



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

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

NOTE ON THE SECOND EDITION

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

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

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

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

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the 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 supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

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

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supralinear vocalization should be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after

a few chapters of the Targum have been read. Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue. The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

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

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

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

WM. B. STEVENSON

Glasgow, 5 March 1924

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PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

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

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

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

§ 2.¹ ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear ך or ם) and raphe (supralinear ם or ף), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

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

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

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

Qameṣ	◌ִ	Holem	◌ֵ
Pathah and seghol ◌	◌ַ	Shureq	◌ֹ
Ṣere	◌ִ	Vocal shewa	◌ְ
Hireq	◌ִ	(including ḥatephs)	

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

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

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥateph pathah, following ם and ץ and sometimes following ה and ח (e.g. םֶמֶר for םֶמֶר, םֶמֶר for םֶמֶר). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 עֶבֶרֶת, 5. 5 שְׁעָתָה).

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

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

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

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

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥatephs were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ׀ (and) and ׁ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥateph pathah. Ḥatephs may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ׀ 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 ב, מ, or פ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ב, מ, and פ 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*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ׀ 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 לָקַטְל and וְהָיִי, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ח in the same way so that, for example, וְהָיִי may perhaps be an alternative for וְהָיִי (cf. Heb. לְחַפֵּר).

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 ב, כ, ל, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּיתִּי, הָיִיתִי, הָיִיתָ). Compare also, perhaps, פְּרָמִיתָ (§ 11, note 12) and קָנִיחִי (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 הָיִיתִי (§ 6), עָבְרִיתָ (§ 11, note 7), אֵימִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יָדִי and יָדָא (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ	
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.
אֲנִי	אָנָּה	(נִחְנָה) אֲנִיחָנָּה	אָנָּה 1 com.
אֲתָן	אָתָּה (אֲנָתָּה)	אֲתָן	אָתָּה 2 masc.
—	אָתָּה (אֲנָתָּה)	אֲתִין	אָתָּה fem.
אֵינוּן, הֵינוּן	הֵוּא	אֵנוּן	הֵוּא 3 masc.
אֵינִין, הֵינִין	הֵיָא	אֵינִין	הֵיָא fem.

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

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

3*. אֵינוּן, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אֵנוּן, &c. (§ 2. 1).

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

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

Idioms. 5. The expressions הָיָה וְיָבֵרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָיָה אֲחֵרָא are used by PTM in modesty for אֲנִי (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדְךָ) and in curses or protestations for אֲתָּ. In polite address, for אַתָּ, OJ uses רַבּוֹנִי and רַבּוֹנִי and PTM מְרִי, מֶרֶן, מֶרֶן, רַבּוֹנִי (cf. Hebrew אֲדֹנִי).

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

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.
אֲנִי	אֲנִי ¹	אֲנִי 1 com.
בִּי	בִּי	בִּי 2 masc.
כִּי	כִּי	כִּי fem.
הוּא, הוֹן	הוּן	הוּא 3 masc.
הִיא	הִיא	הִיא fem.

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

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

¹ See § 3, note 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

	PTM	PTM	OJ	OJ
	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.
this	הָהוּא, הָהִיא, הַהוּא, הַהִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא
	הָהוּא, הָהִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא
these	הֵלֵּין	אֵלֵּין, אֵלֵּין	הֵלֵּין	אֵלֵּין

ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

	PTM	PTM	OJ	OJ
	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.	ADJECTIVES.	PRONOUNS.
that	הָהוּא, הָהִיא, הַהוּא, הַהִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא	הוּא, הִיא
those	הֵלֵּין	אֵלֵּין, אֵלֵּין	הֵלֵּין	אֵלֵּין

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

2*. הֵלֵּין, הֵיִינִין, and הֵיִינִין are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

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

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

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

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

9. In PTM הָהוּא 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—הָהוּא, 28. 13—הָהוּא). הָהוּא, in particular, occurs more often than הָהוּא as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

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

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

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

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

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

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ
who?	מִן, מֵאֵן	מִן
what?	מָה	מָה
which?	הַיֵּדִין	אֵידִין sing. masc.
"	הַיֵּדָא, אֵידָא	אֵידָא fem.
"	הַיֵּלִין, אֵילִין	(אֵילִין) plural com.

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

2. In PTM מֵן הוּא contracts into מֵנֵן and מָה הוּא into מֵי. In OJ מֵן הוּא = מֵן (note 4).

Usages. 3*. The meanings of מָה are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! מָה לְמָה expresses 'why?' and

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

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

Syntax. 5. אֵידִין, &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. אֵן (OJ) and הֵן (PTM) = 'where?', לָאֵן = 'whither?' and מֵן אֵן = 'whence?' מֵן (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for אֵן.

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

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Forms. 1*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is הַ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (הַיֵּלִי, &c., note 4) the form is הַיֵּ.

Idioms. 2*. הַ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. הַיֵּ, הַיֵּדָא, הַיֵּ, מֵן, and מָה are also used to express these combinations.

3*. הַ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. הַיֵּדִי = '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*. הַיֵּלִי, הַיֵּלִי, &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 הַיֵּדִי, &c., are more usual. הַיֵּדִי may be a phonetic variant of הַיֵּלִי (Barth) or = הַיֵּ + הַיֵּ 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).

5. $\text{כִּי} + \text{לְ} + \text{לְ}$, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2, מִדְּלִיָּה).

6. In PTM כִּי is a contraction for כִּי הוּא and כִּי occurs as a contraction for כִּי הוּא (Dalman, p. 98).

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

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

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	
כְּבָא	כָּב	singular absolute.
כְּבַת	כָּב	construct.
כְּבָתָא	כְּבָא	emphatic.
כְּבִין	כְּבִין	plural absolute.
כְּבַת	כְּבִי	construct.
כְּבָתָא	כְּבִיא	emphatic.

Emphatic state. 1*. The emphatic ending \bar{a} 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 שְׂמִיָּה

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

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

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

3*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In כְּבָתָא הָרָא (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. כְּבָתָא הָרָא , 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. שְׂמִיָּה רַבָּא (1 Sam. 12. 22), but אֲרִי־כָב (24. ii. 13).

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

Construct and Genitive. 6*. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, *עֲמִידֵי בֵּיתָךְ*). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (*לְעֵיל*, *בְּנוֹ*, *לְסוֹף*, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. *בֵּית עֵלָם* (25. ii. 3), *בֵּר נֶשׁ* (28. 11), *פָּרוֹס עֲרֹסִי* 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) *בֵּיתָא דְּחַבְרִיָּה*, *עוֹפָא דְּשָׁמַיָא* 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) *בֵּיתָא דְּאִמְהָא*, *שְׁמִיָּה דְּאֵלֹהָא* 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) *רְמוֹנֵי דְּדָהָב* 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases *דְּ* means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like *מְלִין דְּחַכְמָתָא* (17. 15) and *מְרִי דְּבֵיתָא* (*Chrest.* 17. 7, *Judg.* 19. 22) occur less often.

7*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—*נְהָלִין דְּמִיִּין*.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-

bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: *בֵּית גִּנְזָא דִּי מְלִכָא* (Ezra 5. 17), *אֶשְׁתָּא דִּי־בֵית אֵלֹהָא* (Ezra 5. 16), *אֶצְבָּעֵי דִּי יַד־אָנָשׁ* '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 *גִּבְרָא דִּי אֲרִיֹתָא* (6. 8, 13, 25) and *גִּבְרָא דִּי אֲרִיֹתָא* (6. 17, 20).

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

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

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

Inflectional endings. 11*. The feminine singular ending נָא is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence רִיקְנִיָּא (Gen. 1. 2) and פִּלְגִּיָּא. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and **wān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) חִילָּוֹ, דִּירָּוֹ, בִּירָּוֹ, לִילָּוֹ, (b) אֶתָּוֹ, אֶחָּוֹ—from אֶת, sign, and אֶחָּת, sister. Cf. מֶאֱוֹן = מֶאֱוָן, and סֶאֱוֹן = סֶאֱוָן. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of אֶב, אֶס, and שׁוּם are אֶבְהֶן, אֶסְהֶן, and שְׁמֶהֶן, respectively.

13*. The termination ' is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יִמְמִי (Gen. 1. 10), חַיִּי (Gen. 2. 7), תּוֹרִי (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like בִּיתְנִיָּא (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), מִצְרַיִי (*Exod.* 12. 30), חֶתְנִיָּא (*Josh.* 1. 4), and בִּשְׁדַּיִי (*Dan.* 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεσημαριῆ = שְׁמֶנִי = 'garden of oils'.

