. Apparently the only **infn. with preformative pathah** is מַעֲבֵר. In OTA the form is מַעֲבֵר (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 (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

5\*. An **intrusive pathah** separates the termination תְּ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הַשְׁתַּכַּחְתָּ (Dan. 5. 27).

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

7\*. An **intrusive ḥaṭeph** (before vocal shewa an intrusive

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pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial *y* and initial *n* in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Pael (Aphel, Shaphel). יַעֲבִיר and מַעֲבֵר are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (אָעֲבֵר) and 16. 24 (מַחֲרִיב, Hebraism?). In some MSS. after *y* an **intrusive hireq** is indicated, in harmony with the hireq of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8\*. In the intensives of verbs medial resh, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathah is regularly lengthened into **compensation qames** and, similarly, sometimes before medial *y* or *a*. Examples: קָרִיף, נָעִיל, סָאִיב. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is מַתְּבַהֵל and the supralinear is מַתְּבַהֵל (or מַתְּבַהֵל).

9. *a* between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Pael of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of שָׂאִיל and שָׂאֵר writes י for *a*. PTM שָׂאִיל and שָׂיֵר = OJ שָׂאִיל (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and שָׂאֵר. See also § 33, note 2.

### § 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נַחַת	נָלִיק	נָלַק	נָסַב, נָסִיב	נָפַק	Pael	perf.
נִיחֹת	נִפַק	נִפַב	נִפַב	נִפֹק		imperf.
נֹחַת	נַק	נַב	נַב	נֹפֹק		imperat.
נֹחַת	נִקו	נִבו	נִבו	נֹפִקו		
נִיחַת	נִפַק	נִפַב	נִפַב	נִפַק		infn.
נִיחֹת	נִפֹק	נִפֹב	נִפֹב	נִפֹק		PTM
נִחַת	נָלִיק	נָסִיב	נָסִיב	נָפִיק		partic.
נִחַת	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	Aphel	perf.
נִחַת	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק		imperf.
נִחַת	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק		imperat.
נִחַת	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק		infn.
נִחַת	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק	נִפִיק		partic.

**Assimilation.** 1\*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and infn. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2\*. In verbs medial ה and medial y assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אֲנַחֵרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְוֹף; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְיִק).

3\*. The vocalization of verbs medial ה, according to the supralinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote hateph pathah (§ 2. 7).

**Peal imperatt. and infinn.** 4\*. The stem vowels of the imperative Peal do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִיב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סִב.

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

**Ithpeal.** 6. Ithpeal forms sometimes assimilate ת of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

סִלֵּק 7\*. In סִלֵּק ל assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infn. Haphel הִנְסָקָה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

וֹתָא 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1-4 apply to וֹתָא. The only verb medial guttural is נִחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (נִחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אֲחַת or אַחַת) and partic. (נִחַתִּין), but not in the Hophal (נִחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נָתַן (imperf., inf.), נָפַק (Aphel), and נִזַּק (Aphel). There are two ē imperfects, יִפֵּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפּוּל) and יִתֵּן or יִתִּין. For the imperat. אֲשֵׁ see § 27, note 10, and for קִלַּק, note 7.

## § 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		PEAL.	
אֲזַבֵּד	אֲזַל	אֲמַר	אֲכַל perf.
יִזְבֵּד	יִזֵּל	יִמַר	יִכּוּל imperf.
אֲזַבֵּד	אֲזִיל, אֲזִיל	אֲמַר	אֲכִיל imperat.
אֲזַבֵּדוּ	אֲזִילוּ	אֲמַרוּ	אֲכִילוּ OJ
אֲזַבְדִּין	אֲזִלוּן	אֲמַרוּן	אֲכִלוּן PTM
אֲזַבְדָּא	מִזֵּל	מִמַר	מִיכַל infin.
מִזְבֵּד	אֲזִיל	אֲמַד	אֲכִיל partic.

1\*. In the imperf. and infn. Peal and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into ē and ō respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אֲזַבֵּד, יִכּוּל).

**Peal imperf.** 2\*. The imperfects Peal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יִמַר, יִבְדַר, יִלְפַ, and יִסַר (but also יִיסוּר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew ḥolem). יִכּוּל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יִאכַל).

**Imperat.** 3\*. The supralinear imperatives אֲמַר, אֲכִיל, &c., although pointed with šere, should probably be pronounced אֲמַר, אֲכִיל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אֲמַר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אֲזִיל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אֲזִילוּ (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אֲזִילוּ (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both ē (Deut. 10. 11) and ī (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4\*. Some verbs (e.g. אֲזַל, אֲחַת) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms (אֲזִיל, אֲזִילוּ; אֲחַת, אֲחִילוּ—in Dalman אֲזִיל). For the ending ō in אֲחִילוּ see § 29.

5\*. The stem vowel *i* 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 *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אָלֶיךָ and אָבְלֶיךָ (23. 1) seems unlikely.

**Aphel.** 6\*. Of the Aphels with preformative *šere* that occur in PTM only אֶבֶלֶיךָ and אֶבֶלֶיךָ and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אָחַז, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298 f.) as correct. The salutation אֶשֶׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA הִימִין (§ 16, note 5) and אֶיְתִי or אֶיְתִי (OTA הִיְתִי, הִיְתִי), from אָחַז, are used.

**Contracted forms.** 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אָלֶיךָ (אֶלֶיךָ, אֶלֶיךָ, אֶלֶיךָ, &c.). Contracted Ithpels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אֶתְמַר = אֶתְמַר and אֶתְחַד = אֶתְחַד). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אֶתְחַד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

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

**OTA.** 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the P<sup>eal</sup> imperf. and infin. (אֶבֶלֶיךָ, אֶבֶלֶיךָ), except in the cases of אֶתְחַד and אֶתְחַד, from אָחַז and אָחַז (§ 27). In the P<sup>eal</sup> imperat. א is generally followed by *ḥateph seghol* and in אֶלֶיךָ (Ezra 5. 15) *šere* is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אֶתְחַד, Dan. 3. 22, = אֶתְחַד, pass. ptc. P<sup>eal</sup>). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אֶבְלֶיךָ, Strack's supralinear text reads אֶבְלֶיךָ, i.e. אֶבְלֶיךָ (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. אֶבְלֶיךָ (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.			P <sup>eal</sup> .	
אֶבְלֶיךָ	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט perf.
	יָבֵט	יָבֵט		
יֹאבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט imperf.
אֶבְלֶיךָ	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	— imperat.
אֶבְלֶיךָ	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	
אֶבְלֶיךָ	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט infin.
	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט	יָבֵט

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

**Stem vowels.** 2. Imperf. P<sup>eal</sup> with *ē* as their stem vowel are יָבֵט (OTA יָבֵט) and יָבֵט (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יָבֵט (Gen. 3. 16) and יָבֵט (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

**Imperat.** 3\*. The imperat. P<sup>eal</sup> are treated like the imperat. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יָבֵט, יָבֵט).

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

5\*. In OJ יָבֵט is used for אֶבְלֶיךָ and the uncontracted forms יָבֵט



and **מְהוֹרַע** more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

**Shaphel.** 6. The Shaphel **שָׁיוּב** (OTA **שׁוּיב**) 'rescue' has no P<sup>al</sup> in use (? = **שְׁעוּיב**). **סוּבַל** (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of **יבַל**, with **ס** as in some Syriac forms. For **שְׁיָצִי** (? from **יָצִא**) see § 27, note 8.

