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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERTOLD SPULER UND HANS WEHR

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V

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

A GRAMMAR  
OF BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

1961

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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OF BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

BY

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

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OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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## Table of Contents

|   | page |
|---|------|
| Preface.....  | 1    |
| I. The Texts and the Language.....                              | 5    |
| (1) The Aramaic passages of the Old Testament .....             | 5    |
| (2) The native name of the language .....                       | 5    |
| (3) The history of Aramaic — Official Aramaic .....             | 5    |
| II. The Writing .....   | 6    |
| (4) The alphabet .....  | 6    |
| (5) אהוי as vowel letters .....                                 | 8    |
| (6) The final forms of כמנפצ .....                              | 8    |
| (7) The dot used with certain letters .....                     | 8    |
| (8) The vocalization systems .....                              | 8    |
| (9) Vowel quantity and quality .....                            | 9    |
| (10) The Tiberian vowel signs .....                             | 10   |
| (11) The Babylonian vowel signs .....                           | 12   |
| (12) <i>K<sup>o</sup>tib-q<sup>o</sup>rē</i> .....              | 12   |
| III. Remarks on Phonology.....                                  | 12   |
| (13) א as a silent letter .....                                 | 12   |
| (14) א resulting from -āy- .....                                | 13   |
| (15) Spirantization of בגדכפת .....                             | 13   |
| (16) Spirantization of initial בגדכפת within the sentence ..... | 13   |
| (17) Semitic correspondences of ה, דטת, and ע .....             | 14   |
| (18) Seeming exceptions to the rules of par. 17 .....           | 16   |
| (19) ש—ס .....  | 16   |
| (20) Consonant doubling .....                                   | 16   |
| (21) Substitution of nasalization for gemination .....          | 16   |
| (22) Long vowels .....  | 17   |
| (23) Short vowels.....  | 17   |
| (24) <i>i/ε</i> before החר closing a syllable .....             | 17   |
| (25) Pausal lengthening .....                                   | 17   |
| (26) Word stress .....  | 18   |
| (27) The influence of enclitic words upon word stress .....     | 18   |
| (28) Secondary stress .....                                     | 19   |
| IV. The Pronoun .....   | 19   |
| (29) Independent personal pronouns .....                        | 19   |
| (30) The use of the third person pronoun as the copula.....     | 19   |
| (31) Pronominal suffixes.....                                   | 20   |
| (32) Demonstrative pronouns .....                               | 20   |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| (33) The use of demonstrative pronouns as nouns .....   | 21 |
| (34) The use of demonstrative pronouns as adjectives .....  | 21 |
| (35) The relative pronoun .....   | 21 |
| (36) Indication of the oblique cases of the relative pronoun ...  | 21 |
| (37) The indefinite relative pronouns .....   | 22 |
| (38) The interrogative pronouns .....   | 22 |
| V. The Noun and the Adjective .....   | 22 |
| (39) The formation of nouns and adjectives .....  | 22 |
| (40) The meanings associated with certain formations .....  | 22 |
| (41) General characterization of the BA declension.....   | 23 |
| (42) The declension .....   | 23 |
| (43) The vocative .....   | 24 |
| (44) The use of the feminine to form nouns from adjectives ....   | 24 |
| (45) The dual .....   | 24 |
| (46) The use of the absolute and determined states and that of<br>the numeral "one" for indetermination ..... | 24 |
| (47) The use of the construct state.....  | 25 |
| (48) Ways of expressing the genitive relationship .....   | 25 |
| (49) The noun with pronominal suffixes .....  | 26 |
| (50) The declension of particular noun formations .....   | 27 |
| (51) The formations <i>pa<sup>l</sup></i> , <i>pi<sup>l</sup></i> , <i>pu<sup>l</sup></i> .....               | 27 |
| (52) The formations <i>pǎ<sup>l</sup></i> ( <i>pa<sup>al</sup></i> , etc.) .....                              | 28 |
| (53) The formations <i>pǎ<sup>l</sup></i> ( <i>pā<sup>al</sup></i> , etc.) .....                              | 28 |
| (54) Words ending in <i>-y</i> .....  | 28 |
| (55) Words ending in <i>-w</i> .....  | 28 |
| (56) The ending <i>-ūt</i> .....  | 28 |
| (57) The endings <i>-ī</i> , <i>-īt</i> .....   | 29 |
| (58) The ending <i>-āy</i> .....  | 29 |
| (59) Feminine nouns without the feminine ending .....   | 29 |
| (60) Masculine formations with feminine plural endings.....   | 30 |
| (61) Feminine formations with masculine plural endings ....   | 30 |
| (62) Some irregular nouns and adjectives .....  | 30 |
| VI. Numerals .....  | 31 |
| (63) Cardinal numbers .....   | 31 |
| (64) "One" .....  | 32 |
| (65) "Two" .....  | 32 |
| (66) The numerals from three to ten .....   | 32 |
| (67) The combination of numerals with the object counted ...  | 32 |
| (68) "1000".....  | 32 |
| (69) Ordinal numbers .....  | 32 |
| (70) Multiplication .....   | 33 |
| (71) Fractions .....  | 33 |
| (72) "Second" with the adverbial ending <i>-ūt</i> .....  | 33 |
| (73) "The three of them" .....  | 33 |
| (74) Dates and ago .....  | 33 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| VII. Prepositions .....   | 33 |
| (75) Primitive and derivative prepositions — The connection<br>of primitive prepositions with nouns .....     | 33 |
| (76) The basic meanings and the use of different prepositions<br>without a clear distinction in meaning ..... | 33 |
| (77) The preposition ב .....  | 34 |
| (78) The preposition כ .....  | 34 |
| (79) The preposition ל .....  | 34 |
| (80) The preposition מן .....   | 35 |
| (81) The preposition עד .....   | 35 |
| (82) The preposition על .....   | 35 |
| (83) The preposition עם .....   | 36 |
| (84) The derivative prepositions .....  | 36 |
| VIII. Conjunctions .....  | 37 |
| (85) Coordinating conjunctions .....  | 37 |
| (86) Subordinating conjunctions .....   | 38 |
| IX. Negations .....   | 39 |
| (87) The negations לא, אֵל, לֹמָה .....   | 39 |
| X. Adverbs and Particles .....  | 39 |
| (88) Adverbial formations .....   | 39 |
| (89) Temporal demonstrative adverbs .....   | 40 |
| (90) Temporal assertive adverb .....  | 40 |
| (91) Local demonstrative adverbs .....  | 40 |
| (92) Modal demonstrative adverbs .....  | 40 |
| (93) Modal assertive adverbs .....  | 40 |
| (94) The interrogative particle .....   | 41 |
| XI. אִתִּי .....  | 41 |
| (95) אִתִּי indicating existence and used as the copula .....   | 41 |
| XII. אַחֲרַי and כֹּל .....   | 41 |
| (96) כֹּל .....   | 41 |
| (97) אַחֲרַי .....  | 42 |
| XIII. The Verb .....  | 42 |
| (98) General characterization of the BA conjugation .....   | 42 |
| (99) The derived conjugations .....   | 42 |
| (100) "Strong" and "weak" verbs .....   | 43 |
| 1. The strong verb .....  | 43 |
| (101) The perfect .....   | 43 |
| (102) The <i>p<sup>o</sup>e/il</i> perfect .....  | 43 |
| (103) Vacillation between <i>e/i</i> in the <i>pa<sup>o</sup>el</i> , etc. ....                               | 43 |
| (104) The 3. fem. sg. perfect in the derived conjugations .....   | 43 |
| (105) The imperfect .....   | 44 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| (106) The imperfect vowel .....  | 44 |
| (107) Passive formations of the imperfect .....  | 44 |
| (108) The jussive .....  | 44 |
| (109) The imperfect of the conjugations with <i>(h)il-</i> , <i>(h)a-</i> preformative .....                 | 44 |
| (110) The imperative .....   | 45 |
| (111) The infinitive .....   | 45 |
| (112) The participles .....  | 45 |
| (113) Forms with pronominal suffixes .....   | 45 |
| 2. Roots beginning with a sibilant or dental .....   | 45 |
| (114) Transposition and assimilation of the <i>t</i> of the preformative of the reflexive conjugations ..... | 45 |
| 3. Roots containing a laryngal or ʔ .....  | 46 |
| (115) Influence upon preceding vowels .....  | 46 |
| (116) Further effects upon the vocalism .....  | 46 |
| (117) Avoidance of final consonant clusters .....  | 46 |
| 4. Roots beginning with ʕ .....  | 47 |
| (118) Assimilation/nasalization of vowelless <i>n</i> — <i>ç</i> as the imperfect vowel .....                | 47 |
| (119) Dropping of <i>n</i> in the imperative .....   | 47 |
| 5. Roots beginning with ʕ .....  | 47 |
| (120) Vocalism of the perfect <i>p<sup>ʕ</sup>al</i> .....   | 47 |
| (121) The imperfect and infinitive .....   | 47 |
| (122) The imperative .....   | 47 |
| (123) The passive participle .....   | 48 |
| (124) The <i>haḫ<sup>ʕ</sup>el</i> .....   | 48 |
| 6. Roots with ʕ as the second consonant .....  | 48 |
| (125) All attested forms show no irregularities .....  | 48 |
| 7. Roots with final ʕ .....  | 48 |
| (126) Merged with roots <i>-w/y</i> , except for some remnants .....   | 48 |
| 8. Roots beginning with ʕ .....  | 48 |
| (127) Initial <i>w &gt; y</i> .....  | 48 |
| (128) The imperfect <i>p<sup>ʕ</sup>al</i> .....   | 48 |
| (129) Dropping of <i>y</i> in the imperative .....   | 49 |
| (130) The <i>haḫ<sup>ʕ</sup>el</i> .....   | 49 |
| 9. Roots with ʕ or ʕ as the second consonant .....   | 49 |
| (131) Frequent formal identity of these roots .....  | 49 |
| (132) <i>w</i> preserved as a consonant .....  | 49 |
| (133) The perfect <i>p<sup>ʕ</sup>al</i> .....   | 49 |
| (134) The imperfect .....  | 49 |
| (135) The imperative .....   | 49 |
| (136) The infinitive .....   | 49 |
| (137) The participles .....  | 50 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| (138) The <i>hitp<sup>al</sup></i> .....   | 50 |
| (139) The <i>pa<sup>al</sup></i> .....   | 50 |
| (140) The perfect <i>hap<sup>al</sup></i> .....  | 50 |
| (141) The imperfect and participles <i>hap<sup>al</sup></i> .....  | 50 |
| (142) The infinitive <i>hap<sup>al</sup></i> .....   | 50 |
| (143) Remnants of a reduplicated conjugation .....   | 50 |
| 10. Roots ending in <sup>3</sup> /l or <b>ℵ</b> .....  | 50 |
| (144) Merger of the original roots — Vacillation in the use of <b>ה</b><br>and <b>ℵ</b> to indicate final long vowel ..... | 50 |
| (145) The perfect <i>p<sup>al</sup></i> and <i>p<sup>al</sup>il</i> .....  | 51 |
| (146) The passive <i>p<sup>al</sup></i> .....  | 51 |
| (147) The imperfect .....  | 51 |
| (148) The imperative .....   | 51 |
| (149) The infinitive .....   | 51 |
| (150) The participles .....  | 51 |
| (151) The perfect of the derived conjugations .....  | 51 |
| (152) The imperfect (jussive) of the derived conjugations .....  | 52 |
| (153) The imperatives of the derived conjugations .....  | 52 |
| (154) The infinitives of the derived conjugations .....  | 52 |
| (155) The participles of the derived conjugations .....  | 52 |
| (156) Forms with pronominal suffixes .....   | 52 |
| 11. Roots with identical second and third consonants .....   | 52 |
| (157) Roots treated like the strong verb .....   | 52 |
| (158) The perfect <i>p<sup>al</sup></i> .....  | 52 |
| (159) The imperfect .....  | 53 |
| (160) The imperative .....   | 53 |
| (161) The infinitive .....   | 53 |
| (162) The participles .....  | 53 |
| (163) <i>Hitp<sup>al</sup></i> , <i>pa<sup>al</sup></i> , <i>hitpa<sup>al</sup></i> .....                                  | 53 |
| (164) The <i>hap<sup>al</sup></i> .....  | 53 |
| 12. Some special irregular verbs .....   | 53 |
| (165) Verbs combining two irregularities .....   | 53 |
| (166) <i>Šap<sup>al</sup></i> formations .....   | 53 |
| (167) אָתָּה "to come" .....   | 54 |
| (168) הוּהָ "to be" .....  | 54 |
| (169) הֵלֵךְ "to go" .....   | 54 |
| (170) חִיָּה "to live" .....   | 54 |
| (171) כָּהֵל, יָכֵל "to be able" .....   | 54 |
| (172) סָלַק "to go up" .....   | 54 |
| (173) אָשַׁח "to drink" .....  | 54 |
| 13. The verb with pronominal suffixes .....  | 54 |
| (174) The forms of the suffixes .....  | 54 |
| (175) The imperfect and jussive with suffixes .....  | 54 |
| (176) Roots ending in <sup>3</sup> /w/y with suffixes .....  | 55 |



|  |       |
|--|-------|
| 14. Notes on the syntax of the verb .....  | 55    |
| (177) The use of the participle .....  | 55    |
| (178) The use of the imperfect .....   | 55    |
| (179) The perfect used to indicate the future .....  | 56    |
| (180) Verbs having more than one subject .....   | 56    |
| (181) The expression of impersonal subjects .....  | 56    |
| (182) Direct objects introduced by $\text{ל}$ .....  | 56    |
| (183) The position of words in the verbal sentence .....   | 56    |
| (184) Pronominal suffixes used to refer back to objects placed<br>before the verb .....  | 56    |
| (185) The position of the object of an infinitive .....  | 57    |
| XIV. The Vocabulary .....  | 57    |
| (186) Foreign influences upon the BA vocabulary — Inner-<br>Aramaic preferences in the choice of words — Foreign<br>proper names ..... | 57    |
| (187) Hebrew loan words .....  | 57    |
| (188) Akkadian loan words .....  | 57    |
| (189) Persian loan words .....   | 58    |
| (190) Foreign words of doubtful origin .....   | 59    |
| (191) Greek loan words .....   | 59    |
| Paradigms 1: The strong verb .....   | 60—63 |
| Paradigms 2: Roots with $\text{ל}$ or $\text{ר}$ as the second consonant .....   | 64—65 |
| Paradigms 3: Roots ending in $\text{ל}$ or $\text{ר}$ .....  | 66—68 |
| Paradigms 4: Roots with identical second and third consonants .....  | 69—70 |
| Paradigms 5: Verbs with pronominal suffixes .....  | 71    |
| Short Bibliography .....   | 72—75 |
| Glossary .....   | 76—99 |

## Preface

The purpose of this grammar is twofold. It is, on the one hand, to provide the beginner with the elements of the language, and, on the other, to prepare him—surreptitiously as it were—for possible research in the problems of Aramaeology. These two aims may seem mutually contradictory, and it must be admitted that they are to a degree. However, the attempt is always worth making, and Biblical Aramaic, representing the comparative simplicity of the old consonant writing with the complexities of a much later stage of the spoken language superimposed upon it, is a strenuous training ground.

Biblical Aramaic grammars are customarily written in the assumption that the reader will have previously acquired a good knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. This assumption may be correct, but it seems a poor justification for not giving Biblical Aramaic its due as a language in its own right. Therefore, no knowledge of Hebrew is presupposed here. Brevity has made it necessary to deal lightly with many of the Masoretic refinements, and no lengthy discussions of Semitic peculiarities, let alone comparative excursuses, were possible. But the presentation, it is hoped, will be clear for the student with or without much grounding in other Semitic languages.

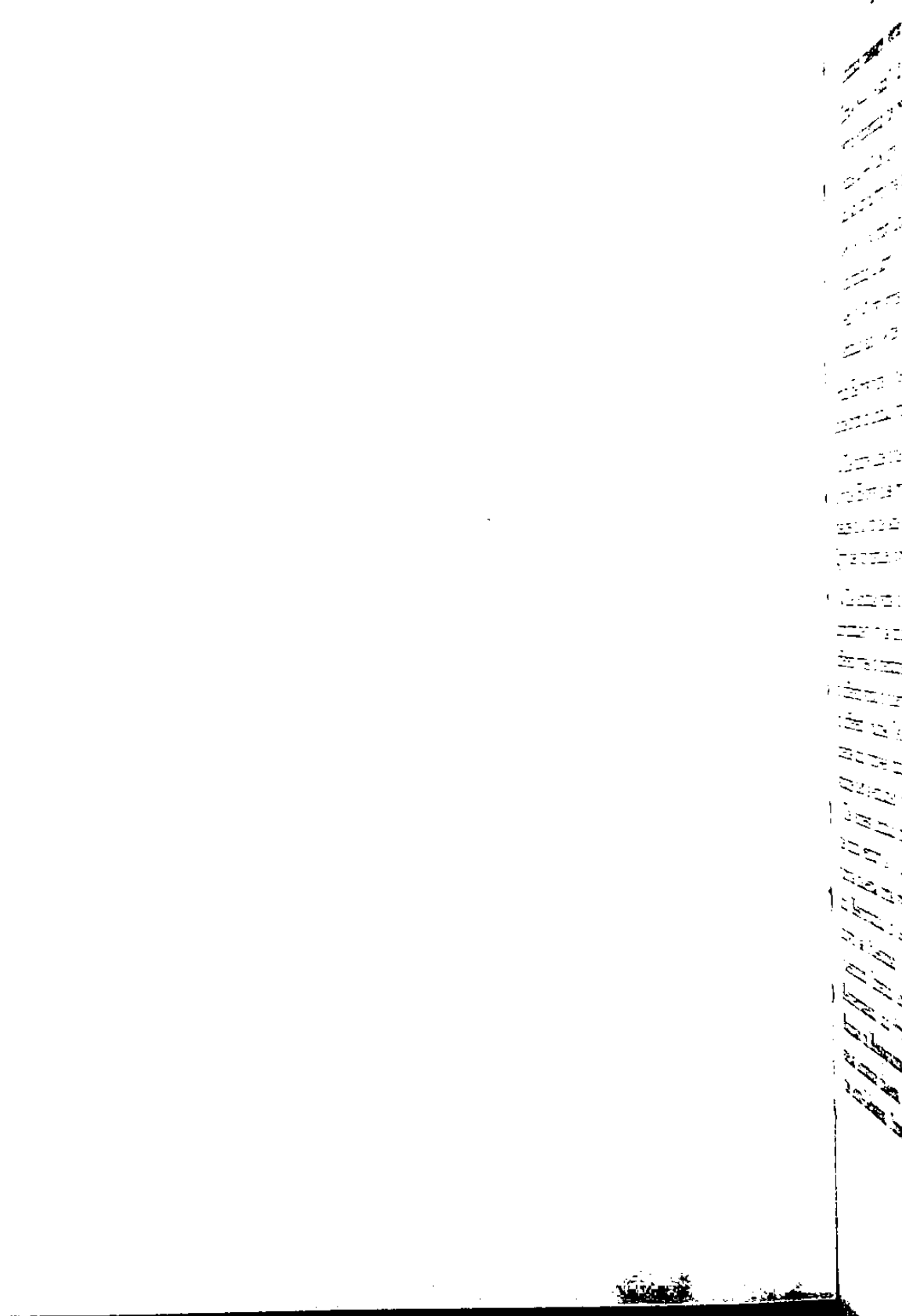
Knowledge of the syntax is important in any language, and in Aramaic where the syntax in particular reflects the history of the language most faithfully, it is of crucial significance. I have taken cognizance of this fact by *not* writing a special discussion of Biblical Aramaic syntax, since I know that few beginning students of a language ever take the trouble of reading the portion of the grammar dealing with syntax. Instead, the most important syntactic notions have been added to appropriate passages of the grammatical treatment. This often involves anticipating linguistic points not yet discussed, but I believe that the reader will not find this unduly disturbing.

The basis of this grammar is the text as published in the "Kittel Bible," that is, the third edition of the *Biblia Hebraica*

(Stuttgart, 1937), originally organized by R. Kittel. The text of Ezra was prepared by H. H. Schaeder, and that of Daniel by W. Baumgartner. Subsequent editions—I have before me one labeled the ninth being a reproduction of the seventh (Stuttgart, 1954)—contain no changes in the Aramaic portions. As this is the most authoritative text presently available, it is imperative here to follow it to the letter. Even details of orthography and vocalization are nearly always accepted as they appear in the *Biblia Hebraica*. However, it should be realized that manuscript variations as far as orthography and vocalization are concerned are numerous and important, and the text of the *Biblia Hebraica* does not constitute the last word with regard to them. Moreover, while the work of the Masoretes is most remarkable for its linguistic accuracy and reliability, most of the progress in our understanding of the contents and the languages of the Bible depends on our increasing ability of going beyond it.

Very little, if anything, that is new will be found in this grammar. There exist some good grammars by outstanding scholars and one recent, excellent dictionary. However, there should be room for one more attempt to help students to acquire a basic preparation in a language that holds the key to a good deal of the world's intellectual history, and I am extremely grateful to the publisher and the editors of the *Porta* that they have given me the opportunity to make this attempt. I also had the good fortune of being able to draw upon the knowledge of several outstanding authorities. First among them was H. L. Ginsberg with whom I was privileged to discuss my manuscript and who made many substantial contributions. A further reading of the manuscript by F. M. Cross proved most helpful and yielded valuable suggestions. A reading of the proofs by M. Pope contributed important corrections and improvements. The section on Akkadian loan words (par. 188) has greatly benefitted from the advice of A. Goetze, and the section on Persian loan words (par. 189f.) and the Persian etymologies in the glossary were revised by W. B. Henning who thus did for this grammar what F. C. Andreas did many years ago for its predecessor in the *Porta*.

Few abbreviations have been used. They are either self-evident or have been explained in the proper places. An asterisk is used to indicate forms or form elements not attested in Biblical Aramaic; two asterisks occasionally indicate that the form-elements so marked are not known from other Official Aramaic texts either, but they have not been used consistently. No asterisks have been used in connection with the paradigms. In transliterations, primary and secondary word stress is indicated by  $\acute{\text{~}}$  and  $\grave{\text{~}}$ , respectively (par. 28). An arbitrary sign  $\leq$  has been chosen to indicate penult stress in Aramaic writing (par. 26).



## I. The Texts and the Language

1. Aramaic passages occur in the Old Testament in four places:

Ezra 4:8—6:18 and 7:12—26 (documents from the Achaemenid period concerning the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem).

Daniel 2:4—7:28 (five Oriental historical tales involving Jews and an apocalyptic vision).

Jer. 10:11 (a stray Aramaic sentence in a Hebrew context denouncing idolatry).

Gen. 31:47 (two words translating a Hebrew toponym into Aramaic said to be the language of Laban).

Certain Hebrew texts of the Bible have been recognized as translations from an Aramaic original.

2. The native name of the language was Aramaic. This is indicated by the (Hebrew) gloss *ʾrāmūt* E 4:7, D 2:4, introducing Aramaic passages in about the same manner in which Aramaic papyri from Egypt use, for instance, *mšryt* to indicate use of an Egyptian term.

3. The Aramaic texts of the Bible come from periods separated, approximately, by as much as three centuries. They represent different types of literature. They were written by men belonging to different strata of society. And, in all likelihood, they originated in different localities. Yet, the language they use appears to all intents and purposes uniform, with only minor divergences. This strange fact is explained by the history of Aramaic.

The earliest Aramaic inscriptions discovered so far come from the ninth century B. C. At the beginning of our era, Aramaic, in various dialectal forms, was the dominant spoken language of Syria and Mesopotamia. It developed a number of literary dialects, known as Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, and Syro-Palestinian Christian Aramaic along the Eastern border of the Mediterranean, and Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, and Mandaic in Mesopotamia. To this day, there are small groups that speak Aramaic dialects, such as the inhabitants of some villages in the Anti-Lebanon, Christians and Jews living in or originating from

Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, to which may be added remnants of the gnostic sect of the Mandaeans, familiar with the tradition of their dialect.

During the second millennium B. C., various Aramaic dialects are likely to have been spoken at the borders and within Mesopotamia and the Fertile Crescent. But it was the dialect used by Aramaeans settled within the confines of Assyria that from the eighth century on supplanted all other Aramaic dialects. According to 2 Kings 18:26, Aramaic was, at the end of that century, an international language understood by high Assyrian and Jewish officials but not by the common people of Jerusalem. When the Achaemenids conquered Mesopotamia in the second half of the sixth century and established their vast empire, they continued the use of Aramaic as the medium for written communication in their far-flung administration. By that time, Aramaic was the dominant spoken language in Mesopotamia. It was making steady headway as a spoken language in the lands of the Fertile Crescent, including Palestine.

The use of this "Official Aramaic" of the Achaemenid Empire outlasted the latter's existence by some centuries. Official Aramaic, when written by people whose native language was not Aramaic, showed considerable divergences in a number of aspects, especially in the syntax and the vocabulary. When it was used by native speakers of Aramaic, local dialectal differences made themselves felt. At first, these were inconspicuous, but they grew more and more pronounced with the political and religious fragmentation of the Aramaic speaking area, and eventually made their appearance as distinct dialects.

The Aramaic of the Bible as written has preserved the Official Aramaic character. This is what makes it nearly uniform in linguistic appearance. It also makes it largely identical with the language used in other Official Aramaic texts. Most numerous among these are the Aramaic documents of the Achaemenid period discovered in Egypt which are invaluable for the understanding of Biblical Aramaic (henceforth abbreviated BA).

## II. The Writing

4. The letters of the BA alphabet are the same as are used in Hebrew. The so-called Hebrew or square script is, in fact, a Jewish specialization of the older Official Aramaic script adopted by the

|       | Egypt<br>5th cent.<br>B.C. | Dead Sea<br>Scrolls<br>(Qumrān)<br>1st cent.<br>B.C. to 1st<br>cent. A.D. | Trans-<br>litera-<br>tion | Name  | Approximate<br>Pronunciation                                  |
|-------|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------|---|
| א     |                            | א   | ʾ                         | ʾāleḫ | glottal stop  |
| ב     |                            | ב   | b, <u>b</u>               | bēṭ   | b, spirant b (bilabial v)                                     |
| ג     |                            | ג   | g, <u>g</u>               | gimel | g, spirant g  |
| ד     |                            | ד   | d, <u>d</u>               | dālet | d, spirant d (like <i>th</i> in <i>there</i> )                |
| ה     |                            | ה   | h                         | hē    | h   |
| ו     |                            | ו   | w                         | wāw   | w   |
| ז     |                            | ז   | z                         | zayin | z   |
| ח     |                            | ח   | ḥ                         | hēt   | pharyngeal fricative h  |
| ט     |                            | ט   | ṭ                         | tēt   | “emphatic” (i.e., velarized) t                                |
| י     |                            | י   | y                         | yōḏ   | y   |
| (7) כ |                            | כ   | k, <u>k</u>               | kaḫ   | k, spirant k  |
| ל     |                            | ל   | l                         | lāmed | l   |
| (5) מ |                            | מ   | m                         | mēm   | m   |
| (7) נ |                            | נ   | n                         | nūn   | n   |
| ס     |                            | ס   | s                         | sāmek | s   |
| ע     |                            | ע   | ʿ                         | ʿayin | voiced laryngeal (similar to the sound of incipient vomiting) |
| (7) פ |                            | פ   | p, <u>p</u>               | pē    | p, spirant p (bilabial f)                                     |
| (2) צ |                            | צ   | ṣ                         | ṣādē  | “emphatic” s  |
| ק     |                            | ק   | q                         | qōḫ   | “emphatic” k  |
| ר     |                            | ר   | r                         | rēš   | r   |
| ש     |                            | ש   | ś                         | śin   | palatalized (?) s   |
| ש     |                            | ש   | š                         | šin   | sh  |
| ת     |                            | ת   | t, <u>t</u>               | tāw   | t, spirant t (like <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> )                |



Jews in the course of their acceptance of Official Aramaic and the increasing use of Aramaic as a spoken language among them.

The writing runs from right to left.

The forms of the letters in brackets are those occurring at the end of a word.

The names of the letters are those commonly used in Hebrew grammar.

5. אַ אָ may be used as vowel letters (par. 10). א and ה are used for final  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ , ו for  $\bar{u}$  or  $\bar{o}$ , and י for  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{e}$ . Final  $\bar{e}$ , which occurs very rarely, is indicated by ה.

א appears as vowel letter in connection with final  $\bar{o}$  in אַוּלָּ "into" and the proper name אַוּדָּ. This use is frequent in later Jewish Aramaic documents and appears to have resulted from the spelling of (Hebrew) לֹא (לוֹא) "not." Note that the Dead Sea (Qumrān) fragment of D 3:24 has אַל, although the spelling אַל- for final  $\bar{o}$  is common in the Dead Sea documents. Cf., further, par. 13.

6. The final forms כּוּפּוּצ are the earlier forms of these letters. The forms used within words represent a later development. The closed form of final ך, on the other hand, is derived from the older open ך. The consistent distinction between final and non-final letters appears to be not earlier than the third century B. C.

In the Egyptian documents and the Dead Sea material, words are separated from each other by a clearly noticeable blank space. Exceptions are rare. The same situation no doubt prevailed when the BA texts were committed to writing.

7. Consonant doubling (par. 20) is indicated by a dot placed in the geminated letter.

A dot is also used to indicate non-spirantized pronunciation of כּוּדְכּוּצ (par. 15).

It occurs further in connection with final ה in order to indicate that it is not used as a vowel letter but is to be pronounced as a consonant.

