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Grammar of
PALESTINIAN JEWISH
ARAMAIC

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT.



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P R E F A C E

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

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

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supra-linear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).

Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references

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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, 5th March, 1924.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	3
LITERATURE	8
1. Introduction	9
2. Orthography	11
3. Personal Pronouns (nominative forms)	15
4. " " (suffix forms)	16
5. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives	18
6. Interrogatives	20
7. The Relative Pronoun	21
8. Nouns and Adjectives (general)	22
9. Classification of Nouns (declensions)	26
10. Inflexion of Nouns (masculine types)	29
11. " " (feminines)	34
12. Pronominal Suffixes (with singular nouns)	38
13. " " (with masc. plur. stems)	40
14. " " (with fem. plur. stems)	42
15. תֵּן, תֵּן, &c.	43
16. Verbal Stems	44
17. Perfect Tenses	46
18. Imperfect Tenses	48
19. Imperatives	51
20. Infinitives	52
21. Participles	54
22. Compound Tenses	57
23. Influence of Gutturals upon Verbal Forms	60

TABLE OF CONTENTS

7

	PAGE
24. Verbs, initial Nun	61
25. " initial Aleph	63
26. " initial Yodh and Waw	65
27. " final Yodh and Aleph	66
28. " " " " perfect tenses	68
29. " " " " impff., imperatt., and infinn.	70
30. " " " " inflexion of partic.	72
31. אָמַר, הִנֵּה, אָמַר, הִנֵּה	73
32. Monosyllabic Stems (ו'ע)	75
33. " " (inflected forms)	77
34. Partially Monosyllabic Stems (ע'ע)	78
35. " " (inflected forms)	80
36. Verbal Suffixes	81
37. " " (with ו'ע stems)	84
38. " " (in OTA)	86
Paradigm of Verb (OJ)	88
" " Verbal Suffixes	90
Tables of OTA	92

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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 = מילה, אִתְּיָד = איתיד, אִתְּיָן = איתין, עִנְלָא = עינלא, מִקְטַל = מיקטל, אִנְוֹן = אינון, אִתְּיָד = איתיד, אִתְּיָן = איתין, הִפְאָ = הִפּאָ or הִפּאָ. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עִגְלָא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אִתְּיָד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינְוֹן, מִיִּקְטַל, &c. In unvocalized texts ו and י may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לִילְוֹן = לילון), and י for diphthongal ai or for i pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קִיִּם = קים). 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 מִאֵן (who?) and עָאֵל (he entered) א denotes the short ā, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מֵן and עַל. But מֵן and עַל are generally used. Final diphthongal ai is often denoted by אִי.

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

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

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 ך or ם), 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. Pathaḥ 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	◌̄	Ḥolem	◌̇
Pathaḥ and seghol	◌̆	Shureq	◌̈
Ṣere	◌̇	Vocal shewa	◌̆
Ḥireq	◌̆	(including ḥaṭeṣeph)	

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

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

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathaḥ is used for ḥaṭeṣeph pathaḥ, following ם and ץ and sometimes following ן and ן (e.g. אָמַר for אָמַר, אָעֲבִיר for אָעֲבִיר). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 אָעֲבִיר, 5. 5 אָעֲבִיר).

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

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

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

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

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

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ו is the form of the conjunction 'and' before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is ב, מ, or ם (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ב, מ, and ם not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ו, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ו is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ו or ו (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לְקַטֵּל 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. לְקַטֵּר).

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 בִּיתָהּ, הָיִיתָ, הָיִיתָ). Compare also, perhaps, קָרַמְיָהּ (§ 11, note 12) and קָנִינָהּ (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 הָיִינָּ (§ 6), עָבְרָהּ (§ 11, note 7), אִיָּהּ (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יָּ and אִּהּ (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ		
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנִי	(נְהָנָה) אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנִי	1 com.
אֲתֵינוּ	אַתָּה (אַתָּה)	אֲתֵינוּ	אַתָּה	2 masc.
—	אַתָּה (אַתָּה)	אֲתֵינוּ	אַתָּה	fem.
אֲיֵנוּ, הֵינּוּ	הֵינִי	אֲנֵנוּ	הֵינִי	3 masc.
אֲיֵנוּ, הֵינִי	הֵינִי	אֲנֵנוּ	הֵינִי	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 אֲנִי, נָּ, and אֲתֵינוּ sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. אֲנִי for אֲנִי and אֲנֵנוּ for אֲנֵנוּ). They, and אֲתֵינוּ = אֲתֵנוּ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

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

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

a K^ethibh form, always changed to אָנְתָּה by Q^ere, but pointed אָנְתָּה by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אָנְתָּה and אָנְתָּה occur, as nominatives, each once only.

Idioms. 5. The expressions אָנְתָּה גַּבְרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and אָנְתָּה אִתְּתָא are used by PTM in modesty for אָנְתָּה (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדְךָ) and in curses or protestations for אָתָּה. In polite address, for אָתָּה, OJ uses רַבּוּנִי and רַבּוּנִי אָתָּה, PTM מַרְי מַרְי, מַרְנָה and רַבּוּנִי (cf. Hebrew אֲרִנִּי).

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

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.
ן	נָ	י . 1 com.
בּוֹן :	בּוֹן :	ךָ . 2 masc.
בִּינָ :	בִּינָ :	ךָ . fem.
הוֹן , הוֹן :	הוֹן :	יָהּ . 3 masc.
הִינָ :	הִינָ :	הָ . 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). יְכִי . (2 s. f.) and אָהָּ (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 יָהּ and הָ, 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 אָנְתָּה קְבִלָּה in Gen. 2. 20 for קְבִלָּה and אָנְתָּה קְבִלָּה 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 יָהּ, &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 יָהּ, &c., seldom לִי, &c. For לִי and לְהוֹן after participle. 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. יָהּ, &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 אָנְתָּה (in Ezra), אָנְתָּה (in Daniel) and אָנְתָּה (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. אָנְתָּה with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, אָנְתָּה 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: אָנְתָּה לִי (26. 5), אָנְתָּה לִי (24. ii. 5).

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

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

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

	PTM ADJECTIVES.	PTM PRONOUNS.	OJ ADJECTIVES.	OJ PRONOUNS.
this	הַן, הֵן, הֵּן, הֵּן	הֵן, הֵּן	הֵן	הֵן (הֵּן)
	הֵּן	הֵּן	הֵּן	הֵּן
these	הֵּן	הֵּן, אֵלֵּן	הֵּן	הֵּן
ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.				
that	הֵּן	הֵּן, הֵּן	הֵּן (הֵּן)	הֵּן
	הֵּן, הֵּן, הֵּן	הֵּן	הֵּן	הֵּן
those	הֵּן, אֵּן	—	הֵּן	הֵּן

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

2*. הֵּן, אֵּן, and הֵּן are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

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

OTA. 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). הֵּן for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and הֵּן for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. הֵּן '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. הֵּן occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate לְמָה after מָה (Gen. 25. 22) and also for מָה associated with a numeral (Gen. 27. 36, Judg. 16. 15). הֵּן is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew כֵּן (Gen. 45. 9, Exod. 3. 14 f., 5. 10, 7. 26, Josh. 24. 2, Judg. 11. 15, 2 Kings 19. 20).

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

9. In PTM הֵּן 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—הֵּן, 28. 13—אֵּן). אֵּן, in particular, occurs more often than הֵּן 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).

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

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

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

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

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	
טָבָא	טָב	singular absolute.
טָבַת	טָב	construct.
טָבְתָא	טָבָא	emphatic.
טָבִין	טָבִין	plural absolute.
טָבַת	טָבִי	construct.
טָבְתָא	טָבִיא	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 שְׁנֵי אֵינָא

= '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 חֵן , one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with חֵן (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 וְיִלְמָה הֵן (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. וְיִלְמָה הֵן , 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. שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא (1 Sam. 12. 22), but אֲרִיִּי טָב (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, דֵּינִיטָס, 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, עֲמֹדֵי בֵּיתָהּ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְעֵיל, בְּנוֹ, לְסוּף, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בֵּר נֶשׁ (28. 11), בֵּית עֵלָם (25. ii. 3), מְטַמְעֵי שְׁמֶשָׁא 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), פְּרוּס עֶרְסִי 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) בֵּיתָהּ דְּחַבְרִיָּה, עוֹפָא דְּשָׁמַיָא 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) בֵּיתָהּ דְּאֵלֵהָא, שְׁמִיָּה דְּאֵלֵהָא 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) רְמוֹנֵי דְּרִיבָּה 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases הַ means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like הַלֵּת 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—נְחֻלֵין דְּמִיִּין.

