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*Introduction to the Grammar of  
Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*

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Elitzur A. Bar-Asher Siegal

Introduction to the Grammar of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic

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Printed on acid-free paper

For my parents  
Nechama and Moshe Bar-Asher  
with love and gratitude



# Table of contents

Preface and Acknowledgements .....	15
Symbols and Abbreviations .....	17
Introduction .....	19
0.1 Jewish Babylonian Aramaic .....	19
0.2 Sources .....	20
0.3 JBA within the context of Aramaic in general .....	21
0.4 Variation within JBA .....	23
0.4.1 Diachronic variation within JBA .....	24
0.4.2 Palestinian Aramaic within the Babylonian Talmud .....	25
0.4.3 The archaic language of NBA, and that of the Geonic texts [GBA] .....	25
0.5 Language contact .....	26
0.6 Sources of our linguistic knowledge of JBA .....	27
0.6.1 A note on the phonology of JBA .....	27
0.6.2 Manuscripts used for establishing a grammar and printed versions of the Babylonian Talmud.....	28
0.6.3 Editions of the Babylonian Talmud and the sources used in this book.....	31
0.7 JBA scholarship .....	32
0.8 About this book.....	33
0.8.1 The purpose of this book.....	33
0.8.2 Citations and translations .....	34
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
1.1 Orthography .....	37
1.1.1 Consonants .....	37
1.1.2 Vowel letters ( <i>matres lectionis</i> ) .....	38
1.1.2.1 א <i>Alef</i> .....	39
1.1.2.2 י <i>Yod</i> .....	40
1.1.2.3 ו <i>Waw</i> .....	40
1.1.2.4 ה <i>Heh</i> .....	40
1.1.2.5 Summary of the uses of the vowel letters.....	40
1.1.3 The Consonants /w/ and /y/.....	40
1.1.4 The diphthong /ay/ .....	41
1.1.5 Vocalization.....	41

1.1.6	Notes on the writing of words .....	42
1.1.6.1	Word division .....	43
1.1.6.2	Abbreviations.....	43
1.2	Phonological notes .....	44
1.2.1	The absence of vocalization in this grammar .....	44
1.2.2	Unresolved phonological issues .....	44
1.2.2.1	Shortened vowels.....	44
1.2.2.2	Low vowels .....	45
1.2.2.3	High/mid front vowels.....	46
1.2.2.4	High/mid back vowels .....	47
1.2.2.5	Summary of the vowel system.....	47
1.2.2.6	Diphthongs.....	47
1.2.2.7	Interchange of vowels .....	47
1.2.2.7.1	High/mid front and back vowels.....	47
1.2.2.7.2	Low and high/mid back vowel.....	48
1.2.2.8	The consonants represented by the letters פ, כ, ך, ג, ב, and ת .....	49
1.2.3	Summary .....	49

## Chapter 2

2.1	Apocopation of final consonants .....	51
2.2	Nominal inflection .....	52
2.2.1	State .....	52
2.2.2	Gender and number.....	54
2.2.2.1	Agreement.....	54
2.2.2.2	The “neuter” .....	57
2.2.3	The uses of the various states.....	59
2.2.3.1	The construct state .....	59
2.2.3.1.1	The genitive relation in JBA .....	59
2.2.3.1.2	Prepositions in the construct state .....	60
2.2.3.2	Short and long forms.....	61
2.2.3.2.1	Definiteness.....	61
2.2.3.2.2	Loanwords.....	62
2.2.3.2.3	Plural substantives.....	63
2.2.3.2.4	Adjectives .....	63
2.2.3.2.4.1	Predicative vs. attributive uses of the adjectives .....	63
2.2.3.2.4.2	Substantivized adjectives .....	64
2.2.3.2.4.2	Long form in predicate adjectives.....	64
2.2.3.2.5	Adverbs.....	65

**Chapter 3**

3.1 Consonant changes .....	67
3.1.1 Loss of medial /d/ and /g/ .....	67
3.1.2 Interchange of the sonorants /l/, /n/, and /r/ .....	68
3.1.3 The gutturals (/ʔ/, /h/, /ħ/, /ʕ/).....	68
3.1.3.1 The glottal stop (/ʔ/).....	69
3.1.3.2 The pharyngeals (/ħ/, /ʕ/).....	69
3.1.4 The emphatic consonants /q/, /ʕ/ and /t̤/ .....	71
3.1.5 The labial /b/ .....	73
3.1.6 Intervocalic /y/ .....	73
3.1.7 The nasal /n/ .....	74
3.1.7.1 Regressive assimilation.....	74
3.1.7.2 ay > a before /n/ .....	74
3.2 Adjective patterns .....	74
3.2.1 Nominal patterns.....	74
3.2.2 The gentilic suffix .....	75
3.3 Pronouns.....	78
3.3.1 Independent personal pronouns.....	78
3.3.1.1 Forms .....	78
3.3.1.2 Functions .....	79
3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns.....	80
3.3.2.1 Form .....	80
3.3.2.2 Syntax and functions.....	82
3.3.2.2.1 Pronominal uses.....	82
3.3.2.2.2 Adnominal uses .....	83
3.3.2.2.3 Functions.....	83
3.3.2.2.3.1 Exophoric uses.....	83
3.3.2.2.3.2 Endophoric uses .....	83
3.3.2.2.3.3 Introduction of new entities in the discourse.....	84
3.3.2.2.3.4 Reciprocal uses .....	85
3.3.2.2.3.5 Adverbial functions .....	85
3.3.3 Indefinite pronouns .....	86
3.3.3.1 For human references.....	86
3.3.3.2 For inanimate references .....	88
3.4 Locative demonstrative adverbs.....	88



## Chapter 4

4.1 Apocopation of final vowels .....	89
4.2 Genitive pronominal suffixes .....	89
4.3 Genitive constructions .....	93
4.4 Interrogative pronouns .....	95
4.5 Nominal clauses, dislocation, and copulative pronouns.....	97
4.5.1 The structure of nominal clauses.....	97
4.5.2 Historical developments in nominal clauses .....	98
4.6 Existential clauses and existential particles .....	102
4.6.1 Existential clauses .....	102
4.6.2 Predicative Possessive Construction (PPC).....	106
4.6.2.1 Dative PPC .....	106
4.6.2.2 Locative PPC.....	107
4.6.2.3 Nominative PPC (Topic-PPC).....	107
4.7 Possessive pronouns .....	108
4.8 Comparative and superlative .....	109

## Chapter 5

5.1 Morphology of the strong verb: introduction to the verbal system.....	111
5.2 Stems .....	111
5.3 Pe-stem .....	112
5.3.1 Suffix conjugation .....	112
5.3.2 Prefix conjugation .....	115
5.3.3 Imperative.....	118
5.3.4 Infinitive.....	119
5.3.5 Participles .....	120
5.3.5.1 The basic declension.....	120
5.3.5.2 Participial conjugation.....	122
5.4 “Derived” stems.....	124

## Chapter 6

6.1 Weak verbs .....	129
6.2 I-n.....	129
6.3 I-w/y.....	132
6.4 I-’/’.....	135
6.5 II-w/y.....	136
6.6 II-’/’.....	140
6.7 Geminate verbs .....	142

6.8	III-y .....	147
6.9	Roots with apocopation of the final consonants .....	150
6.10	Doubly weak verbs .....	152
6.10.1	I and II .....	152
6.10.2	I and geminate verb .....	152
6.10.3	I and III .....	153
6.10.4	II and III .....	155
6.11	Quadriradical verbs .....	156
6.11.1	Origin and form .....	156
6.11.2	Weak quadriradical verbs .....	157
6.12	A general note concerning the Af-stem of the weak verbs .....	157

## Chapter 7

7.1	The Verb הו"י "to be" .....	159
7.1.1	Inflection .....	159
7.1.2	Function .....	160
7.2	The Tense/Aspect/Mood (=TAM) System .....	162
7.2.1	Two approaches for the TAM system .....	162
7.2.2	Absolute vs. relative tense .....	165
7.2.3	The imperfective aspect: a distinction between <i>durative</i> and <i>iterative</i> .....	167
7.2.4	The verb הו"י with the participle .....	168
7.2.4.1	Omission of the verb .....	168
7.2.4.2	The form of the verb .....	168
7.3	Imperative .....	170
7.3.1	Request/command .....	171
7.3.2	Instructions .....	171
7.3.3	Advice/ general principles .....	171
7.3.4	Instructions for the readers .....	172
7.3.5	Purpose and result .....	172
7.4	Numbers .....	173
7.4.1	Forms .....	173
7.4.2	Syntax .....	174
7.4.3	The expressions חזק, זמנה חזק, יומא חזק .....	175
7.5	The syntax of כולא "every, all" .....	175
7.6	Repetitions of nouns .....	177

## Chapter 8

8.1 Relationships between the stems .....	179
8.1.1 Grammatical relationships.....	179
8.1.2 Equivalence.....	180
8.1.3 Lexical relationships .....	180
8.1.3.1 Inflectional relationships.....	180
8.1.3.2 Multiple meanings .....	182
8.2 Reflexives and reciprocals .....	183
8.2.1 Reflexives.....	183
8.2.1.1 Verbal reflexives .....	183
8.2.1.2 Pronominal reflexives .....	183
8.2.1.3 Independent possessive pronouns as reflexives.....	184
8.2.2 Reciprocals.....	185
8.2.2.1 Verbal reciprocal .....	185
8.2.2.2 Pronominal reciprocals.....	185
8.3 Rhetorical questions .....	187

## Chapter 9

9.1 Accusative pronominal suffixes.....	191
9.1.1 The function – preliminary notes .....	191
9.1.2 The pronominal forms .....	192
9.1.3 The verbal bases.....	194
9.1.3.1 Suffix conjugation.....	195
9.1.3.1.1 The forms .....	195
9.1.3.1.2 Notes about the derived stems .....	197
9.1.3.2 Prefix conjugation.....	197
9.1.3.2.1 The forms .....	197
9.1.3.2.2 Anaptyxis .....	199
9.1.3.3 Imperative.....	199
9.1.3.4 Infinitive.....	200
9.1.3.5 Participle.....	201
9.2 Direct object markers .....	201
9.2.1 The preposition -ל .....	201
9.2.1.1 The syntax.....	201
9.2.1.2 More about the semantics .....	202
9.2.1.3 The anticipatory pronominal suffixes.....	203
9.2.1.4 Exceptions to the rules.....	205
9.2.2 The accusative marker ך .....	206

9.3	T-stems with accusative pronominal suffixes .....	206
9.4	“Dative” .....	207
9.4.1	Argument dative (or indirect object) .....	207
9.4.1.1	Marked with the preposition ל- .....	207
9.4.1.2	The dative preposition להיל-, להיל- .....	207
9.4.2	Non-argument dative .....	208
9.5	Passive participle .....	209
9.6	Passive clauses .....	210
9.7	The <i>qtil li</i> construction .....	211

## Chapter 10

10.1	Dependent clauses .....	213
10.1.1	Syndetic vs. asyndetic depended clauses .....	213
10.1.2	The role of the dependent clause as a constituent in the matrix clause .....	213
10.1.2.1	Noun clauses .....	213
10.1.2.1.1	Subject clauses .....	213
10.1.2.1.2	Predicate clause .....	215
10.1.2.1.3	Object clause .....	216
10.1.2.1.4	Dependent clauses as the topic of the matrix clause .....	217
10.1.2.2	Adjective clauses .....	217
10.1.2.3	Adverbial clauses .....	220
10.1.3	General observations .....	221
10.2	Conditional clauses .....	222
10.2.1	Conditional clauses with the conjunction או/אי .....	222
10.2.2	Other conditional conjunctions .....	223
10.3	Cleft sentences .....	224
10.4	Negation .....	226
10.4.1	The negators .....	226
10.4.2	Historical background .....	227
10.4.3	Syntactic differences between לא and לאו .....	228
10.4.4	Contexts where לאו is often used .....	228
10.4.5	General observations .....	229
10.4.6	Negation of existential clauses .....	230

**Chapter 11**

11.1	Infinitive clauses .....	233
11.1.1	Introduction .....	233
11.1.2	Nouns .....	234
11.1.2.1	Topic.....	234
11.1.2.2	Subject .....	234
11.1.2.3	Predicate.....	236
11.1.2.4	Object .....	237
11.1.2.5	Infinitive with intransitive verbs .....	238
11.1.2.6	Infinitive as other verbal complements .....	240
11.1.2.7	Infinitives as nouns that modify nouns (the genitive relation) .....	240
11.1.3	Adjectival and adverbial infinitives.....	241
11.1.3.1	Adjectival infinitives (modifying a noun) .....	241
11.1.3.2	Adverbial infinitives .....	243
11.1.4	Non-embedded infinitive clauses .....	244
11.1.4.1	Infinitive clauses in questions .....	244
11.1.4.2	Infinitive clauses to describe possible logical deductions.....	245
11.1.5	Infinitive without a clause .....	246
11.1.6	Summary regarding the representation of the subjects of the infinitive clauses.....	247
11.2	Verbal hendiadys – pseudo-coordinative verbal constructions.....	247
	<b>Glossary for Linguistic Terminology .....</b>	<b>251</b>
	<b>Vocabulary and Exercises .....</b>	<b>259</b>
	<b>Lexicon.....</b>	<b>287</b>
	<b>Verbal Paradigms .....</b>	<b>302</b>
	<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>325</b>
	<b>Indexes</b>	
	Content according to grammatical topics .....	333
	Subjects .....	340
	Texts .....	353

## Preface and Acknowledgements

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adj.	adjective	NENA	North Eastern Neo Aramaic
1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	NP	nominal phrase
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	OP	Old Persian
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	o.s.	oneself
Af	Afel	P	predicate
BT	Babylonian Talmud	Pa	<i>Pa‘el</i>
c	common	Pe	<i>Pə‘al</i>
C	consonant	pl	plural
cstr	construct form	PN	proper name
EEMSs	early eastern manuscripts	POSS	possessive
F	feminine	prep.	preposition
GBA	Geonic Babylonian Aramaic	S	Subject
GN	geographical name	sf	short form
HPS	Halakhot Pesuqot	sg	singular
intr.	intransitive	s.o.	someone
intrg.	interrogative	s.t.	something
Itpa	<i>‘itpa‘al</i>	TAM	Tense, Aspect and Mood
Itpē	<i>‘itpə‘el</i>	tr.	transitive
Ittaf	<i>‘ittafal</i>	V	vowel
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic	*	reconstructed form
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic	#	word boundary
M	masculine	/ /	phonemic representation
MiR	Middle Iranian	/	In a table: an alternative form
MP	Middle Persian	( )	In a table: an alternative spelling
MS	manuscript		
NBA	The language of the special tractates (among them <i>Ne-darim and Nazir</i> )	>	The direction of a historical development

In description of phonological development, in order to define the environment where something occurs, the notation of /\_\_ is used. \_\_ indicates the location of what changes. Accordingly, a change in which *b* became *v* after a vowel is represented as: *b > v / V\_*. The symbol # means “word boundary”. Accordingly, *\_#* indicates “word-finally” and *#\_* indicates “word-initially”.



The references of the tractates of the BT are according to the following abbreviations:

'Abod. Zar.	'Abodah Zarah	Mo'ed Qaṭ.	Mo'ed Qaṭan
'Arak.	'Arakin	Naz.	Nazir
B. Bat.	Baba Batra	Ned.	Nedarim
B. Meṣi'a	Baba Meṣi'a	Nid.	Niddah
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma	Pesaḥ.	Pesaḥim
Bek.	Bekorot	Qidd.	Qiddušin
Ber.	Berakot	Roš Haš.	Roš Haššanah
Beṣah	Beṣah (= Yom Tob)	Sanh.	Sanhedrin
'Erub.	'Eruvin	Šabb.	Šabbat
Giṭ.	Giṭtin	Šebu.	Šebu'ot
Ḥag.	Ḥagigah	Soṭah	Soṭah
Hor.	Horayot	Sukkah	Sukkah
Ḥul.	Ḥullin	Ta'an.	Ta'anit
Ker.	Karetot	Tamid	Tamid
Ketub.	Ketubbot	Tem.	Temurah
Mak.	Makkot	Yebam.	Yebamot
Meg.	Megillah	Yoma	Yoma (= Kippurim)
Me'il.	Me'ilah	Zebaḥ.	Zebaḥim
Menaḥ.	Menaḥot		

Citations of all the sources of JBA and of the various manuscripts of the BT follows the notation used by Sokoloff (2002: 55–67), with the addition of **M** to indicate magic bowls from the Moussaieff Collection.

# Introduction

## 0.1 Jewish Babylonian Aramaic

The origins of the Jewish community in Babylonia came in two waves of Judean exiles, whom Nebuchadnezzar II settled in the region, which is now part of the modern state of Iraq: the first wave occurred in 597 BCE, the second in 586 BCE. Around this time, Aramaic was in the process of replacing Akkadian as the everyday language of Babylonia. The exiles and their children quickly adopted Aramaic as well, and it would remain the principal spoken language of the Jews of the region for over a millennium and a half. Very little documentation survives from the community's first eight centuries of existence. Shortly after 200 C.E., however, the relatively tolerant Sassanian Persians gained control of Babylonia, which became the *de facto* center of Jewish religion and learning under their rule, a distinction it would hold for almost a millenium.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, a good deal of material composed by the Jews of Babylonia from the third century onwards has been preserved; the dialect spoken and written during this period is known as "Jewish Babylonian Aramaic" [JBA].

Unfortunately, both the nature of the written material that has been preserved and the manner in which it has been preserved make it difficult to produce a simple descriptive grammar of this dialect; despite over a century of critical scholarship (for which see below, §0.7), many unresolved questions remain, both about the dialect itself, and the context and manner in which much of the literature was composed. There are still some aspects of JBA that are not well understood, and others that are the subject of long debate. Accordingly, part of this introductory section is devoted to reviewing the extant JBA texts, the means by which they have come down to the present, and some of the major controversies surrounding the analysis of the linguistic data that they provide. An attempt will be made to clarify why such difficulties exist and why any attempt to describe the grammar of JBA must reckon with the nature of the sources.

Fortunately, scholars have managed to devise several strategies for minimizing and occasionally even eliminating some of the interpretive problems presented by the extant JBA material. Of particular help when evaluating and organizing linguistic data culled from JBA texts are comparisons with other dialects of Aramaic from the same period, with earlier and later stages of Aramaic (of Eastern Aramaic in particular, for which see below, §0.3), and with

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<sup>1</sup> For the history of the Jews in Babylonia, see Gafni (1990).

other languages with which speakers of JBA were in contact. Accordingly, this introductory section includes an overview of the history and dialects of Aramaic in addition to a discussion of other languages that may have influenced aspects of JBA.

## 0.2 Sources

Four corpora of JBA texts have survived to the present day:<sup>2</sup>

- I. The Babylonian Talmud – The Babylonian Talmud [BT] is a collection of diverse materials, including legal discussions, folklore, and biblical exegesis, loosely structured as a commentary on the Mishnah, a Hebrew-language law code redacted in Palestine around 200 C.E. Although the BT developed orally over the course of several hundred years, it achieved its final shape only around the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, no manuscript predating the twelfth century has survived (see below, §0.6). The BT is by far the largest of the four corpora.
- II. Geonic Literature – The term “Geonic literature” refers to rabbinic works composed after the completion of the Talmud, but before Babylonia ceased to be the center of Rabbinic Judaism, that is, roughly 700–1100 C.E. Most of these works are *responsa*, legal opinions composed in response to a specific query, but a few treatises – longer works that deal systematically with specific areas of law – also exist. A few early manuscripts of these texts have survived, of which a partially vocalized copy of the treatise *Halakhot Pesuqot* [HPS] is linguistically the most important (see below, §0.6).<sup>4</sup>
- III. The Writings of Anan – Anan ben David (8<sup>th</sup> c. C.E.), the founder of the Karaites (or to be more accurate, he was the founder of the Ananites from whom the Karaites claim spiritual descent), a Jewish sect that rejected rabbinic tradition and authority, composed an exegetical commentary to the Pentateuch, and *Sefer ha-Mitzvot* (“The Book of the Precepts”), in which he outlines the laws and their biblical sources. Fragments of this work were recovered from the Cairo Genizah, and other portions have survived

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<sup>2</sup> Another text that should be mentioned is the Aramaic version of *Toledot Yešu*. Smelik (2009) has recently proposed a complicated history for this document, suggesting that it contains various Babylonian characteristics. While I disagree with his major claims, I believe that he has demonstrated some evidence for its Babylonian elements. See also Sokoloff (2011), who has reached similar conclusions regarding the Babylonian elements in this text.

<sup>3</sup> On the formation of the BT, see *inter alia* Kalmin (2006).

<sup>4</sup> For an introduction to the Geonic period and its literature, see Brody (1998).

as quotations in later Karaite texts.<sup>5</sup>

- IV. Incantation Bowls – These are the only JBA texts that have been preserved exactly as they were written, rather than having been transmitted through a manuscript tradition. However, the inscriptions consist of incantations, that is, magical formulae; their consequent obscurity has prompted much debate as to their linguistic value. At one extreme stands the pessimistic assessment of Rudolf Macuch, who maintains that the “magic bowls and rolls usually contain a mass of hardly decipherable or completely incomprehensible nonsense.”<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, there are those who offer more favorable evaluations; William H. Rossell, for example, argues that the bowls are “throwing new light on the phonetics and other linguistic features of JBA.”<sup>7</sup>

This book focuses on the language of the first two sources, but that of the other two is discussed especially in those instances in which there is some peculiarity in the language of this sources, and also when the latter sources provide linguistic data lacking in the former.

### 0.3 JBA within the context of Aramaic in general

Aramaic is a member of the Semitic language family, which includes such diverse languages as Arabic, Akkadian, and Amharic; within that larger family it, like Hebrew, belongs to the Northwest Semitic subfamily. According to the standard periodization introduced by Fitzmyer (1979), the history of Aramaic is divided into five phases:

- Old Aramaic (925–700 B.C.E.)
- Official Aramaic (700–200 B.C.E.)
- Middle Aramaic (200 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.)
- Late Aramaic (200–700 C.E.)
- Modern/Neo-Aramaic (700 C.E. –)

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<sup>5</sup> For a preliminary survey of the history of the Karaite in general and the work of Anan in particular, see Nemyo (1952: esp. 3–11.)

<sup>6</sup> Macuch (1965: LIX).

<sup>7</sup> Rossel (1953: 13). As was noted already by Montgomery (1913), various subdialects are discernible within this corpus. Harviainen (1984) has demonstrated that these texts share many of the linguistic peculiarities of *Nedarim*, *Nazir*, and the Geonic material (for which see below, §0.4). For an updated grammar of the incantations, see Juusola (1999). It is worth noting that within the BT, when magic texts appear they are often in archaic language, see for example *Pesah*. 110a.

Within this scheme, JBA in the BT belongs to the Late Aramaic phase (and one should certainly not characterize the language of the Geonic period and of Anan differently). However, this periodization reflects the evolution of the written rather than the spoken language; in other words, the shift between Middle and Late Aramaic may possibly be characterized not by significant linguistic development, but by changes in writing habits and orthographic conventions. Thus, many of the generalizations commonly made about each period do not accurately reflect the dialects spoken at the time.

Within the traditional framework, the last two periods are characterized by an opposition between an eastern and a western dialect group. For the Late Aramaic period, JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic are usually classified as Eastern Aramaic; these dialects, each spoken by a different ethnic group (Jews, Christians and Mandaeans respectively) all share a number of features – *l/n* as the 3m sg prefix conjugation marker, *-e* as a plural marker, lack of a formal marker for definiteness, apocopation of final open syllables, the *qtil li* pattern, the use of the participle with nominative pronominal suffixes (i.e., the participial conjugation), and free word order (Kutscher 1971, 1977) – that set them apart from the other contemporary dialects, which together constitute the western group. A number of scholars have taken issue with this classificatory scheme and proposed alternatives. Morag (1991), for example, argues that, during the period in question, Eastern Aramaic consisted of “graded isoglosses” rather than distinct dialects; in other words, JBA, Syriac, and Mandaic are to be thought of as lying on a single continuum, with JBA somewhere in between the other two. Boyarin (1981), meanwhile, claims that because Syriac shares many innovations with the western dialects, it comprises its own dialect group; according to his theory, JBA and Mandaic were the only two eastern dialects during the Late Aramaic period (see also Cook 1994). These alternative theories neglect the fact that Syriac had a very rigid literary tradition, which is lacking in most of the JBA literature, and common only in some of the texts (see §0.4.3) (Bar-Asher 2007b).

The unique features of the eastern dialects in general and JBA in particular include both innovations within these dialects and retentions of inherited phenomena discarded by the other contemporary dialects. The use of *l* and *n* in 3 m sg prefix conjugation forms is an example of a retention (with an innovative distribution); certain Old Aramaic dialects exhibit modal forms with a prefixed *l*, a feature that survived in the eastern dialects and eventually replaced the non-modal *y*. The following, on the other hand, rank among the

innovations of JBA:<sup>8</sup>

- The existential particle (אִיכָא > אִית כָּא) (see §4.6.1)
- The 3 m independent pronouns: sg אִיהוּ, pl אַנהוּ (see §3.3.1.1)
- Special forms for the “copula” pronouns: נְנַהוּ, נְנַהִי (see §4.5.2.3)
- Metathesis in 3 m pl suffix conjugation forms, e.g. אַזוּל (see §5.3.1 [note 7])
- A unique aspectual system involving the use of the particle קָא (see §7.2.3)

#### 0.4 Variation within JBA

Although JBA is clearly distinct from other dialects of Aramaic, earlier, later, and contemporary, it is not entirely uniform; considerable variation exists within JBA, at times within a single source and at time between sources. Any account of variation within JBA must accommodate the following facts, which complicates any such discussion significantly:

- I. It is commonly held that some of the *Targumim*, Aramaic translations of certain biblical books produced and used by Jewish communities, were composed in Palestine but transmitted to the rest of the Jewish world by way of Babylonia; this group includes the translation of the Pentateuch known as “Targum Onqelos,” the most widely used and best attested of the *Targumim*. If this is indeed correct, then the Jews of Babylonia were regularly exposed to the dialect of Targum Onqelos – what Greenfield (1974) has termed “Standard Literary Aramaic” – a register of Aramaic different from the spoken language.
- II. The text of the BT was not written by one hand at a certain time or place. It recounts discussions alleged to have taken place over the course of several hundred years, and it was first transmitted orally (Kalmin 2006).
- III. The Jewish community of Babylonia was not concentrated in a single area, but rather dispersed across several different urban centers, and it is likely that regional differences existed within JBA (Epstein 1960: 14).<sup>9</sup>
- IV. Some of the *Amoraim* – those sages quoted in the Talmud who were active

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<sup>8</sup> While these innovative features are absent from other dialects contemporary with JBA, some of them reappear in the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic [NENA] dialects. For more on this, see Khan (2007).

<sup>9</sup> Wajsberg (1995) proposes a methodology to identify dialectal differences between units of the BT. His findings, however, may be related to the transmission of text and not to their original language.

in the centuries after the redaction of the Mishnah – were originally from Palestine, while others traveled from Babylonia to Palestine and back again; these rabbis, called *naḥote* (“descenders”), presumably spoke Palestinian Aramaic dialects. In addition, Babylonian Amoraim were in constant contact with the Palestinian *yeshivot* (plural of *yeshivah*, “academy”), and quoted the opinions of Palestinian sages in the course of their own discussions.

- V. There are many biforms in this Aramaic dialect; for example, there are two forms that serve as independent 3m sg nominative pronouns: the inherited form הוּא, and אִיהוּ, a form unique to JBA (see §4.5.2.3).
- VI. A few tractates, among them *Nedarim*, *Nazir*, *Karetot*, *Meila*, *Tamid* (and to some extent *Temura*), exhibit many archaic linguistic phenomena not found, or found only rarely, in the other tractates. We shall name the language of this group NBA. These phenomena, which also occur in texts from the Geonic period, and to some extent also in the incantation bowls, include the following:

The other tractates	<i>Nedarim</i> , <i>Nazir</i> , and texts from the Geonic period		
אתתא	אנתתא	woman	Unassimilated preconsonantal <i>n</i>
דיד-	דיל-	of X	Lack of the distant assimilation
כו-	כון-	yours	Lack of the final consonant apocopation
האי	הדין	this	Older form of the demonstrative pronouns
משום הכי	אמטול הכי	therefore	Lexical items
תליסר	תלת עשרי	thirteen	Preservation of “gutturals”

#### 0.4.1 Diachronic variation within JBA

Wajsberg (1997) argues that quotations attributed to earlier sages in the BT exhibit more archaic features than those attributed to later sages, but the evidence for this claim is somewhat complicated by his contention that these same archaic features are also found in the latest editorial strata. Both issues remain uncertain.

### 0.4.2 Palestinian Aramaic within the Babylonian Talmud

Wajsberg (1997) argues that there is a disproportionately large number of Palestinian features present in quotations attributed to the sage Abba Arikha (referred to most frequently by the cognomen “Rav”), who was born in Palestine, studied there under Rabbi Judah the Prince, and only later immigrated to Babylonia. These features include the use of the verb חמ"י instead of חז"י for the meaning of “to see”, and the presence of the direct object marker ת.

Schlesinger (1928) and Epstein (1960) had noted earlier the presence of Western Aramaic features, including certain uses of the short form (see §2.2.3.2.1), in quotations attributed to Palestinian sages in general. None of these alleged western features, however, represent innovations peculiar to the western dialect group (Kutscher 1976: 58); rather, all were already present in earlier stages of Aramaic, including the Aramaic of Targum Onqelos, to which JBA speakers were exposed regularly. Thus, these quotations may have been archaized so as to seem foreign, and, hence, Palestinian; it need not be the case that they preserve accurately the formulation of the sages to whom they are attributed. Nevertheless, it remains possible that quotations from Palestinian sages do contain Palestinian lexical items.<sup>10</sup>

### 0.4.3 The archaic language of NBA, and that of the Geonic texts [GBA]

As noted above, these texts contain a set of unique, seemingly archaic features. Given the presence of these features, it is reasonable to assume that the tractates *Nedarim* and *Nazir* were compiled by a group of editors different from those responsible for the rest of the BT. In what respect they were different, however, is still a moot point as is the question of why these same features also occur in texts from the Geonic period. A number of different answers have been proposed, including the following:<sup>11</sup>

- I. Chronological difference – It has been suggested that the BT was transmitted in a linguistically fluid oral form until the end of the Geonic period and only then fixed in writing; thus, it reflects a later stage of JBA than the Geonic texts, which were written documents from the outset.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For a different opinion see Wajsberg (2004–2005–2006 and 2007).

<sup>11</sup> For a survey of the various hypotheses, see Rybak (1980: 4–15, 117–118), Harviainen (1984) and Morgenstern (2011: 208–214).

<sup>12</sup> Levias (1900: 2) and Rybak (1980), for example, argue that NBA like GBA reflect the more original language. For a recent summary of the various opinions see Halivni (2007: 139–140).



- II. Regional difference – There were *yeshivot* located throughout Babylonia, and it has been suggested that both the aberrant tractates (NBA) and the texts from the Geonic period were composed in an area different from that in which the rest of the BT was composed.<sup>13</sup> Along similar lines, Harviainen (1984) has suggested that there were two dialect groups within JBA, rural and urban, and that the rural dialects preserved more archaic forms. This hypothesis has been met with stiff resistance in the scholarly literature, as there is hardly any evidence to support it.
- III. Stylistic difference – As noted above, the Jews of Babylonia were exposed to texts written in earlier dialects of Aramaic, including “Standard Literary Aramaic.” Morgenstern (2002) has demonstrated that the Geonic texts all contain “late” as well as “archaic” forms, and that the “archaic” forms usually occur at the beginning of these texts. Accordingly, he suggests that such forms constitute a literary affectation and do not reflect the spoken language of the Geonic period. Breuer (2007) has come to similar conclusions regarding NBA. Morag (1993), though, suggested almost the exact opposite: the BT was formulated orally in archaizing language, which was then replaced by colloquial language during the course of further oral transmission.

### 0.5 Language contact

Speakers of JBA were, in various ways, exposed to and influenced by other dialects of Aramaic, other Semitic languages, and even genetically unrelated languages; the results of such influence are most visible in the lexicon. The most significant of these languages are the following:

- I. Hebrew: In the course of engaging with earlier Jewish texts, speakers of JBA were exposed to both Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew; they were immersed in Hebrew when reading the Bible, rabbinic texts, and prayers. In fact the BT is a diglossic composition written in Aramaic and Hebrew together, and it is apparent that the redactors used each of these languages deliberately for different functions. Hebrew is primarily reserved for the teachings, whereas Aramaic is used for the dialectic discussions about them, formed as questions and answers, along with the editorial notes added to the original teachings. Margaliyot (1962–1963) demonstrated that in addition to teaching and prayers, other genres – such as poetry in gen-

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<sup>13</sup> *Inter alia* Epstein (1960: 15–16).

eral, eulogies, wisdom sayings, and (quite interestingly) the content of personal messages – are also composed in Hebrew. Somewhat strikingly, quotations from “inferior others”, such as the heretics, the Sadducees, or the Epicureans are usually in Aramaic, but those ascribed to prestigious individuals, such as the (Greek and other) philosophers, are in Hebrew. One may speculate whether this is merely an editorial technique or whether it reflects some reality in the spoken languages, as for example, there is evidence that discussions in the *yeshivot* were conducted, at least partially, in Hebrew (see also Gafni 2010). Given the pervasive presence of Hebrew in this culture, there was no doubt reciprocal influence between its Aramaic and its Hebrew. Thus, it is common for contemporary researches to discuss Rabbinic Babylonian Hebrew and its influence on JBA (Breuer 2002).

- II. Akkadian: As noted above (§0.1), the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian had served as the principal spoken language of Babylonia before Aramaic. Accordingly, certain features of JBA are to be attributed to a Babylonian Akkadian substratum (Kaufman 1974).
- III. Persian: The Sassanian rulers of Babylonia spoke a form of Persian, an Indo-European language. While it is clear that the BT betrays the influence of Persian culture and contains many Persian lexical items, whether or not the Persian language had an impact on the grammar of JBA is a matter of debate; Kutscher (1965) felt that some influence could be demonstrated, but his proposal has been challenged recently (Bar-Asher 2007).
- IV. Arabic: After the Arab conquest of Babylonia in the middle of the seventh century, JBA – or, more precisely, GBA – came into contact with Arabic as well, and Geonic texts written in Arabic begin to appear in the middle of the ninth century.<sup>14</sup>

## 0.6 Sources of our linguistic knowledge of JBA

### 0.6.1 A note on the phonology of JBA

Aramaic, like Hebrew and Arabic, is written using a primarily consonantal alphabet, with vowels indicated optionally through *matres lectionis* (vowel letters) or through one of several systems of dots and dashes placed above or below the consonants. Unfortunately, almost no vocalized JBA texts have survived; there is one manuscript of HPS that is largely vocalized, and a few other

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<sup>14</sup> For further information regarding the languages of the Geonic period, see Brody (1998: 138–140).

manuscripts include the occasional (partially) vocalized word (see §1.1.5). To compensate for the paucity of vocalized texts, scholars have turned their attention toward more indirect forms of evidence.

As noted above (§0.4), several of the Targumim were most likely written in Palestine, but transmitted to the rest of the Jewish world by way of Babylonia. It is commonly held that, while in Babylonia, they absorbed some features of the local dialect, that is, JBA. Many vocalized manuscripts of the Targum exist, and these may provide indirect evidence for the vowel system of JBA.

Furthermore, the Yemenite pronunciation tradition, which had been transmitted orally for centuries, is well documented. Morag (1961, 1993) felt that it is trustworthy, not only because those steeped in the tradition would, when faced with a divergent text from another tradition, routinely ignore the written text and substitute the Yemenite version, but also because of the many features that it shares with the vocalized manuscript of HPS.

As more studies have been conducted on the Yemenite pronunciation tradition, it became clear that (1) we should speak about traditions rather than one tradition, and (2) while it is likely that it preserved some old features of JBA, this tradition was also influenced significantly by their oral traditions for the reading of other Aramaic dialects (mostly the one of the Targumim) and by the other Semitic languages to which they were exposed (Arabic and Hebrew).<sup>15</sup>

### 0.6.2 Manuscripts used for establishing a grammar and printed versions of the Babylonian Talmud

There is only one extant manuscript (MS Munich 95) that contains the entire BT; most consist of one tractate or several tractates. The manuscripts often diverge in linguistically significant ways, and there is considerable debate as to their relative value.<sup>16</sup>

The methodology outlined by Kutscher highlights the need to begin by identifying the most reliable Ur-text(s) written in JBA, from which the grammar of JBA can then be described. Kutscher pointed to *Halachot Pesuqot*, MS Sasson (=HPS) and MS Hamburg 165 for tractate *Neziqin* as potentially good manuscripts for laying the foundations for a grammar of JBA. He also thought highly of the Yemenite manuscripts. Kutscher's approach and preferences exerted considerable influence over the field and, for a long time, went unquestioned. Friedman (1996) argues that the manuscripts naturally fall into four groups on

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<sup>15</sup> Morgenstern (2011: 59–82).

<sup>16</sup> For a list and description of the extant manuscripts, see Krupp (1987); for the most updated catalogue of all talmudic manuscripts, see Sussmann (2012).

the basis of orthographic conventions and a few grammatical features: Ashkenazic, Yemenite, Sephardic, and “the fourth group.” Of these, according to Friedman, the Ashkenazic group displays the greatest variety of forms, and the Yemenite the least; for example, Ashkenazic manuscripts frequently contain למיתן alongside למיתב, and מידעם alongside מידי. On the basis of such findings, he concludes that the other manuscript traditions have suffered homogenization during the process of transmission. Morgenstern (2005) has arrived at similar conclusions and argues that the Yemenite manuscripts and the MS Hamburg 165 of Tractate *Neziqin* are not necessarily the most reliable.

Morgenstern (2011) has argued recently that instead of looking for *the* Ur-texts, it is advisable to seek the best *group* of manuscripts. He argues for a fifth group of manuscripts – the Early Eastern Manuscripts (=EEMs). He concludes that, on the one hand, the EEMs reflect a stage of the language closer to the original state of JBA than any other textual witness. On the other hand, all other manuscripts are consequences of later developments. Some of the developments are the outcome of leveling of the various alternative forms, while others have resulted from attempts to correct the language of the Talmud. The Academy of the Hebrew Language has chosen a principal manuscript for each tractate on the basis of various philological considerations, and, as a consequence, scholars tend to focus on these manuscripts when preparing linguistic studies.<sup>17</sup>

In two recent studies I have raised some doubts about the methodology of relying on specific textual witnesses in order to describe the JBA dialect.<sup>18</sup> I have sought to uncover and explore the implicit criteria employed by the scholars who have followed Kutscher’s methodology. It has become clear that at times this methodology does not recover the original language successfully, and at times results in confusion between the original language of the text, as opposed to the original spoken language. This shortcoming is serious enough to warrant rethinking the history of this dialect and of the texts written in it, and to consider models that include the notion of diglossia.

The sociolinguistic model of diglossia describes coexistence between two (or more) languages, or of two varieties of one language, within one speech community. This concept, introduced by Ferguson,<sup>19</sup> characterizes multilingual situations in which the functional domains of each of the languages are appor-

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<sup>17</sup> See Sokoloff (2002: 24, 55–60). Wajsberg (1981–83) offers the criteria used for assessing the linguistic values of the manuscripts of the BT.

<sup>18</sup> Bar-Asher Siegal (2012 and 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Ferguson (1959).

tioned in a kind of complementary distribution. These domains are usually ranked hierarchically, from the highly valued (H) to the less valued (L). The H-language is typically used for religious, educational, literary, and other prestigious domains, while the L-language, representing more of the vernacular, occupies primarily the spoken realm.<sup>20</sup> In light of this I propose that it would be useful to consider the following model for analyzing the linguistic data from JBA, considering both its historical stage and its later transmission:

Stage A: diglossia with differences between the written and spoken languages;

Stage B: transmission of the texts and the following types of changes inserted to the original language of the texts:

1. adaptations to the spoken language;
2. adaptations to grammars of both higher and lower registers;
3. misunderstandings of the original language;
4. mistakes.

The methodological hesitations that one encounters when dealing with forms of JBA are often of two kinds:

- a. When something is suspected to reflect a spoken language, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether it is a manifestation of diglossia in Stage A, or an indication of a change that took place in Stage B(1). We must also remember that it could simply be a mistake that occurred in transmission, Stage B(4).
- b. When there is a feature that reflects “classical” grammar, the question is whether it is an indication of Stage A (either in the written or the spoken register of Aramaic), or a later adaptation to a different grammar representing a higher register (B 2). As a third alternative – which I have sought to demonstrate elsewhere – it may also show a misunderstanding of the grammar (B 3).<sup>21</sup>

In the light of this, it is impossible in most cases to choose between the various historical options, since their “symptoms” are the same. Therefore, I believe that one may conclude the following:

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<sup>20</sup> For a presentation of how the model of diglossia can be applied to ancient languages, see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013a).

<sup>21</sup> See Bar-Asher Siegal (forthcoming), where I present an attempt to reveal how Spanish scholars in the 13<sup>th</sup> century perceived the grammar of JBA.

1. Even if we accept Kutscher's framework, i.e. that the goal of the philologist is to reconstruct the actual historical language of JBA, we may have to be satisfied with the fact that it is not always possible to determine which phenomenon is original. Often it is only possible to raise the various options regarding each and every form.
2. It is not advisable to determine which of the manuscripts provides the most reliable textual evidence in general for all the linguistic phenomena, as this may change from one discussion to another. It is better to discuss phenomena instead of sources. Elaborations on internal relations between forms and structures may be more useful.<sup>22</sup>

### 0.6.3 Editions of the Babylonian Talmud and the sources used in this book

There are a few works that list textual variants between manuscripts,<sup>23</sup> but no complete critical edition of the BT exists yet.

The first printed edition of the BT was produced by Daniel Bomberg in sixteenth-century Venice. The following centuries witnessed a proliferation of different printed editions until the publication of the so-called "Vilna edition" in the mid-nineteenth century. The Vilna edition quickly displaced all others, and contemporary printed editions are simply reproductions.

The spread of printed copies of the BT contributed greatly to the neglect of the manuscript tradition. The printed editions were all "eclectic"; each text was chosen on the basis of several manuscripts, as well as conjectural emendations suggested by rabbinic consultants retained by the printers. None of the printers provided any documentation or justification for their text-critical decisions. Consequently, the printed versions, including the Vilna edition, are not reliable sources for the text of the BT.

References to passages from the BT are conventionally given according to the location of the passage in the Vilna edition. Every leaf (sheet of paper) has a number, which is traditionally, but not in English-language publications such as this, given in alphabetic numerals; the first side of each leaf is indicated by the letter *a*, and the second by the letter *b*. Thus, a reference, such as *Megillah*

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<sup>22</sup> Elaboration on this methodology are found in Bar-Asher Siegal (2012: 256–263). As noted in this discussion, this type of elaboration is very suitable to syntactic issues. Chapter Five in Morgenstern (2011) is another example of such a study concentrating on the marking of direct objects in JBA.

<sup>23</sup> The most important of these is *Diqduqe Soferim*, published by Nathan Rabinowitz in the early twentieth century, and the more detailed lists pertaining to a few tractates compiled over the last few decades by the Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud.

13b, has three components: the tractate (*Megillah*), the folio number (13), and the side (b).

Despite the reservations mentioned earlier, the default manuscript for the quotations in this book are from the manuscripts which the Academy of the Hebrew Language has chosen as the principal manuscript for each tractate in the Ma'agarim database. When it is relevant, citations of other manuscripts are provided as well, with the notation used by Sokoloff (2002: 55–67), for all the sources of JBA.

## 0.7 JBA scholarship

As noted above (§0.1), the grammar of JBA is still not completely understood, despite the cultural significance of this dialect and over a century of systematic research. Some of the most important linguistic studies are reviewed here.<sup>24</sup>

The earliest modern grammatical descriptions of JBA are Luzzatto (1865) (translated into German [1873], English [1876] and Hebrew [1880]), Levias (1900) (and the completely revised Hebrew version in 1930) and Margolis (1910); unfortunately, all of these works make only limited use of manuscripts. The next significant grammar of JBA is Epstein (1960), which was edited and published by E.Z. Melammed after Epstein's death on the basis of the latter's notes; despite being quite thorough, it suffers from a number of linguistic shortcomings incisively described by Kutscher (1962) in his review. Kutscher's review also contains the most comprehensive discussion of diachronic variation within JBA. In this watershed study, Kutscher argues that any philological study of this dialect that aims to provide a systematic analysis should be based on the most reliable textual witnesses. Not surprisingly, he criticizes all previous scholars for failing to do so. It must be noted, though, that to a large extent Kutscher's influential review led to the neglect of previous scholarship, most notably the work of Margolis and Levias. The research for this book has led me to reevaluate their work. The scope of their study is astonishing as they cover almost all areas in the grammar of JBA (not limiting themselves to the areas of phonology and morphology). I found myself again and again reaching very similar conclusions. Although the cautious examination of manuscripts often forced me to refine their conclusions, it also led me to admire the important contributions they made to our knowledge of JBA grammar.

Important works on JBA phonology were produced by Morag (1961, 1983) on

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<sup>24</sup> Morgenstern (2011, Chapter 2) provides a detailed history of the scholarship on JBA.

the basis of the Yemenite tradition and the vocalized manuscript of HPS. Other notable works on the subject include Kara (1983), which focuses on Yemenite manuscripts, and, for GBA, Morgenstern (2002); these two works also address the morphology of JBA found in Yemenite manuscripts and GBA, respectively.<sup>25</sup> In the area of the BA magic texts I would like to mention the work of Juusola (1999), which covers various phonological and morphological peculiarities of this corpus. This study also contributed to the linguistic comparison of this corpus with the language of the Talmud.

Besides many significant notes on syntax in the books of Levias and Margolis, Schlesinger (1928) remains the only extended treatment of JBA syntax; although it has its strengths, it suffers from over-reliance on the standard printed edition of the BT, as opposed to the manuscripts, and it lacks the theoretical apparatus developed within the fields of syntax and discourse analysis over the last century.

Unlike other aspects of JBA, the lexicon is quite well understood; there is a very long tradition of lexicography of JBA, beginning with the *Aruk* of Rabbi Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (c. 1035–1106), which already systematically compared JBA to other Semitic and non-Semitic languages, and later its various supplements and compendiums (see Bacher 1901–1906). Sokoloff (2002) is an excellent, up-to-date dictionary covering all periods of JBA, compiled in consultation with the most reliable manuscripts.<sup>26</sup>

## 0.8 About this book

### 0.8.1 The purpose of this book

As noted above (§0.1), JBA presents a number of features that make it difficult to write an introductory grammar book of the sort available for Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Classical Arabic, Classical Greek, Classical Latin, etc. This difficulty is compounded by the diversity of those interested in JBA: Semitic philologists, scholars of ancient biblical interpretation, potential Talmudists, rabbinical students, Syriac specialists, etc. This book is designed to offer something to readers of all backgrounds, including those readers who have no background at all. Such features as technical linguistic discussions and parallels from Syriac are included for those who are interested; the units can always be understood without them. For the non-specialist a glossary of the linguistic terms is given at the end of the book.

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<sup>25</sup> For a recent survey of research on JBA morphology, see Khan (2007).

<sup>26</sup> For a thorough evaluation of this dictionary, see Wajsborg (2007).



This book is structured as a textbook, thus topics are introduced in a pedagogical order. For example, phonological notes are provided where they are needed for understanding a grammatical issue. Consequently, at the end of the book there are vocabulary notes and translation exercises suiting for each chapter. At the same time, this book can be used as a reference grammar. For this purpose, the second table of content at the end of the book is provided, for readers who wish to use this book in this manner.

As should be clear by now, research on JBA is ongoing, and there is little agreement among scholars on a good number of issues. Thus, although this book obviously relies on previous scholarship, every topic and the data that supports it have been reexamined in the various corpora as they appear in the various manuscripts. In addition it contains original research on many topics. Other topics are presented in ways that differ from the traditional scholarly presentation; this is done with the hope of improving other presentations through linguistic clarity and simplicity, or descriptive adequacy. Furthermore, while recent scholarship has tended to focus on a limited corpus (most notably Kara 1983 and Morgenstern 2002), the corpora of this book is much more extensive. Consequently, the incorporation of data from all texts written in JBA and all of their manuscripts allowed refined generalizations concerning the data.

In the phonological and morphological data, the current study relies on all the data provided by Kara (1983) and Morgenstern (2002). In addition, all the data which appear in Margolis (1910), Levias (1930) and Epstein (1960) have been examined in the manuscripts. Finally, for various phenomena all manuscripts were examined.

This is, of course, an ongoing process, and it is expected that the more systematic studies of each and every resource of JBA will allow us to refine our knowledge even more.

### 0.8.2 Citations and translations

When morphology or phonology is discussed, there is no citation of the sources as they can be easily located in the relevant databases available on the internet.<sup>27</sup>

When a sentence is quoted its location in the JBA texts is given. If its meaning

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<sup>27</sup> *Ma'agarim* (<http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il/>) and *The Saul Lieberman Institute* (<http://www.lieberman-institute.com/>).

is significant for the discussion it is provided within the larger context. Due to the technical nature of the sources, translations are not literal, and when a technical, or even morphological translation is needed to prove a certain point, an additional literal translation is given as well. This book has made significant use of the translations provided in Sokoloff (2002) and in the Soncino translation of the Babylonian Talmud. I have often followed their translations, unless I either disagree with their proposals, or thought an alternative translation better suits the purpose of the argument.

As for the citations themselves, occasionally a complete form is cited, instead of abbreviations in the texts (about which see §1.1.6.2). In addition, if a letter in the middle of the word is restored with high probability, the restoration is not always indicated as such, as long as the restored form does not stand at the center of the discussion.



# Chapter 1

## 1.1 Orthography

As noted in the introduction (§0.6), important questions concerning the phonology of JBA linger. Since orthography is one of most important sources available for recovering the phonology, in this grammar the orthography of JBA is treated before the phonology.

As noted in the introduction (§0.2), all extant JBA texts except for the incantation bowls have survived through the medieval manuscript tradition. There are considerable orthographic differences between manuscripts, and considerable variation within individual manuscripts. The goal of this section is to provide an overview of the different orthographic practices one will encounter in the manuscripts.

### 1.1.1 Consonants

JBA is written from right to left with a primarily consonantal alphabet, the same 22-letter alphabet used to write Hebrew. Although the extant manuscripts, which hail from various different Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora, differ considerably in the script used (i.e., the shape of the letters), all the scripts descend from the one used to write Official Aramaic. In this book, the standard printed forms of the letters will be used; they are given in the following table:

<i>alef</i>	א	ʾ	<i>tet</i>	ט	ṭ	<i>ʾayin</i>	ע	ʿ
<i>bet</i>	ב	<i>b</i>	<i>yod</i>	י	<i>y</i>	<i>peh</i>	(פ) פ	<i>p</i>
<i>gimel</i>	ג	<i>g</i>	<i>kaf</i>	(כ) כ	<i>k</i>	<i>šadeh</i>	(צ) צ	<i>š</i>
<i>dalet</i>	ד	<i>d</i>	<i>lamed</i>	ל	<i>l</i>	<i>qof</i>	ק	<i>q</i>
<i>heh</i>	ה	<i>h</i>	<i>mem</i>	(מ) מ	<i>m</i>	<i>reš</i>	ר	<i>r</i>
<i>waw</i>	ו	<i>w</i>	<i>nun</i>	(נ) נ	<i>n</i>	<i>šin</i>	ש	<i>š</i>
<i>zayin</i>	ז	<i>z</i>	<i>samek</i>	ס	<i>s</i>	<i>taw</i>	ת	<i>t</i>
<i>het</i>	ח	<i>ḥ</i>						

The forms in parentheses appear only at the end of a word, where they take the place of the forms to their right. These are called “final forms.”

In transliterations, each Aramaic letter is represented by the Roman letter to its right, unless it serves as a vowel letter, for which see below. Note, however, that in earlier stages of Aramaic, the letter *šin* (ש) was also used to represent a

phoneme that had merged with /s/ by the time of Official Aramaic, and thus, one occasionally finds *š* used to represent /s/ in JBA where the lost phoneme occurred historically; in such cases, *s* appears in the transliteration, as in שמאלא *sāmālā*.

Although all 22 letters appear in JBA texts, it is not clear that each represented a distinct consonantal phoneme. The letters פ, כ, ט, ג, ב, and נ each had two phonetic realizations, one being a plosive and the other a fricative, and it is uncertain whether they were merely allophones or different phonemes; see below (§1.2.2.8) for further discussion. In transliterations, the fricative realization is indicated by a line above or below the letter (*p* vs. *p̄* or *p̆*). Moreover, a number of consonantal phonemes may have merged, either partially or completely, resulting in a considerable variety of spellings in the extant manuscripts; this issue will be addressed later (§3.1).

### 1.1.2 Vowel letters (*matres lectionis*)

The earliest and most widespread means of representing vowels in Aramaic is through the use of vowel letters, or *matres lectionis*; certain letters that originally represented consonantal sounds came to be used to indicate vowels as well. The oldest extant Aramaic texts used vowel letters sparingly, but they became more common over time. In some late dialects, most notably Mandaic, each vowel sound was indicated by a letter. In JBA texts, the letters ה, ו, י, and א occur, both separately and in combination with one another, as vowel letters. The various manuscripts differ widely in their use of vowel letters. Some scholars believe that JBA orthography was originally quite full, like that of Mandaic, and that later scribes, influenced by the defective spelling common in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible, omitted many of the vowel letters.<sup>28</sup> In the opinion of these scholars, then, good manuscripts (see §0.6.2) are characterized by the liberal use of vowel letters. Other scholars argue that the use of vowel letters varied amongst the different scribal schools, and that fuller spellings are therefore not necessarily better or more original.<sup>29</sup>

Given the lack of consistency between manuscripts, and even within individual manuscripts, very few ironclad rules governing the presence of vowel letters can be given. For the most part, one can only make generalizations about the vowel letters *likely* to be encountered when reading manuscripts. A given

<sup>28</sup> E.g., Kutscher (1962: 173–175); while Morag (1972–1973) agreed with Kutscher that vowel letters were once very common in JBA, he felt that they were never used as systematically as in Mandaic.

<sup>29</sup> E.g., Friedman (1996), see above (§0.6.2), and Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 354).

vowel can be represented by different letters, or by no letter at all; and the same letter can represent different vowels. Moreover, certain vowel letters tend to be used with certain morphological categories, but not others; for example, Yemenite manuscripts regularly use א to indicate the vowel /ā/ in the Pe-stem active participle of III-y verbs (§6.8), as in שאני *šāne*, but much less frequently in Pe-stem active participles from other roots. In the next sections a list of the various possible phonological representations will be provided. The assumptions about the quantity of the vowels is based on comparative knowledge from earlier and contemporary Aramaic dialects. As will become clear later (§1.2.2.2), these assumptions are problematic. This section refers to all vowels as phonemes. In the next section (§1.2) their actual phonemic status will be examined.

### 1.1.2.1 א Alef

*Alef* is used to indicate a-vowels, both historically long and historically short.<sup>30</sup> It is very common in open syllables, both in the middle of a word, as in סאבר *sābar* and באעו *ba'ū*; and at the end, as in סברא *sabrā*. Occasionally, it appears in closed syllables as well, as in לאחחיה *laḥteh*; this is especially common after consonantal /w/ and /y/ (see below, §1.1.3), as in כואת *kawāt*. In many manuscripts, *alef* regularly occurs in the plural ending -āṭ in order to distinguish plural from singular forms (see §2.2.1).

*Alef* is rarely used to mark medial and final /e/, as in תאמא *temā* and ידעא *yād'e*. The medial vowel *alef* to indicate /e/ occurs only in historical spellings, as in ראש *reš*, in the position of a historical /'/. A word-final *alef* marking a vowel is found occasionally in the plural ending -e, as in Syriac, as for example in גברא *gabre*. A quiescent (silent) *alef* can also appear at the end of a word spelled historically, as in הוא *hu*.

<sup>30</sup> See below (§1.2.2.2) for a discussion of whether or not there was a phonemic distinction between historically long and historically short a-vowels in JBA. Morgenstern (2002), who believes that JBA had a quantitative distinction between /a/ and /ā/, argues that, in Geonic texts, *alef* only indicated /ā/ at first, and that all apparent exceptions are the result of later confusion; nevertheless, the use of *alef* to indicate historically short a-vowels is widespread in extant JBA manuscripts, especially those from Yemen.

### 1.1.2.2 י Yod

*Yod* is used to indicate the vowel /e/, both medially and word-finally, in open and closed syllables, as in אֵילָא *elā*, נֶפֶק *nāḳeq* and מַלְכֵי *malḳe*. It also appears where a shortened vowel (*schwa mobile*, marked as [◌]) is expected on the basis of comparisons with other dialects of Aramaic, as in דִּיבִי for דְּבִי *dəḅī*. Finally, *yod* represents *i*-vowels, both historically long and historically short,<sup>31</sup> in all positions and types of syllables, as in אִפְשׁוֹט *ipšašot* and עֲבָדִין *ʿabādīn*.

### 1.1.2.3 ו Waw

*Waw* indicates both /o/ and /u/<sup>32</sup> in all positions and types of syllables, as in שְׁבוּחָה *šabboḥe* and אִזוּל *ezūl*.

### 1.1.2.4 ה Heh

*Heh* is used as a vowel letter only in final position. Alone, it can indicate either /e/, as in מִפְנֵה *mippəne*, or /ā/, as in פֶּלְגָה *palgā*. The combination of *yod* and *he* can indicate either /i/, as in אִיקְלֵיָה *ʿiqaləʿi* although this is rare, or /e/, as in לְאִקְוֵיָה *ləʿaqole*; this is another example of historical spelling.

### 1.1.2.5 Summary of the uses of the vowel letters

Medial /a/ or /ā/	Final /a/ or /ā/	Medial /e/ (open syllable)	Medial /e/ (closed syllable)	Final /e/	Medial /i/	Final /i/	/o/	/u/
א	ה, א	י, א	י	יה, ה, י, א	י	י, יה	ו	ו

### 1.1.3 The consonants /w/ and /y/

Since both *waw* and *yod* are commonly used as vowel letters, some scribes tended to indicate the consonants /w/ and /y/ by writing *waw* and *yod* twice, as in גַּוּנָא *gawnā*. Such writings are more common when there would otherwise be a homograph, as in תִּנְיָנָא *tinyānā*, as opposed to תַּנְיָנָא *təniḅnā*; or when the consonant is geminate, as in אִתְכַּוּוּן *ʿitkawwan*.

<sup>31</sup> See below (§1.2.2.3) concerning the phonemic distinction between /i/ and /e/ in JBA.

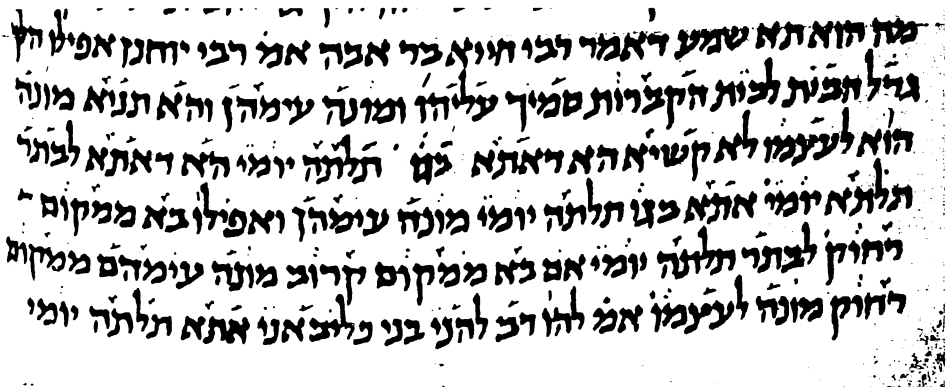
<sup>32</sup> See below (§1.2.2.4) concerning the phonemic distinction between /o/ and /u/ in JBA.

### 1.1.4 The diphthong /ay/

The diphthong /ay/ (and, if it is distinct, /āy/) in final position can be written in any of the following ways: םׁ, םׂ, ם׃, or םׁׁ. In Ashkenazic manuscripts, םׁ is most common, while םׁׁ is most common in Yemenite manuscripts.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.1.5 Vocalization

Vowels in JBA, as in Hebrew, can also be indicated through one of two systems of dots and dashes placed around the consonantal text: the Tiberian system, in which most vowel points are sublinear; and the Babylonian system, in which they are supralinear. Most JBA manuscripts and printed editions remain, however, unvocalized. Some manuscripts are vocalized sporadically, mostly to disambiguate homographs; even in these manuscripts, though, some words in otherwise vocalized sentences are left unvocalized, and the same is true even of some syllables in otherwise vocalized words.



Vocalized lines from *Halachot Pesuqot*, MS Sasson

Most of the Geonic texts that are vocalized use the Babylonian pointing, including the HPS manuscript which is partially vocalized (135 pages out of 310 are vocalized, and in most of them only the last five lines are vocalized).<sup>34</sup> Below, both traditions are given with the letter ב with the names of the Tiberian signs:

<sup>33</sup> Morgenstern (2002) believes that these different spellings indicate the shift ay > ayi /\_#; while this is possible, there are no vocalized texts that indicate such a pronunciation.

<sup>34</sup> For an explanation for this unsystematic vocalization, see Morag (1967–8: 67–68).



	Tiberian Vocalization	Babylonian Vocalization
<i>ba</i>	בַּ <i>pataḥ</i>	בָּ
<i>bā</i>	בֶּ <i>qameṣ</i>	בֵּ
<i>be</i>	בֶּ <i>ṣere</i> בֶּ <i>segol</i>	בִּ
<i>bi</i>	בִּ <i>ḥireq</i>	בִּ
<i>bo</i>	בּ <i>holem</i>	בֹּ
<i>bu</i>	בּוּ <i>šureq</i> בֻּ <i>qibbuṣ</i>	בֹּ
<i>bə</i>	בְּ <i>schwa</i>	בְּ

For convenience, only the Tiberian signs are used in this book.

Although vocalized texts are an important source of information for reconstructing the vowel system of JBA, there are a number of reasons why caution must be exercised when using them. First, the systems of vocalization were also used, and probably originally developed, for Hebrew texts, so that they may have been adapted for Aramaic without fitting its vowel system. (For example, HPS usually vocalizes the last five lines of the page, regardless of whether they are in Hebrew or in Aramaic). More importantly, these systems were also used to vocalize the Aramaic portions of the Bible and the various Targumim, texts for which long and well-preserved pronunciation traditions existed; it is quite possible that scribes, either intentionally or unintentionally, brought the vocalization of JBA into conformity with that of Biblical and Targumic Aramaic. Finally, the vocalization in those manuscripts that have it is often a product of a scribe other than the one responsible for the consonantal text, and may therefore represent a different pronunciation tradition than that reflected in the consonants, including the vowel letters.

### 1.1.6 Notes on the writing of words

There are a couple of peculiarities about the way in which whole words are written: first of all, certain words in JBA texts are sometimes written together without a space between them; secondly, abbreviated spellings are commonly used.

### 1.1.6.1 Word division

As is Hebrew and other dialects of Aramaic, some prepositions, such as ב and ל, the conjunction ו, and the particle ד, are proclitic and written together with the following word. Sometimes, other prepositions and conjunctions are written together with the following word, likely indicating that these too were pronounced proclitically: examples include א (< על) “because of”; (see §3.1.3.2) “on”, as in אגב (< על גב) “because of”; אד (< ד) “until”, אדמהדר (< עד דמהדר) “until he returns”; and כי, as in כי דאיפלוג (< כי דאיפלוג) “when they disagreed”. Note that the forms in parentheses are not reconstructed, as they too occur in manuscripts and printed texts. Additionally, certain frequently occurring combinations of words are written together, probably reflecting the way in which they were pronounced; for example, one regularly finds איבעיתימא instead of אי בעית אימא “If you wish, say!” and in the following combination: מי קא עביד ביה (< מאי קא עביד ביה) “what does he do in this case”. (Analogous examples in English are words such as “nonetheless” and “furthermore”). The particle קא which precedes the active participle (see §7.2.3) is often written as part of the verbal form קא אמר = קאמר “he says”) indicating a proclitic pronunciation.<sup>35</sup> Finally, forms of the preposition ל with pronominal suffixes (see §4.2) are sometimes written together with the preceding word, as in למאלי (< למה לי) “why do I have to?”; אמלך (< אמר לך) “he tells you”, מנלן (< מנא לן) “what is our source?”. Naturally, this suggests an enclitic pronunciation.

### 1.1.6.2 Abbreviations

Certain words and grammatical categories are often abbreviated. There are two types of abbreviation: acronyms, where the scribes provide only the initials of a set of words, for example: ת"ש for תא שמע (“come and listen”), or shortening of words and the absence of some of the final letters: אמ' for אמר (“he said”). Abbreviated spellings are indicated either by a stroke, as in ל' (ליה=), or, in some manuscripts, by a supralinear dot over the last letter, as in שמיע' (=שמיעא). It must be emphasized that these are merely spelling conventions and do not indicate anything about the actual pronunciations.

<sup>35</sup> In EEMs the particle is almost always separated (קא סבר), except when used with the verb אמ"ר, where some of the manuscripts also have קאמר. Morgenstern (2011: 172–174) argues that this distribution reflects the original pronunciation. Other manuscripts often have the non-separated form with other roots as well, for example, קסבר. For a possible different analysis of the material see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 360).

## 1.2 Phonological notes

As noted in the introduction (§0.6.1), there are still many aspects of JBA phonology that are not well understood, a number of which are presented below. It is almost impossible to reconstruct, for example, the position of the stress.<sup>36</sup> Given the nature of the writing system, most of the uncertainty relates to the vowel inventory of the language. Before addressing these issues, a word about the absence of vocalization in this grammar is in order.

### 1.2.1 The absence of vocalization in this grammar

As noted above (§1.1.5), vocalization is rare in most JBA manuscripts and entirely absent from the standard printed editions. Despite this difficulty, some JBA reference works consistently include vowel points. In this book, however, vocalization is usually omitted. There are two reasons for this. First, one almost never encounters vocalized forms in JBA texts. Second, given the uncertainty surrounding the vowel system, and the often contradictory evidence of the vocalized texts and pronunciation traditions (see below, §1.2.2.), it is often unclear how the forms should be vocalized.

### 1.2.2 Unresolved phonological issues

The following discussion addresses two key areas of uncertainty in the phonology of JBA: the number of vowel phonemes and the phonemic status of the fricative realizations of the letters פ, כ, ט, ד, ג, ב, and ת (see below, §1.2.2.8). The present discussion is not meant to be exhaustive. Possible consonant mergers are addressed later (§3.1).

#### 1.2.2.1 Shortened vowels

In earlier stages of Aramaic, any unstressed open syllable with a short vowel was shortened. In most cases these short vowels are not marked with vowel letters (for exceptions see above §1.1.2.2), and therefore it is impossible to conclude whether they were still pronounced or underwent complete syncope. In the Yemenite tradition there is some consistency (see Morag 1988b), but to a large extent it depends on some of the questions that we will discuss in the following sections concerning the phonology of the vowels in JBA. Without a clear picture regarding the pronunciations of certain vowels it is impossible to discuss the structure of the syllables in JBA.

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<sup>36</sup> Morag (1988: 117–119) argues that it is difficult to propose consistent rules even within the Yemenite tradition.

### 1.2.2.2 Low vowels

In Biblical Aramaic and some of the dialects of Syriac there remained a phonemic distinction between the reflex of Proto-Semitic /a/, and that of Proto-Semitic /ā/,<sup>37</sup> but it is unclear whether a phonemic distinction between the two existed in JBA. The two signs used to represent /a/ and /ā/ in Biblical and Targumic Aramaic texts, Tiberian *pataḥ* <◌◌◌> and *qameṣ* <◌◌◌◌> respectively, and their Babylonian equivalents, both occur in JBA manuscripts. Often, each sign occurs where it is expected from a historical and comparative point of view; thus, there are many examples of Pe-stem active participles of the *qātil/qātel* form (see §5.3.5) written with a *qameṣ*, as in *עֲבִיד*. However, there are other cases in which *pataḥ* is found where *qameṣ* is expected and vice versa, as in *סִבְר* (beside *פְּצַח*) and *יִמָּר* (instead of *יִמְר*).

Some scholars believe that a phonemic distinction did exist in JBA, but that the sound change *ā > a* had occurred in the following environments.<sup>38</sup>

- a. penultimate open syllables preceding open syllables (*\_CV#*), as in *שְׂאֲנִי > שְׂאֲנִי*, and *דְּאֲמוּ > דְּאֲמוּ*; and
- b. certain open syllables preceding *schwa mobile*, with concomitant syncope of the *schwa* (*\*āCaCV > aCCV*), as in *אֲזִלָּא > אֲזִלָּא*, and *אֲכָלִי > אֲכָלִי*.<sup>39</sup>

These rules, however, cannot explain all examples of confusion between the two signs, and, therefore, others argue that in JBA, as in other Eastern Aramaic dialects, the two vowels had merged into a single phoneme.<sup>40</sup>

Among those who believe that the phonemic distinction between the two vowels had disappeared in JBA, there are those who argue that the new phoneme had two different phonetic realizations: a front unrounded vowel [a], which was represented by *pataḥ* and its Babylonian equivalent; and a back rounded vowel [ɑ], which was represented by *qameṣ* and its Babylonian equivalent.<sup>41</sup> The latter realization is suggested by the use of the vowel letter *ו* where an original *a*-vowel is expected.<sup>42</sup> According to these scholars, the use of one or

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<sup>37</sup> It is irrelevant for the present discussion whether the distinction was still quantitative in these dialects, or whether it had become qualitative.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., Morag (1967–1968), who also argues for this shift in a number of other environments. These, however, are all morphological categories in which the shift would have resulted from analogy rather than a sound rule.

<sup>39</sup> A similar development occurred in Eastern Syriac (see Nöldeke 2001: 29, §42).

<sup>40</sup> Boyarin (1978b).

<sup>41</sup> Morag, who believed that a phonemic distinction still existed between the two vowels, also felt that they were realized in this manner.

<sup>42</sup> This phenomenon occurs only occasionally in manuscripts, but frequently in certain

the other allophone was conditioned by the phonetic environment: [â] was used before vowels and in proximity to labials, while [a] occurred elsewhere.

### 1.2.2.3 High/mid front vowels

In other Aramaic dialects (such as Syriac) there is a phonemic distinction between /i/ and /e/. In Biblical Aramaic, in general, there seems to be an allophonic distribution between the vowels [i], indicated by *hireq* <◌ִ> and its Babylonian equivalent, and [e], indicated by *tsere* <◌ֵ> and its Babylonian equivalent, while in certain environments they are interchangeable. It is unclear, however, whether the two remained separate phonemes in JBA.<sup>43</sup> In some vocalized manuscripts, the two vowels are used interchangeably, even for the same word, as in אִלָּא and אֵלָּא (in the case of HPS). There are also specific morphological categories for which interchange of the two signs is common, such as the Pe-stem active participle; both שְׁבִיִּק and שְׁבִיֵּק, for example, are attested. Certain morphological categories, on the other hand, are subject to a high degree of consistency: the plural marker is always pronounced [e] in the Yemenite tradition, while HPS preserves the earlier distinction between nouns, for which *šere* is written; participles are written with *hireq* (see below, §2.2.1).<sup>44</sup> If HPS indeed reflects the pronunciation of the plural markers in JBA, then the distinction between the two vowels must still have been phonemic. Other earlier sources, however, indicate lack of consistency in this category, and there are internal reasons to suggest that the consistent differentiation between nouns and participles in the plural in HPS is simply a matter of historical tradition that does not necessarily reflect the spoken GBA language. Thus, to some extent at this period it may be considered as a pseudo-distinction introduced artificially.<sup>45</sup>

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incantation bowls.

<sup>43</sup> Morgenstern (2002: 54–55) quotes a grammatical comment from the Geonic period that indicates that a phonemic distinction existed between the two vowels, but it is not clear whether this should be taken as descriptive or prescriptive. Concerning the issue of the use of external meta-linguistic evidence to support the analysis of the grammar of JBA, see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 348–350).

<sup>44</sup> It should be noted that the reflex of Proto-Semitic /i/ is most often, but not always, written with a *hireq*.

<sup>45</sup> See Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 355–357) for evidence supporting this claim.

### 1.2.2.4 High/mid back vowels

In earlier dialects of Aramaic, including Biblical Aramaic in the Tiberian tradition, there is an allophonic distinction between [u], indicated by *šureq* <ו> or *qibbuṣ* <וּ> and [o], indicated by *ḥolem* <ו/><וּ>. Their Babylonian equivalents, frequently interchangeable. It is unclear whether the two remained separate phonemes in JBA. Again, the signs are used interchangeably in vocalized manuscripts; for example, both sets of signs are found in Pe-stem imperative forms, such as רכוב and שקייל. The reflex of Proto-Semitic /u/ in closed unstressed syllables is usually written with either *šureq* or *qibbuṣ*, as in אַקְרִינָא and טִיפְרִיָּה; but *qameṣ* is found occasionally (cf. Hebrew), as in קְמַתִּיהָ (see above, §1.2.2.2, for the phonetic realization of *qameṣ*).

### 1.2.2.5 Summary of the vowel system

While all the vowel signs used to vocalize texts written in Hebrew and other dialects of Aramaic are found in the manuscripts, the above discussion makes it clear that JBA may have had a much smaller phonemic vowel inventory, containing as few as three phonemes distinguished only by quality and not length:

i/e	u/o
	a/ā

### 1.2.2.6 Diphthongs

There is also uncertainty regarding the JBA reflex(es) of the diphthong \*aw. Sometimes the manuscripts indicate that the diphthong is preserved, while sometimes they indicate monophthongization. For certain morphological categories, such as the Af-stem of I-w verbs (see §6.3), the various traditions differ; thus, HPS has מוֹתְבִינָן, for example, while the Yemenites have אֹרְרִי. Nevertheless, inconsistencies exist even within a single manuscript; monophthongization is normal in HPS for nominal forms, as in יוֹמָא, but יוֹמָאִ is occasionally found as well.

### 1.2.2.7 Interchange of vowels

#### 1.2.2.7.1 High/mid front and back vowels

There are numerous instances in which a *waw* appears in JBA as a vowel letter where a *yod* is expected and vice versa; occasionally, the vocalization also indicates [u] or [o] where [i] or [e] is expected and vice versa. The sound change /u/ > /i/ is attested in other Semitic languages, but it is difficult to de-

termine whether these writings indicate a partial merger of the two vowels in JBA, especially given the similarity between *waw* and *yod* in most of the scripts and the orthographic confusion that often follows. However, such interchanges are common even in good manuscripts in which the two letters are otherwise carefully distinguished, so a purely orthographic explanation is unlikely. On the other hand, given the nature of the examples, a single sound rule is similarly unlikely. Thus, these spellings probably reflect a number of distinct phenomena, including the following:<sup>46</sup>

1. A sound change /u/ > /i/ before certain consonants, among them /l/ and /n/; examples include תולתא > תלתא, זולא > זילא, הולכך > הילכך, and כגון > כגין.
2. A sound change /i/ > /u/ before certain consonants, such as the labials; examples include פלימו > פליומו, אימר > אומר (a verbal form), ליתשום > ליתשום and שום > שם. The conditional particle או (next to the form אי which appears as well) is perhaps the result of such a shift, i.e., \**im* > \**um* > 'u.<sup>47</sup> Other likely examples include the nouns פום *pum* (< \**pim*) and בוביתא \**bibytā* > *bubytā*. Some of these examples are found in other Aramaic dialects (for example in the case of שום), and are found in other Semitic languages of the area (as in the case of the conditional particle), thus it is hard to determine whether this is a JBA phenomenon or an inheritance from earlier stages of Aramaic or even an areal phenomenon.
3. With certain nouns, a morphological rather than phonological process is responsible for the change of vowel; for example the shift סופא < סיפא ("end") is the result of analogy from רישא ("beginning") (see §2.2.2.1).<sup>48</sup>

#### 1.2.2.7.2 Low and high/mid back vowel

The change /a/ > [o]/[u] occurs before labial consonants and /r/; Thus one finds the following variations גברא/גוברא,<sup>49</sup> נבדר(ו)/נבדור; אימור/אימר /דופנא /דפנא.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Kara (1983: 110–115), Morgenstern (2002: 71).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Akkadian *šumma*; for the apocopation of final *m*, see §3.2.1. Wajsberg (1996) considers the difference between the two forms of the conditional particle as an isogloss. He does not consider this, however, as a token of a larger phonological phenomenon, but rather as a lexical distinction.

<sup>48</sup> Epstein (1960: 107).

<sup>49</sup> Compare with Kutscher (1962: 154) concerning these forms.

<sup>50</sup> See also Kara (1983: 106–107).

### 1.2.2.8 The consonants represented by the letters פ, כ, ד, ג, ב, and ת

In Official Aramaic, each of these consonants represented a single phoneme with two phonetically-conditioned allophones, one plosive and the other fricative. These consonants were pronounced as plosives when they came after consonants, at the beginning of a phrase, or when they were geminated. These letters were pronounced as fricatives after vowels as long as they were not geminated. It is difficult to determine whether or not JBA retained this distribution, especially since the Babylonian pointing system, unlike the Tiberian, had no signs to indicate one pronunciation or the other; the evidence that exists is both indirect and contradictory.

On the one hand, there are statements in Geonic literature to the effect that the consonants were fricative after vowels;<sup>51</sup> but, on the other hand, there are some Yemenite pronunciation traditions in which the phonetic distinctions have become phonemic, as in both Syriac and Mandaic. Note, for example, the following minimal pair: סִירְכָּא “habit, custom”, as opposed to סִירְכָּא “injury, wound”. Furthermore, a *dagesh*, a dot placed inside the letter to indicate the plosive pronunciation in the Tiberian system, occasionally appears in the manuscripts where the fricative articulation is expected, as in גְּבְּרָא instead of expected גְּבְּרָא.<sup>52</sup> The difficulty of determining the phonemic status of the fricatives is further compounded by the uncertainty surrounding the retention of consonant gemination in JBA. These data, however, support the possibility that the indications for a distribution between the plosives/fricatives reflect a heritage from a historical period and synchronically the distribution became lexically dependent.

### 1.2.3 Summary

As the preceding discussion demonstrates, the phonology of JBA is not fully understood. This may be due to the heterogeneous nature of the corpus, which was composed in a number of different subdialects over a long period of time; it may also be due to the transmission of the corpus by scribes who were not native speakers and, being exposed to other dialects of Aramaic, may have vocalized JBA texts with an ill-fitting vowel system. As a consequence of the uncertainty, this grammar will, for the most part, present words and forms as they appear in the manuscripts, that is, without vocalization. Graphic variants are given when they occur.

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<sup>51</sup> Morgenstern (2002: 46).

<sup>52</sup> Morag (1961: 127–128).