8. Ancient Aramaic developed an incomplete system of indicating vowels by using certain consonants (par. 5). This started with final long vowels but was soon extended to internal long vowels (except  $\bar{a}$ ). The Biblical text shows a more systematic but still far from consistent application of this kind of vocalization (par. 10, 13).

The use of special vowel signs for the Biblical text is of a much later date. It is in general not earlier than the seventh century A. D. The men who provided the Biblical texts with vowel signs are known as Masoretes ("transmitters"). Their efforts began with occasional indications of some vowels but developed into systems meant to be a complete (and rather complicated) phonetic notation.

There are three vowel systems known, the Palestinian, the Babylonian, and the Tiberian. The one in use in our Bible texts is the Tiberian. There are many small differences in vocalization within the various manuscripts and systems of vocalization.

The systems of vocalization were invented primarily for the Hebrew text. Influence of Hebrew phonetic peculiarities upon the vocalization of BA may be assumed on occasion. However, since the phonetic habits of the Masoretes were formed by Aramaic speech, their systems of vocalization may be assumed rather to represent Aramaic speech habits.

The Tiberian system favors the Palestinian pronunciation of Aramaic. The Babylonian system leans toward that of Mesopotamia; notwithstanding its importance, little attention has been paid to it in this grammar. BA texts with Palestinian vocalization are not available.

In the Tiberian system, the vowel sign is placed underneath the letter that is followed by the vowel in question. An exception is the vowel  $\bar{o}$  which is placed on top and to the left of the letter.

Final vowelless  $\text{וּתָ}$ , after a long vowel other than  $\bar{a}$ , are furnished with an  $a$  vowel placed a little to the right, indicating a preceding ultra-short  $a$  that is heard when the consonants in question are pronounced correctly ( $^{-a}h$ ,  $^{-a}c$ ; there is no example for  $^{-h}$ ).

In the Babylonian (and Palestinian) systems, the vowel signs are placed on top of the consonants.

9. The vowel signs do not indicate vowel quantity (length or brevity) but vowel quality. For a proper understanding of the attempt made in the following paragraph to distinguish between long and short vowels, it will be well to keep in mind that the Semitic languages know extremely stable long vowels used to indicate certain basic noun and verb formations. All the other vowels are exceedingly unstable and run the gamut from ultra-shortness to what at times may strike the listener as almost a long

vowel. The Masoretes aspired to catching and noting down the finest vowel shades such as were due to the influence of surrounding consonants, word and sentence stress, etc. This is a very difficult task that can be successfully accomplished only for a living language under carefully controlled conditions. How far the subtle Masoretic distinctions are applicable to the pre-Masoretic period of BA remains doubtful.

10. These are the Tiberian vowel signs:

ֿ indicates vowellessness. Final vowelless consonants have no such sign, with the exception of ף and ך.

Since vowellessness in BA is very frequently the result of the disappearance of short vowels, it may not always have been complete but a murmured vowel may have remained, especially where otherwise there would have appeared consonant clusters that were hard to pronounce. In such cases, we cannot decide whether there was vowellessness or a murmured vowel. The sign ׀ has been used for transliterating them.

The sign ׀ may be combined with one of the following three vowel signs in order to indicate ultra-short vowels: ׀<sup>a</sup>; ׀<sup>o</sup>; ׀<sup>e</sup>. These are used in connection with אההע instead of simple ׀, whenever it is in the place of an original vowel. But they may also occur in positions where there was no vowel originally (לְהוֹא "he will be," לְהַחֲוִיָּה "to inform," אַחֲרָן "another," מַעֲבָדָוּהִי "His works").

They may also be used following or preceding ק and ג, or preceding לִנְר : קִדְם "before," לְקִבֵּל "corresponding to," קִרְי "it was read" E 4:18, 23, מִדְּקָה, מִדְּקָה "crushing" D 7:7, 19, גִּלְי, גִּלְי "it was revealed" D 2:19, 30, סָנַר "he locked" D 6:23, מְמַלְלָה "speaking" D 7:11, בְּנִיחָה "I built it" D 4:27, צִפְרִי "birds" D 4:9.

ֿ a (short).

ֿ ā. Original long ā must have been pronounced by the Masoretes like long open o, since its short form is o (short) in the following cases:

(1) in closed unstressed syllables: כְּרִסָּא "chair," דְּכִרְנָיָא (dokrānayyā) "memoranda," פִּלְחָן (polhān) "cult," כֹּל קִבֵּל (kol q<sup>o</sup>bel) "corresponding to."

(2) when followed by  $\bar{a}$ , or by  $\bar{e}$  in a closed unstressed syllable:  $\text{לִקְבַּל}$  (*loq<sup>o</sup>bēl*),  $\text{הִחֲרַבְתָּ}$  (*hoḥorbat<sup>i</sup>*) "was destroyed."

(3) when it represents  $\bar{a}$  under secondary stress in the preposition  $\text{קִדְמָה}$  "before":  $\text{קִדְמָי}$  (*qōdāmāy*) "before me," but  $\text{קִדְמֵיהֶן}$  (*q<sup>o</sup>dāmēḥōn*) "before them."

(4) possibly in  $\text{תְּקַף}$  "strength" D 4:27.

$\bar{e}$  (open, short). In  $\text{אֵלֶּהָ}$  "these," it may possibly represent a long vowel. For  $\text{עֲלֵינָא}$ , cf. par. 49, and for  $\text{וְנִדְנָה}$ , cf. par. 190.

$\bar{e}$  is very close to  $a$ , cf., for instance,  $\text{יְדֵהֶם}$  "their hand" E 5:8, for  $\text{יְדֵהֶם}$ , or  $\text{אֶחָיִךְ}$  "your brothers (colleagues)," for  $\text{אֶחָיִךְ}$  (par. 62). The Babylonian system has no sign for it but uses  $a$ . However,  $\bar{e}$  also occurs as a variant of  $e/i$  ( $\text{יַפֵּל}$ , but  $\text{יַפֵּל}$  *yippellāk*, par. 118).

$\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$  (closed). Most frequently,  $\bar{e}$  represents short  $e$ , as in  $\text{בַּעַל}$  "master,"  $\text{הֵיחַב}$  "he settled," etc., also in cases where it alternates with  $i$  ( $\text{יִתְעַבְד}$ ,  $\text{יִתְעַבְד}$  "will be made").

Secondary lengthening may have been operative in some of these cases. Lengthening may also be assumed where  $\bar{e}$  appears in unstressed open syllables (par. 23):  $\text{עֲטָה}$  "counsel,"  $\text{לְחַנְתָּהּ}$  "his maids,"  $\text{גָּוָה}$  "arrogance,"  $\text{יִקְרַח}$  "burning." This, however, is not certain since  $\bar{e}$  in  $\text{בְּטֵלָת}$  (*betēlāt*) "was idle" E 4:24, is certainly short.

$\bar{e}$  represents a long vowel at the ends of words when it is followed by one of the vowel letters  $\text{אהי}$ ; or, within words, when it is followed by the vowel letter  $\text{י}$ ; or where it represents the result of the sound change  $e/i > \bar{e}$  ( $\text{לְמַאמֵר}$  "to say,"  $\text{לְמִיָּא}$  "to heat,"  $\text{בְּאַרְיֵן}$  "then," etc.).

$\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ . Long  $\bar{i}$  is as a rule followed by the vowel letter  $\text{י}$ . There are exceptions such as  $\text{מְדִנָּה}$  "provinces" E 4:15,  $\text{כְּפָחוּ}$  "they were fettered" D 3:21,  $\text{שִׁלְטָן}$  "mighty" (pl. masc.) D 4:23,  $\text{וְיִי}$  "my splendor, splendid looks" D 4:33. The more remarkable use of  $\bar{i}$  where short  $i$  is required appears in  $\text{מִשְׁפִּיל}$  "bringing down" D 5:19,  $\text{הִלְבִּישׁוּ}$  "they dressed" D 5:29,  $\text{קָרְיְבוּ}$  "they drew near" D 6:13,  $\text{שִׁוִּיב}$  "he saved" D 6:28.

$\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  (closed), as a long vowel usually combined with the vowel letter  $\text{ו}$  ( $\bar{o}$ ), but occasionally occurring without it, in particular after  $-w$  ( $-w\bar{o}$ ). It may appear in stressed syllables which when

they are not stressed would exhibit short *o* or *u*: קֶשֶׁם “truth,” כָּל “all,” נֹב (נוב D 6:13) “den.” In these cases, a short but closed *o*, rather than a long vowel, may be intended. Short *o* in כָּלָא (*kōllā*) “totality,” גָּדָו (*gōddu*) “cut down!” (pl. masc.) D 4:11, אֲרַחֲמָה “His ways.”

u, ū, as a long vowel usually expressed by the sign ו, but cf. לְבִשְׁתֵּיהֶן “their garments” D 3:21, לְהוֹדִיעַתִּי “to let me know” D 2:26, etc. In הוֹדִיעַתִּי “you let me know” D 2:5 and similar forms, ū may have been shortened in pronunciation but retained as a historical spelling; ו appears in these cases in the Aramaic documents from Egypt, whereas BA spelling vacillates between ו and וּ (par. 175).

11. The signs of the Babylonian system are: 𐤀 for vowellessness; 𐤁 *a, e*; 𐤂 *ā*; 𐤃 *e, ē*; 𐤄 *i, ī*; 𐤅 *o, ō*; 𐤆 *u, ū*.

12. *Kṯib*—*Qrē*: In a number of cases, according to the Masoretes, words “written” (*kṯib*) in one way are to be “read” (*qrē*) in another. Some of these are of considerable grammatical importance, as, for instance, אַנְתָּה (*ántā*, read *ant*) “you” (sg. masc.), דְּרָרִין (*dārīn*, read *dāyārīn*) “dwelling” (part. pl. masc.), נְפָלָו (*nēpālū*, read *nēpālā*) “they (fem.) fell” (where the *kṯib* may, in fact, be a corruption of \*נְפָלָי), etc.

The often expressed *a priori* assumption that the consonant text (*kṯib*) represents the more original form of the text is, as far as BA is concerned, a dangerous oversimplification.

### III. Remarks on Phonology

13. In addition to its use as a vowel letter at the ends of words (par. 5), א also occurs as a silent letter:

(1) in words where it became silent and was retained as a historical spelling: ראש (< *riš-*) “head,” מאנא (< *manayyā*) “vessels,” מאנא (= מאנא, < *mawzan-*, spelled with א as in Hebrew) “scales” D 5:27, באתר (< *baštar*) “after” but בתרך D 2:39, מאתין (< *mat-* < *miat-*) “two hundred,” דניאל „Daniel,” הוא (*hū* < *hwa*) “he,” היא (*hī* < *hīa*) “she.” The origin of the א in צוארה (*sawwrah*) “his neck” D 5:7 (as in Hebrew spelling) is not clear.

(2) in particular grammatical forms where it became silent: יֹאמַר (< *yīmar*) "he says," לְמַאמַר (< *mi-mar*) "to say," but phonetic spellings are also found (מִמַּר, לְמַחַח "to come," לְמוֹחַ "to heat"); לְאַלְהֵיךָ (< *le-*) "to your gods," בְּאַדְיִן (< *be-*) "then."

(3) in final vowelless position, or after a zero or murmured vowel: שַׁגִּיא (*šaggi*), but שַׁגִּיאַן (*šaggi-ān*) "much, many," בְּאַשְׁתָּא (*bīštā*) "evil" E 4:12, but בְּאַשׁ "was bad" D 6:15, מְרַאי (*mārī*) "my lord," but שְׁנֹאֲרֵךְ (*šān-ārk*) "your enemies" D 4:16.

(4) in the distorted pronunciation of foreign proper names: בְּלִטְשַׁצַּר (< \**Balāt-šarri-ušur?*), בְּלִטְשַׁצַּר, בְּלִטְשַׁצַּר (< *Bēl-šar-ušur*).

14. *š* results occasionally from *-āy-*, as in כְּשַׁדְיָא (*Kašdāyā* < *Kašdāyā*) "Chaldaean," תְּלִיתִיא (*tlitāyā* < *tlitāyā*) "third" (fem), קָמָא (*qā'em* < *qāyem*) "standing." Inversely, we find חַטְיָא (*hātāyāk*) "your sins" D 4:24 for \*חַטְיָא (*hātāyāk*).

15. Spirantization of *bgdkpt* ( "*bḡadkḡpāḡ*") is an Aramaic development which, in all likelihood, was under way in the sixth century B. C. It takes place after vowels and after zero or murmured vowels resulting from the disappearance of an original vowel. This includes forms such as מְלַכִּין (< *malakīn*) "kings," כְּדָבָה (< *kadabā*) "untrue" (fem.).

The *h* of the fem. ending shows *t* rather than *ḡ* in בְּאַשְׁתָּא (*bīštā*) "evil" E 4:12, מְדִינְתָא (*mdīntā*) "province" E 5:8, 6:2, עֲבִידְתָא (*ʿbīdtā*) "work" E 5:8, D 2:49, מְרִדְתָא "rebellious" E 4:12, but בִּרְתָא "fortress" E 6:2. Spirantization is always found after *ē*: חַיְתָא "animal," שְׂאַלְתָא "question," אִימְתָנִי "frightful." Note the spirantization of *l* in the Persian loan word פְּתוֹמָא "message, word."

Spirantization also takes place after the diphthong *-ay-*: בֵּיתָא "house," הֵיחֵי "he brought."

16. Within the sentence, *bgdkpt* (at the beginning of a word following a word ending in a vowel) are spirantized when the words in question are thought to be closely connected. In practice, such close connection is indicated by a short line connecting the letters at the top (for instance, בְּדִרְהַב), or by the use of a connecting "accent." The "accents," which are either "dividing" or "connecting," are special signs placed on top or underneath each word, usually but not always on the syllable receiving primary stress. Connecting accents requiring spirantization that occur in BA are:

ֿ (but not |ֿ), ֿ (placed *after* the vowel sign), ֿ, ֿ (but not ֿ placed upon the last consonant of the word), ֿ (placed upon the last consonant of the word), and ֿ.

Occasional exceptions are admitted: בְּבָבֶלִיֿ "in Babylon" E 5:17, כְּחִכְמַתֿ (unstressed) "like the wisdom of" D 5:11, in each case because of the sequence of three identical or similar consonants; דְּתַבְרִיאֿ "law officials" D 3:2, דְּתַבְרִיאֿֿ D 3:3; פְּסַלְתֵּרִיןֿ "psaltery" D 3:5, but פְּסַלְתֵּרִיןֿֿ D 3:10 (this being a case much discussed by the Masoretes who appear to have been undecided how to fit the Greek letter into Aramaic speech habits).

As a rule, it is easy to see why in a given case close connection requiring spirantization is assumed, but no fixed rules can be given. The negation always requires spirantization for the following word. Demonstrative pronouns beginning with ד also show spirantization in connection with nouns to which they belong, an exception being, however, דְּנֶהֱ דְּנֶהֱ "this secret" D 2:18.

17. BA  $\eta$  corresponds to two different phonemes of the original Semitic stock of consonants (*h* and *h* [*kh*]).

BA דטט each correspond to two, צ to three different phonemes of the original Semitic stock of consonants. ד corresponds to *d* and *ḍ*, ת to *t* and *ṭ*, ט to *ṭ* and *ṭ* (*ḍ*, *z*), and צ to *ʿ*, *ḍ*, and *g*:

| Semitic                            | Ugaritic                | Hebrew | Aramaic | Arabic |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| d                                  | d                       | ד      | ד       | د      |
| <u>d</u>                           | d                       | ז      | ד       | ذ      |
| z                                  | z                       | ז      | ז       | ز      |
| t                                  | t                       | ת      | ת       | ט      |
| <u>t</u>                           | <u>t</u>                | ט      | ת       | ט      |
| ʿ                                  | ʿ                       | ט      | ט       | ع      |
| <u>ṭ</u>                          | <u>ṭ</u>               | ט      | ט       | ط      |
| <u>ṭ</u> ( <i>ḍ</i> , <i>z</i> ) | <u>ṭ</u> ( <i>ḍ</i> ) | א      | ט       | ظ      |
| ʿ                                  | ʿ                       | א      | א       | ع      |
| ʿ                                  | ʿ                       | א      | א       | ع      |
| ḍ                                 | ʿ                       | א      | ע (p)   | ف      |
| g                                  | g                       | א      | ע       | غ      |

## Examples:

*d*: יָדַע "he knew," יָד "hand."

דָּ: דְּכָרֵן (Hebrew זְכָרוֹן) "memorandum," דָּבַח (Hebrew זָבַח) "he sacrificed," מִדְּבָחָא "altar," דָּהָב (Hebrew זָהָב) "gold," אֲדָרְעָא (Hebrew אֲדָרְעָא) "arm," the demonstrative element ד in the pronouns דָּנָה, דָּא, דָּי, and the adverb אֲדָרְעָא, etc. Note that this sound was originally spelled with *z* in Official Aramaic. An original *z* sound in a Persian loan word (גִּבְרִיאָא "treasurers" E 7:21) was wrongly spelled with ד in D 3:2f. (גִּדְרִיאָא).

z: זָעֵין (זָעֵין) "trembling," מִזֶּן "food."

*t*: בֵּיתָא "house," כָּתַב "he wrote," מִתְּנֵן "gifts."

ת: תָּמָה (Hebrew שָׁם) "there," תָּלַת (Hebrew שְׁלוֹשׁ) "three," תֹּר (Hebrew שׁוֹר) "ox," תָּרַע (Hebrew שְׁעַר, < *taḡr*) "door," יָתַב (Hebrew יָשַׁב) "he sat."

š: רֵאשׁ "head," שְׁמַיָא "heaven," שְׂאַל "he asked," שְׁמַע "he heard."

ṭ: טַב "good," טַבְחַיא "butchers, executioners," שְׁלִיט "mighty," טַל "dew."

ṭ: קָיִט (Hebrew קָיִץ) "summer," תְּטַל (Hebrew צַל) "seek shade (shelter)," יַעֲטֵהּ (Hebrew יַעֲזֵהּ) "advise, his advisers," טַפְרֵיהּ (Hebrew טַפְרֵיהּ) "his (its) nails," טוֹר (Hebrew צוֹר) "mountain," נְטַרַת (Hebrew נָצַר) "I guarded."

ṣ: צָבָא "wishing," צָלָם "image," הֶצִּלַח "prospered," קָצַצוּ "cut down!" (pl. masc.).

ˁ: עֲבִידְתָא "work," עַם "people," יָדַע "he knew," בַּעַל "master."

*d*: אֲרֵעָא (Hebrew אֲרָץ) "earth," עֲמַר (Hebrew עֲמָר) "wool," עֲלֵעִין (Hebrew צִלְעָא) "ribs," עֲרִיף (Hebrew צָר, צָרַר) "your enemies," אַע (< עַע, Hebrew עֵץ) "wood," יַמְחָא (< מַחַע, Hebrew מַחַץ) "he hits (stays His hand)," רְעוּת (Hebrew רָצָה) "wish." In an older stage of Aramaic, Semitic *d* was represented by a sound which was distinct from *ʿ* and written ק. This ק is preserved in BA as a historical spelling only in אַרְקָא Jer. 10:11, along with מַאַרְעָא in the same verse.

*g*: עָל "he entered," בַּעַא "he desired, requested."



18. Seeming exceptions to these rules require an explanation. Thus, שפֿטין “judges” E 7:25 should be תפֿטין; consequently, it cannot be Aramaic but is a loan word from the Canaanite-Hebrew family. זכו “innocence” must be a legal loan word from the Akkadian, because the original root was *dkw*. Likewise, שיצֿי (א) “he completed” E 6:15 must be an Akkadian loan word if only because the Aramaic development of the original root (*wḏ*, Aramaic *yq*, *y*) has *ע*.

19. ש became ס in later Aramaic. In BA times, this process was in its incipient stages. ש, in Aramaic words, is as a rule used correctly. Exceptions are סתֿרה “he tore it down” E 5:12 and, possibly, יסֿבר “he intends” D 7:25. Vacillation between ש and ס occurs in foreign words, and although this is due to uncertainty concerning the foreign sound, it foreshadows the Aramaic sound change š > s: ארתֿחשֿתא “Artaxerxes” E 4:8, etc., but ארתֿחשֿתא E 7:21, כשֿדי in D, but כסֿדיא “Chaldaean” E 5:12, שבֿכא “sambuke (harp)” D 3:10, 15, but סבֿכא D 3:5, שרֿש (*שרשו* *šrš*, *šrš*) “corporal punishment” E 7:26, corresponding to סרושיחא occurring in an Aramaic leather document from Egypt.

20. Consonant doubling in BA involves true gemination; the doubled consonant is pronounced twice with a syllable break in between. Final consonants are not doubled (cf. גבֿא — גבֿא “den,” עמֿא — עמֿא “people,” פמֿא — פמֿא “mouth”).

All consonants are capable of gemination except א and ר. The dot indicating gemination is also not used with ההע. This suggests that at certain times and in certain areas, ההע were also not capable of gemination. But forms with nasalization (הנעֿל for *ha<sup>ε</sup>l*) or preceding short vowel (העלניֿ *ha<sup>ε</sup>l<sup>n</sup>i* “let me enter” D 2:24f.) confirm the existence of gemination for these consonants.

Short vowels before א and ר are lengthened. In the case of א, the only instance is מארֿעא “from the earth” Jer. 10:11. For ר, cf., for instance, מבֿרֿך (*m<sup>b</sup>arrak*) “blessed,” תרֿעֿיא (*tarrā<sup>ε</sup>ayyā*) “doorkeepers.” Vowel lengthening is also occasionally found before *ע*, cf. מרֿעע (*m<sup>r</sup>aa<sup>ε</sup>*) “breaking” D 2:40, מסֿעֿדֿין (*m<sup>s</sup>aa<sup>ε</sup>dīn*) “helping” (pl. masc.) E 5:2. The only instance of lengthening before ה: מתבֿהל “disturbed” D 5:9 is doubtful, and gemination, as usual in the case of ההע, seems preferable.

21. Substitution of nasalization for gemination is frequently found: תנֿידע (*tidda<sup>ε</sup>*) “you will know” E 4:15, מנֿידע (*madda<sup>ε</sup>*)

"knowledge," לְהִנְסֶקָה "to bring up," next to הִסָּק "he was brought up," D 6:24.

Where original *n* appears unassimilated, secondary nasalization, instead of retention of the original sound, may be involved.

22. Original long vowels have been retained throughout. This applies also to  $\bar{a}$ , which became  $\bar{o}$  in Hebrew at an early period: טָב (Hebrew טוב) "good," תְּלַת (Hebrew שְׁלוֹשׁ) "three."

אַנְשָׁא (<sup>א</sup>*nōšā*, read <sup>א</sup>*nāšā*, the common form) "mankind" is not a Hebraism, but originated through vowel assimilation from \**unāš* (cf. תַּחַת \**tuhāt* "underneath"). The suffixed element  $-\bar{o}n$  is found in noun formations in addition to  $-\bar{a}n$ : דְּכַרְוֹנָה E 6:2 and דְּכַרְוֵינָא "memorandum," שְׁלִטְנֵי "officials" D 3:2f., and שְׁלִטָן "rule," רַעֲיוֹנֵי (in Bab. vocalization *ri'yōn-*) "my thoughts." עֲלִיוֹנִין "most high," on the other hand, is a Hebraism (par. 187). מְדוּרָא and מְדָרָא "dwelling" are different noun formations.

23. Short vowels in unstressed open syllables have been reduced to a zero or murmured vowel. Inversely, preservation of a short vowel in an open syllable usually requires that that syllable be stressed. Cf., for instance, תְּלַת (*tlāt* < *talāt*, Hebrew שְׁלוֹשׁ with pretone lengthening) "three," כְּתָבוּ (*kṯābū* < *katabū*, Hebrew כָּתְבוּ *kātṯbū*) "they wrote," סָלְקוּ (*sliqū* < *saliquā*) "they went up." For בְּטַלָּה, cf. par. 10.

In some cases, short *a* was retained in pronunciation and became lengthened secondarily: מְרִים "raising up" D 5:19, יְהַקִּים "he sets up" D 5:21, 6:16 (par. 141). Cf. also מוֹן "food."

Note the strange absence of the gemination of *m* in חַרְטֻמָּא "magicians" D 4:4, 6, and אַמְיָא "nations" D 3:4 (but אַמְיָא E 4:10).

24. Short *i/e* before הַחֶעֶר closing a syllable becomes *a*: אָמַר "saying" (but שָׁאַל "asking"), מְשַׁבַּח "praising" (but מְמַלֵּל "speaking"). In verbs ending in הַחֶעֶר, this process extends to open syllables (par. 115).

25. Occasional pausal lengthening of short vowels is admitted in Tiberian vocalization: חֲזָיִל "strength" E 4:23, D 3:4, יָדַי "my hands" D 3:15, קְדָמַי (< *q<sup>o</sup>dāmay*) "before me" D 2:6, שַׁמְרִינִין (< *Šāmrāyin*) "Samaria" E 4:10, 17, עֲוִינִין (< *ʿnāyin*) "humble, poor" D 4:24.

26. The main word stress falls usually on the last syllable.

Penult stress occurs in certain grammatical formations where the suffixed element has a long vowel. This applies to:

(1) independent personal pronouns (par. 29): אֲנִי "we" (but *and*, *himmô*).

(2) pronominal suffixes (par. 31): הֵעֲלֵנִי "let me enter!" אָבִי "his father," הֵקֵרְבֵהוּ "they brought him near," עָלָיו "upon him," אֲבֹתֵהֶם "our fathers," etc. However, the suffix of the 1. sg. in connection with nouns and prepositions is always stressed, except in אָבִי "my father" D 5:13.

(3) suffixed elements of the verb: יָדַעְתָּ "you knew," כָּתְבוּ "they wrote," שָׁאַלְנוּ "we asked," אֲכָלִי "eat!" (sg. fem.), שְׁבִקוּ "leave!" (pl. masc.), יִאָּבְדוּ "let them perish!" (par. 108), etc. Exceptions are the endings of verbs originally having אַי as their last consonant wherever these endings result from contraction ( $-\acute{o} < -\acute{a}y\bar{u}$ , etc., par. 145ff.).

(4) the adverbial ending  $-\bar{a}$  (par. 88), including אֲסָפְרָנָא (*ospárnā*) "exactly," כֻּלָּא (*kóllā*) "totality."

Penult stress further occurs where the vowel of the last syllable merely serves the purpose of dissolving a consonant cluster: אָבֶן ( $< \bar{a}bn$ ) "stone," קֵץ "summer," and equivalent noun formations (par. 51); יָדַיִן "hands" and other duals (par. 45); הִשְׁכַּחַת "I found," סָפְתָא "it (fem.) ceased," and similar verbal forms (par. 117). Also דָּרְיָוֶשׁ (*Dàryáwesh*) "Darius," כּוּרֶשׁ "Cyrus," but בָּבֶל (*Bābēl*) "Babylon."

Exceptional cases of penult stress are כֹּנָמָא "thus," כָּנִי "appoint!" (par. 153), אֵלֶּה "these" (par. 32).

27. Enclitic use of the prepositions ל and ב, or of a genitive, may deprive a word of its stress or result in an exceptional stress (principal or secondary) on the penult: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵה (*wyēmarlēh*) "and says to Him" D 4:32, הוּסַפַּת לִי (*hūs-pātī*) "was given to me in addition" D 4:33, מִתְעַבֵּד בַּה (*mit'ebēdbáh*) "being done in it" E 4:19, גִּבְרֵי חַיִל (*gibbārē-háyil*) "strongmen" D 3:20, בְּסֵפֶר דְּקֶרְנַיָא (*bis-pār-dokrē-nayyā*) "in the record book" E 4:15.

28. Secondary stress occurs in words of more than two syllables. In the Biblical text, it is often indicated by a short vertical line to the left of the vowel sign ( $\overline{\text{—}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{—}}$ , etc.). Where this line occurs to the right of the vowel sign ( $\overline{\text{—}}$ ), it was added by the editors of the "Kittel Bible" but is not found in the manuscripts.

In transliteration,  $\acute{\_}$  indicates the main stress,  $\underline{\_}$  the secondary stress.

#### IV. The Pronoun

##### 29. Independent personal pronouns:

|             | sg.   |              | pl.                |
|-------------|---|--------------|--------------------|
| I           | אֲנִי   | we           | אֲנַחְנָה          |
| you (masc.) | אַתָּה, אַנְתָּה<br>( <i>ántā</i> , read <i>ant</i> ) | you (masc.)  | אַתֶּם, אַנְתֶּם   |
| you (fem.)  | אַתְּ   | you (fem.)   | אַתְּ*             |
| he          | הוא   | they (masc.) | הֵם, הֵמָּן, אֲנֵם |
| she         | היא   | they (fem.)  | אֵנִי              |

The spelling אֲנַחְנָה is found in E 5:11, אַנְתָּה in E 7:25.

הֵמוּ occurs in E, הֵמָּן in D. With one exception (אֲנַחְנָה הֵמוּ עַבְדֹּהֵי) "we are His servants" E 5:11, both הֵמוּ and הֵמָּן happen to be used as direct objects immediately following a verb in the perfect tense.

30. The pronouns of the third person may be used as the copula, even where the subject of the sentence is a pronoun of the first or second person: דִּי הוּא אֱלֹהָא חַיָּא "who is the living God" D 6:27, דִּי הִיא שְׁנָת "which is the year . . ." E 6:15, חֻדָּה הִיא דְחֻכָּן "one (and the same) is the law applicable to you" D 2:9, הֲלֵא דָא הִיא בָבֶל "is this not Babylon?" D 4:27, דִּי אַרְבַּע "which are four" D 7:17, אֲנַחְנָה הֵמוּ עַבְדֹּהֵי "we are His servants" E 5:11, אֲנַחְנָה הוּא רִשְׁתָּה דִּי דְהָבָא "you are the head of gold" D 2:38, מִן אַנְיָן שְׁמֵהֶם גְּבַרְיָא "what (par. 38) are the names of the men?" E 5:4. The only example of an indetermined predicate is וּמִן הוּא אֱלֹהָ דִּי "and who is a god who . . ." D 3:15.

