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THE LANGUAGE OF NEOPHYTI 1:
A DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM

BY

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requirements for the degree of
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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aramaic
AJSL	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages</u>
Akk.	Akkadian
Arab.	Arabic
BA	Biblical Aramaic
Ber.	Berachoth
<u>Beth She^carim I</u>	B. Mazar, New Brunswick, N.J., 1973
<u>Beth She^carim III</u>	N. Avigad (Heb.), Jerusalem, 1972.
Bowls	The Magic Bowls
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BIP	Biblical Institute Press
B. Q.	Baba Qammā
BR	Berešit Rabbah
BT	Babylonian Talmud
BTA	Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic
<u>BZAW</u>	<u>Beiheft zur Zeitschrift die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
C/c	Common Gender
CG	Cairo Geniza; followed by a letter A-E it indicates one of the fragments of the Palestinian Targum. A-E are in Kahle, <u>MdW</u> ; E ₂ was published by DM <u>Sefarad</u> XV (1955), pp. 31 ff.

CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
D	Deuteronomy
Dalman	G. Dalman, <u>Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinschen Aramaisch</u> , Leipzig, 1905
Dan.	Daniel
DM	Díez Macho; references are usually to his edition of NT, DMI, DMII, DMIII
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DS	<u>Diqduqei Soferim</u> , Rafael Rabinovicz, Reprint New York, 1960
E	Exodus
EA	Egyptian Aramaic
Epstein	J. N. Epstein, <u>A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic (Heb)</u> Jerusalem, 1960
Erub.	Erubin
Eth.	Ethiopic
Ez.	Ezra
Ezek.	Ezekiel
F/f	Feminine
Fitzmeyer ²	J. Fitzmeyer, <u>The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumram Cave I</u> , 2nd ed., Rome, 1971
G	Genesis
G. Apoc.	Genesis Apocryphon; see Fitzmeyer ²
Geniza	P. Kahle, <u>The Cairo Geniza</u> (2nd ed.), Oxford, 1959
Gr.	Greek
H	Hebrew
Ḥul.	Ḥullin
I	Interlinear notes to NT
Is.	Isaiah

Jastrow	<u>A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc.</u> Reprint, N. Y., 1967
Jer.	Jeremiah
JA	Jewish Aramaic
JTS	Jewish Theological Seminary of America
Koopmans	J. J. Koopmans, <u>Aramäische Chrestomathie I-II</u> , Leiden, 1962
L	Leviticus
Lam.	Lamentations
M/m	Masculine
M	Marginal notes to NT
Man.	Mandaic
<u>MdW</u>	P. Kahle, <u>Masoreten des Westens I-II</u> , Stuttgart, 1927
Meg.	Megillah
Men.	Menahoth
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
Moscatti	S. Moscatti, <u>An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages</u> , Wiesbaden, 1964.
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MT	Massoretic Text
N	The text of the Neophyti Targum
NA	Not Available. This should not be taken an indication that the form is not attested, rather that I have not found it in NT.
Nab.	Nabatean
Ned.	Nedarim
NT	Neophyti Targum; refers to the entire text preserved in the Vatican MS

Nu	Numbers
NTS	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
Onk.	Onkelos
Pal.	Palmyrean
PB I	Pontifical Biblical Institute
PDRK	Mandelbaum, <u>Pesikta de Rav Kahana</u> , N.Y., 1962
Phon.	Phoenician
PJ	Pseudo-Jonathan targum
Pl./pl.	Plural
PS	Proto-Semitic
PT	Palestinian Talmud
R.	Rabbi
S/s	Singular
San.	Sanhedrin
Sefire	J. A. Fitzmeyer, <u>The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire</u> , Rome, 1967
Sperber	A. Sperber, <u>The Bible in Aramaic</u> , Leiden, 1959-73
Stevenson	W. B. Stevenson, <u>Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic</u> (2nd ed.), London, 1962
<u>Studies</u>	E. Y. Kutscher, "Studies in Galilean Aramaic" (Heb.), <u>Tarbiz</u> 21-23
Sukenik	<u>Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece</u> , London, 1934
Syr.	Syriac
ST	Samaritan Targum
<u>Thesis</u>	References are by author; see G. Cowling, J. Foster, S. Kaufman and A. Zimels in bibliography

TJ II Fragmentary Targum
Ug. Ugaritic
v. verse
Von Soden W. von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen
Grammatik, Rome, 1952
c. z. ^cAboda Zara

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLITERATIONS

<u>Aleph</u>	ʾ	<u>Lamed</u>	<u>l</u>
<u>Beth</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>Mem</u>	<u>m</u>
<u>Gimmel</u>	<u>g</u>	<u>Nun</u>	<u>n</u>
<u>Daleth</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>Samek</u>	<u>s</u>
<u>Heh</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>Ayyin</u>	<u>ʿ</u>
<u>Waw</u>	<u>w</u>	<u>Peh</u>	<u>p</u>
<u>Zayyin</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>Ṣadi</u>	<u>ṣ</u>
<u>Ḥeth</u>	<u>ḥ</u>	<u>Qof</u>	<u>q</u>
<u>Teth</u>	<u>ṭ</u>	<u>Reš</u>	<u>r</u>
<u>Yod</u>	<u>y</u>	<u>Šin</u>	<u>š</u>
<u>Kaf</u>	<u>k</u>	<u>Ṣin</u>	<u>ṣ</u>
		<u>Taw</u>	<u>t</u>

Non-Aramaic letters are recorded in the symbols which have been described in the chapter on Phonology, pages 20 ff.

Gemination is indicated by doubling the letter. Spirantized forms of b, g, d, k, p, t are indicated by v, ḡ, ḏ, k̄, f, and t̄ respectively.

Vowels are transcribed according to the following system:

Tiberian	Palestinian	Symbol
ⲁ	ⲁ̄	/a/
ⲁ̄	ⲁ̇	/ā/
ⲁ̇	ⲁ̇, ⲁ̇	/e/
ⲁ̇̇		/ē/
ⲁ̇̇̇	ⲁ̇̇̇	/i/, /ī/
ⲁ̇̇̇̇, ⲁ̇̇̇̇̇	ⲁ̇̇̇̇̇	/o/, /ō/
ⲁ̇̇̇̇̇̇, ⲁ̇̇̇̇̇̇̇	ⲁ̇̇̇̇̇̇̇	/u/, /ū/

Mobile schewa is indicated by /^e/. Long vowels indicated by matres lectionis are so marked in the consonantal transcription.

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(a) Singular Nouns

(b) Plural Nouns

(c) Dual Nouns

(5) Suffixes Appended to
Numbers

(6) Suffixes Appended to
Prepositions

(7) Suffixes Appended to
Verbs

(a) Subjective

(b) Objective

(8) Suffixes Appended to
yt and kl

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I INTRODUCTION

A. The Discovery of Neophyti I and its Background

Recent decades have witnessed many revolutionary discoveries in the area of middle eastern religious literature. At the end of the last century the treasures of the Cairo Geniza were opened for scholars to study, making available for the first time many Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic documents. Though never properly exploited, the impact on all areas of Jewish studies has been enormous. In the earlier part of this century Ras Šamra, heretofore unknown accidentally came to the attention of the scholarly world, adding a totally new dimension to Biblical Studies. The subsequent discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, probably the most spectacular of all recent disclosures, totally reoriented all analyses of Judaism in the period of the second Temple. We can add to these items a variety of Hittite and Akkadian materials, various Egyptian discoveries, the Nag Hammadi Codices, etc. Amidst these discoveries, most of them in situ in the middle east, A. Díez Macho announced in 1956 his discovery of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch

in the Vatican library.¹

Though not comparable in breadth to the Cairo Geniza or Qumran texts which include targum materials as well as other types of documents, the impact of the Neophyti Targum (NT) on targumic studies has been no less forceful than the impacts of CG and DSS in their respective areas. As a result of this important find a new era of targum research has begun including work on new editions of all targumim and their comparison as well as historical, theological and linguistic studies based on targum texts. Interest in DSS and CG targumim has also been revitalized, primarily in the wake of this important discovery.²

To be sure, the former existence of a Palestinian version to the Torah had long been known. Frequent citations in various medieval Jewish works pointed to use of targum texts differing substantially from Onk, PJ and the fragmentary targum, all of which were known and readily available. The editors of the Aruch

¹A. Díez Macho, "Una Copia de todo el Targum jerosolymitano en la Vatican," Estudios Biblicos, XVI (1956), 446 ff, and more recently, "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the other Targums," Supplement to Vetus Testamentum, VII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 222 ff.

²For complete bibliographical listings to date, see Bernard Grossfeld, Bibliography of Targum Literature (New York: KTAV, 1972)

Completum and Genesis Rabbah, to mention two, listed unknown targum texts which were cited in their works.³ Parallels with the PT had also been pointed out, including the passages where PJ failed to follow the practices outlined as proper for Torah translation.⁴

A major breakthrough came with Kahle's publication of several fragments from the Cairo Geniza. Here, at last, the world could see sample texts from this unavailable targum.

For many years nothing else was added to this information. Linguistic analyses of the fragments and comparisons with other targum and midrash texts were published a small amount of additional text was made available.⁵ Now, however, through the discovery of Díez Macho we can read, in its entirety, one important version of this long lost text.

³ A. Kohut, Aruch Completum (New York: Párdes Publishing Company, Reprint 1955) Volume VII, part 2, Index, pages 12 ff; M. Cohen, Midrash B'rešit Zota' (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1962) pages 353-354; BR, ed. Theodore-Albeck, Teil I, 44 ff. Additional materials have been noted in C. Heller, A Critical Essay on the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (New York: Alpha Press, 1921). See also A. Zimels, Thesis, Chapter Three "šrdym mt"y hšlm".

⁴ Cf. BR, ed. Theodore-Albeck, pp. 50f; more recently M. McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966) p. 114, n. 52 and pp. 136-8.

⁵ A. Díez Macho, "Neuvos Fragmentos del Targum Palestinense," Sefarad, XV (1955), 31 ff.

B. The Edition of Dfiez Macho

After much work on the text of NT, Professor Alejandro Dfiez Macho began publishing the editio princeps in 1968. Three volumes have appeared to date: Genesis, 1968; Exodus, 1970; Leviticus, 1971.⁶ The additional volumes are anxiously awaited.

Throughout the series, the pattern has been to provide a highly legible, beautifully executed copy of N with a critical apparatus containing the marginal and interlinear notes. Chapter and verse numeration have also been added. Opposite each page of text is a Spanish translation and following this portion of the book are rather superfluous French and English translations. The translations have not been used at all in this study. Supplementary studies accompany volumes II and III and are expected in subsequent volumes as well.

At the beginning of the volumes is an introduction describing the manuscript and presenting various studies related to the text of NT and its relation to other targumim. Dating and language analysis are also among the items of primary importance.

Notwithstanding the value of this edition of the

⁶A. Dfiez Macho, Neophyti 1, Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1968-71).

text, there are several aspects of the work which are less accurate than might be expected.

Included in the apparatus of marginal interlinear readings are the editor's notes. While those which describe the quirks of the manuscript are very helpful, the suggested revisions in the text are frequently unnecessary. Apparently the lack of a complete picture of the phonology and morphology of NT has prompted the editor to revise certain forms, sometimes even in an inconsistent manner. While this may, in some cases, bring us one step closer to the "original" text of the targum, and to a greater extent does standardize the language, it is unnecessary.

The factor which, in most cases, has led to these unnecessary corrections is the failure to realize the frequency with which some of the "errors" appear. It is common to find the Daleth assimilated in words like l^tlw^wthwn, G 10:32, cf. below p. 36. While reading l^tl(d)w^wthwn is helpful to the novice, it is too frequent an occurrence to be considered an error. Another form which has been overlooked is the interchange of 1st and 3rd person pronominal suffixes, pp. 87-92. Additional examples are cited below, following the grammatical analyses of the form.

For the most part, these changes are clearly noted; the reader may interpret them as he sees fit. Other

cases, however, are less clear. Some of them include:

1. Confusion of medial and final letters, cf. below p. 21 and tšlwm, E 21:24.
2. The manuscript reads bnv yšr'l, L 12:2; the printed text has bnv yšrl'.
3. In G 28:10 the manuscript reads lmgzllh, DM reads lmglh but notes no change in the text.
4. In E 19:26 the edition has w'md for w'mr.
5. In two places t and h have been confused. Read ttnwn, L 26:1 and lht'th, L 16:9 with the manuscript.

Errors of omission are less serious as the text remains as in the manuscript but for editorial purposes, the following may be corrected.

1. Omit the final d'bwk hw', L 18:7, a dittography from the following verse.
2. Add 'w following twr in L 17:3 to follow the H.

Another area which has been neglected by DM is the verse division found in the text. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Nedarim 38a), the verse divisions used in ancient Israel varied from those used in Babylonia. Various discrepancies in the Massoretic lists which contain the total number of verses in the Torah may originate in these different traditions. N, being a Palestinian source, deserves some attention

in the matter of verse division. DM, on the other hand, in his desire to have the text conform to the Massoretic Bible, has ignored its inherent versification system. The following cases are brought by way of example to outline the nature of this problem. A complete study would prove very useful.

In N verses are separated by quotations from the H text and usually, a pair of dots. The omission of the Hebrew may have been through carelessness and may not be conclusive. The evidence of a different division is best provided by extra Hebrew passages introduced into the Aramaic. The following are a few of the verses in the MT which are divided into two verses in N: G 19:30; 45:1; 28:12; 43:7; 49:4. E 7:28; 10:23; 12:11; 16:12; 19:8; 25:22. These, by contrast, are grouped together: E 5:7-9; 8:26-27; 16:15-16.

C. Prior Efforts at Describing the Language of Neophyti I

Much of the work in this area has been admirably covered by the work of DM in volumes I-III of NT.⁷ In summarizing the literature to date on various aspects of the work being done on NT, he has included an ongoing survey of the literature devoted to linguistic matters. Since not all of the studies which he mentions are relevant to this discussion, and additional ones have appeared since his last volume was published, a survey is still in order. Most of these studies are very brief, as will be the summaries of their respective contributions.

Kutscher, in an ongoing study of Galilean Aramaic, treated the language of the fragments published by Kahle.⁸ These texts constituted only part of the material which was analyzed, as a major part of the work centered around Vatican MS Ebr. 30 of BR and its linguistic superiority to all other BR MSS.

The first treatment of NT language was included in an article by Díez Macho in 1960.⁹ This is not the major concern of the article and is not really of

⁷Vol. I, pp. 133-136; Vol. II, pp. 63-69; Vol. III, pp. 56-67.

⁸E. Y. Kutscher, Studies in Galilean Aramaic. The fragments are found in MdW II, pages 1-48.

⁹Cf. above, note 1.

significance for the overall view of NT language. It contains some notes on linguistic matters; most are related to phonetics.

In 1964 George Lasry submitted to the University of Barcelona a dissertation on the language of the text of NT. This has been described by DM, I, p. 133. It is limited to Deuteronomy.

In 1968 Geoffrey Cowling submitted to the University of Aberdeen a thesis entitled "The Palestinian Targum: Textual and Linguistic Investigations in Codex Neofiti I and Allied Manuscripts". Pages 119-183 contain, among other things, grammatical notes on NT. Based on a small random sample from N, they are not complete and consequently are not totally reliable. Among the important contributions are a concordance to the CG fragments and a comparison of the occurrence of final Heh and Aleph, and a few other phenomena in the CG fragments and N. On page 237, Cowling states that of the fragments studied, CG D is the closest to N. His theory of a Greek origin for the Palestinian Targum need not be treated here.

Following in the footsteps of Cowling, Julia Foster submitted to Boston University in 1969 a thesis entitled "The Language and Text of Codex Neofiti I in the Light of Other Palestinian Aramaic Sources". Most of the data relevant to our present concern are in Chapter

III "Comparison of Aramaic Dialects". Specific words or forms are compared in various types of Aramaic. Though much information has been collected, this does not approach a systematic treatment of the language and deals primarily with the interrelationship of the various targumim.

In 1971 T. Martínez presented the thesis entitled "Estudio de la fonología y morfología del ms Neofiti I: Exodo" to the University of Barcelona. From the summary presented by Díez Macho, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff., this appears as the best systematic analysis of the language to date. It is limited in its lack of concern with the other books of the Pentateuch and like the preceding studies, it, too, deals to a great extent with comparative targumic analysis.

In 1972 Abraham Zimels submitted to Yeshiva University a thesis entitled "The Palestinian Targum: MS Neofiti I on Genesis and Noah in Comparison with Pseudojonathan and Targum Onkelos". Written in Hebrew, most of this work deals with parallels between NT and rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature. Chapter five, entitled hnyb wtwp^cwt lšwnywt šl trgwm yrwšlmy hšlm, pp. 45-49, summarizes very briefly some of the linguistic matters related to the text, but, like the other studies, is mostly related to comparing

N to other targumim, in this case Onkelos.

The most recent step in the analysis of the language of NT is by Díez Macho. In an article entitled "Le Targum palestinien" he presents, together with some background information on the various types of targum texts and other related matters, a brief analysis of the language of NT.¹⁰ This section, which is concerned with the development of western Aramaic, compares various A texts with NT. Though very brief, the observations help focus on several specific points in the development of the various dialects.

As may readily be seen, no systematic work has ever been done on the entire text of N. Those studies on Exodus and Deuteronomy, while more oriented toward this goal, fail to reach the mark. They do have one advantage. Both D and E are entirely the work of individual copiests (as is Nu). By selecting this type of text the habits of different scribes may be omitted from all consideration. Additional parts of other books copied by these two men could also have been included, but were not part of the intended studies.

There is, however, one major fallacy in this type of approach. By limiting the primary concern to the

¹⁰ in J. E. Menard, Exegese Biblique et Judaïsme (Strasbourg: Palais Universitaire, 1973), pp. 15-77. The relevant materials are on pp. 27-34.

work of one scribe, the particular practices of that person (plene spelling, choice of matres lectiones, etc.) become normal for N. It is only by studying the entire text that the real essence of the language is apparent and the individual characteristics of particular books are no longer dominant. Also, as the style and vocabulary of the Pentateuch books vary from section to section, only through a study of the entire text can all aspects of language be considered.

D. Methods in My Work

At this point, a grammar of N could be written in several ways. One could theoretically collate the findings of the writers whose works are summarized above and produce a grammar of the language of N. It would contain the best efforts of several people and enable concentration in those areas which were covered in the most depth. It would stress comparative targumic studies and focus primarily on Exodus and Deuteronomy. Obviously, much would be missed.

The second choice is to analyze all of NT, cataloguing every form of every word and comparing it with every other. This is the only way one can be sure that all phonological, morphological and syntactical phenomena have been studied. I believe that such a project can safely be executed only by computer.

The third alternative is a combination of the two. Working without a computer but with the benefit of some earlier studies on the language of NT it has been possible to describe and analyze the phonology, morphology and aspects of the syntax of all of NT. The subsequent chapters of this dissertation present the results of these findings.

In the interest of clarifying the exact nature of this work, the methods which were employed are now summarized.

After reading the entire text of NT in manuscript form, it was decided to make Genesis the first stage of the grammatical analysis. Accordingly, a grammar was constructed for that book. Each subsequent volume of the Pentateuch was then studied and compared to the grammar of Genesis. Usually similarities were not recorded; differences received more attention. As a result of this procedure, the examples cited below for the various phenomena tend to come from the first book of the Bible. It should be noted, however, that citation from elsewhere does not indicate that the particular form or construction is not to be found in Genesis.

Throughout my work a copy of the Neophyti 1¹¹ manuscript has been in constant use. This was absolutely necessary for Numbers and Deuteronomy where the edition of Díez Macho has not yet appeared. For the other books both the manuscript and the printed text have been employed, the latter especially in reading M and I. Though the manuscript reproduction which I used was very adequate for N, the work of Díez Macho seemed more reliable than my attempts to read M and I. All citations of marginalia are from his text

¹¹I thank Dr. A. Zimels for the loan of his micro-film of NT. Prints made were nine inches from the top line of script to the bottom line of script in a column.

(with the obvious exception of Numbers and Deuteronomy).

Throughout the following chapters, the text of NT has been described in the manner of DM, using the letters N, M and I for the text, the marginal notes and the interlinear notes respectively. This has been done without regard to the origin or purpose of any given entry. Thus it has not mattered if M or I offers a variation of N or a correction; this may be determined by the reader in each individual case. Likewise, the copyists of these sources have not been noted. N is always N regardless of which scribe wrote the particular passage.¹² Accordingly, the beginning of N and the marginalia of D, ascribed by some to different or more limited sources, are not separated out from the other passages for special note. This is not to intimate that these studies which have isolated the sources or documents under question are not valid. Rather this has been done for two other reasons.

The first reason rests on sheer practicality. The reduction of each scribal or redactional unit to its own source would greatly multiply the language phenomena to be compared. The resultant multiplication of sources would necessitate a dozen grammars which could be compared only by computer.

¹²For a breakdown of these data, cf. DM vol. I, pp. 23*-28*.

Second, in surveying the materials, it seems, for the most part, that morphologically, N, M and I are fairly closely aligned.

This does not mean that no differences appear. Usually M prefers byr to br (at least in Genesis), hnwn to 'nwn, etc. What must be realized, however, is that these are preferences, not ironclad rules as the following cases show.

Usually N gives the plural of m'h as m'h; the marginal notes usually suggest m'wn. In G 7:6, no change is offered; presumably m'h is acceptable to all sources. In E 38:25 and elsewhere N has m'wn, I has m'h. Likewise, the choice between d- and dy fluctuates. Frequently N will have one and M the other but it seems that which is which need not matter. The marginal notes are, in such cases, more a listing of possible alternates than claims for definite readings. Accordingly, I find most interesting the suggestion of M. Lutzki, reported by A. Zimels, Thesis, p. 17, that the marginal notes in NT were added in preparation for printing.

Another area which has been treated is the relationship between the language of NT and the Aramaic which is discussed by the rabbis of the two Talmudim. Within rabbinic literature there is much information on the pronunciation of Aramaic in the post-Mishnaic

period. The data are of two types. There are primary sources, texts in the various dialects, as well as secondary sources, statements commenting on the current language situation.

Materials of the first type have been collected in many grammars of the various dialects. They are useful in that they present much valuable data on the phenomena of the language. Many of these grammars are out of date, and have been criticized for reliance on faulty or unreliable printed texts and manuscripts. In the analysis of NT reference has been made to several of these grammars, especially in the sections which deal with the relation of NT to other dialects. Any errors in these outdated grammars may have been carried over to my work, but as this material is used only in the sections on comparative dialectology, it has no direct bearing on the description of the language of NT.

Materials of the second type have been dealt with in other works. In most cases discovery of the text and association with the issues of Aramaic linguistics is not my contribution. Since their last complete analysis, much has been learned about the state of classical Aramaic and its relationships with other Semitic languages. In the wake of these new discoveries

no defense is needed to offer a reevaluation of these passages. It is hoped that by comparing these rabbinic records with the text of NT that a clearer picture of the exact nature of NT may be provided.

As already noted, most studies on the language of NT focus on the interrelationships of the different targumim. Most of the comparative work which is recorded below is set in a much wider context. Rather than focus on the usages in the targum literature, I have placed the language of NT in a broad frame of comparative Aramaic dialectology. Accordingly, an analysis of a particular phenomenon throughout classical Aramaic precedes most sections describing the language of NT. For this purpose regular comparisons have been made with the dialects of A as described in the standard grammar books. A list of those works which were used in this part of the dissertation comprises the first part of the bibliography.

In addition to these fragments published by Kahle and Díez Macho have been collated with NT. Not all forms have been recorded; differences from the established norms received more attention than the similarities.

These CG fragments do, however serve as the primary element in the vocalization of the forms. Notwithstanding the lack of consistency and contradictions presented in

identical words in the same or different fragments, they are really the only early texts which are vocalized. This is especially true for those texts which have the vowels indicated in Palestinian notation. Whenever possible, they have been used to suggest vocalization for the words in NT.

The form of the dissertation is that of an outline. Important elements are listed in the Table of Contents. Because of the limits of typing, there have been sections which appeared best understood if presented in a form other than the outline. In such cases the headings do not have the letters and numbers of the outline structure and are not noted in the Table of Contents.

As any reader will readily see, the production of the typescript has been an immense job. The many, many transliterated symbols and numbers have been most difficult to record, as has been the vocalization of the words from the CG fragments. Though all of the material has been reviewed for possible errors or inconsistencies, the reader's indulgence is requested for any such weaknesses which may still remain.

II PHONOLOGY

A. Introduction

The following sections contain an analysis of both the consonants and vowels in NT A. The alphabet is divided into groups of letters, depending on the location in the organs of speech where the sound is made. Each letter is analyzed in relation to its Proto-Semitic correspondences, followed by a description of its special characteristics, including regular sound shifts which occur within the phonetic group. The assimilatory tendencies of each letter are also treated. All cases are documented by a selection of examples from N, M and I.

B. The Phonology of Neophyti I

1. The Alphabet

a. The Letters

Aramaic is generally recorded in twenty-two letter alphabets which correspond to the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In certain dialects the sign of the letter š is replaced by that of the letter s; š and š are identical.

NT is recorded in this twenty-two letter alphabet which is typical of all Hebrew and Aramaic documents of the rabbinic period. It uses both š and š and contains complete use of the five final letters. Accordingly

the spellings of lqdmwth, G 33:4, and 'lhym, G 2:21 should be corrected in the edition of DM where medial and final Mem have been interchanged unnecessarily. The medial Nun in yprn, L 27:33 is an error for Gimmel.

b. Consonantal Groups

The consonants may be grouped as follows:

Gutterals	' , <u>h</u> , <u>h</u> ^c , <u>h</u>
Labials	<u>b</u> , <u>m</u> , <u>p</u> , consonantal <u>w</u>
Dentals	<u>d</u> , <u>z</u> , <u>ṭ</u> , <u>s</u> , <u>ṣ</u> , <u>š</u> , <u>ṣ</u> , <u>t</u>
Liquids	<u>l</u> , <u>r</u> , <u>n</u>
Palatals	<u>g</u> , <u>k</u> , <u>q</u>
Semivowels	<u>w</u> , <u>y</u> , (<u>h</u> , <u>!</u> ?)

2. The Gutterals

a. Background

Proto-Semitic contained six guttural letters: h, g, h, h^c, h, and '. All of these have been preserved in Ug. and Arabic, the g is lacking in Eth. While Akk. has preserved only two, h and ', various forms and constructions indicate that their existence was felt.¹ Other languages contain these gutturals in varying numbers. In BH, for example, several of the gutturals have coalesced. The older Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions have a fuller

¹Cf. Von Soden, pp. 24 ff.

complement.²

A, like most other Northwest Semitic languages contains only four of the original six gutterals: ʾ, h, h, and ᶜ. The correspondences between PS and A are:

Aramaic	Proto-Semitic
<u>h</u>	<u>h</u> , <u>h</u>
<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>
<u>ʾ</u>	<u>ʾ</u>
<u>c</u>	<u>c</u> , <u>ḡ</u>
—	—, <u>ḡ</u>

Though these four letters are used throughout the classical texts, it is an accepted fact that in A in general, including western A, there was a weakening of the gutterals.³ The causes for these changes are not certain. Akk. does not have the full complement of PS gutterals. The absence of ḡ, h, ᶜ, and h (all represented by ʾ in the cuneiform) may have served as a strong substratum to weaken the A gutterals. In like manner, Indo-European influence, specifically Greek, may have helped in this process.⁴

Regardless of the cause, it is clear that in most dialects of A, especially the later ones, there are many examples of guttural weakening. Examples include h > ᶜ >

²William F. Albright, The Proto Sinitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.12-13. Cf. also the Ug. alphabet.

³See the phonology sections of the respective grammars, especially the Samaritan and Mandaic materials.

⁴In adopting the Semitic alphabet, the Greeks converted the gutterals Aleph, Heh, Heth and Ayyin to vowels. This same procedure has been employed a great deal in Man. Pn. and Gaonic Aramaic and to a lesser extent in H and modern A dialects.

' or h > h > 0, with or without the intermediate steps.⁵

b. Neophyti I

1) Aleph

In the early dialects of A, Aleph still represented a distinct consonant. In N it would appear to be more a silent letter, recorded only when needed to mark a given vowel or to maintain etymological spellings of words. As demonstrated below, Aleph is often assimilated to adjacent consonants, or, as in the case of 1-Aleph and 3-Aleph verbs, replaced in the orthography by Waw or Yod.

Aleph is sometimes, but not regularly, used as a mater lectionis. In the following cases there is no etymological reason for the Aleph to appear. It is used only for purposes of vocalization, in most cases representing an a-vowel.

lzr^cy'thwn, G 10:20

bmz'nh, G 47:19

d'št'kh (the second Aleph), G 44:16 M; elsewhere the form is dy t'šk^h.

'r^c'n, G 47:19; 'r^c'yh, E 11:10

⁵In Man., h and h are practically interchangeable. In various forms of Jewish A, ' and h are considered identical, especially in preformative or postformative uses. This process is carried even further as the ^c derived from PS /d/ and cognate to H /s/ may become /' / also. Cf. 'l^c', 'l^cwy G 2:21 for "rib"; Cf. H sl^c, Arab dl^c. Other specific cases of guttural interchange in NT are discussed below.

mlk'hwn, G 26:1

s'bslyn, G 15:17, M is spslyn.

This is likewise the case in Beth Shearim where Parigoris is rendered p'rygry.⁶ Cases also can be found in G 30:34, G 11:9, E 9:15, E 12:13M etc.

The weak sound of Aleph is partly responsible for use as a prosthetic consonant added for the redivision of syllables or separating consonant clusters, especially in non-Semitic loan words, or to lengthen the first syllable.

'ygr šhdwt' G 31:47, MT is ygr. Compare 31:46,51

'ygr'. Note also 'wgr, I is 'ygr G 31:46.

CG, C reads ygr.

'yqr', G 28:12.

'spqwtwryh, G 40:3,4 is speculator. M suggests

spqwttryh, v. 4, spqlytry(h), v. 3.

'rtkwy, G 46:28, M is rtkwy.

'ymmh, 1:5 (for the regular ywm) Cf. the Syr. form.

Cf also E 13:21, etc.

'dr^cykwn, E 13:9, wb'dr^ck, E 32:11.

'dm "blood" frequently appears in M and I as dm:

L 7:26,27; 8:15,19,21,24, etc.

'lyt, CG E G 39:9 is H 'ynnw!

⁶Beth Shearim I, p. 220.

Conversely, Aleph is often lost.

hrn', G 43:14 (root is 'br). Cf also hwry, G 26:21-2;

hwrn/'whrn, G 4:8; hrynyn, G 10:12, M is 'hrnyn.

wškl, G 14:24 is H 'škl. A small vertical line

has been added after the Waw. I suggests 'š(kl).

The form in N is probably to be seen as "and Eshkol", originally written without the Aleph.

The small line noted above is a Yod added later

to suggest reading wyškl(weškol). I has 'škl

which follows MT. DM records N as wškl with

a raised dot after the Waw (uškol?).

wlwwy, G 21:7 I,N is 'lwwy.

whwwy, G 49:1, H is w'gydh.

w'zł 'yqary b'ph, G 16:5, H is w'ql b^cynyh. I sug-

gests wzł which is accepted by DM. If the two

forms are identical, either w'zł contains an

Aleph used as a mater lectionis, or wzł is lack-

ing the primary Aleph of the root ('zł). In

the latter case, the prefixed preposition b-

would mean "from".

btr, L 13:19, 6:9, 6:19. L 6:20 b'tr; 4:24 b'trh.

wmn šmlhwn, E 14:29, lšmlh, Nu 22:26 (M is illegible).

This is found also in CPA: sml or sm'l. The

usual form in N is šm'l, cf L 14:16, etc.

dklym, L 19:19, also kl'ym.

dhtk, L 18:9M, N is d'htk. Cf also v. 13M, L 20:19

(2x), L 21:3M.

wthsn, E 34:9M, N is wt'hsn.

wštdkt, G 8:4.

l' 'yt has elided in A to form lyt which occurs in N. This development is much older than the dialect of N and exists in the Zincirli texts, (Bar-rakib) as lyšh, line 16, where l' yš has elided.

Cf also Ass. laššu from la išu.

yšm^cl, G 25:9, 12, 16, etc. This is also the form in some of the A inscriptions. See, for example, the synagogue inscription from Chorazin: dkyr ltb ywdn br yšm^cl...⁷ It is significant that the Tiberian Massorah vocalizes this name as yišmā^ce'l, with silent Aleph.

tynh, "fig", G 3:7.

Cf ST htw for ht'w, G 40:1. The Zoar Epitaph Beth Shearim I, p. 206, has "and four" translated as wrb^c. The loss of primary Aleph is also common in PT: wmr for w'mr, dmr for d'mr, etc.

2) Heh

Heh represents its PS equivalent h. The pronunciation is weak, allowing for interchange of h and ' in various positions, mostly as the postformative emphatic element, and in certain dialects, in the haf^cel/af^cel forms.

⁷Koopmans II, p. 60, text #71.

It is easily assimilated, allowing for -why (ōhī) to become -wy (oi), -hwn (-hōn) to become -wn (-on), etc.

mypk (root hpk) G 19:21.

šndpyn, G 50:1 is a compound. Cf H šnhbym.

Presumably the form is a contraction of šn

dhpyn where b is replaced by p. In the Capernaum

inscription (Sukerik p. 72) thy is written as ty.

Heh is occasionally used to replace the root letter Aleph.

mlh, E 16:32.

lhḥth, Nu 7:82. (The first Heh was added later.)

Cf. forms with Aleph in v. 70 N and M, 76, etc.

btmy(h), Nu 9:10. Elsewhere the form is btm',

Nu 9:6, etc.

3) Heth

Heth serves for two PS letters, ḥ and ḫ. Examples include Ug. hbr, N mhbryh, G 31:48 and Ug. hmš, N whmš, G 5:21.

The h-h shift:

lhwd...lhwd, G 47:3. I suggests lhwd.

Frequently the text has lhwd while I and M read

lhwd: E 33:12, L 11:36, D 1:28. The reverse

is also common, lhwd in the text and lhwd in

the marginalia: E 34: 3 (2x), L 21:23, 23:16, 39.

khwtykwn, L 25:11, I is khw-.

Cf also bshwt', E 17:3 N and I, bshdwdth, L 21:13 N and I.

The h - ' shift

mt'myn, E 39:15, M is mthmyn. Cf E 28:22.

The h - ° shift

°rpd', L 11:19, M is hrpdh.

Cf. w°zr (h°zr) ST G 37:30, °wby ST G 41:9 for H

ht'y and °wrnyn ST G 41:9, H is 'hrwt.

Assimilated Heth

w'sryt, E 8:10, M is w'srht. Cf also E 16:20, 24 N and I.

l'sntyh, L 25:13. Cf 'hsntkwn, L 25:24.

l' yšlp, L 27:10. M yhlp and yšlhypynyh.

The form dqlt for the Tigris (G 2:14) is not indicative of a lost Heth in N. It is rather to be seen in the light of the Akk. Idiqlat; cf Arab. Dijlat.

The word for H thšym is rendered as ssgwn, Nu 4:10, E 25:5, 26:14, 35:7. In E 25:5 M the form is shsgwnyn.

4) Ayyin

The Ayyin is used for several letters. In addition to PS ° which is retained as °, PS g is also rendered as °. Cf. Ug. g₁lm "boy" and °wlymwhy, G 22:2. N also uses ° for PS q (is H š), cf. mlml[°]y, G 27:40, br[°]wt, G 24:42. This letter also appears in some A dialects as q, cf 'rq' in BA, Man., etc. The incidence of weakened or lost Ayyin in NT is fairly rare.

bmyk, G 25:23, M is bmy[°]yk.

H š[°] is usually rendered as °: E 27:1, 25:5.

The form '[°] E 27:1 I is rare but found in BA also.

ny[°]h, L 8:29, 7:31, M is ny'h, cf also 7:34, 30.

btr, L 16:7 M is probably an error. H is pth 'hl
m^cd, N reads ltr^c.

More common, however, is the substitution of Ayyin
in places where Aleph is anticipated.

b^cš: b'š, G 4:5; M is b^cš. b^cš, G 4:6; M is b'š.
yb'š, G 45:5; M is yb^cš. wb'š, G 21:11,
M is wb^cš. Cf. also G 21:12, 34:30, E 23:2;
32:12, 22, etc.

^cqd: w^cqdt, G 24:48 is H wyqd; M is w'qdt. w^cqd, G 24:26.
d^cr^c', G 22:18. The regular form is d'r^c'. This
anomaly would include the use of Ayyin for Aleph
and also Aleph as a vowel indicator.

^cr^c/'r^c: y^cr^c, G 32:18, 42:4, 29, E 1:10, Nu 35:27,
etc., but y'r^c, G 44:34. Cf. also t'r^cwn, G 32:20.
b^cr^ck, D 2:27. (The first Ayyin has a superlinear
dot.)

Cf. twm^oym "twins", ST G 38:27; wm^cy (cf. m'n) ST
G 37:35.

