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 supralinear 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 supra-linear 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.

Glasgow, 5 March 1924

WM. B. STEVENSON
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PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 2.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In uncials texts (PTM) ι, ι, Ṽ, and Ṽ are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: יִלְדָה = יִלְדָּה, יִשֵׁלֶד = יִשֵׁלֶד, יִנָּב = יִנָּב, יִנָּב = יִנָּב, יִנָּב = יִנָּב, יִנָּב = יִנָּב, יִנָּב = יִנָּב, יִנָּב = יִנָּב. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (אָנָב) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אָנָב) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally uncials accounts for the existence of forms like ḫ EventHandler, ḫ EventHandler, &c.

In uncials texts Ṽ and ι may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. יִנָּב = יִנָּב), and ι for diphthongal ai or for Ṽ pronounced as a double consonant, with dagesh (e.g. יִנָּב = יִנָּב). ι and ι both represent a final long vowel, especially ai. In PTM and OJ ι is the more commonly used. In OTA ι is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending ι (§ 8), ι in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination τ. In ה EventHandler (who?) and ה EventHandler (he entered) ι denotes the short ai, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions ה and ה. But ה and ה are generally used. Final diphthongal ai is often denoted by ι.

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

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

1 This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.
§ 2. ORTHOGRAPHY

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for dagesh (a supralinear \( \mathcal{J} \) or \( \mathcal{V} \)) and raphe (supralinear \( \mathcal{P} \) or \( \mathcal{R} \)), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ dagesh 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 dagesh (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 \( \mathfrak{m} \) (§ 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:

- Qames \( \mathfrak{w} \)
- Holem \( \mathfrak{n} \)
- Pathah and seghol \( \mathfrak{m} \)
- Shureq \( \mathfrak{y} \)
- Şere \( \mathfrak{e} \)
- Vocal shewa
- Hireq (including hâtephs)

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qames \( \mathfrak{w} \) at first had only the sound of \( \mathfrak{a} \) in ‘psalm’ (approximately), not that of \( \mathfrak{a} \) in ‘ball’, and holem represented both Palestinian \( \mathfrak{a} \) and Palestinian holem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qames for \( \mathfrak{a} \), so that, at different periods, both \( \mathfrak{a} \) and \( \mathfrak{a} \) were pronounced as Hebrew \( \mathfrak{v} \). No distinction is made in the representation of pathâh and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathâh into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathâh and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathâh is used for hâteph pathâh, following \( \mathfrak{a} \) and \( \mathfrak{a} \) sometimes following \( \mathfrak{n} \) and \( \mathfrak{n} \) (e.g. \( \mathfrak{v} \) for \( \mathfrak{v} \), \( \mathfrak{v} \) for \( \mathfrak{v} \)). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistantly (Dan. 4. 32, 5. 5).

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

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

10. Hâteph qames is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as \( \mathfrak{v} \).

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

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ֶ is the form of the conjunction ‘and’ before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is ָ, ַ, or ַ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ַ, ָ, and ַ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ֶ, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ֶ 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).

18. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ֶ or ֶ (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew ֶל and ֶל, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ֶ and ֶ in the same way so that, for example, ֶל may perhaps be an alternative for ֶל (cf. Heb. ֶל).

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

14. In OTA the diphthong ֶ causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in ֶ ה, ֶ ה, ֶ ה). Compare also, perhaps, ֶ ה (§ 11, note 12) and ֶ ה (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 ֶ ה, (§ 6), ֶ ה (§ 11, note 7), ֶ ה (§ 13), and the pronominal suffixes ֶ ה and ֶ ה (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>OJ</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>ָל</td>
<td>ָל</td>
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<tr>
<td>ָל (ָל) ָ</td>
<td>ָל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ָל</td>
<td>ָל</td>
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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 ָל, ָל, and ָל sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. ָל for ָל and ָל for ָל). They, and ָל = ָל, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3. ָל, ָל, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to ָל, &c. (§ 2. 1).

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

3. Merx (Christ. Targum.) prints יִהְיוּ in Gen. 2. 20 for יֵהְיוּ and יִהְיוּ כ in Gen. 2. 21.

A accus. Cases. 4. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יָהָק, &c., (3) by ב, &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 יָהָק, &c., seldom ב, &c. For יָהָק and ב after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In P.TM ב, &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. יָה, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impf. (22. ii. 5).

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

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

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

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

PTM | PTM | OJ | OJ
---|---|---|---
**Adjectives.** | **Pronouns.** | **Adjectives.** | **Pronouns.**
this | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה
the | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה
those | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה

**Adjectives and Pronouns.**
that | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה H (רָד א' | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה הָנָה | יִה H (רָד א'
those | יִה H | יִה H | יִה H | יִה H

**Forms.**

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

2. יִה H, יִה H, and יִה H are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. יִה H, יִה H, and יִה H occur as alternatives to יִה H, &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 יִה H and יִה H (28. 24) in which א alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (יִה H, יִה H, &c.). יִה H and יִה H coalesce with a following יִה H into יִה and יִה. ה, ב, ג, י join with יִה H into יִה H, יִה, יִה (Dalman, p. 112).

**OTA.**

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

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVES

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

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

9. In PTM יִה H 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—יִה H, 28. 13—יִה H). יִה H, in particular, occurs more often than יִה H 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 Christ. 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).
§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVES

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

Idioms. 12. מתי 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). מתי is sometimes equivalent to מתי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases מתי אתי, מתי אתי. מתי (and מתי... מתי) express 'this... that' or 'one... another'.

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

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

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

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

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

2°. In PTM מתי contracts into מתי and נתי נתי into נתי. In OJ מתי = מתי (note 4).

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

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

Syntax. 5°. מתי, &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°. מתי (OJ) and מתי (PTM) = 'whither?', מתי = 'whither?' and מתי ימי ' whence?' מתי (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for מתי ימי.

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

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

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

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

3°. מתי before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. מתי ימי = '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°. מתי, מתי, &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 מתי, &c., are more usual. מתי may be a phonetic variant of מתי (Barth) or מתי = מתי, 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).
§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

5. נָתָן + מְ, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 21. מְ).

6. In PTM נ is a contraction for נְ and מ occurs as a contraction for נְ (Dalman, p. 98).

Conjunctival uses. 7. מ is much used as a conjunction, —of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (== Hebrew מ ‘that’). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (ל מ = after, מ ע = until or whilst). מ ‘when’ and מ are compounds with מ and מ (§ 6, note 3) respectively. מ is used for ‘because’ and ‘in order that’.

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

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

Feminine. Masculine.

אָנָבָן באsingular absolute.

בָּאָבָן construct.

אָנָבָן אָנָבָן emphatic.

אָנָבָם אָנָבָם plural absolute.

אָנָבָם אָנָבָם construct.

אָנָבָם אָנָבָם emphatic.

