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A Phoenician–Punic
Grammar

by

Charles R.
Krahmalkov

Brill

A PHOENICIAN-PUNIC GRAMMAR

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SECTION ONE

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H. ALTENMÜLLER · B. HROUDA · B.A. LEVINE · R.S. O'FAHEY
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CHARLES R. KRAHMALKOV



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For Laura and Jeff, Michelle, Ken and Joshua.
With love and respect.

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FOREWORD

The present grammar of the Phoenician-Punic has its origin in a systematic investigation and study of the language which I first undertook more than twenty years ago and have since then pursued in numerous specialized studies. From the start my purpose was to attempt a description of Phoenician and Punic based on an independent analysis of the language and its literature. Motivating my work was the perception that the description of Phoenician in existing grammars of the language was so exceedingly reliant upon the traditional descriptions of Classical Hebrew that the true character and genius of Phoenician had been seriously misrepresented and distorted. My work was also fed by the desire to seek out details of Phoenician grammar and lexicon not recorded in existing Phoenician grammars in order to “fill out the paradigm” with new, fuller and more precise information about all aspects of the language. Presented in this grammar is a comprehensive statement of the results of my work.

It will be immediately apparent to those who consult this grammar that it is fundamentally informed by my personal understanding of the individual texts of the Phoenician and Punic literary corpus and of the rich lexical treasure they contain. My understanding and translations of these texts are registered in my recent work *Phoenician and Punic Dictionary*, to be published in 2000 by Peeters in Leuven (Louvain). The reader may also wish to consult my preliminary sketches of the grammar of Phoenician presented in my reference encyclopedia articles *Phoenician*, pages 222-223 in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4 K-N (Doubleday: New York, 1992), and in *Phoenician/Punic* in the forthcoming book *The Encyclopedia of the World's Languages: Past and Present* to be published in May, 2000, by the H.W. Wilson Press in New York.

The topics discussed in this work are necessarily selective. It is, needless to say, impossible within the confines of any modest work to cover in detail every feature of morphophonology and syntax. My object has been to provide good general coverage but, perhaps more important, (i) to present data and discussion not contained in other works and (ii) to present new and existing data accurately, based on my own researches in Phoenician and Punic grammar. Much of the

new information presented in this work, invaluable for an understanding of the morphophonology of Phoenician and Punic, is drawn from the fully vocalized Latin-letter Punic and Neo-Punic preserved by Plautus in his play *Poenulus*, and from the late Neo-Punic in Latin-letters of the inscriptions of the hinterland of Roman Tripolitania. Although I have published studies in both, my larger monographs on this most important literature have not yet appeared. The reader will, however, find the substance of this work in the *Phoenician and Punic Dictionary* and in the pages of this grammar.

In one important respect this grammar differs from others. Rather than adhering to the traditional discrete bifurcation of Morphology and Syntax, this work includes the two within the same chapter, each chapter consisting of Part A Morphology and Part B Syntax and Usage. This in my considered opinion is a rather more “user-friendly” presentation of forms and usage, designed to achieve convenience of reference.

This grammar of Phoenician-Punic, as all scholarly works, has a long and noble ancestry in the rich scholarship of the past and present. For the convenience of the reader, I provide here a comprehensive bibliography of the existing major grammars and lexicons-glossaries of Phoenician-Punic.

1. GRAMMARS

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1951 *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. *Analecta Orientalia* 32. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
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1970 *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. 2nd Edition. *Analecta Orientalia* 46. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
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1999 *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. 3rd Edition. Revised by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, and Werner R. Mayer. *Analecta Orientalia* 55. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
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1936 *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. American Oriental Series Volume 8. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

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 1907 *Phoenizische Grammatik*. Wien und Leipzig: Hartleben Verlag.
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 196 *Grammaire Phénicienne*. Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban.

2. DICTIONARIES, LEXICONS, GLOSSARIES

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 1980 *Vocabulario Fenicio*. Biblioteca Fenicia. Volumen 1. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas.
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 1936 *Glossary of Phoenician*. Pp. 71-156 in *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
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 1995 *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. Two volumes. Leiden, New York, Koeln: E.J. Brill.
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 1965 *Dictionnaire des inscriptions semitiques de l'Ouest*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
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 2000 *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 90. Studia Phoenicia XV. Leuven: Peeters.

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1864 *Phoenizisches Woerterbuch*.
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Missoula: Scholars Press (Society of Biblical Literature).

REFERENCE SOURCES

The epigraphic passages cited in this grammar are, for the purpose of convenient reference, assigned the number of their source texts given in the standard collection *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (abbreviated as *KAI*) by Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1964). A numbered citation not preceded by a specified source reference is drawn from *KAI*. Other well known collections of texts are also used for convenience of reference, among them P. Magnanini's *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'Oriente* (Rome, 1973), M.G. Guzzo Amadasi's *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle Colonie in Occidente* (Rome, 1967), G. Levi Della Vida and M.G. Amadasi Guzzo's *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania 1927-1967* (Rome, 1987) and J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome and London, 1952). Citations from other collections are preceded by the full or abbreviated name of that source. The reader need be alerted however that my readings and translations of passages drawn from these collections are not necessarily the same as those proposed by their authors or compilers. The specific linguistic origin or character of a given citation is indicated by the *sigla* preceding: Byb for Byblian Phoenician, Pu for Punic and NPu for Neo-Punic; a citation without specific designation is Phoenician.

ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| <i>AI</i> | <i>Africa Italiana</i> |
| Aistleitner | J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> . Berlin, 1967. |
| Akko | M. Dothan, "A Phoenician Inscription from Akko," <i>IEJ</i> 35 (1985), 81-94. |
| Asarh. | R. Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</i> . Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 9. Graz, 1956. |
| Assurb. | Assurbanipal Annals: R. Borger, <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftwerk</i> |

- Assurbanipals*. Wiesbaden, 1996.
- Aug. Augustine of Hippo: *Opera Omnia; Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, vol. 32-47. Paris, 1845-9; Pp. 532-34 in Vattioni, *infra*.
- BAC *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*
- BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- Benz F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*. Pontifical Biblical Institute: Rome, 1972.
- Betlyon J.W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 26. Scholars Press: Chico, 1982.
- BMQ *British Museum Quarterly*
- Byb Byblian Phoenician
- Byb 13 W. Röllig, "Eine neue phönizische Inschrift aus Byblos," *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* II (1974), 1-15.
- CID P.G. Mosca and J. Russell, "A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Dagi in Rough Cilicia," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9 (1987), 1-28.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
- CRAI *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Paris.
- D R.G. Goodchild, "La necropoli romano-libica di Bir ed-Dréder," *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 3 (1954), 91-107.
- Diosc(urides) Dioscurides, *De materia medica*. Pp. 516-28 in Vattioni, *infra*.
- EA El-Amarna Letters: J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*. Leipzig, 1915.
- Esar. Esarhaddon Prisms. See R.C. Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal*.
- EH A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine*. Arts et Métiers Graphiques: Paris, 1953-1955.
- FK M. Guzzo Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*. III. Inscriptions phéniciennes. Department of Antiquities: Nicosia, 1977.
- GEG A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1957.
- Hassan-Beyli KAI 23: A. Lemaire, "L'inscription phénicienne de Hassan Beyli reconsidérée," *RSF* 11 (1983), 9-19.
- Head B.V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*. London, 1963.
- Hill G.F. Hill, *Phoenicia in Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*. London, 1910.
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IFO P. Magnanini, *Le Iscrizioni fenicie dell'Oriente*. Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, Università degli Studi: Rome, 1973.
- IFPCO M.G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche della colonia in Occidente*. Rome, 1967.
- IG G. Kaibel, ed., *Inscriptiones Graecae* 14: Italy and Sicily. Berlin, 1890
- IRT J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome and London, 1952.
- JA *Journal Asiatique*

- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JKAF *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*
 Jos. Ap. Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem*. B. Niese, ed. Berlin, 1889.
KAI H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1964.
- Karthago* *Karthago. Revue d'archéologie africaine*
KI M. Lidzbarski, *Kanaanäische Inschriften*. Giessen, 1907.
 Kition M. Yon and M. Sznycer, "Une inscription phénicienne royale de Kition (Chypre)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1991. Pp. 791-823. Paris.
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
LA *Libya Antiqua*
 Lapethos Inscriptions of Lapethos, Cyprus: pp. 123-127 in *IFO*, *supra*.
- Mactar B J.G. Février and M. Fantar, *Karthago* 12 (1965), 45-59.
 Manfredi, *Monete* L.I. Manfredi, *Monete puniche: Repertorio epigrafico e numismatico delle leggende puniche*. Bolletino di Numismatica, Monografia 6. Rome, 1995 [1997].
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 Moran W.L. Moran, *A Styntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets*. Unpublished Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation, 1950.
- Müller L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*. Copenhagen, 1860-1874.
- Nabuna'id J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, Koenig von Babylon*. 1889.
- NP* Neo-Punic inscriptions: See nos. 1-117, p. 63f., in P. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*. Halle, 1869. See also pp. 160-161 in Z.S. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. New Haven, 1936.
- NPu* Neo-Punic
NESE *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*.
NSI G.A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1903.
- PBSR* *Publications of the British Schools at Rome*
 Pliny Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*. D. Detlefsen, ed. Berlin, 1866-82.
Poen. T. Maccius Plautus, *Poenulus*: Edition A. Ernout, *Plaute*. Tome V. Pp. 162-257. Paris, 1938.
- Pu* Punic
Punica J.-B. Chabot, *Punica*. Paris, 1918.
 Pyrgi The Punic inscription from Pyrgi (Caere): PP. 158-169 in *IFPCO*.
- RB* *Revue Biblique*
RCL *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*.
- REPPAL* *Revue des études phéniciennes-puniques ete des antiquités libyques*. Tunis.
- RES* *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*
RPC O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*. Geneva and Paris, 1972.

- RSF* *Rivista di Studi Fenici*
- S* J.M. Reynolds, "Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: a Supplement," *PBSR* 23 (1955), 124 ff.
- Sanch.* Sanchuniathon, as cited by Eusebius in *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Book I, Chapter IX. Edition: E.H. Gifford, Oxford, 1903.
- Sarepta* J.B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta, a Phoenician City*. Princeton, 1978.
- Segert* S. Segert, *Altaramaische Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1975.
- Senn.* Sennacherib Annals: D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*.
- Téboursouk* F. Fantar, *Téboursouk. Stèles anégraphiques et stèles à inscriptions néopuniques*. PP. 375-431 in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XVI. Paris, 1974.
- Tigl. III* Annals of Tiglathpileser III: H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, King of Assyria*. Jerusalem, 1994.
- Trip.* G. Levi Della Vida and M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania* (1927-1967). Monografie di Archeologia Libica XXII. Bretschneider: Rome, 1987).
- Tsevat* M. Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms*. Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, Volume IX.
- Umm el-Awamid* Inscriptions pp. 18-23 in *IFO*, *supra*.
- Ungnad-Matouš* A. Ungnad, *Grammatik des Akkadischen*. Fully revised by Lubor Matouš. München, 1964.
- Vattioni* F. Vattioni, "Glosse puniche," *Augustinianum* 16 (1976), 505-555.
- Waltke-O'Connor* B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Eisebrauns: Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PHOENICIAN LANGUAGE

Phoenicia (Φοινικία), the Greek name of Canaan (**KN'N**, Hebrew *Kēnā'an*), was the region in antiquity that encompassed southern Syria, Lebanon and Israel (west of the Jordan), extending roughly from Arad in the North to the Negev and Sinai in the South. In the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, the region was home to numerous peoples of common origin, sharing a common culture and possessing a common language, which they called **ŠPT KN'N** ("the language of Canaan" [Isaiah 19:18]), or Canaanite. At an early period, the peoples of Canaan had differentiated into distinct regional subgroups, part of which development was the emergence of regional dialects, some of which in turn became national languages. Phoenician was one such regional Canaanite dialect: in the strictest meaning, Phoenician was the language spoken along the coast of Lebanon roughly from Sidon in the North to Acco in the South. The indigenous name of this subregion of Canaan was *Pūt* (**PT**), and the name of the Canaanite subgroup inhabiting it, the *Pōnnīm* (Phoenicians), the gentilic deriving from the place-name. *Pōnnīm* was also the name of the Canaanite dialect of the region. It is this toponym and gentilic that are the origin of Greek Φοινικες and Latin **Poenus** and **punicus**, the terms by which Greeks and Romans first came to know and call the Phoenicians; and is the term by which they are still called.

The main cities of Put were Tyre and Sidon, and so the term Phoenicians (*Pōnnīm*) came early to be synonymous with Tyrians and Sidonians and Phoenician (*Pōnnīm*) synonymous with Tyro-Sidonian Canaanite. Accordingly, the Phoenicians came to call themselves freely and interchangeably Phoenicians (*Pōnnīm*), Canaanites and Tyrians. Thus, in the third century of the Common (Christian) Era, Augustine of Hippo informs us, an African identified himself as a *Chanani*, Canaanite, while the Phoenician (Punic) inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania tell us that his contemporaries in Libya called themselves *Sorim*, Tyrians.

With the extension of Tyro-Sidonian influence to northern and southern coastal Canaan in the course of the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages, Phoenician took on a broader meaning, coming to de-

note the Canaanite peoples and languages of all coastal Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt, from Arvad in the north to Ascalon and Daphnae in the south. For this reason, Byblos on the northern coast of Canaan is properly called a Phoenician city, and the language of Byblos properly called Byblian Phoenician although it is quite different from the language of Tyre and Sidon.

The terms *Pūt* and *Pōnnīm* first appear in the written record at the same time, the early ninth century B.C., at the zenith of Tyro-Sidonian power, marked by extensive commercial and colonial activity in the West culminating in the founding of the city of Carthage in Libya in the year 825 (or 814) B.C. The toponym *Pūt* is recorded in an archaic inscription from Cyprus (*KAI* 30=Cyprus Museum Ph. Insc. No. 6), erected as a memorial at the tomb of the leader of the Tyrian military expeditionary force that had invaded and conquered that island: lines 2/3 (“This warrior came up to Alasiya, and this [. . .] devastated the island.”). Of the invaders it is said: (line 1) (“They came to the island from *Pūt*.”), contextually, Phoenicia, the region of Tyre and Sidon. It is possible that this text alludes to the invasion and conquest of Alasiya (Cyprus) recorded in a ostrakon-inscription of ca. 1200 B.C. from Qubur al-Wulayda near Ghaza (F.M. Cross, *BASOR* 238 [1980] 2-3): [*Y*]Š*M* [*B*]’*L*’*Y*’*L*Š (“Baal has devastated the island of Elisha.”). Virgil perhaps refers to this same event, which he places in the time of the Trojan War, in *Aeneid* I 619-24: (“Belus, my [Dido’s] father [?ancestor], ravaged opulent Cyprus and conquered it.”).

Tyrian activity abroad was accompanied in this same period, the ninth century B.C., by political and commercial activity in their own region through the cementing of alliances with powerful neighboring states, Israel in particular. Interdynastic marriage was the means to this end, and it is in this context that the ethnic term *Pōnnīm* appears in a Hebrew poem (Psalm 45) composed to celebrate the marriage of a “daughter of Tyre” to a king of Israel. Although their names are not given in the work, Jezebel, the daughter of Ittobaal of Tyre (887-856 B.C.) and Ahab of Israel (874-853 B.C.) are likely. In verses 12b-14a (reconstructed), the Tyrian princess is adjured. *HŠTḤWY LW BT ŠR, // KBDH BT MLK PNYMH* (“Show him respect, O daughter of Tyre, // Honor him, O daughter of the King of the Phoenicians [*Pōnnīma*]!”). Here, the title *MLK PNYMH melek Pōnnīma*, (“King of the Phoenicians”) is synonymous with King of Tyre, and *Pōnnīm* (“Phoenicians”) with the Tyrians.

It is the great Roman playwright T. Maccius Plautus (*ca.* 254-184 B.C.) who provides us the rare and exceptional datum that the Phoenicians called their language *Pōnnīm*. Sometime early in his career, Plautus, whose first plays were produced *ca.* 200 B.C., undertook to translate for the Roman stage the Athenian comedy *Karkhedonios* ("Carthaginian"), perhaps the play of this name by the poet Alexis (*ca.* 375-275 B.C.). If Plautus's translation is true to the plot of the original, the *Karkhedonios* told the story of the tireless quest of the noble Hanno of Carthage for his daughters and nephew, who had been abducted from Carthage as children, and his joyous discovery and reunion with them in the city of Calydon. Plautus called his version of the play *Patruus* ("The Uncle"), but the work acquired a second name, *Poenulus* ("Little Phoenician"), by which it is today better known.

At the time Plautus was translating the *Karkhedonios* into Latin, he learned of the existence of a Punic translation of the play. Consistent with his unique sense of the comic, Plautus conceived the highly original idea to incorporate lines of the Punic version of the Greek play into his own Latin version: in his play, Plautus would have the Carthaginians speak authentic Punic, not Greek as in the sedate Attic original of Alexis. Plautus's intent was twofold, to amuse the Roman audience with the sound of outlandish Punic, and to use the Punic as grist for puns and mistranslations. Plautus never meant the Punic to function as real dialogue, for no one in the Roman audience understood Punic. However, in using actual lines and dialogue from the Punic *Karkhedonios*, Plautus was the instrument of preservation of the sole extant specimens of Punic dramatic literature, indeed, of the knowledge of the existence of Greek theatre in Punic and, finally, of the significant datum that the Phoenician (Punic) name of the Phoenician (Punic) language was *Pōnnīm*.

In Act V, Scene II, of the *Poenulus*, Plautus included several fragments of a Punic dialogue from the Punic translation of the *Karkhedonios*. This same dialogue appears in Latin translation in *Poenulus* Act V, Scene II, 985-991. It is in these lines that reference is made to the Phoenician language. The dialogue is an exchange between the young gentleman Agorastocles (*Acharistocles* in the Punic play) and his slave Milphio. The scene is set in the harbor of Calydon, where Hanno the Carthaginian and his entourage have only just arrived. Agorastocles and Milphio, observing their arrival, are eager to learn who the exotic alien leading them is and why he has come. They

propose to engage him in conversation; but language is an obstacle. Although Agorastocles, as we learn, is himself a Carthaginian by birth, he knows not a word of Punic since he was kidnapped when a boy of six more than a decade earlier. Since Agorastocles understands no Punic, his slave Milphio, feigning expertise in the language, offers to act as interpreter. Hesitantly, Agorastocles accedes. In the course of the botched exchange between Hanno and Milphio, Hanno will learn that Agorastocles is, in fact, his lost nephew and, somewhat later in the play, that Agorastocles's lover and her sister, both held in bondage by a notorious pimp, are his own daughters. The following are the corresponding Latin and Punic versions of the immediate relevant portion of the dialogue in which Milphio refers to the Phoenician language:

MILPHIO: Quid ais tu? Ecquid commeministi Punice?

AGORASTOCLES: Nil edepol; nam qui scire potui, dic mihi

Quid illim sexennis perierim Carthagine?

HANNO: Pro di immortales, plurimi ad illum modum

Periere pueri liberi Carthagine.

MILPHIO: Quid ais tu?

AGORASTOCLES: Quid uis?

MILPHIO: Vin appellem hunc Punice?

AGORASTOCLES: An scis?

MILPHIO: Nullus me est hodie Poenus Poenior.

MILPHIO: Say, do you remember any Punic?

AGORASTOCLES: Nothing, by Hercules. How could I, tell me,

Since I disappeared from Carthage at the age of six?

HANNO: (*aside*) You immortal gods, so many freeborn boys

Disappeared from Carthage in just this way.

MILPHIO: Say.

AGORASTOCLES: What?

MILPHIO: Do you want me to talk to him in Punic?

AGORASTOCLES: You know it?

MILPHIO: There's no Punic alive today Punicker than I!

The Punic version of this dialogue, reused by Plautus in verses 1023 + 1017a of the *Poenulus*, reads as follows in its original form:

ACHARISTOCLES: Mu?

MILPHIO: Ponnim sycartim?

ACHARISTOCLES: Bal umer! Iadata?

ACHARISTOCLES: What?

MILPHIO: Do you remember any Punic?

ACHARISTOCLES:

Not a word! *You* know it?

The Latin and Punic versions of this dialogue provide and establish the equation *Pōnnīm* = *Punice*. In turn, *Pōnnīm*, the name of the Punic (Phoenician) language, is patently identical to **PNYMH** (*Pōnnīma*) in Psalm 45, the name of the Phoenicians. As for the use of the masculine plural gentilic *Pōnnīm* for the name of the language: this is known, attested Phoenician usage, clearly an abbreviation of the fuller, underlying designation *dabarīm Pōnnīm* (“Phoenician language,” *lit.*, “Phoenician words”). Evidence of the Phoenician usage is the linguistic designation **KRSYM** *Korsīm* (“Corsic”), appearing in the inscriptions of the Phoenician city of Kition in Cyprus, to designate the language of the ethnic **KRSYM** *Korsīm*, the Classical *Corsi*, a people of Northern Sardinia, many of whom resided in Kition. Kition, we know from the ninth-century B.C. Phoenician inscription from Nora in Sardinia (*KAI* 46), was the mother-city of Nora (lines 5/6 **M L KTN**, “Its mother-city is Kition.”). From Nora and Sardinia, Sardinian *Corsi* emigrated to Kition, in sufficiently large number that the city established the office of **MLṢ (H-)KRSYM**, *melīṣ hek-Korsīm*, (“Interpreter of Corsic”). See inscriptions A 9A/B; B 40.2; F 1.3, 5, 6 in M.G. Guzzo Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition*. III. Inscriptions phéniciennes (Nicosia, 1977). Indeed, the Sardinian origin of the Corsic population of Kition is further indicated by the fact that one “Interpreter of Corsic,” Esmunadonay bin Abdmilqart bin Rasapyaton (B 40.1), used the non-Semitic ethnic nickname **ṢRDL** (“the Sardinian”).

Phoenician (*Pōnnīm*) flourished as a written language for more than a thousand years, the oldest known inscriptions in the language dating from 1200 B.C., the last, written in the Roman alphabet, from ca. A.D. 350-400. Although in origin the dialect of a small region of Canaan, Phoenician (Tyro-Sidonian Canaanite) had by the beginning of the first millennium B.C. emerged the prestige language of all coastal Canaan because of the commercial and political hegemony of Tyre and Sidon. From the Levantine motherland, the language was brought in the last years of the second millennium to Sardinia in the West (*CIS* i 145, ca. 1200 B.C.) and in the early years of the first millennium to the island of Cyprus (*KAI* 30.2/3 9th century B.C.), which became the seat of numerous Phoenician petty kingdoms, most prominent among them the city-state of Kition. And for a brief moment, in the 9th-8th centuries B.C., Phoenician even achieved and

enjoyed the status of *lingua franca* in the Near East (*KAI* 24, 9th century B.C.; *KAI* 26, 8th century B.C.). Although Phoenician gave way to Aramaic in the East, in the West it became the mother tongue of a powerful and brilliant colonial culture that extended from Cyrenaica to Morocco, from Sicily and Sardinia to southwestern Spain. And with the rise of Carthage in the early fifth century B.C., Phoenician emerged a world-class language, rivalling in prestige Greek and Latin and sharing with Latin the unique claim to being the only language into which Greek literature was translated. The specimen of Greek drama in Punic translation cited earlier is an illustration in point.

Although Tyro-Sidonian Canaanite (*Pōnnim*) was early adopted by all Canaanite-speakers along the Lebanon and Palestine coast as a standard literary language, non Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician dialects survived. Unfortunately, little is known of these languages but for elements of them occasionally found in sporadic regional inscriptions and preserved in the western dialect of Phoenician, Punic. Thus, within "Greater Phoenician" there existed and persisted in all periods and regions a certain degree of linguistic diversity. It is interesting to observe in this regard that classical Tyro-Sidonian Canaanite, that ideal form of the language exhibiting the full range of its morphophonology and syntactic usages, is sparsely evidenced in the epigraphic record; in fact, the classical language is not even evidenced in texts from Tyre and Sidon themselves but only in two inscriptions from outside Canaan, the earlier (9th century B.C.) from Zinjirli (*KAI* 24), the later (8th century B.C.) from Karatepe (*KAI* 26).

Characteristic of Tyro-Sidonian in its classic form was the complementary expression of past perfective action by sentence-initial *qatōl hū'* (the infinitive absolute + subject) and non sentence-initial *qatol* (*qatal*, the suffixing form of the verb). The Zinjirli and Karatepe inscriptions (*KAI* 24 and 26) evidence this usage. These same verb forms in the same pattern of complementation were also characteristic of the northern dialect of the city of Byblos (Byblian Canaanite texts *KAI* 9 and 10). In Western Phoenician (Punic), these complementary forms are attested in a specimen of classic Tyro-Sidonian literary prose in *Poenulus* 940-946 drawn from the Punic version of the *Karkhedonios*. But in Punic, this same usage reflected the influence of Tyro-Sidonian; the author of the Punic *Karkhedonios* sought to effect high literary style, which meant imitating Tyro-Sidonian. Western Phoenician (Punic) itself did not employ sentence-initial infinitive absolute to express past perfective action, using instead the sentence-

initial prefixing form (in this book called Prefixing Form B) *yiqtol*, the reflex of Canaanite *yaqtl* (Hebrew sentence-initial *wayyiqtol*).

As earlier observed, within Phoenician there was linguistic diversity, nowhere made clearer than by the use in some dialects of Phoenician of the prefixing verb *yiqtol* to express past perfective action, as in Judaeen Canaanite (Hebrew); this form, as in Hebrew, was restricted to sentence-initial position; in complementation with it expressing past perfective action, the suffixing form of the verb *qatol* was used in non sentence-initial position. This expression of the Past Perfective in Phoenician is early, found in the archaic, early ninth-century inscription from Cyprus (*KAI* 30), in a sixth-century letter from Daphnae in Egypt (*KAI* 50) and in a specimen of Carthaginian historiographic prose from the year 406 B.C. (*CIS* i 5510.9/11). It is possible that in the dialects of Cyprus, Egypt and Carthage, elements of non Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician had been retained. This significant divergence within Phoenician is but one instance of a yet larger inner linguistic complexity and diversity.

THE SOUTHERN COASTAL DIALECTS

Only fragmentary information survives about the dialects of the coastal region south of Tyre and Sidon; it is nevertheless clear that these were closely related to Tyro-Sidonian while, at the same time, exhibiting minor differences from it with regard to certain aspects of morphophonology. It is most significant, however, that these divergences from Tyro-Sidonian were also characteristic of Western Phoenician (Punic). For instance, in Tyro-Sidonian the consonant *n* is always assimilated to a following consonant, with resultant gemination (doubling) of that consonant. Thus, normative of Phoenician are forms like *titten* < *tinten* ("you give") and *mittit* < *mittitt* < *mantint* ("gift"). Also normative of Tyro-Sidonian is the sound-change *a* > *e/i* in a closed unstressed syllable, as in the previous cited noun *mittit*, evidenced in the Assyrian transcription *Mettén* (*Me-e-te-en-na*: Tiglath. III 67.66) of the name of the eighth-seventh century king of Tyre (cf. ΜΕΤΤΗΝΟΣ: Josephus., *Contra Apion*. 1.125). However, in the sixth-century Phoenician letter from Daphnae in Egypt (*KAI* 50), one finds the form *tintenī* ("you gave"), which differs not in one but two ways from standard Tyro-Sidonian: first, on the phonological level, the assimilation *-nt-* > *-tt-* does not occur; second, on the morphological level, the prefixing form of the verb is used to express the Past

Perfective, a usage unknown in standard Tyro-Sidonian. Then there is the royal name *Mittint* (*Mi-ti-in-ti*: Senn. ii 54; *Me-ti-in-ti*: Esar. v 57) of a late eighth-early seventh century king of Ascalon: although it evidences the sound-change $a > i$ in the initial closed unstressed syllable that is typical of Tyro-Sidonian, the non-assimilation $-nt > -tt$ in the final syllable is at variance from Tyro-Sidonian but consistent with the phonology of Daphnae Phoenician. Moreover, forms like *tintenī* (Daphnae) and *mittint* (Ascalon) are characteristic or “diagnostic” of Western Phoenician (Punic), raising the question, whether Punic descended directly from Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician or from another or other forms of Phoenician brought to the West by colonists from coastal Palestine and Egypt.

THE NORTHERN COASTAL DIALECTS

Arvad

Morphophonological divergencies from standard Tyro-Sidonian evidenced in the southern dialects, such as those of Ascalon and Daphnae, are also seen in the meager and sporadic specimens of northern Canaanite. For example, the contemporary of *Mittint* of Ascalon and *Metten* of Tyre was *Mattan-Ba'al* (*Ma-ta-an-Ba-'-al*: Esar. v 60) of the northern city of Arvad (Aradus). In the noun *mattan* (“gift”), the typical Tyro-Sidonian sound-change $a > e/i$ is not present in the initial syllable nor is the no less common Tyro-Sidonian sound-change $a > o/u$ (under stress) in the second syllable. Compare related Punic names, all of which exhibit these phonological changes: *Myththumbal*, *Mitthunbal*, *Mythunbal*, *Mytunbalis*, *Myththumbalis*; so, too, compare those Punic personal names without the divine name, such as *Myttun*, *Mythhun*, *Mythun*, etc. For these names, see Benz, pp. 356-57.

Byblos

Byblian Phoenician is the only non Tyro-Sidonian dialect well attested in the epigraphic record; the Byblian Phoenician inscriptions, now numbering thirteen, span the first millennium. Byblian is sufficiently different from Tyro-Sidonian to require classification as a distinct language of the Canaanite family. It shares however a range of features with Tyro-Sidonian that require its placement in the Phoenician subfamily: Byblian and Tyro-Sidonian share in common

the relative pronoun $\dot{z}s$ (Hebrew $\dot{a}\dot{s}er$), the feminine singular noun affirmative *-at* (Judaean *-a*), the expression of sentence-initial Past Perfective by the infinitive absolute (unknown in Hebrew), the use of the verb $p\text{-}^{\prime}l$ (Judaean $\text{'-}\dot{s}\text{-}y$) for “do, make,” the verb $k\text{-}w\text{-}n$ (Judaean $h\text{-}y\text{-}y$) in the Qal for “be, become” and numerous other features of morphology and vocabulary. Yet, although similar to Tyro-Sidonian in most aspects of morphology, syntax and lexicon, it differed from it significantly with regard to the pronominal system, especially the suffixal pronouns of the third person and the demonstrative pronouns. Indeed, in some regards, the suffixal possessive pronouns of Byblian resemble those of Hebrew more closely than they do the Tyro-Sidonian. The differences between Byblian and Tyro-Sidonian are clearly seen, for example, in the complementary forms for “his horse”: Tyro-Sidonian had $s\dot{u}so$ for the nominative and accusative cases but $s\dot{u}si$ for the genitive case; Byblian, on the other hand, had three forms, $s\dot{u}so$ for the nominative, $s\dot{u}siw$ (earlier $s\dot{u}sihu$) for the genitive and $s\dot{u}sahu$ for the accusative. Byblian also possessed grammatical forms not at all present in Tyro-Sidonian, among them a system of dual deictic pronouns, complementary in usage, the one set (masc. $\dot{Z}N$, fem. \dot{Z}^{\prime}) for near/far deixis (“this, that”), the other (masc. \dot{Z} , fem. \dot{Z}) for nearer (the location of the speaker or immediate object of reference). Tyro-Sidonian has but one set, used for general near and far deixis.

In phonology, too, Byblian diverged from Tyro-Sidonian, exhibiting for instance the retention of the vowel *a* under stress, without the characteristic Tyro-Sidonian sound-change $a > o$ under stress. Thus, the Assyrians record the name of the king of Byblos in the time of Esarhaddon as *Milk-yasáp* or *Milk-’asáp* (*Mil-ki-a-sha-pa*: Esar. v 59); in marked contrast, cuneiform sources record Tyro-Sidonian names with the sound change: *Ba’al-malók* of Arvad (*Ba-’-al-ma-lu-ku*: Asb. ii 84), *Ba’al-yatón* (*Bel-ia-a-tu-nu*: Nabuna'id 282.4).

Remarkably, Byblian maintained itself as a distinct literary language throughout the period of Tyro-Sidonian supremacy in Phoenicia although it played no role in the Phoenician West, there being no single inscription in this dialect found outside Phoenicia proper. To what extent Byblian continued to be the spoken language of the city of Byblos, as distinct from its historic classical language, is unknown.

WESTERN PHOENICIAN (PUNIC)

The Tyrians and Sidonians began colonization of the West about 1200 B.C.; it is from this time that the first inscriptions in Phoenician appear in the West. Already its earliest manifestation, Western Phoenician (called Punic to differentiate it from the language of the Levantine homeland) showed divergences from standard Tyro-Sidonian. For example, in the earliest western inscription (*CIS* i 145), the tombstone of a Phoenician miller and wheat merchant (*sallāt hiṣṣim*) erected *ca.* 1200 B.C. at Nora in Sardinia, the independent personal pronoun of the first singular is *'anī*, a form rarely if ever attested in Phoenician, which used *'aniki* exclusively. Other features of morphology and phonology, as earlier alluded to, suggest strongly that Punic may not have been the direct descendant of Tyro-Sidonian but of a dialect or dialects of Phoenician from a part or parts of Greater Phoenicia other than the region of Tyre and Sidon.

The distinctiveness of Punic, apparent in the earliest western texts, is yet more apparent in texts of the fifth century B.C. onward. For example, the Phoenician definite article was *ha-*, with aspiration; the Punic definite article was *'a-*, without aspiration. In Carthaginian inscription *CIS* i 5510, dated to 406 B.C., the definite article is *H-ha-* as in Phoenician, but there are also two examples of *'-* *'a-*, the actual, non-aspirated Punic form. As this text illustrates, dialectical differences are often disguised by the retention in Punic of traditional spellings that reflect Phoenician, not Punic morphophonology. Another related instance in point is the form *LYRH* ("to make welcome") in this same inscription of 406 B.C.: the spelling reflects the Phoenician pronunciation *lyarīh* of the infinitive construct in the causative stem Yip'il; in Punic however the causative stem was Ip'il, as evidenced by the 4th century form *LSR lasīr* ("to remove"). Punic scribes were hesitant to abandon Phoenician spellings. So, for example, it is not until the Neo-Punic period that the Phoenician spelling *YQDŠ* for Punic *iqdēs* ("he dedicated") was abandoned and the phonetic spelling *'YQDŠ* adopted. Punic also differed from Phoenician in the retention of *-nt-*: in the 406 B.C. Carthaginian inscription, one finds for instance *MTNT mittint* ("gift"), not Phoenician *MTT mittit*. Throughout Punic the common word for "stele" is always *MNŠBT*, found in Latin-letter Punic inscription spelled *myntsyfth mintsivt*, never *MŠBT* as in Phoenician. As earlier observed, the non-assimilation *-nt-* was characteristic of forms of non-Tyro-Sidonian Phoe-

nician, such as the dialects of Ascalon and Daphnae.

Phonology was not the only area in which Punic was demonstrably different from Phoenician. In morphology, typical of Punic was the third singular possessive pronoun *-im* ("his, her"), the Phoenician pronoun *-i* but with excrescent *-m*, appearing early in formal written language alongside the free variant *-i*. This form and the phonological development behind it were unknown in Phoenician. Also present in Punic were grammatical forms not known in Phoenician, notable among them the determinative pronoun **Š**- *si-*, used so commonly in Punic to express the indirect genitive but also used to form the independent possessive pronoun **ŠLY** *sillī* ("my"), not known in Phoenician.

Among the most salient differences between Punic and Phoenician is the use in Punic of the prefixing verb *yiqtol* (Hebrew *wayyiqtol*) in the sentence-initial position to express the Past Perfective. Tyro-Sidonian literary prose, reflected in the Zinjirli and Karatepe inscriptions (*KAI* 24 and 26), employed the infinite absolute, never the prefixing form. In other words, Punic usage coincided with that of Old Cyprus (*KAI* 30), Daphnae (*KAI* 50), Carthage (*CIS* i 5510) and Hebrew against that of Tyre-Sidon. Sentence-initial *yiqtol* Past Perfective occurs in the description of the Carthaginian attack (in winter of 406 B.C.) on the Siceliote Greek city of Agrigentum: *CIS* I 5510.9/10 **WYLK** (*weyelekū*) **RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WḤMLKT BN ḤN' HRB 'LŠ**, ("Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn."). Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician did, however, impact Punic literary usage; for in *Poen.* 943-944, a fragment from the Punic translation of the *Karkhedonios*, written ca. 300-200 B.C., the Past Perfective, as earlier alluded to, is expressed in the Phoenician manner by the infinitive absolute + subject: **Iulec anec cona, alonim balim, ban[e] becor Bals[illem]**, ("I brought hither, O proprietary gods, my firstborn son Baals[illem].").

In the period of Carthaginian supremacy in the West, Carthage and her sister republics became centers of a unique culture that was a blend of the Greek and the Canaanite. Carthaginians warmly embraced Greek literature, long before the Hellenistic Age, and translated its many genres into the Punic vernacular. The conceit propagated by the Romans and disseminated even today by some Classicists that the Romans were the only people in antiquity sufficiently competent intellectually to adopt and use Greek literature and

to reproduce it in their own language is belied by ample evidence to the contrary. Ironically, it was a Roman, T. Maccius Plautus, who transmitted this knowledge to us in preserving passages of Greek drama in Punic, some doubtless composed and performed in his time and others perhaps of even earlier date. One specimen of this literature, Milphio's conversation with Agorastocles from the Punic *Karkhedonios*, has been discussed earlier in this chapter. But the Punic *Karkhedonios* was but one Greek play in Punic. Plautus preserved specimens of other Greek comedies in Punic in his *Poenulus*, among them a fragment of Menander's comedy that was the model for Plautus's *Aulularia* ("Pot of Gold"), specifically, the dialogue of Megadorus and Euclio in which Megadorus invites the miser to drink wine but Euclio vehemently refuses for fear of revealing, under the influence, the hiding-place of his pot of gold. Plautus's Latin version of this dialogue appears in *Aulularia* 569-572; the Punic version is preserved (as foreign gobbledygook) in *Poenulus* 1142. First, the Plautine Latin.

MEGADORUS: Potare ego hodie, Euclio, tecum volo.

EUCLIO: Non potem ego quidem hercle.

MEGADORUS: At ego iussero

Cadum unum vini veteris a ame adferrier.

EUCLIO: Nolo hercle, nam mihi bibere decretum est aquam.

MEGADORUS: I want to drink with you today, Euclio.

EUCLIO: No, by Hercules, I won't drink.

MEGADORUS: But I shall order

A jar of old wine sent over from my place.

EUCLIO: I will not drink it, by Hercules. I'll stick to drinking water!

The Punic version, concise and perhaps truer to the original, reads:

MEGADORUS: Neste ien. Neste dum et.

EUCLIO: Al. Anec este mem.

MEGADORUS: We shall drink wine. We shall drink the blood of the vine.

EUCLIO: No, I will not. I shall drink water!

No less interesting than the specimens of translations of Greek literature is an example of an original play in Punic preserved in the *Poenulus*. It is a fragment of an entrance monologue of Greco-Roman type (*Poen.* 940-946) from a comedy set in a Punic city, the *dramatis personae* all Phoenicians and the subject purely Punic. The play told the story of a father who had years earlier brought his

firstborn son to the city to which he now (about ten years later) returns. To the audience, the newcomer declares that in the past he had brought his son to this city to be adopted and raised by his guest-friend; the latter, he acknowledges, “has done everything for that son of his, as he was to do for him.” In the Neo-Punic version of the monologue (*Poen.* 930-936), which preserves passages not in the extant Punic, the father goes on to inform the audience that the purpose of his coming is “that I might get back my only son.” This is all of the play that survives; but one may conjecture, with good reason, that the background of the story was the removal to safety in another city of a firstborn son by his father in order to circumvent the rite of infant sacrifice. The play itself was likely a conventional Greek-style comedy in which identity was in question but ultimate recognition achieved. What is positively unique however about this play is that it was not the translation of a Greek model but an original work. Roman parallels, to the best of my knowledge, are wanting.

Traditional Punic literature was also cultivated in the West but save for a few extant specimens preserved in stone, little has survived. One genre represented in the surviving corpus is historical prose, in the form of a brief description of the close of the six-month campaign against the Siceliote city of Agrigentum and the taking of the city in winter of 406 B.C. The work survives because of its inclusion in a Carthaginian inscription (*CIS* i 5510) as a synchronism, to provide an historical reference to establish the date of the suffetship of Esmunamos son of Idnibal the Great and Hanno son of Bostar son of Hanno the Great. The extant Punic text appears to be the closing portion of a full account of the Agrigentine campaign; and it was surely this Punic historical source that was consulted by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (wrote *ca.* 60-30 B.C.) in his own account of the taking of Agrigentum by Carthage. The background of the Punic account is the abandonment of Agrigentum by its inhabitants and defenders, fled to safety the night before the city fell to the neighboring city of Gela, the Carthaginian historian describing the capture of Agrigentum the following morning as follows: lines 9/11
WYLK RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WĤMLKT BN ĤN' HRB
'LŠ WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT H[M]T ŠLM DL B'L NWS,
 (“General Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn, and they seized Agrigentum; and

they [the Agrigentines] made peace [surrendered], including those who had fled <the city the night previous>.”). The fate of this composition is especially interesting. In the course of transmission over a period of more than three hundred years in the hands of the Greeks, the Punic was distorted to portray the Carthaginians as brutal savages. Diodorus (xiii, 90.1) received the following version of the Punic: (“Imilkas [Himilco], leading his army at dawn within the walls <of Agrigentum>, put to death almost all who had been left behind inside.”). Diodorus continued his account of the fall of Agrigentum with a detailed description of the looting of the city. Thanks to the discovery of the Punic original, we now know that his account of Carthaginian looting and savagery is based on the misreading and mistranslation of the Punic text as follows: **WTKM HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT H[MT] ŠLM DL B'L NKS** (“They [the Carthaginians] seized Agrigentum, and they [the Carthaginians] set loose looters [reading *šöllim*] and murderers [reading **B'L NKS** *ba'le neks*] <in the city>.”). We have here a rare instance of the process of historical revisionism in antiquity, a tendency that Diodorus himself strongly condemned.

In the Roman period, Punic remained the spoken language of a majority of the population of Africa and other regions in the West. This phase of the language, called Neo-Punic (New Punic), differed from Punic largely in one regard: the loss of pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants and the coalescence of the sibilants (*z s š ſ*). Neo-Punic was the native tongue of the emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211, born in ad 145/6 in Leptis Magna), of the poet Apuleius (born *ca. ad* in Madaurus) and of the Church Father Augustine (A.D. 354-430). Even in this late period, Punic remained the vehicle of a significant literary culture, one that preserved traditional forms and cultivated new ones. Some genres, clearly of great antiquity, are attested in writing for the first time, among them rhetorical rhyming prose, for which Arabic provides the closest analogy. A sample of this genre is a three-line hymn to the god *Htr*-Mescar (a binomial) from the city of Mactar in North Africa; the hymn exhibits the end-rhyme *-im*:

L'LM HQYDŠ LŠ'T 'HT ŠMM
BSWB MLK HTR, MYSKR RŽN
YMM
B'L HRDT 'L GBRTM

Lilim iqquiddis laset ot semim
Biswb mülek Htr, Meskar rüzen
yammim
Bal aradot al gubüratim

Exalt the name of the holy god!

Htr, ruler of the *land*; Mescar, sovereign of the seas,
He who commands fear because of his might.

In the late Roman period, the Punic script had fallen into desuetude and was replaced by the Roman alphabet; but Punic literary forms were maintained. Indeed, as late as *ca.* A.D. 350 traditional Canaanite poetry, reflecting form and style going back to the Bronze Age, continued to be written in Roman Tripolitania. One such work has come down to us, a three-verse poem in iambic trimeter by Iulius Nasif, the commander (*tribunus*) of the militia of the hinterland colony of Adnim, in which the poet commemorates and celebrates the capture of his enemy from the colony of Mycne (Mycnim). The poem owes its survival to the friends of Iulius Nasif who inscribed it on his tombstone at Bir ed-Dreder, the site of the necropolis of the the colony of Cleruchia Adnim:

Badnim garasth is on,	From Adnim I drove out the wicked fellow,
MySyrthim, bal sem ra;	From the Syrthis, him of ill repute;
Sab siben Mycne,	(When) our militia surrounded Mycne,
Is ab syth sath syby;	Then did I make that enemy <my> captive;
In aab sa[l]e(m) lo sal:	The enemy asked mercy for himself:
“Un ath ab[dach]a!”	“Spare thou thy servant!”

CHAPTER TWO

THE ALPHABET, ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

I. THE ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHY

A. *Phoenician*

Phoenician was written in a twenty-two letter alphabet, called by the Greeks *ta Phoinikeia grammata* ("the Phoenician letters," Herodotus, v. 58). In spite of its name, this alphabet had not been invented by the Phoenicians but, rather, had been devised in the Late Bronze Age and later, adapted by the Phoenicians to the needs of their language which, in the early Iron Age, possessed a repertory of twenty-two consonantal phonemes. The twenty-two letter alphabet was retained throughout the history of the Phoenician language, well into the Late Roman period, even though many of the original phoneme graphemes no longer existed.

In the matter of orthography, Phoenician scribes of the Iron Age employed the purely consonantal system of spelling used in Late Bronze Age II literary Ugaritic although they were acquainted with the system of *matres lectionis* (vowel-letters) used for the writing of contemporary Aramaean, Judaeian and Moabite. Occasionally and selectively, however, they did use *waw* and *yod*, principally in the spelling of foreign words but also for some frequent inflectional morphemes. The letter *he* was not however used by them.

Instances of the use of the letters *waw* and *yod*, even in the spelling of foreign names, are exceedingly few: (i) *W* is found for *o* in the spelling of Cypriote Greek royal names **DMWNKS** (Greek Δαμωνικός) and **'NDRWNKŠ** (Greek Ανδρονικός) on coins of Lapethos (see *RPC* p. 97-100); (ii) *W* is found for *u* in the spelling of the ethnonym **LWKY** *Lūkī* ("Lycian," *CIS* i 45). It is used exceptionally in the spelling of the Phoenician noun **SWT** *sūt* ("garment," Byblos *KAI* 11). The letter *Y* is found for *i* in the spelling of the Cypriote Phoenician city-name **'DYL** *'edīl* (Egyptian: Ramesses III Simons XXXV, 11 **'d₂-l**; Assyrian: Esar. V 64 **E-di-'-il**.) In native Phoenician words, *Y* is most commonly found as a word-final vowel-letter for *i* in (i) the occasional *plene* spelling of the pronoun **'NKY** *'anīki* ("I," for standard spelling **'NK**); (ii) in the *plene* spelling of the first singular

possessive pronoun $-i$ (“my”) although not in Byblian Phoenician or early Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician (*KAI* 24, the Kilamuwa inscription) nor in Cypriote Phoenician; the latter scribal schools preferred the archaic spelling $-\emptyset$ of the pronoun; (iii) in the *plene* spelling of the third person singular (masculine and feminine) possessive pronoun i (“his/her”), of which examples of the original defective spelling are very rare. Rare and restricted in Phoenician orthography, the use of W and Y became common in Punic and in Neo-Punic.

Also used in Phoenician, if rarely, is final *’aleph* to indicate the presence of a vowel, especially in personal and place-names. This device may have originated in the spelling of hypocoristic personal names like *’D’* *’Iddo* (*KAI* 20). It is found in the spelling of the Greek personal name *HRN’* Ἡρηνῆ (*KAI* 56) and the Greek place-name *L’DK’* Λαοδικεῖα (Hill 1, 52). This orthographic device, rare in Phoenician, became very common in Punic orthography, serving to indicate the presence of any vowel.

Phoenician orthography was always a mixture of historical spellings, reflecting the pronunciation of an earlier period, and phonetic spellings, reflecting contemporary pronunciation. Historical spelling is represented by a word like *MY* (“who?”), pronounced *mī* but its standard spelling reflecting the earlier form *miya*, the *yod* being the consonant *yod*, not a *matres lectionis*. In contrast, the word for “fruit,” *p^erī*, was spelled *PR* (14.12), as pronounced, not *PRY*, reflecting the historical form *pīry(u)*; so, too, in Punic, in which the word-final vowel was indicated by the vowel-letter (*mater lectionis*) *aleph*: *GD’* *g^edī* < *gidy(u)*, (“goat,” 69.9). Sometimes, historic spellings and phonetic spellings existed side by side; for instance, the standard spelling of the third person masculine singular possessive pronoun used with a noun in the genitive case was $-Y$ $-i$, the *yod* being a vowel-letter (*mater lectionis*); but still found occasionally is the earlier spelling $-\emptyset$. The use of a historical spelling or phonetic spelling is also determined by scribal preference and usage.

Inner Phoenician Orthographic Differences

Within Phoenician itself different scribal practices prevailed. For instance, Cypriote Phoenician orthography was distinct from that of Levantine Phoenician: the scribes of Cyprus occasionally used the “phonetic” spelling *’Z* for standard Phoenician *Z* in writing the singular demonstrative pronouns *e^ezdé* (masculine) and *e^ezdō* (feminine), employing the *’aleph* to indicate the presence in pronunciation of the

prothetic vowel. The Cypriote spelling was used at Marathus on the coast of Phoenicia and once in Punic, in the inscription from Pyrgoi in Etruria (*ca.* 500 B.C.).

Cypriote scribes also adhered to the older (original) spelling **-Ø** of the nominative/accusative form **-ī** of the first singular possessive pronoun; this spelling is elsewhere found only in the early Tyro-Sidonian inscription of Kilamuwa (*KAI* 24) and in Byblian Phoenician, in which one finds **QL** *qōlī* (“my voice”) in the nominative and accusative cases but **QLY** *qōlī* < *qōliya*. In Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician and in Punic, the normative spelling of the possessive pronoun, from the eighth century B.C., was always *plene* **-Y**, regardless of the case of the noun.

B. Punic

Conservative Punic orthography was essentially identical to that of Phoenician. Punic differed however from Phoenician in the common use of word-final *'aleph* to indicate the presence of a word-final vowel. Instances of typical Punic spellings are 68.5 **QL** *qūlo* (“his voice”) = Phoenician **QL**; 69.15 **MQN'** *migne* (“property, money”); 66.2 **RPY'** *rafoyo* (“he cured him”); 101.1 **BN'** *banô* (“they built”), *et passim*. Less frequently, Punic used *'aleph* also to indicate the presence of a word-internal vowel: Pyrgi line 9 **M'S** *mes* (“statue”) = Phoenician **MŠ**. This extended use of *aleph* would become an important feature of Neo-Punic orthography.

Punic also departed from Phoenician in its willingness to indicate in spelling the actual pronunciation of a morpheme or word rather than always use the historical Phoenician spelling; for instance, the definite article in Phoenician was *ha-*, with aspiration; in Punic it was *a-*, without aspiration. Punic allowed the phonetic spelling **'-**, indicating no aspiration, while retaining the historical spelling **H-** as well. Both spellings co-occur in Carthaginian inscription 5510, written in the year 406 B.C.

C. Neo-punic

In its earliest stage, formal Neo-Punic employed conservative Punic orthography although with an increased use of the *matres lectionis* **W** **Y** and *'aleph*, always in the manner these were used in Punic. For example, in an otherwise conservatively written text like *KAI* 121 from Leptis Magna, one already finds typical Neo-Punic *plene* spellings such

as **MYŠQL** *misqil* ("beautifier"), **ʿYQDŠ** *iqdes* ("he dedicated") and **RʿPS** *Rufus* (the Roman personal name).

In the following stage of the orthography, as a result of the loss of the pharyngeals and laryngeals in the spoken language, the letters **H Ḥ** ' came to be used as *matres lectionis* alongside the already existing repertory of vowel-letters: the letters ' (for any vowel), **W** (for *o* and *u*) and **Y** (for *e* and *i*). Although the letters **H Ḥ** ' were used indifferently to express any vowel, the letter 'ayin is conspicuous for the frequency with which it was used to express the vowel *a*. No consistent use of vowel-letters ever emerged in Neo-Punic.

In the final period of its existence, the first five centuries of the Common (Christian) Era, the traditional twenty-two letter Phoenician-Punic alphabet fell into desuetude and was replaced by the Roman alphabet. For the Punic of this period a fully developed Latin-letter orthography was devised. A large corpus of inscriptions in this system of writing have been discovered in the erstwhile province of Roman Tripolitania (Western Libya); this corpus comprises texts of all genres: epitaphs, building and tomb dedications, commemoratives and even a specimen of traditional Phoenician poetry (D 6). It is this same Latin-letter orthography that was used in the writing of the Neo-Punic version of the entrance monologue of Hanno the Carthaginian included in the text of the Late Roman period revival of the Plautine comedy *Poenulus* (vss. 930-939). Our knowledge of the Phoenician and Punic morphophonology is based largely on the vocalized Neo-Punic of these texts.

II. PHONOLOGY

Phoenician of the Early Iron Age, to judge from the Phoenician alphabet of twenty-two letters (graphemes), possessed a repertory of twenty-two consonantal phonemes; the graphemes-phonemes of this period were **ʿ B G D H W Ž Ḥ Ṭ Y K L M N S ʿ P Š Q R Š T**. In addition to the twenty-two consonantal phonemes, there were the short vowels *a e i o u*, the long vowels *ī ō ū* and the contracted diphthongs *ê ô*. In the Late Bronze Age (1500-1200 B.C.), the consonantal repertory was larger, as Phoenician words and place-names in Egyptian texts indicate: the language of that period included the phoneme /x/ and no doubt others. In the Roman period, on the other hand, with the loss of pharyngeals and laryngeals and the merging of the several sibilants, Western Phoenician (Punic) possessed

as few as seventeen consonantal phonemes. In spite however of the reduction of phonemes, the original twenty-two letter alphabet was retained, together with a highly conservative “historical” orthography, fixed in and reflecting the pronunciation of the first half of the first millennium B.C.; in reality, already by the second half of the first millennium B.C. and increasingly into the first centuries of the Common Era, considerable differences existed between the written word and actual contemporary pronunciation. Because of the highly diverse character of the Phoenician-Punic inscriptions, belonging to diverse periods and regions, and because of the limited, sporadic and often ambiguous character of the evidence they contain, the reconstruction of Phoenician-Punic phonology is an exceedingly difficult undertaking.

The description of Phoenician phonology and morphology in this grammar is based largely on the extant specimens of vocalized Punic and Neo-Punic in Latin letters, the Latin-orthography Punic inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (*ca.* A.D. 100-500) and the Punic and Neo-Punic passages in the play *Poenulus*; the Plautine Punic passages reflect the pronunciation of *ca.* 300-200 B.C., the Neo-Punic the pronunciation of *ca.* 100 B.C.-A.D. 400. These materials are complemented by specimens of Punic and Neo-Punic in the form of Latin and Greek transcriptions and the few specimens of Phoenician, mostly personal names, in Assyrian and Babylonian sources. In view of the difficult nature of the evidence, the following essay to provide a description of Phoenician-Punic phonology is perforce fragmented, incomplete and always problematic.

A. *The Consonants*

1. *The Articulation of the Consonants*

' (*'aleph*): Simple glottal stop /ʔ/ at the beginning of a syllable: **'LP** **'alp** (“ox”) but quiescent in syllable-final position, with resultant lengthening and stress-lengthening of the vowel: NPu *Poen.* 930 **carothi** *qarōti* < *qarāti* < *qará'ti* (**QR'T** “I called”). In Neo-Punic, the stop was no longer pronounced.

B: Bilabial plosive /b/ in all positions: Punic *Poen.* 1141 **bane** and **bene** (“my son”); NPu *IRT* 873.3 **libinim** (“for his son”). There is no evidence for the fricative realization of the phoneme as in Hebrew although in Neo-Punic /b/ did have the allophone [v] (writ-

ten **f** in Latin-letter orthography) immediately contiguous to a following consonant: *IRT* 877.4/5 **efsem** *evsem* (**'BŠM** "in the name of"); *AI* 1 p. 233 line 2 **lifnim** *livnim* (**LBNM** "for his son"); and *IRT* 873.1; 906.1/2 **myntsyfth** *mintsvt* (**MNŠBT** "stele"). It is possible that this conditioned sound-change was characteristic of Phoenician as well; for we have an actual example of the grapheme ϕ in Greek-letter Phoenician where Latin-letter Punic has **f**: 174.8 $\alpha\phi\delta\epsilon$ (**'BDY** "his slave"); however, the manner in which ϕ in this word is meant to be articulated is uncertain. The sound change may not have been characteristic of Punic: *Poen.* 948 **sibti** (**ŠBTY** "his residence").

G: Velar stop /g/: Pu *Poen.* 1033 **migdil** (**MGDL** "magnifier"); NPu *Poen.* 938 **gubulim** (**GBLM** "district").

D: Alveolar stop /d/: Pu *Poen.* 944 **duber** (**DBR** "says"); NPu *Poen.* 935 **dobrim** (**DBRM** "they say"); Pu and NPu *Poen.* 949, 939 **bod** (**BD** "of, from").

H: Glottal fricative /h/. The fricative existed in Phoenician and Punic: Pu *Poen.* 946 **hu** (**H'** "he"); *Poen.* 947 **helicot** (**HLKT** "hospitality"). In Neo-Punic, the phoneme was completely lost: *Poen.* 936 **u** ("he"); *Poen.* 937 **elichoth** ("hospitality"), *et passim*. Deserving special note is the non-fricative pronunciation of the definite article in Punic: in a Carthaginian inscription from 406 B.C. (*CIS* i 5510) the definite article is twice written **'**, occurring in free variation with historical spelling **H**-; the two spellings are found side by side throughout the history of Punic and Neo-Punic. This spelling may be indicative of an early and wider tendency in Western Phoenician to "drop" the fricative, perhaps in popular pronunciation.

W:- Bilabial /w/. Represented in Latin-letter orthography by **u**: Pu *Poen.* 1141 **hao** *hawo* (**HW'** "may he live long!"); NPu *IRT* 889.1 **uybinim** *wibinim* (**WBNM** "and his son").

ʒ: Affricate of the shape [zd] or [dz], represented in Roman orthography by **sd** and **ss** in the spelling of the demonstrative pronoun **ʒ** ("this"): Punic *Poen.* 947A **esde** and *Poen.* 940P, 944A **esse** (^ezdé or ^edzé). The affricate nature of the phoneme is confirmed by the presence of the prothetic e-vowel, which serves to break up the initial consonant cluster; this prothetic vowel is also indicated in the "pho-

netic" spelling 'Z of the demonstrative, common in the inscriptions of Cyprus as a free variant spelling of Z. See the discussion of the Demonstrative Pronouns.

Elsewhere in Phoenician, word-initial z appears to have been early reduced to a simple sibilant, as may be seen in normative spelling **S-K-R** ("remember") of the Canaanite verb **Z-K-R**: Phoenician 18.6 **SKR** ("memorial"); 43.15 **YSKRN** ("may he remember me!"); Pu *Poen.* 1023 **sucartim** ("you remember"). Once only in Phoenician is the historical spelling with Z attested: Umm el-Awamid 14.2 **ZKRN** ("remember me!"). Yet, in the spelling of some words, the grapheme Z was retained: Phoenician 26 A II 19 **ZBH** ("sacrifice") and Punic 69.15 **ZBH** ("sacrifice") and **YZBH** ("he shall sacrifice"). In Latin-letter Neo-Punic, the phoneme is consistently written **s**: *IRT* 893.5 **sebuim** *s^ebū(h)im* (**ZBHM** "sacrificed ones"), in all probability articulated as a simple s; this pronunciation is further indicated by the Punic and Latin-letter spellings of the demonstrative pronouns **S ST** (Latin-letter **sy syth sith su soth**), these all reflexes of the Phoenician Z-demonstrative pronouns. In transcriptions of Punic prepared by non-native speakers, the use of the grapheme **z** ζ is found: Diosc. 2.125 ζερα and Pliny 24.71 **zyra** (**ZR** "seed").

H: Pharyngeal fricative /ħ/. The fricative is represented by the grapheme **h** in Latin-letter Punic: *Poen.* 1141A **hauo** *hawo* (**HW** "may he live long!") in the salutations **hauo done silli** ("may my father live long!") and **hauo bene silli** ("May my son live long!"). In Neo-Punic, the fricative had completely disappeared: *IRT* 879.3; 894.4 **awo** *awo* ("he lived") cf. Neo-Punic *plene* spellings 134.2 **'WH** and 158.2 **'WH** *awo* ("he lived"); *Poen.* 937 **irs** (**HRŠ** "shard"), *et passim*.

T: Retroflex stop /ʈ/. This emphatic dental stop is represented by **t** in Latin-letter Punic: *IRT* 828.1 **Typafi** (**TBHPY** "Tapapius," family name), the stop perceived as non-aspirated [ʈ] (Greek τ); in contrast, Phoenician /t/ was perceived as an aspirated stop [tʰ] (Greek θ) and represented in Latin-letter orthography as **th**: *Poen.* 930 **yth** (**'T**); *IRT* 827.2 **myntsyfth** *mintsivt* (**MNŠBT** "stele"), *et passim*.

J: Palatal glide /j/. Represented in Latin-letter orthography by **i**: Pu *Poen.* 942 **iulec** *yûlek* (**YLK** "bring," Infinitive Absolute); *Poen.* 1117 **iadata** *yada'ta* (**YD'T** "you know"). In Neo-Punic, *y* as an intervocalic

calic glide appears to have been suppressed in the environment *-eyo-*: *IRT* 865 **baneo** *banêo* < *banêyo* (“his sons”); *IRT* 894.6 **buo** *būo* < (*a*)*būyo* (“his father”); elsewhere it was retained between vowels: *IRT* 828.3 **ai{a}em** (*h*)*ayyim* (“lifetime”); *IRT* 826.3 **auia** *a(h)ūya* (“her brother”).

Characteristic of Neo-Punic was the development *yi-* > *ʾi-* in word-initial position, most commonly seen in the suffixing forms of the causative stem, such as 121.1 **ʾYQDŠ** *iqdes* (“he dedicated”) and *IRT* 873.3 **intseb** *intseb* (“he erected”), reflexes of Phoenician *yiqdes* and *yīṣseb* respectively. The suppression of *y* in this environment led, by analogy, to its suppression in other forms of the causative stem: NPu D 5.19 **utseb** *ûtseb* < *yûtseb* (“he erected”). In literary Punic, however, perhaps under Phoenician influence, intervocalic *y* was still pronounced in all forms of the causative stem, as evidenced by the infinitive absolute *Poen.* 942 **iulec** *yûlek* (“brought”).

K: Velar stop /k/. Represented in Neo-Punic Latin-letter orthography by **ch**: NPu *Poen.* 931 **thymlachun** *timlakūn* (**TMLKN** “you rule”); *Poen.* 934 **chon** *kon* (**KN** “he was”); *Poen.* 935 **chy** *kī* (**K** “because”), *et passim*. The Neo-Punic stop was perceived as aspirated [*kʰ*] (Greek χ). It is possible that /k/, under certain conditions, had the fricative pronunciation [*x*], represented in Latin-letter orthography by the letter **h**: *CIL* viii 27604 **Birihtina** (personal name) and *CIL* viii 4850.2; 16768.2 **Birihut** (personal name; also spelled [**Bi**]ricut in *CIL* 16955.1). These personal names are however exceptional; there are no examples of the fricative realization of /k/ in the Latin-letter Neo-Punic inscriptions.

L: Alveolar lateral resonant /l/: Pu *Poen.* 940 **alonim** *ʾallōnīm* (**ʾLNM** “gods”); NPu *Poen.* 938 **ily** *illi* (**ʾL** “these”), *et passim*.

M: Bilabial nasal resonant /m/: Pu *Poen.* 940 **macom** *maqōm* (**MQM** “city”); NPu *Poen.* 934 **marob** *ma(ʾ)rob* (**MʾRB** “custody”), *et passim*.

N: Alveolar nasal resonant /n/: Pu *Poen.* 942 **anec** *ʾanīk* (**ʾNK** “I”); NPu *Poen.* 936 **innochoth** *innōkōt* (**HNKT** “here”), *et passim*.

S: Alveolar groove fricative /s/: Pu *Poen.* 1023 **sucartim** (**SKRTM** “you remember”); NPu *Poen.* 937 **sith** (**ST** “this,” masc.); *IRT* 828.2 **soth** (**ST** “this,” fem.), *et passim*. This sibilant had by ca. 500 B.C.

merged with the lateral groove fricative /š/ (grapheme Š), as evidenced by the spelling ‘**SR** for historical ‘ŠR in Phoenician (14.1) and Punic (112.1).

‘ (‘ayin): Pharyngeal obstruent /‘/. No orthographic device was used to represent this phoneme in Latin-letter Punic nor is it entirely evident that the phoneme survived in late Punic, as witnessed by its non-representation in *Poen.* 944 **fel fel** (**P’L** “he did”) and *Poen.* 945 **liful** *lif’ul* (**LP’L** “to do”). In Neo-Punic, the phoneme had completely disappeared: *IRT* 873.2 **fel fel** (“he made”); *IRT* 889.2 **felu** *felū* (“they made”); this is confirmed by the Punic-letter spelling NPu 142.4 **PHL’** *felū* (“they made”).

P: Bilabial simple stop /p/ in Phoenician and Punic. In Punic, the phoneme was still [p], as may be ascertained from the word-play between *Poen.* 1023 **ponnim sucartim** (“Do you remember Phoenician?”) and the implicit Latin pun **pone eum sub cratim** (“Place him under a basket!”) that informs Milphio’s translation **Sub cratim uti iubeas se supponi** (“<He asks> that you order him be placed under a basket.”), *Poen.* 1025. However, one also finds in Punic the labiodental fricative realization [f] in all positions: *Poen.* 944 **fel** (“he did”); *Poen.* 945 **liful** (“to do”). In Neo-Punic, the realization [f] is normative: *IRT* 828.1, 877.2 **fel** (“he made”); *IRT* 901.2,4 **fela** (“she made”); *IRT* 889.2 **felu** (“they made”); 178.1 **felioth** (“workmanship”).

Š: Alveolar affricate [ts]. The articulation of this phoneme is difficult to ascertain, for it appears to have been different from period to period. The evidence is as follows: (i). In the Tripolitanian Neo-Punic Latin-letter inscriptions, reflecting the pronunciation of the late Roman period (ca. 1st-5th centuries of the Common Era), *šadhe* is commonly represented by the grapheme Š, a ligature of **st** or **ts**: *IRT* 873.1; 906.1/2 **myntsyfth** and *IRT* 828.3 **my(n)sty(f)th** *mintsivt* (**MŠBT** “stele”); *IRT* 873.3 **intseb** *intseb* (“he erected”); D 5.18 **utseb** *ūtseb* (“he erected”)l (ii). The common Punic name **ŠDN** appears in transcription as **Siddin** (*CIL* viii 9106) but also **Stiddin** (*CIL* viii 10686) and **Tziddin** (*CIL* viii 25168); (iii). Greek and Latin transcriptions of the word **HŠR** (“herb, grass”): Appuleius (Vattioni 529 no. 7) **atzir**. (“herb”); (iv). In Plautine Punic in Roman letters, datable to ca. 300 B.C., *šade* is transcribed **ss** and **t**, both being graphic

devices to convey the affricate *ts*: Pu *Poen.* 949 **iussim** *yūtsīm* (**YŠ'M** “they who are coming out”) and *Poen.* 1141 **dum et dum** ‘*ets* (**DM Š** “blood of the vine” = “wine”). To the use of **t** for *ts*, compare *Diod.* 2.167, 2.217, 158 ατιρ (*h*)*atsīr* (“herb”).

In late Neo-Punic, the *ts* merged with simple *s*: *Punica* p. 193 **TST** (“expenditure”) for **TŠ'T**. The pronunciation as simple *s* is also indicated by late Neo-Punic (*ca.* A.D. 350) D 6 **siben** *sib'en* (**ŠB'N** “our militia”), the initial sibilant of which is part of an elaborate alliterative scheme I-SaB-SiT-SaT-SiB-I that depends on the repetition of the the simple sibilant *s*. See C.R. Krahmalkov, *JAOs* 294 (1994), 68-82).

Q: Uvular stop /q/. In Punic in Greek and Latin letters, this phoneme is represented by Greek and Latin unaspirated stop κ (Latin **c**) in contrast to Punic /k/, which is represented by Greek and Latin aspirated stop χ (Latin **ch**): *EH* Greek 1.4 κουλω *qūló* (**QL** “his voice”); *Poen.* 930 **carothi** *qarōti* (**QR'T** “I called”); *Poen.* 931 **ma-com** *maqōm* (**MQM** “place”). But **chon** *kon* (**KN** *kon* “he was”).

R: Alveolar median resonant /r/. Unlike its Hebrew counterpart, the *r* may be geminated, as seen in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of the Pi'el active participle **M'RH** *me'erreh* as Μηρρη and **Merre** respectively, with gemination of /r/ (*KAI* 66).

Š: /š/ = [s̥], the reflex of PWS /θ š š/: these phonemes had early merged in Phoenician into a single bilateral fricative, hence the existence in the Phoenician alphabet of a single grapheme. In Classical Phoenician, the fricative merged with simple /s/ (expressed by the grapheme **Š**) but normally continued to be represented in the orthography by the grapheme **Ṣ̌**; the merging is exhibited in the 5th century Phoenician spelling **SR** for etymological **ŠR** in the Esmunazor inscription from Sidon (*KAI* 14.1). That Phoenician did not possess [ṣ̌] is confirmed by Augustine (*Epist. ad Rom. inch. Exp.* 13) in a word-play between the Punic numeral **salus** *salūs* (**ŠLŠ** “three, Trinity”) and Latin **salus** (“salvation”) that indicates that the numeral was pronounced *salūs*, not *šalūš* (Hebrew *šalōš*). The absence of the sound [ṣ̌] was also characteristic of “Ephraimite,” the dialect of the northern kingdom of Israel: Ephraimites were unable to articulate correctly the sibilant in the word *šibbolet*, producing instead a simple sibilant (*sibbolet*). See Judges 12:6. Finally, the coalescence

of the phonemes PWS /z s š/ as simple *s* is evidenced in a 4th century ad Punic poem that exhibits the alternating alliterative syllable sequence i-SAB-SIT-SAT-SIB-i that is produced by the verse **Is ab syth sath syby is ab sit sat sibī 'ž 'B ST ŠT ŠBY** ("Then did I make that enemy <my> captive."). See C.R. Krahmalkov, *JAOS* 294 (1994), 68-82.

Important Obs. In this grammar, Š is used for the grapheme but *s* for the pronunciation of the phoneme.

T: Simple alveolar stop /t/, indicated in Greek orthography by the Greek aspirated stop θ [tʰ] and in Latin by **th**: NPu *IRT* 901.3 **byth bit** (**BT** "daughter"); *IRT* 827.1 **myth mit** (**MT** "deceased"), *et passim*.

2. Noteworthy Phonological Phenomena

2a. Assimilation -nC- > -CC-

In Phoenician (Byblian and Tyro-Sidonian), the consonant *n* contiguous to a following consonant was assimilated to that consonant, with resultant gemination (doubling) of the latter. Examples are numerous: Byb 10.9 **TTN** *titten* < *tinten* ("may she give"); 52.1 **YTN** *yitten* < *yinten* ("may he give"); 60.5 **MŠBT** *miššibt* < *maššibt* ("stele") *et passim*. In some dialects, this assimilation did not take place: 50.3/4 (from Daphnae) **TNTN** *tintenī* ("you gave"). In Punic, the assimilation is often attested in formal language: 69.18 **NTN** *nitton* < *nintan* ("it shall be given"); 74.1 **MŠ'T** *misse(')t* < *mansi't* ("payment"). However, in Neo-Punic, as distinct from Punic and Phoenician, the assimilation does not take place: 137.6 **NNTN** *nintanū* ("they were given"); 119.6 **MNŠ'** *minso(')* ("gift, contribution"); 102.2 **MTNT** *mittint* < *mantint* ("gift" = Phoenician **MTT**); *IRT* 873.1 **myntsyfth** *mintsivt* < *maššibt* ("stele" = Phoenician **MŠBT** *miššibt*).

A related phenomenon is the assimilation -lq- > -qq- that was normative of forms of the verb *l-q-ḥ* in Phoenician and Punic: Punic 69.20 **YQH** *yiqqaḥ* < *yilqaḥ* ("he shall take"). Again, in Neo-Punic the assimilation did not take place: 122.2 **NLQH'** *nilqaḥū* ("they were purchased").

2b. Excrescent Consonants

Secondary morpheme-final -*m* appears in Punic with the suffix pronoun -**ṯ**-*i* ("his, her") of the third masculine and feminine singular, giving rise to the very common free variant form -**M**-*im*: Pu 115.2

NDRM *nidrim* ("his vow"). This excrescent consonant arose perhaps (i) in analogy to the final *-m* of the third plural suffix pronoun *-om* ("their") and (ii) to differentiate the third singular pronoun from the first singular *-Y -ī* ("my"): i.e., Pu *Poen.* 1141 **bene** ("my son") but NPu *IRT* 873.3 **binim** ("his son").

Already in Phoenician, one finds secondary word-final *-t* in the preposition **'LT** 'alt, spelled **alt** in Latin-letter Punic (*Poen.* 946), a free variant of **'L** 'al. Excrescent *-t* is common in the singular demonstrative pronouns of Neo-Punic **ST** (**sith, syth**) *sit* ("this," masculine) and **ST** (**soth**) *sōt* ("this," feminine), free variants of **S** (**sy**) *si* and **S** (**su**) *sō* respectively. See Demonstrative Pronouns.

2c. *Y*-Glide and Euphonic *-n-*

Early in the history of Phoenician, the suffixal pronouns *-o* ("his, him") and *-a* ("her") were extended to use after a vowel, the affixing enabled by the introduction of the intervocalic glide *-y-*: *sūsê-y-o* ("his horses") and *banê-y-a* ("her sons"). Part of this same development was the extension of the suffixal pronoun *-om* ("their, them") to use after vowels; this affixing however was accomplished by means of intervocalic "euphonic" *-n-*: *banê-n-om* ("their son"). In the grammatical description of these pronouns, however, the intervocalic *y*-glide and the euphonic intervocalic *-n-* is always taken as part of these pronouns; thus, the postvocalic forms of the suffixal pronouns of the third singular and third plural are described in this and other works on Phoenician grammar as *-yo*, *-ya* and *-nom*. In Neo-Punic, the intervocalic *y*-glide with the masculine singular suffixal pronoun was no longer pronounced; thus one finds the Latin-letter spellings *IRT* 865 **baneō** *banêo* ("his sons") and *IRT* 894.6 **buo** *būo* ("his father"); but the glide was retained with the feminine suffixal pronoun: *IRT* 826.3 **auia** *a(h)ūya* ("her brother") and *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.8 **chryrmyuia** *kirimūya* ("they honored her").

B. The Vowels

1. The Original Short Vowels

The short vowels of Phoenician and Punic are the reflexes of the original three short vowels of Semitic: /a i u/. As in Hebrew, the short vowels in Phoenician came each to have two phonologically distinct forms: (i) qualitatively short and (ii) qualitatively long. The qualitatively long variety of these vowels fell together to some ex-

tent with the original three long vowels and the two contracted diphthongs.

1a. Reflexes of Canaanite *a*

Original short *a* in a closed unstressed syllable had the reflex *i* or *e*; this sound change is normative of Phoenician-Punic phonology and extremely well attested: *CIL* viii 19121-3 **iddir** *'iddir* < *'addir* (“great,” in the divine name **Baliddir**); Pu *Poen.* 940 **imacom** *im-maqōm* < (*h*)*ammaqōm* (“the city”); Pu *Poen.* 1033 **migdil** *migdil* < *magdīl* (“magnifier”); NPu *IRT* 906.1/2 **myntsyfth** *mintšwt* < *manšibt* (“stele”); 145 I 4 **QYDŠ** *qiddīs* < *qaddīs* (“holy”); *EH* Gr. 1.2 ρυβαθων *ribbatōn* < *rabbatōnu* (“our lady”); *Poen.* 934 **thymmoth** *timmōt* < *tammāt* (“finished, past”). This sound-change is evidenced in Phoenician in the royal personal name *Mettēn* (*Me-e-te-en-nu*) (*Tigl.* iii 67.66).

Original *a* occasionally retained as *a* in a word-initial closed unstressed syllable of the type /*'aC-*/: Pu *Poen.* 940 **alonim** *'allōnīm* (“gods”); Pu **addir** *'addir* in the divine name **Abaddir** (*CIL* viii 21481); NPu *IRT* 893.1 **anasib** *an-natsīb* (“the stele”). It is also retained as *a* when the vowel is characteristic of the paradigm, for example in Pu *Poen.* 1023 **sycartim** *š'kartīm* (“you remember”) because *-a-* is the paradigmatic thematic vowel of the *Qal* suffixing form; cf. Pu *Poen.* 941 **bate** *bati* (“I have come”); Pu *Poen.* 1017 **iadata** *yada'ta* (“you know”) and Neo-Punic D 6 **garasth** *garast* (“I expelled”). The *a* is also retained in a unstressed syllable closed by a laryngeal or pharyngeal: NPu *Poen.* 933 **marob** *má'rób* (“custody”).

In a doubly closed syllable, the vowel is always *a*: NPu *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.2 **sath** *sat* < *šant* (“year”); D 6 **sath** *sat* < *šátt(i)* (“I placed”). However, in nouns of the type *CaCC*, the vowel may appear either in its original form: NPu *IRT* 889.2 **ars** (*h*)*ars* (**HRŠ** “craftsmanship”), or, as in Hebrew, as *e i y*, e.g. NPu D 2.14 **ers** *erš* (**'RŠ** “land”; cf. Hebrew *'éres*); NPu *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/2, 8 **iyra** *yíra(h)* (**YRH** “month”; cf. Hebrew *yérah*).