**Ithp<sup>el</sup>.** 7. For elision of yodh in Ithp<sup>el</sup> forms see § 25, note 7.

**יָהֵב** 8. In PTM forms with elided ה are used (e.g. **יִהְיֶה** = **יְהִיבֵהּ**, *Chrest.* 29. 8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of **נָתַן** take the place of the corresponding parts of **יָהֵב** and are the only parts of **נָתַן** in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to **יִיְהִיב** or **יִיְהִיב** and **מִיְהִיב**.

**OTA.** 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In P<sup>al</sup> perf. and imperf. the stem vowel *i* corresponds to OJ *e* (**יָתַב**; **יָבַל**; **יָתַב**). In the imperf. P<sup>al</sup> preformative *i* and *e* both occur (**יָבַל**, **יִיְבַב**). **יָדַע** is always, erroneously, dissimilated to **יָבַדַע** (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like **הוֹתִיב** (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (**הוֹיְבַב**) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

### § 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITHPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHP <sup>EL</sup> .	APHEL.	PAEL.	P <sup>AL</sup> .	
אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶחַוִּי	חַוִּי	חַוֵּי	perf.
אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי				
יִתְחַוֵּי	יִתְחַוִּי	יִתְחַוֵּי	יְחַוִּי	יְחַוִּי	יְחַוֵּי	imperf.
	יִתְחַוֶּי					
אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶחַוִּי	חַוִּי	חַוֵּי	imperat.
אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶחַוֶּי	חַוֶּי	חַוֶּי	infin.
מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	PTM
מִתְחַוֵּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	act. ptc.
מִתְחַוֶּי				מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	pass. ptc.
				מִתְחַוֶּי		PTM

**Final vowels of stem.** 1\*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into *i* or *e* or *a* or *ā*. *ā* occurs only in the perfect P<sup>al</sup> (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). *ā* comes from *ai* (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 **הִיָּה** is more common, in this verb, than **הָיָה** (cf. **הָיָה**).

2\*. Intransitive perfects P<sup>al</sup> ending in *i* in OJ are: **שָׁתִּי**, **סָנִי**, **קָרִי**, **צָבִי**, &c. **שָׁתִּי** (or **שָׁתִּי**, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA **שָׁתִּי** (or **שָׁתִּי**) and **צָבִי** occur.

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

4\*. In Yemenite MSS. P<sup>al</sup> imperat. of the form **חַוֵּי** are corrections of **חַוִּי** 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 **מִתְחַוֵּי**, &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. ה is used in PTM less frequently than א to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. P<sup>al</sup> of the form **מִתְחַוֵּי** is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form **מִתְחַוֶּי** may have been pronounced **מִתְחַוֶּי**, from **מִתְחַוֵּי**. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points *ā* in the final syllable (**לְמִתְחַוֶּי**).

**Pass. partic.** 7\*. The passive partic. P<sup>al</sup> is sometimes pointed with final *i* by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

**Shaphel.** 8. The Shaphel form **שְׁיָצִי** 'complete', may be derived from **יָצִי**. For the *e* 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 *ā*, *i*, and *e*, as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is *i* (הַתְּנִבִּי) and in יִתְקַרֵּי (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is *a* or *e*—א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בָּעָא and בָּעָה; יִבְעָא; מְבַעָא; בָּעָא and בָּעָה; בָּנָה. For the form אָוֶה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שְׂצִיָּא, the Qere שְׂצִי or שְׂצִיָּ.

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

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הַשְׁנִיָּה, &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 קָרִי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 30) or גָּלִי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רְמִי (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peils (§ 16, note 11).

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH  
(perfect tenses)

APHEL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אָחֻי		שְׁחִי	חָא	3 s. m.
אָחֻיָּא	אָחֻיָּא	שְׁחִיָּא	שְׁחִיָּא	חָא	f.
ח-אָחֻיָּא	אָחֻיָּא	ח-שְׁחִיָּא	שְׁחִיָּא	ח-חָא	2 s. m.
	אָחֻיָּת		שְׁחִיָּת	חָא	f.
ח-אָחֻיָּת	אָחֻיָּת	ח-שְׁחִיָּת	שְׁחִיָּת	ח-חָא	1 s. com.
אָחֻיָּו	אָחֻיָּו	שְׁחֻו	שְׁחִיָּו	חָו	3 pl. m.
אָחֻיָּה	אָחֻיָּה	—	שְׁחִיָּה	חָה	f.
	אָחֻיָּתָן		שְׁחִיָּתָן	חָתָן	2 pl. m.
	אָחֻיָּתֵן		שְׁחִיָּתֵן	חָתֵן	f.
אָחֻיָּנָן	אָחֻיָּנָן	שְׁחִיָּנָן	שְׁחִיָּנָן	חָיָנָן	1 pl. com.

**Endings.** 1\*. The OJ plural terminations *i* (3 masc.) and *ūn* (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Pael only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM *ōn* and *tūn* (?) and extends the use of *ōn* to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

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

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

4\*. In the 3 s. f. of *i* perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (אָחֻיָּת, 18. 3; שְׁחִיָּת, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (אָחֻיָּת, Dan. 7. 15, and חִיָּת, 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 חִיָּת. In PTM אָחֻיָּת and אָחֻיָּן are unvocalized forms for אָחֻיָּת (? אָחֻיָּת or אָחֻיָּת) and אָחֻיָּן. In OJ אָ appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all *i* perfects.

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

**OTA.** 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes *i* in *i* perfects (מְנִיָּת), *ai* in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perf. P<sup>al</sup> (חִוִּיתָ) and in בְּנִיתָהּ or בְּנִיתָהּ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), *ē* in other forms (חִוִּיתָ, חִוִּיָּא, חִוִּיָּא). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. P<sup>al</sup> the forms חִוִּיתָ and חִוִּיָּא are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints חִוִּיתָ. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (חִוִּיָּי, § 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 (חִוִּיָּי), with a variation of orthography in the *ī* perfects (חִוִּיָּי, חִוִּיָּי), 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 חִוִּיָּי. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is חִוִּיָּי (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read חִוִּיָּי.

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

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH  
(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PLURAL.	P <sup>al</sup> .		IMPERFECT.
	PTM	OJ	
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	3 masc.
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	fem.
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	2 masc.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	fem.
	חִוִּיָּי		
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	1 com.

PTM	APHEL. OJ	PTM P <sup>al</sup> .	OJ	IMPERATIVE.
	חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	2 s. m.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	f.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	2 pl. m.
—	—	—	חִוִּיָּי	f.

**Imperf.** 1\*. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. חִוִּיָּי might be understood to signify חִוִּיָּי (§ 2. 1).

2\*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA חִוִּיָּי, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

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

**Imperat.** 4\*. The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ā* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (בכאה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: חִוִּיָּי (P<sup>al</sup>—Gen. 24. 14), חִוִּיָּי (Pael—Gen. 24. 2), חִוִּיָּי or חִוִּיָּי (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 PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the P<sup>al</sup> imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

**Infinn.** 7. Infinitives of the form חִוִּיָּי are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, חִוִּיָּי.

8. P<sup>al</sup> infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that  $\aleph_2$  is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that  $\eta_2$  is employed for  $\aleph_2$ . Examples:  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ . PTM has forms like  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  or  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used ( $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , Dan. 4. 32).

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

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. 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 imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (Dan. 5. 10), with  $\bar{o}$  for  $\bar{on}$ , 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)

PAEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	
<i>Active plc.</i>	<i>Pass. plc.</i>	<i>Act. plc.</i>	
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	Sing. m.
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	f.
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$ , $\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$ , $\eta\eta\eta$	Plur. m.
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	f.