Emphatic state. 1. The emphatic ending מ 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 מ מ = ‘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. ii. 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 מ, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with מ (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, 32. 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 מ מ (Judges, passim) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. מ מ, 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. מ מ (1 Sam. 12. 22), but מ מ (24. ii. 13).
§ 8. Nouns and Adjectives

Absolute state. 5°. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. iii. 3, המִלְכָּה הַקָּרְבָּן ‘the cemetery’). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, בְּחַלְּשָׁהוּ, בְּחַלְּשַׁבָּהוּ). 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, יְמֵי צְרֵצָה). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (כִּפְרָא, כִּפְרְאַל, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. הָעֲשָׂר בְּשָׁהְרָיִם (28. 11), קִרְיָה עַל הָעֲשָׂר (25. iii. 3), יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘sunset’ (22. ii. 5), יְגָדוֹל ‘my bed-cover’ (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (א) וְזֶה הָאָרֶץ הַשָּׁעִיר, וְזֶה הָאָרֶץ הַשָּׁעָר ‘the birds of the sky’, ‘the house of his comrade’, or (ב) וַאֲשֶׁר תֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּיךָ, וַאֲשֶׁר תֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּיהָ ‘the name of God’, ‘the house of her mother’, when the expression is definite, and like (ג) בְּהַר הַעֲשָׂר ‘pomegranates of gold’, when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases יָלָד means ‘that of’ or ‘those of’ and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like מָלֵא הָבָרָה (17. 15) and מָלֵא הַשַּׁבָּה (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: (א) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (ב) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7 —מַלְכָּה הַקָּרְבָּן.

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 (א) and (ג) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in combination with standing phrases, such as ‘treasure-house’, ‘house of God’, ‘book of records’. Examples: הַגּוֹי מְלֹא (Ezra 5. 17), מָלֵא אֲמִילֵתִי (Ezra 5. 16), בְּזֹה הַתִּים ‘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 מָלֵא לְאָרֶץ לַבָּשָׁר (6. 8, 13, 25) and מָלֵא לְאָרֶץ לַבָּשָׁר (6. 17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by יָלָד are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2. 44, 3. 28 f., 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. 9 occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15. 11, 16. ii. 11, 21. 6, 7, 23. 8, 27. 6) and יָלָד does so rarely (15. ii. 8). In OJ יָלָד is the regular equivalent of Hebrew יָלָד and seldom occurs (in Gen. 3. 17 יָלָד = Hebrew יָלָד; for Gen. 39. 15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending יָלָד survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. יָלָד ‘below’). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

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

1 It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23) and the false gods (3. 18, 5. 4, 23; cf. 2. 34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3. 2, 6. 2) and wise men of Babylon (2. 12, 14, 24; 5. 7), to the
§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Inflected endings. 11*. The feminine singular ending נ is attached especially to stems that end in än, hence נָיִּים (Gen. i. 2) and נָרָא. Feminine plural endings אתָנָן and אתָנָן are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) נָיאָנָת, נָיאָנָת, נָיאָנָת, נָיאָנָת, (b) נָיָא, נָיָא, נָיָא—from נָי, sign, and נָיָא, sister. Cf. נָיָא = נָיָא and נָיָא = נָיָא. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of בּ, בּ, and בּלֶ is בּ, בּלֶ, בּלֶ, and בּלֶ, respectively.

13*. The termination י is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יָסָק (Gen. r. ro), יָבָא (Gen. r. 7), יָרָי (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like יָסָק (Chrest. 24. ii. r), יָרָי (Exod. 12. 30), יָבָא (Jos. r. 4), and יָסָק (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, יָסָק = יָסָק = ‘garden of oils’.

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

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

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 או, או, or או (OTA או). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

ע class.

I class.

ע class.

כָּפָא
כָּפָא
כָּפָא
originally disyllabic.

כָּפָא
כָּפָא
כָּפָא
originally monosyllabic.

כָּפָא
כָּפָא
כָּפָא

In the או class absolute forms like או (Deut. 9. 10, Dan. 3. 13), או (Exod. 30. 23), and או (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give או for the או of MT.

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

Some words have more than one absolute form (או, או, &c.).

In OTA the uses of או and או, או, and או are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c).

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

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

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: יָמש, אֲרֵבָר, גָּלַח, אָדוֹד. A small number of monosyllables including רָם, מְרַ, לוֹ, דָּוֵי, וּרְפָא (son), and שָׁם (OTA שם) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

C nouns. Monosyllables from stems יָעַה have absolute forms like יָעַה, יָעַה, and יָעַה, in which the vowels i and o are frequently represented by י and י respectively (e.g. יָשֵׁת, יָשַׁד). Dalman gives יָעַה (arrow) and יָעְשׁ (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from יָעַה stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. יָמָה, יָנָ). In OTA the MSS. of MT read יָה (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have יָה, in accordance with the analogy of יָה, יָה, &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. יָנָה, יָנְה, יָנִי, יָנִי, יָנִי, and monosyllables like יָה, יָה, יָה, and יָה). The unchangeable י in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew י (יָשֵׁה, &c.).

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

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

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

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

A nouns. 1°. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are ą, ɨ, and ă (OTA ə). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (ə) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (ןָּפָל, ən̂affles), ə in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (ןָּפָל, ראֶל). 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. נָּפָל, Gen. 2.13, but נָּפָל, Josh. 1.4).

2. Under the influence of medial ɾ, ɾ, and m (labials) ą is often substituted for ą and ɨ in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל. The absolute form הַּנְּפִל for הָנִּפִל may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem gynf. In OTA the plural forms of נָּפָל are always נָּפָל, &c.

3. The vowel ɨ is also frequently substituted for an ą. Examples: נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל; OTA נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל, נָּפָל. The absolute form נָּפִיל (Exod. 12.27) may be a secondary formation like הַּנְּפִיל. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of נָּפִיל is ɨ 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 ą (Josh. 5.15, 14.9).

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

5. In the ə sub-class, when híreq occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent ə (§ 2.1). Examples: נְפִּיל Gen. 38.16, נְפִּיל Exod. 28.40, נְפִּיל Lev. 11.15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of ə-stems in OTA (Dan. 2.37, 4.12, 6.20) and one of an ə-stem (נָּפִּיל, Ezra 5.8). Similarly the feminine נְפִּיל is written נְפִּיל in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4.34 and 5.23 the supralinear punctuation is נְפִּיל, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and נְפִּיל or נְפִּיל. In OJ inflected forms like נְפִּיל (Josh. 2.6) for נְפִּיל sometimes occur.

6°. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like נְפִּיל and נְפִּיל, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like נְפִּיל (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulat are like נְפִּיל and inflected stems like נְפִּיל, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute ɨ for ə, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4.1). נְפִּיל is the plural of נְפִּיל. נְפִּיל 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 ə or ɨ or ă, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (נָּפִּיל, נָּפִּיל, נָּפִּיל). Before final shewa the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence נָּפִּיל from נָּפִּיל (country)). Some nouns put ɨ for ə in the inflected forms (נָּפִּיל, נָּפִּיל). In OTA נָּפִּיל, from נָּפִּיל, is unique (Dan. 7.11); in OJ נָּפִּיל (fem. absolute) is also used.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. Forms like אָנָא, אָנָא, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in א are feminine (בָּנָא, וָנָא) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

F nouns. 19*. In the inflected forms of אָנָא stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is strengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from ayya to א (‘א or א...). The inflected forms of stems terminating in א (‘אָנָא, וָנָא) are treated like those of אָנָא (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. 156e) and OTA (יָנָא, Dan. 4. 24, from יָנָא). See also § 12, note 8.