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

Duals. 15*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are תְּרִין, תְּרִיתִין ('two'), and כֶּאֱתִין (200). But the ending יִן in words such as עֵינִין may also be a dual ending (OTA עֵינִין). In OTA (besides תְּרִין, תְּרִיתִין, and כֶּאֱתִין) יִדִּין, רְגִלִּין, קְרִנִּין, and שְׁנִין occur.

§ 9*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

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

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of ל introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 לעבדית may be regarded as a textual error.

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

ū class.	ī class.	ā class.
	כְּתָרִי	דְּרָבִי originally disyllabic.
	נָדָרִי	נֶפֶשׁ originally monosyllabic.
קְשׁוּמִי	רְחִישִׁי	לָחִים
בּוֹסֶם	עֵינִל	עֶבֶד
	תְּבִין	

In the *ū* class absolute forms like רִנָּו (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בָּסֶם (*Exod.* 30. 23), and כְּתָל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give כְּתָל for the כְּתָל of MT.

Words of the *ā* class like לָחִים are בְּעִיל, מְעִים, חֲמִיל, מְלִיָּה, מְעִיר, and רְעִים (OTA בְּעִל, מְעִם, צָלֶם, and לָחֶם, with עֶבֶד in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

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

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

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

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

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

Some words which are not from **ע"ע** stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. **פֹּם**, **עֵז**). In OTA the MSS. of MT read **פֹּם** (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have **פֹּם**, in accordance with the analogy of **דִּב**, **גִּיב**, &c.

D nouns. Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. **אֶנֶשׁ**, **שָׁלֵם**, **נָבֵר**, **עֵוִיר**), and monosyllables like **חֹר**, **יֹם**, **טֹר**, and **דִּין**. The unchangeable *ā* in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew *ō* (**שָׁלוֹם**, &c.).

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

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations *āi* (= Hebrew *ī*) or *ē* added to a trilateral stem. Examples: **קָרְמִי** (or **קָרְמַי**, § 2. 1), **רְבִיעִי**, **הִקְנִי**. The long vowel of OTA (**בִּשְׁדִּי**, **רְבִיעִי**, **קָרְמִי**) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מִלְכָּיָא	מִלְכִּי	מִלְכִּין	מִלְכָּא	מִלְכֶּה	מִלְכֶּה	A
בַּעְלָיָא	בַּעְלִי	בַּעְלִין	בַּעְלָא	בַּעְלֶה	בַּעְלֶה	
נִדְרָיָא	נִדְרִי	נִדְרִין	נִדְרָא	נִדְרֶה	נִדְרֶה	
נִהְרָיָא	נִהְרִי	נִהְרִין	נִהְרָא	נִהְרֶה	נִהְרֶה	
לִבְכָּיָא	לִבְכִּי	לִבְכִּין	לִבְכָּא	לִבְכֶּה	לִבְכֶּה	
עֲלָמִיָּא	עֲלָמִי	עֲלָמִין	עֲלָמָא	עֲלָמֶה	עֲלָמֶה	B
יִדְיָא	יִדִּי	יִדִּין	יִדָּא	יִדֶּה	יִדֶּה	
עֵזִיָּא	עֵזִי	עֵזִין	עֵזָא	עֵזֶה	עֵזֶה	C
נִבְרָיָא	נִבְרִי	נִבְרִין	נִבְרָא	נִבְרֶה	נִבְרֶה	D
טָלִיָּא	טָלִי	טָלִין¹	טָלִיָּא	טָלִי	טָלִי	E
	טָלִי	טָלִין				
סָנִיָּא	סָנִי	סָנִין¹	סָנִיָּא	סָנִי	סָנִי	
		סָנִין				
חִוּיָּא	חִוּי	חִוּוּין	חִוּיָּא	חִוּי	חִוּי	
עֲבָרִיָּא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרִיָּא		עֲבָרִי	F
עֲבָרִיָּא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרִיָּא			
בִּירְסוּתָא	בִּירְסוּת	בִּירְסוּן	בִּירְסִיָּא	בִּירְסִי	בִּירְסִי	

¹ The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ā* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

A nouns. 1*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ā*, *i*, and *ū* (OTA *ō*). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (*a*) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מַלְכִּים), (*b*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (לְבָבָא, רִנְנֵי). 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. נִהְרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נִהְרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

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

3. The vowel *i* is also frequently substituted for an original *ā*. Examples: בִּסְרָא, דִּבְרָא, מִטְרָא, שִׁמְשָׁא, דִּבְחָא; OTA בִּשְׁרָא, וְסִנָּא, נִשְׁרִין, דִּבְחִין, שִׁמְשָׁא. The absolute form דִּיבְחָא (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גִּפְנָא. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רִגְלָא is *i* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ā* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

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

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

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

6*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בֵּיתָא and עֵין, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּיתָא (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *e* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בְּתִין is the plural of בֵּיתָא. חֵיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

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

C nouns. 8*. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ā* or *i* or *ū*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עֲמָא, אֲמָא, גִּבְא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בְּרָא from בֵּר (country)). Some nouns put *i* for *ā* in the inflected forms (פִּתָּא, פִּתָּא). In OTA אֲשָׁא, from אִשָּׁא, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֲשָׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

F nouns. 19*. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* (*יְ* or *אְ*). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (*פִּירִי*, *כְּנִי*) are treated like those of *כְּנִי* (E class).

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

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

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

§ 11.* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.			
<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	
מְלִכְתָּא	מְלִכְתָּ	מְלִכָּן	מְלִכְתָּא	מְלִכְתָּ	מְלִכָּא	A
בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשְׁתָּ	בְּנִשְׁן	בְּנִשְׁתָּא	בְּנִשְׁתָּ	בְּנִשְׁא	
אֲמִרְתָּא	אֲמִרְתָּ	אֲמִרְן	אֲמִרְתָּא	אֲמִרְתָּ	אֲמִרְא	B
מְלִיָּא	מְלִיָּ	מְלִיָּן	מְלִיָּתָא	מְלִיָּתָ	מְלִיָּא	C
מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְתָּ	מְנִירְן	מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְתָּ	מְנִירְא	D
חִיּוּתָא	חִיּוּתָ	חִיּוּן	חִיּוּתָא	חִיּוּתָ	חִיּוּא	
טְלִיָּתָא	טְלִיָּתָ	טְלִיָּן	טְלִיָּתָא OJ	טְלִיָּתָ	טְלִיָּא	E
			טְלִיָּתָא PTM			
סְנִיָּתָא	סְנִיָּתָ	סְנִיָּן	סְנִיָּתָא	סְנִיָּתָ	סְנִיָּא	
גְּלִוְתָא	גְּלִוְתָ	גְּלִוְן	גְּלִוְתָא	גְּלִוְתָ	גְּלִוְא	
צְלוּתָא	צְלוּתָ	צְלוּן	צְלוּתָא	צְלוּתָ	צְלוּא	
מְנִוְתָא	מְנִוְתָ	מְנִוְן	מְנִוְתָא	מְנִוְתָ	מְנִוְא	
עֲבִרְתָּא	—	עֲבִרְן	עֲבִרְתָּא	—	עֲבִרְא	F
			עֲבִרְתָּא	—	עֲבִרְאָא	
וִרְעִיָּתָא	וִרְעִיָּתָ	וִרְעִיָּן	וִרְעִיָּתָא	וִרְעִיָּתָ	וִרְעִיָּא	G
מְלִכְוְתָא	מְלִכְוְתָ	מְלִכְוְן	מְלִכְוְתָא	מְלִכְוְתָ	מְלִכְוְא	

Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending *ā* 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 *ī* or *ū* are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually *תָּא*, joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: *מְלִכְתָּא*, *בְּנִשְׁתָּא*, *אֲמִרְתָּא*. *תָּא* is added to the stem *קַטַל* in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like *עֲדָקָה*). Examples (from Dalman): *נִדְבָתָא*, *צִדְקָתָא*, *אֲדָמָתָא*, *חֲבִירָתָא*, *בְּנִשְׁתָּא* (absolute *בְּנִשְׁא*). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives *עֲנִלְתָּא* (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from *עֲנָלָא*), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from *עֲנָלָא*). The emphatic sing. fem. of *חֲדָשׁ* (= *חֲדָתָא*) is *חֲדָתָא*.

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal *shewa* following the middle radical (*בְּדִבְהָ*, 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 *תָּא* and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 (*אֲמִרְתָּא*, *יְלִידָתָא*, *יְחִיבָתָא*—see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of *בְּרָא* 'daughter', is *בְּרִתָּא*, and that of *שָׁנָא* 'year', is *שָׁתָא*.

C nouns. 4. In the C class *תָּא* is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. *מְלִיָּא*, like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form. *שִׁנָּא* 'sleep', although not from an *ע"ע* stem, is inflected like words of this group (*שָׁנְתָא*, &c.).