31. Pronominal suffixes: In addition to the independent personal pronouns, BA has pronominal suffixes that may be added to nouns (par. 49, cf. also par. 95), prepositions (par. 77 ff.), and verbs (par. 174 ff.). In connection with nouns, these suffixes represent possessive pronouns, and in connection with prepositions and verbs, the objective case of the independent personal pronoun.

The basic forms are:

|          | sg.                                | pl.                          |
|----------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1.       | יְ- (יָ- with verbs)               | וֹ-אֵ                        |
| 2. masc. | וֹ-                                | כֶם-, כֹּן-                  |
| 2. fem.  | *כִּי-                             | **כֵן-                       |
| 3. masc. | הּ- (-eh), הֵ- (after long vowels) | הֶם-, הֵן                    |
| 3. fem.  | הָ- (-ah)                          | הֵן- (k <sup>2</sup> ib הֵן) |

The 3. pl. suffix is not used with verbs (cf. par. 174).

An independent objective pronoun, formed by יָתְ with suffix, occurs in BA only once: יָתְהוֹן "them" D 3:12.

An independent possessive pronoun is formed by the relative pronoun הִי followed by the preposition לְ: הִיא לְהִיא חֵכְמָה וְגִבּוֹרָתָא דִּי לְהִיא "wisdom and power are His" D 2:20.

### 32. Demonstrative pronouns:

|       | sg.    | pl.                         |
|-------|--------|-----------------------------|
| masc. | הַנֶּה | masc./fem. (אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה) |
| fem.  | הַנָּה |                             |
| masc. | הֶה    | אֵלֶּה                      |
| fem.  | הֵה    |                             |
| masc. | הַכֵּן |                             |
| fem.  | הֵכֵן  |                             |
| masc. | הוּא   | אֵנִי                       |

אֵלֶּה (elle) occurs in Jer. 10:11, אֵלֶּה (read el) in E 5:15.

אֵלֶּה occurs only as masc., but the fem. can be assumed to be identical in form.

For **הוּא** and **אֵינָן** (independent personal pronouns used as demonstrative pronouns), cf. **הוּא צִלְמָא** "that image" D 2:32 and **מִלְכֵיָא אֵינָן** "those kings" D 2:44.

After prepositions, BA knows a demonstrative element **ה** that is assimilated to the pronominal suffixes (par. 89).

33. The demonstrative pronoun can be used as a noun: **עַל דְּנָה** "concerning this," **לְקַבֵּל דְּנָה** "in accordance with this, thus," **דְּנָה הוּא** "this is it" D 2:28, **דָּא לְדָא** "the one . . . the other" D 5:6, **דָּא מִן דָּא** "the one from the other" D 7:3. Cf., in particular, the use of the masc. with reference to a fem. noun: **מִלְהַּ כְּדְנָה** "a matter like this" D 2:10.

34. Used as an adjective, the demonstrative pronoun usually follows the noun to which it belongs. This noun must have the definite article or an equivalent form of determination, i. e., it must be in the construct state (par. 48), or have a pronominal suffix, or be a proper name.

Cases of demonstrative pronouns preceding the noun are: **דְּנָה בּוּיָא** "this building" E 5:4, **אֵלֵהּ מֵאוּיָא** "these vessels" E 5:15, **הוּא צִלְמָא** "that image" D 2:32, **דְּנָה חֵלְמָא** "this dream" D 4:15, **אֵלֵין חַיָּוָתָא** "these animals" D 7:17.

35. The relative pronoun is **דְּ**. It is used for all genders and numbers.

The form **דְּ** (< **דִּי**), which is common in later Aramaic, occurs in the misreading **דְּהוּא** (*Dehāyē*) E 4:9, for **דְּהוּא** "that is".

For further uses of **דְּ**, cf. par. 86.

36. As **דְּ** cannot be declined, oblique cases must be indicated by pronominal suffixes attached to appropriate components of the relative clause. Cf. **דְּ דִּי אֵלֵהּ שְׂמֵיָא . . . יְהִיב לֵהּ** "you . . . to whom the God of Heaven gave" D 2:37, **דְּ דִּי כָּל מַעֲבָדוּהִי קִשְׁט** "all of whose works are as they should be" D 4:34, **דְּ דִּי מִלְכָּא שָׁם שְׂמָה בֵּלְטֶשְׁחַצְר** "whose name the king had made Belteshazzar" D 5:12, **דְּ דִּי נִשְׁמַתְךָ** "in Whose hand your soul is" D 5:23.

The direct object case, however, is only rarely indicated in this or any other manner. Examples for the direct object relationship expressed by a pronominal suffix are: **דְּ דִּי פָּחָה שְׂמָה** "whom he had made governor" E 5:14, **דְּ דִּי אָנֹהּ בְּנִיתָהּ לְבֵית מַלְכוּ** "which I have

built for a royal capital" D 4:27, **דַּי אַנְתָּה פִּלַח לָהּ** "whom (par. 182) you worship" D 6:17, 21.

37. The indefinite relative pronouns are:

**מִן דַּי** "whoever"  
**מִהּ דַּי** "whatever."

Simple **דַּי** "whatever" is found in D 5:19.

38. The interrogative pronouns are:

**מִן** "who?"  
**מַה** "what?"

The use of **מִן** in E 5:4, **מִן אַנּוּן שְׂמַהּת גִּבְרַיָּא** "what(!) are the names of the men?", reflects the thought: "who are the men?".

## V. The Noun and the Adjective

39. Nouns and adjectives, unless they are of non-Semitic origin, may be classified as belonging to "roots" composed of two or, in most cases, three consonants (or "radicals"). They may be further classified according to modifications that the root may undergo through (1) the use of various short or long vowels following the radicals, (2) the gemination of the second or third consonant, or (3) the addition of prefixed (*-*, *m-*, *t-*) or suffixed (*-ān*, *-ōn*, *-it*, *-ūt*, *-āy*) elements. Instead of gemination of the second or third consonant, one also finds reduplication of a two-consonant root (**הִרְהַרִין** "imaginings") or of the last two consonants of a three-consonant root (**שְׁפַרְפְּרָא** "dawn"). In BA, all words of four or more consonants are of foreign origin either as recent loan words or as ancient cultural terms (as, for instance, **פְּרִיז** "iron").

As a convenient mode of reference, grammarians have chosen one particular root, such as *p<sup>l</sup>l* (*qil*, *ktb*), to indicate a given nominal or adjectival formation, for instance, *pa<sup>l</sup>l*, *p<sup>ā</sup>l*, *mi<sup>l</sup>al*, *p<sup>ā</sup>l<sup>ā</sup>*, etc.

40. Some nominal and adjectival formations have come to be associated with certain categories of meaning. Thus, *p<sup>ā</sup>l* and *pa<sup>ā</sup>l* are widely used for adjectives (**דְּחִיל** "frightful," **שְׁלִיט** "mighty," **חֲכִים** "wise"). *Pa<sup>ā</sup>l* is used to indicate professional

status (דִּינָן "judges," טַבְחָיָא "butchers, executioners," זַמְרִיא "musicians," תַּרְעִיא "doorkeepers"), and so is *pā'ōl*, represented by פְּרוֹא "herald." The preformative *ma-*, *mi-* often indicates locality (\*מִשְׁתָּא "place where one drinks, banquet"). The suffixes *-ūt*, *-ūt* (par. 56f.) have come to denote abstract meaning (מַלְכָא "king," מַלְכוּתָא "kingship, kingdom"). The "gentilic" ending *-āy* (par. 58) indicates belonging to something.

41. Nouns have two genders, masc. and fem.; three numbers, sg., pl., and dual; and three "states," corresponding to the form without the definite article ("absolute state" = *abs. st.*), the form used before a depending noun that is in the position of our genitive ("construct state" = *cstr. st.*), and the form with the definite article ("determined state" = *det. st.*).

There is no formal distinction between nouns and adjectives. Adjectives are placed after the nouns to which they belong and to which they conform grammatically as closely as possible.

42. Nouns and adjectives are declined as follows:

|           | masc. sg.          | fem. sg. |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|
| abs. st.  | טָב "good"         | טְבָה    |
| cstr. st. | טָב                | טְבַת    |
| det. st.  | טָבָא              | טְבַתָּא |
|           | masc. pl.          | fem. pl. |
| abs. st.  | טְבִין             | טְבִין   |
| cstr. st. | טְבִי              | טְבַת    |
| det. st.  | טְבִיא (יְהוּדִיא) | טְבַתָּא |

Formations with the gentilic ending *-āy* (par. 58) have *-ē*, instead of *-ayyā*, in the det. st. of the pl. masc.

The original spelling of the postpositive article is א-, but instances of a spelling with -ה occur, in particular in connection with the sg. masc.

The original spelling of the ending of the abs. st. fem. is ה-, but sporadic examples of spellings with א- occur.

For irregular non-spirantization of the ending of the det. st. of the sg. fem., cf. above, par. 15.



ים, instead of יָם, as the ending of the abs. st. of the pl. masc. (מְלָכִים "kings" E 4:13, אַנְשִׁים "men" D 4:14, אַלְפִּים "thousands" D 7:10), is a Hebraism.

43. The definite article is a demonstrative element. Therefore, it can also serve to indicate the vocative: מֶלֶךְ לְעֶלְמִין חַיִּי "O king, live for ever!" For the ending  $-ā$  as a remnant of an ancient accusative, cf. par. 88.

44. The fem. is used to form nouns from adjectives: שְׁחִיתָה "corruption" D 6:5, עֲמִיקְתָּא וּמְסִתְרָתָא "deep and hidden matters" D 2:22, חֲשָׁחִין "needed things" E 6:9, רַבְרָבִין "big words" D 7:8.

45. The dual is preserved only in remnants. It is used with parts of the body that occur in pairs in nature: יָדַיִן "hands", רַגְלָיִן "feet," שְׁנַיִן "two (rows of) teeth" D 7:7. In such nouns, the dual may be used for the pl.: קַרְנֵי עֵשֶׂר "ten horns" D 7:7. Further duals are מֵאתַיִן "two hundred" and תְּרֵי (estr. st. masc.), תְּרֵינִי (fem.) "two."

All other forms of the dual of the masc. noun, including those with pronominal suffixes, are identical with the pl. forms and not distinguishable from them. No dual of a fem. formation or of an adjective is found.

46. Use of the abs. st. and the det. st. agrees by and large with the non-use or use of the definite article in English. The det. st. may also be used for the general designation of species: חָמְרָא שְׂתָה "he was drinking *wine*" D 5:1, מֵאֲנֵי דִּי בֵּית אֱלֹהָא דִּי דְהָבָה וְכֶסֶפָא "the vessels of *gold* and *silver* belonging to the house of God" E 5:14.

The numeral חד "one" is used occasionally to denote indetermination in the sg.: אַגְרָה חַדָּה "a letter" E 4:8, מְגִלָּה חַדָּה "a scroll" E 6:2, צִלָּם חַד "an image" D 2:31, שְׁעָה חַדָּה "an hour (a while)" D 4:16, אֶבֶן חַדָּה "a stone" D 6:18, שְׁטַר חַד "one side" D 7:5.

Note in the following enumeration how the nouns of Greek origin, in contrast to the Aramaic ones, are left without the definite article: קַל קֶרְנָא מְשֻׁרוּקִיתָא קִיתְרוֹס סַבְכָּא פְּסִנְתְּרִין סוּמְפִנְיָה וְכֹל זִנְי וְזִמְרָא "the sound of the horn, pipe, *zither*, sambuke (harp), *psaltery*, *symphony* (bagpipe?), and all kinds of music(al instruments)" D 3:5, 7, 10, 15.

47. The cstr. st. implies determination: מִלַּת מֶלֶךְא “the word of the king.”

Indetermination of the first element of a genitive construction must be expressed by some sort of circumlocution: מֶלֶךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל רַב “a great king of Israel” E 5:11.

We call the second element “genitive” because it is found in positions where Semitic and Indo-European languages that have preserved case endings use the genitive. If this genitive is in the abs. st., the entire construction may seemingly be indetermined, as in עֲנֹשׁ וְכִסִּין בֵּר אֱלֹהִין “a divine being” D 3:25.

The cstr. st. may be used before a prepositional expression: מְלָכּוֹת תַּחַת כָּל שָׁמַיָא “the kingdoms underneath the entire heaven” D 7:27. But, in general, nothing can come between a cstr. st. and its depending genitive. Thus, demonstrative pronouns referring to the noun in the cstr. st. follow at the end: בֵּית אֱלֹהָא דְנָה “this house of God”.

It is possible for more than one genitive to depend upon a single noun in the cstr. st.: מְלִי מְלָכָא וְדַבְרֵבְנֹהֵי “the words of the king and his magnates” D 5:10, etc.

48. The cstr. st. is the basic form for expression of the genitive relationship. However, there are altogether three different ways to express a genitive construction in BA:

- |     |                               |                        |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) | בֵּית אֱלֹהָא                 | “the house of God”     |
| (b) | בֵּיתָא דִּי אֱלֹהָא          |                        |
| (c) | בֵּיתָה דִּי אֱלֹהָא          |                        |
| (a) | שְׁמַהַת גְּבַרְיָא           | “the names of the men” |
| (b) | שְׁמַהַתָּא דִּי גְּבַרְיָא   |                        |
| (c) | שְׁמַהַתְהוֹן דִּי גְּבַרְיָא |                        |

The use of the cstr. st. is preponderant in BA. Construction (c), with proleptic pronominal suffix, is comparatively rare. The intermediate form (b) appears to have come into use originally in order to break up long strings of successive genitives but in BA, it is used indiscriminately alongside the cstr. st. Cf., for instance, עֲבִידְתָּא דִּי מְדִינַת בָּבֶל “the administration of the Province of Babylon” D 2:49, but עֲבִידְתָּא מְדִינַת בָּבֶל D 3:12, גַּב אַרְיֹתָא “the lions’ den” D 6:8, 13, 25, but גַּבָּא דִּי אַרְיֹתָא D 6:17, 20.

## 49. The noun with pronominal suffixes:

| masc. sg.          |                 | fem. sg.             |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| אֱלֹהֵי            | "my god"        | חַיֹּתַי "my animal" |
| אֱלֹהֶיךָ          | "your" (masc.)  | חַיֹּתֶיךָ           |
| *אֱלֹהֶיכִי        | "your" (fem.)   | *חַיֹּתֶיכִי         |
| אֱלֹהָהּ           | "his"           | חַיֹּתֶיהָ           |
| אֱלֹהֶיהָ          | "her"           | *חַיֹּתֶיהָ          |
| אֱלֹהֵינוּ         | "our"           | *חַיֹּתֵינוּ         |
| (כֹּן-) אֱלֹהֵיכֶם | "your" (masc.)  | *חַיֹּתֵיכֶם (כֹּן-) |
| **אֱלֹהֵיכֶן       | "your" (fem.)   | **חַיֹּתֵיכֶן        |
| (הֶן-) אֱלֹהֵיהֶם  | "their" (masc.) | *חַיֹּתֵיהֶם (הֶן-)  |
| אֱלֹהֵיהֶן         | "their" (fem.)  | **חַיֹּתֵיהֶן        |

| masc. pl.          |                 | fem. pl.              |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| אֱלֹהֵי            | "my gods"       | חַיֹּתַי "my animals" |
| אֱלֹהֵיךָ          | "your" (masc.)  | חַיֹּתֶיךָ            |
| *אֱלֹהֵיכִי        | "your" (fem.)   | *חַיֹּתֶיכִי          |
| אֱלֹהֵיהֶי         | "his"           | חַיֹּתֶיהָ            |
| אֱלֹהֵיהָ          | "her"           | חַיֹּתֶיהָ            |
| אֱלֹהֵינוּ         | "our"           | חַיֹּתֵנוּ            |
| (כֹּן-) אֱלֹהֵיכֶם | "your" (masc.)  | *חַיֹּתֵיכֶם (כֹּן-)  |
| **אֱלֹהֵיכֶן       | "your" (fem.)   | **חַיֹּתֵיכֶן         |
| (הֶן-) אֱלֹהֵיהֶם  | "their" (masc.) | חַיֹּתֵיהֶם (הֶן-)    |
| אֱלֹהֵיהֶן         | "their" (fem.)  | **חַיֹּתֵיהֶן         |

Note the *l<sup>ti</sup>b-q<sup>re</sup>* distinction in the pl. of the masc. noun: אֱלֹהֵיךָ (<sup>i</sup>lāhākē), אֱלֹהֵיהֶי (<sup>i</sup>lāhah), אֱלֹהֵינוּ (<sup>i</sup>lāhānā).

The vowel preceding the suffix of the 1. pl. is variously given. Thus, we find אֱלֹהֵינוּ "our god" D 3:17, אֲבֹתֵנוּ "our fathers" E 5:12, לְשָׁחוּבֵנוּ "to save us" D 3:17, אִתְּנוּ "we are" D 3:18, לָנוּ "for us" E 4:14, עֲלֵינוּ "to us" E 4:12, 18, 5:17. The evidence strongly favors short stressed *a* (> *e* in <sup>i</sup>lénā).

The suffix of the 3. pl. fem. is written like the corresponding masc. form: כֻּלָּהֶן "all of them" D 7:19, בֵּינֵיהֶן "between them" D 7:8.

50. Wherever the final consonant of the root is preceded by a long vowel, no changes in the vocalization of the word are required by the declension or by the addition of the pronominal suffixes.

In other noun formations, minor changes in the vocalization may result, among which the following may be noted:

51. *Paʿl, piʿl, puʿl* (and corresponding fem. forms): The abs. and estr. st. of the masc. becomes *p<sup>o</sup>e|a|e|ol*.

For original *paʿl*, cf. כֶּסֶף "silver," אֶלֶף "thousand," תֵּלֵג "snow," חֶמֶר "wine," גֶּבֶר "man" (pl. גְּבָרִין, Bab. vocalization *gabrin*), טֶעַם "order," צֶלֶם "image," עֶבֶד "slave," בַּעַל "master." In לֶחֶם "meal, banquet" D 5:1, the unusual *e* (ms. variant reading with *e*) may represent *a*. Whenever an ending is added, we find the original form: כֶּסֶפָּא, אֶלְפָּא, טֶעַמָּא, מֶלְכָּתָּא "queen," etc., but also שֶׁמֶשָּׁא "sun."

For original *piʿl*, cf. פִּשְׁר "interpretation," סֵפֶר "book," מֶלַח "salt." With endings, we find פִּשְׁרָא, סִפְרִין, מְלִי "my advice," חֶלְמָא "dream," גְּשָׁמְהוֹן "their body," בְּקִיעַת "plain" (estr. st.).

For original *puʿl*, cf. קִשָּׁט "truth," כְּתֵל "wall" D 5:5 (pl. כְּתֵלָיָא E 5:8), and, presumably, רִגְז "wrath" and תְּקָף (*tʿqop*, Bab. vocalization *tʿqop*, par. 10) "strength." With endings, *o* is the preferred vowel: תְּקָפָּא "strength," גְּנָהָא "dawn," שְׂרָשְׁוֹהִי "its roots," עֲפִיָּה "its foliage," חֻכְמָהּ, חֻכְמָתָּא "wisdom," אֲרֻחָתָּהּ "His ways," but כְּתֵלָיָא "the walls."

However, these noun formations have another abs. and estr. st. with anaptyctic vowel after the second consonant (*péʿel, pēʿel* [*páʿal*, on account of the laryngal]). This is the accepted form in Hebrew. Cf. מֶלֶךְ "king," קֶרֶן "horn," צֶלֶם "image," אֶלֶף "thousand," חֶלֶם "dream," טֶעַם "order," and, in a loan word, פֶּרְשָׁן "copy."

The original pl. formation of *pa|iʿuʿl* was *\*pa|i|uʿalīn*, with an *a* vowel in the second syllable. This vowel has left a trace in the preserved spirantization of following בְּנוֹכְפָת מְלָכִין "kings," עֲבָדוֹהִי "his slaves," יֶרְכָתָהּ "its thighs," but וְסִפְיָהוֹן "their libations" E 7:17.

In roots with *y* as the second consonant, we always find the form with the anaptyctic vowel in the abs. st.: קַיִט "summer," חֵיל "strength." In the estr. st., the original diphthong is contracted: בַּיִת "house," חַיִל "army," עַיִן "eye." In all other forms.

the diphthong is preserved; in D 4:1, the variant reading בֵּיתִי, "my house" is preferable to the accepted form בֵּיתִי.

52. Word formations with two short vowels (*pa'al*, etc.). Their declension is governed by the rule of the disappearance of short unstressed vowels in open syllables (par. 23): דָּהָב, דְּהָבָא (with *b*) "gold," אֶתֶר, אֶתְרָא "place," חֲבֵרֹהִי "his companions," בָּשָׂר, בָּשָׂרָא "flesh, mankind," זְמַן, זְמַנָּא "time." The *i* vowel in the last two cases is secondary (*a* > *i*).

53. Word formations with a long and a short vowel are also governed by the same rule: אֶשְׁפִּין, אֶשְׁפִּין "enchanter," עֲלָמִין, עֲלָמִין "eternity."

54. Words ending in *-y*, such as פְּתִיָּה, פְּתִיָּה "its breadth," show no irregularities.

חֲדוּהִי "its breast," מְעוּהִי "its belly" D 2:32 appear to belong to \*חֲדָה, \*מְעָה, forming a dual/plural \*חֲדָיִן, \*מְעָיִן (cf. the participles בְּנֵה, בְּנֵיִן, par. 150). However, a number of words ending in *-y*, such as כְּרִסָּא (*korsā*) "chair," אַרְיָה "lion," לַיְלִיא "night" (det. st.), with suffix כְּרִסְיָה "his chair," have the pl. כְּרִסְיִין, \*כְּרִסְיִתָּא, \*אַרְיִיתָּא.

מָרָא "lord, master" presupposes a form where final *ā* has become *y* (det. st. \*מָרְיָא), rather than an original *māri*. However, "my lord" is מְרָאִי (*māri* < *māri*).

55. In word formations of roots with final *w*, *w* is retained in the one masc. formation \*חֻוָּא, חֻוָּא "vision." In fem. formations, there are three possibilities: (1) *w* may be retained as in חֻדוּהִי "joy." (2) It may become *ō*, as in חֻוּתָּהּ "its appearance." But (3) in most cases, it becomes *ū*, as in רְבוּ "greatness," צָבוּ "(some)-thing," שָׁלוּ "neglect," בָּעוּ "request," cstr. st. רְעוּת "wish," with the definite article or pronominal suffixes רְבוּתָּא, רְבוּתָּךְ, גְּלוּתָּא "exile," בְּעוּתָּהּ. This formation has become indistinguishable from the abstract ending *-ūl*. In fact, in some of these words, the original root ended in *y*, and the preponderance of *ū* is due to the influence of the abstract ending.

56. Nouns with the abstract ending *-ūl*: Abs. st. מְלָכוּ "kingdom," בְּהִילוּ "haste," נְהִירוּ "brilliance," שְׂכִלְתָּנוּ "intelligence." Cstr. st. מְלָכוּת, חֻשְׁחוּת "needs." Det. st. מְלָכוּתָּא, שְׂהָדוּתָּא "testimony." With suffix מְלָכוּתִי.

The pl. is מְלָכוּתָּא, מְלָכוּת, מְלָכוּתִין.

57. The endings *-i*, *-it*: Long *-ī* serves as a fem. ending in אִימָתָי (*-ān-i*) "frightful." In אַחֲרֵי (*oh'ri*) "other" (fem. of אַחֲרָן), it may go back to an original ending *-ay* > *-ē*.

The abstract ending has the abs. st. *-i*, cstr. st. *-it*, det. st. *-itā*, pl. *\*-iyān*, etc. It is sparsely represented: שְׂרָשֵׁי (*ktib* שָׂרָשׁוּ) "corporal punishment" E 7:26 (where the ending *y* belonged to the original Persian word but was interpreted as the Aramaic formative, cf. par. 19, 189), אַחֲרֵיתָא "end" D 2:28, אַרְעֵיתָא "bottom" D 6:25, מְשֻׁרְקֵיתָא "pipe" D 3:5, 7, 10, 15, עֲלִיתָא "its upper room" D 6:11; גֻּלְיָא "dunghill" D 2:5, 3:29 (but גֻּלְיָא E 6:11) is of uncertain origin and formation (par. 190) but seems to have been adapted to this class of nouns.

58. The ending *-āy* (gentilic formations and ordinal numbers): The det. st. of the pl. ends in *-ē*, cf. הֹדְיָא "Jews," בְּבִלְיָא "Babylonians," כְּשָׂדְיָא (*Kāsdāyē*) "Chaldaeans."

Between the *ā* and another vowel, *y* is frequently replaced by the glottal stop (par. 14), which occasionally appears also expressed in writing: כְּשָׂדְאֵין D 3:8, יְהוּדָאֵין (*Y'hūdāy'in*, read *Y'hūdāy'in!*) D 3:12.

In certain foreign words, such as אַפְרִסְתְּכֵיא "magistrates" (?) E 4:9, תְּפִתְיָא "police chiefs," addition of the ending *-āy* seems erroneous in view of their meaning and origin.

59. Nouns without the fem. ending may nevertheless be fem. in gender. Such nouns are parts of the body that occur in pairs: יַד "hand," רִגְלָא "foot," עֵינָא "eye," קֶרְן "horn," שְׁנַיִן . . . רַבְרָבִין "two big (rows of) teeth" D 7:7. Other parts of the body that are fem. in gender are תְּלַח עֲלֵעִין "three ribs" D 7:5, נְפִין אַרְבַּע "four wings" D 7:6 (but masc. D 7:4). אַצְבָּע "finger" has the fem. pl. ending, אַצְבָּעֵין.

Further fem. nouns are אֶבֶן "stone," אַרְעָא "earth," צִפְרָא "bird" (D 4:18, but in D 4:9, the *ktib* of the verb, יְדִרֵין צִפְרֵי שְׁמַיָא "the birds of heaven dwell," is masc.), דָּת (a Persian loan word where the final *t* may have suggested the fem. gender). Others, such as עֲזִין "(she) goats," are fem., though the grammatical gender is not apparent in BA.

רִיחַ "spirit, wind" is usually fem., but masc. in D 2:35. Likewise, נֹר "fire," fem. in D 3:6, etc., is used as masc. in D 3:27, 7:9. Cf. also רִיחַ נֹר לֹא עָדָת "the smell of fire did not come forth" D 3:27,

where the fem. form of the verb may refer to "fire" rather than "smell"; a Dead Sea (Qumrān) variant reads the masc. ערה.

Names of cities and countries may be fem.: בָּבֶל רַבָּתָא "Babylon the great" D 4:27.

60. Masc. sg. formations may have the ending of the fem. pl. Cf. par. 54 and 62, also אֶצְבָּעַן (fem.) "fingers" and אֶרְחֻתָּהּ (presumably fem.) "His ways."

61. Fem. sg. formations taking the masc. ending in the pl. are מְלָה "word" מְלֵיאָ רַבְרָבָתָא "the big words" D 7:11), \*שָׁנָה "year" (שָׁנִין שְׁנֵינָן "many years" E 5:11), אָמָה, pl. אֲמֵיָא "nation." There are more such nouns of which forms of the sg. are not found in BA: \*פְּנוֹתָא פְּתִיחוֹן "open windows" D 6:11), \*אָמָה (אֲמִין "cubits"), \*חֲנֻטָּה חֲנֻטִין "wheat").

62. Some irregular nouns and adjectives:

\*אב "father" shows long *ū* before pronominal suffixes, except that of the 1. sg.

|          |                |                  |
|----------|----------------|------------------|
| אָבִי    | ( <i>ābī</i> ) | אָבֻנָא          |
| אָבוּךְ  |                | *אָבוּכֶם (-כֶן) |
| אָבוּכִי |                | *אָבוּכֵן        |
| אָבוּהִי |                | *אָבוּהֶם (-הֶן) |
| *אָבוּהָ |                | *אָבוּהֶן        |

The pl. is \*אָבוּהֶן, אָבוּהֶתְךָ, אָבוּהֶתִי, אָבוּהֶן.

\*אח "brother" does not occur in the sg. with suffixes where its forms would correspond to those of \*אב (\*אחוך, etc.). The pl. is \*אָחִין (*ahhīn*), אָחִיךְ (*ehhāk*) "your colleagues" E 7:18.

\*אָנְתָּה "woman, wife" is represented by the pl. \*נְשִׂיחוֹן, נְשִׂינָן D 6:25, from another root.

\*בֵּית "house" (par. 51) has the pl. \*בֵּיתִיכוֹן, בֵּיתִינָן D 2:5. The pronunciation is problematic, probably *bātēkōn*, with exceptional non-spirantization of the *t*.

בֶּר "son," with suffix בֵּרָה, has the pl. \*בֵּרִינָן, בֵּרִי, בֵּרִיחוֹן, בֵּרִיהוֹן. יוֹם "day" has the regular pl. יוֹמִין, but יוֹמַת עֲלְמָא "days of eternity" E 4:15, 19.

\*כְּנָתָהּ "colleague" has the pl. \*כְּנָתֵהוֹן, כְּנָתֵהָ, כְּנָתֵי.

מָרָא "lord," see par. 54.

