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A Phoenician-Punic Grammar

by

Charles R. Krahmalkov

Brill
A PHOENICIAN-PUNIC GRAMMAR
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BY

CHARLES R. KRAHMALKOV

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

Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis and Zamora, José-Ángel

Friedrich, Johannes

Friedrich, Johannes and Röllig, Wolfgang

Friedrich, Johannes and Röllig, Wolfgang

Harris, Zellig Shabbetai
Rosenberg, Josef  

Schröder, Paul  

Segert, Stanislav  

Shifman, Il’ya Sh.  

van den Branden, Albert  
196  *Grammaire Phénicienne.* Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban.

### 2. Dictionaries, Lexicons, Glossaries

Bloch, Armand  

Donner, Herbert. and Röllig, Wolfgang.  

Fuentes Estañol, Maria-José  

Harris, Zellig Shabbetai  

Hoftijzer, Jean. and Jongeling K.  

Jean, Charles.-F. and Hoftijzer, Jean  

Krahmalkov, Charles R.  
Levy, Mauritz Abraham
1864  *Phoenizisches Woerterbuch.*

Lidzbarski, Max

Tomback, Richard S.

**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**

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Assurb.</td>
<td>Assurbanipal Annals: R. Borger, <em>Beiträge zum Inschriftwerk</em></td>
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FOREWORD

Assurbanipal. Wiesbaden, 1996.

Aug.
Augustine of Hippo: 
Opera Omnia; 
Patrologiae Cursus Comple- 
tus, 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 Inscript- 

Betlyon

BMQ
British Museum Quarterly

Byb
Bybian Phoenician

Byb 13
W. Röllig, “Eine neue phönizische Inschrift aus Byblos,” 

CID
P.G. Mosca and J. Russell, “A Phoenician Inscription from 
Cebel Ires Dagi in Rough Cilicia,” 
Epigraphica Anatolica 9 

CIL
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CIS
Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum

CRAI
Comples rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et 

D
R.G. Goodchild, “La necropoli romano-libica di Bir ed-
Dréder,” 

Diosc(urides)
Dioscurides, De materia medica. Pp. 516-28 in Vattioni, in-
fra.

EA
Leipzig, 1915.

Esar.
Esharhaddon Prisms. See R.C. Thompson, The Prisms of Es- 
harhaddon and of Ashurbanipal.

EH
A. Berthier and R. Charlier, Le sanctuaire punique d’El-Ho- 

FK
M. Guzzo Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, Fouilles de Kí- 
ton. III. Inscriptions phéniciennes. Department of Anti-

GEG

Hassan-Beyli
Kal 23: A. Lemaire, “L’inscription phénicienne de Hass- 
an Beyli reconsiderée,” 

Head

Hill
G.F. Hill, Phoenicia in Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British 

IEJ
Israel Exploration Journal

IFO
P. Magnanini, Le Iscrizioni fenicie dell’Oriente. Istituto di Studi 

IFPCO
M.G. Guzzo Amadasi, Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche della colone 

IG
G. Kaibel, ed., Inscriptiones Graecae 14: Italy and Sicily. Ber- 
lin, 1890

IRT
J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward Perkins, Inscriptions of Ro- 

JA
Journal Asiatique
RSF
Rivista di Studi Fenici

S

Sanch.

Sarepta

Segert

Senn.

Téboursouk

Tigl. III

Trip.

Tsevat

Umm el-Awamid
Inscriptions pp. 18-23 in IFO, supra.

Ungnad-Matous

Vattioni

Waltke-O’Connor
CHAPTER ONE

THE PHOENICIAN LANGUAGE

Phoenicia (Φοινίκια), the Greek name of Canaan (קְנָנִים, Hebrew קְנָאָן), 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 סְפִּת קְנָּנִים ("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 פִּת ( פִּת), and the name of the Canaanite subgroup inhabiting it, the פּוֹנִים (Phoenicians), the gentilic deriving from the place-name. פּוֹנִים 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 ofPut were Tyre and Sidon, and so the term Phoenicians (פּוֹנִים) came early to be synonymous with Tyrians and Sidonians and Phoenician (פּוֹנִים) synonymous with Tyro-Sidonian Canaanite. Accordingly, the Phoenicians came to call themselves freely and interchangeably Phoenicians (פּוֹנִים), 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 Daphnæ 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 Pōnnîm 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 an ostracon-inscription of ca. 1200 B.C. from Qubur al-Wulayda near Ghaza (F.M. Cross, BASOR 238 [1980] 2-3): ŠM [B] 'L 'TS (“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 Pōnnîm 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. HŠTHWB LW BT ṢR, // KBDH BT MLK PNTMH (“Show him respect, O daughter of Tyre, // Honor him, O daughter of the King of the Phoenicians [Pōnnîma]!”). Here, the title MLK PNTMH melek Pōnnîma, (“King of the Phoenicians”) is synonymous with King of Tyre, and Pōnnîm (“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 Karkehdonios (“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
  Qui illim sexennis perierim Carthagine?
**HANNO:** Pro di immortales, plurumi ad illum modum
  Periere pueri liberi Carthagine.
**MILPHIO:** Quid ais tu?
**AGORASTOCLES:** Quid uis?
**MILPHIO:** Vin appellem hunc Punce?
**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 Πὁννῖμ = Πονῖς. In turn, Πὁννῖμ, the name of the Punic (Phoenician) language, is patently identical to ΠΝΥΜΗ (Πὁννῖμα) in Psalm 45, the name of the Phoenicians. As for the use of the masculine plural gentilic Πὁννῖμ for the name of the language: this is known, attested Phoenician usage, clearly an abbreviation of the fuller, underlying designation dābarīm Πὁννῖμ (“Phoenician language,” lit., “Phoenician words”). Evidence of the Phoenician usage is the linguistic designation ΚΡΣΥΜ Κορσῖμ (“Corsic”), appearing in the inscriptions of the Phoenician city of Kition in Cyprus, to designate the language of the ethnic ΚΡΣΥΜ Κορσῖμ, 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 MLŞ (H-)KRΣYM, meliš hek-Korsim, (“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 Abd-milqart bin Rasapyaton (B 40.1), used the non-Semitic ethnic nickname ŠRDŁ (“the Sardinian”).

Phoenician (Πὁννῖμ) 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 (*Ponnim*) 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 hā* (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-
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 Metién (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 *tinterii* (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-Baal* (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: *Mytthumbal, Mitthunbal, Mythunbal, Mytunbalis, Mytthumbalis*; so, too, compare those Punic personal names without the divine name, such as *Myttun, Mythun, 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 'is (Hebrew 'ašer), the feminine singular noun affirmative -at (Judeaean -a), the expression of sentence-initial Past Perfective by the infinitive absolute (unknown in Hebrew), the use of the verb p-š-l (Judeaean 'š-y) for "do, make," the verb k-w-n (Judeaean h-y-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 süso for the nominative and accusative cases but süsi for the genitive case; Byblian, on the other hand, had three forms, süso for the nominative, süsiw (earlier süsihu) for the genitive and süsahu 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. ֶה, fem. ֶה) for near/far deixis ("this, that"), the other (masc. ֶה, fem. ֶה) 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-šasáp (Mil-ki-a-sha-pa: Esar. v 59); in marked contrast, cuneiform sources record Tyro-Sidonian names with the sound change: Ba'el-malók of Arvad (Ba'-al-ma-lu-ku: Asb. ii 84), Ba'el-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 hitfīm) erected ca. 1200 B.C. at Nora in Sardinia, the independent personal pronoun of the first singular is 'am, a form rarely if ever attested in Phoenician, which used 'anīki 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 LVRH (“to make welcome”) in the same inscription of 406 B.C.: the spelling reflects the Phoenician pronunciation liyarih 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 lasir (“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 YQDS for Punic iqdēs (“he dedicated”) was abandoned and the phonetic spelling YQDS 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 mīttit. Throughout Punic the common word for “stele” is always MNSTBT, found in Latin-letter Punic inscription spelled myntsyft mintsīw, never MSBT 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 silli (“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 Siceliot Greek city of Agrigentum: CIS I 5510.9/10 WYLK (weyeleku) RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLKT 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 Poem. 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 is 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 Esnumamos 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

\[ WYLK RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB WHMLKT BN 'HN' HRB 'LS WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGNT WŠT H[M]T ŠLM DL B'L NWS, \]

("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 [Himitco], 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: WTMK HMT 'YT 'GRGN'T WST H[MT] ŠLM DL B'L NKS (“They [the Carthaginians] seized Agrigentum, and they [the Carthaginians] set loose looters [reading sōllīm] and murderers [reading B'L NKS ba'lec 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 s ʒ). 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 RZN 'TMM B'L HRDT 'L GBRTM

Lilim iqqiddīs laṣet ot semim
Biswūb mūlek Htr, Meskar rūzen yammīm
Bal aradot al gubūratim
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 τα Φοινικεία γράμματα ("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, Judaean and Moabite. Occasionally and selectively, however, they did use waw and , 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 Δαμωνικος) and NDRWNKŚ (Greek Ανδρωνικος) on coins of Lapethos (see RPC p. 97-100); (ii) W is found for u in the spelling of the ethnonic LWKY Lükī ("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-nameDYL ḫēl (Egyptian: Ramesses III Simons XXXV, 11 .-dī-.l; Assyrian: Esar. V 64 E-dī-.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 'ānīkī ("I," for standard spelling 'NK); (ii) in the plene spelling of the first singular
possessive pronoun -ʔ ("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 -Ø of the pronoun; (iii) in the plene spelling of the third person singular (masculine and feminine) possessive pronoun ᵐᵰ (“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 HΡΝ' ῾Ηρηνη (KAI 56) and the Greek place-name L'ΔΚ' Λαοδίκεια (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 ΜΫ ("who?") pronounced ṁi 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,” βερί, was spelled PR (14.12), as pronounced, not PRT, reflecting the historical form pìry(u); so, too, in Punic, in which the word-final vowel was indicated by the vowel-letter (matres lectionis) aleph: GD' gëḍī < 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 -Ŷ -i, the yod being a vowel-letter (matres lectionis); but still found occasionally is the earlier spelling -Ø. 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 '月下 for standard Phoenician ζ in writing the singular demonstrative pronouns εζΔε (masculine) and εζΔο (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 Pyr-
goï in Etruria (ca. 500 B.C.).

Cypriote scribes also adhered to the older (original) spelling -Ø
of the nominative/accusative form -i 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 Phoeni-
cian, in which one finds QL qōli ("my voice") in the nominative and
accusative cases but QLY qōli < qōliya. In Tyro-Sidonian Phoeni-
cian and in Punic, the normative spelling of the possessive pronoun,
from the eighth century B.C., was always plene -Ŷ, 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 ʾaleph to indicate the presence of a word-final vowel.
Instances of typical Punic spellings are 68.5 QLʾqūlo ("his voice") =
Phoenician QL; 69.15 MQNʾ miqne ("property, money"); 66.2 RPYʾ
rafoyo ("he cured him"); 101.1 BNʾ banô ("they built"), et passim. Less
frequently, Punic used ʾaleph also to indicate the presence of a word-
internal vowel: Pyrgi line 9 MʾŠ mes ("statue") = Phoenician MŠ.
This extended use of ʾaleph 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 ʿ-, 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
Ŷ and ʾaleph, 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 **MTŚQL** misqil ("beautifier"), **YQĐŠ** iqdes ("he dedicated") and **R’PS** 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 H’** 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 H’** 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 **B G D H W Z H T Y K L M N S P Ş Q R Ş 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 **ē ē̂**. 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 /ʕ/ 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 qarāti < qarāti < qarāṭi (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 (ʼBSM “in the name of”); *Al* 1. p. 233 line 2 *lifnim* livim (LBNM “for his son”); and *IRT* 873.1; 906.1/2 *myntsyfth* mintsivt (MNSBT “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 αφδε (ʼBDY (“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 *dorrim* (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* (ʼH “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 *ʼ*, 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 *hauo* hawo (HW “may he live long!”); NPu *IRT* 889.1 *uybinim* wibinim (WBNM “and his son”).

**Z:** Affricate of the shape [zd] or [dz], represented in Roman orthography by sd and ss in the spelling of the demonstrative pronoun Z (“this”): Punic *Poen.* 947A *esde* and *Poen.* 940P, 944A esse (ʼzdé or ʼdzé). 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 $\kappa$ of the demonstrative, common in the inscriptions of Cyprus as a free variant spelling of $\kappa$. 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 $\kappa-K-R$. 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 $\kappa$ attested: Umm el-Awamid 14.2 $ZKRN$ (“remember me!”). Yet, in the spelling of some words, the grapheme $\kappa$ 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 $sebuim$ $seb\bar{u}(h)\bar{im}$ ($ZBH$ “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 $\kappa$-demonstrative pronouns. In transcriptions of Punic prepared by non-native speakers, the use of the grapheme $z$ $\xi$ is found: Diosc. 2.125 $\zeta\epsilon\rho\alpha$ and Pliny 24.71 $zyra$ ($ZR$ “seed”).

$H$: Pharyngeal fricative /h/. 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 $auo$ $awo$ (“he lived”) cf. Neo-Punic plene spellings 134.2 $\textquoteright WH$ and 158.2 $\textquoteright WH$ $awo$ (“he lived”); Poen.937 $irs$ ($HRS$ “shard”), et passim.

$T$: Retroflex stop /t/. 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 /l/ (Greek $\tau$); in contrast, Phoenician /t/ was perceived as an aspirated stop [th] (Greek $\theta$) and represented in Latin-letter orthography as $th$: Poen. 930 $yth$ (‘$T$’); $IRT$ 827.2 $myntsyth$ $mintsiot$ ($MNSBT$ “stele”), et passim.

$Y$: Palatal glide /y/. Represented in Latin-letter orthography by $i$: Pu Poen. 942 $iulec$ $yulek$ ($YLK$ “bring,” Infinitive Absolute); Poen. 1117 $iadata$ $yada\text{‘}ta$ ($YD\text{‘}T$ “you know”). In Neo-Punic, $y$ as an intervo-
calic glide appears to have been suppressed in the environment -eyo-: *IRT 865 baneo banêo < banêyo (“his sons”); *IRT 894.6 buo bûo < (a)bûyo (“his father”); elsewhere it was retained between vowels: *IRT 828.3 ai[a]em (h)ayyîm (“lifetime”); *IRT 826.3 auia a(h)ûya (“her brother”).

Characteristic of Neo-Punic was the development yi- > i- in word-initial position, most commonly seen in the suffixing forms of the causative stem, such as 121.1 *yiqdes (“he dedicated”) and *IRT 873.3 intseb intseb (“he erected”), reflexes of Phoenician yiqdes and yisseb 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 utseb < yutseb (“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 timlakûn (TMLKN “you rule”); *Poen. 934 chon kon (KN “he was”); *Poen. 935 chy ki (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 Birihtut (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 ’allonîm (’LNM “gods”); NPu *Poen. 938 ily illary (’L “these”), et passim.

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

*N: Alveolar nasal resonant /n/: Pu *Poen. 942 anec ’anik(’NK “I”); NPu *Poen. 936 innochoth innûkot (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 /ʔ/. 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’ül (LP'L “to do”). In Neo-Punic, the phoneme had completely disappeared: IRT 873.2 fel fel (“he made”); IRT 889.2 felu felu (“they made”); this is confirmed by the Punic-letter spelling NPu 142.4 PHL' felu (“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”).

$: 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), sadhe is commonly represented by the grapheme $, a ligature of st or ts: IRT 873.1; 906.1/2 myntsyfth and IRT 828.3 my(n)sty(f)th mintsivt (M$BT “stele”); IRT 873.3 intseb intseb (“he erected”); D 5.18 utseb utseb (“he erected”); (ii). The common Punic name $DN appears in transcription as Siddin (CIL viii 9106) but also Stiddin (CIL viii 10686) and Tziddin (CIL viii 25168); (iii). Greek and Latin transcriptions of the word H$R (“herb, grass”): Appuleius (Vattioni 529 no. 7) atzir. (“herb”); (iv). In Plautine Punic in Roman letters, datable to ca. 300 B.C., sade is transcribed ss and t, both being graphic
devices to convey the affricate ts: Pu Poen. 949 iussim yūṭām (YŠ’M “they who are coming out”) and Poen. 1141 dum et dum ‘ets (DM ‘S “blood of the vine” = “wine”). To the use of t for ts, compare Diod. 2.167, 2.217, 158 ατίρ (h)atśir (“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 simple sibilant s. See C.R. Krahmalkov, JAOS 294 (1994), 68-82.

Q: Uvular stop /q/. In Punic in Greek and Latin letters, this phono- neme 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 κούλω quló (QL “his voice”); Poen. 930 carothi garōti (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 Μηρη and Merre respectively, with gemination of /r/ (KAI 66).

Š: /š/ = [s], 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 $S$) but normally continued to be represented in the orthography by the grapheme Š; 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 [ʃ] 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 šalūs (Hebrew šalōš). The absence of the sound [ʃ] was also characteristic of “Ephraimite,” the dialect of the northern kingdom of Israel: Ephraimites were unable to articulate correctly the sibilant in the word šibiolet, 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 sibi 'Z 'B ST ST ŠBYT ("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 [θ] 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 MSBT missibt < mansibt ("stele") et passim. In some dialects, this assimilation did not take place: 50.3/4 (from Daphnae) TTTN tinteni ("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 MNS' minso(’) ("gift, contribution"); 102.2 MTNT mittint < mantint ("gift" = Phoenician MTT); IRT 873.1 myntsyth mintsivt < mansibt ("stele" = Phoenician MŠBT missibt).

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

2b. Excrecent Consonants

Secondary morpheme-final -m appears in Punic with the suffix pronoun -y'-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 \(-Y -i\) ("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. Excr\[e]scent \(-t\) is common in the singular demonstrative pronouns of Neo-Punic \(ST (sith, syth) sit ("this, masculine) and \(ST (soth) sot ("this, feminine), free variants of \(S (sy) si and \(S (su) sô 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 \(-y-\): sùsê \(-y\)-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 banêo ("his sons") and IRT 894.6 buo bûo ("his father"); but the glide was retained with the feminine suffixal pronoun: IRT 826.3 auia a(h)ûya ("her brother") and LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.8 chyrumuia kirrimûya ("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 iiddīr ‘iddīr < ‘addir (“great,” in the divine name Baliddīr); Pu Poen. 940 imacom im-maqōm < (h)ammaqōm (“the city”); Pu Poen. 1033 migdīl migdīl < magdīl (“magnifier”); NPu IRT 906.1/2 myntsīth mintsīt < mansīb (“stele”); 145 I 4 QYDŠ qiddīs < qaddīs (“holy”); EH Gr. 1.2 ρυβαθων ribbatōn < rabbatōnu (“our lady”); Poen. 934 thymmoth timmôt < 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 /ˈaC-/: Pu Poen. 940 alonīm ‘allonīm (“gods”); Pu addīr ‘addīr in the divine name Abaddīr (CIL viii 21481); NPu IRT 893.1 anasīb an-natsīb (“the stele”). It is also retained as \(a\) when the vowel is characteristic of the paradigm, for example in Pu Poen. 1023 sycartīm s’kartīm (“you remember”) because -\(a\)- is the paradigmatic thematic vowel of the Qal suffixing form; cf. Pu Poen. 941 bātī bātī (“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 an unstressed syllable closed by a laryngeal or pharyngeal: NPu Poen. 933 marob ma’rōb (“custody”).

In a doubly closed syllable, the sound-change \(a>o\) was characteristic and distinctive of Tyro-Sidonian among the Canaanite languages: Phoenician milkōt < milkāt (“Queen” = Ilat) in the personal name Ab-di-mi-il-ku-ut-ti (Esr. ii 65); malōk < malāk (“he reigns”) in the personal name Ba’-al-ma-lu-ku (Asb. ii 84, Arvad); Pu Poen. 947 helicōt he’likōt < halikāt (“hospitality”); NPu S 24.5 arōs ’arōs < ’aráš (“he asked”); EH Gr. 1.3 ναδῶρ nadōr < nadár (“he vowed”); EH Gr. 1.4 σαμω σαμ’ < šamā’ (“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 lēkā ("go!") and pursa pursá ("explain!"); (iii) The final -a of the subjunctive: Pu Poen. 1027P ierasan yerʾsán ("may he shake"); NPu Poen. 1027A iyryla yirʾila ("may he shake") and NPu Poen. 939 lythera litirā ("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 abūnōm ("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 [awwoo] ("he lived"); IRT 879.3 sanu(th) sanūt [saanūut] ("years"); EH Greek 1.2 ρυβαθων ribbaton [ribbaatōn] ("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 bitti ("her daughter"); Poen. 934 yth 'it < 'int ("time"); Pu Poen. 947P itt ḫitt ("to/with"), var. 947A ett ḫett. 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 baḥ as in Hebrew; NPu D 6.9 is is < 'ṣ ("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 sibti ("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 [œ], as suggested by its representation by η in the Piʾel suffixing verb σελ-ημ [sellēem] in the personal name CIS i 119 Σουμσέλημου, and in
the Pi’el active participle מַרְפֶּה [m’erreēh]; 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)īn (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 pursā < purśa (“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 'umer ['umer]; cf. the stress-lengthening in Hebrew. 'MR 'omer [ómer].

2. The Original Long Vowels and Diphthongs

2a. Reflex of Canaanite ay

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

2b. Reflex of Canaanite aw and ō

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

In a closed unstressed syllable, the reflex of the Canaanite long vowel ō < Semitic ā was ō: NPu Poen. 935 dobrim dōbrīm (“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 maqom (“city”); Poen. 948 mucom muqom (“place, city,” construct form) but also Pu
Poen. 940P macum maqūm. The lowering of the vowel is very common: Pu Poen. 940 alonut 'allonūt < 'allōnōt ("goddesses"); Poen. 945 comu kēmū < kamō ("like, as"); Poen. 940P macum maqūm < maqūm ("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 < șanōt ("years"); Poen. 945 liful līfūl < līfʿōl ("to do"), et passim.

