

M.H.SEGAL

A Grammar of

Mishnaic
Hebrew

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**A GRAMMAR OF
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BY
M. H. SEGAL

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PREFACE

THIS little book has been written with a twofold object: first, to provide students of early Rabbinic literature with a fairly complete grammar of the dialect of that literature; and, secondly, to demonstrate the organic connexion of this Mishnaic dialect with Biblical Hebrew, and its relative independence of contemporary Aramaic, at least in the field of grammar. A good deal of material belonging to comparative grammar has, therefore, been introduced, and constant reference is made to the standard authority in the English language on the grammar of Biblical Hebrew, viz. Dr. Cowley's edition of *Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar*. As that work is most familiar to English readers, I have followed it, as far as possible, in the arrangement and terminology of the present work.

The examples illustrating grammatical rules have been drawn mainly from the Mishna and, to a smaller extent, from the *Baraitot* and other Hebrew elements of the Babylonian Talmud, because these works are the most accessible to ordinary students. Other less accessible works, like the Tosefta, the Jerusalem Talmud, and the *Midrashim*, have been drawn upon only occasionally. The English renderings of the examples have been made as

literal as possible, in order to exhibit clearly the construction and phraseology of the original.

As is well known, the text of Rabbinic works is in a neglected condition, and readings are often uncertain. In citations from the Mishna I have taken care to give only examples of which the reading is established as fairly correct by agreement between the Palestinian text of Lowe and the Babylonian texts of the current editions of the Mishna, and of the Mishna embodied in the Babylonian Talmud. I have refrained from troubling the reader with variant readings which serve no grammatical purpose. Occasionally, however, differences of reading have been indicated where they have a bearing on the grammar of the dialect.

It has not been found practicable to accompany the work with a general index. In order to facilitate reference to its contents, the Table of Contents has been made as detailed as necessary.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Albrecht's excellent little book, *Neuhebräische Grammatik*, which has furnished me with numerous examples, and has thus lightened my labours in the preparation of this work.

I have also to record with gratitude the interest taken in the publication of this work by that good friend of all English students of Rabbinics, the late Dr. Israel Abrahams, ישראל.

My friends Mr. Herbert Loewe, of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon Danby, of Jerusalem, have read the proofs, and have otherwise helped me with corrections and suggestions. If the work be found free from typographical

errors, it will be due chiefly to their help combined with the skill and vigilance of the readers of the Clarendon Press.

M. H. SEGAL.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY,
JERUSALEM.
September, 1926.

NOTE TO THE NEW IMPRESSION

IN this new impression a number of misprints and other errors have been corrected, but otherwise the book has been left unchanged.

Readers familiar with modern Hebrew who may wish to pursue further the grammatical study of Mishnaic Hebrew are recommended to consult the author's דקרוק לשון המשנה (Tel Aviv, 1936), which provides a fuller and more detailed treatment of the subject.

M. H. S.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY,
JERUSALEM.
January, 1957.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Tractates of the Mishna, Tosefta, and the Talmuds :—

<p>Ab. אבות (iv)</p> <p>'Ar. ערכין (v)</p> <p>'AZ. עבודה־זרה (iv)</p> <p>Be. ביצה (ii)</p> <p>Bik. ביכורים (i)</p> <p>Bek. בכורות (v)</p> <p>Ber. ברכות (i)</p> <p>BB. בבא בתרא (iv)</p> <p>BM. בבא מציעא (iv)</p> <p>BQ. בבא קמא (iv)</p> <p>Da. דמאי (i)</p> <p>'Ed. ערויות (iv)</p> <p>'Er. ערובין (ii)</p> <p>Git. גיטין (iii)</p> <p>Ho. הוריות (iv)</p> <p>Hag. חגיגה (ii)</p> <p>Hal. חלה (i)</p> <p>Hul. חולין (v)</p> <p>Kel. כלים (vi)</p> <p>Kil. כלאים (i)</p> <p>Ker. כריתות (v)</p> <p>Ket. כתובות (iii)</p> <p>Ma'a. מעשרות (i)</p> <p>Mak. מכות (v)</p>	<p>Makś. מכשירין (vi)</p> <p>Mid. מדות (v)</p> <p>Miq. מקואות (vi)</p> <p>Meg. מגילה (ii)</p> <p>Me'il. מעילה (v)</p> <p>Men. מנחות (v)</p> <p>MQ. מועד קטן (ii)</p> <p>MŠ. מעשר שני (i)</p> <p>Naz. נזיר (iii)</p> <p>Nid. נדה (vi)</p> <p>Ned. נדרים (iii)</p> <p>Oh. אהלות (vi)</p> <p>'Or. ערלה (i)</p> <p>Pa. פרה (vi)</p> <p>Pe. פיאה (i)</p> <p>Peś. פסחים (ii)</p> <p>Qid. קידושין (iii)</p> <p>Qin. קנים (v)</p> <p>RH. ראש השנה (ii)</p> <p>San. סנהדרין (iv)</p> <p>So. סוטה (iii)</p> <p>Suk. סוכה (ii)</p> <p>Šab. שבת (ii)</p> <p>Šebi. שבועות (i)</p>
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Šebu.	שְׁבוּעוֹת (iv)	TY.	טָבוֹל יוֹם (vi)
Šeq.	שְׁקָלִים (ii)	'Uq.	עוֹקְצִין (vi)
Ta'a.	תַּעֲנִית (ii)	Ya.	יָדִים (vi)
Tam.	תְּמִיד (v)	Yo.	יוֹמָא (ii)
Tem.	תְּמוּדָה (v)	Yeb.	יְבָמוֹת (iii)
Ter.	תְּרוּמוֹת (i)	Zab.	זָבִים (vi)
Toh.	טְהָרוֹת (vi)	Zeb.	זְבָחִים (v)

NOTE.—The figures after the tractates indicate the Order (סֵדֶר), or part-of the Mishna, in which these tractates are found.

In citations from the Mishna, Tosefta, and the Jerusalem Talmud roman numerals indicate the chapter and arabic numerals the section or הַלְּבָבָה, thus: B^er. iii. 5. Citations from the Tosefta are marked by *t.* before the name of the tractate. Citations from the Jerusalem Talmud are marked by *j.* before the name of the tractate. In citations from the Babylonian Talmud, the folio is indicated by arabic numerals and the page or column by *a*, *b* thus: San. 75 b.

L. The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests, ed. by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1883.

Ab. d ^e RN.	אַבוֹת דְּרַבִּי נְתָן
Gen. R.	בְּרֵאשִׁית רַבָּה
Ex. R.	שְׁמוֹת רַבָּה
Lev. R.	וִיקְרָא רַבָּה
Num. R.	בְּמִדְבָּר רַבָּה
Lam. R.	אֵיכָה רַבְתִּי
Qoh. R.	קֹהֶלֶת רַבָּה
M ^e kil.	מְכִילָתָא

Singer *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, ed. Singer.

BDB. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O. T.*, ed. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Oxford, 1906.

Ges.-K.	Gesenius-Kautzsch's <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. A. E. Cowley, Oxford.
<i>JQR.</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>
MGWJ.	<i>Monatschrift für die Geschichte u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums.</i>
<i>ZAW.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>ZDMG.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
Aram.	Aramaic.
BH	Biblical Hebrew.
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew.
Gr.	Greek.
Lat.	Latin.

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ADDENDA

- Sect. 2, note 2. So *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. Buber), ix. 3: שנו חכמים בלשון המשנה. The term is also frequent among medieval writers, e. g. Rashi on Gen. xl. 11. Menahem b. Saruq uses לשון משנה in contrast to לשון עברית, i. e. BH, cf. מחברת (ed. Filipowsky), p. 9. Abraham de Balmis uses it in contrast to לשון מקרא, cf. מקנה אברהם, ch. iv, Sect. פעלת.
- Sect. 25, p. 18. Qid. iv. 1 is cited in Hebrew in Y^b. 85 a; cf. Grätz, *Geschichte*⁴, iii. 711. That the *K^etuba* was originally in Hebrew is shown by its Hebrew name (for the form cf. § 229 below, and Stade, *Heb. Gram.*, § 204 b. The Aram. כתובתא is a Hebraism). Cf. also its Gr. equivalent συγγραφή, Tobit vii. 14, and Grätz, *ibid.* 706.
- Sect. 63. Krauss's suggestion (*ZDMG.*, 1919, 732) that ברבי should be pointed בִּיר + רְבִי is improbable. It would have been spelt *plene*, בִּירְבִי.
- Sect. 126. Another example of Pu'al is found in P^esiqta R. ix. (ed. Friedmann, p. 33 a): נִיֻצְחָתִי, to prevail.
- Sect. 134. A quadriliteral form of Nithpa'el is found in מִתְנַנֶּה, fem. מִתְנַנֶּה to fail, decay, BQ 91 a; So. iii. 5; H^ul. 57 b; also יתעלפה to swoon, Šab. 9 b; H^ul. 3 b. Cf. Kohut, vi. 209, and Ibn Ganah, *Rigma*, 81, who explains it as an intensive.
- Sect. 149. סרגל. Cf., however, Perles, *Festschrift für A. Schwarz*, 303, and Krauss, *ibid.*, 575.
- Sect. 150. שלהב. Cf., however, Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, 49.
- Sect. 168. יתוותרו. Cf. Ginzberg, *Festschrift für A. Schwarz*,

- Sect. 402. שמיין. Cf. in a medieval text : שמיין זהוב $\frac{1}{8}$ of a gold dinar, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine*, ii. 188. The editor's correction is unnecessary.
- Sect. 431. Cf. Frankel, *מבוא הירושלמי*, 10 a.
- Sect. 435. Cf. Be. 3 b ; Z^eb. 72 a, where a distinction is drawn between אַתְּ שְׂדֵרְכוֹ לְיַמְנוֹת and כָּל שְׂדֵרְכוֹ לְיַמְנוֹת 'Or. iii. 6, the first being definite and the second indefinite.
- Sect. 437. כּלּוּם. Cf. also Schulthess, *Gram. d. christ.-paläst. Aram.*, § 65, 2. אַחַד also serves to express an indefinite subject : אַחַד שְׂאִינוּ נֶאֱמַן עַל הַמַּעֲשָׂוֹת some one, who was not to be trusted about tithes, said to him, Dam. iv. 1. 6 ; Ta'a. ii. 5 ; מַעֲשֶׂה בְּאֶחָד it happened of some one, Y^eb. xvi. 4 ; עָמַד אֶחָד some one arose, Ket. xiii. 2.
- Sect. 449. On דרבי המשנה (Warsaw, 1923), 273. כל אדם קורין cf. Frankel, *דרבי המשנה* (Warsaw, 1923), 273.
- Sect. 502. On אחד . . . ואחד. So also with plur. nouns in the masc. : אַחַד כְּלִים גְּדוּלִים וְאַחַד כְּלִים קְטַנִּים whether large vessels or small vessels, Miq. iv. 1 ; fem. : אַחַד בְּתוּלוֹת וְאַחַד בְּעוּלוֹת whether virgins or married women, divorced women or widows, Y^eb. iv. 10 ; אַחַד תְּקִירוֹת וְאַחַד בְּדִיקוֹת whether cross-examinations as to circumstances or as to time and place, San. v. 2 ; sometimes, however, אחת is found with the fem. : אחת גְּדוּלָה וְאַחַת קְטַנָּה Suk. i. 11. בין . . . בין is also found before nominal forms, but without שׁ : בֵּין לַחִים בֵּין : שׁ whether moist or dry, Šab. iv. 1.
- Sect. 503. אבל may also introduce a co-ordinated noun clause : נוֹטְלִים אֶבֶל לֹא מַחְזִירִים hot but not cooked ; אֶבֶל לֹא תַבְשִׁיל (L ולא) one may remove but not put back, Šab. iii. 1.
- Sect. 504. So אלא שבפדינה but in the province, &c., in contrast to the Temple, Tam. vii. 2. Cf. also Ginzberg, *Journal of Jewish Lore*, 1919, 279.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE Hebrew language has been used for the expression of human thought, whether in speech alone, or in writing alone, or in both speech and writing, for some 3000 years. Its history may be roughly divided into four periods: (1) Biblical Hebrew (BH), from the earliest times to the end of the Biblical period, say about 200 B.C.E.; (2) Mišnaic Hebrew (MH), from about 400-300 B.C.E.¹ to about 400 C.E.; (3) Medieval Hebrew, from the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, about 500 C.E., to 1700; (4) and Modern Hebrew, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to this day. The revival of Jewish life in Palestine through Zionism has brought with it a new efflorescence of Hebrew both as a literary medium and as a spoken tongue.

2. The present work is devoted to a study of the grammatical characteristics of the Hebrew language of the second period. We designate the Hebrew of that period 'Mišnaic Hebrew'² from the Mishna and its allied literature which form the sole literary remains that have come down to us in that particular idiom.

The name Mišnaic Hebrew is to be preferred to the name 'New Hebrew', by which the idiom is commonly known; for it serves to mark off this idiom both from the Hebrew of the first period, and also from the Hebrew of the third and fourth periods.

¹ The first period overlaps the second period, as BH continued to be used as a literary idiom long after the rise of MH. Cf. § 17.

² לְשׁוֹן הַמִּשְׁנָה, as in the late superscription to Ab. vi. 1. Cf. also Num. R. 1.

The term 'New Hebrew', on the other hand, distinguishes our idiom from BH only, but ignores the later phases through which the Hebrew language passed after the Talmudic age, or confuses these important phases with the particular idiom of the second period.

3. In earlier Mišnaic literature no distinction is drawn between BH and MH. The two idioms are known as **לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ**, the Holy Tongue, as contrasted with other languages, which are described as **לְשׁוֹן חוֹל**, the common tongue. Thus, in So. vii. 1 ff. it is laid down that certain prescribed religious formulae may be recited **בְּכָל לְשׁוֹן**, which is interpreted as **לְשׁוֹן חוֹל** (Ber. 40 b; cf. also Šab. 40 b), and other formulae may be recited only **בְּלְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ**. These latter include passages from Scripture, like **מִקְרָא בְּפוּרִים** (Deut. xxvi. 3 b-10 a), **חֲלִיצָה** (xxv. 9 b), **בְּרָכוֹת וּקְלָלוֹת** (ib. xxvii. 15-26), which had to be recited in the actual words of Scripture, i. e. in BH. But they also include **בְּרָכוֹת כִּהְיוּ גְדוֹל**, which were composed in MH (So. vii. 7; cf. the commentaries, *ad loc.*), and the address of the **מִלְחָמָה כִּהְיוּ מְשׁוּחַ** (Deut. xx. 3-4) which was amplified in MH (ib. So. viii. 1 f.). Cf. also: **הָיָה ר' מֵאִיר אֹמֵר כָּל הַדֶּר בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְקוֹרֵא קְרִיאַת שְׁמַע שְׁחֲרִית וְעֶרְבִית הָיָה מְדַבֵּר בְּלְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ הָרִי הוּא בֶן עוֹלָם הֵבֵא**—R. Meir (c. 175 c. E.) used to say: 'Whoever dwells in the Land of Israel, and reads the Šema¹ morning and evening, and speaks the Holy tongue, lo he belongs to the world to come,' Sifre, Deut. xxxii. 43; where certainly ordinary MH must be meant, like that used by R. Meir himself in this dictum. Again, **מִכָּאן אָמְרוּ בְּשִׁתְּהִינוּק מִתְחִיל לְדַבֵּר**—Hence they said: When a child begins to speak, his father speaks with him in the Holy tongue, and teaches him Torah, ib. Deut. xi. 19: **אָמַר רַבִּי בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשׁוֹן סוּרְסִי לָמָּה אוֹ לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ אוֹ לְשׁוֹן יוֹנִית**—Rabbi (200 c. E.) said: in the Land of Israel why the Sursi (Syrian) tongue?

¹ Deut. vi. 4; Singer, p. 40 f.

Either the Holy tongue, or the Greek tongue, So. 49 b ; BQ 83 a ;
 אָמַר רַב יוֹסֵף בְּבַבְלָא לְשׁוֹן אַרְמֵי לָמָּה אוּ לְשׁוֹן הַקְּרֵשׁ אוּ לְשׁוֹן פְּרָסִי :—
 R. Joseph (c. 350 c. E.) said: In Babylon, why the Aramean tongue?
 Either the Holy tongue, or the Persian tongue, ib., where again
 MH must be meant, the language used by the speakers themselves

Thus, also, BH is called עֵבְרִית, as opposed to תְּרַגּוּם, the
 Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, Ya. iv. 5 (תְּרַגּוּם שֶׁכָּתְבוּ
 עֵבְרִית וְעֵבְרִית שֶׁכָּתְבוּ תְּרַגּוּם לְשׁוֹן, לְשׁוֹן רוּמִי); or as contrasted with
 לְשׁוֹן רוּמִי, לְשׁוֹן אַרְמֵי, עֵרְבִי, Sifre, Deut. xxxiii. 26; or with עֵילְמִית, Elamite,
 and גִּיפְטִית, Egyptian, Šab. 115 a; Meg. 18 a; but so is MH called
 עֵבְרִית, as contrasted with יוֹנִית, Git. ix. 8; and עֵבְרִי, j. Meg. i. 11.

A distinction between BH and MH is found only in later
 times, when MH had ceased to be used outside the learned circles
 in the schools. Thus, R. Johanan (c. 275 c. E.) objects to the use
 in a *halaka* of the expression מְסַבֵּי, which he calls לְשׁוֹן תּוֹרָה, and
 insists on the use of מְוֹנֵי, which he describes as לְשׁוֹן חֻקִּים
 'AZ. 58 b. Similarly the same teacher demands the use of רְחִלוֹת
 (— לְשׁוֹן חֻקִּים), in the Mishna, Hul. xi. 1, instead of רְחִלִּים
 (— לְשׁוֹן תּוֹרָה), Hul. 137 b.¹

4. The literary monuments of MH consist of the record of the
 teaching and sayings of the *Tannaim* and *Amoraim*,² as preserved
 in early rabbinic literature. These may be classified as follows:

(i) Tannaitic, in the following works which are exclusively in
 MH: Mishna, Tosefta,³ Abot d'R. Nathan, Masiktot Qeṭannot,

¹ So in Aram. : לִישָׁנָא דְאַרְיִיתָא, contrasted with לִישָׁנָא דְרַבָּנָן; Qid. 2 b.

² תַּנְּאִים, a Hebraized Aram. form of the MH שׁוֹנִים, repeaters (of the
 traditional law)—the Teachers of the Mišnaic period, as contrasted with
 אֲמוֹרָאִים, expositors (of the Mishna)—the Teachers of the post-Mišnaic, or
 Talmudic period.

³ The Mishna is found in two chief recensions, (i) a Palestinian text, as
 given in the Jerusalem Talmud, and in the text edited by Lowe (L.). To this
 recension belongs also the text found in codex Kauffmann (K); see Krauss,

Meḳilta, *Sifra*, *Sifre*, *Seder 'Olam*, and the *Baraitot*,¹ scattered over the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. We must also include in this class the sayings of the Tannaim, as reported by the Amoraim in the two Talmuds and in the Aggadic Midrashim. In these works, though they are partly composed in Aram., the Tannaim are, as a rule, made to speak in MH, even in ordinary conversations, and with women and children: cf. for example, 'Er. 53 b (יהושע בן חנניא), (ר' יוסי הגלילי), Ned. 62 a, 66 b.

(ii) Amoraic. The teaching and sayings of the Amoraim, as recorded in the two Talmuds and in the Aggadic Midrashim.

The earlier Amoraim, especially in Palestine, used MH very frequently, though they are often found to speak in Aram. But even the later Amoraim, and even in Babylon, used MH exclusively for the following purposes: statements of the formulated *halaka*²; homiletical expositions of the Scriptures³; parables (משל),

MGWJ., li, pp. 54 ff. (ii) a Babylonian text, as given in the Babylonian Talmud of the Mishna. With this the text found in current editions usually, but not always, agrees; cf. Frankel, *Drabi haMishna* (2nd ed., Warsaw, 1923), pp. 231 ff. Similarly the text of the Tosefta is found in a Palestinian recension, as represented by the edition of Zuckerman (Passewalk, 1877-82), and a Babylonian text found in the current editions printed with the Alfasi. On these and other works named, cf. the respective articles in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*; Schechter, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, pp. 57 ff; Strack, *Einleitung in d. Talmud*.

¹ *Ḳḳḳḳ*, Aram. for MH *ḳḳḳḳ* (משנה), the external Mishna, viz. the *halakot* not included by Rabbi in his standard Mishna.

² Even in popular addresses. Cf. the confusion by a popular audience in Babylon of the phrase, used by R. Matna (fourth cent. C.E.) in an address, *ḳḳḳḳ* 'water kept over night' and 'our water', P's. 42 a. This confusion could only have arisen in MH, and not in Aram., which would have used different words for these two ideas, viz. *ḳḳḳḳ* and *ḳḳḳḳ*; cf. Rashi, *ad loc.*, and also Wijnkoop, *JQR.*, vol. xv (1903), p. 29. Further the confusion by a popular audience in Palestine in the time of Rabbi of *ḳḳḳḳ* and *ḳḳḳḳ* (= *ḳḳḳḳ* = *ḳḳḳḳ*), San. 5 b. Contrast, however, the different account in j. ḳḳḳḳ. vi, 1; Giṭ. 1, 2.

³ The evidence can be found on almost every page of both Talmuds, and

even in the middle of an Aram. conversation (cf. e.g. BQ 60 b; Ta'a. 5 b); and prayer (cf. B^{er}. 17 a, 55 b, 60 a, b; Ket. 8 b). The frame-work of the Talmuds is in Aram. So also the discussions about the *Halaka*, and the ordinary conversations of the Amoraim are in Aram. Tales and traditions about the Tannaim and past ages in general, are usually in MH, sometimes interspersed with later Aram. additions (cf. e.g. B^{er}. 27 b; BM 59 b, &c.).

5. The differences between BH and MH are obvious and striking. They extend to grammar, vocabulary, and general style of expression. Some grammatical forms which are common in BH either have become rare, or have disappeared altogether in MH. Again, certain forms which are rare in BH have become the normal type in MH. Then as to vocabulary, we meet in MH large numbers of words which are rare or unknown in BH, but are common in Aram. Again, many words that are common in BH are absent in MH. Many BH words are used in MH in a changed connotation, usually as in Aram. Moreover, MH contains a large number of technical words and phrases which are unknown in BH. It has also borrowed a large number of names of objects from the Greek and Latin, which further help to detract from its Hebraic character. Finally, the diction of MH is quite unlike the ordinary BH style. Many familiar BH constructions are entirely absent in MH, whilst new constructions and usages have arisen in MH which are often similar to those known in Aram. or identical with them.

6. The similarities between MH and Aram., combined with the fact that MH has come down to us in works produced by the schools of the learned at a time when Aram. was used as a common vernacular among the Jews, have led many scholars to

also in the earlier Aggadic Midrashim. Cf., for example, the use of MH and Aram. in *halaka* in the first pages of BM, and in *Aggada* in the first pages of B^{er}.

the view that MH was merely a Hebraized Aram., artificially created by the Schoolmen, like the Latin of the Middle Ages, and that it never had an independent existence as a natural medium of ordinary speech in the daily life of the Jews. This view rests, however, on a misconception of the whole character of MH. Far from being an artificial scholastic jargon, MH is essentially a popular and colloquial dialect. Its extensive literature does not consist of books composed by literary men in their study. It is rather a record of sayings, oral teaching, and discussions of men of the people on a variety of subjects, embracing, practically, all the manifold activities in the daily life of an organized civilized society. Its vocabulary and its grammar both bear the stamp of colloquial usage and popular development. Apart from the technical phraseology of the specialized *halaka*, not a single trace can be discovered in it of that artificiality with which it has been credited.

7. As to the alleged dependence of MH on Aram., a careful examination of the grammar and vocabulary of MH as presented in the following pages will show that, while Aram. has undoubtedly influenced MH in many directions, it would be an exaggeration to describe this influence as a dependence of MH on Aram. In its morphology, MH is absolutely independent of Aram., and largely also in its syntax. In its main characteristics, the grammar of MH is practically identical with the grammar of BH. Where it differs from BH grammar, the genesis of the difference can generally be traced back to an older stage in the language, out of which the new forms developed in a natural way. Forms that deviate from the regular type of BH are usually found in BH in isolated cases as grammatical irregularities. It is nearly always possible to trace the connexion of a MH form with a BH prototype, at least in later BH literature. If such forms in MH and late BH happen also to be found in Aram., they are usually also found in other Semitic languages, especially in a late stage of

development. They are thus not Aramaisms, but grammatical phenomena common to the whole, or to a portion, of the Semitic family. On the other hand, MH has also a considerable number of forms which are quite unknown in Aram., and which could not have arisen if MH had been the artificial creation of men whose natural language was Aram.

8. It is chiefly in the sphere of syntax, particularly in the use of the tenses, the expression of the genitive, and the construction of the dependent clause, that MH deviates most from BH, and comes nearest to Aram. But this is due to the fact that, whereas BH is a highly poetical literary language, MH, like Aram., is a simple homely idiom, with no pretence whatever to poetical or picturesque expression. The refined, but often ambiguous, constructions of the poetical prose of BH could not have survived in the daily speech of the people throughout those centuries of violent changes which followed upon the golden age of BH literature. Refinement of expression had to be sacrificed to clearness and usefulness. Thus, popular Hebrew of daily use must have freed itself from the conventionalized literary forms of BH at a comparatively early date, if it ever had been subject to them at all. The simplification of Hebrew syntax in speech was in time reflected also in literature. It is possible to trace this gradual process of simplification in the later books of the Hebrew Bible, until we reach the severe plainness and baldness of MH. No doubt, Aram. exercised a powerful influence in that direction. But the tendency was inherent in Hebrew itself, and if left alone Hebrew would have developed on somewhat similar lines, though perhaps not so rapidly as it actually did under Aram. influence.

9. The evidence of MH grammar is strongly supported by MH vocabulary. It is true that MH has a large number of words which are common in Aram. But, on the other hand, it can also show a considerable number of words which are not found in Aram.

As is to be expected of two closely related dialects living side by side, MH borrowed extensively from Aram., but so did Aram., especially Jewish Aram., borrow extensively from MH, particularly in the sphere of religion and the higher life.¹ The presence of so many Aram. words and expressions in MH can affect its genuine Hebraic character as little as, for example, the numerical preponderance of the Latin element in the English dictionary can affect the genuine Teutonic character of the English language; or, let it be said, as little as the presence in Aram. itself of so many Hebrew and other foreign words and phrases can affect the Aramean character of the old language of Syria and Mesopotamia.

10. Moreover, a detailed examination and analysis of the MH vocabulary, such as is given below for the verb (§§ 83-102), reveals the fact that the Aram. influence on the MH vocabulary has been exaggerated in the same way as the Aram. influence on the MH grammar. It has been the fashion among writers on the subject to brand as an Aramaism any infrequent Hebrew word which happens to be found more or less frequently in the Aram. dialects. Most of these 'Aramaisms' are as native in Hebrew as they are in Aram. Many of them are also found in other Semitic languages. The lists given below show that of the 300 new verbs in MH only some 25 verbs can be described as undoubtedly genuine Aram. loan-words. The other so-called Aram. verbs are either ordinary Semitic words (§ 95), or are common to both Hebrew and Aram. (§ 94).

11. Further, the lists given there also show a group of over fifty verbs which are common to BH and to Aram. of the Mišnaic period, and yet are not found in MH (§ 84). If MH was merely a Hebraized Aram., or an artificial mixture of Aram. and BH, why did it not appropriate those verbs which belonged to

¹ Even the Christian dialect of Palestinian Aram. borrowed freely from MH; cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, xxii, pp. 513, 522.

both the elements of which it is said to have been composed? Again, the lists show a group of over thirty verbs of undoubted Semitic origin which are peculiar to MH, and which are not found even in Aram. (§ 93). How is one to explain the origin of these verbs, if MH was but an artificial mongrel, made up of BH and Aram.?

12. The same phenomenon appears in the other parts of the MH vocabulary. Thus, in the particles we have only a dozen or so loan-words from Aram., against a considerable number of new formations and adaptations from old Hebrew words and expressions (§§ 294, 300, 302, 304). The numerals are practically all identical with BH, and free from Aramaisms (§§ 394 ff.). So also the pronoun exhibits some interesting new formations, but is practically free from Aram. influences (§§ 66-81). In the noun, MH has borrowed much from Aram.; but it has also borrowed much from Greek, Latin, and other sources. On the other hand, the substance of the MH noun rests on the BH noun, not only in its grammatical, but also in its lexical character. Furthermore, as in the case of the verb, MH has preserved a considerable number of old Hebrew nouns not found in BH or in Aram., and, in addition, has coined from Hebrew roots many new names for objects and ideas produced by the changed conditions of life (cf. §§ 217 ff., and the nouns enumerated in 'Formation of Nouns', §§ 220 ff.).

13. It is clear from the facts presented by its grammar and vocabulary that MH had an independent existence as a natural living speech, growing, developing, and changing in accordance with its own genius, and in conformity with the laws which govern the life of all languages in general, and the Semitic languages in particular. It was greatly influenced by Aram., its close neighbour and rival, but it was not submerged by Aram. till after some centuries, when political factors made it impossible for MH

to continue as a living speech. The home of MH was Palestine. So long as the Jewish people retained some sort of national existence in Palestine, MH continued to be the language of at least a section of the Jewish people living in Palestine. As Jewish life in Palestine gradually decayed, and eventually suffered total extinction, so MH was banished step by step from everyday life, and eventually, towards the end of the Mišnaic period, became confined to the learned in the schools and academies. With the ruin of these schools in Palestine, MH disappeared altogether from its native home, but continued to exist side by side with Aram. in the Jewish academies of Babylon, whither it had been carried by the Palestinian immigrants. When, in their turn, the Babylonian academies also decayed, towards the end of the Talmudic period, the last remnant of MH died out. The dialect continued a more or less fitful and precarious existence as a literary medium, until it passed into the new literary dialect of Medieval Hebrew.

14. We may now attempt to define more precisely the relation of MH to BH. In defining this relation we have to recapitulate the lexical and grammatical characteristics of MH, already briefly outlined above.

The bulk of the MH vocabulary is found in BH. This applies especially to the most necessary words, such as pronouns, numerals, particles, and the most common verbs and nouns. But a considerable number of BH words have been lost in MH, particularly words that were rare in BH, and used only in poetry, even though these were common and prosaic words in Aram. (cf. for verbs, §§ 84 ff.). On the other hand, MH shows a considerable number of words of undoubted Hebrew origin, which are not found in BH. This may, indeed, be due to a mere accident, in view of the scanty and fragmentary remains of BH literature. Nevertheless, the possession by MH of Hebrew words not known in BH

establishes the important fact that MH was not derived from BH, but that it drew its lexical material from a source much wider than the literature of the Hebrew Bible. What was that source? Was it a literary source, more extensive than the Hebrew Bible, containing, in addition to the Bible, books discarded when the Canon of Scripture was fixed, and now lost, but familiar to the creators of MH (assuming again that MH was an artificial creation of the Rabbis)? This is hardly probable. For if those lost books were of such merit and value, that the Rabbis thought them worthy of the closest and most intimate study, and became familiar with their vocabulary as with the vocabulary of the books of the Bible themselves, then those books would not have been excluded from the Canon as of no value, or as of heterodox tendencies. It is much more reasonable to assume that the MH vocabulary was in the main drawn not from a literary source, but from the actual Hebrew speech of daily life which preceded the Mišnaic period, and which, of course, possessed many Hebrew words that did not find their way into the books of the Bible. If this assumption be correct, MH is the direct lineal descendant of the spoken Hebrew of the Biblical period, as distinguished from the literary Hebrew of the Biblical period preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures.

This explains also why MH has not preserved the poetical words and expressions of BH. These words and expressions were not used at all, or only rarely, in the colloquial Hebrew of Biblical times, which was the ancestor of MH. This also explains the homely and severely prosaic character of MH. It was a purely colloquial, one might say a vulgar idiom, directly descended from an older colloquial or vulgar idiom.¹

¹ We use the term 'vulgar' in its original sense of popular. The explanation that the usual prosaic baldness of MH is due to the technical character of the *halaka* leaves out the extensive *haggada* which, though not technical, is yet

15. This view of the origin of MH affords also a satisfactory explanation of the grammatical characteristics of the dialect. As has already been stated above, MH agrees in the main with BH grammar. Its various differences from BH consist chiefly of BH irregularities which have become the regular type in MH. On examination these will be found to be colloquial and popular variations from the standardized literary idiom. Cf. below the discussion on the pronouns אָנִי, § 68; הֵלֵלִי, הֵלֵלָה, § 73; שָׁ, § 78; the Nithpa'el, § 131; the consecutive tenses, § 157, &c. Some of these variations are probably due to differences of dialect in the Hebrew spoken in different parts of Palestine. Traces of the existence of dialects, especially in Northern Palestine, are found even in BH.¹ The concentration of all Jewish life in Palestine in and around Jerusalem, which began towards the end of the Judean monarchy, and which lasted throughout the period of the second Temple, must have introduced these dialectal variations into the speech of Jerusalem. From the spoken vernacular these irregularities found their way also into the literary dialect of the time. Hence the phenomenon that from the days of Jeremiah onwards, BH begins to show, in constantly increasing numbers, forms and expressions which are the normal type in MH, and many of which are also found in Aram.

16. It is not possible to trace the rise and development of MH, owing to the lack of early literary monuments in the dialect. The earlier *halaka* still shows a free and picturesque mode of expression, cf. לֹא מִפִּיָּה אָנִי חַיִּין, נִסְתַּחֲפָה שָׂרָךְ, Ket. i. 6; מִזַּבַּת עַץ, 7; דְּרוֹסַת אִישׁ שׁוֹתָה בְּעֵצֵי צִוּוֹ, iii. 5; בּוֹשֵׁל שְׂבֵהוֹן, ix. 2; הַנִּיחַ מְעוֹתָיו הַנִּיחַ לֹא אֶת הַרְגָּל, 3; הַבְּנִים יִשְׁאַלּוּ עַל הַפְּתָחִים, על קַרְוֹ הַצְּבִי, xiii. 2;

similar in its diction to the *halaka*. That the *halaka* was sometimes capable of picturesque expression, is shown by the examples cited in § 16.

¹ Cf. below, § 78; Stade, *Heb. Gr.*, pp. 11-14; Bergsträsser, *ZAW.*, xix, pp. 41 ff.; Szejder, pp. 27 ff.

אֲשֶׁב עַד שְׁיִלְבֵּן רֹאשִׁי 5; יִפְרַח בְּאֵיזֵר, 7; also BQ. i. 1, &c. Also the descriptive passages in Yo. i. 5, 7, &c.; Suk. iv. 4, 5; v. 4, &c.; Ta'a. iii. 5; So. i. 4, 6 f.; ix. 15; M^{en}. x. 3 f.; Tam. i. 1 f.; N^{eg}. xii. 5 f.; Pa. iii. 1 f., &c. Contrast also the picturesque tale of Simon the Just, t. Naz. iv. 7; Naz. 4 b, with the style later developed in such tales (מעשיות). A characteristic specimen of the early historical tale is found in Qid. 66 a (§ 126, n.). No doubt many of the Palestinian apocryphal and apocalyptic books must have been composed in a similar style, as can be seen from the Hebrew fragments of such compositions that have come down to us.

17. But, nevertheless, BH, with a MH colouring, continued to be the principal literary medium long after it had died out as a living speech, as is shown by the later books of BH. There can be no doubt that the authors of Chronicles, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Sirach, and the Psalms of Solomon did not use BH in their ordinary everyday life. BH was to them only a literary and artificial medium of expression which they had acquired in the schools from the study of the old sacred literature. That is why they sometimes show awkwardness in handling the old Hebrew idiom, and difficulty in expressing their thoughts with clearness and exactness. That is also why they often lapse into usages and expressions which remind us of MH or of Aram. What language did the authors of those late BH books speak in their daily life? Or, in other words, what was the language of ordinary life of educated native Jews in Jerusalem and Judea in the period from 400 B. C. E. to 150 C. E.? The evidence presented by MH and its literature leaves no doubt that that language was MH. Of course, those educated Judeans also understood Aram., and used it even in writing, but only occasionally, and not habitually—in the same way as the educated Boer in South Africa sometimes uses English, or as the Flamand in Belgium may often use French.

18. Thus, for a number of generations, the Judean Jews

remained Hebrews in their language, using the classical dialect—BH—for literary purposes, and the popular dialect—MH—as a medium of speech in their ordinary daily life, in the school, in the Temple and the Synagogue. Gradually, however, the influx into Jerusalem of Aram.-speaking Jews from the Eastern Diaspora, and also from Galilee, Transjordan, and Syria, established Aram. as a native tongue in Jerusalem. The native Jews then became bi-lingual, using both Aram. and MH indiscriminately in ordinary life, but MH exclusively in the school, and for religious purposes. Eventually, Aram. gained the upper hand, and MH, like BH, became a *לִשׁוֹן הַקִּדְשׁ*, a purely religious language; then, finally, at the end of the Mišnaic period it was reduced to a *לִשׁוֹן חֲכָמִים* (§§ 3, 13).

19. It is possible to indicate only approximately the probable dates of these linguistic changes. The rise of MH may be assigned to the period associated by tradition with the 'Men of the Great Synagogue'. The saying reported of them is already in pure MH (Ab. i. 1). They are also reputed to have been the authors of the oldest portions of the Jewish liturgy, which are likewise couched in MH (cf. B^or. 33 a). That period may approximately be identified with the end of the Persian rule and the beginning of the Greek rule in Palestine, say 400–300 B. C. E. The BH books of the period all show distinct traces of MH, viz. Chronicles, Canticles, Esther, and especially Qohelet and Sirach, and also Daniel.¹

20. MH seems to have attained the height of its power during the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty.² Its decline as a spoken language seems to have begun with the fall of that dynasty and

¹ Driver, *Introduction to Lit. of OT.*⁹, pp. 474 f., 484 f., 539 f.

² Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte d. Juden*⁴, III, i, pp. 81–2; Klausner, *Origin of Mishnaic Hb.*, Scripta Universit. Hierosol., Orientalia atque Judaica I, Art. IX.

the reign of Herod. The destruction of many of the native families in the bloody wars which accompanied the coming of the Romans and the establishment of the Herodians (whose original language was probably Aram.); the closer connexion between Jerusalem and the Aram. Jewries of Syria and the Eastern Diaspora which followed on the incorporation of Palestine in the Roman Empire; and the settlement of those Aram.-speaking Jews in Jerusalem, all tended to spread the use of Aram. at the expense of MH. But MH still remained a popular speech, as is testified by numerous passages in its literature. Thus, e.g., the Jewish damsels at their dances in the vineyards sing to the young men in MH (Ta'a. iv. 8); the taunt-song against the tyranny of the powerful priests is in MH (Pes. 57 a; t. M^{en}. xiii. 21); popular vows are in MH (N^od. i. 1, &c.).¹

21. Finally, the destruction of Jewish life in Judea after the defeat of Bar Kokba (135 c. E.), and the establishment of the new Jewish centre in the Aram.-speaking Galilee, seem to have led to the disappearance of MH as a popular tongue. In that age we find R. Meir pleading for the preservation of MH speech at least among the pious, just as he pleads against the emigration from the Holy Land, which then prevailed in consequence of the Roman oppression. The Aramaization of the Jews in Palestine was completed one generation later, when Rabbi complains of the exclusive use of Aram. in the Land of Israel (cf. § 3).²

¹ Cf. אדם בני אדם, בנדרים הלך אחר לשון בני אדם, N^od. 30 b, 51 b and Rashi, *ad loc.*

² Nevertheless, Rabbi's words prove that MH was still thought of as a language of everyday life. So two generations later than Rabbi, R. Jonathan of Beit Jibrin says: אַרְבַּע לְשׁוֹנוֹת נִאָּה לְעוֹלָם שִׁישְׁתַּמְשׁוּ בָּהֶם לְעוֹלָם לְוַמֵּר לְרִיבּוֹר רֹמִי לְקָרֵב סוּרְסִי לְאִילִיָּא עִבְרִי לְרִיבּוֹר—There are four tongues good for the world to make use of: the Foreign (= Greek) for song, the Roman for war, Sursi (= Syriac) for lamentation, and Hebrew for (ordinary) speech, j. M^og. iv. 4. So R. Joseph's saying (§ 3) proves that MH was known as a spoken language in Babylon in the fourth century c. E.

22. Before concluding this sketch, we may refer briefly to the evidence advanced for the view that Aram. was the exclusive language of the Jews in Judea during our period.¹ This evidence consists in the use of Aram. in Ezra and Daniel, and in *Megillat Ta'anit*; the use in the Synagogue of an Aram. translation (Targum) of the Scriptures; the use of Aram. in legal documents, like *Ketuba* (marriage settlement), *Geš* (bill of divorcement), &c.; the use of Aram. in inscriptions in the Temple; the reported Aram. sayings of some Rabbis in the Mishna and Tosefta, and of Jesus in the Gospels; the existence of Aram. proper names, and of Aram. words in Josephus.

The most that this evidence can prove is that during our period Aram. was understood and used in Palestine, a fact which nobody denies. It cannot, however, prove that Aram. was the exclusive vernacular of all Jews of that period. For against these remains of Palestinian Aram., there is the vast MH literature, including the MH liturgy; there is, further, MH itself, with all its popular and original elements, to prove that during our period Jews in Judea spoke MH.

23. It must be remembered that Jerusalem was more than merely a Judean city. It was the metropolis of a world-wide Jewry. Beside the native Judean majority, there were in Jerusalem also important colonies of Aram.- and Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Roman times. In addition to the Aram.-speaking residents, vast numbers of Aram.-speaking Jews visited the Holy City for the celebration of the Festivals of the Temple. It is not, therefore, surprising that there were Aram. inscriptions in the Temple, just as there were also Greek inscriptions (Š^eq. vi. 5; iii. 2); that there were numerous Aram. proper names, just as there were numerous Greek proper names; that the Synagogue used an Aram. Targum for the benefit of unlettered Galilean and Oriental

¹ The evidence is collected by G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 1-13.

Jews, or that the calendar of the *Megillat Ta'anit* (completed c. 70 C. E.), intended as it was for all classes of Jews, should have been composed in Aram.; or that certain legal documents of common and universal use should have been in Aram. Against the few isolated sayings of Hillel (a Babylonian!), and some other Rabbis, there are numerous sayings by the same Rabbis in MH.¹ So also Josephus cites Hebrew words in addition to Aram. (cf. *Antiquities*, iii. 7; x. 6). With regard to the language of Jesus, it is admitted that in the Roman period, and perhaps earlier, Aram. was the vernacular of the native Galilean Jews. But even in Galilee, MH was understood and spoken, at least by the educated classes.

24. The Aram. chapters in Ezra and Daniel, dealing as they do with Babylonian and Persian subjects, may have been the work of Jews of the Eastern Diaspora. This seems very probable, at least, with regard to the Aram. in Ezra. A Jerusalem Jew would not have said **אֲנִי לְיִרְדְּשָׁלַם** (iv. 23), but **אֲתָו לְיִרְדְּשָׁלַם**. Again, a Jerusalem Jew would not have described the Temple repeatedly as **בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא דִי בִירְדְּשָׁלַם** (iv. 24; v. 2, 16; vi. 12, 18).

25. The same may be said of Aram. legal documents. It is possible that the formulae of the *Ketuba*, *Get.*, &c., originated in Babylonia, and their Aram. was retained also by MH-speaking Jews, in order to give these documents the recognition of the Persian authority.² On the other hand, legal documents of undoubted Judean origin were composed in MH. So the *Prosbol*, instituted by Hillel (Š^ebi. x. 4), the **קִיּוּם שְׁטַר** (confirmation of a bill that has become illegible, BB x. 6), and scrolls of genealogy

¹ Note the express remark of the narrator: **וּבְלָשׁוֹן אֲרָמִית אָמְרוּ וּבְלָשׁוֹן אֲרָמִית שָׁמְעוּ**;—he said (he heard) them in the Aram. tongue, t. So. xiii. 4-6, as if the use of Aram. by Samuel the Little (died c. 70 C. E.) and Simeon the Just called for a special explanation.

² Cf. Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, p. 119. For early *Ketubot* in Aram. *ibid.*, pp. 44, 54, 131.

(Y^{eb.} iv. 13. In Qid. iv. 1 we have an extract of such a document in Aram., with, however, several Aramaized Hebrew terms: *בְּרִי, נְסִי, &c.* This Mishna is attributed to the Babylonian Hillel, Y^{eb.} 37 a). So also a special condition in the Judean *K^etuba* is cited in MH, as contrasted with the Jerusalem and Galilean *K^etubot*, which followed the established legal formula, and are cited in Aram. (K^{et.} iv. 12). Other special conditions in the *K^etuba* are also given in MH (ib. ix. 1, 5). So the *Get* of divorcement and of manumission are cited in MH (Git. ix. 1, 3).

26. The view has also been expressed¹ that the usual language in the Temple was Aram., and that it was only in the last few years of its existence that the Pharisees replaced the Aram. in the Temple by MH. This view is based chiefly on the report that on two occasions High Priests heard in the Temple *Bath Qol* speaking Aram. But, surely, the evidence of such an isolated legendary report cannot outweigh the evidence of innumerable passages in MH literature which prove that the Temple ritual was carried on in MH. No doubt, the Babylonian priests (M^{en.} xi. 7) may have spoken Aram. in the Temple, as elsewhere; but it is incredible that in the Temple of all places, with all its reverence for tradition, Hebrew would have been banished in favour of a new and un-Jewish tongue. Hebrew has remained the exclusive language of the Synagogue to this very day. Even if we had not the evidence of Rabbinic tradition, we should conclude that such was also the case in the ancient Temple.

27. Further, there is no evidence whatever that the use of Hebrew or Aram. was a subject of controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Sadducees preferred Aram. to MH. On the contrary, one would be inclined to infer from their exclusive, aristocratic

¹ Büchler, *Die Priester u. d. Cultus*, pp. 60 ff. The account of the Bat Qol is found in So. 33 a; t. So. xiii. 4-6.

character, and from their conservative political tendencies, that the Sadducees would have favoured the use of the old national language, rather than the foreign *patois* of the unlettered populace. The sayings of the Sadducees are all reported in MH, cf. Ya. iv. 6-8; Mⁿ. 65 b, &c.; and a conversation between a Sadducee High Priest and his father, Yo. 19 b.

28. In conclusion, we must refer briefly to the linguistic trustworthiness of the Mišnaic tradition, which has been called into question by some writers.¹ Its trustworthiness is established by the old rule, older than the age of Hillel, that a tradition—which, of course, was handed down by word of mouth—must be repeated in the exact words of the master from whom it had been learnt: תְּיַיב אָדָם לִוְיָר בְּלִשָּׁן רַבּוֹ. This rule was strictly observed throughout the Mišnaic and Talmudic periods (cf. 'Ed. i. 3, with the commentaries; Ber. 47 a; Bek. 5 a), and was, in fact, the basis of the authority of the Oral Law. So careful were the Rabbis in the observance of this rule that they often reproduced even the mannerisms and the personal peculiarities of the Masters from whom they had received a particular tradition, or *halaka*. This rule makes it certain that, at least in most cases, the sayings of the Rabbis have been handed down in the language in which they had originally been expressed. There were, of course, exceptions, as when heathens are made to speak in MH (Ša. 31 a; Ta'a. 18 a, b); but, nevertheless, the rule was strictly observed in all *halakot*, and also in Aggadic and other sayings which are reported as the *ipsissima verba* of the speakers. This linguistic faithfulness of the tradition is proved by the preservation of a number of sayings in Aram. (e. g. 'Ed. viii. 4; Ab. i. 13; v. 22, 23, &c.), and by the preservation of the text of *Megillat Ta'anit* in Aram., though the exposition of the text is given in MH.²

¹ M. Friedmann, *Onkelos u. Akylos*, pp. 86 ff.; Dalman, op. cit., p. 8.

² Cf. Ta'a. 17 b, 18 b; Mⁿ. 65 a, and the special edition, Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, pp. 3 ff.

These Aram. traditions were not translated into MH, but were left in their original language. It follows, therefore, that MH sayings were originally spoken in MH. A striking illustration of the care which the Rabbis took to reproduce the actual language of their predecessors is afforded by the interchange between Aram. and MH in narrative passages. Thus, we often find narratives in MH which contain conversations in Aram. (e.g. So. 48 b; Ša. 31 a, &c.). Again, we find, even more frequently, narratives in Aram. in which the persons of the story are made to speak in MH (e.g. Pes. 3 b; BM 83 b, 84 b, &c.). This change of language between the narrator and the persons introduced into his story is clearly due to a deliberate effort on the part of the narrator to reproduce the original speech of the persons he is reporting, whether MH or Aram.¹

¹ Cf. also Ben Jehudah, ער אימתי דברו עברית, pp. 77 ff.; Szejder, p. 54 (כב).

PART I

PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

I. PRONUNCIATION

The evidence for the pronunciation of MH may be grouped under two heads:

29. (a) External:

(1) *The transcription of Greek and Latin words in MH.*¹

(2) *The transcription of Hebrew words in Greek and Latin, viz. in Origen's Hexapla and in Jerome's writings.*²

This evidence has to be qualified by the consideration of the inequalities which exist between the Hebrew and the Greek and Latin alphabets, and their respective inability to express adequately each other's peculiar sounds. Thus, for example, MH was unable to transcribe correctly the Greek and Latin vowels. Similarly, Greek and Latin were unable to express the Hebrew sibilants, the Hebrew gutturals, and the variation in the sound of the letters, א, ל, ר, נ, פ, ת.

(3) *The traditional pronunciation preserved among the Jews.*

30. This is a valuable witness, representing as it does a living and uninterrupted tradition reaching back to the time when MH was still a living speech. The value of this tradition is, however, discounted by the considerable differences in pronunciation which

¹ Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 1 ff., and, more briefly, Albrecht, §§ 5, 7-9, 10.

² Cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.*, iv, pp. 35 ff.

exist between the Jews of different countries.¹ Some of these differences are, no doubt, original, and go back to dialectal variations in Hebrew itself as spoken in different parts of Palestine. Others are the result of the influence of the various vernaculars spoken by the Jews in the Diaspora. Moreover, many errors must have crept into the traditional pronunciation. This tradition is, therefore, not to be trusted when it disagrees with the established rules of grammar.

31. (4) *The punctuation, complete or partial, found in some MSS. of the Mishna, and other MH works.*²

This is even less trustworthy than the living pronunciation. There never was an authoritative system of punctuation for the Mishna, as for the Hebrew Bible. The scribes were often ignorant, and never consistent. At best the punctuation in the MSS. can only serve as evidence of the pronunciation current in the time and the locality of the particular scribes.

(b) Internal:

(1) *The method of vocalization by vowel letters.*

32. This is helpful, but insufficient and often misleading, in view of the inadequacy of the few vowel letters to represent what must have been a fairly complicated vowel system. Thus ו represents no less than seven distinct vowel-sounds (δ , \bar{o} , δ , $o_{\frac{1}{2}}$; \bar{u} , \bar{u} , \bar{u}), ו represents six distinct sounds (\bar{i} , \bar{i} , \bar{i} ; \bar{e} , \bar{e} , \bar{e}). Cf. below, § 39.

33. (2) *The mutation of consonants.*

The interchange between various consonantal sounds affords evidence as to the relationship between these sounds, their similarities, and their differences. Cf. below, §§ 42, 44, &c.

¹ On the various systems of pronunciation among Jews cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, *MGWJ.*, vol. lvii 527 ff., 697 ff.; M. B. Szejder, *תורת הקלפון*, pp. 117 ff.

² This punctuation, as also the whole of the MS. material of MH, still awaits special investigation.

(3) *Information in MH literature.*

34. The literature contains a few scattered notices which shed some light on contemporary pronunciation, particularly the guttural letters. Cf. below, § 41.

35. (4) *The analogy of BH, as represented by the Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Scriptures.*

This is undoubtedly the most valuable witness for the correct pronunciation of MH. The gradual fixing of the present text of the Hebrew Scriptures took place in the MH period. The men responsible for that text spoke MH, and the living MH speech must have been reflected to a considerable extent in the form given to the Authorized Text, especially in the vowels.

II. THE VOWELS

1. **Vowel Changes.**

36. In the absence of a trustworthy system of punctuation in MH, it is not possible to determine with any certainty the character and value of the MH vowels, or to ascertain what modifications they had undergone in comparison with the BH vowels. The spelling gives us no help. The three vowel letters א, י, ו, corresponding to the three Semitic vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, are used to represent a large variety of modifications of these three vowels, both short and long, simple and composite. On the whole, it may be assumed, for the reason given in the last section, that the MH vowel system is identical with the latest form of the BH vowels, as represented in our consonantal texts of the Hebrew Bible, and in the system of punctuation elaborated in later centuries by the Massoretic Schools. No doubt, there must have been also a strong Aram. influence on the pronunciation of the MH vowels, but with our present knowledge of the subject, it is impossible to say

what that influence was. Moreover, this Aram. influence would have been operative also on the contemporary pronunciation of the BH vowels, if not to the same extent. The various sources of external evidence enumerated above in (a) have, unfortunately, not yet been investigated and compared. But it may safely be said that that evidence would not materially modify this statement.

37. A vowel change which has no parallel in BH is found in the change of \bar{e} into \bar{a} in two nouns: מֵאָה mother, becomes מֵאָה in the derived significance of 'the matrix of a female, and of a millstone', T_{oh}. ix. 8, and then 'bulk', 'substance', N_{eg}. i. 5;¹ and שֵׁם name, becomes שֵׁם in the derived sense of 'subject', chiefly in later texts, and with the preposition מִן = מִשֵּׁם because, Pea i. 3. So also with other prepositions, e.g. עַל שֵׁם Pes. x. 5, &c. But this latter is most probably an Aramaism due to the scribes.² Palestinian texts show also a change of \bar{a} into \bar{u} , as רִצְעוֹן — רִצְעוֹן; קִירְדוֹם — קִירְדוֹם, cf. § 267. This vowel change is common in Palestinian Jewish Aram.

¹ L. reads here מֵאָה. So Lev. R. 14 = matrix. In the original sense of 'mother' מֵאָה is found only once, j. Y^eb. xi. 1. The change is due to assimilation with the labial *m*. Cf. the Assyr. *ummu*, and the Arab. [•]أُم. This form is not found in Aram.

² L. has usually שֵׁם, even with prepositions when other texts have שֵׁם. [So cod. K, Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 452.] With the preposition ל, it is almost always שֵׁם ל in all texts. L, however, has sometimes שֵׁם ל by the side of שֵׁם ל, e.g. Z^eb. i. 2, 3. Cf. Assyr. *šumu*. Jewish Aram. has both שֵׁם and שֵׁם. Syr. only [•]ܫܡ. See König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 2, p. 512. See further, Weiss, *מילה"מ*, pp. 14-15; Bacher, *Aelteste Terminologie*, p. 118; *Terminologie d. Amoräer*, p. 218. Albrecht's suggestion (§ 6) that שֵׁם is an artificial modification to distinguish this meaning of שֵׁם from its use for the Divine name is disproved by the great frequency of the use of שֵׁם in a secular sense. Moreover, the use of this form שֵׁם belongs to a later stage in MH, when the Deity was described by other terms, such as הַמְּקוֹם, הַקַּב"ה, &c.

2. The Spelling of Vowels.

38. The vowels are represented in MH by vowel letters much more frequently than in BH. The vowel letters are, as in BH, א, ה, ו, and י.

א. The א is used as in BH to represent *a* and *ā*: ראשי heads, RH iii. 1, &c.; אלא but, Ber. i. 2; כאן here, *ibid.* i. 4;¹ at the end of a word in foreign feminine nouns: טבלא *tabula*, MQ iii. 7; הנמוניא *ηγεμονία*, Git. i. 1. This is an Aramaism which is also found in BH.² א is found also after other vowels whenever it belongs to the root, קורא, יאבל, לא, אלמלא if not, Ab. iii. 2. After *ā*, *ǎ*, when followed by ו, or in some texts by י, to indicate that the ו or י are consonants: לאו not, Ber. i. 1; בנאי a builder, Kel. xiv. 3; גובאי locusts, Ber. vi. 3; ונאי innocent, San. iii. 6; רשאי permitted, Ber. i. 7.³

ה. The ה is found as a vowel letter only at the end of a word. Its use is exactly the same as in BH.

39. ו. The ו represents not only *a* and *o*, but also *ū*, *ǔ*, and *ō*, *ō*, *o*: מקובל accepted, Ber. v. 5; לגבט gathered, Pea v. 1; כובד heaviness, Ber. v. 1; גובהן their height, רוחבן their breadth, עוביין their thickness, 'Er. i. 6; עומרין sheaves, Pea vi. 1; עומרין, vi. 5; חומשים fifths, Ter. vi. 4.⁴

¹ L. has always בן, cf. below, § 295.

² Cf. Ges.-K., § 80 h. L, however, retains a final ה also in such foreign words. Cf. also in native words: צנעה, L צינעה, privacy; P's. 1, 3 קיימא; L. קיימה, existence, Y'eb. iv. 1, שפוא (§ 302), &c. מרהה Kel. xxiv. 17; Toh. ix. 9 (ed. מרהה) has א at the end, owing to the presence of the ה twice before in the same word. Cf. נמהה, Kel. xxvii. 12.

³ Cf. the plural forms ונאין, רשאין below, § 282. L. has usually יי for נא. See below, § 56.

⁴ L. has עמרים, חמשים. So elsewhere L. has the defective spelling, e.g. כתלו for ed. כותלו, BB ii. 4, &c. So cod. K, Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 325; but see below, § 282.

Similarly, the *ṿ* is found also after *z*, *z*, and *z*, e. g. מִיָּדָה measure, B^{er}. ix. 7 ; הִדְרִינִי he directed, ii. 1 ; עֲבִירָה transgression, i. 3 ; חֲבִירָתָהּ her companion, Šab. xi. 5.

Sometimes *ṿ* follows *ā* before *ṿ* to indicate the consonantal character of *ṿ* : עֲנִי, עֲנִי, B^{er}. 6 b, on the analogy of such forms as בְּנִי, בְּנִי. Some Pal. texts have even לָיו for לָאוּ.

It must be added that this method of spelling is not always applied consistently, and that it often differs from text to text. But as a rule, the full spelling is more common than the defective spelling, particularly when the consonants might be read in more than one way.¹

For the rendering in MH of Greek and Latin vowels, cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, § 23 ff. (for MH and Aram.), Albrecht, § 7.

III. THE CONSONANTS

40. What has been said above on the pronunciation of the MH vowels is also true to a very high degree of the MH consonants. The pronunciation of the consonants was, on the whole, the same as in BH at the time of the Massoretic redaction of the Scriptures. The evidence of the other sources is, however, fuller in the case of the consonants than the vowels. In what follows we shall briefly summarize this evidence, and also tabulate the various mutations among the consonants.

1. The Gutturals א, ה, ח, ע.

41. The various BH gutturals were still distinguished in MH as late as the fourth century c. E. Thus we find later Amoraim discussing whether certain words in the Mishna should be pro-

¹ Cf. also below in verbs, §§ 122, 126 ; and in the plural of nouns, § 282. For isolated cases in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 90. The full spelling is also usual in Medieval Hebrew ; cf. סֵפֶר חֲסִידִים, § תתפ"ו ; Güdemann, התורה והחיים, i, p. 153.

nounced with א or ע: גְּמִיָּאָה or גְּמִיעָה sipping, Šab. viii. 1; גְּרֵאֲנִין or גְּרֵעִינִין kernels, vii. 4; עוֹמָמוֹת or אֹמָמוֹת dim, Pes. 75 b; מְעַמְצִין or מְעַמְצִין shutting the eyes, Šab. xxiii. 5 (Šab. 75 a); מְאַבְרִין or מְעַבְרִין extend, 'Er. v. 1; אֶבְכוּז or אֶכְבוּז buttock, Bek. vi. 6 ('Er. 53 a, b); אֵידִיהֶן or עֵידִיהֶן heathen festivals ('AZ. 2 a). This can only refer to the pronunciation and not to the spelling in a written text, and proves that there was yet a distinction in the sound of א and ע. But this distinction was not universal. Thus we are told in a *Baraita* (beginning of the third century, Meg. 24 b) that people of certain localities, including Beth Shean and Haifa, could not distinguish between א and ע. The same is said of the school of R. Eliezer b. Jacob (end of second century, Ber. 32 a), and of the Galileans who are held up to ridicule for their slovenliness in speech, particularly in the pronunciation of the gutturals ('Er. 53 b). They, together with certain others, could not distinguish between any of the gutturals. Thus, הַרְדֵּל mustard, they pronounced הֶרְדֵּל, and וְחֶפְתִּי לָהּ (Isa. viii. 17) they read וְהֶפְתִּי, which was tantamount to blasphemy (Meg., loc. cit.).²

Jerome still heard a distinction in the various gutturals, though in his transcription, as also in that of Origen, the differentiation between the hard and the soft ח, the hard and the soft ע, was not copied from living speech, but rather from the older transcription of the LXX. (But note the mutation of ח and כ, § 43).

42. Transcription from the Greek and Latin.

א equals the Gk. *spiritus lenis*: אֲיִיר ἄϊρ, Šab. xi. 3; אֶפְרוֹדִיטִי = Ἀφροδίτη, 'AZ. iii. 4. א represents the Lat. initial vowel, like אִיטָלִיקִי *italicus*, Šebi. i. 2; but also initial H: אֶדְרִיאֲנִי Hadrianic, 'AZ. ii. 3; and initial V: אֶסְפָּסְפִּינוֹס Vespasian, So. ix. 14.

¹ Or עכוּז; cf. Kohut, *Aruch.*, i. 74; iv. 157 ff.

² Cf. also j. Ber. ii. 4, viii. 6; j. 'Er. v. 1; j. 'AZ. i. 2; Gen. R. 26; Lam. R. ii. 2. See Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-Pal. Aram.*, p. 57 f.; Berliner, *Beiträge z. heb. Gram. in Talmud*, p. 15 ff.; Frankel, 'סבוא הירוש', 49 a.

ה represents the Gk. *spiritus asper*: הַגְמוֹנִיָּא ἡγεμονία, Git. i. 1; הִלְיָנִי 'Ελένη, Yo. iii. 10; rarely also the *spiritus lenis*: הַרְיוֹט ἰδιώτης, Yo. vii. 5; הַכְלָסִים ἄχυλος, Ter. xi. 4.

ח equals *spiritus asper* in חִלְקָה ἀλικός (a kind of salt fish), 'AZ. ii. 6; also sometimes χ: חִלְקִיפְרִי Χαλκοπάρειος, Makš. i. 3.

ע seems to represent the *spiritus lenis* in עֲמִיל ἄμυλον, Pes. iii. 1 (but some texts have אמל, אמיל).

Mutation of the Gutturals.

43. א and ה. As a rule, Palestinian texts prefer initial א, and Babylonian texts ה: הִיבֵן, L.: אִיבֵן where, 'Er. x. 15¹; הַגְדוֹת, L.: אַגְדוֹת Aggadot, Ned. iv. 3. Conversely, אֹנֶן, L.: הֹנֶן² rim, 'Er. viii. 6; Kel. xxv. 6; אֹנְנָה, L.: הֹנְנָה wrong, BM iv. 3; אִילָף further, Ber. i. 2, and הִילָף, Pes. vii. 13; אֹהֲרָה = הֹהֲרָה forewarning, Pes. iii. 1. Cf. below, §§ 249, 295.

א and ע: אִיפָד and עִיפָד, L., valuation, San. iv. 5; אִירוּנִיּוֹת, L., עירוּנִיּוֹת urban, 'Ed. ii. 5; בְּאוֹר, BQ ix. 4, and בְּעוֹר, 'Ar. iii. 1, ugly; יתְעַבֵּל, L., יתְאֵבֵל to be digested, Ber. viii. 7. Cf. above, § 41.

ה and ח: חֲרִיעַ, L., הַרְיעַ bastard saffron, Kil. ii. 8; הִידִיק = חִידִיק = sticking,³ Kel. iii. 5; מוּחָל, L., מוּחָל secretion,⁴ Miq. vii. 4; מַחָה to be shabby, worn, Kel. xxvii. 12 = BH מַחָה.

ח and כ: לְבַלְיָהּ soiling,⁵ Miq. ix. 4 = לְחַלְיָהּ, from לַח wet. This shows that there was also a hard pronunciation of the ח, as in earlier BH.

¹ Cf. BH. הִיבֵן (Dan. x. 17; 1 Chron. xiii. 12) with אִיבֵן (2 Sam. vi. 9).

² Cf. BH אֹנְנִיּוֹת (Exod. xxiv. 6).

³ As in Aram. Cf. Kohut, iii, pp. 185 f., 349 a.

⁴ Cf. BH מוּחָל (Isa. i. 22). See Kohut, v, p. 109.

⁵ Cf. Kohut, v, pp. 31, 40 f.

2. The Palatals ג, כ, ק.

Transcription from Greek and Latin.

44. ג transcribes the Gk. γ, and the Lat. *g*: גַּמְמָא *γαμμα*, Mid. iii. 1 : גִּינִיסְיָא *γενέσια*, 'AZ. i. 3 ; אַנְטִינִנּוּס *Ἀντίγονος*, Ab. i. 3 ; גִּרְדוֹן *gradus*, 'AZ. i. 7. ג may, perhaps, also represent the Gk. κ in גִּימּוֹן *ῥῆμα*, Šab. v. 4, *κημὸς*. Combined with ז, ג represents ξ in גִּזְוֹטְרָה *ἐξώστρα*, BB iii. 8. L., however, has here and elsewhere בְּצוֹצְרָה.

So Jerome renders ג by *g*. He does not distinguish the dageshed ג from the raphé ג̄, most probably because the Lat. alphabet possessed no equivalents for these finer sound distinctions.

כ represents Gk. χ: כִּי the letter χ, M^{en}. vi. 3 ; also Gk. κ: כּוֹכְלִיָּר *κοχλιάριον* ; כּוֹכְלִיָּס *κοχλίας*, Šab. vi. 3. Also in combination with ס, the Gk. ξ: אֶכְסְדִּרָה *ἐξέδρα*, 'Er. viii. 4 ; אֶכְסְנִיָּא *ξενία* (with prosthetic א, cf. below, § 64), Dam. iii. 1.

Jerome renders כ by *ch*. He does not distinguish between כ and כ̄, for the reason stated above.

ק represents the Gk. κ: קוֹלְמוֹס *κάλαμος*, Šab. i. 3 ; דְּרָקוֹן *δράκων*, 'AZ. iii. 3 ; rarely χ: אֶסְקְרִיטִין *ἐσχαρίτης*, H^a. i. 4. Together with ס, it renders also the Gk. ξ at the end of a word: פִּנְגָּס *πίναξ*, Ab. iii. 6.

ק transcribes the Lat. *c*: קַלְנֵדָס *Calendae*, 'AZ. i. 3 ; קַסְדָּא *cassis*, Šab. vi. 2. Combined with ו, it renders *qu*: קוֹסְטוֹר *quaestor*, B^{ek}. v. 3 (L. Babylonian texts have קַסְטוֹר or קַסְדוֹר).

So Jerome transcribes ק by *c*.

Mutation of the Palatals.

45. ג and כ: מוֹג to dilute, mix, Dam. vii. 2, BH מִסַּךְ. Cf 'AZ. 54 b, cited above, § 3. בַּגְר to be of age, K^{et}. iii. 8, BH בִּכְר. Cf. also גִּזְוֹטְרָה, L. בְּצוֹצְרָה, cited above, § 44.

ג and ק: מְקַרְרִין to scrape, 'Ed. iii. 12, BH גַּרְר ; קַפְפָּה very tall, B^{ek}. vii. 6, BH קִפְפָּה.

כ and ק: קָרַסם to cut, nibble, Pea ii. 7, BH פָּרַסם; קָפַל to double, fold, Šab. ii. 3, BH כָּפַל.

For the mutation between כ and ח, cf. above, § 42.

3. The Dentals ד, ט, ת.

46. ד represents Gk. δ: דִּיחִיקֵי διαθήκη, MQ iii. 3; דְּרָקוֹן δράκων, 'AZ. iii. 3. Also sometimes τ: פְּרוֹדוֹר προστάς, Ab. iv. 16. Lat. d: דִּינָר denarius, M^{en}. xiii. 4; פּוֹנְדָה funda, B^{er}. ix. 5.

Jerome also renders ד by *d*, whether aspirate or soft (ד, ד̄).

ט represents Gk. τ: טָפוּס τυπος, Dam. v. 3, 5; לִיטָרָה λίτρα, T^{er}. iv. 10; but also sometimes θ: אֶסְטִינִים ἀσθενής, B^{er}. ii. 6; אֶבְטִינִים Εὔθυνος, Yo. i. 5. Rarely δ: קְפוּטָקֵי (L. קפוד), Καππαδοκία, K^{et}. xiii. 10.

Lat. t: טָבֵלָה tabula, אֶסְקִיטָלָה scutella, MQ iii. 7. So Jerome renders ט by *t*.

ת represents the Gk. θ: תִּיחֵי θήκη, Šab. xvi. 1; תוֹרְמוֹס θέρμος, Kil. i. 3; אֶפוֹתִיק ἀποθήκη, 'AZ. ii. 7. Lat. th: תְּלָתָה calathus, Bik. iii. 8. So Jerome renders ת by *th*.

Mutation of Dentals.

47. ד and ט: דְּמוּעַ mixed, T^{er}. v. 6, and נִטְמַע, K^{et}. 14 b; טָפוּס, Dam. v. 4, and דְּפוּס, in citation of Bab. Talmud, BM 56 א and elsewhere.

ד and ז: זָלַף to pour, drip, Pa. vi. 2, BH; זְרָרָה, דְּלָף spinal cord, H^{ul}. iii. 2, L. שְׁזָרָה.

ט and ת: טָעָה to err, B^{er}. ii. 3, BH; תָּעָה; perhaps טָבַל untithed, Dam. vii. 5, BH תְּבַל.¹ For mutation between ט, ס, צ, cf. below, § 51.

4. The Labials ב, פ.

48. ב, whether dageshed or raphe, represents Gk. β: בְּיִטְמוֹס or (L.) בּוֹיטְמוֹס βωμός, 'AZ. iii. 7, Yo. viii. 6; בּוּלְמוֹס βούλιμος, פִּבְנָא

¹ Cf. Barth, *Etymol. Stud.*, p. 37.

κυβεία, San. iii. 3. Rarely through mutation also π : בְּרִדְלִים *párdalis*, BQ i. 4 (some texts have פְּרִדִּים); אֲבִטְלִמוֹס *Πτολεμαῖος*, 'Er. iii. 4; and even ϕ : דִּיגְבְּקִי *δελφική*, 'AZ. v. 5 (in some texts more correctly דִּלְפִּקִי).

Further, β represents v in ϵv : אֲבִטְנוֹס *Eὐθυνος*, Yo. i. 5; לְבָקָן *λευκόν*, B^{ok}. vii. 6; אֲבִיתוֹם (L., other texts have v : אֲוִיתוֹם) *εὐθείως*, Nid. ii. 2. β represents Lat. b : בְּסִילְקִי *basilica*, 'AZ. i. 7; מִבְּלָה *tabula*, MQ iii. 7; לְבִלְרָ *libellarius*, Pea ii. 6; but also v : בִּיבְרִין *vivarium*, Šab. xiii. 5.

Jerome always transcribes β by b , whether dageshed or raphe, never by v .

δ represents Gk. π : בּוֹלְמוֹס *πόλεμος*, So. ix. 14; פְּרָצוֹן *πρόσωπον*, Y^{ob}. xvi. 3. The Gk. ϕ : פִּיָּלִי *φιάλη*, So. ii. 2; אֲפִרְוִיטִי *'Αφροδίτη*, 'AZ. iii. 4.

With δ the Gk. ψ : אֲפִסוֹנִיָּא *ὀψωνία*, San. ii. 4; פְּסִכְתֵּיר *ψυκτήρ*, 'Er. x. 15; לַפְסֵן *λαμψάνη*, Kil. i. 5.

The Lat. p : מַפְפָּא *mappa*, Ber. viii. 3; גַּבְנֵי רִיָּה *(via) compendiaría*. 'AZ. v. 4; נַפְוִין (L. נַפּוּס) *napus*, Kil. i. 5.

Lat. f : פּוֹלִיטוֹן *foliatum*, Šab. vi. 2, viii. 2; אֲפִנְדָּה *funda*, Ber. ix. 5. Perhaps also b in סַפְסֵל *subsellium*, Šab. xxiii. 5.¹

In LXX, δ is always transcribed by ϕ , never by π , except פִּסַח, and foreign names. So Jerome transcribes it always by p^h , never by f , or p . He expressly states that only δ in אֲפִדְנוֹ (Dan. xi. 45) equals Lat. p .

49. Mutation between β and δ .

פִּקַע to split, break, Ta'a. 15 b, BH פִּקַע; עִפְשׁ to be mouldy, Pes. 7a, BH עִבֵשׁ; קִפַח, B^{ok}. vii. 6, BH גִּבַח; אֲפִיק outlet, Miq. vi. 10, perhaps BH אֲפִיק; בִּבְבֵב arched, hollow vessel, Kel. ii. 3, from BH הִפְקַר = הִבְקַר, in Pal. texts, ownerless property, Pea vi. 1.

For the mutation between β and v , cf. below, § 57.

¹ Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. derives it from פִּלְפִל.

5. The Sibilants ם, ש, שׁ, ז, צ.

50. MH has preserved the distinction between the three similar sibilants, ם, ש, שׁ. Thus שׁ is preserved in a considerable number of words: שָׁחָה, שָׁדָה, שָׁבַע, עָשָׂר, עָשָׂה, נָשָׂא, בָּשָׂר, בְּשָׂמִים (to swim), שָׁחַק, שָׁרַף, שָׁק, שָׁנָא, שָׁמַח, שָׁמַל, שָׁכַר, שָׁכַל, שִׁים, שָׁחַק, &c. But many words that have שׁ in BH are regularly spelt in MH with ם, no doubt owing to a change of sound, due probably to Aram. influence, from שׁ to ם. Thus, the following which have שׁ in BH are spelt in MH with ם: אָרַם, הָסִיק, הַסְתַּיֵּל, חָרַם, הַסְתַּיֵּל, סָבַר, סָבַר, סָרַר, עָרַם, סָרַט, סָרַג, סָפַק, סָבִין, סִיד, סָחַט, סָרַר, &c., &c. Sometimes the texts waver: שָׁרַף—סָרַף, 'Or. i. 7; מְעוּפָה—מְעוּפָה, Git. ix. 9.

Jerome, however, mentions only the distinction between ם (*samech*) and שׁ (*sin*). Perhaps his ear was not able to mark the finer distinction between the very similar sounds of שׁ and ם. He represents these sounds, as well as צ (*sade*) by *s*, owing, no doubt, to the poverty of the Latin alphabet in sibilants. Similarly, LXX transcribes these four sibilants by *σ*.

51. Transcription from Greek and Latin.

ם ם is very common for Gk. *σ*: סִיטוֹן σιτόνης, Dam. ii. 4; אֶסְטָסִים אֶסְטָסִים, San. xii. 5; לְסִטִּים ληστής, Pes. iii. 7. With כּ and ק for ξ, cf. above, § 44. With ם for ψ, cf. above, § 48.

So also for the Lat. *s*: אֶסְדָּה *essedā*, Ber. iv. 6; בְּסִילִיָּי *basilica*, AZ. i. 7; קִפְסָה *capsa*, Kel. xvi. 7.

ז represents Gk. ζ: זוֹם ζωμός, Pes. iii. 1; אֶזְרוֹ δρυζα, Pea viii. 3. But also σ: פְּרוֹןְבוֹל προσβολή, Šebi. x. 3, 4; פְּרוֹןְדוֹר προστάς, Ab. iv. 16;¹ אֶטְלוֹ κατάλυσις,² T^m. iii. 5. Also, perhaps, ξ: הַיִּנָּה ἀξίνη, Kel. xiv. 2; כְּרוֹז κήρυξ, Šeq. v. 1.³

Jerome transcribes ז by *z*.

¹ Cf. Krauss, ii, p. 484.

² Also קְטִילִין, 'AZ. 40 b.

³ These are doubtful. כְּרוֹז may be a Semitic word; cf. the Lexicons.

צ represents sometimes Gk. σ: מְרִצִּיף μάρσυπος, Šab. viii. 5; פְּרִצִּיף πρόσωπον, Y'eb. xvi. 3; אֶצְטָדִין στάδιον, BQ iv. 4; אֶצְטָלִית στολή, Yo. vii. 1; כְּצוֹצְרָה ἐξώστρα (L. for אֶצְטָרָה in Bab. texts, cf. above, § 44), Mid. ii. 5. Also Lat. s in קְצָרָה castra, 'Ar. ix. 6; נַפּוּץ (also נַפּוּס) napus, Kil. i. 5.

52. Mutation of Sibilants.

ס and שׁ: קָבַשׁ to tread, press, and קָבַם to tread, wash (BH); דָּרַם to tread, Syr. ܕܪܡ.¹

ס and ז: מָזַן and מָסַף (cf. above, § 44).²

ס and ט: קָרַסם (§ 45) and קָרַטם to pluck, lop, Ma'a. iii. 3.

ס and צ: יָרַסם to crush, 'Uq. ii. 5, BH רִצָּץ; צָלְעוֹת rocks, BH סָלַע, Šebi. v. 4; צִיב fibre, 'Uq. iii. 3, and צִיב tassel, H'ul. ix. 1.³

צ and ט: קוֹרַט particle, drop, 'AZ. ii. 6, BH. קָרַץ.

6. The Sonants ל, מ, נ, ר.

53. ל represents Gk. λ, Lat. l: לְסָטִים ληστής, Pes. iii. 7; לְבָלָר libellarius, Pea ii. 6. By mutation, also ρ, r: אֶסְבָּלָה ἐσχάρα, Pes. vii. 2; פְּלֶהֶדְרִין πάεδροι, Yo. i. 1; מְרִגְלִית margarita, Ab. vi. 9; מְרִקִּילִים Mercurius, 'AZ. iv. 1.

מ represents Gk. μ, Lat. m: מְרִצִּיף μάρσυπος, Šab. viii. 5; מָפָה mappa, B'er. viii. 3. מ is sometimes assimilated with the following consonant: לַפְסֵן λαμψάνη, Kil. i. 5; קַפְנִדְרִיָּא (via) compendiaria, 'AZ. v. 4.

נ represents Gk. ν, Lat. n: אֲנָטִינְנוּס 'Αντίγονος, Ab. i. 3; נַפּוּץ napus, Kil. i. 3. It is also found for μ, m before a labial: אֲנַפּוֹרִיָּא ἐμπορία (L. 'אמ'), BM ii. 1; אֲנַפְלִיָּא impilia, Y'eb. xii. 1.

¹ Albrecht's suggestion (§ 4 e) that מְדָרַם may be an artificial form to distinguish it from מְדָרַשׁ Midrash, is altogether improbable. The verb דָּרַם is extremely common in various connotations; cf. Kohut, iii, pp. 156-60.

² Cf. the transcription of Gr. σ (= ס) by ז, above, § 51.

³ Cf. also the transcription of Gr. σ, Lat. s by צ, above, § 51.

7. The evidence of Jewish tradition and the pointing of the MSS.¹ show that 7 was pronounced as a guttural, as in BH, causing the same vowel changes as the regular gutturals. But it was also pronounced as a lingual, as is shown by its mutation with ʔ, as above, and below § 54.

It represents Gk. ρ, Lat. r: דְּרָקוֹן דְּרָקוֹן δράκων, 'AZ. iii. 3; דִּינָר דִּינָר denarius, Ab. vi. 9.

Mutation of the Sonants.

54. ʔ and 7: הִשְׁתַּדַּל to strive, Ab. ii. 5, Aram. אֲשַׁתִּיר, Dan. vi. 15; שְׁלֹשָׁה chain, Kel. xiv. 3, BH שֶׁשְׁרֵת²; גִּלְעָיָה kernel, 'Uq. ii. 2, Ter. xi. 5; נִתְאַמְלָה = נִתְאַמְלָה = נִתְאַמְנָה (L.) to be widowed, Ket. ii. 1.

מ and נ: רִיקוֹן empty, Pes. v. 6, BH רִיקָם; הֵן for הִם; the plural ending ׀ for ׀; the pronominal suffix for the 3rd masc. pl. ׀ for ׀. (Cf. below, §§ 70, 281.)