נְבוּזַבְדַּנֶּזֶר “gift” D 2:6 appears in a pl. formation נְבוּזַבְדַּנֶּזְרֵי D 5:17. עַמָּא “people” has the pl. עַמְמַיָּא (< ‘*amamayyā*, cf. מַלְכִין < *malakīn*, par. 51).

פַּחְתָּא (*pehḥā*), cstr. st. פַּחְתֵּי (*pahḥatī*), “governor” has the pl. פַּחְתָּא. בְּקָרְיָה דִּי: קָרְיָא “city” has a pl. det. st. קָרְיָא. “in the towns of Samaria” E 4:10.

רֵאשׁ “head” forms the pl. רֵאשֵׁיהֶם E 5:10 (as in Hebrew), but also has the normal Aramaic form רֵאשֵׁין D 7:6.

רַבָּא “great, big” forms its pl. with reduplication: רַבְרַבִּין, רַבְרַבִּין. Used as noun meaning “chief, magnate,” this pl. is further augmented by the ending *-ān*: \*רַבְרַבְנִין, רַבְרַבְנִין etc.

רַבּוֹ “myriad” has the pl. רַבְּוֹן, i. e., *ribb<sup>2</sup>wān*, but the *q<sup>2</sup>rē* is *rib<sup>2</sup>bān*.

שֵׁם “name”, with suffix שְׁמָה, has the pl. \*שְׁמָהֶן, שְׁמָהֶת, שְׁמָהֶם. שְׁעָה “hour, while,” but שְׁעָתָא “at once” (par. 89).

## VI. Numerals

### 63. Cardinal numbers:

|    | masc.           | fem.         |
|----|-----------------|--------------|
| 1  | חַד             | חַדָּה       |
| 2  | *תְּרִין        | תְּרִין      |
| 3  | תְּלַתָּה       | תְּלַת       |
| 4  | אַרְבַּעָה      | אַרְבַּע     |
| 5  | *חַמְשָׁה       | *חַמֵּשׁ     |
| 6  | *שֵׁתָה         | שֵׁת (שֵׁת)  |
| 7  | שִׁבְעָה        | *שִׁבַּע     |
| 8  | *תְּמִנָּה      | *תְּמִנָּה   |
| 9  | *תְּשַׁעָה      | *תְּשַׁע     |
| 10 | עֶשְׂרָה        | עֶשֶׂר       |
| 12 | תְּרִי עֶשְׂרִי |              |
| 20 |                 | עֶשְׂרִין    |
| 30 |                 | תְּלַתִּין   |
| 40 |                 | *אַרְבַּעִין |
| 50 |                 | *חַמְשִׁין   |



|             |                                  |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 60          | שְׁתַּיִן                        |
| 70          | *שִׁבְעִין                       |
| 80          | *תְּמַנִּין                      |
| 90          | *תִּשְׁעִין                      |
| 100         | מֵאָה                            |
| 200         | מֵאֵתַיִן                        |
| 400         | אַרְבַּע מֵאָה                   |
| 1,000       | אַלְף                            |
| 10,000      | רִבּוֹ                           |
| 1,000,000   | אַלְף אֶלְפִים (D 7:10, par. 42) |
| 100,000,000 | רִבּוֹ רִבּוֹן (par. 62)         |

“Sixty-two” (fem.) is שְׁתַּיִן וְתַרְתֵּינִי, “120” מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין.

64. “One” follows the noun as an adjective. It may be used to indicate indetermination (par. 46). It may also be used as a noun: הַד מִזֶּהוֹן “one of them” D 6:3. Note also כְּחֻדָּה “together, without distinction” D 2:35.

65. “Two” has a cstr. st. תְּרֵי, \*תְּרֵיתִי.

66. The numerals from three to ten use masc. formations (תְּלַת, etc.) with fem. nouns, and fem. formations (תְּלַתָּה, etc.) with masc. nouns.

The cstr. st. is rarely used: שְׁבַעַת יַעֲטָהִי “his seven advisers” E 7:14, but, for instance, שְׁבַעַת עֲדָנִין “seven seasons” D 4:13.

67. The numerals may either precede or follow the object counted. The latter is in the plural.

68. The det. st. of אֶלֶף is אֶלְפָּא.

69. The ordinal numbers (with the exception of “second”) are adjectives with the ending *-āy* (par. 58):

|     | masc.                       | fem.  |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|
| 1st | קְדָמִי* (קְדָמִיא)         | קְדָמִיָּה* (קְדָמִיָּתָא)                      |
| 2nd | תְּנִינִי*                  | תְּנִינִיָּה                                    |
| 3rd | תְּלִיתִי*                  | תְּלִיתִיָּה (t <sup>l</sup> ilā <sup>ā</sup> ) |
| 4th | רְבִיעִי* (רְבִיעִיא), etc. | רְבִיעִיָּה (רְבִיעִיָּתָא), etc.               |

70. Multiplication is expressed as follows: **קַדְּ שִׁבְעָה** "seven times" D 3:10.

71. Fractions are represented by the nouns **פְּלִג** "one-half" D 7:25 and **תְּלַתָּא** "one-third (ruler), triumvir" D 5:16, 29, with suffix **תְּלַתִּי** D 5:7. The vocalization of **תְּלַתָּא** may, however, have been influenced by Akkadian *šalsu* and may not represent a genuine Aramaic form.

72. "Second" with the adverbial ending **-ūt** (par. 88) means "again" (**תְּנִינֻתָּא** D 2:7).

73. **תְּלַתְהוֹן** "the three of them" D 3:23, apparently *ʔlāt-t*, a fem. form, augmented by the ending of the pl. masc., as happens in connection with some prepositions (par. 84).

74. Dates: The year of the reign and the day of the month are expressed by cardinal numbers following the estr. st. **שְׁנֹת** and **יוֹם**, respectively: **שְׁנַת שֵׁשׁ לְמַלְכוּת** "year 6 of the reign of . . ." E 6:15, **יוֹם תְּלַתָּה לִירַח אֲדָר** "Adār 3rd" E 6:15.

The age of a person is expressed by the phrase "son of n years": **כְּבָר שְׁנֵין שְׁתֵּין וְתַרְתֵּין** "as (a man) sixty-two years old" D 6:1.

## VII. Prepositions

75. BA has the primitive prepositions **בְּ, כִּ, לְ, מִן, עַד, עַל**, and others whose derivation from nominal or verbal roots is still obvious.

One-consonant prepositions are written together with the word governed by them. This includes **מִן** wherever *n* is assimilated to the following consonant.

If the first syllable of the word depending on **בְּכַל** has a murmured vowel, we have **-בְּ, -כִּ, -לְ**. Followed by **י**, **בְּכַל** become **-בִּי, -כִּי, -לִי**.

If the first syllable of the word following **בְּכַל** has an ultra-short vowel, the corresponding full vowel appears after the preposition: **בְּעֵשֶׁב** "with the vegetation," **בְּאַסוּר** "with a fetter," etc. In connection with **אֱלֹהָהּ** "god," it is **לְאֱלֹהֵי שְׁמַיָּא (יִשְׂרָאֵל)** E 5:12, 6:9, 10, 7:15, D 2:19, but usually we find **בְּאֱלֹהֵהּ, לְאֱלֹהֵהּ**, etc.; cf. also **בְּאַרְיִן** "then."

76. Certain basic meanings can be established for the prepositions, but, as is only natural, there are no exact correspond-

ences between a given BA preposition and any one English preposition.

In certain constructions, different prepositions may be used with no clearly definable or necessary distinction in meaning. Instances are the alternation between ל and על to indicate the addressee of a letter or document. Further: לְבַקְרָה עַל יְהוּד וְלִירוּשָׁלַם “to investigate Judah and Jerusalem” E 7:14, עֲלוּהָ ... לְדַנְיָאֵל D 6:5f., (עַל עַל (קָדָם) “to enter into the presence of” in connection with persons, but ל עַל in connection with localities (D 6:11). Cf. also עָד מָטָה עָד “he came to” D 7:13 in connection with a person, whereas ל is commonly used with this verb to indicate direction.

עָלַם “to rule over” is usually followed by ב, but עַל occurs in D 2:48. \*עָרַב “to mix with” requires ב (D 2:41, 43), but עַם is found in D 2:43. עָדָה “to come forth” is followed by מן (D 4:28, 5:20) but also by ב (D 3:27), if the text is correct. ב and מן also alternate to express the idea of “being wet with the dew (בַּטֵּל, מִטֵּל) of heaven” D 4:12, 20, 22, 30, 5:21.

77. ב “in” (local and temporal), “through, with” (instrumental). With suffixes: בִּי, בְּךָ, בָּהּ, בֵּהוֹן.

Note אֶשְׂתִּי ב “to drink from (a vessel)” D 5:2, 3, 23, and לֹא ב תִּשְׁנֶה עָבֹו בְּדַנְיָאֵל “nothing be changed concerning Daniel” D 6:18.

78. כ “like as, comparable to.” Also, “according to,” as, for instance, repeatedly in כְּדִנְהָ “thus,” כְּדַת מְדִי “according to the law of Media” D 6:9, 13, כְּכַתְּב סֵפֶר מֹשֶׁה “in accordance with the text of the book of Moses” E 6:18. Further, “approximately”: כְּשַׁעֲה חֲדָה “about an hour (while)” D 4:16.

כְּ may also be used in a temporal sense: כְּבַר שְׁנַיִן שְׁמִין וְתַרְתִּין “as (a man) sixty-two years old” D 6:1, כְּמִקְרִבָה לְגַבְא “on approaching the den” D 6:21. Cf. כְּדִי (par. 86).

79. ל “to, for.” With suffixes: לִי, לְךָ, לָהּ, לָהּ, לְנָא, לְכֹן (לְכֹן) לְהֵם (לְהֹן).

ל expresses every aspect of direction. (a) local: for the addressee of a letter, לְבֵיתָה אֹזֵל “to Artaxerxes,” לְבֵיתָה אֹזֵל “he went to his house” D 2:17. (b) temporal: לְעֹלְמִין חַיִּי “live for ever.” (c) modal: הָוָה לְטוֹר “became a mountain” D 2:35, בְּנִיתָה לְבֵית “I have built it for a royal capital” D 4:27. (d) final: אֲמַרִּין לְעֹלְמִין “lambs for sacrifices” E 6:9, מְצַלִּין לְחַיִּי מְלִכָא “praying for the life of the king” E 6:10.

ל is commonly used to indicate ownership. It is further used to denote the indirect object and, frequently, the direct object (par. 182). ל in final meaning usually precedes the infinitive.

80. מן "from." The *n* is sometimes assimilated to the following consonant. With suffixes: מִנִּי, מִנּוֹךְ, מִנּוּה, מִנּוּה, מִנּוּהוֹן, מִנּוּהוֹן.

מן indicates local direction away from someone or something. It rarely occurs to express temporal direction (מן יומֵת עֲלֵמָא "since the days of eternity" E 4:15, 19), or causal relationship (מן טַעֲם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "by the decree of the God of Israel" E 6:14, 7:23).

In the frequent phrase: מִנִּי שִׁים טַעֲם "an order has been given by me," מן expresses local direction ("an order . . . coming from me"), cf. the variant מִן קַדְמֵי שִׁים טַעֲם D 6:27, or נִפְקָתָא מִן בֵּית מַלְכָּא תַתִּיהָב "the expenses will be granted by the royal treasury" E 6:4. However, this usage of מן comes very close to indicating the agent of the passive.

Partitive use of מן is common: חֶד מִנְהוֹן "one of them" D 6:3, מן בְּנֵי גְלוּתָא "belonging to the exiles" D 6:14, מן נִצְבָתָא "some of the seed (mineral)" D 2:41, מן קִשְׁט "it is of a truth" D 2:47, מן קָצַת . . . מִנּוּה "partly . . . partly" D 2:42. In this sense, מן also corresponds to "than" after a comparative: בְּחַכְמָה דִּי אִיתִי בִי מן כֹּל חַיָּיא "through wisdom that I have (more) than any living being" D 2:30, חַוְוָה רַב מן חַבְרָתָה "its appearance was great(er) than (that of) its fellows" D 7:20. Cf. also אַרְעָא מִנְךָ "low(er) than you(rs)" D 2:39, עֲלָא מִנְהוֹן "high(er) than (above) them" D 6:3.

81. עַד "until" (temporal).

It occurs rarely to indicate local direction: עַד עֲתִיק יוֹמִיא מָסָה "to the ancient of days he went" D 7:13, עַד כָּה "so far" D 7:28. Modal usage appears in עַד כֶּסֶף כְּכַרְרִין מָאָה "up to one hundred talents of silver" E 7:22. Inclusive finality is intended in עַד יוֹמִין תְּלָתִין "for thirty days" D 6:8, 13.

Note the use of וְ "and" in מן . . . וְעַד "from . . . to" E 5:16, D 2:20.

82. עַל "upon." With suffixes: עַלִּי, עַלְיָךְ, עַלְוֹהִי, עַלְוֵיהּ, עַלְוֵיהּ, עַלְוֵיהּ (עַלְוֵיהּ).

In addition to physical location, עַל may indicate mental or modal application: עַל דְּנָה "concerning this" E 4:14, "on account of this" E 4:16, 22, 6:11, עַל רְזָה דְּנָה "concerning this secret"

D 2:18, **עַל דָּנְיָאֵל שָׁם בָּל** "he set his mind on Daniel" D 6:15, **בָּאֵשׁ עָלוּהָי** "it grieved him" D 6:15, **טָאָב עָלוּהָי** "it pleased him" D 6:24.

**עַל** may indicate direction like **ל** (par. 76): **לִי מְדַעַי עָלַי יָתוּב** "my knowledge returned to me" D 4:31, **עַל שְׁלַח** "to send (a message) to" E 4:11, 5:17. It may involve hostile direction ("against") or indicate superior position and greater intensity: **חַד שִׁבְעָה עַל** "(heated) seven times more than..." D 3:19, **מִתְנַצֵּחַ עַל סָרְכֵיָא** "distinguishing himself over the chief ministers" D 6:4, **עַל מְלָכִין** "(a city) rising up against (raising itself over) kings" E 4:19.

83. **עִם** "together with." With suffixes: **עִמִּי, עִמָּךְ, עִמָּה, עִמָּהוֹן**.

Temporal use of **עִם** appears in **עִם דָּר וְדָר** "in every generation" D 3:33, 4:31, **בַּחֲזוֹי עִם לַיְלָא** "in my vision in the night" D 7:2.

Cf., further, **עִם מְלָכָא מְלַל** "he spoke to the king" D 6:22, **עֲבָדָה קָרַב עִם קְדִישִׁין** "making war against the holy ones" D 7:21, (read **שְׁוִי?**) **לְבַבָּה עִם חֵינְתָא שְׁוִי** "his heart (mind) was placed with (= made like) that of an animal" D 5:21. **דִּי עֲבַד עִמִּי אֱלֹהָא** "(wonders that) God did in connection with me" D 3:32, **תַּעֲבִדוֹן עִם שְׁבֵי יְהוּדָא** "you shall do in dealing with the elders of the Jews" E 6:8.

84. Other prepositions:

**אַחֲרֵיהוֹן** "after" (temporal). With suffix: **אַחֲרֵי**.

**בְּאַתֵּר, בְּתַר** "after" (temporal), < **בְּאַתֵּר**, lit. "in the trace(s) of." With suffix: **בְּתַרְךָ**.

**בֵּין** "between." With suffix: **בֵּינֵיהוֹן**. The forms with pronominal suffixes of **בֵּין** and some of the following prepositions correspond to those of the *plural* of the masc. noun; they are formed in analogy to **עַל**.

**בְּיָתֵיהוֹן** "within," used in composition with **בְּ, לְ,** and **מִן**. With suffixes: **בְּיָתֵיהוֹן, בְּיָתֵיהוֹן**.

**בְּיָתֵיהוֹן דִּי לֹא** "without," also used before infinitives introduced by **לְ** or a prepositional expression.

**בְּיָד** "hand," in connection with other prepositions, tends to lose its concrete meaning and assume the character of a preposition. **בְּיָד** indicates possession, cf., in particular, **דִּי נִשְׁמַתָּךְ בְּיָדָה וְכָל** "(God) who holds in His hand your soul and owns all

your ways" D 5:23. Cf. also כְּחַכְמַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ דֵי בִידְךָ "according to the wisdom of your God that is in your hand" E 7:25, יְהַב הֵמוּ בִיד וְנִבְכְּדֻצָּר "He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar" E 5:12, מִן יַד אַרְיֹתָא, שִׁיבֵיב . . . "he saved . . . from the lions" D 6:28.

יְתָ indicating the independent objective pronoun occurs only once: יְתָהוֹן D 3:12.

לְתָ "with, at (French *chez*)," related to יְתָ. With suffix: מִן לְתָךְ E 4:12.

לְנָךְ "toward" occurs only in לְנָךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם "toward Jerusalem" D 6:11; possibly a Hebrew gloss.

צָד "side" in combination with לְ and מִן: מְלִין לְצַד עֲלִיאָ יְמִלַל מִן "he speaks words toward the Most High" D 7:25, מִצַּד מְלָכֻתָא, " (to find cause of complaint against Daniel) from the side of the kingdom (= from the political angle)" D 6:5.

לְקַבְלָ "facing, opposite," also in modal use, "corresponding to." With suffix לְקַבְלָךְ. In the modal sense, it may be augmented by כְּ: כְּל קַבְלָ: כְּ.

קָדָם "before" (local), also with מִן, "from before." With suffixes (par. 10): קָדָמֵי (קָדָמֵי), קָדָמֵיךָ (*qòdāmāyk*), קָדָמֵיהִי (קָדָמֵיהִי) D 7:13), קָדָמֵיהוֹן, קָדָמֵיהִן. קָדָם is used frequently as a less direct, respectful indication of location (מִן קָדָם אֵלֶּה שְׂמֵיא, קָדָם מְלָכָא). A possible temporal use occurs in D 7:7.

מִן קָדָמָת, מִן קָדָמָת "before" (temporal).

לְקַצָּת "at the end of."

\*תַּחְתָּוְהִי, תַּחְתָּוְהִי "underneath." With suffixes: תַּחְתָּוְהִי.

## VIII. Conjunctions

### 85. Coordinating conjunctions:

וְ "and," connecting words and sentences, is written together with the word that follows it. If the following word begins with a labial (במפ) or has a murmured vowel in the first syllable, וְ becomes וְ (ā). Followed by וְ, *wy-* becomes -וְ. Followed by a syllable containing an ultra-short vowel, the corresponding full vowel appears after וְ: וְהַלָּךְ "and (a kind of) taxes," וְאָחוּ "and go!," etc. However, it is וְקָדָמֵיהִי E 6:12 (par. 75), וְסָגַר "and he locked" D 6:23, D 7:13.

In Babylonian vocalization, *w*- remains apparently unchanged before labials and becomes *wi*- before a word with a murmured vowel in the first syllable.

Strings of coordinated nouns or verbs may be without a coordinating particle, or ו may be used before one, or several, or all components.

לְהֵן “but.” לְהֵן may also be used in the related sense of “except”: לְהֵן לְאֱלֹהֵהוּן “that...they might not worship any God but their own God” D 3:28, מִן כָּל אֱלֹהִים וְאָנוֹשׁ ... לְהֵן מִנְךָ “from any God or man ... except you” D 6:8, 13.

בְּאַרְבָּן, אַרְבָּן “then.”

### S6. Subordinating conjunctions:

דִּי “that” introduces subordinate clauses after verbs meaning to know, inform, command, find, see, hear, etc. Cf. also אֵימִי דִּי “it is (a fact) that” E 5:17, מִן קִשְׁטֵי דִּי “it is of a truth that” D 2:47, דִּי אֹדָא מְנִי מְלִתָּא דִּי “the matter is known (as decided), as far as I am concerned, that” D 2:Sf. (cf. D 2:5, where the Dead Sea [Qumrān] text inserts דִּי after אֹדָא).

דִּי is further used to introduce final clauses (“so that” E 5:10, 6:10, D 2:18, 3:28, 6:18). It is causal in D 2:47, 4:15, 6:24. It may also introduce direct speech (D 2:25, 5:7, 6:6, 8, 14). Note דִּי בְעֵדְנָא דִּי “at the time when” D 3:5, 15.

כְּדִי “when” (temporal, but tending occasionally toward a causal meaning).

מִן דִּי “after, as soon as,” occasionally causal as in D 3:22.

כְּלִ קַבְלִ דִּי “because,” but in D 5:22 “although.”

הָא כְּדִי “as” D 22:43, spelled as if it were \**ha-k̄dī*, but to be pronounced as derived from *hēk̄-dī*.

עַד דִּי “until,” also simple עַד E 4:21, 5:5, tending toward a final connotation in D 4:22.

עַד דְּבִרְתֵּי דִּי (D 2:30), עַד דְּבִרְתֵּי דִּי (D 4:14) (= *‘addibrat* < *‘al-dibrat*) “so that.”

לְמָה (E 4:22), דִּי לְמָה (E 7:23) “lest.”

הֵן “if.” In D 3:15 (הֵן לָא ... הֵן “if ... if not”), the apodosis for the positive alternative is left unstated (supply “it is well and good”). הֵן ... הֵן may mean “either ... or”: הֵן לְמוֹת הֵן לְשִׂרְשִׁי הֵן לְעֵוֹשׁ וְנִכְסֵין וְלִאֲסוּרֵין “(will be sentenced) either to death or to corporal punishment or to a property fine and imprisonment” E 7:26.

## IX. Negations

87. לֹא is used in connection with negative statements. It may also be used for the negation of individual parts of a sentence.

It is used as a noun in *כָּל דְּאָרְיִי אַרְעָא כְּלָהּ חֲשִׁיבִין* (*dāyryē*) “all inhabitants of the earth are considered like nought” D 4:32.

לֹא is used with the jussive to express a negative wish or command. The imperative cannot be employed with negation. לֹא was discarded in later Aramaic and replaced by לֹא. A possible but doubtful example of this process in E 4:21: *קְרִיחָא דִּךְ לֹא תְחַבְנָא* “let that city not be rebuilt.”

For לֹא “lest,” cf. par. 86, and for לֹא “without” (also simple לֹא before an infinitive, D 6:16), cf. par. 84.

## X. Adverbs and Particles

88. Adverbs may be expressed by prepositional expressions or by special words. In addition, they may be formed by

(1) an ancient fem. formation showing retention of final *-t*:  
סָרַת “(he spent the night) fasting” D 6:19.

(2) the ending *-ūt*: תְּנִינִית “a second time, again” D 2:7.

(3) the abs. st. masc., as in the frequent שְׁנִיא “much, greatly, very”: קִצַּף שְׁנִיא “he became very angry” D 2:12, שְׁנִיא מְחַבְּהַל “greatly disturbed” D 5:9 (par. 20), etc. A further example may be גְּמִיר “completely” (= and so on, with all the proper formulas of greeting to be supplied) E 7:12.

(4) the ending *-ā*, mostly unstressed, the remnant of an ancient accusative ending: אֲזַא יִתְרָא “heated excessively” D 3:22, תְּקִיפָא (*yattird!*) יִתְרָא “exceedingly strong” (fem.) D 7:7, דְּחִילָהּ יִתְרָה “very frightening” (fem.) D 7:19. Further, אַרְעָא (*arā*, read *arā*) “below” and עֲלָא “above” (par. 80), and, possibly, יַצִּיבָא in D 3:24, מְלִכָא (*yassibā!*) יַצִּיבָא “certainly, O king” (cf. *מִן יַצִּיב יָדַע אָנָּה* “I know for certain” D 2:8). For אֲכָלָא, see par. 96. The final *-ā* of some Persian loan words was apparently considered the same ending (par. 189).



## 89. Temporal demonstrative adverbs:

בְּאַרְיֵן, בְּאַרְיֵן “then,” used by itself as a coordinating conjunction (par. 85), but וְאַרְיֵן “and then” E 5:5.

כְּעַתָּה, כְּעַתָּה (E 4:10, 11, 7:12), כְּעַתָּה (E 4:17) “now, now then.”

עַד אַחֲרַיִן “eventually” D 4:5.

בְּהַשְׁעָתָה, בְּהַשְׁעָתָה “at once,” lit. “at this very hour (time, moment).” ה here represents the demonstrative element *hā* and was assimilated to the pronominal suffixes (par. 32), used in the proleptic manner found, for instance, in בְּהַלַּיְלָא “in this very night” D 5:30 and בְּהַדַּנְיָאֵל “in Daniel” D 5:12. The demonstrative construction is still reflected in מִנְּהַמְלְכוּתָהּ “from (this) kingdom” D 7:24.

## 90. Temporal assertive adverb:

עוֹד “still, yet”: עוֹד מִלְּתַּא בְּפִּם מִלְּכָא “the word still (being) in the mouth of the king” D 4:28.

## 91. Local demonstrative adverbs:

הָא “behold here”: הָא אֲנָה חֲזָה “behold, I see” D 3:25.

אֲלוֹ, אֲרוֹ “behold there (is).”

כְּהָ “here” D 7:28.

תְּמָה “there,” מִן תְּמָה “from there.”

אַתְרֵי דִי “there where,” lit., “on the spot where” E 6:3, a use possibly influenced by Akkadian *ašar* “where.”

## 92. Modal demonstrative adverbs:

כְּזֹמָא, כֵּן, כְּדִנְהָ “thus.”

כְּמָה “how!”, אֲתוּהִי כְּמָה רַבְרַבִּין וְתַמְהוּהִי כְּמָה תְּקִיפִין “how great are His wonders, and how mighty are His miracles!” D 3:33.

## 93. Modal assertive adverbs:

אַף “also.”

אַפְתָּם “certainly” or “finally” E 4:13 (par. 190).

אַסְפָּרְנָא (ֹּסְפָרְנָא) “exactly, perfectly” (par. 189).

אַדְרִוּדָא “diligently” (par. 189).

אַדְצָא D 3:14 is often explained as the interrogative particle with an adverb \*צא, possibly meaning “truly” (?).

כְּתָהּ “together, without distinction” (par. 64).

אֲדָרָא “publicly known, known (as decided)” (par. 189) is originally an adverb.

94. The interrogative particle is  $\text{-הֵ}$ , with the negation  $\text{הֵלָא}$ .  $\text{-הֵ}$  for  $\text{-הֵ}$  is found before words with a murmured vowel in the first syllable and before words beginning with א. Presumably,  $\text{-הֵ}$  would also appear before words beginning with a laryngal.

## XI. אִיִּי

95. אִיִּי indicates existence (“there is, exists”), or, with negation, non-existence (לֹא אִיִּי “there does not exist”). In this meaning, אִיִּי remains unchanged. Cf. אִיִּי גִבֻרִין יְהוּדָאִין “there are Jewish men” D 3:12, חֵכְמָה דִּי אִיִּי בִי “wisdom that exists in me” D 2:30; further, הֵן אִיִּי דִּי “whether it is (a fact) that” E 5:17.

However, אִיִּי may take the place of the copula (which, as a rule, is left unexpressed in BA, or is expressed by the independent personal pronoun [par. 30]). In this case, it takes the appropriate pronominal suffix. Originally, אִיִּי here was used for emphasis: הֲאִיִּיךְ פְּהֵל “are you able?” D 2:26, מְדַרְהוֹן עִם בְּשָׂרָא לֹא אִיִּיחוּרִי “their dwelling is *not* with human kind” D 2:11, לֹא אִיִּינָא פְּלִחִין “we shall *not* worship” D 3:18, לֹא אִיִּיכוֹן פְּלִחִין “you do *not* worship” D 3:14, אִיִּיכוֹן עֲתִידִן “you *are* ready” D 3:15.

## XII. אַחֲרֵן and כֹּל

96. כֹּל (unstressed כָּל) is a noun meaning “totality.” Cf. כֹּלָא (*kollā*) “everything, everyone” D 2:40, 4:9, 18, 25. This form may also be used in a quasi-adverbial manner: שְׁלָמָא כֹּלָא “well-being completely” E 5:7.

Preceding a sg. noun without the article, it means “every, any.” Preceding a determined noun in the sg., it means “entire, whole.” And preceding a determined noun in the pl. or a collective sg. (i.e., כָּל בְּשָׂרָא “all mankind”), or being followed by the pl. of the pronominal suffix, or the relative pronoun, or the demon-

strative pronoun used as a noun (כָּל דְּנָה "all this"), it means "all."

Note that כָּל קָבַל has nothing to do with כָּל (par. 84).

97. אַחֲרָן "other" may be used either as a noun or as an adjective. Its fem. is אַחֲרִי (par. 57).

### XIII. The Verb

98. The BA verb possesses two tenses: a "perfect" to indicate completed action, corresponding to the English present perfect, simple past, and past perfect, and an "imperfect" to indicate incomplete ("im-perfect") action, corresponding to our present or future. It further has a participle, which moreover serves widely as a multi-purpose tense (par. 177). It has two moods, an imperative and a jussive; and an infinitive. There are two voices, active and passive.

99. In addition to its basic form, the BA verb has two "derived conjugations," that is, modifications of the basic root to express modes of action. This is achieved by doubling of the second consonant of the root, or by the addition of a prefix. Each conjugation, furthermore, can form a reflexive/passive by prefixing the element *t-* (*hit-*, *it-*). Thus, the conjugations are:

|                     |                        |                            |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| p <sup>ʿ</sup> al   | hitp <sup>ʿ</sup> el   | Passive: p <sup>ʿ</sup> il |
| pa <sup>ʿ</sup> el  | hitpa <sup>ʿ</sup> al  | *pu <sup>ʿ</sup> al        |
| haḇ <sup>ʿ</sup> el | *hiḥaḇ <sup>ʿ</sup> al | hu/oḇ <sup>ʿ</sup> al      |

The basic meaning of the pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el is intensive or causative, and that of the haḇ<sup>ʿ</sup>el, causative.