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

bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: בֵּית יְהוֹיָא דִּי מַלְכָּא (Ezra 5. 17), אֲשֵׁיָא דִּי-בֵּית אֱלֵהָא (Ezra 5. 16), אֲצַבְעֵן דִּי יַד-אֲנָשׁ 'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5. 5). Cf. Ezra 4. 15, 6. 5, 7. 12, 7. 17, Dan. 2. 14, 2. 49, 4. 26, 5. 3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5. 2, 13, 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 15, 19, 38, 41, 4. 12 (= 20), 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 24, 7. 4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5. 14, 7. 26, Dan. 2. 38, 5. 7 (= 16 and 29), 5. 23, 7. 4, 7 (= 19), 7. 9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both גַּב אַרְיוֹתָא (6. 8, 13, 25) and גַּבְתָּא דִּי אַרְיוֹתָא (6. 17, 20).

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

Accusative case. 9*. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark. הַ 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 הַ seldom occurs (in Gen. 3. 17 לְמִימֵר = Hebrew לְקוֹל; for Gen. 39. 15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending *ā* survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. תַּחְתָּא 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA הַ 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 אַ is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence אַרְיִקְנִיָּא (Gen. 1. 2) and אַרְיִקְנִיָּא. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *°wān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) חֵילֹן, דִּירָן, בִּירָן, לֵילָן (b) אַתָּן, אַתָּן—from אַת, sign, and אַתָּת, sister. Cf. מֵאָן = מֵאָן and קֵאָן = קֵאָן. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of אַב, אַס, and שׁוּם are אַבְהָן, אַסְהָן, and שׁוּמְהָן respectively.

13*. The termination ׳. is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יִמְטִי (Gen. 1. 10), חַיִּי (Gen. 2. 7), חַיִּי (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like בִּיתְרֵאִי (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), מִצְרַאִי (Exod. 12. 30), חַתְרַאִי (Josh. 1. 4), and בְּשַׁרְרַאִי (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανη = גֵּת שְׁמַנִּי = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like בְּפִרְגִּין (Num. 32. 4), from כְּפַר, 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 חַרְיִן, חַרְיִין ('two'), and קֵאָתָן (200). But the ending ׳. in words such as אַרְיִן may also be a dual ending (OTA עֵינִין). In OTA (besides חַרְיִן, חַרְיִין, and קֵאָתָן) יִרְיִן, בְּרִנְיִן, and שְׁנִיִּן 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 לעבִּירָת 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*, *i*, or *ū* (OTA *ō*). 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.	
	בְּתַף	דְּהַב	originally disyllabic.
	נְדַר	נְפֶשׁ	originally monosyllabic.
קְשׁוּט	רְחִישׁ	לְחַיִּים	
בּוֹסֵם	עֵינַל	עֶבֶד	
	תְּבָן		

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

Words of the *ā* class like לְחַיִּים are בְּעֵיל, טְעֵים, חַמְיִל, מְלִיךָ, סְעִיר, סְעִיר, and רְעֵים (OTA בְּעֵל, טְעֵם, צְלֵם, and לְחַם, with עֶבֶד in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

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

יִרְיִן (Num. 5. 22) and יִתָּם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יִרְיִן and יִתָּם (§ 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: אָמַר, אָרְבַּע, אָמַר, עָלַם, קָהִיד. A small number of monosyllables including נֶדֶם, נֶדֶן, נֶדֶר, נֶדֶר (son), and שׁוֹם (OTA שׁוֹם) 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 בָּל, in which the vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} are frequently represented by ' and í respectively (e.g. שׁוֹת, פּוֹם). Dalman gives אֵיר (arrow) and אֵיב (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. פּוֹם, עֵז). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פֶּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פָּם, in accordance with the analogy of דֶּב, גֵּיב, &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. אָנֶשׁ, שָׁלֶם, נֶבֶר, עֵייר), and monosyllables like תוֹר, יוֹם, טוֹר, and דֵּין. The unchangeable \bar{a} in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew \bar{o} (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 קָנִי (OTA שָׁנִי, אָתִי) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography חֵייוֹ (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to חֵייוֹ (§ 2. 8).

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations $\bar{a}i$ (= Hebrew \bar{i}) or \bar{e} added to a trilateral stem. Examples: קָדְמִי (or קָדְמַי, § 2. 1), תִּמְנִי, רִבִּיעִי. The long vowel of OTA (בִּשְׁדִּי, רִבִּיעִי, קָדְמִי) 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>	
מִלְכֵי	מַלְכֵי	מִלְכִין	מִלְכָּא	מַלְכָּא	מִלְכָּא	A
בְּעֵלֵי	בַּעֲלֵי	בְּעֵלִין	בְּעֵלָּא	בַּעֲלָּא	בְּעֵלָּא	
נְדָרֵי	נַדְרֵי	נְדָרִין	נְדָרָּא	נַדְרָּא	נְדָרָּא	
נְהַרְיָא	נַהַרְיָא	נְהַרְיִין	נְהַרְיָּא	נַהַרְיָּא	נְהַרְיָּא	
לְבַבֵּי	לְבַבֵי	לְבַבִין	לְבַבָּא	לְבַבָּא	לְבַבָּא	
עֲלָמֵי	עַלְמֵי	עֲלָמִין	עֲלָמָּא	עַלְמָּא	עֲלָמָּא	B
יְדֵי	יַדֵי	יְדִין	יְדָּא	יַדָּא	יְדָּא	
עֵזֵי	עֵזֵי	עֵזִין	עֵזָּא	עֵזָּא	עֵזָּא	C
גְּבָרֵי	גַּבְרֵי	גְּבָרִין	גְּבָרָּא	גַּבְרָּא	גְּבָרָּא	D
טָלֵי	טָלֵי	טָלִין ¹	טָלָּא	טָלָּא	טָלָּא	E
סְנֵי	סְנֵי	סְנִין ¹	סְנֵיָּא	סְנֵיָּא	סְנֵיָּא	
חֵייוֹ	חֵייוֹ	חֵייוֹ	חֵייוֹ	חֵייוֹ	חֵייוֹ	
עֲבָרֵי		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָּא		עֲבָרָּא	F
עֲבָרֵי		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרָּא		עֲבָרָּא	
בִּירְסוֹתָא	בִּירְסוֹת	בִּירְסוֹן	בִּירְסוֹ	בִּירְסוֹ	בִּירְסוֹ	

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

A nouns. 1*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ā*, *ī*, 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 (מַלְכֵי), (*ō*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (לְבָבָא, לְבָבָיו). 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. נִהְרָה, Gen. 2. 13, but נִהְרָה, Josh. 1. 4).

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

3. The vowel *ī* is also frequently substituted for an original *ā*. Examples: מְסָרָה, מְסָרָה, דְּבָרָה, דְּבָרָה, שְׁמָשָׁה, שְׁמָשָׁה; OTA מְשָׁרָה, מְשָׁרָה, וְשָׁרָה, וְשָׁרָה. The absolute form דְּבָרָה (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like מְפָנָה. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of מְפָנָה is *ī* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ā* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

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

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: אֹרְחָה Gen. 38. 16, קֹרְבָעִין Exod. 28. 40, עֹרְבָה 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 (פְּתִילֵי Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine מְכַמָּה is written מְכַמָּה in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is מְכַמָּה, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and מְכַמָּה or מְכַמָּה. In OJ inflected forms like מְכַמָּה (Josh. 2. 6) for מְכַמָּה sometimes occur.