## Chapter 2

### 2.1 Apocopation of final consonants

A common phenomenon in JBA is the loss of the consonants /b/, /d/, /h/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /r/, and /t/ when they are in final position. As will become clear in the following discussion concerning nominal inflection, JBA nouns only rarely end in a consonant, so there is insufficient data to determine whether or not this phenomenon was the result of a regular sound rule, i.e., whether these final consonants were always apocopated in the spoken language.<sup>53</sup> In the extant manuscripts, apocopation occurs often only with certain words and grammatical categories. However, at the same time, unapocopated forms of these same words can also be found. In NBA and GBA, unapocopated forms occur more frequently than they do elsewhere. Examples of apocopated forms are presented below. A number of these examples involve other sound changes which are indicated through the use of parentheses, and which will be addressed in the following chapters:

תו > תוב	again
בי > בין	between, among
כדי > כדיב	for nothing
דיאבא > (דיאבד >) דיעבד	<i>ex post facto</i>
כולי > כוליה	all of it, its entirety
אטו > (אמטו >) *על מטול > (אמטול >)	on account of
מידי > (מדם >) מדעם	something
אי > (אן)	if
אתו > אתון	you (pl)
עבדו > עבדות	slavery
זוטא > זוטר	small
אמא > אמר <sup>54</sup>	he said/ he says

The apocopation of the final /t/ in the feminine endings *-at*, *-ut*, and *-it* in the

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<sup>53</sup> Boyarin (1976) suggests that the phonological process with verbs was not apocopation, but rather a result of assimilation to the /l/ in the enclitic forms discussed in (§1.1.6.1) and (§9.2.1.3), which occurs often with verbs. However, as can be seen from the examples presented above, it is a much larger phenomenon and it is therefore probably that these are indeed examples of apocopation (see also Morgenstern 2011: 22).

<sup>54</sup> This is the regular form throughout the book of Anan.

short (but not construct) form of nouns had occurred at a much earlier date in the history of Aramaic (these grammatical categories will be introduced in the following sections). In JBA, unlike previous stages of Aramaic, verbal forms ending in /t/ also witness apocopation; note, e.g., כתבי (< כתבית), and כתבה (< כתבת) (§5.3.1).

Occasionally, apocopation of a final consonant in one form of a word prompted reanalysis of the root of the word; this, in turn, prompted other forms of the word to be reshaped on the basis of the new root through a process called “back formation.” Thus, the new singular form זוטא “small, young” (the apocopate form of זוטרי), produced the base form זוט-, which then generated the plural זוטי, which occurs instead of the expected זוטרי. A similar phenomenon took place in the formation of paradigmatic shifts in the verbal system (§6.9).

## 2.2 Nominal inflection

JBA substantives are masculine, feminine, or of variable gender and can occur in one of two numbers (singular or plural), and one of three states: construct, short and long. Similarly, adjectives decline for gender, number, and state.

### 2.2.1 State

As in other Aramaic dialects, nouns (both substantives and adjectives) in JBA can occur in one of three states or forms: the construct form, the short form, and the long form. There are four basic sets of endings that indicate state, two for singular nouns (I–II) and two for plural nouns (III–IV). Only the number of a substantive can be determined on the basis of its ending (besides the II set, which is always feminine). However, with respect to adjectives, the ending marks both gender and number. This will be discussed in greater detail immediately below.

	Construct	Short	Long
I sg	-	-	א-
II sg f	ת-	ה-/א-	תא-
III pl	י-	(ו)י-	יא(י)-/י-
IV pl	ת(א)-	ן(א)-	תא(א)-

Note the following:

1. In earlier dialects of Aramaic, the short form of the noun (known also as the “absolute state”) and the long form (known as the “emphatic state”) served, respectively, as the indefinite and definite forms of the noun. In other words, the final *ā* of the long form functioned as a definite article.<sup>55</sup> This distinction was lost, however, in a number of dialects, including JBA. In such dialects, the long form serves as the normal, lexical form of a given substantive. The use of the short form is quite restricted, and there is no formal distinction between definite and indefinite nouns. Thus, the form גברא, for example, can mean both “the man” and “a man” in JBA (see below [§3.3.3.1] for its use as an indefinite pronoun).
2. In Syriac, the short and long forms of the first set of plural endings are *-īn* and *-ē*, respectively. The short forms without final /n/ in JBA result from the apocope of certain final consonants discussed above (§2.1), but the vowels may have remained distinct, with *-i* in the short form and *-e* in the long. As noted in the previous chapter (§1.2.2.3), the pointing of HPS indicates just such a distinction: *-e* is indicated for plural substantives in both the construct and long forms, as in אינשי “men”, while *-i* is indicated for the short form of adjectives, as in נפיש “numerous”. However, it was also noted that other pronunciation traditions did not maintain such a distinction, and that the two vowels may not have been phonemic in JBA. Moreover, there are occasional long forms marked with the sign for *-i*, e.g., דיני “judges”, even in manuscripts that otherwise maintain the distinction.<sup>56</sup>
3. The ending א(י)א- appears regularly on plural long forms in earlier dialects of Aramaic and Late Western Aramaic (representing the sounds *-ayyā*.) Occasionally, such forms occur in JBA texts as well, especially in quotations attributed to Palestinian sages; note, for example, the form אילניא “trees”, which appears alongside אילני.<sup>57</sup>
4. The optional *alef* in the second set of plural endings is a vowel letter. For more on this, see §1.1.2.1.
5. There are certain substantives that take the ending א(ו)תא-/*-āwātā*/

<sup>55</sup> It is believed that in earlier stages of Aramaic the final element of the definite article was a consonant, thus the following development took place: *a'* > *ā*. For a review of the various opinions concerning the origin of the Aramaic definite article see Rubin (2005: 79–80).

<sup>56</sup> For an elaborated discussion on this topic see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 355–357).

<sup>57</sup> This form appears in *Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 25b in a series of forms with archaic characteristics embedded in stories about the death of various Palestinian rabbis.

*əwātā*, known also from other dialects, instead of or in addition to תא(א)-; for example, the forms חתנוותא/חתנואתא and חתני are both found for “sons-in-law.” While in earlier dialects this ending appears only with nouns that end with a vowel,<sup>58</sup> this is not the case in JBA, as illustrated by the form חתנוותא, since its stem, חתן, ends with a consonant.

The construct, short, and long forms are given below for three singular and three plural nouns (the roman numbers refer to the types of endings introduced earlier):

Construct	Short	Long		
יום	יום	יומא	day	(I)
ריש	ריש	רישא	head	(I)
רעות	רעוא	רעותא	will, volition	(II)
יומי	יומי(ן)	יומי	days	(III)
שני	שני(ן)	שני/שנייא	years	(III)
אסואת	אסואן	אסואתא	remedies	(IV)

The uses of the different states will be addressed below (§2.2.3).

## 2.2.2 Gender and number

### 2.2.2.1 Agreement

Like most Semitic languages, JBA has two grammatical genders: masculine (m) and feminine (f); and two numbers: singular (sg) and plural (pl), though a vestige of the historical dual ending (*ay > e + n*), is found in חרין (probably pronounced *tren*) “two”. The fact that when speaking about “two days” the cardinal number (ן) חרי always appears in the expression חרי יומי, indicates that there was not a distinguished form for the dual (unlike Hebrew, for example, which has a special form).

The grammatical number of a given occurrence of a noun is determined by the number of entities to which it refers and is reflected morphologically through the appearance of a singular or plural ending. The grammatical gender of a given substantive, however, especially one that refers to an inanimate object,

<sup>58</sup> For a review of the various explanations for the origin of this plural form in Biblical Aramaic, see Qimron (2002: 75).

is arbitrary and discernible only when there are other elements – such as adjectives, verbs, and pronouns – in the same syntactic unit that agree with the substantive in question. The pronouns, verbs and adjectives inflect to match the gender, number, etc. of the substantive, which acts as the controller. Thus, the pronouns, verbs and adjectives are the targets. For example, the adjectives in the following attributive positions agree with the nouns they modify. In each pair of expressions, the elements of the first phrase are singular, and of the second phrase are the same expressions in the plural forms:

דווקנא <sub>m.sg</sub> ספרא <sub>m.sg</sub>	an accurate scribe ('Abod. Zar. 10a)
דווקני <sub>m.pl</sub> ספרי <sub>m.pl</sub>	accurate scribes ( <i>Menah.</i> 29b)
איתתא <sub>f.sg</sub> יהך <sub>f.sg</sub>	that woman
נשי <sub>f.pl</sub> יהנך <sub>f.pl</sub>	those women

Adjectives are, for the most part, declined like substantives, except that they are marked morphologically for both number and gender. Masculine adjectives take the first set of singular endings (I) given above (§2.2.1) and the first set of plural endings (III), while feminine adjectives take the second set of each (II, IV). Note, for example, the full declension of the adjective יהיר “haughty”, “proud”:

		Short		Long
I m sg	-	יהיר	א-	יהירא
II f sg	ה-/א-	יהירא	תא-	יהירתא
III m pl	י-	יהירי	י-	יהירי
IV f pl	ן(א)-	יהירן	תא(א)-	יהירתא

(Note that these forms, functioning as adjectives, would not appear in a construct position).<sup>59</sup>

There is an alternative ending for the short form of feminine singular adjectives, namely תי-, as in ברתא אוכמתי “dark-skinned daughter” (*Mo'ed Qat.* V 9b); and it is worth noting that the element *-i* also occurs as a feminine marker in other Semitic languages.

[One might think that in JBA the ending תי came into general use as a means of differentiating the short form of feminine singular adjectives from the long

<sup>59</sup> For a few exceptions, see below (§2.2.3.1.1).

form of masculine adjectives (consider for example the form יהירא above). Synchronically, however, forms with the ending תי- appear in all syntactic positions in which adjectives appear in JBA].

A few pairs of substantives that refer to animate beings decline like adjectives for both gender and number; note, e.g., מלכא “king” / מלכתא “queen” and דרדקא “child”:

מלכא	king	דרדקא	male child	(I)
מלכתא	queen	דרדקתא	female child	(II)
מלכי	kings	דרדקי	male children	(III)
מלכתא/מלכוותא	queens	דרדקאתא	female children	(IV)

In general, though, both masculine and feminine substantives can take the first set of endings; most, but not all, such feminine substantives refer to animals and body parts. Note the following:

יומא	m	day
ארעא	f	land
רחילא	f	ewe
ידא	f	hand
כרסא	f	stomach

On the other hand, substantives that take the second set of endings (תא-, etc.) are always feminine; the ending explicitly marks them as such. Note, e.g.:

כנישתא	f	congregation, synagogue
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Either set of plural endings can occur on substantives of either gender. Note the following:

ארעא	f	land	ארעתאן
סכינא	f	knife	סכינין
מילתא	f	word	מילין
עינא	m	spring	עינתאן

Usually, a given substantive takes only one set of endings in the plural, but there are some substantives, both masculine and feminine, that can take either set of plural endings. If both forms reflect a historical form, these biforms may be evidence of either dialectal difference or historical change. Note, e.g., the

following:

דרא m	row, line; generation	דרי or דרתא pl
דפנא/דופנא f	side, wall	דופני or דפנתא pl

There are four substantives that in the singular have the *א*- ending, and in the plural have the *תא*- ending with the addition of *ה* (probably *ha*) before it. Three of them may appear also with the other plural ending *י*-:

אבא m	father	אבהתא pl (also parents)
אטמא f	thigh	אטמהתא pl
אימא f	mother	אימהתא pl
שמא m	name	שמהתא pl

A few substantives, such as אודנא “ear” and עינא “eye” can take either masculine or feminine agreement, sometimes with semantic variation between the forms in the two genders. Note, e.g.:

רישא m	head, top, main, pl רשוותא pl	רישי or רשוותא, but
רישא f	first part (of a text)	

While אודנא and עינא are of set-I but with an original feminine gender, the feminine gender of רישא, on the other hand, is associated with a second definition, probably due to analogy with סופא/סיפא “end” which is feminine (see above, §1.2.2.7).

There are a few examples of a singular form ending with the feminine ending *תא*-; with the plural ending *תי*-, as if the *ת* were a part of the root. Among them: מסכתי - מסכתא “tractate”, בי כנישתא - בי כנישתי “synagogue”. However, in all these examples such forms occur only in certain manuscripts, while other manuscripts have the expected forms (compare, for example, with regards to מסכתי, the version in *B. Qam.* 102a H with Es). Therefore it is almost impossible to determine whether this is an original phenomenon in JBA or merely a later development in its transmission.<sup>60</sup>

#### 2.2.2.2 The “neuter”

As should be clear from the foregoing discussion, grammatical gender is related to agreement. More specifically, the gender of an adjective is determined by the gender of its antecedent noun. However, there are times when an adjective occurs without an explicit antecedent; these case are often considered as

<sup>60</sup> As argued by Morgenstern (2011: 36) regarding the plural form דוכתי of דוכתא.



“neuter”. In such cases, the adjective may be masculine, as in the following examples:

לא ידע בין טב לביש

He did not know (how to distinguish) between good and evil (*Sanh.* 103a)

אריך? אמר ליה לא אריך

“Is it proper?” He said to him: “It is improper.” (*Sukkah* 44b)

However, such “impersonal” adjectives (and pronouns) may also appear in the feminine form. In most cases, one can propose that the feminine substantive מלחא “matter” serves as the adjective’s “understood” antecedent. The examples in the brackets show how in similar contexts the same adjective appears with an explicit appearance of מלחא “matter”, while the adjective itself appears in a dependent clause after -ד (such clauses will be introduced in Chapter 10):<sup>61</sup>

פשיטא It is obvious (cf. מילחא דפשיטא “an obvious matter” *Zebaḥ* 120a)

צריכא It is needed (cf. מילחא דצריכא “a required matter” *Naz.* 24a)

ניחא It is satisfying (cf. מלחא דניחא למלוה וניחא ליה ללוה “The rabbi made the transaction satisfying to both the creditor and the borrower” *B. Meṣi’a* 104b)

When the reference is an event/state of affairs the agreement depends on the construction. In existential clauses (with the existential particle אית [§4.6.1]) the reference is feminine (see also §10.2.1):

ארי אית [ה] ארעא If it is the case that he has a land ... (*Qidd.* 60b)

Similarly in the negation of the “state of affairs”:

ולא היא and it is not so/and it is not the case ... (*B. Bat.* 62b)

When the verb is in the suffix-conjugation or in a participle form, it is then found in the masculine:

מאי דהוה הוה Whatever was, was (*Yoma* 29a)

לאו הכי והכי הוה Was it not such and such? (*Ketub.* 20b)

הוא נמי סאגי ליה בגלות Exile is sufficient for him (*Mak.* 9a)

When the verb is in the prefix-conjugation, though, it is in the feminine:

מאי תהוי עלה דהיא איתתא What will happen with that woman? (*Yebam.* 65b)

תסגי ליה בחדא One will suffice to him (*Yoma* 19a)

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Schlesinger (1928: 57)

There are roots, however, for which all forms occur in the feminine, as is the case with the root נ"ח "to be satisfactory":

גלי אדעתיה דניחא ליה He revealed that it was satisfactory for him (B. *Meṣi'a* 42b)

תינח דקדיש בכספא Let it be satisfactory when he betroths with money ... (Qidd. 48b)

### 2.2.3 The uses of the various states

Following the introduction of the morphology of the various states (§2.2.1), this section addresses their syntax and semantics.

#### 2.2.3.1 The construct state

##### 2.2.3.1.1 The genitive relation in JBA

JBA possesses a number of different ways to express the genitival relationship of the classical languages (*X of Y*). In all such constructions, the first noun, the *nomen regens* ("governing noun") is modified by the second, the *nomen rectum* ("governed noun"). In the first construction, the "construct chain," the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, with the *nomen regens* in the construct state. Note the following examples:

קל גברא a man's voice (*Meg.* 32a)

ביב חטרא the gate of the sheepfold (*Šabb.* 32a)

פום רבנן the rabbis' mouth (*Šabb.* 67b)

עידן נגדיה the time of his lashes (*Šebu.* 41a)

When the reference of the construct chain taken as a whole is plural, only the *nomen regens* is pluralized. Note, e.g.:

בבי שאול the gates of Sheol (*Bo* 143: 7)

In JBA, this construction is quite common when the *nomen rectum* is a pronoun, as in the following examples. These are special suffix pronouns, and they will be introduced in (§4.2):

ברת-יה) ברתיה his daughter

סוסוות-יהו) סוסוותיהו their horses

When the *nomen rectum* is a noun, despite the examples above, this construction is not as common as other construction, and it appears mostly in certain "frozen" expressions, such as the following:

בעלי אומנותא artisans (lit., owners of a profession) (TGAs33 214:8)  
 מיצרא בר (בני <) neighbor (lit., son of a border) (Ketub. 44a)  
 בי מדרשא school (lit., house of study) (B. Bat. 91b)  
 ריש ירחא first day of the month (lit., head of month) (B. Meṣi'a 85b)

In fact, there are quite a few such frozen construct chains in which the first element is בר “son of”, בי (< בית; see above, §2.1) “house of” or ריש “head of”. Compounds with בר generally have the sense “one able to do Y” or “resident of Y”. Those formed with בי have the sense “place of Y”. Finally, those with ריש have the sense of either the “head of Y” or “the beginning of Y”.

With a few expressions JBA has a construction in which the governing noun is an adjective and the governed noun is a noun with the adjective modifying it. Some of them are frozen such as ביש גדא “unfortunate one” (lit., bad luck) and סגי נהורא “blind man” (lit., one of much light). These expressions are also found in other Aramaic dialects, such as Syriac.

This construction seems to be productive with the adjectives מלא, מלי “full of” and קילי(ל) “small amount of”, as in the following expressions: מלא צנא דחרבא “a basket full of fat” (Hul. 59b), קיליל עפרא “a bit of earth” (Tam. 32b). However, one should remember that 1) this expression is common in Hebrew (with מלא); 2) these expressions may be related to the use of the construct with the quantifier כל “every” (§7.5).

The more common ways of expressing the genitival relationship will be presented in (§4.3).

### 2.2.3.1.2 Prepositions in the construct state

A number of nouns are used as prepositions: sometimes alone, sometimes preceded by one or more simple preposition as the last element in a compound preposition. When used as such, the noun appears in the construct state. The following are quite common:

(מ)לפּוֹ<sup>62</sup> according to (lit., “to the mouth of”)  
 אפּוּם on top of; according to the testimony of (lit., “on the mouth of”)  
 בתר after (lit., “in the place of”)  
 גבי next to; in the place of; towards; on top of (lit., “the backs of”)  
 אגב / על גב on top of; by means of (lit., “on the back of”)

<sup>62</sup> It is unclear whether writings without the final consonant indicate apocoptation, for which see above (§2.1); or loss of stress, for which see above (§1.1.6.1), and subsequent assimilation to the first consonant of the following word.

לשם/לשום<sup>63</sup> for the sake of (lit., “to the name of”)  
 משום because of (lit., “from the name of”)  
 באפי/באנפי in the presence of (lit., “in the faces of”)  
 לאפי towards (lit., “to the faces of”)  
 כלפי towards (lit., “as to the faces of”)

As can be seen, many of the nouns used as such refer primarily to a part of the body. Occasionally, other nouns that refer to body parts are used similarly, though these were never lexicalized as prepositions. Note the following example:

כרגא אקרקה גברי מונה The poll tax is an individual obligation (lit., “the poll tax rests on the skull of men”) (*B. Bat.* 55a)

### 2.2.3.2 Short and long forms

The uses of the short and long forms are best addressed together.

#### 2.2.3.2.1 Definiteness

As noted earlier, the formal distinction between definite and indefinite nouns was lost in a number of Aramaic dialects, including JBA. In such dialects, the long form serves as the normal, lexical form of a given substantive and the use of the short form is quite restricted. The historical indefinite use of the short form may explain the following cases in which the short forms still appear:

1. the indefinite pronoun איניש (“someone”, “some person”; see below, §3.3.3), which is the short form of the noun אינשא (“human being”), and a number of similar indefinite expressions, such as דוך פלן (“a certain place”);
2. certain idioms, such as

גבר בגברי A man among men (*Ber.* 31b)

Note: the form גבר is in the short form; the form גברי is ambiguous as it can be either the long form or the apocopated short form.

ומה גבר מן גוברין What is the difference between one man and another? (*Sanh.* 65b)<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> For the interchange of vowels, see above (§1.2.2.7).

<sup>64</sup> This is according to MS He. In other MSs, the version is גבר מגברין, in which case, the sentence can be in Hebrew; in any case, this formula is based on other Hebrew idioms. It is hard to determine which version is the original since the line before in the

3. quotations attributed to Palestinian rabbis (see §0.4),<sup>65</sup> such as the following:

אמר ריש לקיש בת גבר תגרן Reš-Laqiš<sup>66</sup> said, “the daughter of a merchant” (*Pesah* 50a)

4. in existential clauses. As is the case in many languages with a distinction between definite and indefinite noun phrases, there is a tendency in existential clauses to have only indefinite noun phrases (this phenomena is known as the “definiteness effect”). Syriac, which like JBA lost the morphological distinction for determination, shows some tendency to have the short form in existential sentences, especially in negative ones.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that some remnants of this phenomenon are still found in JBA as well:

באתרא דלית גבר תמן הוי גבר Where there is no man be a man (*Ber.* 63a)

5. legal documents, which generally preserve archaic language, such as the following:

ודן דייהוי ליכי מיני ספר תירוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שיבוקין And this will serve as your writ of divorce (lit., book of divorce, document of exemption, and a letter for a permit to leave) from me (*Ned.* 5b)

Note also that the first element of all three expressions is in the construct form.

### 2.2.3.2.2 Loanwords

Occasionally, words borrowed into Aramaic from elsewhere only occur in the short form:

דייספק carriage (< Mir *dēspak* [< OP *dvai-aspaka* “two horses”])

דיסתורין authority (< MP *dastwar*)<sup>68</sup>

סימלק an odiferous plant (perhaps jasmine)

שמגו a type of vinegar (probably from an Iranian language)

פורסי שנמג protocol of investigation (< MP *pursišn nāmag*)

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story is in Aramaic and the line after is in Hebrew.

<sup>65</sup> Wajsberg (2006: 40–44).

<sup>66</sup> A second-generation Palestinian Amora.

<sup>67</sup> Nöldeke (2001: 167, §202 F).

<sup>68</sup> Some manuscripts have דסתורין, but the shift *a > i / \_s* is not uncommon in JBA; note, e.g., חיסורי (< חסורי), איסמוק (< אסמיק), ניסבה (< נסבה), מיסהדי (< מסהדי), דיסתנא (< דסתנא), and דיסתקא (< MP *dastak*).

### 2.2.3.2.3 Plural substantives

The plural short forms of substantives are used, as in Syriac, with quantifiers, including the quantifier סגיאין “many” and cardinal numbers (§7.4); note, e.g., תלת שנין “three years”, תלתין יומין, “thirty days”, ארבעין זימנין, “forty times”, תלתא, רחין “three months”, ארבע סאין, “four seahs”, and, in an incantation text, חד עסר, שמין “eleven names”. In Syriac, the short form of the plural is also used after כל “all” (§7.5); it is found in JBA in the expression כל תלתין יומין “all thirty days” (*Šabb.* 129b) and in the incantation texts, where expressions such as כול עובדין בישין “all evil magical acts” (M 103:4); כל חרשין בישין וכל סדנין אפכין “all evil sorceries and all perverted devils” (M 112:4); and וכל בתולין “all virgins” (M 163:14) occur.

It should also be recalled that the writing י- can indicate either the long form or the short (or the construct); see above (§2.2). It is, therefore, often difficult to determine whether forms written as such are long or short. Compare for example in *Pesah.* 111b, E1 שיתין שידי with V1: שיתין שידין “sixty demons”.

### 2.2.3.2.4 Adjectives

#### 2.2.3.2.4.1 Predicative vs. attributive uses of the adjectives

Unlike those of substantives, there is a functional difference between the long and short forms of adjectives in JBA. While adjectives always agree with the substantives they modify in gender and number, only attributive adjectives agree in state as well; predicative adjectives, on the other hand, occur often in the short form. It should also be noted that while attributive adjectives always follow the substantive they modify, predicative adjectives need not; see below (§4.5). Note the following illustrative examples:

אורחין רחיקא<sup>69</sup> our journey is far  
(*Sukkah* 52a)

אורח is feminine  
רחיקא is the predicate,  
and is in the short form

אסיא רחיקא a distant doctor  
(*B. Qam.* 85a)

אסיא is masculine  
רחיקא is the attribute and is in the long  
form

The following sentences are examples of predicate adjectives and all forms are short and agree with their subjects:

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<sup>69</sup> This is also the version reflected in MSs E<sup>1</sup>, V17 and L (although the adjective is רחיקא, the interchange of ד-ר is probably a typographical error), MS M<sup>2</sup> has אורחא רחיקא. MS Oxford (Opp. Add. fol. 23) has אורחין רחיקא as if אורחא is masculine.

עבד עברי צניע לה עבד כנעני פריץ לה A Hebrew slave is modest with her; a Canaanite slave is licentious with her (B. Meši'a 71a)

אשה בי מדרשא לא שכחא A woman is not commonly present in the study house (Mo'ed Qat 18a)

אורייתין כשרן בנתין לא כשרין?! Are our teachings worthy, but our daughters unworthy?! (Qidd. 71b)

The following examples are of interest:

איניש צניע “a modest man” (*Menah* V10 43a.); איניש אחריו “another person” (a common expression, *inter alia Pesah*. 11b); איניש אלמא “a violent person” (B. Qam. 112b):

איניש is an indefinite pronoun (§3.3.3), and as illustrated above, it is in the short form. However, the attributive adjective is in the long form, which may indicate that the form of the adjective in JBA was not determined anymore by the agreement, rather by syntax only: predicate – short, attribute – long.

Similarly with מידי and its older form מידעם one may find מידי אחריו (a common expression, *inter alia Pesah*. 96a) or even מידעם אוחרנא “something else” (*Ker*. 21a).

Compare, however, with the following expression מידעם ביש “something wrong” (*Bek*. 51b), that has the older form מידעם, and the agreement of the short form.

#### 2.2.3.2.4.2 Substantivized adjectives

Adjectives can be substantivized, usually to indicate something or someone that possesses a quality essentially, or permanently, etc. When used as such, adjectives behave like substantives and, therefore, appear in the long form:

מגמר בעתיקא קשי מבחדתא Learning in old age is more difficult than learning in youth (lit., learning in something old is more difficult than in something new) (*Yoma* 29a)

#### 2.2.3.2.4.3 Long form in predicate adjectives

Similar to substantive adjectives, predicates describing an essential or permanent quality may appear in the long form:

<sup>70</sup> מרתא בת בייתוס עתירתא דירושלם הוה? PN was the richest person in Jerusalem (*Git.* 56a)

It must be noted, however, that long forms in predicate adjectives are more often found with feminine nouns. This might be an issue of markedness, since in most adjectives there is a syncretism between the short-feminine and long-masculine forms:<sup>71</sup>

מ'ט [=מאי טעמא] תורא אריכתא גנובתא Why is the ox's tail long? (*Šabb.* 77b)  
האי שמשא סומקתא היא The sun is red (*B. Bat.* 84a)

### 2.2.3.2.5 Adverbs

Both substantives and adjectives used adverbially appear often, but not exclusively, in the short form; the short form is therefore marked as adverbial, while the long form is unmarked. Note the following examples:

Short:	לשלם	in peace (also לשלמא)
	מריש	again; formerly (also מרישא)
	עילאי	above
	לעילאי	upwards
	מ(ו) עילאי	above; from above
Long:	בניחותא	mildly
	השתא	now
	כחדא	together

Or in both forms:

לבר, לברא	outside
תדיר, תדירא	constantly

Feminine nouns ending in *-utā* in the long form but *-u* in the short form and in *-ut* in adverbial forms, as in the following sentence:

חזייה לרב יהוד' בישות He looked at PN with displeasure (*Nid.* 5b)

<sup>70</sup> The form of the verb is masculine although the subject is feminine. MS As has הויא, the expected feminine form; MSs JTS Rab. 1718.93–100, JTS Rab. 1729.64–67 and V<sup>18</sup> have הואי, which is another feminine form. As for the lack of agreement with the verb הו"י, as is the case in MS V<sup>16</sup> (above), see §7.2.4.2. Lack of agreement, however, is usually associated with a participle but not with a noun.

<sup>71</sup> See also below (§3.2.2) in the context of the gentilic form, where the long feminine form appears when a short one is expected.





## Chapter 3

### 3.1 Consonant changes

A number of consonants underwent sound changes along the way from Official Aramaic to JBA. Some of these have been discussed in the preceding chapters; the rest are discussed immediately below. Note that, as usual, the earlier, unchanged forms also occur in JBA texts.

#### 3.1.1 Loss of medial /d/ and /g/

In a number of nouns and pronouns the consonant /d/ was elided after a vowel. Whether this was the result of a genuine sound rule is uncertain, since the loss is regularly indicated only in a specific set of words and forms, such as the following:<sup>72</sup>

אודנא > אונא ear

האי > היין this

קמא > קדמאה first

The latter two words have undergone other changes as well. The loss of final /n/ has already been discussed (§2.1), while the loss of the intervocalic glottal stop in the second word will be addressed shortly (§3.1.3.1).

While these forms appear regularly in JBA, occasionally variants between manuscripts may reflect this shift as well. This is, for example, the case with the word פרכשא “certain official”, which then appears in various sources as פרכשא (see *Meg.* 12b, compare C to G, and see the *Aruch* פרכשתי).

It is most likely that, in all such instances, /d/ was not assimilated to the following consonant, but was simply lost, as in Mandaic<sup>73</sup> and certain Neo-Aramaic dialects. This is made especially likely by the fact that /d/ is lost even before vowels, as in *q<sup>h</sup>dām > qāme* “in the presence of”. In the Yemenite tradition, however, the following consonant is usually geminated, as in אוןא and קמא. While this may indicate assimilation, it more likely indicates a secondary closing of the syllable, while preserving the original vowel.

There are also a few words that exhibit loss of medial /g/ (or, more precisely, ḡ), such as תורנולא (< תורנגולא) “cock”.

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<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the temporal conjunction כִּי can be derived from the conjunction כְּדִי “when”, i.e., *kādi > ki*; see Kaufman (1974: 135–136).

<sup>73</sup> See Macuch (1965: 65, §37).

### 3.1.2 Interchange of the sonorants /l/, /n/, and /r/

Occasionally, one finds ן, ל, and ר written where one of the other two is expected on historical and comparative grounds. It is difficult to determine whether these graphic interchanges reflect sporadic changes in speech, a set of sound changes with complicated conditioning factors, or the merger of three originally distinct phonemes into one or two. (Therefore the description below refers to letters and is not in phonological terms). Note the following examples:<sup>74</sup>

ל for ר:	תריסר > תרי עשר	twelve
ר for ל:	ערקא > עלקא	leech
ן for ל:	נהמא > לחמא	bread
	הנך > הלך	those
	כינתא > כילחא	veil

The last interchange is very common in the case of the 3 person forms in the prefix-conjugation (§5.3.2). The interchange of sonorants is particularly common when one of the sonorants appears twice in a single word, in which case the interchange likely results from dissimilation. Note the following examples:

גרגילא > גרגירא	arugula
גירגלא > גלגלא	irrigation wheel
פירפלתא > פילפלתא	peppercorn

Perhaps also in the following word of Persian origin:

סנוורתא (< OP <i>sara-varti</i> ; cf. MP, Turfan <i>sārvār</i> )	metal helmet
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### 3.1.3 The gutturals (/ʾ/, /h/, /ħ/, /ʿ/)

In the traditional terminology of Semitic philology, the consonants /ʾ/, /h/, /ħ/, and /ʿ/ are called *gutturals*. These consonants are in fact articulated in two different locations: the laryngeals: /ʾ/ and /h/; and the pharyngeals: /ħ/ and

<sup>74</sup> One also finds נ(י)גרא for expected ר(י)גלא “leg”; since ן is nowhere else written for ר, the word likely passed through an intermediate stage in which the two sonorants experienced metathesis, yielding the form ל(י)גרא\*, unattested in JBA but normal in Mandaeic. A similar metathesis occurs in the word: שורנא/שורנא (*šurānu* in Akkadian). In this case there is a testimony in the BT about a dialectal difference: ... באתרא דקרו ליה שונרא ... באתרא דקרו ליה שורניא (in other MSs שורנא) “In a place where (a cat) is called *šunārā* ... in a place where it is called *šurānyā* ...” (*Ber.* 57a). A form similar to שורנא is found in Old Aramaic in the Sefire inscription. For a discussion on this word see Greenfield (1966: 98–100). I wish to thank Aaron Koller for this reference.

/ʾ/. They underwent a number of changes on the way from Official Aramaic to JBA. These changes, however, are often not reflected in the writing system, and, thus, historical and phonetic spellings occur alongside each other in the manuscripts. Furthermore, paradigmatic pressure has obscured a number of these developments in the verbal system, which will be discussed in (§6.4, §6.6, §6.10); therefore, the examples given below are of either nouns or prepositions.

### 3.1.3.1 The glottal stop /ʾ/

The glottal stop /ʾ/ is elided in the following environments:

1. in between two instances of  $\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{a}'\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ ), as in קא-אמר > קאמר and קמאא > קמאאא > קמאא (see §1.1.6.1 and §7.2.1);
2. at the end of a syllable, as in רישא > ראשא. This change actually occurred at a fairly early date in the history of Aramaic, but the rule continued to apply as syllable-final /ʾ/ arose secondarily through processes discussed below. Historical spellings with א are common in this case; see above, (§1.1.2.); and
3. after the subordinating particle א (§10.1.1), as in דאקשינן > דאקשינן and דאי > דאי. This last example suggests that the loss was more widespread, and probably occurred, like in Syriac, in the following rule  $C\bar{e}V > CV$ . This can be seen, for example, in the following words: באיש > באיש, כיבא > כאיבא (see also §6.6).

### 3.1.3.2 The pharyngeals (/ħ/, /ʿ/)

In JBA, the two pharyngeal phonemes of earlier Aramaic, /ħ/ and /ʿ/, it is common that they were either shifted to the corresponding laryngeals, /h/ and /ʔ/, respectively, or were lost entirely.<sup>75</sup>

At the beginning of a word, they usually became laryngeal, as in the following examples:

הדר > חדר returned  
 א- > אל > על on  
 הדדי > חדדי each other

In the middle or end of a word, /ħ/ underwent the following two changes in the order presented. In the case of those nouns in which the vocalization and

<sup>75</sup> In a rare example one finds /ʿ/ instead of an original /ħ/, as for example is the case in אוהרא “a net” (in Akkadian *hurhāru*). Occasionally the expected variant הוהר is found as well. This case may be a result of a secondary dissimilation. Similarly, the variants חטבא/אטבא “pole, scribe” may reflect a dissimilation at a stage when both the /ħ/ and the /ʔ/ were still pharyngealized (see §3.1.4).

syllable structure of the short form differed from that of the long, the changes occurred in the former and the latter was then reformed accordingly (cf., Kara 1983: 57-70).

1. It was lost at the end of a syllable (1 a-b), and in the middle of the word at the beginning of a syllable when followed by a high vowel (1 c-d); in other words, it remained only in the initial position (above) or when followed immediately by an *a*-vowel (2 a-f), or at the beginning of a syllable after an *a*-vowel (2 g-h).<sup>76</sup> Note the following examples:

- a. כותחא > כותא (כותח) type of dish
- b. שחתיא > שתיא a type of porridge
- c. מסחותא > מסותא bath
- d. פרפינא > פרפינא purslane

2. Those instances of /ħ/ that remained then shifted to /h/. Note the following examples:

- a. אוהרא > אוהארא a net trap
- b. בהדי (+בחד) > בחדי with
- c. טהלא > טהלא spleen (The vocalization follows the Syriac cognate.)
- d. טבהקא > טבהקא a meat dish (The vocalization follows the etymology of Mir.)
- e. נהמא > נהמ (short form נהם) bread
- f. יהטא > יהט (short form יהט) aborted fetus
- g. מהווא > מחווא Maḥoza (GN)
- h. אהינא > אחינא unripe date

At the first stage the consonant /ħ/ was preserved in the middle of the word only when it was followed by the vowel /a/, or intervocalic between the vowels /a/ and a high vowel (/i/ or /u/). It is worth noting that this preservation in the first stage can be explained by the fact that phonetically the vowel /a/ is realized at the laryngeal, exactly in the location where the consonant /ħ/ is articulated.<sup>77</sup>

The reason for the claim that the pharyngeals were first elided in certain environments and only then did the change of ħ > h take place has to do with the

<sup>76</sup> According to this rule, one would have expected an elision in the form להוד (< לחוד). It is possible however that the shift of ħ > h took place when the subsequent vowel was still /a/, as this word is related to the cardinal number חד ḥad “one”.

<sup>77</sup> See Laufer (1988).

fact that if it had occurred in the reverse order (1:  $h > h$ ; 2:  $h > \emptyset$ ) then the elision should have occurred with every /h/. This is, of course, not true, since original /h/ did not elide; thus we have to assume that the elision took place before the sound shift of  $h > h$ .

It is reasonable to assume that /' / underwent a similar set of developments. However, these either preceded the loss of medial /' / discussed above, or the latter sound change continued to operate when the former occurred; thus, /' / was completely lost in the middle and at the end of words. Note the following examples:

השתא > הא שעתא	now
מברתא > מעברתא	passage
שותא > שעותא	talk
זירא > זעירא	PN
ארא > ארעא	land
יארא > יערא	(=< it is more likely that the letter א in this spelling does not represent a consonant) forest

#### 3.1.4 The emphatic consonants /q/, /ʕ/ and /t̤/

The emphatic consonants in the history of Aramaic were most likely pharyngealized (i.e., they had a secondary articulation in the pharyngeal).<sup>78</sup> This fact can explain various assimilations exhibited in JBA of laryngeal consonants that shifted into pharyngeals ( $h > h$  and ' > '). Taking, for example, the word טיעא, whose etymology is a member of the Ṭayyi' tribe, the pharyngeal /' / in the Aramaic form is accordingly not original, and represents a shift of ' > '. This shift might be explained if we assume that the emphatic consonant /t̤/ was pharyngealized and accordingly the shift of ' > ' is explained as an assimilation to the /t̤/.<sup>79</sup>

Considering the fact that in the previous section we encountered the opposite phenomena (the shifts of  $h > h$  and ' > '), it should probably be the case that these various changes are either from different periods or different dialects. In fact it is not clear whether the variants with the laryngeal consonants are the older or newer ones. One might even consider the possibility that this phenomenon is late and that it occurred when JBA was re-exposed to speakers with pharyngeal consonants in their language (clearly some of the NENA dialects have pharyngeal consonants, so it is possible that in certain areas Aramaic

<sup>78</sup> See Laufer (1988).

<sup>79</sup> See Breuer (2002: 83–84) for this proposal regarding the gentilic form טיעא.

speakers were exposed to such consonants).

This proposal may explain the following words in JBA with regard to their origin:

The JBA word	Origin	Meaning
עצרא	אצרא – this form appears as well, the root אצר is known from other dialects of Aramaic and other Semitic languages	The one who stores
עקרא	אקרא – this form appears as well. This is the Greek word ἄκρα	Fort
בחריק	בהריק – this form appears as well. Persian origin: Ir Vihriq, MP guhrig	Instead of -
צח"א	צה"א – this root appears as well, and it is attested in other Aramaic dialects, such as Syriac	To be thirsty
צלעא	צלאה* – the form צלא appears as well and it is related to the word <i>ṣallu</i> in Akkadian (a type of leather)	Tanner
צולעי	צולאי – appears as well	Skins
קיעלא, קעילא	This word derives from the Greek word <i>κελλίον</i>	A small room
שיקעא	It is related to the root שק"י "to water".	Watercourse
דוחקא	דהקא in Syriac and related to the verb <i>dahaqa</i> in Arabic דוהקא appears as well	Pole, stick

Note that some of the forms are of foreign origin, from languages without pharyngealized consonants. If this proposal is correct, this is an indication that the *qof* in a word like קעילא was pronounced as an emphatic, and that it was not merely a way of writing foreign words.

One may consider other phenomena that may be related to this observation as well, note this in the following example:

מהודעיננא לכוּן דגוזליא רכיכין ואימריא דעדקין We inform you that young doves are soft, and the ewes are small (*Sanh.* 11a)

We encounter the form דעדקין instead of דרדקין. Both forms reflect a dissimilation of the repetition of the /q/ sound in the original form: דקוק. The appearance of the /' / instead of the regular insertion of /r/ found in dissimilation may be related to the fact that /q/ is emphatic.<sup>80</sup> This may be also related to the variations between קאקא-קועא “neck”, however in this case it is unclear which of the two is the original.

### 3.1.5 The labial /b/<sup>81</sup>

A few words reflect the shift of /b/ > /w/, among them אבד > אווד, זוודתא/זבדתא, אווד > אבד, צוואות > ציבאות, צוואות > צבת.<sup>82</sup> We do not have enough information to understand this shift, as it may be conditioned by the following dental consonants (/d/ or /t/), and most probably occurred in an environment in which the labio-dental allophone [v] of the consonant /b/ was articulated.<sup>83</sup>

### 3.1.6 Intervocalic /y/

Already in some early Aramaic dialects, intervocalic /y/ had occasionally become a glottal stop /' /, as in קאים > קים (qāyem > qā'em), and קאים is the standard form in JBA.

<sup>80</sup> It is interesting to note that in the incantation bowls we encounter the form רדקי. If this spelling is not simply a scribal error, this form may reflect an elision of the pharyngeal /' /, and it may help us in an attempt to propose relative dating for the various phonological phenomenon (see Morgenstern 2010: 286 for a discussion concerning this form).

<sup>81</sup> It must be noted that in many of the NENA dialects the shift of /b/ > /w/ was unconditioned. There are certain environments with a tendency to preserve the original /b/. It is clear, however, that the phonology of JBA is significantly different from the one of the NENA dialects. See Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 358-359) for a summary of the discussions about the role of the NENA dialects in reconstructing JBA.

<sup>82</sup> For צוואות > ציבאות, see Morgenstern (2010: 284).

<sup>83</sup> Sokoloff (2002: 76) in the entry אבק, אווק, אבוק seems to argue for a similar shift with this root that does not meet the conditions we noticed. However, the examples with /w/ are all from *Git.* 78a where other manuscripts have the root ער"ק. (It must be admitted that the meaning of ער"ק in this context is unclear).



### 3.1.7 The nasal /n/

#### 3.1.7.1 Regressive assimilation

At the end of a syllable before another consonant, *nun* is sometimes not written, indicating assimilation. However similar forms are often written with a *nun* and often without: אינתתא/איתתא “woman, wife”, אפא/אנפא, “face, way, manner, surface”, מן/מ-מין/מי- “from, than”.

It is unclear whether forms which have the *nun* written reflect non-assimilation or morphographemic writing, though the fact that a word as common as מדינתא “province, town” is never written without *nun* suggests that the consonant remained unassimilated. At the same time words such as שתא (< שנתא) “year” always exhibit the assimilated form. Thus it may be the case that at this stage of Aramaic the assimilation was not active anymore and the appearance of the /n/ was merely a lexical issue. More data on this question will be discussed in the context of the discussion on I-n verbs (§6.2).

Writings without *nun* are as common in NBA and GBA as they are elsewhere (although with specific pronouns such as אנת “you” (m sg), the form with a *nun* is more common in NBA and GBA).

#### 3.1.7.2 ay > a before /n/

The different spelling of words such as עדיין/עדאן “still” and עין/ען<sup>84</sup> (for the name of the letter in the *alphabet*) reflect two of the possible reflexes of stressed \*ay in JBA: /ayi/ and /a/,<sup>85</sup> with the latter mostly occurring before /n/ at the end of a word (occasionally without an /n/ at the end of the syllable).<sup>86</sup>

## 3.2 Adjective patterns

### 3.2.1 Nominal patterns

Substantives and adjectives in JBA, as in all Semitic languages, appear in *nominal patterns*. These patterns consist of the verbal consonantal root (about which see §5.1), which is “inserted” within a pattern. These patterns, in turn, are a combination of vowels and may be extended with consonantal affixes (prefixes, suffixes and infixes). Thus, for example, the word עֶלֶם is a result of the insertion of the root על"ם into the pattern *CāCaC*, or similarly תִּלְמִיד is a

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<sup>84</sup> In this case, we do not have any positive evidence about the quality of the vowel, and theoretically it could be also an /e/ vowel. However, vowels other than /a/ are less likely to appear without a vowel letter.

<sup>85</sup> Whether this vowel is /a/ or /ā/, see §1.2.2.2.

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, the discussion in §4.2 note 6, and also Garr (1991).

combination of the root למ"ד and the pattern *taCCiC*. In general these nominal patterns do not contribute to the semantics of the word, and therefore each word has to be learned independently. As such the patterns are not part of the grammar. Consequently, we will not devote a long discussion to the nominal patterns in this book, with the exception of the following.<sup>87</sup>

Patterns are traditionally introduced with the root *qtl*, thus the patterns *CāCiC* and *taCCiC* will be designated *qātil* and *taqtīl* respectively.

As noted in the preceding chapter (§2.2.1), adjectives and substantives are, with two minor exceptions, inflected identically, and so they cannot be distinguished on the basis of their endings. However, certain nominal patterns occur either exclusively or overwhelmingly in adjectives, and most adjectives display one of these patterns. These include the patterns used to form active and passive participles (§5.3.5), as well as the pattern *qattīl*, in, e.g., חכים “wise”, קדיש “holy”, קריב “close”, and שפיר “beautiful”, “good”.

Other patterns mark agent nouns (*nomen agentis*), which derives from the action verbs, and denote the actors. These patterns include *qātol* forms such as אמורא “speaker” and הדורא “peddler”; and *qattāl* forms such as גנבא “thief”, דילא “official”, “servant” (also spelled דיאלא), and דינא “judge”.

In addition, the suffix *-ān* is frequently added to an adjective (before the inflectional endings) when it is substantivized, as in דרשנא “one who expounds Scripture”, and קריינא “reader”, but also still as an adjective רתון “an excitable person”.

### 3.2.2 The gentilic suffix

The gentilic suffix *-āy*, can be added to substantives (again, before the inflectional endings) in order to produce adjectives meaning “of or related to X”. Originally, the suffix was used exclusively in the formation of adjectives indicating tribal or ethnic affiliation (hence the name), but its use was gradually extended so that, by the time of JBA, it appears in a considerable number of adjectives, such as ליטטא “robber” (from Greek *ληστής*), and regularly as the ending of ordinal numbers (§7.4). The suffix went through a number of sound changes in combination with the various inflectional endings, resulting in a somewhat irregular paradigm. The long forms appear in the following table:

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<sup>87</sup> For the most recent survey of the nominal pattern in JBA, see Morag and Kara (2002) and Breuer’s (2003) review of the book.

		“Aramaean, pagan”	“upper	“first”
m sg	א(ה)	ארמא(ה)	עילאה	קמא/קדמאה
f sg	י(י)תא	ארמי(י)תא	עילייתא	קמייתא/קדמייתא
m pl	אי(י) <sup>88</sup>	ארמאי	עילאי	קמאי(י)/קדמאי
f pl	ייתא/י(א)תא	ארמייתא	עילייתא	קמייתא

Note the following:

1. In the masculine (singular and plural) forms, /y/ became a glottal stop when intervocalic, (see above, §3.1.6), i.e.,  $\bar{a}y\bar{a} > \bar{a}'\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}ye > \bar{a}'e$ . The spelling with two *yods* (קמאי) reflects the original stage with the pronunciation of  $\bar{a}ye$ . It is difficult to determine whether this is a dialectal form or a historical spelling.
2. Singular masculine forms often display the expected loss of the glottal stop that developed from intervocalic /y/ (see above, §3.1.6), i.e.,  $\bar{a}'\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ .
3. When the final syllable starts with a glottal stop and ends with an *a*-vowel, *he* is used as the final *mater* in order to avoid the potentially confusing graphic sequence: אא-.

The forms above are all long. As adjectives, however, they are expected to appear short as well when they function as the predicate of the sentence (§2.2.3.2.4.1). In a few examples, one indeed encounters the short forms of the m sg form ending with the diphthong *-ay* in such syntactic contexts:

את בבליא You are Babylonian (*Hul.* 50a)

והוא ליואי And he is a Levite (*Hul.* 106b)

In other examples only certain manuscripts have the short form:

אב רמי My father is a deceiver (*Meg.* 13b, in *Midrash Hagadol*)

But, in other manuscripts: אבא רמאה הוא

<sup>88</sup> With the adjective נהרדעא “of the town Nehardea”, the plural נהרדעי is more common than נהרדעאי. Assuming a shift of /' / > /' / (§3.1.3.2), נהרדעאי was probably pronounced with a sequence of two /' /. Following this, an haplology may occur: *neharde'e'a'e* > *neharde'e*. The spelling with ע is accordingly only historical. The shift of /' / > /' / in this word is attested in the spelling נהרדאה for the m sg form.

Similarly,

אנא נהרדעא / נהרדעאה אנא I am a Nehardean (*B. Meṣi'a* 35a and *B. Bat.* 31a)

In both occurrences F has: אנא נהרדעי אנא

As for the feminine form, only the long form appears:

רמאה אנא I am a deceiver (*B. Meṣi'a* 28b)

<sup>89</sup> תרתי אפמייתא הוויין חד' עילייתא וחדא תתייתא<sup>89</sup> There were two PNs (of the same name), one the upper one and one the lower one (*Qidd.* 71b)

These data suggest that the distinction between short and long forms was not always preserved with this type of adjective. It is possible, however, to suggest that in certain contexts the short form was phonetically pronounced similarly to the long form. Taking for example the expression רמאה אנא, assuming that the pronoun אנא was enclitic (below §4.5.2.2) to the short form, then the expected gentilic form is *\*rammayana* [*=rammay+ana*]. In this case, similar phonological changes are expected *\*rammayana* > *\*ramma'ana*, which may indeed be reflected in the spelling רמאה אנא. Accordingly, there are two options how to interpret the data: 1) There are many more appearances of the short form of the gentilic adjectives, but they were homophonic with the long form; or 2) since in many cases the long and the short form in this group of adjectives were homophonic, syncretism occurred, and this distinction was lost.

The short form of the plural appears in the incantation bowls in the expression חרשין הינדואין “Indian sorcery” (*Bo* 56:6). The bowls, however, are known for preservation of archaic forms, and the appearance of older expressions (§0.4).

The feminine singular ending of the gentilic form is (י)יתא- and represents one of the following pronunciations: *itā/aytā/yitā* (the *i* vowel may be in fact *ī*), and the plural ending is *iyātā/ayātā*. A similar relation is found in other feminine nouns ending with יתא-, of which the plural forms ends with ייתא-. Among them:

מתנייתא f pl מתנייתא tannaitic statement

תעניאתא f pl תעניאתא fast day

<sup>89</sup> These forms, however, are feminine and it may be related to the phenomenon discussed above (§2.2.3.2.4.1).

### 3.3 Pronouns

In this section, the independent personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns will be discussed. Other types of pronouns will be addressed in later chapters.

#### 3.3.1 Independent personal pronouns

Like many other dialects of Aramaic, JBA has a set of independent nominative pronouns and a number of different kinds of enclitic personal pronouns. It also possesses a special set of copular pronouns related to the third person pronouns. Only the independent nominative pronouns are addressed here; the others will be treated in subsequent chapters (§4.2, §4.5.2.1 and §4.7).

##### 3.3.1.1 Forms

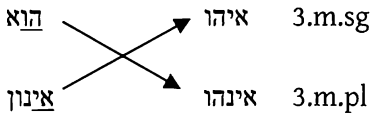
The forms of the independent nominative pronouns are given in the following chart:

	JBA	Earlier Forms (Common in NBA)
1c sg	אנא	אנא
2c sg	את	אנת
3m sg	הו(א)/איהו	הוא
3f sg	הי(א)/איהי	היא
1c pl	אנן	אנחנא
2m pl	אתו(ן)	אנתו(ן)
3m pl	אינהו	אינו(ן)
3f pl	אינהי	אינין

Note the following:

1. As usual, the earlier/NBA forms occasionally appear in non-NBA tractates of the BT.
2. The 2mp form אתו is derived from the form אנתון via apocopation of the final /n/ (§2.1), and the assimilation of the middle /n/ (§3.1.7.1).
3. Earlier in Aramaic, the third person masculine forms were הוא (singular) and אינון (plural), while they are איהו and אינהו, respectively, in JBA. The new forms are the result of leveling. Languages tend to be *iconic*, that is, they

tend to adjust paradigms so that each semantic distinction between forms in a given paradigm is marked by only one phonological distinction. The /h/ of the plural form in JBA is taken from the older singular, while the initial /i/ of the singular form in JBA is taken from the older plural; thus, the difference in number is indicated solely by the presence or absence of /n/. The same is true, of course, for the feminine forms. Note the following chart:<sup>90</sup>



### 3.3.1.2 Functions

These pronouns may appear as the subject in both verbal and verbless clauses. Note the following examples:

אנא לא הוואה אנא ולא חכימא אנא אלא גמירא אנא וסדרנא אנא As for me, I am neither someone who raises arguments in the discussion nor a wise man, but I am a learned man and my knowledge is organized (*Pesah.* 105 b)

מקרי דרדקי אנא I am an elementary school teacher (lit., I'm the one who reads for young children) (*Ta'an.* 24a)

אנן קשישי ואינון דרדקי We are old and they are young (*Bek.* 8b)

Since verbs in JBA are inflected for person, gender and number (see §5.3–4), personal pronouns are redundant in verbal clauses. When they do occur, they have an intensifying nuance, as in the following examples:

אף אנן נמי תנינא Even we have also learned (it) (*Šabb.* 38b)

אתון הוא דשאליתו לי דאילו אנא מצינא אשתמוטי לכו ממסכתא למסכתא אתו לא (אדרבה) מציתו אשתמוטי לי (On the contrary)<sup>91</sup> It is you that I “borrowed”, I can transfer you from one tractate to another, but you cannot transfer me (*B. Mešī'a* 97a)

אתון דמיקרביתו לרב ושמואל עבידו כרב ושמואל אנן נעביד כר' יוחנן You, who are attached to Rav and Shmuel, do as Rav and Shmuel (do); we will do as Rabbi Yoḥanan does (*Šabb.* 37b)

<sup>90</sup> For a similar explanation see Kutscher (1962: 155–156).

<sup>91</sup> This word appears only in several variants of this sentence, such as Ms. Es, and it fits the focus expressed in this sentence.

### 3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives of JBA can be used either as pronouns or attributive adjectives. In both functions, they serve as *targets*, agreeing in gender and number with the noun that they replace (when used as pronouns), or modify (when used as adjectives). While most Semitic languages contrast only two sets of demonstratives, proximal (“this”) and distal (“that”) demonstratives, JBA, like Mandaic, has inherited three (proximal, medial, and distal) from Official Aramaic, though it is difficult in certain functions to distinguish between them functionally and semantically (thus the term “medial” here serves simply as a name of those **forms** that end with a /k/).

#### 3.3.2.1 Form

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns are given in the following chart:

	Proximal	Proximal Earlier/Geonic	Medial	Distal
m sg <sup>92</sup>	האי(י) עדי אידי	(ה)דין דנא, דנן	האי(י)ך איךך	ההו(א)
f sg	הא [האי] <sup>93</sup> עדא	(ה)דא האדי	הך	ההי(א)
m pl	ה(א)ני עדי	איל(י)ן הלין	הנך הלך א(י)נך	הנהו הנון
f pl	הני	=mp	=mp	הנהי

Regarding the origins and distribution of the various forms, note the following:

1. The earlier demonstratives are often used in quotations attributed to Palestinian sages and in idioms; for the former, note the saying of Rav (§0.4.2):

<sup>92</sup> The proximal form הניא occurs in incantation bowls; this is the normal form in Syriac, and it also appears once in the Aramaic version of *Toledot Yešu* (about this treatise, see §0.2).

<sup>93</sup> This is the masculine form; occasionally, a masculine form appears before feminine nouns.

דין עסק ביש This is a bad deal (B. Qam. 99b)

For the short form in such contexts, see §2.2.3.2.4.1.

2. More specifically, the forms דנן and אילן are usually used in quotations from legal texts (which tend to be linguistically conservative):

אנא איקו ואישפי ואידכי ואימרוק זביני אילן ... וצבי זבונא דנן וקביל עלוהי I shall stand up, satisfy, cleanse, and clear *these* sales of legal claims ... and *this* buyer wanted (it) and accepted (it) upon himself (B. Meṣi'a 15a)

3. Most of the JBA forms developed from the Official Aramaic forms through the addition of the prefix *hā-* (as in Syriac), and regular JBA sound changes, such as the following:

a. Elision of medial *d* (§3.1.1): הדא > הא; הדך > הדך

b. Apocoptation of final /n/ (§2.1): האדי > האדי; הדין > הדין

The second of these forms experienced the preceding change as well. The spelling האדי may even indicate a third shift, namely *a'e > aye* (*haden > hade > \*hae > \*ha' e > haye*).

c. Elision of intervocalic glottal stop (§3.1.3.1): הילין\* > הילין

d. Interchange of sonorants (§3.1.2): הלך > הלך; הני > הני

The second of these also underwent apocoptation of final /n/ (§2.1).

4. The forms עדי (masculine singular *and plural*) and עדא (feminine singular) are also reflexes of the earlier forms הדין and הדא, respectively. The use of /' / is probably due to orthographic hypercorrection, which is quite common cross-linguistically when phonemes merge (§3.1.3), rather than an actual pharyngeal realization. The form עדי also reflects apocoptation of final /n/ (§2.1).

5. The forms אידי and אידך were probably formed by a process of leveling with the plural forms אילין and אינך, respectively, with the additional apocoptation of final /n/ in the former.<sup>94</sup> As is often the case with biforms, one set, in this case אידי and אידך, became functionally specialized. Note the following:

a. אידי is mostly used in the expression אידי ואידי “both”.

b. אידך is used, most often, in conjunction with חד “one” in the sense “the other”, as in the following example:

<sup>94</sup> Kutscher (1962: 156).



כי רכיב אגמלא מחד גיסא דנהר פפא שדייה באידך גיסא When he was riding on a camel on one side of the Papa river, he threw him to the other side (*B. Meṣi'a* 86a)

- c. At other times, אידך has the sense “(an)other” even without a preceding חד, as in the common expression תניא אידך, which is used to introduce a new Tannaitic source into a discussion.
6. The medial demonstratives, which end in *k*, often contrast with the formally similar proximal demonstratives that lack *k*, as in the following examples:

הך ולימא הא ולא לימא הך He should have mentioned this, and then he would not have needed to mention that (*ʿErub.* 20a)

הב האיך ושקליה להאי Give me that and take this (*Sanh.* 113a)

הני אין הנך לא These ones yes, the other ones no (*Ḥag.* 11b)

### 3.3.2.2 Syntax and functions

As noted above, the demonstratives can serve as both pronouns and adjectives in JBA; in addition, they can be compounded with prepositions to form adverbs. All three options are discussed here.

#### 3.3.2.2.1 Pronominal uses

Most often the demonstratives function pronominally as the subject of their sentences, but not exclusively. Note the following examples.

As subjects:

הני הילכתא נינהו These are laws from tradition (*Mo'ed Qat.* 3b)

הא היכא כתיבא? Where is this written? (*Giṭ* 85a)

הא לן והא להו This is for us, and this is for them (*Sukkah* 36a)

In a prepositional phrase:

על דא ודאי בכית You obviously cried over this (*Ber.* 5b)

The forms עדי and עדא always serve as the subject of the clause in which they appear, as in עדא תהא “Let this be” (*Mak.* 21b).

### 3.3.2.2.2 Adnominal uses

When a demonstrative co-occurs with a noun and modifies it, the demonstrative usually precedes, as in גברא האי “this man” and הנך אינשי “those people”. When the earlier forms occur, however, the order is reversed, as in ארעא דא “this land” and זבונא דנן “this buyer”. In this case, which constitutes a rare instance in which JBA exhibits a syntactic archaism, the word order of earlier stages of Aramaic has been retained.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.3.2.2.3 Functions<sup>96</sup>

#### 3.3.2.2.3.1 Exophoric uses

Demonstratives often make reference to something in the context of the utterance:

האי גברא אזיל ולא אתי This man is going and he will not return [the context of this sentence is that one person points to another person regarding a third man] (*Šabb.* 156b)

#### 3.3.2.2.3.2 Endophoric uses

More often demonstratives are used intertextually, referring to something mentioned earlier in the text. A demonstrative may refer to a specific entity:

כי מטא האי פסוקא איתנח When he reached this verse he sighed (*Šabb.* 152b)

הני מזונותן עליך הני אין מזונותן עליך As for the former, you are responsible for their livelihood; but as for the latter, it is not your responsibility (*Šabb.* 155b) [The underlined words are in Hebrew.]

or to an event:

מאי האי What is this about? (*Ta’an.* 25a)

In addition a demonstrative may refer to a larger linguistic unit, such as a sentence:

הא לן ודא להו This is for us, and this is for them [referring to contradicting laws] (*Sukkah* 36a)

<sup>95</sup> For a historical review of the placement of the demonstrative in Aramaic, see Pat-El (2008: 169–188).

<sup>96</sup> The terminology in this section follows Halliday and Ruqaiya (1976) and Diessel (1999).

### 3.3.2.2.3.3 Introduction of new entities in the discourse

In spoken English, *this* is occasionally used as an indefinite, rather than anaphoric, demonstrative, as in the sentence fragment *So, this guy came up to me and told me ...*.<sup>97</sup> In such contexts, *this* introduces a noun that has not yet been mentioned. The demonstratives, mostly the distal and medial demonstratives, function the same way in JBA.<sup>98</sup> A survey of the data in the BT indicates that the distal demonstratives introduce the topic of discourse, the figure about whom that literary unit is (i.e., *There was a man ...*), while the medial demonstratives serve as indefinite determiners (i.e., *... and then certain people heard him ...*). Note the following examples:

היהו גברא דבנא אפדנא אקיקלתא דיתמי  
 on a garbage dump belonging to orphans (B. Qam. 21a)

הנהו תרי מיני חד ששון וחד שמייה שמחה  
 named PN<sub>1</sub> and one named PN<sub>2</sub> (Sukkah 48b)

הנך שבויתא דאתיין לנהרדעא  
 Certain captives [f] who came to GN (Ketub. V<sup>16</sup> 23a)

The proximal demonstrative is used in cases when its reference is cognitively available to the addressee. This may be the recognitional use (i.e., You remember *that* radio your niece broke ...), similarly in JBA:

הני בני מחוזא כולהו מדרחמי לי  
 These people of GN – they all like me (Ketub. 105b)

More often, the proximal demonstratives are used in generic statements, where there is an assumption that the addressees can recognize the category indicated by the demonstratives. Again a similar phenomenon is known in English as well (*Those labradors make great pets*):<sup>99</sup>

הני תרי נשי דיתבה חדא כהאי גיסא וחדא כהאי גיסא בשבילא ומכוון אפיהון הנהי בכשפין  
 עסיקן When two women are sitting in two sides of the road facing each other, they are dealing with sorcery (Pesah. 111a)

These generic statements are also used deontically in legal contexts:

<sup>97</sup> See Prince (1981).

<sup>98</sup> This analysis is a summary of a longer discussion in Bar-Asher Siegal (2012).

<sup>99</sup> See Bowdle and Ward (1995).

האי יומא דעיבא והא יומא דשותא לא מהלינן ליה ולא מסוברין ביה One should neither circumcise nor let blood on a cloudy day or on a day of a south wind (Yebam. 72a)

Thus it is possible to identify a paradigm of the non-definite uses of the demonstratives:

	The topic of the narrative unit	The non-topic participant of the narrative unit
Possible to identify the referent		Proximal
Impossible to identify the referent	Distal	Medial

#### 3.3.2.2.3.4 Reciprocal uses

The various strategies JBA used to express reciprocity will be surveyed below (§8.2). The repetition of a demonstrative is, in fact, not a common strategy for this function in JBA, while it is known from other earlier Aramaic dialects, among them Biblical Aramaic.<sup>100</sup> Note the following expression, which appears several times in BT:

הא בהא תליא They depend on each other (Naz. 18b)

In other contexts, however, it is clear that simply a repetition of demonstratives does not convey reciprocity; in fact, only a repetition of both directions conveys such a relation:

פגעו הני בהני והני בהני ומיקטל חד מיהני וחד מיהני These attack those, and those attack these (i.e., they attack each other,) and one of these and one of those is killed (Meg. 6b)

ולא ידעי הני בהני והני בהנך These did not know about those, and those did not know about these (Git. 57a)

#### 3.3.2.2.3.5 Adverbial functions

The forms, ה(א)כי, הכין, הכדין, and כדין, all of which are composed of the masculine singular proximal demonstrative, the deictic element ה, and the preposition כ – or at least two of these three elements – function as adverbs meaning “thus,” “in this manner”. These can be further compounded with other prepo-

<sup>100</sup> Bar-Asher Siegal (2012b: 229–231).

sitions to form temporal adjectives such as “meanwhile”, and “afterwards”.

### 3.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

#### 3.3.3.1 For human references

The most common indefinite pronouns in JBA are as follows:

For a non-specific human:

מי (א) m, אינשי m pl, אי(נ)חחא f, נשי f pl someone, a person, one

לא מקדים איניש פורענותא לנפשיה One does not move retribution forward upon oneself (*Git* 75b)

מיחייב אינשי לאיבסומי בפוריא One is required to become intoxicated on Purim (*Meg.* 7b) (Var. O. מיחייב אינשי לאבסומי)

באעי צלויי איניש קמי רחמ' באימתא וברתיאתא One must pray in the presence of God with fear and trembling (*Anan* 12: 17)

במערבא כד נסיב איניש איתחא In Palestine, when someone marries a woman (*Ber.* 8a)

This pronominal expression with the adjective “another” is usually used also for a non-specific human:

אילו את' איניש אחרינ' וא' לכון דחרב בית המקד' מי הוה נדרייתון? If someone had told you that the temple had been destroyed, would you have vowed? (*Naz.* 32a)

This combination, however, appears occasionally also for a specific man:<sup>101</sup>

אתא איניש אחרינא אמ' להו Another person came and told them (*Erub.* 88b)

For a specific human:

Either with the addition of the cardinal number “one” to a certain nominal expression (גברא “man”, סבא “an old man” etc.):

איכא גברא חד ביהודאי דלא נסיב רשותא ודאין דינא There is a certain man in Judea who judges without being given the authority to do so (*Ber.* 58a)

or, more common with גברא “a man”:

<sup>101</sup> The expected combination גברא אחרינא is rare.

ההוא גברא דשדר ליה גיטא לדביתהו A certain man who sent a divorce document to his wife ... (*Git.* 29b V<sup>18</sup>)

In the case of a female **אי(נ)תחא** is used also for specific:

ההיא איתחא דאכלה דיקלא בתפשיחא תלת שנין A certain woman who enjoyed the usufruct of a date palm for three years (*B. Bat.* 54a)

When the non-specific person is among a known group, **חד** “one” may function as a pronoun referring to a non-specific member of the group:

האי צורכא מרבנן ועם הארץ דאית להו דינא בהדי הדדי ... רב[']: בר שבא הוה ליה דינא ... בהדי חד A *šurba merabbanan*<sup>102</sup> and a layman who go to court ... PN went to court with one [= of the laymen] (*Šebu.* 30b)

### **חבר** + possessive pronoun

In a context of relations between two participants, only the first component is referred to by **איניש** “man” or **חד** “one”, and there is an addition of a second correlative component, **חבר** “fellow”, with a genitive suffix pronoun referring to the first component:

שרי ליה לאיניש למימרא ליה לחבריה ... One can tell another person ... (*B. Meši'a* 64a)

אמ' ליה חד לחבריה One said to the other (*'Abod. Zar.* 13b)

It is important to distinguish between the use of **חבריה** as an indefinite pronoun, and its lexical use as “a friend”, as seen in the following example:

זמנין דניחא ליה לאיניש בחבריה טפי מרביה Sometimes a person may prefer being with his friend more than being with his rabbi (*'Erub.* 36b)

The construction **חבר+pronominal suffix** is used more generally as “another person”; thus it may appear in the following context as well:

ההוא גברא דזבין ליה לחבריה חמרא A certain man sold another man a donkey ... (*B. Meši'a* 77b)

האי מאן דאזופיה מאה זוזי לחבריה Whoever lends a hundred zuz from another person (*B. Meši'a* 77b)

<sup>102</sup> The form **צורכא** in the manuscript is a typographical error, and **צורבא** should be written, as is elsewhere in the BT and in other manuscripts for this line.

In fact, חבר + pronominal suffix grammaticalized in JBA can serve as a general way to express “another”, even with an inanimate object (where the notion of “fellow” is irrelevant), as in the following example:

מיומא טבא לחבריה From one holiday to another (*Beṣah* 4a)

איסיר לערביה לחד בהדי חברי It is forbidden to combine one with the other  
(*Anan* 6: 13)

### 3.3.3.2 For inanimate references

מיד (אנ)י m (pl) מידים > מדם > מדעם something, anything

ליטעום מיד Let him taste something (*Šabb.* 129a)

מי שבקת מידים בעלמא דלא חריבתייה? Did you leave anything in the world that you did not destroy? (*B. Bat.* 73a)

מילתא f matter, thing, something, event

מילתא דלא שכיחא היא It is an uncommon event (*Yoma* 23a)

קו אימא מילתא כנגד כל ישראל ' Stand up and say something in the presence of all the congregation of Israel (*Ketub.* 8b)

כלום anything – (something) only in negative sentences

לא [א]ן כלום [ק]א עביד He doesn't do anything (*B. Qam.* 55a)

## 3.4 Locative demonstrative adverbs

The two most common locative demonstrative adverbs in JBA are the following:

ה(א)כא here

ה(א)תם there

Note also the idiom:

מה לי הכא מה לי התם? What difference does it make?” (lit., “What is there for me here; what is there for me there?”) (*B. Meṣi'a* 36b)

# Chapter 4

## 4.1 Apocopation of final vowels

In a few grammatical categories, JBA lacks final vowels present in earlier dialects of Aramaic. The loss of these final vowels, which also occurred in Syriac and Mandaic, may have been a result of the shift of stress from the final syllable (*ultima*) to the preceding syllable (*penult*). Both nominal and verbal forms are affected by this change, but the precise phonological and/or morphological conditions under which it occurs are not clear. While the final *a*-vowel of the long form (§2.2.1) never suffers apocopation, the genitive pronominal suffixes, which will be discussed immediately below, were greatly affected; note, for example, JBA מר “my lord” for earlier מרי. Similarly, this fact may explain why rabbis in Palestine were called רבי *rabbi* and in Babylonian רב *rab*; it is thus the same form, only with an apocopation of the final vowel in JBA.<sup>103</sup>

## 4.2 Genitive pronominal suffixes

JBA, like other dialects of Aramaic and other Semitic languages, possesses genitive pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns in the construct state to indicate possession and to certain prepositions to serve as objects. Official Aramaic and other earlier dialects had two sets of genitive pronominal suffixes: one used after consonants, and the other used after vowels and diphthongs. The set in Biblical Aramaic is as follows:

	After consonants	After vowels and diphthongs		After consonants	After vowels and diphthongs
1c sg	ִי-	י-	1c pl	ִנָּא-	נָא-
2m sg	ִךְ-	ךְ-	2m pl	ִכְם-	כְם-
2f sg	ִכְי-	כְי-	2f pl	ִכְנֵ*	כְנֵ*
3m sg	ִהּ-	ִוְהִי-	3m pl	ִהֶם-	הֶם-
3f sg	ִהּ-	ִהָאֵ-/הָא-	3f pl	ִהֶן-	הֶן-

<sup>103</sup> Kutscher (1962: 166, n. 39) and Breuer (1996).



JBA also possesses two sets of suffixes, but they differ from the earlier sets in both shape and distribution. Many of the differences in shape result from the loss of final vowels discussed above (§4.1); thus, one finds 2f sg ך- for earlier ךֿי-, and 1c pl ן- for earlier ןא-. In the case of the 1c sg form this is even more significant, as the pronoun is expressed phonologically as the lack of a vowel after the last consonant. The distribution of the sets in JBA, especially when attached to nouns, is not determined by phonological criteria, as it had been in earlier dialects; instead, the two are used interchangeably. As usual, though, one occasionally finds the earlier forms in JBA texts. The standard JBA forms are given in the following table:

	Set 1	Set 2		Set 1	Set 2
1c sg	-	אי-	1c pl	ן-	ין-
2m sg	ך-	ךי-	2m pl	כו-	יכו-
2f sg	ךי-	ךי-	2f pl		יכי-/יכו-
3m sg	יה-/י-ה	יה-	3m pl	הו-	יהו-
3f sg	יה-/א-ה	ה-	3f pl	הו-/הי-	יהו-/יהי-

With regard to specific forms, note the following:

1. The second and third person plural forms exhibit apocopation of final /n/ (§2.1).
2. For the first set, 2f pl forms כִּי\* and כּו\* are expected but unattested.
3. The 3 sg forms י- (m) and א- (f) exhibit apocopation of final /h/ (§2.1); thus, one finds, e.g., כּוּלִּיהָ < כּוּלִּיהָ “all of it” and אִיפּכָא < אִיפּכָא “on the contrary”.

In the case of the 3f sg the apocopated form ends with א-. Thus it is similar to the regular long form. For example, מלכא can be a regular long form with the meaning of “king” or an apocopated form of מלכה “her king”. Accordingly, one should be careful with every form that ends with א- and consider whether it is a long form of the noun or a pronominal suffix, as this may be crucial for the meaning. Consider the following example:

נדה שרי לאתיחודי בהדי גוברא It is permitted for a monstrous woman to be alone in the room together with her husband (lit., “her man”) (Sanh. 37a)

In MS M instead of גוברא there is an abbreviation גבר', and in the printed

version גברא appears. The possible options are here rather significant, as the meaning of the sentence hinges on whether permission is granted to every man or only to her husband. Compare:

אסירא לייחודי בגברא דלא דידה She is forbidden to be together in the room alone with a man who is not her husband ('Erub. 100b)

In this case, it is clear that גברא should be read as “a man” and not “her man”, i.e., “her husband”.

4. The first element in each of the suffixes in the second set (except 3f sg) is the reflex of \*-ay. This was not originally part of the suffixes, but, rather, a construct plural marker on nouns preceding the suffix. By JBA, however, the border between the noun and the suffix had been reanalyzed, so that this element, now interpreted as part of the latter rather than a pluralizing morpheme attached to the former, occurs even after singular nouns. Thus, while in Official Aramaic one finds singular מלכ-ך “your king” and plural מלכי-ך “your kings”, in JBA one also finds singular דעת-ך “your opinion” (*inter alia Pesah.* 48b). Consider the following morphological analysis to the form *malkāyk* in Official Aramaic and JBA:

<i>malkāyk</i>	
Official Aramaic: <i>malkāy-k</i>	JBA: <i>malk-āyk</i>
king.pl-POSS.2.m.sg	king-POSS.2.m.sg

5. Moreover, the form ending without a *yod* may stand for the plural, as for example is the case with תלמיד-ך “your students” (*Mo'ed Qat.* 24a).
6. While the use of the ending with *yod* after singular forms may be a result of a reanalysis of the form, a different explanation must be sought for plural noun forms without a *yod*. This change may have resulted from a sound change *ay* > *a* /\_C# (see §3.1.7.2).<sup>104</sup> Thus, the /y/ of the construct plural forms, ending in /y/, elides before the suffixes are added. A similar change is known already in the reading tradition (*Qərē'*) of Biblical Aramaic and in other dialects of Aramaic.

As a consequence of the simultaneous use of the two sets, it is often impossible to determine the number of a noun on formal grounds when it is followed by a genitive suffix; only context can arbitrate between singular and plural.

If this situation reflects the actual forms of JBA, then clearly the two phe-

<sup>104</sup> See also Garr (1991).

nomena could not reflect one stage in one language, since either /y/ elided or its morphological role was reanalyzed. Thus, the various forms should either reflect different historical stages or two dialects. This is another example where JBA regularly reflects more than one linguistic system.

Moreover, a given noun may take a suffix from one set in one occurrence, but the corresponding suffix from the other set in the next. Note the following examples:

my son	בראי/ברי/בר
my lord	מרי/מר
your lord	מריך/מרך
your lords	מריך
her neighbors	שיבבאתהא/שיבבחה/שיבבחה
our soul(s)	נפשין

- When, as in the first two examples, one finds only *yod* written for the 1c sg suffix, it is unclear whether *-i* (the old post-consonantal suffix) or *-ay* is intended.
- Prepositions tend to be less erratic in their choice of suffix; the following table contains the attested forms for a number of common prepositions:

	ב-	מן	על	עילאוי	קמי	בתר
1c sg	בי	מינ(א)י/מיני	עלאי/עליי	עילאוי	קמאי	בתראי
2m sg	בך	מינך	עליך	עילוך	קמ(י)ך	בתרך
2f sg	ביך	מיניך	עליכי			
3m sg	ביה	מיניה	עליה	עילויה	קמי(ה)	בתריה
3f sg	בה	מינה	עלה	עילוה	קמה	
1c pl	בן	מינן	עלן	עילוון	קמן	בתרנא
2m pl	(בכו(ו)	מינ(יי)כו(ו)	עלייכו		קמיכו	
2f pl			עליכין			
3m pl	(בהו(ו)	מינ(יי)הו(ו)	עלייהו	עילוייהו	קמיהו	(בתריהו(ו)
3f pl	בהי(ו)/בהו	מיניהי	עלייהי(ו)			

(עילאוי “on top of; against” / קמי “before, in front of” / בהר “after, behind”)

The preposition ל- takes the same suffixes as ב-.

**A note regarding the feminine plural forms:** while there are special feminine plural forms, the masculine forms often appear with feminine antecedents. Although it may reflect scribal errors, the fact that it repeatedly occurs seems to indicate a syncretism between these categories (a similar phenomenon already occurred in the consonantal tradition [=Kethiv] of Biblical Aramaic). **Thus, throughout this book, even if it is not specifically noted, masculine plural forms may appear with feminine antecedents.**

### 4.3 Genitive constructions

In §2.2.3.1.1, one mean of expressing a genitive relationship was presented, namely, the simple juxtaposition of two nouns, the first of which must be in the construct state, as in קל גברא “a man’s voice” (*Meg.* 32a). There are two other, more common, constructions that express genitive relationships in JBA. In the first of these, the second noun is preceded by the so-called “determinative pronoun” ד(י) (ד), which also serves to introduce relative clauses (see §10.1).<sup>105</sup>

פולמוסא דמלכא the army of the king (*Ber.* 30b)

גברי דפולמוסא the people of the army (*B. Meṣi’a* 93b)

The two types of construction may appear together in one context:

קל גברא במאתא וקל דאיתתא בדברא A man’s voice in the city, a woman’s voice in the field (*Meg.* 32a)

A given noun may be involved in more than one genitive relationship. When this happens, the different relationships are occasionally expressed using different constructions, as in the following examples:

פיתחא דריש טורזינא דמלכא the entrance of the king’s head official (*Ber.* 56a  
AR [AC.4:76]) (ריש טורזינא lit., head of the officials)

בי גנזא דמלכא the king’s (house of) treasury (*Sanh.* 109a)

<sup>105</sup> It is beyond the scope of this description to deal with the question whether this phenomenon indicates that the ד is a pronoun or a genitive marker. Accordingly, such examples should be analyzed as having elliptical governing nouns. For a preliminary discussion on this issue, see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013b).