7. Semi-vowels ו, י.

55. ו. While still retaining its semi-vocal character, ו appears to have been hardened into a real consonant. Hence, it is more frequent in MH as an initial letter than in BH. Thus, וִידוּי confession, San. vi. 7; וְדָא certain, Yo. viii. 8; וְלָד child (BH), MŠ. iii. 9; וְעָר assembly, Ab. i. 4; וְקָת habit, Nid. i. 1; וְרִיר jugular vein, Hul. ii. 4; וְתִיק active, Ber. 9 b. In verbs: וְיִתֵּר to be plentiful, San. xi. 5, &c. (Cf. below, § 168.)

The consonantal character of ו is also shown by its mutation with soft ב (ב), cf. below, § 57.

In transcriptions the ו sometimes represents Lat. v: וִילוֹן Velum, Neg. xi. 11. Perhaps also the Aeolic Digamma: וְקָת εῖθος, Nid. i. 1;

¹ e.g. עִירָה, L., 'AZ. v. 10.

² These may, however, belong to two different roots: שָׁלַל = שָׁלַח to draw, and שָׁרַר to be firm, hence שָׁרוֹת rings, Isa. iii. 19; Šab. v. 1.

אֵיִר *áhp*, Šab. xi. 3. ו is also found in the place of the Hiatus: אֶסְטָה¹ *στοά*, Pes. i. 5.

Jerome renders ו by *u*.

56. י seems to have been pronounced very much like א (*spiritus lenis*). This explains its frequent mutation with א. However, it never transcribes a Greek or Latin initial vowel, for which א is used, cf. above, § 42. But י is regularly used to represent the first of the two vowels in the Hiatus: אֶפְסוּרֵיָא *ἐμφορία*, BM ii. 1; אֶפְסוּרֵיָא *ὄψωνία*, San. ii. 4; קִיבֵיָא *κυβεία*, iii. 3; פֶּלִיטוֹן *foliatum*, Šab. vi. 3; אֹלְרֵיָא *olearius*, Toh. vii. 8; פֶּנְדִיּוֹן *dupondius*, Pea viii. 7.

Jerome transcribes י by *i*.

57. When consonants, ו, י are often written twice, to prevent their being mistaken for vowel letters: וְוֹרֵר *rose*, Šebi. vii. 6; נְתִבּוֹן to intend, Ter. iv. 4; פֶּרְוֹרֵר outskirts, Hal. iv. 11; חֵיִטַּי tailor, Šab. i. 3; נִיָּר paper, viii. 2. So in Pal. texts: בִּנְיִי, Kel. xiv. 3; גִּבְיִי, Ber. vi. 3; כְּדִיָּי worthy, i. 7, for בְּנֵיָא, גִּבְיָא, כְּדֵיא, cf. above, § 38, foot-note.

Mutations.

58. ו and ב: נִיָּל disfigure, So. i. 7, BH נִבֵּל; עֲנֹהָ barley crop, Pea. vii. 7 (L. ענבה), i. 2, cf. BH עֲנֵב²; לִילָב *Lulab* = לְיִלָב = לְבִלָב to sprout; פֶּרְוֹרֵר outskirts, BH פֶּרְבֵּר.³

י and א: מְבוֹא, BH מְבוֹי, entrance, alley, 'Er. i. 1; שְׂרֵי, BH שְׂאָר, remainder, Zeb. v. 1; נוֹי beauty, 'AZ. iii. 4, for נוֹא, from נָאָה. Cf. also the textual variants: הוֹרְאָה and הוֹרְיָה thanksgiving, Ber. ix. 4; חֲצֵי from חֲצִי half, 'Ed. iii. 1; בְּלֵאוֹת and בְּלֵיאוֹת old garments, Yeb. ix. 3, from בְּלֵי, &c. Cf. also the interchange between the third radical of the verbs ל"א and ל"ה.⁴

¹ So L. and some other texts. Others, again, especially Bab. texts, have אֶסְטָה, אֶצְטָה. Cf. Kohut, i, pp. 166 f. Also סְטִיּוֹ or סְטִיּוֹ, Suk. 51 b.

² Cf. the commentaries, especially Maimonides, ad. loc.

³ Cf. אֶסְטָה—אֶסְטָה, above, § 55 note, and בִּיבְרֵיָא—*vivarium*, above, § 48.

⁴ However, this interchange between י and א, never occurs, as in Aram., at the beginning of a word; cf. Dalman, pp. 97-8.

8. The Letters ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז.

59. The BH distinction between the hard and the soft sounds of these letters (*dagesh* and *raphe*) existed also in MH. This is proved by many considerations. Thus, all the various Jewish systems of pronunciation have preserved this distinction. It is also supported by the transcriptions of Greek and Latin words, and by the sound mutations in MH.

Thus, ב represents β , b (= ב), and also v , v (= ו), § 47. It interchanges with ו (= ו), § 57.

ג interchanges with p = ג, § 44, and also with ח (= ח), § 42.

ד represents δ , d , and also τ , § 45. It interchanges with ט (= ט), and also with ז (= ז), § 46.

ה represents κ , c (= ה), and also χ , ch (= ח), § 43. It interchanges with ק (= ק), and also with ח (= ח), §§ 44, 42.

ו represents π , p (= ו), and also ϕ , f (= פ), § 47.

ז represents θ , th (= ז), § 45. It interchanges with ט (= ט), § 46.

60. The difference in the *dagesh* and *raphe* sounds was not, however, so marked as in some of the modern Jewish pronunciations. This is proved by the dictum in a late Baraita (Ber. 15 b), that in reading the Šema' (Singer, pp. 40 f.) a pause must be introduced between the enunciation of עֲשֶׂבֶה and the following בְּשִׂרְךָ (Deut. xi. 5), between הַכְּנִיחַ and פְּתִיל (Num. xv. 38), so as not to produce an assimilation of the final letters of one word with the initial letters of the following word (שְׂפִיתוֹ רְיוּחַ בֵּין הַדְּבָקִים).

9. Other Consonantal Changes.

61. **Transposition** (*Metathesis*). זָקַר to fling (זָקַרְוּ), Yo. 38 b = זָקַר; עָלַב to insult, Yo. 23 a = לָעַב, j. So. 19 a, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16 (Hiph'il); סִלְגָּו large fork, Šab. 92 b, t. ib. ix. 10¹ = מִלְגָּו; סְרוּב spout, BB iii. 8, from רָזַב = רָב (= רָזַב) to flow²; עָפְצוּ to close the eyes, Šab.

¹ שְׁנַיִם אֲחֻזָּיו בְּמִלְגָּו וְלֹאֲוִיוֹן. So in the Mishna in Bab. Talmud, Šab. 122 b (xvii. 1).

² Cf. זָרַבָּה, a flowing, j. San. xi. 7. See Kohut, iii, p. 319, and *BDB.*, p. 279.

xxiii. 5 = עָצַם ; קָטַרְגַּי to accuse, j. Šab. 5 b, from קָטַרְגַּי (= *κατήγορος*), Ab. iv. 11. Perhaps also רָמַז to wink, Git. v. 7, רָוַם (Job xv. 12). Probably also הָרַי aspect, nature of a case, BQ i. 1 = רָאִי = רָאִי, BQ 4 a, &c.¹

62. Rejection. (a) *Aphaeresis*. In addition to the rejection of initial weak consonants when without vowels in verbs in פ"י, פ"נ, &c., as in BH (cf. below, §§ 165, 169; Ges.-K., § 19 h), MH shows aphaeresis also in a few other cases, viz. with the gutturals א, ח, ע, ה (as preformatives), and preformative מ:

אֵימִי brother-in-law, San. iii. 4 = אֵימִי, as in L. and j. ib. iii. 7; לֵעָוֹר, לֵעָוֹר, in Pal. texts, for אֵלֵעָוֹר, אֵלֵעָוֹר.

ח: פִּיר a pit, Ket. 79 b, Ned. 89 b = חֲפִיר; מַטְשִׁיפָה mat, Makš. v. 8 = חֲשִׁיפָה²; סָחוּם = חֲסָחוּם cartilage, Bek. vi. 1 (cf. L.).

ע: שׁוֹנִית cliff, Oh. xviii. 6 = עֲשׁוֹנִית, Mekil. on Exod. xv. 5.³

ה: חֲפָרָה cutting off = חֲפָרָה (cf. below, § 115).

מ: מִזְעָט small = מְזַעֵט; חֲזַתָּה cut off = מְחַזַּתָּה (cf. § 129).

Further, לִירָה birth, Ket. iv. 3 = יִלְיָרָה (cf. below, § 228). קִיָּה leather thong, Kel. xvi. 4; taking, Qid. 2 a = לְקִיָּה (cf. below, § 228).

63. (b) Syncope. MH shows the same cases of elision of a consonant in the middle of a word, as appear in BH (Ges.-K. § 19 k). In addition syncope takes place in a number of compounds, e. g. אֵלְמֵלֵא if not = לֵא + אֵל + מֵלֵא, Ab. iii. 2; its equivalent in Pal. texts: אֵלְמֵלֵא = אֵלְמֵלֵא + אֵלְמֵלֵא; בְּרַבִּי (or בְּרַבִּי ?) = רַבִּי + בְּרַבִּי, Pea ii. 4; בֵּיצַר how

¹ הָרַי cannot be a contraction of הָרָאִי (Levy i. 493 b), since it is in the construct state. Bacher's view (*Aelteste Terminologie*, pp. 46-8), that הָרַי is an interjection (= הָרַי) is improbable. הָרַי is synonymous with רָאִי. The two expressions are used in different types of texts with exactly the same significance.

² דוּת = חֲרוּת cistern, cited by Albrecht (§ 9 a), rests upon a scribal error. With two exceptions (t. Oh. xii. 6), it is always חֲרוּת (also in plur. חֲרוּתוֹת t. BB iii. 1), and should be חֲרוּתָה = חֲרוּתָה, as in Syr. and Arab.; cf. Kohut, iii. 32.

³ Cf. the comment of Weiss, ad loc. (p. 46), and also Kohut, viii, p. 116 f.

= $\text{צַר} + \text{וְהַ} + \text{קָאִי}$, as often written in the Halakic Midrashim: בָּלַף get away = $\text{וְלַף} + \text{בָּלַף}$, t. Ter. i. 1; San. 67 b (cf. Rashi, ad loc.); עֲכָשִׁי now, 'AZ. i. 1, a compound of uncertain composition (cf. below, § 296); the elision of א in אָנִי , when joined as an enclitic, especially to participles, e.g. הִרְיִי behold I = $\text{אָנִי} + \text{הִרְיִ}$; חֹשֶׁשְׁנִי I fear me, $\text{חֹשֶׁשׁ} + \text{אָנִי}$ (cf. below, § 341, and foot-note).

Further examples of syncope of א are found in $\text{יִשְׁבָּב} = \text{יִשְׁבָּאב}$, as in L. and BH, H_{ul}. ii. 4, and in the popular $\text{וְיָכָה} = \text{וְיָכָה}$ she wolf, j. Šeq. v. 1.

64. (c) *Apocope*. The rejection of a final letter is found in אִי not = אִין , before words beginning with א ; so $\text{גִּי} = \text{גִּין}$ (cf. below, § 298); $\text{אִי} = \text{אִים}$ if. Probably also הִלָּה that one = הִלִּין (cf. below, § 73). In proper names, יוֹסִי (or Pal. יוֹסָה) = יוֹסָף , Ab. i. 41; $\text{שְׂמֹעִי} = \text{שְׂמֹעִיה}$, ib. i. 10.¹

For elision of consonants in foreign words, cf. Krauss, LW i. §§ 214 ff.; Albrecht, § 9 b.

65. *Augmentation*. As in BH, an א is sometimes prefixed to a word: אֶמְצֵרֵל thumb, Yo. ii. 1 = אֶמְצֵרֵל (L., cf. $\text{גִּוְרָלִי} = \text{גִּוְרָלִי}$, Šab. 151 b); אֶמְנָף wing, Neg. xiv. 1 = אֶמְנָף (cf. BH); אֶמְכָּרֹב cabbage, 'Or. iii. 7. 'Uq. ii. 7 (L., and elsewhere in Pal. texts) = אֶמְכָּרֹב , Ter. x. 11.

The prosthetic א is especially frequent in the transcription of foreign words beginning with two or more consonants: $\text{אֶמְסָטִים} = \text{στάσις}$, San. xii. 5; $\text{אֶמְסָפְלִינִית} = \text{σπλαγχνίον}$, Šab. xix. 2; $\text{אֶמְסָנִיָּא} = \text{ξένος}$, Dam. iii. 1; $\text{אֶמְסָקוּטְלָא} = \text{scutella}$, MQ iii. 7. So also before one consonant: $\text{אֶמְלָפִים} = \text{λοπάς}$, Šab. iii. 5; $\text{אֶמְפִּינְדָּה} = \text{funda}$, ib. x. 3. Cf. Krauss, §§ 261 ff.; Albrecht, § 10.

Insertion of ר : חֶרְטוּם beak, Toh. i. 2 = חֶרְטוּם nose, Kel. xxvi. 4 (cf. below, § 274), and in the formation of Quadrilaterals, below § 107.

66. *Softening* of a sound, owing to dissimilation, is found in $\text{לִבְלָב} = \text{לִבְלָב}$ (cf. above, § 58); $\text{שְׂפּוֹפֶרֶת} = \text{שְׂפּוֹפֶרֶת}$ tube, Šab. ii. 4 = שְׂפּוֹפֶרֶת (cf. below, § 245).

¹ Cf. BH, 1 Chr. ii. 28, &c. So יֵשׁוּעַ , Jesus, for יֵשׁוּעַ . Cf. J. Klausner, *ישו הנוצרי*, p. 237. These forms are, probably, caritatives.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

I. THE PRONOUN

1. The Personal Pronoun.

67. (1) The 1st pers. sing. is אֲנִי. אֲנִי is found only in quotations from the Bible, or in direct allusions to Biblical passages.¹

The disuse of אֲנִי dates already from BH times. Thus אֲנִי is not found in the later or popular BH books, like Canticles, Lamentations, Haggai, Zachariah i-viii, Ezra, Esther, and Qohelet; and only once in Ezekiel, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.² So also Aram. (with the exception of the Zinjirli dialect),³ Arabic and Ethiopic have forms corresponding to אֲנִי only, while Assyrian, Moabite, and Phoenician use forms corresponding to אֲנִי only. In earlier Hebrew alone are the two forms found existing side by side, but אֲנִי, being the shorter of the two, gradually came to be employed more frequently, especially in colloquial speech, until the longer form disappeared entirely from common use.

68. The plural is always אֲנֵנו.⁴ This form occurs, as is well

¹ e. g. San. vi. 2; Šab. 105 a.

² Cf. *BDB.*, p. 59 and reff.

³ Cf. G. A. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, Nos. 61, l. 1, אֲנִי; 62, l. 19, אֲנִי; but 63, l. 20, אֲנֵנו. For the origin and mutual relation of אֲנִי and אֲנֵנו cf. Stade, *Heb. Gr.*, p. 135, and Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ אֲנֵנו occurs in the early portions of the Liturgy, cf. S. Singer, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 4, 51, &c. So in P^{s.} x. 5, but L. has אֲנֵנו. אֲנֵנו is also found exceptionally in an ordinary passage, K^{t.} x. 2, but here also L. has אֲנֵנו.

known, only once in BH, and then only in the K^{et}ib (Jer. xlii. 6), which is rather remarkable, since the K^{et}ib generally represents a more archaic type of language. אָנִי seems to be a popular formation from אֲנִי, on the analogy of the plural forms of the pronominal suffixes קָטְלָנִי, קָטְלָנוּ, or of מְמַנִּי, מְמַנּוּ; cf. also the verbal plurals קָטְלֵי, יִקְטְלֵי, &c. From the colloquial language the form crept into the Book of Jeremiah, but was struck out by the Massoretes as a vulgarism.

All other Semitic languages have forms corresponding to אָנִי. So especially the Aram. dialects, אַנְחָנָא, נַחְנָא, אַנְחָנָנ, and in the latest and most debased dialects אַנְ, with the syncope of the inaudible guttural.¹

69. (2) In the 2nd pers. אַתָּה is used for the masc., and אַתְּ for the fem., as in BH. אַתָּה for the masc. is exceedingly rare in the earlier MH literature, and may always be due to scribal errors. It is, however, frequent in texts of a later date, particularly of Palestinian origin, and in the Haggadic Midrashim. This use must be considered an Aramaism (but sporadically also in BH).

The plural is אַתְּם for the masc. Of the fem. plural, אַתְּנָא, no example occurs in our literature. The form אַתְּמָא is also found for the fem.: t. BB viii. 19: נִשְׁאַתְּמָא אַתְּמָא . . . נִיּוֹנְתְּמָא אַתְּמָא.

70. (3) The 3rd pers. has הוּא for the masc., and הִיא for the fem. The plur. is הֵם, הֵן respectively. הֵמָּה is found only in Biblical quotations (Ab. vi. 2).

The forms הֵמָּן for the 2nd masc. plur., and especially הֵן for the 3rd masc. plur., are also found, but they are merely due to a phonetic change common in MH (cf. above, § 54). They may, however, be also due to the influence of Aram., in which these pronouns end in ך.

¹ Barth (op. cit., p. 6 (e)), holds that אַנְ is formed from אַנְנָא by the addition of the plur. suff. ך, like אַנְ from אַנְי.

71. *The Pronominal Suffixes.* The pronominal suffixes are in MH the same as in BH. The 3rd plur. masc. has, however, also here ׀ for ם. But often the reading is not certain, and varies from text to text. There are also examples of the masc. form used for the fem., e. g. אַחַת מִכֶּם, כְּבוֹלְכֶם, כְּבוֹלָם, T^{er.} viii. 11, 12; לָהֶם, Hal. i. 7.

2. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

72. (1) Singular זֶה masc., זֹאת fem., plur. אֵלֶּי.

The form זֹאת for זֶה occurs in BH in Hos. vii. 16; in the cycle of North Israelitish stories in the Book of Kings (זֶה, 2 Ki. vi. 19), both of which exhibit a number of dialectal peculiarities; also, in Ezekiel (זֶה, xl. 45), in a late psalm (זֹאת, Ps. cxxxii. 12), and six times in Qohelet.

It is, therefore, very probable that the shorter form זֶה, or זֹאת, existed from early times as a dialectal form in the northern speech, from which it gradually spread to the south, and in the course of time supplanted the longer form זֶה־זֶה.

The plur. אֵלֶּי for BH אֵלֶּיהָ occurs also in Sirach (אֵלֶּי, li. 24). The change of the second vowel may have been due to an unconscious desire to indicate more clearly the plural character of the word. The vowel chosen is the same as in אֵנִי, discussed above, § 67.

73. (2) BH has also preserved the demonstrative use of the pronoun of the 3rd pers., הֵם, הִיא, הוּא; הֵן, הֵן; הֵם, הִיא, הוּא that ass of thine, opposed to הֵן, הִיא, הוּא, BB v. 2; so often הֵן, הִיא, הוּא. More commonly with the article, as in BH הֵהוּא, הִהיא, הֵהם.

74. (3) The stronger BH demonstrative הֵלֶּךְ is found only in the shortened form הֵלֶּךְ (Judges vi. 20) for the masc., T^{oh.} vi. 5, 8. Fem. הֵלֶּךְ, Y^{eb.} xiii. 7; t. ib. v. 4; xiii. 6.¹

¹ But L. has הֵלֶּךְ. So in BH הֵלֶּךְ is also found for the fem., 2 Kings iv. 25.

This form הָלָז is further shortened to הָלָה by the apocope of ל.¹ It is only used substantively, MŠ. iii. 2; San. viii 2, &c. In Y^ob. iii. 5, 'Ed. iv. 9, הָלָה stands also for the fem. הָלָה תִּצֵא מִשָּׁוּם וְהָלָה תִּצֵא מִשָּׁוּם and that one goes forth² as a wife's sister.

The plur. of הָלָז, הָלָה is הָלָלוּ, evidently a contraction of הָלָל + אֵלָיו; הָלָלוּ these defects, Ket. vii. 8, and frequently.

75. (4) The emphatic particle אֵת is also used as a demonstrative, either alone or with pronominal suffixes, e. g. אֵת שְׁלֹפְנֵי הַמָּטָה וְאֵת שְׁלֹפְנֵי הַמָּטָה those before the bier and those behind the bier, B^er. iii. 1; אֵת הַלֶּחֶם וְאֵת הַסֶּדֶר that loaf and that order, M^en. ii. 2.

76. (5) *The Article*. In the form and use of the Article, MH agrees with BH. See further in the Syntax (§§ 373-78).

3. The Relative Pronoun.

77. The relative is in MH everywhere אֲשֶׁר. אֲשֶׁר occurs only in quotations (Pe. ii. 2 from Isa. vii. 25; So. ix. 5 from Deut. xxi. 3, &c.), and in early liturgical language, which is conceived in an elevated and semi-Biblical strain; thus, in the Passover Haggadah, אֲשֶׁר נִאֲמָרוּ, Pes. x. 61; in the Evening Service, אֲשֶׁר בְּרַבְרוּ (Singer, p. 96); and often in Benedictions, אֲשֶׁר קִדְשָׁנוּ (ib. pp. 4, 134, 210, &c.); אֲשֶׁר נָתַן (pp. 5, 68); אֲשֶׁר יָצַר (pp. 4, 299); אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא (pp. 280, 299); and a few more. Elsewhere אֲשֶׁר is used: אֲשֶׁר שִׁבְבָל (p. 51), אֲשֶׁר שִׁדְרָנוּ (p. 239), and in Benedictions, B^er. vi. 3; vii. 3; ix. 1 ff.; Singer, pp. 5 f., 276, 290, 291, &c.

78. In BH the form occurs twice in the Song of Deborah (שִׁשְׁמֹתַי), a North Israelitish production; three times in the story of Gideon, a North Israelitish hero; once in the North Israelitish

¹ Cf. above, § 64. Barth, however, holds that הָלָה is the original form which was later strengthened by the addition of וָה, op. cit., pp. 78, 105 f.

² i. e. הַחֲוִיצָה, Deut. xxv. 5. L. has הָלָלוּ. So 'Ar. ix. 4 edd. have הָלָה, but L. has הָלָז.

section of the Book of Kings; exclusively, except in the late superscription, in the collection of popular songs known as Canticles, which probably originated in Northern Israel; sporadically in the later BH books, and very frequently in Qohelet (cf. Ges.-K., § 36). Now, whatever the relation of the two forms to each other,¹ there can be no doubt that שׁ is as old as אֲשֶׁר, if not older. Its confinement in the earlier books of the Bible to North Israelitish documents would prove that its use must have been common in the colloquial speech of Northern Palestine, under the influence, to some extent at least, of the Phoenician שׂא,² ש, the Assyrian ša, and, perhaps, also the Aram. וי, וי. The scarcity of its occurrence even in these documents must be explained by the assumption that it was regarded as a vulgarism which the literary language had to avoid. Its use gradually extended to Southern Palestine, and being the shorter and more pliable form, it must in the course of time have entirely supplanted the longer אֲשֶׁר in the language of the common people, and from this it descended directly to MH. But the literary prejudice against it seems to have remained even after BH had ceased to be a living speech. Hence its non-occurrence in Esther, its scarcity in Chronicles, and the anxiety to avoid it which is displayed by a studious imitator of the ancients like Sirach, and even by such an independent mind as the author of Qohelet.³

4. The Possessive Pronoun.

79. Possession is very frequently expressed in MH by the combination of the relative שׁ with the preposition לְ. In older texts this combination is still attached to the noun which it governs,

¹ Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-4; Bergsträsser, *ZAW.*, xix, pp. 41 ff.

² Cf. Schröder, *Phœniz. Sprache*, § 65 and foot-note.

³ Note such awkward and inconsistent expressions as בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֹל (= Aram. . . . בְּרִיל וי, viii. 17; מְבִלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִמְצֵא, iii. 11, &c.

e. g. שְׁלֹבְחֵינוּ, Z^{eb.} v. 1.¹ Gradually שְׁלֵ- was detached from the noun by the scribes, and now appears as an independent particle שֵׁל. So especially with pronominal suffixes שְׁלֵי, שְׁלֵךְ, &c., which have become regular possessive pronouns. Cf. Ab. v. 10; BM i. 5, &c. See further in the Syntax, §§ 406-9.

5. The Interrogative Pronoun.

80. (1) מַי, מָה, as in BH.

(2) By prefixing the interrogative particle אֵי to the demonstrative הַ, הַזֶּה, a new interrogative pronoun has been formed, אֵי הַזֶּה, fem. אֵי זוֹ, which? This is often strengthened by the enclitic הוּא, הִיא, with which it is often written as one word, and the final א omitted: אֵי הַזֶּה הוּא, Z^{eb.} v. 1; אֵי זוֹ הִיא, Kel. xvii. 6. In the older texts, however, the three components are still kept separate: אֵי הַזֶּה הוּא, אֵי זוֹ הִיא, cf. L., loc. cit.

Prepositions are attached to אֵי: בְּאֵיזוֹ, בְּאֵיזוֹהוּ, San. v. 1; מֵאֵיזוֹהוּ, Ab. vi. 9. Contrast BH אֵי מִזֶּה, 2 Sam. xv. 2, Jonah i. 8; אֵי לָזֹאת, Jer. v. 2.

81. The plural of אֵיזוֹהוּ, אֵיזוֹהוּ is אֵי אֵלָיו, which is found only once in MH literature, viz. Naz. 6 b (אֵי אֵלָיו הֵן יָמִים . . .). Elsewhere it is contracted to אֵילָיו, spelt אֵלָיו through the ignorance of the scribes, who confused it with the demonstr. plur. אֵלָיו.² This confusion may account for the scarcity of this form in our literature. Perhaps the Rabbis, who had a passion for lucidity and precision, deliberately avoided it for fear of this confusion with the demonstr.

Exx.: אֵלָיו מְצִיאוֹת שְׁלוֹ וְאֵלָיו (L. ואילו) חַיִּיב לְהִכְרִיז Which things when found are his [the finder's], and which is he bound to proclaim?³ BM ii. 1; וְרוֹאִים אֵלָיו הַזְּבָנִים הָרְאוּיֹת לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּר They

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 56.

² This confusion is found even in modern scholars, e. g. Albrecht, § 30 a.

³ Cf. the parallel expressions: . . . אֵיזוֹהוּ נִשְׁפָּה? וְאֵיזוֹהוּ תִרְבִּית? אֵיזוֹהוּ נִשְׁפָּה? . . . אֵיזוֹהוּ תָם וְאֵיזוֹהוּ מוֹעֵד? ib. v. 1; אֵיזוֹהוּ תָם וְאֵיזוֹהוּ מוֹעֵד, BQ ii. 4, &c. So, perhaps, also elsewhere,

consider which are the stones that are likely to have been broken, *ib.* x. 1; *טעה ואין ידוע אלו שהפכו ואלו שקדמו* If he made a mistake and it is not known which had changed and which had advanced? *t. Neg.* ii. 7; *באלו משקין אמרו* In the case of which fluids have they said it? *Makš.* iii. 2;¹ *באלו נדרים אמרו* In the case of which vows have they said it? *t. Ket.* vii. 8 || *Ket.* 72 b; *באלו בני מיעים אמרו* In the case of which intestines have they said it? *t. Hul.* iii. 15 || *Hul.* 56 b; *באלו פנים באים לפני המקום* With what face will they come before the Almighty? *Pesiqta*, § 25; *על אלו עמרים נחלקו* Over which sheaves did they dispute? *t. Pe.* iii. 2. So probably also *על אלו מומים שוחטין את הבכור* Over which blemishes may one slay the first-born animal? *Bek.* vi. 1; *לאילו נאמין* Whom shall we believe? *Pesiqta Rab.*, p. 138 b.

82. We can trace clearly in BH the development of this new interrogative. In *אי זה בית הראה*, 1 Sam. ix. 18, the emphasis is on *אי* (= *איה*), while *זה* serves merely as an enclitic particle to give directness to the question, and the proper answer to the question would be *הנה*, or *בית הראה*. Gradually, however, the emphasis was shifted from *אי* to *זה*, as in *אי זה הדרך נעלה*, 2 Kings iii. 8, Which way shall we go up?, as is shown by the answer, *דרך מרבר ארם*, 2 Chron. xviii. 23. These two usages existed side by side, until, finally, the older usage disappeared, and *איה* ceased to be an interrogative of place, and became a pure interrogative pronoun or adjective. So in *Qoh.* ii. 3, and, especially, in xi. 6, where it stands before a verb, *אי זה יכשר*, and is used exactly as in MH.²

e.g. *Pea.* i. 1; *BB.* iii. 7. The interrogative style is exceedingly common in MH.

¹ Cf. the parallel expression: *באיה מקרה אמרו*?, *Oh.* ii. 3, &c.

² See further the writer's remarks, *JQR.*, xx (1908), p. 651 f.

88. (6) The following is a list, by no means exhaustive, of the equivalents used in MH for older BH verbs: יאב, חפץ, אבה, בא—אתה; חזק—אמץ; למד—אלף; שנא—אָיב; רצה—הואיל; גער, פחד, ירא—גור, יגר; חתך—בתך, בתר; גזל—שסה, חמס, בזו; זרם—כעס—קצף, זעף, זעם; לגלג, לעג—תלל, התל; נוף—כהה; כבד—טאטא; יבש—נתש, חרב; נהג—יבל; בטח—עוו, חסה; שטף; יצג, התגייר—התייחד; נתן—יהב; התחיל—החל; שתק—החריש; נגש—מרד—מרה; הוחלק—מער; כסה—לאט, לוט; העמיד—נצב, סגד; מסר—סָיַר, נָבַר; נפרע—נקם; נהג—נחה; בא אצל, קרב, חכה; משכן—ערב, עבט; שוטה—סכל; גרר—סחב; השתחוה—קדר, עשה—פעל; פגע—קרה, פגש; שמח—גיל, עלם, עלז; המתן—קוה; משל, שוה; כחש—רזה; עני—דלל, ריש; הרג—קטל; התענה—צום; דין—פלל, שפט; דמה;

89. Of the 300 new verbs in MH, only a very small proportion are loan words from Aram. The majority are old Hebrew expressions which occur in BH either in cognate verbal roots, or in derivatives, usually substantives. A further large number of these new verbs are real denominatives which are consciously formed by MH from nouns found in BH. Of the residue which cannot be traced to BH sources, a very large proportion belong to the original stock of the old Hebrew vocabulary, which by mere accident have not been preserved in the scanty and fragmentary remains of BH literature. Some of these are found also in Aram. and in other Semitic languages, and are thus of a general Semitic character. Others are found in MH and in Aram. only, and are, probably, at least in most cases, as original in MH as in Aram. Others, again, are peculiar to MH, or may be also found in other Semitic languages, but not in Aram. The remainder (about thirty verbs) are direct borrowings from Aram., and a few more are derived from Greek.

It will, therefore, be seen that the Aram. influence on the lexical character of the MH verb is far less extensive than has been

92. (3) Denominative Verbs.

(a) From BH nouns : אלמן, אפל, אשכן (from אשך), גבן (from גב), זפת (from זפת), זוף (from זוף), דגש, דרם, דגש, גפר, (גבינה), חלב, חמר (from חמור), חסד, חפון, חרש (from חרש), יבל (from יבל), נבל (from נבלה), נכתף, כרכם, כרכב, sift, כבר, (ימין), ימן (from ימן), נב, נפה, נפה, נפה, עבב, סרס, סלת, ערש (from ערש), ערס, עיין, עבב, צפן, צמת (from ציזית), צייץ (from צד), צדד (from צד), צבע (from צבע), שמן (from שמן), רעל (from רעלות), רעל (from ריקם), רוקן (from צפון), תמר, תלם (from תחלה), תחל (from תוך), שרבט, שרב, (שמן), תרע (from תרועה), תרע (from תרומה), תרם (from תמר).

(b) From MH nouns : גרע (from גרעין), גרע, רבב, זבל, דמע, גשר, משכן (from אמצע), מצע (from מומחה), מחה (from טבל), זרד, שחף (from שובר), שבר (from מרתף), רתף, רמץ (from עיסה), עסס, תרמל, תמר, תחם (from תבלין), תבל.

(c) From Aram. nouns, only a few like סמר, סמא (= סמי), קטם. Perhaps also רוקן, רמץ, and a few more.

(d) From the Greek, cf. below, § 96.

93. (4) Old Hebrew verbs not found in Aram.: חרם (חרם), חבם, חבץ, חבץ, חטט, חפת, טנן, כחח, כמש, לבלב, לקה, לחל, מסק, נונה, נכש, נעץ, נתו, נכש, כער, חכר, חזר, דרם, גנח, גהץ, בלש, בלט, בחל, רתך, רהן, קרטע, קרטם, קמע, פשל, פחם, פול, סתח, ספת, סנק, תרף, תרו, תרה, תסס, תחב, שגם.

94. (5) Old Hebrew verbs found also in Aram : אמד (or עמד), נקו, נעץ, נתו, נכש, כער, חכר, חזר, דרם, גנח, גהץ, בלש, בלט, בחל (Aram. קוץ, קוד), קוד, צלף, צלב, פקר, פלה, פגן, פגם, סרח, סכס, שמש, שדל, רתע, רשה, רסק, קרצף, קנח, קלח, (כיוץ).

95. (6) Old Hebrew verbs found also in other Semitic languages beside Aram. : חכך, חוץ, זרו, זוף (?), זוג, הנה, גשר, גנה, גמר, גרם, חכך, חוץ, פסד, פהק, סנן, סגף, נחר, נוק, נוף, לתח, כרן, חשד, חלט, תמם, שתף, שלק, שחם, שחל, רמו, רכן, קפח, קנב, קטם, פתק, חלק stumble.

96. (7) Verbs borrowed from Aram.: ארע, רבב, תהא, חצף, טוש, נגס, קנתר, קנט, קלה, קטם, קרע, פתך, פטם, סמא, סייע, סים (?), סטר, שמה, שהה, שבש, רשל, רמץ, רוקן, קשט (כרבש), קרקש.

(8) Verbs borrowed from Greek:¹ לסטם ληστής, ספג σπόγγος, פקם φυκόω, פרף πόρπη, קטרγ κατηγορέω, קמר καμάριον, תרם θυρεός. The following are doubtful: וויג (from זוג) ζεύγος, פקר (from אפיקורוס) Ἐπίκουρος, קלם καλῶς, קנס κήνσος, טנן τήγγανον.

97. (9) A few new formations are of an onomatopoeic character: כשכש or קשקש knock, פטפט chatter, babble, קעקע cackle, קרקר cackle, שכשך shake, knock. Perhaps also טפטף to drip, כסכס to chew, לגלג to mock.

98. A large number of verbs which MH has inherited from BH, have undergone certain changes in usage and meaning. Thus, many verbs which were common in BH have become rare in MH. Most of these belong to the elevated diction of BH literature. But a considerable number are quite ordinary prosaic expressions which for some reason or other went out of ordinary use in MH. Again, a number of verbs which were rare in BH have become very common in MH. Many of these will be found to belong also to the Aram. vocabulary. Finally, many verbs have developed in MH a new significance, sometimes analogous to their usage in Aram., sometimes of a technical or legal character. Often this new significance is expressed by a new verbal stem not found in BH (cf. below, §§ 108 ff.). A small group of verbs is of special interest. These have preserved in MH their primary significance, while in BH they only occur in a derived and secondary sense.

(C) *BH Verbs with a different usage in MH*

99. (1) Verbs more common in BH than in MH: אמם, ארב, בהל, בחר, הגה, הדר, המה, המם, הרם, זכך, זעם, זעק (= צעק),

¹ Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, pp. 144-52. His etymologies, which are not always reliable, should be checked by Kohut and, especially, by Jastrow.

קבל, קדה, קדם, קדש, קלל, קלם, קמץ, קנה, קפד, קפץ, קפץ, קצה, קרסם, קרסם, קשה; ראה, רבץ, רגל, רגש, רווח, רחם, רכס, רעם, רצה, רקד, רקם, רקם; שבח, חקן, חנה, שקע, שפה, שער, שנה, שמן, שמד, שלש, שלל, שכר, שבח.

102. (4) Verbs with the primary meaning in MH and a secondary meaning in BH.

כסף BH long, MH grow pale; מהל BH mix, MH circumcise; עין BH look with envy, MH look intently; סלר BH spring back, MH be scalded; סמר BH bristle up with fear, MH stud with nails; פלט BH escape, MH discharge, spit out; פצע BH bruise, MH split; פקח BH open the eye, MH open up; פרר BH frustrate, annul, MH break, crumble; פשק BH part, open wide, MH split, cut; צנע BH be modest, MH hide, retire; cf. also בצע, געל, דלק.

2. GRAMMATICAL

103. The differences between the BH verb and the MH verb are as marked on the grammatical side as on the lexical side. Many verbs in MH show a loss of verbal stems found in BH. Thus, the Qal has been lost in most verbs of an intransitive character, especially in the Babylonian dialect of MH. Of the Pu'al only the participle has been preserved as a living form. Formations that are rare in BH, like the Po'el, Pol'el, and their derivative stems, have either disappeared entirely, or survived in only a few verbs. The common and regular stems have disappeared in those verbs in which their occurrence was rare in BH.

Against these losses, MH can, however, show some important gains. It has increased its quadriliteral formations, often, no doubt, under Aram. influence, either by reduplication, Pi'el, Pilpel, &c., or by augmentation, Šaf'el, Pir'el, &c. Further, MH has extended the use of Pi'el to ע"ו verbs, again often under Aram. influence. Finally, MH has applied the common and regular stems to many verbs in which these stems were lacking in BH.

104. In the field of syntax, MH has lost many constructions which imparted much beauty and distinction to BH, such as the use of the cohortative and jussive, and of the consecutive tenses; the manifold applications of the perfect and imperfect; the variety of constructions with the infinitive, &c. On the other hand, MH has developed and extended constructions which were rare or unknown in BH, e. g. the rise of a present tense in the participle; its use with the auxiliary verb הָיָה; the combination of two verbs to express continuous and progressive action (cf. below, §§ 364-5), and the periphrasis of the future with עָתִיד.

For these syntactical changes in MH the reader is referred to the Third Part of this work (§§ 306 ff.). On the Pu'al, cf. below, §§ 125-30. Here we append tables showing the changes which the verb has undergone in MH in regard to stem formation.

(A) *BH. Stems not found in MH.*

105. (1) Formations that are rare in BH.

Po'el in the following verbs: ידע, חקק, חנן, הרה, הלל, הגה, דמם, עלל, סבב, נדר, מדר, לשן, יעד.

Po'lel: צוד, סור, נוף, נוס, מות, ליץ, חול, בוש.

Po'lal: רוע, רום, עול, חול.

Pi'lel: (נאוה) נאה, צמת.

Pe'al'al: יפה, חמר.

Tiph'el: רגל.

Hithpo'el: נדר, נאץ, מדר, הלל, גלל, בלל, אנן.

Hithpo'el: רוע, עוף, עור, נוס, מול, חול, גור, בוש.

Hithpapel: חול.

Hothpa'el: פקר, כבס, טמא, דשן.

106. (2) Regular stems of rare occurrence in BH in particular verbs:

Qal: נאץ, מסס, מכך, ידה, חרך, חֹר, חבב, דגל, דבר, ברה, אמן, נאץ, שבע, שאר, רנן, קרס, קשב, צפה, עתק, סער, סמר, נוף.

Niph'al: נסע, נכה, נגע, מטר, לבט, זחח, דכא, דוש, דגל, גרש, ברך, פשע, פוג, עגן, סער.

Pi'el: נגע, כתב, ידע, ידה, הרס, נרע, ברה, ברא, בעת, אסף, אחז, רתח, קפד, קהה, עתד, נכה.

Pu'al: ידע, חקה, חטב, חבל, זנה, הרה, הרג, דעך, גשם, אסר, אסף, רדף, עשק, נקר, כתח, יצר.

Hithpa'el: מכר, חקה, דכא, גרד, באש, אמר.

Hiph'il: כפש, כוב, חתם, חלם, חבר, גשם, גמא, אמר, אמם, אבל, שבר, רדף, צרח, צעק, אמד, עצב, עדה, נפח, נאץ, מלט, כתח.

Hoph'al: מכך, כתח, כשל, יצר, טבע, זון, הפך, דוש, דבק, בקע, אחז, רוה, צהב, עלה, נתק.

107. (3) Qal of the following intransitive verbs. This is usually expressed in MH by the corresponding adjective with *היה*, e.g. *היה טמא*, *היה חולה*, or in some cases by the Internal Hiph'il, *האדים*, *הגדיל*; or by the Hithpa'el, *התגאה*, *התאבל*.

יבש, *טמא*, *טוב*, *חמם*, *חלה*, *חזק*, *זקן*, *דקק*, *ארך*, *אור*, *אדם*, *אבל*, *ערם*, (*עני* =), *ענה*, *עמק*, *עזו*, *עור*, *עגה*, *נקה*, *מרר*, *מעט*, *מלא*, *כבר*, *יפה*, *שבע*, *רעב*, *רחק*, *רחב*, *קשה*, *קצר*, *קטן*, *צער*, *צמא*, *פרה*, *עשן*.

(B) *MH stems not found in BH.*

108. (1) *Quadriliterals.* These forms are found also in BH and in other Semitic languages.¹ MH has more of these forms than BH, but, unlike Aram., it has exercised a certain restraint in their formation.²

(a) *By Reduplication.*

1. Doubling the third radical (Pi'el), *שרטט*, *ערכב*.

2. By repeating the whole root, only in verbs ע"ו and ע"ע.

ספספ, נפנף, נענע, נמנם, (אבעבעות BH) בעבע: ע"ו.

ע"ע (= הרח = הרר), הרהר, (הבהבי BH) הבהב, דקדק, דלדל, בצבץ: ע"ע.

רפרף, רברב, צחצח, פלפל, עמעם, עלעל, משמש, מקמק, כסכס.

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 56, i, p. 510f.; pp. 515-20.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 180; Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*², p. 251.

(b) By Augmentation.

1. The Causative stem Šaph'el, cf. below, §§ 149, 150.
2. By inserting ר after the first radical: קרסם, קרצף. Cf. also קרול (מקורול rounded, t. Sab. xiii. 17); ר added at the end: קנתר (קנטר, Aram. loan-word). Further with מ at the end: פרם = פרש. With ס at the end: פרנס, פרנס. Cf. Jastrow, s. vv.

(c) Denominatives: אשכנ, אלמן. Cf. above, § 92.

109. (2) The Intensive stem (Pi'el, &c.) in verbs ע"י, ע"ו.
 סייג, (טוש =) טיים, טייל, טייב, דייר, גייר, (ניד) גייד, פייר, פייש, קיין, קיים, (ציצית) ציין, (פיח) פייח, (סוף) סייף, (קשים) סיים, סייד (thorn), ריח, קיין (קיין thorn), קיין, קיין.

110. (3) Application of the regular stems to verbs in which they were lacking in BH.

Qal: עגן (= שכר), נקף, חתך, חוב, זון, ברל, ארש; (partic. pass.), נשכ, רפף, קדם, צהב, פשח, עקר, עדר.

Niph'al: חסם, זקק, זמם, זון, דקק, דמע, דמה, געל, גמר, בדרק, אנס, נקף (go round), נטל, נדר, מתח, מלק, לוש; כנס, כלל, טפל, טען, צבה, פשח, פרט, פצע, פסק, פטר, עקר, סכך, נתר, נשך, צבה, פשח, פרט, פצע, פסק, פטר, עקר, סכך, נתר, נשך, צלה, שלה, שכר, שחק, שרף, שכב, קמץ, צלה.

Pi'el: חמץ, זון, דמע, דור, גרף, גמר, בזה, ארח, אנס, אהב, אבק, מתק, מתח, מעך; לזה, לבן, כון, יתר, טרף, טול, טבל, חתם, חתך, פדר, פהח, פצע, פסע, פסל, עשה, עשן, עדר, ספק, סכך, סוף, נסף, רקם, רכס, רדר, רגש, רבע, קמץ, צנע, צמק, צבה, פרש, פרש, שחק, שרט, שקע, שער, שמד, שלה, שאר.

Pu'al (only participle): זון, דמע, דמה, דלל, בצר, בזה, אחר, אהב, פרט, עשן, סלק, סכך, סוף, כנס, כון, יתר, ישן, טפל, חלט, זמם, שקע, שמד, שבח, שאר, רמה, קום.

Hithpa'el (Nithpa'el): (ארם) ארש, ארח, (עכל) אכל, אהב, אבק, טרף, טפל, חסם, חוב, זקק, זמן, זמם, דלל, דור, געל, בקר, בצר, סכך, נסה, נהג, נבל, מתך, מעך, לבן, כשר, כנס, כון, יתר, ישן, יסף.

פרש, פקח, פצע, פסק, פלג, עשן, עקר, עצם, עטף, ספק, סלק, סוף, רעם, רגש, קרר, קטן, קבל, צרף, צרע, צער, צמק, צוה, פתה, פרש, שתק, שקע, שער, שמן, שמד, שלח, שדף, רפף.

Hiph'il: כנס, טרף, טען, חמץ, חמם, חלט, זקק, זול, (פקר) בקר, אהב, ספר, (שבר) סבר, נשך, נקע, נציץ, נסח, נהג, נדר, ננח, לקק, לוח, קמץ, קטן, קדח, צלל, צהב, פרש, פצע, (פשע) פסע, פלג, פוג, עשה, תנה, שלש, שכר, שחט, שבח, רכס, רווח, רגש, רגל, קרם, קרא

Hoph'al: נקה (knock off), נקה, נדר, חמם, זקק, זול (participle) בדל (go round), קרר, קרש, קדם, קבל, צנע, פרש, סגר, סבך, נתר, שחר (be black), תאם, שלש.

B. The Stems.

I. THE SIMPLE STEM.

111. (1) The *Qal*. The *Qal* is identical, both in form and meaning, with the *Qal* in BH. The form *Qatēl* is exhibited in the intransitive verbs: בָּטַל, Ab. v. 16; בָּשַׁר, Hul. ii. 10; עָמַל, Ab. ii. 14; קָרַב, P^{es}. ix. 61, &c. *Qatēl* is found only in the common verb יָכוֹל. These, however, occur only as participles.

112. The *Participle* coincides almost completely with the partic. in BH. The fem. sing. ends in ת, e. g. גִּזְזֹלֶת robbing; נוֹשֶׁרֶת dropping (of leaves), 'AZ. iii. 8; טוֹחֶנֶת grinding, Git. v. 9; תוֹבֵעֶת claiming, ib. iv. 8. In verbs עָוָה, לָה, and frequently also in לָא, it ends in ה: בָּאָה coming, Y^{eb}. xv. 10; בּוֹשָׁה ashamed, Dam. iii. 6; רוֹצֵה desirous, ib.; חוֹתֵה poking, T^{oh}. vii. 9; יוֹצֵאָה going forth, Šab. v. 1; but also יוֹצֵאת, Kil. iv. 6; נוֹשֵׂאת וְנוֹחֶת taking and giving, i. e. trading, Š^{ebu}. vii. 8.

113. The Partic. of intransitive verbs, being treated as an adjective, forms the fem. with ה: טְמֵאָה unclean, Nid. iii. 1; בָּטְלָה ceases, Ab. ii. 2; קָרְיָבָה comes near, P^{es}. ix. 6, &c.

The Passive Partic., which always expresses in MH a state or condition, is also treated almost like an adjective, and the fem.

sing. always ends in ה, גִּדְּשָׁה divorced, Y^{eb.} vii. 1; נְשׂוּאָה married, ib. i. 2; שְׂרָיָה dwelling, Ab. iii. 2.

114. In this frequent use of the older termination ת for the fem. sing., MH has remained faithful to the BH tradition, in which this termination is far more common than the younger termination ה (cf. Ges.-K., § 94 d). In Aram., on the other hand, the fem. partic. always ends in נָֿ.

115. (2) Niph'al. The Niph'al also agrees in form and in meaning with the Niph'al in BH.

In the Infinitive the preformative ה is usually elided after the ל. In most texts the short *i* of the ל is then written *plene* with י, in order, presumably, to differentiate it from the inf. Qal. Thus, לִבְטֹל = לְהַבְטִיל to cease, Y^{eb.} vi. 6; לְהַהָרֵג = לִיהָרֵג to be slain, 'Ar. i. 3; לִיהַנּוֹת to enjoy, K^{et.} vii. 1; לִישָׁהַר to be purified, Kel. iii. 1; לִישְׂמָא to be defiled, M^{ei.} iv. 6; לִיבְנָם to enter, BB iii. 6; לִישְׁקַל to be stoned, San. vi. 6.

The full form is, however, also common, especially in weak verbs: לְהַבְרִיאֹת to be created; לְהַפְרֵעַ to be paid, Ab. v. 1; לְהַוָּרַע to be known, ib. iv. 22; לְהַנְטִיל to be taken, Š^{ebi.} iii. 9; לְהַשְׁקִיל to be stoned, BQ iv. 8; לְהַשְׁעֵן to lean, So. ix. 15.

Often the texts waver, thus: לִיגָז, L. לְהַגְזוֹ to be shorn, BQ ix. 1; לִינְלַע, L. לְהַנְלַע to break open, Nid. viii. 3; לִינְשָׂא, L. לְהַנְשֵׂא to be married, Y^{eb.} ii. 10; לִיפְרַע [הַיִּפְרַע] BM iv. 2; לְהַקְרִיא, L. לִיפְרוֹת to be called, 'Ed. v. 6; לִישָׁבַע, L. לְהַשְׁבַּע to swear, BM iii. 1.

116. In one case, the frequently occurring technical expression הַפְרִית (derived from Num. xv. 31, &c.), the preformative ה is dropped even when not preceded by ל: פְּרִית, e.g. P^{es.} iii. 5, &c. Often, however, particularly when preceded by ב, and especially in Palestinian texts, the full form הַפְרִית is found: H^{al.} i. 2; P^{es.} ix. 1; K^{eri.} ii. 6, &c.

117. This elision of the ה is merely an extension to the Inf. when preceded by a preposition, of the phonetic principle followed

in the formation of the Imperfect. Cf. also the elision of the article after a preposition, and other cases of the elision of the ה in Ges.-K., § 23 k. It is found in the Inf. Niph. in isolated cases also in BH (Ges.-K., § 51 l., 53 q.), and may have been quite common in the colloquial language.

118. The fem. Partic. always ends in ת, even in verbs ע"ו, ע"א, and ל"ה (cf. above, § 112), e.g. נִגְנוֹת to be hidden, So. iii. 3; נִמְכַּרְת to be sold, Ket. iii. 7; נִזְוֶנֶת, to be fed, Ket. xii. 2; נִקְרֵאת to be read, Meg. i. 1; נִהְיֶית to enjoy, Ned. vii. 9.

Signification of the Niph'al.

119. (i) Reflexive: נִחַלְקִי they divided themselves—disagreed, 'Er. i. 2; נִטְמַן hiding himself, 'Ar. ix. 4; נִתְקַבֵּץ to gather oneself, to enter, Ned. x. 4; נִמְנוּ to count oneself, Šab. i. 4; נִפְטָרִין to depart,¹ Ab. i. 8; נִישָׂאוּ to marry oneself, Ket. vii. 10.

In a few cases it is found in a tolerative sense: נִנְיַב to allow oneself to be stolen from, t. BQ vii. 8; נִשְׁאֵל to allow oneself to be consulted, t. Dam. ii. 24; נִשְׁמָעִי to consent,² San. 82 a, Sifre, Num. xxv. 1.

120. (ii) Middle: נִהְיֶה to enjoy, Ab. iv. 5;³ נִזְכֵּר to recollect, Ber. iii. 5; נִמְלָךְ to change one's mind, Dam. iii. 2; נִפְרַע to obtain payment, Ab. iii. 16; נִשְׁאֵל to consult, MQ iii. 1; נִשְׁפָּר to make profit, Šebi. ix. 10; נִפְסַד to incur loss, Pes. 50 b; נִעֲנֶה to answer Šab. 33 b.

121. (iii) Passive to Qal: נִאֲכָלִין to be eaten, Ber. i. 1; נִגְמַר to be finished, Pea iv. 8; נִשְׁבַּב to be lain with, San. 54 b.⁴

As passive to Pi'el: נִרְמָעִי to be mixed with tithe, Ter. v. 6

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. xix. 10 in Qal.

² To sexual intercourse, by the woman. Perhaps, however, שמע in this sense is equivalent to the Aram. שמש = שמש to serve, and the Niph'al would, therefore, be passive to Pi'el שִׁמַּשׁ, sc. הַפְטָה

³ So Sirach xxx. 19, &c.

⁴ Of illicit intercourse, cf. את שכב in BH. See BDB., s.v., p. 1012 (3).

(cf. *ib.* 5). To Hiph'il: **נָגַעַל** to be cleansed by boiling, *j. T^{er.} xi. 5* (cf. 'AZ. v. 12).

As passive to an intransitive verb: **קוֹפֵץ וְנִקְפָּץ . . . קוֹפֵץ וְנִרְמָז**. A deaf mute makes signs (with his hand or head), and signs are made to him . . ., makes signs with his mouth, and signs are made to him,¹ *Git. v. 7*.

Denominative verbs in the Simple Stem are but few. Examples are: **חָלַב** Šab. 95 a; **לִיחָלַב** to milk, *ib.* 53 b; **קָפַץ** to take a handful (from **חַפְּנִים**), *MŠ. ii. 5*; **פּוֹרֵרִין** to sift (—*כבברה*), Šab. xx. 3; **סֹפֵג** to absorb (—*ספוג = σπόγγος*). *T^{em.} i. 1*; **נִפְסַח** to be lame, *j. B^{er.} i. 5*.

2. THE INTENSIVE STEM.

122. (1) Pi'el. The Pi'el is identical with the BH Pi'el, except that it is often spelt with *y* after the short *hireq*. This is merely an orthographical device to prevent its confusion with the Qal, and has no grammatical significance whatever.²

The fem. of the Partic. sing. ends in **ת**, as **מְבַשֶּׁלֶת** cooking, **מְכַבֶּשֶׁת** washing, *K^{et.} v. 2*, except in verbs **לִיָּה**, **לִיָּא**, in which it has **ה**: **מְטַמְּאָה** defiling, *H^{ul.} i. 1*; **מְדַרְדֶּה** causing to hop, Šab. xviii. 2.

^v *Signification of the Pi'el.*

123. (i) Intensive or iterative: **יָהַלְךָ** to walk,³ 'Er. x. 2; **וַיִּנְתָּה** to commit fornication (repeatedly), *San. vii. 5*; **מְחַפְּרָתָן** she covets them, *Mak. iii. 5*; **מְחַתְּכוֹ** he cuts it up⁴; **מְעַבְּרוֹ** he tans it, Šab. vii. 2; **מְנַשֶּׁבֶת** blows, *M^{en.} x. 4*; **מְחַלְשֵׁין** plucking violently, *Yo. vi. 4*.

¹ The Niph'al is used here loosely, in order to preserve the personal construction with the subject which is characteristic of MH style. With these uses of the Niph'al in MH, cf. BH, *Ges.-K.*, § 51 c-g.

² Similarly the Pu'al is spelt with *y* after the short *u*, see below, §§ 126, 129, and above, § 39. So regularly in Aram. Stein's suggestion (*Das Verbum*, p. 31) that this spelling signifies a lengthening of the vowel consequent upon the dissolution of the doubling, cannot be entertained at all.

³ Contrast Qal **הוֹלֵךְ** to go, *Y^{eb.} vii. 5*.

⁴ Contrast Qal **חָתַךְ** to cut, 'Er. x. 13.

124. (ii) Causative: טִיהַרְתֶּם ye have declared to be clean, 'Ed. i. 14; יִיפּוּהָ they beautified her, N^{ed.} ix. 10; מִיעַט diminish; רִיבָה increase, BQ viii. 4; סִילַק to put aside, 'AZ. iii. 7; עִיבְרָה he caused her to be pregnant, Y^{eb.} vii. 5; לְשַׁכַּח to cause to forget, 'Er. vii. 9; מְשַׁתְּקִין they silence, San. v. 2; הִירְשֵׁוּ he caused him to be deaf, BQ 86 a.

125. (iii) Denominative: מְחַפֵּין to angle (— חִפָּה), BQ 81 a; לְכַתֵּף to carry on the shoulder, Šab. 5 b; מְסַלֵּחַ (— סָלַח), T^{er.} xi. 5. Some of these have a privative force: מְדַשֵּׁן to remove ashes, Yo. ii. 3; מְזַרְרִין to nip off shoots; מְיַבֵּלִין to remove wens (= יַבֵּלַח); מְסַקְלִין remove stones; מְפַרְקִין remove faded leaves, Š^{ebi.} ii. 2, 3; מְזַנְנִין to trim, ib. iv. 6; לְמַזְוִין to remove thorns, MQ 6 a; מְחַלְעֵעַ to remove vermin, j. Šab. vii. 2.¹

126. (2) Pu'al. Of the Pu'al only the Partic. is common. Of the other parts of the stem only the following examples have been preserved: אִוְרַע it happened, t. Š^{ebu.} 1, 2; חִוּיבְנוּ we were made liable, Mak. 3 a; יְחִוּלֵל to be rendered common, Qid. 77 a; יְחִוּנִנוּ to find favour,² So. ix. 15; חִוּמָה (so pointed in L.) to be cut up, H^{ul.} iv. 1; יוֹפֵי to be made fair, good,³ Pea vi. 6; לִיבָט to be gathered, ib. v. 1; יְנִיגְבוּ they will be dried up,⁴ Makš. v. 3; נִיטַל to be taken away,⁵ Kel. iii. 2; תְּעִיבֵר צִוּרְתּוֹ let its form be made to pass away,⁶ P^{es.} vii. 9; תּוֹרְמָה to be tithed, t. Ma'a. ii. 2.

¹ Cf. with BH, Ges.-K., § 52 f-h.

² In elevated style. The whole passage is a later addition to the Mishna, not found in the *Editio Princeps*. The form may, however, be Po'al. L. has וְחִוּנִנוּ, Hoph'al.

³ The reading is uncertain. L. has יוֹפֵי; other texts have יִפֵּי, יִיפָה, יִפָּה. The form יִפָּה is given in all texts in the same phrase in K^{et.} viii. 4, where it is also parallel to הוֹרַע. Cf. also Krauss, *ZDMG.*, lxvii. 732.

⁴ So in most texts. In L. the whole passage is missing.

⁵ Some texts, including L., reads נִיטַל.

⁶ This is a common technical expression in connexion with sacrifices. Cf. the active עִיבֵר צִוּרָה, B^{er.} 40 b, and the noun עִיבּוּר צִוּרָה, P^{es.} 82 b. The reading of the Pu'al is not, however, quite certain. T. has תְּעִיבֵר, תְּעִיבֵר, P^{es.} vi. 6, &c.

Further, as an imitation of BH: וַיְבַרְכֵם הַדְּבָרִי Qid. 66 a.¹ The following are doubtful: קָדְשׁוֹ to be sanctified, parallel to נְטִמָּאוֹ, Men. xii. 1, but probably read Qal, קָדְשׁוֹ;² פּוֹתִיתִי I have been enticed, Gen. R., § 71.

127. The finite parts of the Pu'al have been replaced by the Hithpa'el (Nithpa'el), which latter has greatly extended its usage as a passive, in the same way as the old passive of Qal was already in BH replaced by its corresponding reflexive, Niph'al. The Partic. alone has been preserved in the Pu'al as a living form, but only in an adjectival sense to express a state or condition.³ Thus, the Partic. Pu'al bears the same relation to Pi'el as the passive partic. *Qatul* bears to the Qal (cf. above, § 112).

128. In the formation of the fem. sing. of the Partic., the same rule is observed as in the Pi'el. The short vowel *ä* is regularly followed by *v*, to prevent confusion with the Partic. Pi'el.

129. The following are examples of the Partic.: מְאֻכָּלוֹת consumed, Tam. i. 4; מְבֻרָחַת fortified (of an eruption surrounded by sound flesh), Neg. i. 3; מְנוּלָה uncovered, open, Šab. xix. 1; מְזוּנָה armed, BQ 57 b; מְחֻבָּל made common, Dam. v. 1; מְכוּנָת direct, Mak. ii. 5; מְיוֹפָה beautified, j. Git. ii. 1; מְנוּדָה excommunicated, Ned.

¹ An imitation of BH derived from Esther ii. 23. This *Baraita*, so different from the ordinary oral *Baraita*, seems to be an extract from a historical chronicle. It exhibits a number of other imitations, such as the use of the consecutive tenses (cf. below, § 156), and poetical expressions. Cf. also above, § 16.

² In some texts קפלה and הבהבה, Šab. 33, 3, are also pointed as Pu'al: קפלה, הבהבה. יבוקר, 'Ed. iv. 5 in L. is an error for יבוקר, as in Pea vi. 1 in L.

³ Cf. MŠ. v. 11, where מְחֻבָּר joined to the soil, is parallel to תלוש plucked from the soil, and both these participles are parallel to יָשָׁן, הָדָשׁ. So. ib. 6 מְתַבְּעֵרִים has the force of a present participle, 'may be cleared away', whereas מְבוֹטָר represents a past participle, expressing a condition, almost like an adjective, 'cleared away'. Cf. also the adjectival use of מְזוּנָה appointed, as contrasted with the verb נְזַדְּמָנָה, Ab. d^eRN. ii. 3.

i. 1; מְעוֹרְבָת mixed, Šab. xvi. 3; מְקוּיִם confirmed, BM 7a; מְרוּבַעַת squared, Kil. v. 5; מְתוּלְעַת wormy, BB vi. 2; מְתוּקָן prepared,¹ Ab. iii. 16; מְתוּשָׁעִים divided into nine, j. Šebi. i. 4.

130. In a few cases the preformative מ has been dropped: חוּתְּךָ = מְחוּתְּךָ cut up, 'Uq. iii. 2; מוּעָטִין = מְמוּעָטִין (as in L.) few, Ber. vii. 3; Dam. v. 5, &c.; מְעוּבְרוֹת = עוּבְרוֹת pregnant women, Par. iii. 2 (L. has עוּבְרוֹת, so Yo. x. 5). So probably תוּזָב = מְתוּזָב abominable, 'Er. 68 b. Cf. above, § 62. So sometimes also in BH, Ges.-K., § 52 s.

131. The disappearance of the finite parts of the Pu'al, and their replacement by the originally reflexive Nithpa'el, is evidently due to the decay of the inflexional power of the language. It was no longer capable of expressing the modification of the stem idea by internal change alone without the aid of external additions to the stem. The partic. with its firm preformative has been preserved, and even extended to newly acquired verbs. But the imperfect, with its continually changing preformatives, and, especially, the perfect which has no preformatives at all, were no longer able to maintain themselves. This decaying tendency was already strong in BH, in which the finite parts of the Pu'al are very scarce, as compared with other stems.² The same tendency was at work in the disappearance of the old passive of the Qal,³ and its replacement by the reflexive Niph'al.

The same phenomenon appears in all the other Semitic languages. In Assyrian the reflexive stems were gradually supplanting the passives. In Ethiopic, Modern Arabic, and Aramaic the passive forms have disappeared, and been replaced by the corresponding

¹ L. has Hoph'al, מוּתְּקָן. So wherever this verb occurs in the passive, e.g. Para iii. 3, &c.

² The finite parts of the Pu'al are not found at all in Joshua, 1 Samuel, Micah, Jonah, Habakkuk, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Daniel, and only once or twice in Judges, 2 Samuel, Amos, Lamentations, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes.

³ Cf. Ges.-K., § 52 e, s. 53 u, and the reff. to Böttcher and Barth.

reflexives.¹ MH, however, did not go so far, since it has preserved remnants of the Pu'al, and in addition has retained the Hoph'al as an active and living stem in all its parts.

132. (3) *Hithpa'el—Nithpa'el*. The reflexive of the intensive stem in MH is, with a few exceptions, Nithpa'el instead of the BH Hithpa'el. These two formations are identical both in form and in meaning, except that in the perfect the one has ה as the preformative, the other נ. There can be no doubt that they are really one and the same stem. The preformative —ה was in the course of time changed in popular speech into —נ, on the analogy of Niph'al. In the popular mind ה became associated with the causative idea, through the influence of Hiph'il, Hoph'al, and —נ with the reflexive idea, through the influence of Niph'al. This change extended only to the perfect. For in the imperfect there is no room for either of these preformatives, and in the infinitive and imperative Niph'al itself has —ה, hence also Hithpa'el-Nithpa'el has retained —ה (e.g. לְהַתְּנַחֵם to magnify oneself, Ab. iv. 5; לְהִתְקַיֵּם to exist, v. 7; הִסְתַּבֵּל consider, iii. 1, &c.). In the participle the preformative —ת has maintained itself, in spite of the Niph'al partic. נִקְטֵל, through its firmly established nominal force. Besides, it would be unreasonable to expect that an analogy-formation of this kind should be worked out to its full logical extreme.

133. The preformative —ה survives only in a few cases: הוֹשַׁתְחִיחַ and he bowed down, Bik. iii. 6 (probably a reminiscence of הוֹשַׁתְחִיחַ Deut. xxvi. 10); הִתְפַּלַּלְתָּ thou hast prayed, Ta'a. iii. 8; in the legal phrase הִתְקַבַּלְתָּ thou hast received; הִתְקַבַּלְתִּי, K^{et}. ix. 8;²

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 115; Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*, § 80; Spitta, *Gram. d. Arab. Vulg. Dialect von Aeg.*, § 90a (4); the various Aram. Grammars.

² Four times. L. has twice נִתְקַבַּלְתִּי. So in v. 1 L. has נִתְקַבַּלְתִּי for edd. הִתְקַבַּלְתִּי. Contrast also t. K^{et}. ix. 4 with xi. 1.

הִתְנַדַּב he 'donated', M^{en}. xii. 3 (L נתנדב); הִתְעַנֵּינוּ we fasted, 'Er. 41 a; הִשְׁתַּעַבְדֶּתֶם ye were enslaved, Šab. 88 b; הִתְפַּעַרְתִּי I made myself ugly, Gen. R., § 17 הִתְמַלְאוּ הִתְמַלְאוּ ib., § 33.¹

The Nithpa'el agrees with the BH Hithpa'el both as regards its meaning and its formation (cf. Ges.-K., § 54).

134. Formation. The preformative syllable is, as stated above, —נָת in the perfect, in the other parts it is exactly like Hithpa'el in BH. The fem. sing. of the participle follows the rules given above (§§ 112, 122).

The phonetic rules regulating the preformative are the same as in BH. (i) When the first radical is a sibilant ז, ס, צ, ש, the ת is transposed after the sibilant. In the case of the ז, the ת is changed into ד, as in Aram. (cf. Dan. ii. 9), and of צ, into ט. Exx.: הִדְרִיף to be forged, Git. ii. 4; הִדְרִיפוּ to join themselves together, San. v. 5; נִסְתַּחַפָּה to be swept away, Ket. i. 6; מִצְטַרְפִּין to be joined, Naz. vi. 1; מִצְטַעֵר to be grieved, San. vi. 5; נִשְׁתַּיֵּר to be left over, Y^{eb}. viii. 2.

135. (ii) When the first radical is ד, ט, or ת, the preformative ת is assimilated to the first radical. The short *i* of the preformative syllable is then often written with י, as in Pi'el: נִדְיִירָה to be manured by cattle; נִטְיִיבָה to be improved, Šebi. iv. 2; מִיטְיָהִים to be purified, Yo. viii. 9;² נִיטְמֵאֵת to become unclean, Hag. iii. 2; הִתְלַשׁ to be plucked out, Šebi. vi. 3; מִיתְרַגֵּם to be translated, Meg. iv. 1.

Assimilation of the ת is sometimes found also with other consonants, מִנְתַּחֵן to squirt off, BQ ii. 1; so, perhaps, מִקְדָּשִׁין to become holy, 'Or. iii. 3.

¹ The forms נִכְפַּר, Deut. xxi. 8, and נִנְסַר, Ezek. xxiii. 48, are also usually explained as Nithpa'els. Cf., however, Eitan, *JQR.* (N. S.), xii, p. 25, who holds that these two forms are survivals of a stem *Nippa'el*, reflexive of Pi'el corresponding to Niph'al in the Simple Stem.

² But also מִתְטַמֵּא, Naz. iv. 3. Cf. especially, Kel. ii. 1.

Signification of Nithpa'el. The Nithpa'el bears the same relation to the Pi'el as the Niph'al to the Qal.

136. (i) It is primarily Reflexive: **מְתַאֲבֵק** to cover one self with dust, Ab. i. 4; **מְתַוַּדַע** to make oneself known, ib. i. 10; **מְתַחַבֵּד** to rub oneself, BQ iv. 6; **לְהִתְכַסּוֹת** to cover oneself, N^{ed}. vii. 3; **נִסְתַּבֵּן** to dry oneself, Yo. vii. 3; . . . **מְתַכַּסֶּה** . . . **מְתַעַטֵּף** . . . **מְתַלְבֵּשׁ** **מְתַאֲוֵר** clothe, wrap, cover, gird thyself, B^{er}. 16 b. It is sometimes strengthened by the addition of a reflexive pronoun: **הֵן מְתַעַצְמִין מֵאֲלֵיהֶן** they shut of themselves, Šab. 151 b.

137. (ii) Internally reflexive, or in a middle sense: **מְתַיֵּרָא** to fear, So. vii. 8; **נִתְבַּוְנֵיתִי** I intended, M^{en}. xiii. 4; **מְתַנְדָּבִין** to 'donate', Z^{eb}. x. 8 (cf. Ezra iii. 5; 1 Chron. xxix. 17); **מְתַיָּאֵשׁ** to despair, Ab. i. 7; **הִסְתַּמֵּל** to consider, ib. iii. 1; **הִשְׁתַּמֵּל** to strive, ib. ii. 5. Further, the performance of an act in which the subject is interested, which thus assumes a purely active significance: **הִתְקַבַּל** to receive (for oneself), K^{et}. ix. 8.

138. (iii) Inchoative, to describe the entry into a new state or condition, especially of the body or mind: **נִתְאַרְמְלָהּ** (= **נִתְאַלְמְנָהּ**, cf. above, § 54) she became a widow, Y^{eb}. xiii. 4; **נִתְנַיְיְרוּ** they became proselytes, K^{et}. iii. 1; **נִתְחַרְשׁ** to become deaf-mute, Y^{eb}. xiv. 1; **נִסְתַּמָּא** to become blind, 'Ar. 17 b; **נִתְפַּסַּח** to regain one's hearing; **נִשְׁתַּפְּהָ** to regain one's sanity, BQ iv. 4; **נִשְׁתַּפַּח** to become mad, Git. ii. 6; **נִשְׁתַּחַק** to become dumb, ib. vii. 1.

139. (iv) Reciprocal: **נִתְעַרְבוּ** they become mixed up one with the other, Y^{eb}. xi. 5; **נִצְטַרְפוּ** they joined one another, 'Or. ii. 11; **נִשְׁתַּתְּפוּ** they joined each other in partnership, Dam. vi. 8. Often, however, the reciprocal idea is strengthened by the addition of reciprocal pronouns: **נִתְעַרְבוּ וְהָ בְּנֵיהֶם** Pes. jii. 5; **נִתְעַצְמוּ וְהָ בְּנֵיהֶם** they quarrelled, t. BM i. 16; **נִתְרַצְּוּ וְהָ בְּנֵיהֶם** they become reconciled to each other, N^{ed}. v. 6; **נִתְקַבְּלוּ וְהָ מִזָּה** . . . MŠ. v. 9 they received . . . from each other.

140. (v) Finally, the Nithpa'el is extensively used in a passive sense, serving as a substitute for the Pu'al (§ 127); **נִתְּבַשְׁלוּ** to be boiled, N^{ed.} vi. 6; **נִנְדָּבְלוּ** to be manured, 'AZ 49 a; **נִתְּחַלְלָה** to be profaned, Ab. i. 11; **נִתְּמַעַד** to be pressed, M^{en.} x. 4; **נִתְּנַסָּה** to be tried, Ab. v. 3; **נִתְּפָצְעוּ** to be cracked, 'Or. iii. 8; **נִתְּפַתְתָּה** to be seduced, K^{et.} iv. 1; **נִתְּקֻנְצָה** to be cleared of thorns (privative) Š^{ebi.} iv. 2; **נִתְּקַדְּשָׁה** to be betrothed, Qid. ii. 1,¹ corresponding to the Pi'el active: **בָּשַׁל**, **זָבַל**, **חָלַל**, **מָעַד**, **נָסָה**, **פָּצַע**, **פָּתַח**, **קִוּוּ** (cf. MQ 6 a), **קָדַשׁ**.

This passive use of a reflexive stem is common to all Semitic languages in their later stages, cf. above, § 131. In BH it is comparatively rare in the Hithpa'el, cf. Mic. vi. 16; Prov. xxxi. 30; Qoh. viii. 10, and the cases cited in the Note to § 133. See Ges.-K., § 54 g.

141. (4) *Po'el, Po'al, and Hithpo'el.* These stems, already rare in BH, have practically disappeared in MH (cf. above, § 105). Po'el is found in a few ע"ע verbs, cf. below, § 191. In the strong verb it is found only in the forms **מְשׁוּעָרִים** gate-keepers, by analogy from the parallel **מְשׁוּרָרִים** singers, 'Ar. 11 b,² and **רִיקָן** to empty, Lev. R. 24, a secondary form of **רִיקָן** San. 60 b. This is a denominative of **רִיקָן**, BH **רִיקָם**; cf. above, § 54. Of the Po'al no trace is to be found in MH. The Hithpo'el is found as Nithpo'el in a few ע"ע verbs, cf. below, § 191, and in the form **נִתְּרוֹקְנָה** she was made empty, N^{ed.} x. 2.

3. THE CAUSATIVE STEM.

(1) *Hiph'il.* The Hiph'il is identical with the Hiph'il in BH, both in form and in meaning.

142. The preformative א, instead of ה, is found in some texts in **אִנִּיתָנִי** thou hast cheated me (= **הִינִיתָנִי**, as in L, cf. Exod.

¹ Of a woman. The corresponding reflexive is **אֶת עַצְמָהּ**, Qid. iv. 9

² But the verb is in the Pi'el: **נִשְׁעַר**, ib.

xxii. 20, &c.), BM iv. 4, no doubt on the analogy of the cognate verbal noun אונָאָה, ib. (L הונָאָה). For BH cf. Ges.-K., § 53 k, p.

143. In the Infinitive the ה is elided in לְרַבּוֹת (= לְהִרְבּוֹת) to increase; לְשַׁהוֹת (= לְהִשְׁהוֹת) to cause delay, 'Er. x. 15; לְרַיֵּחַ (= לְהִרְיֵחַ) to rinse, j. 'AZ. iii. 5.¹ Cf. above on Niph'al, § 119, and for BH Ges.-K., § 53 q. Elsewhere the ה is preserved: לְהַבְעִית to frighten, Yo. v. 1; לְהִתְמַיֵּר to be strict; לְהִקְלַל to be lenient, Kil. ii. 2; לְהַכְנִיִּים to bring in, Ket. vi. 3; לְהַצְנִיעַ to hide, Dam. iii. 3, &c.

144. The fem. sing. of the Partic. follows the rule given above, § 112: מְשַׁכַּחַת causing to forget, Ab. ii. 2; מְתַרְעֶחַת blowing the horn (denom. of תַּרְעוּעָה, cf. above, § 92), Ta'a. iii. 3, 4; but מְטַיִבָּה doing good, San. vii. 10; מְנִיקָה nursing, Ket. v. 5; מְרַעָה doing evil, San. vii. 10.

The shortened Hiph'il (Jussive) is rare: תִּשְׁכַּן mayest thou cause to dwell, Ber. 16 b; אַל תִּאֱמֵן do not believe, Ab. ii. 4 (L most texts have תִּאֱמִין); אַל תִּחַגַּק טוֹבָה ib. ii. 8 (L).

145. *Signification.* (i) Usually Causative: לְהַבְטִיל to cause to cease, Suk. v. 5; מְקַרֵּא to make to read, to read to, Bik. iii. 7; הִשְׁטִיף to cause to bite, San. ix. 1; הִקְדִּיחָהּ to cause to burn, BQ ix. 4, &c.

146. (ii) Inchoative, or Internally Causative, describing the entry into a state or condition. This usage is even more frequent in MH than in BH (cf. Ges.-K., § 53 e). Exx.: יִבְרִיא to become healthy, Šab. xix. 5; הִבְרִיקָהּ to become bright (euphemistically—blind), BM vi. 2; תִּגְדִּיל to grow up, come of age, Ket. vi. 6; הִעֲשִׂיר . . . הִעֲנִי to grow rich, poor, ib.; יִעֲנּוּ they will become poor, Me'il. 17 a; מְחַכִּים to grow wise, Ab. ii. 5; יִבְחִילוּ, הִבְאִישׁוּ, יִאֲדִימוּ to become ripe, ill-smelling, red, Ma'a. 1, 2; הִזְקִינוּ, הִרְקִיבוּ, הִחְמִיזוּ

¹ לְשִׁמְיָה, cited by Stein (p. 10 b) and by Albrecht (§ 101 b) is a noun, for a spread, or mat, cf. Bertinoro to Hul. ix. 3.

to become old, rotten, sour, BQ ix. 2; הַשְּׁחִירוּ, הַקְצִירוּ to become black, short, Neg. i. 5; הַלְבִּינוּ, הַאֲרִיכוּ to become white, long, ib. 6.

Examples of Denominative verbs in Hiph'il are הִתְחִילוּ (—הִתְחַלָּה) to begin, Šab. i. 2; הִצְפִיעוּ (—אֶצְבַּע) to put up the finger, Yo. ii. 2; הִנְגִיב to face south (—נִגַּב), 'Er. 53 b; יִצְפִין, יִרְרִים to face south, north, BB 53 b, &c.

147. (2) *Hoph'al*. The Hoph'al is extremely common. It differs in no respect from the BH Hoph'al, except that it takes the vowel *ǔ* after the preformative, always written *plene* with ו: —הוּ, —מוּ,¹ &c., even in strong verbs, instead of the usual BH *hə*. This form of the vowel is found occasionally in BH in strong verbs (Ges.-K., § 53 s), and regularly in most of the weak verbs, viz. ע"ע, פ"נ, פ"ו, ע"ו, and ל"א. As *ǔ* is also the regular vowel of the Pu'al it must have become in the popular mind the only characteristic vowel of the passive stems, resulting in the total suppression of the vowel *ə*.

148. Examples of Hoph'al: הוּחַקְּוּ to be made strong, confirmed, Y^{eb}. xii. 6; הוּסַבְּוּ to become intertwined, Pe. vii. 3; מוּסַבְּוּ to be shut up, Neg. i. 7; מוּצַנְּוּ to be hidden, T^{er}. viii. 8; מוּקַדְּמִים early, Š^{ebi}. x. 5; הוּשְׁחַרוּ to be made black, Hag. 22 b; הוּשְׁלַטְּוּ to be deposited with a third party, K^{et}. vi. 7; הוּרַע to become bad, Pe. vi. 6; הוּוּלְּוּ to become cheap; הוּקַרְּוּ to become dear, BM v. 8; מוּדַרְּוּ to be forbidden by vow; מוּפְרָשׁ to be separated, Ned. i. 1; מוּדְרָמוֹת facing south, M^{en}. 85 a: הוּרַח to be rinsed, Makš. iv. 3; יוּרַע to be made bad, BB x. 5; יוּצַן to be made cold; יוּתַמְּוּ to be destroyed, 'AZ iii. 9, &c.

149. (3) *Saph'el*. This old stem is found in the verb סַרְבַּב²

¹ This traditional pronunciation as *ǔ* is proved to be correct by the invariable spelling with ו. So also in BH even in strong verbs, according to the Babylonian punctuation, cf. Kahle, *Masoreten d. Ostens*, p. 193.

² Also in Sirach iv. 25 a; xli. 2, and, probably, also in the BH noun סַרְבָּבִים.

(contracted from **סָרְהַב**), to rebel, refuse; **מְסָרְבִין** N^{ed.} viii. 7; B^{r.} 4 a, &c., and in **סָרְגַל** to draw lines; **מְסָרְגָלִין** j. M^{eg.} i. 9; Sopherim i. 1.

150. (4) *Šaph'el*. The causative stem *Šaph'el* is found in the following verbs: **שָׁחַרַר** to liberate, manumit; **שָׁעַבַר** to enslave, subject; **שָׁכַלַל** to furnish, decorate; **שָׁלַהַב** to be aflame; **שָׁעַמַם** to be dim, dull; and **שָׁרַבַב** to be much, great.