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually *תָּא* (*דִּרְתָּא*, *הִקְפִּיתָּא*, *שְׁבִיעִיתָּא*, *עֲבִירְתָּא*, *בִּיעִיתָּא*, *שְׁעִיתָּא*). *תָּא* is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is *ē* or *ū* (*שְׁפִילְתָּא*, *גְּנוּבָתָא*, *מְהוּלָתָא*). *יְלִידָתָא* and *יְחִיבָתָא* belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאִילָה, שְׂאִילָה; כְּנִישָׁה, כְּנִישָׁה; נְבִילָה, נְבִילָה; נְבִילָה, נְבִילָה), although not exclusively (cf. נִבְלָה, Lev. 5. 2, and לִבְנִין, 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 מְלִיָּה group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the קְנִי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רַעְיָה (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרִיָּה or קְרִיָּה 'city' (emphatic קְרִיָּה, plural קְרִיָּה). 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 מִיכָה, מִיכָה. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עֹלָה seems to be עֹלָה (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֹלָה (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֹלָה (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֹלָה (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֹלָה &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 *ai* the emphatic termination is נָה, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before נָה is *ē*. Supralinear plurals like עֲבִירָה Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

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

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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 נָה in the A class, viz. יְבִשְׁתָּה (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as יְבִשְׁתָּה (Gen. 1. 9) or יְבִשְׁתָּה (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אֶרְתָּה (Ezra 4. 11), רְבִתָּה (Dan. 4. 27), and מְלִתָּה (Dan. 2. 8).

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

E nouns. 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. קְרִיָּה (Ezra 4. 12) and עֲרִיָּה (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the מְלִיָּה group, שְׂנִיָּה (Dan. 7. 3) to the קְנִי (גִּלְיָה) group, and עֲלָה (Ezra 6. 9) to the מְנָה group. קְנָה, from קְנָה, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. גִּלְיָה (Dan. 2. 25), from גִּלְיָה, is also a noun of this declension.

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

G nouns. 13. מִשְׁרִיקָה (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *i* group and מְלִכְוִתָה (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *ū* 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*. אב, אח, and חם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אָחוּהָא	אָחוּהָי	אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה
		אָחוּהָיָה		
אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה	אָחוּהָיָה OJ
				אָחוּהָיָה PTM

The suffixes הַי, הָא, הָי, and הָיָה are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. הָיָה is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and הָי (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 אָחוּהָי OJ uses אָחוּהָיָה (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, ἀββᾶ). אָחוּהָי 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ā*, from an older *ai*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אָחוּהָי (MT) may originally have meant אָחוּהָי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אָחוּהָי is sometimes contracted into אָחוּהָי (*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 מְלִכָּה and לְבָנָה is paralleled by the distinction between מְלִכִּי and לְבָנִי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטֵל type. E.g. אָרְעָהוּ (Josh. 10. 42), בָּסְרָבוּ (Judg. 8. 7), but also בָּסְרָבוּ (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ בְּיָתִי, OTA בְּיָתִי). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בְּיָתִי and בְּיָתִי. For לָיָה 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: מִיָּהוּ, מִיָּהוּ, יָהוּ, יָהוּ (OTA יָהוּ).

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

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

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

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּה, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מְלִי, מְלִי, מְלִי; מְלִי, מְלִי, מְלִי; עֲבִידָתִי, עֲבִידָתִי; עֲבִידָתִי, עֲבִידָתִי).

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

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

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

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

PLURAL SUFFIXES.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
יָנָן ..	נָא ..	אִי ..	י .. 1 com.
יָכֹן ..	יָכֹן ..	יָךְ ..	יָךְ .. 2 masc.
יָכִין ..	יָכִין ..	יָכִי ..	יָכִי .. fem.
		יָכִי ..	יָכִי ..
יָהֹן ..	יָהֹן ..	יָהִי ..	יָהִי .. 3 masc.
יָהִין ..	יָהִין ..	יָהִי ..	יָהִי .. fem.

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

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

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

3. In OTA the Kethibh implies the earlier pronunciations **יָךְ**.., **יָהִי**.., and **יָכִי**.., which the Qere alters into **יָךְ**.., **יָהִי**.., and **יָכִי**.. respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (**יָךְ**.., **יָהִי**.., **יָכִי**..). Unvocalized **יָהִי** 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. **מְלִכּוּתֵי**, **יָנָנָן**, **יָכִי**). Only the **מְלִי** group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (**מְלִי**..). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (**מְשִׁיחֹן**, **רְעִיחֹן**, **פְּנִי**). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form **מְרִיחֹי**, although presumably its uninflected singular is **מְרִי**, as in OJ.

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

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

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

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

9*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (בְּתַרְי, בְּתַרְמִי). In OTA עָלֶינָא or עָלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix עָלַי, is preserved (cf. note 3).

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

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

BORROWED *ai* SUFFIXES.

PTM	OJ	NORMAL SUFFIXES.	
		OJ and PTM	
	אֶמְרַתִּי	אֶמְרַתְנָא OJ	אֶמְרַתִּי 1 com.
		אֶמְרַתְנָא PTM	
אֶמְרַתִּיכֹן	—	אֶמְרַתְכֹן	אֶמְרַתְךָ 2 masc.
	אֶמְרַתְךָ	—	אֶמְרַתְךָ fem.
אֶמְרַתִּיהֹן	אֶמְרַתְהוּ	אֶמְרַתְהֹן	אֶמְרַתְהוּ 3 masc.
	אֶמְרַתְהָא	—	אֶמְרַתְהָא fem.

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (עָלַיְכֶם, &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. אֶמְרַתְךָ for אֶמְרַתְךָ occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אֶמְרַתְהִי for אֶמְרַתְהִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. לֵית, לֵיתִי, ETC.

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

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

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 לֵיתִי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: לֵיתִי, אֵיתִיכֹן, אֵיתִיכֶם. The inflected stem of לֵית has two forms, as in לֵיתִי and לֵיתִי. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with לֵית, as in PTM (לֵיתֵיהֶם). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לֵית אֲנִי וְכָל).

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

Usages. 5. לֵית and לֵיתִי express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. אֵיתִי הָכָא חַר יְהוּדִי 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with לֵי, לָךְ, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. לֵית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes לֵיתִי may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. לֵיתִי אֵיתִי בְּחִילִי 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ לֵיתִי is used absolutely, like Hebrew אֵין (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. לֵית מֶלֶךְ אֲנִי 'I am not a king' (20. 10), לֵית בֵּיתָא הָדִין חֲרִב 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows לֵיתִי (לֵית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

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

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.

ACTIVE.

אִתְּכַתִּיב	Ithp ^{el}	כָּתַב	Peal	Simple
אִתְּכַתֵּב	Ithpaal	כָּתִיב	Pael	Intensive
אִתְּכַתֵּב	Ittaphal	אִכְתִּיב	Aphel	Causative

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

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

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

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

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

Ith forms. 6*. The Ithp^{el} and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

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

(b) ה changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אִתְּשַׁמַּע, אִתְּסַר, אִתְּדַר.

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

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

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

Shaphel, &c. 9*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שְׁכַלִּיל 'complete' (passive אִשְׁתַּכַּלֵּל, Gen. 2. 1), שְׁעַבִּיד 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שְׁצִיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שְׁיִצִּי 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

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

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

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

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

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

PAEL.		PEAL.	
PTM	OJ	OJ	PTM
	פְּתִיב	דְּמוֹךְ	פְּתֵב 3 s. m.
	פְּתִיבָת	דְּמוֹכָת	פְּתֵבָת f.
	פְּתִיבָתָּהּ	דְּמוֹכָתָּהּ	פְּתֵבָתָּהּ 2 s. m.
	פְּתִיבָתְךָ	דְּמוֹכָתְךָ	פְּתֵבָתְךָ f.
	פְּתִיבָתִי	דְּמוֹכָתִי	פְּתֵבָתִי 1 sing.
פְּתִיבֵנוּ	פְּתִיבֵנוּ	דְּמוֹכֵנוּ	פְּתֵבֵנוּ 3 pl. m.
פְּתִיבֵיךְ	פְּתִיבֵיךְ	דְּמוֹכֵיךְ	פְּתֵבֵיךְ f.
	פְּתִיבֵיכֶם	דְּמוֹכֵיכֶם	פְּתֵבֵיכֶם 2 pl. m.
	פְּתִיבֵיהֶם	דְּמוֹכֵיהֶם	פְּתֵבֵיהֶם f.
פְּתִיבֵנָהּ	פְּתִיבֵנָהּ	דְּמוֹכֵנָהּ	פְּתֵבֵנָהּ 1 plur.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

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

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

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

4. In PTM יִנְ occurs for נִן and יִחוֹן for חֵן, especially in Aphels. The \bar{e} may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: אֶפְתִּינִי (25. 5), אֶפְתִּינִי (23. 9). The form אֶפְתִּינִי (19. ii. 9) = אֶפְתִּינִי + נִן.