There are also cases where the Ayyin is added (for
vocalization?). Some are seen by DM as errors, but
together they militate against that solution.

b'r^c', G 24:11 "well"

dkn^cn^c'y, G 28:1, 6, 8, kn^cn^c'y E 23:28 M (The second
Ayyin has a superlinear dot).

sy^c' dsrqyn dsrq^cyn, G 37:25. The last two words
are claimed by DM to be a dittography. Even

if this is so, the forms are different. The form with the Ayyin is preferred in G 37:27,28. In 39:1 srqyy appears. CG E has dsrq'y, G 39:1. CG D reads dsrq'yn, v. 25; (lsr)q'y, v. 27; lsrqyy, v. 28.

'rymt, G 39:15, 18 but 'r^cymt in M. Cf. also w'r^cm, G 27:38 M, 29:11 M, (N is wntl). w'r^ch G 45:2 M, DM reads w'r^cm, N has wšwy, w'tr^cmw, E 15:24. mm^crb^ch, E 26:22 I, N is mn m^crbh. (The second Ayyin has a superlinear dot.)

In 'r^cd^cny', E 8:4 the first Ayyin is extra, cf. M 'wrd^cny'. Note also 'rdny' and 'wrdny' throughout Exodus chapter 7. The first letter in this word, cognate to H spr^cd is PS ḍ. Cf. ST q^cm for H c^cmd G 41:1; rb mšq^cyh for šr hmšqyn G 40:2; q^cmh G 37:7, w^cqdw "bowed" G 43:28.

3. The Labials

a. Background

PS contains three labial letters: p, b and m. These have been preserved in all of the Semitic languages, in the southern groups by substituting f for p. The semivowel w is not formally a member of this group, but when assuming its consonantal nature functions as one.

In A, there is a spirantization of p and b in post-vocalic stops, producing the related sounds f and v.

This phenomenon is not indicated in the texts until a relatively late period, but is known to have existed from various comparative studies.⁸

b. Neophyti I

In NT the labials are, for the most part, stable. The Waw fluctuates between being a vowel and a consonant. In the latter case it is often indicated in the orthography by -ww-: lwwtñ, G 27:12, etc.

The plosive and fricative (spirantized) pronunciations of Pe and Beth are assumed to have been in force, the fricative pronunciations leading to interchanges of b-w and p-w.⁹

The b-w shift:

lwwtñ "curses", G 27:12 is lbt(n) in I. Cf. lbtñ, G 27:13 I.

bhywby, G 27:41. DM corrects to bhywwy, but the change is really not needed. This phenomenon is attested in Syr., Man., Modern A., modern South Arab., etc.¹⁰

wswwht, G 39:15; M is wsbht.

wrwwñ ^cmyh, G 43:34. M is wrbwn ^cmy(h).

⁸See Kaufman, Thesis, p. 295, n. 1.

⁹For fuller discussion of Peh, see below, p. 225ff.

¹⁰Moscatti, p. 26.

wsbhw, CG E₂ G 41:55.

š^cbh (for š^cwh), CG D G and CG E₂ G 37:25.

stb, G 8:22; M is stww!

qblthwn, E 3:9, M is qwwlthwn.

Cf. hbt CG E G 31:8 for hwwt.

ST contains hzb, G 39:6 and 41:3,4 (root hzw) and

hhby G 41:25 (root hwy).

The m-w shift:

'hwy, G 12:1, root hwy; whmwn, G 12:14, root hmy?

The b-m shift:

wtb^c, E 15:1; M is wtm^c. Cf. also E 15:12.

tzbrwn, L 24:3,4. DM suggests several possibilities.

Possibly it is related to zmr.

Cf. bzbn (for zmn), ST G 38:27.

The p-w shift:

s'bslyn, G 15:17; M is spslyn.

sybyn, G 31:2,5; M is šwwyn.

The p-b shift:

tbšylyn, G 27:4, 7, 9, 14, 17. M is tpšylyn.

tbz', L 11:5, M is tpz'.

bsys, E 31:9, M is psys.

The m-w shift:

'hwy, G 12:1. The root is hwy. Cf. whmwn, G 12:14,
root hmy.

symph, E 28:26; M is sywnh, cf. spwwh, v. 28, 32.

Cf. DM, a. 1.

Assimilated b:

šlhyn, G 15:17. DM reads šlhbyn.

w'bdrwn, E 5:12; I is w'drwn.

4. The Dentals

a. Background

Proto-Semitic contains twelve dentals: four interdentalals, three plosives, and five fricatives. Ten of the twelve are normally found in A, represented by seven symbols. The letter d is rendered by c (see above, page 28) and š is regularly found as s, although š is also used. The spirantized forms of d and t are ḏ and ṭ.

b. Neophyti I

The A of NT has eight dentals. These consonants represent what is assumed to be eleven PS letters. The following table lists the PS letters and their A equivalents with an example from the text of NT.

<u>Proto-Semitic</u>	<u>Neophyti I</u>	<u>Examples</u>
Interdentals		
<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>'tkl</u> , G 27:45
<u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>mdnh</u> , E 27: 13
<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>rht</u> , G 24:17
Plosives		
<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>byt</u> , G 11:1
<u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>ypqyd</u> , G 41:34
<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>wntl</u> , G 24:63
Fricatives		
<u>s</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>dslən</u> , G 41:27
<u>z</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>'zdhr</u> , G 31:24
<u>ʃ</u>	<u>ʃ</u>	<u>sdyc</u> , G 24:60
<u>ʃ</u>	<u>š, š</u>	<u>šhd</u> , D 1:14, <u>wsnyn</u> , G 37:4
<u>ʃ</u>	<u>š</u>	<u>wšm^c</u> , G 28:7

The letter š is relatively rare in N. Many, but not all of the occurrences are in names or words which may be assumed to be borrowed from or influenced by

H. Examples include:

šry, šrh, šassim.

šw^c, G 25:28, passim.

šny', G 29:31. The regular form is sny'.

šhdwt', G 31:47. Cf. shd, 31:48, 50, 52, and šhdy,
G 38:25.

Other cases include:

drmsq, G 14:15; M is drmsq.

bšybw, G 15:15; M is bšyby. Cf. also sybytyh,

G 44:31; sybw, G 47:23; msybh, G 48:10.

wšb^c, G 35:29; sby^cyn, 42:1.

H qšqšt in L 11:12 is rendered qšqsyn. The form

qsqs appears in G 11:9 N,I, M; 10: N,M; 12 M.

The Pal. inscription in Beth Shearim I, p. 199 records

"Theodoros" as tdrš. In Jewish dialects Samek
is used.

The root rgz contains PS z. Accordingly rwgd(r?)

Nu 10:36 is an error as corrected by M rwgzk.

It is spelled correctly in all other places.

The d-t shift:

brybwwdh, G 29:17, for brybwwth.

wykwš ydyh, L 4:24. DM reads ytyh.

stry qrb', E 1:10.

hdth, L 14:12; I is hdh, M is hth.

gt, Nu 13:15. H is gd.

htth, L 26:10. H is hdš.

ttbawn, D 10:20 (for tdbawn?).

Assimilated d:

The d is often assimilated in N. A very common case is the verb wld:

'ytyylt, G 46:22M; N is dylydt. Cf. also dylyt, G 16:15; tlwtyh, G 10:32. tlwtyh; the d was added by a later hand, G 6:9, 11:27. In such cases DM often suggests adding the Daleth. This seems unnecessary.

l l', G 3:24. The expected reading is l' d l'.

Cf. also E 14:13, 22:8. Note however Sperber IV b, p. 377, Joshua 2:7.

'nytn, G 4:23 is H h'znh. DM reads 'sytn. In support of this reading he could (but does not) list similar usages in PJ, TJII, Onk., and other passages in N. It is tempting to see in this word a verb of the root 'dn, cognate to H 'zn, which when inflected suffered assimilation of the Daleth.

dyrnh, E 15:16; M is dywrđnh.

drp, L 26:36 for drđp.

hdh, E 36:12 is given as htth in I and hth in M.

Similar switches occur in v. 26. See also v. 15, 22, 24, 26, 29, etc.

The form qm', common in BTA, regularly appears as qdmh/' in NT. The ST, however, has bqm'wth, G 1:1. Cf. gl^Ch for gl^Cdh, CG E G 31:21. Note also ywmn, ST G 41:9 (for H hywm) which is reduced from ywm' dn.

Assimilated t:

The assimilation of t is very common in passive/reflexive verbs and has been treated there.

ytqdšwn, E 40:32; M is yqdšwn.

Assimilated š:

wysrs, E 7:28 M, N is wyšrs.

Assimilated s:

ttwn, L 19:31, I is tstwn.

Assimilated z:

yšyg, L 1:9, 13. DM reads yšzg. If intended as y^Cšazig, then it may be an error; if as yešzig, then assimilation is probably the cause of this spelling.

Miscellaneous

The word šhryn, G 1:14 is unique. It may be related to shr', D 17:3, the regular word for "moon". Also attested is zhr', G 37:9 and D 4:19. In D 4:19 I reads syhr'(?). "Red" is usually a form of "zhr" also but note yhwry, CG E G 38, 30; z^Cwry ST G 38:28 and "moon" z^Crh, ST G 37:9.

The word syd, G 10:9 (H) is interpreted as zyd, where gbwr syd is translated in N gybr bht'h. This derashah is made possible by allowing a phonetic shift of z-s. This shift is also attested in E 12:39. H reads sydh, N has zwwdyn, I has zbdyn.

The t-ṭ shift:

Occasionally there is a change from t to ṭ.

dqtrṭ', E 30:27.

'ystkmw, Nu 2:33, M is 'ystkmw.

Cf. qtl for ṭtl, G Apoc. III, 11,18, 21, cf. Arab. ṭtl.

5. The Palatals

a. Background

The three PS palatals (velar plosives) are k, q, and g. They exist in all of the Semitic languages, g becoming ḡ in Arabic.¹¹ The spirantized forms of k and g are k̄ and ḡ.

It is not uncommon for these three letters to interchange. Examples from the various dialects include kzyb/gzyb in JPA, Man. g'yt' "summer", kwk and its cognates.¹²

¹¹The letter k is omitted in Moscati's treatment of the subject, p. 45.

¹²For kok, see Kutcher, Kwk. Mandaic examples for these shifts are in Noeldeke, pp. 38-40.

b. Neophyti I

The unvoiced Kaph is assimilated to the Heth in ght, G 18:15. M suggests dhkyt. DM corrects N to ghkt which is attested in G 18:13.

The g-k shift:

gwp nhr' / kyp nhr', In G 41:1 N has gwp, in 41:3

it has kyp, the Yod having been added later.

In 41:17 gyp is the spelling. CG, E has gp,

as does N in 22:17, E 7:15, Nu 22:5.

Also attested are gb nhr', E 2:3 (M is gp); gwp,

E 2:5 (M is gb). In E 14:30 and 15:9 DM changes

gwp to gyp for no apparent reason. Cf. also

gyp nhl 'rnwnh, D 3:12.

Cf. H gb and hwp (hōf).

The q-g shift:

psg, G 15:10, ff. is common for psq; cf.

wypsg ytyh lpysgh, L 1:6.

The k-q shift:

ql' d^cbdyt, E 19:4, I is kl'.

ltksyhwn, Nu 24:2, M is ltqsyhwn.

The H of G 50:18 is wyplw; N translates wnplw.

M, however, suggests w'ytrqynw, presumably from rgn

"to be empty". The word is used elsewhere, also. In

the Targum to Lam. 1:1 'trwqynt appears. Similar imagery

is used in Lam. 4:21 where tšty wtt^cry is translated

trwy wtrwqyny and also in Is. 3:26 where wnqth l'rs tšb

is rendered by the targum as wttrowq 'r^Ch. There is no reason to translate any of these as "to be uncovered", even Lam. 4:21, as Jastrow does. They all mean a form of "empty".

This meaning does not fit the context of G 50:18 unless the verse is taken in a very figurative sense. More likely the original form is, as DM suggests, w'ytrkynw. The k, coming at the beginning of the syllable and perhaps sounding almost like the other word was changed to q.

The g-k shift:

mpgr' tpgr' (DM reads tpgrwn) E 23:24, M is mpkr'.

The k-h shift:

pryhyn, L 2:14, I is -k-.

Assimilation of k:

The unvoiced k is assimilated to the Heth ght, G 18:15 for ghkt. M suggests dhkyt. DM corrects N to ghkt, which is attested in 18:13.

Assimilation of q:

hqlyqwn, L 25:3, I is hqlk. DM reads hqlykwn.

bmyskwn, E 34:24, M is bmysq.

6. The Liquids

a. Background

The PS n, r, and l (nasal, rolled and lateral dentals) have direct equivalents in all Semitic languages,

although the pronunciation may vary as in the case of r.¹³ Nun often assimilates as in the case of l-Nun verbs and is omitted as a final letter in various situations. Medial Lamed is also assimilated occasionally, as in the imperfect forms of slq. Final r is lost in 'ym', 'myn', etc.

The reverse process is also common. Nun is frequently introduced in Man., for example, m'nz'l't', from the root mzl. Resh is not a root letter in Crtl, cf. Arab. Ctl, or šrbyṭ; cf. H šbt.

b. Neophyti I

In NT the liquids are fairly stable but all of the changes attested in other dialects are found.

Added r: (Not all are original in this dialect.)

l^Crppl', E 20:21.

drmšq, Nu 34:15.

yšrgg, CG A E 22:15.

bšrbyth, CG A E 21:20; šrbyṭyn, CG E₂ G 40:10.

Added l:

mšlhb, L 13:30; H shb. Cf. also v. 32.

zlpqgh, L 1:16, Onk. zpqyh, (Sperber gives no variants)

PJ zpwqtyh (also zrwqpyh).

Assimilated l:

thkwn, L 20:23 M, N is thlkwn.

švyšln, E 39:15 M, N is šlšlt. Cf. also 38:22 and 28:14, 15.

¹³Dalman, p. 63; Kahle, Geniza, p. 183.

'd^cbdt d', D 32:27. This is a common form in BTA.

See also medial Lamed verbs.

The l-r shift:

wqlš', G 31:40, M is wqrwš'.

hrsykwn, E 12:11 (cf. the H hls). H is mtnykm.

Additional occurrences of an apparent l-r interchange are provided by the similar formation of Lamed and Reš in the script of N, the former differing from the latter only in the addition of a vertical stroke which may not be clear on the reproduction. This probably contributed to the present gyzl in Nu 9:14 where gywr is expected, cf. Nu 15:14. Likewise tltyhwn, not trtyhwn is found in Nu 12:5.

The Greek *σαλαμάρβα* is recorded as srmnd(r') in L 11:29 M. The phrase c_m qšh c_{rp}, E 32:9, 33:5, etc., is rendered as c_m qšyyn lqblh 'wlpn. This exegesis is made possible by the interchange (for mid-rashic purposes) of c_{rp} and 'lp.

The r-n shift:

The H mzrh is rendered by mdnh in N (E 27:13).

br/bn It has been observed that br is typical of the A branch of the northwest Semitic languages while bn is typical of the Canaanite branch.¹⁴ In N both appear

¹⁴Zellig S. Harris, Development of the Canaanite Dialects (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939), p. 10.

very frequently. The plural is usually based on the bn root, even in the form br 'nš/nš which is bny 'nš', G 6:1, 2, etc. When N reads bn M often notes the reading byr, the common CPA form. Both bn and br may receive pronominal suffixes.

Both r-l and l-n shifts:

The word 'rmlh "widow" in G 38:11, 14 appears in H as 'lmnh. This latter form is cognate to the Akk. almattu (from almantu?), Phon. 'lmt. A dialects prefer 'rmlh, with the l interchanged for r and the n for l.

Nunation:

Nunation occurs in N in several ways. The most common type is the final Nun appended to certain nouns, adjectives, and verbs, for example, 'zlyn, which might appear in other dialects as 'zly.

Other cases include:

bnknsyn, G 15:14. DM suggests bnksyn.

b'npyk, G 30:28.

mktnšyn, G 12:17.

l'ntw, G 16:3. Cf. 'th, 16:5; 30:10, etc.

^cmmnyn, E 12:43. (DM changes to ^cmmyn).

Cf. 'nttyh, CG E G 39:7. This is common in BTA.

Assimilated n: (They are not in the manuscript but added in parentheses.)

wttk(n)swn, L 26:25.

l'r^c dkn^c(n)y, E 13:11.

The absolute šnh "year" becomes št', E 40:17, etc.,
by assimilation of Nun.

The m-n shift:

'rwn, E 23:22 is for 'rwm.

7. The Semivowels

a. Background

PS has two semivowels, w and y. These letters fluctuate between being consonants and vowels and occasionally represent diphthongs as well. All types of A contain both forms. In those northwest Semitic languages which are written in the late, square "Hebrew" letters, confusion of these two letters is possible because of their similar appearance.

Because of the general weakening of the gutturals there are many situations throughout the A dialects where the gutturals are treated as vowel letters. This is also found in 1-/3-Aleph verbs and nouns which are treated as 1-/3-Yod or 1-/3-Waw.

As the use of matres lectionis became more common, Yod and Waw were the two primary choices. Heh and Aleph were used frequently, also. In Man. and to a lesser extent in some of the other dialects, Ayyin and Heth served this purpose also.

b. Neophyti I

In N, the consonantal nature of w and y is fre-

quently emphasized in the formation of plurals whose last letter is a semivowel, mlkw, dbbw, etc. Frequently, semivowels which in H and other A dialects are vocalized as vowels are treated in N as consonants: ywwnh, G 8:8; G 8:10, 11 may also suggest wwnh. Fluctuations in the use of Yod (-y- or -yy-) are common. For details see the morphology of nouns and verbs.

A weakened pronunciation of the letter Yod may be a factor in forms like wyhgn qdm', E 5:1 for H wyhw ly. Note that the form hb for hyyb and hbty for hyybty are Palestinian pronunciation. See B. Q. 6b and below, page 243.

This interchange of ' and y may be related to other forms as well:

mn 'py br', E 23:16 in I is given as m'p'
mpth' dmtr'...mpth' dprnst'...wmpshy dqbryh, G
 30:22.

C. Regular Consonantal Changes

1. Anaptyxis

The breakup of consonant clusters at the ends of words may result in added vowels, occasionally indicated in the orthography. Samples of this phenomenon are discussed in conjunction with the morphology of the 2 m. and f. s. perfect verbs. See below, page 125.

2. Assimilation

Assimilation is common in many areas of the morphology. Examples are provided below in the appropriate section. See especially the passive/reflexive verbs; note also the forms of mnd'm, 'l'hn, etc. Additional cases are noted in the foregoing section on each letter. Assimilation may even occur between separate words:

^cl l', G 3:34; the expected reading is ^cd l'

w^cl kl lbyd', E 22:8

^cl l^clm, E 14:13

3. Dissimilation

This is exemplified by the introduction of liquids to form what appear to be quadrilateral roots: ^crpl', E 20:21; drmsq, Nu 34:15, etc. Dissimilation may also play a role in the formation of 'rmlh, cf. H 'lmnh, Akk. almattu. See above, pp. 40-43 .

4. Metathesis

In N there are many examples of words two of whose letters are in reversed order. Some of these, such as

the t-infixe forms of l-sibilant reflexives are proper. Others are rare, though possibly authentic; some forms may in fact be scribal errors. The following cases are a sampling:

tr^c, L 8:3. This is standard A, cf. H š^cr.

špr, L 10:19, M dpšr. Cf. G 20:15.

wkns, L 9:8. DM reads wnks. Cf. also ttkns,

L 6:18 (2x), DM reads ttnks.

w'pšr, G 1:4. DM reads w'prš.

'bš't, E 5:22. DM reads 'b'št.

symp^h, E 28:26. DM reads sypm^h.

wyqt^l, L 1:16. DM reads wytl^q.

'rt', G 19:13,14. Presumably 'tr' was intended;

possibly the form is influenced by 'rs.

šlhp, G 31:7. šaf^cel of hlp?

5. Prosthesis

Aleph is used as a prosthetic element for the redivision of syllables or separating consonant clusters, especially in non-Semitic loan words.

Examples include: 'spqltwryh, G 40:3; 'dr^cykwn,

E 13:9. For additional cases, see page 24.

D. The Vowels

Vowels are not regularly employed in NT. With the exception of one page, G 40:23-41:8, which begins and ends in the middle of a verse and is fully vocalized, only scattered words are provided with Tiberian vowel signs. These notations are clearly later than the text of N and are of little value for the correct pronunciation of Palestinian Aramaic. For practical purposes, then, NT is unvocalized. The implications of working with an unvocalized text have been discussed below in the various sections where the problem has been most acute.

Matres lectionis, on the other hand, are used liberally throughout the text. The letters ', w, y, h, and possibly c as well as yy, yh, 'y, and wy all serve to indicate vowels and diphthongs. In certain cases, the vowel correspondences may be ascertained by comparison with other Aramaic dialects whose traditions of vocalization are more certain. The CG fragments may also be used as they are both older and more authentic than the vocalization which is available in Palestinian texts which have been popularized and transmitted in the Rabbinic Bibles. It is apparent, however, that the vocalization in these fragments from the geniza is inaccurate, or at least highly inconsistent.

There are deviations between the fragments. Some of them use Palestinian signs, others have Babylonian ones. Frequently both are used for the same words or neither is used. There are also words which are partially vocalized in both systems and yet partially unvocalized. Transcription has been very difficult and as the dageš sign is rare, the transcription reflects less of the real pronunciation than might be hoped for. As the recording of all of these signs may confuse rather than help the reader, in every case the word is preceded by a copy of the consonants without the vowels.

It should be noted that Aramaic vocalization in general presents serious questions, even in Syriac where there are well developed systems of recording the vowels. In addition to whatever inherent situations make the problem difficult, the assimilation of consonants, breakdown of gutturals, loan words, etc. all add to the confusion. In addition, Jewish dialects tend to be influenced by the vocalization of Hebrew (cf. w'mr (w'amr), CG,D G 38:26. The rules of Massoretic Hebrew were superimposed on the Aramaic texts, frequently obscuring the true vocalization.

In the transcription of these forms, the letters and signs in the fragment are recorded. Obvious cases of dageš are omitted if not indicated in the fragment.

Occasional additions to the fragments are added in parentheses.

In presenting the vocalization of the words in NT, the geniza fragments were followed whenever possible. As different values may be placed on the various fragments, all sources have been listed. When variations appear, all of those which seem relevant have been recorded. Continuous references to CPA show that many of the forms in N are analogous to those in that dialect.

In addition to these texts, some data on pronunciation is available from Greek, especially from the transliteration of Aramaic words into Greek, but also in cases of Greek words copied into Aramaic. In places such as the inscriptions where no late scribal adjustment is possible, these may be used safely.

For all of the above reasons, the following analysis is less than complete. A complete study of all available vocalized Palestinian Aramaic texts could, perhaps, be more conclusive than what has been achieved here, but it is clearly beyond the scope of this work. In the last analysis, all of the data must come from the text of NT and so the following pages contain all of the matres lectionis used in NT

together with the possible vowels associated with these words or letters in the CG materials and some of the transliterated sources.

Letter	Vocalization	Examples
'	/a/	Cf. the list which has been included in the discussion of gutturals, pages 23-4.
	/ā/	Emphatic ending on nouns -', f. nouns, etc.
	/?/	The word <u>r'š</u> , more properly <u>ryš</u> , may have been vocalized as Hebrew <u>rōš</u> or as in other types of A as <u>rēš</u> .
Final <u>h</u>	/e/	Cf. 3 m. s. pronominal suffix. This is also the case in the name <u>ywsy/ywsh</u> , cf. Sukenik, pages 71-73.
	/ā/	<u>btwlh</u> (<u>betūlāh</u>), CG, A E 22:15
<u>w</u>	/o/	<u>plnhwn</u> (<u>pelhānhon</u>), CG, D E 6:6
		<u>qwrbnk</u> (<u>gorbānak</u>), CG, B G 4:8
		<u>ywrdnh</u> (<u>yord^enāh</u>), CG, D D 26:2
		This reading is fairly common in M and I in contrast to <u>yrdnh</u> in N and may reflect the Greek pronunciation <i>Ἰορδάνης</i> .
	/o/	<u>gwb</u> , CG, D G 37:28, 30. Both <u>gō-</u> and <u>gu-</u> are found.

<u>w</u>	/u/	<u>btwlth</u> (<u>betulth</u>), CG,A E 22:16;
	/ū/	<u>btwlh</u> (<u>betulāh</u>), CG,A E 22:15;
	/a/	<u>šwn'ywn</u> E 1:10; the final <u>Waw</u> has a superlinear dot.
	/ā/	<u>ywtk</u> , E 2:14I, N is <u>ytk</u> ; <u>byt.qwdšh</u> is common in N. CG,C G 31:47 reads <u>byt qdš'</u> (<u>qadšā'</u>); Cf. also the analysis of <u>qdm/qwdm</u> .
<u>y</u>	/i/	<u>h'lyn</u> (<u>hā'elayin</u>), CG,D G 38:25.
	/e/	<u>ybydh</u> (<u>yebedāh</u>), CG,A E 22:8; <u>yqydt</u> (<u>yeqedtāh</u>), CG,A E 22:5; <u>bpym</u> (<u>bpem</u>), CG,D G 43:12 but <u>bpēm</u> , CG,D G 44:1, 12. See Kutscher, <u>Studies</u> , pages 12 ff. <u>'yšt</u> (<u>'eššātāh</u>), CG D D 5:21; This is further corroborated by the spelling <u>šmhtkym</u> with a <u>Yod</u> in Nu 10:10.
	/ē/	<u>'dmyh</u> (<u>'admēh</u>), G 37:26; <u>byt</u> (<u>bēyt</u>), CG,C G 31:47
	/ī/	<u>gdyšyn</u> (<u>gedišīn</u>), CG,A E 22:5; <u>^cyyn</u> (<u>^cīn</u>), CG,A E 21:24.
	/ai/	<u>^cyvy</u> (<u>^caynay</u>), CG,C G 31:40; Cf. also <u>btry</u> , G 32:3 and <u>ydy</u> , G 3:18, M is <u>ydyy</u> .

Preformative γ - may also have been pronounced /e/, comparable to 'e-. This is seen in $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$ rendered as $\gamma\tau\gamma\nu\gamma\omega\varsigma$, L 14:53M. There are also frequent interchanges of verb prefixes 'e- and γ - which are both pronounced 'e- in CPA.

The vowels /e/ and / \bar{e} / are often interchanged as may be seen from the many vocalized examples of the 3 m. s. pronominal suffix. Cf. also the transliteration of Esther as $\text{I}\sigma\theta\eta\rho$ and $\text{E}\iota\sigma\theta\eta\rho$ in the inscription which is recorded in Beth She^carim I, p. 206. The LXX often renders Hebrew /i/ as ϵ , cf. $\text{q}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\omega\text{n}$ - $\text{K}\epsilon\sigma\pi\omega\nu$, etc.

Double consonants usually indicate either consonantal Waw or Yod or, as in the cases below, diphthongs.

Letters	Vocalization	Examples
<u>'y</u>	/ai/	Cf. the gentilic endings which are listed in the sections on noun and adjective morphology.
<u>yh</u>	/e/ / / \bar{e} / / -	Cf. the various forms of the 3 m. s. pronominal suffix.
<u>wy</u>	/oi/ /ai/	$\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{lt}\bar{\eta}\text{nw}\gamma$, CG,D E 7:10 Cf. Excursus I on the problem of <u>-wy/-yy</u> .

yy

/ai/

byyth (bayytehh), CG, OG 34:19; cf. bytyh(baytē), CG, D 38:26.

III. MORPHOLOGY

A. Pronouns

1. Personal

a. Independent

	M	C	F
Singular			
1st person		<u>'nh</u> , <u>'n'</u>	
2nd person	<u>'t</u>		<u>'t</u>
3rd person	<u>hw'</u>		<u>hy'</u>
Plural			
1st person		<u>'nn</u>	
2nd person	<u>'twn</u>		[<u>'tyn</u>]
3rd person	<u>'nwn</u> , <u>'ynwn</u>		<u>'nyn</u>

Exceptions, variations and the relationships between the forms in N and those in M, I and the other Aramaic dialects follow.

1 s. c. 'nh, 'n'

Semitic languages provide two possible choices for the first person singular independent pronoun, cognates of H 'nky and 'ny. Both of these forms are used in Ug., H., and Phon. Moabite, though very sparsely attested, yields a uniform use of 'nk. Aramaic, on the other hand, universally uses anā, the spelling and form varying slightly from dialect to dialect. The Zinjirli inscriptions, sometimes classified as A, also contain both forms, but not in the same text.

N follows normal A practice and uses 'nh or 'n'. The former is the more western orthography. It is vocalized 'nh ('nāh) in CG, A, E 22:22.

2 m. s. 't

This is the shortest form of the pronoun in A. Ez. 7:25 has 'nth (Qoy 'nt) which is similar to G. Apoc. 'nth. Man. 'n't also preserves the Nun. Syr. does likewise, but marks the Nun as silent. CPA, like N, uses 't which is attested in Sefire, the magic bowls; MH, ST, and several places in the Hebrew portions of the Bible.

2 f. s. 't

The f. form, where preserved in the different dialects, usually ends in Yod: 'nty (BA, BTA, EA) or 'ty, pronounced 'att (CPA). As in the m. Syr. maintains a written but quiescent Nun, 'nty.

NT uses 't, identical in form to the m.

3 m. s. hw'

A exhibits several different forms for the 3 m. s. independent pronoun: hw (EA, Nab., Pal., G. Apoc.,-once, CPA, Syr.), h' (Sefire, Punamu, etc.) and 'yhw (BTA).

NT regularly uses hw', identical to BA, BH, MH and other JA dialects. It is vocalized hū' in BA, BH and CG, A E 22:14. Also attested are hw, G 44:17 and h', G 46:3. Cf. also dh', G 44:18 and mh h' d', E 13:14.

3 f. s. hy'

The f. s. forms vary as do the m. s. ones: hy (EA, Nab., Pal., CPA, Syr.), h' (Sefire, etc.), 'yhy (BTA) and hy' (BA, BH, MH, and other JA dialects).

NT regularly uses hy'. Also attested is hy, G 35:6 and h', E 22:26.

1 pl. c. 'nn

A common form exists for both m. and f. in all A dialects. The forms vary greatly, however, from dialect to dialect. NT prefers 'nn, vocalized 'anan (hataf - patah) in CG, D D 5:22. Also attested are 'nhn', G 37:7 and 'n', G 13:8. The former is possibly a Hebraism, though the same form is also in Onk., a. l., and Ez. 5:11; 'n' is corrected by DM to 'nhn' or 'nn. He prefers the former, but this is very rare in NT. CPA, however, contains both forms, 'nn and 'n', and it seems that this anomaly should be seen accordingly. No correction is needed.

2 m. pl. 'twn

Various forms attested throughout A contain Nun after the initial Aleph. Syr. preserves it only in the orthography, not in the pronunciation. BR, BTA, and CPA have 'twn, NT uses it throughout.

2 f. pl. 'tn?

On the strength of comparative data one would expect that the form would either be identical to the m. 'twn, or else 'tyn. The targum to Ezek. 34:17, 31 contains 'twn as a f. form, while in the same text, Ezek. 13:20, the form is 'tyn, vocalized 'atīn. CPA and Syr. have 'tyn and 'ntn respectively; in the latter the Nun is not pronounced.

The H form 'tn appears only once in the Pentateuch, G 31:6. N reads w'tnh yd^ctn 'rwm, omitting the correct A form by haplography. CG,E reads w'tnh/w'tn hkmtn. Pseudo-Jonathan reads 'twn; Onk. has 'tyn with variant readings 'twn.

3 m. pl. 'nwn

The regular form in N and the CG fragments is 'nwn or 'ynwn. M usually suggests hnwn instead. Both forms are found in BR and BA. The spelling 'nwn is found in G. Apoc. (not 'mwn as in Fitzmeyer², p. 204) and BTA while hnwn is used in Man., Pal., CPA, and Syr. Sefire, Pal. and EA have hm as in BH while EA also uses hmw. In Hammath-by-Gadara the form hnnwn is used (Sukenik, p. 82).

The form 'nn is found in G 26:20, M is hnwn. Also attested is 'nyn, G 46:32 where N has 'nn and the Yod has been inserted by another hand. This would be the f. form and should probably be understood as a small Waw, not a Yod. The vocalization of 'nwn in CG,C G 31:43 and 34:23 is with /u/ on the last syllable.

3 f. pl.

The regular form in N is 'nyn or 'ynyn, often corrected by M to hnyn or hynyn. This correction is also introduced when, as is often the case, the m. form is used for the f. Cf. G 6:2; N is 'nwn, M is hnyn. Similar forms are attested elsewhere: 'nyn (BA), hnyn or hynyn (CPA) and 'ynyn (BR).

b. Suffixed

1) Introduction

The pronominal endings appended to nouns are genitive in meaning. They are unchanging and may be added to nouns which end in either vowels or consonants whether they are s. or pl. Several forms are identical for both m. and f., others vary as explained below.

The pronominal suffix is appended to a form of the noun which, in most cases, is identical with the construct stem. In the case of s. nouns which end in a consonant, the suffix is appended directly to the stem. This is facilitated by the fact that most of the suffixes begin with vowels: -y (i), -k (ak), etc. Some of the forms for the plural pronouns are different and are discussed below. S. nouns which end in a vowel (most f. forms) have a -t- glide introduced between the root and the suffix. This creates a stem which ends in a consonant to which the pronominal elements are added.

In pl. nouns, the suffix -y (mostly in m. forms) fluctuates between being a vowel and a consonant, allowing for the addition of the required ending. It is vocalized /e/; cf. t^cwnynn (t^cwnenn), CG,D G 43:21.

It is not uncommon for an Aleph to be introduced between the noun and the pronominal suffix:

ym'hwn, E 23:31

'r^c'kwn, E 23:10, M is 'r^ckwn. The second Aleph

has a superlinear dot. Note the extensive use

of 'r^c' for the undetermined and construct forms "land" or "land of", 'r^c' twtbwtyhwn, E 6:4, l'r^c', E 3:8 (2x).

Plural stems ending in a vowel plus -t- glide have the pronouns appended directly to the glide.

Additional information on the vocalization of the noun stems and endings follows, together with examples of each form. Each section is prefaced by a brief statement on the relevant data in the other A dialects.

2) The Pronominal Suffixes

The following are the regular pronominal suffixes. They are normally added to nouns, prepositions, numbers, and certain verbs and particles. Less common forms are in parentheses.

	M	C	F
Singular			
1st person		-y	
2nd person	-k, (-yk)		-yk, (-k)
3rd person	-h, -yh		-h, (-yh, -h')
Plural			
1st person		-n, -nn, (-n')	
2nd person	-kwn		NAF
3rd person	-hwn		-hwn, -hyn, -hn

3) Comparative Analysis

1 s.c., s. nouns

In A the customary suffix is -y (-ī) as is the case in other Semitic languages also. Occasionally in Man. and BTA there is no suffix, or alternatively, -y and -'y, indicating a pronunciation of /ai/. Man. also attests a -y' form, related, perhaps, to the Akk. (OB) genitive form bēliya.

In NT the regular ending is -y: 'hy, G 33:9, etc. It is vocalized /ī/ in the CG fragments.

1 s. c., pl. nouns

Some forms of A do not differentiate s. and pl. nouns with the first person plural pronominal ending, both being -y. In the case of singular nouns, the suffix is pronounced /ī/ while for plural nouns it is /ai/. Alternative spellings are -yy and -'y. All three spellings are attested in CPA and BTA.

2 m. s.

In all A dialects this form is orthographically -k, usually vocalized /ak/, less frequently /ik/.

In NT the regular form is -K: mzwnk, G 31:14, etc. Also attested is -yk: mymryk, G 22:14, but this form is more commonly used for f. nouns. The CG fragments have both -ak and -āk vocalization.

2 f. s.

This form varies throughout the A dialects. Final -yk (vocalized as /ek/ or /ik/) is very common, as is the longer -ky /ekī/. In CPA -ky is vocalized /ek/.

In NT the regular form is -yk: s^cryk w^cdwnyk, G 3:16. The m. form is also used: bydk, G 16:6, but since the m. also uses the -yk ending, the forms are often identical.

3 m. s., s. nouns

Most A forms end in -h, vocalized either /eh/ or /eh/. Eastern dialects tend to have -yh more frequently, but this form is found in CPA and other western A texts as well. Also attested, especially after vowels, is -hy. Nab. and Pal. also have -hw and -w, similar to H. CPA has -y also.

In NT the regular form is -h, but the forms -h and -yh are interchanged throughout. This may be explained as an orthographic development introduced during the transmission of the text. The scribes, being more acquainted with Babylonian A, gradually altered the Palestinian orthography. This did happen, but the presence of similar forms in CPA would seem to support the western use of the form. Geniza texts have /-eh/ and /-eh/ vocalization. The Yod in the orthography represents the e-vowel, long or short.

In constructs, frequently in place of final -h

or -yh NT uses -y: byyty d'bwk, G 12:1; byyty d'b', G 38:5; ^cl 'py d'r^c, G 7:23. DM often suggests the addition of Heh after the Yod, but this is not needed, especially in the light of the identical form in CPA.