Examples. Active: **שָׁחַרְרוּ** Y^{eb.} xi. 5; Passive Participle: **מְשֹׁחַרְרִים** Git. iv. 4; **מְשֹׁחַרְרִית** Y^{eb.} vi. 5; **מְשֹׁחַרְרִים** M^{S.} v. 14; Ništhaph'el, in a passive sense; **נִשְׁתַּחַרַר** BQ viii. 4; **נִשְׁתַּחַרְרָה** Y^{eb.} ii. 8; **נִשְׁתַּחַרְרוּ** ib. xi. 2; **אֲשַׁתַּחַרְרִי**, **תִּשְׁתַּחַרְרִי** Qid. iii. 5.

Active: **מְשַׁעְבְּרִין** RH iii. 8; Passive: **מְשֹׁעְבְּרִים** mortgaged, K^{et.} ix. 7, 8; Ništhaph'el: **יִשְׁתַּעְבְּדוּ** Git. iv. 4.

שָׁכַלְלוּ he furnished them, San. 38 a; **מְשֹׁכְלָל** Sifra (Weiss) 88 c; **מְשֹׁלְהַב** Qoh. R. i. 5; **מְשֹׁלְהַבִּין** M^{ekil.} (Weiss) 79; **מְשֹׁעַמְמָה** BM 80 a; **נִשְׁתַּעַמְמוּ** Num. R. x. 8; **שָׁרַבְבַת** B^{r.} 54 b; **נִשְׁתַּרַבְבָה** she became prolonged, So. 53 a.¹

These formations are found in all Semitic languages, including BH.² Nevertheless, these verbs may, perhaps, be loan-words in MH from Aram.

C. The Tenses.

The inflexion of the verb in MH follows generally the verbal inflexion in BH. The following few variations may be noted.

151. (1) The second masc. sing. of the perfect is sometimes spelt with ה at the end, especially in Palestinian texts: **קִיַּיְמַתָּה**

¹ In the partic. **מְהַלְקֵטִין** to cause birds to pick up corn from the hand, we have a secondary Hiph'il of **לָקַט** with the retention of the preformative ה, formed on the model of *Šaph'el*, as distinguished from the regular Hiph'il—**מְהַלְקֵטִין** to cause birds to pick up corn from the ground, t. Šab. xviii. 4; cf. Šab. 155 b.

² Cf. Ges.-K., § 55 c. Also the nouns enumerated below, § 262.

thou hast fulfilled, Suk. ii. 9 (L); עָבַרְתָּהּ, נָתַתָּהּ, but also עָבַרְתָּ Z^b. viii. 11 (L); הִקְלַתָּהּ Sifra (Weiss) 15 b; הִתְחַמְּרְתָּהּ ib. 48 d, &c.

152. (2) The second masc. plur. of the perfect often ends in תָּ, instead of תִּם, e.g. עָשִׂיתָן Mid. ii. 2 (but עָשִׂיתֶם in Ab. ii. 3). This is a common phonetic change, which may, however, have been assisted by Aram. influence.¹

153. (3) In the Imperfect the form תִּקְטַלְנָה (second and third fem. plur.) has entirely disappeared from MH.² Both genders use יִקְטַלְנָה and תִּקְטַלְנָה, just as in the perfect they both use קָטַלְנָה, and sometimes in MH, קָטַלְתֶּן, e.g. הַנְּשׂוּאוֹת יִתְאַרְסוּ וְהַאֲרוּסוֹת יִנְשְׂאוּ women who had been married may become betrothed, and women who had been betrothed may be married, Y^b. iv. 10; הַבָּנוֹת יֵאוּנּוּ the daughters must be fed, K^t. iv. 6; xiii. 3.

So also in the Imperative the form קָטְלוּ is used also for the fem., e.g. וְרָקְדִי . . . וְלִאִמּוֹ וְלִאִשְׁתּוֹ רַחֲצִיהָ . . . וְרָקְדִי he said to his mother and to his wife: bathe her . . . and dance before her, Ab. d^eRN. xli. 13.

In this MH has merely developed to the full a tendency already strong in BH.³ Modern Arabic has gone further in this respect than MH, and has given up all the fem. plural forms, both in the perfect and the imperfect.⁴ Aram., on the other hand, has carefully preserved the distinction of gender in all its dialects.⁵

154. (4) The imperfect and imperative Qal is spelt *plene* with ו, יִקְטוּל, יִקְטוּלוּ. The plur. is יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ, except in pause where they

¹ Cf. above, § 70, and *JQR.*, xx. 680 f.

² The few cases found are all imitations from BH. Thus: כְּלִיזְמוֹתַי תִּעֲלוּזְנָה from BH. Thus: כְּלִיזְמוֹתַי תִּעֲלוּזְנָה, B^er. 17 a, from Prov. xxiii. 16; תִּבְהִינָה עֵינָיו, Pea viii. 9 (L; editions have עֵינָיו בְּהוֹת, from 1 Sam. iii. 2), from Gen. xxvii. 1; וְתִחַיְיָנָה עֵינָיו (Singer, p. 51), from Isa. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xvii. 2.

³ Cf. Gen. xxx. 39; Lev. xxvi. 33 b; Judges xxi. 21 a; Cant. ii. 7; iii. 5; v. 8; vi. 9; viii. 4—ten examples of MH usage against three examples of the older BH usage, viz. iv. 11 and iii. 11 (imperatives).

⁴ Cf. Spitta-Bey, *op. cit.*, § 90 a (1).

⁵ Mandaic forms the only exception, cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 162.

are יִקְטֹלוּ. Exx.: יִחְלֹקוּ they shall divide,¹ BM i. 1, 2; יִטְבֹּלוּ they will bathe, T^oh. x. 3; אַל תִּכְתֹּבוּ do not write, Git. vii. 1 (L); יִמְתֻּקוּ they will become sweet, 'Uq. iii. 4; יִפְלוּטוּ they shall spit out, T^{er}. viii. 2; יִשְׁטֹפוּ they will overflow, Miq. i. 5; יִתְרוֹמוּ they will tithe, T^{er}. i. 1. Cf. also the pointing in L: יִגְנוּ they shall be hidden, San. x. 9.

Imper.: כְּתוּבוּ write ye! חֲתֹמוּ seal ye! Git. vi. 7; vii. 2; שְׁחֹפוּ be ye silent! Šebi. viii. 9, 10; תֵּינוּ give ye! t. Git. vi. 8.

155. (5) The lengthened forms of the imperfect and imperative (cohortative) are not found in MH. The shortened form of the imperfect (jussive) is found only occasionally; cf. for the Hiph'il above, § 144, and for ל"ה verbs below, §§ 205, 212.

156. (6) The Consecutive Tenses have practically disappeared from MH. In the few cases where they occur, they are conscious imitations of BH. Thus הִשְׁבַּע לִי וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Mekil. (Weiss), 66, from Gen. xxv. 33. Five examples occur, besides more than a dozen simple tenses, in that remarkable *Baraita* in Qid. 66 a, which must be a fragment of some historical work written in a mixed style of BH and MH (cf. above, §§ 16, 126 n.). They are וַיֵּאמֶר (three times), וַיִּבְרַשׁ הַדָּבָר (Esther ii. 23); וַיִּפְרְדּוּ they were separated (Ezra x. 16; Neh. ix. 2); וַתִּצְמַח הָרָעָה and the evil sprouted forth; וַיִּהָרְגוּ and they were slain. They are found occasionally in the older, but not the oldest, parts of the liturgy: וַתִּתֵּן (Singer, op. cit., pp. 228, 230, &c.); וַתִּלְפָּדֶם (p. 39); וַתִּבְרַדְל וַתִּלְפָּדֶנּוּ (pp. 46, 227, 240, six times beside one perfect with simple *waw*); וַתִּפְקְדֵהוּ (p. 250); וַתִּשְׁמִיעֵם (p. 252); וַתִּפְיֶרְהוּ, וַתִּלְפָּדֶנּוּ (p. 267); וַיִּבְלַעֶהָ, וַיִּירָשׁוּהָ, וַיִּטְיִלוּ, וַיַּהֲרִגוּ² (p. 49): וַיִּכְסֹּו (p. 43) is a quotation from Psalms cvi. 11.

¹ The occurrence of this form not in pause is due to scribal error. Thus, in K^t. viii. 6; BM. viii. 8, read יִחְלֹקוּ, as in L. So Ab. iii. 16. L has יִחְלֹקוּ, but edd. יִחְלֹקוּ may also be right.

² Cf. j. Ta'a. 11. 2.

157. As is well known, numerous passages are found even in the oldest portions of the Bible, in which the simple tenses are used in place of the usual consecutive tenses. This becomes more frequent from the time of Jeremiah onward, until in Qohelet the relation between the consecutive and simple tenses is reversed, i. e. the use of the simple tense becomes regular, while that of the consecutive sense becomes exceptional. The explanation of this phenomenon as due to Aram. influence is inapplicable to the numerous cases in the earlier books of the Bible.¹ Probably this irregularity in the use of the simple for the consecutive tense arose at an early time within the Hebrew language itself, and independently of outside influence. It may even be doubted whether the consecutive construction ever attained in popular speech that dominating position which it occupies in the literary dialect. It may be plausibly assumed that the more convenient construction with the simple tenses had survived in the every-day speech side by side with the more difficult construction by means of the consecutive tenses.²

Similarly in Phoenician, which also possesses the consecutive tenses, the simple tenses are used very often where BH would employ the consecutive tenses. Thus: ושמע . . . ופעל (Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscriptions*, No. 3, l. 8); ופעלת אנך ויקרשת (No. 29, l. 13); בן ופעל (No. 33, l. 3), פעל וחדש (No. 38, l. 1); and the common phrase יתן ויטנא (No. 13, l. 2, &c.), both of which verbs are perfects.

The contact with Aram. naturally strengthened the simpler construction, until eventually the consecutive construction disappeared from the living speech, and survived only in literature, largely by the force of the literary tradition, as in the later books of the Bible, in Sirach, and other literary productions of the MH period.

¹ Cf. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 133.

² Cf. also H. Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen*, p. 37 f.

D. Weak Verbs.

(1) GUTTURAL VERBS.

158. In the absence of a trustworthy system of punctuation in MH texts, it is not possible to determine whether the Guttural verbs have suffered any change in MH, as compared with BH. It may, however, be safely assumed that these verbs obey the same phonetic rules in MH as in BH. (Cf. above, §§ 36, 40.)

Examples of Guttural Verbs.

159. Guttural in the First Radical. Qal: לָחַזוּם to trim, Dam. ii. 2; יָעַלָהּ to go up, Ber. i. 1; עָמוּד stand up, Yo. i. 7. Niph'al: נָעַנְלָהּ to be round, j. 'AZ 41 b: נָעַנּוּ they answered, Qid. 40 b; לָחַזוּת to be revived, Ab. iv. 22. Hiph'il: הִחְשִׁיךְ he remained till darkness, Šab. xxiv. 1; יָעַצְיָם to shut (eyes), Qid. 32 b; מִחְכִּיר to farm, BM 104 b.

160. Guttural in Second Radical. Qal: צָהַבּוּ to be bright, Men. 18 a; סוּחַטֵּין to squeeze, Šab. xxii. 1. Pi'el: אֶחְרַתִּי to delay, Pes. ix. 9; עִירָה (L points עִירָה) to empty, 'AZ. v. 7 (L 10); מְאָרַת to entertain, Ber. 63 b; יִשְׂרַשׁ to uproot, Šebi. iv. 4. Pu'al: מְכַוֵּר ugly, Ket. 105 a. Nithpa'el: נִסְתַּחַפָּהּ to sweep away, Ket. i. 6; יִתְאַרְסוּ to be betrothed, Yeb. iv. 10.

161. Guttural in Third Radical. Qal: נוֹבֵעַ bubbling up, BB x. 8; רוֹחַח spread wide, t. San. vii. 1; לָקוּחַ bought, MŠ. iii. 11. Niph'al: נִיפְעַת to plant; נִנְרַעַת to sow, Oh. xviii. 5. Pi'el: מְפַצֵּעַ to split, Šab. 145 a; מְקִיפַחַת cut, fragmentary, Oh. xvi. 1. Hiph'il: הִנְפִּיחַ lift up, Yo. iv. 1; מִתְרַעַת to blow trumpet, Ta'a. iii. 3; Hoph'al: מִרְצַעַת spread out, 'Ar. vi. 3.

162. The verb שָׁאַר to leave, hardens the א into י in the Pi'el and Nithpa'el: שִׁייר Pea iii. 2, 3; יִשְׁייר Kil. ii. 3; מְשִׁייר Pes. i. 3; נִשְׁתִּייר Kil. vi. 6. Contrast Partic. Pu'al: מְשִׁייר Pea iii. 3; Zeb. viii. 12.

(2) VERBS א"פ.

163. These verbs follow generally their BH models. Thus, Qal: יָאָרַע to happen, Yo. i. 1; יֹאכַל Pes. x. 1; אוֹכַל Ned. i. 3; אוֹמַר I shall eat, say, Šebi. viii. 9; תֹּאפֶה (but L תּוֹפֶה) to bake, Pes. iii. 3; לְאַגֹּד to bind, Šebi. viii. 3; לְאַכּוֹל Ber. i. 1. The Palestinian texts, however, often have לֹכַל = לְאַכַּל ('Er. iii. 1, &c.) on the analogy of the imperfect יֹאכַל, &c. So, usually, in all texts לוֹמַר = לְאַמַּר Šab. ii. 6; Ab. v. 1, &c., on the analogy of יֹאמַר.

Niph'al: נִאֲנָסָה she was violated, Ket. i. 10; נִאֲנָסְתִי ib. 6; נִאֲמָנַת ib. 7; נִאֲנָרַר, נִאֲנָרַר Ma'a. i. 5; תִּאֲכַל Be. i. 1. Pi'el: אִיְהַל to make a tent, Me'il. 17 a; אִירְעוּ Ta'a. iv. 6; אִחְרַתִּי to delay, Pes. ix. 9; יִאֲבֵד to destroy, 'AZ iv. 7. Pu'al: מִאֲחַרַּר delayed, Pes. 6 b. Hiph'il: הִאֲהִיל Oh. iii. 1; מִאֲפִיל to make dark, Šab. 86 a; מִאֲחִיזִין to cause to take hold, kindle, Šab. i. 11. Some texts (L, &c.) have מִחִיזִין, with א elided. Similarly מִאֲנִירוֹת = מִאֲנִירוֹת = מִאֲנִירוֹת t. Dam. i. 10, from אָנַר to store. Hoph'al: יִאֲחַרַּר j. Yo. iii. 4.

164. Note. The verb הִפַּךְ forms the imperfect Qal on the analogy of the א"פ verbs. Thus, יִפְכֵּךְ = יִאֲפֵךְ = יִהְיֶפֶךְ; אוֹפֵךְ = אוֹפֵךְ = אֲהַפֵּךְ Kil. ii. 3, 4; Ter. ix. 3. The ה in this verb seems to have been weakened into א. Cf. R. Jonah, *Riqmah*, p. א.

(3) VERBS פ"י.

165. MH has preserved the distinction between the three classes of verbs as in BH. (i) Original פ"ו; (ii) Original פ"י; (iii) With י assimilated to a following צ.

Qal. (i) תִּרְעִי Šebu. iv. 9; תִּצֵּא Yeb. iii. 5; צֵא Pes. iv. 2; but also יִישָׁן Šab. 25; אִישָׁן Šebu. iii. 5. (ii) יִיבֹשׁ Šebi. iii. 1; יִינֹס to suck, So. 12 b; יִירֶשׁ to inherit, BB viii. 5; תִּירְשָׁנִי ib.; יִישֵׁר to be straight, strong, Ber. 42 a. (iii) לְצוֹק to pour, Šab. xvii. 5.

The Infinitive is formed on the analogy of the imperfect. Thus: לִידַע Ab. iv. 22; לִילַד Yeb. iii. 10; לִירַד 'Er. iv. 2; לִישָׁן BB ii. 3;

לינע j. Ber. ix. 5; לינק Pes. 112 a; cf. the imperfects ירד, ילד, ירע, ליראה Šeq. iii. 2, and לירא Ber. 16 b (a liturgical phrase), which are formed as in BH.²

Niph'al: נולד Ab. ii. 9; נותר Ker. iii. 4; נוצרת Ab. ii. 8; להודע ib. iv. 22³; ליודע Šebu. 9 b; יודע ib. i. 4; יגד Bek. v. 3. (iii) נצוק Makš. v. 9.

166. Pi'el, Pu'al retain the י, as in BH: יחסו to give a pedigree, San. 82 b; יפיתה to make fair, good, j. BB viii. 1; מיסר to chasten San. 39 a; מייתם to make orphaned, Pes. 49 a; ייבם to marry a brother's widow, Yeb. xv. 10; ייחרנו to set apart, Toh. viii. 6; ליגעיה to weary her, So. ii. 1; ליישנן to make old, BB 91 b; מייגעין Ket. 8 b; מייחרת BQ i. 2; מייפה j. Git. ii. 1; מיישן Ned. ix. 8.

Nithpa'el. (i) התודע Ab. i. 10; התודה (imperat.); להתודות to confess, San. vi. 2, but also מתישבת Kin. iii. 6; נתישבה Ber. 31 a. So the forms נתוספו 'Er. vii. 7; יתוספו Pes. 87 b; מתוספת to be added, Šab. 152 a; מתוקרת to be burnt, Lev. R. 7; נתותרו to be left over, Pes. 159 b; Yo. 46 a, traditionally pronounced like the Aram. Ittaph'al: נתוספו, מתוספת, מתוקרת, נתותרו. (ii) נתיחד Git. vii; נתבטמו Yeb. i. 4; נתבפתה Ta'a. 23 b; נתייפית Gen. R. 59; תתיאש to despair, Ab. i. 7; תתייפי Ta'a. 23 b; יתייח Qid. iv. 12; מתבטמות Yeb. 3. 1; להתיהר to be haughty, BB 10 b.

167. Hiph'il: (i) הואיל Kil. v. 1; הודיע Ab. iv. 22; הותירה

¹ Albrecht's suggestion (§ 106e) that these and similar infinitives (לאמר, ליתן, &c.) are a combination of the imperf. with the preposition (= לירד, לאמר, ליתן) is against the spirit of the language.

² לירחה Ket. iv. 3, cited by Albrecht (§ 111 b), is not an infin., but a verbal noun: לירחה = ולירחה; cf. below, § 228, and above, § 62.

³ The preformative ה may have been preserved here because of the assonance with the preceding להודיע; cf. above, § 115.

⁴ This traditional pronunciation seems to be more correct than that of the simple Nithpa'el: נתוספו, מתוספת, מתוקרת, נתותרו. In this latter the ו, as a consonant, would have been written twice; cf. above, § 57. Cf. also the Targum: אתוקר, Lev. x. 16; 2 Sam. xxiii. 7.

Ter. v. 9; אֶנְתֵּנִי (cf. above, § 142); הוֹקִירוּ to become dear, BM v. 9; הוֹתִירָם ib. vii. 2; יוֹצִיא, מוֹצִיא Ket. viii. 4; הוֹשֵׁעַ save! Ber. iv. 4; הוֹדִי to agree, Pes. iv. 9; מוֹרִיקוֹת to become yellow, So. iii. 4; לְהוֹדִיעַ Ab. iv. 22.

(ii) יִשְׁרֵר Ber. 17 a (from Prov. iv. 25); מְטִיבָה San. vii. 10; מְנִיק Bek. 7 b; מְנִיקָה Ket. v. 5; מְנִיקָה Ket. 60 a; לְהִנִּיק Pes. 112 a; לְהִיטִיב Yo. iii. 4.

(iii) הִצִּית BQ 22 b; יִצִּית² to kindle, Yo. vi. 7; מְצִיעִין to spread, Šab. xviii. 3; מְצִיק Ker. 5 b.

Hoph'al: הוֹקִירוּ BB. v. 8; מוֹבָל to be led, Toh. vii. 5; מוֹסָף to be added, Šebu. i. 6; מוֹטָב San. vii. 10; מוֹצֵעַ 'Ar. vi. 3; מוֹצֵתָת Num. R. 12.

168. The two verbs יעד, יתר (original פ"ו), have formed in MH secondary roots ועד, ותר. Exx. Pi'el: וְיַעַר Lam. R. ii. 13; נִתְוַעַד, לְהִתְוַעַד Num. R. 14. Qal: וְוִתְרוּ j. Suk. v. 5; Cant. R. i. 6. Pi'el: מְוַתֵּר San. xi. 5. Nithpa'el: וְתוֹוְתֵרוּ BQ 50 a. These may, perhaps, be loan-words from Aram.

The verb הלך forms the imperfect Qal and the whole of the Hiph'il from ילך, as in BH. Exx. Qal: יֵלֵךְ Ket. xiii. 7; תֵּלֵךְ ib. vii. 4; תִּלְכֵּי Nod. vii. 9; יֵלֵךְ, אֵלֵךְ 'Er. iii. 5, Inf. לֵילֵךְ ib. iv. 10; BQ i. 1, but also לְלַכֵּת³ Nid. iv. 2; לָכִי Ket. xii. 3; San. vii. 10, Hiph'il: הוֹלְכֵתָם Šebu. vii. 6; מוֹלִיךְ Ket. xii. 1; מוֹלִיכִין 'Er. vi. 7; הוֹלֵךְ (imperat.) Git. vi. 1; יוֹלִיךְ 'AZ iii. 9; לְהוֹלִיכוֹ Pea vi. 3. The Intensive stem is formed throughout from הלך.

(4) VERBS פ"נ.

169. These verbs conform generally to the BH פ"נ verbs. The נ is regularly assimilated to the following consonant whenever

¹ Some of these forms may be derived from the cognate ע"ו roots: טוב, נוק; cf. below, § 185.

² L and other texts have יצת = יצת, Qal.

³ The form לְהוֹלִיכוֹ in edd. is an error for לְהִלְכֵךְ, Pi'el, as always in L, and also in edd. BQ ii. 1, &c.

preceded by a preformative with a vowel, or it is dropped altogether where it would have to begin a word with a *shewa* as in the imperative Qal.

(i) Qal. Imperfect: יָגוֹב, תִּגְבֹּב to dry up, 'AZ v. 3; יָגוֹס to bite off, 'Uq. ii. 6; יָצַע to touch, BM ii. 3; תִּטָּל, תִּטְלוּ to take up, Yeb. xv. 3; אָטוּל Pe. vi. 11; אָטַע to plant, Kil. i. 8; יָקוּב to bore, Šab. ii. 4; יִתְּנֶנָּה ib. xxii. 3; יָתַן to give, ib. iii. 5; יִתְּנֶנָּה ib. ii. 4; יָדוּר to vow, Naz. viii. 1; אָתַן Ter. x. 6; תִּשְׁרֶף Šab. xvi. 7; יָטַל Ket. x. 2. The vowel *ō* is sometimes retained on the analogy of ע"ע verbs (— יִטְּבוּ, תִּטְּבוּ) in the second fem. sing. and in the plural: תִּדְּוֵרֵי Ned. x. 7; יִטְּבוּ to bite in, adhere, Hal. ii. 4.

Imperative: דוּר San. iii. 5; טוּל Yo. vi. 4; טָלִי Git. 78 a; טָלוּ Ma'a. ii. 1; but also טוּלוּ M^eil. vi. 1 (L טָלוּ); תָּן Git. vi. 1; תָּנוּ ib. i. 6; תִּינּוּ in pause, t. Git. vi. 8; שָׂא lift, Ta'a. iv. 8.

The Infinitive is formed from the Imperfect: לִידוּר Ned. iii. 1 (BH לְנִדְּוֹר Num. vi. 2); לִיגוֹף to strike; BQ i. 4; לִיטוּל Ab. v. 8; לִיזוּר to become a Nazirite, Ned. 3 b; לִיתוּר to loosen, j. Bik. i. 8. So לִישָׂא to marry, Yeb. i. 4; לִיתָן Šab. i. 8, except in the standing expression לִישָׂא וְלָתַת 'AZ i. 1; ii. 3, &c. (literally: to take and give, i.e. to buy, to deal), where the old forms have been preserved for their assonance.⁵

These infinitives may, perhaps, be older than the BH forms with the termination ת. Cf. לִיתָן 1 Kings vi. 19, which may be a *forma mixta* of a colloquial לִיתָן and the literary לָתַת. So, perhaps, תָּתוּ ib. xvii. 14 (K^etib), is a *forma mixta* of תָּתוּ (לִיתָנוּ) and תָּת.

170. When the second radical is a guttural, the נ is preserved: יָנְעוּל to put on a shoe, Para viii. 2; תִּנְעוּל Yo. viii. 1; לְנִעוּל Šab. xiii. 16; לְנִהוּג Ab. vi. 3. So also sometimes in other cases: תִּנְזוּר Naz. 17 a; נָצוּר guard, Ber. 17 a (liturgical); לְנוּטָעָה Kil. ii. 4 (cf. לְנִטָּעָה Jer. i. 10).

⁵ Cf. the writer's remarks, *JQR.*, xx, p. 686, footnote 3.

171. (ii) Niph'al. Perfect: **נִיבַב**, **נִיבְּבָה**, **נִיבְּבָה** H_{ul}. iii. 1 : **נִיבְּרָו** to be bored, j. Ter. viii. 5 ; **נִשְׂאָת** Ket. iv. 4 ; **נִישְׂאָי** ib. v. 2 ; **נִשְׂאָתָם** t. BB viii. 9 (fem.!) Imperfect: **נִשְׂאָשׂ** Yeb. ii. 9 ; **נִיבְּרָו** to be spotted, Ma'a. i. 3 ; **נִיבְּרָו** Ket. ix. 2. Infinitive: **לְהִיבְּבָל** Para v. 9 ; **לְיִשְׂאָשׂ** Yeb. ii. 10 ; **לְזַוֵּק** to be injured, Pes. 8 b (cf. **לְיָדוֹן** below, § 177). Participle: **נִיבְּרָב** to be donated; **נִיבְּרָר** Meg. i. 10 ; **נִיבְּרָרִים** 'Ar. i. 1 ; **נִיבְּרָעַת** Oh. xviii. 3 ; **נִשְׂאָת** Ket. i. 1 ; **נִישְׂאָוֹת** t. BB xviii. 19 ; **נִתְּוֹ** to squirt, H_{ul}. vi. 6 ; **נִיתְּוִין**¹ Makš. v. 2 ; **נִיתְּוִין** Zeb. viii. 9. Some show *ō* in the second syllable instead of *ā*: **נִיבְּרָוִין** Pes. 8 b ; **נִשְׂוֹק** to be kindled, Kel. v. 6 ; **נִשְׂוֹקָת** j. Ber. ix. 4 ; **נִיבְּרָוֹל** to deliver, Šab. 32 a ; **נִבְּרָוֹלָת**, **נִבְּרָוֹלִין** Para xi. 1 ; **נִשְׂוֹל** to slip off, Lev. R. 37 ; **נִיתְּוִרִין** j. Bik. i. 8 ; **נִיתְּוֹשׁ** to pluck out, Gen. R. 56.

n is retained in verbs with second radical **ע**: **נִנְעָלוּ** to be locked, Pes. v. 5 ; **נִנְעָלָת** 'Ed. v. 6 ; **נִנְעָר** to be shaken, BB 74 b.

The Intensive Stem is regular.

172. (iii) Hiph'il: **הִנְיָעוּ** to reach, Bik. iii. 3 ; **הִדְרִירוּ** Ned. iii. 3 ; **הִדְרָתָהּ** Ned. 23 a ; **הִדְרָתִי** Šab. 127 b ; **הִזְיָק** BQ i. 2 ; **הִיטָתִי** to incline, Ber. i. 3 ; **הִפְיָקָהּ** to kindle, Šab. iii. 1 ; **הִבְיָשָׂהּ** to strike, BM 30 b ; **הִשְׂיָא** Ket. vi. 6 ; **הִתְרָתָם** to permit, Yeb. xv. 3 ; but also with *n* retained: **הִנְהִיג** to lead, Kil. viii. 2, 3 ; **הִנְעִילוּ** Qid. 22 b ; **הִנְגִיב** to face south (denom. from **נִגַּב**), 'Er. 53 b. Imperfect: **הִנְיָהוּ** BQ iv. 4 ; **הִפְיָיַח** to move, Šab. 82 b ; **הִפְיָיק** Kel. v. 1 ; **הִתְיָירוּ** Yeb. xv. 3 ; but also **הִנְיָירוּ** j. Ma'a. i. 3. Infinitive: **לְהִזְיָק** BQ i. 1 ; **לְהִסְעוּ** to move, Kel. v. 7 ; **לְהִקְיָשׂ** to compare, BM ii. 5 ; **לְהִשְׂיָאוּ** Qid. 29 a.

Participle: **מְדָרִיר**, **מְדָרָת** So. iii. 8 ; **מְטִיל** Yo. iii. 2 ; **מְקִיף** to strike, Bek. vii. 6, but also **מְנִקִּיף** So. 22 b ; **מְשִׂיר** to drop, Šab. 67 a ; **מְשָׂרַת** Naz. vi. 3 ; **מְשִׂילִין** to cause to drop, Be. v. 1.

173. (iv) Hoph'al. Perf.: **הִיבְּרַ** Qid. iii. 5 ; **הִזְיָקוּ**, **הִזְיָקוּ** BQ iii. 2 ; **הִזְיָקוּ** Kel. v. 4 ; **הִזְיָקָהּ** to be compared, Ker. 3 a. Imperf.: **יִבְּרָ** San. x. 4 ; **יִבְּרָו** H_{ul}. 27 b ; **יִבְּרָהּ** Me'il. ii. 3 ; **יִבְּרָו** 'AZ iii. 2.

¹ L has Qal in both passages: **נִיתְּוִים**, **נִיתְּוֹת**.

Partic. : מוֹנֶה corrected, Pes. 112 a; מוֹדֵר Ned. iv. 1; מוֹנֶה Pa. xii. 8; מוֹבֵה Ket. vii. 11; מוֹבֵת ib. i. 3; מוֹפֵין Kel. x. 1; מוֹפֵה Oh. ix. 9; מוֹקֵפֶת surrounded, Suk. i. 10; מוֹקֵפֹת Meg. i. 2.

174. The verb לָקַח forms the imperfect Qal on the analogy of the פָּנַח verbs, as in BH: יִקַּח Yo. vi. 1; יִקְחוּ.

The Niph'al is regular, but some later texts show assimilation : נִישַׁח 'Er. iii. 1 (L נִלְקַח); נִקְחִית, נִקְחִין, נִקְחִית Men. 42 b.

(5) VERBS עָוִי, עָוִי.

175. In this class of verbs, MH follows faithfully the model of BH, but has carried certain forms to a fuller development, especially in the Intensive Stem. The עָוִי forms, like בִּין, רִין, רִישׁ, רִין, רִישׁ, רִין, רִישׁ, רִין, רִישׁ, &c. differ very little from the עָוִי forms, and the two classes may be treated together.

176. (i) *The Simple Stem.*

Qal. MH has preserved the distinction between transitive verbs which have the vowel *ā* in the perfect, and intransitive verbs which have *ē* or *ō* in the perfect.

Exx. Transitive : נָפַם he corked them, MŠ iii. 12; נָן to feed, Ber. 58 b (Singer, p. 319); נָן to fence, Ab. d'RN. i. 7; נָן to draw a circle, Ta'a. iii. 8; נָן to pity, Neg. ii. 5; with the older fem. termination ת : שָׁבַת to return, Lev. R. 23; נָתַתִּי to be guilty, BQ i. 2; נָסוּ j. Ket. iv. 14; נָשׁ עָוִי to thresh, Ber. 58 a; נָזַח to move, Ket. ii. 9; נָזוּ 'Er. iv. 1; נָנַח to harrow, 'Ar. ix. 1; נָשַׁמַּת to put, Ber. 28 b; נָשַׁמַּת to judge, San. vi. 6; נָשַׁמַּת Sifre Num. xix. 2.

Intransitive : נָמַת, נָמַתָּה, נָמַתוּ to die, Yeb. i. 2; נָמַתִּי Git. vii. 3; נָבֹשָׁה to be ashamed, Qid. 81 b; נָבֹשְׁתִּי t. Oh. v. 11; נָבֹשׁוּ So. ix. 15; נָבָא to come, Naz. iii. 6; נָבָאָה Yeb. xv. 6; with termination ת : נָבָאת Ned. ix. 5; נָבָאתָה Yeb. xv. 1 (L נָבָאת); נָבָאתָם, נָבָאתָם Ber. 63 a.

Imperf. : נָדַד to pound, j. Be. ix. 9; נָזוּן, נָזוּן to feed, Ket. xii. 1; נָזַע to sweat, T'oh. ix. 1; נָחַץ to form a partition; נָחַץ Zeb. 19 a; נָחַצוּ Makš. iii. 8; נָחַצוּ to move, be elated (with נָעַת as subject)

Ket. 67 b; תפניג to grow cold, weak, Yo. iii. 5 (L and other texts תפניג); יִשְׁפָּנוּ to rub, Kel. xiv. 5; יִשְׁפָּם ib. xvi. 1; יִזְנוּ Mid. iv. 5; תָּשׁוּט to go to and fro, Ber. 18 a; תָּדִין BQ ii. 10 (L תָּדִין); תָּמִיחַ Tem. iv. 2; תָּחַבְבוּ Ab. i. 11; יָבֵא Naz. iii. 6; תָּבֹאוּ Šebu. iv. 5.

Infin.: לְדַבְּקָה Be. 14 a; לְזַנְּנָה Ket. xii. 3; לָזוּז ib. 1; לְחַוֵּץ 'Er. iii. 1; לְמַוֵּל to circumcise, Šab. xix. 4; לְסַוֵּךְ to anoint, Dam. iii. 1; לְשׁוּב to bend, Ab. iii. 21. Imperat.: לֵין 'Er. 52 a; בּוֹאֵי Ber. 18 b; בּוֹאוּ Yo. ii. 4.

Partic.: וְזָנֵן, וְזָנֵן Ket. xii. 1; חָבֵן BQ i. 1; חָבֵין 'Er. vii. 11; חָלוּת dance, L (ed. חולות), Ta'a. iv. 8; לָשׁ to knead, Šab. vii. 2; לָשׁוּת Pes. iii. 9; צָר to catch, Šab. vii. 3; צָרִין Be. iii. 1; דָּשׁ Šab. vii. 2; דָּן, דָּנִין San. ii. 1; מָת Yeb. xvi. 6; גֵּר proselyte, Yad. iv. 4; עָר awake, BQ ii. 5; בָּא BQ iii. 5 (ā because of א), but בּוֹר to be waste, BM 101 a; בּוֹשׁ Ma'a. iii. 5; בּוֹשָׁה Dam. iii. 6; בּוֹשֵׁן Ket. viii. 1; חוֹצֵה Miq. x. 3; נוֹחַ easy, Men. x. 3; נוֹחֵין Gen. R. 11.

Passive: טוֹחַ to plaster, Mid. iv. 1; טוֹחֹת Nid. 24 a; לָאָשָׁה j. So. ix. 14; מוֹלֵים Pes. v. 3; סוֹכּוֹת j. Bik. i. 3; שׁוֹמֵה to value, t. BQ x. 1; נִירָה t. BM ix. 29; נִיר, נִירוֹת 'Er. 17 b.

177. *Niph'al*. Perfect: The preformative נ is pointed with *hireq* (— נִי), evidently on the analogy of the strong verb. Exx. נִידוּנִי RH 12 a; נִיטוּחַ Ab. d'RN. xxiv. 5; נִלְאָשָׁה Hal. ii. 2; נִינוּחוּ Gen. R. 13; נִיצוּר Šab. 106 b; נִצוּרֵי Be. iii. 2; נִינְתָם (fem.) t. BB viii. 19.

Imperf.: יֵאוּר to be light, j. Ber. i. 1; יֵאוּרֵי Yo. viii. 5; יֵאוּתוּ to enjoy, Ber. viii. 6; יֵדוּן Oh. vi. 3, 7; San. viii. 8, 9 (L ed. יֵדוּן Partic.); יֵזוּנִי Ket. xiii. 3; תֵּלְאוּשׁ Ter. v. 2, 3; יֵלְאוּשׁוּ ib. 1; יֵפּוּל, יֵפּוּלֵי Šab. xix. 5; יֵצוּרֵי ib. i. 6; תֵּירוּם to be lifted, Ter. v. 2; יֵשׁוּף to rub, t. BM xi. 8.

Infin.: לֵידוּן Git. iii. 4; Ab. iv. 29; לֵידוּחַ Miq.

Partic.: גֵּיאוּתֵין Šab. iii. 6; גֵּיאוּתוֹת Yo. 11 a; נִידוּן, נִידוּנֵין RH i. 2; נִידוּנֵי RH 16 a; נִידוּכֵין Bez. i. 7; נִיזוּן Git. xii. 6; נִיזוּנֵי, נִיזוּנוֹת Ket. xii. 2; נִיפּוּטֵין to move, t. Zab. iv. 6; נִיעוּר Ab. iii. 4;

גְּעוּרִין B^{er.} 61 b. But with *ā* in the preformative: גְּרוֹן BQ ii. 5; Ya. iv. 3, &c. (cf. 2 Sam. xix. 10); נָלוּז to twist, Kil. ix. 8; נָמוּךְ to be low, ib. iv. 7; נְמוּשׁוֹת to feel (aged persons who grope their way), Pea viii. 1.¹

178. (ii) *The Intensive Stem.* In the formation of this stem MH has further developed the two methods already found in BH, viz. (a) Hardening of the vowel into the cognate consonants (ו or י) on the analogy of the strong verb, and (b) Reduplication.

(a) Hardening the vowel into a consonant.

(a) Into ו. Pi'el: פִּיַּוּ to make firm, direct, B^{er.} ii. 1; פִּוּנוּ MQ ii. 3; יִבּוּז ib.; יִבּוּנוּ B^{er.} v. 1; לִבּוּז Kil. v. 1; לִפּוּז to remove thorns, MQ 5 a; מְוּוּג BM 90 b; מְתוּוכּוֹת to halve (from תוּךְ), j. Br. i. 1. Pu'al: מְבּוּזָה T^{oh.} iii. 2; מְבּוּזָת Kel. xxviii. 7; מַכּוּזוֹת Makš. ii. 5; מְתוּוכּוֹת j. B^{er.} i. 1. Nithpa'el: נִתְבּוּזָה BQ iv. 6; נִתְבּוּזָה ib. viii. 1; מְוּוּגָה to join together, San. v. 5; נִתְקוּזָה Š^{ebi.} iv. 2.²

179. (β) Into י. Pi'el. Perf.: בִּיַּיֵּשׁ to shame, BQ iii. 10; מִיַּיל to walk, Suk. 28 b; פִּיַּירוּ to decorate; פִּיַּירוּ to plaster, 'AZ iii. 7; מְיַיְבֶה to improve, j. Š^{ebi.} iv. 2; וַיַּיַּפֵּהם, וַיַּיַּפֵּה to forge, j. So. vii. 3; קִיַּיַּמַּתּוּ to confirm, fulfil, BQ iii. 9; קִיַּיַּמּוּ 'Ed. i. 3; הִיַּיַּבּוּ to declare guilty, Š^{ab.} xii. 3; הִיַּיַּבְתֶּם Exod. R. 32; תִּסְיַיעַ to accompany, assist, Š^{ab.} 104 a; יַיַּרְנִי (imperat.) ib. 31 a; לְסַיַּיֵּף to destroy, Gen. R. 100; לְפַיַּיֵּס to appease, B^{er.} 28 b; מְבִיַּיֵּשׁ BQ viii. 1; מְחִיַּיַּב Š^{ab.} x. 6; מְחִיַּיַּבּוּ Dam. i. 3; מְעַיַּיֵּן to look, B^{er.} 55 a; מְדַיַּיַּר to cause cattle to dwell on a field, to manure, Š^{ebi.} iii. 1; מְדַיַּיַּנַּת Qoh. R. ii. 8.

Pu'al: מְנַיַּיֵד cut up (from נִיר artery), Y^{eb.} xvi. 3; מְזַיַּיֵף Git. x. 6; מְצַיַּיֵן marked, t. Š^{eq.} i. 5; מְקַיַּיֵם BM 7 a; מְקַיַּיֵם Neg.

¹ Another reading has מְשׁוּשׁוֹת; cf. the comment of R. Simson, *ad loc.*

² The verb נוּל, So. i. 6; Naz. iv. 5, &c., cited by Albrecht (§ 114 b) does not belong here. It is a MH modification of the BH verb נָבַל; cf. above, § 58.

v. 3; *מְצוּיָצוֹת* with fringes, Šab. 25 b: *מְצוּיָרוֹת* painted, Kel. xxviii. 4.

Nithpa'el: *נִדְדִיר* to be manured, Šebi. iv. 2; *נִטְיִיבָה* to be improved, ib.; *נִתְפַּיִים* Ber. 33 a; *נִסְתַּיִפוּ* j. Dam. i. 1; *יִתְקַיִים* Git. i. 3; *נִתְפַּיְרְתִי* Yeb. 47 a; *אֶתְפַּיִיר*, *תִּתְפַּיִיר* Qid. iii. 7; *לְהִדְיִיף* Git. ii. 4; *לְהִתְפַּיִיר* Yeb. 47 a; *מִתְפַּיִישׁ* BQ viii. 1; *מִתְחַיִיב* Ab. iii. 4; *מִתְקַיִמַת* ib. iii. 9.

180. Of this formation BH shows only one example with ו (עוֹדִינִי Ps. cxix. 61) and two examples with י (הִיב Dan. i. 10; cf. Sirach xi. 21), and two examples with ק (קִים Esther ix. 31, &c.; cf. Sirach xlii. 23, and Ges.-K., § 72 m). The formation is generally considered to have been borrowed by late BH from Aram. But it is found also in other Semitic languages, e.g. Arabic. That earlier Hebrew possessed this power of converting the vocalic middle radical into a hard consonant, is shown by the cognate nouns *אָוֶן*, *מָוֶת*, *תְּוָה*, *רִישׁ*, *חֵיל*, *צִיר*, &c., and by uncontracted verbs like *רָוַח*, *עוֹר*, *עָוַת*, *עָוָה*, *קָוָה*, which have hardened the middle *waw*, owing to the presence in the root of another weak letter. It is, therefore, quite probable that this formation for the intensive stem was developed within Hebrew itself on the analogy of the strong verb. It may even be assumed that the formation existed in the spoken language long before it appeared in literature, and that MH received it from the spoken language of BH times.¹

181. (b) Reduplication. (a) Doubling of the second radical, Po'lel, and Nithpo'lel. These forms are rarer in MH than in BH. Only the following examples are found in MH:

Po'lel: *יְעוֹרֵר* to awake, MQ i. 5; *לְכוּנוֹ* Ex. R. 15; *לְרוּמִם* to exalt, Pes. x. 5 (liturgical passage); *מְכוּנוֹ* to wheel round (denom. of *לְכוּנוֹ* *μυχανή*, Yo. iii. 10. L has, perhaps, correctly *מְכוּנוֹ*, Pol'al); *מְעוּרְרִים* Makš. iv. 1; *מְעוּרְרִים* to fly, Hul. xii. 3; *מְעוּרְרִים* MŠ v. 15; *מְפּוּצָצָה*

¹ Cf. Koenig, *Lehrgebäude*, i, p. 452 f.

to shatter, Lev. R. 27 ; מְקוֹנְנֹת to lament, Ket. iv. 4 ; מְקוֹנְנֹת MQ iii. 9 ; מְרוֹמְמֹתוֹ Ab. vi. 2 ; מְשׁוֹרְרִים singers, 'Ar. 11 b.

Nithpo'lel : נִתְמוֹטְטוּ to totter, Ber. 32 b ; יִתְעוֹרְרוּ Lev. R. vii. 9 ; מְשׁוֹחֶקֶת (imperat.), to wave, 'AZ 24 b ; לְהִתְבוּנָה BQ 27 b ; מְשׁוֹחֶקֶת to long, Yeb. 62 b ; Ab. d^eRN. i. 7 ; מְתַמוֹטְטִין BM 71 a (cf. Sirach xxxii. 2) ; מְתַפּוּצֵץ Qid. 30 b.

182. (β) Doubling of the whole root. This is more frequent in MH than in BH ; cf. above, § 108.

Pilpel : וְעָעוּ, וְעָעָתוּ to shake, 'Or. i. 3 ; לְלַג to mock, Šab. 30 b ; נִעְנְעוּ to shake, Suk. iii. 9 ; נִעְנְעָתִי Yeb. 121 a ; יִנְעֲנְעֵנִי Šab. xx. 5 ; יִקְעָע to tattoo, Mak. iii. 6 ; יִשְׁלְשְׁלוּ to let down by chain, Šebi. iv. 10 ; מְטַלְטֵל to move, 'Er. x. 4 ; מְטַלְטֵלָת BB iv. 3 ; מְלַגְלַג Ber. 39 a ; מְנַפְנֶפֶת Oh, viii. 5 ; מְשַׁלְשְׁלִים BQ 82 b.

Pulpal. Participle only : מְחוּלְחָלַת shaken, Kel. x. 3 ; מְשׁוּלְשְׁלַת ib. viii. 1 ; מְנוּנְרוֹת (= מְנוּנְרֹת), well harrowed, M^en. 85 a ; מְטוּשְׁטָשׁוֹת rubbed off, Meg. 18 b ; מְנוּנְעֵין Be. 25 a.

Hithpalpel : נִדְרָעוּעָה to be shaken, BQ 82 b ; נִתְנַמְנְמוּ to slumber, P^es. x. 8 ; הִתְמַטְמַם (= הִתְמַטְמַם), to be kneaded through, H^{al}. iii. 1 ; מְהַתְנַמְנֵם Yo. i. 7 ; לִיטְלֵטֵל Kel. xv. 1 ; מְשַׁטְטֵלִין Šab. iii. 6 ; מְתַחְלְחֵלִים Miq. iv. 3.

(iii) *The Causative Stem.*

183. *Hiph'il :* הִמִּיר to change, T^emu. i. 1 ; הִרִיחָה to smell, Yo. viii. 4 ; הִקְיִצְתִּי to awaken, Num. R. 10 ; הִבְנִתָּה to understand, Šab. 31 a ; הִנְחֵתָּה to give rest, ib. 152 b ; הִעֲרַתָּה to testify, Yeb. vii. 3 (L העֲרִיחְתָּה) ; הִעֲרַתִּי Yeb. 99 b ; הִעֲרַנֵּי Mak. 3 a ; הִמְכַתִּי to lower, t. Naz. iv. 7 ; הִצַּצְתִּי to gaze, H^{ul}. 47 b ; הִרְחַתִּי Yo. 39 b ; הִשְׁבַּתָּה to reply, Sifra (Weiss), 113 a ; הִשְׁבַּתֵּנִי P^es. 69 a.

For the omission of the separating vowel before the affirmative in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 72 k.

Imperf. : יִזְוִינִי, יִזְוִינֵי to move, Be. iii. 5 ; יִמְרִינֵי T^em. i. 1 ; נִעֲיֶדֶךָ Šebu. iii. 8 ; תִּעֲיֶדְנִי ib. iv. 5 ; יִפִּיחַ to blow, Šab. 49 a ; יִשְׁבְּנוּ Ber. v. 1 ; יִבְיֵאוּ Naz. iv. 6. Imperat. : הִבֵּא P^es. vi. 2 ; הִפֵּג to cool,

Yo. i. 7; הָעִידוּנִי Šebu. iii. 8; הָרִיעוּ Ta'a. ii. 10. Inf. : לְהָמִיר
T^{em}. i. 1; לְהַמְיִחוּ San. 53 a; לְהָסִיט Zab. iii. 3.

Partic. : מְבִינֵן Hag. ii. 1; מְסִיטֵם Zab. v. 1; מְסִיבָה San. vii. 10;
מְיִוֵּן Ab. iii. 17; מְמִירֵן T^{em}. i. 1.

184. *Hoph'al*: הוֹחֵלֶה to occur, Ber. 31 a; הוֹרָמָה to be lifted,
Hal. ii. 8; יוֹנֵף to be waived, Mid. iii. 4; הוֹדַח to be rinsed, Makš.
iv. 3; הוֹצִיץ to sprout forth, Qid. 66 a; מוֹכֵן prepared, Be. i. 1;
מוֹכֵר T^{em}. i. 1; מוֹרָם Z^{eb}. v. 6; מוֹמָתִין San. vi. 2.¹

185. Note 1. As in BH, so in MH some ע"ו roots are found
also in פ"י forms. Thus, טוב to be good = יטב; נוק to suck = ינק;
קוץ to awake = יקץ. So also in ע"ע forms: דוך to crush = דכך;
זוח to move = זחח; זול to be cheap = זלל; חוץ to separate = חצץ;
מוש to feel = משש.

186. Note 2. The verb נוח forms also a causative by assimila-
tion, as in BH, in the sense 'to lay down', e.g. הִנִּיחַ BB ix. 1;
מִנְחָה Ber. viii. 4; הִנְחִיחוּהוּ So. ix. 6; מוֹנֵחַ BM iii. 4; מוֹנְחָת
Qid. 66 a.

187. Note 3. The verb נום (BH נאם) to speak, shows some
strange forms, probably of an artificial character. Thus נִמְץ he
spoke, Z^{eb}. iv. 5; נִמְצָה, נִמְצָת she spoke, Y^{eb}. xvi. 7; נִמְצִיתִי
I spoke, ib.; נִמְצִינוּ (L נִמְצִינוּ) we spoke, Git. vi. 7; but also נָם,
נִמְצִיתִי t. Naz. iv. 7; נִמְצִיתִי Sifre Num. xix. 2; נָם, ibid. xxviii. 2.

(6) VERBS ע"ע.

188. The tendency, already strong in BH, to make these
verbs approximate to the standard of the strong trilateral type is
carried still further in MH. Biliteral forms are the regular type

¹ In the curious expression אֹבֵינְךָ אֹבֵינְךָ, 'AZ iii. 5 (L) the form אֹבֵינְךָ seems
to be treated as a participle Qal, and should be pointed אֹבֵינְךָ. It is probably
a scribal expansion of אֹבֵינְךָ = אָבֵינְךָ. הוֹבִירָה, BM. ix. 3, is an Aramaism for
הַבִּירָה, from בּוֹר to be fallow, due to the influence of the following Aram.
form אֹבִיר. L has the correct reading הַבִּירָה in BM. In 'Ar. ix. 1 L is
defective.

only in the causative stem and, to a smaller extent, in the Imperf. Qal and Niph'al. In the other parts of the Qal and the Niph'al trilateral forms predominate. In the Intensive Stem they are used exclusively.

Aram., on the other hand, has preserved and accentuated more strongly than any other Semitic language the natural affinity of the *y'w* verbs with the *w'y* verbs. The biliteral forms of the *y'w* predominate in Aram.

189. (i) *The Simple Stem.*

Qal. Perfect. Trilateral: *חָצַץ* to divide, Oh. xv. 4; *מָדַד* to measure, 'AZ v. 7; *קָפַץ* to stop, Miq. iii. 2; *רָקַץ* to spit, BQ viii. 6; *שָׁגַג* to err, Šab. 95 a; *רָקַץ* Y^ob. xii. 3; *קָצַץ* to cut, BQ 91 b; *חָקַקְתִּי* to enact a law, Yo. 67 b; *מָנַנִּי* to become moist, Makš. iii. 4; *עָמַמוּ* to become dim, t. Šab. iii. 2; *צָלַלִּי* to clarify, t. Nid. iii. 11; *חָנַנְתָּם* to offer the Festival sacrifice, P^es. 70 b.

Biliteral: *חָג* H^ag. i. 9; *פָּח* to cough, 'Er. 99 a; *רַץ* H^ag. 9 a; *רַבּוּ* to be many, Šab. i. 7.

Imperfect: *יִקְצָצֵנִי* to cut, BQ 91 b; *יִשְׁוֶנֶנִּי* Šab. 69 a; *יִשְׁלֹלֵנִי* to baste, j. MQ iii. 5. But usually biliteral: *יִבְּרַר* to choose, Ab. ii. 1; *יִבְּרַר* Giṭ. v. 9; *יִבְּרַר* Ma'a. ii. 6; *יִגְדֹר* to cut, Pa. ii. 2; *יִגְדֹר* BB 13 a; *יִחַוֵּף* to cleanse the head, Naz. vi. 3; *יִמֹד* B^er. 30 b; *יִקוּץ* BQ x. 2. So Imperat.: *גֹּדֵר* BB 13 a; *פֹּהֵף* to bend, B^er. 60 b; *קוּצוּ* Ab. d^eRN. xxxix. 1; but also *מְדוֹד* Yo. 39 a.

Infinit.: *לְגַזֵּז* to shear, H^ul. 138 a; *לְגַרְרֹר* to drag, Kel. v. 7; *לְחַצוֹץ* Be. iv. 6; *לְלוֹחַתֵּן* to mix, t. Makš. iii. 7; *לְמַלְלֵן* to hem, MQ 26 a; *לְקוּצוֹץ* (L *קוּצוֹ*) Šebi. iv. 10. Biliteral: *לְבֹאֵץ* to spoil, Pe. iv. 1, 2; *לְחַוֵּף* to rub, Naz. 59 a; *לְמֹד* MŠ v. 9; *לְפֹסֵץ* Kel. xxviii. 2; *לְקוּץ* 'AZ i. 8.

Participles, only trilateral: *בוֹרֵר* San. iii. 1; *זוֹמְמֵן, זוֹמְמֵת, זוֹמֵם*, to give false evidence, Mak. i. 1, 2, 3, &c.;¹ *מוֹדְרֵן* 'Er. v. 4; *רוֹפְסֵת*

¹ From Deut. xix. 19.

to shake, t. Hul. ii. 12; שׁוֹתֵת to flow gently, Oh. iii. 5; נָמִים to level, Hul. 59 a; רָעִיעָה, רָעִיעַ to break, Kel. iii. 5; צָפִיפִין to press, Ab. v. 5.

190. *Niph'al*. Perf.: נָמַם Šebi. i. 8; נָמְמוּ Bek. vi. 4; נָנַק to bind, Naz. ix. 4; נָקַץ BM ix. 2; נִכְפְּפָה 'Ar. 19 a; נִבְּוּהוּ Bik. i. 8; נִבְּלְלוּ to complete, include, j. So. vii. 4. Biliteral: נִיפּוֹס to decay, Nid. iii. 4; נִימְקוּ Bik. i. 8 (L נימוקו).

Imperf.: יִקְצֹץ 'AZ i. 8; יִתְקַצֵּץ Nid. ii. 1; יִקְצֹצוּ Ned. iii. 5; but biliteral forms are more common: יָחַם to be hot, Be. ii. 5; יִחַפּוּ Šab. iii. 5; יִמָּס to melt; יִצְנֶה to be cold, Šab. xxii. 4; יִצְלֶה to clarify, ib. xx. 2.

With *ð*, instead of *ǣ*, on the analogy of the ע"ו verbs: יִגּוֹלוּ to roll, Ber. 7 a; יִחּוּלוּ to be common, Šebi. i. 8; יִחּוּמוּ Šab. 41 b;¹ יִפּוֹקוּ (L יִמְקוּ) Ta'a. iii. 8.

Infin.: לְהִבְלֹל to mix, Men. xi. 4; לִיבְּוֹ BQ ix. 1; לְהִמְדָּר Dam. ii. 5; but also לִיחַם Kel. xiv. i.

Partic.: נִבְּלָלוּ Men. xii. 4; נִגְרָר 'Er. x. 11; נִגְרָרַת Be. ii. 10; נִקְצָץ Šab. 12 b; נִמְדָּרִין 'Ar. vii. 1; נִקְצָצוֹת Ned. iii. 5, but also Biliteral: גִּרוֹס to spit, Miq. vii. 1; גִּיפּוֹס Ber. 61 b; גִּיפּוֹקִין RH iii. 8.

191. (ii) *The Intensive Stem.*

(a) *Po'el, Po'al, Nithpo'el*: These forms are still more rare in MH than in BH. The following are the only exx. found: מְחַחֲמַח to dig, cut, Meg. 12 a; מְסוֹלְלָת to coddle, San. 69 b; מְסוֹלְלוֹת Yeb. 76 a; לְקוֹצֵץ Miq. x. 4; יִסְכְּבוּ So. ix. 15; חוֹנְנֵתָנִי Singer, pp. 46, 280. An example of *Po'al* may be יִחוּנְנֵי So. ix. 15, but this is more probably a *Pu'al*: יִחוּנְנֵי, cf. above, § 126; נִתְרַעְעָה Kel. iii. 4; iv. 2 (L נתרעעה); מְתַרְסֵם to crush, Hul. 77 a; מְשִׁחֲמֵם to be desolate, Qid. 66 a.

192. (b) *Piel*: בִּרַר 'Er. iv. 5; גִּרָּה Pes. i. 2; סִיבְּדָה to cover,

¹ For יִזּוּפוּ אֶת עֵצָמָן, L reads correctly יִזּוּפוּ, Mak. i. 4.

Suk. i. 4; מָרַר to embitter, Pes. x. 5; קִינְנֵי to make a nest, Hul. xii. 1; יָרַס 'Uq. ii. 6; יָצַץ 'AZ i. 8; אָצַר, אָקַר to make cold, Pes. 118 a; לָבַרַר San. 23 b; לָחַם j. Ned. iv. 2; לָפַרַר to crumble, Pes. 10 b; לָחַמְמָה, לָצַנְנָה Šab. 53 a; מָנַף to caress, San. vii. 6; מָלַק to lick, San. 68 a; מָפַר Pes. ii. 1; מָצַד to move to the side, Yo. 55 a; מָגַרַת t. Šab. vi. 1; מָסַנְנַת to sift, Kel. ii. 5; מָסַבֵּיִן ib. i. 7. Biliteral only: מָחַפִּין Yo. iii. 5 (unless this is Hiph'il: (מָחַפִּין), and perhaps also מָלַקַת = מְלַקְקַת Pa. ix. 3 (L מלקה).

193. *Pu'al*: מְזוּפָּם San. vi. 2; מְזוּפָּפִין pitched, BM 40 b; מְחוּדָר sharpened, Qid. 30 a; מְסוּבְּכַת BB 25 b; מְסוּבְּכַת Suk. 8 b; מְצוּדְרִים BB 99 a; מְצוּנְנַת Hul. iii. 5; מְרוּדָר, מְרוּדְרִין beaten, Miq. vii. 7. Biliteral only, מְסוּבִּין reclining round the table, San. ii. 1, 3, &c.¹

194. *Hithpa'el-Nithpa'el*: הִתְפַּלֵּל, הִתְפַּלְּלָה Ta'a. iii. 8; נִתְאַרַר to curse, t. So. xv. 2; נִצְטַגְן Šab. 129 a; נִתְקַלְּלָה to curse, 'Er. 18 a, b; מְתַחַדָּ BQ iv. 6; מְתַחַלֵּל Ab. i. 11; מְתַחַמֵּם ib. ii. 10.

(c) Reduplicated Forms.

195. *Pilpel*: דִּקְדַּק to be thin, exact, Ber. ii. 3; הִרְהַרְתִּי to reflect, Hul. 37 b; פִּלְפְּלוּ to search, t. BB vii. 6; קִלְקְלָה to damage, corrupt, Yeb. x. 2; קִלְקְלוּ Ber. ix. 5; יִחַרְחַר to bore, 'Uq. iii. 11; תִּכְשַׁשְׁשׁ to shake, Hul. ii. 6; יִצְחַצְחוּ to polish BM 84 a; יִקְלְקְלוּ Hul. i. 1; לִחְטַחַט j. 'Or. iii. 2; לִכְסַכְּסַם to chew, Nid. ix. 7; לִמְשַׁמֵּשׁ to feel, BM 21 b; מְהַרְהַר Ber. iii. 4; מְכַלְכֵּל to maintain, Naz. i. 1; מְסַלְסֵל to wave the hair, ib.; מְסַכְּסַכַת to intertwine, t. BQ vi. 22; מְקַלְקֵל Ned. xi. 11; מְמַשְׁמֵשִׁין BQ ii. 4.

Pulpal: מְגוּלְגֹלוֹת Pes. 7 a; מְגוּלְגֹלִין 'AZ ii. 7; מְדוּלְדָל to hang down, Ker. iii. 8; מְדוּלְדָלִין Hul. ix. 7; מְצוּחַצְחוֹת Lev. R. 1.

Nithpalpel: נִתְגַּלְגַּל Šab. xi. 3; נִתְגַּלְגַּלָּה Šebu. vii. 8; נִדְלְדָלוּ to be impoverished, So. ix. 15; יִתְמַקְמַק Ta'a. 25 b; יִתְקַלְקְלוּ Men. xi. 1; יִתְקַלְקֵל Dam. iii. 6; יִתְפַּרְפֵּר t. Makš. iii. 8.

(iii) *The Causative Stem*. Biliteral; triliteral forms are very rare.

¹ The sing. is always מָסַב, in Hiph'il; cf. below, § 196.

196. *Hiph'il*: הִפֵּר N^{ed.} x. 1; הִקֵּל to make light, be lenient, MŠ iii. 2; הִחֵלּוּ to begin, Tam. ii. 2, 3; vi. i; הִסְבּוּ Ber. vi. 6; הִיפּוּם to convict of false evidence, San. xii. 5; הִרְעוּתִי Qid. iv. 14. Without separating vowel (cf. BH הִתְלַחַתָּ Jud. xvi. 10; Ges.-K., § 67 dd, and above, § 183): הִמְסַחַתָּ Deut. R. 2; הִעֲזוּף to strengthen, Ber. 62 b; הִעֲזוּתִי BB 131 a; הִיִּקְלֵתָּ Y^{eb.} 88 a. Triliteral: הִזְקַחְתִּינִי Suk. 28 a.

Imperf.: יָחַם Be. ii. 5; יָסַב P^{es.} x. i; יָפַר N^{ed.} x. 5; יָצַן j. Hor. ii. 5; יָקַל Ber. ix. 5; יָקַל MŠ iii. 2; יָתַנַּן to shine, M^{eg.} ii. 4; יָנַצּוּ Š^{ebi.} iv. 2; יָיַפּוּ Mak. i. 7; יָרִיצוּ to crush, t. Oh. xviii. end.

Inf.: לְהַחֵם Š^{ab.} 40 a; לְהִטֵּן to moisten, Makš. iii. 5; לְהִפֵּר N^{ed.} x. 3; לְהִקֵּל 'Er. iv. 9; לְהִקְרֵר Makš. iv. 2.

Imperat.: הִחֵל j. Ber. v. 2; Singer, p. 46.

Part.: מִחֵל to thin grapes, Pe. iii. 3; מִחֵלּוּן, מִחֵל to defile, Ber. 32 a; Dam. vii. 4; מִחֵם t. Š^{ab.} iii. 7; מִחֵמִין² Yo. iii. 5; מִיָּצוֹן (so correctly L for edd. מִטַּנּוֹן), מִיָּצוֹן Makš. iii. 5; מִיָּצוֹן j. Hor. ii. 5; מִיָּצַר RH ii. 9; מִיָּקַל, מִיָּקֵל Š^{ab.} 129 a; מִסָּב to recline, San. ii. 1, 3; מִסָּד Š^{ab.} vii. 2; מִפִּירִין, מִפֵּר N^{ed.} x. 1, 2; מִרְעָה to do evil, San. vii. 10; מִמְקַחֵתוֹ to cause decay, Ket. vii. 11; מִצְמַחַת to restrain (צָמַח), Cant. R. iv. 1; מִחֲשֵׁשׁ to weaken (חָשַׁשׁ) San. 26 a.

197. *Hoph'al*: הִזְלוּ BB v. 8; הִזְמוּ³ San. x. 8; הִזְמוּ Mak. 3 a (without the separating vowel); הִזְחַמְתָּה BM vi. 3; הִזְחַמְתָּ Š^{ab.} iii. 4; הִזְמַק San. 92 b; הִזְסַבְתָּ BB 112 a; הִזְרַע Pea vi. 6. Triliteral: הִזְנַלְלִי Ta'a. 21 b; הִזְזַק BB 170 a; הִזְזַקְתָּ M^{en.} 45 b; יָצַן 'AZ iii. 9; יָרַע BB x. 6.

מִזְרַק j. So. ii. 2; מִזְרֹרֶת smashed, San. 82 b; מִזְפֵּרִין, מִזְפֵּר N^{ed.} viii. 7. Triliteral: מִזְבִּלְלָתָּ j. Š^{eq.} vi. 1 end; מִזְבִּלְלָתָּ Yo. 54 b.

¹ Elsewhere always the denominative of הִתְחַלַּח = הִתְחַחֵל; cf. § 92. So ib. vi. 3.

² The traditional pronunciation is מִחֲמִין = מִחֲמִיִּן, plur. of מִחֲמֵם; cf. § 192; j. Š^{ab.} ix. 3.

³ This is the traditional pronunciation, and not הִזְנַלְלִי, הִזְמוּ. Cf. BH הִזְמוּ, Job xxiv. 24; Ges.-K., § 67 v.

(7) VERBS ל"ל.

198. The inflection of these verbs follows on BH lines. The interchange of forms between these verbs and verbs ל"ה, already frequent in BH (Ges.-K., § 75 m, n, ff.), becomes more frequent in MH. Sometimes we find forms combining both ל"ל and ל"ה types. Nevertheless, the distinction between these two classes has been clearly preserved in MH. Many of the ל"ה forms in ל"ל verbs may be ascribed to the negligence and the Aramaizing tendencies of the scribes, as is proved by comparing different texts. MH also shows more frequently than BH the older termination ת for the third fem. sing. in Qal, Niph'al, and Nithpa'el (cf. Ges.-K., § 74 g).

199. *Qal*. Perfect: יצַאָ Yo. v. 3; מָצַאָ BM ii. 1. The fem. wavers between יצַאָה, יצַאָת (so usually in L and other Palestinian texts), יצַאָתָה and יצַאָתָה; cf. Šab. vi. 1, 3; xi. 6; Pes. v. 7; Yeb. xvi. 1; Toh. iii. 1. So קָרָאָה and קָרָאָתָה Yeb. xii. 3, in various texts. חָטְאָתִי Yo. iii. 8, but also קָרִיתִי ib. i. 6; מָצַאָו Yeb. xvi. 6; מָצַאָו ib. xvi. 7, but also מָצַאָו Ber. vii. 3; Kil. iii. 7; קָרִינוּ Ber. i. 1, especially in later texts. Imperf., as in BH.

Infin.: לְקָרוֹת Ber. i. 1, but also לְקָרְאוֹת MŠ v. 9 (L), as Judges viii. 1.

Imperat.: קָרָא Yo. i. 6; שָׁנָא Ab. i. 10.

Partic.: קָרִיא Yo. i. 6; קָרִין ib.; Ber. i. 1 (cf. Psalm xcix. 6); יוֹצֵא Šab. v. 2; יוֹצֵאָה ib. v. 4; but also יוֹצֵאָת Kil. iv. 6; נוֹשֵׂאָה Šebu. vii. 8; יוֹצֵאִין, יוֹצֵאוֹת Šab. v. 4; נוֹשֵׂאִין MQ i. 7; נוֹשֵׂאִי married, Yeb. iii. 7 (L has the mixed form נוֹשֵׂאִי, cf. Psalm xxxii. 1); קָרִי Ter. iii. 7; סְמוּיָה blind, hidden, Qid. 24 b.

200. *Niph'al*: נִטְמָא Pes. i. 6; נִטְמָאת Ter. viii. 2; So. vi. 2; נִטְמָא to be married, Yeb. vii. 2 (also spelt נִיטְמָא ib. vii. 3, 6, and often in L and the Talmud); נִטְמָאית to be blind, Zeb. vii. 5; נִטְמָאתָ Ter. viii. 2; נִטְמָאני Pes. 78 b; נִטְמָאני.

The imperf. as in BH.

Infin. : לִינָשָׂא Yeb. ii. 10; לְהִקְרֹא 'Ed. v. 6 (לְיִקְרוֹת L); and the mixed form לְהִבְרָאוֹת Ab. iv. 1.

Partic. : נִשְׂאָת, or נִיפֹת Ket. i. 1; נִקְרָאת Meg. i. 1; נִקְרָאִין, also נִקְרִין Git. ix. 5.

201. *Pi'el*: מִילָא, אִמְלָא Pa. vii. 4; יִמְפְּאָנָה, אִמְפְּאָה Ter. viii. 11; יִמְפְּאִי ib. 12; יִמְפְּאָנָה Šab. ii. 4; סִימָא BQ viii. 1; מִלָּא (imperat.) Be. iii. 8; מִמְלָא Pa. vii. 5; מִמְלָאִין ib. 11 (L מְמַלֵּין and so often, 'Er. viii. 7, &c.); מְקָרָא to read to, Suk. iii. 10; מְקָרִין ib.; Bik. iii. 6 (L also מְקָרָאִים, beside מְקָרִין); מְקַפָּא to congeal, Ma'a. i. 7; מְחַבֵּין = מְחַבְּאִין to hide, Šab. 25 b.

The Infin. has mixed forms : לְמַלְאוֹת Ket. i. 10; לְרַפְּאוֹתוּ to heal, BQ viii. 1. So in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 74 h.

Pu'al: מְדוּבְּאִין to crush, Ket. 8 b; מְקוּרְאִין Num. R. 13.

202. *Nithpa'el*: נִתְּמָא 'Ar. 17 b; נִתְּמַלְאֵת Pes. v. 5; לִיטְמָא Yo. 38 b; מִיטְמָא 'Uq. i. 1; מִיטְמְּאָה Naz. iv. 3; מִיטְמְּאִין (also מְתַטְמְּאִין) Kel. ii. 1; מְתַתְּמָא Ta'a. iii. 8; מְתַרְפְּאִין, also מְתַרְפֵּין 'AZ ii. 2.

203. *Hiph'il*: הִשְׂיֵאוּ to move, 'AZ ii. 5; יִבְרִיא to become healthy, Šab. xix. 5; יִקְפִּיאָנָה to ladle off, Ter. iv. 11; מְמַצֵּיא Hag. 5 a, but מְמַרֵּין to fatten, (BH מַרִּיא) Šab. xxiv. 3.

Hoph'al: מוּפְּלָא distinguished, Hor. i. 4.

(8) VERBS ל"ה.

204. These verbs also conform to the BH rules. As in BH (Ges.-K., § 75 rr), ל"ה verbs sometimes assume ל"א forms. This happens usually in the third sing. and plur. of the perf. Qal when they have pronominal suffixes attached to them, and further, in the third fem. sing. perf. Niph'al, and in the fem. sing. of the Partic. Niph'al. The older termination ת־ for the third fem. sing. of the perf. Qal is regularly found in Palestinian, and sometimes also

in other texts. Cf. the ל"א verbs above, § 199, and Ges.-K., § 75 m.

205. *Qal*. Perfect: זָכָה to acquire, BM i. 3; שָׁהָה to tarry, Š^obu. ii. 3; נָבְתָה (L גבת) to collect, K^{et}. iv. 1; וְזָכְתָה (L זכת) BM i. 4; כִּבְּתָה to extinguish, Šab. 21 a, but כִּבְּתָה j. Yo. ii. 3; כִּבְּהָתָה to dim, Qid. 24 b; עָלְתָה (L עֲלֵת) to go up, Zeb. ix. 1; פָּשְׂתָה (L פִּשַׁת) to increase, Neg. iv. 9; שָׁפְתָה (L שפֹּת) to be quiet, Nid. iv. 4; שָׁתָה to drink, Pa. ix. 5; שָׁרְתָה to be loose, Qoh. R. vii. 2; צָבְתָה to swell, j. BQ vii. 1.

The original third radical י reappears in the third sing. and plur. of the perfect with suffixes: טָלְיִיהַּ to patch, Kel. xxiv. 17; פִּדְיִין to redeem, Pea iv. 8. Often, however, this י is changed into א, especially in Babylonian texts: עֲשָׂאָה Suk. i. 1; עֲשָׂאָךְ Ter. viii. 1; כָּוְוָא to burn, BQ viii. 1; אֲפָאָה (L אפִּייהַּ) to bake, MŠ ii. 3; cf. below, § 216, and above, §§ 56, 58.

יָבִיתָ Ber. i. 5; לָוִיתָ to borrow, BB 6 a; בָּרִי to invent, N^{ed}. 10 a; נָשִׁינוּ to forget, ib. 50 b; צָלוּ to roast, Pes. v. 9.

Imperf.: יִלְקָה to be smitten, BM iii. 12; יִרְעָה to feed, Yo. vi. 1. Jussive: אַל תַּעַשׂ do not make, Ab. i. 8; ii. 12.

Infin.: לְחַתוֹת to take fire, Šab. viii. 7 (BH); לְרַדוֹת to chastise, Yo. 40 b.

Imperat.: צֵלָה Pes. vii. 2; שִׁנָּה to repeat, Nid. 5 b; לָוִי to borrow, Be. 15 b.

Partic. Active: הוֹנֵה to utter, San. x (xi.) 1; וּזְכָה 'Ed. ii. 9; חוֹתֵה Yo. iv. 4; סוֹה to spin, K^{et}. vii. 6; דוֹחֵן to push off, Oh. vii. 6; חוֹפֵן to cover, H^{ul}. iii. 7; פוֹדֵין to redeem, Git. iv. 6; שוֹרֵין to soak, Šab. i. 5.

206. A few participles are found in an adjectival form with *a* in the first syllable: זָכֵן 'Ed. ii. 10 (L; elsewhere always וּזְכָה); זָכֵן in the dictum: זָכֵן לְאָדָם שֶׁלֹּא בְּפָנָיו וְאֵין חֵבִין לְאָדָם אֲלֵא בְּפָנָיו — one can confer an advantage upon a person in his absence, but one cannot confer a disadvantage upon a person, except in his

presence, 'Er. vii. 11; Git. i. 6. The form זָכַן may perhaps be due to assonance with זָכַן . So זָכַן Yo. ii. 3; זָכוֹת Git. vi. 2, in L, for זֹכֵין , זֹכוֹת in other texts. Further, כָּבָה , fem. כְּבָה to be extinguished, Šab. 151 b; כָּלָה to come to an end, Ter. vi. 7; כָּלִין San. 17 a; כָּרְבָה and כָּרְבָה fruitful and multiplying (a standing expression, derived from Gen. i. 28); כָּרִין Šab. 107 b; Ab. d^eRN. xxxvii. 2, 3.

Partic. Passive: טָוִי Kil. ix. 8; צָפִי to see, Ab. iii. 15; רָאִי fit, Nid. vi. 4; פְּרוּיָה to dig, Kel. iii. 5; שְׁבוּיִים to capture, Š^eq. ii. 5; שְׂרֵוּיָה to dwell, Ab. iii. 2.

207. *Niph'al*. The third fem. sing. of the perfect is identical in form with the fem. sing. of the Participle. They usually both end in ית or ת in L, as in the ל"א verbs (§ 200).

Perfect: נִגְהַיְתָה to enjoy, BQ ii. 2; נִפְדִּיתָ Ket. iii. 2; נִשְׁבִּיתָ ib. ii. 5; נִעֲשִׂיתָ 'Er. v. 6; Šab. xi. 6 (L נעשתה); נִמְנִינִי , נִמְנִינִי to count, Pes. ix. 10; נִפְגִּיתִי to have leisure, Ab. d^eRN. xxv. 3; נִשְׁבִּיתִי Ket. ii. 5; נִעֲנִיתִי to be humble, Ber. 28 a; נִעֲנָה Z^b. 57 a; נִעֲנִי to answer, Qid. 40 b; נִימְחוּ to wipe out, dissolve, Toh. iii. 1; נִשְׂרוּ to soak, Šab. xxii. 4.

Imperf.: יִדְחָה Meg. 5 b; יִפְנֶה , יִפְנֶה Ab. ii. 4; יִפְדֶּי Ter. v. 1; יִצְלָה Šab. iii. 3; written *plene* יִצְלוּ ib. i. 10; so יִשְׁוּרוּ ib. i. 5.

Partic.: נִדְחָה Meg. 5 b; נִפְדָּה MŠ iii. 10; נִתְלָה , נִתְלִית (L נתלת), נִתְלִין to hang, San. vi. 4; נִכְסָה , נִכְסִין to cover, ib. ii. 1; נִבְנִיתָ to build, ib. x. 6; נִעֲשִׂיתָ Pa. iii. 7; נִקְנִיתָ to acquire, Qid. i. 1; נִכְּבוֹת Ket. 5 b.

Infin.: לִנְבוֹת BM 59 a; לִיְהַנּוֹת Ket. vii. 1; לִיעֲשׂוֹת 'Ed. v. 6; לִיפְנוֹת to ease oneself, Šab. 82 a.

The Intensive Stem is regular, as in BH.

208. *Piel*: וִיבָה BB viii. 6; וִינִתָּה to commit fornication, San. vii. 2; וִיבָה to kindle a flame; וִיבַתָּה BQ vi. 4; וִיעֲרָה to pour out, Yo. v. 4; וִיפִימוּ to imagine, ib. iii. 2; וִיפְתִיתִי to seduce, Ket. iii. 9.

וִירְצָה to make acceptable, Yo. viii. 9; וִיחַפְּהוּ to cover, Š^ebi. iv. 5.

נָפַח (imperat.) to sift, Men. 85 a; לְיַפּוֹת to make fair, good, BB vii. 2; לְעָרוֹת MŠ iii. 10; מְדַדִּין, מְדַדָּה to cause to hop, Šab. xviii. 2; מְכַפֶּסֶה Ket. vi. 5; מְעַרָּה MŠ iii. 13; מְקַרָּה to cover a ceiling, Suk. i. 8.

209. *Pu'al*: יִפְּי to be made good, Pea vi. 6 (cf. above, § 126).

Partic.: מְהוּרָא, L מְהוּרָה worn out (מהה = מחה), cf. L נִימְהוּ = נימחו Tōh. iii. 1) Kel. xxiv. 17; מְנוּדָּה excommunicated, MQ iii. 1; מְנוּפָּה, מְנוּפָּה sifted, Men. vi. 7; מְעוּבָּה thickened, Suk. ii. 2; מְעוּשָׂה forced, Git. ix. 8; מְרוּבָּה, מְרוּבִים, מְרוּבוֹת many, Hāg. i. 5.

210. *Nithpa'el*: נְנוּדָּה San. 30 a; נְתַנְפוּ to be tried, Ab. v. 3; נְתַלְתְּהָ to uncover, Suk. iv. 10; נְתַלְבְּתָה Šab. 37 a; נְתַפְתְּתָה Ket. iv. 1; but also נְשַׁתְּמִית she is become insane, Yeb. xiv. 1; נְצַטְוִינִי, נְצַטְוִינִי to command, Qid. 38 a, b; נְשַׁתְּהוּ to be delayed, RH iv. 4; נְתַעְנִינִי to afflict, 'Er. 41 a; יְתַנְּאָה to become beautiful, RH. 26 a; יְתַעְלָה to be elevated, Šab. 33 b; תְּתַיְפִי Ta'a. 23 b; יְתַקְשֵׁוּ to be hardened, t. Nid. vi. 4; לְהַתְּכַפֹּס Ber. iii. 4; מְתַכַּפֶּס Ket. v. 8; מְתַכַּפֵּין Ta'a. i. 1; מְתַעַנֶּה ib. iii. 3, 4.

The Causative Stem is exactly as in BH.

211. *Hiph'il*: הִלְוֶה to lend, BM v. 1; הִתְנַה to stipulate, Ket. ix. 1; הִתְרוּ to warn, Mak. i. 12; הִרְצִיתִי to discourse, t. Nid. vi. 6; הִרְשִׁנִי to permit, Hāg. 14 b.

Imperat.: הַעֵל, הַעֵלֶם MŠ iii. 1; הִשְׁנִינִי teach me, Lam. R. i. 6.

Infin.: לְהַקְוֹת to collect water, t. Šeq. i. 2; with elision of the ה (cf. above, § 143); לְמַחֹת to object, BM x. 6 = לְהַמְחֹת; לְשִׁהוֹת = לְהַשְׁהוֹת 'Er. x. 5.

Partic.: מְמַחֶה to wipe, cleanse, BB v. 10; מְמַחֵין, מְמַחָה j. Pes. viii. 5; מְשַׁקֵּין to give to drink, 'Ed. v. 6; מְשִׁהִין Nid. 31 a; מְתַעַרָּה to lead astray, San. 55 a.

Note.—The denominative Hiph'il of עָנִי poor, preserves the י in the sing.: הַעֲנִי 'Ar. iv. 2; יַעֲנִי Šeq. iii. 2; Nod. ix. 4, but plur.: הַעֲנִי Ber. 33 a; יַעֲנִי M^eil. 17 a.

Hoph'al: הוּקְשָׁה t. Pes. vii. 2; הוּרְצָה Num. R. 16; הוּרְצָה Yo.

7 a; הוֹרָאֵי j. MQ iii. 5; הוֹשִׁיׁוּ to be like, Šab. 15 a; הוֹרְשִׁיתָ Hag. 13 a (from Sirach).