The vowel is normally ū in an open unstressed syllable: Pu Poen. 944, 948 duber dūbēr < dōbēr ("says"); Poen. 949 iussim yūtsim (YŠM "those who are coming out"); NPu. IRT 906.4 buny būnī < bōne ("builder"); S 24.3 bunem būnīm < bōnīm ("builders"); D 5.19 utsēb ětsēb < yōsēb < hawsib ("he erected"), et passim. Sometimes, however, the unstressed vowel appears as ŏ, 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 ἀδουν ᾿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 'allonīm ("gods"); Poen. 944 ce kī ("because"); Poen. 940 is īs ("who") = Poen. 943, 949 es.

Neo-Punic Poen. 935 dobřim dōbrīm ("they say"); Poen. 938 elichoth (h)el ělikot ("hospitality"); IRT 828.2 mythem mītim ("deceased persons"); IRT 879.1 ys īs ("man"), et passim.

2d. Reflex of Canaanite ū

Canaanite ū was preserved: Punic Poen. 1013 abuca 'ābūka ("your father"); Neo-Punic Poen.938 gubulim gēbūlim ("district, area, region"); IRT 893.5 sebuim zēbū(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 or, when the final root consonant is one of the series 'h h 'r, by the anaptyctic vowel a: Pu Poen. 1017 umir, var. umer 'úmir < 'umr ("word"); but ITH 4.1/2, 8 iyra yira(h) (YRH "month"); Diosc. 2.125 ζερα zēra' and Pliny 24.71 zyra zīra (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 CάCaC 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 HRS "architect").

Anaptyxis also takes place with the feminine singular noun affirmative -t: NPu Poen. 938 sibith sibit < sibt ("residing"); ITH 4.6 myith mi'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 sibitim ("his residing").

Anaptyxis normally does not take place when the final root letter is the sonorant l or r: Diosc. 1.128 αλφ ʼalp (ʼLP "ox"); IRT 889.3 ars (h)ars (HRS "artisanship"); D 2.14 ʼers ʼers (ʼRS "land"); Poen. 937 ʼirs (h)irs (HRS "shard"); CRAI 1937 molch molk (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 lāh < lāh (LH "tablet").

3c. Prothetic Vowels

An initial consonant cluster may be resolved by means of an initial, prothetic vowel: 41.1 ʼZ ezde ("this"), a phonetic spelling of ʼZ in which the prothetic vowel is indicated by ʼaleph; 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 ʼSNM e.snēm ("two"), with prothetic vowel indicated, and the phonemic spelling 64.1 SNM. 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 ʼGDDM e.gdūdim ("bands") but Hebrew GDWD ʼgdūd. The prothetic vowel also appears in foreign words and names beginning with a consonant cluster, e.g., the name Kλεων (Cleon) is found in Punic with prothetic vowel: 66.1 KLYN ʼKleon. In Latin-letter Neo-Punic, the prothetic vowel appears as i- or y-: IRT 855.1 Ysmun (ʼSNM "Esmun") in the personal name Abd-Ysmun; CIL viii 1562 Ismun in the personal name Abdismunis; cf. Benz p. 279 Υζούν in the personal name Αβδοζουνος. 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 Metién (personal name); Esar. ii 65 Sidon Ma'-ru-ub-bu Ma'rob (place-name); Esar. ii 68 Ši-du-un-ni Šidôn ("Sidon"); Tig. Pil. III 9.51 Ḥi-ru-um-mu Hiróm ("Hiram"); Esar. iii 16 Ab-di--mi-il-ku-
ut-ti ṢAbd-milkót ("Servant of Milkok").

As in other West Semitic languages; vowel reduction in Phoeni-
cian 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 orthog-
raphy by e i j; 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 sikartim < sakartim "you remember"); cf. the same pattern of reduction in He-
brew ZKRTM /xartêm/. 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 /qaarōti/ "I called"); cf. Hebrew /qaaraa-
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 reductdion is attested in the masculine plural passive participle NPu IRT 893.5 sebuim sēbu(h)im < zabūhîm (ZBHM "sacrificed ones"). Here, the e-vowel represents general (non-colored) shewa.

4a-3. Pretonic: In the Suffixing Form (3rd Person) and in the Pre-
fixing Form
Full vowel reduction (to zero) occurred in the Sg. 3. F. of the suffix-
ing verb to judge from the Punic and Neo-Punic IRT 826.1/2 fela
felá <  fe′lā <  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. śi-ih-ta-t śiḥat < šaḥiṭat ("it was destroyed") in EA 106.10 śiḥat āl Sumur ("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′asăn < 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 ləkā (LK "go!"), the imperative lec with extending a-vowel; the shewa is colored by the following a-vowel; cf. the same reduction in Hebrew lëkā (lek + -a). Reduction to zero occurs in Punic Poen. 1010 pursa pursā (PRŚ "explain!") < purus + a; cf. Hebrew ŠMRH šomra < šemor + 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 dōbrīm < dōberīm (DBRM "they say"). The singular is attested as düber dūbērin Punic (Poen. 944, 946) and dubyr dūbīr 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 gūrēr. Such reduction is characteristic of verba IIIgem. in Aramaic: e.g. 'LL 'ālēl ("enters") but plural 'LLL 'āllīn.

4a-6. Propretonic: In the Qal infinitive

Attested in Punic/Neo-Punic Poen. 945, 935 liful lif′ūl < lifā′ol (LP′L "to do") and Punic Poen. 948 limur limūr < li′mōr < li′amōr (L′MR "to say"). Compare Hebrew lif′ūl (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 $\phi w\nu\beta(\zeta) = \text{Sophoni-ba} = \text{Suphunibal} (\text{SPNB}'L)$. The name is the sentence $\text{s'}\phi\nu\text{-}\text{Ba}'l$ ("may Baal watch over me!"). The verb $\text{s'}\phi\nu\text{i}$ or $\text{s'funi} < \text{safoni}$ 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) $\sigma\theta\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\delta\varepsilon\ 's'til\ es\text{-}sadé (\text{STL HŠD} "shoot of the field," the name of an herb), in which the construct noun $s'til < satil$ displays reduction of the unstressed $a$-vowel to $i$-colored shewa; NPu D 21 $\text{sydy Lybem} \ s'di\ 'Lūbim (\text{SD LBM} "Land of the Libyans," Libya), in which the construct noun $s'di < sadi$ in $s'di\text{-}\text{Libim}$ displays reduction of the unstressed $a$-vowel to $i$-colored shewa; but also with original vowel retained: D 2.7/8 $\text{sady Lybim};$ NPu EH Greek 3.2/3 $\phi\varepsilon\nu\eta\ 'Bαλ\ \text{f'ne-Ba}'l (\text{PNB}'L "Face of Baal," Phanebal, a divine name), in which the construct noun $\text{p'ne} < \text{pane}$ displays reduction of the unstressed $a$-vowel; but also with the vowel retained: EH Greek 1.2/3 $\phi\alpha\varepsilon\ 'Bαλ\ \text{f'ne Ba'}l$. This same reduction occurs with the noun in construct with the determinative pronoun: Pu Poen. 948 $\text{mucum sussibti} \ m'^qōm\text{ sissibti} (\text{MQM ŠŠBTY} "the place of his residing"), in which the construct noun $m'^qōm (=\text{Heb. } m'qōm) < maqōm$ displays reduction of the unstressed $a$-vowel to $u$-colored shewa.

Pretonic reduction is also found in Punic in the preposition Poen. 945 $\text{comu} \ k'\text{mū}$ and $\text{cumu} \ k'\text{mū} < \text{kamū} (\text{KM} "\text{like, as}" = \text{Hebrew KMW } k^m\text{ū}).$ The shewa is colored by the final $o/u$-vowel.

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

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 $\text{heli-}
cot = NPu Poen. 937 elick̕yt < halik̕at ("hospitality"); cf. formally Hebrew cognate k̕alik̕á, displaying the same pattern of vowel reduction. Similarly, NPu 178.1 felioth f̕elioüt ("workmanship") and NPu Poen. 938 gubulim g̕ub̕l̕im ("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 ‘aniki (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 ‘anık, 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 puβ执教 sibbatón (RBTN “Our Lady”) and D 6.8 siben sib’en (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 (GŘŠT “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 Badnîm garásth is on (“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 Ùn 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 dōné < '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 hi < 'ahī ("my brother") in HRM Hirom (31.1); hi in the name Himilis (CIL v 4919): cf. in Ἰμυλχ and Ἰμυλχονος (IG 12.279); bi in Ἰἱ-ῥυ-ᵘᵐ-ᵐᵘ (Hiram, Tiglath. III 9.51), et passim. Also ot ōt < 'a(h)ōt ("sister") in the name ἹΤΜΛΚ: 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 uia a(h)ūya ("her brother").
CHAPTER THREE

THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. 1. C.
FORM A

\[ \text{'N 'ani} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{CIS i 145.1; 49: 29 Ae; IEJ 23 p. 120.} \]

\[ \text{[a]ni} \quad \text{NPu D 9.5} \]

FORM B

\[ \text{'NK 'aniki} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{13.1,5; 14.3; 24.1, 9, 3; 26 A I 1,3,4; 48.1} \]

\[ \text{4.1, et passim.} \]

\[ \text{Byb 9 A 4; 10.2; 11; 12.2} \]

\[ \text{Pu CIS i 3785.8; 6000} \]

\[ \text{NPu 160.3; NP 86.4} \]

\[ \text{'NKY} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{48.2 alongside 'NK in line 1.; 49.6, 13} \]

\[ \text{(graffiti)} \]

\[ \text{Pu 89.1} \]

\[ \text{anec 'anik} \quad \text{Pu Poen. 942A, 947, 949, 995, 1142} \]

\[ \text{anech} \quad \text{NPu Poen. 932, 937, 939, 995} \]

\[ \text{anic} \quad \text{Pu Poen. 942P} \]

Sg. 2. M.

\[ \text{'T 'atta} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{13.3; 14.4, 20} \]

\[ \text{NPu Trip. 79.1; Trip. 86.3 (3x)} \]

\[ \text{ath} \quad \text{NPu D 6.11} \]

Sg. 2. F.

\[ \text{'T 'atti} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{50.2, 3} \]

Sg. 3. M

FORM A

\[ \text{H' hü} \quad \text{Ph} \quad \text{13.6; 14.22, et passim.} \]

\[ \text{Byb 1.2; 10.9} \]

\[ \text{Pu CIS i 171.7} \]
hu
Pu  Poen. 943, 946
u ū
Pu  Poen. 1010
NPu  Poen. 936

FORM B

H'T
Byb  4.2

Sg. 3. F.
H' hi
Ph  40.2, CIS i 94.2
Byb  10.13
Pu  78.4

HY
NPu  130.3

y ī
Pu  LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.5; PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 5.11

Pl. 1. C

FORM A

NHN nahnu  Ph  14.12

FORM B

'NHN 'anahnu  Ph  14.16, 17

Pl. 2. M.

'TM 'attim  NPu  163.1

Pl. 3. M.

HMT
Ph  14.11, 22; 24.13
Pu  CIS i 5510.10, 11
NPu  RES  669.5

Pl. 3. F.

HMT
Ph  43.5

Comments

Sg. 1. 'NK (plene: 'NKY): No direct evidence exists for the pronun-
ciation of the Phoenician pronoun, but it is reasonable to think it
was 'anikī (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 ð-vowel of the etymon 'anōkī 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 ʾanī of the pronoun was rare: it is attested ca. 1200 B.C. in an archaic inscription from Nora in Sardinia (CIS i 145) 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 ʾNK. 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 ʾanīki.

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 ʾāṭṭa, 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 «-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 ʾattā, 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 ʾatti, 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 hi 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 Ama- rna 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 ʻannahnu 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 'attěn (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 1145 'NP'[... SLT HT[M], “I am Pa'ol [-DN, a miller of fine wheaten flour.”

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

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

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

54.1 'NK ŠM BN 'BD'STRT 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 Laphetos.”

Pu 78.4/5 [H'] 'BN 'RKT BKRŠ B'LMN, “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 YTMT BN 'LMT 'NK, “I was an orphan, the son of a widow.”

Pu Poen. 995A Anno bin Muttumbal leAdrumit anec = Poen.

995P Anno byn Myththumbal leAdremeth anech, “I am Hanno son of Muttumbal of Hadrumetum.”

NPu 72 B 4 WB'L ŪRS 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 [J]M MLK H' M [ . . . ], “Whether/if he is a king or whether/if [ he is . . . ]”

Byb 10.9 K MLK SDQ 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' YMH SPRH LPP ŠBL, “If he shall erase its inscription, his royal robe shall be torn.”


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) 1-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 (qatalti, 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 mēkōm (a lower class of society) to that of his predecessors, who "treated the mēkōm 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... wnśht bkl 'bn wb'zrm hppym wtnt 'nk... 'tt htrpy 'z... and I defeated all my enemies and their Paphian allies, and so I did I erect this tropaion."

43.12/14 km hdlτ hnhst [z k]tbt wsmrt bqr... wp'lt 'nk 'lt [hmqdš]... 'ptd 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'n 'l bn grskn hrb whmlkt bn hn' hrb 'lš wtmk hmt 'yt 'grcnt wšt [h]mt šlm, "Generals Idnibal son of Gisco the Great and Himilco son of Hanno the Great proceeded at dawn, 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. . . ŠKB, “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 DNNYM, “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'L'T 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 Infinite Construct. The pronominal subject of the Infinitive Construct is never the independent personal pronouns but always the suffixal pronouns.
Subject of Imperative Form

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 ‘Ṭ ṢṬ BDBR[Ṭ], “Trust thou in my word!”
NPu Trip. 86.3 ‘Ṭ Q‘M BB‘Ṭ ‘Ṭ ḤKR S W‘Ṭ KRY KRY ‘Ṭ ḤḎD, “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 YḤMLK MLK GBL [ṬŠ ‘Ṭ]K ‘L ML’KT Ḥ’, “Place my name, Yehawmilk King of Byblos, with your own on that work.”

26 A II 5/6 WBYMTY ‘NK ṢṬ T< L> K LḤDY 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 Z 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 stands in apposition to the pronoun me. Direct aposition to a suffixal pronoun is not possible.

Pu 79.6/8 K L ‘Ṣ LSR T-‘BN Z 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 person pronoun followed by the particle BT- (BNT-) + third person suffix pronoun: NPu 72 B lines 1/4 P‘L WNdR WHḏŠ ṬṬ ‘GZT ST ‘BD’ŠMN BN ‘ZR’B’L ḤKḤN LRBBTN LTNT’DRT WHGD WB’L ḤRŠ Ḥ’ 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 TPTh 'LTy W'L TRGZN 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 BRH '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 $\textit{BNT}$- with third singular suffix pronoun $\textit{-Y}$. This same particle is that used with the possessive pronouns to express the reflexive possessive ("his own," Latin $\textit{suus}$). One example of the emphatic anaphoric pronoun is attested: Kition lines 1/3 $\textit{BMS'NM} \ '\textit{BN W'ZRN M HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT B[YM]M [x] LYR H ZYB ŞT 1 LMLK Y} \ldots \ '\textit{WS' 'LN[M MH]NT }'\textit{Ş 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 $\textit{BYM H' BNTY}$.”)

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 $\textit{Poen}$. 946: $\textit{Ys duber ci hen hu Acharistocle}$, (“I am told that Acharstocles is [lives] here.”). = NPu 936 $\textit{Ys dubyr ch'innochoth u Agorastocles}$. In this sentence, the pronoun $\textit{hu}$ ("he") is the grammatical subject; $\textit{Acharistocles/Agorastocles}$, 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 -i    Ph    Old Tyro-Sidonian: 24.3 'B 'abî (“my father,” nom.); 24.3 'H 'ahî (“my brother,” nom.) Cyprus: 43.2 MŠ mesî (“statue of me”); 43.16 ŠRŠ sursî (“my stock”)

Byb  10.3,8 QL qâlî (“my voice,” acc.), ŠM semî (“my name”)

FORM B

-ô -i < -ya  Ph  Old Tyro-Sidonian: 24. 5 'BY 'abî (“my father”), spelling reflecting earlier 'abîya.

Byb  Byblian: 10.3,7 RBTY rabbati, spelling reflecting earlier rabbatiya (“my Lady”); 10.5,14 PTHY pîtuhi (“my engraving”), spelling reflecting earlier pîtuhiya

FORM AB

-ô -î    Ph    14.14 'MY 'ammî (“my mother”) (nom.); 26 C IV 18 ŠMY semî (“my name,” acc.) et passim.

-e    Pu    Poen. 1141 bene (“my son,” var. bane);

-i    Pu    Poen. 1141 done ("monsieur")
### FORM C

| -i -yi | NPu | **Poen. 933** **ui** (h)ūyi (“my brother”) |

### FORM D

| -ʔ -ay | Ph | EA 144.17 nominative **bê-na-ya** ēnayya (“my eyes”); 43.11 **HTT** hayyay (“my life”); 48.3 **BNT** 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 **YSRK** (“may he protect thee!”) in the personal name **CIS** i 598.1 **PM YSRK’** |

### -ca

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

### -cha

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

### Sg. 2.F.

| -K -kî | Ph | 50.1 **HTK** (“thy sister”) |

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

### Sg. 3. M.

### FORM A

| -O -o | Ph | 24.15, 16 **R’S** rūšo (“his head,” acc.); 38.2, 39.3, 41.6 **QL** qūlo (“his voice,” acc.) |

| Byb | 1.2 **ŠBL** sabîlo (“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 **SD’** siddo (“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. **βαραξω** (“he blessed him”) |

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

-\textit{H} -á-hu (with the accusative) 1.2 \textit{SPRH} siprahu ("his inscription," acc.); 10.14 \textit{YSDH} yasōdahu ("its base," acc.)

\textbf{FORM B}

-\textit{Ø} -\textit{i} < -\textit{ih(u)}\textit{Ph} Umm el-Awamid 6.1/2 \textit{'ST} 'isti ("his wife," gen.)

Pu 61 B 3/4 (Malta 6th cent.) \textit{'DN} 'adūnī ("his Lord"); \textit{IFPCO} Sard. 35 (Cagliari, 4th cent.) \textit{'ST} 'isti ("his wife," gen.); \textit{CIS} i 5522.2/3 \textit{'DN} 'adūnī ("his master," gen.)

-\textit{Y} Ph 35.2/3 \textit{'STY} 'isti ("his wife," gen.)

Pu 111.4 \textit{MLKY} molki ("his reign," gen.)

NPU Trip. 79.4 \textit{'STY} 'isti ("his wife," gen.)

-\textit{'} NPU 1x: 119.4 \textit{M'KN} ("its platform," gen.)

-\textit{'Y} NPU 1x: 118.1 \textit{BT'I} bēti ("his temple," gen.)

-\textit{η} Ph 174.6 αμαθη ("his female slave," gen.)

-\textit{ε} Ph 174.8 αφδε ("his slave," gen.)

-\textit{e} NPU \textit{IRT} 889.1 \textit{byne} ("his son," nom.)

-\textit{i} Pu Poen. 948 \textit{sibti} ("his residing," gen.)

Punic, with excrescent -\textit{m}

-\textit{M} -\textit{im} Pu 84.1 \textit{BNM} binim ("his son," gen.); \textit{EH} 27.2 Pu \textit{NDRM} nidrim ("his vow," gen.)

et passim

NPU 123.3; Trip. 79.3 \textit{MM} ammim ("his mother," gen.); 124.2, 126.11 \textit{MLKTM} ("his property," gen.); 120.3, 121.2 \textit{TRM} ("his money," gen.); 129.3 \textit{TŠ'TM} ("his expense," gen.); 126.8 \textit{BTM} abūtim ("his ancestors," gen.) et passim

-\textit{em} NPU \textit{IRT} 877.5/6, 893.3/4 \textit{banem} ("his son," gen.); \textit{AI} 1 p. 233 line 2; \textit{IRT} 893.2/3 \textit{bythem} ("his daughter," gen.); \textit{cf. Poen.} 935, 937 \textit{ythem} ("to/for him")

-\textit{im} NPU \textit{IRT} 892.4/5 \textit{allonim} ("his god," gen.)
Byblian

-**H** -i-hu

12.2 **MŠPTH** **mispaṭihu** (“his imperium,” gen.) and **MLKH** **molkhu** (“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 **ZR’W** **zar’iw** (“his seed,” gen.)

**FORM C**

-**Y** -yo

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

-**r**

**NPu**

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

-**o**

**NPu**

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

Byblian

-**H** -hu

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

-**W** -w

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

**Sg. 3.F.**

**FORM B**

-**∅** -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 **MSPNH** **mispantāhā** (“its ceiling,” acc.)

**FORM B**

-**Y** -i

**Ph**

26 A II 3 **MB’Y** **mabo’i** (“its [the sun’s] setting”); 29.2 **RBTY** **ribbat** (“her Lady”);
-i NPU 40.4 BNY beni (“her son,” gen.)
IRT 901.5 bythi (“her daughter,” gen.)

Byblian
-H -i-ha (with gen.) Byb 10.4 HSRH haserîha (“her temple,” gen.)