This construction may also appear without a governing noun, mostly in predicative possessive constructions (§4.7):

דאיסורא שכיחי. דהיתירא לא שכיחי Prohibited things (lit., “of prohibition”) are common, permitted things (lit., of permission) are uncommon (*Hul.* 7b)

דאבא או דאחי (Is she the creditor) of the father or of the brothers? (*Ketub.* 69a)

The next construction is identical to the preceding one, except that an anticipatory pronominal suffix agreeing in number and gender with the second noun is attached to the first. Note the following examples:

לפומיה דלוייתן to the mouth of the Leviathan (*B. Bat. Es* 74a)

טעמייהו דרבנן the reason of the rabbis (*Menaḥ* 62b)

משמיה דרב in the name of PN (*Ta'an.* 8b)

רגלוי דבר אנש men's legs (*Sukkah* 53a)

It is commonly argued that this construction only occurs when the second noun is semantically definite,<sup>106</sup> but this need not be the case. In fact, there are instances of this construction in which the second element is the indefinite pronouns איניש and גברא (§3.3.3). Note the following examples:

הא מילתא מפירקיה דגברא רבה שמיע לי I heard this matter at an important man's lecture (*B. Qam.* 42b)

דעתיה דאיניש אתרעא זילא One's intention is directed towards the low price (*B. Meṣi'a* 74b)

A further discussion concerning the relative frequency of this construction is required. It is fairly clear that the apocopation of final /h/ was more common (and perhaps even universal) in the spoken language than it is in the extant manuscripts, where historical/morphographic writings abound; thus, forms with third person singular genitive pronouns and long forms were often pronounced similarly. Since the replacement of a construct noun with an anticipatory pronominal suffix in such a construction with the long form also yields an acceptable construction, i.e., the one discussed immediately above, scribes likely introduced historical spellings into such constructions less often than

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, Pat-El (2008: 197–198), who discusses this issue at some length.

they did in other cases. Thus, it is difficult to determine the relative frequency of these two constructions, and the difficulty is only compounded by the fact that the two alternate frequently in the manuscripts; note the following examples:

*Yebam.* 100b:

O<sup>2</sup> תיגריה דאיתתא ... תיגריה דגברא man's dispute(s) ... woman's dispute(s)<sup>107</sup>

M<sup>3</sup> תיגרא דאיתתא ... תיגרא דגברא man's dispute ... woman's dispute

*Sanh.* 95a:

He שמא דאימיה

F<sup>2</sup> שמה דאימ' his mother's name

As noted earlier (§2.2.3.1.2), many prepositions are, in origin, construct forms of nouns or at least end in the construct form of a noun; such prepositions often take an anticipatory third person pronoun with the object, preceded by (י)ד, immediately after. Note the following examples:<sup>108</sup>

לגביה דרב to PN

קמיה דרב before PN

מיניה דרב from PN

כוותיה דרב similar to PN

אחוריה דרב behind PN

As in all languages genitival relations express various semantic relations besides the possessive one, among them *genitive of material* (עיליתא דשישא “upper room of marble” [*Šabb.* 29b]), *genitive of species* (הדמו דחיותא “limbs of animal” [*Giṭ.* 67b]), *genitive of association* (בריסתקא דמחוזא “district of GN” [*B. Meṣi'a* 83a]), *genitive of measure* (רביעתא דשיכרא “one quarter log of beer” [*‘Abod. Zar.* 29a]). There are also some examples of *attributive genitives* (אתרא דחשוכא “a place of darkness/darkened place” [*Zebaḥ.* 65b]).<sup>109</sup>

#### 4.4 Interrogative pronouns

- The pronoun that substitutes for a person, the equivalent to the English “who?” is: מאן/מן. It may appear as מנו (< הוא) “who is he/it?” or מני (< מאן

<sup>107</sup> The form of the feminine pronominal suffix -יה seems to be a result of an ad hoc attraction to the masculine form in the sentence.

<sup>108</sup> For an elaboration of this phenomenon, see §9.2.1.3.

<sup>109</sup> See also Schlesinger (1928: 66–69) and Levias (1930: 312–314).

היא) “who is she/it?”<sup>110</sup>

מאן תנא Who is the *Tanna*? (*B. Meṣi'a* 93a)

מרה דשמעתא דאושה מנו Who is the possessor of the legal tradition from GN? (*Ketub* 50a)

אליבא דמאן According to whom? (*inter alia* *B. Bat.* 72a)

- The pronoun that substitutes for an inanimate object, the equivalent to the English “what?” is מא/מה. Most often it appears as מאי (< מא דין) “what is this?” or מהו (< מא הוא) “what is it?”

מא קאמר What is he saying? (*B. Meṣi'a* 52b)

מאי טעמא The reason is what? (*Beṣaḥ* 16a)

מהו דתימא What is it that you might say? (*Git.* 29a)

- The pronoun equivalent to the English pronoun “which?” is הי. An archaic form, with an enclitic demonstrative, found in NBA is הידין/הידא “which one?”

הי מרדכי Which PN? (*Meg.* 16a)

הי דשתיא והי דערבא Which is of the warp? And which is of the woof? (*Abod. Zar.* 17b)

הידין נילף Which one should we study? (*Ker.* 4a)

Similarly, אהידי, אהידא (< על הי דא) “to which one? [archaic form: אהידיא]

דקאמ' רב פפא אהידי To which did PN refer?

Occasionally, when these interrogatives appear with some prepositions, they take on a special meaning as is the case with אמאי (< על מאי) “why?” למה ל- “what is the need for?”

אמאי עציבת Why are you sad? (*B. Meṣi'a* 65b)

למה ליה למר כולי האי Why do you need this? (*Ber.* 13b)

The interrogative pronouns usually appear at the beginning of the question. However, they may appear in other positions as well:

טעמא מאי What is the reason? (*inter alia* *Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 18a)<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> As for the origin of the interrogatives with the cliticized pronoun here and throughout this section, see §10.3.

הא מתניתא מני According to whom is this Tannaitic source? (*Soṭah* 16a)

This section focused on interrogative pronouns introducing questions and substituting for the noun that is expected to be the answer. Other functions of these pronouns will be introduced later in the context of dependent clauses (§10.1).

## 4.5 Nominal clauses, dislocation, and copulative pronouns

### 4.5.1 The structure of nominal clauses

A nominal clause is one in which the predicate is not a verb.<sup>112</sup> The subject of such a clause may be a substantive (including substantivized adjectives) or pronoun, while the predicate may be one of these, an adjective, or a prepositional phrase. As noted earlier (§2.2.3.2.4.1), predicate adjectives appear in the short form.

In earlier Aramaic, as elsewhere in Semitic languages, nominal clauses were constructed merely by juxtaposing the subject and predicate. When both were substantives, it was impossible to distinguish the two on morphological grounds. This kind of construction still occurs in JBA on occasion. Unfortunately, there is still no good survey of such sentences in JBA; the general impression one receives is that the unmarked word order, with regards to the subject (S) and the predicate (P), is S-P (i.e., the subject is first and the predicate second) when the predicate is a substantive and P-S when it is an adjective, but this can vary on the basis of pragmatic considerations. Note the following examples.

S and P both nouns:

דינא דמלכותא דינא The law of the kingdom is a law (i.e., binding)  
(*B. Qam.* 113a)

ניגרי דחמרא שערי The steps of the donkey are (determined by) the barley  
(it eats) (*Šabb.* 110a)

אימיה דשמשון צללפוניה Simson's mother is PN (*B. Bat.* 91a)

S personal pronoun, P noun:

אנא מלך ואיהו ריש גנבי I am a king and he is the head of the thieves (*Šabb.* V  
156a)

<sup>111</sup> On this interrogative see §10.1.2.2.4

<sup>112</sup> The term *verbless clause* has been avoided deliberately, since the verb הו"י may be added to such a clause in order to indicate tense, aspect or mood (§7.2).



S demonstrative pronoun, P noun:

הא חמרך והא קנקנך This is your wine and this is your vessel (*B. Bat.* 97b)

S noun, P adjective:

שפירן עיניה His eyes are beautiful (*B. Meṣi'a* 85b)

בסים חמרך Your wine is sweet (*Ber.* 56a)

אורחן רחיקא Our journey is long (*Sukkah* 52a)

חכים יוסף ברי בטריפות My son Joseph is expert with regard to *terefot* (prohibited meat) (*Ḥul.* 28b)

S noun, P prepositional phrase:

על נהר פלוני מותבה Her residence is on such-and-such a river (*SṢHai* 2a)

טעונאי עלך טעונאך עליי My burden is upon you; your burden is upon me (*Ṣabb.* 66b)

הני תנאי כהני תנאי The *Tannas* agree (lit., These *Tannas* are like these *Tannas*) (*Yoma* 8a)

S pronoun, P substantivized adjective:

גמירא אנא I am a/the learned person (*Pesaḥ.* 105b)

An element may be *dislocated* and then resumed by a co-referential personal pronoun within the clause, as in the following example:

רגלוהי דבר איניש - אנין ערבן ביה A person's feet are his surety (lit., A person's feet, they are his surety) (*Sukkah* 53a)

In such a construction, the dislocated element may itself be a personal pronoun, as in the following example:

אנא - לא הוואה אנא I am not someone who raises arguments (lit., As for myself, I am not someone who raises arguments) (*Pesaḥ.* 105b)

## 4.5.2 Historical developments in nominal clauses

4.5.2.1 Cross-linguistically, constructions with dislocation commonly shift over time to a stage in which the co-referential pronoun has become a copula/marker of agreement and the originally dislocated element has become a constituent of the clause; in other words, the originally marked construction

becomes unmarked.<sup>113</sup> In some languages, such pronouns cease to function pronominally in other contexts (that is, they cease to be pronouns), while in other languages, such pronouns change shape as a consequence of phonological wear. JBA possesses a set of copulative pronouns that developed from the independent nominative pronouns. Unlike the independent nominative pronouns, though, the copulative pronouns are enclitic; the third person forms, however, are written independently.

Note the following development with the expressions with the meaning “I am preferable.”

Stage one:	אנא	עדיף	אנא
	Subject	Predicate	Topic (dislocated)
Stage two (syntactic reanalysis):	אנא	עדיף	אנא
	Copula	Predicate	Subject
Stage three (phonological change):	עדיפנא		אנא
	Predicate (+agreement)		Subject

The following are the enclitic forms for all persons:

1c sg	נא-	1c pl	נן-
2c sg	ת-	2m pl	(תו)ן-
3m sg	הוא/ניהו	3m pl	נינהו
3f sg	היא/ביהי	3f pl	נינהו/בינהו

A clause may consist of only the predicate and an enclitic copulative suffix, as in the following examples:

- עדיפנא I am (more) worthy (*Qidd.* 29b);
- עציבת You (c sg) are sad (*Pesah.* 3b);
- הכימתו You (m pl) are wise (*Git.* 56b);
- זוטרינן We are young (*B. Qam.* 92b).

4.5.2.2 Later in (§5.3.5) these forms will be introduced with the participial forms. While these forms are regular with participles, they appear only rarely

<sup>113</sup> See, Li and Thompson (1977).

with nouns and adjectives, except in the case of the 3 pl forms. More often, though, the full pronouns appear, as if these sentences were still in the stage of the dislocation. However, it is reasonable to assume that the non-enclitic forms represent only the historical writing, and in fact even when written separately they were phonologically enclitic. This is especially due to the fact that in the 3 pl these forms are the regular ones.

4.5.2.3 The initial /n/ of the third person forms appears regularly with the plural forms and in special environments with the singular forms.<sup>114</sup>

- a. As for the plural forms, they appear after the predicate of the sentence, and most likely they have their origin in the plural short form ending *-īn*, which became a part of the pronouns through reanalysis:<sup>115</sup>

*gazlānīn 'inhū > \*gazlānīninhū > gazlānī ninhū*

גזלני נינהו They are robbers (B. Bat. 100a)

שהדי שקרי נינהו They are lying witnesses (B. Bat. 92b)

The fact that this is a morphological reanalysis and not merely a matter of graphic representation is clear since these forms appear also when they do not follow plural forms, as these examples show:

דידי נינהו They are mine (B. Meṣi'a 42a)

רובה דשפוכאי ישראל נינהו Most pourers (of wine) are Jews (B. Bat. 24a)

קדושה והבדלה חדא מילתא נינהו *Qedushah* and *Havdalah* are one thing (Pesaḥ. 102b)

כולהי חדא ברכתא אריכתא נינהו They are all one long blessing (Pesaḥ. 103b)

- b. As for the singular form,<sup>116</sup> it appears regularly in two environments: 1) after the interrogative pronoun מאי in the expression מאי ניהו “what is it?”; 2) in cleft sentences (§10.3) in which the predicate is the independent pronoun הוא, in the combination of הוא ניהו ד- “It is he/it who/which ...”. In addition it occasionally appears in other questions:

מי ידענא היכא ניהו Do I know where he is? (Sanh. 39a)

<sup>114</sup> Schlesinger (1928: 11–12).

<sup>115</sup> Kutscher (1962: 156–157).

<sup>116</sup> For a different proposal see Epstein (1960: 22–23).

הי ניהו Which is it? (*Nid.* 41b)

Otherwise, usually a form similar to the independent pronoun appears:

ר' נתן דיינא הוא PN is a judge (*B. Meṣi'a* 117b)

Regarding מאי, a similar explanation to the one for the plural form may be suggested. Since מאי derives from מא דין (with the elision of the middle /d/, see §3.1.1), it is possible to propose a similar reanalysis with regard to the *n*:

\**mā den 'ihu* > \**māden'ihu* > \**māde nihu* > *mae nihu* = מאי ניהו

Similarly with the interrogative הי it is possible that it developed in the construction (הידין) הי דין found in NBA (§4.4).

When these forms appear with other interrogatives, if they indeed reflect the language of JBA, it is possible that they were associated as the forms of questions, since these forms usually appear in questions.

As for the appearance with the independent pronoun הוא, this is probably a result of a dissimilation *huhu* > *hu nihu* (see §10.2).<sup>117</sup> It is worth noting that when the newer form of the 3m sg independent pronoun איהו appears, the copulative form is almost always הוא.

Finally, it is worth noting that in both the explanation for the plural forms and the singular forms with *n* (when the forms are a result of a reanalysis), the forms became enclitic prior to the elision of the middle /d/ and the apocopation of the final /n/ in the plural forms.

**4.5.2.4** Similarly, the third person singular pronouns underwent special developments after the demonstrative הדין, namely הדין הוא > הדין/היינו and הדין היא > הייני/הייני.<sup>118</sup> Note the following illustrative sentences:

היני רישא This is the first part (*'Abod. Zar.* 65a)

<sup>117</sup> Compare to the form *huyu* (< *huhu*) in Syriac which demonstrates a similar dissimilation. If this is indeed a case of dissimilation in JBA, the expected form is *nuhu* (< *huhu*). Accordingly the form *nihu* in this environment can be explained in one of two ways: 1) syncretism with the form *nihu* discussed above; 2) a phonological shift (either a dissimilation of the vowel; or a reflection of the /u/ > /i/ shift in the vicinity of /n/ (see §1.2.2.7 for examples when the /n/ follows; other Semitic languages also have examples of such a shift after this consonant; see Hasselbach (2004: 33), and see also Bar-Asher (2009) on this).

<sup>118</sup> Epstein (1960: 23).

הייני הך The two are similar (lit., this is that) (*B. Bat.* 64b)

היינו פלוגתייהו This is their disagreement (*Šebu.* 47b)

The form היינו/הינו, uninflected for gender or number, can serve as a copula in an identification clause, as in the following examples:

ר' יהודה היינו תנא קמא PN is the first Tanna (*Ketub.* 71a)<sup>119</sup>

חכמים היינו תנא קמא The Sages are the first Tanna (*B. Mešī'a* 92a)

Identity can also be expressed by the formula “י היינו/י X,” as is seen in the following example:

הינו דנפק הינו דעייל He who went out and he who went in are the same (*Pesaḥ.* 10b)

## 4.6 Existential clauses and existential particles

### 4.6.1 Existential clauses

Existential clauses constitute a subset of nominal clauses in JBA and many other Semitic languages. In these languages, including JBA, existential predications require only one nominal element (argument).<sup>120</sup> Note the following examples:

תברא There is a contradiction (*Inter alia Yebam.* 108b)

לפום חורפא שבשתא The more ingenuity, the more error (*B. Mešī'a* 96a)

Existential clauses can also serve as rhetorical questions (§8.3), as in the following examples:

חברותא כלפי שמיא Is there companionship towards Heaven? (i.e., May one behave as if God were his friend?) (*Ber.* 33b)

Negated existential clauses are quite common; note the following example:

אי לאו אבן, לא הוה נפיל בבירא If there had not been a stone (there), he would not have fallen into the hole (*B. Qam.* 53a)

Existential clauses containing a locative phrase are also quite common; note

<sup>119</sup> “The first Tanna” is the sage responsible for the anonymous opinion at the beginning of a given Tannaitic pericope. When such passages are discussed within the BT, an attempt is often made to identify the first Tanna, and this construction is used in such contexts.

<sup>120</sup> See also Schlesinger (1928: 4–6).

the following examples:

בין גלא לגלא תלת מאה פרסי There are three hundred *parsangs* between the waves (*B. Bat.* 73a)

בין חדא לחדא מאה פרסי There are one hundred *parsangs* between them (*Yoma* 10a)

התם חדא איסורא הכא תרי איסורי There is one prohibition over there; here, there are two prohibitions (*Yebam.* 7b)

More often than not, existential clauses in JBA also contain an existential particle: *אית* or *איכא* for affirmative sentences, and *לית* (< *לא אית* <) or *ליכא* (< *לא איכא* <) for negative sentences. The form *איכא* derives from the combination *אית* + *כא*, in which the element *כא*, originally locative (“here”), has become grammaticalized. (This is actually quite common cross-linguistically; compare English *there is ...* and Arabic *hunāka*.) Note the following illustrative examples:

איכא גברא ביהודאי There is a man among the Jews ... (*B. Meṣi'a* 86a)

אית בהו רבנן There are rabbis among them (*Meg.* 13b)

ליכא קושטא בעלמא There is no truth in the world (*Sanh.* 97a)

The position of the existential particle within the clause is quite flexible; note the following sentences:

איכא גברא כי האי There is a man like this one (*Sanh.* 96a)

כך וכך גברי איכא בהון There are such and such men with us (*B. Meṣi'a* 93b)

תרתי קושייתא איכא There are two questions (*Hul.* 32b)

הני מילי דאורייתא, אבל דנביאי טובא איכא These matters are of the Torah, but of the Prophets there are many (*Yoma* 52b)

The particle *אית* can also take a suffix that serves as the subject of the existential predication. The forms are similar to those of the accusative suffixes (§9.1), hence an /n/ is inserted before plural forms.<sup>121</sup> Note the following:

<sup>121</sup> The historical existential particle in Aramaic is *ītay* and this is the base in Syriac before the pronouns (which are, in Syriac, the genitive pronouns). The lack of the diphthong *ay* in JBA is probably due to the shift of /ayn/ > /an/ in the plural forms (§3.1.7.2), after which a leveling took place throughout the paradigm.

אִתִּיהָ	He is/exists
אִתָּהּ/אִתָּא	She is/exists
אִתְּנָן	We are/exist
אִתְּנְכוּ	You (pl) are/exist
אִתְּנְהוּ/אִתְּנוּן	They (m) are/exist
אִתְּנְהִי	They (f) are/exist

As indicated by the translations given above, a form of אִית with a suffix can also serve as a copula, as in Syriac. In JBA, however, the predicate in such cases is almost always a locative expression. Note the following examples:

אִתְּנְכוּ בְּשִׁילָה כִּי When you are in GN ... (*Yebam.* 116a)

כִּי אִתָּהּ גְּבִיָּה When she is with him ... (*Sanh.* 51a)

הֵנִי בְּרִקְיעָא אִתְּנְהִי הֵנִי בְּאַרְעָא אִתְּנְהִי These are in the sky; these are on land  
(*Ḥag.* 12b)

הֵנִי צִינִיתָא אִתְּנְהִי מֵאֲדָם הָרִאשׁוֹן וְעַד הַשְּׂתָא These *ṣinyātā* [= type of palms]  
have existed from the time of Adam until nowadays (*Ber.* F 31a)

In JBA, these forms appear mostly with adverbial predicates (“in Shilo”, “with him”, “in the sky” etc.), with which the original existential meaning is still relevant.<sup>122</sup> In very few examples, these forms function as simple copula:<sup>123</sup>

דִּירְכָא דְּמִילְתָא חֲכִי אִתָּהּ The manner of the act is so (*Ber.* 23b)

שַׁבַּת גְּבִרָא אִתִּיהָ<sup>124</sup> The Sabbath is (counted as) a man (*Ber.* 47b)

אִית functions as a copula in archaic contexts and in quotations of Palestinian rabbis. Note the following example in negation:<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> This comment is important in comparison to Syriac. In Syriac the forms of the particle אִית with the pronominal enclitics became copula, and function as such in every nominal clauses (also with adjectives). Accordingly, JBA reflects a middle stage in this developments, in which these forms still have some existential meaning.

<sup>123</sup> See also Wajsberg (1997: 149).

<sup>124</sup> Note that the agreement is with גְּבִרָא “man”.

<sup>125</sup> This has been noted already by Schlesinger (1928: 9). In fact לִית appears more often in JBA as a negator of a participle.

לית דין צאבי דיליף This man does not want to learn (*B. Bat.* 111b)<sup>126</sup>

Interestingly, when לית appears before a participle, the participle does not exhibit the participial conjugation (§5.3.5). Note the contrast between the following clauses:<sup>127</sup>

לא רעינא ביה ולא צבינא ביה ולית אנא בעיא להתנסבא ליה I do not desire him nor want him; I do not want to marry him (*Yebam.* 107b)

ולית אנא ידע מה הן אמרין And I do not know what they say (*Hul.* 137b)

Note that the subject of such sentences (the entity that exists) may appear with the preposition ל:

אי איתיה ליצרא דע'ו בשנך הוה כיסכסתוה כסכוס' If the temptation of idolatry had existed in your time, you would have chewed it up (i.e. enjoying it) (*Sanh.* 102b)

בעידנא דאיתיה להאי פירא ליתיה להאי פירא At the time that this fruit exists, the other one does not exist (i.e. is irrelevant) (*B. Bat.* 28b)

This is an interesting observation since, on the one hand, the entity that exists is usually taken as the subject of the existential clauses, and in JBA it even controls the agreement on the existential particle. On the other hand, however, the preposition -ל is associated in JBA with either the direct (§9.2.1) or the indirect objects (§9.4.1.1). This seems to be the case in existential clauses that they have subjects marked with an accusative marker, a phenomenon known from other Semitic languages as well.<sup>128</sup>

Categorization plays a large role in the discussions of the BT. In such contexts, the formula “א' איתיה ב-ב”, meaning “X is included in category Y”, is quite common; the locative construction is used metaphorically:

כל דאיתיה בשקלים איתיה בערכין Whichever falls under the category of *Šəqalim* falls under the category of *Arakīn* (*Arak.* 4a)

Often the subject of the existential clause is a state of affairs and in this case only the existential particle with a pronominal suffix appears (see §2.2.2.2):

אם איתה ליתני If this were the case, it should have been said ... (*Yebam.* 96a)

<sup>126</sup> Note the use of the demonstrative דין (§3.3.2.1), the prefix y for the 3m sg (§5.3.2), and the verb צב"י; these are all characteristics of an archaic language.

<sup>127</sup> See §7.2.4.2 for other cases of archaic uses of the participle without the participial conjugation.

<sup>128</sup> Bar-Asher (2009b: 422), Bar-Asher Siegal (2011: 77).



Often the state of affairs appears as the subordinated clause (see below §10.2.1)

אם איתה דהכי הוה If it is the case that it occurred in this way (*Ketub. 22b*)

#### 4.6.2 Predicative Possessive Construction (PPC)

The Predicative Possessive Construction (PPC) is a construction with two nominal phrases which asserts that one of them belongs to the other. In other words, it asserts that the relationship between these nominal phrases, is that one is the possessor (PR) and the other is the possessed (PD). The grammatical relations in such constructions vary significantly among languages. In English, for example, the PR is the subject of the transitive verb “to have” and the PD is its object. Since JBA, like most Semitic languages, lacks a verb meaning “to have”, possession is normally predicated through several other strategies, known from other Semitic languages and typologically across the languages of the world.<sup>129</sup>

##### 4.6.2.1 Dative PPC

The most common strategy in JBA is the dative-PPC. In this construction the main predication is existential, containing the particle אית, and the subject of this predication is the PD. The PR in this construction is encoded as the object of the datival preposition ל (§9.4). This construction is known from Hebrew and from other dialects of Aramaic as well. In JBA the word order is flexible. Note the following examples:

אית לן אשראי We have good credit (*B. Bat. 22a*)

דינא אית לי I have a lawsuit (pending) (*Sanh. 7b*)

תורא נגחנא אית לך בבקרך You have a goring ox in your herd (*B. Qam. 24b*)

Very rarely the particle איכא is used in this construction:

איכא ברא לסבא The old man has a son (*Ker. 14b*)

It is likely that the occurrence of the existential particle (אית) is mandatory in this kind of construction, as clauses that are otherwise identical in construction but lack אית seem to be used only in the context of awarding or bestowing

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<sup>129</sup> For the typology of PPCs, see Stassen (2001, 2009). For a typological discussion on comparison between the Semitic languages see Bar-Asher (2009, Chapter Five) and Bar-Asher Siegal (2011) (this paper focuses on Akkadian with some comparison to other Semitic languages as well).

something to someone, where a verb of giving is to be understood.<sup>130</sup> Note the following examples:

אבדתא למלכא Lost objects go to the king (*B. Meṣi'a* 28b)

נכסי לסבתא (I bequeath) my property to (my) grandmother (*B. Bat. Es* 125b)

נדוניא ארבע מאה זוזי לברת A dowry worth four hundred zuz (is given) to my daughter (*Ketub. 54a*)

#### 4.6.2.2 Locative PPC

In this type of PPC the PR is encoded as the place where the PD is located. The common construction is structurally an existential sentence with the PD behaving as its subject, and the PR as the location. In JBA the PR follows the preposition ב “in”.

לית ביה מיא It does not have water (*B. Qam. 61a*)

כל שעתא אית ביה שורייקי סומקי. וההיא שעתא לית ביה שורייקי סומקי All the time it has red streaks; in that time it does not have red streaks (*'Abod Zar. 4b*)

#### 4.6.2.3 Nominative PPC (Topic-PPC)

When the PD is a legal opinion in an earlier rabbinic work, and the PR is the rabbinic figure responsible for the opinion, both אית and -ל may be missing when possession is predicated, leaving what appears to be a simple nominal sentence with a pronominal subject and nominal predicate, as in the following examples:

רבי יוסי היא This text gives the opinion of PN (lit., It is PN) (*B. Bat. 141b*)

הך קמיתא רבנן היא That first one is in the opinion of the rabbis (*Yebam. 91b*)

The relationship between a legal opinion and the legal authority responsible for the opinion is expressed in terms of possession outside the context of predication, as in the following common expression (for the syntax of this construction, see below §4.7):

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<sup>130</sup> The significance of this fact has to do when we compare JBA to Syriac (see Bar-Asher 2007: 385), and to Hebrew and Arabic in which the Dative-PPC is often expressed without an existential particle.

הא דרבנן This opinion of the rabbis (*Šabb.* 146a)

#### 4.7 Possessive pronouns

It was noted above (§4.3) that possession can be expressed by means of the subordinating particle -ד instead of the construct form. This is also true when the second element, which denotes the possessor, is a pronoun rather than a noun. In fact, this construction dates back to Official Aramaic, where the genitive pronoun follows the preposition -ל, which, in turn, follows -ד. Thus, just as one finds גבר מלכא alternating with גברא דמלכא, both expressions mean “king’s man”, one also finds גברך alternating with גברא דילך “your man”:

גבר מלכא	גברא דמלכא
גברך	גברא דילך

In JBA, though less in NBA, the /l/ of the preposition has assimilated to the /d/ of the subordinating particle, yielding the following forms:

1 c sg	דידי	1c pl	דידן
2 m sg	דידך	2m pl	דידכו(ן)
2f sg	דידיך		
3m sg	דידיה	3m pl	דידהו(ן)
3f sg	דידה	3f pl	דידהי(ן)/דידהו

As should be clear from the preceding discussion, these forms can be used as attributive adjectives, as in the following example:

דיבורא דידיה his statement (*B. Mešī'a* 71a)

דיבורא דידה her statement (*Qidd.* 65a)

Very often, though, these forms are substantivized, as in the following sentence:

דידי עדיפא מזיכוכ Mine is better than yours (*Hag.* 10a)

These forms are also used as the predicates in a PPC, equivalent to the English independent possessive pronouns (mine, yours, hers, etc.). This construction is usually used when the PD is semantically definite:

האי דפייש דידי הוא This portion which remains is mine (*Soṭah* 13a)

ממונא דידיה הוא The money is his (*Bek.* 11b)

Occasionally, these forms are used as intensive personal pronouns, as in the following examples:

בדידי הוה עובדא I was involved in it (lit., The event happened in mine) (*B. Meṣi'a* 49a)

כי היכי דלדידך איתרחיש ניסא לדידיה נמי איתרחיש ניסא Just as a miracle occurred for you, a miracle occurred for him as well (*Yebam.* 115a)

לא לדידי קשיא ולא לרב נחמן קשיא It is neither difficult for me nor for PN (*B. Bat.* 125a)

Similarly, this construction can appear with nouns after the -ד (§4.3):

דאבא או דאחי Is she the creditor of the father or of the brothers? (*Ketub.* 69a)

והאי דאיכא דכהן הוא The one that [still] exists belongs to the priest (*Bek.* 18b)

#### 4.8 Comparative and superlative

Unlike Indo-European languages, adjectives in JBA, as in the other Semitic languages, do not express degree morphologically. Generally, to compare two entities with respect to a particular quality, the adjective denoting the quality is predicated on the noun denoting the object or thing possessing the quality to a greater degree, with the noun denoting the object or thing possessing the quality to a lesser degree, followed by the preposition מן “from”.

אית לי אחתא דקשישא מנאי I have a sister who is older than I (*Meg.* 13b)

אחתי דשפירא מנאי My sister, who is more beautiful than I (*B. Meṣi'a* 84a)

The comparison can be emphasized with the adjective טפי “more”:

פרסאי פקיעי טפי מינכון The Persians have more expertise than you do (*Ber.* 46b)

The superlative, i.e., an indication that a certain object has a quality to an extreme degree of comparison, is expressed with one of the genitive constructions (§2.2.3.1.1, §4.3), with a repetition of the adjective both as the governing and the governed noun. The governing noun agrees with the object it qualifies

in number, and the governed noun is always plural (semantically):<sup>131</sup>

טפשאי דטפשאי The most foolish of all (*Yoma* 57a)

גואיאתא דגואיאתא The innermost (*Pesah.* 8b)

Another way to express the superlative is with an explicit expression with the quantifier כל “all” (§7.5) in the governed expression, or when the governed noun expresses a set of objects (the superlative is then compared to in the context of that set):

תתיא דכולהי The lowest one (of all of them) (*Yoma* 75b)

עתירת' דירושלם The richest woman of GN (*'Abod. Zar.* 56a)

Repetition may express the superlative also with the preposition מן:

ואינהו שפירי משפירי בני מחווא They are the most beautiful among the people of GN (*Roš Haš.* 17a)

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<sup>131</sup> The emphasis on semantics is a result of the following issue: if the singular form denotes plurality, it may appear in the governed noun: מיעוטא דמיעוטא the minority of the minority (*'Abod. Zar.* 34b). This is technically not a superlative (since this is a noun), but conceptually it is relevant for the discussion, as it expresses an extreme degree with a similar construction.

# Chapter 5

## 5.1 Morphology of the strong verb: introduction to the verbal system

The goal of this chapter is to introduce the morphology of the verbal system of JBA. The functions of the forms will be introduced in the next chapters.

As in other Semitic languages, each verb in JBA can be analyzed into a triconsonantal *root* and a *stem* (or *binyan* in the terminology of traditional Hebrew grammar) that provides a set of patterns (vowels and affixes) into which the root is placed. Verbs in earlier dialects of Aramaic have three finite forms: the suffix conjugation, the prefix conjugation, and the imperative; and three non-finite forms: the infinitive, the active participle, and the passive participle. The prefix and suffix conjugations are inflected for person, gender, and number, while the imperative, which occurs only in the second person, and the participles, like other adjectives, are inflected for gender and number. In JBA, however, the participles are finite forms (§5.3.5), since, similar to the other verbal forms, they are also inflected for gender and number.

Verbs can be either “strong” or “weak.” Strong verbs are those in which all three root consonants (also called *radicals*,) appear in all forms of the verb, while weak verbs contain one or more radicals that are absent from certain forms. This chapter will treat the morphology of strong verbs. The morphology of weak verbs will be addressed in the subsequent chapter. The functions of the various finite forms (i.e., tenses) are the topic of Chapter 7, and the functions of the various stems are dealt with in Chapter 8.

## 5.2 Stems

There are six stems in JBA: פֿעַל (Pe, often called Qal, a term taken from traditional Hebrew grammar), פֿעַל (Pa), אָפֿעַל (Af), אִתְּפֿעַל (Itpe), אִתְּפֿעַל (Itpa) and אִתְּפֿעַל (Ittaf). The name of each of the “derived” stems (all those except the Pe-stem) is the 3m sg suffix-conjugation form that the root P'L would take in that stem.

Despite the practice of not referring to vowels in the Aramaic forms and not relying on vocalization (§ 1.2.1), in this chapter we will often use vocalization, based on the vocalization of other dialects, in order to introduce different types of verbs. In reality, when one encounters the verbal forms in their contexts, often it is impossible to determine, based on their appearance only, how they should be parsed.

### 5.3 Pe-stem

In what follows, the full inflection of the Pe-stem will be given. The affixes that mark person, gender, and number are the same for the derived stems, and will, therefore, not be repeated when the latter are presented.

#### 5.3.1 Suffix conjugation

As is the case in other grammatical categories, most verbal morphemes in JBA have more than one possible form. Besides the forms that appear in earlier periods of Aramaic, manuscripts often provide several other possibilities. The fact that there are simultaneously several forms is a result of either the various phonological developments that were mentioned in the previous chapters, or is the product of several analogies within JBA verbal system. Thus, among the manuscripts there are forms that reflect different developments. If these developments occurred when JBA was a living language, they probably took place in different dialects and in different times. As is always the case with JBA, they may, at the same time, merely reflect corruptions of the texts created by scribes in the process of the transmission of the Babylonian texts.

In the tables below the various forms from the manuscripts will appear, followed by their possible origins.

#### Thematic vowels

Pe-stem verbs can be divided into a number of different classes on the basis of the *thematic vowel*, the vowel between the last two radicals, in the finite forms. At this stage of Aramaic the thematic vowels have no significance for meaning. For any given verb, the thematic vowel of the suffix conjugation and the thematic vowel of the prefix conjugation is usually not the same.

In the suffix conjugation, most verbs do not have a vowel letter, which is probably a reflection of a low thematic vowel (*a*-type). There are, though, a few verbs that regularly have a *yod* which indicates that they probably had a high front thematic vowel (*i*-type). Finally, an extremely small number of verbs have a *waw*, probably an indication of a high back vowel (*u*-type).

Below, one verb from each type is inflected (note that for the verbs of the *i*-type and *u*-type only **types** of attested forms are given). Citations for the forms in the corpus are provided only when it is crucial for the discussion.

	a-type כתב “to write”	i-type קריב “to approach”	u-type כרוך “to roll”
1c sg	קְתַבִּי(ת) כתבנא/כתב	קריבי(ת)	כרוכי
2m sg	קְתַבְתָּ	קריבת	
2f sg	קְתַבְתְּ		
3m sg	קְתַב	קריב	כרוך
3f sg	כתבא/ה / קְתַבְתְּ / קְתַב	קריב(ת)	(כרוך)
1c pl	קְתַבְנָא/קְתַבְנוּ קְתַבְכוּ/כתבינו	קריבו	
2m pl	קְתַבְתוּ(וּ)/כתביתון	קריבתו(ו)	
2f pl	Unattested		
3m pl	קְתַבוּ/כתוב כתבי/כתב	קריבו	כרוכו/כרוך
3f pl	קְתַבְא/ה / כתב(א)וּ/כתבו/כתוב כתב	קריב/קריבאן	

Note the following:

- 1 The variation indicated for the forms קְתַבִּי(ת) (1c sg), קְתַבְתְּ(ת) (3f sg) and קְתַבְתוּ(וּ) (2m pl) result from the apocopation of final /n/ and /t/ noted earlier (§2.1). The forms that end with an /a/ vowel are written usually with a final *alef*: כתבא, or with a *heh*: כתבה.
- 2 Occasionally, some of the apocopated forms also went through a loss of final vowels (§4.1) after the apocopation of their original final /t/ (presumably this was the process, for 3f sg: *katabat* > *kataba* > *katab*). As a result a syncretism of 3m sg and 3f sg forms is common (כתב). The same occurs on occasion in Yemenite manuscripts with 3m/f pl (as in Syriac) and 1c sg forms, yielding forms such as כתב for all these grammatical persons. It is unknown whether forms with a final *taw* or with final *alef* or *yod* reflect other pronunciations or merely reflect a historical writing, as is the case in Syriac, for example.
- 3 The form כתבן for 1c pl also reflects the loss of the final vowel *a*.



- 4 The forms כתבנא (1c sg), כתבנן (1c pl) and כתבי (3m pl) likely came about by analogy with the independent nominative pronoun, an explanation made all the more attractive by the usage of these pronouns in the conjunction of the participles. For more on this, see below (§5.3.5).

Accordingly, forms of 1c pl lacking a final /n/ (כתבנא) are older than those containing it (כתבנן); they are not tokens of an apocoptation of the final /n/ (§4.1).

- 5 The *i*-vowel in the forms כתבינן (1c pl) and כתביחון (2m pl) is taken either from the suffixed participial forms, for which see below (§5.3.5), or from the endings of III-y verbs (§6.7).

- 6 The vocalization given above for the 1c sg and 3f sg forms follows the Geonic evidence. In the Yemenite tradition, forms with and without final *t* exhibit different vowel patters: כְּתָבִי as opposed to כְּתָבִית, and כְּתָבָא as opposed to כְּתָבַת.

כְּתָבִי and כְּתָבָא are assumed to reflect older stages of Aramaic and have the same syllabic structures as the regular forms in Biblical Aramaic and in Syriac (although with an /i/ vowel), while כְּתָבִית and כְּתָבַת are the common forms in the Targums (reflecting a leveling to all other forms of the paradigm.) There are, however, serious reasons to doubt the originality of the Yemenite tradition, especially since manuscripts have a *yod* after the second radical in *i*-type verbs (שתיקי “I was silent”).<sup>132</sup>

- 7 The 3m pl form כתוב results either by analogy with III-y verbs, or metathesis (*katabu* > *kātub*) that preserves the final vowel when it would have otherwise experienced apocoptation.<sup>133</sup>

- 8 It is interesting to note that JBA preserves the old Aramaic forms כתבא for the 3f pl, a form which appears only in the vocalization tradition of Biblical Aramaic. As for the forms with a final /n/, כתב(א)ן, they are probably a result of an analogy to the participial form.<sup>134</sup>

- 9 Some verbs, such as טע"ם “to taste”, take different thematic vowels in different manuscripts; thus, one finds טעם next to טעים (although this could simply reflect omission of the *yod*).

<sup>132</sup> Morgenstern (2011: 82–86).

<sup>133</sup> See Bar-Asher (2009: 247). For a slightly different explanation, see Kutscher (1962: 165–167). The assumption that there was a metathesis solves the problems Kutscher raises.

<sup>134</sup> This argumentation follows Morgenstern (2002: 144–145); for a different explanation see Kutscher (1962: 167).

10 It should be clarified that the various bi-forms may even occur in one single paragraph. In the following example, three different forms of the 3f sg form appear (emphasized below):<sup>135</sup>

אבל ההוא שבח **דאשבתת** ארעא מימילה לא מחייב יהודה למיהביה לשמעון. דאמרינן נהי הא תוספה שמע' אוספה מן ממוניה וקא שקיל ליה השתא. אבל מאי **דאשבתתא** ארעא נפשה אמ' ליה יהודה ארעאי דילי הוא **דאשבתת**. והדר שמע' על הדין לוי דקביל ליה אחריות וגאבי מיניה עיקר דמים וגאבי מיניה ההוא שבאחא **דאשבתת** ארעא מימילה דהכין הוא דינא דאחריות.

However, that improvement that the land improved by itself PN<sub>1</sub> does not need to give to PN<sub>2</sub>, as we say: “Granted, the increase that PN<sub>2</sub> increased from his own money and is now taking; but regarding that which the land itself improved, PN<sub>1</sub> would say, “It’s my land that improved.” And PN<sub>2</sub> goes back to that PN<sub>3</sub> who took upon himself the surety, and collects from him the principal sum and also collects from him [the value of] that improvement that the land improved by itself, because thus is the law of sureties. (*Hark* 204:28–33; see also Morgenstern 2011: 184–185.)

Thus, the textual evidence that is at our disposal attests to a tension between historical writing and phonological representation. As this paragraph demonstrates, there can be more than one “historical writing”.

### 5.3.2 Prefix conjugation

As in the suffix conjugation, Pe-stem verbs in the prefix conjugation can take one of three thematic vowels. The distribution of the vowels, however, is different; most verbs have *waw*, which probably represents a high back vowel (*u*-type), a few appear with a *yod* probably representing a high front vowel (*i*-type), and others do not have any vowel letter, probably an indication of a low thematic vowel (*a*-type). One verb from each type is inflected below (note that for the *i*-type and *a*-type only attested forms are given). As for the *u*-type, I use the root כ"ב to illustrate the possible verbal forms that occur with other roots.

<sup>135</sup> These forms are of a stem that will be introduced below. The endings for the 3f sg, however, are the same, and this passage demonstrates nicely the point made here.

	<i>u</i> -type כתב “to write”	<i>i</i> -type עבד “to do”	<i>a</i> -type גמר “to finish”
1c sg	א(י)כתוב נ(י)כתוב/ל(י)כתוב	א(י)עביד	א(י)גמר נ(י)גמר
2m sg	ת(י)כתוב	ת(י)עביד	ת(י)גמר
2f sg		ת(י)עבדי(ן) תיעביד	ת(י)גמרי(ן)
3m sg	ל(י)כתוב/נ(י)כתוב יכתוב	ל(י)עביד/נ(י)עביד יעביד	ל(י)גמר/נ(י)גמר
3f sg	ת(י)כתוב		ת(י)גמר
1c pl	נ(י)כתוב ל(י)כתוב	נ(י)עביד ל(י)עביד	נ(י)גמר ליגמר
2m pl	תכתיבו/ תכתובו/תכתבו/תכתיב <sup>136</sup>	ת(י)עבדו(ן)	ת(י)גמרו(ן)
3m pl	ליכ(י)תבו(ן)/ניכ(י)תבו(ן) ליכתבי/ניכתבי	ל(י)עב(ו)דו(ן) נ(י)עבדו	ליגמרי/ליגמרון
3f pl	ליכתב(ו)/ניכ(י)תב(ו) ליכתבון	ל(י)עבדו(ן)	

Note the following:

- 1 The oldest prefix for the 3m sg form is *y*, which is attested occasionally, especially in archaic passages or quotations attributed to Palestinian sages. For example, it appears in the following phrase, employing archaic flavor:

דיספד יספדוניה. דיקבר יקברוניה. דדלא ידלוניה. דילוי ילוניה. דיטען יטעוניה  
Whoever eulogizes [dead people] will be eulogized [when he dies],  
whoever buries [dead people] will be buried [when he dies], whoever  
lifts [dead people] will be lifted, whoever accompanies [dead people]  
will be accompanied [when he dies], and whoever carries [dead peo-  
ple] will be carried [when he dies] (*Ketub.* 72a).

The regular prefix for 3m sg (and 3 pl) is either *l* or *n* (for the interchange between these two, see §3.1.2). The form with *l* is probably the more

<sup>136</sup> These forms are based on the variations found in *Ta'an.* 24b for the root זב"ן.

original one and it most likely derives from a form similar to the Akkadian precativē, attested also in Old Aramaic, containing the particle *l-*, i.e., *l- + yqtl > lqtl*.<sup>137</sup>

Some manuscripts usually have the prefix *n* and some usually have *l*. It was argued in the past that this fact attests to different origins for each tractate.<sup>138</sup> However, this seems to be only a reflection of the tendencies of various scribes, especially since it is possible that the distinction between *l* and *n* was not phonemic in JBA (§3.1.2). (Consider also the next note).

- 2 As in all other Semitic languages, the original prefix of the 1c pl contains the consonant *n*. Forms with *l* are known from Mandaic as well, and they are probably a reflection of the interchange between the two consonants (see §3.1.2), to the extent that this distinction was not phonemic.
- 3 Forms for the 1c sg with the prefix *n* are known from Palestinian Aramaic (and from the western modern dialect of Ma'lula), and are the result of procliticization of the independent pronoun (once again with the interchange of *n* and *l*):

'anā 'ektub > \*'anā'ektub > \*anā'ektub > nektub <= ליכתוב, ניכתוב

There is not enough evidence to determine whether the few examples in the BT represent a unique dialect of JBA, similar to what is known otherwise only from the western dialects, or whether it reflects merely scribal errors.

- 4 Forms with suffixes are usually apocopated (without a /n/): תיכתבי, תיכתבו. Rarely do the old forms with a final /n/ appear תיכתבון, תיכתבין, ליכתבון.
- 5 The 3m pl form that ends with a *yod* likely resulted from analogy with the independent nominative pronouns (the *yod* is originally part of the plural ending), which appear in conjunction with the participles (below §5.3.5).
- 6 As for the forms for the 3f pl, ליכתבן represents the older form (which is in the vocalized tradition of Biblical Aramaic), while the form ליכתבון represents a syncretism with the masculine form (as is the case in the consonantal tradition of Biblical Aramaic).
- 7 As for the 3pl forms with a *yod* after the first radical, such as ליכיתבון(ו), these are examples of the anaptyxis *VCCaCV > VCiCCV*, a theme to be discussed in

<sup>137</sup> For the most recent discussion on the origin of this prefix, see Rubin (2007), Wajsberg (2011).

<sup>138</sup> Wajsberg (1995: 67–69).

## §9.1.3.2.2.

- 8 Verbs that have a guttural or *r* as their final radical regularly take a low thematic vowel, as in ליפתח, נגמר and ניהדר.
- 9 Some verbs, such as הדק, take different thematic vowels in different manuscripts; thus, one finds ליהדק, ניהדק, ליהדוק, and ניהדוק.
- 10 The letter *yod*, frequently written after the consonantal prefix, most likely indicates an *i*-vowel. Although this *yod* can be found in forms containing each of the thematic vowels, it is absent from most forms of the *a*-type. In the Yemenite tradition, the prefix vowel of 1c sg forms is *a*.
- 11 See below in the discussion on the imperative for more on the form חיכתב for the (2f sg).

## 5.3.3 Imperative

As in other Semitic languages, the imperative only occurs in the second person. In general, the imperative consists of the prefix-conjugation form with the prefix removed (with a similar thematic vowel).<sup>139</sup> Types of attested forms are given in the following table:

	<i>u</i> -type כת"ב "to write"	<i>i</i> -type עב"ד "to do"	<i>a</i> -type גמ"ר "to finish"
m sg	כי(חוב	עי(ביד	גמר
f sg	כתבי/כתובי/כתוב	עבדי/עי(ביד	גמרי
m pl	כתובו/כתוב <sup>140</sup> כתבו/כתיבו	עי(בידו <sup>141</sup> עביד/עבוד	גמרו גמר/גמור <sup>142</sup>
f pl	כתובו(כי)תבן כתבין		

Note the following:

- 1 Feminine singular and masculine plural forms without final vowels are very common. The apocopation of these vowels is likely due to the position of

<sup>139</sup> This is not a historical claim about the relationship between the forms, as it is probably the prefix form that derived from forms similar to the imperatives (see Bar-Asher 2009).

<sup>140</sup> This is based on the form טבילו (*Abod. Zar.* MS J 37b); other MSs have טבולו.

<sup>141</sup> See variants for *Pesah.* 69b.

<sup>142</sup> This is based on the variants attested for the hendiadys verb הד"ר in *Git.* 68b (on such verbs see §11.2).

the stress, which, at least at an earlier stage of JBA, appears to have differed from that of the prefix conjugation.

*tektobī* vs. *katōbī* > *katōb*

In one occasion, however, we encounter a form without a vowel in the prefix-conjugation as well:

כִּי לֹא תַעֲבִיד הַכִּי You<sub>2.f.sg</sub> should not behave this way (*Mo'ed Qaṭ. 27b*)<sup>143</sup>

Note, however, that the context of this form is of a prohibition, as the regular way to express a prohibition is to negate a prefix-conjugation form. Therefore, it is possible that the forms (and perhaps even the position of their stress) were similar in prohibitions and in the imperatives. Although more data is needed to support this hypothesis,<sup>144</sup> it should be noted that a similar phenomenon is found in Syriac as well.<sup>145</sup>

- 2 The presence of a high back thematic vowel before the final radical in masculine plural forms in place of an expected low vowel is a result of the same metathesis noted above in connection with similar suffix-conjugation forms, i.e., *gəmarū* > *gəṃūr*.
- 3 Occasionally, a *yod* appears after the first radical, as in *עיביד* and *שיפול*; this indicates either a *schwa* or its reflex (see §1.1.2.2).

#### 5.3.4 Infinitive

The regular form of the Pe-stem infinitive is *מִ(י)כְּתַב*, though, as will be explained in the discussion on the uses of the infinitive (§11.1), it often occurs

<sup>143</sup> For a more detailed discussion on this form see Bar-Asher Siegal (2012: 237, n. 22).

<sup>144</sup> Another possible example of such a phenomenon is the following example: *לֹא תִיפּוֹק* “You should not say a word” (lit. you should not let a word out) (*B. Bat. 39a*). In various manuscripts it seems to be the case that the subject of the sentence is the addressee (since later they say *שׁוּתָא* *לֹא מִפְּקִינָן שׁוּתָא*), thus it is an apocopated form of the 2m pl. MS H and HPS, however, have instead *לֹא נִפְקִתּוֹן שׁוּתָא*, which indicates that the subject is *שׁוּתָא* “talk, speech”, in which case this is not 2m pl but 3f sf. Similarly in *Ta’an. 24b* we encounter the following sentence: *מִדָּא לֹא תּוֹבִין* “Do not buy from this”. However this is the version only in MS L; other manuscripts have a form with a suffix (see above, n. 6).

<sup>145</sup> In Syriac, in the case of verbal forms with pronominal suffixes, the thematic vowel appears in the imperative but not in the prefix conjugation, which is probably related to the location of the stress. Prohibitions, which are composed of a negator and forms of the prefix conjugation, can have the same forms as the imperatives, i.e., the thematic vowel may appear.

with the preposition *-ל* prefixed. Occasionally, an *a*-vowel appears at the end, as in *מִימְרָא* (ל); this is more common in JPA.

Historically the vowel after the second consonant of the root is /a/. There are, however, a few attested forms of the shape, *מִיקְטִיל*, which indicate an /i/ vowel instead of the historical /a/ vowel. Similar forms appear in Mandaic as well, but in the case of JBA they may be the result of scribal errors.

JBA, in general, does not have special construct forms for the infinitives (see below §9.1.3.4, for more on the forms with the suffixed pronouns).

### 5.3.5 Participles

#### 5.3.5.1 The basic declension

The inflection of participles is generally identical to that of other adjectives (§2.2.2.1), but they, nevertheless, possess a few peculiarities. The short forms are as follows (long forms appear as well, but not as part of the verbal system):

	Active	Passive
m sg	קְתִיב(א)	קְתִיב
f sg	קְתִיב(א/ה)	קְתִיב / קְתִיבָּא/ה
m pl	קְתִיב(א) / קְתִיבו קְתִיבו / קְתִיבוֹ / קְתִיבוֹ / קְתִיבוֹ	קְתִיבו (ו) קְתִיב
f pl	קְתִיב(ו) קְתִיב	קְתִיבָּא / קְתִיבוֹ

Note the following:

- 1 When the last radical is a guttural or *r*, the preceding vowel is probably *a*, as in *קְדִיר*.
- 2 The plural forms *קְתִיב* (m) and *קְתִיבָּא* (f), which attest to an apocopation of the final /n/ (§2.1), are more common in JBA.
- 3 The plural form with a final /n/ may appear without an indication of the /i/ vowel of the suffix. In addition, as indicated in §1.1.2.2, the apocopated form of the m pl forms, which are regularly spelled *קְתִיבו*, rarely appear with a final *א* (*קְתִיבָּא*), as is the case in Syriac. Thus, the graphic form *קְתִיבָּא* may stand for either the long form of the m sg, or the short form of each of the other three.
- 4 The use of the form *קְתִיב* as a feminine singular and masculine plural form results from apocopation of final vowels (§4.1). It is very rare with the ac-

tive participle, and with the passive participle it is more common.

After examining manuscripts, however, there is a reason to believe that many of the forms without an *alef* at the end are mistakes. The reason for this is that the feminine singular form of the participle was often written in a shorthand way. Instead of writing the *alef* at the end of the word, which helps to distinguish between this form and the masculine form, we find hundreds of examples in which an apostrophe is written instead ('כתיב'). As noted in Chapter 1 (§1.1.6.2), it is important to emphasize that this apostrophe does not indicate any phonetic change, but it is only an orthographic convention. In this case, it is easy to assume that scribes who copied the manuscripts, no matter how familiar they were with the language, dropped the apostrophe and left the feminine form of the passive participle exactly like the masculine form. Consider the following variations from *B. Qam.* 112b:

H	לא שמיעא לכו
Es	לא שמיעא לי'
V <sup>116</sup>	לא שמיע' לכו
F <sup>1</sup>	לא שמיע להו
M	לא שמיע להו they/you haven't heard

Some manuscripts (H and Es) have the full form, one has an apostrophe (V<sup>116</sup>), and others lack any indication of the final vowel (F<sup>1</sup> and M), so that the feminine and masculine forms appear the same.

Moreover, it has been noted that it occurs most often with pharyngeal consonants, which may be related to their elision (§3.1.3.2).<sup>146</sup> This is related to the following question: how were forms such as שמיעא pronounced? There is documentation of only one example of a complete loss of the pharyngeal in a feminine singular passive participle of a root with a pharyngeal as the third radical; this example is found in a Yemenite manuscript. For the root רבע we encounter the form רביא (*Sukkah* 23a), probably pronounced as [rəḇyā]. Hence it is plausible to assume that שמיעא was pronounced [šəḇmīyā]. Once we assume this was the pronunciation, the spelling שמיע for שמיעא is understandable (see §6.9).<sup>147</sup>

5 The rare appearances of the form כתבין for the f pl indicate either scribal

<sup>146</sup> Bar-Asher Siegal (2010); see Wajsberg (1981–83) for a different analysis.

<sup>147</sup> We often find the same “mistake” in Modern Hebrew, in words where the pharyngeal consonants are not pronounced.



errors or a more general syncretism between the genders in JBA.

- 6 There are a few masculine plural forms with final *waw*. If these are indeed original, they may have arisen by analogy with III-w/y verbs (see §6.7).
- 7 As noted in (§1.2.2.2), the manuscripts contain forms with *pataḥ* where *qamets* is expected, as in כִּפְצָח; this is especially common in forms ending in a vowel, where it might indicate a change in syllable structure, i.e., אָזְלָא > אֶזְלָא and אַכְלִי > אָכְלִי.

### 5.3.5.2 Participial conjugation

As noted above (§4.5.2.1), any noun in predicate position may be followed by copulative pronouns; when the noun is a participle and the pronoun is a first- or second-person form, this construction is quite common. As will be explained in the discussion of uses of the verbal forms (§7.2), this phenomenon has had a major impact on the verbal system of JBA, to the extent that it is possible to consider this an additional finite tense in JBA. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the participial forms usually appear without a pronoun. Two notes are important for this table: 1) the variation in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms are similar to what has been noted in the previous table, and therefore are not repeated here; 2) for the sake of brevity the variants and the discussion below deal only with the active participle. Many of them are relevant for the passive participles as well.

	Active	Passive
1m sg	כ(א)ת(י)בנא כתבינא	כתיבנא
1f sg	כתב(א)נא	
2m sg	כתבת	כתיבת
2f sg	כתבת	כתיבת
3m sg	כתב	כתיב
3f sg	כתבא	כתיבא
1c pl	כתב(י)נן כת(י)ב(י)נא/כת(י)ב(י)נא	כתיבינן
2m pl	כתב(י)תו(ן)	כתיב(י)תו(ן)
2f pl	כתב(י)תו(ן)	כתיב(י)תו(ן)/כתיבית(י)תו(ן)

	Active	Passive
3m pl	כתבין	כתביבן
3f pl	כתבן	כתיבן

Note the following:

- 1 Since the bases of these forms are the participial forms, it is expected that there will be a distinction between the forms of the 1m sg (*kātib+nā*) and the 1f sg (*kātbā+nā*), as is the case in Syriac, for example. While some forms in manuscripts of the BT and in Geonic texts have an *alef* before the pronominal suffix (כתבאנא), almost all occurrences of the 1f sg forms do not indicate such a vowel. It is likely that the more common form, which lacks the *alef*, indicates a syncretism with the 1m sg form, most likely by analogy with the other verbal paradigms, as is the case in Mandaic. The forms from the Geonic period may be another example of archaism (or familiarity with a higher register of Aramaic) in the GBA.<sup>148</sup>
- 2 In addition to the regular form כתבנא for the 1m sg one can also find, albeit rarely, the form כתבינא.<sup>149</sup> Similar forms are known from Mandaic and probably resulted from a paradigm leveling, due to the 1c pl form: כתבינן.
- 3 It is unknown when the cliticization of these pronouns to the participles occurred. The relative time of this development with regard to other developments in the history of Aramaic is also unknown; it seems, though, to be important for understanding the nature of certain phenomena. For example, one cannot determine definitely whether this cliticization occurred prior to the change of the independent pronoun for the 1c pl from אנחנא into אנן. In fact it is most likely that the cliticization occurred later. This question arises since occasionally one encounters forms such as כתבינא (instead of כתבינן) which are related to the older pronominal form ending with נא. However, it is notable that these forms appear mostly in GBA and in the BT in several archaic contexts. Note the following two examples (both contain several other archaic features):<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> See Morgenstern (2002: 179), and Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 357-359).

<sup>149</sup> Epstein (1960: 40) and Kara (1983: 158) collected the examples of these forms. One may add to them שקלינא (B. Bat. F<sup>2</sup> 8a), עבדינא (Ber. P 38a, B. Qam. V 87a, 105b, B. Mešī'a 85b, 'Arak. O<sup>4</sup> 24a), אזלינא (Šabb. V 82a; Roš Haš. E<sup>2</sup> 26b, B. Qam. V 105b, B. Mešī'a F<sup>1</sup> 149a).

<sup>150</sup> This phenomenon has been noticed previously only in GBA (Morgenstern 2002: 162).

מהודעינא לכוֹן דגוזליא רכיכין ואימריא דעדקין We inform you that the young doves are soft, and the ewes are small (*Sanh.* 11a)<sup>151</sup>

אנחנא שהדי חתימנא על מחקא We the witnesses, signed on the erasure (*B. Bat.* 164a)

Even if a form like חתימנא was merely an attempt to sound archaic, it indicates that whoever coined such a form was aware of its grammatical components.

- 4 One would expect the combination of the ending *-in* and the suffix *-nan* in 1m pl forms to have resulted in consonant gemination; however, in the regular forms there is no evidence in the manuscripts to corroborate this.<sup>152</sup> Therefore, it is possible that, since this is a case of cliticization, one of the /n/s elided or that the pronominal ending joined the participle after the apocopation of the original /n/.
- 5 The variants of the forms with and without *yod* in the plural forms, כתב(י)נן, כתב(י)תו are similar to the variants in the participial forms without the personal endings, כתב(י)ן.
- 6 The 2f pl forms ending in יתי(ן) are found only in incantation bowls; the normal ending, יתו(ן), indicates syncretism with the masculine form. It indicates that the combined forms were perceived as a separate paradigm, which then exhibit leveling as part of the process of *grammaticalization*.

#### 5.4 “Derived” stems

As noted above, the inflection of each of the forms of the derived stems is identical to that of the Pe-stem. Thus, only the basic forms (3m sg for the suffix conjugation and prefix conjugation, m sg for the imperative and participles, as well as the infinitive) are given in the following tables. The first vocalized table indicates what supposedly were the forms without several phonological phenomena that occurred to specific forms; the second table contains a sampling of attested forms, all without vocalization, and is followed by explanatory notes:

<sup>151</sup> This sentence, in fact, appears as a quote from a Tanna.

<sup>152</sup> Comparing to III-n verbs with a 1cs ending: מתקננא (*Bek.* 37a) where two *nun* appear.

Stem	Suffix Conjugation	Prefix Conjugation	Imperative
פָּעַל (Pa)	פָּתַב	לְכַתַּב	פָּתַב
אַפְעַל (Af)	אַתְכַּתַּב	לְכַתַּב	אַתְכַּתַּב
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpe)	אַתְכַּתַּב	לְתַכַּתַּב	אַתְכַּתַּב
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpa)	אַתְכַּתַּב	לְתַכַּתַּב	אַתְכַּתַּב
אַתְפַּעַל (Ittaf)	אַתְכַּתַּב	לְתַכַּתַּב	

Stem	Infinitive	Active Participle	Passive Participle
פָּעַל (Pa)	פְּתוּבִי	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב
אַפְעַל (Af)	אַתְכּוּבִי	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpe)	אַתְכּוּבִי	מְתַכַּתֵּב	
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpa)	אַתְפְּתוּבִי	מְתַכַּתֵּב	
אַתְפַּעַל (Ittaf)		מְתַכַּתֵּב	

Stem	Suffix Conjugation	Prefix Conjugation	Imperative
	קביל	נקביל	קביל
פָּעַל (Pa)	שדר	ליקביל לישדר נישדר	שדר
אַפְעַל (Af)	אפסיק אדכר	נפסיק/ניפסיק <sup>153</sup>	אדכר
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpe)	איכסיף איכתיב אישתכח איזדהר אידכר	ליכסיף ניכתיב לישתכח ניזדהר לידכר	איזדהר
אַתְפַּעַל (Itpa)	איחלף אישתתף	ליחלף [נישתתף] <sup>154</sup>	אישתתף

<sup>153</sup> The attested form is of the 1c pl.

Stem	Suffix Conjugation	Prefix Conjugation	Imperative
	אשתמש איסתלק	לישתמש/לישתמיש לישמיש	
אִתְּפַעֵל (Ittaf)	איתכשר	ליתכשר נתכשר	

Stem	Infinitive	Active Participle	Passive Participle
פָּעַל (Pa)	קבול שדורי	מקביל משדר	מקבל
אִתְּפַעֵל (Afa)	אפסוק אדכורי	מפסיק מדכר	מדכר
אִתְּפַעֵל (Itpe)	אשתכוחי איוזדורי	מיכסיף מיכתיב מיוזדהר מידכר	
אִתְּפַעֵל (Itpa)	איחלופי אישתתופי אישתמושי איסתלוקי	מיחלף [משתתפת] <sup>155</sup> מישתמש מיסתלק	
אִתְּפַעֵל (Ittaf)	איתכשורי	מיתכשר	

Note the following:

- 1 For reasons that will be explained in Chapter 8, stems with the /t/ infix do not have passive participles, and the Ittaf stem does not have imperative forms. Their absence from the table above are systematic and do not result from lack of documentation.<sup>156</sup>
- 2 In each of the derived stems, the 3m sg suffix-conjugation form, which is identical to the m sg imperative form, is the “basic” form of the stem. Prefixes are then added to this stem to form the active participle and 3m sg

<sup>154</sup> This form seems as if it is an Itpe form.

<sup>155</sup> Only a 2m sg form is attested.

<sup>156</sup> See below (§7.3.5) for examples of imperative passive forms.

prefix-conjugation form, with the omission of the initial glottal stop in the last four stems.

- 3 The infinitive of each derived stem is formed by replacing the vowel between the final two radicals in the basic form with the vowel represented by the vowel letter *waw* and a *yod* added at the end. In a few examples the *waw* is missing.

As for the vowel represented by the *waw* there are three traditions in vocalized texts: *o*, *u*, *aw*; and in a few examples there is even evidence for combinations of more than one, as in the form: לאתונוי (indicating both *aw* and *o*). As for the interchange between [o] and [u], as noted in §1.2.2.4, it is possible that there was no phonemic distinction between the two sounds. As for the diphthong, it is hard to explain its origin and therefore was considered by some as a mistake in the transmission of JBA.<sup>157</sup> Similarly, the vowel represented by *yod*, when it is in fact vocalized, it has either an [i] sound or an [e] sound – again, possibly not a phonemic distinction in JBA (§1.2.2.3).

- 4 In those derived stems that have an *i*-vowel before the final radical in the basic form, *yod* appears, albeit inconsistently, even when reduction is expected on the basis of other dialects. One finds forms such as תקינן, אסדידן and אודקיפן. This may indicate the expected *schwa mobile* (see §1.2.2.4), or it may reflect a divergence in the phonological system of JBA from that of earlier dialects of Aramaic (see §1.2.2.1).
- 5 The prefix of Af-stem has an /ʔ/ in its basic form, which is elided in the prefix conjugation and the participial conjugation. Already in Official Aramaic the original /h/ prefix became /ʔ/. However, vestiges of the original consonant occasionally do appear, especially in GBA: מהנפיק (but in JBA as well), or in an archaic context [מהודעיננא] [*Sanh.* 11a], see above §5.3.5).
- 6 In earlier dialects of Aramaic, as in Hebrew, when the first radical is /d/ the infixed /t/ of the derived stems assimilated completely to it, as is the case in אידכר. In JBA this is a much broader phenomenon. When not already geminated (as is the case in the Ittaf-stem), the infix *t* often assimilates to the following consonants, yielding forms such as אפּעל (< אַחַפְעַל) and אַתְפְעַל (< אַפְעַל). When the first radical is a sibilant, it metathesizes with the *t*, and assimilation is rare (as in לישתכח). When the first radical is /z/, besides the metathesis, the unvoiced /t/ assimilates to the voiced /z/ and becomes /d/: אודרה, and with the emphatic /s/, the /t/ assimilates to it and become em-

<sup>157</sup> Kutscher (1962: 76).

phatic as well /t/: אצטמיד, and occasionally the /t/ assimilates completely (צמ"ד) מיצמדי (the participle of Itpa). There are however exceptions to this rule, such as the form מיתציל (from the root צל"ל).

- 7 With roots whose final radical is a guttural or /r/, the final vowel is /i/. This is the reason for the absence of the *yod* in verbs like שר"ר (Pa). Consequently, since gemination is not marked in consonantal writing, it is impossible to determine whether a verbal form like איזורה is Itpa or Itj. Only external information (such as parallel forms in other dialects) may suggest the stem in the case of such verbs. Similarly, verbs that regularly appear in the Itpa-stem have a *yod* between the final two radicals, as is the case with לישחמיש (*Meg.* 28b). An examination of the variants in these cases, however, suggests that these are merely scribal errors. Thus, when encountering forms of the stems with a /t/ infix, in cases where a *yod* appears, one must consider this an Itpa form, regardless of the question of whether or not this is a genuine JBA form.
- 8 Occasionally there is a *yod* in the first syllable of verbs of the Pa- (מיעט) and Af-stems (איסמוק). In the case of the latter, it is hard to determine whether the form like מידכר belongs to the Af-stem or the Itpa stem.<sup>158</sup> It is possible that this is a representation of a more general phenomenon of a shift /a/>/i/ in closed syllables.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> For the significance of this problem, see Bar-Asher Siegal (forthcoming).

<sup>159</sup> For a survey of the literature on this phonological issue, see Morgenstern (2011: n. 159).

# Chapter 6

## 6.1 Weak verbs

This chapter introduces the weak verbs, the roots of which contain one or more radicals that are absent from certain forms in the conjugations due to phonological reasons. The various types of unique paradigms are introduced according to the radical that is occasionally missing from the conjugations. Each type of verb is assigned a Roman numeral and consonant(s). The numerals (I, II or III) indicate the position of the “weak” consonants in the root. For example, I-n indicates roots with /n/ in the first radical position.

Throughout this chapter all the various types of forms are presented with representative examples (with some exceptions that will be specifically noted) and are followed with relevant explanatory notes. Unattested forms are not reconstructed.

## 6.2 I-n

As noted in (§3.1.7.1), while in other dialects of Aramaic the consonant /n/, when closing a syllable, assimilates to the following consonant, in JBA there are many forms with the letter *nun*, where this assimilation is expected. Some tendencies are described below. The following table considers only forms in which an assimilation is expected.

	Pe prefix conjugation	Pe imperative	Af suffix conjugation	Af prefix conjugation	Af imperative
1 c sg	איפוק אידר אינטר אינסיב		אפילי אסחאי	אפיש	
2m sg	תינסוב תינסיב תסב תינהוג	נהוג/נקוט גוד סב/נסיב	אסחת אנחתת	תפיש תפיק	אקיף אבע
2f sg	תסבין	נהיג			אקיף
3m sg	לינפול ליפול לינפח ג(י)נקוט/ ל(י)נקוט ניסח		אגיד אסח אנהר אנסיב	ליפיש/נפיש לפיק	



	Pe prefix conjugation	Pe imperative	Af suffix conjugation	Af prefix conjugation	Af imperative
3f sg	תִּפּוּל תִּנְפּוּק		אִפִּיקָ/אִפִּיקָ אִפִּילָ/אִפִּילָת	תִּפִּישׁ	
1c pl	לִיתִין/נִיתִין נִינְטֵר נִיפּוּק		אִפְקִינָן		
2m pl	תִּסְבוּן	פּוּקוּ נְגוּדוּ/ נְגִידוּ נְהוּגוּ		תִּפִּיקוּ	אֲחִיתוּ/אֲחִיתוּן
3m pl	נִינְקֵטוּ לִיתְנוּן לִיפְקוּ/לִינְפְקוּן		אֲחִיתוּ	לִיזְקוּ	
3f pl	לִינְפְקוּן/לִינְפְקוּ לִיפְקָה/לִינְפְקָה				

	Af participle	Ittaf suffix conjugation	Ittaf participial conjugation	Ittaf prefix conjugation
1 c sg	מִצִּילָנָא/מִצִּילָנָא	אִיתְזָקִי	מִיתְצִילָנָא/מִיתְצִילָנָא	
2m sg	מִגְעַת	אִיתְזָקַת	מִיתְצִלַת	
2f sg				
3m sg	מִהֲנִפִּיק מִפִּיק מִבַּע מִנְסִיב	אִיתְזָק אִיתְקִישׁ אִיתְזִיק (אִיתְהֲנִפִּיק) אִיתְפִּק	מִיתְזִיק/מִתְזָק	לִיתְזָק
3f sg	מִנְקֵטָא מִפְלָא	אִיתְקֵשׁ אִיתְזִיקָא	מִתְפִּקָא	
1c pl	מִקְשִׁינָן מִנְסִיבִינָן			
2m pl				
3m pl	מִפְקִין מִפְקִי מִנְקֵטִי	אִיתְצִלוּ/אִיתְצוּלָו/ (אִיתְנְצוּלָו)	מִיתְזָקִי	לִיתְזָקוּ/לִיתְפְּקוּן
3f pl	מִבַּעֵן			

Pe infinitive	Af infinitive	Ittaf infinitive
מינסב, מיסב	אפוקי	איתקושי

1. As is clear from the table, the original /n/ assimilates almost regularly in some stems. Overall, the /n/ assimilates regressively to all consonants besides /h/ (תינהוג, אנהק).
2. In the Af-stem the original /n/ almost always assimilates. In fact, it appears only in archaic forms such as מהנפיק (see §5.4, note 5) and before the consonant /h/ (אנהר). Forms such as מנקטי, which show no assimilation, are extremely rare. The verb נס"ב demonstrates an interesting distribution. In usages that are related to marriage in the Af-stem (“to marry s.o.,” “to permit s.o. to marry”) the *nun* regularly appears; however, when this root is used to express other meanings such as “to lash with palm spathes” with כופרי “spathes” as the object or “to give a bad reputation,” where שמא בישא “bad name” serves as the object, an assimilation is more common in most manuscripts. The appearance of a *nun* in a verbal form when the meaning is related to marriage may reflect the fact that in JBA it became common to express the situation of being married with the Itpe-stem in which an assimilation should not take place (see the next note). Accordingly, it may be that the assimilation of the /n/ at this stage was not a live phonological phenomenon but rather inherited from previous periods. Thus, lexical relations between verbal forms could affect the realization of the radical /n/ of the root.
3. In the Itpe-stem an assimilation of /n/ is unexpected; therefore it is not included in the table above. /t/ assimilates to /n/, as is the case with other strong verbs: אינגיד, אינסיבא. When the archaic form with /t/ appears, /n/, as expected, appears as well (איתנטילת, איתנקיטור).
4. In the Ittaf-stem, as expected, /n/ assimilates to the second radical of the root. The letter *yod* after the second radical (in forms such as איתקיש) is unexpected in this stem and attests to the fact that it was perceived in some traditions as an Itpe form. As noted in these forms, however, /t/ always assimilates to /n/.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Morgenstern (2002: 248). It must be noted that, unlike what one might conclude from Morgenstern, forms with *yod* appear in non-Yemenite manuscripts as well, such as MS V<sup>116</sup> for B. *Qam*.

5. The only stem that has regular forms with the original /n/ is the Pe-stem, as spellings with a *nun* appear in the prefix conjugation and in the infinitive, even though an assimilation would otherwise be expected. In the imperative, although an assimilation is unexpected, many Semitic languages exhibit an analogy between the imperative and the prefix conjugation; as a result, the first /n/ is elided, as seen, for example, in פִּיֹּק. However, since in JBA the /n/ was reintroduced into this paradigm, the analogy worked its way back and the /n/ appears in the imperative forms as well, as in נִסִּיב. The source for this analogy can be the forms in the prefix conjugation with /n/, or forms of the suffix conjugation, in which /n/ regularly appears.
6. Two phenomena suggest that the lack of assimilation is not a reflection of the spoken language: 1) the appearance of /n/ in archaic forms; 2) the regularity of forms with /n/ in only one stem as opposed to other stems. The development described in (5), in which an analogy took place, is striking especially if the sources for the analogy are the forms in the prefix conjugation with /n/. Thus, one may wonder whether such a development could have actually taken place in a literary language, as analogy is more likely to occur in spoken languages. As noted above, however, the source could, of course, have been the suffix conjugation as well (see note [2] above).
7. The verb סל"ק "to ascend" is unique already in earlier dialects of Aramaic, in that it has what seems to be an assimilation of the radical /l/ to /s/. It is most likely not a result of an assimilation, but of an attraction to its antonym verb נח"ח "to descend," a I-n verb. It conjugates like I-n verbs, as if the root were נס"ק: מסיק, מיסק, סק, ניסק. Forms with all three radicals are found as well (ניסליק).

### 6.3 I-w/y

In Proto-Northwest Semitic there was a shift of /w/>/y/ in initial position. Through later analogies all verbs with /y/ or /w/ as the first radical share the same paradigm.

The glides /y/ and /w/ when closing a syllable are considered part of the diphthong and often go through a process of monophthongization. The verbal forms affected by these phonological processes are listed below.

	Pe prefix conjugation	Pe imperative	Itpe/Itpa suffix conjugation	Itpe/Itpa participial conjugation	Af suffix conjugation
1c sg	איתב איהב				אוספית אותבי/אותבי
2m sg	תידע/תדע תיחיב תינוק	תיב f sg: הבי		מתילדת	אוזפת
3m sg	ליוזף ליתב לילף נידע		אתיליד איתליד אייתב	מתיליד מתליד מייחיד מיתדע מתיקר/ מיתייקר	אוליד
3f sg	תירות		אתיהבא איתהיבת אתלידא	מייטבא מיתלדא/ מתיילדא/ מתיילדת	אוליד אולידה אותבה
1c pl	נילף/ניליף				
2m pl	תירתו(ו)	אידעו תיבו/איתיבו הבו			
3m pl	ליתבו/ליתיבו/ ליתבון/נתיבו ליהבון		יתיליד/אתייליד אייאוש	מייקרי מיתיילדי	אוספו אודעו
3f pl			אתיקרו	מתייקרי מתיילדן	

	Af participial conjugation	Af prefix conjugation	Af imperative	Ittaf suffix conjugation
1c sg	מוזיפנא, מודענא מונקאנא (f)	אוקיר (HPS אייקיר)		
2m sg	מודעת	תוליד	אוסף	

	Af participial conjugation	Af prefix conjugation	Af imperative	Ittaf suffix conjugation
3m sg	מוליד, מודע (מיחב) <sup>161</sup>	לוסיף, נוזיף		איתוסף איתותב
3f sg	מונקא	תוליד		איתוספא
1c pl	מותבינן	נוסיף		
2m pl			אוקירו	
3m pl	מותבין מודעי			איתודעו איתוספו
3f pl	מובלן			

Pe infinitive	Itpe/Itpa infinitive	Af infinitive
מידע	אתיחודי לייחודי אייקורי	אותובי

### 1. Further phenomena in the Pe-stem:

- In the suffix conjugation the first radical is usually followed by a *schwa*. With some verbs there is an indication that the sound *yə* shifted to *i* or *'i*, thus the spellings איקר, אידע, איתיב, איקר.
- As in the I-n verbs, the imperative forms begin with the second radical. However, with the verb יד"ע the imperative begins with a vowel: אידע.
- The verb יה"ב “to give” shows a deletion of the first syllable: הב “he gave”, הבנן “we gave”. That this verb behaves as a two-radical root may be the result of an analogy to the prefix conjugation (see also below 6.10.3.3 for a discussion of this root with apocopated forms).

### 2. In the t-infix stems we encounter three possibilities:

- Appearance of the form with the infix /t/ and the consonant /y/: אתיחודי.
- An assimilation of the infix /t/: אייקורי, especially common with the doubly weak verb יא"ש (§6.10.1.3).

<sup>161</sup> See Kutscher (1962: 163); however, with only one attested form, it may be a scribal error under the influence of the verb תו"ב in the Af-stem (below §6.3).