Partic. : מוֹפְנָה expert, Bek. iv. 4; מוֹפְנָה free, Yeb. iii. 5; מוֹטְעִין in error, RH 25 a; מוֹטָה bent, Kel. iv. 3; מוֹטִין ib. x. 1; מוֹטָה Oh. ix. 11; מוֹטוֹת ib. xv. 3.

·212. Note.—The verb היה has in the imperf. Qal the following shortened forms : יֵהָא Yo. i. 3; הָהָא, הָהָא Naz. iii. 6.¹ יְהוֹ Kil. iv. 5 (L often יהוה, cf. Qoh. xi. 3). The Imperat. is formed from הוּה : הָיוּ Ab. i. 4 (cf. BH Gen. xxvii. 29; Isa. xvi. 4); plur. : הָיוּ ib. ii. 3. The partic. is always הוֹהָה Šab. vi. 6, 10; 'Er. i. 10, as already in BH : Qoh. ii. 22; Neh. vi. 6. Examples of the Pi'el, causing to be, are found in the partic. only : מְהַוֶּה K'et. 40 b, but also מְהַוֶּיָה Qid. 58 a and parallels.

The rest of the verb is regular, and even for the forms given above, the regular forms are also found.

Note also the jussive forms יְהִי, יִהְיֶה Ab. iii. 10, &c.

(9) VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

213. The object of a verb can be expressed in MH, as in BH, by a suffix. The phonetic rules governing the modification of the verb when it assumes a pronominal suffix, are the same in MH as in BH. The following points may be noted :

The third sing. imperf. usually inserts the so-called *nun energeticum* before the suffix of the third sing. masc. and fem. (cf. Ges.-K., § 58 i).

In לָהֵב verbs the original ם reappears before the suffix in the third sing. and plur. of the perfect Qal, or is softened into ם (cf. § 205).

These suffixes are used in MH somewhat less frequently than in BH, their place being taken by אַת. The most common suffixes

¹ These forms also occur sometimes in Aram.; cf. Dalman, § 73 (p. 354); Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 183 (8), but they are more common in MH.

are those of the third person sing. and plur. The suffixes of the first person are also fairly common, especially in the sing. The suffix of the second person sing. is much rarer, and that of the second person plur. is exceedingly rare, just as in BH.

Examples of Verbs with Suffixes.

(1) Suffix of the First person.

214. Sing.: מָצַאֲנִי to find, Yeb. xvi. 7; נִשְׁכַּבְנִי to bite, ib. 6; עָקַצְתָּנִי to sting, Ab. d'eRN. i. 7; נִשְׁאָתָנִי to marry, Ket. ii. 1; קִדְּשָׁתָנִי to betroth, Qid. iii. 3; דִּינְתָנִי to judge; הִשְׁרַתָּנִי to suspect, Šab. 117 b; הִשְׁפִּיטָנִי to serve, Git. vii. 7; יִירְשָׁנִי BB viii. 6; הוֹצִיאָנִי to bring forth, Ber. 60 a; גִּיירָנִי to make a proselyte, Šab. 31 a.

Plur.: נִגְאָלָנוּ to redeem; הִגִּיעָנוּ, יִגִּיעָנוּ to cause to reach, Pes. x. 5; לִמְדָתָנוּ to teach, Ber. ii. 8; יִלְמְדָנוּ Pes. 48 b; הִעֲמִידָנִי to place; הִצִּילָנִי to deliver, Ber. 17 a; רִחַקָנִי to remove; דִּשְׁגָנִי to fatten, ib. 29 a.

(2) Suffix of the Second person.

215. Sing.: מָכַרְךָ to sell; נָתַתְךָ to give, Ter. viii. 1; הִגִּיעְתָּךְ 'Ar. viii. 1. ל"ה verbs: עָשָׂאתְךָ to make, Ter. viii. 1; הִנָּאתְךָ to give pleasure, 'AZ 16 b; נִשְׁאָתְךָ Ket. ii. 1; גִּירְשְׁךָ to divorce, Ter. viii. 1; קִדְּשָׁתְךָ Qid. iii. 1; יְבָרְכְךָ to bless, Meg. iv. 10; יִקְרַבְךָ to bring near; יִרְחַקְךָ 'Ed. v. 9; יִרְאֶךָ to show, Qid. iii. 2; נַעֲשֶׂךָ 'Ed. v. 6.

Plur.: The following are the only exx. found: לְהִקְמִיכֶם to raise; לְהַחְיִיתְכֶם to revive, Ber. 58 b; cf. Singer, p. 319. (Contrast with four times אָתְכֶם in the following finite verbs.)

(3) Suffix of the Third Person.

216. Sing. Masc. Perfect: שָׁכַחוּ to forget, Pea vii. 7; סִיירוּ to plaster; כִּיירוּ to decorate, 'AZ iii. 7; הִשָּׂיאוּ to move, ib. ii. 8; הִכְהוּ to strike, Pea iv. 8; הִרְאֶהוּ Kil. vi. 4; כָּוִיאוּ to burn, BQ viii. 1; צָלְאוּ to roast, Pes. v. 9; סִיעֲרֵהוּ to carry off by storm, Kil. v. 7; גָּנְבֵהוּ

convict of false evidence, Mak. i. 5; זָרַעַם to sow, Kil. ii. 10; יָוִיִּים to move, Be. iii. 5; יְשִׁיבֵם Kel. xvi. 1; יָטַלִּים to take, Dam. iv. 4; הֵעֵלִים to bring up, Suk. ii. 5; לְלַחֲתָן to mix, t. Makš. iii. 2; Pes. 36 a; לְמִוּלָן to hem, MQ 26 a.

זָרַעַם Kil. ii. 9; מִהֲנֵן to benefit; מַפְסִידֵן to cause loss, Yad. iv. 3; מְבַשְׂרֵתָן to bring good tidings, So. ix. 6; מְסַעֲיָתָן to assist, Ab. ii. 2.

III. THE NOUN

1. General Survey.

217. As in the other parts of speech, so also in the treatment of the noun MH has followed faithfully the traditions of BH. This is true of the formation of the noun and also of its inflexion. With regard to the formation of the noun, MH has retained the original forms of those BH nouns which it still uses. Further, all its new nouns are formed on the basis of the old BH ground-forms.

Noteworthy features in the MH noun formation are : (a) the wide development of the verbal nouns to replace the old BH infinitive construct, viz. the forms קְטִילָה for the Simple Stem (§ 228); קִיטוּל and קְטִילָה for the Intensive Stem (§§ 237, 241); הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִילָה for the Causative Stem (§§ 251-2); (b) the more frequent use of Reduplication (§§ 244-8); (c) of the *nomen agentis* (קְטוּל (§ 235); (d) of the use of the suffixes לְ—, וֹ—, and נִי— (§§ 267-8, 270); (e) and the various forms of the Diminutive (§ 276). But all these forms are based on BH ground-forms, and have parallels in the BH vocabulary.

218. As regards the lexical character of the MH noun, the results of our review of the MH verb (§§ 83 ff.) apply also to the MH noun, except that the noun has borrowed more freely than the verb from Aram., from Greek, and, to a less degree, from Latin. The nouns which are most common in MH are

also found in BH. A number of BH nouns have disappeared in MH, especially nouns of a poetical character or of rare occurrence in BH, though common in Aram. (e.g. בָּעִיר, בָּרָם, &c.). The new MH nouns are usually formed from BH roots, or from old Hebrew roots not found in BH. Many of these MH nouns occur also in Aram., just as many old BH nouns occur in Aram. But the majority of such nouns are native in MH.

219. Even Aram. loan-words usually receive a Hebraic form, like חָרָר, חָרָר, &c. This has also happened in the case of a number of Gk. and Latin nouns, e.g. אֲצִטְלִית *στολή*, Yo. vii. 1; קִילִיִּרִית *κολλύριον*, Šab. viii. 1; מְרִגְלִית *μαργαρίτης*, Ab. vi. 9; בְּלִן *βαλανεύς*, Š'bi. viii. 5; קָרוֹן *carrus*, 'AZ v. 4; אֲכַסְנִיא *ξένος*, Dam. iii. 1, &c.¹

MH also follows BH in the other grammatical changes of the noun, viz. in the formation of the feminine (§§ 277 ff.); the plural (§§ 281 ff.); the dual (more frequent in MH than in BH, § 293); the construct state (§ 380), and the use of the noun with pronominal suffixes.

For the forms of nouns derived from Greek and Latin cf. Albrecht, § 82.

2. Formation of Nouns.

(1) *Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.*

(i) Ground-form *Qatl, Qill, Qułl.*

220. (a) *Qatl.* Strong Verb. Concrete: דָּקַל date-tree, Pea iv. 1; וְבָל manure, BM v. 7; דָּקַר mattock, j. Be. i. 2; שָׁבַשׁ preserves, Ter. ii. 6; לָבַד felt, Kil. ix. 8; סָדַק slit, Pes. iii. 2; קָרַץ partition, Kel. viii. 6; חֲרָץ hot ashes, Neg. ix. 1. With guttural in second or third radical: בַּעַץ tin, Kel. xxx. 3; גַּחַר jetty, Oh. viii. 2; שַׁחַח fodder, Pea ii. 1; נִקְעַע cleft, Kil. v. 4; קָלַח stalk, Pea iii. 3; שִׁבְחַח improvement, MŠ ii. 1.

¹ Cf. Krauss, i, §§ 326 ff.; Albrecht, § 82 g-h.

Abstract : חָנַק strangulation, San. vii. 1 ; פָּרַךְ cracking, 'Or. vii. 7 ; וָעָר assembly, Ab. i. 4 ; צָעַר pain, BQ viii. 1 ; קָבַע permanence, Yo. vi. 3 ; שָׁבַח praise, ib. iii. 9, 10.

יָע' troop, Pes. iii. 7 ; סִיף sword, Šab. vi. 4 ; נָי beauty, 'AZ iii. 4.

ע"ע pivot of door, Šab. viii. 6 ; סָם spice, Git. ii. 3 ; גָּם gross, Ab. iv. 7.

ל"ה reed-grass, Šab. viii. 2 ; טָנִי basket, Kel. xii. 3 ; לְחֵי cheek, board, 'Er. i. 2.

Fem. : חֶרֶב knife, Šebi. viii. 7 ; צַחְחָה offensive matter, T^{er}. x. 1 ; גֵּפֶה stone fence, Pea iv. 2 ; אֶשְׁפָּה dung-hill, BM ii. 3 ; שֶׁעוּה wax, Šab. ii. 1 ; שְׁקִיא irrigation, T^{er}. x. 11 (L has the masc. form : שְׁקִי).

221. (b) *Qitl*. אָבֵר limb, Šab. viii. 1 ; חֵלֶשׁ lot, ib. xxiii. 2 ; סֵדֶר order, Yo. i. 3 ; סִבְרָה countenance, Ab. i. 15 ; עֲסָק business, ib. iv. 10 ; עֲקָל bale for pressing, Ma'a. i. 7 ; דֵּיר shed, 'Er. iv. 1 ; צִיר hinge, ib. xi. 2 ; בֵּיחַ¹ phlegm ; נִיע mucus BQ 3 b ; גִּין spark, BQ vi. 6 ; ל"ה : רְעֵי excrements, Kel. xvii. 2.

Fem. : אֶכְפָּת pressure, BM iii. 7 (with older fem. termination תְּ = אֶכְפָּה j. So. v. 2 ; Sirach xlvi. 5, 16) ; צִנְעָה privacy, Pes. i. 3 ; שְׁכַחָה forgetfulness, Pea iv. 6. ל"ה : גְּנוּת disgrace, Pes. x. 4 ; רְשׁוּת permission, ib. iii. 7.

222. (c) *Qutl*. The vowel *u* is represented by וּ. בִּרְךָ knee, Kel. xxii. 2 ; דּוּפָן side, K^{er}. i. 5 ; חֹמֶשׁ fifth part, Yo. vii. 1 ; סוּרְגַל lattice work, Mid. ii. 3 ; עוֹקֵץ point, Tam. iii. 1 ; רוֹטֵב broth, Pes. vii. 2 ; אֹזֶם force, Kil. vii. 2 ; גּוֹדֵל full age ; קוֹטָן minority, Ket. ii. 11 ; בּוֹשֵׁר fitness, Y^{ob}. viii. 4 ; צוּרָה need, Ab. ii. 3 ; מוֹחֵל (or מוֹחֵל) secretion, T^{oh}. ix. 2 ; פּוֹתַח opening, Kel. xi. 3 ; רוֹבֵעַ quarter, Oh. ii. 1 ; דּוּחֵק need, Ab. ii. 3 ; כּוֹרַח force, ib. iv. 22,

ע"ע rim, Kel. xvi. 3 ; כּוֹרַח sepulchre, MQ i. 6 ; כּוֹרַח a kind of

¹ From כּוֹחַ, by assonance with נִיע, with which it is always combined.

antelope, Bik. ii. 8; בור uncultivated, Ab. ii. 5; נוּחַ pleasing, ib. 10; ע"ע : רוּק spittle, Yeb. xii. 6; זול cheapness, MŠ iv. 1; קול lightness, Ḥal. iv. 7; ל"ה : קוּשִׁי hardness, Nid. iv. 6; שׁוּפִי ease, ib.; יופִי¹ beauty, Suk. iv. 5.

Fem.: זוּהָמָה filth, Ter. x. 1; חוּלְדָה mole, Kel. xv. 6; עֲרָלָה forbidden fruit of a tree under four years old (cf. Lev. xix. 23), 'Or. i. 1.

ע"י חוּבָה duty, San. iv. 1; עוּקָה cavity, Ma'a. i. 7.

ע"ע : וּנְפָה hole, Ḥul. ii. 9; קוּפָה basket, Kel. viii. 2.

ל"ה : חוּלְיָה limb, looseness, Kel. v. 10.

223. To this ground-form belong also nouns in which the characteristic vowel has been moved forward to the second radical: *Qaṭl*, רוּבֵשׁ honey, Ter. xi. 3; גְּמִיר completion, Šab. xxii. 2; צְבַת tongs, Ab. v. 6; ל"ה : הַבְּאִי (L הווי) vanity, Ned. iii. 1; חֲשָׂאִי modesty, privacy, Šeq. v. 6; פְּרָאִי worthy, Nid. 9 b; פְּנְאִי leisure, 'AZ v. 6; חֲנָאִי condition, Qid. iii. 4.

Qifl: בְּיָר well, 'Er. x. 14; זֵאֵב wolf, BQ i. 4. Fem.: כְּרִישָׁה leek, Šab. viii. 5.² Cf. Ges.-K., § 84 A e.

Some texts point in this fashion many nouns which properly belong to the regular *Qaṭl* type, like קָבַע, פֶּלֶג, half, Ber. iv. 1, &c. The extension of this form by the scribes is no doubt due to the influence of Aram., in which this is the regular form for the *Qaṭl* (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 93-4). So, sometimes, in BH: גְּבַר beside גָּבַר; חָדַר and חָדָר, &c. Cf. Stade, § 191 c.

(ii) Ground-form *Qaṭal*, *Qaṭil*, *Qaṭul*.

224. (a) *Qaṭal*: אֶבֶק dust, Šab. iii. 3; בְּקָר kine, San. iii. 2; וָרֵז girdle, Kel. xxiii. 2; בְּרָהַר city, Ber. ix. 4; בֶּלֶט bolt, Zab. iv. 3; רָקָב rotteness, Naz. v. 2.

¹ This full form is the only one found in MH, even when not in pause.

² כְּרִישָׁה belly, cited by Albrecht, § 41, does not belong here. It is כְּרִישָׁה, from כָּרַם = כָּרַשׁ; cf. כְּרִיסוֹ his belly, Šab. 151 b.

ע"ע חָלַל defiled priest, Qid. iv. 6 (from Lev. xx. 7); מָלַל hem, Kel. xxviii. 7; פָּקַק stopper, Šab. xvii. 7.

ל"ה : טָלָה lamb, Tam. iii. 3; יָפָה worth, BQ viii. 1; נְיָפָה beautiful, Ab. iii. 7; שְׂוִיָה worth, BQ iv. 1; עָנְיוּ humble, Ber. 6 b.

Fem.: הִלְכָה rule, Šab. i. 4; חֻזְקָה possession, usucaption, BB iii. 1; חֻרָה return, Yeb. xiii. 6; סְבָכָה net work, hairdress, Neg. xi. 11; עֲרֻשָּׁה lentil, Šab. x. 5; צְוֹחָה cry, Ber. ix. 3; חֲטָרְתַּי hump, Hul. ix. 2; מְלַחָח saltiness, Oh. iii. 7; צִלְקָתַי scar, Neg. ix. 2; 1 ע"ו נָפָה sieve, Šab. viii. 2; וְנָעָה earthquake, Ber. ix. 2.

ע"ע נִבְכָּה rakings, Šab. iii. 1; חֲרָרָה cake, ib. i. 10; סְבָכָה covering, overhanging boughs, Naz. vii. 3; קְטָטָה strife, Yeb. xv. 1; שְׂרָרָה dominion, Mak. ii. 8.

ל"ה הִנְאָה enjoyment, benefit, 'AZ ii. 3; לְוִיָּה escort, So. ix. 6; רְאִיָּה proof, Šab. viii. 7.

225. (b) *Qatīl*: גִּדְרֵי stone fence, Pea ii. 3; חֲבֵרֵי associate, Dam. ii. 3; בִּרְסֵי belly, j. San. iii. 9; בְּתָחַף shoulder, Šebi. iii. 9; סְפִיקֵי doubt, Yo. viii. 6; בְּטִילֵי nought, Ket. ix. 1; טַפְּלֵי subordinate, Ber. vi. 7; קְשִׁירֵי proper, legal, Šab. vii. 3.

Fem.: אֲבֵדָה lost property, BM ii. 7; גְּנֻלָּה robbed property, Yeb. xv. 7; בְּרִיכָה pond; פְּסִיכָה pool, MQ 4 a; עֲרֻבָה kneading trough, Pes. iii. 2; קְרָרָה pot, 'Or. ii. 15; דִּלְקָה conflagration, Šab. xvi. 1; חֲשֻׁכָה darkness, ib. i. 3; עֲבֵרָה transgression, Yo. viii. 8.

226. (c) *Qatūl*. The vowel $\ddot{u} = \ddot{o}$ is represented by ו, ו.

כְּטוּבֵי birdtrap, Kel. xxiii. 5; חֲשׁוּךְ dark, Bek. vii. 8; יְרוּקֵי yellow, 'Ed. v. 6; מְתוּקֵי sweet, 'Er. 18 b; עָגוּלֵי round, Nid. viii. 4; עֲמוּקֵי deep, t. Neg. i. 5.

(iii) Ground-form *Qatāl, Qatīl, Qatūl*.

227. (a) *Qatāl*, with \dot{a} obscured into δ . Concretes are rare: מְרֹרֵי bitter herbs, Pes. ii. 6. Usually abstract nouns and adjectives

1 רִבְכָּה, Šebi. ii. 6, cited by Albrecht, § 42, is an error. The text has הִרְבָּכָה grafting, a verbal noun; cf. below, § 252.

derived from BH, e.g. כְּבוֹד honour, Ab. ii. 10; שְׁלוֹם peace, ib. i. 12; גָּדוֹל great, ib. vi. 5; קָדוֹשׁ holy, ib. v. 4; טָהוֹר pure, Kel. xii. 2.

228. (b) *Qatīl*: אָרִיחַ lath, 'Er. i. 3; אָרִיב web, Šab. xiii. 1; דִּישׁ dish, Yo. ii. 5; תְּרִיץ trench, Kil. v. 3; אֲרִי a fair, 'AZ 13 a; אָסִיף gathering; וְאִיר pruning; חָרִישׁ ploughing, Sifra 105 b, c, d; מְסִיק olive gathering, Hal. iii. 9; וְזִיר careful, Ab. i. 9; חָבִיב beloved, ib. ii. 10; צָרִיךְ necessary, Šab. ii. 7; רָגִיל accustomed, Yo. i. 3; לֵ"ה בְּקִי experienced, San. vii. 2; נָקִי clean, t. Toh. iii. 8.

The Fem. form *Qatīlā* is exceedingly common in MH as a *nomen actionis* for the *Qal*, taking the place of the old BH construct infinitive. The form is also found in BH with the same significance, both in early and in late texts. Thus, שְׂרִיקוֹת Jud. v. 16; אֲמָלָה 1 Kings xix. 8; שְׂנִיאוֹת Psa. xix. 13; שְׂחִיטָה 2 Chron. xxx. 7; וְיִנְעָה Qoh. xii. 12; perhaps also פְּצִירָה filing, 1 Sam. xiii. 21. In עִזָּה Lam. iii. 63, and in a derived concrete sense: מְלִילָה Deut. xxiii. 26; בְּיָאָה entry, Ezek. viii. 5. It is also found in Sirach: וְיִנְעָה xxxviii. 16; שְׂעֵנָה ib. 25; שְׂקִירָה ib. 26. The form is used in Ethiopic in exactly the same way as in MH, cf. Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.*, § 124; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 137. In Aram., however, it occurs only occasionally in Jewish dialects,¹ in which it is most probably borrowed from MH. The fact that in earlier BH it occurs only in the Song of Deborah and in the story of Elijah may, perhaps, tend to show that it was originally a Northern dialectal form, which was received into the literary language only after it had established itself in the spoken language. From the latter it may have descended into MH.

Concrete nouns in this form are comparatively few in MH, as compared with the extremely numerous examples of abstract nouns of a verbal nature. This seems to show that the concrete

¹ Cf. Dalman, p. 158, 5 and foot-note.

significance is only secondary, and that it was derived from the original abstract meaning; cf. **בִּיאָה**, in BH, cited above.

Exx. of concrete nouns: **חֲתִיבָה** piece, *Hul.* vii. 5; **בְּרִיבָה** bundle, *BM* ii. 1; **מְכִילָה** parched ear of corn, *Ma'a.* iv. 5; **מְשִׁיחָה** cord, *Kil.* ix. 9; **סְרִירָה** bag, *Kel.* viii. 3; **עֲנִיבָה** loop, *Pes.* 11 a; **פְּתִילָה** wick, *Šab.* ii. 1; **קִיחָה** = **לְקִיחָה** handle, *Kel.* xvi. 4.

עֲוָה festival sacrifice, *Hag.* i. 2; **חֲצִיצָה** intervening object, *BQ* 82 a; **בַּפְּפָה** basket, *So.* ii. 1. **לָה**: **נְבִיחָה** leaf, *'AZ* iii. 8; **רְטִיחָה** plaster, *'Er.* x. 13.

Abstracts (*nomina actionis*) can be formed at will from every verb. Exx.: **אֲכִילָה** eating, *MŠ* i. 7; **בְּרִיבָה** searching, *Pes.* i. 1; **אֲמִיחָה** quaffing, *Šab.* viii. 1; **רִיבָה** treading, *Šebi.* v. 2; **רִיבָה** inquiry; **חֲקִירָה** investigation, *San.* iv. 1, 5; **סְמִיבָה** laying on of hands; **קְמִיצָה** taking of a handful; **מְלִיקָה** pinching bird's head, *Qid.* i. 8; **רְחִיצָה** washing, *Yo.* iii. 1; **שְׁחִיטָה** slaying, *ib.* i. 7; **קְרִיאָה** reading, *Ber.* i. 1; **קִיחָה** (= **לְקִיחָה**) taking, *Sifra* 45 c; *Qid.* 2 a; **יְצִיאָה** going out, *Šab.* i. 1; **לִירָה** = **יְלִירָה** birth, *Ket.* iv. 3.

עָוָה coming, *Pes.* ix. 4; **טִיחָה** daubing, *Neg.* xii. 6; **לִישָׁה** kneading, *Men.* v. 2; **מִיתָה** death, *Yo.* viii. 8; **סִיבָה** anointing, *Šab.* ix. 4 (*L* **יְסִיבָה**: so elsewhere, e.g. *Yo.* viii. 1).

עָוָה mingling, *Men.* vi. 3; **חֲפִיפָה** cleansing the head, *MŠ* ii. 3; **פְּתִיחָה** crumbling, *Men.* vi. 4; **רְקִיקָה** spitting, *Ber.* ix. 5.

לָה: **אֲפִיחָה** baking, *Men.* v. 2; **דְּחִיחָה** pushing, *Yo.* vi. 6; **בְּרִיחָה** digging, *BQ* v. 6; **עֲלִיחָה** going up, *Šeq.* viii. 2; **צְלִיחָה** roasting, *Pes.* vi. 1; **רְבִיחָה** increasing; **פְּרִיחָה** fruitfulness, *Yeb.* vi. 7; **שְׁחִיחָה** drinking, *Yo.* viii. 1.

A number of nouns add the abstract suffix **וּת**—(cf. below, § 272) to strengthen the abstract significance, e.g. **אֲרִיסוּת** tenancy, *Pea* v. 5; **גְּמִילוּת** doing, *ib.* i. 1; **פְּרִישוּת** separation, *Ab.* iii. 13; **שְׁתִּיקוּת** silence, *Git.* iv. 8, &c.

220. (c) *Qatál.* To this form belong the Passive Participles *Qal*, and verbal adjectives like **חֲמִיר** weighty, strict, *Kel.* i. 4;

ערום subtle, So. iii. 41; פְּחוּת¹ less, Yo. ii. 5. Further, nouns: בְּחוּר young man, Ta'a. iv. 8; חָלִיק smooth, shirt, Šab. x. 3; חֲרוֹב carob tree, Šebi. vii. 5; חֲתוּל cat, BQ 18 b.

Fem.: בְּתוּלָה virgin, Ket. i. 1; חֲבוּרָה company, Ber. vii. 51; חֲלִירָה rust, Kel. xiii. 5; סְעוּרָה meal, Ber. vi. 6; שְׁמוּעָה report, Ber. ix. 2.

To this class may, perhaps, be reckoned also fem. nouns with sharpening of the third radical: כְּהוּנָה priesthood, Ab. vi. 5; כְּתוּבָה writ, marriage settlement, Qid. ii. 5; קְרוּשָׁה holiness, RH iv. 5 cf. Barth, op. cit., § 95.

(iv) Ground-form *Qeʿlāl*, *Qeʿlīl*, *Qeʿlāl*.

230. (a) *Qeʿlāl*. אֲלָל offal, Hul. ix. 1; חֲטָם nose ring, Šab. v. 1; כְּתָב writing, Ket. ii. 3; סִיג hedge, Ab. i. 2; סִיחַ young ass, BB v. 3; פְּרָם reward, Ab. i. 4; שָׂרָף resin, 'Or. i. 7; שְׂאָר, שְׂרָר remainder, So. vii. 7; סְתָם undefined, 'AZ i. 5; פְּגָם blemish, Me'il. v. 1; שְׂטָר document, Šebi. x. 1. ע"ע בְּלָל general rule, Ber. vi. 2.

With *ā* obscured into *ō*: בְּכוֹר first-born, Zeb. v. 8; חֲמוֹר ass, Bek. i. 2; חֲסוּם muzzle, Kel. xvi. 7; מְחוּל milt, Hul. iii. 2. ע"ע: צִרוֹר knot, Kel. xxvi. 4; צָנָן radish, Kil. i. 5.

Fem.: יְרוּקָה sea-weed, Šab. ii. 1; עֲבוּדָה service, Kil. vi. 1; שְׂעוּרָה barley corn, 'Ed. vi. 3. Segolate forms²: כְּתוּבָת tattooing, Mak. iii. 6; נְחֹשֶׁת copper, Kel. viii. 3; נְסוּרָת chips, Šab. iv. 1; שְׂחוּלָת metal shavings, Kel. xi. 3.

231. (b) *Qeʿlīl*. בְּרִיר spade, Kel. xxix. 7; גֹּיִר log, Yo. ii. 5; גְּרִיר dry season, BM v. 10; גְּרִים pounded grain, Kel. xvii. 12; חֲזִיר swine, Hul. ix. 2; טְפִיחַ pitcher, Šab. xvii. 6; מְלִיחַ pickled food, Ned. ii. 4; סְנִיף attachment, Men. xi. 6; פְּקִיעַ wick, Šeq. v. 1;

¹ Some texts point פְּחוּת; cf. Krauss, *MGWJ.*, li, p. 57.

² Cf. Stade, § 208 c; Ges.-K., § 84 A n.

עָמִיד amulet, Kel. xxiii. 1; שְׁבִיל path, Pea ii. 1; שְׁלִיל embryo, Hul. vii. 1; פְּנִים¹ interior, Šab. i. 1.

232. (c) *Qetal*: פְּבֹל border, Šeq. vii. 3; פְּבֹל hair net, Šab. vi. 1; צָלוֹב gallows, Šab. vi. 10; תְּחוּב shoot, t. Šebi. i. 9; תְּחוּם boundary, 'Er. iii. 4; מְלוּג usufruct, Yeb. vii. 1; פְּטוּר discharge, Git. ix. 3; פְּסוּל disqualification, Yo. i. 1; נְשִׁבֵית resting, Pes. vi. 2.

(v) Ground-form *Qatāl, Qāfil, Qātūl*.

233. (a) *Qatāl*, the *ā* obscured to *ō*: חוֹמָם nose, Bek. vi. 4; חוֹתֵל wrapper, Kel. xvi. 11; חוֹתָם seal, Šab. viii. 5; שׁוֹבֵךְ dovecot, ib. xxiv. 3; שׁוֹפָר trumpet, RH iii. 3.

234. (b) *Qatīl*. To this form belongs the Active Participle *Qal* of transitive verbs. Also a number of nouns of participial origin, e.g. סוֹחֵר merchant, Šeq. vii. 2; פוֹשֵׁר lukewarm water, Šab. xx. 3; צוּן cold water, ib. iii. 4; קוֹץ (= קוֹצֵץ) clods, MŠ v. 1.

Fem.: חוֹצֵלָת mat, 'Ed. iii. 4; יוֹתֵרָת lobe; כּוֹתֵבָת date, Yo. viii. 2.

235. (c) *Qatūl*. To this class belong the following *nomina agentis* with *ū* modified to *ō*: מְחוֹן miller, Dam. iii. 5; BQ 99 b; BB 93 b; לְעוֹ (so L), לְעוֹת speaker of foreign tongue, Meg. ii. 1; מְרוֹק woolcomber, Kel. xxvi. 5; מְרוֹקוֹת ib. xii. 2: the following occur in the plural only: מְרוֹבוֹת wine pressers, Ter. iii. 4; מְכוֹרוֹת tenants, Bik. i. 2; מְרוֹסוֹת grist makers, Men. x. 4; מְשׁוֹשׁוֹת groat makers (רֵישׁ = דֵּשׁ) MQ ii. 5; מְסוֹרוֹת informers, 'AZ 26 b; מְשׁוֹחוֹת measurers, surveyors, 'Er. iv. 11; מְקוֹסוֹת gatherers, BM 72 b; t. BM vi. 1; מְשׁוֹשׁוֹת j. Pea viii. 1 (cf. § 177, note); מְקוֹחוֹת purchasers, Ket. viii. 1: the sing., however, is always לּוֹקֵחַ. This form may, perhaps, be due to a deliberate change of spelling by the scribes, who mistook the form מְקוֹחַ for the participle passive לְקוֹחַ. To the ignorance of the scribes are also due the forms מְחוֹן, מְרוֹק, and לְעוֹ, in some texts.

The form *Qatūl* is also found in the following names of instru-

¹ This is the traditional pronunciation; cf. BH. 1 Kings vi. 29.

ments : **רְקוֹר** a borer, Kel. xiv. 3 ; **מְחוֹק** an instrument for levelling a measure of grain, ib. xvii. 6 ; **שְׁחוֹר** a razor, ib. xiii. 1 ; **קְמוֹכוֹת** supporters, artificial legs, Šab. vi. 8 ; **רְחוֹשׁ** reptile-shaped ornament, t. 'AZ v. 2. Perhaps also **אֲרוֹם** timbrel, Kel. xv. 6 (L, but So. ix. 14 : **אִירוֹם**, also in L).

The form is very common in Aram. (**مَفْعَلٌ كَمَوْلَا**), but it also occurs in BH nearly as often as in MH, viz. **אָמוֹן**, **בָּחוֹן**, **חָמוֹץ**, **יְקוֹשׁ**, **יְקוֹשׁ**, **עָשׂוֹק**, **רְזוֹן**; perhaps also **צָרוּף** a refiner, Jer. vi. 29 ; the fem. **בְּגוֹדָה**, perhaps also **שְׂרוּדָה** (Psa. cxxxvii. 9, for **שְׂרוּדָה**), and as *nomen instrumenti* : **תְּקוֹעַ** (Ezek. vii. 4).

236. (vi) Ground-form **Qaṭāl** : **גוֹדָל** thumb, Nid. viii. 1 ; with prosthetic א : **אֲגוֹדָל** Yo. ii. 1 ; **בּוֹפֵחַ** small oven, Šab. iii. 2 ; **שׂוֹעַל** fox, Šab. vi. 10.

(2) Nouns derived from the Intensive Stem.

(i) Ground-form **Qāṭṭal**, **Qāṭṭil**, **Qāṭṭul**.

237. (a) **Qaṭṭāl**, **Qaṭṭāl**: chiefly *nomina opificum*, describing the occupation or profession of the substantive : **אֲנָם** robber, Kil. vii. 6 ; **בְּהָם** cattle-driver, j. Pes. i. 1 ; **בְּבָקָר** cowherd, j. Be. v. 3 ; **בְּבָל** camel-driver, Qid. iv. 13 ; **חֲמָר** ass-driver ; **סָפֵן** sailor ; **סָפָר** barber, ib. ; **נִגְנֵב** thief, BM iii. 1 ; **בְּתָף** porter, Kel. xii. 2 ; **נִבְרָ** carpenter, t. BQ vi. 25 ; **פִּפְטָם** poulterer, 'Er. x. 9 ; **צִפְרָ** wool dealer, ib. ; **קִרְרָ** potter, BQ iii. 4.

With **ר** in the second radical : **הֲרָג** murderer ; **הֲרָם** confiscator, Ned. iii. 4 ; **נִבְרָר** weaver, Kil. ix. 10.

רְזוֹן bachelor, Qid. iv. 13 ; **בִּיר** well sinker, Šebi. viii. 5 ; **רִיזוֹן** judge, Pea viii. 9 ; **תַּיִט** tailor, Šab. i. 3 ; **טָל** man of leisure, Ket. v. 7.

לָה, with — in the second radical for —, in Aram. fashion : **בְּנָא** builder, Kel. xiv. 3 ; **גְּבָא** collector, Dam. iii. 1. Adjectives : **רְבָא** suspect, Dam. i. 1 ; **וְרָא** certain, ib. iv. 4 ; **וִבָא** innocent,

Ab. i. 8; חָשׂא' silent, modest, Šeq. v. 6; לְנוֹי accompanying, Neg. xiv. 6; רָשׂא' permitted, Šab. xxiii. 3.

Fem. Concrete: בְּשָׂה dry land, Git. 56 b; עֲבָבָה rim, 'AZ v. 1; and with ת at the end: בְּלָשָׁת reconnoitring troop, t. Be. ii. 6; גַּמְלָת caravan of camels; חֲמֹרֶת caravan of asses, San. x. 5; יִבְלָת wart, 'Er. x. 3; בְּבִשָּׁת pressed vegetables, t. Šebi. iv. 16; בְּנוֹרֶת beehive, Šebi. viii. 10; קְרַחַת bald, empty space, Kil. iv. 1.

Abstracts, including *nomina actionis*, chiefly with הֶה: בְּטָלָה idleness, Ab. iii. 4; הֵיָה being, Mekil. (Weiss), 85; Qid. 5 a; יִבְבָּה cry, RH iv. 9; בְּנוּה intention, 'Er. iv. 4; בְּפָרָה atonement, Neg. ii. 1; סִכְנָה danger, Ber. iv. 4; עֲבָבָה or עֲקָבָה detention, 'AZ v. 7; קִבְלָה reception, Zeb. i. 6. Cf. BH בְּקָרָה, בְּקִשָּׁה, נִאָּצָה, &c.; see Ges.-K., § 84, v e.

The form is comparatively rare in MH, as in BH, and cannot like the other verbal nouns *Qittūl* (§ 241) and *Qe'illā* (§ 228) be formed at will.

238. (b) *Qattil, Qattil*: the infinitive of Pi'el; יָקִיר notable, Yo. vi. 4; בְּשִׁיל axe, BQ x. 10; סִכְנֵי knife, ib. iv. 9; פְּצִים board, Šab. viii. 5; צְרִיִק righteous, Ab. i. 2.

239. (c) *Qattūl, Qattūl*: חֲדוּר point, Kel. ii. 9; חֲנִינִי gracious, Šab. 133 b; טְבוּר navel, Šab. xviii. 3; בְּדוּר ball, Kel. x. 4; עֲפוּר pillar, Ber. i. 2; שְׁפוּר spit, 'AZ v. 12.

Fem.: חֲבוּרָה wound, BQ viii. 1; בְּצוּרֶת drought, Ab. v. 8; מִסּוּרֶת tradition, ib. iii. 13.

(ii) Ground-form *Qittal, Qittil, Qittul, Qittōl*.

240. (a) *Qittāl, Qittāl*: אָבָר husbandman, 'Arak. vi. 3; עֵיקָר root, principal, Ber. vi. 7.

(b) *Qittil, Qittil*: דִּבְרָר speech, Mekil. 5; fem.: דְּבָרוֹת BQ 54 b; כִּסֵּא chair, Tam. i. 1; רְבִית usury RH i. 8; עֲרִית choice land, Git. v. 1. The form is further used, as in BH, to express a

¹ Some texts have בּוֹלְשָׁת, a participial form, § 234.

physical defect: אֵלֶם dumb, Ter. i. 6; גִּבְנוֹ hunchback, Bek. vii. 2; גָּדָם with hands cut off; חֵיָר lame; חֵרֵשׁ deaf, San. viii. 4; עֵיָקָל with crooked feet; צָמָם with large ears; צָמַע with small ears, Bek. vii. 4, 6; קָפַח lanky, ib.;¹ קָטַע crippled, Šab. vi. 8; and by analogy: פִּיקַח hearing, Yeb. xiv. 1.

241. (c) *Qittāl*. This form is widely used as a verbal noun for P'el, and can be formed at will from any verb. It has primarily an abstract significance, but is also found in concretes in a derived sense.

Exx.: אִסּוּר prohibition, 'AZ ii. 3; בִּיטּוּל idling, interruption, Šab. xvi. 1; גִּדּוּל growth, Ber. vi. 3; דְּיָבוּק joining together, Ab. vi. 5; הִילָכָה walking, Yo. ii. 3; חֵיבּוּר joining, Kil. ix. 10; יָבוּם levirate marriage, Yeb. i. 1; קָבוּד honouring, Pea i. 1; לִימוּד learning, Ab. vi. 5; נְסוּף libation, Suk. iv. 9; סִידּוּק cleaving, Pes. iii. 5; יִירוּד trimming, Šebi. ii. 3; מִירוּף confusion, Ber. v. 4; פִּירוּשׁ explanation, 'AZ i. 5; צִיְהוּב gilding, Hul. i. 5.

עוּוֹת perverting Ab. v. 8; קִיּוּם confirming, Git. ii. 5; שִׁיּוּר (cf. above, § 162) remainder, Ker. ii. 5; תִּיחוּחַ crushing, Oh. xviii. 9.

בִּיטּוּי vain talk, Šebu. iii. 9; יְדוּי confession, San. ii. 6; מְלוּי filling, Dam. vi. 5; עֵינּוּי afflicting, Ab. v. 8; רְפוּי healing, BQ viii. 1.

Concrete: גִּדּוּלִים products, Ber. 40 b; חֵילָוּף exchange, relay, Ber. iii. 1; טִינּוּף filth, Bek. iii. 1; יְשׁוּבָה civilized world, Qid. i. 10; לְמוּדִים boards, MQ ii. 2; חֵיפּוּם steel edge, Kel. xiii. 4; עֵגוּל round cake, BM ii. 1; עֵירוּב 'erub, 'Er. iii. 2; צֵבוּר heap, BM ii. 2; שִׁיעוּר measure, Pea i. 1.

פִּירוּר crumb, Šab. xxiv. 3; חֵיפּוּי wrapping, Kel. xvi. 8; כְּפוּי cover, Šab. xvii. 8; קֵיפּוּי froth, Ter. iv. 11.

Fem.: בְּבִרָה early fig, Ter. iv. 6.

The form is found in a number of technical terms in the plural

¹ So יִתָּר one with superfluous fingers or toes, ib., in L, for יָתָר in edd.

only: אֵירוּסִין betrothal, Yeb. vi. 4; נִישׁוּאִין matrimony Ket. i. 4; קִירוּשִׁין betrothal; גִּירוּשִׁין divorce, Yeb. iii. 8; בִּירוּרִין arbitration; מִיאֵוּנִין annulment of minority marriage, BM i. 8; וִירוּיִן urgings (of vows), Ned. iii. 1; also יְסוּרִין suffering, Ber. 5 a.

The form is found in BH both as abstract and concrete, in the sing. and in the plural: חֲבוּק, חֲבוּקִים, שְׁקוּץ, שְׁקוּצִים, לְמוֹד, לְמוֹדִים, גְּדוּפִים, גְּדוּפִים, מְלֵאִים, &c. Cf. Ges.-K., § 84 B i; Stade, § 228. So in Sirach: חֲמוֹד xiv. 14; יְסוּרִי xl. 29; לְמוֹד xli. 28; נְסוּי xxxii. 1; xlv. 20.

242. (d) *Qittōl*, *Qittōl*: גְּבוּר mighty, Ab. iv. i; גִּיחוּר crimson red, Bek. vii. 6; יְלוּד born, Ab. iv. 21; נִפְלוּל young birds fallen out of their nest, BB ii. 6; נִיצוּץ spark, t. Yo. ii. 3; צְנוּר pipe, Miq. iv. 1; קִיפוּף long-tailed ape, Bek. 8 a; שְׂבוּר drunkard, Bek. vii. 6.

Fem.: בְּקוּרַת inquiry, Ket. xi. 5; טִינוּפֹת filth, BB vi. 2; קִיבולָה contract labour, t. MQ ii. 5; קִיבולָת biceps, Men. 37 a, b; שִׁיבולָת ear of corn, Pea v. 2.

243. (iii) Ground-form *Quttal*: שותף partner, Pes. viii. 1 (cf. Sirach xl. 24); אֵרָפֶן artisan, 'AV v. 7; עֵבֶר embryo, Hul. iv. 1.

(3) Nouns formed by Reduplication.

244. (i) Reduplication of the Third radical. These have the vowel *a* in the second syllable, and are mostly of a diminutive significance.

Exx.: גְּבִלּוּל lump of dough, j. Hal. iii. 1; דְּבִלּוּל excrescence, t. Kel. BM vii. 11; קִמְצוּץ compressed, bent up, j. So. ix. 1; סְמִרְטוּט (Saph'el of מֵרַט to pluck, cf. above, § 149), lappet, Šab. xi. 2, and perhaps also וְאִטוּט or וְעִטוּט (= וְיטוּט from וַיטוּט) young man, Meg. 9 a.¹

¹ Kohut, iii. 283 f., holds that וְעִטוּטִי is an error for נְאִטוּטִי = νεώτατοι. The noun is also found in the Arabic dialect of Iraq, cf. Brockelmann, Grundriss, i, § 172 a.

The other examples are all fem. :

עֲרִבּוּבָה mixture, confusion, Kil. v. 1 ; קֶרֶוּיָה (from קָרָה) hollow pumpkin, Pa. v. 3. With the termination ית־ : אֶרְמוּמִית redness, H̄ul. 87 b ; לְבַנְנִית whiteness, N^{eg.} iv. 4 ; שְׁחֹרִירִית blackness, ugliness, Ta'a. 23 b ; מְשֻׁבּוּבִית leading ram, BQ 52 b ; רְקִבּוּבִית rottenness, Yo. 38 b ; שְׁמֹנִיָּית oily substance, Be. 28 a.

Diminutives : גְּבֻשׁוּשִׁית a hillock, heap, Šab. 23 b ; גּוּפְמִית little hole, t. Miq. iii. 4 ; גְּנִינִית little garden, BB 68 a, b ; דְּגִינִית a light fisher-boat (contracted to דִּינִית), BB 78 b ; וְרִבּוּבִית little pipe, Lev. R. 5 ; Num. R. 10 ; עֲפֹרִירִית little dust, BB 93 b ; שְׁלוּלִית pool, Oh. xvi. 5 ; תְּלוּלִית hillock, ib. 7.

Cf. BH נַעְצוּיָם, נִאֲפֹפִים, שְׁעֵרִירָה, &c., Stade, § 231.

A BH parallel to the diminutive significance of reduplicated form is to be found in שְׁחֹרְחֹרֶת Cant. i. 6, which can only mean blackish, dark. Perhaps also יִרְקָרֵק, יִרְמָרֵם¹ Lev. xiii. 42, 43 ; אֶסְפָּסוּף rabble, Num. xi. 4, and פְּרִתָּח low brood, Job xxx. 12 (cf. פְּרִתֵי כְהוֹנֵה young priests, Yo. i. 7 ; Tam. i. 1), are to be regarded as diminutives, the last two nouns with a contemptuous significance.

245. (ii) Reduplication of Second and Third radicals.

אֶרְמָרֵם red ; יִרְקָרֵק yellow, N^{eg.} iii. 8 ; חֲוֹרֹרֵר spotted, white, B^{ek.} vi. 3 ; סָגִלְגָּלָה round, Šab. 31 a ; שְׂרָפְרָף camp stool, Kel. xxiii. 2 ; שְׂרָרְרָק gier eagle, H̄ul. 63 a.

With *ō* in the second syllable, cf. BH פְּתִלְתֵּל, שְׁחֹרְחֹרֶת, &c. (Ges.-K., § 84 B n) ; תְּלִלְלוּג purslane, Šebi. ix. 1 ; תְּלִלְלוּחַ a species of peas, t. Pea i. 7 ; יִרְקָרֹקֶת yellowish, M^{eg.} 13 a ; צְמִרְמִרוֹת feverish flushes, Nid. ix. 8.

Diminutives : בְּצִלְצִיל dwarf onion, Kil. i. 3 ; פְּרוּטְרוּט units, details, t. MŠ ii. 11. So the 'caritative form : יְפִיפִין very beautiful,

¹ Cf. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*, and on Cant., l. c. In N^{eg.} xi. 4 ; Sifra, xiii. 49, however, these terms are explained as intensives. Cf. also Brockelmann, *ib.*, i, § 172.

Ned. 20 b; יְפִיפִיָּה Pes. 6 b; יְפִיפִיּוֹת Meg. 15 a; Ta'a. 31 a, cf. Jerem. xlv. 20. For the diminutive character of the vowel \acute{e} = ai, cf. § 273.

If the third radical is ל or ר it is sometimes omitted: מְטוּטָּלַת (= מְטַלְטָּלַת) plummet, Kel. xii. 8; שְׂפוּפָרֶת (= שְׂפַרְפָּרֶת), tube, ib. ii. 4. So עֲנֻקָּלוֹת for עֲנֻקָּלוֹת (from עֲנַק = עֲנַק), undeveloped grapes, 'Or. i. 8.

246. (iii) Reduplication of the whole Stem,¹ in ע"ו and ע"ע roots.

(a) Ground-form *Qatqat*, *Qatqit*, *Qatqut*: גִּלְגָּל wheel, Mid. v. 4; גִּרְגִּיר berry, Šebi. iii. 7; פְּבִבָּב lid, Kel. ii. 3; קִנְקִנּוֹ cylindrical vessel, Ab. iv. 20.

Fem.: קִלְקָלָה disgrace, Ab. iv. 18; קִרְקָרָה bottom of vessel, Kel. ii. 2; צַפְצָפָה a species of willow, Suk. iii. 3; בִּלְבָלָה basket, Pea vii. 3; גִּרְגִּירָת windpipe, Hul. iii. 1; פִּרְפָּרֶת hash, Ber. vi. 5; שִׁבְשִׁבָּת paste, Šab. viii. 4; שִׁלְשִׁלָּת chain, BQ. vii. 7.

Qatqit. The Infinitives of Pilpel: טַלְטַל, תִּקְלַל, &c., cf. §§ 182, 195.

Qatqut: דְּרִדְרִיר, cask on wheels, Kel. xv. 1; חִמְחִים cartilage, Bek. vi. 1; חִרְחִיר coulter, Kel. xiii. 3; פִּטְפִּיט peg, Šab. viii. 4.

Fem.: גִּנוּגִּנַּת parasol, Kel. xvi. 7 (L); גִּרוּגִּרָת dry fig, Šab. vii. 4; קִנְיֻקִּנּוֹת (from קִנָּה) branch sinews, Hul. 92 a, b.

247. (b) Ground-form *Qitqat*, *Qitqit*, *Qitqut*.

Qitqat: פִּרְרִי (= פִּרְרִי) loaf, Pea viii. 7; פִּשְׁפִּשׁ wicket, Mid. i. 7; שִׁשְׁשִׁת secretion, Šab. xxi. 2.

Qitqit: פִּלְפִּיל pepper (diminutive of פִּיל) TY i. 5; פִּשְׁפִּישׁ bug, Ter. viii. 2.

Qitqut: This form is very common as a verbal noun of Pilpel, corresponding to *Qitful* for the Intensive Stem (§ 241), and also in a secondary sense as a concrete: בִּלְבִיל growth of hair, Šab. viii. 4; לִפְלוּף glutinous substance, Miq. ix. 4; מְלִמּוּל crumbs, ib. ix. 2; קִלְקוּל disorder, MQ 12; בְּעִבּוּעַ swelling, Miq. x. 4; דְּקָדְרִיק subtle

¹ Here may also be mentioned the form לִילִי, construct of לַיְלָה night, Suk. 48 a, and often, for BH לִיל; cf. BDB s. v. and reff.

thinking, Ab. vi. 5; הִרְהוּר meditating, Naz. ix. 4; טָלְטוּל moving, Šab. 43 b; לְבַלְיָן moistening, Miq. ix. 4; נִרְנַר shaking, t. Y^{eb}. iv. 8.

248. (c) Ground-form *Qutqut*: טוּטוּם of unknown sex, H^{ag}. i. 1; קָקִיר skull, Neg. x. 10; גִּלְגוּל skull, Ab. ii. 6.

(4) *Nouns formed by means of Prefixes.*

249. (i) With Prefix א: אָבוּב flute, Kel. ii. 3; אָנוּדְל thumb, Yo. ii. 1; אָנָף door-step, N^{ed}. vii. 5; אָרְכוּבָה knee, Kil. vii. 1; אָשְׁבוּרֵן pond, Oh. iii. 3; אָשְׁפוֹת¹ dung-hill, Kel. xxvii. 11; אָנְרוֹף fist, ib. xvii. 12; אָמְצַע middle, Šab. ix. 2; אָפְרוֹחַ chicken, H^{ul}. xii. 3; אָפּוֹן bean, Pea iii. 3; also אָפּוּל t. Ter. x. 15; אָסְקוּפָה threshold, Šab. x. 2.

In the following verbal nouns the א is a phonetic modification of ה (cf. the next section and above, § 43); אָבְעֵיָה search, Pea iv. 5; אָגָדָה Agadah, N^{ed}. iv. 3; אָוְהָרָה warning, P^{es}. iii. 1; אָוְזָאָה wrong, BM iv. 3.

250. (ii) Prefix ה. These are all verbal nouns with an abstract significance formed from the Hiph'il. They fall into two classes: (a) masculines in the form *Haqtel*, confined chiefly to strong verbs, and (b) feminines in the form *Haqtala*, for all classes of verbs. Some of the *Haqtel* forms have assumed a secondary concrete significance.

251. (a) *Haqtel*. This is practically the old Infinitive Hiph'il

¹ From שָׁפַת, as is shown by the plur. אָשְׁפָתוֹת, Š^{ebi}. i. 1-3; So. 42 b, &c. The form אָשְׁפוֹת is for שָׁפַת with *a* obscured to *o*. אָשְׁפַת, which seems to have survived in popular speech, was reduced to אָשְׁפָה by the elision of the final ת, on the analogy of the fem. termination. So K^{et}. vii. 5; BM. v. 7; BB. v. 3; M^oil. iii. 6. L and other texts have, however, אָשְׁפוֹת. In BM. ii. 3 also L reads אָשְׁפָה. So often in the Talmud: Šab. 15 a (contrast with 'Ed. i. 3); P^{es}. 8 b, &c. The Palestinian Talmud has often אָשְׁפָה: j. Sab. ii. 3; j. K^{et}. i. 10. Cf. also *JQR.*, xx, p. 715.

fossilized into a noun. The traditional, and no doubt correct, pronunciation of the prefix with *e* for *a*, seems to have arisen through assimilation to the *e* in the second syllable.¹

Exx.: **הִבְעֵר** burning, BQ i. 1; **הִבְקַר** or **הִפְקַר** (cf. above, § 49), ownerless property, Pea vi. 1; **הִפְסִיד** loss, Ab. v. 4; **הִפְשִׁיט** flaying, Yo. ii. 7; **הִקְדִּישׁ** consecrated property, Ter. i. 5; **הִרְגִּיל** habit, Šab. i. 5; **הִסְגִּיר** shutting up, Meg. i. 7.

פִּיַר: **הִיכַר** recognition, 'Er. 11 b; **הִיפַט** shaking, Toh. xi. 1; **הִיקַף** circumference, Kel. xvii. 8; **הִיקַשׁ** comparison, Zeb. 50 a; **הִיַף** waving, Suk. iii. 12.

When followed by a genitive, the prefix preserves, if tradition can be trusted, the old BH vowel. Thus: **כָּל נֹקוֹ הַכֶּשֶׁר** rendering fit (= responsibility for) all its damage, BQ i. 1; **הַעֲלִים שְׂרָץ** unconsciousness of the reptile, Šebu. iii. 4; **הַעֲרֵב שֶׁמֶשׁ** setting of the sun, Hal. i. 9; **יָד הַשֹּׁגֵי יָד** reaching of the hand, 'Ar. iv. 1 (cf. Lev. xxvii. 8); **הַשִּׁב אֲבֵדָה** restoring lost property, BM vii. 4; **הַגִּזַּח הַחֲפוּה** the rising of the sun, Ber. i. 2.

This substantival use of the Infin. Hiph'il is found also in BH, e. g. **הִפְצֵר** 1 Sam. xv. 23; **הִשְׁמַד** Isa. xiv. 23; **הַמְשִׁיל** Job xxv. 2; **הוֹכֵחַ** ib. vi. 25; cf. Stade, § 245.

252. (*b*) *Haqtala*: **הִבְדִּילָה** separation, Hul. i. 7; **הִבְעֵרָה** kindling, Šab. ii. 6; **הִנְבְּהָה** lifting, Qid. i. 4; **הִטְמִינָה** hiding, Šab. 39 a; **הִכְנִיסָה** bringing in, ib. 2 a; **הִפְסְקָה** interruption, Ta'a. 4 b; **הִקְטִירָה** burning incense, Qid. i. 8; **הִרְפְּתָה** grafting, Šebi. ii. 6; **הִרְקָדָה** sifting, Pes. 11 a.

לָה: **הִשְׁקִיָה** giving to drink, Meg. ii. 7; **הִיָּה** or **הִזָּאה** sprinkling, Qid. i. 8.

פִּיַר: **הִנְשָׂה** bringing near, ib.

עָוִי: **הִבְאָה** bringing, Pea i. 1; **הִרְחָה** rinsing, Šab. xxii. 2; **הִטְבָּה**

¹ For a similar change in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 27 p; Stade, § 81; also Sznajder, p. 231.

doing good, Šebu. iii. 5; הִנְחָה laying down, Kel. viii. 8; הִרְעָה doing ill, Šebu. iii. 5.

פִּי הוֹרָאָה confessing, ib. vi. 1; הוֹרָאָה bringing out, Šab. 2 b; הוֹרְרָה bringing down, Mid. iv. 1.

For the change of ה to א cf. above, § 249.

This form which is identical with the Aram. infin. Aph'el (Haph'el) is probably older than the ordinary infin. with *ē* (= *f*) in the second syllable.¹ In BH it is found already in Isaiah: הִכָּרָה iii. 9; הִנְפָּה xxx. 28. Further, with א in אֶזְכְּרָה Lev. ii. 2, &c.; besides הִנְחָה Esther ii. 18; הִעֲלָה ib. iv. 14. In Sirach: הִשָּׁנָה xxxv. 10; הוֹרָאָה li. 17; הִצְנַע xvi. 25; xxxii. 3; cf. Micah vi. 8.

253. (c) With the prefix הִ is found the reflexive verbal noun הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּוִת bowing down, Šebu. ii. 3; הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיּוֹת Šeq. vi. 1; Tam. vii. 3, formed on the analogy of בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּיתִי 2 Kings v. 18. Cf. Stade, § 254.

254. (iii) Prefix י. In a few nouns, consisting, chiefly, of names of animals and plants; cf. BH יִחְמוֹר, יִזְנָה, &c. Stade, § 259, Barth, p. 226 f.

Exx.: יִבְחוּשׁ a kind of gnat, Nid. iii. 2; יִתוּשׁ gnat, t. Šab. xii. 4; יִרְבִּיז strawberry-blight, Šebi. ix. 1; יִחוּר branch, Kil. i. 8; further, יִצוּל handle of a plough, Kel. xxi. 2; יִתְיִכִין tongs, ib. xii. 3.

255. (iv) Prefix מ. As in BH, מ is extensively used for the formation of nouns of the following classes: (1) subjective nouns, including the Participles of the derived active stems of Verbs; also a number of *nomina actionis*, e.g. מְנַעַע, מְדַרְשׁ, מְמַכֵּר; (2) objective nouns, including the Participles of the derived passive stems of Verbs; also a number of concrete nouns, representing the result of an action, e.g. מְאֻפָּה, מְעֻשָּׂה, מְוֹתֵר; (3) names of instruments and tools, e.g. מְדוּדָה, מְכַבֵּשׁ, מְנַעֵל; (4) nouns of a local significance, e.g. מְבוּי, מְחַצֵּב, מְרַחֵץ.

¹ Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 73, 90.

256. (a) Ground-form *Maqṭal*, *Maqṭil*, *Maqṭul*.

Maqṭal: מֵאֵכֶל food, Šab. 10 a; מְחַצֵּב quarry, Šebi. iii. 5; מְנַעֵל shoe, Šab. viii. 2; מְעַצֵּר adze, BQ x. 10. With *ā* changed to *ē*: מְרַחֵץ bath, Šab. i. 2; cf. Stade, § 270; also Ges.-K., § 85 h.

מְנַע touch, Hul. iv. 4; מְדַף instrument for driving away, Kel. xvi. 7; מְסֵר saw, Šab. xvii. 4; מְשֵׂא or מְשׂוֹי burden, Šebi. iii. 6; מְתֵן gift, Ab. ii. 1.

מְוֵר remnant, Kil. v. 4; מְיַחֵם heating-pan, Šab. iii. 3 (from יחם = חמם); מְיַטֵב best, BQ i. 1.

מְוֵר light-hole, Šab. xxiv. 5; מְבוֹי (= מְבוֹא) entrance, 'Er. i. 1; מְרוּדָה pestle, Be. i. 7; מְזוּן food, 'Er. iii. 1; מְחֹל circle, Kil. iv. 2; מְקוּף the eye of a coultter, Kel. xiii. 3.

מְפִשׁ palpable, real, San. v. 4; מְנַפֵּים greaves, Kel. xi. 8.

מְאָפָה baked, 'Er. vii. 10; מְאָקָה roasting-place, Ta'a. iii. 1; מְקַפָּה mess of grist, Šab. xvii. 5.

Fem.: מְחַשְׁבָּה thought, Ber. 61 a; מְטַהֲרֶת gutter, Miq. vi. 11; מְקַלְעָה braid, Yo. vi. 7; מְרַדְעָת pack-saddle, Šab. v. 2; מְרַפְסָת veranda, Ma'a. iii. 6.

מְפָה wound, So. iii. 4; מְתַנָּה gift, Zeb. v. 1.

מְנוּפָה stopper, Šab. xxii. 3; מְרוּיָכָה mortar, Kel. xxiii. 2; מְצוּרָה net, ib. xxi. 3; מְרִינָה district, RH iv. 3; מְחִיצָה partition, Kil. iv. 4; מְעִיפָה flour paste, Hul. i. 6.

Maqṭil: מְטַבֵּעַ coin, Šab. vi. 7; מְכַבֵּשׁ press, ib. xx. 5; מְלָבֵן frame, Neg. xiii. 3; מְלַקֵּט (or מְלַקֶּט L) pincher, Mak. iii. 5; מְסַמֵּר nail, Kel. xii. 5; מְסַרֵּק comb, ib. xiii. 8; מְעַבֵּר pitchfork (or מְעַדֵּר) ib. 7; מְעַטֵּן vat, BM v. 7; מְפַתַּח key, Kel. xiv. 8; מְרַפֵּס elbow, 'Ar. v. 1; מְרַצֵּעַ awl, Qid. 21 b; מְרַתֵּף store-room, Pes. i. 1; מְשַׁבֵּר travelling chair, Kel. xxiii. 4; מְתַבֵּן store of straw, 'Er. vii. 5.

Fem.: מְנַרְפָּה shovel, Tam. ii. 1; מְנַחֲלָה gutter, BB iii. 6; מְשַׁפְּלָה wicker-basket, Šebi. iii. 2; מְאִירָה curse, Suk. iii. 10; מְנַפָּה wound, Makš. vi. 8.

Maqṭul, only fem. nouns. The *ū* is changed to *ō* and usually

spelt with ו: מַאֲכֹלֶת louse, Šab. 12 a; מַחְרוֹץ string, BM ii. 1; מַחְלָקֶת controversy, Ab. v. 20; מַסְפּוֹרֶת scissors, Šab. 48 b; מַפּוֹלֶת fall, Pes. ii. 3.

257. (b) Ground-form *Miqṭal*, *Miqṭil*, *Miqṭul*.

Miqṭal: מִדְּבָר wilderness, Ber. ix. 2; מִדְּרָס treading, Kel. xxiv. 1; מִנְרָן mattress, ib. xix. 3; מִמְּכָר selling, Meg. iii. 2; מִנְהַג custom, BM vii. 1; מִשְׁתָּה feast, Ber. i. 1; מִטָּח taking, Ab. iv. 22.

Fem.: מִדְּלֻעוֹת, מִקְשָׁאוֹת fields of pumpkins, of cucumbers, Šebi. ii. 1; מִזוֹנָה travelling-bag, Kel. xx. 1; מִכּוֹה burn, Neg. ix. 1; מִלְוָה loan, 'AZ iv. 10; מִקְלָה burning, Ta'a. ii. 1; מִשְׁנָה repetition, study, Ab. iii. 7; מִחֲלָה cavity, t. Yeb. xiv. 6; מִסְבָּה winding staircase, Tam. i. 1; מִעֵיפָה flour paste, Hal. i. 6.

Miqṭil: מִזְבֵּחַ altar, Zeb. v. 1.

Miqṭul, only fem.: מִכְמוֹרֶת net, Kel. xxiii. 5; מִשְׁקוֹלֶת plummet, ib. xxix. 3.

258. (c) Ground-form *Muṭal*: Participle Hoph'al; further, מִינְיָמָר perfume, Ber. vi. 6; מִיוֹקֶצֶה store of fruit, Ma'a. i. 5; מִיֶּרְסָה blister, 'Ed. ii. 5.

259. (d) Ground-form *Maqṭál*-*Maqṭól*, *Maqṭíl*, *Maqṭál*.

Maqṭál. The long *a* is obscured to *o*: מִכְּחוֹל eye-painter, Kel. xiii. 8; מִלְקוֹט bag, ib. xvi. 7.

Maqṭíl: Participle of Hiph'il; further, fem. nouns: מִעֲזִיבָה plaster of ceiling, BM x. 1; מִטְּלִית patch, lining, Šab. xxiv. 5; מִרְאִית sight, appearance, ib. xix. 6.

Maqṭál: מִפּוּיָה bellows, t. Be. iii. 15.

260. (e) Ground-form *Maqat̄el*: Participle Pi'el; further some fem. nouns of a participial origin: מִסְּנִינָת sieve, Kel. xiv. 8; מִשְׁמֶרֶת strainer, Ab. v. 15.

261. (v) Prefix נ: Participle Niph'al; further the following nouns: נִבְרָכָת pool, MQ i. 6; נִבְרָשׁוֹת lamp. Yo. iii. 10; נִבְרָדָה stone wall, Ber. ii. 4; נִחְשׁוֹל storm, Yo. 38 a; נִחְיָוִים baker, Dam. ii. 4;

נִצְפָה caper berry, ib. i. 1; נְמוּשׁוֹת aged (groping), Pea viii. 1; cf. § 177, נִיאוֹק uninterrupted flow, Tōh. viii. 9.

262. (vi) Prefix ס, ש: Verbal nouns formed from Saph'el and Šaph'el: סִרְוֹל drawing lines, Gen. R 25; שְׁחָרוֹר manumission, Git. i. 4; שְׁעָבוֹר subjection, Ber. 9 b; שְׁעָמוֹם idiocy, Ket. v. 5; further, סִנְלָנֶל round, Šab. 31 a; סִמְרָטֵט lappet, Šab. xix. 2; סָרָק empty (of a tree that bears no fruit), Kil. vi. 5.

263. (vii) Prefix ת, chiefly in abstracts.

(a) Ground-form *Taqṭal*, *Taqṭil*.

Taqṭal, mostly BH nouns: תַּאֲוָה desire, Ab. iv. 21; תְּוֹדָה thank-offering, Zeb. v. 6; תְּוֹרָה law, Ab. i. 1; תֵּרֶבֶץ court, front, Hul. 43 b; תְּרוּדָה spoon, Kel. xvii. 12.

Taqṭil, only fem.: תּוֹסֶפֶת addition, Bik. iii. 10; תְּחִיָּה resurrection, San. x. 1; תְּפִלָּה prayer, Ber. iv. 1.

264. (b) Ground-form *Tiqṭal*, *Tiqṭul*.

Tiqṭal: תְּנַלְחַח shaving, 'AZ i. 3; תְּקָרָה rafter, BM x. 2.

Tiqṭul, only fem.: תְּקַבּוֹט washing, MQ 15 a; תְּסַפּוֹרַת hair cutting, Sab. 9 b; תְּרַעוּמַת complaint, BM vi. 1; תְּקַרּוּבַת gift, t. BB iv. 14; תְּשַׁחוּרַת youth, AB iii. 2.

265. (c) Ground-form *Taqṭil*, *Taqṭal*.

Taqṭil: תְּבִשִׁיל cooked food, Šab. iii. 1; תְּבָרִיף bundle, BM i. 8; תְּכֵשִׁיט ornament, MQ 9 b; תְּלָמִיד disciple, Ab. iv. 12; תְּמַצִּית juice, Zeb. viii. 7; תְּעַנִּית fast, Ta'a. i. 4; תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ use, service, Yo. viii. 1.

Taqṭal: תְּתַרְוֹת strife, Ber. 17 a; תְּלַמּוּד study, Pea i. 1; תְּמַחוי dish, ib. viii. 7; תְּנַחֲמוּן consolation, Ber. ii. 7; תְּרַבּוּת rearing, Nid. x. 8; תְּשַׁלּוּם payment, BQ i. 1; תְּפִיחַ apple tree, Kil. i. 4; תְּנוּפָה weltering, Oh. ii. 2; תְּמוּרָה exchange, Tem. i. 1; תְּנוּפָה waving, Qid. i. 8; תְּרוּעָה blowing, RH iv. 9; תְּשׁוּבָה repentance, Ab. iv. 11; תְּעַרְבוּבַת exchange, Yeb. xi. 3.

(5) *Nouns formed by means of Suffixes.*

266. (i) Suffix ל¹: אֶשְׁבּוּל cluster, Mid. iii. 8; גַּבְעוּל calyx, Pa. xii. 2; קַרְסוּל ankle, Oh. i. 8; רַבְצָל small bag, Kel. xx. 1.

267. (ii) Suffix ל־, ה־. This suffix is used to form abstract nouns and adjectives. Nouns of a concrete sense with this suffix are mostly of an originally adjectival character (cf. Stade, § 292; Barth, p. 316 f.).

(a) Suffix ל־.

Ground-form *Qaflan*: אֶרְבֵּן prolonger; קַצֵּר shortener, Ber. 34 a; בִּישָׁן shamefaced, Ab. ii. 5; גַּמְלוֹן (also גַּמְלוֹן) camel-like, large, Kil. iii. 2; וְתַח indulgent, BQ 50 a; קַרְחָן bald, Bek. 43 b; מַקְבָּן mallet-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; סַרְבָּן stubborn (L סוֹרְבָן) Ber. v. 2; עַקְרָבִין scorpion-like, 'Er. ii. 6; קַפְדָּן quick-tempered, Ab. ii. 5; גַּנְלוֹ robber, 'Or. i. 2; רַרְשָׁן lecturer, So. ix. 15; רַצָּח murderer, ib. 9; חֹזֵן overseer, Šab. i. 3; סַדָּן block, Kil. i. 8; קַבְּלוֹ contractor, Šebi. iii. 9 (L קוֹבְלוֹ); רִצְעָן saddler, Pea iv. 6.

Qiflan: לְפַתָּן turnip-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; צִיָּקוֹ avaricious, Pes. vii. 8; רִיקוֹן empty, Yo. v. 4 (L רִיקָם, so Ta'a. ii. 2); עַנְיָן subject, t. Meg. iv. 3; פִּשְׁתָּן flax, Šab. iv. 11; תְּלַתָּן fenugreek, Kil. ii. 5.

Qullan: מוֹרְסָן bran, H. Hal. ii. 6; קֶרְבָּן sacrifice, Ned. i. 4; some *Qaflan* forms are in certain texts given as *Qullan*, e. g. סוֹרְבָן, קוֹבְלוֹ, in L, cf. above.

Cf. also the adverbial ending ל־ (= ם־) in בְּאֵן, לְהֵלָן, מַעְלָן, מַטָּן, § 295.

(b) Suffix ה־.

Adjectives: אַחֲרָן last, BQ iv. 1; חֵיצוֹן external, Zeb. v. 1; עֲלִיוֹנָה uppermost, BM iv. 2; תַּחְתּוֹן lower, San. viii. 1; תְּיִכוֹן middle, Ber. 3 b; פְּיִלוֹן wedge-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; קִיָּצוֹן of summer, Šebi.

¹ These are probably diminutive forms, cf. Prätorius, *ZDMG.*, lvii, p. 530 ff. Brockelmann, *ib.*, p. 402.

v. 4; also adjectival nouns: אֶבְיֹן needy, BM 111 b; אֶלְמוֹן widower, Ket. 7 a; אֵילֻנִית barren woman, Yeb. i. 1.

Abstract: חֶסְרוֹן loss, t. Ta'a. i. 2; חֶשְׁבוֹן reckoning, BB 9 b; סְרִיחֹן stench, Pes. 35 a; פְּרִיזֹן ransom, Bek. i. 6; סֶבֶט secret, Hag. 13 a.

With sharpening of the second radical: גְּרַעוֹן diminution, 'Ar. ix. 7; הַשְּׁבֹן restoration (from הִשָּׁב), BM 58 b; זְכוֹרֹן remembrance, RH iv. 6; חִסְפוֹן saving, Men. 86 b; נִפְיֹן trial, Ab. v. 3; נִצְחוֹן victory, So. viii. 1; עֶשְׂרוֹן one-tenth, Men. xiii. 1; פְּקָדוֹן deposit, Šebu. v. 1; פְּרִקוֹן redemption, Ket. iv. 4; פְּשִׁיזֹן spreading, Neg. i. 3; רְאִיוֹן appearance, Pea i. 1.

Concretes with this ending are found only in a few denominatives with a diminutive significance: זְרַעוֹנִים seeds, Kil. iii. 2 (only plur., cf. Dan. i. 16); צִמְחוֹנִים green buds, MŠ ii. 3 (only plur.); חֲבִיוֹנוֹת little jars (from חֲבִית), Kel. ii. 2; כִּידוֹן, כִּידוֹן little javelin, ib. xi. 8; קָנִיזֹן little reed-basket, Be. i. 8.

Cf. BH אִישׁוֹן, אִישׁוֹנִים (Stade, § 296 c; Ges.-K., § 86 g; Barth, p. 348 f.). The form is as scarce in MH as in BH. In Aram., on the other hand, it is extremely common, and can be formed at will from any noun, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 131.

269. (iii) Suffix 'ֹּ, usually spelt אֹּ—, or יֹּ— (in Palestinian texts), to distinguish it from the vowel letter 'ֹּ. It is only found in a few nouns: אֲחֵרִי responsible, Dam. iii. 5 (cf. Prov. xxviii. 23); בְּרִקְאִי (or בִּירְקִי) morning star, Yo. iii. 1; גּוֹבְאִי a kind of locust, Ber. vi. 3; and לְפָנַי within, Zeb. 52 a (cf. 1 Kings vi. 17; Stade, § 301; Ges.-K., § 86 i).

270. (iv) Suffix 'ֹּ. To this formation belong denominative adjectives describing origin.

Of names of peoples: אֶדְוִמִי Edomite, Pes. iii. 1; אִיטָלְקִי Italian, Šebi. i. 3; אֶרְמִי Aramaean, Pes. x. 4; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי Israelite, Qid. iv. 1 (but more often without suffix; יִשְׂרָאֵל AZ iv. 9, 12). Of names of places: גְּלִילִי Galilean, Pes. vii. 1; דְּרוֹמִי southern, Šeq. vi. 3;

ירושלמיִת Jerusalemite; מדברית belonging to the wilderness, Men. vii. 1; בישני of Beth Shean; and with נ inserted: חיפני of Haifa, Meg. 24 b; so טברנית Tiberian, j. Šeq. iii. 2;¹ בופרי rural, wild, Kil. i. 6.

Of numbers, Ordinals: שלשי, רביעי Yo. ii. r. 4; שלשית; רבעי; three, four years old, Pa. i. 1 (cf. below, § 398).

Of other nouns: אוליים born in the month of Elul, Bek. ix. 5; אמצעי middle, Kil. v. 2; אצבעי smallest, dwarf, Bek. 48 b; ביתיות domestic, Be. v. 7; יחירי alone, Ab. iii. 4; עולמית ever, Yeb. iii. 9; פנימי inner, Tam. i. 4; צואי filthy, Hul. xi. 2; פשתני flax dealer, j. Yeb. xiii. 1; שלחני money changer, BM ii. 4.

Sometimes the suffix י— is combined with י—, און: חנוני shop-keeper, Ned. iv. 7; טובעני flooded; יבשני rainless, dry, Ta'a. 10 a; ריקני villager, Dam. vi. 4; רהיטני clipper, Mak. iii. 5; ריחני aromatic, Nid. 52 a; בינוני middle, Ter. iv. 3; עירוני urban, 'Ed. ii. 5; פלוני So-and-So, Git. vi. 3; גרנדניות a species of berry, Ber. 57 b.

271. (v) Suffix ית—, Fem. and chiefly denominative: נגית tub, Šab. xxiv. 5; זבירית poorest soil, Git. v. 1; ורעית family, San. iv. 5; חבית cask, Šab. xvi. 3; חרסית pottery, MŠ v. 1; טלית shawl, Me'il. vi. 4; קבלית pulp, Kel. iii. 6; כפנית date berry, 'Or. i. 9; עדיית best soil, Šebi. v. 4; ערבית evening, Ber. i. 1; שחרית morning, ib. 2; שחצית insolence, j. Šeq. iv. 4.

With Diminutive force: גודרית a little band,² Sifra 110 c; ruined partition wall, 'Er. v. 1; בדירית little pitcher, t. Men. ix. 10; קטנית pulse, Pea i. 4. Perhaps also: דוגית a light fisher-boat, BB 78 b; סנונית a swallow, Šab. 77 b; עפסית pounded wheat or peas, t. Be. i. 23.

¹ Cf. BH. שלני from שלה, &c. Ges.-K., § 85 v.

² So Raši to Lev. xxvi. 31. But Rabad to the Sifra, l.c., explains our word as 'foundation', and this is adopted by Levy, s. v.

Cf. also the reduplicated forms with this suffix enumerated above, § 244.¹

272. (vi) Suffix ית—, chiefly used in forming abstracts from concrete nouns: אומנות handicraft, Qid. iv. 14; אַנְיִנוּת grief, MŠ v. 12; אַרְיִסוּת tenancy; חֲכִירוּת tenure, Bik. i. 11; נְנוּת disgrace, Pes. x. 4; זְכוּת merit, So. iii. 4; חֵירוּת freedom, Pes. x. 5; טְעוּת error, Nəd. ix. 10; יִלְדוּת childishness, So. i. 4; מְלָכוּת kingdom, Ab. iii. 5; מְשִׁחוּת office of anointed priest, Ho. iii. 1; נְקִיּוּת cleanliness, So. ix. 15; עֲנִיּוּת poverty; עֲשִׂירוּת riches, Qid. iv. 14; קְלוּת lightness, Ab. iii. 13; רְשׁוּת permission, ib. 15; רְשׁוּת authority, ib. i. 10; שְׁהוּת while, RH 30 b; תְּרִפוּת obscenity, 'AZ. ii. 3.

Also in *nomina actionis*: נְמִילוּת doing, Ab. i. 2; פְּרִישׁוּת separation, abstinence, So. ix. 15; שְׁפִיכוּת shedding, 'AZ. ii. 1; cf. above, § 228.

This suffix is sometimes combined with another suffix: אַחֲרִיּוּת responsibility, BM ii. 7; פּוֹרְעֵנוּת, punishment, Ab. ii. 7; רְבִנּוּת authority, ib. 10; קְבָלָנוּת contract, BM x. 4 (cf. also Dalman, p. 182).

(6) Formation by Sound-insertion.

273. (i) Insertion of a Vowel Sound to form Diminutives. The original Ground-form was *Qutail* (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 312 ff.; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 137), but in MH the diphthong *ai* was contracted to *é* and *í*. The first vowel *u* was also contracted in most cases to Sh^əwa. We thus get the forms *Qutél*, *Q^étél*, and *Q^éfil*.

Qutél. The only examples are the feminines בִּירְיָה² a little oil press, Šebi. viii. 6 and שׁוּמִירָה³ a watchman's hut, 'Er. ii. 5.

¹ Several BH nouns ending in ית— may also, perhaps, be regarded as diminutive forms, e.g. צִלְחִית, 2 Kings ii. 20, as compared with צִלְחָת (ib. xxi. 13, and, especially, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13), מַנְקִיָּת, Exod. xxv. 29, שְׂאֲרִית.

² This is the reading of the best texts, including L. Other texts have בִּירְיָה, like the Q^éfil forms below.

So N., M., and editions. In BB iv. 8 editions have שׁוּמִירָה, but N.

Qeṭel: חַרְיִיר¹ eyelet of a needle, Kel. xiii. 3; סְלִיל shuttle, Neg. xi. 9. Cf. BH וְעִיר. Perhaps also פְּלִיטָה, שְׂאֲרִית, אֲלִיל, a contemptuous diminutive of אֵל, or אֵל naught.² Also Aram. וְלִיל, וְלִילָא Targum Prov. xiv. 6; xii. 9; xxvii. 7.

Qeṭil, all feminine: חֲפִיסָה a small bag, BM i. 8 (cf. t. ib. i. 14); בְּנִיטָה vermin, Makṣ. vi. 1; כְּפִיפָה or קְפִיפָה (L)³ basket, Ter. ix. 3; עֲרִיסָה cradle, Kel. xvi. 1 (contrast with BH עָרַשׁ). A full-sized bed is always מִטָּה in MH); סְלִילָה a little basket, 'AZ ii. 7 (L and N. Other texts have סְלוּלָה). So in proper names: חַנְיָנָה (or חַנְיָנָא) from חַנְנִיָּה; עֲקִיבָה (עֲקִיבָא)—עֲקִיבָה.

That the formation is original in MH, and not borrowed from Aram. (Barth, loc. cit.), is shown by its comparative frequency in MH as compared with its scarcity in Aram.

274. (ii) Insertion of a Consonantal Sound.

ר: גְּרִדוּם stump, t. Pa. xii. 2; חֲרוּל a kind of locust, Šab. vi. 10; חֲרוּם beak, Toh. i. 2; קְרוּב a small measure, Miq. iii. 2; קְרוּפָה enclosure, 'Er. ii. 3.

נ: חֲרִנְגוּל cock, fem. חַרְנְגוּלָת P'es. iv. 7 (from רַנְן, רַנְל, if not a foreign word).

(7) Formation of Nouns from Biblical Expressions.