In an open or closed stressed syllable, the sound-change *a>o* was characteristic and distinctive of Tyro-Sidonian among the Canaanite languages: Phoenician *milkót* < *milkát* (“Queen” = *Ilāt*) in the personal name *Ab-di-mi-il-ku-ut-ti* (*Esar.* ii 65); *malók* < *malák* (“he reigns”) in the personal name *Ba'-al-ma-lu-ku* (*Asb.* ii 84, *Arvad*); Pu *Poen.* 947 **helicot** *h'likót* < *halikát* (“hospitality”); NPu *S* 24.5 **aros** *'arós* < *'arásš* (“he asked”); *EH* Gr 1.3 ναδωρ *nadór* < *nadár* (“he vowed”); *EH* Gr 1.4 σαμω *samó'* < *šamá'* (“he heard”), *et passim*.

Stress-lengthened *o* < *a* is sometimes found lowered to *u*: Pu *Poen.* 1141 **dum** *dum* < PC *dam* (“blood”) but also NPu Aug. to Psalm 136:7 **dom**. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun is always found in the shape **mu** *mū* < *mō* < *mā* (“what”). See the discussion of the Interrogative Pronouns.

The sound-change *a* > *o* under stress does not always occur: for reasons of paradigmatic uniformity, certain morphemes are not susceptible to stress-lengthening: (i) The Sg.3. F. of the suffixing form of the verb: NPu *IRT* 901.2 **fela** *felá* (“she made”); (ii) The extending a-vowel of the imperative masculine singular: Pu *Poen.* 1013 **laca** *lʰká* (“go!”) and **pursa** *pursá* (“explain!”); (iii) The final -*a* of the subjunctive: Pu *Poen.* 1027P **ierasan** *yer^asán* (“may he shake”); NPu *Poen.* 1027A **iyryla** *yirⁱla* (“may he shake”) and NPu *Poen.* 939 **lythera** *litírá* (“let me inquire”). The sound change does not take place in D 6.9, 10 **ab** (“chieftain < father”) because the initial a-vowel is characteristic of the full paradigm, which includes forms with different stress, such as *S* 24.2 **abunom** *abūnóm* (“their father”).

In an unstressed open syllable, original short *a*, as in Hebrew, was qualitatively long, appearing in Latin-letter and Greek-letter Punic and Neo-Punic always as **a**: NPu *IRT* 879.3 **auo** *awó* [*aawóo*] (“he lived”); *IRT* 879.3 **sanu(th)** *sanūt* [*saanúut*] (“years”); *EH* Greek 1.2 ρυβαθων *ribbatón* [*ribbaatóon*] (“our Lady”).

1b. Reflexes of Canaanite *i*

The reflex of original short *i* in a doubly closed unstressed and stressed syllable was qualitatively short *e* or *i*: NPu *IRT* 901.3 **byth** *bit* < *bitt* < *bint* (“daughter”); *IRT* 901.5 **bythi** *bittí* (“her daughter”); *Poen.* 934 **yth** *’it* < *’int* (“time”); Pu *Poen.* 947P **itt** *’itt* (“to/with”), var. 947A **ett** *’ett*. The sound-change *i* > *a* in a closed and doubly closed syllable, characteristic of Hebrew and Aramaic phonology, is unknown in Phoenician: *IRT* 901.3 **byth** *bit* (“daughter”), not *bat* as in Hebrew; NPu D 6.9 **is** *is* < *’iz* (“then”), not *’az* as in Hebrew.

In a closed unstressed syllable, original short *i* was also pronounced *e* or *i*: Pu *Poen.* 1002 **sem** *sem* (“name,” unstressed construct form); *Poen.* 948 **sibti** *sibtí* (“his residence”); NPu *Poen.* 934 **ynnochoth** (*h*)*innokōt* (“here”); *IRT* 877.4 **sem** *sem* (“name,” unstressed construct form); *Poen.* 937 **ythem** *’ittim* (“to/with him”).

In a stressed syllable, the vowel was qualitatively longer [*ee*], as suggested by its representation by η in the Pi’el suffixing verb σεληνημ [*selléem*] in the personal name *CIS* i 119 Εουμσελημου, and in

the Pi'el active participle Μηρρη [*m'erreéh*]; perhaps also in Pu *Poen.* 1013 **lec** [*léek*] (“go!”). The precise pronunciation of this vowel represented in Latin-letter orthography as **i** or **y** is difficult to determine: NPu *Poen.* 932 **yn** (*h*)*ín* (presentative particle); *IRT* 827.1 **myth mit** (“deceased person”). Unfortunately, in the Latin-letter orthography no means existed to indicate stress-lengthening of this vowel.

1c. Reflexes of Canaanite *u*

In a closed unstressed syllable, the reflex of original short *u* was *o*: *CRAI* 1931 pp. 21-17 **molch** *molk* < *mulk* (“*molk*-sacrifice”). In a closed unstressed syllable the reflex was *u*: Pu *Poen.* 1010 **pursa** *pursá* < *purša* (“explain!”). Original short *u* appears as *u* when stress-lengthened in an open stressed syllable; the pronunciation was perhaps [*uu*]: Pu *Poen.* 1017A **umir** = 1017P **umer** *úmer* [*úumer*]; cf. the stress-lengthening in Hebrew. **MR** *ómer* [*óomer*].

2. The Original Long Vowels and Diphthongs

2a. Reflex of Canaanite *ay*

The Canaanite diphthong *ay* had the reflex *ê*: Pu *Poen.* 940P **bet** *bêt* (“house”); *Poen.* 1142 **mem** *mêm* (“water”); *Poen.* 1027 **samem** *samêm* (“heavens”). Sometimes the contracted diphthong *ê* is found lowered to *î*: Pu *Poen.* 941A **bit** *bît* (“house”); Neo-Punic *PBSR* 28 53 no. 6.3 and *Poen.* 931 **byth** *bît* (“house, building”). The contraction of the diphthong in Phoenician is attested in sources of the 14th century B.C.: EA 144.17 (Beirut) **he-na-ia** *ênayya* < *aynayya* (“my eyes”); EA 148.12 (Tyre) **me-ma** *mêma* (“water”).

2b. Reflex of Canaanite *aw* and *ô*

The diphthong *aw* of Canaanite had the reflex *ô* in Phoenician: D 6.6 **on** *ôn* < *awn* (“iniquity”). This vowel fell together with the reflexes of Canaanite *ô*.

In a closed unstressed syllable, the reflex of the Canaanite long vowel *ô* < Semitic *ā* was *ō*: NPu *Poen.* 935 **dobrim** *dōbrim* (“they say”).

In an open or closed stressed syllable, the vowel was preserved as *ō* or frequently lowered to *ū*: Pu *Poen.* 949, 913 **co** *kō* (“here”) and NPu *Poen.* 934, 936, 939 **choth** *kōt* (“here”) but also Pu *Poen.* 942P **cu** *kū* (“here”). Similarly, Pu *Poen.* 930, 940 **macom** *maqōm* (“city”); *Poen.* 948 **mucom** *m^uqōm* (“place, city,” construct form) but also Pu

Poen. 940P **macum** *maqūm*. The lowering of the vowel is very common: Pu *Poen.* 940 **alonut** *'allōnūt* < *'allōnōt* ("goddesses"); *Poen.* 945 **comu** *k^omū* < *kamō* ("like, as"); *Poen.* 940P **macum** *maqūm* < *maqōm* ("city"); NPuAI 1 lines 3/4 **arun** *'arūn* < *'arōn* ("coffin"); *IRT* 828.2 **bur** *būr* < *bōr* ("tomb"); *AI* 2 p. 199 no. 50.2/3 **sanuth** *sanūt* < *šanōt* ("years"); *Poen.* 945 **liful** *lif'ūl* < *lip'ōl* ("to do"), *et passim*.

The vowel is normally *ū* in an open unstressed syllable: Pu *Poen.* 944, 948 **duber** *dūbér* < *dōbér* ("says"); *Poen.* 949 **iussim** *yūtsīm* (**YŠ'M** "those who are coming out"); NPu. *IRT* 906.4 **buny** *būnī* < *bōne* ("builder"); *S* 24.3 **bunem** *būnīm* < *bōnīm* ("builders"); *D* 5.19 **utseb** *ūtséb* < *yôšéb* < *hawšib* ("he erected"), *et passim*. Sometimes, however, the unstressed vowel appears as *ō*, this pronunciation preserved by means of closing the syllable in which the vowel occurs: NPu *Poen.* 999 **donni** *dōn(n)ī* < *'adōnī* ("sir"); *cf.* Punic *Poen.* 1141 **done** *dōn(n)ī* ("mein Herr") but also Pu *EH* Gr. 1.1 αδοουν *'adūn* ("Lord").

2c. Reflex of Canaanite *ī*

Canaanite *ī* was preserved in Phoenician, appearing in Latin-letter orthography as **i e y**: Punic *Poen.* 940 **alonim** *'allōnīm* ("gods"); *Poen.* 944 **ce** *kī* ("because"); *Poen.* 940 **is** *'īs* ("who") = *Poen.* 943, 949 **es**. Neo-Punic *Poen.* 935 **dobrim** *dōbrīm* ("they say"); *Poen.* 938 **elichoth** (*h*)^e*likot* ("hospitality"); *IRT* 828.2 **mythem** *mītīm* ("deceased persons"); *IRT* 879.1 **ys** *'īs* ("man"), *et passim*.

2d. Reflex of Canaanite *ū*

Canaanite *ū* was preserved: Punic *Poen.* 1013 **abuca** *'abūka* ("your father"); Neo-Punic *Poen.* 938 **gubulim** *g^ubūlīm* ("district, area, region"); *IRT* 893.5 **sebuim** *z^ebū(h)īm* ("sacrificed ones").

3. Secondary Vowels

3a. Anaptyctic *e i a*

In certain nouns of the shape *CVCC*, the final consonant cluster may be opened by means of an unstressed anaptyctic vowel *e i o*, when the final root consonant is one of the series *'h ḥ 'r*, by the anaptyctic vowel *a*: Pu *Poen.* 1017 **umir**, var. **umer** *'umir* < *'umr* (**MR** "word"); but *ITH* 4.1/2, 8 **iyra** *yíra(h)* (**YRH** "month"); *Diosc.* 2.125 ζερα *zéra* and *Pliny* 24.71 **zyra** *zíra* (**ZR** "seed"). When the second root letter was a pharyngeal or laryngeal, the anaptyctic vowel

was also *a*, although in Neo-Punic the underlying form *CáCaC* of such nouns has been reduced to a monosyllable of the shape *CaC*: **bal** *bal* < *bá'al* in *IRT* 889.2 **bal ars** *bal (h)ars* (**B'L HRŠ** "architect").

Anaptyxis also takes place with the feminine singular noun affirmative *-t*: NPu *Poen.* 938 **sibith** *sibit* < *šibt* ("residing"); *ITH* 4.6 **myith** *mí'it* < *mi't* (**M'T** "one hundred"). Note that in Punic the anaptyctic vowel may be preserved even when suffix pronouns are affixed: Pu *Poen.* 938 **sibithim** *sibitím* ("his residing").

Anaptyxis normally does not take place when the final root letter is the sonorant *l* or *r*: Diosc. 1.128 $\alpha\lambda\phi$ 'alp (**LP** "ox"); *IRT* 889.3 **ars** (*h*)ars (**HRŠ** "artisanship"); D 2.14 **ers** 'ers (**RS** "land"); *Poen.* 937 **irs** (*h*)irs (**HRŠ** "shard"); *CRAI* 1937 **molch** *molch* (**MLK** "molk-sacrifice").

3b. Furtive *a*

As in Hebrew, a so-called "furtive" *a*-vowel is heard in a closed syllable with long vowel in which the closing consonant is a laryngeal or pharyngeal: *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 3.2 **lua** *lū^aḥ* < *lūḥ* (**LH** "tablet").

3c. Prothetic Vowels

An initial consonant cluster may be resolved by means of an initial, prothetic vowel: 41.1 'Z *e*zde ("this"), a phonetic spelling of **Z** in which the prothetic vowel is indicated by 'aleph; the prothetic vowel appears as *e-* in the Latin-letter spellings Pu *Poen.* 947 **esde** and *Poen.* 940 **esse** of the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun. Compare also the Phoenician phonetic spelling 32.3 'ŠNM *e*snēm ("two"), with prothetic vowel indicated, and the phonemic spelling 64.1 ŠNM. As in Hebrew, the initial consonant cluster may be resolved either by means of a prothetic vowel or by the introduction of a short vowel between the two phonemes of the cluster: Phoenician 26 A I 15 'GDDM *e*gdūdīm ("bands") but Hebrew **GDWD** *g^edūd*. The prothetic vowel also appears in foreign words and names beginning with a consonant cluster, e.g., the name Κλεων (Cleon) is found in Punic with prothetic vowel: 66.1 'KLYN *e*Kleon. In Latin-letter Neo-Punic, the prothetic vowel appears as *i-* or *y-*: *IRT* 855.1 **Ysmun** ('SMN "Esmun") in the personal name **Abd-Ysmun**; *CIL* viii 1562 **Ismun** in the personal name **Abdismunis**; cf. Benz p. 279 Υζμουσν in the personal name Αβδουζμουσνος . Also used are *a-* and *e-*: *CIL* viii 5306 **Asmunis**; Herodt. 2.51 Εσμουνος .

4. *Word-Stress and Vowel Reduction*

Word-stress was, as in Hebrew, on final syllable in most instances. This word-final stress was already characteristic of Phoenician in the Assyrian period, as seen in numerous transcriptions of Phoenician personal and place names in which the word-final stress is indicated by gemination of the final consonant: Tig. Pil. III 67.66 Tyre *Me-te-en-na* *Mettén* (personal name); Esar. ii 65 Sidon *Ma'-ru-ub-bu* *Ma'rób* (place-name); Esar. ii 68 *Ši-du-un-ni* *Šidón* ("Sidon"); Tig. Pil. III 9.51 *Hī-ru-um-mu* *Hīróm* ("Hiram"); Esar. iii 16 *Ab-di-mi-il-ku-ut-ti* 'Abd-milkót ("Servant of Milkot").

As in other West Semitic languages; vowel reduction in Phoenician was related to word-stress. Word-stress and vowel reduction in Phoenician were essentially identical to Hebrew: full reduction to *zero* or partial reduction, with resultant *shewa*. In Latin-letter Punic and Neo-Punic, simple vocal *shewa* was variously indicated in the orthography by *e i y*; frequently, vocal *shewa* was colored by (assimilated to) a following vowel.

4a. Vowel Reduction in the Verb

4a-1. Propretonic: In the Suffixing Verb

Punic *Poen.* 1023 *sycartim*, var. *sicartim* (*SKRTM* *s'kartim* < *sakartim* "you remember"); cf. the same pattern of reduction in Hebrew *ŠKRTM* /*zəχarém*/. But, as in Hebrew (as against Aramaic), the pretonic a-vowel of the 1st and 2nd singular forms is not reduced: NPu D 6 *garasth* (*GRŠT* *garást* /*gaarást*/ "I expelled"); NPu *Poen.* 930 *carothi* (*QR'T* *qarōti* /*qaarōoti*/ "I called"); cf. Hebrew /*qaarāa-θi*/; Pu 1017 *iadata* (*YD'T* *yadá'ta* /*yaadá'taa*/ "you know"); cf. Hebrew /*yaadá'taa*/.

4a-2. Propretonic: In the Passive Participle (Qal-Stem)

Propretonic reduction is attested in the masculine plural passive participle NPu *IRT* 893.5 *sebuim* *s^ebu(h)im* < *zabūhīm* (*ZBHM* "sacrificed ones"). Here, the *e*-vowel represents general (non-colored) *shewa*.

4a-3. Pretonic: In the Suffixing Form (3rd Person) and in the Prefixing Form

Full vowel reduction (to *zero*) occurred in the Sg. 3. F. of the suffixing verb to judge from the Punic and Neo-Punic *IRT* 826.1/2 *fela*

felá < *fe'lá* < *fa'ala* ("she made"). The form *CiCCá* < *CaCaCá*, with full reduction of the vowel, was already characteristic of Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician in 14th century B.C. as indicated by the Tyrian Sg. 3. F. *šī-iḫ-ta-t ših̄tat* < *šah̄itat* ("it was destroyed") in EA 106.10 *ših̄tat āl Šumur* ("The city of Sumur has been destroyed"). Contrast the contemporary Jerusalemite form *a-ba-da-at 'abadat* ("it was destroyed") without reduction (EA 288.52). This same reduction explains the Pl. 3. suffixing verb *IRT* 889.2 *felu felū* < *fe'lū* < *fa'alū* ("they made").

Pretonic reduction is seen in the Sg. 3. M. Prefixing form Yiph'il Punic *ierasan* *yer^asán* < *yer'isan* (*YR'ŠN* "may he shake"), with thematic i-vowel of the Yiph'il reduced to *shewa*, which is colored by the following *a*-vowel. The thematic i-vowel of the causative stem is retained however in the Neo-Punic *iyryla* *yir'ila* (*YR'L* "may he shake").

4a-4. Propretonic: In the Imperative

Propretonic reduction to vocal *shewa* is evidenced in Pu *Poen.* 1013 *laca l^aká* (*LK* "go!"), the imperative *lec* with extending *a*-vowel; the *shewa* is colored by the following *a*-vowel; cf. the same reduction in Hebrew *l^eká* (*lek* + *-a*). Reduction to zero occurs in Punic *Poen.* 1010 *pursa pursá* (*PRŠ* "explain!") < *purus* + *a*; cf. Hebrew *ŠMRH* *šomra* < *š^emor* + *a*.

4a-5. Propretonic: In the Active Participle Plural

Full vowel reduction is evidenced in the Neo-Punic Qal active participle masculine plural *Poen.* 935 *dobrim dōbrim* < *dōberim* (*DBRM* "they say"). The singular is attested as *duber dūbérin* Punic (*Poen.* 944, 946) and *dubyr dūbír* in Neo-Punic (*Poen.* 936). It is possible that full reduction of the vowel in the active participle was morphophonemic, for such is the case in the plural active participle of verba IIIgem. in Punic, as seen in *KAI* 37 A 16, B 10) *GRM gōrrim* ("sawyers"), the plural of *CIS* I 4873.3 *GRR gūrér*. Such reduction is characteristic of verba IIIgem. in Aramaic: e.g. *'LL* *'ālél* ("enters") but plural *'LLYN* *'állin*.

4a-6. Propretonic: In the Qal infinitive

Attested in Punic/Neo-Punic *Poen.* 945, 935 *liful lif'ul* < *lifa'ol* (*LP'L* "to do") and Punic *Poen.* 948 *limur līmūr* < *li'mōr* < *li'amōr* (*L'MR* "to say"). Compare Hebrew *lif'ol* (*LP'L*) and *lemōr* (*L'MR*) respectively with the same pattern of vowel reduction.

4a-7. Propretonic: In the Sentence-Name

Attested in the name Benz pp. 401-402 Σοφωνιβα(ς) = **Sophoni-ba** = **Suphunibal** (*\$PNB'L*). The name is the sentence *š^ofōni-Bá'l* (“may Baal watch over me!”). The verb *š^ofōni* or *š^ufuni* < *šafōni* displays reduction of the initial *a*-vowel to *o*-colored shewa. The pattern of reduction does not reflect that of the verb + suffix but that of the name as a whole.

4b. Vowel Reduction In the Noun

4b-1. Pretonic Reduction

Pretonic reduction was characteristic of the construct noun: Pu Diosc. (Vattioni p. 526 no. 51) σιθιλ εσσαδε *s'īl es-sadé* (*\$TL H\$D* “shoot of the field,” the name of an herb), in which the construct noun *s'īl* < *satīl* displays reduction of the unstressed *a*-vowel to *i*-colored shewa; NPu D 21 **sydy Lybem** *s'di Lūbīm* (*\$D LBM* “Land of the Libyans,” Libya), in which the construct noun *s'di* < *sadi* in *s'di-Libīm* displays reduction of the unstressed *a*-vowel to *i*-colored shewa; but also with original vowel retained: D 2.7/8 **sady Lybim**; NPu *EH* Greek 3.2/3 φενη Βαλ *ḡnè-Bá'l* (*PNB'L* “Face of Baal,” Phanebal, a divine name), in which the construct noun *ḡnē* < *panē* displays reduction of the unstressed *a*-vowel; but also with the vowel retained: *EH* Greek 1.2/3 φανε Βαλ *ḡne Ba'l*. This same reduction occurs with the noun in construct with the determinative pronoun: Pu *Poen.* 948 **mucom sussibti** *m^uqōm sissibti* (*MQM \$SBTY* “the place of his residing”), in which the construct noun *m^uqōm* (=Heb. *m^eqōm*) < *maqōm* displays reduction of the unstressed *a*-vowel to *u*-colored shewa.

Pretonic reduction is also found in Punic in the preposition *Poen.* 945 **comu** *k^omū* and **cumu** *k^umū* < *kamū* (*KM* “like, as” = Hebrew *KMW* *k^emō*.. The *shewa* is colored by the final *o/u*-vowel.

In the noun *BN* *bin* (“son”) the *i*-vowel may be reduced to *zero* when the noun is preceded and followed by a vowel: **lifnim** *livnīm* (*LBNM* “for his son”); cf. Hebrew *LBNW* /*livnóo*/. This however is exceptional: in all other instances the *i*-vowel of the noun is retained (if perhaps reduced) under these same conditions: *IRT* 828.1/2 **loby[ni]m**; *IRT* 873.3 **libinim**.

4b-2. Propretonic Reduction

Pretonic reduction of an original long vowel is not possible; instead, the vowel of the propretonic syllable is reduced: Pu *Poen.* 937 **heli-**

cot = NPu *Poen.* 937 **elichoth** *h^elīkót* < *halīkát* (“hospitality”); cf. formally Hebrew cognate *h^alīká*, displaying the same pattern of vowel reduction. Similarly, NPu 178.1 **felioth** *f^elīót* (“workmanship”) and NPu *Poen.* 938 **gubulim** *g^ubūlīm* (“district”), the latter with coloring of the *shewa* by the following *u*-vowel.

4c. Syncope of Final Unstressed Vowels

The dropping or suppression of final unstressed short vowels is sporadically attested. For example, the pronoun of the first person, found in *plene* spelling as **’NKY** *’anīki* (*KAI* 89.2=*CIS* i 6068, Carthage), with the retention of final unstressed *i*-vowel, appears consistently in the contemporary literary Punic of the comedy *Poenulus* (ca. 300-200 B.C.) as **anic** or **anec** *’anīk*, with syncope of the vowel. The possessive suffix **-N** of the first plural is twice attested in Neo-Punic, in both instances without the final *u*-vowel of the etymon *-nu*: *EH* Greek 1.2 ρυβαθων *ribbatón* (**RBTN** “Our Lady”) and D 6.8 **siben** *šib’én* (**SB’N** “our militia”).

Syncope was permitted in poetry *metri causa*, for the purpose of maintaining rhythmic flow. For instance, the first person singular of the suffixing verb ended in an unstressed *i*-vowel which, we know, was retained down into the Punic and Neo-Punic periods in literary prose and, indeed, in dramatic speech: Pu *Poen.* 947 **nasote** (“I have brought”) = NPu *Poen.* 937 **nasothi**; Pu *Poen.* 940 **caruti** = NPu *Poen.* 930 **carothi** (“I invoke”). However, in a Neo-Punic poem (Dreder 6) composed ca. A.D. 350, one finds **garasth** *garast* (**GRŠT** “I expelled”) and **sath** *sat* (**ŠT** “I made”). In both instances, the verb coincides with an *iamb*; retention of the final unstressed *i*-vowel of *-ti* would have interrupted the perfect iambic rhythm. The verses in which the vowel is suppressed read as follows: D 6.5/6 **Badnīm garásth is ón** (“From Adnim I expelled the evil fellow.”) and D 6.9 **Is áb syth sáth sybý** (“Then did I make that enemy <my> captive.”). Also *metri causa*, in the final half verse of the same poem, the final unstressed *a*-vowel independent personal pronoun of the second person masculine singular *’atta* is also suppressed: D 6.11 **Ún ath áb[dach]á**.

4d. Aphetic Vowels

A well known if infrequently attested feature of Phoenician-Punic in all periods is the loss of the initial unstressed syllable *’a-*: Pu *Poen.*

945 **dono** *dōnó* < 'adōnó ("his father"); *Poen.* 999, 1141 **don(n)e** *dōnī* ("my Lord"); NPu *Poen.* 933 **ui** *ūyī* < 'a(h)ūyī ("my brother"); *IRT* 826.2 **uia** *(h)ūya* < 'a(h)ūya ("her brother"); S 24.4 **unom** *(h)ūnóm* < 'a(h)ūnóm ("their brother"). This feature of phonology is well represented also in Phoenician and Punic personal names: **H** *hī* < 'ahī ("my brother") in **HRM** *Hīrom* (31.1); **hi** in the name Himilis (*CIL* v 4919): cf. τιν Ιμολχ and Ιμιλχωνος (*IG* 12.279); **hi** in **Hi-ru-um-mu** (Hiram, Tiglath. III 9.51), *et passim*. Also **ot** *ōt* < 'a(h)ōt ("sister") in the name **'HTMLK**: *CIL* viii 5285 **Otmilc.**. Note however that the initial syllable 'a- is also often preserved: *PBSR* 13 (1957) no. 242 **abunom** *abūnom* ("their father"); *IRT* 826.3 **auia** *a(h)ūya* ("her brother").

CHAPTER THREE

THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. 1. C.

FORM A

'N 'anī

Ph CIS i 145.1; 49: 29 Ae; IEJ 23 p. 120.
NPu D 9.5

[a]ni

FORM B

'NK 'anīki

Ph 13.1,5; 14.3; 24.1, 9, 3; 26 A I 1,3,4; 48.1
4.1, *et passim*.

Byb 9 A 4; 10.2; 11; 12.2

Pu CIS i 3785.8; 6000

NPu 160.3; NP 86.4

'NKY

Ph 48.2 alongside 'NK in line 1.; 49.6, 13
(graffiti)

Pu 89.1

anec 'anīk

Pu Poen. 942A, 947, 949, 995, 1142

anech

NPu Poen. 932, 937, 939, 995

anic

Pu Poen. 942P

Sg. 2. M.

'T 'átta

Ph 13.3; 14.4, 20

NPu Trip. 79.1; Trip. 86.3 (3x)

ath

NPu D 6.11

Sg. 2. F.

'T 'atti

Ph 50.2, 3

Sg. 3. M

FORM A

H' hū

Ph 13.6; 14.22, *et passim*.

Byb 1.2; 10.9

Pu CIS i 171.7

hu	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 943, 946
u ū	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1010
	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936
FORM B		
H'T	Byb	4.2
Sg. 3. F.		
H' hī	Ph	40.2, <i>CIS</i> i 94.2
	Byb	10.13
	Pu	78.4
HY	NPu	130.3
y ī	Pu	<i>LA</i> 1 p. 45 no. 4.5; <i>PBSR</i> 28 p. 53 no. 5.11
Pl. 1. C		
FORM A		
NḤN naḥnu	Ph	14.12
FORM B		
'NḤN 'anaḥnu	Ph	14.16, 17
Pl. 2. M.		
'TM 'attim	NPu	163.1
Pl. 3. M.		
HMT	Ph	14.11, 22; 24.13
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.10, 11
	NPu	<i>RES</i> 669.5
Pl. 3. F.		
HMT	Ph	43.5

Comments

Sg. 1. **'NK** (*plene*: **'NKY**): No direct evidence exists for the pronunciation of the Phoenician pronoun, but it is reasonable to think it was *'anīki* (with penultimate stress) as in Punic. The vocalization of the Punic form is readily inferable from the 3rd cent. B.C. Latin-letter spellings **anec** and **anic** and from the Neo-Punic spelling **anech**. All indicate (i) that the *ō*-vowel of the etymon *'anōki* had been replaced by the *ī*-vowel of the short form *'anī*; and (ii) that the stress

was on the penultimate syllable, seen in the syncope of the final unstressed *i*-vowel in the Punic and Neo-Punic. The final *i*-vowel was retained however in the Punic-letter spelling of the pronoun into the Neo-Punic period.

The short form *'anī* of the pronoun was rare: it is attested *ca.* 1200 B.C. in an archaic inscription from Nora in Sardinia (*CIS* 1145) and in the late Roman period in a Neo-Punic tombstone from the Tripolitanian hinterland although the latter example is problematic. It may occur in a graffito from Egypt, but this is perhaps merely a scribal error for *'NK*. Also suspect is the putative example in the Goblet inscription (*IEJ* 23 p. 120) since it is by no means evident that the inscription is Phoenician. However, in spite of the rarity of its epigraphic occurrences, the pronoun must have been current in the language, which fact only can account for its having influenced through analogy the shape of the normative Phoenician-Punic first person singular pronoun *'anīki*.

Sg. 2: The only direct evidence for the pronunciation of the singular pronouns of the second person is the Latin-letter spelling **ath** of the masculine, with apparent syncope of the final *a*-vowel indicating penultimate stress. On the basis of this evidence, the Phoenician was perhaps *'átta*, with stress on the initial syllable. However, Neo-Punic **ath** occurs in a poetic verse in iambic trimeter, raising the possibility that the absence of the final *a*-vowel was perhaps *metri causa*; for in this same poem occur other examples of intentional dropping of final vowels for the purpose of achieving perfect rhythm. If so, the vocalization of the Phoenician may well have been *'attá*, as in Hebrew.

No evidence exists for the pronunciation of the second feminine singular pronoun. However, in light of the fact that Phoenician and Punic appear to preserve the final unstressed *i*-vowel of the second feminine singular suffixal pronoun *-ki*, as indicated by the *plene* spelling **-KY**, the second feminine singular independent pronoun may have been pronounced *'atti*, although as in the case of the masculine the position of the word-stress is unclear.

Sg. 3: The pronunciation of the masculine and feminine singular pronouns as *hū* and *hī* respectively is based on good evidence: for the masculine, the 3rd cent. B.C. Latin-letter Punic **hu** and later Neo-

Punic **u**; for the feminine, for the Neo-Punic *plene* spelling **HY** and Latin-letter **y**.

Archaic Byblian masculine **H'T** is difficult to explain. There are two possibilities: (i) it is the oblique form of the third person pronoun, the singular counterpart of Tyro-Sidonian third person plural pronouns (masculine and feminine) **HMT**. Archaic Byblian does possess the subject-case third masculine singular pronoun **H'**; (ii) the form is perhaps to be analyzed as **H'** with the archaic enclitic particle *-ti*, attested in the 14th century B.C. several times in the Amarna letters with the Canaanite interrogative pronoun in the expression *miya-ti anāku* ("Who am I?"). On this enclitic particle, see C.R. Krahmalkov, *JSS* 14 (1969), 201-204.

Pl. 1: The pronoun **'NHN**, twice attested in the Esmunazor inscription, corresponds to Hebrew ^a*nahnu* and was no doubt pronounced in the same way. In line 12 of the same inscription, in the form of a textual error, the aphetic form **NHN** is also attested: 14.12 **K 'NK {NHN} NGZLT BL 'TY** ("I [we] was snatched away not at my time."); this form corresponds to Hebrew **NHNW** *nahnu* (Genesis 42:11; Exodus 16:7; Numbers 32:32; Lamentations 3:42; Siloam inscription). The evidence, although meager, suggests that both forms existed in Phoenician, as in Hebrew.

Pl. 2: The masculine **'TM** alone is attested. There is no direct evidence for its pronunciation; but the shape can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence: the inflectional morpheme of the second masculine plural of the suffixing verb in Phoenician was vocalized *-tim*, this datum suggesting that the pronunciation of **'TM** may have been *'attim*. The second feminine pronoun is not recorded, but it is plausible that it, too, was **'TM** *'attim*; this may be inferred perhaps from the fact that in Phoenician the plural pronouns of the third person had fallen together under the masculine form **HMT**. One need also observe that in Middle Hebrew the masculine and feminine forms of the pronoun of the second plural had fallen together under the common form **'TN** *'atten* (M.H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, par. 70).

Pl. 3: The masculine and feminine fell together under the common form **HMT**, in origin the oblique (dative/accusative) form of the masculine plural. The coalescence of the masculine and feminine

independent pronouns is consistent with the coalescence of the third plural masculine and feminine suffixal forms under the masculine form **-M**. The pronunciation of the pronoun **HMT** is not known, and it is therefore not entirely clear if the masculine and feminine had fallen together fully in pronunciation or if there existed a minimal difference in vocalization between the two that marked gender.

B. *Syntax and Usage*

1. *Expressing the Subject of a Non-Verbal Sentence*

1a. Non-Verbal Sentence with Nominal Predicate

1a-1. Word Order: Subject – Predicate in an Independent (non-Subordinate) Clause

As the subject of a non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate, the independent personal pronoun may either precede or follow the nominal predicate.

CIS i 145 **'N P'L[. . . S]LT HṬ[M]**, “I am Pa'ol [-DN, a mi]ller of fine wheaten flour.”

17.2 **'NK 'BD'BST BN BDB'L**, “I am Abdubast son of Bodbaal.”

24.1 **'NK KLMW BR HṬ'**, “I am Kilamuwa son of Hayya.”

26 A I 1/2 **'NK 'ZṬWD HBRK B'L 'BD B'L**, “I am Aztwadda, he whom Baal has blessed, the servant of Baal.”

54.1 **'NK ŠM BN 'BD'ŠTRT 'ŠQLNY**, “I am Sem son of Abdastart the Ascalonite.”

40.2 **H' ŠT 57 L'Š KTY**, “It (year 31 of Ptolemy) is year 57 of the nation of Kition.”

43.5 **HMT L'M LPT' ŠNT 33**, “It (*lit.*, they=year 11 of Ptolemy) is year 33 of the nation of Lapethos.”

Pu 78.4/5 **[H]' 'BN 'RKT BKRŠ B'LḤMN**, “It (the stone) is a tall stele with the figure of Baalhammon.”

1a-2. Word-Order: Predicate – Subject in an Independent (non-Subordinate) Clause

14.12 **YTM BN 'LMT 'NK**, “I was an orphan, the son of a widow.”

Pu *Poen.* 995A **Anno bin Muttumbal leAdrumit anec** = *Poen.* 995P **Anno byn Mytthumbal leAdremeth anech**, “I am Hanno son of Muttumbal of Hadrumentum.”

NPu 72 B 4 **WB'L HṬŠ H' BTM**, “He himself was the master architect.”

D 9.1/5 **Yriraban byn Isichuar [i]s ys bAbar Timsiuch [a]ni**, “I am Yriraban son of Isichuar, a soldier from the Trans-Timsiuch.”

1a-3. Word-Order: Predicate – Subject Obligatory in a Conditional or Causal Clause

RES 922.2 [ʾ]M MLK H' 'M [. . .], “Whether/if he is a king or whether/if [he is . . .]”

Byb 10.9 **K MLK ŠDQ H'**, “For he is a good king.”

NPu LA no. 4.5 **chi ur Sorim y**, “For she is the light of the Tyrians.”

1b. The Subject of a Non-Verbal Sentence with adverbial Predicate

With sentence-initial locative adverb *hen*, *hinne* and *hinnokōt* (“here”):

Pu *Poen.* 946 **Hen hu Acharistocle**, “Acharistocles lives here.”
Literally, “He is here, Agorastocles.”

NPu *Poen.* 936 **Innochoth u Agorastocles**, “Agorastocles lives here.”
Literally, “He is here, Agorastocles”.

Byb 2.2/3 **HNY B'LK THT ZN**, “I, your king, am here, at the bottom of this <shaft>.”

2. Expressing the Subject of a Verbal Sentence

2a. Subject of Prefixing Form A Present/Future

2a-1. Word Order: Pronoun – Verb

The use of the independent personal pronouns with the prefixing forms of the verb (the reflexes of Canaanite *yaqtulu*, *yaqtula*, *yaqtul*) is optional. In some instances, the use of the pronoun is clearly for the purpose of placing emphasis on the subject of the sentence, rather than on the predicate. Prefixing Form A is the reflex of Canaanite *yaqtulu*.

Byb 1.2 **WH' YMḤ SPRH LPP ŠBL**, “If he shall erase its inscription, his royal robe shall be torn.”

48.2/3 **'NKY LRBTY L'LM 'DRT 'S 'LM 'ŠTRT WL'LNM 'Š'L [TB]RK 'Y[T 'B'T B]NY**, “I request of my Lady <and> of the great goddess Isis <and of> the goddess Astarte and of the gods: Bless he my four sons!.”

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Al. Anec este mem**, “No!. I shall drink water!”
Obs. This statement is the rejection of the invitation **neste ien neste**

dum et, “Let us drink wine! Let us drink the blood of the vine!” The speaker places emphasis on what *he* will do at the banquet.

2b. Subject of Prefixing Form B and Prefixing Form C Cohortative

2b-1. Word Order: Pronoun-Verb or Verb-Pronoun

Prefixing Form B is the reflex of Canaanite *yaqtul*, Prefixing Form C of Canaanite *yaqtula*. The pronoun as subject of the Prefixing Form may precede or follow the verb.

Pu *Poen.*949 **Anec l-itor bod es iussim limin co**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.” = NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) l-ythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**.

NPu *Poen.*932 **L-iphoc anech yth byn ui iaed**, “I would get my brother’s only son.”

2c. Subject of Suffixing Form Past Perfective

2c-1. Word Order: Pronoun-Verb

In a simple declarative statement that is an independent (non-subordinate) clause, past perfective action is often expressed by the Suffixing Form (*qatali*, *qatalta*, *qatol*). In Classical Phoenician literary usage, this form of the verb, when used to express the Past Perfective, is syntactically restricted to non sentence-initial position. This is to say, the Suffixing Form must be preceded by another part of speech (other than the conjunction *W-*). One part of speech that enables the use of this form with Past Perfective tense-reference is a preceding independent personal pronoun. When the independent pronoun is found with the Suffixing Form, its use is therefore often merely to enable the use of the Suffixing Verb as Past Perfective. However, frequently the pronoun is also used for the purpose of providing emphasis upon the subject of the sentence rather than on the predicate.

Byb 4.2/3 **H’T HWY KL MPLT HBTM ’L**, “It was *he* who rebuilt all the ruined temples hereabouts.” *Obs.* Here, emphasis is placed on the subject of the sentence, hence perhaps the use of the oblique form of the pronoun.

14.12 **K ’NK {NHN} NGZLT BL ’TI**, “I was snatched away not at my time.”

24.13 **W’NK TMKT MŠKBM LYD WHMT ŠT NBŠ KM NBŠ YTM B’M**, “But *I* took the *mškbm* by the hand, and they felt (about me) as an orphan feels about a mother.” *Obs.* In this statement, the

speaker (King Kilamuwa) contrasts his attitude and actions towards the *mškbm* (a lower class of society) to that of his predecessors, who “treated the *mškbm* like dogs!”

Pu *Poen.* 943/44 **Hu neso bin us esse**, “He was made the son of (*i.e.*, he was adopted by) this man.”

Pu *Poen.* 947 **Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, “With him I shared a shard of hospitality.”

NPu *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, “With him I shared this shard of hospitality.”

2c-2. Obligatory Inverted Word Order: Suffixing Form Consecutive – Pronoun

The so-called “consecutive” of the Suffixing Form is syntactically restricted in a simple independent clause to follow the main (first) verb of the clause; if the consecutive form has an independent pronoun as its subject, the pronoun may not intervene between it and the main verb, but must follow the consecutive form.

Kition 4/5 . . . **WNŠHT BKL 'BN WB'ŽRNM HPPYM WYTNT 'NK . . . 'YT HTRPY 'Ž** . . . and I defeated all my enemies and their Paphian allies, and so I did I erect this *tropaion*.”

43.12/14 **KM HDLT HNḤST [Ž K]TBT WSMRT BQR. . . WP'LT 'NK 'LT [HMQDŠ} . . . 'PDT BKSP**, “So, too, did I inscribe this bronze plaque and nail it to the wall, and I made for the sanctuary an ephod of silver.”

Pu *CIS* i 5510.10 **WYLK RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WḤMLKT BN ḤN' HRB 'LŠ WIMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT [H]MT ŠLM**, “Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great proceeded at dawn, and they seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace.”

2c-3. Obligatory Inverted Word-Order: Suffixing Form – Pronoun in a Causal Clause

RES 1213.5/6 **K ŠM' H' QL**, “<He presented this statue to his Lord Rasap-Alahiota>, because He heard his voice.”

2d. Subject of an Active Participle

2d-1. Word-Order: Pronoun – Participle

The independent personal pronoun as subject of an active participle may precede or follow the verb.

Byb 11 *B'RN ZN 'NK BTN'M. . . ŠKBT*, “I, Bitnoam, lie in this coffin.”

Byb 13.1 *WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ZN*, “And so here do I lie, in this coffin.”

13.1/3 *'NK TBNT . . . ŠKB B'RN Z* “I, Tibnit, lie in this coffin.”

13.5 *KL MNM MŠD BLT 'NK ŠKB B'RN Z* “Nothing of value but for me lies in this coffin.”

2d-2. Word-Order: Participle – Pronoun

14.3 *WŠKB 'NK BHLT Z*, “And I lie in this coffin.”

Byb 9 A *BMŠKB ZN 'Š ŠKB 'NK BN*, “In this resting-place in which I lie.”

2e. Subject of Infinitive Absolute Past Perfective

2e-1. Obligatory Word Order: Infinitive – Pronoun

The Infinitive Absolute with following independent personal pronoun expressed the past perfective action; the infinitive was syntactically restricted to sentence-initial position and personal pronoun, as its subject, restricted to follow the infinitive directly. Examples of this periphrastic tense are many; a few only are cited here.

24.8 *WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR*, “I hired against him the king of Assyria.”

26 A I 3/4 *YHW 'NK 'YT DNMYM*, “I kept the Danunians alive.”

26 A I 11/12 *WŠT 'NK ŠLM 'T KL MLK*, “And I made peace with every king.”

26 A 9 *WBN 'NK HQRT Z*, “And I built this city.”

Byb 10.2/3 *WQR' 'NK 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' [H'] QL*, “I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, and she heard my voice.”

Pu *Poen.* 942/3 *Iulec anec cona, alonim balim, bane be-cor Bals[. . .],* “I brought here, O proprietary gods, my firstborn son Bals[. . .].”

Obs. In Phoenician, several periphrastic tenses and moods (future tense, subjunctive, jussive/optative) are formed with the Infinitive Construct. The pronominal subject of the Infinitive Construct is never the independent personal pronouns but always the suffixal pronouns.

2f. Subject of Imperative Form

2f-1. Word-Order: Pronoun – Verb or Verb – Pronoun

The use of the independent personal pronoun with the Imperative Form is entirely optional. The following are instances of this usage.

50.3 **'T BṬḤ BDBR[Y]**, “Trust thou in my word!”

NPu Trip. 86.3 **'T Q'M BB'T 'T HKR S W'T KRY KRY 'T HŠD**, “You keep to the sale agreement! You heed this! And you buy, buy the field!”

NPu D 6.11 **Un ath ab[dach]a**, “Spare thou thy servant!”

3. Complementing or Emphasizing a Suffix Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun often follows a suffixal pronoun, complementing it or sometimes lending emphasis.

Byb 10.12/13 **ŠM 'NK YḤWMLK MLK GBL [TŠ 'T]K 'L ML'KT H'**, “Place *my* name, Yehawmilk King of Byblos, with your own on that work.”

26 A II 5/6 **WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LHḌY DL PLKM**, “<In places that were dangerous in the past, where one used to be afraid to walk the road>, in *my* time a woman walks alone without bodyguards.”

43.2 **HSML Ḳ MŠ 'NK YTNB'L**, “This image is a statue of me, Yatonbaal.” *Obs.* In this instance, the independent personal pronouns is required syntactically so that the personal name may stand in apposition to the pronoun *me*. Direct apposition to a suffixal pronoun is not possible.

Pu 79.6/8 **KL 'Š LSR T-'BN Ḳ BY PY 'NK WBY PY 'DM BŠMY**, “Anyone who shall remove this stone without *my* expressed personal permission or without the permission of someone expressly authorized by me.”

4. Expressing the Intensive Personal Pronoun (with **BT-** or **BNT-**)

The intensive independent personal pronoun (“I myself,” Latin **ego ipse**) is expressed in Phoenician and Punic by the independent personal pronoun followed by the particle **BT-** (**BNT-**) + third person suffix pronoun: NPu 72 B lines 1/4 **P'L WNDR WHḌŠ 'YT T-GZT ST 'BD'ŠMN BN 'ZRB'L HKHN LRBBTN LTNT 'DRT WHGD WB'L ḤRŠ H' BTM**, “Abdesmun son of Hasdrubal the Priest made this *gzt* for Our Lady Great Tinnit. He himself was the *gd* (?designer) and architect.” *Obs.* The particle **BT** *bitt-* and its free variant **BNT** *binat-*

were commonly used in Phoenician and Punic after the possessive pronouns to express the reflexive possessives (“my own,” “your own,” etc.), and with the anaphoric pronoun to express the emphatic anaphoric pronoun (“the same,” “the very”).

5. *Expressing the Anaphoric Pronoun*

The anaphoric pronoun (“that, the aforementioned”) is expressed by the independent personal pronoun of the third person standing in apposition to the noun. The definite article is optional with the noun and normally not used with the pronoun although in Punic one instance is recorded.

5a. The Noun Carries the Definite Article

13.6 **'L 'L TPTḤ 'LTY W'L TRGZṆ K T'BT 'ŠTRT HDBR H'**, “Do not, do not open it [my coffin], and do not disturb me; for that act would be an abomination to Astarte.”

14.22 **YQSN HMMLKT H' WH'DMM HMT**, “They [=the holy gods] shall cut off that king and those persons <who shall violate this tomb>.”

5b. The Noun Does Not Carry the Definite Article

14.9/10 **LQSTNM 'YT MMLKT 'M 'DM H'**, “They (the gods) shall cut off that king or that commoner.”

Pu 79.10/11 **WŠPT TNT-PNB'L BRḤ 'DM H'**, “Thinnith-Phanebal shall condemn that person.”

NPu *PBSR* 28 53 no. 5.10/11 **Felu tabula y bud bannom**, “That tablet was made (*lit.*, they made) by their son.”

5c. The Pronoun Carries the Definite Article

Pu *Poen.* 944/946 **Fel . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim a-u**, “He did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>.” = NPu *Poen.* 935/36 **Fel yth chyl ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, “He did everything for his son that he was to do for him.”

6. *Expressing the Emphatic Anaphoric Pronoun (with BT- or BNT-)*

The emphatic anaphoric pronoun (“the/that very, the/that same;” cf. Latin *isdem*) was expressed by the anaphoric pronoun followed

by the particle *BNT*- with third singular suffix pronoun *-Y*. This same particle is that used with the possessive pronouns to express the reflexive possessive (“his own,” Latin *suus*). One example of the emphatic anaphoric pronoun is attested: Kition lines 1/3 *BMŠ’NM’BN W’ZRNM HPPYM L’GD LN MLHMT B[YM]M [x] LYRH ZYB ŠT 1 LMLKY . . . WYŠ’ LN[M MH]NT Š KTY L’GD LM MLHMT BMQM ’Z BYM H’ BNTY*, (“When our enemies and their Paphian allies came to do battle with us on day [x] of the month of Zib in year 1 of my reign, the army of the people of Kition went forth against them to do battle with them at this place on that same day [*BYM H’ BNTY*].”)

7. *Proleptic*

The independent personal pronoun of the third person is used as the grammatical subject of a sentence anticipating the logical subject, normally a personal name, which stands in apposition. The suffixal pronouns of the third person are also use in this manner. An instance of the proleptic independent pronoun occurs in Punic in *Poen.* 946: **Ys duber ci hen hu Acharistocle**, (“I am told that Acharstocles is [lives] here.”). = NPu 936 **Ys dubyr ch’innochoth u Agorastocles**. In this sentence, the pronoun **hu** (“he”) is the grammatical subject; **Acharistocle/Agorastocles**, which stands in apposition to the pronoun, is however the logical subject of the sentence. Translated literally, the sentence reads: “I am told that he is (lives) here, Acharistocles/Agorastocles.”

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUFFIXAL PRONOUNS

I. POSSESSIVE

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. 1. C.

FORM A

-Ø -ī

Ph

Old Tyro-Sidonian: 24.3 **'B** 'abī (“my father,” nom.); 24.3 **'H** 'ahī (“my brother,” nom.) Cyprus: 43.2 **MŠ** mesī (“statue of me”); 43.16 **ŠRŠ** sursī (“my stock”)

Byb

10.3,8 **QL** qōlī (“my voice,” acc.), **ŠM** semī (“my name”)

FORM B

-Y -ī < -ya

Ph

Old Tyro-Sidonian: 24. 5 **'BY** 'abī (“my father”), spelling reflecting earlier 'abīya.

Byb

Byblian: 10.3,7 **RBTY** rabbatī, spelling reflecting earlier rabbatiya (“my Lady”); 10.5,14 **PTHY** pittūhī (“my engraving”), spelling reflecting earlier pittūhiya

FORM AB

-Y -ī

Ph

14.14 **'MY** 'ammī (“my mother”) (nom.); 26 C IV 18 **ŠMY** semī (“my name,” acc.) *et passim*.

-e

Pu

Poen. 1141 **bene** (“my son,” var. **bane**); *Poen.* 1141 **done** (“monsieur”)

-i

Pu

Poen. 943, 1141 **silli** (“my”)

FORM C

-i *-yī* NPu *Poen.* 933 **ui** (*h*)*ūyī* (“my brother”)

FORM D

-Y *-ay* Ph EA 144.17 nominative **he-na-ya** ‘*ēnayya* (“my eyes”); 43.11 **HY** *hayyay* (“my life”); 48.3 **BNY** *banay* (“my sons”)

Sg. 2. M.

-K *-ka* Ph 47.2; Umm el-Amed 13.1, 14.2 ‘**BDK** (“thy servant”)

Byb 2.2 **B’LK** (“thy lord”); 3.4 **MGŠTK** (“your half”)

Pu 82.1 ‘**BDK** (“thy servant”)

-K’ Pu *cf.* the object pronoun in **YŠRK’** (“may he protect thee!”) in the personal name *CIS* i 598.1 **PM YŠRK’**

-ca Pu *Poen.* 1002 **abuca** (“thy father”)

-cha NPu D 6.11 **ab[dach]a** (“thy servant”)

Sg. 2.F.

-K *-kī* Ph 50.1 ‘**HTK** (“thy sister”)

-KY Pu *CIS* i 3777.1 ‘**BDKY** (“thy servant”)

Sg. 3. M.

FORM A

-Ø *-o* Ph 24.15, 16 **R’Š** *rūso* (“his head,” acc.); 38.2, 39.3, 41.6 **QL** *qūlo* (“his voice,” acc.)

Byb 1.2 **ŠBL** *sabīlo* (“his robe,” nom.); *cf.* Byb 12.3 **L lo** (“for him”) and 12.4 **YBRK yibroko** (“may he bless him!”)

-’ Pu 68.5 **QL’** *qūlo* (“his voice,” acc.); 78.6 **ŠD’** *šiddo* (“his back”); *CIS* i 5945.2 ‘**ŠT’** *’isto* (“his wife,” nom.)

NPu 119.8 **QL’** *qūlo* (“his voice,” acc.)

-‘ NPu *EH* 4.4 **QL’** *qūlo*

-“ NPu *CIS* i 3709.6 **QL”** *qūlo*

-ω Pu 175.4 **κουλω** (“his voice,” acc.); *cf.* **βαραχω** (“he blessed him”)

-o Pu *Poen.* 944 **dono** (“his father,” nom.)

NPu *PBSR* 28 no. 6.1 [by]no (“his son,” nom.); ditto no. 7.2 [XX]utho (“its . . .s,” acc.)

Byblian

-*H* -á-hu (with the accusative) 1.2 *SPRH* siprahu (“his inscription,” acc.); 10.14 *YSDH* yasōdáhu (“its base,” acc.)

FORM B

-*Ø* -i < -ih(u)Ph Umm el-Awamid 6.1/2 'ŠT 'isti (“his wife,” gen.)
 Pu 61 B 3/4 (Malta 6th cent.) 'DN 'adūnī (“his Lord”); *IFPCO* Sard. 35 (Cagliari, 4th cent.) 'ŠT 'isti (“his wife,” gen.); *CIS* i 5522.2/3 'DN 'adūnī (“his master,” gen.)
 -*Y* Ph 35.2/3 'ŠTY 'isti (“his wife,” gen.)
 Pu 111.4 *MLKY* molki (“his reign,” gen.)
 NPu Trip. 79.4 'ŠTY 'isti (“his wife,” gen.)
 -' NPu 1x: 119.4 *M'KN'* (“its platform,” gen.)
 -'Y NPu 1x: 118.1 *BT'I* bêṭī (“his temple,” gen.)
 -η Ph 174.6 αμαθη (“his female slave,” gen.)
 -ε Ph 174.8 αφδε (“his slave,” gen.)
 -e NPu *IRT* 889.1 byne (“his son,” nom.)
 -i Pu *Poen.* 948 sibti (“his residing,” gen.)

Punic, with excrement -m

-*M* -im Pu 84.1 *BNM* binim (“his son,” gen.); *EH* 27.2 Pu *NDRM* nidrim (“his vow,” gen.)
 NPu 123.3; Trip. 79.3 'MM ammim (“his mother,” gen.); 124.2, 126.11 *MLKTM* (“his property,” gen.); 120.3, 121.2 *T'RM* (“his money,” gen.); 129.3 *TŠ'TM* (“his expense,” gen.); 126.8 'BTM abūtim (“his ancestors,” gen.), *et passim*
 -em NPu *IRT* 877.5/6, 893.3/4 banem (“his son,” gen.); *AI* 1 p. 233 line 2; *IRT* 893.2/3 bythem (“his daughter,” gen.); *cf. Poen.* 935, 937 ythem (“to/for him”)
 -im NPu *IRT* 892.4/5 allonim (“his god,” gen.);

IRT 873.3 **binim** (“his son,” nom.); *Poen.* 936 **binim** (“his son,” gen.); *AI* I line **lyfnim** (“for his son”); *Poen.* 938 **sibithim** (“his residing,” gen.); *IRT* 828.2 **ysthim** (“his wife,” gen.)

Byblian

-H *-i-hu*

12.2 **MŠPṬH** *mispatihu* (“his imperium,” gen.) and **MLKH** *molkihu* (“his reign,” gen.)

-W *-iw < -i-hu*

5.2, 6.2, 7.4 **’DTW** *’adatiw* (“his Lady,” gen.); 9 B 4 **’RNW** *’arōniw* (“his coffin,” gen.); 10.15 **ζR’W** *zar’iw* (“his seed,” gen.)

FORM C

-Y *-yo*

Ph

19.3 **’BDY** *’abdēyo* (“his servants”); 34.1 **’BY** *’abūyo* (“his father”); 47.2 **’HY** *’ahūyo* (“his brother”); **’HTY** *’hayyēyo* (“his lifetime”)

-Y’

NPu

Trip. 79.2 **’BY’** *’abūyo* (“his father”)

-o

NPu

IRT 865 **baneo** *banēyo* (“his sons”); *IRT* 877.6 **buo** *būyo* (“his father”)

Byblian

-H *-hu*

-W *-w*

1.1 **’BH** *’abihu* (“his father,” gen.)

4.5; 6.3; 7.5; 10.9 **ŠNTW** *šanōtēw* (“his years”); 10.9 **YMW** *yamēw* (“his days”)

Sg. 3.F.

FORM B

-Ø *-a*

Ph

26 A II 10 **ŠM** *sema* (“its name”)

Byb

Not recorded

-’

Pu

CIS i 371.6; 395.5 **QL’** *qūla* (“her voice”)

-’

NPu

CIS i 2005.5 **QL’** *qūla* (“her voice”)

-’’

NPu

CIS i 3599.4 **QL’’** *qūla* (“her voice”)

Byblian:

-H *-a’h(a)* (with acc.)

Byb 10.6 **MSPNTH** *mispantáha* (“its ceiling,” acc.)

FORM B

-Y *-i*

Ph

26 A II 3 **MB’Y** *mabō’i* (“its [the sun’s] setting”); 29.2 **RBTY** *ribbati* (“her Lady”);

		40.4 BNY <i>beni</i> (“her son,” gen.)
-i	NPu	IRT 901.5 bythi (“her daughter,” gen.)
Byblian		
-H <i>-i-ha</i> (with gen.)		Byb 10.4 HŠRH <i>hašerîha</i> (“her temple,” gen.)
FORM C		
-Y <i>-ya</i>	Ph	not recorded
-Y'	NPu	JA 1917/2, 14.4f 'šMY' <i>'ašmêya</i> (“her bones”)
-ia	NPu	auia <i>a(h)ūya</i> (“her brother”); uia <i>(h)ūya</i> (“her brother”)
Pl. 1. C.		
FORM A		
-N <i>-en</i>	Ph	'DNN ? <i>'adūnon</i> (“our Lord”: nom.)
-en	NPu	D 6.8 siben <i>šib'en</i> (“our militia”) nom.)
FORM B		
-N <i>-on</i>	Ph	47.1 'DNN ? <i>'adūnen</i> (“our Lord,” gen. case)
	Byb	12.3 'DNN (“our Lord”)
-ωv	Pu	EH Greek1.2 ρυβαθων <i>ribbaton</i> (“our Lady,” gen.)
FORM C		
-N <i>-n</i>	Ph	After a vowel: 'BN <i>'abūn</i> (“our father”) Kition 'BN <i>'ēbēn</i> (“our enemies”)
Pl. 2. M.		
-KM <i>-kom</i>	Pu	CIS i 2632 'MTKM <i>'amatkom</i> (“your maidservant”); CIS i 5690 'BDKM <i>'abd'kom</i> (“your slave”)
-chom	NPu	Poen. 933 mysyrthochom <i>mišširt'kom</i> (“your protection”); Poen. 933 sylochom <i>sillokom</i> (“your”)
Pl. 3. M.		
FORM A		
-M <i>-om</i>	Ph	Umm el-Awamid 6.1/3 BNM <i>binom</i>

		(“their son”); Lapethos 3.4 MSPRM <i>misparom</i> (“their number”); Lapethos 3.5 MŠQLM <i>misqalom</i> (“their weight”) <i>et passim</i>
	NPu	<i>Karthago</i> 12 p. 54 IV 2 ŠM'TM <i>semūtom</i> (“their names,” nom.)
-om	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 53 no. 5.9 bynom <i>binom</i> (“their son,” nom. case)
FORM B		
-NM <i>-om</i>	Ph	26 A I 18 LBNM <i>libb^enom</i> (“their heart”); 34.5 NHTNM <i>naht^enom</i> (“their rest”); 48.3 'MNM <i>'amm^enom</i> (“their mother”)
-nom	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 53 no. 5.11 bannom <i>bannom</i> (“their son,” gen. case)
FORM C		
-NM <i>-nom</i>	Ph	40.5 'BNM <i>'abūnom</i> (“their father”)
-N'M	NPu	Trip. 77.2 'BN'M <i>'abūnom</i> (“their father”)
-NHM	NPu	142.4 'B'NHM <i>'abūnom</i> (“their father”)
-nom	NPu	S 24.2 abunom (“their father”); S 24.4 unom (“their brother”)
Byblian		
-HM <i>-hem</i>		<i>cf.</i> 10.6 'LHM <i>'alêhem</i> (“upon the”)
Pl. 3. F.		
FORM A		
-M	Pu	<i>RES</i> 1543.4/5 MSPRM <i>misparam</i> (“their number,” antecedent: KTBT)
FORM B		
-NM	Ph	<i>cf.</i> 14.20 LKNNM <i>lakūn^enam</i> (“that they might be”)
FORM C		
-NM	Ph	<i>cf.</i> 14.19 YSPNNM <i>yasapnūnam</i> (“we annexed them”)

1. General Comments

Sg. 1. C.: In early Phoenician orthography, the pronoun of the first singular used with the noun in the nominative and accusative cases

(Form A) was $-i$ (written $-\emptyset$); its complementary form (Form B) $-ya$ (written $-\mathcal{Y}$) was used with the noun in the genitive case, affixed to the case-vowel $-i$ of the genitive. Later in the history of the language, the final unstressed a -vowel of $-i-ya$ was lost, with the result that the suffixal pronoun came to be pronounced $-\acute{y}$ ($-i$), coalescing in pronunciation with Form A. In the Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician of the Kilamuwa Inscription (ca. 825 B.C.) and the inscriptions of Cyprus, as well as in Byblian Phoenician, these original (historical) spellings were retained even though Forms A and B were pronounced alike. In Standard Phoenician, however, common form $-i$, used with all cases of the noun, came to be written *plene* as $-\mathcal{Y}$. Form D, used with the masculine plural noun, was pronounced $-ay$; the pronoun was the reflex of the etymon $-ayya$, historically, Form B affixed to the inflectional morpheme of the masculine plural noun.

Form C $-yi$ was a Neo-Punic innovation in analogy to postvocalic $-yo$ ("his") and $-ya$ ("her"). It is possible that in Neo-Punic this form may have replaced $-ay$ with masculine plural nouns, that is, Neo-Punic may have had *banêyi* ("my sons") rather than *banay*, in analogy to *banêyo* ("his sons") and *banêya* ("her sons"); but there is no written evidence of this development.

Sg. 2. M. and Sg. 2. F.: The masculine was $-ka$ and the feminine $-ki$, both retaining their final unstressed vowels, as the Latin-letter spellings and *plene* spellings indicate.

Sg. 3. M.: Form A $-o$ is the reflex of earlier $-oh < -\acute{u}-hu$, the archaic suffixal pronoun $-hu$ affixed to the nominative case-vowel. Byblian Phoenician $-o$ is of the same origin. However, in Tyro-Sidonian, Form A was early extended to use with the noun in the accusative case; this was not the case in Byblian, which retained a distinctive form $-\mathcal{H}$ ($^?a'hu$) for the accusative: Byblian nominative case 1.2 *ŠBL sabīlo* ("his robe," cf. 12.3 *L lo* "for him") but accusative case 1.2 *SPRH siprahu* ("his inscription") and 10.14 *YSDH yasōdahu* ("its foundation").

Form B $-i$ is the reflex $-ih < -i-hu$, the archaic suffixal pronoun $-hu$ affixed to the genitive case-vowel; compare Aramaic $-eh$ ("his"). The original spelling of Form B was $-\emptyset$; while this spelling does occur, it is extremely rare, early replaced by the *plene* spelling $-\mathcal{Y}$ $-i$, which was normative of Phoenician orthography. In Punic and Neo-Punic, this pronoun appeared in the free variant $-\mathcal{M}$ $-im$, with excrement $-m$, perhaps to distinguish the third person $-i$ from the first

person singular *-ī*, which was identical in pronunciation.

In contrast to Tyro-Sidonian, Byblian Phoenician retained archaic *-ihu* of the Sg. 3. M. suffixal pronoun; the form appears in the archaic Byblian inscriptions as *-H -ihu*: 1.2 *MŠPTH mispaṭihu* and *MLKH molkihu*; and later in Byblian, with elision of intervocalic *h*, as *-W -iw*: 5.2, 6.2, 7.4 *'DTW 'adatiw* ("his Lady," gen.); 9 B 4 *'RNW 'arōniw* ("his coffin," gen.); 10.15 *ZR'W zar'iw* ("his seed," gen.). This same pronoun is found in archaizing Hebrew in the genitive form *MYNHW mīnēhu* ("its species") in Genesis 1:12 (*bis*), which co-occurs with the nominative form *ZR'W zar'ó* ("its seed") in the same verse.

In late Neo-Punic, Form B, used in Standard Phoenician and Punic exclusively with the noun in the genitive case, came to be used with the noun in the nominative case as well: *IRT* 889 *binim* and *IRT* 906.1 *byne*, both "his son" in the nominative case. Form B also came to be extended to other parts of speech, where Form A had been used, e.g., in the late Neo-Punic preposition *Poen.* 935, 937 *ythem ittim* ("for him; with him").

Form C, the form of the pronoun used after a vowel, is historically Form A *-o* extended to postvocalic use, with the *yod* as intervocalic glide. The spelling of Form B is therefore of an entirely different origin from that of Form C *-Y -yo*, in which the *yod* is purely consonantal. Byblian Phoenician, in contrast to Tyro-Sidonian, retained the earlier forms of the postvocalic pronoun: (i) after a long vowel *-H -hu* as in archaic 1.1 *'BH 'abihu* ("his father," gen.) = Tyro-Sidonian *'BY 'abūyo*; but later *-W -w* as in the object pronoun in 10.9 *TḤWW teḥawwew* < *teḥawwehu* ("may she give him long life!") and 12.4 *YḤWW yeḥawwew* < *yeḥawwehu* ("may he give him long life!") = Tyro-Sidonian *YHWY yeḥawweyo*; and (ii) with the masculine and feminine plural noun *-W -êw* < *-êhu*, as in 4.5, 6.3, 7.5, 10.9 *ŠNTW šanōtêw* ("his years") and 10.9 *YMW yamêw* = Tyro-Sidonian *YMY yamêyo*.

Tyro-Sidonian differs from Byblian in the morphology and suffixal pronouns affixed to the feminine plural noun. Byblian, like Hebrew, affixes the pronouns used with the masculine plural noun to the feminine plural affirmative *-ôt* (Tyro-Sidonian *-ūt*): 4.5, 6.3, 7.5, 10.9 *ŠNTW šanōtêw* ("his years"). Tyro-Sidonian, however, follows the pattern of Aramaic in affixing the simple suffixal pronoun directly to the affirmative *-ūt*: Trip. 27.8 *M'S' 'BTM* ("the meritorious deeds of his ancestors," *'abūtim*); *S* 7.1/2 [**centen**]ari [**umiga**]lutho ("the fortified farmhouse and its towers").

Sg. 3.F. Form A *-a* is perhaps from earlier *-ha*, affixed directly the noun stem. It was used, like its masculine singular counterpart *-o*, with the noun in the nominative and accusative cases. Although the Byblian form used with the nominative is not recorded, it was perhaps the same as the Tyro-Sidonian, as indeed was the case with the Sg. 3. M. suffixal pronoun *-o*. The Byblian form used with the accusative case was **-H** *-ha*, affixed to the accusative case-vowel *a*: 10.6 **MSPNTH** *mispantáha* (“its ceiling”).

Form B *-i* is the reflex of earlier *-ih* < *-í-ha*; the spelling **-Y** is like the masculine *plene*. Form B in Byblian was *-ha*, affixed to the genitive case-vowel *i*: 10.4 **BHŠRH** *biḥašeríha* (“in her temple”); this same form, **-H** *-ha*, was used after vowels in Byblian: 10.6 **MDH** *‘ammūdēha* (“its columns”).

Form C *-ya* was in origin Form A extended to postvocalic use by means of the intervocalic glid *-y-*. Byblian retained the archaic Phoenician postvocalic pronoun **-H** *-ha*, attested in 10.6 **MDH** *‘ammūdēha* (“its columns”) = Tyro-Sidonian **MDY** *‘ammūdēya*.

Pl. 1. C.: The precise shape of this suffixal pronoun is uncertain. Two vocalized examples occur: *-en*, affixed to the noun in the nominative case: NPu D 6.8 **siben** *šib’én* (“our militia”), nom. and Pu **EH** Greek 1.1 ρυβαθων *ribbatón* (“our Lady,” gen.). Perhaps Phoenician originally used *-on* with the nominative and accusative cases and *-en* for the genitive; but subsequently in the dialects the one or the other came to be specialized for all cases, *-en* in Tripolitanian Punic as in Hebrew, but *-on* in the more westerly dialect of ancient Algeria. Both examples do however attest to the loss of the final short unstressed *u*-vowel of the etymon *-nu*.

Pl. 2. M. The pronoun was *-kom*, the reflex of Canaanite *-kumu* as indicated by NPu *Poen.* 933 **mysyrthochom** *mišsiri^okóm* (“your protection”) and **syllochom** *sillokóm* (“your”). The Pl. 2. F. pronoun is not attested; however, in light of the existence in Phoenician of a common-gender form **-M** for the Pl. 3. M. and Pl. 3. F., it is possible that the feminine of the second plural was also **-KM** although the feminine may have been vocalized differently from the masculine.

Pl. 3. M. Form A *-om* is the reflex earlier *-am* < *-ámo*, with the typical sound-change *a* > *o* under stress. The pronoun was used with

the noun in the nominative and accusative case. The pronoun is early attested in Canaanite, appearing in the 14th century B.C. in EA 252.25/26 *taḥtamo* (“at their feet”). Byblian Form A is not attested but it was probably the same as the Tyro-Sidonian although used only with the noun in the nominative case; the Byblian form used with the noun in the accusative was probably **-HM** *-hem*; this form actually occurs in archaizing Hebrew in the genitive form **MYNHM** *mānehem* (“their species”) in Genesis 1:21 (cf. the genitive form **MY-NHW** *mīnēhu* [“its species”] in vs. 12).

Form B *-nom* is in origin Form A extended to use with the noun in the genitive case, affixed to the genitive case-vowel *i* by means of intervening “euphonic” *-n-*; it is the same as Form C, the postvocalic form of the pronoun. Although not recorded, Byblian Form B was probably **-HM** *-hem*, affixed to the genitive case-vowel *i*.

Form C *-nom* is in origin Form A *-om* extended to postvocalic use by means of intervening “euphonic” *-n-*. Byblian retained the archaic pronoun **-HM** *-hem* in this use, as attested in the preposition 10.6 **LHM** *’alēhem* (“upon them”). Thus Tyro-Sidonian had **SSNM** *sūsēnóm* (“their horses”) and **BNM** *’abūnóm* (“their father”) but Byblian **SSHM** *sūsēhém* and **BHM** *’abūhém*. Byblian appears to reflect an earlier stage than the Tyro-Sidonian of the morphology of this and other suffixal pronouns.

Pl. 3. F. Form A is attested as **-M** and Form B as **-NM**. They are outwardly identical to the corresponding masculine forms although it is possible that masculine and feminine were differentiated by contrastive vocalization, the masculine pronounced *-om* and the feminine *-am*, the *o/a* contrast being that characteristic of the third singular suffixal pronouns *-o* (masculine) and *-a* (feminine). The Byblian forms are not recorded but may be postulated to have been **-N** (?) with the nominative case and **-HN** with the genitive and accusative case and after vowels.

2. *Comments on the Complementation of Forms of the Third Person*

2a. Form A

Form A is affixed directly to the stem of a singular masculine noun (ending in a consonant) and to the feminine singular noun in **-T** in the nominative (subject) case or accusative case. In Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician, it is affixed directly to the plural feminine noun affirmative **-T** when the noun is in the nominative (subject) case.

2a.-1. Nominative (Subject) Case

Lapethos 3.5 [N]R HRŠ MŠQL 10, “A lamp of gold: its weight (*misqalo*) is 10-weight.”

43.14 'PDT BKSP MŠQL KR 100 W- 2, “An ephod of silver: its weight (*misqala*) is 102 *kr.*”

Lapethos 3.4 QB'M ŠLKSP MSPRM 6 MŠQLM PRS WHMŠM WHMŠT WRB' DR(KMNM), “Cups of silver: their number (*misparom*) is 6, their weight (*misqalom*) is one *prs* and fifty-five and one quarter *dr(achmas).*”

Umm el-Awamid 6.1/3 Ž MŠBT . . . 'Š TN' LM BNM, “This is the stele that their son (*binom*) erected to them.”

Pu 66:1 MZBH NHŠT MŠQL LTRM M'T 100, “An altar of bronze: its weight (*misqalo*) is one hundred 100 liters.”

Pu RES 1543.4/5 KTBT MSPRM 'RB'M WŠLŠ, “Letters <of the alphabet>: their (3.F.Pl.) number [*misparom*] is forty-three.”

Pu CIS i 5702.2/5 'ZRM 'ŠT 'Š NDR 'ZRB'L . . . WBT', “Hasdrubal and his daughter (*bitto*) vowed this female sacrificial victim.”

Pu *Poen.* 944/5 Fel dono . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim au, “His father did everything for that son of his as he was to do.”

NPu 172.4 T'N' T-HM'S ST BN' HMLKT, “His son (*binom*) Himilco erected this statue.”

NPu PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 6.1/3 Fla(bi) Nahia u[by]no Husudru [b]a[no] byth, “Flavius Nahia and his son (*binom*) Husudru built <this> house.”

Byb 1.2 WH' YMḤ SPRH LPP ŠBL, “And if he should erase its inscription (*siprahu*, acc.), his royal robe (nominative: *sabīlo*) shall be *rent.*”

NPu Bynom Mrausyn aurys, “Their son Mrausyn was the artisan.”

2a.-2. Accusative (Direct Object) Case

26 A III 13 YMḤ ŠM 'ZTWD BŠ'R Ž WŠT ŠM, “He shall erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate and place his own name (*semo*) <upon it>.”

41.6 K ŠM' QL, “For He heard his voice (*qūlo*).”

26 A II 9/10 WBN 'NK HQRT Ž WŠT 'NK ŠM 'ZTWDY, “I built this city and named it (*lit.*, made its name [*sema*]) Aztwaddiya.”

14.22 WYQSN . . . H'DMM HMT WZR'M, “And they shall cut

off those persons and their seed (*zar'om*)."

47.3/4 **K ŠM' QLM**, "For He heard their voice (*qūlom*)."

2b. Form B

Form B is affixed to the noun in the genitive case. A noun is in the genitive case when (i) governed by a preposition or (ii) by the particle **'YT** or (iii) by a construct noun:

2b.-1. Noun Governed By Prepositions

29.1/2 **'RN [Š]N MGN . . L'ŠTRT 'DTY**, "She presented <this> ivory box to Astarte, her Lady (genitive: *'adatî*)."

32.2/4 **MZBH 'Z . . Š YTN . . L'DNY LRŠP**, "He presented this altar to his Lord (genitive: *li'adūni*) Rasap."

33.3 **LRBTY** (genitive: *ribbatî*) **L'ŠTRT**, "To his Lady, to Astarte."

34.1/3 **MŠBT 'Z Š YTN 'RŠ . . L'MY** (genitive: *li'ammî*), "Aris erected this stele for his mother."

40.5 **HNDR Š KN NDR 'BNM . . L'DNNM LRŠP**, "The vow that their father had made to their Lord (*li'adōninom*), to Rasep."

174 Αφεθενναυ υιος Αφεσαφουν νεσε οθ αμαθη λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[. . .], "Abdthennau son of Abdsaphoun gave his female slave as wife to his slave (genitive: *l'abde*) Ma[. . .]."

Byb 7.1/4 **QR ZBNY . . LB'LT GBL 'DTW**, "Wall which he built for Baalt of Byblos, his Lady (genitive: *'adatiw*)."

NPu *PBSR* 28 53 no. 5.10/11 **Felu tabula y bud bannom**, "That tablet was made by their son (genitive: *bannom*)."

2b.-2. Noun Governed by **'YT** (**'T**)

Byb 10.15 **TSRH HRBT B'LT GBL 'YT H'DM H' WZR'W**, "The Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make stink that person and his seed (genitive: *zar'iw*)."

48.3 **[TB]RK 'Y[T 'RB'T B]NY . . W'T 'MNM**, "Bless my four sons and their mother (*'amminom*)."

174.1/6 Αφεθεννα υιος Αφεσαφουν νεσε οθ αμαθη λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[. . .], "Abdethenna son of Abdesaphoun gave his female slave (*'ot'amate*) as wife to his slave Ma[. . .]."

Punic generally does not follow this pattern. However, a few examples do occur, but the accusative particle used is **'YT**:

Pu *EH* 27-PU lines 1/2 **ŠLM BD'ŠTRT BN BD'ŠMN 'YT NDRM BT B'L'DR**, "Bostar son of Bodesmun fulfilled his vow (*'et nidrīm*) in the temple of Baaladdir." *Obs.* The reading **NDR'** in *KAI* is errone-

ous.

Pu CIS i 3604 **TŠM** "YT QLM, "Hear ye his voice (*'et qūlīm*)!"

2b.-3. Noun Governed by a Noun

40.4 **BN BNY**, "The sons of her son (*banê binī*)."

NPu 123.2/3 **HT MM**, "The sister of his mother (*'aḥōt 'ammīm*)."

34.5 **MŠKB NHTNM**, "Their resting-place (*miskab naḥt^enom*)."

NPu Trip. 27.8 **LPY M'S' BTM WM'SM BTM**, "Because of the meritorious deeds of his ancestors (genitive: *missê(?) 'abūtīm*) and <because of> his own merit (genitive: *missīm*)."

2c. B-Suffixes with the Nominative Case in Late Neo-Punic

In late Neo-Punic, the B-pronouns of the third masculine singular was extended to use with nouns in the nominative case:

IRT 906.1/2 Thanubda ubyne Nasif felu myntsyfth [I]yMasauchan byn Iylul, "Thanubda and his son (**byne** = **BNY**) Nasif made <this> stele for Masauchan son of Iylul."

IRT 889.1/2 Flabi Dasama uybinim Macrine felu centein-ari, "Flavius Dasama and his son (**binim** = **BNM**) built <this> fortified farmhouse."

Compare the extension of the suffix pronoun **-em** to the preposition **ythem** ("for him; with him") in *Poen.* 935, 937.

This development did not take place however with the B-pronouns of the third person plural: these continued to exhibit the pattern of complementation characteristic of Standard Phoenician and Punic, *viz.*, **-om** with the nominative and accusative, **-nom** with the genitive: **PBSR 28 53 no. 5.9/10 Bynom Mrausyn au[r]ys**, ("Their son [*binom*, nominative] was the engraver."); but lines 10/11 of the same inscription: **Felu tabula y bud bannom**, ("That tablet was made by their son [*bannom*, gen.].")

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Expressing Personal Relationship

14.15 **'MY 'MŠTRT**, "My mother, Amastart."

14.22 **H'DM HMT WZR'M**, "Those persons and their descendants."

Pu *Poen.* 943/44 **Iulec anec cona . . . bane becor Bals[illem]**, "I brought here my firstborn son Balsillem." *Et passim.*

IRT 889.1/2 **Flabi Dasama uybinim Macrine felu centeinari**, “Flavius Dasama and his son Macrinus built <this> fortified farmhouse.” *Et passim*.