21*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in אָנָא or אָנָא, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אָנָא, אָנָא, אָנָא (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. INFXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

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Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending $\tilde{a}$ 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 $\tilde{a}$ or $\tilde{u}$ 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 $\tilde{u}$, joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: אנהל, אנהל, אנהל. $\tilde{u}$ is added to the stem קפ in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like קפ). Examples (from Dalman): אנהל, אנהל, אנהל, אנהל, אנהל (absolute אנהל). Berliner's Onkelos gives $\tilde{u}$ (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from אנהל), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from אנהל). The emphatic sing. fem. of אנהל ($\tilde{u}$) is אנהל.

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OJ from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical (הנהל, 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 אנהל and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 (אנהל, אנהל, אנהל—see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of אנהל 'daughter', is אנהל, and that of אנהל 'year', is אנהל.

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

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually אנהל, אנהל, אנהל, אנהל (אנהל, אנהל, אנהל, אנהל). אנהל is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is $\tilde{a}$ or $\tilde{u}$ (אנהל, אנהל, אנהל, אנהל). אנהל and אנהל belong rather to the B class.
Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (נָשָׁה, נְשָׁית; נָשֶׁה, נְשֶׁית; נָבָיָה, נְבָיָית; נָנָה, נְנָית), although not exclusively (cf. נָבָה, Lev. 5. 2, and נָבֵית, 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 נָבָה 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 נָבְה 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: נָבָה (Gen. 4. 5) and נָבַה or נָבַית ‘city’ (emphatic נָבַיה, plural נָבָיות). 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 נָבָה, נָבָה, נָבָה, נָבְתָה. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew נָבְה seems to be נָבָה (Isa. 40. 16). The construct is נָבָה (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic נָבָה (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural נָבָה (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner’s נָבָה &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 או the emphatic termination is נִבַּה, with mutated נ, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before נִבַּה is נב. Supralinear plurals like נִבַּית Dalman (p. 79) treat as erroneous.

נִבַּה (= Hebrew נב) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (נָבְתָה, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms נָבַה and נָבַּה (§ 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 נָבָה in the A class, viz. נָבִית (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as נָבִית (Gen. 1. 9) or נָבַית (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are נָבִית (Ezra 4. 11), נָבִית (Dan. 4. 27), and נָבִית (Dan. 2. 8).

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

E nouns. 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. נָבְתָה (Ezra 4. 12) and נָבַית (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the נָבְתָה group, נָבִית (Dan. 7. 3) to the נָבְתָה group, and נָבַית (Ezra 6. 9) to the נָבְתָה group. נָבִית, from נָבְתָה, occurs several times with a pronominal suffix. נָבִית (Dan. 2. 25), from נָבִית, is also a noun of this declension.

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

G nouns. 13. נָבְתָה (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the i group and נָבְתָה (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the או group.

1 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. יִה, יִג, and יִנ with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
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<th>PTM</th>
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<td>יִה</td>
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The suffixes יִה, יִג, יִנ, and יִנ are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. יִה is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and יִג (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 יִה OJ uses יִה (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, דבְּדו). יִה is ‘my mother’ is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally י, from another יא, and so as really the pronominal suffix for ‘my’. In Dan. 5. 13 יִה (MT) may originally have meant יִה (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. יִה is sometimes contracted into יִה (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 יִה and יִנ is paralleled by the distinction between יִה and יִנ. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the יִה type. E.g. יִהְּלָה (Josh. 10. 42), יִנָּה (Judg. 8. 7), but also יִנָּה (Judg. 9. 2).

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ יִה, יִנ, OTA יִנ). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between יִה and יִנ. For יִה 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: יִה יִה, יִה יִה, יִה יִה (OTA יִה). C nouns. 6. The supralinear orthography represented by יִה is normal, although the vowel י is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA יִה with suffixes has י as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have י.

E nouns. 7. In the E class words like יִה use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the א sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem י, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: יִה יִה, יִה יִה (Judg. 9. 11), יִה יִה (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like יִה and nouns like יִה יִה either employ their emphatic stem (יִה יִה, יִה יִה) 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 יִה (OJ) and יִה (OTA), have suffixed forms like יִה (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and יִה (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like יִה יִה 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 יִה, יִה, or יִה.

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

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

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

10. נֵיהוּ (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form נֵיהוּ (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>1 com.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>2 masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>3 masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>נִאָּה</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2°. The ‘connective vowel’ of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending נִאָּה, which in a majority of cases has become נִאָּה or נִאָּה or נִאָּה. The connective נִאָּה of נִאָּה is explained either as a nominative plural ending נִאָּה (Barth) or as a dissimilation from נִאָּה (Dalman). The terminations נִאָּה, נִאָּה, and נִאָּה 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 characterisitic of PTM. נִאָּה is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix נִאָּה is used by PTM in יִנָּאָה ‘our teachers’.

3°. In OTE the קָחָבֵה implies the earlier pronunciations נִאָּה, נִאָּה, and נִאָּה, which the Qere alters into נִאָּה, נִאָּה, and נִאָּה, respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

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

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

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

In the Kethibb form יא ר (Dan. 4.16, 21) יא might represent ai' (§ 2.1) but probably יא stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

ο*. Prepositions that originally ended in ε, for that reason take ai' suffixes (יע, יするのは, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (יוהב, יוהים, &c.). In OTA יohan or יוהא (Ezra 4.12, &c.), an old form of the suffix יא, 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 ai' Suffixes.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PTM</td>
<td>OJ and PTM</td>
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<td>יא</td>
<td>יא</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (יוהב, יוהא, &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. יא for יא occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2.23 some MSS. read יא for יא (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. יהא, יהא, ETC.

Forms. 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11.26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) יהא occurs for יהא. In OTA the forms used are יהא and יהא. 3.

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

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 יהא). In the 1 person singular the ending ai' has become יא and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: יהא, יהא, יהא, יהא, יהא. The inflected stem of יהא has two forms, as in יהא, יהא, יהא, and יהא. 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 יהא, as in PTM (יהא). The nominatives of other persons are sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1.9) in the form יהא.

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

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

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equal to the English copula; e.g. יהא, יהא, 'I am not a king' (20.10). In PTM יהא, 'this house will not be destroyed' (20.12). A subject noun or pronoun follows יהא (יהא), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.
§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

Refl e x i v e a n d P a s s i v e.

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<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>Passive</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ḫnhl</td>
<td>ḫnl</td>
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<td>ḫnhl</td>
<td>ḫnl</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫnhl</td>
<td>ḫnl</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Active.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ṣloth</th>
<th>Ṣlōth</th>
<th>Simple</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṣloth</td>
<td>Ṣlōth</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣloth</td>
<td>Ṣlōth</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. The Pael, Apel, and Ṣloth of verbs final 小心翼, MBED and ᵧ take pathāl for šere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

3. Pael. Pael perfects with ḫ or Ṣ in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: Ṣloth ‘be strong’ (Gen. 1.28) or ‘be angry’ (Gen. 4.5), Ṣloth ‘be angry’ (Gen. 3.19), Ṣloth ‘be angry’ (Judg. 1.1), Ṣloth ‘be angry’ (Gen. 15.16), Ṣloth and Ṣloth (Gen. 2.21); Ṣloth and Ṣloth (Gen. 2.21). ḫ occurs for Ṣ (tickets, Kahle, p. 219) and ḫ for ḫ, especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 n. 257). In OTA ḫ and ḫ both occur, the latter generally in pause (_tickets, Kahle, p. 219). Where MT has ḫ the supralinear MSS. sometimes have ḫ (Dan. 6.21, Ṣloth).