275. Certain Biblical expressions have given rise to new nouns of a technical nature. Thus, בְּרָאשִׁית creation (Gen. i. 1); B'er. שוּמְרָה; t. ib. iii. 4, שוּמְרָה. In Kil. v. 3, M. and edd. have שוּמִירָה, N. שוּמִירָה. L has in all these passages שוּמִירָה. Cf. Maimonides and other commentaries, *ad loc.*

¹ מַחַט שְׁנִיטָל חַרְיָה a needle, the eyelet of which has been removed
שְׁנִיטָל חַרְיָה a needle of sack-makers, the eyelet of which, &c.
Cf. Syr. ܣܢܝܠ.

² Cf. Sirach xi. 3: אֲלִיל בְּעוֹף דְּבוּרָה.

³ From כַּפָּף. L and other texts have more correctly קְפִיפָה, diminutive of קִיפָה. So elsewhere, e.g. So. ii. 1; Kel. xxvi. 1. Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 167; Kohut, iv. 298.

ix. 2; אִינִי וְרִבִּי, the particles אִי and רִב RH 17b; אִתִּי the particle אִת BQ 41b; לֹאִין prohibitionists (לא = לא) Yeb. 10b; עוֹדִין (L, edd. עוֹדִין) extras, plur. of עוֹד Men. vii. 2; Ter. iv. 7; אִיִּם plur. of אִי or אִי Šebu. 33b; 'עֲשֵׂה' (מִצְוֹת) command of affirmation; 'לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה' (מִצְוֹת) command of prohibition, Qid. i. 7; 'שְׂהוּא בְּלֹא יָבֵא' who is included in the command: 'He shall not enter' (Deut. xxiii. 3); Yeb. iv. 13; 'לֹא תִתֵּן' because of the command 'Thou shalt not give' (Lev. xxv. 37), BM v. 11; 'וְאִתּוֹ וְאִתּוֹ בָּנוּ' the command 'It and its young' (Lev. xxii. 28) is in force, &c., Hul. v. 1.

(8) Diminutives.¹

276. We may summarize here the various methods employed by MH to express the diminutive. Most of these forms have already been given above.

(i) Reduplication.

(a) Ground-form *Qaṭlul*, especially with the termination
 יָת־, § 244.

(b) Ground-form *Qṭaṭṭul*, § 245.

(ii) By means of Suffixes.

(a) Suffix יָת־, § 268.

(b) Suffix יָת־, § 271.

(iii) Insertion of Vowel-Sound (*Qutail*).

(a) Ground-form *Qutel*, § 273.

(b) Ground-form *Q^etel*, § 273.

(c) Ground-form *Q^etil*, § 273.

(iv) By periphrasis with בְּנֵי בְּצֻלִים: young onions, t. 'Uq. ii. 8; בְּנֵי גַמְלָה: young camel, Hul. 59a; בְּנֵי הַרְיִץ: small ditch, BB vii. 4; בְּנֵי הַנֶּזֶק: young hawk, Mekil. (Weiss) 40; בְּנֵי הַמַּטְיָה: small hammer, Kel. xxix. 7. Perhaps also בַּת קוֹל the *Bath Qol*, Yeb. xvi. 6. Cf. בְּנֵי בְּקָרָה; בְּנֵי יוֹנָה, &c.

¹ For a full treatment of diminutive forms in BH and MH cf. M. H. Segal, *מַדְרֵי הַהִדְרוֹת הַהִזְעִירוֹת בְּעִבְרִית*, vol. i (Jerusalem, 1926), pp. 139-54.

3. Formation of the Feminine.

277. In the formation of the Feminine, MH follows faithfully the rules of BH, except that it uses more frequently the older and more expressive termination ת־. But the termination ה־ is still the more common of the two.

(i) ה־ is found in nouns like יְבָמָה a brother's childless widow, Yeb. ii. 3; חֵלְלָה illegitimate issue of a priest, Qid. iv. 6; לְוִיָּה a Levite woman, Qid. iii. 5; נְתִינָה female descendant of the Gibeonites, Yeb. ii. 4; גְּרִייה she-kid, M^{en}. xiii. 7; חֲמוּרָה she-ass, t. Kil. v. 4; רְחֵלָה ewe, H^{ul}. xi. 2.

Further, concrete nouns: גִּימָה hole, H^{ul}. ii. 9; מְנוּפָה stopper, Šab. xxii. 3; מְחִיצָה party-wall, Kil. iv. 4. Abstracts: חֲנוּקָה usucaption; קְטָטָה strife; שְׁרָרָה dominion (§ 224); חֻבָּה duty, Naz. ii. 8'; קוּרָה cooling, Ab. iv. 17.

Verbal nouns: אֲבִילָה, זְרִיעָה, שְׁתִּיָּה (§ 228); סַבְנָה, בְּטָלָה (§ 237); הַבְּדֵלָה, הַבְּאָה, הוֹצָאָה (§ 252).

Usually in Adjectives: טְהוּרָה pure, K^{et}. ii. 5; צְרִיכָה necessary, Yeb. v. 2; עֲנִיָּה poor; עֲשִׂירָה rich, Qid. iii. 5; גַּפָּה stout, big; דְּקָה thin, small, ib. i. 4.

Participles: Exclusively in Participle active Qal of Intransitive verbs of the form *Qatēl*, and Participle passive Qal (§ 113). Predominantly in Partic. of ע"ו (except the Intensive Stem and Hoph'al (§§ 178 ff.)); ל"ה verbs, and often in ל"א (§ 112).

On the Aramaizing spelling of ת־ for ה־ cf. above, § 38 footnote.

278. (ii) ת־, ת־ (after a guttural): גְּיוּרָת woman proselyte, Yeb. vi. 5.; כְּהֵנֶת female descendant of the priests, ib. xvi. 7; מְמוּרָת bastardess, ib. ii. 4; חֲרָשֶׁת mute; פִּיטְחַת with full senses, ib. xiii. 8; אֲלֻמַּת dumb; גְּדָמַת without arm, H^{ul}. 79 a; קְרַחַת bald, BB 132 a; גְּרִנְרַת windpipe, H^{ul}. iii. 1; עוּלְלַת small bunch, Pea vii. 4; פְּרַפְרַת dessert, Ab. iii. 18.

Participles: cf. §§ 111, 118, 122, 144.

279. (iii) Termination ית־, in nouns and adjectives: תְּהִיִּת, עֲדִית, שְׁחָרִית (§ 271); אֲרָמִית Pes. 112 b; צוּרִית, מְדַבְּרִית Tyrian, Ma'a. iii. 5; אֲמַצְעִית, עוֹלָמִית, פּוֹנֵדֵקִית inn-keeper, Yeb. xvi. 7; חֲבֻלָּתִית destructive, Mak. i. 10; חֲנֻנִית shop-keeper, Ket. ix. 4; יוֹצְאֵנִית gadding about, Gen. R. 45; גִּינוּנִית Kel. xvii. 9 (§ 270).

280. (iv) Termination ית־, only in abstracts: מְלָקִית scourging, Mak. i. 3; עֲבָדוּת slavery, Pes. 116 b; גְּנוּת, זְכוּת (§ 272).

4. The Formation of the Plural.

(1) *Masculine Nouns.*

281. The plur. termination of masc. nouns is in MH almost as often יָ־ as יִ־. The termination יָ־ is not an Aramaism. *-in* is probably the more original of the two terminations, since *-n* is common to nearly all Semitic languages. It is the only one found on the Meša' stone, though Phoenician uses only *-im*. In BH the form *-in* is found frequently,¹ and as early as the Song of Deborah (מִדְּבָרִים Judges v. 10). It must have been more common still in the spoken language. Its frequent occurrence in MH can, therefore, be explained as a purely Hebraic phenomenon. However, in very many cases it is due to the Aramaizing proclivities of the copyists, as is proved by comparing different texts.

282. The following peculiarities may be noted about the plur. of masc. nouns in MH.

Nouns of the Ground-form קוּטֵל (*Qutl*) retain in many texts, especially those of Babylonian origin, the vowel letter ו also in the plur. Thus, אִוְּסָם compulsion, אִוְּנָסִים N^{ed}. iii. 1; חִוְּמָשׁ one-fifth, חִוְּמָשִׁים Ter. vi. 4; יוּחָם pedigree, יוּחָסִין Qid. iv. 1. This may be merely an orthographic peculiarity, and the first letter should be pronounced with a short vowel *ɔ* (.), as usually in L. But it

¹ Cf. Stade, § 323 a, where twenty-five examples are enumerated.

is also possible that the traditional pronunciation of the first vowel as long (\bar{o} - \bar{i}) is correct. The full spelling with \bar{i} would, therefore, represent a dialectal variation. Cf. in BH אֲהָלִים, אֲרוֹחוֹתֶיךָ, &c.; Ges.-K., § 93 r.¹

The plur. of נֶזֶק damage, is נְזִיקִין BQ i. 1, as if from נָזַק; cf. BH פְּסָלִים — פְּסָלִים.

The plur. of שוּר is שְׁוּרִים, construct, שְׁוּרֵי Men. xiii. 9; of שוּק market, שְׁוּקִים Šab. 33 b; לְוָחִים, לְוָחֵי BM 117 a, לְוָחֵי Šab. xiv. 4. Cf. Ges.-K., § 93 w.

Some nouns from ע"ע roots, show the reduplicated form in the plur., on the analogy of the tri-radicals: צַד side, צְדָדִים Šab. xx. 4, צְדָדֵי BQ ii. 2 (so L correctly for צִדֵי in editions); טַל dew, מְטַלְטָלִים² Hag. 12 b; שֵׁן cliff, שְׁנָנִים Oh. viii. 2. סָם also inserts נ before the termination, סְמָמָנִים³ spices, Ker. 6 a.

גַּרְדֵי weaver, Dam. i. 4, has the plur. גַּרְדֵּי Ed. i. 3, on the analogy of עֲנָיִים.

Nouns with suffix '— (א'—, cf. §§ 38, 237) reproduce the vowel letter א in the plur.: וְכַאֲ innocent, וְכַאֲ Ab. i. 8; רִשְׁאֵי permitted, רִשְׁאֵי ib. -iv. 8. So בְּקֵי expert, San. vii. 2, בְּקֵיאִן Yo. viii. 5. L and other Pal. texts often have יִין—, וְכַאֲ יִין, &c. So בְּקֵיאִן, וְכַאֲ יִין Ker. vi. 4.

Similarly, the ל"ה noun חֲצִי half, BQ iv. 9 = plur. constr. חֲצֵיאִ 'Ed. iii. 1, חֲצֵיאִן Qid. 20 b, but also חֲצֵיאִן Ker. 5 a; Sifra 108 b; חֲצֵיאִ Oh. viii. 6 (L. חֲצֵיאִ). Cf. BH Ges.-K., § 93 x.

The plur. of שֶׁהּ lamb is שֵׁיאִן B^ek. 11 a; cf. BH שֵׁי Deut. xxii. 1. Forms ending in a vowel insert ' (or א in Babylonian texts) between the final vowel and the plur. termination: מְשֵׁהּ (= מַה

¹ So also with pronominal suffix; cf. above, § 39 and foot-note.

² Cf. BH הַרְרִים, so Hag. i. 8; Ges.-K., § 93 aa. Contrast Aram. מְטַלְטָלִין j. Targ. Gen. xxvii. 28, &c.

³ Other forms are: סְמָמָנִים BQ 101 a; סְמָמָנִיּוֹת Šab. xii. 3, editions, or סְמָמָנִיּוֹת L and N.

+ (שְׂהוּא) something, מְשֻׁהוּיין 'Ev. 87 a; או or, אוֹיִים, אוֹיִי, j. Šebu. iv. 5; אוֹיִין Šebu. 33 b (cf. § 275).

רְשָׁא remainder, has plur. constr. שְׂרִי Ab. i. 2. The plur. is שְׂרִים (L) spelt in editions שְׂרִיִים, as dual and so pronounced traditionally: שְׂרִיִים. Cf. also the verbal form, § 162, and below, § 293.

A few nouns of the form *Qatfl* take in the plur. the form *Qatfl*: מְלֵחַ salty food, מְלֵחִין; צְלִי roasted food, צְלִיִין Ned. vi. 3; שְׁלִיחַ messenger, Git. iv. 1, שְׁלֹחִין RH i. 3, שְׁלֹחֵי Yo. i. 5. So with suffixes: שְׁלֹחֵי שְׁלֹחֵי Qid. ii. 1; שְׁלֹחֵי Yo. i. 5. L. has also שְׁלִיחַ for constr. sing., Git. iii. 6, but absolute: שְׁלִיחַ.

(2) *Feminine Nouns.*

283. (i) Feminine nouns ending in the sing. in הַ—, or תַּ—, תַּ—, form the plur. in וֹת—, e.g. שׁוֹרָה vow, שׁוֹרוֹת Pea vi. 3; תִּינוֹקָה little girl, תִּינוֹקוֹת Yo. viii. 4.

Some segolate nouns ending in ת retain the ת in the plur.: דֶּלֶת door, דְּלָתוֹת Tam. iv. 1; חֶמֶת leather bottle, חֲמָתוֹת Kel. xxvi. 4; לֶפֶת turnip, לְפָתוֹת San. 19 b; בֶּקֶת bolster, בְּקָתוֹת Kil. ix. 2; סֹלֶת fine flour, סְלָתוֹת Šeq. iv. 3; שֹׁקֶת trough, שְׁקָתוֹת Pa. v. 8. Cf. for BH Ges.-K., 95 f.

The plur. of אֲשָׁפָה, אֲשָׁפֹת dunghill, is אֲשָׁפֹתוֹת Šebi. i. 1, cf. above, § 249 note.

The plur. of עֲרֵוָה incest, is עֲרֵוֹת Yeב. i. 2, as if from עֲרִיָּה. This last form is actually found in L., Hag. i. 10, and in K.,¹ 'Ed. i. 12. Cf. also Be'k. vi. 5—genitals of animal; further, Habak. iii. 9.

284. (ii) Nouns ending in יַ— form the plur. in יוֹת—:² בִּינוֹנִית

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ.*, li, p. 325, note 1.

² The י in these forms, and also in the plur. of the nouns in the next section, serves to remove the *hiatus* between the final vowel of the sing. (יַ— without the fem. termination תַּ—) and the vowel at the beginning of the plur. termination וֹת—; cf. מְשֻׁהוּיִין § 282, and the plur. of the nouns in § 286.

middle, *בינוניות* Kel. xvii. 10; *חֲבִית* jar, *חֲבִיּוֹת* Ned. viii. 7; *טְלִיּוֹת* cloak, *טְלִיּוֹת* Zab. iv. 5 (but also *טְלִיחֹת* in later texts, e.g. Num. R. 18); *רְבִיעִית* quart, *רְבִיעִיּוֹת* Pes. 112 a; *תַּעֲנִיּוֹת* fast, *תַּעֲנִיּוֹת* Ta'a. ii. 1; *חֲכְמָנוֹת*, *דְּרָשְׁנוֹת*, *צְדָקָנוֹת* BB 119 b.

The plur. of *בְּרִית* covenant, is *בְּרִיתוֹת* Ned. iii. 2 (*בְּרִיּוֹת* is plur. of *בְּרִיָּה* = *בְּרִיאָה* creature, San. iv. 5); so *טְלִיחֹת* above. Cf. *תְּנִיחֹת* Ges.-K., § 87 k.

285. (iii) Nouns ending in the sing. in *יֹת*— form the plur. in *וֹת*—: *חֲנוּת* shop, *חֲנוּיּוֹת* 'AZ i. 4; *רְשׁוּת* premises, *רְשׁוּיּוֹת* t. Šab. i. 1; Hag. 15 a.

Some nouns in *יֹת*— take the termination *וֹת*—; *אֵימָנוֹת* handicraft, *אֵימָנוֹת* Bik. iii. 3; *זְכוּת* merit, *זְכוּיּוֹת* Yo. 86 b. So *אוֹת* letter of the alphabet, *אוֹתוֹת* Šab. viii. 3 (*אוֹתוֹת* is plur. of *אוֹת* sign, Kil. ix. 10).

So also a few other nouns: *בְּקַעַת* log of wood, *בְּקַעִיּוֹת* Hul. 37 b; Sifre 99 d; *פְּקַעַת* skein, *פְּקַעִיּוֹת* Kel. xvii. 2; *בְּנֵי־בַיִת* Synagogue, *בְּנֵי־בַיִתוֹת* (בְּתֵי) Ab. iii. 10; *פְּרָשָׁה* section; *פְּרָשׁוֹת* sections of Scripture (*פְּרָשׁוֹת* sections of the spine, Hul. 45 b).

(3) Foreign Nouns.

286. The plur. of nouns borrowed from Gk. and Lat. is formed, like that of native nouns, by attaching the plur. termination *וֹת*—, *וֹת*—, to the sing. in its MH form,² thus: *טָפוּס* (τῦπος = τυπος), *טָפוּסִים* (τῦποις) Da. v. 3, 4; *סִיטוֹן* (= σιτώνης), *סִיטוֹנוֹת* ib. ii. 4; *אֶפִּיקוֹרוֹס* (= Epicurus), *אֶפִּיקוֹרוֹסִים*, *אֶפִּיקוֹרוֹסִים* Ber. ix. 5; *אֶסָר* (assarius), *אֶסָרוֹת* Pea viii. 1; *הֶרְיוֹט* (= ἰδιώτης), *הֶרְיוֹטוֹת* San. x. 2.

¹ This gave rise to the sing. *כְּנִסְיָה*, Ab. iv. 11. L has *כְּנִסָּה*.

² Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 315-25; Albrecht, § 84 k, l. *לְסִיטִים*, Pea ii. 7, plur. of *לְסִיטָה* (= ληστής: אחד לְסִיטָה, Yeb. 25 b) forms an exception, cf. Kohut, v, p 46 a. Usually the sing. is also written *לְסִיטָה*. Further: *אֶסְכָּרִיטִים* = ἐσχαρίτης, Hal. i. 4.

In the case of fem. nouns ending in the sing. in the vowel \bar{a} (= אָ, הָ), א, or usually in Palest. texts, י, is inserted between the final vowel of the sing. \bar{a} , and the vowel δ (= אוֹ) of the plur. termination, in order to obviate the meeting of two vowels. Thus: מְבִלָּה (מְבִלָּא = tabula), Pes. 57 a; דְּיוֹטָא, דְּיוֹטָה (= *δίαιτα*), תּוֹטָא (L), 'Er. viii. 11; גְּזוֹטָא (= *ξέωστρα*), תּוֹטָא (L) (כְּצוֹרֵי, כְּצוֹרֵי, cf. §§ 44, 51); גְּמִטָּא (= *γεωμετρία*) תּוֹטָא Ab. iii. 18. Some foreign nouns have become fully naturalized in the language, and form their plur. regularly, e.g. דְּוִגָּמָא (= *δέγμα*), תּוֹטָא BQ 119 b.

This form of the fem. plur. termination for foreign nouns, תּוֹטָא, יוֹטָא, is also used for Gk. nouns ending in the sing. in י (= η): דְּיִיתָקִי (= *διαθήκη*), תּוֹטָא דְּיִיתָקִי (= *ὑποθήκη*), תּוֹטָא דְּיִיתָקִי BM 19 a; so: תּוֹטָא דְּקַטְבִּלָּא, plur. of *καταβολή*, Šeq. iii. 4. Further, גְּלוֹסָקִין (= *κόλλιξ*), Da. vi. 12; also: גְּלוֹסָקִין Pes. 6 b, plur.: גְּלוֹסָקִין Ket. 111 b; also: סְנֵהֲדָרִין (= *συνέδριον*; also: סְנֵהֲדָרִי), plur.: סְנֵהֲדָרִי San. i. 5 (L. סְנֵהֲדָרִי; so Cant. R. iii. 7).

287. This plur. termination, תּוֹטָא, יוֹטָא became very common through the influx of Gk. and Lat. nouns into the language, especially in later MH. As a result this termination is also found sometimes in native nouns, thus: מְקַוָּה a ritual bath, תּוֹטָא דְּמְקַוָּה Šeq. i. 1 (but L has מְקוֹת; so Miq. i. 1, &c.); מְרַחֵץ a bathing establishment, תּוֹטָא דְּמְרַחֵץ (מְרַחֵצוֹת) Ta'a. i. 6; מְשֻׁתָּה a feast, תּוֹטָא דְּמְשֻׁתָּה Nid. 16 b; פְּרֻפְרָת dessert, תּוֹטָא דְּפְרֻפְרָת (beside תּוֹטָא דְּגִמְטָרִי) Ab. iii. 18, but also: פְּרֻפְרָתוֹ Šab. 148 b; שְׁלֵשֶׁלַת chain, תּוֹטָא דְּשְׁלֵשֶׁלַת 'Er. 58 a; also the Aram. noun תּוֹטָא דְּבִירָא (בִּירוֹת) cisterns, 'Er. ii. 1.

The plur. of אִמָּא mother, is תּוֹטָא דְּאִמָּא Qid. iv. 4; Pea iii. 4 (cf. BH תּוֹטָא דְּאִמָּא maids; also Dalman, p. 199), but also: תּוֹטָא דְּאִמָּאֵיהֶם t. BB vii. 9. Of אחָא sister, תּוֹטָא דְּאִחָא Yeb. ii. 6, as in BH.

288. As in BH, numerous masc. nouns form the plur. by אוֹ, e.g. חוֹתָם seal, תּוֹטָא דְּחוֹתָם Šeq. v. 1; חֵן favour, תּוֹטָא דְּחֵן So. 47 a; כְּלָל

general rule, בְּלָלוֹת 'Er. 25 a; מִדְּבָרָר wilderness, מִדְּבָרוֹת Hul. ii. 8; מִקְרָא verse, מִקְרָאוֹת Ber. 32 a; נְיִיר paper, נְיִירוֹת Pa. x. 6; תִּינוֹק male infant; תִּינוֹקוֹת (שְׁנִי) Šab. xix. 4; especially nouns with the suffix יָ-וּ, אוּ-: אֵילָן tree, אֵילָנוֹת Šebi. i. 2; וְרוֹן act of presumption, וְרוֹנוֹת B.M. 33 b; סִילוֹן pipe, סִילוֹנוֹת Kel. ii. 3; עֵנֶף subject, עֵנֶפִינֹת Šab. 61 b; חֲרָדִים horse-radish, חֲרָדִינֹת Šab. ii. 2; קֶרְבָּן sacrifice, קֶרְבָּנוֹת Zeb. xiv. 10. Further, *nomina agentis* of the form *Qatōl* (§ 235): דְּרוֹכוֹת, לְקוֹחוֹת, &c.

So also a number of nouns from ע"ו roots; נִיסוֹת troop, נִיסוֹת Yeb. xvi. 7; תֵּיל army, תֵּילוֹת Sifra 89 d, but also תֵּילִים Mekil. 63; עִיר city, עִירוֹת Meg. i. 1, but also עִירִים 'Er. v. 1; פֵּיס lot, פֵּיסוֹת Yo. ii. 3. Similarly, מַיִם water, מַיִמוֹת j. So. ii. 2; יַיִן wine, יַיִנוֹת Šeq. iv. 4.

לֵא nouns: קְלִיא parched corn; קְלִיּוֹת B.M. iv. 12; בְּלִי (or, perhaps, בְּלִי), בְּלִאוֹת (בְּלִי), (L בְּלִיּוֹת; cf. בְּלוֹאִי and בְּלוֹי Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12); but the construct is בְּלִיאִי Suk. v. 3, בְּלוֹיִי Kel. xxvii. 5.

The same difference between the plur. absolute and construct is found also in other nouns; thus: שְׂטָר document, שְׂטָרוֹת, שְׂטָרֵי B.M. ii. 5; וְלָד child, וְלָדוֹת, וְלָדֵי, in the phrase וְלָדֵי וְלָדוֹת Bek. ii. 4; פֵּיר fruit, פֵּירוֹת, פֵּירֵי, in the phrase פֵּירוֹת פֵּירֵי Ket. ix. 1; אֵילָנוֹת trees, Šebi. i. 2; אֵילָנֵי So. viii. 2, 3; בַּת group, בַּתוֹת Pes. v. 5; בְּתֵי Naz. iii. 7.

Verbal nouns of the Ground-form *Haqtel* (§ 251), being really fossilized infinitives, have no plur. of their own. They use the plur. of the corresponding verbal noun *Haqtala*, e.g. הַעֲלָם concealed act, plur. הַעֲלָמוֹת Šab. xii. 4, 6; הַקְדֵּשׁ sanctified property, Ter. i. 5; הַקְדָּשׁוֹת San. i. 3, &c. So the infinitival noun בְּרַת (§ 116) is in the plur. בְּרִיתוֹת, from the verbal noun בְּרִיתָה (§ 228), Ker. i. 1.

280. Conversely, many fem. nouns take the masc. termination in the plur. Thus, חֲטָה wheat, חֲטָיִם; שְׁעוּרָה barley, שְׁעוּרִים; כּוֹסְמִין spelt, כּוֹסְמִיִן Šebu. iii. 3; דְּלִיעָה pumpkin, דְּלִיעוֹת Kil. iii. 7;

קִישוּאִין leek, Makš. i. 5, קִישוּין Kil. i. 2; קִישוּת cucumber, קִישוּאִין Kil. xx. 4, 6; פִּנָּה fig, t. Š^ebi. i. 1, פִּנָּים Š^ebi. iv. 7; further, אֲרֻנְבַת hare, אֲרֻנְבִים Šab. 27 a; יוֹנָה pigeon, יוֹנִים San. iii. 3; נְמֻלָּה ant, נְמֻלִים Pea iv. 1; בֵּיצָה egg, בֵּיצִים Ḥul. xii. 3. Further, גְּדִילָה (Deut. xxii. 12), גְּדִילִים (Sifre Num. xv. 38; גְּדִילָה chord, גְּדִילִים Š^eq. viii. 5. Cf. Ges.-K., § 87 q.

290. Some nouns show both plurals: פִּרְיָרָה pair of pigeons, פִּרְיָרִים Kin. iii. 6 in L; Sifra 8 d; פִּרְיָרוֹת Kin. ib. (in editions); BQ 38 b; רְחֵלִים and רְחֵלוֹת ewes, Ḥul. xi. 1, 2 (in L; cf. Ḥul. 137 b (above, § 3)); מִסְמָרוֹת BB 7 b, and מִסְמָרִים Gen. R. 68, nails, מִשְׁלָיִם So. 9 a, and מְשָׁלוֹת Ab. d^eRN. i. 4; San. 38 b, parables.¹

Sometimes there is a variation in meaning between the two plurals: יָמִים days, Yo. i. 1, and יָמוֹת collective: season (only in constr.). B^er. i. 5; S^eq. viii. 1; T^oh. vi. 7; שָׁנִים years, Ab. v. 21, and שָׁנוֹת collective: age, only with suffix, B^er. 58 b; עֲצָמִים single bones, and עֲצָמוֹת collective, 'Ed. i. 7; קְבָרִים graves, Ta'a. 25 b, and קְבָרוֹת collective, burial-place, Naz. ix. 3.² With a derived significance in the secondary plur.: עֲרֻשִׁים lentils, Kil. xi. 8, and עֲרֻשׁוֹת lentil measures, Neg. vi. 1; שִׁפְתַיִם lips, Ket. 61 b (also שִׁפְתוֹת San. 90 b, with suffix only), and שִׁפְיֹת rims, Kel. iv. 4; רַבִּים many, 'AZ i. 7, and רַבּוֹת teachers (only with suffix), 'Er. v. 3; תְּמָרִים date palms, Bik. i. 5, and תְּמָרוֹת young branches of other trees, Ma'a. iv. 6, &c.; שִׁנָּיִם teeth and שִׁנְנָיִם teeth of rock, cliffs, Oh. viii. 2; תְּפִלָּה, תְּפִלוֹת prayer, B^er. iii. 1, and תְּפִלִּין תְּפִלָּה phylacteries, M^en. iv, 1; iii. 7; אֱלֹהוֹת gods; אֱלֹהִים God; 'AZ iv. 7; יָדַיִם hands; יָדוֹת handles, Yo. iii. 2.

291. In the lists given above, the reader will have observed several nouns with plur. in MH which in BH are only found in the sing., e.g. בְּרִית, יָוֵן, סוּלָת, &c. To these may be added many

¹ But prob. read מִמְשָׁלוֹת; cf. Lewin, אגרת ר' שרירא, p. iii (נספחים).

² For the original collective sense of the fem. termination, cf. Stade, § 322 c.

more examples: אַבְרָם, אַבְרָיִם limbs, parts of the body, Yo. vi. 6 ; דְּשָׂא, דְּשָׂאִים herbs, Ber. vi. 1 ; וְנֹעָה, וְנֹעוֹת earthquakes, ib. ix. 2 ; נֶרְעָה, נֶרְעָהִים plants, Šab. 95 b ; 31 a ; חֹל, חֹלִין common things, H. Hul. v. 1 ; יֶרֶק, יֶרֶקוֹת vegetables, Ber. vi. 1 ; כֶּסֶף, כֶּסָפִים money, BM 42 a ; מְזוֹן, מְזוֹנוֹת maintenance, Sebi. iv. 1 ; קֶמַח, קֶמַחוֹת various kinds of flour, Men. viii. 7 ; רֶמֶשׂ, רֶמֶשִׁים creeping things ; שֶׁקֶץ, שֶׁקָצִים reptiles, Šebu. iii. 4 ; רָעַם, רָעָמִים thunders, Ber. ix. 2 ; שֵׁן, שֵׁיִן sheep, B^k. 11 a ; שֶׁלֶג, שֶׁלָגִים snow, Pes. 94 b ; שֶׁמֶן, שֶׁמָנִים oils, Suk. iv. 4 ; תְּמִיד, תְּמִידִים the daily offerings, sacrifices (Num. xxviii. 3), Šeq. iv. 1.

292. Conversely, many nouns which in BH appear only in the plur., are found in MH also in the sing. In addition to those given in the above lists (e.g. בֵּיצָה, חֲנוּת, סָם, &c.) may be mentioned : אֶלְמוֹן red sandal wood, Kil. xiii. 6 ; בָּצֵל onion, Šebi. i. 10 ; חֲנוּת corner, Šab. xii. 4 ; סֶנֶן chief of priests, Pes. i. 6 ; פִּירָה hearth, Šab. iii. 1 (BH פִּירִים) ; שֶׁקֶמָה sycamore, Kil. i. 8, &c.

5. The Dual.

293. The Dual, which has practically disappeared from Aram., is quite common in MH. Not only has MH retained the old BH duals like עֵינַיִם, רִגְלַיִם, שׁוֹקַיִם, כַּפַּיִם, בְּפָלַיִם, מְאַתַּיִם, &c., but it has also preserved the absolute form of the dual of nouns which in BH occur only in the construct or with suffixes, e.g. גַּבַּיִם back, Kel. xxv. 5 ; עַפְעָפַיִם eyelids, Šab. 109 a ; קֶרְבַּיִם intestines, Tam. iv. 2 ; קַרְסוּלַיִם ankles, H. Hul. iii. 7 ; שׁוּלַיִם skirts, Kel. xv. 1. The following are new formations : אַחֲזַרַיִם back, Kel. xxv. 1 ; אֶצְבָּעַיִם two fingers, Oh. iii. 1 ; בֵּינְתַיִם between, BM x. 6 ; גַּפַּיִם wings. H. Hul. iii. 4 ;¹ דִּירַיִם shed, t. Ned. i. 3 ; וְרַתַּיִם two spans, t. Men. ix. 3 ; Ta'a. 5 a ; חֲנִיכַיִם gums, H. Hul. 103 b ; טַלְפַּיִם hooves, H. Hul. ix. 1 ; טַפְחַיִם two

¹ i. e. the limbs on which the plumage, כַּנְפַּיִם, grows. Hence the Mishnah says: נִשְׁתַּבְּרוּ גַפַּיָהּ, but נִמְרְטוּ כַנְפֵיהָ, ib.

Borrowings from Aram. are : אֲשַׁמְקַר, לְאַתֵּר (עַל אֲתֵר), תְּדִיר; probably also עֲרָא, בְּנוֹן (= בְּעִין), and perhaps also תִּכְפֶּה, לָאוּ.¹ So also שׁוּב is an Aramaism = חֹבֵב.

(1) *Adverbs of Place.*

205. אֵיבֹן (אֵי + בֹן), commonly הֵיבֹן, especially in Babyl. texts, where? Šab. i. 3; Šeq. vi. 1. So in Aram. (cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 81), but very probably indigenous in MH.

With prepositions : לְהֵיבֹן whither? Šab. xvi. 1; מִהֵיבֹן whence? Yo. v. 5; עַד הֵיבֹן until where? Pes. x. 6.

הֵילָךְ, or הֵילָךְ, הֵילָךְ, הֵילָךְ, only in phrase הֵילָךְ . . . הֵילָךְ, hither and thither, Pes. vii. 13; Zab. iii. 2; or הֵילָךְ וְהֵילָךְ Mak. iii. 12.

לָאֵין where? only with prepos. : לְאֵין whither? Ter. iv. 11; Ab. iii. 1 (many texts have לָאֵן); מֵאֵין whence? Ab. ib.; וּמֵאֵין וּלְאֵין Hag. 15 a; more often מִנֵּין : Ber. v. 3; Yo. vi. 8; especially when introducing quotations from Scripture : Šab. ix. 1 ff., &c.

בֵּינַתַּיִם, בֵּינַתַּיִם, בֵּינַתַּיִם (especially in L.) between, BM x. 6. Cf. BH בֵּינַם 1 Sam. xvii. 4; בֵּינֹת Ezek. x. 2; perhaps there was a form בֵּינֹתַיִם Gen. xxvi. 28. So בֵּינַיִם and בֵּינַתַּיִם in the very centre, Gen. R. 4.

לְהֵלֶן there, j. Ket. 28 d; Git. 46 d; usually with ל : לְהֵלֶן beyond, Dam. i. 3. So. vii. 5.

חֹצֵי outside, with prepositions : בְּחוּצָא Zeb. vii. 5; מִבְּחוּצָא from outside, 'Er. vii. 9; לְחוּצָא outside, after verb of motion, Zeb. viii. 12; מִן הַפּוֹרְעִיּוֹת וּלְחוּצָא from Modin and outside beyond, as opposed to מִן הַפּוֹרְעִיּוֹת וְלִפְנֵימָם Hag. iii. 5.

is improbable. Perhaps the Aram. form אֲרִיִן is more original, and is to be equated with the BH אֲרִי. On עֲכָשׁוּ cf. Dalman, p. 212, foot-note.

¹ From לָא + הוּא, cf. Dalman, § 46. This particle is, however, much more common in MH than in Aram. The traditional pointing לָאוּ is incorrect, as is shown by the cognate form עֲכָשׁוּ, עֲכָשׁוּ; cf. also BH יִחְרֹו, יִחְרֹו. Some Palest. texts also write לָיו for לָאוּ above § 39.

כָּאן, הֵנָּה in Pal. texts, here, there (BH כָּאן = הֵנָּה): כָּאן here and there, 'Er. x. 11; לְכָאן, after a verb of motion, 'Er. 40 b; כָּאן . . . מִכָּאן on the one side, on the other side, Kil. vi. 6; כָּאן וְעַד כָּאן from here to there, Be. iv. 7.

מָה: כַּמָּה how far? Ber. iii. 5.

מָה, or מָהּ in Palest. texts and also occasionally in others, especially in passages connected with the Temple and its ritual, Mid. i. 5, &c. This adverbial termination לְ- is a modification of the BH מָה, cf. Ges.-K., § 100 g, h, and above, § 267.

Always with prepositions: לְמַטָּה below, Hag. ii. 1; מִלְמַטָּה from below, 'Er. viii. 6; מִלְמַטָּן Šab. 98 b.

מֵעֵלָּה, מֵעֵלָּו, לְמַעְלָה, מִלְמַעְלָה above, used exactly as מָה cf. the passages cited above.

מִפְרָע, only with ל: לְמִפְרָע backwards, Ber. ii. 3.

שָׁם there; after verbs of motion: לְשָׁם (= BH שָׁמָּה, which is not found in MH) RH ii. 5; Šab. xvi. 4, &c.

(2) Adverbs of Time.

206. אַחֲרָיִם only with prepos. ל: לְאַחֲרָיִם backwards, Hag. ii. 1.

אֵילָּף, אֵילָּף further, onwards; מִכָּאן וְאֵילָּף Ber. i. 2; מִשְׁעָרָא וְאֵילָּף Pa. iii. 5.

אֵימְתִי, אֵימְתִי (L) when, Pea iii. 5; אֵימְתִי שְׂתִרְצָה whenever thou wishest, BM v. 3; מֵאֵימְתִי from when, Ber. i. 1; עַד אֵימְתִי till when, ib. viii. 7.

אֵשְׁתַּתְּרָא last year, Šeq. vi. 5 (Aram. compound: קְרִמְיָא; cf. אֵשְׁתַּתְּרָא this year, j. MŠ 35 b).

אֵתְרָא place (Aram.), with עַל: עַל אֵתְרָא on the spot, forthwith, in Pal. texts; contracted in Babyl. texts to לְאֵתְרָא Git. iii. 3; viii. 8.

בֵּינְתַיִם between, meanwhile; Toh. v. 3, 4.

הֵלָּן, only with ל: לְהֵלָּן further, beyond; מִתְחֵצוֹת הַיּוֹם וְלֵהָלָן from noon and further, Men. x. 5.

יָד, with the preposition מִן : מִיָּד at once, BB i. 5 ; opposed to אֵין מְחַיִּיבֵין אוֹתוֹ לְמִכּוֹר מִיָּד אֶלָּא מוֹכֵר עַל יָד gradually, Pa. vii. 7 ; יָד עַל יָד they do not compel him to sell at once, but he may sell very gradually, BQ 80 a. (So perhaps BH, Prov. vi. 5 ; cf. יָד מִן יָד j. Targ. Gen. i. 3, &c. ; BH עַל יָד by degrees, Prov. xiii. 11.)

מִכְּאֵן (כְּ) only with מִן : מִכְּאֵן מִכְּאֵן from now ; מִכְּאֵן וְלְהֵבֵא from now and in the future, Kel. vii. 1 ; מִכְּאֵן לְאַחַר מִכְּאֵן afterwards, Qid. ii. 6.

כְּבָר already, Yad. iv. 4 ; יִכְבֵּר a formula introducing a report of an event in confirmation of a previous statement, j. Ket. v. 4.

כְּףָה, only with אַחַר כְּףָה afterwards, B^er. viii. 6 ; לְאַחַר כְּףָה BM viii. 1.

מָה : עַד כַּמָּה how long ? B^ek. iv. 1.

מָחָר usually לְמָחָר to-morrow, 'Er. iii. 9. So וְלִמְחָרָת San. v. 5.

אָמַש yesterday ; אָמַש הִרְגוּ he slew him yesterday, San. 40 b ; מִמָּאֵשׁ, opposed to מֵהַיּוֹם Be. i. 6 (BH אֶתְמַל, which is common in Aram., is never used in MH).

לְמִפְרָע : מִפְרָע before, backwards, Miq. ii. 2.

עוֹד yet, again, Yo. vi. 1 ; with suff. : עוֹדֵהוּ Bik. iii. 6 ; עוֹדָה Ket. vii. 8 ; עוֹדֵךְ Šab. 151 b ; עוֹדֵן ib. 43 b ; מְבַעוֹר while yet, Šab. i. 5.

עוֹדֵן yet, N^ed. xi. 10 (L אֲרִיִּין, as in Aram., Dan. ii. 15).

עוֹלָם with prepos. : לְעוֹלָם always, Ter. ii. 4 ; with negative : never, MQ 26 b ; so מֵעוֹלָם, with negative : never, Mak. i. 10 ; עוֹלָמִית for ever, Y^eb. iii. 7 ; with negative : never, Šab. xxiii. 4.

עַכְשָׁיו now, 'AZ i. 1 ; מֵעַכְשָׁיו from now, Git. vii. 3.

עֲרָאִי, עֲרִי in Palest. texts, irregular, improvised, Ḥal. iii. 1 (opposed to קָבַע fixed, Suk. 2 a).

פְּעָמִים : פְּעָם אַחַת once upon a time, 'Er. iv. 2 , פְּעָמִים sometimes, BB v. 2.

שׁוּב again (Aram. הַיּוֹב), Y^eb. xvi. 4, especially common in later literature.

תָּרִיר continually, always, BB iii. 1.

תְּחִלָּה immediately, only once in Mishna: M^{en}. ix. 8, but frequent in later literature, e.g. B^{er}. 42 a, &c. Cf. the verb, Kil. ix. 10.

297. Other adverbial expressions of time are: בְּרֵאשִׁוֹנָה at the beginning, formerly, Š^{ebi}. iv. 1; בְּתַחֲלֵהּ first, So. i. 7, בְּתַחֲלֵהּ (in Babyl. texts always לְבִתְחֵלָה) as at the beginning, Š^{ab}. vi. 5, primarily, מִתְחֵלָה 'AZ iii. 7, בְּתַחֲלֵהּ Y^{eb}. v. 6; בְּאֶמְצַע in the middle; בְּסוֹף in the end, ib.; מִיָּמִי Z^{eb}. xii. 4, מִיָּמִיךָ Suk. ii. 7, מִיָּמֵיהֶם P^{es}. i. 6, with לֹא, never; cf. BH 1 Kings i. 6, &c.

(3) *Adverbs of Manner.*

298. אֵין not; אֵינְךָ אָתָּה בָּא thou comest not, Ab. iv. 1; אֵין אִתָּם 'Er. v. 9; אֵין אֵינוּ Š^{ebu}. iv. 2 ff. Suffixes are attached in some persons without the so-called *nun epentheticum*, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 100 0, p), thus: 1 sing. אֵינִי B^{er}. ii. 5; 3 sing. masc. אֵינוּ; fem. אֵינָה So. vi. 3; 3 plur. אֵינֻן ib. viii. 3.

Before words beginning with א, אֵין is sometimes shortened to אֵי: אֵי אִתָּה אֵי אָתָּה BM v. 3. So always before אֵין אֵפְשֵׁר: אֵי אֵפְשֵׁר impossible, Š^{ebu}. iii. 8, &c.; and אֵי אֵפְשֵׁי אֵין אֵפְשֵׁי I do not want, Naz. iv. 5.

לֹא not, Ab. i. 3, &c.

לֹא = לֹא in quotations of Biblical prohibitions: P^{es}. iii. 1 (cf. below, § 472).

לְבַד alone, only with suffix: לְבַדְּךָ So. 8 a; or with בְּ: בְּלְבַד, after a negative, B^{er}. i. 1; or לְבַדְּךָ Dam. iii. 5 (§ 507).

הֵיךְ how? BH; הֵיךְ RH ii. 8, &c.

הֵן yes, Git. vii. 1.

וְדַאי, וְדַיִי certainly (from וְדָה to confess, agree), K^{er}. v. 2; וְדַאי מְעַלְתִּי I have certainly used sacred property; opposed to סָפֵק doubt: סָפֵק אָכַל perhaps he has eaten, ib. iv. 1.

חֲלִילָה round about, over again, Suk. v. 6; P^{es}. 48 b.

יָכוֹל one might assume, possibly, Ab. iii. 8; כְּיָכוֹל as if one

could say (of an anthropomorphic expression applied to the Deity), San. vi. 5. (Cf. Kohut, iv. 130-2.)

כְּ- (with the collective termination וְ—, as in BH *בִּינוּת*, *סְבִיבוּת*, &c.) like, followed by the relative שֶׁ MŠ v. 2, &c.

With suff.: כְּמוֹתַי BM 59 b; כְּמוֹתֶךָ Ned. 4 b; כְּמוֹתוֹ Ber. v. 5; כְּמוֹתָה Qid. iii. 2; כְּמוֹתָן Suk. i. 8.

כְּ- as prefix: כְּאַחַד together, t. Neg. i. 1; Ber. vii. 1 (in edd.); כְּאַחַת Pea i. 4; Ber. ib. (L, of masc.).

כְּגוֹן like the colour of—like, as, for instance, Šebi. viii. 1; cf. כְּעֵין.

כְּכַד as much as, Šab. viii. 1.

כְּדַבְּרְךָ as Kil. vii. 6; כְּדַבְּרוֹ as his manner, as usual, Ma'a. iii. 10.

כְּ- כְּכֵן like, similarly; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן Pea iv. 8; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן Šebi. viii. 2; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן Mak. i. 7; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן Sifra (Weiss) 4 a.

כְּ- כְּכֵן (כְּ + כֵן, in Halakic Midrashim כְּכֵן, also כְּכֵן) how? Ber. vi. 1, &c.

כְּכֵן as if to say, San. vi. 4. 6; very common in later MH in sense of 'that is to say', 'namely'.

כְּכֵן how? Kil. ii. 3; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן for how much? BM iv. 10; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן how beautiful, Šab. 33 b; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן על אַחַת כְּכֵן וְכְכֵן how much more and more? Mak. i. 7 (in arguments from minor to major).

כְּכֵן like the kind of, like, Suk. ii. 2.

כְּכֵן against, Dam. i. 2.

כְּכֵן straight, immediately, Tam. iii. 6; Pes. 37 a, 54 a.

כְּכֵן so, Ber. vii. 3; כְּכֵן at this, in this, Dam. i. 4; כְּכֵן כְּכֵן

¹ Cf., however, Barth, *Etymolog. Stud.*, p. 39, who holds that the כ is a radical which suffered aphaeresis in BH.

² Cf. Sirach xxxviii. 17. It is also found in Aram., no doubt, as an adaptation from MH., כְּכֵן כְּכֵן j. Targ. Gen. ii. 18, 20; Deut. xiv. 18. The origin of the expression is obscure. Perhaps we may derive it from the use of — כְּכֵן in such a phrase as כְּכֵן כְּכֵן, &c., Ab. v. 11. 12, viz. to annul, and hence—to balance, to be equal, like.

whether so or so, H_{al}. i. 8 ; לְכֹהּ for this, Ab. ii. 8 ; לְכֹהּ וְלְכֹהּ T_{oh}. vi. 6, 7 ; עַל כֵּן for this purpose, 'Ed. viii. 3.

וְכֵן so, Ber. 11 b ; וְכֵן likewise, Pea vi. 9 ; כָּל שֶׁכֵּן everything agrees that it is so—how much more so? (in arguments from the minor to the major).

Before אֵלּא, וְכֵן is contracted to כִּי in the phrase לֹא כִּי אֵלּא it is not so but, Y^{eb}. viii. 3 ; BQ iii. 11.¹

לֹא not, no.

לֹא not, no, particularly in alternatives after אִם, when the verb is omitted, Ber. iii. 2, 5, &c. (§§ 466, 489).

מָה how? Ber. 10, 2, with preposition : לָמָּה why? 'AZ ii. 7 ; מַה מִּפְּנֵי מָה wherefore? Šab. xvi. 1 ; מַה בְּשִׁבְלֵי מָה for which cause, purpose?

200. Other adverbial expressions of manner are : בְּיַחְדָּו privately, San. vii. 8 ; with certainty, Šeq. vi. 2 ; בְּעֵלִיל clearly, distinctly,² RH i. 5 ; בְּטוֹבָה with thanks, i.e. with owner's permission ; שְׁלֵא בְּטוֹבָה without thanks, against owner's will, Šebi. iv. 2 ; with, without gratuity, 'AZ iv. 3 ; שְׁלֵא בְּטוֹבָתוֹ against his will, San. vii. 2 ; בְּפִירוּשׁ distinctly, 'Or. i. 7.

כָּל עֵינָר 'all the root'—altogether, in a negation, Be. iii. 6 ; כָּל צָרְכָּךְ all the need—completely, with suff. : כָּל צָרְכָּךְ כָּל צָרְכָּךְ Kil. vii. 7.

בְּעַל כֶּרְחָהּ against her will, So. 19 a, &c.

לֹא כֹכֵן (λοξόν) across, in a hypotenuse line : שְׁתֵּי שׂוּרוֹת לֹא כֹכֵן two rows in a cross line, Dam. vii. 8 ; Kel. xviii. 5.

¹ Others, following Geiger, *Lehrbuch*, p. 24, point כִּי, and regard the expression as an imitation of the BH לֹא כִּי (1 Sam. viii. 19, &c. ; cf. *BDB.*, p. 475 a), which was misinterpreted by the Rabbis. But such an artificial explanation is most improbable. לֹא כִּי only occurs before א, and is, therefore, parallel to אֵי from אֵין before א, as above.

² Cf. RH 21 b from Ps. xii. 7 ; further, Šab. 133 b ; Mⁿ. 64 a ; Gen. R. 23 ; cf. also Barth, *Etymol. Stud.*, p. 65.

סִירוּגִין ('chequer work'), alternately; קָרָאָה סִירוּגִין he read it in alternate verses, Meg. ii. 2; BQ 37 a.

סָתָם ('stopping up'), undefined, unspecified, Dam. iii. 1.

פָּלֵל general statement; לֹא הָיוּ מְתַעֲבִין בְּלֵל they did not fast at all, Ta'a. ii. 6.

אֶחָת in one *bat* (name of measure, Isa. v. 10)—in one stroke, at once, Hul. ii. 3.

2. Prepositions.

300. MH prepositions are all of Heb. origin. They include (a) BH prepositions preserved in their old significance; (b) BH nouns or other forms turned by MH into prepositions, e. g. חֲמָה wrath: מִחֲמַת through the fury of, the energy, or activity of—through, by; לְ- קוֹדֵם preceding, before; so עוֹבֵר לְ-; עַל גַּב upon the back of, upon; עַל מְנַת on the portion of, for the advantage of, for the sake of, on condition, in order that; so שֵׁם name, subject, and its various combinations.

The following BH prepositions have been lost in MH: אַחַת (= עם), בְּנִלְל, בְּעֵבֹר, בְּעֵד, מוֹל, לְמַעַן and פֶּן (Aram. פִּין).

301. אַחֲרֵי the back, is used as a prepos. in the dual אַחֲרֵיִם (§ 293), in the sense of 'behind', corresponding to פָּנִים (below).

אַחֲרֵי שְׁתֵּיהֶן behind both, Mid. v. 4; אַחֲרֵי רַבּוֹ behind his master, opposed to בְּנִגְדֵי רַבּוֹ Yo. 37 a. With prefixes לְ- מִ-, לְאַחֲרָיו behind him, Kil. v. 7; לְאַחֲרֵיהֶן behind them, ib. 9; מְאַחֲרֵי הַגֶּדֶר behind the wall, San. vii. 10; מְאַחֲרָיו Git. viii. 2; מְאַחֲרֵיהֶם So. viii. 6.

אַחֲרֵי with suffixes. Of time, after: אַחֲרֵי חֲצוֹת after midnight, Pes. x. 8; אַחֲרָיו שֶׁל מֹשֶׁה after Moses, So. v. 4; אַחֲרֵיהֶן after them, Ber. vi. 8. With prefix: לְאַחֲרֵי זְמַן after the time, afterwards, 'AZ i. 1; לְאַחֲרֵי חֲצוֹת after midnight, Zeb. ix. 6; לְאַחֲרֵיהֶם after them, 'AZ i. 2; מִלְּאַחֲרֵיהֶן after it, opposed to מִלְּפָנֵיהֶן before it, 'Er. iii. 6.

Of place, behind; usually with prefix לְ behind the sun, RH ii. 6; שְׁלֵאַחֵר הַקּוֹצְרִים that which is behind the reapers (L שְׁאַחֵר) Pea iv. 11; לְאַחֵרֵיהֶם, לְאַחֵרָיו behind him, them, opposed to; לְפָנָיו, לְפָנֵיהֶם before him, them, ib. vi. 4; כְּלֵאַחֵר יָדוֹ behind, with the back of, his hand (L לְאַחֵר), Šab. x. 3.

לְ rare: תַּחַת הַפּוֹתֵר into the space under the remainder (L omits אל), Kil. vi. 3, 4; מִיּוֹם אֶל יוֹם from day to day, Ned. viii. 1 (so L, probably a reminiscence of Num. xxx. 15).¹ With suff. in the plur., as in BH, only in a few exx.: בָּא אֵלַי Naz. 4 b; חָזַר אֵלָיו it returned to it, Pes. vii. 2 (some texts have וְעָלָיו); לְהַקְיִישׁ אֵלֵיהֶּ to compare to it, BM ii. 6; וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו they shall speak to him, Mak. ii. 5. Frequently with prefix מִ and the suff. of the 3rd person in a reflexive sense: מֵאֵלָיו of itself, 'Or. i. 2; בָּאוּ מֵאֵלֵיהֶן they came by themselves, BM vii. 9; לֹא מֵאֵלֵי אֲנִי אֹמֵר I do not say it from my own authority, Yo. 5 b.

אֶצֶל by the side of, at, to (after verbs of motion—BH אל): וְהָאֶצֶל וְהָבֵאוּ they come one to the other, Šeq. v. 4; מְנִיחַ מִלִּיתוֹ אֶצְלוֹ he leaves his cloak with him, Šab. xxiii. 1.

בֵּין in, as prefix and also with suff. (בֵּין, בֵּין, בֵּין, as in Aram., Nid. 58 b, &c.), as in BH. Also in combination with nouns to give them a prepositional character, e.g. בְּשִׁבְלִי, בְּצֵד, בְּפָנָי, בְּלִבִּי, בְּשֵׁעַת, בְּשֵׁל, &c.

בֵּין between; also with suffixes: בֵּינֵי, &c. Correlatives ('between . . . and') are expressed by בֵּין . . . לְ: בֵּין יוֹם טוֹב לְשֶׁבֶת between a festival and the Sabbath, Meg. i. 5 ff.; Yo. iii. 5, &c. Also: בֵּין . . . וְלִמְנַחֵם Yo. iii. 8 (a standing expression, Hal. i. 9; from Joel ii. 17); בֵּין הָעָם לְבֵין הָעָם between him and the people, ib. 4, 6; בֵּין לְבֵין עִצְמוֹ Bik. i. 4; בֵּין לְבֵין עִצְמָם H. ul. vi. 2, between him and himself, and themselves—privately; so בֵּין לְבֵינוּ

¹ Other scriptural phrases with אֶל are: Yo. v. 6; So. vii. 2, 5; viii. 1; Mak. iii. 2 (L על); Z. b. xiv. 1; Pa. xi. 4, 5 (L ל).

privately, 'AZ ii. 2; **עַל גֵּינִי לְבֵינָה** Yob. xii. 5. Also as noun: **עַל גֵּינִי** on the space between the staves, Zeb. v. 1.

חוּץ, followed by **לְ**, outside: **חוּץ לְחָחוּם** outside the boundary, 'Er. v. 7; also with **ה** local, but without any special significance: **חוּץ לָהּ** outside it, ib. 6; **חוּץ לּוֹ** Šebi. i. 2; especially in the expression **חוּץ לְאֶרֶץ** outside the Land (of Israel), as opposed to **לְאֶרֶץ** Ter. i. 5; Hal. ii. 1, 2, &c. So **חוּץ לְאֶרֶץ** Dam. ii. 1.

Followed by **מִן** except: **חוּץ מִן הַפְּתִילָה** except the wick, Šab. ii. 5; **חוּץ מִזֶּה בְּלֻבְד** except this alone, Yo. iii. 3.

כְּ, combines with some nouns to form prepositions: **כְּנֶגֶד** over against; **כְּנֶגֶד הַיְסוּד** in front of the foundation, Pes. v. 6; **כְּנֶגֶד זֶה** one facing the other, Šab. xi. 2; **כְּנֶגֶד כָּלֶם** the study of the Torah against (= compares, outweighs) them all, Pea i. 1; **כְּנֶגֶדוֹ**, **כְּנֶגְדוֹ** against (corresponding to) it, them, Šebi. viii. 8.

כְּדִי sufficient for: **כְּדִי מִזֵּינַת הַכּוּס** sufficient for mixing a cup, Sab. viii, 1 ff.

כְּלִפֵּי הָעָם (**כְּ** + **לִאֲפֵי**, cf. **לִאֲפֵי** 1 Sam. xxv. 23) towards: **כְּלִפֵּי** facing the people; **כְּלִפֵּי הָעֵץ** facing the gallows, San. vi. 4; **כְּלִפֵּי צָפוֹן** towards north, Tam. ii. 5.

לְ to, as prefix and with suffixes (**לִי**, **לָךְ** fem. **לִיךְ** Git. iv. 8, &c.), as in BH. Also prefixed to prepositional nouns: **לְבֵינִי**, **לְאַחֵר**: **לְמַטָּה מִן** **לְמַטָּה מִירושָׁלַיִם**: below Jerusalem, Suk. iv. 5; **לְמַעְלָה מִן**: **לְמַעְלָה מִזֶּה** one above the other, 'Er. i. 9; viii. 8; **לְעִמָּתוֹן** towards them (rare), Šeq. vi. 3.

לְיָדֵי to the hands of, to (after verb **בָּא**): **לְיָדֵי עֵבְרָה**: thou wilt not come to transgression, Ab. ii. 1; **לְיָדֵי סִכָּנָה** to danger, Yo. ii. 2.

לְעֵינָיו to the subject of, in respect to: **לְעֵינָיו דְּבָרָיו** in respect to his words, Ya. iv. 3.

לְפִי to the mouth of—according to: **לְפִי הָאוֹרְחִין** according to the guests, Šab. xx. 2; **לְפִי רוֹב הַמַּעֲשָׂה** according to the abundance of

the works, Ab. iii. 15; **לְפִי הֵיבְתֶן** because of the love entertained for them, Ya. iv. 6.

לְפָנַי before; **מִלְפָּנַי** from before; also with suffixes: **לְפָנַי**, **לְפָנֶיךָ**, &c., as in BH.

לְשֵׁם to the name of—for the sake of, for the purpose of: **לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם** for the sake of Heaven, Ab. v. 16; **לְשֵׁם עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה** for the purpose of idolatry, 'AZ. iii. 7.

מִן from, used separately or as prefix; also with suffixes: **מִמֶּנִּי**, **מִמֶּךָ**, &c., as in BH. Often the demonstrative particle **הִי** (= BH **הִיא**) is prefixed instead of **מִן** when it has the pronominal suffix: **מִן הַיָּמִן** from thee, N^d. 5 a; **מִן הַיָּמִינוּ** from him, Šebi. x. 9; Git. viii. 9; **מִן הַיָּמִינָהּ** from her, Pea iv. 3; vii. 8; Ket. 27 b. The texts often waver between these and the older forms: **מִמֶּנָּה**, **מִמֶּנִּי**.

Also in the sense of 'in the power of': **לֹא הַיָּמִין לֹאמַר** it is not in thy power to say, Num. R. 4; especially with **בְּלֹא**—**בְּלֹא הַיָּמִין לֹאמַר** Gen. R. 15; **לֹא הַיָּמִינוּ מִן הָרֵאשֹׁן לְאַבְרָם וְכֹתָו שֶׁל שְׁנַי** L.; edd. with anticipation of the genitive (cf. § 389); . . . **לֹא כָּל הַיָּמִינוּ מִן הָרֵאשֹׁן** the first has no power to destroy the right of the second, Git. viii. 8; **לֹא הַיָּמִינוּ לֹא כָּל הַיָּמִינוּ** L.; edd., he has no power, BQ x. 3; cf. Aram.: **לֹא כָּל בְּמִינָהּ** Sebu. 41 a; **אִיהוּ כָּל בְּמִינִיהּ**? BB 154 b.

With **לְ** as correlative: **מִכְּנֶגְד הַחוּמָה וְלַחוּץ**; **מִכְּנֶגְד הַחוּמָה וְלִפְנֵימִם**; **מִכְּנֶגְד הַחוּמָה וְלַחוּץ** from the front of the wall and towards within, towards without, MŠ. iii. 7, 8.

Prefixed to prepositional nouns:

מִחַמַּת because of: **מִחַמַּת הַמָּכָה** because of the wound, BQ viii. 1; **מִחַמַּת חוּלִי** in consequence of the sickness, Git. vii. 3.

מֵעֵין of the colour, appearance, character of: **מֵעֵין עֶשְׂרֵה** an abstract of the eighteen benedictions, Ber. iv. 3 (cf. Ber. 29 a); **מֵעֵין הַטּוֹבָה הַרְעָה** evil of the nature of good; **מֵעֵין הַרְעָה הַטּוֹבָה** good of the nature of evil, ib. ix. 3; **מֵעֵין מְלֹאכָה אַחַת** of the nature of, similar to one work, Šab. vii. 1.

בְּשֵׁם רַ' יִשְׁמָעֵאל (also often בְּשֵׁם, cf. § 37): in the name of Rabbi Ishmael, Kil. iii. 7; because of: אֲסוּרִין בְּשֵׁם גְּלוּי נֹהֵג בוֹ forbidden because of uncovering, T^{er}. viii. 4; בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהִים he behaves to it as to a god, 'AZ iii. 4.¹ Cf. also on אֶל, above, and תַּחַת, below.

עַד to, as far as; עַד חֲצוֹת up to midnight, Ber. i. 1; עַד בֵּית קִאֲתִים as far as a space of two *seahs*, 'Er. ii. 3. עַד is not found with pronominal suffixes.

עַל upon; also with suffixes: עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, as in BH; cf. also below, § 363.

In combination with nouns:

עַל גַּב upon the back of, upon: הַפּוֹתֵן עַל גַּבּוֹ who puts upon them, Šab. xi. 2; עַל גַּב עִם הָאָרֶץ unclean upon, because of, the 'Am ha-Areš, 'Ed. i. 14; עַל גַּב רִיקָה because of her spittle, Miq. viii. 5. More frequently with the constr. dual (§ 293): עַל גַּבֵּי הַמֶּטָּה upon the bed, Suk. ii. 8; עַל גַּבֵּי רַגְלָיו upon his feet, ib. iv. 9; Kil. ii. 11; עַל גַּבֵּי upon it, BM x. 4.

עַל יָד by the hand of, through: עַל יָדִי through me, Ber. iv. 2; עַל יָדוֹ through him, on his behalf, Šebi. vii. 3. More frequently with the constr. dual: עַל יְדֵי יְחֻקָּאֵל by Ezekiel, Tam. iii. 7; עַל יְדֵי עוֹרָה together with its skin, MŠ. i. 6; iii. 11.

עַל מְנַת on condition; עַל מְנַת כֵּן on this condition, Dam. vi. 3; Ab. i. 3.

עַל פִּי through: עַל פִּי עֵדִים through witnesses, Šab. xix. 1.

עַל שֵׁם for the name, purpose, of—because of: עַל שֵׁם סוֹפוֹ because of his end, San. viii. 5, 6.

עִם with; also with suffixes: עִמִּי, עִמָּךְ, &c. (BH עִמָּדִי is not found in MH).

¹ Literally: from the name, category of; cf. אֵינוֹ מִן הַשֵּׁם, it is not of this name—it does not belong to this category, K^{er}. iii. 4; so לֹא מִן הַשֵּׁם הוּא, Š^{bu}. 3 b; מִשְׁנֵי שְׁמוֹת, מִשֵּׁם אֶחָד, of one category, of two categories, Kin. i. 3, 4.

Of time: **עִם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** with the sun—while the sun still shines, Šab. i. 8; **עִם הַחֹשֶׁךְ** while it is getting dark, ib. ii. 7; **עִם יְצִיאַת נְפֹשׁ** while, before, the soul goes forth, ib. xxiii. 5.

קוֹרָם preceding, before (properly a participle), followed by the accusative, or by לְ (indirect object, cf. § 351). The texts waver.

קוֹרָם לְעֶצְרַת (L **לְבָצִיר**) Pea vii. 7; **קוֹרָם לְעֶצְרַת** (or **עֶצְרַת**), before Pentecost, Hal. iv. 10; **קוֹרָם אֶת חֲבִירוֹ** precedes its fellow; **קוֹדְמִין לְמוֹסָפִין** precede the additional sacrifices, Zeb. x. 1 ff. Similarly:

לְ עוֹבֵר עֹבֵר before doing them, Pes. 7 b.

תוֹךְ זְמַן within; **תוֹךְ זְמַן** within the time, opposed to **לְפָנֵי זְמַן** before the time, Nid. 45 b, but usually with another preposition prefixed.

בְּתוֹךְ in, at: **בְּתוֹךְ הַבַּיִת** in the house, Suk. i. 2; **בְּתוֹךְ חִיקוֹ** within his bosom, Šab. x. 3; ii. 7; **לְתוֹךְ** into: **יִתֵּן לְתוֹכָא מַיִם** he will put into it water, Ber. vii. 5; **מָדַד לְתוֹךְ צְלוֹחֵיתוֹ** he measured into his flask, 'AZ v. 7; **מֵתוֹךְ** from: **נָטַל מֵתוֹכָהּ** he took from it, Šab. i. 1; **מֵתוֹךְ שְׁלוֹ** from his own, Š'bi. iii. 6.

תַּחַת under, as in BH: **תַּחַתְּהָּ** under it, Kil. vi. 9; **תַּחַת הַמָּטָה** under the bed, Suk. ii. 1; **יּוֹצֵא מֵתַחַת יָדוֹ** comes forth from under his hand, BB 173 a.

3. Conjunctions.

302. Of the old BH conjunctions and conjunctive expressions, MH has lost the following (the words in brackets give the MH substitutes):

וְ (שְׁ); **אֲשֶׁר** (שֶׁ); **כִּי** (שֶׁ); **אֲרֵם** (אֲרֵם); **לִי** (אֲלוֹי) Qoh. vi. 6; Est. vii. 4); **מֵפָנֵי** (עַד אֲשֶׁר); **קוֹדְמִין** (שֶׁ); **טָרַם** (פּוֹן); **שָׂמָא** (פּוֹן)

¹ **כִּי** is common in MH only with וְ as an interrogative particle, וְכִי §§ 303, 462. **כִּי** alone is preserved only in elevated diction, under the influence of BH, e.g. in the liturgy (cf. Singer, pp. 46, 47, &c.), or in a poetical passage like **כִּי אָבְדָה כְּלִי חֲמֻדָּתָהּ . . . נָא לָהּ . . .** woe to her . . . for she has lost her precious jewel, MQ 25 b.

שׁ, &c.); לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר (כְּדִי שׁ, &c.); עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר (מִפְּנֵי שׁ, &c.; cf. on Adverbs, § 294).

Of Aram. origin is אֲלָא (also אֵילָא = לָא + אַן—לֹא), and perhaps also the form שׁוֹ, which is common in Aram.

The conjunction שׁמָא (= שְׁלֵמָה, שְׁלֵמָה Cant. i. 7; Aram. אֲדִילְמָא), was adopted by Aram. from MH. But Aram. influenced its spelling in MH with final א for ה: שׁמָה.

MH shows some other interesting new formations, such as the use of the verbal form הוֹאִיל;¹ the compounds אֲלֵמְלֵא or אֲלֵמְלֵי (אֵל + אֵם + לָא), or the Palestinian equivalent אֵילֵוֹי, אֵילֵוֹיָא (אֵל + אֵל + לָא); לְפִיכָךְ; the adaption of a number of other expressions to conjunctive use: אַף עַל פִּי, בְּזִמְנֵן, בְּשָׁבִיל, וּבְלִבְדָּ, וְעַל הַנְּאִי, עַל מְנַת, כְּחִתּוּף, מִשָּׁם, בְּשָׁם, &c., all followed by שׁ. MH has also greatly extended and developed the uses of the BH conjunctions שׁ, אֲבָל, אֵלֵו, and וְכִי.

303. We give here a list of the conjunctions and conjunctive expressions. For examples of their usage and their various constructions, the reader is referred to the respective sections in the Syntax.

Co-ordinating: וְ and; אַף also, moreover, indeed.

Adversative, restrictive, and exceptive: אֲבָל; אֲלָא but, except; בְּאַמְתָּא of a truth, however.

Disjunctive: אִם or; בֵּין . . . בֵּין whether . . . or.

Conditional: אֵם, אֵלֵו, אֲלֵמְלֵא (אֲלֵמְלֵי), אֵילֵוֹיָא (אֵילֵוֹי) if.

Concessive: אַף אֲפִילוּ even; אַף עַל פִּי (שׁ) although; אַף עַל פִּי כֵּן nevertheless.

Interrogative: הֲ, וְהֲלֵא, וְכִי, כְּלוּם; שׁמָא perhaps?

Comparative: כְּ like; כְּכֵן so; כְּפִיֵּו as if.

Consecutive: לְפִיכָךְ therefore.

¹ The verb הוֹאִיל is not found otherwise in MH. It is always followed by וְ as in BH: Joshua vii. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 29. Cf. Bacher, *Aelteste Terminologie*,

שֶׁ (שֵׁאִין, שְׁלֵא). Its primary function, like BH אֲשֶׁר and כִּי, is to introduce a subordinate clause. Hence like אֲשֶׁר, כִּי, it assumes different meanings in accordance with the character of the clause it introduces, viz. a causal, concessive, conditional, or final meaning.

Like BH אֲשֶׁר, שֶׁ combines with prepositional and adverbial expressions to form the following new conjunctions.

Temporal: כַּשֶּׁ-בְּשֶׁ- as; מֵאַחַר-בְּשֶׁ- after, opposed to עַד שֶׁ- before; אַחֲרֵי שֶׁ- after; לְאַחֲרֵי שֶׁ- after; קֹדֶם שֶׁ- before; כִּשְׁמֵי שֶׁ- when, whenever; כָּל שָׁעָה שֶׁ- : כָּל יוֹמָן שֶׁ- when; כָּל שֶׁ-בְּשֶׁעָה שֶׁ- when; כָּל שֶׁ-בְּשֶׁעָה שֶׁ- as soon as; עַד שֶׁ-בְּשֶׁעָה שֶׁ- from the time that; עַד כִּדֵּי שֶׁ- until.

Comparative: כְּמוֹ שֶׁ- ; בְּמֹת שֶׁ- ; בְּשֵׁם שֶׁ- ; בְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ- ; כְּעֵנֶן שֶׁ- as.

Causal: מֵשׁוּם שֶׁ- ; מֵאַחַר שֶׁ- ; לְפִי שֶׁ- ; בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁ- ; מֵתוֹךְ שֶׁ- ; עַל שֶׁ- ; עַל שֵׁם שֶׁ- because.

Final: עַל מְנַאי שֶׁ- ; עַל מְנַח שֶׁ- ; כִּדֵּי שֶׁ- in order that.

Restrictive: וּבְלִבְדֵּי שֶׁ- only that.

4. Interjections.

304. (1) Pure Interjections.

לוֹ woe! Yeb. iii. 5 (edd.); xiii. 7 (L); Ber. 28 a, &c.

לוֹ woe! Yeb. xiii. 7; iii. 5 (L); 'Ed, iv. 8 (L has אֵילוֹ in one word, as Qoh. iv. 10; cf. x. 16); אֵי שָׁמַיִם Oh, heavens! RH 19 a.

הוּי : הוּי הוּי אִישׁ טוֹב וְנֶאֱמָן : הוּי alas! a good and faithful man, Ber. 16 b.

לוֹ woe! Ab. d'eRN. xxv 3.

אָמֵן pray, Yo. iii. 8 (only liturgical). So נָא in a poetical passage MQ 25 b, and in the liturgy.

הֵא, הֵא behold, Mak. iii. 17; הֵא לָךְ (L הֵא לָךְ) behold, take thee, Ma'a. ii. 5, 6.

הֵרִי behold, Ber. vii. 5; הֵרִנִּי behold I!

וְהֵלֹאִי would that! Meg. 14 a; or וְהֵלֹאִי Ber. 28 b (prob. Aram.).

The following BH pure interjections have been lost in MH: לוֹ, אָהֵה, אָח, אָחֵלִי (all rare); אָבוֹי.

305. (2) Words and phrases used as Exclamations.

הַאֵלֹהִים by God! H^{ul}. 54 a, &c. (late, and mostly in semi-Aram. passages).

בְּרִית by the Covenant! P^{es}. 38 b; t. H^{al}. 1.

גִּפְתָּהּ שֶׁל רוֹמִי by the Capitol of Rome, M^{en}. 44 a (in the mouth of a heathen).

חָבֵל alas! N^{ed}. 74 b; Sifre Deut. xviii. 12 (prob. Aram.).

חַס וְשָׁלוֹם May He have pity and grant peace!—God forbid 'Ed. v. 6; Ya. iii. 5.

הַמְּעוֹן הַזֶּה By this habitation (the Temple)! K^{er}. i. 7; vi. 3; K^t. ii. 9.

הַעֲבוּדָה by the worship! B^{er}. 34 b; Y^{eb}. 32 b.

הַשָּׁמַיִם by Heaven, Ab. d^oRN. xxxviii. 3.

The following BH exclamations have been lost in MH: הִבָּה, הִנֵּה, לָכֵה.

PART III

SYNTAX

I. THE VERB

1. Tenses and Moods.

306. In the use of the Tenses, MH has attained to a greater precision and exactness than BH. Generally in MH the perfect coincides with the present, the imperfect with the future, and the participle with the present. The perfect and the imperfect (and also the imperative) describe simple acts. Continuous, or repeated, or customary action is expressed by the participle alone for the present, by the participle with the perfect of הָיָה for the past, by the participle with the imperfect of הִיָּה for the future, and by the participle with the imperative of הִיָּה (= הָיָה) for the imperative.

It follows that the use of the perfect for the present in such expressions as אָהַבְתִּי, יָדַעְתִּי, צָרַקְתִּי, זָקַנְתִּי (Ges.-K., § 106 g), or the use of the perfect for actions that lie in the future (*Perfect of Confidence*, &c.; ib., § 106 m-n), is not admissible in MH. Likewise, the use of the imperfect to describe actions, whether simple or continuous, which lie in the past or even in the present (ib., § 107 b-h), is not tolerated in MH.

(1) THE PERFECT.

307. The perfect describes a single act or event that has already taken place, or that is conceived as having taken place. Hence the perfect is the tense of the past, e.g.: יוֹסֵף הַכֹּהֵן הֵבִיא בְּיָבֹוֹתַיִם מִשָּׂה קָבֵל Joseph the Priest brought first ripe fruits, Hal. iv. 2 ;

תורה מסיני Moses received the Torah from Sinai, Ab. i. 1 ;
לא קרינו את שמע we have not read the Šema', Ber. i. 1.

308. In the absence of the imperfect consecutive in MH, the perfect serves also to describe a series of consecutive acts in the past : והעלוהו (הוליכוהו) L . . . they delivered him . . . they brought him up . . . they adjured him, and departed, and went away, Yo. i. 5 ; והביאו את האבנים ובנו את המזבח וסדום בסיד וכתבו עליהם . . . ונטלו את האבנים וקאו ולנו במקומן they brought the stones, and built the altar, and plastered them with plaster, and wrote on them . . . and took the stones, and came and lodged in their place, So. vii. 5.

309. The perf. also expresses an act which is anterior to another act in the past (pluperfect). Such a pluperfect is usually placed in a relative clause : רחץ בלילה הראשון שמתה אשתו he bathed in the first night that his wife had died, Ber. ii. 6 ; נתייחד עמה אחר שכתבו he was alone with her after he had written it, 'Ed. iv. 7 ; ובשיצא אמר and when he had gone forth he said, 'AZ. iii. 4 ; הביאו כל טהרות שטיהר רבי אליעזר they brought all the things which R. Eliezer had declared to be clean, Ber. 19 a ; וקאה אשה . . . שפלה and there came a woman who had circumcised, Šab. 134 a.

310. The perf. is used in hypothetical sentences, with or without a conjunction, to express a single act conceived as already performed. English in such cases would often use the present, e. g. קרא ולא דקדק באותיותיה . . . יצא if he has read (the Šema'), but not pronounced its letters carefully . . . he has discharged his duty ; . . . קרא וטעה יחזור if he has read it, and made an error, let him return . . . , Ber. ii. 3 ; ונתן לתוך ידו של . . . אם העני את ידו . . . בעל הבית או שנטל מזוכה והוציא if the poor man puts forth his hand . . . and puts into the hand of the master of the house, or if he takes from it and brings forth, Šab. i. 1 ; אם הביאוהו לידי מיתה . . . לא יביאוהו . . . if they bring him to death . . . should they not

bring him . . . , K^r. iii. 1 ; וְאִם בָּאנוּ לְכַתּוּב אֵין אָנוּ מְסַפְּקִין if we came to write, we should not be capable, Šab. 13 b ; וְאִם פָּכְתָּה פָּכְתָּה if it is extinguished, let it be extinguished, ib. 120 a ; אִם שָׁלְנוּ הוּא אִם שְׁלָנוּ הוּא if ours be this Paschal lamb, then let thy hands be withdrawn from thine own, and thou art counted for ours, Pes. ix. 10.

311. In descriptions of continuous, or repeated, or customary actions in the past, for which the participle is regularly used, the perf. is sometimes found amidst a series of participles. In such cases the perfect usually has a temporal or hypothetical significance: וְהַשּׁוֹר הוֹלֵךְ עִמָּהֶם . . . וְהַחֲלִיל מִכָּה לְפָנֵיהֶם . . . עַד שֶׁהֵן מְגִיעִין קְרוֹב לִירוּשָׁלַיִם הַגִּיעוּ קְרוֹב לִירוּשָׁלַיִם שָׁלְחוּ לְפָנֵיהֶם וְעִטְרוּ . . . אֵת בְּיַכְיָרֵיהֶם וְהַפְּחוֹת יוֹצְאִין לְקֶרְאָתָם . . . and the ox goes with them . . . , and the flute strikes in front of them, until they reach near Jerusalem. When they have reached near Jerusalem, they send (messengers) in front of them, and they crown their first ripe fruits, and the rulers go forth to meet them . . . , Bik. iii. 3 ; הָיוּ מְכַנְּסִין אֵת הַשְּׂנֵי וּבוֹדְקִין אוֹתוֹ נִמְצְאוּ דְבָרֵיהֶם ; . . . גָּמְרוּ אֵת הַדָּבָר הָיוּ מְכַנְּסִין מְכֻוָּנִים נוֹשְׂאִין וְנוֹתְנִין בְּדָבָר . . . they would bring in the second, and examine him. If their words were found to correspond, they discussed the matter . . . When they finished the matter, they would bring in . . . , San. iii. 6-7 ; v. 4-5 ; vi. 1. Sometimes the perf. is used in such cases without any apparent hypothetical or temporal significance: . . . פּוֹשְׁטִים וּמְקַפְּלִים וּמְנִיחִים . . . וְאִירַע קָרִי לְאַחַר מָהֶם יוֹצֵא וְהוֹלֵךְ לוֹ . . . יָרַד וְטָבַל עָלָה וּמְתַבְּסִים . . . אִירַע קָרִי לְאַחַר מָהֶם יוֹצֵא וְהוֹלֵךְ לוֹ . . . יָרַד וְטָבַל עָלָה . . . בָּא וַיֵּשֶׁב אֶעָל אָחִיו . . . וְנִסְתַּפְּג וְנִתְחַמֵּם . . . they undress and fold them and put them . . . and cover themselves . . . when an impurity happens to one of them he goes forth and departs . . . and goes down and dips himself, comes up and dries himself and warms himself . . . he comes and sits by the side of his brethren, Tam. i. 1 ; cf. also Yo. i. 1-5 ; Suk. iv. 5, 9 ; Neg. xiv. 1-3 ; Pa. iii. 2-3, 7-8, f., &c.

312. Sometimes the act described by the perf. has just been performed, in which case English would use the present : עָקַרְתָּ מִה שֶׁכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה thou uprootest what is written in the Torah, P^{es.} vi. 1 ; מָה רְאִיתָ לְטַמֵּא what (reason) dost thou see to make it unclean? מָצִינוּ we find, 'Ed. vi. 3 ; קִיַּמְתָּ thou hast fulfilled, BQ iii. 9 ; נֵר שֶׁכָּבָה וְהוֹלֶכֶת אָדָם מִנִּיחַ אֶצְבְּעוֹ עָלֶיהָ מִיָּד כִּבְתָהּ a lamp which is gradually going out, when a man lays his hand upon it, immediately it is extinguished, Šab. 151 b. So also of single acts that may be performed at any time : יָין נִכְנָס יָין יֵצֵא סוֹד when wine goes in, the secret goes out, 'Er. 65 a ; הַכֹּל יוֹדְעִין כְּלָה לְפָנֶיהָ נִכְנָסָה the whole world knows for what purpose a bride enters the bridal chamber, K^{et.} 8 b.

313. Finally, the perf. is found, though very rarely, also of a future act conceived as already performed : כָּשֵׁם שֶׁקִּבַּלְתִּי שָׂכָר עַל כָּשֵׁם שֶׁקִּבַּלְתִּי שָׂכָר עַל הַפְּרִישָׁה just as I shall receive reward for expounding, so shall I receive reward for withdrawing (from expounding), Qid. 57 a.¹ So sometimes in a conditional sentence, as a *futurum exactum*, for which usually the participle or imperfect is used (cf. §§ 321, 486) : אִם אֶחְרַתִּי שְׁחַטּוּ עָלַי if I shall have delayed, slay on my behalf, P^{es.} ix. 10 ; וְהָ גִטּוֹ אִם מָתִי . . . אִם לֹא if I shall have died . . . if I shall not have come, Git. vii. 3, 7-9.