- c. An assimilation of the radical /y/ of the root: יל"ד, which is mostly seen in the Itpe “to be born” (מיתלדא) and יד"ע in the Itpe “to be known” (מיתדע).

#### 6.4 I-'/

Considering the various changes which took place with original /'/ verbs that were described in (§3.1.3.1), the consonant /'/ was pronounced only when it was located in initial position. Hence, it is found only in forms such as the Pe-stem suffix conjugation (אמר “he said”), Pe-stem participle (אמר “he says”) and Pe-stem imperative (אימור “say!”); otherwise it was elided. When an *alef* appears elsewhere, it is probably a historical writing and synchronically a representation of a vowel. The Af-stem conjugates similarly to the I-w/y verbs. While most verbs conjugate like I-w (אוביד), some verbs conjugate like I-y verbs; these, however, are mostly III-y verbs (אר"י, את"י), a category which will be treated below (§6.10.3.2).

Pe prefix conjugation	לימר/נימר ליזיל/ניזיל ליכול/ניכול	Itpe participial conjugation	מיתמר מיתניס מיתאביל מאבלינא (1s)	Af imperative	אוגר
Pe infinitive	מימר מימרא	Itpe infinitive	איתגורי	Af participial conjugation	מוביד מוגר
Itpe suffix conjugation	אתמר איתניס	Pa prefix conjugation	אבדינהו (1s with 3mp suff)	Af infinitive	אובודי
Itpe prefix conjugation	תיתמר (3 fs) ליתסר	Af suffix conjugation	אוביד אוגר איישר לוגר	Ittaf participial conjugation	מיתוגרא
		Af prefix conjugation			

Further comments:

- 1 In the Pe-stem, the imperative forms of the verbs “to go” אז"ל and “to eat” אכ"ל appear also without the /'/ due to analogy to the prefix conjugation: 2m sg זייל, איזיל; זיל, איכול, כול, איכול; 2f sg זיילי, איזילי; 2m pl זיילו, איזילו. There are also forms with the elision of the final /l/ (below §6.9): זי “go!” In the case of the

verb אמ"ר, the form אומר is also found (§1.2.2.7.1; for more forms of the verb אמ"ר, see below §6.10.3.2).

- 2 The verb אחר in Pa and Itpa-stems with the meaning of “to tarry, to postpone” shows a consistent spelling with an *alef*, even when an elision of the /ʔ/ sound is expected: מאחר, לאחורה, איתאחר, לאיתאחורי. This uniqueness might be related to the fact that the second radical is the pharyngeal /ħ/, which in certain phonological environments was not pronounced (§3.1.3.2).
- 3 In the Af-stem, I-’ verbs conjugate as I-w/y verbs. Only the denominative verb אה"ל “to constitute a covering” conjugates as a I-’ verb (מאהיל).
- 4 The t-infix of the T-stems (Itpa, Itpa, and Ittaf) usually does not assimilate to the following consonants; in some forms, however, such as מאבלנא, there is assimilation.
- 5 As discussed earlier (§3.1.3.2), in verbs, the first radical of which is /ʔ/, various phonological changes took place. In initial position, the expected development is ‘ > ’; as a result verbs such as עב"ד “to do, to make” appear as אבד “they worked”. Consequently, when the historical ‘ayn does not appear, verbal forms conjugate similarly to I-’ verbs: ליביד, מיבד, איתבידא, ליחביד. With the apocopation of the final /d/, we encounter such forms as: איתבי (see below §6.10.3.2.1). Similar to I-’ verbs, usually the t-infix of the T-stems does not assimilate: מיתעבדא, ליתביד (this is true with the other pharyngeal consonant /ħ/ as well: מתחשבא). This is, though, not a consistent rule, since forms such as איעקרת are also found. Finally, similar to I-’ verbs, there are I-’ verbs in the Af-stem that conjugate as a I-w/y verb: מוקירתו = מעקריתו “you are removing”.

## 6.5 II-w/y

When the original middle radical of a verb was one of the two glides /w/ or /y/, then these verbs, when not geminated, went through various phonological changes. The changes reached such an extent that these glides were no longer expressed as consonants and the forms appeared synchronically as bi-radical verbs. Thus, forms of all the stems besides Pa and Itpa (in which they were, at least historically, geminated and hence preserved) should be introduced independently. Since the exact derivations from the original three radicals roots involve various idiosyncratic rules, the comments below refer only to regular sound shifts and are mostly about synchronic facts.

## pe-stem

	Suffix conjugation a-type	Suffix conjugation i-type	Prefix conjugation u-type	Prefix conjugation i-type
1c sg	קמית		איקום	
2m sg	קמת		תדור תישוף	
2f sg				
3m sg	קם	מית	ליקום ניקום	ניצית לינים
3f sg	קמת קמא (קם)	מתה/מיתת/מיתא	תיקום	
1c pl	קמנן <sup>162</sup> קמנא/קומנא	מיתנן/מיתנן	ליקום/ניקום	
2m pl			תקומון תקומו	תציתו
3m pl	קמו/קום (פש)	מיתו	לימותו	
3f pl		מיתן		

<sup>162</sup> The vowel /u/ in קומנא is probably a result of an assimilation to the following labial consonant /m/ (§1.2.2.7).



	Prefix conjugation a-type	Imperative	Participial conjugation	Passive participle
1c sg	נינם (נינום)		קאימנא/קאיימנא מייתנא	
2m sg		קום צית	קיימת מיתת	
2f sg		תובי		
3m sg	לינח נינח		קאים קיים מאיית/מיית	קים כייל
3f sg	חינח		קיימא/קימא/קאימא	שיכא שייפא
1c pl			קיימינן לישינן מיתמן	
2m pl		קומו דינו	קיימיתו	
3m pl			קיימי/קיימי קיימין/קאיימין מיתין	שיפי
3f pl			קיימון/קימון/קאימא מיתן	שיכון

### Infinitive

מיקם  
ממת  
מישיכה

#### Comments:

- Concerning the participle: as noted above (§3.1.6), in various Aramaic dialects intervocalic /y/ became a glottal stop /ʔ/ (or elided with a very similar result), yielding forms such as מאיתנא (*māyetnā* > *māetnā*/*māʔetnā*). However, forms with the original /y/ appear as well. In the rare spelling of קאימא for

the f sg form of the participle, the *alef* probably indicates a vowel.

- 2 There are a few II-w verbs in which the consonant /w/ behaves as a regular consonant. We can note the following examples in this group: חו"ר “to become white”, צו"ח “to shout”, רו"ח “to be wide”, and similarly with /y/ שי"ר “to retain”. In all of these roots the final consonant is phonologically weak when it is in final position (the pharyngeal /ħ/, and the apocopation of the final /r/), and this is the rule when there is another weak consonant in the root (below §6.10.1.2, §6.10.4.1).

### Itpe-stem

Like Syriac, JBA has unique forms of this stem for the II-w/y verbs. In Syriac the /t/ is doubled, and this was (at least historically) also the case in JBA, since the consonantal /t/ never assimilates:

Suffix conjugation	איתדר, איתער, איתציד
Prefix conjugation	ליתער, ליתדין, ליתשום <sup>163</sup>
Participial conjugation	מיתדר
Infinitive	איתזוני

### Af-, Ittaf-stems

In general there was a shift in paradigm and II-w/y verbs conjugate as I-w/y verbs:

	Af	Ittaf
Suffix conjugation	אוקים	איתותב
Prefix conjugation	לוקים, נוקים	ליתוקם
Participle	מוקים	מיתוקם/מתוקם
Infinitive	אוקומי	אתותובי

A few verbs have forms reflecting the paradigms of earlier dialects, among them the verb חו"ך “to laugh”. This is also the case with I-n verbs, as we will presently see §6.10.1.1:

<sup>163</sup> The vowel /u/ in form ליתשום is probably a result of an assimilation to the following labial consonant /m/ (§1.2.2.7.1).

Suffix conjugation	אח"ך
Prefix conjugation	תח"ך
Participial conjugation	מח"ך
Infinitive	אחוכי

This verb is unique. Its origin is the root חע"ך, and it is likely that it only coincidentally conjugates like a classical II-w.<sup>164</sup> Forms corresponding to this paradigm occasionally appear with other verbs as well, such as מבית (root בו"ת) “keep s.t. overnight”.

The verb חו"ב “to refute” has, for the most part, the regular form מוהיב, אוהיב; however, one also finds forms such as מתיב/מיתיב, איתיביה in all types of manuscripts. Similarly, with the root נו"פ “to wave,” one finds the following forms: ליניף, מיניף. In the case of the latter, the shift to an /i/ vowel may be related to the proximity to the consonant /n/ (§1.2.2.7.1).

## 6.6 II-’

As seen in (§3.1.3.1), the glottal stop /’/ tends to be elided in several phonological environments. In the verbal conjugations, it elided when Cə’V > CV, yielding in the Pe-stem suffix conjugation the form סיב (*pə’il* > *pil*), or in the Itpa-stem forms such as איתשיל (*’itpə’il* > *’itpil*). Two other common phenomena are also noteworthy: 1) forms with an *alef* when the elision of /’/ was expected (and it is impossible to determine whether this is only a historical spelling, or whether it was also preserved in pronunciation); 2) after the vowel /a/ there is a common shift of *a’e* > *aye*, as seen in the participial conjugation of the Pe-stem and systematically in the Pa- and Itpa-stems. The following examples are mostly from the root שא"ל; its meaning in the various stems is given before each table. When examples from this root are not available, examples from other II-’ roots are provided:

<sup>164</sup> Synchronically there is a complementary distribution between the root אח"ך in the Pe-stem and the root חו"ך in the Pa-stem. In the Af-stem it is not I-’, as it does not fit the corresponding paradigm (cf. Sokoloff 2002: 104).

## Pe-stem (ל"א "to ask, to borrow")

	Forms with /' /	Forms with yod	Forms with an elision of the /' /
Suffix conjugation	שאל		
Participial conjugation	שאלנא	שיילא דייגי	סיב (GBA) משילין (GBA)
Prefix conjugation	לישאול/נשאול		ליכוב (Magic bowls) נשילינהו (GBA)
Imperative	שאל		
Infinitive	מישאל		מישל

Forms with two yods appear also with a II-<sup>ע</sup> root טע"ן "they loaded" (probably through an intermediate stage in which the shift of /' / > /' / took place [§3.1.3.2]).

## Ite-stem (ל"א "to be lent", "to be absolved by a scholar")

Suffix conjugation	איתשיל
Participial conjugation	מיתשיל מימאסי (3m pl)
Prefix conjugation	ליתשיל/ניתשיל
Infinitive	איתשולי

## Pa-stem (ל"א "to ask, to borrow")

Suffix conjugation	שאל	שייל
Participial conjugation	משאל מסאב	משייל
Prefix conjugation		נישייליה לישיילו/לישילו
Imperative	שאל (f sg)	שייל/שיול
Infinitive	שאולי	שיולי

## Itpa-stem

Suffix conjugation	אשתייר	אסתאב
Participial conjugation	משתייר	Anan מסתיבין מסתיבי
Prefix conjugation	נשתייר	
Infinitive	אישתיורי	

## Af-stem (ל"א "to lend")

As in the case of the II-w/y verbs, there was a shift in paradigm. Subsequently, these verbs conjugate as I-w/y:

Suffix conjugation	אושלה (+3f sg suffix)
Participial conjugation	מושיל
Prefix conjugation	
Imperative	אושלן
Infinitive	אושולי

## 6.7 Geminate verbs

Synchronically, in most early dialects of Aramaic and in Syriac (the examples below are from Syriac), this group of verbs is comprised of roots with only two radicals. Consequently in order to “compensate” for the lack of a third consonant,<sup>165</sup> there is gemination, either of the first radical (Af-stem suffix conjugation, *'abbez* “he gave over to be plunder”), or of the second radical (Pe-stem suffix conjugation *šabbn* “we let down”). Other possibilities for dealing with this insufficiency include: repeating the second radical twice and thus acting as a strong verb (Itpa-stem suffix conjugation *'etbəzaz* “it was plundered”); or by duplicating the segment of the two together, with the result of a quadriradical verb (Pa-stem participle *məbazbaz* “he steals”). The quadriradical verbs are most often only historically connected to the geminate verbs, and synchronically they conjugate as quadriradical verbs in all forms. They are thus not discussed here (see, rather, below §6.11).

<sup>165</sup> This process can be described as the result of an analogy as well.

JBA has forms similar to the classical forms with the addition of new types (one of them is discussed below in §6.10.2.2, a conjugation similar to II-w/y verbs); below are the forms followed by explanatory notes.

## Pe-stem

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Participial conjugation	Passive Participle
1c sg	חאשית/חשאי/ חשי	איעול		חיישנא צארנא	
2m sg	מצית	ת(י)חוש	חוש דל ברור גיוז/גוז/ <sup>166</sup> גזי	חיישת/חישת	
2f sg		תיעול			
3m sg	דש זיל גרר <sup>167</sup> נדא	ליחוש ניעול נילתות ליציל		חאייק חייק כאיף דיש חייש	גריר קיל כייף
3f sg	זלת זילא/זל קשא רקא/רקקה	תיחוזן		חייצא/חיצא חיישא	זילא פתיא
1c pl	דשנן קשינן/קשישנן	ניכוף ליחוש		חיישינן/חיישינן	גרירנן/גרירינן

<sup>166</sup> Kara (1983: 273) mentions this form in *Pesah* MS E<sup>1</sup> 20a. Other manuscripts have either גוז / גיוז (MSs V<sup>1</sup>, V<sup>14</sup>, V<sup>17</sup>, Cambridge – T-S F1) or סמי (MSs M, M<sup>1</sup>, C, O). The form גיו which conjugates as a III-y verb seems to be a local attraction to סמי which co-appears beforehand in MS E<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Kara (1983: 243) mentions this form in *Yoma* E<sup>1</sup> 87a. All manuscripts for this word, however, have a different verb altogether. Furthermore, there are good reasons to believe that in JBA the root was perceived as נד"י, as is also the case in Syriac. On a more general note, Kara (1983: 271–273) analyzes several geminate roots that are all conjugated as III-y verbs. As can be seen from this and the previous comment, I tend to disagree. The other forms he considers to be cases of the roots לב"ב and דל"ל; they are, however, from the roots לב"י and דל"י respectively.

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Participial conjugation	Passive Participle
2m pl	תפיתו	תיעלון תיחשו תיגזזו/תיגזו	חושו	עייליתו/ עיליתו גניתו/גיניתו	
3m pl	עלו/עול גזו	ליעלו/ליעלון ניגזזו/ליגזו ניגררו ליגזו		דאשו דישי חייפי זילי מאיכ/מייכין	גרירי קילי כיפינן/כייפינן צירין/צירי/ ציירי
3f pl		לילפן		חייצן עאילן	כיפן קילן

### Infinitive

מיזקק, מיחש

- 1 **Active participle:** In other dialects the m sg form is similar to the form of the II-w/y roots *ba'ez* “plunder”. In JBA, as a result of leveling, all forms of the paradigm conjugate like the II-w/y with the similar variation of /y/.
- 2 **Suffix and prefix conjugations:** Although an indication of the gemination does not appear, the paradigm is similar to what we encounter in other dialects with a geminated second radical (when it is not in a final position) in the suffix conjugation, and geminated first radical in the prefix conjugation. In addition there are two other types of paradigms:
  - a Verbs conjugate as II-y verbs with /y/ as a consonant. This could, at least theoretically, be a result of an analogy from the participial conjugation (note 1); however, since it happens mostly with I-' verbs, therefore, we will consider a possible phonological motivation for such a development with these verbs (§6.10.2.2).
  - b Verbs in the second category will be conjugated with a repetition of the second radical, even to the extent that the verb seems to behave as a strong verb, as in ליגררה “let him draw it”. However, it must be noted that all the verbs in this category have an equivalent verb in Mishnaic Hebrew, in which the second radical is repeated as well (גז"ז) (זק"ק, גר"ר, גז"ז) (רק"ק, לת"ת, חש"ש). In fact, very often a Hebrew form of the same root even appears in the vicinity of the repetition of the second radical in the

Aramaic verb, as in the following example (the Hebrew is underlined):

או הכי מלתת נמי נילתות. אלמא אמ' ר' זורא אמ' רבא בר אבוה אמ' שמואל.  
חטיו שלמנחות אין לותתין אותן If this is the case, let him thoroughly  
 wash. Why did PN say in the name of PN: "The wheat for meal-  
 offerings must not be washed?" (*Pesah*. 36a)

Thus, this phenomenon may be considered not as a genuine JBA phenomenon, but rather as an instance of Hebrew influence at the lexical (and not grammatical) level.

- 3 **Passive participle:** As in other dialects, one commonly encounters in JBA a repetition of the second radical: גריר "drawn". In addition there are forms similar to the conjugation of the II-w/y verbs (probably as a result of an analogy to the active participle) such as זיג "transparent". There are even forms that suggest a consonantal /y/: צייריה "he tied it", כייפינן "we force".
- 4 **Infinitive:** Classical forms such as מיחש "to be ill" appear; however, forms with a repetition of the second radical are found as well: מיזקק "to obligate".

#### Af-stem

In other dialects the first radical always geminates. In JBA most verbs conjugate in this way:

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Participial conjugation	Passive Participle
1c sg	אחילת			ממצנא	
2m sg	אקילת		אקיל	מרעת	
3m sg	אחיל	נקיל ליפר		מחיל מקיל/מיקל/ מוקיל מ(י)פר	
3f sg	אגנא אחלה			מגנא	מחלא
1c pl	אחילנן			מחלינן מקילינן	
3m pl	אחילו	ליחלו/נחלו		מחלי מקלין מגנו	



## Infinitive

### אחולי

The verb זל"ל in the Af-stem (“to disgrace, to denigrate”) conjugates as a II-w, verb (אחול, אחולין, אחולי). This probably is a result of reanalysis of the root זל"ל, due to the common use of the Pe-stem in the passive participle form (אחול). Similarly, one finds in GBA forms of the root פר"ר “to annul a vow” conjugate as a II-w/y verb: מופרי, מופרי. For a different explanation for these forms, see below (§6.12).

### Ittaf-stem

Similar to the forms of the Af-stem, the first radical was presumably geminated, as in the following forms of the verb חל"ל “to be profaned”: אחל, אחל, אחל. Forms with a yod such as ליתחיל are probably misinterpretations of the forms as Itpe-stem, even though the Itpe-stem forms of the geminated verb conjugate as strong verbs.

### Itpe-, Pa-, and Itpa-stems

The geminate roots in the Itpe-, Pa-, and Itpa-stems conjugate as strong verbs with a repetition of the second radical. Specific roots behave as if they were from a different root in certain paradigms. Thus the root רע"ע “to break, cause harm” conjugates in the Itpe-stem as if the root were רר"ע, and the root ע"ל “to enter” in the Pa-stem conjugates as if the root were ע"ל (see below 6.10.2.2). Note, however, that the active verb of the root רע"ע is in the Af-stem. It is probable that the allegedly Itpe-stem forms may be analyzed as forms of the Ittaf-stem, which were generated with some analogy to the Af-stem (since the second radical appears only once). This would then suggest that forms such as איתרע should be read as *ittarra'* in the Ittaf-stem.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Sokoloff (2002: 296) suggests that the forms מגני/מגנו and מגנא, all from the root גנ"י are Itpe forms. This is not, though, entirely clear, as they may be either the active or the passive participle forms of the Af-stem. The line י מגני מאויבים והני לא מגנו מאויבים. י מגני מאויבים והני לא מגנו מאויבים may be translated in two ways: “These (walled cities) are protected/protecting from enemies; and these are not protected/protecting from enemies. This (city) is also protected/protecting from enemies” (*Meg.* 5b).

## 6.8 III-y

The term III-y *Verbs* refers to verbs that originally had /y/, /w/ or /ʾ/<sup>169</sup> as their third radical. Although these consonants still appear in a few forms, they were more often than not lost due to a number of phonological rules, usually leaving long vowels in their place.

## Pe-stem

Since these verbs are extremely common, all types of attested forms of Pe-stem III-y verbs are given in the following chart. Our examples are presented with the root בני״י “to build”:

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative
1c sg	בנאי/בניי/בני/בניתי בנינא, באני	איבני (ניבני)	
2m sg	בנית/(בניתא)/בנת	ת(י)בני	בני
2f sg			בנאי
3m sg	בנא (שתי)	ליבני/ניבני (לקרא)	
3f sg	בנת/בנאי/בניא/בנא באני	תיבני	
1c pl	בנ(א)/בנינן/בנינא	נ(י)בני ל(י)בני	
2m pl	בנ(י)תו(ן)	ת(י)בנו(ן)	בנו בני
2f pl		תיבניין תבנן/תיבנון	
3m pl	בנ(א)נו	ליבנו(ן)/ניבו(ן) נ(י)בני <sup>170</sup>	
3f pl	בניין	ניבניין <sup>171</sup>	

<sup>169</sup> There was an analogy of all III-ʾ verbs to III-y verbs already earlier in Aramaic.

<sup>170</sup> This is according to the form ניספי in *Git. MS Fr 70a*. Since other manuscripts have ניספו (“let them feed”), it is also possible that the form ניספי is from the Pa-stem (“let him eat”).

	Participial conjugation	Passive Participle
1c sg	ב(א)נינא [f.sg also בניאנא]	בנינא
2m sg	ב(א)נית	בנית
2f sg		בנית
3m sg	ב(א)ני ב(א)נא	בני (באני)
3f sg	ב(א)ניא/ב(א)ניה/בנייא	בניא
1c pl	בני(נ)נא/בנייננא/בנינן/בנינן/בניינן	בנינן/בניינן/בנינא
2m pl	ב(א)ניתו(ו)/בנייתו	בניתו
2f pl		
3m pl	בניי(ו)/ב(א)נו/ב(א)ני/בנן	בניי/בנו/בני
3f pl	בני(אן)/בניי(ן)	בניי/בניא/ה(ן) בניי

### Infinitive

מ(י)בניא / מ(י)בניא

Note the following (variations similar to those found in strong verbs are not discussed here):

- 1 Almost all Pe-stem III-y verbs take the thematic vowel /a/ in the suffix conjugation. Occasionally, one encounters forms that suggest the thematic vowel /i/, but this occurs regularly only for the verb שתי (a prosthetic *alef* usually appears with this verb and the verbal form is אשתי).
- 2 The 3f sg suffix conjugation form בנת has been inherited from earlier dialects of Aramaic. The forms בניא and בנאי probably resulted from analogy with the strong verb and the participle; the former, *bānaya*, is patterned after *kātaba*, while the latter, *bānay*, is derived from the former by apocopation of the final vowel. There are also a few examples of the masculine form where the feminine is expected. If these forms reflect the original forms in JBA, then they would be very significant, as they would attest for syncretism between the masculine and the feminine form (since it cannot be ex-

<sup>171</sup> This form is attested with the root הו"י (§7.1.1), e.g. 'Abod. Zar. J 48a.

plained as a result of a phonological development).<sup>172</sup>

- 3 For the 3m pl suffix conjugation form בּוּנוּ, the final vowel is given as both *u* and *o* in the vocalized manuscripts (see §1.2.2.4).
- 4 The ending יתי- for the 1c sg could be an indication of an older ending in Aramaic (similar to the one found in Hebrew); or, more likely, it could also be analogy to the strong verbs, where /t/ is the carrier of the last syllable. Thus the final vowel /i/ was added to the historical form *bānit*, the form found in Biblical Aramaic and Syriac. Considering the form of the strong verb קר"ב in קריבי, we can assume the following analogy (I present the analogy with the 3f pl form whose III-y verb has the /y/ as a consonant):<sup>173</sup>

*katabān : kətibi :: bānayān : bāniti* [*< bānit*]

- 5 In the prefix conjugation, alternative prefixes, similar to those found in the strong verbs (such as the prefix *y* for the 3m sg: יעדִי), are not mentioned in the table.
- 6 The various traditions differ as to the final vowel (or diphthong) of the participial form בניי; some have *ay*, some *e*, and some *i*. The interchange between the latter two is expected, while the diphthong probably reflects a spelling pronunciation.
- 7 Based on comparisons to other dialects, the original form of the masculine plural participial form was *bānayn*; this is still reflected in the spelling בניין and in the apocopated form בניי. The form בּוּנוּ reflects the shift *ayn*→*an* (§3.1.7.2). The form בני(א)ני may indicate the same pronunciation as בניי, but it may also indicate the development *bānyi* > *bāni* (*bānyi* is the form similar to the strong verbs: *qātli*). These various forms also serve as the basis for plural conjugated forms (esp. for the 1c pl forms).

### The Derived Stems

Except for the 3m sg suffix conjugation form, verbs III-y in the derived stems inflect, for the most part, as they do in the Pe-stem. The chart below contains attested Pa-stem forms, followed by notes highlighting the peculiarities of the other stems:

<sup>172</sup> On this matter see the argument between Kutscher (1962: 246–247) and Ben-Asher (1970: 279–81).

<sup>173</sup> Cf. 3f sg III-y verbs in Biblical Hebrew, where one finds בּוּתָה instead of בּוּתָה. For an alternative proposal, see Morgenstern (2002: 170).

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Participial conjugation
1c sg	צליי/צלאי	א(י)צלי		מצלינא
2m sg	צליח	חיצלי	צלי	מצליח
2f sg				
3m sg	צלי	ליצלי		מצלי
3f sg	צלאי/צליא(ת)	חיצלי		מצליא
1c pl	צלין/צלינן	ניצלי		מצלינן/מצלנינן/ מצלונן מצלי(י)נן/מצלונן
2m pl	צליחו(ן)	חיצלו	צלו	מצליחו(ן)
2f pl				
3m pl	צלו/צליאו/צאלו	נ(י)צלו/ל(י)צלו		מצלו/מצל(י)ן
3f pl	צליין	(נצליין)		מצל(י)ן/אן

### Infinitive

צ(י)לויי

Note the following:

- 1 Alternative 3m sg endings, י(א)ו- and ו-, are attested in the suffix conjugations of all other stems, as seen in איענו, איתפציאו, איתחמיו.
- 2 The form נצליין for the 3f pl prefix conjugation is based on forms attested in other stems.
- 3 In the אפעל, the 1c pl suffix conjugation form usually has the longer ending, as in אקשינן.

### 6.9 Roots with apocopation of the final consonants

As noted in §2.1 various consonants apocopate, and as a result several verbal forms of otherwise strong verbs may appear similar to III-y verbs. Note this phenomenon in the following verbal forms:

זבי – זב"ן Pa. Imperative 2m sg

זבי – זב"ן Pa. Prefix conjugation 3f sg

This does not suggest that these verbs became III-y verbs. The above forms merely reflect apocopated forms that are similar to the III-y verbs in this category (for example, *zabben* > *zabbe* זבי). When the original forms with the consonants had vowels that differ from those of III-y verbs, then these verbs have different forms:

ליכתי Pe. Prefix conjugation 3m sg (and not כת"ב – ליכתו)

אדכי Af. Imperative 2m sg (and not דכ"ר – אדכא)

The loss of the third radical is expected only when it is in final position; otherwise, unlike III-y verbs, it appears: כתיבנא “I write”. There are, however, exceptions in the case of the participial conjugation: אמרנא (< אמרנא), קאיינא (< קאמנא). In the case of the latter it could be a result of assimilation of /m/ to /n/. While this hypothetically could also be the case with אמנא, the form אמיינא displays a vowel shift as well (/a/ > /i/). It is, therefore, possible that this may indicate that this particular verb was perceived as a III-y verb (אמ"י).

This phenomenon is occasionally found with other verbs as well, as seen in the following example: קטינא (< קטילנא), אבינא (< עבידנא).<sup>174</sup> Since assimilation of /d/ or /l/ to a following /n/ is unknown elsewhere in JBA, it is more reasonable to assume an analogy to III-y verbs. Occasional other forms, in which the III consonants of the roots are not in final position, such as אוקיתיה (< אוקימתיה), further support the formation of a new paradigm. (These forms have resulted from analogy with the attested verbal form אוקי [< אוקים].) Thus, it seems that there was the beginning of a paradigmatic shift of these verbs to conjugate as III-y verbs in some verbs, that was not yet generalized.<sup>175</sup> It is, of course, possible that there was dialectal variation as well.

In this category we may include III-'/h, which, as noted in (§3.1.3.2), was probably not pronounced in final position. This helps to explain the following forms: פתח = פתח “he opened”; מירבע = מירבא “to be squared”. Similarly one finds the form רביא “it was lying down”, the f sg passive participle of the root רב"ע.<sup>176</sup> The original verb צו"ח “to roar,” conjugates as a III-y verb with the following forms: מצויר, צוא.

<sup>174</sup> For these examples, see Morgenstern (2011: 116).

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Morgenstern (2011: 116–120).

<sup>176</sup> It has been proposed (Bar-Asher Siegal 2010: 129) that the common appearance of the passive participle m sg of the root שמ"ע “to listen” שמיע where the f form is expected is a result of the fact that the final pharyngeal was not pronounced. See also Morgenstern (2002: 63, 153).

## 6.10 Doubly weak verbs

There are verbs with more than one radical that are subject to phonological changes. In such cases the weak radicals go through the changes and peculiarities previously indicated; but in other cases one of the weak radicals may behave like the radicals found in strong verbs. We will introduce the verbs according to the positions of the weak consonants.

### 6.10.1 I and II

6.10.1.1 I-n and II-w: נ"ד Pe “to move, to shake”, Af. “to shake s.t.”; נ"ח Pe. “to rest”, Af. “to place”

The /n/ never assimilates in this paradigm, and in general these verbs conjugate as regular II-/w/ verbs. Note, however, that forms in the Af-stem will more often conjugate according to the classical paradigm as opposed to the JBA model (§6.5).

	Pe	Itpe	Af
Suffix conjugation	ניח	איתנח	אנח
Participial conjugation	נייח/נאיח ניד	מיתנח	מנח מניד מוניד
Prefix conjugation	לינח/נינח	ליתנח	לינח
Infinitive	מינח	איתנוחי	אנוחי

6.10.1.2 I-' and II-w: א"ש “to make a noise, to be noticeable”

The /w/ behaves as in a strong verb: אורש “he made a noise”.

6.10.1.3 I-y and II-': יא"ש Itpa “to abandon a claim”

While the t-infix in I-y verbs does not usually assimilate to the /y/, in this verb it does: איאוש מיאש “he completely abandons his claim.” Rarely do forms like מתיאש, which are similar to the Hebrew ones, appear.

## 6.10.2 I and geminate verb

6.10.2.1 I-n and geminate verb: נצ"ץ “to sprout”

There is an example of an archaic form in the prefix conjugation (with the prefix y- for the 3 m sg), in which /n/ does not assimilate and behaves like a geminate verb: יינץ.

6.10.2.2 I-'/ and geminate verb: על"ל/אל"ל “to enter”, עפ"ף/אפ"ף “to fold”, עצ"ץ/אצ"ץ “to press, to squeeze”

In some forms these verbs conjugate as regular geminate verbs. A form similar to the older form is thus found in the suffix conjugation: על “he entered”. In addition, in JBA such roots conjugate like II-y verbs:<sup>177</sup>

	Pe	Itpe
Suffix conjugation	עאייר, עייל	אתייצו
Participial conjugation	עאייל אייץ	
Prefix conjugation	ליעורל/ניעורל	
Infinitive	מיער, מ(י)על	

### 6.10.3 I and III

6.10.3.1 I-n and III-y: נד"י Af. “to sprinkle” Itpe. “to be shaken out”, נצ"י “to quarrel”

These verbs behave like regular III-y verbs. נצ"י mostly conjugates in the Itpe-stem, and as seen above (§6.2), /n/ does not assimilate in this conjugation: מינצו, אינצויי. Attested forms in the Pe-stem are in the suffix conjugation, where an assimilation of the /n/ is not expected. We find a prefix conjugation form of the verb נד"י in the magic bowls נינדי “it is shaken out”; despite this attestation, a lack of assimilation of /n/ is in general more common in this corpus. In the Af-stem one encounters assimilations of /n/ regularly: לאדויי “to sprinkle”, מדי “he sprinkles”.

6.10.3.2 I-'/ and III-y: אר"י Pe. “to stipulate”, Af. “to stipulate, to designate”, אה"י Pe. “to come”, Af. “to bring”

In general, these verbs conjugate according to the paradigms of both I-'/ and III-y verbs. The imperative of the verb אה"י in the Pe-stem demonstrates two peculiarities: elision of the I-'/, with the retention of the original /a/ vowel for the thematic vowel. The Af-stem conjugates as a I-y verb.

<sup>177</sup> One may speculate that this paradigm shift originated in forms with a pharyngeal consonant in the middle. If the intervocalic pharyngeal elided after the vowels /i/ or /o/, a glide /y/ was pronounced between two consecutive vowels. Taking the prefix conjugation, for example, this would be the assumed development: *la'ol* > *laol* > *layol* in a back formation these verbs were perceived as II-w/y verbs. See above (§6.6) for the case of the II-'/ verbs and the appearance of the intervocalic /y/.



	Pe	Af
Suffix conjugation	אתא	א(י)תי איירי
Participial conjugation	אתי ארי	מי(י)תי מיירי מייתיא/מתיא <sup>178</sup> f.
Prefix conjugation	ליתי	ליתי
Imperative	m sg תא f sg תאי, תי m pl תו, איתו	אי(י)תי
Infinitive	מיתי, מיחא	אי(י)תויי

Apocopated root: עב"ד “to do, to make” and אמ"ר “to say”

In addition to עבדי “I made”, which conjugates as a strong verb, the root עב"ד occasionally appears with the characteristics of a I-’/ verb together with an apocopation of the final /d/ (§2.1). One encounters forms which appear similar to I-’/ and III-y roots, as seen in ליבי “he will do”. Similarly, the verb אמ"ר also appears with an apocopation of the final /r/: אמא “he said”, לימא “I say”, לימא “he will say” (above §6.9).

### 6.10.3.3 I-y and III-y: יד"י “to offer thanks, to confess, concede”; ימ"י “to swear”; יר"י “to instruct”

These roots conjugate both as I-y and as III-y verbs. Thus in the Af-stem one encounters the following forms:

	Af
Suffix conjugation	אודי
Participial conjugation	מודי
Prefix conjugation	לודי
Imperative	אודי

<sup>178</sup> This form demonstrates a dissimilation of two /y/s, *maytya* > *matya*. For the conditions of this dissimilation, see Kutscher (1971: 107, n. 21), Boyarin (1976b: 174) and Morgenstern (2002: 313–314). Forms with the regular diphthongs occasionally do appear in manuscripts as well.

Af

Infinitive

אורוי, אומואי

Apocopated root: יה"ב “to give”; ית"ב Pe. “to sit”, “to live”; Pa. to set at ease”, Af “to seat s.o.” Ittaf. “to place o.s.”

Earlier (§6.3) some peculiarities of these verbs were discussed with regard to their conjugation as I-y verbs. In addition to these peculiarities final /b/ occasionally apocopates. Consequently verbal forms of these roots appear like I-y and III-y roots: יהי “he gives”; אהא “he gave”; יתי “he sits”.

#### 6.10.4 II and III

6.10.4.1 II-w/y and III-y: הו"י “to be”; לו"י Pe, Af, Itpe “to accompany”; צו"י Pe. “to dry up”, Af. “to desiccate”; קו"י Pe, Itpe “to be collected (of liquid)”; שו"י Pe. “to be worthy”, “to be equal”, Pa “to place”, Af. “to compare” “to agree”; חי"י/הי"י Pe. “to live” Af. “to sustain”

While the forms of the verb הו"י will be introduced in detail in the next chapter (§7.1), it is now sufficient to note that the /w/ in this group of verbs behaves as a consonant. These are regular III-y verbs: איתלוו “they accompanied”; צוא “it dried up”; שוי “he is worthy”.

As for the verb חי"י, in most forms /y/ is represented as a consonant: חיית “I lived”, חאי/האי “he lives”, תחי “she will live”, מחיא “to live” and אחייה “he revived him”. Like the verb הו"י (see below §7.1), there are also shorter forms in the prefix conjugation that demonstrate a contraction of the sequence of glides and /i/ vowels: ליחי “he will live”.

#### Apocopated root: קו"מ

Since the apocopation of the final consonants (§2.1) was a late development in the history of the language, this verb behaves first and foremost as a II-w/y verb, with additional apocopation of final /m/. Below are the apocopated forms:

Suffix conjugation	קא
Participial conjugation	קאי
Prefix conjugation	ניקו
Imperative	קו
Passive-participle	קי

Elision of final III-pharyngeal: צו"א/צו"ח “to roar”

In this verb, when the /ḥ/ is not pronounced, a waw always appears. This seems to indicate its pronunciation: מצוי “it is roaring”.

II-‘ and III-y: בע"י Pe. “to ask”, “to need”, “to desire”, Itpe. “to be required”

While very often the letter ‘ayin appears and this verb behaves as a regular III-y verb (למיבעי “to ask”), other spellings attest to the elision of the /‘/ (§3.1), displaying an alternation with the regular forms for III-y verbs. In various forms there is no representation of the second radical: בנן “we ask”, ניבי “we will ask”, תיבי “it will be asked”, איביא “it was asked” איבויי “to be asked” (the /y/ in the last two examples is of the root). In other forms, though, there is probably a glide /y/ inserted intervocalically: באיי “they ask”. Occasionally, there is an *alef* reflecting either a glottal stop or merely a vowel: באית “you ask”.

## 6.11 Quadriradical verbs

### 6.11.1 Origin and form

Few roots in JBA have four radicals. Some of them have their origin in geminate verbs (and some II-w/y verbs as well) which were then extended to four radicals (see above §6.7). Members of this group include: בזב"ז “to squander”, חלח"ל “to mix up”, גמג"ם “to stammer”, דלד"ל “to become degenerated”, ערע"ר “to perforate”, טמט"ם “to fill up”, לבל"ב “to blossom”, מסמ"ס “to soil”, ערע"ר “to contest”, “to challenge”, קלק"ל “to harm”, שפש"ף “to move s.o. back and forth”. Some of the quadriradical verbs were formed when original affixes were reanalyzed and became parts of the roots. This phenomenon can be seen in the following examples: the prefix *ha-* of the original Aramaic *haf'el*-stem, as in הימ"ן “to believe” “to trust” and הנפ"ק “to confirm” (only in GBA). This same process can also be noticed in verbs with the prefix *ša-/sa-* originating from Akkadian verbs in the *š*-stem, already in earlier periods of Aramaic: סרה"ב “to hasten”, שז"ב “to save”, שלה"ף/לה"ף “to overlap”, שעב"ד “to enslave”, “to make responsible”.<sup>179</sup>

Some quadriradical roots, though, are most likely a result of dissimilation:

<sup>179</sup> For a survey concerning this phenomenon, see Rabin (1969). A unique case of the use of the infix *sa* is found in HPS with the verb אב"ד in the form איסתבד “to be lost” (HPS 131: 31). This, however, might be some local influence of another language. Sokoloff (2002: 783) proposes that this is a result of a dissimilation (*ittabad* > *istabad*); such a dissimilation, however, is unattested elsewhere.

גנדר (from גדר "גדר"), שרב"ב (from שב"ב).

Finally some roots are of non-Semitic origin, such as: הנד"ז "to make equal" (from Middle Persian: *handāz*) and פרכ"ס "to make spasmodic motion, to raise an objection" (from Greek *φρίξις*).

Since, at least historically, (see above §5.4), the Pa- and Itpa-stems in Aramaic contain a gemination of the second radical, there are, *de facto*, four radicals in the conjugation of these stems (*pa''el*, *məpa''el*, *lpa''el*). Quadriradical verbs also conjugate in the Pa-stem, using the same patterns:

	Pa	Itpa
Suffix conjugation	שעבד	אישתעבד
Participial conjugation	משעבד	מישתעבד
Prefix conjugation	ניערער	לישתעבד
Infinitive	שעבודי	אשתעבודי

Some verbs conjugate only in the Itpa-stem: גנדר "to lord o.s.", for example.

### 6.11.2 Weak quadriradical verbs

II-y verbs: הימ"ן "to believe, "to trust"; זוט"ר "to be insignificant"; סיב"ל "to suffer"; סוב"ר "to support"; שיז"ב "to save"

A *waw* or a *yod* appears in all the forms of these verbs: מסיביל "he suffers", איסובר "I will support". Since there is always only one *waw* or *yod*, they are most likely vowel letters (§1.1.3).

III-y verb: שלהי "to be weary": This verb behaves like other III-y verbs in the Pa-stem: שלהו "they were weary".

The root שמוד"ע "to recognize" is unique, and it has, in fact, five radicals (and one of them is the weak /w/).

## 6.12 A general note concerning the Af-stem of the weak verbs

As noted in the discussion of the I-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs, the Af-stem conjugates like I-w verbs (§6.4). A similar phenomenon is already documented in Official Aramaic. It seems that in JBA, however, a conjugation of verbal forms of the Af-stem like the forms of the Af-stem of the I-w verbs is a broader phenomenon. As noted (§6.5), this is also the case in II-w/y verbs in forms such as אוקים. This is also the case in II-<sup>ʿ</sup> roots in forms such as מושיל (§6.6). In the geminate verbs (§6.7) we encounter a similar phenomenon in certain roots, such as the form אוייל for

the root זל"ל, or in GBA the form לאופורי of the root פר"ר.

In light of these data it seems to be the case that in JBA in the weak verbs there was a shift of the vowel of the stem prefix from /a/ to /u/ as a result of an analogy.

## Chapter 7

### 7.1 The verb הו"י "to be"

The verb הו"י is of particular importance in JBA, as it serves as an auxiliary verb that expresses tense, aspect, and mood [=TAM].

#### 7.1.1 Inflection

In general, the verb הו"י inflects like other Pe-stem III-y that are also II-w/y verbs (§6.10.4.1); there are, however, a few irregularities. Attested forms are given in the following table:

	Suffix Conjugation	Prefix Conjugation	Imperative	Active Participle
1c sg	הוא/הוית(י)	איהוי		הוינא
2m sg	הוית	ת(י)הוי	הוי	הוית
2f sg	הוית	ת(י)הוייין (in a legal document)	הואי	
3m sg	הו(א/ה)	ל(י)הוי/ליהוה/ נ(י)הוי/יהוי/נהי/יהי/ יהא		ה(א)וי
3f sg	הות/הואי(י)/הויא הוה	ת(י)הוי/תהא/תהי גהי(=)/תיהי		הויאה
1c pl	הואן/הוון הוינן/הוינא/הונן	ליהוי		הוינן/הוינן/הונן
2m pl	הויתו(ן)	תיהוו	הוו	
2f pl				
3m pl	הוו	ליהו(ן)/ניהו(ן) ליהוי יהון יהו(ן)		הוי(א)ן/הוין ה(א)ו(א)ן/ה(א)וי
3f pl	הו(ו)י(ין) הואי	ליהו(ו)יין/ניהוי in יהו(ו)י/הוון יהויין legal context)		הו(ו)יין/הו(י)יאן (האון)

Infinitive

 מ(י)הוי/א/ה

Note the following:

- 1 The third person singular prefix-conjugation תהי, תהא, יהא and נהי are forms in which the triphthong with middle /w/ contracted and are common in Aramaic dialects (since Middle Aramaic).
- 2 נהי is always used at the beginning of a concessive clause with the sense “granted” or “even though”, as seen in the following example:

נהי דכשר לא הוי ממזר נמי לא הוי Even though he is not fit, he is still not a bastard (*Yebam.* 23a)

- 3 The use of the prefix y in the form יהא is not restricted to archaic contexts (cf. §5.3.2 note 1).

### 7.1.2 Function

In addition to those functions that will be addressed in the following section and in the vocabulary notes, forms of the verb הו"י can be added to various kinds of nominal clauses (§4.5) in order to mark TAM explicitly. In this function they replace the copulative pronouns, since they are already inflected for person, gender, and number. Note the following example:

PN was a great person, and he was occupied with his legal discussion (*Beṣah* 40a)

An innovation of JBA is the use of participial forms of the verb הו"י for this purpose, as in the following examples. This development is not surprising given the use of the participle as a regular tense in JBA (§5.3.5 and §7.2.1).

The world is six thousand *parsangs* (in size) (*Pesah.* 94a)

A house, even if it is not ten (*tefaḥ*) tall, is (regarded as) a tent (*Sukkah* 11a)

When a form of the verb הו"י is added to an existential clause (§4.6.1) to mark TAM explicitly, an existential particle can also occur. Note the following example:

There was dew upon it (*Šabb.* 147a)

More often than not, however, the existential particle is absent, as in the following example:

תרי הוו There were two (*Ta'an.* 28b)

The absence of the existential particle in JBA contrasts with Syriac, where the existential particle regularly occurs with the verb הו"י; similarly, in many of the NENA dialects, the existential particle is 'it and it has the suffix *wa* (derived from the verb *hwy*).<sup>180</sup> The fact that the verb הו"י co-occurs with the existential particle testifies to the fact that the verb הו"י does not express existence lexically, but rather it only functions as the indicator of the TAM.

As the preceding two examples indicate, the subject in such a construction is often indefinite; it can, however, also be definite, as we will see in the next examples. The following sentences exhibit syntactically the same construction:

הא מילתא הוּאֵי בידן This thing was in our hands (*Roš Haš.* 13a)

הוו אינהו תלתא עתירי נקדימון בן גוריון ובן כלבא-שבוע ובן ציצית-הכסת Those three rich men, PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>3</sub>, were there (*Giṭ.* 56a)

As expected, הו"י can also occur with this function in predicative possessive constructions (§4.6.2), as in the following example:

רַב אַדִּי בַר אַבּוֹן ... הוּו לִיָּה תְרִי בְנֵי סַמִּיכִי PN had two ordained sons (*Pesaḥ.* 49a)

Only in a few examples, though, do we encounter this construction with the existential particle. Note that all of these instances are found in one manuscript, while the other manuscripts for the given passages have only the verb הו"י:

הוּוּ אֵית לִיָּה הֵיא חַמְאָרָה He had that she-donkey (*Ta'an.* 24a)

הוּוּ אֵית לֵהּ הֵךְ שִׁבְבַתָּה בִּישְׁתָּא She had that wretched neighbor (*Ta'an.* 25a)<sup>181</sup>

אֵי הוּוּ אֵית לִיָּה סְהַדֵּי לְלוּהּ If the borrower had witnesses (*B. Meši'a* 4a V<sup>117</sup>)

<sup>180</sup> See also Wajsberg (1997: 150–152).

<sup>181</sup> This is also the version in the Pesaro Print edition. It is worth noting that MS He has three examples of this construction.



## 7.2 The Tense/Aspect/Mood (=TAM) System

### 7.2.1 Two approaches for the TAM system

JBA has both simple and compound verbal expressions. The prefix and suffix conjugations, as well as the participial conjugation, belong to the former category. The compound expressions consist of combinations of the participle with other elements, most commonly forms of the verb הו"י and/or the particle -ק/קא, which is derived from the participle of the verb קום, i.e., קאם < קא (for verbs of this type, see §6.9.4.1). Although the particle is written as a separate word in many reliable manuscripts, there is considerable evidence to suggest that it was pronounced proclitically in JBA.<sup>182</sup> (In GBA one encounters the spelling with a *kaf*: כסבר. Some of the NENA dialects have the present tense marker *k-* as well.)<sup>183</sup>

The standard view encountered in the secondary literature on JBA suggests that the verbal system primarily expresses tense, while aspect is marked by the addition of forms of the verb הו"י. Unrealis moods are regarded as separate. The following chart summarizes this position:<sup>184</sup>

Indicative ( <i>realis mood</i> )	Past Time: Suffix conjugation (קטל) aspect marked by הו"י
<i>Irrealis mood</i>	Present/Future Time: Participle (קטל) Prefix Conjugation (קטורל)

The proposal advanced in this book, however, is that the verbal system of JBA marks systematically both aspect and tense. The primary opposition is between *perfective* and *imperfective* aspect. Perfective verbal forms depict an action as a single event, often punctual in nature, while imperfective verbal forms depict actions as either repeated, habitual, or in the process of unfolding. The secondary opposition, between past and future time, is marked differently for each of the two aspects.

In this context, it is useful to explain the linguistic concept of *markedness*. This term has a number of different senses in linguistics, only one of which is relevant to the present discussion. For our purposes, let us note that languages can often exhibit an opposition between marked and unmarked forms; the former

<sup>182</sup> For a review of the discussion on this question see Bar-Asher Siegal (2013: 360-361).

<sup>183</sup> *Inter alia* Khan (2002: 97-98, 299-310).

<sup>184</sup> Although they never provided a systematic analysis of the TAM system of JBA, this is the picture that can be gathered from Schlesinger (1928) and Levias (1930).

has specific, narrow applications, while the latter is used more widely, including those uses covered by marked forms.

According to the view presented here, perfective aspect is always marked and expressed by the suffix conjugation for past time and the prefix conjugation for future time. The participial conjugation is unmarked for both aspect and tense when used alone. The combination of the participle and a form of the verb הו"י, however, is marked as imperfective. The form of the verb הו"י marks tense: suffix conjugation for past time and prefix conjugation for future time. As in many other languages, including Classical Greek, no aspectual opposition exists for present time, which, as expected, is expressed by the unmarked form, the participle. The following chart summarizes this position:<sup>185</sup>

	Past	Present	Future
Imperfective	Participle + הוה/א		Participle + <sup>186</sup> ל/ניהוי
Unmarked	—————Participle—————		
Perfective	Suffix Conjugation		Prefix Conjugation

In this scheme, then, mood plays no role in structuring the verbal system of JBA. Besides the imperative, the only verbal expressions marked as modal are certain periphrastic constructions (see the chapter on infinitive clauses §11.1.2.5.2).

The two descriptions differ, first of all, concerning the function of the prefix conjugation: whether or not the prefix conjugation indicates irrealis mood or future time; furthermore, our explanation of the participle differs from the majority position with reference to events in future time.

As for the first issue, it is undeniably true that forms of the prefix conjugation can express non-factual statements, as in the following example:

ליגמר איניש והדר ליסבר One ought to learn and then reason (Šabb. 63a)

<sup>185</sup> This description is similar for the most part to the analysis of Cohen (1984) for Official Aramaic (see esp. p. 432).

<sup>186</sup> Examples of the participle + ל/ניהוי are extremely rare in JBA, among them one may mention: כי היכי דלא ליהוי דאיג “so that he will not be anxious” (Ker. 25a). The rareness of this formula has to do with the fact that as explained above, this tense may be covered by the participle as well.

However, the modal nuance is, a result of the connection between futurity and modality, a connection that is both intuitive and well attested cross-linguistically. Consequently, it has been claimed repeatedly that the boundary between futurity and modality is vague, and may not even exist.<sup>187</sup> Consider the following sentence, common in talmudic discussion:

הואיל ואתא לידן נימא בה מילתא Since the topic has been brought up, we will/should say something about it (*Šebu*. 48a)

It is impossible to determine whether the second sentence is a desire or simply a statement of intentions. In other words, it is possible to say that the prefix conjugation is, at least in this case, unmarked for mood. Moreover, this conception of the verbal system better handles those cases in which the prefix conjugation conveys no modal nuance, as in the following examples:

לימחר ניקדון[ם] ו[נ] יזיל באורחא Tomorrow, we shall first go on the road (*Sukkah* E<sup>1</sup> 52a)

אמר להם למחר נבדקיה He said to them, “Tomorrow we will examine him” (*Soṭah* 36b)

One argument for analyzing the prefix-conjugation as a modal form points to the usage of this form in the apodosis of counterfactual conditional sentences,<sup>188</sup> as seen in the following example:

ואם איתה ני[ח]ליה לקנוי[ה] וליבעול If this were the case, he could renounce his warning of jealousy and have sexual relations (with his wife) (*Soṭah* 25a)

Such an argument suggests that the prefix-conjugation is here an expression of the *ireallis mood*, and that the apodosis in counterfactual conditional sentences indeed expresses false statements. However, according to this explanation of the prefix-conjugation in such environments, one would expect a different form in non-counterfactual conditions. But in fact the opposite is true: The prefix-conjugation also appears in the apodosis of non-counterfactual sentences. Consider, for example, the following:

אמ' להו. אי איכא דשמיע ליה מילתא לימא לי. אמרו לי. הכי שמייע לן He said to them: “If anyone has heard anything, please tell me”, they said to him:

<sup>187</sup> Inter alia Comrie (1985); and Palmer (1986); and see Enç (1996) for a summary of the literature.

<sup>188</sup> Wajsberg (1995–6: 2008).

“We have heard the following ...” (*Ber.* 55b)

לשידא לימא הכי If one has to deal with a demon (lit. to a demon) he should say the following ... (*Šabb.* 67a)

While there may be other reasons for the uses of these forms in these contexts, it seems that in general the prefix-conjugation in the apodosis of conditional clauses generally indicates possibility. Again, if the verbal system of JBA does not indicate modality, it is likely that the form marking the future would be used in such contexts.<sup>189</sup>

As noted above, the participle is unmarked for tense and aspect and can therefore also occur with reference to future time, especially when an imperfective nuance is present. In the following sentences, for example, the participle is used to indicate actions that may occur at any time in the future, rather than being tied to a specific point in time:

למחר שתינא חמרא בדיקורי דאבוך ובקירקני דאימך<sup>190</sup> In the future, I shall drink wine from your father’s *r*-jugs and your mother’s *q*-jugs (*Ned. Mo* 51a)

השתא מידע היא דלא ידעה למחר ממרדא ונפקא ואתיא ונפלה עילווי She does not now know that, in the future, she will rebel, leave, and fall upon me (for financial support) (*Ketub.* 57b)

The analysis of the verbal system endorsed here makes better sense than the standard one from a historical point of view as well. In its original nominal use, the participle denoted a subject habitually engaged in the activity of the verb. Thus, it makes sense for the participle to have entered the verbal system as an expression of imperfective aspect. It must be emphasized, that this analysis of the TAM system is based on a preliminary study, and further studies of this topic must be conducted.

### 7.2.2 Absolute vs. relative tense

An absolute tense is a system for which the temporal reference point of the given situation is the present moment. In contrast to such a system, in a relative tense system the reference point is some point in time given by the context, which does not necessarily have to be the present moment. In many languages, while the main clauses are in an absolute system, subordinated clauses

<sup>189</sup> We put forward this suggestion while realizing that our work on this matter remains somewhat incomplete since there is not yet a complete study of the use of the tenses in conditional clauses in JBA.

<sup>190</sup> As for the various meanings of the temporal word למחר, see the vocabulary notes.

are in a relative one. JBA, though, seems to express a unique relative-tense system. Consider the following examples:

יוחנ' הא מקמי דלישמעה מר' יוחנ'. הא לבתר דשמעה מר' יוחנ' One view (lit., this) he expressed before he learnt [the interpretation of the Mishnah] from PN, and the other (lit., this) after he learnt it from PN (*Hul.* 39a)

הא מקמי דליתי רב לבבל. הא לבתר דאתא רב לבבל The one ruling was made before PN came to Babylonia while the other was made after he came to Babylonia (*'Erub.* 28a)

It is impossible to consider the uses of the prefix-conjugation in these types of sentences in terms of a modal function, as these sentences clearly express a state of affairs that did in fact occur. It seems, therefore, that the conjunction determines the tense. Following מקמי “before” the verb is in the prefix-conjugation,<sup>191</sup> and following בחר “after” it is in the suffix-conjugation. Accordingly, the conjunctions set the time of reference. Consider the first example mentioned above, where the event is relativized to the point of reference:

The one view is before he was to learn it from PN [= at this point in time – the hearing was in the future]

... the other is after he learnt it from PN [= at this point in time – the hearing was in the past].

Only if the distinction between the prefix- and the suffix-conjugation is of time and not of mood is it possible to understand its use in certain contexts in this relative way.

We can also trace a similar usage of the conjunction עד ד- “until, as long as” with the prefix conjugation. These prefix conjugations are understood to be no more “modal” than other forms in the same context. However there are significant differences between the manuscripts in such examples. See, for example:

M <sup>2</sup>	אמ' ליה לא איעביד עד דאיעול לבי בני ואשקול במזייה
G	אמ' ליה לא יכילנא עד דעייל לבי בני ואשקול במזיאי
L	אמ' ליה עד דאיעול לבי בני ואישקול במיזיי
M	א"ל עד דאיעול לבי בני ואישקול במידאי
C	אמ' ליה לא יכילנא אדאזילנא ונשקול במזייי
V <sup>134</sup>	א"ל לא עד דעייל לבי בני ואשקול במזייה

<sup>191</sup> See Schlesinger (1928: 39).

He said to him I will not do/I cannot (do) it until I go to bathhouse and cut my hair (*Meg.* 16a)<sup>192</sup>

There are good reasons to believe that the form after *עד ד-* should be *איעול*.<sup>193</sup> If this is the case then the use of the prefix-conjugation would be understood in a similarly relative way: “As long as my going to cut my hair is in the future”. It must be noted that when the verb after the conjunction *עד ד* represents an event with the imperfect aspect, the participle is expected:

לא תיתי[ב] אכרעיך עד דמפרשת לה להא מילתא You shall not sit on your legs until you explain this matter (*Menah.* 38b)

### 7.2.3 The imperfective aspect: a distinction between *durative* and *iterative*

The imperfective aspect in JBA is in fact complex, with a distinction between two imperfective aspects, *durative* and *iterative* (or *habitual*). Participles preceded by the proclitic particle *-קא/ק* are marked as durative,<sup>194</sup> while those without it are unmarked. In the following sentence, the bare participle (without *קא*) expresses iterative aspect:

כל יומא הוה מייטיא להו דביתהו ריפתא וכרכי Every day their wives used to bring them bread, and they used to wrap it (*Šabb.* 33b)

The following sentence, in which the participles are explicitly marked as durative by the presence of the particle *-קא/ק*, occurs in the same story:

נפקו חאזו אינשי דקא כרכי וזרעי They went out and saw men who were plowing and sowing (*Šabb.* 33b)

Breuer (1997) claims that in addition to indicating durative aspect, a participle preceded by the particle *-קא/ק* could also indicate an action that occurred in the past whose ramifications were still relevant at the time of utterance – like the perfect of Classical Greek. This can be seen in the following clause:

<sup>192</sup> Similarly see the variations of the following line in the various manuscripts: *דלא מסלקינן תכא לקמיה עד דנימטי מיא לגביה* “We do not remove the table in front of him as long as we do not bring water to him” (*Ber. M* 46b).

<sup>193</sup> 1) In all manuscripts the next verb in the sequence of the events, *אי שקול* “I will cut”, is in the prefix conjugation. 2) Most of the manuscripts with a participle have *עייל*, which is not the expected form for the 1<sup>st</sup> m sg (*עיילנא* is expected and it is found in the printed versions of this passage). It is possible that manuscripts with *עייל* resulted from a weak reading of the pharyngeal /ʕ/ after the prefix /i/ of the prefix conjugation.

<sup>194</sup> For an extensive discussion on the function of the particle *קא* in JBA, see Breuer (1997).

"מפני שהוא קרן" ... regarding that which you have (previously) said, "because it is a horn" (*Roš Haš. 26a*)

Breuer argues that this second use of the participle derived from the first. It is possible, however, to see it as a subtype rather than a development. The combination of the durative participle and the participle presents the action of the verb as incomplete and ongoing irrespective of when it began relative to the time of utterance. Thus, the same clause may be rendered as follows:

"מפני שהוא קרן" ... regarding that which you (continue to) say, "because it is a horn" (*Roš Haš. 26a*)

#### 7.2.4 The verb הו"י with the participle

The verb הו"י appears in periphrastic constructions with the participle to indicate the tense. Two notes should be remarked regarding its forms and syntax.

##### 7.2.4.1 Omission of the verb

Tense is marked by the addition of an auxiliary for verbs with imperfective aspect, expressed by the participles (§7.2.1). One often finds a sequence of participles governed by a single auxiliary, as seen in the following example (mentioned already above):

כל יומא הוה מייחיא להו דביתהו ריפתא וכרכי    Every day their wives used to bring them bread, and they used to wrap it (*Šabb. 33b*)

Thus the verb appears only before מייחיא "bring" and is not repeated before כרכי "wrap," in spite of the change of the subject. Since both actions were in a sequence of events within the same "absolute time," one appearance of the verb הו"י is sufficient. Thus, it is common to find in an entire passage only one occurrence of the verb הו"י, which sets the tense for the entire episode.

##### 7.2.4.2 The form of the verb

Early dialects of Aramaic lacked the participial conjugation. As a result, with respect to combinations of the verb הו"י and the participle, the former was fully conjugated for person, gender, and number, while the latter was declined nominally, for gender and number only. We will see this in clauses of type 1 below. This is similar to the use of the verb הו"י in every nominal clause (above §7.1.2). This is still the case in Syriac as well, despite its participial conjugation. With the introduction of the fully inflected combined participle (§5.3.5), there was probably a time in which both הו"י and the combined participle were in-

flected in this construction, as we will see in clauses of type 2 below. Eventually, however, the verb הו"י ceased to be inflected in composition, invariably appearing in the 3m sg form, as in clauses of type 3:

1. כי הוינן אזלינן בתריה דר' יוחנן When we were walking after PN (*Ber. M 23a*)  
עד האינדא הוינא טחין גבך I used to grind until now in your place (*Ket. 103a*)
2. וכי הוינן קרינן עשרה פסוקים ... and when we were reading ten verses ... (*Meg. O 23b*)  
כל יומא הוינא מרמינן ריפתא בהדי הדדי ואכלינן Every day we threw loaves together and ate (*Šabb. 156b*)
3. כל יומא הוה מרמינן ריפתא בהדי הדדי ואכלינן Every day we threw loaves together and ate (*Šabb. M 156b*)  
כי הוה אזלינן בתריה דר' אלעזר When we were walking after PN (*Šabb. 12b*)  
כי הוא חזינא When I saw ... (*Ber. 6b*)  
את לא הוה ידעת You had not known ... (*B. Bat. 41a*)  
לא הוה אמרה She would not have said ... (*Qidd. 65a*)

Type 2 (double-agreement) is more common with 3f sg and 3m pl – but even in these cases manuscripts differ significantly, as the following examples illustrate:

אי הוה יְהִבִּי	ליה כל חללי דעלמ'	He
אי הוו יְהִבִּינן	ליה כל חללי עלמא	F <sup>2</sup>
אי הוו יְהִבִּי[נן]	ליה כל חללי עלמ'	K
אי הוו יְהִבִּי	לי' כל חללי עלמ'	M

If he were given all the empty space of the world (*Sanh. 97a*)

In all manuscripts the participle is in the plural form (יְהִבִּי[נן]), and the auxiliary verb, הו"י, is in the singular in MS He, and in the plural in the other versions.

וקא חיפא רישה	<u>הוה יתבא</u>	He יומא חד
וקא חייפא רישיה	הוה יתבא דביתהו	F <sup>2</sup> יומא חד
וקא חייפה ריש(י)ה	הוה יתבה [דביתהו]	K יומא חד
וקא חייפ' רישי'	הוה יתב' דביתהו	M יומ' חד



One day she (= his wife) was *sitting*<sup>195</sup> and washing her hair (*Sanh.* 97a)

In this example, it is the opposite. Only MS He has gender agreement between the verb הו"י and the participle, unlike in the other manuscripts.

Moreover, outside of these two categories, (3f sg and 3m pl) which seem to have two competing structures, the first two constructions probably do not reflect the grammar of JBA, for they are found very rarely, mostly in the printed editions and inferior manuscripts, and surprisingly in GBA (perhaps an attempt to imitate the classical language).<sup>196</sup> Accordingly just like the particle -ק"ם, which, as noted above, derives from the participle of the verb ק"ם (§7.2.1), the verb הו"י ceased to be inflected on its way to becoming proclitic. This loss of inflection is no doubt related to the development of the full conjugation of the participle. Since the participle is fully inflected for person, gender, and number, the additional inflection of the auxiliary would be superfluous and uneconomical. Often loss of agreement is related to cliticization. It is thus possible that the frozen form הוה (*hawa*) became a tense prefix before the participle. A scheme of the three stages summarizes our discussion:

<i>hwy</i> +(full-AGR)	Participle+(partial-AGR)	<= Nominal sentence with the verb הו"י expressing the TAM
<i>hwy</i> +(full-AGR)	Participle+(full-AGR)	<= The participle becomes part of the verbal system with a full conjugation of person and number
<i>hwy</i> (3m sg)	Participle+(full-AGR)	<= The verb הו"י loses its declension and the frozen form indicates the TAM

### 7.3 Imperative<sup>197</sup>

The imperative mood is expressed by special forms. This mood in JBA, as in other Semitic languages, is used to produce a particular effect in the addressee. Such expressions convey commands, requests, and prohibitions directed towards the addressees of the conversation. It may also be used to incite, encourage, advice or counsel the audience. Whether this form expresses a com-

<sup>195</sup> See below (§11.2).

<sup>196</sup> But we find them in GBA as well: כִּיִּי הוּינָא רַאשָׁאֵי בְּבִטְנָא דְאִמִּי "I would bend my head over my mother's womb" (*OHT Ber.* 46:12); הוּינָא יְהִיבִין לְךָ חַד מִנְהוּן; "we would have given you one of them" (*Geon* 212: 8).

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Levias (1930: 251–253).

mand, request or advice depends mostly on the situation and the social status of the participants of the conversation. For example, if a rabbi uses such an expression towards his disciple then it is a command/instruction/advice; but if the same form is uttered by the student to his rabbi, then it is most likely a request. Below are examples of the various speech-acts expressed with the imperative forms:

### 7.3.1 Request/command

זיל שלים Go and pay (*B. Meṣi'a* 35a)

אמ' ליה. הב לי כפאי He said to him: "Give me my nose-ring" (*B. Meṣi'a* 35a)

זיל חזי היכי עביד עובדא ואיתא אימא לן Go see how he acts and come to report to us (*'Erub.* 40b)

### 7.3.2 Instructions

קו מהיל ועביד פסח Stand up,<sup>198</sup> circumcise yourself so that you will offer the Passover sacrifice (*Pesaḥ.* 94b)

### 7.3.3 Advice/ general principles

אמ' להו רבא לבני מחווא אוקירו נשיכו כי היכי דתיתערתו PN said to the people of GN: "Honor your wives so that you should become rich" (*B. Meṣi'a* 59a)

This advice is formulated as a principle to follow, and it can also be considered as an example of how imperatives are used as general formulations of principles:

מנא הא מלתא דאמור רבנן זיל בתר רובה What is the source of the rule that the rabbi said: "One must follow the majority" (lit., "follow the majority!") (*Ḥul.* 11a)

In similar fashion, general instructions are formulated with the imperative:

זבין ולא תידור Sell and do not weave (*Yebam.* 63a)

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<sup>198</sup> The verb קו"ם should not be taken literally as "stand up", but more as a hendiadys expressing the beginning of a sequence of actions. For a discussion on the phenomenon of hendiadys, see §11.2.

### 7.3.4 Instructions for the readers

Within the Talmudic passages, which are often formulated as a dialogue with the reader, there are often “instructions” to the reader in expressions such as שמע “come and listen”, תא שמע “conclude from here.”

### 7.3.5 Purpose and result

Notice that in some of the examples the imperative forms were translated into English with infinitive clauses. This is a more general phenomenon that in a sequence of non-indicative expressions, the second and/or the following clauses can be translated as purpose clauses. In fact the sentence in (§7.3.2) may also be translated as “so that you will be able to offer the Passover.” This variation in translation demonstrates the semantic closeness between purpose and result, and it may even explain the use of the imperative in result clauses. Note the following examples with the imperative forms in a T-stem with a passive sense:

זיל איתי שהדי דלא שנית ביה ואיפטר Go and bring witnesses that you did not use it improperly, and then you will be free of liability (*B. Meṣi'a* 96b)

This can also be related to the use of imperative in the apodosis of conditional clauses with a resultative sense:

[אי] איתגרת ל[י]ה פויץ עמר[י]ה If you have hired yourself away [to someone], hackle his wool (*Yoma* 20b)

This use of the imperative is probably the source of the unique use of the sequences of imperative forms to express a natural sequence of events:

כל מלי זבי[ן] ואיחרט בר מחמרא דזבי ולא תירחט [תחרט] Everything you may sell and regret, except wine, which you can sell without regrets (lit., sell things and regret, except for wine, sell and do not regret) (*Pesaḥ*. 113a)

זבון וזבין תגרא איקרי If you buy and sell, do you expect to be called a merchant?! (lit., Buy and sell and be called a merchant?) (*Menah.* 77a)<sup>199</sup>

<sup>199</sup> This is the way it was read traditionally by R. Shlomo Iṣḥāqī (Rashi). Epstein (1960: 45), however, argues that these are not imperative forms, since one expects תיקרי for איקרי. In light of the discussion here the imperative form with the T-stem forms is not as surprising as Epstein thought. For other problems with Epstein's reading see Kutscher (1962: 159).

## 7.4 Numbers

## 7.4.1 Forms

## Cardinal Numbers

	m	f	With suffixes*	11-19 m	11-19 f	10, 20, 30 ...
1	חד	חדא/ה		חד עשר חד(י)סר	חדי סרי חדסרי	m. עשרא/ה עסרא/ה f. עשר/עסר
2	תרי(ן)	תרת(י) תלתי	תרוי- תרוי-	תריסר תליסר תרי(ן) עשר	תרתי סרי	ע(י)שרי(ן) ע(י)סרי(ן)
3	תלתא/ה	תלת	תלתי	תלי(-)סר תלת עשר	תליסר(י) תלי סרי תלת עשר(י) תלי סר תלת סרי	תלתין
4	ארבעא/ה	ארבע(י)	ארבעתי-	ארבסר ארביסר ארבי סר	ארבסרי ארביסרי ארביסר	ארבעי(ן)
5	חמשא/ה	חמש		חמש עשר חמיסר חמיש סר	חמשי סרי חמיסרי חמש עשרה	חמשי(ן)
6	שיתא/ה	שית		שיתסר שית עשר שית סר שתי סר	שיתסרי שית סרי שיתסר שית עשר	ש(י)תי(ן)
7	שב שבעא/ה	שב שבע		שיבסר שבסר שבי סר	שיבסרי שבסרי שבע עשרה	שבעין
8	תמניא/ה	תמני		תמניסר תמני סר תמנסר	תמניסרי תמני סרי	תמנ(י)ן

	m	f	With suffixes*	11-19 m	11-19 f	10, 20, 30 ...
9	תשעה	תשע(י)		תשסר	תש(י)סרי תשע עשרי תישסרי	תשעין

\* With the sense of “the two of”, “the three of” etc.

Hundreds: 100: מאה; 200: מא(י)תן/מאתי; 300: תלת מאה; 400: ארבע מאה; ...

Thousands: 1000: אלפא; 2000: תרי אלפי(ן); ...

### Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers have the same root as the cardinal numbers in the pattern *qatīl* with the gentilic ending (§3.2.2). Note the special form for “first” and “fourth”:

	m	f
1	קדמאה (see §3.1.1) קמא	קמי(י)תא קדמי(י)תא
2	תניין תנינא	ת(י)נייתא
3	תליתאי תליתאה	תליתיתא
4	רביעאה	רביעיתא
5	חמישאה	חמישיתא
6	שתיתאה	
7	שביעאה	שביעיתא
8	תמינאה	
9		
10	עשיראה	

### 7.4.2 Syntax

The cardinal numbers almost always precede the object they modify, and as noted earlier there is a tendency with plural nouns that the noun occurs in the short form (§2.2.3.2.3):

מעיקר' חד גופא והשתא תרי גופי At the beginning it was one body; now they are two bodies (Nid. 44a)

שנין תלת three years (B. Bat. 28a)

In very few places the noun precedes the cardinal number, and all these texts are marked for some linguistic peculiarity:

אמר ליה קיסר לר' תנחומא. תא ליהוי כולן עמא חד Caesar said to PN: "let us all be one nation" (*Sanh.* 39a)

Ordinal numbers normally follow the nouns they modify and agree in form (long vs. short):

יומא רביעאה Fourth day (HPS 181:8)

### 7.4.3 The expressions **יומא חד**, **זמנא חדא**

Unlike the other cardinal numbers, in these expressions they follow the nouns (יומא "day" זמנא "time"). The expressions do not count the numbers of the days or of the times (one vs. more than one), but rather function as expressions marking the beginning of a narrative, with the sense of "once," or "once upon a time".<sup>200</sup>

## 7.5 The syntax of **כולא** "every, all"

7.5.1 When **כולא** appears in the long form and by itself, it has the meaning of "everything":

כרכא דכולה ביה A city which has everything (*Ḥul.* 56b)

7.5.2 In the construct form **כל** appears before nouns in the singular and in the plural; this stands in contradistinction to English, which distinguishes between *every* for singular nouns and *all* for plural nouns. Occasionally the noun after **כל**, as is the case with other quantifiers (§2.2.3.2.3), is in the short form:

כל יום טוב every holiday (*Pesaḥ.* 37a)

כל שום every name (*Giṭ.* 34b)

כל תלתין יומין all thirty days (*Šabb.* 129b)

But most often the noun will be seen in the long form:

כל לישנא every language (*Soṭah* 36b)

כל לישאני all languages (*SŠHai* 20; 24; 37; 48)

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<sup>200</sup> Levias (1930: 319) and Shitrit (2012).

7.5.3 Like other genitive constructions, it may appear with an anticipatory pronominal suffix (see §4.3). In this case, however, the meaning is usually different, conveying a sense of inclusiveness (the maximal set satisfying the description) – entire or whole. With respect to plural forms, the notions of inclusiveness are expressed with and without the pronouns:

כוליה שטרא the entire legal document (*B. Bat.* 164a)

כולהו נכסיה all of his property (*B. Bat.* 40b)

Generally speaking every כל with a pronominal suffix conveys the sense of inclusiveness. It either refers to a noun mentioned previously or, as in the following examples, to a previous sentence:

הוה יהיבנא כוליה למשכיר I would have given all of it to the landlord (*B. Bat.* 105b)

כוליה אסירי All of them are forbidden (*'Abod. Zar.* 33b)

It can also function in a dependent clause (about pronouns in dependent clause see [§10.1.2.2.2]):

לישקול סכינא דכולה פרזלא Let him take a knife which is made entirely of iron (*Šabb.* 67a)

Or when referring to the topic of the sentence:

ר' אלעזר ביר' יוסי ור' אליעזר ור' שמעון בן אלעזר כוליהו סבירא להו PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>3</sub> – all of them hold the opinion that ... (*Zebah.* 47a)

Rarely, and only in some manuscripts, does כל with a pronoun appear after the noun it quantifies in the same clause, (a floating quantifier):<sup>201</sup>

אתו אינשי דמתא כוליהו לגבאי The people of the city all came to me (*Sanh.* 97a)

7.5.4 כל without pronominal suffixes but before nouns that designate a group or a set may also suggest inclusiveness:

כל חבורתא the entire collegium (*Ketub.* 33b)

<sup>201</sup> This line appears only in MS He. and is missing in all other manuscripts. Such expressions appear in the language of Anan: בישריה כוליה “his entire body” (52:15, 24:11). In MS M for *Hul.* one encounters the expression סימפונות כוליה “all blood vessels” (45b). All other manuscripts, however, demonstrate the regular reverse order of: כוליהו סימפונות.

Various manuscripts witness exceptions to these rules. For example, we encounter the existence of כל+ pronominal suffix with the meaning of every:

כולי יומי לא הות שבקא ליה למיפל על אפודי She never (lit., every day did not) allowed him to lie prostrate (B. *Meṣi'a* 59b).

Note, however, that other manuscripts have either כל יומא (F) or another expression altogether (Es, V).

Occasionally, the quantified noun is repeated twice in order to emphasize the inclusiveness of each and every member of the group:

כל גברא וגברא Every single man (*Šabb.* 127a)

כל פורתא ופורתא Each small amount (*Tem.* 25a)

## 7.6 Repetitions of nouns

Similar to the last example, the inclusiveness of each and every member of a given group can be expressed with the mere repetition of the singular noun without the quantifier כל. Note the following examples:

חזי פסוקא פסוקא מספרא וכתיב ליה He sees each and every verse from the scroll and then writes it (*Meg.* 18b)

אגריה לביטשי. ביטשא ביטשא במעה He hired him for stomping, each and every stomping for the amount of *Me'ah* (B. *Qam.* 99a)

Repetition without the quantifier of plural nouns usually expresses a large quantity:

אית ביה ניקבי ניקבי It has many perforations (*Šabb.* 108a)

הוו מפקי מיניה דיקולי דיקולי דתרבא They took from him many baskets of fat (B. *Meṣi'a* F<sup>1</sup> 83b)

Repetition of nouns (and other elements in the sentence) also functions to express non-perfect aspects (§7.2), such as the progressive nature of an action:

לאו דפחת פורתא פורתא. לא. דנפל לנורא ופחת בחדא זמנא It is not the case that it debased gradually; it is rather that he fell in the fire and debased all at once (B. *Meṣi'a* 52b)

קאזיל מיניה מיניה [The cock] is pushing [the bucket] again and again (lit., [the bucket] repeatedly goes by it [=the cock]) (B. *Qam.* Es. 44b)





## Chapter 8

### 8.1 Relationships between the stems

In JBA, as in other Semitic languages, each verb is composed of at least two morphemes: a root and a stem (§5.1). A given root can appear in more than one stem; in such cases, the relationship between the resulting verbs may be either grammatical or lexical. If lexical, the semantic resemblance of the different verbs may be quite weak, either because of diverse origins or divergent development.

Though the stems contribute to the meaning of verbs, they have no independent meaning; one cannot deduce the meaning of a verb from its stem, nor can one deduce the relationship between different verbs with the same root from their stems.

#### 8.1.1 Grammatical relationships

A difference in stem can indicate a difference in voice. If a given verb is transitive (i.e., a verb that takes a direct object), there is often an associated passive verb formed from the same root in the corresponding stem with an infixed *t*, the so called T-stems (for a discussion of the passive clauses, see [§9.5]). The correspondences are as follows:

פָּעַל (Pe [Qal]) ~ אֶתְפַּעֵל (Itpe)

פָּעַל (Pa) ~ אֶתְפַּעֵל (Itpa)

אֶפְעַל (Af) ~ אֶתְפַּעֵל (Ittaf)

Note the following examples:

כת"ב	Pe “to write”	Itpe “to be written”
	הָהוּא גִבְרָא ... כָּתַב גִּיטָא A certain man ... wrote a <i>geṭ</i> (B. <i>Meṣi'a</i> 101b)	
	אִיכְתִּיב הָאִי גִיטָא This <i>geṭ</i> was written (Yebam. 116a)	
שד"ר	Pa “to send”	Itpa “to be sent”
כש"ר	Af “to declare valid”	Ittaf “to be declared valid”

It should be emphasized, though, that the T-stems are not used exclusively to form passive verbs; other functions are discussed below.