FORM C
-γ -γa Ph  not recorded
-γ' NPU JA 1917/2, 14.4f 'SMY' 'aṣmēya (“her bones”)
-ia NPU auia a(h)uya (“her brother”); uia (h)uya (“her brother”)

Pl. 1. C.
FORM A
-N -en Ph 'DNN ?'adūnon (“our Lord”: nom.)
-en NPU D 6.8 siben sib'en (“our militia”) nom.
FORM B
-N -on Ph 47.1 'DNN ?adūnen (“our Lord,” gen. case)
-ωv Pu Byb 12.3 'DNN (“our Lord”)

FORM C
-N -n Ph After a vowel: 'BN 'abūn (“our father”) Kition 'BN 'ebēn (“our enemies”)

Pl. 2. M.
-KM -kom Pu CIS i 2632 'MTKM 'amatkom (“your maidservant”); CIS i 5690 'BDKM 'ab-
d'kom (“your slave”)
-chom NPU Poen. 933 mysyrthochom missirt'kom (“your protection”); Poen.933 syllochom sillekom (“your”)

Pl. 3. M.
FORM A
-M -om Ph Umm el-Awamid 6.1/3 BNM binom
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 ("their son"); Lapethos 3.4 **MSPRM** *misparom* ("their number"); Lapethos 3.5 **MSQLM** *misqalom* ("their weight") et passim

NPu

*Karthago* 12 p. 54 IV 2 Š*M’TM* *semūtom* ("their names," nom.)

-om

NPu

PBSR 28 53 no. 5.9 *bynom binom* ("their son," nom. case)

**FORM B**

-NM -om

Ph

26 A 18 **LBNM** *libbēnom* ("their heart"); 34.5 **NHTNM** *nahētēnom* ("their rest"); 48.3 *MN*M *ammēnom* ("their mother")

-nom

NPu

PBSR 28 53 no. 5.11 *bannom bannom* ("their son," gen. case)

**FORM C**

-NM -nom

Ph

40.5 *BNM* *abūnom* ("their father")

-NM

NPu

Trip. 77.2 *BNM* *abūnom* ("their father")

-NHM

NPu

142.4 *B’NHM* *abūnom* ("their father")

-nom

NPu

S 24.2 *abunom* ("their father"); S 24.4 *unom* ("their brother")

Byblian

-HM -hem

cf. 10.6 *LHM* *ālēhem* ("upon the")

Pl. 3. F.

**FORM A**

-M

Pu

RES 1543.4/5 **MSPRM** *mispam* ("their number," antecedent: *KTBT*)

**FORM B**

-NM

Ph

cf. 14.20 **LKNM** *lakūnēnam* ("that they might be")

**FORM C**

-NM

Ph

cf. 14.19 **YSPNNM** *yasapnunam* ("we annexed them")
(Form A) was -i (written -Ο); its complementary form (Form B) -ya (written -Υ) 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 -ιυ (-ι), 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 -Υ. 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 banēyi ("my sons") rather than banay, in analogy to banēyo ("his sons") and banēya ("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 < -ú-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 -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 siprahū ("his inscription") and 10.14 ΥSDH 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 -Ο; while this spelling does occur, it is extremely rare, early replaced by the plene spelling -Υ -i, which was normative of Phoenician orthography. In Punic and Neo-Punic, this pronoun appeared in the free variant -M -im, with excrecent -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 MISPTh mispaṭīhu 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 ŻR'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 ŻR'W zar'ō (“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 'abīhu (“his father,” gen.) = Tyro-Sidonian 'BY 'abīyo; but later -W -w as in the object pronoun in 10.9 THWW tehawwe < tehawwehu (“may she give him long life!”) and 12.4 YHWW yehawwe < yehawwehu (“may he give him long life!”) = Tyro-Sidonian YHWY yehawweyo; and (ii) with the masculine and feminine plural noun -W -aw < -ehu, as in 4.5, 6.3, 7.5, 10.9 ŠNTW šanōlēw (“his years”) and 10.9 YMW yamēw = Tyro-Sidonian YMY yamēyo.

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 afformative -ōt (Tyro-Sidonian -ūt): 4.5, 6.3, 7.5, 10.9 ŠNTW šanōlēw (“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 to 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 < -i-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 bihaserīha (“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 glide -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 sib'ēn (“our militia”), nom. and Pu EH Greek 1.1 puβαθωυν ribbaton (“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 mmysyrthochom missirtıkôm (“your protection”) and syllochom sillokom (“your”). The Pl. 2. F. pronoun is not attested; however, in light of 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 < -ámō, 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 tahtamo ("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 minehem ("their species") in Genesis 1:21 (cf. the genitive form MY-NHW mûnéhu ["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 'alêhem ("upon them"). Thus Tyro-Sidonian had SSNM susênôm ("their horses") and 'BNM abûnôm ("their father") but Byblian SSHM susêhim and 'BHM abähém. 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 [NJR HR$ 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 Z MŠBT . . . ’Š ṬN’ LM BNM, “This is the stele that their son (binom) erected to them.”
Pu 66:1 MŽBH 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 ’ZR’B’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 ṬN’ T-HM’S ST BN’ HMLKT, “His son (bino) Himilco erected this statue.”
NPu PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 6.1/3 Fl(a)bi Nahia u[by]no Husudru [b]a[no] byth, “Flavius Nahia and his son (bino) Husudru built <this> house.”
Byb 1.2 WH’ YMH SPRH LPP ŠBL, “And if he should erase its inscription (sipruhu, acc.), his royal robe (nominative: sabilo) shall be rent.”
NPu Bynom Mrausyn aurys, “Their son Mrausyn was the artisan.”

2a.-2. Accusative (Direct Object) Case
26 A III 13 YMĦ ŠM ’ZTWD BS’R Z 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 Z WŠT ’NK ŠM ’ZTWDY, “I built this city and named it (lit., made its name [sema]) Aztwaddiya.”
14.22 WÝQSN . . . H’DMM HMT WZR’M, “And they shall cut
off those persons and their seed (zarʾom).”

47.3/4 K ʾŠMʿ 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 ʿYT or (iii) by a construct noun:

2b.-1. Noun Governed By Prepositions

29.1/2 ʾRN [ŠJN MGN . . . LʾŠSTRT ʾDTY, “She presented <this> ivory box to Astarte, her Lady (genitive: ʾadati).”

32.2/4 ʿMZBH ʿZ . . . ʾŠ YTN . . . LʾDMIN LRŠP, “He presented this altar to his Lord (genitive: liʾaduni) Rasap.”

33.3 LRBTY (genitive: ribbati) LʾŠSTRT, “To his Lady, to Astarte.”

34.1/3 ʿMSBT ʿZ Ṣ YTN ʾRS . . . LʾMY (genitive: liʾammi), “Aris erected this stele for his mother.”

40.5 HNDR Ṣ KN NDR ʾBNM . . . LʾDMIN LRŠP, “The vow that their father had made to their Lord (liʾadōnīnom), to Rasep.”

174 ʾAfəšəənvu uioz ʾAfəšəəvou ńeśe oθ oμəθη λεςαθ ɫafde ʿa[ . . . ], “ʿAbdəntenau son of Abdsaphoun gave his female slave as wife to his slave (genitive: lʾābde) Ma[ . . . ].”

Byb 7.1/4 QR ʿZBNY . . . LBʾLT GBL ʾDTW, “Wall which he built for Baalt of Byblos, his Lady (genitive: ʾadatīw).” Cf. 5.2, 6.2.

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 ʾYT (ʾT)

Byb 10.15 TSRH HRBT BʾLT GBL ʾYT HʾDM Hʾ WZRʾW, “The Lady Baalt of Byblos shall make stink that person and his seed (genitive: zarʾiw).”


174.1/6 ʾAfəšəənvu uioz ʾAfəšəəvou ńeśe oθ oμəθη λεςαθ ɫafde ʿa[ . . . ], “ʿAbdətena son of Abdesaphoun gave his female slave (ʾot ʾamate) 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 ʾYT:

Pu EH 27-PU lines 1/2 ʾSLM BDʾŠSTRT BN BDʾŠMN ʾYT NDRM BT BʾLʾDR, “Bostar son of Bodesmun fulfilled his vow (ʾet nidrim) 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 qūlim)!”

2b.-3. Noun Governed by a Noun

40.4 BN BNY, “The sons of her son (banē bini).”

NPu 123.2/3 ḤT ḤMM, “The sister of his mother (‘ahōt ‘ammīm).”

34.5 MŠKB NHṬNM, “Their resting-place (miskab naḥṭnom).”

NPu Trip. 27.8 LPTM’S’ BTM WM’S’ SM BTM, “Because of the meritorious deeds of his ancestors (genitive: missē(? ‘abūtīm) and <because of> his own merit (genitive: missim).”

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 [l]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 centeinarī, “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 ’MŠSTR, “My mother, Amastart.”

14.22 Ḥ’DMIN 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'RP'T Z' W'MDH . . . WMSPNTH, “I made this portico and its columns and its ceiling.”

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

Pu 78.5/5 PNY MB' HŠMS HWS' MŠ' HŠMS, “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 Z 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 WYQDS, “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 MŽBH 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'S 'LM ŠP'R ST WMQDŠ Bi'Y WH'RPT '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 'YDH . . . 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'LT'N' P'L' BTM, “Laelianus made it at his own <expense>.”

Trip. 73.1/2 SKST' BN DYDR' P'L' BTM, “Sextus son of Di- odorus 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 H'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'LHMMN 'Š NDR BD- MLQRT BN HN' BN MLKYTN BN BŠRY BNTY TBK, “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 Ci 5741.1/6 LRBT LTNT-PNB'L WL'DN B'LHMN 'Ș NDR HN' BN MGNM 'ZRM 'ȘT 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 BNTM, "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'ŠRT M'R'T 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 **LO$\text{STNM } '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 HMMMLKT 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 KRNTRYS . . . L'ZTWD 'RK HYM,** “May Baal-KRNTRYS give (lit., may he give [latiti], Baal-KRNTRYS) 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-KRNTRYS. The proleptic pronominal subject is non-obligatory.

6c. Subject of the Infinitive Construct Subjunctive

14.19/20 **YSPNNM 'LT GBL 'RS LKNNM L$DNM L'LM,** “We annexed them (Dor and Joppa) to the territory of <our> land that they might belong (lakûne)nom) to the Sidonians forever.”

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

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

26 A I 17/18 **BN 'NK HMYS BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM DN-NYM BNHT LBNM,** “I built protective fortresses in those places that the Danunians might live (lit., that they might live [lasibte]nom), 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: lakûni) a place of protection for the Valley of Adana and for the House of Mop-sos.”
7. Expressing the Subject of the Infinitive \textit{B-P'L} bip 'āl in a Temporal Clause

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

NPu 159.5/5 \textit{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 \textit{NPL' BTŠTY BTY BHYTNM}, "It (the tomb) was built at his own expense when they (those laid to rest in the tomb) were <still> living."

NPu D 6 \textit{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 appositon. The proleptic pronoun is the grammatical subject of the verb and the noun the logical subject.

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

26 A I 17/18 \textit{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 \textit{LTTY B'L KRNTTRYŠ . . . L'ZTWD 'RKYMM}, "May Baal-KRNTRYS give (lit., may he give, Baal-KRNTRYS) 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 \textit{(nomen regens)} in a construct chain carries a proleptic pronoun that anticipates the governed noun \textit{(nomen rectum)}. The governed noun is normally a personal name:

14.1 \textit{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 \textit{ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT LMLKY MSNSN}, "The forty-sixth year of the reign (lit., of his reign) of Masinissa."

Pu 112.4/6 \textit{ŠŠT HMSM 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.

-\(\mathcal{N}\) -ni Ph 14. \(\text{YM}^\mathcal{M}N\) ya’mosni (“he remove me”); 18.8 \(\text{YBRKN}\) yibrokni (“may he bless me!”); 26.3, 12 \(\text{P’LN}\) pa’\(\ddot{o}\)lni (“he made me”); 26 A II 11 \(\text{SLHN}\) sal\(\ddot{h}\)uni (“they sent me”); 43.15 \(\text{YSKRN}\) yiskorni (“may he be mindful of me!”)

Byb 10.2 \(\text{P’LTN}\) pa’\(\ddot{\ell}\)lni (“she made me”)

-\(\mathcal{N}\) Ph Rare plene \(\text{HNT}\) hanni (“may he favor me”) in the personal name RES 306 \(\text{MLQR-THNT}\) (“Milqart favor me!”)

-\(\nu\) Pu σϕων\(\nu\) (“may he watch me”) in the personal name Benz 401 Σϕων\(\nu\)βας (= \(\text{SPN-B’L}\), “Baal watch over me!”)

-ni Pu anni, hanni (“may he favor me!”) in the personal name Benz 314 Annibal, Hannibal (= \(\text{HN-B’L}\), “Baal favor me!”); suphuni (“may he watch me!”) in the personal name Benz 401 Saphunibal (=Σϕων\(\nu\)βας)

Sg. 2. M

-\(\mathcal{K}\) -ka Ph 14.6 \(\text{YDBRNK}\) yibor\(\ddot{\nu}\)nka (“they shall speak to thee”)

-\(\mathcal{K}\) Pu rare plene spelling in \(\text{YSRK}\) yissorka (“may he protect thee!”) in the personal name
Benz 176 PMY <Y>ŚRK' (“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

-O -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 tinhoalo (“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 = Δομανω, “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”)

Pu οω ("may he favor him!") in the personal name (54.2) Δομανω (= 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 feło ("he made it"); anno ("may he favor him") in the personal name Annobal (“May Baal favor him!”)

FORM B

-Ŷ -yo

Ph 14.18 ŶŚBNṬ yūsibnuyo (“we caused him to dwell”)
Pu 78.1 YBRKY yibrokūyo (“may they bless him!”)

-Ŷ'

Pu 66.2 RPTY rafōyo (“he cured him”); CIS i
3784.3 **YQSY** yiqšeyo (“he shall cut him off”)

NPu 146.2 **BNY** banūyo (“they built it”)

Byblian

-H -hu Arch 1.1 **ŠTH** šatūhu (“they placed him”)

-W -w 12.4 **YHWW** yehawwəw (“may he make him live long!”); 10.9 **THWW** tehawwəw (“may she make him live long!”)

Sg. 3. F.

FORM A

- * -a Pu  **CIS** i 3599.4/5; 4746.6 **BRK** baraka (“he blessed her”)

FORM B

- **Y** -ya Ph 60.5 **YTNY** yitni’ūya (“they shall erect it”)

Ph 26 A II 11 **BNY** ʼ**NK** banōya ʼaniki (“I built it”)

Pl. 3. M.

FORM A

-M -om Ph 14.21 **YSGRNM** yisgirūn-om (“they will lock them up”); 26 A I 20 **YRD** ʼ**NK** yōridom ʼaniki (“I deported them”); 26 A I 20 **YŠBM** ʼ**NK** yōsibom ʼaniki (“I settled them”); 47.4 **YBRKM** yibrokom (“may he bless them!”)

NPu Trip. 79.1 **PʼLM** felom (“he made them”)

FORM B

-NM -nom Ph 14.19 **YSPNNM** yasapnumom (“we annexed them”); 26 A I 16 **ŠTNM** sattinom (“I placed them”); 26 A I 20 ʼ**NTNM** ʼinnitinom (“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 SMRW šemaro (= šamar + o): 102.4 BRK² = EH Gr. 1.4/5 βαραχω (“he blessed him”); Trip. 68.2 P’L’ = AI I 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 SMRHW šemarahu (= 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(′) hannī (“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 RPP ṭafūyo (“he cured him”); 26 A I 16 STNM sat-tinom (“I placed them”); 26 A I 20 ‘NTNM ’innītīnom (“I conquered them”); 14.19 YSPNNM yasapnunom (“we annexed them”). In Old Byblian, the 3.Sg.M. postvocalic pronoun is -H -hu: 1.1 STH ṣatahu (“he placed him”) or ṣatāhu (“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 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 YBRK² yibroko (“may he bless him/he blesses him”); 84.1 TBRK(′) tibroko (“bless thou him!”); 47.4 YBRKM yibrokom (“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 Ṭ℠MRHW yismsē'rēhu, Ṭ℠MRH yismē'rēha, Ṭ℠RM yismē'rem. 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 YQST’ yiqsēyo (“he shall cut him off”); 78.1 YBRKY yibrōkūyo (“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 YHWT* 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 yūridōm ’anīki (“I deported them”); 26 A I 20 YŠBM ’NK yūsibōm ’anīki (“I settled them”). When the infinitive ends in a vowel, the B-Forms are used: 26 II 11 BNY ’NK banōya ’anīki (“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 WLSBYT lisabbeti (“to destroy it”); Pu 5510.6/7 LŠLM WLYRHY lisellem weliyariḥi (“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
WNK '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 Z 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 HZ PN Š ŠTY B'Ł 'DR, "As for him who had never owned a sheep, I made him owner of a flock!"

Pu CIS i 3783.5/7 WKŁ '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 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."

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 YHWMLK . . . 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'RМ QN'T 'T М Š P'LM M'SWK'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 'olt + suffix pronoun:

Phoenician 13.5/6 'L TPTH 'LTY 'al tiptah '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 the 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, '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 MŠLH 'YT 'MŠTRT WYT '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.

\( \zeta \) Ph 13.3,5; 14.3,4; 15.1; 16.1; 18.3; 26 A III 8, 15; 58.1, \textit{et passim}
Cyprus: Kition: \textit{FK} B 36, F 1.4; Lapethos: 2.2
Pu 69.18,19; 80.1; 101.1, \textit{et passim}.
NPu 140.1

\( \zeta’ \) Ph 69.18,19; 80.1; 101.1, \textit{et passim}.
Pu 140.1

\( \zeta’ \) Ph Sarepta line 1; Marathus line 1
Cyprus: Kition: \textit{FK} A 29.2, A 30.2, F 1.2;
Tamassos: 5.3
Pu Pyrgi line 1

\( \varepsilon \) Pu \textit{Poen.} 947A

\( \varepsilon \) Pu \textit{Poen.} 940P, 944A

Neo-Punic \( S \)-Series

\( S \) si 146.1; Trip. 51.3

\( s \) sy 24.5; \textit{IRT} 879.1; D 5.19

\( ST \) sit 118.1; 172.3; Trip. 52.2

\( s \) sith \textit{Poen.} 937P, 937; \textit{PBSR} 28 7.3

\( s \) syth \textit{Poen.} 930P, 931; D 6.9

Sg. F.

\( \varepsilon \) Ph 14.4,11; 24.14; 26 A II 9; 60.4.6, \textit{et passim};
Cyprus: Kition: \textit{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: FK A 1.2, B 2.1, B 40.1, B 45.1

Neo-Punic S-Series
š' sō, sū  Trip. 40.1
su  D 2.14
With excrescent -t:
ST sōt  151.1, 129.1; CIS i 152.1, 4
soth  IRT 828.2

Sg. Neuter (Late Neo-Punic)
hoc  NPu  PBSR 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  Poen. 938
illi  NPu  Poen. 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 ēzdḗ, that of the feminine singular ēzdō. The forms  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  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 (FKF 1). The Old Cypriote form  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  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 kot ("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 ( jewellery).

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 Z M$BT B'LŠMR, "This is the stele of Baalsamor."

Umm el-Awamid 7.1/2 Z M$BT SKR B'LYTN, "This is the memorial stele of Baalyaton."

Umm el-Awamid 10.1/2 Z M$BT SKR ŠM 'BD[NT], "This is the memorial stele to the name of Abdanat."

Umm el-Awamid 12.1/2 Z M$BT 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 Z 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 WZH Y′Š Y[LK L]LM KL HMSKT Z {Ž} ZBH YMM ′LP WBT HRŠ Š I WBT QSR Š I, “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 WBT H]RŠ Š WBT 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 ŞB', "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 TŠHT HSPr Z*, “Whoever shall damage this inscription.”

Pu 80.1 *HDŠ WP’L YT HMṬBH Z*, “They rebuilt this slaughtering table.”

NPu 101.5 *TNM ’L HMLKT Z ’SYN . . . WRŠ*, “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 *HP’T 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-maqtom 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-Ż ’[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 ŤN‘ 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'Ś ’-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 WLHTN-TPNB'L MQDŠM ŠNM <'L> Š P'L B'L TNSMT . . . B' H'LN M'L LT HMQDŠM 'L B'SR WŠB' LYRH 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 ZBNY 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 WYZQ. SPR Z, "If he shall damage this inscription."
24.15 WMY . YŠHT . HSPR Z, "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 / ZN, "If he shall remove this coffin."
30.2 L QBR / Z, "His is this grave."
30.2 Y'L / HGBR / Z, "This man came up."
33.2 [S]MLT. [Z]. 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 $\text{ZH} \ ze$ (“this”) and $\text{HLZH} \ hallaze$ (“that” = “yonder”).

1. Morphology

Set A

**Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>$\text{ZN}$</th>
<th>1.2; 2.3; 9A 1,3,5; 10.4 (bis),5,12; 11.1; 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. F.</td>
<td>$\mathcal{Z}$</td>
<td>10.6,12,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>'L</td>
<td>4.3; 12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set B

**Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. M.</th>
<th>$\mathcal{Z}$</th>
<th>10.4, 5, 14 (bis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. F</td>
<td>$\mathcal{Z}$</td>
<td>10.10, 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set A resembles morphologically the demonstrative pronouns $\text{ZN}$, $\text{ZNH}$ (“this,” masculine sg.) and $\mathcal{Z}$ (“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 $\text{ZN} \ THTSP \ HTR \ MŠPTH*, “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 . . . ŠKBTL, “I lie in this coffin.”

12.1/2 HHNWTM L P’LT ’NK, “I made these hnwtm.”

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

13.2 [‘L TPTH ‘L]T ’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 NHŠT ZN ’Š BHŠRH Z WHPTH HRŞ ZN ’Š ’L PN PTHY Z WH’PT HRŞ ’Š BTKT ’BN ’Š ’L PTH HRŞ ZN WH’RPT Z W’MDH

“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 BJ’LT GBL HN L’N ’LNM WL’N ’M ’RS Z WHN ’M ’RS 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 (Ζ) land, and may she grant favor to the people of this (Ζ) land!"