6*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בַּיִת and עֵץ, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בַּיִת (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵץ and inflected stems like עֵצִים, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *ē* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בַּיִת is the plural of בַּיִת. הַיֵּל 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 *ī* or *ū*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עַמָּה, אַמָּה, אַמָּה). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence אַרְצָה from אַרְצָה (country)). Some nouns put *ī* for *ā* in the inflected forms (עַרְצָה, עַרְצָה). In OTA אַשְׁמָה, from אַשְׁמָה, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אַשְׁמָה (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 כֹּלָה (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 כֹּלָה. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כֹּלָה (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). *Ḥolem* in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading **חֹמֶת** (= **חֹמֶת**) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to **חֹמֶת** (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 **עֲמֻמִּין** occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

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

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

15*. **טָלִי** is contracted from **טָלִין** and **קָנִי** from **קָנִין**. Adjectives of the form **טָלִי** have contracted plurals of the form **טָלִין** (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (**טָלִין**, 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 **פִּירִין** as incorrect.

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

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

F nouns. **19***. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* (‘. or ‘..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (**פִּירִים**, **פִּירִים**) are treated like those of **קָנִי** (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 (**עֲנִין**, Dan. 4. 24, from **עֲנִי**). See also § 12, note 8.

21*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *‘wān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: **אֲרִיִן**, **בִּירִסִין**, **רְעִין**, **אֲסִין** (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>	
מְלַבְתָּא	מְלַבְת	מְלַבְו	מְלַבְתָּא	מְלַבְת	מְלַבְא	A
כְּנִישְתָּא	כְּנִישְת	כְּנִישְו	כְּנִישְתָּא	כְּנִישְת	כְּנִישְא	
אֲמַרְתָּא	אֲמַרְת	אֲמַרְו	אֲמַרְתָּא	אֲמַרְת	אֲמַרְא	B
מְלִיאָא	מְלִיא	מְלִיו	מְלִיאָא	מְלִיא	מְלִיא	C
מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְת	מְנִירְו	מְנִירְתָּא	מְנִירְת	מְנִירְא	D
חֵיוֹתָּא	חֵיוֹת	חֵיוֹו	חֵיוֹתָּא	חֵיוֹת	חֵיוֹא	
מְלִיתָּא	מְלִית	מְלִיו	מְלִיתָּא OJ	מְלִית	מְלִיא	E
			מְלִיתָּא PTM			
סְנִיתָּא	סְנִית	סְנִיו	סְנִיתָּא	סְנִית	סְנִיא	
גְּלֹתָּא	גְּלֹת	גְּלֹו	גְּלֹתָּא	גְּלֹת	גְּלֹא	
צְלוֹתָּא	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹו	צְלוֹתָּא	צְלוֹת	צְלוֹא	
מְנַתָּא	מְנַת	מְנַו	מְנַתָּא	מְנַת	מְנַא	
עֲבָרְתָּא	—	עֲבָרְו	עֲבָרְתָּא	—	עֲבָרְא	F
			עֲבָרְתָּא	—	עֲבָרְא	
וֹרְעִיתָּא	וֹרְעִית	וֹרְעִיו	וֹרְעִיתָּא	וֹרְעִית	וֹרְעִיא	G
מְלַבְתָּא	מְלַבְת	מְלַבְו	מְלַבְתָּא	מְלַבְת	מְלַבְא	

Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending \bar{a} is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in \bar{i} or \bar{u} are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually תָּא , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: מְלַבְתָּא , כְּנִישְתָּא , אֲמַרְתָּא . תָּא is added to the stem קַטַל in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like צֹהֲרָה , צֹדְקָה). Examples (from Dalman): צֹדְקָתָא , נִדְבָתָא , אֲדַמְתָּא , חֲבַרְתָּא , עֵלְתָּא (absolute כְּנִישְתָּא). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives עֵלְתָּא (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from עֵגְלָא), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from עֵגְלָא). The emphatic sing. fem. of חֲרַת (= חֲרִיש) is חֲרַתָּא .

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 (בְּדִבְה , 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 (אֲמַרְתָּא , יְלִידְתָּא , יְתִיבְתָּא —see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of בְּרָא 'daughter', is בְּרַתָּא , and that of שָׁנָא 'year', is שָׁנָתָּא .

C nouns. 4. In the C class תָּא is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. מְלִיאָא , 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 (שְׁנַתָּא , &c.).

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually תָּא (דְּרִתָּא , תְּמִיפְתָּא , שְׁעִתָּא , בִּיעִתָּא , עֲבִירְתָּא , שְׁבוּעִתָּא , תְּמִיפְתָּא). תָּא is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is \bar{e} or \bar{u} (שְׁפִילְתָּא , גְּנוּבְתָּא , מְהוּלְתָּא). יְלִידְתָּא and יְתִיבְתָּא belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאֵילָתָא, שְׂאֵילָתָא; פְּנִישָׁתָא, פְּנִישָׁתָא; נְבִילָתָא, נְבִילָתָא; רִבִּילָתָא, רִבִּילָתָא), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִילָתָא, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבַנִּין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

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

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רְעוּנָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרִיָּא or קְרִיָּא 'city' (emphatic קְרִיָּתָא, plural קְרִיָּין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are טִיבְנִי, וְבִי, קְצָת, רְשִׁי, רְבִי, וְבִי. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עוֹלָה seems to be עֻלָּא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֻלָּתָא (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֻלָּתָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֻלָּנָא (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֻלָּתָא &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

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

F nouns. 7. After the diphthong *āi* the emphatic termination is אֵי, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before אֵי is *ē*. Supralinear plurals like עֻבְרִיָּתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

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

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

Old Testament Aramaic

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

There is only one OTA example of the ending אֵי in the A class, viz. אֵי (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as אֵי (Gen. 1. 9) or אֵי (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אֵי (Ezra 4. 11), אֵי (Dan. 4. 27), and אֵי (Dan. 2. 8).

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

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

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

G nouns. 13. מְשֻׁרְקִיָּתָא (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *ī* group and מְלִבְדִּיתָא (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 אם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ
		אָחִיךָ		
אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחִיךָ OJ
				אָחִיךָ PTM

The suffixes הִי, הָא, הָנ, הָא, and הָי are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. הָי 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 אָבִי OJ uses אָבִי (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, *ἀββᾶ*). אָמִי 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ā*, from an older *az*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אָבִי (MT) may originally have meant אָבִי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אָבִי is sometimes contracted into אָבִי (*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 מְלִכָּא and לְבָבִי is paralleled by the distinction between מְלִכָּי and לְבָבִי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the מְלִכָּא type. E. g. אָרְעָהוּ (Josh. 10. 42), בְּפָרְכוֹן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בְּפָרְכוֹן (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 לִיָּה 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: מִיָּהוּן, מִיָּהוּן, יָדִי (OTA יָדִי).

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

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

- (1) Nouns that use the ending מְלִיָּה join suffixes to the emphatic stem (מְלִיָּה, מְלִיָּה).
- (2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is מְלִיָּה, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מְלִיָּה, מְלִיָּה; מְלִיָּה, מְלִיָּה; מְלִיָּה, מְלִיָּה).

(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 (מִלְכֵי, מְנַתְהוֹן, גְּלִיתִיה). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

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

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

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

PLURAL SUFFIXES.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.		
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	
יָנְ	אָנְ	אִ, יְ	יְ	1 com.
יָכֹנְ	יָכֹנְ	יָ, יָ, יָ	יָ	2 masc.
יָכֹנְ	יָכֹנְ	יָ, יָ, יָ	יָ, יָ, יָ	fem.
יָהֹנְ	יָהֹנְ	יָ, יָ, יָ	יָ	3 masc.
יָהֹנְ	יָהֹנְ	יָ, יָ, יָ	יָ	fem.