Occasionally one encounters a passive verb in the manuscripts or printed editions formed from a T-stem different from that which is expected on the basis

of the above set of correspondences. However, many such instances may not reflect the historical situation accurately. For without vocalization, most forms of any given T-stem verb are indistinguishable from forms with the same root, person, number, etc., but in a different T-stem. Thus, these verbs may have been read and copied incorrectly. Note, for example, the Pa verb *תָּקַן* “to make fit, to fix”; some manuscripts have the expected Itpa verb with the sense “to be made fit, fixed”, while others have an Itpe verb instead. As can be illustrated in the following example:

V5 דאי הדר איתקן

V15 דאיהדר איתקן

V3 דהדר איתקין

M דהדר איתקין

Her menstrual period became regular (lit., afterwards it became fixed)  
(*Nid.* 12b)

### 8.1.2 Equivalence

Some roots form verbs in more than one stem without any apparent difference in meaning. For example, the root *סכ"ר* forms both Pe and Pa verbs with the sense “to block up”. In such cases, it is possible that a semantic distinction had once existed but was lost over time.

### 8.1.3 Lexical relationships

Even verbs formed from the same root but in different stems that do not make up an active/passive pair and are not semantically equivalent are often still related lexically. There are two kinds of lexical relationships, both of which will be treated below.

#### 8.1.3.1 Inflectional relationships

Most often, verbs from the same root but different stems share a “core meaning” but differ in the lexical aspect (i.e., fientive vs. stative; stative vs. resultative; etc.) or in valence (number of participants). When a root yields an intransitive verb in one stem and a transitive verb in another, the additional argument taken by the latter is frequently the cause of the original argument entering into the state denoted by the former. However, other nuances, such as reflexivity and reciprocity (below §8.2), are also possible.

As an example, note the root *שק"ט*, which appears in three stems: Pe “to be silent”; Pa “to silence”; and Itpa “to become silent”. With this root, the Pa verb

differs from both the Pe and the Itpa verb in valence. Though the Pe and Itpa verbs agree in valence, i.e., have the same number of participants, they differ in *Aktionsart* (for example the Pe verb denotes a state, while the Itpa verb denotes the result of the process of entering into that state).

Inflectional relationships are quite common, and there are a number of patterns that are especially frequent. Note the following examples:

יב"ש	Pe “to dry up” / Pa “to dry (s.t.)”
יר"ת	Pe “to inherit, take possession” / Af “to bequeath, bestow”
נת"ר	Pe “to fall off, out” / Af “to cause to fall off”
סכ"נ	Pe “to be in jeopardy” / Pa “to endanger” / Itpa “to endanger o.s.”
שב"ש	Pa “to distort, corrupt, confuse (s.o.)” / Itpa “to be mistaken”

If more than two verbs are formed from a single root, there may be both grammatical and lexical relationships between them. Note, for example, the verbs formed from the root חז"י:

Pe “to see, look at, examine, consider” / Itpa “to be seen”  
 Af “to show” / Ittaf “to be shown”

It is worth repeating that within the context of this synchronic description, the stems themselves do not possess any inherent meaning. It is impossible to predict the valence or the lexical aspect of a verb on the basis of its stem. This is especially clear with roots that occur in only one stem, such as the following where a contrast between stems cannot be exhibited, and it is impossible to predict in which stem they will appear according to their semantics:

סט"י Pe “to deviate”  
 סכ"ל Itpa “to look at”  
 כר"ז Af “to announce”

The following generalizations concerning the stems and their functions are, however, valid:

- 1 T-stem verbs, though not always passive, are always monovalent (intransitive).<sup>202</sup>
- 2 A Pe verb never has higher valence than a Pa or Af verb from the same root.

<sup>202</sup> Below (§9.3), we will discuss possible exceptions for this rule.

### 8.1.3.2 Multiple meanings

A single root may appear in different stems, or even in the same stem, with seemingly unconnected meanings. It is often possible to propose some kind of etymological link. Note the following examples:

- סב"ר Pe “to opine, think, deduce” / Af “to explain”  
 פל"ג Pe “to divide; have a share; disagree” / Pa “to distinguish” / Af  
 “to separate”  
 פס"ק Pe “to stop, cease; cut; judge” / Pa “to cut” / Af “to pause, stop  
 (s.t.), interrupt, separate” / Itpe “to break, be torn, terminated,  
 separated, rendered, decided”

and in the same stem:

- פש"ט Pe “to straighten; spread; explain, solve”

While in the previous list it is most likely that all meanings derive historically from the same root, in other cases, however, there is no etymological connection. Note the following examples:

- שכ"ח Pe, Pa “to forget” / Af “to find” / Itpe “to happen to be”; “to be  
 found”<sup>203</sup>  
 צל"י Pe “to roast” / Pa “to pray” / Af “to turn aside”

Occasionally, a root will have several unrelated meanings, some appearing in some stems and others appearing in others. In such situations, verbs with related meanings are related to each other in one or more of the ways discussed above. Note the following examples:

- קד"ש Pe “to become sacred” / Af “to dedicate (s.t.) to the Temple” / Pa  
 “to consecrate, betroth” / Itpa “to become consecrated, betrothed”  
 ית"ב Pe “to sit; live; dwell, be situated” / Af “to seat (s.o.); place, put” /  
 Pa “to set at ease” / Ittaf “to place (o.s.); be put at ease”  
 מל"ך Pe “to reign” / Af “to declare (s.o.) king” / Itpe “to consult; recon-  
 sider”  
 כח"ש Pe “to become lean, infertile” / Af “to make lean, infertile;  
 contradict” / Ittaf “to be contradicted”  
 גמ"ר Pe “to finish; learn” / Af “to teach”

<sup>203</sup> See Wajsberg (2006b), for a reevaluation of the uses of this root in JBA.

## 8.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

Cross-linguistically we encounter the following phenomenon: when the subject of the verb acts on itself or when the subject is a set (consisting of more than one member) which acts on each other reciprocally, then it is marked either lexically, i.e., there is a verbal form used to express this special relation between the agent and the patient, or syntactically, i.e., with unique pronouns. This should not imply that the verbal and pronominal reciprocal construction have the same characterizations. (For a preliminary survey of the differences, see Kemmer 1993: 96-150.) When there is a specific lexical verbal form, since the verb is naturally intransitive, as expected (§8.1.3.1), in JBA it is in one of the T-stems. As for the pronominal encoding, as will be noted in the next chapter (§9.1.3), when the reference of the subject and the object of the verb are the same, a reflexive pronoun replaces the pronouns suffixed to the verb.

### 8.2.1 Reflexives

#### 8.2.1.1 Verbal reflexives

There are not many verbs in JBA for which the meaning contains the reflexive content. Among the few, one can find the following verbs:

ב"י Itaf (איתותב)	to place oneself
ן"כ Itpa (איסתכן)	to endanger oneself
א"ט Itpa (איטמי)	to make oneself ritually unclean
י"פ Itpa (איפני)	to relieve oneself

#### 8.2.1.2 Pronominal reflexives

Most often reflexives are marked syntactically with one of the pronouns. The pronouns are compositions of semantically bleached nouns with a genitive pronominal suffix, agreeing with their co-reference: נפש-יה, גוף-יה etc. These pronouns act as the direct object or follow other prepositions and thus stand in other grammatical positions in the sentence. In these cases the verb is never in a T-stem.

JBA has three nouns that serve for this function: נפש “soul”, גוף “body” and גרם “bone”. An interesting distribution is demonstrated for these three alternatives:

נפש “soul” is used when the antecedent is a human being:

רב יהודה הוה מציין נפשיה      PN used to distinguish himself (*Ber.* 30b)

איהו אפסיד אנפשיה      He brought the loss upon himself (*B. Bat.* 172a)

בנתיה דר' ינאי דקפדן אנפשייהו The daughters of PN, who are particular about themselves (*Qidd* 11a)

It is also used, although rarely, as an emphatic (nominative) pronoun, in apposition to the subject:

אנא נפשי כתביה I, myself, wrote (*Šabb.* 105a)

גוף “body” is used for one of the following two functions:

- 1 When the antecedent is inanimate, in the BT it usually refers to Biblical verses:

דל חד קרא לגופיה Remove one biblical verse for itself (*Sanh.* 4a)

- 2 The regular pronoun used as an emphatic (nominative) pronoun, standing in apposition to the subject, with all types of antecedents (animate and inanimate):

את גופך לא תתשיל לי You, yourself, will not be lent to me (*B. Meši'a* 94b)

גֶרֶם “bone” is the base for the reflexive pronouns in JPA. In JBA it appears in an expression with the verb עבד לגרמיה – עבד“ד lit., did for himself; this locution, though, as phrased by the Palestinian rabbis, means that the subject of the sentence alone is of a certain opinion. However, since it appears only in one expression, it may simply be a frozen formula.<sup>204</sup>

### 8.2.1.3 Independent possessive pronouns as reflexives

In the case of independent possessive pronouns co-referring with another participant in the sentence, a situation in which English adds the element “own” to the regular possessive pronoun (“his own”), in JBA either the regular independent pronouns appear (§4.7) or the reflexive pronoun appears in a genitival construction:

האיך לא קא מיכוין אדעתא דידיה That man was not directing his attention (*Roš Haš.* O 29a)

דעתיה דנפשיה עבד בעוז Boaz acted on his own accord (*Ber.* 63a)

Occasionally it is possible to encounter both of them together:

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<sup>204</sup> C.f., Wajsberg (2005: 322).

ואי דחיל מעינא דידיה דנפשיה<sup>205</sup> If he is afraid of his own eye (*Ber.* 55b)

## 8.2.2 Reciprocals

### 8.2.2.1 Verbal reciprocal

As was the case with some of the reflexives, some verbs (mostly in the T-stems) contain this reciprocal meaning lexically:

אינצו Itpe (אינצו) to quarrel  
איפלגו Itpe (איפלגו) to disagree

Naturally the number of the subject of reciprocal propositions is usually plural:

ההיא ארבא דהוו מינצו עלה ביתרי A certain boat about which two people were quarrelling (*B. Bat.* P<sup>1</sup> 34b)

However, if for pragmatic reasons the subject is only one of the set and it is found in the singular, we may encounter a *discontinuous construction*, in which the reciprocity holds between the subject and the oblique element introduced by the preposition “with”:<sup>206</sup>

כי הוו מינצו ר' חנינה ור' חייא, אמר ליה ר' חנינא בהדאי דידי מינצית When PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> were quarrelling, PN<sub>1</sub> said to him: “Are you quarrelling with me?” (*B. Meṣi'a* 85b)

### 8.2.2.2 Pronominal reciprocals

In addition it is possible to express reciprocity with any verb by adding the reciprocal pronoun הַדְדִי,<sup>207</sup> which functions similar to “each other” in English. This pronoun can be in the direct object position:

אכחושי הוא דקא מכחשי הדדי They contradict each other (*Sanh.* 69a)

It can also be found after prepositions:

לא פליגינן אהדדי We do not disagree (*Ketub.* 57a)

<sup>205</sup> This is also the version in MS P. MS F, however, has only דנפשיה without דידיה.

<sup>206</sup> So far I have not located an example of the discontinuous construction with the preposition עם.

<sup>207</sup> This pronoun is a result of the fusion of two occurrences of the cardinal number דָּד, followed by two phonological developments: 1) haplogy of the /ħ/; 2) the regular JBA sound shift of ħ>h; and the addition of a plural ending *e*: *ħad ħad* > \**ħadħad* > \**ħadħad* > \**ħadād* [ħadād+ē =] *ħadādē* (as in Syriac) > *ħadādē*. (In the GBA the common spelling is הַדְדִי, which appears several times in manuscripts of the BT and of Anan as well.)



קא מיחתני גבי הדדי They are becoming related to each other (*Ketub.* 102b)

רבנן דבי רב אשי מסרי מילי להדדי The rabbis of the school of PN were giving each other the authority to deal their matters (*Git.* 37a)

כי הדדי נינהו They are like each other (=they are equal) (*Yoma* 39a)

כי הוו מיפטרי רבנן מהדדי When the rabbis were taking leave of each other (*Git.* 76b)

With the preposition “with”,<sup>208</sup> this pronoun may appear with a verb expressing reciprocity as well:

כי הוו מינצו תרי בהדי הדדי When they were fighting with each other (*Qidd.* 71b)

Since semantically “with each other” and “together” are equivalent, the common expression in JBA to express the associative adverb is with the reciprocal expression בהדי הדדי:

ניכול איניש מצה ומרור בהדי הדדי<sup>209</sup> Let one eat *Maṣa* and *Maror* together (*Pesaḥ.* 115a)

As is the case in other languages, in JBA the reciprocal pronoun is used more generally as a pronominal expression used in relations between two sets or more of participants without specifying which set occupies which position (see Bar-Asher Siegal, forthcoming b). Thus it can also be used for asymmetric relations as well:

מנחי אהדדי They are placed on top of each other (*B. Meṣi'a* 25a)

Note that the English translation uses the pronominal expression *each other* as well.

Reciprocity may also be indicated with the repetition of a noun. This is similar to what we have seen before, as it does not matter that the sentence below does not necessarily describe mutual visits. Note, once again, the English translation:

נשי לגבי (נשי) שכיחי דאזלי. גברי לגבי גברי לא שכיחי דאזלי Women visit each other frequently; men do not visit each other frequently (*Yebam.* 26a)

<sup>208</sup> It is very likely that this preposition too derives from a form of the cardinal number “one”: *ḥad*.

<sup>209</sup> This is probably a typographical error for ניכיל/ליכיל as is the case in other manuscripts.

For the use of the demonstrative in pronominal reciprocal constructions, see §3.3.2.2.3.4.

### 8.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are used very often in the BT, as part of dialectic discussions. They are used in order to introduce discussions concerning specific aspects of previously quoted statements. Through these rhetorical questions the Talmudic passages raise what seems, at least initially, to be an absurdity; it is then the elaborations of the discussed topic which serve to resolve the absurdity. Similar to yes/no questions, it is possible that these rhetorical questions will not be marked overtly (especially with negation, see below §10.4.4); perhaps they were meant to be read with a certain intonation, as in the following cases:

מאן דלא עסיק בתורה לא ירית Does the one who does not learn Torah not inherit? (*Ketub.* 108b)

לאו אמרי לך Didn't I tell you? (*Mo'ed. Qat.* 18b)

In addition, very often these questions are indicated with the interrogative marker מי,<sup>210</sup> positioned before the main predicate of the sentence:

Before the verb:

מי לא עסקינן דקא מעייל עיולי וקא קארי לה הוצאה Are we not dealing with a case in which a person brings in and we call it "bringing out"? (*Šabb.* 2b)

Before the existential particles (§4.6.1):

מי איכא מידי דעביד איהו לא מחייב. ועביד שליח ואיהו מחייב Is there anything which, if a person does it himself, he is not liable; but if his agent does it, he is liable? (*Ketub.* 33b)

ומי אית ליה שבחא ללוקח Does the increase in value go to the customer? (*B. Meis'a* 110b)

Before a predicate adjective:

ומי חמירא טפי Is it really more stringent? (*Šebu.* 39a)

Often rhetorical questions in JBA are expressed with a dislocated element as

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<sup>210</sup> This usage occurs rarely in Biblical Hebrew, as at Amos (7:2). Cf. also the Akkadian enclitic interrogative particle *-mī*.

the topic of the sentence, preceded by אטו (אמטול), which otherwise is used as a preposition with the sense of “on the account of”. Such a dislocation occurs with and without the interrogative particle מי:

אטו שבת ישראל מקדשין לה. הא מיקדשא וקימא As for the Sabbath, do the Israelites sanctify it? It is already in as state of sacredness (*Beṣah* 17a)

אטו יראה מילתא זוטרתא היא As for fear, is it a minor issue? (*Ber.* 33b)

אטו ר' יוחנן לית ליה האי סברא As for PN, does he not hold this opinion? (*Zebah.* 52b)

אטו כל השנה כולה מי עבדינן כותיה דר' עקיבה With regards to the rest of the year, do we follow PN's opinion? (*Ber.* 29a)

אטו הכא אי אמרי ידעינן מי לא מהימני As for this case, if they had said “we know,” wouldn't they be reliable? (*Git.* 3a)

אטו אש מי אית ביה רוח חיים As for the fire, does it have a spirit? (*B. Qam.* 4b)

In several cases we find אטו before מי without a dislocated element; however, in most cases, other manuscripts for the same Talmudic passage attest a dislocated element. See the following two examples:

אטו מי מברכינן כי חסור דיין האמת דליבריך הטוב והמטיב Do we say (at the time of waning) “Blessed be the true judge” that we should say: “Blessed ... who art good and dispensest good”? (*Sanh.* 42a)

However, in MS K:

אטו כי חסר מי מברכינן דיין האמת דליבריך הטוב המטיב When it is waning, do we say, ‘Blessed be the true judge.’ that we should say: ‘Blessed ... who art good and dispensest good’?

Similarly compare the following two versions for *B. Qam.* 103a

H אטו רב כהנא מי יהיב ארבעה ושקיל תמניא

V<sup>116</sup> אטו מי יהיב רב כהנא ארבעה למישקל תמניא

As for PN, does he *really* give four and take eight?

There seem, however, to be some uses of אטו without a dislocated element, especially when the predicate is a noun. Note, for example, the two following sentences. In both cases MS M states the rhetorical questions without any marker:

V<sup>12</sup> אטו כללא הוא

M וכללא הוא

Is it *really* a general principle? (*Hul.* 59a)

O אטו קרא הוא

M קריא הוא

Is it *really* based on a verse? (*Ber.* 55b)<sup>211</sup>

Similarly, compare the following two versions for *B. Meṣi'a* 85b:

H ... אטו לא ידענא ד

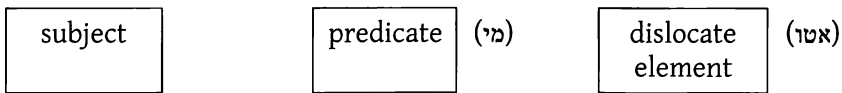
M ... אטו אנן לא ידעי' ד

Don't we know that ...

It must be noted that the construction found in MS M is also common in other BT passages:

אטו אנן לאכילה קא אמרינן As for us, were we speaking about eating?  
(*Yebam.* 72b)

Thus, the following chart demonstrates the structure of the rhetorical questions in JBA, with both elements in the parenthesis being optional (they may appear either separately or together, or to not appear at all):



In a few examples, rhetorical questions begin with the indefinite pronouns מידי “something” (§3.3.3.2), and כלום “something”:<sup>212</sup>

מידי בקפידא תליא מילתא Is this matter *really* dependent on care? (*Erub.* 53a)

כלום טענינן להו ליחמי מידי דלא טעין להו אבוהון Do we *really* claim something for the orphans, which their father could not claim for them? (*B. Bat.* 52a)

<sup>211</sup> Similarly also MS Cambridge – T-S F1 (1) 41 has: דקרא ניהי.

<sup>212</sup> Sokoloff (2002: 664) raises a possible alternative etymology: *minde* > *midde* “who knows”. The fact that כלום is used for this function as well strengthens the option that this is indeed a use of the indefinite pronoun. It is worth noting that unlike their uses as indefinite pronouns (§3.3.3.2), כלום and מידי are used similarly in the context of rhetorical questions.



## Chapter 9

### 9.1 Accusative pronominal suffixes

#### 9.1.1 The function – preliminary notes

As in other Semitic languages, a pronominal expression is suffixed to verbal forms when the object of the verb is a pronoun, compare the following two sentences with the same verb, one with a noun as the object and the other with a pronoun:

קטל תוריה “He killed his ox” (*B. Qam.* 22b)

מאן קטליה “Who killed him?” (*Zebah.* 88b)

In the case of verbs that take two direct objects, the pronominal suffix may refer to one of the objects:

אשכחיה שפוחה דובשא ואוקמוהא אאיגרא דשורא They found her, daubed her with honey, and placed her on the ledge of the rampart (*Sanh.* 109b)

Occasionally cases of dative expressions (about which see below §9.4) interchange with these pronominal suffixes as well:

<sup>213</sup> אמ' להו. לא תפוק לכו שותא ... אמרו ליה. לא נפקתינן שותא He said to them: “Do not speak about it” (lit., may a speech not go out by you) ... and they said to him: “We did not speak about it” (*B. Bat.* 39a)

This example is unique as the pronominal suffix appears with an otherwise intransitive verb.

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<sup>213</sup> This is also the form in HPS (90:31–32). However, other manuscripts have other forms (מפקינן, or a repetition of the previous line לא תפיק). In MS H itself there is a correction to מפקינן. It is quite clear, however, that נפקתינן is the original form for the previous line demonstrates that שותא is the subject of the sentence. As for the tense, a suffix-conjugation is expected, since the first appearance occurs in a prohibition and only later is there an answer. It is therefore reasonable to assume that due to the rareness of the phenomena in which these pronouns replace a dative expression other manuscripts have changed the form.

### 9.1.2 The pronominal forms

Below are the various pronominal suffixes found in JBA.

1c sg	ן	[ני]			
2m sg	ך				
2f sg	ך				
3m sg	ה(י)	ו-הי	ו-ה	ו-י	ו-הו
3f sg	ה	א	יה	[הא]	
1c pl	ינן	ו-נן	ן		
2m pl	ינכו				
2f pl	נכי				
3m pl	ינון	נון	ינין	(י)נהו	אנון ינהי, הו(ו)
3f pl	Like all the forms of the masculine	ינין	(י)נהי		אנין

Square brackets indicate extremely rare forms. In the cases of a suffix following a dash and a letter – this form of the suffix appears only after this letter.

#### Comments

**1c sg:** The form of the earlier dialect was a reflex of the Proto-Semitic form *-nī*. The form in JBA is *-n*, with apocopated final vowel (§4.1). There are a few attestations of the old form in contexts which use archaic language, such as in the case of a spell (*Pesaḥ*. 110b).

**2f sg:** There are almost no examples of this category.

**3m sg:** Both spellings *ה-* and *יה-* probably represent the same pronunciation, *eh*. After the vowel *u* (plural forms of the verb) the form in earlier dialects was *ו-הי*. This form is still found, especially in contexts where archaic forms are expected, such as legal documents:

אמ' אביי. האי מאן דכתי' גיטא דחליצה צריך למיכתב הכי. **אקרינוהא** לדידה מן "מאן יבמיי" ועד "יבמיי". **ואקרינוהי** לדידיה מן "לא" עד "לקחתה". **ואקרינוהא** לדידה מן "ככה" ועד "חלוץ הנעל"

PN said, “Whoever writes the legal document of *ḥaliṣa* should write the following: ‘We made the woman read the biblical verse from Deut. 25: 7, and we made the man read verse 25:8, and we made her read 25: 9’” (*Yebam.* 106b)

The historical form הַי- went through one of the following changes: 1) apocopation of the final vowel (§4.1)  $\bar{u}h\bar{i} > uh$ , hence the spelling וַי-; 2) a shift  $\bar{u}h\bar{i} > uy$  represented by the spelling וַי-. The latter development is rare and appears in only a few cases in GBA and in magic bowls.

The form וַיְהוּ-, which rarely appears in manuscripts, is probably a mistake under the influence of Hebrew.<sup>214</sup>

**3f sg:** The spelling הַי- most likely reflects the pronunciation *ah*. There is the occasional apocopation of the final consonant, as is the case with the possessive suffix (§2.1). It is difficult to estimate the extent of the phenomenon of apocopation in this category, for the apocopated forms are often identical to the regular verbs, cf. following variants from *Ketub.* 84b:

שפיר תפסיתו You were allowed to seize / to seize it [the property]

שפיר תפסתה You were allowed to seize it (V<sup>5</sup>)

The spelling וַי- is also rare (besides III-y verbs where this is the rule). It may reflect a mistake or an analogy from the possessive suffix.

The form וַיְהוּ- is an archaic form and occasionally appears in the contexts primed to archaic language, as seen above in the citation from *Yebam.* 106b of a legal document with the 3m sg form.

**1c pl:** The element וַי- is similar to the nominative form of the 1c pl pronouns. The regular form with the vowel /i/ probably resulted from a leveling of the plural forms (below).<sup>215</sup>

The form וַי- is attested also in Syriac and reflects the apocopated final vowel (§4.1) of the archaic form (*na*).

**2m,f pl:** Both forms contain the element *n*, which is most likely the result of leveling to the other plural forms. The masculine form begins with an /i/ vowel, which is also likely to be part of the same analogy. There are not many attestations of the feminine form, and thus it is hard to know whether it began with a vowel as well.

<sup>214</sup> Morgenstern (2011: 136–138) demonstrates that they appear in a context where a similar Hebrew form appears.

<sup>215</sup> Morgenstern (2011: 151–152) argues differently and suggests that the forms of the 1c pl were influenced by the forms of the 3pl pronominal suffixes.



**3m pl:** In Syriac and in earlier dialects of Aramaic, 3 pl forms do not have a pronominal object suffix. This is illustrated in the following verse from Biblical Aramaic:

וּנְשָׂא דְמִזְוֹר רִיחָא The wind swept them away (*Dan 2: 35*)

JBA reflects a stage in which the enclitization took place with these forms as well; consequently, they appear as pronominal suffixes. Taking this into account, we can see how these forms reflect various cliticized forms of the independent pronouns with the elision of the initial /ʾ/, either the classical אִינוּ and אִינִי, or the JBA אִינְהוּ and אִינְהִי (§3.3.1.1). The forms -ינְהִי (for the masculine) and -הוּ seem to be ad hoc mistakes. See the discussion on the infinitive for the forms אִנּוּן and אִנּוּן (§9.1.3.4).

We may here generalize about the plural forms: they underwent various changes that can be considered as several cases of an analogy, which are to some extent interrelated in the formation of a paradigm:

- 1 encliticization of the 3 pl forms – similar to all other persons;
- 2 the form of the 1c pl became similar to the independent pronoun *-nan* by analogy to other persons where there is a similarity between the independent and the suffix pronouns;
- 3 internal leveling of all plural forms that begin with the consonant /n/ and probably also with the vowel /i/.

1c pl ינן-  
 2m pl ינכוּ-  
 2f pl נכי-  
 3m pl ינ(ה)ו-  
 3f pl ינ(ה)י-

### 9.1.3 The verbal bases

It is necessary to provide some explanation of the verbal base to which the pronominal suffixes are joined.

A few general notes:

- 1 the pronominal suffixes for all stems are the same, thus the forms below may be of the Pa-stem, the Af-stem, etc.;
- 2 when the subject of the verb (the main agreement) and the object have the same reference, a reflexive pronoun appears (§8.2.1.2) and it is impossible

to have a pronominal suffix (these categories are indicated by darker cells in the chart below);

- 3 categories that have no attestations at all were removed from the table below;
- 4 all of the examples below are actual examples attested in manuscripts.

### 9.1.3.1 Suffix conjugation

#### 9.1.3.1.1 The forms

Some forms are undocumented and are indicated by empty cells.

Verbal form Pronoun	1c sg	2m sg	3m sg	3f sg
1c sg		קדמתן	שיבקן	קרצתן
2m sg	גולתך פרעתך <sup>216</sup>		ברכך נשקיך/נשקך	שבקתך
2f sg			הימניך	
3m sg	פרעתיה פרעתה	שבקתיה פרעתה	שבקיה	טרקתיה
3f sg	זבנתה שמעתה	שבקתה אוקימתה/אוקמתה	שבקה	זבנתיה
1c pl		פטרתינן חזיתינן חשדתן	אשמעינן	נפקתנן/נפקתינן
2m pl	קבילתינכו		שוינכו	
2f pl	חננכי			
3m pl	בדקתינהו שויתינהו	פרעתינהו	יהבינן אשבעינהו אפרשינן	פסקתינהו בלעתנהו בלעתנן
3f pl	עבדתינהי		סתרנין פרקינהי	כבישתינהי

<sup>216</sup> It is possible that the spelling with the *yod* is the result of Hebrew influence, since the form פרעתך from Hebrew occurs frequently.

Verbal form Pronoun	1c pl	2m pl	3m pl
1c sg		קבילתון סכינתין / סכינתון	חשדון
2m sg	קבלינך		קדמוך שיוך
2f sg			
3m sg	אחתיניה	כיסכסותה	שבקוה פרטוהי
3f sg	בדקנה	תניתוה אחריבתוה	פשטוה אזמנוהא
1c pl			שדרונן
2m pl			
2f pl			
3m pl	אדרכננון		תפסונון סמכונהו פרסוהי
3f pl	תננהי	שמעתונון	כחילונהי

It is important to note that pronominal expressions are not necessarily suffixed to the verbal forms of this conjugation that were introduced earlier in (§5.3.1). The reason for this is that many of these forms were the result of an apocopation. Thus, the final consonant of the verbal forms was elided in final position. When the pronominal suffix appears with the verb, the elided consonant is no longer in the final position. Take, for example, the 1c sg form:

כתיב < כתבית “I wrote”, but כתבית+יה < כתבתייה “I wrote it”.

The following observations concern the base of these forms:

- 1c sg, 2m sg and 3f sg all have the same (at least written) base: כתבת-
- The forms of the 1c pl are always with only one /n/, which stands in distinction to the regular suffix-conjugation forms. Occasionally a *yod* appears before the /n/, which most likely reflects the influence of the ending ינ- of the verbal conjugation.
- The final vowel /u/ is always presented in the 3m pl conjugation since it is not in final position. This is usually the rule with the 2m pl form.

### 9.1.3.1.2 Notes about the derived stems

In classical Aramaic the thematic vowel of the stem is usually shortened when the pronominal suffix is added: *qabbil+eh* > *qabbāleh*. The equivalent form often appears in manuscripts with or without a *yod*: קבליה and קבליה.


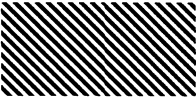

It is unclear whether this is a reflection of a short vowel or of the fact that the phonological rules of JBA, in terms of vowels, were different from those in the classical periods (§1.1.2.2). There is inconsistency with regard to the representation of this vowel, even in a singular context:

... ואי דלא קבליה עליה באלוה ... אי דקבליה עליה באלוה If he accepted it upon himself with an oath (lit., in the name of god ...) and if he did not accept it upon himself with an oath (lit., in the name of god) ... (*Ker.* 3a)

### 9.1.3.2 Prefix conjugation

#### 9.1.3.2.1 The forms




Many categories of this conjugation are unattested:

Verbal form Pronoun	1c sg	2m sg	3m sg	3f sg
1c sg		תצערן		
2m sg	איפטרך		נידכרך ליקטלך	
2f sg	אוכלך			תכליך/תיכלך <sup>217</sup>
3m sg	אהדריה	תישבקיה	לישקליה	[תיקדמיה] <sup>218</sup>

<sup>217</sup> This form is mentioned in ‘*Erub.* 53b, where the discussion concerns peculiarities in the languages of the Galileans, who are לא דייקי לישנא “not accurate in their language”. One of the examples given is the following:

“A certain woman who wanted to say to her friend ‘Come, and I will feed you some milk,’ actually said, ‘my neighbor ate some milk.’” Beside the lexical difference (“אכ”ל vs. ספ”י), and the phonological distinction (לבא vs חלבא), it is interesting to note that only in the Galilean formula is the pronoun attached to the verb. (In other manuscripts it is attached to the verb in both cases.) However, it is possible that the form תיכלך is a 2f sg prefix conjugation with a reflexive dative (§9.4.2). In this case it should be read “my neighbor, you should eat some milk” and the form היכלך is irrelevant for this chart. MS O has the form אוכלך, and MS M אוכליך.

<sup>218</sup> The source for this form is the sentence: אי תקדמיה יוניך ליון “if your dove overtakes

Verbal form Pronoun	1c sg	2m sg	3m sg	3f sg
3f sg	אסברה	תיסברה	ליסברה (נישקליה)	תיקדמה
1c pl			לפרוקינן	
2m pl	אותבינכו			
2f pl				
3m pl		תישבוקינהו	ליפרוקינהו לפרשינון	
3f pl			נימנינהו נערבינהי	

Verbal form Pronoun	1c pl	2m pl	3m pl
1c sg			ניחשדון ננטרן
2m sg			יקטלוך
2f sg			
3m sg	ניפטריה	תדחקוניה תיקרעוה	לפלגוהי ניעברוה ליקטלוה
3f sg	ניעקרה		ניפיסלוה
1c pl			
2m pl			
2f pl			
3m pl	נימרינהו	תציתונהו	
3f pl			

my dove" (*Sanh.* 25a), where the reference of the pronoun is feminine. However, form is otherwise a masculine form.

Similar to the discussion regarding the thematic vowel of the Qal-stem, the prefix conjugation (§5.3.2) also attests to various thematic vowels: ליסברה, לפרוקינן, נקדימיה.

Suffixes almost always follow a vowel (2f sg, and 2/3 m/f pl). The form תדחקוניה is an exception. Other variations on this general principle do not have the /n/ (MSS F<sup>2</sup>, K (ת(י)רחקה).

### 9.1.3.2.2 Anaptyxis

Occasionally, we encounter with the pronominal suffixes an unexpected *yod* after the first radical of the root:  $\_CyCC\_\_$ : תיקידמה, אישיקליה.

It has been suggested that this *yod* represents the addition of an anaptyctic vowel in the phonological environment  $VCC\alpha CV > VCiCCV$ .<sup>219</sup> A similar observation has been made in Mandaic;<sup>220</sup> this phenomenon is also found in the JBA magic bowls.<sup>221</sup> While most written traditions do not reflect a vowel in such environments, Morgenstern noted that EEMs (§0.6.2) often have a *yod* after the first consonant indicating a vowel (either an *i* or a *schwa*). It should be clarified that all of the other manuscripts have neither a representation of the  $\alpha$  from the  $VCC\alpha CV$  forms nor the  $i/\alpha$  from the  $VCiCCV$  forms; the spelling, for example, is always נשבקיה, and never נשביקיה. It thus seems possible that the spellings without a vowel letter in the middle reflect the same pronunciation.<sup>222</sup>

### 9.1.3.3 Imperative

Verbal form Pronoun	2m sg	2f sg	2m pl
1c sg	פרען		אשקיון
	פירען		אותבן
3m sg	שקליה	שבקיה	אמטיוה
	חישביה		

<sup>219</sup> Morag (1972–3: 65–66).

<sup>220</sup> Nöldeke (1875: 26, §25).

<sup>221</sup> It was first noted by Montgomery (1913: 143) and later by Rossell (1953: 125).

<sup>222</sup> In fact Morgenstern (2011: 183) provides an example without a *yod* that was (later) vocalized with an /i/ vowel. This example supports the suggestion that lack of a *yod* does not necessarily indicate that this vowel was not present in these phonological environments.

Verbal form Pronoun	2m sg	2f sg	2m pl
3f sg	שבקה בידקה		שבקוה תיפסוה
1c pl			
3m pl	שבקינהו	שדריניהו	זבנוהי

Several forms (such as שבקה, בידקה, פירעון) suggest that the vowel of the first radical in the case of an imperative with pronominal suffixes was /i/.

#### 9.1.3.4 Infinitive

1c sg	לאפוקן
2m sg	לאותבך, לאודעך <sup>223</sup>
3m sg	לאפוקיה, לפרוקיה
3f sg	לאפקה, למיזבנה
1c pl	לאשמעינן, לאשמועינן
2m pl	מיקמטינכו, למבדקינכו
3m pl	למקטלהון, למקטלינון, למקטלאנון, לפרוקינהו, לשלומאנון
3f pl	להימונאנין, למכתבינהי

As noted in (§5.4), the infinitive of the derived stem is formed by replacing the vowel between the final two radicals in the basic form with the vowel represented by the vowel letter *waw* and by adding a final *yod*. With pronominal suffixes, the final *yod* is missing, most likely due to a contraction with the vowels of the suffixes. More often than not the added *waw* appears in the manuscripts. In other words, the same form may appear with or without this added *waw*.

The forms of the pronominal suffixes of the 3 pl forms after the infinitive are often spelled with an *alef* (mostly in GBA). It is hard to explain it on phonological grounds. It may be a historical writing, since as noted earlier

<sup>223</sup> The meaning of לאודעך is “to inform you”, a technical formula from Anan referring to the biblical verse.

(§9.1.2) the pronominal suffixes of the 3 pl were encliticized relatively late; in fact, they were still separated, at least in writing, in Official Aramaic and in Syriac. It is hard to explain why it is only in the case of the infinitive that this historical spelling was consistently preserved.

### 9.1.3.5 Participle

As noted in Chapter 5 (§5.3.5), the conjugation with the participle is a new feature found in JBA. As a result, it had not developed forms with the pronominal suffixes. Therefore, when the object of the verb is a pronoun with participles, the pronouns appear after the preposition -ל (§9.2.1.1). This can be seen in the following two sentences, the first has a verb in the suffix conjugation but the second a participle:

אשכחיה He found him (*B. Bat.* 121a)

גוי משכח לה A gentile finds it (*'Abod. Zar.* 43a)

There are very few examples in manuscripts where a pronominal suffix is found, attached to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (the only form without a morphological expression of the conjugation in the participial conjugation.) However, even in these examples, the form may appear in one manuscript and be missing in another. This is the case in the following example from *Hul.* 99b:

אמ' מאן האי דקמצער לי (V<sup>11</sup>)

א'ל מאי האי דקמצערן (V<sup>12</sup>)

He said [to him]: “Who is it that troubles me?”

Therefore, these are either the first signs of a new development in JBA or simple mistakes that occurred in the transmission of the texts.<sup>224</sup>

## 9.2 Direct object markers<sup>225</sup>

### 9.2.1 The preposition -ל

#### 9.2.1.1 The syntax

Though case is not generally marked in JBA, definite direct objects are often preceded by the preposition -ל, as is the case in certain other eastern dialects

<sup>224</sup> In the NENA dialects the combinations of the preposition -ל with the pronouns cliticized, and appear after the historical active participle forms (and as a result of analogies with other forms as well). This fact strengthens the assumption that the forms with the regular pronominal suffixes after the participles are mistakes.

<sup>225</sup> The basic analysis of this section is based on Morgenstern's work (2005, 2011 ch. 5).



of Aramaic.<sup>226</sup> As mentioned in the previous section, this preposition is the regular way to indicate the pronominal direct object after the participles. In JBA, however, the prepositional phrase of the direct object, is always preceded by an anticipatory pronominal suffix. The suffix is attached to all verbal forms and suffixed to the preposition -ל with the participle:

אשכחיה לזעירי He found PN (*B. Bat.* 87a)

שפייה למנא משחא He poured oil into the vessel (*Beṣah* 39a)

שונארא כי משכח ליה לחויא As for a cat, when it finds the snake ... (*Pesaḥ.* 112b)

When the direct object is indefinite, the direct object appears without a preposition:

לא אשכח סהדי He did not find witnesses (*B. Bat.* 34b)

ואי לאו דדלאי לך חספא מי משכחת מרגניתא תותה Had I not lifted up the oyster for you, would you have found a pearl under it? (*Yebam.* 92b)

כי אתי ענייא אקדים ליה ריפתא When a poor man comes, welcome him with bread (*Šabb.* 151b)

### 9.2.1.2 More about semantics

The indication of the grammatical function of the nominal phrase as the direct object depends on its definiteness. This is a known phenomenon cross-linguistically, that “the higher in prominence a direct object, the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked.”<sup>227</sup> Prominence in the context of JBA is assessed through the dimension of definiteness:

Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

Since JBA has no morphological indication of definiteness, definiteness in this context is a semantic phenomenon. We expect to encounter this marker before proper names:

אשכחיה ר' נתן לאליהו PN found Elijah (*B. Meṣi'a* 59b)

We also expect this marker when referring to a specific individual:

אזל אשכחיה לשמעיה He went and found his servant (*'Erub.* 54a)

<sup>226</sup> See Rubin (2005: 94–105).

<sup>227</sup> Aissen (2003: 436).

בריה דרב הונא בר חייא אשכחיה לגבלא דבי נשיאה The son of PN found the one who prepares fodder for the house of the Nasi (*Šabb.* 156a)

Specificity can even be relative to a context:

האי מאן דשחיט תרנוגלא ליכבשינהי לכרעיה בארעא. אי נמי נידלי להו מידל. דדילמ' מקהי להו לטופריה בארעא ועקר להו לסימנין Whoever slaughters a rooster should press its feet into the ground or lift them completely, lest it sticks its claws [firmly] in the ground and detaches its indicators (*Šabb.* 128b)

While the rooster in this sentence is non-specific (hence תרנוגלא and not לתרנוגלא), the definiteness in the rest of the sentence is a result of the fact that with a given rooster, its feet, claws and indicators are specific. This is not necessarily a result of the possessive pronouns, as becomes evident when compared to the following example:

עבידי לאחזוקי שיקרייהו They are prone to maintain their lies (*Git.* 29a)

The “lies” here are not specific.

In the case of indefinite uses of the demonstratives (§3.3.2.2.3.3), the reference is always specified by distal demonstratives. Therefore, when they are the objects of the verb they usually follow -ל:

ברוריה אשכחתי לההוא תלמידא דהוא קא גריס בליחשא PN encountered a student reciting [his studies] in whisper (*‘Erub.* 53b)

However, with the proximal demonstrative, the reference is non-specific. This lack of marker is then expected, as can be seen in the following example:

וכד שאתי נמי הנני ארבעה כסי דחמרא צריך הסיבה When he drinks the four cups of wine [i.e., not specific ones, but the required four cups on Passover], he too needs to recline (HPS 14: 4–6)

We should not, though, expect complete consistency; for occasionally there is no object marker before the distal demonstratives:

זקיניו דר' פרידא אשכח ההיא גלגלתא דהוא שדיא בשערי ירושלים PN's grandfather found a certain skull that was cast in the gates of Jerusalem (*Sanh.* 82a)

### 9.2.1.3 The anticipatory pronominal suffix

The indication with the anticipatory pronominal suffix, discussed in the previous section, could be regarded as an example of verbal agreement with a direct

object (marked as definite), a phenomenon known cross-linguistically.<sup>228</sup> However, in the context of JBA, it must be considered in the light of a more general phenomenon: When one of the arguments of a verb is definite and appears with a prepositional phrase, then an anticipatory pronominal suffix often appears next to the verb. This indicates the same relation:<sup>229</sup>

ידענא ביה בנחמני דלא הוה שתי חמרא I know that PN would not drink wine  
(Ketub. 65a)

גדול בר רעילאי שדר לה גיטא לדביתהו PN sent a *get* to his wife (HPS 62:26)

בעי מיניה מרב הונא He asked PN (B. Qam. 21a)

Occasionally forms of the preposition ל- with these pronouns are written together with the preceding verb: אמר ליה (< אמר ליה). This may be an evidence for a cliticization (for more on this point, see above §1.1.6.1).<sup>230</sup>

<sup>228</sup> Inter alia Aissen (2003).

<sup>229</sup> It has already been noted (§4.3) that prepositions often take an anticipatory third person pronoun with the object preceded immediately by ד(י), as is seen in לגביה דרב "to PN". It is interesting to note that there is a distribution between this construction and the one discussed here: some prepositions use this construction (with the ד, "the ד-construction") and others always have the one described here (with an anticipatory pronominal suffix next to the verb, "the verb construction"). The distinction between the list of prepositions is quite clear and it depends on whether the phrase following the preposition is an argument or an adjunct. Verbal arguments are indicated next to the verb, while adjuncts are not and have therefore the ד-construction.

It should be noted, however, that in a theoretical discussion the distinction between arguments and adjuncts is not strictly defined, and it is difficult to draw clear lines between these categories. In our context, however, the broader distinction is kept: prepositions describing spatial relations such as לגבי "to", אחורי "behind" are adjuncts and use the ד-construction; in cases in which the complement is part of the meaning of the verb, such as direct and indirect objects, the verb-construction is used. The uncertainty is in cases that may be understood as both. Thus, for example, the preposition מן "from" demonstrates an internal distribution. Compare the following two sentences:

בעו מיניה מרב ששט PN was asked ... (B. Bat. 159b)

ר' זירא הוה קא משתמיט מיניה דרב יהודה PN<sub>1</sub> avoided PN<sub>2</sub> (Šabb. 41a)

The target of asking is an argument of the verb; however, this is not the case with the verb שמ"ט "to tear out," for the element which comes after the "from" is in this instance an adjunct (as this verb may stand independently of such a complement).

<sup>230</sup> See also §2.1 regarding the conclusion that Boyarin (1976) reached in response to this phenomenon.

### 9.2.1.4 Exceptions to the rules

There are several types of exceptions:

- a. Pronominal suffixes following the preposition *-ל* with verbal forms other than the participle:

With a form of the suffix-conjugation:

ולא אוכפינן ליה לגברא לגרושה לאיתתיה אילא לפסולות We do not force a man to divorce his wife unless they are unqualified for marriage (HPS 100:6)

With a form of the prefix-conjugation:

לא תציתון להו להני כללי דכייל יהודה אחי משמי' דרב You should not follow the general rules which PN<sub>1</sub>, my brother, makes in the name of PN<sub>2</sub> (Hul. 44a)

With an infinitive:

דלא איכא למיחשא לה למילתא It is not necessary to take the matter into consideration (HPS 79:22)

- b. Examples with a semantically definite NP without the preposition *-ל*:

אשכח ההיא איגרתה He found that letter (*Me'il. 17b*)<sup>231</sup>

- c. There are also examples of the definite marker *-ל* without an anticipatory pronominal suffix. There are, however, in most cases, variant manuscripts which do have this marker. Note the following examples:

דבי נשיאה אוקמו להווא דיאנא בתרקבא דדינארי The officials of the house of the President appointed a judge for a bribe of the measurement of *tarqaba* [=certain measure] *denars* (*Sanh. 7b*)<sup>232</sup>

As is the case with pronominal suffixes, it may be assumed that the apocopation of the final vowel, as well as abbreviations in writing, may be the causes behind some of these exceptions. Note the following examples:

מ"ט שמית מר להאי גברא (70b O<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>231</sup> MS O<sup>4</sup> is the only manuscript that has a *-ל*: אשכח להווא אגרתא. Note, however, that it lacks the pronominal agreement with the verb.

<sup>232</sup> MS He is the only manuscript with the expression: להווא דיאנא. Other manuscripts have an indefinite expression, such as the following: דבי נשיאה אוקמו דיינא (MS JTS ENA 1493.5).

במאי טע' שמת'י מר להווא גברא (70b V<sup>3</sup>)

מאי נעמא שמתיה מר [...] (printed editions)

Why did you excommunicate that man? (*Qidd.* 70b)

במאי אוקימתה לברייטא (Oxford – Bodl. heb. c. 27)

במאי אוקימתא להאי בריתא (O)

In what case did you interpret this *baraita*? (*Šabb.* 109b)

### 9.2.2 The accusative marker ית

In NBA, archaic/archaizing contexts, and statements attributed to the Palestinian sages, the accusative marker ית occurs, mostly before pronouns.<sup>233</sup> Note the following examples:

שאיילית ית ר' I asked my rabbi (*Pesah.* 37a)

ולשבכע יתהון Let him make them swear (*Ned.* 25a)

לשמותי יתיה בכל אתר to excommunicate him everywhere (*Dec.* 3:8)

### 9.3 T-stems with accusative pronominal suffixes

We have previously noted that T-stem verbs, though not always passive, are always monovalent (intr.) (§8.1.3.1).

There are a very few exceptions to this rule and almost all of them have an object as a pronominal suffix. Most of these exceptions contain some philological uncertainties; these uncertainties include whether they are indeed T-stem forms, and, more generally, whether this is indeed a reflection of the original text.<sup>234</sup> One major confusion has to do with the fact that in the suffix conjugation both a verbal form of the T-stem with an assimilation of the infix *t*, and an Af-stem with a shift of /a/ > /i/ in the first vowel (§5.3) look similar: איפעיל. As a result of this ambiguity, it is often difficult to determine the nature of many forms.

A few verbs, though, seem to have a direct object when found in the T-stem: דכ"ר (Itpe) “to remember” שמ"ט (Itpe) “to escape s.o.’s attention”. Note the following examples:

<sup>233</sup> See Rubin (2005: 94–105) for the suggestion that this particle is a characteristic of the Western dialects and more recently Koller (2010: 208–211).

<sup>234</sup> For a preliminary discussion, see Bar-Asher Siegal (forthcoming).

ולא הוה מידכר ליה מר להאי דרבא <sup>235</sup> He did not remember the opinion of PN  
(*Šeel* 77: 32)

אשתמטתיה הא דתני רב שמוע בקל-גבו The opinion of PN escaped his attention  
(*Zebah.* 96a)

This phenomenon is known also in Syriac, particularly with the verb דכ"ר <sup>236</sup> (and the verb שמ"ט which is from the same semantic field). Even though this seems to be a limited phenomenon, it may be a genuine historical development.

The t-stem of the root שמוד"ע (אשתמודע) “to recognize, to be certain” regularly takes a direct object as well. Similarly in Syriac the t-stem of the root שוד"ע has a similar meaning and takes a direct object. Similarly the verb שע"י appears only in the Itpa-stem with the meaning of “to tell”, and it may take a direct object.

## 9.4 “Dative”

### 9.4.1 Argument dative (or indirect object)

#### 9.4.1.1 Marked with the preposition ל-

Verbs expressing transmission usually contain three participants: the one initiating the transmission, the transmitted object, and the target. Thus, verbs such as יה"ב “to give”, שד"ר “to send” or זב"ן (Pa.) “to sell”, have the indirect object as part of their arguments. In this case, then, the indirect object appears after the preposition *l*:

ההוא גברא דשדר ליה גיטא לדביתהו A certain man who sent a divorce document to his wife ... (*Git.* 29b V<sup>18</sup>)

האי מאן דמזבין ליה דקלא לחבריה ... one who sells a date palm to another ...  
(*B. Bat.* 37b)

Note that in these examples there are anticipatory pronominal suffixes after the verbs following the preposition ל- (see above [§9.2.1.3]).

#### 9.4.1.2 The dative preposition נהיל-, ניל-

The forms נהיל-, ניל- are used as prepositions introducing pronominal datives:

<sup>235</sup> In a MS Oxford we find סבר, “do you disagree with the opinion,” instead of הוה מידכר.

<sup>236</sup> Nöldeke (2001: 148).

אהדרתיה ניהלך I returned it to you (*B. Qam.* 40b)

את אמרתה ניהלך You told it to us (*'Erub.* 66b)

In Yemenite manuscripts and in HPS this preposition is usually written as two forms:

במחתרתא אהדרונהו ניה ליה Secretly they returned it to him (*Sanh.* 72a)

Historically this is probably a reduplication of ליה with a (perhaps, dissimilation) shift of  $l > n$  (§3.1.2) < ניהליה < ליהליה.<sup>237</sup> A phenomenon of such doubling is known in Galilean Aramaic and in the Aramaic of Ma'alula as well. The repetition of the expression ליה can be related to the phenomenon of anticipatory pronominal suffixes discussed earlier (§9.2.1.3).

#### 9.4.2 Non-argument dative

In JBA, as is the case in other Semitic and non-Semitic languages, it is possible to add another participant to the predication with a dative marker indicating a participant affected from the action described by the predication,<sup>238</sup> in JBA it is added after the proposition *l*. This participant can be affected in different ways:<sup>239</sup>

##### 1 The one experiencing the action:

מלתא דניחא ליה ללווה A matter which satisfies the borrower ... (lit., that which is satisfying to him, to the borrower ...) (*B. Bat.* 172a)

קשיא לי I find this difficult (lit., This is difficult for me) (*B. Bat.* 40a)

##### 2 Possessor, Benefactive [*dativus commodi*]:

אמתיה דר' חייה איגלי לה חמרא מבשלא PN's maidservant's boiled wine uncovered (*'Abod. Zar.* 30a)

אגניב ליה כסא דכספא מאושפיזיה A silver goblet belonging to him was stolen from his inn (*B. Meṣi'a* 24a)

איתרחיש ליה ניסא A miracle occurred to him (*Ber.* 53b)

<sup>237</sup> On this point, see Kutscher (1962: 157); for an alternative proposal, see Epstein (1960: 23).

<sup>238</sup> Inter alia Horn (2008).

<sup>239</sup> See Bar-Asher (2007).

### 3 Location:

סחיפ' ליה משכלתא ארישיה The wash-basin is placed upside-down upon its [the idol's] head ('Abod. Zar. 51b)

Three other phenomena should be mentioned in this context, since they might be understood better in the light of the observations made here:

- a It is possible to understand the predicative possessive construction (§4.6.2.1) as a combination of an existential predicate with a beneficiary.
- b The reflexive dative: Following a verb there is commonly a reflexive pronoun after the preposition *l*. The reflexive dative usually expresses that the subject of the sentence is affected as well:

אזל ליה גברא דהוה מסתפינא מניה The man whom I feared has died (Mo'ed Qat. 24a)

נפיק ליה רישיה His head goes out (lit., his head to it goes out) (Nid. 26a)

- c The agent of passive sentences is marked with a similar dative expression; it is possible that the two phenomena are related (§9.6).<sup>240</sup>

## 9.5 Passive participle

The form of the Pe-stem passive participle has been discussed already (see §5.3.5.1 for sound verbs). Though traditionally given as part of the Pe-stem paradigm, the meaning of this adjective is somewhat unpredictable. It is often used for the attribute resulting from the process denoted by one of the T-stems. Note the following examples:

שכ"ח Pe, Pa “to forget” / Af “to find” / Itpe “to be forgotten; found”

שכיח “present, available; familiar”

צריך Itpe “to be necessary; need, require”

צריך “necessary; in need, needy”

When substantivized, the passive participle often denotes the object resulting from the action of the verb; thus כתיבא, for example, has the sense “written object”.

Because of its resultative nuance, the passive participle is often used where English might have a present perfect verb. Note the following examples:

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<sup>240</sup> Bar-Asher (2007).



לא פסיקא מילתיה לכרת His case has not yet been decided [the penalty being] *karet* (*Mak.* 13b)

שקילי ניביה Its teeth have been removed (*B. Qam.* 83a)

Occasionally, the passive participle has an active sense; in such cases, which are more common with intransitive verbs, it denotes one who *has done* the action of the verb. Thus שכיב, the passive participle of the verb שכ"ב "to lie down, to die", has the sense "having lain down, having died".

שכיבו תרי בנה Her two sons died (*Sanh.* 97a)

## 9.6 Passive clauses

Grammatical voice is the product of a relationship between two clauses – one labeled "active" and the other "passive" – that fulfills the following conditions:

- 1 The subject of the active clause corresponds either to an optional oblique complement or to nothing in the passive clause.
- 2 The direct object of the active clause, if expressed, corresponds to the subject of the passive clause.
- 3 The two clauses share the same predicate and the same participants.<sup>241</sup>

Voice is marked grammatically by the verbal form. As noted above (§8.1.1), a difference in voice is indicated grammatically by a difference in stem: The passive form is in one of the T-stems. Note, for example, the following pair of clauses:

כתוב סהדי גיטא The witnesses wrote a divorce document (*Git.* 63b)

כי איכתיב האי גיטא When this divorce document was written (*Yebam.* 116a)

In JBA reference to the subject of an active clause, i.e., the agent, is usually absent from the corresponding passive clause. When it does appear, it occurs in one of the following ways:

- 1) as the object of the preposition -ל. This can be seen in the following examples:

ראשונים לא איפשיט להו [This problem] was not solved by previous generations (*Ber.* 51a)

כל היכי דמתכל לי Just as I eat (lit., just as it is eaten by me) (*Pesaḥ.* 89b)

<sup>241</sup> For an elaboration, see Bar-Asher Siegal (2010).

מידי דלא חשיב להו לאינשי לא לישתכח להו Something that is not important to people will not be found by them (*Šabb.* 82a)

ואתנקיטו ב>נ<י יהודאי לאמגושי The children of the Jews were seized by the Magian priests (*ISGS* 97: 8; 2)

- 2) as in Syriac as the object of the preposition (מ)ן. In the BT, however, it seems to be restricted to verbs in which the “agent” in the passive sentences can also be perceived as taking the semantic role of “source”; hence the appearance of this preposition is expected to some degree:

ו[כל היכא דלא איפשר לא]י[שתלומי מהאי משתלם מהאי As much as it is possible to be recompensed by this one, he is recompensed by this one (*B.Qam.* 53a)

שליח' דבי דינא הוא דלא איפייס מינאי It is the messenger of the court who was not bribed by me (*Šebu.* 30b)

דלא ליכסיף (ליה) מיניה ... so that he should not be shamed by him (*Šabb.* 104a)<sup>242</sup>

In GBA the introduction of the agent with this preposition seems to be more common, with the same type of semantic function:

איתפציאו יתומים מינהון The orphans were indemnified by them (*TGHark* 268:29)

But also more broadly, this preposition marks the agent:

בבית דינא דיממני מן בבא דמחיבתא In a court which is appointed by the Geonic court (*SSHai* 18a)

### 9.7 The *qtil li* construction<sup>243</sup>

It was noted earlier (§9.5) that the passive participle can be used for the perfect. Immediately above, we saw that the agent of a passive verb, when expressed, occurs as the object of the preposition -ל. The two may be found together; in JBA, this construction occurs most often – though not exclusively – with verbs of perception, such as שמ"ע “to hear” and חז"י “to see”. Note, how-

<sup>242</sup> In this case the object of the preposition מן is not an agent in the semantic sense, but the source of the sense of shame.

<sup>243</sup> On the history and nature of the *qtil li* construction in JBA, see Bar-Asher (2007) and Bar-Asher Siegal (2010).

ever, the following example:

ולא קטיל לכו כינא אמנא You have not killed the louse on the garment  
(Šabb. 82a)

In the later period of Aramaic (in the NENA dialects, for example), the passive participle with *-ל* followed by the agent *grammaticalized* as the standard means of expressing the perfect and, eventually, the preterite; in fact, with time this construction came to replace the suffix conjugation entirely. In the course of these developments, the appearance of the preposition *-ל* followed by a pronominal suffix referring to the agent became obligatory, even when the agent was also expressed nominally (as a anticipatory pronominal suffix). The passive participle, preposition, and pronominal suffix fused together, resulting in a new verbal paradigm. The whole process is best regarded as having occurred in the following stages:

- 1 passive participle + [*-ל* + agent];
- 2 [passive participle + *-ל* + pronominal suffix (referring to the agent)] + [*-ל* + agent];
- 3 [passive participle + *-ל* + pronominal suffix (referring to the agent)] + agent.

In Syriac, for example, only the first stage occurs, but clauses of the second type are the standard in JBA. Note the following example:

אי הוה שמיעא ליה למר הא If my lord has heard this ... (Erub. 38b)

This fact is related to what we have encountered earlier in this chapter (§9.2.1.3): If one of the arguments of the verb appears with a preposition, it also appears next to the verb with an anticipatory pronominal suffix.

When the agent appears dislocated before the verb, the preceding *-ל* may be omitted; this is perhaps the beginning of the third stage. Note the following example:

ר' אלעזר כסמכוס סבירא ליה PN<sub>1</sub> agrees with PN<sub>2</sub> (B. Qam. 18a)

# Chapter 10

## 10.1 Dependent clauses

Dependent subordinate clauses are embedded as constituents in independent clauses, also called matrix sentences. They substitute all possible lexical categories (noun, adjective and adverbs). This section focuses on the functions of these clauses and how they are marked within the main clause. We will proceed as follows with regard to each construction:

- 1 What is its function in the larger environment of the main clause?
- 2 How is the dependent clause introduced in the main clause?

### 10.1.1 Syndetic vs. asyndetic depended clauses

In JBA a dependent clause is almost always syndetic and introduced by the element -ד:

אנא דהואי בי מדרשא קבילתה I, who was in the academy, received it (*Beṣah* 24b)

Rarely they are asyndetic:

בי רדו יומא An area of field that can be plowed in one day (lit., An estate they plow in one day) (*B. Bat. F<sup>2</sup> Es M V<sup>22</sup> 12a*)

Asyndetic clauses are more common in direct speech (below §10.1.2.1.3.3) and with certain verbs that regularly take dependent clauses as their complements (below §10.1.2.1.3.1).

## 10.1.2 The role of the dependent clause as a constituent in the matrix clause

### 10.1.2.1 Noun clauses

Noun clauses are clauses that take the position of noun phrases in the matrix clause. They will be introduced according to their syntactic role in the matrix clause.

#### 10.1.2.1.1 Subject clauses

10.1.2.1.1.1 Occasionally -ד alone is sufficient to introduce a subject clause (usually to introduce generic statements):

דאית ליה תורא ראעי חד יומא. דלית ליה תורא רעי תרי יומי The one who has an ox should tend the oxen for one day; the one who has no ox should tend

them for two days (*Sanh.* 109a)

לוחלל זרע ליה [יה] זרע ליהלל. דלית ליה] זרע לא ליהלל  
Whoever has semen can profane; whoever does not have semen cannot profane (*Soṭah* 26b)

This is especially the case in nominal sentences following the predicate. Note that the “copula” is always masculine.

מילתא בעלמא הוא דקא עביד He is just doing something (lit., That which he is doing is something in the world) (*Giṭ.* 52b)

בדין הוא דאיסורא נמי ליכא According to the law, there is no prohibition (*B. Meṣi'a* 90a)

We will return to this type of sentence below (§10.3).

10.1.2.1.1.2 Subject clauses usually follow a pronoun + -7.

a. Demonstrative pronouns (§3.3.2) – The proximal demonstrative can be used anaphorically when referring to a specific individual:

האי דקאמ' חציה ניהוי כמשיב אבדה The person who said “half of it [is mine]” should be categorized as someone who returns a lost object (*B. Meṣi'a* 8a)

With the distal demonstrative before -7, the clause can be used to introduce the topic of the unit. This is similar to the use of the demonstrative in the adnominal position (§3.3.2.2.3.3). Note the following example:

ההוא דנחית קמיה דרבא. אמ' ... A certain man who positioned himself to pray in the presence of PN said ... (*Ber.* 14b)

b. Interrogative pronouns (§4.4) – This construction may appear with a non-specific reference, mostly in generic statements:

מאן דלא יהיב כרגא משתעבד למאן דיהיב כרגא Whoever does not pay the poll tax can be enslaved to whoever pays the poll tax (*B. Meṣi'a* 73b)

מאי דתפיס דידיה הוא מאי דתפיס דידיה הוא Whatever he is holding belongs to him (*B. Meṣi'a* 3a)

This, though, can also be the case with a specific reference:

PN<sub>1</sub> ר' מאיר חייש ... רבן גמל' ... לא חייש. ודיל' מאן דחייש ... ומאן דלא חייש ...  
PN<sub>1</sub> takes into consideration ... PN<sub>2</sub> ... does not. Perhaps the one who takes

into consideration ..., the one who does not take into consideration ...  
(*Yebam.* 18a)

מאן דלביש מדה ילבש מדה ומאן דלא לביש מדה יימר למאן דלביש מדה שלח מדך  
ואנא אלבשיניה The one who wears a garment will wear a garment, and  
the one who does not wear a garment would say to the one who  
wears a garment: "Remove your garment and I will wear it" (*Ber.* 28a)

Very rarely is -ד missing, and its infrequent absence is most likely a case of  
asyndetic clause:

מאן קיציה להאי ליקוץ ענפיה Whoever cut<sup>244</sup> it [the cedar] down, may his  
branches be cut down (*B Meṣi'a* 108a)<sup>245</sup>

c. After כל "every" to express generic statements:

כל דאית ליה ריחא אית ליה קיווא Whichever [food] has a smell is acerbic  
(*Ketub.* 61a)

d. Often interrogatives follow כל "every" to express generic statements (spe-  
cific and non-specific):

כל מאן דהוה טריק ליה עקרבה לא הוי חיי Whomever a scorpion stings will  
not live (*Ber.* 58b)

כל מה דעביד רחמנא לטב Everything that God does is for good (*Ber.* 60b)

כל מאן דהוה ליה ברתא אפקה Everyone who had a daughter brought her  
out (*Meg.* 12b)

e. Often both a demonstrative and an interrogative appear together to express  
generic statements. This function is related to the generic uses of the  
proximal demonstratives (§3.3.2.2.3.3):

האי מאן דבעי נידע אי מסיק שתא ואילא ניתי ... Whoever wants to know if he  
will or will not live for the entire coming year should come ... (*Ker.* 5b)

#### 10.1.2.1.2 Predicate clause

The predicate clause is always introduced with a -ד.

הא דלא כאבא שאול This one is not according to PN (*Pesaḥ.* 32b)

<sup>244</sup> In other manuscripts there is a clear suffix-conjugation form.

<sup>245</sup> While the lack of -ד is attested in some manuscripts (F<sup>1</sup>, M), other manuscripts (Es, V<sup>23</sup>, V<sup>117</sup>) reveal -ד after מאן.

### 10.1.2.1.3 Object clause

#### 10.1.2.1.3.1 Object clauses usually follow -ד:

כול ודלית ליה לא תיכול דאית ליה אי(י) You may eat whichever has them [feet],  
and you may not eat whichever does not have them (*Hul.* 66a)

... חזא טוב דהוה כתיב ... He saw again that it was written ... (*B. Bat.* 58a)

ידענא דרבנן משום מיטרא קא אתו I know that the rabbis are coming because  
of the rain (*Ta'an.* 23b)

Certain verbs such as בע"י “to need, to want” regularly take clauses as their complements, and occasionally are asyndetic. Compare the following two sentences (see also §11.1.2.4):

בעינא אשתבועי I need to swear (*B. Meṣi'a* 4b)

ובעינא דאיקנסייה And I want to punish him (*B. Qam.* 96b)

#### 10.1.2.1.3.2 Often object clauses follow the interrogative מה (or מאי) “what,” (§4.4) followed by -ד:

מאי דעבד עבד There is nothing to do about what he already did (lit.,  
Whatever he has done, he has done) (*Giṭ.* 90a)

ציית מאי דקא אמ' לך רבך Follow what your rabbi is telling you (*Zebaḥ.* 100b)

The object clause may appear with the direct object marker -ל at the beginning (§9.2.1):

אתו גנבי ושקלי למאי דאיכא בהדיה Robbers came and took what he had with  
him (*B. Meṣi'a* 32b)

Again, it may appear after כל “every”:

נשי כל מה דאית להו(י) [י] סדרן אהדדי בבית הכסא Women tell each other every-  
thing that is going on in their lives in the restroom (*Giṭ* 45a)

However, as was the case in the example above, this generic sense can still be conveyed with a simple -ד:

דעלך סני לחברך לא תעביד Do not do to another what you dislike (lit., Do  
not do to another whatever is hated by you) (*Šabb.* 31a)<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> This passage has an archaic flavor to it and it is attributed to Hillel the Elder who

**10.1.2.1.3.3** When the main verb describes a speech or thought, the object clause can be found in either direct or indirect speech. Indirect speeches can also be regular object clauses, and they appear with -7 as well:

אמר לי ההוא מרבנן ... דאי הוה יהבי ליה כל חללי דעלמא A certain rabbi said to me ... that if he were given him all the empty space of the world ... (*Sanh.* 97a)

Direct speech can be asyndetic, but it can also be syndetic (unlike English). The following example shows both options in one context – the first is asyndetic and the second is syndetic:

אמר ר' זירא לא נימא ליה אנוש לינוקא דיהיבנא לך מידי ולא יהיב ליה PN said: “A person should not say to a child: ‘I will give you something’ and then not give it to him” (*Sukkah* 46b)

#### 10.1.2.1.4 Dependent clauses as the topic of the matrix clause

Often in JBA one of the constructions that introduces subject clauses (§10.1.2.1.1) introduces a clause that functions similarly to a dislocated noun (with a resumptive pronoun in the main clause):

בר הדיא מפשר חלמי הוה. מאן דיהיב ליה זוזא מפשר ליה חילמיה לטבא. ומאן דלא יהיב ליה חילמיה לבישא PN was an interpreter of dreams. Whoever gave him money, *for him* he would interpret the dream positively. However, whoever did not give him money, *for him* he would interpret the dream negatively (*Ber.* 56a)

The following sentence should be analyzed similarly, for the clause that begins with מאן דאי is to be understood as the topic (without a resumptive pronoun in the main clause):

האי מאן דמזבין ליה דקלא לחבריה קני ליה משפוליה ועד תהומא Whoever sells a date palm to another person, *he* [i.e., the buyer] purchases it from its lower portion down to the abyss (*B. Bat.* 37b)

Notice the change of subjects between the two clauses.

#### 10.1.2.2 Adjective clauses

Adjective clauses modify nouns and pronouns in the matrix clause.

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lived around the first century BCE.



10.1.2.2.1 Both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses can follow a -ד:

Restrictive:

שמואל לא מצלי בביחא דאית ביה שיכרא PN would not pray in a house in which there was an alcoholic beverage ('*Erub.* 65a)

Non-restrictive:

ולד דאית ליה חיותא סריך. סנדל לית ליה חיות' שריק ונפיל <sup>247</sup> An embryo, which has life, adheres [to the vagina]; an unviable fetus, which does not have life, glides and goes out (*Nid.* 26a)

10.1.2.2.2 In adjective clauses, unlike in English and other Indo-European languages, the role of the antecedent in the dependent clause is not indicated by a relative pronoun. However, its role might be indicated in other ways depending on its role in the dependent clause.

If its role is the subject, then the predicate (in verbal clause the verb) agrees with it:

חיויא דאפטיק ושדי בתרי גובי A snake that was cut and thrown in two pieces (*Šabb.* V 156b)

If the dependent clause has an existential predication (§4.6), there is no formal indication of the subject within the embedded clause:

והאי דאיכא דכהן הוא The one that [still] exists belongs to the priest (*Bek.* 18b)

If it is the direct object of the verb, it might be marked pronominally as a direct object:

כל פסוקא דלא פסקיה משה אנן לא פסקינן ליה Every verse that Moses did not divide we also do not divide (*Ta'an.* 27b)

But often without a resumptive pronoun:

מנא הא מ[י] לתא דאמרי אינשי Whence [do we know] this statement that people say? (*B. Qam.* 93a)

If it is a prepositional phrase, a resumptive pronoun is (almost) mandatory:

הא חביצא דאית ביה פירוורין כזית This *ḥabiṣa* [=type of dish], which contains

<sup>247</sup> In MS V<sup>5</sup> the second clause is asyndetic; however, this might be a typographical error, since MSs V<sup>3</sup>, M have דלית.

(lit., that there is in it) olive-sized pieces ... (*Ber.* 37b)

... היה שטרא דהוה כתיב ביה ... A certain deed, in which it was written ...  
(*B. Meṣi'a* 68b)

לא שביק איניש מידי דאית ליה הנאה מיניה One does not give up on something  
that causes him pleasure (*Qidd.* 64b)

If, however, the semantic role of the antecedent in the main clause is similar to its role in the dependent clause (and they are marked in a similar way), then the resumptive pronoun will usually not appear:<sup>248</sup>

בשתא דמסהי' מר לא מסהיד מר Concerning the year that the one testifies the  
other does not testify (*B. Bat.* 56b)

קדיש בַּהֵיא יומא דמישלם שית He betrothed [her] on the day when the six  
[months] were completed (*Qidd.* 79a)

When it is not the same semantic role (and it is expressed with a different preposition), a resumptive pronoun appears in the dependent clause:

מאן דמיקלע לַאתרא דלית ביה ספרא יהודאא Whoever happens to come to a  
place without a Jewish scribe ... (*HPS* 130:12)

**10.1.2.2.3** When the expected antecedent of the adjectival clause is an indefinite pronoun, an ellipsis is common. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

I a. איכא אינשי דמשדרי חמרא במנא דכיילא ושתו There are people who send  
wine in a measuring vessel and drink it (*Beṣaḥ* 29a)

b. איכא דגאני שבעין שנין Is there someone who can sleep for seventy  
years? (*Ta'an.* 23a)

II a. ההוא גברא דאשכח כופרא במעצרתא A certain person found a pitch in a wine  
press (lit., The man who found) (*B. Meṣi'a* 23b)

b. ... ההוא דהוה רגיל למימר ... A certain person who used to say ... (*Pesaḥ.* 4a)

Or when the antecedents can be reconstructed from the context, they may not appear:

איכא דאמרי דלא תינסיב גיורתא There are [rabbis] who say [that the reason  
is] so that you will not marry a proselyte (*Ber.* 8b)

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<sup>248</sup> Schlesinger (1928: 210), Levias (1930: 362).

**10.1.2.2.4** In all the above examples adjective clauses were syndetic. In one specific construction the default is asyndetic, and this is in reason questions, which are introduced as the object question: מאי טעמא “what is the reason that ...”? Accordingly, the information that is in need of explanation is the adjective clause modifying the noun טעמא “reason”. Since clauses that introduce such information do not follow -ד, they can be considered asyndetic:

מאי טעמא משתיק ליה רב What is the reason that PN silences him? (*Hul.* 15a)

It is possible however that the combination of the two components מאי טעמא were perceived as a single unit meaning “why” and accordingly function as an adverb. If this is the case, then the clause with the information would not have been perceived as an adjectival clause. This, though, is less likely since the word can be modified without a clause:

מאי טעמא דר' אליעזר What is PN's reason? (*Zebah.* 77a)

In addition, the order of the two components may be reversed as in the following example:

טעמא מאי עבד הכי What is the reason that he did so? (*Yebam.* 121a)

### 10.1.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses function similar to other adverbs in the matrix clause.

10.1.2.3.1 These clauses can be marked simply with -ד. The semantic relationship between the clauses of the complex sentence is inferred from the context. In reason clauses:

לא יכילנא דחליש חילי מן תעניתא I cannot, since I am weak (lit., my strength is weak) on account of the fasting (*Meg.* 16a)

בבלאי טפשאי דאכלי נהמא בנהמא The Babylonians are stupid since they eat bread with bread (*Beṣah* 16a)

In temporal clauses:

הני מילי דאית ליה פסידא לניזק This is true when the plaintiff has some loss (*B. Qam.* 34b)

10.1.2.3.2 Otherwise these adverbial clauses are introduced with compound conjunctions consisting of a conjunction followed by -ד:

בתר דבעיא הדר פשטה After he asked about it, he then explained it (*Qidd.* 9b)

כסי רישך כי היכי דליהוי עלך אימתא דשמיא Cover your head so that the fear of God (lit., heaven) will be upon you (*Šabb.* 156b)

בבלאי טפשאי משום דיתבי באתרא דחשוכא אמרי שמעתת' דמחשן The Babylonians are stupid. Since they dwell in a place of darkness, they cite traditions that darken (*Bek.* 25b)

In adjective clauses with generic-type nouns as the antecedent (§10.1.2.2.2), as is the case with אתרא “place,” and עידנא “time”:

מי איכא דשארי כי האי מילתא באתרא דשכיחי קילפי Is there anyone who allows this where scales are common? (*‘Abod. Zar.* 40a)

גני פורתא בעידנא דגנו אינשי He lies down for a short time when people lie down (*B. Mešī’a* 93b)

Since the preposition appears before the generic-type nouns there is, in these cases, no resumptive pronoun (§10.1.2.2.2).

### 10.1.2.3.3 Compounds that contain כל + interrogative + -7 have a generic sense:

כל אימת ד	whenever
כל היכא ד	wherever
כל היכי(ו) ד	in any way that
כל כמה ד	as long as, as much as

### 10.1.3 General observations

- 1 Dependent clauses of all types begin with -7. Asyndetic sentences are extremely rare. This -7 does not function as a pronoun, but simply as a conjunction or as a part of the conjunction. It therefore can be taken either from the perspective of the subordinate clause as a dependency/subordination marker, or from the perspective of the matrix sentence as a nominalizer, i.e., that which transforms the sentence to a noun/adjective/adverb phrase (see Bar-Asher Siegal 2013b).
- 2 Interrogatives themselves are not relative pronouns in JBA. They appear only before dependent clauses that substitute for nouns but not for adjectives; these clauses must be followed by -7. Overall there is a tendency to

add a pronoun (either a demonstrative or an interrogative) in the matrix clause as an explicit antecedent to the dependent clause.

- 3 When כל “every” appears prior to the dependent clause, generic statements can be expressed; often these are non-specific clauses. (This is similar to interrogative+*ever*, i.e., whoever, whichever, etc., in English.)

## 10.2 Conditional clauses

### 10.2.1 Conditional clauses with the conjunction **אִי/אוּ**<sup>249</sup>

Conditional clauses are complex sentences. However, since none of their clauses substitute a noun, -ד is not expected at the beginning of the clause. This can be noted in the following examples:

אי דקלא טבא הוא שוריי שייריה    If it is a good palm tree, then he certainly retained it (*B. Bat.* 69b)

However, in a certain construction, the conditional conjunction **אִי/אוּ** is followed by -ד. The reason for -ד in these conditional clauses is that it seems to be an elliptical construction in which the equivalent word to the English noun “case” should be added (see also §2.2.2.2). Alternatively, it should be noted that this usage of the conditional conjunction in the majority of the examples appears after the question היכי דאמי (lit., What does it look like?), best translated as, “What exactly is the case?”, or other questions of clarification. Often the discussion after such questions begins with **אִי/אוּ** נימא/לימא ד, “If we would say”. Accordingly, we might speculate that at least originally these clauses were markers of direct speech, with an ellipsis of the verb אמ”ר “to say”. Compare the following sentences:

היכי דאמי. אי נימא דלא ירדו    What exactly is the case? If we would say that they have not descended ... (*Zebah.* 87a)

היכי דאמי. אי דאית בהו ממושא ... ואי דלית בהו ממושא ...  
What exactly is the case? If [it is the case that] they have substance ... if [it is the case that] they do not have substance ... (*Zebah.* 86a)

היכי דאמי. או דאיכא סכנה    What exactly is the case? If we assume that there is a danger ... (*Pesah.* 25a)

<sup>249</sup> As for the interchange of **אִי/אוּ**, see §1.2.2.7.1.

### 10.2.2 Other conditional conjunctions

In addition to the conjunction **אי/או**, which precedes the protasis of conditional sentences, JBA has several more conjunctions. These conjunctions can be derived historically from a compound containing the element **אי**, with various particular uses for each:

**איכו** – used at the beginning of the protasis of counterfactual conditional sentences:

**איכו השתא לא אתאי סכינתון לבראי** Had I not come now, you would have endangered my son (*Ber.* 25b)

**השתא איכו שכיבי ולא אמרי לכו הא מילתא** Had I died, I could not have told you this (*Šabb.* 152b)

Similar to the expression “if only” in English, **איכו** also indicates the wish of any previous incident that did not occur in reality. Note the following examples:

**איכו נפל בההוא גברא זמאמא ולא אמר כי הא מילתא** Had a muzzle only been placed on me (lit., on that man), I would not have said such a thing (*Sanh.* 107a)

Note the use of the conjunction **-ו** at the beginning of the second clause, indicating the consequences of what is described in the first clause.

**אלו (< לוי)** – These conjunctions are used at the beginning of the protasis of counterfactual conditional sentences. They are often (but not exclusively) found in questions:<sup>250</sup>

**אילו את' איניש אחרינ' וא' לכון דחרב בית המקד'. מי הוה נדריתון** If someone else came and told you that the temple was destroyed, would you have vowed? (*Naz.* 32b)

**ואלו בטלי כותים עבדינן חד יומא** If there were no Samaritans, would we do only one day? (*Beṣaḥ* 4b)

Even if the sentence itself is not a question, often sentences with these prepositions at the beginning of the protasis are embedded in a larger question. This is true in the following example:

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<sup>250</sup> **אלו** has another function, not related to conditional clauses, meaning “whereas”.