2. Expressing Possession

Byb 10.3/6 **P'L 'NK . . . H'RPT Ṣ' W'MDH . . . WMSPNTH**, “I made this portico and its columns and its ceiling.”

24.6 **WKL ŠLḤ YD LL[H]M**, “Each one extended his arm to fight <me>.”

Pu 78.5/5 **PNY MB' HŠMŠ WŠD' MŠ' HŠMŠ**, “His face was to the West and his back to the East.” *Et passim*.

3. Expressing the Reflexive Possessive (with **BT-** or **BNT-**)

Phoenician possessed a reflexive possessive pronoun (*cf.* Latin **suus** or **ipsius** “his own”) expressed by the suffixal possessive pronoun followed by the particle **BNT** (or its free variant **BT**) + Form B of the third person suffixal pronoun. The particle **BT** had the shape *bitt-*; and **BNT** the shape *binat-*. The etymology of the particle is obscure but in its syntax and use it may be properly compared with the Egyptian particle **ds** in the common Middle Egyptian construction **pr.f ds.f** “his own house” (GEG §36).

18.3/4 **'YT HŠ'R Ṣ' WHDLHT Š' L P'LT BTKLTY BNTY**, “I built this gate and its doors at my own expense.”

The expression “at one’s own expense,” employing the reflexive possessive, is common in the Neo-Punic inscriptions. Neo-Punic normally employs the variant form **BT** of the particle in this particular expression although it also knows **BNT**, used in free variation with **BT**, in other formulaic expressions (see below):

NPu 120.3/4, 121.2 **BT'RM BTM P'L W'YQDŠ**, “He built and dedicated <this> at his own expense.” The corresponding Latin of each of these passages has **de sua pecunia faciendum coeravit idemque dedicavit**.

NPu 124.1/2 **T-'MDM <YTN> WT-HM'Q'M YGN WT-HMHZ RBD LMBMLKTM BTM**, “He presented the columns and roofed the structure and paved the forum at his own expense.” The corresponding Latin has **Columnas cum superficie et forum de sua pecunia dedit**.

NPu 126.10/11 **MṢBH WP'DY P'L LMBMLKTM BTM**, “He built the altar and the podium at his own expense.” The correspond-

ing Latin has **Podium et aram de sua pecunia facienda curavit.**

NPu 118.1/3 *M'SŠ 'LM ŠP'R ST WMQDŠ Bt'Y WH'RP'T Š B'N W'YQDŠ . . . BTŠ'TM BTM*, "This beautiful statue of the god and the sanctuary of his temple and the portico that he built at his own expense."

Trip. 67.1/2 *'YDḤ . . . BTŠ'TM BTM T-HBT ST*, "He enlarged this building at his own expense."

NPu 129.1/3 *BN' W'YQDŠ T-'KSNDR' WT-'RPT ST BTŠ'TM BTM*, "He built and dedicated the excedra and this portico at his own expense."

NPu Trip. 79.5 *NPL'* (sic) *BTŠTY BTY*, "It (the tomb) was built at his own expense."

Obs. The expression "at his own expense" is also found in the abbreviated form *BTM*, with ellipsis of the preceding noun:

NPu 132.1/2 = Trip. 68.1/2 *L'LY'N' P'L' BTM*, "Laelianus made it at his own <expense>."

Trip. 73.1/2 *SKST' BN DYDR' P'L' BTM*, "Sextus son of Diodorus made it at his own expense."

NPu *IRT* 828.2/3 *Bur y-soth . . . fel bai{a}em bithem*, "He built this tomb during <his> lifetime at his own <expense>."

The reflexive possessive is found frequently in Punic and Neo-Punic outside the formula "at his own expense":

NPu Trip. 27.7/9=126.7/9 *LPNY 'DR' 'LPQY W'M 'LPQY LPY M'S' 'BTY WM'SM BTM YTN' L'BD BŠP'T KL Ḥ'T*, "The Senate of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis granted him the right to make use of the broad purple stripe always because of the merits of his ancestors and his own merit (*M'SM BTM*)."

The corresponding Latin has **cui Primo Ordo et populus ob merita maiorum eius et <merita> ipsius lato clavo semper uti concessunt.**

The most common context in which the reflexive possessive occurs in Punic and Neo-Punic is child sacrifice; in the statement of offering, the pronoun serves to indicate that the child sacrificed was of the parent's own flesh, that is, his natural child, not a child substituted for his own. In this formula, we find both forms *BNT* and *BT* in free variation:

Pu *CIS* i 5507 *LRBT LTNT-PNB'L WLB'LHMN Š NDR BD-MLQRT BN ḤN' BN MLKYTN BN BŠRY BNTY TBRK'*, "It was to the Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and to Baalhammun that Bomilcar

bin Hanno bin Milkiathon vowed <this> son of his own flesh. Bless thou him!”

Pu *CIS* i 5741.1/6 *LRBT LTNT-PNB'L WL'DN B'LHMN 'Š NDR HN' BN MGNM 'ZRM 'ŠT BŠ<R>M BNTM*, “It is to the Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and to the Lord Baalhamun that Hanno bin Magonim vow <this> female sacrificial victim of his own flesh.”

Pu 105.3 *MLK 'DM BŠ'RM BTM*, “A human sacrifice of his own flesh.”

Pu 106.1 *MLK 'DM BŠRM BTM*, “A human sacrifice of his own flesh.”

Pu 107.4 *MLK 'DM BŠRM BN'TM*, “A human sacrifice of his own flesh.”

Pu *EH* 38.1/3 *MLK 'DM . . . BŠ'RM BNTM*, “A human sacrifice of his own flesh”

Pu *EH* 45.1/3 *NDR . . . BŠRM BNTM*, “The vow <of a child> of his own flesh.”

4. *Expressing the Objective Genitive*

43.2 *HSML Z MŠ 'NK YTNB'L*, “This image is a statue of me, Yatonbaal.”

43.7 *MŠ PN 'BY BNḤŠT*, “The bronze bust of my father.”

5. *Expressing the Dative (Indirect Object)*

14.6 *'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK*, “Even if people shall speak to you . . .”

Pu 89.2 *'T<N>K 'NKY MŠLḤ 'YT 'M'ŠTRT W'YT 'MRT*, “I, Meslih, commend (give) to you Amastarte and Omrith.”

6. *Expressing the Subject of the Infinitive Construct in Periphrastic Tenses and Moods*

In Phoenician and Punic, the Infinitive Construct *L-P'L lip'ul* was used to form periphrastic tenses (future) and moods (subjunctive, jussive/optative). If the subject of the infinitive was pronominal, it was the suffixal pronouns that were used to express the pronominal subject of the periphrastic tense or mood, not the independent personal pronouns. Frequently, the suffixal pronominal subject of the infinitive expresses the grammatical subject of the sentence, the logical subject of which follows in apposition.

6a. Subject of the Infinitive Construct Future Indicative

14.9/10 **LQSTNM 'YT MMLKT 'M 'DM H'**, “They (the holy gods) shall cut off <that> royal person or that commoner.” *Obs.* This same sentence is repeated at the end of the inscription (line 22) with the prefixing form 3plural used to express the future indicative: **YQSN HMMLKT H' WH'DMM HMT**, “They shall cut off that royal person or those commoners.”

6b. Subject of the Infinitive Construct Jussive/Optative

26 A III 4/5 **LTTY B'L KRNTRYŠ . . . L'ZTWD 'RK HYM**, “May Baal-KRNTRYYS give (*lit.*, may he give [*latittī*], Baal-KRNTRYYS) long life to Aztwadda!” *Obs.* The pronominal subject of the verb is “proleptic”: it is the grammatical subject of the sentence, anticipating the logical subject Baal-KRNTRYYS. The proleptic pronominal subject is non-obligatory.

6c. Subject of the Infinitive Construct Subjunctive

14.19/20 **YSPNNM 'LT GBL 'RŠ LKNNM LŠDNM L'LM**, “We annexed them (Dor and Joppa) to the territory of <our> land that they might belong (*lakūn^enom*) to the Sidonians forever.”

18.3/6 **'YT HŠ'R Z WHDLHT 'Š L P'LT . . . LKNI LY LSKR**, “I built this gate and its doors to be (*lit.*, that it might be: *lakūnī*) a memorial to me.”

19.9/10 **KM 'Š BN 'YT KL 'HRY [HMQDŠ]M 'Š B'RŠ LKNNM L[M LSKR]**, “Just as they built all the other sanctuaries in the land to be (*lit.*, that they might be: *lakūn^enom*) a memorial to themselves.”

26 A I 17/18 **BN 'NK HMYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM DN-NYM BNHT LBNM**, “I built protective fortresses in those places that the Danunians might live (*lit.*, that they might live [*lasibt^enom*], the Danunians) with peace of mind.” *Obs.* The pronominal subject of the subjunctive is “proleptic.”

26 A II 11/15 **BNY 'NK . . . LKNY MŠMR L'MQ 'DN WLBT MPŠ**, “I built it (the city) to be (*lit.*, that it might be: *lakūnī*) a place of protection for the Valley of Adana and for the House of Mopsos.”

7. Expressing the Subject of the Infinitive **B-P'L** *bip'ul* in a Temporal Clause

Kition lines 1/2 **BMS'NM 'BN**, "When our enemies came (*lit.*, when they came, our enemies)."

NPu 159.5/5 **BŠPTM MSHB' BN YZRM**, "When MSHB' son of YZRM was suffes (*lit.*, when he was suffes, MSHB' son of YZRM)."

NPu Trip. 79.5/6 **NPL' BTŠTY BTY BHYYNM**, "It (the tomb) was built at his own expense when they (those laid to rest in the tomb) were <still> living."

NPu D 6 **Byrysth[em] Irirachan**, "When he expelled Irirachan."

8. Proleptic

8a. Subject of the Infinitive Construct

The suffix pronoun is often proleptic (anticipates a noun), with the nominal subject in apposition. The proleptic pronoun is the grammatical subject of the verb and the noun the logical subject.

Kition lines 1/2 **BMS'NM 'BN**, "When our enemies came (*lit.*, when they came, our enemies)."

26 A I 17/18 **WBN 'NK HMYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM DNNYM BNHT LBNM**, "And I built walled fortresses in those places so that the Danunians might live (*lit.*, that they might live, the Danunians) in peace of mind."

26A III 4/5 **LTTY B'L KRNTRYŠ . . . L'ZTWD 'RK YMM**, "May Baal-KRNTRYYS give (*lit.*, may he give, Baal-KRNTRYYS) a long reign (*lit.*, man days) to Aztwadda!"

8b. With Governing Noun in a Construct Chain (Direct Genitive)

It is exceedingly common that the governing noun (*nomen regens*) in a construct chain carries a proleptic pronoun that anticipates the governed noun (*nomen rectum*). The governed noun is normally a personal name:

14.1 **ŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'ŠMN'ZR**, "Year fourteen 14 of the reign (*lit.*, of his reign) of King Esmunazor."

Pu 111.3/5 **ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT LMLKY MSNSN**, "The forty-sixth year of the reign (*lit.*, of his reign) of Masinissa."

Pu 112.4/6 **ŠŠT HŠŠM ŠT LMLKNM MKWSN WGLSN WMSTN'B'**, "The fifty-sixth year of the reign (*lit.*, of their reign) of Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanaba."

Pu *Poen.* 948 <Esse> **mucom sussibti A(rist)ocle**, “This is Aristocles’s place of residence (*lit.*, this is the place of his residence of Aristocles).”

II. DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT FORMS

The object pronouns, direct and indirect, are expressed by means of (i) suffixal pronouns or (ii) independent object pronouns. The more common of these are the suffixal pronouns.

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. 1. C.

- <i>N</i> - <i>ni</i>	Ph	14. Y^cMSN <i>ya^cmosni</i> (“he remove me”); 18.8 YBRKN <i>yibrokni</i> (“may he bless me!”); 26.3, 12 P^cLN <i>pa^cōlni</i> (“he made me”); 26 A II 11 ŠLHN <i>salhūni</i> (“they sent me”); 43.15 YSKRN <i>yiskorni</i> (“may he be mind- ful of me!”)
	Byb	10.2 P^cLTN <i>pa^clatni</i> (“she made me”)
- NY	Ph	Rare <i>plene</i> HNY <i>ħanni</i> (“may he favor me”) in the personal name <i>RES</i> 306 MLQR-THNY (“Milqart favor me!”)
- <i>vi</i>	Pu	σφωνι (“may he watch me”) in the personal name Benz 401 Σοφωνιβας (= ŠPN-B^cL , “Baal watch over me!”)
- ni	Pu	anni , hanni (“may he favor me!”) in the personal name Benz 314 Annibal , Hannibal (= H^cN-B^cL , “Baal favor me!”); suphuni (“may he watch me!”) in the personal name Benz 401 Suphuni-bal (=Σοφωνιβας)

Sg. 2. M

- K - <i>ka</i>	Ph	14.6 YDBRNK <i>yidborūnka</i> (“they shall speak to thee”)
- K^c	Pu	rare <i>plene</i> spelling in YSRK^c <i>yis̄sorka</i> (“may he protect thee!”) in the personal name

Benz 176 **PMY** <Y>**SRK** ("Pumay protect thee!")

Sg. 2. F

-K -ki

- Ph 50.3 **YP'LK** *yip'alūki* ("may they make thee")
 Pu 89.2 **'TK** 'ettekki < 'ettenki ("I give to thee")

Sg. 3. M.

FORM A

-Ø -o

- Ph 26 A III 17 **YS'** *yissa'o* ("he will put it out"); 32.4, 38.2; 39.3 **YBRK** *yibroko* ("may he bless him!")
 Byb 3.4 **TNHL** *tinhalo* ("you inherit it"); 12.4 **YBRK** *yibroko* ("may he bless him")
 Pu CIS i 4945.4 **QBT** *qabbato* ("she shall curse him")

-' Ph 84.1; CIS i 196.5 **TBRK'** *tibroko* ("bless thou him!"); **HN'** *hanno* ("may he favor him") in the personal name (54.2) **D'M-HN'** (= Δομνω, "May Do'm favor him!")

Pu 102.4, 103.4, 104.3 **BRK'** *barako* ("may he bless him!")

NPu Trip. 68.2, 73.2 **P'L'** ("he made it")

-ω Pu ανω ("may he favor him!") in the personal name (54.2) Δομνω (= **D'M-HN'**, "May Do'm favor him!") EH Greek 1.4/5 βαραχω ("may he bless him!")

-o NPu AI 1 p. 233 line 5 **felo** ("he made it"); **anno** ("may he favor him") in the personal name **Annobal** ("May Baal favor him!")

FORM B

-Y -yo

Ph 14.18 **YŠBNY** *yūsibnuyo* ("we caused him to dwell")

Pu 78.1 **YBRKY** *yibrokyo* ("may they bless him!")

-Y' Pu 66.2 **RPY'** *rafōyo* ("he cured him"); CIS i

		3784.3 YQSY' <i>yiqṣeyo</i> ("he shall cut him off")
	NPu	146.2 BNY' <i>banūyo</i> ("they built it")
Byblian		
- H - <i>hu</i>	Arch	1.1 ŠTH <i>šatūhu</i> ("they placed him")
- W - <i>w</i>		12.4 YḤWW <i>yehawwew</i> ("may he make him live long!"); 10.9 TḤWW <i>teḥawwew</i> ("may she make him live long!")
Sg. 3. F.		
FORM A		
-' - <i>a</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 3599.4/5; 4746.6 BRK' <i>baraka</i> ("he blessed her")
FORM B		
- Y - <i>ya</i>	Ph Pu	60.5 YṬNY' <i>yitni'ūya</i> ("they shall erect it") 26 A II 11 BNY' NK <i>banōya 'anīki</i> ("I built it")
Pl. 3. M.		
FORM A		
- M - <i>om</i>	Ph NPu	14.21 YSGRNM <i>yisgirūn-om</i> ("they will lock them up"); 26 A I 20 YRDM' NK <i>yôridom 'anīki</i> ("I deported them"); 26 A I 20 YŠBM' NK <i>yôšibom 'anīki</i> ("I settled them"); 47.4 YBRKM <i>yibrokom</i> ("may he bless them!") Trip. 79.1 P'LM <i>felom</i> ("he made them")
FORM B		
- NM - <i>nom</i>	Ph	14.19 YSPNNM <i>yasapnunom</i> ("we annexed them"); 26 A I 16 ŠTNM <i>sattinom</i> ("I placed them"); 26 A I 20 'NTNM <i>'innītinom</i> ("I defeated them")

Comments

1. Affixing of the Object Pronouns

1a. To the Suffixing Form

In the case of the consonant-final suffixing verb, the object pronoun is affixed directly to the final consonant or to a consonant-final inflectional morpheme. Thus, with the 3.Sg.M. **BRK** *barok* (“he blessed”) Phoenician always follows the pattern of affixing seen in Hebrew **ŠMRW** *šmaró* (= *šamar* + *o*): 102.4 **BRK** = *EH* Gr. 1.4/5 βαραχω (“he blessed him”); Trip. 68.2 **P’L** = *AI* 1 p. 233 line 5 **felo** (“he made it”); **HN(’)** = **anno** = *ανω* (“may he favor him!”). Unknown in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician and Punic is affixing to the intervening *a*-vowel of *pa’ala* as in Hebrew **ŠMRHW** *šmaráhu* (= *šamara* + *hu*). Similarly, in the case of the 3.Sg.M. inflectional morpheme -**T** *-at*, affixing is direct: *CIS* i 4945.4 **QBT** *qabbato* (“she will curse him”). And this is true as well of the affixing of the so-called “heavy” object pronouns beginning with a vowel, such as -**N** *-ni* (“me”), which is affixed to the consonantal stem without intervening *a*-vowel: **HN(Y)** *hanni* (“may he favor me” = *han* + *ni*).

When the verb ends in a vowel or vowel-final inflectional morpheme, the B-forms of the third person suffixal object pronouns *-yo* (“him”), *-ya* (“her”), *-nom* (“them”) are used: 146.2 **BNY** *banūyo* (“they built it”); 66.2 **RPT** *rafóyo* (“he cured him”); 26 A I 16 **ŠTNM** *sat-tinom* (“I placed them”); 26 A I 20 **NTNM** *innītinom* (“I conquered them”); 14.19 **YSPNNM** *yasapnunom* (“we annexed them”). In Old Byblian, the 3.Sg.M. postvocalic pronoun is -**H** *-hu*: 1.1 **ŠTH** *šatahu* (“he placed him”) or *šatūhu* (“they placed him”).

1b. Object Pronouns with the Prefixing Forms of the Verb

When the verb ends in a consonant, e.g., 3.Sg.M. **YBRK** *yibrok* (“may he bless!”), the object pronouns are affixed directly to the stem; in the case of the object pronouns of the third person, the A-form *-o* (“him”), *-a* (“her”) and *-om* (“them”) are used. Thus, in Phoenician-Punic one finds always 32.4 **YBRK** (Pu *plene* **YBRK** *yibroko* (“may he bless him/he blesses him”); 84.1 **TBRK(’)** *tibroko* (“bless thou him!”); 47.4 **YBRKM** *yibrom* (“may they bless them/they bless them”). Byblian Phoenician follows this same pattern of direct affixing: 12.4 **YBRK** *yibroko* (“may he bless him!”). One never finds in Phoenician-Punic affixing of suffixes to the intervening vowel *-e-* as

in Hebrew **YŠMRHW** *yšm^erêhu*, **YŠMRH** *yšm^erêha*, **YŠMRM** *yšm^erem*. Direct affixing to the final consonant of the stem, without intervening e-vowel, is confirmed by the affixing of the “hard” suffix 2.Sg.F. **-K -ki** directly to the final consonant **-n** of the verb **’TN** *’etten* (“I give”), with resultant assimilation, in 89.2 **’TK** *’ettekki* < *’ettenki* (“I give to thee”).

If however the verb ends in a vowel or vowel-final inflectional morpheme, the B-forms of the third person suffixal object pronouns **-yo** (“him”), **-ya** (“her”) and **-nom** (“them”) are obligatorily: CIS i 3784.3 **YQŠY** *yiqšeyo* (“he shall cut him off”); 78.1 **YBRKY** *yibrokūyo* (“may they bless him”). The Middle Byblian form corresponding to Tyro-Sidonian **-yo**, was **-w** < **-hu**: Byblian 12.4 **YHWW** *yehawwew* (“may he make him live long!) = Tyro-Sidonian **YHWY*** *yehawweyo*; and 10.9 **THWW** *tehawwew* (“may she make him live long!”).

1c. With the Infinitive Absolute

The direct pronominal object of the Past Perfective expressed by the infinitive absolute + subject is always the suffixal pronoun. The manner of affixing is the same as in the case of the finite verbal forms. In the case of the pronouns of the third person, the A-Forms **-o**, **-a**, **-om** are affixed directly to the verb stem: 26 A I 20 **YRDM** **’NK** *yûridóm* *’anîki* (“I deported them”); 26 A I 20 **YŠBM** **’NK** *yûsibóm* *’anîki* (“I settled them”). When the infinitive ends in a vowel, the B-Forms are used: 26 II 11 **BNY** **’NK** *banōya* *’anîki* (“I built it”).

1d. With the Infinitive Construct

The infinitive construct governed by a preposition is grammatically a noun in the genitive case; therefore, the B-Form of the direct object pronoun must be used: Pu 5510.3 **WLŠBTY** *lisabbeti* (“to destroy it”); Pu 5510.6/7 **LŠLM WLRYHY** *lisellem weliyarîhi* (“to greet and to make him welcome”).

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Expressing the Direct Object

The principal and most often attested function of the suffixal pronoun with the verb is to express the direct object: Byb 10.9 **WTHWW**, (“And may she make him live long!”); 26 A I 19/20

W'NK 'NTNM, (“But I conquered them!”); 40.5 **YBRKM**, (“May he bless them!”)

Obs. The suffixal pronoun as direct object is used with all forms of the verb, including the infinitive construct: Pu *CIS* I 5510.3 [**KL 'DM**] **'Š LKP 'YT 'MTNT Ž WL'KR WLŠBTY**, (“As for any person who shall overturn this stele or disturb or destroy it [*šbt-y*]”). However, when the infinitive construct is used to form the periphrastic future tense, the periphrastic subjunctive or the periphrastic jussive/optative, the suffixal pronoun expresses the subject of the infinitive, not the direct object.

2. Expressing the Resumptive Direct Object

2a. In a Resumptive Main Clause

The suffixal direct object pronouns are used in resumptive main clauses of sentences to refer back to the subject of the anticipatory clause:

24.11 **WMY BL HŽ PN Š ŠTY B'L 'DR**, “As for him who had never owned a sheep, I made him owner of a flock!”

Pu *CIS* i 3783.5/7 **WKL 'DM 'Š GNB T-MTNT Ž NKST TNT-[P]NB'L**, “As for any person who shall steal this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall cut him off.”

Pu *CIS* I 4945.4/6 **W'Š YRGŽ T-MTNT Ž WQBT TNT-PNB'L**, “As for him who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him.”

2b. In a Relative Clause

The suffixal pronoun may be used to express the direct object of a verb in a relative clause the subject of which is different from the antecedent; the direct object pronoun refers back to the antecedent. This use of the resumptive pronoun is optional.

Byb10.1/2 **'NK YH'WMLK . . . 'Š P'LTN HRBT B'LT GBL MMLKT 'L GBL**, “I am Yehawmilk, whom the Lady Baalt of Byblos made king (*lit.*, who she made me king) of Byblos.”

NPu Trip. **B'RM QN'T 'T M' 'Š P'LM M'ŠWK'N**, “You have acquired the tomb that Masauchan made (*lit.*, that Masauchan made them=it).”

3. *Excursus:*

The Independent Direct Object Pronouns

The direct object pronoun was sometimes expressed in Phoenician by means of the preposition 'LT 'alt + suffix pronoun, and in Punic by means of the particle 'T 'ōt + suffix pronoun:

Phoenician 13.5/6 'L TPTH 'LTY 'al tīptaḥ 'altēyo, "Do not open it!"

Punic CIS i 6000.1 'L TŠ' <'>T' 'al tissa' 'ōto, "Do not carry it away!"

4. *Expressing the Proleptic Direct Object*

As in the case of all pronouns used to anticipate a noun, the proleptic direct object pronoun is the grammatical direct object of the verb, with the logical direct object following in apposition:

29.2 TBRKY BYMY 'DNN, "Bless thou our master during his lifetime!," lit., "Bless thou him (*tibrokīyo*; verb is Sg. 2. F.), our master, during his lifetime."

5. *Expressing the Dative (Indirect Object)*

The indirect object is normally expressed by means of prepositions, such as L-, 'L, 'LT, LPN + affixed suffix pronoun. However, the suffix pronoun affixed directly to the verb may also express the dative:

14.6 'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK 'L TŠM' BDNM, "Even if people tell you <to do it>, do not be persuaded by them!"

Pu 89.2 'T<N>K 'NKY MŠLḤ 'YT 'M'ŠTRT W'YT 'MRT, "I, Meslih, commend (give) to you Amastart and Omrith." The Punic corresponds to the Latin **commendo tibi** in inscriptions of the same genre.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND THE
DEFINITE ARTICLE

I. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. M.

𐤆^ezdé

Ph

13.3,5; 14.3,4; 15.1; 16.1; 18.3; 26 A III
8, 15; 58.1, *et passim*
Cyprus: Kition: *FK B* 36, F 1.4; Lapethos:
2.2

Pu

69.18,19; 80.1; 101.1, *et passim*.
NPu 140.1

𐤆

Ph

Sarepta line 1; Marathus line 1
Cyprus: Kition: *FK A* 29.2, A 30.2, F 1.2;
Tamassos: 5.3

Pu

Pyrgi line 1

𐤆

Ph

Archaic Cyprus: 30.2,2,3

esde

Pu

Poen. 947A

esse

Pu

Poen. 940P, 944A

Neo-Punic **S**-Series

S *si*

146.1; Trip. 51.3

sy

S 24.5; *IRT* 879.1; D 5.19

With excrescent **-t**:

ST *sit*

118.1; 172.3; Trip. 52.2

sith

Poen. 937P, 937; *PBSR* 28 7.3

syth

Poen. 930P, 931; D 6.9

Sg. F.

𐤆^ezdō

Ph

14.4,11; 24.14; 26 A II 9; 60.4,6, *et passim*;
Cyprus: Kition: *FK B* 5.1, B 6.1, B 47.2,
E 2.2; Lapethos: 3.5

Pu

69.10, 79.8

	NPU	137.5, 141.1,5
'Z	Ph	Kition: <i>FK</i> A 1.2, B 2.1, B 40.1, B 45.1
Neo-Punic <i>S</i> -Series		
Š'	<i>sō, sū</i>	Trip. 40.1
su		D 2.14
With excrescent -t :		
ST	<i>sōt</i>	151.1, 129.1; <i>CIS</i> i 152.1, 4
soth		<i>IRT</i> 828.2
Sg. Neuter (Late Neo-Punic)		
hoc	NPU	<i>PBSR</i> 22 1954 lines 3/4
Pl. 'ille		
'L	Byb	4.3
	Ph	14.22; 40.3
	Pu	81.2,3,4; 137.2,4,5,6; 139.2
'L'	NPU	130.1; 139.2
ily	NPU	<i>Poen.</i> 938
illi	NPU	<i>Poen.</i> 938

Comments

The demonstratives entered in the preceding repertory of forms are the Tyro-Sidonian pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns of Byblian Phoenician will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph.

The shape of the masculine singular demonstrative was *e^zdé*, that of the feminine singular *e^zdō*. The forms Z and 'Z were merely orthographic variants of the same pronoun, the former the historical (phonemic) spelling, the latter a phonetic spelling indicating the presence of the prothetic vowel with 'aleph. The prothetic vowel, occasioned by the consonant cluster *zd* or *dz* (as Phoenician Z was articulated), is evidenced in the Latin-letter spellings **esde** and **esse**. The choice of spelling was that of the individual scribe or scribal school. In the inscriptions of Kition, for example, the two spellings occur about the same number of times; and in one inscription they even co-occur (*FK* F 1). The Old Cypriote form Z' of the masculine singular is yet a third spelling variant; it is unique however in the scribal tradition, occurring three times but in the same inscription.

In Neo-Punic, the Z-Series singular demonstrative pronouns con-

tinued to be normative. However, in Late Neo-Punic, the *S*-Series singular forms of the vulgar language entered the written language, even the literary language. These pronouns show the phonological development $zd > s$ of the phoneme /z/ and frequently display the optional excrescent *-t*, known also from the late Neo-Punic locative adverb *kōt* ("here"; Phoenician-Punic *kō*). Excrescent *-t*, it need be stressed, is unrelated to the feminine singular inflectional ending *-t*; thus, Late Neo-Punic feminine singular *ST sōt* ("this") is entirely different historically from Hebrew *zōt* (*ז'ת*).

Neuter (inanimate) was expressed by the masculine singular *sy* in Neo-Punic (D 5.19/20); but in this period, the Latin neuter demonstrative *hoc* was borrowed to express neuter (inanimate) with greater clarity.

The plural demonstrative *'ille* was standard in all periods and in all dialects.

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Pronominal Uses of the Demonstratives

1a. Subject of a Sentence

Umm el-Awamid 6.1 *ʒ MŠBT B'ĻŠMR*, "This is the stele of Baalsamor."

Umm el-Awamid 7.1/2 *ʒ MŠBT SKR B'LYTN*, "This is the memorial stele of Baalyaton."

Umm el-Awamid 10.1/2 *ʒ MŠBT SKR ŠM 'BD'[NT]*, "This is the memorial stele to the name of Abdanat."

Umm el-Awamid 12.1/2 *ʒ MŠBT SKR 'SRBRK*, "This is the memorial stele of Osiribarok."

Pu *Poen.* 948 <Esse> *mucom sussibti*, "This is the place of his residence."

NPu *Poen.* 938 *Ily gubulim lasibithim*, "These are the environs of his residence."

1b. Direct Object of a Verb

31.1 *ʒ YTN LB'L LBNN 'DNY*, "He presented this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord."

NPu Trip. 86.3 *'T HKR S*, "You heed this!"

NPu D 5.19/20 *Utseb sy lo Machrus byn Rogate*, "Machrus son of Rogatus erected this/it [the tombstone] to him."

NPu *PBSR* 22 1954 lines 3/4 **Hoc fil lu Thmia**, “Thmia made this/it (the tombstone) for him.”

1c. Object of a Preposition

Byb 2.2/3 **HNY B'LK THT ZN**, “I, your king, am here, at the bottom of this (shaft).”

Pu *Poen.* 947 **Hulec silli balim esse lipane esse Antidamas con. Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, “Antidamas was my guest-friend in this nation in the past. With him I shared a shard of hospitality.”

Obs. In *Poen.* 937, the Neo-Punic version of Punic 947, **esde** is replaced by the suffix pronoun of the third masculine singular: **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, “With him I shared this shard of hospitality.” Plautus renders **itt esde** in Latin **cum illo** (“with him”): *Poen.* 1051 **Haec mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit**, “I shared this shard of hospitality with him.”

1d. Expressing the Independent Personal Pronoun

Pu *Poen.* 937 **Ett esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, “With him I shared a shard of hospitality.” *Obs.* For the demonstrative pronoun, the Neo-Punic version of this same statement has the suffix personal pronoun of the third person: *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth isith**, “With him I shared this shard of hospitality.”

1e. “To wit, namely (*lit.*, it is)”:

Introducing a Complementary, Explanatory Statement

26 C IV 2/6 **WZBH Š Y[LKT L]LM KL HMSKT Z {Z} ZBH YMM 'LP WB'T HRS Š 1 WB'T QSR Š 1**, “And I brought to the god (Baal-KRNTRYs) a sacrifice at all the sacrifices, to wit (*lit.*, it being), an ox at the periodic sacrifice, and a sheep at the time of ploughing and a sheep at the time of harvesting.” *Obs.* The other version of this same statement in 16 A II 19-III 1 does not have the demonstrative: **WYLK <'NK> ZBH L KL HMSKT ZBH YMM 'LP WB['T H]RŠ Š WB'T QSR Š**, “And I brought to him a sacrifice at all the sacrifices: an ox at the periodic sacrifice, and a sheep at the time of ploughing and a sheep at the time of harvesting.”

2. *Adjectival Uses of the Demonstratives*

2a. Expressing Deixis

In standard Phoenician and Punic, the demonstrative pronouns, used adjectivally to express near deixis ("this, this here"), followed the noun; in normal usage, the demonstrative did not receive the definite article although two examples of the demonstrative with the definite article are found in Phoenician. In Neo-Punic, standard Phoenician-Punic usage continued although there was an increased use of the definite article with the demonstrative adjective.

In all forms of Phoenician and Punic, the use of the definite article with the noun modified by a demonstrative pronoun was optional since the demonstrative rendered the noun determined. Thus, in Phoenician and Punic, "this city" was expressed freely as *HQRT Z* or *QRT Z* and, rarely, *HQRT HZ* or *QRT HZ*.

While in the larger corpus of inscriptions in general the use of the definite article with the noun was inconsistent, the author of any given inscription was himself generally consistent. The following examples illustrate the several variant expressions of the noun with demonstrative adjective.

HQRT Z

This usage is characteristic of the Aztwadda inscription (*KAI* 26), its author generally consistent in his use of the definite article with the noun:

26 A II 9, 17 *WBN 'NK HQRT Z*, "And I built this city."

26 A III 7 *WKN HQRT Z B'LT ŠB'*, "And may this city become the possessor of abundance."

26 A III 14/15 *YHMD 'YT HQRT Z WYS' HŠ'R Z*, "He loves this city, yet, pulls up this gate."

26 A III 15, 17/18 *YS' HŠ'R Z*, "He shall tear out this gate."

But in 26 A III 7/8, the author does not use the definite article with the noun: *W'M Z . . . YKN B'L LPM*, ("And may this people become the possessor of oxen.").

The use of the definite article with the noun is extremely well represented throughout Phoenician and Punic:

15, 16 (Sidon) *'YT HBT Z BN L'LY*, "He built this temple for his god."

18.3/4 *'YT HŠ'R Z . . . P'LT*, "I made this gate."

24.15 *MY YŠHT HSPR Z* “Whoever shall damage this inscription.”

Pu 80.1 *HDŠ WP'L 'YT HMTBH Z* “They rebuilt this slaughtering table.”

NPu 101.5 *TN'M 'L HMLKT Z 'ŠYN . . . W'RŠ*, “Put in charge of this work were 'SYN and Aris.”

This same usage is also characteristic of the Byblian Phoenician inscription of Yehawmilk (*KAI* 10), with the difference however that its author normally suppresses the use of the definite article when the noun is preceded by a preposition:

10.3-5 *P'L 'NK . . . HMZBH NHŠT ZN . . . WHPTH HRŠ ZN . . . WH'RPT Z*, “I made this bronze altar . . . and this gold engraving . . . and this portico.”

But Preposition + *QRT Z*:

10.5 *H'PT HRŠ 'Š BTKT 'BN 'Š 'L PTH HRŠ ZN*, “The gold bird that is on the stone *tkt* that is on/next to this gold engraving.”

10.11/12 *LP'L ML'KT 'LT MZBH ZN . . . W'LT 'RPT Z*, “To do work on this altar . . . and on this portico.”

10.14 *[WTS]G 'T PTHY Z DL YSDH 'LT MQM Z* “If you move this engraving of mine, together with its base, from this spot.”

Observe however that this same author is not entirely consistent; for sometime he fails to use the definite article even when no preposition precedes the noun:

10.10/11 *'M 'RŠ Z* “The people of this land.” *Obs.* Perhaps the definite article is not used with a noun governed by a construct noun.

10.13/14 *'M TSR M[L]'KT Z* “If you remove this work.”

QRT Z

The inconsistency with regard to the use or non-use of the definite article with the noun modified by a demonstrative adjective is well illustrated by the usage of the contemporary Sidonian inscriptions *KAI* 13 and *KAI* 14. The author of the latter (the Esmunazor inscription) does not use the article; but in contrast the author of the former inscription, written in the preceding reign (the Tibnit inscription) does prefer the article:

14.4 *'L YPTH 'YT MŠKB Z* “Let him not open this resting-place!”

14.7, 10 *YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z* “He shall open this resting-place.”

14.10/11 *YŠ' 'YT HLT Z* “He shall carry off this coffin.”

But 13.3 *TPQ 'YT H'RN Z* “You shall acquire this coffin.”

The general inconsistency in the use of the definite article is graph-

ically illustrated in the large corpus of Phoenician inscriptions from Kition in Cyprus: of the thirteen instances of the noun with demonstrative pronoun, ten have the noun without the article (*FK* A 1.2, A 2.2, A 29.2, A 30.2, B 5.1, B 6.1, B 45.1, B 47.2, E 2.2, F 1.2) and three with the article (F 1.4, B 2.1, B 40.1).

HQRT HZ

Twice only in Phoenician is the definite article found with the demonstrative adjective in the manner of Classical Hebrew *HMQWM HZH* *ham-maqōm haz-ze* "this place"). It is perhaps significant that both instances of this uncommon usage in Phoenician occur in inscriptions from Kition-Idalion in Cyprus, suggesting that it may have been unique to Cypriote Phoenician or even to the Phoenician of Kition-Idalion:

FK D 35 (Kition) *H-'GN H-Z 'Š YTN PN L-DN*, "This bowl th[at PN presented to DN]."

40.3 (Idalion) *H-SMLM H-'L 'Š YTN' BTŠLM*, "These statues which Bitsalom erected."

QRT HZ

In Neo-Punic, standard Phoenician-Punic usage was generally respected, especially in formal literary prose. Peculiar, however, to late Neo-Punic is the occasional use of the definite article with the demonstrative adjective. The Neo-Punic usage differs however from that of Kitionite Phoenician *HSML HZ* in that the noun does not normally receive the definite article; this is however not greatly significant since the use of the definite article with the noun was always optional and inconsistent:

NPu 151.1/2 *TN' HBN '-ST LSWL' BN HMLKT*, "This stone was erected to SWL' bin Himilco."

NPu *IRT* 828.2/3 *Bur y-soth . . . fel*, "He built this tomb."

NPu *IRT* 879.1/3 *adom unim ys y-sy Bodsychun Chalia*, "This man, Bodsychun Chalia, was a person of substance."

NPu *Poen.* 937T *Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth i-sith*, "With him I shared this shard of hospitality."

NPu *CIS* i 151.2 *P'L T-H-M'Š '-ST*, "He made this statue."

2b. Expressing the Anaphoric Adjective/Pronoun

The demonstrative functions in the same manner as the independent personal pronouns of the third person to refer back to some-

one or something earlier mentioned (“that, the aforementioned”):

NPu 137.1/5 *L'DN LB'L WLTNT-PNB'L MQDŠM ŠNM <'L> Š P'L B'L TNSMT . . . B' H'LN M 'L 'LT HMQDŠM 'L B'SR WŠB' L YRH MP' LPNY*, “Belonging to Baal and to Thinnith-Phanebal are these two sanctuaries which the citizens of Thinissut built . . . These/those (the aforementioned) gods entered these sanctuaries on the seventeenth of the month of First Mufa.”

2c. Expressing Location (“Here”)

Frequently, the demonstrative adjective must properly be rendered as a locative adverb “here,” rather than a deictic.

Byb 4.1/3 *BT ŽBNY YHMLK MLK GBL H'T HWY KL MPLT HBTM 'L*, “<This is> the temple that Yehimilk, King of Byblos, rebuilt. It was he who restored all the ruined temples hereabouts.”
Obs. This use of the demonstrative is found in Hebrew in Numbers 27:12 *WY'MR YHWH 'L-MŠH 'LH 'L-HR H'BRYM HZH WR'H 'T-H'RŠ*, “YHWH said to Moses, “Ascend to <the top of> Mount Abarim here, and view the region!”

3. The Quasi Enclitic Character of the Demonstrative Adjective

In the Kilamuwa Inscription (KAI 24, 8th century), the demonstrative used as an adjective is written as quasi enclitic to the noun, as indicated by the absence of the word-divider:

24.14 *WYŽQ . SPR Ž* “If he shall damage this inscription.”

24.15 *WMY . YŠHT . HSPR Ž* “Whoever shall destroy this inscription.”

Elsewhere, however, in inscriptions that also use word-dividers, the demonstrative is written as a separate word:

Byb 1.2 *YGL / 'RN / ŽN*, “If he shall remove this coffin.”

30.2 *L QBR / Ž*, “His is this grave.”

30.2 *Y'L / HGBR / Ž*, “This man came up.”

33.2 *[S]MLT . ' [Ž] . Š . YTN*, “This statue which he presented.”

C. The Byblian Phoenician Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns of Byblian are different from those of Tyro-Sidonian. Byblian possesses two sets of demonstratives: Set A, used in all inscriptions but Yehawmilk (KAI 10) to express simple near deixis (“this, that”), and Set B, unique to the Yehawmilk (KAI 10)

inscription. Set B appears to have been used only when co-occurring with Set A: when occurring in the same literary context, Set A expressed near deixis (“this one here” = the location of the speaker) and Set far deixis (“that one there,” “yonder”). No comparable contrastive deixis is attested in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician although Classical Hebrew did possess the contrastive sets **ZH** *ze* (“this”) and **HLZH** *hallaze* (“that” = “yonder”).

1. Morphology

Set A

Forms

Sg. M.

ZN 1.2; 2.3; 9A 1,3,5; 10.4 (bis),5,12; 11.1; 13

Sg. F.

Z' 10.6,12,14

Pl.

'L 4.3; 12.1

Set B

Forms

Sg. M.

Z 10.4, 5, 14 (bis)

Sg. F

Z 10.10, 11

Set A resembles morphologically the demonstrative pronouns **ZN**, **ZNH** (“this,” masculine sg.) and **Z'** (“this,” feminine sg.) of Old Aramaic (Segert, par. 5.1.4.2, 5.1.4.3). Set B resembles the demonstratives of Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician.

2. Syntax and Usage

2a. Set A Occurring Alone

1.2 **WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP HTR MŠPṬH**, “If he shall move this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break.”

2.2/3 **HNY B'LK THT ZN**, “I, your king, am at the bottom of this (shaft).”

4.2/3 **H'T HWY KL MPTLT HBTM 'L**, “It was he who restored all the ruined temples hereabouts.”

9A1 [**'NK**] . . . **P'LT LY HMŠKB ZN**, “I made this coffin for myself.”

9A2 **BMŠKB ZN 'Š 'NK ŠKB BN**, “In this coffin in which I lie.”

9A5 [**'L TPT]H** [**LT MŠKB**] **ZN**, “Do not open this resting-place!”

11 **B'RN ZN 'NK . . . ŠKBT**, “I lie in this coffin.”

12.1/2 **HĤNWŦM 'L P'LT 'NK**, “I made these *hñwŦm*.”

13.1 **WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ZN**, “And so here do I lie, in this coffin.”

13.2 [**'L TPTH 'LJT 'RN ZN**, “Do not open this coffin!”

2b. Sets A and B Co-occurring in *KAI* 10

The following passages illustrate the contrastive deixis of Sets A and B. The narrator (Yehawmilk himself) points out the objects in the temple that he has made from the vantage point of “this inscription of mine here” (“this inscription of mine” being *KAI* 10 itself) and the spot upon which it stands. These, together with the temple itself and the city in which it is located (Byblos), constitute the “here” of the narration and are accordingly designated by means of the deictic pronoun **Z** (“this one here”); all other objects are designated by the pronouns **ZN**, **Z'** (“that one there, yonder”):

First Passage (lines 3/6)

**WP'L 'NK LRBTY B'LT GBL HMZBH NĤŠT ZN 'Š BĤŠRH Z
WHPTH ĤRŠ ZN 'Š 'L PN PTHY Z WH'PT ĤRŠ 'Š BTKT 'BN
'Š 'L PTH ĤRŠ ZN WH'RPT Z' WMDH**

“For my Lady Baalat of Byblos did I make that (**ZN**) bronze altar there which is in this (**Z**) temple of hers here, and that (**ZN**) gold engraving that is opposite this (**Z**) inscription of mine, and the gold *bird* that is <perched> on the stone *pillar* that is next to that (**ZN**) gold engraving there.”

Second Passage (lines 9/11)

**WTTN [LY HRBT B] 'LT GBL ĤN L'N 'LNM WL'N 'M 'RŠ Z
WHN 'M 'RŠ Z** “May the Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor on

the part of the gods and on the part of the people of this (Z) land, and may she grant favor to the people of this (Z) land!"

Third Passage (lines 11/16)

[MY 'T] KL MMLKT WKL 'DM 'Š YSP LP'L ML'KT 'LT MZBH
 ZN [W'LT PT]H HRŠ ZN W'LT 'RPT Z' ŠM 'NK YHWMLK MLK
 GBL [TŠT 'T]K 'L ML'KT H' W'M 'BL TŠT ŠM 'TK W'M TSR
 M[L']KT Z' [WTS]G 'T PTHY Z DL YSDH 'LT MQM Z WTGL
 MSTRW TSRH HRBT B'LT GBL 'YT H'DM H' WZR'W 'T PN
 KL 'LN G[BL]

"Whoever you may be, any royal person or any commoner who shall continue to do work on that (ZM) altar there and on that (ZM) gold engraving and on that (Z') portico, you shall place my name – Yehawmilk, King of Byblos – with yours on the aforementioned work. If you do not place my name with yours <on it> or if you remove that (Z') work or if you move this (Z) inscription of mine here and its base from this (Z) spot and reveal its hiding-place, the Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make stink the aforementioned person and his seed before all the gods of Byblos."

II. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

A. Morphology

Forms

Standard

H-	Ph	46.4 H-'Š ("the people"); 30.2 H-GBR ("the man"); 26 A II 9 H-QRT ("the city"), <i>et passim</i>
	Pu	69.1 H-'Š; 74.1 H-MŠ'TT; 76 b 4 H-LHM, <i>et passim</i>
	NPu	119.4 H-NHŠT, 120.1 H-MŠLM, 130.1 H-YŠBM, <i>et passim</i>

Punic and Neo-Punic

'	Pu	CIS i 5510.3,7 ' -MTNT ("the presentation"); 112.6' -MMLKT ("the kings")
	NPu	145 I 3 ' -YŠB ("who dwells"); 151.1 ' -ST

(“this”); 160.1 **-KTRT** (“the crown”),
160.3 **’Š’T** (“the sodality”)

Neo-Punic Pre-Vocalic Form

H-a- NPu 126.9 **H-’T** *a-et* (“the time”) but line 6
H-TMT *it-timmot* (“perfect”); 118.1 **H-**
[’]RP’T *a-orpót* (“the portico”)

Punic and Neo-Punic Form after the Accusative Particle **T-**

Ø- Pu 79.7/8, 141.1 **T-’BN** (“the stone”); 101.1
T-MQDŠ (“the sanctuary”)
NPu 129.2 **T-’KSNDR’** (“the exedra”); 129.2
T-’RPT (“the portico”); 165.2 **T-P’S** (“the
inscription”)

Punic and Neo-Punic in Latin and Greek Letters

FORM B

a- Pu *Poen.* 947 **a-helicot** (“hospitality”); *Poen.*
946 **a-u** (“that”)
NPu D 6.10 **a-ab** (“the enemy”); *Poen.* 937 **a-**
elichoth (“hospitality”); *PBSR* 23 no.
5.10 **a-urys** (“the engraver”); *IRT* 893.1
a-ys (“which”)

FORM B

a- NPu *IRT* 893.1 **a-nasib** (“the stele”)
e- NPu Augustine to Psalm 136:7 **e-dom**
 (“blood”)
ε- NPu Dioscurides (Vattioni p. 526 no. 51)
σιθιλ εσ-σαδε (“shoot of the field”)
i- Pu *Poen.* 940P **i-macum** (“the city”)
NPu *Poen.* 947T **i-ith** (“this”)
y- NPu *AI* 1 p. 233 **y-bur** (“the tomb”); *Poen.* 930
y-macom (“the city”); *IRT* 873.1, *Poen.*
939 **y-mu** (“which”); *IRT* 828.2 **y-soth**
 (“this”); *IRT* 879.1 **y-sy** (“this”)

Comments

The definite article **H-** *han-* of standard Phoenician and Punic was an unstressed proclitic originating in the second-millennium Canaan-

ite demonstrative pronoun/adjective *han-* (“this/that”). The original deictic use of the pronoun is attested in archaic Hebrew in Numbers 23:9b: **HN-‘M LBDD YŠKN** (“This/that people shall dwell in isolation.”); Numbers 23:24a **HN-‘M KLBY’ YQWM** (“This/that people shall rise/attack like a lion.”); as a true article, the archaic form **HN-** in Genesis 44:8: **HN KSP ŠR MŠ’NW BPY ‘MTHTYNW HŠYBNW ‘LYK** (“We brought back to you the silver that we found inside our money-bags.”). In Phoenician itself, the earliest attested use of the definite article is in texts of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.: **H-**: 4.2/3, Byblos, ca. 950 B.C. **HBTM ‘L** (“these temples, the temples here”); 30.2, Cyprus, ca. 850 B.C. **HGBR Ž’** (“this man”); 46.4/5, Nora, ca. 850 B.C. **HŠ LMŠB** (“the people of the colony”); 24.9/10, ca. 825 B.C. **HMLKM HLPNYM** (“the kings who preceded me”).

As may be readily inferred from Greek and Latin-letter spellings, the definite article had two, complementary forms, both reflexes of the etymon *han-*:

FORM A: (*h*)*ā-*, an open unstressed syllable, with lengthening of vowel before a word beginning with a pharyngeal or laryngeal / *ʿ h* *ħ* /: Pu *Poen.* 947 **a-helicot** *ā-helikót* (“hospitality”). With the loss of the pharyngeals and laryngeals in late Punic and Neo-Punic, Form A came to be the form used before a word beginning with a vowel: NPu *PBSR* 28 p. 53 no. 5.10 **a-urys** *ā-ūrís* (“the engraver” = **H-HRŠ**) and *Poen.* 937 **a-elichoth** *ā-elikót* (“hospitality” = **H-HLKT**).

FORM B: (*h*)*ā-*, a closed unstressed syllable, with gemination of following consonant, the gemination being the assimilation of the final *-n* of *han-* to the initial consonant of the word following; this is the form before a word beginning with a non-pharyngeal/laryngeal consonant: NPu *IRT* 893.1 **a-nasib** *an-našīb* (**H-NŠB** “the stele”). More common however was the pronunciation (*h*)*e-* / (*h*)*i-* + gemination, with the characteristic Phoenician sound-change /*a* > *i*/ in a closed unstressed syllable: Pu *Poen.* 940P **i-macum** *im-maqūm* (“the city”); NPu Augustine **e-dom** *ed-dóm* (“blood”); and *AI* 1 p. 233 **y-bur** *ib-būr* (“the tomb”).

In Punic, the article was not aspirated. It continued for the most part to be written “historically” in the Phoenician manner as **H-**; but early it was also occasionally spelled “phonetically” as **ʿ-**. In Carthaginian inscription *CIS* i 5510, written in 406 B.C., both spellings co-occur: **H-ʿDMM** (“the men,” lines 1, 2), **H-RB** (“the great,” lines 8, 9, 10) but **ʿ-MTNT** (“the stele,” lines 3,7).

In Neo-Punic, in the formal inscription *KAI* 126 from Lepcis Magna, alongside *H-* and ²- the contrastive spelling *H̄-* appears for prevocalic *a-*: *H-TMT* *it-timmót* (“perfect,” line 6), ²-*LPQY* *il-Lepqi* (“Lepcis,” line 7, 2x) but *H̄‘T* *a-ét* (“the time,” line 9). The latter spelling is also attested in Neo-Punic in formal inscription 118.1 *H- [‘]RP‘T* *a-orpót* (“the portico”).

Also peculiar to Punic and Neo-Punic is the common spelling *Ø-* of the definite article after the aphetic proclitic form *T-* (Latin-letter *th-*) of the accusative particle (*nota accusativi*): 79.7/8 *KL ‘Š LSR T-‘BN* *Ž* (“Anyone who shall remove this stone.”); 101.1 *T-MQDŠ Ž BN’* (“They built this sanctuary.”); 165.1/2 *QR’ T-P‘S*, (“Read the inscription!”). The presence of the definite article in these defective spellings is certain, inferable from the many Neo-Punic Latin-letter examples of this same usage: *AI* 1 1927 p. 233 line 1 *fel th-ybur* (“He made the/this tomb.”); *Poen.* 930 *th-ymlachun th-yacum syth* (“You rule over this city.”). However, the definite article was on occasion indicated orthographically in Neo-Punic after the particle *T-*: 138.3-6 *T-HMŽBH . . . HYDŠ W‘YQDŠ* (“He rededicated the altar.”); 160.1 *YTN’ LY ‘KTRT* (“They awarded me the crown.”); 161.3 *TN’ T-HM‘Š ST* (“He erected this statue.”).

B. Syntax and Usage

1. The Article Renders the Noun Definite (Determined)

The most common use of the definite article was to render an indefinite noun definite (determined). This function, which arose from the use of the article as a true demonstrative, is already found in the earliest Tyro-Sidonian and Byblian inscriptions of the tenth and early ninth centuries B.C., among them the following:

10th cent. B.C. Byb 4.1 *KL MPLT HBTM ‘L*, “All the ruined temples hereabouts.”

Early 9th cent. B.C. 30.1/3 *WH‘Š ‘Š [. . .]M L QBR Ž’ Y‘L HGBR Ž’ [‘]LŠY*, “The mana who [lead] them, his is this tomb. This warrior came up to Alasiya . . . “

Early 9th cent. B.C. 46.4/5 *H‘Š LMŠB*, “The people of the colony.”

Mid 9th cent. B.C. 24.15 *WMY YŠHT HSPR Ž*, “Whoever shall destroy this inscription.”

The article was always used erratically. In some syntactic structures its use with the noun was optional as, for instance, if the noun

was already rendered definite by (i) a descriptive adjective carrying the definite article, (ii) a demonstrative pronoun or (iii) an anaphoric pronoun:

14.22 **'LNM HQDŠM**, ("The holy gods"). But in line 9 of the same text, the article is used with the noun: **H'LNM HQDŠM**, ("The holy gods").

26 A III 7/8 **'M Ž** ("This people") but with the article in 26 A II 9 **HQRT Ž** ("This city"). In all periods of the language, the constructions **HQRT Ž** and **QRT Ž** were free variants.

14.11 **'DMM HMT**, ("Those persons") but also with the article in line 22 of the same text: **H'DMM HMT**, ("Those persons"). As with the demonstrative pronoun, the constructions **HQRT H'** and **QRT H'** were free variants.

2. The Article with Abstract Nouns

An abstract concept may be conveyed by the means of the definite article. This usage is illustrated by the noun Pu **a-helicot** (NPu **a-eliçoth**) *a-(h)elīkot* ("hospitality"): *Poen.* 947 **Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, ("With him I shared a shard of hospitality.") = *Poen.* 937. (Neo-Punic) **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs a-eliçoth i-sith**, ("With him I shared this shard of hospitality."). This same usage appears with the noun **H-D'T** *id-dá'at* ("friendship"): NPu 121,1;126,6 in the expression **D'T H-TMT**, *literally*, ("perfect friendship/understanding") rendered **concordia** in Latin.

3. The Article with Place-Names

Place-names may receive the definite article. In the examples that follow, the article is set off in order to emphasize its presence:

NPu 126.7 **'DR' 'LPQY W'M 'LPQ[Y]**, "The senate of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis."

Pu M. Ghaki, "Textes libyques et puniques," *REPPAL* 1 (1985), pp. 174-75 **ND'R Š N'DR' B'L' H-M[D]DM LB'LHMN**, "<This is> the vow that the citizens of Medidi made to Baalhammon."

Pu *De Carthage a Kairouan. 2000 ans d'arts et d'histoire en Tunisie*. Musée du Petit Palais (Paris, 1982) cat. No. 152.2/3 **B'LYTN BN D'B'R BN YTNB'L B'L H-MKT'RYM**, "Baliathon son of Dabar son of Iathonbal, a citizen of Mactar."

NPu 172.2/3 **PRṬ 'L MYṬB' RŠ' H-SLKY LBN'T T-HMQDŠ**

ST, “He undertook to build this sanctuary with the consent of the senate of Sulcis.”

4. *The Article with the Descriptive Adjective of a Determined Noun*

If the noun is definite, the descriptive adjective carries the definite article: 14.9 **H’LNM HQDŠM** (“The holy gods”); 14.19 **RŠT DGN H’DRT** (“The great grain regions”); 24.9/10 **HMLKM HLPNYM** (“The earlier kings”). *Obs.* If the adjective receives the definite article, the article need not be used with the noun: 14.12 **’LNM HQD-ŠM** (“The holy gods”); NPu 121.1 **D’T HTMT** (“Perfect friendship”, rendered **concordia** in Latin).

5. *The Article Used Rarely with the Adjectival Demonstrative*

Only rarely is the definite article used with the demonstrative adjective. Significantly, Phoenician itself yields two examples only, both in texts from Cyprus, raising the question if dialect is perhaps a factor. Characteristic of Phoenician and Punic, the definite article is optional with the noun itself. Compare the optional suppression of the definite article with the noun when a qualifying adjective carries the definite article: 14.12 **’LNM H-QDŠM**, (“The holy gods”) but 14.9 **H-’LNM H-QDŠM**: Ph *FK* D 35 **H-’GN H-Ž** (“This bowl”); Ph 40.3 **H-SMLM H-’L**, (“These images”); NPu 151.1 **HBN ’-ST**, (“This stone”); NPu *CIS* i 151.2 **H-M’S ’-ST**, (“This statue”); NPu *IRT* 828.2 **bur y-soth**, (“This tomb”); NPu *IRT* 879.2/3 **ys y-sy**, (“this man”); NPu *Poen.* 937T **irs a-elichoth i-sith** (“This shard of hospitality”). See the chapter on the Demonstrative Pronouns.

6. *Article Used Rarely with the Anaphoric Pronoun*

The definite article with the anaphoric pronoun is found a single time, in Punic. In normative usage, the anaphoric pronoun, like the demonstrative adjective, does not receive the article: Pu *Poen.* 944/46A **Alem ys duber ce fel dono Mittun et cil cumu {comu} conliful alt banim au**, (“I am told that his father Mittun did everything for that son of his, as he was to do it for him.”). But *cf.* normative usage, without the article: Byb 10.15 **H’DM H’** (“That person”); 13.6 **HDBR H’** (“That thing”); 14.22 **H’DMM HMT** (“Those persons”), *et passim*.

7. *The Article Used with Relative Pronoun in Late Neo-Punic*

In late Neo-Punic, the relative pronoun may receive the definite article when the antecedent of the pronoun is definite. This usage is unknown in standard Phoenician and Punic. See chapter on the relative pronoun.

NPu IRT 893.1 **A-nasib a-ys fel Sudru**, “<This is> the stele that Sudru made.”

NPu IRT 873.1/4 **Myntsyfth y-mu fel Bibi Mythunilim**, “<This is> the stele that Bibi Mythunilim made.”

NPu Poen. 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera y-mu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”

8. *The Article Expresses the Relative Pronoun*

In Phoenician-Punic, the verbal relative clause, regardless of the form of the verb in the clause, is normally introduced by the relative pronoun **’š**. Rarely, the definite article is used:

8a. The Verb is an Active Participle

CIS i 91.2 **NSHT ’T ’BY HYŠ’M W’ZRNM**, “I defeated my enemies who came forth <in battle against me> and their allies.”

NPu 161. **KL ’N’SP L’**, “All who were gathered to him.”

NPu 145 I 3 **L’M ’YŠB ’DMT**, “For the people that inhabit the land.”

See the chapter on the relative pronouns for the normal use of **’š** to introduce a verbal relative clause.

8b. The Verb is the Suffixing Form Past Perfective

26 A I 1/2 **’NK ’ZTWD HBRK B’L ’BD B’L**, “I am Aztwadda, whom Baal blessed, the servant of Baal.”

172.1/3 **[LH]MLKT . . . HPRT . . . LBN’T T-HMQDŠ ST**, “To Himilco, who undertook to build this sanctuary.” = Latin **Himilconi . . . quei hanc aedem . . . faciundam coeravit**.

This use of the definite article is found also in Hebrew: see Waltke-O’Connor, par. 19.7.

9. *Use as a Vocative Particle*

NPu 164.1/3 **TBQI** ”**LK WQR**’ **T-P’S** ’š ’**L HMŃSBT ST**, “Tarry, O passer-by, and read the inscription that is on this stele!”

CHAPTER SIX

THE RELATIVE AND DETERMINATIVE PRONOUNS

I. RELATIVE PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Forms

Archaic

𐤆- *zū-* Byb 1.1; 4.1; 6.1; 7.1

Standard Phoenician and Punic

𐤆𐤃 *ʕs* Ph 13.3; 14.4,7,9,10,15,17,19; 18.4;
19.2,9,10, *et passim*

Byb 9 A 3, B 3; 10.2, 4, 5, 6, 7

Pu 61 A 2; 63.1; 64.1; 66.1; 69.1,
13,14,15,16,18,19,20, *et passim*

NPu 126.7; 130.2; 137.1; 141.4, *et passim*

es Pu *Poen.* 949

is Pu *Poen.* 940P

NPu *Poen.* 930, 940A

ys NPu *Poen.* 939; *IRT* 893.1

𐤆𐤃 Pu *EH* Gr 1

Late Neo-Punic

FORM A

M' *mū* NPu *Trip.* 77.1/2;

mu NPu *IRT* 828.1; 863; 873.2, 877.2; 901.1,4

FORM B

M' 𐤆𐤃 *mū ʕs* NPu *Trip.* 79.1/2

mu ys NPu *Poen.* 939

Comments

The earliest Phoenician relative pronoun, the proclitic *zū-* (spelled 𐤆-), is attested in Byblian inscriptions *KAI* 1-7, dating to the years

1000-900 B.C. It is not evident however that this pronoun was normative of the standard literary language of that period or a preferred archaism. The reflex of Proto-Canaanite *dhū-*, the pronoun *zū-* is historically related to the relatives relative *D-* *dū-* of literary Ugaritic (archaic Ugaritic *D-* *dhū-*) and archaic/archaizing *ZW* (*zū*), *ZH* (*ze*) of the language of the Biblical Psalms (Tsevat p. 51 no. 157). No example of the pronoun is as yet attested in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician texts.

By the early ninth century B.C., the proclitic *zū-* had been replaced in all dialects of Phoenician by the relative pronoun *ʾis* (spelled *ʾŠ*) which, from this time on, became normative of standard Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician, Punic and Byblian. The origin of the relative *ʾis* is obscure; its vocalization is however certain from the *plene* spelling *ʾYŠ* and Roman and Greek letter spellings *es*, *is*, *ys*, *υς*. This same relative pronoun was also used in the Lowlands (Shephelah) Canaanite dialect of Lachish, attested in a 4th -century B.C. frankincense altar inscription from that site (*NESE* i 487 f.): *LBNT ʾYŠ BN MHLT* (“<This is> the incense altar that Mahli built/erected.”). It is also found twice in a passage in non-Judaeen Canaanite, perhaps the Lowlands dialect, preserved in Numbers 1:4: *YHYW ʾTKM ʾYŠ ʾYŠ LMTH ʾYŠ RŠ LBT ʾBTYW HW*, (“<Conduct ye a census of the entire confederation of the Bane-Israel by the families of their clans>. Let assist you the man of each tribe who is the head of its clans.”). Lowlands Canaanite may have taken this pronoun from the neighboring coastal Phoenician dialects; for in archaic Lachishite, as the Late Bronze II Lachish ewer inscription reveals (see below), the relative pronoun was *Š-*.

No evidence exists in Phoenician or Punic for the existence of a relative pronoun of the shape *Š-*. The pronoun *Š-* that does occur in Phoenician and Punic is not a relative but a determinative pronoun, serving primarily to express an indirect genitive relationship. There was however a relative pronoun *Š-* in the Canaanite of the Lowlands (Shephelah); it is attested in the dialect of Lachish of the Late Bronze Age, in an inscription (*ca.* 1300-1200 B.C.) on a ewer discovered in the Fosse Temple: *MTN ŠYT[N . . .]TY LʾLT* (“<This is> the gift that [. . .]tay presented to Elath.”). This pronoun is also known from the non-Judaeen passages in the Bible and in post-Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew and in an oval seal inscription published by A. Avigad, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 247f: *ʾBNDB ŠNDR L ʾŠT(RT) BŠDN TBRKH*, (“Abinadab. <This is> what he vowed to Astarte of Sidon.

May she bless him!"). This seal inscription, often included among the Phoenician inscriptions, is linguistically, orthographically and stylistically not Phoenician.

The relative pronoun $\bar{z}s$ remained standard in Phoenician into the late Neo-Punic (ca. 1st-5th centuries ad). In late Neo-Punic however there emerged a new relative pronoun, $m\bar{u}$ (spelled **M' mu**) and its variant $m\bar{u} \bar{i}s$ (**M' 'Š mu ys**), in origin the indefinite relative "what, that which" extended in use as a general relative with antecedent. Analogues to this common development are the Afrikaans relative pronoun **wat** and Viennese and Yiddish **was**. $M\bar{u}$ and $m\bar{u} \bar{i}s$, which originated in the colloquial Punic of the late Roman period, eventually came also to be accepted in literary Neo-Punic, as evidenced by its use in *Poenulus* (Poen. 939) **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim** ("Let me ask these men who are coming out from here."), a line from the entrance monologue of Hanno from the Neo-Punic version of the comedy *Karkhedonios*. The original Punic version of this same line employed the earlier relative **es** (**'Š**): *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**. In spite of its great currency in late Neo-Punic, the relative $m\bar{u}$ ($m\bar{u} \bar{i}s$) never entirely replaced standard Phoenician-Punic $\bar{z}s$.

It is possible that the use of the indefinite relative $m\bar{u}$ as a general relative may occur in an inscription on a goblet (*IEJ* 23 p. 120): **QB' M 'N ḤN 'RBT LMRZH ŠMŠ**, ("<This is> the goblet that I, Hanno, presented to the Sodality of Shemesh."). The translation of the text is however highly problematic; and aside from the matter of the authenticity of the inscription itself, it is not evident at all that the dialect is Phoenician: the text has short form **'N 'anī** of the independent personal pronoun "I," elsewhere found only in archaic Phoenician, and the verb **'-R-B** ("to give"), otherwise unknown in Phoenician.

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Introducing a Non-Verbal Relative Clause: Relative Clauses with Nominal, Adjectival or Adverbial Predicate

When the relative clause was a non-verbal sentence with nominal or adjectival predicate, the subject of the relative clause was optionally expressed by the independent personal pronouns of the third person.

1a. Relative Clause with the Independent Pronoun

40.1/2 **ŠNT 31 L'DN MLKM PTLMYS . . . 'Š H' ŠT 57 L'Š KTY**, "Year 31 of the Lord of Kings Ptolemaios which is (*lit.*, which it is) year 57 of the people of Kition."

43.4/5 **ŠNT 11 L'DN MLKM PTLMYŠ . . . 'Š HMT L'M LPT ŠNT 33**, "Year 11 of the Lord of Kings Ptolemais which is (*lit.*, which it is) year 33 of the people of Lapethos."

1b. Relative Clause without Independent Pronoun

The expression of the subject of the non-verbal sentence with nominal or adjectival predicate by the independent personal pronouns of the third person was not obligatory, as the following examples indicate.

Ph 26 A III 13, IV 1 **'DM 'Š 'DM ŠM**, "A person who is a person of name/fame." Not **'DM 'Š 'DM ŠM H'** or **'Š H' 'DM ŠM**, "a man who he is a man of name."

Pu *Poen.* 944/45 **Ys es hulec silli balim esse lipane esse con**, "The man who was my guest-friend in this nation in the past." Not **es hu hulec silli . . . con**. "who he was my guest-friend."

26 A II 3/4 **MQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M**, "Places that were dangerous in the past." Not "that they were dangerous." Not **'Š HMT KN LPNM NŠT'M**.

In a non-verbal relative clause with adverbial predicate, the third person independent personal pronoun was never used as subject.

Pu 80.1/2 **H'ŠM 'Š 'L HMQDŠM**, "The men who are in charge of sanctuaries." Not "the men who they are in charge of sanctuaries."

Pu 66.1 **'KLYN . . . 'Š 'L HMMLHT**, "Cleon, <the official> who is in charge of the salt revenues." = Greek Κλεων ο επι των αλων.

NPu 130.5 **'RKT 'Š 'L HMHZM**, "The department which is in charge of marketplaces made four of the seats with fine monies."

2. *Introducing a Verbal Relative Clause*

2a. Used with the Participle (Active and Passive)

The relative pronouns are used to introduce all verbal relative clauses, including those in which the verb is a participle (active or passive). In contrast, Hebrew requires the use of the definite article with the participle, usage known in Phoenician as well but much less common.

14.9 **MMLKT 'DR 'Š MŠL BNM**, “The mighty king who rules them.”

37 A 7 **LŠRM B'R 'Š ŠKNM LMLKT QDŠT**, “<Paid> to those who dwell in the city who were employed for the sacred liturgy.”

60.9 **H'DMM 'Š NŠ'M LN**, “The persons who were elected by us.”

Pu *CIS* i 3785.5/6 **KL 'DM 'Š GNB T-MTNT Ζ** “Anyone who shall steal this stele.”

Pu *Eph.* 3.55.1 [**HPRK]T 'Š KST W'ṬPT 'YT [. . .] MQDŠ Ζ** “The [*curtain*] that covers and conceals the [*holy of holies*] of this sanctuary.”

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, “Let me inquire of <these men> who are coming out from here.” = NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”

NPu *Trip.* 2 [**P'L T-HPTH WH . . .]T 'Š 'DHT 'L P'NY' WT-HTLY'M 'Š 'L HPTH**, “[He made the *pth* and the . . .]s that are . . . -ing in front of it (*or* on its surface) and the *hanging things* that are on/above the *pth*.”

Instances in Phoenician and Punic of the definite article functioning as relative pronoun with an active participle are the following:

CIS i 91.2 **NŠHT 'T 'BY HYŠ'M**, “Would that I might defeat my enemies who come forth <to do battle with me>.”

NPu 145 I 3 **'M 'YŠB 'DMT**, “The people who dwell on the land.”

2b. Used with Finite Forms of the Verb

60.2 **ŠM'B'L BN MGN 'Š NŠ' HGW 'L BT 'LM W'L MBNT HŠR BT 'LM**, “Samobaal son of Magon, whom the community elected in charge of the temple and the building of the temple court.”
Et passim.

Pu 80.1/2 **H'ŠM 'Š 'L HMQDŠM 'Š KN BŠT Š[PṬM] GRSKN WGR'ŠTRT . . . WBD'ŠTRT**, “The men in charge of sanctuaries who were in office in the year of the Suffetes Gisco, Gerastart and Bodastart rebuilt this slaughtering table.”

Pu 69.20 **KL KHN 'Š YQH MŠ'T BDŠ L'Š ŠT BPS Ζ** “Any priest who shall accept a payment that is in excess of that set down in this inscription.” *Et passim.*

Pu 79.6/8 **KL 'Š LSR T-'BN Ζ** “Anyone who shall remove this stone.”

3. Resumptive Pronoun in the Relative Clause

If the antecedent of the relative pronoun is the direct or indirect object of the verb in the relative clause, the antecedent may be referred back to by means of a resumptive pronoun. However, in Phoenician such resumption is not obligatory.

3a. With Resumption of the Indirect Object

Byb 9 A 3 **BMŠKB ʒN Š 'NK ŠKB BN**, “In this resting-place in which I lie (*lit.*, which I lie in it).”

43.12/13 **HDLT HNHŠT . . . Š BN MNHT HNY**, “The bronze plaque in which are the details of my beneficence (*lit.*, which in it are the details of my beneficence).”

NPu 126.7/9 [**TYBRY QLWDY**] . . . **Š LPNY . . . YTN L'BD BŠP'T**, “[Tiberius Claudius], to whom they granted (*lit.*, who to him they granted) <the right> to use the broad senatorial purple stripe.”

Once, instead of resumption in the case of an indirect object, the preposition is used with the relative pronoun:

26 A I 13/15 **BN 'NK HMYT 'ŽT . . . BMQMM BŠ KN ŠM R'M B'L 'GDDM**, “I built strong protective fortresses in places in which (*biʿis*) there were bad men, bandits.”

3b. Without Resumption of the Indirect Object

26 A I 15/16 **ŠM R'M . . . Š BL Š 'BD KN LBT MPŠ**, “Bad men, none of whom was a vassal (*lit.*, who none was a vassal of the House of Mopsos).” Not “who none of them was a vassal.”

3c. Resumption of the Direct Object in the Relative Clause

Resumption of the direct object in a relative clause by means of a suffixal object pronoun is also known in Phoenician, as in Hebrew, but it is extremely rare:

Byb 10.1/2 **'NK YHWMLK . . . Š P'LTN HRBT B'LT GBL MMLKT 'L GBL**, “I am Yehawmilk, whom the Lady Baalt of Byblos made king (*lit.*, who the Lady Baalt of Byblos made me king) of Byblos.”

Pu RES 891.1/3 [**HPRK]T Š KST W'TPT [YT TW H]MQDŠ ʒ Š NDR' MGN [BN . . .] BN MGN BN PLSMLQRT**, “The [*curtain*] that covers and conceals the [*cella* of] this sanctuary which Mago

[son of PN] son of Mago son of Pillesmilqart vowed [*lit.*, which Mago vowed it].”

NPu Trip. 79.1/2 **B'RM QN'T 'T M' 'Š P'LM M'ŠWKN**, “You have acquired the tomb that Masauchan built (*lit.*, which Masauchan built them).” *Obs.* **B'RM** is plural in form but singular in meaning; later in the same inscription, it is subject of the singular verb **NP'L** (“it was made”).

NPu 168.1/6 **G'Y YL MNWL' ṬN' L' 'BN N'S'Y' BRKT BT RG'T**, “<This is the tombstone of> Gaius Julius Manulus. Birikt daughter of Rogatus erected to him <this> stone <that> they pulled up (*lit.*, they pulled it up).”

4. *Ellipsis of the Antecedent of the Relative Pronoun*

Often the relative pronoun has an unexpressed antecedent which is evident from the context.

Byb 11 **SWT WMR'Š . . . WMḤSM . . . KM 'Š LMLKYT 'Š KN LPNY**, “A garment and head-piece and mouth-piece like <those> which belonged to the queens who preceded me.”

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, “Let me inquire of <these men> who are coming out from here.” *Obs.* The Neo-Punic version of the line has the plural demonstrative **ily** (“these men”) as antecedent of the relative pronoun: *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these <men> who are coming out from here.”

54.2 **'Š YṬN'T 'NK D'MSLḤ BN D'MḤN' ŠDNY**, “<This is the stele> that I, Domsalaoh son of Domhanno the Sidonian, erected.”

59.1/2 **'Š YṬN' LY YṬNB'L BN 'ŠMNŠLḤ**, “<This is the stele> that Yatonbaal son of Esmunsaloh erected to me.”

The elliptic use of the relative pronouns is common in the expressions **'Š 'L** and **'Š B-** (“he who is in charge of <some function>.”). The former acquired the specialized meaning of “Governor.”

NPu 141.1 **WṬḤ 'Š 'L RŠT ṬŠK'T**, “WṬḤ, Governor of the Province of Thusca.”

NPu D 2.1/10 **Iulius Masthalul. . . is [al C]leruch[ia A]dnim**, “Iulius Masthalul, Governor of the Colony of Adnim.”

NPu D 5.1/13 **Iulius [. .]ibitua[n] . . . is a[l C]ler[uch]ia A]dnim**, “Iulius [xx]ibituan, Governor of the Colony of Adnim.”

Pu 66.1 **'KLYN ŠḤSGM 'Š BMMLHT**, “Cleon SHSGM, <the official> who is in charge of the salt revenues.” Greek κλεων ο επι των αλων.

5. *The Use of the Definite Article with the Relative Pronoun in Neo-Punic*

In Late Neo-Punic, all forms of the relative pronoun may optionally receive the definite article when the antecedent of the relative is determined. This usage is unknown in Punic and Phoenician:

IRT 893.1/3 **A-nasib a-ys fel Sudru lobi[t]hem ulybane[m]**, “<This is> the stele that Sudru made for his daughter and for his son.”

NPu *IRT* 873.1/4 **Myntsytth y-mu fel Bibi Mythunilim uintseb libinim Mythunilim**, “<This is> the stele which Bibi Mythunilim made and erected to his son, Mythunilim.”

NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera y-mu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”

6. *The Relative Pronoun Expresses the Locative “Where”*

26 A II 3/5 **BMQMM Š KN LPNM NŠT‘M Š YŠT‘ ‘DM LLKT DRK**, “In places that in the past were dangerous, where (š) one used to be afraid to walk the road.” *Obs.* Phoenician does not use the preposition **B-** + suffix pronoun or **ŠM** (“there”) with the relative pronoun as we find in Hebrew **ŠR . . . BW/ŠM** (“where”).

7. *Relative Pronoun as Adverbial Complement to the Jussive/Optative*

The relative pronoun functions as an adverbial complement to the optative and Jussive in Neo-Punic. This use of the pronoun is well known in Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew: see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard, 1986), §400.11.

NPu 147.2/4 **[N]GD HŠMM NDR NDR’ Š L[CCC H’L] . . . [’]Š L‘TT H’L ‘BBRKTM L[N] . . . Š L‘ZR [H’L . . .]**, “Facing Heaven, they prayed: ‘May God . . . ! May God grant us of His blessings . . . ! May God help [us]!’”

NPu *Trip.* 10.3/4 **Š LKN ‘HRT[M] BRY<K>’T**, “May their afterlife be a happy one!”

8. *The Virtual Relative Clause*

A relative clause may be expressed without the use of a relative pronoun. The “virtual” relative clause corresponds to English: “The man I saw.” Examples are rare:

29.1/2 **‘RN [Š]N MGN ‘MTB‘L . . . MTT L‘ŠTRT ‘DTY**, “<This

is> the ivory box Amotbaal presented as a gift to her Lady Astarte.”
 NPu 168.1/6 **G'Y YL MNWL' ṬN' L' 'BN N'S'Y' BRKT BT
 RG'T**, “<This is the tombstone of> Gaius Julius Manulus. Birikt
 daughter of Rogatus erected to him <this> stone they pulled up (*lit.*,
 they pulled it up).”