Suffix forms. 1*. אִ, יָ, and יָ are simply orthographical variants for יְ, יָ, and יָ. For יָ and אָ see § 2. 14. אָ is an alternative in OJ for יְ (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 *e* or *a* or *ā*. The connective *o* of יָ is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations כִּי, הִי, and אָ 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. יָ is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix יְ is used by PTM in יָנְ 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the Kethibh implies the earlier pronunciations יָ, יָ, and אָ, which the Qere alters into יָ, יָ, and אָ 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 (יָ, יָ, אָ). Unvocalized יָ 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. מְלֵכֵי, יָ, יָ). Only the יָ group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (יָ). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (יָ, יָ, יָ). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form יָ, although presumably its uninflected singular is יָ, as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses יָ (Gen. 2. 25), instead of יָ, 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 *e* of certain nouns of the E class, like מְשָׁרֵי and מְשָׁרֵי, 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 (מְשָׁרֵי, מְשָׁרֵי). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like כְּוִרְסֵי, are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

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

In the Kethibh form מראי (Dan. 4. 16, 21) אִי might represent *ai* (§ 2.1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

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

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

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

BORROWED <i>ai</i> SUFFIXES.		NORMAL SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	OJ and PTM	
	אִמְרַתִּי	אִמְרַתְנָא OJ	אִמְרַתִּי 1 com.
		אִמְרַתְנָא PTM	
אִמְרַתִּיכֹן	—	אִמְרַתְכֹן	אִמְרַתְךָ 2 masc.
	אִמְרַתְךָ	—	אִמְרַתְךָ fem.
אִמְרַתִּיהֹן	אִמְרַתְהוּ	אִמְרַתְהוֹן	אִמְרַתְהוּ 3 masc.
	אִמְרַתְהָא	—	אִמְרַתְהָא 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 (אִמְרַתְהוּ, &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. אֵי for אִי. occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אִבְהַתִּי for אִבְהַתִּי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. לֵית, אִית, ETC.

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

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, לֵיתֵיךָ, and לֵיתֵיהוֹן.

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 אִיתִי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: אִיתִיכֹן, אִיתִיךָ, אִיתִיהוֹן. 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 (לֵיתֵיהוֹן). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לֵית אֲנָא יָכֹל).

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

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

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

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.		ACTIVE.	
אִתְּבַתֵּיב	Ithp ^{el}	בָּתַב	Peal Simple
אִתְּבַתַּב	Ithpaal	בָּתִּיב	Pael Intensive
אִתְּבַתַּב	Ittaphal	אִתְּבַתֵּיב	Aphel Causative

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

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

P^{ael}. 3*. Peal perfects with \bar{e} or \bar{a} in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: חָמַר 'be strong' (Gen. 1. 28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4. 5), דָּחִיל (Gen. 3. 10), קָרִיב (Gen. 12. 1), שָׁאֵל (Judg. 1. 1), שָׁלִים (Gen. 15. 16), נָסַב and נָסִיב (Gen. 2. 21); דָּמַח and דָּמִיחַ (Gen. 2. 21). \bar{o} occurs for \bar{a} (מָרֹד, 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 (קָרִיב, שָׁאֵל, חָמַר). Where MT has \bar{i} the supralinear MSS. sometimes have \bar{e} (Dan. 6. 21, וָעָץ).

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

5. In הִזְמִין, 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 הִזְמִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הִזְמִין (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) ת of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אִתְּדַבֵּר becomes אִתְּדַבֵּר).

(b) ת changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אִתְּצַמַּע, אִתְּצַרַּךְ, אִתְּדַרַּע.

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

7. In PTM assimilation of ת to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אִתְּפַסֵּיק = אִתְּפַסֵּיק, אִתְּבַרֵּי = אִתְּבַרֵּי (21. 4), אִתְּמַלֵּיךְ = אִתְּמַלֵּיךְ, אִתְּנַשְׁמַח = אִתְּנַשְׁמַח (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφφαθά (Mark 7. 34) = אִתְּפַתַּח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְּקַנֵּיהַ = מִתְּקַנֵּיהַ.

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

Shaphel, &c. 9*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שְׁכַלֵּיל 'complete' (passive אִשְׁתַּכַּלֵּל, Gen. 2. 1), שְׁעַבֵּיד 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שְׁוִיֵּיב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שְׁיַצֵּי '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. וָמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlël, Pālël, and Palpël are formed from stems ע"י and ע"ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

OTA. 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive P^{ael} of the form P^{el}il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבַת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבו, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אִתְּיִרַח, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הִת for אִת are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אִשְׁתּוּכַם (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"ו 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 HITHP^eEL 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 P^eal perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

PTM	PAEL.		P ^e AL.		
	OJ	OJ	PTM	OJ	
	בְּתִיב	דְּמוּדָ		בְּתִב	3 s. m.
	בְּתִיבַת	דְּמוּבַת		בְּתִבַת	f.
	בְּתִיבַת-תָּא	דְּמוּבַת-תָּא		בְּתִבַת-תָּא	2 s. m.
	בְּתִיבַת	דְּמוּבַת		בְּתִבַת	f.
	בְּתִיבִית	דְּמוּבִית		בְּתִיבִית	1 sing.
בְּתִיבֹן	בְּתִיבוּ	דְּמוּבוּ	בְּתִיבוּ	בְּתִיבוּ	3 pl. m.
בְּתִיבָן	בְּתִיבָא	דְּמוּבָא	בְּתִיבָן	בְּתִיבָא	f.
	בְּתִיבֹתוֹן	דְּמוּבֹתוֹן		בְּתִיבֹתוֹן	2 pl. m.
	בְּתִיבֹתֵינָן	דְּמוּבֹתֵינָן		בְּתִיבֹתֵינָן	f.
בְּתִיבֹנָן	בְּתִיבֹנָא	דְּמוּבֹנָא	בְּתִיבֹנָן	בְּתִיבֹנָא	1 plur.

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

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

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

4. In PTM יִינֵן occurs for יִינֵן and יִינֵן for יִינֵן, 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: אֶפְיִינֵן (25. 5), אֶפְיִינֵן (23. 9). The form אֶפְיִינֵן (19. ii. 9) = אֶפְיִינֵן + יִינֵן.

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 P^eals (בְּתִיבַת, אֶפְיִיבַת) and in the few cases there are of Hithp^eal (הִתְחַבֵּרַת) and Haphel (הִתְחַבֵּרַת) forms. The latter occurs in three P^eals (בְּתִיבַת) and in two of three Hophals (הִתְחַבֵּרַת). In the P^eal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (בְּתִיבַת, הִתְחַבֵּרַת). In the Haphel, besides הִתְחַבֵּרַת (§ 33), only הִתְחַבֵּרַת (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 הִתְחַבֵּרַת (as הִתְחַבֵּרַת) or הִתְחַבֵּרַת (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 אֵלֵי (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		P ^{ea} L.—OJ AND PTM		
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.	
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	3 masc.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	2 masc.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	fem.
יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתֹּב	1 m. and f.

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

2*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the P^{ea}l agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְּנֶנֶשׁ, יִתְּנֶנֶשׁ.

Preformative vowels. 3*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. P^{ea}l (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 (אִתְּנֶנֶשׁ, אִתְּנֶנֶשׁ)¹ and hireq once (אִתְּנֶנֶשׁ).