3 m. s., pl. nouns

The general form in A is -why /ohī/. This is frequently contracted through the loss of the weak Heh to -wy /oi/. Though probably not the cause of this change, the homophonic plural nominal ending in Greek, -oi, may have aided in this transition. Loan words, which abound in the western A dialects, with the 3 m. s. ending would sound identical to the nominative plural Greek form. Cf., for example, 'pytrwpwy "his guardians", G 50:7 and the Greek ἐπιτρόποι "guardians".

In NT both -why and -wy suffixes are common: ydwhy, G 16:12; rglwy, G 24:32. When the pl. number is indicated in another way, the ending is identical to that of s. nouns: bntyh "his daughters", G28:2, etc.

3 f. s.

A, almost universally, uses -h /ah/. Certain eastern forms have -' /a'/ (Man.) and -h' /ha/ (BTA). G. Apoc. uses -h' (Col. xx, l. 3, 7, 17).

In NT the regular suffix is -h: lmynh, G 1:24. Often there appears -yh instead of -h as in G 47:21: mn syypy d'r^c; w^cd syypyh. This may be related to the interchange of -h and -yh in the m. s. form or merely evidence of a common form for both m. and f.

The vocalization is /-ah/, or less frequently /-āh/. The final Heh containing a mappiq is used in some texts which are vocalized according to a system which indicates this phenomenon. The emphasis which is indicated by this form has created a new partial vowel which, in some dialects, is indicated by an additional letter. G. Apoc. has -yh' and -yhh which, if vocalized /-eha/ would be similar to BH. Cf. bm^ch', G 25:22,24; ywmhh', G 25:24.

Also attested is the use of the m. pl. form: šhdwy, G 38:5; bnwy, G 46:18I, 22. This indicates that the use of -yh for -h is not a scribal change, but rather a tendency to use a common form for both the m. and f. As in the m., there is a form ending in Yod. Though often used in constructs, it is found elsewhere also: mn syypy d'r^c', G 47:21; dbl^ct dyvvy, G 14:2. Note that in G 14:8 the spelling is dyvryh; DM corrects 14:2 accordingly. l pl. c.

As with other aspects of the first person pl. pronoun, there are many varied forms. Endings in the dialects are, generally speaking: 1) -n or -n' (-an or -en); 2) -nh or -n' (-nā or -nē); or 3) -nn, -n'n or -nyn (-nān or -nen). In any given dialect there are often several forms. CPA contains five of the above possibilities. Man. has three; cf. the Jewish Aramaic of the magic bowls, also.

This lack of consistency is reflected in NT where three forms are used: -n, -nn and -n'. The last is least common. Usually -n follows consonants while -nn follows vowels.

2 m. pl.

With the exception of certain A texts which use -km (BA, EA), the generally accepted form in most dialects is -kwn. BTA also uses the form -yykw, identical to the ending affixed to pl. nouns. BTA occasionally lacks the final Nun, and Man. adds one before the Kaf, but otherwise the grammars show similar forms.

NT follows this pattern also: bydkwn, G 9:2; in the pl., rglykwn, G 19:2. It is regularly vocalized -kon in the CG fragments.

2 f. pl.

As in the m., there is great uniformity among the dialects, most using -kyn. As noted above, Man. adds Nun before the suffix while BTA and the bowl dialect often lose the final Nun. Occasionally BTA displays the form -yyky for s. nouns, a form which is identical to the form for pl. nouns.

In NT the form is very rare. Cf. 'bwkyn, CG,E G 31:6,7.

3 m. pl.

With the exception of BA, EA, and Nab. where -hm appears, the A dialects regularly use -hwn. This also appears in the form -hn. Frequently the Heh is lost

leaving -wn.

In NT these three forms appear, the most frequent being -hwn: 'dnhwn, G 35:4. The -hn suffix is attested in G 6:4 gybryn mpršyn bšmhn. Occasionally in the pl. nouns, the Yod of the pl. doubles: bthwmyyhwn, G 36:35; mšrwyhw(n), G 10:30.

3 f. pl.

Though several suffixes are attested in the dialects, the most frequently attested is -hn (BA, CPA, G. Apoc.).

In NT the form is -hn. The CG fragments also contain -hyn. These are vocalized either -hen or -hēn.

Note: There is a marked tendency to use an extra Yod when adding the pl. pronominal suffixes to singular nouns. This makes the nouns appear identical to pl. forms with the same suffixes: H šptm is translated as lšnyhwn. While this may be a trend in the use of the "plural endings" for s. nouns, it is more likely just evidence of a vowel introduced between the end of the noun and the suffix.

4) Suffixes Appended to Nouns

(a) Singular Nouns

1 s. c.

Examples include: 'hy, G 33:9; mmry, G 9:13. Cf. also nshnw, G 49:5; DM reads nshny. Also: bkwrtw, G 27:36; the final Waw has a superlinear dot. For further discussion, see Excursus I.

2 m. s.

Examples include: mzwnk, G 31:14 and hṭ'k, G 4:7. Also attested is -yk: mymryk, G 22:14 but this form is not used as frequently. For examples of the vocalization see above, p. 63.

2 f. s.

Examples include: s^cryk w^cdwnyk, G 3:16. The m. form is also used: bydk, G 16:6, but as the m. form also ends in -yk on occasion, in many cases the forms are identical.

3 m. s.

Examples include: m'mrh (me'mreh), CG,B G 4:4; blbyh, G 17:17; 'ymyh "his mother", G 21:21; lbwy, G 49:22; rbnwnh (rabuneh), CG,A E 21:4.

As noted below, p. 100, it is common for the emphatic form of the noun to interchange final Heh and Aleph. Since the emphatic form which ends in Heh is frequently identical to the noun plus 3 m. s. pronominal suffix, it is possible to confuse these forms, resulting in the change of -h "his" to -' "the". This may be the case in G 17:23 where H mqnt kspw is rendered zbyny ksp'; M is ksph. Note however zbynt ksp' in G 17:27 for H mqnt ksp.

Another form also exists. One of the common forms used in constructs is: noun plus pronominal suffix, relative pronoun, noun, e. g. bbytyh drbwnyh, G 39:2.

Frequently in place of final -h or -yh NT uses -y:
byyty d'bwk, G 12:1; byyty d'b', G 38:5; ^cl 'py d'r^c,
 G 7:23. DM often suggests the addition of Heh after
 the Yod, but this does not seem necessary, particularly
 in the light of the identical form in CPA. That this
 ending is not limited to relative phrases may be seen
 from dhwh qdwšy qdwš š^ch, G 21:1; cf. gdwšhy qdwš^clm,
ibid. Also 'hty "his sister", G 24:30M. For additional
 data on the orthographic representation of final e-vowels,
 see above, p. 51-52.

3 f. s.

Examples include: lmynh, G 1:24. Often there
 appears -yh instead of -h, as in mn syypy d'r^c w^cd
syypyh, G 47:21. Also: dy ptht yt pwmy, G 4:11 (cf.
 m., above); tpq 'r^c np(š) dhy' lmynh, G 1:24; b^clh
(ba^clāh), CG,A E 21:22

1 pl. c.

Examples include: b'r^cn', G 29:26; 'bwnn, G 19:32;
bdmwtn, G 1:26. The suffix -nn is by far the most
 frequently attested.

2 m. pl.

Examples include: wdhltkwn w'ymtkwn, G 9:2;
db^cmkwn (deb^camkun?), CG,A E 22:24; npštkwn, G 9:5.

2 f. pl.

The forms are very rare. Cf. 'bwkyn, CG,E G 31:6,7.

3 m. pl.

Examples include: 'dnhwn, G 35:4; ysr lbhwn dbny 'nš', G 8:21; gzrthwn, G 34:23; 'lhtkwn, G 43:23; mmwnhwn, G 12:5; lšnyhwn (s.), G 11:7.

In the midrashic addition to G 27:29 N reads kmšh nby' sprwn dyšr'l. The word sprwn may be either the noun "scribe" in the absolute state or a contracted form of sprhwn. Other readings of this word include: sprhwn, M and PJ and spryhwn, cf. citations by DM.

3 f. pl.

Examples include: zywhn d'pyk, G 4:6. This is also the reading in CG, B. That 'pyk may be f. is seen from G 40:7 where it is modified by byšn. Note, however, that in G 40:6 and 40:7M the word is modified by byšyn and z^cypyn.

(b) Plural Nouns

1 s. c.

Examples include: ^cbdyv, G 4:8; ^csm m^csmy, G 2:23; bnyv (bānāy), CG,A E 21:5; bnty (b^enāty) "my daughters?", CG,C G 31:50; hsdyv (hsday^ev!), CG,E 30:23. Frequently H singular nouns are rendered by NT in the pl.: hwbyv for H ^cbwny. This is probably to be seen as a lack of literalness on the part of the translator rather than evidence of a change in orthography or MT Vorlage.

2 m. s.

Examples include: bnyk, G 13:16; bzkwwtk, G 12:13; d'pyk (d^e'pēk), CG B G 4:6; 'wbdyk (^cōbādēk), CG, B 4:7; hzwr l'r' 'bhtk, G 31:3; cf. also G 15:15.

Occasionally only -k is used even though no other sign of the plural is present: yšrwn k^cn^c bdk, G 42:4. That it is pl. may be seen from the verb and the MT. There is no marginal note on this word.

3 m. s.

Examples include: bnwnwy dym', G 1:28; ydwhy, G 16:12; rglwy, G 24:32; mn bntyh "his daughters", G 28:2; hylwwtyh, G 21:22; nšwy dbnwy dy^cqb, G 46:26. Also: hlsyh, G 46:26 which is equivalent to H hlsyw, M is hylswy. In qrbnyh dbny yšr'l, G 49:27 we do not have an abridged form of qrbnyhwn. Even though this is found at the end of the line in the MS, there was enough room to complete the entire word and the Heh was elongated several times its normal length to fill in this extra space.

3 f. s.

Examples include: pryh, G 49:15; bnth, G 19:30. The m. form is also used: bnwy drhl, G 46:22, etc.; bnwy qtwrh, G 25:5; wmlkh dqrt dbl^ct dyyryh, G 14:8, Cf. dbl^ct dyyry, v. 2, M is dyyrh; dyyryh dqrt', G 19:25

1 pl. c.

Examples include: bb(n)ywn wwbntn b^cnn wbtwrynn,

E 10:9; hlmynn, G 41:12.

2 m. pl.

Examples include: npšt^ckwn, G 9:5; ndrykwn wnsbthwn
l^clw^cwt^ckwn wlmnht^ckwn wl^cnskyhwn wlnkst qwdšyhwn, Nu 29:39.

In the MT all of these words end in -km. Also yrbykwn,
Nu 28:11. The second Yod was added later; nšykwn
(n^eš^cek^con), CG,A E 22:23.

2 f. pl.

NA

3 m. pl.

Examples include: bš^cm^cwn d^cm^c, E 24:7; ^cwlymyhwn,
G 19:4; šmwn, G 5:2, M is šmhwn, cf. G 2:20, 6:4. Also
t^cwnhwn (t^ec^cunēhon), CG,D G 44:1; b^cr^cwthwn, G 10:5, M
is b^cr^chwn; zr^cwwthwn, G 10:5M, cf. M and N in 10:5,
18, 20, etc.

(c) Dual Nouns

Dual nouns end in Yod /-ai/ to which is appended
a final Nun. This ending is presumably vocalized as
/ain/ or /-ayin/. Accordingly, the construct stem is
similar to the construct of the m. pl. Dual nouns
with pronominal suffixes should, therefore, resemble
m. pl. nouns with pronominal suffixes. This is, in fact,
the case in many of the words in N: mw^cy dmbwl^c, G 7:7,
9:11; rglwy, G 29:1, 24:32; ydwhy, G 16:12; ^cy^cnywn,
ST G 37:25.

There appears, however, to be a tendency in certain cases to prefer a form without the Yod before the suffix. This is especially true with ^cyynh "her eyes", G 21:19, 24:64, 38:25, 39:7, etc.; ^cyynkwn "your eyes" G 19:2; ^cyynk "your eyes", G 31:12. Also bm^ch', G 25:22; bm^ch, G 25:24I, M is bm^cyyh; rglkwn "your feet", G 19:2, etc.

This phenomenon most likely occurs from the reduction of the diphthong to /a/ to which the suffix is added. This suggestion is supported by the vocalization of several words in CG,D: mn ydyh (men y^edah) d'ytt', G 37:33; tlt ^cyynh (^caynah, mappiq in the Heh), G 38:25; nhrn ^cyn' (nēhren ^caynā'), G 38:25.

5) Numbers

Certain numbers can have pronominal suffixes appended, forming words which mean "two of us", "three of them", etc.

trynn, G 4:8; trywn, ST G 40:5

trykwn, G 27:45

tryhwn, G 2:25, 21:27; 23:19. In CG,A E 22:10

it is vocalized trēhon.

tltyhwn, G 18:1, Nu 7:15, M is tlthwn.

It would seem that tltyhw, G 18:1 and tryhw, G 2:24, 4:8 vary only because the final Nun was omitted due to a lack of space at the end of their respective lines.

6) Suffixes Appended to Prepositions

The pronominal suffixes are appended to prepositions in a manner similar to the way in which they are appended to nouns and the endings vary in a manner similar to the difference between s. and pl. nouns. Some prepositions prefer the singular endings, some the plural ones. The use of the Yod between the pronominal suffix and the base of the prepositions is similar to the situation in noun inflection; lwwthwn and lwtyhwn both mean "toward them".

The following paragraphs contain examples of the inflection of prepositions with pronominal suffixes. For additional examples, consult the section on prepositions, pp. 167 ff.

ly, G 3:12; ln, G 29:25 may be an error or the use of the pl; lw, E 3:13 may be a scribal error of Waw for Yod, but cf. Excursus I.

lk (lak), CG,C G 35:12. Elsewhere the vocalization is /-ak/, CG,B G 4:6.

lyk (lik), CG,D G 38:18, G 21:17.

lh (leh), CG,A E 21:4, 22:2, 25; also lyh, G 2:19, ^cmyh, CG,E G 7:7; ^clwy, G 2:21; ly, G 4:24.

lqdmwth, G24:17; lh (lah, mappiq in the Heh), CG,D G 38:18.

ln', G 34:22; lwn, G 34:16; ln, G 34:17, lan, CG,D G 37:26. Cf. CPA. Also lnn, G 24:23, ST G 39:14; ^clynh, CPA, Jonah 1:14. lnh, CG E G 43:2.

lkwn, G 1:29

lyhwn, G 2:19

lgwwhyn (lgōweheyn), CG,E G 41:21; btrhyn, CG,E
G 41:19; šmh dhdh mnhwn, E 1:15.

7) Suffixes Appended to Verbs

Though very common in BH, NT does not usually affix pronominal elements to verbs. The occurrences of these forms may be divided, according to the role of the pronoun, into subjective and objective constructions.

(a) Subjective

The subjective pronominal suffixes are abridged forms of the independent pronouns. The perfect tense is also inflected by adding pronominal elements to the verb. Often the two groups of suffixes are similar and it is therefore difficult to determine which form is being used, especially since perfect verbs and participles often interchange.

The following cases are the participle plus nominal pronominal suffix. The most frequent form is based on the verb hwh.

hwwyn' (2x), dhwyn' (1x), E 10:29; hwyn', E 18:3;

hwwynh, CG,E G 29:33. Cf. also CG,C G 31:39, 40,
G 16:5, G 20:9, etc.

'mrytwn?, D 1:29

ntrynwn, E 16:4

(b) Objective

The objective suffixes are easier to detect, but are also very rare.

dyny, G 16:5; lytk, E 8:17; l' 'tybn', G 44:18;
'tnnh, G 35:11; mprsyyh, G 38:25; wnšbhynyh,
 E 15:2; wnrwmmnh, E 15:2.

8) Suffixes Appended to yt and kl

The Accusative particle (and preposition) yt and the word kl "all" may also be inflected by adding pronominal suffixes. In both cases the suffixes regularly employed are those which are appended to singular nouns.

yty (yātī), CG, EG 38:25.

yth (ytēh), CG E₂ G 37:22

yth (yātah, mappiq in the Heh), CG, C G 31:39

ytn, D 1:22

ytkwn, D 7:4

ythwn, D 7:4I

klh, G 13:10

klmn, G 42:11

lkwlhwn, G 11:6

2. Demonstrative

The various demonstrative elements in A have been outlined in the old but useful work by Barth, Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen, pp. 72 ff. Many of the demonstratives found in the Semitic languages are represented in A, presenting a rather diverse set of data. While detailing all of these words and the history of their relationships is beyond the scope of this work,

a summary of the A demonstratives is valuable for the complete analysis of NT and its relationships to the other A dialects.

The A forms attested for the m. s. follow. Many dialects use more than one form.

Formed on the d(n) base:

1. dn or dyn (BR, G. Apoc., CPA, BTA, bowls)
2. with the A emphatic ending: dn', dnh (BR, G. Apoc., BA, EA), znh (EA)
3. with the doubled Nun ending: dnn (BTA, bowls)
4. with the prefixed emphatic element Heh: hdn, hdyn, h'dyn (BR, BTA, bowls), h'zyn (Man.)
5. with the prefixed element weakened to '-: 'dyn, etc. (bowls)
6. ending in -y: dy (Nab.), zy (Old Nab.)
7. with prosthetic Ayyin (in place of Aleph?): ^cdy (Man., BTA)
8. with the Daleth assimilated: h'y (BTA)
9. identical with the f. s.: dh (Man.)

Related to or derived from the 3 m. s. independent pronoun:

1. hw (Pal., G. Apoc.)
2. hw' (BA)
3. with prefixed emphatic element: hh'w (BR, bowls)

4. with one Heh assimilated?: hāu (CPA)

5. 'hw (BR, CPA)

Based on the hn stem:

1. hn (Syr.), hyn (CPA)

2. with the prefixed emphatic element: hhn, 'hn
(BR)

3. with the suffixed A emphatic element: hn'
(Syr.)

With the k element: (dk or zk)

1. dk, dkn (BA)

2. zk, zky, zkn (EA)

The forms of the f. s. are:

Based on the d(n) stem:

1. the most common form: d' (BA, CPA, G. Apoc.,
BR, BTA), z' (EA), dh (Man.)

2. the fuller dn' (BTA), cf. the m. s. dn

3. with the repeated ending: dn'n (BTA)

4. with the prefixed demonstrative element: hdh,
hd' (CPA, BR, BTA, Syr.), 'dh (BR), h'z' (Man.)

Related to or based on the 3 f. s. independent

pronoun:

1. hy (Pal.), h'y (BR, CPA)

2. with the prefixed emphatic element: hhy' (BR,
bowls), 'hy (BR)

3. h' (BTA)

The hn base:

1. hhn, 'hn (BR)

The dk base:

1. dk (BA), zk (EA)
2. with the emphatic element prefixed: hdk, 'dk,
hk (BR)
3. dkn (BA)
4. zky (EA)

The forms of the Plural demonstratives are:

1. 'ln (BA, CPA)
2. 'ln, 'lyn (BA, G.Apoc., BR), ^clyn (Man.)
3. hln, hlyn (CPA, BR, Syr., bowls)
4. h'lyn (Man.)
5. hnwn (Syr., bowls, BR)
6. 'nwn (BA)
7. hny, 'hny (BTA)
8. hnyn, f. (Syr.)
9. 'lk (BA, EA)
10. hlyk (CPA)
11. 'lky (EA)

In NT the demonstrative pronouns are:

m. s.

dn, dyn: l' yrt ytk dn, G 15:4. The adjectival form is hdyn: ywm' hdyn, E 14:13, vocalized hāden, CG,D D 26:18. Also used, but less frequently, is dyn: ywm' dyn, G 4:14. Other examples include: krwb hd mn d'n stryh, E 37:8, I is mdyn, cf. E 17:12 which is cited below; bhdyn "in here" , Beth Shearim III, p. 172; dl' tgrbwn ^clwwtkwn bkl hyvdyn 'tr, D 12:13. The use of d'

as m. is exceptional: mn hw' d' gbr' d'ty, G 24:65 is
H my h'yš hlzh hhlk.

f.s.

d', dh: 'rwm^c bdt d', G 3:14. Occasionally M
substitutes hd' for d' in N. Cf. G 20:5, 34:15, 22, etc.
The adjectival form is hdh or hd': 'r^c hd', G 15:7.
Additional examples include: bhdh zmnh, CG,E G 30:20;
hd mn d' str' whd mn d' st(r'), E 17:12; mh hy' d' d^c bdt.
G 4:10.

The third person singular independent pronouns
are also used as demonstratives. This is one of the
regular functions of the independent pronouns. The
adjectival forms are distinguished by prefixed Heh:
hhw': blyly' hhw', G 19:35 and hhy': b'r^c hhy', G 26:12.
In G 38:1 the form hh' appears, to which a later hand has
added a Yod making the word hhy'. The form hw' is also
used as an adjective: blyly' hw', G 19:33.

pl.

The pl. form is spelled alternatively as 'ln, 'lyn'
'yln, 'ylyn, 'lyyn, 'ylyyn. The adjectival form has a
preformative Heh: h'ylyn, etc. Note however 'lyn
hmyšty nsy' 't^c bdw, G 28:10. The forms are used more
or less randomly for both m. and f.: šb^c ty, 'mrt' h'yln,
G 21:29.

Four different vocalizations appear in CG,C: d'lyn
(d^eēlēn), G 38:25; d'lyn (d^eilēn), G 38:25; h'lyyn
(hā'elayin), G 44:6; h'lyn (hā'elayin), G 38:25. The

last two resemble duals.

The third person plural independent pronoun is also used in adjectival form. It appears both with and without the prefixed Heh: bywmyh h'ynwn, G 6:4; 'ynwn gybry', G 6:4.

It is also used in compounds: 'lyyn l'lyyn, E 14:20, 25; b'lyyn wb'ylyn, L 24:12

3. Interrogative

Interrogative pronouns are used to introduce questions. Some are regularly used together with specific prepositions or in some other characteristic way. These facets are evident from the examples cited as well as the discussion in the section on syntax.

-'ymt, 'mt: ^Cd 'ymtyy, E 16:28

-'n. Locative: The form hn is also used: hn hw' hbl 'hwk, G 4:9; cf. also G 18:9M and CG,E G 38:21.

'n is often used with the copula: 'n hw', 'n hy',

'n 'nwn. Directional: with the preposition l-

l'n 'nn slqyn, D 1:28; with the preposition mn:

mn 'n 'tytwn, G 42:7 (this is a corrected form of the verb; N has 'tyhwn); mn 't 'tyyh wl'n 't 'zlh, G 16:8. Cf. also G 42:7, CG,E G 29:2.

-dylm': This is usually used with mh which is the real interrogative element in the expression: mh dylm' yhsrwn, G 18:28, mh dylm' 'm, G 18:29. Note, however, that in G 18:28 and 18:31 the mh is marked with superlinear dots, a sign usually used to show

that it is to be omitted.

-h': This is an independent particle which is frequently used to introduce a question. It is related to the prefixed Heh used as an interrogative in H. Examples include: h' nṭwr' d'hy 'nh, G 4:9; h' šlm lyh, G 29:5. In E 2:7 it appears as hw', corrected by DM to h'. In CG,E G 29:5 hḥkmtwn contains the shortened, Hebraized form.

-hyk: hyk 'mrt, G 26:9; with kdn: hyk kdyn 'sq, G 44:34, cf. also G 44:8. Though the combination is more frequent as two words, in G 39:9 only one is needed: whykdyn 'Cbd.

-mh: "what, who", also m', CG,E G 30:27: mh 't bry, G 27:18; with dylm': mh dylm' dymwš, G 27:12; with the copula: mh 'yrwn' 'ylyn lk, G 33:5; with the preposition l-: lmh k^Cn, G 12:18, vocalized l^emāh in CG,B G 4:6.

-mn, m'n: mn 't, G 21:32, cf. my 't, cited above; m'n tny lk, G 3:11; with the copula: mn hw' d' gbr', G 24:65; in compound: mn bgll mn 'tqbl qrbnk, G 4:8; mn kdwn mh, G 19:12. Note H mn hw' is translated in E 16:15 by mn' hw'.

4. Relative

The relative pronoun in A is universally dy (dī) or a related form. Some dialects (Sefire, EA) use zy, identical in origin to the more common dy by virtue of its derivation from the same PS letter.

Later developments, it would seem, are the prefixing of dy to the following word and omission of the Yod, leaving a prefixed d-. This transition is evident in several dialects, Pal. Man. and the bowls where both dy and d- are attested. Syr. has d- (dā-) but retains the dī- vocalization in dyly (dīlī) "mine", etc. The Qumran Targum of Job always has dy. Most interesting in this respect is the G. Apoc. where dy occurs dozens of times while prefixed d- occurs only very sparingly. Compound forms prefer dy also. This indicates that in the G. Apoc. the transition from dy to d- is already in progress, but not fully developed.

In NT the relative pronoun appears in three forms: independent dy, prefixed dy, and prefixed d-:

Independent dy

One of the more frequent constructions is the independent form: kl npš hyyt' dy^c mkwn, G 9:9.

Prefixed dy-

Usually dy stands as a separate word while d- is prefixed. There are, however, many cases of prefixed dy:

1. dy- followed by the preposition l followed by a noun or pronoun: dyl'bw h, G 31:19; this is not always the case, as seen from šlmyy' dy

l'bw̄h, G 31:19.

2. the independent ~~possessive~~ pronouns: dydy, G 33:10; dydyh (dīdēh, mappiq in the Heh), CG,D G 38:25; dydk, G 4:8; dydn, G 34:23; dydhwn, G 15:13. Also dyly, G 20:16, dylyh, G 24:36.
3. with the negative particle: dyl', G 3:22
4. prefixed to verbs: dyqnyyn, G 12:5

In certain verbs the perfect or participial forms when prefixed with dy- are identical to the imperfect form with prefixed d-. This has led to some confusion.

In G 4:15, for example, where the words are fairly close together, the original scribe wrote dy q̄twl. This was later vocalized in N to be read q^e t̄ōl. DM has printed the words together (dyq̄twl), following the vocalizer, but has not indicated this change in the apparatus.

On the other hand, in G 40:23 the manuscript clearly reads dy tr̄h̄s (two words) which is reproduced by DM. The correct reading is dytr̄h̄s (one word). This may be verified by comparison with the H. The expression in question is a translation of Jer. 17:5. The H is 'šr yb̄th. Only dytr̄h̄s or dy ytr̄h̄s is possible as the A translation. The targum of Jer. reads dytr̄h̄ys, with variants d'ytr̄h̄s and d'tr̄h̄ys noted in the apparatus. Prefixed d-

The more common form is prefixed d-: nwnwy dym',

G 9:2. The development of this form from the independent dy was probably facilitated by the fact that dy ends in an open syllable, enabling it to be grafted to almost any subsequent word. In the course of this change, the vocalization also changed: d'hrn (d^e'ahran), CG,A E 22:4; d's' (de'asa'), CG,A E 21:19; dmhkh (damhalākāh), CG,C G 32:21; dbrk (dabrak), CG,D G 37:32; dksp (daksēp), CG,D G 37:28; cf. also the vocalization in Syr.

Often N and the various marginal and interlinear notations differ regarding the use of prefixed d- or independent dy. There is no apparent pattern in this matter. Also, frequently when N has dy, M suggests d'yt.

The relative pronoun is often omitted, leaving a phenomenon which is similar to the construct state. For a complete analysis of this construction, cf. pp. 193ff.

5. Indefinite

The following are the indefinite pronouns followed by examples of their usages.

br nš: wsdy mn br nš, G 1:2; it also appears as one word in CPA Jonah 1:15 brns', and in N.

In G 34:31 the meaning is "husband" b'th dlyt lh brnš (probably read k'th). Cf. also Ug. bnšm.

mn d^cm: mn d^cm, G 22L 12, M is mnd^cm, cf. G 33:11;

md^cm, G 30:31, M is m'n d^cm, CG,E has mn d^cm;

m'n d^cm G 39:6 is the translation of H m'wmh.

Note also kl m'n d^cm, G 40:15; kl mn d^cm, G 39:23;
klmh d^cm, G 39:9

kl mn dy: w^cbd hh kl mn dy pqd, G 7:6; kl mn, Beth Shearim, III, p. 171; kl mn dhwh 'kl, G 2:9, cf. G 3:24.

mn, m'n: mn (man), GG,A E 22:5; mn d'mr whwh ^clm', G 21:23; lmn dhwh, G 44:1, M is vt dn dhwh; lmyqm mn mdbyt, G 49:11

kl: "in every place" bkl dtlk, G 28:15 is the translation of H bkl 'šr tlk; kl mh dy b'rs yštysy, G 6:17.

hyk mh: hyk mh d'n' yhydvy, G 3:22; hyk mh dpqd, G 7:16; hyk mh dy ^cbd^t, G 8:21.

hyk: hyk zmn ywm' hdyn, G 7:11

EXCURSUS I

There are dozens of places in NT where there appears to be an interchange between the forms of the third person and the first person. This occurs without regard to the gender of the person, but apparently only when the m. form is used for the f. also. The following data have been simplified, but it must be stressed that these are only a small sampling of the occurrences.

Hebrew lpny (l^efānāy) is frequently translated as qdmwy: G 3:9M, 6:3, 6:13, 15:1, 23:4, 24:12, 32:17, 40:9, etc. It appears both in the translation of H words and in the midrashic paraphrases which have been added to certain verses, cf. G 3:9M. It appears in M and N, though more frequently in the latter.

Examples of the interchange of pronominal suffixes on nouns include:

Hebrew	Aramaic	Source
<u>'by</u>	<u>'bwy</u>	G 27:41, 32:18,
<u>bqwly</u>	<u>bql mmryh</u>	G 22:18
<u>^cyny</u> (<u>^cenāy</u>)	<u>^cyynwy</u>	G 44:21I,
	N reads <u>^cyny</u> instead.	
<u>^cd bw'y</u>	<u>^cmyytwy</u>	G 48:5

In G 30:6, H dnny is rendered by dn yty(h). The final Heh is not in the manuscript but a line over the Yod marks its absence. This probably indicates that this interchange of the forms of the first and third persons is not the innovation of the copyist of Neophyti I, rather it was in the text which lay before him. This may have been a correction on his part. Conversely, in G 30:25 the final Heh in both l'tryh and wl'r^cyh are marked to be omitted. In G 30:16, dbrwy has the Waw marked with a short line to note its omission. Cf. H dd'y bny.

Verb forms likewise exhibit this tendency: H 'dbr is rendered in N as yml, E 23:22; H l' yd^cty, is translated as lyt pr^ch yd^c, E 5:2, etc.

Possible Solutions

The explanations for these deviations may be sought along two lines. Either separate explanations may be found for specific words or changes or one all-encompassing explanation may account for all of the changes together.

The simplest answer is to ascribe all of these changes to scribal error. This is presumably the basis of the many emendations which DM has introduced to change the manuscript readings. Occasionally these emendations reflect the readings of M or I. More frequently they result from the desire to standardize the forms and bring

them into line with the CG fragments and whatever may be assumed to have been the original spelling of these words.

Mention has already been made of the procedures employed by DM in the editing of the text. Here, too, it must be realized that the huge number of examples of this phenomenon militates against its being a simple error. True, there may be cases where -yy (-ai) was misread for -wy (-oi), but cases like the translation of 'dny ('adōnī), G 24:65 as rybwnyh can not be the result of a misreading rybwnyy. Also impossible is the misvocalization of the H as a plural.

Most of the differences noted above consist of changes from the first person in the Hebrew text to the third person in the Aramaic. This is true for both the verbs and pronominal suffixes in question. One may, therefore, surmise that this is not a simple exchange of the forms of the first and third persons. Rather, it is a tendency in N to avoid the use of the first person by employing the third person as a substitute. This is not to be confused with the avoidance of anthropomorphic expressions. The words of both human and divine speakers are altered this way. Instead, one may seek the solution in the very raison d'être of the targum.

Being a paraphrase of the Bible text, theoretically listened to by synagogue audiences, there may have been a feeling of impropriety at translating in the first person. Sentences like hwyh 'šly yty, with the emphasis on "me" might have seemed inappropriate, perhaps even inaccurate, so the translator rendered the phrase in the third person. This produced a translation which was less accurate from a literal sense, but more accurate from a historical perspective.

The presence of such an attitude may be demonstrated from several rabbinic texts:

Mishnah Megillah 4:10 notes that one who changes references to sexual passages (hmknh b^crywt) should be silenced. The following portions of the Mishnah refer to practices in translating the Bible. (The meaning of h'mr is clearly "one who translates" and the following Mishnah deals with translations of Biblical passages.) Accordingly, we may have a reference to an unapproved practice of changing certain passages so that statements could not be applied to the speaker or listener.

Another passage, the last paragraph of the Tosefta Megillah, also deals with this subject. There the text notes that changes may be made in number: singular to plural and plural to singular. Lieberman's notes indicate that the preferred reading, following both manuscript evidence and quotations in medieval literature, prohibits

this practice. To this Rabbi Judah adds his often quoted remark that anyone who translates a verse kšwrtw is a liar while anyone who adds to it is a blasphemer.

From both of these passages we see clear references to the system of altering the translations. This may, in fact, be the tendency in some places in N.

The third solution, and probably the closest to the truth, lies in the recognition of some type of homophonic confusion. Words like ydyv and ydwv may have been pronounced alike, perhaps yadāy. In this manner the forms might be confused.

It is also possible to postulate common spellings for words which were pronounced differently. Thus ydwv might be yadōy "his hands" or yadāy "my hands"/ That Waw is used for both /o/ and /a/ has already been demonstrated. Similarly, ydyh or ydh could be yadī "my hand" or yadeh "his hand". Final Heh and Yod are sometimes interchanged, though admittedly not with an /i/ pronunciation, rather /e/ or /ē/

The verbs under question may also be explained according to standard rules. E 5:2 may be a royal figure of speech, but yml for 'dbr is not at all strange. This type of change is common in CPA, where verbs which begin with y-, 'y- and '- are used almost interchangeably. Additional examples of this phenomenon in NT may be found below in the discussion of verb inflection.

Accordingly, it seems that all of these "errors" are in fact legitimate forms. They may all be explained as changes introduced as a standard translation technique to eliminate the use of the first person or, as acceptable variations of the spelling of words. They are not to be corrected.

B. Nouns

1. Inflection

a. Introduction

Nouns are classified by several possible characteristics:

1. the stem: generated when the noun is inflected in the emphatic state (excluding the emphatic suffix). Stems are grouped by the various combinations and positions of long and short vowels. Gemination and reduplication of root letters likewise affect stem classification, as do relationships to verb forms from which the noun may be derived.

2. prefix (if present)

3. suffix (if present)

Nouns exist in one of three states:

1. absolute: the noun by itself

2. emphatic or determined: with the definite article "the".

3. construct: When two nouns exist in a genitive relationship, the first is considered to be in the construct state.

Nouns may be inflected in three numbers:

1. singular

2. dual

3. plural

There are two genders:

1. masculine

2. feminine

All nouns have gender, number and state.

b. Gender

All nouns are either m. or f. Common Semitic practice dictates that most nouns with ~~some~~ inherent gender (cow, soldier, man, etc.) are that gender. Likewise, certain noun forms are generally considered m. or f. without regard to the gender of the object. A few exceptions are discussed below.

In NT, as in other A dialects, there is no indicator of the gender of m. s. nouns. Feminine s. nouns usually end in -h /-ah/. In pl. nouns the Yod indicates m. gender while the /a/ before -n, -t or -t' indicates f. gender. As this vowel is not indicated in the text, the cue to gender must come from the other elements in the word.

Most nouns have only one gender. If, for instance, a noun is masculine and a feminine form is desired, it may be constructed by adding the f. nominal suffix and altering all modifiers and verbs in the sentence accordingly. There are, however, a few nouns which may be considered to be either m. or f.

The common noun br is m. in form and usually means "son". The corresponding f. word is bt/brt and means "daughter". The former, br, is also used for "child", or to put it another way, br may be either m. or f. To eliminate this ambiguity, N often introduces an

adjective to modify the word br or bn. It does likewise with the plurals bnyn/bnn even though here the gender of the noun is easily determined from the plural suffix. (Does this mean that the plural suffix is ambiguous also?)

Examples include:

bnn nqbn, G 6:1 which is H bnwt.

br dkr, G 18:14; bn dkr, G 37:17, 30:5I. All of these translate the H bn but the adjective may be added for emphasis.

wyqr' lk zr^c, G 21:12 is rendered in N wytqry lk zr^c dbnyn.

brh nqbh, CG,E G 30:21 is H bt.

gmlyn nqbn mynqn, CG,C G 32:16.

Another case is the translation of the words rendered in N by twr. In G 41:2, 18, etc. prh is translated by twr, cf. šb^c twryn, G 41:2, 3. In G 41:18 the plural is twryyn. In L ch. 4 pr is also rendered by twr. The word twr is thus either m. or f. Cf. also twr' smwqh šlmh, Nu 19:2; twryn nqbn 'rb^cyn wtwryn dkryn^c šrh, G 32:16. ST uses prw'n in G 41:2.¹

The gender of nouns may not be determined solely through the gender of their accompanying verbs. Often m. verbs are used for f. nouns. The reverse is much less

¹Additional examples of this phenomenon in H and Ug. are described by Baruch Levine, "Ugaritic Descriptive Rituals," Journal of Cuneiform Studies, XVII (Dec., 1963), 107-111.

common. Examples include: yhwy nhwr whwt nhwr, G 1:4, wrwh hwh mnšb', G 1:3. Additional cases are discussed below, p. 209 .

c. Number

Nouns exist in three numbers: singular, dual and plural. Nouns are regularly inflected in two of the three categories. Exceptions are noted below.