4. Haphels sometimes take the place of Apels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are Ṣloth, Ṣloth, and Ṣloth (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

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

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

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

(a) Ṣ of the prefix is assimilated to a following Ṣ, Ṣ, or Ṣ (thus ʾḥpēl becomes Ṣḥpēl).

(b) Ṣ changes places with a following sibilant and after Ṣ and Ṣ becomes Ṣ and Ṣ respectively. Examples: Ṣḥpēl, Ṣḥpēl, Ṣḥpēl.

Ithpaal forms are not affected (ʾḥpēl, Exod. 21.29).

7. In PTM assimilation of Ṣ to Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: Ṣḥpēl = Ṣḥpēl, Ṣḥpēl = Ṣḥpēl, Ṣḥpēl = Ṣḥpēl (28.4). Dalman compares Ṣḥpēl (Mark 7.34) = Ṣḥpēl (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also Christ. 4.19, Ṣḥpēl = Ṣḥpēl.

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

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

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

OTA. OTA instead of Ithphaals uses Haphels and a perfect passive Pael of the form Pēl, especially in the 3 person (ʾḥpēl, Dan. 5.28; Ṣḥpēl, Ezra 5.14; cf. Ṣḥpēl, Christ. 1.8). Haphels for Apahel and preformative Ṣ for Ṣ are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With Ṣḥpēl (Dan. 4.16) the Syriac forms having preformative Ṣ may be compared.

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

A general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those כָּלָה (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and מַעַע and מַעַע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels א and א in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of א number four, against one of א (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 א (excluding מַעַע, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of א and two of א (viz. רְמִית (and תְּרוּמָת)), in the participle two cases of א. In the HITIHPEL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of א and one of א, and in the participle two examples of א. The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTM</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>OJ</th>
<th>OJ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>כָּלָה</td>
<td>מַעַע</td>
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Table. 1*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in א, א, and א. The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced כָּלָה rather than כָּלָה (§ 2. 6).

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

3*. The PTM plural endings כָּלָה and כָּלָה are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong. כָּלָה and כָּלָה also occur in PTM.

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

Accent. 5*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accentuated; 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 (ברוד, לָכֹת, and in the few cases there are of Hithpeal (רְמִית, תְּרוּמָת) and Haphal (רְמִית, תְּרוּמָת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (רְמִית, תְּרוּמָת) and in two of three Hophals (רְמִית). In the Peal, Paal, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (רְמִית, תְּרוּמָת). In the Haphel, besides תְּרוּמָת (§ 33), only תְּרוּמָת (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 תְּרוּמָת (as תְּרוּמָת) or תְּרוּמָת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.
§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

**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 יָצָה (26. 18) and יָמֵה (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**

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**Pausal.—OJ and PTM**

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</tbody>
</table>

**Stem vowels.** 1. The stem vowel of the imperf. Pael is rarely i, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יָמֵה, יָמֵה, יָמֵה). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. Pael of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of u for o and of i for 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 imperfs. than the Pael agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: ישָפק, ישָפק, ישָפק.

**Preformative vowels.** 3. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Pael (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 (יָמֵה, יָמֵה) and hireq once (יָמֵה).

4°. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly יָמֵה, and יָמֵה is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of hey seghol (§ 2. 8). יָמֵה in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is יָמֵה (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. יָמֵה = יָמֵה, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpeil (§ 16, note 8).

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

**OTA.** 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pael are יָמֵה (יָמֵה), יָמֵה (יָמֵה), and יָמֵה (יָמֵה) and those of the impff. Pael and Haphel י or י (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יָמֵה, יָמֵה). The plural ending יָמֵה (or יָמֵה), for יָמֵה, 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.)
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 וַיַּשְּׁלָם and יִשְׁלַח to express purpose (18.13, 18 ii. 4, 21.15), after יֵשְׁלָם = lest (24.3) and after ו (or יִשְׁלַח) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21.2) and ordering (23.5).

(3) It is used modally (21.3), especially in questions (19.11, 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 infiniteness (19 iii. 3 ‘that I should go out’, 22.1 ‘should be married’, 28.6, יֵשְׁלַח אֶת-כֹּל אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘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 voluntable, 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 יֵשְׁלָם 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 יִשְׁלַח with an imperfect (Gen. 13.16). ‘Can’ may also be expressed by יֵשְׁלָם (Isa. 49.15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2.17, 3.4, 49.1, Exod. 4.1, 6.1, Deut. 16.18, Josh. 1.3, 18, 3.5, 10.13, 18.8, 23.5, 1 Sam. 24.21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following וַיִּשְׁלַח (Gen. 18.26, Exod. 22.24, Josh. 23.12) and יֵשְׁלָם (Hebrew יֵשְׁלָם), Josh. 24.20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43.4 f.).
§ 19. IMPERATIVES

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

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

3. The MSS. of PTM indicate only u as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. i was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as a (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). מַלְאַכּ 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 (נָטָל, נָטַל).

5. אֶפְּרָדָא is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpəel, having נ assimilated to ב (§ 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 מָלְאָכָא = מָלְאַכּ = אֶפְּרָדָא (נ not being distinguished from נ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 571).

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

§ 20. INFINITIVES

Orthography. 1. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by נ, 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 שֶׁכֶּךָ are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate שֶׁכָּא is unchangeable (נָשְׁחלָא, Gen. 14. 17).

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

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative נ for נ (see paradigm, p. 95). יִנְחַק (Exra 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 (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination נֶא (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (נָנַל, הנָל).

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 בּוּלְכָא in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. יִזָּח 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 מ, 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 מ is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with מ (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without מ (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 מ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.
§ 20. INFINITIVES

14.12, Judg. 18.19), or a perfect (Gen. 30.15), or a partic. (Isai. 7.13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15.22, 29.6, Isai. 10.7.

10. The Hebrew negative של is represented in OJ by יִפְרַר (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3.11, 4.15, Deut. 4.21, 8.11, Josh. 5.6, Judg. 2.23. In OTA יִפְרַר 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


PTM OJ

שָׁנֵבָה כְּבָרָה כְּֽבָרָה

active

בַּשָּׁנֵבָה בַּכְּבָרָה

passive

Ittaphal. Ithphal. Ithphel.

כְּֽבָרָה כְּֽבָרָה כְּֽבָרָה

Forms. 1°. Since verbs final guttural and resh have ḫ for ḫ in all final syllables רֶשֶׁת is the partic. Pael of רֶשֶׁת, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, בִּשְׁנָה (Deut. 3.3, Judg. 12.5) and בִּשְׁנָתָה (from רֶשֶׁת, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2°. In OJ ḫ sometimes appears for final ḫ (so כְּֽבָרָה in 1 Kings 1.6, Kahle, p. 28, and כְּֽבָרָה in Deut. 28.50, Kahle, p. 225).
§ 21. PARTICIPLES

Syntax. 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—ירא את, 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 יָאש '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 particles in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—יהיה).

10. In OJ particles often represent Hebrew imperfect (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, i 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, i Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particles. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperfect is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).1

So, also, when the Hebrew imperfect denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, i Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (i Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the particl. 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—הוֹדֵל or the past (Dan. 5. 5—וַה), and in stating general

1 In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, i 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 particl. 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 particl. without an explicit subject. Examples: Chrest. 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 5, '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: יִגְדִּיק (14. ii. 1), יִלְעָף (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), יִרְכָּף (19. 13). יִרְכָּף ('begin') is used with particl. in the Peshitta, but with inffin. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, i Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1*. The tenses of the verb הִלֵל '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 הִלֵל joined to a present participle expresses:

(a) A past progressive tense, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 8, 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: יִלְעָף הִלֵל עַל 'when he was coming', יִרְכָּף הָנָן 'now he
knew'. In the sentence (29.6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

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

(c) A habit or custom, in the present (21.12) or the past (22.2, 23.7, 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, 19.15—גַּמְלֶה יְהַלְּשָׁם לֹא יְשֵׁשׁ הָעַנְשֶׁ—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' (17.4 f.).