9. In Fixed Expressions

9a. In the Marker of the Indirect Genitive 'Š L- (“of”)

Phoenician and Punic often express the construct relationship indirectly by means of fixed markers, equivalent essentially in function to the English word “of.” One such marker is the expression 'Š L-, literally, “which is of” or “which belongs to.” In this marker, the relative pronoun is non-functional, being merely a member of the expression.

24.15 **B'L ŠMD 'Š LGBR**, “Baal-Semid of Gabbar” (*i.e.*, Baal-Semid, the personal god of Gabbar).

24.16 **B'LHMN 'Š LBMH**, “Baalhammon of BMH” (*i.e.*, Baalhammon, the personal god of BMH).

NSI 150.5 'Š 'LM 'Š LMLQRT BŠR, “The Man-of-the-God (Prophet) of Milqart of Tyre.”

CIS i 88.4 **HSLMT 'Š LMPQD Ṣ**, “The storerooms of this depository.”

Obs. The indirect genitive is also expressed by means of the determinative pronoun Š- in Punic, by means of the compound ŠL- in Phoenician and in Neo-Punic and by means of the simple preposition L-. See the section on the Determinative Pronoun and the chapter on Prepositions.

9b. In the Marker of Origin and Location 'Š B- (“of, from, in”)

Another common marker, serving to specify origin, provenience or location, is the expression 'Š B-, literally, “who/which is of/from/in.” Here, too, the relative is non-functional, being merely a member of the expression.

17.1/2 'ŠTRT 'Š BGW HQDŠ 'Š LY, “Astarte of GW, my goddess.”

Caquot-Masson, *Syria* 45 (1968) 302-306 line 2 **RŠP HMKL 'Š
 B'DYL**, “Rasep the Destroyer of Idalion.”

Head, 790 **L'DK 'Š BKN'N**, “Laeodicaea in/of Canaan (Phoenicia).”

The non-functionality of the relative pronoun in this expression

is indicated by the fact that it is frequently omitted:

18.2/3 **'BD'LM BN MTN BN 'BD'LM BN B'LŠMR BPLG L'DK**,
 “Abdilim son of Mittun son of Abdilim son of Baalsamor of the
 district of Laodicaea.”

10. *In the Independent Possessive Pronoun 'Š LY*

Phoenician possesses an independent possessive pronoun **'Š LY** ^{is li} (“my”) that is compounded of the relative pronoun and the preposition **L-** with suffixal pronouns: 18.3/4 **HŠ'R Z WHDLHT 'Š L** (“This gate and its doors”); 17.1/2 **'ŠTRT . . . HQDŠ 'Š LY** (“As-tarte, my deity”). This pronoun is discussed at length in the following chapter.

11. *The Pseudo-Relative Clause*

The relative pronoun is sometimes precedes a finite verb in sentences in which the direct object is clause-initial and in sentences beginning with a prepositional phrase. In these sentences, the relative pronoun is a feature of rhetoric and style rather than function.

26 C III 2 **WZBH 'Š Y[LKT L]'LM KL HMSKT**, “And I brought a sacrifice to the god (Baal-KRNTRYs) at all the sacrifices.” That **ZBH** is the direct object of the verb and not the antecedent of the relative pronoun is proved by the alternate version of this same line in 26 A II 19-III 1: **WYLK <'NK> ZBH L KL HMSKT**, “And I brought a sacrifice to him (Baal-KRNTRYs) at all the sacrifices.”

Pu CIS I 5689.1/5 **LRBT LTNT-PNB'L WL'DN LB'LHMN 'Š NŠ 'BD'ŠMN HSPR BN 'BDMLK HSPR 'YT 'RŠT ŠRY**, “To the Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and to the Lord Baalhammon did Abdesmun the Scribe, the son of Abdmilk the Scribe, bring the first-born of his (own) flesh.” Not “who he brought to him.”

It is quite possible that all Phoenician-Punic dedications of the type NOUN + **'Š** + VERB + SUBJECT may be pseudo-relative clauses. So, for example, a typical dedicatory statement like **KAI 41.1/3 SML 'Z 'Š YTN WYTN' MNHM . . . L'DNY L[RŠ]P 'LYYT** should perhaps properly be rendered (“Menehhem presented and erected this statue to his Lord Rasap Eleeitai,”) and not literally, (“This statue that Menehhem presented and erected to his Lord Rasap Eleitai.”). This may be argued from the fact that although the Greek version of this same dedication mimics the Phoenician in rendering a relative clause (τοῦ ἀνδριαντῶν τοῦ-νυ εδοκεν καὶ ονεθεκεν Μα-

νασες . . . τοι Απειλωνι τοι Ελειται, ("The statue that Manases presented and set up to Apollo Eleitai"), the Greek also has the antecedent in the accusative case, as if it were the direct object of the two verbs. Confirmation of this analysis is perhaps to be found in the dedication of the Pyrgi inscription (*IFPCO* pp. 160-161): it is a sentence compounded of two independent clauses, the first a pseudo-verbal clause (for rhetorical and stylistic reasons), the second a simple declarative clause; both clauses should therefore perhaps be rendered as declarative sentences: *LRBT L'ŠTRT 'ŠR QDŠ 'Z 'Š P'L W'Š YTN TBRY' WLNŠ MLK 'L KYŠR' . . . BMTN 'BBT WBN TW K 'ŠTRT 'RŠ BDY*, ("For the Lady Astart did Tiberius Velianas, King of Caere, make and set up this sacred *aser* as a gift in [her] temple [*lit.*, this sacred *aser*, which he made and set up], and he [re]built the/her/its cella; because Astarte requested it of him.").

II. DETERMINATIVE PRONOUN

A. Morphology

Forms

FORM A

Š- <i>si-</i>	Pu	49 36 Av.; 64.1/2; 77.1/2, <i>et passim</i> NPu 122.1; 124.3/4, <i>et passim</i>
su- (sy-)	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 948
sy-	NPu	178.1; cf. <i>Poen.</i> 933 sylochom ("your")
si-	Pu	cf. <i>Poen.</i> 1141 silli ("my")

FORM B

ŠL- <i>silli-</i>	Ph	Lapethos 3.4 QB'M ŠLKSP ("silver cups"); 51 reverse line 2 'Š ŠLH[RMNYM] ("the men/people of HRMNYM").
	NPu	122.2 [. . .] 'YT ŠLTBRY 'WGSTS ("the . . . of Tiberius Augustus"); 122.2 Q'DRYG' ŠL[GRM'NY]QS ("the quadriga of Germanicus")

Comments

The determinative pronoun was a proclitic, uninflected for number, gender and case. Its shape, readily inferable from Latin-letter spellings, was *si-* + gemination of the consonant following: Pu *Poen.* 948:

mucom sussibti (“the place of his residence”). Vocalization and gemination are confirmed by the Latin-letter spellings of the independent possessive pronoun **ŠL-**: Pu *Poen.* 1141 **silli** (“my”) and *Poen.* 933 **sylochom** (“your”). The simple form **Š-** was unique to Punic and Neo-Punic. Phoenician knew only the extended form **ŠL-** of the pronoun, compounded with the preposition **L-**. Historically, both in morphology and syntax, the pronoun is related to the Akkadian determinative pronoun **ša** (Ungnad-Matouš §30). Within the Canaanite family of languages, its only counterpart (syntactically, not morphologically) is the literary Ugaritic inflected determinative **D-** (masc. sg.), **DT** (fem. sg.), **DT** (plural). Judaeen Canaanite (Hebrew) possessed no morphologic counterpart although Late Hebrew (Biblical and Post-Biblical) had a syntactic counterpart in the indirect genitive marker **ŠL**, a compound of the relative pronoun and the preposition **L-**. While Phoenician **ŠL** and Late Hebrew **ŠL** are outwardly similar, they are quite different in their morphology.

The determinative pronoun **Š-** of Phoenician and Punic is not related to the Canaanite relative pronoun *še-*, attested in the Late Bronze II Lachish ewer inscription and in Late Hebrew, despite the outward similarity in morphology. As observed in the section on the relative pronoun, the relative **Š-** is unattested in any form of Phoenician and Punic.

B. *Syntax and Usage*

1. *Expressing the Indirect Genitive*

1a. Phoenician **ŠL-**

The principal function of the determinative pronouns is to mark the indirect genitival relationship between two determined nouns. This is to say, the pronouns are essentially equivalent to the preposition “of” in English “the house of the mayor” or “the table of wood.” In standard Phoenician, this function was commonly performed by **ŠL-**: *NSI* 150.5 **B'LYTN Š'LM LMLQRT**, (“Baalyaton, the Prophet of Milqart”). The use of **ŠL-** was rare, attested three times only in Phoenician, twice in the same inscription from Lapethos in Cyprus (Lapethos 3), raising the possibility that it may have been peculiar to Cypriote Phoenician. As earlier observed, Phoenician never used the simple pronoun **Š-** in this function as did Punic.

Lapethos 3 (Honeyman, *Le Muséon* 51 (1938) 285-298) line 4 **QB'M**

ŠLKSP, “Cups of silver.” *Obs.* In line 7 of this same inscription we find the direct genitive **QB’ KSP**, “cups of silver.”

Lapethos 3 lines 8/9 **’NK PR[M . . . YTN]’T L[’DNY LMLQRT] BL[P]Š W’L GBL Š[LL]PŠ [R]BT**, “I PR[M erect[ed a - - -] for [my Lord Milqart of Lapthos and <for> the territorial gods of Great Lapethos.” This restoration and rendering are problematic.

51 reverse line 2 (4th-3rd cent. Phoenician papyrus of unknown provenience): [**’L PN B]DB’L RB HRMNYM W’L PN Š ŠLHR[MNYM]**], “*Before* Bodbaal, Governor of Hermonim, and *before* the people of Hermonim.” *Obs.* It is possible that **HRMNYM** (if that is the correct reading) is the name of the ship that brought the cargo of goods listed in the papyrus. If so, Bodbaal may have been the captain (**RB**) of the ship and the **Š** the “crew” of the ship. The place **HRMNYM** may occur in Psalm 42:7: **M’RŠ YRDN WHRMNYM**, “From the region(s) of the Jordan and Hermonim.” The location of the site is unknown.

The compounded determinative pronoun is essentially unknown in Punic although two instances, both in the same inscription, occur in Neo-Punic alongside **Š-** and **L-** in the same function: 122.2 [. . .] **’YT ŠLTBRY’WGSTŠ WQDRYG’ ŠL[GRM’NY]QS**, (“The . . . of Tiberius Augustus and the quadriga of Germanicus.”).

1b. Punic **Š-**

The use in Punic of the determinative pronoun to express the indirect genitival relationship between two nouns is exceedingly common. Often, the governing noun is not expressed, especially in headings and initial statements of identification.

1b-1. The Governing Noun Expressed

Pu 81.4 **YB’ LT HHRZ ŠMQDŠM’L**, “They brought <them> into the custody of these sanctuaries.”

Pu CIS i 5987.1 **HNB’L HKHNT ŠKRW’**, “Hannabal, the Priestess of Korwa (Kore).”

Pu CIS i 5942 **GRTMLQRT HKHNT ŠRBTN**, “Gertmilqart Priestess of Our Lady.”

Pu CIS i 4824.5/6 **BYRH KRR ŠT Š’BD’ŠMN WHN’**, “In the month of Kirur, in the year of Abdesmun and Hanno.”

Pu 100.2/7 **HBNM Š’BNM . . . HHRŠM ŠYR . . . HNSKM ŠBRZL**, “The builders of <buildings> of stone . . . the makers of <objects> of wood . . . the casters of <objects> of iron.”

Pu *Poen.* 948 <Esse> **mucom sussibti**, "This is the place of his residence."

NPu J.G. Février, *JA* 1967 pp. 63-64 **HMTNT ST ŠMTNB'L BN ŠPT**, "This gift is of (*i.e.*, this is the gift of) Mittunbal bin Sufet."

NPu 122.1 **HNSKT Š'LM 'WGSṬS WKS'T ŠHNSKT L'LM 'WGSṬS**, "The metal statues of the god Augustus and the thrones of the metal statues of the god Augustus."

NPu 124.3/4 **KTBT DBR' HBT ŠG'Y BN ḤN'**, "The family history book [=family chronicle] of Gaius son of Hanno."

NPu 178.1.3 **Feliioth iadem syRogate**, "<This is> the manufacture of (*i.e.*, was manufactured by) Rogatus."

Obs. The governing noun may carry a proleptic (anticipatory) possessive pronoun:

NPu 169.1/5 **LŠBLT . . . 'ŠTM ŠYPT'N**, "For SBLT, the wife (*lit.*, his wife) of Yupta." Cf. Song of Songs 3:7 **MTTW ŠLŠLMH miṭtato šelliŠlōmō** ("the bed of Solomon").

Obs. One putative instance of the pronoun Š- in Phoenician is alleged to occur in a seal from Anatolia from *ca.* ninth-eighth century B.C., published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *JKAF* 1 (1950/1) 43f **HTM ŠŠRY** "<This is> the seal of SRY." However, the correct reading of the seal is **HTM MŠRY** "<This is> the seal of Misri."

1b-2. With Ellipsis of the Governing Noun in Heading or Statement of Identification

NPu 117.1/2 **Š'PWL'Y M'K[ŠM]' RYD'Y**, "<This is the tomb> of Apuleus Maximus Rideus."

NPu NP 116.1f **Š'ZRB'L**, "<This is the tomb> of Hasdrubal."

Pu *CIS* I 5947.1 **Š'M'ŠTRT**, "<This is the tomb> of Amastart."

Pu Manfredi, *Monete*, 330-332 **ŠYWB'Y**, "<Coinage> of Juba."

Obs. In contrast to Punic usage, Phoenician, which does not have the determined pronoun Š-, always uses in this function the preposition **L-**: 36.1/2 **L'THR BT 'BD'ŠMN**, "<This is the tomb> of 'THR daughter of Abdesmun"; *CIS* I 50.1 **L'ŠMNŠLK BN GRM-LK**, "<This is the tomb> of Esmunsillek son of Germilk." Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 790f **LL'DK' Š BKN'N**, "<Coinage> of Laodicaea in Phoenicia"; Head, p. 739 **LŠDQMLK**, "<Coinage> of Sidqmilk (King of Lapethos)." *Et passim*.

2. *Expressing Personal Relationship*

The determinative pronoun is commonly used to express association or relationship between two persons, the precise nature of which is not entirely clear. The relationship might be that of father and son, in which case Š- could be synonymous with *BN* ("the son of"), or that of slave to his master, in which case one might translate "the slave of." It is however more likely that the pronoun is an abbreviation of the longer expression Š'ZRT PN ("a member of the family of ") which occurs in Punic in *CIS* i 4873.3: *BD'ŠMN HGRR Š'ZRT B'LYSP* ("Bodesmun the Sawyer, a member of the family of Baalyasop."). This usage is characteristic of Punic only: the one alleged instance of the pronoun in Phoenician, in a graffito (*KAI* 49 36 Av) from Abydos, is perhaps Punic; all other occurrences are in Punic sources.

49 36 Av *'NK MGN BN BD' ŠHPŠB'L MNF*, "I am Mago son of Bodo, <the X of> of Hipsibaal of Memphis."

Pu 64.1/2 *B'LHN' ŠBDMLQRT*, "Balanno, member of the family of Bomilcar."

Pu 77.1/2 *BRKMLQRT Š'ZRB'L BN GRSKN*, "Birikmilqart, member of the family of Hasdrubal son of Gisco."

Pu *CIS* i 4872.3/4 *'RŠ BN 'KBR Š'BD'ŠMN*, "Aris bin Akbor, member of the family of Abdesmun."

Pu *CIS* i 5510.11 *B'L'ZR BN ZBG ŠH[N]*, "Baalazor son of Zabog, member of the family of Hanno."

Pu *CIS* i 5594.4/5 *HŠQM HMRGL Š'DRB'L*, "HSQM the Footman, member of the family of Adherbal."

Pu M. Fantar, "Une inscription exposee au Musee d'Utique," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 20, 79-80 (1972), pp. 9-15 *QBR PRK' ŠBDMLQRT BN 'ŠMN'MS BN BDMLQRT*, "<This is> the tomb of PRK', member of the family of Bomilcar son of Esmunamos son of Bomilcar."

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE INTERROGATIVES, INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS, THE INDEPENDENT OBJECT PRONOUNS AND OTHER PRONOUNS

I. THE PERSONAL INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

A. Morphology

Forms

MY <i>mī</i>	Ph	13.3; 14.4, 11, 12, 20, 24.14,15
	NPu	Trip. 49.1 in the name MYK ^o
me	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1010
mi	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1002; <i>IRT</i> 827.1/2 in the name Micebal

Comments

The pronoun, pronounced *mī*, is the reflex of archaic Canaanite *miya* attested in the 14th century B.C. Amarna letters (EA 85.63; 94.12; 116.67). The spelling **MY** is historical, reflecting the pronunciation *miya*, the final *yod* being consonantal, η ot a vowel-letter.

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Interrogative

WHO?

Pu *Poen.* 1010 **Mi u?**, “Who is he?”

Pu *Poen.* 1002 **Me sem abuca?**, “What is/was your father’s name?” Cf. the use of **MY** in Hebrew in Judges 13:17: **MY ŠMK**, “What is your name?”

NPu *IRT* 827.1.2 in the personal name **Mi-ceBal** *mī k^eBa[‘]al*, “Who is like Baal?” The hypocoriston of this same name appears in NPu Trip. 49.1 **MY-K**^o *mī-ka* (feminine).

2. *Indefinite Relative*

WHO, HE WHO

14.10/11 *W'NK LMY KT 'B WLMY KT 'M WLMY KT 'H*, "But as for me, to him who <had no father> I was a father, and to him who <had no mother> I was a mother, and to him who <had no brother> I was a brother."

24.15 *WMY YŠHT HSPR Ž YŠHT R'Š B'ŁŠMD*, "As for him who shall destroy this inscription, Baal-semed shall smash his head."

24.11/12 *MY BL HZ PN Š ŠTY B'L 'DR WMY BL HZ PN LP ŠTY B'LBQR*, "I made him who had never owned a sheep the owner of a flock, and I made him who had never owned an ox the owner of cattle."

WHOEVER, WHICHEVER

13.3/4 *MY 'T KL 'DM 'Š TPQ 'YT H'RN Ž 'L 'L TPTH 'LTY*, "Whoever you may be, anyone <at all>, who shall acquire this coffin, do not, do not open it!"

14.4 *QN MY 'T KL MMLKT WKL 'DM 'L YPTH 'YT MŠKB Ž* "O acquirer <of this resting-place>, whoever you may be, any person of royal lineage or any commoner, let him not open this resting-place!"

14.13/14 *MY BBNY 'Š YŠB THTN WYZQ BSPR Ž MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'RRM*, "As for whichever of my sons who shall sit <on the throne> in my stead, if he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer respect the *b'rrm*."

II. THE NEUTER INTERROGATIVE

A. *Morphology*

Forms

<i>M</i>	Ph	Indefinite: 24.4 (<i>M 'Š</i>)
<i>M'</i>	NPu	Relative: Trip.77.1; Indefinite: <i>BAC</i> NS 1-2 (1965) 229 (Bulla Regia); <i>Teboursouk</i> 8.2/3
<i>mu</i>	Pu	Interrogative: <i>Poen.</i> 1010; 1141b
	NPu	Relative: <i>IRT</i> 828.1; 865; 873.2; 877.2; 901.1, 4
<i>M' 'Š</i>	Ph	Indefinite: 24.4

	N <u>Pu</u>	Relative: Trip. 79.1/2
mu ys	N <u>Pu</u>	Relative: <i>Poen.</i> 939

Comments

The etymon of the pronoun appears was *mā*. The Phoenician reflex *mū* evidences the vocalic sound-change $\bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$ under stress. The relative *mū* 'is is compounded of the interrogative and the relative pronoun.

B. Syntax and usage

1. Interrogative

WHAT?

Pu *Poen.* 1010 **Mu? Pursa. Mi u?**, "What? Explain! Who is he?"

Pu *Poen.* 1141b **Mu <dobrim>?**, "What are they saying?" *Obs.*

The Punic corresponds to Latin *Poen.* 1143 **quid illu locuti sunt inter se?**

2. Indefinite Relative

WHAT = THAT WHICH

24.4/5 **M' Š P'LT BL P'L <HMLKM> HLPNY{H}M**, "The kings who preceded me did not accomplish what I accomplished!"

NPu J. Fevrier, *BAC NS* 1-2 (1965-66) 229 (Bulla Regia 2): **ND'R 'T M' N'DR**, "He vowed [fulfilled] what he vowed." *Cf. TébourSouk* 4.2/3 **ND'R 'Š N'DR**, "He vowed [fulfilled] what he vowed."

NPu *TébourSouk* 8.2/3 **PYG' 'T M' N'DR LB'L**, "He fulfilled what he had vowed to Baal."

3. General Relative

In Neo-Punic, the indefinite pronouns **M** and **M' Š** ("what, that which") were extended to use as general relatives with antecedent. The pronouns are very common in late Neo-Punic alongside Standard Phoenician-Punic 'Š. The forms **M** and **M' Š** were free variants. Both forms could receive the definite article when the antecedent was determined.

M' = mu

NPu Trip. 77.1/2 **MNŠBT M' P'L' BN[Y'] L'BN'M NYMR'N**, "<This is> the stele that his [Nimmira's] sons made for their father Nimmira."

NPu *IRT* 828.1 **Mintsyf[th m]u fel Baricbal Typafi**, “<This is> the stele that Baricbal Tapapius made.”

NPu *IRT* 865 **Isfositio Nubo mu felun Flaban Ebean Numerian Sihhanc baneo**, “<This is> the *isfositio* of Nubo that his sons Flavianus, Ebean, Numerianus <and> Sihhanc made <for him>.”

NPu *IRT* 877.1/6 **Centenari mu fel Thlana Marci Cecili byMupal efsem <M>acer byn banem**, “<This is> the *centenarium* (fortified farmhouse) that Thlana Marcius Caecilius son of Mupal made in the name of Macer, his grandson.”

NPu *IRT* 901.1/4 **Memoria mu fela Thualath byth Nasif**, “<This is> the memorial that Thualath daughter of Nasif made.”

NPu *LA* 1 1964/65 no. 3.3/6 **Castru[m] mu in[tseb u]fel [Math]lich**, “[This] fortified farmhouse is that which [Math]lich ere[cted and] built.”

The relative pronoun may carry the definite article if its antecedent is determined:

NPu *IRT* 873.1/4 **Myntsytth y-mu fel Bibi Mythunilim uintseb libinim Mythunilim**, “<This is> the stele which Bibi Mythunilim made and erected to his son, Mythunilim.”

$M' \check{S} = \text{mu ys}$

NPu *Trip.* 79.1/2 **B'RM QNT 'T M' Š P'LM M'SWKN**, “You have acquired the tomb that Masauchan made.”

The relative may carry the definite article if its antecedent is determined:

NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”

4. Indefinite

ANY(THING) (Latin *ecquid*)

Pu *Poen.* 1023 **Mu Ponnim sucartim?** “Do you remember anything of Punic?” *Obs.* The Punic corresponds to *Poen.* 985 **ecquid commeministi Punice?** Cf. the use of Hebrew *ma* in 1Samuel 19:3 **WR'YTY MH**, “If I learn anything,” and Job 13:13 **T'BR 'LY MH**, “Let anything befall me.”

III. INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Phoenician and Punic **'Š LY**

Forms

Sg. 1. C.

'Š LY *'š lī* Ph 17.1/2 **'ŠTRT 'Š BGW HQDŠ 'Š LY** (“Astarte of GW, my deity”); 43.9 **L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT** (“for my Lord Milqart”); 50.4/5 **KL KSP 'Š LY**, (“all my money”)

Sg. 3. M.

'Š L *'š lo* Ph 18.3/4 **HŠ'R Ž WHDLHT 'Š L**, (“This gate and its doors”); Umm el-Awamid 19.2 **'B Š L** (“his father”); RES 56=1954 **BNT 'Š L** (“his daughters”)

Pl. 1. C.

'Š LN *'š lon(u)* Pu RCL 1966 p. 201 line 7 **HMḤŠBM 'Š LN** (“Our treasurers”)

Phoenician and Neo-Punic **ŠLY sillī**

Forms

Sg. 1. C.

silli sillī Pu *Poen.* 943/4 **hulec silli** (“my host”); *Poen.* 1141 **done silli** (“my father”); *Poen.* 1141 **amma silli** (“my other”); *Poen.* 1141 **bene silli** = var. **bane silli** (“my son”)

Sg. 3. M.

ŠL' sillo Pu 100.5 **'ŽRT ŠL'** (“his family”)
NPu 150.3 [. . .] **JM ŠL'** (“his . . .”); *Punica* p. 153 no. 155.2/3 **B'LM ŠL'** (“his gods”)

Sg. 3. F.

ŠL' silla NPu 143.3 **'Š <Š>L'** (“her husband”)

Pl. 2. M.

syllochom NPu *Poen.* 933 **bymarob syllochom** (“in
sillokom your custody”)

Pl. 3. M.

ŠLM sillom Pu 89.4 **KSP . . . ŠLM** (“their money”)

Comments

The Phoenician and Punic independent possessive pronouns were used freely alongside the more common suffixal possessive pronouns. Phoenician and Punic used the independent possessive pronoun **ŠLY** *ʾis li* (“my”), compounded of the relative pronoun and the inflected form of the preposition **L-**. Punic alone possessed the form **ŠLY silli** (“my”), compounded of the determinative pronoun and the inflected form of the preposition. Both possessive pronouns, related to **Š L-** and **ŠL-** respectively, are used to express the indirect genitive.

B. Syntax and Usage

The independent possessive pronouns follows the noun in the absolute state; the noun may carry the definite article or the article may be suppressed by reason of redundancy inasmuch as the possessive pronoun rendered the noun determined. The independent possessive pronouns could also follow and complement a suffixal possessive pronoun. Both pronouns were also expressed as simple **LY**, with suppression of the relative or determinative pronoun.

1. The Noun Carries the Definite Article

18.3/4 **ʾYT HŠʿR Z WHDLHT Š L PʿLT BTKLTY BNTY**, “I built this gate and its doors at my own expense.”

2. The Noun is without the Definite Article

Umm el-Awamid no. 9.1/2 **LBʿLŠMR RB ŠʿRM BN ʿBDʿSR SKR Š ʿTNʿ L ʿB ʿŠ L ʿBDʿSR RB ŠʿRM**, “<This is> the memorial of Baalsamor Chief of Gatekeepers son of Abdosiri which his father, Abdosiri Chief of Gatekeepers, erected to him.”

Pu *Poen.* 943/4P **Hulec silli . . . Antidamas con**, “Antidamas was my guest-friend.”

NPu *Punica* p. 153 no. 15.1/3 **ND'R Š NDR YKNŠLM . . . LB'L WLNT B'LM ŠL'**, "The vow that Yakun-Salom vowed to Baal and to Thinnith, his gods."

NPu *Poen.* 932/933 **Yn byn ui bymarob syllochom, alonim, uybymysyrthochom**, "My nephew is in your custody, O gods, and under your protection."

3. *The Noun Carries the Suffixal Possessive Pronoun*

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Hauo done silli**, "May my father live long!"

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Hauo bene silli**, "May my son live long!"

4. *Possessive Pronoun Abbreviated to LY*

46.5/8 **'M L KTN . . . WNGD L PMY**, "Its (the colony's) mother-city is Kition; its leader is Pumay."

NPu *JA* 1916/2 p. 495f no. 13.3 **MNŠBT L'**, "His stele."

Pu *Poen.* 941A **Al bet lo cu cian bate**, "I have just now arrived at his house here."

IV. INDEPENDENT OBJECT PRONOUNS

Phoenician

The pronominal direct object of a verb is normally expressed by the suffixal pronoun. Phoenician does, however, possess an independent direct object pronoun, expressed by preposition **'LT** 'alt + Suffixal Pronoun. The pronoun is related to the use in common Phoenician (Byblian and Tyro-Sidonian) of the preposition **'LT** to introduce the defined direct object of an active transitive verb in the manner of the particle **'YT**: Byb 9 A 5 [**BL LPT**]H [**'LT MŠKB**] ZN, ("Do not open this resting-place!"); 14.7 **YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z** ("He shall open this resting-place."); cf. the use of the accusative particle **'YT** in the latter statement in the same inscription in line 4: **YPTH 'YT MŠKB Z**. The use of the preposition **'LT** to mark the determined direct object of an active transitive verb is entirely comparable to the use of the preposition **L-** in this same function in Aramaic (Segert, par. 6.5.2.3.6).

The independent object pronoun is attested in Tyro-Sidonian in two inscriptions, Tibnit = *KAI* 13 and Esmunazor = *KAI* 14, in all instances in the Sg. 3.M. **'LTY** 'altēyo ("him/it"):

- 13.3/4, 5/6 'L TPTH 'LTY, "Do not open it (the coffin: 'RM)!"
 14.20 'L YPTH 'LTY, "Let him not open it (the resting-place: MŠKB)."
 14.21 'L Y'R 'LTY, "Let him not empty it (the resting-place) out!"

Punic

The Phoenician independent object pronoun 'LTY ("him") is not attested in Punic, which uses instead the accusative particle 'T + suffix pronoun; this pronoun, unknown in Phoenician, corresponds to Hebrew 'TW 'ōto ("him"). There are two examples only of the Punic independent object pronoun:

Pu CIS i 6001.1/2 'BDMLKT 'L TŠ' <'>'T, "<This is the funerary urn of> Abdmilkot: do not carry it off!" The *aleph* in TŠ' is a haplography of two, contiguous *alephs*. *Obs.* The inscription is written in ink on a clay jar (funerary urn) found in 1895 in the Douimes necropolis at Carthage: Delattre, *Mem. Soc. des Antiquaires de France* tome LVI p. 257; Berger, *Musee Lavignerie* p. 67; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I p. 295/96.

Pu CIS i 580.3 'RŠT BT BD'ŠTRT ŠM' QL' BRK 'T', "Arisut bit Bod'astart. He heard her voice; he blessed her!"

V. OTHER PRONOUNS

'DM 'adom

ONE (German *man*, French *on*), A PERSON

26 A II 4/5 YŠT' 'DM LLKT DRK, "One used to be afraid to walk the road."

See also the related pronouns KL 'DM ("anyone") and 'DMM ("people").

'DMM 'adamīm

PEOPLE (in general)

14.6 'P 'M 'DMM YDBRKNK 'L TŠM' BDNM, "Even if people tell you <to open my coffin>, do not be persuaded by them!"

'HD 'ehhad

EACH ONE, EACH

Pu 69.3 B'LP KLL . . . LKHNM KSP 'ŠRT 10 B'HD, "In payment for an entire ox, the priests shall receive ten 10 silver for each one (animal)."

'š ʾis

ONE (German *man*; French *on*)

Pu *Poen.* 944/946 **Ys duber ce fel dono . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "I am told (*lit.*, one says) that his father did everything for that son of his as he was to do <it for him>."

Pu *Poen.* 946 **Ys duber ci hen hu**, "I am told (*lit.*, one says) that he is here." = NPu *Poen.* 936 **Ys dubyr ch'innochoth u**.

Pu *Poen.* 948 **Alem us duber limir <esse> cumom suss-ibti**, "I am told (*lit.*, one says) that this is the place where he resides." = NPu *Poen.* 938 **Ynny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'ily gubulim la-sibithim**.

See also the related pronoun **BL 'š** ("no one, none").

EACH, EACH ONE

NPu 159.8 **'š H'L' [L]' 'LT' WM[N]HT BMQDŠ**, "Each offered up to Him his burnt offering and *minḥīt*-offering in the sanctuary."

NPu *AI* 1 p. 233 lines 1/4 **Fel th-ybur Licini Piso lybythem ulysthim ulys arun**, "Licinius Piso made <this> mausoleum for his daughter, for his son and for his wife, and for each a coffin."

BL 'š bal ʾis

NO ONE, NONE

26 A I 15/16 **'šM R'M B'L 'GDDM 'š BL 'š 'BD KN LBT MPŠ**, "Bad men, bandits, none of whom was a vassal of the House of Mopsos."

See the related pronoun **'š** ("one").

BT- *bitt-*, free variant **BNT-** *binat-*

The etymology of this pronoun, the basic meaning of which is "self, one's self," is obscure. The pronoun is used in Phoenician and Punic with the (i) the independent personal pronoun, (ii) the suffixal possessive pronoun and (iii) the anaphoric pronoun to form other pronouns.

ONE, ONE'S SELF, following and complementing an independent personal pronoun:

NPu 72 B 4 **WB'L ḤRŠ H' BTM**, "He himself was the architect."

ONE'S OWN, following and complementing a suffixal possessive pronoun:

18.3/4 **'YT HŠ'R Ž . . . P'LT BTKLTY BNTY**, "I built this gate at my own expense."

Pu 107.4 **MLK 'DM BŠRM BN'TM**, "The sacrifice of a human being of his own flesh."

Pu 105.3 **MLK 'DM BŠ'RM BTM**, "The sacrifice of a human being of his own flesh."

NPu 126.11 **MŽBH WP'DY P'L LMBMLKTM BT**, "He built the altar and the podium at his own expense."

See the chapter on the Suffixal Possessive Pronoun for discussion and numerous other examples of the pronoun in this function.

THAT VERY, THAT SAME, following and complementing an anaphoric pronoun:

Kition lines 3/4 **WYŠ' . . . L'GD LM MLHMT BMQM 'Ž BYM H' BNTY**, "They came forth to do battle with them at this place on that same day."

KL kil

EACH (ONE), EVERYONE. The pronunciation of this pronoun is known from the Latin-letter spellings (Punic) **cel** and **cil** (*Poen.* 945) and (Neo-Punic) **chil** and **chyl** (*Poen.* 935).

24.5/6 **KN BT 'B BMTKT MLKM 'DRM WKL ŠLH YD LL[H]M**, "My royal house was in the midst of those of more powerful kings, and each one undertook to fight <me>."

Pu 89.2/3 **'TK 'NK MŠLH 'YT 'M'ŠTRT W'YT 'MRT W'YT KL 'Š L'**, "I, Meslih, commend to you Amastart and Omrit and everyone who is <related> to her."

ANYONE

Pu 79.6/7 **KL 'Š LSR T-'BN Ž**, "Anyone who shall remove this stele."

EVERYTHING

60.3/4 **K BN 'YT HŠR BT 'LM WP'L 'YT KL 'Š 'LTY**, "Because he built the temple court and did everything with which he was charged."

Pu 81.1 **LRBT L'ŠTRT WLTNT BLBNN MQDŠM HDŠM <'L> KM KL 'Š BN[M]**, "<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinith of Lebanon are these two sanctuaries as well as everything that is in them."

Pu *Poen.* 944/46 **Ys duber ce fel dono . . . et cil** (var. **cel**) **cumu** (var. **comu**) **con liful alt banim au**, "I am told that his father did everything for that son of his as he was to do it <for him>." = NPu *Poen.* 935/36 **Dobrim chy fel yth chil ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, "I am told that he did everything for his son that he was to do for him."

KL 'DM *kil 'adom*

ANYONE

13.3/4 **MY 'T KL 'DM 'Š TPQ 'YT H'RN Ž 'L 'L TPTH 'LTY**, "Whoever you may be, anyone who shall come into possession of this coffin, do not, do not open it!"

EVERYONE

Pu 89.5/6 [. . .] **'M 'YT KL 'DM 'Š 'LŠ 'LTY BRHT HKSP Ž** "[Take away], O Mother, everyone who took pleasure with regard to me because of the loss of that money!"

NPu 165.3 **KL 'DM KN NHR**, "He *treated* everyone honestly."

KL MNM

EVERYTHING

Pu 81.2 **KL MNM '[Š BMQDŠM 'L]**, "Everything that is in these sanctuaries."

Pu 81.3 **MLKT HHRŠ WDL KL MNM '[Š . . .] WDL KL MNM BM'ŽNM HMQDŠM 'L**, "The goldwork and everything tha[t is in . . .] and everything <that is> in the *storerooms* of these sanctuaries."

ANYTHING AT ALL, NOTHING AT ALL

13.5 **KL MNM MŠD BLT 'NK ŠKB B'RN Ž**, "Nothing of value but for me lies in this coffin."

See the related pronoun **MNM** ("something, anything").

MNM

SOMETHING, ANYTHING, NOTHING; cf. Ugaritic **MNM** (Aistleitner, par. 1592).

14.4/5 **'L YBQŠ BN MNM K 'Y ŠM BN MNM**, "Let him not look for anything in it [my coffin], for they did not put anything <of value> in it."

Pu 74.6 *BKL ZBH Š YZBH DL MQN WDL ŠPR BL YKN LKH MNM*, “Of any sacrifice that a man who owns no livestock nor fowl shall sacrifice, the priest shall not receive anything.”

See also the related pronoun *KL MNM* (“everything”).

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

I. THE NOUN

A. Morphology

Inflection

Sg. M.

Absolute and Construct

-Ø	Ph	14.1 MLK <i>mīlik</i> (“kings”), <i>et passim</i>
	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 940 macom <i>maqōm</i> (“city”), <i>et passim</i>
	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 937 irs (<i>h</i>) <i>irs</i> (“shard”), <i>et passim</i>

Sg. F.

Absolute and Construct

FORM A

-T -ot	Ph-NPu	18.1 'RPT <i>'urpót</i> (“portico”), <i>et passim</i>
-'T	NPu	118.1, 122.2 'RP'T (“portico”)
-ot	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 937 helicot <i>h^elīkót</i> (“hospitality”)
-oth	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 947 elichoth (“hospitality”); 178.1 felioth (“work”); <i>Poen.</i> 934 thymmoth <i>timmót</i> < <i>tammót</i> (“finished, past”)
-ut(h)	NPu	In personal names: <i>RES</i> 520 Arisuth ; <i>CIL viii</i> 4850.2, 16768.2 Birihut ; <i>CIS viii</i> 16955.1 [Bi]ricut

With Suffixal Pronouns

-T -at-	Ph	174.6 αμαθη <i>'amaté</i> (“his female slave,” gen.).
	Pu	<i>EH</i> Greek 1.1 ριββατων <i>ribbatón</i> (“Our Lady”).

FORM B

-T -t	Ph	14.3 'TY <i>'ittī</i> < <i>'intī</i> (“my time”); 19.5 , 60.1 ŠT <i>sat</i> < <i>sant</i> (“year”)
	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 948 sibti (“his residence”)
-th	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 901.3 byth <i>bit</i> < <i>bint</i> (“daughter”);

mintsifth (“stele”); *IRT* 828.1, 873.1
myntsifth (“stele”); **sath** (“year”); *Poen.*
 933 **mysyrth** *mišsirt* (“protection”); *Poen.*
 934 **yth** (“time”)

With Anaptyctic Vowel

-ith *-it* NPu

LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.6 **myith** *mi'it* (“hundred”); *Poen.* 938 **sibithim** (“his residing”)

FORM C (Nouns IIIy)

-T *-it (-iyt)* Ph
 Pu

26 A I 21 **QST** *qašit* (“outlying area”)
 69.14, 159.8 **MNHT** *minḥit* (“offering”)

Dual

Absolute State

-M *-êm* Ph
 Pu

34.4 **'NM** *'ênêm* (“eyes”)
 64.1 **NŞBM WHNWTM** *našibêm weḥa-
 nūṭêm* (“two stelai and two *ḥnwṭm*”)

NPu

141.5 **M'TM** *mi'(a)têm* (“two hundred”)

-em NPu

iadem *yadêm* (“two hands”)

Construct State

-Ø *-ê* Ph

Byb 10.10 **L-'N** *li-'ênê* (“in the eyes of”)

Pl. M.

Absolute State

FORM A

-M *-îm* Ph-NPu
 Pu

14.17 **BTM** *bâtîm* (“temples”), *et passim*
 81.4 **MQDŞM** *miqdasîm* (“sanctuaries”), *et
 passim*

NPu

137.1 **ŞPTM** *sōftîm* (“suffetes”), *et passim*

-'M Pu

101.6 **BN'M** *būnîm* (“builders”)

-YM NPu

140.3 **K'SYM** *kō'sîm* (“undertakers”),
 140.6 **B'NYM** *būnîm* (“builders”); 161.6
KHNYM *kōhnîm* (“priests”).

-em NPu

S 24.3 **ai{a}em** (*h*)*ayyîm* (“life”), *S* 24.3
bunem (“builders”), *IRT* 828.2 **mythem**
mitîm (“dead persons”)

-im Pu

Poen. 947 **alonim** *'allōnîm* (“gods”); *Poen.*
 947 **iussim** *yūšîm* (“those coming out”)

	N <u>Pu</u>	<i>Poen.</i> 937 alonim (“gods”); <i>Poen.</i> dobrim (“they say”), <i>Poen.</i> 998 donnim (“gentleman”), <i>Poen.</i> 939 iusim (“those coming out”); <i>IRT</i> 893.4/5 ilim sebuim ilim <i>z^ebū(h)im</i> (“sacrificed gods”)
FORM B		
- M -ê <i>m</i>	Ph	MM <i>mêm</i> (“water”), 14.16,17 ŠMM <i>samêm</i> (“sky”)
- em	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1142 mem (“water”); <i>Poen.</i> 1027 samem <i>samêm</i> (“heavens”)
-η <i>μ</i>	Ph	Sanch. 9 Σαμημ-ρουμος * <i>samêm rūmim</i> (“High Heavens”)
	Construct State	
- Ø -ê	Ph	14.15 BT ’LNM <i>battê ’allōnīm</i> (“the houses of the gods”); 26 A III 5 KL ’LN QRT <i>kil ’allōnê qart</i> (“all the gods of the city”)
	Pu	101.1 B’L TBGG (“the citizens of Thugga”)
	N <u>Pu</u>	118.3 BN ’ (“sons”); 119.4, 126.7 ’DR ’ (“senators”); 124.3 DBR ’ (“affairs”)
- e	N <u>Pu</u>	<i>S</i> 24.4 b[e]ne (“sons”); cf. <i>IRT</i> 865 baneo (“his sons”)
- ε	Pu	<i>EH</i> Gr. 1.2 φανε (“face”) in the divine name Φανεβαλ
- η	Pu	<i>EH</i> Gr. 3.2/3 φενη (“face”) in the divine name Φενηβαλ
Pl. F.		
FORM A		
- T -ūt	Ph	14.19 ’RŠT <i>’arašūt</i> (“regions”), <i>et passim</i>
	Pu	68.5 P’MT (“times”); <i>CIS</i> I 6000.7 T’ŠMT (“great deeds”), <i>et passim</i>
	N <u>Pu</u>	151.3 ŠNT <i>sanūt</i> (“years”), <i>et passim</i>
- ’T	N <u>Pu</u>	122.2 MSWY’T (“garments”)
- ut	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 940 alonut <i>’allōnūt</i> (“goddesses”)
- uth	N <u>Pu</u>	<i>Poen.</i> 930 alonuth (“goddesses”)

FORM B

-HT -hūt

Ph

18.4 **DLHT** *dalahūt* (“doors”; sg. **DLT** *dalt, delt*); Hasan-Beyli 3 **QRHT** *qarahūt* (“cities”; sg. **QRT** *qart*)

FORM C

-YT -yūt

Ph

Byb 11 **MLKYT** (“queens”); 26 A I 13, 17 **HMYT** *hūmiyūt* (“walled fortresses”; sg. **HMT** *hūmūt*); 26 A I 4 **QSYT** *qašiyūt* (“outlying areas”; sg. **QST** *qašīt*); CID 8B **SDYT** *sadiyūt* (“fields”)

1. General Comments

Sg. M.: The masculine singular exhibited no inflectional ending in the Absolute State. This is largely true as well of the noun in the Construct State with the exception of the nouns *'ab* (“father”) and *'ah* (“brother”) and *pe* (“mouth; order, authorization”). In the case of *'ab* and *'ah*, the construct forms in Phoenician exhibited the final vowel *-ū* for the nominative and accusative case and *-ī* for the genitive: *'abū* (nominative and accusative) and *'abī* (genitive); in Punic, at least by the 3rd century B.C., the form with final *-ū* came to be used for all cases in the construct: **Lymyth Icsina Micebal . . . au Mylthe**, (“<This is the tombstone> of the deceased Icsina Micebal, the brother of Mylthe.”). The same inflection and development of these nouns was true of the presuffixal forms also: older Phoenician had *'abūyo* (“his father”) for the nominative and accusative but *'abīyo* for the genitive; cf. Old Byblian **L'BH** *li'abīhu* (“for his father”); Old Tyro-Sidonian (9th cent. B.C.) **'BY** *'abīya* (“my father,” gen.); but in Punic all cases exhibit final *-ū*: **auia** *'a(h)ūya* (“her brother,” nom.) but also **abuca** *'abūka* (“your father,” gen.). The only other noun exhibiting a special form in the construct is **P pe** (“mouth”), which has the vestigial genitive case form *pī* with the preposition **LPY** *lipī* (“according to”). Case-inflection was also vestigial in place-names that end in *-ō*, such as **YP** *Yapō* (“Joppa, Jaffa”) and **'K** *'Akkō* (“Acco, Acre”), which exhibit the case ending **-Y -ī** in the genitive: 14.19 **YPY** *Yapī* (genitive, governed by the particle **'YT**); 49 34 At **'KY** *'Akkī* (genitive, in the construct relationship **Y'SB** **'KY** “a resident of Akko”).

The masculine singular bisyllabic construct noun exhibited, as in Hebrew, pretonic vowel-reduction: **sidy** *s'di*, the construct of **sady**, in the place-name D 21 **Sidy Lybim** (“Land of the Libyans”);

mucom *m^uqōm*, the construct form of **macom**, in *Poen.* 948 **mucom syssibti** (“the place of his residing”). Note that in Hebrew, too, the noun *maqōm* has the construct form *m^eqōm* before the relative pronoun *’ašer* (Genesis 39:20, Leviticus 4:24) and *še-* (Qoheleth 1:7).

In marked contrast to bisyllabic construct nouns, masculine (and feminine) singular monosyllabic nouns, such as **BN** (“son”), **ŠM** (“name”) and **RB** (“master”), were essentially proclitic in the construct. The virtual proclitic nature of the latter two nouns is indicated by the assimilation of the final consonant to the initial consonant of the governed noun: *IRT* 877.2/3 **Thlana Marci Cecili byMupal** (“Thlana Marcius Caecilius son of Mupal *bimMupał*”); cf. Byblian 6.1, 7.3 **BYHMLK** (“son of Yahimilk *biyYaḥīmilk*”); *IRT* 877.1/5 **Centenari mu fel . . . efseMacer byn banem** (“Fortified farmhouse that he built in the name of Macer *efsemMaker*, his grandson.”). In the case of the noun **RB** *rab* < **rabb*, the virtual proclitic character of the construct form is evidenced by the construct sound-change *a > i* in closed unstressed syllable, indicating that the noun is in fact the initial syllable of the following word: *D* 2.4/5 **ryb mith** *ribmit* (“commander of a hundred” = **RB M’T**). In *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.4 **ryb <M>ycnim** *ribBiqnim* (“Governor of Miqnim”), the bound noun shows the sound-change *a > i* but also assimilation of the final **b** of the first noun to the initial **m** of the second, with resultant *-bb-*; this same phenomenon is attested already in Phoenician with the monosyllabic construct noun *milk* (“the king of”) in *FK* A 1.2 **MLKTY** *milkKūt(t)ī* for **MLK KTY** *milkKūt(t)ī*, the haplography **K** for **KK** indicating proclitic character of the monosyllabic bound noun; cf. Neo-Punic **efseMacer** *evsemMaqer* (“in the name of Macer”) for **efsem-Macer**.

Sg. F.: The feminine singular exhibits the free variant inflectional endings *-ót* (Canaanite stress-lengthened *-át*) and *-t*. The form *-ót* appears with the noun in the absolute and in the construct state; it possesses the complementary variant (allomorph) unstressed *-ât-*, used with stressed suffixal pronouns: absolute and construct *ribbót* but presuffixal *ribbató* (“his Lady”). In Neo-Punic *-ot* also had the pronunciation *-ut*, with lowering of the vowel, although this pronunciation is attested only in feminine personal names. The form *-t* has the occasional variant *-it*, with anaptyctic vowel: *Poen.* 938 **sibith-sibit** (“residing”) and *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.6 **myith** *mí’it* (“hundred”).

The polysyllabic construct noun normally retained its own (independent) stress, as indicated by the stressed form **feliōth** *feliōt* in the direct genitive 178.1 **feliōth iadem** (“manufacture,” *lit.*, “work of the hands”). Had the noun lost its independent stress in construct, it would have exhibited the unstressed feminine affirmative *-āt* found in the presuffixal forms Pu *EH* Gr 1.1 ρυβαθων *ribbatōn* (“our Lady”) and Phoenician 174.6 αμαθη *'amaté* (“his slave woman”). This same pattern of independent stress is frequently evidenced in the stressed construct form **amot** *'amōt* in the sentence-names like **Amot-Micar** (*'MT MLQRT*, “Servant of Milqart” *CIL* viii 12335).

Pl. M.: The masculine plural exhibits the inflectional ending *-īm* and its complementary variant *-ēm*, the latter used with two nouns only, both from stems ending in *-ay*: *mēm* < *maym* (“water”) and *samēm* < *samaym* (“sky”); the morphology of these two nouns is related to that of the Aramaic masculine plural active participles of verbs III_y, e.g., *bānayn* (Syriac *bāneyn*). The construct plural of both forms exhibited the inflectional ending *-ê* < *-ay*, in origin the construct ending of the masculine dual in the oblique case: S 24.4 **b[e]ne M[. .]chan** (“the sons of M[. .]chan”). The construct form is also that used with the suffixal (possessive) pronouns: *IRT* 865 **baneo** *banêyo* (“his sons”). The polysyllabic masculine plural construct noun retained independent stress but exhibited the same pattern of pretonic reduction characteristic of the Hebrew construct: *f^enê*, the construct plural of *fanīm* (“face”) in the divine name *EH* Greek 3.2/3 Φενη-Βαλ (“Face-of-Baal”).

Pl. F.: The feminine plural inflectional ending was *-ūt* < *-ōt*. The form *-yūt* appears principally with feminine nouns from III_y singular forms with the feminine affirmative *-ūt* (*-iyt*). But also the plural *CID* 8B **ŠDYT** (“fields”) of the III_y noun **ŠD** *sade*. However, note the rare exception Byb 11 **MLKYT** (“queens”; sg. **MLKT** *milkot*). The feminine affirmative *-(a)hūt* is found only for the plural forms of monosyllabic feminine nouns of the shape *CaCt* like *delt* (“door, tablet”) and *qart* (“city”).

2. Unusual Plural Forms

Some masculine plural nouns have plural forms different from those in Hebrew or not attested in Hebrew. **Š** *'š* (“man”) has the regular plural **ŠM** *'šim* (26 A I 15), not *'anašim* as in Hebrew. The noun

'**DM** 'adóm ("man, person") had a plural form '**DMM** 'adamīm (14.6, 60.7 "people") not known in Hebrew. '**MQM** maqōm ("place") has the regular masculine plural '**MQMM** maqūmīm (26 A II 3), not *m^eqōmōt* as in Hebrew.

The word "god" ('**LM** 'ilīm) has several plurals: '**LM** 'ilīm (26 A II 6), '**LNM** 'allōnīm (10.10; 14.9, 22; *Poen.* 930, 920) and '**BN** '**LM** banê 'ilīm (26 A III 19). The latter two plural yield the rare "back-form" singulars '**LN** 'allōn (104.1/2; *EH* 5.1).

The masculine singular noun '**RB** rab had the feminine plural '**RBT** in titles, such as Pu 101.2 '**RBT M'T** ("commanders of a hundred"; sg. '**RB M'T**); and when the noun means ("proprietary god"): NPu 119.1 '**LŠDRP** '**WLMLK**'**ŠTRT RBT** '**LPQY**, ("For Satrapes and for Milkastart, the proprietary gods of Lepcis."). But the word had the plural '**RBM** ribbīm when it means "generals of the army" (Pu *CIS* i 5510.9).

Some feminine nouns of the type *CVCt* have the plural *CVCahūt*: '**DLHT** (18.3 "doors") is the plural of '**DLT** delt, and '**QRHT** (Hasan-Beyli 3 "cities") is the plural of '**QRT** qart ("city"). However, the feminine noun '**ŠT** 'ist ("wife, woman") has the regular plural form '**ŠTT** 'isatūt (37 A 14; B 5), never *našīm* as in Hebrew; this plural follows the pattern of Hebrew '**DLTWT** d^elatōt ("doors"), the plural of *délet*; and '**QŠTWT** q^ešatōt ("bows"), the plural of *qéšet*.

The noun '**MLKT** milkot ("queen") has the plural '**MLKYT** (11); contrast the regular plural '**MLKWT** m^elakōt of Hebrew. The singular noun '**LM** 'ilīm ("goddess") has the feminine plural form '**LNT** 'allōnūt ("goddesses," *Poen.* 930, 940) when female gender need be indicated specifically .

3. Common Noun Patterns

Given here is a small selection of the more common noun patterns, illustrated by vocalized examples, most from the Tripolitanian Latin-letter Punic inscriptions and the Punic and Neo-Punic passages preserved by Plautus in the *Poenulus*.

3a. Monosyllabic Nouns

qal: **ab** 'ab ('**B** "father," *CIL* viii 21481). Fem. **sath** sat < sant ('**ŠT** "year," *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.2)

qil: **byn ban- ben- bin- byn-** ("son," see Special Classes); **myth**

- mit* (**MT** "dead person," *IRT* 827.1); *et* 'eš ('**S** "wood," *Poen.* 1142); *sem sem* (**ŠM** "name" *Poen.* 1002; *IRT* 877.4). Fem. *byth bit* < *bint* (**BT** "daughter," see Special Classes); *myith mi'it* (**M'T** "one hundred," *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.; **sibt-** *sibt* (**ŠBT** "residing," *Poen.* 948); *yth* 'it < 'int ('**T** "time," *Poen.* 934)
- qīl: ys* 'īs ('**Š** "man": *IRT* 879.1)
- qōl: kouλ-* *qūl* (**QL** *qūl* "voice," *EH Gr.* 1.4); *bur būr* (**BR** "tomb," *AI* 1 p.233 line 1)
- qūl: lua lū^ah* (**LH** "tablet," *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 3.1/.2)
- qall: amma* 'amma ('**M** "mother," *Poen.* 1141A); *ryb-* *rib* < *rab* < *rabb* (**RB** "master")
- qill: cel* and *cil kil* < *kill* ("everything," *Poen.* 945); *chyl kil* < *kill* ("everything," *Poen.* 937)
- qatl: αλφ* 'alḫ ('**LP** "ox," Vattioni p. 325 no. 41); αῤδε 'abde ('**BDY** "his slave," *Ph* 174.8); *arb* 'arb ('**RB** "evening," *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.7); *hers* var. *irs her's* (**HRŠ** "shard, pottery," *Poen.* 937; 947); *ars harš* (**HRŠ** "craftsmanship," *IRT* 889.3)
- II': *bal ba'l* (**B'L** "master," *IRT* 889.3); *nar na'r* (**N'R** "son," *IRT* 889.3)
- IIw: *on* 'ōn < 'awn ('**N** "iniquity," *D* 6.5/6)
- IIy: *bet bêt* < *bayt* (**BT** "house," *Poen.* 941A); *bit bīt* < *bayt* (**BT** "house," *Poen.* 941P); *byth bīt* < *bayt* (**BT** "house," *Poen.* 931)
- III ḫ': *iyra yīraḫ* (**YRH** "month," *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/2, 8)
- qutl: umer* var. *umir* 'úmir ('**MR** "word," *Poen.* 1017)
- qitl: ix* 'iqs ('**QŠ** 'iqs "deception," *Poen.* 1033)

3b. Bisyllabic Nouns

- qatal: adom* 'adom ('**DM** "person," *IRT* 879.1). Fem. αμαθη 'amate ('**MTY** "his female slave," *Ph* 178.6)
- qatil: sady sadi* (**ŠD** "field, country," *D* 2.7/8; *D* 5.10/11)
- qutul: becor b^ekor* (**BKR** "firstborn son," *Poen.* 942)
- qatīl: iaed yaḫīd* (**YHD** "only son," *Poen.* 932); *nasib naṣīb* (**NŠB** "stele," *IRT* 893.1). Fem. *helicot h^elikot* (**HLKT** "hospitality," *Poen.* 947); *feliioth felīot* ("work," 178.1)
- qatōl: λασουv lasūn* (**LŠN** "tongue," Vattioni p. 525 no. 41); *salus salūs* (**ŠLŠ** "three," Vattioni p. 533 no. 7)
- qutūl: gubul-* *g^ubūl* (**GBL** "district," *Poen.* 939)
- qōtel: hulec hūlec* (**HLK** "host," *Poen.* 943); *urys* (h)ūris (**HRŠ** "en-graver," *PBSR* 28 p. 53 no. 5.10)

- qawtal*: **guzol** *gûzol* (**GZL** "dove," Vattioni p. 529 no. 7)
quttâl: **umman** *'ummân* (**'MN** "artisan," 178.2/3)
qattîl: **addir** ("mighty," *CIL* viii 21481)
qittîl: **QYDŠ** *qiddîs* ("holy, holy one," 145 I 4)
qittûl: **κισσου** *qissû* (**QŠ** "cucumber," Vattioni p. 525 no. 39)

3c. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives

3c-1. Preformative **M**-

- maqtal*: [**mi**]gdal *mīgdal* (**MGDL** "tower," *PBSR* 28 p. 54 no. 7.3);
macom *maqôm* (**MQM** "place," *Poen.* 930; *Poen.* 940). Fem.
mysyrth *mīšsirt* < *maššart* (**MŠRT** "protection," *Poen.* 933)
maqtil: Fem. **myntsyfth** *mīntsiwt* < *mantsibt* (**MNŠBT** "stele," *IRT* 828.1; *IRT* 873.1)
maqtol: **marob** *ma'rôb* (**M'RB** "custody," *Poen.* 933)

3c-2. Preformative **N**-

- naqtal*: Fem. **N'SPT** ("assembly," 60.1)

3c-3. Preformative **T**-

- taqtal*: Fem. **thychleth** *tiklît* (**TKLT** *tiklît* "expenditure," *IRT* 906.4)

3c-4. Affirmative $-\bar{on}$

- qatlôn*: **allon-** (**allonim**, **allonut**) *'allônim* *ûallônut* (**'LNM W'LNT** "gods and goddesses," *Poen.* 940; NPu *Poen.* 930)

4. Special Classes of Nouns

Requiring special comment are several nouns that are frequently attested in sources of all periods and whose morphophonology is therefore comparatively well known. To this group belong the morphologically related nouns *'ab* ("father") and *'ah* ("brother") that have the extended forms *'abû* and *'ahû* respectively in construct and before suffixal pronouns; the monosyllabic nouns *'am* ("mother"), *bin* ("son"), *bit* ("daughter"), *'ist* ("woman, wife") and *sem* ("name").

'B and **'H**

In the earlier period, sometime before the middle of the first millennium B.C., the nouns *'ab* and *'ah* in the construct singular and before possessive pronouns retained a two-case inflection: *'abû* and *'ahû* in the nominative and accusative, *'abî* in the genitive. It is possible that the genitive form is represented by ninth-century Tyro-

Sidonian **'BY** 'abīy(a) ("my father") and Byblian **L'BH** li'abīhu ("for his father"); the genitive inflection was in fact always retained (vestigially) in the case of the noun **P** pe ("mouth") in the preposition **LPY** lipī ("in accordance with," Pu 69.13) and in the genitive case construct form **PY** pī: Pu 79.9 **BY PY 'DM** ("without the permission/authorization of someone").

In the second half of the first millennium B.C., if not earlier, the construct form and form with possessive pronouns of the nouns 'ab and 'ah was 'abū and 'ahū respectively, regardless of the case of the noun. Thus, in third century B.C. literary Punic one finds the form 'abūka in the genitive in **me sem abuca** mī sem 'abūka ("What is/was your father's name?: *Poen.* 1003); and in Neo-Punic the form *abūnom* in the genitive: *S* 24.2 **felu labunom Iyllul** felū labūnom *Yllul* ("They built it for their father Iyllul."); cf. the Neo-Punic form *a(h)ūya* in the genitive: *IRT* 826.1/3 **fela l<a>uia Ocles** fela l(a)ūya *Ocles* ("She made <it> for her brother Ocles.").

In late Neo-Punic of the Roman period, the historical forms 'abī ("my father") and 'ahī ("my brother") appear to have competed with new forms (a)būyī and (a)ūyī. In the latter, which are the result of paradigmatic analogy, the presuffixal forms (a)bū- and a(h)ū- receive the possessive pronoun -ī of the first person singular, with the intervention of intervocalic glide -y- that was used in Phoenician with the possessive pronouns -o ("his") and -a ("hers") when affixed to a vowel: Phoenician 'abūyo ("his father") and 'abūya ("her father"). The sole example of this new form is **ui** (h)ūyī ("my brother," which occurs twice in *Poen.* 932/933) **Liphoc anech yth byn ui iaed; yn byn ui bymarob syllochom, alonim, uybymysyrthochom,** ("I would get my brother's only son. My brother's son in is your custody, O gods, and under your protection.").

'B

Forms

Singular

Absolute State

'B 'ab	Ph	24.10; 26 A I 3
ab	Pu	In the divine name <i>CIL</i> viii 21481

		Abadir
		D 6.9, 10
With Possessive Suffixes		
1. Sg.		
Archaic		
'B 'abī	Ph	24.10: nominative case
'BY 'abīya	Ph	24.5,9: genitive case
Standard		
'BY 'abī	Ph	26 A I 11
a-bi	Ph	In the personal name A-bi-ba-'a-li
(Asarh. 60.61)		
αβι	Ph	In the personal name Αβιβαλος
2. Sg. M.		
abuca 'abūka	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1003 (gen.)
3. Sg. M. 'abūyo		
'BY	Ph	34.2
'BY'	NPu	Trip. 79.2
'BY'	NPu	<i>NP</i> 63.2
buo	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 877.6
Byblian		
'BH 'abīhu	Byb	1.1 (gen.)
3. Pl. M.		
'BNM 'abūnom	Ph	40.5
'B'NHM	NPu	143.4
'BN'M	NPu	Trip. 77.2
abunom	NPu	<i>S</i> 24.2 (gen.)
Plural		
'BT 'abūt	Ph	26 A I 12
With Suffix Pronouns		
3. Sg. M.		
'BTM 'abūtim	NPu	126.8

'H

Singular

Absolute		
'H 'ah	Ph	24.11
Construct		
au ('a)hū	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 827.2/3 (gen.)
With Suffix Pronouns		
1. Sg.		
'H 'ahī	Ph	24.3 (nominative case)
a-ḥi	Ph	In the name A-ḥi-mil-ki (Assurb. II 84)
ḥi ('a)hī	Ph	In the name Ḥi-ru-um-mu (Tigl. III 9.51)
hi	Pu	In the name Himilco (<i>CIL</i> viii 10525).
ui ('a)hūyī	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 931, 932 (2x)
3. Sg. M.		
'HY 'ahūyo	Ph	47.2.
'HY'	NPu	<i>NP</i> 2.2
3. Sg. F.		
auia 'ahūya	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 826.3 (nom.)
uia ('a)hūya	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 826.2 (gen.)
3. Pl. M.		
unom ('a)hūnom	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 23 p. 141 no. 24.4 (nom.)

'ŠT

In Phoenician-Punic, the word for “woman, wife” was 'is(a)t ('ésat), the feminine of the noun 'is; its plural was 'isatūt ('isatōt), after the pattern of Hebrew *qēšet* (“bow”; plural *qēšatōt*). The single vocalized example of the noun in the absolute case is Greek-letter Phoenician εσαθ, in which the a-vowel is secondary, deriving from the plural form 'isatūt. The noun-form 'išša < 'aššat < 'anthat does not exist in Phoenician-Punic. The construct form is attested in the presuffixal form **ysth-** in Latin-letter spelling.

Forms

Singular

Absolute State

'ŠT 'esat	Ph	26 A II 5
εσαθ	Ph	174.7

Construct State		
’ŠT <i>’est</i>	Pu	93.2
With Suffix Pronouns		
3. Sg. M.		
Nominative Case		
’ŠT’ <i>’isto</i>	NPu	117.4; 142.3
Genitive Case		
’ŠTY <i>’isti(m)</i>	NPu	Trip. 79.4
’ŠTM	NPu	169.4; 171.2; <i>NP</i> 22.2
ysthim	NPu	<i>AI</i> 1 1927 233 line 3; <i>IRT</i> 828.2
Plural		
Absolute and Construct		
’ŠTT <i>’is(a)tūt</i>	Ph	37 A 14, B 5

BN

The exceedingly common noun ***BN*** (“son”) had the form *bin* in the construct singular, always with the vowel *i*. In the presuffixal form, however, the noun is attested in vocalizations *bin-* and *ben-* but also often in the vocalization *ban-*; the latter is perhaps influenced by the plural form *banīm*. The a/i-vowel of the noun with suffixes is normally retained, even when the pattern of stress would dictate its reduction to zero: e.g., *IRT* 828 **loby[ni]m** and *IRT* 873.3 **libinim** (“for his son”); cf. the full reduction of the vowel in Hebrew ***LBNW*** *livnó* (“for his son”); a single instance of full reduction is however recorded: *AI* 1 1927 233 **lifnim** *livním* (“for his son”). The plural form absolute was *banīm* and the construct form *banê* or *b^enê*, with vowel reduction.

Forms

Singular

Absolute State

<i>BN</i>	Ph	14.8
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Construct State

<i>BN</i>	Ph, Pu, NPu	<i>Passim</i>
<i>B’N</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5522.4
<i>bn</i>	NPu	D 9.2
<i>bin</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 943

by-	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 877.4
byn	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 932 (2x); <i>Poen.</i> 995A; D 2.3; D 5.20; <i>IRT</i> 877.5; <i>IRT</i> 906.2
βov	Pu	175.4; 177.3
With Suffixes		
1. Sg.		
bene	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1141P
bane	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1141A
3. Sg. M.		
Nominative Case		
BN' <i>bino</i>	Pu	161.9
BNY	NPu	153.4.
binim	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 889.1
[by]no	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 53 no. 6.1/2
byne	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 906.1
by[ni]m	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 828.1/2
Genitive Case		
BNY <i>bini(m)</i>	NPu	Trip. 79.4
banem	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 877.5/6; <i>IRT</i> 893.3/4
banim	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 946A
benim	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 946P
binim	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 873.2; <i>Poen.</i> 936
ifnim	NPu	<i>AI</i> 1 1927 233 line 2
3. Sg. F.		
BNY <i>bini(m)</i>	Ph	40.4 (gen.)
3. Pl. M.		
Nominative Case		
BNM <i>binom</i>	Ph	Umm el-Awamid 6.3
bynom	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 53 no. 5.1
Genitive Case		
bannom	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 53 no. 5.11
Plural		
Absolute State		
BNM <i>banīm</i>	NPu	162.5
Construct State <i>banê</i>		
BN	Ph	26 A III 19; 27.11; 40.4

BN'	NPu	118.3; 126.5,6; Trip. 51.4
b[e]ne	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 23 p. 141 no. 24.4

With Suffix Pronouns

1. Sg. *banay*

BNY	Ph	24.13
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3. Sg. M.

BNY' <i>banêyo</i>	NPu	Trip. 8.2
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baneo	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 865
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3. Sg. F.

B'N[Y'] <i>banêya</i>	NPu	117.5
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B'NY'	NPu	<i>JA</i> 1918 254,4
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BT

The noun **BT** had the shape *bit* in the construct singular; this was doubtless its shape in the absolute singular as well. As the Latin-letters spelling clearly indicate, the sound-change *i>a* in a doubly closed stressed syllable seen in the Hebrew form *bat* (absolute and construct) was not characteristic of Phoenician phonology. As in Hebrew, the noun had the shape *bitt-* with affixed possessive pronouns. The plural was *banūt* < *banōt* as in Hebrew.

Forms

Singular

Construct State

BT <i>bit</i>	Ph	14.15; 29.1; 50.1
	Pu	<i>NP</i> 4; <i>NP</i> 12.2; <i>EH</i> 55.3
B'T	NPu	<i>NP</i> 36.3
byth	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 901.3

With Suffix Pronouns

3. Sg. M.

Nominative Case

BT' <i>bitto</i>	NPu	<i>JA</i> 1916/2 515: 38,2
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Genitive Case

bythem *bitti(m)* NPu AI 1 1927 233 lines 2

3. Sg. F.

bythi *bitti(m)* NPu IRT 901.5

Plural

Absolute

BNT *banūt* Ph RES 56.3

NPu 162

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Collective Singular Nouns

There are several nouns that are morphologically singular but have plural meaning. These generally denote a body of persons. Most common of this group of nouns is **'Š** 'š ("people"): 46.3/5 **ŠLM H'Š LMŠB**, ("May the people of the colony prosper!"). Other examples are **'DM** 'adom ("people, population") and **B'L** bá'al ("citizenry"): 30.4 **BN YD B'L WBN YD 'DM**, ("From it [the island of Cyprus] he drove out <its> citizenry, and from it he drove out <its> people."). Here also belongs **'M** 'am, used as the plural of **'Š** 'š in Müller 2.74/75 **'M MHNT** 'am maḥnūt ("members of the army"), the plural of **'Š** **MHNT** (CIS i 5866).

2. Plural with Singular Meaning

There are several nouns that occur in the morphologic plural but with singular meaning. The common noun **'DN** 'adōn ("lord, master"), normally used in the singular, is also attested in the plural form **'DNM** 'adūnīm ("the Lord") in the personal name CIS i 4551.7, 5274.4 **ŠM-'DNM** ("The Lord is <my>name [god]."). This same noun in this usage is also characteristic of Hebrew: Is 19:4 **'DNYM QŠH** ("a hard master"); and, more important, is the common use of this noun in Hebrew when referring to God (**'DNY** 'adonay "My Lord").

The normal word for "god" and "goddess" was **'LM** 'ilīm 59.2 **'LM NRGL** ("the god Nergal"); 48.2 **'LM 'DRT 'S** ("the great goddess Isis"). Like Hebrew **'LHYM** 'elōhīm ("God") the noun is plural and, indeed, used in Phoenician as a plural meaning "gods": 26 A II 6 **BYMTY 'ŠT T<L>K LH DY DL PLKM B'BR B'L W'LM**, ("In my time, a woman is able to travel alone, without bodyguards, thanks to Baal and the gods.").

The divine name **B'L** ("Baal") is attested in the plural form **B'LYM Ba'alīm** ("Baal") in the personal name *CIS* i 135.5 **Y-B'LYM** ("Where is Baal?"). It is this plural form with singular meaning that is imitated in Biblical *hab-B'e'alīm* (Ju 2:11, 3:7, 8:33, 1): (6,10; 1 S 7:4, 12:10 *et cet.*) = *hab-Ba'al* ("Baal").

The common term *būr* ("tomb, mausoleum") is found in both the singular and plural (with singular meaning). **B'RM būrīm** ("tomb") is found in NPu Trip. 79.1/2 **B'RM QNT 'T M' Š P'LM M'SWKN**, ("You have acquired the tomb that Masauchan built."). That the noun is in fact singular is assured by the use of a singular verb in line 6 of this same inscription: **NPL'** (for **NP'L**) **BTŠTY BTY**, ("It was built at his own expense."). The same word in the morphological singular occurs in NPu *IRT* 8282/3 **Bur ysoth . . . fel**, ("He built this tomb."). The use of the plural with singular meaning with architectural terms is common usage in Ugaritic, in which the plurals **BHTM** and **HKLM** express the singular "temple".

3. Feminine Singular Abstract Noun with Concrete Meaning

The feminine noun **MMLKT**, in origin meaning "kingship, kingdom," denotes "king" or "prince": 14.9 **MMLK<T> 'DR** ("whichever mighty king."); Pu 111.4/5 **MSNSN HMMLKT** ("King Masinissa"). Compare the Ugaritic feminine singular abstract nouns **D'T** (originally "knowledge, friendship") and **T'DT** (originally "witness") with concrete meaning "friend" and "messenger" respectively.

4. Abstract Noun Expressed by the Plural Noun

The plural **'BT 'abūt** of the noun *'ab* ("father") expresses the concept of "fathership": 26 A I 12 **W'P B'BT P'LN KL MLK** ("And every king adopted me as his father."). Compare the plural **BNM banīm**, literally "sons," with the meaning "sonship."

DNM 'adūnīm, the plural of *'adōn* ("lord, king"), expresses the concept of "lordliness, royalty," used as an adjectival noun: 26 A I 10 **BT 'DNY bêt 'adūnay** ("my royal house"); 26 A I 10 **ŠRŠ 'DNY suris 'adūnay** ("my royal stock"). Compare the similar use of the abstract nouns **MLK** ("kinship") and **MSPT** ("imperium") in 1.2 **HTR MŠPTĪH . . . KS' MLKH** ("his imperial scepter . . . his royal throne").

Like the plural **'BT 'abūt** ("fathership"), the plural **BNM banīm** of **BN** ("son") has the abstract meaning of "sonship": NPu 124.2/3 **B'LYTN QMD' Š 'L' BBNM 'T M'QR BN G'Y** ("Balitho Commo-

duš, who was adopted in sonship alongside Macer son of Gaius.”). This same usage is attested in Hebrew in Jeremiah 3:19: **’ŠYTK BBNYM** (“I shall adopt you as son, *lit.*, I shall place you in sonship.”).

As in Hebrew the plural noun **YMM** *yamīm* has the meaning “time”: 26 A III 4/6 **LTTY B’L KRNTRYŠ WKL ’LN QRT L’Z-TWD ’RK YMM WRB ŠNT** (“Baal-KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city give to Aztwadda a long time [*lit.*, longness of time] <of rule> and many years <of rule>!”).

The plural noun **MṬBM** *mêṭabīm* has the meaning “approval”: NPu 172.1/4 **PRT ’L MYṬB’ RŠ’ HSLKHY LBN’T T-HMQDŠ ST** (“He undertook to build this sanctuary with the approval of the senate of Sulcis.”).

5. Common Gender Nouns

The plural noun with singular meaning **’LM** *’ilīm* is common gender, denoting both “god” and “goddess,” the gender of the noun indicated by the gender of the deity to whom it refers or by the gender of the descriptive adjective: 59.2 **’LM NRGL** (“the god Nergal”); 60.6 **’LM B’L ŠDN** (“the god Baal of Sidon”); but 48.2 **’LM ’DRT ’S ’LM ŠTRT** (“the great goddess Isis <and> the goddess Astarte”). Similarly, although not common, the noun **QDŠ** *qiddīs* (“deity=god or goddess”): 17.1/2 **ŠTRT Š BGW HQDŠ Š LY** (“Astarte of GW, my goddess”). The term **RŠ** *rūs* (“head”) is used of either a man or woman: NPu 136 **WKN’ Š’NT ’SR WŠMN RŠ’ ’M Š’RT** (“For eighteen years she was head of the service personnel.”).

6. Secondary (False) Feminine Gender Nouns

A masculine noun denoting an object associated with a woman may receive the feminine affirmative *-(o)t*. For instance, the masculine noun **SML**, when denoting the statue of a woman or goddess, appears as **SMLT**: 33.2/3 **[S]MLT ’[Z] Š YTN WYṬN’ MNHŠT YŠ ŠT [B’L]YTN . . . LRBTY L’ŠTRT** (“This statue <of the goddess Astarte> is that which Y’S, the wife of Baalyaton, presented and erected to her Lady Astarte.”). Similarly, Philo Byblius (cited by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*. I 10.43), when comparing and equating the Phoenician god Χουσωρ (**KŠR**) and the Israelite goddess (!) Θουρω (“Torah”), renders the divine name Khousor feminine as Χουσαρθις, properly to be understood as “Female Khousor.” This same convention is also employed in Hebrew poetry in Song of Songs

6:10: the poet likens a woman in her beauty to the figures (goddesses) **LBNH** ("Moon") and **HMH** ("Sun"); she is also likened in her awesomeness to the goddess (!) **NRGLWT** ("Nergaloth," or "Female Nergal"; the received text has **NDGLWT**).

7. Adverbial Uses of the Noun

The noun in the accusative case was extensively used adverbially, to express direction, location, manner, *etc.* This use survived even when the accusative case-vowel *-a* was merely vestigial. The noun in the accusative expresses the following:

IN, ON, AT, expressing location

14.16 **WYŠBN 'YT ŠTRT ŠMM 'DRM** "And we caused Astarte to reside in the Great Heavens."

14.16/17 **'NHN Š BNN BT L ŠMN-ŠD QDŠ 'N YDLL BHR**, "It was we who built a temple for holy Esmun-ŠD at En-YDLL in the mountains."

14.17 **YŠBNY ŠMM 'DRM**, "We caused Him (Esmun) to reside in the Great Heavens."

49 no. 7 G **'NK PSR BN B'LYTN HMT PP**, "I am Posiri, the son of Baalyaton who died at Paphos."

Pu 115.1/2 **ŠLM BD ŠTRT . . . 'YT NDRM BT B'L'DR**, "Bostar fulfilled his vow in the temple of Baaladdir."

Pu *CIS* i 6000.7/8 **'DR ŠPḤ SK[R YRḤ MD] YRḤ BT 'S**, "His family has magnified/ honored his memory monthly in the temple of Isis."

Pu *CIS* i 247-9 Pu **BT ŠD-TNT M'RT**, "The temple of Sid-Thin-nith in Megara."

OF, FROM, expressing provenience of a god or person

37A 5 **ŠTRT KT**, "Astarte of (*lit.*, in, from) Kition."

48.2 [**ŠJRT ŠMRN**, "Ashirta of (*lit.*, in, from) Samaria."

RES 921 (A.M. Honeyman, *Iraq* 6 1939 105) line 4 **ŠTRT PP**, "Astarte of (*lit.*, in, from) Paphos."