1) Singular

The sign of the m. s. noun is 0. The appearance of -' or h as the emphatic of m. s. nouns may be taken as an indicator of the s. only because there is no indicator of the plural. Feminine s. nouns frequently end in h, vocalized as /-āh/. In construct and emphatic forms this vowel is not indicated but is assumed to have existed. The t inserted between the stem and the emphatic suffix is merely a glide and does not indicate gender for any reason except that this glide is not used in most m. nouns, which normally end in consonants.

2) Dual

Most nouns appear in the singular and plural forms. Duals are limited to objects which usually come in pairs (twins, parts of the body, etc.) and a few nouns which always appear in forms which are technically dual. The primary characteristic of the dual is the /-ai-/ ending which is appended to the stem. Final nunation is also regular. Examples include: hyyn,

myvn, 'pvn, as well as twm'yvn (twma'in), CG,E G 38:27, tryvn (vocalized as tra-), CG,D 43:10. In G 25:23 tryn 'myvn may be dual. The s. is 'wmh. Cf. also 'lyvn, frequently vocalized -ayin or -ain in the CG fragments.

3) Plural

The plural of m. nouns is usually formed in A by adding -y to the s. form. This is often accompanied by various internal vowel changes which result from the addition of this extra syllable. It is also common for there to be final nunation. In eastern dialects, notably in BTA, there is a strong tendency to omit it.

The A of N, being of the western type usually has the final Nun: gbr/gbryn, bn/bnyn, etc. Occasionally the final Nun is lacking, but such forms are relatively rare: btyn' wbybny, G 40:18 = E 1:13.

The indication of a f. pl. noun is /ā/ following the stem. In the absolute, nunation is normal, leaving the customary form as -n /-an/. The emphatic form has the -t- glide inserted before the emphatic element: āta'. Construct forms normally end in -t /-at/. Though normally omitted, this vocalization is indicated by the Waw in npšwt', E 1:5 if this is not a Hebraized spelling.

Some f. nouns ending in -h form the pl. in the manner of m. nouns:

šnh/šynyn, G 14:4, D 29:4

š^Ch/š^Cyn, D 32:4

Cf. also npšyn, E 12:4 where the Yod has a

superlinear dot.

Certain irregular nouns do not form the pl, from the same base as the s.: 'th/nšwy d'bwy, G 37:2.

When nouns ending in -w or -wt are inflected in the pl., the Waw assumes its consonantal qualities and usually doubles in the orthography:

mlkw/mlkwwn, G 25:23

'šlmwth, L 7:37, M is 'šlmwwth, cf. L 8:22.

Other words follow this pattern by analogy:

twr is btwwryh, E 32:12, dṭwwryn, D 11:11. Cf.

also twry (tūrē), CG,D G 8:4 and ṭwwry'

(tawwrayā), CG,D G 8:5, 7:19.

ḥswsryn, Nu.10:10, M is ḥswsrwwn.

lwhy, D 9:15 but lwwhy, D 9:10. Cf. lwwhwh, where

the third Waw has a superlinear dot.

swwwt', E 15:19

ktwnh, E 39:27, I is ktwnwwth; ktwnwwn, E 40:14

Words ending in Heh and Yod vary greatly in the formation of the plurals:

mzwzh is mzwztyy', E 12:22, I is -yyt'. In v.

23 the form is mzwzyyt'.

Cf. also zr^cyt, G 10:32, M is zr^cyywwt; l^czr^cyywthwn,

G 10:31

"City" is qryh, G 11:4, D 20:19. The emphatic

form is qrth, D 21:3. The pl. appears in

several different ways: qwry'n, Nu 35:6, 8,

12, 24; qry'n, Nu 35:7; qwryyn, Nu 35:7, 11,

14.

Cf. also gryw', Nu 35:14 and grwy mšrh, G 19:29; barykwn (b^eqāryēkon), CG,D D 28:16. The emphatic gryyt' appears in G 19:25.

"Night" is irregular also. The absolute form is lyly, G 1:5; lyly ntyr wmzwmn hw', E 12:42. Cf. also CG,E G 41:11. The spelling lyly', G 1:5 may be the emphatic used as an absolute. The emphatic form varies. Within the midrashic addition to E 12:42 the following appear: lyly qdmy', lyl tny'n', lyly' tlyty' (as well as the same forms with other numbers). Pl. forms include: lylwy, G 7:4; lylwwn, G 7:12. Cf. lylw'n, CPA Jonah 2:1.

As in in the m. some f. nouns form the pl. by adding -h- to the stem: 'mh/'mhn, G 12:16, G 20:14; cf. 'mhht'!, E 17:12.

d. State

1) Absolute

In m. s. nouns there is no sign of the state, unless the lack of any specific noun ending be taken as such an indication. In f. s. nouns the same situation prevails.

In pl. nouns, on the other hand, the Nun appended to both m. and f. forms may be seen as an indicator of the absolute state. The few cases cited above where Nun is omitted are irregular for N.

2) Emphatic

Nouns which are in the emphatic state end in $\sqrt{a/}$

which is indicated in the orthography by -h or -'. The former is more appropriate for a western A text, the latter for eastern A. Actually, most texts which are written in western A have both forms. Cf. G. Apoc., Targum to Job, etc.

In m. pl. nouns, the emphatic ending is appended to the -y of the pl. In this construction, the Yod is consonantal and is frequently doubled in the orthography. In f., both s. and pl., the -t- glide is introduced between the stem and the emphatic suffix. Frequently the addition of this extra syllable changes the vocalization of the rest of the word.

Occasionally the m. s. emphatic form is generated by the addition of -y':

lml'ky', E 12:13

lmšknyh, E 33:8

nsyh qdmy', E 4:8

mšknyh, E 31:7

Usually the Yod has a superlinear dot, but the recurrence of the phenomenon belies its being a simple error. Other uncited cases also come from Exodus.

Emphatic forms of the m. pl. may also differ slightly in that the Aleph may be lost:

ywmy h'nwn, G 6:4

whwn krwby prsyn, E 37:9

yswdy dmdbh', L 4:30, 4:7

cl bty dy y'klwn yt pysh' bhwn, E 12:7

Alternatively, the Yod may be omitted:

khn', L 1:11, I is khny'; H is hkhnym.

tl't' šrby't', G 40:12

3) Construct

Nouns in the construct are formally equivalent to the emphatic forms without the final -h or -'. Conceptually they retain their determined meaning.

Masculine pl. forms end in -y /ē/; cf. lywhy (lēw^ehē), CG,D D 5:19.

Occasionally forms appear which may attest to a postformative vowel used on s. nouns in the construct state. While these are not overly frequent and may be explained through various other means, it seems worthwhile to allow for the possibility of a weak vowel at the end of the word. As most of the cases come from Exodus, there may be a redactional or scribal factor in their appearance:

^cm' bny yšr'l, E 1:9, M is ^cmy. The H is hnh ^cm
bny yšr'l rb w^cswm mmnw.

kl šbty dlwy, E 32:26 = H kl šbt lwy.

ywmy mytty, G 27:2. H is ywm mwty, M has ywm
my(tty).

bm^crtly hql kpyl', G 23:19

bwkry dyšr'l, E 6:14 is H bny r'wbn bkwr yšr'l.

kl byt knyšt' mymyhwn, E 7:19. The Aleph has
a superlinear dot.

mym' swp, E 15:22. The Aleph has a superlinear dot.

Occasionally the m. pl. construct ends in -yh. The Heh carries a superlinear dot but its frequent occurrence militates against scribal error. It may testify to an added weak vowel after the long vowel of the construct ending or the simple equation of -y and -yh endings. Examples include:

ryšyh byt 'bhthwn, E 6:14. Cf also ryšyh 'bht,
E 6:25.

lbwšyh bnwy, E 39:41

mnyh mdbhh, E 38:3

b'pyh šlytwy dpr^ch, E 10:3

Note also 'wmy' kl bnwy d^cšw, G 27:29.

2. Noun Stems

As noted above, the criteria for noun classification include vowel length, consonant gemination, prefixes and suffixes and relation to verb stems. The lack of any accurate vocalization system precludes its use as a criterion. Likewise, use of matres lectionis, though extensive, is very inconsistent and not a sure indication of vowel length or quality. The geniza fragments, as noted above, are helpful, but are inconsistent both internally and among themselves. They may not be accepted as authoritative.

In spite of these drawbacks, some analysis of noun stems has been attempted. The stems have been classified primarily through the use of the CG fragments and consideration of the other A dialects. Matres lectionis have been considered also, but not as final evidence in any issue. It must be conceded, however, that the proposals are only tentative.

Stems

a. Short Nouns

(1) Short Vowel

šm, G 2:19

pm (pem), G 4:23, 49:1, CG,A E 21:22. The form pym appears in G 29:2, 10, 8:10M, etc. and is vocalized pem in CG,D G 43:12. In G chapter 44 N prefers pwm while M prefers pm. The spelling pwm is also found in G 45:21 and 28:10. For analysis of this word, cf. Kutscher, Studies, p. 12 .
yd, G 4:7; ydh (yedeh), CG,A E 22:10; 'yd ('ed), CG,A E 21:24.

tb, G 2:9

'š. ('eš), CG,A E 22:5

br. This is usually spelled br in N but byr in M. The form byr is also used in CPA, also in CG,E A 29:32, 33. It is probably pronounced ber.

Some short nouns form the pl. by adding -ht:

šm/šmht, E 1:1. Nu 3:2. Cf. šmhn, G 2:20, H is
šmwt; Nu 1:34, passim, I is šmht.
'b/'bhty, G 49:29, etc.

Some short nouns which end in a consonant in the absolute state have Waw introduced before certain pronominal suffixes: 'hwhwn, hmwk, 'bwnn, etc. This phenomenon appears in BA, BR, BTA, EA, and G. Apoc. It is similar to the OB forms mārūka, mārūšu, etc. The forms with and without the Waw are used interchangeably as may be seen from the following tables. The use of 'hwy for "my brother" is similar to other first person pronominal endings given as -wy. Cf. Excursus I, pp. 87ff. In hmwk, E 18:6 the Waw was added by a later hand.

'h

Singular

Plural

'hy, G 33:3; 'hwy, G 27:41

'hy, G 29:4; 'hayi, CG,D 38:26;

'hyv, CG,E₂ G 37:16

'hwk, G 4:11; 'hwk, G 27:42,

'hk, G 49:8, 47:5, 6, 37:10;

I is 'hyk; 'hk, G 27:29,

'hyk, G 37:13, 14

M is 'hwk.

'hyw, G 33:3; 'hwy, G 4:2,

13:11, 4:8; 'hwy bnywn, G

45:12, l'hwhy, G 31:46, M is

l'hwy.

d'hyh, G 24:53; 'hwh, G 24:55

'hwy d'mh, G 29:10 N & CG,E

Singular

Plural

'hynn, G 31:32'hwkwn, G 42:34'hyhwn, D 18:18; read'hykwn?'b'b', G 19:32d'bwk, G 12:1'bwy, G 27:13l'bwby, G 29:12, l'bwh, G 31:35'b'? G 19:32, 'bwnn, G 35:9'bwkwn, G 31:6ff.'bwkn, G 31:5, 7; 'bwkyn, CG,E G 31:6,7'bwhwn, G 9:18, 22, 33, etc.; in 19:35 M the form is -hn.'bwhwn (f. pl.), G 19:32

(2) Long Vowel

gwb', vocalized gō- and gū- in CG,D G 37:28, 30.nwny', G 1:25dyn (dīn), G 4:7, 8; dyn' rb', G 38:25ywm, G 1:5, 4:7; lywmyn, CG,E G 7:4^cn (^can?), G 4:2; ^cnyn (^canīn), CG,A E 21:36;^cnyh (^caneh, māppiq in the Heh), CG,B G 4:4.ql. qāl, D 5:28 ; qal, D 5:25 (construct); qlyn(qālīn), CG,D E 9:23^cwp', C 7:8; w^cwp', G 1:19

br (bār?), "field": br', G 4:8

lwgh, L 14:12; cf. L 14:10, 21 lg.

3) Diphthong

^cyn: ^cyn' (^caynā'), CG,D G 38:25; ^cvyn, CG,A

E 21:24; ^cvnyy (^caynavy), CG,C G 31:40.

byt, G 1:10; byt (beyt), CG,A E 22:4; The Beth

is vocalized with /a/ in: byyth, CG,C G 34:19;

bytyh, CG,D G 38:26; dbyyth, CG,A E 22:17; byth,

CG,A E 22:6

b. Triliteral nouns

1) Short Vowel on the First Syllable

qatl-

hqlh (hāqlāh, read haqlāh?), CG,A E 22:5; bhqlh

(behaqleh), CG,A E 22:4; hql (h^eqel), CG,A E 22:4.

wb'bn'y' (ūb^e'abnaya'), CG,D E 7:19; cf. l'bn (la'^eben)

CG,A E 21:18.

hbr: lhbrh (l^ehabreh), CG,A E 22:6; cf. also, ibid.

v. 7-9 and also hābireh, ibid., 21:18.

'dm "blood", G 4:11; 'dmvh ('admēh), CG,D G 37:26;

'dm ('edām), CG,A E 22:1; 'dm ('^edām), ibid., 2.

qetl-/qitl-

zmn' (zemnā'), CG,D G 44:18; in N this is frequently

spelled zymnh or zymn'.

wdkry (w^edekre), CG,C G 31:38.

krm (krem) CG,A E 22:4; karmeh also, ibid.

rhš' (rehšā'), CG,D E 7:21

The word gbr appears in many different forms; some may be related to H gībor: gbr', G 6:4; gybryh, gybry', G. 6:4. This should probably be vocalized as gebrayyah; cf. gebar, CG,A E 22:4 and gebr, *ibid.*, 21:26; Note also gwbry', G 19:19, gwbrh, CG,E G 29:22. These may be vocalized as gu-, cf. gubryn, CG,D G 37:28. Note also gōbrīn, CG,A E 21:22.

2) Long Vowel on the First Syllable

qōfl-

rwgzy (rōgzi), CG,A E 22:23

^cwbdk, G 4:7

kwkby', G 1:16

qātl-/qōtl-

htryh (hātrē), htryhwn (hātrēhōn), CG,A E 21:19

hwlq, G 44:18 but hlq (hālaq), CG,D G 44:18

^cwlm, G 4:8; cf. H. ^cōlām; ^clm' (emphatic), G 4:7

bsm, E 30:35; bśm (bōšem), CG,D E 5:23. Cf. also

bwsmnyn, E 30:7

qwtl-/qtwl-

The forms bwkr- and bkwr- seem interchangeable as do other words of the same pattern: bwkr', G 27:32; bwkrk, E 4:24, 6:14; M is bkwrk; bwkryh, G 38:6; bkwrh, G 38:7; Note also bkpwlh, E 16:5 and I bkwplh. For further analysis see Kutscher, The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll, (Hebrew), pp. 396 ff.

3) Long Vowel on the Second Syllable

qtīl-

b^cyr, G 1:25, 4:20. The vocalization varies:

be^cīr, CG, A E 22:9 but b^{ec}īr in v. 18. Note also b^cry' (b^ceyrā'), CG, D E 7:23 but b^{ec}īrāh in E 7:21 and 8:1.

nhyrwy, G 2:7

sdyqy', G 4:8

gzyrt, G 1:4

gdyšyn (gedīšīn), CG, A E 22:5

qtōl-

bhtwrth (bahtōrtāh), CG, A E 22:31 ; H is bmhtrt.

qtwlyn "murderers", E 30:13 (3x), qtwl', Nu 35:24, 25.

nṭwr' "guardian", G 4:9

wqšwt, E 34:6

pawdyh, G 2:15

'bwb', G 4:4

qtūl-

btwlh (b^etūlāh), CG, A E 22:15

btwlth (b^etūlth), CG, A E 22:16

šb^ct (šebū^cat), CG, A E 22:10

yhws, G 2:4

lbwšyhwn, G 44:13

bplwg, G 44:18; cf. also bpylyg 'r^c, ibid.

c. Nouns Based on Verbs with Weak Letters

1-Nun

lmṭrh, E 16:34

1-Aleph

'byd(h), L 5:22, M is ybydh.

3 weak

dmw, G 1:26, 6:1hdw (rbh 't^cbd), G 21:6slw, G 28:17zkw, G 15:1; cf. zkwth, G 15:11ršw: ršwt!, G 4:7; ršwy, G 31:7 is irregular and is changed by DM to ršw.

d. Nouns With a Doubled Second Letter

Frequently words with the second root letter geminated are derived from the intensive (pa^ce1) conjugation.

^cbwr?, G 1:14zbynwt (zebīnut), CG,A E 21:21

A class of nouns which usually refer to specific roles or occupations is the pa^cal:

hrš (haraš), whršh, CG,A E 22:17hnn!; hanān, CG,A E 22:22dyvny! (dayvanāyā!), CG,A E 22:7hmsyn, G 6:11, 13.

e. Reduplicated Noun Stems

1-2-3-3

w^crbwbh, Nu 11:4

špnynyn, L 5:11

wbhzwzh, D 4:34, M = ?

1-2-3-2-3

lybšbšt', E 14:21. The form bybšt', v. 22, etc.

may indicate that this is an error.

šrqrqh, D 14:17

glšlyšn, L 13:41. Cf. bglšlšnwt, L 13:43M, L 13:

55M, etc.

^Crbwb', E 8:17, 20 (2x). Other forms include:

^Crbwb', *ibid.*, ^Crbwb', E 8:17M, ^Crbwwb', E 8:18.

1-2-1-2

glgly, E 14:25

mhbhb, E 12:9; H is n'.

rbrbny ^Clm', G 49:26

f. Quadriliteral Nouns

šlpwqyn, E 9:1. Cf. šplwqyn, E 9:10, M is

šlbwqyn.

^Crpđ', L 11:19, M is hrpdh.

bšrbyth, E 31:20

l^Crpl', E 20:21

f. Nouns With Prefixes

m-

Nouns with prefixed m- are usually derived from the infinitive (mymrh from mymr) or are related to a spatial concept "place where" (mdnh, mškn', etc.).

mdnh, G 2:14

mškn', G 4:20

m'ks psh', E 12:11. Cf. mks psh', v. 27

mrkb, L 15:9

mprš, G 1:6

mykl (root 'kl), G 26:21

mymr G 24:27M. It also appears as mymr' (DM omits the Yod) and bymrḥ. Note also m'mrh, CG, B G 4:4.

bmrtwq (b^emertōq), CG, A E 21:18

m^cbrh (me^cab^erah), CG, A E 21:22

lbyt mwqdšh, D 12:5, etc.

t-

tbšylyn, G 27:7

tšlwmy (tašlūmē), CG, A E 21:23; cf. also ibid. v. 25. In v. 24 the word is vocalized tašlōmy.

b'r^c twtbwtyh, G 37:1

tksyth, CG, A E 22:26

trgmnk, E 7:1; ltwrgmn, E 4:16

š- (cf. šaf^cel)

š^cbwd', G 27:40; E 13:3

š^cbdhwn (š^{ce}b^ed^ehōn), CG, D E 6:7. An additional dot over the Beth indicates an option of bo for that syllable also.

'- (cf. 'af^cel)

b'psdh. The Palestinian vocalization is be'afsidehh, the Tiberian has a schewa under b, p, and s.

šgh d'pršwth, L 7:34

'yt- (cf. 'etp^{ec}el)

b'ytbrywthwn, G 2:4

'stlqwt^cnnh, E 40:36

g. Nouns with Suffixes

-n

One who does:

gzlnyn, G 6:11

wrhmn (wrahaman), CG,A E 22:22

trgmnk, E 7:1; ltwrgmn, E 4:16

plnhnwn (pelhānhōn), CG,D E 6:6, cf. v. 9.

mlk wšwltñ, D 11:25

swrwwn wmwrrwn, D 21:20

Abstracts:

rwhsn', G 1:2

plhn, G ;:2

'wlpn, E 4:16

-wn

^crbwn (^carbōn), CG,D G 38:17

sprwn?, G 27:29

-w

dbbw, G 3:15, etc., but b^cly dbbk, G 14:20

mlkw, G 49:7

Nouns ending in -w usually form the pl. by adding -n. In these cases the -w assumes its consonantal form and frequently is represented in the orthography as -ww-.

mlkw/mlkwwn, G 25:23

dwrwn, G 25:5, though Greek is inflected

similarly, dwrwwn. For other examples and the similar inflection of f. nouns, see p. 98.

-wt (abstract nouns)

bmsy^Cwt, G 1:6

'wmnwt, G 4:22

knyšwf, G 1:10

šqh d'pršwth, L 7:34

Gentilic

The gentilic endings common in NT are: -y,

-yy, -y' (emphatic pl.) or -yy'/h.

bnthwn dhyt'y, G 27:46

bnthwn dhytyy, G 27:46

drdny('), G 10:4

w'ytly'(h), G 10:4

kn^Cnyy, G 34:30, M adds -'.

plyštyy', G 10:14

The m. s. form is -h or h': 'rm'h, G 25:20, ^Cbr', G 39:17. The f. s. is exemplified by msryy', G 16:1 and brh d'th yšr'lyth, L 24:10.

For additional related forms see the inflection of adjectives, p. 116.

The Geniza fragments seem to prefer -yy, CG,E G 39:1 msryy = E12:35N. Vocalized forms include:

^Cbr'y (^Cibra'i), CG,A G 21:2

d^cbryy (di^cbrāyē), CG, D E 7:16

d^cbryy' (d^cbrayey!?), CG, E₂ G 40:15

C. Adjectives

Adjectives may be inflected in both genders and in the sing. and pl. Examples include:

m. s.

tb 'w byš, G 24:50, M is byš 'w tb

f. s.

rhymh, CG E G 29:31

thy' wbhy', G 1:2

m. pl.

qlylyn, G 7:4

sgvn (segin), CG B G 4:10

f. pl.

dlyln wbyšn, G 41:19

^csn byšn, E 1:10

gzrn byš', G 40:18 is irregular, cf. BTA

s'yqwnyn dydyh qby^c, G 28:12

Occasionally m. forms are used for f. sdv, G 1:2, M is sdyh; špwryn, G 6:2, M is špyrwt.

The states in which adjectives may be inflected are limited to the absolute and the emphatic. Any adjective in the construct state is really a noun. Accordingly, špyrt hy' lhdh, G 26:7 is corrected by DM to špyrt hzy. He also notes the possibility of reading špyr'.

Emphatic forms are generated as in nouns and participles. Irregular forms include: byn my' 'r^c, lbyn my' ^cvly', G 1:6. Though my' 'r^c can be "waters"

of the land" it should probably be seen as 'r^cy', parallel to ^cyly'.

In addition to these forms which are regular throughout NT, the m. s. adj. (and other forms) may be generated by other means:

Postformative -yy or -^cy (emphatic has additional -^c or -h):

vhdyvy, G 3:22

plhn' nkryyh, G 13:13 (m. s. emph.)

zmn' qdmvy', G 44:18 (cf. all ordinal numbers)

'rwm tb'y 'yln', G 3:6

^crtlyyn, G 3:7. Cf. also ^crtlyy, G 3:11

Based on the noun formulated with the -n suffix:

'hrnyyn, CG E G 29:27, etc.

'hrynn, G 17:21; cf. 'hryth, etc.

^csrnyyn, G 27:23; cf. M.

D. Numbers

1. Cardinal Numbers

Numbers have two genders. The forms are similar except that all m. forms which end in the numbers 3-9 have suffixed-' or -h: šb^ch dryn, G 4:24. Feminine numbers do not have this suffix: šb^c šnyn, G 5:7. This is the opposite of the formation of m. and f. nouns and participles but is very common in the Semitic languages. The number one reverses this process: hd is m., hdh is f. "Two" is irregular.

There are, however, many exceptions to this rule in the numbers between one and nine.

hmš sl^cyn, L 27:6, I (hm)šh.

tlt sl^cyn, L 27:6, M (tl)th.

trtyn s^rtryh, E 39:18 (2x)

trtyn hwmryn, E 36:30, M is tryn šb^ch mnyn, L 14:27,

I is šb^c.

'n npš hd tthyyb, Nu 15:27, I is hd'?

Cf. also 'wrhh, modified by hdh, hd' and šb^c in

D 28:8, 25.

The numbers between 11-19 are formed in the following ways. Masculine numbers append ^cšr to the first element (1-9) producing forms like hd ^cšr, šyt ^cšr, etc. Feminine forms add ^cšrh to the first element.

Exceptions are very common. Frequently there is the use of common forms in the first part of the number,

cf. tlt ^cšr for both m. and f. Also common are construct forms: ^crb't ^cšr, tmnt ^cšr, etc. This has produced hms t^cšr:L 27:7 M, 23:39 M. I frequently introduces ^cšry in m. forms. Additional data may be drawn from the examples below.

"Tens" is ^csryn, D 1:15. The tens are formed by pluralizing the form of the numbers 3-9. Twenty is apparently a dual form of 10, and is vocalized with the -yn suffix used for all of the other numbers in this class.

The word for 100 is m'h. There exist both a dual, "two hundred" and a plural, "hundreds". The forms vary. Two Hundred may be:

m'wn, G 11: 32, D 1:15.

m'tn, G 11:19 M. In m'tyn, Nu 16:35 the Yod was added later, cf. I mtn?

trty m'h, E 30:23.

trtyn m'wn, G 11:19; trtyn m'wn, G 11:21.

trtyn m'twn(:), G 32:15; trtyn m'wtn(:), G 32:15.

CG, C has m'wn (mā'wan) for both.

Hundreds is usually m'h in N: tlt m'h šnyn, G 5:22, etc. M often suggests m'wn. An exception is G 7:6 where no comment is found. CG E G 7:5 reads št m'wn. In E 38:24, 25 N has m'wn while I has m'h, cf. also Nu 1:37.

The independent "hundreds" is m'wn, E 10:25 and

m'wwth, Nu 31:48.

The cardinal numbers are:

	M	F
1	<u>hd</u> , G 11:1	<u>hd'</u> , G 3:22; <u>hdh</u> , 11:6 (more freq.); <u>hd</u> , 2:11.
	Note: In E Ch. 36 there are frequent deviations: <u>hdh</u> or <u>hd'</u> in N, <u>hdth</u> (<u>htth</u> in 36:12 I and 26 M) in I and <u>hth</u> in M. Cf. E 36:12, 15, 16, 22, 24, 26, 29, etc.	
2	<u>tryn</u> , G 6:19, M is <u>tryyn</u> <u>tryyn</u> (<u>trayyn</u>) CG D G 43:10	<u>trtyn</u> , G 4:19, L 24:5 (I is <u>trty</u>)
3	<u>tlt'</u> , G 6:10; <u>tltyh</u> <u>š^cbwdy'</u> , G 40:18	<u>tlt</u> , L 27:6, M is <u>(tl)th</u>
4	<u>'rb^ch</u> , G 2:12	<u>'rb^c</u> , G 11:16
5	<u>hmšh</u> , G 18:28	<u>hmš</u> , G 5:15, L 27:6; I is <u>(hm)šh</u> . Cf E 38:25
6	<u>št'</u> , G 30:20; <u>'všth</u> , CG E G 30:20. Cf. CPA	<u>št(šet)</u> , CG A E 21:2
7	<u>šb^ch</u> , G 4:24	<u>šb^c</u> , L 23:15 Note: <u>šwb^ch dryn</u> , G 4:15 and <u>šwb^c šnyn</u> , CG E 29:22.
8	<u>tmnyh</u> , G 17:12	<u>tmny</u> , G 5:4
9	<u>tš^ch</u> , Nu 1:23, M is <u>tš^c?</u>	<u>tš^c</u> , G 15:1
10	<u>^csrh</u> , G 18:32	<u>^csr</u> , G 5:14

M

F

- 11 hd ^csr, D 1:2. For variants see G 26:7 and E 36:15.
- 12 tryn ^csrty (constr.) E 24:4
trty ^csr̄y qvyryn, E 24:4
 Cf. also E 28:31
- 13 tl̄t ^csr, Nu 29:13
- 14 'rb^ct ^csr, Nu 29:13, I is
('rb)^ch?; 'rb^ch ^csr, L 12:14
- 15 hmš ^csr, L 27:7; hmš ^csrh, E
- 16 šyt ^csr, E 36:30, I is (^cs)ry
šyt ^csrh, E 26:25
- 17 šb^ch ^csr, G 7:11
- 18 tmnt ^csr, G 14:24 M; N is
 in error, having only ^csr.
- 19 NA
- 20 ^csr̄yn, G 6:3; ^csr̄ym, G 31:41 and 32:15 are H.
- 30 tl̄tyn, G 5:3
- 40 'rb^cyn, G 7:4
- 50 hmšyn, G 6:15
- 60 štyn, M is 'štyn, G 5:18, 46:26, L 27:3; šytyn, L 27:7 I
- 70 šb^cyn, G 5:12; šwb^cyn, E 24:1
- 80 tmnyn, G 5:26

hd' ^csr̄yn, G 26:7, I is
hd sry, M is (sr)h.

trtyn ^csrh, G 5:8
trtyn ^csr̄y, D 1:1

tl̄t ^csr̄y, G 17:25

'rb^c ^csrh, G 31:41

hmš ^csrh, G 5:10, Nu 2:16

št ^csrh, G 46:18

šb^c ^csrh, G 37:2

Note: The m. form of 17 was not found by J. A. Emerton, as noted in his appendix to Stevenson, p. 100, n. 2.

NA

tš^c ^csrh, G 11:25

- 90 tš^cyn, G 5:9
- 100 m'h, G 5:6
- 200 m'wwn, G 11:32; trtyn m'wn, etc., see comments above
- 300 tlt m'h, G 6:15
- 400 'rb^c m'h, G 32:7; 'rb^c m'wwn, Nu 1:37, I is m'h
- 500 hmš m'h, G 5:22; hmšh m'th, L 26:8, I is m'h
- 600 šyt m'h, G 8:13; št m'wwn, CG E G 7:15, Nu 31:37, 39, 45;
I reads m'h
- 700 šb^c m'h, G 5:31. In Nu 31:52 I suggests m'wwn
- 800 tmny m'h, G 5:4
- 900 tš^c m'h, G 5:11
- 1000 'lp, G 20:16 pl.: 'lpyn, Nu 31:52
- 10000 rbbh, D 32:30 pl.: rbbwwn, E 12:37, rybwwn, G 24:60

Cardinal numbers exist in the emphatic and construct states also:

a. Emphatic

hdth, L 14:5.

b. Construct

Construct numbers are inflected according to the following pattern. The nouns so modified are usually in the emphatic state.

- 3 tlt^y slyh, G 40:18 is H šlšt hslym. Cf v. 19:
tlt' sly'. wltly nšy bnwhy, G 7:13 (CG E reads bnwy)
- 4 bgrthwn d'rb^cty 'bht', G 23:2
- 5 'lyn hmyšty nsy', G 28:10, end; hmšty zkyy, G 18:28

- 7 šwb^cty ywmy, CG E G 29:28; šb^cty twryy',
G 41:4; cf. also G 41:27, 30
- 9 ltyš^cty šbtyyh, Nu 34:13
- 10 šrty dbyryh, D 4:13

2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are inflected in both m. and f., in the absolute and emphatic states.

Masculine:

In the absolute, the suffix may be -yy, 'yy, -yn, 'y, -y, etc. The emphatic forms end in -h, -yh, -y', '.

Feminine:

Emphatic forms end in -th or -t'.

Examples of the above include:

1. m. absolute: qdm^y, G 38:28; qdm'^y, G 1:5;
qdm'^{yn}, E 34:1, 4M
- 1 m. emphatic: qdm^{yh}, G 32:18; qdm'^h, G 18:1;
qdm^{y'}, G 8:13, E 20:2
- 2 m. absolute: tnvyn, G 1:8, CG,E G 30:12
- 2 m. emphatic: tnyn', G 32:20; tnyvnh, G 18:1;
tnvyn', G 2:13
- 2 f. emphatic: tnvyth, G 47:18; tnvyt', G 4:19
- 3 m. emphatic: tlyty', G 2:15; tlyt'^h, G 18:1;
tlytyh, G 22:4; tlyt', G 40:20
- 5 m. absolute: hmyšy, G 1:23; hmyšyy, G 30:17
hmyšyy (hmyšayiy), CG E G 30:17

5 m. emphatic: hmyš'h, G 28:10, M is hmyšyy'

7 f. emphatic: šb^cyyt', E 21:2

The complete list "first" to "twelfth" (m.) is found in Nu 7:12 and every sixth verse thereafter through v. 78.

1st qdm^yh

2nd tnyn'

3rd tlyt'

4th rby^cyh

5th hmyšyh, M is hmyšth

6th štytyh, M is štyt'h

7th šby^cyh, M is ?

8th tmynyh

9th tšy^cyh

10th šyryh

11th bywm hd šr ywmyn, M is bywm' hd šrh

12th bywm tryn šr ywm, M is ?

E. Verbs

1. Forms

There are two simple tenses in NT, the perfect and the imperfect, and also the imperative. Nominal forms include the participle and the infinitive.

a. Perfect Tense

1 s. c.

The first person in A is normally formed by adding -t or, less frequently, -yt to the stem. These are usually vocalized with an e-vowel, depending on the dialect. The ending -ty is also used in certain types of JA, probably under H influence.

In NT the form is usually the fuller -yt rather than -t, but both are common: pqdt, G 3:17 and pqdyt, G 3:11. This is similar to CPA where both forms are found. The -ty suffix is also used, though very rarely: šwyty, G 27:37 (2x), I has šwyt (2x). Cf. šwwyt, G 28:22. For additional examples see below, p. 254.

Vocalized forms from the CG fragments include:

msrt (masret), CG,B G 4:7

wšlhyt (wšalhet), CG,D G 38:26

w'tglyt (w'itgallēt), CG,D E 6:3

hkmyt (h^ekamīt), CG,E G 30:26. This last form is

probably based on a text which read ᶜth yd^cty,

cf. BH³. The MT has 'th yd^ct, N reads 't yd^ct.

2 m. s.

The forms in A are universally -t, usually vocalized with a shewa. Occasionally this vowel is

lengthened because it is the second of two adjacent shewas and, in some cases, probably through H influence; cf. Dan. 5:22ff.

NT generally uses -t as the suffix, occasionally -t': mlt, G 27:19, but mlt', G 19:21 and mlylt', G 18:5; 'tglyt', G 35:9 (2x); 'lpt', ibid. These cases probably point to a pronunciation of -ta. The CG fragments also have these forms: wspyt', GG,C G 31:49, N has wsypt. This same fragment, C, and CG,D also have forms vocalized with two consecutive shewas: 'lypt, CG,C.G 35:9, šm^ct, CG,D E 7:16, etc.

2 f. s.

The A 2 f. s. is often spelled the same as the m. s. When it differs, and this is not consistent in some forms of A, it is usually through the addition of final Yod (CPA, Syr., EA) though it is not always pronounced. As in the m. s., this vowel is necessitated by the presence of adjacent vowelless letters, but the vowel or half-vowel used has a different origin and probably differed from that used in the m. s. Some dialects use a common form for both m. and f.

In NT the form is rare. Examples include: anyyt, G 29:30; ^cbdyt, G 3:13; hwyyt, G 24:60; d'vytyy't, G 8:11M.

3 m. s.

In A no suffix is added to form the 3 m.s. This applies to NT also: 'mr, h_zr, etc.

3 f. s.

Most A dialects form the 3 f. s. by adding -t, usually vocalized -at. While orthographically this is similar to other persons, the a-vowel clearly distinguishes it. In Man. this vowel is indicated by an Aleph, -'at. BTA sometimes loses the final consonant, leaving -ah and -a'. Conversely, certain types of Syr. have -ty.

The form in NT is usually -t: 'klt, G 37:20, ^cbrt, G 38:3. The vocalization -at is indicated by the Aleph in 'tmly't, C 6:11 and d'tsy't, Nu 12:16. Also attested are forms ending with -yt: 'mryt, G 24:58 (cf. w'mryt, G 3:2) and wnsbyt, G 3:6.

1 pl. c.

As with the independent pronoun, there are many forms of the 1 pl. pronominal suffix for the perfect: -nn, -n, -n' or -nh, and -nyn.

In NT the most frequent form of the pronoun is 'nn. The most frequent pronominal suffix is -nn: gmlnn, G 50:16, mlnn, E 14:12, etc. Forms ending with -n' are also attested, but as with the independent pl. pronoun 'n', they are very rare: w'mrn', G 42:31.

2 m. pl.

The ending used almost universally in A is -twn, usually vocalized -tūn. This is also the case in NT: 'tytwn, G 42:12.

2 f. pl.

Often in A the masculine is used for the feminine. Where it differs and is attested, the suffix is usually -tn (BA) or -tyn (Syr.) vocalized with an e-vowel.

These observations apply in NT also. Cf. yd^ctn, G 31:6, but hkmtwn in M.

3 m. pl.

The most common form is final -w, vocalized -ū. Some dialects have -wn (-ūn), others use no suffix (cf. Man., Pal., and CPA).