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

8. The participle tense of יַנִּשֵּׁה (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: יָנָּשִּׁים יַרְאִי 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22.7), יָנָּשִּׁים יַנִּשֵּׁה יַנִּשֵּׁה יַנִּשֵּׁה '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—גָּרָּשׁ יִבְּרַח 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (b) Dan. 5.19—גָּרָּשׁ יִבְּרַח 'he used to kill'; (c) Dan. 6.11, 'three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (וָנָּשֵׁה יִבְּרַח יִבְּרַח יִבְּרַח ...), and Dan. 6.5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (וָנָּשֵׁה יִבְּרַח). In Dan. 6.15 יָנָּשֵׁה יִבְּרַח may be classed under (a) or (c).

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 reverenced') 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 יָנָּשֵׁה joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1.16, after יַרְאִי), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2.43), and (c) after יַרְאִי and יָנָּשֵׁה to express result or effect (Chrest. 16.11, 14, 18, 15, 20, 5; Dan. 6.3, Ezra 6.10, 7.25 f.) or the substance of a command (22.2 f.). An alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (Chrest. 19.11; cf. Ezra 6.8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 2.

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5.19—גוֹפֵר יָנָּשֵׁה יִמָּשֵׁה—Ezra 7.26, Chrest. 19.11).

8. יָנָּשֵׁה joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17.12, 25.11; Dan. 6.4, Ezra 5.11). יָנָּשֵׁה 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 יָנָּשֵׁה (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. יָנָּשֵׁה in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20.11, 21.10, יָנָּשֵׁה יָנָּשֵׁה יָנָּשֵׁה יָנָּשֵׁה, 'after (he) had conquered the city').
§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ח, כ, י) 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, Aphelel, partic. Pael, &c.). In the final syllable of imperf. and imperatives Pael pathah is usual, but 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. קבר, קבר, קבר), but hiiq is more common (Dalman). In OTA מיטו or מיטו (twice), מיטו or מיטו (once) and מיטו or מיטו (thrice), with the imperfect forms of מיטו (מיטו, &c.), are the only Pael imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of מיטו equivalent to seghol (hence Chrest. 18. 1, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

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

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

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

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

7* An intrusive hāteph (before vocal shewa an intrusive

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

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Pael perf.

imperf.

imperat.

imperf.

imperat.

infin.

PTM

partic.

Aphel perf.

imperf.

imperat.

infin.

partic.
§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

Assimilation. 1°. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impf. and inf. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Itaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2°. In verbs medial י and medial י assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. i. 17, יג); Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, י; Gen. 26. 11, יג).

3°. The vocalization of verbs medial י, according to the superlinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote hataph 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. הב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to הב.

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

Ithpeel. 6°. Ithpeel forms sometimes assimilate י of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

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

OTA. 8°. So far as examples occur, notes 1–4 apply to OTA.

The only verb medial guttural is י, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect י, imperative (Ezra 5. 15, י or י) and partic. (ינינ), but not in the Hophal י. Other verbs with unassimilated forms are י (imperf., inf.), י (Aphel), and י (Aphel). There are two י imperfects, י (as Syriac; OJ י), and י or י. For the imperat. י see § 27, note 10, and for י see § 29.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

Aphel. יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודש יתקודш
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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 גַּלֵּשׁ and גַּלֵּשׁ (23.1) seems unlikely.

Aphel. 6*. Of the Aphels with preformative שֵׁרֶה that occur in PTM only לָלְנֵי, לָלְנֵי and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as נָנָא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 292f.) as correct. The salutation רָכַּב ‘hail’ (Chretz. 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA רָכַּב (§ 16, note 5) and רָכַּב or רָכַּב (OTA רָכַּב, רָכַּב), from אָלָב, are used.

Contracted forms. 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אָלָא (לָא, אָלָא, אָלָא = אָלָא, &c.). Contracted lthphs and lthpaals also occur (e.g. רָכַּב = רָכַּב and רָכַּב = רָכַּב). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in רָכַּב, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

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

OTA. 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף), except in the cases of אֶלֶף and אֶלֶף, from אֶלֶף and אֶלֶף (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. א is generally followed by hataph seghol and in לָלְנֵי (Ezra 5. 15) א is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and note 3, Dan. 3. 22 = אֶלֶף, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has לָלְנֵי, Strack’s supralinear text reads בָּלְנֵי, i.e. בָּלְנֵי (§ 2. 8, 9) The Hophal. perf. בָּלְנֵי (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. 1. אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב.

Peal. אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב, אֲלָב.

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

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

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

Aphel. 4*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally א (אֲלָב, אֲלָב). Where א occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 302f.). Dalman recognizes לָלְנֵי in OJ and לָלְנֵי and לָלְנֵי as possibly correct in PTM לָלְנֵי occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5*. In OJ לָלְנֵי is used for לָלְנֵי and the uncontracted forms לָלְנֵי.
and מָלַא more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel form ḫוּדֵב (OTA יְשָׁרֵב) ‘rescue’ has no Piel in use (יוֹדֵב פֶּל). (Ezra 6.3) may be regarded as a causative of בָּקַשׁ, with ב as in some Syriac forms. For יְשָׁרֵב (יוֹדֵב מַכַּר) see § 27, note 8.

Ithpael. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithpael forms see § 25, note 7.

8. In PTM forms with elided n are used (e.g. יֶבֶט = יַבֶּט, Chrest. 29.8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of מָנַנְה take the place of the corresponding parts of בָּקַשׁ and are the only parts of מָנַנְה in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to בָּקַשׁ or בָּקַשׁ מְלָא יָשׁוּרֵב and מָנַנְה מָנַנְה מָנַנְה.

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

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH


§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

Final vowels of stem. 1st. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into i or ֪ or א or א. א occurs only in the perfect Piel (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). א comes from אֵי (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 מַלָּא is more common, in this verb, than מַלָּא (cf. מַלָּא).

2nd. Intransitive periphrases Piel ending in ל in OJ are: מַלָּא, מַלָּא, מַלָּא, &c. מַלָּא (or מַלָּא, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA מַלָּא (or מַלָּא) and מַלָּא occur.

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

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

Infin. forms. 5th. 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 מַלָּא, &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. מ is used in PTM less frequently than מ to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

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

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

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form מַלָּא ‘complete’, may be derived from מַלָּא. For the ֪ 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 א, י, and א, as in
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OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is ֵ (יָדָה) and in מִתְנָה (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is ָ (יָדָה) or ַ—א or א is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: מָּדָּר; מַּדָּר; מַּדָּר and מַּדָּר; מַּדָּר. For the form מִתְנָה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is מִתְנָה, the Qere מִתְנָה or מִתְנָה.