4*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly אִ, and אִ is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of hateph seghol (§ 2.8). אִתְּנֶנֶשׁ in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אִתְּנֶנֶשׁ (Dan. 2. 24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. P^{ea}l and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יִשְׁלֹטוּן = יִשְׁלֹטוּן, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithp^{ea}l (§ 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: לִיִּסְק, לִיִּמֹח, לִיִּכֹּל, לִיִּהוּ, לִיִּפֶק, לִיִּמֹח, לִיִּכֹּל, לִיִּהוּ. They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after לִי and לִיִּל) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לִיִּהוּ, לִיִּהוּ, and לִיִּהוּ occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

OTA. 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. P^{ea}l are \bar{u} (יִתְּנֶנֶשׁ), \bar{a} (יִלְבֹּשׁ), and \bar{e} (יִפְלֵ) and those of the impff. Pael and Haphel \bar{e} or \bar{i} (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יִהֲשַׁבַּח, יִהֲשַׁבְּלוּ). 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 לְמַעַן to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after לְמַעַן = lest (24. 3) and after ד (or דִּלְמָא) 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, $\text{כֹּל דְּיַיְמַר לִי בִר נְשָׂא אֶעֱבִיד}$, 'everything that any one may bid me I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

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

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

(2) After לְ 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 אִפְשָׁר with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by אִפְשָׁר (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 אִרְי (Hebrew אִרְי), 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 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, $\text{רַבְּנָנְךָ הָכָא בְּעִין נִיְצְלִי וַיְיַחֲזֵת מִמָּרְאָא כְּלִ סְפָא דְּמִלְתָּא נַפּוּק לִי מִן הָכָא}$, 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. $\text{הָכָא לִי מִן הָכָא}$ (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For נִיְצְלִי and נַפּוּק 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	פְּתוּב 2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִי	מְנַעִי	עֲבִידִי	פְּתִיבִי f.
פְּתִיבוּ	מְנַעוּ	עֲבִידוּ	פְּתִיבוּ 2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבְתָא	מְנַעְתָּא	עֲבִידְתָּא	פְּתִיבְתָא f.
			PTM
פְּתִיב	מְנַע	עֲבִיד	פְּתוּב 2 s. m.
פְּתִיבִין	מְנַעִין	עֲבִידִין	פְּתִיבִין f.
פְּתִיבוּן	מְנַעוּן	עֲבִידוּן	פְּתִיבוּן 2 pl. m.
פְּתִיבְוּ	מְנַעְוּ	עֲבִידְוּ	פְּתִיבְוּ 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. *i* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עָבְרִי 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 (מְנַעֵי, מְנַעֵי).

5. ἐφφαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְפַּתְּהָ = אֶפַתְּהָ = ἐφφαθά (ת not being distinguished from פ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

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

§ 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ	
	מְכַתֵּב		מְכַתֵּב	Peal
	מְכַתוּב			
	מְכַתְּבָא			
פְּתוּבִי	מְכַתְּבָא	פְּתַבִּיחַ	פְּתַבָּא	Pael
אֶכְתוּבִי	מְכַתְּבָא	אֶכְתַּבִּיחַ	אֶכְתַּבָּא	Aphel
אֶתְכַתוּבִי	מְתַכְּתָא	אֶתְכַתַּבִּיחַ	אֶתְכַתַּבָּא	Ithpeel
אֶתְכַתוּבִי	מְתַכְּתָא	אֶתְכַתַּבִּיחַ	אֶתְכַתַּבָּא	Ithpaal
	מְתַכְּתָא	אֶתְכַתַּבִּיחַ	אֶתְכַתַּבָּא	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/ih* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *ā* is unchangeable (קָרְמִיתִי, Gen. 14, 17).

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

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for פ (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנְקִיחַ (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 מְקַרְבֵּהוּ, מְקַרְבֵּהוּ (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination הֵ (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (מְקַרְבֵּייהֵ).

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 מְכַתֵּב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מְנַעֵי 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 ה 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 לֹא־לְ is represented in OJ by לֹא־לְ (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לֹא־לְ with an infin. means 'must not be'.

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

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

APHEL.	PAEL.		PEAL.
	PTM	OJ	
מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	מְכַתֵּיב	כְּתִיב active
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	כְּתִיב passive
ITTPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHP ^{PEL} .	
מְתַכְתֵּב	מְתַכְתֵּב	מְתַכְתֵּיב	

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, מְשׁוּיֵיב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מְשׁוּחֵיֵיב (from שׁוּיֵיב, 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 פָּרִיז, פָּרִיז, פָּרִיז). In OTA *ē* is usual, but eight words have *ī* for *ē*, viz.:

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

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

4*. Words of the form פְּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples: פְּכִיד 'thinking'; דְּבִיר 'remembering'; תְּמִיָּה (? also תְּמִיָּה) '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), מְמַלֵּל (23. 8), יְתִיב (27. 2), and עֲבִיר (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: יְרַעֲנֵנִי (Gen. 4. 9), רַבְּבֵנִי (Berliner) or רַבְּבֵנִי (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, וְרַעֲנֵנִי (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), וְרַעֲנֵנִי (25. ii. 8),¹ וְרַעֲנֵנִי (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

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

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

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—**יָהִי**, 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 partic. 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 partic. 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 partic. 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—**מִהֲלֹכִין**) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—**כְּתֹבָה**), 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: **קִיַּם** (14. ii. 1), **שָׁרַי** (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), **עָבַד** (19. 13). **שָׂרַי** ('begin') is used with partic. 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: **הָיָה אָתִי בֵּר הָיָה יָרַע** 'when he was coming', **וְהוּא הָיָה יָרַע** 'now he

knew'. In the sentence *והינת בכהה גו אסטרטה ואמרית לה מה ליה ליה* (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 להמן הרה*—*כל מאן דהרה אחי להמן הרה*—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: *היונה מגליא* 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), *מה היונה מסער העתי* '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—*היו יועין* 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—*היה קטל* 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (*הוא קרה*) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (*היו בעין*). In Dan. 6. 15 *היה משתדד* 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 *יה* joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after *פר*), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (c) after *ה* and *ל* 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—*יה צבא*—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8*. *יה* 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). *יה* 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 *היה* (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. *יה* in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10—*מדינתא א' מבוש מדינתא*—'after (he) had conquered the city').

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON
VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע, ו) 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. Peal, &c.). In the final syllable of imperf. and imperatives Peal 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. Peal **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַעֲשֶׂה, יַחֲבוֹט, יַעֲבִיר, יַעֲשֶׂה), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA תַּעֲבִירָן (twice), יַחֲלִפוּן (once) and תַּעֲבִירָן or תַּעֲבִירָן (thrice), with the imperfect forms of הוֹיָה (הוֹיָה, &c.), are the only Peal 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. Peal of verbs final guttural (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

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

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

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

§ 23. GUTTURAL INFLUENCE ON VERBAL FORMS 61

pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial *y* and initial *h* in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). יַעֲבִיר and מַעֲבִיר are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (אֵעִבֵר) 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: קָאִיב, גָּעִיל, קָרִיף. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is מַחֲבֵהֶל and the supralinear is מַחֲבֵהֶל (or מַחֲבֵהֶל).

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

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נָחַת	נָסַב, נָסִיב	נָפַק	Peal perf.
נִיחֹת	נָסַב	נָפַק	imperf.
נֹחַת	נָסַב	נָפַק	imperat.
נֹחַתוּ	נָסַבו	נָפַקוּ	
נִיחַת	נָסַב	נָפַק	infin.
נִיחֹת	נָסַבו	נָפַקוּ	PTM
נֹחִית	נָסִיב	נָפִיק	partic.
נֹחִית	נָסִיב	נָפִיק	Aphel perf.
נִיחַת	נָסִיב	נָפִיק	imperf.
נִיחַת	נָסִיב	נָפִיק	imperat.
נִיחַתָּא	נָסַב	נָפַק	infin.
נִיחַתִּי	נָסִיב	נָפִיק	partic.

Assimilation. 1*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inf. 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 ף assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אֲנַחֵרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְזוּרָה; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְיִק).

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

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

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

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

7*. In סִלִּיק *l* assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הִנְסִיקָה (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 נִחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (תִּחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אֲחַת or אַחַת) and partic. (מְחַתֵּינִי), but not in the Hophal (הִחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נתן (imperf., inf.), נפק (Aphel), and נוק (Aphel). There are two \bar{e} imperfects, יִפֵּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפּוֹל) and יִנְתֵּן or יִנְתֵּן. For the imperat. נִשׂ see § 27, note 10, and for קִלַּק, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		PeAL.		
אֲכִיד	אָל	אָמַר	אָכַל	perf.
יֹכִיד	יִיֵּל	יִימַר	יִיכֹל	imperf.
אֲכִיד	אֲוִיל, אֲוִיל	אֲמַר	אֲכֹל	imperat.
אֲכִירו	אֲוִילו	אֲמַרו	אֲכֹלו	OJ
אֲכִידוּן	אֲלוּן	אֲמַרוּן	אֲכֹלוּן	PTM
אֲכִידָא	מִיֵּל	מִימַר	מִיכֹל	infin.
מֹכִיד	אֲוִיל	אָמַר	אָכִיל	partic.