הכא כיון דבעידנא דאפקא לא הוה בה שיעור אכילה לא מיחייב. או דילמא כיון דאילו  
 אשתיק ולא חשיב עליה מיחייב אמחשבה דזריעא השתא נמי מיחייב In this case, since  
 it did not have enough measurement for eating when he took it out, he  
 would not be culpable. But would you say that if he were silent and did  
 not think about it, he would be culpable for this original thought of  
 sowing? (*Šabb.* 91a)

אלמלי/אלמלא – This conjunction, when used before a complete verbal sentence,  
 indicates a protasis of counterfactual conditional sentences:

אילמלי חזיתיה מקמיה הוה עדיפנא ומחדדנא טפי Had I seen him from the front, I  
 would have been even better and even sharper (*‘Erub.* 13b)

Before a noun these conjunctions express a counterfactual conditional clause,  
 which describes the non-existence of an entity that actually exists; this is sim-  
 ilar to the English expression, “Were it not for X ...”. The existential predica-  
 tion is expressed here without an overt existential predicate (§4.6.1):

אילמלי עליא לא מתקיימין אתכליא Were it not for the leaves (lit., if the leaves  
 did not exist), the clusters could not exist (*Hul.* 92a)

ואלמלא עוקצא דעקרברא דטריק ליה לכסיל לא הוה מתקיים עלמא If it were not for  
 the stinger of the Scorpio, which stings Orion, the world could not exist  
 (*Ber.* 58b)

אפ(י)לו (אף אי לו <) – The conjunctions added to the conditional conjunction pro-  
 vide the meaning of “even if”:

אפילו תימא רבנן Even if you say: “This is the opinion of the rabbis ...”  
 (*Qidd.* 77b)

### 10.3 Cleft sentences

A cleft sentence is a type of complex sentence. It is called cleft, i.e., “cleaved,  
 divided”, since the information which could be given in one clause is divided  
 into two parts. In most cases this construction is used to focus on one part of  
 the sentence. In JBA cleft sentences are extremely common, probably due to  
 the dialectic style of the BT. As in other Semitic languages, though, the  
 structure of cleft sentences is similar to a sentence with a subject clause, where  
 the focused element is the predicate of the sentence (above [§10.2.1.1]):

האי הוא דבאעי עקירה It is this that requires uprooting (lit., This is that  
 which requires “uprooting”) (*Pesah.* 73b)

Historically this was a dislocation (§4.5).

הוא	דבאעי עקירה	-	האי
subject	predicate		topic

This became a construction, however, in which the focused element is the predicate. Consequently, הוא could be analyzed in one of two ways: either this is the pronominal antecedent of the dependent clause (in line with the tendency mentioned earlier to have an explicit antecedent in the matrix clause), and therefore always the 3m sg independent pronoun; or it could be analyzed as a copula, appearing after the predicate and agreeing with the dependent clause. Without information about the prosody, it is impossible to decide definitively between these two options. There is one piece of evidence, though, that supports the second: When the focused element is the independent pronoun הוא, instead of another הוא, we encounter the copulative form ניהו. As noted earlier (§4.5.2.3), this is probably a result of a dissimilation, indicating that the prosody was a copula. This can be seen in the following sentence:

הוא ניהו דכי עביד מיחייב It is he who, when he does [so], is liable (*Šabb.* 154b)

In any case the form does not vary according to the predicate, and הוא appears with plural predicates as well:

וזהרירי בעלמא הוא דחזא They were just rays that he saw (*Sanh.* 42a)

As expected (for either analyses), these sentences may also appear without a pronoun at all:

והא אביי ורבא דאמרו דתרויהו But it was both PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> who said ... (*Sukkah* 33b)

Moreover, at this stage, it is common for another element to be dislocated:

האי "קדש הלולים" להכי הוא דאתא

As for the words קדש הלולים in the verse, it is for this reason that they appear (*Ber.* 35a)

Assuming that a cleft sentence has a non-divided equivalent sentence, the focus can be categorized according to its syntactic role in a similar non-divided sentence.

Subject:

איהו דאפסיד אנפשיה It is he who brought the loss upon himself (*Ketub.* 56a)

אינהו הוא דקא מטעו נפשייהו It is they who are deceiving themselves (*Hul.* 94b)



Object:

מילתא יתירתא הוא דעבד It is a superfluous thing that he has done (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 21a)

Adverbs:

לנטורי תרביציה הוא דעבד It is in order to protect his courtyard that he did it (*Erub.* 90a)

ביום טוב הוא דאסיר It is on a holiday that it is forbidden (*Šabb.* 25a)

בהא מילתא הוא דשאני אבל בכל מילי כהדדי נינהו It is in relation to this matter that they are different, but in all other aspects they are similar (*Sanh.* 61b)

The focus may even be the verb; in this case the focused element is the infinitive of the verb, which is similar to the construction of the cognate object, introduced below in (§11.1.5):<sup>251</sup>

זבוני הוא דלא מזבין. הא יעודי מייעד לה He is not allowed to sell her, but he can betroth her (*Qidd.* 18b)

Finally, it must be noted that, as is common in other Semitic languages,<sup>252</sup> original cleft sentences appear with interrogatives (see §4.4). In these cases the usage of such constructions does not necessarily have discursive functions (such as focusing):

מהו דתימא מצי אמ' ליה אידך What would you say (lit., What is it that you may say): “The other may say to him ...” (*B. Bat.* 6b)

## 10.4 Negation

### 10.4.1 The negators

JBA has two negators: לא and לאו which, *prima facie*, seem to interchange freely. They are not determined by the category of the following phrase, as both appear before all grammatical categories.<sup>253</sup>

Verbs:

אנא לא אמרי לך I didn't tell you (*Git.* 56b)

<sup>251</sup> See Goldenberg (1998: 51–54).

<sup>252</sup> Huehnergard and Pat-El (2007).

<sup>253</sup> C.f. Schlesinger (1928: 143–153).

... לא אמרי לך ... Didn't I tell you that ... (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 18b)

Nouns:

כל דיין דמתקרי לדין לא שמיה דיין A judge that is brought to a lawsuit is not called a judge (lit., his name is not judge.) (*B. Bat.* 58a)

כל דיינא דלא דאין כי האי דינא לאו דיינא הוא A judge who does not rule according to this rule is not a judge (*B. Meṣi'a* 36b)

Adjectives:

משחא נפיש פסידיה. אבל חמרא דלא נפיש פסידיה ... Oil has excessive loss, but wine that doesn't have excessive loss ... (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 12a)

אטו ההוא גברא לאו יהודאה הוא Is this one [i.e., am I] not a Jewish man? (*'Abod. Zar.* 76b)

Despite what seems to be a free choice between the two options, some distributional tendencies can be traced and will be proposed below.

#### 10.4.2 Historical background

לאו – This form is the result of a contraction of the other negator, לא, with the independent pronoun: *lā+hu* [not+he]> *law*. As such לאו הוא could negate an entire clause, since it carries the basic meaning: “It is not the case”. This function can still be found in replies to questions:

א'ל. אית לך נכסי בקפוטקיא. א'ל. לאו He said to him: “Do you have property in GN?” He replied: “No.” (*Ber.* 56b)

There are rare examples with a feminine pronoun (לאו היא < לאיי):

מאי אמרת ... דיל' ... לאיי What would you say, perhaps ... it is not so! (*Tem.* 8b)

This function is also still used in cleft sentences:

לאו דמברייך עליה ושתי ליה לא דמברייך עליה ומנח ליה Is this not the case when he recites a blessing upon it and drinks it? No, [this is the case] when he recites a blessing upon it and leaves it (*Ber.* 52a)

In other words, the negation is the main predicate, and the contracted לאו is either the subject or the agreement marker appearing with the predicate and clause as the antecedent. However, synchronically, in JBA לאו appears without -ו. In light of our previous observations regarding the cleft sentences in

JBA (§10.1.3.1, §10.3.1), the lack of -7 indicates that the negator לא is no longer part of a cleft sentence. Moreover, it appears with other predicates that have their own pronominal subject (or agreement marker):

לאו גזלני נינהו They are not thieves (B. Qam. 79b)

ולאו כל דכן הוא Is it not an argument *a fortiori*? (Qidd. 64a)

לאו אורח ארעא הוא It is not proper behavior (Ber. 62b)

What follows לאו is not necessarily a sentence (hence it is not an asyndetic cleft sentence). This is illustrated by a common sentence in the BT where the adverb הכי “such” follows the negator לאו. Note the following example:

הא לאו הכי [If in fact] it is not so ... (*inter alia* Menah. 55b)

### 10.4.3 Syntactic differences between לא and לאו

The negator לא tends to be next to the verb, while the verb is usually situated in the sentence-final position when the negator לאו appears. Note again the following examples:

ורב נחמן מאי טעמא לא אמר כרב יהודה Why did PN<sub>1</sub> not say what PN<sub>2</sub> said? (Pesah. 43a)

טבא לא הוי בישא A good thing/person never becomes a bad thing/person (Ber. 29a)

לאו עכברא גנב אלא חורא גנב It is not the case that the mouse stole, the hole stole (‘Arak. 30a)

In the following two sentences, compare the location of the adverb שפיר “appropriately”:

לא מעיריב שפיר It is not mixed up appropriately (Šabb. 156a)

שמואל לאו שפיר קא משני ליה PN was not answering him appropriately (B. Mešī’a 56a)

### 10.4.4 Contexts in which לאו is often used

It seems to be the case that לא is unmarked and לאו is marked for the following functions.

1) Negative rhetorical questions:

לאי בהא קא מפלגי Aren’t they disputing this?! (B. Mešī’a 27b)

ולאו חמרא הוא Isn't it a wine? (*Yoma* 76b)

2) Conditional counterfactual sentences:

אי לא גמירנא כסיפתון Had I not learned [about this], you would have embarrassed me (*Hor.* 13b)

אי לא את בהדן לא הוה סליק לן דינא Had you not been with us, our judgment would not have been conclusive (*Sanh.* 30a)

3) To negate a sentence that had been affirmed earlier:

דמר סבר ככרמלית דמיא ומר סבר לאו ככרמלית דמיא The one thought it is like a *karmelit*; the other thought it is not like a *karmelit* (*Šabb.* 3b)

... therefore he did well. On the contrary ... therefore, he did not do well (*B. Bat.* 133b)

דאי אשמעינן בית משום דלצניעותא קא עבידא. אבל שדה דלאו לצניעותא קא עבידא. אימא לא If we were informed about “a house” [i.e., we would have said that the rule is relevant only for a house because] it is designed for privacy. But in the case of “a field” not designed for privacy, perhaps the rule is different (*B. Bat.* 64b)

It is important to note in the last example that the לאו does not negate the following noun, לצניעותא “for privacy”, for this sentence does not intend to express that the “field is designed for non-privacy”. This negation rather indicates that “it is not true that the field is designed for privacy”.

4) To reject a presupposition:

הא דרבי זריקא לאו בפירוש איתמר אלא מכללא איתמר The [opinion of] PN was not said explicitly but indirectly (*Ber.* 11b)

לאו עכברא גנב אלא חורא גנב It is not the case that the mouse stole, but rather the hole stole (*Arak.* 30a)

#### 10.4.5 General observations

A brief note regarding negation is needed in order to grasp the syntactic and functional distribution of the particles לא and לאו. Natural languages usually have either predicate denials (“He didn't come yesterday”) or term negations (“He is not-wise,” “this is unknown”). In both cases the negation indicates that

the sentence without the negation is false.<sup>254</sup> Thus, hypothetically, negation could have been expressed as an external truth-functional propositional connective, as is the case in the cleft construction. We can see this in the following sentences: “it is not the case that he came yesterday”; “it is not the case that he is wise.” As we saw in JBA, לא indeed functions as the negator of cleft sentences, and it is likely that, at least to some extent, it also served as a sentential connective. Thus, it has a syntactic implication: לא, the “regular” non-connective negator tends to be next to the verb, a tendency well known cross-linguistically.<sup>255</sup> However, לא, in contrast to this positioning, usually appears earlier in the sentence, often at the beginning of the predicate.

In general, the pragmatic characteristics of sentential negations can be summed up as follows:

- They are less informative, as they do not indicate why the “root sentence” (i.e., the sentence without the negation part: “it is not the case that ...”) is false.
- Sentential negations as a connector affect the truth-value of the sentence as a whole, without negating specific elements.

Accordingly, sentential negations are expected either when the reasons for the denial of the proposition are insignificant in the context, or when the truth-value of the sentence as a whole is crucial. In negating a presupposition, for example, the reasons for the denial are less important; this is also the case when the negation stands in contrast to a previously affirmed sentence. In the context of negative questions, and in conditional sentences, when only the truth-value of the entire proposition matters, לא is used as well. Thus, to some degree, JBA kept the historical distinction between לא as a regular negator and לא as a connective, predicating over the entire sentence. However, since it is not significant in terms of semantics (the truth value is always the same), the strict boundaries between the two types of negations are not always kept. It is thus only possible to speak about a tendency.

#### 10.4.6 Negation of existential clauses

The negation of sentences using the existential particles אית and איכא is done with forms of these particles that exhibit a contraction with the negation לא

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<sup>254</sup> For an introduction to this topic, see Katz (1977), Geach (1972), and especially Horn (2001).

<sup>255</sup> Inter alia Jespersen (1962, Chapter V).

(§4.6.1); thus the forms: לית (< לא אית) or ליכא (< לא איכא). The syntax and uses of these forms is similar to those of the positive existential clauses, as was discussed earlier (§4.6).

In the light of the discussion in the previous section, it is expected that there will be cases of existential clauses negated with the negation לאו as well. Indeed there are a few examples of such constructions in the expected contexts:

לאו מי איכא רשב'ג דקאי דקאי כותי Is it not the case that there is PN who agrees with me? (*Abod. Zar.* 70b)

It is likely that there were originally more examples of this combination, but ליכא and ליתא were not subsequently perceived as a combination of the two elements but rather as the one unit of the negation of existential clauses. If these developments occurred, it is hard to determine whether it reflects a process of grammaticalization or the result of mistakes in the process of textual transmission. In any case we do find variants for the same line between these two constructions in the manuscripts:

ליכא דנזיל דנסיב עצה לרב הונא (H)

לאו איכא איניש דניזיל ונימ' עצה לרב הונא (V<sup>22</sup>)

Is there no one who can go and advice PN to ... (*B. Bat.* 174b)



# Chapter 11

## 11.1 Infinitive clauses

### 11.1.1 Introduction

Infinitives are non-finite verbal forms that function in the sentence similarly to other lexical categories (noun, adjective and adverbs). They often express the abstract meaning of the verbs, that is, they refer to types of events instead of actual events.

The following facts characterize the morphology of the infinitives: 1) they are not inflected and do not conjugate for tense; 2) they have a stem (§5.3.4, §5.4); 3) they may appear as bare-infinitives (without a preposition), but in most cases they follow the preposition -ל. As will become clear in this chapter, these two forms of the infinitive are often accompanied by different grammatical tendencies; 4) unlike previous stages of Aramaic, including Syriac, JBA does not have a special construct form for the infinitive; this development will be explained presently.

The infinitive is a verb in the sense that it takes an object and occasionally even a subject – or at least the subject of the infinitive can at times be recognizable. We are thus best served in a syntactic discussion to consider infinitive clauses rather than simply infinitive forms. We will proceed as follows with regard to each construction:

- 1 What is its function in the larger environment of the main clause?
- 2 How are all the participants of the infinitive clause (subject and object) represented?

Let us begin by considering the second question. Unlike other North-West Semitic languages, and for that matter also other dialects of Aramaic, the infinitive is not a governing noun in a construct state, having either a noun or a pronoun in the governed state. It is probably for this very reason that JBA has no construct form of the infinitive. Objects of an infinitive are marked in the regular verbal way (introduced in §9.1.3.4), which was already the case in Biblical Aramaic. Thus, when the object is a noun, the regular distinction between definite and indefinite nominal phrases is kept; when the object is a pronoun, it is suffixed to the infinitive as is the case with finite verbs (§9.2.1).

The infinitive as a governing noun appears almost exclusively in a few frozen expressions, such as עִוְלֵי יוֹמָא “the ushering in of a holiday” and אִפּוֹקֵי יוֹמָא “the dismissal of a holiday” (*Ber.* 52a). This formulation can also be seen occasion-



ally after prepositions:

כמישחל ביניתא מחלבא Like drawing a hair out of milk (*Ber.* 8a)

משום אמתוחי אשלא Since it is a case of being towed by ropes (*B. Meṣi'a* 107b)

Note that in this example the governed noun is the subject. It must be noted, however, that nothing prevents us from reading these expressions as consisting of infinitives with direct objects.

This section focuses on the functions of the infinitive clauses. It will be organized according to the lexical category of the element substituted by the infinitive; it will then proceed according to the syntactic position of the infinitive in the sentence in which it appears. If we consider the uses of infinitives as complete clauses, the similarity between the infinitive clauses and other dependent clauses becomes apparent. Indeed in most cases they function in a similar way; therefore it is possible to use both constructions interchangeably. Finally, in most cases, infinitive clauses are part of another main sentence; however, as will become clear, in certain contexts infinitive clauses can stand independently (§11.1.4–5). Thus, the infinitive itself is, in these cases, the main verb of the sentence.

### 11.1.2 Nouns

When the infinitive clause functions as a noun, bare-infinitives are common. This, however, is by no means a rule and ל-infinitives may also occur in this environment.

#### 11.1.2.1 Topic

The infinitive clause can be the topic (a dislocated element) of the sentence. The main clause contains a feminine resumptive pronoun referring back to the infinitive clause:

אסוקי מילתא לית לן בה As for the conclusion of the statement (lit., raising the matter), we do not mind this part (*Yebam.* 106b)

#### 11.1.2.2 Subject

אברויי אילנא אסיר. סתומי פילי שרי It is forbidden to strengthen the tree; it is permitted to fill in the cracks (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 3a)

Similarly it is the subject in the following questions:

מהו למיזל האידינא עליהו Is it permitted to go now to them? (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 10b)

מהו למזבן מיניה Is it permitted to buy from him? ('Abod. Zar. 39a)

In impersonal usages of adjectives (including passive participles) the infinitive functions as the *de facto* subject of the sentence.

ומי שרי למימר כי האי גונא Is it permitted to say so? (B. Qam. 99b)

מאי איפשר למעבד. הא איפשר להו למעבד עבדי What can one do? Whatever is possible for them to do, they do (B. Qam. 38a)

When it is personal, the “logical subject” is marked as the experiencer (§9.4.2); it appears as the object of the dative preposition -ל in the main clause:

שרי ליה לאיניש למימר ליה לחבריה It is permitted for a man to say to another man ... (B. Meṣi'a 69b)

ניחא ליה לאיניש למעבד מצוה בגופיה A man wants to conduct a *miṣvah* with his body (Pesah. 4b)

With passive verbs:

איצטריך למכתב 'הזה' It was necessary that the word “this” was written (Ber. 9a)

The subject of the equivalent active sentence (the “logical subject”) (see below with object clause) follows the preposition -ל (§9.6).

איבעי ליה אסוקי אדעתיה ... He should have brought to mind that ... (B. Qam. 32b)

איבעי ליה למחויי He should have protested (B. Bat. 35b)

In both cases the “logical subject” is part of the main clause and it is also the subject of the infinitive clause. It is impossible to use this construction when the subject is not the same.

An infinitive clause can be the subject of existential predication. Note, however, the following example, which does not contain an existential particle (§4.6.1):

דרגש עיולי ואפוקי באבקתא As for the case of a *dargaš*, there is an inserting in and out (of the ropes) in the loops (Sanh. 20b)

When the adverb “precisely, exclusively, only” appears, and the sentence expresses the occurrence of the event denoted by the verb, the infinitive is similarly the subject of the nominal sentence:

לא דווקא מיחלץ והדר יבומי אבל יבומי ברישא לא (What has been stated is true) only if the *ḥaliṣa* is taking place first and then the *yibbum*; but not if the *yibbum* is taking place first (*Yebam.* 98b)

In the following sentence the infinitive in the subject position appears with the quantifier כל “every”:

כל אכשורי אוכלא כאוכלא דמי Whatever is used for preparing food fit is considered to be food (*Yoma* 80b)

The use of the infinitive in this sentence is unique since it does not refer to the action of the “preparation of the food”, but to what prepares the food.

### 11.1.2.3 Predicate

Similar to nominal sentences, the infinitive clause may occupy the position of the predicate without another verb in the main sentence. In such a context it may function similar to nouns, as is the case in the following examples:

ואסוקי מילתא היא And this is a conclusion of a statement (*Yebam.* 106b)

זיהום אוקומי אילנא הוא ושרי גיזום אברויי אילנא הוא ואסיר Patching the bark is an impediment of the deterioration of a tree and therefore it is permitted; but smearing the place of pruning is the strengthening of a tree, and therefore it is prohibited (*Abod. Zar.* 50b)

אברוחי ארי בעלמא הוא This is simply chasing away a lion (*Ned.* 33a)

תרי קשקושי הוו. חד אברויי אילנא וחד סתומי פילי There are two sorts of hoeing: one is for strengthening the tree, and another is for closing up cracks (*Mo'ed Qat.* 3a)

Just as infinitive clauses may replace attributive adjectives (§11.1.3.1), they may also serve as the predicate of a sentence. Note the following examples:

חמר דרכיה למטרח ומיזבן The driver of a donkey regularly takes trouble and purchases (lit., As for the driver of a donkey, its custom is to trouble and purchase)<sup>256</sup> (*B. Meṣi'a* 79b)

עד פלגא אורחיה למיזל טפי לאו אורחיה למיזל Normally property drops in value up to a half, but it is abnormal to drop more than that (*B. Qam.* 7b)

<sup>256</sup> Similar translations can be offered for the following group of sentences.

כיון דאורחיה למיכל נהמא אורחיה נמי לפלוסי סלא As it regularly eats bread, it also regularly demolishes baskets (B. Qam. 19b)

לאו אורחיה דמלכא מ[י]שתא בלא מיכלא Kings do not drink without eating (Hul. 4b)

הני מיילי למיקם גברא בחטא These words are (mentioned) in order to establish the man liable for the sin ('Abod. Zar. 52a)

Note that in the final example, the subject of the infinitive clause, גברא “a man”, is mentioned explicitly. It appears after the infinitive without any preposition, just as a regular subject (see below §11.1.6).

#### 11.1.2.4 Object

The infinitive clause can be the direct object of various verbs. This is especially common with some verbs, such as יד"ע “to know” and סב"ר “to think, to consider”.

לא הוה קא ידע לפרוקי He did not know how to answer (Mak. 11b)

הוות חדא דלא הוות ידעא למימר There was one woman who did not know to say ... (Hul. 139b)

סבר רבינא למימר PN thought to say that ... (B. Bat. 57a)

In all these examples the subject of the infinitive clause is the same as the subject of the main clause. With some verbs the indirect object of the main verb is the subject of the infinitive; it is marked as a regular indirect object with the preposition -ל:

רב יוסף שרא להו לבני ביתרכו למיתא לפירקא. למיזל לא שרא להו PN allowed the people of GN to come to the lecture but not return (Yoma 77b)

אמאי לא תשבקינהו לרבנן למעבד עובדא כר' (יהודה): [שמעון] Why wouldn't you let the rabbis act according to the opinion of PN? (Beṣaḥ 27a)

In all these sentences, the logical subject of the infinitive clause is either the same as the subject of the main verb or indirect object of the main verb. When this is not the case a different strategy is taken. Consider the following set of sentences with the verb בע" which has the two meanings of “to want” and “to be required”. It often takes an infinitive as its object:

והא בעי אדכורי יציאת מצרים But isn't it required to mention the exodus? (Ber. 14b)

משרה וירק לא בעי רחוקי It is not required to move the flax-water away from the vegetables (B. Bat. 18b)

... בעי אסוקי אדעתיה He should have brought to mind that ... (B. Qam. 32b)

When the subject is explicit, it may also be the subject of the infinitive clause. Consider the following examples:

באעי מלכא ליקורך The king wants to honor you (Meg. 16a)

ובעינא למיגמר חוכמתא מיניכו I want to study wisdom with you (Bek. 8b)

A similar construction could be expressed with a finite verb in the prefix conjugation in the dependent clause (both syndetic and asyndetic):

בעינא אשתבועי I need to swear (B. Meṣi'a 4b)

ובעינא דאינסיה I want to punish him (B. Qam. 96b)

When the subject of the main clause and the subject of the dependent clause are not the same, one encounters a dependent (finite) clause and not an infinitive clause. This is seen in the following sentence:

בעינא דתיזדבל ארעאי I want my land to be manured (B. Meṣi'a 103b)

Thus, unlike English, which may change the subject between the clauses (“I want you to come”), JBA, like French, can have the infinitive only when both clauses have the same subject (*Je veux venir* “I want to come” vs. *Je veux que vous veniez*, lit. “I want that you come”).

### 11.1.2.5 Infinitive with intransitive verbs

11.1.2.5.1 Infinitives also appear with many intransitive verbs. While the infinitive takes the position of the object with transitive verbs, with intransitive verbs the infinitive usually becomes an extension of the predicate. In this function the infinitive has the subject of the main verb as its implicit subject:

לאולודי חורא קא מיכוין Did he intend to make [the scarf] white? (Šabb. 140a)

איכוון לאפוקי זוגות זוגות He intended to bring them out in pairs (Bek. 60a)

רב איקלע למזבן גוילי It once happened that PN went to buy parchment (Sanh. 28a-b)

### 11.1.2.5.2 Modal auxiliary verbs

As part of the phenomenon of infinitives occurring with intransitive verbs, the co-appearance of the intransitive verb with an infinitive of another verb became the standard way to express several modal relations. This is seen most frequently with the verbs מצ"י "to be able" and יכ"ל "to be able":

לא מצאי לאוקומי אנפשי I was unable to control myself (B. Meṣi'a 85b)

לא מציתו אשתמוטי לי You were unable to transfer to me [from one tractate to another] (B. Meṣi'a 97a)

אנא מצינא אשתמוטי לכו ממסכתא למסכתא I can transfer you from one tractate to another (B. Meṣi'a 97a)

אמ' רב חסדא. יכילנא למיפסלינ' לכולהו גיטי דעלמ' PN said: "It is in my capacity to annul all the divorce documents of the world" (Giṭ. 20a)

It is important to note that these verbs can appear with a dependent finite verb as well, and may be considered syntactically as asyndetic hendiadys verbs (below §11.2):

חרתי לא מציתו אמריתו You cannot say [that he is liable] for two (Šebu. 25b)

יכלא נסבה לכל דניחא לה She can choose to marry whomever she wants (Anan 118:16)

11.1.2.5.3 Another intransitive verb that often appears with an infinitive is את"י "to come". This combination grammaticalized to express a likely result (similar to the English predicate "to be apt"), and sometimes even simple futurity. When preceded by ד(י)למא it appears in the so-called "fear clause", translated somewhat archaically with "lest":

כיון דלית ליה היכירא אתי למעבד ... Since there is no distinction people may do ... (Šabb. 153b)

אתי לזבוני לגוי He will be apt to sell to a gentile ('Abod Zar. 15b)

אתי לאיגרויי בשטן He will be apt to incite Satan ('Erub. 26a)

ליחוש דלמא אתו למעבד מיראה Should we worry, lest people may act out of fear? (Meg. 25b)

דילמא אתי לאימלוכי ... Lest they will reconsider (Beṣah 10a)

Similarly, the passive participle of the verb עת"ד “ready” with another verb also connotes a future sense. Once again, it may appear with a dependent (finite) clause:

ועקן סגיאן עתידן למיתי על סנאיהון דישראל Many troubles will befall the Jews (lit., the haters of the Jews) (*Sanh.* 11a)

עתידה היא דמיגיירא ונסיב לה She will convert and he will marry her (*‘Abod Zar* 20a)

While in Mishnaic Hebrew and in Syriac this construction is relatively common, in JBA it is less so.

#### 11.1.2.6 Infinitive as other verbal complements

In cases where the infinitive clauses take the positions of other verbal complements, they may follow similar prepositions or appear as ל-infinitives:

כי פליגי במיסכר ואשקויי They disagree in the case of damming up and irrigating (*Git.* 60b)

לא אמרן אלא לזבוני בשוקא אבל לאהדורי לא<sup>257</sup> Our permission was only in the case of selling in the market, but not for going around to the houses (*B. Bat.* 22a)

לא אמרן אלא לאפוקה. אבל לעיולה לית לן בה The rule that we said is applied only when it is to bring her (the woman) out of a marital state but not if it is to bring her in (*Sanh.* 26b)

#### 11.1.2.7 Infinitives as nouns that modify nouns (the genitive relation)

In these examples a bare-infinitive appears in the position of the governed noun. It appears often in construct (§2.2.3.1.1) when the words בר “son”, בת “daughter”, or their plural forms are in the governing position. This combination with the infinitive contains the following meaning: “having the ability to ...”, “being liable for ...”, “being subject of ...”.

קטנה דלאו בת זבוני A female minor who cannot effect a sale ... (*Ketub.* 69b)

גיורת ושפחה בני מיכל בתרומה נינהו Do a proselyte and an emancipated slave have permission to eat *Terumah*? (*Yebam.* 74b)

<sup>257</sup> Compare “The permission was not given except where they were still attached to the ground” (*B. Qam.* 81a).

וכי גזרו בהו רבנן בהנך דבני אולודי נינהו אבל האי דלאו בר אולודי הוא לא גזרו ביה רבנן  
 The rabbis instituted such a preventive measure only in respect to those  
 who are capable of procreation, but not in respect to those who are in-  
 capable of procreation (*Yebam.* 76a)

והתסברה ישוע הנצרי בר הפוכי ליה זכות הוה Do you think that Jesus the Naza-  
 rite had the right to overturn the claims against him thoroughly? (*Sanh.*  
 43a)

The infinitives may still appear as a governed noun with other nouns as well when found in the genitive construction with - ך (§4.3). This is often seen with the word לישנא “language” in lexical discussions:

האיי "עובר" לישנא דאקדומי הוא The term עובר has the meaning of doing something first (*Meg.* 21b)

"לא תגורו" לישנא דכנושי הוא The verb of the expression “לא תגורו” has the meaning of gathering together (*Sanh.* 7a)

### 11.1.3 Adjectival and adverbial infinitives

Infinitive clauses may also be used like adjectives to modify a noun. Similarly they may modify either an adjective or a verb; in this case they usually express the purpose or the intention of the action described by the verb of the main clause. The origin of the preposition - ל before the infinitive is likely in this function. It is probably due to this reason that in these syntactic positions we do not encounter bare-infinitives.

#### 11.1.3.1 Adjectival infinitives (modifying a noun)

We encountered previously (§11.1.2.3) a similar function for infinitives in the predicate position. Below are examples where the infinitive functions similarly to adjectives in the adnominal position:

אית לך שושמי לזבוני Do you have sesame seeds for sale? (*B. Meṣi'a* 49a)

ולית לן מידי למיכל We have nothing to eat (*B. Meṣi'a* 83a)

In all these sentences the subject of the infinitive clause is either indefinite or an element mentioned in the main clause of the sentence, i.e., the possessor in the possessive construction. However, there can also be an explicit subject in the infinitive clause, as is the case in the following sentences. Note, however, that in all of the following examples the infinitive clause is in the predicative position (see below §11.16):



אורחא דארעא למשבק איניש גולפא ומשכא באושפיזא Customarily, a person leaves a pitcher and hides it in an inn (*Yoma* 12a)

לאו אורח ארעא לאהדורי צורבא מרבנן לחבריה טפי מדאמ' ליה It is not proper for a young scholar to answer with more than for what he was asked (*Beṣaḥ* 20b)

לאו אורח ארעא לאשתמושי בהו הדיוט It is not proper for a layman to use them (*'Abod. Zar.* 52b)

דלאו אורח ארא למיתב מלכא אבראי ואינהו גואי It is not proper for the king to sit outside and for them to sit inside (*Roš Haš.* 8b)

The next example also fits the category of infinitive clauses substituting for an adjective, though in this case the possessor in the possessive construction is the object of the infinitive clause:

לית להו בדיקותא לאכשורי They do not have an examination to determine their fitness (lit., There is no examination for them to be validated) (*Hul.* 46b)<sup>258</sup>

In existential clauses (§4.6), the construction with the infinitive as the modifier of the subject has a specific meaning – it expresses possibility or permission to perform the action described by the verb:

הלכתא גיבראתא איכא למשמע ממנהגא דהליא It is possible to learn important laws from the custom of reciting the *Hallel* (*Sukkah* 38b)

In most cases there is no explicit subject in the clause:

ליכא למימר הכי One should not say so (*B. Meṣi'a* 3b)

Theoretically, the infinitive could be understood as the subject of the existential clause. Two points, however, to which we have had occasion to reference already, suggest a different understanding. First, when the infinitive is the subject of an existential clause, it does not have a modal connotation; and second, the infinitive, in this construction, does not contain an existential particle. With these two points in mind, then, we can see that it is more likely that there is an elliptical subject in these sentences, and that the basic construction is similar to the sentence above, which contained “important laws” as the subject.

<sup>258</sup> A similar version appears also in HPS (199:11), לא אית להי בדיקותא לאכשורי, and other manuscripts (M, V<sup>13</sup>). In other manuscripts (V<sup>11</sup>, H<sup>2</sup>), however, the infinitive is missing.

Once again, when the “logical subject” is added, it follows the dative preposition ל- with the following distribution: without the logical subject the existential particle is usually איכא; with the “logical subject,” it is אית, which exhibits a similarity to the possessive construction (§4.6.2.1). Thus, the close relationship between the existential and the possessive, which was noted earlier (§4.6.2, §9.4.2), is demonstrated clearly in this context. As in other existential clauses, the conjugated verb הו"י may replace both existential particles (§7.1.2):

מאי אית לך למימר What can you say? (*B. Meṣi'a 7a*)

מאי הוה למיעבד What could be done? (*Yebam. 91b*)

מדהוה ליה למכתב Since he should have written ... (*B. Bat. 61b*)

### 11.1.3.2 Adverbial infinitives

Similar to adverbs, infinitives may modify verbs. This occurs most often when infinitives introduce purpose clauses:

אזל למכתב לה כולה נכסיה He went to write down all his property for her  
(*B. Bat. 40b*)

PN immersed himself  
רב חמא טביל במעלי יומא דפיסחא לאפוקי רבים ידי חובתן  
in the water on the eve of Passover so that he might be able to fulfill  
their requirement [on their behalf] (*Ber. 22b*)

In all these examples the subject of the main verb and of the infinitive is the same. However, the subject of the infinitive may also be either the object or the indirect object of the main verb, as is in the following examples:

לתקוני שדרתיך ולא לעותי I sent you to remedy [the matter], not to make it  
worse (*B. Bat. 169b*)

הני בתרי או תלתא דיהבי זוזי לחך למזבן להו מידי This case is when two or three  
people give money to someone in order to purchase something for them  
(*B. Meṣi'a 74a*)

Infinitives can also modify adjectives. Similar to the use of infinitives with intransitive verbs, the infinitive is in this particular environment an extension of the predicate:

איפשר לעשורי מיניה וביה It is possible to tithe from it and with it (*Bek. 11a*)

מאן חכים למעבד כי הא מלתא Who is wise to perform like this? (*B. Bat 174a*)

לא חציף איניש למיכל פירא דלא דידיה A person is not so impudent as to eat fruit that is not his (B. Bat. 33b)

אי דשכיח למזבן If it is frequent to buy ... (B. Meṣi'a 79b)

צריך למכתב ליה He should write to him (B. Bat. 61b)

### 11.1.4 Non-embedded infinitive clauses

So far we have introduced infinitives that are part of an infinitive clause embedded in a larger main clause. Not all infinitives, though, are parts of such constructions in JBA.

#### 11.1.4.1 Infinitive clauses in questions

In questions infinitives may stand as the main verb (compare to the construction in English with the interrogative “why”, as in “Why reveal it?”), especially when the question is about the purpose of a certain action. Note the following examples:

הפוכי מטרא' למה לי What point is there (for me) in changing (two) sacks? (Ketub. 110a)

למה לי למעבד הכי What is the reason for me in doing this? (Sanh. 23a)

למה לי למכתב בפריקה. ולמה לי למכתב בטעינה What is the reason (for me) that the same thing is written about both the unloading and the loading? (B. Meṣi'a 31a)

With respect to the next sentence, it is important to remember that God is understood as the author of the biblical verses. For this is often stated explicitly in the BT:

ולמ' לי למכתב ... ולמ' לי למכתב' ... צריכי. דאי כת' רחמ' ... ולא כת' ... What was the reason [for me] that it is written both in the case of X and of Y? It was required, for if God had only written it in the case of X but not in the case of Y ... (Naz. 41a)

In a few places, the identity of the writer is mentioned even within the infinitive clause:

למא לי למכתב רחמ' ... ניכתוב רחמ' ... Why did God write ... God should have written ... (Pesah. 23a)

Thus, once again the subject of the infinitive clause may appear as any other subject.

It is possible, however that these are still embedded clauses, and that these cases are a subgroup of the existential clauses, mentioned earlier (§11.1.3.1); and as is the case in existential clauses, the existential particle *אית* can be omitted (§4.6.1). Accordingly one could analyze in the following way:

למה לי למעבד הכי (Sanh. 23a)

למה [אית] לי למעבד הכי

What is the reason that I should be doing this?

#### 11.1.4.2 Infinitive clauses to describe possible logical deductions

Often in the BT after a citation of a source or following a discussion concerning the opinion of one of the sages, a possible conclusion (which is frequently later rejected) appears with either the prefix-conjugation or an infinitive:

Whose view did he adopt? If it was PN<sub>1</sub>'s view, then even the first would be forbidden. If though it was PN<sub>2</sub>'s view, then everything after should be permitted (Hul. 10b)

It is reasonable in all these contexts, however, to assume that there are elliptical verbs, such as *נפ"ק* “to go out”, *את"י* “arrive”,<sup>259</sup> which are similar to those found in corresponding environments. Note the following examples:

What can be inferred from this? To write an amulet for them (Pesah. 111b)

Compare these sentences to the two sentences that follow it, and accordingly it is reasonable that there is an elliptical verb in such contexts:

בשלמ' לר' אלעזר היינו דקתני תרתני. חדא לאפוקי מר' חייא בר אבין אמ' רב ששת. וחדא According to PN<sub>1</sub> it is clear why both are mentioned: the one was mentioned in order to exclude the opinion of PN<sub>2</sub> while the other in order to exclude the view of PN<sub>3</sub> (Ketub. 13a)

As for PN, his opinion is stated in order to exclude the view of the Tannaitic source (Beṣah 29b)

Let us consider that Deuteronomy comes to add [to that which was previously stated in the other books of

<sup>259</sup> This construction is not to be confused with the meaning of *את"י* + infinitive discussed above (§11.1.2.5.3).

the *Torah*] (*Hul.* 63b)

Occasionally the subject of the infinitive appears in the sentence, as seen in the following case:

היל[כתא] לאפוקי מאי אי לאפוקי מדרבא What did this legal tradition intend to exclude? If its intention was to exclude PN's opinion ... (*B. Bat.* 128b–129a)

Notice, however, that unlike other explicit subjects in the infinitive clauses, the subject in this sentence appears before the infinitive. It is therefore more likely that it is the subject of the main clause: הילכתא (אתא) “the legal tradition (appeared)”.

### 11.1.5 Infinitives without a clause

A common construction in Semitic languages is the appearance of an infinitive in the same clause with a finite form of the same verb. This construction is often called “cognate object”, and it is usually used to focus on the lexical content of the verb. This construction is extremely common in JBA. Bare-infinitives are usually used, and they most often appear either as the object of the verb or in a cleft construction (§10.3):

מידע ידע דאיכא זווי דהקדש התם He definitely knew that there are sanctified *zuzim* there (*Ḥag.* 11a)

בעית למידע דאיגנודרי הוא דקא בעי לאיגנודרי עלך Do you want to know whether he wanted to *really* lord himself over you? (*Sanh.* 110a)

This construction appears even with intransitive verbs:

רבא מיקם לא קאים הידור עביד להו PN did not stand (when he saw them), but he did honor them (*Qidd.* 33a)

When the verb is passive, the infinitive may be in the equivalent active stem:

כיון דמעיקרא תבורי מיתברא Since it is broken in its original status ... (*ʿAbod. Zar.* 49b)

The direct object can also appear with the infinitive:

כל שהויי מצוה לא משהינן We do not delay [performing] a commandment (*Yebam.* 47b)

### 11.1.6 Summary regarding the representation of the subjects of the infinitive clauses

From all the examples mentioned throughout this chapter, it is possible to offer the following generalizations regarding the appearance and status of the subject of infinitive clauses:

- 1 When the infinitive clause is embedded within another sentence, the subject of the infinitive clause can be one of the participants of the main clause, i.e., its subject, object, indirect object, or non-argument dative. It then appears within the main clause and is marked according to its role in this clause; such subjects regularly appear before the infinitive (§11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.3.1).
- 2 Cases concerning clauses embedded in another sentence with verbal agreement: If the subject of the embedded clause does not appear in the main clause, then the embedded clause cannot be an infinitive clause. Such a clause consequently appears with a finite verb (§11.1.2.4).
- 3 Cases concerning clauses embedded in another sentence, without verbal agreement in the main clause: If the subject of the embedded clause does not appear in the main clause, then the embedded clause may be an infinitive clause. In this case the subject of the infinitive clause may appear as a regular subject of a finite verb and is always located after the infinitive (§11.1.2.3, 11.1.3.1, 11.1.4.1).

This is the case when the infinitive clause is the predicate of a nominal sentence (11.2.3). It is true in sentences similar to the following example, in which the main predication is existential (איכא) and has, therefore, no finite verb. Consequently the subject of the infinitive-clause may appear as the regular independent pronoun (the “nominative pronoun”):

מאי בנייהו. איכא בנייהו לשלומי איהו מנאתא בהדיהו The difference between the two opinions is whether [the dissenting judge] should pay a portion [of the compensation] with them (*Sanh.* 30a)

- 4 Independent infinitive clauses may have a subject that appears, as is the case with regular finite verbs, after the infinitive (§11.1.4.1).

## 11.2 Verbal hendiadys – pseudo-coordinative verbal constructions

Similar to intransitive verbs being paired with infinitives (§11.1.2.5.1) or with modal verbs (in either infinitive or dependent clauses [11.1.2.5.2]), verbal hendiadys is another way to extend a predicate. This is a construction of two coordinated verbs, in which one of the two is semantically more central than

the other. (The central verb conveys its regular lexical meaning while the other verb does not.) Thus the event denoted by the one verb is not distinct from that denoted by the other, i.e., the lexical verb. The non-lexical verb (the hendiadys verb) functions similarly to an adverb as a modifier of the other verb. In these cases it would be unfitting to translate such verbs literally. In a pseudo-coordinative construction, as opposed to the case of subordination, both verbs are usually found in the same tense. Coordinated verbs in JBA may appear syndetically with the conjunction ו- or asyndetically.

An example of such a construction is with the verb הָדִיר “to return”. When it appears with another verb, it appears first and conveys the meaning of “to do s.t. again, to repeat”.

לישנא כי הדרינן ואתינן      The following year was when we came again (B. Bat. 73b)

נהדר ונקטליה      We should kill him again (*Sanh.* 43a)

הדור שלחו קמיה דר' חייא בר אבא      They sent someone again to PN (*Git.* 63b)

This usage of the verb הָדִיר should not be confused with the frozen form of the 3sg m suffix conjugation, הָדַר, which functions similarly to a conjunction in the sense of “then, afterwards”.

Another hendiadys verb is תנ"י “to do a second time”, which may stand alone or with another verb.<sup>260</sup> This verb usually appears second in the pseudo-coordinative verbal construction; in this case it adds the meaning of repetition (iterative):

תנא אשקליה על כורחיה      He forced him to give [the *geṭ*] one more time (*Git.* 34a)

חלפה ותניא קמיה      She was passing back and forth in front of him (*Qidd.* 81b)

<sup>260</sup> It is worth noting that these two verbs seem to be a calque from Akkadian, since the verb *târum* “to return”, in hendiadys, has the meaning of “to do s.t. again” and the verb *šanûm* (the cognate of the Aramaic verb תנ"י), in hendiadys has the meaning of “to do again”. Similarly the verb מצ"י (see above §11.1.2.5.2) used in a modalic sense appears in Akkadian in a similar construction. While the fact that the verbs are used in both languages can be a result of a cross-linguistic tendency to use these verbs for such functions, the fact that הָדִיר and מצ"י are used in such a construction only in Eastern Aramaic might be of significance. Overall the phenomenon of verbal hendiadys is very widespread in Akkadian. On this point, see Kraus (1987).

ותנא קא מחית להו And he put them [= the *Tefillin*] on again (*Šeel* 47:36)

Note that in the last example the aspectual קא appears after the verb תנא. Another hendiadys verb that appears second (after the lexical verb) is אז"ל “to go,” which adds the sense of continuity. This is seen in the following examples:

קא מרפי(ש) ואזיל קמא קמא He continuously breaks the clods, one after the other (*B. Meṣi'a* 95a)

כמה ניצעריה וניזיל How much will he continue to trouble him? (*Ber.* 27b)

The verb גמ"ר “to finish,” in hendiadys conveys the meaning of “to undertake”:<sup>261</sup>

התם הוא דלא גמר ומקני It is in that case that he did not undertake to transfer the ownership (*Sanh.* 25a)

The verb טר"ח in hendiadys adds the sense of “taking the trouble to accomplish the action”:

איזיל ואטרה ואיתי זוזי I shall go and make an effort to bring the money (*B. Meṣi'a* 108b)

The verb נפ"ק in hendiadys adds the meaning of “to indicate incipient action”:

איפוק איחזי מאי שמענא Let me see what I am hearing (*Yoma* 75b)

Let us now consider the verb ית"ב “to sit”: If we return to the particle קא (§7.2.3), which is used to express the durative aspect, it is now possible to assume that its grammaticalization developed from the use of the verb קי"ם “to stand” in hendiadys.<sup>262</sup> One can trace the beginning of a similar development in JBA with the verb ית"ב “to sit”, which is also used cross-linguistically to express durativity.<sup>263</sup> This construction is often used with a participle to introduce the event that had begun before the time of the narrative began, a time during which another significant event for the narrative had occurred:

יומא חד הות יתבא וקא חיפא רישה. אתאי שיבבתה טרפא אדשה. Once, as she was cleaning her hair, her neighbor came and knocked on her door (*Sanh.* 97a)

<sup>261</sup> In Akkadian it has a different meaning, conveying the function of “completion”.

<sup>262</sup> Synchronically the verb קי"ם in this function is not a verbal hendiadys, since it does not conjugate and appears only as a prefix to the participle.

<sup>263</sup> Heine and Kuteva (2002: 276).



אזל אשכחה דיתבא וקא נוולא He went and found her as she was weaving (Git. 34a)

It thus seems to be the case that the many examples in the Talmud in which the verb ית"ב appears before a participle do not necessarily describe the physical position of the action; instead, they are examples of verbal hendiadys with the verb ית"ב adding the aspect. This analysis can be supported also with a syntactic fact: As noted when a sequence of coordinated participles appears, the aspectual particle קא precedes the first one. When the verb ית"ב functions in this way, as we saw earlier with the verb תנ"י, it appears before the second participle, as חיפא in the example above. Compare with the following example, where the verb ית"ב describes the actual action of sitting:

רבה הוה קא יתיב קמיה דרב נחמן. חזייה דקא מנמנמ PN<sub>1</sub> was sitting in the presence of PN<sub>2</sub> and saw that he was dozing off (Mo'ed Qat. 28a)

# Glossary for Linguistic Terminology

Underlined words are those which are defined elsewhere in the glossary.

**Adjunct:** An expression that appears with a predicate but is optional, and its appearance is unnecessary for the completion of the meaning of a predicate. (Contrasted with argument).

**Adnominal:** A word or phrase related to a noun; an adjective, for example, that qualifies a noun.

**Agent noun:** A noun in the sentence that identifies the actor in an event.

**Agreement:** Two words agree when they correspond in some grammatical category (gender, number, etc.).

**Allophone:** One of several sounds that belong to the same phoneme, which does not differentiate meaning.

**Anaphoric demonstrative:** A demonstrative that refers to something explicitly stated in its context (contrasted with indefinite demonstrative).

**Apocopation:** Loss of a sound at the end of a word.

**Apodosis:** In conditional sentences, the clause that expresses the consequence.

**Argument (a verbal argument):** An expression that is necessary in order to complete the meaning of a predicate (contrasted with adjunct).

**Aspect:** A grammatical category that expresses the way in which the action or the state denoted in a verb is viewed. For instance, whether the verb denotes a continuous action, repeated action, or a singular incident.

**Assimilation:** Assimilation occurs when one sound becomes more similar or even identical to another sound nearby.

**Asyndetic:** Not connected by conjunctions (contrasted with syndetic).

**Attributive adjective:** An adjective that is linked to the noun adnominally. (In English it describes the noun without a copula. For example, “red” is an attributive adjective in the phrase “the red car.”)

**Back formation:** The process of creating a new lexeme from an existing one, in which the older lexeme is assumed to have a morphological structure that it did not originally have and is then decomposed. This process involves removing supposed or actual affixes or by reanalyzing a word (*sculpt* from *sculptor*, on the analogy of *act* from *actor*).

**Back vowel:** A vowel, the point of articulation of which is in the rear of the oral cavity, and the tongue is positioned as far back as possible in the mouth ([o] and [u]).

**Biforms:** Two forms of the same morphological category.

- Bleaching:** The loss of lexical content and the retention (or acquisition) of grammatical content.
- Clitic:** A word that is pronounced with no accent of its own. (Clitics are either proclitics or enclitics.)
- Cliticization:** A process in which a separate morphosyntactic element becoming a clitic.
- Closed syllable:** A syllable that ends in a consonant sound.
- Complementary distribution:** A mutually exclusive relationship between two different elements, in such a way that one element is found in a particular environment in which the other does not appear.
- Consonant:** A speech sound that is articulated with complete or partial closure followed by a release, at one or more points in the breath channel.
- Construct chain:** The Semitic construction to express the genitival relation, with a juxtaposition together of two or more nominal phrases.
- Construct form:** In Semitic languages, the form that a noun takes when it is followed by another noun to which it is attached.
- Controller:** A word in a syntactical unit that determines the inflection of the other words in that syntactical unit. In such circumstances, the target must agree with the controller. For example, a noun may be the controller and an adjective which describes the noun a target.
- Copula:** A form that serves to connect a subject and its predicate.
- Counterfactual conditional sentences:** A statement that indicates what would be the case if its protasis were true (although it is not true).
- Demonstrative:** A word that points to another word, that has a deictic function, such as “this” or “that.” Demonstratives are of several kinds: *proximal*, *medial*, and *distal*. The distinction has to do with the distance of the referent to which they point.
- Dependent Clause:** A dependent/subordinate clause (also embedded clause) cannot stand alone as a sentence. A dependent clause is usually embedded as a constituent in an independent clause, also called a matrix clause.
- Diachronic:** An action or event that occurs over the course of time. It is a term used to describe changes in the history of particular languages (contrasted with synchronic).
- Diglossia:** This term describes a situation of coexistence of two (or more) languages or of two varieties of one language within one speech community. It characterizes multilingual situations in which the functional

domains of each of the languages are apportioned in a kind of complementary distribution.

**Direct speech:** A sentence that reports speech (or thought), presumably as phrased by the original speaker.

**Dislocation:** When a constituent of a clause, an argument or an adjunct, occurs outside the clause boundaries. Within the tradition of Semitics this phenomenon is often called either *Casus Pendens* or *Extrapostion*.

**Dissimilation:** When a sound changes to be less similar to a nearby sound.

**Diphthong:** A sound formed by the combination of two vowels into a single syllable. When pronouncing a diphthong, the speaker begins with one vowel sound and glides toward the second. An example from English is the word *aye*.

**Durative:** An aspect that expresses continued action.

**Elide:** To omit a sound is to elide it. Derivative: *elision*

**Embedded clause:** See dependent clause.

**Enclitic:** A clitic that is accented with the word that precedes it.

**Endophora:** An expression whose reference is an entity in the discourse.

**Exophora:** An expression with an extra-linguistic reference, i.e., outside the discourse.

**Experiencer:** The semantic role of a referent which receives, accepts, experiences, or undergoes the effect of the action or event denoted by the verb.

**Fricative:** Sound produced by forcing air through a narrow channel. Some examples of fricatives are: /v/, /f/, /s/, and /z/.

**Front vowel:** A vowel, the point of articulation of which is in the front part of the oral cavity, and the tongue is positioned as far in front as possible in the mouth ([i], [e]).

**Genitival relationship:** The *nomen rectum* in a construct is often in a genitival relationship to the *nomen regens*. This relationship usually denotes possession and can be approximated by the word “of” in English.

**Geminate:** A doubled consonant.

**Gentilic:** A noun with a gentilic suffix refers to the inhabitants of a place or things that are related to it.

**Glide:** A sound, such as /w/ or /y/, that is phonetically similar to a vowel sound but functions as the syllable boundary rather than as the nucleus of a syllable (as a vowel). It is often a transitional sound.

**Glottal stop:** A sound made when the vocal cords are closed to stop airflow (/ʔ/ in Aramaic).

- Graded isoglosses:** A series of geographical regions that manifest linguistic variation, but in which the differences from region to region are so slight that we do not recognize distinct dialects in each region.
- Guttural:** Consonants articulated deep in the throat. There are two kinds of gutturals: laryngeals (/ʔ/ and /h/) and pharyngeals (/ʕ/ and /ħ/), which are articulated in different locations in the throat.
- Hendiadys verb:** A construction of two coordinated verbs, in which one of the two is semantically more central than the other. The central verb conveys its regular lexical meaning while the other verb functions similarly to an adverb, as a modifier of the other verb.
- High vowel:** Vowel articulated by the position of the tongue high in the mouth (in IPA\*'s terms this is a close vowel) ([i] and [u]).
- Homograph:** A word that shares the same spelling as another.
- Indefinite demonstrative:** A demonstrative that does not refer back to a particular noun in the sentence. (In English, for example, So *that* other day ...)
- Indefinite pronoun:** A pronoun that does not refer to a particular or defined person/entity (for example, *someone*).
- Independent clause:** See dependent clause.
- Indicative mood (*Realis mood*):** The mood of a verb used to express facts, indicating that something is actually the case.
- Indirect speech:** A rephrased reported sentence, without quoting the words of the original speaker.
- Intervocalic:** Occurring between two vowels.
- Irrealis moods:** Grammatical moods that indicate that a state of affairs is not known to have happened and often express certain attitudes of the speakers towards the possibility of the occurrence of that state of affairs.
- Isogloss:** Line on a map that indicates the geographic boundary of a region that manifests linguistic variation from the boundary regions. Isoglosses may indicate separation between regions where different dialects or languages are spoken.
- Iterative:** An aspect that expresses a continuously repeated action.
- Labial:** A sound produced with the lips, such as /b/, /m/, and /p/.
- Leveling:** A generalization of an inflection across a paradigm so that all members of the given paradigm become more similar.
- Lexicalize:** To turn into a new word, to become part of a lexicon.

- Logical subject:** The actual agent of an expressed or implied action which is not necessarily the grammatical subject of a sentence.
- Low vowel:** Vowel articulated by the position of the tongue low in the mouth (in the IPA\* this is an open vowel) ([a]).
- Matrix clause:** See *dependent clause*.
- Matres Lectionis:** Consonant letters that later came to represent vowels as well.
- Metathesis:** A sound change, through which there is a re-arranging of sounds or syllables in a word. (For example, *asterisk* and *asteriks*.)
- Mid vowel:** Vowel articulated by the position of the tongue mid-way between a high vowel and a low vowel ([e] and [o]).
- Modality:** Expressions that indicate the belief, attitude and obligation of the speaker toward his statements.
- Monophthongization:** The change of a diphthong into one vowel.
- Mood:** A morphological feature of verbs to mark modality.
- Morpheme:** The smallest unit that has a meaning
- Morphology:** A branch of linguistics that explores the morphemes.
- Nomen rectum:** “Governed noun”, a noun in a construct chain that does not come in the first position.
- Nomen regens:** Literally “governing noun.” A noun in a construct chain that comes in the first position.
- Open syllable:** A syllable that ends in a vowel sound.
- Orthography:** Systems of graphic symbols used to record the sounds of a language. Essentially, orthography is the study of letters and spelling.
- Penultimate:** Second-to-last, a term often used to describe syllables according to their location within words.
- Phoneme:** The smallest unit of sound that contributes to the meaning of a word. (For example, “v” and “b” are phonemes in English because those sounds differentiate the word “vat” from the word “bat”, which constitute together a minimal pair.)
- Phonemic:** Capable of differentiating between meaning; has the status of a phoneme.
- Phonetic:** Having to do with exact sounds as opposed to *phonemic*, which means having to do with perceived sounds.
- Phonology:** A branch of linguistics dealing with the phonemes of the language.
- Plosive:** A sound that is made by stopping the flow of air and then forcing air out all it once. Some examples of plosives are: /b/, /g/, /d/, /k/, /p/, and /t/.

- Predicate adjective:** An adjective that is the predicate of the clause. (For example, “red” is a predicate adjective in the phrase: “the car is red.”)
- Proclitic:** A clitic that is accented with the word that follows it.
- Protasis:** In a conditional sentence, the clause that expresses the condition.
- Prosthetic alef:** Prothesis is the insertion of a sound at the beginning of a word; when this sound contains a glottal stop, this sound is called a prosthetic alef.
- Reanalysis:** A mechanism which changes the underlying syntactic structure of a certain construction without any modification to its surface manifestation.
- Register:** A subset of a language that is used in a particular setting.
- Resumptive pronoun:** A pronoun in a dependent clause referring to the antecedent in the main clause.
- Retention:** A feature of a language that does not change from previous periods.
- Sonorants:** Consonants or vowels that are produced with continuous, non-turbulent airflow in the vocal tract. In JBA the relevant consonants are /l/, /n/ and /r/.
- Sound change:** A processes of language change that affects either the phonetics or the phonology of a given language.
- Speech act:** An act that a speaker performs when expressing an utterance, including: asserting, promising, excommunicating, exclaiming in pain, inquiring or ordering.
- Standard language:** A dialect of a language which has gained a cultural pre-eminence over other dialects and is accepted by speakers as the proper language.
- Standard Literary:** A standard literary form of a language is a register of that language that is not spoken but used in writing as the standard language.
- Subordinate clause:** See dependent clause.
- Subordinating conjunction:** A subordinating conjunction joins a dependent clause to its matrix sentence.
- Substantive:** Any word that functions like a noun including nouns, substantival adjectives, adjectival nouns, and pronouns.
- Substantivize:** To turn a non-substantive into a substantive.
- Syncope (or syncopation):** Loss of a sound in the middle of a word.
- Syncretism:** The merging of forms that were originally distinct to be pronounced identically.

**synchronic:** A term used for an analysis of a linguistic phenomena only at a given time (contrasted with diachronic).

**Syndetic:** Connected by conjunctions (contrasted with asyndetic).

**Target:** A word in a syntactical unit that must agree with the controller of that unit. For example, in many simple sentences, the subject of the sentence is the controller and the verb, which must agree with the subject, is the target.

\*IPA=International Phonetic Association





# Vocabulary and Exercises

Underlined words in the Aramaic texts are proper names [=PN]

## Vocabulary for Chapter 1

### Nouns

אורייתא	<i>Torah</i> , Jewish law
אינתתא/איתתא*	woman, wife
אמורא	<i>Amora</i> (Rabbis active after the Mishnah), speaker
אנפא/אנפא*	face, way, manner, surface
מדינתא*	province, town
מכילתא	tractate
מתיבתא	academy, academic session, lesson

### Prepositions

ב	in, during, with (in an instrumental sense), concerning
באנפי/באפי*	in the presence of
כ/כ	like, as, according to; (כי only) when, while, as
מין/מין/מין*	from, than
עד ד/עד	until, up to, as soon as, while
עד לא/עדלא	before
עדמא	until
על/על	on, upon, concerning
על גב/על גב	because of, on top of

### Adverbs

לא/לא <sup>264</sup>	no
עדיין/עדיין**	still

\* See §3.1.7.1

\*\* See §3.1.7.2

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<sup>264</sup> See §10.4.6.

## Vocabulary for Chapter 2

In light of the discussion of nominal inflection presented in Chapter 2, the vocabulary sections will provide both the singular and plural long forms as well as the gender of each substantive, since none of them can be predicted from the other two. For the adjectives, however, only the masculine singular short forms will be given, except those subject to irregular inflection.

### Nouns

אבן f (pl) (אבני)	stone
אינאשא/אינשא m (pl) (אינשי)	human being; (pl) people
אריא m (pl) (אריותא)	lion
ארעא f (pl) (ארעתא)	land
בעל אומנותא m	artisan
בי מדרשא m	school
גברא/גברי m (pl) (גברי/גברי) <sup>265</sup>	man, husband
דוכתא/דוכותא/דוכתי (pl) f (דוכתא)	place
דופני/דפנתא (pl) f (דפנא/דופנא) <sup>266</sup>	side, wall
דרא m (pl) (דרתא/דרי)	row, line; generation
דרדקא/דרתקא m (דרדקא/דרתקא) (pl) f (דרדקתא/דרתקתא)	child; adjective: small
זמנא m/f (cstr) (זמן, pl) (זמניו)	time, date
יומא m (pl) (יומי) <sup>267</sup>	day, daytime; Yom Kippur
כנישתא f (no pl)	congregation
מיא m pl [csrt] (מימי, מי)	water
מילתא f (pl) (מילי)	word, matter
מלכא m (pl) (מלכי)	king
מלכתא f (pl) (מלכתא/מלכותא)	queen
סכינא f (pl) (סכיני)	knife
עינא m/f	eye
עינא m (pl) (עינתא)	spring
רחילא f (no pl)	ewe
רישא/ראשא m (pl) (רשוותא/רישי) <sup>268</sup>	beginning, head, top, main

<sup>265</sup> See §1.2.2.7.2 concerning the change a > u before labial consonants and /r/. The short and construct forms of גברא/גברי in the singular, however, are always גבר.

<sup>266</sup> See §1.2.2.7.2 concerning the change a > u.

<sup>267</sup> For possible reflexes of the diphthong \*aw in JBA, see §1.2.2.6.

רישא f (no pl)	first part (of a text)
שלם m (no pl)	peace, well being, greeting
שימשי/שמשא f (שימשי)	sun, sunlight
תרנגולא/תרונוגלא/תורנוגולא (תרנוגלי/תרנגלי (pl))	rooster

### Adjectives

ביש	bad, evil
טב	good
יהיר	haughty, proud
סומק/סומק m (סומקתי f sf; סומקתא f lf)	red; dark
עויר	blind

### Adverbs

זמנין	sometimes
לזמנין	subsequently
זמנין סגיאין	many times, often

## Exercises for Chapter 2

A. Translate the following into English.

- 1) שלם טב (*Ta'an.* 24b)
- 2) אבן טבא (*B. Bat.* 74b)
- 3) עינא בישא (*Ber.* 20a)/עינא בישתא (found in incantation bowls)
- 4) יום ביש (*Qidd.* 39b)
- 5) יומא טבא (*Ber.* 46a)
- 6) מיא ביש (*HPS* 204:9)
- 7) עינא עויר (*B. Qam.* 85a)
- 8) שמשא סומקתי (*B. Bat. Es* 84a)

B. Translate the following into JBA.

- 1) good land
- 2) synagogue (lit., the house of the congregation)
- 3) red walls

<sup>268</sup> The spelling with *alef* is historical; see §1.1.1.1.1.

- 4) bad springs on top of the land
- 5) The ewe is haughty until the beginning of the day.
- 6) Many times the congregation is bad.
- 7) red knives from haughty queens
- 8) The ewe is red in the bad place.

## Vocabulary for Chapter 3

### Nouns

או(ד)נא m/f	ear
אונא f	lobe
גיסא m (גיס(נ)י pl)	side
ליש(א)נא m (לישני pl)	tongue, language, speech
מ(א)תא f (מתוותא pl)	town
מימרא m (מימרי pl)	utterance, command
לחמא/נהמא m	bread
עלמא m	world
צוותא/צבתא f	company, group
שוקא m (שוקי pl)	street, market
תעניתא f (תעניאתא pl)	fast day

### Adjectives

בתרא(ה)	last
זוטר/זוטא	small
חכים	wise, expert
מעלי	superior, virtuous, valid, normal
עתיק	old
קדמא/קמא	first
קריב	close; (substantivized) relative
רחיק	far, distant
רמאה	deceiver
רתחון	excitable

### Pronouns

מיד(אנ)י pl (מדעם < מדם <) m	something, anything
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**Adverbs**

השתא	now
טפי	more

**Prepositions**

אמטול/א(מ)טו	on account of
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**Conjunctions**

או	or, whether; if
אן/אי	if
אף	even, also

**Adverbs**

כדי(ב)	for nothing
תו(ב)	again

**Interjections**

הא	Here is ...!, Behold!
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**Exercises for Chapter 3**

A. Translate the following into English.

1. הני מילי מעלייתא (*Beṣah* 28a)\*
2. אנה קריב טפי (*B. Bat. Oxford* 249 33a)\*
3. אנה מלכא (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 26a)
4. אתון חכימין (*Qidd.* 33b)\*
5. טפי מהאי ומהאי (*'Abod. Zar.* 65a)#
6. תו לא מידי (*Yoma* 33b)#
7. הני מילי בעתיקי (*Meg. L* 26b)#\*
8. זמנין הכא וזמנין הכא (*Meg.* 29a)
9. אי רתחנא הוא (*Qidd.* 8b)\*
10. לאו רמאה את (*B. Meṣi'a* 28b)
11. יומי תעניאתא (*TGHark* 188:33)

B. Change the singular forms in the starred lines into the corresponding plural forms and vice versa.

C. Rewrite the lines marked with the pound sign in NBA.

## Vocabulary for Chapter 4

### Nouns

א(ו)רחא f (cstr אורח, pl אורחתא)	road, journey, manner
אורח ארעא	usual/proper behavior
איסורא m (איסורי pl)	prohibition
גופא m (גופי pl)	body, self; w. 3fs p.s. (גופה/גופא): an editorial note signaling the resumption of an earlier topic
גזל(א)נא m (גזלני pl)	robber
גנובתא f	tail
דמא m	blood; capital crime
זוזא m (זוזי pl)	Zuz (a type of coin), in pl also money
טעמא m (טעמי pl)	taste, reason
מותא m	death
מית(א)נא m	corpse, deceased one
מריא m (cstr מארי; pl מרוותא)	master, lord, owner
נביי, נביאי pl (מ נביי)	prophet
נכסי m pl (ניכסי)	property
נגרא f (נגרי pl)	a biform of גלא
נורא m/f	fire
שהדא/סהדא <sup>269</sup> m (pl שהדי/סהדי)	witness
עשרא/עסרא f	ten
(עיסרי, עשרין pl)	
פירא m (פירי pl)	fruit, produce, the profit from a piece of property
קושטא m	truth
רבא m (רבי, רבוותא pl)	master; teacher
רגלי f (רגלי pl)	leg, foot; festival
רווחא/רואחא m	room, ample amount, comfort
ריחא m (ריחני pl)	smell, (the plural has the meaning of “spices”)

<sup>269</sup> This word and the following one are among the rare ones that occasionally preserved the historical writings of the sound *s* with *w* (§1.1.1).

רקיעא f	sky, heaven
רשותא f (pl רשותא ק)	possession, domain, authorization
תנאי (א) m (pl תנאים)	a rabbi from the Tannaitic period
שמה (cstr שום/שם, pl שמהתא) שמי	name, designation; with the verb נפ"ק – to spread a rumor

### Adjectives

בסוים/בסוים <sup>270</sup>	sweet, pleasant
בציר	less (also used as an adverb); w. (מ)ן: less than
חסדן	gracious
טפי	more (also used as an adverb); w. (מ)ן: more than
עדיף	worthy, preferable
עציב	sad
קשיש	old, elder
רב m (pl רבתי) f רבתי m (pl רבתי) f	big, great, large
שפיר	beautiful; good; (as an adverb) well

### Adverbs

הכי/האכי/הכין	thus, so, such
טובא	much, many
מיהא	at any rate
מעיקרא	originally, at the beginning
נא(א)מי	also, too

### Prepositions

בתר	after, behind
עיל(א)וי	on top of; against
קמי	before, in front of

<sup>270</sup> See §1.2.2.7.1.



## Exercises for Chapter 4

Translate into English; indicate all possible translations.

1. בסים ריחיה (*Menah* 74a)
2. צותין בסומא ואורחן רחיקא (*Sukkah* 52a)
3. דמא דהאייד סומק טפי (*Sanh.* 74a )
4. אמאי עציב מר? (*Beṣaḥ* 6a)
5. אי בציר מהאי וטפי מהאי לית לן בה (*Yoma* 35a)
6. הי קמא והי בתרא? (*Ned.* 90a)
7. התם אנן סהדי והכא אנן סהדי (*'Erub.* 73a)
8. חסדא שמך וחסדנין מילך (*Git.* V<sup>18</sup> 7a)
9. הי מינייהו עדיפא? (*'Arak.* 16b)
10. רברבן אוניה וזוטרן גנובתיה (*Ḥul.* 79a)<sup>271</sup>  
[Grammatically, the expected form is זוטרא, see H<sup>2</sup> in the following sentence.]
11. האי איניש גזלנא הוא (*B. Qam.* 96b)
12. בציר מעשרה לאו אורח ארעא (*Meg.* 23b)
13. האי תנא דבי מנשה הוא (*Sanh.* 56b)
14. אית לי ביה נורא בגנובתיה (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* L 17a) [Ignore ביה in the translation.]
15. אנן מעלינן מניכו (*Pesaḥ.* 87b)
16. מאן האי תנא? ר' יהודה היא? (*Bek.* 43b)
17. הא תו למה לי. היני רישא? (*'Abod. Zar.* 65a)
18. אנן קשישי ואינון דרדקי (*Bek.* 8b)
19. הא לא איתנהו קמן (*Qidd.* 12b)
20. עד השתא לאו מר אנא (*Ber.* 47a)
21. התם נמי הכי הוא (*B. Bat.* 112b)
22. התם טעמא מאי? (*B. Meṣi'a* 102a)
23. איכא הכי ואיכא הכי (*Meg.* 10b)
24. אית לי זוזי גביכו (*B. Bat.* 33a)
25. ההוא גברא בר מיתנא הוא, ונכסי דידי נינהו (*Yebam.* 37b)
26. היא גופא למה לי (*Ketub.* 24a)
27. דידי עדיפא מדידיה (*Meg.* 7b)
28. התם פירא מיהא איתיה (*B. Bat.* 28b)
29. איסורא דרבנן מיהא איתיה (*Šabb.* 8b)
30. דידי ודידיה הוא (*B. Bat.* 4a)

<sup>271</sup> In MS V12 each phrase begins with a ך (a subordinating particle, to be introduced in Chapter 10); it has been removed here, as is the case in other manuscripts.

31. התם ליכא רווחא הכא איכא רווחא (B. Bat. 60b)  
 32. והני ברקיעא איתנהי. הני בארעא איתנהי (Hag. 12b)  
 33. איתנן הכא איתנן התם (Pesah. 50a)  
 34. האי לאו דידי הוא ('Arak. 20b)  
 35. נכסיי לטוביה (Ketub. 85b)  
 36. כי איתיה ברשותיה נמי הא לאו דידיה הוא (B. Qam. 69b)  
 37. אינהו עדיפי מניה ואיהו עדיף מניה. אינהו עדיפי מניה דאינהו נביאי ואיהו לא נביא ... (Sanh. 94a)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 5

### Nouns

איתתא/אינתתא f (sf איתת pl נשי)	woman, wife, mate
ברא m (pl בני pl) f (sf ברית, cstr בת pl בנות)	son, offspring, having the ability of, being of age, resident of
ברייתא f (pl ברייתא)	Baraita, a Tannaitic source external to the Mishna (see adj. ברא)
גמלא m/f (pl גמלי pl)	camel
דינא m (pl דיני pl)	law, the right thing, legal case, judgment (also punishment), court
דרכא/דירכא f (pl דרכי pl)	road, manner
פלגא m (pl פלגי pl)	half, waist
פלגו f	half, middle
פלוגתא f (pl פלוגתא, פלגותא)	division, difference of opinion
פניא m	evening
צערא m (pl צערי pl)	trouble, pain, distress
צפרא m (pl צפרני pl)	morning
<sup>272</sup> קועא/קאקא m	neck
שופרא m (pl שופרי pl)	beauty, strengthening
תורא/תוורא m (pl תורי pl)	ox

### Adjectives

אלימ	strong, valid, authorized
אריך	tall, long; proper, fit

<sup>272</sup> See §3.1.4.

ברא	external
טייא/טייעא/טיאעא	Arab
פרסאה/פרסא	Persian
קטין	thin
קפד(א)ן	hot-tempered
אחרינא/אחרינא	another
אחריתי/אחריתי/אחרי	(f)
אחריני/אחריני	(mp)
אחרייטא/אחרייטא	(f pl)

### Verbs

דכ"ר, דכ"י*	Pe. to mention s.t.; pass.participle – to remember; Af. to recall, to remind, to mention; Itpe. to remember, to recall
טב"ל	Pe. to immerse o.s. for ritual purification; Pa. to dip food; Af. to immerse s.o. or s.t. for ritual purification
כס"ף	Pe. to embarrass, to shame; Af. to put to shame, to embarrass; Itpe. to be shamed, embarrassed
סל"ק	Pe. to go up; to travel (more specifically, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem); to happen; to grow; to conclude; Pa. to remove; to complete; to raise up; Af. to bring, to bring up/out; to complete; to remove; to take out; Itpa. to depart; to remove o.s.; Ittaf. to be enacted in accordance with
עכ"ב	Pa. to restrain, to prevent, to postpone, to wait. Itpa. to be delayed, to wait
פס"ק	Pe. to stop, to do something decisively; to cut, to interrupt, to decide; w. סידרא to recite the Bible; Pa. to cut, to divide; Af. to stop (intr. and tr.) to intervene, to interrupt; to separate; Itpe. to break, be torn, to be terminated, be divided up, to pause
קב"ל, קב"י*	Pa. to receive; to accept; to agree to s.t.; w. אפי – to greet someone
קד"ש	Pe. to become sacred; Pa. to sanctify; to betroth a woman; Af. to dedicate s.t. to the temple; Itpa. to become consecrated; to become betrothed
שד"ר	Pa. to send; Itpa. to be sent
שמ"ש	Pa. to spend time; to serve; to have intercourse; Itpa. to use (the object appears following the preposition ב)

\* These are examples of verbs that show the apocopation of final consonants (§2.1). The peculiarities in their conjugation will be discussed in (§6.9).

## Exercises for Chapter 5

A. Parse the following attested forms of the verbs, indicating root, stem, form, and, where applicable, person, gender, and number.

קבילתו	טבול
מקבילנא	מיטבל
קבילת	מטבלינא
קביל	טבולי
איקבל	מטבלינן
משדרנא	פסיק
לשדורי	איפסיקא
שדרה	מיפסקן
שדרית	דכיר
תשדר	מדכר
ליקדשו	אידכר
מיקדשא	מדכרו
כסיפא	תתעכב
מכספיתון	איעכבא
סלוקי	איעכב
מסלקינן	מיפסקן
אסתלקיתו	פסוק
סליקנא	פסיקא

B. Translate the following sentences into English.

1. הא ברברבי הא בזוטרי (*Mak. 16b*)
2. מאי טעמא גמלא זוטרא גנובתיה? ... מאי טעמא תורא אריכתא גנובתא? (*Šabb. 77b*)
3. גברא קפדנא הוא (*B. Qam. 87b*)
4. האי דינא דפרסאי הוא (*B. Bat. 173b*)
5. פלגא לברת ופלגא לברת ותלתא לאיתת בפירי (*B. Bat. 132b*) [תלתא here means “a third”]
6. פלוגתא דבריתא לאו פלוגתא היא (*Bek. 23b*)
7. הני נמי פלוגתא נינהו (*Beṣah 11b*)

- 8. דיניה דההוא גברא במאי (Git. 57a)
- 9. האי שופרך לנשי (B. Mešī'a 84a)
- 10. בני ברתי בני נינהו (Yebam. 62b)
- 11. כי ליכא דרכא אחרינא (B. Bat. 12a)
- 12. איכא צערא דידה וצערא דמרה (B. Mešī'a 31a)
- 13. האי שמשא סומקתא היא ... סמקא בצפרא ובפניא (B. Bat. 84a)
- 14. גמלא [טייעא] והאי פרסא' והאי אלים קועיה והאי קטין קועיה (B. Qam. F<sup>1</sup>55a)

Below is the variant from Hamburg 165 (lines 16–18). Note the signs of corrections, and how a secondary hand fixed the form קאקיה once to קעקיה, and probably in the second time to קועיה:

15

20

25

**הדרן ערך שורטנעת את הפדה**

הכונע ינא לדין ועל סגניה סראי ויענה והזיקה פטור לאגבל סגניה סראי ויענה והזיקה  
 חייבנרעה בליה או שפרענה לקסץ ויענה והזיקה פטור והינא מחלסטין ליקסץ חייבן  
 תניחא בחסא או שפרענה לחפש שטות וסכסון ויענה והזיקה חייב סגניה לרועה נבגם

לני קסץ

## Vocabulary for Chapter 6

### Nouns

חבלא/חבאלא m	injury, ruin
כאיבא/כיבא m (כיבי pl) <sup>273</sup>	pain
מיטרא m (מיטרי pl)	rain
מערבא m	west, <i>Eretz Israel</i> / Palestine
שיחנא m	load

### Verbs

אוי"ד/ <sup>274</sup> אב"ד	Pe. to be lost, w. ל to lose s.t (the object of the preposition is the person who loses); Pa. to lose s.t.; Af. to lose s.t.; Itpe., w. ל to lose s.t. (the object of the preposition is the person who loses)
בנ"י	Pe. to build; Itpe. to be built
דו"ן	Pe. to judge; w. מן to deduce; Itpe. to be judged
חש"ש	Pe. to care; to feel; w. ב to be ill; take into consideration
יס"ף	Af. to increase, to add; Ittaf. to be added
נו"מ	Pe. to sleep, to fall asleep
נמנ"מ	Pa. to doze off; Itpa. to doze off
נפ"ק	Pe. to go out; to be inferred, concluded; w. מן to follow; result from s.t; Af. to take out, remove; exclude, exempt; to utter; w. קלא to spread a rumor; Ittaf. to be taken out
על"ל	Pe. to enter; to fit in; to set (of the sun); Pa. to bring in; to permit s.o. to enter; Af. to bring in; Itpa. w. ל <sup>275</sup> to enter (the object of the preposition is the person who enters)
פו"ש	Pe. remain
צל"י	Pe. w. אודנא to listen; Pa. to pray; Af. to turn aside
שו"ל, שא"ל	Pe. to ask; to borrow; Itpe. to be lent; to be absolved by a scholar; Pa. to ask; to borrow; Af. to lend

<sup>273</sup> See §3.1.3.1.