1\*. 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 *ān*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2\*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *wān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples:  $\eta\eta\eta$ , from  $\eta\eta\eta$  'shepherd', and  $\eta\eta\eta$ , from  $\eta\eta\eta$  'physician'.

3\*. 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 ( $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ ). 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 Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4\*. Words like  $\eta\eta\eta$  with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination  $\bar{e}$  as with a plural ending ( $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained ( $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , 25. ii. 8, from  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ ), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ  $\eta\eta\eta$  always retains  $\aleph$  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  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , 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  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (26. 6), fem.  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (Dalman, p. 352),  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16),  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$  in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.<sup>1</sup>  $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\eta\eta\eta$ ,  $\eta\eta\eta$

APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.	
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$ , $\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	perf.
$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$ , $\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	imperf.
	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	imperat.
		$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	infin.
			$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$		PTM
$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta\eta$	partic.

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

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

2. The imperf. and imperat. P<sup>al</sup> and Aphel of אָתָא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). אָתָי is both infin. P<sup>al</sup> and partic. Aphel.

**Imperat.** 3. In the imperat. P<sup>al</sup> the OJ supralinear form אָתָא is equivalent to אָתָא (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אָתָי (24. ii. 13), אָתָא (אָתָא), 22. ii. 8), and אָתָי (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos* *i* is written in אָתָא, אָתָי, &c. (cf. אָתָיִל). The final vowel of אָתָא may be corrected into *ä* (similarly in the case of אָתָא, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. P<sup>al</sup> of אָתָא is אָתָא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אָתָי (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אָתָיָא (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. *μαρναθά* (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being אָתָא קָרְנָא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἀθά*.

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

הוה. 7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. P<sup>al</sup> of הוה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with אָתָי or אָתָי in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both אָתָי and אָתָי occur. For PTM אָתָי and OTA אָתָא, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is אָתָא or אָתָא. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the P<sup>al</sup> imperf. of הוה are written אָתָי and אָתָי, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

חיא. 9. In the verb אָתָא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) P<sup>al</sup> and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also אָתָי and Hebrew אָתָי. For OTA see table below.

הלך. 10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of הלך elide the medial *l* and assume the forms אָתָי (plur. אָתָי) and אָתָי respectively (cf. סָלַק, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA אָתָא). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL.	P <sup>AL</sup> .	P <sup>AL</sup> .	HAPHEL.	P <sup>AL</sup> .	OTA
		הוה, הוה	הית	אתה, אתה	perf.
		הו	היתו	אתו	
		להו			imperf.
		להו			
	חיי			אתו	imperat.
		הו			
			היתנה (היתנה)	מתה	infin.
מחא				אתה	partic.

### § 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"י)

ITAPHAL.	ITHP <sup>AL</sup> .		APHEL.	P <sup>AL</sup> .	
	PTM	OJ AND PTM			
אתקם	אתקם	אתקם	אתקם	קם	perf.
אתוקם					PTM
יתקם	יתקם	יתקם	יתקם	יקם	imperf.
—	אתקם	אתקם	אתקם	קם	imperat.
—	—	אתקם	אתקם	קם	infin.
		מתקם	מתקם	מקם	PTM
מתקם	מתקם	מתקם	מתקם	קאים	partic. act.
				קים	partic. pass.

**Stem vowels.** 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in ī** are מִית 'die', בִּיב 'be old', and רִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects in ē** are יָבִית, יָבִים, and יָיִן (or יָיִן) from בָּת 'pass the night', קָם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have  $\bar{a}$  in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יָנַח), but נָע 'shake' has imperf. יֹנֵעַ and imperat. וַע (plur. וַעִי). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed  $\bar{a}$  in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperf. in  $\bar{e}$  have **imperatives in ī** (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2\*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel  $\bar{e}$  (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written  $\bar{i}$  and the stem vowel  $\bar{i}$  (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written  $\bar{e}$ . The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally  $\bar{i}$  (אֶקְיִמָהּ, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

**Preformative vowels.** 3. The preformative vowels of the Peal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34), so that forms like יָקִים and יִיחִים, מְקַם and מְיַחֵם occur. Examples: יַפְוִת, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יַחֲוֵב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יִיחִים, Exod. 12. 23.

4\*. The preformative vowel of the imperf., imperat., infinn., and partic. Aphel is often written  $\bar{a}$  in supralinear MSS. Examples: אֶתְבָּא אֶתְבָּא (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אֶתְבָּא (Judg. 1. 1), אֶתְבָּא (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אֶתְבָּא (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), אֶתְבָּא (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative  $\bar{a}$  occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יֶהְקִים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מְהַקִּים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is  $\bar{o}$ .

5\*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34).

**Ithp<sup>e</sup>el.** 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithp<sup>e</sup>el is sometimes

written  $\bar{a}$  (אֶתְבָּא, Judg. 5. 20) and the  $\eta$  of the preformative syllable may become  $\eta$  before initial  $\eta$  (hence אֶתְבָּא = אֶתְבָּא).

**Intensives.** 7\*. The intensive forms in use are קָיִים, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), קוֹיִים, קוֹיִים (OJ supralinear), and קָמְקָים. The passive of the Palpel is like מְמַלְמֵל (Gen. 4. 12) or מְמַלְמֵל (Gen. 4. 16).

**Verbs medial waw.** 8\*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are הִוֵּר, הִוֵּר, הִוֵּר, הִוֵּר, הִוֵּר 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, הִוֵּה, הִוֵּה, &c.

**OTA.** 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the PeAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel  $\bar{i}$  occurs as an alternative to  $\bar{e}$  (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16)  $\bar{e}$  occurs as an alternative to  $\bar{i}$ . Preformative  $\eta$ teph seghol occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הִתְקַיֵּם, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPEEL is  $\bar{a}$  in one verb (יִתְשָׁם) and  $\bar{i}$  in another (יִתְוִין). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קָיִמה (Dan. 6. 8), מְקוֹמָם (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְרוֹמְמָתָם (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הִקְיַמְתָּ (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שָׁמַת (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שָׁמַת (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

### § 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.		
Imperat.	Perfect.	Partic.	Perfect.	
אֶקְיִם	אֶקְיַם	קָיִים, קָיִים	מִית	קָם
אֶקְיִמִי	אֶקְיַמְתָּ	קָיִמָא	מִיתַת	קָמַת
	אֶקְיַמְתָּ-תָּא		מִיתַת-תָּא	קָמַת-תָּא
	...		...	...
אֶקְיִמוּ	אֶקְיַמוּ	קָיִמוּן	מִיתוּ	קָמוּ
אֶקְיִמָא	אֶקְיַמָא	קָיִמוּן	(מִיתָא?)	קָמָא

**Peal perf.** 1\*. The forms of the table are those of the supralinear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is  $\bar{a}$  only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA  $\bar{a}$  is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מִתָּה are treated like those of perfects in şere.

**Particc.** 2\*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected 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  $\aleph$  in the K<sup>e</sup>thibh and  $\text{y}$  in the Q<sup>e</sup>re, except in מִתָּה (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain  $\aleph$  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  $\text{ših}$  (שָׁחַת, Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיִימָה, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יִהְיֶינָה (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

### § 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
אָעִיל	אָבִיו	עֵל	בֵּן (בֶּן) perf.
יַעִיל	יָבִיו	יַעִיל	יָבוֹח imperf.
אָעִיל	אָבִיו	עוֹל	בוֹח imperat.
אָעִילָא	אָבִיא	מִיעֵל	מָבוֹ infin.
מַעִיל	מָבִיו	עָלִיל	בְּוִי partic. act.
מַעֵל	מָבוֹ	עָלִיל	בְּוִי ptc. pass.