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

Peal imperf. 2*. The imperfects Peal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יִימַר, יִיבַד, יִיגַף, and יִיכַר (but also יִיסוֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew holem). יִכֹּל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יִאכֹל).

Imperat. 3*. The supralinear imperatives אֲמַר, אֲכֹל, &c., although pointed with šere, should probably be pronounced אָמַר, אָכֹל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אָמַר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אֲוִיל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אֲוִילו (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אֲכֹלו (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both \bar{e} (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, אָכֹל) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms (וִיֵּל, וִיכֹל; וִימַר, וִיבַד—in Dalman וִיֵּל). For the ending \bar{o} in וִי 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 אִלְלוּ and אִכְלוּ (23. 1) seems unlikely.

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

Contracted forms. 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אָלַף (אִלְפָא, מִלְפָא, יִלְפָא, &c.). Contracted Ithpeels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אִתְמַר = אִתְמַר and אִתְמַר = אִתְמַר). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אחיליר, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

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

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

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

APHEL.			PEAL.	
אִכְיִב	יָכַח	יָחַב	יָדַע	יָכִיל perf.
	יָרִיחַ	יָחִיב		
יִכְיִב	יָרַח	יָחִיב	יָדַע	יָכֹל imperf.
אִכְיִב	יָחַח	יָחִיב	יָדַע	— imperat.
אִכְיִבו	יָחוּ	יָחִיבו	יָדְעוּ	
אִכְיִבָא		יָחִיבוּ	יָדְעוּ	יָכֹל infin.
	יָחִיבוּ	יָחִיבוּ	יָדְעוּ	יָכֹלוּ

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

Stem vowels. 2. Imperf. Peal with \bar{e} as their stem vowel are יָחִיב (OTA יָחַב) and יָיִחִיב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יָלִיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יָיִף (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

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

Aphel. 4*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally \bar{o} (אִכְיִב, אִכְיִק). Where \bar{e} occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307f.). Dalman recognizes אִכְיִל in OJ and אִיחִיב and אִיחַר as possibly correct in PTM אִיחַל occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5*. In OJ הִדְרַע is used for אִדְרַע and the uncontracted forms הִדְרַע

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

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel שְׁוִיב (OTA שְׁוִיב) 'rescue' has no Peal in use (? = שְׁעוֹיב). סוֹבֵל (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of יבֵּל, with ם as in some Syriac forms. For שְׁיָצִי (? from יִצֵּא) see § 27, note 8.

Ithp^eel. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithp^eel forms see § 25, note 7.

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

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

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITPH ^e EL.	APHEL.	PAEL.	PeAL.	
אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוִּי	אֶתְחַוֵּי	חַוֵּי	חַוֶּי	perf.
אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי				
יִתְחַוֵּי	יִתְחַוֶּי	יִתְחַוֶּי	יִתְחַוֵּי	יִתְחַוֶּי	יִתְחַוֶּי	imperf.
	יִתְחַוֶּי					
אֶתְחַוֵּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	חַוֵּי	חַוֶּי	imperat.
אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	אֶתְחַוֶּי	חַוֶּי	חַוֶּי	infin.
מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	PTM
מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	act. ptc.
מִתְחַוֶּי				מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	pass. ptc.
				מִתְחַוֶּי	מִתְחַוֶּי	PTM

Final vowels of stem. 1*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into \bar{i} or \bar{e} or \bar{a} or \bar{a} . \bar{a} occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). \bar{a} 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 הִוִּי is more common, in this verb, than הִוִּי (cf. הִוִּי).

2*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in \bar{i} in OJ are: שְׁתִּי, קִנִּי, חָרִי, צָבִי, &c. שְׁתִּי (or שְׁתִּי, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA שְׁתִּי (or שְׁתִּי) and צָבִי occur.

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

4*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form הִוִּי are corrections of הִוִּי 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 מִתְחַוֶּי, &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. Peal of the form מִתְחַוֶּי is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form מִתְחַוֶּי may have been pronounced מִתְחַוֶּי, from מִתְחַוֶּי. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points \bar{a} in the final syllable (לְמִתְחַוֶּי).

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

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form שְׁיָצִי 'complete', may be derived from שְׁיָצִי. For the \bar{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 \bar{a} , \bar{i} , and \bar{e} , as in

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

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

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הַשְׁנִיחַ, &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 קָרִי (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peals (§ 16, note 11).

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

APHEL.		P ^e AL.		P ^e AL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אָהִי		שָׁתִי	הָוָה	3 s. m.
אָהִי	אָהִי	שָׁתִי	שָׁתִי	הָוָה	f.
	ת- אָהִי	ת- אָהִי	שָׁתִי	ת- הָוָה	2 s. m.
	אָהִי		שָׁתִי	הָוָה	f.
	ת- אָהִי	ת- אָהִי	שָׁתִי	ת- הָוָה	1 s. com.
אָהִי	אָהִי	שָׁתִי	שָׁתִי	הָוָה	3 pl. m.
אָהִי	אָהִי	—	שָׁתִי	הָוָה	f.
	אָהִי		שָׁתִי	הָוָה	2 pl. m.
	אָהִי		שָׁתִי	הָוָה	f.
אָהִי	אָהִי	שָׁתִי	שָׁתִי	הָוָה	1 pl. com.

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

2*. The distinctive endings אָהִי and הָוָה 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 ת 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 *i* or *i*, as shown in the table. In *i* perfects the reading *i*, for *i*, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Dietrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

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

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

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

of ordinary perf. Peal (הָוִיתָ) and in בְּנִיתִיהָ or בְּנִיתִיהָ 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), *ē* in other forms (הָוִיתָ, הָוִיתָ, הָוִיתָ). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Peal the forms הָוִיתָ and הָוִיתָ are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints הָוִיתָ. 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 (הָוִיתָ, § 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 (בָּעוּ), with a variation of orthography in the *ī* perfects (אֲשַׁתִּי, אֲשַׁתִּי), 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 הָוִיתָ. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is הָוִיתָ (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read הָוִיתָ.

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

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PLURAL.	Peal.		IMPERFECT.
	PTM	OJ	
יָחֹזְקוּ		יָחֹזְקוּ	3 masc.
יָחֹזְקוּ		יָחֹזְקוּ	fem.
תִּחְזְקוּ		תִּחְזְקוּ	2 masc.
תִּחְזְקוּ	תחזיין	תִּחְזְקוּ	fem.
נִחְזְקוּ	תחזיי	אֲחֹזְקוּ	1 com.

PTM APHEL. OJ	PTM Peal. OJ	IMPERATIVE.
אֲחֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ 2 s. m.
אֲחֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ f.
אֲחֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ	חֹזְקוּ 2 pl. m.
—	—	חֹזְקוּ 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. חֹזְקוּ might be understood to signify חֹזְקוּ (§ 2. 1).

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

3. Forms like אֲחֹזְקוּ (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for אֲחֹזְקוּ (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 (בכחה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: אֲשַׁתִּי (Peal—Gen. 24. 14), אֲשַׁתִּי (Pael—Gen. 24. 2), אֲשַׁתִּי or אֲשַׁתִּי (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 Peal imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

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

8. Peal infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that נ־ is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that ה־ is employed for נ־. Examples: מְחַוְוִי, מְחַוְוִיָּה. PTM has forms like מְחַמְיִיָּה or מְחַמְיִיָּה (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מְצַבְיָה, Dan. 4. 32).

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

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 יִשְׁתַּבְּחֵנִי (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

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

PAEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	
<i>Active ptc.</i>	<i>Pass. ptc.</i>	<i>Act. ptc.</i>	
מְבַסֵּי	בְּסוּי	בְּסוּי	Sing. m.
מְבַסְיָה	בְּסוּיָה	בְּסוּיָה	f.
מְבַסְיָה, מְבַסְיָה	בְּסוּיָה, בְּסוּיָה	בְּסוּיָה, בְּסוּיָה	Plur. m.
מְבַסְיָה	בְּסוּיָה	בְּסוּיָה	f.