Pu *CIS* i 140.1 [**ŠTRT 'RK**, "Astarte of (*lit.*, in, from) Eryx."

The above divine names are not in construct relationship with the place-name. Rather, the locative accusative here is syntactically related to the designation of the place of the cult by means of the more common expression **Divine Name Š B- Place**. See Relative Pronouns. In Ugaritic, the locative is expressed by means of the

archaic locative morpheme *-umma*: **AI^{RT} Š^{RM}** “Ashirta of (*lit.*, in) Tyre” // **ILT Š^{DYNM}** (“Ilat of (*lit.*, in) Sidon.”)

49 36 **’NK MGN BN BD’ Š^{HPŠB}’L MNP**, “I am Mago son of Bodo of the family of Hipsibaal of Memphis.”

to, expressing movement to a place.

49 (34 At) **’NK P’L’BST BN Š^{DYTN} BN GRŠD HŠRY TŠB ’KY B’T MŠRM BPTRT ’BDMLQRT H’NY**, “I, Paal-Basti son of Sidyaton son of Ger-Sid the Tyrian, a resident of Akko, came to Egypt at the invitation of Abd-Milqart the Heliopolitan.”

CIS i 112 (Abu Simbel) B lines 1/2 GRHKL BN HLM Š’L ŠD KŠ LHMH, “<I am> Gerhekal bin HLM,’ who sailed upstream to the Land of Kush, to LHMH (=Abu Simbel).”

CIS i 112 C lines 1/2 KŠY BN ’BDP’M Š’L [Š]D KŠ LHMH, “<I am> KSY bin

Abdpa’m, who sailed upstream to the Land of Kush, to LHMH.”

IN, AT, DURING, of time

14.2/3 **NGZLT BL ’TY**, “I was snatched away not at my time.”

26 A II 19-III 1 **WYLK <’NK> ŽBH L KL HMSKT**, “And I brought to him (the god Baal-KRNTRYŠ) a sacrifice at all the sacrifices.” = 26 C IV 2/3: **WŽBH Š’Y [LKT L]’LM KL HMSKT**, “And I brought to the god a sacrifice of fire at all the sacrifices.”

Pu **CIS i 5510.7/8 T^{NT} ’MTNT Ž BHDŠ [P]’LT ŠT ŠMN’MS . . . WHN’**, “This stele was erected on the new moon of <the month of> P’LT in the year of <the suffetes> Esmunamos and Hanno.”

Pu **CIS i 5510.9/11 WYLK RBM ’DNBL BN GRŠKN HRB WHMLKT BN HN’ HRB ’LŠ WTMK HMT ’YT ’GRGNT WŠT [H]MT ŠLM**, “<And on the new moon of Paaloth, in the year of Esmunamos and Hanno>, the generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn (‘LŠ = Ar. *ghalasan*) and seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace (*i.e.*, they surrendered).”

OF, expressing material

26 A III 2/4 **WBRK B’L KRNTRYŠ ’YT ’ŽTWD HYM WŠLM W’Ž ’DR ’L KL MLK**, “May Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless Aztwadda with long life and health and strength greater than that of any other king.”

Cf. the use of the preposition **B-** (of means) instead in 26 C III 16/18: **BRK B’L KRNTRYŠ ’YT ’ŽTWD BHYM WBSLM WB’Ž ’DR ’L KL MLK**.

as, expressing respect or manner

14.2/3, 12/13 **K NGZLT BL 'TY BN MSK YMM 'ZRM**, "I was snatched away before (*lit.*, not at) my time, at too young an age (*lit.*, at the age of a few days), like a child sacrificial victim (*'zrm*)."

29.1/2 **'RN [Š]N MGN 'MTB'L . . . MTT L'ŠTRT 'DTY**, "(This is) the ivory box Amotabaal presented as a gift to her Lady Astarte."

60.3 **P'L 'YT KL 'Š 'LTY MŠRT**, "He accomplished everything that was incumbent upon him as a public service."

8. Nouns in the Direct Genitival Relationship

The direct genitival relationship was expressed by a governing noun (the *nomen regens*) in the construct state followed directly by the governed noun (the *nomen rectum*). Normally, this genitival relationship requires (i) that the construct noun not carry the definite article and (ii) that the construct relationship be *direct*, that is, that nothing intervene between the governing and the governed noun. Typical representative examples of the direct genitive are 13.2 **MLK ŠDNM** *mīlk Šidōnīm* ("the king of the Sidonians"); 14.19 **'RŠT DGN H'DRT** *'arsūt dagon ha-'iddīrūt* ("the great regions of grain"); 24.9 **KS' 'BY** *kisse 'abī* ("the throne of my father"); 90.1 **QBR B'LHN'** *qeber Ba'alhanno* ("the tomb of Baalhanno"); 121.1 **MHB D'T HTMT** *me(h)eb da(')at it-timmot* ("the lover of Perfect Accord" = *amator Concordiae*); 124.3/4 **KTBT DBR' HBT** *kē'tōbit dibrē ib-bêt* ("the book of the affairs of the family" = "the family register and chronicle"). Examples are legion.

There are however several anomalous direct genitival relationships in Phoenician-Punic that diverge from the classic type in (i) permitting the governing noun to receive the definite article; (ii) permitting a compound to govern a noun; or (iii) permitting the direct construct chain to be interrupted by a so-called "proleptic" suffixal pronoun on the governing noun.

8a. The Governing Noun is Determined

The governing noun may receive the definite article when it is in construct with a noun denoting the material of which it is crafted.

Byb 10.4 **HMZBH NHŠT ZN** "This altar <of> bronze."

Byb 10.4 **HPTH HRŠ ZN** "This inscription <of> gold."

Byb 10.5 **H'PT HRŠ** "The bird <of> gold."

8b. The Governing Noun is a Compound

The governing noun may itself be a construct chain, governs without use of an intervening indirect genitive marker.

59.2 **YTNB'L BN 'ŠMNŠLḤ RB KHNM 'LM NRGL**, "Yatonbaal son of Esmunsaloh, Chief of Priests <of> the god Nergal." Compare the use of the indirect genitive marker **'Š L-** after a governing compound in *NSI* 150.5 **B'LYTN 'Š 'LM 'Š LMLQRT**, "Baalyaton, the Man-of-God of the god Milqart."

8c. The Governing Noun Carries a Proleptic Suffixal Pronoun

This construction is employed when the governed noun is a proper name. The proleptic pronoun on the governing noun anticipates the governed noun. The construction is very common.

14.1 **ŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'ŠMN'ZR**, "Year fourteen 14 of the reign (*lit.*, of his reign) of King Esmunazor."

Pu 111.3/5 **ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT LMLKY MSNSN**, "The forty-sixth year of the reign (*lit.*, of his reign) of Masinissa."

Pu 112.4/5 **ŠŠT ḤMŠM ŠT LMLKNM MKWSN WGLSN WMSTN'B'**, "The fifty-sixth year of the reign (*lit.*, of their reign) of Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanaba."

Pu *Poen.* 948 <Esse> **mucom sussibti A(charist)ocle**, "This is the place of the residing (*lit.*, of his residing) of Acharistocles." That is, "This is the place where Acharistocles resides."

9. *The Meaning of the Genitival Relationship*

9a. Expressing Possession

The governing noun expresses the object possessed, the governed noun the possessor. This is the most common use of the genitive:

14.15/5 **BT 'LNM**, "The temples of (belonging to) to the gods."

26 A I 6 **'QRT P'R**, "The granaries of (belong to) <the city of> Paar." *Et passim.*

9b. Expressing Relationship, Authority, Jurisdiction

14.1 **MLK ŠDNM**, "The king of the Sidonians."

43.2 **RB 'RŠ**, "The Governor of the Region."

NPu 126.7 **'DR' 'LPQY W'M 'LPQY**, "The senators of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis."

9c. Objective

43.7 *MŠ PN 'BY*, “The bust of (portraying) my father.” Cf. 43.2 *HSML Z MŠ 'NK YTNB'L*, “This image is a statue of (portraying) me, Yatonbaal.”

Umm el-Awamid no. 6.1 *Z MŠBT B'LŠMR*, “This is the tombstone of (commemorating) Baalsamor.”

9d. Governed Noun Expresses Material

29.1 *'RN [Š]N*, “Box <made> of ivory.”

NPu 137.5/6 *NBL NSKT*, “Vessels of metal.”

9e. Governed Noun Expresses the Direct Object

19.6 *P'L N'M*, “Doer of good,” *i.e.*, “He who does good.”

NSK BRZL, “Caster of iron <objects>,” *i.e.*, “He who casts iron objects.”

NPu 126.4/5 *MHB BN 'M*, “Lover of his fellow citizens,” *i.e.*, “He who loves his fellow citizens.”

Pu 106.1/2 *MLK 'DM BŠRM BTM*, “Sacrifice of a human being of his own flesh.”

9f. Governed Noun Expresses Recipient (Indirect Object)

Pu 61 A 1/2 *MLK B'L*, “A *molk*-sacrifice to Baal.” *Obs.* This is the name of the sacrifice itself: lines 1/4 *NŠB MLK B'L 'Š ŠM NĦM LB'LĦMN 'DN*, “<This is> the stele commemorating the *Molk*-to-Baal that Nahhum gave to Baalhammon, his Lord.”

14.6 *T'BT 'ŠTRT*, “An abomination of (to) Astarte.”

9g. Governed Noun Expresses Author/Actor

50.2 *'MR 'HTK*, “<This is> the message of (authored by) your sister.”

NPu 78.1/2 **Feliioth iadem syRogate**, “<This is> the manufacture of (by) Rogatus.” That is, “<This was> manufactured by Rogatus.”

9h. Governed Noun is a Verbal Noun: Expressing a Relative or

Adverbial Clause

14.21 **HLT MŠKBY**, “The coffin in which I rest,” *lit.*, “The coffin of my resting.”

Pu *Poen.* 948 **mucom syssibti**, “The place where he resides,” *lit.*, “The place of his residing.”

9i. Governing or Governed Noun Expresses Adjective

26 A I 13 **N‘M LBY**, “My fine mind,” *lit.*, “The goodness of my mind.”

Byb 1.2 **KS’ MLKH**, “His royal throne,” *lit.*, “The throne of his kingship.”

34.5 **MŠKB NHTNM**, “Their peaceful resting-place,” *lit.*, “The resting-place of their peace.”

This usage, which is very common, is discussed in detail under Adjectives.

9j. Specification

26 A II 8 **NHT LB**, “Peace of mind.”

9k. Identification

14.18 **ŠDN ‘RŠ YM**, “Maritime Sidon,” *lit.*, “Sidon, land of the sea.”

14.19 **ŠD ŠRN**, “The Sharon region.”

26 A II 8/9 **‘MQ ‘DN**, “The Adana Valley.”

II. THE ADJECTIVES

Phoenician possesses both (i) true adjectives and (ii) adjectival nouns. The former are used to express both the descriptive adjective and the predicate adjective; the adjectival is limited to expressing the descriptive adjective.

1. *The True Adjective*

The number of true adjectives is small or, more precisely stated, few occur in the inscriptions. The following is a concise list of those most frequently attested: **‘DR** ‘*addīr* (“large, great, major”); **‘RK** ‘*arrīk* (“long, tall”); **BRK** *barīk* (“blessed, happy”); **DRY** *dūrī* (“lasting, enduring”);

ZR *zor* (“another = different from the first”); **N^cM** *na^cim* (“good, excellent”); {**YP** *yafe* (“appropriate, seemly”); **YSR** (“good, righteous”); **KBR** *kibbūr* (“great, large”); **KLL** *kalīl* (“entire”); **LPNY** *lifanī* (“former, earlier, past, preceding, prior”); **NŠT^c** *nista^c* (“dangerous, fearsome”); **ʿZ** *ʿaz(z)* (“strong”); **ŠDQ** *siddiq* (“good, righteous”); **Š^cR** *ša^cir* (“small, minor, lesser”); **QDŠ** *qiddis* (“holy, sacred”); **RB** *rab(b)* (“many”); **R^c** *ra^c* (“bad, evil”); **ŠLM** *salem* (“whole, intact”); **ŠPR** *sippir* (“beautiful”); **TM** *tam(m)* (“perfect, good; complete”).

In addition to these adjectives, the participles, especially the passive participle, function as true adjectives: e.g., **ZBH** *sabūh* (“sacrificed”); **MHŠB** *meḥaššab* (“settled”); **MYLL** *m^eyullal* (“mourned, lamented”); **PSL** *pašil* (“sculpted”), etc.

1a. Used as Descriptive Adjective

When used as a descriptive adjective, the adjective follows the noun and agrees with it in number and gender: 18.6 **ŠM N^cM** (“a good name”); Pu 69.3 **’LP KLL** (“an entire ox”); NPu 178.2/3 **umman nai(m)** (“a good artisan”); NPu D 6.7

sem ra (“a bad name”); Pu 78.5 **’BN ’RKT** (“tall stele/stone”); Pu 78.4 **MNŠBT PSLT** (“a sculpted stele”); 26 A II 7/8 **ŠBT N^cMT** (“good living”); NPu *Poen.* 935 **yth thymmoth** (“time past”); NPu *IRT* 893.4/5 **ilim sebuim** (“sacrificed gods”); NPu 161.2 **’RŠT RBT** (“many lands”).

Rules governing the use of the definite article with the descriptive adjective are difficult to formulate for want of a sufficient repository of examples. The following is a partial description based on the extant evidence:

If the noun is determined, the descriptive adjective carries the definite article; the noun itself need not receive the article inasmuch as the determined adjective renders the noun determined: 14.9 **H’LNM HQDŠM** (“The holy gods”); 24.9 **HMLKM HLPNYM** (“The kings who preceded <me>.”). The noun without the definite article: NPu 145 I 4 **’LM ’QYDŠ** (“The holy god”); 14.22 **’LNM HQDŠM ’L** (“These holy gods”).

The descriptive adjective receives the definite article when it modifies a construct chain, the latter grammatically equivalent to a determined noun: 14.19: **’RŠT DGN H’DRT** (“The great grain regions”); NPu 161.1/2 **MLK [M]ŠLYYM HMYLL** (“The lamented king of the Massylii”).

The descriptive adjective need not receive the definite article when

modifying a determined noun if the noun is modified by a demonstrative pronoun; for the demonstrative renders both the noun and the adjective determined: NPu 118.1 **MŠ 'LM ŠP'R ST** ("This beautiful statue of the god"). Compare however the use of the optional use of the definite article with the adjective in the following: 14.22 **'LNM HQDŠM 'L** ("These holy gods").

If the descriptive adjective modifies a divine or place name, it need not receive the definite article: 58 **'SKN 'DR** ("Great Sakun"); B.V. Head 791 **GBL QDŠT** ("Holy Byblos").

1b. Descriptive Adjective: Comparative Degree

The adjective is not declined. Comparative degree is expressed by the simple adjective followed by the preposition **'L** ("more than, greater than"):

26 A III 4 **'Z 'DR 'L KL MLK**, "Strength/might greater than that of any <other> king."

1c. The Predicate Adjective

The predicate adjective agrees in number and gender with the noun. It may precede or follow the noun:

24.7 **'DR 'LY MLK D[N]NYM WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR**, "More powerful than I was the king of the Danunians, so I hired the king of Assyria against him."

26 A II 3/4 **MQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M**, "Places that were dangerous in the past."

NPu Trip. 10.3 **LKN 'HRT[M] BRY<K>'T**, "May their end/afterlife be blessed/happy!"

2. Adjectival Nouns

The adjectival noun is an abstract noun which, when used in construct with another noun, functions as a descriptive adjective. The adjectival noun is either the governing noun (*nomen regens*) or the governed noun (*nomen rectum*) in this construct relationship.

2a. Governing Noun

'HRYM (plural)

OTHER (plural), *lit.*, OTHER ONES, REMAINING ONES

19.9 **KM 'Š BN 'YT KL 'HRY [HMQDŠ]M 'Š KN B'RŠ**, "Just as

they also (re)built all the other [sanctuari]es that are in the region.”

'RK

LONG (of time), *lit.*, LONGNESS

26 A III 4/6 **LTTY B'L KRNTRYŠ WKL 'LN QRT L'ZTWD 'RK YMM WRB ŠNT**, “Baal-KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city give to Aztwadda a long time <of rule> and many years <of rule>!”

'ŠR

HAPPY, *lit.*, HAPPINESS

NPu 145 II 11 **KYLN B'ŠR LB P'LN BYT TŠB'T**, “All of us with happy hearts rendered <this> *eulogy*.”

KL

ALL, ENTIRE, WHOLE, EVERY, ANY, *lit.*, TOTALITY, ENTIRETY

4.2/3 Byb **H'T H̄WY KL MPLT HBTM 'L**, “It was he who repaired all the ruined temples hereabouts.”

26 A III 19 **KL DR BN 'LM**, “The entire family of the gods.”

50.4/5 **KL KSP 'Š LY**, “All my silver.”

NPu 145 II 11 **KYLN B'ŠR LB P'LN BYT TŠB'T**, “All of us with happy hearts rendered <this> *eulogy*.”

M'SP

ALL, *lit.*, COLLECTION, ENTIRETY

NPu 122.1 **M'SP HNSKT Š'LM 'WGŠTS**, “All the metal objects of the god Augustus.”

MPHRT

ALL, *lit.*, COLLECTION, ENTIRETY

Byb 4.3/6 **Y'RK B'LŠMM WB'L<T> GBL WMPHRT 'L GBL QDŠM YMT YHMLK WŠNTW 'L GBL**, “Baalsamem and Baalt of Byblos and all the holy gods of Byblos grant Yehmilk a long time and many many years <of rule> over Byblos!”

MPLT

RUINED, *lit.*, RUINS

Byb 4.2/3 **H'T H̄WY KL MPLT HBTM 'L**, “It was he (King Yehmilk) who restored all the ruined buildings/temples hereabouts.”

MSKFEW, *lit.*, RESTRICTED (SMALL) NUMBER

14.2/3 *NGZLT BL 'TY BN MSK YMM 'ZRM*, "I was snatched away before my time, at the age of a few days, like a child sacrificial victim."

N'MGOOD, EXCELLENT, *lit.*, GOODNESS, EXCELLENCE

26 A I 12/13 *W'P B'BT P'LN KL MLK BŞDQY WBĤKMTY WBN'M LBY*, "Moreover, every king adopted me as father because of my honesty, my cleverness and my good intellect."

43.15/16 *WYSKRN MLQRT [WYTN, LY] N'M ŠRŠ*, "Milqart remember me and give me good progeny!"

R'ŠTFINEST, BEST, *lit.*, FIRST QUALITY

31.1 *'Z YTN LB'L LBNN 'DNY BR'ŠT NĤŠT*, "This <cup>, made of the best copper, did he present to his Lord, Baal of Lebanon."

RBMANY, *lit.*, GREAT NUMBER, LARGE AMOUNT

26 A III 4/6 *LTTY B'L KRNTRYŠ WKL 'LN QRT L'ZTWD 'RK YMM WRB ŠNT*, "Baal-KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city give to Aztwadda a long time <of rule> and many years <of rule>!"

2b. Governed Noun

'DN(M)ROYAL, *lit.*, KINGLINESS, LORDLINESS

26 A I 9/10 *WYTN' 'NK BT 'DNY BN'M WP'L 'NK LŠRŠ 'DNY N'M*, "I established by royal house out of good intent, and I did what is good for my royal progeny."

'NEVIL, WICKED, CRIMINAL, *lit.*, INIQUITY

D 6.5/7 **Badinim garasth is on, / mySyrthim bal sem ra**, "From Adnim I expelled the wicked fellow, / From the Syrthis, him of ill repute."

MLKROYAL, *lit.*, KINGSHIP, ROYAL POWER

Byb 1.2 *TĤTSP ĤTR MŠPTH THTPK KS' MLKH*, "His imperial sceptre shall break, his royal throne shall overturn."

MŠPṬIMPERIAL, *lit.*, IMPERIUM, ROYAL POWERByb 1.2 **THTSP HṬR MŠPṬH THTPK KS' MLKH**, "His imperial sceptre shall break, his royal throne shall overturn."

III. THE NISBE NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

A. Morphology

Inflection

Sg. M.

-Y -ī	Ph	53.2. 54.2 ŠDNY ("Sidonian"); 54.1 ŠQLNY ("Ascalonian")
-'	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 359.4/5 ŠN' ("second"); <i>RES</i> 910 ŠLŠ' ("third"); <i>DR'</i> <i>dūrī</i> ("enduring")

Sg. F.

-T -īt	Ph	59.1 ŠDNT ("Sidonian")
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Pl. M.

-YM -īm	Ph	26 A I 5/6 DNNYM ("Danunians"); <i>FK</i> A 9 A/B; B 40.2; F 1.3,5,6 KRSYM ("Corsic"); 60.7 ŠDNYM ("Sidonians")
	NPu	118.2 LWBYM ("Lybians"); 153.4 LBYM ("Lybians")
-M	Ph	13.1, 14.14 ŠDNM ("Sidonians")
-em	NPu	D 2.8, 5.11 [Lyb]em ("Libyans")
-im	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1023 Ponim ("Phoenician")
	NPu	<i>LA</i> 1 p. 45 no. 4.5 Sorim ("Tyrians")

Pl. F.

-YT -iyyūt	Ph-Pu-NPu	Not recorded
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Comments

The Sg. M. form- *ī* is the reflex of original *-iyy*; reflected in the retained historical spelling **-Y**. In Punic, the Sg. M. was occasionally spelled phonetically with *aleph*. The Sg. F. *-īt* is the reflex of *-iyt*. The Pl. M. *-īm* is the reflex of original *-iyyīm*. Already in the first

half of the first millennium B.C., the masculine plural had the pronunciation *-īm*; however, the historical spelling *-YM*, which reflects the primitive pronunciation *-iyīm*, was retained alongside the phonetic spelling *-M*.

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Forming Gentilic from Place-Name

The *nisbe* is used primarily to form a gentilic from a place-name:

14.1 **ŠMN'ZR MLK ŠDNM**, "Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians."

54.1 **'NK ŠM BN 'BD ŠTRT ŠQLNY**, "I am Sem son of Abdastart the Ascalonian."

NPu 118.2 **RB T'HT RB MHNT BŠD LWBYM**, "Commander <of the Army> in the Stead of the Commander of the Army (=Proconsul) in the region of the Libyans (=Libya)."

2. Expressing Names of Languages (Masculine Plural)

Names of languages are expressed by the masculine plural gentilic:

FK B 40.1/2 **ŠMN'DNY ŠRDL BN 'BDMLQRT BN RŠPYTN MLŠ HKRSYM**, "Esmunadoni the Sardin, the son of Abdmilqart sonof Rasapyaton, Interpreter of the Corsic Language." *Obs.* Corsic was the language of the Corsi, a people of Northern Sardinia; Esmunadoni was an ethnic Sardin from Sardinia and perhaps himself a native speaker of Corsic. The post of **MLŠ (H)KRSYM** *melš hik-Korsim* ("Translator of the Corsic Language") is often mentioned in the inscriptions of Kition, a city which apparently boasted a substantial Corsic and Sardin element. In this regard, one should note that in the archaic inscription from Nora in Sardinia (*KAI* 46), the colony itself (called **TRŠŠ**) claims **KTN** (Kition) as its mother-city.

Pu *Poen.* 1023 **Ponnim sycartim?**, "Do you remember any Punic?" This is the Punic translation of the line Plautus translated **Ecquid commeministi Punice?** (*Poen.* 985).

The masculine plural gentilic **KRSYM** expressing the name of the language is merely an abbreviation of the fuller **DBRM KRSYM** ("Corsic language," *lit.*, "Corsic words"); cf. Hebrew *d^ebarim* = *šapa* ("language, speech," Genesis 11.1).

3. Forming Cardinal Numbers from Ordinals

Pu 76 B 1 **YM H'RB'Y**, "The fourth day." *Obs.* In Phoenician, the cardinal is formed directly from the ordinal: **'RB'** 'arba' ("four") > **'RB'Y** 'arba'i ("fourth"). See the chapter on Numerals.

4. Forming Adjectives from Nouns

NPu 128.2/3 [**SKJR DR' L'LM L'B**], "<This is> a permanent memorial forever to a <good> father." *Obs.* The adjective **DRY** dūrī ("permanent, enduring") is formed from the noun **DR** dūr < dōr ("eternity"); cf. Akkadian **dāriū**.

5. Forming Nouns and Adjectives from Prepositions

LPNY lip(a)nī ("first, earlier, former, past") < **LPN** lip(a)nē ("before"):

24.9/10 **LPN HMLKM HLPNYM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM**, "Before the kings who preceded me (*lit.*, the earlier kings) the *mškbm* used to go about like dogs." That is, "The kings who preceded me treated the *mškbm* like dogs."

24.4/5 **M 'S P'LT BL P'L HLPNY{H}M**, "I accomplished what my predecessors (*lit.*, the preceding ones) did not accomplish."

NPu 137.5 **B'SR WŠB' LYRḤ MP' LPNY**, "On the seventeenth of the month of First Mufa."

CHAPTER NINE

THE VERB: INTRODUCTION AND THE SUFFIXING FORM

I. INTRODUCTION

A. *The Forms, Tense and Aspect*

The Phoenician verb possesses three Moods: (i) Indicative, (ii) Non-indicative (subjunctive, optative, jussive, cohortative), (iii) Imperative. There are four Voices: (i) Active (Transitive and Intransitive); (ii) Passive; (iii) Stative and (iv) Reflexive. There are two Aspects: Perfective and Imperfective. There are six Tenses: (i) Past Perfective; (ii) Past Imperfective; (iii) Pluperfect; (iv) Present Perfective; (v) Present Imperfective; (vi) Future.

The verbal system consists of six Stems (also known as Patterns, Conjugations, Themes; *Binyanim* in Hebrew): (i) Qal (*qatol* < *qatal*), the so-called "simple" stem, itself having an active form and an inner passive form; (ii) Nip'al (*niqtal*), the external passive of the Qal; (iii) Pi'el (*qittel*), the so-called "intensive" stem, and its inner passive form Pu'al (*quttal*); (iv) Yip'il (*yiqtel*), the so-called "causative" stem, and its inner passive form Yop'al; (v) Yitpe'el (*yitqettel*), the so-called "reflexive" form; and (vi) the Yipta'al (*yiqtatal*), the intransitive of the Qal, this stem occurring in Byblian Phoenician only.

Each Stem possesses all of the following nine Forms: (i) Suffixing Form (*qatol*); (ii) Prefixing Form A (Old Canaanite *yaqtulu*); (iii) Prefixing Form B (Old Canaanite *yaqtul*); (iv) Prefixing Form C (Old Canaanite *yaqtula*); (v) Active Participle; (vi) Passive Participle; (vii) Imperative; (viii) Infinitive Absolute; (ix) Infinitive Construct.

Tense, Aspect and Mood in Phoenician are entirely a function of syntax, not of morphology. This is to say, there is no one-to-one correlation between any given Form of the verb and a specific Tense, Aspect or Mood. Rather, in and of themselves, the Forms are entirely unmarked for tense, aspect and mood. The reference (tense, aspect and mood) of any given Form is determined by (i) the type of syntactic structure in which the Form is embedded; (ii) the posi-

tion (syntactically restricted or non-restricted) of the Form within that syntactic structure. Take for instance the Suffixing Form of the verb.

The Suffixing Form is not marked for past perfective action. This is to say, the form *QR' qaró'* < *qará'* does not mean "he called out." Inherently, that is, not in context, the form is purely a morphological entity, unmarked for tense, aspect or mood. Its tense, aspect and mood references are several, each a function of syntax:

(i) When the Suffixing Form is the main (principal) verb of a simple independent (non-subordinate) clause (declarative sentence), the Suffixing Form has past perfective tense/aspect-reference. So used in standard literary Phoenician prose, the Form is syntactically restricted to non-sentence initial position. The syntactically restricted sentence-initial Forms expressing the Past Perfective are (a) the Infinitive Absolute and (b) Prefixing Form B, both of which in turn may not assume sentence-initial position in a simple declarative statement.

(ii) When the Suffixing Form is not the main (principal) verb of a simple declarative sentence but is consecutive to (follows) the main verb, the Suffixing Form assumes the tense and aspect reference of the main verb. This subform of the Form is the "Suffixing Form Consecutive."

(iii) When the Suffixing Form is the main (principal) verb of the result clause of a temporal sentence, the Suffixing Form has past perfective tense/aspect-reference but is syntactically restricted to clause-initial position.

(iv) When the Suffixing Form occupies sentence-initial position in an independent (non-subordinate clause), its tense/aspect/modal reference is (i) Present Perfective or (ii) Jussive Optative. In Phoenician, it is never Past Perfective. Punic however loosens this syntactic restriction, permitting the Suffixing Form to stand sentence-initial and yet function with Past Perfective reference.

(v) When the Suffixing Form is clause-initial in the main (resumptive) clause of a sentence with anticipatory clause, it has Future tense-reference.

The corollary to no one-to-one correlation between a specific Form and a specific tense, aspect or mood is that a specific tense, aspect or mood may be expressed by more than one Form. Take, for instance, the expression of the Future Tense: in Phoenician, the Future Indicative is expressed by (i) Prefixing Form A *yiqtol* < *yaqtulu*; (ii) Prefixing Form B *yiqtol* < *yaqtul* in the result clause of a condi-

tional sentence; (iii) Infinitive Construct *liqtōl*; (iv) Suffixing Form *qatal* < *qatala* in resumptive clause of a sentence with anticipatory clause and in the result clause of a conditional sentence. Similarly, an imperative is expressed by (i) the Imperative Form; (ii) second person of Prefixing Form B *tiqtol* < *taqtul*; (iii) Infinitive Absolute *liqtōl*.

Presented here is a preliminary summary of the correspondences between Form and Use (Tense, Aspect, Mood):

Form	Use (Tense, Aspect, Mood)
Suffixing Form	Present Perfective Past Perfective Future Jussive/Optative Consecutive (Unmarked)
Prefixing Form A	Past Imperfective Present Imperfective Future Imperfective
Prefixing Form B	Past Perfective Future Imperfective Jussive/Optative Subjunctive
Prefixing Form C	Jussive/Optative Subjunctive
Active Participle	Surrogate for the Active Verb (All Tenses) Participial (Action in Progress, all Tenses)
Past Participle	Surrogate for Past Perfective
Imperative	Imperative
Infinitive Absolute	Paranomastic Past Perfective Consecutive (Unmarked) Verbal Noun
Infinitive Construct	Infinitive (Object of Certain Verbs) Future Jussive/Optative Imperative Subjunctive Gerundial Expressing Temporal Clause

Tense, Aspect, Mood	Form
Present Perfective	Suffixing Form
Present Imperfective	Prefixing Form
Past Imperfective	Prefixing Form
Past Perfective	Suffixing Form Prefixing Form C Infinitive Absolute
Pluperfect	Verb <i>kon</i> + Suffixing Form
Future Indicative	Prefixing Form A Prefixing Form B Suffixing Form Infinitive Construct
Subjunctive	Infinitive Construct Prefixing Form B or C
Jussive/Optative	Prefixing Form B Prefixing Form C Suffixing form Infinitive Construct
Imperative	Imperative Form. Form B (second person) Infinitive Construct

B. *The Verbal Stems*

QAL

The verbal stem is also called by grammarians the verbal pattern, theme, conjugation; the Hebrew term is *binyan*. The QAL is the simple stem. It includes active transitive verbs of the form (Suffixing) *qatol*, such as 14.18 **YTN** *yaton* (“he gave”), as well as stative verbs, such as 60.1 **TM** *tam* (“it was good”). The Prefixing Form of the strong verb was *yiqtol* (*yiqtal*): Pu *Poen.* 940 **timlacun** *timlakūn* (“you rule”). The QAL had an inner passive form *qutel*, attested in Pu *Poen.* 1027 **gunebte** *gunebti* (“I have been robbed”) and in Byblian 1.2 **LPP** *lupep* (“it will be twisted up”). The Active Participle of the strong verb was *qūtel*: Pu *Poen.* 948 **duber** *dūber* (“says,” masc. sg.); and the Passive Participle was *qatūl*: *IRT* 893.5 **sebuim** *zebūhīm* (“sacrificed,” masc. pl.). The Imperative was *q^otol* and *qutla* (in the masculine singular): Pu *Poen.* 1013 **lec** *lek* (“go!”) and Pu *Poen.* 1010 **pursa** *pursa* (“ex-

plain!"). The Infinitive Absolute was *qatōl* (*qatūl*): 13.6/7 **PTH** *patōh* ("open"); and the Infinitive Construct was *liqtūl*: Pu *Poen.* 945 **liful** *lif'ul* ("to do").

NIP'AL

The NIP'AL is the external passive of the QAL: 14.2, 12 **NGZLT** *nigzalti* ("I was snatched away"); Pu 69.20 **N'N[Š]** *ne'nas* ("he will be fined"); Pu *Poen.* 943 **neso** *ne'so* ("he was made"). The Prefixing Form appears in 14.8 **L YQBR** *'al yiqqaberū* ("they shall not be entombed"). The NIP'AL participle is also the source of certain adjectives like 26 A II 4 **NŠT'** *nista'* ("dangerous," *lit.*, "feared").

PI'EL and PU'AL

The Suffixing Form of the PI'EL strong verb was *qittel* (*qettel*, *qitil*): NPu *IRT* 892.3 **bycys** *biqqis* ("he requested") and the Prefixing Form *yeqettel* (<**yeqattel*): 14.5 **YBQŠ** *yebeqes* ("he seeks"); the PU'AL was *quttal* and *yequttal* respectively. In standard Phoenician orthography, the PI'EL and PU'AL are indistinguishable from the QAL. However, in Punic one finds also the occasional spelling **CYCC** of the Suffixing Form, with the *mater lectionis* **Y** indicating the first of the thematic vowels: **HYDŠ** *hiddēs* ("he restored"); 119.2; 123.2 **TYN'** *tinne'* ("he erected"). The Active Participle was *meqettel*: Pu 66.1 **M'RḤ** *me'erreh* ("host," title of the god Esmun), found in Greek and Latin letters as Μηρορη and **Merre** respectively; the Passive Participle was *mequttal*: NPu 161.2 **MYLL** *meyullal* ("mourned"). The Imperative (masc. sg.) was *qettel*: NPu Augustine **messe** *messeh* ("anoint!"). The Infinitive Absolute was *qettel*: 26 A I 6 **ML'** *melle'* ("fill"); and the Infinitive Construct was *liqettel*: Pu *CIS* i 5510.6 **LŠLM** *lisellem* ("to greet").

YIP'IL

In Standard Phoenician and Punic, the Suffixing Form of the strong verb had the form **YCCC** *yigtél*: 14.17 **YŠBNY** *yūsebnuyo* ("we caused him to reside"); 42.4 **YQDŠ** *yiqdēs* ("he dedicated"), with initial *yod* and the thematic vowels *i-e* (or *i-i*). The initial *yod* was characteristic of the entire paradigm, including the infinitives: 26 A I 20 **YŠBM** **'NK** *yūsebom 'anīki* ("I caused them to dwell"); Pu *Poen.* 943 **iulec anec** *yūlek 'anīk* ("I brought").

In Neo-Punic, the Suffixing Form was *iqtél*, written in the following ways:

- (a) **YCCC**: Trip. 32.1 **'YB'** *ibī*(?) (“he brought”); Trip. 67.1 **'YDḤ** *ideḥ* (“he enlarged,” root *d-h-ḥ*); 145 III 12 **'YKRM'** *ikremó* (“it honored him”); 121.2 **'YQDŠ'** *iqdés* (“he dedicated”).
- (b) **HYCCC**: Mactar B II 2 **HYKRM** *ikrem* (?“he restored”); Mactar B III 3 **HY'L** *e'lo* (“he raised”).
- (c) **HCC(Y)C**: **HŠDYQ'** *išdīqa* (“she was good”).
- (d) **HCCC**: 124.4 **HTM** *itīm* (“he completed,” root *t-m-m*).
- (e) **YCC(Y)C**: 153.3 **YPTQ'** *ipīqó* (“he found it”).
- (f) **iCCeC**: **IRT** 873.3 **intseb** *iṣšéb* (“he erected”); cf. D 5.19 **utseb** *ûšéb* (“he erected,” root *y-š-b*).

The Prefixing Form of the strong verb was *yiqtil*: NPu *Poen.* 1027 **iyryla** *yir'ila* (“let him make tremble!”). The Active Participle was *miqtil*: Pu *Poen.* 1033 **migdil** *migdil* (“one who magnifies”). The Imperative was *yiqtel* (Pu *iqtel*): NPu Trip. 86.3 **HKR** *ikker* (“recognize!,” root *n-k-r*). The Infinitive Absolute was *yuqtel*: Pu *Poen.* 943 **iulec** *yūlek* (“bring”); the Infinitive Construct was *liyeqtel* (Pu *leqtel*): Pu *CIS* I 5510.6 **Lyrḥ** *liyeriḥ* (“to make welcome”); cf. later Pu 79.7 **LSR** *lesīr* (“to remove”).

The YIP'IL has the inner passive form YOP'AL, corresponding to the Hebrew HOP'AL. It is attested once only, in the Prefixing Form: 14.6 **'L TŠM'** **BDNM** *'al tosmā' bad^enom* (“Do not be persuaded by them!”).

YITPE'EL

Forms of this stem are not recorded in Phoenician. The precise shape of the form is therefore uncertain although one may speculate, in light of the Phoenician causative stem Yip'il, that the Suffixing Form had the shape Yitpe'el (=Hebrew Hitpael). In Neo-Punic, the stem is attested as Itpe'el, the preformative spelled **HT-** or **'YT-**:

HTCCC 138.1 **HTQDŠ'** *itqeddes* (“he sanctified himself”); *CIS* I 5522.2 **HTRŠM** (“he signed himself in”).

'YTCCC 119.4 **'YTKDW** *ittekkedū* (“they mutually resolved”).

The Suffixing Form of the Yitpe'el is attested but once, in Phoenician: 24.10 **'YTLK** *yittallekū* (“they used to go about”).

The attested functions in Phoenician of the YITPE'EL are to express (i) the reflexive (“he sanctified himself”), (ii) mutual action (“they mutually agreed”) and (iii) continuity (“they used to go about”).

YIPTA'AL

The YIPTA'AL (*YPT'L*) is attested in Byblian Phoenician only and only in the Prefixing Form. It functions to express the intransitive of a transitive verb: *THTSP* (*tihtasap*) *HTR MŠPṬH THTPK* (*tihtapak*) *KS' MLKH*, ("His imperial sceptre will break, <and> his royal throne will overturn."). The stem occurs in Ugaritic and Moabite with the same function.

C. Voice

There is active voice and passive voice. The passive is expressed in several different ways:

1. *By Inner Passive of the Verb Stem*

Byb 1.2 *WH' YMḤ SPRH LPP ŠBL*, "If he shall erase its inscription, his royal robe shall be twisted up (*lupep*)."

Pu *Poen.* 1027 *Gunebte!*, "I have been robbed!" *Obs.* The verb is the inner passive (suffixing form) of the Qal.

NPu 134.1/2 *TN' BN Z LPLKŠ BN HMT*, "This gravestone has been erected to Felix son of HMT." The verb is the inner passive of the Pi'el (=Pu'al).

2. *By the Niphal*

14.2/3 *NGZLT BL 'TY*, "I was snatched away not at my time."

Pu *Poen.* 940/41 *Hu neso bin us es hulec silli balim esse lipane esse con*, "He was made the son of the man who was my guest-friend in this nation in the past."

NPu 130.1 *NP'L' ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L' BŠT HŠPṬM 'BDMLQRT ṬBḤPY W'RŠ*, "These six seats were made in the year of the Sufetes Abdmilqart Tapapius and Aris."

3. *By the Third Plural of the Active Voice*

14.5 *'L YBQŠ BN MNM K 'Y ŠM BN MNM*, "Let him not look for anything <of value> in it (my tomb), for nothing <of value> was placed in it," *literally*, "They did not place anything in it."

24.12/13 *WMY BL HZ KTN LMN'RY WBYMY KSY BŠ*, "As for him who had never owned an outer garment from the time of his youth, in my time he was dressed in byssus <garments>," *literally*, "They dressed him in byssus <garments>."

NPu *PBSR* 28 53 no. 5.9/11 **Bynom Mrausyn au[r]ys. Felu tabula y bud bannom**, "Their son Mrausyn was the engraver <of the preceding tablet>. That tablet was made by their son," *literally*, "They made the aforementioned tablet by their son."

4. *By the Indefinite*

4a. Expressed by the the Active Participle Singular

Pu *Poen.* 946 **Ys duber ci hen hu Acharistocle**, "I am told (*lit.*, "one says") that Acharistocles lives here." = Neo-Punic *Poen.* 936 **Ys dubyr ch'innochoth u Agorastocles**, "I am told (*lit.*, "one says") that Agorastocles lives here."

Pu *Poen.* 948 **Ys duber limur <esse> mucom sussibti A(charist)ocle**, "I am told (*lit.*, "one says") that this is the place where Acharistocles lives."

4b. Expressed by Active Participle Plural

NPu *Poen.* 935 **Dobrim chy fel yth chil ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, "I am told (*lit.*, "they say") that he did everything for his son that he was to do for him."

D. *Person, Number and Gender*

There is singular and plural. There is masculine and feminine gender. The plural of the active voice may be used to express the passive singular (see Voice above).

Polite forms or circumlocutions exist for the first person and for the second person. In addressing a superior, the plural of the second person is used; *cf.* French **vous parlez**. This usage is illustrated in a dialogue from the Punic version of the *Karkhedonios* in which a slave addresses his master in the second plural: 1023 **sycartim Ponnim** ("Do you remember Punic?"); but the master responds in the second singular: 1017 **bal umer iadata** ("Not a word! Do you know it?").

A superior or stranger is also addressed in the third person by means of the circumlocation **'DNY** ("my lord," *cf.* "mein Herr; monsieur"): Pu 1141 **hauo done silli** ("Live long!," *lit.*, "May my lord live long!"). Also in the third person: Pu 1141 **hauo bene silli** ("Live long, my son!," *lit.*, "May my son live long!"); 1141 **haua**

amma silli (“Live long, my mother!,” *lit.*, “May my mother live long!”).

In polite address, the pronoun of the first person is **‘BDK** (“your servant(s)” = I, we), when speaking to one person; and **‘BDKM** (“your servant(s)” = I, we) when speaking to more than one person: 47.1/2 **L’DNN LMLQRT B’L ŠR ’Š NDR ‘BDK ‘BD’SR W’HY ‘SRŠMR** (“To our Lord Milqart is what we [*lit.*, your servants], Abdosiri and his brother Osirisamor, vowed.”); *cf.* NPu D 6 **Un ath a[bdach]a** (“Show me mercy!,” *lit.*, Show your servant mercy!”).

II. THE SUFFIXING FORM

A. Morphology

Inflection

Sg. 1. C.

-T -ti	Ph	Byb 9 A 1 P’LT <i>pa’alti</i> (“I built”); 14.2 NGZLT <i>nigzalti</i> (“I was snatched away”); 26 A I 8 ŠBRT (“I smashed”), <i>et passim</i>
-TY	NPu	145.6 K’TBTY (“I have written down”)
-te	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 941 bate (“I have come”), <i>Poen.</i> 1027 gunebte (“I have been robbed”), <i>Poen.</i> 947 nasote (“I have brought, I bring”)
-ti	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 940 caruti (“I call”)
-thi	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 930 carothi qarōti (“I call”); <i>Poen.</i> 931 mysethi (“I have come”); <i>Poen.</i> 937 nasothi (“I have brought, I bring”)
-th	NPu	D 6.5/6 garasth garast (“I expelled”); D 6.9 sath sat (“I made”)

Sg. 2. M.

-T -ta	NPu	Trip. 79.1 QN’T <i>qanīta</i> (“you have acquired”)
-ta	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1017 iadata yada’ta (“you know”)

Sg. 2. F.

-T -ti	Pu	50.3 ŠLHT <i>salaḥti</i> (“you will send”)
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Sg. 3. M.

-Ø -o	Ph	41.6 ŠM' <i>samo'</i> ("hear, heard"); 60.1 TM <i>tam</i> ("it was good"), <i>et passim</i>
	Pu	64.1 NDR <i>nador</i> ("he vowed"); <i>Poen.</i> 942 con <i>kon</i> ("he was") <i>et passim</i>
	NPu	121.2 P'L W'YQDŠ <i>fel u'iqdes</i> ("he made and dedicated"); <i>IRT</i> 873.2/3 fel . . . uintseb <i>fel u'inseb</i> ("he made and erected"), <i>et passim</i>

Sg. 3. F.

FORM A

-Ø -a	Byb	10.8 ŠM' <i>šim'a</i> ("she heard"), 10.8 P'L <i>pe'la</i> ("she made"); <i>cf.</i> archaic EA 106.10/11 ših̄tat ("it has been destroyed")
	Ph	33.2 YTN <i>yitna</i> ("she presented")
-'	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5945 P'L ("she made"); <i>CIS</i> i 4937.4 ŠPT ("she will adjudge"); <i>CIS</i> I 5510.3 'ML <i>'amla</i> ("it will wither"), <i>et passim</i>
-'	NPu	136.2 MT' <i>méta</i> ("she died"), 136.4 KN' <i>kóna</i> ("she was")
-a	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1141 haua <i>hawa</i> ("may she live long!")
	NPu	<i>AI</i> 2 1926 no. 29 aua ("she lived"); <i>IRT</i> 826.1/2, 901.2/4 fela ("she made")

Form with Affixed Object Pronouns.

-T -at-	Byb	10.2 P'LTN <i>pe'latni</i> ("she made me")
	Ph	<i>RB</i> 1916 p. 576-9, Pl. IV HWT <i>hiw̄wato</i> ("may she make him live long!")
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 3783.6 NKST <i>niksato</i> ("she will cut him off"); <i>CIS</i> i 4945.4/6 QBT <i>qibbato</i> ("she will curse him")

Pl. 1. C.

-N -nu	Ph	14.15, 17 BNN <i>banīnu</i> ("we built"); 14.16, 17 YŠBN <i>yūsibnu</i> ("we caused to dwell"); 14.19 YSPN <i>yasapnu</i> ("we an-
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		nexed")
	NPu	145.11 P'LN ("we made"); 159.5 YSPN ("we added").
-N'	NPu	Mactar B KN' <i>kannu</i> ("we were")
Pl. 2. M		
-TM <i>-tim</i>	NPu	163.1 KNTM <i>kantim</i> ("you were")
-tim	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1023 syartim <i>s'kartim</i> ("you remember")
Pl. 3. C.		
-Ø <i>-ū</i>	Ph	47.1 NDR <i>nedrū</i> ("they vowed")
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.10 TMK ("they seized")
-'	Pu-NPu	130.5 P'L' ("they made")
-u	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 889.2, 906.1 felu <i>fe(')lū</i> ("they made")
-un <i>-ūn</i>	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 865 felun <i>fe(')lūn</i> ("they made")

Sg. 1. C.: The inflectional ending was *-ti* in all periods. The two instances of *-t* in Neo-Punic occur in a poem in iambic rhythm that required *metri causa* the suppression of the final unstressed *i*-vowel. See C.R. Krahmalkov, *BASOR* 294 (1994), 69-82.

Sg. 2.: The masculine inflectional ending is attested in the vocalization *-ta*, like the singular of the first person retaining the final short unstressed vowel; *cf.* also the retention of the final unstressed a-vowel of the Sg. 2. M. suffix pronoun *-ka*. While the feminine singular is not attested, one may confidently surmise that it was *-ti*, with retained final unstressed vowel; *cf.* also the retention of the final unstressed vowel in the Sg. 2. F. suffix pronoun *-ki*.

Sg. 3. M. The inflection of the masculine singular is identical to that of Hebrew, displaying no inflectional ending.

Sg. 3. F. The third feminine inflectional ending was *-a* as in Hebrew and, as in Hebrew, and *-at-* with affixed direct object pronoun. The Qal form was *CiCCá*, with full reduction of the penultimate vowel of the etymon *CaCaCá* and sound-change *a > i* in the initial closed unstressed syllable; this form is seen in 14th century B.C. Byblian *ših̄tat* and in Neo-Punic **felá** *felá* < *fe'lá* < *fa'ala*. Requiring special com-

ment is the third singular of IIIy verbs in Phoenician: this form displayed the form *CaCá*, the feminine inflectional ending affixed directly to the second consonant of the root; this form was different from the corresponding Hebrew *CaCatá*, compounded of the archaic Sg. 3. F. *CaCát* + feminine inflectional ending *-a*. Thus the contrastive morphology: Hebrew *ban^etá* (“she built”) as against Phoenician *baná* (but Phoenician *banat-* with affixed object suffix pronouns).

P. 1. C.: The first plural inflectional ending was *-nu*. The retention of the final unstressed u-vowel is indicated by the Neo-Punic *plene* spelling **KN^o** *kánnu* (“we were”) and by the fact that Form B of the direct object suffixal pronouns is used with the verb, e.g., **YSPNNM** *yasapnu-nom* (“we annexed”).

Pl. 2. M.: The second masculine plural inflectional ending was *-im*, of which we possess a vocalized example. The feminine plural ending is not recorded.

Pl. 3. C.: The third plural ending is universally attested as *-ū*. In very late Neo-Punic, however, we find a single instance of the form *-ūn*, with final n, in analogy to the third person plural inflectional ending of the Prefixing Form A *yiqtolūn*.

Examples

QAL

Sg. 1.

Strong

BRKT <i>barakti</i>	Ph	50.2 (“I bless”)
garasth <i>garast(i)</i>	NPu	D 6.5/6 (“I expelled”)
[K]TBT <i>katabti</i>	Ph	43.13 (“I wrote”)
NŠHT <i>našahti</i>	Ph	CIS i 91.2 (“I defeated”)
P’LT <i>pa’alti</i>	Ph	24.4 (“I did”)
SMRT <i>samarti</i>	Ph	43.13 (“I nailed”)
TMKT <i>tamakti</i>	Ph	24.13 (“I took”)
TRQT <i>taraqti</i>	Ph	26 A (“I rooted out”)
<i>y-t-n</i>		
YTT <i>yatatti</i>	Ph	43.9 (“I placed”)
<i>Iy</i>		
YŠBT <i>yasabti</i>	Ph	24.9 (“I sat”)

IIweak		
[B]’T <i>bati</i>	Ph	49 34 At (“I came”)
bate <i>bati</i>	Pu	Poen. 941 (“I have come”)
KT <i>katti</i>	Ph	24.6,10 (“I was”)
ŠT <i>satti</i>	Ph	24.11; 26 A
sath <i>satt(i)</i>	NPu	D 6.9 (“I made”)
III ’aleph		
QR’T <i>qarōti</i>	Byb	10.7 (“I invoked”)
caruti <i>qarūti</i>	Pu	Poen. 940 (“I invoke”)
carothi <i>qarōti</i>	NPu	Poen. 930 (“I invoke”)
nasote <i>nasōti</i>	Pu	Poen. 947 (“I carry; I share”)
nasothi <i>nasōti</i>	NPu	Poen. 937
IIIy		
BNT <i>banīti</i>	Ph	14.4 (“I built”)
’LT <i>’alīti</i>	Ph	CIS i 113.1 (“I sailed upstream”)
Sg. 2. M.		
Iy		
iadata <i>yada’ta</i>	Pu	Poen. 1017 (“you know”)
IIIy		
QN’T <i>qanīta</i>	NPu	Trip. (“you have acquired”)
Sg. 2. F.		
ŠLHT <i>salaḥti</i>	Ph	50.5/6 (“you shall send!”)
Sg. 3. M.		
Strong		
aros <i>’aros</i>	NPu	S 24.5 (“he requested”)
P’L <i>pa’ol</i>	Ph	26 A III 15 (“he made”)
σρω <i>samo’</i>	Pu	175.4 (“he heard”)
samo <i>samo’</i>	Pu	CIL I 2407; viii 12331 (Balsamo)
y-t-n		
YTN <i>yaton</i>	Ph	41.1 (“he gave”)
iaton <i>yaton</i>	Pu	CIL viii 16011 (Baliaton)
iathon <i>yaton</i>	Pu	CIL viii 27155 (Sidiathones)
ιαθων <i>yaton</i>	Pu	CIS I 89 (Μιλκιαθωνος).
Inun		
NDR <i>nador</i>	Pu	79.3 (“he vowed”)
ναδωρ <i>nador</i>	Pu	175.3 (“he vowed”)

NS' <i>naso'</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> I 3781.1f ("he brought")
II <i>wy</i>		
KN <i>kon</i>	Ph	40.5
con <i>kon</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 946 ("it was")
chon <i>kon</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936 ("it was")
II 'aleph		
sal <i>sal</i> (Neo-Punic)	NPu	<i>D</i> 6.10 ("he asked")
II 'ayin		
P'L <i>pa'ol</i>	Ph	60.3
fel <i>fel</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 944
fel <i>fel</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936; <i>Trip.</i> 828.1; <i>IRT</i> 877.2.
nem <i>nem</i>	Pu	In the name Giddenem ("My luck be good!")
IIgem.		
HN <i>han</i>	Pu	<i>CIL</i> v 4920; viii 68 Ammicar HN-MLQRT ("Milqart show favor")
ann- <i>hann-</i>	Pu	<i>CIL</i> v 4920 Annobal ("Baal favor him!")
an- <i>han-</i>	Pu	<i>CIL</i> viii 508 Annibal ("Baal favor me!")
sab <i>sab</i>	NPu	<i>Dreder</i> 6.8 ("it encircled")
TM <i>tam</i>	Ph	60.1 ("it was deemed good")
TM <i>tam</i>	NPu	134.3 ("he was righteous")
IIIy		
hauo <i>hawo</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1141 ("may he live long!")
auo <i>awo</i> < <i>hawo</i>	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 879.3; <i>IRT</i> 894.4 ("he lived")
HZ <i>hazo</i>	Ph	24.11,12 ("he saw")
YD <i>yado</i>	Ph	30.4 ("he expelled")
'L <i>'alo</i>	Ph	<i>CIS</i> i 112 A 1, B 2, C 2 ("he sailed upstream")

Sg. 3. F.

Strong

RS' <i>'ersa</i>	Pu	Pyrgi ("she requested")
P'L <i>pe'la</i>	Byb	10.8 ("she made")
N'DR <i>nedra</i>	Pu	87.4 ("she vowed")
NDR' <i>nedra</i>	Pu	88.23 ("she vowed")
ših̄tat <i>sihtat</i>	Arch Byb	<i>EA</i> 106.10/11 ("it has been destroyed")
šM' <i>sem'a</i>	Ph	Byb 10.8 ("she heard")

With object pronoun:

P'LTN <i>pe'lat-ni</i> (?)	Byb	10.2 ("she made me")
NKST <i>neksat-o</i> (?)	Pu	CIS i 3783.6 ("she will cut him off")
IIyw		
KN' <i>kóna</i>	NPu	136.4 ("she was")
MT' <i>méta</i>	NPu	136.2 ("she died")
II gem.		
HN <i>hanna</i>	Byb	10.10 ("may she show favor")
TM' <i>tamma</i>	NPu	NP 55.2 ("she was righteous")
With object pronoun:		
QBT <i>qabbato</i>	Pu	CIS i 4945.5 ("she will curse him")
IIIy		
haua <i>hawa</i>	Pu	Poen.1141 ("may she live long!")
aua <i>awa</i> < <i>hawa</i>	NPu	AI 2 1928 no. 29 ("she lived")

Pl. 1. C.

Strong

P'LN <i>felnu</i> <	NPu	145.11 ("we made")
YSPN <i>yasapnu</i>	Ph	14.20 ("we added")
YSPN <i>yasapnu</i>	NPu	159.5 ("we added")
IIw		
KN' <i>kannu</i>	NPu	Mactar B IV 1 ("we were")
IIIy		
BNN <i>banīnu</i>	Ph	14.17 ("we built")

Pl. 2. M.

Strong

sucartim <i>s'kartim</i>	Pu	Poen. 1023 ("you remember")
IIwy		
KNTM <i>kantim</i>	NPu	163.1 ("you were")

Pl. 3. C.

Strong

felu <i>fe(')lū</i>	NPu	S 24.2; IRT 906.1 ("they made")
IIIy		
BN <i>banō</i>	Ph	19.1,9 ("they built")
BN' <i>banō</i>	Pu	101.1 ("they built")
bano <i>banō</i>	NPu	PBSR 28 53 no. 6.4 ("they built")
Ph <i>pa'alnu</i>		
IIwy		

B' <i>bó'ū</i>	NPu	137.4 ("they came")
KN <i>kónū</i>	Ph	11; 26 A I 14 ("they were"); 26 A II 1
KN <i>kónū</i>	NPu	165.4,6,8
KN' <i>kónū</i>	NPu	130.3; 137.2 ("they were")
ŠM <i>sómū</i>	Ph	14.5 ("they placed")
ŠT <i>sótū</i>	Ph	24.13 ("they placed")
II <i>'ayin</i>		
P'L <i>pe'lū</i>	Pu	80.1
PHL' <i>felū</i> < <i>pe'lū</i>	NPu	142.4
felu <i>felū</i>	NPu	IRT 889.2; IRT 906.1
felun <i>felūn</i>	NPu	IRT 865

QAL PASSIVE

Sg. 1. C.		
gunebte <i>gunebti</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1027 ("I have been robbed")

Sg. 3.M.		
LPP <i>lupep</i>	Byb	1.2 ("it will be twisted up")

NIP'AL

Sg. 1. C.		
Strong		
NGZLT <i>negzalti</i>	Ph	14.2,12 ("I was snatched away")

Sg. 3. M.		
Strong		
N'NŠ <i>ne'nos</i>	Pu	69.20 ("he will be fined")
NP'L <i>nep'ala</i>	Ph	RES 1204.1 ("it was made")
NPL' (!) <i>nef'ala</i>	NPu	Trip. 79.5 ("it was built")
III _y		
NBN' <i>nebno</i>	Pu	146.1 ("it was built")
neso <i>ne'so</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 943 ("he was made")

Sg. 3. F.		
NP'L' <i>nep'ala</i>	NPu	Trip. 78.1 (old no) ("it was made")
NTN <i>nettana</i>	Pu	69.18 ("it shall be given")

Pl. 3. C.

NP'L <i>nef'alū</i>	NPu	137.5 ("they were made")
NP'L' <i>nef'alū</i> <i>y-t-n</i>	NPu	130.1 ("they were made")
NPNTN <i>nintanū</i> <i>l-q-ḥ</i>	NPu	137.6 ("they were given")
NLQH' <i>nelqa(h)ū</i>	NPu	122.2 ("they were purchased")

PI'EL

Sg. 1. C.

Strong

ŠLMTY <i>sillemti</i> III 'aleph	NPu	NP 86.3 ("I fulfilled")
ṬNT <i>ṭinne(')ti</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 600.4 ("I erected")
mysethi <i>mišše(')ti</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 931 ("I have come")

Sg. 3. M.

'DR 'idder	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 6000.7 ("it magnified")
bycys <i>biqqis</i>	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 892.3/5 ("he sought")
HDS <i>ḥiddes</i>	Pu	62.1 ("he restored")
HYDŠ <i>iddes</i> < <i>ḥiddes</i>	NPu	138.6 ("he restored")
ṬN 'ṭinne(')	NPu	NP 62.2 ("he erected")
ṬYN 'ṭinne(')	NPu	119.2; 123.2; 127; 143.2
νεσε <i>nesse(')</i>	Ph	174,1/7 (NS' "he gave")
ŠYLK <i>sillek</i>	NPu	In name 138.2) B'LSYLK ("Baal save!")
sillec <i>sillek</i>	Pu	In name <i>CIL</i> v 4919 Balsillecis. and <i>CIL</i> viii 1249 Balsillec.
silech <i>sillek</i>	Pu	In name <i>CIL</i> viii 16 Balsilechis ()
σελημ <i>sillem</i>	Pu	In name <i>CIS</i> i 119 Εουμσελημου (ŠMNŠLM)

Sg. 3. F.

MGN <i>miggena</i>	Ph	29.1 ("she presented")
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Pl. 3. C.

HDŠ <i>ḥiddesū</i>	Pu	80.1 ("they restored")
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PU'AL

Sg. 3. F.

ṬN' ṭunna'a	NPu	134.1 ("it was erected")
Ṭ'N' ṭunna'a	NPu	133.1 ("it was erected")

YIP'IL

Sg. 1. C.

Strong		
YṬN'T yiṭne(ʔ)ti	Ph	35.2 ("I erected")
YQDŠT yiqdesti	Ph	43.9,14 ("he dedicated")
<i>y-š-b</i>		
YŠBT yūsebtī	Ph	26 A II 1 ("I caused to dwell")
<i>IIy</i>		
YŠT yisitti	Ph	43.7 ("I made to be placed")

Sg. 3. M.

Strong		
YṬN' yiṭne(ʔ)	Ph	41.1/2 ("he erected")
'YKRM ikrem	NPu	145 III 12 ("it honored")
HYKRM ikrem	NPu	Mactar B II 2/3 ("he restored")
intseb intseb	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 873.3 ("he erected")
YQDŠ yiqdes	Ph	42.4 ("he dedicated")
'YQDŠ iqdes	NPu	118.1; 121.2; 129.2; 138.6
<i>Iy</i>		
utseb ûtseb	NPu	D 5.19 ("he erected"); <i>IRT</i> 892.5; <i>IRT</i> 893.6/7
uxeb ûtseb	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 893.6/7 ("he erected")
<i>IIwy</i>		
'YB' ibī(ʔ)	NPu	Trip. 32 ("he brought")
YPIQ- ipīq-	NPu	153.3 ("he found; he acquired")
<i>IIIy</i>		
H'L i'lo	NPu	Mactar B II 2/3 ("he raised").
<i>II gem.</i>		
YGN iḡin	NPu	124.2 ("he roofed")
HTM itim	NPu	124.4 ("he completed it")

Sg. 3. F.

YṬN' yiṭne'a	Ph	40.3 ("she erected")
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Pl. 1. C.

y-š-b

YŠBN *yūsebnu* Ph 14.16,17 (“we caused to dwell”)

Pl. 3. C.

IIwy
YB' *yibī'ū* Pu 81.4 (“they brought”)

YITPE'EL

Pl. 3. C.

y-k-d
YTKDW *ittekkedū* NPu 119.4 (“they mutually resolved”)

Comments

The morphology of the Phoenician-Punic verb is essentially the same as the Hebrew. The differences are as follows. Final *yod* verbs in the Qal have the forms *bano* (“he built”), *bana* (“she built”) and *banô* (“they built”): the feminine singular is formed in paradigmatic analogy to the strong verb Sg. 3.F. *qetla*; the masculine plural is a development from original *banaw*, like Syriac *bnaw* (Biblical Aramaic *bnô*), although the evidence is not particularly good.

Verbs II 'aleph and II 'ayin in Punic and Neo-Punic had the monosyllabic forms *CaC* and *CeC* in the Qal stem: e.g., D 6 **sal** (**Š'L** “he asked”) and IRT 873.2 **fel** (**P'L** “he made”); IRT 826.1/2 **fela** (“she made”); S 24.2 **felu** (“they made”). The masculine singular forms are “back-formations” from the feminine singular and plural forms *fe'la* and *fe'lū*: when the laryngeals and pharyngeals were lost, came to be pronounced *fela* and *felū* respectively, giving rise by analogy to the masculine singular *fel*, which replaced original *fa'ol*. These new monosyllabic roots underlie new nominal forms like Neo-Punic 178.1 **feliōth** *feliōt* (“work”), created in analogy to nouns such as *Poen.* 947 **helicot** *helikôt* (“hospitality”).

Verbs IIIgem. in the Qal are all based on the form *CaC(C)*, never on the form *CaCaC*. Thus one finds D 6 **sab** *sab* < *sabb* (**SB** “he encircled”), not *sabab*.

The verb “to give” in the Qal Suffixing Form is *y-t-n*. However, in the Prefixing Form and in the derived stems, the root is *n-t-n*, as can be seen from the Qal Prefixing Form 50.3/4 (Daphnae) **TNTN** *tintenī* (“you gave”) and in the Neo-Punic Niph'al Suffixing Form 137.6 **NNTN** *nintenū* (“they were given”).

Verbs Iy exhibit loss of the initial *y* in the Hitpe'el: NPu 119.4 **YTKDW** *ittekkedū* (“they mutually resolved”). An analogous development

is seen with the root *h-l-k/y-l-k* in the Prefixing Form of the Hitpe'el: 24.10 *YTLKN* *yittellekūn* (“they used to go about”).

B. *Syntax and Usage*

1. *Past Perfective: Phoenician*

1a. Non Clause-Initial

In formal literary prose, past perfective action was expressed by three forms: (i) Infinitive Absolute, (ii) Prefixing Verb B and (iii) Suffixing Verb. For purposes here of convenient reference, one may call these expressions of the Past Perfective Past Perfective I, Past Perfective II and Past Perfective III respectively.

In Phoenician, Past Perfective III (Suffixing Form) occurs in complementation to Past Perfective I and II: Past Perfective I and II are syntactically restricted to sentence-initial position in the simple declarative sentence, Past Perfective III to non sentence-initial position. Past Perfective III can however be the past perfective tense of choice, as for example in the Esmunazor Inscription (*KAI* 14) and the Yatonbal bin Gerastart Inscription (*KAI* 43), to the exclusion of Past Perfective I and II; but it must always be used non sentence-initial.

In a simple declarative sentence, when the Suffixing Form is used to express past perfective action, it is syntactically restricted in the following two ways: (i) it must be the main verb of the sentence; and (ii) it may never occupy sentence-initial position, the sentence-initial form expressing past perfective action being always Past Perfective I or Past Perfective II.

A Suffixing Form that is not the main verb in the simple declarative sentence is the “consecutive” subform, which takes its tense and aspect reference from the main verb. See Consecutive. A Suffixing Form that occurs in sentence-initial position in a simple sentence cannot be Past Perfective III although the situation in Cypriote Phoenician is ambiguous. Past Perfective III does however occupy initial position in the main clause of a complex sentence. See Complex Sentence.

The following examples illustrate non sentence-initial Past Perfective III as the main verb of a simple declarative sentence in literary Phoenician and Punic prose.

1a-1. Subject (Noun or Pronoun) Precedes

24.6 *WKL ŠLH YD*, “Each extended his arm.”

24.13 *’NK TMKT MŠKBM LYD*, “I took the *mškbm* by the hand.”

24.13 *WHMT ŠT NBŠ*, “And they disposed their feelings.”

Pu *Poen.* 943 *Hu neso bin us esse*, “He was made the son of this man.”

26 A I 15/16 *BL ’Š ’BD KN LBT MPŠ*, “None was a vassal of the House of Mopsos.”

26 A II 10/11 *B’L WRŠP . . . ŠLHN LBNT*, “Baal and Rasep commissioned me to build it”.

1a-2. Direct Object Precedes

31.1 *’Z YTN LB’L LBNN ’DNY*, “He gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord.”

18.3 *’YT HŠ’R Z WHDLHT ’Š L P’LT BTKLTY BNTY*, “I built this gate and its doors at my own expense.”

26 A I 21-II 1 *WDNNYM YŠBT ŠM*, “And I settled Danunians there.”

43.12/13 *HDLT HNḤŠT [Z K]TBT WSMRT BQR*, “So, too, did I inscribe that bronze plaque and nail it to the wall.”

1a-3. Relative Pronoun Precedes

24.4/5 *M ’Š P’LT BL P’L HLPNY{H}M*, “My predecessors did not accomplish what I accomplished.”

26 A I 14/15 *BMQMM B’Š KN ’ŠM R’M*, “In places in which there were bad men.”

26 A I 19 *HMLKM ’Š KN LPNY*, “The kings who were before me.”

1a-4. Prepositional Phrase Precedes

43.7 *’BHŸ ’BY YŠT BMQDŠ MLQRT ’YT MŠ PN ’BY BNḤŠT*, “When my father was still alive, I had the bronze bust of my father placed in the sanctuary of Milqart.”

24.10 *LMY KT ’B LMY KT ’M*, “To him who <had no father> I was a father, to him who <had no mother> I was a mother.”

24.12/13 *BYMY KSY BŠ*, “In my days, they dressed him in byssus.”

26 A I 12/13 *B’BT P’LN KL MLK BŠDQY WBḤKMTY WB-N’M LBY*, “Every king adopted me as father because of my honesty, my cleverness and the excellence of my mind.”

26 A II 15/16 *BYMTY KN . . . ŠB' WMN'M*, “In my days there was abundance and prosperity.”

1a-5. Adverb or Conjunction Precedes

14.18/19 *W'D YTN LN 'DN MLKM 'YT D'R WYPY*, “Moreover, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa.”

60.3 *K BN 'YT HŠR BT 'LM*, “Because he built the temple court.”

1a-6. Presentative Particle Precedes

CIS I 4.3/5 K BN BD'ŠTRT MLK ŠDNM 'YT ŠRN 'R[. . .]L[']LY L'ŠTRT, “Bodastart, King of the Sidonians, built [this] šrn for his goddess Astarte.”

1a-7. Negative Particle Precedes

14.5 *'Y ŠM BN MNM*, “They put nothing in it.”

26 A II 19 *BL 'N KL HMLKM 'Š KN LPNY* “<I conquered mighty lands that> all the kings before me did not conquer.”

1a-8. Particle *L'MR* Precedes

14.2/3 *DBR MLK 'ŠMN'ZR MLK ŠDNM L'MR NGZLT BL 'TY*, “<This is the final> statement of King Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians, ‘I was snatched away not at my time!’”

1b. Clause-Initial Past Perfective III (Suffixing Form)

Past Perfective III is obligatory in certain types of main clauses of a complex sentence (sentence with subordinate clause and main clause). In such clauses, it is syntactically restricted to clause-initial position:

1b-1. In the Main Clause of a Temporal Sentence

In this usage, the clauses are marked off by the conjunction *w-*, which introduces the main result clause.

Byb 10.7/8 *KM 'Š QR'T 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL*, “When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice.”

Kition, lines 1/3 *BMS'NM 'BN W'ZRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT . . . WYS' 'LNM MHJNT 'Š KTY L'GD LM MLHMT BMQM Z*, “When our enemies and their Paphian allies came to wage war with us, the army of the people of Kition went forth against them to wage war with them in this place.”

CID 7AB-8AB *WKM 'Š YGL 'YT MSN'ZMŠ BYMT 'ZWŠŠ W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> LMSN'ZMŠ KL HŠDYT 'L*, “When they

exiled MSNZMS in the time of 'ZWSS, the king of WRYKLY turned over all these fields to MSN'ZMS."

In this same sentence-type in Classical Hebrew, the Suffixing Form may not be introduced by the conjunction *w-*.

1b-2. In the Main (Result) Clause of a Sentence with Anticipatory Clause

In this usage, the clauses are not marked off by the conjunction *w-*.

24.11 **WMY BL HZ PN Š ŠTY B'L 'DR**, "As for him who had never owned a sheep from the time of his youth, I made him the owner of a herd."

24.11/2 **WMY BL HZ PN 'LP ŠTY B'L BQR**, "And as for him who had never owned an ox, I made him the owner of cattle."

2. Cypriote and Punic Usage

It is not at all certain that in Phoenician the Suffixing Form with past perfective reference was ever used in sentence-initial position. Putative examples of this usage are extremely few and always ambiguous, readily susceptible to interpretation as "consecutive" sub-forms of the Suffixing Verb. One possible instance is perhaps found in Cypriote Phoenician: *FK B 46.2* (4th cent.) **P'L Z Y[. . .]**, ("Y[. . .] made this."). However, the verb **P'L** could just as well be understood as an Infinitive Absolute (Past Perfective I). Ambiguous are the following three examples of the Suffixing Form in the first singular, the first two with independent personal pronoun, in Cypriote Phoenician:

43.13/14 **WP'LT 'NK 'LT [HMQDŠ] . . . 'PDT BK[S]P MŠQL KR 100 W 2**, "And I made a ephod of silver for [the sanctuary], its weight 102 kor."

Kition line 4 **WYTN'T 'NK WKL 'M KTY 'YT HTRPY 'Z**, "And I and the entire nation of Kition erected this trophy."

CIS I 91.2 **NŠHT 'T 'BY HYŠ'M**, "?I defeated my enemies who came forth <to battle against me>."

The first two examples may be the consecutive form of the Suffixing Form, each occurring in a string of statements couched in the first person Past Perfective; the third example may be of the clause-initial cohortative use of the Prefixing Form. More examples are required to determine if Cypriote Phoenician of the second half of the first millennium B.C. permitted, in marked contrast to general

Phoenician usage, the Suffixing Form in sentence (clause)-initial position with past perfective meaning.

Punic and Neo-Punic, although essentially the same as Phoenician, did allow Past Perfective III in sentence-initial position. The vocalized forms in Neo-Punic in Latin letters indicate the sentence-initial verb is the Suffixing Form, not the Infinitive Absolute (Past Perfective I).

Pu 80.1 **ḤDŠ WP'L 'YT HMTBḤ Z** "They rebuilt this slaughtering altar."

Pu 115.1/2 **ŠLM BD'ŠTRT BN BD'ŠMN 'YT NDRM**, "Bostar son of Bodesmun fulfilled his vow."

Pu *RCL* 1961 p. 201 line 1 **PTH WP'L 'YT HḤṢ Z** "They opened and made this street."

NPu 130.1 **NP'L' ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L' BŠT HŠPTM 'BDMLQRT ṬBḤPY WRŠ**, "These six seats were made in the year of the suffetes Abdmilqart Tapapius and Aris."

NPu 140.1 **BN' B[T] Z [Q]W'R[Ṭ]H BT NPTHN**, "Quarta daughter of Nyptane built this tomb."

NPu 141.1 **ṬN' T-'BN Z WTH 'Š 'L 'RŠT TŠK'T**, "WTH, Governor of the province of Tusca, erected this milestone."

NPu *AI* 1 p. 233 lines 1/2 **Fel th-ybur Licini Piso**, "Licinius Piso built this tomb."

NPu D 5.19/20 **Utseb sy lo Machrus byn Rogate**, "Machrus son of Rogatus erected this to him."

NPu D 6 **Sab siben Mycne**, "Our militia surrounded Mycne."

3. Pluperfect (*kon pa'ol*)

The Pluperfect is expressed by the Suffixing Form of the verb *k-w-n* + the Suffixing Form of the principal verb, e.g., *hū kon pa'ol* ("he had made"), in the manner of Classical Arabic *kāna fa'ala*. A single example occurs, in Phoenician:

40.3/5 **HSMLM H'L 'Š ṬṬN' BTŠLM . . . 'L BN BNY . . . ŠLŠT BN MRYHY . . . HNDR 'Š KN NDR 'BNM MRYHY BḤYY L'DN-NM LRŠP MKL**, "These statues are what Bitsalom erected for her grandsons, the three sons of <her son> MRYHY. <This is> the vow that their father MRYHY had made to their Lord Rasap-Mekalle when he (MRYHY) was alive."

4. *Present Perfective*

Present Perfective expresses a singular action confined within the present moment in time (“here and now, this once”) or a simple generalization in present time. With verbs of cognition, such as “to know, to remember,” the Present Perfective conveys a simple statement of fact in present time. In Latin translations of Punic, this use of the suffixing form is captured by the Latin Present Indicative.

The Suffixing Form with Present Perfective meaning is not restricted syntactically within the sentence but may freely occupy sentence-initial or non-sentence-initial position.

50.2/3 **BRKTK LB'L ŠPN**, “I bless (greet) you in the name of Baalsaphon.”

Pu *Poen.* 940 **Et alonim ualonut caruti (QR'T) is timlacun alt imacum esse** = NPu *Poen.* 930/31 **Yth alonim ualonuth carothi is ymacom syth thymlachun**, “I invoke you gods and goddesses who rule over this city.” *Obs.* This verse illustrates the contrast in aspect between the Present Perfective **carothi** and the Present Imperfective, expressed by Prefixing Form A **thymlachun**, a plural action not confined within a specific moment in time.

Pu *Poen.* 947 **Itt esde anec nasote (NŠ'T) hers ahelicot**, “I bring to him <this> shard of hospitality.” = NPu *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth isith**, “I bring to him this shard of hospitality on my behalf.” *Obs.* The Latin translation of the Neo-Punic is: *Poen.* 958 **ad eum hospitem hanc tesseram mecum fero**.

Pu *Poen.* 1023 **Mu Ponnim sucartim (SKRTM) ?**, “Do you remember any Punic?” *Obs.* The Punic corresponds to *Poen.* 985 **Ecquid commeministi Punice?**

Pu *Poen.* 1023 **Iadata (YD'T)?**, “Do you know <it>?” *Obs.* The Punic corresponds to *Poen.* 991 **an scis?**

5. *Cohortative, Optative*

This use of the Suffixing Verb is restricted to sentence-initial position in formal literary prose. This syntactic restriction is respected in all periods of the language. Non sentence-initial optative/jussive must be expressed by Prefixing Verb B.

26 A III 2/3 **BRK B'L . . . 'YT 'ZTWD**, “Baal bless Aztwadda!”

26 A III 7 **WKN HQRT Z B'LT ŠB' . . . W'M Z 'Š YŠB BN YKN B'L 'LPM**, “May this city be(come) the possessor of plenty

. . . and may this people who dwell in it become possessors of cattle!" *Obs.* Note the sequence **KN** . . . **YKN**, in which the first verb is clause-initial Suffixing Verb optative and the second non clause-initial Prefixing Verb B optative.

CIS i 91.2 (Kition) NŠHT 'T 'BY HYS'M, "Would that I might defeat my enemies who have come forth." *Obs.* On the use of the sentence-initial Suffixing Verb as cohortative (a wish in the first person), cf. Hebrew Genesis 47:30 **WŠKBTY 'M-'BTY**, "I would lie with my ancestors <in the land of Canaan>."

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Auo donnim**, "May the gentlemen live long!"

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Hauo done silli**, "May my lord/father live long!"

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Haua amma silli**, "May my mother live long!"

Pu *Poen.* 1141 **Hauo bane** (var. **bene**) **silli** "May my son live long!"