**Disyllabic stems.** 1\*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithp<sup>e</sup>els, and Shaphels. Examples: מַלְלִיל, אֲתַבְּוִי, אֲתַבְּוִי, שִׁכְלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

2\*. The intensive forms are of the types עָלִיל, עָלִיל (especially PTM), עָלִיל (OJ), and עָלִיל. עָלִיל is borrowed from the ע"ע stems (§ 32). The use of עָלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּץ (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  $\bar{a}$  in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}$  (יָבוֹח, יָיִחֵם).

**Preform. vowels.** 4\*. The imperf., imperat., and infin. Peal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. Peal preformative  $\text{š}$  is lengthened to  $\bar{e}$  before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (יִרְשִׁי, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מִחַח, Dan. 4. 24; חִרַע, Dan. 2. 40).

**Participles.** 5. In PTM the participle form עָלִיל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עָלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עָלִין, for עָלִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עָלִין (K<sup>e</sup>thibh) is replaced by עָלִין or עָלִין or עָלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5, 8).

6. Aphel participles like מִקְלָל and מִצֵּן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. מַעֵלָה (25. 5), from מַעֵל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מַעֵלִין (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

**Borrowed forms.** 8\*. The forms appropriate to ע"ע 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 מְקַצֵּץ = תְּקַצֵּץ).

**Ittaphal.** 9. The Ittaphal forms are like אֲתַעֵל and אֲתַחֵל.

**OTA.** 10. For the PeAL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מַלְלִיל (three verbs), מְרַעַע (Dan. 2. 40), and אֲשַׁתְּוִי (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

pathah becomes seghol before פּ (הַעֲלֶה, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הִנְעֵל, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הִנְעֵלָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (העל).

## § 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(inflected forms)

APHEL.		P <sup>e</sup> AL.		
PERFECT.		PERFECT.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
אֲעִילֻ	אֲעִיל	עֲלֻ (עֲלוּ)	עַל (עֲלֵ)	3 masc.
אֲעִילֵי	אֲעִילַת	עֲלֵי	עֲלַת	fem.
אֲעִילְתֶּם	אֲעִילְתְּ-חַ	עֲלֶתֶם	עֲלְתְּ-חַ	2 masc.
אֲעִילְתֶּיךָ	אֲעִילְתְּ	עֲלֶתֶיךָ	עֲלְתְּ	fem.
אֲעִילְתֶּנּוּ	אֲעִילְתֶּם	עֲלֶנּוּ	עֲלִית	1 com.
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
יִעֲלֻ	יִעִיל	יִיעֲלֻ	יִיעִיל	3 masc.
תִּעֲלֻ	תִּעִיל	תִּיעֲלֻ	תִּיעִיל	2 masc.
נִעֲלֻ	נִעִיל	נִיעֲלֻ	נִיעִיל	1 com.
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
אֲעִילֻ	אֲעִיל	עֲלוּ	עֹל	2 masc.
אֲעִילֵי	אֲעִילִי	עֲלֵי	עֹלִי	fem.

1\*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the P<sup>e</sup>al perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.

2\*. In the 3·pl. m. perf. P<sup>e</sup>al the stem vowel  $\bar{a}$  (appropriate to פ<sup>e</sup> stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for  $\bar{a}$ . The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. P<sup>e</sup>al in OTA is treated in this way (דָּקָה, Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperf. forms like יִיעֲלִין (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing ḥateph pathah (§ 2. 7).

4. P<sup>e</sup>al and Aphel forms like רַקְקָה (PTM), עֲלֵלַת (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and תִּמְלֵל (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 P<sup>e</sup>AL the stem vowel is  $\bar{o}$  (גָּרִי, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הַעֲלִי, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel ( $\bar{e}$ ) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥateph seghol in some MSS. (מִדְּרָקָה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, תִּדְרָקְנָה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יִהְיֶיבוּ (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יִהְיֶיבוּ (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 פ<sup>e</sup> verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הִדְרָקְתָּ or הִדְרָקְתָּ (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, יִ or יְ for  $\bar{z}$ , and in the 3 plural,



where the independent pronoun אָנִי is substituted for הוּן (הוּ). 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 אָנִי is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, א being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to אָנִי with the 3 s. f. perf. and to אָנִי in union with stems ending in a vowel (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אָנִי except in the 1 s. perf., in which כָּתַבְתָּ, כָּתַבְתֶּם and אָכַלְתָּ are used for כָּתַבְתָּ, &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 *um*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ū*. Examples: אָפְקִינֶיהָ (25. ii. 2), אָפְקִינֶיהָ (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 (אָפְקִינֶיהָ, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אָמְלִיכְנִי, 21. i, אָמְלִיכְנִי).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, נִצְחֶנּוּ). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 אָרְפֹנִי should be אָרְפֹנִי, and in 28. 5 אָרְפֹנִי should be אָרְפֹנִי.

**2 sing. and 1 sing.** **5.** In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like כָּתַבְתָּ, &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 כָּתַבְתָּ for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like אָשָׁבְתֶּיהָ 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. שָׁבְתֶּנּי (Gen. 31. 28) = σαβαχθαυεί (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 (שָׁבְתֶּנּי, אָשָׁבְתֶּנּי). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *i* before suffixes (אָשָׁבְתֶּיהָ).

**3 s. f.** **6\*.** The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (כָּלְכַתִּיהָ '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: שָׁלַחְתָּנִי, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ, שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ; שָׁלַחְתָּהּ, שָׁלַחְתֶּהּ, שָׁלַחְתֶּהּ.

**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 א (שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ). Instead of שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ the form שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ is used. In PTM the forms שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains ת as derived from the accus. particle ת (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like שָׁלַחְתֶּנּוּ 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 יִשְׁבְּרֶנּוּ), 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 יִרְפֶּנּוּ for יִרְפֶּנּוּ and יִרְפֶּנּוּ for יִרְפֶּנּוּ in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Diettrich 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

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 *i* or *u* 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 פְּתַבִּי and in PTM like פְּתַבְּנִי (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. אֲפַקְרֶהָ 'bring her out' = אֲפַקְרֶהָ).

**ע"י stems.** 10\*. The forms of ע"י 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, שָׁבַקְתִּיהָ לְלִבָּשֶׁיהָ לְתוֹתִי 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, אֲפַקְרֶהָ לְשַׁלְּחָהּ 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by הַי is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, אֲשַׁבְּחֶיהָ 'he 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, רָמַס לְהַרְוֵא דְרַבִּין דְּקַמִּים בְּתַרְיָה 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

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

### § 37.<sup>1</sup> VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH א"ל 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

<sup>1</sup> To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: חִמְתִּיהָ and חִמְתִּיהָ (or חִמְתִּיהָ), אֲיַתִּיהָ, בְּפִיִּיהָ. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Pael חִמְתִּיהָ 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) א (חִמְתִּיהָ, חִמְתִּיהָ, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (חִמְתִּיהָ). With אֲנִי the suffixed forms are like חִמְתִּיהָ.