<sup>274</sup> See §3.1.5.

<sup>275</sup> See §9.4.2.

## Adverbs

הידאנא, הידנא, האידינא      now, today

## Prepositions, Conjunctions

חילופא/חלופי      instead of

לפום      according to

## Exercises for Chapter 6

A. Parse the following attested forms of the verbs, indicating root, stem, form; and, where applicable, person, gender, and number.

ליפקו	חיישינו
מפיק	מיבנא
אפיקו	בנינו
מוספין	איבני
איתוספא	איבנויי
איתוד	מצלו
אוד	צלויי
פיישן	ליצלי
פש	אצלי
פיש	צלי
מתדן	אצלויי
מידן	אדכא
דינינו	תיקבי
דינת	נינם
דון	נים
דאין	מתנמנם
מושלה	נאימא
נשאול	נמנומי
תתשיל	מעיל
מושלינו	עולו
תיחוש	על
חשש	עיילינו

B. Translate the following sentences into English.

1. לפום גמלא שיחנא (*Ketub. 66b*)
2. הידנא יומא רבה במערבא (*Roš Haš. 21a*)
3. מיטרא במערבא שהדא רבה פרת [*Bek. 55b*] [= פרת Euphrates]
4. דירכא דמילתא הכי איתה (*Ber. 23b*)
5. חבלא דאית להו צערא בגופיהו (*B. Qam. 87b*)
6. ואית ליה צערא טפי (*B. Qam. 84a*)
7. חלופי שופרא כיבא (*Šabb. 62b*)
8. הא בטעמא הא בריחא (*Ber. 40a*)
9. האי כדיניה והאי כדיניה (*B. Meši'a 82b*)
10. אנה ושבור מלכא אחי בדינא (*B. Qam. 96b*)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 7

### Nouns

אומד(א)נא m	estimate
אמתא f (pl sf אמין; lf אמהתא, אמאתא)	cubit
בישותא f (sf בישו)	wickedness
ברכתא f (pl ברכתא)	blessing, grace during meal
גודי(נ)דא m (pl גודי)	wall
גנבא m (pl גנבי)	thief
דהבא m	gold
היתרא m (pl היתרי)	permission; permitted thing
זיקתא f	goad
חמרא m	wine
חמ(א)רא m (pl חמרי)	donkey
חספא f (pl חספי)	shred
ידא f (pl ידי)	hand, possession
כהני m (pl כהנא)	priest
כלבא m (pl כלבי)	dog
נטירותא f	guarding, protection
סת(א)מא m (pl סתמי)	absence of qualification; anonymous authority (often used adverbially, especially in the expression בסתם)
פורתא f	a small amount; (used adverbially) a little
פלן m	so-and-so, such-and-such



פלניא m (cstr פלני) f (פלניית cstr)	so-and-so
קרא m (pl קראי)	biblical verse/ scripture
ריפתא f (sf ריפא) (pl ריפא, ריפא)	bread
שט(א) m/f (pl שטרי)	document; deed
שנא f (sf שנא) (pl שנין sf)	year
תברא m	receipt
תברא f	contradiction

### Adjectives

סרי	decaying, lazy
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### Months

ניסן	March–April
תשרי	September–October

### Verbs

אמ"י/אמ"ר	Pe. to say, to tell; Itpe. to be said, to be recited
אכ"י/אכ"ל	Pe. to eat; Af. to feed; Itpe. to be eaten, to be consumed
גל"י	Pe. to uncover, to reveal; Pa. to uncover, to reveal; to explain, to indicate; Itpe. to be uncovered, to be revealed
דח"י	Pe. to push aside; Pa. to put s.o. off, to reject; Itpe./Itpa. to be rejected
הו"י	to be, become, exist; to be born; (+ inf) should ...
חז"י	Pe. to see, to look at, to inspect, to notice; Af. to show; Itpe. to be seen; Ittaf. to be shown
חת"ם	Pe. to seal, to sign, to conclude; Af. to let s.o. sign; Itpe. to be sealed, to be signed
יד"ע	Pe. to know, to understand, to recognize; Af. to inform; Itpe. to be known; Ittaf. to be known
יז"ף	Pe. to borrow; Af. to lend
ית"י/ית"ב	Pe. to sit; to live, to be situated; Pa. to set at ease; Af. to seat s.o., to place, to appoint; Ittaf. to place o.s., w. דעתא to put at ease
כת"י/כת"ב	Pe. to write, to inscribe; Itpe. to be written
מח"י	Pe. to strike, hit; Pa. to protest; Itpa. to be smitten
נט"ר	Pe. to guard; to wait; Pa. to guard, to watch; Itpe. to be guarded

נפ"י/נפ"ל	Pe. to fall; to occur; Af. to drop
סב"ר	Pe. to be of the opinion, to agree, to think; Af. to explain; Itpe. to be logical, to be reasonable
סמ"ך	Pe. to support; to rely on, to ordain; w. דעת to be assured of s.t.; Af. to find support, to have s.o. ordained; Itpe. w. -א to lean upon
פל"ג	Pe. to divide, distribute. Passive Participle: to disagree, to differ; Pa. to distinguish; Af. to separate; Itpe. to be divided; to disagree
פק"י/פק"ע	Pe. intr. to rupture; to split; to be cancelled; Af. to cancel; to tear upon; to exempt
רמ"י	Pe. to throw down; to put; Af. to throw; Itpe. to happen to be, take place (רמי X א), to raise a contradiction between s.o. and s.o.
שב"ק	Pe. to leave; to permit; to forgive; Itpe. to be forsaken, to be deserted

### Adverbs

בעלמא	in a general way, merely
כך וכך	such-and-such
למחר	tomorrow; the next day; in the future
מיהא/מיחת/מיהת	in any case
מיכדי	now then

### Interrogatives

אימת	when
אמאי	why
כמה	how much/many/long

### Prepositions and Conjunctions

בהדי (< בחדי)	while; (also used as a preposition) with
כי היכי ד	(usually followed by the prefix conjunction) in order that; just as

## Exercises for Chapter 7

1. אי הואי סכינא בידאי (*Hag.* 15b)
2. וכל חד וחד אית ביה זהב [*Yoma* 45a] חמשה הווי, וזהב is the Hebrew cognate of the Aramaic word דהבא]
3. נהי דליכא א[י]סורא דאורייתא, איסורא דרבנן מיהא איכא (*Šabb.* 47b)
4. כי כתביתו תברא, אי ידעיתו זמנא דשטרא כתובו ואי לא, כתובו סתמא (*B. Bat.* 171b)
5. את גופך, אי הוה ידעת, מי הוה עבדת? כי היכי דאת לא הוה ידעת איהו נמי לא הוה ידע (*B. Bat.* 41a)
6. לא שביק איניש היתרא ועביד איסורא (*Tem.* 27a)
7. לא שביק א[י]ניש שמייה דידיה וחתם בשמא דאבוה (*B. Bat.* 161b)
8. מכדי כהני אימת [קא] אכלי בתרומה? (*Ber.* 2a)  
תרומה = a gift given to the Priests.
9. ואמר ליה: "גנבא סריא. בדוכתא פלן יתבינן. כך וכך גברי איכא בהדן. כך וכך כלבי איכא" (*B. Meši'a* 93b-94a)
10. אי הכי, אפלו שטרי הלואה נמי. זימנין דיזיף מיניה בניסן, וכתב ליה שטרא בתשרי 171b)  
הלואה = loan
11. אמר ליה רבינא לרב אשי: "מיכדי האי קרא ביחזקאל כתיב" (*Sanh.* 22b)  
יחזקאל = the book of Ezekiel
12. ואומדנא גלויי מילתא בעלמא הוא (*Arak.* 20b)
13. אמר ליה. סמוך עילואי (*Erub.* 51a)
14. אמאי קא סמכת אהאי שטרא, שטרא חספא בעלמא היא (*B. Bat.* 32b)
15. אמר לי. אינטר עד למחר כי השתא (*B. Bat.* 74a)
16. נפל חמרא דהיתירא לגו מיא דאיסורא (*Abod. Zar.* 73a)
17. גברא אגברא קא רמית. מר סבר פליגי. ומר סבר לא פליגי (*Erub.* 82a)
18. לא אפיקא ליה ריפתא (*Hag.* 5a)
19. שיתא אלפי שני האוי עלמא (*Roš Haš.* 31a)
20. תלתה גברי בתרתי אמהאתא יתבי (*Sukkah.* 8a)
21. כולהי חדא ברכתא אריכתא נינהי (*Pesaḥ* 103b)
22. תעייל ולא תפיק תפיק ולא תעייל (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 9b)
23. למאי נפקא מינה? (*B. Meši'a* 24ab)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 8

### Nouns

חילא m (sf חייל; pl חילוותא; sf pl חילונין)	strength, army
חפצא/חפצא m	object
סב(א)רא m	logical deduction
קרייתא/קרייתא f (pl קרייתא/קרייתא)	town, village; pl countryside
רחמנא m	The Merciful One (i.e., God)
ש(י)כרא m	alcoholic beverage; beer

### Verbs

אס"ר/אס"י	Pe. to bind; to imprison; to forbid; Itpe. to be bound; to be imprisoned; to be forbidden
גמ"ר	Pe. to finish; to learn; Af. to teach
דר"ש	Pe. to interpret, to expound; Itpe. to be expounded
חפ"ר	Pe. to dig
יב"ש	Pe. to dry up; Pa. to dry (s.t.)
יר"ת	Pe. to inherit, to take possession; Af. to bequeath, to bestow
כח"ש	Pe. to become lean, infertile; Af. to make lean; to contradict; Ittaf. to be contradicted
כש"ר	Af. to make fit; to declare valid; Ittaf. to become valid
מל"כ	Pe. to reign; Af. to declare (s.o.) king; Itpe. to consult; to reconsider
נת"ר	Pe. to fall off, out; Af. to cause to fall off
סב"ר	Pe. to be of the opinion; to think; to deduce; Af. to explain; Itpe. to be logical, reasonable; (impersonally, with ל) it is the opinion of s.o. that ...
סט"י	Pe. to deviate
סכ"ל	Itpa. to look at
סכ"נ	Pe. to be in jeopardy; Pa. to endanger; Itpa. to become seriously ill; to endanger o.s
סכ"ר	Pe. to clog, to block up; Pa. to block up; Itpe. to be clogged
שב"ש	Pa. to distort; to corrupt; to confuse s.o.; Itpa. to be mistaken
שת"ק	Pe. to be silent; Pa. to silence; Itpa. to become silent
תק"נ/תק"י	Pa. to make fit; to institute; to install; Af. to institute; Itpe. Itpa. to be made fit; to be fixed

## Prepositions

כואת/כוות	like; according to
לוות	toward; with

## Exercises for Chapter 8

Translate into English.

1. חזי מי קידושי יומא (*Pesah.* 105 a)
2. מסתברא מילתא דר' אלעזר (*Roš Haš.* 35a)
3. ורבנן בהאיי סברא קא מפלגי (*Sanh.* 4b)
4. כי היכי דאת אמלכת וחפרת אנא נמי ממלכנא וחפרנא (*B. Bat.* 17b)
5. ורחמנא היכא יתיב? (*Ber.* 48a)
6. קא אסר נפשיה מן חיפצא (*Ned.* 2b)
7. אמרו ליה: "ומי עדיפת לן מינה?" (*Šabb.* 119a)
8. כי היכי דליהוו להי בני שפירי כותי (*B. Meši'a* 84a)
9. אנא ור' יהושע בן לוי לא פלגינן אהדדי (*Ketub.* 57a)
10. ליסתכלן בי וליהוי להו זרעא דשפירה כותי (*Ber.* 20a)
11. האי דידן לא צריך להאי דידכו (*Sotah.* 40a)
12. מי אלימא הא ממתניתין (*'Erub.* 89b)
13. אטו ר' יוחנן לית ליה האי סברא (*Zebaḥ.* 52b)
14. ר' חנניה נפק לקריאתא, רמו ליה קראי אהדדי (*B. Bat.* 98b)
15. שמואל לא מצלי בביתא דאית ביה שיכרא (*'Erub.* 65a)
16. כיון דכולהי כי הדדי כתי[בי] בהי מהדדי ילפא (*Sanh.* 40b)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 9

### Nouns

אורתא f	night
אילני, אילניא pl m אילן	tree
אימי, אימהתא pl f אימא	mother
ארגוון m	purple wool
גזלנותא f	robbery
חומרי pl m חומרא	restrictive measure; severity
טיוטא m	portion of document covered with dots
לבושי pl m לבושא	garment
מלאכי pl m מלאכא	angel

עבדא m (עבדי pl) slave; worshiper

### Verbs

אג"ר	Pe. to hire; to rent; Af. to hire for s.o.; to hire out; to rent out; Itpe. to be hired; to benefit; to hire o.s. out; Itaff. to be rented out
אז"ל/ל/אז"י	Pe. to go; to travel; to disappear; Itpe. to depart
גז"ז	Pe. to cut off; to shear sheep; to omit
זב"נ/נ/זב"י	Pe. to buy; Pa. to sell; Itpa. to be sold
זכ"י	Pe. to be worthy; to win a legal battle; to acquire possession; Pa. to make s.o. worthy; to grant; to entitle
חק"ק/ק/הק"ק	Pe. to carve out, to engrave, to drill; Pa. to hollow out
חש"ד	Pe. to suspect; Itpe. to be suspected
לב"ש	Pe. to wear, to dress up; Pa. to dress s.o.
מח"ק	Pe. to erase; Itpe. to be erased
נג"ע	Pe. w. ב to touch; to deal with something; Pa. to be afflicted with leprosy; Af. to bring into contact
עב"ד, אב"ד, אב"י	Pe. to do, to make; to bring about; to observe a religious requirement; Pa. to prepare parchment; Itpe. to be made/done/prepared; to be brought about; to become
פש"ט	Pe. to straighten; to spread; to explain; to solve; Itpe. to be straightened out; to be solved
צר"כ	Itpe. to be necessary; to require
שכ"ח	Pe, Pa. to forget; Af. to find; Itpe. to be forgotten; to be found
שמ"ע/ע/שמ"י	Pe. to hear [more specifically, to hear a legal tradition]; to listen; to infer, to conclude; Pa. to serve; Af. to let s.o. hear; to impart a legal tradition; to inform; to prove; Itpa. to be heard; to obey; w. מילהא to become known

### Adjectives

איכפת	to be concerned (always w. ל before the person who is concerned)
פשיט	obvious, clear; (פשיטא ד) It is obvious that ...
צריך	necessary; in need, needy
שכיח	present, available; familiar

**Adverb**

לעיל/לעילא upward, above

**Exercises for Chapter 9**

Translate into English.

1. אכליה אריא ('Abod. Zar. 26a)
2. ראשונים לא איפשיט להו, אנן נעביד לחומרא? (Ber. 51b) [= a Hebrew word with the meaning "previous generations"]
3. אימיה דראמי בר חמא בצפרא כתבתינהו לניכסה לרמי בר חמא ולאורתא כתבתינהו לרב. עוקבא בר חמא (Ketub. 94b)
4. גאיז ליה לעילא ומחיק ליה לטיטא (B. Bat. 163a)
5. רבי יהודה ורבי שמעון קרא אשכוח ודרוש (B. Bat. 72b)
6. מלאכא אשכחיה לרב קטינא (Menah. 41a)
7. עבדא זכיה למריה (Sanh. 107a)
8. כי מגעת ליה לר' מאיר ור' יוסי בהדי הדדי לא פליגי (Zebah. 30a)
9. הוה שכיח אליהו מר, הוה שכיח אליהו בהדיה (Ketub. 61a) [= אליהו = Elijah]
10. התם פסיקא מילתייהו (Me'ila 21b)
11. את גופך לא תתשיל לי (B. Meši'a 94b)
12. פשיטא דלא שמיע ליה (Erub. O 80a)
13. איצטריך תרי קראי (Nid. 41a)
14. דחקיק ביה באילן (Šabb. 154b)
15. אמ' רבא: שמע מינה מדר' עקיבה תלת (Pesah. 5a-b)
16. מיד אלביש יתהון לבושין דארגון (Tamid 32a)
17. אנת זבנת' ניהליה ואנא זבנתה מיניה (B. Bat. 50b)
18. אמרינן ליה. עד השתא חשדת ליה בגזלנות'. והשתא אגרתה ניהליה בלא שהדי (B. Meši'a 6a)
19. ידע ולא איכפת ליה (Ber. 19a)
20. קמא אזל ליה, והאי אחרינא הוא (Ber. 53a)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 10

### Nouns

גלותא/גלוותא f pl	exiles
גרמא m (גרמי pl)	bone, self
דייני/דיאני m (sf דייין pl דיין)	judge
דעתא f	knowledge, opinion. purpose, intention mood
טסקא/טקסא	tax (especially used for a Persian land tax)
לונכא/לונכי m (pl לוכי/לונכי)	lance
מגירתא/מגורתא f (pl מגירתא)	neighbor
מרא m	spade, blow of spade
מתנייתא/מתנייתא f (pl מתנייתא)	Tannaitic tradition
ריש גלותא m	Exilarch
שבשתא f	error
שכבותא/שיכבותא f	neighborhood

### Verbs

את"י	Pe. to come; to be deducted; Af. to bring; to make s.o. come; to deduce; to include
הימ"נ	Pa. to believe; to trust; Itpa. to be believed
חב"ב	Pe. to prefer; to like; Pa. to love; to cherish; Itpa. to be cherished
חי"י/הי"י	Pe. to live; Af. to nourish; to revive the dead
טמ"ר	Pa., Af. to hide, to conceal; Itpa. to hide, to be concealed
כפ"ף	Pe. to bend; to overturn; to subordinate; Af. to compel
ער"ק/אר"ק	Pe. to flee; Af. to chase away
פר"ס/פר"ש	Pe. to spread
רפ"י	Pe. to be loose; to be soft; Pa, Af. to loosen

### Adverbs

אתמל/איתמל	yesterday, the day before
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### Prepositions, Conjunctions

אדעתא ד	for the sake of; on the understanding that
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## Exercises for Chapter 10

Translate into English.

1. לא צריכנא, דאית לי טובא ('Abod Zar. 10b)
2. האי דקא מ[י]טמרי דלא ניחזינהו אינשי וניערקו מיניהו הוא (B. Qam. 79b)
3. ההוא דהוה בשיבבותיה דר' יוחנן והוה פריס ידיה (Meg. 24b)
4. קמ'ל [=קא משמע לן] בבירתא מאי דלא אשמעינן במתניתין (Beṣah 6b)
5. האי מאן דמחו ל' [=ליה] בלונכי פרסאי, מחיאי לא חיי (Git. 70a)
6. הא דכיף ליה לרביה (Ber. 8a)
7. סהדי אטיוטא הוא דחתמי (Sanh. 163a)
8. אנא דיינא ומר לאו דיינא (Ketub. 94b)
9. התם לא כייפי להדדי. מר מיכף כייף להו (Hor. 11b)
10. דעבד לגרמיה הוא דעבד ר' אמי (Mo'ed Qaṭ. 25b)
11. ריווחא שבק למאן דקשיש מיניה (Git. 10b)
12. והא לאו איתמל אמרת לי הכי (Šabb. 31a)
13. "מאן דיהיב טסקא ליכול ארעא." (B. Bat. 54b)
14. שבשתא דעל על (Pesah. 112a)
15. כל מאן דאתי לבי ריש גלותא אדעתא דכולהו רבנן אתי (Erub. 40a)
16. איכא דמתני לה להא דרב הונא אהא דתני רב יוסף (B. Meṣi'a 71a)
17. אילו הוה ידעת דאמרין מגורתא עליה דברת' [דברתך] לא הוה חבית בה (Ned. V<sup>2</sup> 21b-22a)
18. הוא ניהו דקא מפיק שמא (B. Qam. 114b)
19. אי לאו דהואי התם לא הימני (B. Bat. 73b)
20. כל מרא ומרא דקא מחית קא מרפית ליה לארעאי (B. Bat. 17b)

## Vocabulary for Chapter 11

### Nouns

בוטשא/בוטשא f (בוטטי pl)	spark
גהורקא/גהורקא m (גהורקי pl)	chair, litter
גונא/גוונא m (גוני pl)	colour, kind
גיטא m (גיטי pl; גט cstr)	document, divorce document
דביתהו f	his wife [lit., of his house]
דקנא/דיקנא m (דקנני pl)	adult
כורכמא רישקא m	saffron
מערתא f	cave, burial cave
נטירותא f	guarding

נפש f	life, soul, human being, body; + pronoun – self, reflexive pronouns; נפש + גו"ח + pronoun to die
סידרא m (cstr סדר)	order (also an order of the <i>Mishna</i> ), row, book, class, recitation of the Bible
סימנא/סימאנא m (סימני pl)	sign, mark
קלא m	voice, rumor
שליחא m (w. p.s. שלוח; pl שלוחי)	agent, messenger

### Verbs

בט"ל	Pe. to cease; to void; to be idle; Pa. to annul; to abolish; Af. to cause s.o. to be idle; Itpe. to be idle
בע"ל/בא"י	Pe. to ask; to require; to desire; to be about to happen; w. רחמי to pray; Itpe. to be asked; to be required
בר"כ	Pa. to bless s.o.; to recite a grace; Itpa. to be blessed
גר"ש	Pa. to divorce; Itpa. to be divorced
חד"ר/הד"ר	Pe. to return; to be returned; to surround; to retract; as a hendyadis verb – to do something again; 3m sg participle is used impersonally as – then, afterwards; Pa. to go about; to pursue; to search for s.o. or s.t.; Af. to return s.t.; to make go around; to surround; to turn around; to repeat; Itpe. as a hendyadis verb – to do s.t afterwards; Itpa. to go around as a peddler; Itaff. to be returned
יה"ב/ב"ה"י	Pe. to give; to grant; Itpe. to be given; to be permitted
מט"י	Pe. to arrive; to ripen; w. גבי על ל, to happen; Af. to bring
מס"י	Pa. to heal; Itpa. to be cured
מצ"י	Pe. to be able; Af. to make available; + נפש+pronominal suuffix to make one's presence known; Itpe. to be able
נח"ח	Pe. to descend, to reach, to delve; + ל to acquire; Af. to lower, to bring down; + ל to cause to acquire
נת"ן	Pe. to give
סכ"ל	Af. to injure; Itpa. to look at
סמ"י	Pe. to eliminate (a text); Pa. to blind; Itpe. to be blinded
פוי"ס	Pa. to persuade; to reconcile; Itpa. to be satisfied; to be reconciled
צע"ר	Pa. to trouble; to inflict pain; Itpa. to make an effort; to feel pain; to grieve

קו"מ/מ"קו"י	Pe. to stand (up); to wake up; to remain; to exist; as hendyadis verb – to remain; Pa. to fulfil; to confirm; to establish; Af. to make s.o stand up; to place; to appoint; to explain; Itpa. to be fulfilled; to last; Ittaf. to be placed; to be established; to be explained; to be appointed
קט"ל/קט"י	Pe. to kill; to cut off; Itpe. to be killed
קל"י	Pe. to burn; to roast; to ruin; Itpe. to be burnt; to be roasted
קפ"ד	Pe. to be particular; to be annoyed; Itpe. to be angry
שו"י	Pe. to be worth; to be appropriated; to be equal; Pa. to place; to make s.t. into; to reckon; appoint; Af. to compare; to agree; to level
שט"ח	Pe. Pa. to spread out; Itpa. to prostrate o.s.
שע"י/שאי"י	Itpa. to speak, to tell. + בהדי to sue
שק"י	Af. to give a drink; to irrigate
שר"י	Pe. to dwell; to untie, to release; to permit; to annul a vow; Af. to cause to dwell; Itpe. to be untied; to be permitted; to be annulled of a vow
תנ"י	Pe. to repeat, to do again; to learn or recite a Tannaitic tradition; Pa. to tell; Af. to teach a Tannaitic tradition; to transmit an oral tradition; to derive a legal conclusion from Scripture; Itpe. to be repeated; to be learned

### Adjectives

צדיק	righteous, righteous person
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### Adverbs

אבראי/לאבראי	outside
אפלו/אפילו	even. Conj: even if
איפשר/אפשר	possible
גואי/לגואי	inside

### Conjunctions

כד	when
כיון/כיוון	since, as soon as, when
מן קמי/מקמי	before; for the sake of

## Prepositions

גבי	next to, in the place of, towards
לגבי	near, towards, with regard to
(ל)בר מ(ין)	except for, outside of
מן קמ/מקמי	from before; for the sake of

## Exercises for Chapter 11

Translate into English.

1. בסתמא נמי קבולי קביל עליה נטירותא (B. Qam. 47b)
2. לאו אורח ארעא למיזל הכי בשוקא (Šabb. 113b)
3. וּמִימַאי דְהַאי 'נִיקוּב' לִישָׁאנָא דְבִרוּכִי הוּא? [Sanh. 56a] (= is a Hebrew word for blasphemy)
4. אמר ליה. כי האי גונא אפלו לדקנני נמי שרי למעבד (B. Meši'a 70a)
5. ואי אמ' ליה. כורכמא רישקא זביני לך. מאי הוה ליה למעבד. אמ' ליה. איבעי ליה למחויי (B. Bat. 38a)
6. ישראל כיון דאיפשר למעבד להו כדשמואל ולא קא עבדי הימוני מהימני (Šabb. 17b)
7. צריך לברוכי על מיא (Anan 18:11)
8. אי שרית ליה אתי למיכל מינה (Hul. 116b)
9. הכי אמר לכו. הדור אשקיוה (Git. 68b)
10. לאו אורח ארא למיתב מלכא אבראי ואינהו גואי (Roš Haš. 8b)
11. אמרה ליה דביתהו. עד אימת נצטער וניזיל כולי האי? (Ta'an. 25a)
12. הנהו בני גלילי דנפק עליהו קלא דקטול נפשא. אתו לקמיה דר' טרפון. אמרו ליה. ליטמרינן מר. אמר להו. היכי אעביד. לא אטמרינכו ליחזו יתיכו. איטמרינכו. האמרי רבנן. האי לישנא (Nid. 61a) בישא אע'ג דקבולי לא מיבעי מיחש ליה מיבעי. זילו אתו טמרו נפשיכו
13. הוה קא פסיק סידרא קמיה דרבי. אתא ר' חייא. הדר לרישא. אתא ר' שמעון ברבי. הדר לרישא. אתא בר קפרא. הדר לרישא. אתא ר' חנינא בר חמא. אמ'. כל הכי ניהדר וניזיל. לא (Yoma 87a-b) הדר. איקפד ר' חנינא. אזל לגביה תליסר יומי דכיפורי ולא איפייס מיניה
14. מאן דשוי שליחא למיכתב גיטא לאיתתיה. ואזל וכתב. ומן קמי דלימטי גיטא לידה אמ' ליה לשליח: "לא תיתין לה גיטא דלא בעינא לגרושה". ובטליה לגיטא קמי שהדי. ובתר דבטליה לגיטא אזל שליח ויהב לה גיטא. ואזלת ההיא איתתא ואיתקדשת לגברא אחרנא. ההוא גיטא (HPS 128: 8-12) לאו גיטא הוא. דכיון דבטליה מיקמי דלימטי לידה בטיל ליה

The following passage is from *B. Meṣi'a* 85b. Translate it into English. Afterwards answer the questions below.

1 אמ' רב חביבא אישתעי לי רב חביבא בר סומקי:

חזאי לההוא מרבנן דהוה שכ"ח אליהו גביה. בפניא הוה שפירן עיניה, לצפרא הוה כדמיקליין עיניה בנורא.  
אמרי ליה: "מאי האי?"

5 אמר, דאמרי לאליהו: "אחזי לי רבנן צדיקי כי סלקי ונחתי למתיבתא דרקיעא"

ואמר לי: "בכולהון גוהרקין איסתכל, לבר מגוהרקא דר' חייא דלא תיסתכל, ומאי סימני? בכולהו גוהרקי עיילי בכולהו לבר מגוהרקא דר' חייא דלא עיילי מלאכי, דמנפשיה סליק ונחית"

לא מצאי לאוקומי אנפשאי ואסתכלי ביה, אתו תרי בוטאשי דנורא מחו לעיניה וסמיהו.  
אזלי ואשתטחי אמערתיה. אמרי ליה:

10 "מתניתא דמר תנינא" ואיתסאי.

- 1) In various manuscripts instead of חזאי לההוא מרבנן (line 2) appears חזי לי ההוא מרבנן. Please explain the relationship between the two versions.
- 2) Instead of הוה שפירן עיניה (line 2), other manuscripts have הוה שפירין עיניה, and others have הוה שפירן עיניה. Please discuss the relationship between the various versions.
- 3) In line (4) instead of אמרי ליה F has אמנא ליה, V<sup>117</sup> has אמר ליה and M has אמרו ליה. Please explain the forms in F and V<sup>117</sup>. Can you think of a reason for the change in M?
- 4) Instead of ומאי סימני other manuscripts have the following versions:

Es	ומאי סימנייהו
F <sup>1</sup>	ומאי סימניה
M	מאי סימני'
V <sup>23</sup>	מאי סימניה
V <sup>117</sup>	מאי סימניה
Cre	ומאי זימניה

Discuss the relationship between these versions.

- 5) In line 6–7 instead of בכולהו גוהרקי עיילי בכולהו לבר מגוהרקא דר' חייא דלא עיילי מלאכי, דמנפשיה סליק ונחית Ms Es has something a little bit different:  
כולהו יתבי בגוהרקי ומסקי להו מלאכי לבר מגוהרקא דר' חייא דמינפשיה סליק ומנפשיה נחית  
Translate this line.

# Lexicon

- א
- א/על prep. on, upon, concerning
- אוי"ד/אב"ד Pe. to be lost, w. ל to lose s.t (the object of the preposition is the person who loses); Pa. to lose s.t.; Af. to lose s.t.; Itpe., w. ל to lose s.t. (the object of the preposition is the person who loses)
- עב"ד see אב"ד
- עב"ד see אב"י
- אבן f (אבני אבן) stone
- לאבראי/אבראי adv. outside
- על גב/אגב prep., conj. because of, on top of
- אג"ר Pe. to hire; to rent; Af. to hire for s.o.; to hire out; to rent out; Itpe. to be hired; to benefit; to hire o.s. out; Itaff. to be rented out
- עד ד/עד prep., conj. until, up to, as soon as, while
- עד לא/אדלא prep. before
- אדעתא ד prep., conj. for the sake of; on the understanding that
- או conj. or, whether; if
- און(ד) m/f ear
- אב"ד see או"ד
- אחרנייא/אחרנייתא f (pl אחריני/אחרניי), אחריית/אחריתא/אחריתא f (pl אחרינייתא/אחרנייתא) another
- אומד(א) m estimate
- אונא f lobe; ear
- אורחא f (אורחא, אורחא, אורחא) road, journey, manner
- אורח ארעא usual/proper behavior
- אורייתא f Torah, Jewish law
- אורתא f night
- אז"ל/אז"י Pe. to go; to travel; to disappear; as hendiadys verb adds the sense of continuity; Itpe. to depart
- אחרינא see אחרינא
- אחרייתא see אחרייתא
- אן/אני conj. if
- איכפת adj. to be concerned (always w. ל before the person who is concerned)
- אילן m (אילני, אילניא) tree
- אימת intrg. when

- אימא f (pl אימהתא) mother  
 אינאשא/אינשא m (pl אינשי) human being; (pl) people  
 איתתא see איתתא  
 איסורא m (pl איסורי) prohibition  
 איפשר see אפשר  
 אתמל/איתמל yesterday, the day before  
 אינתתא/איתתא f (cstr. נשי pl איתח) woman, wife  
 אכ"י/אכ"ל Pe. to eat; Af. to feed; Itpe. to be eaten, to be consumed  
 אלים adj. strong, valid, authorized  
 אמאי intrg. why  
 אמורא m (pl אמוראי/אמורי) *Amora* (Rabbis active after the Mishnah), speaker  
 אמ"ר/אמ"י Pe. to say, to tell; Itpe. to be said, to be recited  
 אמטול/א(מ)טו prep., conj. on account of, because; before the topic of rhetorical questions  
 אמ"י see אמ"ר  
 אמתא f (pl sf אמין; lf אמהתא, אמאתא) cubit  
 אן see אי  
 אנפא see אפא  
 אס"ר/אס"י Pe. to bind; to imprison; to forbid; Itpe. to be bound; to be imprisoned; to be forbidden  
 אף conj. even, also  
 אנפא/אפא m/f face, way, manner, surface  
 אפלו/אפילו adv. even. conj: even if  
 איפשר/אפשר adv. possible  
 ארגוון m purple wool  
 אריא m (pl אריותא) lion  
 אריך adj. tall, long  
 ארעא f (pl ארעתא) land  
 אר"ק see ער"ק  
 את"י Pe. to come; to be deducted; w. infinitive to be apt; Af. to bring; to make s.o. come; to deduce; to include  
 אתמל see איתמל

## ב

- ב prep. in, during, with (in an instrumental sense), concerning  
 בע"י see בא"י  
 באנפי/באפי prep. in the presence of

- בהדי (< בחדי) conj. while; (also used as a prep.) with  
 בוטשא/בוטשא f (pl בוטטי) spark  
 בט"ל Pe. to cease; to void; to be idle; Pa. to annul; to abolish; Af. to cause s.o. to  
 be idle; Itpe. to be idle  
 בי מדרשא m school  
 ביש adj. bad, evil  
 בישותא f (sf בישו) wickedness  
 בני"י Pe. to build; Itpe. to be built  
 בסים/בסום adj. sweet, pleasant  
 בא"י/בע"י Pe. to ask; to require; to desire; to be about to happen; w. רחמי to  
 pray; Itpe. to be asked; to be required  
 בעל אומנותא m artisan  
 בעלמא adv. in a general way, merely  
 בציר adj. less (also used as an adverb); w. (מ)ן: less than  
 (ל)בר מ(ין) prep. except for, outside of  
 ברא m (pl בני) ברשא, f (sf ברשא, cstr. בת, pl בנשא) son/daughter, offspring, having  
 the ability of, being of age, resident of  
 ברא adj. external  
 ברייתא f (pl ברייתא) Baraita, a Tannaitic source external to the Mishna (see  
 ברא) adj.  
 בר"כ Pa. to bless s.o.; to recite a grace; Itpa. to be blessed  
 ברכתא f (pl ברכתא) blessing, grace during meal  
 בתר prep., conj. after, behind  
 בתרא (ה) adj. last
- ג
- גבי prep. next to, in the place of, towards  
 גוהרקא/גוהורקא m (pl גוהרקי) chair, litter  
 לגואי/גואי adv. inside  
 גוברא/גוברא m (pl גוברי/גוברי) man, husband  
 גונוא/גונוא m (pl גוני) colour, kind  
 גודי (מ)דא m (pl גודי) wall  
 גופא m (pl גופי) body, self; w. 3fs p.s. (גופה/גופא): an editorial note signaling the  
 resumption of an earlier topic  
 גז"ז Pe. to cut off; to shear sheep; to omit  
 גזל (א)נא m (pl גזלני) robber  
 גזלנותא f robbery



גיטא m (cstr. גיט; pl גיטי) document, divorce document

גיסא m (pl גיס(ני) side

גלותא/גלוותא f pl exiles

גל"י Pe to uncover, to reveal; Pa.. to uncover, to reveal, to explain, to indicate;  
Itpe. to be uncovered, to be revealed

גמליא m/f (pl גמלי) camel

גנבא m (pl גנבי) thief

גנובתא f tail

גמ"ר Pe. to finish; learn; Af. to teach; as hendiadys verb adds the sense of  
continuity

גרמא m (pl גרמי) bone, self

גר"ש Pa. to divorce; Itpa. to be divorced

## ד

דביתהו f his-wife (lit., of his house)

דעהא m gold

דוכתא f (pl דוכתי/דוכותא/דוכתי) place

דו"ן Pe. to judge; w. מן to deduce; Itpe. to be judged

דופנא/דופנא f (pl דופני/דפנתא) side, wall

דח"י Pe. to push aside; Pa. to put s.o. off, to reject; Itpe./Itpa. to be rejected

דיינא/דיינא m (sf דייני/דייני) judge

דינא m (pl דיני) law, the right thing, legal case, judgment (also punishment),  
court

דקנא/דיקנא m (pl דקוני) adult

דרכא/דירכא f (pl דרכי) road, manner

דכ"ר/דכ"י Pe. to mention s.t.; pass.participle – to remember; Af. to recall, to re-  
mind, to mention; Itpe. to remember, to recall

דמא m blood; capital crime

דפנא see דופנא

דעתא f knowledge, opinion, purpose, intention, mood

דיקנא see דקנא

דרא m (pl דרתי/דרי) row, line; generation

דרקא see דרתקא

דרכא see דירכא

דר"ש Pe. to interpret, to expound; Itpe. to be expounded

דרקא/דרקא m דרדקא/דרדקא f (pl דרדקי) child, adjective: small

- ה
- הא intj. Here is ...!, Behold!
- האידנא/הידנא/הידנא adv. now, today
- ה(א)כא here
- האכי see הכין
- ה(א)תם there
- הד"ר/הד"ר Pe. to return; to be returned; to surround; to retract; as a hendiadys verb – to do something again; 3m sg participle is used impersonally as – then, afterwards; Pa. to go about; to pursue; to search for s.o. or s.t.; Af. to return s.t.; to make go around; to surround; to turn around; to repeat; Itpe. as a hendiadys verb – to do s.t afterwards; Itpa. to go around as a peddler; Itaff. to be returned
- הוי"י to be, become, exist; to be born; (+ inf) should ...
- האידנא see הידנא
- הידנא see האידנא
- הי"י see הי"י
- הימ"ן Pa. to believe; to trust; Itpa. to be believed
- היתרא m (pl היתרי) permission; permitted thing
- הכי/האכי/הכין adv. thus, so, such
- הק"ק see הק"ק
- השתא adv. now
- ז
- זב"נ/זב"י Pe. to buy; Pa. to sell; Itpa. to be sold
- זוזא m (pl זוזי) Zuz (a type of coin), in pl also money
- זוטא/זוטא adj. small
- זיקתא f goad
- זכ"י Pe. to be worthy; to win a legal battle; to acquire possession; Pa. to make s.o. worthy; to grant; to entitle
- זמנא m/f (cstr. זמן, pl זמנין) time, date
- זימנין adv. sometimes; (זימנין ד) There are times when ...
- לזמנין adv. subsequently
- זמנין סגיאינ many times, often
- ח
- חבלא/חבלא m injury, ruin
- חב"ב Pe. to prefer; to like; Pa. to love; to cherish; Itpa. to be cherished

הד"ר see חד"ר

חומרא m (חומרי pl) restrictive measure; severity

חז"י Pe. to see, to look at, to inspect, to notice; Af. to show; Itpe. to be seen; It-  
taf. to be shown

חי"י/חי"י Pe. to live; Af. to nourish; to revive the dead

חילא m (sf חייל pl; חילווא sf pl חילונין) strength, army

חפצא see חפצא

חכים adj. wise, expert

חילופא/חלופי prep. instead of

חפצא/חפצא m object

חמרא m wine

חמ(א)רא m (חמרי pl) donkey

חסדן adj. gracious

חספא f (חספי pl) shred

חפ"ר Pe. to dig

חק"ק/חק"ק Pe. to carve out; to engrave; to drill; Pa. to hollow out

חש"ד Pe. to suspect; Itpe. to be suspect

חש"ש Pe. to care, to feel; w. ב to be ill; take into consideration

חת"ם Pe. to seal, to sign, to conclude; Af. to let s.o. sign; Itpe. to be sealed, to be  
signed

## ט

טב adj. good

טב"ל Pe. to immerse o.s. for ritual purification; Pa. to dip food; Af. to immerse  
s.o. or s.t. for ritual purification.

טובא adv. much, many

טייא/טייעא/טיאעא adj. Arab

טיוטא m portion of document covered with dots

טקסא/טסקא tax (especially used for a Persian land tax)

טפי adj./adv. more (also used as an adverb); w. (מ)ן: more than

טעמא m (טעמי pl) taste, reason

טמ"ר Pa., Af. to hide to conceal; Itpa. to hide, to be concealed

טסקא see טקסא

## י

ידא f (ידי pl) hand, possession

יב"ש Pe. to dry up; Pa. to dry (s.t.)

יד"ע Pe. to know, to understand, to recognize; Af. to inform; Itpe. to be known;  
 Ittaf. to be known  
 יה"ב/יה"י Pe. to give; to grant; Itpe. to be given; to be permitted  
 יהיר adj. haughty, proud  
 יומא m (pl יומי) day, daytime; (sg) *Yom Kippur*  
 יז"ף Pe. to borrow; Af. to lend  
 יס"ף Af. to increase, to add; Ittaf. to be added  
 יר"ת Pe. to inherit, take possession; Af. to bequeath, bestow  
 ית"ל/ית"ב Pe. to sit, to live, to be situated; as hendiadys to introduce the event  
 that had begun before the time of the narrative began. Pa, to set at ease; Af.  
 to seat s.o., to place, to appoint; Ittaf. to place o.s., w. דעתא to put at ease

כ

כ/כ prep. like, as, according to; (כי only) conj. when, while, as  
 כאיבא see כיבא  
 כד conj. when  
 כדי(ב) adv. for nothing  
 כהנא m (pl כהני) priest  
 כואת/כווח prep. like; according to  
 כורכמא רישקא m saffron  
 כח"ש Pe. to become lean, infertile; Af. to make lean; to contradict; Ittaf. to be  
 contradicted  
 כ see כ  
 כיבא/כאיבא m (pl כיבי) pain  
 כיהכי ד conj. (usually followed by the prefix conj.) in order that; just as  
 כיון/כיוון conj. since, as soon as, when  
 כך וכך such-and-such  
 כלבא m (pl כלבי) dog  
 כמה intrg. how much/many/long  
 כנישתא f (no pl) congregation  
 כס"ף Pe. to embarrass, to shame; Af. to put to shame, to embarrass; Itpe. to be  
 shamed, embarrassed  
 כפ"ף Pe. to bend; to overturn; to subordinate; Af. to compel  
 כש"ר Af. to make fit; to declare valid; Ittaf. to become valid  
 כת"ל/כת"ב Pe. to write, to inscribe; Itpe. to be written

ל

לא/או adv. no

אבראי see לאבראי

לבושא m (pl לבושי) garment

לב"ש Pe. to wear, to dress up; Pa. to dress s.o.

לגבי prep. near, towards, with regard to

לגואי see גואי

לוות prep. toward; with

לונכא/לונכי m (pl לוכי/לונכי) lance

לזמנין see זמנא

לחמא see נהמא

לישא m (pl לישני) tongue, language, speech

למחר tomorrow; the next day; in the future

לעיל/לעילא adv. upward, above

לפום prep. conj. according to

מ

מ see מי

מתותא f (pl מ(א)תא) town

מגירתא/מגורתא f (pl מגירתא) neighbor

מדינתא f province, town

מיד (מיד(א)ני) m (pl מדעם &lt; מדם &lt;) something, anything

מותא m death

מח"י to strike, hit; Pa. to protest; Itpa. to be smitten

מח"ק Pe. to erase; Itpe. to be erased

מט"י Pe. to arrive; to ripen; w. על, גבי, ל to happen; Af. to bring

מי intrg. introduces a polar question (often rhetorical in nature)

מן/מ/מין prep. from, than; conj. since

מיא m pl (cstr. מימי, מיי) water

מיהא/מיחת/מיהת adv. at any rate, in any case

מיטרא m (pl מיטרי) rain

מיכדי adv. now then

מילתא f (pl מילי) word, matter

מימרא m (pl מימרי) utterance, command

מין see מי

מית(א)נא m corpse, deceased one

מכילתא f (pl מכילאתא) tractate

- מלאכא m (pl מלאכי) angel  
 מל"י Pe. to reign; Af. to declare (s.o.) king; Itpe. to consult; to reconsider  
 מלכא m (pl מלכי) king  
 מלכתא f (pl מלכותא/מלכותא) queen  
 מן see מי  
 מקמי see מן קמי  
 מס"י Pa. to heal; Itpa. to be cured  
 מצ"י Pe. to be able; Af. to make available; w. נפש+p.s. to make one's presence known; Itpe. to be able  
 מן קמי/מקמי prep. from before; for the sake of; conj. before; for the sake of  
 מעיקרא adv. originally, at the beginning  
 מעלי adj. superior, virtuous, valid, normal  
 מערבא m west, *Eretz Israel*/ Palestine  
 מערתא f cave, burial cave  
 מרא m spade, blow of spade  
 מריא m (cstr. מארי; pl מרוותא) master, lord, owner  
 מתיבתא f (sf מתיבא pl מתיבאתא) academy, academic session, lesson  
 מתניתא f (pl מתנייתא/מתנייתא) Tannaitic tradition

- נ  
 נ(א)מי adv. also, too  
 נביאי m (pl נביאי) prophet  
 נג"ע Pe. w. ב to touch; to deal with something; Pa. to be afflicted with leprosy; Af. to bring into contact  
 נטירותא f guarding, protection  
 נ(י)כסי m pl property  
 נגרא f (pl נגרי) a biform of רגלא (see below)  
 נחמא/נהמא m bread  
 נו"מ Pe. to sleep, to fall asleep  
 נורא m/f fire  
 נח"ת Pe. to descend, to reach, to delve; w. ל to acquire; Af. to lower, to bring down; w. ל to cause to acquire  
 נטירותא f guarding  
 נט"ר Pe. to guard; to wait; Pa. to guard, to watch; Itpe. to be guarded  
 ניסן March–April  
 נמנ"מ Pa. to doze off; Itpa. to doze off  
 נפ"י/נפ"ל Pe. to fall, to occur; Af. to drop

- נפ"ק Pe. to go out; to be inferred, concluded; w. מן to follow, result from s.t.; as hendiadys verb – to indicate incipient action Af. to take out, remove; exclude, exempt; to utter; w. קלא to spread a rumor; Ittaf. to be taken out  
 נפש f life, soul, human being, body; + p.s. – self, reflexive pronouns; w. נ"ח + נפש p.s. to die  
 נת"ן Pe. to give  
 נת"ר Pe. to fall off, out; Af. to cause to fall off

## ס

- סב"ר Pe. to be of the opinion, to think, to deduce; Af. to explain; Itpe. to be logical, reasonable; (impersonally, with ל) it is the opinion of s.o. that ...  
 סב(א)רא m logical deduction  
 שהדא/סהדא m (שהדי/סהדי pl) witness  
 סומאק/סומק m (f sf סומקתי; f lf סומקתא) adj. red; dark  
 סב"ר Pe. to be of the opinion, to agree, to think; Af. to explain; Itpe. to be logical, to be reasonable  
 סט"י Pe. to deviate  
 סידרא m (cstr. סדר) order (also an order of the *Mishna*), row, book, class, recitation of the Bible;  
 סימנא/סימאנא m (סימני pl) sign, mark  
 סכינא f (סכיני pl) knife  
 סכ"ל Itpa. to look at  
 סכ"ל Af. to injure; Itpa. to look at  
 סכ"נ Pe. to be in jeopardy; Pa. to endanger; Itpa. to become seriously ill; endanger o.s.  
 סכ"ר Pe. to clog, to block up; Pa. to block up; Itpe. to be clogged  
 סל"ק Pe. to go up, to travel (more specifically to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem), to happen, to grow, to conclude; Pa. to remove, to complete, to raise up; Af. to bring, to bring up/out, to complete, to remove, to take out; Itpa. to depart; to remove o.s.; Ittaf. to be enacted in accordance with  
 סמ"י Pe. to eliminate (a text); Pa. to blind; Itpe. to be blinded  
 סמ"ך Pe. to support; to rely on, to ordain; w. דעת to be assured of s.t.; Af. to find support, to have s.o. ordained; Itpe. w. א to lean upon  
 סרי adj. decaying, lazy  
 סת(א)מא m (סתמי pl) absence of qualification; anonymous authority (often used adverbially, especially in the expression בסתם)

- ע
- אב"ד/אב"י/עב"ד Pe. to do, to make; to bring about; to observe a religious requirement; Pa. to prepare parchment; Itpe. to be made/done/prepared; to be brought about; to become
- עבדא m (עבדי pl) slave; worshiper
- עד ד see אד
- עד לא see אדלא
- עדיין/עדאן adv. still
- עדיף adj. worthy, preferable
- עדמא prep., conj. until
- עויר adj. blind
- עיל(א)וי prep. on top of; against
- עינא m/f eye
- עינא m (עיונא pl) spring
- עכ"ב Pa. to restrain, to prevent, to postpone, to wait. Itpa. to be delayed, to wait
- על see א
- על גב see אגב
- על"ל Pe. to enter, to fit in; to set (of the sun); Pa. to bring in; to permit s.o. to enter; Af. to bring in; Itpa. w. ל to enter (the object of the preposition is the person who enters)
- עלמא m world
- עציב adj. sad
- עשר m עסרא/עשרא f (עשרין pl) ten
- אר"ק/ער"ק Pe. to flee; Af. to chase away
- עתיק adj. old
- פ
- פוי"ס Pa. to persuade; to reconcile; Itpa. to be satisfied; to be reconciled
- פורתא f a small amount; (used adverbially) a little
- פוי"ש Pe. remain
- פירא m (פירי pl) fruit, produce, the profit from a piece of property
- פליג Pe. to divide, distribute. Passive Participle: to disagree, to differ; Pa. to distinguish; Af. to separate; Itpe. to be divided; to disagree
- פלגא m (פלגי pl) half, waist
- פלגו f half, middle
- פלוגתא f (פלוגותא, פלוגתא pl) division, difference of opinion



פלן m so-and-so, such-and-such

פלניא m (cstr. פלניא, פלני f (cstr. פלנית) so-and-so

פניא m evening

פס"ק Pe. to stop, to do something decisively; to cut to interrupt, to decide; Pa. to cut, to divide; w. סידרא to recite the Bible Af. to stop (intr. and tr.) to intervene, to interrupt, to separate; Itpe. to break, be torn, to be terminated, be divided up, to pause, to be decided

פק"ע/ע"פק"י Pe. intr. to rupture, to split, to be cancelled; Af. to cancel, to exempt

פר"ש/פר"ס Pe. to spread

פרסאה/פרסא adj. Persian

פש"ט Pe. to straighten; to spread; to explain; to solve; Itpe. to be straightened out; to be solved

פשיט adj. obvious, clear; (פשיטא ד) it is obvious that...

## צ

צבא f company, group

צדיק adj. righteous, righteous person

צבא see צבא

צל"י Pe. with אודנא to listen; Pa. to pray; Af. to turn aside

צע"ר Pa. to trouble; to inflict pain; Itpa. to make an effort; to feel pain; to grieve

צערא m (צערי אן) trouble, pain, distress

צפרא m (ציפרי) morning

צריך adj. necessary; in need, needy

צר"כ Itpe. to be necessary; to require

## ק

קאקא see קועא

קב"ל, קב"ל Pa. to receive, to accept, to agree to s.t., with אפי – to greet someone

קד"ש Pe. to become sacred; Pa. to sanctify; to betroth a woman; Af. to dedicate s.t. to the temple; Itpa. to become consecrated, to become betrothed

קדמאה see קמא

קו"מ/קו"י Pe. to stand (up); to wake up; to remain; to exist; as hendiadys verb – to remain; Pa. to fulfil; to confirm; to establish; Af. to make s.o. stand up; to place; to appoint; to explain; Itpa. to be fulfilled; to last; Ittaf. to be placed; to be established; to be explained; to be appointed

קאקא/קועא m neck

קושטא m truth  
 קטין adj. thin  
 קט"ל/קט"י Pe. to kill; to cut off; Itpe. to be killed  
 קלא m voice, rumor  
 קלי"י Pe. to burn; to roast; to ruin; Itpe. to be burnt; to be roasted  
 קדמאה/קמא adj. first  
 קמי prep., conj. before, in front of  
 קפ"ד Pe. to be particular; to be annoyed; Itpe. to be angry  
 קפד(א)ן adj. hot-tempered  
 קרא m (קראי pl) biblical verse/ scripture  
 קריב close; (substantivized) familial relative  
 קרייתא/קריאתא f (pl קרייתא) town, village; pl countryside  
 קשיש adj. old, elder

## ר

ראשא see רישא  
 רב m רבתי f רברבי m pl רברבן f pl adj. big, great, large  
 רבא m (pl רבוותא, רבי) master; teacher  
 רגלי(א) f (pl רגלי) leg, foot; festival  
 רווחא/רווחא m room, ample amount, comfort  
 רחילא f ewe  
 רחיק adj. far, distant  
 רחמנא m The Merciful One (i.e., God)  
 ריחא m (pl ריחני) smell, (the plural has the meaning of 'spices')  
 רישא/רישא m (pl רשוותא/רישי) beginning, head, top, main  
 ריש גלותא m Exilarch  
 רישא f first part (of a text)  
 ריפא f (sf ריפא) (pl ריפא, ריפא) bread  
 רמאה adj. deceiver  
 רמ"י Pe. to throw down; to put; Af. to throw; Itpe. to happen to be, take place  
 (רמי X Y) to raise a contradiction between s.o. and s.o.  
 רפ"י Pe. to be loose; to be soft; Pa, Af. to loosen  
 רקיעא f sky, heaven  
 רשותא f (pl רשוותא) possession, domain, authorization  
 רתחן adj. excitable

ש

שׁו"ל/ל"ש Pe. to ask, to borrow; Itpe. to be lent, to be absolved by a scholar;

Pa. to ask, to borrow; Af. to lend

שׁע"י see שׁא"י

שׁיבבותא/שבבותא f neighborhood

שב"ק Pe. to leave; to permit; to forgive; Itpe. to be forsaken, to be deserted

שב"ש Pa. to distort, to corrupt, to confuse (s.o.); Itpa. to be mistaken

שבשבתא f error

שד"ר Pa. to send; Itpa. to be sent

שו"י Pe. to be worth; to be appropriated; to be equal; Pa. to place; to make s.t.

into; to reckon; appoint; Af. to compare; to agree; to level

שופרא m (שופרי pl) beauty, strengthening

שוקא m (שוקי pl) street, market

שט"ח Pe. Pa. to spread out; Itpa. to prostrate o.s.

שטרא m/f (שטרי pl) document; deed

שכרא m (שכרי) alcoholic beverage; beer

שימשא see שמשא

שכ"ח Pe, Pa. to forget; Af. to find; Itpe. to be forgotten; to be found

שכיח adj. present, available; familiar

שכ"ח Pe, Pa. to forget; Af. to find; Itpe. to be forgotten; to be found

שליחא m (with suffix שלוח; שליחי pl) agent, messenger

שלם m peace, well being, greeting

שמה (cstr. שום/שם, pl שמהתא, שמי) name, designation; with the verb נפ"ק – to spread a rumor

שמ"ע/ע"שמ Pe. to hear (more specifically: to hear a legal tradition); to listen; to infer, to conclude; Pa. to serve; Af. to let s.o. hear; to impart a legal tradition; to inform; to prove; Itpa. to be heard; to obey w. מילתא to become known

שמ"ש Pa. to spend time, to serve, to have intercourse; Itpa. to use (the object appears following the preposition ב)

שימשי/שמשא f (שימשי) sun, sunlight

שׁא"י/שׁע"י Itpa. to speak, to tell; w. בהדי to sue

שפיר adj. adv. beautiful; good; (as an adverb) well

שק"י Af. to give a drink; to irrigate

שר"י Pe. to dwell; to untie; to release; to permit; to annul a vow; Af. to cause to dwell; Itpe. to be untied; to be permitted; to be annulled of a vow

שתא f (שנא sf) (שני pl) year

ש"ת"ק Pe. to be silent; Pa. to silence; Itpa. to become silent

ש

שיחנא m load

שהדא see סהדא

ת

תברא m receipt

תברא f contradiction

תנא(א) m (תנאי pl) a rabbi from the Tannaitic period

תו(ב) adv. again

תורא/תוורא m (תורי pl) ox

תנאה see תנא(א)

תרנגלי/תרנגלי(ן) m (תרנגלא/תרנוגלא/תורנוגלא) rooster

תנ"י Pe. to repeat, to do again; to learn or recite a Tannaitic tradition; as hendiadys verb – to do the second time; Pa. to tell; Af. to teach a Tannaitic tradition; to transmit an oral tradition; to derive a legal conclusion from Scripture; Itpe. to be repeated; to be learned

תעניא f (תעניא pl) fast day

תק"נ/תק"י Pa. to make fit; to institute; to install; Af. to institute; Itpe. Itpa. to be made fit; to be fixed

תשרי September–October

# Verbal Paradigms

Strong verbs: Pe-stem

→

	Suffix conjugation a-type	Suffix conjugation i-type	Suffix conjugation u-type	Prefix conjugation u-type	Prefix conjugation i-type
1c sg	קָתַבְתִּי (ת) כתבנא כתב	קריבִּי (ת)	כרוכי	א(י)כתוב נ(י)כתוב ל(י)כתוב	א(י)עביד
2m sg	קָתַבְתָּ	קריבִּת		ת(י)כתוב	ת(י)עביד
2f sg	קָתַבְתְּ				ת(י)עבדי(ן) תיעביד
3m sg	קָתַב	קריב	כרוך	ל(י)כתוב נ(י)כתוב יכתוב	ל(י)עביד נ(י)עביד יעביד
3f sg	כתבא/ה קָתַבְתְּ / קָתַבְתְּ	קריבִּי (ת)	(כרוך)	ת(י)כתוב	
1c pl	קָתַבְנָא קָתַבְנוּ / קָתַבְנוּ כתבינן	קריבן		נ(י)כתוב ל(י)כתוב	נ(י)עביד ל(י)עביד
2m pl	קָתַבְתֶּם (ו) כתביתון	קריבִּתוּ (ו)		תכתבו תכתיב תכתובו תכתבו	ת(י)עבדו(ו)
2f pl				ליכתיבו(ו) ניכתיבו(ו) ליכתבי / ניכתבי	ל(י)עבדו(ו)דו(ו) נ(י)עבדו
3m pl	קָתַבּוּ / כתבו כתבי / כתב	קריבו	כרוכו/כרוך	ליכתבו(ו) ניכתיבו(ו) ליכתבון	ל(י)עבדו(ו)
3f pl	קָתַבְנָא/ה כתב(א)ן כתבו / כתבו כתב	קריב קריבאן			

→

Prefix conjugation a-type	Participial conjugation (active)	Passive	Imperative u-type	Imperative i-type	Imperative a-type
א(י)גמר נ(י)גמר	כ(א)ת(י)בנא כתבינא 1f sg: כתב(א)נא	כתיבנא			
ת(י)גמר	כתבת	כתיבת	כ(י)תוב	ע(י)ביד	גמר
ת(י)גמרי(ן)	כתבת	כתיבת	כתבי כתובי / כתוב	עבדי ע(י)ביד	גמרי
ל(י)גמר / נ(י)גמר	כ(א)תיב	כתיב			
ת(י)גמר	כתב(א/ה)	כתיב / כתיבא/ה			
נ(י)גמר ליגמר	כתב(י)נן כת(י)ב(י)נא כת(י)ב(י)ננא	כתיבין			
ת(י)גמרו(ן)	כתב(י)תו(ן)	כתיב(י)תו(ן)	כתובו כתוב כתיבו כתבו	ע(י)בידו עביד עבוד	גמרו גמר גמור
ליגמרי ליגמרון	כתב(י)תו(ן)	כתיבית(י)ן כתיב(י)תו(ן)	כתובון כ(י)תבן כתבין		
	כָּ(א)תבי(ן) כָּתבו / כתבן כתיבין / כתבא כָּתיב / כתב	כתיב(י)ן כתיב			
	כָּתב(ן)	כתיבא/ה כתיבן			

## Pe infinitive

מ(י)כתבא

## Strong verbs: "Derived" stems

Stem	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Infinitive	Active participle	Passive participle
פָּעַל (Pa)	כָּתַב	לְכַתֵּב	כָּתֵב	כְּתוּבִי	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב
אֶפְעַל (Af)	אֶכְתֹּב	לְכַתֵּב	אֶכְתֵּב	אֶכְתוּבִי	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב
אֶתְפַּעֵל (Itpe)	אֶתְכַתֵּב	לְתַכְתֵּב	אֶתְכַתֵּב	אֶתְכַתוּבִי	מְתַכַּתֵּב	
אֶתְפַּעֵל (Itpa)	אֶתְכַתֵּב	לְתַכְתֵּב	אֶתְכַתֵּב	אֶתְכַתוּבִי	מְתַכַּתֵּב	
אֶתְתַּפַּעֵל (Ittaf)	אֶתְכַתֵּב	לְתַכְתֵּב			מְתַכַּתֵּב	

## Attested forms

Stem	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Infinitive	Active participle	Passive participle
פָּעַל Pa	קביל	נקביל ליקביל	קביל	קבולי	מקביל	מקבל
	שדר	לישדר נישדר	שדר	שדורי	משדר	
אַפְעַל Af	אפסיק אדכר	נפסיק / ניפסיק	אדכר	אפסוקי אדכורי	מפסיק מדכר	מדכר
	איכסיף איכתיב	ליכסיף ניכתיב			מיכסיף מיכתיב	
אַתְּפַעַל Itpa	אישתכח איזדהר אידכר	לישתכח ניזדהר לידכר	איזדהר	אשתכוחי איזדהורי	מיזדהר מידכר	
	איחלף אישתתף אשתמש	ליחלף [נישתתף] לישתמש/לישתמיש לישמיש	אישתתף	איחלופי אישתתופי אישתמושי	מיחלף [משתתפת] מישתמש	
אַתְּפַעַל Ittaf	איסתלק איתכשר			איסתלוקי איתכשורי	מיסתלק מיתכשר	
		ליתכשר נתכשר				



## Weak verbs

I-n

→

	Pe prefix conjugation	Pe imperative	Af suffix conjugation	Af prefix conjugation
1 c sg	איפוק / אידר אינטר / אינסיב		אפילי / אסחאי	אפיש
2m sg	תינסוב / תינסיב תינהוג / תסב	נקוט / נהוג נסיב / סב / גוד	אסחת / אנחתת	תפיש תפיק
2f sg	תסבין לינפול / ליפול	נהיג		
3m sg	לינפח נ(י)נקוט ל(י)נקוט ניסח		אגיד אסח אנהר אנסיב	ליפיש נפיש לפיק
3f sg	תיפול / תינפוק		אפיק / אפיקא אפילא / אפילת	תפיש
1c pl	ניתין / ליתין נינטר / ניפוק		אפקינן	
2m pl	תסבון	פוקו / נגודו נגידו / נהוגו		תפיקו
3m pl	נינקטו / ליתנון ליפקו / לינפקון		אחיתו	ליזקו
3f pl	לינפקון / לינפקון ליפקה / לינפקא			

Pe Infinitive	Af infinitive	Ittaf infinitive
מינסב / מיסב	אפוקי	איתקושי

→

Af imperative	Af participle	Ittaf suffix conjugation	Ittaf participial conjugation	Ittaf prefix conjugation
	מצילנא / מצלנא	איתזקי	מיתצלנא / מיתצילנא	
אקיף / אבע	מגעת	איתזקת	מיתצלת	
אקיף		איתזק		
	מהנפיק	איתקיש		
	מפיק / מבע	איתזיק	מיתזיק / מתזק	ליתזק
	מנסיב	(איתהנפק) / איתפק		
	מנקטא	איתקש	מתפקא	
	מפלא	איתזיקא		
	מקשינן			
	מנסבינן			
אחיתו/ אחיתון				
	מפקין / מפקי / מנקטי	איתצלו		ליתזקו
		איתצול	מיתזקי	יתפקון
		(איתנצול)		
	מבען			

I-w/y

→

	Pe prefix conjugation	Pe imperative	Itpe/Itpa suffix conjugation	Itpe/Itpa participial conjugation
1c sg	איתיב איהיב			
2m sg	תידע / תדע תיתיב תינוק	תיב f sg: הבי		מתילדת
3m sg	ליזוף ליתיב לילף נידע		אתיליד איתיליד איתייב	מתיליד / מתילד מייחיד מיתדע מתייקר / מתייקר
3f sg	תירות		אתיהיבא איתיהיבת אתלידא	מייטבא / מיתלדא מתיילדא / מתיילדת
1c pl	נילף / נילף			
2m pl	תירתו(ו)	אידעו תיבו איתיבו הבו		
3m pl	ליתבו / ליתיבו ליתבון / ניתיבו ליהבון		אתייליד איתיליד אייאוש	מייקרי מיתילדי
3f pl			אתיקרו	מתייקרי מתיילדון

Pe infinitive	Itpe/Itpa infinitive	Af infinitive
מידע	אתיחודי לייחודי אייקורי	אותובי

→

Af suffix conjugation	Af participial conjugation	Af prefix conjugation	Af imperative	Ittaf suffix conjugation
אוסִּיפִּית אוֹתִיבִי / אוֹתִיבִי	מוֹזִיפְנָא / מוֹדְעָנָא מוֹנְקָאנָא (f)	אוֹקִיר (HPS אִיקִיר)		
אוֹזְפִת	מוֹדְעַת	תּוֹלִיד	אוֹסִיף	
אוֹלִיד	מוֹלִיד מוֹדְעַת (מִיתֵב)	לוֹסִיף נוֹזִיף		אִיתוֹסִף אִיתוֹתֵב
אוֹלִיד אוֹלִידָה אוֹתֵבָה	מוֹנְקָא	תּוֹלִיד		אִיתוֹסְפָא
	מוֹתְבִינֵן	נוֹסִיף		
			אוֹקִירוּ	
אוֹסִיפּוּ אוֹדְעוּ	מוֹתְבִין מוֹדְעִי			אִיתוֹדְעוּ אִיתוֹסְפוּ
	מוֹבְלֵן			

I-<sup>2</sup>/<sup>4</sup>

Pe prefix conjugation	לימר / נימר ליזיל / ניזיל ליכול / ניכול	Itpe participial conjugation	מיתמר מיתניס מיתאביל מאבלינא (1sg)	Af imperative	אוגר
Pe Infinitive	מימר מימרא	Itpe infinitive	איתגורי	Af participial conjugation	מוביד מוגר
Itpe suffix conjugation	אתמר איתניס	Pa prefix conjugation	אבדינהו (1s with 3mp suff)	Af infinitive	אובודי
Itpe prefix conjugation	תיתמר (3f sg) ליתסר	Af suffix conjugation	אויכד אוגר איישר	Ittaf participial conjugation	מיתוגרא
		Af prefix conjugation	לוגר		

II-w/y Pe-stem

→

	Suffix conjugation a-type	Suffix conjugation i-type	Prefix conjugation u-type	Prefix conjugation i-type
1c sg	קמית		איקום	
2m sg	קמת		תדור / תישוף	
2f sg				
3m sg	קם	מית	ליקום / ניקום	ניצית / לינים
3f sg	קמת / קמא / (קם)	מתה / מיתת / מיתא	תיקום	
1c pl	קמנן / קמנא / קומנא	מיתנין / מיתנן	ניקום / ליקום	
2m pl			תקומון / תקומו	תציתו
3m pl	קום / קמו (פש)	מיתו	לימותו	
3f pl		מיתן		

### Infinitive

מיקם / ממת / מישיכה

#### Itpe-stem

	Itpe	Af	Af (older paradigm)	Ittaf
Suffix conjugation	איתער / איתדר / איתציד	אוקים	אחיך	איתותב
Prefix conjugation	ליתער / ליתדין / ליתשום	לוקים / נוקים	תחיך	ליתוקם
Participial conjugation	מיתדר	מוקים	מחיך	מיתוקם / מתוקם

→

Prefix conjugation a-type	Imperative	Participial conjugation	Passive participle
נינם (נינים)		קאימנא / קאיימנא מיימנא	
	קום/צית תובי	קיימת / מיתת	
לינה/נינה		קאים / קיים מאיית / מיית	קים כיל
תינח		קיימא / קימא / קאימא קיימינן / לישינן מיתמן	שיכא/שייפא
	קומו/דינו	קיימיתו	
		קיימי / קימי / קיימין קאיימין / מיתין	שיפי
		קיימן / קימן / קימא מיתן	שיכן

II-'/

→

	Pe-stem forms with /ʔ/	Pe-stem forms with /y/	Pe-stem forms with an elision of the /ʔ/	Itpe-stem
Suffix conjugation	שאל			איתשיל
Participial conjugation	שאלנא	שיילא דייגי	סיב (GBA) משילין (GBA)	מיתשיל מימאסי (3m pl)
Prefix conjugation	לישאול נשאול		ליכוב (Magic bowls) נשילינהו (GBA)	ליתשיל ניתשיל
Imperative	שאול			
Infinitive	מישאל		מישל	איתשולי

→

Pa-stem forms with /' /	Pa-stem forms with /y/	Itpa-stem forms with /y/	Itpa-stem forms with /' /	Itpa-stem forms with an elision of the /' /	Af-stem
שׂאיל	שׂייל	אשתייר	אסתאב		אושלה (+3f sg suffix)
משׂאיל מסאב	משׂייל	משתׂייר		Anan מסתׂיבין מסתׂיבי	מושׂיל
	נשׂייליה לישׂילן לישׂילן	נשתייר			
שׂאילי (f sg)	שׂייל שׂיול				אושלן
שׂאולי	שׂיולי	אישתיורי			אושולי



## Geminate verbs



	Pe-stem suffix conjugation	Pe-stem prefix conjugation	Pe-stem imperative	Pe-stem participial conjugation
1c sg	חאשית / חשאי חשי	איעול		חיישנא צארנא
2m sg	מצית	ת(י)חוש	חוש / דל / ברור גיז / גוז / [גזי]	חיישת חישת
2f sg		תיעול		
3m sg	דש / זיל גרר / (נדא)	ליחוש / נייעול נילתות / ליציל		חאייק / חייק כאיף / דיש / חייש
3f sg	זלת / זילא / זל קשא / רקה / רקקה	תיחוץ		חייצא / חיצא חיישא
1c pl	דשנן קשינן / קשישנן	ניכוף ליחוש		חישיןן / חיישיןן
2m pl	תפיתו	תיעלון תיחשו תיגוזו / תיגזו	חושו	עייליתו / עיליתו גניתון / גיניתו
3m pl	עלדו / עול גזו	ליעלו / ליעלון ניגזו / ליגז ניגררו ליגזו		דאשו דישי חייפי זילי מאיכי מייכין
3f pl		לילפן		חייצן עאילן

Pe-stem infinitive

Af-stem infinitive

מיזקק / מיחש

אחולי

→

Pe-stem passive participle	Af-stem suffix conjugation	Af-stem prefix conjugation	Af-stem imperative	Af-stem participial conjugation	Af-stem passive participle
	אחילת			ממצנא	
	אקילת		אקיל	מרעת	
גריר קיל כייף	אחיל	נקיל ליפר		מחיל מקיל / מיקל מוקיל מ(י)פר	
זילא פתיתא	אגנא אחלה			מגנא	מחלא
גרירגן גריריגן	אחילגן			מחליגן מקיליגן	
גרירי קילי כיפיגן כייפיגן צירין / צירי ציירי כיפן קילן	אחילו	ליחלו נחלו		מחלי מקלין מגנו	

III-y

→

	Pe-stem suffix conjugation	Pe-stem prefix conjugation	Pe-stem imperative	Pe-stem participial conjugation
1c sg	בני / בניי / בנאי בניתי / בניתי / באני	איבני (גיבני)		ב(א)נינא [f sg also בניאנא]
2m sg	בנת / (בניתא) / בנית	ת(י)בני	בני	ב(א)נית
2f sg			בנאי	
3m sg	בנא (שתי)	ליבני / ניבני (לקרא)		ב(א)ני ב(א)נא
3f sg	בנת / בנאי / בניא בנא / באני	תיבני		ב(א)ניא ב(א)ניה / בנייא בניין / בנינן
1c pl	בנ(א)ן / בנינן / בנינא	נ(י)בני ל(י)בני		בנונן נא(נ)בני בניינא
2m pl	בנ(י)תו(ן)	ת(י)בנו(ן)	בנו בני	ב(א)ניתו(ן) בנייתו(ן)
2f pl		תיבניין חבנן / תיבנון		
3m pl	ב(א)נו	(ן)גיבו / ליבנו(ן) נ(י)בני		בניי(ן) / ב(א)נו בנן / ב(א)ני
3f pl	בניין	גיבניין		בני(א)ן בניי(ן)

Pe-stem infinitive	Derived stems infinitive
מ(י)בני/א	צ(י)לויי
מ(י)בניא	

→

Pe-stem Passive Participle	Derived Stems Suffix conjugation	Derived Stems Prefix conjugation	Derived Stems Imperative	Derived Stems Participial conjugation
בנינא	צלאי צליי	א(י)צלי		מצלינא
בנית בנית	צלית	תיצלי	צלי	מצלית
קני (באני)	צלי	ליצלי		מצלי
בניא	צלאי / צליא (ת)	תיצלי		מצליא
בנינן / בנונן בניינן / בנינא	צלין צלינן	ניצלי		מצלינן / מצלניינן מצלנונן מצלי(י)נן / מצלונן
בניתו	צליתו(ן)	תיצלו	צלו	מצליתו(ן)
בנו / בני / קניין	צלו / צליאו צאלו	נ(י)צלו ל(י)צלו		מצלו מצל(י)ן
בניא/ה(ן) בניין	צליין	(נצליין)		מצל(י)ן/אן

## Doubly weak verbs



	I-n and II-y Pe-stem	I-n and II-y Itpe-stem	I-n and II-y Af-stem	I-n and geminate verb Pe-stem
Suffix conjugation	ניח	איתנח	אנח	עאיף עייל
Participial conjugation	נייח		מנח	אייץ
	נאיח ניד	מיתנח	מניד מוניד	עאייל
Prefix conjugation	לינח		לינח	ליעול
	נינח	ליתנח		ניעול
Imperative				
Infinitive	מינח	איתנוחי	אנוחי	מיעף מ(י)על

## Quadriradical verbs

	Pa-stem	Itpa-stem
Suffix conjugation	שעבד	אישתעבד
Participial conjugation	משעבד	מישתעבד
Prefix conjugation	ניערער	לישתעבד
Infinitive	שעבודי	אשתעבודי

→

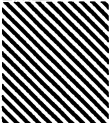


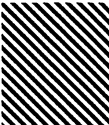


I-n and geminate verb Itpe-stem	I-'/' and III-y Pe-stem	I-'/' and III-y Af-stem	I-y and III-y Af-stem	Apocopated forms of the root: ק"מ
אתייצו	אתא	א(י)יתי איירי	אודי	קא
	אתי, ארי	מי(י)תי מיירי מתיא / מייתיא f.	מודי	קאי
	ליתי	ליתי	לורי	ניקו
	m sg תא			
	f sg תי / תאי	אי(י)תי	אודי	קו
	m pl תו / איתו			
	מיתי	אי(י)תויי	אורויי	קי
	מיתא		אומואי	

## The verb "to be" (Pe-stem)

	Suffix conjugation	Prefix conjugation	Imperative	Active participle
1c sg	הואי / הוית(י)	איהוי		הוינא
2m sg	הוית	ת(י)הוי	הוי	הוית
2f sg	הוית	ת(י)הוייין (in a legal document)	הואי	
3m sg	הו(א/ה)	ל(י)הוי / ליהוה נ(י)הוי / יהוי / נהי יהי / יהא		ה(א)וי
3f sg	הות / הואי(י) הויא / הוה	ת(י)הוי / תהא / תהי (נהי =) / תיהי		הויא/ה
1c pl	הואן / הוון הוינן / הוינא הונן	ליהוי		הוינן הוינן הונן
2m pl	הויתו(ן)	תיהוו	הוו	
2f pl				
3m pl	הוו	ליהו(ו) / ניהו(ו) ליהוי / יהו(ו) יהון		הויי(א)ן / הוין ה(א)וו ה(א)וי
3f pl	הוי(ינ)/א(ן) הואי	ליהו(ו)יין / ניהוי יהויין יהו(ו) / יהוון (in legal context)		הו(ו)יין הו(י)יאן (האוון)

## Accusative pronominal suffixes

## Suffix conjugation

Verbal form	1c sg	2m sg	3m sg	3f sg	1c pl	2m pl	3m pl
Pro-noun							
1c sg		קדמתן	שיבקן	קרצתן		קבילתון סכינתין סכינתון	חשדון
2m sg	גזלתך פרעתך		ברכך נשקיך נשקך	שבקתך	קבלינך		קדמוך שויוך
2f sg			הימניך				
3m sg	פרעתיה פרעתה	שבקתיה פרעתה	שבקיה	טרקתיה	אחתיניה	כיסכסתוה	שבקוה פרטוהי
3f sg	זבנתה שמעתא	שבקתה אוקמתה אוקימתא	שבקה	זבנתיה	בדקנה	תניתוה אחריבתוה	פשטוה אזמנוהא
1c pl		פטרתינן חזיתינן חשדתן	אשמעינן	נפקתנן נפקתינן			שדרונן
2m pl	קבילתינכו		שוינכו				
2f pl	חננכי						
3m pl	בדקתינהו שויתינהו	פרעתינהו	יהבינון אשבעינהו אפרשינון	פסקתינהו בלעתנהו בלעתנון	אדרכננן		תפסונון סמכונהו פרסוהי
3f pl	עבדתינהי		סתרנין פרקינהי	כבישתינהי	תננהי	שמעתונון	כחילוניהי



## Prefix conjugation, imperative and infinitive

→

Verbal form	Prefix conjugation 1c sg	Prefix conjugation 2m sg	Prefix conjugation 3m sg	Prefix conjugation 3f sg	Prefix conjugation 1c pl
Pronoun					
1c sg		תצערן			
2m sg	איפטרך		נידכרך ליקטלך		
2f sg	אוכלך			תכליך / תיכלך	
3m sg	אהדריה	תישבקיה	לישקליה	[תיקדמיה]	ניפטריה
3f sg	אסברה	תיסברה	ליסברה (נישקליה)	תיקדמה	ניעקרה
1c pl			לפרוקינן		
2m pl	אותבינכו				
3m pl		תישבוקינהו	ליפרוקינהו לפרשינון		נימרינהו
3f pl			נימנינהו נערבינהי		

→

Prefix conjugation 2m pl	Prefix conjugation 3m pl	Imperative 2m sg	Imperative 2f sg	Imperative 2m pl	Infinitive
	ניחשדון ננטרן	פרען פירען		אשקיון אותבן	לאפוקן לאותבך לאודעך
	יקטלוך				
תדחקוניה תיקרעוה	לפלגוהי ניעברוה ליקטלוה	שקליה חישביה	שבקיה	אמטיוה	לאפוקיה לפרוקיה
	ניפיסלוה	שבקה בידקה		שבקה תיפסוה	לאפקה למיזבנה לאשמעינן לאשמועינן מיקמטינכו למבדקינכו למקטלהון למקטלינן למקטלאנן לפרוקינהו לשלומאנן למכתבינהי להימונאנין
תציתונוהו		שבקינהו	שדריניהו	זבנוהי	



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# Indexes

## Content according to grammatical topics

### Orthography

#### 1.1.1 Consonants

#### 1.1.2 Vowel letters (*matres lectionis*)

1.1.2.1 א *Alef* / 1.1.2.2 י *Yod* / 1.1.2.3 ו *Waw* / 1.1.2.4 ה *He* / 1.1.2.5 Summary of the uses of the vowel letters

#### 1.1.3 The Consonants /w/ and /y/

#### 1.1.4 The diphthong /ay/

#### 1.1.5 Vocalization

#### 1.1.6 Notes on the writing of words

##### 1.1.6.1 Word division

##### 1.1.6.2 Abbreviations

### Phonology

#### Vowels

#### 1.2.2.1 Shortened vowels

#### 1.2.2.2 Low vowels

#### 1.2.2.3 High/mid front vowels

#### 1.2.2.4 High/mid back vowels

#### 1.2.2.5 Summary of the vowel system

#### 1.2.2.6 Diphthongs

#### 1.2.2.7 Interchange of vowels

##### 1.2.2.7.1 High/mid front and back vowels

##### 1.2.2.7.2 Low and high/mid back vowel

#### 4.1 Apocopation of final vowels

#### 9.1.3.2.2 Anaptyxis

### Consonants

#### 1.2.2.8 The consonants represented by the letters פ, כ, ט, ד, ג, ב, and ה

#### 3.1 Consonant changes

##### 3.1.1 Loss of medial /d/ and /g/

##### 3.1.2 Interchange of the sonorants /l/, /n/, and /r/

##### 3.1.3 The gutturals (/ʔ/, /h/, /ħ/, /ʕ/)

##### 3.1.3.1 The glottal stop (/ʔ/)

- 3.1.3.2 The pharyngeals (/ħ/, /ʕ/)
- 3.1.4 The emphatic consonants /q/, /ʕ/ and /tʕ/
- 3.1.5 The labial /b/
- 3.1.6 Intervocalic /y/
- 3.1.7 The nasal /n/
  - 3.1.7.1 Regressive assimilation
  - 3.1.7.2 ay>a before /n/
- 2.1 Apocopation of final consonants

## **Morphology**

### **Nouns**

- 3.2.1 Nominal patterns
- 2.2 Nominal inflection
  - 2.2.1 State
  - 2.2.2 Gender and number
    - 2.2.2.1 Agreement
    - 2.2.2.2 The “neuter”
  - 2.2.3 The uses of the various states
    - 2.2.3.1 The construct state
      - 2.2.3.1.1 The genitive relation in JBA
      - 2.2.3.1.2 Prepositions in the construct state
    - 2.2.3.2 Short and long forms
      - 2.2.3.2.1 Definiteness
      - 2.2.3.2.2 Loanwords
      - 2.2.3.2.3 Plural substantives

### **Adjectives**

- 2.2.3.2.4.1 Predicative vs. attributive uses of the adjectives
- 2.2.3.2.4.2 Substantivized adjectives
- 2.2.3.2.4.2 Long form in predicate adjectives
- 3.2 Adjective patterns
  - 3.2.2 The gentilic suffix
- 2.2.3.2.5 Adverbs

### **Pronouns**

- 3.3.1 Independent personal pronouns
  - 3.3.1.1 Forms
  - 3.3.1.2 Functions
- 3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

## 3.3.2.1 Form

## 3.3.2.2 Syntax and functions

## 3.3.2.2.1 Pronominal uses

## 3.3.2.2.2 Adnominal uses

## 3.3.2.2.3 Functions

## 3.3.2.2.3.1 Exophoric uses

## 3.3.2.2.3.2 Endophoric uses

## 3.3.2.2.3.3 Introduction of new entities in the discourse

## 3.3.2.2.3.4 Reciprocal uses

## 3.3.2.2.3 Adverbial functions

## 3.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

## 3.3.3.1 For human references

## 3.3.3.2 For inanimate references

## 3.4 Locative demonstrative adverbs

## 4.2 Genitive pronominal suffixes

## 4.4 Interrogative pronouns

## 4.7 Possessive pronouns

**Verb**

## 5.1 Morphology of the strong verb: introduction to the verbal system

## 5.2 Stems

## 5.3 Pe-stem

## 5.3.1 Suffix conjugation

## 5.3.2 Prefix conjugation

## 5.3.3 Imperative

## 5.3.4 Infinitive

## 5.3.5 Participles

## 5.3.5.1 The basic declension

## 5.3.5.2 Participial-conjugation

## 5.4 "Derived" stems

**Weak verbs**

## 6.2 I-n

## 6.3 I-y/w

## 6.4 I-'/'

## 6.5 II-w/y

## 6.6 II-'/'

## 6.7 Geminate verbs

## 6.8 III-y

## 7.1 The Verb הו"י "to be"

## 7.1.1 Inflection

## 7.1.2 Function

## 6.9 Roots with apocopation of the final consonants

## 6.10 Doubly weak verbs

## 6.10.1 I and II

## 6.10.2 I and geminate verb

## 6.10.3 I and III

## 6.10.4 II and III

## 6.11 Quadriradical verbs

## 6.11.1 Origin and form

## 6.11.2 Weak quadriradical verbs

## 6.12 A general note concerning the Af-stem of the weak verbs

## 7.2 The Tense/Aspect/Mood System

## 7.2.1 Two approaches for the TAM system

## 7.2.2 Absolute vs. relative tense

## 7.2.3 The imperfective aspect: a distinction between durative and iterative

## 7.2.4 The verb הו"י with the participle

## 7.2.4.1 Omission of the verb

## 7.2.4.2 The form of the verb

## 7.3 Imperative

## 7.3.1 Request/command

## 7.3.2 Instructions

## 7.3.3 Advice/ general principles

## 7.3.4 Instructions for the readers

## 7.3.5 Purpose and result

## 9.5 Passive participle

## 8.1 Relationships between the Stems

## 8.1.1 Grammatical relationships

## 8.1.2 Equivalence

## 8.1.3 Lexical relationships

## 8.1.3.1 Inflectional relationships

## 8.1.3.2 Multiple meanings

## 9.3 T-stems with accusative pronominal suffixes

## 9.1 Accusative pronominal suffixes

## 9.1.1 The function - preliminary notes

## 9.1.2 The pronominal forms

### 9.1.3 The verbal bases

#### 9.1.3.1 Suffix conjugation

##### 9.1.3.1.1 The forms

##### 9.1.3.1.2 Notes about the derived stems

#### 9.1.3.2 Prefix conjugation

##### 9.1.3.2.1 The forms

#### 9.1.3.3 Imperative

#### 9.1.3.4 Infinitive

#### 9.1.3.5 Participle

### 7.4 Numbers

#### 7.4.1 Forms

#### 7.4.2 Syntax

#### 7.4.3 The expressions חדא זמנא, חדא יומא

#### 7.5 The syntax of כולא “every, all..”

### 8.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

#### 8.2.1 Reflexives

##### 8.2.1.2 Pronominal reflexives

#### 8.2.2 Reciprocals

##### 8.2.2.1 Verbal reciprocal

##### 8.2.2.2 Pronominal reciprocals

### Syntax

#### 4.3 Genitive constructions

#### 4.8 Comparative and superlative

#### 7.6 Repetitions of nouns

#### 4.5 Nominal clauses, dislocation and copulative pronouns

##### 4.5.1 The structure of nominal clauses

##### 4.5.2 Historical developments in nominal clauses

#### 4.6 Existential clauses and existential particles

##### 4.6.1 Existential clauses

##### 4.6.2 Predicative Possessive Construction (PPC)

###### 4.6.2.1 Dative-PPC

###### 4.6.2.2 Locative PPC

###### 4.6.2.3 Nominative PPC (Topic-PPC)

### 9.2 Direct object markers

#### 9.2.1 The preposition ל

##### 9.2.1.1 The syntax

##### 9.2.1.2 More about the semantics



- 9.2.1.3 The anticipatory pronominal suffixes
- 9.2.1.4 Exceptions to the rules
- 9.2.3 The accusative marker יָ
- 9.4 “Dative”
  - 9.4.1 Argument dative (or indirect object)
    - 9.4.1.1 The dative preposition -ל, -לֵי, לֵי
    - 9.4.2 Non-argument dative
- 9.6 Passive clauses
- 9.7 The *qtil li* Construction
- 10.1 Dependent clauses
  - 10.1.1 Syndetic vs. asyndetic depended clauses
  - 10.1.2 The role of the dependent clause as a constituent in the matrix clause
    - 10.1.2.1 Noun clauses
      - 10.1.2.1.1 Subject clauses
      - 10.1.2.1.2 Predicate clause: The predicate clause is always introduced with a ך
      - 10.1.2.1.3 Object clause
      - 10.1.2.1.4 Dependent clause as the topic of the matrix clause
    - 10.1.2.2 Adjective clauses: modify nouns and pronouns in the matrix clause
    - 10.1.2.3 Adverbial clauses
  - 10.1.3 General observations
- 10.3 Cleft sentences
- 11.1 Infinitive clauses
  - 11.1.1 Introduction
  - 11.1.2 Nouns
    - 11.1.2.1 Topic
    - 11.1.2.2 Subject
    - 11.1.2.3 Predicate
    - 11.1.2.4 Object
    - 11.1.2.5 Infinitive with intransitive verbs
    - 11.1.2.6 Other verbal complements
    - 11.1.2.7 Nouns that modify nouns (the genitive relation)
  - 11.1.3 Adjectives and adverbs
    - 11.1.3.1 Adjective (modifies a noun)
    - 11.1.3.2 Adverb
  - 11.1.4 Non-embedded infinitive clauses

- 11.1.4.1 Infinitive clauses in questions
- 11.1.4.2 Infinitive clauses to describe possible logical deductions
- 11.1.5 Infinitive without a clause: Infinitive absolute
- 11.1.6 Summary regarding the representation of the subjects of the infinitive clauses
- 10.2 Conditional clauses
  - 10.2.1 Conditional clauses with the conjunction או/אי
  - 10.2.2 Other conditional conjunctions
- 10.4 Negation
  - 10.4.1 The negators
  - 10.4.2 Historical background
  - 10.4.3 Syntactic differences between לא and לאו
  - 10.4.4 Contexts where לאו is often used
  - 10.4.5 General observations
  - 10.4.6 Negation of existential clauses
- 8.3 Rhetorical questions
- 11.2 Verbal hendiadys - pseudo-coordinative verbal constructions

## Subjects

Paragraph numbers marked with an asterisk refer to items mentioned in footnotes.