6. Future

The Suffixing Form has future tense reference in the main clause of a complex sentence. The complex sentence may be one of three types: (i) a sentence with anticipatory clause or (ii) a temporal sentence or (iii) a conditional sentence. Common to these sentence types is the syntactic restriction of the Suffixing Form to initial position in the main (resumptive, result) clause.

6a. In Result Clause of a Sentence with Anticipatory Clause

The verb is often preceded by the conjunction *w-*, which functions solely to mark off the main clause from the preceding, anticipatory clause; this use of the conjunction *w-* is non-obligatory.

26 A III 12-19 **'M MLK BMLKM . . . 'Š YMḤ ŠM 'ZTWD BŠR Ž . . . WMḤ B'LSMM . . . 'YT HMLK H'**, "As for any king who shall erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate, Baalsamem shall erase that king!"

Pu 69.18 **KL MŠ'T 'Š 'YBL ŠT BPS Ž WNTN LPY HKTBT 'Š** [. . .], "As for any payment that is not listed in this inscription, it shall be given/paid in accordance with <what is listed in> the book that <is held by the officials in charge of payments>."

Pu 69.4 **BŠW'T QSRT WYŠLT WKN H'RT WHŠLBM WH-P'MM W'ḤRY HŠ'R LB'L HZBH**, "Of the *šw't* and the *qsrt* and the *yšlt* <of a slaughtered animal>, the skin and the flanks and the feet and the rest of the meat shall belong to the sacrificer."

Pu 69.20 **KL KHN Š YQH MŠ'T BDŠ L Š ŠT BPS Ž WN'N[Š]**, "As for any priest who shall take a payment in excess of that listed in this inscription, he shall be fined."

Pu 79.6/11 **WKL Š LSR T-'BN Ž . . . WŠPT TNT-PNB'L BRH 'DM H'**, "As for anyone who shall remove this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall adjudge the intent of that person."

Pu CIS i 4945.4/6 **W Š YRGZ T-MTNT Ž WQBT TNT-PNB'L**, "As for anyone who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him!"

Pu CIS i 3783.5/7 **WKL 'DM Š GNB T-MTNT Ž NKST TNT-PNB'L**, "As for any person who shall steal this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall cut him off!"

Pu CIS i 5510.2/3 **WKL 'DM Š LKP 'YT 'MTNT Ž WL'KR WLŠBTY 'ML YD**, "As for any person who shall knock down this stele or disturb or remove it, his hand shall wither."

Pu CIS i 5510.4 **WKL 'DM Š 'YBL MŠRT WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L W'DN B['L]HMN 'YT 'DMM HMT**, "As for any person who will not render service, Our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and the Lord Baalhammon shall bind those persons."

Obs. In these same kinds of sentences, future tense in the main clause may also be expressed by means of Suffixing Verb A:

24.15 **WMY YŠHT HSPR Ž YŠHT R Š B'L ŠMD**, "As for him who shall erase this inscription, Baal of the Club shall smash his head!"

Pu CIS i 3784.1/3 **KL Š LGNB T-'BN Ž B'LHMN YQŠT'**, "As for anyone who shall steal this stone, Baalhammon shall cut him off."

6b. In the Result Clause of a Conditional or Temporal Sentence

This syntactic structure is closely related to the preceding in both the suffixing verb restricted to clause-initial position in the main clause of a sentence with preceding clause.

Byb 1.2 **WH' YMH SPRH LPP ŠBL**, "But if he shall erase its [the coffin's] inscription, his long royal robe shall be twisted up."

50.5/6 **'D Š 'D' BM' [. . .] T WŠLHT LY 'T SPR HNQT**, "When I pay you back, you shall send me the quittance."

Pu CIS i 5510.7 **[M]ŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WŠLM**, "<If> he who serves shall be zealous, wealth and prosperity shall be his!"

7. *The Consecutive Subform*

When consecutive to the main verb of a sentence or clause, the Suffixing Form, by itself unmarked for mood, aspect and tense, assumes the mood, aspect and tense of the main verb. The consecutive form is always syntactically restricted to follow the main verb of the sentence and clause.

7a. Past Perfective + Suffixing Form (=Past Perfective)

14.18/19 *W'D YTN* (*yaton*) LN *'YT D'R WYPY . . . WYSPNNM* (*yasapnunom*) *'LT GBL 'RŞ*, "Moreover, he gave to us Dor and Joppa, and we annexed them to the territory of the state."

24.6/7 *KN BT 'BY BMTKT MLKM 'DRM WKL ŠLH* (*saloh*) *YD LL[H]M WKT* (*katti*) *BYD MLKM <HMT> KM 'Š*, "My state was in the midst of those of more powerful kings, each <of whom> extended his hand to fight <me>, but in the hands of <those> kings I was like fire."

26 A I 21-II 2 *WDNNYM YŠBT* (*yūsebtū*) *ŠM WKN* (*konū*) *BYM-TY BKL GBL 'MQ 'DN*, "And I settled Danunians there, and so they [the Danunians] lived throughout the territory of Amq Adana in my time."

26 C I 11/17 *WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS . . . WŠBRT MLŠM . . . WTRQT KL R' 'Š KN B'RŞ WYṬN'T BT 'DNY BN'M*, "I acquired horse upon horse and smashed dissenters and I rooted out all the evil that was in the land and equipped my royal house with what is good."

43.9 *BHY 'BY YTT* (*yatatti*) *WYQDŠT* (*yiqdesti*) *HYT ŠGYT BGBL ŠD NRNK L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT*, "When my father was still alive, I gave and dedicated many *shrines* throughout the territory of the Land of Narnaka to my Lord Milqart."

43.13/15 *WP'LT* (*pa'alti*) *'NK . . . 'PDT BK[S]P . . . WYQDŠT* (*yiqdesti*) *L'DN ['Š LY LMLQRT*, "And I made an ephod of silver and dedicated it to my Lord Milqart."

60.3/4 *K BN* (*bano*) *'YT HŞR BT 'LM WP'L* (*pa'ol*) *'YT KL 'Š 'LTY*, "Because he built the temple court and did everything with which he was charged."

Pu CIS i 5510.9/11 *WYLK* (*yelekū*) *RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLKT BN ḤN' HRB 'LŠ WTMK* (*tamkū*) *HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT* (*sotū*) *HMT ŠLM*, "Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn, and they

seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace.”

7b. Future + Suffixing Form (=Future)

26 A III 13/14 **YMH** (*yimḥe*) **ŠM ’ZTWD BŠ’R Z WŠT** (*sot*) **ŠM**, “He shall erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate and place his own name <on it>.”

26 A III 16 **YP’L** (*yip’al*) **L Š’R ZR WŠT** (*sot*) **ŠM ’LY**, “He shall make another gate for it and place his own name upon it.”

26 C III 14/16 **Y’MR** (*yūmar*) **LMḤT ŠM ’ZTWD BSML ’LM Z WŠT** (*sot*) **ŠM**, “He shall think to erase the name of Aztwadda from this statue and shall place his own name <upon it>.”

26 C III 17/18 **P’L** (*’ep’al*) **SML ZR WŠT** (*satti*) **ŠMY ’LY**, “I shall make another statue and shall place (*satti*) my own name upon it.”

60.4/5 **’YT R’T Z LKTB** (*liktōb*: future periphrastic) **H’DMM** . . . **’LT MŠBT ḤRŠ WYṬN’Y** (*yitni’ūya*) **B’RPT BT ’LM**, “The men shall inscribe this resolution upon a stele of gold and shall erect it and shall erect it in the portico of the temple.”

Pu 69.7/8 **WBŠW’T YK[N** (*yakūnū*) **LM ’LT PN HMŠ’T Z QSRT] WYŠLT WKN** (*konū*) **H’RT WHŠLBM WHP’MM W’HRY HŠ’R LB’L HZBH**, “Of the dismembered parts <of the sacrificial animal>, the *qsrt* and the *yslt* shall belong to them (the priests) in addition to this payment, but the skin/hide and the *šlbm* and the legs and the rest of the meat shall belong to the sacrificer.”

7c. Jussive/Optative + Suffixing Form (=Jussive/Optative)

Byb 10.9/11 **WTTN** (*titten*) [**LY HRBT B]’LT GBL HN** . . . **WHN** (*ḥanna*) **’M ’RŠ Z**, “May the Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor, and may she show favor to the people of this land!”

CHAPTER TEN

THE VERB: THE PREFIXING FORMS

Introduction

The Prefixing Form of the verb comprises three distinct subforms: (i) Prefixing Form A, the reflex of West Semitic *yaqtulu*, (ii) Prefixing Form B, the reflex of West Semitic *yaqtul* and (iii) Prefixing Form C, the reflex of West Semitic *yaqtula*. In Phoenician, as in Classical Arabic and Old Aramaic, the three prefixing forms were mutually distinct in morphology: Form A in the Pl. 2. M. and Pl. 3. M. exhibited the inflection *-ūn* (-*Ṣ*); in contrast, Forms B and C ended in *-ū* (-*Ø*; Pu -*ḥ*). This difference in inflection was consistently and scrupulously maintained, in marked contrast to Ugaritic and Hebrew, in which the forms were often used in free variation. Form C differed from Forms A and B in the Sg. 1. C. and Sg. 3. M. exhibiting word-final *-a*, but this inflectional ending appears in the writing of the form only in the Punic and Neo-Punic Latin-letter orthography.

I. PREFIXING FORM A

A. Morphology

Forms

<i>BT bit</i>	Ph	14.15; 29.1; 50.1
QAL		
Sg. 1. C.		
Strong		
<i>'P'L 'ep'al</i>	Ph	26 C III 17 ("I shall make")
<i>'Š'L 'es'al</i>	Ph	48.2/3 ("I ask")
IIIy		
<i>"L 'edle</i>	Ph	13.4 ("I possess")
<i>este 'este</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1141 ("I shall drink")
y-t-n		
<i>'T(N)- 'etten</i>	Pu	89.2 ("I give")

Sg. 2. M.

Strong

TP[ʿL] *tipʿal* Ph Byb 9 B 3 (“you shall make”)**TPTḤ** *tiptah* Ph 13.7 (“you shall open”)

IIw

TPQ *tipūq* Ph 13.3 (“you shall acquire”)**TŠT** *tisīt* Ph Byb 10.13 (“you shall place”)

Sg. 3. M.

Strong

YMR *yūmer* Ph 26 C III 14/15 (“he shall contemplate”)**YZBH** *yizbah* Pu 69.15 (“he shall sacrifice”)**YHMD** *yaḥmod* Ph 26 A III 14 (“he loves”)**YMS** *yaʿmos* Ph 14.7 (“he shall carry off”)**YPʿL** *yipʿal* Ph 26 A III 16 (“he shall make”)**YPTḤ** *yiptah* Ph 14.7 (“he shall open”)**YŠTʿ** *yistaʿ* Ph 26 A II 4 (“he used to fear”)

In

YŠʾ *yissa(?)* Ph 14.7 (“he shall take away”)**YSʿ** *yissaʿ* Ph 26 A III 15,17 (“he shall pull out”)IIw_y**YKN** *yakūn* Ph 26 A IV 2 9 (“it shall be”)III_y**YMḤ** *yimḥe* Ph Byb 1.2; 26 A III 13 (“he shall erase”)

Sg. 3. F.

*h-l-k***TLK** *telek* Ph 26 A II 5 (“she walks”)

Pl. 1. C.

III_y**neste** *neste* Pu *Poen.* 1142 (“we shall drink”)

Pl. 2. M.

Strong

timlacun Pu *Poen.* 940P (“you rule”)*timlakūn***thymlachun** NPu *Poen.* 931 (“you rule”)*timlakūn*

Pl. 3. M.

Strong

YDBRN *yidborūn* Ph 14.6 (“they shall say”)**YSGRN** *yisgorūn* Ph 14.9, 21 (“they shall lock up”)

In

YŠ’N *yissa’ūn* Ph 60.6 (“they shall withdraw”)

PI’EL

Sg. 2. M.

IIIy

TGL *tegelle* Ph Byb 10.14 (“you shall disclose”)

Sg. 3. M.

IIIy

YQS- *yeqešše* Pu CIS i 3784.3 (“he shall cut off”)

Pl. 3. C.

IIIy

YQSN *yeqeššūn* Ph 14.22 (“they shall cut off”)

YIP’IL

Sg. 2. M.

Iw

TSR *tisūr* Ph Byb 10.13/14 (“you shall remove”)

Sg. 3. M.

Strong

YŠHT *yishit* Ph 24.15,16 9 (“he will destroy”)

Iy

YSP *yûsip* Ph Byb 10.10 (“he will continue”)

In

YZQ *yizziq* Ph 24.14 9 (“he shall damage”)

Sg. 3. F.

TSRH *tisriḥ* Ph Byb 10.15 (“she shall make stink”)

YITPE’EL

Pl. 3. M.

*h-l-k***YTLKN** *yittellikūn* Ph 24.10 (“they used to go about”)

YIPTA'AL

Sg. 3.M.

YHTSP *yih̄tasap* Ph

Byb 1.2 (“it will break”)

YHTPK *yih̄tapak* Ph

Byb 1.2 (“it will overturn”)

Comments

The morphology of the verb is generally consistent with that of Classical Hebrew. The salient differences are as follows: (i) the second and third masculine plural regularly display the plural morpheme *-ūn*, as earlier observed; (ii) the prefixed morphemes of all Stems were *'i-* *ti* and *yi-*, with an *i*-vowel, as indicated by the Prefixing Form B Latin-letter spellings *Poen.* 933 **l-iphoc** (*l-ipoq*) and *Poen.* 949 **l-itor** (*l-itor*) of the first singular Qal forms of Verbs IIw (contrast Hebrew *yaqom*, with *a*-vowel) and the first person singular Yip'il Prefixing Form C *Poen.* 939 **l-ythera** (*l-itira*); (iii) the thematic *I*-vowel of the Yip'il is short in both the Prefixing and Suffixing Form, as is clear from Prefixing Form C *Poen.* 1027A **ierasan** (*yer^asa-n*), with pretonic reduced and *a*-colored thematic vowel; (iv) the verb *h-l-k* in the Yitpe'el had the form *yittellek*, with assimilation of the initial root-letter to the inflectional prefix; this same phenomenon is seen in Phoenician in the case of Verbs Iy, as indicated by the Yitpe'el Suffixing Form 119.4 **'YTKD'** *ittekkedū* (“they mutually resolved,” root *y-k-d*).

B. *Syntax and Usage*1. *Expressing the Present Imperfective*

13.4/5 **'Y 'DLN KSP 'Y 'DLN HRS**, “I do not possess silver, I do not possess gold.”

26 A II 5/6 **'ŠT T<L>K LH̄DY DL PLKM**, “<In places that were dangerous in the past, where one was afraid to walk the road, in my time> a woman walks alone without bodyguards.”

26 A III 14/5 **'M 'P YH̄MD 'YT HQRT Z**, “Even if he loves this city.”

48.2/3 **L' LNM 'Š'L [TB]RK 'YT 'RB'T BNY**, “I ask of you gods: Bless ye my four sons!”

Pu 89.2 **'TK 'NKY MSLH̄ 'YT 'M'ŠTRT**, “I, Meslih, commend (*lit.*, give) to you Amastarte.” *Obs.* **'TK** (= **'TNK**) corresponds to **commendo tibi** in related texts in Latin.

Pu *Poen.* 940P **Et alonim ualonut caruti is timlacun (TM-**

LKM) **alt imacum esse**, “I call you gods and goddesses who rule over this city.” = NPu *Poen.* 940A **Yth alonim ualonuth carothi is thymlachun th-ymacum syth** = *Poen.* 930 **Deos deasque ueneror (=carothi) qui hanc urbem colunt (=thymlachun)**. Observe the aspectual contrast in this statement between the present perfective **caruti** and the present imperfective **timlacun.**)

2. Expressing the Past Imperfective

24.9/10 **LPN HMLKM HLPNYM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM**, “In the presence of earlier kings, the *mškbm* used to go about like dogs.” *Obs.* The non-literal translation of this statement is: “The *mškbm* (members of the lower class) were treated like dogs by the kings who preceded me.”

26 A II 3/6 **BMQMM Š KN LPNM NŠT‘M Š YŠT‘ DM LLKT DRK WBYMTY ‘NK ŠT T<L>K LHĐY DL PLKM**, “In places that were dangerous in the past, where one used to be afraid to walk the road, in my time a woman walks alone, without bodyguards.”

3. Expressing the Future

3a. In an Independent Clause (Sentence)

14.21/22 **‘L YŠ ‘YT HLT MŠKBY LM YSGRNM ‘LNM HQD-ŠM ‘L**, “Let them not carry off the coffin in which I lie; if they do, these holy gods shall imprison them.”

14.22 **WYQŠN HMMLKT H’**, “And they (the holy gods) shall cut off that king.”

24,13/14 **MY BBNY Š YŠB THTN**, “Whichever of my sons shall sit on the throne in my stead.”

26 A III 12/13 **‘DM . . . Š YMH ŠM ŽTWD BŠ‘R Ž . . . WYS‘ HŠ‘R Ž . . . WYP‘L L Š‘R Ž**, “A person who shall erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate and shall tear out this gate and shall make for it another gate.”

26 A III 17/18 **‘M BHMĐT YS‘ ‘M BR‘ YS‘ HŠ‘R Ž**, “Whether he shall tear it out of love or shall tear out this gate out of malice.”

26 C III 17/18 **‘P‘L SML ŽR**, “I shall make another statue.”

60.6 **YŠ‘N BKSP ‘LM B‘L ŠDN DRKMNM 20**, “They shall withdraw twenty drachmas from the silver of the god Baal of Sidon!”

Pu *Poen.* 1142 **Neste ien. Neste dum et. Al. Anec este mem!**, (*Statement*) “We shall drink wine. We shall drink the blood of the vine.” (*Answer*) “No! I shall drink water!”

3b. In the Protasis (*if*-clause) of a Conditional Sentence

13.6/7 *W'M PTH TPTH 'LTY . . . 'L YKN LK ZR'*, "But if you shall open it, you shall not have offspring."

14.6 *'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK 'L TŠM' BD
NM*, "Even if people shall urge you <to violate my coffin>, do not listen to their words!"

3c. In the Future Result Clause (apodosis) of a Conditional Sentence

In this use, the apodosis is not marked off from the protasis by means of the conjunction *w-* before the prefixing verb.

Byb 10.13/15 *W'M TSR M[L]'KT 'Z' WTSG 'T PTHY Z DL YSDH 'LT MQM Z WTGL MSTRW TSRH HRBT B'LT GBL 'YT H'DM H' WZR'W*, "If you remove that work or move this inscription of mine and its base from this spot or disclose its hiding place, the Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make stink that person and his offspring."

3d. In the Main Clause of a Sentence with Anticipatory Clause

This sentence type is similar to the conditional sentence described in C above; accordingly, the main resumptive clause is not marked off from the anticipatory clause by means of the conjunction *w-* before the suffixing verb.

24.15/16 *WMY YŠHT HSPR Z YŠHT R'Š B'L ŠMD . . . YŠHT R'Š B'LHMN*, "As for him who shall destroy this inscription, Baal-Semed shall strike his head, and Baalhammon shall strike his head."

Pu *CIS* i 3784.1/3 *KL 'Š LGNB T-'BN Z B'LHMN YQŠT'*, "As for anyone who shall steal this tone, Baalhammon shall cut him off."

II. PREFIXING FORM B

A. Morphology

Forms

QAL

Sg. 1. C.

IIw

'PQ-N ipoq-na

Pu

50.3 ("I received")

l-iphoc (L-'PQ) l-ipoq

NPu

Poen. 933 ("I would acquire")

l-itor (<i>L-’TR</i>) <i>l-itor</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 949 (“let me inquire”)
Sg. 2. M.		
Strong		
TPTH <i>tiptah</i>	Ph	13.3/4,5.6 (“you open”)
TŠM’ <i>tisma’</i>	Ph	14.6 (“you hear”)
In		
TŠ’ <i>tissa(’)</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 6001.1/2 (“you carry off”)
Sg. 2. F.		
Strong		
TBRKY <i>tibroki</i>	Ph	29.2 (“you bless!”)
<i>y-t-n</i>		
TNTN <i>tintenī</i>	Ph	50.3/4 (“you gave”)
Sg. 3. M.		
Strong		
YBRK- <i>yibrok</i>	Ph	38.2, 39.3, 40.5 (“may he bless!”)
YPTH <i>yiptah</i>	Ph	14.20 (“that he open”)
IIw		
YKN <i>yakūn</i>	Ph	14.8,13 (“it be”)
IIIy		
Y’L <i>ya’l(e)</i>	Ph	30.2 (“he came up”)
Sg. 3. F.		
Strong		
TBRK <i>tibrok</i>	Ph	Byb 10.8 (“may she bless!”)
<i>y-t-n</i>		
TTN <i>titten</i>	Ph	Byb 10.9 (“may she give”)
Pl. 2. M.		
Strong		
TBRK <i>tibroki</i>	Ph	48.3 (“may you bless!”)
<i>y-t-n</i>		
TTN <i>tittenū</i>	Ph	48.4 (“may you give!”)
Pl. 3. M.		
Strong		
Y’DR <i>ye’darū</i>	Ph	26 A III 10 (“may they be strong!”)
Y’BD <i>ya’bodū</i>	Ph	26 A III 10 (“may they serve”)

YP'L- <i>yip'alū</i> <i>ly</i> and <i>h-l-k</i>	Ph	50.3 (“may they make”)
YD' <i>yeda'ū</i>	Ph	60.7 (“they know”)
YLD <i>yeledū</i>	Ph	26 A III 9 (“may they bear”)
YLK <i>yelekū</i> <i>Iiw</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.9 (“they proceeded”)
YB' <i>yabō'ū</i>	Ph	30.1 (“they came”)

NIP'AL

Pl. 3. M.

Strong

YQBR <i>yiqqaberū</i>	Ph	14.8 (“that they be buried”)
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PI'EL

Sg. 2. M.

TRGZ <i>tereggez</i>	Ph	13.14 (“you disturb”)
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Sg. 3. M

YBQŠ <i>yebqes</i>	Ph	14.5 (“that he seek”)
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Ily

Y'R <i>ye'ar(re)</i>	Ph	14.21 (“that he empty out”)
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YIP'IL

Strong Verb

Sg. 1. C.

Iwy

l-ythera (L-'TR) <i>l-itīra</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 939 (“let me inquire”)
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Sg. 3. M.

Y'BD <i>yi'bid</i>	Ph	30.3 (“he devastated”)
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YOP'AL

Sg. 2. M.

TSM' <i>tosma'</i>	Ph	14.6 (“you be persuaded”)
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Comments

Prefixing Form B is morphologically distinguishable from Prefixing Form A in the forms of the second feminine singular, second mas-

culine plural and third masculine plural. See comments above to Prefixing Form A.

B. *Syntax and Usage*

1. *Expressing the Past Perfective*

Classical literary Phoenician possessed three forms of the verb capable of expressing past perfective action: (i) Prefixing Form B; (ii) the Infinitive Absolute and (iii) the Suffixing Form. For the sake of convenience, I shall here refer to these forms as (i) Past Perfective I (Prefixing Form B), (ii) Past Perfective II (Infinitive Absolute) and (iii) Past Perfective III (Suffixing Form) respectively.

Past Perfective I, the form used to express past perfective action in classical literary Hebrew and Moabite, is found in Phoenician in three extant inscriptions: (i) an archaic ninth-century B.C.E. text from Cyprus (*KAI* 30) recounting the Phoenician invasion of that island; (ii) in a sixth-century B.C.E. letter from Dapnae (*THPNHS*) in Egypt (*KAI* 50); and (iii) in a Carthaginian Punic historical account (*CIS* i 5510.9/11), written in the year 406 B.C., of the taking of the city of Agrigentum in Sicily in the winter of 406 B.C.E. Past Perfective I, like its Hebrew counterpart, was syntactically restricted to sentence-initial position although it was used within the same sentence in sequence with a preceding Past Perfective I. Past Perfective I was complemented by Past Perfective III, which was syntactically restricted to non sentence-initial position.

Illustrated in the following subparagraphs is the complementary use in Phoenician of sentence-initial Past Perfective I and non sentence-initial Past Perfective III within the same literary composition.

1a. Old Cyprus Inscription (*KAI* 30), 9th Century B.C.E.

1a-1. Sentence-Initial Past Perfective I (Prefixing Form B)

30.1/2 *YB' Y MPT WH'S Š [NGD]M L QBR Ž'*, "They came to the island (Cyprus), and the man who was their [leader], his is this tomb."

30.2/3 *Y'L HGBR Ž' [L]ŠY WY'BD H[. . .] Ž' YT H'Y*, "This warrior came up to Alasia [Cyprus], and this [. . .] devastated the island."

1a-2. Non Sentence-Initial Past Perfective III (Suffixing Form)

30.4 (2x) **BN YD B'L BN YD 'DM**, "From it (Cyprus) he drove (*yado*) out its king, from it he drove (*yado*) out its people."

1b. Daphnae Letter (*KAI* 50), Egypt, 6th Century B.C.E.

1b-1. Sentence-Initial Past Perfective I (Suffixing Form B)

50.3/4 **'PQ-N HKSP 'Š ŠLHT LY WTNTN LY**, "I got the silver that you sent me and have given (lent) to me."

1b-2. Non Sentence-Initial Past Perfective III (Suffixing Form)

50.3 **HKSP 'Š ŠLHT LY**, "The silver that you sent me."

1c. Carthage Inscription (*CIS* i 5510), 406 B.C.E.

Pu *CIS* i 5510.9/11 **WYLK RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLKT BN HN' HRB 'LŠ WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT [H]MT ŠLM**, "Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn, and they seized Agrigentum; and they (the Agrigentines) made peace (surrendered)." *Obs.* The forms **TMK** and **ŠT** are both Suffixing Form Consecutive, not Past Perfect III; they receive their past perfective tense-reference from the main verb of the sentence, Past Perfective I *yelekū*.

This is the sole extant specimen of Phoenician historical (historiographic) prose. It is from the closing part of a longer account of the siege of Agrigentum, corresponding roughly to the source used by Diodorus Siculus (xiii, 90.1) in his description of the capture of Agrigentum by the Carthaginians after its abandonment by the Greeks: Ο δ' Ἰμίλκας ἄμα τῷ φῶτι τὴν δύναμιν ἐντὸς τῶν τευχῶν παρεισαγαγὼν σχεδὸν ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀνείλεν, "Imilkas (=Himilco), leading his army at dawn within the walls, put to death almost all who had been left behind inside <the city>."

2. Expressing the Subjunctive

Prefixing Form B is found once in a clause of purpose after **LMHT LKN** ("in order that"). The more common expression of the subjunctive in Phoenician is by means of the Infinitive Construct.

60.6/8 **YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMNM 20 LMHT LKN YD' HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM HLPT 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW**, "They shall withdraw 20 drachmas from the silver of

the god Baal of Sidon in order that the Sidonians might know that the community knows to recompense persons who have performed community service.”

3. *Expressing the Jussive, Optative and Cohortative*

3a. Word-Order: Subject – Verb

Byb 12.4 **B'L YBRK WYHWW**, “Baal bless him and grant him long life!”

18.7/8 **B'LŠMM L'LM YBRKN**, “Baalsamem bless me always!”

26 A III 7/8 **W'M Ž'Š YŠB BN YKN B'L 'LPM**, “And may this people who dwell in it (the city) become owners of cattle!”

43.15 **PQT WN'M YKN LY**, “Good fortune and prosperity be mine!”

52.1/2 **HRPKRT YTN HYM L'BDY L'BD'ŠMN**, “Harpocrates grant long life to his servant Abdesmun!”

R.D. Barnett, *BMQ* 27 (1963/4) 85 **HRPKRT YTN HYM L'MS BN 'ŠMNYTN**, “Harpocrates grant long life to Amos bin Esmun-yaton!”

Pu *Poen.* 1027P **Bal samem ierasan**, “Baal shake the heavens!” = NPu 1027A **Bal samem iyryla**.

3b. Word-Order: Verb – Subject

Byb 10.8 **TBRK B'LT GBL 'YT YHWMLK**, “Baalt of Byblos bless Yehawmilk!”

Byb 10.9/10 **WTTN LY HRBT B'LT GBL HN**, “The Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor!”

43.15/16 **WYSKRN MLQRT [WYTN LY] N'M ŠRŠ**, “Milqart remember me and grant me good stock!”

3c. Prefixing Form B (Jussive/Optative) with the Proclitic Particle *L-*

NPu EH 32.3 **L-YŠM' QL'**, “May he hear (*lišma'*) his voice!”

NPu EH 216.3 **LŠM' QL'**, “May he hear his voice!”

NPu NP 15.3 **LŠ'M['] 'T QL[M]**, “May he hear his voice!”

The historical spelling, with the initial *yod* of the Suffixing Form indicated, is **LYŠM'**. The spelling **LŠM'** is “phonetic,” indicating the actual pronunciation with elision of intervocalic *yod*. **LŠ'M[']** is merely a spelling error for **LŠM'[']**.

The proclitic particle is also used with Prefixing Form B express-

ing the Cohortative. See below. *Obs.* In Phoenician, the jussive and optative are also commonly expressed in Phoenician by means of clause-initial Suffixing Form and Infinitive Construct.

4. Cohortative

In the first person, Suffixing Form B may express the cohortative, a wish or strong future declarative assertion. The verb may receive the proclitic particle *l-*, which is also used with Form B expressing the Jussive/Optative.

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec l-itor (L'TR) bod es iussim limin co**, "Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here." *Obs.* In the Neo-Punic version of this same line, the verb is expressed by Prefixing Form C: NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) l-ythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**.

NPu *Poen.* 942 **L-iphoc (L'PQ) anech yth byn ui iaed**, "I would get my brother's only son."

5. Expressing the Imperative

In the second person, Suffixing Form B may be used to express the imperative.

29.2 **TBRKY BYMY 'DNN**, "Bless thou (*tibrokīyo*) our master during his lifetime!"

48.3/4 **[TB]RK 'Y[T 'RB'T B]NY . . . [WT]TN LM HN WHYM**, "Bless ye (*tibrokū*) my four sons, and grant (*tittenū*) them favor and long life!"

Pu 77.3/4 **TŠM' QLM**, "Hear thou (*tisma'*) their voice!"

Pu *CIS* i 3604 **TŠM' 'YT QLM**, "Hear ye (*tisma'ū*) his voice!"

6. Following the Negative Particle 'L 'al

6a. Prohibition (Negative Jussive/Optative)

14.20 **'L YPTH 'LTY**, "Let him not open it!"

14.21 **'L Y'R 'LTY**, "Let him not empty it out!"

14.21 **'L Y'MSN BMŠKB Z**, "Let him not remove me from this resting-place!"

6b. Vetitive (Negative Imperative)

13.3/4 **'L TPTH 'LTY**, "Do not open it!"

14.6 'L TŠM' BDNM, "Do not permit yourself to be persuaded by them!"

Pu Rep. 16.2 'L TŠ' <'>T', "Do not carry it (this urn) off!"

6c. Expressing Negative Future Result

6c-1. In the Resumptive Clause of a Sentence with Anticipatory Clause

In the main (resumptive) result clause of a sentence with anticipatory clause, Prefixing Form B introduced by the particle 'al expresses the negative Future. This type of clause is closely related to the result clause (apodosis) of a conditional sentence (see below). *Obs.* This use of Prefixing Form B is found in Classical Arabic in the result clause of the conditional sentence.

14.6/8 WKL 'DM 'Š YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z . . . 'L YKN LM MŠKB 'T RP'M W'L YQBR BQBR W'L YKN LM BN WZR', "As for anyone who shall open this resting-place, they shall not have rest with the infernal deities, they shall not be buried in a tomb, and they shall not have son(s) nor offspring."

14.11/12 'M 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMT WPR LM'L, "As for those persons <who shall open my coffin and remove me from it and carry off my coffin>, they shall not have root below nor fruit above!"

6c-2. In the Result Clause (Apodosis) of a Conditional Sentence

13.6/7 W'M PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZN 'L YKN LK ZR' BHYM, "But if you shall open it (my coffin) and disturb me, you shall not have offspring among the living!"

24.14/15 WYZZQ BSPR Z MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'RRM WB'R-RM 'L YKBD LMSKBM, "If he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer show respect to the *b'rrm*, and the *b'rrm* shall no longer show respect to the *mškbm*."

III. PREFIXING FORM C

A. Morphology

Prefixing Form C *yigtola(n)* is the reflex of Canaanite *yaqtula* and its extended form *yaqtulana*, with the post verbal particle *-na*. Prefixing Form C is indistinguishable from Prefixing Form B in texts in Phoenician letters; its existence in the language is certain however from

examples in Latin-letter Punic and Neo-Punic. Like Prefixing Form B, it is used to express the cohortative and the jussive/optative and like Prefixing Form B, it may also receive the proclitic verbal particle *l-*.

Forms

YIP'IL

Sg. 1

l-ythera *itīra* NPu *Poen.* 939 (“let me inquire”)

Sg. 3.M.

ierasa *yer^asan* Pu *Poen.* 1027A (“may he make tremble”)

iyryla *yir^aila* NPu *Poen.* 1027P (“may he make tremble”)

Comments

The Punic and corresponding Neo-Punic forms in *Poen.* 1027 indicate that the particle *-n* (Old Canaanite *-na*) was separable and its use optional. The particle was also used in Phoenician with Prefixing Form A (Present Indicative) 13.4 (bis) **'DL-N** *'edle-n* (“I possess”) and with Prefixing Form B (Past Perfective) 50.3 **'PQ-N** *'apog(a)-n* (“I received”). In *Poen.* 1017A **ierasan** *yer^asa-n*, the thematic vowel *a* is an *a*-colored *shewa*, indicating that in Phoenician the thematic *i*-vowel of the causative stem was short, as in Arabic and Aramaic, and thus susceptible to reduction.

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Cohortative

NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.” *Obs.* In the Punic version of this same line in *Poen.* 949, the cohortative is expressed by Prefixing Form B: **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**. The Latin translation of *Poen.* 939 renders the verb as Future Indicative: *Poen.* 960. **Hos percontabor qui hinc egrediuntur foras**, “I shall ask these men who are coming out from here.”

2. *Jussive and Optative*

Pu *Poen.* 1027A **Bal samem ieresa-n**, “Baal shake the heavens!”

NPu *Poen.* 1027P **Bal samem iyryla**, “Baal shake the heavens!”

Like Prefixing Form B Jussive/Optative, Form C was not syntactically restricted. The two extant examples cited here follow their subject, with the direct object of the verb intervening: Subject-Direct Object-Verb.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE VERB: THE IMPERATIVE, THE PARTICIPLES AND INFINITIVES

I. THE IMPERATIVE

A. Morphology

Inflection

Sg. M.			
Grade I	-Ø	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1013 lec lek (“go!”); D 6 un (“spare; show mercy!”)
Grade II	-a	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1010 pursa pursa (“explain!”)
Grade III	-anna	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 1013 lacanna l^akanna (“go away!”)
Sg. F.			
	-ī	Ph	50.5 BṬH biṭḥī (“trust!”)

Comments

The inflection of the masculine singular imperative is well documented in forms occurring in Latin-letter Punic and Neo-Punic sources. There were, as in Classical Hebrew, three grades of the imperative with regard to inflection: (i) Grade I, the simple form, represented by **lec lek** (**LK** “go!”) and **un** (*h*)**un** (**HN** “spare; show mercy!”), displayed zero-inflection; (ii) Grade II, represented by **pursa pursa** (**PRŠ** “explain!”), displayed the extending morpheme -a; (iii) Grade III, represented by **lacanna lakanna** (**LK-N** “go away!”), the Grade II imperative *l^aka* (*lek* + -a; Hebrew *l^eka*) followed by the enclitic particle -na (-**N**), with gemination of the initial *nun*; cf. Hebrew Genesis 32:30 **HGYDH-N** *haggīdanna* (“tell!”); also Hebrew Ruth 2:2 **LKH-N** *el^ekanna* (“let me go”); Genesis 18:21 **RDH-N** *er^edanna* (“let me descend”).

We possess no evidence for the pronunciation of the feminine singular and the masculine and feminine plural imperatives, but it is reasonable to assume they were identical to their Hebrew counterparts.

Forms

QAL

Sg. M.

Strong Verbs

'MR ^ʾ <i>mor</i>	Ph	50.2 (“say!”)
NŠR <i>n^ošor</i>	Pu	RES 19.1, 20.1 (“protect!”)
pursa <i>pursa</i>	Pu	Poen. 1010 (“explain!”)
SMR <i>s^omor</i>	Pu	RES 19.1, 20.1 (“guard!”)
III _y		
KRY <i>k^ere</i>	NPu	Trip. 86.3 (bis) (“buy!”)
MN^o <i>m^ene</i>	NPu	Trip. 86.5 (“weigh out!”)
<i>h-l-k</i>		
lec <i>lek</i>	Pu	Poen.1013 (“go!”)
lacanna <i>l^akanna</i>	Pu	Poen. 1013 (“go away!”)
II _{wy}		
ĤŠ (<i>h</i>) <i>ūs</i>	NPu	Trip. 79.5 (“be considerate!”)
KN <i>kūn</i>	NPu	Trip. 86.1, 8 (“be!”)
Q'M <i>qūm</i>	Pu	Trip. 86.3/4 (“remain!”)
Š'M <i>sīm</i>	NPu	Trip. 86.2 (“place!”)
<i>y-t-n</i>		
TN <i>ten</i>	NPu	162.4/5 (“give!”)
III _{gem.}		
un (ĤN) (<i>h</i>) <i>un</i>	NPu	D 6.11 (“spare; show mercy!”)

Sg. F.

Strong

BṬH <i>biṭhā</i>	Ph	50.5 (“trust!”)
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PI'EL

Sg. M.

messe (MŠH) <i>messe(h)</i>	NPu	Aug. on the Gospel of John 15:27 (“anoint!”)
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YIP'IL

In

HKR <i>akker</i> or <i>ikker</i>	NPu	Trip. 86.4 (“remember!”)
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B. *Syntax and Usage*

The subject of an imperative is frequently expressed by the independent personal pronoun; the pronoun may precede or follow the imperative. The use of the pronoun is optional.

50.5 'T BṬḤ BDBR[Y], "You trust in my word(s)!"

NPu Trip. 86.3/4 B'T 'T Š'M 'T Q'M BB'T 'T HKR S W'T KRY KRY 'T HŠD ŠBN' ḤN', "Make a contract with him! You keep to the contract! You heed this! And you buy, buy the field belonging to the sons of Hanno."

NPu D 6.11 Un ath ab[dach]a, "Spare thou (show mercy to) thy servant!"

Obs. The imperative is also expressed by Prefixing Verb B, the Suffixing Verb and the Infinitive Construct.

II. THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

A. *Morphology*

Forms

QAL

Sg. M

Strong

duber <i>düber</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 944, 948 ("says")
dubyr <i>dūbir</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936 ("says")
urys (<i>h</i>) <i>ūris</i>	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 p. 53 no. 5.10 ("engraver")
KHN <i>kūhen</i>	Ph Pu NPu	13.2, <i>et passim</i> ("Priest")
MŠL <i>mūsel</i>	Ph	14.9 ("ruler")
ŠMR <i>sūmer</i>	Pu	62.7 ("watchman")
ŠPT <i>sūpeṭ</i>	Ph Pu NPu	78.8, <i>et passim</i> ("suf(f)es")
III 'aleph		
RP' <i>rūpe'</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> I 4884.6; <i>CIS</i> I 4885.5 ("healer; physician")

III_y

BN <i>būne</i>	Ph	46.6 ("builder")
buny <i>būni</i>	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 906.4 ("builder")

III_{gem.}

GRR <i>gūrer</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 4873.3 ("sawyer")
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Sg. F.

Strong		
'ṬPT 'ūtept	Pu	RES 891.1 ("covers")
ŠKBT sūkebt	Byb	11 ("lies; rests")
IIIw/y		
KST kūšit	Pu	RES 891.1 ("covers; conceals")

Pl. M.

Strong		
dobrim dōbrīm	Pu	Poen. 935 ("they say")
MŠLM mōslīm	NPu	120.1 ("rulers; tribunes")
P'LM pō'lim	Ph	37 A 13 ("they work")
SPRM sōprīm	Ph	37 A 15 ("scribes")
III 'aleph		
YŠ'M yōš'im	Ph	CIS i 99.2 ("they came forth")
iussim yūšim	Pu	Poen. 949 ("they are coming out")
iusim yūšim	NPu	Poen. 939 ("they are coming out")
IIIy		
BNM būnīm	Ph	37 A 5 ("builders")
bunem būnīm	NPu	S 24.3 ("builders")
IIIgem.		
GRM gōrrīm	Ph	37 A 16, B 10 ("sawyers")

PI'EL

Sg. M.

Strong		
M'RḤ m ^e 'erreḥ	Pu	66.1 ("host")
merre m ^e 'erreḥ	Pu	66.1 ("host")
μηρρη	Pu	66.1 ("host")

Pl. M.

MḤŠBM	Pu
m ^e ḥessebīm	

YIP'IL

Strong		
MYŠQL mišqil	NPu	121.1; 126.5 ("beautifier")
migdil migdil	Pu	Poen. 1033 ("magnifier")
	Pu	IIw/y
MQM meqīm	Ph	44.2 ("awakener")

	Pu	90.3 (“awakener”)
MYQM <i>meqīm</i>	NPu	163.4/5 (“awakener”)
MYQS <i>meqīs</i>	Pu	77.1 (“awakener”)
IIIgem.		
MHB <i>mehib(b)</i>	NPu	121.1; 126.4 (“lover”)
MHQ <i>meḥiq(q)</i>	Ph	CIS i 51 (“?”)

Comments

The morphology of the active participle is the same as that of the Hebrew, with one exception: the *e/I*-vowel of the Qal singular *CūCēC* is reduced to *zero* in the plural form *CōCCīm*, as indicated by the Latin-letter spelling of the masculine plural *Poen.* 935 **dobrim** *dōbrīm* (sg. **duber**, **dubyr**) and confirmed by the Punic-letter spelling of the masculine plural 37 A 16 **GRM** *gōrrīm* (“sawyers,” sg. **GRR** *gūrer*).

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Surrogate for Any Tense

1a. Expressing the Present Perfective

13.1 **'NK TBNT KHN 'ŠTRT MLK ŠDNM . . . ŠKB B'RN Z** “I, Tibnit, Priest of Astarte, King of the Sidonians, lie (rest) in this coffin.”

Pu *Eph.* 3.55.1 [*H . . .*] **T 'Š KST W'TPT** [*H . . .*], “The [. . .] that covers and conceals (*or* that is covering and concealing) the [. . .].”

Pu *Poen.* 944/946A **Us duber ce fel dono . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, “One says that his father did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>.”

NPu *Poen.* 935/936 =944/946 **Dobrim chy fel yth chil ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, “They say that he did everything for his son that he was to do for him.”

Pu *Poen.* 946A **Us duber ci hen hu ac Aristoclem**, “One says that Aristocles lives (*lit.*, is) here.”

1b. Expressing the Future

Pu *CIS* I 3783.5/7 **WKL 'DM 'Š GNB T-MTNT Z NKST TNT-[P]NB'L**, “As for any person who shall steal this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall cut him off.”

Pu *CIS* i 169.2 [*HŠ*]’R **WHŠLBM WHP'MM 'Š BL 'LM 'LT**

HMZBH, “To the sacrificer belongs the meat and the shanks and the legs <of a sacrificial animal> that shall not go up <in flame> upon the altar.”

Pu *CIS* i 5632.7/10 **KL 'DM 'Š N[S' 'Y]T HNŠB Ž W'[Š . . . W]ŠPT B'LHMN B[RH']DM H'**, “As for any person who shall tear out this stele or who [shall . . . it], Baalhammon shall condemn that person.”

2. *Participial*

The active participle expresses a concomitant action in progress within the time-frame of the main verb.

2a. Present Tense

Pu *Poen.* 949A **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, “Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”

2b. Future Tense

14.9 **WYSGRNM H'LMN HQDŠM 'T MMLKT 'DR 'Š MŠL BNM**, “And the holy gods shall imprison them, together with whichever mighty king is ruling them <at the time>.”

Pu *CIS* i 5510.4/5 **[WKL']DM 'Š 'YBL MŠRT WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L W'DN B[L]HMN 'YT 'DMM HMT BHYM 'L PN ŠMŠ**, “As for any person who shall not serve, Our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and the Lord Baalhammon shall bind those persons among those living under the sun.”

2c. Past Tense

CIS i 99.2 **NŠHT 'T 'BY HYŠ'M W'ZRNM**, “I defeated my enemies who came forth <to fight me> and their allies.”

3. *Nominal*

The active participle is the form of many nouns: **BN** *būne* (“architect, builder”); **hulec** *hūlek* (“guest-friend”); **MHŠB** *meħesseb* (“treasurer”); **RP'** *rūfē(')* (“physician,” *lit.*, “one who cures”).

III. THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. F.

ṬN(?)T <i>tanū(?)t</i>	Pu	CIS i 5510.7 (“was erected”)
ṬNṬ <i>tanūṭ</i>	NPu	153.1 (“was erected”)
PSLT <i>pasūlt</i>	Pu	78.4 (“sculpted”)

Pl. M.

sebuim <i>z^ebū(h)īm</i>	NPu	IRT 893.5 (“sacrificed”)
ṬNṬM <i>ṭnūṭīm</i>	Pu	101.5 (“were placed”)
NŠṬM <i>nšūṭīm</i>	Ph	60.4 (“were elected”)
ŠKNM <i>sēkūnīm</i>	Ph	37 A 7 (“were placed”)

Comments

The morphology of the passive participle is the same as the Hebrew, with one possible exception: the feminine singular affirmative was *-t*, not *-ot* < *-at*, as is evident from the Punic defective spelling CIS I 5510.7 **ṬNT**, which can only be understood as *tanūt* < *tanuṭ* (“was erected”).

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Surrogate for Finite Passive Past Perfective

37 A 7 **ŠRM B'R Š ŠKNM LMLKT QDŠT**, “Those residing in the city who were employed for the Sacred Liturgy.”

37 A 13 **GLBM P'LM 'L ML'KT**, “The barbers <who were> employed in the Liturgy.”

60.4/5 **H'DMM Š NŠṬM LN 'L BT 'LM**, “The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple.”

Pu CIS i 5510.7/8 **WṬN<'>T 'MTNT Ḷ BHDŠ P'LT**, “This stele was erected on the new moon of <the month of> Paaloth.”

Pu 101.5 **ṬNṬM 'L HMLKT Ḷ ŠṬN . . . W'RŠ**, “Asyan and Aris were put in charge of this work project.”

NPu 153.1 **'BN Ḷ ṬNṬ LB'LHN**, “This stele was erected to Balanno.”

2. *Adjectival-Nominal*

Pu 78.4/5 **MNŠBT PSLT . . . 'BN 'RKT BKRŠ B'LHMN**, "A sculpted stele, being a tall stone bearing the figure of Baalhammon."

NPu *IRT* 893.4/5 **ilim sebuim**, "The sacrificed gods (*i.e.*, deified sacrificed children)."

IV. THE INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT

A. *Morphology*

Forms

QAL

Strong Verb		
L-'MR <i>li(')mūr</i>	Ph	14.2 ("to say")
li-mur <i>li(')mūr</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 948 ("to say")
L-ŽBH <i>lizbūh</i>	Pu	69.14 ("to sacrifice")
L-GNB <i>lignūb</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 3784.1 ("to steal")
L-KTB <i>liktūb</i>	Ph	60.4 ("to inscribe")
L-MLK-Y <i>limolk-i</i>	Ph	14.1 ("of his reign")
L-MLK-NM <i>limolk^e-nom</i>	Pu	112.5 ("of their reign")
B-MŠ'-NM <i>bimoš^{'e}-nom</i>	Ph	Kition line 1 ("when they came")
L-'ZR <i>la'zūr</i>	NPu	147.4 ("may he help")
L-P'L <i>lip'ul</i>	Byb	10.11; NPu 124.4 ("to do")
li-ful <i>lif'ul</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 945 ("to do")
li-ful <i>lif'ul</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 935 ("to do")
L-PTH <i>liptūh</i>	Pu	70.3 ("to open")
B-ŠPT-M <i>bisoft-im</i>	NPu	159.5/6 ("when he was suffes")
II <i>wy</i>		
L-KN-Y <i>likūn-i</i>	Ph	18.6; 26 A II 14 ("that it be")
L-KN-NM <i>likūn^e-nom</i>	Ph	19.10 ("that they be")
II gem.		
L-KP <i>lakop(p)</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.3 ("to overturn")
III _y		
L-BNT <i>libnūt</i>	Ph	26 A II 11 ("to build")
L-BNT-M <i>libnūt-im</i>	NPu	<i>CIS</i> I 151.6 ("to erect it")
L-MHT <i>limhūt</i>	Ph	26 C IV 15 ("to erase")
I _y and <i>h-l-k, n-š-', y-t-n</i>		
L-D'T <i>lada'at</i>	Byb	2.1 ("know!")
L-LKT <i>lalek(e)t</i>	Ph	26 A II 4 ("to walk")

by-rysth-birist-	NPu	D 6.3/4 (“when he expelled”)
L-Š'T <i>lase(?)t</i>	NPu	145.4 (“exalt!”)
L-ŠBT-NM <i>lisibt^e-nom</i>	Ph	26 A I 17 (“that they dwell”)
sibt-i <i>sibt-i</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 948 (“his residing”)
sibith-im <i>sibit-im</i>	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 938 (“his residing”)
L-TT-Y <i>lititt-i</i>	Ph	26 A III 4 (“may he give!”)
L'-TT <i>latet(t)</i>	NPu	147.3 (“may he give!”)

PI'EL

Strong Verbs

L-TR <i>li'et̄ter</i>	Ph	60.1 (“to crown”)
L-KR <i>li'ekker</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.3 (“to disturb”)
L-QN' <i>liqenne(?)</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.7 (“shall be zealous”)
L-ŠLM <i>lisellem</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.6 (“to pay back”)
L-ŠBT-Y <i>lisebbet-i</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.3 (“to remove/destroy it”)

Ily

L-KNT <i>likennūt</i>	Ph	60.5 (“to name/appoint”)
L-QST-NM <i>liqeṣṣūt^e-nom</i>	Ph	14.9/10 (“they shall cut off”)

YIP'IL

Izwy

L-YRH-Y <i>li-yarīḥ-i</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5510.6 (“to make him welcome”)
L-SR <i>l-asīr</i>	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 3785.7, 4937.3 (“to remove”)

Comments

The forms of the Infinitive Construct are essentially identical to those of Classical Hebrew. But note that the Yip'il infinitive **LSR** is not a contraction of **L-YSR** but of **L-'SR**, the Punic **'YQTL** *iqtel*. The Infinitive Construct construed with the preposition **B-** or **L-**, being a verbal noun in the genitive case, always takes the B-Forms of the suffixal pronouns as its subject or direct object.

B. *Syntax and Usage*1. *The Infinitive Construct as Direct Object of Certain Verbs*

1a. **'M-R** + Infinitive: "think to do something"

26 C IV 17/18 **Y'M[R] LMHT ŠM 'ZTWD BSML '[L]M Z**, "If he shall think to erase the name of Aztwadda from this divine image."

1b. **B-Š-Š** + Infinitive: "undertake to do something"

NPu CIS i 151.6 **KMT B'ŠŠ LBNTM LM**, "So did he undertake to erect it (the statue) to them."

1c. **Y-D-** + Infinitive: "know to do something"

60.7/8 **YD' HGW LŠLM HLPT 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW**, "The community knows to compensate those persons who have performed service on behalf of the community."

1d. **Y-S-P** + Infinitive: "continue to do something"

Byb 10.11/12 **KL 'DM 'Š YSP LP'L ML'KT 'LT MZBH ZN**, "Any person who shall continue to do work on this altar."

Pu 5510.6/7 **YSP 'LTY LŠLM WLYRH Y BMQM [Z]**, "They shall continue to greet him and make him welcome in this city."

1e. **Y-K-D** (Yitpe'el) + Infinitive: "mutually resolve to do something"

NPu 119.4/5 **'YTKD' 'DR' 'LPQY WKL 'M '[L]P[QY LŠLM] L'DN H' L'DRB'L**, "The senate of Lepcis and the entire nation of Lepcis resolved mutually to compensate that gentleman, Adherbal, <for his benefactions>."

1f. **Y-T-N** + Infinitive: "grant the right to do something"

NPu 126.7/9 **LPNY 'DR' 'LPQY W'M 'LPQ[Y] LPY M'S' 'BTY WM'SM BTM YTN' L'BD BŠP'T KL H'T**, "The senate of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis granted him the right to make use of the senatorial broad purple stripe always."

1g. **K-W-N** + Infinitive: “be obliged to do something”

Pu *Poen.* 944-46 **Alem us duber ce fel dono Mittun et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, “I am told that his father Mittun did everything for that son of his, as he was to do <for him>.”

NPu 163.1/2 **ṬŠ K' KNTM LTT L'Y'B'L 'BMŠRT 'LM**, “Be ye . . . , for ye were to place L'Y'B'L under the protection of the gods.”

1h. **K-'-S** + Infinitive: “undertake to do something”

NPu 124.2/4 **B'LYTN QMD' . . . K'S LP'L WḤTM**, “Balitho Commodus undertook to build it and completed it.”

1i. **P-R-Ṭ** + Infinitive: “undertake to do something”

NPu 172.1/3 [**H**] **MLKT BN 'DNB'L BN HMLKT HPRT 'L MYṬB' RŠ' HSLKY LBN'T T-HMQDŠ ST**, “Himilco son of Idnibal son of Himilco, upon the approval of the senate of Sulcis, undertook to build this sanctuary.”

1j. **Q-W-M** + Infinitive: “persist in doing something”

Byb 9 A 2 **'L TQM LŠT 'RN 'LT 'RN**, “Do not persist in placing one coffin on top of another coffin.”

1l. **Š-T-'** + Infinitive: “to fear to do something”

26 A II 4/5 **YŠT' 'DM LLKT DRK**, “A person used to be afraid to travel the road.”

1m. **T-M-M** + Infinitive: “be deemed good to do something”

60.1/3 **BYM 4 LMRZḤ . . . TM BD ŠDNYM BN'SPT L'TR 'YT ŠM'B'L . . . 'ṬRT ḤRŠ BDRK<M>NM 20**, “On this fourth day of Marzih, it has been deemed good by the Sidonians in assembly to crown Samobaal with a gold crown worth twenty drachmas.”

2. *Forming Periphrastic Tenses and Moods*

2a. Future Indicative

The grammatical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the suffixal pronouns of the B-type. The logical subject of the sentence, if a

substantive, stands in apposition to the suffix pronoun. The “proleptic” suffix pronoun is not however obligatory.

14.9/10 **LQSTNM 'YT MMLKT 'M 'DM H'**, “They (the holy gods) shall cut off that king or that commoner.” *Obs.* The verb is expressed by Prefixing Form A (*yiqtol*) in the variant version of this same statement in line 22 of the text: **YQSN HMMLKT H' WH'DMM HMT**, “They (the holy gods) shall cut off that king and those commoners.”

60.45 **'YT R'T Z LKTB H'DMM 'Š NŠ'M LN 'L BT 'LM 'LT MŠBT HRŠ**, “The men who were elected by us in charge of the temple shall inscribe this resolution upon a gold stele.”

60.5/6 **LKNT GW 'RB 'LT MŠBT Z**, “The community shall appoint a custodian in charge of this stele.”

Pu *CIS* i 5510.2/3 **KL 'DM 'Š LKP 'YT 'MTNT Z WL'KR WLŠBTY 'ML YD**, “As for any person who shall overturn this stele or disturb or destroy it, his hand shall wither.”

Pu *CIS* i 5510.7 **MŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WŠLM**, “If he who serves shall be zealous, wealth and prosperity shall be his.”

Pu 79.6/11 **KL 'Š LSR T-'BN Z . . . WŠPT TNT-PNB'L BRH_DM H'**, “As for anyone who shall remove this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall condemn that person.”

Pu *CIS* i 3784.1/2 **KL 'Š LGNB T-'BN Z**, “Anyone who shall steal this stele.”

Pu 69.14 **KL ZBH 'Š 'DM LZBH**, “Any sacrifice that a person shall sacrifice.”

2b. Subjunctive

The grammatical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the suffix pronouns of the B-type. The logical subject of the sentence, if a substantive, stands in apposition to the suffix pronoun. The suffix pronoun expressing the subject is not, however, obligatory.

14.19/20 **WYSPNNM LGBL 'RŠ LKNNM LŠDNM L'LM**, “We annexed them to the territory of our state that they might belong to the Sidonians forever.”

18.3/6 **'YT HŠ'R Z WHDLHT 'Š L P'LT BTKLTY BNTY . . . LKNY LY LSKR**, “I built this gate and its panels to be (*lit.*, that it might be) a memorial to me.”

19.9/11 **KM 'Š BN 'YT KL 'HRY [HMQDŠ]M 'Š B'RŠ LKNNM L[M LSKR]**, “Just as they built all the other sanctuaries in the region to be (*lit.*, that they might be) a memorial to them.”

26 A I 17/18 **WBN 'NK ḤMYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM DNNYM BNḤT LBNM**, "And I built protective fortresses in those places so that the Danunians might live in peace of mind."

26 A II 11/14 **WBNY 'NK . . . LKNY MŠMR L'MQ 'DN**, "I built it (the city) to be (*lit.*, that it might be) a place of protection for the Valley of Adana."

26 A II 10/11 **K B'L WRŠP . . . ŠLḤN LBNT**, "Baal and Rasap commissioned me to build <this city>." *Obs.* The verb **LBNT** does not carry a suffixal pronoun to indicate its subject.

NPu *CIS* i 151.1/4 **LPLKS KHRḤṢY P'L T-HMŠ 'ST PḤLY 'GBR 'TM' BN MQR' LKN L' WL'MM B'N**, "Of Felix Ceresius. Pullius 'GBR the General, the son of MQR', made this statue to be of him (Felix) and of his mother B'N'." *Obs.* In Neo-Punic, the infinitive construct does not carry the suffix pronoun expressing its subject.

Obs. The subjunctive is expressed in Phoenician by Prefixing Form B if it is preceded and governed by the conjunction **LKN** ("in order that") in a Final Clause: 60.6/8: **YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRK-MNM 20 LMḤT LKN YD'** (*yede'ū*, Prefixing Form B, Pl. 3.) **HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM ḤLPT 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW**, "They shall withdraw 20 drachmas from the silver of the god Baal of Sidon in order that the Sidonian might know that the community knows to compensate those persons who have performed service on behalf of the community."

2c. Jussive and Optative

The logical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the suffix pronouns of the B-type. The logical subject of the verb, if a substantive, stands in apposition to the suffix pronoun. The suffix pronoun expressing the subject is not however obligatory.

26 A III 4/5 **LTTY B'L . . . L'ZTWD 'RK YMM**, "May Baal give to Aztwadda a long reign."

NPu 146.2/3 **[']Š L'TT H'L 'BBRKTM L[N]**, "May God grant us of his blessings!" *Obs.* Note the absence of the suffixal pronoun with the infinitive to express the subject of the verb.

2d. Imperative

When the infinite is used to express the imperative, it does receive the suffixal pronoun as its subject.

Byb 2.1/3 **LD'T HNY B'LK THT ŽN**, "Be aware: I, your king, am at the bottom of this <shaft>."

Pu 76 B 8 **LŠT 'LT HHDRT NPT**, "Place honey upon the swollen area."

Pu 70.1/4 **QBR ŽYBQT HKHNT . . . 'BL LPTH**, "<This is> the tomb of ZYBQT the Priestess. Do not open!"

3. Expressing a Temporal Clause

The infinitive construct, governed by the preposition **B-**, is used to express the *when*-clause of a temporal sentence. The logical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the suffixal pronouns of the B-type; the logical subject, if a substantive, stands in apposition.

Kition lines 1/3 **BMS'NM 'BN W'ŽRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT . . . WYS' 'LN[M MH]NT 'Š KTY L'GD LM MLHMT BMQM 'Ž**, "When our enemies and their Paphian allies came to do battle with us, the army of the people of Kition went forth to do battle with them in this place."

NPu Trip. 79.5/6 **NPL' (sic) BTŠTY BTY BHTNM WBHT<M>**, "It (the tomb) was built at his own expense when they (those resting in the tomb) were still alive and he (the tomb's builder) was <still> alive."

NPu D 6.3/4 **Byrsth[im] Irirachan**, "When he drove out Irirachan." *Obs.* This is the superscription of a poem, beginning with a temporal clause expressed by the infinitive construct as in the superscriptions of the Biblical Psalms: e.g., Psalm 3:1 **BBRHW MPNY 'BSLWM BNW**, "When he (David) fled from Absalom, his son."

4. Abstract Verbal Noun

14.1 **BYRH BL BŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'ŠMN'ŽR MLK ŠDNM**, "In the month of Bul, in year fourteen 14 of the reign (*lit.*, of his reign) of King Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians."

Pu 112.4/5 **BŠŠT HMŠM ŠT LMLKNM MKWSN WGLSN WMSTN'B' 'MMLKT**, "In year fifty-six of the reign (*lit.*, of their reign) of Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanab, the princes."

NPu 159.5/6 **BYRH KRR ŠT BLL HZBH . . . BŠPTM MSHB' BN YZRM**, "In the month of Kirur, in the year of BLL the Sacrificial Priest, during the suffetship of MSHB' son of YZRM (or, "when MSHB' son of YZRM was Suffes)."
Obs. The logical subject of the

infinitive is expressed by the proleptic suffix ponoun **-M -im** of the third masculine singular.

Pu *Poen.* 948/49 **Alem us duber ci <esse> mucom sussib-ti A(charist)ocle**, "I am told that this is the place where Acharistocles resides (*lit.*, the place of the residing of Acharistocles)." = NPu *Poen.* 938 **Ynny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'ilyb gubulum lasibithim <Agorastocles>**, "I am told that this is the district where Agorastocles resides (*lit.*, the district of the residing of Agorastocles)."

V. THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE

A. Morphology

The Forms

QAL

Strong		
MLK <i>malōk</i>	Ph	24.2
NĤL <i>naḥōl</i>	Ph	Byb 3.3
P'L <i>pa'ōl</i>	Ph	26 A I 6/7
PTH <i>patōḥ</i>	Ph	13.6/7
ŠKR <i>sakōr</i>	Ph	24.7
TRQ <i>tarōq</i>	Ph	26 A I 9
<i>y-t-n</i>		
YTN <i>yatōn</i>	Byb	9 A 4
Ilwy		
KN <i>kōn</i>	Ph	24.3 (bis), 26 A II 3, 7
con <i>kōn</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 941
ŠT <i>sōt</i>	Ph	26 A II 9, 19
IIly		
BN <i>banō</i>	Ph	26 A I 17, II 9,17
BN-Y <i>banō-ya</i>	Ph	26 A II 11

PI'EL

ML' <i>mellō(')</i>	Ph	26 A I 6
RGZ <i>reggōz</i>	Ph	13.7
IIIy		
N <i>'ennō</i>	Ph	26 A I 18

YIP'IL

Strong		
YṬN' <i>yeṭne(?)</i>	Ph	26 A I 9
YRḤB <i>yerḥeb</i>	Ph	26 A I 4
III _y		
YḤW <i>yehwê</i>	Ph	26 A I 3
<i>y-r-d; y-š-b; h-l-k</i>		
YLK <i>yûlek</i>	Ph	26 A II 19
iulec <i>yûlec</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 942
YRD <i>yûred</i>	Ph	26 A I 20
YŠB <i>yûseb</i>	Ph	26 A I 20. II 18

B. *Syntax and Usage*1. *Cognate Infinitive*

The cognate infinitive, also called tautological or paranomastic, complements a finite verb. The complementation is purely rhetorical.

Byb 3.2/6 **'M NḤL TNḤL MGŠTK 'LK WMGŠT 'LY**, "If you shall come into possession of it (the money), your share is yours and my share is mine."

13.6/7 **'M PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZN**, "If you do open it (my coffin) and disturb me, <you shall not have descendants among those living under the sun>."

2. *Consecutive*

An infinitive absolute that follows (is consecutive to) the main verb of a sentence assumes the references (tense, aspect, person, number and gender) of the main verb. This function is analogous to that of the Suffixing Form Consecutive but less common:

26 C **WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS WP'L** (*pa'ōl*) **MGN 'L MGN**, "I acquired horse upon horse and acquired shield upon shield."

26 A II 18/19 **YŠB 'NK BN B'L KRNTRYŠ WYLK** (*yûlek*) **ZBH L**, "I caused Baal-KRNTRYŠ to dwell in it (the city) and brought sacrifice to Him."

Obs. It is also possible to explain the two examples adduced here as examples of the periphrastic Past Perfective (see below), with scribal omission by error of the independent personal pronoun **'NK** ("I") as subject.

3. *Past Perfective Periphrastic*

In literary Phoenician, the Past Perfective was expressed by (i) Prefixing Form B (Past Perfective I); (ii) the Infinitive Absolute (Past Perfective II); and (iii) the Suffixing Form (Past Perfective III). Past Perfective I and Past Perfective II were syntactically restricted in the same manner: each functioned exclusively as the main (first) verb of a simple declarative sentence and was restricted to sentence-initial position. Past Perfective III, syntactically restricted to non sentence-initial position, was thus complementary to both Past Perfective I and II.

Past Perfective I and its complementary form, Past Perfective III, were used in both Tyro-Sidonian (Phoenician and Punic) and Byblian Phoenician. The Phoenician texts in which they occur are *KAI* 24 (the royal Kilamuwa inscription, ca. 850 B.C.) and *KAI* 26 (the royal Aztwadda inscription, ca. 750 B.C.). In literary Punic, they occur in the entrance monologue of Hanno in the *Poenulus* (Act V, 940-946a, ca. 350-250 B.C.). The Byblian texts in which they occur are *KAI* 9 (the royal son of Sipitbaal inscription, ca. 500-450 B.C.) and *KAI* 10 (the royal Yehawmilk inscription, ca. 450-400 B.C.).

In the paragraphs that follow, I give both the occurrences of Past Perfective I and Past Perfective III in the same text in order to illustrate the manner of their complementation.

3a. Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24), ca. 850 B.C.E.

3a-1. Past Perfective I

24.2 *MLK GBR 'L Y'DY WBL P['L] KN BMH WBL P'L WKN 'B HY' WBL P'L WKN 'H Š'L WBL P'L W'N[K] KLMW BR TM[.] M Š P'LT BL P'L HLPNY[H]M*, "Gabbar ruled over Y'dy, but he did not accomplish anything. There was BMH, but he did not accomplish anything. There was my father Hayya, but he did not accomplish anything. There was my brother Sa'il, but he did not accomplish anything. But as for me, Kilamuwa son of TM[.], I accomplished what my predecessors did not accomplish." *Obs.* The sentence-initial verbs *MLK* and *KN* (3x) are Infinitive Absolute (Past Perfect I); the non sentence-initial verbs *P'L* and *P'LT* are the Suffixing Form (Past Periphrastic Perfect III).

24.5/6 *KN BT 'BY BMTKT MLKM 'DRM*, "My royal house was in the midst of those of more powerful kings."

24.7/8 *WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR*, "I hired against him the king of Assyria."

3a-2. Past Perfective III

24.2,3,4 *BL P'L*, "He did not accomplish anything."

24.4/5 (2x) *M 'Š P'LT BL P'L HLPNY[H]M*, "My predecessors did not accomplish what I accomplished."

24.6 *WKL ŠLH YD LL[H]M*, "Each one undertook to fight <me>."

3b. Aztwadda Inscription (*KAI* 26), ca. 750 B.C.E.

3b-1. Past Perfective I

26 A I 3 *P'LN B'L LDNNYM L'B WL'M*, "Baal made me father and mother of the Danunians."

26 A I 3/4 *YHW 'NK 'YT DNNYM*, "I kept the Danunians alive."

26 A I 4 *YRHB 'NK 'RŠ 'MQ 'DN*, "I expanded the territory of the Valley of Adana."

26 A I 6 *WML' 'NK 'QRT P'R*, "I filled the reservoirs of P'R."

26 A I 6/7 *WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS*, "I acquired horse upon horse."

26 A I 9 *WTRQ 'NK KL HR' 'Š KN B'RŠ*, "I rooted out all the evil that existed in the land."

26 A I 9/10 *WYTN' 'NK BT 'DNY*, "I established my royal house."

26 A I 10 *WP'L 'NK LŠRŠ 'DNY N'M*, "And I did what was good for my royal progeny."

26 A I 11 *WYŠB 'NK 'L KS' 'BY*, "I took my place upon my father's throne."

26 A I 11/12 *WŠT 'NK ŠLM 'T KL MLK*, "I made peace with every king."

26 A I 13, 17 *WBN 'NK HMYT*, "I built walled fortresses."

26 A I 18 *W'N 'NK 'RŠT 'ZT*, "I conquered powerful lands."

26 A I *YRDM 'NK*, "I deported them."

26 A I 20/21 *YŠBM 'NK BQŠT GBLX*, "I resettled them in the distant part of my territory."

26 A II 9,17 *WBN 'NK HQRT Z*, "I built this city."

26 A II 11 *WBNY 'NK*, "I built it."

26 A II 17/18 *ŠT 'NK ŠM 'ZTWDY*, "I named it (the city) Aztwaddiya."

26 A II 18/19 *YŠB 'NK BN B'L*, "I caused Baal to dwell in it (the city)."

3b-2. Past Perfective III

26 A I 1 *'NK 'ZTWD HBRK B'L*, "I am Aztwadda, whom Baal

blessed." *Obs.* The definite article here expresses the relative pronoun.

26 A I 12/13 **B'BT P'LN KL MLK BŠDQY WBHKMTY WB-N'M LBY**, "Every king adopted me as his father because of my honesty, my cleverness and the excellence of my mind."

26 A I 14/15 **BMQMM B'Š KN 'ŠM R'M**, "In places in which there were bad men."

26 A I 15/16 **BL 'Š 'BD KN LBT MPŠ**, "None was a vassal of the House of Mopsos."

3c. Entrance Monologue of Hanno, *ca.* 300 B.C.E.

3c-1. Past Perfective I

Poen. 942 **Iulec anec cona, alonim balim, bane becor Bals[illem]**, "I brought here, O proprietary gods, my firstborn son Bals[illem]."

3c-2. Past Perfective III

Poen. 943/4 **Hu neso bin us es hulec silli balim esse lipane esse con**, "He was made the son of the man who was my guest-friend in this nation in the past."

Poen. 944/46 **Alem us duber ce fel dono Metun et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "I am told that his (adoptive) father Mettun did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>."

3d. Son of Sipitbaal Inscription (*KAI* 9), *ca.* 500-475 B.C.E.

3d-1. Past Perfective I

9 A 4 **WYTN 'NK 'YT . . .]**, "I placed the [. . .]."

3d-2. Past Perfective III

9 A 1 [**'NK . . . B]N ŠPTB'L MLK GBL P'LT LY HMŠKB ŽN**, "I, PN son of Sipitbaal, King of Byblos, built this resting-place for myself."

9 A 2 **'L KN P'LT ['YT MŠKB ŽN]**, "For this reason did I build this resting-place."

3e. Yehawmilk Inscription (*KAI* 10), *ca.* 450 B.C.E.

3e-1. Past Perfective I

10.2/3 **WQR' 'NK 'T RBTY B'LT GBL**, "I invoked my Lady Baalat of Byblos."

10.3 *WŠM' [H'] QL*, "She heard my voice."

10.3/4 *WP'L 'NK LRBTY B'LT GBL HMZBH NHŠT ZN*, "I made this bronze altar for my Lady Baalt of Byblos."

10.6/7 *WP'L 'NK YHWMLK MLK BL LRBTY B'LT GBL*, "I, Yehawmilk, King of Byblos, made <these things> for my Lady Baalt of Byblos."

3e-2. Past Perfective III

10.1/1 *'NK YHWMLK MLK GBL . . . 'Š P'LTN HRBT B'LT GBL MMLKT 'L GBL*, "I am Yehawmilk, King of Byblos, whom the Lady Baalt of Byblos made king over Byblos."

10.7/8 *KM QR'T 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL*, "When I invoked my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice."

4. Verbal Noun

The Infinitive Absolute, like the Infinitive Construct, is used also as a verbal noun: NPu 137.2/3 *KN' 'L MLKT HBN' 'Š BMQDŠM 'L*, "Those in charge of these sanctuaries were in charge of the building project."

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE NUMERALS

I. CARDINAL NUMBERS

A. Morphology

1. *The Numerals 1-10*

Forms

ONE

M. 'HD 'eḥhad	Pu	69.3; 74.7; <i>CIS</i> i165.7, <i>EH</i> 64.3
F. 'HT 'eḥhat	NPu	120.1

TWO

Masculine

Absolute

ŠNM snêm	Ph	<i>RES</i> 827
	Pu	64.1; 130.3,6; 137.1
'ŠNM e snêm	Ph	88.6; 32.3 <i>CIS</i> I 10.3

Construct

ŠN snê	Ph	47.3.
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 122 a 2, b 3
'ŠN e snê	Ph	<i>CIS</i> i 88.6
	Pu	4596.5

Feminine

Absolute

ŠTM stêm	Ph	Umm el-Awamid 13.1
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Construct

ŠT stê		Not recorded
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THREE

M. ŠLŠT salūst	Ph	<i>CIS</i> I 93.4; Eph 1.13 nr. 11
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> I 165.9, 11
F. ŠLŠ salūs	Ph	19.8; <i>RES</i> 453
	Pu	<i>CIS</i> I 132.1
	NPu	130.2; 134.2; <i>NP</i> 58.2; <i>NP</i> 69.3

Š'LŠ	NPu	144.3
salus	NPu	Aug. on Epistle to the Romans 13
FOUR		
M. 'RB'T 'arbá'at	Pu	RES 336.5
F. 'RB' 'arba'	Ph	CIS i 3.1; 89.1
	Pu	130.5, 137.6
FIVE		
M. HMŠT hamist	Pu	CIS I 165.5, 166 B 10
F. HMŠ hames	Ph	Lapethos 3.8
	Pu	RES 1552
	NPu	NP 63.6; NP 67.4; EH 57.3; EH 64.2
'MŠ	NPu	NP 22.4; NP 23.3; NP 24.3
amys	NPu	AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.7
SIX		
M. ŠŠT sésit		Not recorded
F. ŠŠ ses	Pu	130.1 (masculine); JA 1916/1 458, 3
Š'S	NPu	142.2
sys	NPu	AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.1
SEVEN		
M. ŠB'T sebá'at		Not recorded
F. ŠB' séba'	Ph	27.17
	Pu	76 B 6
ŠB'T	NPu	EH 59.4; EH 60.4
EIGHT		
M. ŠMNT samūnīt		Not recorded
F. ŠMN samūne	Ph	CIS I 92.2
	Pu	RES 168.3
ŠMN°	NPu	JA 1916/1 465,5
NINE		
M. TŠ'T tisá'at		Not recorded
F. TŠ' lésa'	Pu	130.2
TEN		
M. ŠRT 'asert	Pu	CIS I 165.3; CIS I 175.1

F. 'SR 'asar	Ph	14.1
	Pu	101.1, 120.1
'S'R	NPu	NP 64.3
asar	NPu	AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.1, 5

2. The Numerals 11-1

The cardinal numbers 11-19 are expressed in standard Phoenician-Punic by the numeral ten followed by the unit; the two numerals are conjoined by the conjunction *W-* ("and"): *i.e.*, eleven is expressed as 'ŠRT W'HD in the masculine and 'ŠR W'HT in the feminine. Both the numerals agree in gender with the noun. In late Neo-Punic only, in analogy to the Latin numerals **undecim**, **duodecim**, **tredecim**, *etc.*, the numerals 11-19 are expressed by the unit followed directly, without the conjunction, by the numeral ten.

2a. Standard Phoenician-Punic

'ŠR(T) W- + Unit

Lapethos 3.2 YM 'ŠRT WŠLŠT 13. "Day thirteen 13."

14.1 ŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14, "Year fourteen 14."

NPu 144.2/3 'W' Š'NT 'SR WŠ'LS, "He lived twenty-three years."

NPu 120.1 RB MḤNT P'M'T 'SR W'HT, "Consul eleven times."

2b. Late Neo-Punic

Unit + 'ŠR

AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/2 [S]ys asar liiyrā Chirur, "The sixteenth of the month of Kirur." Cf. Latin **sedecim**.

3. The Numerals 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90

TWENTY

'ŠRM 'esrīm Not recorded

'SRM Pu EH 59.3

HŠR[M] NPu NP 20.3

esrim NPu IRT 826.4

THIRTY

ŠLŠM salūsīm Ph 41.5

Pu CIS I 3917.1; NP 27.5, 68.3

FORTY

'RB'M 'arba'im	Pu	<i>NP</i> 65.3; <i>JA</i> 1917/2, 12:1, 2
'RBM arbim	NPu	<i>NP</i> 23.3, 60.3

FIFTY

HMŠM hamissim	Pu	101.4; <i>CIS</i> i 165.6; <i>NP</i> 53.3; <i>NP</i> 56.3
'MŠM amissim	NPu	140.7; 165.7

SIXTY

ŠŠM sissim	Pu	149.4; <i>NP</i> 66.3
ŠYŠM	NPu	157.3

SEVENTY

ŠB'M sib'im	Pu	133.3; 171.4
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EIGHTY

ŠMNM samunim	Pu	130.2; <i>NP</i> 130.6
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NINETY

TŠ'M tis'im	Byb	3.2
TŠM	NPu	<i>JA</i> 1918 252, 5
TYŠM tissim	NPu	<i>NP</i> 55.1; <i>JA</i> 1916/1, 107

4. *The Numerals 21-29, 31-39, etc.*

The cardinal numbers 21-29, 31-39, etc., are formed in two ways: (i) The multiple of ten (20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90) followed by the unit (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), the multiple and the unit conjoined by the conjunction *W-* ("and"): *i.e.*, twenty-one is expressed as **'SRM W'HD** ("twenty and one"); (ii) The unit precedes the multiple of ten, without conjoining by the conjunction: *i.e.*, twenty-one is expressed as **'HD 'SRM** ("one twenty"). In both instances, the unit agrees in gender with the noun.