Third Passage (lines 11/16)

"Whoever you may be, any royal person or any commoner who shall continue to do work on that (ZN) altar there and on that (ZN) gold engraving and on that (Ζ) 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 (Ζ) work or if you move this (Ζ) inscription of mine here and its base from this (Ζ) 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-'S (“the people”); 30.2 H-GBR (“the man”); 26 A |
|    |    | II 9 H-QRT (“the city”), et passim |
| Pu | 69.1 H-'S; 74.1 H-MŠ'TT; 76 b 4 H-LHM, et passim |
| NPu | 119.4 H-NHŠT, 120.1 H-MŠLM, 130.1 H-YŠBM, et passim |

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 |
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-[']RPT a-orpōt** ("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-MQDS** ("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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-</th>
<th>Pu</th>
<th>Poen. 947 <strong>a-helicot</strong> (&quot;hospitality&quot;); Poen. 946 <strong>a-u</strong> (&quot;that&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>D 6.10 <strong>a-ab</strong> (&quot;the enemy&quot;); Poen. 937 <strong>a-elichoth</strong> (&quot;hospitality&quot;); PBSR 23 no. 5.10 <strong>a-uryys</strong> (&quot;the engraver&quot;); IRT 893.1 <strong>a-ys</strong> (&quot;which&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FORM B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-</th>
<th>NPu</th>
<th>IRT 893.1 <strong>a-nasib</strong> (&quot;the stele&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Augustine to Psalm 136:7 <strong>e-dom</strong> (&quot;blood&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε-</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Dioscurides (Vattioni p. 526 no. 51) <strong>στοιχειον ευσεβίας</strong> (&quot;shoot of the field&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 940P <strong>i-macum</strong> (&quot;the city&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poen. 947T <strong>i-ith</strong> (&quot;this&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>AI 1 p. 233 <strong>y-bur</strong> (&quot;the tomb&quot;); Poen. 930 <strong>y-macum</strong> (&quot;the city&quot;); IRT 873.1, Poen. 939 <strong>y-mu</strong> (&quot;which&quot;); IRT 828.2 <strong>y-soth</strong> (&quot;this&quot;); IRT 879.1 <strong>y-sy</strong> (&quot;this&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 MS'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 ʿ ("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)a-, an open unstressed syllable, with lengthening of vowel before a word beginning with a pharyngeal or laryngeal /h/ː/: 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-ūris ("the engraver" = H-HRŠ) and Poen. 937 a-elichoth ā-ēlîkot ("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-naṣīb (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 īm-maqūm ("the city"); NPu Augustine e-dom ed-dóm ("blood"); and AI 1 p. 233 y-bur ʾb-ḥīr ("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 ʾ-. In Carthaginian inscription CIS i 5510, written in 406 B.C., both spellings co-occur: H-'DMM ("the men," lines 1, 2), H-RB ("the great," lines 8, 9, 10) but ʾ-MNT ("the stele," lines 3,7).
In Neo-Punic, in the formal inscription KAI 126 from Leptis Magna, alongside \( H- \) and \( H- \)- the contrastive spelling \( H- \) appears for prevocalic \( a- \): \( HTMT \) it-timmot ("perfect," line 6), \( LPQY \) il-Leptqi ("Leptis," line 7, 2x) but \( HT \) a-et ("the time," line 9). The latter spelling is also attested in Neo-Punic in formal inscription 118.1 \( H- \) [\( RP'T \) a-orpol ("the portico").

Also peculiar to Punic and Neo-Punic is the common spelling \( O- \) of the definite article after the aphetic proclitic form \( T- \) (Latin-letter \( th- \)) of the accusative particle (nota accusativi): 79.7/8 \( KL 'S LSR T-BN Z \) ("Anyone who shall remove this stone."); 101.1 \( T-MQD'S Z BN' \) ("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 \( T-HMZBH . . . HYDS WYQD'S \) ("He rededicated the altar."); 160.1 \( YT^N' LY 'KTRT \) ("They awarded me the crown."); 161.3 \( TN' T-HM'S ST \) ("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'S 'S [. . .]ML QBR Z' T'L HGBR Z' [\( ]L]SY, \) "The mana who [lead] them, his is this tomb. This warrior came up to Alasiya . . . "

Early 9th cent. b.c. 46.4/5 \( H'S LM'sB, \) "The people of the colony."

Mid 9th cent. b.c. 24.15 \( WMY Y'SHT HSJR Z, \) "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 Z (“This people”) but with the article in 26 A II 9 HQT Z (“This city”). In all periods of the language, the constructions HQT Z and QRT Z 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 HQT 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-elicoth) a-(h)elikot (“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-elicoth i-sith, (“With him I shared this shard of hospitality.”). This same usage appears with the noun H-D’T id-dā’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.”


NPu 172.2/3 PRT ‘L MYTB’ RŠ H-SLKY LB‘N‘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 Ḥ‘LNLM ḤQDŠM (“The holy gods”); 14.19 ṘST DGN Ḥ’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 ḤLNLM ḤQDŠM (“The holy gods”); NPu 121.1 ḎT 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 ḤLNLM ḤQDŠM, (“The holy gods”) but 14.9 Ḥ‘LNLM ḤQDŠM: Ph FK D 35 Ḥ‘GN Ḥ-Z, (“This bowl”); Ph 40.3 Ḥ-SMLLM Ḥ‘L, (“These images”); NPu 151.1 Ḥ BN Ḥ-ST, (“This stone”); NPu C IS i 151.2 Ḥ-MŠ Ḥ-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-elicotho th 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} con liful 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 Ḥ’DM H’ (“That person”); 13.6 ḤDBR H’ (“That thing”); 14.22 Ḥ’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 'S. Rarely, the definite article is used:

8a. The Verb is an Active Participle

CIS i 91.2 NŠHT 'T 'BY HYS'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 'S 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.”


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 *TBQY "LK WQR' T-P'S Š 'L HMNSBT 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

\( \mathcal{Z} \) \text{-} \( \mathcal{Z} \text{u} \) -
Byb 1.1; 4.1; 6.1; 7.1

Standard Phoenician and Punic

\( \mathcal{S} \) \text{-} \( \mathcal{i} \) -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>13.3; 14.4,7,9,10,15,17,19; 18.4; 19.2,9,10, et passim</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byb</td>
<td>9 A 3, B 3; 10.2, 4, 5, 6, 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>61 A 2; 63.1; 64.1; 66.1; 69.1, 13,14,15,16,18,19,20, et passim</td>
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<tr>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>126.7; 130.2; 137.1; 141.4, et passim</td>
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</table>

\( \text{es} \) -
Pu Poen. 949

\( \text{is} \) -
Pu Poen. 940P

\( \text{ys} \) -
N Pu Poen. 939; IRT 893.1

\( \upsilon \) -
Pu EH Gr 1

Late Neo-Punic

FORM A

<table>
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<th>N Pu</th>
<th>Trip. 77.1/2;</th>
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<td>( M' ) ( \text{mu} )</td>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>IRT 828.1; 863; 873.2, 877.2; 901.1,4</td>
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FORM B

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<th></th>
<th>N Pu</th>
<th>Trip. 79.1/2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( M' ) ( \mathcal{S} ) ( \text{mu} ) ( \mathcal{i} )</td>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 939</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{mu} \) \( \text{ys} \) -
N Pu Poen. 939

Comments

The earliest Phoenician relative pronoun, the proclitic \( \text{zū} \) - (spelled \( \mathcal{Z} \) -), 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 ḏū-, the pronoun ṭū- is historically related to the relatives relative D- ḏū- of literary Ugaritic (archaic Ugaritic D- ḏū-) and archaic/archaizing ūW (ẓū), ḏH (ẓē) 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 ṭū- had been replaced in all dialects of Phoenician by the relative pronoun ṭś (spelled ṣš) which, from this time on, became normative of standard Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician, Punic and Byblian. The origin of the relative ṭś is obscure; its vocalization is however certain from the plene spelling 'Ṭś and Roman and Greek letter spellings es, is, ys, ụ. 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 'Ṭś BN MḤLT (“<This is> the incense altar that Mahli built/erected.”). It is also found twice in a passage in non-Judaean Canaanite, perhaps the Lowlands dialect, preserved in Numbers 1:4: ḤṬḤW ṬḲM 'Ṭś 'Ṭś LMṬḤ 'Ṭś Rʾś LBT 'ṬṬYḤ 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 Ṣ-.

No evidence exists in Phoenician or Punic for the existence of a relative pronoun of the shape Ṣ-. The pronoun Ṣ- 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 Ṣ- 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 ŠṬT[N . . . ]TY L’LT (“<This is> the gift that [ . . . ]tay presented to Elath.”). This pronoun is also known from the non-Judaean 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: BNDB ŠNDAR LʾṢṬ(RT) BṢDN TBRKH, (“Abinadab. <This is> what he vowed to Astarte of Sidon. [Revised]
May she bless him!”). This seal inscription, often included among the Phoenician inscriptions, is linguistically, orthographically and stylistically not Phoenician.

The relative pronoun 'is 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, mū (spelled M’'mu) and its variant mū ḫ is (M’'Ṣ 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. Mū and mū ḫ is, 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 ḫ 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 ('S): Poen. 949 Anec litor bod es iussim limin co. In spite of its great currency in late Neo-Punic, the relative mū (mū ḫ is) never entirely replaced standard Phoenician-Punic 'is.

It is possible that the use of the indefinite relative mū as a general relative may occur in an inscription on a goblet (IEJ 23 p. 120): QB M HN 'RBT LMRZH ŠMS, (“<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 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 "Year 31 of the Lord of Kings Ptolemaios which is (lit., which it is) year 57 of the people of Kition."

43.4/5 "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 "A person who is a person of name/fame." Not "a man who he is a man of name."

Pu Poen. 944/45 "The man who was my guest-friend in this nation in the past." Not "who he was my guest-friend."

26 A II 3/4 "Places that were dangerous in the past." Not "that they were dangerous." Not "the men who they are in charge of sanctuaries."

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

Pu 80.1/2 "The men who are in charge of sanctuaries." Not "the men who they are in charge of sanctuaries."

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

NPu 130.5 "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 ḫDR ṣ MŠL BN, “The mighty king who rules them.”
37 A 7 *LŠRM B’R ṣ ŠKNM LMLKT QDŠT, “<Paid> to those who dwell in the city who were employed for the sacred liturgy.”
60.9 ḤDMM ṣ NŠ’M LN, “The persons who were elected by us.”

Pu CIS i 3785.5/6 *KL ḫDM ṣ GNB T-MTNT Z, “Anyone who shall steal this stele.”


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 ḥ 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 ṣ ’DHT ’L P’NT’ WT-HTLYM ṣ ’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 NSHT ṣ T’BY HYŠ’M, “Would that I might defeat my enemies who come forth <to do battle with me>.”

NPu 145 I 3 ’M ḫYŠB ’DMT, “The people who dwell on the land.”

2b. Used with Finite Forms of the Verb

60.2 ṢM’B’L BN MGN ṣ NŠ’ HGW ’L BT ’LM W’L MBNT ḤSR 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 ḤŠM ṣ ’L HMQDŠM ṣ KN BŠT ṣ[P’T]M GRSDKN WGR’STRT . . . WBD’STRT, “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 ṣ YQH MŠ’T BDS L’Š ŠT BPS Z, “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 ṣ LSR T-’BN Z, “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 ZN '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 [*TÝBRY QLWDY] . . . Š LPNY . . . YTΝ L'BD BSPT*, “[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 'ZT . . . BMQMM B'S KN 'ŠM R'M B'L GDDM*, “I built strong protective fortresses in places in which (bi'ris) 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'L 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.”

[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 Masauachan built (lit., which Masauachan 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‘ ÞN‘ L‘ BN N’SY’ 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’S . . . WMHSM . . . 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 YTNT’ NK D’MSLH BN D’MHN’ ŠDNSY, "<This is the stele> that I, Domsalaoh son of Domhanno the Sidonian, erected."

59.1/2  

Š YTNT’ LY YTNB’L BN ’SMNSLH, "<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  

WTH ’Š ‘L ‘RST TŠK’T, "WTH, 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 [. . ]bitu[a[n] . . is a[l Cler]ru[ch[ia A]dnim, "Iulius [xx]ibituan, Governor of the Colony of Adnim."

Pu 66.1  

KLYN ŠHSGM ‘Š BMMLHT, "Cleon SHSGM, <the official> who is in charge of the salt revenues." Greek Κλέων ο ἐπὶ τῶν αἰλῶν.
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 lob[ti]hem ulybane[m], “<This is> the stele that Sudru made for his daughter and for his son.”

NPu IRT 873.1/4 Myntsyfth 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 (’zs) 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 ’BBRKM 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‘ _TXT' L‘ BN N'S'T 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 BS‘R, “The Man-of-the-God (Prophet) of Milqart of Tyre.”

CIS i 88.4 HSLMT ‘Š LMPQD Z, “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 HQQ ‘Š LY, “Astarte of GW, my goddess.”


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 Laodicea.”

10. In the Independent Possessive Pronoun ‘Š LY

Phoenician possesses an independent possessive pronoun ‘Š LY ‘īs li (“my”) that is compounded of the relative pronoun and the preposition L- with suffixal pronouns: 18.3/4 HŚ’R Z WHDLHT ‘Š L (“This gate and its doors”); 17.1/2 ‘ŠTRT . . . HQDS ‘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[LT] 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 LRB T LTNT-PNB’L WL’DN LB’LHMN ‘Š NS ‘BD’SMN 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 psudo-relative clauses. So, for example, a typical dedicatory statement like KAI 41.1/3 SML ‘Z ‘Š YT N WTYN’ MNHM . . . L’DNY L[RŠJ]P ‘LYYT should perhaps properly be rendered (“Menehhem presented and erected this statue to his Lord Rasap Eleitai,”) 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 (τον ανδριανταν τον-νυ εδοκεν κας ονεθεκεν Μα-
νασες . . . τοι Απειλονι 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: LRB T L'SRT 'SR QDŠ 'Z Š P'L W'S TN TBRY WLNŠ MLK 'L KYSR . . . BMTN 'BBT WBN TW K 'STR T'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

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<th>Form</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<td>Š- si-</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>49 36 Av.; 64.1/2; 77.1/2, et passim N Pu 122.1; 124.3/4, et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su- (sy-)</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy-</td>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>178.1; cf. Poen. 933 syllochom (&quot;your&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>cf. Poen. 1141 sillī (&quot;my&quot;)</td>
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FORM B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŠL- sillī-</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Lapethos 3.4 QB'M ŠLKSP (&quot;silver cups&quot;); 51 reverse line 2 ŠLH[RMNYM] (&quot;the men/people of HRMNYM&quot;). N Pu 122.2 [ . . . ] YT ŠL[TBRY 'WGSTS (&quot;the . . . of Tiberius Augustus&quot;); 122.2 Q'DRYG ŠL[GRM'NY]QS (&quot;the quadriga of Germanicus&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
mocom 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 syllochom ("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). Judaean 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 'Š L-: NSI 150.5 B'LTYN '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
"Cups of silver." Obs. In line 7 of this same inscription we find the direct genitive QB KSP, "cups of silver."


51 reverse line 2 (4th-3rd cent. Phoenician papyrus of unknown provenience): ['L PN B]DB'L RB HRMNYM W'L PN Š S[LRMNYM], "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 'WGSTS WQDRYG' ŠL[GRM'NYJQS, ("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 ŠMQDSM 'L, "They brought <them> into the custody of these sanctuaries."

Pu CIS i 5987.1 HNB'L HKHTN ŠKRW, "Hannabal, the Priestess of Korwa (Kore)."

Pu CIS i 5942 GRTLQRT HKHTN ŠRBTN, "Gertmilqart Priestess of Our Lady."

Pu CIS i 4824.5/6 BYRĦ KRR ŠT Š'BDŠMN 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 178.1.3 Felioth 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 LSBLT . . . ‘STM SYPT‘N, “For SBLT, the wife (lit., his wife) of Yupta.” Cf. Song of Songs 3:7 MT TW SLSLMH mittato selišlōmō (“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 ŠSRY “<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‘PWLY 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‘STRT, “<This is the tomb> of Amastart.”


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 ‘BDŠMN, “<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 Laodicæa in Phoenicia”; Head, p. 739 LSĐQMLK, “<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 ŠZRT PN ("a member of the family of") which occurs in Punic in CIS i 4873.3: BDŠMN HGRR ŠZRT BLYSP ("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 ŠZRB'L BN GRSKN, "Birikmilqart, member of the family of Hasdrubal son of Gisco."

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

Pu CIS i 5510.11 B'LZR BN ZBG Š[N'], "Baalazor son of Zabog, member of the family of Hanno."

Pu CIS i 5594.4/5 HSQM HMRLŠ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MY mi</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>13.3; 14.4, 11, 12, 20, 24.14,15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Trip. 49.1 in the name MYK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 1002; IRT 827.1/2 in the name Micebal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, not 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 kēBaʻal, “Who is like Baal?” The hypocoristion of this same name appears in NPu Trip. 49.1 MY-K’ mī-ka (feminine).
2. Indefinite Relative

WHO, HE WHO

14.10/11 \textit{WNK 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 \textit{WMY YŠHT HSPR Z YŠHT R'S B'LSMD}, "As for him who shall destroy this inscription, Baal-semed shall smash his head."

24.11/12 \textit{MY BL HZ PN Š ŠTY B'L'DR WMY BL HZ PN LP ŠTY B'L BQR}, "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 \textit{MY 'T KL 'DM Š TPQ YT H'RN Z 'L 'L TP'TH 'LTY}, "Whoever you may be, anyone <at all>, who shall acquire this coffin, do not, do not open it!"

14.4 \textit{QN MY 'T KL MMLKT WKL 'DM 'L TP'TH 'YT MŠKB Z}, "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 \textit{MY BBNY Š YŠB THTN WYZQ BSPR Z MŠKBM 'L YTBD LB'BRM}, "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

\textbf{Forms}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{M} & Ph \hspace{1cm} \text{Indefinite: 24.4 (\textit{M} 'Š)} \\
\textit{M'} & NPu \hspace{1cm} \text{Relative: Trip.77.1;}
\hspace{1cm} \text{Indefinite: \textit{BAC NS} 1-2 (1965) 229}
\hspace{1cm} \text{(Bulla Regia); \textit{Teboursouk} 8.2/3}
\hspace{1cm} \text{\textit{Pu} \hspace{1cm} Interrogative: \textit{Poem.} 1010; 1141b}
\hspace{1cm} \text{NPu \hspace{1cm} Relative: \textit{IRT} 828.1; 865; 873.2;
\hspace{1cm} 877.2; 901.1, 4}
\end{tabular}

\textit{M'} 'Š & Ph \hspace{1cm} \text{Indefinite: 24.4}
The etymon of the pronoun appears was mā. The Phoenician reflex mū evidences the vocalic sound-change ā > ō > ū under stress. The relative mū 'is is compounded of the interrogative and the relative pronoun.

B. Syntax and usage

1. Interrogative

WHAT?
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 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 MNSBT 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 *Mïntsïf[th m]u fel Barïcbal Typafï,* “<This is> the stele that Barïcbal Tapapius made.”

NPu *IRT* 865 *Isfositio Nubo mu felun Flaban Ebean Numerian Sïhhanc baneo,* “<This is> the *isfositio* of Nubo that his sons Flavianus, Ebean, Numerianus <and> Sïhhanc made <for him>.”

NPu *IRT* 877.1/6 *Centenari mu fel Thlana Marci Cecili byMupal efsem <M>acer byn banem,* “<This is> the *cente-narium* (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[fcted and] built.”

The relative pronoun may carry the definite article if its antecedent is determined:

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

\[ \text{M′ } 'S = \text{mu ys} \]

NPu *Trip.* 79.1/2 *B’RM QN’T ’T M′ 'S 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*)

III. INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

A. Morphology

Phoenician and Punic 'š LY

Forms

Sg. 1. C.
'š LY ʾis li  Ph 17.1/2 'šSTRT ʾš BGW HQDS ʾš LY  
("Astarte of GW, my deity"); 43.9 LʾDN ʾš 
LY LMLQRT  
("for my Lord Milqart");  
50.4/5 KL KSP ʾš LY,  
("all my money")

Sg. 3. M.
ʾš L ʾis lo  Ph 18.3/4 HʾSR Z WHDLHT ʾš L  
("This gate  
and its doors"); Umm el-Awamid 19.2 ʾB 
ʾš L  
("his father"); RES 56=1954 BNT ʾš L  
("his daughters")

Pl. 1. C.
ʾš LN ʾis lon(u)  Pu  RCL 1966 p. 201 line 7 HMHŠBM ʾš LN  
("Our treasurers")

Phoenician and Neo-Punic ŠLY sillī

Forms

Sg. 1. C.
silli sillī  Pu  Poen. 943/4 hulec sillī  
("my host");  
Poen. 1141 done sillī  
("my father");  
Poen. 1141 amma sillī  
("my other");  
Poen. 1141 bene sillī = var. bane sillī  
("my son")

Sg. 3. M.
ŠL' sillo  Pu 100.5 ʾZRT ŠL'  
("his family")

NPu 150.3 [ . . . ]M ŠL'  
("his . . ."); Punica p. 153 no. 155.2/3 BʾLM ŠL'  
("his gods")

Sg. 3. F.
šL' sillā  NPu 143.3 ʾš <š>L'  
("her husband")
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 'Š LYT 'is lī (“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 follow 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 LYT, with suppression of the relative or determinative pronoun.