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

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

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(Perfect tenses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pəal.</th>
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<td>מִתְנָה</td>
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</table>

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

Endings. 1st. The OJ plural terminations ֵ (3 masc.) and ַ (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Pəal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM ַ and ַ (ַ) and extends the use of ַ to all perfections, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

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

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

4th. In the 3 s. f. of א perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (יָדָה, 18. 3; מִתְנָה, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (יָדָה, Dan. 7. 15, and מִתְנָה, 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 מִתְנָה. In PTM מִתְנָה and מִתְנָה are unvocalized forms for מִתְנָה (יָדָה or מִתְנָה) and מִתְנָה. In OJ מִתְנָה appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all א perfects.

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

OTA. 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes א in א perfects (יָדָה), אא in the 2 s. m.
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of ordinary perf. P’tl (רִאשׁ) and in רִאשׁ or רִאשׁוֹ: 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27). It in other forms (יְבָשׁ, יִבָּשַׂ). See also note 2.

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

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

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

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(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

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ptm P’tl. OJ    ptm P’tl. OJ    Imperative.

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<td>רִאשׁוּ</td>
<td>רִאשׁוּ</td>
<td>f.</td>
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Imperf. 1°. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination רִאשׁ is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to P’Tm. The 2 s. f. endings in P’Tm are read by Dalman (p. 339) as רִאשׁ and רִאשׁ respectively. רִאשׁ might be understood to signify רִאשׁ (§ 2. 1).

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

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

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

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: רִאשׁ (P’tl—Gen. 24. 14), יִבָּשׂ (P’tl—Gen. 24. 2), רִאשׁ or יִבָּשׂ (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

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

Infinit. 7. Infinitives of the form רִאשׁוֹ are found in P’Tm. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, רִאשׁוֹ.

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

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that ש is used for א as the suffix of the 1st singular and that פ is employed for פ. Examples: בשפ, פתי. PTM has forms like הינפ or הינטף (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (יהנפ, Dan. 4:32).

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

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperat. 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 הינפ (Dan. 5:10), with ֶ for ֶָ, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(inflexion of participles)

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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 an, and this form also occurs in PTM.

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

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

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 (כינפ, כינף). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Pael passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4*. Words like יִנְּפָּר with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination ה as with a plural ending (יהִנְּפָּר, Deut. 25:11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained (יהִנְּפָּר, 25: ii. 8, from יִנְּפָּר), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ יִנְּפָּר always retains פ with suffixes (Gen. 14:20, Exod. 20:5, Deut. 5:9, 7:15, 30:7, 2 Sam. 19:1, 22:18, Jer. 49:7). So also יִנְּפָּר, 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 לִנְּפָּר (26:6), fem. לִנְּפָּר (Dalman, p. 352), לִנְּפָּר (Deut. 11:10—Kahle, p. 16), לִנְּפָּר (29:25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like לִנְּפָּר in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31. יִנְּפָּר, יִנְּפָּר, יִנְּפָּר, יִנְּפָּר

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1 To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.
§ 31. אֶלֶף, בֵּית, מָאָר, נֵבָה

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

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

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

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Piel of מָאָר is מָאָר (1 Kings 112—Kahle, p. 29) or מָאָר (Chrest. 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Apel imper. 2 plur. masc. מָאָר (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

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

OTA. 6. For מָאָר see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms מָאָר (1 Sam. 18) and מָאָר (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = מָאָר (3 s. f. perf.) and מָאָר (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

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

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Piel imperf. of מָאָר are written מָאָר and מָאָר, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 29).
§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the P'el forms sometimes differ from those of the table. Perfects in ꔥ are יִסְכֹּל 'die', בָּשָׁה 'be old', and נָמִיר 'spit'. Imperfects in ꔥ are יָבֶזַע, יָבֶזַע, and יִבְזָבַע (or יִבְזָבַע) from יָבֶזַע 'pass the night', יָבֶזַע 'place', and יִבְזָבַע 'judge'. Verbs final guttural generally have ꔥ in the imperfect and imperat. (e.g. מַגְבַּי), but ꔥ 'shake' has imperfect ꔥ and imperat. ꔥ (plur. ꔥ). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed ꔥ in speech, whether written or not (§ 2.5). Verbs with imperf. in ꔥ have imperatives in ꔥ (ם, Judg. 10. 6 and 9).

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

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

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperfect, imperatt, inffinn., and partic. Apel is often written ꔥ in supralinear MSS. Examples: בָּשָׁה (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), בָּשָׁה (Judg. 1. 1), נָמִיר (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), נָמִיר (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), נָמִיר (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative ꔥ occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms בָּשָׁה (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and נָמִיר (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is ꔥ.

5*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Apel 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 יָּֽלֶל (§ 34).

Ithp'el. 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithp'el is sometimes written ꔥ (ונָבָה, Judg. 5. 20) and the ꔥ of the preformative syllable may become ꔥ before initial ꔥ (hence בָּשָׁה = בָּשָׁה).

Intensives. 7*. The intensive forms in use are יֵבַע, יֵבַע (OJ supralinear), יֵבַע, יֵבַע (OJ supralinear), and יֵבַע. The passive of the Palp'el is like יֵבַע (Gen. 4. 12) or יֵבַע (Gen. 4. 16).

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

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the P'el and Hap'eh are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Hap'el the stem vowel ꔥ occurs as an alternative to ꔥ (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) ꔥ occurs as an alternative to ꔥ. Preformative ꔥ seghol occurs in one Hap'eh form in most (?) MSS. (ם, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the Hithp'el is ꔥ in one verb (ם) and ꔥ in another (ם). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are בָּשָׁה (Dan. 6. 8), בָּשָׁה (Dan. 4. 34) and בָּשָׁה (Dan. 5. 23). There is one Hoph'el, בָּשָׁה (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form בָּשָׁה (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written בָּשָׁה (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.

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§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

P'Al perf. 1°. The forms of the table are those of the supralinear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. P'Al is ā only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA ā is the stem vowel throughout the perf. P'Al, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his Dialektproben. The inflected forms of שられる are treated like those of perfects in şere.

Participle. 2°. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle P'Al 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 ב in the Kittibh and י in the Qere, except in מתשפיח (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain ב 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 יִּֽלְּכ (נֵּ֖֣שָׁ֑ו, Ezra 6. 12; מָֽסִ֜ר, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יִּֽלְּכ (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

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<td>יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Disyllabic stems. 1°. Disyllabic stems are used in the P'Al participles, all intensive forms, Ithp'als, and Shaphels. Examples: בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה. See also § 35, note 4.

P'Al. 2°. The intensive forms are of the types בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (especially PTM), יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (OJ), and יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה is borrowed from the פ'י̇ stems (§ 32). The use of בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

Stem vowels. 3°. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. P'Al, which is pa'thā in Syriac and OTA, is always ā in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperfect. P'Al is either ə or ā (יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה).

Preform. 4°. The imperf., imperat., and infin. P'Al and all the tenses of the Apfel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. P'Al preformative ש is lengthened to ש before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (פְּרָ֖ץ, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, Dan. 4. 24; יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, Dan. 2. 40).

Participles. 5°. In PTM the participle form יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה. In OJ contracted plurals like בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (Kittibh) is replaced by יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה or יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה or יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (Dan. 4. 5. 8).

6°. Apfel participles like בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה and יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7°. יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (25. 8), from בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

Borrowed forms. 8°. The forms appropriate to יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה 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 פְּרָ֖ץ = פְּרָ֖ץ).