4a. **'SRM W-** + Unit

Lapethos 3.4 **HMŠM WHMŠT WRB' DR(KMNM)**, "Fifty-five and one quarter drachmas."

NPu 141.3/4 **ŠT 'SRM W'HT**, "Year twenty-one."

NPu 143.4 **ŠNT 'RBM WHD**, "Forty-one years."

NPu 152.3 **ŠŠM ŠT WŠLŠ**, "Sixty-three years."

4b. Unit + **'ŠRM**

19.8 **ŠLŠ HMŠM ŠT**, "Year fifty-three."

Pu *EH* 56.3 **'HT{T} 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-one."

Pu *EH* 57.4 **[HMŠ]T 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-five."

Pu *EH* 58.3 **ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-six."

Pu *EH* 59.4, 60.4 **ŠB'T 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-seven."

Pu *EH* 63.4 **ŠŠT HMŠM ŠT**, "Year fifty-six."

5. *The Numerals 100, 200, 1,000, 10,000*

ONE HUNDRED

M'T

Ph	<i>RES</i> 1502
Pu	101.3; <i>CIS</i> I 143.1, 165.6, 171.4,6
NPu	30.2
NPu	<i>AI</i> 1 p. 45 no. 4.6

myith

TWO HUNDRED

M'TM

Pu	76 B 9; 141.5
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THREE HUNDRED

ŠLŠ M'T

NPu	<i>CIS</i> I 165.3
-----	--------------------

FIVE HUNDRED

HMŠ M[']T

Pu	Lapethos 3.8
----	--------------

ONE THOUSAND

'LP

Ph	Lapethos 3.8
----	--------------

TEN THOUSAND

RB(')

Not recorded

rybo

NPu	<i>AI</i> 1 p. 45 no. 4
-----	-------------------------

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND

asar rybo

NPu	<i>AI</i> 1 p. 45 no.4
-----	------------------------

B. *Syntax and Usage*1. *Gender Marking and Agreement*

1a. Phoenician and Punic

In standard Phoenician-Punic, as in Classical Hebrew and Arabic, the masculine numerals 3-9 exhibit the affirmative **-T**, while the feminine numerals 3-9 exhibit the affirmative **-Ø**.

1a-1. Masculine

40.4 **ŠLŠT BN MRYHY**, “The three sons of MRYHY.”

Pu 80.1 **ŠRT HŠM Š L HMQDŠM**, “The ten men who are in charge of sanctuaries.”

2a-2. Feminine

14.1 **ŠNT ‘SR W’RB’ 14**, “Year fourteen 14.”

19.8 **ŠLŠ HMŠM ŠT**, “Year fifty-three.”

CIS I 92 **ŠNT ŠMN 8**, “Year eight 8.”

Lapethos 3.2 **YM ŠRT WŠLŠT 13 LYRH [KR]RM**, “Day thirteen 13 of the month of Kirurim.”

In Neo-Punic, gender-marking as in Phoenician-Punic is still encountered:

NPu 120.1 **P’M’T ‘SR**, “Ten times.”

NPu 120.1 **P’M’T ‘SR W’RB’**, “Fourteen times.”

NPu 120.1 **P’M’T ‘SR WHMS’**, “Fifteen times.”

1b. Late Punic and Neo-Punic

In late Neo-Punic, under the influence of Latin, the numerals 3-9 imitate the morphology and syntax of the Roman numerals: the masculine numeral exhibits the affirmative **-Ø**, while the feminine numeral exhibits the affirmative **-T**:

1b-1. Masculine

120.1 **‘SR HMŠLM**, “The eight tribunes.”

130.1 **ŠŠ HYŠBM ‘L’**, “These three benches.”

130.5 **YŠBM ‘RB’ P’L’**, “They made four benches.”

137.5/6 **NBL NSKT ‘RB’**, “Four metal vessels.”

1b-2. Feminine

Pu EH 57.4 **[HMŠ]T ‘RB’M ŠT**, “Year forty-five.”

Pu EH 58.3 **ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-six."

Pu EH 59.4, 60.4 **ŠB'T 'RB'M ŠT**, "Year forty-seven."

Pu EH 63.4 **ŠŠT ḤMŠM ŠT**, "Year fifty-six."

Contrast Phoenician usage: 19.8 **ŠLŠ ḤMŠM ŠT**, "Year fifty-three."

2. The Position of the Numeral in Enumerations

2a. Preceding the Determined Noun

47.3 **ŠN BN 'SRŠMR**, "The two sons of Osirisamor."

CIS i 88.6 **'ŠN BN [D]NŠMŠ**, "The two sons of Adonisemes."

Pu CIS i 4596.3/4 **'ŠN BN' MHRB'L**, "The two sons of Maharbal."

40.4 **ŠLŠT BN MRYHY**, "The three sons of MRYHY."

Pu 80.1 **'ŠRT H'ŠM 'Š 'L HMQDŠM**, "The ten men who are responsible for the sanctuaries."

Pu 101.4 **'D[R] ḤMŠM H'Š MQL' BN 'ŠTN**, "MQL' son of 'SYN was Prefect of the Fifty Men."

Pu CIS i 3917.1 **ŠLŠM H'Š 'Š 'L HMŠ'[TT]**, "The thirty men who are responsible for tariffs."

2b. Following a Noun Determined by a Demonstrative Pronoun

In this common usage, the pronoun is often not expressed but implicit. In the examples that follow, the non-expressed demonstrative is indicated in triangular brackets.

RES 827 **SMLM ŠNM 'L YTN 'B[D . . . L . . .]**, "Abd[. . .] presented these two statues [to . . .]."

CIS i 14.58 **MNḤT 2 'L '[Š Y]TN W]YTN' 'BD'L[M] . . . L'D-NY L[RŠP]**, "These two *mnḥt* are what Abdilim presented and erected to his Lord Rasap."

Umm el-Awamid 13.1/2 **LMLK'ŠTRT 'L ḤMN K[K]RT ḤRŠ ŠTM <'L> 'Š YTN 'BDK 'BD'DNY**, "<Dedicated> to Milkastart, God of Hammon, are <these> two talents of gold that Your servant Abdadonay has presented."

32.2/4 **MZBH '[Z] W'RWM 'ŠNM 2 <'L> 'Š YTN BD' . . . L'DNY LRŠP**, "This altar and <these> two 2 lions that Bodo presented to his Lord Rasap."

Pu 64.2 **L'DN LB'[L]ŠMM B'YNŠM NŠBM WḤNWṬM ŠNM <'L> 'Š NDR B'LHN**, "<Dedicated> to Balsamem of Inosim are <these> stelai and two *ḥnwṭm* that Balanno had vowed <to him>."

NPu 137.1 *L'DN LB'L WLTNT-PNB'L MQDŠM ŠNM <'L> 'Š P'L B'L TNSMT*, “<Dedicated> to the Lord Baal and to Thinnith-Phanebal are <these> two sanctuaries which the citizens of Thinnissut built <for them>.”

In Neo-Punic, the numeral may precede the noun:

NPu 130.1 *NP'L ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L ŠT ŠPŦM 'BDMLQRT ṬBHPY W'RŠ*, “These two benches were made in the year of the suffetes Abdmilqart Tapapius and Aris.”

2c. Following the Non-Determined Noun

Pu 80.1 *HMTBH Z DL P'MM 'ŠRT*, “This ten-footed slaughtering table,” *lit.*, “this slaughtering table which possesses ten feet.”

NPu 120.1 *P'M'T 'SR*, “Ten times.”

NPu 120.1 *P'M'T 'SR W'RB'*, “Fourteen times.”

NPu 120.1 *P'M'T 'SR WḤMŠ*, “Fifteen times.”

NPu 130.5 *YŠBM 'RB' P'L' B'NŠM*, “They made four benches with money derived from fines.”

NPu 130.2 *DN'RY' ŠMNM WKNDRM TŠ'*, “Eighty denars and nine quadrans.”

NPu 130.3 *DN'RY' ḤMŠM WŠNM*, “Fifty-two denars.”

NPu 137.5/6 *NP'L NBL NSKT 'RB' 'LT HMQDŠM 'L SPM ŠNM WZBRM ŠNM*, “Four metal vessels were made for these sanctuaries, two goblets and two bowls.”

NPu 144.2/3 *'W' Š'NT 'SR WŠ'LŠ*, “He lived twenty-three years.”

NPu 120.1 *RB MḤNT P'M'T 'SR WḤT*, “Consul eleven times.”

In late Neo-Punic, the numeral may precede the noun:

LA 1 p. 45 no. 5.5/6 *Asar rybo den(ario)*, “One hundred thousand denars.”

2d. Preceding or Following the Word “Year” or “Day” in Date Formula

14.1 *ŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14*, “Year fourteen 14.”

19.8 *ŠLŠ ḤMŠM ŠT*, “Year fifty-three.”

Lapethos 3.2 *YM 'ŠRT WŠLŠT 13 LYRH [KR]RM*, “Day thirteen 13 of the month of Kirurim.”

CIS i 92 *ŠNT ŠMN 8*, “Year eight 8.”

II. ORDINAL NUMBERS

A. Morphology

Forms

FIRST

M. LPNY <i>lipanī</i>	Ph	24.5, 10
	NPu	137.5
F. LPNT <i>lipanīt</i>		Not recorded

SECOND

M. ŠNY <i>senī</i>	Ph	14.6
ŠN'	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 5692.4
ŠNH	Pu	<i>CIS</i> i 4859.4
F. ŠNT <i>senīt</i>		Not recorded

THIRD

M. ŠLŠY <i>salūsī</i>		Not recorded
ŠLŠ'	Pu	<i>RES</i> 910
F. ŠLŠT <i>salūsīt</i>		Not recorded

FOURTH

M. 'RB'Y <i>'arba'ī</i>	Pu	76 B 1
F. 'RB'T <i>'arba'īt</i>		Not recorded
M. HMŠY <i>hamissī</i>	Pu	76 B 7
F. HMŠT <i>hamissīt</i>		Not recorded

Comments

To judge from **'RB'Y** *'arba'ī* ("four"), the ordinals 3-9 were *nisbe* forms of the cardinal numbers, not including forms of the shape *CaCīCī* like Hebrew *rēbī'ī* ("four"). The Hebrew ordinals are a mixed series of both types.

B. Syntax and Usage

LPNY

FIRST

NPu 137.4/5 **B' H' LNM 'L 'LT HMQDŠM 'L B'SR WŠB' L YRH MP' LPNY**, "These gods entered these sanctuaries on the seventeenth of the month of First Mufa."

FORMER, EARLIER, PRECEDING, PAST

24.9/10 *LPN HMLKM HLPNYM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM*, “Earlier kings (the kings who preceded <me>) treated the *mškbm* like dogs.”

24.4/5 *M Š P'LT BL P'L <HMLKM> HLPNY{H}M*, “Earlier kings (the kings who preceded <me>) did not accomplish what I accomplished.”

ŠNY

SECOND in command

Pu *KI 11 RB <MḤNT> ŠNY*, “The Second General of the Army.” A military rank.

OTHER, ANOTHER

14.5/6 *'L Y'MSN BMŠKB Z 'LT MŠKB ŠNY*, “Let him not transport me from this resting-place to another resting-place!”

ŠLŠY

THIRD in command

Pu *RES 910 RB <MḤNT> ŠLŠ'*, “The Third General of the Army.” A military rank.

'RB'Y

FOURTH

Pu 76 B 1/2 *YM H'RB'Y ŠHPR Y' HQDŠ*, “The fourth day of the piercing of the sacred *y'*.” Heading in a medical text.

ḤMŠY

FIFTH

Pu 76 B 7/8 *YM ḤMŠY LŠT 'LT ḤHDRT NPT*, “The fifth day: Pour honey upon the swollen area.” Heading and treatment in a medical text.

III. OTHER NUMERIC DESIGNATIONS

A. Numeric Group Designations

A group of a given number is expressed in Phoenician by a feminine singular noun.

'RB'T

GROUP OF FOUR

Npu Trip. 79.1/5 *B'RM QN'T M' Š P'LM M'ŠWKN L'BY*
... WL'MM... WL'BNY... WL'ŠTY... HŠ L'RBTN M, "You
 have acquired the tomb that Masauchan built for his father and for
 his mother and for his son and for his wife. Do nothing to the four
 of them!"

ŠŠT

GROUP OF SIX

Umm el-Awamid no. 10.1/3 *Ž MŠBT SKR ŠM 'BD'[NT] BN*
'BDRBT 'Š T]N]' L] ŠŠT [Š]RT[Y], "This is the stele, the me-
 morial to the name of Abdanat son of Abdribbot, that the six of his
 co-wives erected to him."

B. *Fractions***RB' réba'**

ONE FOURTH

Lapethos line 4 *QB'M ŠLKSP MSPRM 6 MŠQLM PRS WĤMŠM*
WĤMŠT WRB' DR(KMN), "Silver goblets; their number is 6, and
 their weight is one *prs* and fifty-five and one quarter drachmas."

MĤŠ meḥše and MHŠT meḥšit

ONE HALF

Hill cxxvii *MĤŠ K(SP)*, "One half silver." Denomination of Tyrian
 coin.

Betlyon p. 39f *MHŠT*, "One half." Denomination of Tyrian coin.
Obs. When "one half" of an concrete object is meant, the noun used
 is *HŠY ḥaṣī*: RES 1205.5 *P'L 'YT HŠY HSP Ž* "He made one half
 of this *sp*."

RB' ŠLŠT réba' salūst

THREE QUARTERS

Pu 69.11 *LKHNM KSP RB' ŠLŠT B'HD*, "The priests shall re-
 ceive three quarters silver for each <animal>."

C. *Multiples***P'MT pa'amūt + Numeral**

X NUMBER OF TIMES

NPu 120.1 *RB MHNT P'M'T 'SR W'HT WMYNKD P'M'T 'SR W'RB' W[THT] MŠLT 'SR HMŠLM P'M'T 'SR WḤMŠ*, “Consul eleven times, emperor fourteen times and tribune fifteen times.”

'D P'MT BRBM *'ad pa'amūt biribbīm*

MANY TIMES

Pu 68.5 *ŠM' QL' 'D P'MT BRBM*, “He (the god) heard his voice (supplication) many times.” The preposition *'ad* is used here adverbially to express multiplicity, in the manner found in Hebrew 2Kings 4:35 *'D ŠB' P'MYM* (“seven times”). For *BRBM biribbīm* (“very, much, many”), see Adverbs.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE PREPOSITIONS

The prepositions of Phoenician-Punic are of five types: (i) simple proclitics, such as **'B-**, **B-**, **L-** and **M-**; (ii) compounded proclitics, such as **L-B-**, **L-M-** and **L-M-B-**; (iii) simple non-proclitic independent prepositions, such as **'L**, **'\$L**, **'T**, **BD**, **MN**, **'D**, **'L**, **'LT**; (iv) compounded proclitic and non-proclitics, such as **L-MN**; (v) prepositional phrases, such as **'T PN**, **B-GW**, **B-D\$ L**, **B-MTKT**, **L-PN**, **'L PN**, **'LT PN**. In addition, there are co-ordinated prepositional phrases, such as **L-M- . . . W'D** and **L-M-B . . . W'D 'T**. In the list which follows, all five types of prepositions are integrated.

'B- **'eb-**

Forms

'B-	Ph	43.3,7
	Pu	Pyrgi 5; CIS i 6000.8
	NPu	147.3
ef-	NPu	<i>Triph.</i> 877.4

The preposition **'B-** is a rare free variant of **B-** *bi-*, originating in the pronunciation *b-* of the latter (without vowel) proclitic to a word beginning with a consonant; this pronunciation gave rise to the prothetic *e*-vowel, serving to break up the initial consonant cluster. Three of the extant five instances of this form occur with words beginning with a bilabial (*b m*), suggesting that *eb-* may have been preferred over *bi-* in order to avoid the bilabial sequences like *bib-* and *bim-*. The Neo-Punic vocalized example evidences the same spirantisation of *b-* contiguous to a following consonant that is evidenced in the Roman-letter Neo-Punic **myntsyfth** (**MN\$BT** “stele”) and in **lifnim** (**LBNM** “for his son”). See the discussion in the Chapter on Phonology.

Usage

In meaning and function, the preposition *eb-* was identical to *bi-*.

IN

43.2/3 *HSML Ḳ . . . 'š ḲṚṚṚṚ 'BMQDŠ MLQRT*, "This statue that I erected in the sanctuary of Milqart."

Pu Pyrgi lines 1/5 *'šR QDŠ Ḳ 'š P'L WYTN . . . BMTN 'BBT*, "This sacred Ḳr, which he made and presented as a gift in the temple."

Pu CIS i 6000.8 *W'BT SPRY KTB BPS*, "And they wrote a biography of him in an inscription in the temple."

NPu *IRT 877.1/5 Centenari mu fel Thlana Marci Cecili byMupal efsem <M>acer byn banem*, "<This is> the fortified farmhouse that Thlana Marcius Caecilius son of Mupal built in the name of Macer, his grandson."

IN, DURING (temporal)

43.7 *'BHY 'BY ḲŠT BMQDŠ MLQRT ḲṚ MŠ PN 'BY*, "I had the bust of my father placed in the sanctuary of Milqart while he (my father) was still alive."

'L 'el

This preposition, related to Hebrew *'L 'el*, is rare in Phoenician, attested twice only, once in Byblian and once in Tyro-Sidonian, in both with highly specialized function. In Byblian the preposition serves to introduce an anticipatory clause, in Tyro-Sidonian in epistolary address (destination). Phoenician does not use the preposition to express direction "to" or dative "to, for"; direction is expressed in Phoenician by the prepositions *'L* and *'LT* and by the noun in the accusative case; the dative is expressed by the prepositions *'T*, *L-* and *'L(T)*.

Usage

TO (in epistolary address formula)

50.1/2 *'L 'RŠT BT 'šMNYTN 'MR L'ḲṚṚṚ 'RŠT 'MR 'ḲṚṚṚ BŠTK BS'*, "(address) To Arisuth daughter of Esmunyaton. (Opening of the letter) Say to my sister Arisuth: <This is> the statement of your sister BS'."

AS FOR, AS TO, introducing an anticipatory phrase in Byblian. Tyro-Sidonian uses the particle **'M** *'ammā* in this same function.

Byb 1.2 **W'L MLK BMLKM . . . WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP HTR MŠPṬH**, "As for any king, if he should remove this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break."

'ŠL *'ešel*

Usage

NEXT TO, ADJACENT TO; Hebrew **'ŠL** *'ešel*.

Byb 9 B 2 [**'L TP'L LK MŠK]B 'ŠL HMŠK[B ZN]**, "Do not build a tomb for yourself next to this tomb!"

'T *'et* (*'itt-*)

Forms

ett	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 947P
itt	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 947A
yth	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936

With suffix pronouns:

1. Sg.

iti	Pu	<i>CIL</i> viii 23372 (Itibalis)
'TK	Byb	10.13

3. M.Sg.

ıθo	Ph	In the name ıθoβαλος (<i>Jos., Ap.</i> 1.123)
ıθω	Ph	In the name ıθωβαλος (<i>Jos., Ap.</i> 1.156)
to < <i>'itto</i>	Ph	In the name Tu-Ba-'-lum (<i>Senn.</i> Ii 51)
ythem	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 936, 937

The preposition is the reflex of Proto-Canaanite *'itti*; Hebrew **'T** *'et* (*'itt-* before suffix pronouns). Gemination of the *t* is indicated in the Roman-letter Punic spellings **ett** and **itt**, which occur immediately before a word beginning with a vowel, *viz.*, **ett esde** ("with/to him"). The form **to** is apthetic, with loss of the initial unstressed syllable; it is unclear however if this form was characteristic of actual usage or confined to personal names. In the late Neo-Punic form **ythem**, the

3.Sg.M. suffix pronoun **-em**, earlier used exclusively with the noun in the genitive case, is extended to the use with the preposition; this extension is found in late Neo-Punic with nouns in the nominative case, e.g., *IRT* 889.1 **binim** ("his son") and *IRT* 906.1 **byne** ("his son").

Usage

WITH, TOGETHER WITH

Byb 10.13 **TŠT ŠM 'TK**, "Place <on it> my name with yours."

13.7/8 **'L YKN LK . . . MŠKB 'T RP'M**, "(If you open my coffin,) you shall not have rest with/among the infernal deities."

14.9 **YSGRNM H'LMN HQDŠM 'T MMLKT 'DR 'Š MŠL BNM**, "The holy gods shall imprison them, together with whatever great king is ruling them."

26 A I 11/2 **WŠT 'NK ŠLM 'T KL MLK**, "And I made peace with every king."

Pu *Poen.* 947A **Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, "With him I shared a shard of hospitality." = NPU *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, "With him I shared this shard of hospitality."

In the Phoenician and Punic personal names **Itibalis** ("Baal be with me!" *CIL* viii 23372); **To-Ba'l** (*Tu-ba-'-lum* Senn. Ii 51), $\text{I}\theta\sigma\beta\alpha\text{-}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Jos., *Ap.* 1.123) = $\text{I}\theta\omega\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Jos., *Ap.* 1.156), all meaning "Baal be with him!"

TO

37 A 11 **'T PRKM QP' I[. . .]**, "<Paid> to the taskmasters: x number of *qp'*." *Obs.* In all other instances in this same inscription, the statement of recipient is begun with the preposition **L-**.

Pu *Poen.* 947 (alternate translation) **Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot**, "To him I bring a/the shard of hospitality." = NPU *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, "To him I bring in my behalf this shard of hospitality." = Latin *Poen.* 958 **ad eum hospitem hanc tesseram mecum fero**.

NPU 137.5/7 **NP'L NBL NSKT 'RB' 'LT HMQDŠM 'L . . . WNNTN 'T HKHNM 'T 'RŠ**, "Four metal vessels were made for these sanctuaries and were given to the priests, to Aris and to Bostar."

Obs. This meaning of the preposition is attested in Byblian Phoenician of the 14th century B.C. in EA 82.15: **uššira-mi awilaka ittiya** ("Send your man to me!). Cf. also EA 87.10 and the common use

of the preposition **'M** with Ugaritic in this same meaning and function.

FOR the benefit of someone/something

NPu *Poen.* 935/936 **Dobrim chy fel yth chil ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, "I am told that he did everything for his son that he was to do for him." *Obs.* In the Punic version of this statement, the preposition **alt** is used for **yth**: *Poen.* 944/946 **Alem us duber ce fel dono . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "I am told that his father did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>."

'T PN 'et panê

Usage

FOR, ON BEHALF OF

60.7/8 **'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW**, "People who have done service for the community."

TO, BEFORE, IN THE EYES OF

Byb 10.15/16 **TSRḤ HRBT B'LT GBL 'YT H'DM H' WZR'W 'T PN KL 'LN G[BL]**, "The Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make that person and his descendants stink before (be offensive to) all the gods of Byblos."

BEFORE, IN THE PRESENCE OF

Lapethos line 2 [**Y**] **TT SML MŠ Z BNḤŠT 'T PN 'DNY 'T PNY MLQRT**, "I placed this bronze statue before my Lord, before Milqart."

B- bi-

Forms

B-	Ph Pu NPu	<i>Passim</i>
BH-	NPu	Trip. 86.3

Latin-letter Spellings

A. Before a Consonant

by- NPu *LA* 1 line 8; *Poen.* 934 (bis); *IRT* 906.3

B. Before a Vowel

b- Pu *Poen.* 943 (**balim esse** "in this nation")
 NPu *IRT* 823.3; D 6.5; *Poen.* 934

BN- with Suffixal Pronouns

3.M.Sg.

BN Ph Byb 9 A 3; 14.5; 30.4 (bis)

3.F.S.

BN Ph 26 A III 8

3.M.Pl.

BNM Ph 14.9

In Neo-Punic, the preposition was *bi-* before a consonant but *b-* before a vowel; cf. Hebrew **B-** *b^e-* but *b-* in **B'LHYM** *belōhīm*. As yet, there is no evidence extant for the pronunciation of the form **BN-** used with the suffix pronouns, nor is the history of this form clear.

Usage

IN

14.3/4 **WŠKB 'NK BHLT Z WBQBR Z BMQM 'Š BNT**, "I lie in this coffin and in this tomb, in the mausoleum that I built."

Pu *Poen.* 943/4 **Hu neso bin us es hulec silli balim esse lipane esse con**, "He (my son) was adopted by the man who was my guest-friend in this nation in the past."

NPu *Poen.* 932/3 **Yn byn ui bymarob syllochom, alonim, uybmysyrthochom**, "My brother's son is in your custody, O gods, and under your protection."

IN, OF, specifying the region in which a city is located

B.V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* (London, 1963) p. 790f (legend on coinage of Beirut) **L'DK' 'Š BKN'N**, "Laodicea in Canaan (Phoenicia)." Cf. **'BL MŠRYM 'ŠR B'BR HYRDN**, "Abel of the Egyptians in the Transjordan"; **'ŠYLH 'ŠR B'RŠ KN'N**, "Shiloh in the region of Canaan (here, the Cisjordan)".

IN (temporal)

14.1 *BYRH BL BŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY*, "In the month of Bul, in year fourteen 14 of his reign."

26 A II 14/15 *BYMTY KN L'RŠ . . . ŠB' WMN'M*, "In my time, the land enjoyed abundance and prosperity." *Et passim*.

AMONG

13.6/8 *'L Y<K>N L<K> ŽR' BHYM THT ŠMŠ*, "You shall not have descendants among those living under the sun."

Pu *CIS I 5510.4/5 [WKL 'JDM 'Š 'YBL MŠRT WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L W'DN B[L]HMN 'YT 'DMM HMT BHYM 'L PN ŠMŠ*, "As for any person who will not serve, our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and the Lord Baalhammon shall tie up those persons among those living under the sun."

ON

14.16/17 *W'NHN 'Š BNN BT L'ŠMN-ŠD QDŠ 'N YDLL BHR*, "It was we who built a temple for holy Esmun-SD at En YDLL on the mountain (*or* in the mountains)."

FROM (motion)

14.5/6 *W'L Y'MSN BMŠKB Ž 'LT MŠKB ŠNY*, "Let him not move me from this resting place to another resting place!"

60.6 *YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMMN 20*, "They shall withdraw from the silver of the god Baal of Sidon twenty drachmas."

NPu D 6.5/6 **Badnim garasth is on, / MySyrthim bal sem ra**, "From Adnim I expelled the wicked fellow, / From the Syrthis, him of ill repute."

OF (FROM), expressing provenience or association, of a god or person

17.1/2 *'ŠTRT 'Š BGW HQDŠ 'Š LY*, "Astarte of GW, my goddess."

18.2/3 *'BD'LM BN MTN BN 'BD'LM BN B'LŠMR BPLG L'DK*. "Abdilim son of Muttun son of Balsamor of/from the district of Laodikaia."

Caquot-Masson, *Syria* 45 (1968) 302-306 line 2 *RŠP HMKL 'Š B'DYL*, "Rasep the Annihilator of Idalion" Cf. 38.1/2 *RŠP MKL B'DYL*.

Lapethos 3=Honeyman, *Le Muséon* 51 (1938) 285-298 line 5 *'SR*

BLPŠ, “Osiris of Lapethos.”

NSI 150.5 **MLQRT BŠR**, “Milqart of Tyre”

Pu 64.1 **B<L>ŠMM B'YNŠM**, “Baalsamem of Inosim.”

Pu 81.1 **LRBT L'ŠTRT WLTNT BLBNM MQDŠM HDŠM <'L>**, “<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith of Lebanon are these new sanctuaries.”

Pu 86.3/4 **'BDMLKT BN 'STRTYTN 'Š B'M BT MLQRT**, “Abdmilkot son of Astartyatton, a member of the personnel of the temple of Milqart.”

NPu 118.2/3 **NKSP . . . 'Š BBN' M'SNK'W**, “NKSP, <a member> of the Bane Masanchaw.”

NPu 170.2/3 **'DNBL HŠKŠY 'Š B'M LKŠ**, “Idnibal the Sexite, <a citizen> of the nation of Lixus.”

NPu D 9.1/4 **Yriraban byn Isicuar [i]s ys bAbar Timsiuch**, “Yriraban son of Isicuar, a soldier from the Trans-Timsiuch.”

OF, partitive, expressing one of many

26 A III 12 **MLK BMLKM WRŽN BRŽNM**, “Any king or any ruler,” *lit.*, “a king among kings, a ruler among rulers.”

24.13/14 **WMY BBNY 'Š YŠB THTN**, “Whichever of my sons shall sit on the throne in my stead.”

ANY, SOME, OF, partitive, corresponding to French *de*

NPu 147.3 **LTT H'L 'B-BRKT M L[N]**, “May God (the god) grant us of his blessings!”

NPu 162.4/5 **TN L' BTRBT ŠQLT**, “Give her/him some weight-ed out interest.”

NPu 163.3 **BL L' BŠMḤ Š'RM**, “He has no offspring at all of his own flesh.”

FOR, TOWARDS, ABOUT, expressing attitude

24.13 **W'NK TMKT MŠKBM LYD WHMT ŠT NBŠ KM NPŠ YTM B'M**, “I took the *mškbm* by the hand; and they felt <towards me> as an orphan feels towards a mother.”

AT, BY MEANS OF, THROUGH

18.3/4 **'YT HS'R Ž WHDLHT 'Š L P'LT BTKLTY BNTY**, “I built this gate and its panels at my own expense.”

NPu 129.1/3 **BN' W'YQDŠ T-'KSNDR' WT-'RPT ST BTŠ'TM**

BTM, “He built and dedicated this exedra and portico at his own expense.”

WITH

Byb 13.1 **WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ŽN 'SP BMR WBBDL[H]**, “And so here do I lie in this coffin, <my bones> gathered <and covered> with myrrh and bdellium.”

26 C III 17/18 **WBRK B'L KRNTRYŠ 'YT 'ŽTWD BHYM WBŠLM WB'Ž 'DR 'L KL MLK**, “May Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless Awtwadda with long life, with health and with might greater than that of any king!”

NPu 130.5 **YŠBM 'RB' P'L' B'NŠM 'RKT 'Š 'L HMḤZM**, “The department of works in charge of marketplaces built <these> benches with money from fines.”

NPu 121.2 **BT'RM BTM P'L W'YQDŠ**, “He made and dedicated it with his own money.”

BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF

26 A I 12/13 **B'BT P'LN KL MLK BŠDQY WBḤKMTY WB-N'M LBY**, “And every king adopted me as father because of my honesty, because of my cleverness and because of the excellence of my mind.”

OUT OF, expressing intent or purpose

26 A III 15/18 **'M BḤMDT YS' 'M BŠN'T WBR' YS' HŠ'R Ž**, “Whether he shall tear it out out of love or tear out this gate out of hatred and malice.”

OF, expressing material of manufacture

31.1 **'Ž YTN LB'L LBNN 'DNY BR'ŠT NḤŠT**, “To Baal of Lebanon he presented this <cup> made of the finest bronze.”

43.7 **YŠT BMQDŠ MLQRT 'YT MŠ PN 'BY BNḤŠT**. “In the sanctuary of Milqart I placed the bust of my father made of bronze.”

WORTH

60.1/3 **'TRT HRŠ BDRK<M>NM 20**, “A gold crown worth 20 drachmas.”

AT A COST OF

IRT 906.1/3 **Thanubda ubyne Nasif felu myn\$yftħ [ly]Masauchan byn Iyllul bydenario yl 2100**, "Thanubda and his son Nasif made <this> stele for Masauchan son of Iyllul at a cost amounting to 2,100 denars."

IN PAYMENT FOR, IN EXCHANGE FOR

24.8 **'LMT YTN BŠ WGBR BSWT**, "One used to give a young woman for a sheep, and a young man for a garment."

Pu 69.3 **B'LP KLL . . . LKHNM KSP ŠRT 10 B'HD**, "For a whole ox, the priests shall receive ten 10 silver for each one."

IN CHARGE OF

Pu 66.1 **'KLYN . . . Š BMMLHT**, "Cleon, who is in charge of the salt works." = Greek Κλεων ο επι των αλων.

Pu RCL 1966 p. 201, line 1 **PTH WP'L YTH HŠ Z LMQM Š'R HHDŠ Š KN BH[ŠT]**, "Those in charge of streets opened and built this street of the quarter of Newgate."

AS

Pu Pyrgi lines 1/5 **LRBT L'ŠTRT ŠR QDŠ Z Š P'L WŠ YTN TBRY' WLNŠ MLK 'L KYŠRY' . . . BMTN 'BBT**." "<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte is this sacred *aser* that Tiberius Velanas, King of Caere, made and presented as a gift in the temple."

Pu 69.14 [**']L BLL W'L HLB W'L HLB W'L KL ZBH Š 'DM LZBH BMNH[T] Y[KN LKHNM . . .]**], "For mash or for fat or for milk or for any sacrifice that one shall make as a *minħit*-offering, the priests shall receive [. . .]."

NPu 34 **N'Š ŠDBR L'DN B'LMN BMLK ZRM YŠ**, "SDBR brought a male sacrificial offering to the Lord Baalhammon as a *molk*-offering."

WITH, in the sense of wearing or bearing

Byb 11 **B'RN ZN 'NK BTN'M . . . ŠKBT BSWT WMR'S WMHSM LPI**, "In this coffin do I, Bitnoam, lie, wearing a garment and a head-piece and a mouth-muzzle."

Pu 78.4/6 **MNŠBT PSLT . . . 'BN 'RKT BKRŠ B'LHMN**, "A sculpted stela, being a tall stone with/bearing the figure of Baalhammon."

*B-GW bigō**Usage*

INSIDE, WITHIN; cf. Aramaic *B-GW* *b^egō*'.

NPu Trip. 86.3/4 *W'T KRY KRY 'T HŠD ŠBN' ḤN' BN MTN*
Š' LM BHGW 'R B'MQT ŠHT'M'R, "Buy, buy the land of the sons
of Hanno bin Muttun that they own inside the city in the Palm
Valley."

*BD bod, bad-***Forms**

<i>BD</i>	Ph	60.3; Akko lines 1/2; CIS i 87.1/4
	Pu	CIS i 4901
<i>bod</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 949
	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 939; <i>IRT</i> 892
<i>bud</i>	NPu	<i>PBSR</i> 28 p. 53 no. 5

With Prepositions

1.Sg.		
<i>BDY badí</i>	Pu	Pyrgi line 6
3.Pl.		
<i>BDNM</i>	Ph	14.6

The preposition *BD* is in origin a contraction of *B-YD* ("in/from/ by the hand of someone"); accordingly, since it is a noun governed by a preposition, it must take the form of the suffixal pronoun affixed to the noun in the genitive case: e.g., *BD-Y* ("of him"); *BD-NM* ("by them").

Usage

BY, OF, FROM, expressing human agency

1. Agent of an active transitive verb

Pu Pyrgi line 1/6 *LRBT L'ŠTRT 'ŠR QDŠ 'Z 'Š P'L . . . TBRY'*
WLNŠ MLK 'L KYŠRY' . . . K-ŠTRT 'RŠ BDY, "<Dedicated> to
the Lady Astarte is this sacred *aser* that Tiberius Velanas, King of
Caere, made <for her>, because she requested it of him."

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, "Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here." = NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim.**

NPu *IRT* 892.3/5 **Bycys Cae(u)s en bod Dubren allonim**, "Gaius sought/seeks favor from Dubren, his god."

2. Agent of an Intransitive or Passive Verb

14.5 **'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK 'L TŠM' BDNM**, "Even if people tell you <to violate this tomb>, do not be persuaded by them!"

60.1/3 **TM BD ŠDNM BN'SPT L'TR 'YT ŠM'B'L . . . 'TRT HRŠ**, "It has been deemed good by the Sidonians in assembly to crown Samobaal with a gold crown."

Akko lines 1/2 **BD TLBN HRŠ 'Š YTN 'GN WB'LŠ<'>LT 'Š 'L 'ŠRT**, "<Received> by TLBN is the pottery that 'GN and Baalsa'alti, the officials in charge of temples, delivered <to him>."

NPu *PBSR* 28 p. 53 no. 5.10/11 **Felu tabula y bud bannom**, "That <inscribed> tablet was made by their son."

IN THE POSSESSION OF <SOMEONE>, OWNED BY"

Pu *CIS* i 4901.3/4 **ŠPT 'Š ŠDN BD 'DNM BD MLKYTN**, "Safot, a slave owned by his master Milkyaton."

Pu *CIS* i 4905.3/5 **ŠPT BN MŠLH 'Š ŠDN BD 'DNY BD HMLKT**, "Safot bin Meslih, a slave in the possession of his master Himilco."

IN THE CHARGE OF

CIS i 87.1/4 **BD 'BD'LM . . . P'LM 145 BD MNHM . . . P'LM 22**, "In the charge of Abdilim are 145 workmen; in the charge of Menehhem are 22 workmen."

B-DŠ L-

Usage

CONTRARY TO; etymology obscure

Pu 69.20 **KL KHN 'Š YQH MŠ'T BDŠ L'Š ŠT BPS Z WN'N[Š]**, "As for any priest who shall accept a payment that is contrary to what is set down in this inscription, he shall be fined."

BY bī

The preposition **BY** is in origin **B-'Y**, the preposition **B-** and the

negative particle 'Y, having as analogue Hebrew **B-L'** *b^elō*. The preposition is attested in Punic only, Phoenician using **DL**.

Usage

WITHOUT

Pu 79.6/11 **KL Š LSR T-'BN Ž BY PY 'NK WBY PY 'DM BŠMY WŠPT TNT-PNB'L BRH 'DM H'**, "As for anyone who shall remove this stele without my permission or without the permission of someone authorized by me, Thinnith-Phanebal shall condemn that person."

Pu CIS i 5522.4 **HTRŠM BMYP'L 'DN, . . HNM BY KSP**, "He signed himself back into the employ of his master of his own free will <and> without <payment of> silver."

BLT *bilti*

Usage

SAVE, EXCEPT, BUT; cf. Heb *bilti*.

13.5 **KL MNM MŠD BLT 'NK ŠKB B'RN Ž**, "Nothing at all of value but me (my body) lies in this coffin."

B-MTKT ?*bimatūkot*

Usage

IN THE MIDST OF; cf. Hebrew **BTWK** *b^etōk*.

24.5/6 **KN BT 'BY BMTKT MLKM 'DRM**, "My royal house was in the midst of those of more powerful kings."

B-'BR *bi'abūr*

Usage

BECAUSE OF, THANKS TO

26 A II 5/6 **BYMTY 'ŠT T<L>K LHDY DL PLKM B'BR B'L W'LM**, "In my time, a woman is able to travel alone, without bodyguards, because (thanks to) of Baal and the gods."

BECAUSE OF, FOR THE SAKE OF; cf. Hebrew **B'BWR** *ba'^aabūr*

26 A II 10/12 **B'L WRŠP ŠPRM ŠLHN LBNT WBNT 'NK B'BR**

B'L WB'BR RŠP ŠPRM, "Baal and Rasap-SPRM commissioned me to build it (the city of Aztwaddiya), so I built it because of (for the sake of) Baal and because of (for the sake of) Rasap-SPRM."

DL ?*dal* < *dall*

Usage

WITHOUT

26 A II 3/6 **BMQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M . . . WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LHDY DL PLKM**, "In places that were dangerous in the past, in my time a woman walks alone without bodyguards." *Obs.* For "without," Punic uses the preposition **BY** *bī*.

K- *k^e-*

Forms

K-	Ph	43.12
	Pu	69.17
ce-	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 827 in the personal name Micebal

It is uncertain whether the preposition is the reflex of Canaanite proclitic **ka-* as is Hebrew *k^e-* or is the reflex of the independent (non-proclitic) preposition **kī* used in Akkadian; the Neo-Punic Latin-letter spelling **ce** is ambiguous. In light however of the co-occurrence in Phoenician-Punic of the independent form **KM** *k^omū*, it is perhaps likelier that **K** is the proclitic *k^e-*. The preposition **K-** is relatively uncommon in Phoenician-Punic, which preferred the independent form **KM**.

Usage

LIKE

NPu *IRT* 827.1/2 in the personal name **Micebal** (**MYKB'L**), "Who is like Baal?" Cf. the Hebrew personal name **MYK'L** *mī-ka'el* ("Who is like God?").

ACCORDING TO, IN ACCORDANCE WITH

43.10/12 **KM ZBH'T . . . YM MD YM . . . [BHD]ŠM WBSKS'M YRH MD YRH 'D 'LM KQDM**, "So, too, did I make sacrifice daily

and monthly on the new moons and full moons, regularly, in accordance with ancient practice.”

Pu 69.16/18 *WKL 'DMM 'Š YZBH [ZBH WYTN] H'DMM HMT MŠ'T 'L ZBH KMDT ŠT BKTBT[T 'Š BD ŠLŠM H'Š 'Š 'L HMS'TT]*, “As for all persons who shall offer a sacrifice, those persons shall pay a payment for a sacrifice in accordance with the amount set down in the document held by the Thirty Men in charge of Payments.”

KM k^omū k^amū

Forms

<i>KM</i>	Ph-NPu	Byb 11; 24.10
<i>comu</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 945A
<i>cumu</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 945A

The preposition is the reflex of Canaanite **kamō*; Hebrew *k^emō*. The Punic Latin-letter spellings *comu* and *cumu*, which co-occur as conflates in *Poen.* 945, display coloring of the *shewa* through forward assimilation to the final u-vowel.

Usage

LIKE

Byb 11 *B'RN ZN 'NK BTN'M 'M MLK 'ZB'L MLK GBL BN PLTB'L KHN B'LT ŠKBT BSWT WMR'Š 'LY WMḤSM LPY KM 'Š LMLKYT 'Š KN LPNY*, “In this coffin lie I, Bitnoam, mother of King Azbaal, King of Byblos son of Pelletbaal, Priest of Astarte, I wearing a garment and head-piece and muzzle like those <worn by> the queens of Byblos who preceded me.”

24.9/10 *LPN HMLKM HLPNYM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM*, “Before the kings who preceded me the *mškbm* used to go about like dogs.”

See also *KM* and *KM 'Š* under Conjunctions.

L- *li-* (vars. *lo-*, *la-*)

Forms

<i>L-</i>	Ph Pu NPu	<i>Passim</i>
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Latin and Greek-letter Spellings

A. Before a consonant:

la-	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 939 lasibithim
le-	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 995 leadrumit
li-	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 873.3 libinim ; <i>AI</i> 1 line 1 lifnim ; <i>LA</i> 1 1964 p. 45 no. 4.1/2 liiyra ; <i>Poen.</i> 1013 limin
lo-	NPu	<i>IRT.</i> 893.2/3 loby[t]hem ; <i>IRT</i> 828.1/2 loby[th]im ; <i>Poen.</i> 939 lomyn
ly-	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 893.3/4 lybanem ; <i>IRT</i> 901.5 ly- bythi ; <i>AI</i> line 2 lybythem ; <i>IRT</i> 906.2 [l]yMasauchan) <i>IRT</i> 827.1 lymyth
λυ-	Pu	<i>EH Gr.</i> 1.1 λυβαλαμουσ

B. Before a vowel:

l-	NPu	<i>S</i> 24.2 labunom ; <i>AI</i> line 3 luia ; <i>AI</i> line 3 lysthim) <i>AI</i> line 3 lys
λ-	Ph	174.8 λαφδε
	Pu	<i>EH Gr.</i> 1.1 λαδουσ

With Suffixal Pronouns

1.Sg.		
LY <i>lī</i>	Ph-NPu	<i>Byb</i> 9 A 1; 17.2
li	NPu	<i>IRT</i> 901.5; <i>Poen.</i> 937
3.M.Sg.		
L <i>lo</i>	Ph	<i>Byb</i> 12.3; 18.4
lo	NPu	<i>D</i> 5.19
3.F.Sg.		
L <i>la</i>	Ph	26 A III 16
L'	NPu	143.3 ŠL'
1 Pl.		
LN	Ph	14.18; 60.4
2.M.Pl.		
lochom	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 933 syллоchom
3.M.Pl.		
LM	Ph	14.8, 11; <i>Umm el-Awamid</i> 6.3

The preferred form of the preposition was *li-* (**le-**, **li-**, **ly-**) and, in the Neo-Punic period, *l-* before a vowel. The origin of the vowel in the form **lo-** is uncertain. The most uncommon of the forms was **la-**, appearing once, in **lasibit-**; cf. however Hebrew **LŠBT** *lašébet*, with the same form of the preposition.

Usage

FOR

Byb 1.1 **'RN ZP'L [']TB'L BN 'HRM MLK GBL L'HRM 'BH**, "Coffin that Ittobaal son of Ahiram, King of Byblos, made for his father Ahiram."

Pu 101.1 **T-MQDŠ Z BN' B'L' TBGG LMSNSN HMMLKT**, "The citizens of Thugga built this sanctuary for King Massinissa."

NPu IRT 873.1/4 **Myntsyfth ymu fel Bibi Mythunilim uintseb libinim Mythunilim**, "<This is the stele> that Bibi Mythunilim made and erected to his son Mythunilim." *Et passim*.

TO

31.1 **'Z YTN LB'L LBNN 'DNY**, "He presented this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord."

34.1/3 **MŠBT 'Z 'Š YTN' 'RŠ . . . L'BY . . . WL'MY**, "<This is> the stele that Aris erected to his father and to his mother." *Et passim*.

174.1/8 Αφεθενναυ υιος Αφεσαθουιν νεσε οθ αμαθη λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[. . .], "Abdthennau son of Abdsaphun gave his female slave as a wife to his slave Ma[. . .]."

OF, expressing the indirect genitive

14.1 **BŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'ŠMN'ZR**, "In year fourteen 14 of the reign of King Esmunazor."

NPu LA 1 1964 p. 45 no. 4.1/2 **[Bys]ys asar liiyra Chirur**, "On the sixteenth of the month of Kirur."

53.1/2 **MŠBT SKR BHYM L'BDTNT BN 'BDŠMŠ HŠDNY**, "<This is> the memorial stele among the living of Abdtinnit son of Abdsemes the Sidonian."

Pu *Poen.* 995 **Anno bin Mutumbal leadrumet anec**, "I am Hanno son of Mythumbal of Hadrumetum." = NPu **Anno byn Mythumbal le adremeth anech**.

53.1 **MŠBT SKR BHYM L'BDTNT**, "Memorial stele among the living of Abdtinnit."

CIS i 59.1/2 **MŠB BḤYM L'BD'ŠMN**, "Stele among the living of Abdesmun."

Pu/NPu *Poen.* 995A **Anno byn Mytthumbal leadrunit anech** = *Poen.* 995P **Anno byn Mytthumbal leadrebeth anech**, "I am Hanno son of Mittunbal of Hadrumetum."

46.35 **ŠLM H'Š LMŠB**, "May the people of the colony prosper!"

NPu *Poen.* 938 **Ily gubulim lasibithim**, "This is the quarter where he resides," *lit.*, "these are the environs of his residence." The Punic of this same line (*Poen.* 948) uses the determinative pronoun: <esse> **mucom sussibti**, "This is the place of his residence."

Obs. The indirect genitive marker **L-** had specific functions not exercised by the other markers of the indirect genitival relationship. It served to express a genitival relationship between two governing nouns and a governed noun: the first of the governing nouns is in direct genitive but the second in indirect genitive:

35.2/3 **MŠKB NḤTY L'LM WL'ŠTY**, "My and my wife's eternal resting-place," *lit.*, "My eternal resting-place and <that> of my wife."

Umm el-Awamid **MŠBT B'LŠMR [WL]'MN 'ŠT**, "The stele of Baalsamor and 'MN, his wife." *lit.*, "The stele of Baalsamor and <that> of 'MN, his wife."

It is also normal in date formula, serving to express an indirect genitive relationship between a numeral and year or month:

14.1 **ŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY**, "Year fourteen 14 of his reign."

19.8 **ŠLŠ ḤMŠM ŠT L'M ŠR**, "Year fifty-three of the nation of Tyre."

Pu 111.3/5 **ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT LMLKY MSNSN**, "Year forty-six of the reign of Masinissa." *Obs.* Once, quite exceptionally, in Punic the determinative pronoun is used instead in this construction: 101.1 **ŠT 'SR Š[MLKY] MKWSN**, "Year ten of the reign of Micipsa."

The genitive marker **L-** is that used in the inverted indirect genitive. In the inverted indirect genitive, the governed noun (with **L-**) precedes the governing noun; the latter may receive a possessive pronoun that refers back to the governed noun.

Umm el-Awamid 9.1 **LB'LŠMR . . . SKR**, "The memorial of Baalsamor," *lit.*, "Of Baalsamor, his memorial (*sikro*)."

43.5 **L'M LPT ŠNT 33**, "Year 33 of the nation of Lapethos," *lit.*, "Of the nation of Lapethos, year 33."

Pu Pyrgi line 7 **LMLKY ŠNT ŠLŠ 3**, "Year three 3 of his reign," *lit.*, "Of his reign, year three 3."

NPu 145.4 *L'LM HQYDŠ LŠ'T 'HT ŠMM*, "Exalt the name of the holy god!", *lit.*, "Of the holy god, exalt his name!"

Obs. This inverted construction is found in Hebrew, Ugaritic and Akkadian: Hebrew *LYHWDH NĤŠWN BN 'MYNDB*, "Nahshon son of Aminadab of Judah" (Numbers 1:7); Ugaritic *DT YRQ NQB NM*, "The trappings of gold," *lit.*, "Of gold, the trappings"; Akkadian *ša Tiamat karassa*, "the anger of Tiamat," *lit.*, "Of Tiamat her anger."

BY, expressing agent of a passive verb

60.4/5 *R'T Ž LKTB H'DMM Š NŠ'M LN 'L BT 'LM 'LT MŠBT HRŠ*, "The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple shall inscribe this resolution on a gold stele."

AS, LIKE, expressing predication

26 A I 3 *P'LN B'L LDNNYM L'B WL'M*, "Baal made me a father and a mother to the Danunians."

Lapethos 3.2/3 *[YT]T SML MŠ Ž BNĤŠT 'T PN MLQRT . . . LSKRN BĤYM*, "I placed this statue before Milaqart as a memorial among the living."

NPu JA 1967 p. 63 lines 1/2 *L'DN LB'L HQDŠ BYM N'M LMLK*, "<This child sacrificial victim was presented> to the Lord Baal the Holy on the "Good Day" as a *molk*-offering."

174.1/8 Αφεθενναυ υιος Αφεσαθουν νεσε οθ αμαθη λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[. . .], "Abdthennau son of Abdsaphun gave his female slave as a wife to his slave Ma[. . .]."

L-B- libi-

Usage

A single instance of this compound preposition occurs, in Punic. It is equivalent in function and meaning to the simple preposition *B-* and to the compound preposition *LMB-*.

FOR, IN PAYMENT FOR

Pu 69.12 *[']L ŠPR 'M QDMT QDŠT 'M ŽBH ŠD 'M ŽBH ŠMN LKHN M KSP '[GRT] 10 LB'HD*, "For a bird or a sacred *qdšt* or a sacrifice of game or a sacrifice of oil, the priests shall receive 10 *'grt* for each." Elsewhere in this same text, the simple preposition *B-* is used in essentially identical statements: line 3 *B'LP KLL . . . LKH-*

NM KSP 'ŠRT 10 B'HD, "For an entire ox, the priests shall receive ten 10 silver weight for each." Cf. also lines 7, 11.

L-L- lili-

Usage

A single instance of this compound preposition occurs, in late Neopunic. It is equivalent in function and meaning to the simple preposition *L-*; cf. Hebrew *mimmen-* < *min-min* in *mimmennī* ("from me").

NPu IRT 828.1/2 **Mintsyft[h m]u fel Baricbal Typafi loby[ni]m . . . ulilyst<h>im . . . mythem**, "<This is> the stele that Baricbal Typafi made for his deceased son and wife."

L-MN limin

Forms

LM-	NPu	145 III 14
limin	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 949, 1014
lomyn	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 939

Usage

FROM

NPu 145 III 12/14 **ŠM'T HMZRḤ Š 'YKRM' T-HMNḤT QR' LMM'L MT'**, "<Here are> the names <of the members of> the sodality who honored him. Read what is set down from top to bottom."

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, "Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here." = NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim.**

Pu *Poen.* 1014 **Lec lacanna limin co**, "Go! Go away from here!"

L-MN . . . W'D limin . . . we'ad

Usage

FROM . . . TO, expressing extent

26 A I 4/5 **YRḤB 'NK 'RŠ 'MQ 'DN LMMŠ' ŠMŠ W'D MB'Y**, "I enlarged the land of Adana Valley from East to West (*lit.*, from the place of the exit of the sun to the place of its entry)."

26 A II 1/3 **BKL GBL 'MQ 'DN LMMŠ' ŠMŠ W'D MB'Y**, "Throughout the territory of the Adana Valley from East to West."

FROM . . . TO, BOTH . . . AND, expressing inclusivity

Pu 65.2, 81.1/6 [*LM*]'*DRNM W'D Š'RNM*, "The great and the small among them."

L-M(N)-B- limibbi-

Usage

This compound preposition is identical in all its meanings and functions to the simple preposition *B-*.

IN

Pu 69.5 '*GL Š'QRNY LMBMḤSR*, "A calf whose horns are absent (*lit.*, in absence)."

NPu 124.1/2 *G'Y BN ḤN' LMBŠM G'Y BN BNM M'QR <YTN> T-'MDM WT-HM'Q'M YGN WT-HMḤZ RBD LMBMLKTM BTM*, "Gaius son of Hanno presented the columns and roofed the structure and paved the forum at his own expense in the name of Gaius, the son of his son Macer." Compare *LMBŠM* to simple *BŠM* in *IRT* 877.1: **Centenari mu fel Thlana Marci Cecili byMupal efsem <M>acer byn banem Bucu buo**, "<This is> the fortified farmhouse that Thlana Marcius Caecilius son of Mupal built in the name of Macer, the son of his son Bucu, his (Macer's) father."

IN (temporal), DURING

35.1/2 *MŠBT LMBḤYY YTN'T 'L MŠKB NḤTY*, "I erected <this> stele at my resting-place during my lifetime."

Pu 81.1/6 *LRBT L'ŠTRT WLTNT BLBNN MQDŠM ḤDŠM <'L> KM KL 'Š BM[M] . . . 'Š YB' 'LT HḤRZ ŠMQDŠM 'L . . . LMBYRḤ ḤYR ŠPTM 'BDMLQRT W[. . .]Y*, "<Belonging> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith of Lebanon are these new sanctuaries as well as everything that is in them that was brought into the custody of these sanctuaries in the month of Hiyar <in the year of> the suffetres Abdmilqart and [. . .]ay."

Trip. 14.1/2 [*B*]'*BDMLQRT BN ḤNB'L . . . P'L' . . . LMBMḤY'*, "Abdmilqart son of Annobal made it during his lifetime."

WITH, AT. BY MEANS OF

NPu 126.10/11 *MZBḤ WP'DY P'L LMBMLKTM BTM*, "He built the altar and the podium at his own expense."

NPu 130.2 *TMNM DN'RY' ŠMNM WKNDRM TŠ' LMB'NŠM*,

“Their (the benches) cost of eighty denars and nine quadrans <was met with money derived> from fines.”

L-M(N)-B- . . . W'D 'T limibb- . . . we'ad 'et

Usage

FROM . . . TO, expressing distance between two objects

NPu *LMB'BN 'Š 'L HSTW'T W'D 'T 'BN Ž MRŠM M'TM W'RB'M*, “From the stone that is next to the *syw't* to this stone is <a distance of> two hundred *stadia*.”

L-'N li'ênê

Usage

ON THE PART OF, BY, FROM; *lit.*, IN THE EYES OF

Byb 10.9 [*WTTN LY HRBT B']LT GBL HN L'N 'LNM WL'N 'M 'RŠ Ž*, “May the Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor on the part of the gods and on the part of the people of this land.”

48.4 [*WT]TN LM HN WHYM L'N 'LNM WBN 'DM*, “And grant ye to them favor and long life on the part of the gods and men.”

LPY lipī

Usage

BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF, ON ACCOUNT OF

NPu 126.7/9 *LPNY 'DR' 'LPQY W'M 'LPQ[Y] LPY M'S' 'BTY WM'SM BTM YTN' L'BD BŠP'T KL H'T*, “The senate of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis granted to him <the right> to make use of the broad senatorial purple stripe always.”

IN ACCORDANCE WITH

Pu 69.18 [*K]L MŠ'T 'Š 'YBL ŠT BPS Ž WNTN LPY HKTB'T 'Š [BD ŠLŠM H'Š 'Š 'L HMS'TT]*, “As for any payment that is not set down in this inscription, it shall be given in accordance <with what is set down in> the book that is in the possession of the thirty men who are in charge of payments.”

*L-PN lipanê***Forms**

<i>LPN</i>	Ph	24.10
<i>lipane</i>	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 943/44P

With suffix pronouns:

Sg. 1.

<i>LPNY lipnay</i>	Ph	Byb 11
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Sg.3.M.

<i>LPNY lipnêyo</i>	Ph	CID 9 AB
	NPu	126.7

Usage

BEFORE, IN THE PRESENCE OF

24.9/10 *LPN HMLKM HLPNYM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM*, “In the presence of the kings who preceded me the *mškbm* used to go about like dogs.” Non-literal translation: “The *mškbm* (members of the lower class) were treated like dogs by the kings who preceded me.”

BEFORE (temporal)

Byb 11 *B’RN ŽN ’NK BTN’M . . . ŠKBT BSWT WMR’Š ’LY WMḤSM LPY KM ’Š LMLKYT ’Š KN LPNY*, “I, Bitnoam, lie in this coffin, wearing a garment and a head-piece and a mouth-muzzle like those of the queens who were before me.”

TO (dative)

CID 9AB *WMŠ’ LPNY PHLŠ HML’K*, “PHLS the messenger came to him.”

NPu 126.7/9 [*TYBRY QLWDY S’SṬY*] . . . *’Š LPNY ’DR’ ’LPQY W’M ’LPQ[Y]* . . . *YTN’ L’BD BŠP’T KL Ḥ’T*, “Tiberius Claudius Sestius, to whom the senate and people of Lepcis granted <the right> to make use of the broad senatorial purple stripe always.”

*MN min-***Forms**

M-	Ph	33.2
min	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 949 in limin
myn	NPu	<i>Poen.</i> 939 in lomyn
my-	NPu	D 6.5/7

The preposition *MN* is relatively uncommon in Phoenician-Punic; preferred is the compound preposition *LMN*. Both the proclitic form *mi(n)-* and the independent (non-proclitic) *min* occur.

Usage

FROM

NPu D 6.5/7 **Badnim garasth is on, // MySyrthim bal sem ra**, “From Adnim I expelled the wicked fellow, / From the Syrthis, him of ill repute.”

OF, expressing material

33.2/3 **[S]MLT '[Z] 'Š YTN WYṬN' MNḤŠT . . . LRBTY L'ŠTRT**, “<It is> this statue made of bronze that he presented and erected to his Lady Astarte.”

FROM, OF, expressing origin

Pu 116.2/4 **'BD'ŠMN BN M'DR 'Š KN'N MQRMN**, “Abdesmun son of Me'edder, a Phoenician from Qerumin.”

*NGD neged**Usage*FACING, OPPOSITE; Hebrew *NGD neged*.

NPu 147.2 **[N]GD ḤŠMM ND'R NDR'**, “Facing Heaven they (the members of the sodality) prayed.”

'D 'ad

Usage

AS FAR AS, TO; Hebrew 'D 'ad.

CIS I 113.1 'NK 'ŠMNYTN . . . 'LT 'D SHRW, "I, Esmunyatón, sailed upstream as far as SHRW."

UNTIL (temporal)

Pu CIS I 6000.5 KM KHN BHYY QDŠM 'BD W' LNM ŠMŠ 'D L'TY, "During his lifetime he served the holy ones like a priest, yea, he served the gods until he became too'weak <to do so>."

Pu 78.1 YBRKY WYŠM' QL 'D 'LM, "May he bless him and hear his voice (petitions) for ever."

See also the co-ordinated prepositional phrases L-MN . . . W'D and L-M-B- . . . W'D 'T ("from . . . to"); and the conjunction 'D 'Š ("as soon as, when").

'L 'al

Forms

'LY 'ála	Arch Byb	1.2
'L 'al	Ph Pu NPu	26 A I 7, <i>et passim</i>
al	Pu	Poen. 941
	NPu	Poen. 931

With suffix pronouns:

1.Sg.		
'LY 'alay	Ph	Byb 3.6; 24.7
2.M.Sg.		
'LK 'alêka	Byb	Byb 3.5
3.M.Sg.		
'LY 'alêyo	Ph	24.8
3.M.Pl.		
'LN[M] 'alênom	Ph	Kition line 3

The archaic form 'LY, found once, in Old Byblian (tenth century B.C.E.), was perhaps pronounced 'ála; cf. Arabic 'LY 'ála; but com-

pare also archaic Hebrew **'LY**, vocalized ^alê by the Massoretes. The pre-suffixal allomorph of ^al was, as in Hebrew, ^alê-. In Phoenician-Punic, the preposition **'L** has the free variant form **'LT** ^alt, with excrescent -t (see below).

Usage

IN CHARGE OF

Byb 1.1 **'L MLK BMLKM SKN BS<K>NM WTM' MĤNT 'LY GBL WYGL 'RN Ž TĤTSP ĤTR MŠPṬH THTPK KS' MLKH**, "As for any king or any governor or any general of the army in charge of Byblos, if he shall remove this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break, <and> his royal throne shall overturn."

60.2 **ŠM'B'L BN MGN 'Š NŠ' HGW 'L BT 'LM W'L MBNT ĤŠR BT 'LM**, "Samobaal son of Mago, whom the community elected in charge of the temple and in charge of the building of the temple court."

Pu 80.1 **HDŠ WP'L 'YT HMTBH Ž . . . H'ŠM 'Š 'L HMQD-ŠM**, "The men who are in charge of the sanctuaries rebuilt this slaughtering table."

NPu 137/2/3 **KN' 'L MLKT HBN' 'Š BMQDŠM 'L**, "In charge of the building project were those who are in charge of these sanctuaries."

TO (direction)

Pu Poen. 941 **Al bet lo cu cian bate**, "To his house here have I now come." = NPU Poen. 941 **Al byth ybar ui mysethi**, "To the house of my brother's friend have I come."

FROM

Byb 1.2 **WNĤT TBRĤ 'L GBL**, "And peace shall depart from Byblos."

FOR the benefit of, ON BEHALF OF

40.3/4 **HSMLM H'L 'Š YṬN' BTŠLM . . . 'L BN BNY**, "Bithsalom erected these statues for her grandsons."

Pu EH 122.1/3 **NDR MTNYB'L LB'L'MN 'L ĤTMLKT BT Y'RHM**, "Mittanibaal vowed <this> on behalf of Otmilkot daughter of Y'RHM."

FOR (dative)

Byb 3.2/6 *TŠ'M Š<Q>LM KSP NŠBT 'M NHL TNHL MGŠTK 'LK WMGŠT 'LY*, "Let us *share/divide* the ninety sheqels of silver: when you come into possession of it (the silver), your share will be for you, and my share will be for me."

AT, ALONGSIDE

35.1/2 *MŠBT LMBHYT YTN'T 'L MŠKB NHTY L'LM*, "<This is> the stele that I erected when I was still alive at/alongside my eternal resting-place."

IN ACCORDANCE WITH

NPu 172.2/3 *HPRT 'L MYTB' RŠ' HSLKY LBN'T T-HMQDŠ ST*, "He undertook to build this sanctuary with the consent of the senate of Sulcis."

IN PAYMENT FOR

Pu 69.14 [*'L BLL W'L HLB W'L HLB W'L KL ZBH 'Š 'Š 'DM LZBH BMNH[T] Y[KN LKHNM . . .]*], "For mash or for fat or for milk or for any sacrifice that a person shall sacrifice as a *minhūt*-offering, the priests shall receive [. . .]."

BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF, ON ACCOUNT OF

NPu 123.2/5 *TYN' L'HT 'MM . . . SKR KBD 'L P'LT M'ŠRT*. "He erected <this> as a memorial of honor to his mother's sister because of her accomplishment of public service."

NPu 145 I 5/6 *B'L HRDT 'L GBRTM*, "<The god Mescar is> one who commands fear because of his might."

NPu 165.4 *W'L KL KTM M'Š' L' QMT*, "And because of all his honesty he acquired high respect for himself."

AGAINST

24.7/8 *WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR*, "I hired the king of Assyria against him."

MORE THAN, expressing comparative degree

24.7 *W'DR 'LY MLK D[N]NYM WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR*, "The king of the Danunians was more powerful than I, so I hired against him the king of Assyria."

26 A III 2/4 *WBRK B'L . . . 'YT 'ZTWD . . . 'Z 'DR 'L KL*

MLK, “Baal bless Aztwadda with strength greater than that of any other king.”

TOGETHER WITH, AND

NPu 117.3/5 **B'N' T'NBR' 'ŠT['] 'L PWDNŠ WŠ'W' {W}R' WM'K[ŠM]**” **B'N[Y']**, “His wife Thanubra and his sons Pudens and Severus and Maximus built <this tomb>.” The conjunction **et** is found in the corresponding Latin: **Thanubra coniunx et Pudens et Severus et Maxsimus f(ili) piissimi p(atri) amantissimo s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt).**

UPON, expressing addition

26 A 6/8 **WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS WMGN 'L MGN WMHNT 'L MHNT**, “And I acquired horse upon horse and shield upon shield and army upon army.”

'L PN 'al panê

Usage

OPPOSITE, FACING

Byb 10.4/5 **HPTH HRŠ ŽN 'Š 'L PN PTHY Ž**, “And yonder gold inscription that is in opposite this inscription of mine here.”

Pu CIS i 5510.4/5 **BHYM 'L PN ŠMŠ**, “Among those living facing [*i.e.*, under] the sun.” Cf. 13.7/8 **BHYM THT ŠMŠ**, “among those living under the sun.”

IN FRONT OF

Pu 81.3 **H'LM 'Š 'L PN HMQDŠ[M 'L]**, “The columns that are in front of these sanctuaries.”

NPu 173.1 **[HMQDŠ . . . W]HMZBHM 'Š 'L PNY**, “The sanctuary and the altars that are in front of it.”

'LT 'alt

Forms

'LT	Byb	9 A 2, B 4
	Ph	14.10; 43.13; 60.6, <i>et passim</i>
	Pu	81.4
	NPu	137.4
alt	Pu	<i>Poen.</i> 946

With suffix pronouns:

1.Sg.

'**LTY** 'altay Pu 89.4,5

3.M.Sg.

'**LT** 'altêyo Ph 13.4,6,7; 14.20,21

The preposition '**LT** 'alt is the preposition '**L** 'al with excrescent -t. The two forms of the preposition are without difference in function and meaning, and are used freely in the same text as, for instance, in the Phoenician inscription from the Piraeus (*KAI* 60). The preposition perhaps had the form 'altê- before suffixal pronouns.

Usage

ON, UPON

60.4/5 '**YT R'T Z LKTB H'DMM** . . . '**LT M\$BT HR\$**, "The men shall inscribe this resolution upon a gold stele."

TO, expressing addition

14.18/20 '**W'D YTN LN** . . . '**D'R WYPY** . . . '**WYSPNNM 'LT GBL 'R\$**, "Moreover, he ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and we annexed them to the territory of the state."

NPu 159.5 '**TW' YSPN 'LT MQD\$M**, "We added his cella to his sanctuary."

INCUMBENT UPON, CHARGED WITH

60.3/4 '**P'L 'YT KL 'Š 'LTY**, "He accomplished everything that was incumbent upon him (*i.e.*, with which he had been charged)."

TO

14.5/6 '**L Y'MSN BM\$KB Z 'LT M\$KB \$NY**, "Let him not carry me out from this resting-place to another resting-place."

INTO

Pu 81.1/4 '**LRBT L'ŠTRT WLTNT BLBN MQD\$ HD\$M <'L> KM KL 'Š BN[M]** . . . '**Š YB' 'LT HHRZ \$MQD\$M 'L**, "Belonging to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith of Lebanon are these new sanctuaries, as well as everything that is in them that was brought into the custody of these sanctuaries."

NPu 137.4/5 '**B' H'LN M 'L 'LT HMQD\$M 'L B'SR W\$B' LYRH**

MP' LPNY, "These gods came into (entered) these sanctuaries on the seventeenth of the month of First Mufa."

FROM

Byb 10.14 **TSG 'T PTHY Z DL YSDH 'LT MQM Z** "<If> you move this inscription of mine and its base from this spot."

FOR the benefit of

43.13/14 **WP'LT 'NK 'LT [HMQDŠ . . .] 'PDT BK[S]P MŠQL KR 100 W 2**, "And I made for the sanctuary an ephod of silver weighing 102 kr."

Pu *Poen.* 944/946 **Fel dono . . . et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "His father did everything for that son of his as he was to do <it for him>." = NPu *Poen.* 935/936 **Fel yth chil ys chon ythem liful yth binim**, "He did everything for his son that he was to do for him."

NPu 138.5/7 **NP'L NBL NSKT 'RB' 'LT HMQDŠM 'L . . . WNNTN 'T HKHNM**, "Four metal vessels were made for these sanctuaries and handed over to the priests."

EXPRESSING THE ACCUSATIVE PARTICLE

This use of the preposition is found in Phoenician only; it is unknown in Punic.

Byb 9 A 5 [**BL LPT]H [LT MŠKB] ZN**, "Do not open this resting-place!"

14.7 **YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z**, "He shall open this resting-place." *Obs.* Note the use of the accusative particle **'YT** in the same context in the same inscription: **YPTH 'YT MŠKB Z** (line 4).

13.3/4, 5/6 **'L TPTH 'LTY**, "Do not open it (the coffin)!"

14.20 **'L YPTH 'LTY**, "Let him not open it (the resting-place: **MŠKB**)."

14.21 **'L Y'R 'LTY**, "Let him not empty it (the resting-place) out!"

'LT PN 'alt *panê*

Usage

IN ADDITION TO

50.4/5 **WML'T 'LT PNY 'YT KL KSP Š LY**, "And I shall pay in addition to it (your money) all my money."

Pu 69.3 **WBKLL YKN LM 'LT PN HMS'T Z Š'R MŠQL ŠLŠ**

M'T 300, "For an entire animal, they (the priests) shall receive in addition to this payment meat weighing 300."

'N 'Š 'ênê 'is = 'NM 'ênêm

Usage

IN PUBLIC VIEW; *lit.*, WITHIN PEOPLE'S VIEW

60.5 **WYṬN'Y B'RPT BT 'LM 'N 'Š**, "They shall erect it (the inscription) in the portico of the temple in public view."

34.1/5 **MŠBT 'Z 'Š YṬN' 'RŠ . . . 'NM 'L MŠKB NḤTNM L'LM.**, "This stele is that which Aris erected in public view at their eternal resting-place."

PNT *panōt*

Usage

TO

Pu 69.13 **KL ŠW'T 'Š Y'MS PNT 'LM**, "All the parts <of a sacrificed animal> that are brought to a god." *Ditto* 74.8, where the preposition is misspelled **BNT**.

TḤT *táhat*

Forms

TḤT	Ph-Pu	<i>Passim</i>
T'ḤT	NPu	118.2

With suffix pronouns:

1.Sg.

TḤTN *taḥtēni* Ph 24.14

3.M.Pl.

TḤTNM *taḥtēnom* Ph 14.9

Usage

AT THE BOTTOM

Byb 2.1/3 **LD'T HNY B'LK TḤT ZN**, "Be aware <that> I, your king, am at the bottom of this <shaft>."

BENEATH, UNDER

14.11/12 'M 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMṬ WPR LM'L WT'R BḤYM THT ŠMŠ, "As for those persons, they shall have no root below nor fruit above nor wealth among those who are living under the sun."

26 A I 16/17 W'NK 'ZTWD ŠTNM THT P'MY, "But I, Azt-wadda, placed them under my two feet (*i.e.*, I subjugated them)."

NPu NP 69.2 THT 'BN ST 'BN, "He has been laid to rest beneath this gravestone."

BELOW, SOUTH OF

CID 3B-5A W'P MTŠ YTN LKLŠ ŠD ZBL WKRMM BŠD ZBL THT QRT WKRMM 'Š THT ML, "MTS also gave to KLS <?land> in the district of ZBL and vineyards in the district of ZBL south of the city, and vineyards that are south of ML."

POSSESSING AUTHORITY

NPu 120.1 MYNKD Q'SR 'WGSṬS BN 'LM RB MḤNT P'M'T 'SR W'ḤT WMYNKD P'M'T 'SR W'RB' W[TH]T MŠLT 'SR HMŠLM P'M'T 'SR WHMŠ, "Emperor Caesar Augustus, the son of God, head of the army (consul) eleven times, emperor fourteen times and possessing the authority of the ten rulers (tribune) fifteen times." Corresponding to Latin [Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus] co(n)s(ul) XI imp(erator) XIII trib(unicia) pot(estate) XV.

IN ONE'S STEAD

14.8/9 W'L YKN LM BN WZR' THTNM, "They shall not have sons, nor offspring in their stead."

24.13/15 WMY BBNY 'Š YŠB THTN, "As for whichever of my sons shall sit <on the throne> in my stead."

NPu 118.2 RB T'HT RB MḤNT, "Commander <of the army> in place of the commander of the army (*Latin proconsul*)."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS

I. THE ADVERBS

A. Adverbs of Degree and Manner

B-RBM *biribbim*

EXCEEDINGLY, GREATLY; VERY, VERY MUCH; corresponding in use and function to Hebrew **M'D** *m'e'od*, which is unknown in Phoenician-Punic.

26 A III 9/11 **BRBM YLD WBRBM Y'DR WBRBM Y'BD L'Z-TWD**, "May they bear many children, may they become very great, and may they ardently serve Aztwadda."

MANY

Pu 68.5 **K ŠM' QL' 'D P'MT BRBM**, "For he heard his voice many times (often)."

HNM *hinnam*

GRATIS (WITHOUT THOUGHT OF REPAYMENT); Hebrew **HNM** *hinnam*

Pu CIS i 171.4 [**YTN KS**]P **KKRM M'T BTRY HNM**, "[He gave] one hundred talents of silver of his own money without thought of repayment."

VOLUNTARILY (OF ONE'S OWN FREE WILL)

Pu CIS I 5522.2/4 **HNB'L . . . HTRŠM BMYP'L 'DN 'ŠMNHLŠ . . . HNM BY KSP**, "Hannibal signed himself back into the employ of his master Esmunhalos of his own free will, without <payment to him of> silver."

KMT

SO, THEREFORE; Ugaritic **KMT**

NPu CIS I 151.5/6 **K-'BD' HMT L' THNT KMT B'ŠŠ LBNTM LM**, "Because they did him a favor, so (therefore) did he *undertake* to erect it (the statue) to them."

KN *ken*

SO, THEREFORE; Hebrew **KN** *ken*

Byb 13.1 [. . .] **JN 'NK LH̄DY WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ŽN**, "I alone . . . -ed. And so here do I lie, in this coffin."

L-HD *liḥūd*

ALONE, ONLY; cf. Aramaic *lhōd*, *lḥūd*. The adverb, being in origin a noun governed by a preposition, receives the suffix pronouns of the third person used with the noun in the genitive case.

26 A II 5/6 **WB̄YMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LH̄DY DL PLKM**, "But in my time (reign), a woman is able to travel alone, without bodyguards!"

Byb 13.1 [. . .] **JN 'NK LH̄DY WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ŽN**, "I alone. . . -ed; and so here do I lie, in this coffin."

D *ôd*

MOREOVER, FURTHERMORE, IN ADDITION; cf. Heb **'WD** *ôd* ("still, yet").

14.18/19 **W'D YTN LN 'DN MLKM 'YT D'R WYPY**, "In addition, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa."

L KN *'al ken*

THEREFORE, FOR THIS REASON; Hebrew **'L KN** *'al ken*.

Byb 9 A 2 **BL TQM LŠT 'RN 'LT 'RN 'L KN P'LT** [. . .], "**<So and so said>**, 'You shall not persist in placing one coffin upon another!' For this reason, I made/built [. . .]."

B. *Locative Adverbs and Adverbial Expressions***'Y** *'i*, orth. var. **Y**

WHERE?; cf. Ugaritic **IY** (*'iyyā*); Hebrew **'YH** *'ayye*.

In the Phoenician personal name 1Kings 16:31, 18:4.13.19, 19.1f, 21.5-25, 2Kings 9:7-37 **'Y ŽBL** (*'i zebel*), "Where is Zebel (Baal)?"

Pu *EH* 141.2 in the personal name **'Y B'L**, "Where is Baal?"

Pu *CIS* i 135.5 in the personal name **Y B'LYM** (*'i Ba'alīm*), "Where is Baal?"

HN *hinnō, hen*

HERE, sentence-initial demonstrative locative (Lat **ecce**); Heb **HN** *hinne*, **HN** *hen*.

Byb *KAI* 2 **HNY B'LK THT ŽN**, "I, your king, am here, at the bottom of this (shaft)."

Byb 13.1 **HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ŽN**, "Here do I lie, in this coffin."

Pu *Poen.* 947 **Hen hu Acharistocle**, "Acharistocles lives (*lit.*, is) here." = NPu *Poen.* 937 **Innochoth u Agorastocles**.

NPu *NP* 130.6 **HN (hinna) ŠKBT BT ŠMNM ŠT**, "Here does he lie, at the age of eighty years."

NPu *Punica* pp. 124/26 no. 3.4/5 **'N B'MQM ST N'SP' 'ŠMY'**, "Here, in this place, have her bones been gathered."

NPu *Mactar B IV* 2 **W'N' ŠM'TM**, "Here are their names."

HN henna

HITHER(Phoenician); Heb **HNH henna**. Punic uses **KN** (*kōna*).

NSI 31d 1/2 **'NK 'BD'BST BN ŠDYTN B'T HN BYM 2 LYRH H'YR**, "I, Abdubast son of Sidyaton, came here on day 2 of the month of Hiyar."