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

OTA. 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals (אֶפְתִּיבָת, אֶפְתִּיבָת) and in the few cases there are of Hithpeal (הִתְחַבֵּרָת) and Haphel (הִתְחַבֵּרָת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (פְּתִיבָת) and in two of three Hophals (הִתְחַבֵּרָת). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (פְּתִיבָת). In the Haphel, besides הִתְחַבֵּרָת (§ 33), only הִתְחַבֵּרָת (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 הִתְחַבֵּרָת (as הִתְחַבֵּרָת) or הִתְחַבֵּרָת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

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

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

§ 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיב	3 masc.
יִכְתְּבִי	יִכְתִּיבִי	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	2 masc.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתִּיבִי	1 m. and f.

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

2*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the Pael agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְּנֶנִּי , יִשְׁבַּח , יִתְּבַח .

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 (אִתְּנֶנִּי , אִתְּבַח)¹ and hireq once (אִתְּנֶנִּי).

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

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

OTA. 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pael are \bar{u} (יִסְגֹּר), \bar{a} (יִלְבֹּשׁ), and \bar{e} (יִפֹּל) and those of the imperf. Pael and Haphel \bar{e} or \bar{i} (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יִהְיֶה , יִהְיֶה). The plural ending \bar{u} (or \bar{o}), for \bar{u} , occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

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

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

¹ In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after לְ and לְלָא to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after לְלָא = lest (24. 3) and after ד (or דְּלֵא) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 'that I should go out', 22. 1 'should be married', 28. 6, $\text{כָּל דְּיִמְרָא לִי בִר נְשָׂא אֶעְבֵּיד}$ 'everything that any one may bid me I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

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

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24. 15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After בְּדִיל 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 אֶפְשָׁר with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by אֶפְשָׁר (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18. 3, 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following אִם (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and אִרִּי (Hebrew אִי), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).

(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עָתִיד with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

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

11. עָתִיד ('ready', 'prepared') or לְ עָתִיד , with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without לְ (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, $\text{רִבְנָן הָכָא בָּעֲזָן נִיצְלִי וַיִּיחֹז מִטְרָא}$ 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. $\text{כָּל סָפָא דְּמִלְתָּא נָפּוּק לִי מִן הָכָא}$ (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For נִיצְלִי and נָפּוּק see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

PAEL.		PeAL.		OJ
פְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	פְּתִיב	2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִי	מְנַעִי	עֲבִידִי	פְּתִיבִי	f.
פְּתִיבוּ	מְנַעוּ	עֲבִידוּ	פְּתִיבוּ	2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבָא	מְנַעָא	עֲבִידָא	פְּתִיבָא	f.
PTM				
פְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	פְּתִיב	2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	פְּתִיבִין	f.
פְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	פְּתִיבִין	2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	פְּתִיבִין	f.

- 1*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.
- 2*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).
- 3*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. *ī* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עָבְדִּין 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 (מִנְעִין, מְנַעֵן).
5. ἐφφαθα is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְּפַתְּהָ = אֶפְתַּח = ἐφφαθα (ת not being distinguished from פ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).
- OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to כָּתוּב and אֶכְתִּיב are כָּתַב (one example) and הִכָּתַב (two examples).

§ 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מִכְתֵּב		מִכְתֵּב	Peal
	מִכְתּוּב			
	מִכְתְּבָא			
כְּתוּבִי	מִכְתְּבָא	כְּתִיבָת	כְּתִיבָא	Pael
אֶכְתּוּבִי	מִכְתְּבָא	אֶכְתִּיבָת	אֶכְתְּבָא	Aphel
אֶתְּכּוּבִי	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיבָת	אֶתְּכְתְּבָא	Ithpeel
אֶתְּכּוּבִי	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיבָת	אֶתְּכְתְּבָא	Ithpaal
	מִתְּכְתְּבָא	אֶתְּכִיבָת	אֶתְּכְתְּבָא	Ittaphal

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

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

OJ. 3*. The OJ forms in *ū/h* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָדְמוּתִיהָ, Gen. 14. 17).

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

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for א (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנְיָחַת (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

APHEL.	PAEL.		PeAL.
	PTM	OJ	
מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	כָּתִיב active
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	כָּתִיב passive
ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHPeAL.	
מִתְכַתֵּב	מִתְכַתֵּב	מִתְכַתֵּב	

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

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

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

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

3*. The partic. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples: דָּמִיָּה (also דָּמוּהָ) 'sleeping'; רָחִיץ (also רָחִיץ) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דָּחִיל (also דָּחוּל) 'fearing'.

4*. Words of the form כָּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples: סָבִיר 'thinking'; דָּכִיר 'remembering'; תָּמִיָּה (? also תָּמִיָּה) 'wondering'.

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

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

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

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

¹ So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יִדְעָנָא?

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—יְהִי, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With עַד 'while' (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of particc. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אָמַרְתָּ).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperf. (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

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

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

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—מַהֲלֵכִין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—כַּתְּבָה), 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, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

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

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קִים (14. ii. 1), שָׁרִי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַד (19. 13). שָׂרִי ('begin') is used with particc. in the Peshitta, but with infin. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

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

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

(a) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: וְהָיָה אָתִי כִּד הָיָה 'when he was coming', וְהָיָה אָתִי 'now he

knew'. In the sentence *והיא בכיה נא אסמרתה ואמרתי לה מה ליך* (29. 6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(d) *An act repeated in the past* a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15. 3, 19, ii. 15—*היה איתי לחפץ הנה*—15. 3, 19, ii. 15—*עביר בן*—21. 13, 22. 7).

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

(f) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after *היה*, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of *היה* (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: *הוּנָא מְנִלָּא* 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), *מָה הוּנָא מְסַעֵר דְּעֵתִי* 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—*הָיָה יָעִין* 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—*הָיָה קָטַל* 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (*הָיָא בִּרְךָ*) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (*הָיָו בְּעִין*). In Dan. 6. 15 *הָיָה מְשַׁתְּרֵר* may be classed under (a) or (d).

5*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, 'as they had revered') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6*. The imperfect *יְהִי* joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after *כִּדְר*), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (c) after *וְ* and *לֵא* to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19—*הָיָא צָבָא*—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8*. *יְהִי* joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11). *יְהִי* with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

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

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

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

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

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

2*. In the imperf. Pael **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יִשְׁשׁוּב, יִשְׁעִיר, יִשְׁעִיר, but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעֲבִיר (twice), יִחְלֹפֶנּוּ (once) and יַעֲדֶה or תַּעֲדֶה (thrice), with the imperfect forms of הָוֶה (תִּהְיֶה, &c.), are the only Pael imperf. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יַעֲבִיר equivalent to *seghol* (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נָחַת	נָחַת, נָחִיב	נָפַק	Pael	perf.
נִחֹחַ	נִפַּק	נִפּוֹק		imperf.
נָחַת	נָפַק	נָפּוֹק		imperat.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		infin.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		PTM
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		partic.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק	Aphel	perf.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		imperf.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		imperat.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		infin.
נִחֹחַת	נִפּוֹק	נִפּוֹק		partic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7*. In סִלֵּק / סִלֵּק assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הִנְסָקָה (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 נָחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (נִחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, נִחַת or נִחַת) and partic. (נִחַתִּין), but not in the Hophal (נִחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נָתַן (imperf., inf.), נָפַק (Aphel), and נָזַק (Aphel). There are two $\bar{\epsilon}$ imperfects, נִפַּל (as Syriac; OJ נִפּוֹל) and נִתַּן or נִתָּן. For the imperat. נִשֵּׂא see § 27, note 10, and for כִּלֵּק, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		PeAL.		
אֹכֵל	אָל	אָמַר	אָכַל	perf.
יֹכֵל	יֹל	יָמַר	יָכַל	imperf.
אֹכִיר	אֹיִל, אֹיִל	אָמַר	אָכַל	imperat.
אֹכִירָו	אֹיִלוֹ	אָמְרוּ	אָכְלוּ	OJ
אֹכִירָן	אֹלָן	אָמְרוּן	אָכְלוּן	PTM
אֹכִירָא	מִיֹּל	מִימַר	מִיכַל	infin.
מוֹכִיר	אֹיִל	אָמַד	אָכִיל	partic.

1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into $\bar{\epsilon}$ and \bar{o} respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (יֹכֵל, יֹכִיר).