Ittaphal. 9°. The Ittaphal forms are like בֵּֽלְּכָּ֥ה and יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה.

OTA. 10°. For the P'Al 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: יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (three verbs), יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (Dan. 2. 40), and יִּֽלְּכָּ֥ה (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative
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pathah becomes seghol before ה (ם, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (לִפְרֹד, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הָאָשֶׁר, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (פִּינַי).

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(Inflected forms)

APEL.

PERFECT.

Plur. | Sing.
---|---
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן

PERFECT.

3 masc.
3 masc.
2 masc.
1 com.
1 com.

PEAL.

PERFECT.

Plur. | Sing.
---|---
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן

PERFECT.

3 masc.
3 masc.
2 masc.
1 com.

IMPERFECT.

Plur. | Sing.
---|---
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן

IMPERFECT.

2 masc.
1 com.

IMPERATIVE.

Plur. | Sing.
---|---
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן
נַיָּן | נַיָּן

IMPERATIVE.

2 masc.
1 com.

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 Peal perfect and imperative, but not in the Apel. In Berliner’s Onkelos doubling is not indicated in any tense.

2*. In the 3-pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel a (appropriate to erving stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for a. The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (ם, Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

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

4. Peal and Apel forms like יָקַק (PTM), יָלֹע (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and יָלַע (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative Peal the stem vowel is a (ם, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (ם, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (א) becomes vocal shewa, it is written hafteh seghol in some MSS. (ם, Dan. 7. 7, 19, ישן, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps בֵּית (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for בֵּית (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. Hapheh of an erving verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for ישן or ישן (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, ע or ע, for א, and in the 3 plural,
§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

where the independent pronoun יְהַּ (יה) is substituted for יְהַּ (יה). 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 יְהַּ is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, יְ being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to יְָ with the 3 s. f. perf. and to יְָ in union with stems ending in a vowel (יְָ, יְָ, יְֶָָ). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before יְָ except in the 1 s. perf., in which יְָ (יְֶָָ) and יְֶָָ (יְֶָָ) are used for יְֶָָ, &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 יְָ, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending יְָ. Examples: יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (25. ii. 2), יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (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 (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, 21. 1, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ).

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

2 sing. and 1 sing. 5. In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, &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 יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (I have found her) (Gen. 38. 22) and יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (thou hast found her) (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (Gen. 31. 28) = σαβαθαβε (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 יְָ (note 8) before suffixes (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination יְָ (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ). The 3 s. f. 6*. The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ ‘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: יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ).

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 יְָ (יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ). Instead of יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ the form יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ is used. In PTM the forms יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains יְָ as derived from the accus. particle יְָ (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

Impurf. stems. 8*. The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ), 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 יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ for יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ and יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ for יְֶָָּּיְֶָָּּ in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Dietrich in ZATW. xx. 152).

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

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Pael imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels i or ū 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 חכם (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. אֶשָּׁר, 'bring her out' = אֶשֶּׁר).

יָרָע stems. 101. The forms of יָרָע verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

Syntax. 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix in an object accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, יְהֹוָה יָרָע, 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, יָרָע, 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by ב is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, יָרָע, '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, יָרָע, '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, יָרְעָת, 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem יָרָע see § 37, note 1).

§ 37. VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH על STEMS

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

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

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: הָיַבֵּן and הָיַבֵּן (or הָיָבֵן), הָיַבֵּן, הָיַבֵּן. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Pael הָיַבֵּן 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 (consonantally) כ (הָיָבֵן, הָיָבֵן, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (וכ, וָכ). With כ the suffixed forms are like כָּבֵן.

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: יָכְנָה (Gen. 2. 15), יָכָנֵה (Gen. 2. 22), יָכְנָה (Gen. 3. 13), יָכָנְה (Judg. 1. 7). With כ the ordinary stem is used (יָכְנָה).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Pael perfects (25. iii. 7, יָכָנֵה = יָכָנֵה), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 3).

3 s. f. 4. In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of יperfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ר, before suffixes. Examples: יָכְנֶה, יָכָנָה (Judg. 4. 19), יָכָנָה (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: יָכְנֶה (3 s. f.), יָכְנֶה (OJ 2 s. m.), יָכְנֶה (OJ 3 pl. perf. Pael), יָכְנֶה (PTM 3 pl.). For יָכְנֶה (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

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

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

In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before מ are י instead of י, and מ instead of י (יָכְנַה, יָכְנַה). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.
VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH נָל STEMS

**Imperat. stems.** 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (יהָלֵה, נָלֵה). In some MSS. נ is written for נָלֵה and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (נָלֵה, Judges 1. 24).

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

**Particples.** 8. נ is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e.g. with participles (29, 7, נָלֵה, נָלֵה, i.e. נָלֵה).

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 of the three independent pronouns—חָלֵה (eight times), חָלֵה (three times), and חָלֵה (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 נ is 'me' and that נָלֵה is written for נָלֵה in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: נ, נ (2 s. m.), נ (§ 12), נ, and נָלֵה.

**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: נָלֵה, נָלֵה, נָלֵה.

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

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

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

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

In the 3 s. m. IMPERATIVE before נ the שָרֵה of the independent form (נָלֵה) is replaced by hireq (נָלֵה, נלָלֵה) and in the plural ס is replaced by ס (נָלֵה, 2 pl. m. im. Haphe). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only נָל IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphe נל (Dan. 2. 6).

**נים verbs.** 6. No change takes place in the stems of נל verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).
### PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

#### Perfect.

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<td>3 plur. m.</td>
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<td>3 sing. m.</td>
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#### Imperfect.

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<th>3 sing. m.</th>
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<td>אֶרֶמֶשָׁמָה</td>
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OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (nominatives).

I com.

2 masc.

fem.

3 masc.

fem.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

that

this

masc.

fem.

those

these

Inflexion of Nouns.

Singular absolute.

construct.

emphatic.

Plural absolute.

construct.

emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.


1 sing.

2 s. m.

f.

3 s. m.

f.

1 plur.

2 pl. m.

f.

3 pl. m.

f.
OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

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**Perfect.**

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<td>יִמְרְבּ בֵּיתָא 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יִמְרְבּ בֵּיתָא 1</td>
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</table>

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

by J. A. EMERTON

Introduction

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

Dalman's views have been challenged in more recent years, notably by P. E. Kahle.¹ 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.²

Kahle's conclusions have not been universally accepted.

¹ I am indebted to Professor G. R. Driver, Professor D. Winton Thomas, and the Rev. A. E. Goodman for their kindness in reading the first draft of the first few pages of this appendix.
E. Y. Kutscher, for example, has recently 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. 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. 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.

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

3 Cf. p. 11.  
4 I have usually been guided by Sperber’s edition of the Targum and by Dalman’s *Aramäisch-neuehebräisches 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 Galilæan 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 ק or ה also appear with ק or כ respectively as the final letter. Similarly, ‘ten’ and related numbers frequently have י instead of ב.

§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

OJ. 1. Cardinal numbers ı–19

With masculine nouns With feminine nouns

1 י  אָה
§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

PTM. 3

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

(a) ישר is frequently used instead of ישר.

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

11 (with masculine noun) ממקס
12 (with feminine noun) למקס
16 (with masculine noun) אשה יטר

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

משגה, י"מ, себעה י' שו"ב, י' שו"ב, י' שו"ב, י' שו"ב.