Beginning *h* alternates with the glottal stop, but forms with *h* are more widely used in the BA text.

Since the reflexive of the haḇ<sup>ʿ</sup>el is not attested in BA (except by doubtful textual correction of E 4:13, מְלָכִי מְלָכִים תְּהַנְּק, מַתְּהַנְּק), its form is somewhat uncertain.

For remnants of the šaḇ<sup>ʿ</sup>el (corresponding in meaning to the haḇ<sup>ʿ</sup>el) and hištaḇ<sup>ʿ</sup>al, cf. par. 157 and 166.

100. The verbal conjugation follows an identical scheme for all roots. Minor irregularities occur principally in connection with roots that contain a glottal stop; that have *n* as the first consonant; and which consisted originally of two consonants made triconsonantal by the addition of *w/y* or by doubling of the second consonant. These are the "weak" verbs, as opposed to the regular "strong" verb.

### 1. The strong verb

Cf. the paradigms, pp. 60—63.

101. The perfect is formed with the help of suffixed elements:

|              |              |                                |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. |              | כָּתַב                         |
| 3. fem.      | -at          | כָּתַבְתְּ                     |
| 2. masc.     | -t (-tā)     | כָּתַבְתָּ (תָּה-, כָּתַבְתָּ) |
| 2. fem.      | -tī          | *כָּתַבְתְּי                   |
| 1.           | -et          | כָּתַבְתִּי                    |
| pl. 3. masc. | -ū           | כָּתְבוּ                       |
| 3. fem.      | -ā (par. 12) | כָּתְבוּ                       |
| 2. masc.     | -tūn         | כָּתַבְתֶּם                    |
| 2. fem.      | -ten         | כָּתַבְתֶּן                    |
| 1.           | -nā          | כָּתַבְתֶּם                    |

102. In addition to the *p<sup>al</sup>* with *a* in the second syllable, there also exists a *p<sup>ae</sup>/il*: סָגַד "prostrated himself," שָׁלַם "was completed," שָׁלַט "had power," pl. שָׁלְטוּ. For the 3. fem. sg., besides תְּקַפַּת (from תְּקַף "was strong"), we find בְּטַלַּת "was idle." The vocalization בְּטַלַּח corresponds to what in later Jewish Aramaic is the normal vocalization of the 3. fem. sg. (*p<sup>ae</sup>a/elat*).

For the passive forms and the derived conjugations, cf. the paradigms.

103. *e* and *i* may apparently be used interchangeably in the *p<sup>al</sup>*, *hitp<sup>al</sup>*, *pa<sup>al</sup>*, and *hap<sup>al</sup>*.

104. The 3. fem. sg. of the derived conjugations is attested only with verbs ending in laryngals or *r* and other weak verbs

(הִתְחַוֵּרְתָּ, הִתְחַוֵּרְתְּ, etc.). These forms do not seem normative (at least, not for the period of Official Aramaic), and the normal form presumably was \*הִתְחַוֵּרְתָּ, etc.

105. The imperfect (jussive, par. 108) uses prefixes, supplemented in some of its forms by suffixes:

|              |               |                 |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | <i>y-</i>     | יִכְתֹּב        |
| 3. fem.      | <i>t-</i>     | תִּכְתֹּב       |
| 2. masc.     | <i>t-</i>     | תִּכְתֹּב       |
| 2. fem.      | <i>t---īn</i> | *תִּכְתֹּבִין   |
| 1.           | <i>ʾ-</i>     | אִכְתֹּב        |
| pl. 3. masc. | <i>y---ūn</i> | יִכְתְּבוּ      |
| 3. fem.      | <i>y---ān</i> | יִכְתְּבֵינָא   |
| 2. masc.     | <i>t---ūn</i> | תִּכְתְּבוּ     |
| 2. fem.      | <i>t---ān</i> | *תִּכְתְּבֵינָא |
| 1.           | <i>n-</i>     | נִכְתֹּב        |

For the use of the prefix *t-*, instead of *y-*, see par. 168.

106. No practical rules can be formulated for the vowel following the second consonant of the root. Most verbs *p<sup>al</sup>* have *u*. *P<sup>ael</sup>* verbs prefer *a*, but cf., for instance, סָגַד — יִסְגֹּד. For imperfects with *e*, cf. par. 118.

107. No passive forms of the imperfect happen to occur in BA.

108. The jussive is indicated only in a few forms by the elision of final *-n* in the 3. masc. pl. Only weak verbs happen to be attested: יִאֲבָדוּ “let them perish” Jer. 10:11, אַל יִשְׁתַּנּוּ “let them not be changed” D 5:10, with pronominal suffix אַל יִבְהַלְוּךָ “let them not disturb you” D 5:10. The form of the suffix in אַל יִבְהַלְךָ “let it not disturb you” D 4:16 indicates the jussive, as the indicative would be \*יִבְהַלְיָךָ (par. 175). Finally, the spelling with final *-y* in יִתְקַרֵּי “let him be called” D 5:12 may be the remnant of an old jussive form (par. 152).

109. In the *hitp<sup>ael</sup>* and *hitp<sup>aal</sup>*, the imperfect prefix + (*h*)*it-* becomes *yit-*, etc. In the *hap<sup>ael</sup>*, *h* is retained, but the *ap<sup>ael</sup>* has the imperfect *ya-*, etc.

110. The imperative has the same vowel after the second consonant of the root as is found in the imperfect (jussive), and endings corresponding to those of the jussive:

|              |    |                |
|--------------|----|----------------|
| sg. 2. masc. |    | כָּתֹב, שְׁלֹט |
| 2. fem.      | -ī | כָּתְבִי       |
| pl. 2. masc. | -ū | כָּתְבוּ       |
| 2. fem.      | -ā | *כָּתְבֵי      |

The imperative cannot be used in connection with a negation. In order to express a negated imperative, the jussive (imperfect) must be used (par. 87).

111. The infinitive of the p<sup>ca</sup>l has the preformative *m-* (מִכְתֹּב). A remnant of an older form without *m-* is לְבִנָּא (par. 149).

In the derived conjugations, a fem. formation serves as infinitive (*p...ālā*). The estr. st. ending *-at* is preserved only in לְהַנְקִיט מַלְכִין "to cause harm to kings" E 4:22 and אַחֲזִית אַחֲזִינָן "giving information on riddles" D 5:12. Elsewhere, it is replaced by *-ūt*, for instance, הִתְנַדְּבוֹת "contributing" E 7:16, לְהוֹדֵעוֹתָךְ "to let you know" E 5:10.

Forms such as מְצַלַח "to succeed" E 5:8 and מְפַשֵּׁר "to interpret," מְשָׁרָא "to solve" D 5:12, may be further infinitive formations of the derived conjugations, but this is uncertain, as is the assumption that אֶשְׁתַּדְּדֵר "rebellion" E 4:15 is an infinitive of the hitpa<sup>ca</sup>l of the root שָׁדַר (cf. par. 190 for a Persian etymology).

112. The participles may be used and declined as any noun or adjective.

113. For the addition of pronominal suffixes, cf. par. 174ff. and the paradigms, p. 71.

## 2. Roots beginning with a sibilant or dental

114. The reflexive *t* is placed after the sibilant: מִשְׁתַּבְּשִׁין "confused," תִּשְׁתַּבֵּק "will be left," הִשְׁתַּכַּח "was found," מִשְׁתַּכַּל "observing."

It assimilates to the emphatic pronunciation of *צ* and becomes *ט*: יִצְטַבַּע "will be wetted."

It assimilates fully to  $r$  in  $\text{הִזְמַנְתָּן}$  "you have agreed upon" D 2:9. The written form represents *hizz<sup>h</sup>mintūn* or *hizzammintūn*, while the reading prescribed assumes only partial assimilation of  $t > d$ , *hizd<sup>h</sup>mintūn*.

The situation is different with roots having  $w/y$  as the second consonant (par. 138).

Assimilation can also be expected in roots beginning with a dental, but no relevant forms are found in BA.

### 3. Roots containing a laryngal or $r$

115. In connection with these roots, note the rules mentioned in par. 24 (preceding  $e/i > a$ ) and par. 20 (lengthening of preceding vowel instead of gemination):  $\text{פָּלַח}$  "worshiping,"  $\text{מָשַׁבַּח}$  "praising" (identical in form with the passive participle),  $\text{אָמַר}$  "saying,"  $\text{בָּרַךְ}$  ( $< \text{barrik}$ ) "he blessed," etc.

In roots ending in a laryngal or  $r$ , the change  $e/i > a$  is extended to open syllables:  $\text{שִׁבְּחוּ}$  "they praised,"  $\text{הִשְׁכְּחוּ}$  "they found,"  $\text{אֶתְרוּ}$  "shake off!" (pl.),  $\text{בְּדְרוּ}$  "scatter!" (pl.),  $\text{אֶתְעַקְרָה}$  "they (fem.) were uprooted."

116. In addition, the following differences affecting the vocalization may be noted:

Roots with a laryngal as the first consonant have  $a$  in the perfect p<sup>2</sup>al, 1. sg. (and 3. fem. sg.):  $\text{עָבַדְתִּי}$  "I have made."

The prefix vowel of the imperfect is  $a$  ( $e$  in verbs with  $y/w/y$  as the third consonant of the root):  $\text{תַּעֲבֹדֵךְ}$  "you will do,"  $\text{תַּעֲדָה}$  "it (fem.) will pass away."

The prefix vowel of the infinitive is  $e$ :  $\text{לְמַעַבַּד}$  "to do,"  $\text{לְמַחֲזֵה}$  "to behold."

Where the laryngal is originally vowelless after a prefix and the following consonant has a murmured vowel, the laryngal may take the vowel of the prefix:  $\text{תַּעֲבֹדֵךְ}$  ( $< \text{ta}^b\text{d}ūn$ ),  $\text{הִחְרַבְתָּ}$  (*hoh<sup>h</sup>orbat*  $< \text{hoh}^r\text{bat}$ ) "was destroyed". But cf.  $\text{יִחְסְנוּן}$  "they will possess,"  $\text{מִהֲחֻצְפָּה}$  "urgent" (fem.).

$e$  for  $a$  occurs in  $\text{הִחָסְנוּ}$  "they took possession" D 7:22,  $\text{הִעָדוּ}$  "they removed" D 5:20, 7:12.

117. Roots ending in a laryngal or  $r$  tend to eliminate a final cluster of consonants, such as is usual in the 2. masc. sg. of the

perfect, by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel: הִשְׁתַּכַּחַתְּ “you were found” D 5:27 (but, with retention of the final vowel, שִׁבַּחְתָּ “you praised” D 5:23). Cf. the similar phenomenon in the noun (par. 51).

This vocalization has been transferred to the 3. fem. sg. and 1. sg.: אָמְרָת “she said” D 5:10, (-אֶת) הִתְנַדְּרָת “it (fem.) broke off” D 2:34, 45, הִשְׁתַּכַּחַחְתְּ “it (fem.) was found” D 5:11, etc., הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ “I have found” D 2:25. However, we also find יָדַעַת “I knew,” שִׁבַּחְתָּ “I praised.” Cf. also שָׁמַחְתָּ, הִקְמַחְתָּ, הִדְרַקְתָּ (par. 133, 140, 164).

#### 4. Roots beginning with *n*

118. In connection with these roots, cf. par. 21 (assimilation/nasalization of vowelless *n*): יִנְתְּנוּן “they will give” E 4:13, but also יִתְּנוּהָ “he gives it” D 4:14, 22, 29.

*e* as the vowel of the imperfect *p*<sup>al</sup> is found in נָפַל “to fall” and נָתַן “to give”: יִפֹּל (unstressed לֶךְ יִפֹּל *yippellāk* E 7:20), יִתֵּן, תִּתְּנוּן. Cf. also שֵׂא “take!” (par. 126).

Only the imperfect and the infinitive of the root נָתַן occur in BA; for the perfect and imperative, another root, יָהַב, is used (par. 129).

119. The imperative drops the *n*: פָּקֵד “go out!” (pl.) D 3:26, שֵׂא “take!” E 5:15.

#### 5. Roots beginning with *n*

120. The vowel *a* appears in the *p*<sup>al</sup> perfect, 1. sg.: אָמְרָת “I said” D 4:5. For the 3. fem. sg., where the same vocalization can be expected (\*אֶמְרָת), the only example available is again from a root ending in *r*: אָמְרָת “she said” D 5:10 (par. 117).

121. In the imperfect and infinitive of the *p*<sup>al</sup>, the vowelless glottal stop becomes silent, and the preceding vowel is lengthened: מֵאֵמֵר, נֵאֵמֵר, נֵאֵמְרוּן, יֵאֵבְדוּ “let them perish” Jer. 10:11, מֵאֵמֵר (E 5:11), לֵמְיֹא “to heat” D 3:19.

122. The imperative *p*<sup>al</sup> with *a* after the second consonant has *a* in the first syllable, the one with *u* has *u*: אָמֵר, אָמְרוּ, but אֲכָלִי “eat!” (fem.) D 7:5.

Full *e* (with secondary stress) appears in the case of an imperative with *e* after the second consonant: אֵזְלִי (e<sub>2</sub>-*zel*-) “go!” E 5:15.



123. The part. pass. p<sup>al</sup> can be expected to have been \*אָמיר, but *e* appears in the first syllable of the only form attested (of a root ending in *w/y*): אָוה "heated" D 3:22.

124. In the hap<sup>el</sup>, *hō-* (< *haw-*) replaces \**ha*': תְּהוֹבֵד, הוֹבֵד, \**ha*': תְּהוֹבֵד, הוֹבֵד, יְהוֹבֵד, לְהוֹבֵד "to destroy." The passive is הוֹבֵד "was destroyed" D 7:11.

Two roots, אָמַן and אָתָה, show *hē-* and *hay-*: הֵימַן "he believed" D 6:24, מְהֵימַן "trusted, trustworthy" D 2:45, 6:5, הֵיטִי "he brought," passive הֵיטִיתָ, הֵיטִיתָ (par. 167).

### 6. Roots with *κ* as the second consonant

125. None of the forms attested shows any irregularity: שָׁאַל "he asked," שְׁאַלְנָא "he will ask you," בָּאֵשׁ "was bad," טָאָב "was good."

### 7. Roots with final *κ*

126. Most of these roots have merged with those originally ending in *w/y*. Since their forms can no longer be distinguished from those of the latter, they are treated together with them (par. 144ff.).

Remnants of roots ending in *κ* that have preserved *κ* as a consonant are וּשָׂא (שָׂא "take!" E 5:15, מִתְּנִישָׂא "rising up" [fem.] E 4:19) and שִׂנְא "to hate" (שִׂנְאֵי "your enemies" D 4:16).

### 8. Roots beginning with ' and Initial *y*

127. In Aramaic (and Canaanite), initial *w* has been replaced by *y*, so that all roots originally beginning with *w* have merged with those beginning with *y*.

128. In the imperfect (and infinitive) of the p<sup>al</sup>, vowelless ' is replaced by gemination/nasalization of the second consonant in the ancient roots יָדַע "to know" and יָתַב "to sit": יְדַע, אֲנַדַּא, יְנַדַּע, יְנַדַּע, אֲנַדַּא, יְתַב, יְתַב D 7:26; cf. also the noun מְנַדַּע "knowledge." Further יְכַל, from the root יָכַל "to be able" (par. 171).

Another imperfect formation is attested only through יֵיטֵב "it is good, pleases" E 7:18, from an ancient secondary root יֵטֵב (of. טָאָב, טָב).

129. Verbs forming the imperfect with gemination/nasalization of the second consonant drop *y* in the imperative: רַע "know!" D 6:16, הֵב "give!" D 5:17 (from the root יֵהב which, for the imperfect and infinitive, is replaced by נתן [par. 118]). Cf. also the nouns עֲטָה "advice," שְׁנָתָה "his sleep," representing old infinitive formations of יַעַט, יֵשֶׁן.

130. The *hap̄ēl* has *hō-* (< *haw-*): הוֹדַע "he informed," יהוֹדַע, מהוֹדַעַן, מהוֹדַעָה, להוֹדַעַת, הוֹחֵב "he settled (them)," מוֹדָא, מהוֹדָא "praising." The passive is הוּסַפַּת "was added" (fem.) D 4:33.

*hē-* is found only in הֵבֵל "he brought" E 5:14, לְהֵיבֵלָה E 7:15. The same root may be present also in מְסוֹבְלִין "(foundations) laid" E 6:3, as a *šap̄ēl* borrowed from Akkadian (par. 188).

### 9. Roots with *y* or *y* as the second consonant

Cf. the paradigms, pp. 64—65.

131. Formations of roots with *y* as the second consonant have, in many instances, become identical with those of roots containing *w*. Therefore, it is convenient to treat the two groups of verbs together.

132. In some roots, *y* functions as a consonant: תָּוַה "he was perturbed" and, in roots with final *y*, הָוָה "he was," \*חָוָה "he informed," שָׂוָה "to place, make."

133. Long *ā* is found throughout the perfect *p̄ēal*: קָם "he rose" (root *qum*), שָׂם "he placed" (root *šym*), בָּת "he spent the night" (root *byt*). A *p̄ēil* is רָם "(his heart) was haughty" (root *rum*) D 5:20.

The 1. sg. is שָׂמַת (< *sāmt*) E 6:12.

There is a passive form שָׂמַת "it (fem.) was placed" D 6:18. This makes it doubtful whether the frequent שִׁים is a perfect passive, or rather the participle passive.

134. The imperfect *p̄ēal* has *ā* throughout (יָקוּם), and, presumably, *i* in roots containing *y* (\*יָשִׁים). An *ā* imperfect occurs in יֵהָי "he will go" (par. 169).

135. The imperative is \*קוּם, קוּמִי, and \*שִׁים, שִׁימוּ.

136. The infinitive has the form \*מָקַם, \*מָשָׂם, cf. מָהָךְ (par. 169).

137. In the active participle of the p<sup>ca</sup>l, *w/y* is replaced by the glottal stop (קאס). In the other forms where *κ* has a murmured vowel, *κ* remains in writing, but the reading prescribed by the Masoretes is *ʾ*: קאַמין (*qāy'mīn*), דאַנין (*dāy'nīn*) "judging," דאַררין (*dāy'rīn*) "dwellers of." But קאַמין D 7:16, where the main word stress does not immediately follow the syllable containing *y*.

138. The hitp<sup>ca</sup>l shows gemination of the preformative *t*, and either *i* or *ā* after the first consonant of the root: יתין "obtains food" D 4:9, but מתין, יתין.

139. The pa<sup>ca</sup>l of *qwm* is \*קנים, לקימה, with *ʾ* instead of *l*. In all other respects, both pa<sup>ca</sup>l and hitpa<sup>ca</sup>l of these roots are like those of the strong verb.

140. The perfect of the ha<sup>ca</sup>l shows vacillation between *i* and *ē* after the first consonant of the root: הקים, אקמה "he set (it) up." The 1. sg. is הקימה D 3:14.

The passive is הקמה (fem.) D 7:5, הקמה D 7:4. It has been suggested that the first form be read \*הקמה (and be transferred to D 7:4), and the second as the active \*הקמה (and be transferred to D 7:5).

141. The imperfect, the participle, and, presumably, the imperative of the ha<sup>ca</sup>l show the same vacillation between *i* and *ē*. In addition, an unusual long *ā* (par. 23) appears after the preformative in some cases: יתיבון, יתיבון "they will return, give back" E 5:5, 6:5, יקים, יקים, מקים, תסיף "it (fem.) will bring to an end," מרים "raising up," מיחן "stirring up" (pl. fem.).

142. The infinitive of the ha<sup>ca</sup>l is להודר "to act impiously" D 5:20, להקמות "to set him up" D 6:4, להתבונן "to render (a reply) to you" D 3:16.

143. A remnant of a derived conjugation, formed with reduplication of the last consonant, appears in מרומם "exalting" D 4:34, התרוממת "you exalted yourself" D 5:23 (of. par. 157).

#### 10. Roots ending in *ʾl* or *κ*

Cf. the paradigms, pp. 66—68.

144. Roots originally ending in *ʾl* and *κ* have merged in BA, with some isolated exceptions for those ending in *κ* (par. 126).

The spelling of final  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  in forms of these roots vacillates between  $\eta$  and  $\aleph$ .

145. The  $p^{\text{real}}$  has two formations in the perfect, corresponding to  $p^{\text{real}}$  and  $p^{\text{real}}/il$ . The second is represented only by the forms אִשְׁתָּי "they drank" D 5:3 f. and צָבִיתָ "I wished" D 7:19.

The perfect of the  $p^{\text{real}}$  formation has the endings  $-\bar{a}$ ,  $-\bar{a}l$ , and  $-\bar{o}$  for the 3. masc. sg., 3. fem. sg., and 3. masc. pl., respectively. The diphthong *ay* is retained in the 2. sg., but contracted to  $\bar{e}$  in the 2. pl. and the 1. sg. and pl.

Note רָבִיתָ "you have grown" D 4:19, where the consonants indicate the usual form רָבִיתָ, while the reading suggested is רָבִיתָ. הָיְתָ "it (fem.) was" D 2:35 is doubtful and, probably, should be הָיְתָ.

146. The passive  $p^{\text{real}}$  is represented by גָּלִי, גָּלִי, "was revealed," and קָרָי "was read."

147. The imperfect forms without suffixed elements end in  $-\bar{e}$  ( $< -ay$ ). The 2. and 3. masc. pl. end in  $-\bar{o}n$  ( $< -awn < -ay\bar{u}n$ ), while the corresponding fem. forms retain *y* as a consonant. However, the 2. masc. pl. with pronominal suffix is תַּהֲחַנְנֵנִי (*t'haḥ'awunnāni* [par. 175]) "you will let me know" D 2:9, with *u* instead of  $\bar{o}/\phi$ .

For forms with the prefix *l-* in connection with הרה, see par. 168.

148. The imperative  $p^{\text{real}}$  is represented by הָיִי "live!," הָיְהוּ "be!" (pl.) E 4:22 (הָיוּ E 6:6), אָתוּ "come!" (pl.) D 3:26.

149. The infinitive  $p^{\text{real}}$  ends in  $-\bar{e}$  ( $< -ay$ ): לְבַנּוֹת "to build." An ancient form without preformative is attested in לְבָנָה E 5:3.13 (originally *b'nā?*). A form expanded into the det. st. is לְמִבְּנֵיהָ E 5:9.

Forms with pronominal suffixes restore *y*: כְּמִצְבִּיהָ "as he wishes" D 4:32, לְמַזְיָה "to heat it" D 3:19.

150. The active participle is (א-) עָנָה "answering," fem. שָׁנָה "being different," pl. masc. שָׁתִּין "drinking," fem. שָׁנִין "being different."

The passive participle is שָׂרָא "residing," בָּנָה "built" (בְּנִיָּה, בְּנִין).

151. The perfect of the derived conjugations ends in  $-\bar{i}$ , retained throughout.

The 3. fem. sg. is represented only by the (h)it $p^{\text{real}}$  אֲתָכְרִית "my spirit became sick" D 7:15. Whether this vocalization is excep-

tional, instead of an expected \*הַתְּבַנִּית, or whether it is to be considered the normal form in BA (as it is in later Jewish Aramaic) cannot now be decided (par. 102, 104, 117).

The passive of a derived conjugation is represented by הִתְיָיַת (par. 167).

152. The formation of the imperfect of the derived conjugations corresponds to that of the p<sup>al</sup>.

A jussive is attested in אַל יִשְׁתַּנּוּ "let them not be changed" D 5:10. In יִתְקַרֶּי "let him be called" D 5:12, the spelling with י, instead of ה/ח, may indicate a jussive, although such orthographic distinction had become obscured already at an early date.

153. The imperative of the derived conjugations is attested by מְנִי (ménnī) "appoint!" E 7:25 and הִתְוַיֵּן "let me know!" (pl.) D 2:6.

154. The infinitives of the derived conjugations retain ʾ as a consonant.

155. The endings of the active participles of the derived conjugations correspond to those of the p<sup>al</sup>. The sg. masc. of the passive participles of the pa<sup>ʿel</sup> and the haḫ<sup>ʿel</sup> may have been \*מְבַנִּי, \*מְהַבְנִי.

156. For the addition of pronominal suffixes, see par. 176 and the paradigms, p. 71.

## 11. Roots with identical second and third consonants

Cf. the paradigms, pp. 69—70.

157. Certain verbs of this type seem to have been treated like the strong verb, cf. the (h)ap<sup>ʿel</sup> תִּטְלַל ("the animals) seek shade (shelter)" D 4:9. This applies to the šap<sup>ʿel</sup>, borrowed from Akkadian, שְׁכַלְלוּ "they completed," שְׁכַלְלָה "he completed it," לִשְׁכַלְלָהּ. It also applies to formations such as אֲשַׁחְזַם "he was perturbed" (root šmm) D 4:16 and הִתְרוֹמְמַת, מְרוֹמֵם (par. 143).

158. The perfect p<sup>al</sup> shows contraction of the identical consonants in the 3. masc. sg. and pl. Contraction also takes place in other forms where the two identical consonants are separated only by a murmured vowel reduced to zero, but original separatedness

may be indicated in the written form: על "he entered," עללה (ʿalʿalā, read ʿallat) "she entered" D 5:10, but נדח "his sleep fled" D 6:19, דָּקוּ "they were crushed" D 2:35 (as if derived from a root *duq*) should be דָּקוּ.

159. The imperfect, and all other forms with preformatives, are characterized by transference of the gemination from the second/third to the first consonant of the root: תִּרְעַע (< *tirroʿ*) "(the kingdom) will break" D 2:40. Cf. also the noun מַעְלֵי (mèʿālē) "the entrance (setting) of (the sun)" D 4:11, 20.

160. The imperative shows contraction as in the perfect: גַּדַּח "cut down!" (pl.) D 4:11, 20.

161. The infinitive is attested in מִחַן (*miḥan*) "to show mercy" D 4:24.

162. The active participle p<sup>al</sup> is formed like that of the strong verb, but the *kʿlīb* suggests contraction for forms augmented by endings: עֹלְלִין (ʿālīn, read ʿallīn) "entering" (pl.) D 4:4, 5:8.

163. The hiṭp<sup>al</sup> is not attested. All forms of the pa<sup>al</sup> and the hiṭpa<sup>al</sup> correspond to those of the strong verb.

164. The haṭp<sup>al</sup> requires gemination/nasalization of the first consonant of the root (par. 159): הוֹעִיל "he brought in" D 2:25, הַעֲלֵנִי "let me enter!" D 2:24, הִדְּקָהּ, הִדְּקָהּ "it (fem.) crushed" D 2:34, 45, הִדְּקָהּ D 6:25, תִּדְּקַהּ D 2:40, 44, תִּדְּקָנָהּ "(the kingdom) will crush it (the earth)" D 7:23, infinitive לְהַעֲלֶה, לְהַנְעִיל, participle מַהֲדִק, מַהֲדָקָה, מַהֲדָקָה. For the passive, cf. הֻעַל (*huʿal*) "he was brought in" D 5:13, הֻעַלְוּ (*huʿālū*, possibly הַעֲלוּ, but not הַעֲלוּ) D 5:15.

## 12. Some special irregular verbs

165. Many roots combine two of the afore-mentioned irregularities. They have been mentioned under the one or the other, or both, relevant categories before.

166. Šap<sup>al</sup> formations: In addition to שָׁכַל (par. 157) and מְסֻבְּלָן (par. 130), BA has two more šap<sup>al</sup> formations borrowed from Akkadian, שִׁיבִי (א) "to complete" (root *wḏ*) and שִׁיב "to save" (root *ʿzb*) (שִׁיב, שִׁיבָה, יִשְׁיִבּוּכּוֹן, יִשְׁיִבּוּ, מְשִׁיב, מְשִׁיבּוֹתָהּ).

167. אָתָּה “to come” has the *haṣ̄ʿel* הִיָּתִי, הִיָּתִי, לְהִיָּתִי, passive הִיָּתִי (fem.) D 6:18, הִיָּתִי D 3:13.

168. הָיָה “to be” uses forms of the imperfect with a preformative ל instead of the usual י: לְהוּא, לְהוֹן, לְהוֹן.

169. \*הלך “to go” is represented by participles of the *paʿel* and the *haṣ̄ʿel*, מְהַלֵּךְ, מְהַלֵּךְ (to be corrected to מְהַלֵּךְ?). The imperfect and infinitive *paʿal* are formed from a different root, *huk*: יִהְיֶה, לְמַהֲרָא.

170. \*היה “to live” has the *haṣ̄ʿel* \**hahhī*, part. מְחַא (*mahhē*) D 5:19.

171. כהל, יכל “to be able to, prevail”: כהל forms the participle כְּהֵל, כְּהֵלִין. יכל has the perfect יָכַלְתָּ, the participle יָכַל, יָכְלָה, יָכְלִין, the imperfect יִכַּל, יִכְבַּל, תִּכְבַּל (*tūkāl*, read *tikkul*). For *yikkul*, cf. par. 128; *yūkāl*, probably an ancient *huṣ̄ʿal* formation, is commonly used in Hebrew and preserved here in BA.

As in English, כהל, יכל are followed by the infinitive introduced by ל.

172. \*סלק “to go up.” In forms in which סל are not separated by a vowel, ל is assimilated to ס. The resulting *ss* may be nasalized: *paʿal* סִלְקַת (rather than סִלְקַת D 7:8), סִלְקוּ, סִלְקוּן, but *haṣ̄ʿel* הִסְלְקוּ, לְהוֹסְקָה, passive הִסְקָה.

173. \*אשתך “to drink” shows prosthetic י- only in the perfect; cf. the participle שָׁתָה, שָׁתִין, imperfect יִשְׁתֶּן.