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

2*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ewān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רֹעֵי, from רָעָה 'shepherd', and אֲרָפְיָה, from אָרַפ '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 (רָעִיָּה, מְחַוְוִיָּה). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

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

§ 31.¹ הָלַךְ, הָלַכְתָּ, הָלַכְתָּ, הָלַכְתָּ

APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.	
אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ, אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	perf.
אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ, אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ, אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	imperf.
	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ, אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	imperat.
אָלַכְתָּ		אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	infinit.
		אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	PTM
אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	אָלַכְתָּ	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 חָתָא (חָתָא, חָתָא, חָתָא). Of these only חָתָא has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

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

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

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. P^{al} of חָתָא is חָתָא (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or חָתָא (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. חָתָא (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 חָתָא מְרָנָא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἀθά*.

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

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

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the P^{al} imperf. of חָתָא are written חָתָא and חָתָא, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

ח.י. 9. In the verb חָתָא 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 חָתָא and Hebrew חָתָא. For OTA see table below.

ח.ל. 10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of חָתָא elide the medial *l* and assume the forms חָתָא (plur. חָתָא) and חָתָא respectively (cf. סְלִיק, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only P^{al} forms (cf. OTA חָתָא). The imperf. and infin. P^{al} also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL.	P ^{al} .	P ^{al} .	HAPHEL.	P ^{al} .	OTA
		חָתָא, חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא, חָתָא	perf.
		חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	imperf.
		חָתָא			imperf.
		חָתָא			imperf.
	חָתָא			חָתָא	imperf.
		חָתָא		חָתָא	imperf.
			חָתָא (חָתָא)	חָתָא	infin.
חָתָא				חָתָא	partic.

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ו)

ITAPHAL.	ITHP ^{EL} .		APHEL.	P ^{al} .	
	PTM	OJ AND PTM			
חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	perf.
חָתָא					PTM
חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	imperf.
—	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	imperf.
—	—	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	infin.
—	—	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	PTM
חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	חָתָא	partic. act.
				חָתָא	partic. pass.

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in ī** are *מִית* 'die', *כִּיב* 'be old', and *רִיר* 'spit'. **Imperfects in ē** are *יָבִית*, *יָסִים*, and *יָרִין* (or *יָרִין*) from *בָּת* 'pass the night', *בָּם* 'place', and *בָּן* 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have *ā* in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. *יָנִיחַ*), but *עָן* 'shake' has imperf. *יִעָנֶה* and imperat. *עָנֵה* (plur. *עָנֵי*). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed *ā* in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperff. in *ē* have **imperatives in ī** (*בִּיתֵה*, 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* (*אֶקְיִמֶהּ*, 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 *יָסִים* and *יָיָחִים*, *בָּקָם* and *מִיָּחִים* occur. Examples: *יָפֹתֵה*, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), *יָיָחֵב*, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), *יָיָחִים*, Exod. 12. 23.

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperff., imperatt., infinn., and partic. Aphel is often written *ā* in supralinear MSS. Examples: *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ אֶתִּיבֵהּ* (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ* (Judg. 1. 1), *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ* (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ* (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ* (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 *יָיָחִים* (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and *מִתְבַּחֵהּ* (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).

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

written *ā* (*אֶתְבַּחֵהּ*, Judg. 5. 20) and the *ת* of the preformative syllable may become *ד* before initial *ד* (hence *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ* = *אֶתְבַּחֵהּ*).

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 *מְטַלְטֵל* (Gen. 4. 12) or *מְטַלְטֵל* (Gen. 4. 16).

Verbs medial waw. 8*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are *תָּוַר*, *עָוַר*, *צָוַח*, *רָוַח*, *רָוַח* 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, *הָוַה*, *שָׁוַה*, &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. (*הִתְקַיְמֵהּ*, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPEAL is *ā* in one verb (*יָתַשֵּׁם*) and *ī* in another (*יָתַוִּין*). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are *קָיִים* (Dan. 6. 8), *קָיִים* (Dan. 4. 34) and *הִתְרַוַּחְמָהּ* (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, *הִתְקַיְמַח* (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.		
<i>Imperat.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	<i>Partic.</i>	<i>Perfect.</i>	
אֶקְיִמֵהּ	אֶקְיַם	קָיִים, קָיִים	מִית	קָם
אֶקְיִמֵי	אֶקְיַמְתִּי	קָיִמָה	מִיתָה	קָמְתִי
	אֶקְיַמְתֵּהּ-תָּהּ		מִיתָהּ-תָּהּ	קָמְתֵהּ-תָּהּ

אֶקְיִמוּ	אֶקְיַמוּ	קָיִמוּ	מִיתוּ	קָמוּ
אֶקְיִמוּ	אֶקְיַמוּ	קָיִמוּ	(מִיתוּ?)	קָמוּ

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 מִיח are treated like those of perfects in *šere*.

Partice. 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 Kethibh and י in the Qere, except in קָמַיִן (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 עָמַח (Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיַמַח , Dan. 3. 14). For the form יְהִימַי (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
אָעִיל	אָבִין	עֵל	בִּין (בִּין) perf.
יָעִיל	יָבִין	יָעֵיל	יָבוּחַ imperf.
אָעִיל	אָבִין	עוּל	בוּחַ imperat.
אָעֵלֵא	אָבִינָא	מִיעֵל	מִבוּחַ infin.
מָעִיל	מָבִין	עָלִיל	בְּוִין partic. act.
מָעֵל	מָבִין	עָלִיל	בְּוִין ptc. pass.

Disyllabic stems. 1*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpels, and Shaphels. Examples: מְלִיל , אֲתַבְּוִין , אֲתַבְּוִיל . See also § 35, note 4.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS 79

2*. The intensive forms are of the types עוּלִיל , עוּלִיל (especially PTM), עוּלִיל (OJ), and עוּלֵיל . עוּלֵיל is borrowed from the ע"י stems (§ 32). The use of עוּלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּין (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} (יָבוּחַ , יָבִיחַ).

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 ז 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 (מִתּוֹן , Dan. 4. 24; תִּרְעַע , Dan. 2. 40).

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

6. Aphel participles like מִיקַל and מִיַּצֵּן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. מַעְלָה (25. 5), from מַעַל , follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מַעְלִין (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 $\text{תִּקְוִין} = \text{תִּקְוִין}$).

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

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

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

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS
(inflected forms)

APHEL.		P ^e AL.		
PERFECT.		PERFECT.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
אֲעִילֻ	אֲעִיל	עֲלוּ (עֲלו)	עַל (עַל)	3 masc.
אֲעִילֵי	אֲעִילִית	עֲלֵי	עַלְת	fem.
אֲעִילְהוֹן	אֲעִילְתֶּ-הֵא	עֲלֵהוֹן	עַלְתֶּ-הֵא	2 masc.
אֲעִילְתֵּי	אֲעִילְתִּי	עֲלֵתֵי	עַלְתִּי	fem.
אֲעִילְכֶּם	אֲעִילְתֵּי	עֲלֵכֶם	עַלְתֵּי	1 com.
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
יִעֲלֻ	יִעִיל	יִעֲלֻן	יִעֲוֵל	3 masc.
יִעֲלֵי	יִעֲוֵל	יִעֲלֵי	יִעֲוֵל	2 masc.
יִעֲלֵי	יִעֲוֵל	יִעֲוֵל	יִעֲוֵל	1 com.
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.		
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	
אֲעִילֻ	אֲעִיל	עֲלוּ	עַל	2 masc.
אֲעִילֵי	אֲעִילִי	עֲלֵי	עַלְי	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 Aphil. 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 ψ 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 (דָּקִי, Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

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

4. P^eal and Aphil forms like רִקְקָה (PTM), עֲלֵלָה (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and פִּתְּלָל (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} (גִּדִּי, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הַעֲלֵי, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (\bar{e}) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥateph seghol in some MSS. (כִּדְּקָה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, פִּתְּקָה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יִתְּוֵי (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יִתְּוֵי (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 ψ verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הַרְקָה or הַרְקָה (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

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

where the independent pronoun אֲנִי is substituted for הוּן (וּ). 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 אֲנִי 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 אֲנִי with the 3 s. f. perf. and to אֲנִי in union with stems ending in a vowel (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי, שָׁלַחְתְּנִי, שָׁלַחְתִּי). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אֲנִי except in the 1 s. perf., in which כָּתַבְתָּ, כָּתַבְתְּ and כָּתַבְתִּי are used for כָּתַבְתָּ, &c.