(2) THE IMPERFECT.

314. The imperf. describes a single act or event which has not yet taken place. It is, therefore, the tense of the future : אֲנִי נִכְתּוֹב גִּט (L.) I shall restore the *dinar*, K^{et.} xi. 4 ; נִכְתּוֹב גִּט let us write a bill of divorcement, Git. vii. 1, 2. So in dependent clauses pointing to the future : עַד שֶׁיַּעֲלֶה עֶפְרוֹד הַשָּׁחַר until dawn

¹ So in BQ 41 b. In P^{es.} 22 b ; B^{k.} 6 b, the apodosis has a participle אֲנִי מִקְבֵּל.

rise, Ber. i. 1; אֶלֶּא כְּדֵי שִׁישׁוּרוֹ; &c., except there be sufficient time that they be soaked, heated, &c., Šab. i. 5, 6; בִּקֵּשׁ עָלָיו רַחֲמִים וַיְחִיָּה seek for him (God's) mercy that he live, Ber. 32 a. Also in questions: מָה יַעֲשׂוּ what shall they do? Šab. 26 a; כַּמָּה יִרְחִיקוּ how far shall they go? Toh. x. 2; וְלֹא אֶבְכֶּה shall I not weep? Ber. 28 b; וְלֹא אֶמְלֵא shall I not fulfil it? Yo. 19 b. So even of a past act: מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה וְרַבּוּ עָלַי what can (could) I do, when they were a majority against me? (L, edd.: שִׁחַבְרֵי רַבּוּ עָלַי).

315. The futurity of an act is sometimes emphasized by periphrasis with עָתִיד שֶׁ, especially in the later Agadic style: עָתִידָה אִשָּׁה שֶׁתֵּלֵד a woman will bear; אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁתּוֹצִיא the land of Israel will bring forth, Šab. 30 b; עָתִידָה תּוֹרָה שֶׁתִּשְׁתַּבַּח the Torah will be forgotten, ib. 138 b.

316. The imperf. is used to describe a series of consecutive acts in the future, where BH would use the perf. consecutive: תַּחֲבוּי חוֹבַת גְּלוֹת וְתִגְלוּ לְמָקוֹם הַפַּיִם הָרָעִים וַיִּשְׁתּוּ הַתַּלְמִידִים . . . וַיָּמוּתוּ you will incur the guilt of exile and you will be exiled to the place of the evil waters, and the disciples will drink and die, Ab. i. 9; אֵלַי לְבֵיתִי וְאוֹכַל . . . וְאֶשְׁתֶּה . . . וְאֵינִן וְאַחַר כֵּן אֶקְרָא . . . וְאֶתְפַּלֵּל I shall go home and eat . . . and drink . . . and sleep and after that I shall read Šema' and pray, Ber. 4 b.

317. The imperf. is used of hypothetical acts, the performance of which lies in the future: לְבִשְׁתָּבוֹא אֶצְלִי אֲזוּנָה I shall feed her when she comes to me, Ket. xii. 1; אִם יִרְצֶה יִשְׂרָאֵל if the Israelite should wish, 'AZ. iv. 12; אִם תִּקְנִיטֵנִי if thou wilt provoke me, Šab. 17 a.

318. As a subjunctive: וְלֹא זָכִיתִי שֶׁתֵּאמַר I was not able to prove that it should be said, Ber. i. 5; לֹא יִדְחוּ; לֹא תִדְרְחָה should it not, should they not push away (override)? Pes. vi. 2; מָה יַעֲשֶׂה הַבֵּן שֶׁלֹּא יִחַטָּא what can that son do that he might not sin? (he cannot hel committing sin), Ber. 32 a.

319. The imperf. is used to express a wish or a prayer (Optative or Precative): **מִי יִגְלֶה עָפָר מֵעֵינַיךָ** Oh, who would uncover the dust from thine eyes, So. v. 2 ; **יִכְבְּשׁוּ רַחְמֵי אֶת בְּעָסֵי וַיּוּלֹדוּ רַחְמֵי עַל בְּעָסֵי** may my mercies suppress mine anger, and may my mercies roll themselves against mine anger, and may I conduct myself towards my children with the attribute of mercy, and may I enter for them . . . , Ber. 7 a ; cf. ib. 16 b ; 29 a ; 60 b, &c. (§ 467).

320. To express a command that some act should or should not be performed (Jussive): **תִּדְעוּ** know ye! Ber. 288 ; **בְּעָרֵב כָּל אָדָם יָטוּ וַיִּקְרֹוּ וּבִבְקָר יַעֲמֹדוּ** in the evening all men should incline and read, but in the morning they should stand, Ber. i. 3 ; **לֹא תִרְצֶה אֶת חֲבֵרְךָ . . . וְלֹא תִנְחַמְנוּ . . . וְלֹא תִשְׁאַל לּוֹ** do not appease thy neighbour . . . and do not comfort him . . . , and do not ask of him . . . , Ab. iv. 18.

321. The imperf. expresses an act which must be performed prior to another act in the future (*Futurum Exactum*). Such an imperf. is put in a dependent clause introduced by **שֶׁ** : **כִּשְׂאִינֵעַ לוֹ** : **אֶלְקָטָנִי** I shall gather it when I shall have reached it, Kil. v. 6 ; **לֹא תִדְרֹוּ אֶת חֲבֵרְךָ עַד שֶׁתִּגְשֶׁה לְמִקְוֹמוֹ** do not judge thy neighbour till thou hast reached his place, Ab. ii. 4 ; **מֵאַחֲרֵי שֶׁיִּתְלָשׁוּ** after they shall have been plucked, Bik. iii. 1 ; **לֹא יִכְסֶה אֶת הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁף** he shall not cover it after it has become dark, Šab. iv. 2 ; cf. § 513.

(3) THE PARTICIPLE.

322. The participle has retained in MH its twofold character of noun and verb. Its primary function is to describe the subject as being in a state of activity or passivity. By emphasizing the state of the subject, the partic. becomes equivalent to a noun-adjective. By emphasizing the activity or the passivity of the subject, the partic. becomes equivalent to a verb. But as even in

the latter case, the activity or passivity of the subject is expressed as a state, the partic. comes to describe an act as in the process of being performed. Hence the partic. becomes in MH the tense of the present. But is by no means confined to the present, even in its verbal character. It is also used, as in BH, of the past and the future to describe acts that are continuous, or repeated, or customary.

323. The partic. as present: על שְׁלֵשָׁה דְּבָרִים הָעוֹלָם עוֹמֵד the world stands on three things, Ab. i. 2; בְּעַל הַבַּיִת דוֹחֵק the master presses, ib. ii. 15; הַחֲזֵן רוֹאֶה הֵיכָן תִּינוּקוֹת קוֹרְאִים the overseer may see where the children read, Šab. i. 3. With pronouns as subject: יוֹדֵעַ אֲנִי I know; אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ I do not know, Ned. xi. 7; הוּא רוֹצֵה he is willing, BB vi. 6; כּוֹבְלִין אֲנוּ we complain, Ya. iv. 7; כְּגַי אֲדָם; הַלְלוּ נוֹצְצִין וְהַלְלוּ נוֹבְלִין human beings are like the herbs of the field, some sprout forth, others fade away, 'Er. 54 a.

324. The partic. as past, in a frequentative or iterative sense; usually with the perf. of היה as auxiliary to emphasize the tense: אֲנִי הֵייתִי בָּא בַדֶּרֶךְ וְהִטַּחְתִּי I was coming by the road, and I inclined, Ber. i. 3; תוּהַגְתִּי הֵייתִי נוֹהֵג thou hast conducted thyself, Suk. ii. 7; הָיוּ אוֹמְרִין they used to say, Šebi. iv. 1; וְהִיא מְטַפַּחַת . . . וּמַנְתַּחַת she uncovered her head, and kept on gathering it up with her hand and laying it, BQ viii. 6; especially in conditional sentences: אִילוּ הָיִיתִי יוֹדֵעַ . . . לֹא הֵייתִי נוֹדֵר if I had known it, I would not have vowed, Ned. ix. 2 ff.; אִילוּ לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ בְּשָׂר וְדָם הָיוּ מוֹלִיכִין אוֹתִי . . . אַף עַל פִּי כֵן הֵייתִי בּוֹכָה if they had led me into the presence of a human king . . . , I would, nevertheless, have wept, Ber. 28 b; 32 b (§§ 490, 494).

Often, however, the verb היה is omitted, when the context makes it clear that the reference is to the past: מָצְאוּ שְׂיֹשֵׁב אִם הָיָה חָכֵם דּוֹרֵשׁ וְאִם לֹא אִם הָיָה חָכֵם דּוֹרֵשׁ וְאִם לֹא he found that he was sitting, 'Er. 11 b; תִּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים דּוֹרְשִׁין לְפָנָיו if he was a scholar, he expounded, but

if not, scholars expounded before him, Yo. i. 6 ; Bik. iii. 1 ; Suk. iv. 4, and other descriptive passages cited above, § 311.

325. The partic. as future, with or without היה בעלי: כְּשֵׁיהִי בְעָלִי: הִיא . . . וְכִשְׁנִפְטְרִין . . . לְפָנֶיךָ . . . עֹמְרִין הַדִּין when the litigants will be standing before thee . . . and when they will depart . . ., Ab. i. 8 ; אַתָּה מְיִתֵר . . . אַתָּה מְחַסֵּיר . . . אַתָּה מְיִתֵר lest thou omit, lest thou add, 'Er. 13 a, for which the parallel passage in So. 20 a has the imperf. : תְּחַסֵּיר , תְּיִתֵר , תִּשְׁמְרֵהּ הַדִּין בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל I am sure of this one that he will teach doctrine (promulgate decisions) in Israel, Naz. 29 b ; Git. 58 a ; אֲנִי מוֹתֵת I am going to die, Yeb. xvi. 6 ; רָאָה שֶׁהוּא מֵתְחַיֵּב he saw that he was going to be declared guilty, San. iii. 8. Also of single acts: מָה שֶׁאָתָּה שׁוֹמֵעַת what thou wilt hear, Ber. 18 b ; אִם אֵין אַתָּה מְלַמְדֵנִי אֲנִי אוֹמֵר if thou wilt not teach me, I shall tell my father Yoḥa, and he will deliver thee to the (Roman) authority, Pes. 112 a.

326. The partic. is used with the imperative הוה to command the performance of a frequentative or iterative act, as contrasted with the ordinary imperative which signifies the performance of a simple act: הָיוּ מִתְאַבֵּק sit in the dust ; הָיוּ שׁוֹתֵה drink, Ab. i. 4 ; הָיוּ מְקַבֵּל receive, ib. 15, viz. regularly and habitually, as opposed to עָשָׂה make ; אָמַר say, ib., which describe single acts.

327. The partic. is similarly used with the infinitive of היה in a frequentative and iterative sense: הַנּוֹטֵל שְׂכָרוֹ לְהִיֹּת רוֹאֵה he who takes wages to be examining, Bek. iv. 5 ; הַחֹשֵׁד לְהִיֹּת מוֹכֵר he who is suspected to be selling, ib. ix ; לְהִיֹּת מְפָרֵשׁ to be separating (tithes), Git. iii. 7 ; הַחֹקֵק לְהִיֹּת גּוֹמְרִים they established the rule to finish, Yeb. xii. 6 ; הַחֹקֵק לְהִיֹּת מְשִׂיאִין to allow to marry, ib. xvi. 7. So with עָתִיד לְהִיֹּת נְטוּעַ וְעוֹשֶׂה פְּרִיֹת: עָתִיד it will be planted and bear fruit ; עָתִידִים לְהִיֹּת עוֹשִׂים they will make, Sifra (Weiss), 110 d ; cf. below, § 349.

328. The auxiliary verb היה is sometimes omitted in the infin.,

as in the perf. and imperf. (§§ 324, 325), but only after certain expressions. Thus, after התחילו כל העם שורפין (= החל) : (להיות שורפין), Pes. i. 5 ; התחילו individuals began to fast (להיות מתענין) Ta'a. i. 4 ; החלו מעלין they began to bring up, Tam. ii. 2, 3 ; התחיל מררד he began to spread out, ib. vi. 3.

After בשעה שדרך בני אדם שוכבים . . . דרך בני אדם עומרים : דרך at the hour when it is the custom of men to lie down . . . to rise up, Ber. i. 3 (להיות שו'); BB vi. 6 ; כל הפוקמתין מתודין it is the custom of all those about to be put to death to make a confession, San. vii. 2 (להיות מתודין) ; נותנין היו בית אבא נותנין the house of father were accustomed to give, Pea ii. 4 ; Šab. i. 9 (L) ; לא נמנעו עושין they did not shrink from preparing, Yeb. i. 4 ; 'Ed. iv. 8 (var. : להיות עושין) ; לא נחשדו חברים תורמין associates are not suspected of giving tithes . . . , t. Ma'a. ii. 5 (but var. לתרום ; so Hul. 7 a).

320. The partic. also expresses an act which is customary, without any reference to a particular time : הפנהנים נכנסין לאכול the priests enter to eat, Ber. i. 1 ; . . . יורד אדם לתוך שדהו ורואה . . . a man goes down to his field and sees . . . , Bik. iii. 1 ; בשחוחתכין . . . אין חותכין אלא על גב השלחן בשנושקין אין נושקין אלא על גב היד . . . ובשיועצין אין יועצין אלא בשדה when they cut . . . , they do not cut but upon the table ; when they kiss, they do not kiss but upon the hand ; when they hold counsel they do not hold counsel but upon the field, Ber. 8 b. The subject is often omitted, and then the partic. has the force of an impersonal verb, which may usually be rendered in English by a passive : הקורא את שמע Ber. ii. 3. This is especially common in the plur. : כיצד מפרישין את הביבירים how are the first-ripe fruits separated? Bik. iii. 1 ; עכשיו שפוליקים כינר יועצים באחיותופל ונמלכים now that I am led, Ber. 28 b ; בסנהדרין ושואלים באורים ותומים immediately they take counsel with Ahitophel, and consult the Sanhedrin, and inquire of the oracle,

ib. 3 b ; מְבִיאִין לוֹ עֲרִיבָה מְלֵאָה מַיִם a tub full of water was brought to him, Sab. 25 b. Cf. below, § 439.

330. Such participles often assume a somewhat jussive sense : מֵמַתְיָמְתִי קוֹרִין אֶת שְׁמַע from when may the Šema' be read? Ber. i. 1 ; כָּל אָדָם קוֹרֵא בְּדַרְכּוֹ one may read in one's own way, as opposed to the preceding, יָטוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ one must read in a bent position, ib. 3 ; מִשְׁאַלְתָּ אִשָּׁה . . . מְשִׁיב one may ask, answer, ib. ii. 1 ; . . . וּבִרְרָתָּ וּמְרַקְדָּתָּ וּמְסַנֶּנֶת . . . a woman may lend . . . and pick and grind and sift . . . , Šebi. v. 9. The transition from this usage to a real jussive or imperative is easy : אֶת הַחֶמֶץ בּוֹרְקִין אֶת הַחֶמֶץ leaven must be searched, P's. i. 1 ; הִתְקִינוּ שִׁיהוּ אוֹמְרִין it was ordained that they should say ; שְׂאֵל אָדָם שְׂאֵל that one must ask, Ber. ix. 5. Particularly with a negative : אִין עוֹמְדִין לְהִתְפַּלֵּל one must not stand up to pray, ib. v. 1 ; בְּמָה מְדַלִּיקִין וּבְמָה אִין מְדַלִּיקִין wherewith may one light, and wherewith may not one light? Šab. ii. 1 ; הִתְקִין רַבֵּן גַּמְלִיאֵל שֶׁלֹּא יְהוּ עוֹשִׂין כֵּן Rabban Gamaliel ordained that one must not do so, Git. iv. 2.

331. The partic. retains its verbal character even when it is apparently used as a noun : הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת שְׁמַע וְלֹא הִשְׁמַע לְאָזְנוֹ if one reads the Šema', but has not made it audible to his ears, Ber. ii. 3. Here the partic. takes the article like a noun, yet it also takes a direct object and is co-ordinated with a finite verb. Other examples are הַמְּתַפַּלֵּל וְטָעָה one who prays and makes a mistake, ib. v. 5 ; Šebi. x. 2 ; Ter. iii. 1, and often ; cf. also § 374.

332. As already stated in the treatment of the Verb (§§ 113, 127), in the passive forms the static significance of the partic. is predominant. The passive partic. of the Qal, and the participles Pu'al and Hoph'al are practically equivalent to adjectives. Thus, הַגּוֹזֵל (לוֹלֵב) that has been obtained by robbery, is parallel to הַיָּבֵשׁ a dry one, Suk. iv. 1 ; מְחוּבָר plucked from the ground ; מְחוּבָר joined to the ground, are parallel to הַחֲדָשׁ new ; יָשָׁן old, MŠ. v. 11 ; מְלוּבָן whitened, washed, parallel to צוּאִי dirty, Hul. xi. 2. So רְכוּב

BM i. 3 ; *מְעוֹמֵד*, *מְיוֹשֵׁב* Meg. 21 a, in a riding, standing, sitting posture, contrasted with the active forms *רוֹכֵב*, *עוֹמֵד*, *יוֹשֵׁב*.

333. These participles, viz. the passive of Qal, and the participles of Pu'al and Hoph'al, describe a more or less permanent state as the result of a verbal action. They thus differ from the participles of the corresponding reflexive-passive stems, which describe the verbal action as in the process of being performed. Thus *פָּטוּר* free, Šab. ii. 5 ; *הַנִּפְטָר* who frees himself—departs, MQ 29 a ; *שָׁחוּף* consumptive ; *נִשְׁחָף* wasting away, Sifra 111 c ; *מְבוּעָר* cleared away ; *מִתְבַּעְרִים* being cleared away, MŠ. v. 6 ; *מְעוֹשְׂרִין* tithed (adjective) ; *מִתְעֹשְׂרִין* are tithed, Dam. iv. 1 ; ii. 1 ; *מְחויֵב* having an obligation, RH iv. 8 ; *מִתְחַיֵּב* incurring guilt, Ab. iii. 9 ; *מְעוֹנָה* and *מִתְעוֹנָה* t. Ta'a. ii. 7.

334. The passive partic. sometimes has the significance of the Latin gerundive (cf. Ges.-K., § 116 e) : *שׁוֹר הַנִּמְסָקֵל* an ox that is to be stoned, Qid. ii. 9 ; *שְׁעִיר הַמִּשְׁתַּלַּח* the goat that is to be sent away, Yo. vi. 1 ; *וְתִים הַנִּבְהָשִׁין* olives that are to be crushed ; *הַנְּדָרְכוֹת עֲנָבִים* grapes that are to be trodden, Ter. i. 8 ; *פָּרִים הַנִּשְׂרָפִים* bulls that are to be burnt, Yo. vi. 7 ; *כָּל הַפּוֹמְתִין* all that are to be put to death, San. vi. 2.¹

335. The active partic. Qal is sometimes found in a middle sense which is equivalent to an English passive : *חֲמוֹר מוֹעֲנֵת* a loading—loaded ass, BM v. 4 ; *פוֹרְקֵת* unloading—unloaded, ib. vii. 4 ; *קוֹטְעִין* cut (ears of corn), Ma'a. i. 6 ; *שׁוֹפְכִין* pouring out—to be poured out, i. e. ill-smelling liquid, Šab. viii. 1.

336. The passive partic. Qal, being almost equivalent to an adjective, is found in an active sense in a few intransitive and transitive verbs. So already in BH, Ges.-K., § 50 f ; also in Aram., and especially in Syriac, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 280 ; *Mand. Gr.*, § 380.

¹ The other examples cited by Albrecht, § 107 m, do not belong to this category.

The following is a fairly exhaustive list of such cases in MH.

(i) Intrans.: **אָבִירָה** lost, BM 22 b; **מָתוּן** cautious, Ab. i. 1; **יָרֹד** lowly, j. BM iv. 1; **נְטוּפָה** dripping, Pea vii. 1; **סָבִיר** thinking, Qid. iii. 5 (an Aramaism—**סָבִיר**); **עָסוּקִים** occupied, Pa. iv 4 (L); **רַבְצִים** lying down, B^ek. ix. 7; **רָכֹב** riding, BM i. 3 (edd.; so BM 9 a, &c.); **שָׁקוּד** watchful, Ab. ii. 14; **שְׂרֵיָה** dwelling, ib. iii. 2.

(ii) Transitive: **הִדָּם** holding in the blood, H^ul. 58 b; **אָרֹסָה** betrothed male, masc. of **אָרוּסָה** K^et. 13 b; **זָכוֹר** remembering, K^et. ii. 10; **הַשּׁוֹבֵי הַגְּדִים** lacking garments, Kel. i. 2; **טָבֹל יוֹם** one who bathed by day, T^Y ii. 1; **כָּפְיוּי טוֹבָה** repressing thanks, ungrateful, 'AZ 5 a; **נָדוּר** having vowed, t. Dam. ii. 23; **נָשׂוּי שְׁתֵּי** married to two wives,¹ K^et. x. 1, 2; **יָדַיִם וְרַגְלָיִם** not having washed the hands and feet,² Kel. i. 9; Pa. iv. 1; **הִחֲזִיקוּ אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם** holding the acts of their fathers, Sifra 112 b.³

The following are only apparently active: **הִלְוָצָה** a woman that has received *halisa*,⁴ Y^eb. ii. 3; **טְעוּנָה** burdened with—requiring, So. ii. 1; **קְמוּיָה** leaning on—near, Yo. i. 8 (cf. BH **נִשְׁעָן**); **שְׁחוּל** suspended—falling, B^ek. vi. 7; **שְׁלוּחִין** stripped—olives dropping their kernels, 'AZ ii. 7; **שָׁקוּל** balanced—even, So. ix. 2; **תְּלוּי** hanged—hanging, ib.⁵

¹ As opposed to **פְּנוּי** unmarried, t. Qid. i. 1. Cf. the active and passive forms side by side: **הַנְּשֻׂאִין אֶת הָאֲחֵיות נוֹשְׂאִין**, those who are married to the sisters may marry . . . , t. 'Ed. ii. 9, the first expressing a state or condition, the second expressing an act.

² A standing phrase, derived from Exod. xxx. 21. Cf. t. Yo. i. 18; San. xiv. 6.

³ Contrast **אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם מַעֲשֵׂי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם**, B^er. 7 a; San. 27 b.

⁴ In Deut. xxv. 7-10 the woman is conceived as active (**וְחָלְצָה**, ver. 9), and the man as passive (**הַחֲלוּץ הַנֶּעַל**, ver. 10); so also in MH: **לֹא תִחְלוּץ**, Y^eb. iv. 10; **חָלְצָה**, ib. xii. 3. More often, however, the condition is reversed: the man is active, **הַחֲלוּץ**, Y^eb. iv. 1, 7; **חָלוּץ**, 5, 6; **חָלַץ**, v. 2 ff., and the woman is passive, **חָלְוָצָה**.

⁵ The forms **כְּתִיב** written, Ab. vi. 10; **מָרַע** lying with disease, Pea iii. 7, &c., are pure Aramaisms.

337. In spite of the strong development of the verbal character of the participle in MH, the idiom has also retained in full the substantival usages of the partic. found in BH. Thus, the partic. is widely used as a noun, especially when determined by the article, e.g. הָעוֹמֵר what is standing; הַפְּרוֹץ what is broken, Kil. iv. 4; הַנוֹלָד what is born = the result of a action, Ab. ii. 9, &c. As an attribute, the partic. with the article often has the force of a relative clause, as in BH; cf. שׂוֹר הַנֶּמְסָקַל and the other exx. in § 376.

338. The partic. often stands in the construct state: נְקִיבַת הַיּוֹשֵׁט having a hole in the gullet; פְּסִיקַת הַיְנַרְנָרַת cut in the wind-pipe, Hūl. iii. 1; מַיִבַּת שְׁחִין struck with leprosy, Ket. iii. 5; חוֹתְמֵי בְּרָכוֹת those who conclude the benedictions, Ber. ix. 5; cf. § 380.

339. In accordance with its substantival character, the partic. is regularly negated by אֵין : אֵין מְדַלְקִין Šab. ii. 1; cf. exx. above, §§ 329-30. Frequently, however, it is negated by לֹא, but as a rule only when it is intended to impart a certain emphasis to the negation. This happens either when the negative follows immediately upon an affirmative, or when two or more negatives follow each other. In the first case, לֹא וְלֹא has the force of 'but not', in the second case לֹא . . . לֹא means 'neither . . . nor'. The participial clause negated by לֹא contains, as a rule, no other words but the participle.

Exx. (i) יֵשׁ מְבִיאִין בְּפוּרִים וְקוֹרִין מְבִיאִין וְלֹא קוֹרִין there are some who bring first-fruits and recite, some who bring but do not recite, Bik. i. 1, 3, 4; וְלֹא מְשַׁלְּמִין וְנִשְׁבְּעִין they take an oath, but do not pay, Šebu. vii. 1; cf. further, Šab. xi. 2; Yeb. iii. 1 f.; vi. 1; vii. 4; x. 8, 9; xi. 4, 6; So. 1, 2; San. vii. 5; Hūl. i. 7.

(ii) חוֹלְוִין לֹא אוֹכְלִין וְלֹא שׂוֹרְפִין they are in suspense: neither may they eat (the leavened bread), nor need they burn it, Pes. i. 5; Be. ii. 8; v. 2; Yeb. vii. 5; viii. 4, 5; לֹא חוֹלְעִים וְלֹא מִבְּמִים

neither do they give *ḥaliṣa*, nor do they marry (the deceased brother's childless wife), xi. 2. Contrast with 5, 7, where in similar cases the negative is אֵין, because the clauses are longer, and there is no particular emphasis on the negative; So. iv. 1 f.; Mak. iii. 13; 'Ed. v. 2; Hul. viii. 1; T^{em}. iv. 1; M'il. iii. 1 ff. (contrast with 3); Neg. x. 4; Nid. vi. 1.

(iii) The two cases side by side: פָּהֵן גְּדוֹל מְקַרֵּיב אוֹנֵן וְלֹא אוֹכֵל : אֵין מְקַרֵּיב וְלֹא אוֹכֵל the High Priest may offer sacrifices on the day of the death of a near kinsman, but may not eat of a sacrifice, while an ordinary priest may neither offer a sacrifice, nor eat of one, Hor. iii. 5; BB viii. 1; 'Ar. vii. 1; Oho. viii. 1; Miq. vii. 1; 'Uq. v. 5.

In longer clauses the partic. is negated by אֵין, even in such cases as described above: . . . אֵין מוֹעֵלִים בָּהֶם וְאֵין חִיבִים עֲלֵיהֶם מַשָּׁם one does not incur *m^eila* by using them, nor is one guilty in their case of . . . M^eil. i. 3; 'Ar. ii. 6; Ket. v. 5.

340. There are, however, exceptions to the above rules, when the partic. is negated by לֹא, where we would expect אֵין, especially in later texts; cf. Ket. vii. 6; 'Ar. ii. 3; vii. 1, &c. But we also find in BH numerous examples of such an irregular construction,¹ e.g. Deut. xxviii. 61; Hab. i. 14; Job xii. 3; xxix. 12. Further, 2 Sam. iii. 34; Ezek. iv. 14, where the partic. is parallel to a finite verb.

341. The subject of a participial predicate is often placed after the partic., as in BH,² but as a rule only when a certain emphasis is intended on the predicate: בָּמָה בָּהֶמְהָ יוֹצֵאָה וּבָמָה אֵינָה יוֹצֵאָה בָּמָה יוֹצֵא הַבְּמֵל wherewith may an animal go out, and wherewith may it

¹ All the examples in BH are collected and classified by E. Sellin, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur d. hebr. Participien u. Infinitive*, p. 27, and by J. Kahan in his dissertation with the same title, p. 19. Cf. also Ges.-K., § 152 d.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (4). So also in Phoenician: פָּעַל, פָּרָא אַנֵךְ, פָּעַל אַנֵךְ, Cooke, op. cit., No. 3, ll. 2, 3, and the note p. 21 f.

not go out? The camel may go out, Šab. v. 1. Contrast with 2 : תָּמּוּר יוֹצֵא, תָּמּוּר יוֹצֵא, &c. ; וְזָכְרִים יוֹצֵאִין, &c. ; אָדָם אֶתְיַחֵד a man may be alone, opposed to the preceding לֹא יִתְיַחֵד Qid. iv. 12 ; לֹא יֹאכַל פּוֹעֵל a workman may eat, opposed to the following לֹא יֹאכַל פּוֹעֵל BM vii. 5, 6. So also with pronoun as subject : לֹא יִתֵּן לְתוֹכוֹ צֹנֶן אֶבֶל נוֹתֵן הוּא לְתוֹכוֹ one may not put into it cold water, but one may put into it . . . , Šab. iii. 5 ; מָה אֲנִי לִירֵד . . . מִתְּרִים אֲתָם what are we in respect to going down? . . . you are permitted, 'Er. iv. 2.

Often, however, the emphasis is hardly noticeable : יָרַע אֲנִי I know, Ber. v. 5 (so Qoh. viii. 12) ; רִוּאָה אֲנִי I prefer, Ab. ii. 9 (so Gen. xxxi. 5) ; זָכַר אֲנִי I remember, Ket. ii. 10 (זָכַרְנִי, in Aram. fashion, Šab. 115 a, and often) ;¹ קִבַּעְתָּ אֶתָּה you rob, Yad. iv. 3 ; קִבַּלְנִי אֲנִי we complain, ib. 6.

342. Similarly the auxiliary verb הָיָה sometimes follows the partic. : . . . נִוְהַגְּנִין הָיוּ my father's house were accustomed, Pea ii. 4, modifying the preceding statement ; צֹפֶה הָיִיתִי I was watching, Suk. iii. 9 ; אֲבָל אֲנִיםִים הָיוּנוּ but we were forced, Ket. ii. 3 : . . . רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֵף פּוֹטְרוֹ הָיָה רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֵף R. Joshua acquitted him even . . . , Ker. iv. 2. So also in BH for the sake of emphasis : Exod. xxvii. 1 ; xxviii. 16 ; Deut. ix. 7, 22, 24 ; Joshua v. 5, &c. So in Aram. : Dan. ii. 31, 34 ; Ezra iv. 12, 22, &c., and often in the Targumim and other Aram. dialects.

343. Note. The construction of the partic. with הִיא in MH is of native origin, and is not borrowed from Aram. It is frequent in BH even where the partic. has a purely verbal force,² e.g. in the

¹ This contraction of אֲנִי with the partic., under Aram. influence, is common in the Midrashim and in late MH generally, but not in the Mishna. Where such forms occur in some texts of the Mishna they are due to the copyists, cf. e.g. N^d. i. 1 ; RH ii. 9 ; Šab. xxii. 3 ; Y^b. xvi. 7 ; Ya. iv. 2 in edd. with L and N. The contraction of אֲנִי with the partic. is never found even in late MH, though common in Aram. ; cf. Dalman, § 65 ; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 64 ; *Mand. Gr.*, § 175 a.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (5), and, with fuller lists, Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, and Kahan, p. 25.

past: Judges i. 7; 2 Sam. iii. 7; viii. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18, 20; 2 Kings xvii. 32, 33; of the future: Gen. i. 6; Deut. xxviii. 29; Isa. xxx. 20; with pass. partic.: Jer. xviii. 23; Ezek. xliv. 2; xlvi. 1; Zach. xiii. 1; especially in the later books: Neh. i. 4; ii. 13, 15; iii. 2; v. 18; vi. 14, 19; xiii. 5, 22; 2 Chron. xxx. 10; Dan. viii. 5, 7; x. 2; Esther ii. 7, 15, and with לְהִיּוֹת (a genuine MH construction): i. 22; viii. 13; ix. 21.

On the other hand, it is worthy of note that, with perhaps one doubtful exception (cf. § 184 foot-note), the tenses are never found in MH combined with הִיּוּ, as sometimes in the Targumim (e.g. דְּהוּה חֲמִירָה, Gen. iv. 1 (Jer.); הוּא נִפִּיק Cant. i. 12), and very frequently in Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 263, 268), and in Arabic (Wright, *Arab. Gr.*, ii. § 3 (c)): also in Phoenician (בְּן נֹרָה, Cooke, *NSI.*, No. 57, l. 5), evidently because there is nothing approaching such a construction in BH.

(4) THE INFINITIVE.

344. Of the various constructions with the inf. in BH, MH has preserved only the gerundial use with לְ to express the direction and purpose of a verb. In its use as a noun, the inf. has been supplanted in MH by the corresponding verbal nouns which are so numerous in MH (§ 217). For the BH inf. with the prepositions בְּ, לְ, MH uses בְּשֵׁי with the finite verb, as often in BH (בְּאִשָּׁר), and regularly in Aram. (בְּרִי Dan. vi. 10; בְּרִי).¹ Finally, the use of the inf. in its absolute form to emphasize a finite verb is never found in MH,² though this construction is very common in Aram.³

¹ The infin. with בְּ is frequent in the Targumim, e.g. Gen. xii. 4; xxiv. 6; xlviii. 7, &c., which proves that the construction was permissible in Aram.

² An exception is the liturgical passage: שְׂמֹחַ תְּשֻׁמַּח רַעִים הַאֲהוּבִים (cf. Jer. xx. 15); שׁוֹשׁ תְּשִׁישׁ וְתִגַּל הָעֵקֶרָה (cf. Isa. lxi. 10), K^{t.} 8 a; Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 295. In the Targumim the inf. absol. with

The loss of these infinitival constructions in MH is due to natural decay. They are already very scarce in the later books of the Bible. Thus, the combination of the inf. absolute with the finite verb is not found in Qoheleth, Canticles, Ezra, and Daniel, and is rare in Esther, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. So also the inf. with ב , and ב is rare in those books, and where found, it is not always used in a correct way.¹

345. The use of the inf. with ל coincides generally with the BH inf. construct with ל . The pronominal suffixes attached to this inf. are, however, always of an objective force: לְזַרְעָה to sow it, Kil. ii. 3; לְנוֹטְעָה to plant it, ib. 4; לְפָדוּתוֹ to redeem it, Mš. iv. 6; לְאָכְלָן to eat them, Dam. iii. 3; לְהַחְיוֹתְכֶם to revive you; לְהַקְיִמְכֶם to raise you, Ber. 38 b.

346. After verbs of preventing, restraining, &c., either expressed or understood, the inf. takes the prepos. מִ before לִ : $\text{אֲסוּרִין לִּי מִלְּזַרְעָם וּמִלְּקַיֵּים}$ they are forbidden to be sown and to be kept, Kil. viii. 1; $\text{נִמְנְעוּ מִלְּהָבִיא}$ they refrained from bringing, H. Hal. i. 7; P. es. i. 6; $\text{שָׁבַת הִיא מִלְּעוֹק}$ it is Sabbath, so that one must not cry, Šab. 15 a; $\text{נִשְׁתָּהוּ הָעֵדִים מִלְּבוֹא}$ the witnesses delayed to come, RH iv. 4; cf. Ges.-K., § 119 x.

347. The inf. is sometimes used as a verbal noun with the ל in the sense of 'with regard to': $\text{מָה אֲנִי לְבוֹא בְּקֶהֱל}$ what am I with regard to entering the assembly (of Israel, cf. Deut. xxiii. 4)?—may I enter, &c., Ya. iv. 4; מָה אֲנִי לְיֵרֵד what are we with regard to going down—may we go down? 'Er. iv. 2; $\text{לְהִזְכִּיר מָה (מָה + הוּא) לְהִזְכִּיר}$ should one mention? Šab. 24 a.

348. The inf. sometimes expresses necessity, obligation, as in BH (Ges.-K., 114 i-1): $\text{הִרִי הוּא לְהִסְגִּיר}$ behold, this is to be shut up, Neg. iv. 10; $\text{הִרִי הוּא לְהִחְלִיט}$ behold this is to be finally decided

finite verb is used almost always where the Hebrew text has it. Cf. also Winer, *Chald. Gr.* (1882), § 46, 4, 5.

¹ Cf. Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the O.T.*, pp. 506, No. 12; 538, No. 37.

(as impure), *ib.* 11. The person upon whom the obligation rests is introduced by עַל with the appropriate suffix: הָרִי עָלַי לְשַׁלַּח פָּרַע: behold I must let (my hair) grow wild, *Naz.* i. 1; עָלֶיךָ . . . עָלְיוּ thou, he must teach (produce) the evidence, *Ya.* iv. 3.

349. When preceded by the adjective עָתִיד ready, the inf. expresses with certainty and emphasis the occurrence of an act or event in the future (*Periphrastic Future*): אִם עָתִיד לְחֹזֵר if he is resolved, or going, to return, *Meg.* ii. 3; גָּמַר מִלְּמַסּוֹק אֲבָל עָתִיד גָּמַר לִיקַח מִלִּיקַח אֲבָל עָתִיד לְלוֹוֹת he has finished gathering (the olives), but he is going to buy (more); he has finished buying, but he is going to borrow (more), *Toh.* ix. 2; *Dam.* vii. 1; *Ned.* iii. 1; *Šeq.* vi. 3; *Mid.* ii. 6, 13 (הֵם עֹתִידִים לְהִיוֹת); *Naz.* v. 4; *So.* v. 2; *BM* iv. 2; *San.* x. 2; *Ab.* iii. 1; *‘Uq.* ii. 12 (a later addition).

These are all the passages in the Mishna where this construction occurs. But it becomes very common in the later Aggadic literature. Sometimes, however, עָתִיד is construed with the imperfect (cf. above, § 315). So also in the Targumim עָתִיד is found in both these constructions (e.g. *Gen.* iii. 15 in *Jerus.*; *Isa.* xl. 2). In Syriac ܥܬܝܕ is always followed by ܩ with the imperfect. In BH the construction is found only once, and in the primary sense of עָתִיד לְיִתְּנָן (לְעֹרֵר) הָעֲתִידִים עֹרֵר *Job* iii. 8; cf. also *Esther* iii. 14; and עָתִידוֹת the destined future, *Deut.* xxxii. 35.

350. The inf. expresses the certainty of a future action also when preceded by סוֹפוֹ לְהִשְׁמַע: סוֹפוֹ לְהִשְׁמַע it will eventually be understood, *Ab.* ii. 4; סוֹפוֹ לְבַטְלָהּ: סוֹפוֹ לְבַטְלָהּ he will eventually fulfil it, neglect it, *ib.* iv. 9; סוֹפוֹ לִיתֵן he will eventually give, *Mak.* i. 1; סוֹפֵינוּ לְבַדּוֹק we shall certainly examine, *San.* iv. 5. Sometimes, however, the partic. is used, instead of the inf.: סוֹפוֹ יִוָּרֵשׁ in the end he will inherit, *Ab.* i. 5; סוֹפָהּ בְּטִלָּהּ in the end it will cease, *ib.* ii. 2.

2. Government of the Verb.

(1) *Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative.*

351. The method in MH of marking the direct object of a transitive verb is exactly the same as in BH. As a rule, a determinate object is indicated by **אֵת**, an indeterminate object is left without any mark, e.g. **אִין חוֹפְרִין בּוֹכִין . . . אֲבָל מִחְנֻכֵּין אֵת הַבּוֹכִין** one may not dig (new) sepulchres . . . but one may adapt the (old) sepulchres, MQ i. 6; **קוֹרִין אֵת שְׁמַע** read the 'Šema', Ber. i. 1, &c. Sometimes, but not more frequently than in BH (Ges.-K., § 117 n), a determinate object is indicated by **לְ**, instead of **אֵת**: **נָא בְּפָרָה לְאֵת הַמְּקַנָּא לְאִשְׁתּוֹ** forgive, I pray, the iniquities, Yo. iii. 8; **הַמְּקַנָּא לְאִשְׁתּוֹ** one who suspects his wife (cf. Num. v. 14), So. i. 1. Often, however, a determinate object is found without the *nota accusativi*, whether **ת** or **ל**, especially when the object is determined by a possessive suffix: **הַכְּנִים קָרְרוֹתָיו** he brought in his pots, his fruit, his ox, BQ v. 2, 3; **וְתַשִּׁים חֻלְקֵנוּ . . . וְתַצְלִיחַ סוֹפֵנוּ . . . תַּרְבֵּה נְבוּלָנוּ** mayest thou increase our border . . . prosper our end . . . put our portion, Ber. 16 b. This omission may in many cases be due to scribal negligence, as is shown by the frequent disagreement of the texts: **נָטְלוּ בְּסוּתוֹ** they took his garment, BQ x. 2, L, but edd. **אֵת כֶּסֶף**; **הַמְּפִיר בְּלִיו** if one recognizes his articles, edd., but **L אֵת כֶּסֶף** ib. 3, and often.

352. A nominative after a transitive verb is found in the expression **יָבִיא הוּא וְלֶחְמָה** let him bring it and its bread, Men. vii. 8; **יָבִיא הוּא וְנִסְכָּיו** let him bring it and its drink-offerings, ib. xiii. 7. The phrase may be an invariable technical expression, like **אוֹתוֹ וְאֵת בְּנוֹ**, § 275.

353. The accusative is found also after a passive verb: **נִשְׁכְּרַת הַחֲוִיִּת** gain the corners, 'Er. v. 1; **לְהַפְרַע אֵת שְׁלֶפֶה** to be paid thine own, Ket. xiii. 18; **נִזְרַק אֵת דָּמּוֹ** its blood was sprinkled, Pes. vii. 7 (L, edd. without **אֵת**); cf. Ges.-K., § 121 a, b.

354. The double accusative is somewhat rarer in MH than in BH : **לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם אֶת סֶלְעָיו דִּינָרֵי זָהָב** one shall not make (change) his silver *sel'a'im* into gold *dinars*, MŠ. ii. 7 ; **לֹא יִמְלֵא אָדָם קַעֲרָה שֶׁמֶן** one shall not fill a dish with oil, Šab. ii. 4 ; **מוֹצִיא אֶת הַרְבִּים יְדֵי הוֹכֵתָן** causing the public to discharge their duty, RH iv. 9 ; **אוֹפִין אֶת פֶּתָן נִרְיֹצוֹת** baking their bread into thick loaves, Be. ii. 6 ; 'Ed. iii. 11.

More frequently the remoter object takes a preposition : **הִלְבִּישׁוּ הַבְּיָלִי בְּאוֹנְקָלִי וְחִנְרוּ בְּצִילְצוֹל** he clothed him with a (woman's) tunic, and girded him with a (woman's) girdle, M^{en}. 109 b. In the passive the verb is followed by the accusative of the remoter object : **לְבוּשׁ לְבָנִים וְעִטּוֹף לְבָנִים** clothed in white garments and wrapped in white garments, Yo. 39 b ; M^{en}. ib. ; **טָעַן בְּשִׁתִּים** laden with flax, BM. vi. 8 ; . . . **טְעִינָה הַפְּשִׁט** requiring flaying, &c., Z^{eb}. v. 4.

355. The accusative, but without the *nota accusativi*,¹ is also used to define the action of the verb in reference to time, especially to express duration of time : **נִאֲסָרָה עָלָיו שְׁעָה אַחַת** she was prohibited to him for one hour, Y^{eb}. iii. 7 ; **אוֹר לְאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר בִּיָּדְקִין** on the eve of the fourteenth one must search, Pes. i. 1 ; **אוֹכְלֵין בָּל** (hours), and suspend all the fifth (hour), and burn at the beginning of the sixth (hour), ib. 4 ; **לֹא יֵאָכֵל אָדָם . . . עֶרְבֵי פֶסַחִים** on the eve of Passover one must not eat, ib. x. 1 ; **נִדְרָה לַיְלִי שֶׁבֶת** she vowed on the night of the Sabbath, Šab. 157 a (but N^{ed}. x. 8 : **בְּלַיְלֵי שֶׁבֶת** (נ'). More often, the noun is introduced by a preposition, especially when it is intended to express a point of time, and not duration : **אָדָם מְתַפִּיל לַל** every day a man prays, B^{er} iv. 3 ; **לְמִשְׁבָּתִים הָיָה הַמְּמוֹנֶה אוֹמֵר** early in the morning the director would

¹ This accusative of time is found also with **אֶת** in the liturgical passage : **הָיָה הַחֲלִיצָנוּ . . . אֶת יוֹם רֵאשׁ הַחֲדָשׁ הַזֶּה** fortify us on this day of the New Moon, 'Er. iii. 9.

(2) *Subordination of the Noun to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

358. As in BH, nouns can be governed by a verb also indirectly, by means of a preposition. Such nouns serve to define the verbal action in its various relations to time, place, manner, &c., but they may also represent the object of the verbal action in the same way as an accusative. The prepositions chiefly used for this purpose are: **אֶצֶל**, **בְּ**, **לְ**, **מִ**, and **עַל**. These prepositions have preserved in MH the general characteristics of the meaning and usage which they have in BH. In the following sections some special constructions will be noted. (Cf. Ges.-K., § 119.)

359. **אֶצֶל**. This prepos. usually takes in MH the place of **אֵל** is BH (cf. § 301): **מִי שִׁשְׁלַחְךָ אֶצְלִי** he who sent me to thee, Dam. iv. 6; **גּוֹלְלוּ אֶצְלוֹ** he rolls it up towards himself, 'Er. x. 2; **נִבְנְסוּ אֶצְלוֹ חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** the sages of Israel came in unto him, Ber. 3 b. Also in the old BH sense: **מְתָאָרַח אֶצֶל עִם הָאָרֶץ** stays as a guest with an 'am ha-ares, Dam. ii. 2.

360. **בְּ**. (i) To introduce the object of a transitive verb:¹ **שְׁנַיִם אוֹחֲזִין בַּמְלִית** two hold a cloak, BM i. 1; **הִחֲזִיק בָּהּ** he took hold of it; **זָכָה בָּהּ** he acquires it, ib. 2; **הִחֲזִיל בַּחֲבֵרוֹ** if one injures his neighbour, BQ viii. 1; **צָרַם בְּאָזְנוֹ** he cut (or pulled) his ear; **הִלֵּשׁ בְּשַׁעֲרוֹ** he plucked his hair, ib. 8; **הִתְרִיתֶם בּוֹ** have you warned him? San. v. 1; **לָבַשׁ בְּחֻלְגָּא** he put on a shirt, Me'il. v. 1. With a partitive sense: **לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּצֹמֶר** to work at wool, Ket. v. 6; **אוֹכֵל בְּקִדְשִׁים** eats of holy things, Naz. viii. 6; **שׁוֹתֶה בַּיַּיִן** drinks of wine, ib. iv. 3; **מְרַבֵּה בְּבִדְיוֹת** increases examinations, San. v. 2.

(ii) To describe the character of the subject or object in

¹ This use of a preposition to introduce a direct object is exactly parallel to the use of **אֵל** for the same purpose. In both cases, the preposition or the particle **אֵת** is dependent on the verb as its accusative, and the noun is dependent on the preposition, or **אֵת**, as its genitive.

relation to the verb, ב *essentiae*: נָדְרָה בְּנִוִיר she vowed as a Nazirite, Ned. iv. 3; בָּלֵא מִתְּבִינּוּ . . . נִכְנַם he entered without intention, 'Er. iv. 4; מִקְרִיב חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ offers a portion as a chief; נוֹטֵל חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ takes a portion as a chief—offers, takes the first portion, Yo. i. 2.

(iii) Expressing the instrument or means of an action: מַעְגֵּל בְּמַעְגֵּילָה rolling with a roller; עוֹלָה בְּסוּלָם; יוֹרֵר בְּסוּלָם going up, going down a ladder, Mak. ii. 1; בְּמָה מְדַלְקִין wherewith may one kindle a light? Šab. ii. 1; or the price: בְּמֵיטֵב הָאָרֶץ . . . לְשֵׁלֵם to pay with the best of his land, BQ i. 1; בְּכַמֶּה חֲפָץ זֶה for how much is this article, BM iv. 10; מְצִילִין אוֹתוֹ בְּנַפְשָׁם one may deliver them at the cost of their lives, San. viii. 7; or the measure: הַטְּבֵל אִסּוּר . . . בְּנִתּוֹן טַעַם *Tebel* renders a food prohibited when it is sufficient to add a flavour, Hal. iii. 10; אִסּוּר בְּכֵל שֶׁהוּא prohibits by any quantity, 'AZ v. 8; נִקְוֵבָה בְּכוֹנִים מִשְׁקָה bored with a hole large enough to take in liquid, Oh. v. 2; Kel. x. 8; cf. ib. iii. 1, 2. For BH cf. *BDB*, p. 90 b, iii. 8.

(iv). To define and limit the verb, in the sense of 'in respect to', 'in the case of': מוֹתֵר בְּצֵלֵי וּבִשְׁלִיחַ permitted as regards roast or seethed food: אִסּוּר בְּמַעֲשֵׂה קִדְרָה prohibited as regards food prepared in a pot, Ned. vi. 1; מוֹתֵרִין בְּאִכְלָהּ permitted to eat, Kil. viii. 1; לָמָּה לֹא אִסְרוּהָ בְּהִנָּאָה why did they not prohibit it as regards (indirect) profit? 'AZ ii. 5.

(v) Finally, in a local sense after a verb of motion: שׁוֹלְחִין בְּכֵל they send to all places, San. xi. 4; הָיִיתִי בָּא בְּדַרְךָ I was coming by the way, Ber. i. 3; הִמְהַלֵּךְ בְּדַרְךָ if one walks by the way, Ab. iii. 4; הֵילֵךְ הֵילֵךְ בָּהֶן he walked on them, Hul. ix. 2; נִתְחַוּ בְּאִנְפוּלֵי¹ thou hast put it into a bag, Šebu. vii. 6.

361. ל. (i) To introduce a direct object, like אֵת; cf. above, § 351.

¹ Or אִמְפוּלֵי *mappula*; cf. Kohut. i. 124 a.

(ii) To introduce an indirect object, the ל of the dative : נתנו לו they gave him, 'Er. vi. 3.

(iii) The *dativus ethicus* : בא לו he came, Yo. iii. 8 ; נפל לו עליה he fell on it, Pe. iv. 2 ; הלך לו אחל יוחנן he goes to Johanan, Š^eq. v. 4.

(iv) To introduce the genitive : belonging to, cf. below, § 384.

(v) To introduce the agent after a passive or reflexive verb : מי שנשאל . . . לכול אדם they are eaten by all men, Z^eb. v. 6 ; מי ששיתף לו if one consults a sage, MQ iii. 2 ; הוא שיתף לו he who joins him in partnership, Bek. ii. 1 (cf. Ges.-K., § 121 f). So also after an active verb : לאור הנר . . . בודקין one searches by the light of a candle, Pes. i. 1 ; שאיני טועם לך, שאיני אוכל לך that I will not eat, taste, of thine, N^ed. i. 1.

(vi) 'In respect to' : מברך לעצמו pronounces a benediction for himself, Ber. vi. 6 ; מועד למינו forewarned in respect to his own kind, BQ iv. 2 ; פתוח לרוחה open wide, Ab. i. 5 ; המשפיר בית השנה לחדשים . . . if one lets a house for a year, for months, BM viii. 8.

(vii) In a local sense, after verbs of motion : 'into'—BH אל : רייר הבונם צאן לריר if one gathers sheep into a shed, BQ vi. 1 ; הולכתם יורדין לשם they go down there, Suk. iv. 5 ; cf. § 295 ; הולכתם לתוך ביתך thou hast carried them to thine house, Š^ebu. vii. 6 ; in a figurative sense : אין מעלין לכהונה one does not raise to the priesthood, Ket. ii. 8.

(viii) Of time : לימים הרבה after many days, 'Ed. i. 1 ; למשכים לשחרית מצאו ר"ג at the beginning, Šab. 65 a ; לשחרית מצאו ר"ג in the morning R. Gamaliel found him, Pes. 72 b ; cf. §§ 296, 297, 301.

362. מן. (i) Of place : עבר מנגד פניו he passed from before him, Naz. ix. 1 ; מחציו ולפנים ; מחציו ולחוץ from the half of it and towards outside, inside, BM ii. 3 ; מן הארובה ולמטה from the knee down, Y^eb. xii. 1 ; cf. § 301.

(ii) Of time: מוֹכֵן מִבְּעוֹר יוֹם prepared from day-time, Be. i. 2 ; מִכָּאָן עַד ג' שָׁנִים from now till three years, BM v. 3.

(iii) Partitive: שָׁמַע מִן־הַתִּינוּקוֹת אוֹמְרִים ; שָׁמַע מִן הַנְּשִׂים אוֹמְרוֹת he heard some of the women, some of the children, say, Y^{eb}. xvi. 5 ; גָּנַב מִשָּׁל אָבִיו of the notables of Jerusalem, Yo. vi. 6 ; גָּנַב מִשָּׁל אָבִיו he stole of his father's, San. viii. 3 ; רָאִיתָ מִיָּמַיךְ hast thou seen on any of thy days—ever? Qid. iv. 14 ; so מִיָּמַי Suk. v. 1 ; מִיָּמֶיהָ (L) ; מִיָּמֶיהֶם Pes. v. 7 ; i. 6 (cf. Ges.-K., § 119 w, foot-note 1) ; לְסַפֵּס מִשָּׁלֶשׁ to supply flours at four (*seahs per sela'*) they stood at three (*seahs per sela'*), Š^{eq}. iv. 9 ; so Kel. xvii. 11 ; Pa. i. 1, &c.

(iv) In a privative sense: 'away from'—not to, after verbs of preventing, restraining, &c. ; לֹא הָיוּ מוֹנְעִין מִפָּנָיו they did not withhold from him, Yo. i. 4 ; cf. § 346.

(v) Introducing the source, cause, instrument of an action : לֹא מִפִּיהָ אָנוּ חַיִּין we do not live from her mouth—depend on her words, K^{et}. i. 6 ; גִּיאוּחֵין מִפָּנָיו make use of it, Š^{ab}. iii. 6 ; . . . שׁוֹרְפִין נֶפֶל לְפָנָיו they burn with their own wood, Pes. vii. 8 ; נֶפֶל הַבְּרִייה מִקוֹל הַבְּרִייה he fell forward because of the noise of the digging, BQ v. 8. So with אָל in a reflexive sense: מַגִּין מֵאֲלוֹ plays by itself, B^{er}. 3 b ; cf. above, § 301, and below, § 432.

363. על. (i) To introduce the object: הִשְׁבִּיעַ עָלָיו he adjured him (parallel to מִשְׁבַּעְיָךְ), Š^{ebu}. v. 2 ; iv. 3 ; מִצִּיל עַל הַכֹּל protects everything, 'Ed. i. 14 ; קָבַשׁ עָלָיו לְחוּף הַיָּם he pressed him into the water, San. ix. 1 ; לְלַמֵּד עַל מַעֲשֵׂה הַקְּטָרֶת to teach the work of making the incense, Yo. iii. 11.¹

(ii) After verbs of going, standing, &c.: מְהֻלְכִין עַל כָּל הָאָחִין they go over all the brothers, Y^{eb}. iv. 5 ; הָלְכָה לָהּ עַל לְבוֹ it went

¹ Further examples of this unusual construction are: לְהַעֲבִיר עַל הַבְּתָם to remove a stain, Š^{ab}. ix. 5 (L and j.; edd. אֶת הַכֹּ) ; אֵין מְשַׁנֵּין עַל הַמִּנְהַג one should not change the custom, j. BM vi. 4. So, perhaps, in BH: חוֹלֵשׁ עַל גּוֹיִם Isa. xiv. 12 ; cf. Exod. xvii. 13.

to his heart, San. ix. 2 ; יְחַדְּרוּ עַל הַפְּתָחַיִם (L יִשְׁאַלּוּ), let them go about (beg) at the doors, K^{et}. xiii. 3 ; עוֹמֵד עַל דְּבָרָיו stand on his words, refuse to change one's opinion, 'Ed. i. 4 ; יָדוּ עַל הָעֵלְיוֹנָה¹ (L לְתַחַ' (L לְעַלְ) to have an advantage, Š^oq. iv. 9 ; עַל הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה (L לְתַחַ' to have a disadvantage, BM vi. 2 ; ג' עַל ג' עַל רוּם ג' three (cubits) by three by three high, Š^obi. iii. 5 ; אָחַד יוֹשֵׁב עַל פֶּתַח one sits at the door . . . , San. xi. 2 .

(iii) In the sense of 'in addition to': נִשְׂאֵיִן עַל הָאִנְסָה וְעַל הַיְפּוּתָהּ one may marry in addition to the woman that has been forced or seduced, Y^{eb}. xi. 1 ; מוֹסִיף עָלָיו it adds unto it, K^{et}. iii. 5 ; יַתְרוֹת עַל הָרִאשׁוֹנוֹת exceed the first, Ta'a. i. 6 ; and so often to express the comparative degree of adjectives, § 391. So יָד עַל יָד : יִקָּבֵר עַל יָד עוֹרָו let it be buried together with its skin, MŠ. i. 6 ; iii. 11 ; . . . יָד עַל יָד מְמַעֲטָת reduces by the side of . . . , Nid. i. 1 ; cf. *BDB*, p. 755, 4.

(iv) 'In respect to', 'concerning': אָמְרוּ לָהּ עַל בִּתּוּהָ they told her about her daughter, Naz. vi. 11 ; הִשׁוּמַע עַל מָתוֹ if one hears concerning his dead, Pes. 92 b ; נִמְלָה עֲלֵיהֶן he changed his mind concerning them, BM. i. 7 ; שָׁחַט עָלֶיהָ he slew on her behalf, Pes. viii. 1 ; cf. *BDB*, p. 754 b (g).

(v) To express the agent or cause: שֶׁלֹּא יִמָּחָה עַל הַמַּיִם that it might not be blotted out by the water, So. i. 4 ; הַבָּנוֹת נִחְזָנוֹת עַל הַבָּנִים the daughters are maintained by the sons, BB. viii. 8 ; לֹא יִשְׁחַט עָלָיו he shall not slay (it) through it, B^{ek}. v. 2 ff. ; נוֹטֵל עָלֶיהָ his life is taken because of it, Mak. iii. 15 ; so: קָרָאָהּ עַל פִּיהָ he read it by mouth—by heart, M^{eg}. ii. 2 ; הַפְּחָלֵק נִכְסָיו עַל פִּיו if one divides his property by word of mouth, BB ix. 7 .

(3) *Co-ordination of a Verb to another Verb as Auxiliary*

364. Certain verbs are used in an auxiliary character to give an adverbial definition to another verb with which they are

¹ Contrast בְּדִבְרוֹ עוֹמֵד keeping his word, BM 47 b.

co-ordinated. Some of these, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 120 d), stand before the principal verb which they serve to define. Others stand after the principal verb.

(i) Before the principal verb.

דחק to press : דָּחַק וּנְכַנְסִים he entered by force, Ber. 31 b ; Naz. 49 b ; וְאֲנִי דָּחַקְתִּי וְנִכְנַסְתִּי and I entered by pressing, San. 70 b.

חזר to return : חָזַר וּמְחַלְלִים he changes them again, MŠ ii. 6 ; הוֹסִיף הוֹדֵר he added again ; יִחְזֹר וְיִתְרוֹם let him tithe again, Ter. iv. 3. But also with inf. : חָזְרוּ לומר they said again, Git. vi. 5, &c.

מהר to hasten : מָהְרוּ וְהוֹצִיאוּ bring forth quickly ; מָהְרוּ וְעָשׂוּ do quickly, 'Er. vi. 1.

השָׁבִים to rise early : מִשְׁבִּימִים וּבָאִין they come early in the morning, Suk. iii. 13 ; מִשְׁבִּים וְטוֹבֵל he immerses himself early, Tam. i. 2 ; הִשְׁבִּים וּמָצָא he found early, Hul. ii. 6 ; הִשְׁבִּים וְצָא go forth early in the morning, go forth late in the evening, Ber. 62 a.

שָׁנָה to repeat : שׁוֹנִין וְאוֹמְרִין they say a second time (L לומר), Suk. v. 4 ; שָׁנָה וְלִימֵד he taught a second time, San. xi. 2.

שָׁקַד to be diligent ; כָּל אֻמּוֹת שׁוֹקְדוֹת וּבָאוֹת all nations come diligently, Ber. 58 a.

365. (ii) After the principal verb.

בא to come : לֹא יֵהָא זֹרַע וּבָא he shall not sow on, Kil. ii. 5 ; אֲנִי מְבַרְקֵד וּבָא I come on (dancing), Ber. 51 a ; הָיָה מוֹדֵד וּבָא he was measuring on, 'Er. 42 b ; נִיחֲנוֹת וּבָאוֹת נִיחֲנוֹת וּבָאוֹת they are continued to be maintained, t. BB viii. 18, 19.

הלך to go : מוֹסִיף עָלָיו וְהוֹלֵךְ he goes on adding to it, Šebi. iii. 3 ; מְתַנַּנָּה וְהוֹלֵכֶת she goes on decaying more and more, So. iii. 5 ; מְסַפֵּר וְהוֹלֵךְ he goes on relating, Ber. 13 a ; הִתְהַרְגָה רֹלְקֶת וְהוֹלְקֶת it was burning continually for the whole day, Šab. 23 a ; מְתַמְעָטִין וְהוֹלְכִין they may go on becoming fewer and fewer, Pes. 99 a ; אוֹכֵל וְהוֹלֵךְ he may go on eating, ib. 99 b ; 105 a.

ירד to go down : הִתְחִיל מְחַטֵּא יוֹרֵד he began to purify down-

wards, Yo. v. 5 ; מְתַנַּלְל וְיֹרֵד it rolls downwards, ib. vi. 6 ;
הָיָה חוֹתֵךְ וְיֹרֵד he would cut downwards, Tam. iv. 3.

עָלָה to go up : הָיוּ הַמַּיִם צָפוּן וְעוֹלֵין לְקִרְאתוֹ the waters were floating
upwards towards him, Ab. deRN. xx ; הָיָה מְתַמָּר וְעוֹלָה (the smoke)
was going straight upwards (palm-like), ib. xxxv. 7 ; טוּמְאָה בּוֹקַעַת
וְעוֹלָה בּוֹקַעַת וְיֹרֵדֶת the impurity breaks through upwards, down-
wards, Oh. vi. 6 ; מְטַפֵּם וְעוֹלָה מְטַפֵּם climbing upwards,
downwards, 'Er. 21 a ; מְשָׁפִיעַ וְעוֹלָה מְשָׁפִיעַ sloping upwards,
downwards, ib. 43 b.

יָצָא to go forth : הָיָה מוֹשֵׁכוֹ וְיֹצֵא he was pulling it out, BQ vii. 6 ;
מְכַצְבֵּץ וְיֹצֵא bursting outwards, Pes. 13 a ; מְפַכְפְּכִין וְיֹצֵאִין trickling
forth, t. Šeq. iii. 2 ; נָרְרוּם וְהוֹצִיאוּם they dragged them forth, ib. 1.

יָשָׁב to sit : הָיָה הִלֵּל כְּפּוּף וְיֹשֵׁב Hillel was sitting bowed, Šab. 17 a.

עָמַד to stand : מוֹשְׁבֵעַ וְעוֹמֵד מִהַר סִינֵי he is under oath from Sinai,
Ned. 8 a.

II. THE NOUN

1. Determination of the Gender.¹

366. In the determination of the gender, MH follows the principles of BH. Thus, in the case of animate beings the gender agrees with the sex, whether the two sexes are distinguished by independent words, as אָב, אִם ; עֶבֶד, שְׁפָחָה ; חֶתָן, בֵּלְיָה ; or the fem. is formed from the masc. as נְדִיָּה, חֲמוּרָה² (cf. § 277) ; טָלָה (L ; edd. טְלִיָּה) Men. xiii. 6 ; or one word serves for the two sexes, as בָּקָר, נְמָלָה, יוֹנָה, אֲרָנָבֶת, צְפוּרָה, נְמָלָה.

MH shows some new fem. formations from the masc., especially in late texts. Thus, beside חֲמוּרָה, טָלָה we find וְאִבָּה Est. R. i. 9 ; חֲמוּרָה ib. iii. 1 ; חֲתוּלָה cat, j. Pea 17 d ; בִּלְבָה dog, j. San. 26 b ;

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 122, and H. Rosenberg, *Das Geschlecht d. Hauptwörter in d. Mischna* (Berlin, 1908), especially pp. 73 ff.

² חֲמוּרָה is also found as fem. : הִלְכָה חֲמוּרָה thy ass is gone, E^sk. iv. 4. אֲתוֹן is not used in MH.

חֲחֵלָה cwe, Hul. xi. 2; also בַּחֲוִירָה young woman; בַּחֲוִירֹת Gen. R. 71; Num. R. 10; תְּאֵמָה twin sister, BB 123 a; Gen. R. 22.

367. So also in the case of inanimate objects, MH follows generally the rules of BH. The following are construed as fem.

(i) Limbs or parts of the body, especially those in pairs: אֶזְרָא side (and wall); חֲלָוָה hollow of the hand; כַּף, יָד palm; יָרֵךְ, כַּבֵּד, כַּנֵּף, כַּרְס (or כַּרְסֵי) belly; כַּרְעֵי knee; פְּנֵים Ab. i. 13; צִלְעֵי rib; צַפְתָּוֶן nail (of finger or toe); קָרְנֵי, רֶגְלֵי, שׁוֹק, שֵׁן. (For reff. cf. the Lexicons).

The following are of common gender: לְשׁוֹן, זָנָב; לְחֵי and זָקָן are masc.

(ii) Names of tools, utensils, &c.: אָבֶן, חֲמָת, חֲרָב, יָתֵד, פֶּדֶר, מַחַט needle; מַקְלֵי סַיִף sword; סַבִּין, קָלַע, רִיחִים Be. ii. 9 (construed as sing. like the Aram. רִיחָא).

(iii) Names of countries, towns, &c.: אֶרֶץ, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, עִיר, שָׂדֵה BM i. 4.

(iv) Names denoting a circumscribed space: בַּיָּר, חֲצֵר, יַצִּיעַ, מְרִחַץ bath, Š'bi. viii. 11; קֶן. But גִּוְרָן, and דְּרָךְ are common.

Fem. are also: דִּיּוֹ ink, Ab. iv. 25; סוּבִין bran, Ter. xi. 5; שֵׁתֶם flax, BQ vi. 6; חֲלִתָּן fenugreek, MŠ ii. 3.

The following are common: אֵיִר fire; חֲלָוֶן, כַּבֵּד, Ya. ii. 4; מַעוֹת money, small change, MŠ iii. 5; iv. 9.

Fem. are names of abstract ideas: גְּדוּלָה greatness; שְׂרָרָה dominion; מַחְלֹקֶת controversy; רְבִנּוּת authority; also verbal nouns: אֲכִילָה eating; בִּטְלָה idling; הַבְּדִלָה separating, &c.; cf. §§ 217, 272.

Further, certain collectives; בְּלִשְׁתַּיִם, גְּמֻלָּת, חֲמֻרָת (§ 237); and most diminutives, § 276.

368. Some nouns change their gender when used in a derived sense: כַּף palm of hand, fem. Ab. ii. 8; כַּף spoon, masc. Tam. v. 4; סֶלַע rock, masc. BB vii. 1; סֶלַע sela' (weight, or coin), fem. MŠ ii. 10; רֶגֶל foot, fem. Oh. x. 2; רֶגֶל festival, masc. P's. viii. 1.

369. The following fem. nouns which form the plur. in ם— are construed in the plur. as masc: דלעת pumpkin, Kil. iii. 7; S'bi. i. 7; ברשניה leek, בְּרִשְׁנֵינִי MŠ ii. 4; קישואים cucumber, T'er. iii. 1; Ber. 57 b; משקל scale (of fish), משקלֵיךְ H. Hul. iii. 7; cf. § 289.

370. Certain nouns ending in ת— are fem., even when the ת is treated as a radical letter: אות sign, letter of the alphabet, MQ iii. 4; Kil. ix. 10; אמת So. ix. 15; מת Ma'a. i. 7; נפת Kel. x. 5; עת Tam. i. 2; דת law, Ket. vii. 6; חבתיים wafers, Men. xi. 3; פת B'er. vi. 7; צבת tongs, Ab. v. 6; שבת Dam. iv. 2; cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 86.

371. A number of nouns are found both in the masc. and in the fem. form but with a difference in meaning: גן garden; גנה (or גינה) vegetable garden, Kil. ii. 2; יר shed for animals, BQ vi. 1; דירה dwelling for human beings, B'er. 77 b; חוב debt, BM i. 7; חובה duty, Pes. x. 4; חול sand, Šab. viii. 5; חולה sand-dune, 'Ar. iii. 2; Sab. 31 a; חרב sword, So. viii. 5; חרבנה knife, Š'ebi. viii. 6; צל shadow, Pes. 114 a; צלה shade, protection from the sun, Suk. i. 1; קור cold, BM 106 b; קוריה cooling, satisfaction, Ab. iv. 17.

372. Gender of Greek and Latin nouns.

(i) Nouns ending in ם- (-os, -us) are construed as masc.: פנים φανός, Kel. ii. 4; פולמוס πόλεμος, So. ix. 14; פנינא πίναξ, Ab. iii. 16; סוליא soleas, Kel. xxvi. 4.

(ii) Nouns ending in ך—, ך—, י— (-a, -ia, -eia, -η, -a) are fem.: טבלה tabula, Yo. iii. 10; קצרה castra, 'Ar. ix. 6; קלסטרין κλειστρα (pl.), Kel. xi. 14; דיאייטי διαίτα, Šab. xi. 2.

(iii) Nouns ending in ן—, ן— (-on), are masc.: סיקריקון σικαρικόν, Git. v. 6; קלבוֹן κόλλυβος Šeq i. 6, but קיטון κοιτών is construed as fem., Mid. i. 6.¹

(iv) Nouns ending in ין— are fem.: אפודין ὑποπόδιον, Kel.

¹ This is not due to the plur. ending (קיטונות פתוחות); cf. קיטון אמת, Exod. R. 33.

xxiv. 7 ; סִנְדָרִיּוֹן *συνέδριον*, San. i. 6 ; סוּדָרִיּוֹן *σουδάριον*, ib. vii. 2 (L) ; but בִּיבָרִיּוֹן (*vivarium*) is masc., Šab. xiii. 2 ; cf. further, Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 287-305.

2. The Use of the Article.

373. As in BH, so in MH nouns are either determinate by their nature, such as proper nouns and pronouns, or are rendered determinate by their grammatical connexion, viz. when followed by a determinate noun as genitive, or by a pronominal suffix, or when preceded by the article.

Only in the latter case does MH exhibit certain peculiarities which demand special treatment.

The MH article is identical with the BH article, both in form and in the general characteristics of its usage.

374 (i) The article is used whenever the noun is definite.

Thus with nouns which are definite by themselves : הַחֶמֶשׁ the sun ; הָעוֹלָם the world ; הַשָּׁחַר the dawn ; הַשַּׁבָּת the Sabbath. With nouns that have been mentioned before : פּוֹכֵינ׳ן, הַפּוֹכֵינ׳ן, cf. above, § 351.

With nouns that are known or necessary in connexion with the subject treated : נוֹשְׂאֵי הַמָּטָה the bearers of the bier, in connexion with a dead body, Ber. iii. 1 ; הַיּוֹם ; הַיּוֹן, &c., in connexion with *Qiddus*, Ber. viii. 1 ff. So also with nouns that are definite in the mind of the speaker : הַצּוֹאָה dirt, Ber. iii. 5 ; הַחֲמוֹר ib. iv. 5 ; הַפִּירֹת ib. vi. 1, &c. This last usage is even more common in MH than in BH.¹

(ii) The article is used with titles : הַמְּמַיְנָה the overseer, Yo. ii. 1 ; הַסֵּפֶן the deputy High Priest, ib. vii. 1 ; הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲגְרִיפּוֹס הַמֶּלֶךְ King Agrippa, Bik. iii. 4 (but always כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל the High Priest, even when definite, Yo. i. 1 ; cf. § 378).

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 126 q-t ; Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, i. 4 ; xix. 13.

(iii) With the vocative : הַמֶּלֶךְ ; הַמְּעוֹן הַזֶּה ; הַעֲבוֹרָה ; הַמֶּלֶךְ O King ! Sifre Deut. iii. 23 ; cf. § 305.

(iv) With names of material : הַצֹּמֶר wool, Šab. i. 6 ; הָעֵץ wood, ib. ii. 3 ; הַבֶּסֶס, הַזָּהָב silver, gold, BM iv. 1.

(v) With collectives : הַלֶּחֶם וְהַשֶּׁמֶן *lof* and garlic, &c., Ter. ix. 6 ; Kil. i. 1 f.

(vi) With abstracts : הַנְּבוֹי וְהַכֹּחַ וְהַעֲזָרָה וְהַקְּבוֹד beauty, strength, riches, glory, &c., Ab. vi. 8 ; BM iv. 3.

(vii) The article is used with participles in a somewhat demonstrative sense : he who . . . , she who . . . , &c., especially in conditional sentences : הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת שְׁמַע he who reads the *Šema*, Ber. ii. 3 ; הַמְּתַפְּלֵל וְטָעָה he who prays and commits an error, ib. v. 5 ; הַמוֹצֵא תְּפִלִּין he who finds *tephillin*, 'Er. x. 1 ; cf. § 331.

So sometimes in BH : הַנּוֹעֵץ Gen. xxvi. 11 ; הַמְּקַרֵּיב Lev. vii. 33 ; xiv. 46-7 ; xv. 6-10 ; xvi. 28. Contrast : . . . מִבָּה Exod. xxi. 12 ; Prov. xv. 32 ; Qoh. x. 8, &c.

(viii) The article is prefixed to adjectives or participles when used substantivally, i. e. when the nouns to which they refer are omitted. In such cases the article serves to emphasize the substantival character of the adjective. When two such adjectives are contrasted, the article has a demonstrative force : that which. Exx. : טוֹל אֶתְּהָ אֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ הַיָּבֵשׁ take thou the wet, and I (take) the dry, sc. הַיָּבֵשׁ mentioned before, or תְּבוֹאָה Dam. vi. 9 ; . . . מִן הַחֹבֵר עַל הַחֹבֵר וְלֹא מִן הַחֹבֵר עַל הַיָּשָׁן nor from that which is loose upon that which is joined (to the soil) . . . nor from the new upon the old . . . , Ter. i. 5, 7 ; ii. 6 ; iv. 8 ; הַשׁוֹחֵט הַמְּסֻבֵּנֵת if one slays a beast afflicted with a fatal illness, Hul. ii. 6 ; iv. 2, &c.

375. The attribute of a determinate noun regularly takes the article in MH as in BH : הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל the great sea, Ber. ix. 2 ; הָהֵם . . . הַמְּעוֹת הָאֵלוּ these, those moneys, MŠ iii. 3, 4 ; בְּנוֹ וּבָתּוֹ קָל הַגְּלִים הַיִּטְלִים his grown-up son and daughter, ib. iv. 4 ;

all the vessels that may be handled, Šab. xvii. 5 ; שְׁבִיל הַיְחִיד הַקָּבועַ a permanent private path, Pea ii. 1.

Where the noun has a preposition prefixed, the preposition may be pointed with *patah* with the article elided : בְּמַעְיָן הַנוֹבֵעַ like the bubbling spring, BB x. 8 ; לְדָבָר הָאָסוּר for a thing that is forbidden, Pe. vi. 5 ; בְּעוֹף הַרֵק in a small bird ; בְּעוֹף הַגָּס in a big bird, H̄ul. iii. 1.

There are, however, important and numerous exceptions to this rule.

376. (a) The attribute (an adjective, or a participle) is found with the article, while the noun is without the article.

(i) When one attribute of a substantive is to be distinguished from another attribute of the same substantive. The article is then equivalent to a qualifying relative clause.¹

נָגַר הַנֶּגֶר a bolt which is dragged to the ground by a string tied to the door, opposed to the following : וְהַמּוֹנַח one which lies loose, 'Er. x. 11 ; פְּרִוֹת הַתְּלוּשִׁין fruits which have been plucked, opposed to הַמְּחוּבְּרִין those which are fixed to the ground, Ket. viii. 3. נְכָסִים הַמְּיוֹחָדִין property which is the possession of a special owner, opposed to הַפְּקָרִי נְכָסִי ownerless property, BQ i. 2 ; צֶמֶר הַבְּאוֹת fleece which comes from the country, opposed to הַלְקוּחוֹת הָאוֹמֵן fleece which has been taken from the mechanic, BM ii. 1.

(ii) With one attribute only, where the chief emphasis is to be laid on the attribute, rather than on the substantive. Here, too, the article is virtually equivalent to a relative clause : גְּשָׂרִים הַמְּפוֹלְשִׁין covered bridges with an open passage ; מְבוֹי הַמְּפוֹלְשִׁי a covered entry with an open passage, 'Er. ix. 4 ; עֵצָה הַהוֹנֵנֶת לוֹ a counsel which is suitable (profitable) to him, Yeb. xii. 6 ; בְּהֵמָה הַמְּקַשָּׁה לְיֵלֵד a beast which has hard labour in giving birth, H̄ul. ii. 1, 2, 4.

¹ The art. is never used in MH as a relative with a finite verb, as sometimes in BH ; cf. Ges.-K., § 138 i, k.

(iii) With standing expressions which have acquired a technical sense: שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן the Upper Gate, Š^{eq.} vi. 1; so Ezek. ix. 2; שַׁעִיר הַמִּשְׁתַּלַּח the goat which is to be sent away, as opposed to שַׁעִיר הַחֲפֹאֵת Yo. iv. 2; vi. 2 (cf. Lev. xvi. 10); שׂוֹר הַנִּסְקָל an ox condemned to stoning, Qid. ii. 2 (cf. Exod. xxi. 28); שׂוֹר הַמוֹעֵד a goring ox, the owner of which has been forewarned, as opposed to שׂוֹר תָּם BQ i. 4 (cf. Exod. xxi. 29); נַעֲרָה הַפְּאוּרָה a betrothed maiden, San. vii. 4 (cf. Deut. xxii. 25, 27); כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוּלָּה the Great Synagogue, as distinguished from an ordinary כְּנֶסֶת Ab. i. 1.

(iv) In numerous other cases where no special emphasis can be detected: פּוֹל הַלְבָּן white beans, Ma'a. iv. 6; חוֹמֵץ הָאֲדוּמִי Idumean vinegar, Pes. iii. 1; מֵימַי הָרָעִים evil waters, Ab. i. 11; נַפְשׁ הַיָּפָה a good appetite, Hul. iv. 7; נֶמֶל הַרְבֵּה a tender camel, ib. ix. 2, and many more, especially in later texts. Many of these are, indeed, due to the negligence of copyists, as shown by a comparison of different texts. Thus, for שְׂפִיחָה הַמִּשְׁוֹחֶרֶת a manumitted female slave, L has 'ש' מְשׁוּי', Ed. v. 6. So K has נַעֲרָה מְאוּרָה for 'הַמָּא' N^{ed.} x. 1; שׂוֹר נִסְקָל for 'ש' הַנ' San. i. 4, &c.¹ There still remain, however, a large number of genuine cases which exhibit a looseness in the observance of this rule. But this irregularity is also found in BH; cf. Ges.-K., § 126 w, x; Driver, *Tenses*, § 209. It was probably peculiar to popular speech even in the Biblical period.

377. (b) Conversely, cases are found where the substantive has the article, but not the attribute. In some of these cases the attribute has the force of a circumstantial clause: הַמְּאֲכִיךְ אֶת בְּנָיו הַקְּטָנִים וְאֶת עַבְדָּיו בֵּין גְּדוּלִים וּבֵין קְטָנִים one who gives to eat his sons when small, and his slaves whether grown up or small, T^{er.} vii. 3; הַכֹּהֵן רָאשׁוֹ לְאֹיִר הַתְּנוּרָה טָהוֹר מְטָהוּרָהוּ if he caused his head to enter into an oven which is clean, he has defiled it; הַכֹּהֵן רָאשׁוֹ לְאֹיִר הַתְּנוּרָה טָמֵא מְטָמֵא . . . an oven which is unclean, he becomes unclean, Kel. viii. 10. So also: וְאִין נְאֻמִּין עַל הַיָּרֵק חֵי וְאִין נְאֻמִּין

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 452.