1. The Noun Carries the Definite Article

18.3/4 'YT HŠ'R Z WHDLHT 'Š L P'LT BTKLYT 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 LB'LŠMR RB Š'RM BN 'BD'SR SKR Š TNL' L 'B 'Š L 'BD'SR RB Š'RM, “<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 sillı . . . Antidamas con, “Antidamas was my guest-friend.”
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 MN$BT 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”):
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 *oto ("him"). There are two examples only of the Punic independent object pronoun:

Pu CIS i 6001.1/2 `BDMLKT *L TS<*>T, "<This is the funerary urn of> Abdmilkot: do not carry it off!" The aleph in TS' 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 Lavigerie p. 67; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I p. 295/96.

Pu CIS i 580.3 `RST BT BD'STRT SM' QL' BRK 'T, "Arisut bit Bod'astart. He heard her voice; he blessed her"!

V. OTHER PRONOUNS

'DM *adam

One (German man, French on), a person

26 A II 4/5 YST' 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 . . . LKHN M 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-ibtī, “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 lasibithim.

See also the related pronoun BL ʾŠ (“no one, none”).

EACH, EACH ONE

NPu 159.8 ʾŠ 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 Licinius 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 ʾŠ bal ʾis

NO ONE, NONE

26 AI 15/16 ʾŠM RʾM BʾL ’GDDM ʾŠ BL ʾŠ ’BD KN LBT MPS, “Bad men, bandits, none of whom was a vassal of the House of Mopsos.”

See the related pronoun ʾŠ (“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 an complementing a independent personal pronoun:

NPu 72 B 4 WBʾL HRŠ Hʾ BTM, “He himself was the architect.”

ONE’S OWN, following and complementing a suffixal possessive pro-
18.3/4 'YT HŠ'R Z . . . 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 BŠRM BTM, "The sacrifice of a human being of his own flesh."
NPu 126.1 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 WYS' . . . L'GD LM MLHMT BMQM 'Z 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 cил (Poen. 945) and (Neo-Punic) chil and chyl (Poen. 935).

24.5/6 KN BT 'B BMTKT MLKM 'DRM WKL ŠLH YD LL[HM], "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 MŚLH 'YT 'MŠTRT WYT 'MRT WYT KL 'Ś L', "I, Meslih, commend to you Amastart and Omrit and everyone who is <related> to her."

ANYONE

Pu 79.6/7 KL 'Ś LSR T-'BN Z, "Anyone who shall remove this stele."

EVERYTHING

60.3/4 K BN 'YT HŠR BT 'LM WP'L 'YT KL 'Ś 'LTY, "Because he built the temple court and did everything with which he was charged."

Pu 81.1 LRBT L'ŠTRT WLBTN BLBNN MQDŠM HDŠM <'L> KM KL 'Ś BN[M], "<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith 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.”

ANYONE

13.3/4 MY 'T KL 'DM 'Š TPQ 'YT H'RN Z 'L 'L TP'TH 'LY, “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 'LY BRHT HKSP Z, “[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.”

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'ZN M HMQDŠM 'L, “The goldwork and everything that 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 Z, “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 LKHN 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 mlìk ("kings"), et passim
Pu  Poen. 940 macom maqòm ("city"), et passim
NPu Poen. 937 ìrs (h)ìrs ("shard"), et passim

Sg. F.
Absolute and Construct

FORM A

-Ţ -ot  Ph-NPu  18.1 ‘RPT ‘urpòt ("portico"), et passim
-Ţ  NPu  118.1, 122.2 ‘RPT ("portico")
-ot  Pu  Poen. 937 helicòt hëlikòt ("hospitality")
-oth NPu  Poen. 947 elìothò ("hospitality"); 178.1 felìoth ("work"); Poen. 934 thìmmoth
timmòt < tammòt ("finished, past")

-ut(h) NPu  In personal names: RES 520 Arìsuth;
CIL viii 4850.2, 16768.2 Birìhut; CIS viii
16955.1 [Bi]ricut

With Suffixal Pronouns

-Ţ -at-  Ph  174.6 ìµìθì  ’amalè ("his female slave,"
gen.).
Pu  EH Greek 1.1 ρυβαθων  ribbatòn ("Our Lady").

FORM B

-Ţ -t  Ph  14.3 ‘TY ‘itì < ‘ìntì ("my time"); 19.5 ,
60.1 ṢT sat < sant ("year")
Pu  Poen. 948 sibti ("his residence")
-th NPu  IRT 901.3 byth bit < bint ("daughter");
mintifth ("stele"); IRT 828.1, 873.1
myntsyfth ("stele"); sath ("year"); Poen. 933 msysyrth mîsîrt ("protection"); Poen. 934 yth ("time")

With Anaptyctic Vowel

-ith -ît NPU

LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.6 myîth mî’ît ("hundred"); Poen. 938 sibîthîm ("his residing")

FORM c (Nouns IIIy)

-T -ît (-îyt) Ph 26 A I 21 QST qâṣît ("outlying area")

Pu 69.14, 159.8 MÎNHT mînîhît ("offering")

Dual

Absolute State

-M -ēm Ph 34.4 ‘NM ‘ēnēm ("eyes")

Pu 64.1 NŠBM WHNWTM nasîbêm weha-

nûṭîm ("two stelai and two ḥnwtîm")

NPu 141.5 M’TM mî’(a)tîm ("two hundred")

-em NPU iadem yadîm ("two hands")

Construct State

-Ø -ê Ph Byb 10.10 L- ‘N li-ēnê ("in the eyes of")

Pl. M.

Absolute State

FORM A

-M -îm Ph-NPU 14.17 BTM bāṭîm ("temples"), et passim

Ph 81.4 MQDŠM miqdasîm ("sanctuaries"), et passim

Pu 137.1 ŠPTM soṣîṭîm ("suffetes"), et passim

NPu 101.6 BN’M bûnîm ("builders")

Pu 140.3 K'STM kô’sîm ("undertakers"),

NPu 140.6 B’NYM bûnîm ("builders"); 161.6

KHNYM kôhnîm ("priests").

-em NPU S 24.3 ai{a}em (h)ayyîm ("life"), S 24.3

bunem ("builders"), IRT 828.2 mythem mîhîm ("dead persons")

-im Pu Poen. 947 alonim ’allonîm ("gods"); Poen. 947 iussim yûshîm ("those coming out")
NPu Poen. 937 alonim ("gods"); Poen. dobrim ("they say"), Poen. 998 donnim ("gentleman"), Poen. 939 iusim ("those coming out"); IRT 893.4/5 ilim sebuim ilim \(\xi^\nu b\(\hi\)im\) ("sacrificed gods")

FORM B

-\(M\) -\(\text{ëm}\) Ph MM mêm ("water"), 14.16,17 ŠMM samêm ("sky")

-em Pu Poen. 1142 mem ("water"); Poen. 1027 samem samêm ("heavens")

-\(\eta\mu\) Ph Sanch. 9 \(\Sigma\mu\mu\)\(\mu\)-\(\rho\u03b5\)\(\mu\)\(\mu\) *samêm rûmîm ("High Heavens")

Construct State

-\(\O\) -\(\text{ê}\) Ph 14.15 BT 'LN\(\text{M}\) battê 'allônîm ("the houses of the gods"); 26 A III 5 KL 'LN QRT kil 'allônê qart ("all the gods of the city")

Pu 101.1 B'L' TBGG ("the citizens of Thugga")

NPu 118.3 BN’ ("sons"); 119.4, 126.7 'DR’ ("senators"); 124.3 DBR’ ("affairs")

-e NPU S 24.4 b[e]ne ("sons"); cf. IRT 865 ba-\(\text{neo}\) ("his sons")

-\(\epsilon\) Pu EH Gr. 1.2 \(\phi\alpha\nu\varepsilon\) ("face") in the divine name \(\Phi\alpha\nu\varepsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\)

-\(\eta\) Pu EH Gr. 3.2/3 \(\phi\varepsilon\nu\eta\) ("face") in the divine name \(\Phi\varepsilon\nu\eta\beta\alpha\lambda\)

Pl. F.

FORM A

-T -\(\text{ût}\) Ph 14.19 'R\(\text{Ş}\)T 'arasût ("regions"), et passim

Pu 68.5 P'MT ("times"); CIS I 6000.7 T'ŞMT ("great deeds"), et passim

NPu 151.3 ŠNT sanût ("years"), et passim

-\(\text{\'T}\) NPu 122.2 MSWY'T ("garments")

-ut Pu Poen. 940 alonut 'allônùt ("goddesses")

-uth NPu Poen. 930 alonuth ("goddesses")
FORM B

-HT -hūt  Ph  18.4 DLHT dalahūt ("doors"; sg. DLT dalt, dalt); 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 qašit); 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 -u for the nominative and accusative case and -l for the genitive: ’abū (nominative and accusative) and ’abi (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 pi with the preposition LPY līpi ("according to"). Case-inflation was also vestigial in place-names that end in -ō, such as YP Yāpō ("Joppa, Jaffā") and K ḵ Akkō ("Acco, Acre"), which exhibit the case ending -Y -ī in the genitive: 14.19 YPY Yāpi (genitive, governed by the particle ‘YT); 49 34 At ḵ KY ḵ Akkī (genitive, in the construct relationship ḵ SBS ḵ 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 *mʾqōḥm, the construct form of macom, in Poen. 948 mu-
com syssibti ("the place of his residing"). Note that in Hebrew,
too, the noun maqōm has the construct form *mʾqōm before the rela-
tive 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 con-
struct. The virtual proclitic nature of the latter two nouns is indi-
cated by the assimilation of the final consonant to the initial conso-
nant of the governed noun: IRT 877.2/3 Thlana Marci Cecili
byMupal ("Thlana Marcius Caecilius son of Mupal bimMupal");
cf. Byblian 6.1, 7.3 BYHMLK ("son of Yahimilk biyYahimilk"); IRT
877.1/5 Centenari mu fel . . . efseMacer byn banem ("Forti-
tified 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 con-
struct 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 MʾT). 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 al-
ready in Phoenician with the monosyllabic construct noun milk ("the
king of") in FK A 1.2 MLKTY milkKit(t)i for MLK KTY milkKit(t)i,
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 -ʾot (Canaanite stress-lengthened -āt) and -t. The form -ʾot
appears with the noun in the absolute and in the construct state; it
possesses the complementary variant (allomorph) unstressed -ʾat-, used
with stressed suffixal pronouns: absolute and construct ribbōt but
presuffixal ribbató ("his Lady"). In Neo-Punic -ʾot also had the pro-
nunciation -ut, with lowering of the vowel, although this pronunci-
ation is attested only in feminine personal names. The form -t has
the occasional variant -i, with anaptyctic vowel: Poen. 938 sibith-
šibit ("residing") and LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.6 myith mīʾit ("hundred").
The polysyllabic construct noun normally retained its own (independent) stress, as indicated by the stressed form *felioth* *felōt* in the direct genitive 178.1 *felioth 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 ροξαθων *ribbatōn* (“our Lady”) and Phoenician 174.6 αμαθη *’amatē* (“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-Mi-car* *(’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 IIIy, *e.g.*, bānayn (Syriac bāneyn). The construct plural of both forms exhibited the inflectional ending -ē < -ay, in origin the construct ending of the masculine dual in the oblique case: § 24.4 b[ene] M[ . . ]chan (“the sons of M[ . . ]chan”). The construct form is also that used with the suffixal (possessive) pronouns: *IRT* 865 baneo banēyo (“his sons”). The polysyllabic masculine plural construct noun retained independent stress but exhibited the same pattern of pretonic reduction characteristic of the Hebrew construct: *fēnē*, 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 IIIy singular forms with the feminine affirmative -īt (–iyt). But also the plural *CID* 8B *ŠDYT* (“fields”) of the IIIy 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* *ṭis* (“man”) has the regular plural *ŠM* *ṭisim* (26 A I 15), not *’anašim* as in Hebrew. The noun
'DM  ’adôm ("man, person") had a plural form 'DMM  ’adamîm (14.6, 60.7 "people") not known in Hebrew. MQM maqôm ("place") has the regular masculine plural MQMM maqûmîm (26 A II 3), not mēqûmît as in Hebrew.

The word "god" ('LM  'ilîm) has several plurals: 'LM  'ilîm (26 A II 6), 'LMN  'allûnîm (10.10; 14.9, 22; Poen. 930, 920) and BN 'LM banê  'ilîm (26 A III 19). The latter two plural yield the rare "back-form" singulars 'LN  'allôn (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"): N Pu 119.1 LŠDRP' WLMLK'ŠRT RBT 'LPQY, ("For Satrapes and for Milkastart, the proprietary gods of Lepcis."). But the word had the plural RBM ribbîm when it means "generals of the army" (Pu CIS i 5510.9).

Some feminine nouns of the type CVCt have the plural CVČahūt: DLHT (18.3 "doors") is the plural of DLT delt, and QRHT (Hassan-Beyli 3 "cities") is the plural of QRT qart ("city"). However, the feminine noun 'ST  'ist ("wife, woman") has the regular plural form 'STT  'isatūt (37 A 14; B 5), never nasîm as in Hebrew; this plural follows the pattern of Hebrew DLTWT dēlatōt ("doors"), the plural of délet; and QŠTW T qēsatōt ("bows"), the plural of qēset.

The noun MLKT milkot ("queen") has the plural MLKY T (11); contrast the regular plural MLKW T mēlakôt of Hebrew. The singular noun 'LM  'ilîm ("goddess") has the feminine plural form 'LN T 'allûnût ("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

qat: 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); myþ
mit (MT “dead person,” IRT 827.1); et ‘es (Ṣ “wood,” Poen. 1142);
sem sem (ŠM “name” Poen. 1002; IRT 877.4). Fem. byth bit <
bint (BT “daughter,” see Special Classes); myth mi’it (MT “one
hundred,” LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.; sibt- sibt (SBT “residing,” Poen. 948);
yth ‘it < ‘int (“T “time,” Poen. 934)
qīl: ys ʾîs (ʾṢ “man”: IRT 879.1)
qōl: kouΓ- qūl (QL qūl “voice,” EH Gr. 1.4); bur būr (BR “tomb,”
AI 1 p. 4.3 line 1)
qūl: lua lāʾh (LH, “tablet,” LA 1 p. 45 no. 3.1/2)
qall: amma ʾamma (ʾM “mother,” Poen. 1141 A); ryb- rib < rab < rabb
(RB “master”)
qīl: cel and cīl kil < kill (“everything,” Poen. 945); chyl kil < kill
(“everything,” Poen. 937)
qat: αλφ ʾalp (LP “ox,” Vattioni p. 325 no. 41); αφδε ʾabde (BY
“his slave,” Ph 174.8); arb ʾarb (RB “evening,” LA 1 p. 45 no.
4.7); hers var. irs hers (HRS “shard, pottery,” Poen. 937; 947);
ars ḥars (HRS “craftsmanship,” IRT 889.3)
II: bal baʾl (BʾL “master,” IRT 889.3); nar naʾr (NʾR “son,” IRT
889.3)
IIw: on ʾōn < ʾawn (ʾN “iniquity,” D 6.5/6)
IIy: bet bêt < bayt (BT “house,” Poen. 941 A); bit bit < bayt (BT
“house,” Poen. 941 P); byth bit < bayt (BT “house,” Poen. 931)
III h ’: iyra yirah (YRH “month,” LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/2, 8
qutl: umer var. umir ʾumir (MR “word,” Poen. 1017)
qīl: ix ʾiqs (ʾQS ʾiqs “deception,” Poen. 1033)

3b. Bisyllabic Nouns

qatal: adom ʾadom (ʾDM “person,” IRT 879.1). Fem. ḥμαθη ʾamate
(ʾMTY “his female slave,” Ph 178.6)
qatil: sady sadi (ŠD “field, country,” D 2.7/8; D 5.10/11)
qutul: becor ḫʾkor (BKR “firstborn son,” Poen. 942)
qatil: iaed yahid (YHD “only son,” Poen. 932); nasib naṣib (NB
947); felioth feliot (“work,” 178.1)
qatol: λαςουν lasūn (LSN “tongue,” Vattioni p. 525 no. 41); salus
salūs (ŠLS “three,” Vattioni p. 533 no. 7)
qutul: gubul- gʾbūl (GBL “district,” Poen. 939)
gotel: hulec hūleк (HLK “host,” Poen. 943); uryš (h)ūris (HRS “en-
graver,” PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 5.10)
qawtal: guzol  
quttāl: umman  
qattal: addir  
qittal: QDS qiddis  
qittul: ΚΙΣΙΟΥ  qissū'  

3c. Nouns with Preformatives and Afformatives

3c-1. Preformative M-

maqtal: [mi]gdal migdal (MGDL “tower,” PBSR 28 p. 54 no. 7.3);  
macom maqôm (MQM “place,” Poen. 930; Poen. 940). Fem.  
mysyrth missirt < massart (MSRT “protection,” Poen. 933)  
maqtil: Fem. myntszyfth mintsivt < mantsibt (MNSBT “stele,” IRT 828.1; IRT 873.1)  
maqtōl: marob ma‘rōb (M‘RB “custody,”; Poen. 933)

3c-2. Preformative N-

naqtal: Fem. N’SPT (“assembly,” 60.1)

3d-3. Preformative T-

taqtal: Fem. thychleth tiklīt (TKLT tiklīt “expenditure,” IRT 906.4)

3c-4. Afformative -ōn

qatlon: allon- (allonim, allonut) ’allonim ūallonut (’LNMT WLNNT “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 ’āh (“brother”) that have the extended forms ’abū and ’ahū 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 ’āh in the construct singular and before possessive pronouns retained a two-case inflection: ’abū and ’ahū in the nominative and accusative, ’abī in the genitive. It is possible that the genitive form is represented by ninth-century Tyro-
Sidonian 'BY 'abiy(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 'aḥ was 'abū and 'aḥū 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 Yillul ("They built it for their father Iyllul."); cf. the Neo-Punic form a(h)uya in the genitive: IRT 826.1/3 fela l<a>uia Ocles fela l(a)uya Ocles ("She made <it> for her brother Ocles.").

In late Neo-Punic of the Roman period, the historical forms 'abī ("my father") and 'aḥī ("my brother") appear to have competed with new forms (a)būyi and (a)uyī. In the latter, which are the result of paradigmatic analogy, the presuffixal forms (a)bū- and a(h)ū- receive the possessive pronoun -i 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)uyī ("my brother," which occurs twice in Poen. 932/933) Liphoc anech yth byn ui iaed; yn byn ui bymarob sylochom, 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

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Abadir
N Pu  D 6.9, 10

With Possessive Suffixes

1. Sg.
   Archaic
   'B 'abî  Ph  24.10: nominative case
   'BY' 'abîya  Ph  24.5,9: genitive case
   Standard
   'BY' 'abî  Ph  26 A I 11
   a-bi  Ph  In the personal name A-bi-ba-'a-li
   (Asarh. 60.61)
   aβɪ  Ph  In the personal name Aβɪβαλος

2. Sg. M.
   abuca 'abûka  Pu  Poen. 1003 (gen.)

3. Sg. M. 'abûyo
   'BY'  Ph  34.2
   'BY'  N Pu  Trip. 79.2
   'BY'  N Pu  NP 63.2
   buo  N Pu  IRT  877.6
   Byblian
   'BH' 'abihu  Byb  1.1 (gen.)

3. Pl. M.
   'BNM 'abûnom  Ph  40.5
   'B'NHM  N Pu  143.4
   'BN'M  N Pu  Trip. 77.2
   abunom  N Pu  S 24.2 (gen.)

Plural
   'BT' 'abüt  Ph  26 A I 12

With Suffix Pronouns

3. Sg. M.
   'BTM 'abûtim  N Pu  126.8

   'H

Singular
Absolute

\textit{'H} \textit{'ah}  
\quad Ph  
\quad 24.11

Construct

\textit{au} (\textit{a})\textit{hū}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{IRT} 827.2/3 (gen.)

With Suffix Pronouns

1. Sg.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{'H} \textit{a-hī}  
\quad Ph  
\quad 24.3 (nominative case)
\item a-\textit{hi}  
\quad Ph  
\quad In the name \textit{A-hī-mil-ki} (Assurb. II 84)
\item hi (\textit{a})\textit{hī}  
\quad Ph  
\quad In the name \textit{Ḥi-ru-um-mu} (Tigl. III 9.51)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item hi  
\quad Pu  
\quad In the name \textit{Ḥimilco} (CIL viii 10525).
\item ui (\textit{a})\textit{hūyī}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{Poen.} 931, 932 (2x)
\end{itemize}

2. Sg. M.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{'HT}  
\quad Ph  
\quad 47.2.
\item \textit{'HT}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{NP} 2.2
\end{itemize}

3. Sg. F.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{auia} \textit{a-hūya}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{IRT} 826.3 (nom.)
\item uiia (\textit{a})\textit{hūya}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{IRT} 826.2 (gen.)
\end{itemize}

3. Pl. M.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{unom} (\textit{a})\textit{hūnom}  
\quad NPu  
\quad \textit{PBSR} 23 p. 141 no. 24.4 (nom.)
\end{itemize}

\textbf{\textit{ŠT}}

In Phoenician-Punic, the word for “woman, wife” was \textit{'is(a)t} (\textit{'esat}), the feminine of the noun \textit{'is}; its plural was \textit{'isatūt} (\textit{'isatōt}), after the pattern of Hebrew \textit{qēšet} (“bow”; plural \textit{qēšatōt}). The single vocalized example of the noun in the absolute case is Greek-letter Phoenician \textit{εσσοθ}, in which the a-vowel is secondary, deriving from the plural form \textit{'isatūt}. The noun-form \textit{'iša} < \textit{'aššat} < \textit{'anthat} does not exist in Phoenician-Punic. The construct form is attested in the presuffixal form \textit{ysth-} in Latin-letter spelling.