HNKT hinnokōt

HERE (Neo-Punic), compounded of the locative demonstrative adverb *hinnō* ("here") and the locative adverb (Neo-Punic) *kōt* ("here"). The adverb, like the simple form **HN hinne, hen**, appears originally to have been restricted to sentence-initial position; but the example in *Poen.* 934 indicates that this restriction came to be loosened.

NPu *NP* 67.4/5 **HNKT 'BNT T'T HBN{T} ST QBRT**, "Here has she been laid to rest; beneath this stone is she buried."

NPu *NP* 68.4/5 **HNKT ŠW'YT THT 'BN Ž 'BNT**, "Here is she buried; beneath this stone has she been laid to rest."

NPu *NP* 69.2 **HNKT QYBR THT 'BN ST 'BN**, "Here is he buried; beneath this stone has he been laid to rest."

NPu *Poen.* 934 **Byth thymmoth innochoth ulech <silli> Antidamas chon**, "Antidamas was my host here in the past." = *Poen.* 955 **Sed hic mihi antehac hospes Antidamas fuit**.

NPu *Poen.* 937 **Innochoth u Agorastocles**, "Agorastocles lives here." = Pu *Poen.* 947 **Hen hu Acharistocle**, "Acharistocles lives here."

K kō, kū

HERE; cf. Heb **KH kō**. Neo-Punic uses **KT kōt** below.

Pu *Poen.* 941 **Con cu Metun. Al bet lo cu cian bate**, "Here lived Mettun. To his home here have I now come."

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iussim limin co**, "I shall inquire of these men who are coming out from here." = *Poen.* 960

Hos percontabor qui hinc egrediuntur foras.

Pu *Poen.* 1013 **Lec. Lacanna limin co**, “Go! Go away from here!”

NPu *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/5 [**Ubam**]ys asar liiyra **Chirur sath Migin inseb mes Sis cho ryb <M>ycnim**, “And on the fifteenth of the month of Kirur, in the year of Miggin, the Governor of Myqnim (=Myqne) erected here the statue of Sis.”

KN *kōna*

HITHER, Punic only, being the locative adverb **K** *kō* (“here”), with adverbial -a of direction and euphonic -n-. Phoenician uses **HN** *henna*.

Pu *Poen.* 942/3 **Iulec anec cona, alonim balim, bane bec cor Bals[illem]**, “I brought hither, O proprietary gods, my first-born son Bals[illem].”

KT *kōt*

HERE, Neo-Punic only, being Phoenician-Punic **K** *kō* (“here”) with excrement -t.

NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) lythera ymu ys lomjyn choth iiusim**, “I shall inquire of these men who are coming out from here.” = Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec litor bod es iusim limin co**.

See also Neo-Punic **HNKT** (“here”).

L-MṬ *limaṭṭa*

BELOW. BENEATH; Hebrew **LMṬH** *l^emaṭṭa*

14.11/12 **'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMTṬ WPR LM'L**, “They shall not have a root below nor fruit above.”

L-M'L *lima'la*

ABOVE; Hebrew **LM'LH** *l^ema'la*

14.11/12 **'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMTṬ WPR LM'L**, “They shall not have a root below nor fruit above.”

L-M-M'L MṬ *limimma'la maṭṭa*

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

NPu 145 III 12/14 **ŠM'T HMZRḤ Š'YKRM' T-HMNHT QR' LMM'L' MT'**, “Here are the names of <the members of> the *mizraḥ*-sodality that honored him. Read what is put down, from top to bottom.”

ŠM *sam*

THERE; Heb **ŠM** *šam*.

26 A I 18-II 1 **W'N 'NK 'RŠT 'ZT BMB' ŠMŠ . . . YRDM 'NK YŠBM 'NK BQŠT GBLY BMŠ' ŠMŠ WDNNTM YŠBT ŠM**, "I conquered mighty lands in the West, and I deported them (their populations) and resettled them in the far part of my territory in the East; and I settled Danunians there (in the depopulated western lands)."

C. *Adverbs and Adverbial Expressions of Time*

THEN, AT THAT TIME; Hebrew **ז' iz** 'az.

NPu D 6.8/9 **Sab siben Mycne, / Is ab syth sath syby**, "Our militia surrounded Migne; / Then did I take that enemy captive."

B-LL *billêl*

AT NIGHT, DURING THE NIGHT; Hebrew **BLYLH** *ballayla*.

Pu 76 A 6/7 **WMKS' TH[DS̄ -- -] BLL WQDMT**, "Renew the covering (bandage) [x times] during the night and in the morning."

B-'T TMT *bi't timmot*

IN TIME PAST, EARLIER, FORMERLY

NPu *Poen.* 934 **Byth thymmoth ynnochoth ulech <silli> Antidamas chon**, "Antidamas was my guest-friend here in the past." *Obs.* In the Punic version of this same line, the adverb used is **lipane esse**: *Poen.* 943/944 **Hulec silli balim esse lipane esse Antidamas con**, "Antidamas was my guest-friend in this nation in the past."

H-ŠT Z *hissat ezdō*

THIS YEAR, IN THIS YEAR; the noun is in the accusative of time.

NPu 137.5 **B'SR WŠB' LYRH MP' LPNY HŠT Z**, "On the seventeenth of the month of Prior Mufa of/in this year."

YM MD YM *yūm middê yūm*

DAILY, *lit.* DAY BY DAY

43.10/11 **KM ZBH̄T L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT 'L HTT W'L HY ZR'Y YM MD YM**, "And I made sacrifice daily to my Lord Milqart for a long life for me and for my descendants."

YRḤ MD YRḤ *yeraḥ middê yeraḥ*MONTHLY, *lit.* MONTH BY MONTH

43.10/12 **KM ḶBHṬ L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT . . . [BHD]ŠM WBKS'M YRḤ MD YRḤ**, "So, too, did I make sacrifice monthly to my Lord Milkqart at the time of the new moons and the full moons."

KL H-'T *kil ha'it*

ALL THE TIME, ALWAYS; the noun is in the accusative of time; cf. Hebrew **BKL-'T** *b'kol-'et* ("always," Exodus 18:22; Psalm 10:5)

NPu 126.4 **ḶBH LK[L H']T**, "Sacrificial priest for always." = Latin **flamen perpetuus**.

NPu 126.9 **LPNY . . . YTN' L'BD BŠP'T KL H'T**, "They permitted me to make use of the senatorial broad purple stripe always." = Latin **cui . . . lato clavo semper uti conce[ssunt]**.

K-'N *kē'an*

now; cf. Aramaic *kē'an*. Hebrew has **'TH** *'atta*.

NPu NP 41.2/3 **K'N K'N ŠM' QL' [B]RK**, "Hear his voice now, now! Bless him!"

NPu NP 42.3/4 **KHN KHN ŠM' QL' BRK**, "Hear his voice now, now! Bless him!"

Pu *Poen.* 941 **Al bet lo cu cian bate**, "To his house here have I now come."

L-PN Ḷ *lipnê eзде*

IN THE PAST, EARLIER, BEFORE; cf. Hebrew **LPNY MZH** *lipnê mizze*.

Pu *Poen.* 943/944 **Hulec silli balim esse lipane esse Antidamas con**, "Antidamas was my guest-friend in this nation in the past." = Latin *Poen.* 955 **Sed hic mihi antehac hospes Antidamas fuit**. In the Neo-Punic version of this same line, the adverb used is **byth thymmoth** ("in time past"): *Poen.* 934 **Byth thymmoth innochoth ulech <silli> Antidamas chon**, "Here in time past Antidamas was my guest-friend."

L-PNM *lipanīm*

IN THE PAST, EARLIER, BEFORE; Hebrew **LPNYM** *lēpanīm*.

26 A II 3/6 **BMQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M . . . WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LHDT**, "In places that were dangerous before (in the past), in my time a woman walks alone."

*L-‘LM li‘ūlom*ALWAYS, FOREVER; Hebrew *L‘WLM lē‘ōlam*18.7/8 *B‘LŠMM L‘LM YBRKN*, “Baalsamem bless me always!”*MTM matēm(a)*EVER, NEVER; cf. Akkadian *matīma*. The pronunciation of the adverb is uncertain.26 A II 15/17 *K BYMTY KN L‘RŠ ‘MQ ‘DN ŠB‘ WMN‘M WBL KN MTM LDNNYM LL BYMTY*, “In my days (time), the land of the Valley of Adana enjoyed abundance and prosperity, yea, the Danunians never knew famine in my days (time).”*‘D ‘LM ‘ad ‘ūlom*ALWAYS; Hebrew *‘D ‘WLM ‘ad ‘ōlam*43.10/12 *KM ZBHT L‘DN ‘Š LY LMLQRT . . . YM MD YM . . . YRH MD YRH ‘D ‘LM KQDM*, “So, too, did I always make sacrifice daily and monthly to my Lord Milqart.”*‘D P‘MT BRBM ‘ad pa‘amūt birabbīm*MANY TIMES, FREQUENTLY, OFTEN; cf. Hebrew 2Kings 4:35 *‘D-ŠB‘ P‘MYM ‘ad šeba‘ pē‘amīm* (“seven times”)Pu 68.5 *K ŠM‘ QL’ ‘D P‘MT BRBM*, “He heard his voice many times.”*‘LŠ ‘alas*AT DAWN, IN EARLY MORNING; the noun is in the accusative of time; Arabic *ghalasan* (“before dawn, very early”)Pu CIS i 5510.9/10 *WYLK RBM ‘DNB‘L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLKT BN HN’ HRB ‘LŠ WTMK HMT ‘YT ‘GRGNT*, “Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great, marching at dawn, seized Agrigentum.” *Obs.* In the Greek translation of this line, preserved by Diodorus Siculus (xiii, 90, 1), the adverb is rendered αμα τω φωτι: Ο δ’ Ιμιλκας αμα τω φωτι την δυναμιν εντος των τειχων παρεισαγαγων, “Imilkas (Himilco), before dawn leading the army inside the walls <of Agrigentum>.”*QDMT qadmot*IN THE MORNING; cf. Aramaic *QDWM(?) qiddūm(a)* and *QDMT’ qadmēta* (“early morning”); the noun is in the accusative of time.Pu 76 A 6/7 *WMKS’ TH[DŠ – – -] BLL WQDMT*, “Renew

the covering (bandage) [x times] during the night and in the morning.”

II. THE CONJUNCTIONS

A. Subordinating

'HR 'Š 'aḥar 'is

AFTER; Hebrew **'HR 'ŠR** 'aḥar 'ašer

NSI 56.2/6 **'HR 'Š P'L ŠYW'T LHḤYM H'Š ŠL' . . . 'M' L ŠRT ŠNT ḤMŠM**, “After her husband had made his farewell to the living, his mother performed public service for (another) fifty years.”

'M 'im

IF; Hebrew **'M** 'im

Byb 10.13/14 **W'M BL TŠT ŠT ŠM 'TK W'M TSR M[L]KT Ž'**, “But if you do not place my name <on it> with yours or if you remove that work . . . “

13.6/8 **W'M PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZN 'L YKN LK ŽR' BHYM THT ŠMŠ**, “But if you open it (the coffin) and disturb me, you shall not have descendants among those living under the sun!”

See also **'M 'P** and **'P 'M** (“even if”).

WHEN; Arabic 'immā (“when”)

Byb 3.2/5 **TŠ'M Š<Q>LM KSP NŠBT 'M NḤL TNḤL MGŠTK 'LK WMGŠT LY**, “Let us *share* the ninety weight of silver: when you take possession of it (the silver), your share is yours, and my share is mine.” *Obs.* The translation is problematic.

'M 'P 'im 'ap

EVEN IF, EVEN THOUGH = **'P 'M**; cf. Hebrew **'P KY** 'ap kī

KAI 26 A III 12/19 **W'M MLK BMLKM . . . 'Š YMḤ ŠM 'Z-TWD BŠ'R Ž WŠT ŠM 'M 'P YHMD 'YT HQRT Ž . . . WMḤ B'LŠMM . . . 'YT HMMLKT H' W'YT HMLK H'**, “As for any king who shall erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate and place his own name (on it), even if he may love this city, Baalsamem shall eradicate the aforementioned royal person and the aforementioned king.”

'P 'M 'ap 'im

EVEN IF = 'M 'P

KAI 14.6 'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK 'L TŠM' BD
NM, "Even if people urge you <to violate my tomb>, do not listen to their words!"

K- . . . KMT

BECAUSE . . . SO (THEREFORE); cf. Hebrew K- . . . KN *k^e- . . . ken*; cf. also Ugaritic KMT ("thus, therefore")

NPu CIS I 151.5/6 K-'BD' HMT L' THNT KMT B'ŠŠ LBTNM LM, "Because they did him a favor, so (therefore) did he undertake to erect it (the statue) to them."

K- kī

WHEN; Hebrew KY kī

Byb 1.1 'RN ZP'L [']TB'L BN 'HRM MLK GBL L'HRM 'BH KŠTH B<T>'LM, "<This is> the coffin that Ittoba'al son of Ahiram, King of Byblos, made for Ahiram, his father, when they placed him (Ahiram) in <his> tomb."

NPu LA 1 45 no. 4.7/9 Ubai[um] amys chyrym[u]ia byiyra [Mu]fa chy [c]hil[o] ufel th-y[. . .], "And on day five they honored her, in the month of Mufa, when he had completed building the [. . .]."

THAT, introducing a noun clause that is the direct object of a verb
60.7 YD' HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM HLPT, "That the Sidonians might know that the community knows to compensate."

Pu Poen. 938 Ynny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'ily gubulim lasibithim, "I am told that these are the environs where he resides."

BECAUSE, AS A RESULT OF

13.5/6 'L 'L TPTH 'LTY W'L TRGZN K T'BT 'ŠTRT HDBR H', "Do not, do not open it and do not disturb me, for that act would be an abomination to Astarte."

26 A II 9/11 BN 'NK HQRT Z . . . K B'L WRŠP ŠPRM ŠLHN LBNT, "I built this city, because Baal and Rasep-SPRM commissioned me to build it."

NPu LA 1 45 no. 4.1/5 [Bam]ys asar liiyra Chirur sath Migin inseb mes Sis cho ryb <M>ycnim chi ur Sorim y, "On the fifteenth of the month of Kirur, in the year of Miggin, the

Governor of Myqnm erected here the statue of Sis; for she is the light of the Tyrians.”

KM 'Š *k^omū 'is*

WHEN; Hebrew **K'ŠR** *ka'šer*

Byb 10.7/8 **KM 'Š QR'T 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL**, “When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice.”

CID 7A/8B **WKM 'Š YGL 'YT MSN'ZMŠ BYMT 'ZWŠŠ WYSB MLK WRYK<LY> LMSN'ZMŠ KL HSDYT 'L**, “But when they exiled MSNZMS in the days of 'ZWSS, the king of WRYKLY returned all these fields to MSN'ZMS.”

JUST AS

19.1/9 **'RPT KBRT MŠ' ŠMŠ WŠPLY 'Š BN H'LM ML'K MLK'ŠTRT W'BDY B'L ḤMN . . . KM 'Š BN 'YT KL 'ḤRY HMQDŠM 'Š B'RŠ**, “The god Mal'ak-Milkastart and his servants, the citizens of Hammon, built <this> large eastern portico and its columns just as they <also> built all the other sanctuaries in the region.”

KM Š- *k^omū si-*

WHEN (Punic) = **KM 'Š**; cf. Mishaic Hebrew **KŠ-** *k^eše-*

Pu 81.4 **'Š YB' 'LT HHRZ ŠMQDŠM 'L KM ŠHGR HŠMRT LHR H'[LM]**, “<The objects> which were brought into the custody of these sanctuaries when the protected area of the temple mount was closed to public entry.”

LM *lam(m)a*

LEST, followed by Prefixing Form A (Future Imperfective), introducing a statement of future consequence; Hebrew **LMH** *lamma* (Qoheleth 5:5, 7:16); Aramaic *l^emā*

14.21/22 **'L YŠ' 'YT ḤLT MŠKBY LM YSGRNM 'LNM HQD-ŠM 'L**, “Let them not carry off the coffin in which I lie lest these holy gods lock them up.”

L-MḤT K-

FOR THE REASON THAT, BECAUSE; the initial element **LMḤT**, the etymology of which is obscure, seems to function as an adverbial complement to the simple conjunction **K-** *kī* (“because”).

60.1/3 **TM BD ŠDNYM BN'SPT L'TR 'YT ŠM'B'L . . . 'TRT**

HRŠ BDRK<M>NM 20 LMHT K BN 'YT HŠR BT 'LM, "It has been deemed good by the Sidonians in assembly to crown Samobaal with a gold crown worth 20 drachmas, because he built the temple court."

L-MHT L-KN

IN ORDER THAT; followed by Prefixing Form B (Jussive/Subjunctive). The initial element **LMHT**, the etymology of which is obscure, seems to function as an adverbial complement to the conjunction **LKN** ("in order that"); cf. Arabic *likay(mā)* ("in order that"). In this same function, Hebrew employs **LM'N** *l'ma'an*.

60.6/8 **YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMNM 20 LMHT LKN YD' HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM HLPY 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW**, "They shall withdraw 20 drachmas from the money of the god Baal of Sidon in order that the Sidonians might know that the community knows to compensate persons who have performed service in behalf of the community."

'D 'Š *'ad 'š*

WHEN, AS SOON AS; Hebrew **'D 'ŠR** *'ad 'šer*

50.5/6 **'D 'Š 'D' BM' [. . .]T WŠLHT LY 'T SPR HNQT**, "As soon as I shall have paid back what I owe, you shall send me the quit-tance."

B. Conjunctions and Disjunctions

1. Modal

'M

BUT, expressing exception; cf. Hebrew **'M** *'im* ("but") in the co-ordinated expression **L' . . . KY 'M lō . . . kī 'im** ("not . . . but"; German "nicht . . . sondern").

Pu CIS i 170.2 [**LB'L HZBH ŠJR WH'ŠLBM WHP'MM 'Š BL 'LM 'LT HMZBH 'M L[TT LKHNM 'YT . . .]**], "[To the sacrificer belong] the meat and the joints and the legs which do not go up (are not burnt) upon the altar, but one must give the [. . . to the priests]." Cf. ditto line 3.

Pu 74.3 [**WKN H']RT LKHNM WTBRT LB'L HZBH '[M LTT LKHN 'YT . . .]**], "The skin shall belong to the priests and the *tbrt* shall belong to the sacrificer, but give [the . . . to the priest]."

'P 'ap

AND TOO, AND ALSO; Hebrew 'P 'ap

50.2 ŠLM 'T 'P 'NK ŠLM, “<I hope> you are well. I, too, am well.”

MOREOVER; FURTHERMORE

26 A I 11/12 WŠT 'NK ŠLM 'T KL MLK W'P B'BT P'LN KL MLK, “I made peace with every king. Moreover, every king adopted me as father.”

CID 3b-4AB W'P MTŠ YTN LKLŠ ŠD ZBL, “Moreover, MTS gave to KLS a field in ZBL.”

BUT, HOWEVER

CID 3AB W'P WLWY YTN LMTŠ WLKLS, “But WLWY gave <this same land> to MTS and to KLS.”

CID 5AB W'P B'L KR YŠB BN WQB MTŠ QBT 'DRT, “But Baal-KR, who dwells in it, he cursed MTS with a great curse (or But the citizenry of KR, <who> dwell in it, cursed MTS with a great curse).”

'PS 'epes

BUT, HOWEVER, expressing contrast

26 A IV 1/3 'PS ŠM 'ZTWD YKN L'LM, “<The gods shall eradicate all who would erase the name of Aztwadda from this gate>. But (in contrast) the name of Aztwadda shall endure forever!”

KM

SO TOO, ALSO; the conjunction seems to function as does GM gam in Hebrew

43.10 KM ZBHT L'DN Š LY LMLQRT, “So, too, did I make sacrifice to my Lord Milqart.”

43.12/13 KM HDLT HNHŠT [Z K]TBT WSMRT BQR Š BN MNHT HNY, “So, too, did I inscribe this bronze plaque, in which are the details of my benefaction, and nail it to the wall.”

2. Simple Conjunctions and Disjunctions

'M 'im

OR; Hebrew 'M 'im

14.6/8 KL MMLKT WKL 'DM Š YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z 'M 'Š YŠ' 'YT HLT MŠKBY 'M Š Y'MSN BMŠKB Z 'L YKN LM MŠKB

'T RP'M, "As for any person of royal descent or any commoner who shall open this resting-place or who shall carry off the coffin in which I rest or who shall carry me out from this resting-place, they shall not have rest among the infernal gods."

26 A III 12/13 **W'M MLK BMLKM WRZN BRZNM 'M 'DM Š 'DM ŠM**, "As for any king or any ruler or any commoner who is a person of distinction."

Pu 69.15 **[B]KL ZBH 'Š YZBH DL MQN' 'M DL ŠPR BL YKN LKHN[M MNM]**, "Of a sacrifice that a person who owns no cattle or a person who owns no fowl shall sacrifice, the priests shall not have anything."

'M . . . 'M 'im . . . 'im

WHETHER . . . OR

26 A III 15/18 **WYS' HŠ'R Z 'Š P'L 'ZTWD . . . 'M BḤMDT YS' 'M BŠN'T WBR' YS' HS'R Z**, "If he shall pull out this gate that Aztwadda made, whether he shall tear it out of love or shall tear out this gate out of hatred and malice."

RES 922.2 **[']M MLK H' 'M ['DM H']**, "Whether he is king or commoner."

Pu CIS I 5511.6 **[K]L 'DM 'M 'Š 'M 'ŠT**, "Every person, whether man or woman."

Pu 69.3 **B'LP KLL 'M ŠW'T 'M ŠLM KLL LKHNM KSP 'ŠRT 10 B'HD**, "For an entire ox, whether cut in pieces or entirely intact, the priests shall receive ten 10 silver for each."

'T 'et

TOGETHER WITH, the preposition "with" used as a conjunction

14.9 **WYSGRNM H'LN M HQDŠM 'T MMLK<T> 'DR 'Š MŠL BNM**, "The holy gods shall lock them up, together with whichever mighty king is ruling them."

DL ?dūle

TOGETHER WITH, INCLUDING; this conjunction, perhaps in origin the active participle of the verb **D-L-Y** ("possess, include"), governs the accusative case.

Byb 10.14 **WTSG 'T PTHY Z DL YSDH 'LT MQM Z**, "And if you move this inscription of mine together with its base from this spot."

Pu CIS i 5510.4/6 **WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L W'DN B['L]HMN**

'YT 'DMM HMT BHYM 'L PN ŠMŠ DL 'ZRTM W' [. . .]NM, “Our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and the Lord Baalhammon shall tie up those persons among those living under the sun, together with their families and their [. . .]s.”

Pu *CIS* i 5510.10/11 **WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT [H]MT ŠLM DL B'L NWS**, “And they (the Carthaginians) seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace, including those who had fled.” *Obs.* Reference is made here to the Agrigentines who had fled to the city of Gela the night before the Carthaginians seized Agrigentum.

AND ALSO, AS WELL AS, found also with the conjunction *W-* in the form **WDL**

Pu 81.2/4 **HHRṬYT . . . WDL MLKT HHRŠ WDL KL MNM ŠŠ {B . . . } WDL KL MNM BM'ZNM HMQDŠM 'L WDL H'LM ŠŠ 'L PN HMQDŠ[M]**, “The sculpture and the works of gold and also everything that is in the [. . .], and also everything <that> is in the storerooms of these sanctuaries and also the columns that are in front of the sanctuaries.”

W- *wi-*, *w-* (*ū-*)

AND, conjoining individual items within a sentence

9 B 5 **B'L'DR WB'LT**, “Baaladdir and Baalt.” *Et passim.*

OR, conjoining individual items within a sentence:

14.8 **'L YKN LM BN WZR' THTNM**, “They shall not have sons nor progeny in their stead.” *Et passim.*

AND, conjoining independent declarative (non-subordinate) sentences:

Pu *CIS* i 5510.10/11 **WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT [H]MT ŠLM**, “They (the Carthaginians) seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace.” *Et passim.*

YEA, INDEED, conjoining independent complementary or parallel sentences

26 A II 15/17 **K BYMTY KN L'RŠ 'MQ 'DN ŠB' WN'M WBL KN MTM LDNYM LL BYMTY**, “In my time the land of the Valley of Adana enjoyed abundance and prosperity, yea, the Danunians never experienced hunger in my time!”

Pu *CIS* I 6000.5 **K KM KHN BHYY QDŠM 'BD W'LNM ŠMŠ**

'D L'TY, "Like a priest did he serve the holy ones during his lifetime, yea, he served the gods until he became too weak <to do so>."

C. *W-* as Clause Marker

The conjunction *W-* is commonly used for purposes of punctuation, specifically, to mark and set off constituent clauses of complex sentences. In the examples that follow, the punctuating conjunction is underlined.

1. *Marking the Main Clause of a Sentence with Anticipatory Clause*

Byb 1.2 **W'L MLK BMLKM WSKN BS<K>NM WTM' MĤNT 'LY GBL WYGL 'RN ŽN TĤTSP ĤTR MŠPṬH THTPK KS' MLKH WNĤT TBRĤ 'L GBL**, "As for any king or any governor or any general of the army in control of Byblos <after me>, if he shall reveal this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break, his royal throne shall overturn, and peace shall depart from Byblos."

24.12/13 **WMY BL ĤŽ KTN LMN'RY WBYMY KSY BŠ**, "As for him who had never owned a tunic from the time of his youth, in my time he was dressed in byssus garments."

24.13/15 **WMY BBNY 'Š YŠB TĤTN WYŽQ BSPR Ž MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'RRM**, "As for whichever of my sons shall sit on the throne in my stead, if he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer respect the *b'rm*."

26 A II 3/6 **WBMQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M 'Š YŠT' 'DM LLKT DRK WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LĤDY DL PLKM**, "And in places that were dangerous in the past, where one used to be afraid to travel the road, in my time a woman is able to travel alone, without bodyguards."

Pu 79.6/11 **WKL 'Š LSR T-'BN Ž BY PY 'NK WBY PY 'DM BŠMY WŠPṬ TNT-PNB'L BRĤ 'DM H'**, "As for anyone who shall remove this stone without my permission or without the permission of someone authorized by me, Thinnith-Phanebal shall condemn that person."

Pu CIS i 4945.4/6 **W'Š YRGŽ T-MTNT Ž WQBT TNT-PNB'L**, "As for anyone who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him."

Pu CIS i 5510.4 **[WKL 'JDM 'Š 'YBL MŠRT WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L W'DN B['L]ĤMN 'YT 'DMM HMT**, "As for any person who

shall not serve, our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal and the Lord Baalhammun shall bind those persons.”

The conjunction, while common in this type of sentence, is not obligatory, as the following sentences indicate.

Pu CIS i 3783.5/7 **WKL 'DM 'Š GNB T-MTNT Ž NKST TNT-[P]NB'L**, “As for any person who shall steal this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall cut him off.”

Pu CIS i 5510.2/3 [**WKL 'DM**] **'Š LKP 'YT 'MTNT Ž WL'KR WLŠBTY 'ML YD**, “As for any person who shall upend this stele or disturb or destroy it, his hand shall wither.”

2. Marking the Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence

Pu CIS I 5510.7 [**M]ŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WŠLM**, “If he who serves shall be zealous, wealth and prosperity shall be his.”

3. Marking the Result Clause of a Temporal Sentence

The conjunction marks off the result clause of a temporal sentence from the *when*-clause when the result clause begins with the Prefixing Verb (*qatal*) with past perfect tense reference. In contrast, Hebrew disallows the conjunction.

Byb 10.7/8 **KM 'Š QR'T 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL**, “When I invoked my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice (supplication).”

CID lines 7/8 **KM 'Š YGL 'YT MSNZMŠ BYMT 'ZWŠŠ W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> KL HŠDYT 'L LMSN'ZMŠ**, “When they exiled MSNZMS (?read MTS) in the days of 'ZWSS, the king of WRYK-LY returned all these fields to MSN'ZMS.”

Kition lines 1/3 **BMS'NM 'BN W'ZRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT WYŠ' L[NM MHN]T 'Š KTY L'GD LM MLHMT**, “When our enemies and their Paphian allies came to do battle with us, the army of the people of Kition went forth against them to do battle with them.”

KM *k^omū* and **KM** 'Š *k^omū 'is*

AS WELL AS; Hebrew **K'ŠR** *ka'ašer*

Pu 81.1 **LRBT L'ŠTRT WLTNT BLBN MQDŠM HDŠM <'L> KM KL 'Š BN[M]**, “<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith of Lebanon are these new sanctuaries as well as everything that is in them.”

Pu 96.1 [. . .] *HŠ' KM KL 'Š P'L BBT*, "The [. . .] as well as everything <else> that he/they made in/for the temple."

AS, JUST AS

19.1/10 *'RPT KBRT . . . 'Š BN H'LM ML'K-MLK'ŠTRT W'BDY B'L HMN . . . KM 'Š BN 'YT KL'ĤRY [HMQDŠ]M 'Š B'RŠ*, "<This is> the large portico that the god Mal'ak-Milkastart and his servants, the citizens of Hammon, built just as they built all the other sanctuaries in the land."

Pu *Poen.* 944/46 **Alem us duber ce fel dono Metun et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "I am told that his father Mettun did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>."

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE PARTICLES

A. *The Particles of Anticipation*

'M 'ammā

AS FOR, in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician, serving to introduce an anticipatory clause; the particle is cognate with Arabic 'ammā. The pronunciation of the particle in Phoenician is uncertain. In Byblian, the preposition 'L 'el is found in this same function.

14.11 'M 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMT WPR LM'L, "As for the aforementioned persons, they shall not have root below nor fruit above."

26 A III 12/18 W'M MLK BMLKM . . . 'Š YMḤ B'LŠMM 'YT HMLK H' ŠM 'ZTWD . . . WMḤ, "As for any king who shall erase the name of Aztwadda, Baalsamem shall erase the aforementioned king."

'L 'el

AS FOR, the Byblian Phoenician counterpart of Tyro-Sidonian 'M 'ammā, serving to introduce an anticipatory clause. The particle is the preposition "to." In this same function, Hebrew employs the preposition 'L 'al (Genesis 41:32).

Byb 1.2 W'L MLK BMLKM . . . WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP ḤTR MŠPṬH, "As for any king <who will rule Byblos after me>, if he shall remove this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break."

B. *The Particles of Existence*

'Š 'is; var. YŠ

THERE IS; cf. Ugaritic. IT 'ithi; Hebrew YŠ yeš. It is not clear whether 'Š and YŠ are merely orthographic variants or if the latter, found only in personal names, reflects the pronunciation *yes*.

NPu Mactar B IV 1 DR' KN' ŠLM W'Š LN MZR' WŠP'T, "In his time we were prosperous: we possessed (*lit.*, there was to us) sown land and abundance."

IS ALIVE, LIVES

Pu *EH* 224.3 in the personal name **YŠ BŠT**, “Where is Bast (Baal)?”; cf. 2 Samuel 2:8-4:12: the Benjaminite personal name **’YŠ BŠT** *’is Boset*.

Pu *CIS* i 4917.5/7 (PN) **’Š B’L**, “Baal is alive!” = Pu *CIS* i 159.3 **YŠ B’L**; cf. 1 Chronicles 8:33, 9:39 (Benjaminite personal name) **’Š B’L** *’eš Ba’al* = 1 Chronicles 11:11 **YŠ B’L** *yis Ba’al*. *Ob.* The particle **YŠ** is merely an orthographic variant of **’Š**, not a morphologically distinct form.

BL *bal*

THERE IS/ARE NOT; the normal negative particle, here used also as a negation of existence; cf. the use of the negative particle **L’** in “Ephraimite” Canaanite (as in Arabic) to express the negative existential “there is/are not”: 2 Samuel 20:1, 1 K 12:16 **L’ LNW NĤLH BBN YŠY**, (“And there is no inheritance for us in the son of Jesse.”)

NPu 163.2/3 **BD’ŠTRT DL TRBT ŠQLT K BL L’ BŠMĤ Š’RM**, “Bostar is without *weighed out* increase, for he has no offspring of his own flesh.”

C. *The Negative Particles*

Phoenician (Byblian and Tyro-Sidonian) and Punic possess three particles that serve to negate nouns, verbs and phrases: **’Y**, **’(Y)BL**, **BL**. The negative particle **L’** *lō* is not attested in Phoenician or Punic.

’Y *’i*

This negation is found only in Middle Phoenician inscriptions from Sidon (Tibnit and Esmunazor) and at Chytroi (Cyprus); the earlier Tyro-Sidonian inscriptions of Kilamuwa and Aztwadda use **BL**. **’Y** is also found in the compound negative **’(Y)BL** of Byblian Phoenician and Punic.

1. *Negates the Past Perfective (Suffixing Form)*

4.4/5 (Sidon) **’L YBQŠ BN MNM K ’Y ŠM BN MNM**, “Let him not look for anything in it (my coffin), for they did not put anything in it.”

2. *Negates the Present Imperfective (Prefixing Form A)*

13.4/5 (Sidon) **'Y 'DLN KSP 'Y 'DLN ḤRŠ**, “I do not possess any silver, I do not possess any gold.”

RES 922.4 (Chytrōi) [**'L TPTH 'LT H'RM] Z K 'Y '[DLN KSP 'Y 'DLN ḤRŠ]**, “[Do not open] this [coffin] for I do not possess [silver, I do not possess gold].”

'YBL *'ibal*; orthographic var. **'BL**

This particle, compounded of the negatives **'Y** and **BL**, is especially well represented in Byblian and Punic.

1. *Negates the Past Perfective (Suffixing Form)*

Pu 69.18 **KL MŠ'T Š 'YBL ŠT BPS Z**, “Any payment (price) that they did not set down in this inscription.”

2. *Negates the Present Imperfective and Future (Prefixing Form A)*

Byb 10.13 **'M 'BL TŠT ŠM 'TK**, “If you shall not place my name with yours <on this work> . . .”

Pu 69.21 [**[K]L B'L ZBH Š 'YBL YTN 'T K[L . .]L HMŠ'T Š [BPS Z WN'NŠ]**], “As for any sacrificer who shall not pay the full a[mount of] the payment that is stipulated in [this inscription, he shall be fined.]”

3. *Negates the Periphrastic Imperative (Infinitive Absolute)*

Pu 70.4 **'BL LPTH**, “Do not open <this tomb>!”

4. *Negates the Active Participle*

Pu CIS i 5510.4/5 **KL 'DM Š 'YBL MŠRT WKPT RBTN TNT-PNB'L . . . 'YT 'DMM HMT**, “As for any person who shall not serve, Our Lady Thinnith-Phanebal shall bind those persons.”

Obs: In Phoenician and Punic, the active participle is regularly negated by means of the simple negative particles rather than by the negative existential particle as in Hebrew. See also the negative particle **BL** with this same function (below).

'L 'al

1. *Negates Prefixing Form B (Negative Command)*

13.3/4 'L 'L TPTH 'LTY W'L TRGZŃ, "Do not, do not open it (the coffin), and do not disturb me!"

2. *Negates Prefixing Form B (Jussive and Optative)*

14.4/5 'L YPTH 'YT MŠKB Z W'L YBQŠ BN MNM, "Let him not open this resting-place, and let him not look for anything in it!"

3. *Negates Prefixing Form B (Future Result)*

As in the conditional sentence in Classical Arabic, a future result is expressed by means of Suffixing Form B. Accordingly, the negative future result clause in Phoenician and Punic is expressed by means of Prefixing Form B negated by the particle 'L.

13.6/8 'M PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZŃ 'L Y<K>N L<K>ZŃR' BHYM THT ŠMŠ WMŠKB 'T RP'M, "If you do open it (the coffin) and disturb me, you shall not have offspring among those living under the sun nor rest among the infernal gods."

14.6/9 K KL MMLKT WKL 'DM Š YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z . . . 'L YKN LM MŠKB 'T RP'M W'L YQBR BQBR W'L YKN LM BN WZŃR' THTNM., "As for any king or any commoner who shall open this resting-place, they shall not have rest among the infernal gods, and they shall not be buried in a grave, and they shall not have sons nor progeny in their stead."

14.11/12 'M 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMT WPR LM'L WT'R BHYM THT ŠMŠ, "As for those persons <who shall open the tomb and remove the coffin>, they shall not have root below nor fruit above nor wealth among those living under the sun."

24.13/15 WMY BBNY Š YŠB THTN WYZQ BSPR Z MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'RRM WB'RRM 'L YKBD LMŠKBM, "As for whichever of my sons shall sit upon the throne in my stead, if he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer respect the *b'rrm*, and the *b'rrm* shall no longer respect the *mškbm*."

4. *Expressing Refusal*

Pu *Poen.* 1142 **Al. Anec este mem**, "No, I will not! I shall drink water!" Response to the invitation **Neste ien, neste dum et**, "Let us drink wine; let us drink the blood of the vine!"

*BL bal*1. *Negates the Suffixing Form Past Perfective*

24.2/5 **MLK GBR 'L Y'DY WBL P[']L KN BMH WBL P'L WKN 'B HY' WBL P'L WKN 'H Š'L WBL P'L W'N[K] KLMW BR TM[.] M 'Š P'LT BL P'L HLPNY{H}M**, “Gabbar ruled over Y'DY, but he did not accomplish anything. There was BMH, but he did not accomplish anything. There was my father Hayya, but he did not accomplish anything. there was my brother Sa'il, but he did not accomplish anything. But as for me, Kilamuwa son of TM[.], I accomplished what my predecessors did not accomplish.”

24.4/5 **M 'Š P'LT BL P'L HLPNYM**, “<My> predecessors did not accomplish what I accomplished.”

26 A I 19 **BL 'N KL HMLKM 'Š KN LPNY**, “<I conquered mighty lands that> all the kings who preceded me did not conquer.”

2. *Negates Prefixing Form A Future Indicative*

Pu 79.15 **BKL ŽBH 'Š YŽBH DL MQN' 'M DL ŠPR BL YKN LKHN[M MNM]**, “Of a sacrifice that someone owning no cattle nor fowl shall sacrifice, nothing shall be for the priests.”

3. *Negates the Active Participle*

Pu CIS i 169.2 **BL 'LM 'LT HMŽBH**, “<The parts of a sacrificial animal that> do not go up <in smoke> upon the altar.”

See the negative particle '(Y)BL with this same function (above).

4. *Negates a Noun*

26 A I 15/16 **BL 'Š 'BD KN LBT MPŠ**, “None (*lit.*, no man) was a vassal of the House of Mopsos.”

Pu *Poen.* 1017A **Bal umir**, “Not a word!” Response to the question, **Mu Ponnim sycartim?**, “Do you remember any Punic?”

5. *Negates an Adverbial Phrase*

14.2/3 **NGŽLT BL 'TY BN MSK YMM 'ŽRM**, “I was snatched away not at (*i.e.*, before) my <appointed> time, at the age of a few days, like a child sacrificial victim!”

6. *Existential*: "There is/are not"

NPu 163.3 **BL L' BŠMḤ Š'RM**, "He does not have any offspring of his own flesh."

D. *The Accusative Particles*

The accusative particle or *nota accusativi* introduces a determined direct object of an active transitive verb. Its use was not obligatory and, in any given text erratic and unpredictable. In classical Phoenician usage, the particle had the complementary forms **'T** and **'YT**, the former used immediately before a noun with possessive suffix, the latter used in all other instances. This complementation, characteristic both of Tyro-Sidonian and Byblian Phoenician, did not obtain in Punic.

The original pronunciation of **'YT** is not certain: in doubt is whether the internal *yod* was consonantal or a the vowel-letter e-vowel indicating the pronunciation *'et*, as we know the particle to have been pronounced in Punic: Pu *Poen.* 940 **et**; Neo-Punic *Poen.* 930; 945; 947) **yth**. The pronunciation of Phoenician **'T**, used before a noun with possessive suffix, was *'ōt*, as indicated by the Greek-letter transcription οθ (174.5); this form is clearly related to the Hebrew form **'T** *'ōt*- used with suffixal pronouns, e.g., **'TY** *'ōtī* ("me"), **'TW** *'ōto* ("him"), etc.

In Punic and Neo-Punic, the particle is frequently attested as an aphetic proclitic **T-** (Latin-letter **th-**) before the definitive article (normally with suppression of the writing of the article). This form is not attested in Phoenician.

In Phoenician and occasionally in Punic, the particle governs the genitive case. Accordingly, the noun receives the B-forms of the possessive pronouns of the first singular and third singular and plural, these being the forms regularly used with the noun in the genitive case.

1. *Phoenician Usage*

Complementation of Forms

In formal Phoenician usage, the form **'T** *'ōt* was used immediately before a noun carrying a possessive pronoun; the possessive pronoun was always the B-Form, the allomorph affixed to the noun in the genitive case since the accusative particle governed the genitive. In

all other instances, the complementary form **'YT** *'et* was used before the noun. The following passages illustrate this complementary usage.

'T

Byb 9 B [**L YŠT**] **'T** **'RNW** **'LT** **'RN** '[. . .]', "[Let him not place] his coffin upon the coffin of . . .]" *Obs.* The noun **'RNW** *'arōniw* ("his coffin") is genitive in case and, accordingly, carries the B-Form **-W** of the third masculine singular possessive pronoun. The pronoun "his" affixed to a noun in the accusative case was **-Ø** *-o*.

Byb 10.2/3 **WQR** **'NK** **'T** **RBTY**, "I invoked my Lady." *Obs.* The noun **RBTY** *ribbatī* is in the genitive case and, accordingly, carries the B-Form **-Y** of the first person singular possessive pronoun. The pronoun "my" affixed to a noun in the accusative case was **-Ø** *-ī*. This is true as well of the following two examples:

Byb 10.7 **KM** **'Š** **QR** **'T** **'T** **RBTY**, "When I invoked my Lady."

Byb 10.14 **TSG** **'T** **PTHY** **Ζ**, "If you move this inscription of mine."

48.3 **TBRK** . . . **'T** **'MNM**, "Bless ye their mother!" *Obs.* The noun **'MNM** *'amm^enom* ("their mother") is genitive in case and, accordingly, carries the possessive pronoun **-NM** of the third person masculine plural. The pronoun "their" affixed to a noun in the accusative case was **-M** *-om*.

CIS i 91.2 **NŠHT** **'T** **'BY** **HYS** **'M**, "Would that I might defeat my enemies who have/will come forth <against me>."

174.1/8 Αφεθεννau υιος Αφεσαθουν νεσε οθ αμαθη (**NŠ** **'T** **'MTY**) λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[. . .], "Abdthennau son of Abd-saphun gave his female slave as a wife to his slave Ma[. . .]." *Obs.* The noun αμαθη is genitive in case and, accordingly, has the possessive pronoun **-η** (Phoenician-letter **-Y**) of the third masculine singular. This same pronoun appears in Greek transcription as **-ε** in λαφδε (**L** **'BDY** "for his slave"), the noun, governed by a preposition, also genitive in case. The pronoun "his" affixed to a noun in the accusative case was **-Ø** *-o* in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician.

NPu 145 I 4 **L** **'LM** **HQDYŠ** **LŠ** **'T** **'HT** **ŠMM**, "Exalt the name of the holy god!" *Obs.* The form **'HT** perhaps reflects the shape *'ōt*.

'YT

Byb 10.8 **TBRK** **B** **'LT** **GBL** **'YT** **YHWMLK**, "Baalt of Byblos bless Yehawmilk!"

Byb 10.15 *TSRH HRBT B'LT GBL 'YT H'DM H' WZR'W*, "The Lady Baalt of Byblos make stink that person and his seed!" *Obs.* The noun *ZR'W* *zar'iw* ("his seed"), governed by the particle, is accordingly genitive in case and must receive the possessive pronoun *-W-^{iw}* of the third masculine singular.

13.3 *TPQ 'YT H'RN Z*, "You shall come into possession of this coffin."

14.4/5 *'L YPTH 'YT MŠKB Z*, "Let him not open this resting-place!"

18.3.4 *'YT HŠ'R Z WHDIHT 'Š L P'LT BTKLTY BNTY*, "I built this gate and its doors at my own expense."

26 A III 14/15 *'M 'P YHMD 'YT HQRT Z*, "Even if he loves this city."

48.3 *[TB]RK 'Y[T 'RB'T B[NY] . . . W'T 'MNM*, "Bless ye my four sons and their mother!" *Obs.* Note the complementation of the particles *'YT* and *'T* in the same sentence in the manner described above: *'T* before a noun carrying a possessive pronoun; otherwise, *'YT*.

Once only in Phoenician is this form of the particle written phonetically *'T* *et*: 50.5/6 *WŠLHT LY 'T SPR HNQT*, "Send me the quittance!"

2. Punic and Neo-Punic Usage

'YT (*et*, *yth*)

The accusative particle of classical Punic and Neo-Punic was *'YT*; but in contrast to Phoenician usage, it was used without restriction.

Pu *CIS* i 5510.2/3 (Carthage, 406 B.C.E.) *[KL 'DM] 'Š LKP 'YT 'MTNT Z . . . 'ML YD*, "As for any person who shall knock down this stele, his hand shall wither."

Pu 80.1 *HDŠ WP'L 'YT HMTBH Z . . . H'ŠM 'Š 'L HMQD-ŠM*, "The men in charge of sanctuaries rebuilt this slaughtering table."

Pu *Poen.* 940 **Et alonim ualonut caruti is timlacun alt imacum esse**, "I invoke you gods and goddesses who rule over this city." = NPu *Poen.* 930 **Yth alonim ualonuth carothi ys thymlachun yth m(ac)um ysyth**, "I invoke you gods and goddesses who rule this city."

Poen. 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, "To him I bring on my behalf this shard of hospitality."

The form *'YT* was used in Punic before a noun with suffixed

possessive pronoun but it continued to govern the genitive case: Pu CIS i 3604 **TŠM** 'YT QLM *tisma'ū 'et qūlim* ("Hear ye his voice!"); 115.1/2 **ŠLM** 'BD'ŠTRT . . . 'YT NDRM ("Abdastart fulfilled his vow."). In both examples cited, we see the use of the B-Form **-M** *-im* of the possessive pronoun of the third masculine singular, used exclusively with the noun in the genitive case.

'T

This form is found in Punic as a rare phonetic spelling of **'YT**, which is known to have been pronounced *'et* from the Latin-letter spellings **et** and **yth**.

Pu 69.21 [K]L B'L ZBH Š 'YBL YTN 'T K[L . .]L HMŠ'T Š [ŠT BPS Z WN'NŠ], "As for any sacrificer who shall not pay the full a[mount of the] payment that is stipulated in this inscription, he shall be fined."

T-

The aphetic form **T-** (**th-**) was widely used in late Punic and Neo-Punic, including in literary prose. It did not however replace the formal literary form **'YT**. The form was used exclusively before the definite article; in all other instances, the preferred form was **'YT** (**et**, **yth**). In Punic-letter inscriptions, the definite article is commonly although not always written Ø after the particle.

Pu 79.6/7 KL Š LSR T-'BN Z "Anyone who shall remove this stele."

Pu 101.1 T-MQDŠ Z BN' B'L' TBGG, "The citizens of Thugga built this sanctuary."

NPu 129.1/2 BN' W'YQDŠ T-'KSNDR' WT-'RPT ST, "He built and dedicated this excedra and this portico."

NPu 161.3/4 TN' T-HMŠ ST BMBW<>' HDR DL' QBR', "He erected this statue at the entrance of the chamber containing his tomb."

NPu AI 1 1927 p. 233 lines 1/2 Fel **th-ybur Licini Piso**, "Licinius Piso built the tomb."

NPu LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.9 chy [c]hil[o] ufel th-y[. . .], "When he had finished building the []."

NPu Poen. 940A **Thymlachun th-ymacom syth**, "You rule this city." *Obs.* The form **yth** is used in the variant reading of this same line, in which the noun does not carry the definite article: NPu Poen. 930 **Thymlachun yth m(ac)um ysyth**.

Compare and contrast the consistent use of **yth** in Latin-letter Neo-Punic before a noun that does not carry the definite article:

NPu *Poen.* 930 **Yth alonim ualonuth carothi**, “I invoke you gods and goddesses.”

NPu *Poen.* 937 **Ythem anech nasothi li yth irs aelichoth sith**, “To him I bring on my behalf this shard of hospitality.”

'T with Suffixal Pronouns

Unique to Punic is the use of the accusative particle with suffixal pronouns to express the independent object pronoun in the manner of Hebrew *’ōto* (“him”). Two instances are attested:

Pu *CIS* i 580.3 **'RŠT BT BD'ŠTRT ŠM' QL' BRK 'T'**, “Arisut daughter of Bostar. Hear her voice, bless her!”

Pu *CIS* I 6001.1/2 **'BDMLKT 'L TŠ' <'>'T'**, “<This is the funerary urn of> Abdmilkot. Do not carry it off!” The inscription is written in ink on a clay jar (funerary urn) found in 1895 in the Douimes necropolis at Carthage.

Obs. This pronoun is not attested in Phoenician, which uses instead the preposition **'LT** with suffixal pronoun to express the independent direct object pronoun:

13.3/4 **MY 'T KL 'DM 'Š TPQ 'YT 'RN Z 'L 'L TPTH 'LTY**, “Whoever you may be, any person who shall come into possession of this coffin, do not, do not open it!”

14.20/21 **MY 'T KL MMLKT WKL 'DM 'L YPTH 'LTY W'L Y'R 'LTY**, “Whoever you may be, any person of royal descent or any commoner, let him not open it (my resting-place) nor empty it out!”

E. The Presentative Particles

The presentative particles serve to introduce a simple, declarative sentence. Their use is always non-obligatory, and they are seldom attested.

HLM ?*hallīm*

The particle occurs only in the Roman-letter spelling **alem** in the literary Punic passages in the *Poenulus*; no instance of the particle is found in Punic-letter inscriptions. Its pronunciation and etymology are problematic; the vocalization *hallīm* given here is based on the possible relatedness of the Punic particle to the Ugaritic presentatives **HL**, **HLK** and **HLM**. That Punic **alem** is indeed a presenta-

tive particle is certain from its equivalence to **yunny** (Hebrew *hinne*) in the Neo-Punic of the *Poenulus*.

Pu *Poen.* 944/46 **Alem us duber ce fel dono Metun et cil comu con liful alt banim au**, "I am told that his father Mettun did everything for that son of his as he was to do <for him>."

Pu *Poen.* 948 **Alem us duber limur <esse> mucom sussibiti A(charist)ocle**, "I am told that this is the place where Acharistocles resides." = NPu *Poen.* 938 **Yunny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'ily gubulim lasibithim <Agorastocles>**, "I am told that this is the district where Agorastocles resides."

HN hinne, hen

This presentative is the same particle as Hebrew *hinne* and *hen*, and Arabic *'inna*. This use of the particle must be differentiated from its use as the locative demonstrative "here" (see the chapter on the adverbs).

NPu *Poen.* 938 **Yunny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'ily gubulim lasbisithim <Agorastocles>**, "I am told that this is the district where Agorastocles resides." = Pu *Poen.* 948 **Alem us duber limur <esse> mucom sussibit A(charist)ocle**, "I am told that this is the place where Acharistocles resides."

NPu *Poen.* 932/33 **Yn byn ui bymarob syllochom, alonim, uybymysyrthochom**, "My brother's son is in your custody, O gods, and under your protection."

NPu D 6.10 **In aab sa[l]e(m) lo sal**, "The enemy asked for mercy for himself."

K- kī

The conjunction *kī* is commonly used in Phoenician as a presentative particle. This use must be differentiated from that of a subordinating conjunction "because."

14.2 **K-'NK {NHN} NGZLT BL 'TY**, "I was snatched away not at (*i.e.*, before) my appointed time." *Obs.* This same declarative statement occurs again in this same inscription in the form of a quote: **DBR MLK 'ŠMN'ZR MLK ŠDNM L'MR NGZLT BL 'TY**, "The statement of King Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians: 'I was snatched away before my appointed time!'"

14.13/16 **K-'NK 'ŠMN'ZR . . . W'MY 'M'ŠTRT . . . 'Š BNN 'YT BT 'LNM**, "It was I, Esmunazor, and my mother, Amastarte, who built the temples."

CIS i4.3/5 **K-BN BD'STRT MLK ŠDNM 'YT ŠRN 'R[Š DGN] L'LY L'STRT**, "Bostar, King of the Sidonians, built up the Sharon, the reg[ion of grain], for his goddess, Astarte."

26 A II 15/16 **K-BYMTY KN L'RŠ 'MQ 'DN ŠB' WMN'M**, "In my time, the land of the Valley of Adana enjoyed abundance and prosperity!"

F. The Particle of Citation and Quotation

L'MR *limūr*

As in Hebrew, the infinitive construct **L'MR** may be used to introduce a citation or quotation:

14.2/3 **DBR MLK 'ŠMN'ZR MLK ŠDNM L'MR NGZLT BL 'TY**, "<This is the final> statement of Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians: 'I was snatched away before my appointed time!'"

Pu 948 **Alem us duber limur <esse> mucom sussibti A(carist)ocle**, "I am told: 'This is the place where Acharistocles resides.'" *Obs.* In the Neo-Punic, revision of this line, the indirect statement introduced by **chy** ("that") is used: *Poen.* 938 **Ynny i(s) d(ubyr) ch'yily gubulim lasibithim <Agorastocles>**, "I am told that this is the district where Agorastocles resides."

Citation of direct speech may also be introduced by a zero-marker: 26 C III 17/18 **Y'MR 'P'L SML ZR WŠT ŠMY 'LY**, "He shall say, 'I shall make another image and place my own name upon it.'"

G. The Verbal Proclitic and Enclitic Particles

1. Proclitic **L-**

The proclitic particle **L-** *li-* is used optionally in Punic and Neo-Punic with Prefixing Verbs A and B when these express the cohortative or jussive. Proclitic to the inflectional morpheme *i-* of the first person singular, the particle had the form *l*.

NPu *Poen.* 932 **L-iphoc (L-'PQ) anech yth byn ui iaded**, "Let me get my brother's only son."

Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec l-itor (L-'TR) bod es iussim limin co**, "Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here."

NPu *Poen.* 939 **Bod i(ly) a(nech) l-ythera ymu ys lomyn choth iusim**, "Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here."

Proclitic to the the third masculine singular of the Prefixing Verb,

the verb had the form *liqtol*, from original *liyiqtol*. The verb form was written either historically as **L-YQTL** or phonetically as **LQTL**:

Pu *EH* 32.3 **L-YŠM'** (*lišma'*) **QL'**, "May he hear his voice!"

Pu *EH* 216.3 **LŠM'** (*lišma'*) **QL'**, "May he hear his voice!"

2. Post-Imperative -N' -na

This particle is used after the imperative ending in *-a*. It is cognate with the Hebrew imperatival particle *-na* (*-N'*) and, like the latter, evidences doubling of the initial consonant *n* after the extending *a*-vowel of the imperative.

Pu *Poen.* 1013 **Lec. Lacanna limin co**, "Go! Go away from here!" Here, **lachanna** is the imperative *l^aka* (*lek* with extending morpheme *-a*) + particle *-na* with gemination. Compare the Hebrew imperative with the particle and the same gemination: Genesis 32:30 **HGYDH-N'** *haggādanna* ("Tell!"); observe also Hebrew cohortatives with the particle following and the gemination present: Genesis 18:21 **'RDH-N'** *'er^edanna* ("I would descend") and **'LKH-N'** *'el^ekanna* ("I would go").

3. Enclitic -N

The separable enclitic particle *-n(a)*, the reflex of Old Canaanite *-na*, is found affixed to all forms of the Prefixing Verb. The use of this particle in Phoenician with the Prefixing Verb is attested already in 14th century B.C. Byblian Phoenician, as evidenced by Amarna forms like *īpušu-na* (Prefixing Form A) and *timahḥaša-na* (Prefixing Form B). On this particle, see Moran, p. 11.

3a. With Prefixing Form A Present Imperfective

13.3/5 **'Y 'DL-N KSP 'Y 'DL-N HRŞ**, "I do not possess silver, I do not possess gold." Cf. Archaic Hebrew Numbers 24:9 **YQM-N** *yaqūm(u)-na* ("he will arise"): (emended orthographically) **KR' ŠKB K'RY // WKLBY'-MY YQWM-N**, "He (Israel) crouches, lies like a lion, // And like a lion shall he arise (attack)!" Note the occurrence of this same half-verse with the verb without the particle in Numbers 23:24a: **HN-'M KLBY' YQWM**, "That people shall arise (attack) like a lion!"

3b. With Prefixing Form B Past Perfective

50.3/4 **'PQ-N HKSP 'Š ŠLHT LY**, "I got the silver that you sent me." Cf. Archaic Hebrew Judges 5:26 **TŠLH-NH** *tišlah-na* ("she extended"): **YDH LYTD TŠLH-NH**, "She (Jael) reached out for the tent-peg."

3c. With the Jussive/Optative (Prefixing Form C)

Pu *Poen.* 1027P **Bal samem ierasa-n**, "Baal shake the heavens!"

H. Directional Ending *-a*

The directional ending *-a* < *-ah* of Hebrew and Ugaritic is also found in Punic in the adverb **cona** ("hither"): *Poen.* 942/943 **Iule anec cona, alonim balim, bane becor Bals[illem]**, "I brought hither, O proprietary gods, my firstborn son Balsillem." The adverb **cona** is the simple locative **co** ("here"), with the directional ending **-a** affixed to it by means of intervening euphonic **-n-**. Compare the use of this ending in the Hebrew adverb **ŠMH** *šamma* ("thither").

I. Accusative Ending *-am*

The archaic accusative ending *-am* < *-amma* is retained in the Punic adverb *CIS i* 171.4; *CIS i* 5522.3/4 **HNM** *hinnam* ("gratis; of one's own free will").

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS ON SYNTAX

A. *The Equational Sentence*

The syntax, specifically, the word-order, of the equational sentence with nominal predicate was determined largely by the nature, nominal or pronominal, of the subject of the sentence. As a general rule, an independent personal pronoun as subject occupied initial position in a non-subordinate clause: 24.1 **'NK KLMW** ("I am Kīlamu-wa."); 26 A I 1 **'NK 'ZTWD** ("I am Aztwadda."); 54.1 **'NK ŠM BN 'BD'ŠTRT 'ŠQLNY** ("I am Sem son of Abdastart the Ascalonian."). Rarely did the pronominal subject follow the predicate, as in *Poen.* 940A **Anno byn Mytthumbal leAdrumet anec** ("I am Hanno son of Mytthumbal of Hadrumetum.") or when the sentence was a subordinate clause, requiring inversion of subject and predicate, as in 10.9 **K MLK ŠDQ H'** ("... for he was a good king.") and *LA* 1 p. 45 no. 4.4/5 **chi ur Sorim y** ("... for she is the light of the Tyrians."). In marked contrast, in the majority of examples of this same sentence type but with nominal subject, it is the nominal predicate that occupies sentence-initial position: 40.2 **KNPRS 'RSN'S PLDLP 'MT'SR** ("Amot-Osiri was Kanephoros of Arsinoe daughter of Philadelphos."); NPu *IRT* 879.1 **Adom unim ys ysy Bodsychun Chalia** ("This man, Bodsychun Chalia, was a person of substance."); Pu *Poen.* 943/944 **Hulec silli . . . Antidamas con,** ("Antidamas was my guest-friend.") = NPu *Poen.* 934 **Ulech <silli> Antidamas chon.** Somewhat less often does the nominal subject precede the nominal predicate: 16 A I 15/16 **BL 'Š 'BD KN LBT MPŠ** ("None" was a vassal of the house of Mopsos.); *PBSR* 28 p. 53 no. 5.9/10 **Bynom Mrausyn au[r]ys** ("Their son Mrausyn was the engraver.").

B. *The Syntax (Position) of the Verb in the Clause or Sentence*

In Phoenician, tense and aspect reference was a function of syntax, not of form; therefore critical to understanding the language is an understanding of the syntax of the verb, specifically, the syntactic restrictions governing the position of the verb in the sentence or clause

which, in turn, determine largely the tense and aspect reference of the verb. Restriction in the clause or sentence is related not merely to initial or non-initial position use but also to the position of the verb with regard to its nominal or pronominal subject.

1. *The Suffixing Form of the Verb*

The Suffixing Form expressing the Present Perfective was without syntactic restriction in the sentence; the verb could occupy sentence-initial or non sentence-initial position: 50.2/3 **BRKTK LB'LŞPN** ("I bless you in the name of Baalsaphon!"); Pu *Poen.* 947 **Itt esde anec nasote hers ahelicot** ("To him I bring a shard of hospitality.").

The Suffixing Form expressing the Past Perfective was governed by numerous syntactic restrictions. In literary Phoenician and Punic usage, when the Suffixing Form Past Perfective was the main verb of an independent (non-subordinate) clause of a non-complex sentence, it was restricted syntactically to non clause/sentence-initial position: 24.13 **W'NK TMKT MŞKBM LYD** ("I took the members of the lower class by the hand."); 26 A I-21-II 1 **WDNNYM YŞBT ŞM** ("And I resettled Danunians there."); Pu *Poen.* 943 **Hu neso bin ys esse** ("He was made the son of this man."), *et passim*. Clause/sentence-initial Past Perfective was expressed in literary Phoenician and Punic only by the Infinitive Construct Past Perfective or by Prefixing Form B Past Perfective. In Punic and Neo-Punic, however, the syntactic restriction regarding the position of the Suffixing Form Past Perfective was not operative: Pu 80.1 **HDŞ WP'L 'YT HMTBĤ Z. . . 'ŞRT HŞM 'Ş 'L HMQDŞM** ("The ten men who are in charge of the sanctuaries rebuilt this slaughtering altar."); NPu *AI* 1 1927 p. 233 lines 1/2 **Fel thy-bur Licini Piso** ("Licinius Piso built <this> tomb."), *et passim*.

A Suffixing Form that is not a main verb but follows the main verb of an independent clause or sentence is the Consecutive Form; the Consecutive possesses no inherent tense or aspect reference but, rather, assumes the tense and aspect reference of the main verb of the sentence: 26 A I 6/8 **WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS . . . WŞBRT MLŞM** ("I acquired horse upon horse . . . and smashed those who scorned me."); 26 A III 16 **WYP'L L Ş'R ZR WŞT ŞM 'L** ("He shall make for himself another gate and place his own name on it."); 10.9/11 **TTN [LY HRBT B]'LT GBL ĤN . . . WĤN** (*w^eħanna*) **'M 'RŞ Z** ("The Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor, and may she favor the people of this land!").

In complex sentences in literary Phoenician and Punic, the Suffixing Form Past Perfective could occupy clause-initial position in the main (result) clause of a temporal sentence or in the main clause of a sentence with anticipatory clause: 10.7/8 **KM Š QR'T T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL** ("When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice."); 24.11 **WMY BL HZ PN Š ŠTY B'L DR** ("As for him who had never owned a sheep, I made him the owner of a flock.").

A Suffixing Form occupying clause-initial position in the result clause of a sentence with anticipatory clause or in the result clause of a conditional sentence has future tense reference; this usage is extremely common both in Phoenician and in Punic: Pu *CIS* i 4945.4/6 **WŠ YRGZ T-MTNT Z WQBT TNT-PNB'L** ("As for him who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him!"); Pu *CIS* I 5510.7 **[M]ŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WŠLM** ("If he who serves shall be zealous, wealth and prosperity shall be his.").

A Suffixing Form occupying sentence-initial position in an independent clause was often jussive/optative in reference: this usage is well attested in Phoenician and in Punic: 26 A III 2/3 **WBRK B'L KRNTRYŠ 'YT 'ZTWD HYM WŠLM** ("May Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless Aztwadda with long life and prosperity!"); Pu *Poen.* 1141 **haua amma silli** ("May my mother live long!"); *Poen.* 1141 **hauo bene silli** ("May my son live long!").

2. Prefixing Form A

Prefixing Form A, in all its tense/aspect references (Present Imperfective, Past Imperfective, Future), is without syntactic restriction. The nominal or pronominal subject of the Form may precede or follow the verb: 48.2/3 **'NKY LRBTY . . . Š'L [TB]RK 'Y[T 'RB'T B]NY** ("I ask of my Lady: Bless my four sons!"); 26 A II 4/4 **'DM YŠT' LLKT DRK** ("One used to be afraid to walk the road."); 24.15 **WMY YŠHT HSPR Z YŠHT R'Š B'L ŠMD** ("As for whomever shall destroy this inscription, Baal-Semed shall smash his head!").

3. Prefixing Forms B and C

Prefixing Form B expressing the Past Perfective is syntactically restricted to sentence-initial position; it does not require the conjunction *W-* as does Hebrew *wayyiqtol*: 30.2/4 **'L HGBR Z' '[U]ŠY WY'BD H[. . .] Z' 'YT H'Y** ("This warrior came up to Alasiya,

and this . . . devastated the island.”); Pu *CISI* 5510.9/10 **WYLK RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLK BN HN' HRB 'LŠ** (“Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great marched at dawn.”). Prefixing Form B Past Perfective may continue a prior like verb within the same sentence: 50.3/4 **'PQN HKSP 'Š ŠLHT LY WTNTN LY** (“I received the silver that you sent me and have lent me.”).

Prefixing Form B expressing the Jussive/Optative had no syntactic restriction with regard to position in the sentence; the nominal or pronominal subject of the verb may precede or follow although it is more common for it to precede the verb: 52.1/2 **HRPKRT YTN HYM L'BDY L'BD'ŠMN** (“Harpocrates give long life to his servant Abdesmun!”); Pu *Poen.* 1027 **Bal samem ierasan** (“Baal shake the heavens!”) but also 10.8 **TBRK B'LT GBL 'YT YHWMLK** (“Baalt of Byblos bless Yehawmilk!”).

Prefixing Form B expressing the Cohortative preceded or followed its subject: Pu *Poen.* 949 **Anec l-itor bod es iussim limin co** (“Let me inquire of these men who are coming out from here.”) = *Poen.* 939 with Prefixing Form C **Bod i(ly) a(nech) l-ythera** (“Let me inquire of these men.”); Npu *Poen.* 943 **L-iphoc anech yth byn ui iaed** (“Let me get my brother’s only son.”).

Prefixing Form B is used to express the Subjunctive after the particle **LKN** (“in order that”): 60.6/8 **YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMM 20 LMHT LKN YD'** (*yede'ū*: Subjunctive) **HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM HLPY 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT 'T PN GW** (“They shall withdraw 20 drachmas from the silver of the god Baal of Sidon in order that the Sidonians might know that the community knows to compensate those persons who have performed service on behalf of the community.”). Elsewhere, the Subjunctive is expressed by the Infinitive Construct.

4. *The Imperative Form*

When the Imperative Form had independent personal pronoun as its subject, the nominal or pronominal subject preceded or followed: 50.5 **'T BTH BDBR[Y]** (“Trust thou in my word!”) but D 6.11 **Un ath a[bdach]a** (“Spare thou thy servant!”).

5. *Active Participle*

When the Active Participle had a noun or independent personal pronoun as its subject, the nominal or pronominal subject preceded or followed: 13.1/3 **'NK TBNT . . . ŠKB B'RN Ž** ("I, Tibnit, lie in this sarcophagus.") but 14.3 **WŠKB 'NK BHLT Ž** ("I lie in this coffin.").

6. *Infinite Construct*

The Infinite Construct used to express the Jussive/Optative mood was restricted to sentence initial position: 26 A III 4/5 **LTTY B'L KRNTRYŠ . . . L'ŽTWD 'RK YMM** ("Baal-KRNTRYŠ give to Aztwadda a long reign!"); NPu **L'TT H'L 'BBRKT M L[N]** ("God grant us of his blessings!"). When used to express the imperative, the Infinite Construct is also sentence-initial: 2.1/3 **LD'T HNY B'LK THT ŽN** ("Know that I, your king, am at the bottom of this <shaft>!"); Pu 76 B 8 **LŠT 'LT HHDRT NPT** ("Put honey on top of the swelling!"); NPu 145 I 4 **LŠ'T 'HT ŠMM** ("Exalt his name!").

The Infinitive Construct used to express the Future had no syntactic restriction; it could be sentence-initial or non-sentence-initial: 14.9/10 **LQŠTNM 'YT MMLKT 'M 'DM H'** ("They shall cut off that royal person or that commoner.") but 60.4/5 **'YT R'T Ž LKTB H'DMM 'Š NŠ'M LN 'L BT 'LM 'LT MŠBT HRSŠ** ("The men who were elected by us in charge of the temple shall inscribe this resolution on a gold stele."). The Infinitive Construct Future may also occur in a relative clause; this use is quite common: 79.6/8 **WKL 'Š LSR T-'BN Ž** ("Anyone who shall remove this stele"). In one syntactic structure alone could the Infinitive Construct Future not stand: it is unknown in the result clause of a sentence with prior clause; in this usage, only Suffixing Form B and Prefixing Form A occur.

7. *The Infinitive Absolute Past Perfective*

The Infinitive Absolute used to express the the Past Perfective was syntactically restricted to sentence-initial position: 24.7/8 **WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK 'ŠR** ("I hired the king of Assyria against him."); 26 A I 3/4 **YHW 'NK 'YT DNNYM** ("I kept the Danunians alive."); Pu *Poen.* 943/944 **Iulec anec cona, alonim balim, bane becor Bals[illem]** ("I brought here, O proprietary gods, my firstborn son Bals[illem]."). In the same sentence, the non sentence-initial coun-

terpart to the Infinitive Absolute Past Perfective was the Suffixing Form Past Perfective.

C. *The Syntax of the Complex Sentence*

The syntax of complex sentences, such as temporal sentences, conditional sentences and sentences with final clauses, requires comment. These complex sentences exhibit special usage of the verb in the main clauses; they also illustrate the manner in which constituent clauses of a complex sentence are conjoined.

1. *Temporal Sentences*

'HR Š

AFTER

NSI 56.2/6 **'HR Š P'L ŠYW'T LHHYM H'Š ŠL' . . . 'M' L ŠRT ŠNT H'MŠM**, "After her husband had made his farewell to the living, his mother performed public service for (another) fifty years."

B- + Infinitive Construct

WHEN

The *when*-clause of a temporal sentence was also expressed by **B-** + Infinitive Construct. The *when*-clause precedes or follows the main clause. The grammatical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the suffixal pronoun; the logical subject may follow in apposition. When the main (result) clause of the sentence follows the *when*-clause, it is introduced by the conjunction **W-**, and the verb form used to express past perfective action is Suffixing Form Past Perfective.

Kition lines 1/3 **BMŠ'NM 'BN W'ZRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT . . . WYŠ' 'L[NM MHJ]T 'Š KTY L'GD LM MLHMT**, "When our enemies and their Paphian allies came to do battle with us, the army of the people of Kition went forth against them to do battle with them."

NPu 159.5/6 **TW' YSPN 'LT MQDŠM BYRḤ KRR ŠT BLL HZBH . . . BŠPTM** (*bisofīm*) **MSHB'**, "We added his cella to his sanctuary in the month of Kirur, in the year of BLL, the sacrificial priest, when MSHB' was suffes."

NPu Trip. 79.5/6 **NPL'** (sic!) **BTŠTY BTY BHYYTNM** (*biḥyōḥnom*), "It (the tomb) was built at his own expense when they (those at rest in the tomb) were <still> living."

K kī

WHEN

In this construction, the *when*-clause follows the main clause:

Byb 1.1 **'RN ZP'L [']TB'L . . . L'HRM 'BH K-ŠTH B<T> 'L**, “<This is> the coffin that Ittobaal made for his father Ahiram when he (Ittobaal) placed him (Ahiram) in the tomb.”

AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.7/9 **Ubarb aamys chyrym[u]ia byiyra [Mu]fa chy [c]hil[o] ufel thy-[. . .]**, “And on the evening of the fifth they honored her, in the month of Mufa, when he (the governor of Miqnim) had finished building the [. . .].”

KM 'Š

WHEN

The when-clause precedes the main (result) clause. In a temporal sentence in past perfective tense, past perfective in both clauses is expressed by the Suffixing Form Past Perfective. The main (result) clause is introduced by the conjunction *W-*.

10.7/8 Byb **KM 'Š QR'T 'T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL**, “When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice.”

CID lines 7/8 **KM 'Š YGL 'YT MSNZMŠ BYMT 'ZWSS W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> LMSN'ZMŠ KL HŠDYT 'L**, “When they exiled MSNZMS (?read MTS) in the days of 'ZWSS, the king of WRYK-LY returned all these fields to MSN'ZMS.”

NPu D 6.3/5 **Byrysth[im Y]rirachan**, “When he drove out Yrirachan.”

KM Š-

WHEN (Punic)

Pu 81.4 **YB' 'LT HHRZ ŠMQDŠM 'L KM ŠHGR HŠMRT LHR H'[LM]**, “<Belonging to the goddesses are all the objects that> were brought into the custody of these sanctuaries when the protected area of the divine mount was closed off to access.”

'D 'Š

AS SOON AS

50.5/6 **'D 'Š 'D' BM'[. . .]T WŠLHT LY 'T SPR HNQT**, “As soon as I shall have paid you back what I owe, send me the quittance.”

2. *Conditional Sentences*

The real conditional sentence, consisting of *if*-clauses (*protasis*) and main future result clause (*apodosis*), is expressed in several ways. The *if*-clause may be introduced by the conjunction **'M** (*'im*) "if" but the conjunction is optional. In the *protasis*, the present-future is expressed by Prefixing Form A Present-Future (*yiqtol*); in the main (result) clause, the future tense is expressed by either Prefixing Form A Future I (*yiqtol*) or Sufficing Form Future (*qatol*). If Prefixing Form A Future is used in the result clause, the clause is not introduced by the conjunction **W-**, whether the verb is clause-initial or not; if Sufficing Form Future is used in the result clause, the verb must be clause-initial and the clause introduced by the conjunction **W-**. Negative future result is expressed by **'L** + Prefixing Form B.

In the following examples, future result is expressed in the result clause by Prefixing Form A in clause-initial position:

Byb 1.2 **WYGL 'RN ŽN THTSP HTR MSPTH THTPK KS' MLKH WNHT TBRH 'L GBL**, "If he shall remove this coffin, his imperial scepter shall break, his royal throne shall overturn, and peace shall depart from Byblos."

Byb 10.13/15 **W'M'BL TŠT ŠM 'NK 'TK . . . TSRH HRBT B'LT GBL'YT HDM H' WZR'W**, "But if you do not place my name with yours <upon this work>, the Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make that person and his descendants odious."

KAI 14.6 **'P 'M 'DMM YDBRNK 'L TŠM' BD
NM**, "Even if people urge you <to violate my tomb>, do not listen to their words!"

The following sentences illustrate the use of the Sufficing Form to express future result in the main clause; the verb occupies clause-initial position:

Byb 1.2 **WH' YMḤ SPRH LPP ŠBL**, "But if he shall erase its inscription, his long trailing <royal> robe shall be *rent*."

Pu CIS i 5510.7 **[M]ŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WSLM**, "If he who serves shall be zealous <in his service>, wealth and prosperity shall be his!"

Negative future result in the main clause is expressed by **'L** + Prefixing Form B:

13.6/8 **W'M PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZN 'L Y<K>N L<K>WMSKB 'T RP'M WZR' BHYM THT ŠŠ**, "But if you do open it and disturb me, you shall not have descendants among those living under the sun nor rest among the infernal gods."

24.14/15 **WYẒQ BSPR Ẓ MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'RRM WB'R-
RM 'L YKBD LMSKBM**, "If he shall damage this inscription, the *mškbm* shall no longer have respect for the *b'rrm*, and the *b'rrm* shall no longer have respect for the *mškbm*."

3. Final Clauses

LMHT LKN + Suffixing Form B Subjunctive

IN ORDER THAT, SO THAT:

60.6/8 **YŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMNM 20 LMHT LKN
YD' HŠDNYM K YD' HGW LŠLM ḤLPT 'YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MŠRT
'T PN GW**, "They shall withdraw 20 drachmas from the money of the god Baal of Sidon in order that the Sidonians might know that the community knows to compensate persons who have performed service in behalf of the community." *Obs.* The adverb requires Suffixing Form B for the Subjunctive; normally, the Subjunctive in Phoenician is expressed by the Infinitive Construct, as in the following section.

L- + Infinitive Construct Subjunctive

THAT, SO THAT

14.19/20 **WYSPNNM LGBL 'RŠ LKNNM LŠDNM L'LM**, "We annexed them to the territory of our state that they might belong to the Sidonians forever."

18.3/6 **'YT HŠ'R Ẓ WHDLHT 'Š L P'LT BTKLTY BNTY . . .
LKNY LY LSKR**, "I built this gate and its panels to be (*lit.*, that it might be) a memorial to me."

19.9/11 **KM 'Š BN 'YT KL 'HRY [HMQDŠ]M 'Š B'RŠ LKNNM
L[M LSKR]**, "Just as they built all the other sanctuaries in the region to be [*lit.*, that they might be] a memorial to them."

26 A I 17/18 **WBN 'NK ḤMYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM
DNNYM BNHT LBNM**, "And I built protective fortresses in those places that the Danunians might live in peace of mind."

LM

LEST, followed by Prefixing Form A Future, introducing a statement of future consequence if a prohibition should be disobeyed; Aramaic *lēmā*.

14.21/22 **'L YŠ' 'YT ḤLT MŠKBY LM YSGRNM 'LNM HQD-
ŠM 'L**, "Let them not carry off the coffin in which I lie lest these holy gods lock them up (*that is*, If he does carry off the coffin, these holy gods shall lock them up)!"

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Carefully selected examples from texts and dialects of the whole Phoenician–Punic period bring to life the grammatical description of this language. Included are fully vocalized Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania in Latin orthography as well as the literary fragments of Punic drama as found in Plautus' comedy *Poenulus*.

This classical descriptive grammar of the Phoenician–Punic language (1200 BCE–350 CE) presents the reader with a full picture: its phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and usage. Its history and its various dialects are dealt with in an introduction.

Hebraists and Semitists will find the description of the verbal system of particular interest to them, especially that of the literary language, which holds that tense and aspect reference of a given form of the verb is largely a function of syntax, not morphology. Much of this grammatical material is presented here for the first time.

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