OJ and PTM. 4. Tens

20 ב' 20 פ' 40 ב' 40 פ'
50 י' 60 י' 70 י' 70 י'
80 ע' 90 ע' 80 ע'

PTM also have נ' for 60, י' for 70, and ע' for 80.

OJ and PTM. 5. Hundreds

The word for ‘hundred’ is וק.

OJ use the following forms:

200 וק, וק 300 וק
400 וק 500 וק
600 וק 700 וק
800 וק 900 וק

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

1 Note the tendency for the vowel to become ו before the labials bet and mem.

1 Sometimes vocalized וַק.
2 I can find no example of this form in OJ, but this is presumably what it should be.
3 Note the tendency for the vowel to become וה before the labials bet and mem.
§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

OJ and PTM. 6. Thousands

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

OJ and PTM use the plural of אלף, preceded by the form of the numeral appropriate to a masculine noun, e.g. 2,000 כלשון אלפים; 3,000 כלשון אלפים; 14,000 כלשון אלפים.

OJ and PTM. 7. Myriads

Tens of thousands can be expressed as in note 6 above, e.g. 20,000 כלשון אלףים; 200,000 כלשון אלףים.

Sometimes, however, the word for ‘myriad’ is used: absolute בְּרָע, emphatic בְּרָע; plural: absolute בְּרָע, emphatic בְּרָע or בְּרָע, construct בָּרֹע. As the noun is feminine, any other numerals preceding it take the form appropriate to this gender, e.g. 1 Kings 8.63 נְפֹרֶה רָעַבָּאָה עֹפָרָא רָעַבָּאָה ...

OJ and PTM. 8. Compound numerals

The higher numbers come first, and the lower numbers are joined by_connecting, e.g.
Gen. 26.26 כִּחְצְבָּא יְחֵשֶׁב וָתֵּשׁ שָׁנָיִים שְׁמַעְיָא, 782 years.
Num. 26.22 קַשְׁפִּיָא שָׁנָיִים שְׁמַעְיָא, 76,500.

PTM. 9

The numerals 3–10 and 20–90 also have a determinate form ending in י, e.g. third, fourth; three, four; five; eight, thirteen; thirty.

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

In PTM, special forms (ending in ā or tā) are used for the days of the week: Monday אָפַר; Tuesday אָפַר; Wednesday אָפַר בָּרֹע; Thursday אָפַר בָּרֹע.

In OJ, the numbers 10–19, when referring to a day of the month, have the emphatic form אָפַר, e.g.
I xod. 12.3 אָפַר לְצָרִים ‘on the tenth of the month’
Josh. 5.10 אָפַר לְצָרִים ‘on the fourteenth day of the month’.

OJ and PTM. II. Suffixes

In PTM, suffixes can be attached to the numerals 2–9, though examples of some of the possible forms are lacking.
2 בְּרוּלָא, בְּרָע; feminine בְּרָע
3 בְּרָע
8 בְּרָע בָּרֹע

Similar forms appear in OJ, e.g. בְּרָע בָּרֹע. Before suffixes, the form corresponding to בְּרָע is בָּרֹע, e.g. בָּרֹע בָּרֹע.

OTA. 12

The following forms are found in OTA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With masculine nouns</th>
<th>With feminine nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 דָּוִי</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 בְּרָע</td>
<td>בְּרָע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>בְּרָע</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 בְּרָע בָּרֹע</td>
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<td>6 בְּרָע</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 בְּרָע</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 בְּרָע</td>
<td>בְּרָע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 בְּרָע</td>
<td>בְּרָע</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 בְּרָע</td>
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<td>30 בְּרָע</td>
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<tr>
<td>400 בְּרָע</td>
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</table>

1000 בְּרָע, construct בְּרָע, emphatic בְּרָע; plural: absolute בְּרָע, emphatic בְּרָע.

1 Daniel emends this form to בְּרָע בָּרֹע.
2 The reading בָּרֹע in Dan. 7.10 is probably a mistake.
§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

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

Dan. 6. 1 כְּנָפֵיהֶן. 62.
Dan. 6. 2 כָּן כְּנָפִיֵי וְלָשׁוֹן. 120.

§ 40. ORDINAL NUMBERS

OJ and PTM. 1. ‘First’

The word for ‘first’ is קָדַם (or קָדַם; cf. p. 28), emphatic state קָדָם; plural: absolute קָדָם, emphatic קָדָם; feminine singular emphatic קָדַם, plural emphatic קָדָם.

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

OJ and PTM. 2. ‘Second’

The word for ‘second’ is קָדָם, emphatic קָדָם; plural absolute קָדָם; feminine singular absolute קָדָם, &c.

OJ and PTM. 3. ‘Third’–‘tenth’

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

3rd קָדָם 4th קָדָם 5th קָדָם 6th קָדָם 7th קָדָם 8th קָדָם 9th קָדָם 10th קָדָם

The feminine singular emphatic is קָדָם, קָדָם, &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 קָדָם
feminine singular emphatic קָדָם, plural emphatic קָדָם.

§ 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 יַרְשֵׁי הָעָדֶים כֹּלֶם. ‘five shekels each’.

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

Isa. 6. 2 אַל יָהֶנֵּן עַל כֹּלֶם. ‘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 פִּימִים, e.g.

‘First’ יָמֵי יָמֵי יָמֵי יָמֵי (Isa. 60. 9 יֵשׁוּבָה בַּלָּדִים שַׁלֵּחַ לָשׁוֹן. ‘Which spreads out its sails first?’)

‘Second’ קָדָם; ‘third’ קָדָם; קָדָם, &c.
§ 41. OTHER NUMERALS

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

3. Multiplicatives

(a) The question 'How often?' is answered by the cardinal numeral with לֶטֶת, לֶטֶת, or לֶטֶת, לֶטֶת (treated sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine), e.g. אֶחָד לֶטֶת (or לֶטֶת לֶטֶת) 'once'; שֵׁשׁ לֶטֶת 'seven times'; נוּן לֶטֶת 'nine times'. Sometimes, לֶטֶת is used alone, e.g. לֶטֶת אֱלֹהִים 'once a year'.

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

Multiplication is expressed in PTM by the use of cardinal numerals, often with כַּהֲנָה and the preposition מ, e.g. כַּהֲנָה לֶטֶת מִלָּה 50 × 100. When a number is squared, the preposition מ may be used, e.g. כַּהֲנָה לֶטֶת מִלָּה 50 × 50.

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

Gen. 26. 12 אֶחָד לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת 'and he found an hundredfold in that year'.

2 Sam. 12. 6 כַּהֲנָה לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת 'he shall repay fourfold'.

In OTA, a slightly different construction is used in Dan. 3. 19 כַּהֲנָה מִלָּה נַשְׁפַּחְתַּה לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת לֶטֶת '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 מ, e.g. אֶחָד לֶטֶת מִלָּה 1/6; אֶחָד לֶטֶת מִלָּה 1/10.

(b) By the use of special forms:

(i) 'A half': אֶחָד לֶטֶת כָּהֲנָה or אֶחָד לֶטֶת כָּהֲנָה; emphatic state אֶחָד לֶטֶת כָּהֲנָה or אֶחָד לֶטֶת כָּהֲנָה.

1 Found also in OTA (Dan. 2. 7).

2 OTA has כָּהֲנָה (construct—Dan. 7. 25); כָּהֲנָה resembles the Syriac כָּהֲנָה.

Other variants are also found in the manuscripts.