**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: אֲשַׁרְיָה (Gen. 2. 15), אֲיַתִּיהָ (Gen. 2. 22), אֲמַעֲנִי (Gen. 3. 13), אֲיַתִּיהָ (Judg. 1. 7). With אֲנִי the ordinary stem is used (אֲחִינִי).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Pael perfects (25. iii. 7, מְחִינִיהָ = מְחִינִיהָ), 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 *i* perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ית before suffixes. Examples: אֲשַׁקִּייהָ, אֲפִייהָ (Judg. 4. 19), אֲיַתִּיהָ (*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: חִמְתִּיהָ (3 s. f.), חִמְתִּיהָ (OJ 2 s. m.), חִמְתִּיהָ (1 sing.), חִמְתִּיהָ (OJ 3 pl. perf. Pael), חִמְתִּיהָ (PTM 3 pl.). For חִמְתִּיהָ (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

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

**Impf. stems.** 6. In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding *h* to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יְחִינִיהָ. When אֲנִי is used the forms are like that of יְחִינִיהָ. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before *nn* are *i* instead of *e*, and *ū* instead of *ō* (יְחִינִיהָ, יְחִינִיהָ). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.

**Imperat. stems.** 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֲחִינִי, חֲזוּהִי). In some MSS.  $\bar{a}$  is written for  $\bar{o}$  and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֲחִינִי, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination  $\bar{i}$  of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אֲחִינִי). 2 pl. m. forms are like אֲרַפְנוּן (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אֲרַפְנִי).

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

### § 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—הֵמוֹ (eight times), הֵמוֹן (three times), and אֵנִי (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  $\bar{y}$  is 'me' and that נָּ is written for נָּ in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are:  $\bar{y}$ ,  $\bar{h}$  (2 s. m.),  $\bar{h}$  (§ 12), נָּ, and כֹּן.

**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: הִקְרַבְנִי, חֲבַלְנִי, הִשְׁלַטְךָ, חֲתַמְךָ.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (הוֹדַעְתָּנִי and הוֹדַעְתָּנָא) and one 1 sing of a א"ל verb (note 5).

**Imperf. stems.** 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8).  $\bar{y}$  is combined with stems ending in a consonant and  $\bar{y}$  with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: יִשְׁפְּשׁוּנָה, יִשְׁיֹבְבוּךָ, יִתְנַנֶּה. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m.  $\bar{y}$  is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (יִשְׁיֹבְבוּךָ, Dan. 3. 15; יִשְׁאֲלֶכְךָ, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (יִבְהַלְךָ, Dan. 4. 16; יִבְהַלְךָ, Dan. 5. 10).

**Imperat. stems.** 4. The only imperat. with suffixes in OTA are אֲרַפְנִי (Dan. 2. 24), חֲבַלְהִי (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a א"ל verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

**א"ל verbs.** 5. There are seven cases in OTA of א"ל verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form בְּנִיתִה 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for  $\bar{e}$  (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read בְּנִיתִה. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (שְׁנוּהִי, בְּנִהִי) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before  $\bar{y}$  the  $\bar{e}$  of the independent form (יִחַנֶּה) is replaced by hireq (יִחַנְנִי, יִחַנְנֶה) and in the plural  $\bar{o}$  is replaced by  $\bar{u}$  (יִחַחְוּנִי, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only א"ל IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel הִתְיֹנִי (Dan. 2. 6).

**ע"ל verbs.** 6. No change takes place in the stems of ע"ל verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

PARADIGM OF VERB (OJ)

ITPAAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHPAEL	APHEL.	PABL.	P <sup>o</sup> AL
			<i>Perfets.</i>		
אֲתַכְתֵּב	אֲתַכְתֵּב	אֲתַכְתִּיב	אֲכַתִּיב	פְּתִיב	פְּתַב
אֲתַכְתְּבִי	אֲתַכְתְּבִי	אֲתַכְתְּבִיב	אֲכַתְּבִיב	פְּתִיבִי	פְּתַבְתִּי
אֲתַכְתְּבוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵי	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵי	פְּתִיבֵי	פְּתַבְתֶּם
אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָא	אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָא	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵינָא	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵינָא	פְּתִיבֵינוּ	פְּתַבְתֶּנּוּ
אֲתַכְתְּבִינָא	אֲתַכְתְּבִינָא	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵינוּ	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵינוּ	פְּתִיבֵינוּ	פְּתַבְתֶּנוּ
אֲתַכְתְּבוּנְהוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבוּנְהוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּ	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵיהוּ	פְּתִיבֵיהוּ	פְּתַבְתֶּיהוּ
אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָהוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָהוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּנָא	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵיהוּנָא	פְּתִיבֵיהוּנָא	פְּתַבְתֶּיהוּנָא

*Imperfects.*

יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתֹּב
תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתְּבִיב	תִּכְתְּבִיב	תִּכְתִּיבִי	תִּכְתֹּבְתִי
תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵי	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵי	תִּכְתִּיבֵי	תִּכְתֹּבְתֶם
תִּכְתְּבוּנָא	תִּכְתְּבוּנָא	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵינָא	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵינָא	תִּכְתִּיבֵינוּ	תִּכְתֹּבְתֶנּוּ
תִּכְתְּבוּנְהוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּנְהוּ	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּ	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּ	תִּכְתִּיבֵיהוּ	תִּכְתֹּבְתֶיהוּ
תִּכְתְּבוּנָהוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּנָהוּ	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּנָא	תִּכְתְּבִיבֵיהוּנָא	תִּכְתִּיבֵיהוּנָא	תִּכְתֹּבְתֶיהוּנָא

*Imperatives.*

אֲתַכְתֵּב	אֲתַכְתֵּב	אֲתַכְתִּיב	אֲכַתִּיב	פְּתִיב	פְּתֹב
אֲתַכְתְּבִי	אֲתַכְתְּבִי	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבִי	אֲכַתְּבִיבִי	פְּתִיבִי	פְּתֹבְתִי
אֲתַכְתְּבוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבוּ	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵי	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵי	פְּתִיבֵי	פְּתֹבְתֶם
אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָא	אֲתַכְתְּבוּנָא	אֲתַכְתְּבִיבֵינָא	אֲכַתְּבִיבֵינָא	פְּתִיבֵינוּ	פְּתֹבְתֶנּוּ

*Infinitives.*

אֲתַכְתֵּבָא	אֲתַכְתֵּבָא	אֲתַכְתִּיבָא	אֲכַתֵּבָא	פְּתִיבָא	פְּתֹב OJ
תִּכְתֵּבָא	תִּכְתֵּבָא	תִּכְתְּבִיבָא	תִּכְתֵּבָא	פְּתִיבָא	פְּתֹב PTM

*Participles.*

מִתְכַּתֵּב	מִתְכַּתֵּב	מִתְכַּתִּיב	מִכְתִּיב	פְּתִיב	פְּתִיב
מִתְכַּתְּבִי	מִתְכַּתְּבִי	מִתְכַּתְּבִיבִי	מִכְתְּבִיבִי	פְּתִיבִי	פְּתִיב
מִתְכַּתְּבוּ	מִתְכַּתְּבוּ	מִתְכַּתְּבִיבֵי	מִכְתְּבִיבֵי	פְּתִיבֵי	פְּתִיב
מִתְכַּתְּבוּנָא	מִתְכַּתְּבוּנָא	מִתְכַּתְּבִיבֵינָא	מִכְתְּבִיבֵינָא	פְּתִיבֵינוּ	פְּתִיב