### 13. The verb with pronominal suffixes

For a listing of all attested forms, cf. the paradigms, p. 71.

174. The forms of the verbal suffixes are the same as those of the noun (par. 31), except for the suffix of the 1. sg. which is י- (unstressed). This י- is used also with the infinitive: יְהוֹדְעֵנִי “to let me know.”

There is no pronominal suffix for the 3. pl., but the seemingly independent personal pronoun הֵמוֹן, הֵמוֹן is used (par. 29).

175. In the imperfect, the suffix is preceded by -(י)ת-: יְהוֹדְעֵנִי “he will let me know,” יְשׁוּבֶנְךָ “he will save you,” יִתְּנֶנָּה “he gives it

(fem.)" Reduction of  $nn > n$  occurs when it is vowelless: **שְׁאַלְנִיכֶם** "he will ask you (pl.)" E 7:21, **יִשְׁוֹבְנֶכֶם** "he will save you" D 3:15. In the 3. and 2. masc. pl.,  $-nn-n$  was perhaps pronounced  $-unn-$ , with shortened  $u$  (par. 10, 147).

In the jussive and the imperative, the suffix is attached directly to the verb: **אַל יִבְהַלֶּךְ (-לוֹךְ)** "let it (them) not frighten you!", **הֲעֲלֵנִי** "let me enter!"

176. Slightly different forms result when the suffixes are attached to roots ending in  $w/y/\text{}$ , such as **יַחַוְנֶה** "he will tell it (fem.)" D 2:11.

#### 14. Notes on the syntax of the verb

177. The participle may indicate the immediate present, for instance: **מְהוֹדְעִין אֲנַחְנָה לְמֶלֶכָּא** "we (hereby) inform the king" E 4:16.

This led to the widespread use of the participle to indicate an action that is simultaneous with the main action. Therefore, the participle must often be translated by the past tense, for instance: **בַּה שַׁעְתָּה נִפְקָה אֶצְבְּעָן ... וְכָתְבוּן** "at this very moment, fingers ... came out and wrote" D 5:5.

This led further to the free use of the participle as a narrative tense, for instance: **בְּאֵרֶן מִתְכַּנְּשִׁין אֲחֶשְׁדֶּרְפָּנַיָּא ... וְקָמִין ... וְכִרְחָא קְרָא** "thereupon, the satraps ... assembled ... and stood ... and the herald called" D 3:3f.

The participle may also be used to indicate continuous and habitual action, for instance: **דִּי קְרִיתָא דָּךְ מִן יוֹמָת עָלְמָא עַל מְלָכִין** "that this city has been rising up against kings since the days of eternity and rebellion and insurrection have (always) occurred in it" E 4:19. However, this mode is more commonly expressed by **הוּהָ** "to be" with the participle: **וְהוּהָ בְּטֵלָא** "(work on the temple) was idle (all the time)" E 4:24, **הוּהָ בְּנָה מִקְדָּמַת דְּנָה שְׁנִין שְׁנָאן** "(the temple) had been standing built formerly for many years" E 5:11, **כֵּל קָבַל דִּי הוּא עָבַד מִן קְדָמַת דְּנָה** "as he used to do formerly" D 6:11.

178. Use of the imperfect to indicate simultaneous action antedates that of the participle. In BA, it occurs rarely: **עֵינֵי לִשְׁמַיָּא נִטְלַת וּמְדַעֵי עָלֵי יָחוּב** "I lifted my eyes toward heaven, and my knowledge returned to me" D 4:31.



The imperfect indicates the past after the conjunction "until" in E 5:5, עַד טַעַמָא לְדַרְיֹוּשׁ יָהֵךְ "until Darius' order came."

The unexplained יְחִיטוּ (וְאֲשִׁיא) E 4:12 is occasionally considered an imperfect (jussive?), but it would seem to be a perfect (*yahhitū*, root *yht* < *wh*t = *hwt* "they have walled the foundations," a gloss to the preceding וְשׁוּרֵיָא שְׁכַלְלֵוּ).

179. The perfect is used to indicate the future in D 7:27, וּמְלִכּוּתָהּ יִהְיֶה לְעַם קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיּוֹנִין . . . "the kingdom . . . will be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High." This may be due to the fact that the passive p<sup>ral</sup>al was felt to be closely related to the passive participle.

180. The verb of more than one subject may be either sg. or pl., regardless of whether it comes before or after the subjects.

181. The 3. masc. pl. and the masc. pl. of the participle frequently express an impersonal subject and thus substitute for a passive construction: וְלֶךְ טְרַדִּין מִן אֲנָשָׁא . . . וְעִשְׂבָא כְּתוֹרִין לֶךְ יִטְעַמּוּן "they (one) will drive you out from mankind . . . and will make you eat grass like oxen" = "you will be driven out, etc." D 4:22.

182. The direct object is frequently introduced by the preposition לְ. It may, however, be noted that in BA, a large percentage of these cases concerns the direct object of an infinitive or participle.

183. The position of words in a verbal sentence is free and does not follow any hard and fast rules. The more ancient sequence *verb-subject-object* occurs occasionally, in particular in dependent clauses and after such particles as כְּעַן "now," בְּאַדְרִין "then." Preference is shown to the sequence *object-verb-subject*. In sentences containing no direct object, the preferred sequence is *subject-verb*. Other combinations are possible.

184. The direct object may precede the verb and later in the sentence be referred to by the appropriate pronoun or pronominal suffix: וּבִיתָהּ דָּגַהּ סַתְרָהּ וְעַמָּהּ הִגְלִי "and he tore down this house and exiled the people" E 5:12, הִמּוּ (rather *ahhet*) אַחַת אֲזֹל אַחַת "take these vessels and go and deposit them" E 5:15 (contrast גַּבְרֵיָא אִידָךְ . . . קְשִׁיל הִמּוּן שְׁבִיבָא, וְאַף מְאַנִּי בֵית אֲלֵהָא . . . יְהִתִּיבּוּן וְשָׂרָר חִוּתָא הָעֵדִי, D 3:22, "a fiery flame killed those men")

שִׁלְטָנָהוֹן "and they took away the dominion of all the other animals" D 7:12.

185. The infinitive may follow or precede its object. Examples of both usages occur with about equal frequency.

#### XIV. The Vocabulary

186. Aramaic has been influenced to an extraordinary degree by the fact that it had to live together with—and was dominated by—a variety of other languages. Its vocabulary shows manifold layers of foreign influence which shed light upon the historical development of the language.

Inner-Aramaic preferences in the choice of words, for dialectal or stylistic reasons, can be observed in BA in the form of glosses that have entered the text: בְּעֵשֶׂב אֲרֻעָא for בְּרֵא דִּי בְרָא "with the vegetation of the field (earth)" D 4:12 (cf. Gen. 1:11f.), בְּנֵהָא for בְּשַׁפְרָפְרָא "at dawn" D 6:20.

A number of Hebrew, Akkadian, and Persian proper names of persons and localities are to be found in BA.

187. Hebrew influence must be assumed for many words of religious significance or words designating Jewish institutions. These may be completely aramaicized and may originally have been common to Aramaic and the Canaanite/Hebrew group, but their existence in BA is due to Jewish influence. Such words are נְבִיאָה "prophet," נְבוּאָה "prophecy," כְּהֻנָּא "priests," לְוִיָּא "Levites," גְּחֵינָא "temple servants," מְנַחָה "offering," גִּיחוּתִין "sacrifices of sweet smell," גְּסַבְיָהוֹן "their libations," מְלַאךְ "angel," שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "the tribes of Israel" E 6:17, לְחַטְיָא "to make a sin offering" E 6:17, חֲרֻטִּים "magician" (of Egyptian origin?). The fact of Hebrew origin is occasionally proven or made likely by phonetic reasons, as in שְׁפִטִין "judges" (par. 18) or עֲלִיוֹנִין "most high" (par. 22).

188. Akkadian influence extended over many centuries and also reflects dialectal distinctions. There are ancient cultural loans, such as הִיכְלָא "temple, palace" (< *ekallu*, through Hurrian and Canaanite?), כְּרֻסָא "chair" (< *kussium*, *kussū*), probably also אֲתָן "furnace" (< *atūnu*). Terms such as אֲרֻמָּנָא "purple" (< *argaman-nu*) and פְּרֻזְלָא "iron" (< *parzillu*) entered Aramaic through Akkadian.

The bulk of Akkadian loan words concerns terms of the political and financial administration, such as סָגֵן "prefect" (< *šaknu*), סָחָה "governor" (< *pīhatu*, *pāhatu*), כְּנָה \*כְּנָתָה "colleague" (< *kinattu*), (מְנֵדָה) מְדָה, בְּלוּ, בְּלָךְ, בְּלָךְ for various kinds of taxes (< *ma(n)dattu*, *biltu*, *ilku*), נְכֶסֶין "possessions" (< pl. *nik(k)assū*), אֲנָרָה "letter" (< *egirtu*). Terms for monetary units such as מִנָּא "mina" (< *manū*) and פָּרַס "half-mina" or "half-shekel" (< *parsu*) are derived from Akkadian. There are loan translations such as תַּלְתָּא "triumvir" (< *šalšu*, par. 71), עֲבַר נַהֲרָא "the Trans-Euphrates Province" (lit., "across-the-river," < *eber nāri*), בְּעַל טַעַם "official in charge" (< *bēl tēmi*).

Military influence is indicated in בִּירְתָּא "fortress" (< *birtu*) and, possibly, קָרַב "war" (< *garābu?*). A legal loan word is זְכוּ "innocence" (< *zakūtu*).

Another group of Akkadian loan words are cultural terms connected with architecture (נִדְבָךְ "layer" < *nadbaku*, and, possibly, מְסוּבָלִין [par. 130] < imp. *šūbil*); with palace life (שְׂגֻלְתָּא "concubines" < \**ša ekalli?*); and religious practices (אֲשִׁפּוּ "enchanter" < *āšipu*).

Finally, there are ordinary words, such as the verbs שָׁזַב "to save" (< *ušēzib*), שָׁצִי (א) "to complete" (< *ušēši*), שָׁכַל "to complete" (< *ušaklil*), possibly also חָשָׁה "needed, necessary" (from the root *ḥašāḥu*); further, זִי "facial features" (< pl. *zimū*). Their acceptance attests to the intimate contact between the two languages.

189. Persian influence shows itself in the sphere of political and legal administration and in the phraseology of written communication. Thus, we find אֲחָשְׁדָרְפָּנָא "satraps" (< \**xšadrapāna*, through Akkadian?; OPers. has a different formation, *xšāsapāvā*, and the Greek form presupposes \**xšadrapā*), אֲדָרְגָרִיא "counselors" (? , < \**handarza-kara*, Mod. Pers. *andarzgar*), הַדְּבָרִין "companions" (< \**hada-bāra*, MPers. *hadbār*, Mod. Pers. *yār*), סָרְכִין "chief ministers" (< \**sāraka*, to Av. *sāra* "head"), גֻּבְרִיא, נֹדְכִיא "treasurers," גֻּזִיא "treasures" (< *ganzabara*, *ganza*, Mod. Pers. *ganjūr*, *ganj*), אֲפֶרְסָתְכִיא "leading officials" (? , < \**fra-stā-ka*, corresponding to Greek *prostatēs?*, or to be corrected to אֲפֶרְסָכִיא < \**frasaku* > Akkad. *ip-ra-sak-ka?*), תַּסְתִּיא "police chiefs" (< \**tāyu-pātā*), דְּתַבְרִיא "law officials," דֵּת "law" (< *dātābara*, *dāta*, Mod. Pers. *dāvar*, *dād*).

שָׂרֵשׁ "corporal punishment" (par. 10, 57, < \**sraušyā*, Av. *sraošyā*),  
 הַדְּמִין "limbs" (< \**handāma(n)*, Mod. Pers. *andām*) in the legal  
 phrase הַדְּמִין תְּחַעֲבֹדֵן "you will be dismembered," נִשְׁמָנָא "written  
 order" (< \**ni-šta-ran*, Ossetic *nystwan*), פִּרְשָׁן "copy" (פִּתְשָׁן in a  
 Hebrew context, < \**pati-čagna*, Armen. *patčēn*, Pahl. *pacēn*),  
 סָתָנָא "message, word" (< \**pati-gāma*, Mod. Pers. *payjām*). Cf. also  
 the loan translation מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵיָא "king of kings." Epistolary and  
 documentary style also added some adverbs to the language, such  
 as אֲכַפְרָנָא "exactly, perfectly" (< \**asprnā*, Av. *aspərənah*), אֲדַרְדָּא  
 "diligently" (< \**drazdā*, Av. *zrazdā*). Cf. also אֲזָדָא "publicly  
 known" (< *azdā*).

Cultural terms are represented by words used for various parts of  
 dress: הַמוֹנְכָא "necklace" (*qrē* הַמוֹנְכָא, \**hamyā* < \**hamyā(ha)na-*  
*ka*, Mod. Pers. *hamyān* "belt"), סַרְבִּלְיָהוֹן "their trousers" (< \**sala-*  
*vāra*, Mod. Pers. *šalvār*), probably also פְּטִישִׁיהוֹן "their shirts" (?)  
 and כַּרְבִּלְתָּהוֹן "their hats" (< Akk. *karballatu*, probably neither a  
 Persian nor an Akkadian word, but a part of Persian dress). A much  
 discussed building term, אֲשַׁרְנָא "furnishings" (?), < *ācarna*, MPers.  
*ācār*, also appears to be of Persian origin.

Ordinary words, such as רִזָּא "secret" (< \**rāza*, Mod. Pers. *rāz*)  
 and \*ןן "kind" (< *zana*), also found their way from Persian into  
 Aramaic.

190. A number of words may be suspected of being of Akkadian  
 or Persian origin. אַפְתָּם may be Akk. *appittimma* and mean "cer-  
 tainly," or Persian \**apatama(m)*, MPers. *abdam* "finally." Further,  
 אֲשַׁתְדוּר "insurrection" (< Pers. \**ā(x)šti-drauga* "breach of peace,"  
 cf. par. 114), נוּלִי (-לו) "dunghill" (Akk.?). נְבִזְבָּא "gift" (par. 62).  
 נְבַרְשַׁתָּא "lamp" (perhaps < Pers. \**ni-brāšti-*, to Av. *brāz-*, San-  
 skrit *bhrāj-* "to shine"), נְדִנָּה, probably to be read נְדִנָּה "its sheath"  
 D 7:15 (< Pers. *nidāni* "container," in Elamite "storehouse:" cf.  
*nidāman*, Mod. Pers. *niyām* "sheath").

191. Greek loan words belong to the cultural sphere. They are  
 the terms for musical instruments repeatedly mentioned in Daniel  
 ch. 3: קִיְתָרוֹס (*qatrōs*) "kitharis," פְּסַנְטָרִין (D 3:7) פְּסַנְטָרִין "psaltē-  
*ri(o)n*," סוּמְפִנְיָה, סִיפִנְיָה "symphōnia." Greek origin has been claimed  
 but never been proved for other words. It also remains doubtful  
 whether טְרִפּוּלִיָּא E 4:9 may mean "men from Tripolis."

## Paradigms

### 1. The strong verb

| Perfect      | p <sup>al</sup>                           | pa <sup>al</sup> el | haṣ <sup>al</sup> el       |
|--------------|---|---------------------|----------------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | כָּתַב                                    | כָּתַב (פָּתַב)     | הִכָּתַב (אִכָּתַב, -תָּב) |
| 3. fem.      | כָּתְבָת                                  | כָּתְבַת            | הִכָּתְבַת                 |
| 2. masc.     | כָּתַבְתָּ (כָּתַבְתָּ, -תָּה)            | כָּתַבְתָּ          | הִכָּתַבְתָּ               |
| 2. fem.      | כָּתַבְתִּי                               | כָּתַבְתִּי         | הִכָּתַבְתִּי              |
| 1.           | כָּתַבְתִּי                               | כָּתַבְתִּי         | הִכָּתַבְתִּי              |
| pl. 3. masc. | כָּתְבוּ                                  | כָּתְבוּ            | הִכָּתְבוּ                 |
| 3. fem.      | כָּתְבוּ (כתבו <i>k<sup>al</sup>tib</i> ) | כָּתְבוּ            | הִכָּתְבוּ                 |
| 2. masc.     | כָּתַבְתֶּם                               | כָּתַבְתֶּם         | הִכָּתַבְתֶּם              |
| 2. fem.      | כָּתַבְתֶּן                               | כָּתַבְתֶּן         | הִכָּתַבְתֶּן              |
| 1.           | כָּתַבְנָא                                | כָּתַבְנָא          | הִכָּתַבְנָא               |

### Imperfect

|              |            |                  |                           |
|--------------|------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | יִכְתֹּב   | יִכְתֹּב (-תָּב) | יִהְיֶה (יִכְתֹּב, -תָּב) |
| 3. fem.      | יִכְתֹּב   | יִכְתֹּב         | תִּהְיֶה                  |
| 2. masc.     | יִכְתֹּב   | יִכְתֹּב         | תִּהְיֶה                  |
| 2. fem.      | יִכְתֹּבִי | יִכְתֹּבִי       | תִּהְיֶה                  |
| 1.           | אִכְתֹּב   | אִכְתֹּב         | אִהְיֶה                   |
| pl. 3. masc. | יִכְתְּבוּ | יִכְתְּבוּ       | יִהְיֶה                   |
| 3. fem.      | יִכְתְּבוּ | יִכְתְּבוּ       | יִהְיֶה                   |
| 2. masc.     | יִכְתְּבוּ | יִכְתְּבוּ       | תִּהְיֶה                  |
| 2. fem.      | יִכְתְּבוּ | יִכְתְּבוּ       | תִּהְיֶה                  |
| 1.           | נִכְתֹּב   | נִכְתֹּב         | נִהְיֶה                   |

| Imperative   | p <sup>ae</sup> al | pa <sup>ae</sup> el | haḥ <sup>ae</sup> el       |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| sg. 2. masc. | כָּתֹב             | כְּתֹב (-תֹב)       | הִכְתֵּב (אֲכַתֵּב, -תֵּב) |
| 2. fem.      | כְּתִיבִי          | כְּתִיבִי           | הִכְתִּיבִי                |
| pl. 2. masc. | כָּתְבוּ           | כְּתְבוּ            | הִכְתְּבוּ                 |
| 2. fem.      | כְּתֹבְהֶן         | כְּתֹבְהֶן          | הִכְתֹּבְהֶן               |

| Infinitive | מִכְתֵּב | כְּתֹבָה | הַכְתֵּבָה (אֲכֹ-) |
|------------|----------|----------|--------------------|
|------------|----------|----------|--------------------|

| Participle | p <sup>ae</sup> al |             | pa <sup>ae</sup> el |              |
|------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|
|            | act.               | pass.       | act.                | pass.        |
| sg. masc.  | כָּתֹב (כְּתֹב)    | כְּתִיב     | מְכַתֵּב (-תֵּב)    | מִכְתֵּב     |
| fem.       | כְּתֹבָה           | כְּתִיבָה   | מְכַתֵּבָה          | מִכְתֵּבָה   |
| pl. masc.  | כְּתֹבִין          | כְּתִיבִין  | מְכַתֵּבִין         | מִכְתֵּבִין  |
| fem.       | כְּתֹבָנִי         | כְּתִיבָנִי | מְכַתֵּבָנִי        | מִכְתֵּבָנִי |

haḥ<sup>ae</sup>el

|           | act.                          | pass.           |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| sg. masc. | מִהְכַּתֵּב (מְכַתֵּב, -תֵּב) | מִהְכַּתֵּב     |
| fem.      | מִהְכַּתֵּבָה                 | מִהְכַּתֵּבָה   |
| pl. masc. | מִהְכַּתֵּבִין                | מִהְכַּתֵּבִין  |
| fem.      | מִהְכַּתֵּבָנִי               | מִהְכַּתֵּבָנִי |

| Passive Perfect | pa'il              | pu'al         | hu/op'al         |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| sg. 3. masc.    | כָּתִיב            | כָּתַב        | הִכְתֵּב (הֵכ-)  |
| 3. fem.         | כָּתִיבַת          | כָּתְבַת      | הִכְתִּיבַת      |
| 2. masc.        | כָּתִיבְתָּ (תָּה) | כָּתְבְתָּ    | הִכְתִּיבְתָּ    |
| 2. fem.         | כָּתִיבְתִי        | כָּתְבְתִי    | הִכְתִּיבְתִי    |
| 1.              | כָּתִיבְתִי        | כָּתְבְתִי    | הִכְתִּיבְתִי    |
| pl. 3. masc.    | כָּתִיבוּ          | כָּתְבוּ      | הִכְתִּיבוּ      |
| 3. fem.         | כָּתִיבְהוּ        | כָּתְבְהוּ    | הִכְתִּיבְהוּ    |
| 2. masc.        | כָּתִיבְתֶם        | כָּתְבְתֶם    | הִכְתִּיבְתֶם    |
| 2. fem.         | כָּתִיבְתֵינָן     | כָּתְבְתֵינָן | הִכְתִּיבְתֵינָן |
| 1.              | כָּתִיבְנָא        | כָּתְבְנָא    | הִכְתִּיבְנָא    |

| Perfect      | hitpa'al                    | hitpa'al           |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | הִתְכַּתֵּב (אֵת-, -תָּב)   | הִתְכַּתֵּב (אֵת-) |
| 3. fem.      | הִתְכַּתְּבַת               | הִתְכַּתְּבַת      |
| 2. masc.     | הִתְכַּתְּבְתָּ (-תָּבְתָּ) | הִתְכַּתְּבְתָּ    |
| 2. fem.      | הִתְכַּתְּבְתִי             | הִתְכַּתְּבְתִי    |
| 1.           | הִתְכַּתְּבְתִי             | הִתְכַּתְּבְתִי    |
| pl. 3. masc. | הִתְכַּתְּבוּ               | הִתְכַּתְּבוּ      |
| 3. fem.      | הִתְכַּתְּבְהוּ             | הִתְכַּתְּבְהוּ    |
| 2. masc.     | הִתְכַּתְּבְתֶם             | הִתְכַּתְּבְתֶם    |
| 2. fem.      | הִתְכַּתְּבְתֵינָן          | הִתְכַּתְּבְתֵינָן |
| 1.           | הִתְכַּתְּבְנָא             | הִתְכַּתְּבְנָא    |

|              |                   |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Imperfect    | hitpa'al          | hitpa'al          |
| sg. 3. masc. | יִתְּכַתֵּב (-תב) | יִתְּכַתֵּב       |
| 3. fem.      | תִּתְּכַתֵּב      | תִּתְּכַתֵּב      |
| 2. masc.     | תִּתְּכַתֵּב      | תִּתְּכַתֵּב      |
| 2. fem.      | תִּתְּכַתְּבִי    | תִּתְּכַתְּבִי    |
| 1.           | אֲתְּכַתֵּב       | אֲתְּכַתֵּב       |
| pl. 3. masc. | יִתְּכַתְּבוּ     | יִתְּכַתְּבוּ     |
| 3. fem.      | יִתְּכַתְּבֵי     | יִתְּכַתְּבֵי     |
| 2. masc.     | תִּתְּכַתְּבוּ    | תִּתְּכַתְּבוּ    |
| 2. fem.      | תִּתְּכַתְּבֵי    | תִּתְּכַתְּבֵי    |
| 1.           | נִתְּכַתֵּב       | נִתְּכַתֵּב       |
| Infinitive   | הִתְּכַתֵּב (את-) | הִתְּכַתֵּב (את-) |
| Participle   |                   |                   |
| sg. masc.    | מִתְּכַתֵּב (-תב) | מִתְּכַתֵּב       |
| fem.         | מִתְּכַתֵּבָה     | מִתְּכַתֵּבָה     |
| pl. masc.    | מִתְּכַתְּבִין    | מִתְּכַתְּבִין    |
| fem.         | מִתְּכַתְּבֵי     | מִתְּכַתְּבֵי     |



2. Roots with *ḳ* or *ḳ* as the second consonant

| Perfect      | <i>p<sup>o</sup>al</i> | <i>hap<sup>o</sup>el</i> | <i>hitp<sup>o</sup>el</i> |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | קָם (שָׁם, רָם)        | הִקָּם (הִקָּים, אָקִים) |                           |
| 3. fem.      | קָמָת                  | הִקָּיֵמַת               |                           |
| 2. masc.     | קָמָתָּ                | הִקָּיֵמָתָּ             |                           |
| 2. fem.      | קָמָתִי                | הִקָּיֵמָתִי             |                           |
| 1.           | קָמַתְתִּי             | הִקָּיֵמַתְתִּי          |                           |
| pl. 3. masc. | קָמוּ                  | הִקָּיְמוּ               |                           |
| 3. fem.      | קָמָה                  | הִקָּיְמָה               |                           |
| 2. masc.     | קָמַתּוּן              | הִקָּיְמַתּוּן           |                           |
| 2. fem.      | קָמַתְנָן              | הִקָּיְמַתְנָן           |                           |
| 1.           | קָמַנְתִּי             | הִקָּיְמַנְתִּי          |                           |

## Imperfect

|              |                   |                       |                  |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | יִקָּם (יִשָּׂים) | יִקָּם, יִהְקָם       | יִתְקַם, יִתְקָם |
| 3. fem.      | תִּקָּם           | תִּקָּם (תִּסְרֶף)    |                  |
| 2. masc.     | תִּקָּם           | תִּקָּם               |                  |
| 2. fem.      | תִּקָּמִי         | תִּקָּמִי             |                  |
| 1.           | אִקָּם            | אִקָּם                |                  |
| pl. 3. masc. | יִקָּמוּ          | יִקָּמוּ (יִהְקִימוּ) | יִתְקַמוּ        |
| 3. fem.      | יִקָּמְנָן        | יִקָּמְנָן            |                  |
| 2. masc.     | תִּקָּמוּן        | תִּקָּמוּן            |                  |
| 2. fem.      | תִּקָּמוּנִי      | תִּקָּמוּנִי          |                  |
| 1.           | נִקָּם            | נִקָּם                |                  |

| Imperative   | p <sup>o</sup> al | hāp̄'el   | hitp <sup>o</sup> al |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| sg. 2. masc. | קום (שׂים)        | הִקֵּים   |                      |
| 2. fem.      | קֹומי (שׂימי)     | הִקִּימי  |                      |
| pl. 2. masc. | קֹומוּ (שׂימוּ)   | הִקִּימוּ |                      |
| 2. fem.      | קֹומה (שׂימה)     | הִקִּימה  |                      |

| Infinitive | מְקָם | הַקָּמָה | הִתְשַׁמָּה |
|------------|-------|----------|-------------|
|------------|-------|----------|-------------|

| Participle | act.           | pass.  | act.                          | pass.     |              |
|------------|----------------|--------|-------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| sg. masc.  | קָאֵם          | שׂים   | מְהַקֵּים<br>(מְקָים, מְקִים) | מְקָם (?) | מִתְשַׁם     |
| fem.       | קֹומה (קאמה)   | שׂימה  | מְקִימה                       |           | מִתְשַׁמה    |
| pl. masc.  | קֹומין (קאמין) | שׂימין | מְקִימין                      |           | מִתְשַׁמִּין |
| fem.       | קֹומן (קאמן)   | שׂימן  | מְקִימן                       |           | מִתְשַׁמֵּן  |

| Passive Perfect | p <sup>o</sup> al | hu/op <sup>o</sup> al |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| sg. 3. masc.    | שׂים (?)          |                       |
| 3. fem.         | שִׁמָּה           | הִקִּימָה (הִקָּמָה?) |

3. Roots ending in *y*/ו or א

| Perfect      | pa'al              |             | pa'el       | ha'pel       |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | (אֶשֶׁתִּי)        | בָּנָה      | בָּנִי      | הִבְנִי      |
| 3. fem.      | (אֶשְׁתִּיתִּי ?)  | בָּנָת      | (?) בָּנִית | (?) הִבְנִית |
| 2. masc.     | (אֶשְׁתִּית)       | בָּנִית     | בָּנִית     | הִבְנִית     |
| 2. fem.      | (אֶשְׁתִּיתִּי)    | בָּנִיתִי   | בָּנִיתִי   | הִבְנִיתִי   |
| 1.           | (אֶשְׁתִּית)       | בָּנִית     | בָּנִית     | הִבְנִית     |
| pl. 3. masc. | (אֶשְׁתֵּינוּ)     | בָּנוּ      | בָּנוּ      | הִבְנוּ      |
| 3. fem.      | (? אֶשְׁתֵּיהֶן ?) | (?) בָּנָה  | (?) בָּנִיה | (?) הִבְנִיה |
| 2. masc.     | (אֶשְׁתֵּיתוּן)    | בָּנִיתוּן  | בָּנִיתוּן  | הִבְנִיתוּן  |
| 2. fem.      | (אֶשְׁתֵּיתֵינוּ)  | בָּנִיתֵנוּ | בָּנִיתֵנוּ | הִבְנִיתֵנוּ |
| 1.           | (אֶשְׁתֵּינוּ)     | בָּנִינוּ   | בָּנִינוּ   | הִבְנִינוּ   |