Peal imperf. 2*. The imperfects Peal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יֹמַר, יֹכַר, יֹלַךְ, and יֹסַר (but also יֹסֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew hōlem). יֹכֵל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יֹכֵל).

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

4*. Some verbs (e.g. אָמַר, אָכַל) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms (אָמַר, אָכַל; אָמַר, אָכַל—in Dalman's *Ull*). For the ending \bar{o} in אָמַר see § 29.

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

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

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

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

OTA. 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the P^{al} imperf. and infin. (אָבַר, אָמַר), except in the cases of מָתָא and מָוָא, from אָתָא and אָוָא (§ 27). In the P^{al} imperat. א is generally followed by ḥateph seghol and in אָלָה (Ezra 5. 15) *šere* is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אָוָא, Dan. 3. 22, = אָוָא, pass. ptc. P^{al}). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אָבְלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אָבְלִי, i.e. אָבְלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. הוֹבִיר (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

APHEL.			P ^{al} .	
אָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח perf.
	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	
יָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח imperf.
אָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	— imperat.
אָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	
אָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח infin.
אָוִיב	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח	יָבַח

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

Stem vowels. 2. Imperff. P^{al} with *ē* as their stem vowel are יָבַח (OTA יָבַח) and יָבַח (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יָלִיר (Gen. 3. 16) and יָוִיר (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

Imperat. 3*. The imperatt. P^{al} are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יָבַח, יָבַח).

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

5*. In OJ הוֹדַע is used for אָוִיר and the uncontracted forms הוֹדַע:

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

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel שָׁצִיב (שָׁצִיב OTA) 'rescue' has no P^{al} in use (? = שָׁצִיב). סוֹבֵל (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of יָבַל, with ס as in some Syriac forms. For שָׁצִי (?) from יָצָא see § 27, note 8.

Ithp^{el}. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithp^{el} forms see § 25, note 7.

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

OTA. 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In P^{al} perf. and imperf. the stem vowel *i* corresponds to OJ *e* (יָתַב; יָכַל; יָתַב). In the imperf. P^{al} preformative *i* and *e* both occur (יָכַל; יָכַל). יָדַע is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יָדַע (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like הוֹתֵב (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (הוֹסֵפִי) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHP ^{EL} .	APHEL.	PAEL.	P ^{AL} .	
אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	חָן	חָן	perf.
אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן				
יִתְחַן	יִתְחַן	יִתְחַן	יִתְחַן	יִתְחַן	יִתְחַן	imperf.
	יִתְחַן					
אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	חָן	חָן	imperat.
אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	אֶתְחַן	חָן	חָן	infin.
מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	PTM
מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	act. ptc.
מִתְחַן				מִתְחַן	מִתְחַן	pass. ptc.
				מִתְחַן		PTM

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

2*. Intransitive perfects P^{al} ending in *i* in OJ are: שָׁתִי, כָּנִי, חָרִי, &c. שָׁתִי (or אֶשְׁתִּי, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA שָׁתִי (or אֶשְׁתִּי) and שָׁתִי occur.

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

4*. In Yemenite MSS. P^{al} imperat. of the form חָן are corrections of חָן under the influence of Hebrew (Dietrich, ZATW., xx, p. 151).

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

6. In OJ an infin. P^{al} of the form מִתְחַן is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form מִתְחַן may have been pronounced מִתְחַן, from מִתְחַן. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points *ā* in the final syllable (לְמִתְחַן).

Pass. partic. 7*. The passive partic. P^{al} is sometimes pointed with final *i* by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form שָׁצִי 'complete', may be derived from יָצָא. For the *e* of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

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

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

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

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

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

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(perfect tenses)

APHEL.		PEAL.		PEAL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אָחַו		שָׁחַו	חָוָה	3 s. m.
אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	חָוָה	f.
ח-אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	ח-שָׁחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	2 s. m.
	אָחַוּת		שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	f.
ח-אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	ח-שָׁחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	1 s. com.
אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	3 pl. m.
אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	—	שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	f.
	אָחַוּת		שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	2 pl. m.
	אָחַוּת		שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	f.
אָחַוּת	אָחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	שָׁחַוּת	חָוּת	1 pl. com.

Endings. 1*. The OJ plural terminations \bar{i} (3 masc.) and \bar{u} (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Pael only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM $\bar{o}n$ and $\bar{t}un$ (?) and extends the use of $\bar{o}n$ to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

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

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

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

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

OTA. 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes \bar{i} in \bar{i} perfects (מַטִּית), \bar{a} in the 2 s. m.

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

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

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

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

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PLURAL.	P ^{al} .		IMPERFECT.
	SINGULAR.		
	PTM	OJ	
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	3 masc.
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	fem.
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	2 masc.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	fem.
	חִוִּיָּי		
חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	1 com.

PTM	APHEL. OJ	PTM P ^{al} .	OJ	IMPERATIVE.
	חִוִּיָּי		חִוִּיָּי	2 s. m.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	f.
חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	חִוִּיָּי	2 pl. m.
—	—	—	חִוִּיָּי	f.

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

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

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

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

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: חִוִּיָּי (P^{al}—Gen. 24. 14), חִוִּיָּי (P^{al}—Gen. 24. 2), חִוִּיָּי or חִוִּיָּי (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the P^{al} imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

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

8. P^{al} infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

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

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

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form $\aleph\eta\eta$ (Dan. 5. 10), with \bar{o} for \bar{on} , may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH (inflexion of participles)

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 31. ¹ $\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$					
APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.	
$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	perf.
			$\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	
$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	imperf.
		$\aleph\eta\eta$, $\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	
	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	imperat.
			$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	
$\aleph\eta\eta$		$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	infin.
			$\aleph\eta\eta$		PTM
$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	$\aleph\eta\eta$	partic.

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

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

2. The imperf. and imperat. P^{al} and Aphel of אָתָא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מִיְתִי is both infin. P^{al} and partic. Aphel.

Imperat. 3. In the imperat. P^{al} the OJ supralinear form אִיתָא is equivalent to אָתָא (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אִיתָא (24. ii. 13), אִיתָא (אִיתָא, 22. ii. 8), and אִתָּא (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos* *i* is written in אִתָּא, אִתָּו, &c. (cf. אִתָּיִל). The final vowel of אִיתָא may be corrected into *ā* (similarly in the case of אִיתָא, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. P^{al} of אָתָא is אִיתָא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אִתָּי (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אִיתָאִי (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

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

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

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

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the P^{al} imperf. of הוה are written אִתָּי and אִתָּו, with the original pre-formative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

9. In the verb חָיָא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) P^{al} and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also יִתָּי and Hebrew יָחַי. For OTA see table below.

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

HAPHEL.	P ^{AL} .	P ^{AL} .	HAPHEL.	P ^{AL} .	OTA
		הוה, הוה	היחי	אתה, אתה	perf.
		הוה	היחי	אתו	
		להוא			imperf.
		להוה			
	חיי				imperat.
		הוה		אתו	
			היתיה (היתיה)	מתה	infin.
מחא				אתה	partic.

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"י)

ITAPHAL.	ITHP ^{AL} .	APHEL.	P ^{AL} .	
	PTM OJ AND PTM			
אתקם	אתקם	אתקם	קם	perf.
אתקם				PTM
יתקם	יתקם	יתקם	יקם	imperf.
—	אתקם	אתקם	קם	imperat.
—	—	אתקם	מקם	infin.
		מתקם	מקם	PTM
מתקם	מתקם	מתקם	קאים	partic. act.
			קים	partic. pass.

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfected in ī** are מִית 'die', בִּיב 'be old', and יִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects in ē** are יָבִית, יָבִים, and יָרִין (or יָרִין) from בָּת 'pass the night', קָם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have *ā* in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יָנַח), but שָׁק 'shake' has imperf. יִשְׁק and imperat. שֶׁק (plur. שִׁק). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed *ā* in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperf. in *ē* have **imperatives in ī** (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

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

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

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperf., imperat., infinn., and partic. Aphel is often written *ā* in supralinear MSS. Examples: אֶתְקַבֵּא (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אֶתְקַבֵּא (Judg. 1. 1), אֶתְקַבֵּא (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אֶתְקַבֵּא (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), קֶנַח (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative *ā* occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יִתְקַבֵּא (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מִתְקַבֵּא (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is *ō*.

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

Ithpeel. 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithpeel is sometimes

written *ā* (אֶתְקַבֵּא, Judg. 5. 20) and the *n* of the preformative syllable may become *ṛ* before initial *ṛ* (hence אֶתְקַבֵּא = אֶתְקַבֵּא).