3*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *ān*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ā*. Examples: אֲפָקִינִי (25. ii. 2), אֲפָקִינִי (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 (אֲפָקִינִי, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אֲמָלִיכִינִי, 21. 1, אֲמָלִיכִינִי).

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

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

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form כָּתַבְתָּ for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like אֲשָׁבַחְתָּה 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. אֲשָׁבַחְתָּי (Gen. 31. 28) = σαβαχθαιεῖ (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 *im* (note 8) before suffixes (אֲשָׁבַחְתָּי, אֲשָׁבַחְתָּה). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *i* before suffixes (אֲשָׁבַחְתִּי).

3 s. f. 6*. The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (מְלַבְחִיהָ '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: שָׁלַחְתָּה, שָׁלַחְתִּיהָ, שָׁלַחְתָּה; שָׁלַחְתָּנִי, שָׁלַחְתְּנִי, 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 (שָׁלַחְתֶּם). Instead of שָׁלַחְתֶּם the form שָׁלַחְתֶּם is used. In PTM the forms שָׁלַחְתֶּם, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains ת as derived from the accus. particle ית (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like שָׁלַחְתֶּם in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like שָׁלַחְתֶּם in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

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

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

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 *ü* 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 *בְּתַבּוּ* and in PTM like *בְּתַבּוּן* (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. *אֲפִיְרָא* 'bring her out' = *אֲפִיְרָא*).

ע"ו stems. 10*. The forms of ע"ו 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, *שָׁבַקְיָה לְרַגְלֵי לְבָשֵׁתוֹ* 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, *אֲפִיְרָא לְשִׁלְיָהּ* '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, *אֲשַׁבְּרֵיהּ* '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, *חָמַד לְהַרְוֵא דְנַבְוִין דְקָאִים בְּתַרְיָה* 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

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

§ 37.¹ VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH א"ל STEMS

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

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

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

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: *אֲשַׁרְיָהּ* (Gen. 2. 15), *אֲחַתְיָהּ* (Gen. 2. 22), *אֲמַעְיָהּ* (Gen. 3. 13), *אֲחַתְיָהּ* (Judg. 1. 7). With אֲנִי the ordinary stem is used (*אֲחַתְיָהּ*).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, *מַחַתְיָהּ* = *מַחַתְיָהּ*), 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: *אֲשַׁקְיָהּ*, *אֲכַתְיָהּ* (Judg. 4. 19), *אֲחַתְיָהּ* (*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: *חָמַתְיָהּ* (3 s. f.), *חָמַתְיָהּ* (OJ 2 s. m.), *חָמַתְיָהּ* (1 sing.), *חָמַתְיָהּ* (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), *חָמַתְיָהּ* (PTM 3 pl.). For *חָמַתְיָהּ* (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

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

Impf. stems. 6. In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding *ē* to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: *יַחַתְיָהּ*, *יַחַתְיָהּ*. When אֲנִי is used the forms are like that of *יַחַתְיָהּ*. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before *nm* are *i* instead of *ē*, and *ū* instead of *ō* (*יַחַתְיָהּ*, *יַחַתְיָהּ*). 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 (אֲרִיזִי, חֲזוּהִי). In some MSS. \bar{a} is written for \bar{o} and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֲרִיזִי, Judg. 1. 24).

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

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

§ 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—הֵפֹו (eight times), הֵפֹו (three times), and אֵנֹו (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 יֵ is 'me' and that אֵ is written for אֵ in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: יֵ, ׀ (2 s. m.), הֵ (§ 12), אֵ, and כֹו.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

Perfect.

APHEL.	PTM	PeAL.	APHEL.	PTM	PeAL.
3 plur. m.	3 plur. m.	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	3 sing. m.	3 sing. m.
אָרְבֵּינִי	רָבִינִי	רָבִינִי	אָרְבֵּי	רָבִי	רָבִינִי
אָרְבֵּינָךְ	רָבִינָךְ	רָבִינָךְ	אָרְבֵּיךְ		רָבִינָךְ
אָרְבֵּינֵינוּ	רָבִינֵינוּ	רָבִינֵינוּ	אָרְבֵּינָם		רָבִינָם
אָרְבֵּינֵיהֶם	רָבִינֵיהֶם	רָבִינֵיהֶם	אָרְבֵּינָם	רָבִינוּ	רָבִינָם
—	—	—	—	—	—
אָרְבֵּינָם	רָבִינָם	רָבִינָם	אָרְבֵּינָם	רָבִינָם	רָבִינָם

Imperfect.

3 plur. m.	PTM	3 plur. m.	3 sing. m.	PTM	3 sing. m.
יִרְבְּעוּנִי	יִרְבְּעִי	יִרְבְּעוּנִי	יִרְבְּעִי	יִרְבְּעִי	יִרְבְּעִי
יִרְבְּעוּנָךְ	יִרְבְּעִיךְ	יִרְבְּעוּנָךְ	יִרְבְּעִיךְ	יִרְבְּעִיךְ	יִרְבְּעִיךְ
יִרְבְּעוּנֵינוּ	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנֵינוּ	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם
יִרְבְּעוּנֵיהֶם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנֵיהֶם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם
—	—	—	—	—	—
יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם	יִרְבְּעוּנָם

Imperative.

2 plur. m.	PTM	2 plur. m.	2 sing. m.	PTM	2 sing. m.
אָרְבֵּינִי	רָבִינִי	רָבִינִי	אָרְבֵּינִי	רָבִי (רַ)	רָבִינִי
אָרְבֵּינָךְ	רָבִינֵיךְ	רָבִינֵיךְ	אָרְבֵּינֵיךְ	רָבִינֵיךְ (רַ)	רָבִינֵיךְ
אָרְבֵּינֵינוּ	רָבִינֵינוּ	רָבִינֵינוּ	אָרְבֵּינֵנָם	רָבִינֵנָם (רַ)	רָבִינֵנָם
אָרְבֵּינֵיהֶם	רָבִינֵיהֶם	רָבִינֵיהֶם	אָרְבֵּינֵנָם	רָבִינֵנָם (רַ)	רָבִינֵנָם
—	—	—	—	—	—
אָרְבֵּינָם	רָבִינָם	רָבִינָם	אָרְבֵּינָם	רָבִינָם (רַ)	רָבִינָם

OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (nominatives).

אֲנִיכִי, אֲנִיכִי	אֲנִי	1 com.
אֲנִיכִי (אֲנִיכִי)	אֲנִי	2 masc.
—	—	fem.
אֲנִי, רַבִּי	הוּא	3 masc.
אֲנִי	הִיא	fem.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

that	הוּא, הַהוּא	this	הַהוּא	masc.
those	אֵלֵּי, אֵלֵּי, אֵלֵּי	these	אֵלֵּי, אֵלֵּי, אֵלֵּי	fem.

Inflection of Nouns.

שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	יוֹם	Singular absolute.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	יוֹם	construct.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	יוֹם	emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם	יוֹם 1 sing.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם (יוֹם)	יוֹם 2 s. m.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם	f.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם (יוֹם)	3 s. m.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם (יוֹם)	f.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם (יוֹם)	1 plur.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	יוֹם -כֵּם	2 pl. m.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	הוּא	f.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	הוּא	3 pl. m.
שְׂאֲלֵךְ	הוּא	הוּא	הוּא	f.