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

*Perfect.*

APHEL.	PTM	PeAL.	APHEL.	PTM	PeAL.
3 plur. m.		3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.		3 sing. m.
אָרְפֵּינִי	רְפֵּינִי	רְפֵּינִי	אָרְפֵּי	רְפֵּי	רְפֵּי
אָרְפֵּינָה	רְפֵּינָה	רְפֵּינָה	אָרְפֵּה		רְפֵּה
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּיחַ		רְפֵּיחַ
אָרְפֵּינֵיהֶם	רְפֵּינֵיהֶם	רְפֵּינֵיהֶם	אָרְפֵּיהֶם		רְפֵּיהֶם
אָרְפֵּינֵיהֶן	רְפֵּינֵיהֶן	רְפֵּינֵיהֶן	אָרְפֵּינָא	רְפֵּנָא	רְפֵּנָא
—	—	—	—	—	—
אָרְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ	אָרְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ

*Imperfect.*

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
יִרְפְּעֵנִי	יִרְפְּעֵנִי	יִרְפְּעֵנִי	יִרְפְּעֵנִי	יִרְפְּעֵנִי	יִרְפְּעֵנִי
יִרְפְּעֵנָה	יִרְפְּעֵנָה	יִרְפְּעֵנָה	יִרְפְּעֵנָה		יִרְפְּעֵנָה
יִרְפְּעֵנֵי	יִרְפְּעֵנֵי	יִרְפְּעֵנֵי	יִרְפְּעֵנֵי	יִרְפְּעֵנֵי	יִרְפְּעֵנֵי
יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶם
יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן	יִרְפְּעֵנֵיהֶן
—	—	—	—	—	—
יִרְפְּעֵנוּ	יִרְפְּעֵנוּ	יִרְפְּעֵנוּ	יִרְפְּעֵנוּ	יִרְפְּעֵנוּ	יִרְפְּעֵנוּ

*Imperative.*

2 plur. m.	PTM	2 plur. m.	2 sing. m.	PTM	2 sing. m.
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּי	רְפֵּי	רְפֵּי
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּיחַ	רְפֵּיחַ	רְפֵּיחַ
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּיחֶם	רְפֵּיחֶם	רְפֵּיחֶם
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּינָא	רְפֵּינָא	רְפֵּינָא
אָרְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	רְפֵּינֵי	אָרְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ	רְפֵּינֵנוּ

## OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

### *Personal pronouns (nominatives).*

אֲנִיחָנָא, אֲנִיחָנָה	אֲנָנָא	I com.
—	אֲנִיחָנָא (אֲנָחָה)	2 masc.
—	—	fem.
אֲנִי, הַפּוֹ	הוּא	3 masc.
אֲנִי	הִיא	fem.

### *Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.*

that	הַזֶּה, הַכֵּן, הוּא	this	דִּיקָה	masc.
	—		דִּיא	fem.
those	אֵלֵּן, אֵלֵּן, אֵל (אֲלָה)	these		

### *Inflection of Nouns.*

שְׂאֲלָה	הוּיָה	יוֹם	Singular absolute.
שְׂאֲלָת	הוּיָת	יוֹם	construct.
שְׂאֲלָתָא	הוּיָתָא	יוֹמָא	emphatic.

שְׂאֲלָן	הוּיָן	יוֹמִין	Plural absolute.
שְׂאֲלָת	הוּיָת	יוֹמֵי	construct.
שְׂאֲלָתָא	הוּיָתָא	יוֹמֵיָא	emphatic.

### *Nouns with suffixes.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.
שְׂאֲלָתֵי	הוּיָתֵי	הוּיָתֵי	יוֹמֵי	יוֹמֵי	I sing.
שְׂאֲלָתָךְ	הוּיָתָךְ	הוּיָתָךְ	(יוֹמֵיךְ)	יוֹסְפָךְ	2 s. m. f.
שְׂאֲלָתָהּ	הוּיָתָהּ	הוּיָתָהּ	יוֹמֵיהּ	יוֹסְפָהּ	3 s. m.
שְׂאֲלָתֵיךְ	הוּיָתֵיךְ	הוּיָתֵיךְ	(יוֹמֵיךְ)	יוֹסְפֵיךְ	f.
שְׂאֲלָתֵינָא	הוּיָתֵינָא	הוּיָתֵינָא	(יוֹמֵינָא)	יוֹסְפֵינָא	I plur.
שְׂאֲלָתְכֹן	הוּיָתְכֹן	הוּיָתְכֹן	יוֹסְפֵיכֹן	יוֹסְפֵיכֹן-בֵּם	2 pl. m. f.
שְׂאֲלָתְהוֹן	הוּיָתְהוֹן	הוּיָתְהוֹן	הוּיָתְהוֹן-הֵם	יוֹסְפֵיהוֹן-הֵם	3 pl. m.
שְׂאֲלָתְהוֹיָן	הוּיָתְהוֹיָן	הוּיָתְהוֹיָן	הוּיָתְהוֹיָן	יוֹסְפֵיהוֹיָן	f.



TABLE OF VERBS

ע"ע	ע"ז	ל"א	פ"י	פ"י	פ"א	פ"נ	P <sup>AL</sup> .
על	קם	פָּעֵא	יָדַע	יָחַב	אָמַר	נָפֵק	פָּתַב
(יַרְע)	יָקוּם	יָבֵעֵא	יָבִיעַ	יָחַב	יָאמַר	[יָפֵק]	יָחַב
(מַחַ)	קוּם	מִבֵּעֵא	יָעַ	יָחַב	אָמַר	פָּק	פָּתַב
	קָאם	פָּעֵא	יָדַע	יָחַב	מֵאמַר	[מִפָּק]	מִבֵּתַב
	(רם)	פָּעֵא	יָדַע	יָחַב	אָמַר	נָפֵק	פָּתַב
הִדִּק	הָקוּם	הָשָׁנִי	הוֹדַע	הוֹחַב	הוֹבֵר		פָּתַב
יָדִק	יָקוּם	יָהֲשֵׁנֵא	יָהוֹדַע				יָחַב
הִדִּק	הָקוּם	הָשָׁנֵה	הוֹדַעַה		הוֹבְרַה	הָעֲלָה	יָחַב
מִהִדִּק	מִהָקוּם	מִהָשָׁנֵא				מִבֵּתַב	מִבֵּתַב
מִדִּק	(מִנִּחַ)					מִבֵּעַל	מִבֵּתַב

## APPENDIX ON THE NUMERALS<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

Kahle's conclusions have not been universally accepted.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1959), pp. 191-208.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, vii) (Leiden, 1960), pp. 222 ff.



E. Y. Kutscher, for example, has recently<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

It will be obvious to many readers that this treatment of the

<sup>1</sup> C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, iv (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 9 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 3, 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> I have usually been guided by Sperber's edition of the Targum and by Dalman's *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch* (Göttingen, 1938 edn.), as well as by Dalman's grammar.

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 Rabba with Grammar of Galilaeen 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 **𐤍** or **𐤎** also appear with **𐤏** or **𐤐** respectively as the final letter. Similarly, 'ten' and related numbers frequently have **𐤑** instead of **𐤒**.