\textbf{Forms}

\begin{itemize}
\item Singular
\quad Absolute State

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ŠT} \textit{'esat}  
\quad Ph  
\quad 26 A II 5
\item \textit{εσσοθ}  
\quad Ph  
\quad 174.7
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
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 *banîm*. 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 *lobynãt* and *IRT* 873.3 *libinãm* ("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* *livnim* ("for his son"). The plural form absolute was *banîm* and the construct form *banâ* or *benâ*, with vowel reduction.

**Forms**

**Singular**

Absolute State

**BN**

Ph Ph 14.8

Construct State

**BN** Ph, Pu, NPu *Passim*

**BʼN** Pu *CIS* i 5522.4

**bn** NPu D 9.2

**bin** Pu *Poen.* 943
by- \quad \text{NPu} \quad IRT 877.4

byn \quad \text{NPu} \quad Poen. 932 (2x); Poen. 995A; D 2.3; D 5.20; IRT 877.5; IRT 906.2

βuv \quad \text{Pu} \quad 175.4; 177.3

With Suffixes

1. Sg.
bene \quad \text{Pu} \quad Poen. 1141P
bane \quad \text{Pu} \quad Poen. 1141A

3. Sg. M.
Nominative Case
\begin{align*}
\text{BN}^\prime & \quad \text{bino} & \quad \text{Pu} & \quad 161.9 \\
\text{BN} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad 153.4. \\
\text{binim} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad IRT 889.1 \\
[by] \quad \text{no} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad PBSR 28 53 no. 6.1/2 \\
\text{byne} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad IRT 906.1 \\
\text{by[ni]m} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad IRT 828.1/2
\end{align*}

Genitive Case
\begin{align*}
\text{BNY} & \quad \text{bini(m)} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad \text{Trip. 79.4} \\
\text{banem} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad IRT 877.5/6; IRT 893.3/4 \\
\text{banim} & \quad \text{Pu} & \quad Poen. 946A \\
\text{benim} & \quad \text{Pu} & \quad Poen. 946P \\
\text{binim} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad IRT 873.2; Poen. 936 \\
\text{ifnim} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad AI 1 1927 233 line 2
\end{align*}

3. Sg. F.
\begin{align*}
\text{BNY} & \quad \text{bini(m)} & \quad \text{Ph} & \quad 40.4 \text{ (gen.)}
\end{align*}

3. Pl. M.
Nominative Case
\begin{align*}
\text{BNM} & \quad \text{binom} & \quad \text{Ph} & \quad \text{Umm el-Awamid 6.3} \\
\text{bynom} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad PBSR 28 53 no. 5.1
\end{align*}

Genitive Case
\begin{align*}
\text{bannom} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad PBSR 28 53 no. 5.11
\end{align*}

Plural
Absolute State
\begin{align*}
\text{BNM} & \quad \text{banim} & \quad \text{NPu} & \quad 162.5 \\
\text{Construct State} & \quad \text{banē} \\
\text{BN} & \quad \text{Ph} & \quad 26 A III 19; 27.11; 40.4
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* < *banāt* as in Hebrew.

**Forms**

**Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct State</th>
<th>NPu</th>
<th>118.3; 126.5,6; Trip. 51.4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>BT</em> <em>bit</em></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>14.15; 29.1; 50.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td><em>NP</em> 4; <em>NP</em> 12.2; <em>EH</em> 55.3</td>
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<tr>
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<th>NPu</th>
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With Suffix Pronouns

3. Sg. M.

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<td>NPr</td>
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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 'īs ("people"): 46.3/5 ŠLM H'Š LMŞB, ("May the people of the colony prosper!"). Other examples are 'DM 'adom ("people, population") and B'L bā'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 'īs in Müller 2.74/75 'M MHNT 'am mahnīt ("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 'ādōn ("lord, master"), normally used in the singular, is also attested in the plural form 'DNM 'adūnim ("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 'īlīm 59.2 'LM NRGL ("the god Nergal"); 48.2 'LM 'DRT 'S ("the great goddess Isis"). Like Hebrew 'LHYM 'ēlōhīm ("God") the noun is plural and, indeed, used in Phoenician as a plural meaning "gods": 26 A II 6 BYMTY 'ŠT T<Ł>K LHDY 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 \textit{B'L} ("Baal") is attested in the plural form \textit{B'LYM Ba'alim} ("Baal") in the personal name \textit{CIS i 135.5 Y-B'LYM} ("Where is Baal?"). It is this plural form with singular meaning that is imitated in Biblical \textit{hab-B'LYM} (Ju 2:11, 3:7, 8:33, 1): (6,10; 1 S 7:4, 12:10 et cet.) = \textit{hab-Ba'al} ("Baal").

The common term \textit{būr} ("tomb, mausoleum") is found in both the singular and plural (with singular meaning). \textit{B'R'M būrim} ("tomb") is found in NPu Trip. 79.1/2 \textit{B'R'M QN'T 'T M 'S 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: \textit{NPL} (for \textit{NP'L}) \textit{BT'STY BTY}, ("It was built at his own expense."). The same word in the morphological singular occurs in NPu \textit{IRT} 8282/3 \textit{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 \textit{BHTM} and \textit{HKLM} express the singular "temple".

3. Feminine Singular Abstract Noun with Concrete Meaning

The feminine noun \textit{MMLKT}, in origin meaning "kingship, kingdom," denotes "king" or "prince": 14.9 \textit{MMLK<T> 'DR} ("whichever mighty king."); Pu 111.4/5 \textit{MSNSN HMMLKT} ("King Masinissa"). Compare the Ugaritic feminine singular abstract nouns \textit{2) CT} (originally "knowledge, friendship") and \textit{T'DT} (originally "witness") with concrete meaning "friend" and "messenger" respectively.

4. Abstract Noun Expressed by the Plural Noun

The plural \textit{BT} \textit{'abūt} of the noun \textit{'ab} ("father") expresses the concept of "fathership": 26 A I 12 \textit{WP B'B'T P'LN KL MLK} ("And every king adopted me as his father."). Compare the plural \textit{BNM} \textit{banīm}, literally "sons," with the meaning "sonship."

\textit{DNM} \textit{'adūnim}, the plural of \textit{'adōn} ("lord, king"), expresses the concept of "lordliness, royalty," used as an adjectival noun: 26 A I 10 \textit{BT 'DNY bēt 'adūnay} ("my royal house"); 26 A I 10 \textit{SRŠ 'DNY suris 'adūnay} ("my royal stock"). Compare the similar use of the abstract nouns \textit{MLK} ("kinship") and \textit{MŠPT} ("imperium") in 1.2 \textit{HTR MŠP'TH . . . KS' MLKH} ("his imperial scepter . . . his royal throne").

Like the plural \textit{BT} \textit{'abūt} ("fathership"), the plural \textit{BNM} \textit{banīm} of \textit{BN} ("son") has the abstract meaning of "sonship": NPu 124.2/3 \textit{B'LYTN QMD} 'Š 'L' BBNM 'T M'QR BN G'Y ("Balitho Commo-
dus, who was adopted in sonship alongside Macer son of Gaius.

This same usage is attested in Hebrew in Jeremiah 3:19: ‘ŠYTK BBNMTM (“I shall adopt you as son, lit., I shall place you in sonship.”).

As in Hebrew the plural noun YMM yamîm has the meaning “time”: 26 A III 4/6 LTTY B’L KRNTYŚ WKL ’LN QRT L’Z-TWD ’RK YMM WRB ŠNT (“Baal-KRNTYYS 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 MTBM métâbîm has the meaning “approval”: NPu 172.1/4 PRṬ ’L MYṬB’ RŠ HSLKHY LBN’T T-HMQDS 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 ’îlîm 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 ŠSTRT (“the great goddess Isis <and> the goddess Astarte”). Similarly, although not common, the noun QDS qiddîs (“deity=god or goddess”): 17.1/2 ŠSTRT ’Ś BGW HQDS ’Ś LY (“Astarte of GW, my goddess”). The term R’S rûs (“head”) is used of either a man or woman: NPu 136 WKN’ Š’NT ’SR WŠMN R’S ’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 afformative -(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 ’Ś YTN WYTN’ MÑHST Y’Ś ĹT [B’L]YTN . . . LRBYL ’L ŠSTRT (“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 Xûosw (KŠR) and the Israelite goddess (!) Θουρώ (“Torah”), renders the divine name Khousor feminine as Xûosôrô̂s, 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) \textit{LBNH} ("Moon") and \textit{HMH} ("Sun"); she is also likened in her awesomeness to the goddess (!) \textit{NRGLWT} ("Nergaloth," or "Female Nergal"; the received text has \textit{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:

\textbf{IN, ON, AT}, expressing location

14.16 \textit{WYSBN YT ŠSTR TŠMM 'DRM} "And we caused Astarte to reside in the Great Heavens."

14.16/17 \textit{NHN Ś BNN BT LŠMN-ŠD QDS N YDLL BHR}, "It was we who built a temple for holy Esmun-ŠD at En-YDLL in the mountains."

14.17 \textit{YŠBNT ŠMM 'DRM}, "We caused Him (Esmun) to reside in the Great Heavens."

49 no. 7 G \textit{NK PSR BN B'LNYTN HMT PP}, "I am Posiri, the son of Baalyaton who died at Paphos."

Pu 115.1/2 \textit{ŠLM BDŠSTR... YT NDRM BT B'L'DR}, "Bostar fulfilled his vow in the temple of Baaladdir."

Pu \textit{CIS i 6000.7/8} \textit{'DR ŠPH SK[R YRH MD] YRH BT 'S}, "His family has magnified/ honored his memory monthly in the temple of Isis."

Pu \textit{CIS i 247-9} Pu \textit{BT ŠD-TNT M'RT}, "The temple of Sid-Thinnith in Megara."

\textbf{OF, FROM}, expressing provenience of a god or person

37A 5 \textit{'ŠSTR KT}, "Astarte of (lit., in, from) Kition."

48.2 \textit{'Š]RT ŠMRN}, "Ashirta of (lit., in, from) Samaria."


Pu \textit{CIS i 140.1} \textit{'/]ŠSTR '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 \textbf{Divine Name 'Š B- Place}. See Relative Pronouns. In Ugaritic, the locative is expressed by means of the
Archaic locative morpheme -umma: *ARTFR ṢRM “Ashirta of (lit., in) Tyre” // *ILT ṢDYNM “Ilat of (lit., in) Sidon.”

49 36 *NK ṀGN BN BD’ ṢḤPS’B’L ṀNP, “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 ṢDYN BN ṢGRD ḢṣRY ṢSB ‘KY B’T MṢRM BＰṬRT ‘BDMLQRT Ḣ’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 ḢLM ‘Ṣ ‘L ṢD KS LḤMH, “<I am> Gerhekhal bin HLM; who sailed upstream to the Land of Kush, to LḤMH (=Abu Simbel).”

*CIS i 112 C lines 1/2 KṢY BN ‘BDP’M ’Ṣ ‘L [Ṣ]D KS LḤMH, “<I am> KSY bin Abdpa’m, who sailed upstream to the Land of Kush, to LḤMH.”

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> ṢBH L KL ḢMSKT, “And I brought to him (the god Baal-KRNTRYS) a sacrifice at all the sacrifices.” = 26 C IV 2/3: WŽBH Ṣ ṢL’LKT LJ’LM KL ḢMSKT, “And I brought to the god a sacrifice of fire at all the sacrifices.”

Pu *CIS i 5510.7/8 TNT ‘MTNT Z BḥDS [P]’LT ST ‘ṢMN’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 GRSDK ḤRB WHMLKT BN ḤN ḤRB ‘LŠ WTKM ḤMT YT ‘GRGNT WŞT [Ḥ]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 WBKR B’L KRNTRYS ṢYT ‘ZTWĐ ḢYM WŞLM W’Z ‘DR L KL MLK, “May Baal-KRNTRYS 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 KRNTRYS ṢYT ‘ZTWĐ BHYM WBŞLM WB’Z ‘DR L KL MLK.
as, expressing respect or manner

14.2/3, 12/13 KNGZLT 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 LŠTRT DTY, “(This is) the ivory box Amotabaal presented as a gift to her Lady Astarte.”

60.3 P‘L ‘YT KL ‘Š ‘LYT 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 ŠDMN milk Sidônîm (“the king of the Sidonians”); 14.19 ‘RST DGN H‘DRT ʿarsût dagon ha-ʿiddirût (“the great regions of grain”); 24.9 KS ‘BY kisse ʿabî (“the throne of my father”); 90.1 QBR B‘LHN qeber Baʿalhanno (“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 keʾtôbit dibrê ib-hêî (“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 HMZH HNŠT 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 \( \text{YT} \text{NB}'L \text{BN} \ 'S\text{MN} \text{SLH} \text{RB} \text{KHNM} \ 'L\text{M} \text{NRGL} \), "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 \( \text{NSI} \ 150.5 \text{B'}L\text{TYTN} 'S 'L\text{M} 'Š \text{LMLQRT} \), "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 'ŠM\text{N} \text{ZR}, "Year fourteen 14 of the reign (lit., of his reign) of King Esmunazor."

Pu 111.3/5 ŠŠT 'RB'M ŠT LMLKY MS\text{NSN}, "The forty-sixth year of the reign (lit., of his reign) of Masinissa."

Pu 112.4/5 ŠŠT HMŠM ŠT LMLKNM MK\text{WSN} WGLSN WM\text{STN}'B', "The fifty-sixth year of the reign (lit., of their reign) of Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanaba."

Pu Poen. 948 <Esse> mucom sussibti A(\text{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 'RS, "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'ŁŠMR, “This is the tombstone of (commemorating) Baalsamor.”

9d. Governed Noun Expresses Material

29.1 'RN [Ș]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 'Ș ŠM NHM LB'ŁHMN 'DN, “<This is> the stele commemorating the Molk-to-Baal that Nahhum gave to Baalhammon, his Lord.”

9g. Governed Noun Expresses Author/Actor

50.2 'MR 'HTK, “<This is> the message of (authored by) your sister.”
NPu 78.1/2 Felioth 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

      Pu Poen. 948 mocom syssibtì, “The place where he resides,”
               lit., “The place of his residing.”

9i. Governing or Governed Noun Expresses Adjective

      Byb 1.2 KS’ MLKH, “His royal throne,” lit., “The throne of his
               kingship.”
      34.5 MŠKB NHITNM, “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 NHIT LB, “Peace of mind.”

9k. Identification

               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 ’addîr (“large, great, major”); ’RK ’arrîk (“long,
tall”); BRK barîk (“blessed, happy”); DRY dürî (“lasting, enduring”);
ZR zor ("another = different from the first"); NM na'im ("good, excellent"); {YP yafe ("appropriate, seemly"); YSR ("good, righteous"); KBR kibbir ("great, large"); KLL kalil ("entire"); LNY lifani ("former, earlier, past, preceding, prior"); NST nista ("dangerous, fearsome"); Z 'az(z) ("strong"); SDQ siddiq ("good, righteous"); S'R sa'ir ("small, minor, lesser"); QDS qiddis ("holy, sacred"); RB rab ("many"); R ra( ) ("bad, evil"); SLM salem ("whole, intact"); SPR 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., ZSabuh ("sacrificed"); MH$B mehassab ("settled"); MYLL m$yullal ("mourned, lamented"); PSL pasil ("sculpted").

la. 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 SM NM ("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 MN$BT PSLT ("a sculpted stele"); 26 A II 7/8 SBT N'MT ("good living"); NPu Poen. 935 yth thymmooth ("time past"); NPu IRT 893.4/5ilim sebuim ("sacrificed gods"); NPu 161.2 RST RBT ("many lands").

Rules governing the use of the definite article with the descriptive adjective are difficult to formulate for want of a sufficient repertoire 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 HLMN HQD$M ("The holy gods"); 24.9 HMLKM HLPNYM ("The kings who preceded <me>"). The noun without the definite article: NPu 145 I 4 LM QYD$ ("The holy god"); 14.22 LNM HQD- $M '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: RST DGN H'DRT ("The great grain regions"); NPu 161.1/2 MLK [MJ]SLYM 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 'LN M HQDSM '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 [HMQDS]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 LT'TY 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 HWY KL MPLT HBTM 'L, "It was he who re-paired 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 'WGΣTS, "All the metal objects of the god Augustus."

MPHR'T

ALL, lit., COLLECTION, ENTIRETY
Byb 4.3/6 Y'RK B'LŠMM WB'L<T> GBL WMΦHR'T '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 HWY KL MPLT HBTM 'L, "It was he (King Yeh-himilk) who restored all the ruined buildings/temple hereabouts."
MSK

FEW, lit., RESTRICTED (SMALL) NUMBER

14.2/3 NGQLT 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'M

GOOD, EXCELLENT, lit., GOODNESS, EXCELLENCE

26 A I 12/13 WP B'BT P'LN KL MLK BSDQY WBHKMTY 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!”

RŠT

FINEST, BEST, lit., FIRST QUALITY

31.1 'Z YTN LB'L LBNN 'DNY BR'ST NHŠT, “This <cup>, made of the best copper, did he present to his Lord, Baal of Lebanon.”

RB

MANY, lit., GREAT NUMBER, LARGE AMOUNT

26 A III 4/6 LTTY B'L KRNTYS WLQ 'LN QRT L'ZTWD 'RK YMM WRB ŠNT, “Baal-KRNTYS 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.”

'N

EVIL, 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.”

MLK

ROYAL, lit., KINGSHIP, ROYAL POWER

Byb 1.2 THTSP HTR MŠPTH THTPK KS' MLKH, “His imperial sceptre shall break, his royal throne shall overturn.”
MŠPT
IMPERIAL, lit., IMPERIUM, ROYAL POWER

Byb 1.2 THTSP HTR MŠPTTH THTPK KS’ MLKH, “His imperial sceptre shall break, his royal throne shall overturn.”

III. THE NISBE NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

A. Morphology

Inflection

Sg. M.

-Ŷ -i

Ph 53.2. 54.2 $SDNT$ (“Sidonian”); 54.1 ’ŠQLNT (“Ascalonian”)

-’

Pu CIS $i$ 359.4/5 ŠN (“second”); RES 910 ŠLŠ (“third”); DR’ dūrī (“enduring”)

Sg. F.

-Ť -iť

Ph 59.1 $SDNT$ (“Sidonian”)

Pl. M.

-ŶM -īm

Ph 26 A 1 5/6 DNNYM (“Danunians”); FK A 9 A/B; B 40.2; F 1.3, 5, 6 KRSTYM (“Corsic”); 60.7 $SDNYM$ (“Sidonians”)

NPu 118.2 LWBYM (“Lybians”); 153.4 LBYM (“Lybians”)

-M

Ph 13.1, 14.14 $SDNM$ (“Sidonians”)

-em

NPu D 2.8, 5.11 [Lyb]em (“Libyans”)

-im

Pu Poen. 1023 Ponnim (“Phoenician”)

NPu LA 1 p. 45 no. 4.5 Sorim (“Tyrians”)

Pl. F.

-ŶT -iyyūt

Ph-Pu-NPu Not recorded

Comments

The Sg. M. form- ī is the reflex of original -iyy; reflected in the retained historical spelling -Ŷ. In Punic, the Sg. M. was occasionally spelled phonetically with aleph. The Sg. F. -iť is the reflex of -iýt. 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 -ım; however, the historical spelling -YM, which reflects the primitive pronunciation -iyim, 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 ʾŠMN'ZR MLK ȘDNM, “Esmunazor, King of the Sidonians.”

54.1 ʾNK ŠM BN ‘BD ʾSTR'T ʾSQNY, “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 (=Pro-consul) 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 ʾŠMN'DNY ȘRDŁ BN ʾBDMLQRT BN RŠPTN ML$ 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 ML$ (H)KRSYM meliš 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).

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 [SK]R DR’ L’LM L’B, “<This is> a permanent memorial forever to a <good> father.” Obs. The adjective DRY durì (“permanent, enduring”) is formed from the noun DR dûr < dûr (“eternity”); cf. Akkadian dâriu.

5. Forming Nouns and Adjectives from Prepositions

LPNY lip(a)nî (“first, earlier, former, past”) < LPN lip(a)nê (“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‘LTBL P‘L HLPNY{H}M, “I accomplished what my predecessors (lit., the preceding ones) did not accomplish.”

NPU 137.5 B‘SR WŠB‘ LYRHM MP‘ LPNY, “On the seventeenth of the month of First Mufa.”
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) Piel (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 $QR' qaro' < qara'$ 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 *liqtöl*; (iv) Suffixing Form *qatol* < *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 *liqtöl*.

Presented here is a preliminary summary of the correspondences between Form and Use (Tense, Aspect, Mood):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Use (Tense, Aspect, Mood)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixing Form</td>
<td>Present Perfective</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Past Perfective</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jussive/Optative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Consecutive (Unmarked)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prefixing Form A</td>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present Imperfective</td>
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<td>Prefixing Form B</td>
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<td>Future Imperfective</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jussive/Optative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prefixing Form C</td>
<td>Jussive/Optative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Participle</td>
<td>Surrogate for the Active Verb (All Tenses)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participial (Action in Progress, all Tenses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Participle</td>
<td>Surrogate for Past Perfective</td>
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<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infinitive Absolute</td>
<td>Paranomastatic</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Past Perfective</td>
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<td>Consecutive (Unmarked)</td>
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<td>Verbal Noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infinitive Construct</td>
<td>Infinitive (Object of Certain Verbs)</td>
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<td>Future</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jussive/Optative</td>
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<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>Gerundial</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Expressing Temporal Clause</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 țTN țaton (“he gave”), as well as stative verbs, such as 60.1 țM 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 qutele, 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 düber düber (“says,” masc. sg.); and the Passive Participle was qatūl: IRT 893.5 sebūhim (“sacrificed,” masc. pl.). The Imperative was q°tol 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 lifūl (“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[Ș] 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 *NȘT* nista’ (“dangerous,” lit., “feared”).