- abbreviations 1.1.6.2, 4.2, 9.2.1.4
- Academy of the Hebrew Language, The 0.6.2, 0.6.3
- adjectives 2.2., 2.2.1, 2.2.2.1, 2.2.2.2, 2.2.3.2.4, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.3.2.2, 4.5.1, 4.5.2.2, 4.8, 8.3, 10.1, 10.4.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.2, 11.1.3.2
- attributive 2.2.3.2.4.1, 4.7, 11.1.2.3, 11.1.3.1
- clauses 10.1.2.2
- infinitive clause 11.1.3.1
- predicative 2.2.3.2.4.1, 2.2.3.2.4.2, 8.3
- substantivized 2.2.3.2.4.2, 4.7
- use of 2.2.3.2.4.1
- adverbs 2.2.3.2.5, 3.3.2.2, 10.1, 10.1.2.2.4, 10.1.2.3, 10.4.3, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.2
- clauses 10.1.2.3
- locative demonstrative adverbs 3.4
- infinitive clause 11.1.3.2
- adverbial predicate 4.6.1
- agreement 2.2.2.1, 2.2.2.2, 2.2.3.2.4.1, 7.2.4.2, 9.1.3, 9.2.1.3, 9.2.1.4\*, agreement marker 4.5.2.1, 4.6.1, 4.6.1\*, 10.4.2
- double agreement 7.2.4.2
- verbal agreement 2.2.3.2.4.2\*, 9.2.1.3, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.6
- Akkadian 0.1, 0.5, 1.2.2.7\*, 3.1.1\*, 3.1.2\*, 3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.4, 4.6.2.1\*, 5.3.2, 6.11.1, 8.3\*, 11.2\*
- Aktionsart* 8.1.3.1
- allophones 1.1.1, 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.8, 3.1.5
- alphabet 0.6.1, 1.1.1
- Amoraim* 0.4
- analogy 1.2.2.2\*, 1.2.2.7.1, 2.2.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.7\*, 6.8, 6.9, 6.12, 9.1.2
- anaptyxis 5.3.2, 9.1.3.2.2
- apocopation
  - of final consonants 0.4, 1.2.2.7.1\*, 2.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1, 3.1.1, 3.3.1.1, 4.3, 4.5.2.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 6.4, 6.5, 6.9, 6.10.3.2, 6.10.3.3, 6.10.4.1, 9.1.2
  - of final vowels 0.3, 4.1, 4.2, 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.5.1, 6.8, 6.10.4.1, 9.2.1.4
- apposition 8.2.1.2
- Arabic 0.3, 0.5, 0.6.1, 3.1.4, 4.6.2.1\*
- Aramaic 0.1, 0.3, 0.4\*, 0.4.2, 0.4.3, 0.5, 0.6.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.5, 1.1.6.1, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.2.7.1, 1.2.3, 2.2.1, 2.2.1\*, 2.2.3.1.1, 2.2.3.2.1\*, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.4, 3.3.2.2.2, 3.3.2.2.3.4, 4.1, 4.2, 4.5, 4.6.2.1, 4.6.2.1\*, 5.1, 5.3.1, 5.4, 6.2, 6.5, 6.7, 6.11.1, 7.2.4.2, 9.1.3.1.2, 11.1.1, 11.2\*
- Biblical Aramaic 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 2.2.1\*, 3.3.2.2.3.4, 4.2, 5.3.1, 6.8, 9.1.2, 11.1.1

- Eastern 0.1, 0.3, 1.2.2.2, 9.2.1.1,  
 11.2\*  
 Galilean 9.4.1.2  
 Ma'lula 5.3.2, 9.4.1.2  
 Mandaic 0.3, 1.1.2, 1.2.2.8, 3.1.1,  
 3.1.2\*, 3.3.2, 4.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.4,  
 5.3.5.2, 9.1.3.2  
 Middle Aramaic 7.1.1  
 Neo-Aramaic 3.1.1, 3.1.4, 3.1.5\*,  
 7.1.2, 7.2.1, 9.7  
 Official Aramaic 1.1.1, 1.2.2.8,  
 3.1.1, 3.1.3, 3.3.2, 3.3.2.1, 4.2,  
 4.7, 5.4, 6.12, 7.2.1\*, 9.1.3.4  
 Old Aramaic dialects 0.3, 3.1.2\*,  
 5.3.2, 9.1.2  
 Palestinian Aramaic (JPA) 0.4,  
 0.4.2, 5.3.2, 5.3.4, 8.2.1.2  
 Standard Literary Aramaic 0.4,  
 0.4.3  
 Syriac 0.3, 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.2\*,  
 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.8, 2.2.1, 2.2.3.1.1,  
 2.2.3.1.2, 2.2.3.2.3, 3.1.3.1,  
 3.1.4, 3.3.2.1, 3.3.2.1\*, 4.1,  
 4.5.2.3\*, 4.6.1, 4.6.1\*, 4.6.2.1\*,  
 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.3\*, 5.3.5.2, 6.5,  
 6.7, 6.7\*, 6.8, 7.1.2, 7.2.4.2,  
 8.2.2.2\*, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.4, 9.3, 9.6,  
 11.1.1, 11.1.2.5.3  
 Targumic Aramaic 1.1.5, 1.2.2.2  
 Western 2.2.1  
 archaic contexts 4.6.1, 4.6.1\*, 5.4,  
 7.1.1, 9.2.3, 10.1.2.1.3.2\*  
 archaic forms 0.4.1, 0.4.3, 2.2.3.2.1,  
 4.4, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.2, 6.2, 6.10.2.1,  
 9.1.2  
 archaism, syntactic 3.3.2.2.2  
 argument-adjunct 9.2.1.3\*  
 aspect see TAM  
 assimilation 0.4, 2.1\*, 2.2.3.1.2\*,  
 3.1.1, 3.1.4, 3.1.7.1, 5.4, 6.5, 6.5\*,  
 6.9, 6.10.1.1, 6.10.3.1  
 of the infix T 5.4, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 9.3  
 regressive assimilation of /n/  
 3.1.7.1, 3.3.1.1, 4.7, 6.2,  
 6.10.1.3  
 attraction 4.3\*, 6.2, 6.7\*  
 Babylonia 0.1, 0.2, 0.4, 0.4.2, 0.6.1  
 Babylonian Exile 0.1  
 back formation 2.1, 6.10.2.2\*  
 Bible 0.5, 1.1.2, 1.1.5  
 biforms 0.4, 2.2.2.1, 3.3.2.1, 5.3.1  
 Cairo Genizah 0.2  
 Christians 0.3  
 clause  
 adjective 4.4\*, 10.1.2.2.4,  
 10.1.2.2, 10.1.2.2.2, 10.1.2.2.3,  
 10.1.2.2.4, 10.1.2.3.1  
 non-restrictive 10.1.2.2.1  
 restrictive 10.1.2.2.1  
 adverbial 10.1.2.3.1  
 apodosis 7.2.1, 7.3.5  
 with conjunction  $\text{וְ/וּ}$  10.2.1  
 with other conjunctions  
 10.2.2  
 concessive 7.1.1  
 dependent 2.2.2.2, 4.4, 4.6.1,  
 7.5.3, 10.1, 10.1.2, 10.1.2.2.2,  
 10.1.3  
 asyndetic depended clause  
 10.1.1, 10.1.2.1.3.1,  
 10.1.2.1.1.2, 10.1.2.1.3.1,  
 10.1.2.1.3.3, 10.1.2.2.2\*,  
 10.1.2.2.4, 10.1.3  
 syndetic depended clause  
 10.1.1, 10.1.2.1.3.3,  
 10.1.2.2.4

- existential see Existential  
     predication  
 infinitive 11.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.3,  
     11.1.2.4, 11.1.2.6, 11.1.6  
     adjectival 11.1.3, 11.1.3.1  
     adverbial 11.1, 11.1.3.2  
     in predicative position  
         11.1.3.1  
     in questions 11.1.4.1  
     non-embedded infinitive  
         clause 11.1.4  
     subject of 11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.4,  
         11.1.3.1, 11.1.6  
 main 7.2.2, 10.1.2.1.4  
 matrix 10.1, 10.1.2, 10.1.2.2,  
     10.1.3  
 noun 10.1.2.1  
 object 10.1.2.1.3, 10.1.2.1.3.1,  
     10.1.2.1.3.2  
 predicate 10.1.2.1.2  
 purpose 7.3.5  
 result 7.3.5  
 subject 10.1.2.1.1, 10.1.2.1.1.2,  
     10.1.2.1.4, 10.3  
     temporal 10.1.2.3.1  
 cliticization 5.3.2, 5.3.5.2, 7.2.4.2,  
     9.1.2, 9.1.3.4, 9.2.1.3.4  
 complimentary distribution 0.6.2,  
     6.5\*  
 conjunction 7.2.2, 10.1.2.3.1, 10.1.3  
     ו 1.1.6.1, 10.2.2, 11.2  
     compound conjunction  
         10.1.2.3.1  
     temporal כִּי 3.1.1\*  
 consonantal tradition [= *Kethiv*] 4.2,  
     5.3.2  
 consonants 1.1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 6.5,  
     6.10.4.1  
     /ʔ/ [= glottal stop] 3.1.3, 3.1.3.1,  
         3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.5, 5.4, 6.4, 6.5,  
         6.6, 6.8, 6.10.4.1, 7.2.2\*  
     /ʕ/ 3.1.3, 3.1.3.2, 6.10.4.1  
     /b/ 2.1, 3.1.5, 6.10.3.3  
         /d/ 2.1, 3.1.1, 3.1.5, 5.4,  
             6.10.3.2  
     /g/ 3.1.1  
     /h/ 2.1, 3.1.3, 4.3, 5.4, 6.2  
     /ħ/ 3.1.3, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.3.2\*, 6.4,  
         6.5, 6.10.4.1  
     /k/ 3.3.2, 3.3.2.1  
     /l/ 1.2.2.7.1, 2.1, 3.1.2, 6.2  
     /m/ 2.1, 6.5\*, 6.10.4.1  
     /n/ 0.4, 1.2.2.7.1, 2.1, 3.1.1, 3.1.2,  
         3.1.7, 3.3.2.1, 4.5.2.3, 4.6.1,  
         5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 6.2, 6.5,  
         6.10, 6.10.3.1, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.1.1,  
         9.1.3.2.1  
     /q/ 3.1.4  
     /r/ 2.1, 3.1.2, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 5.4,  
         6.5, 6.10.3.2  
     /s/ 6.2  
     /š/ 3.1.4, 5.4  
     /t/ 2.1, 3.1.5, 5.3.1, 6.5, 6.8  
     /ṭ/ 3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.4  
     [v] 3.1.5  
     /w/ 1.1.2.1, 1.1.3, 3.1.5, 3.1.7\*,  
         6.8, 6.10.4.1  
     /y/ 1.1.2.1, 1.1.3, 3.1.6, 4.2, 5.4,  
         6.3, 6.5, 6.7, 6.8, 6.10.1.3,  
         6.10.2.2\*, 6.10.4.1  
         absence of 5.4  
     /z/ 5.4  
 construct chain 2.2.3.1.1  
 construct state 2.2.1, 2.2.3.1.2, 4.2,  
     4.3, 7.5.2, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.7

- contraction 6.10.4.1, 9.1.3.4, 10.4.2, 10.4.6
- copula 0.3, 4.5.2.3, 4.6.1, 10.1.2.1.1, 10.3
- copulative pronouns 3.3.1, 4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.3, 5.3.5.2, 7.1.2, 10.3
- dative 9.4
  - argument dative 9.4.1
  - expression 9.1.1, 9.1.1\*, 9.4.2
  - non-argument dative 9.4.2
  - PPC 4.6.2.1
  - pronominal dative 9.4.1.2
  - reflexive dative 9.1.3.2.1, 9.4.2
- definite article 2.2.1, 2.2.1\*
- definiteness 0.3, 2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1, 9.2.1.2
  - definiteness effect 2.2.3.2.1
- degree 4.8
- demonstrative pronouns 0.4, 3.3.2, 4.5.1, 4.6.1\*, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - adnomial use 3.3.2.2.2, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - adverbial function 3.3.2.2.3
  - anaphoric 3.3.2.2.3.3, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - deontical use 3.3.2.2.3.3
  - distal 3.3.2.2.3.3, 9.2.1.2, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - endophoric use 3.3.2.2.3.2
  - exophoric use 3.3.2.2.3.1
  - forms 3.3.2.1
  - indefinite use 3.3.2.2.3.3, 9.2.1.2
  - medial 3.3.2.1, 3.3.2.2.3.3
  - pronomial use 3.3.2.2.1
  - proximal 3.3.2.2.3.3, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - reciprocal use 3.3.2.2.3.4
- determiner
  - indefinite 3.3.2.2.3.3
- diachronic variation 0.4.1, 0.7
- dialectal differences 0.4\*, 2.2.2.1, 3.1.2\*, 3.2.2, 6.9
- dialectic discussions 0.5, 8.3, 10.3
- diglossia 0.5, 0.6.2
- diphthongs 1.2.2.6, 5.4, 6.3, 6.8, 6.10.3.2\*
  - aw 1.2.2.6
  - ay 1.1.4, 4.6.1\*
- Diqduqe Soferim* 0.6.3\*
- direct speech 10.1.2.1.3.3, 10.2.1
- dislocation 4.5.1, 4.5.2.1, 8.3, 9.7, 10.1.2.1.4, 10.3, 11.1.2.1
- dissimilation 3.1.4, 4.5.2.3, 4.5.2.3\* 6.4, 6.10.3.2\*, 6.11.1, 6.11.1\*, 9.4.1.2, 10.3
- durative aspect 7.2.3, 11.2
- elision 3.1.1, 3.1.3.1, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.4, 3.3.2.1, 4.2, 4.5.2.3, 5.3.5.1, 5.3.5.2, 5.4, 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 6.10.2.2\*, 6.10.3.2, 6.10.4.1, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.1.1
- ellipsis 4.3\*, 10.1.2.2.3, 10.2.1, 11.1.3.1, 11.1.4.2
- emphatic consonants 3.1.4, 5.4
- enclitics 1.1.6.1, 2.1\*, 3.2.2, 4.4, 4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.3
- English 3.3.2.2.3.3, 7.5.2, 8.2.1.3, 8.2.2.2, 9.5, 10.1.2.1.3.3, 10.1.2.2.2, 10.1.3, 10.2.1, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.2.5.3, 11.1.4.1
- existential predication 2.2.2.2, 2.2.3.2.1, 4.6.1, 4.6.2.1, 4.6.2.2, 7.1.2, 10.1.2.2.2, 10.2, 10.4.5, 10.4.6, 11.1.2.2, 11.1.3.1, 11.1.4.1, 11.6
  - overtly marked 4.6.1, 7.1.2, 10.2.2, 11.1.2.2, 11.1.4.1
- focus 3.3.1.2, 10.3

## forms

- long 2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1, 2.2.3.2.3,  
2.2.3.2.4.1, 2.2.3.2.4.2,  
2.2.3.2.4.2, 2.2.3.2.3,  
2.2.3.2.4.5, 3.2.2, 4.1, 4.2,  
5.3.5.1, 7.5.1, 7.5.2
- short 0.4.2, 2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1,  
2.2.3.2.2, 2.2.3.2.3, 2.2.3.2.4.1,  
2.2.3.2.5, 3.1.3.2, 3.2.2, 3.3.2.1,  
4.5.1, 4.5.2.3, 5.3.5.1, 7.4.2,  
7.5.2

## French 11.1.2.4

- frozen expressions 2.2.3.1.1,  
2.2.3.1.1, 8.2.1.2, 11.1.1

- futurity, future sense 7.2.1,  
11.1.2.5.3

## Galileans 9.1.3.2.1\*

- geminated/doubled consonants  
1.1.3, 1.2.2.8, 3.1.1, 5.4, 6.5, 6.7

- gender 2.2.2, 2.2.2.1, 2.2.2.2, 4.3,  
4.5.2.4, 5.1, 5.3, 7.1.2, 7.2.4.2  
“neuter” 2.2.2.2

- generic statements 3.3.2.2.3.3,  
10.1.2.1.1, 10.1.2.1.1.2,  
10.1.2.1.3.2, 10.1.2.3.1

- genitive 2.2.3.1.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.8, 7.5.3,  
8.2.1.3, 11.1.2.7

- genitive marker 4.3\*

- genitive pronoun see possessive  
pronouns

- genitive suffix see possessive  
pronouns

- non-possessive genitive  
relationships 4.3

## genres 0.5

- gentilic form/suffix 2.2.3.2.5\*,  
3.1.4\*, 3.2.2, 7.4.1

- Geonic literature 0.2, 0.3\*, 0.5, 1.1.5,  
1.2.2.8, 5.3.5.2

- language of (GBA) 0.3, 0.4.3,  
0.5\*, 0.7, 1.1.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 2.1,  
3.1.7.1, 3.3.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.3.5.2,  
5.4, 6.6, 6.11.1, 6.12, 7.2.1,  
7.2.4.2, 8.2.2.2\*, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.4,  
9.6

- glides see consonants /w/ and /y/

- grammaticalization 3.3.3.1, 4.6.1,  
5.3.5.2, 9.7, 10.4.6, 11.1.2.5.3, 11.2

## Greek 3.1.4, 3.2.2, 6.11.1, 7.2.1

- gutturals 3.1.3, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 5.4

- Halakhot Pesuqot* [HPS] 0.2, 0.3\*,  
0.6.1, 0.6.2, 0.7, 1.1.5, 2.2.1

- haplology 3.2.2\*, 8.2.2.2\*

## Hebrew 0.5, 0.6.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.5,

- 1.1.6.1, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.5, 2.2.2.1,  
2.2.3.1.1, 2.2.3.2.1\*, 4.6.2.1,  
4.6.2.1\*, 5.4

- Biblical 0.5, 6.8\*, 8.3\*

- influence 6.7, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.1.1\*

- Mishnaic 0.5, 6.7, 11.1.2.5.3

- Modern 5.3.5.1\*

- Rabbinic Babylonian 0.5

- hendiadys 5.3.3\*, 11.1.2.5.2, 11.2

- homographs 1.1.3, 1.1.5

- homophone 3.2.2

- idioms 2.2.3.2.1, 3.3.2.1, 5.3.2

## imperative

- forms 1.2.2.4, 5.1, 5.3.3, 5.4, 6.2,  
6, 7.3.5, 7.3.5\* 9.1.3.3

- mood 7.3

- use of

- advice/general principles

- 7.3.3

- instructions 7.3.2

- instructions for readers 7.3.4

- purpose and result 7.3.5  
 request/command 7.3.1  
*imperfective* aspect 7.2.1, 7.2.3,  
 7.2.4.1  
 incantation bowls/texts 0.2, 0.7,  
 1.1, 3.1.4, 3.2.2, 3.3.2.1\*, 5.3.5.2,  
 6.6, 6.10.3.2, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.2  
 inclusiveness, sense of 7.5.3, 7.5.4,  
 7.6  
 indefinite pronouns 2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1,  
 2.2.3.2.4.1, 3.3.3, 3.3.3.2, 4.3, 8.3,  
 8.3\*, 10.1.2.2.3, 10.3  
 indirect speech 10.1.2.1.3.3  
 infinitive  
   clause see Clause  
   forms 5.1, 5.3.4, 5.4, 6.7, 7.1.1,  
   9.1.3.4, 9.2.1.4, 11.1.2.5  
   use of 5.3.4, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.2  
 infix 5.4, 6.3, 6.4, 6.10, 6.10.1.3,  
 8.1.1, 9.3  
 inflectional relationships 8.1.3.1  
 interrogative marker 8.3  
 interrogative pronouns 4.4, 4.5.2.3,  
 10.1.2.1.1.2, 10.1.2.1.3.2, 10.1.3,  
 10.3  
 intervocalic /y/ 3.1.6, 3.2.2, 6.5,  
 6.10.2.2\*  
 intervocalic glottal stop 3.1.1,  
 3.1.3.1, 3.3.2.1  
 isogloss 1.2.2.7.1\*  
 iterative aspect 7.2.3  
 Jews 0.3  
 Karaites, Karaite literature (incl.  
   Anan) 0.2, 2.1\*, 6.6, 7.5.3\*,  
   8.2.2.2\*, 9.1.3.4  
 labials 1.2.2.7.1, 1.2.2.7.2, 6.5\*  
 language contact 0.5  
 languages, non-Semitic (incl. Indo-  
   European) 0.7, 4.8, 6.11.1, 9.4.2,  
   10.1.2.2.2  
 laryngeals 3.1.3, 3.1.3.1  
 legal context 0.2, 2.2.3.2.1, 3.3.2.1,  
   3.3.2.2.3.3, 4.6.2.3, 7.1.1, 7.1.2,  
   9.1.2  
 letters  
   alef 1.1.2.1, 3.1.3.1, 3.1.3.2,  
     5.3.5.1, 5.3.5.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6  
   ‘ayin 6.10.4.1  
   *begadkefat* 1.1.1, 1.2.2, 1.2.2.8  
   final forms 1.1.1  
   *heh* 1.1.2.4  
   *šin* 1.1.1  
   vowel letters (*matres lectionis*)  
     0.6.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.2.1-1.1.4,  
     1.2.2.7.1, 2.2.1, 5.3.1  
   waw 1.1.2.3, 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.7.1,  
     5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.4, 6.10.4.1,  
     6.11.2, 9.1.3.4  
   yod 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.4, 1.2.2.7.1,  
     5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.4, 6.2, 6.7,  
     6.11.2, 9.1.3.1.1, 9.1.3.2,  
     9.1.3.2\*, 9.1.3.4  
 leveling 0.6.2, 3.3.1.1, 3.3.2.1, 4.6.1,  
 5.3.1, 6.7, 9.1.2  
 lexical aspect 8.1.3.1  
 lexical distinction 1.2.2.7.1\*,  
   9.1.3.2.1\*  
 lexical relationships 8.1.3  
 lexicon/lexicography, JBA 0.7  
 locative expression/phrase 4.6.1  
 locative-PPC 4.6.2.2  
 loanwords 2.2.3.2.2  
 magic bowls see incantation bowls  
 Mandaeans 0.3  
 manuscripts 0.6.1, 0.6.2, 0.6.3, 0.8.1,



- Ashkenazic 0.6.2, 1.1.4
- Early Eastern Manuscripts (EEMss) 0.6.2, 1.1.6.1, 9.1.3.2
- medieval manuscript tradition 1.1
- Sephardic 0.6.2
- Yemenite 0.6.2, 0.7, 1.1.4, 5.3.1, 5.3.5.1, 9.4.1.2
- markedness 2.2.3.2.4.2, 3.3.1.1, 7.2.1, 7.2.3, 9.6, 10.4.4
- lexical 8.2
- morphological 2.2.2.1
- syntactic 4.5.1, 4.5.2.1, 8.2, 8.2.1.2
- Masoretic Text 1.1.2
- meanings, multiple 8.1.3.2
- meta-linguistics 1.2.2.3\*
- metathesis 0.3, 3.1.2\*, 5.3.1, 5.3.3
- Mishnah 0.2, 0.4
- modality 7.2.1, 11.1.2.5.2, 11.1.3.1
- monophthongization 1.2.2.6, 6.3
- mood see TAM
- morphology 0.7, 0.8.2, 5.1
- nahote* 0.4
- Nazir* 0.3\*, 0.4, 0.4.3
- NBA – language of special tractates 0.4.3, 2.1, 3.1.7.1, 3.3.1.1, 4.4, 4.5.2.3, 4.7, 9.2.2
- Nedarim* 0.3\*, 0.4, 0.4.3
- negation 4.6.1, 10.4, 10.4.4
  - existential clause, negation of 2.2.3.2.1, 4.6.1, 10.4.5
  - historical background 10.4.2, 10.4.5
  - negators 10.4.1, 10.4.2, 10.4.3, 10.4.4
  - pragmatic characteristics 10.4.5
  - syntactic differences 10.4.3
    - term negation 10.4.5
- Neziqin* 0.6.2
- nomen agentis* 3.2.1
- nomen rectum* 2.2.3.1.1
- nomen regens* 2.2.3.1.1
- nominal inflection 2.2
- nominal patterns 3.2.1
- nominalizer 10.1.3
- non-perfect aspect 7.2, 7.6
- nouns 1.2.2.3, 2.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.2.1, 2.2.2.2, 2.2.3.1.2, 2.2.3.2.4.3, 2.2.3.2.5, 3.1.3, 4.2, 4.3, 4.5.1, 4.5.2.2, 4.7, 4.8, 5.3.5.2, 7.4.2, 7.5.2, 7.5.3, 8.2.2.2, 8.3, 10.1, 10.1.2.1.4, 10.1.2.2, 10.4.1, 10.4.4, 11.1.1, 11.1.2, 11.1.2.7
- generic-type 10.1.2.2.2, 10.1.2.3.1
- repetitions of 7.6
- number, grammatical 2.2
  - dual 2.2.2.1
- numbers 4.3, 4.5.2.4, 5.1, 5.3, 7.1.2, 7.2.4.2
- cardinal 2.2.3.2.3, 3.3.2.2.3.5, 7.4.1, 7.4.2, 8.2.2.2\*
- forms 7.4.1
- ordinal 7.4.1
- syntax of 7.4.2, 7.4.3
- object 11.1.1, 4.4, 4.6.1, 4.6.2, 6.2, 8.2, 9.1.1, 9.1.3, 9.3, 11.1.3.1, 11.1.3.2
- cognate object 11.1.5
- direct object 8.1.1, 8.2.2.2, 9.2.1.1, 9.2.1.2, 9.2.1.3, 10.1.2.2.2, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.5
- direct object marker 9.2, 9.2.1, 10.1.2.1.3.2
- תִּ 0.4.2, 9.2.3

- indirect object 4.6.1 , 9.2.1.3 \* ,  
 9.4.1.1, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.3.2,  
 11.1.6
- orthography 1.1, 1.1.1, 1.2.2.7.1,  
 5.3.5.1  
 orthographic hypercorrection  
 3.3.2.1
- Palestine 0.2, 0.4, 0.4.2, 0.6.1
- Palestinian sages 0.4, 0.4.2, 2.2.1,  
 2.2.3.2.1, 2.2.3.2.1\* , 3.3.2.1, 4.6.1,  
 5.3.2, 8.2.1.2, 9.2.2
- paradigmatic pressure 3.1.3
- paradigmatic shifts 2.1, 6.6, 6.9,  
 6.10.2.2\*
- participle 0.3, 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3,  
 2.2.2.2, 4.5.2.2, 4.6.1, 5.1, 5.3.1,  
 5.3.5, 5.3.5.2, 6.4, 7.1.2, 7.2.1,  
 7.2.3, 7.2.4.1, 7.2.4.2, 9.2.1.1, 11.2,  
 11.2\*  
 active 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 5.1, 5.3.5.1,  
 5.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.7\*  
 declension 5.3.5.1, 7.2.4.2
- participial conjugation 5.3.5,  
 5.3.5.2, 6.7, 7.2.4.2, 9.1.3.5
- particles  
 -ק/אֵק 1.1.6.1, 7.2.1, 7.2.3, 7.2.3\* ,  
 7.2.4.2, 11.2  
 conditional 1.2.2.7.1, 1.2.2.7.1\*  
 existential 0.3, 2.2.2.2, 4.6.1,  
 4.6.2.1\* , 7.1.2, 11.1.2.2,  
 11.1.3.1, 11.1.4.1  
 אֵיכָא 4.6.2.1  
 אֵיחַ 4.6.1, 4.6.2.1  
 ׀ 1.1.6.1, 3.1.3.1, 9.2.1.3\* , 10.1.1,  
 10.1.2.1.1, 10.1.2.1.1.2,  
 10.1.2.1.1.2, 10.1.2.1.1.2\* ,  
 10.1.2.1.2, 10.1.2.1.3.1,
- 10.1.2.1.3.2, 10.1.2.2.1,  
 10.1.2.2.4, 10.1.2.3.1, 10.1.3,  
 10.2.1, 10.4.2
- l- 5.3.2
- passive 5.1, 5.3.5.1, 5.4, 6.7, 6.7\* , 9.5,  
 11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.5.3  
 active sense for passive  
 participle 9.5  
 passive sentences 7.3.5, 8.1.1,  
 9.3, 9.6  
 qtil li pattern 0.3, 9.7
- perfective aspect 7.2.1
- periphrastic constructions 7.2.1,  
 7.2.4
- Persian 0.5, 3.1.2, 3.1.4, 6.11.1
- person 5.1, 5.3, 7.1.2, 7.2.4.2
- pharyngeals 3.1.3, 3.1.3.2, 3.1.4,  
 3.3.2.1, 5.3.5.1, 6.4, 6.5, 6.10.2.2\* ,  
 6.10.4.1 7.2.2\*
- phonemes 1.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.8  
 merging of phonemes 1.1.1,  
 3.1.2, 3.3.2.1
- phonemic distinction 1.1.2.1\* ,  
 1.1.2.2\* , 1.1.2.3\* , 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3,  
 2.2.1, 5.3.2, 5.4
- phonetic realizations  
 fricative 1.1.1, 1.2.2.8  
 plosive 1.1.1, 1.2.2.8
- phonology 0.6.1, 0.7, 0.8.2, 1.1, 1.2,  
 1.2.2, 1.2.2.7.1, 1.2.3, 2.1, 4.1,  
 4.5.2.1, 9.1.3.1.2
- plural forms/markers 1.1.2.1,  
 1.2.2.3, 2.2.1, 2.2.2.1, 4.2, 4.5.2.3,  
 4.6.1\* , 5.3.3, 5.3.5.1
- possession 4.6.2, 4.6.2.3, 9.4.2,  
 11.1.3.1
- possessive constructions 4.3, 4.6.2,  
 4.7, 7.1.2, 9.4.2, 11.1.3.1

- predicate 4.5.1, 4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.3, 8.3,  
10.1.2.1.1, 10.1.2.2.2, 10.3, 10.4.2,  
11.1.2.3, 11.1.2.5.1, 11.2  
predicate denials 10.4.5
- prosthetic alef 6.8
- prefixes 6.12  
  *ha-* 6.11.1  
  /’i/ 7.2.2\*  
  *l-/n-* as 3m sg and 3pl prefix  
    marker conjugation 0.3, 5.3.2  
    *ša-/sa-* 6.11.1  
  *y-* as 3m sg and 3pl prefix  
    marker conjugation 4.6.1\*,  
    5.3.2, 7.1.1
- prefix-conjugation 5.1, 5.3.1, 5.3.2,  
5.3.3\*, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.7, 6.8,  
6.10.2, 6.10.2.2\*, 6.10.3.1, 7.1.1,  
7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.2\*, 9.1.3.2.1,  
9.2.1.4
- prepositional phrase 3.3.2.2.1, 4.5.1,  
9.2.1.3, 10.1.2.2.2
- prepositions 2.2.3.1.2, 11.1.1, 3.1.3,  
3.3.2.2, 4.3, 4.4, 8.2.2.2, 9.2.1.1,  
9.2.1.3\*, 9.6, 10.1.2.2.2, 11.1.1,  
11.1.2.3, 11.1.6  
כ 1.1.6.1, 4.6.2.2  
-בהד 8.2.2.1, 8.2.2.2\*  
ל 1.1.6.1, 4.6.1, 4.7, 5.3.4, 9.1.3.5,  
9.2.1, 9.2.1.1, 9.2.1.3, 9.2.1.4,  
9.4.1.1, 9.4.2, 9.7, 10.1.2.1.3.2,  
11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.2.6,  
11.1.3.1  
(ו)מ 4.8, 9.6  
-ניהל, -ניל 9.4.1.2
- presupposition 10.4.4
- printed editions 1.2.1, 4.2, 7.1.2\*,  
7.2.2\*, 7.2.4.2, 8.1.1
- pronouns 2.2.2.1, 3.1.7, 3.3, 3.3.2.2,  
4.3\*, 4.5.1, 4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.2, 4.6.1\*,  
4.7, 5.3.1, 7.5.3, 8.2.1.2, 9.1.1,  
9.1.2, 9.2.3, 10.1.2.2, 10.3  
accusative pronominal suffixes  
  9.1, 9.3  
  function 9.1.1  
dependent clauses, pronouns in  
  7.5.3, 10.1.2.2.2  
genitive pronoun see possessive  
  pronouns  
independent pronouns 0.3,  
  3.3.1, 4.5.2.3, 8.2.1.3, 10.4.2  
nominative pronouns 0.4, 4.5.1  
  4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.4, 5.3.1, 5.3.2,  
  10.3, 10.4.2, 11.1.6  
  forms 3.3.1.1  
  functions 3.3.1.2  
  as accusative pronouns  
    9.1.2  
possessive pronouns 3.3.2.2.2,  
  3.3.3.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.7, 8.2.1.2,  
  8.2.1.3, 9.2.1.2
- pronominal suffixes 0.3, 1.1.6.1,  
2.2.3.1.1, 3.3.3.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3,  
4.6.1, 5.3.3\*, 5.3.5.2, 7.5.4, 8.2.1.2,  
9.1.1, 9.1.2, 9.1.3, 9.1.3.1.2,  
9.1.3.2, 9.1.3.4, 9.2.1.4, 9.3, 9.7  
anticipatory pronominal suffix  
  4.3, 4.3\*, 7.5.3, 9.2.1.3, 9.2.1.1,  
  9.2.1.3, 9.2.1.4, 9.4.1.1, 9.7  
with existential particle 4.6.1  
with כל 7.5.4
- pronunciation 1.1.6.1, 1.1.6.1\*,  
1.1.6.2, 1.2.2.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.2.1,  
5.3.5.1, 6.6, 9.1.2
- Proto-Northwest Semitic 6.3
- Proto-Semitic 9.1.2

- /a/ 1.2.2.2  
 /ā/ 1.2.2.2  
 /ī/ 1.2.2.3\*  
 /u/ 1.2.2.4  
 quantifiers 2.2.3.1.1, 2.2.3.2.3, 4.8,  
 7.5.2, 7.5.3, 11.1.2.2  
 כולא, כל 2.2.3.1.1, 4.8, 7.5, 7.5.4,  
 7.6, 10.1.2.1.1.2, 11.1.2.2  
 questions 4.4, 10.4.4  
 rhetorical 4.6.1, 8.3, 10.4.4  
 Rabbinic Judaism 0.2  
 rabbinic texts 0.5  
 reanalysis 2.1, 4.2, 4.5.2.1, 4.5.2.3,  
 6.7, 6.11.1  
 reciprocal constructions 3.3.2.2.3.4,  
 8.2.2.2  
 reduction 5.4  
 reduplication 9.4.1.2  
 reflexive constructions 8.2, 8.2.1,  
 9.1.3.2.1, 9.4.2  
 register 0.4, 0.6.2, 5.3.5.2  
 responsa 0.2  
 resultative sense 7.3.5, 9.5  
 resumptive pronouns 10.1.2.1.4,  
 10.1.2.2.2  
 roots 2.2.2.2, 3.2.1, 5.1, 6.2, 6.5, 8.1,  
 8.1.3.1, 6.11.1, 7.4.1, 8.1.3  
 Sassanian Persian rule/rulers of  
 Babylonia 0.1, 0.5  
 scribal errors 3.1.4\*, 4.2, 5.3.2, 5.3.4,  
 5.3.5.1, 5.4, 6.3\*  
 secondary articulation 3.1.4  
 Semitic languages 0.3, 0.6.1, 0.7,  
 1.2.2.7, 1.2.2.7.1, 2.2.2.1, 3.1.3,  
 3.1.4, 3.3.2, 4.2, 4.5, 4.5.2.3\*,  
 4.6.1, 4.6.2, 4.6.2.1\*, 4.8, 5.1,  
 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 7.3, 8.1, 9.1.1, 9.4.2,  
 10.3, 11.1.1, 11.1.5  
 sentence 3.3.2.2.1, 3.3.2.2.3.2,  
 4.5.2.3, 5.3.3\*, 7.5.3, 8.2.1.3,  
 10.4.2, 11.1.1  
 cleft 4.5.2.3, 10.1.2.1.1, 10.3,  
 10.4.2, 11.1.5  
 conditional 7.2.1, , 7.3.5, 10.2,  
 10.2.2, , 10.2.2\*, 10.4.4, 10.4.5  
 existential see existential  
 predication  
 identification 4.5.2.4  
 nominal 3.3.1.2, 4.5, 4.5.1\*, 4.6.1,  
 7.1.2, 7.2.4.2, 10.1.2.1.1,  
 11.2.3, 11.1.6  
 verbless see nominal  
 sibilants 5.4  
 sound changes/shifts 2.1, 3.1  
 /' / > /' / 3.1.4  
 /' / > /∅/ 3.1.3.1  
 Cə'V > CV 3.1.3.1, 6.6  
 /' / > /' / 3.1.3.2, 3.1.4, 3.2.2\*, 6.4,  
 6.6  
 /ā/ > /a/ 1.2.2.2  
 /a/ > /i/ 5.3, 5.4, 6.9, 9.3  
 /a/ > /i/ \_s 2.2.3.2.2\*  
 /a/ > [o]/[u] 1.2.2.7.2, 2.2.2.1,  
 6.4, 6.5, 6.12  
 a'e > aye 3.3.2.1, 6.6  
 /ay/ > /ayi/ / \_# 1.1.5\*  
 /ay/ > /a/ 3.1.7.2, 4.2  
 /ayn/ > /an/ 4.6.1\*, 6.8  
 /b/ > /w/ 3.1.5, 3.1.7\*  
 /d/ > /∅/ 3.1  
 /g/ > /∅/ 3.1.1  
 /h/ > /ħ/ 3.1.4  
 /ħ/ > /∅/ 3.1.3.2  
 /ħ/ > /h/ 3.1.3.2, 3.1.4, 8.2.2.2\*  
 /i/ > /u/ 1.2.2.7.1, 2.2.3.1.2, 6.5  
 l > n 3.1.2, 3.3.2.1, 9.4.1.2

- l* > *r* 3.1.2
- r* > *l* 3.1.2
- /u/ > /i/ 1.2.2.7.1, 4.5.2.3
- /ūhī/ > /uy/ 9.1.2
- /w/ > /y/ 6.3
- /y/ > /' / 3.1.6, 3.2.2
- yə* > *i* / *i* 6.3
- spatial relations 9.2.1.3\*
- specificity 9.2.1.2
- spelling
  - historical 1.1.2.1, 1,1,2,4, 3.1.3.1, 3.2.2, 4.3, 5.3.1, 6.4, 6.6, 9.1.3.4
  - pronunciation 6.8
- state (grammatical) see forms
- stem see Verbal stem
- stress 1.2, 2.2.3.1.2\*, 4.1, 5.3.3
- subject 3.3.1.2, 3.3.2.2.1, 4.5.1, 4.6.1, 4.6.2, 4.6.2.1, 4.6.2.2, 5.3.3\*, 8.2, 9.1.1\*, 9.1.3, 10.1.2.2.2, 10.4.2, 11.1.1, 11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.3, 11.1.2.4, 11.1.3.2, 11.1.4.1, 11.1.4.2
- of infinitive clauses 11.1.6
- substantives 2.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.2.1, 2.2.3.2.3, 2.2.3.2.5\*, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 4.5.1
- suffix conjugation 0.3, 2.2.2.2, 5.1, 5.3.1, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.10.2.2, 6.10.3.1, 7.2.1, 7.2.2, 9.1.1\*, 9.1.3.1.1, 9.1.3.5, 9.2.1.4
- superlative 4.8
- syllables 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.3, 1.2.2.2, 3.1.1, 3.1.3.2, 4.1, 5.3.1, 6.3
- closed 5.4, 6.2
- closed unstressed 1.2.2.4
- open unstressed 1.2.2.1
- syncope 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.2
- syncretism 2.2.3.2.4.2, 3.2.2, 4.2, 4.5.2.3\*, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 6.8
- syntax, literature 0.7
- TAM [= tense, aspect, and mood] 0.3, 7.1.1, 7.1.2, 7.2, 7.2.1
- Tanna, first 4.5.2.4\*
- Tannaitic source 3.3.2.1
- Targum Onqelos 0.4, 0.4.2
- Targumim* 0.4, 0.6.1, 1.1.5, 5.3.1
- tense 7.2.4.1, 11.1.1 [see also TAM]
  - absolute vs. relative 7.2.2
- textual transmission 0.4\*, 2.2.2.1, 9.1.3.5
- textual variants 0.6.3, 3.1.1, 3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.4, 3.3.1.2\*, 5.3.2, 5.3.5.1, 5.4, 7.2.2, 9.1.3.2.1, 9.2.1.4
- thematic vowels 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.3\*, 6.8, 6.10.3.2, 9.1.3.2.1
- Tiberian tradition 1.2.2.4
- Toledot Yešu* 0.2\*, 3.3.2.1\*
- topic
  - of sentence 4.5.2.1, 7.5.3, 8.3, 10.1.2.1.4, 10.3, 11.1.2.1
  - of discursive unit 3.3.2.2.3.3, 10.1.2.1.1.2
  - PPC 4.6.2.3
- transliteration 1.1.1
- triphthong 7.1.1
- typographical errors 3.3.2.2.2\*
- valence 8.1.3.1
- verbs 2.2.2.1, 2.2.2.2, 3.3.1.2, 4.5.1, 5.1, 10.4.1, 10.4.3, 11.1, 11.1.1, 11.1.3.2, 11.1.4.2
- asyndetic hendiadys 11.1.2.5.1, 11.2
- auxiliary 7.1, 7.2.4.2
- function 7.1.2
- inflection 7.1.1

- bases with accusative suffixes  
 9.1.3
- denominative 6.4
- finite 11.1.1, 11.1.2.3, 11.1.2.4,  
 11.1.3.1, 11.1.4.1, 11.1.5,  
 11.1.6
- intransitive 8.1.3.1, 9.3, 9.5,  
 11.1.2.5.1, 11.1.2.5.2, 11.1.3.2,  
 11.1.5
- non-finite 5.1, 11.1.1
- passive 11.1.2.2, 11.1.5
- perception 9.7
- pseudo-coordinative verbal  
 construction see hendiadis  
 verbs
- reciprocal 8.2.2.1
- transitive 4.6.2, 8.1.1, 11.1.2.5  
 verbal hendiadys 11.2, 11.2\*  
 הווי 2.2.3.2.4.2, 4.5.1, 6.8, 6.10.4.1,  
 7.1, 7.1.1, 7.1.2, 7.2.1, 7.2.4.1,  
 7.2.4.2, 11.1.3.1  
 אטוי 6.4, 6.10.3.2, 11.1.2.5.3,  
 11.1.4.2
- verbal classes
- apocopated forms/roots 6.3, 6.9,  
 6.10.1.3, 6.10.3.2, 6.10.3.3,  
 6.10.4.1
- biradical verbs 6.5
- doubly weak 6.10  
 I-n & II-w 6.10.1.1  
 I-' & II-w 6.10.1.2  
 I-y & II-' 6.10.1.3  
 I-y & III-y 6.10.3.3  
 I-n & geminate 6.10.2.1  
 I-'/ & geminate 6.10.2.2  
 I-n & III-y 6.10.3.1  
 I-'/ & III-y 6.10.3.2  
 II-w/y & III-y 6.10.4.1, 7.1.1
- geminate verbs 6.7, 6.7\*, 6.10.2.2
- quadriradical verbs 6.7, 6.11  
 forms 6.11.1  
 origin 6.11.1  
 weak quadriradical verbs  
 6.11.2
- strong verbs 6.2, 6.7, 6.8, 6.10,  
 6.10.3.2
- weak verbs 6.1  
 I-' 6.4, 6.5\*  
 I-'/ 6.4, 6.7, 6.10.2.2, 6.10.3.2  
 I-w 1.2.2.6, 6.4  
 I-y 6.4, 6.10.1.3, 6.10.3.2,  
 6.10.3.3  
 I-w/y 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6  
 I-n 6.2, 6.3, 6.5  
 II-' 6.6, 6.10.1.3, 6.12  
 II-'/ 6.6, 6.10.2.2\*  
 II-w 6.5, 6.10.1  
 II-y 6.7, 6.10.2.2  
 II-w/y 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.10.2.2\*,  
 6.10.4.1, 6.12  
 III-' 6.8\*  
 III-' 6.9  
 III-n 5.3.5.2\*  
 III-y 5.3.1, 6.4, 6.7, 6.7\*, 6.8,  
 6.9, 6.10.3.1, 6.10.3.3,  
 6.10.4.1  
 III-pharyngeal 6.10.4.1
- verbal stem 5.1, 5.2, 8.1.3, 11.1.1  
 Af-stem 1.2.2.6, 5.2, 5.4, 6.2, 6.4,  
 6.5, 6.5\*, 6.7, 6.10.3.1,  
 6.10.3.3, 6.12, 8.1.3.1, 9.3  
 Derived stems 5.2, 5.4, 6.8,  
 9.1.3.4  
*hafel* stem 6.11.1  
 Itpa-stem 5.2, 5.4, 6.6, 6.7, 6.11.1

- Itpe-stem 5.2, 5.4, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4,  
 6.6, 6.7, 8.2.2.1  
 Ittaf-stem 5.2, 5.4, 6.2, 6.5, 6.7  
 Pa-stem 5.2, 5.4, 6.4, 6.5\*, 6.6,  
 6.7, 6.8\*, 6.11.1, 8.1.3.1  
 Pe-stem 1.2.2.2, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4,  
 5.2, 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.4, 5.4, 6.2,  
 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 7.1.1,  
 8.1.3.1, 9.5  
 Qal-stem see Pe-stem  
 relationship between stems 8.1  
 Š-stem 6.11.1  
 T-stems 6.4, 7.3.5, 7.3.5\*, 8.1.1,  
 8.1.3.1, 8.2, 8.2.1.2, 8.2.2.1,  
 9.3, 9.5, 9.6  
 verbal system 3.1.3, 5.1, 5.3.5.1,  
 7.2.1  
 vocalization 0.6.1, 0.7, 1.1.5, 1.2,  
 1.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 1.2.2.7.1,  
 1.2.3, 3.1.3.2, 5.2, 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.4,  
 6.8, 8.1.1, \*9.1.3.2,  
 Babylonian 1.1.5  
 Tiberian 1.1.5, 1.2.2.8  
 voice 8.1.1, 9.6, 11.1.2.2  
 vowels 1.1.2.1, 1.2.2.5, 1.2.2.8, 3.1.1,  
 5.4, 6.3, 6.10.3.2, 6.10.4.1,  
 9.1.3.2.1, 9.1.3.2\*  
 /a/ 1.2.2.2, 3.1.3.2\*, 3.1.7\*, 5.3.1,  
 5.3.2, 5.3.4, 5.3.5.1, 6.6,  
 6.10.3.2  
 /ā/ 1.1.2.4, 1.2.2.2, 2.2.1, 3.1.3.1,  
 3.1.7\*  
 /e/ 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.4, 1.1.2.2,  
 1.2.2.3, 3.1.7\*  
 /i/ 1.2.2.3, 1.1.2.4, 3.1.3.2, 5.3.1,  
 5.3.2, 5.3.4, 5.3.5.1, 5.4, 6.5,  
 6.10.2.2\*, 6.10.4.1, 9.1.2,  
 9.1.3.3  
 /o/ 1.1.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 6.10.2.2\*  
 /u/ 1.1.2.3, 1.2.2.4, 3.1.3.2, 5.3.1,  
 5.3.2, 6.5\*, 9.1.2, 9.1.3.1.1  
 schwa 5.3.3, 6.3  
 schwa mobile 1.1.2.2, 1.2.2.2, 5.4  
 shortened 1.2.2.1  
 vowels signs  
 dagesh 1.2.2.8  
 hireq 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.3\*  
 ḥolem 1.2.2.4  
 pataḥ 1.2.2.2  
 qameṣ 1.2.2.2  
 qibbuṣ 1.2.2.4  
 šureq 1.2.2.4  
 tsere 1.2.2.3  
 word division 1.1.6.1  
 word order 0.3, 3.3.2.2.2, 4.5.1, 4.6.1,  
 4.6.2.1  
 Yemenite tradition(s) 0.6.1, 1.2.2,  
 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.6, 1.2.2.8,  
 3.1.1, 5.3.1, 5.3.2  
 yeshivah/yeshivot 0.4, 0.5

## Texts

**Babylonian Talmud**

<i>'Abodah Zarah</i>	24a	4.5.2.3	
4b	4.6.2.2	28a	7.4.2
10a	2.2.2.1	28b	4.6.1
13b	3.3.3.1	31a	3.2.2
15b	11.1.2.5.3	33b	11.1.3.2
17b	4.4	34b	8.2.2.1, 9.2.1.1
20a	11.1.2.5.2	35b	11.1.2.2
29a	4.3	37b	9.4.1.1, 10.1.2.14
30a	9.4.2	39a	5.3.3, 9.1.1
33b	7.5.3	40a	9.4.2
34b	4.8	40b	7.5.3, 11.1.3.2
37b	5.3.3	41a	7.2.4.2
39a	11.1.2.2	52a	8.3
40a	10.1.2.3.2	54a	3.3.3.1
43a	9.1.3.5	55a	2.2.3.1
48a	6.8	56b	10.1.2.2.2
49b	11.1.5	57a	11.1.2.4
50b	11.1.2.3	58a	10.1.2.1.3.1, 10.4.1
51b	9.4.2	61b	11.1.3.1, 11.1.3.2
52a	11.1.2.3	62b	2.2.2.2
52b	11.1.3.1	64b	4.5.2.4, 10.4.4
56a	4.8	69b	10.2.1
65a	4.5.2.4	72a	4.4
70b	10.4.6	73a	3.3.3.2, 4.6.1
76b	10.4.1	73b	11.2
<i>'Arakin</i>		74a	4.3
4a	4.6.1	79b	3.2.2
24a	5.3.5.2	84a	2.2.3.2.4.2
30a	10.4.3, 10.4.4	87a	9.2.1.1
<i>Baba Batra</i>		91a	4.5.1
6b	10.3	91b	2.2.3.1.1
8a	5.3.5.2	92b	4.5.2.3
12a	10.1.1	97b	4.5.1
18b	11.1.2.4	100a	4.5.2.3
22a	4.6.2.1, 11.1.2.6	105b	7.5.3



- 111b 4.6.1  
 121a 9.1.3.5  
 125a 4.7  
 126b 4.6.2.1  
 128b-129a 11.1.4.2  
 133b 10.4.4  
 141b 4.6.2.3  
 159b 9.2.1.3  
 164a 5.3.5.2, 7.5.3  
 169b 11.1.3.2  
 172a 8.2.1.2, 9.4.2  
 174a 11.1.3.2  
 174b 10.4.6
- Baba Meṣi'a*
- 3a 10.1.2.1.1.2  
 3b 11.1.3.1  
 4a 7.1.2  
 4b 10.1.2.1.3.1, 11.1.2.4  
 7a 11.1.3.1  
 8a 10.1.2.1.1.2  
 15a 3.3.2.1  
 23b 10.1.2.2.3  
 24a 9.4.2  
 25a 8.2.2.2  
 27b 10.4.4  
 28b 3.2.2, 4.6.2.1  
 31a 11.1.4.1  
 32b 10.1.2.1.3.2  
 35a 3.2.2, 7.3.1  
 36b 3.4, 10.4.1  
 42a 4.5.2.3  
 42b 2.2.2.2  
 49a 4.7, 11.1.3.1  
 52b 4.4, 7.6  
 56a 10.4.3  
 59a 7.3.3  
 59b 7.5.4, 9.2.1.2  
 64a 3.3.3.1
- 65b 4.4  
 68b 10.1.2.2.2  
 69b 11.1.2.2  
 71a 2.2.3.2.4.1, 4.7  
 73b 10.1.2.1.1.2  
 74a 11.1.3.2  
 74b 4.3  
 77b 3.3.3.1  
 79b 11.1.2.3, 11.1.3.2  
 83a 4.3, 11.1.3.1  
 83b 7.6  
 84a 4.8  
 85b 2.2.3.1.1, 4.5.1, 5.3.5.2,  
 8.2.2.1, 8.3, 11.1.2.5.2  
 86a 3.3.2.1, 4.6.1  
 90a 10.1.2.1.1.1  
 92a 4.5.2.4  
 93a 4.4  
 93b 4.3, 4.6.1, 10.1.2.3.2  
 94b 8.2.1.2  
 95a 11.2  
 96a 4.6.1  
 96b 7.3.5  
 97a 3.3.1.2, 11.1.2.5.2  
 101b 8.1.1  
 103b 11.1.2.4  
 104b 2.2.2.2  
 107b 11.1.1  
 108a 10.1.2.1.1.2  
 108b 11.2  
 110b 8.3  
 117b 4.5.2.3  
 149a 5.3.5.2
- Baba Qama*
- 4b 8.3  
 7b 11.1.2.3  
 18a 9.7  
 19b 11.1.2.3

21a	3.3.2.2.3.3, 9.2.1.3	8a	3.3.3.1, 11.1.1
22b	9.1.1	8b	10.1.2.2.3
24b	4.6.2.1	9a	11.1.2.2
32b	11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.4	11b	10.4.4
34b	10.1.2.3.1	13b	4.4
38a	11.1.2.2	14b	10.1.2.1.1.2, 11.1.2.4
40b	9.4.1.2	22b	11.1.3.2
42b	4.3	23a	7.2.4.2
44b	7.6	23b	4.6.1
53a	4.6.1, 9.6	25b	10.2.2
55a	3.3.3.2	27b	11.2
61a	4.6.2.2	28a	10.1.2.1.1.2
79b	10.4.2	29a	8.3, 10.4.3
81a	11.1.2.6	30b	4.3, 8.2.1.2
83a	9.5	31a	4.6.1
85a	2.2.3.2.4.1	31b	2.2.3.2.1
87a	5.3.5.2	33b	4.6.1, 8.3
92b	4.5.2.1	35a	10.3
93a	10.1.2.2.2	37b	10.1.2.2.2
96b	10.1.2.1.3.1, 11.1.2.4	38a	5.3.5.2
99a	7.6	46b	7.2.3
99b	3.3.2.1, 11.1.2.2	46b	4.8
103a	8.3	47b	4.6.1
105b	5.3.5.2	51a	9.6
112b	2.2.3.2.4.1, 5.3.5.1	52a	10.4.2, 11.1.1
113a	4.5.1	53b	9.4.2
<i>Bekorot</i>		55b	7.2.1, 8.2.1.3, 8.3
8b	3.3.1.2, 11.1.2.4	56a	4.5.1, 10.1.2.1.4
11a	11.1.3.2	56a	4.3
11b	4.7	56b	10.4.2
18b	4.7, 10.1.2.2.2	57a	3.1.2
25b	10.1.2.3.2	58a	3.3.3.1
37a	5.3.5.2	58b	10.1.2.1.1.2, 10.2.2
51b	2.2.3.2.4.1	60b	10.1.2.1.1.2
60a	11.1.2.5.1	62b	10.4.2
<i>Berakot</i>		63a	2.2.3.2.1, 8.2.1.3
5b	3.3.2.2.1	<i>Beṣah</i>	
6b	7.2.4.2	4a	3.3.3.1

- 4b 10.2.2  
 10a 11.1.2.5.3  
 16a 4.4, 10.1.2.3  
 17a 8.3  
 20b 11.1.3.1  
 24b 10.1.1  
 27a 11.1.2.4  
 29a 10.1.2.2.3  
 29b 11.1.4.2  
 39a 9.2.1.1  
 40a 7.1.2
- 'Erubin*  
 13b 10.2.2  
 20a 3.3.2.1  
 26a 11.1.2.5.3  
 28a 7.2.2  
 36b 3.3.3.1  
 38b 9.7  
 40b 7.3.1  
 53a 8.3  
 53b 9.1.3.2.1, 9.2.1.2  
 54a 9.2.1.2  
 65a 10.1.2.2.1  
 66b 9.4.1.2  
 88b 3.3.3.1, 9.7  
 90a 10.3  
 100b 4.2
- Giṭṭin*  
 3a 8.3  
 20a 11.1.2.5.2  
 29a 4.4, 9.2.1.2  
 29b 3.3.3.1, 9.4.1.1  
 34a 11.2  
 34b 7.5  
 37a 8.2.2.2  
 45a 10.1.2.1.3.2  
 52b 10.1.2.1.1.1  
 56a 2.2.3.2.4.2, 7.1.2
- 56b 4.5.2.1, 10.4.1  
 57a 3.3.2.2.3.3  
 60b 11.1.2.6  
 63b 9.6, 11.2  
 67b 4.3  
 68b 5.3.3  
 70a 6.8  
 75b 3.3.3.1  
 76b 8.2.2.2  
 78a 3.1.7.1  
 85a 3.3.2.2.1  
 90a 10.1.2.1.3.2
- Ḥagigah*  
 10a 4.7  
 11a 11.1.5  
 11b 3.3.2.1  
 12b 4.6.1
- Horayot*  
 13b 10.4.4
- Ḥullin*  
 4b 11.1.2.3  
 7b 4.3  
 10b 11.1.4.2  
 11a 7.3.3  
 15a 10.1.2.2.3  
 28b 4.5.1  
 32b 4.6.1  
 39a 7.2.2  
 44a 9.2.1.4  
 45b 7.5.3  
 46b 11.1.3.1  
 50a 3.2.2  
 56b 7.5.1  
 59a 8.3  
 59b 2.2.3.1.1  
 63a 10.1.2.2.3  
 63b 11.1.4.2  
 66a 10.1.2.1.3.1

92a	10.2.2	110a	11.1.4.1
94b	10.3	<i>Makkot</i>	
99b	9.1.3.5	9a	2.2.2.2
106b	3.2.2	11b	11.1.2.4
137b	4.6.1	13b	9.5
139b	11.1.2.4	21b	3.3.2.2.1
<i>Kerithot</i>		<i>Megillah</i>	
3a	9.1.3.1.2	5b	6.7
4a	4.4	6b	3.3.2.2.3.4
5b	10.1.2.1.1.2	7b	3.3.3.1
14b	4.6.2.1	12b	3.1.1, 10.1.2.1.1.2
21a	2.2.3.2.4.1	13b	3.2.2, 4.6.1, 4.8
25a	7.2.1	16a	4.4, 7.2.2, 10.1.2.3.1, 11.1.2.4
<i>Ketubbot</i>		18b	7.6
3a	10.3	21b	11.1.2.7
8b	3.3.3.2	23b	7.2.4.2
13a	11.1.4.2	25b	11.1.2.5.3
20b	2.2.2.2	28b	5.4
22b	4.6.1	32a	2.2.3.1.1, 4.3
23a	3.3.2.2.3.3	<i>Me'ilah</i>	
33b	7.5.3, 8.3	17b	9.2.1.4
44a	2.2.3.1.1	<i>Menahot</i>	
50a	4.4	29b	2.2.2.1
54a	4.6.2.1	38b	7.2.2
56a	10.3	43a	2.2.3.2.4.1
57a	8.2.2.2	55b	10.4.2
57b	7.2.1	62b	4.3
61a	10.1.2.1.1.2	77a	7.3.5
65a	9.2.1.3	<i>Mo'ed Qatan</i>	
69a	4.3, 4.7	3a	11.1.2.2, 11.1.2.3
69b	11.1.2.7	3b	3.3.2.2.1
71a	4.5.2.4	9b	2.2.2.1
72a	5.3.2	10b	11.1.2.2
84b	9.1.2	12a	10.4.1
102b	8.2.2.2	18a	2.2.3.2.4.1, 4.4
103a	7.2.4.2	18b	8.3, 10.4.1
105b	3.3.2.2.3.3	21a	10.3
108b	8.3		

- 24a 4.2, 9.4.2  
 27b 5.3.3  
 28a 11.2
- Nazir*  
 18b 3.3.2.2.3.4  
 24a 2.2.2.2  
 32a 3.3.3.1  
 32b 10.2.2  
 41a 11.1.4.1
- Nedarim*  
 5b 2.2.3.2.1  
 25a 9.2.2  
 33a 11.1.2.3  
 51a 7.2.1
- Niddah*  
 5b 2.2.3.2.5  
 12b 8.1.1  
 26a 9.4.2, 10.1.2.2.1  
 41b 4.5.2.3  
 44a 7.4.2
- Pesaḥim*  
 3b 4.5.2.1  
 4a 10.1.2.2.3  
 4b 11.1.2.2  
 8b 4.8  
 10b 4.5.2.4  
 11b 2.2.3.2.4.1  
 20a 6.7  
 23a 11.1.4.1  
 25a 10.2.1  
 32b 10.1.2.1.2  
 36a 6.7  
 37a 7.5, 9.2.2  
 43a 10.4.3  
 48b 4.2  
 49a 7.1.2  
 50a 2.2.3.2.1  
 69b 5.3.3
- 73b 10.3  
 89b 9.6  
 94a 7.1.2  
 94b 7.3.2  
 96a 2.2.3.2.4.1  
 103b 4.5.2.3  
 105b 3.3.1.2, 4.5.1  
 110a 0.3  
 110b 9.1.2  
 111a 3.3.2.2.3.3  
 111b 2.2.3.2.3, 11.1.4.2  
 112b 9.2.1.1  
 113a 7.3.5  
 115a 8.2.2.2
- Qiddušin*  
 9b 10.1.2.3.2  
 11a 8.2.1.2  
 18b 10.3  
 29b 4.5.2.1  
 33a 11.1.5  
 48b 2.2.2.2  
 60b 2.2.2.2  
 64a 10.4.2  
 64b 10.1.2.2.2  
 65a 4.7, 7.2.4.2  
 70b 9.2.1.4  
 71b 2.2.3.2.4.1, 3.2.2, 8.2.2.2  
 77b 10.2.2  
 79a 10.1.2.2.2  
 81 3.3.2.2.3.3  
 81b 11.2
- Roš Haššanah*  
 8b 11.1.3.1  
 13a 7.1.2  
 17a 4.8  
 26a 7.2.3  
 26b 5.3.5.2  
 29a 8.2.1.3

*Sanhedrin*

4a 8.2.1.2  
 7a 11.1.2.7  
 7b 4.6.2.1, 9.2.1.4  
 11a 3.1.4, 5.3.5.2, 5.4, 11.1.2.5.3  
 20b 11.1.2.2  
 23a 11.1.4.1  
 25a 9.1.3.1.2, 11.2  
 26b 11.1.2.6  
 28a-b 11.1.2.5.1  
 30a 10.4.4, 11.1.6  
 37a 4.2  
 39a 4.5.2.3, 7.4.2  
 42a 8.3, 10.3  
 43a 11.1.2.7, 11.2  
 51a 4.6.1  
 61b 10.3  
 65b 2.2.3.2.1  
 69a 8.2.2.2  
 72a 9.4.1.2  
 82a 9.2.1.2  
 95a 4.3  
 96a 4.6.1  
 97a 4.6.1, 7.2.4.2, 7.5.3, 9.5,  
 10.1.2.1.3.2, 11.2  
 102b 4.6.1  
 103a 2.2.2.2  
 107a 10.2.2  
 109a 4.3, 10.1.2.1.1.1  
 109b 9.1.1  
 110a 11.1.5  
 113a 3.3.2.1

*Šabbat*

2b 8.3  
 3b 10.4.4  
 12b 7.2.4.2  
 25a 10.3  
 29b 4.3

31a 10.1.2.1.3.2  
 32a 2.2.3.1.1  
 33b 7.2.3, 7.2.4.1  
 37b 3.3.1.2  
 38b 3.3.1.2  
 41a 9.2.1.3  
 63a 7.2.1  
 66b 4.5.1  
 67a 7.2.1, 7.5.3  
 67b 2.2.3.1.1  
 77b 2.2.3.2.4.2  
 82a 5.3.5.2, 9.6, 9.7  
 91a 10.2.2  
 104a 9.6  
 105a 8.2.1.2  
 108a 7.6  
 109b 9.2.1.4  
 110a 4.5.1  
 127a 7.5.4  
 128b 9.2.1.2  
 129a 3.3.3.2  
 129b 7.5.2, 2.2.3.2.3  
 140a 11.1.2.5.1  
 146a 4.6.2.3  
 147a 7.1.2  
 151b 9.2.1.1  
 152b 3.3.2.2.3.2, 10.2.2  
 153b 11.1.2.5.3  
 154b 10.3  
 155b 3.3.2.2.3.2  
 156a 4.5.1, 9.2.1.2, 10.4.3  
 156b 3.3.2.2.3.1, 7.2.4.2,  
 10.1.2.2.2, 10.1.2.3.2

*Šebu'ot*

25b 11.1.2.5.2  
 30b 3.3.3.1, 9.6  
 39a 8.3  
 41a 2.2.3.1.1

- 47b 4.5.2.4  
 48a 7.2.1
- Soṭah*  
 13a 4.7  
 16a 4.4  
 25a 7.2.1  
 26b 10.1.2.1.1.1  
 36b 7.2.1  
 37b 7.5.2
- Sukkah*  
 11a 7.1.2  
 23a 5.3.5.1  
 33b 10.3  
 36a 3.3.2.2.1, 3.3.2.2.3.2  
 38b 11.1.3.1  
 44b 2.2.2.2  
 46b 10.1.2.1.3.3  
 48b 3.3.2.2.3.3  
 52a 7.2.1  
 52a 2.2.3.2.4.1, 4.5.1  
 53a 4.3, 4.5.1
- Ta'anit*  
 8b 4.3  
 23a 10.1.2.2.3  
 23b 10.1.2.1.3.1  
 24a 3.3.1.2, 7.1.2  
 24b 5.3.4  
 25a 3.3.2.2.3.2, 7.1.2  
 27b 10.1.2.2.2  
 28b 7.1.2
- Temurah*  
 8b 10.4.2  
 25a 7.5.4
- Yebamot*  
 7b 4.6.1  
 18a 10.1.2.1.1.2  
 23a 7.1.1  
 26a 8.2.2.2
- 47b 11.1.5  
 63a 7.3.3  
 65b 2.2.2.2  
 72a 3.3.2.2.3.3  
 72b 8.3  
 74b 11.1.2.7  
 76a 11.1.2.7  
 91b 4.6.2.3, 11.1.3.1  
 92b 9.2.1.1  
 96a 4.6.1  
 98b 11.1.2.2  
 100b 4.3  
 106b 9.1.2, 11.1.2.1, 11.1.2.3  
 107b 4.6.1  
 108b 4.6.1  
 115a 4.7  
 116a 4.6.1, 8.1.1, 9.6  
 121a 10.1.2.2.4
- Yoma*  
 8a 4.5.1  
 10a 4.6.1  
 12a 11.1.3.1  
 19a 2.2.2.2  
 20b 7.3.5  
 23a 3.3.3.2  
 29a 2.2.2.2, 2.2.3.2.4.2  
 39a 8.2.2.2  
 52b 4.6.1  
 57a 4.8  
 75b 4.8, 11.2  
 76b 10.4.4  
 77b 11.1.2.4  
 80b 11.1.2.2  
 87a 6.7
- Zebaḥim*  
 47a 7.5.3  
 52b 8.3  
 65b 4.3

77a 10.1.2.2.4  
 86a 10.2.1  
 87a 10.2.1  
 88b 9.1.1

96a 9.3  
 100b 10.1.2.1.3.2  
 120a 2.2.2.2

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Yehudai Gaon,

14:4-6 9.2.1.2

62:26 9.2.1.3

79:22 9.2.1.4

90:31-32 9.1.1

100:6 9.2.1.4

130: 12 10.1.2.2.2

131: 31 6.11.1

181:8 7.4.2

199:11 11.1.3.1

Geon : L. Ginzberg(ed.), *Geonica*, 11

212:8 7.3

ISGS : *The Epistle of Rav Šarrira Gaon*  
 (Spanish recension)

97: 8; 2 9.6

OHT: *Otzar ha-Gaonim*, Responsa

Ber 46:12 7.3

Šeel: *Sheeltoth de Rav Aḥai Gaon*

47:36 11.2

77: 32 9.3

SŠHai: *The Book of Shetaroth of R. Hai*  
*Gaon*

2 4.5.1

18 9.6

20; 24; 37; 48 7.5.2

TGAs33: *Geonic Responsa (Assaf)*

214:8 2.2.3.1.1

TGHark: *Harkavy, Responsen der*  
*Geonim, zumeist aus dem X-XI*  
*Jahrhundert*

204:28-33 5.3.1

268:29 9.6

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*Commandments*

Anan 6:13 3.3.3.1

Anan 12:7 3.3.3.1

Anan 24:11 7.5.3

Anan 52:15 7.5.3

Anan 118:16 11.1.2.5.2

### Incantation bowls

Bo 56:6 3.2.2

Bo 143:7 2.2.3.1.1

Dec. 3:8 9.2.2

M 103:4 2.2.3.2.2

M 112:4 2.2.3.2.2

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