### § 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

#### OJ. 1. Cardinal numbers 1-19

*With masculine nouns*

*With feminine nouns*

1

𐤀

𐤁

	<i>With masculine nouns</i>	<i>With feminine nouns</i>
2	תְּרִין, תְּרִי	תְּרִיתִין
3	תְּלָתָה	תְּלָתִת
4	אַרְבָּעָה (אַרְבַּעַת construct)	אַרְבַּע
5	חֲמִישִׁית (!חֲמִישַׁת construct)	חֲמִישׁ
6	שֵׁשֶׁת (שֵׁשֶׁת construct)	שֵׁשׁ
7	שִׁבְעָה (שִׁבְעַת construct)	שִׁבַּע
8	תְּמָנָא	תְּמָנִי, תְּמָנִיָּה
9	תְּשַׁעַת (תְּשַׁעַת construct)	תְּשַׁע, תְּשַׁעַת, תְּשַׁעַת
10	עֶסְרָה	עֶסֶר
11	חַד עֶסֶר	חֶדָא עֶסְרִי, חֶדָא עַ'
12	תְּרִין עֶסֶר, תְּרִי עַ'	תְּרִיַּת עֶסְרִי, תְּרִיַּת עַ', תְּרִיַּת עַ'
13	תְּלָת עֶסֶר	תְּלָת עֶסְרִי
14	אַרְבַּעַת עֶסֶר	אַרְבַּע עֶסְרִי
15	חֲמִישַׁת עֶסֶר	חֲמִישׁ עֶסְרִי
16	שֵׁשֶׁת עֶסֶר	שֵׁשׁ עֶסְרִי
17	שִׁבְעַת עֶסֶר	שִׁבַּע עֶסְרִי
18	תְּמָנַת עֶסֶר	תְּמָנִי עֶסְרִי, תְּמָנִי עַ', תְּמָנִי עַ'
19	תְּשַׁעַת עֶסֶר	תְּשַׁע עֶסְרִי, תְּשַׁע עַ'

Such forms as the following are also found with masculine nouns: תְּלָתָא עֶסֶר, תְּלָתָא עַ', אַרְבָּעָה עַ', חֲמִישָׁא עַ', חֲמִישׁ עַ', שֵׁשֶׁת עַ', שִׁבְעָה עַ', תְּמָנַת עַ', תְּשַׁעַת עַ'.

### PTM. 2

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

	<i>With masculine nouns</i>	<i>With feminine nouns</i>
2	תְּרִין, תְּרִי	תְּרִיתִי, תְּרִיתִיָּה
6	אַשְׁתָּה, אֲשַׁתָּה	
7	שׁוּבְעָה <sup>1</sup>	
8	תּוּמְנָא <sup>2</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes vocalized חֲמִישַׁת.

<sup>2</sup> I can find no example of this form in OJ, but this is presumably what it should be.

<sup>3</sup> Note the tendency for the vowel to become *u* before the labials both and mem.

### PTM. 3

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

- (a) עֶסְרִי is frequently used instead of עֶסְרָה.
- (b) Sometimes, worn-away forms (cf. the Babylonian Talmud and the Jerusalem Targums) are used, in which the *e* of עֶסֶר has been lost, e.g.
- 11 (with masculine noun) חֶדָּסֶר  
12 (with feminine noun) תְּרִיַּסְרִי  
16 (with masculine noun) אֲשִׁית תִּיסֶר
- (c) There are minor differences, e.g. (with masculine noun) תְּשַׁעַת עַ', תְּמָנִי עַ', שִׁבְעָה עַ', שׁוּבְעָת עֶסֶר<sup>1</sup>, שׁוּבְעָה.

### OJ and PTM. 4. Tens

20	עֶסְרִין	30	תְּלָתִין	40	אַרְבַּעִין
50	חֲמִישִׁין	60	שֵׁשִׁין	70	שִׁבְעִין
80	תְּמָנִין, תְּמָנִין	90	תְּשַׁעִין		

PTM also have אֲשַׁתִּין, אֲשַׁתִּין for 60, שׁוּבְעִין for 70, and יְתוּמְנִין for 80.

### OJ and PTM. 5. Hundreds

The word for 'hundred' is קַמָּה.

OJ use the following forms:

200	קַמָּתַן, קַמָּתַן	300	תְּלָת קַמָּה
400	אַרְבַּע קַמָּה	500	חֲמִישׁ קַמָּה
600	שֵׁשׁ קַמָּה	700	שִׁבַּע קַמָּה
800	תְּמָנִי קַמָּה	900	תְּשַׁע קַמָּה

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

<sup>1</sup> Note the tendency for the vowel to become *u* before the labials both and mem.

**OJ and PTM. 6. Thousands**

In both OJ and PTM, the word for 'thousand' is אָלף, emphatic state אֶלְפָא; plural: absolute אֲלָפִים, emphatic אֶלְפֵימָא.

OJ and PTM use the plural of אָלף, preceded by the form of the numeral appropriate to a masculine noun, e.g. 2,000 תְּרִין אֲלָפִים; 3,000 תְּלָטָה אֲלָפִים; 14,000 אַרְבַּעַת עָסָר אֲלָפִים.

**OJ and PTM. 7. Myriads**

Tens of thousands can be expressed as in note 6 above, e.g. 20,000 עֶסְרִין אֲלָפִים; 200,000 מֵאָתַן אֲלָפִים.

Sometimes, however, the word for 'myriad' is used: absolute state רַבּוֹ, emphatic רַבּוֹקָא; plural: absolute רַבְּנָן, emphatic רַבּוֹתָא or רַבּוֹתָא, construct רַבּוֹת. As the noun is feminine, any other numerals preceding it take the form appropriate to this gender, e.g. 1 Kings 8. 63 תְּרִין רַבּוֹ . . . תְּרִין רַבּוֹתָא עֶסְרִי רַבּוֹ.

**OJ and PTM. 8. Compound numerals**

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

Gen. 5. 26 שְׁבַע מֵאָה וְתַמְנָן וְתְרִין עֶשְׂרִים 782 years.

Num. 26. 22 שִׁבְעִין וְשָׁטָה אֲלָפִים וְחֲמִישׁ מֵאָה 76,500.

**PTM. 9**

The numerals 3–10 and 20–90 also have a determinate form ending in *ī*, e.g. תְּלַתִּי 'the three'; אַרְבַּעִי 'the four'; חֲמִשָּׁי 'the five'; תְּשִׁיעִי 'the eight'; תְּלָת עֶשְׂרִי 'the thirteen'; תְּלַתִּי 'the thirty'.

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

In PTM, special forms (ending in *ā* or *iā*) are used for the days of the week: Monday תְּרִינָא; Tuesday תְּלָתָא; Wednesday אַרְבַּעַתָא; Thursday חֲמִשָּׁתָא.

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

Exod. 12. 3 בְּעֶסְרָא לְיָרְחָא 'on the tenth of the month'.

Josh. 5. 10 בְּאַרְבַּעַת עֶסְרָא יוֹמָא לְיָרְחָא '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 תְּרִיבּוֹן, תְּרִיבּוֹהוֹן, תְּרִיבּוֹהוֹן; feminine תְּרִיבּוֹהוֹן

3 תְּלַתִּיבּוֹן

8 תְּמַנְיַתִּיבּוֹן, תְּמַנְיַתִּיבּוֹן

Similar forms appear in OJ, e.g. תְּלַתִּיבּוֹן. Before suffixes, the form corresponding to תְּרִין is תְּרִי, e.g. תְּרִיבּוֹהוֹן.

**OTA. 12**

The following forms are found in OTA:

	<i>With masculine nouns</i>	<i>With feminine nouns</i>
1	חַד	חַדָא, חַדָה
2	—	תְּרִיבּוֹן
3	תְּלָתָא, תְּלָתָה	תְּלָת
4	אַרְבַּעָא	אַרְבַּע
6	—	שֵׁשׁ, שֵׁשָׁת
7	שִׁבְעָה (שִׁבְעַת construct)	—
10	עֶשְׂרָה	עֶשְׂר
12	תְּרִי-עֶשְׂר	—
20	עֶשְׂרִין	תְּלָתִין
100	מֵאָה	30 קַאָתִין 200 מֵאָתִין
1000	אֶלְפָא, construct אֶלְפָא	60 שְׁתִין
	אֲלָפִים, <sup>2</sup> emphatic אֶלְפֵימָא	400 אַרְבַּע מֵאָה

10,000 construct singular רַבּוֹ;

absolute plural רַבּוֹן (K<sup>e</sup>thibh; Q<sup>e</sup>re רַבְּנָן).