In N the regular ending is -w. The vocalization /ū/ is regular in all of the vocalized geniza fragments. The use of -wn varies. It is particularly prominent in the beginning of Exodus, but I have attempted no correlation of the verb in this form and any particular scribe or section of the manuscript. The usage, however, does not appear to be uniform throughout the entire NT text.

3 f. pl.

The f. pl. forms in A vary greatly. Some dialects maintain final Nun, others lose it. Where maintained (BTA, Man., etc.) it is usually pronounced -ān. Where lost, the a-vowel remains, indicated in the orthography by Aleph or Heh. BTA, Syr., and Man. also use -yn, the latter also has -y'n, indicating a pronunciation of -yan. In some dialects a common form exists for both, usually the form of the 3. m. pl.

In N the form is regularly -n: hkmn, G 19:18; 'mrn, G 24:58, etc.; cf. also 'mryn, E 2:19. The spelling of this form is identical to the participle, but they were probably vocalized differently.

b. Imperfect Tense

1 c. s.

Prefixed Aleph, vocalized 'e- or 'i-, is the regular form of the 1 s. c. This varies slightly in CPA where 'y- and y- are also used and in Man. where the Aleph is replaced by Ayyin.

In N the most frequent form is prefixed Aleph, but y- and 'y- are used also: '^cbd, G 39:9; ymml, E 23:22. These three possibilities render the N forms identical to the CPA forms. For the vocalization of the prefix the CG fragments prefer 'e-: w'^cšm^c (we'ešma^c), CG, A E 22:22. Occasionally the pl form is used instead of the singular: kpwt yty y'wt dl' nb^cwt ytk, G 22:10. This may also be evidence of the "new tense" consisting of the verb to which the pronoun is prefixed which is discussed by Kutscher in "Aramaic", col. 272.

2 m. s.

In A this form is generally prefixed t-, occasionally prefixed ty- (CPA, Man.).

In NT the regular form is prefixed t-: tmlk, t'bd, etc. The CG fragments indicate a vocalization of te-. Cf. tškh (teškah), CG, A E 22:3-5. Frequently they use prefixed ty- as in CPA; cf. wty^cwl, CG, E G 6:18.

2 f. s.

In most dialects of A the 2 f. s. is formed by adding prefixed t- (more rarely ty-) and suffixed -yn (more rarely -y). The prefix is vocalized ti- or te- and the suffix -īn.

In N the form is rare but seems to follow this pattern; cf. tzlyn, G 24:58, l' tdblyn, G 21:17. Also attested is tyqry, G 16:11 which perhaps differs because of the weak third consonant.

3 m. s.

The universal form in A is prefixed y-. Certain eastern dialects also use preformative l- and/or n-. CPA has '- and 'y- as well.

NT uses prefixed Yod. In CG,A this is vocalized as ye-: ytqwp (yetqōp), E 22:23; ygnwb (yegnob), E 22:11 = H yiggānev. The form wnqrb, E 21:6 is irregular. In addition, forms with the preformative Aleph are common as in CPA: 'hwwy mmry, E 3:12, M is yhwwy; dytprš, L 24:12; yšlh, E 11:1, M is 'šlh.

3 f. s.

Regularly A uses preformative t-: 'occasionally ty- appears as well. In NT the form is t-: ttbr', G 2:23, tplwt, L 20:22.

1 pl. c.

Prefixed Nun is the regular form in all dialects. Occasionally, as in CPA and Man., the form ny- is used.

In N preformative Nun is the rule. CG,D indicates

that the preferred vocalization is ne-: wn^cbyd
(w^ene^cbyd), D 5:24; nqtl (neqtōl), G 37:21.

2 m. pl.

In A this form is prefixed t- (occasionally ty-) and suffixed -wn. The suffix is often abbreviated to -w as in BTA, Sefire, and some cases in the G. Apoc. This variation is also common in BH.

In NT the fuller form is regular: tšpkwn, G 37:22. The vocalization, as indicated by the geniza fragments, is te- for the prefix and -ūn for the suffix. Cf. wtktbwn (w^etekt^ebūn), D 27:8

2 f. pl.

This form is rare in A. Where attested it is usually generated by adding prefixed t- and suffixed -n. I have not found the form in NT.

3 m. pl.

In A this form adds a prefix of l-, n-, or y- as in the 3 m.s. and a suffix of -wn. Sometimes the suffix is shortened to -w. CPA, as in the s., allows for prefixed Aleph also.

In NT the regular form is prefixed y- and suffixed -wn. The occasional deviations from this may be due to H influence: wy^omrw, G 3:13. The vocalization of the form may be seen from wygnbwn (weyegnavūn), CG,A E 22:6 and wypqwn (wyipqūn), *ibid.*, 21:22. In CG,D E 9:29 ytmn^cwn is vocalized yetman^cōn. The word

w'yMrwn, Nu 14:15 may be an error for wy'mrwn or wyMrwn, hence the superlinear dot over the Aleph, but as it stands the form is similar to CPA.

3 f. pl.

The A forms of the 3 f. pl. are similar to the 3 m. pl. with one slight change, the suffixed -n is vocalized -an. In CPA there is also an ending of -yn.

In NT the prefixed y- is preferred (see 3 m. pl.) rendering the form as ytptn, G 3:5, yslhn, D 27:21. In CG,D G 37:27 the word (y)šltn is vocalized (y)šl^etan. The 3 m. pl. form is also used for the f.: brkt' d'bwk ytwspwn, G 49:26.

c. The Participle

m. s.

In NT this form appears without any suffix: mtrš, G 2:10; rhš, G 7:21 vocalized rehēš in CG,D; dmštyyr, E 23:11, I is wd'štyyr. The form tb^c, CG,E₂ G 37:16 is not an exception. The Aleph is added for phonetic reasons together with the Ayyin as in the absolute and construct forms of 'r^c which are written 'r^c; cf. tb^c, ibid., v. 15.

f. s.

In A this form is usually generated by adding postformative Heh or Aleph, both indicating \sqrt{a} . Both forms are found in NT, the Heh spelling being the more common: m^cbrh, G 38:24; mmll', G 2:7; yldh, G 18:1;

yhyb', D 3:11.

m. pl.

In A this is uniformly -yn except in certain dialects which lack the final Nun. In NT the regular form is -yn: mmllyn, G 6:27. The pronunciation is -īn as may be seen from 'zlyn ('azlīn), CG,D G 8:3 and 'zlyn ('azlīn), CG,E₂ G 37:25. Note, however, rbrbnyn mplhnn, E 1:11.

f. pl.

This form is standard throughout the A dialects. Final -n (-ān) is the rule except in BTA where the Nun is sometimes lost and replaced in the orthography by Aleph. The postformative Nun is used in NT also: slgn, G 41:19. The word w'mryn, E 1:19, 2:19, etc. may be either the 3 f. pl perfect or the use of the m. pl. participle for the 3 f. pl perfect. Cf. also z^cpn, CG,E₂ G 37:6.

d. Infinitive

The other nominal verb form is the infinitive. It is normally generated by adding preformative Mem to the verb root. The vocalization varies with the conjugation. Examples include: mymr, from 'mr; mhkm, from hkm. frequently in the pe^cal and usually in the other conjugations, there is also a suffix, either -h or -': lmntrh (lemnatarāh), CG,A E 22:6 and (limnatarāh), CG,A E 22:9; lmzwrz', E 12:33.

Other forms include: lplhy, G 3:24, M is lplhyy';
lmšlhyh, E 7:14. The Yod has a superlinear dot; cf.
 E 5:2.

e. Imperatives

(1). First Person

The cohortative is similar in form to the imperfect.
 In the m. pl. an extra -h is added in some cases.

m. s.

'^cbr, D 3:25 = H '^cbrh

m. pl.

nšlh, G 1:22, M is nšlh; nqtl, nqtlh, CG, E₂ G 37:20;
wnpq, G 4:8, M is wnpwq; wn^crbb, E 14:14, M is
wn^crbbh.

(2) Second Person

m. s.

In N in general, including NT, there is no prefix
 or suffix. Vocalization and any other changes depend
 on the conjugation of the verb. Examples include: hkm,
 G 37:32 and ^cwl, G 38:8.

f. s.

Most A dialects add suffixed -y; in some cases -yn
 is used also. In NT both forms appear: 'šqyyn, G 24:17;
'mry, G 12:13; 'zly, G 2:8. Occasionally the m. form
 is used: w^cwly wšmš^cmh, G 19:34. DM suggests wšmšy
 following PJ, but this change is unnecessary. In E 15:12
qbly is altered by I to qbyl.

m. pl.

In A there are two forms of the m. pl. imperative, -w and -wn. Some dialects use both.

In NT the more common form is -w: šm^cw, G 37:6. Also used is the -wn suffix: 'tyldwn, G 9:7, but this is usually reserved for verbs with weak third consonants.

f. pl.

As with other f. pl. forms, there is little uniformity throughout the dialects. Endings of -y, -yn, -n, -'n, and -w (identical to the m. pl.) are found.

In N the form is as in 'nytn. DM reads 'sytn, G 4:23. The m. form is also used in the same verse: šm^cw bqly nšwhy dlmk.

(3) Third Person

m. s.

yhy, GG, E₂ G 41:43

m. pl.

yhwy, G 1:3; yhwwn, G 1:14

2. Conjugations

a. Conjugation 1: P^{ec}al

1) Perfect Tense

The suffixes are as indicated above. The vocalization is regularly shewa for the first consonant and /a/ for the second.

Singular

- 1 c. hlmt, G 37:9; yhbyt, G 1:29; msrt, G 9:2
 2 m. hlmt, G 37:10; šm^ct (š^ema^ct), CG,D E 7:16
 2 f. ^cbdyt, G 3:13
 3 m. w'mr, G 37:16
 3 f. 'klt, G 37:20; w^cbrt, G 38:3

Plural

- 1 c. gmlnn, G 50:16; hlmn, G 40:8, M is hlmn
 2 m. ^cbdtwn, G 44:15
 2 f. yd^ctn, G 31:6, M is hkmtwn
 3 m. wš'lw, G 37:7; srhw, G 40:1; šm^cw (š^ema^cū), CG,D
 G 43:25; npqw (n^epaqū), CG,D G 44:4;
 3 f. hkmn, G 19:8; also possibly w'mryn, E 1:19, 2:19,
 etc. In many cases this form is spelled in the
 same manner as the participle.

2) Imperfect Tense

The regular prefixes and suffixes have been discussed above. The vocalization is regularly a shewa on the first root letter. In the unsuffixed forms the second consonant may have either /a/ or /o/. This is similar to Syr., BTA, etc. which use /o/ against BA, EA?, etc. which prefer /u/.

Singular

- 1 c. w'šlh, G 37:13; '^cbd, G 39:9 vocalized we'ešma^c
 in CG,A E 22:22; 'plwh, CG,E G 29:18; 'prws,
 CG,E G 9:14; 'tbw^c, CG,E G 9:5

2 m. tmlk, G 37:8; t^cbd, G 21:23; tškh (teškah), CG,A
E 22:3, 5

2 f. NA

3 m. ypšwt, G 3:22; ytqwp (yetqōp), CG,A 22:16, 23;
y'mr (ye'mar), CG,A E 22:8; wyqrb (weyegrab),
CG,A E 22:7

Plural

1 c. npšt, G 37:27; wngtwl, G 37:20, vocalized as
neqtōl, CG,D.

2 m. tšpkwn, G 37:22; wtktbwn (w^etekt^ebūn), CG,D D 27:8

2 f. NA

3 m. wyknšwn, G 41:35

3 f. (y)šltn, CG,D G 37:27, the last syllable is
vocalized -tan.

3) Participle

m s.

tqn, G 1:10; ^cbd, G 1:1; hkym, G 3:11; wptyr, G
41:15; ydy^c, G 3:4

f. s.

yqdh, G 38:25

m. pl.

yhybyn, G 47:1; w'mryn, G 47:25

f. pl.

slqn, G 41:19; 'mryn, E 1:19, 2:19 (cf. above, p. 131)

4) Infinitive

The infinitive may have the final \sqrt{a} indicated
in the orthography by either Aleph or Heh.

Examples include: lmlbš, G 28:20, M is lmlbwš;
lmprš', G 2:9; lmzwn, G 1:30; mlmswbr', G 45:1, M is
lmsbrh; tbw^c (ṭābō^c), CG,A E 22:2

5) Imperative

m. s.

'z1, G 12:1; qrb, G 22:2

f. s.

^cwly, G 19:34

m. pl.

šm^cw, G 4:23; šrsw, tqwpw, G 9:7

f. pl.

NA

b. Conjugation 2: Pa^cel

The pa^cel is the intensive form of the verb. Its characteristics are doubling of the second root letter and an a-vowel associated with the first root letter. In most cases, the second vowel is /e/ or /ē/, depending on the vocalization system which is employed. In some cases there is a Yod introduced as a mater lectionis for this vowel. It may represent either the /e/ or /ē/ pronunciation and by itself does not indicate the length of the vowel in question.

1) Perfect Tense

1 c. mlylyt, G 28:15, 41:282 m. mlt, G 27:19; mlt', G 19:21; wsypt, G 31:49,CG,C reads wspyt.

2 f. NA

3 m. mlyl, G 17:23; qbl (qabbel), CG,B G 4:5; tbr
(tabbar), CG,D E 9:25 = H šibber.

3 f. wmlylt, G 39:17, wšmyšt, G 19:33

Plural

1 c. dmln, E 14:12

2 m. dmltwn, E 12:31

2 f. NA

3 m. mlw, G 45:15; mlyw (mallelū), CG,D D 5:25;
wqylw (w^eqattēlū), CG,D G 44:18, wzmynw, L 9:12

3 f. NA

2) Imperfect Tense

Singular

1 c. 'mll, G 18:30; w'qtl (wa'qattel), CG,A E 22:23;
w'twqp yt lbh dpr^ch, E 14:4

2 m. tml, E 7:2; tšwtp?, E 23:1; tqbr, G 50:5; ttqp,
E 5:9, M is ttqwp; thzwr, G 24:8 is either an
alternate form of the p^{ec}al, or else indicative
of a different reading of the H as rq 't bny
l' tšb (tašuv) šmh for MT tašiv. In this case
't is taken to be the preposition "with".

2 f. tdhlyn, G 21:17

3 m. ymlyl, G 44:7, CG,D G 44:18 vocalizes as y^emallel;
yzbn (yezabben), CG,A E 21:37; wyqrb (wiqāreb),
CG,A E 21:6. In G 40:13 wyhzwr ytk may be an er-
ror, but see above, 2 m. s. yšlm (H y^ešalēm)
is rendered in CG,A 22:21, 37; 22:4, 5, 8 by

yšlm. In 22:4, 21:36, 37 it is vocalized
yešalem. In 22:5 the Tiberian vocalization
indicates a shewa under the Šin and segol
under the Lamed. The Palestinian vocalization
reads yešlim.

3 f. NA

Plural

1 c. ntlq, G 37:20; nmlyl, G 44:16; wn^cbyd (w^ene^cbed),
CG,D D 5:24

2 m. tmlwn, G 32:20; tkrzwn, L 25:10

2 f. NA

3 m. wymmlw, D 20:5, M is -lwn.

3 f. NA

3) Participle

m. s.

mml, G 29:9; mdkr, G 41:9

f. s.

mml', G 2:7; mqvymh, G 38:25; mmšknh (memaškanāh),
CG,A E 22:25

m. pl.

dmmllyn, G 6:27

f. pl.

NA

4) Infinitive

lmmlh, G 17:22; lmšmšh, G 39:10

5) Imperative

m. s.

mll, G 24:33

m. pl.

mlylw, G 50:4; qbylw (qabbēlū), CG,D G 38:26;tqypw, G 1:22; tqwpw, G 9:1c. Conjugation 3: 'Af^cel

The 'af^cel is the extensive form of the verb. The prefixes and suffixes are identical with those forms which have been outlined above. The vocalization which is indicative of this conjugation is the 'a- which is found in the perfect. In the imperfect the regular prefixes are added to this 'a- form, but assimilation of the Aleph has occurred throughout all of the forms, leaving the prefixes as 'a-, ta-, etc. Only selected forms of this conjugation are presented.

1) Perfect Tense

Singular

1 c. 'škh^t, G 47:29, 18:3; 'škhyt, G 30:27, 50:42 m. 'škh^t, G 31:37, E 33:12, 17; 'b'š^t ('ab'eš^t), CG,D

E 5:22

3 m. 'škh, G 2:20, 6:8; 'mtr, G 2:53 f. 'škh^t, G 8:9, 'prht, G 40:10; w'qm, G 35:20, Mis w'qyvm.

Plural

1 c. 'škhnn, G 26:32, 37:32, 44:83 m. 'škhw, E 15:12, 16:27; w'šlhw, G 37:23

2) Imperfect Tense

Singular

- 1 c. 'škh, G 18:26, 'twqp, G 12:2; w'mn', G 12:2
 2 m. tškh, G 31:32; tyyṭb (tayteb), CG,B G 4:7.
 3 m. yrym, G 40:19; wyhbr (wyahber), CG,A E 21:26;

Plural

- 1 c. nškh, G 47:25
 2 m. tškhwn, E 5:11' t'r^cwn, L 23:2

3) Participle

m. pl.

mškhyn, G 19:11

4) Infinitive

mškh', G 19:11; lmškhy, G 27:20; lmškh, G 32:6;
lmškh', G 33:8

5) Imperative

m. s.

'nhr?, G 38:25

f. s.

'šuyyn, G 24:17; w'wnyqy, E 2:9, M is w'yvnd

m. pl.

'sny^cwn, E 16:23

d. Passive/Reflexive Conjugations

In NT the three main active conjugations have corresponding passive/reflexive forms:

Active	Passive/Reflexive
<u>p^{ec}al</u>	<u>'etp^{ec}el</u>
<u>pa^cel</u>	<u>'etpa^cal</u>
<u>'af^cel</u>	<u>'ettaf^cal</u>

The interchange of the passive and reflexive natures of these conjugations may be seen from the following cases:

Passive: ttbr' 'th mn brnšh, G 2:23

whtbrkwn bzc^cytyk kl 'wmy', G 22:18

Reflexive: l' nqtwl ytyh wnthyyb bnpšyh, G 37:21

While these conjugations occur with enough frequency to provide sample paradigms, the lack of any consistent orthographic sign to indicate differences between the conjugations makes classification less than certain. Rather than provide unattested vowels, the conjugations are described only through the vocalized forms and matres lectionis which are used in a few cases.

Perfect

The primary characteristic of this tense is the prefixed -t- sometimes recorded as 'yt- ('ytbry, G 4:8, 'yt^cyryt, G 41:21, etc. This form is frequently called the 'it- prefix, but in the vocalized CG fragments, the /i/ vocalization is very rare (cf. CG,D E 6:3). Generally the preferred vocalization is 'et-: w'tlyyt (w'etalyat), CG,D E 7:17; 'tqbl ('etqabal), CG,B G 4:8. Presumably the use of the Yod in the orthography of NT is indicative

of the /e/ vocalization. Parallels to this phenomenon are found in CPA.

Imperfect

In the imperfect, the preformative 't- is prefixed by the appropriate pronominal element; suffixes are also added where appropriate. In so doing, the Aleph is assimilated, producing forms which begin with tt-, nt-, yt-, etc.

Participle

The 't- is prefixed by m-, causing an assimilation of the Aleph and resulting in a form with preformative mt-: wmh dmštyyr, E 23:11. Alternatively a form with 't- is employed, frequently in M or I: wd'štyyr.

Infinitive

The elements of active infinitives are added in the normal fashion: preformative Mem and postformative /ā/, indicated in the orthography as -' or -h. The distinctive feature is the -t- which remains from the 't- base and appears between the Mem and the first root letter. Examples include: lmtmnyh, G 13:16; lmtwtbh, G 12:10; lmtprq', G 40:12.

Imperative

The 't- stem is used throughout. The appropriate suffixes are added in the m. pl., f. s. and f. pl.

Note: As was stated above regarding the first and third persons of the imperfect of strong verbs, prefixed

'- y- and y- are interchangeable. This occurs in the forms of 't-, 'yt- and yt- as well, causing some slight confusion of the first and third persons, especially in I. Examples include:

mmry 'ytgly, L 16:2, I is yt-.

w't'blwn, E 33:4, M is w't'blw, I is wyt'.

'zdhrw, D 4:23, I is yzdhrwn

'ytydybt, D 1:1, I is yt-.

qdm'h yštlh lmbšr' l'bwnn, G 18:1

wyštysy, L 17:9; w'yštys', L 17:10; yštys', L 17:14

mh 't^cbyd lyh, E 2:4 = H mh y^cšh lw

dy yt'kl 'šth, L 6:3. The Yod has a superlinear dot.

1. 'Etp^{ec}el

This conjugation is characterized by a shewa on first root letter and an e-vowel in the last syllable. This latter feature is normally not indicated in the spelling but is attested in both tenses.

Perfect

w'trhys, G 40:23; 'tylydw, G 6:1; w'yt'yr, G 41:7;

't^cbyd, E 2:4

Imperfect

ytqns (yeta^enes), CG,A E 21:20-21; ytpsy1, G 22:10

2. 'Etpa^cal

Perfect

As the passive/reflexive of the intensive

conjugation, the second root letter is doubled. Also characteristic of this form is the a-vowel of the second and third syllables as may be seen from the following example. Other vocalization possibilities also exist.

'tqbl ('etqabbal), CG, B G 4:8

Imperfect

In the imperfect the characteristic vowel is pataḥ with the first root letter.

ytmn^cwn (yetman^cwn), CG, D E 9:29

ytnšwn (yitnašōn), CG, A E 21:22

wythpkn (w^eyithap^ukun), CG, D E 7:17

3. 'Ettaf^cal

This is the passive/reflexive of the 'af^cel. The prefixed 't- assimilates the vocalization of the 'a-, becoming 'etta-. As in BTA, Syr., G. Apoc., and BR, the use of this form is very limited. Examples include:

w'tlyyt (w'etalyat), CG, D E 7:17

d't'škh, G 47:14I. Note the use of Aleph; cf.

below, on the use of the t-infix.

yt'prš, L 27:26, 29; wyt'pršwn, L 22:2M

Passive/Reflexives of l-Sibilants

When the first letter of a passive/reflexive verb is a sibilant, there is usually a change in the position of the t element of the 't- prefix; the t is infixed

to follow the first root letter. This t also may change to a different letter under the influence of this first root letter as explained below. These changes appear in all tenses and forms of the 'etp^eel and 'etpa^cal.

First Root Letter	The <u>t</u> Appears As	Root	Infixed Form	Location
<u>s</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>s^cr</u>	<u>'st^cry</u>	G 10:9
		<u>srp</u>	<u>wystrpwn</u>	Nu 24:24
<u>s</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>stm</u>	<u>'wsttmw</u>	G 8:2
		<u>skl</u>	<u>'stkl</u>	G 15:5
		<u>s'b</u>	<u>wyst'b</u>	L 15:17
<u>z</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>zhr</u>	<u>'zdhr</u>	G 24:5
		<u>zbn</u>	<u>mzdbn</u>	G 42:1
		<u>zky</u>	<u>wyzdky</u>	CG,A E 21:19
<u>š</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>šlh</u>	<u>yštlh</u>	G 18:1
		<u>škh</u>	<u>yštkh</u>	CG,A E 22:1

Occasionally when the second letter is t, the forms vary slightly; the t and t change places:

(wyš)ttp, L 15:12I, N is wysttp

w'štthw, Nu 17:10, M is not readable.

Since in the 'ettaf^cal there is a vowel between the prefix and the consonantal stem, this conjugation does not have the t-infix in all cases. As noted above, the conjugation is rarely used and due to a lack of

pronunciation indicators, examples are difficult to identify. Certain cases, however seem certain. The word d'štkh is found in E 22:1 and 7 in N and CG,A; yštkh appears in E 22:6, 7; D 17:2, 18:9 and is vocalized yešt^ekah in CG,A E 22:7. This is the common form of this root, the t-infix being employed. Elsewhere, however, there are forms where the t is not infixed: yt'škh, E 22:1M; mt'škh yštkh!, E 22:2M. Note also y'štkh, E 22:6M, 7M; dvtškhwn, D 12:13; yt'prš, L 27:29.

Analogous situations exist in other dialects as well. The Sefire inscription contain the verb šm^c in the form ytšm^c, I A 29 and ytšm^c[n], I B 9. Assimilated t

There are many passages where passive or reflexive concepts are indicated by verbs which are inflected without the t sign of these forms. Most of the cases are caused by assimilation of the t. Frequently in M and I alternate spellings are offered.

First
Root
Letter

Example and Source

t

'tqn ghynm lršy^cy', G 3:24

mtqr' bhd lšn wmtgrm (ūmettargam) bšb^cyn

lšnyn, CG,D D 27:8

- t w'trpt rwhyh, G 41:8
 lmtmrh, G 4:14
 w'tmryt, G 3:10
- š w'šlmw, G 2:1
 'šlhw, G 18:1. DM corrects to 'štlhw
 which appears in the same verse, but
 the change may not be necessary.
- s nšrk, G 16:5, M is nysrk
- s wysgwn, G 8:19, M is wystgwn.
- d w'dhqw bny' b^Ch', G 25:22
 m^Cbr?, G 4:8
- q tqbr, G 15:15, M is ttqbr.
- n w'nh^Crwn^C y^Cynh, G 38:25
 'tnsbh lgbr, L 21:3, M is 'nsbt.
- g wygnbwn (weyeganvūn), CG, A E 22:6.
- i pr^Ch y'bd, G 40:18, nif^Cal?
- b tbdqwn, G 42:15
 qdm^C l! l' ybr', G 3:24; PJ has br', P nbr'.

e. Other Conjugations

1) The šaf^Cel

The šaf^Cel is normally causative. It is not very common, as the regular causative conjugation is the 'af^Cel. Among the verbs attested in this conjugation

are škll, šzyb, š^cbd, šsy, and šlhp. Sample forms include:

Perfect

2 m. s. šlhpt, G 31:41

3 m. s. škll, G 1:1; wšzyb, G 37:20; šlhp, G 48:14

Imperfect

1 m. s. w'šysy, CG,E G 7:4; w'yšsy, G 7:4

3 m. pl. yš^cbdwn

Participle

m. s. mš^cbd, G 25:24; mšys', E 7:27

Infinitive

lmšyzb', G 37:22

The passive/reflexive of the šaf^cel is the 'štaf^cal. Examples include: w'štysy (w^e'štese), CG,D E 7:21; lmšt^cbd', G 40:12; wtštkll, Nu 21:27

2) Less Popular Conjugations

Certain conjugations are rather uncommon in A, and may not be primary to the language. Regardless of the reason, the palel, p^{ec}al^cel, and others are not common enough to provide paradigms. They will be described briefly and examples will be provided when they are available.

Active Forms

1-2-2

In the palel, both the second and third root letters are identical. Examples include:

Perfect

3 m. s. gpp, G 32:25, 29:13

Imperfect

3 m. s. yrwmm, G 40:13

Participle

m. pl. w^cllyn, G 41:21

1-2-1-2

The most common reduplicated stem has both second and third root letters repeated. Examples include:

Perfect

3 m. s. pšpš, G 31:34, ff.; w^czd^cz^c, G 27:33 (reflexive)

Imperfect

3 m. s. ypšpš

Participle

m. s. mtltl, G 4:12; mprpr, G 42:21; mlglg, G 34:31

Infinitive

lmgzllh, G 28:10 is probably an error for lmglh and has no bearing on this form

1-2-3-3

Examples include: w^crbb, E 14:24; 'tqlylw?, G 8i8M₁, M₂; N reads 'qlw, I reads hqlw.

Hif^cil

Examples include: whwkh, D 1:1M, N is w'wkh; hglw, G 8:8I.

Pi^cel

Examples include: wpysg, L 1:12; kbyšw, G 1:28

Passive Forms

Passive Participle (simple)

Examples include: t^cwⁿyn, G 37:25; hbwšⁿyn, G 39:20; w'n' mtqry q^twl wyrwt, G 27:41; phwš, L 21:18, DM reads phyš; hbyšwy dmlk', G 39:20; hgyr, psy^c, L 21:18

Sometimes the forms interchange: q^tyl, D 21:1, I is q^twl; hqwq, E 32:16, M is hqyq.

Passive Participle (intensive)

Examples include: mbrk, Nu 22:6, 9, M is bryk, cf. brykyn, v. 12; 'tr mwzmn, E 15:17, mzwmmym, E 19:11 is H; mwp(tⁿ), G 30:22I, M is mwpth, N is mpthⁿ.

Nitpa^cel?

Examples include: wnthyyb bnpšyh, G 37:21; nthyyb, CG, E₂ G 37:21; dntq^tlh, dnthbly, G 4:23M.

Nif^cal

Examples include: n^cbd, L 7:9, M is d^cbd.

Huf^cal

Examples include: wy^wsp hwnht lmsrym, G 39:1

3. Weak Verbs

a. First Letter Weak

1-Aleph

Verbs whose first root letter is Aleph, usually have the Aleph replaced in the p^{ec}al imperfect by Yod which also serves as a mater lectionis for the e-vowel of the first syllable. On occasion a second Yod is added or no letter replaces the lost Aleph. The retention of the Aleph may be a result of BH influence.

Imperfect

Singular

- 1 c. d'mr, G 22:2, 26:2; 'ymr, 24:14, E 3:13
- 2 m. tzyl, G 24:4; tykl, G 3:17; tykwł, G 2:16; wtykwł
(wteykōl), CG,A E 22:5
- 2 f. tzlyn, G 24:58
- 3 m. wykwł, G 27:10; dyymr, G 41:55; wykwł (wyōkal),
CG,A E 22:4; y'kl, L 22:13, 14, I is vykwł. Cf.
also vykl, L 22:4; y'kl, y'klwn, L 22:11; y'mr
(ye'mar), CG,A E 22:8.

Plural

- 1 c. nzyl, E 3:18; nyzyl, G 37:16; wnymr, G 37:20;
n'mr, G 44:16
- 2 m. t'klwn, G 3:1, 9:4; t'mrwn, G 34:11; tymrwn, G 50:17
- 2 f. NA
- 3 m. wywmrwn, G 12:12, wyplwn, E 20:13. In G 3:13
wy'mrw is H.
- 3 f. NA

Infinitive, P^{ec}al

Examples include: lmzł, G 12:5, 28:10; lmyzł, G
11:31; lmymr, G 37:15, 39:12; lmykl, G 37:25; lmwbdh,
G 6:3.

Imperative

- m. s. 'zł, E 3:16, etc.
- m. pl. 'zylw, E 10:24

Similar changes occur in the 'af^cel:

Perfect

w'vykl lml'kyn, L 22:27

w^cbr...rwh drhmyn, G 8:1. Cf. w^cbr, G 8:13, M is
w^cbr.

d'vytyy't, G 8:11M

Imperfect

w'lp, E 4:12

wtnyp, E 29:24

wtlpwn ythwn, D 5:1, 4:9; ylpwn, D 4:10

wynyp, L 14:12

wyvyty, L 4:4

Participle

m. s. mlp, D 4:1 (root 'lp)

't', CG, E₂ G 37:19

m. pl. 'zlyn ('azlīn), CG, E₂ G 37:25

Samples of the passive/reflexive include: yt'kyl,
E 12:46, 13:3; wttwsp, Nu 36:4.

l-Heh

Most forms of l-Heh verbs maintain their tri-
consonantality. Sample forms include:

hlykw, E 15:19

mhlkh, L 13:7

w'thpk, E 14:5

Assimilation of the Heh is found in the imperfect:

dtlk, G 28:15.

l-Yod

In the perfect and participial forms the Yod is maintained:

Perfect: yd^c, L 5:1

Participle: yd^cyn, G 43:7.

The imperfect, however, varies. Either the Yod may be omitted or maintained, in the latter case, probably for purposes of vocalization.

Imperfect

Singular

1 c. 'd^c, G 24:14

3 m. yyrt, G 21:10; 'yrt, G 15:8. DM suggests 'yrwt.

An interesting spelling of yhb is found in an inscription from Hammath-by-Gadara, cited in Sukenik, p.82. The form is dhbwn where the Yod of the relative dy is omitted along with the Yod of the root yhb.

3 f. wtytb, D 21:13; t'kl "is able", L 23:29, I is dtvk-.

Plural

1 c. nd^c, D 18:21

2 m. wtd^cwn, E 6:7, 10:2 and frequently for H wyd^ct; also D 6:18, 12:29, 16:20, etc. See PT Meg. 4:10.

3 m. wyd^cw, E 7:5, 14:18; yd^cwn, E 29:46, E 14:4; yrtwn, G 22:17, 24:60N and M.

Infinitive

lmrt, L 20:24; lmyrt, G 15:7; lmyd^c, G 24:21, E
36:1.

Imperative

m. s. yrt, D 1:21I

f. s. tby 'rmlh, G 38:11

m. pl. yrtw, D 1:21; tbw lkwn hk', G 22:5, cf. H šbw
lkm ph.

Examples of the inflection of these verbs in the
'af^cel include:

Perfect

'wld, G chapter 10, passim

'wd^ct', E 33:12

Imperfect

'wd^c, E 33:13

twqdnw yth, L 8:32

Imperative

w'wnyqy, E 2:9, M is w'yynq

'yybyly, E 2:9

Examples of inflection of verbs of this type in
the passive/reflexive form are:

Imperfect

ytwšb, L 19:33

ytwqd, L 7:17

Infinitive

lmtwtbh, G 12:10

1-Nun

Verbs which are in the 1-Nun class function like regular strong verbs with several exceptions. In the imperfect of the p^{ec}al, the Nun is assimilated. The following letter is geminated where possible or else the preceding vowel is lengthened as in the case of BH.

Imperfect

Singular

- 1 c. 'hwt, G 37:35; 'tn, G 28:12, 26:3, 38:18
- 2 m. ttn, G 38:17; ttyn (tettēn), CG,D G 38:17;
wtypwq, G 40:14, M is wtpq; typwq (teppōq) CG,A E
 2:25; tsb, G 7:2; tysb, G 24:4
- 3 m. wytn, L 2:1; ytn (yetten), CG,A E 21:23, 22:9;
ysb (yesab) CG,A E 21:4
- 3 f. wtsb, L 12:8

Plural

- 1 c. wntn, G 34:16; nsb, G 34:16
- 2 m. ttrwn, G 17:10; wttwn, G 47:24, L 22:22
- 2 f. NA
- 3 m. wytnwn, E 12:7; vytrwn, G 18:19; ypqwn, G 40:18
 is vocalized as yepqūn in CG,C G 35:11; wypqwn is
 vocalized as wyipqūn in CG,A E 21:22.
- 3 f. NA

Imperative

- m. s. hwt, G 38:25, in CG,D hōt; sb, G 14:21

m. pl. twrw, D 5:12; 'hytw, pwqw

Infinitive

lmysb, G 38:20, in CG, D lmesb

lmtn (lmetten), CG, A E 22:16

lmntr', E 23:20 The Nun has a superlinear dot

but the form is found both ways, in NT: lmtwr,

G 2:15; wlmtwr and wlmytr, G 2:15, 16 N and M.

Vocalized forms include: lemnatarāh, CG, A E

22:6 and limnatarāh, CG A E 22:9

In the inflection of the 'af^cel the Nun is usually assimilated also.

Perfect

3 m. s. w'sb, G 41:45

3 f. s. 'sbt, G 38:26; w'pqt, G 1:2

3 m. pl. 'whtw, G 39:1

3 f. pl. 'wbylw, G 37:28

Imperfect

3 f. s. tpq, G 1:11, 24 (jussive?)

Imperative

m.-s. 'pq, G 8:17

m. pl. 'sbw, G 34:8; 'pyqw, G 38:24

b. Weak Second Letter

2-Aleph

Verbs which are 2-Aleph are inflected like other strong verbs, the Aleph is regularly maintained in all forms.

2-Heh

Verbs of the 2-Heh class are likewise treated as strong verbs. Sample forms include: 'tbhlw, E 15:15; wyzdhrwn, L 22:2; yhyb', D 3:11.

2-Waw

Verbs of the 2-Waw class vary. In the perfect, the Waw is usually lacking and occasionally Yod is substituted: c₁, G 39:11; myt, G 38:7, 11:27; qm, G 38:25; gmt, G 37:3; wnqwm, G 35:3, 43:8.

The imperfect, on the other hand, regularly has the Waw:

Singular

- 1 c. 'mwt, G 19:19; 'ymwt, G 45:28, M is nmwt
 2 m. wty^cwl, CG,E G 6:18
 3 m. ymwt, G 38:11. The vocalization of the 3 m. s.

varies in the different CG fragments. All of the following are taken from CG,A:

ykws (yekōs), E 21:37

wyqwn (wīqūm), E 21:21

wymwt (-mūt), E 21:20

yqwm (yāqūm), E 21:19

yswwh (yeswah), E 22:22

(y)^cwl (((y)e^col)), E 21:3

Plural

- 1 m. nmwt, G 42:2

2 m. tmwtwn, G 42:20; tmtn, G 3:4

3 m. ymwtwn, E 30:20

Participle

The participle frequently adds an Aleph or Yod to begin the second syllable:

m. s. dl'yt, G 12:3

qym, D 22:31, M is q'ym; q'ym, CG,E G 41:17

m'yt, G 20:3

f. s. myth, G 30:1

m. pl. myytyn, E 12:33

qyvmyyn, E 33:10

Infinitive

The infinitival forms vary: lmmt, G 25:32;

mmt, G 20:7; mmyt, G 2:17, 3:4; lmqwm, G 6:3

Imperative

Imperative forms usually maintain the Waw: qwm, G 19:15; qwmy, G 21:18; ^cwl, G 38:8.