## Imperfect

|              |                |                |                      |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | יִבְנֶה        | יִבְנֶה        | יִהְבֶּנֶה (יִבְנֶה) |
| 3. fem.      | תִּבְנֶה       | תִּבְנֶה       | תִּהְבֶּנֶה          |
| 2. masc.     | תִּבְנֶה       | תִּבְנֶה       | תִּהְבֶּנֶה          |
| 2. fem.      | (?) תִּבְנֶיךָ | (?) תִּבְנֶיךָ | (?) תִּהְבֶּיךָ      |
| 1.           | אִבְנֶה        | אִבְנֶה        | אִהְבֶּנֶה           |
| pl. 3. masc. | יִבְנוּ        | יִבְנוּ        | יִהְבְּנוּ           |
| 3. fem.      | יִבְנִי        | יִבְנִי        | יִהְבְּנִי           |
| 2. masc.     | תִּבְנוּ       | תִּבְנוּ       | תִּהְבְּנוּ          |
| 2. fem.      | תִּבְנִי       | תִּבְנִי       | תִּהְבְּנִי          |
| 1.           | נִבְנֶה        | נִבְנֶה        | נִהְבֶּנֶה           |

|              |                   |  |                     |  |                       |
|--------------|-------------------|--|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Imperative   | p <sup>ʿ</sup> al |  | pa <sup>ʿ</sup> ʿel |  | haḥ̄p <sup>ʿ</sup> el |
| sg. 2. masc. | בְּנֵי            |  | בְּנֵי (מְנִי)      |  | הִבְנֵי               |
| 2. fem.      |                   |  |                     |  |                       |
| pl. 2. masc. | בְּנֹו            |  | בְּנֹו              |  | הִבְנֹו               |
| 2. fem.      |                   |  |                     |  |                       |

|            |          |           |             |
|------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Infinitive | מִבְּנֹו | בְּנִיָּה | הַבְּנִיָּה |
|------------|----------|-----------|-------------|

|            |                   |              |                     |             |                       |                |
|------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Participle | p <sup>ʿ</sup> al |              | pa <sup>ʿ</sup> ʿel |             | haḥ̄p <sup>ʿ</sup> el |                |
|            | act.              | pass.        | act.                | pass.       | act.                  | pass.          |
| sg. masc.  | (אֶ-) בְּנֵה      | (אֶ-) בְּנֵה | מִבְּנֹו            | (?) מְבִנִי | מִהַבְּנֹו (?)        | מְהַבְּנִי (?) |
| fem.       | בְּנִיָּה         | בְּנִיָּה    | מִבְּנִיָּה         | מְבִנִיָּה  | מִהַבְּנִיָּה         | מְהַבְּנִיָּה  |
| pl. masc.  | בְּנִיָּו         | בְּנִיָּו    | מִבְּנִיָּו         | מְבִנִיָּו  | מִהַבְּנִיָּו         | מְהַבְּנִיָּו  |
| fem.       | בְּנִיָּו         | בְּנִיָּו    | מִבְּנִיָּו         | מְבִנִיָּו  | מִהַבְּנִיָּו         | מְהַבְּנִיָּו  |

Passive Perfect

|              |         |           |
|--------------|---------|-----------|
| sg. 3. masc. | בְּנִי  |           |
| 3. fem.      |         | הִיִּתְּ  |
| pl. 3. masc. | בְּנִיו | הִיִּתּוּ |

| Perfect      | hitpa'el          | hitpa'al          |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| sg. 3. masc. | הִתְבַּנֵּי (את-) | הִתְבַּנֵּי (את-) |
| 3. fem.      | הִתְבַּנִּית      | הִתְבַּנִּית (?)  |
| 2. masc.     | הִתְבַּנִּיתָ     | הִתְבַּנִּיתָ     |
| 2. fem.      | הִתְבַּנִּיתִי    | הִתְבַּנִּיתִי    |
| 1.           | הִתְבַּנִּיתִי    | הִתְבַּנִּיתִי    |
| pl. 3. masc. | הִתְבַּנּוּ       | הִתְבַּנּוּ       |
| 3. fem.      | הִתְבַּנּוּהָ (?) | הִתְבַּנּוּהָ (?) |
| 2. masc.     | הִתְבַּנִּיתֶם    | הִתְבַּנִּיתֶם    |
| 2. fem.      | הִתְבַּנִּיתֶנּוּ | הִתְבַּנִּיתֶנּוּ |
| 1.           | הִתְבַּנִּינוּ    | הִתְבַּנִּינוּ    |
| Imperfect    |                   |                   |
| sg. 3. masc. | יִתְבַּנֵּא       | יִתְבַּנֵּא       |
| 3. fem.      | תִּתְבַּנֵּא      | תִּתְבַּנֵּא      |
| 2. masc.     | תִּתְבַּנֵּא      | תִּתְבַּנֵּא      |
| 2. fem.      | תִּתְבַּנֵּי (?)  | תִּתְבַּנֵּי (?)  |
| 1.           | אֶתְבַּנֵּא       | אֶתְבַּנֵּא       |
| pl. 3. masc. | יִתְבַּנּוּ       | יִתְבַּנּוּ       |
| 3. fem.      | יִתְבַּנּוּ       | יִתְבַּנּוּ       |
| 2. masc.     | תִּתְבַּנּוּ      | תִּתְבַּנּוּ      |
| 2. fem.      | תִּתְבַּנּוּ      | תִּתְבַּנּוּ      |
| 1.           | נִתְבַּנּוּ       | נִתְבַּנּוּ       |
| Infinitive   | הִתְבַּנֶּה       | הִתְבַּנֶּה       |
| Participle   |                   |                   |
| sg. masc.    | מִתְבַּנֵּא       | מִתְבַּנֵּא       |
| fem.         | מִתְבַּנֶּה       | מִתְבַּנֶּה       |
| pl. masc.    | מִתְבַּנּוּ       | מִתְבַּנּוּ       |
| fem.         | מִתְבַּנּוּ       | מִתְבַּנּוּ       |

## 4. Roots with identical second and third consonants

| Perfect      | p'al          | hap'al              | hu/ōp'al |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------|----------|
| sg. 3. masc. | עַל           | הֵעַל (הַנְעַל, -א) | הֵעַל    |
| 3. fem.      | עָלַת (נָדַת) | הֵעָלַת             |          |
| 2. masc.     | עָלַתְּ       | הֵעָלַתְּ           |          |
| 2. fem.      | עָלַתִּי      | הֵעָלַתִּי          |          |
| 1.           | עָלַת         | הֵעָלַת             |          |
| pl. 3. masc. | עָלוּ         | הֵעָלוּ             | הֵעָלוּ  |
| 3. fem.      | עָלָה         | הֵעָלָה             |          |
| 2. masc.     | עָלַתְּוּ     | הֵעָלַתְּוּ         |          |
| 2. fem.      | עָלַתְנָוּ    | הֵעָלַתְנָוּ        |          |
| 1.           | עָלַנָא       | הֵעָלַנָא           |          |
| Imperfect    |               |                     |          |
| sg. 3. masc. | יַעַל         | יְהַעַל (יַעַל)     |          |
| 3. fem.      | תַּעַל        | תְּהַעַל            |          |
| 2. masc.     | תַּעַלְ       | תְּהַעַלְ           |          |
| 2. fem.      | תַּעַלִּין    | תְּהַעַלִּין        |          |
| 1.           | אַעַל         | אַהַעַל             |          |
| pl. 3. masc. | יַעַלְוּ      | יְהַעַלְוּ          |          |
| 3. fem.      | יַעַלְוּ      | יְהַעַלְוּ          |          |
| 2. masc.     | תַּעַלְוּ     | תְּהַעַלְוּ         |          |
| 2. fem.      | תַּעַלְוּ     | תְּהַעַלְוּ         |          |
| 1.           | נַעַל         | נְהַעַל             |          |

|              |       |       |                |            |
|--------------|-------|-------|----------------|------------|
| Imperative   | pa'al |       | haḥ'el         |            |
| sg. 2. masc. | על    |       | העל (הנעל, א.) |            |
| 2. fem.      | עלי   |       | העלי           |            |
| pl. 2. masc. | עלו   |       | העלו           |            |
| 2. fem.      | עלה   |       | העלה           |            |
| Infinitive   | מעל   |       | העלה (הנעלה)   |            |
| Participle   | pa'al |       | haḥ'el         |            |
|              | act.  | pass. | act.           | pass.      |
| sg. masc.    | עלל   | עליל  | מהעל (מעל)     | מהעל (מעל) |
| fem.         | עללה  |       | מהעלה          |            |
| pl. masc.    | עללין |       | מהעלן          |            |
| fem.         | עללן  |       | מהעלן          |            |

## 5. Verbs with pronominal suffixes

|        |          | Perfect   |               |                            | Imperative  |           |
|--------|----------|---|---------------|----------------------------|-------------|-----------|
|        |          | sg.   |               | 1.                         | pl.         |           |
|        |          | 3. masc.  | 2. masc.      | 3. masc.                   | 2. masc.    | 2. masc.  |
| suffix | sg. 1.   |   | הוֹדַעְתָּנִי |                            | הֶעֱלֵנִי   | הִחְוֵנִי |
|        | 2. masc. | הוֹדַעְךָ<br>הִשְׁלַטְךָ  |               |                            |             |           |
|        | 3. masc. | סָתְרָה<br>שָׂמָה<br>שָׂכַלְתָּה<br>הִשְׁלַטְתָּה<br>בָּנִיתָה<br>הַקִּימָה (אֶקִּימָה) |               | הִקְרַבְתָּהּ<br>שָׁנִיתָה |             | חִבְּלֵהּ |
|        | 3. fem.  | חָתַמְתָּה<br>הִשְׁלַמְתָּה   |               | בָּנִיתָה                  |             |           |
|        | pl. 1.   |   | הוֹדַעְתָּנָא |                            | הִתִּיבְנָא |           |

## Imperfect

|        |              | sg.   |                              | pl.          |  |  |
|--------|--------------|---|------------------------------|--------------|--|--|
|        |              | 3. masc.                                    | 3. fem.                      | 1.           | 3. masc.   | 2. masc.                               |
| suffix | sg. 1.       | יִדְחַלְעֵנִי<br>יִהוֹדַעֵנִי<br>יִחַוֵּנִי |                              |              | יִהוֹדַעֵנִי<br>יִבְהַלְעֵנִי (-לְעֵנִי)                 | תִּהוֹדַעֵנִי (-עֵנִי)<br>תִּהַחְוֵנִי |
|        | 2. masc.     | יִשׁוּבְנֶךָ<br>(jussive) יִבְהַלֶּךָ       |                              |              | (jussive) יִבְהַלִּיךָ                                   |  |
|        | 3. masc.     |   |                              | אִהוֹדַעֶנָה | יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה<br>יִבְהַלְוֶנָה (-לְנָה)<br>יִטַעֲמוּנָה |  |
|        | 3. fem.      | יִתְנַנֶּה<br>יִחַוֶּנָה                    | תִּדְוֹשְׁנָה<br>תִּדְקַנֶּה |              |  |  |
|        | pl. 2. masc. | יִשְׂאֲלֶנְכֶם<br>יִשׁוּבְנְכֶם             |                              |              |  |  |



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## Glossary

The numbers found after individual entries refer to the paragraphs where a given root or word is cited. Italicized numbers indicate the more important occurrences.

In the abs. st. of some nouns, it is uncertain whether the last syllable had *a* or *e*. In these cases, the last syllable is left unvocalized. In a very few other nouns, vowels are also omitted because of uncertainty as to their correct form.

Verbal roots are left entirely unvocalized. *ç/i* indicates the *p<sup>ç</sup>e/i*. *Hiṭp.*, *pa.*, *hiṭpa.*, and *haṭp.* stand, respectively, for (h)ṭip<sup>ç</sup>el, pa<sup>ç</sup>el, (h)ṭip<sup>a</sup>al, and (h)ap<sup>e</sup>el. The distinction between *h* or the glottal stop as preformative has been disregarded.

\* denotes merely that the *exact* form of a word thus marked does not occur in BA.

### א

- אָב father, *pl.* \*אַבְתָּן (26, 49, 62).
- אָב (suff. אָבָה) fruit.
- אָבד to perish; *haṭp.* to destroy (26, 108, 121, 124).
- אָבֶן stone (26, 46, 59).
- אָבֶה (det. אָבֶהָ) letter (46).
- אָדִין, בְּאָדִין then, thereupon (10, 13, 17, 75, 85, 89, 177, 183).
- אָדָר Adar (*month*) (74).
- \*אָדָר threshing floor.
- \*אָדָרְגֵר counselor (189).
- אָדָרְדָא diligently (93, 189).
- אָדָרְעַ arm, might (17).
- אָדָא publicly known, known as decided (86, 93, 189).
- אוּה to heat (10, 13, 88, 121, 123, 149).
- אוּל to go (79, 122, 184).
- \*אָח brother, colleague (10, 62).
- \*אָחִידָה riddle (111).
- אָחַמְתָא Ecbatana (*OPers. Hagmatāna*).
- אָחֵר after (*prep.*) (84).
- \*אָחֵרִי end (57).
- אָחֵרִי *see* אָחֵרֵן.
- אָחֵרֵן (· · · עַד) eventually (89).

- אַחֲרָי (fem. אַחֲרֵי) other (10, 57, 97).  
 אַחֲשֹׁדֶרֶסֶן satrap (177, 189).  
 אֵילָן tree.  
 אִימָתָנִי (fem. אִימָתָנִי) frightful (15, 57).  
 אִי־תִי to exist, to be (40, 80, 80, 95).  
 אֶכֶל to eat (26, 122).  
 אֵל not (87, 108, 152, 175).  
 אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהֵי these (10, 26, 32, 34, 184).  
 אֱלֹהִים god (13, 30, 36, 46—48, 49, 75, 80, 83, 84, 85, 184).  
 אֱלֹהֵי behold (91).  
 אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ these (32, 34).  
 אֵלֶּיךָ those (32, 184).  
 אֶלֶף thousand (42, 51, 63, 68).  
 אַמְמָה (pl. אַמְמֵי) cubit (61).  
 אַמְמָה (pl. \*אַמְמֵי) nation (23, 61).  
 אֶמֶן *hap.* (הֵימֶן) to trust, *part. pass.* trusted, trustworthy (124).  
 אָמַר to say, to speak, to tell, to command (10, 13, 24, 27, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122).  
 אֶמְרָה lamb (79).  
 אֲנִי־כִּי see \*אֲבִי.  
 אֲנִי I (26, 29, 36, 88, 91).  
 אֲנֵיךָ they, them, those (29, 30, 32, 38).  
 אֲנֹשִׁי see אֲנֹשׁ.  
 אֲנַחְנָה, אֲנַחְנָה we (26, 29, 30, 177).  
 אֲנֵיךָ they (*fem.*) (29, 30).  
 אֲנִי־כִּי to subdue, to be too difficult for.  
 אֲנִי־כִּי (*dual/pl.*) face.  
 אֲנֹשׁ, אֲנֹשׁ (*det.* אֲנֹשָׁא) man, someone, men, mankind, human kind, people (22, 42, 181).  
 אַנְתָּה, אַנְתָּה you (*sg. masc.*) (12, 29, 30, 36).  
 אַנְתָּה (*pl. suff.* וְשִׂיהֶן) wife (62).  
 אַנְתָּהּ you (*pl. masc.*) (29).  
 אֲסוּרֵי fetter, (*pl.*) imprisonment (75, 86).  
 אֲסוּרֵי־נֶפֶס to be corrected to אֲסוּרֵי־נֶפֶס Assurbanipal.  
 אֲסֻפְרָנָא exactly, perfectly (26, 93, 189).  
 אֲסֻרֵי interdict, prohibition.  
 אֵץ wood, timber, beam (17).

- אָף also (93, 184).  
 אַפְרָסִי Persian (?) *E 1: 9*.  
 אַפְרָסְכִי Persian (?) *E 5: 6 (189)*.  
 אַפְרָסְתְּכִי magistrate (?) (58, 189).  
 אַפְתֵּם certainly or finally (93, 190).  
 אַצְבַּע finger, toe (59, 60, 177).  
 אַרְבַּע four (30, 59, 63).  
 אַרְגָּוֹן purple (188).  
 אַרו behold (91).  
 אַרְהָ (pl. \*אַרְחָן) way (10, 51, 60, 84).  
 אַרְיָה (pl. \*אַרְיָן) lion (48, 51, 84).  
 אַרְיוֹךְ Arioch (probably Persian).  
 אַרְיָךְ proper (< *OPers. aryaka?*).  
 אַרְכָּבָה\* knee.  
 אַרְכָּה (long) duration.  
 אַרְכֻּי man from Uruk, Erechite.  
 אַרְעַ earth (17, 59, 87, 186).  
 אַרְעָא lower, inferior (*adv.*) (80, 88).  
 אַרְעִי bottom (57).  
 אַרְקַ earth (17).  
 אַרְתַּחְשֶׁשְׁתָּא (אַרְתַּחְשֶׁשְׁתָּא) Artaxerxes (< *OPers. Artaxšaša*, with Aramaic *š/st* for the peculiar *OPers. š < θr*) (19, 79).  
 אַשׁ\* (pl. \*אַשִּׁין) foundation (178).  
 אַשָּׁא, אַשָּׁה\* fire.  
 אַשְׁפָּךְ enchanter (53, 188).  
 אַשְׁרָנָא furnishings (?) (189).  
 אַשְׁתְּדוֹר insurrection (111, 177, 190).  
 אַשְׁתִּי\* see שְׁתָּה.  
 אַתְּ sign, miracle (92).  
 אַתָּה to come; *hāp̄*. (הֵיְיָ) to bring (13, 15, 85, 121, 148, 151, 167).  
 אַתָּן furnace (188).  
 אַתְרַ place, trace (? *D 2: 35*); אַתְרַ דִּי there where; בְּאַתְרַ see בְּאַתְרַ (52, 84, 91).

## ב

- בַּ in, through, with (16, 27, 36, 62, 75, 76, 77, 80, 84, 86, 89, 90, 95, 177, 180).  
 בְּאַרְדִּין see אַרְדִּין.

- בַּאִישׁ** bad, evil (13, 15).  
**כָּאֵשׁ** (c/i) to be evil, (**בָּאֵשׁ עָלוּהִי**) it grieved him (13, 82, 125).  
**בְּתֵר**, **בְּאַתֵּר** after (*prep.*) (13, 84).  
**בְּבָבֶל** Babylon (16, 26, 30, 48, 59).  
**בְּבָבֶלִי** Babylonian (58).  
**בְּדָר** *pa.* to scatter (115).  
**בְּהִילוֹ** haste (56).  
**בְּהֵל** *hitp.* to hurry; *pa.* to disturb; *hitpa.* to be disturbed (20, 88, 108, 175).  
**בְּחֹנֵי** *see* **שָׂתַר בְּחֹנֵי**.  
**בְּטֵל** (c/i) to be idle; *pa.* to cause to be idle, to stop someone from working (10, 23, 102, 177).  
**בֵּין** (*suff.* **בֵּינֵיהֶן**) between (*prep.*) (49, 84).  
**בִּינָה** discernment.  
**בִּירָה** fortress, (fortified) city (15, 188).  
**בֵּית** to spend the night (133).  
**בְּיֵת** (*pl. suff.* **בְּתֵיכֶן**) house (15, 17, 36, 46, 47, 48, 51, 62, 79, 80, 184).  
**בֵּל** mind (82).  
**בְּלֹא־שָׂצָר** *see* **בְּלֹא־שָׂצָר**.  
**בְּלֵה** *pa.* to wear out.  
**בְּלוֹ** a kind of taxes, tribute (188).  
**בְּלֶטְשַׁצָּר** Belteshazzar (13, 36).  
**בְּלִשְׁאָצָר** Belshazzar (13).  
**בִּנָּה** to build, to rebuild; *hitp.* to be built (rebuilt) (10, 36, 54, 79, 87, 111, 149, 150, 177).  
**בְּנִין** building (34).  
**בִּנְס** to become enraged.  
**בַּעַה** to search, to seek, to ask, to pray; *pa.* to search (17).  
**בְּעוֹ** request, prayer (55).  
**בְּעַל** master, (**בְּעַל טַעַם**) official in charge (10, 17, 51, 188).  
**בְּקַעָה** plain (51).  
**בְּקַר** *pa.* to search, to investigate; *hitpa.* to be searched, investigated (76).  
**בֵּר** (*pl.* \***בְּנֵי**) son, (**בֵּר אֱלֹהִים**) a divine being, (**בְּנֵי אָנוּשָׁא**) human beings, (**בְּנֵי תוֹרִין**) young oxen (47, 62, 74, 78, 80).



- \*כַּרְם (det. כַּרְם) field (186).  
 כָּרַף to kneel *D 6:11*.  
 בָּרַךְ *pa.* to bless (20, 115).  
 \*כָּרַךְ knee.  
 כָּרַם but (85).  
 בָּשָׂר flesh, mankind (52, 95, 96).  
 \*בַּת (pl. בַּתַּיִן) bath (*liquid measure*).  
 כָּתַר see בָּאֵתַר.

## ג

- \*נָב see \*נָב.  
 גַּב (det. גֹּבַא) den, pit (10, 20, 48, 78).  
 \*גְּבוּרָה power (31).  
 גִּבְרָא (pl. גִּבְרַיִן) man (30, 38, 48, 51, 95, 184).  
 \*גִּבְרָא strong man (27).  
 \*גְּדַבְרָא treasurer (17, 189).  
 גָּדַד to cut down (10, 160).  
 גֹּאֵל (מִן ג', בְּג', לְג') midst, inside (*prep.*) (5, 84).  
 גָּוָה arrogance (10).  
 גָּח *hap.* to stir up (141).  
 \*גְּזַבְרָא (*pl. det. גֹּזְבַרְיָא*) treasurer (17, 189).  
 גָּזַר *hitp.* to break off (*intrans.*) (104, 117).  
 \*גֹּזֵר exorcizer (*or some other kind of practitioner of supernatural craft*).  
 \*גְּזָרָה decision.  
 \*גִּירָא plaster, whitewash.  
 \*גִּלְגָּל (*pl. suff. גִּלְגָּלוּהִי*) wheel (*of a chair*).  
 גָּלַה to reveal; *hap.* to exile (10, 146, 184).  
 \*גָּלוּי exile (55, 80).  
 גָּלִיל (*אֶבֶן גָּלִיל*) hewn stone.  
 גָּמִיר completely (88).  
 \*גִּבְיָא (*suff. גִּבְיָה*) side.  
 \*גְּזִיָא (*pl. det. גֹּזְיָא*) treasure (189).  
 \*גִּיָא (*pl. גִּיָא*) wing (59).  
 \*גִּרְמָא bone.  
 \*גִּשְׁמָא body (51).

## ד

- דִּי *see* דִּי.  
 דֵּא this (*fem.*) (17, 30, 32, 33).  
 דֵּב bear.  
 דִּבַּח to sacrifice (17).  
 דִּבְחֵי sacrifice.  
 דִּבְק to adhere.  
 דִּבְרַת (עַל [עַד] דִּי) so that (86).  
 דֵּהב gold (16, 17, 30, 46, 52).  
 דֵּהוּא read דֵּהוּא (35).  
 דוּר to dwell (12, 59, 87, 137).  
 דוּרָא Dura (*name of a locality*).  
 דוּשׁ to trample upon.  
 דִּחְוֹן table? (*other traditional guesses consider the word a pl. fem.: concubines, food, musical instruments, perfume D 6:19*).  
 דחל to fear, (דְּחִיל) frightful; *pa.* to frighten (40, 88).  
 דִּי *relative pronoun, subordinating conjunction* (16, 17, 30, 35—37, 46, 48, 62, 80, 83—85, 86, 91, 95, 177, 184, 186).  
 דִּי לֵּ- *independent possessive pronoun* (31).  
 דִּי לֵּא without (*prep.*) (84, 87).  
 דִּי לֵּמָה lest (86).  
 דִּין to judge (137).  
 דִּין justice, court, law suit, judgment.  
 דִּיןֵי judge (40).  
 דִּינֵא read דִּינֵא judges *E 4:9*.  
 דִּךְ (*fem.* דִּךְ) that (*demonstrative pronoun*) (32, 87, 177).  
 דִּכְן that (*demonstrative pronoun*) (32).  
 דִּכְרֵי ram.  
 דִּכְרוֹן memorandum (22).  
 דִּכְרֹן memorandum, (סִפְרֵי דִּכְרֵינֵא) record book (10, 17, 22, 27).  
 דלק to burn.  
 דמה to resemble.  
 דְּנֵה this (16, 17, 32—34, 47, 78, 82, 92, 96, 177, 184).  
 דְּנֵיאל Daniel (13, 30, 76, 77, 82, 89).  
 דקק to be crushed; *hap.* to crush (10, 104, 117, 158, 164).

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| דָּר       | generation (83).                                |
| דָּרְיוֹשׁ | Darius (< <i>OPers. Dārayavauš</i> ) (26, 178). |
| *דָּרַע    | arm.  |
| דָּת       | law, legal situation (30, 59, 78, 189).         |
| *דָּתָא    | vegetation, grass (186).                        |
| *דָּתְבָר  | law official (16, 189).                         |

## ה

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| הַ, הָ      | introducing questions (30, 93, 94, 95).                                 |
| הָא         | behold (91).  |
| הָא כְּדִי  | as ( <i>conj.</i> ) (86).   |
| *הַדְּבָר   | companion (189).  |
| *הַדָּם     | limb (189).   |
| הִדֵּר      | <i>pa.</i> to glorify.  |
| *הִדְרָה    | glory.  |
| הוּא        | he, that ( <i>demonstrative pronoun</i> ) (13, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35). |
| הוּהוּ      | to be (10, 79, 132, 145, 147, 148, 168, 177).                           |
| הוּךְ       | to go (134, 136, 169, 178).   |
| הִיא        | she (13, 29, 30, 31).   |
| הַיְכָל     | palace, temple (188).   |
| הַיָּמֵן    | see אָמֵן.  |
| הַיָּתִי    | see אַתָּה.   |
| הִלְךְ      | <i>pa.</i> , <i>hap.</i> to walk about (169).                           |
| הַלָּךְ     | a kind of taxes (85, 188).  |
| הֵמָּן      | they, them (26, 29, 30, 84, 174, 184).                                  |
| הֵמֹן       | them (29, 174, 184).  |
| *הַמִּנְיָן | ( <i>det. q̄rē</i> הַמִּנְיָן, correctly *הַמִּינָן) necklace (189).    |
| הֵן         | if, (הֵן ... הֵן) either . . . or (86, 95).                             |
| הַצָּדָא    | really? (93).   |
| *הַרְהַר    | ( <i>pl.</i> ) imaginings (39).   |

## ו

|    |  |
|----|--|
| וְ | and (27, 30, 46, 47, 63, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 177—179, 181, 184). |
|----|--|

## ז

- זבן to buy.  
 \*זָהַר warned, careful (*not to do something*).  
 זֹד see זִיד.  
 זון *hitp.* to obtain food, to feed (138).  
 זוע to tremble (17).  
 זִיד (זוד) *hap.* to act impiously (142).  
 \*זִיר facial features, radiant healthy complexion, splendor  
 (10, 188).  
 זָכוּ innocence (18, 188).  
 זְכַרְיָה Zechariah.  
 זָמַן *hitp.* to agree upon (114).  
 זָמַן time, (בְּהַ זְמַנָּה) at the very time, moment (52, 89).  
 \*זָמַר music (46).  
 \*זָמַר musician (40).  
 \*זָן kind, species (46, 189).  
 זְעִיר small.  
 זָעַק (*e/i*) to shout, to call.  
 זָקַף crucified.  
 זְרַבְבָּל Zerubbabel.  
 זָרַע seed, semen.

## ח

- חֲבוּלָה harm, damage.  
 חָבַל *pa.* to harm, to damage, to destroy; *hitpa.* to be  
 destroyed.  
 חָבַל damage, harm.  
 \*חָבֵר colleague (52).  
 \*חֲבֵרָה (*fem.*) colleague, counterpart (80).  
 חַגִּי Haggai.  
 חָד one (30, 46, 63, 64, 70, 78, 80, 82). See also כְּחָדָה.  
 \*חָדָה breast (54).  
 חֲדוּחַ joy (55).  
 חֲדָת new.  
 חוה *pa., hap.* to tell, to inform someone about something  
 (10, 111, 132, 147, 153, 176).  
 חוּט, חֵיט see יַחַט.

- חָוֵר white.  
 חוּה to see, (חֹה) seeming, appropriate, usual (91, 116).  
 \*חֹזֵן vision, appearance (55, 80, 83).  
 \*חֹזֶת appearance (55).  
 חָטָא *pa.* to make a sin-offering (187).  
 \*חַטָּא sin (14).  
 חַי (*det.* חַיָּא) living, alive, living being (30, 80).  
 חִיָּה to live; *hap.* to let live, to keep alive (43, 79, 148, 170).  
 חַיָּוָה animal, animals (15, 34, 49, 83, 184).  
 חַיִּין life (79).  
 חֵיל strength, might, force, army, (בְּחֵיל) aloud (25, 27, 51).  
 חֲכִים wise, sage (40).  
 חֲכָמָה wisdom (16, 31, 51, 80, 84, 95).  
 חֵלֶם dream (34, 51).  
 חָלַף to pass by.  
 חֲלָק share, tax revenue.  
 חֲמָה, חֲמָה, חֲמָה wrath.  
 חֲמֵר wine (46, 51).  
 \*חֲנִטָּה (*pl.* חֲנִטִּין) wheat (61).  
 \*חֲנֻכָּה inauguration.  
 חָנַן to show mercy; *hitpa.* to seek mercy (161).  
 חַנְּנִיָּה Hananiah.  
 חָסִיר wanting, deficient.  
 חָסַן *hap.* to possess, to take possession of (116).  
 \*חֲסָן (*det.* חֲסָנָא) power.  
 חֲסָף clay, earthenware.  
 חָצַף *hap. part. pass.* urgent (116).  
 חָרַב *hap.* to destroy (10, 116).  
 חֲרָטָם (*pl. det.* חֲרָטָמָא) magician (23, 187).  
 חָרַף *hitpa.* to be scorched.  
 \*חֲרָץ (*suff.* חֲרָצָה) hip, loins.  
 חָשַׁב to consider (87).  
 \*חֲשׁוּךְ darkness.  
 \*חָשָׁח needed, needing (44, 188).  
 \*חֲשָׁחוּ needs (56).  
 חָשַׁל to smash.  
 חָתַם to seal.