<sup>1</sup> Dalman emends this form to תְּמַנְיַתִּיבּוֹן.

<sup>2</sup> The reading אֲלָפִים in Dan. 7. 10 is probably a mistake.

With a suffix תְּלַתְּהוֹן.

In the only two examples of compound numerals, the lower number follows the higher and is linked to it by ׀:

Dan. 6. 1 שְׁתַּיִן וְתַרְסֵיִן 62.

Dan. 6. 2 מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין 120.

### § 40. ORDINAL NUMBERS

#### OJ and PTM. 1. 'First'

The word for 'first' is קְדָמִי (or קְדָמָא; cf. p. 28), emphatic state קְדָמָאָה; plural: absolute קְדָמָאִין, emphatic קְדָמָאִי; feminine singular emphatic קְדָמִיתָא, plural emphatic קְדָמִיתָאָה.

קְדָמִי is attached to the F class of nouns (cf. pp. 28–37), and variations in form occur, similar to those of עֶבְרִי, e.g. masculine singular emphatic קְדָמִיא, masculine plural absolute קְדָמִיִין. PTM also have a form in which the dalet has coalesced with the mem, which is doubled in compensation: קְמִי, &c. (also קוּמִיא).

#### OJ and PTM. 2. 'Second'

The word for 'second' is תְּנַנָּן, emphatic תְּנַנָּאָה; plural absolute תְּנַנָּיִין; feminine singular absolute תְּנַנִּיתָא, &c.

#### OJ and PTM. 3. 'Third'–'tenth'

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

3rd תְּלִיתִי	4th רְבִיעִי	5th חֲמִישִׁי	6th שְׁתֵּיתִי
7th שְׁבִיעִי	8th תְּמִינִי	9th תְּשִׁיעִי	10th עֶסְרִי

The feminine singular emphatic is תְּלִיתִיתָא, רְבִיעִיתָא, &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 קְדָמִיא

feminine singular emphatic קְדָמִיתָא, plural emphatic

קְדָמִיתָאָה

'Second': feminine singular absolute תְּנַנָּה

'Third': feminine singular absolute תְּלִיתָאָה (Q<sup>e</sup>re; K<sup>e</sup>thibh תְּלִיתִיא)

'Fourth': masculine singular emphatic רְבִיעָאָה (Q<sup>e</sup>re; K<sup>e</sup>thibh רְבִיעִיא)

feminine singular absolute רְבִיעָאָה (Q<sup>e</sup>re; K<sup>e</sup>thibh רְבִיעִיא and רְבִיעִיה)

feminine singular emphatic רְבִיעִיתָא

The forms תְּלַתָּא and תְּלַתִּי in Dan. 5. 7, 16, 29 are used of an important office in the Babylonian kingdom. They seem to be loan-words from Akkadian, and are not to be regarded as Aramaic numerals. Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 256 f.

### § 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 חֲמִישׁ חֲמִישׁ סֶלְעִין 'five shekels each'.

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

Isa. 6. 2 שָׁתָא וְשִׁין שָׁתָא וְשִׁין לְחַד '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 *ā(th)*, e.g.

'First' קְדָמִי, קְדָמִיתָא, בְּקְדָמִיתָא, בְּקְדָמִיתָאָה (Isa. 60. 9 אֵידָא פֶּרְסָא קְלַעָתָא 'Which spreads out its sails first?')

'Second' בְּתַנִּיתָא; 'third' תְּלִיתִי, בְּתַלִּיתָא, &c.

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

### 3. Multiplicatives

(a) The question 'How often?' is answered by the cardinal numeral with **זְמַן**, **זְמַנָּא**, or **זְמַנִּין** (treated sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine), e.g. **חַד זְמַנָּא חַדָּא** (or **חַד זְמַן**) 'once'; **שֶׁבַע זְמַנִּין** 'seven times'; **תְּשַׁעָּה זְמַנִּין** 'nine times'. Sometimes, **חַדָּא** is used alone, e.g. **חַדָּא בְּשַׁשָּׁא** 'once a year'.

In OTA (Dan. 6. 11, 14) the numeral follows **זְמַנִּין חַלְתָּהּ**: **זְמַנִּין חַלְתָּהּ** 'three times'.

Multiplication is expressed in PTM by the use of cardinal numerals, often with **זְמַנִּין** and the preposition **מִן**, e.g. **חַמְשִׁין מִן מֵאָה** 50 × 100. When a number is squared, the preposition **עַל** may be used, e.g. **חַמְשִׁין עַל חַמְשִׁין** 50 × 50.

(b) The meaning 'threefold', 'fourfold', &c., is expressed by the phrase **עַל חַד** followed by the appropriate numeral, e.g.

Gen. 26. 12 **וְאִשְׁכַּח בְּשַׁשָּׁא הָיָא עַל חַד מֵאָה** 'and he found an hundredfold in that year'.

2 Sam. 12. 6 **יְשָׁלִים עַל חַד אַרְבָּעָא** 'he shall repay fourfold'.

In OTA, a slightly different construction is used in Dan. 3. 19 **לְמַזָּא לְאַתְוּנָא חַד-שֶׁבַעָּה עַל דִּי חֲזָה לְמַזְזָה** '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 **ל** or **מִן**, e.g. **חַד מִן שֶׁשָּׁא** 1/6; **חַד מִן עֶסְרָא** 1/10; **חַדָּא לְעֶשֶׂר** 1/10.

(b) By the use of special forms:

(i) 'A half': **סְלִיג** or **סְלִיג**;<sup>2</sup> emphatic state **סְלִיגָא** or **סְלִיגָא**.

<sup>1</sup> Found also in OTA (Dan. 2. 7).

<sup>2</sup> OTA has **סְלִיג** (construct—Dan. 7. 25); **סְלִיג** resembles the Syriac **ܫܠܝܓ**. Other variants are also found in the manuscripts.

In addition to this form, which belongs to the A class of nouns, there is a form belonging to the G class: **סְלִיג**, construct **סְלִיגָת**, &c., e.g.

Exod. 37. 6 **תְּרִינִין אַמִּין וּפְלִיגָא** '2½ cubits'.

Num. 34. 15 **תְּרִינִין שְׁבַעִין וּפְלִיגָת שְׁבַעִיא** 'the two tribes and the half tribe'.

(ii) Other forms:

1/3 **תְּלָתִית**, also **תְּלָתָא**, **תְּלָתָא**, **תְּלָתָא**

1/4 **רְבִיעָא**, emphatic **רְבִיעָא** and **רְבִיעָא**; construct **רְבִיעוֹת** and **רְבִיעָת**; plural **רְבִיעִין**, &c.

1/5 **חֻמְשָׁא**, **חֻמְשָׁא**

1/6 **שֶׁשִׁית**

1/7 **שֶׁבַעָּא**, **שֶׁבַעָּא**

1/8 **תְּמַנְתָּא**, **תְּמַנְתָּא**

1/10 **עֶסְרָא**; **עֶסְרָא** 'tithe'; **עֶסְרָא** '1/10 of an ephah'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Odeberg's note on the vocalization of these two forms.