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

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

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the PeAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative *hateph seghol* occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הִתְקַבֵּא, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPEEL is *ā* in one verb (יִתְקַבֵּא) and *ī* in another (יִתְקַבֵּא). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קָיִים (Dan. 6. 8), מְקַיֵּם (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְקַבֵּא (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הִתְקַבֵּא (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שָׁמַח (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שָׁמַח (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.		
Imperat.	Perfect.	Partic.	Perfect.	
אֶקְיִם	אֶקְיִם	קָיִים, קָיִים	מִית	קָם
אֶקְיִמִי	אֶקְיִמַת	קָיִמָא	מִיתַת	קָמַת
	אֶקְיִמַת-תָּא		מִיתַת-תָּא	קָמַת-תָּא

אֶקְיִמוּ	אֶקְיִמוּ	קָיִמִין	מִיתוּ	קָמוּ
אֶקְיִמָא	אֶקְיִמָא	קָיִמִן	(מִיתָא ?)	קָמָא

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

Particc. 2*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have \aleph in the K^{ethibh} and \imath in the Q^{ere}, except in קָמַץ (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain \aleph in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; *Chrest.*, 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

OTA. 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is $\imath h$ (שָׁמַח, Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיִמַח, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יְהִימִי (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
אָעִיל	אָבִיו	עֵל	בּוּ (בּוֹ) perf.
יָעִיל	יָבִיו	יָעוּל	יָבוּ imperf.
אָעִיל	אָבִיו	עוּל	בוּ imperat.
אָעִיל	אָבִיו	מִעֵל	מָבוּ infin.
מִעֵיל	מָבִיו	עָלִיל	בָּוִי partic. act.
מָעֵל	מָבוּ	עָלִיל	בָּוִי ptc. pass.

Disyllabic stems. 1*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithp^{eels}, and Shaphels. Examples: מְלִיל, אֲתָבִיו, שִׁכְלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

2*. The intensive forms are of the types עָלִיל, עָלִיל (especially PTM), עָלִיל (OJ), and עָלִיל. עָלִיל is borrowed from the ע"י stems (§ 32). The use of עָלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּץ (25. 4) is the passive participle of this form.

Stem vowels. 3*. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathah in Syriac and OTA, is always \bar{a} in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either \bar{o} or \bar{a} (יָבוּ, יָיִהֵם).

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

Participles. 5. In PTM the participle form עָלִיל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עָלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עָלִין, for עָלִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עָלִין (K^{ethibh}) is replaced by עָלִין or עָלִין or עָלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

6. Aphel participles like מִקָּל and מִצָּן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

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

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

Ittaphal. 9. The Ittaphal forms are like אֲתָעֵל and אֲתָחֵל.

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

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

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(inflected forms)

APHEL.		P ^e AL.	
PERFECT.		PERFECT.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
אֶעֱלֶה	אֶעֱלֵה	עָלָה (עָלוּ)	עָלָה 3 masc.
אֶעֱלִי	אֶעֱלִי	עָלָה	עָלָה fem.
אֶעֱלִי	אֶעֱלִי	עָלָה	עָלָה 2 masc.
אֶעֱלִי	אֶעֱלִי	עָלָה	עָלָה fem.
אֶעֱלִי	אֶעֱלִי	עָלָה	עָלָה 1 com.
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
יֶעֱלֶה	יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֶה	יֶעֱלֵה 3 masc.
יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה 2 masc.
יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה	יֶעֱלֵה 1 com.
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
אֶעֱלֵה	אֶעֱלֵה	עֲלֵה	עֲלֵה 2 masc.
אֶעֱלֵה	אֶעֱלֵה	עֲלֵה	עֲלֵה fem.

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

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

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

4. P^eal and Aphel forms like רַקַּח (PTM), עֲלֵה (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and תִּמְלֵל (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative P^eAL the stem vowel is \bar{o} (נָדָה, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הַעֲלִי, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (\bar{e}) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥaṭeph seghol in some MSS. (מִדְּקָה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, מִדְּקָה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יִחְסִי (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יִחְסִי (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an פ^e verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הִדְּקָה or הִדְּקָה (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, יִ or יֵ for \bar{i} , and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun **אני** is substituted for **הוּ** (**הוּ**). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2*. In OJ **אני** is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, **א** being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to **נן** with the 3 s. f. perf. and to **נן** in union with stems ending in a vowel (**שִׁלַּחְנִי**, **שִׁלַּחְנִי**, **שִׁלַּחְנִי**). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before **אני** except in the 1 s. perf., in which **כָּתַבְתִּי**, **כָּתַבְתָּ** and **אָכַלְתִּי** are used for **כָּתַבְתִּי**, &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 **ān**, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending **ā**. Examples: **אָפְקִינִי** (25. ii. 2), **אָפְקִינִי** (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 (**אָפְקִינִי**, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, **אָפְקִינִי**, 21. i, **אָפְקִינִי**).

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

2 sing. and 1 sing. **5.** In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like **כָּתַבְתִּי**, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form **כָּתַבְתָּ** for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like **אָשְׁכַּחְתִּי** 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. **שָׁבַקְתִּי** (Gen. 31. 28) = *σαβαχθαυει* (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes (**שָׁבַקְתִּי**, **אָשְׁכַּחְתִּי**). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *i* before suffixes (**אָשְׁכַּחְתִּי**).

3 s. f. **6*.** The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (**כָּלְכַחְתִּי** '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: **שָׁלַחְתִּי**, **שָׁלַחְתִּי**, **שָׁלַחְתִּי**; **שָׁלַחְתִּי**, **שָׁלַחְתִּי**.

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

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

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

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

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like פְּתָבִי and in PTM like פְּתָבִי (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. אֲפִיקְהָ 'bring her out' = אֲפִיקְהָ).

ע"י stems. 10*. The forms of ע"י verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

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

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by דְּ is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, אֲשֶׁכֶּחָה '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, דָּקְאִים בְּתֵרִיה '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, חָסְתִּין קָטְלִין 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem חָסַת see § 37, note 1).

§ 37.¹ VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH ל"א 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.

§ 37. VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH ל"א STEMS 85

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

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

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: אֲשֶׁרִייה (Gen. 2. 15), אֲתִייה (Gen. 2. 22), אֲמַעֲנִי (Gen. 3. 13), אֲתִייה (Judg. 1. 7). With אֲנִי the ordinary stem is used (אֲחִיני).

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

3 s. f. 4. In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of *i* perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ית before suffixes. Examples: אֲשֶׁתִּיהָ, בְּפִתִּיהָ (Judg. 4. 19), אֲתִיתִיהָ (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: חָאֲדָה (3 s. f.), חָאֲדָה (OJ 2 s. m.), חָאֲדָה (1 sing.), חָאֲדָה (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), חָאֲדָה (PTM 3 pl.). For חָאֲדָה (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

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

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

Imperat. stems. 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֶחָדְכֶם, חֲזוּהִי). In some MSS. *ā* is written for *ō* and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֶחָדְכֶם, Judg. 1. 24).

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

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

§ 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

Suffix forms. 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—הֵמָּן (eight times), הֵמָּן (three times), and אֵנָּן (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 *ni* is 'me' and that נִי is written for נִי in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: *ni*, *ni* (2 s. m.), *ni* (§ 12), *ni*, and *ni*.

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: הִקְרַבְתִּי, הִשְׁלַכְתָּ, הִתְחַמַּמְתָּ.

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

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

ples: יִשְׁמְשֻׁנָּה, יִשְׁיִיבְנָה, יִתְחַנְנָה. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. *n* is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (יִשְׁיִיבְנָה, Dan. 3. 15; יִשְׁמְשֻׁנָּה, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (יִבְהַלְךָ, Dan. 4. 16; יִבְהַלְךָ, Dan. 5. 10).

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

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

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before *n* the *šere* of the independent form (יִחַנֵּן) is replaced by *hireq* (יִחַנֵּן, יִחַנֵּן) and in the plural *ō* is replaced by *u* (יִחַנֵּנוּ, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

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

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

PARADIGM OF VERB (OI)

[illegible][illegible]

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

Perfect.

APHEL.	P _{AL} .	APHEL.	P _{AL} .
3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	PTM
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
—	—	—	—
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען

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Imperfect.

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	PTM
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
—	—	—	—
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען

Imperative.

2 plur. m.	PTM	2 plur. m.	PTM
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען
—	—	—	—
אָרשפּען	קראָפּען	אָרשפּען	קראָפּען

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OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (*nominatives*).

אֲנִיחָנָא	אֲנָא	1 com.
אֲנִינָא	אֲנִיתָ (אֲנִיחָה)	2 masc.
—	—	fem.
אֲנִי, הִפּוֹ	הִיא	3 masc.
אֲנִין	הִיא	fem.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

that	הַהּ, הַכֵּן, הָא	this	הַהּ	masc.
	—		הָא	fem.
those	אֵלֶּה, אֵלֵּין	these	אֵלֵּין, אֵלֵּין	
			אֵל (אֲכֵה)	

Inflection of Nouns.