An example of the reflexive form is ytgvyrwn, L 17:8, cf. the H form which is similar.

2-Lamed

The verb slq exhibits the irregularity of an assimilated l in the imperfect and imperative of the p^{ec}al. Examples include:

Imperfect

1 m. s. 'sq, G 44:34

3 m. s. ysq, G 44:33

3 m. pl. ysqwn, E 1:10

Imperative

m. s. sq, G 50:6, E 33:1, M is swq in the latter verse.

m. pl. sqwn, G 44:17

Other forms regularly maintain the triconsonantal base:

3 m. s. perfect: slq, G 50:7

m. pl. participle: dslqyn, G 49:25

af^cel: tslq, G 18:3. Cf. also G 44:19, E 1:17, E 33:3.

Note, however, l' tsq ytn mn hkh, E 33:15.

Forms of h_lk do not regularly lose the l in the dialect of N as is the case in other forms of A.

Note, however, thkwn, L 20:23M.

c. Verbs Whose Third Root Letter is Weak

Verbs whose third root letter is Aleph, Heh or Yod are treated more or less according to the same rules. In the various inflected forms, these letters interchange or may be omitted. Occasionally the Aleph is introduced to preserve the etymological spelling, but it does not appear to have any significance with regard to the pronunciation. A Yod introduced in other than the final position in the word may be a mater lectionis and not have any relation to the original root letter.

Perfect

Singular

1 c. bryt, G 3:22; rbyyt, E 31:12M; qr't, E 31:2,

M is qwryyt; dmyt, E 31:2; hmt, G 41:19; hmyt,
CG,E G 7:1 and N; bryyt (f.) G 7:4, CG,E

The only way in which all of these forms can be
vocalized similarly is with the Yod or Aleph which
is in the third position serving as a consonant.

There is not any evidence that this should be the
case. Forms like hmt do not follow this procedure.
Words with double Yod (rbyyt, etc) should be seen
as one Yod for the etymological spelling and one
as a mater lectionis.

2 m. wb^ct, G 38:25; 'th ('^etah^e!), CG,E G 30:11;
mhyt, Nu 22:28

2 f. wqnyyt, G 29:30

3 m. wšr', G 37:1, 20:1; whm', G 39:3; whmh, G 38:2;
dmn', G 39:5; 'tny, G 38:13; wbkh, G 38:36, 29:11;
wtny, G 37:15; wrby, G 2:9.

3 f. hmt, G 38:14; wksyyt, G 38:14; sgt, G 6:5; wart,
G 38:3; mlt "she filled", G 21:19; qr't, G 29:35,
30:6, 11, 13. In the last two places M reads wart;
d'tbryt, 'tbryyt, 2:23; wšwyyt, E 2:3 (2x); d'tsy't,
Nu 12:16

Plural

1 c. wtnynn, G 41:12

2 m. dhmytwn, G 45:13

2 f. NA

3 m. wqnwn, G 37:11; whywn, G 42:17; whmwn, G 37:4;
srn, G 11:31; wqrwn, G 16:31, 19:5; hm'wn, E 34:35

3 f. wqr'n, G 24:58; w'mrn, G 24:58

Imperfect

The variations in the imperfect are similar to those noted for the 3 m. s. of the perfect. The most common form seems to be with final Yod. Additional examples are in the paradigm of the verb hwh, p. 164.

Singular

1 c. w'hty, G 39:9; w'yqry, E 2:7

2 m. wtqry, G 17:19; wtqry, G 16:11; tšwy, CG,A E 21:

2 f. wtqry, G 16:11

3 m. ytqry, G 17:5, 21:12, 35:10; yqr', G 46:33;

ysg', G 1:22

3 f. ttbr', G 2:23

Plural

1 c. wnhy, G 42:2; wnksy, G 37:26; wnhmy, G 37:20

2 m. thwwn (tehwōn), CG,D D 28:16

2 f. tnyvn, G 24:22

3 m. ytqrwn, G 38:9; yšrwn, G 34:23. DM changes to wyšrwn to conform with the regular western form.

3 f. NA

Participle

m. s.

gly, G 3:4; 40:18; mmny, G 41:40; mtqry, G 27:41;
d'ty (d^e'atē), CG,D G 38:26

f. s.

msgy', G 26:14; 'tyyh, G 16:8; zk'h, G 38:26

m. pl.

wsgyn, G 38L:2; r^cn (f.?), G 37:16; r^cvyn, G 37:13,
 CG,E₂ G 37:16; mknvyn, G 4:26; sgvyn, E 1:12,
 I is sgv'yn; 't'yn, CG E₂ G 37:25

f. pl. wkhyvyn, G 27:1; tnvyn, G 24:22

Infinitive

lmhmy, G 41:2; lmyhmy; mšn', G 37:8; lm(y)sny,
 G 37:5, on the Yod see DM, a. 1.; lmthmwy',
 G 34:1; mlmhty, G 20:6; lmht' and lmzkh, G 3:16;
lmšqvyh, G 2:10, M is lmšqy but cf. lmyzky and
lmhty, G 4:7; lmtqryh, G 2:23; lmšvsv'

Imperative

m. s.

whmy, G 37:14; šry, G 20:15; 't' ('etā'), CG,B G
 4:8

f. s.

'twy, G 19:32, M is 'tyy; 'twy, G 19:32

m. pl.

švwn, G 43:32; šwvn (šawōn), CG,D G 43:31; sgwn,
 G 9:1; mlwn, G 1:22

f. pl.

NA

The Verb hwh

Because of its very frequent use, the forms of the verb hwh are fairly standardized but the orthographic variants for any given form are numerous. The following tables offer a sampling of the spellings which are available, especially those which have ramifications for other verbs or when possible variations in pronunciation appear to exist.

Perfect

In the perfect, the first consonant of any strong verb is vocalized with a shewa. As the first letter of hwh is weak, several possibilities exist in the CG fragments. Most frequently the verbs are vocalized with a hataf-patah. Occasionally the patah stands alone; also attested is the use of shewa.

Singular

- 1 c. hwwyt (hawwīt), CG,D G 44:18; hwyt (h^ewīt),
CG,C G 31:39; hwyyt, G 24:60
- 2 m. hwwt, G 40:13
- 2 f. hwyyt, G 24:60
- 3 m. hwh, G 3:1, vocalized in CG,D E 7:17 with a hataf-patah, is the most frequent; hwyt, G 37:11, hwwh,
G 37:24; hw', G 1:5
- 3 f. hwwt, G 24:60; hwh, G 2:3, 1:3 is m.

Plural

- 1 c. hwwynn, G 42:31; dhwynn (dahawēnan, Heh with hataf),
CG,D G 44:18

2 m. hwwytwn, E 22:20; hwytwn, E 23:9

2 f. NA

3 m. hwwn, G 6:4 (common); hww, G 6:9, cf. G 2:25;

hwwwn!, E 15:12

3 f. NA

Imperfect

Singular

1 c. w'hw, G 17:8; w'hwwy, G 26:3; wnhw, G 27:12 -

H hyty, cf. nmwt as 1 s. in G 45:28M.

2 m. wthw, G 28:3; thwh, G 3:14; thww (tahwey), CG,A

E 21:16

3 m. yhw, G 4:14; yhwwy, E 6:7 vocalized in CG,A E

21:16 as yehwey

3 f. wthy, G 9:13

Plural

1 c. nhwwy, G 38:23; wnyhwwy, G 34:16; nhwyh, CG,E

G 38:23

2 m. thwn, G 3:5; thwwn, G 34:15, 44:10, vocalized in

CG,D D 28:16 as tehwōn

2 f. NA

3 m. yhwwn, G 38:45 and CG,E G 6:19; yhwwy, G 37:20;

yhwwn (yehwōn), CG,D D 28:18 but wyhw (w^eyehwōn),

CG,D E 7:19; yhwwyyn, L 6:7, I is yhwwy.

3 f. yhwwyyn, G 41:36; yhwwn, G 25:27; yhwyyyn, E 26:3;

wyhwwyn (wyehewyān), CG,A E 22:23

Participle

m. pl. whwwyyn, E 1:5

f. s. hwwy', E 9:3

Infinitive

lmhwy, G 1:16

Imperative

m. s. hwy, E 18:19; wthy, G 12:2 (formally related to
the imperfect.

m. pl. hwwn, E 19:15

f. pl. whwwyyn, G 41:18?; hwyn (hawēn, Heh with hataf),
CG,D E 9:32

Jussive

m. s. yh', G 35:9. In Beth Shearim the form is yhy.

Cf. Beth Shearim III, p. 172.

F. Prepositions

1. Introduction

Most prepositions appear in two forms. The first is an independent form and governs the following noun or nominal phrase. In addition, prepositions may receive pronominal suffixes which are identical to those which are appended to nouns, or be prefixed to nouns.

In many prepositions there appears to be a usage similar to what is found in BH where certain prepositions receive the suffixes of plural nouns while others receive those of singular ones. H lw and 'lyw both mean "to him" but the former receives what one would call the suffix of a singular noun while the latter receives what might be called the suffix of a plural one.

This may occur in some of the prepositions in NT as there are some words which in some cases appear to have plural endings while in other cases the endings are singular. Examples include: btrykwn, G 9:9 formed from btr. Usually the singular suffixes are employed.

Actually this Yod may be explained in other ways. Most probably it is a mater lectionis for a vowel which has been added between the last consonants of the stem and the suffix. Because this happens with -nn, -kwn, and -hwn this appears as a tendency related

to the plural forms. Actually it is only a function of the consonantal beginning of the pronominal suffix.

Other prepositions occasionally end in Yod. The addition of the suffixes may then appear as a plural because of this ending; cf. byny, G 15:17M. Specific cases are treated below.

2. Prepositions: Forms, Vocalization and Inflection

b- "in, through, by means of, with"

wkl dm l' t'klwn bkl 'tr byt mdwrykwn b^Cp' wbb^Cyr',

L 7:26

bhkmh, G 1:1

bšlm, E 4:18, M is lšlm. In CG,D G 37:22 it is vocalized as baš-, a form found in certain Mishnah manuscripts for the preposition on undetermined nouns. Cf. also bydh (baydeh), CG,A E 22:3.

bhyyn (behvyn), CG,A E 22:3

bymynyh (biyamīneh), G 48:13

Occasionally the b- may be omitted as in the following examples:

w'tyqr pr^Ch, E 14:4, M is bpr^Ch

wbšt' šby^Cyt', E 23:11, M is wšt'.

In G 34:31 the preposition b- is an error for the preposition k-.

With pronominal suffixes:

byk, CG,E G 30:2; bhn, G 5:22; bn, G 37:8; cf. bnn,

ST G 37:8; bhwn, G 1:14.

bgll "in order that, for"

mn bgll d-, D 11:21 for H lm^Cn

bgllkwn, D 1:37

Cf. the other forms of this word used as pronouns.

byn "between"

byn (bēn), CG,C G 31:53; the independent form also appears as bn, G 15:17M, CG,E G 39:4; byy, G 3:24; byny, G 15:17M; G 42:1, vocalized as byney in CG,A G 22:10.

With pronominal suffixes: byny, G 9:15; bynk, G 26:28; bynynn, G 26:28, vocalized as bēnēnan in CG,C G 31:53; bynykwn, G 9:12; bynyhwn, G 24:3

It appears in multiple groupings, with or without an intervening conjunction:

byn...byn: byn my' dy mn thwt rgy^C' wbyn my'...,

G 1:7; cf. also G 1:14, 3:15 N and M, 16:14

byn...lbyn: byn nhwr' lbyn hšwk', G 1:4; cf. also

G 1:4, 6; 3:15M, 3:22, etc.

bn...bn...bn...: cf. the ^CAin Dūk Inscription,

Sukenik, p. 73.

br mn "except"

br mny lhwd mh d'klw, G 14:24. This appears

to be a conflation

br mn kpn' qdmyyh, G 26:1

lbr mn, G 19:16

btr "after, following"

btr' mn rhy', E 11:5

btr byzwy^c yynyh, G 49:22

With pronominal suffixes: btry, G 4:24, 24:5 is the 1 c. s. but see btryy, G 24:39; btrk, G 17:7; btrh, G 18:10, M is btrwy; btrn, G 32:19; btrykwn, G 9:9, 17:10, in G 9:9 the Yod was added later; btrhyn, CG,E G 41:19.

The form btryt, G 31:23 is perhaps an error for btryh. DM prefers btrwy with PJ, but this form is not common in N (to the best of my knowledge it does not exist at all).

Compounds: mn btr d(y), G 14:7, 30:21; mn btrk, G 35:12; mn btr, G 30:21; lbtr, G 9:23; lbtrk, G 19:17, M is mn btrk; lbtrhwn, G 9:23.

gb

qbrw yty gb 'bhty, G 49:29. With pronominal suffixes gby, CG,E G 29:27 "chez moi"; gbn, CG,E G 29:22.

gw "in"

mn gw^c myh, L 7:20, I mgw. Cf. also L 7:21, 25, 27. Note the spelling mn gw', L 7:25 and mn gyw, E 25:11, I has lg(yw) and lb(r)

hlp/hwlp "instead of" for H tht

hlp dy, D 22:29; hwlp, CG,E G 30:15

yt "with"

yt ywsp, G 39:2; cf. C_m ywsp, v. 21.

k- "as"

kmymryh, G 1:7

kwwt. "like"

With pronominal suffixes: kwwtk, G 41:39; dy kwwth, E 11:6; kwwtm, G 34:15.

kly "toward"

w'dyq kly sdm wkly C_{mrh} wkly 'r^C..., G 19:28

l- "to, for, in order to, etc."

It is vocalized as le-, cf. CG, A E 21:4, 6; CG, C G 31:43.

The preposition l- is employed for directions and indicates "place to which": lš'wl. Occasionally the locative Heh, related to the similar H usage, is employed instead of the preposition: hrnh, G 27:43; msrymh, G 50:14, M is lmsrym. Frequently both the prefix and the locative Heh are used together: lš'wlh, G 44:31 M, N is lš'wl; ltmnh, G 38:12, 13; lpdnh 'rm, G 28:6M, N is lpdn 'rm; ldrwmh, G 13:1. Additional examples are discussed below, p. 208.

The preposition l- is often used as the accusative particle. While this role is most frequently assigned to yt, this usage is common in the older dialects of Aramaic and is attested in both BH and MH. That it is not limited to these dialects of H and A may be

seen from its appearance in CPA as well. Examples include: b'š l- , G 34:7, etc.; l'r^C dy 'hwv ytk, G 12:1, M is lk; w'lbšh ly^Cqb, G 27:15; wlqyn wlqrbnyh l' qbl br^Cww', G 4:5, cf. yt hbl wyt qrbnyh, v. 4. wyklw lhwn, G 14:9; kd hm' mšh l^Cwg, Nu 21:33.

Examples of the preposition l- with pronominal suffixes are listed above, page 74.

lblhwd-

lblhwdk, E 18:14; lblhwdh (lblhwdehi), CG,A E 22:26; lblhwdwy, G 43:32; lblhwdyhwn, G 43:32.

lwwt

Independent: lwwt, G 2:19; with pronominal suffixes: lwwtk, G 6:21, vocalized as lwwātak, CG,A E 21:2; lwwtyh, G 30:4 "to her", CG,E has lwwth which is the form suggested by DM. Many other examples of the use of m. forms for the f. have been cited in the various sections of this grammar. The change here is not needed.

Note also lwwtkwn, G 22:5; lwwthwn, G 42:24; mlwt, G 9:5; mlwwtyhwn, G 42:24

mn "from, with respect to, of, after"

The form myn is also used G 49:10 and is vocalized as men in CG,D E 7:17, 21 but cf. also mynh (mineh), CG,A E 21:21.

Examples of usage include: mn d'tprš, G 13:14; šlm mn mwm, L 1:3; mn d'tknšw, G 15:1.

Compound forms : yt mlgw' wmn lbr, G 6:14, M is mn lgw'.

With pronominal suffixes: mnk (menak), CG,B G 4:8; mnyk, G 30:2, I is mynk, M is mmk; mnh, G 3:3 (m.), G 17:16 (f.); mnn, G 26:16; mynhwn, G 2:11; mnyhwn, G 15:1, 14:14.

^cd "until, including"

^cd k^cn, G 12:6; ^cd b^cyrh ^cd ryhš' ^cd ^cwp šmy', G 7:23.

Note also ^cd l': ^cd dyl' ntr... G 3:22; ^cd dy ybšw, G 8:7; cf. also G 2:5 (2x), 27:7 etc. Frequently this phrase is followed by the imperfect form of the verb.

^cyl "above"

ml^cyl, G 7:2

^cl "on, in addition to, against"

*tgly ^cl, G 20:3; wvytwb ^clyy, G 15:1

With pronominal suffixes: ^clyy, G 15:1;

^clyk, G 20:7, ^cleyk (hataf-patah) in CG, B G 4:10;

^clyk (f.), G 3:16; ^clwy, G 7:16; ^cln', G 37:8; ^clynn, G 26:10, G 43:18; ^cln', G 43:18; ^clyhwn, G 14:15, 18:8.

Common expressions include: ^cl ^csq "regarding", G 34:31; ^cl d- "since" ^cl dmr dw ršy^cy' ^cl 'wryyt', G 15:17.

mn ^clwy

Various forms are attested in the different texts: mn-^cl'wy (mn-^cillā'woy?), CG,C G 35:13 but men-^celā 'wē, CG,D E 7:17; mn-^clwyh (mn-^cilāwyah), ibid., G 38:19.

Examples of expressions using this phrase include:

m^clwvy r'šk, G 40:19; w^clwvy 'py..., G 23:3; m^cylwwh,
G 38:14; m^clwy, G 25:6, etc.

c_m "with, against, to"

Both c_m and c_{ym} are attested, the latter regularly vocalized c_{em} in the CG fragments. Cf. CG,A E 22:14-15, CG,D D 5:19, 24.

Examples of usage include: ysdr qrb' c_m byt c_{mlq},
E 17:16; wmlyl yy c_m mšh lmymr, E 40:1, passim.

With pronominal suffixes: c_{my}, G 3:12; c_{mk}, G 6:18;
c_{mh}, CG,A E 22:15; c_{mn}, G 24:25, c_{ymn} (c_{eyman}), CG,D
D 5:24; c_{mkwn}, G 9:10.

qbl and variations "opposite, against"

kl qbl, L 8:9, M is klwqbl

klwqbyl, G 30:41M

klwqbl, E 17:9-10M, N is c_m

lqbyl, G 30:41M, N is qdm

klqbl (k^elāq^ebal!), CG,D G 38:26

Samples of the various forms and the possible pronominal suffixes include:

kl qblk, G 47:15

qbylthwn, G 18:20

Forms with the prefixed preposition l-:

lqbl, E 36:10, 12, etc. M is lwqbl

lqblhwn, G 45:15

lqblthwn, G 14:8

qdm "before"

Vocalized forms include: qdmk (qādāmēk), CG,C G 32:18; god(myh)ōn, CG,A E 21:1; cf. men-qodam, CG,E G 44:18. Foster, Thesis, page 78, says that qwdm is rare in N but this is not really so. Many places have qwdm plus pronominal suffixes.

Compounded with other prepositions: lqdmwt mšh, E 4:27; lqdmwtyh, G 30:16, 14:17; lqdmvyth, G 24:17; lqdmwthwn, G 19:1, 18:2

Cf. also mn qdm, G 1:3, CG,E G 7:7. It is vocalized as mn-qdm (men-qodam), CG,D G 44:18. Other forms include: mn mlqdmyn, G 3:24; mn lqdmyn, G 2:8; mlqdmyn, G 1:1; lqdm, L 16:15M, N is wlqbl.

qdm ^cd l' "before"

whwh hw' qdm ^cd l' 'šlm lmmll', G 24:15; cf. also G 13:10, CG,E₂ G 37:18.

qdm l', CG,E₂ G 41:50

qdm ^cl, G 3:24; ^cd is expected. For other examples of the assimilation of d, see page 36.

With pronominal suffixes:

qwdmvy, G 15:1, qdmvy, G 3:9 (4x), G 23:8

qdmvyk, G 29:18. The Yod was added later; M is -mk;

wmn qdmvyk (q^edāmeyk), CG,B G 4:14; qwdmvyk, CG,E A 30:27; qdmwk, G 4:13; qdmk (qādāmēk), CG,C G 32:18.

qdmwy, G 2:3, 15:1; qdmwy, G 2:2; dqwdmwyvy "day before", CG,E G 31:2; mn qdmwh dyhwdh, G 44:19, DM reads qdmwy.

qdmkwn, G 45:5; qdmkwn, G 45:7

qdymhwn!, G 6:13; qd(myh)wn (god(myh)on), CG,A E
21:1.

thwt "under, in place of"

Used among other places in G 28:18.

3. The Interchange of Prepositions

The interchangeability of prepositions, especially in similar or equal phrases in N and M-I is worthy of note. Presumably in most of these cases there is little difference in meaning. Similar phenomena occur in BH, MH, and Ug.

b- and l-

bšlm, E 4:18, M is lšlm. The interchangeability of lšlm and bšlm is dealt with in BT MQ 29a where there is an analysis of the propriety of bidding farewell to the living and the dead with the phrases lk lšlm and lk bšlm. Reference to various Biblical texts, including E 4:18, indicates that the former is appropriate as a greeting for the the living while the latter is used in bidding farewell to the dead.

btr^c, Nu 6:10, M is lt(r^c)

byk, CG,E G 30:2. Kahle suggests lyk.

'rwm ty^clwn b'r^c byt mdwrykwn, Nu 15:2 is translation for the H 'l 'rs mwšbtykm.

bmsrym, D 10:22 is the translation of H msrymh.

lhyvm! L 16:10, M is bhyvn

b- and c₁

b^cpy br^c, L 17:5, M is c₁ 'py. Cf. also G 4:8,
10:31, etc.

mn and c₁

c₁, L 7:30, I is mn

mn/m- and l-

mn gyw, E 25:11, I is lg(yw) and lb(r)

lbtrk, G 19:17, M is mn btrk

lspwn^c, E 40:22, M is mn spwnh

l- and yt

ytyh, E 21:4 means "to him"

l^cr^c dy 'hwy ytk, M is lk

wqtl lhbl, G 4:16. Cf. also 4:24. In 4:14, yt
is used.

G. Adverbs

The adverbs are divided into three categories: temporal, spatial and manner. Additional examples of adverbial usages may be found in the section on prepositions.

1. Temporal

"when"

kywn

This is vocalized as kywn (kewan), CG,D G 38:26.

Spellings of kywn are found also, cf. CG,E G 29:10. An example of its usage is kywn dnpqw tryhwn b'py br', G 4:8, M is kd.

kd

G 2:18

kdy

E 32:19, M is kywwn;whwh kdy qrb G 12:10

bywm'

bywm' d'thsl yt yshq, G 21:8

"then"

bš^cth hhy', D 10:1

"until then"

c^d k^cn, G 12:6

"at that very time"

hkmn ywm' hdyn, L 23:28, 30

The concept "then" is also expressed by the use of the prefix w-:

'm 'škh bsdm hmšyn zkyyn bgw qrt' w'šry w'šbwg
lkl byybwy d'trh bgllhwn, G 18:26
wyhwy 'yn l' yhymnwn lk wl' yšm^Cwn lql nsyh
qdmwh vyhymnwn lql nsh 'hryh, E 4:8

"now"

kdown, E 11:8, M is kdyn. Frequently this interchange appears in either M, I or DM offers as an alternative to what is in N. Cf. E 7:26, 2:29, 17:6, 11:8. Also found are wkdown, G 11:6, 27:3, 27:37, M is wkdw; wkdyn, G 12:19, M is wkdy; kdown, G 11:6, M is kn, DM reads kdyn. Other cases include: wmn btr kdown, E 3:20, M is kn; cf. the reading kdyn which is suggested by DM; mn btr kdyn dy G 6:4; 'rwm kdn, G 11:9 for H ^Cl kn; bkdn, G 4:26 is the translation for H 'z; w^Cd kdown l' hwwn yd^Cyn, G 2:25; ^Cd kdown kl ywmy d'r^C, G 8:22 is the translation of ^Cd kl ymy h'rs.

"in the daytime"

b'yymm', E 13:21, 22

"at night"

lyly', blyly', E 13:21-22

"at sunset"

byny šmšth, L 6:13

"in the morning"

bspr', G 28:10, 19:27

"all night long"

mn rmš' ^Cd spr', E 23:18

"last evening"

brmš', G 19:34

"on the next day"

mn ywm' dbtr(h), G 19:34

"yesterday, the day before"

'tmwl, mn dqdmwy, E 4:10

"in the beginning"

bzmn' qdmy', G 22:12

"until now"

^Cd zmn ywm' hdyn, G 19:37

"before"

qdm ^Cd l' plus the imperfect: qdm ^Cd l' tyty

"before you came", G 27:33

"continually"

bkl š^Ch, E 18:26

bkl zmn, L 16:2

"for a while"

š^Ch hdh, L 1:1. The opposite in the same verse

is ^Clm; cf. below "forever".

"and above" (in the sense of older)

wl^Cl, Nu 1:3 (cf. H wm^Clh); mbr ^Cšryn šnyn wl^Cyl',

E 30:14

"afterwards"

wmn btr kdn, L 22:27, E 5:1

"once"

^c ydn, L 22:27

"backwards"

dmwllwwth, E 14:25

"forever"

l^clmy c^clmyn, G 49:2; ^cd l^clmyn, G 3:22; ldry
dryn, E 17:16; ^cd c^clm, Nu 24:20.

"still"

^cd k^cn, E 4:18

"immediately"

wmyd, G 38:24; mn yd, G 22:14, G 22:27

"again"

wl' 'wsp twb lmšysv', G 8:21

2. Spatial

"here"

lhk' or lhl', G 45:8 for H hnh; cf. lhl, G 19:9
hk', G 45:5

"there"

tmn, E 26:33 vocalized as taman in CG,D G 43:25

"behind"

l'hwry, G 49:17

"from the east"

mn mdn(hh) lgnth d^cdn, G 3:24

"from afar"

mn rhyq, E 24:1 N, I is mrhw(q)

"all around"

mn ḥzwr ḥzwr, L 3:8

"inside, all around" (H is mbytsbyb)

mn lgw mn hzwr hzwr, L 14:41

"on the left and on the right"

mn ymynhwn wmn šml'hwn, E 14:22; cf. mn šm'lyh,

E 20:2

"back and forth"

lhk' wlhk', E 2:12

"above...below"

mn thwt rgy^c...ml^cyl lrgy^c, G 1:17; cf. E 36:29

N and I

3. Manner

"well, truthfully"

y'wt, G 22:10; y'wt wqwšt' mllt, E 10:29; also

in the same verse: y'wt mn qwšt'.

H. Interjections

Interjections are usually introduced at the beginning of the clauses in which they are used.

'lwwy

'lwwy, G 17:18; lwwy, G 23:13; 'lwy, G 30:34

lwwy my ytn, D 5:29; 'lwy my ytn mwtnw,

E 16:3.

mh y'y

The plural is mh y'yyn. Examples are found in

Nu 24:5 and E 15:18

wwy

Used in G 15:1

h'

Used for H hnh, hn. Examples include: wh' hw'

b^Cy lmhwy, G 19:9; h' l' 't^Cl yt 'dm(h), L 10:18;

h' 'dm qdmyh dbryt, G 3:22; h' 'nh mht mtr, G

7:4 = H 'nky mmtyr.

'mn

Used frequently in D chapter 27. It is borrowed

from the Hebrew and is used in the same way.

hby

hby k^Cn 'Cwl lwtyk, G 38:16; cf. H hbh nthkmh lw,

E 1:10.

I. Conjunctions

'p, 'wp'p hy', G 19:38, Cf. CG,E G 30:15. In L 26:24N reads 'p while I has 'wp; 'wp is also used in E 12:33; CG,E₂ G 40:16.'rwm (usually for H ky)'rwm ('rom) CG,A E 22:5. The word also appears in G 6:13, 15:13, L 1:2, etc. In L 2:4 the Mem was added later and in E 29:33 the form is 'ry, vary rare in NT but common in Onk. In G 13:8 H ky is translated by 'rwm hyk.'l'

Used in D 33:3.

'l' hn (usually for H ky 'm)'lhn, G 15:4; 'l'-hn, CG,C D common; cf. CG,C G 35:10, CG,E G 39:6; 'l'hn, CG,E G 28:17, 19; 'lhwn, G 33:27, M is 'l' hn.'rwm 'lhn

Used in G 39:6, 9; 45:8; E 4:11

brm 'l'hn

Used in E 23:2

w-

The very frequent conjunction w- means "and, then, zero, etc." Vocalization varies with the subsequent consonant and is similar to what has become established for BH. Examples include:

wyšlh (wišalah), CG,A E 22:4

wyhk (wihalek), CG,A E 21:19

whzr (wahazar, hataf-patah under the Heth), CG,D

G 37:29-30

w'mryn (wa'm^erīn), CG,D G 38:18

w'nšy (wa'nšē), CG,D G 38:26

lhwd/lḥwd

On the phonetic shift see above, p. 27. The form is vocalized lhwd (lhod), CG,B G 4:4

w^cwd

Used in G 48:22

w'p^c l gb d-

Used in G 15:1; cf. the common use of this expression in BTA.

^cl d-

w^cl dhwt 'tth dlwt, G 19:26; cf. also G 15:17

hyk mh d-

hyk mh dy, L 8:29; hyk mh d'tbryt, G 2:23; hyk mh d'n' yhydyy bšmy mrwm', G 3:22.

kylw

Used in L 17:4; cf. MH k'y^wlw

bgyn kn (for H ^cl kn)

bgyn kn yprš gbr mdmkyh mn d'bwy wmn d'ymyh, G 2:24;

cf. also G 10:9.

bgyn kdn

Used in G 26:33, 11:9, I is bkn, M is mn bgyn kdyn.

Variations include kdown, G 20:6.

'n

Used in G 13:9. Also 'yn, G 30:1, vocalized 'eyn
in CG,A E 21:19 and CG,B G 4:7

'ylw

'ylw ntr mswth..., G 3:22

IV NOTES ON SYNTAX

As the title of this chapter indicates, the following is only a partial analysis of the syntax of NT. A complete study of this aspect of the material is possible, but hardly worth the effort. Aramaic syntax, especially in its later periods, is fairly loose. Being a translation of a text in a cognate language, N tends to adhere rather closely to the BH idiom. This is true in spite of the many midrashic passages which have been inserted into the translation. Accordingly, any description of the syntax of this translation must, in fact, be a study of the syntax of BH. Examples of this tendency include:

wbr' mmrh dyv vt br nš' bdmwtyh bdmw mn qdm

vy brh ytyh dkr wzwyh br' ythwn, G 1:27

šm^c w baly nšwhy dlmk 'nytn lmymrh dpwmy..., G 4:23

'm 'škh bsdm hmyšyn zkyyn bgw qrt', G 18:26.

In the light of these observations, it has seemed most profitable to limit the comments to brief statements on various phenomena and to devote most of the discussion to the syntax of phrases which

are idiomatic to Aramaic and therefore may be studied independently of the Hebrew original. Attention has been given to those passages which are not translations of BH to avoid Hebrew influence, but on the whole the Aramaic seems to be of the same type.

A. Pronouns

1. Independent Pronouns

Pronouns usually agree with their antecedents in gender and number. Occasional exceptions include hw', L 11:4; dhy', L 26:19; hw' 'r^c', E 9:29. Usually the f. form is replaced by the corresponding m. one. The correction by DM ythwn and lhwn, G 19:8 to ythyn and lhyn is pedantic. When both s. and pl. or m. and f. elements are joined, the m. pl. form is customary: šmy' w'r^c' wkl tlwwthwn, G 2:1.

Pronouns may change person in the middle of a sentence. This may be for purposes of emphasis, royal address, to follow the H, or for some undetermined or erroneous reason: mmt tmwt 'bymlk wkl mh dy lyh, G 20:7. Cf. Nu 29:39; E 3:13; etc.

The third person independent pronouns also serve as the copula. Examples include: whm hw' 'bwhwn dkn^cn'y, G 9:18; mh hy' d' d^cbdt, G 4:10; tlt' 'ynwn 'lyn bnwy dnh, G 9:19. The copula can be used even with another pronoun as in G 9:19 cited above. Pronouns beside the copula may contain verbal thrust. lyt 'n', G 42:36 means "I don't know". Cf. lyt 'nn

yd^cyn, G 42:13, also E 5:2

'nh, G 27:24 means "It is I". This is the formal reply to the question "are you...". As in H, the affirmative answer is not in the form "yes". Cf. E 2:22.

mn 'n 'twn; mn hrn 'nn, G 29:4

2. Nouns and Pronominal Suffixes

The first person also serves as vocative:

wrbwny l' ytwpw rwgzk, G 44:18. In the verse cited, the persons may be mixed up to give the impression of confusion.

The ethical dative is formed by adding the regular pronominal suffix to the preposition l-: 'zl lk, G 12:1. This is often, but not always, found as the translation of a similar H phrase. The following cases are not translations:

wtšb lh, G 38:14

wdmk lh, G 2:21

wysqww lhwn, E 1:10

Pronouns are used in an anticipatory sense:

wbhn bšnyh, G 11:11. Cf. 5:19, 22, 29

ytbnyh byt mqd(šh), G 49:27. DM reads ytbny.

wbh bsnyh, G 5:13; wbh occurs at the beginning of the line.

hyybwy d'trh, G 18:26

The noun in the emphatic state may interchange with the noun and anticipatory pronominal suffix. Cf. strwy, E 38:7 and M (st)rh.

Subjective Genitives:

kbylthwn d^cm^o dsdm w^cmrh, G 18:20

b'pqwtk yt ^cm^o, E 3:12

Objective Genitives:

wdhltkwn w'ymtkwn, G 9:2

'ymtk wphdk, E 15:16

Double use of pronouns may be for emphasis:

'n' dyyr wtwtb 'nh, G 23:4

wqrbny mny l' 'tqb(1), G 4:8, etc.

wtysb 'th, G 24:4; H is wlqht

mn dmbrrk ytkm G 12:3

yd^c 'n' 'rwm 't špyrt hzy 't, G 12:11. Cf. M.

lk ywdwk, G 49:8; H is 'th ywdwk

w'n' hlyly tqyp, G 44:18

3. Prepositions and Pronominal Suffixes

"One year old" is expressed by adding the pronominal suffix to šnh: bný štyhwn, L 9:3, etc. Cf. H bný šnh.

4. Relative Pronouns

The relative dy/d- is used in several ways:

Genitive Constructions

Before a noun preceded by a noun in the absolute state: rwh drhmyn, G 1:2.

Before a noun, pronoun, or number which is preceded by a noun in the emphatic state: šnh dhđ mynhwn, G 2:11.

Before a noun which is preceded by a noun plus pronominal suffix: bbytyh drbwnyh, G 39:2.

Functions of the relative include:

description: 'yln dpyryn, G 1:12

possession: mly' d'ttyh, G 39:18

location: nwnwy dym', G 9:2

partitive: š^cvy! dywm', G 28:10

specification: hw' nhr' rbh dnhr' prt, G 2:14

Relative Clauses

The relative is used in cases where the verb hwh is understood but not written: kl npš hyyt' dy^c mkwn, G 9:9. This is very often the case in variations between N, M and I when one has dy and the other has d'yt.

The relative pronoun is frequently omitted, leaving a phenomenon very similar to the construct where the noun preceding the word with d/dy may be in any of the three states. Examples include: rqy^c dšmy', G 1:14 and rqy^c šmyy', G 1:15; kl ywmmy hywy 'dm, G 5:4 and ywmy hywy d'dm, G 5:5; myly rbqh, G 24:30M and myly drbqh, G 24:30.

DM is apparently unaware of this construction for in dozens of places he suggests adding the d-expected as the relative pronoun. In the following quotations letters in parentheses indicate his suggested corrections: bnwy (d)qtwrh, G 25:4; hyy' (d)'brhm, G 25:7; bnwy (d)y^cqb, G 27:40. On the other hand, he often makes no comment, or as in G 36:39, kl ymwy! hywy, he adds an exclamation point.

This phenomenon is so common in N that it is impossible to list all of the occurrences. In addition

there is an extensive list of phrases containing the word 'py: 'py(h) br', G 23:17, 27:3, etc. In many of these cases DM opts for dbr'. These alterations, if carried out in a uniform manner throughout the entire text, would standardize the language but would present a somewhat distorted picture of the type of Aramaic in the text. Marking only some of the occurrences is really unnecessary.

In a series of constructs the relative may, but need not, appear before the nouns after the first: mlk' dsdm wd^cmrh, G 14:10; but d^cm' dsdm w^cmrh, G 18:20.

The relative pronoun may mean "one who":

dnks l' m^cqb wdmtnks pšt sw'ryh, G 22:10

dmn bny bnyhwn^c tydyn lmšt^cbd', G 40:12.

Cf. dqbyr, Beth She'arim III, p. 172.