PI’EL and PU’AL

The Suffixing Form of the PI’EL strong verb was qittel (qettel, qittil): NPu *IRT 892.3 bycys biqqis (“he requested”) and the Prefixing Form yeqettel (<*yeqattel): 14.5 *TBQS yebeqqes (“he seeks”); the PU’AL was quttal an&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 *CCCY of the Suffixing Form, with the mater lectionis *Y indicating the first of the thematic vowels: *HTDS hiddes (“he restored”); 119.2; 123.2 *TN’ tinnef (“he erected”). The Active Participle was meqettel: Pu 66.1 *M’RH me’erreḥ (“host,” title of the god Esmun), found in Greek and Latin letters as Μηρρη and Merre respectively; the Passive Participle was mequttal: NPu 161.2 *MYLL meyullal (“mourned”). The Imperative (masc. sg.) was qettel: NPu Augustine messe messēh (“anoint!”). The Infinitive Absolute was qettel: 26 A I 6 *ML* melel(’ (“fill”); and the Infinitive Construct was liqettel: Pu CIS i 5510.6 *LSLM lisellem (“to greet”).

YIP’IL

In Standard Phoenician and Punic, the Suffixing Form of the strong verb had the form *YCCC yiqtēl: 14.17 *YȘBNY yūsebnuyo (“we caused him to reside”); 42.4 *YQDS 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 *YȘBM  ’NK yūsebom ’anikī (“I caused them to dwell”); Pu Poen. 943 iulec anec yūleq ’anik (“I brought”).

In Neo-Punic, the Suffixing Form was iqṭēl, written in the following ways:
The Prefixing Form of the strong verb was yiqtel: NPu Poen. 1027 iyryla yr’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 iulek yulek (“bring”); the Infinitive Construct was liyeqtel (Pu leqtel): Pu CIS I 5510.6 LYRH liyerih (“to make welcome”); cf. later Pu 79.7 LSR lesir (“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 tosma‘ bad’nom (“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 HTQDS itqededes (“he sanctified himself”); CIS I 5522.2 HTRŠM (“he signed himself in”).

’YTCCC 119.4 ’YTKD W ittekkedu (“they mutually resolved”).

The Suffixing Form of the Yitpe’el is attested but once, in Phoenician: 24.10 YTLK yittelkekū (“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: \textit{THTSP (tihtasap) HTR MŠPTH 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 \textit{WH' YMH SPRH LPP ŠBL}, “If he shall erase its inscription, his royal robe shall be twisted up (lupep).”

Pu Poen. 1027 \textit{Gunebte!}, “I have been robbed!” Obs. The verb is the inner passive (suffixing form) of the Qal.

NPu 134.1/2 \textit{TN' BN Ñ LPLKS 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 \textit{NGZLT BL 'TY}, “I was snatched away not at my time.”

Pu Poen. 940/41 \textit{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 \textit{NP'L' ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L' BŠT HŠPTM 'BDMLQRT TBHPY W'RŠ}, “These six seats were made in the year of the Suffetes Abdmilqart Tapapius and Aris.”

3. By the Third Plural of the Active Voice

14.5 \textit{'L YBQŠ BN MNM K 'T 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 \textit{WMY BL HZ KTN LMN'RY WBYMY KSY BS}, “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 PBR 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 sili (“Live long!,” lit., “May my lord live long!”). Also in the third person: Pu 1141 hauo bene sili (“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 Sr 'S 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 pa'alti ("I built"); 14.2 Nqzlt nigzalti ("I was snatched away"); 26 A I 8 šbRT ("I smashed"), et passim

-\(TT\) Npu 145.6 k'tbTy ("I have written down")

-te Pu Poen. 941 bate ("I have come"), Poen.1027 gunebte ("I have been robbed"), Poen. 947 nasote ("I have brought, I bring")

-ti Pu Poen. 940 caruti ("I call")

-thi Npu Poen. 930 carothi qaroṭi ("I call"); Poen. 931 mysethi ("I have come"); Poen. 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 Qnt qanīta ("you have acquired")

-ta Pu Poen. 1017 iadata yada'\(a\) ("you know")

Sg. 2. F.
-\(T\) -ti

Pu 50.3 šlHT salaḥti ("you will send")
### Sg. 3. M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø-o</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>41.6 ŠM' samo' (&quot;hear, heard&quot;); 60.1 TM tam (&quot;it was good&quot;), et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>64.1 NDR nador (&quot;he vowed&quot;); Poen. 942 con kon (&quot;he was&quot;) et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>121.2 P'L WŶQDS fel u'iqdes (&quot;he made and dedicated&quot;); IRT 873.2/3 fel . . . uïntseb fel u'inšeb (&quot;he made and erected&quot;), et passim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sg. 3. F.

#### FORM A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø-a</td>
<td>Byb</td>
<td>10.8 ŠM' šim'a (&quot;she heard&quot;), 10.8 P'L pe'la (&quot;she made&quot;); cf. archaic EA 106.10/11 šīhtat (&quot;it has been destroyed&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>33.2 YTN yitna (&quot;she presented&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIS i 5945 P'L (&quot;she made&quot;); CIS i 4937.4 ŠPT (&quot;she will adjudge&quot;); CIS I 5510.3 'ML 'amla (&quot;it will wither&quot;), et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>136.2 MT' méta (&quot;she died&quot;), 136.4 KN' kóna (&quot;she was&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 1141 haua hawa (&quot;may she live long!&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>AI 2 1926 no. 29 aua (&quot;she lived&quot;); IRT 826.1/2, 901.2/4 fela (&quot;she made&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Form with Affixed Object Pronouns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-T-at-</td>
<td>Byb</td>
<td>10.2 P'LTN pe'latni (&quot;she made me&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>RB 1916 p. 576-9, Pl. IV HW'T hiwâvato (&quot;may she make him live long!&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIS i 3783.6 NKST niksato (&quot;she will cut him off&quot;); CIS I 4945.4/6 QBT qibbatu (&quot;she will curse him&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pl. 1. C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| -N-nu | Ph   | 14.15, 17 BNN banînu ("we built"); 14.16, 17 YŠBN yâsibnu ("we caused to dwell"); 14.19 YSPN yasapnu ("we an-
**THE SUFFIXING FORM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1. C.</td>
<td>Npu</td>
<td>145.11 <strong>PLN</strong> (&quot;we made&quot;); 159.5 <strong>TSPN</strong> (&quot;we added&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-<strong>N</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Npu</td>
<td>Maqtar B <strong>KN</strong> <code>kannu (&quot;we were&quot;)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2. M</td>
<td>Npu</td>
<td>163.1 <strong>KNTM</strong> <code>kantim (&quot;you were&quot;)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td><strong>Poen. 1023 sycartim s'kartim (&quot;you remember&quot;)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 3. C.</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>47.1 <strong>NDR</strong> <code>nedrā (&quot;they vowed&quot;)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td><strong>CIS i 5510.10 TMK</strong> (&quot;they seized&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu-Npu</td>
<td>130.5 <strong>PL’</strong> (&quot;they made&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Npu</td>
<td><strong>IRT 889.2, 906.1 felu fe(’)lū (&quot;they made&quot;)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Npu</td>
<td><strong>IRT 865 felun fe(’)lūn (&quot;they made&quot;)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 **CaCaCa** and sound-change *a > i* in the initial closed unstressed syllable; this form is seen in 14th century B.C. Byblian *šıḥtat* and in Neo-Punic **fela felá < fe’lā < 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. *CaCat* + feminine inflectional ending -*a*. Thus the contrastive morphology: Hebrew *banētá* ("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 unlawful* (*we were") and by the fact that Form B of the direct object suffixal pronouns is used with the verb, e.g., *YSNNM yasapnu-nom* ("we annexed").

Pl. 2. M.: The second masculine plural inflectional ending was -*tim*, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>BRKT</em> barakti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>50.2 (&quot;I bless&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>garasth</em> garast(i)</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>D 6.5/6 (&quot;I expelled&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[K]TBT</em> katabti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>43.13 (&quot;I wrote&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>N$HT</em> nasahtí</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>CIS i 91.2 (&quot;I defeated&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>P'LT</em> pa’alti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>24.4 (&quot;I did&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>SMRT</em> samarti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>43.13 (&quot;I nailed&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>TMKT</em> tamakti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>24.13 (&quot;I took&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>TRQT</em> taraqti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>26 A (&quot;I rooted out&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-t-n</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>43.9 (&quot;I placed&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>YTT</em> yatatti</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>43.9 (&quot;I sat&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IIweak

[B]’T bati  Ph  49 34 At (“I came”)
bate  bati  Pu  Poen. 941 (“I have come”).
KT  katti  Ph  24.6,10 (“I was”)
ŠT  satti  Ph  24.11; 26 A
sath  satti(i)  NPu  D 6.9 (“I made”)

III 'aleph

QR’T  qarōti  Byb  10.7 (“I invoked”)
caruti  qarōti  Pu  Poen. 940 (“I invoke”)
carothi  qarōti  NPu  Poen. 930 (“I invoke”)
nasote  nasōti  Pu  Poen. 947 (“I carry; I share”)
nasothi  nasōti  NPu  Poen. 937

Sg. 2. M.

Iy
iadata  yada’ta  Pu  Poen. 1017 (“you know”)

III y

QN’T  qanīta  NPu  Trip. (“you have acquired”)

Sg. 2. F.

ŠLHT  salaḥti  Ph  50.5/6 (“you shall send!”)

Sg. 3. M.

Strong
aros  ‘a＜os  NPu  S 24.5 (“he requested”)
P’L  pa’ol  Ph  26 A III 15 (“he made”)
σαμω  samo’  Pu  175.4 (“he heard”)
samo  samo’  Pu  CIL I 2407; viii 12331 (Balsamo)
y-t-n

YYN  yaton  Ph  41.1 (“he gave”)
iaton  yaton  Pu  CIL viii 16011 (Baliaton)
iathlon  yaton  Pu  CIL viii 27155 (Sidiathones)
ικθων  yaton
Inun
NDR  nador  Pu  79.3 (“he vowed”)
ναδωρ  nador  Pu  175.3 (“he vowed”)
**THE VERB**

\[NŠ' \text{nasō'}\] Pu \(\text{CIS I 3781.1f} \) ("he brought")

\[KN \text{kon}\] Ph \(40.5\)

\[con \text{kon}\] Pu \(\text{Poen. 946} \) ("it was")

\[chon \text{kon}\] NPU \(\text{Poen. 936} \) ("it was")

\[\text{II 'aleph}\]

\[\text{sal sal (Neo-Punic)}\] NPU \(\text{D 6.10} \) ("he asked")

\[\text{II 'ayin}\]

\[\text{P'L } \text{pa'ol}\] Ph \(60.3\)

\[\text{fel fel}\] Pu \(\text{Poen. 944}\)

\[\text{fel fel}\] NPU \(\text{Poen. 936; Trip. 828.1; IRT 877.2.}\)

\[\text{nem nem}\] Pu \(\text{In the name Giddenem} \) ("My luck be good")

**Ilgem.**

\[\text{HN } \text{han}\] Pu \(\text{CIL v 4920; viii 68 Ammicar HN-MLQRT} \) ("Milqart show favor")

\[\text{ann- } \text{hann-}\] Pu \(\text{CIL v 4920 Annobal} \) ("Baal favor him!")

\[\text{an- } \text{han-}\] Pu \(\text{CIL viii 508 Annibal} \) ("Baal favor me!")

\[\text{sab sab}\] NPU \(\text{Dreder 6.8} \) ("it encircled")

\[\text{TM tam}\] Ph \(60.1 \) ("it was deemed good")

\[\text{TM tam}\] NPU \(134.3 \) ("he was righteous")

**Illy**

\[\text{hauo hawo}\] Pu \(\text{Poen. 1141} \) ("may he live long!")

\[\text{auo awo } < \text{hawo}\] NPU \(\text{IRT 879.3; IRT 894.4} \) ("he lived")

\[\text{HZ hazo}\] Ph \(24.11,12 \) ("he saw")

\[\text{YD yado}\] Ph \(30.4 \) ("he expelled")

\[\text{'L } \text{'alo}\] Ph \(\text{CIS i 112 A 1, B 2, C 2} \) ("he sailed upstream")

**Sg. 3. F.**

\[\text{Strong}\]

\[\text{'RŠ } \text{'ersa}\] Pu \(\text{Pyrgi} \) ("she requested")

\[\text{P'L pe'la}\] Byb \(10.8 \) ("she made")

\[\text{N'DR nedra}\] Pu \(87.4 \) ("she vowed")

\[\text{N'DR' nedra}\] Pu \(88.23 \) ("she vowed")

\[\text{sihtat sihtat}\] Arch Byb EA 106.10/11 ("it has been destroyed")

\[\text{ŠM' sem'a}\] Ph \(\text{Byb 10.8} \) ("she heard")
With object pronoun:

**P'LTN** pe'lat-ni (?) Byb 10.2 ("she made me")

**NKST** neksat-o (?) Pu *CIS* i 3783.6 ("she will cut him off")

**KN* kôna** NPU 136.4 ("she was")

**MT* métâ** NPU 136.2 ("she died")

**HNN** hanna Byb 10.10 ("may she show favor")

**TM* tamma** NPU NP 55.2 ("she was righteous")

With object pronoun:

**QBT** qabbato Pu *CIS* i 494.5 ("she will curse him")

**haua** hawa Pu *Poen.* 1141 ("may she live long!")

**aua** awa < hawa NPU *AI* 2 1928 no. 29 ("she lived")

Pl. 1. C.

Strong

**P'LN** felnu < NPU 145.11 ("we made")

**YSPN** yasapnu Ph 14.20 ("we added")

**YSPN** yasapnu NPU 159.5 ("we added")

**KN* kannu** NPU *Mactar B IV* 1 ("we were")

**BNN** baninu Ph 14.17 ("we built")

Pl. 2. M.

Strong

**sucartim** s'kartim Pu *Poen.* 1023 ("you remember")

**KNMTM** kantim NPU 163.1 ("you were")

Pl. 3. C.

Strong

**felu** fe(')lû NPU *S* 24.2; *IRT* 906.1 ("they made")

**BN** banô Ph 19.1,9 ("they built")

**BNN* banô** Pu 101.1 ("they built")

**bano** banô NPU *PBSR* 28 53 no. 6.4 ("they built")

Ph pa'alnu

IIwy
THE VERB

$B’$ bō’ū

$KN$ kōnū

$KN$ kōnū

$KN'$ kōnū

$ŠM$ sómū

$ŠT$ sótū

II ‘ayin

$P’L$ pelū

$PHL’$ felū <pe’lū

felu felū

felun felūn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1. C.</th>
<th>gunebte gunebi</th>
<th>Pu</th>
<th>Poen. 1027 (“I have been robbed”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 3.M.</td>
<td>$LPP$ lupep</td>
<td>Byb</td>
<td>1.2 (“it will be twisted up”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NIP’AL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1. C.</th>
<th>$NGZLT$ negzalti</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>14.2,12 (“I was snatched away”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 3. M.</td>
<td>$N’NS$ ne’nos</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>69.20 (“he will be fined”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>$NP’L$ nep’al</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>RES 1204.1 (“it was made”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$NPL’$(!)</td>
<td>nef’al</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Trip. 79.5 (“it was built”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIy</td>
<td>$NBN’$ nebno</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>146.1 (“it was built”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$neso$</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 943 (“he was made”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sg. 3. F. | $NP’L’$ nef’ala   | NPu| Trip. 78.1 (old no) (“it was made”) |
|           | $NTN$ nettana     | Pu | 69.18 (“it shall be given”)       |

Pl. 3. C.
\( \text{NP' } \text{nef' } \text{alū} \) \( \text{NP' } \text{nef' } \text{alū} \)
\( \text{y-t- } \text{n} \)
\( \text{NNTN } \text{nintanū} \)
\( \text{l- } \text{q- } \text{h} \)
\( \text{NLQH'} \text{nelqa(h)}u \)
137.5 ("they were made")
130.1 ("they were made")
137.6 ("they were given")
122.2 ("they were purchased")

**PI'EL**

Sg. 1. C.
Strong
\( \text{ŠLMTY } \text{sillemti} \)
III 'aleph
\[ \text{TN' tine(')ti} \]
\[ \text{mysethi misse(')ti} \]
NPu NPu NPu NPu
137.5 ("they were made")
130.1 ("they were made")
137.6 ("they were given")
122.2 ("they were purchased")

\( \text{CIS } \) i 600.4 ("I erected")
\( \text{Poen. } \) 931 ("I have come")

Sg. 3. M.
\[ \text{DR } \text{idder} \]
\[ \text{byclx } \text{bixqis} \]
\[ \text{HDS } \text{hiddles} \]
\[ \text{HYDS } \text{iddes } \text{hiddles} \]
\[ \text{TN' tine(')} \]
\[ \text{vese } \text{nessel(')} \]
\[ \text{ŠYLK } \text{sillek} \]
\[ \text{sillek } \text{sillek} \]
\[ \text{sillech } \text{sillek} \]
\[ \text{celeph } \text{sillem} \]
Pu Pu Pu Pu Pu Pu
Pu Pu Ph Pu
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph
Pu Pu Ph

138.6 ("he restored")
62.1 ("he restored")
119.2; 123.2; 127; 143.2
174,1/7 (\( \text{NŠ} \) "he gave")
In name 138.2) \( \text{B'LŠYLK} \) ("Baal save!")
In name 4919 \text{Balsillecis.}
and \text{CIL viii 1249 Balsillex.}
In name \text{CIL viii 16 Balsilechis (})
In name \text{CIS i 119 Εσυμσελημοu ('}\text{SMNŠLM})
29.1 ("she presented")
80.1 ("they restored")

**PU'AL**
Sg. 3. F.

\textit{TJV} tunna’a

\textit{T JV} tunna’a

NPu 134.1 (“it was erected”)

NPu 133.1 (“it was erected”)

YIP’IL

Sg. 1. C.

Strong

\textit{YTN’T} yitne’(t)i

Ph 35.2 (“I erected”)

\textit{YQDS’T} yiqdesti

Ph 43.9,14 (“he dedicated”)

\textit{YŠBT} yūsebti

Ph 26 A II 1 (“I caused to dwell”)

\texttt{ly}

\textit{YŠT} yisitti

Ph 43.7 (“I made to be placed”)

Sg. 3. M.

Strong

\textit{YTN’} yitne’(t)

Ph 41.1/2 (“he erected”)

\texttt{y-s-b}

\textit{YQDS} yiqdes

Ph 42.4 (“he dedicated”)

\textit{YQDS’} iqdes

NPu 118.1; 121.2; 129.2; 138.6

\texttt{ly}

\textit{utseb} utseb

NPu D 5.19 (“he erected”); \textit{IRT} 892.5; \textit{IRT} 893.6/7

\textit{uxeb} úteb

NPu \textit{IRT} 893.6/7 (“he erected”)

\textit{y-s-b}

\textit{YPYQ-} ipiq-

NPu 153.3 (“he found; he acquired”)

\texttt{ty}

\textit{H’L} i’lo

NPu Mactar B II 2/3 (“he raised”).

\texttt{y-s-b}

\textit{YGN} igin

NPu 124.2 (“he roofed”)

\textit{HTM} itim

NPu 124.4 (“he completed it”)

Sg. 3. F.

\textit{YTN’} yitne’a

Ph 40.3 (“she erected”)

Pl. 1. C.

\textit{y-s-b}
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 *banâ* ("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'lu*: when the laryngeals and pharyngeals were lost, came to be pronounced *fela* and *felu* 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 *felioth* *fellot* ("work"), created in analogy to nouns such as Poen. 947 *helicot* *helikòt* ("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* *tinteni* ("you gave") and in the Neo-Punic Niph'al Suffixing Form 137.6 *NNTN* *nintenu* ("they were given").

Verbs *Iy* exhibit loss of the initial *y* in the Hitpe'el: Npu 119.4 *'YTKDW* ittekkedû ("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 ŠLḤ YD, “Each extended his arm.”
24.13 ‘NK TMYT MŠKB M LYD, “I took the mškb 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 Ĥ ‘BD KN LBT MPŠ, “None was a vassal of the House of Mopsos.”
26 A II 10/11 B’L WRŠP . . . ŠLḤN LBNT, “Baal and Rasep commissioned me to build it”.

1a-2. Direct Object Precedes
31.1 ‘Z YT LBL LBNN ‘DNY, “He gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord.”
18.3 YT HŠ’R Z WHDLHT Ĥ L P’ŁT BTKLY BNTY, “I built this gate and its doors at my own expense.”
26 A I 21-II 1 WDNNYM TŠBT ŠM, “And I settled Danunians there.”
43.12/13 HDLT HNHŠT [Z KT]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 Ĥ P’ŁT BL P’Ł HLPNY{H}M, “My predecessors did not accomplish what I accomplished.”
26 A I 14/15 BMQMM B’S KN ’ŠM R’M, “In places in which there were bad men.”
26 A I 19 HMLKM Ĥ KN LPNY, “The kings who were before me.”

1a-4. Prepositional Phrase Precedes
43.7 ’BḤY ‘BY YT TBMQDS MLQT 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 BS, “In my days, they dressed him in byssus.”
26 A I 12/13 B’BT P’LN KL MLK BŞDQY WBHKMTY 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 YT N LN ‘DN MLKM ‘YT D‘R WTPY*, “Moreover, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa.”
60.3 *KBN ‘YT HSR BT ‘LM*, “Because he built the temple court.”