שְׁאֲלָה	הִיחָה	יִחָה	Singular absolute.
שְׁאֲלָת	הִיחַת	יִחַת	construct.
שְׁאֲלָתָא	הִיחָתָא	יִחָתָא	emphatic.

שְׁאֲלָן	הִיחָן	יִחָן	Plural absolute.
שְׁאֲלָת	הִיחַת	יִחַת	construct.
שְׁאֲלָתָא	הִיחָתָא	יִחָתָא	emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.
שְׁאֲלָתִי	הִיחָתִי	הִיחָתִי	יִחָתִי	יִחָתִי 1 sing.
שְׁאֲלָתְךָ	הִיחָתְךָ	הִיחָתְךָ	יִחָתְךָ (יִחָתְךָ)	יִחָתְךָ 2 s. m. f.
שְׁאֲלָתָהּ	הִיחָתָהּ	הִיחָתָהּ	יִחָתָהּ	יִחָתָהּ 3 s. m.
שְׁאֲלָתָם	הִיחָתָם	הִיחָתָם	יִחָתָם (יִחָתָם)	יִחָתָם f.
שְׁאֲלָתְכֵן	הִיחָתְכֵן	הִיחָתְכֵן	יִחָתְכֵן	יִחָתְכֵן 1 plur.
				יִחָתְכֵן בָּם 2 pl. m.
				f.
שְׁאֲלָתְהוֹן	הִיחָתְהוֹן	הִיחָתְהוֹן	יִחָתְהוֹן הָם	יִחָתְהוֹן 3 pl. m.
שְׁאֲלָתְהוֹן	הִיחָתְהוֹן	הִיחָתְהוֹן	יִחָתְהוֹן	יִחָתְהוֹן f.

OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

HOPHAL.	HITHPAAL.	HITHPAEL.	HAPHEL.	PAEL.	PEAL.	
הָנִחַת	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	<i>Perfect.</i>
הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	3 s. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	2 s. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	1 sing.
					הִנְחִיחַ	3 pl. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	2 pl. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	1 pl.

Imperfect.

הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	3 s. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.

הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	2 s. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	1 sing. ²
					הִנְחִיחַ	3 pl. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	2 pl. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	1 pl.

Imperative.

הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	2 s. m.
					הִנְחִיחַ	f.
					הִנְחִיחַ	2 pl. m.

Infinitive.

הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	הִנְחִיחַ	Ptc. act.
					הִנְחִיחַ	Ptc. pass.

¹ See § 106, note 12.

² See § 18, notes 3 and 4.

TABLE OF VERBS

ע"ע	ע"ז	ל"א	פ"י	פ"א	פ"נ	P ^{AL} .
על	קם	פֿעא	יִרַע	אָמַר	נִפְק	פֿתַב Perf.
(יִרְעֵ)	יָקוּם	יִרְעֵא	יִרְעֵ	יִרְעֵ	[יִרְעֵ]	יִרְעֵ Imperf.
(מִרְעֵ)	קוּם	מִרְעֵא	רֵעֵ	אָמַר	פֿק	פֿתַב Imperat.
	קָאָם	פֿעֵא	רֵעֵ	מִאָמַר	[מִפֿק]	מִרְעֵא Infin.
	(רם)	פֿעֵא		אָמַר	נִפְק	פֿתַב Pic. act.
					פֿתַב	פֿתַב Pic. pass.
HAPHEL.						
הִדִּק	הָקוּם	הָשְׁנִי	הִדִּע	הִרְבֵּ	הִרְבֵּ	הִרְבֵּ Perf.
יִדִּק	יָקוּם	יִהְשֵׁנָא	יִדִּרְע			יִרְעֵ Imperf.
הִדִּק						הִרְבֵּ Imperat.
הִדִּקָּה	הִדִּקָּה	הִשְׁנִיָּה	הִדִּרְעָה	הִרְבֵּה	הִרְבֵּה	הִרְבֵּה Infin.
מִהִדִּק	מִהִדִּקָּה	מִהִשְׁנִיָּה				מִרְעֵא Pic. act.
מִדִּק	(מִדִּקָּה)				מִרְעֵא	מִרְעֵא Pic. pass.

APPENDIX ON THE NUMERALS¹

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.² 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.³

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.

² *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1959), pp. 191–208.

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

E. Y. Kutscher, for example, has recently¹ maintained that the Targum of Onkelos has an ultimately Palestinian origin, even though it does not reflect ordinary spoken usage. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Dalman's views are now out of date. The Palestinian Targum ought now to be used in the preparation of a grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, and it is, at least, questionable whether the language of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan should be included.

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

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

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

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

² Cf. pp. 3, 11 ff.

³ Cf. p. 11.

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

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

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

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

THE NUMERALS

Note. There are many variations in spelling in the manuscripts and printed editions. In particular, most forms which are shown below as ending in 𐤌 or 𐤍 also appear with 𐤎 or 𐤏 respectively as the final letter. Similarly, 'ten' and related numbers frequently have 𐤐 instead of 𐤑.

§ 39. CARDINAL NUMBERS

OJ. 1. Cardinal numbers 1-19

With masculine nouns

With feminine nouns

1

𐤅

𐤅𐤍

With masculine nouns

2	תָּרִין, תָּרִי
3	תָּלָה
4	אַרְבָּעָה (construct)
5	חֲמִישָׁה (construct)
6	שֵׁשֶׁה (construct)
7	שִׁבְעָה (construct)
8	חֲמִנָּה
9	תִּשְׁעָה (construct)
10	עֶסְרָה
11	חֲדָ עֶסֶר
12	תָּרִין עֶסֶר, תָּרִי ע'
13	תָּלָה עֶסֶר
14	אַרְבָּעָה עֶסֶר
15	חֲמִישָׁה עֶסֶר
16	שֵׁשֶׁה עֶסֶר
17	שִׁבְעָה עֶסֶר
18	חֲמִנָּה עֶסֶר
19	תִּשְׁעָה עֶסֶר

With feminine nouns

תָּרִין
תָּלָה
אַרְבָּע
חֲמִישַׁ
שֵׁשֶׁת
שִׁבְעַ
חֲמִנִּי, חֲמִנָּה
חֲשֵׁשׁ, חֲשֵׁשׁ, חֲשֵׁשׁ
עֶסֶר
חֲדָ עֶסְרִי, חֲדָ ע'
תִּרְסָה עֶסְרִי, תִּרְסִין ע', תִּרְסִי ע'
תָּלָה עֶסְרִי
אַרְבַּע עֶסְרִי
חֲמִישַׁ עֶסְרִי
שֵׁשֶׁת עֶסְרִי
שִׁבְעַ עֶסְרִי
חֲמִנִּי עֶסְרִי, חֲמִנָּה ע', חֲמִנָּה ע'
חֲשֵׁשׁ עֶסְרִי, חֲשֵׁשׁ ע'

Such forms as the following are also found with masculine nouns: תִּלְתָּה עֶסֶר, אַרְבָּעָה ע', חֲמִישָׁה ע', שֵׁשֶׁה ע', חֲמִישַׁ ע'.

PTM. 2

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

With masculine nouns

2	תָּרִין, תָּרִי
6	אַשְׁתָּה, אֶשְׁתָּה
7	שׁוּבְעָה ¹
8	חֲתוּמִיָּה ²

With feminine nouns

תִּרְסִי, תִּרְסִי

¹ Sometimes vocalized חֲמִישָׁה.

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 *u* before the labials *beth* and *mem*.

PTM. 3

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

(a) עֶסְרִי is frequently used instead of עֶשְׂרָה.

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

11 (with masculine noun) חֲדָסֶר

12 (with feminine noun) חֲרִיִּסְרִי

16 (with masculine noun) אֶשֶׁת חִיסֶר

(c) There are minor differences, e.g. (with masculine noun) תִּשְׁעָה ע', חֲמִנִּי ע', שִׁבְעָה ע',¹ שׁוּבְעָה עֶשֶׂר,¹ שׁוּבְעָה.

OJ and PTM. 4. Tens

20	עֶסְרִין	30	תָּלָתִין	40	אַרְבָּעִין
50	חֲמִשִּׁין	60	שִׁשִּׁין	70	שִׁבְעִין
80	חֲמִנִּין, חֲמִנִּין	90	תִּשְׁעִין		

PTM also have אֶשְׁתִּין, אֶשְׁתִּין for 60, שׁוּבְעִין for 70, and חֲתוּמִין for 80.

OJ and PTM. 5. Hundreds

The word for 'hundred' is מֵאָה.