## ט

- טאב (e/i) to be good, (טאַב עלֹוהי) it pleased him (82, 125, 128).  
 טב good (17, 22, 42, 128).  
 \*טבח butcher, executioner (17, 40).  
 טור mountain (17, 79).  
 טות fasting (*adv.*) (38).  
 \*טין clay.  
 טל dew (17, 76).  
 טלל *hap.* to seek shade (shelter) (17, 157).  
 טעם *pa.* to feed (*trans.*) (181).  
 טַעַם, טַעַם order, decree, information, attention, influence (*of wine*) (51, 80, 178, 188). *See also* בעל.  
 \*טפר fingernail, claw (17).  
 טרד to drive out (181).  
 טרפליא *meaning?* (191).

## י

- יבל *hap.* (היבל) to bring (130). *See also* טובל.  
 \*יבשה (*det.* יבשה) dry land.  
 יגר heap of stones.  
 יד hand (10, 17, 25, 26, 36, 45, 59, 84).  
 ידה *hap.* to laud (130).  
 ידע to know; *hap.* to let know (10, 17, 21, 26, 88, 111, 117, 128—130, 174, 175, 177).  
 יהב to give, to lay (*foundations*); *hitp.* to be given (36, 80, 84, 118, 129, 179).  
 יהוד Judaea (76).  
 \*יהודי Jew, Jewish (42, 58, 83, 95).  
 יום (*pl.* יומין, \*יומן) day (62, 74, 80, 81, 177).  
 יוצדק Jozadak.  
 יחט (ז) *pa.* to lay (*foundations?*) (178).  
 יטב to be good, it pleases (128).  
 יכל (e/i) to be able, to prevail (128, 171).  
 \*ים (*det.* ימא) sea.  
 יסף *hap.* to add (27, 130).  
 יעט *hitpa.* to take counsel with each other, to agree after mutual consultation.

- יַעֲטֵא \* adviser (17, 66).  
 יַצֵּב *pa.* to make certain.  
 יַצִּיב certain, (יַצִּיבָא) certainly (88).  
 יַקְדֵּא \* fiery, burning.  
 יַקְדָּה \* burning, conflagration (10).  
 יַקְרֵא \* important, difficult.  
 יַקֵּר (יַקֵּר? *D 4:33*) honor.  
 יְרוּשָׁלַם Jerusalem (76, 84).  
 יַרַח month (74).  
 יַרְפֵּא (\*יַרְכָּה?, *pl. suff. יַרְכָּתָה*) thigh (51).  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל Israel (47, 75, 80, 187).  
 יֵשׁוּעַ Jeshua.  
 יַתֵּא *prep. introducing the direct object* (31, 84).  
 יַתַּב (*ē/i*) to sit, to be settled; *haṣ̄.* to settle (trans.) (10, 17, 128, 130).  
 יַתִּיר excessive, (יַתִּירָא, יַתִּירָא) excessively (88).

## כ

- כֵּא like as, comparable to, according to (16, 33, 74, 75, 78, 84, 87, 92, 149, 181). *See also* כְּדֵי, כְּחָדָה, כְּעֵן, כְּעֵנָא, כְּעָתָא.  
 כְּדַבֵּא \* (fem. כְּדִבְהָ) untrue (15).  
 כְּדֵי when (78, 86). *See also* כְּדֵי הָא.  
 כְּהָ here (81, 91).  
 כְּהַל (*ē/i?*) to be able (95, 171).  
 כְּהַנֵּן \* priest (187).  
 כְּוַהָ \* (*pl. כְּוִין*) window (61).  
 כְּוִרֵשׁ Cyrus (< *OPers. Kūruš*) (26).  
 כְּחָדָה together, without distinction (64, 93).  
 כְּכַרְא \* talent (*monetary unit*) (81).  
 כָּל (כָּלָא, כָּלָא) totality, every, ontiro, all (10, 26, 36, 46, 47, 49, 80, 84, 85, 87, 88, 96).  
 כָּל קַבְּלָא *see* קַבְּלָא.  
 כָּלִל *see* שְׂכַלִל.  
 כְּמַה how! (92).  
 כְּנֵן thus (92).  
 כְּנֵנָא \* (\*כְּנֵנָא?) colleague (62, 188).

- כָּנָמָא thus (20, 92).  
 כּוּנַא to assemble (*trans.*); *hitpa.* to assemble (*intrans.*) (177).  
 כְּסָדָי see כְּשָׁדָי.  
 כֶּסֶף silver (40, 51, 81).  
 כְּעַן (כָּעַנַת, כָּעַנָּה) now, now then (89, 183).  
 כַּסַּת to bind; *pa.* to bind (10).  
 כּוֹר kor (*solid measure*).  
 כְּרַבְּלָהּ hat (189).  
 כַּרְהָ *hitp.* to become sick, sad (151).  
 כְּרוּז herald (40, 177).  
 כְּרוּז *hap̄.* to announce publicly.  
 כְּרִסָא (*pl.* כְּרִסָּן) chair, throne (10, 54, 188).  
 כְּשָׁדָי (כְּסָדָי) Chaldaean (14, 19, 58).  
 כָּתַב to write (17, 23, 26, 101, 105, 110, 111, 177).  
 כְּתָב writing, text, document, letter, stipulation in writing  
 כְּתֵל (*pl. det.* כְּתֵלָיָא) wall (*of a house*) (51). [(78)].

## ל

- לָּ to, for (5, 10, 27, 31, 33, 36, 43, 47, 49, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 84—86, 111, 118, 171, 177—179, 181, 182, 187).  
 לֹא not, (לֵּה) nought (30, 59, 77, 85, 86, 87, 94, 95). See also דִּי לֹא.  
 לֵב (*suff.* לֵבִי) heart.  
 לֵבָב heart (83).  
 לְבוּשׁ garment (10).  
 לַבַּשׁ to be dressed, to wear; *hap̄.* to dress (*trans.*) (10).  
 לָּ see לֹא.  
 לְהוּא (לְהוּן, לְהוּן) see הוּה (168).  
 לְהֵן but, except (85).  
 לְוִיִּי Levite (187).  
 לְוִיתִי with, at (*chez*) (84).  
 לַחֵם meal, banquet (51).  
 לְחַנְּהָ maid servant (10).  
 לַיְלָא (*det.* לַיְלָיָא) night (54, 83, 80).  
 לְמָה lest (86, 87). See also דִּי לְמָה.  
 לְקַבֵּל see קַבֵּל.  
 לְשׁוֹן tongue, languago.



## מ

- מן see מן.  
 מאה hundred (63, 81).  
 מאונה (מאונה) (*pl. det.*) scales (13).  
 מאן vessel (13, 34, 46, 184).  
 מאתין two hundred (13, 45, 63).  
 מגלה scroll (46).  
 מגר *pa.* to overthrow.  
 מדבח altar (17).  
 מדה see מנדה.  
 מדור (\*מדור?) dwelling (22).  
 מדי Media (< *OPers. Māda, through Akk. Madai*) (78).  
 \*מדי Median.  
 מדינה province (10, 15, 48).  
 מדור dwelling (22, 95).  
 מה what?, whatever (37, 38). See also כמה.  
 מות death (86).  
 מזון food (17, 23).  
 מחא to hit; *pa.* to hit. (ימחא בידה) to stay (His hand); *hitpa.* to be beaten, to be affixed (17).  
 מחלקה division, group.  
 מטא, מטה to come, to go (76, 81).  
 מישאל Mishael.  
 מישיך Meshach.  
 מלא to fill; *hitp.* to be filled.  
 מלאך angel (187).  
 מלה (*pl.* מלין) word, speech, matter (33, 47, 61, 84, 86, 90).  
 מלח to partake of salt.  
 מלח salt (51).  
 מלך king (15, 32, 36, 40, 42, 43, 47, 51, 62, 79, 80, 82—84, 88, 90, 99, 111, 177, 189).  
 \*מלך (*suff.* מלכי) advice (51).  
 \*מלכה queen (51).  
 מלכו kingdom, reign (36, 40, 47, 56, 74, 79, 84, 89, 170).  
 מלל *pa.* to speak (10, 24, 83, 84).  
 מן who?, (מן די) whoever (30, 37, 38).

- מן (מ-) from (17, 20, 33, 64, 75, 76, 80, 81, 84—86, 88, 89, 91, 177, 181).  
 מן די as soon as, after (*conj.*) (86).  
 מנא mina (*monetary unit*) (188).  
 מנדה. מדת a kind of taxes (188).  
 מנדע knowledge (21, 82, 128).  
 מנה to count, to number; *pa.* to appoint (26, 153).  
 מנחה (sacrificial) offering (187).  
 מנין number.  
 מעבד\* work, deed (10, 36).  
 מעה\* belly (54).  
 מעלי\* entrance, (מעלי שמשא) sunset (159).  
 מרא lord, master (13, 54, 62).  
 מרד rebellion (177).  
 מרד\* rebellious (15).  
 מרט to pluck out, to tear off.  
 משה Moses (78).  
 משח oil.  
 משכב\* bed.  
 משכן\* dwelling.  
 משרוקי\* pipe (*musical instr.*) (46, 57).  
 משתא\* banquet (40).  
 מתנה\* gift (17).

## ג

- נבא *hitpa.* to prophesy.  
 נבואה prophecy, prophetic office (187).  
 נבוכדנצר Nebuchadnezzar (*Akk. Nābu-kudurri-ušur*) (84).  
 נבזכה (*pl. suff.* נבזכיתך) gift (62, 190).  
 נביא\* prophet (187).  
 נברשה\* (*det.* נברשתא) lamp (190).  
 נד to flow.  
 נד toward (84).  
 ננה\* (*det.* ננהא) dawn (51, 186).  
 נו see עבד נו.  
 נדב *hitpa.* to volunteer, to contribute voluntarily (111).  
 נדבך layer (*of a building*) (188).

- נָדַד to flee (158).  
 \*נִדְוֹן (נִדְוָה, read נִדְוָה) container, sheath (10, 190).  
 \*נְהוֹר (det. לְהוֹרֵא q̄r̄, נְהוֹרֵא q̄r̄) light.  
 נְהוֹרֵר brilliance (56).  
 נְהַר river (188).  
 נֹד to flee.  
 נֹלֵל, נֹלֵלִי dunghill (57, 190).  
 נֹר fire (59, 184).  
 נֹק to suffer harm, to suffer damage; *haṭ̄p̄*. to harm, to cause damage to (99, 111).  
 נְהַשׁ copper.  
 נַחַת to go down, to descend; *haṭ̄p̄*. to bring down, to deposit (184).  
 נָטַל to lift up (178).  
 נָטַר to guard (17).  
 נִחוּחִין sacrifices of sweet smell (187).  
 \*נִכְסֵיךָ (pl. נִכְסֵיךָ) possessions, property (47, 86, 188).  
 נִמְרֵךְ panther.  
 נִסַּח *hitpa.* to be torn out.  
 נִסַּף *pa.* to pour out (*libations*).  
 נִסַּף (pl. suff. נִסַּפְיָהוּן) libation (51, 187).  
 נָפַל to fall, to be necessary (10, 12, 118).  
 נָפַק to go out, to come out; *haṭ̄p̄*. to take out, to bring out (119, 177).  
 \*נִפְקָה expenses (80).  
 \*נִצְּבָה seed, planting, mineral (*traditional*: strength) (80).  
 נִצַּח *hitpa.* to distinguish oneself (82).  
 נִצַּל *haṭ̄p̄*. to save.  
 נִקָּא clean, pure.  
 נִקַּשׁ to knock.  
 נִשָּׂא to lift up, to take, to carry; *hitpa.* to rise up (82, 118, 119, 126, 177, 184).  
 \*נִשְׂיָן (suff. נִשְׂיָהוּן) see אִנְתָּה.  
 \*נִשְׂמָה breath, soul (36, 84).  
 נִשְׂרֵךְ eagle.  
 \*נִשְׂתָּן written order (189).  
 \*נִמְיָן temple servant (187).  
 נָתַן to give (118, 120, 175).  
 נָתַר *haṭ̄p̄*. to shake off (115).

## ס

- סָבֵף\* *see* \*שָׁבֵף.  
 סָבַר to hope, to intend (19).  
 סָגַד (*e/i*) to prostrate oneself (102, 106).  
 \*סָנַף (*pl.* סָנֵף) prefect (188).  
 סָנַר to lock (10, 85).  
 סוּבַל *part. pass.* (מְסוּבָּלִין) laid (*foundations*) (130, 166, 188).  
 סוּמְפָנִיָּה (סיפניה) symphony (bagpipe?) (46, 191).  
 סוּף to end, to cease; *hap.* to make an end to (26, 141).  
 סוּף end.  
 סִיפְנִיָּה *see* סוּמְפָנִיָּה.  
 סָלַק (*e/i*) to go up, to come up; *hap.* to bring up (21, 23, 172).  
 סָעַד *pa.* to help (20).  
 סָפַר book, document (27, 51, 78).  
 \*סָפַר scribe, secretary.  
 \*סָרְבַל trousers (189).  
 \*סָרְף chief minister (82, 189).  
 סָתַר *pa.* to conceal (44).  
 סָתַר to tear down (19, 184).

## ע

- עָבַד to do, to make; *hitp.* to be made, to be done (10, 27, 83, 116, 177, 189).  
 עָבַד servant, slave (29, 30, 51).  
 עָבַד נֶגוֹ Abed-nego.  
 \*עָבִידָה work, administration, service, worship (15, 17, 48).  
 עֵבֶר נְהַרָא across-the-River, Trans-Euphrates Province (Syria) (188).  
 עַד until (*prep.*) (75, 76, 81, 89). *See also* דְּבָרָה.  
 עַד, עַד דִּי until (*conj.*) (86, 178).  
 עָדָה to come forth, to pass away, to become invalid; *hap.* to remove (59, 76, 116, 184).  
 עִדּוֹא Iddo (5).  
 עֵדָן time, season (year) (66, 86).  
 עוֹד still, yet (90).  
 עוֹנֵיהַ iniquity, misdeed.  
 עוֹף bird, birds.

- עור chaff.  
 \*עוֹ (pl. עוֹזִין) goat (59).  
 \*עֹקֶה seal ring.  
 עֹזֵר Ezra.  
 עֹזְרִיָּה Azariah.  
 עֵטָה advice, counsel (10, 17, 129).  
 \*עֵיִן eye (51, 59, 178).  
 עֵיר a kind of angel.  
 עַל upon (10, 26, 33, 49, 75, 76, 82, 84, 86, 177, 178).  
 עֲלֵא above (*adv.*) (80, 88).  
 עֲלֵה cause, pretext.  
 \*עֲלוּהָ sacrifice (79).  
 \*עֲלִי most high (84).  
 \*עֲלִי (suff. עֲלִיָּה) upper room (57).  
 עֲלִיוֹן most high (22, 179, 187).  
 עָלַל to enter; *hap.* to let enter (17, 20, 26, 76, 158, 162, 164, [175]).  
 עָלַם eternity (43, 53, 62, 79, 80, 177).  
 \*עֲלָמִי Elamite.  
 \*עֲלֵעַ (pl. עֲלֵעִין) rib (17, 59).  
 עָם (*det.* עָמָא, pl. עַמְמָא) people (17, 20, 62, 179, 184).  
 עִם (together) with (75, 76, 83, 95).  
 \*עֲמִיק deep (41).  
 עֲמֵר wool (17).  
 \*עָנָן (\*עָנָת, \*עָנָת) see כָּעַן, etc.  
 עָנָה to answer (159).  
 \*עָנָה humble, poor (25).  
 \*עָנָן cloud.  
 \*עֲנָף branch (*of a tree*).  
 עָנַשׁ fine (*punishment*) (47, 86).  
 \*עֲפִי (suff. עָפִיָּה) foliage (51).  
 עֲצִיב sad.  
 עָקַר *hitpa.* to be uprooted (115).  
 עָקַר (עָקַר) offshoot.  
 \*עָרַב (עָרַר?, pl. suff. עָרִיב) adversary (17).  
 עָרַב *pa.* to mix (*trans.*); *hitpa.* to mix (*intrans.*) (76).  
 \*עָרַד onager, wild אַמַּס.  
 \*עָרוּהָ nakedness, shame.  
 עֲשָׁב vegetation, grass (75, 181, 186).

|           |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| עָטַר     | ton (46, 63).         |
| עֶשְׂרִין | twenty (63).          |
| עֲשִׂית   | concerned about.      |
| *עֲתִיד   | ready, prepared (95). |
| עֲתִיק    | old (81).             |

פ

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| פָּחָה           | ( <i>pl.</i> *פָּחֹן) governor (36, 62, 188).              |
| פָּחַר           | potter.  |
| *פָּטִישׁ        | shirt (?) (189).   |
| פָּלַג           | to divide.   |
| פָּלַג           | half (71).   |
| *פָּלְגָה        | section, group.  |
| פָּלַח           | to serve, to worship (36, 85, 95, 115).                    |
| פָּלְחָן         | service, worship, cult (10).                               |
| פִּם             | ( <i>suff.</i> פִּמָּה) mouth (20, 90).                    |
| פֶּסֶם           | palm (of a hand, or some other part of a hand).            |
| פִּסְנֵי תְּרִין | (פִּסְנֵי) psaltery (16, 46, 191).                         |
| פָּרַז           | iron (39, 188).  |
| פָּרַס           | to divide.   |
| פָּרַס           | half-mina (or half-shekel) ( <i>monetary unit</i> ) (188). |
| פָּרַס           | Persia (< <i>OPers. Parsa</i> ).                           |
| *פָּרְסִי        | Persian.   |
| פָּרַק           | to atone for, redeem.                                      |
| פָּרַשׁ          | <i>pa.</i> to interpret.                                   |
| פָּרָשָׁן        | copy (51, 189).  |
| פָּשַׁר          | to interpret; <i>pa.</i> (?) to interpret (111).           |
| פִּשְׁרָה        | interpretation (51).                                       |
| פִּתְנָם         | message, word, matter (15, 189).                           |
| פָּתַח           | to open (61).  |
| *פָּתִי          | breadth (51).  |

צ

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| צָכָה | ( <i>e/i</i> ) to want, to wish (17, 115, 149).          |
| צָבו  | thing, matter (55, 77).                                  |
| צָכַע | <i>pa.</i> to wet; <i>hitpa.</i> to be wetted (76, 114). |

- צד side (84).  
 \*צדא see הַצְדָּא.  
 צדקה charity.  
 \*צואר neck (13).  
 צלה *pa.* to pray (79).  
 צלה *hap.* to make successful, to prosper (*intrans.*), to succeed (17, 111).  
 צלם, צלם image, statue, complexion (17, 32, 34, 46, 51).  
 \*צפיר (צפירי עיזין) he-goat.  
 \*צפר bird (10, 59).

## ק

- קבל *pa.* to receive, to take over.  
 קבל (פֶּל קַבֵּל, לְקַבֵּל) facing, opposite, corresponding to (*prep.*), (פֶּל קַבֵּל דִּי) because (*conj.*) (10, 33, 84, 86, 96, 177).  
 \*קדיש holy, saint (83, 179).  
 קדם before (*prep.*) (10, 25, 80, 84, 85).  
 \*קדמי first (69).  
 קדמת (מִן קֵ, מִן קֵ) before (*prep.*) (84, 177).  
 קום to stand, to arise, to last; *pa.* to establish; *hap.* to set up, to install, to appoint, to issue (*an interdict*) (14, 23, 117, 133—137, 139—142, 177).  
 קטל to kill; *pa.* to kill; *hitp.*, *hitpa.* to be killed (184).  
 \*קטרין (קטרין) knot, joint, difficult problem.  
 קיט summer (17, 26, 51).  
 קים statute.  
 קים enduring.  
 קיתרוס (קִתְרֹס 'קִתְרֹס) zither (46, 191).  
 קל sound, voice (46).  
 קנה to purchase.  
 קצף to become angry (88).  
 קצף wrath.  
 קצץ *pa.* to cut off.  
 קצת end, part (80, 84).  
 קרא to call, to call out, to read aloud, to read; *hitp.* to be called (10, 108, 146, 152, 177).

- קרב (*q/i*) to draw near, to approach; *pa.* to offer (*sacrifices*);  
*haḥ.* to bring near, to offer (*sacrifices*) (10, 26, 78).  
 קרב war (83, 188).  
 קריה (*pl. det. קריה*) city (62, 87, 177).  
 קרן horn (*of animals, musical instrument*) (45, 46, 51, 59).  
 קרין piece, (*\*אכל קרין*) to denounce, to slander.  
 קטט truth (10, 36, 51, 80, 86).

## ר

- ראש head, chief (13, 17, 30, 62).  
 רב (*det. רבא, pl. רבבין*) great, big, (*pl. \*רבבין*) chief, magnate (44, 47, 59, 61, 62, 80, 92).  
 רבה to grow; *pa.* to make someone a magnate (145).  
 רבו greatness (55).  
 רבו (*pl. k̄tib רבון*) myriad (62, 63).  
 רביעי fourth (69).  
 רנו *haḥ.* to anger.  
 רנו anger (51).  
 רגל\* foot (45, 59).  
 רגש *haḥ.* to assemble (*intrans.*).  
 רו\* appearance.  
 רוח wind, spirit (59).  
 רום (*q/i*) to be high, to be haughty; *haḥ.* to raise up; \*רום to exalt; \*התרום to exalt oneself (23, 133, 141, 143, 157).  
 רום\* height.  
 רו secret, mystery (16, 82, 189).  
 רחום Rehum.  
 רחיק\* remote.  
 רחמן mercy.  
 רחץ *hitp.* to trust.  
 ריח smell (59).  
 רמה to throw, to set up (*chairs*), to impose (*taxes*); *hitp.* to be thrown.  
 רעו wish, pleasure (17, 55).  
 רעיו thought (22).



- רָעַן relaxed.  
 רָעַע to break; *pa.* to break, to crush (20, 159).  
 רָפַס to trample upon.  
 רָשַׁם to draw, to draw up, to inscribe, to write.

## ש

- \*שָׁב elder (83).  
 \*שִׁבְרָה ('ס) sambuke (harp) (19, 46).  
 שָׂנֵא to be (become) much (great).  
 שָׂנֵא much, many, great, (*adv.*) much, greatly, very (13, 61, 88, 177).  
 \*שְׁהָדוּ testimony (56).  
 שֵׁטֶר side (46).  
 שִׁים to place, to set, to appoint, to give (*an order, a name*), to pay (*attention*); *hitp.* to be placed, to be made, to be given (*order*) (36, 80, 82, 117, 133—136, 138).  
 שָׁכַל *hitpa.* to observe (114).  
 שְׂכֵלְתָנּוּ intelligence (56).  
 \*שָׂנֵא enemy (13, 126).  
 שֵׁער hair.

## ש

- שָׁאל (*e/i*) to ask (17, 24, 26, 125, 175).  
 \*שְׁאֵלָה question, problem (15).  
 שְׁאֵלְתִּיאל Shealtiel.  
 שָׂאָר rest, remnant (184).  
 שָׁח *pa.* to praise (24, 115, 117).  
 \*שִׁבְטָה tribe (187).  
 \*שִׁבְיָה flame (184).  
 \*שִׁבְעָה seven (63, 66, 70, 82).  
 שָׁבַק to leave; *hitp.* to be left (26, 114).  
 שָׁבַשׁ *hitpa.* to be confused (114).  
 \*שְׁגֵלָה concubine (188).  
 שָׁדַר *hitpa.* to make efforts (111).  
 שְׁדַרְדָּח Shadrach.  
 שָׂוֵה *pa.* to make equal, to place; *hitpa.* to be made (83, 132).

- שָׂרַף wall (*of a city*) (178).  
 שׁוֹשַׁנְכִי man from Susa (< *OPers. \*Šūšanaka*).  
 שָׁחִית corrupt, (*fem.*) fault, corruption (44).  
 שָׁיַב to save (10, 49, 84, 166, 175, 188).  
 שִׁיצִיא to complete (18, 166, 188).  
 שָׁכַח *hitpa.* to be found; *hap̄.* to find (20, 114, 115, 117).  
 שָׁכַל to complete; *hištāp'al* to be completed (157, 166, 178, 188).  
 שָׁכַן to dwell; *pa.* to cause to dwell.  
 שָׁלַח happy, carefree.  
 שָׁלוּ. שָׁלַח negligence (55).  
 \*שָׁלוּהַ happiness.  
 שָׁלַח to send, to send a message (*by messenger, letter*) (82).  
 שָׁלַט (*ē/i*) to rule, to have power over, to overpower; *hap̄.* to give power to (76, 102, 110).  
 \*שָׁלַטְן authority, official (22).  
 שָׁלַטְן rule, domination, dominion (22, 184).  
 שָׁלִיט (*adj.*) mighty, powerful, being in control, authorized, (*noun*) (*powerful*) official (10, 17, 40).  
 שָׁלַם (*ē/i*) to be completed; *hap̄.* to finish, to bring to an end, to hand over (102).  
 שָׁלַם well-being, greetings (96).  
 שָׁם (*pl.* \*שָׁמַהַן) name (30, 36, 38, 48, 62).  
 שָׁמַד *hap̄.* to exterminate.  
 \*שָׁמַיִן (*det.* שָׁמַיָא) heaven (17, 36, 47, 59, 75, 84, 178).  
 שָׁמַם (אֶשְׁתַּמַּם) to be perturbed (157).  
 שָׁמַע to hear; *hitpa.* to obey (17).  
 \*שָׁמַרְיָן (*pausal* שָׁמַרְיָן) Samaria (25, 62).  
 שָׁמַשׁ *pa.* to serve.  
 \*שָׁמַשׁ (*det.* שָׁמַשׁ) sun (51).  
 שָׁמַשַׁי Shimshai.  
 \*שָׁן (*dual* שָׁנַן) tooth (15, 59).  
 שָׁנָה to be different, to change (*intrans.*); *pa.* to cause a change, to change (*trans.*), to distinguish; *hitpa.* to change (*intrans.*); *hap̄.* to change (*trans.*) (77, 108, 150, 152).  
 \*שָׁנָה (*pl.* שָׁנַן) year (30, 61, 74, 78, 177).  
 \*שָׁנָה (*suff.* שָׁנַה) sleep (129).

- שָׁעָה hour, while, (**בְּהַ שְׁעָתָא**) at this very hour, moment (46, 62, 78, 89, 177).  
 \*שָׁפֵט judge (18, 187).  
 שְׁפִיר beautiful.  
 שָׁפַל *hap.* to bring down, to humiliate, to humble (10).  
 שָׁפַל low.  
 שָׁפַר to be good, it pleases.  
 \*שְׁפָרַר dawn (39, 186).  
 \*שָׁקַף leg.  
 שָׁרַח to loosen, to unfetter, to explain (*knotty problems*), to reside (**שָׁרַח** residing); *pa.* to solve (?), to begin; *hitpa.* to be loosened (111, 150).  
 \*שָׁרַשׁ (*pl. suff.* שָׁרְשָׁהּ) root (51).  
 שָׁרַשׁ (*qr̥ē* שָׁרְשִׁי) corporal punishment (19, 57, 86, 189).  
 שֶׁשְׁבַצָּר Sheshbazzar (= \*שְׁנַאבְצַר ?, *Akk. Sin-ab-ušur*).  
 שֵׁשׁ, שֵׁשׁ six (63, 74).  
 שָׁתַּה (*c/i.* \*אֶשְׁתִּי) to drink (46, 77, 145, 150, 173).  
 שֵׁשְׁתִּין sixty (63, 74, 78).  
 שֶׁתַּר בֹּזְנַי Shethar-bozenai (= שְׁתַּבְּרִין < *OPers. Šatibrjāna* "desiring joy").

## ת

- תְּבִירָה fragile.  
 \*תְּדִירָה (**בְּתְדִירָא**) constantly.  
 תּוּב to return (*intrans.*); *hap.* to return (*trans.*) (82, 141, 142, 178, 184).  
 תוּה to be perturbed (132).  
 תוּר ox (17, 181).  
 \*תַּחַת, תַּחַת underneath (*prep.*) (22, 47, 84).  
 תֵּלַג snow (51).  
 \*תְּלִיתִי third (14, 69).  
 \*תְּלַת (*det.* תְּלַתָּא) triumvir (71, 188).  
 תְּלַת three, (**תְּלַתְהוֹן**) the three of them (17, 22, 23, 59, 63, 66, 73, 74).  
 תְּלַתִּין thirty (63, 81).  
 תְּמָה there (17, 91).  
 \*תְּמָה wonder (92).

- \*תָּנִין second (89).  
 תִּנְיָנָח again (72, 88).  
 \*תַּסֵּת (pl. det. תַּסֵּתַיָּא) police chief (58, 189).  
 \*תִּקְיָה strong, powerful (88, 92).  
 תִּקַּל to weigh.  
 תִּקֵּל shekel (*monetary unit*).  
 תִּקַּן *hap.* to restore.  
 תִּקַּח (*e/i*) to be (become) strong; *pa.* to strengthen, to issue a strong (*prohibition*) (102).  
 תִּקְפָּה (*det.* תִּקְפָּא) strength (10, 51).  
 \*תִּרְיָן (*fem.* תִּרְיָיִן) two (45, 63, 65, 74, 78).  
 תִּרְעָה door, gate, (royal) court (17).  
 \*תִּרְעָה doorkeeper (20, 40).  
 תִּרְתִּין *see* \*תִּרְיָן.  
 תִּתְנִי Tattenai (*Akk.* *Tattannai*).