עַל הַמְבוּשָׁל they are believed in the case of vegetables when raw, but they are not believed in the case of cooked (vegetables), Pea vii. 4.¹

Other exx. do not allow of such an explanation, e. g. הַמְעֵרָה הַגְּדוֹלָה the great pile, Tam. ii. 4; but for הַמְעֵרָה שְׁנֵיהֶן ib. 5, L has הַמ' הַשְׁנֵי. So other cases rest on a textual error: הַחֲבִית הַמְרֹתַחַת the foaming jar, L has 'חב' מר', while M reads 'הח' המר' AZ iv. 10; הַמַּיִם הַשְּׂאוּבִים drawn water, L מים שא' N המ' הש' Tem. i. 4; הַשָּׂעָר הַצָּהוּב yellow hair, Neg. x. 3, L; שֵׁעַר צָהוּב, and so elsewhere.

The article is sometimes omitted with a demonstrative attribute: הַזֶּה הַקֵּץ this heap, Ter. iii. 5; הַזֶּה הַבָּג this bag, Me'il. vi. 6.

For such irregularities in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 126 y, and especially Koenig, *Syntax*, § 334 m, s.²

378. The article is always omitted with a number of common expressions, especially compounds, which are considered definite in themselves: תְּלִמְדוֹר הַתּוֹרָה the study of the Torah, Pea i. 1; דְּרָוֶה אֶרֶץ good manners, Ab. ii. 2; בַּעַל קָרִי one with an issue, Miq. iii. 4; בַּעַל מַיִם one with a blemish, 'Ed. iv. 1; יוֹם טוֹב a festival, 'Er. vi. 6; כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל High Priest, Yo. i. 1; יֵצֵר טוֹב the good inclination, Ber. 5 a. Conversely, other nouns of the same character are only found with the article: בַּעַל הַבַּיִת the master of the house, Šab. i. 1; בֵּית הַמְדֻרָּשׁ house of study, Šab. xvi. 1; בֵּית הַכְּנֻסָּת a synagogue, Meg. iii. 1; but plur. is without the article: בָּתֵּי מְדֻרָּשׁוֹת בָּתֵּי מְדֻרָּשׁוֹת Ter. xi. 10. Further, עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ plur. עם הָאָרֶץ Dam. i. 3; plur. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ Ab. iii. 10

¹ L actually reads in the second clause עָלָיו מְבוּשָׁל, which shows that חֵי is an accusative of state, like הַיָּרֵעַ בְּשִׁלְהָה Num. vi. 19; cf. G. B. Gray's note, *ad loc.* M., however, reads הַחֵי.

² Cf. also in Moabite and Phoenician, G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 26; Schroeder, *op. cit.*, §§ 43, 58, and 61. Note also in BH בֵּית חֵרֶן תְּחֻמוֹן 1 Kings ix. 17, contrasted with ח' הַתְּחֻמוֹן 2 Chron. viii. 5; also יְרוּשָׁלַם on coins of Simon, beside the more usual הַקְדוּשָׁה 1, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 67 f. Cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 202, B. Rem., 203.

The article is always omitted with the genitive when introduced by שָׁל, and preceded by an anticipatory suffix : יְדוֹ שָׁל עֲנִי the hand of the poor man, Šab. i. 1 ; cf. below, § 388.¹

3. The Expression of the Genitive.

379. The genitive relationship between two nouns is expressed in MH, as in BH, by putting the first noun (*regens*) in the construct state, or by a circumlocution, in which the connexion between the two nouns is indicated by a special particle placed before the second noun (*rectum*). This latter method is much more frequent in MH than in BH. Nevertheless, the construct state still remains in MH the regular and prevailing method. Circumlocution is resorted to, at least in earlier MH, only when the grammatical form of the nouns, or the desire for lucidity makes the use of the construct impracticable. Thus, the use of the circumlocution in MH can be classified under certain logical and grammatical rules.

In Aram., on the other hand, the two constructions are used indiscriminately. Contrast Ezra v. 13 : מַלְכָּא דִּי בָבֶל, with vi. 14 : מַלְךְ פָּרַס ; v. 14 : מַאֲנִי דִּי בֵּית with vi. 5 : מַאֲנִי בֵּית ; Dan. ii. 19 with iv. 2, 6 ; ii. 49 with iii. 12 ; iii. 1 with iii. 5, 7, &c. ; v. 5 with v. 24. This is especially the case in the *Targumim* ; cf. Winer, *op. cit.*, § 56. In the non-Jewish dialects of Aram. the construct state has been given up almost entirely, e. g. Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 205 B), Christian Palestinian Aram. (Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, p. 507, § 36), and nearly so in Mandaic (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 221 f.).²

¹ Cf. further, *YQR.*, xx, pp. 653 ff. ; Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 137.

² But in the old Aram. of the Zinjirli Inscriptions the constr. state alone is used ; cf. Cooke *NSI.*, Nos. 61-3. In the Aram. papyri of Assuan, however, the constr. is confined to 'the most common words where the relation is a close and natural one' (Cowley, *Introd.*, p. 19).

(1) *The Construct State.*

380. The construct state is especially common in the following cases :

(i) With *nomina actionis* as *regens*: מָנַע בְּרַפָּה touching of *repha*, Hul. iv. 4; מָתַן כְּבִיב sprinkling of the blood round about the altar, Zeb. xiv. 10; שָׁבַר הָעֵצָה breaking the bone, Pes. vii. 12; יָדְעוֹת הַטּוֹמְאָה cases of knowledge of uncleanness, Šebu. i. 1; בֵּית הַפְּדֻשָׁה the neglect of the house of study, Šab. xvi. 1; עֲרֻבֵי תְּחוּמֵין 'erubim of limits, 'Er. vii. 11; קַלְקוּלֵי הַמַּיִם the damaged receptacles of water, MQ i. 3; צִהְצִיחַ חֶרְבוֹת the glistening of swords, So. viii. 1; סִכְנַת נַפְשׁוֹת danger of life, Hul. iii. 5; הַפְּסֵד מְצוּוֹת the loss by a commandment, Ab. ii. 1; הִדְלִקַת הַנֵּר kindling of the lamp, Šab. ii. 6; הוֹדֵת הַמַּעֲשֵׂר the confession over the tithe, MŠ v. 15.

(ii) With *nomina agentis* as *regens*: חוֹתְמֵי בְּרָכוֹת those that close benedictions, Ber. ix. 3; עוֹלֵי בָבֶל those that came up from Babylon, Šebi. vi. 1; שְׁלֵיחֵי מְצוּוֹה those sent to perform a divine commandment, Suk. ii. 4; אֲנֻסַת אָבִיו a woman outraged by her father, Yeb. xi. 1; חֲזַנַת חֵן הַבְּנַיִת beadle of the Synagogue, So. vii. 7; חֲזַיְבֵי חֲפָצוֹת those bound to bring sin-offerings, Šab. xi. 6. Further, adjectives: נְקִיֵי הַדַּעַת men pure of mind, Git. ix. 8; שְׁחוּרֵי הָרֶאֶשׁ black-headed, Ned. iii. 8.

(iii) Nouns of a common type; קֶשֶׁר מִיּוֹכֵסִין a knot of tax-gatherers, Šab. viii. 2; צְרָכֵי הַמֵּת the requirements of the dead, ib. xxiii. 5; יוֹלֵד שְׁפָחָה a child of a female slave, Qid. iii. 12; שְׁגָגַת הַמַּעֲשֵׂה error of action, Hor. ii. 3; סְעוּדַת אִירוּסִין a meal of betrothal, Pes. iii. 7; תְּנַחוּמֵי אֲבֵלִים consolations of mourners, Meg. iv. 3; תְּכֵשִׁימֵי נָשִׁים ornaments of women, Pes. iii. 1; רְשׁוּת הָרַבִּים a public place, BQ iii. 1, &c.

381. The formation of the plur. of construct combinations follows the example of BH (cf. Ges.-K., § 124 p-1).

(i) The usual method is to attach the plur. termination to the *regens*: **צִמְרֵי חֵטִי** woollen threads, Šab. vi. 5; **צֹרְפֵי זָהָב** goldsmiths, ib. viii. 4; **פְּקִיעֵי עֲמִיר** bundles of sheaves, ib. xxiv. 2, &c.

(ii) Sometimes both nouns receive the plur. terminations. Thus with **בֵּית מִדְרָשׁוֹת** : **בְּתֵי כְנֶסֶת וּבְתֵי מִדְרָשׁוֹת** synagogues and houses of study, Pes. iv. 4; **בְּתֵי הַבְּדִים** wine-presses, MS iii. 7; **בְּתֵי דִינֵין** courts of law, San. xi. 2; **בְּתֵי נִירֵין** meshes, Šab. vii. 2; **בְּתֵי רִשְׁנֵין** receptacles for ashes, Z^{eb}. 104 b. With **בְּעָלֵי אוּפְנִיּוֹת** : **בְּעָלֵי** artisans, Bik. iii. 3; **בְּעָלֵי דִינֵים** litigants, Ab. vii. 6; **בְּתֵימֵי** house-holders, Kel. xvii. 1, **בְּעָלֵי מוּמִים** those with a blemish, B^{ek}. vii. 6; **בְּעָלוֹת מוּמִים** T^{em}. iv. 6 (L); **בְּעָלֵי קְרִיִין** men with an issue, Miq. viii. 1; **בְּעָלֵי שֵׁיבּוֹחַ** greyheads, Ned. iii. 8. With **רֵאשִׁי חֲדָשִׁים** : **רֵאשִׁי** New Moons, Pes. vii. 4; **רֵאשִׁי שָׁנִים** New Years, RH i. 1; **רֵאשִׁי רְבָרִים** chief points, ib. ii. 6. Further, **עֶרְבֵי פְסָחִים** eves of the Passover, Pes. iv. 1; **עֶרְבֵי שַׁבָּתוֹת** eves of the Sabbath, BM iv. 6; **דִּינֵי נְפָשׁוֹת** ; **דִּינֵי מְמוֹנוֹת** ; **דִּינֵי נְפָשׁוֹת** civil, capital cases, San. iv. 1; **עֲרֵי נְפָשׁוֹת** witnesses in capital cases, ib. 5; **חֵיבֵי חֲטָאוֹת** ; **חֵיבֵי אֲשָׁמוֹת** those bound to bring a sin-offering, a guilt-offering, K^{er}. vi. 4; **חֵיבֵי מִיתוֹת** men guilty of death, San. vii. 10, but **חֵיבֵי עוֹלָה** T^{em}. v. 1; **גְּטֵי נָשִׁים** bills of divorce; **שְׁחָרִירֵי עֲבָדִים** bills of manumission, Giṭ. i. 4.

(iii) The plur. termination is attached to the *rectum* alone, only with **בֵּית** as *regens*: **בֵּית הָאֶצְבָּעוֹת** (טְהוֹרוֹת) gloves, Kel. xxvi. 3; **בֵּית הַבְּדִין** wine-presses, BB iii. 1; **בֵּית הַגִּיטוֹת** olive presses, t. T^{er}. iii. 1; **בֵּית הַטּוֹמְאוֹת** ; **בֵּית הַפְּשִׁטָּאוֹת** ; **בֵּית הַפְּשִׁטָּאוֹת** banqueting houses, So. ix. 11; **בֵּית הַטּוֹמְאוֹת** (מְטַמְּאוֹת) houses for menstruous women, Nid. vii. 4; **בֵּית הַקְּמָטִים** (אֵינֵין) folds and hidden parts (of the body), Miq. viii. 5; **בֵּית הַפְּרָסוֹת** fields rendered unclean by dead bones from a ploughed grave, Oh. xviii. 2; **בֵּית הַשְּׁוּקִים** market places, Makš. vi. 2.

382. A *nomen rectum* can itself become a *regens* to another *rectum*, but it can take only one *regens*. When one *rectum* has more than one *regens*, the second *regens* follows the *rectum*, and

takes the appropriate possessive suffix, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 128 a): תּוֹרָה וְתַמְרוֹתָהּ וְלִדְ תּוֹרָה the child and the exchange of a thank-offering, Men. vii. 4; וּבֹעֲלָהּ וּזְמָמֵי בַת פְּהֵן the false witnesses against, and the paramour of, the daughter of a priest, San. xi. 1; מִבְּלָאֵי מְכַנְסֵי from the worn-out breeches and girdles of the priests, Suk. v. 3.

383. The construct is not found in MH before a relative clause, except in stereotyped conjunctive expressions like בְּרִי שֶׁ־, בְּלִפְי שֶׁ־, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁ־, &c. (§ 303). Also with הִוָּקָה state, assumption, which is very common in the constr. state before nouns (e.g. Ket. i. 6, 7; Naz. ix. 2; BB iii. 1 &c.): בְּחֻקֹּת שֶׁהוּא קַיִם on the assumption that he is alive, Git. iii. 3, 7, 8 (cf. 4); בְּחֻקֹּת שֶׁלֹּא נָתַן, on the assumption that he has given . . . that he has not given, BB i. 4; בְּחֻקֹּת שֶׁנִּפְדָּה in the state of having been redeemed, Bek. viii. 6.

(2) Simple Circumlocution of the Genitive.

384. In addition to the constr. state, BH also indicates the genitival connexion between two nouns by the preposition לְ, prefixed to the *rectum* in apposition to the *regens* which remains in the absolute state (e.g. לְיָשִׁי בֵּן); or, further, by placing the *rectum* with this לְ in a relative clause לְאִשְׁרֵי לְ, so as to specify more clearly the subordinate relation of the *rectum* to the *regens* (e.g. הַצֵּאן אֲשֶׁר לְהָאֵשֶׁר Ges.-K., § 129 a f.). This לְאִשְׁרֵי לְ would become in colloquial speech שֶׁל־, cf. § 77 f.

In MH circumlocution of the genitive by means of לְ alone is extremely rare, and generally only when the לְ may also be construed as a לְ of the dative or of reference.¹ Exx.: הַלְבָּה לְמֹשֶׁה אֹר לִיָּד אֹר לִיָּד אֹר לִיָּד a law of Moses from Sinai (sc. שֶׁנִּיחַנָּה, Pea ii. 6); אֹר לִיָּד אֹר לִיָּד אֹר לִיָּד the eve of the fourteenth, Pes. i. 1; so אֹר לִיָּד Ket. i. 6, but

¹ So in Ethiopic; cf. Dillmann, *Aethiop. Gr.*, § 145, 6.

אֵר עֲבוּרֵי the eve of its intercalation (the 30th day of the month), RH 22 b; רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה לְמַלְכִּים the New Year of Kings, RH. i. 1; וְנָב לְאַרְיֹת a tail of lions, Ab. iv. 15; אֲלֶפָא לְסֵלֶת *αλφα* (the first, best) of fine flour, M^{en}. viii. 1; and a few more.¹

395. Much more common is the use of the relative clause in its colloquial form *שֶׁל*. This particle is merely a prefix of the *rectum*, as in BH (Cant. iii. 7) and in older texts of MH. But it was gradually detached from its noun and given the appearance of an independent particle.

It follows from what has been said that the use of *שֶׁל* in MH is a genuine Hebraic construction derived from the BH use of *שֶׁל*. *שֶׁל* is not an adaptation of the Aram. *דִּי*, *דִּי* which is merely equivalent to *אֲשֶׁר*, *שֶׁל* alone. On the contrary, the frequent use of *דִּיל*, *דִּיל* in Jewish Aram., instead of the more regular *דִּי*, or *דִּי* (*דִּי*), must be ascribed to MH influence.²

396. The use of *שֶׁל* for the genitive may be classified as follows.

(i) To express the material.³

סָרִין שֶׁל בִּינָן a sheet of fine linen, Yo. iii. 4; תְּבִית שֶׁל זָהָב a jar of gold, Suk. iv. 10; also to express a quality: יֵרֶק שֶׁל תְּרוּמָה vegetables of *teruma*, 'Ed. ii. 2 and often. But the constr. is also common: בַּסֵּף הַזֶּה base of gold, Yo. v. 2; P^{es}. v. 5; Tam. i. 4.

(ii) When more than one *regens* govern one *rectum*: תְּנַאֲמִים

¹ Cf further, *YQR.*, xx, pp. 725-6.

² In Phoenician the genitive is expressed by prefixing to the *rectum* *ל*, then by *אש*, and finally by *שֶׁל*. In late Phoenician, however, *ש* takes the place of *שֶׁל*, evidently under Aram. influence. In MH we never find the use of *שֶׁל* for *שֶׁל*. For possible cases in BH of *אֲשֶׁר* expressing the genitive, cf. *BDB.*, p. 83, and Koenig, *Syntax*, § 283.

³ This construction is not found in BH, except, perhaps, Lev. xiii. 48; Ezra i. 11. It is regular in the Targum; cf. Gen. xxiv. 21, 53; Exod. ii. 2, 4 (but contrast vers. 21, 22, &c.), also Dan. v. 7; cf. Kautzsch, *Gr. d. Bib. Aram.*, § 81 c.

מִטְּבֵל שֶׁל וְעִנְבִים שֶׁל figs and grapes of untithed produce, Ma'a. i. 7; פּוֹרְעָנוּת שֶׁל פּוֹרְעָן מַלְכוּת וְשׁוֹפָר שֶׁל פּוֹרְעָנוּת verses of retribution containing the words 'remembering', 'king', and 'shofar', RH iv. 6; T^{er}. xi. 4; BM x. 1, &c. So in BH: Gen. xl. 5; Exod. xiv. 28; 2 Kings xi. 10; cf. Ges.-K., § 129 h.

(iii) When the *regens* consists of a construct combination: הַרְוַחַת פַּר עֲבוֹדָתָא פַּר מַעֲשֵׂר עָנִי שֶׁל דְּמָאֵי Dam. iv. 1; מַעֲשֵׂר עָנִי שֶׁל דְּמָאֵי ib. 3, 4; מְשִׁיחַ שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ הָעֵלִים דְּבַר שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ Sifre Num. viii. 3.

When the *rectum* is made up of such a compound expression: נְכָסִים שֶׁל בְּתוּמֵי בְּתוּמֵי בְּתוּמֵי בְּתוּמֵי בְּתוּמֵי בְּתוּמֵי a press of householders, Šab. xx. 5; or both *regens* and *rectum* consist of compound expressions; תְּפִיסַת יָד שֶׁל בְּעַל הַבַּיִת holding of hand (right of access) by the householder, 'Er. viii. 4; כָּל יְדוֹת הַכֵּלִים שֶׁל יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים all the handles of the vessels of the Day of Atonement, Yo. iii. 10.

The constr. is also found in such cases, e. g. שְׂמֵחַת בַּיִת הַשּׂוֹאֵבָה the joy of the (celebration of) drawing of water, beside הַחֲלִיל שֶׁל הַשּׂוֹאֵבָה the flute of . . ., Suk. v. 1. So in BH: Gen. xxv. 6; Num. xvi. 22; xxxi. 48, &c; Ges.-K., § 129 d, 2; cf. also Koenig, *Syntax*, § 281 l-m; § 282 e, f.

(iv) When an adjective intervenes between the *regens* and the *rectum*: יְסוֹד מַעֲרָבִי שֶׁל מִזְבֵּחַ the western base of the altar, Yo. v. 6; כּוֹר אֶחָד שֶׁל חֲטָיִם one *cor* of wheat, Ned. viii. 7; שׂוֹרֵה שֶׁל עֶבֶד שֶׁל שְׁנֵי שׂוֹתְפִים a slave of two partners, Pes. viii. 1. So in BH: 1 Sam. xxii. 20; Ezek. xl. 40 b.

(v) Circumlocution is generally used with nouns borrowed from other languages, including Aram., which the language could not assimilate so thoroughly as to inflect them like native words: הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיְיָ אֵיִסְטְרַטְיָא שֶׁל מְלֶכְךָ the King's στρατιά, Qid. iv. 5; הַיְיָ אֵיִסְטְרַטְיָא שֶׁל עַבְדֵי הַיְיָ the πανδοκεία of the heathen, 'AZ ii. 1.

(vi) Generally when for one reason or another the *regens* or the

rectum is to be emphasized, as when a noun is used in a secondary or derived sense: **שֵׁל סְפָרַיִם וּזְג** shears of barbers, Kel. xiii. 1 (**סְפָרַיִם וּזְג** may mean a pair of barbers); **הַשֵּׁן שֵׁל מַעְדָּר** the tooth of a mattock, ib. 2; or in enumerating different cases which either agree with or differ from one another; **טַבַּעַת שֵׁל מַתְּכַת טַבַּעַת שֵׁל** . . . , a ring of metal . . . a ring of sandal wood, ib. 6; **מַסְרָק שֵׁל פְּשִׁתָּן וְשֵׁל צֹמֶר** . . . , a comb for flax . . . and for wool, 8; xiv. 8; xv. 2, &c. Cf. in BH 2 Sam. iii. 2, 3.

Circumlocution is found also in many other cases which cannot be well brought under the above rules, especially in later MH under Aram. influence.

(3) *Circumlocution of the Genitive with Anticipation.*

387. The circumlocutory genitive is often anticipated in MH by a possessive suffix attached to the *regens*, e. g. **יָדוֹ שֵׁל עָנִי** the hand of the poor man, Šab. i. 1. The construction is only employed when the *regens* is a flexible noun, which is elsewhere found in the constr. state, as otherwise it could not take the suffix.

388. The *rectum* is almost always determinate, either by a suffix (**שֵׁל חֲבֵרוֹ**) his neighbour's produce, Kil. vii. 4) or by being a proper noun (**שֵׁל אֶהֱרֹן**) Aaron's disciples, Ab. i. 12): a demonstrative pronoun (**שֵׁל אֵלֶּן**) the flaying and cutting up of these, Yo. vii. 2); by having been mentioned before; or, finally, by being well known generally, or only in connexion with the subject treated in the context. Nevertheless, this determinate *rectum* never takes the article, except in such stereotyped expressions as **בַּעַל הַבַּיִת**, **הַקְּרוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא**, and **עַם הָאָרֶץ**, which are never found without the article (cf. § 378). Cf. the following passages in which the *rectum* is mentioned previously with the article, but the article is dropped when the *rectum* stands in our construction: **הָעֵנִי**, but **יָדוֹ שֵׁל עָנִי** Šab. i. 1; **הָעוּבָר** the embryo, but **שֵׁל עוּבָר** the share of the embryo, Y^eb. vii. 3;

הָעִיר but עִיר שֶׁל תְּחוּמָהּ the boundary of the city, N^{ed.} vii. 5; הַחֲצֵר but חֲצֵר שֶׁל אֹיזָרָה the air of the courtyard, BB iv. 3; So. viii. 8 (עָם); Šebu. i. 7 (פָּר); M^{en.} xi. 5 (שְׁלֵהוּ); Oh. ii. 1 (מַח); N^{eg.} xiv. 1 (מְצוֹרֵעַ).

Evidently, the *rectum* is regarded as having been determined by the suffix of the *regens*, and, therefore, can as little take the article, as if the suffix had been attached to itself. Hence in Ethiopic, which has no article, this construction is regularly used for rendering a noun definite.¹

In Aram., however, the *rectum* when standing in this construction is always in the emphatic state; cf. Dan. ii. 20, 44; iii. 26, and so in the *Targumim*.

389. This construction of anticipating the noun by a preceding pronominal suffix is widely used in MH to express the genitive. But it occurs also in other cases when the noun is introduced by a preposition.

With בּ, only in the phrase בּוֹ בְיָוִם Ya. iv. 1, &c. Cf. in Aram.: Dan. iii. 6-8, 15; v. 11; Ezra v. 3.

With ל: אָמְרוּ לוֹ לְרִיג 'Er. iv. 2; לוֹ לְשַׁעַר Mid. iv. 2; so usually with הַי לְיַחִיד: הַי לְיַחִיד sufficient for the private person, M^{en.} xii. 4; הַי לְקוֹרָה sufficient for the beam, 'Er. i. 3; so also to express an object: לֹא יִינּוּ מִקְרָבֵינוּ לוֹ לְאָדָם they do not draw a man near, Ab. ii. 3

With כָּל הַיְמֵינוּ מִן (הַיִּמָּה, cf. § 301), only in the expression: לֹא כָּל הַיְמֵינוּ מִן הַרְאִשׁוֹן everything-does not depend on him, even on the first, Giṭ. viii. 8; cf. BQ x. 3.

With עָל עָלְיוּ עַל רַחֲבֵי ד' אָמְרוּ they said of him, of R. Ḥanina . . . ; בֵּר. v. 5; מָה עָלְיוּ עַל אָדָם what is there on a man, t. Ḥag. ii. 6.

390. This construction is, of course, very common in Aram., but it is also extensively used in Assyrian (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 166), and in Ethiopic (Dillmann, *Aeth. Gr.*, § 172). It is also

¹ Cf. Dillmann, *Aeth. Gr.*, § 172 c.

found in BH. Thus, before the construct state: Jer. lii. 20 (לְנַחֲשָׁתָם כָּל הַבָּלִים); Ezek. x. 3 (בְּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ); xlii. 14 (בְּבֹאֵם הַכְּהֻנִים); xlvi. 22; Prov. xiii. 4 (נִפְשׁוֹ עֲצֵל); Job xxix. 3 (בְּהִלּוֹ גֵר); Ezra ii. 62 (בְּיָסְרוֹ זֶה הַבַּיִת); iii. 12 (מִטָּתוֹ שָׁלְשָׁלְמָה). With circumlocution, Cant. iii. 7 (מִטָּתוֹ שָׁלְשָׁלְמָה). With ל alone: Num. i. 21-43 (מִקְרֵיהֶם לְמִטָּה); Ezra ix. 1 (כְּתוּבֹתֵיהֶם לְכַנְעָנִי), &c. With the object: Exod. ii. 6 (וַתִּרְאֶהוּ אֶת); Deut. iii. 14 (וַיִּקְרָא וַיַּעֲרֶהוּ . . .); 1 Kings xix. 21 (בְּשֵׁלֶם הַבְּשָׂר); xxi. 13 (וַיַּעֲרֶהוּ . . .); 2 Kings xvi. 15 (וַיַּצִּיחֵהוּ . . . Kethib); 1 Sam. xxi. 14 (וַיִּשְׁנֶה אֶת); Jer. ix. 14 (מֵאֲכִילֶם אֶת); Ps. lxxxiii. 12; Num. xxxii. 33 (וַיִּחַן לָהֶם . . . לְבָנֵי); Ezek. xxxiv. 2 (וַאֲמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם לְרַעִים); 1 Chron. v. 26; xxiii. 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. further, Driver, *Tenses*, § 201; also Ges.-K., § 131 m, n.

It is, therefore, clear that the construction in MH is of native origin, but its somewhat extensive use, especially in late MH, may be due to Aram. influence.

4. Comparison of Adjectives.

391. The Comparative degree is expressed, as in BH, by מִן or מֵ, following the adjct. : עֲמוּק מִיָּן deeper than this, Nid. ii. 7; חַמְטָהּ מְרֻבָּה מֵצִלָּתָהּ its sun is greater than its shade, Suk. i. 1; מְשֻׁנָּה מִחֻבְרוֹתֶיהָ different from its fellows, Šeq. vi. 2; יִתְרָה מִכְּעֲרֻשָׁה more than the measure of a lentil, Neg. vi. 4.

Very often יִתְרֵי is followed by עַל : סָלַע נִי' יִתְרֵי more than 50 sela', 'Ar. ii. 1; יִתְרוֹת עַל הַבְּנִין exceeding the building, 'Er. i. 8, 9; . . . ג' בְּנוֹת עַל יִתְרוֹת more than 3 years old, Ket. i. 4. Cf. in BH . . . עַל הָעוֹרְפִים Num. iii. 46; also Gen. xlvi. 22. See further above, § 363 (iii).

יִתְרֵי more, and פְּחוּת less, are often used adverbially to emphasize the comparison: עָשִׂיר יִתְרֵי מֵהִלֵּל poorer than Hillel; עָשִׂיר יִתְרֵי מֵרֵאזֵר richer than R. El'azer, Yo. 35 b; פְּחוּת מִבְּגוּרָנֶת less than a dried fig, Šab. ix. 7. So after a verb יִתְרֵי is sometimes omitted:

הַפְּרוּטָה מִשְׁוֹה פְּחוּט יִתְמַעַט it will become less than the value of a *perula*, BQ ix. 7; אֲנִי אֶת דְּבָרֵי רַב־עַ מְדַבְּרִיכֶם I approve the words of . . . more than your words, Ab. ii. 13, 14.

392. The Superlative degree is expressed when the adjective is followed by a determinate noun, or by a pronoun, with the partitive ב prefixed, and introduced by the relative שֶׁ. The adjective may take the article or not: הַיִּפְהָ שְׁבֵהָן the fairest (best) of them, Pes. ix. 8; הַגְּדוֹל שְׁבַדְיָיִן the greatest of the judges, San. iii. 7; הַקְּטָנָה שְׁבַבְנֹת the smallest of girls, Šab. viii. 4; הַנְּדוּלָה שְׁבַנְדוּלוֹת the lightest of eggs, ib. 5; הַזָּקֵן שְׁבַנְדוּלוֹת the oldest of the big ones; הַקְּטָנָה שְׁבַבְנֹת the youngest of the little ones, Qid. iii. 8; הַטּוֹב שְׁבַרְוֹפָאִים the best of physicians; הַחֲשִׁיר שְׁבַבְטָתִים the worthiest of butchers, ib. iv. 14. Cf. in BH הַיִּפְהָ שְׁבַבְנֵי Cant. vi. 1; Ges.-K., § 133 g.

393. The superlative idea is also expressed by the repetition of the adjective or the noun in the construct state, or, rarely, in the comparative: הַדַּקָּה מִן הַדַּקָּה thinnest, Yo. iv. 4; חַמִּי חַמִּין exceedingly hot, Ber. 16 a; הַגְּדוֹל לְפִי הַגְּדוֹל the greatest poverty, Ker. 10 b; so הַחֲדָרִים הַחֲדָרִים the innermost chamber, Šab. 64 b (cf. 1 Kings xx. 30; xxii. 25: הַחֲדָרִים הַחֲדָרִים); הַעֲדָיִים הַעֲדָיִים greatest ornament, 'AZ 24 b (cf. Ezek. xvi. 7); further, הַיְמִינִים וְהַשְּׂמֵאלִים within and right within, BM 16 a; Z^eb. 52 a; 57 a (cf. 1 Kings vi. 17, 29). So also in BH; cf. הַקָּדָשׁ הַקָּדָשׁ Exod. xxvi. 33; Ges.-K., § 133 i.

5. Numerals.

(1) CARDINALS.

394. אֶחָד, אַחַת, follow the noun: מִן אֶחָד; אַחַת Pea ii. 5; sometimes, with יָד, אַחַת precedes the noun: מֵאַחַת יָד from one place, Pea iii. 3; בְּאַחַת יָד Šebi. iii. 9; Pa. vii. 2, 3 (cf. Neh. iv. 11; Dan. viii. 13). All the other numerals when used as cardinals always precede the noun. שְׁתֵּים, שְׁנַיִם are always in the construct

state to the noun. The other numerals are usually in the absolute state, and in apposition to the noun. Sometimes, however, they are in the constr. state, thus: אַרְבַּעַת BB ii. 5; vi. 7; חֲמִשָּׁת Ned. vii. 2; שְׁבַעַת Bik. i. 3; Yo. i. 1; עֶשְׂרֵת San. x. 3, but the texts differ. The constr. is especially common in L: הַשְּׁעֵת, הַשְּׁלֶשֶׁת BM iii. 7; שְׁמוֹנֶת iv. 3, &c.

Some of the units take the pronominal suffixes. In addition to the BH שְׁנֵיהֶם, שְׁתֵּיהֶם, שְׁלֹשָׁתָם, אַרְבַּעֵתָם, we also find חֲמִשָּׁתָן Men. xiii. 2; שְׁשָׁתָן Mak. ii. 4; שְׁבַעֲתָן Nid. ix. 8 (L, and so in citations, San. 49 b; Z^eb. 95 b).

The number 2 is often expressed by the dual: שְׁנֵי קַבִּים two *qabs*, 'Ed. i. 2 (cf. § 293), but the dual is also found with the number, no doubt for the sake of emphasis שְׁנֵי כְּבָרִים Toh. v. 6; שְׁתֵּי כִּירִים Kel. vi. 3.

395. With the numerals 2-10, the object numbered takes the plur. In אַרְבַּעַת כֶּסֶף, שְׁתֵּי כֶּסֶף; שְׁמוֹנֶת כֶּסֶף, אַרְבַּעַת כֶּסֶף BM iv. 3, 7, the name of a coin in the plur. (מְעוֹת) must be understood. So שְׁתֵּי הַלְּחָם, *sc.* חֲלוֹת Men. v. 1; xi. 1.

396. The numerals 11-19 also take the object numbered in the plur.: י"ב פָּרִים י"ב שְׁבָטִים, י"ב פָּרִים Hor. i. 5; י"ד כְּבָשִׂים Suk. v. 6; י"ד סְעוּדוֹת ib. ii. 6; ט"ו מְעֵלוֹת v. 4, &c. Certain nouns, however, that are in frequent use, remain in the sing.: י"ב מְנָה BM v. 2, י"ב זָהָב ib. viii. 8; י"ב חֲדָשׁ Git. vii. 8; י"ד חֲדָשׁ BB iii. 1; י"ח חֲדָשׁ Naz. iii. 6; ט"ו מְנָה Ket. vi. 3; ט"ו אָמָה Kil. iv. 1; י"ח חֲדָשׁ Git. vii. 6.

397. Tens (20-90) and hundreds take the noun in the sing.: עֶשְׂרִים עֶשְׂרוֹן Men. vii. 1; ל' קַבִּי ib. vii. 1; מ' זֵיג RH i. 6; נ' זֵיג BQ iv. 1 (but also נ' דְּוִירִים 50 dwellings, 'Er. v. 6); ס' לֹג Men. ix. 3; ק' סָאָה Yo. vi. 4; צ' רִים Yo. vi. 4; פ' מַעֲשֵׂר Dam. vii. 7; ע' לָשׁוֹן Šeq. v. 1; מֵאָה חוּלִין Dam. vii. 7, the noun has no sing. in that special technical sense), ק' שְׁפָחָה Ket. v. 5 (L; edd. שְׁפָחוֹת); ק' עוֹפוֹת; ק' חַיִּית (L חַיִּיה) Hul. vi. 4; ק"ב לֹג Suk. v. 2;

מֵאוֹת זָוֹ Ket. iv. 7; מֵאוֹת זָוֹ BQ viii. 6; 300 times rubbing; מֵאוֹת בְּעִיטָה ה' 500 times kicking (with the fist), Men. vi. 5; מֵאוֹת זָוֹ '1 BM ix. 10; but מֵאוֹת כְּהֵנִים Šeq. viii. 5; אֲרַבְעַת אֲלָפִים אֶמָּה 'Er. iv. 3; אֲלָפִים אֶמָּה Ket. vi. 3; אֲרַבְעַת אֲלָפִים אֶמָּה ib. iv. 7.

But when units are added, the plur. is used: עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה Men. vi. 6; עֶשְׂרֹנִים מִכֹּד סָאֵן Kil. iv. 1; כֹּד חוּטִין Šeq. viii. 5; כֹּה שְׁנַיִם Ket. xii. 4; כֹּז אֲבָנִים Šebi. iii. 5; כֹּחַ קָנִים Men. xi. 6; כֹּה מֵה גִפְנָיִם Kil. v. 5; עֲבֹב גִּימִין 72 cords, Šeq. viii. 5¹; מֵאָה וּשְׁנַיִם חֲצָאִים 102 halves, Ter. iv. 13.

(2) ORDINALS.

398. ראשון Yo. ii. 2; ראשונה ib. i. 8; שני ii. 3; שניה iv. 2 (with פֶּעַם understood), Pea viii. 1; שְׁנַיִם Hag. ii. 2; שְׁנַיִת Ta'a. ii. 9; שְׁלִישִׁי Yo. ii. 4; שְׁלִישִׁית Kil. viii. 3; רביעי Yo. ii. 4; רביעית Ber. v. 2. Also with secondary forms: שְׁלִישִׁית רְבִיעִי Pa. i. 1; חֲמִישִׁי Suk. v. 6; חֲמִישִׁית Meg. iii. 4, &c., as in BH.

399. Ordinals above ten are expressed by the corresponding cardinals, but with a noun always before the numeral, to distinguish them from the cardinals: לְיוֹם שְׁלִישִׁים on the 30th day, Naz. iii. 1; יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁים וְאַחַד the 31st day, ib.; יוֹם שְׁשִׁים the 60th; יוֹם שְׁשִׁים וְאַחַד the 61st; יוֹם שְׁשִׁים חֲמֵר אֶחָד the 60th less one—the 59th, ib. 2; יוֹם מֵאָה the 100th; יוֹם מֵאָה וְאַחַד the 101st, ib. 4. Contrast this with the position of nouns with cardinals and ordinals in BH, Ges.-K., § 134 c, o, in which the difference between the two is not clear.

400. In counting the days of the month יוֹם is omitted: בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה, כִּמְטוֹ בּוּ, בְּאַחַד בְּאַחַד the 1st, 15th, 25th of Adar,

¹ In זָבָעִים וְשְׁנַיִם זָבָעִים Zeb. i. 3, the sing. is explained as indicating the complete unanimity of the assembled elders; cf. Zeb. 12 b with Rashi, *ad loc.* Some texts have also here the plur. זָבָעִים.

Š^oq. i. 1, 2; בְּחַדָּשׁ בְּשָׁנִים the 2nd of the month, San. v. 3; בְּחֶמְשָׁה עָשָׂר בָּאָב, בִּט' בָּאָב, בִּי"ז בְּחֶמְשׁוֹ the 17th of Tammuz; בט' בָּאָב, 9th, 15th of Ab, Ta'a. iv. 6, 8; Š^oq. iii. 1, &c. In giving the time of the day שְׁעוֹת may be expressed or omitted: בְּשָׁתֵי שְׁעוֹת, בְּשֶׁלֶשׁ שְׁעוֹת, בְּחֶמֶשׁ at 2, 3, 5 o'clock, San. v. 3; P^s. i. 4.

(3) DISTRIBUTIVES.

401. The distributive is expressed by the repetition of the number without the copula: ¹ אָחַד אָחַד; אַחַת אַחַת one by one, one at a time, Ma'a. iii. 2, 3; שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי הַבָּתִּים שְׁתֵּי הַחֲצוֹת שָׁל שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי two courts with two houses each, 'Ar. ix. 7; שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי Yo. ii. 6; שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה ib. 7; שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה Š^obi. iii. 3; Kil. v. 5; עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרֵי שָׁל עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרֵי ten rows of ten jars of wine each, Dam. vii. 8; יֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה יֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה אָפָה Kil. iv. 9.

(4) FRACTIONS.

402. מֶחֶצֶה half, Pea v. 5; קַב וְחֲצִי קַב half a *gab*; קַב וְחֲצִי a *gab* and a half, ib. viii. 5; שְׁנֵי חֲצָאֵי וְיָתִים Oh. iii. 1; שְׁלִישׁ a third, Pea v. 5; שְׁנֵי שְׁלִישִׁים 'Er. 10 b; רְבִיעַ a quarter, Pea ib.; רְבִיעִית ib. viii. 5; רֹבֵעַ a quarter, Kil. ii. 1; רְבַעַתַּיִם two quarters, K^{er}. i. 7; חֲמִשָּׁה רְבִיעִים קָמַח Hal. ii. 6; חֲמִשָּׁה a fifth, Pea vii. 6; חֲמִשִּׁיתֵּי fifths, BQ 65 b; שְׁשִׁית a sixth, T^{er}. iv. 7; שְׁמִינִי 1/8 of a *ma'ah*, j. Qid. i. 1; שְׁמִינִי Qid. 12^a; שְׁמִינִית an eighth, Pea viii. 5; תִּישְׁרֵעַ a ninth, j. Dam. vii, and עֲשָׂרֵי a tenth, MŠ v. 9; אָחַד מִכִּי"ד 1/24, Kil. ii. 2; אָחַד מִשְׁלֹשִׁים וְשְׁלֹשׁ וְשְׁלִישׁ 1/33-1/3, Dam. v. 2; אָחַד מִמֵּחַ 1/48, Hal. ii. 7; אָחַד מִמֵּאָה 1/100 Dam. v. 2; אָחַד מִרְבּוּאָה 1/10,000, Pea iii. 8.

¹ But with בְּ, the copula is used: בְּ אָחַד וְאָחַד, בְּ אַחַת וְאַחַת, Pea iii. 1, 2.

² ת receives *dagesh* after ש to prevent the concurrence of two similar sounds; so in BH שְׁתֵּים.

Sometimes אָחַר is omitted: מִשְׁשִׁים . . . פּוֹחֲתִין אֵין one must not give less than 1/60, Pea i. 2; בְּמֵאֲתַיִם by 1/200 Kil. v. 6.

403. (5) The following numerals are found in verbal forms: שְׁנַיִם Pes. v. 2; שׁוּנֵין Suk. v. 4; נְשֻׁנִית San. 59 a; שְׁלֹשָׁה Pes. ib.; יְשֻׁלָּשׁוּ BB x. 7; הַשְּׁלִישׁ ib. 5; לְהַשְׁתַּלֵּשׁ Mak. iii. 11; אֲרֻבָּעָה t. 'Er. ii. 1; vi. 10; מְרַבֵּעַ 'Er. 56 b; מְרַבֵּעַ, מְרַוְּבַעַת Oh. xii. 8; תְּמַשָּׁה מחוּמָּשׁוֹת BB 150 a; תִּשְׁעָה: מְתַשְׁעִים j. Šebi. 33 b; עֵשָׂר, יַעֲשֹׂר; מְעַשְׂרֵר Dam. iii. 1, 2; מְתַעֲשֵׂר Ma'a. iv. 3.

III. THE PRONOUN

1. The Personal Pronoun.

404. The personal pronoun is expressed with a finite verb, whenever it is desired to emphasize the subject: נִגַּח הוּא if he gored, BQ v. 3; לֹא יִקְרָא אֲבָל הוּא but he himself must not read, Šab. i. 3; הֵם אָמְרוּ they said, Ab. i. 2; קְרָא אַתָּה read thou, Yo. i. 3; לְבִי אֵת go thou, Ber. 18 b; אֲנִי הָיִיתִי בָּא I was coming, Ber. i. 6; אֲנִי פָּסַקְתִּי לְעַצְמִי if I had assigned by myself, Ket. xiii. 5. The emphasis is often strengthened by the addition of the particle אַף: אַף הוּא הָעֵיד he also testified, 'Ed. ii. 3; אַף הוּא עָשָׂה; אַף הִיא עָשְׂתָה he, she also made, Yo. iii. 10; אַף הֵם אָמְרוּ they said, Suk. ii. 7; אַף אֲנִי לֹא אָמַרְתִּי Ta'a. i. 1; הֲבֵיא לְךָ אַף אַתָּה אֵל תִּתְחַמֵּה neither shouldst thou be surprised, ib. vi. 2.

On the whole, MH uses the pronoun more sparingly than BH. It is omitted even with participles when the subject is understood: וּבִרְשָׁה מִתְחַתְּנָה . . . רֹצָה הִיא . . . and is ashamed of her son-in-law, Dam. iii. 6.

405. The pronoun of the third person is regularly employed in noun clauses as the copula between subject and predicate: אַתָּה הוּא הִלֵּל art thou Hillel? Šab. 31 a; לֹא שָׂרָה הִיא זוּ is not this

a field? 'Er. 53 a; אֵלֶּי הֵן הַמְמוּנִים these are the overseers, Š^eq. v. 1; הַפֶּה שֶׁאָסַר הוּא הַפֶּה שֶׁהֵתִיר the mouth that declared it forbidden is the mouth that declared it permitted, Dam. vi. 1; אֲנִי הוּא הַטָּמֵא I am the unclean, Naz. viii. 1. The pronoun is sometimes placed at the end for emphasis: אָדָם חָלּוּל הוּא a man is hollow, Oh. xi. 3; הֵן עֹסְקֵינִיחַ הַיָּדַיִם the hands are busy, Šab. 14 a. Sometimes the pronoun stands before the subject in anticipation: שְׁלָנוּ הוּא הַפֶּסַח ours is the paschal sacrifice, &c., Pes. ix. 10; מְעוֹבְרַת הִיא צְרָתָהּ her rival is pregnant, Y^eb. xvi. 1; עוֹמֵד הוּא הַטָּהוֹר the clean one may stand, Pa. x. 5; xii. 5. Cf. in BH Cant. vi. 9, and Driver's *Tenses*, § 201.

2. The Possessive Pronoun.

406. Possession is expressed by the pronominal suffixes attached to the noun in exactly the same way as in BH. MH, however, also makes wide use of the relative שֶׁ with the preposition ל (שֶׁל) as an independent possessive pronoun (cf. §§ 79, 385). It is used both in substantival and adjectival constructions.

(i) Substantival: שְׁלִי שְׁלִי וְשֶׁלְךָ שְׁלִי mine is mine and thine is mine, Ab. v. 10; הַכֹּל שְׁלֹוֹ everything is his, ib. iv. 22; מִפֶּר אֵת שְׁלֹוֹ וְשֶׁלָּהּ he annuls hers but his remains in force, Naz. iv. 1; אֵלֶּי שְׁלָהֶן these are theirs, BM i. 5.

407. (ii) Adjectival, taking the place of the pronominal suffix.

This construction is used, at least in earlier MH works, only in the following cases.

(a) On grounds of grammar:

(1) With compound expressions which have become standing phrases are thus inseparable: מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנֵי שְׁלָהֶם their Second Tithe, MŠ iii. 6; בַּיִת קִיבּוּל שְׁלָהּ its receptacle, 'Ed. iii. 5; 'לֹא הוֹדַע' שְׁנֵהֶן (cf. Lev. iv. 28) K^er. i. 2.

(2) With a composite subject: בִּפְּאָ וּבְמִבּוֹת שְׁלֹוֹ his seat and supports, Šab. vi. 8; וְהַשֶּׁמֶן וְהַפֶּת שְׁלָהֶם their bread and oil, 'AZ ii. 6.

(3) With indeclinable nouns : בְּשֵׁמִינֵי שָׁלוֹ ; בְּשָׁנֵי שָׁלוֹ Pes. viii. 5 ; רְחִימֵי שָׁלוֹ their mill, 'Ed. iii. 12 ; חֲמִין שָׁלוֹ his hot water, t. Šab. iii. 3 ; שְׁעוֹת שָׁלוֹ her wax, t. ib. xviii. 8 ; הָאֵלֶּיהָ שָׁלוֹ their tail, Šab. v. 4 ; especially foreign nouns : הָאֵינְקֵלִי שָׁלוֹ ἀγκύλη Kel. xiii. 7 ; מוֹכְנֵי שָׁלוֹ μηχανή, ib. xviii. 2 ; הַפְּיֹטְמָה שָׁלוֹ their flower, 'Uq. i. 2.

408. (b) On grounds of style.

(i) With nouns used in a secondary or derived sense : הַתְּחַתּוֹן שָׁלוֹ its lower part, Šab. i. 10 (to distinguish from תְּחַתּוֹנָה, adjective) ; קַב שָׁלוֹ his artificial foot, ib. vi. 8 (not *gab*, measure) ; הַבְּיָצִים שָׁלוֹ testes, Yeb. viii. 4 ; הָאֵם שָׁלוֹ the matrix, Bek. iv. 4 ; הַפְּרוֹחַ שָׁלוֹ the calyx of a candlestick, 'Oh. iv. 8.

Sometimes to emphasize specially the noun, rather than the possessor : אֶפְיֵלוֹ הַחֹלְמוֹן שָׁלוֹ even its yolk, Ter. x. 12 ; חֲפִין שָׁלוֹ its teeth (of a key) ; חוֹתָם שָׁלוֹ its seal (of a ring), Kel. xiii. 6, in antithetical cases.

409. This construction is also frequent in BH, cf. מְעַרַת הַמִּכְבָּלָה Gen. xxiii. 9 ; xli. 43 ; Exod. xxxviii. 30 ; Lev. ix. 8 ; xvi. 6, 11 ; הַנֶּעַר אֲשֶׁר לוֹ 1 Sam. xx. 40 ; 2 Sam. xiv. 31 ; 1 Kings i. 33 ; iv. 2 ; Ruth ii. 21 ; רָעַע כְּאָח לִי Ps. xxxv. 14 ; cxx. 1 ; לָבִיא לָךְ cxxxii. 11, 12 ; Lam. i. 10, &c. ; cf. Koenig, *Syntax*, § 28 i, o.

So also in Phoenician (Punic), Schröder, § 69, and in modern Arabic, Spitta, §§ 77 c, 119 a, 120 c.

3. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

410. The demonstratives זֶה, זו, אֵלֶּי, are used both substantively and adjectivally : זֶה אָמַר . . . זֶה אָמַר this one says . . . and this one says, BM i. 1 ; מַעֲשָׂרוֹת זו כּוֹן the tithes of this one are in this one, Dam. vii. 6 ; אֵלֶּי וְאֵלֶּי מִתְעַרְבִין both these and these mingle, Yo. v. 6 ; or the noun follows as a predicate which is further defined

by a relative clause : אֵלֶּי דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם שִׁיעוּר these are the things which have no measure, Pea i. 1 ; B'er. vii. 1.

411. When used adjectivally the pronoun follows the noun : זוּ לֶחֶם כֶּבֶד this loaf, Šebu. iii. 7 ; זוּ שׂוֹר this ox, Men. xiii. 9 ; הַמָּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי this money, MŠ iii. 3. Sometimes, however, the pronoun precedes the noun in Aram. fashion : זוּ הַמְדָּרֶשׁ הַרִּישׁ רִיא this exposition, R. El'azar . . . expounded, Ket. iv. 6 ; זוּ עֵרוֹת הָעִיר רִפּ R. Papias bore this testimony, Naz. iii. 2 ; v. 4 (but cf. below, § 477) ; עַל אֵלֶּי מִטְמָאוֹת over these cases of uncleanness, ib. vii. 2. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., § 136 d, foot-note 1.

412. Similarly, the stronger demonstratives הַלֵּלּוּ, הַלֵּלּוּ, are used in both these ways : לַמָּקוֹם הַלֵּלּוּ to that place, Toh. iv. 3 ; vi. 5 ; בַּפֶּתַח הַלֵּלּוּ . . . בַּפֶּתַח הַיָּהוּה in this entrance . . . in that entrance, ib. vi. 8 ; ג' דְּבָרִים הַלֵּלּוּ those blemishes, Ket. vii. 8 ; הוֹצִיא הַלֵּלּוּ those three things, Ab. v. 19. On the other hand : וְהָאִשׁוּ הָאֵלֶּי that one brought forth his head, Mak. ii. 2 ; וְהָאִשׁוּ הַלֵּלּוּ נֹוצְצִין, הַלֵּלּוּ נֹוצְבִין and that one should go forth, Yeb. xiii. 7 ; הַלֵּלּוּ נֹוצְצִין these sprout forth, these fade, 'Er. 54 a.

413. The shortened form הֵלָּה is found only substantivally : וְהֵלָּה אֹמֵר and that one says, Šebu. vi. 7 ; הֵלָּה מִתְּרַר that one is permitted, Ned. iv. 8 ; v. 6 ; כִּי־צָר הֵלָּה עוֹשֶׂה סְחוּרָה how can that one make a business, BM iii. 2 ; San. vi. 1.

414. The pronoun of the third person is also used as a demonstrative : בְּזֶמַן שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם אוֹמְנוֹת אֲלֵּא הִיא (L; ed. הוא) when they have no other trade but that one, San. iii. 3 ; so especially in contrast to the nearer demonstrative : הַמִּזְרָה זֶה . . . הַמִּזְרָה הַזֶּה this ass, that ass, of thine, BB v. 2 ; הַפִּירוֹת הָאֵלֶּי . . . הַפִּירוֹת הַהֵם this fruit . . . that fruit ; הַמָּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי . . . הַמָּעוֹת הַהֵם this, that money, MŠ iii. 4 ; but more frequently הֵלָּה is found : . . . זֶה אוֹכֵל . . . זֶה אוֹכֵל וְהַזֶּה עוֹשֶׂה . . . and that one does . . . , ib. 3. Cf. also the exx. above, § 74. הֵלָּה is used also in contrast with הוּא : לוּ וְהֵלָּה אֹמֵר . . . הוּא אֹמֵר San. vii. 10 ; Šebu, vii. 1.

415. The interrogative pronoun **אִיזוֹ**, **אִיזָה** is used as a demonstrative to specify one out of a number of objects: **מְבַרֵךְ עַל אִיזָה** he pronounces the benediction on whichever he likes, Ber. vi. 4; Yeb. ii. 2; **יָבִיא אִיזוֹ שִׁירָצָה** he brings that one which he likes, Men. xiii. 1; **אִיזָה שֶׁלָּקַח רִאשׁוֹן** that one (of the two) who took first, Hul. v. 3.

416. MH also uses the particle **אֵת** as a demonstrative. The particle stands alone when introducing a clause: **אֵת שֶׁיִּבְלַת בְּעֵינוֹ** the one which has a wart in its eye, Bek. vi. 10; **אֵת שֶׁהוֹלֵל נִשְׁעַן** that one on which the *golel* (the stone cover of a grave) is supported, Oh. ii. 4; Git. ix. 5-7; Makš. i. 2; v. 2. So especially to introduce two alternate cases: **אֵת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמִּטָּה וְאֵת שֶׁלְּאַחַר הַמִּטָּה** **אֵת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמִּטָּה** **אֵת שֶׁלְּאַחַר הַמִּטָּה** **צוֹרֵף בְּהֵן פְּטוּרִין אֵת שֶׁאֵין לַמִּטָּה צוֹרֵף בְּהֵן חִיִּיבִין** both of those before the bier, and of those behind the bier: those of whom the bier has need are absolved, but those of whom the bier has no need are bound (to read the *Šema'*), Ber. iii. 1; 'Er. viii. 11; Š^eq. viii. 7; BQ iv. 2, &c. Sometimes the particle is omitted before the second case: Ned. x. 7; ṬY iii. 1; Ya. iii. 1.

417. When introducing a noun, **אֵת** takes the appropriate pronominal suffix of the third person: **אֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם וְאֹתוֹ הָאִישׁ** that day and that man, 'AZ i. 3; **אֵת אֲנָשֵׁי אֹתָהּ הָעִיר** the men of that city, Be. v. 5; **לְאֹתוֹ הַמָּקוֹם** to that place, 'AZ i. 4; **בְּאֹתָהּ שְׁעָה** in that moment, Ber. v. 3; **אֹתָן הַחַיִּלִּין** those common things, Ter. v. 1; **אֹתָן הַיָּמִים** those days, Ned. ix. 6; **אֹתָן שְׁתֵּי רִיחוֹת** those two spirits, Ber. 18 b.

The origin of this demonstrative use of **אֵת** is to be found in the BH use of **אֵת** before the nominative, in order to emphasize the noun, cf. Ges.-K., § 117 i; Koenig, *Syntax*, § 279 f.; *BDB.*, p. 85, 3. An analogy to the MH use of **אֵת . . . אֵת** may be found in Ezek. xxxv. 10. Cf. also Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 125.¹

¹ This use of **אֵת** (= **אֵת**) is not found in Jewish Aram., or in the other

4. The Interrogative Pronoun.

418. **מִי** is only used substantively : **מִי יִגְלֶה** who would uncover? So, v. 2 ; **לְמִי מְשַׁלֵּם** to whom does he pay? BM iii. 1 ; **מָה** occurs in both the substantival and adjectival use : **מָה הִפְסִיד** what has he lost? ib. v ; **מָה מְטַמֵּא לוֹ** what defiles him? Neg. xii. 5 ; **מָה הִלְשׁוּן** **מָה קוֹל שְׁמַעְתָּ** what expression do men say? ib. x. 1 ; **מָה קוֹל שְׁמַעְתָּ** what voice hast thou heard? B^{er}. 3 a ; **מָה אֲנִי** what am I? Ya. iv. 4.

L often has **מִי** in a neuter sense in the frequent phrase **בְּמִי דְבָרִים** **אֲמֹרִים** in what case does the statement apply, e. g. Š^{ebi}. iii. 7 ; Š^{ab}. xvii. 8 ; 'Er. vii. 9, 11 ; x. 1. Conversely, **מָה** is found in L of persons : **לֹא חוּץ מִמֶּה שֵׁיִשׁ לוֹ** except one whom he has, Y^{eb}. ii. 5. Cf. in BH **מִי שָׁמַד** Judges xiii. 17 ; *BDB.*, p. 566 a (a).

מִי is but rarely used to introduce an interrogative clause, e. g. **מִי כָאן הִלֵּל** is Hillel here? Š^{ab}. 31 a.

419. **אֵיזוֹ**, **אֵיזוֹ**, can be used both substantively and adjectivally, e. g. **בְּאֵיזוֹ יוֹם** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁעָה** San. v. 1. When used substantively, they are followed by the enclitic **הוּא**, **הִיא**, often spelt in one word, and without the final **א** : **אֵיזוֹהוּ דָּבָר** which is a thing that . . . ? T^{er}. ix. 6 ; **אֵיזוֹ הוּא בֶּן זוגוֹ** which is its pair? Š^{ab}. xii. 3 ; **אֵיזוֹ הִיא** **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁנָה** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁנָה** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁבִיעַ** in which week, year, San. v. 1, &c.

So also the rare plur. form **אֵילַי** can be used in both ways : **אֵלַי שְׂהַפְכוּ וְאֵלַי שְׂקַדְמוּ** t. Neg. ii. 7 ; **אֵלַי הָאֲבָנִים** which stones? BM x. 1 ; cf. above, § 81.

Aram. dialects, except in Christian Palestinian Aram., and in Samaritan. Nöldeke's view that MH borrowed this usage from these two Aram. dialects (*ZDMG.*, xxii, p. 471) is improbable, in view of the great frequency of this usage in MH and its complete absence in Jewish Aram. It is more probable that Christian Palestinian Aram. and Samaritan borrowed this usage from MH. For other borrowings by the first-named dialect from MH, cf. Nöldeke, ib., pp. 513, 522.

5. The Relative Pronoun. The use of שׁוֹ.

420. The particle שׁוֹ is used to introduce a clause which serves to define a preceding noun or pronoun. It is then equivalent to the English relative 'who, which'. Thus, in the nominative: שׁוֹר שֶׁנִּגְנַח an ox which has gored, BQ iv. 1; אֵלֵינוּ שֶׁהֵם צְרִיכִים; אֵלֵינוּ שֶׁאֵינָם צְרִיכִים these that require, that do not require, Miq. x. 3, 4; חֲטָאת שֶׁקִּבַּל דָּמָה a sin-offering, the blood of which he received, Zeb. viii. 12. Accusative: שָׂדֵה שֶׁקִּצְרוּהָ גֵוִיִּים a field which Gentiles have reaped, Pea ii. 7; אֲבָנִים שֶׁזָּעַזְעוּתָן הַמַּחְרִישָׁה stones which the plough has moved, Šebi. iii. 7. Usually, however, the retrospective pronominal suffix is omitted, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 138 b): שׁוֹרִי שֶׁנִּגְנַחְתָּ my ox which thou hast stolen, Šebu. viii. 4; דֶּרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁיִּבְּרַח לוֹ הָאָדָם a straight road which a man should choose for himself, Ab. ii. 1; כָּל טְהוֹרוֹת שֶׁשִּׁיְרָר רֵאֵא all things which R. Eli'ezer had declared clean, Ber. 19 b.

421. Similarly, with nouns indicating place or time, when there is no risk of ambiguity, the retrospective preposition is omitted: מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּהְגוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת a place where they are accustomed to do, Pes. iv. 1; מִשְׁעָרָה שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים נִכְנְסִין from the time when the priests enter; לְמְקוֹם שֶׁמַּיִם אֲחֻרָנִים חוֹזְרִין to the place where the water for washing the hands after a meal returns, Ber. 46 b. But more often the preposition is expressed: מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּעֱשׂוּ בוֹ נִסִּים a place where miracles were wrought; מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּעְקְרָה מִמֶּנּוּ a place from which idols have been uprooted, Ber. ix. 1; מֵהַמְּקוֹם שֶׁיָּצָא מֵאֵשׁ whence he came forth; לְשָׁם שֶׁהָלַךְ הַמָּגוּם whither he went, Pes. iv. 1; דְּבָרִים שֶׁאָדָם יוֹצֵא בָהֶן things with which one discharges one's duty, ib. ii. 4, 5; דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵין נִשְׁבָּעִין עֲלֵיהֶם things on which one does not take an oath, Šebu. vi. 5; מִי שֶׁהִפְקִדוֹן אָצְלוֹ he with whom is the deposited article, ib. 7; כָּל שֶׁאֵין הַכֶּלֶב יוֹכֵל לְחַפֵּשׂ אַחֲרָיו everything that a dog cannot search out, Pes. ii. 2.

422. The original demonstrative significance of שׁוֹ is still

apparent in cases where the indefinite **מִי**, **מָה** stands as its antecedent (cf. § 436): **מִי שֶׁהוֹצִיאָהוּ**; **מִי שֶׁיָצָא** anyone whom they brought forth; who went forth, 'Er. iv. 1, 3, 4, 5; **מָה שֶׁעָשָׂה עָשׂוּי** what he has done is done, BB viii. 5. In BH **אֲשֶׁר** can stand in such cases without an antecedent, cf. Num. xxii. 6, &c.; Ges.-K., § 138 e. In MH **שׁ** must always have an antecedent.

Sometimes, however, **שׁ** is omitted after **מִי**, **מָה**, **אֵין לוֹ מִי יִתְיַרְנוּ** he has no one who would make it permissible = **שֶׁיִתְיַרְנוּ** Men. iv. 3; **אֵין לִי מָה אֲשִׁיב** I have nothing to reply = **שֶׁאֲשִׁיב** Kel. xiii. 7. Cf. also § 477.

Likewise, the particle **אֵת** can stand as antecedent to **שׁ**, whether in the accusative or the nominative: **מֵעֶשֶׂר אֵת שֶׁהוּא אוֹכֵל וְאֵת** **שֶׁהוּא מוֹכֵר וְאֵת שֶׁהוּא לֹקֵחַ** he tithes what he eats, sells, buys, Dam. ii. 2; **אֵת שֶׁהָעֵדִים נִקְרְאוּ עִמּוֹ** that one with which the witnesses can be read (i.e. their signatures following immediately), Git. ix. 5-7; cf. above, § 416.

423. Like **אֲשֶׁר**, and especially **כִּי** in BH (Ges.-K., § 157), **שׁ** also introduces a clause which serves as the object of a verb. **שׁ** is then equivalent to a conjunction: **לֹא לְמַדְרַתְנוּ . . . שֶׁחָתַן פָּטוּר** didst thou not teach us that a bridegroom is absolved . . ., Ber. ii. 5; **יָדַע אֲנִי שֶׁהוּא מְקַבֵּל** I know that he is accepted, ib. v. 5; **סָבַר שֶׁנִּדְרָה לֵידַע . . . שֶׁהוּא אֵל** he thought that she had vowed, Ned. xi. 5; . . . **שֶׁהוּא אֵל** to know that He is God, AB iv. 22.

שׁ often has as its antecedent a conjunction or a preposition: **אֲחֵר שׁ**, **כִּשְׁ**, **מִשְׁ**, &c.; cf. § 303. So **אֲשֶׁר** in BH, Ges.-K., § 104 b.

424. The use of **שׁ** to introduce direct narration is rare and doubtful: **הִיא כּוֹתֶבֶת שֶׁנִּתְקַבְּלָתִי** she writes: I have received, Ket. v. 1 (L; edd. אָמַר לָהֶם שֶׁהַטְּהוֹרָה (נתק') **אָמַר לָהֶם שֶׁהוֹבַח** Men. ii. 1 (but **שׁ** in these cases may stand for **שׁ מִפְּנֵי שׁ** because); after an oath: **שְׁבוּעָה שֶׁאֵינִי יָשׁוּן** an oath, that I will not sleep, speak, Ned. ii. 1, 2;

cf. below, §§ 456, 458 f. For similar use of אשר in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 157 c.

425. שׁ is regularly used in adverbial expressions before לא : בְּטוֹבָה וְשׁלֹא בְּטוֹבָה with, and without thanks, Šebi. iv. 2 ; בְּבֵית דִּין וְשׁלֹא בְּבֵית דִּין at a court of law, and not at a court of law : בְּפָנָיו וְשׁלֹא בְּפָנָיו in his presence, and not in his presence, Yeb. xiii. 1 ; שׁלֹא בְּכַתוּבָה without the marriage settlement, Ket. vii. 6. Rarely without שׁ, as in BH בְּלֹא מַתְכוּן : בְּלֹא מַתְכוּן 'Er. iv. 4 ; בְּלֹא מַסְפָּר Suk. v. 4.

426. שׁ is also often found before a verb introduced by או : או שׁנָטַל or he took ; או שׁנָתַן or put, Šab. i. 1 ; או שׁהָיוּ or they were, Suk. iii. 2 ; או שׁהוּוּ או שׁהוּוּ they became dear or cheap, BB v. 8. Contrast, however, או מֵיָאָנו, &c. or repudiated, Yeb. i. 1, and often.

427. שׁ is also attached to a verb to lend it special emphasis in an antithesis : אָמַר לוֹ מֵת וְהוּא שׁנִשְׁבַּר he said to him : it was dead, but it was really broken (injured) ; וְהוּא שׁמֵת it was really dead, Šebu. viii. 2, 3, 5, 6 ; so in L וְהִם שׁיִודְעוּן and they did really know, ib. iv. 11.

6. Reflexive and Reciprocal.

428. The expression of the reflexive by the simple pronominal suffix is rare in MH. Examples are : גּוֹלְלוֹ אֶצְלוֹ he rolls it up to himself, 'Er. x. 3 ; הָאִישׁ מְקַדֵּשׁ בּוֹ וּבְשִׁלּוּחוֹ a man can betroth by himself or by his messenger ; הָאִשָּׁה מְתַקְדֶּשֶׁת בָּהּ a woman can be betrothed by herself . . . , Qid. ii. 1 ; הָאִשָּׁה כּוֹתֶבֶת אֶת גִּטָּהּ a woman may write her own *Get*, Git. ii. 5 ; אֲבִידָתוֹ וְאֲבִירַת אָבִיו his own lost property and his father's lost property, &c., BM ii. 11.

429. Usually, a periphrasis is employed to express the reflexive idea. The most common noun used for this purpose is עָצָם with the appropriate suffix.

Nomin. : **הַפְּרִי עֲצָמוֹ** the fruit itself, Šebi. viii. 7; **עֲצָמוֹ בְּתִשְׁעָה** (הַתְּמִיד) itself by nine, Yo. ii. 5; **הָאִשָּׁה עֲצָמָהּ** the woman herself, Git. ii. 7; **וְדָמָהּ עֲצָמָהּ** wonder thyself, Makš. i. 3.

Genit. : **עֲצֵי עֲצָמָן** their own wood, opposed to **הַמְּעֵרְבָה** the wood of the pile, Pes. vii. 8; **מַעֲשֵׂה עֲצָמוֹ** his own act, opposed to **וְיָדוּ מַעֲשֵׂה שׂוֹרְרוֹ** BQ iii. 9; **שֵׁל עֲצָמוֹ** his own words, opposed to **וְיָדוּ מַעֲשֵׂה שׂוֹרְרוֹ** Šebu. iii. 5; **אֵין אָדָם מְעִיד עַל יָדוֹ עֲצָמוֹ** a man cannot give evidence for himself, Ket. ii. 9; **בְּסוּת עֲצָמָן** their own garment, Tam. i. 1; **בֵּינוֹ לְבֵין עֲצָמוֹ** privately, Bik. i. 4.

Accus., after transitive verbs, as a periphrasis of the reflexive stem : **קוֹנֶה אֶת עֲצָמָהּ** acquires herself, Qid. i. 1; **אֵל תַּעַשׂ עֲצָמָךְ** do not make thyself, Ab. i. 8; **יִפְּוֵי אֶת עֲצָמָן** refute themselves, Mak. i. 4 (L); **אֵין אָדָם מְשִׁים אֶת עֲצָמוֹ רָשָׁע** a man cannot make himself guilty, Yeb. 25 b.

With a preposition : **זֶה בְּעֲצָמוֹ וְזֶה בְּעֲצָמוֹ** this by itself and this by itself, Šab. xix. 2; **לְחַוֵּב בְּעֲצָמָךְ** to be guilty against thyself, Ber. i. 3; **זוֹ לְעֲצָמָהּ וְזוֹ לְעֲצָמָהּ** by the priest himself, Sifra, 8 d; **אֵם יָצְאוּ מֵעֲצָמָן** this for itself and this for itself, Pes. i. 2; **אֵם יָצְאוּ מֵעֲצָמָן** if they went forth of themselves, Šab. 143 b.

430. Sometimes, **עֲצָם** is preceded by **כֹּל**, for the sake of emphasis : **כֹּל עֲצָמוֹ אֵינוֹ כוֹתֵב** altogether he only writes, So. ii. 3; **כֹּל עֲצָמָן אָסוּר לְקַנְיִים** they are altogether forbidden to preserve, t. Šab. iv. 9; **כֹּל עֲצָמָהּ אֵינָה נַעֲשִׂית** the whole of it is not done, Sifra, 8 d; **כֹּל עֲצָמָם שֵׁל מְלָכִים** the kings themselves, Sifre, Deut. i. 1.

431. The use of **עֲצָם** is peculiar to MH. The similar use of **גָּרַם** in late Aram. must be an imitation of MH.¹ In BH **עֲצָם** is found in an analogous sense, but only in the construct state, and of things, not of persons : **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֲצָם הַיּוֹם** Gen. vii. 13, and frequently; **בְּעֲצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם** Exod. xxiv. 11; **בְּעֲצָם הַתּוֹ** Job xxi. 23

¹ So perhaps also in BH : **גָּרַם הַמַּעֲלֹת** 2 Kings ix. 13.

(Ges.-K., § 139 g). But it is obvious that a word meaning 'bone' must have been applied first to animate beings, and then only figuratively to inanimate objects. It is, therefore, clear that the expression must have been more commonly used in colloquial speech than appears in the literary remains of BH.

432. The BH **נָפֵשׁ** is used rarely as a reflexive: **תָּמָה נִפְשָׁהּ** wonder thyself; **בְּנַפְשׁוֹ מִתְחַיֵּב** becomes guilty against himself, Ab. iii. 4.

So **גִּיּוֹף : גִּיּוֹף שֶׁל מִנְחָה** the meal offering itself, Sifra 25 b; **גִּיּוֹף** his own person, Ab. iv. 8.

Finally, the compound preposition **מֵאֵל** with the appropriate suffix sometimes expresses the reflexive idea: **הָעוֹלָה מֵאֵלָיו** what springs up of itself, 'Or. i. 2; **בָּאוּ מֵאֵלֵיהֶן** they came of themselves, BM vii. 9; cf. § 301.

433. Reciprocity is expressed by such circumlocutions as the repetition of the demonstrative: **שָׁחֲרָרוּ זֶה אֶת זֶה** they liberated each other, Y^{eb.} xi. 5; **רָאוּ אֶת אֱלוֹ** they see one another, Mak. i. 9; rarely **לֹא יָבוּ אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ : אִישׁ . . . רָע** they should not strike one another, Pea iv. 4. Note also the use of **חִבְרָת, חִבְרֵת** with inanimate objects: **בֵּין פְּצִים לְחִבְרוֹ** between one beam and its fellow, Šab. viii. 7; **מִסְפִּינָה לְחִבְרָתָהּ** from one ship to the other, ib. xi. 5; **בֵּין שׁוּרָה לְחִבְרָתָהּ** between one row and the other, Kil. iii. 6; iv. 8; cf. § 139.

7. Indefinite.

434. Like BH, MH possesses no special indefinite pronouns. It employs certain nouns, and pronouns, and certain parts of the verb to express the indefinite subject, or object.

(i) **אָדָם : שׂוֹאֵל אָדָם** one may ask, Šab. xxiii. 1; **מוֹנֵה אָדָם** one may count, ib. 2; **לֹא יָקוּב אָדָם** one may not bore, ib. ii. 4; **לֹא יִבְּחַר לְעַצְמוֹ** which one should choose for oneself, Ab. ii. 1; **יִבְּחַר אֶת דַּעְתּוֹ לְשָׂמַיִם** one should direct one's mind towards

heaven, Men. xiii. 11. **כָּל אָדָם** is often strengthened by **כָּל**: **כָּל אָדָם** anyone must recline; **כָּל אָדָם קוֹרֵא** anyone may read . . . , Ber. i. 5; **כָּל אָדָם מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל** anyone in Israel, 'Ed. v. 6.

435. (ii) **כָּל הַשׁוֹכֵחַ**: **כָּל** alone followed by a participle, or by **שֶׁ** anyone who forgets, Šab. vii. 1, 5; **כָּל הַמִּסְתַּבֵּל** anyone who gazes, Hag. ii. 1; **כָּל שֶׁאֵינוֹ יָכוֹל** one who is not able, ib. i. 1; **כָּל שֶׁעָשָׂה** one which he made, Suk. i. 1; . . . **כָּל שֶׁיִּנָּטֵל** one which when the tree be removed, ib. ii. 3; **כָּל מֵאֵל** he ate any food; **כָּל שָׁתָה** he drank any drink, Zab. ii. 2. So especially with the pronoun of the third person: **כָּל שֶׁהוּא**, **כָּל שֶׁהִיא**, **כָּל שֶׁהוּן** somewhat, something, anything, Šab. i. 14; ix. 6; 'Er. ii. 2, &c.

This use of **כָּל** is also very frequent in BH; cf. *BDB.*, p. 482 a (e).

436. (iii) **כִּי לִחְשֹׁךְ**: **כִּי** if anyone whispers to thee, Sifre, Deut. xi. 27; but usually with **שֶׁ** and a relative clause, when **כִּי** has a somewhat demonstrative force: **כִּי שָׂאֵל וְשָׁכַח** if anyone ate and forgot, Ber. viii. 7; **כִּי זָכָה מִי שֶׁזָּכָה** he wins whoever wins, Tam. v. 2; **כִּי שָׁלָא שָׁהֲתָה** any woman who has not waited, Yeb. xi. 6; **כִּי שֶׁנְּחַתְּרֵשׁ בְּעֵלָהּ** anyone whose husband became deaf mute, So. iv. 5.

So in BH: **כִּי אֲשֶׁר** Exod. xxxii. 33; 2 Sam. xx. 11; cf. *BDB.*, p. 567 a (g).

כָּל מִי שֶׁלֹּא רָאָה: **כָּל מִי שֶׁלֹּא רָאָה** whoever has not seen, Suk. v. 1; **כָּל מִי שֶׁאֵינוֹ צָרִיךְ** whoever is not in need, Pea viii. 8; **כָּל מִי שֶׁיִּרְצֶה לְבָל מֵאֵכֵל** he gives to eat to whomsoever he wishes, BB viii. 7.

So with **כִּי**: **כִּי שָׁנַתָּן נָתַן** whatever he gave, he gave, ib. vi. 7; **כִּי טוֹל מִה שֶׁהֵבֵאתָ** take whatever thou hast brought, Hül. iv. 4; **כִּי עַל מִה שֶׁלֹּא שָׁמַע** about what he has not heard, Ab. v. 7; **כִּי שֶׁמַּעַת** whatever thou hearest, Ber. 18 b; cf. § 422. This usage is common in Qohelet, e.g. i. 9; iii. 15, 22, &c.; cf. *BDB.*, p. 553 a (e(b)); also col. b, 3; Ges.-K., § 137 c.

So especially with **הוּא**, **הִיא**, often written without **א**: **מִשְׁהוּ**,

מִשָּׂהוּ something, anything; טוֹעֵה מִשָּׂהוּ one errs somewhat, Pes. 11 b; אֶחָד עָשָׂר וּמִשָּׂהוּ eleven and something-over, 'Er. 87 a; נָתַן מִשָּׂהוּ שֶׁמֶן he gave a little oil, Men. 60 a.

437. (iv) כָּלֹם anything, equivalent to BH מְאוֹמָה (from which it seems to be derived with the addition of כָּל, like the other indefinite nouns described above = מְאוֹם + כָּל¹), used as indefinite pronoun only with negatives: לֹא עָשָׂה כָּלֹם he did nothing, Yo. v. 7; לֹא נִשְׁתַּיֵּיר הַיְמִנָה כָּלֹם nothing was left of it, Hul. iii. 1; the negative is sometimes strengthened by the addition of וְלֹא: לֹא עָשָׂה וְלֹא כָלֹם he did nothing at all, Pes. 89 b. So מְאוֹמָה in BH is usually found with negatives, Gen. xxii. 12; xxx. 31, &c.

(v) מְקַצָּת some: נָטַל מְקַצָּת פִּיאָה he took some of the *Pea*, Pea iv. 2; מְקַצָּתוֹן רוֹאֵין some of them see, Ber. vii. 5; הָיוּ מְקַצָּת הָעֵלֶץ some of the leaves were, Kil. i. 9.

(vi) אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי בֶן אִישׁ so and so, an unnamed one; אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי בֶן אִישׁ אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי מֵת I will not marry so-and-so, Nod. ix. 3; עֲבָרָה פְּלוֹנִית a certain transgression, San. vi. 1. So also כָּךְ וְכָךְ שָׁנָת כָּךְ וְכָךְ the year so-and-so, RH 18 b; כָּךְ וְכָךְ פּוֹעֲלִים so many labourers, Šab. 150 b.

438. (vii) An indefinite subject is also expressed by the cognate participle: מֵת לוֹ מֵת if anyone died to him, San. ii. 3; סֵילֵק הַמַּסְלֵק; וְהַטְּמִין הַמַּטְמִין וְהַדְּלִיק הַדּוֹלֵק that has to hide hides, that has to light lights, Šab. 35 b; הַנִּכְנָם יִכְנָם וְהַיּוֹצֵא אֵל יֵצֵא anyone may enter, but no one may go out, ib. 60 a; cf. BH Isa. xvi. 10; xxviii. 4, 24, &c.

439. (viii) More often the subject is omitted altogether, and the verb alone, in the third person, whether in the sing. or the plur., expresses the indefinite subject. Thus the participle וּמְשִׁיב . . . שׂוֹאֵל one asks . . . one answers, Ber. ii. 1; especially with the article, used with a demonstrative force: הַקּוֹרֵא if one reads, ib. ii. 3;

¹ But it may, perhaps, be connected with the Arab. كَلِم, and equivalent to דְּבָר anything.

הַשׁוֹחֵט if one slays, Šebi. x. 2 ; cf. above, §§ 329, 374 (vii). So in the plur., but without the article : קוֹרֵן B^er. i. 1 ; מְזַבְּרִין ib. 8. So, particularly, when the subject is the Divine power : נִפְרָעִין מִמֶּנּוּ retribution is taken from him, Ab. iv. 5 ; מְסַפְּיָקִין בְּיָדוֹ they enable him, ib. 6 ; הָבֵא לְיַפְהֵר מְסִייעִין לוֹ הָבֵא לְיַטַּמֵּא פּוֹתְחִין לוֹ if one comes to purify himself, they assist him ; if one comes to defile himself, they open to him (an opportunity), Šab. 104 a.

So with the perfect : וַיִּמְן לְבָנִים וּמְצָא שְׁחוּרִים if one prepared white ones, and found black ones, Be. i. 5 ; מָוְגוּ לוֹ they poured out to him, Pes. x. 2 ; הָבִיאוּ לְפָנָיו they brought before him, ib. 3 ; נֹתְנִין עָלֶיהָ . . . שְׁהִפְיָקָהּ פִּירָה a hearth which has been heated . . . one may put on it . . . , Šab. iii. 1.

With the imperf. : לֹא יִתֵּן עַד שְׁיִנְרֹף אוֹ עַד שְׁיִטֵּן אֶת הָאֵפֶר one may not put until one removes the coals, or until one puts on ashes, ib., &c. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., § 144 d, g, i.

IV. SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

1. The Nominative Absolute.

440. The Nominative Absolute is very common in MH, as in BH and Aram.¹ In this construction the noun is placed at the head of the sentence for emphasis, and its proper grammatical relation is expressed later in the sentence by a resumptive pronoun.

441. (i) With a definite subject : פָּאָה אֵין קוֹצְרִין אוֹתָהּ בְּמַנְלוֹת וְאֵין עוֹקְרִין אוֹתָהּ בְּקַרְדּוּמֹת הַנְּחַתְמִין לֹא חֵיבוּ אוֹתָם חֲבָמִים Pea²—they may not reap it with sickles, nor uproot it with axes, Pea iv. 4 ; הַנְּחַתְמִין לֹא חֵיבוּ אוֹתָם חֲבָמִים the bakers—the sages have not laid on them the obligation, Dam. ii. 4 ; הַתְּרוּמָה מָה הָיָה עוֹשִׂין בָּהּ the heave offering (of the

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 143 ; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 317 ; *Mand. Gr.*, § 275.