OJ use the following forms:

200	מֵאָה, מֵאָה	300	תָּלָה מֵאָה
400	אַרְבַּע מֵאָה	500	חֲמִישַׁ מֵאָה
600	שֵׁשֶׁת מֵאָה	700	שִׁבְעַ מֵאָה
800	חֲמִנִּי מֵאָה	900	חֲשֵׁשׁ מֵאָה

PTM sometimes use the same forms, but also have מֵאָתִין for 200, and, for 300–900, more frequently have מֵאָה (the absolute plural of מֵאָה) preceded by the short form of the numeral, e.g. תָּלָה (תִּשְׁעָה מֵאָה, אַרְבַּע מֵאָה, חֲמִישַׁ מֵאָה, שִׁבְעַ מֵאָה, חֲמִנִּי מֵאָה).

¹ Note the tendency for the vowel to become *u* before the labials *beth* and *mem*.

OJ and PTM. 6. Thousands

In both OJ and PTM, the word for 'thousand' is אֶלֶף, emphatic state אֶלְפָּא; plural: absolute אֲלָפִין, emphatic אֶלְפֵיָא.

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

OJ and PTM. 7. Myriads

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

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

OJ and PTM. 8. Compound numerals

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

Gen. 5. 26 שְׁבַע מֵאָה וְתַרְסִין שָׁנִין 782 years.

Num. 26. 22 שִׁבְעִין וְשָׁטָא אֲלָפִין וְחֲמִישׁ מֵאָה 76,500.

PTM. 9

The numerals 3–10 and 20–90 also have a determinate form ending in *te*, e.g. תְּלָתִי 'the three'; אַרְבַּעַתִּי 'the four'; חֲמִשָּׁתִּי 'the five'; תְּשִׁיעִתִּי 'the eight'; תְּלָת עֶשְׂרִיתִּי 'the thirteen'; תְּלָתִיתִי 'the thirty'.

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

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

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

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

Josh. 5. 10 בְּאַרְבַּעַת עֶסְרָא יוֹמָא לִיְרֵחָא 'on the fourteenth day of the month'.

OJ and PTM. 11. Suffixes

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

2 תְּרִיבּוֹן, תְּרִיבּוֹהֶן, תְּרִיבּוֹהֶן; feminine תְּרִיבּוֹהֶן

3 תְּלָתִיבּוֹן

8 יְתַמְנִיתִיבּוֹן, תְּמַנִּיתִיבּוֹן

Similar forms appear in OJ, e.g. שְׁבַעַתְהוֹן, תְּלָתִיתְהוֹן. Before suffixes, the form corresponding to תְּרִין is תְּרִי, e.g. תְּרִיבּוֹהֶן.

OTA. 12

The following forms are found in OTA:

<i>With masculine nouns</i>		<i>With feminine nouns</i>
1	חַד	חַדָּא, חַדָּה
2	—	תְּרִיבּוֹן
3	תְּלָתָא, תְּלָתָה	תְּלָת
4	אַרְבַּעָה	אַרְבַּע
6	—	שֵׁשׁ, שֵׁשֶׁת
7	שְׁבַעָה (construct שְׁבַעַת)	—
10	עֶשְׂרָה	עֶשְׂרָה
12	תְּרִיבּוֹנָא	—
20	עֶשְׂרִין	שְׁתִּין
30	תְּלָתִין	—
100	מֵאָה	400 אַרְבַּע מֵאָה
200	מֵאָתָן	—
1000	אֶלֶף, construct אֶלְפִי	—
emphatic אֶלְפֵיָא; plural: absolute אֲלָפִין; ²		

10,000 construct singular רַבּוֹ;

absolute plural רַבּוֹן (K^ethibh; Q^ere רַבְּרָן).

¹ Dalman emends this form to תְּמַנִּיתִיבּוֹן.

² The reading אֲלָפִים in Dan. 7. 10 is probably a mistake.

With a suffix תַּלְתָּהוֹן.

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

Dan. 6. 1 שְׁתֵּין וְתַרְסִין 62.

Dan. 6. 2 מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין 120.

§ 40. ORDINAL NUMBERS

OJ and PTM. 1. 'First'

The word for 'first' is קְדָמִי (or קֶדְמָאִי; cf. p. 28), emphatic state קֶדְמָאָה; plural: absolute קֶדְמָאִין, emphatic קֶדְמָאִי; feminine singular emphatic קֶדְמִיתָּה, plural emphatic קֶדְמִיתָּא.

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

OJ and PTM. 2. 'Second'

The word for 'second' is תַּנְיָן, emphatic תַּנְיָנָה; plural absolute תַּנְיָנִין; feminine singular absolute תַּנְיָתָה, &c.

OJ and PTM. 3. 'Third'–'tenth'

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

3rd תַּלִּיתִי	4th רְבִיעִי	5th חֲמִישִׁי	6th שְׁתִּיתִי
7th שְׁבִיעִי	8th חֲמִינִי	9th תַּשְׁעִי	10th עֲסִירִי

The feminine singular emphatic is תַּלִּיתִיתָּה, רְבִיעִיתָּה, &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 קֶדְמִיָּה

feminine singular emphatic קֶדְמִיתָּה, plural emphatic

קֶדְמִיתָּא

'Second': feminine singular absolute תַּנְיָנָה

'Third': feminine singular absolute תַּלִּיתָּה (Q^{re}; K^{ethibh} תַּלִּיתָּה)

'Fourth': masculine singular emphatic רְבִיעָּה (Q^{re}; K^{ethibh} רְבִיעִיָּה)

feminine singular absolute רְבִיעָּה (Q^{re}; K^{ethibh} רְבִיעִיָּה and רְבִיעִיָּה)

feminine singular emphatic רְבִיעִיתָּה

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

§ 41. OTHER NUMERALS

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

1. Distributives

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

Num. 3. 47 חֲמִישׁ חֲמִישׁ סֶלְעִין 'five shekels each'.

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

Isa. 6. 2 שָׁמָּה וְשָׁמָּה וְשָׁמָּה וְשָׁמָּה לְחֹד 'each one had six wings'.

2. Ordinal adverbs

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

'First' קְדָמִי בְּקֶדְמִיתָּה, בְּקֶדְמִיתָּה (Isa. 60. 9 אֵדָא פִּרְקָא קִלְעָהָ בְּקֶדְמִיתָּה 'Which spreads out its sails first?')

'Second' בְּתַנְיָתָה; 'third' תַּלִּיתִי, בְּתַלִּיתִיתָּה, &c.

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

3. Multiplicatives

(a) The question 'How often?' is answered by the cardinal numeral with זֶמֶן, זְמָנָא, or זְמַנִּין (treated sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine), e.g. זְמָנָא חֶדָּא (or חֶד זְמַן) 'once'; שִׁבְעִין זְמַנִּין 'seven times'; תְּשַׁעִּין זְמַנִּין 'nine times'. Sometimes, חֶדָּא is used alone, e.g. חֶדָּא בְּשָׁמָא 'once a year'.

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

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

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

Gen. 26. 12 וְאִשְׁכַּח בְּשָׁמָא הָהִיא עַל חֶד מֵאָה 'and he found an hundredfold in that year'.

2 Sam. 12. 6 יְשַׁלִּים עַל חֶד אַרְבָּעָא 'he shall repay fourfold'.

In OTA, a slightly different construction is used in Dan. 3. 19 לְמַזָּא לְאַתְוָנָא חֶד-שִׁבְעָה עַל דִּי חֲזָה לְמַזָּה 'to heat the furnace seven times hotter than it was usual to heat it'.

4. Fractions

There are two ways of expressing fractions:

(a) By the use of cardinal numerals and the preposition ל or מִן, e.g. חֶד מִן עֶסְרָא 1/10; חֶד מִן עֶסְרָא 1/6; חֶד מִן עֶסְרָא 1/10.

(b) By the use of special forms:

(i) 'A half': פְּלִיג or פְּלִיג;² emphatic state פְּלִיגָא or פְּלִיגָא.

¹ Found also in OTA (Dan. 2. 7).

² OTA has פְּלִיג (construct—Dan. 7. 25); פְּלִיג resembles the Syriac פל. Other variants are also found in the manuscripts.

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

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

Num. 34. 15 תְּרִינִין שְׁבָטִין וּפְלִיגָת שְׁבָטָא 'the two tribes and the half tribe'.

(ii) Other forms:

1/3 תְּלָתָּה, also תְּלָתָּה, תְּלָתָּה, תְּלָתָּה

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

1/5 חֲמִישָׁא, חֲמִישָׁא

1/6 שִׁתָּה

1/7 שִׁבְעָא, שִׁבְעָא

1/8 חֲמִישָׁתָּא, חֲמִישָׁתָּא

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

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