Interrogative pronouns can be used in a relative sense, frequently together with d-/dy.

yt mh dy t'pwn, E 16:23

w'zl 'brhm hyk mh dmly(l), G 12:4

w'zl l'n d'nh mpqdh ytk, G 27:8

B. Nouns

1. The Genitive Relationship

The genitive relationship between two nouns may be expressed in several ways:

- a. The first noun in the construct state, followed directly by the second noun:

m. s.

b'r šb^c, G 21:31, etc.; ltr^cqrtyhwn, G 34:20;
'lh šmyh, G 35:11; lbyt 'bwth, G 43:21; nmws
'r^c, G 19:1

f. s.

'tt^cšw, G 36:10I, N is 'tthy d^cšw.

m. pl.

bny 'nš', G 8:21; b^cly dbbk, G 14:20; myly rbqh,
 G 24:30M, N is drbqh; ywmy hywy d-, G 5:5, 9:29,
 cf. also throughout chapter 5 the form ywmwy
hywy d-; gzzy^cnh, G 38:12

Note: As is indicated below, p. 249, 'r^c appears in the emphatic form with an undetermined meaning. The spelling with the final Aleph may be the product of a phonetic development. Because the final Ayyin was a problematic sound, 'ara^c became 'r^ca. The final vowel was indicated by Aleph, producing 'r^c (not 'r^ch) as the absolute state. For other examples of the use of Ayyin and Aleph together, see below, p. 249.

Examples include:

'r^c' twtbwtk G 28:4, I is 'r^c'.

l'r^c' bny mdyh', G 29:1

l'r^c' 'bhtkwn, G 48:21, M is l'r^c'.

'r^c' 't dmk^clh, G 28:13. Here 't is changed by I to read dy 't or d't.

The form of hyy' 'brhm, G 25:4 may be a variant of hyyh with the 3 m.s. suffix.

In G 1:6 my' 'r^c' is probably a variant for my' 'r^cy', cf. my' ^cyly' with which it is parallel.

- b. The first noun with a pronominal suffix followed directly by the second noun:

bnwy y^cqb, G 27:40

bnwy qtwrh, G 25:4

'hwy ywsp, G 42:3. The Yod of 'hwy was omitted by the scribe (haplography?). It was introduced later. DM reads 'hy.

ymwy hywy, G 36:39

In G 27:40 and 25:4 DM adds the relative d-. In G 36:39 he reads ymwy!. Though somewhat inconsistent this latter note at least leaves the text intact. No relative pronoun is needed in any of these cases.

- c. The relative pronoun dy/d-:

bnth dslphd, Nu 27:1

For further analysis of this form see discussion of the analysis of the relative pronoun, p. 83.

d. First noun in the absolute state:

This is apparently what is attested in ywmyn hywy dy^cqb, G 47:28, I reads ywmy dy y^cqwb. The occurrence of this phenomenon is very rare and may be just an error. The form could not be distinguished from the construct form in an unvocalized text.

The word 'py(h) is, perhaps, the best example of the variations described above.

'py 'r^c, G 2:6, M is 'ph d'r-

l'py br', G 31:4

b'py br', G 29:2

'py 'r^c, CG, E G 7:4

mn 'py brh, CG, E G 30:16

b'pyh br', G 23:17, 29:2, 34:5, 34:28, etc.

l'pyh br', G 27:3

l'pyh d'r^c, G 8:8, 13

'p' d'r^c, G 6:7M, N is 'py d'r^c:

DM frequently, but not consistently, emends these phrases to be either 'py or 'pyh d-. Sometimes he removes the final Heh of 'pyh as in G 29:2, 27:3, 5, etc. Other times he adds the relative, G 23:7, 27:3, etc. If in fact we are dealing with a noun in the construct state with 'py and a noun plus pronominal suffix with 'pyh, as these emendations would have us believe, they are unwarranted. Most probably the two spellings are variants of a similar pronunciation and are used

interchangeably. The use or omission of the relative is apparently a matter of choice.

2. The Emphatic State

The emphatic state may also express possession. This is especially true for the word 'b'/h which frequently means "my father", cf. G 16:5, 27:41, 50:5, etc. This form may be employed as a regular noun in the nominative or accusative usages as well as a vocative. Additional examples include šlh yt^cm' which is the translation of H šlh 't^cmy; Note: the even more irregular wyhgwn qdm', E 5:1 for H wyhgw ly is probably the result of a weakening of the -y ending and is not the emphatic used as a personal pronominal suffix.

Occasionally determined forms carry the meaning of the absolute state. This usage is much more highly developed in other dialects of A, BTA for example, but is attested in NT.

my', E 15:23, lmyy', E 17:3. Cf. myyn, v. 2;

bmy', Nu 19:18

mlk', G 30:22

tlt' zmnyn bkl šth, D 16:16

šmy', G 1:1; cf. šmyy w'r^c', G 14:19, I is (š)my'.

The absolute is found in Sefire. I, A26.

Because the noun in the emphatic state is identical to the consonantal form of the noun plus 3 m. s.

pronominal suffix, certain ambiguous forms exist. These should be added to either list above. No additional d- is needed as DM suggests in G 24:30.

qyymh 'brhm, G 24:9

^c1 ydh 'htt, G 24:30, M has ydy 'hty. DM suggests reading d'hth for 'htt.

3. Perpetual Duals and Plurals

Certain words are always in the dual form:

myyn, G 37:24, etc.; the spelling myym, G 49:22M is H.

hyvn, G 2:7

In like manner, some words always appear in the plural:

rhmyñ, G 4:8, vocalized in CG,B as rehmīn

'pyn, G 4:5, etc.

4. Compound Nouns

Some words are used together so frequently that they may be considered as compound nouns:

br nš, G 1:2, 9:6

The emphatic element is added to the second word in a compound: brnš', G 2:18; brnšh, CG,E G 9:5; npqt brh, G 38:21.

Since compound nouns are really nouns in a construct relationship, plurals are formed accordingly:

bny 'nš', G 6:1,2; 7:21. Cf. also bny nš, D 32:1

bty knyšwth, G 30:13

bbty mdršyyh, CG,E G 30:13

5. Miscellaneous

a. Merism

Merisms are frequently the result of direct translation of the H:

mdqyqyhwn^c d sbyhwn, G 19:11

mn^c wlymyhwn w^c d sbyhwn, G 19:4

b. Hendiadys

This, too, is frequently the result of the H text which is being translated. There are, on the other hand, certain cases which are not found in the H.

hn whsd, E 33:12-13 (3x)

'wmh wmlkw, G 49:7, E 9:24. Note that in D 33:29

a singular verb is used: 'wmh wmlkw dtqwm; cf.

also G 49:9. A similar phenomenon is found in

dhltkwn w'ymtkwn thww', G 9:1, M is yhww'.

N reads nkswy wgnynwy, G 31:18 for H mqnh qnynw.

Either this is a translation deviation introducing an hendiadys or the text was mqnhw wgnynw. Cf. the other targumim to the verse.

C. Adjectives

Adjectives agree with their respective nouns or pronouns in gender, number and state. Dual nouns have plural adjectives, construct nouns have emphatic adjectives.

Adjectives normally follow nouns: wb^cwb^dvy tbyy', G 48:22. Exceptions include kl and numbers: wkpnt kl 'r^c'; ywmyn sgyn, Nu 9:22, M is sgyn ywmyn.

Comparison of adjectives is usually expressed by the construction: adjective x mn y:

tqn msbh yth lk mn lmsbh ytk..., G 29:19

tb hwh ln plbyn qdm msryy mn lmq^tlyh ytn bmdbr',

E 14:12

dtbyn ly mn hrby wqšty, G 48:22

Cf. also wyšr^r'l hwh rhm yt ywsp mn kl bnwy, G 37:3

Other comparisons include:

"larger and smaller" rbh/z^cyr' and rbt'/z^cvrt', G 1:16, 19:31, 34, 27:15, etc.

"much" sgyn 'ynwn hwbyy...G 4:13

"too much" sgy' mn lmyšry khd', G 36:7

"more than" hwlg hd vtyr^c₁ 'hk, hwlg hd vtyr^c₁

'hyk, G 48:22

Superlative adjectives are in the emphatic state:

z^cyr' "youngest", G 42:13, 9:24, 42:2.

D. Numbers

1. Cardinal

A number precedes the noun which it modifies:

šb^c yn wšb^c dryn, G 4:24

lswp šnyn ^cšr dymw^c, G 6:3. Superlinear dots are

used to indicate that the order should be

^cšr šnyn.

The unit may precede or follow the noun which it modifies; usually it follows the noun:

lšn hd wmmll hd, G 11:1

hdh mylh, G 18:1.

When the number contains several elements, including the unit, it precedes the noun:

šyt m'h whdh šnyn, G 8:13.

In certain cases numbers follow the nouns in imitation of the H:

^czyn trtyn m'tyyn, G 32:15-16

'hy ywsp ^cšrh, G 42:3.

Usually the noun modified by a number above one is in the pl:

št' bnyn, G 30:20

hmšyn 'myn, G 6:15

Oceasionally the noun may be in the s.:

šb^c ^cšrh šnh, G 37:2 = H?

A regular use of this rule is in the numbers 200-900 where N uses m'h.

Occasionally, though not usually, numbers are joined to their respective nouns by the relative pronoun d-:

'lp dsl^C yn dksp, G 20:16

tryn 'lpyn dšnyn, G 3:24

^Csr šnyn dywmyn, G 16:3

In ^Csrh ddhb, G 24:22, no weight is mentioned.

Compound numbers are connected by w-:

šb^C m'(h) wtmnyn wtrtyn šnyn, G 5:26

In tlt m'h^C sr, G 14:14, the conjunction was omitted together with the number eight, cf. H.

Compound numbers above twenty usually have the larger element first. This is done even at the expense of literal translation:

^Cšryn w'rb^Ch 'lpyn, Nu 25:9, cf. H 'rb^C w^Cšryn 'lp.

The repetition of šnh in the H of G 23:1 is eliminated, producing the regular form of the A number:

m'h w^Cšryn wšb^C šnyn for H m'h šnh w^Cšrym šnh wšb^C šnym.

m'wn whmš šnyn, G 11:21 for H hmš šnym wm'tym šnh.

The emphatic state is used in the formation of ages, the number is omitted:

'mr br šth, L 12:6; br št', E 12:5

Partitive concepts are indicated in the following ways:

"x of"

hd mynhwn, G 2:11; šmh dbdh mynhwn, G 4:19

hd' c¹' ('l^c' omit?) mn 'l^cwy, G 2:21

tryn mnhwn, G 24:12

hd mml'ky mrwm', G 18:1

dmn bny bnyhwn, G 40:12

grm mn grmy, G 2:23

"none"

'p l' hd, E 14:28

fractions

1/2 plgwt, D 3:13, Nu 34:12

1/3 tltwt, Nu 28:14

1/10 c^šryh, L 27:32; hd mn c^šrh, G 28:22;

hd mn c^šrh mn klh, G 14:28

2. Ordinal

Ordinal numbers follow the nouns which they

modify:

wbšt' šby^cyt', E 23:11

When counting days of a month, the form bywm x
(c^šr) ywm is used in N.

1st bhd ywm lyrh', D 1:3; cf. bhd lyrh', G 8:13

10th b^cšrty ywmyn lyrh', L 16:34M; b^cšrh ywmyn,

E 12:3, Nu 29:7

11th bhd c^šr yrhyn "eleventh month", D 1:3

14th b'rb^ct c^šr ywmyn, L23:5, Nu 9:3, E 12:6

15th bhmšt c^šr ywmyn, L 23:34

17th bšb^ch c^šr ywmyn lyrh', G 7:11; bšb^ct

c^šr ywmyn lyrh', G 8:5

27th b^cšryn wsb^ch lyrh', G 8:14

E. Verbs

1. Perfect Tense

The perfect tense is usually used to translate the BH perfect tense. Accordingly, the force of the H verb is present in the A. In addition, as is the case in MH and other types of A, the perfect functions as a past tense.

2. Imperfect Tense

The imperfect tense in BH is frequently translated in NT by the imperfect which therefore assumes the characteristics of the BH forms. Like the perfect, however, it has an aspect of its own and also functions as a future tense.

3. Compound Tenses

In addition to the two simple tenses, there are several types of compound tenses.

a. A form of hwh may be followed by a participle to express extended action in contrast to the simple perfect or imperfect:

w^clw tryn ml'kyh lsdm brmš' wlv̄ hwh ytyb...G.19:1

hwh mnšb', G 1:2

hwh rhym, G 37:3

yhwwn mqdmyn wš'lyn, G 27:29.

The infinitive is also used for this purpose: lmhwy šlyt.

Occasionally the marginal notes vary in this usage:
thwn mqrybyn, L 2:13, I is tqrbwn.

b. A future tense is formed by the use of
^Ctyd:

dhwn ^Ctydyn lmyqm, G 4:10

^Ctydyn lmšt^Cbd', G 40:12

The distant future is intended in these references, in contrast to the immediate future which is usually indicated by a simple imperfect.

Compound verbs are sometimes used to eliminate the use of complex verb forms: sqwl yhwyy, CG,A E 21:23; lmhwy plh, G 2:5; wthwy zk'y, G 24:8M, N is wtzdky; (dy) hwwh (qr'), G 26:18M, N is dy qr'.

"Back and forth" may be expressed by a compound verb; the repetition is for emphasis: wšlh yt ^Cwrb'
whwh npq whzr npq whzr, G 8:7

4. Participle

Participles function in the place of the present tense. Less frequently they are used for the perfect tense. This is especially true for 3 f. pl. perfect verbs but applies in other cases as well:

wqrwn llwł w'mryn lyh, G 19:5.

Cf. w'mryn, CG,E₂ G 37:32 for H w'mrw; also G 19:9, E 10:3.

The other function of the participle is as the name of the doer of an action. For the use of

participles in compound tenses, see above.

5. Infinitive

The most common use of the infinitive is with prefixed Lamed: lmymr, G 39:12; lmhkm (l^emehkom), CG, D G 38:25. This form is frequently used in complementary infinitives: wnpqw...lmyzl l^r^c, G 11:31. There are also cases where the Lamed is lacking: wbyšn mhmy lhd^r, G 41:19; cf. v. 3 which reads lmhmy; d^ctydyn 'ynwn m^cbd, G 3:15

Examples of the infinitive absolute include:

mhzrh 'hzwr, G 24:5; mtqnshtqns, CG, A E 21:22.

The infinitive may be inflected as a noun. For the resultant changes, suffixes, etc. see the relevant sections of the morphology of nouns. As a verb it may receive accusative suffixes. Examples include: lmqtl^ryh, G 37:18; bmyldh, G 35:17.

6. Imperative

Commands may be addressed to any of the three persons.

a. Cohortative (first person)

'twy wnšqy, G 19:32

b. Imperative (second person)

wtwqpw, G 21:18, M is wtwqpy, DM suggests wtwqpy; 'zl wtkns, E 13:16 is the translation for H lk w'spt.

c. Jussive (third person)

yzdmn, G 24:12, M is 'zdmn

yh', G 35:9

Examples of the negative forms are found below, page 210.

7. Miscellaneous

There is a sizeable group of verbs which are in the passive/reflexive form even though they have an active meaning. A few may be errors or secondary meanings. Sometimes they are presented in I and M and may have different nuances, but as a group they clearly represent a divergent use of the 'et- conjugations.

Examples include:

mštb^c, 'štb^c, E 13:19

wsgwn, E 1:20, M is wystgwn

wttkl ytkwn, L 26:22

ttrgwn ytyh, ttqłwn ytyh, G 13:13M

wttphdwn, D 28:66

hyk mh dmt'kl yt bšrh, D 12:22

wkhn' dytqr(b) yt ^clth, L 7:8; DM reads dy mqr̄b,

I is dqr̄b.

It is common for the t to assimilate in many passive/reflexive forms. This might lead to a breakdown in the distinction between active and passive forms. Perhaps this change in inflection has allowed the passive forms to receive an active meaning as well. Similar usages in Hebrew may, on the other hand, point to a different development; cf. H 'bl and mt'bl.

The verb "to be" is used in several different ways. It is a major component in compound verbs: hwh rhym, G 37:3, etc. Occasionally it is omitted though necessitated by the context:

'rb^c mpthn d'ynwn msyryn byd rbwn kl ^clm(y)', G 30:22;
mn 'n 'twn, G 29:4, to which the reply is mn hrn
'nn. The pronouns may contain verbal force.

The common uninflected verb 'yt means "there is" or "is". Followed by the preposition l- it is a possessive and regularly means "there is to x" or, more properly, "x has". Frequently in M and I interchanges with hwh occur; cf. dhwh, G 13:1, I reads d'yt. It is also introduced by M to replace the relative d-/dy.

Examples of the use of 'yt include:

wyt kl 'ylny' d'yt byh pyry, G 1:29

wnwny' d'yt, CG,E E 7:18

'yt dyn w'yt dyvn, G 7:8

The negative of 'yt should be l' 'yt* but it is contracted to lyt, G 4:8. The form 'lyt with prosthetic Aleph occurs in CG,E G 39:9. For additional data of a historical and comparative nature, cf. above, page 26. Examples are cited below in the section on negative sentences.

F. Prepositions

There is a strong tendency in NT to add a locative suffix (usually Heh) to places prefixed by l- and less frequently by m-/mn or b-. Some of these may be influenced by H, thus msrymh becomes lmsrymh in N. Other cases, however, can not be taken from the H.

Examples include:

lspwn', E 40:22;

ldrwmh, G 13:1

lṭwr gl^cdh, G 31:21

lpdnh 'rm, G 28:6M, 7M

ltmth, G 38:12, 13

lš'wlh, G 44:31M, N is lš'wl

lmsrymh, CG,E G 39:1

ldwtynh, CG,E₂ G 37:17

mn spwnh, E 40:22M

mn gl^cdh, CG,D G 37:25

bṭwr gl^cdh, G 31:21

bgšnh, G 46:28

G. The Complete Sentence

1. Agreement of Subject and Predicate

As in most cases in the Semitic languages, there is a strong tendency for nouns, adjectives and verbs to agree in gender and in number. Compound nouns frequently govern singular verbs; conversely, certain words like C_m "people" take plural verbs. Feminine nouns may also appear with m. verbs. This is most common where the verb precedes the noun or where the f. form of the verb is very rare (2 and 3 f. pl. imperfect) and is replaced by the m. which is really to be seen as a common form. Frequently the literal translation of the .H causes these deviations.

Singular Noun and Plural Verb

nbr' br nš ...wyšlṭwn, G 1:26

w'bwy hwy, G 27:11 for H w'byw.

The word C_m functions as a collective noun. All verbs, pronouns and adjectives which refer to it are always in the plural:

h' C_m' bny yšr' l sgyn wtqypyn mnn 'ytwn wnsb

C_lyhwn, E 1:9-10

C_m dšyyn lqblh 'wlpn 'ynwn, E 32:9

C_m' dhwwn C_mh, G 32:8

d^Cm' dyhbw, G 16:5

Plural Noun and Singular Verb

Though several of the following examples are for dual nouns, there is no consistent pattern of such a usage. On the use of hendiadys with a singular verb, see page

w^cnh rh1 wl'h, G 31:14, 24:61

'tylyd tryn bryn, G 41:50. There is a mark (dot?) over the d in the manuscript. It may be a Waw which has been added later.

wnsb šm wypt, G 9:23; H is wyqh šm wypt

whwh lyh ^cn sgn, G 30:42. The reading of

whwn which is suggested by DM is not needed.

whwh bny qryh, G 4:17

w^cbd mšh w'hrn, E 7:6

w^cl mšh w'hrn, E 7:10

yqwm mnk tryn šbtyn, G 49:22

kl 'ylny' d'yt, G 1:29

lyt 'wmh wmlkw dtykw, G 49:9

Feminine Noun and Masculine Verb

yhwvy...šbw^ch, G 26:28, M is thwy

wrwh...hwh mnšb', G 1:3

2. Negatives

Negative concepts are expressed by l', lyt and 'yn.

The negative of verbal sentences is l', vocalized la' in CG,A E 22:7. An example of its usage is dl'

mypk, G 19:21.

The word lyt is the negative of both 'yt and nominal sentences. Examples include:

lyt 'wmh wmlkw, G 49:7

lyt dyn wlyt dyyn, G 7:8

lyt 'nh ^cbyd, G 27:41

tbn lyt mtyhb, E 5:16

w'n' lyt 'wkl lmštyzb', G 19:19

"Neither...nor" is expressed by l'...l':

l' ym' hwh ^ch lqbl' ythwn wl' 'r^c hwwt b^ch

lmb^clythwn, E 15:12.

The negative particle 'yn is used in Nu 24:14I. N reads w'yn l' ly' (the last Aleph is incompletely formed) 't ykyl šlyt...; I contains both lyt (over the space between ly' and 't) and 'yn (over 't).

The negation of commands is formulated in the following manner:

First person: l' nthšb, G 3:18

Second person: l' thwnn qtwlyn, E 20:13

Third person: l' yhwvy lkwn, D 5:7

3. The Accusative Particle

The particle yt is frequently, but not always, used to introduce the object of a verb and corresponds to the H 't. Like 't it may be inflected with pronominal suffixes yty, ytk, etc., which have been discussed above, page 76.

In H the word 't is frequently used even though no accusative construction is apparent. Frequently NT follows in this pattern:

L 10:18 H hn l' hwb' 't dmh
 N h' l' 't^cl yt 'dm(h)
 G 21:8 H bywm hgml 't yshq
 N bywm' d'thsp yt yshq

In the case of wgly qdm yy yt nhwr', G 1:4, the phrase wgly qdm is substituted for H wyr' but this has the appearance of a late insertion which left the rest of the verse intact but grammatically difficult. This avoidance of anthropomorphism is regular in NT.

Both direct and indirect objects may be introduced by yt:

whw' yhsn ythwn yt 'r^c, D 3:28.

Note, however, that H wypšytw 't ywsp 't ktntw 't ktnt hpsym 'šr 'lyw, G 37:23 is rendered in N w'šlhw yt prgwd' msryvh dy ^clwy.

The omission of yt appears to be more frequent in the midrashic passages than in those which are direct translation of the H. Cf. ntryn 'wryyt', G 3:15 (3x) and also G 18:1.

The preposition l- also serves to introduce objects and frequently it interchanges with yt:

wqpl lhbl, G 4:16; cf. 4:14, yt.

For additional examples see page 171 and 177.

4. Declarative Sentences

Sentence order in NT is rather flexible, especially in the declarative sentences. The subject may either precede or follow the verb. Modifiers and other elements in the sentence may be moved for emphasis, or as is more frequently the case, to follow the order of the Hebrew.

5. Interrogative Sentences

Questions may be introduced by interrogative pronouns or the interrogative particle h'.

'n 'nwn gwbyr', G 19:5

mh dylm' yhsrwn hmšty zkvy hmšh, G 18:28

h' mksm 'nh m'brhm..., G 19:17

The order of the subject and verb is reversed, the verb preceding the subject. Frequently the subject comes at the end of the clause:

h' ntwr' d'hy 'nh, G 4:9.

When the copula is used, it also precedes the noun. The common use of this construction has created what amount to interrogative phrases: 'n hw', 'n hy', 'n 'ynwn; note also hn hw' hbl 'hwk, G 4:9.

Omission of the interrogative particle is also possible: 't hw' dn bry^cšb, G 27:24, M adds h'.

6. Requests

Requests, be they of God or man, are properly introduced by bb^cw myn- followed by the second person pronominal suffix:

bb^cw mynk rbwny, G 44:18

bb^cw mnkwn 'hyy, G 38:25.

Variations also exist. While this formula seems to be used in formal statements, in reference to God an even more humble introduction is presented:

bb^cw brhmyn mn qdmk, G 3:18.

7. Royal Address

In royal address, following the H, the third person is used in addition to the introductory phrase:

bb^cw mynk rbwny yml1 k^cn ^cbdk ptgm wrbwny l'

ytqwp rwgzk b^cbdk, G 44:18.

The confusion of persons is found in CG,D also and is a literal translation of H. Cf. also lyt pr^ch yd^c, E 5:2 for H l' yd^cty.

8. Conditional Sentences

Conditional sentences are frequently introduced by 'n or 'yn. Usually the subsequent verb is in the imperfect of participial form, though a future concept is intended:

'rwm 'yn msrb 't, G 10:4

'yn ntrynwn mswwth d'wryyt' 'n l', E 16:4

'm! 'škh bsdm hmšyn zkyyn, G 18:26.

9. Wishes

Wishes may be expressed in several ways:

- a. 'lwwy may introduce the clause: 'lwy my ytn mwtnw, E 16:3.

b. Imperfect forms of the verb may be used: yhwyr nhwr, G 1:3; cf. also 1:6, 9, 11, 14, etc. Laws are also presented in this way, cf. L 14:8, etc.

c. The jussive may be used: yh' šmyh mbwrk l^clm wl^clmy^clmyn, G 35:9.

10. Repetition

Elements of a sentence may be repeated, presumably for emphasis:

Pronouns

'nh dyyr wtwtb 'n', G 23:4. DM deletes one.

w'n' hyly tawp, G 44:18

lk ywdwk, G 49:8; cf. H 'th ywkwk 'hyk

'rwm 't špyrt hzy 't, G 12:11

mn dmrkk ytk, G 12:3

Verbs

npq whzr npq whzr, G 8:7, cf. H.

V THE LANGUAGE OF NEOPHYTILINITS GEOGRAPHICAL
AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A. Intra-Aramaic

1. The Aramaic Dialects

Aramaic, Hebrew and Phoenician comprise the bulk of northwest Semitic materials available from the first millenium B. C. E. Of the three, Phoenician died out, Hebrew has been revitalized, but Aramaic has a continuous history of oral transmission. The three thousand years of Aramaic usage have been surveyed by Kutscher in his article entitled "Aramaic" in the Encyclopaedia Judaica. His views are presented as a preliminary to the comparison of the Aramaic of NT with the other Aramaic dialects.

Aramaic may be divided into five historical periods. Ancient Aramaic is the language of various inscriptions from before 700 B. C. E. All of the texts available are from Syria.

Official Aramaic was the lingua franca of the entire area as well as the official language of Persia. The materials extend from about 700-300 B. C. E. The literature includes Biblical Aramaic, the Elephantine papyri, the Driver documents, etc.

Middle Aramaic was a widespread type of Aramaic attested from 300 B. C. E. to the early centuries C. E. in inscriptions and documents from the entire Middle East. This type of Aramaic includes the words in Josephus and the New Testament, Nabatean, Palmyrean, Onkelos, Jonathan, the Dead Sea Scrolls, etc.

Late Aramaic includes the dialects between the period of Middle Aramaic and Modern Aramaic and may be divided into eastern and western dialects. The former includes Syriac, BTA and Mandaic. The latter consists of Samaritan, Galilean and Christian-Palestinian dialects.

Modern Aramaic, though not treated by Kutscher, is a development of the earlier dialects. Though very rare, it is still preserved in small villages in the Middle East. The three types include the dialects of Ma^clūla, spoken in a few villages in Syria, and a Christian dialect spoken in southern Turkey. Both of these are offshoots of western Aramaic. Eastern Aramaic is represented by the Kurdistan dialect, spoken by Christians and Jews.

A comparative/historical study of all Aramaic dialects would be a most welcome contribution, but its time has not yet come. Pending the availability of such a work, one may approach comparative Aramaic dialectology only through the comparison of the existing

Aramaic grammars. This has been done in the course of the study of NT with the following results:

1. Though elements of older dialects are present, the dialect of NT may be classified as Late Aramaic, specifically of the western type.

2. Excluding the Aramaic of the PT for which no satisfactory grammar exists and which has not been considered in this study, the closest dialect to the language of NT is Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

The best documentation of this claim rests in the frequent parallels noted above in the chapter on NT morphology. For the sake of clarity, some of these findings are now repeated.

The 2 m. s. pronoun in NT is 't as in CPA (and ST). Other dialects normally use a form with Nun.

The 2 f. s. pronoun in NT is 't. CPA has 'ty pronounced 'att. In other dialects the form normally ends in Yod.

The 1 pl. c. pronoun is 'nn as in CPA. The variant 'n', G 13:8 is also in CPA.

The 3 m. pl. pronoun is regularly 'nwn in N, hmwn in M. The form 'nwn is regularly used in G. Apoc., hmwn is CPA.

The variations in 1 pl. pronominal endings are strange. NT uses -n, -nn, and -n'. All are found in CPA.

The use of final Aleph in the emphatic noun forms is not regular in JA from the west. It is, however, standard in CPA.

As in CPA, NT uses the consonants Aleph, Waw and Yod as matres lectionis for the same words: cf. br in N, but byr in M throughout G; byr is regular in CPA.

Final Yod is used for final Heh in both CPA and NT.

The interchange of prefixed ', 'y- and y- for imperfect and reflexive/passive verb forms is the same in NT and CPA.

Participial gm, q'm, q'ym and qym are interchangeable in CPA. Almost the same thing occurs in NT.

Kutscher associates the CPA dialect with the language "spoken by converted Jews living in Judea". He also notes that all of the CPA literature is translated from Greek.

I see no reason to assume that NT is anything but a translation of the Hebrew into Aramaic. Yet the "translation Aramaic" aspects of both dialects may be parallel. A lexicographic study of these two dialects might prove decisive in this respect. Pending the availability of a reliable grammar for the PT, little can be done by way of comparison with this most important source. The parallels between NT and CPA, however, may encourage further work on the reevaluation and reclassification of the dialects of western Aramaic and their interrelationships. At this point it seems significant that so many features of the two dialects are similar.

2. Rabbinic References to the Pronunciation of Palestinian Aramaic

a. Analysis

Languages and linguistic awareness and sensitivity were essential parts of the rabbinic mentality. Internally, it was cultivated in a tradition of careful textual analysis of the Bible and Mishnah. Externally, it came from the polyglot environment of which the rabbinic world was composed. Ignoring (perhaps unjustifiably) all centers of Jewish life outside the areas of Babylonia and Palestine, there were significant features in rabbinic language representing Greek, Persian, Latin, Akkadian and preclassical Arabic, not to mention the eastern and western forms of Aramaic including Syriac, Mandaic, Palmyrene, Nabatean and Jewish dialects. All of these are in addition to the various types of Hebrew with which they were acquainted, Biblical, Mishnaic, and the types of Hebrew used by the Qumran and Samaritan communities.

The Talmudim and Midrashim not only recognized the existence of these languages, but integrated them into the rabbinic frame of reference. Rabbinic literature tells of figures who mastered various foreign tongues;¹ it even makes demands upon the courts to be

¹Mordecai, for instance, Men. 65a, etc.

conversant with them.² It goes without saying that remnants of these languages are to be found throughout all of the literature.³ Even in Rabbinic derashoth we see a conscious use of these languages to explain problematic passages in the Bible or to support or develop rabbinic ideas by fabricating prooftexts with the authority of Scripture.⁴ Various passages indicate a clear awareness of the role of comparative linguistic study and there are frequent attempts to correlate Greek or Latin with Hebrew. Local Semitic languages were utilized for this purpose, also, including various types of Aramaic, Arabic, "Canaanite" and Coptic.⁵ The rabbi's sensitivity to language included the differentiation between Biblical and Mishnaic dialects of Hebrew as well.⁶

²San., 17a.

³Perhaps the simplest statement of this fact is that of Maimonides who in his introduction to the Mishneh Torah described the language of the Talmud as lšn 'rmy m wrb m lšwnwt 'hrwt, "Aramaic mixed with other languages".

⁴Examples include the association of pry^cs hdr with שׁוּפְרָה Suk 35a, pwtv¹, E 6:25 with פּוֹשֵׁט (Mid. Hag. a.1.). mkyrtyhm, G 4:5 is derived from μάκαρα (Tan. wyhy 9), etc.
(Tan. wyhy 9), etc.

⁵In D 32:2 v^crp kmtr lkhy is associated with a "Canaanite" word rp (Sifre D 32). A form of Aramaic (swrsy) is used to explain tkws^c1 hsh, E 12:4 (Mek. E 12:4, Psh', 3). Coptic also served this purpose in PDRK 12, where 'nky is claimed to be "Egyptian".

⁶lšwn twrh l^csmh wšwn hkmym l^csmh, c. Z. 58b, Hul. 137b, Ned. 59a.

These men were not, to be sure, linguistic scientists in the modern sense. Comparative Semitic linguistics is not found in a formal, organized system until the post-Talmudic period, but interesting observations, some philologically sound, others only of a homiletical nature, point to the infancy of this discipline in the rabbinic period.⁷

Given all of the above, it is no wonder that various lexical and phonetic phenomena received their attention. Oddities in speech are noteworthy in all places, and the rabbis recorded several very telling anecdotes. In addition, the Bible and Rabbinic traditions were scrutinized with great care and linguistic observations often emerge as a result of their analysis. These two types of statements coupled with a concern for the proper enunciation of the prayers are recorded in enough sources to provide a picture of Hebrew and Aramaic phonetics in the Talmudic period.

NT as a Palestinian document of Rabbinic literature must be compared with these statements on phonetics. Analysis of the relevant passages follows, supplemented by a comparison with the phonetic picture which has

⁷The early leaders in the field were Saadia, Ibn Hayyuj, Ibn Kuraish, etc. There are, however, two rabbis who seemed to be interested in this field. Cf. the remarks of R. Levi and R. Yochanan on many issues. Sources are quoted in in Bacher's Legends of the Palestinian Amoraim, II b, p. 11 n. 1 and also Hul. 137b, PT Ned. 6:1, C. Z. 58b, etc.

been derived from N.

1) Megillah 24b

According to a baraita in Meg. 24b, men of Beth Shan, Beth Haifa and Tibon are not permitted to serve as cantors for public worship because they pronounce Alephs as Ayvins and Ayvins as Alephs.⁸ This statement is preceded by a briefer one which prevents priests from Haifa (and Beth Shan in some texts) from officiating in the public blessing of the people, presumably for a similar reason.⁹

The parallel passage in the Palestinian Talmud (Ber. 2:4) omits the statement about priests and limits itself to the matter of conducting services. The reason for this prohibition is (according to the Vilna edition) because they pronounce Heh as Heth and Ayvin as Aleph. The text of the PT accompanied by the comments of Sirilio reads "because they pronounce Hehs as Heths, Heths as Hehs and Ayvins as Alephs."

The PT fragments published by Ginzberg give a different text.¹⁰ Here the prohibition is based on their

⁸The text calls the Alephs 'yn, but this has been standardized.

⁹As the letter Ayvin does not appear in the priestly blessing, Rashi suggests that they would pronounce y'r as y^cr, replacing the Aleph with Ayvin. Ginzberg, a.l., notes that the priestly blessing as prescribed in the Talmud includes the word mw, the source of the confusion.

¹⁰Louis Ginzberg, Yerushalmi Fragments from the Geniza (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1909)pp. 7, 31.

pronouncing Heth as Heh and Ayyin as Aleph. This reading, older than the others and of western origin, is perhaps the most authentic, and indicates an awareness upon the part of the rabbis of a weakening of the gutturals. The obvious result of such a weakening would be their interchange. Heh could be represented by Heth or Aleph by Ayyin, but this would be a secondary development.

The starting point of this change is clearly not in the amoraic period. In Ber. 32b it is stated that in the school of the Tanna Eliezer ben Ya^cqob, Aleph and Ayyin were interchanged in pronunciation. The comment is associated with a derashah of the 'l tqry type where 'l and ^cl are interchanged.¹¹ This technique probably grew out of the common practice of not distinguishing between the pronunciation of Aleph and Ayyin.

That this matter was particularly acute in the early Talmudic period may be seen from the many questions which arose regarding the Mishnah text, particularly whether words were to be spelled with Aleph or Ayyin. In ^c. Z. 2a there is a question about 'ydyhm/^cydyhm.

¹¹This phenomenon, the interchange of 'l and ^cl is very common in the MT as comparison of the parallel passages of Kings and Chronicles will show.

In Erubin 32a there is a question about m^cbryn and m'bryn.¹²

It thus seems that in the late Tannaitic and early Amoraic periods, if not earlier, there was a breakdown in the pronunciation of the gutturals. This can be clearly shown for a stretch of the territory in northern Israel. Whether this was a local or national phenomenon is not clear, but it would appear not to have pertained in the area where the baraita was composed. Possibly the three cities, Haifa, Beth Shan and Tibon were the southern border of the region where this type of distortion was most pronounced.

2) Berachoth 15b

A text from Berachoth 15b which deals with the proper recitation of the šm^c cautions about the running together of words whose contiguous letters are identical. The suggestion is transmitted in the names of R. Obadiah and Rava and refers to adjacent words, the former ending and the latter beginning with l, b, m, or p.

The PT (Ber. 2:4) adds to this list several comments by others. R. Ḥanina adds in the name of R. Aḥa the words nšb^c 'dny (the latter word represented as pronounced) where the Ayyin and Aleph are together and

¹²Other cases are listed in PT Erub. 5:1.

may be elided. Later authorities quote the PT as including whrh 'p; the Meiri also adds w'mrt 'lyhm.¹³

All must agree that c₁ lbbkm is easily elided; similarly, w'bdtm mhrh. The case of the labials p and b is not as clear.