² The corn in the corner of a field which had to be left for the poor, Lev. xxiii. 22.

shekels)—what did they do with it, Š^eq. iv. 1, 3 f.; לו הַדָּמַי אֵין לֹא חוֹמֵשׁ דַּמַּי¹—it has not the law of the fifth, Dam. i. 2; הַיִּמְנָה אֵין מְמַלְאִים הַיִּמְנָה . . . אִמַּת הַיַּיִם a pool of water—one may not fill from it, 'Er. viii. 7 ff.

442. (ii) With an indefinite subject (cf. §§ 435 f., 439). Such sentences are usually equivalent to a conditional sentence in English: מְשַׁתְּקִין אוֹתוֹ . . . הָאוֹמֵר if one says . . . they silence him, Ber. v. 3; הַקּוֹצֵר בַּלַּיְלָה וְהַמְעַמֵּר וְהַפּוֹמֵא יֵשׁ לָהֶם שְׂכָחָה if one reaps or binds sheaves by night, and the blind man—to them applies the law of a forgotten sheaf (Deut. xxiv. 19), Pea vi. 11; מִי שֶׁאָחַז אוֹתוֹ בּוֹלְמוֹס מְאִכְלִין אוֹתוֹ he whom faintness has seized—they make him eat, Yo. viii. 6, 7; מִי שֶׁאֲבַד חוֹתְמוֹ מְמַתִּינִין לוֹ if anyone has lost his seal—they wait for him, Š^eq. v. 5; מָה שֶׁהוּא מְשַׁיֵּיר יִנְחַנּוּיֵהוּ whatever he leaves—he must put it away, Pes. i. 3; . . . כָּל שֶׁבָּא בְּחַמִּין אוֹתוֹ שׁוֹרֵן אוֹתוֹ whatever came into hot water—they may soak it, Šab. xxii. 2; כָּל הַפּוֹסֵבֵל עָלָיו . . . מְעַבְרִין מִמֶּנּוּ whoever receives upon himself . . . they remove from him, Ab. iii. 6.

443. To this construction belongs the frequent resumption of the subject by the graphic particle הָרִי with the demonstrative pronoun: הַחֹלֵץ לְיִבְמָתוֹ הָרִי הוּא כְּאָחֵד מִן הָאֲחִים if one grants *halisa* to the childless widow of his deceased brother—lo, he is like one of the (other) brothers, Y^eb. iv. 7. This happens, especially, when the subject is described by a more or less lengthy intervening clause, or when the subject is compound: מִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ ג' זוֹ וְהוּא נֹשֵׂא וְנוֹתֵן בָּהֶם הָרִי וְהָ לֹא יִטּוֹל if anyone has 50 *zuzim* with which he trades—lo, this one must not take, Pea viii. 9. Contrast with: הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְיָדָיו אֲבָל . . . הָרִי מִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ מְאֲתָיִם זוֹ לֹא יִטּוֹל הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְיָדָיו אֲבָל . . . הָרִי if he worked with his hands, but not with his feet: . . . lo, this one may eat, BM vii. 3. Contrast with the following: הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְתֵאֲנִים לֹא יֵאָכֵל בְּעֵנְבִים if he worked at figs, he must not

¹ Fruit about which there is a doubt whether it has been tithed or not.

eat of grapes. 3 ג' אילנות של ג' בני אדם הרי אלו מצטרפין trees of 3 men—lo, these combine, Š^obi. i. 5 ; אבנים שזועזעו המחרישה או אבנים שזועזעו המחרישה או stones which the plough has moved, or if they were covered and became uncovered . . .—lo, these may be taken away, ib. iii. 7 ; החטים והשעורים . . . הרי אלו החטים והשעורים . . . הרי אלו wheat, barley . . .—lo, these are liable to the law of *Halla* (Num. xv. 20).

444. Such a nom. abs. often consists of a subject, qualified by a relative clause, which has been removed from a subordinate object clause, and placed before the principal sentence. This happens usually in the case of an object clause dependent on the verb אמר, where two or more opposing views are expressed by different sages. The position of the nom. abs. serves to direct attention to it as the subject of the discussion that follows. Exx. : ביצה שנולדה ביום טוב בית שמאי אומרים תאכל ובית הלל אומרים an egg born on a festival—the House of Šammai say, it may be eaten ; but the House of Hillel say, it may not be eaten. This is equivalent to : בית שמאי אומרים ביצה שנולדה ביום טוב תאכל Be. i. 1 ; so ib. 2, 8. Contrast ib. 3–7, &c. : השותפין שתרכו זה אחר זה ר' עקיבא אומר תרומת שניהם תרומה ותבכמים אומרים תרומת הראשון . . . שתרכו זה אחר זה ר' אומר partners who tithed one after the other=R. Akiba says: the tithing of both is tithes ; the sages say : the tithing of the first (alone) is tithes ; R. Jose says . . .—רע אומר השותפין . . . שתרכו Ter. iii. 3 ; so ib. 5 ; viii. 8, 9 (with the verb מודה) ; מי שלקט את הפאה ואמר הרי זו לאיש פלוני עני ר' אליעזר אומר זכה לו מי שלקט את הפאה ואמר הרי זו לאיש פלוני עני ר' אומר זכה לו if anyone gathers *pea*, and says : lo, this shall be for a certain poor man—R. Eliezer says : he acquires it for him ; but the sages say . . . , Pea iv. 9 ; BM iii. 12 ; Y^ob. iv. 3 (with מודים).

445. Frequently, a nom. abs. is left suspended, and is not resumed again at all, but the predicate is attached to another implicit subject, whether mentioned expressly before, but in a

dependent relation, or not mentioned expressly, but understood from the context. Here, again, the position of the nom. abs. is designed to give special emphasis to a particular circumstance in the case under discussion. This construction is very common in the Mishna and Tosefta, and is characteristic of their Halakic diction. Exx.: מעות חולין ומעות מעשר שני שנתפזרו מה שליקט (viz. המלקט) common money and money of the second tithing which have been scattered together—whatever he picks up, he picks it up for the second tithing, MŠ ii. 5; עובר בוכבים ושלח עולתו ומדינת הים ושלח עמה נכסים קריבין (viz. הנכסים) משלח if a heathen has sent from the country across the sea his burnt-offering, and has (also) sent with it libations,—then they (the libations) are offered of his own; so further: . . . גר שמת Š⁹q. vii. 6. With indefinite subject: המקרה סוכתו בשפורין . . . בשירה (viz. הסוכה) if anyone covers his tabernacle with spits . . . it (the tabernacle) is fit, Suk. i. 8, 9, 11 (implicit object); ii. 2-4; האומר לשלוחו צא ותרום תורם (viz. השליח) כדעתו של בעל הבית if anyone says to his messenger: go out and tithe—then he (the messenger) tithes in accordance with the mind of the householder (the sender), Ter. iv. 4; מי שוימן אצלו אורחים לא יוליכו (viz. האורחים) if anyone invited to himself guests—then they (the guests) may not carry with them gifts, Be. v. 7, 6; Yeb. x. 4; Ket. xiii. 2.

446. The nom. abs. may consist even of a grammatically complete sentence (i. e. with a finite verb), which is yet dependent upon a following predicate, as is shown by the context: היה רוכב על גבי בהמה וראה את המציאה ואמר לחברו תנה לי נטלה (viz. חברו) ואמר (if) he rode upon an animal and saw a lost article and said to his neighbour: give it to me—he (the neighbour) took it and said . . ., BM i. 3.

447. Sometimes, the new subject is expressly referred to by a demonstrative, especially with הרי זה לא: היתה בין הקברות הרי זה לא הרי זה לא

(הַמוֹצֵא viz.) לֹא יִטְמָא לָהּ if it was among the graves—lo, he (the finder, if a priest) should not defile himself for it, BM ii. 10 ; פִּהֶנֶת שְׁנַתְעָרַב וְלָדָה בְּוֹלָד שֶׁפָּחַתָּה הָרִי אֵלָיו אוֹכְלִין בְּתַרוּמָה the wife of a priest, whose child was mixed up with the child of her female slave—lo, these (the two children) eat of *teruma* (priestly tithes), Yeb. xi. 5, iii. 4, &c.

2. Agreement between Subject and Predicate.

448. Collective nouns as subject sometimes take the predicate in the sing., sometimes in the plur. : שְׁיִיחָא הֶבְקַר עוֹבְרַ בְּבָלְיוֹ that the oxen may pass with their harness, Šebi. i. 5 ; נִטְמָא קְהָל the congregation became unclean, Pes. vii. 6 ; בְּלִשְׁתִּי שְׁנַכְנַסָּה a troop that has entered, 'AZ v. 6 ; לֹא הָיָה בֵּית דִּין . . . בְּקָי the court of law was not expert, San. vii. 2 ; but : הוֹרֵי בֵּית דִּין the court of law taught, Ho. i. 1 ; כְּשֶׁרָאוּ בֵּית דִּין . . . הִתְקִינוּ . . . they ordained . . . , Yo. ii. 2. The two constructions may be found side by side, the sing. preceding the subject : כְּשֶׁנִּבְרָה מַלְכוּת . . . וְנִצְחָוּם when the kingdom of the house of Hasmonai prevailed, and conquered them, Šab. 21 b ; מִשְׁפָּחָה אַחַת מִשְׁפָּחָה הָיְתָה צִירֹאשְׁכִּים שֶׁהָיוּ פְּסִיעוֹתֵיהֶן גְּפוֹת there was a certain family in Jerusalem whose steps were big, ib. 63 b ; further . . . מַחֲנֶה הַיּוֹצֵאת . . . מוֹתְרִין a troop that goes forth . . . are permitted, 'Er. 17 a.

449. So with a construct expression as subject ; הָיָה מִקְצֵת הָיָה מִקְצֵת if a portion of the leaves were uncovered, Kil. i. 9 ; שְׂאֵר נִכְסִים יִפְּלוּ the remainder of the property shall fall, Šeq. iv. 81 ; קִבְּלוּ רֹב הָעָבוּר the majority of the public have received, ib. v. 2 ; but : נִטְמָא מְעוֹט הַקְּהָל the minority of the congregation became unclean, Pes. vii. 6 ; אֵין כָּל אָדָם חַיִּבִּין no man is guilty, Mak. ii. 7 ; sometimes the texts differ : כָּל אָדָם יִטָּה וְיִקְרָא every man must incline and read ; כָּל אָדָם קוֹרֵא כְּדַרְכוֹ reads according to his own way, B'er. ii. 3 edd., but L : יִטָּה וְיִקְרֵי ; קוֹרֵין כְּדַרְכוֹן ; so Sifre, Deut. vii. 7 ; יְהוּא . . . אוֹמְרִין . . . יְהוּא . . . אָדָם אוֹמֵר San. vi. 2, edd., but L : יְהוּא . . . אוֹמְרִין . . .

450. A compound subject, consisting of a masc. and a fem. noun, takes the predicate in the masc. : הפֶּלֶת וְהַשֶּׁמֶן מְעַבְבִּין זֶה אֶת זֶה the fine flour and the oil keep back each other, M^{en}. iii. 5. The masc. is used even with fem. nouns : אֵין אֹכִילָה וְהַקְטֶרֶת מְצַטְרְפִים eating and burning incense do not combine, Z^{eb}. vi. 7 (end); יוֹצֵאִין . . . נִרְאִין . . . מַחַט אוֹ טַבַּעַת a needle or a ring . . . are seen but do not protrude, Kel. ix. 1.

451. Sometimes the gender agrees strictly with the grammatical form of the noun, rather than with the sense : בְּלֶשֶׁת שְׁנַכְנִסָּה 'AZ v. 6 ; שְׁתֵּי כְּתֵי עֲדִים מְעִידוֹת two groups of witnesses, Naz. iii. 7 ; אוֹמְנֵי שׁוּקוֹת handicrafts labour diligently, t. B^{er}. vii. 2. Sometimes the gender agrees with the sense, and not with the grammatical form ; especially when removed from the noun : כָּל הָעִירֹת בְּלֶשֶׁת נִכְנְסִים . . . וְלָנִים . . . מְתַכְנְסוֹת all the towns assemble . . . and spend the night . . . enter . . . , Bik. iii. 2 ; עִירֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת קוֹרִין big towns read (*sc.* אֲנֹשִׁי), M^{eg}. i. 2 ; . . . אוֹמְנֵי עוֹשִׂין . . . הַחֲיִיטִין three handicrafts may work . . . tailors . . . , P^{es}. iv. 6 ; בֵּית הַפְּרוּוה וּבִקְרֶשֶׁת הַיְּתֵה the house of Parva, and it was in the holy precincts (*sc.* לְשַׁבַּת), Y^o. iii. 6.

452. When the verb precedes the noun it may, sometimes, be used in an impersonal sense without reference to the gender and number of the following subject : הוֹיֵר מִקְצָתוֹ its portion was made permissible, N^{ed}. ix. 6 ; הִיַעַ עַת the time has reached, T^a. i. 4 ; הָיָה לָהּ שְׁעַת הַבֶּשֶׂר it had a time when it was fit, Z^{eb}. xi. 2 ; but H^{ul}. iv. 7 : הָיְתָה לָהּ שְׁעַת ; יִלְקַח בּוֹ עוֹלוֹת burnt-offerings shall be bought with it, Š^{eq}. vi. 6 ; נָפַל לְתוֹכּוֹ מִשְׁקִין ; נָפַל לְתוֹכּוֹ מֵיִם ; נָפַל לְתוֹכּוֹ מִשְׁקִין there fell into it water, liquids, &c. ; P^a. ix. 1.

3. Sentences expressing an Oath or a Vow.

453. Sentences expressing an oath are introduced by an imprecation followed by אִם, which then assumes a negative force, and by לֵא אִם with an affirmative force, as in BH (Ges.-K.,

§ 149 d). The tense used is the perf. for the past, and the imperf. for the future.

Exx. יהנה פם הפות באחד בניה של אותה אשה אם נהנתי מדינך כלום may poison have enjoyment of one of the children of that woman (the speaker's), if I have enjoyed anything of thy dinar, Git. 35 a = I have not, &c. ; יאפח את בני אם לא ראיתי את שמעון may I cut down my children if I have not seen Simeon, j. Yo. i. 1 (end) = I did see, &c. יבוא עלי אם ראו קורות ביתי שערות ראשי may (some evil) come upon me if the rafters of my house have ever seen the hair of my head, j. Meg. i. 12 = they have never seen, &c. ; יבוא עלי אם נתבוננתי לכך . . . if I intended this, j. So. iii. 3 = I did not intend this. So even after a prayer for a blessing לא אם still has an affirmative force, though really the opposite is meant by the speaker : אראה בנחמה אם לא הרגתי עד זומם may I behold the consolation (of Israel)! I have slain a false witness² ; אראה בנחמה אם לא שפכת דם נקי may I behold the consolation! thou hast shed innocent blood, Mak. 5 b ; San. 37 b ; j. Mak. vii. 11.

454. So with the formula קונם³ : קונם, אם אכלתי, אם שתיתי³ : קונם, I have not eaten, I have not drunk ; . . . לא ראיתי . . . קונם, I have seen . . . , N^d. iii. 2 ; אם ארחץ אם לא ארחץ אם (קונם)⁴ : קונם, I will not wash, I will wash ; I will not adorn myself, I will adorn myself, ib. xi. 1. So אפה (= אם) ק' אי ק' אפה, thou wilt not benefit of mine, BQ ix. 10.⁵

¹ This particular oath was peculiar to R. Tarphon. Later generations disapproved of this form of oath, cf. BM 85^a.

² This is probably a euphemism for a curse = לא אראה בנחמה ; cf. above, הא אראה של אותה אשה, for בני ; so איבי רוד 1 Sam. xx. 16 ; xxv. 22 ; see Driver's notes, *ad loc.*

³ The origin and exact meaning of this word are obscure ; cf. the Lexicons and Cooke, *N Sem. Inscriptions*, pp. 33-4. Perhaps it is a popular word for curse.

⁴ קונם is to be understood ; cf. the paraphrase in the Talmud babil, N^d. 79 b.

⁵ L has ק' שפחה, so also in citation, N^d. 42 a : שפחה. The emendation of Albrecht, § 15 a, is unnecessary.

455. So with the formula שְׁבוּעָה expressed or understood :
 תִּי רָאִיתִי אִם לֹא רָאִיתִי (שְׁבוּעָה) (an oath), I have seen, Š^obu. iii. 8 ; מְשַׁבְּעֵי אֲנִי ;
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר לְךָ אֵלֶיךָ אִם לֹא תָבוֹאוּ וְתַעֲדוּנִי I adjure you to come and give evidence
 for me, ib. iv. 5 ff.

456. Often, however, such sentences are introduced by שֵׁנִי, preceded by various formulae, and construed regularly (like בִּי in BH, e. g. 1 Sam. xiv. 44).

Exx. : וְזוֹ נִשְׁבַּע אֲנִי בְּשֵׁמֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל שְׁאִינִי וְזוֹ I swear by thy great name :
 I will not move, Ta'a. iii. 10 ; נִשְׁבַּע הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שְׁאִינִי גּוֹאֵל אֶתְכֶם the Holy One, blessed be He, swore I will redeem you, So. 13 a ;
 מְשַׁבְּעֵינוּ אֲנִי עָלֶיךָ . . . שְׁלֹא תִשְׁנֶה דָּבָר we adjure thee . . . that thou
 shalt not change anything, Yo. i. 3 ; אָמֵן שְׁלֹא נִמְמַאתִי אָמֵן שְׁלֹא אָמֵן
 אֶמְטִיתִי Amen, I have not been defiled ; Amen, I have not gone
 astray, So. ii. 6 ; אֶמְכַּר אֶת בְּנֵי שָׂוֹי הַלְכָה מְקוּפַחַת may I cut down my
 children : this is a mutilated *halaka*, Oh. xvi. 1 ; Šab. 116 a ;
 לֹא j. Yo. i. 1 ; הָעֵבוּרָה שְׁאֵינִי לְשָׁמַיִם by the Service I will
 shave thee for heaven, Ned. 9 b ; but more frequently הָעֵבוּרָה
 is used as an exclamation in apposition, and without שֵׁנִי : הָעֵבוּרָה
 . . . לֹא חִסְרְתָם וְלֹא הוֹתַרְתָּם . . . you have made it neither less nor
 more, Ber. 34 b ; הָעֵבוּרָה בְּךָ שְׁמַעְתִּי מִרַבִּי . . . thus I heard from
 Rabbi, Y^eb. 32 b.

457. So also are other formulae used in an asseveration as
 exclamations : הַמְּעוֹן הַזֶּה לֹא זָוָה יָדָהּ by this habitation (the Temple) !
 her hand did not move, K^et. ii. 9 ; בְּרִית הֵן הֵן הַדְּבָרִים שֶׁנֶּאֱמָרוּ שְׁנֵאֲמָרוּ
 לְמִשְׁחָה בְּסִינַי by the Covenant ! these are the very words which were
 told to Moses on Sinai, P^es. 38 b ; גַּפְּהָ שֶׁל רוֹמֵי אֵינִי מְנִיחָהּ by the
 Capitol of Rome ! I will not leave thee, M^en. 41 a ; cf. § 305
 חַיֵּיךָ וְחַיֵּי רַאשֵׁיךָ לֹא שָׁעָה זוֹ בְּלִבְדָּךְ by thy life and by the life of thy
 head ! not this hour alone . . . Ber. 3 a.

458. Likewise, שְׁבוּעָה may be followed by שֵׁנִי with the regular
 construction : שְׁבוּעָה שְׁאוּכַל וְשֵׁנִי אֹכֵל שְׁאוּכַל וְשֵׁנִי אֹכֵל אֶכְלֵתִי וְשֵׁנִי אֶכְלֵתִי
 I will eat, I will not eat ; I have eaten, I have not eaten, Š^obu.

special introductory particle: עַד שֶׁבְּחֶבְרוֹן as far as those in Hebron? Yo. iii. 1; בּוּ הִתְרִיתָם בּוּ did you warn him? San. v. 1; לוּ הִייתָ מַחְוִיר לוּ would'st thou have returned to him? Ber. 32 b; so with copulative וְ: לֹא אֶבְכֶּה וְ shall I not weep? ib. 28 b. Especially in long argumentative questions: . . . אִם הֵעֵלוּ חִילִים . . . if common things raised . . . should *teruma* raise . . .? T^{er.} v. 4; . . . אִם אָמַרְתָּ בַפֶּסַח . . . תֹּאמַר בְּנֹבְחִים . . . if thou didst say it in case of the paschal offering . . . wilt thou say . . .? P^{es.} vi. 5.

461. More frequently the interrogative sentence is introduced by a particle. The BH interrogative הֲ is rare in MH, e.g. הֲתַחְמִיר זֶה מִן הַגֶּפֶן wilt thou make this more grave than the vine? Kil. iii. 7; הֲרָאִיתָ הִבְנָה רְאִיתָ did you see like this? RH ii. 8. It is, however, common with לֹא, which is further strengthened by the copulative וְ used in an interrogative force (cf. last §; Ges.-K., § 150 a): וְהֵלֵא יֵשׁ וְהֵלֵא בִּישׁ שְׂאִינֹן מוֹסְקִין but are not there some who do not gather their olives . . .? Pea viii. 1; וְהֵלֵא מִסְפָּר בְּתוֹבָתָהּ נִלְמַד but do we not learn from the text of her marriage settlement? Y^{eb.} xvi. 3; וְהֵלֵא ר' יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָמַר but did not R. Joshua say? B^{er.} 27 b. But frequently the interrogative particle is omitted: לֹא לְמַדְרַנֵּנוּ לֹא didst thou not teach us? B^{er.} ii. 5; לֹא יַעֲלֶה וְיִטְלֶנָּה should he not go up and take it? B^{er.} 53 b; לֹא שָׂדֵה הִיא זֶה is not this a field? 'E^{r.} 53 b.

462. The particle וְכִי, which is rare in BH as an interrogative (Isa. xxxvi. 19; Job xxxix. 27) is very common in MH as introducing a lively question: וְכִי יָדְיוֹ שָׁל מֹשֶׁה עוֹשׂוֹת מַלְחָמָה but was it the hands of Moses that made war? RH iii. 8; וְכִי מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהִיא אַחֲרֶינָה נִשְׁבָּרָה but should she gain because she is last? K^{et.} x. 5; וְכִי כָּל הָעֵצִים כִּשְׂרִים but are all woods fit . . .? Ta. ii. 3. Frequently וְכִי stands even before another interrogative particle to give it greater emphasis: וְכִי הֵיאָה הָעֵנִי הֲזֶה מַחְלִיף but how can this poor man exchange? Pea v. 2; וְכִי מִפְּנֵי מָה אֵין מְסִירִים but wherefore may

they not exchange . . . ? Tem. i. 1 ; וְכִי בְּאִיזוֹ שָׁעָה הַמְּמוֹנֶה בָּא but at what hour does the overseer come ? Tam. i. 2.

463. The interrogative adverb מָה is often used as an introductory particle in long argumentative questions (קַל וְחֹמֶר) :
 מָה אִם הַפֶּסַח . . . חַיִּיב הַזִּבְחִים . . . אִינוּ דִּין שְׁיֵהָא חַיִּיב :
 Passover offering . . . is it not justice that he should be liable . . . ?
 Pes. vi. 5 ; מָה אִם עָצָם בְּשִׁעוּרָה . . . אִינוּ דִּין שְׁיֵהָא נְוִיר מְנַלַּח :
 if a bone like a barley . . . , is it not justice that the Nazirite
 should shave . . . ? Naz. vii. 4 ; שָׂמָא עָשָׂה כְּלוּם . . . וּמָה אֵילוּ מָעָה
 and what ! if he had erred . . . has he done anything ? ib. v. 3, &c.

464. In later MH (not in the Mishna), a question can also be introduced by כְּלוּם (§ 437) :
 כְּלוּם שָׁתִינוּ : have we drunk . . . ?
 כְּלוּם הַבִּירָדָה ר' גַּמְלִיאֵל מַעוֹלָם has Rabban Gamaliel ever known thee ? 'Er. 64 b ;
 יֵשׁ אָדָם שְׂוִירָע : כְּלוּם is there anyone who controverts . . . ? Ber. 27 b ;
 כְּלוּם חֶסֶר לְבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ : is anything needed for the king's house ?
 כְּלוּם יֵשׁ סְעוּדָה בְּלֹא טוֹרַח : is there a feast without effort ? Šab. 153 a ; 89 a ; Pes. 66 a ; 118 b ; Ber. 10 a ; 'Ar. 15 a, &c.

Further, שָׂמָא ('perhaps') :
 שָׂמָא אִינוּ צְרִיךְ לוֹמַר : is it unnecessary to say ? j. Git. i. 1 ;
 שָׂמָא מְנוּרֶשֶׁת הִיא : is she perhaps divorced ? ib. viii. 5 ;
 שָׂמָא כְּלוּם הוּא : is it anything ? j. So. i. 1.

465. An indirect question is construed just like a direct question :
 הַחֲזָן רֹאֶה הֵיכָן הַתִּינוּקוֹת קוֹרִין : the beadle sees where the children read, Šab. i. 3 ;
 בּוֹאוּ וְהִפִּסוּ מִי מַעְלָה . . . : come and cast lots who should bring up . . . , Tam. v. 2 ;
 שְׂמִין אוֹתָהּ בְּמָה : שְׂמִין אוֹתָהּ בְּמָה : they value it how much is it capable of producing, BM ix. 3

466. In a disjunctive question, the first is formed like an ordinary question, the second is introduced by וְכִי מְרֹב :
 וְכִי מְרֹב : אוּ הֵעֱמָרִים יוֹפִי כּוֹחוֹ שָׁל בְּעַל הַבַּיִת אוּ הוֹרַע כּוֹחוֹ :
 is the power of the owner improved because of the multitude of the sheaves, or is it worsened ? Pea vi. 6 ;
 הֲכֹהָה רְאִיתָ אוּ כֹהָה : hast thou seen like this,

sense. It is never found in MH in the derived BH sense: oh, would! (Ges.-K., § 151 b).

470. In later Aggadic diction a wish is also expressed by הָלוֹאִי (= BH לוֹ, § 304): הָלוֹאִי אוֹתִי עֲזַבְנִי וְאֶת תּוֹרַתִּי שָׁמַרְתִּי: would, they had forsaken Me, and kept My Torah, j. Hag. i; הָלוֹאִי יִהְיֶה חֶלְקִי בְּאֶרֶץ: oh, would that my portion were in this land, Gen. R. 39; הָלוֹאִי תִהְיֶה מַעֲלַת חַן לְפָנַי: oh, would that she were graceful before me, ib. 89. הָלוֹאִי also stands at the end of the sentence as an exclamation: טוֹל אוֹתָהּ בְּחִנָּם וְהָלוֹאִי: take it for nothing, oh do! Meg. 14 a.

6. Negative Sentences.

471. The uses of the negative adverbs לֹא, אֵין, אַל follow the same rules as in BH. לֹא is used to negative verbal clauses, while אֵין is used to negative noun clauses. Sometimes, however, participles are negated by לֹא; cf. above, §§ 339-40. אַל is only used with the imperfect to express a negative wish, an exhortation, or a mild prohibition. With ordinary prohibitions, as well as in negative statements with the perfect and imperfect, לֹא is used: אַל תִּהְיֶה כְּעַבְדִּים: be not like servants, Ab. i. 3; אַל תַּעַשׂ עִצְמוֹךָ: make not thyself, ib. 8; לֹא יִקַּל אָדָם אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ: one must not be light-headed (i.e. guilty of levity), Ber. ix. 5.

472. The form בַּל is found for לֹא in citations of Biblical prohibitions: הוּא עוֹבֵר עַל בַּל תִּגְרַע: he transgresses (the command) 'thou shalt not diminish'; הוּא עוֹבֵר עַל בַּל תוֹסִיף . . . 'thou shalt not add' (Deut. xiii. 1); לֹא נִאָּמַר בַּל תוֹסִיף לֹא נִאָּמַר בַּל תִּגְרַע: 'thou shalt not add', 'thou shalt not diminish' was not said, Zeb. viii. 10; כָּל שֶׁהוּא בְּבַל תִּשׁוּב: all that is in (the category of) 'thou shalt not return' (Deut. xxiv. 19), Pea vi. 4 (L. has בַּל for בָּל); אִסּוּר בְּבַל יִרְאֶה וּבְבַל יִמָּצֵא: about which one is prohibited: 'it shall not be seen', and 'it shall not be found' (Exod. xiii. 7; xii. 19); P'es. iii. 3 (L. has בָּל . . . וּבָל); אִסּוּר בְּבַל יִרְאֶה וּבְבַל יִמָּצֵא

prohibited by (the command) 'thou . . .', *ib.* ix. 3. Contrast: **יבוא בלא** he is in (the category of) 'he shall not come'), (*Deut.* xxiii. 3); *Yeb.* iv. 13; **זה הרי זה בלא יחל דברו** lo, this one is in (the category of) 'he shall not profane his word' (*Num.* xxx. 3); *Ned.* ii. 1 (L has **בל** for **בלא**). Perhaps **בל**, **בבל** is not a genuine grammatical form, but merely a scribal contraction for **בל = בלא**.

473. The negative is sometimes repeated to add emphasis: **אין להם לא כף ולא כף** they have not, either so or so, *Šab.* 26 a; **לא עשה ולא כלום** he has done nothing at all, *Pes.* 89 b; *Ned.* 7 b. Emphasis is also expressed by **כל עיקר** at the end of the clause; **אינו מערב כל עיקר** he does not make an 'erub at all 'Er. iii. 6; **אין משגיחין . . . כל עיקר** one must not observe . . . at all, *Be.* iii. 6.

474. In a series of parallel verbs, the negative is sometimes expressed only with the first verb, but its force is extended also to the following verbs, as in BH (cf. *Ges.-K.*, § 152 z): **לא יקוב . . . וימלאנה . . . ויהננה** one must not perforate . . . and fill it . . . and place it . . ., *Šab.* ii. 4; **לא יקשור . . . וימשוך** one must not bind . . . and draw, *ib.* v. 3; 'Er. x. 5, 6, 9; **אין משקין ושוחטין** one may not give to drink nor slay . . ., *Be.* v. 7.

475. **שפא** is used, like **פן** in BH, to introduce a clause after a verb of fear or caution, expressed or implied, and is then equivalent to a negative: **היה ירא שפא תהעבר** he was afraid, lest it be intercalated (= **שלא**), 'Er. iii. 7; **שפא . . . ילמדו לשקר** . . . be careful . . . that they should not learn . . . to lie, *Ab.* i. 9, 11; **תנעו שפא תהירו** take care that you touch not, *Hag.* iii. 8 (L; edd. **שלא**); **שפא יקלקלו** (for fear) lest they spoil, *Hul.* i. 1; **שפא יקדים קנה לושט** (for fear) lest the windpipe come before the gullet, *Ta'a.* 5 b.

476. Note.—In colloquial speech, viz. in vows, **לא** was sometimes joined with the following noun almost like a preposition: **לא חולין = לחולין** *Ned.* i. 3; **לא קרבן = לקרבן** *ib.* 4 (L has

לא חולין, לא קרבן; but cf. the discussion in N^od. 11 a, b; 13 b, and the comment of R. Nissim on N^od. i. 3. In ii. 1, L also has (לא חולין = לחולין).

7. Relative Clauses.

477. The construction of relative clauses has already been described in the treatment of שׁ (§ 420 f.). Here we may add that sometimes a relative clause stands in apposition to the noun it qualifies, and without שׁ: לא זו היא דרך מציאתו מירי עברה: שׁ this is not the way that brings him out of the power of a transgression, Y^ob. xv. 6, 7; יש בו דרכים שונה לחיה; it has ways in which it is like a (wild) animal, Bik. ii. 8; אין לו מי יתירנו; it has none that will make it permissible, Men. iv. 3 (cf. § 422). Perhaps here belong also cases with the demonstrative before the noun when followed by a verb: שׁהעיר = זו ערות העיר; שׁרש = זה מדרש דרש; cf. above, § 411.

8. Circumstantial Clauses.

478. The circumstances attending an action, or the subject or object of an action, are usually expressed by a dependent clause. Such a clause may be a simple relative clause, or, more frequently, a relative or other clause under the government of a preposition. Exx.: יושבים שלא מסופכים sitting without being supported, Kel. ii. 2; אין טמנים . . . בעשבים בוכן שהם לחים one may not hide . . . in grass when it is moist, Šab. iv. 1; נולד כשהוא he was born circumcized, Šab. 135 a; חולץ תפילין ברחוק; R. Tarphon entered without intention, 'Er. iv. 4; ר' אפואת ר' אפואת he removes the *tephillin* at a distance of four cubits, B^{er}. 23 a.

Sometimes a participle or adjective in apposition will express a circumstance: קורא עומד; קוצה חלטה ערומה; cf. § 357.

479. More frequently, however, the circumstantial clause is

co-ordinated with the principal clause either with the copulative ו, or without.

(i) Without the copula: שָׁאוֹר . . . שָׁנְפָלוּ . . . לֹא בָנָה כְּדֵי לְחַמֵּץ leaven . . . that fell . . . there not being sufficient to leaven, Or. ii. 11, 14, 15; וְהָיָה רְחוּק לֹא אֲמוֹת אֹמְרִים לוֹ . . . הָיָה רְחוּק when he was 10 cubits distant . . . they would say to him, San. vi. 3; וְלֵדָה עוֹדָה בָּא לוֹ . . . הִסְנֵן she gave birth while still a slave, viii. 1; בָּא לוֹ . . . הִסְנֵן בְּיָמֵינוּ he came . . . the deputy at his right, Yo. iii. 9; so Šab. i. 1; Pes. viii. 1, &c.

(ii) With copula: בָּא לוֹ אֶעֱלֶה פָּרוֹ וּפְרוֹ הָיָה עוֹמֵר he came to his bullock, the bullock standing, Yo. iii. 8; בֵּית הַפְּרוֹוָה וּבִכְרָשׁ הָיְתָה ib. 6; מְצִאָנָה וְהִיא קְטִינָה she can repudiate while a minor, Yeb. xiii. 1; נִפְלְאוּ עֲלֵיהֶם מְפֹלֵת וְהֵם מְנוּלִים earth fell upon them while (the leaves) were bare, Ma'a. v. 2; מְכַסֶּה וְעוֹדָה בְּבֵית אָבִיהָ he covers her while she is still in her father's house, Ket. vi. 5; vii. 8; Nid. x. 1; נוֹטֵל אֶדָם אֶת בְּנוֹ וְהָאֶבֶן בְּיָדוֹ one may carry his son with a stone in his (the son's) hand, Šab. xxi. 1; חֶלֶב שֶׁחִלְבוּ גוֹי וְאִין חֶלֶב שֶׁחִלְבוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל milk which a heathen has milked without an Israelite watching him, 'AZ ii. 9, 10.

480. For the sake of emphasis, a circumstantial clause can precede its principal clause: עוֹרְדוֹ הַסֵּל עַל כְּתָפוֹ קוֹרֵא he reads while the basket is still on his shoulder, Bik. iii. 6; מִצָּה עַל צְדָה וְהִיא מִצָּה עַל צְדָה it falls off as he tilts it on its side, Šab. xxi. 2; iv. 2; הוּא נוֹטֵל אֶת הַגְּלִילִים וְהַחֲרָטִים נוֹפְלִים the potsherds fall, when he takes away the dung, Kel. iii. 4. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., §§ 116 v, 142 e; Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.

9. Causal Clauses.

481. A clause giving the reason of a preceding or following sentence can be introduced by a variety of conjunctions.

By the fossilized verb הוּאִיל, followed by the copula (§ 302, note): הוּאִיל וְנִרְאָה כְּתַבְנִית הַכְּרָמִים הָרִי וְהַ כָּרֵם because it looks like the

shape of a vineyard, it is a vineyard, Kil. v. 1; הוֹאִיל וְלֹא הָיְתָה : לא שָׁאִין, שָׁאִין, שָׁאִין, שָׁאִין since his intention was not for this, 'Er. iv. 4.

482. By שֶׁ- for on wine he says, Ber. vi. 1; שֶׁלֹּא נִחָשְׁדוּ because they are not suspected, Šebi. ix. i; שֶׁאִינוּ יָכוּל לֹמַר for he cannot say, Bik. i. 4; לֹא שָׁחֲזוּ : לא שָׁחֲזוּ because they needed them, RH ii. 6.

By שֶׁ- combined with other conjunctions: מִכְבֶּה שֶׁהוּא מִכְבֶּה because he extinguishes, Šab. iii. 6; מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהֵן לִירוּקָה because they are for jaundice, ib. xiv. 3; מִפְּנֵי שֶׁלֹּא שָׁווּ because they are not equal, ib. vii. 4. Before a noun מִפְּנֵי stands as *regens* without שֶׁ- : מִפְּנֵי בִיטוּל בֵּית הַמְדָרָשׁ because of the neglect of the house of study, ib. xvi. 1; מִפְּנֵי הַכְּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה because of what is written in the Torah, Bik. i. 3.

לְפִי שֶׁאִינוּ מֵן הַמּוּכָן : לְפִי שֶׁ- because it is not prepared, Šab. iii. 6; לְפִי שֶׁאִינוּ מֵאֲכָל בְּרִיאִים because it is not the food of healthy persons, ib. xiv. 3.

מֵאֲחַר שֶׁיָּכוּלִים : מֵאֲחַר שֶׁ- because both are able, BM x. 6; לָנוּ מֵאֲחַר שֶׁהֵעֵרַת לָנוּ since thou hast testified to us, Yeb. vii. 3.

בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁאֲנִי זָכָר הַפְּסָדְתִי : בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁ- because I am a male should I lose! BB ix. 1; בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁצָּנְעָנִי זֶה הָרָאָה בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ because this Canaanite has shown with his finger, So. 46 a.

עַל שֶׁהִרְגָה אֶת הַנֶּפֶשׁ : עַל שֶׁ- because he slew a person, 'Ed. vi. 1.

עַל שֶׁשָּׂחַח הַקַּב"ה : עַל שֶׁ- because the Holy One, blessed be He, passed over. Pes. x. 5; עַל שֶׁשָּׂחַח הַקַּב"ה : עַל שֶׁ- because they were redeemed, they embittered, ib.

מֵשׁוּם שֶׁאָמַר : מֵשׁוּם שֶׁ- because it is said, Bik. i. 2.

10. Conditional Sentences.

483. The construction of conditional sentences in MH follows in the main the principles of similar sentences in BH (Ges.-K., § 159).

The great variety of these sentences may be classified under two heads: those without an introductory particle, and those with an introductory particle.

484. (i) Without an introductory particle.

The relation between the protasis and the apodosis can be expressed by mere juxtaposition. This happens only when the condition is conceived as already fulfilled. The verb in the protasis is always the perfect; in the apodosis it is usually a participle, but sometimes a perfect. But when a command or prohibition is implied, the apodosis takes the imperfect (cf. above, § 310).

Exx.: נמצא הגנב משלם תשלומי כפל, טבח ומכר משלם ד' וה' if the thief has been found, he pays a double payment; if he slew it, or sold it, he pays four- or five-fold, BM iii. 1; נגמר הדין מוציאין אותו when the case is finished, they lead him forth, San. vi. 1; יצא . . . ולא קרא ולא דקדק באותיותיה . . . if he read, but was not careful in (the enunciation of) its letters . . . he has discharged his duty, Ber. ii. 3; קרא וטעה יחזור if he read and made a mistake, he must return . . . , ib.; לא יפסיק לא יפסיק if he recollected that he had an issue, he should not stop, ib. iii. 5; לא יפסוק מבעוד יום לא יפסוק מבעוד יום if he did not cover it while it was day, he must not cover it after it has become dark, Šab. iv. 2.

Here may be mentioned the sentences with an indefinite subject, such as a determinate participle, or מי שֶׁ, especially with Nominative Absolute, which are equivalent to a conditional sentence in English; cf. §§ 436, 442.

485. (ii) With an introductory particle.

אם. אם introduces a condition that has already been fulfilled in the past or that is capable of fulfilment in the present or future. In the first case, the protasis always takes the perfect, since the condition has already been fulfilled. The apodosis takes the perfect, if its act lies in the past; the participle, if the act lies

in the present or the future, and the imperfect, if a command is implied.

Exx. : **אם בִּינּוֹ לְבוּ יֵצֵא** if he directed his attention, he has discharged his duty, Ber. ii. 1 ; **אם נִתְרַפָּא נִתְרַפָּא** if he was healed, he was healed (then it does not matter), Šab. xxii. 6 ; **אם מִיאָנָה מִיאָנָה** if she has repudiated (her marriage), then it is a repudiation, Yeb. xiii. 7 ; **אם בָּא לְהוֹסִיף מוֹסִיף** if he has come to add, he may add, Šab. 51 a ; **אם לֹא עָלָה עֶמֶד הַשַּׁחַר חִיבִין אֲתָם** if dawn has not risen, you are bound to . . . Ber. i. 1 ; with the apodosis first : **אם לֹא הָבִיא כְּלֵי מַעְרַב שֶׁבֶת חֲתָן פָּטוּר . . . אם לֹא עָשָׂה מַעֲשֵׂה** a bridegroom is absolved . . . if he has not performed the act, ib. ii. 5 ; **אם לֹא הָבִיא כְּלֵי מַעְרַב שֶׁבֶת מְבִיאוֹ בַשַּׁבָּת** if he has not brought the instrument on the eve of the Sabbath, he may bring it on the Sabbath, Šab. xix. 1 ; **אם מֵת רְאִיתָ תִּלְמִיד יִנְיחוּהוּ** if dead, they must leave him, Yo. viii. 7 ; **אם רְאִיתָ חֶכֶם שֶׁעָבַר עֲבֵרָה . . . אַל תִּהְרַהֵר . . .** if thou hast seen a scholar commit a transgression . . . do not think . . . , Ber. 19 a.

486. When the condition has not been fulfilled, but is capable of fulfilment in the present or the future, the protasis takes the participle, or, less frequently, an imperfect, or even a perfect in the sense of a *futurum exactum* (cf. § 313). The apodosis takes a participle, or an imperfect when a command is implied, or even an imperative.

Exx. : **אם רָצָה לְקֹרֵא קוֹרֵא** if he wishes to read . . . , he may read, Ber. ii. 8 ; **אם יְכוּלִין לְהִתְחִיל . . . יִתְחִילוּ** if they are able to begin . . . let them begin, ib. iii. 2 ; **אם אֵינוֹ יְכוּל לִירַד יִחוּר אֶת פָּנָיו** if he cannot go down, then he should turn his face, ib. iv. 5 ; **אם תִּקְנִיטֵנִי גּוֹזְרִי אֲחַרְתִּי צֹאוּ וְשַׁחֲטוּ עָלַי** if thou wilt provoke me, I shall decree . . . , Šab. 17 a ; **אם אֲחַרְתִּי צֹאוּ וְשַׁחֲטוּ עָלַי** if I shall have been late, go forth and slay for me, Pes. ix. 9.

487. Both protasis and apodosis can consist of a noun clause, as in some of the examples above ; further : **אם תְּרוּמָתָם אֵין תְּרוּמָתָם** if they did tithe, it is not *teruma*, T'er. i. 1 ; **אם אֵין רְצוּנוֹ**

הַיָּהוָה בְּעִבְרָה זָרָה מִפְּנֵי מָה אֵינוּ מְבַטְלֶיהָ if his wish is against idolatry, why does he not abolish it, 'AZ iv. 7.

488. The subject of the apodosis is sometimes resumed by אִם יֵשׁ לָהֶם עָלָיו מְזוֹנוֹת הָרִי : (cf. § 443) with the demonstrative (cf. § 443) : אִם יֵשׁ לָהֶם עָלָיו מְזוֹנוֹת הָרִי : אִם יֵשׁ לָהֶם עָלָיו מְזוֹנוֹת הָרִי if they have (to receive) from him food, lo, these shall not eat, Ma'a. iii. 1 ; וְאִם מְתַחֵשֵׁב הוּא הָרִי זֶה לֹא יִרְחוּץ if he claims importance, lo, this one shall not wash, Šebi. viii. 11.

489. An alternative condition in the negative is expressed by אִם בְּיָוֵן לְבָבוֹ but if not, without the repetition of the verb : אִם בְּיָוֵן לְבָבוֹ but if not, without the repetition of the verb : אִם בְּיָוֵן לְבָבוֹ . . . וְאִם לֹא לֹא יִתְחִילוּ . . . וְאִם לֹא לֹא יִצְאָהּ Ber. ii. 1 ; אִם בְּיָוֵן לְבָבוֹ . . . וְאִם לֹא לֹא יִדְעֵנִי if my prayer is fluent in my mouth . . . but if not, I know . . . , ib. v. 5.

490. אִילוּ, אִילוּ לֹא, if the condition is represented as not fulfilled. The protasis takes the perfect, the apodosis takes the perfect if the consequence lies in the past, and the imperfect, if the consequence lies in the future : אִילוּ הָיִיתִי יוֹדֵעַ . . . לֹא הָיִיתִי נֹדֵד if I had known . . . I would not have vowed, Ned. ix. 2, 4, 5 ; אִילוּ הָיִיתָ עוֹמֵד . . . הָיִיתָ מַחְזִיר לוֹ wouldst thou have returned . . . ? Ber. 32 b ; אִילוּ לֹא הָיִיתָ שָׂרְפָה if burning had not been heavier, it would not have been given . . . , San. ix. 3 ; אִילוּ אָנִי פָּסַקְתִּי לְעַצְמִי אֵשֶׁב עַד שֶׁיִּלְבֵּין רֹאשִׁי if I had fixed it for myself, then I would sit till my head has become white, Ket. xiii. 5.

491. אִלְמָלָא (or אִלְמָלִי), אִלְמָלָא לֹא ; אִילוּ in Palestinian texts (cf. § 302). Like אִילוּ, these conjunctions introduce a condition that has not been fulfilled. The verb is in the perfect, both in the protasis and apodosis : אִלְמָלָא הָיִיתָ בֶּן זַבְאִי אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ . . . לֹא הָיָה if the son of Zakkai had shot his head . . . , they would have taken no notice of him, Ber. 34 b ; אִלְמָלָא לֹא נִתְּנָה תּוֹרָה הָיִינוּ if the Torah had not been given, we would have learnt

¹ Cf. BH אִם לֹא Gen. xxiv. 39 ; 1 Sam. ii. 16 ; אִם אִין Gen. xxx. 1 ; Exod. xxxii. 32.

chastity, &c., 'Er. 100 b ; אֶלְמָלָא כְעַסְתִּי לֹא נִשְׁתַּיֵּיר if I had been angry, there would not have remained . . . , Ber. 19 a ; אֶלְמָלָא לֹא דֵינּוּ . . . עָלֵינוּ אָלָא לְאָכּוּל . . . if we had come up only to eat . . . it would have been sufficient for us, Pes. 8 b. When introducing a noun clause, אֶלְמָלָא (or אֶלְמָלִי) has the sense of 'if not': אֶלְמָלָא (אֶלְמָלִי) לֹא יִחַלְּמוּ אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ חַיִּים בְּלִעּוּ if not the fear of it, they would have swallowed each other alive, Ab. ii. 2 ; אֶלְמָלָא אֹהֲבֵי וְהָ . . . if not this my friend . . . I would have killed thee, Ber. 32 a ; 58 b ; אֶלְמָלָא חוֹנֵי אַתָּה חוֹנֵי עָלֶיךָ if thou wert not Honi I would have decreed against thee, Ta'a. 19 a ; Pes. 53 a ; אֶלְמָלָא הוּא נִגְנוּ סֵפֶר יְחֻזָּא לֹא בְרָא . . . אֶלְמָלָא (אֶלְמָלִי) but for it, he would not have created . . . , Ned. iii. 11 (end) ; San. 49 a ; 63 a.¹

402. Hypothetical sentences can also be introduced by other conjunctions. Thus, בְּזֶמַן שֶׁ-עָלּוּ לָהֶם מִזֹּנוֹת : בְּזֶמַן שֶׁ- when (if) they have not to receive from him food, Ma'a. iii. 1 ; בְּזֶמַן שֶׁ- when (if) they are moist, Šab. iv. 1 ; בְּשִׁיחֵי הַדִּין : בְּשִׁיחֵי when litigants stand before thee, let them be, Ab. i. 8 ; לֹא יִחַלְּמוּ אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ חַיִּים בְּלִעּוּ if I shall have a son, Naz. ii. 7 ; אִם בְּשִׁאמְרוּ : אִם even when they said, ib. 1 ; אֶפְלוּ יָכוּל תְּקַפָּה עָלָיו מִשְׁנָתוֹ : אֶפְלוּ even if his study was too hard for him, Ab. iii. 8 ; אֶפְלוּ צִטְט אֹמְרִים : אֶפְלוּ even if 99 say to divide, Pea iv. 1.

11. Concessive Clauses.

403. A concessive clause can be introduced by the simple copula : נִשְׁבַּתִּי וְטַהוֹרָה אָנִי I was taken captive, nevertheless I am pure, Ket. ii. 6 , וְהוּן מִתְּפַרְנְסִין . . . רְאִיתָ מִימֶיךָ . . . yet

¹ Against Tossaphot, Meg. 21 a, Kohut i, p. 98 f., who make a distinction between אֶלְמָלָא and אֶלְמָלִי. Cf. also Lambert, *REJ.*, ix, p. 273 ff.; Jastrow, *ibid.*, xi, p. 151 f.; Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, i, p. 250 f.

496. A comparative clause is also introduced by כְּמֹת שֶׁ (כְּמוֹ שֶׁ) : כְּמֹת שֶׁהוּא לְמוֹד as he is accustomed, T^{er}. iv. 3 ; כְּמֹת שֶׁהַחַנּוּנִי לֹאֲכַח וְלֹא כְּמֹת שֶׁהוּא מוֹכֵר as the shop-keeper buys, and not as he sells, MŠ iv. 2. By וְכֵן חֲבִית שֶׁל שֶׁמֶן שֶׁנִּשְׁפָּכָה : וְכֵן likewise, a jar of oil that was spilled, T^{er}. xi. 7 ; וְכֵן בִּיּוֹצֵא בָהֶם בְּשֹׂאֵר שְׁנֵי שָׁבִיעַ and similarly in the other years of the Seven, Š^{ebi}. iv. 8, 9.

497. A more complete agreement is expressed when the two members of the comparison are both introduced by correlative conjunctions. The following correlatives are found :

כְּכֵן . . . כֵּן כְּזִירֵי דָה וּכְפִיּוּלָהּ שֶׁל חֲמִשִּׁית כֶּף שֶׁל שֵׁשִׁית : כֵּן . . . כֶּף just like the thinning and trimming of the fifth, so of the sixth, Š^{ebi}. ii. 3 ; כְּעוֹנְתוֹ לְמַעֲשָׂוֹת כֶּף עוֹנְתוֹ לְשִׁבְעִית as their season for tithes, so their season for the seventh year, ib. iv. 9. These correlatives are used with nouns only.

כְּשֵׁם שֶׁאָמְרוּ לְהַחֲמִיר כֶּף אָמְרוּ לְהַקֵּל : כְּשֵׁם שֶׁ . . . כֶּף as they said to make it heavy, so they said to make it light, Kil. ii. 2 ; כְּשֵׁם שֶׁחֹלְקִין כֶּף בְּתַבְאָה כֶּף חֹלְקִין בְּתַבָּן divide the straw, BM ix. 1 ; כְּשֵׁם שֶׁהוֹצֵאתִי . . . כֶּף תִּבְנִימֵי as thou hast brought me forth . . . so shalt thou bring me in, Ber. 48 b. Sometimes כֶּף is omitted : כְּשֵׁם שֶׁדִּינְתִי . . . הַמְּקוֹם יִדִּין כְּשֵׁם שֶׁדִּינְתִי . . . הַמְּקוֹם יִדִּין אֹתְךָ as thou hast judged me . . . may the Almighty judge thee ; כְּשֵׁם שֶׁדִּינְתִי . . . הַמְּקוֹם יִדִּין אֶתְכֶם Š^{ab}. 127 b.

כְּשֵׁם שֶׁהוּא מִדֵּל בְּתוֹךְ שְׁלוֹ בֵּן הוּא מִדֵּל בְּשֵׁל עֲנָבִים : כְּשֵׁם שֶׁ . . . בֵּן just as he thins out among his own, so he thins out of the poor, Pea vii. 5. After a long protasis, the comparison is resumed by means of the copula : וְכֵן . . . כְּשֵׁם שֶׁאָמְרוּ הַפּוֹנְקֹת כְּתוֹבְתָהּ לֹא תִפְרַע . . . וְכֵן just as they said (that) she who damages the bill of her marriage settlement shall not be paid . . . so orphans shall not be paid . . . , Š^{ebu}. vii. 7.

כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁאִין מְמַלְקִין בְּרְשׁוֹת הַרְבִּים כֶּף לֹא יִתְקַן : כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ . . . כֶּף just as one must not cause damage in a public thoroughfare, so must not one repair therein, Š^{ebi}. iii. 10.

בְּעֵינָיו שֶׁהוּא מְבָרֵךְ כִּדְ עוֹנִין אַחֲרָיו : בְּעֵינָיו שׁ . . . כִּדְ according as he pronounces the benediction, so they respond after him, B^{er.} vii. 3.

498. The apodosis may come first for special emphasis, and then the protasis alone has the conjunction : חַיֵּב אָדָם לְבָרֵךְ עַל הָרָעָה : כְּשֵׁם שֶׁהוּא מְבָרֵךְ עַל הַטּוֹבָה one is bound to bless (God) for evil, as one blesses Him for good, B^{er.} ix. 5 ; נוֹהֵג בְּתְרוּמָה כְּדָרְךָ שֶׁהוּא נוֹהֵג one behaves towards *teruma*, just as one behaves towards common things, T^{er.} xi. 5 ; *Šebi.* iv. 1.

499. An argument to prove a similarity between two cases is introduced by the exclamatory מָה in the protasis, and אִם in the apodosis : מָה הַטְּהוֹרָה עוֹלָה אִם הַטְּמֵאָה תֵעָלֶה what ! the pure rises, also the impure shall rise = just as . . . so . . . , T^{er.} v. 4 ; מָה הַנְּדָה מְטַמְּאָה בְּמִשְׂא אִם עֲבוֹרָה זָרָה מְטַמְּאָה בְּמִשְׂא what ! the menstruous defiles by carrying, also the idol defiles by carrying, AZ iii. 6.

500. In an argument from the minor to the major (מִלְ וְחִמְרָ), the protasis is introduced by מָה אִם, the apodosis by דִּין הוּא : מָה אִם . . . מְקוֹם שְׂאִין כִּהֵן הַדְּיוּט מְטַמֵּא . . . דִּין הוּא שְׂלֵא יִהְיֶה כִּהֵן גְּדוּל מְטַמֵּא what ! if . . . where a private priest may not defile himself . . . it is justice that the High Priest should not defile himself, Sifre Num. vi. 6. But more often the apodosis is put in a rhetorical question in the negative : מָה אִם שְׁחִיטָה . . . דוֹחָה אֶת הַשַּׁבָּת אֵלָיו . . . לֹא יִדְחוּ what ! if slaughtering . . . overrides the Sabbath, these . . . , should they not override the Sabbath? P^{es.} vi. 2 ; especially with מָה אִם הַפֶּסַח . . . חַיֵּיב הַזִּבְחִים . . . אֵינוֹ דִּין שְׁיֵהָא חַיֵּיב : אֵינוֹ דִּין what ! if the Passover sacrifice . . . he is liable, the sacrifices . . . , is it not justice that he should be liable? ib. 5 ; N^{ed.} x. 6 ; Naz. vii. 4 ; So. vi. 3, &c. The apodosis may also take the phrase מִדְ אִם הָעוֹבֵר עֲבָרָה : עַל אַחַת בְּפָה וְכַפָּה before the predicate : מִדְ אִם הָעוֹשֶׂה מְצוּה אַחַת עַל אַחַת בְּפָה וְכַפָּה שֶׁחֲנָתוֹ לוֹ נִפְשׁוּ what ! if one who commits one transgression . . . , one who performs one command, how much more so should his life be given to him?

Mak. iii. 15; וְמָה אִם הַדָּם . . . גִּזְלָה וְעֵרְוָה . . . עַל אַחַת בְּפֶה וּבְפֶה שְׂיִיבָה what! if blood . . . robbery and incest . . ., how much more so should he secure merit . . ., ib.; ib. i. 7; Ab. vi. 3, &c.; or, finally in later diction, by the rhetorical negative question, placed at the end as a predicate, לֹא כָּל שֵׁשֶׁן is not everything (in its favour) that it should be so? : לֹא : בְּשֵׁהוּא שְׂבַע מְבָרָךְ בְּשֵׁהוּא רָעַב לֹא : כָּל שֵׁשֶׁן if he blesses when he is full, when he is hungry all the more so, Ber. 48 b, &c.¹

13. Disjunctive Clauses.

501. A clause giving an alternative case is co-ordinated with the preceding clause with or without the copula, but only in the case of very short clauses : נִקְלַף נִסְדַּק נִיבַב וְחָסַר כָּל שֵׁהוּא if it was peeled, or cracked, or perforated, or had something missing, Suk. iii. 6, 1, 2; גָּנַלְתִּיךָ וְהִלִּיתִנִי וְהִפְקַדְתָּ אֶצְלִי I robbed thee, or thou didst lend me, or thou didst deposit with me, BQ x. 7; so with adjectives : בִּשְׂרָ צֵלִי שְׁלוּק וּמְבוּשָׁל roast, or seethed, or cooked meat, Pes. x. 4. But a longer clause is introduced by או : או שְׁהָהּ אָחָד רוֹכֵב וְאָחָד מְנְהִיג two were riding . . ., or one was riding and one leading, BM i. 2.

502. Two or more alternative cases may be introduced by correlative conjunctions, as follows :

או . . . או either . . . or : או חוֹלְצֶת או מְתִיבֶמֶת she either takes *haliṣa*, or she is married to her deceased husband's brother, Y^{eb}. iii. 3; iv. 5, 6; או אֵינוּ מְעָרֵב . . . או מְעָרֵב he either makes an 'erub . . . or he does not make an 'erub, 'Er. iii. 9; או לָחִי או קוֹרֵה either a board or a beam, ib. i. 2.

לֹא אוֹכְלִין וְלֹא שׂוֹרְפִין neither . . . nor; לֹא . . . וְלֹא they neither eat, nor burn, Pes. i. 5; Y^{eb}. xi. 2; cf. § 339 (ii).

אִם . . . אִם whether . . . or; cf. § 466. אִם הַיּוֹם אִם לְמָחָר whether to-day or to-morrow, 'Er. iii. 9.

¹ Cf. Bacher, *Aelteste Terminologie*, p. 172 f.

אָהר שֶׁהוּן בָּסֶף וְאָהר שֶׁהוּן whether . . . or : אָהר שֶׁ . . . וְאָהר שֶׁ- whether they are silver or whether they are fruit, MS v. 7. This is especially common before nominal forms without שֶׁ- : אָהר שֶׁהוּן בּוֹ שׁוּגַג וְאָהר מִזִּיד whether in error or intentionally, Ab. iv. 4 ; אָהר הָאוֹכֵל וְאָהר הַשׁוֹתֶה וְאָהר הַסֶּף anoints, T^{er}. vi. 1. Sometimes אָהר is expressed before the first case only : אָהר הַחֹפֵר בּוֹר שִׁיחַ וְמַעְרָה whether one digs a pit, or a ditch, or a cave, BQ v. 5.

בֵּין שֶׁיֵּשׁ בּוֹ . . . בֵּין שֶׁאֵין בּוֹ : בֵּין שֶׁ . . . בֵּין שֶׁ- whether it has in it . . . or it has not in it . . . 'Or. ii. 6, 7 ; בֵּין שֶׁנִּרְאָה בְּעֵלִיל וּבֵין שֶׁלֹּא בְּעֵלִיל whether it was seen clearly, or not, RH i. 5 ; with nominal forms without שֶׁ-, except before a negative (cf. § 425) : בֵּין עוֹשִׂין וּבֵין מֵעַל גְּבִיזוֹ whether within, or above, Šab. iii. 2 ; בֵּין שֶׁאֵין עוֹשִׂין whether they produce, or not, Šebi. i. 4.

בְּעַמִּים שֶׁהוּא . . . בְּעַמִּים שֶׁ- . . . וּבְעַמִּים שֶׁ- sometimes . . . sometimes : בְּעַמִּים שֶׁאֵתָה מְתַעֵלִם וּבְעַמִּים שֶׁאֵין ; בְּעַמִּים שֶׁהוּא אִשָּׁה sometimes thou mayest hide thyself, and sometimes not, BM 30 a. Before nominal forms without שֶׁ- : בְּעַמִּים מְכוּרִים : בְּעַמִּים שֶׁאֵין מְכוּרִים sometimes they are sold, sometimes not, BB v. 2. Also או . . . אוּ . . . בְּעַמִּים שֶׁ- : אוּ . . . אוּ מְקַרִּיאַת הַבֶּבֶר אוּ סְמוּךְ לוֹ : בְּעַמִּים שֶׁ- . . . אוּ sometimes he comes with the crowing of the cock, sometimes near it, Tam. i. 2.

14. Adversative, Exceptive, and Restrictive Clauses.

503. A clause-expressing the antithesis to a preceding clause can be introduced by the simple copula : מֵת וְהוּא שֶׁשָּׁבַר (he said) it had died, but really it was broken, Šebu. viii. 2 f., 6 ff. ; הָעוֹף הָעוֹלָה עִם הַבִּינָה . . . וְאֵינוֹ נֹאכֵל . . . but is not eaten, 'Ed. v. 2 ; הַיָּבֵב . . . וְהַשְּׂחִיחַ . . . מוֹתְרִין they are permitted . . . , but he who slays . . . is liable, P^{es}. vi. 5.

More frequently, an antithesis is introduced by אָבֵל or אֵלֵא.

אָבֵל introduces a co-ordinated sentence which contains a new

case in opposition to the foregoing: **לֹא יַתִּיר אֶת סוּכּוֹתוֹ אֲבָל מוֹרִיד** he must not undo his tabernacle, but he may take down the things, Suk. iv. 8; **אִין נֹחַתֵּינן לְתַלוּיָהּ בְּשַׁבַּת אֲבָל נֹחַתֵּינן** one may not put (wine) into a hanging (strainer) on the Sabbath, but one may put . . . on the Festival, Šab. xx. 1; **יָדַעְתִּי אֲנִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ נְזִירֹת אֲבָל אֲנִי יוֹדַע שֶׁהַנְּזִיר אָסוּר בְּיָיִן** I know that there is the state of the Nazirite, but I do not know that the Nazirite is forbidden the use of wine, Naz. ii. 4; MŠ iii. 1; B^r. iii. 5; 'Er. ii. 3, &c.

504. **אֲלָא** is but rarely used like **אֲבָל** to introduce an adversative sentence: . . . **כָּל כֹּהֵן שֶׁאֵינוֹ שׁוֹלֵל חוּטֵא אֲלָא שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים דָּרְשׁוּ** any priest that does not pay the shekel is a sinner; however, the priests expound . . ., Š^eq. i. 4; **הִיא כְּדַבְּרֵיךָ אֲלָא אָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים** it would be as thou sayest, but the sages have said, B^ek. iii. 1; with a mild adversative (like !): **עַל הַחֲדָשִׁים אֲנִי בּוֹשִׁין אֲלָא שֶׁאַתֶּם מְגַלְגְּלִין עָלֵינוּ אֵת** we are ashamed of the new ones, and you roll upon us also the old ones, K^et. viii. 1; BB ix. 10.

505. More often **אֲלָא** introduces an exceptive or restrictive clause: **כָּל הַזִּבְחִים . . . בְּשָׂרִים אֲלָא שְׁלֵא עָלוּ לְבַעֲלִים לְשֵׁם חוֹבָה** all sacrifices . . . are proper, except that they do not rise for the owner to the category of a duty (discharged, &c.), Z^eb. i. 1; M^en. i. 1; **הַמְּזִרָה מֵהֶם בִּיּוֹצֵא בָהֶם אֲלָא שֶׁהַמְּזִרָה נֶאֱכָל** what is lifted from them (for the priests) is like them, except that what is lifted may be eaten, Z^eb. v. 6, 7; **הָרִי אֵת מוֹתֶרֶת לְכָל אָדָם אֲלָא לְאִישׁ פְּלוּגִי** lo, thou art free to marry any man, except so and so, Git. ix. 1, 2.

506. In this exceptive or restrictive sense, **אֲלָא** is very widely used after a negative (as in Aram. and **אִם פִּי אִם** in BH, Ges.-K., § 163 a, f.).¹ The negative with **אֲלָא** may usually be rendered in English by an affirmative with 'only': **לֹא הָיוּ אֲלָא שְׁנַיִם** they had

¹ This use of **אֲלָא** after a negative is already found in BH with **לֹא אִם**, the equivalent of **אֲלָא** (§ 302), Gen. xxiv. 37-8; Ps. cxxx. 1-2. Cf. also the French *ne . . . que*.

been only two, Yo. iii. 10; $\text{לֹא נִעְנְעוּ אֶלְמָא בַּר}$ they only shook at . . . , Suk. iii. 9; $\text{לֹא תִפְרַע אֶלְמָא בְּשִׁבּוּעָה}$ she, too, shall be paid only by oath, Ket. x. 5; $\text{אִין . . . אִין נוֹשְׁקִין אֶלְמָא . . . אִין חוֹתְבִין אֶלְמָא . . . יוֹעֲצִין אֶלְמָא}$ they only cut . . . ; they only kiss . . . ; they only consult . . . , Ber. 8 b (§ 329).

507. אֶלְמָא is sometimes strengthened by בְּלִבָּר placed at the end of the sentence: $\text{אִין מְדַלְקִין אֶלְמָא בְּשֶׁמֶן זַיִת בְּלִבָּר}$ one may light only with olive oil alone, Šab. ii. 2; $\text{לֹא הָיוּ תוֹקְעִין אֶלְמָא בְּבֵית דִּין בְּלִבָּר}$ they only blew (the *shofar*) at the *Beth Din* alone, RH iv. 2.

508. אֶלְמָא introduces a complete antithesis in the idiomatic expression $\text{לֹא כִי אֶלְמָא בְּסֹלֶע לָקָה}$ not so, but: he struck against a stone, BQ iii. 11; Šeq. i. 4; Y^{eb}. viii. 3, 4; Šebu. vi. 7; M^{en}. iv. 3. Cf. § 298.

So with כְּלוּם which is equivalent to a negative: $\text{כְּלוּם אִמְרַתְּ אֶלְמָא}$ thou only saidst it for my honour, N^{ed}. viii. 7; $\text{כְּלוּם אֶלְמָא אֶלְמָא בְּגוֹלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ I have only given thee greatness for the sake of Israel, Ber. 32 a.

509. Such a clause following אֶלְמָא may have a conditional force: $\text{אִין שׁוֹרִין אֶלְמָא כְּרִי שְׁיִשׁוּרִי}$ one may not soak . . . unless they can be soaked . . . , Šab. i. 5-8, 10. If such a condition is introduced by אִם , the conditional particle is usually strengthened by כֵּן : $\text{אִין מְפָסִיק אֶלְמָא אִם כֵּן חָרַשׁ}$ it does not separate, unless he ploughed it, Pea ii. 1; $\text{אִין נוֹעֲלִים בָּהֶם אֶלְמָא אִם כֵּן גְּבוּהִים מִן הָאָרֶץ}$ one must not shut with them, unless they are high above the ground, 'Er. x. 8; $\text{לֹא יִטּוֹל אֶלְמָא אִם כֵּן נִעְנַע מִבְּעוֹד יוֹם}$ he must not take unless he shook it while it was still day, Be. i. 3, 5; ii. 5; iii. 2.

510. The same construction is found with clauses introduced by עַד 'after'—viz. until the condition named has been fulfilled. The verb used is the imperfect (§ 321): $\text{אִין מְעִידִין אֶלְמָא עַד שְׁחָצָא}$ no evidence must be given, except after his soul is gone forth, Y^{eb}. xvi. 3. But, usually, אֶלְמָא is omitted in such a construction:

לְבָרִית שִׁצְטָרֵף עַד אֵינוֹ מֵת עַד שִׁצְטָרֵף לְבָרִית he will not die, until after he has become dependent on his fellow creatures = אֵלֵא עַד, Pea vii. 8; עַד שִׁיפְרִנֵּם אַחֵרִים . . . until after he has fed others = אֵלֵא עַד, ib.; אֵינוֹ חַיֵּב עַד שִׁכְתוֹב he is not liable until after he has written = אֵלֵא עַד, Mak. ii. 7. Sometimes the negative also is omitted: וְחֻכְמִים אֹמְרִים עַד שִׁרְשׁוּם . . . (No, except) if he mark, Be. iv. 7; עַד שֶׁתִּפְרָסַם (not, except) if it has moved convulsively, Hul. ii. 6.

511. The negative is also omitted before אֵלֵא in answer to a question: אֵלֵא בְּשַׁעַה שְׁדָרְךָ . . . לָמָּה נֹאמַר . . . ? (not) except when it is the custom . . . (= לֹא נֹאמַר אֵלֵא), Ber. i. 3; וּמִי שׁוֹמֵעַ לוֹ שִׁדְוֹר בְּנוֹיִר אֵלֵא מְבִיא מַה בֵּין שְׂרָה (no), but he brings . . . , Naz. viii. 1; מַה בֵּין שְׂרָה וְאֶחָוָה לְשָׂרָה מִקְנָה אֵלֵא שֶׁבְשָׂרָה אֶחָוָה what is the difference between an inherited field and a purchased field? (none) except that in a purchased field . . . (= אֵלֵא . . . אֵינוֹ בֵּין . . . אֵלֵא), 'Ar. iii. 2; מַה בֵּין נְדָרִים וְשֶׁהַנְּדָרִים לְנִדְבוֹת אֵלֵא שֶׁהַנְּדָרִים what is the difference between vows and free-will offerings? (none) except that, Qin. i. 1. Cf. אֵינוֹ בֵּין אֵין שָׁבֵת לְיוֹם טוֹב אֵלֵא אוֹכֵל נֶפֶשׁ בְּלֶבֶד there is no difference between the Sabbath and the Festival except in the matter of food alone, Meg. i. 5-11.

Cf. the omission of the negative before אֵם in BH, 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, &c., *BDB.*, p. 475 a.

512. Exceptive clauses are also introduced by וּבְלֶבֶד שֶׁ-: וּבְלֶבֶד שֶׁ- שְׂוִדְיָעֻנִי but only if he will make it known to him, Dam. iii. 3; וּבְלֶבֶד שֶׁיְהִיָּא מִפֶּשׁ בְּדַבְרֵיו but only when there will be something real in his words, San. vi. 1; וּבְלֶבֶד שֶׁיִּתֵּן כִּנְגַד הַיְסוּד but only if he will put it against the base, Z^eb. v. 8.

By חוּץ מִשְׁנֵטְמָאָה חוּץ מִ- outside of: חוּץ מִ- except that which was defiled, M^S. iii. 9; or without שֶׁ- before nominal forms: חוּץ מִ- חוּץ מִמָּאֵד מֵהֶם; חוּץ מִן הַפֶּתַח; מִן הַיַּיִן except wine, bread, B^er. vi. 1; חוּץ מִ- except one of them, Z^eb. viii. 8. Sometimes strengthened by

בְּלַבֵּד : הרִאשׁוֹן בְּלַבֵּד . . . חוּץ מִלַּיְלָה except the first night . . . alone, Suk ii. 6 ; מִזֶּה בְּלַבֵּד except this alone, Yo. iii. 3.

15. Temporal Clauses.

513. The relation of time between two verbs is expressed by various conjunctions followed by שֶׁ.

כִּשְׁזָיו יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמִדְבָּר when the Israelites were in the wilderness, Mⁿ. iv. 3 ; כִּשְׁצָא אָמַר when he had gone forth, he said (1-luperfect, § 309), 'AZ. iii. 4 ; כִּשְׁאָנֵעַ לוֹ אֶלְקָמָנִי I shall gather it when I shall have reached it (*fut. exactum*, § 321), Kil. v. 6. In later MH often with ל- prefixed : . . . לְבִית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ when the Temple will be re-built, I will bring, Šab. 12 b. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., § 164 d ; *BDB.*, p. 455.

מֵאַחַר after : מוֹכֵר הוּא מִשְׁיַחֲצֵץ he may sell after he has cut down, 'AZ. i. 8 ; מֵאַחַר־חֹשֶׁךְ after it has become dark, Šab. iv. 2 ; with pleonastic כִּי מִכִּשְׁצָאת הָאֶבֶן after the stone had gone forth, Mak. ii. 2. מֵאַחַר with the perfect is usually found only as correlative to עַד שֶׁ, see next section. In BH this temporal use of מִן is only found with nouns : בְּמִשְׁלַשׁ חֳדָשִׁים Gen. xxxviii. 24 ; cf. *BDB.*, p. 581, 4 b.

עַד שֶׁ until, before : עַד שֶׁיַּעֲלֶה עֶפְרוֹד הַשָּׁחַר until dawn will rise, Br. i. 1. After a negative, with אֲלֵא understood (§ 510) : אַל תִּדְוֶן לֹא הָיָה מֵבִיעַ . . . עַד שֶׁיִּגְעֹשֶׂה judge not thy neighbour before thou shalt have reached his place, Ab. ii. 4 (§ 321) ; עַד שֶׁיִּגְעֹשֶׂה . . . לֹא הָיָה מֵבִיעַ . . . before he became, Yo. vi. 6 (cf. Aram. : עַד דִּי שְׁלִימוֹ Dan. vi. 25). Cf. BH : עַד שֶׁתִּחַפֵּץ Cant. ii. 7, עַד שֶׁיִּפְּחַן, &c. ; *BDB.*, p. 724 f.

עַד שֶׁלֹּא נִבְחָרוּ before they had been chosen, Mak. ii. 4 ; so in BH עַד שֶׁלֹּא יָבֹאוּ before they will come, Qoh. xii. 1, 2, 6.

So, especially, as correlative to מֵאַחַר : . . . מֵאַחַר שֶׁלֹּא בָּא לְעוֹנַת נְדָרִים . . . מֵאַחַר שֶׁלֹּא before he had reached the season of vows . . . after he had

reached . . . T^{er}. i. 3 ; . . . מִשֶּׁהִגְרִיל . . . הִגְרִיל עַד שֶׁלֹּא הִגְרִיל before he had cast lots . . . after he had cast lots . . . , Yo. vi. 1 ; עַד שֶׁאֵל מִשְׁנַנְחָה . . . נִנְחָה before he had gored her . . . after he had gored her, BQ v. 1.

עַד כִּדְי שֶׁ until : עַד כִּדְי שֶׁיִּתְאַבֵּל דָּמוֹן until the food will be digested, B^{er}. viii. 7 ; עַד כִּדְי שֶׁיֵּדְעוּ בּוֹ שֶׁכֵּדְיו until his neighbours will know of it, BM ii. 6. (But L has : עַד שִׁישְׁמְעוּ שְׂכִינִים.)

בְּשַׁעָה שֶׁ when (a point of time) : עוֹבְרִים : בְּשַׁעָה שֶׁ when kings pass, 'AZ iv. 6 ; כָּל שַׁעָה שֶׁ- when (duration of time) : כָּל שַׁעָה שֶׁשׂוֹתֵר לֶאֱכֹל when, as long as, he is allowed to eat, P^{es}. ii. 1.

מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁ מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים נִכְנְסִין : מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁ- from the time when the priests enter, B^{er}. i. 1 ; מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁפָּסְקָה 'Or. i. 5.

בְּזִמְן שֶׁקָּנָה קִרְקַע when, usually with a hypothetical force : בְּזִמְן שֶׁקָּנָה קִרְקַע when he bought land, but when he did not buy land, Ma'a. v. 5 ; cf. § 492.

כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבְּנֵי אָדָם חוֹרְשִׁין כָּל זְמַן when, while (duration of time) : כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבְּנֵי אָדָם חוֹרְשִׁין while men plough, Š^{ebi}. ii. 1 ; כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבִּבְרִי when they have ripened, ib. ix. 4.

אִימְתִי שֶׁ whenever ; אִימְתִי שֶׁתִּרְצֶה whenever thou wishest, BM v. 3 ; אִימְתִי שֶׁיִּבְנֶה בַּיִת הַמִּקְדָּשׁ whenever the Temple will be re-built, MŠ v. 2.

כִּיֹּן שֶׁ as soon as : כִּיֹּן שֶׁהִגִּיעַ הַשְּׂעִיר as soon as the goat reached, Yo. vi. 8 ; כִּיֹּן שֶׁהָיָא נֹתְנָת אֶת הַמַּיִם as soon as she puts in the water, H^{al}. iii. 1.

קֹדָם שֶׁ before : קֹדָם שֶׁהִתְאַרְם before she was betrothed, So. ii. 6.

אַחַר שֶׁ after : אַחַר שֶׁכָּתְבוּ לָהּ after he had written it for her, 'Ed. iv. 7 ; or with ל : אַחַר שֶׁהִדְדוּ after they had agreed, T^{er}. v. 4.

עַתָּה שֶׁ when (rare) : עַתָּה שֶׁבָּאוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ when our fathers came, 'Or. i. 2.

מִיָּד immediately : מִיָּד הָיָה עוֹמֵד וְעוֹסֵק בַּתּוֹרָה immediately he

would arise and study the Torah ; **מִיָּד יוֹעֲצִים בְּאַחִיתוֹפֶל** immediately they would consult Ahitophel, Ber. 3 b ; **מִיָּד כָּבְתָהּ** immediately it is extinguished, Šab. 151 b.

16. Final Clauses.

514. The purpose or aim of an action may be expressed by the infinitive with **לְ-** : **נִכְנְסִין לֶאֱכֹל** they enter to eat, Ber. i. 1 ; **הֵיטִייתִי לְקִרְוֹת** I inclined to read, ib. 3. In the negative : **שְׁלֹא לְהִבְעִית** not to frighten, Yo. v. 2 ; **שְׁלֹא לְבִיֵּשׁ** not to shame, Ta'a. iv. 8. After verbs of preventing, &c., the inf. takes **מִן** : **לֹא נִמְנְעוּ מִן מְלַהֲדֵלֶק . . . מִלְשָׂרוֹף** they refrained not from burning . . . from kindling, Pes. i. 6 ; cf. § 346. The infin. can also be introduced by **כְּדֵי** : **כְּדֵי לְהִרְחִיק אָמְרוּ** they said . . . in order to remove, Ber. i. 1 (**לְהִרְחִיק אֲלֵא**). By **עַל מְנַת** : **עַל מְנַת לְתַפּוֹר** if one tears in order to sew ; **עַל מְנַת לְתַקֵּן** if one damages, in order to repair, Šab. xiii. 2, 3.

515. Clauses expressing purpose are introduced by **שֶׁ-** : **שֶׁלֹא יוֹסֵף** : **לֹא שְׁיַעֲלֶה אֲלָא שְׁלֹא יוֹסֵף** not that it may rise, but that it may not increase, Šab. xxiii. 5 ; **שֶׁלֹא יִהְיֶה מִימֵיו נִפְסָלִין** that its water may not be disqualified, Yo. iii. 10.

כְּדֵי שֶׁ- : **כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּרְאוּ אֶת זֶה אֶת זֶה** that they may see one another, San. iv. 3 ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁלֹא לְשַׁכַּח אֶת הַתִּינוּקוֹת** not to make the children forget, 'Er. vii. 9.

כְּדֵי שֶׁ- : **כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּחַמוּ** ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּצְנוּ** ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּשְׁבְּלוּ** in order that they may be cold, hot, Šab. xxii. 4 ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁיִּמָּחֵן** that he may last, ib. xxiii. 5 ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁלֹא תֵצֵא** that it should not go out, ib. xv. 2 ; **כְּדֵי שֶׁלֹא יִמְזַק** that they may not melt, Ta'a. iii. 8.

עַל מְנַת שֶׁ- : **עַל מְנַת שֶׁיִּלְקוּט בְּנוֹ** : **עַל מְנַת שֶׁ-** on condition that his son may gather, Pea v. 6.

17. Consecutive Clauses.

516. Clauses expressing the consequence of an action may be introduced by the simple copula, especially in questions : **בְּמַה**

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This little book has been written with a twofold object: first, to provide students of early Rabbinic literature with a fairly complete grammar of the dialect of that literature; and, secondly, to demonstrate the organic connection of this Mishnaic dialect with Biblical Hebrew, and its relative independence of contemporary Aramaic at least in the field of grammar.

The present paperback edition replaces the hardback edition first published in 1927. The text is unchanged.