The phrases hknp ptyl and c₁sb bšdk are included in both the Babylonian and Palestinian versions of the baraita. There is no doubt that in the words hknp and c₁sb the final letters should be spirantized: hakkānāf, c₁ēšev. Since these are clearly not the same as the sounds of the first letters of the following words, how can they be elided?

There are only two possibilities. Either postvocalic Peh was pronounced p and postvocalic Beth was pronounced b, or initial Peh and Beth were pronounced f and v. These need not have been universal in all words in all dialects in all periods. The problem need only have been common enough to warrant concern. There is also no cogent reason to assume that both p and b must have been plosive or fricative. The Peh may have been f while the Beth was b, or vice versa.

The solution to the problem comes from Greek. Greek

¹³Cf. the commentaries m'yrrntyb, r'š, hghwt myymny, etc.

Appended to the longer discussion of slurring words whose contiguous letters are similar (PT Ber. 2:4) is the warning to be careful in the pronunciation of hllwyh, not to say hllw lk. This is discussed below, p. 243 in relation to the weakened Yod.

contains no equivalent of fricative b; Beta is always plosive b. Hebrew Beth is, with rare exception, transliterated in the LXX and ancient inscriptions by the Greek Beta. This is the case even with postvocalic spirantized Beth: *Iakwβ, Iwaβ, Aρωβ*, etc.

Alone, these observations are of no value in explaining this problem. Since there was no equivalent of y in Greek, all Beths, fricative or plosive, were treated alike. Nonetheless, together with other Rabbinic statements, they allow a simple solution to this perplexing situation.

Various Rabbinic sources mention reading Hebrew in Greek letters.¹⁴ A Hebrew text transliterated into Greek would be a useful tool for reciting the šm^c; at the very least it would be helpful for the unlettered in Hebrew to learn this crucial prayer or to recite it on occasion. In Greek letters the phrase šb bšdk might be recorded as *ελεβ βεσα δακ*, necessitating the Talmudic warning not to elide the letters.¹⁵

The case for Peh is different. Whereas Beta must serve for both plosive and fricative forms of the Hebrew

¹⁴Meg. 1:8, etc. Cf. the second column of Origen's Hexapla and similar documents.

¹⁵The -ak vocalization is chosen in deference to the studies of Kahle and Kutscher on the strata of H pronunciation.

Beth, in Greek there are two letters for the two forms of Peh, Pi and Phi. In many cases Phi is used to render Hebrew Peh; even fricative f: פֶּבֶן אֵל (Nu 34:28), פֶּבֶן אֵל (b'pw), etc.¹⁶

Jerome, in an oft quoted passage, states that in Hebrew there was no p, only f.¹⁷

The solution is now clear. The phrase hkn̄p p̄tyl may well have been read (or pronounced) by some as hakkānāf fetīl, necessitating the rabbinic warning against running the words together.

The PT adds to the above discussion two observations. The first, transmitted by R. Levi of Haifa in the name of R. Abdomai (Vilna edition) or R. Levi and R. Abdima of Haifa (Constantinople edition) and in the name of R. Levi bar Sisi (both texts) emphasizes the need to enunciate clearly (lh̄tyz) the phrase lm̄^cn̄ tzkrw. The second observation, transmitted by R. Yona in the name of R. Ḥisda emphasizes the need to enunciate clearly (lh̄tyz, in some texts lh̄tys) the phrase ky l̄^cwlm̄ ḥsdw.

The verb in question, lh̄tyz/lh̄tys usually means "chop off" or the like. Here, it is usually taken to mean "enunciate clearly". The possible errors of enunciation in these two phrases are rather abundant:

¹⁶Cf. Alexander Sperber, A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 176-7.

¹⁷Cf. in Dalman, p. 67; Kahle, Geniza, p. 182 and Sperber, ibid. Classical Arabic likewise has only f.

- 1) The Ayyin of lm^cn or l^cwlm
- 2) The Heth of hsdw
- 3) The Kaf of tzkrw (possibly altered to g or q)
- 4) The Zayyin of tzkrw
- 5) The Samek of hsdw

Most commentators, probably because of the assonance of the Zayyin or lhtyz and tzkrw believe the stress of the statement to be on the voiced nature of the Zayyin. The variant lhtys, in contrast, may refer to the unvoiced nature of the Samek in hsdw.

Misreading of tzkrw could produce tškrw (suggested as the objection by most of the commentators on the passage) or tsgrw. The former would be offensive, the latter meaningless. That z-s shifts did occur may be seen from the text of N where "moon" is translated as zhr' and shr' (possibly also šhryn; cf. above, p. 37). In Punic the forms of the demonstrative pronoun z and zt may be found as s and st.¹⁸

The problem with hsdw is less apparent. Confusion of s-z is possible in the light of the foregoing examples. Also possible are any of the other errors listed above. Focusing on the Samek because of lhtys/z is logical,

¹⁸ Johannes Friedrich and Wolfgang Rollig, Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1970), p. 20.

but not necessitated by the context.

The linguistic observations gleaned from the passage may be summarized as follows:

1) The rabbis were very concerned with the proper pronunciation of the šm^c, to the extent of warning the people not to elide adjacent words.

2) In certain areas some people used ϕ to represent both the plosive and fricative sounds of Peh.

3) H was read from Greek transliteration and people who did so (if not the populace at large) were apt to substitute b for y.

4) Depending on the status of the text of PT, there may also have been a concern over the weakening of the gutturals, specifically Aleph.

5) The sibilants z and s were easily confused.

3) Sanhedrin 5b

In San. 5b a baraita relates that Rabbi (Judah the Prince) once observed people kneading bread in a state of impurity. Upon questioning them about what they were doing, he learned that a student who had been there told them that pond water (my bs^cym) did not render the bread subject to impurity. The subsequent Aramaic explanation of the case claims that the student meant "the fluid of eggs" (my bysym), alternately spelled bsym, were not included in these laws of impurity and the people thought he said my bs^cym.

The word bs^ch (bis^cah) means "pond, ditch, etc." The word bsh (bīṣah) means "marsh, swamp". Both may form the pl. by adding -ym. They are easily confused, but because of the similar meaning, little is lost. The word bsh (bēṣah) means "egg". Its pl. is also formed by adding -ym. The error on the part of the listeners was the confusion of "the fluid of eggs (my bysym) and "pond water" (my bs^cym). He meant the former, they understood the latter.

To appreciate the linguistic problem of this text, it is necessary to separate the H account of the story from the A analysis which follows. The men telling the story believe that the student said "pond water". Accordingly, the H account must contain this word, bysym. The simplest solution is to postulate a confusion of bsym and bysym (both can be spelled the same). This in fact was suggested by Rabbenu Tam. The author of the Aramaic comment, conscious of the problem with the pronunciation of gutturals (perhaps through the text of Parah 8:10 where bsym and bs^cym are variants in a law related to the discussion here) has preferred to explain the problem along different lines. In doing so he provided additional information on the confusion of gutturals in that period.

The Aramaic gloss in effect states that in the student's dialect bs^cym and bsym sounded alike and

therefore an error was committed. This is in keeping with the conclusions drawn from the preceding texts which deal with the gutterals.

4) Erubin 53b

The Babylonian rabbis knew of divergencies in the speech patterns of Palestinian authorities. A comment in BQ 6a on the seemingly strange hb in the Mishnah notes that this statement was made by a Jerusalemite Tanna. The rabbis were acquainted with the Galilean pronunciation of H and A, but by contrast, this was thought to be wrong. In a passage reminiscent of the fifth chapter of Plautus' "Poenulus", the Babylonian Talmud points up some of the errors in Galilean speech.

This passage relates three events where people are not understood because of their enunciation of A. The issue being considered is why the teachings of the northerners have not been preserved. Among the suggested answers is their different, inaccurate speech.

The first case speaks of a Galilean man. The latter two are not associated specifically with Galileans. The only connection is that the errors were committed by two women and have been inserted into this context, perhaps because they, too, relate to the phonetic situation in northern Israel. It is possible, however, that they have been included only

because the association is errors in pronunciation, not errors in Galilean speech.

(a) The Galilean Man

The first case tells of a Galilean man who wanted an object. His request, 'mr lm'n, 'mr lm'n brought the retort, "Stupid Galilean! Do you want a donkey to ride, or wine to drink, wool to wear or a sheep to slaughter?"

The manuscripts vary somewhat on the exact nature of his request. Edeles (MHRŠ') suggested from the reply that two questions had been asked, hmr lm'n and ^cmr lm'n. This reading has since been found.¹⁹

Other minor changes are also attested in the manuscripts and early editions.

The words in question are

- 1) hmr "donkey" from PS hmr
- 2) hmr "wine" from PS hmr
- 3) ^cmr "wool" from PS ^cmr
- 4) 'mr "sheep" from PS 'mr

For the confusion to have occurred, the speaker must also have slurred the words because the vowels are not

¹⁹Cf. DS, a.1.

identical.²⁰ In any case, the story clearly points to a confusion of the gutterals in the northern part of Israel.

(b) A Woman and Her Friend

The second case in Erubin tells of a woman who invited her friend to eat some food, but instead she cursed her. The words of the woman were:

šlwkty twklyk lby' (Vilna edition) or

šlwwtý tyklwk lb' (Munich manuscript)

Her intention, according to the text, was to say:

t'y d'wklyk hlb'

which means "Come so that I can feed you milk/cream/fat."²¹ The questions are what sounds she uttered and what they meant to the listener.

Rashi suggests that her errors were:

- 1) šlwkty for šlwbtý "my friend"
- 2) t'klk lby' "a lion should eat you"

These suggestions are unclear. One can readily imagine a scribal error k for b but not a phonetic one. The Munich manuscript reads šlwwtý, a more easily accepted exchange for šlwbtý. This also fits the narrative

²⁰This confusion would be made easier if the emphatic forms of the four words were used, insuring thereby that all would end in the same syllable. This usage is found in Palestinian Aramaic but is not in the textual variants listed in DS. Even so, the story makes sense as it stands.

²¹Cf. the text of Rabbenu Ḥannanel.

which specifically mentions that she wanted to invite her friend.

Another problem is the word lby'. Many texts read lb' (lābā') "flame".²² In this case the woman's mispronounced offer meant that her friend should be consumed by fire.

These comments by earlier writers are helpful in trying to make sense of a difficult passage, but they do not resolve all of the difficulties. Let us compare the three texts.

The printed text reads twklyk lby' "a lion will eat you". The verb in question is the third person, feminine singular, imperfect of 'kl to which is added the second person feminine singular accusative pronominal suffix. This is preferable to the manuscript text of tyklwk. The intended word was d'wklyk, relative pronoun appended to the first person singular imperfect of 'kl plus the same pronominal suffix. Confusion of d'wklyk, probably pronounced dōkliḵ and twklyk, pronounced probably as tōkliḵ is possible through the loss of Aleph in the former and the confusion of the dentals d and t.²³

The last word in the sentence was to have been

²²Cf. DS, a.l.

²³Cf. also Deuteronomy Rabbah, ed. Lieberman, 1:1.

h̄lb'. This has been misunderstood as lby' or lb' through the slurring of the two words. The Heth of h̄lb' is lost and is included in the text in the final Kaf of twklyk. Thus twklyklby' or twklyklb' is really d'wklyk h̄lb'.

In order for this slurring to be most effective, the number of syllables should be the same in both phrases. "Lion" lby' (lebīyā') has an extra syllable, so the desired effect is best produced by lb' (labā'), itself an already altered form of lhbh.

The remainder of the text is more problematic.

According to the Talmudic explanation, the woman said t'y. This is the imperative, second person feminine singular of 'ty "to come". Her mumbling took the form of either šlwkt̄y or šlwwt̄y which as noted earlier has been explained as šlwbt̄y "my friend". Such a theory fails to correlate the texts. Clearly the t'y "come" is represented in the distortion by the -ty. But then šlwkt̄y/šlwwt̄y/šlwbt̄y can not be the equivalent of t'y. They contain an extra element.²⁴ The correct Aramaic given in the text should read šl? t'y d'wklyk h̄lb'.

Since she wanted to invite her friend, a form of šlh̄ may be appropriate. This would correlate with the

²⁴This problem was already seen by Dalman, p. 58.

problematic šlwkty and is possible through confusion of k and h. The other reading is also possible; šlwty may represent šlwy t'y "be satisfied, come, etc." This, then, in distorted form could be šlwbty (b-w switches are common) corrupted later to šlwkty.

Also possible is a derivation from the root šlk "to provide or nourish". This root is attested as an element in various Phoenician and Aramaic names and has been "discovered" by Dahood in several passages in Psalms.²⁵ The garbled form here represented by šlw may represent part or all of the woman's name. May it not also be a verb, to be translated "eat"? This would leave the sentence "Eat. Come and (literally, so that) I will give you h**l**b' to eat." The Aramaic form would be šlky t'y d'wklyk h**l**b'. In šlwkty, the garbled form we may have šlw**k** 'ty, to be rendered "You are devoured, a fire will consume you."

(c) The Woman and the Judge

The third case is more complex than the other two, as no explanation accompanies the story. There is no indication, as in the previous two tales, if this passage is also to be seen as representing two thoughts,

²⁵Cf. Frank L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), p. 416. Dahood is cited as the discoverer of this meaning in his Psalms II (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968), p. 38. Though his proof is only partially convincing, it seems more than coincidental that this meaning is applicable to the text in Erubin.

the one intended by the speaker and another which would have appeared as the intended thought because of the various mispronunciations.

The passage is introduced by hhy' 'tt', but in some texts these words are lacking. This would have the third tale refer to the second woman, in effect combining them into one long narrative.

According to the Vilna edition, the woman came **before** a judge and said:

mry kyry tpl' hwyt ly wgnbwk myn wkdw
hwwt dkd šdrw lk ^cylwyh l' mty
kr^cyk 'r^c'.

None of the standard Talmudic commentators seem to have dealt with this passage fully. The only complete explanation of the woman's words is in the comments of Rabbenu Hannanel, a.l. The text of his commentary does not coincide with the text of the Vilna edition. More important, it does not correspond with the text of the story which he quotes.

The author of the Aruch (s. v. kr) also dealt with the passage.²⁶ His text differs from all of the others but he attempts to explain the entire passage. Various versions of some of the questionable words or phrases are noted in DS, a.l., further

²⁶ A. Kohut, Aruch Completum (New York: Pardes Publishing Company, 1955) IV, p. 311, col. 1.

compounding the confusion.

The complete analysis of this passage is beyond the scope of this work. However, since it is directly connected to the passages which have been discussed above and possibly presents a witness to Galilean Aramaic, it will be treated briefly, following the text in the Vilna edition. In doing so, certain questions must be answered regarding the nature of the text.

1. Does the passage represent the intended message of the woman or the correct idea which she garbled?
2. Is the passage subject to more than one meaning like the previous one or is it merely a record of someone's errors?
3. If there is more than one meaning in the text, how far may one go in reconstructing the texts of the original statement and the distortion?

Decipherment of the first part of the passage seems to indicate that there are, in fact, two possible meanings. This assumption will be pursued in the analysis.

mry "my master"

kyry Rashi suggests that kyry means "my servant".

The woman intended to say gyry "my master".

Jastrow (s. v. kyry I) notes that kyry repre-

sents the Greek *Κεῖριε*, vocative of

Κεῖριος "captive", while gyry is from *Κύριε*

from *Kυριός* "lord". Also possible is derivation from *Χαίρω* "to hail". The phrase mry kyry may thus mean "my master, hail" or (less probably, I should think) "my master, my lord" and was corrupted to mean "my master is my captive". Variants of kyry include byry, a common western spelling for "my son", cf. CPA and the marginal notations of Neophyti I.

tpl' hwyt ly The spellings tbl' and tplh are also attested. Rashi explains the confusion as her saying tpl' when she meant tbl' "beam". The possible meanings of tbl' include: bell, string of bells, board, tablet, list account, book, will, etc. Also possible is tpl' (ṭaflā) a common A word for "child". The verb hwyt should probably be taken as 3 f. s. perfect of hwh, normally hwt but cf. hzyt (Epstein, p. 95). This form is more regularly employed for the 2 m. s. perfect. The phrase may thus be rendered "I had a tabla" or "You were my son". (Cf. the variant byry used in some places for kyry.)

wgnbwk myn Rashi takes this to be gnbwh mmny "They stole it from me". The BH notes that it should then read mn'y. The possible meanings are

1) "A gnostic (myn) stole it" (the Waw is thus taken as a connective vowel and is not part of the verb); 2) "(The) gnostics stole it"; 3) "They stole it from me". All of these proposals take the final Kaf as a mispronunciation of Heh. As it is attested in the text, the phrase refers to the judge and can be taken as either "The gnostic(s) stole you" or "they stole you from me".

Thus far it would appear that the text, in fact, has two possible meanings. Words from both the intended, unpronounced statement and the unintended, mispronounced statement have been blended together in order to convey the feeling of the distortion. It seems that a woman once went before a judge and told him that a tabla had been stolen. Because of her Galilean accent, it appeared to anyone present that she had addressed the judge as her slave and then proceeded to tell him that he was her son who had, at some time in the past, been kidnapped.

The remainder of the passage is more **problematic**. It seems to mean that if he (the judge) were tied on the tabla which had been stolen he would not have touched the ground, i. e. it was larger than the judge. Aside from the impropriety of describing the object in this manner, is this passage also subject to double

interpretation? In reality it may be only the confusion of the non-Aramaic words which has presented the problem.

The data of a phonetic nature which may be drawn from this passage is tenuous. There is evidence of a possible confusion of k and q, depending on how one interprets the Greek word used. There may have been a mispronunciation of t-t in tpl'. The k in gnbwk apparently serves for a third person pronominal suffix.

5) Berachoth 13b

A baraita quoted in Ber. 13b in the name of Symmachus praises those who lengthen the word 'hd while reciting the šm^c. The parallel passage in the PT (Ber. 2:1) is anonymous but contains the same idea. Glosses in both texts are transmitted in the names of Babylonian Amoraim and clarify the discussion by assuring that this instruction refers only to the letter Daleth at the end of the word. The Babylonian Talmud adds a note attributed to R. Ashi not to distort (h_{tp}) the Heth.

The Tannaitic origin of this statement as well as its inclusion in the Palestinian Talmud indicate the relevance of this passage for the phonology of western Hebrew. It probably may be transferred to the western pronunciation of Aramaic without too much danger. It refers to the lengthening of the Daleth made possible by the spirantized pronunciation in contrast to the

short pronunciation which occurs in the plosive pronunciation.

6) Baba Qammā 6b

The Mishnah, BQ 1:1 uses hb for the expected hyyb. The BT, 6b ('mr rb yhw dh 'mr rb h'y) notes that this is because the Tanna is Palestinian.²⁷ Accordingly, one may assume that the Yod also changed its sound in certain western forms of Hebrew.

This is corroborated by the concern of PT Ber. 2:4 where a point is made to hllwyh not hllw lk. On confusion of h/k cf. BT Erub. 53b (gnbwk is gnbwh). The lack of a distinctive Yod and some other minor vowel changes would allow hllwyh to be pronounced halulak. Though this latter case might just be a concern for word substitution and not mispronunciation of letters, the former clearly demonstrates a change in the status of Yod.

b. The Phonology of NT in the light of
Rabbinic Literature

The linguistic data culled from the above passages may now be summarized and compared to NT. From rabbinic sources which deal with the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic of the late Tannaitic and early Amoraic periods in the western sphere of rabbinic influence we observe:

²⁷ Additional examples are provided by Tosafot, s.v. hb.

1. A general breakdown of the pronunciation of the gutterals seems to have occurred. In some cases this was accompanied by interchanges of gutterals, including ḥ- and h-h. This is the most widely discussed phenomenon and seems to have been widespread in the northern part of Israel.

2. In certain cases both plosive and fricative Beth were pronounced as b.

3. In certain cases both plosive and fricative Peh were pronounced as f.

4. There was a confusion of sibilants, specifically z-s.

5. In certain cases a shift of d-t occurred.

6. Yod was weakened in some cases.

In all of these cases it may be noticed that not everyone in Israel pronounced Hebrew this way.

Comparing these findings with NT we observe:

1. Gutterals

In NT Heth and Ayyin both appear regularly. There is little loss of radical Heth or Ayyin in the orthography.²⁸ Aleph is occasionally lacking. There is, however, a significant number of places where both Aleph and Ayyin

²⁸This is in contrast to many rabbinic texts which acknowledge a confusion of the pronunciation of gutterals. Aside from those discussed above, see D Rabbah 1:1 (ed. Lieberman) htr'/ḥtr'; also MQ 16b and Ker. 8a where Rabbi Hiyyah is called 'yy'. In Ber. 32a the Galileans are said to pronounce hwv' as 'ywy'. Cf. also L Rabbah II, 1 and parallels where hyvb' and 'yyvb' are interchanged.

are added, most often as matres lectionis. More frequent is the substitution of Ayyin where Aleph is expected or the addition of Aleph where only Ayyin is needed.

The type of confusion evident in the Erubin story about the Galilean man is typical of the picture which rabbinic texts offer of Galilean pronunciation. By way of comparison, we see that the four items which he may have been seeking are all mentioned in N. As expected, 'mr is used for sheep (G 22:7, 49:27, etc.). Donkey is hmr: wkl pthy wwld' dhmr tprqwn b'mr, E 13:13. There is no confusion. Wine is rendered as hmr, G 19:32-5; 27:25, etc. Wool is ^cmr, L 13:47. Clearly the inaccuracies of this man are not indicated by the orthographic character of the Neophyti I text.

2. Plosive and Fricative Beth and Peh

It will be recalled that the data on these cases, especially on the Beth, assumed that the speaker was reading from a Hebrew text transliterated into Greek letters. This argument is reinforced in a minor way by the lack of evidence presented in NT for this phenomenon. It was probably limited, as proposed, to a small sample, or at least not to those responsible for the composition and transmission of NT.

In order to demonstrate that in NT it is customary to have all Beths pronounced as b we should need to produce many cases of b^vp shifts and very few cases of

b-w shifts. There is no overwhelming abundance of either, but there are more examples of b-w than b-p. In addition, there are very few cases of f-w interchanges, necessary in order to argue in favor of a Peh whose normal sound is fricative. From the p-w and p-b shifts we may see that both fricative and plosive sounds existed.

3. Interchange of z and s

This problem was encountered in the recitation of the šm^c, and was demonstrated to have existed in both Punic and Aramaic, specifically in the text of NT. It is, however, not common in NT for this exchange to occur. There is thus no evidence for the widespread existence of this variation.

4. Interchange of d and t

This was also encountered in a story about one individual's error. While the text of NT does not indicate that this phenomenon occurred very frequently, it does occur more than just a few times. Some correlation is possible.

5. Weakened Yod

Though not a prominent feature of NT, this, however, has been found in certain cases, both in omission of the letter and interchange with Aleph.

Before arriving at a conclusion, it is necessary to point out several of the limitations which are present.

The rabbinic texts in question, as is true with N, M and I are not in their original forms. The nature of this investigation is such that minor deviations play a significant role in evaluating the data. These minor details may not be authentic, but may have been introduced by later copyists. Other significant data may have been lost by a similar process.

The rabbinic materials, especially Sanhedrin 5b and Erubin 53b are accounts of individual errors. Though the Talmud uses them as general cases, with the exception of the gutteral problem which appears in most of the sources, it is not clear how extensive these deviations really were. The passages dealing with the šm^c are presumably of value for a larger segment of the population. Here, too, gutterals emerge as a major issue.

The rabbinic cases all refer to speech patterns and attempt to record errors in speech without the use of phonetic signs or vowels. Similarly, NT, though a targum and possibly originally an oral text, is now in written form. In neither case is there much indication of how the words were pronounced. Only comparative analysis, the few vocalized fragments from the Cairo Geniza and deviations from the expected or established norms provide any guidance.

These deviations are most useful, but in themselves

do not provide conclusive data. First, the text has been transmitted over the centuries through several different copyings. Secondly, when dealing with phonetic deviations, frequency is a major factor. Terms like "common", "frequent" and "rare" have been used but these are not of much value for a statistical analysis of the dialect.

Realizing that any comparison between the rabbinic data on Aramaic phonetics and the phonetics of NT are limited, a conclusion may be presented.

Most of the deviations noticed by the rabbis are present in NT. As demonstrated above, shifts of z-s, d-t, p-w, etc. do appear in NT and accordingly the correlation between rabbinic comments and the language of NT may be meaningful.

For the rabbis the most distinctive variation was in the gutturals. As noted above, this occurs only in the Ayyin-Aleph area in NT. Only rarely does Heth undergo any change. D Rabbah 1:1 notes that in the Galilee, snake (hwy') is pronounced with an Ayyin (^cwy'). This is not evidenced in NT where the Heth spelling prevails. The confusion of hmr/^cmr/'mr, associated with the Galilee by the BT, does not occur in NT, etc. Unless we assume that the text of NT does not reflect the pronunciation of the words, we must be prepared to admit that in this respect the

two sets of data do not correspond. Accordingly, we conclude that the statements which speak of the interchange of Heth and Heh are not dealing with the dialect of Aramaic found in NT. But the interchange of Ayyin and Aleph is a different matter.

One of the sources, Meg. 24b, describes three communities in the Galilee. It is not concerned with individuals and does not overly generalize or polemicize. It records one linguistic fact: the men of Beth Haifa, Beth Shan and Tibon interchanged Aleph and Ayyin. This is really the only clear deviation which is attested in N. It appears in words like b'š/b^cš and in 'r^c, c^cr^c. The use of Ayyin and Aleph together in 'r^c for 'r^c and tb^c for tb^c are additional cases. Accordingly, if this statement be accepted as correct, the dialect of Aramaic of NT may be related to these cities or the surrounding region.²⁹

What type of Aramaic, one may then ask, was mentioned by the rabbis?

²⁹It must be conceded, however, that comparison of NT and the CG fragments provides another possible solution to some of these deviations from the expected norms. The type of changes which are most distinctive in NT are present in the later CG fragments but, to a noticeable degree, are absent from the earlier fragments (CG A and E). Accordingly, it may be that some of these deviations are part of the process of NT transmission which is attested by these later fragments and not by the earlier ones. The comments of the rabbis may, then, have no relation whatever to these changes, some of which may have been introduced after the composition of the PT.

The type of guttural interchange and other confusions of enunciation which are described in the rabbinic passages are found very frequently in the Aramaic of the Samaritans. Notwithstanding all of the problems of dealing with this dialect which have been described by Ben-Hayyim, including the corrupt manuscripts and lack of correlation between the orthography and phonetics, some evidence may perhaps be drawn from this type of Aramaic.³⁰

In the Samaritan Targum published by Brüll, it is common to find the types of "errors" described by the rabbis.

'wzp, G 38:26; H is hwsyp (s-z shift)

hzb, hzbh, G 39:6, passim; H is mr'h (w-b shift)

^cwrnyn, G 41:3; H is 'hrwt (h-^c shift)

^cwby, G 41:9; H is ht'y, cf. N hwby (h-^c shift)

hhby, G 41:25 "told" (b-w shift)³¹

etc.

³⁰Z. Ben-Hayyim, ^cbryt w'rmyt nwsh šwmrwn (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1957), vol. 1, ch. 1.

³¹These words were selected after reading the ST to G 37-41. This passage was chosen at random and the dialect of A may vary from passage to passage. Nonetheless, it is my impression that the number of such phonetic deviations found in these four chapters far surpasses those available in any four successive chapters in NT.

Determination of the relationships between the dialects of NT and ST and between ST A and the rabbinic passages **must** await a critical edition of the ST text. At this time it is impossible to do more than point in the direction of a possible connection.

B. Non-Aramaic Influence

1. The Influence of Hebrew on the Language of Neophyti I

Hebrew influence on NT is striking throughout the entire text. Aside from the obvious influence that any original will have on a translation, especially in the syntax, there are loan words and Hebraisms of various types. In addition, there are many, many words which are identical in H and the A of N. While no attempt has been made to ascertain how many of these words are originally H, it is fair to assume that in hundreds of cases words could have been either H or A and perhaps the distinction between the two sister languages was blurred even by the user.

It has been stated in various places that the more H in an A text, generally speaking, the later the text.³² DM, in editing NT, frequently emends H words and substitutes A ones. A puristic orientation has likewise motivated Kutscher to isolate and translate the H words found in the A portions of BR which have been published in Rosenthal's handbook.³³

³²Most recently by A. Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, IVb (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p.27.

³³F. Rosenthal, An Aramaic Handbook (Wiesbaden: Horrasowitz, 1967), Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 59 ff.

Yet in spite of this distinction and its obvious linguistic validity, it is very frequent that H words appear in A texts. This is true even in inscriptions which have been preserved in their original form and not subjected to the errors and changes inherent in scribal transmission.

Samples of these Hebraisms may be found in BA and G. Apoc., and have been discussed at length.³⁴ Additional texts in which this phenomenon is attested include both the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds and the Samaritan Targum to the Torah. The word šlwm appears in the Beit Jibrin synagogue inscriptions; sdvqym is in the Chorasin Inscription (Sukenik, p. 60).

A complete study of the use of H in Palestinian Aramaic would be a profitable investigation, but given the close connection between H and A in the rabbinic period, it would be strange if no H would be included in A. In any case, it is of questionable value that DM has incorporated suggested changes of H to A in various places, probably in an attempt to restore the "original" text of the targum.

Examples of Hebrew and Hebraisms in NT:

The absolute m. pl. nominal ending in A is -yn.

³⁴ Cf. Rosenthal, p. 57; H. H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 129-133; G. Apoc. page 25-27.

Occurrences of -ym must, therefore, be H: ^Cšrym, G 31:41, 32:15; dmyym, G 49:22 M, N had dmyvyn; mym, CG D G 37:24, dmyym, G 21:19 M, wmym, E 34:28 M; bšb^Cym, D 27:8, lhyym, L 16:10, qdš qdšym, E 26:33, etc. H proper nouns also maintain the -ym suffix in A: brpydym, E 17:1; msrym, passim.

The perfect suffix of the first person singular in A is -yt. Accordingly, the few occurrences of -ty should be seen as H influence.

hwyty, G 31:40 M; N is hwyn'.

šwyty, G 27:37 (2x). In both cases I suggests šwyt.

wslyty wb^Cyty, D 3:23

The regular emphatic particle is postformative -h or -'. Preformative h- is H.

wh'dm hkm yt hwh, G 4:1; cf. also G 2:16. This

may be a type of proper noun in this usage.

Regularly, the term br nš is employed.

The 3 m. s. genitive suffix in A is -h or -yh.

The cases which follow are H.

šmw, G 17:19

bywmwy, G 26:1. The final Yod was added later.

lmynwhw, G 7:14. This form is incorrect in either language. The first Waw is marked with a super-linear dot to omit it.

l'byw, G 27:19. As in other places, DM unnecessarily changes the text to contain the A l'bwy.

byytw, E 7:23

Note the error of l' for lw: l' ysqy l' swswwn, D 17:16 and also in ty l' brkth, Sukenik, p. 72.

A common phrase in N is hn whsd: G 6:8, 19:19, 32:6, etc. This is most probably borrowed from H. The expression appears once in the Bible, Esther 2:17, but is common in the Hebrew liturgy. The correct A form of hn is hnw as seen in G 39:21. The word hsd in A normally means "scorn, shame, etc." The word hsd', which appears Aramaicized in G 21:23 is really H. The idiom also appears in CG, E G 30:27 and hsd is found in ST G 40:14.

The interchange of bn/br has been mentioned above, p.42. Granting that bn may be seen as acceptable A of the N dialect, it still may be noted that expressions like bnw ysr'l and bnw nh are identical to the H equivalents and are probably borrowed. Note also that when the specific sons of Jacob are meant, the phrase bnwy dyśr'l is used, cf., however, G 6:26.

Frequently when a H word is to be introduced as the answer to a question (almost always the word is hny) the translator introduces it by blśn byt qwdš', G 22:1, 31:11, 45:12, etc. If the phrase is omitted by N it is supplied by M: G 31:46, 22:11 M.

Many cultic terms are borrowed from H, particularly

those associated with the temple, priests and temple ritual.

sysh, L 8:8

wbmsnprn, L 16:4, msnprth, L 8:9 (2x)

š^ctnz, L 19:19

mnrth, Nu 8:2

snpryn wqšqšyn, D 14:9

wbmqwššh, Nu 15:34 and the other three times this midrash is introduced. When actually translating the verse, it is called mgb.

khnyv' bhšsrwtyhwn, G 50:1

In addition, the following words appear to be influenced by standard Hebrew usage or borrowed from either Biblical or rabbinic Hebrew.

nh, G 4:8. In N ny is more regular.

wnthyyb bnpšyh, G 37:21

whzr, G 37:29, 30

hlk in various forms in D 2:14, L 11:27, and many places. Normal A usage is a form of 'zl but hlk is so common as to be standard usage.

'nhn', G 37:7. The regular form is 'nn, cf. pronouns, Onk. a. l.

hdwh, G 22:14. The regular A is hdw.

'klkl, G 50:51, 45:11, etc. M usually substitutes 'prns.

r'š, G 49:26 I and elsewhere. A is ryš, though
r'yš also appears in NT.

't, G 35:22 I, 36:3 A is yt.

br'šyt, G 1:5

ywy, G 5:23. A should be ywmy which is suggested
 by DM.

2. Other Influences from Outside the Northwest Semitic Group

While no attempt has been made to catalogue or evaluate the impact of other languages on the language of NT, it is a situation which is worthy of note. By the time of the composition of N, A was a highly developed, widespread language with deep historical roots in the ancient Near East. The impact of Akkadian and Persian on the earlier forms of Aramaic may still be seen in some of the loan words which have become part of the normal vocabulary of NT.

Later influences on Aramaic came as the result of Greek influence and NT is replete with Greek words and a few which may be Latin. Some are even inflected like Aramaic, a sign of total absorption.³⁵
 A few examples follow.

³⁵This is in spite of the claims of G. Cowling, Thesis, p. 194 that the Palestinian Targum does not contain inflected forms of *ρωρον* and other Greek words.

Akkadian

The names of the months were borrowed from Akkadian. It may very well be that the influence is not direct, as the same names are used in Hebrew, but ultimately the words derive from this source.

An interesting shift in the dating of Hebrew br'šwn, G 8:13, patterns some other materials. In this verse N has byrh' qdmy'. M₁ has bnysn, M₂ reads btšry. This correlates to the divergencies in the first month of the Mesopotamian calendar and has direct parallels in the Talmud. In PT Roš Haššanah, 1:2 there is a discussion of both the Babylonian origin of the names and the problem of the identity of the first month of the year.

Persian

The most frequent Persian word is ptgm (pati-gāma). Already found in BA, it is used in NT as "word, thing, matter, etc.:", the semantic equivalent of H dbr. Examples include: G 19:8, 21, 22; 15:4, etc. It also appears as the "blade of a sword" in G 44:18.

Greek

As is the case with CPA, Syr., and the JA dialect of the Palestinian midrashim, many, many Greek words are part of the common vocabulary. Frequently these have been pointed out by DM in his notes. A few of

the inflected forms include:

mqlsyn, G 49:2, E 32:18

qlsw, D 32:42

prgwdyh (pergōdē), CG,D G 37:23

lmpdyn, E 20:2, 3 is from *λεπτάδος*. Note that
the form is lpydyn in I, like the H lpyd.

dwrwn, G 43:15, etc. Cf. also p. 113.

'pytrwpwy, G 50:7

'prkywthwn, G 10:2

lgywwnyn, G 15:1

The following words are noted by DM as possibly deriving from Latin. Some of them may be from Greek; occasionally he offers both etymologies:

spqlytwryh, G 37:36

lptrwn, G 45:8

qgbtyn, G 40:16M

qntr, E 25:39, M is qnytr.

C. Summary and Conclusion

The Language of Neophyti 1 has been described in detail according to the plan established by all classical descriptive grammars. In addition, great concern has been taken to correlate this dialect of Aramaic with the other dialects. In the process of this comparison, it has been demonstrated that a very close cognate dialect is the language of Christian Palestinian Aramaic which has been utilized on many occasions to explain difficult or irregular forms in NT.

The Aramaic of NT has been compared with the statements in rabbinic literature to attempt a correlation of these passages with the dialect of the targum. It has been seen that a major factor in the rabbinic observations is the pronunciation of the gutturals and their breakdown. While it must be conceded that the text of NT does not allow for any type of phonetic notation, from the consonantal text and the few cases of guttural confusion, it seems that the rabbinic comments, for the most part, do not correlate with the text of NT as preserved in the manuscript under discussion. There may be a connection with several of the rabbinic statements which speak of the mixup of Aleph and Ayyin but not

Heth and Heh.

While the language of NT is clearly a type of Late Aramaic, remnants of earlier stages of the language are visible. There are, in addition, many examples of Greek and Hebrew influence on the language. The former seems to be primarily in the area of the lexicon but Hebrew has had an impact on the syntax of the entire targum as well.

In the course of studying the text, certain other areas appeared in need of definitive studies. The vocalization of Palestinian Aramaic is an area which is in need of a separate monograph. Much has been done on the parallels between NT and the other Jewish targumim, but with the promise of a new edition of all of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Bible texts, the text as well as the language may be compared with NT. Grammars of the language of the Palestinian Talmud and the Samaritan Targum would also allow for greater possibilities in the study of Palestinian Aramaic. Additional language studies and a concordance and dictionary of NT have already been announced.

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