1a-6. Presentative Particle Precedes

1a-7. Negative Particle Precedes
14.5 ‘Y ŠM BN MNM*, “They put nothing in it.”
26 A II 19 *BL ‘N KL HMLKM ‘S KN LPNT* “<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 SDNM 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 RBTN 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‘ ‘LMN MHJNT ŠKTY 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 MSNZMŠ BYMT ‘ZWŠŠ W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> LMSN‘ZMS 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 STY 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 STY 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[ . . . J, (“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 [HMQDS] . . . ’PDT BK[S]P MŠQ K 100 W 2, “And I made an 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 ŶT HMTBH Z. “They rebuilt this slaughtering altar.”

Pu 115.1/2 ŠLM BDŠSTRT BN BDŠMN ŶT NDRM, “Bostar son of Bodesmun fulfilled his vow.”

Pu RCL 1961 p. 201 line 1 PTH WP'L ŶT HHS Z. “They opened and made this street.”

NPU 130.1 NP'L ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L' BŠT HŠPTM 'BDMLQRT TBHPY WRŠ, “These six seats were made in the year of the suffetes Abdmilqart Tapapius and Aris.”


NPU 141.1 TN 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 YTN' BTŠLM . . . 'L BN BNY . . . ŠLŠT BN MRYHY . . . HNDR Š KN NDR 'BNM MRYHY BHYY L'DNM 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 SPN,** "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 (**NS'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 hospitalem 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 Punicum?

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 **BRKB'L . . . YT 'ZTW,** "Baal bless Aztwadda!"

26 A III 7 **WKN HQRT Z B'LT ŠB' . . . W'M Z 'Š YŠB BN YKN B'L 'LP,** "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) ḃḏt ‘t ṣby ḫṣm, “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 Ṭšktṭy ḥ ’m-h’ty, ” 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 ṭm mlk bmlkm . . . ṣ ṭmḥ ṣm ṣztwd bšr ṣ . . . ṭmḥ b ’lšmm . . . ṣṭ hmlk Ḣ, “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 ṣ ṭbl ṭb ṣṭ wntn lpḥ hktbt ṣ [. . .], “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 bs’ṭ qsrṭ w_mtx ḥʾrt ḥšlmm ḥw-p’mm ḥʾr ḥš’r lb’l ḥzbḥ, “Of the sw’t and the qsrṭ and the ḥšlṭ <of a slaughtered animal>, the skin and the flanks and the feet and the rest of the meat shall belong to the sacrificer.”
As for any priest who shall take a payment in excess of that listed in this inscription, he shall be fined.

As for anyone who shall remove this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall adjudge the intent of that person.

As for anyone who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him!

As for any person who shall steal this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall cut him off!

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:

"As for him who shall erase this inscription, Baal of the Club shall smash his head!"

"As for anyone who shall steal this stone, Baalhammon shall cut him off."

Obs. 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.

"But if he shall erase its [the coffin's] inscription, his long royal robe shall be twisted up."

"When I pay you back, you shall send me the quittance."

"<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  \textit{W'D YT\text{\textquotesingle}N} (yat\text{\textquotesingle}n) LN 'YT D'R WYPY . . . WYS\text{\textquotesingle}PNM (yas\text{\textquotesingle}pnunom) 'L\text{\textquotesingle}T GBL 'R\text{\textquotesingle}S, "Moreover, he gave to us Dor and Joppa, and we annexed them to the territory of the state."

24.6/7  \textit{K\text{\textquotesingle}N BT 'BY BMTKT MLKM 'DRM WLK ŠL\text{\textquotesingle}H (sal\text{\textquotesingle}h) YD LL[H]M WKTL' (katt\text{\textquotesingle}l) 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 \textit{W\text{\textquotesingle}DNYM Y\text{\textquotesingle}ŠBT} (y\text{\textquotesingle}sebt\text{\textquotesingle}) ŠM WKN (kon\text{\textquotesingle}u) BYMTY 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 \textit{WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS . . . W\text{\textquotesingle}ŠBRT ML\text{\textquotesingle}SM . . . WTRQT KL R' Š KN B'RŠ WY\text{\textquotesingle}TN'T BT 'DN'T 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 \textit{BHY 'BY YTT} (yat\text{\textquotesingle}tti) \textit{WYQDŠT} (yiqdesti) \textit{H\text{\textquotesingle}YT ŠGYT GBL ŠD N\text{\textquotesingle}N\text{\textquotesingle}K 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 \textit{WP'LT} (pa\text{\textquotesingle}lt\text{\textquotesingle}) 'NK . . . 'PDT BK[S]P . . . WYQDŠT (yiqdesti) L'DN ['Š LY LMLQJRT, "And I made an ephod of silver and dedicated it to my Lord Milqart."

60.3/4 \textit{K BN} (bano) 'YT HŞR BT 'LM WP'L (pa\text{\textquotesingle}ol) 'YT KL 'Š 'LTY, "Because he built the temple court and did everything with which he was charged."

Pu \textit{CIS}i 5510.9/11 \textit{WYLK} (\text{\textquotesingle}yelek\text{\textquotesingle}) RBM 'DNB'L BN GRSKN HRB W\text{\textquotesingle}HMLKT BN ŤN HRB 'LŚ WTMK (tam\text{\textquotesingle}k\text{\textquotesingle}) HMT 'YT 'GRGNT W\text{\textquotesingle}ŠT (sot\text{\textquotesingle}l) 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 $yMh$ (yimhe) $šM$ '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 $yP'ln$ (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 $yMr$ (yimar) LMHT 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 $nP$ ('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 (liktob: future periphrastic) H'DMM . . . 'LT MŠBT HRŠ WYTNY (yitn'uya) 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 WB$šW'T YK[N (yakunu) LM 'LT PN HMŠ'T Z QSRT] WŠLT 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 WT$TN$ (titten) [LY HRBT B]'LT GBL HN... WHN ($hanna) 'M 'R$š Z, “May the Lady Baalt of Byblos grant me favor, and may she show favor to the people of this land!”
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 (-N); in contrast, Forms B and C ended in -ū (-O; Pu -). 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

**BT** *bit*  
Ph 14.15; 29.1; 50.1

QAL

Sg. 1. C.

Strong

'P'L *'ep'al*  
Ph 26 C III 17 (“I shall make”)

'S'L *'es'al*  
Ph 48.2/3 (“I ask”)

"L *'edle*  
Ph 13.4 (“I possess”)

**este** *'este*  
Pu *Poen.* 1141 (“I shall drink”)

**y-t-n**

'T(N)- *'etten*  
Pu 89.2 (“I give”)

Sg. 2. M.
Strong
*TP[']L* tip'al  Ph  Byb 9 B 3 ("you shall make")
*TPTH* tip'tah  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
*YM'R* yūmer  Ph  26 C III 14/15 ("he shall contemplate")
*YŽBH* yizbaḥ  Pu  69.15 ("he shall sacrifice")
*YHMD* yahmod  Ph  26 A III 14 ("he loves")
*YM'S* ya'mos  Ph  14.7 ("he shall carry off")
*Y'P'L* yip'al  Ph  26 A III 16 ("he shall make")
*YPTH* yiptah  Ph  14.7 ("he shall open")
*YŠT* yista'  Ph  26 A II 4 ("he used to fear")

In
*YŠ* yissa(')  Ph  14.7 ("he shall take away")
*YŠ* yissa'  Ph  26 A III 15,17 ("he shall pull out")
IIwy
*YKN* yakūn  Ph  26 A IV 2 9 ("it shall be")
IIIy
*YM'H* yimhe  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.
IIIy
neste neste  Pu  *Poen.* 1142 ("we shall drink")

Pl. 2. M.
Strong
*timlacun* timlakūn  Pu  *Poen.* 940P ("you rule")
*thylachun* timlakūn  NPu  *Poen.* 931 ("you rule")
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<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td><strong>YDBRN</strong> yidborūn</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>14.6 (“they shall say”)</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>YSGRN</strong> yisgorūn</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>14.9, 21 (“they shall lock up”)</td>
<td>14.9, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YŠ’N</strong> yissa’ān</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>60.6 (“they shall withdraw”)</td>
<td>60.6</td>
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**PI’EL**

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<th>IIIy</th>
<th><strong>TGL</strong> tegelle</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Byb 10.14 (“you shall disclose”)</th>
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<td>Sg. 3. M.</td>
<td>IIIy</td>
<td><strong>YQS-</strong> yeqesse</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIS i 3784.3 (“he shall cut off”)</td>
<td>3784.3</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Pl. 3. C.**

| IIIy | **YQSN** yeqessūn | Ph | 14.22 (“they shall cut off”) | 14.22 |

**YIP’IL**

| Sg. 2. M. | Iw | **TSR** tisīr | Ph | Byb 10.13/14 (“you shall remove”) | 10.13/14 |

| Sg. 3. M. | Strong | **YŠHT** yishīt | Ph | 24.15, 16 9 (“he will destroy”) | 24.15, 16 9 |
| Iy | **YSY** yūṣīp | Ph | Byb 10.10 (“he will continue”) | 10.10 |
| In | **YIZQ** yizziq | Ph | 24.14 9 (“he shall damage”) | 24.14 9 |

| Sg. 3. F. | **TSRH** tisriḥ | Ph | Byb 10.15 (“she shall make stink”) | 10.15 |

**YITPE’EL**

| Pl. 3. M. | h-l-k | **YTLKN** yittellikūn | Ph | 24.10 (“they used to go about”) | 24.10 |
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 Ilw (contrast Hebrew yaqom, with a-vowel) and the first person singular Yip'il Prefixing Form C Poen. 939 l-ythera (l-ii̇ra); (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'as-a-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 'YT KD ittekedū (“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 'ST T<L>K LHDY 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 YHMD 'YT HQRT Z, "Even if he loves this city."

48.2/3 L'LN M 'SL [TB]RK 'YT 'RB'T BNY, "I ask of you gods: Bless ye my four sons!"

Pu 89.2 'TK 'NKY MSLH 'YT 'M'ŠRT, "I, Meslih, commend (lit., give) to you Amastarte." Obs. 'TK (= 'TNK) corresponds to commend o tibi in related texts in Latin.

Pu Poen. 940P Et alonim ualonut caruti is timlacun (TM-
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 KLBLM, “In the presence of earlier kings, the mškm used to go about like dogs.” Obs. The non-literal translation of this statement is: “The mškm (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 LKLT DRK WBYMTY  ’NK  ’ŠT T<LM  KŁDY 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 HLTY MŠKBY LM YSGRN M ’LMN 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 WYQSN HMM LKLKT H’, “And they (he 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  ‘ZTDW BŠ’R Z . . . WYS’ HŠ’R Z . . . WYP’L L Š’R Z, “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 BHMDT YS’  ’M BR’  YS’  HŠ’R Z, “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 ZR, “I shall make another statue.”

60.6 YŠ’N BKSP ’LM B’L ŚDN DRKMN 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 \( W'M\ P'TH\ TPTH\ 'LTY\ldots\ 'L\ YKN\ LK\ ZR' \), “But if you shall open it, you shall not have offspring.”

14.6 \( P\ 'M\ DMM\ YDBRNK 'L\ TŠM' BD<BR>NM \), “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 \( W'M\ TSR\ M[L']KT 'Z' WTSG 'T\ PTHY 'Z\ DL\ YSDH 'LT\ MQM 'ZWTGL\ MSTRW\ TSRH\ HRBT\ B'LT\ GBL 'YT\ H'DM H' WZR'W, \) “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 \( WMY\ YŠHT\ HSPR 'Z\ YŠHT\ R'S\ B'L\ ŠMD\ldots\ YŠHT\ R'S\ B'LHMN\), “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 \( KL 'Š\ LGNB 'T'-BN 'Z\ B'LHMN\ YQSY', \) “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”)
1-itor (L'-TR) l-itor

Sg. 2. M.
Strong
TPTH tiptaḥ
TŠM' tisma'

Ph 13.3/4,5.6 ("you open")
Ph 14.6 ("you hear")

In
TŠ' tissa(′)

Pu CIS i 6001.1/2 ("you carry off")

Sg. 2. F.
Strong
TBRKY tibrokī
y-t-n
TNTN tittenī

Ph 29.2 ("you bless!")
Ph 50.3/4 ("you gave")

Sg. 3. M.
Strong
YBRK- yibrok
YPTH yiptah

Ph 38.2, 39.3, 40.5 ("may he bless!")
Ph 14.20 ("that he open")

IIw
YKN yakūn

Ph 14.8,13 ("it be")

IIIy
Y'L ya'il(e)

Ph 30.2 ("he came up")

Sg. 3. F.
Strong
TBRK tibrok
y-t-n
TTN titten

Ph Byb 10.8 ("may she bless!")
Ph Byb 10.9 ("may she give")

Pl. 2. M.
Strong
TBRK tibrokū
y-t-n
TTN tittenū

Ph 48.3 ("may you bless!")
Ph 48.4 ("may you give!")

Pl. 3. M.
Strong
Y'DR ye'daru
Y'B'D ya'bodū

Ph 26 A III 10 ("may they be strong!")
Ph 26 A III 10 ("may they serve")
**YP'IL- yip'alū**

_`Ly and h-l-k_

**YP'D yeda'ū**

**YP'D yeledū**

**YP'L yelekū**

**YP'B yabolū**

**NIP'AL**

Pl. 3. M.

Strong

**YP'B yabolū**

**PI'EL**

Sg. 2. M.

**YP'B yabolū**

**PI'EL**

Sg. 2. M.

**YP'B yabolū**

**YOP'AL**

Sg. 2. M.

**YP'B yabolū**

**Comments**

Prefixing Form B is morphologically distinguishable from Prefixing Form A in the forms of the second feminine singular, second mas-
cule 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 \( YB \ 'Y \ MP'T \ WH'S \ 'S \ [NGD]\ M \ L \ QBR \ Z \), “They came to the island (Cyprus), and the man who was their [leader], his is this tomb.”

30.2/3 \( Y'L \ HGBR \ Z \ '[L]S\ Y \ WY'BD \ H[\ldots] \ Z \ 'YT \ H'Y \), “This warrior came up to Alasia [Cyprus], and this [\ldots] 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 ’S 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 ’S 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 ḤN’ HRB ’LŠ WTMK HMT ’YT ’GRGN'T 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 Ιμιλκας αμα τω φωτι την δυναμιν εντος των τειχων παρεισαγαγων σχεδον απαντας τους εγκαταλείφεντας ανείλεν, “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 SDN DRKMNM 20 LMHT LKN YD’ HSĐNYM K YD’ HGW LŠLM HLPT ’YT ’DMM ’S 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'1 YBRK WYHWW, “Baal bless him and grant him long life!”
18.7/8 B'1ŠMM L'LM YBRKN, “Baalsamem bless me always!”
26 A III 7/8 W'M Z '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 HRPKRṬ YTN HYM L'BDY L'BD'ŠMN, “Harpocrates grant long life to my servant Abdesmun!”

R.D. Barnett, BMQ 27 (1963/4) 85 HRPKRṬ YTN HYM L'MS BN 'ŠMNYTN, “Harpocrates grant long life to Amos bin Esmun-yatlon!”

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 [WYN'T 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-ŠM' QL', “May he hear (lisma') 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 ŁYŠM'. The spelling ŁŠM' is “phonetic,” indicating the actual pronunciation with elision of intervocalic yod. ŁŠ'M['] is merely a spelling error for ŁŠM'['].

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 *,* 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 [TBRK '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 *TSM* QLM, “Hear thou (tisma) their voice!”

Pu CIS i 3604 *TSM* 'YT QLM, “Hear ye (tismaʿū) 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 T'R 'LTY,* “Let him not empty it out!”

14.21 *L T'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 YP TH '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 ŠRS 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 WYZQBSPR Z MŠKB M 'L YKBD LB'RRM WB'R-RM 'L YKBD LMŠKBM, “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 pronominal verbal particle l-

**Forms**

**YIP'IL**

Sg. 1

1-ythera _itira_ NPu _Poen. 939 (“let me inquire”) 

Sg. 3.M.

ierasa yer'asand Pu _Poen. 1027A (“may he make tremble”) iyryla yir’ila 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 'apoq(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  Poen. 1013 lec lek ("go"); D 6 un ("spare; show mercy!")
Grade II -a Pu  Poen. 1010 pursa pursa ("explain!")
Grade III -anna Pu  Poen. 1013 lacanna lēkanna ("go away!")

Sg. F.
-ī Ph  50.5 BTH bitī ("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 (PRS "explain!"), displayed the extending morpheme -a; (iii) Grade III, represented by lacanna lakanna (LK-N "go away!"), the Grade II imperative lēka (lek + -a; Hebrew lē'ka) 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 e'lēkanna ("let me go"); Genesis 18:21 'RDH-N e'⇌danna ("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

'\textit{MR}' \textit{\textsuperscript{7}mor} \quad \text{Ph} \quad 50.2 ("say!")

\textit{NSR} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}mor} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \textit{RES} 19.1, 20.1 ("protect!")

\textit{pursa} \textit{pursa} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \textit{Poen.} 1010 ("explain!")

\textit{SMR} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}mor} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \textit{RES} 19.1, 20.1 ("guard!")

\textit{IIIy}

\textit{KRY} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}re} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.3 (bis) ("buy!")

\textit{MN} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}ne} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.5 ("weigh out!")

\textsc{h-l-k}

\textit{lec} \textit{lek} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \textit{Poen.} 1013 ("go!")

\textit{lacanna} \textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}kanna} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \textit{Poen.} 1013 ("go away!")

\textit{IIwy}

\textit{HS} (\textit{h})\textit{us} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 79.5 ("be considerate!")

\textit{KN} \textit{k\textcircled{u}n} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.1, 8 ("be!")

\textit{Q'M} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}qm} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.3/4 ("remain!")

\textit{S'\textsuperscript{M}} \textit{\textsuperscript{v}im} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.2 ("place!")

\textsc{y-t-n}

\textit{TN} \textit{ten} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{162.4/5} ("give!")

\textit{un} (\textit{HN}) (\textit{h})\textit{un} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{D} 6.11 ("spare; show mercy!")

Sg. F.
Strong

\textit{BTH} \textit{\textsuperscript{b}ih\textsuperscript{h}i} \quad \text{Ph} \quad 50.5 ("trust!")

PI'EL

Sg. M.

\textit{messe} (\textit{M\textsc{SH}}) \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Aug. on the Gospel of John 15:27 ("anoint!")}

\textit{messe(\textit{h})}

\textsc{In}

\textit{HKR} \textit{akker} or \textit{ikker} \quad \text{NPU} \quad \text{Trip.} 86.4 ("remember!")
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 BTH BDBR[T], “You trust in my word(s)!”

NPu Trip. 86.3/4 B’T ‘T Š’M ʾT QʾM BB’T ‘T HKR S W’T KRY KRY ‘T HŚD ŠBNʾ HNʾ, “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 düber Pu Poen. 944, 948 (“says”)
dubyr dübir NPu Poen. 936 (“says”)
uryrs (h)ūris NPu PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 5.10 (“engraver”)
KHN kühen Ph Pu NPu 13.2, et passim (“Priest”)
MŠL müsel Ph 14.9 (“ruler”)
ŠMR sūmer Pu 62.7 (“watchman”)
ŠPT sūpeṭ Ph Pu NPu 78.8, et passim (“suf(f)es”)
III ’aleph

RP’ rūpe’ Pu CIS I 4884.6; CIS I 4885.5 (“healer; physician”)

IIly

BN būne Ph 46.6 (“builder”)

buny būni NPu IRT 906.4 (“builder”)

GRR gurer Pu CIS i 4873.3 (“sawyer”)

IIIGem.
Sg. F.

Strong

'TPT 'utept Pu RES 891.1 ("covers")
ŠKBT sūkebt Byb 11 ("lies; rests")

IIIw/y
KST kūsit Pu RES 891.1 ("covers; conceals")

Pl. M.

Strong
dobrim dōbrīm Pu Poen. 935 ("they say")
MŠLM mōṣlim NPu 120.1 ("rulers; tribunes")
P'LM pō'lim Ph 37 A 13 ("they work")
SPRM sōprīm Ph 37 A 15 ("scribes")

III 'aleph

Yṣ'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'RH mē'erreh Pu 66.1 ("host")
merre mē'erreh Pu 66.1 ("host")
μηρη mē'erreh Pu 66.1 ("host")

Pl. M.

MḤŠBM mēḥessebīm

YIP'IL

Strong

MYŠQL misqil NPu 121.1; 126.5 ("beautifier")
migdil migdil Pu Poen. 1033 ("magnifier")

Pu

MQM meqīm Ph 44.2 ("awakener")
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 ČūČēČ is reduced to zero in the plural form ČōČēČm, 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 gūrēr).

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Surrogate for Any Tense

1a. Expressing the Present Perfective

13.1 ’NK TBNT KHN ‘ŠRTT 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
HMŽBH, “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 Z 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”); MḤŠB mehesseb (“treasurer”); RP' rūfe(‘) (“physician,” lit., “one who cures”).
III. The Passive Participle

A. Morphology

Forms

Sg. F.

\[\text{TN}(') \text{tanū}(')t\] Pu CIS i 5510.7 ("was erected")

\[\text{TN}'t\] NPu 153.1 ("was erected")

\[\text{PSLT} \text{pasūlt}\] Pu 78.4 ("sculpted")

Pl. M.

\[\text{sebuim} \ z^b(h)\text{im}\] NPu IRT 893.5 ("sacrificed")

\[\text{TN}'m \ e\text{nū} 'im\] Pu 101.5 ("were placed")

\[\text{NS}'m \ e\text{sū} 'im\] Ph 60.4 ("were elected")

\[\text{ŠKNM} \ e\text{kūnim}\] 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 \text{TN}'t, which can only be understood as \text{tanūt} < \text{tanū}'t ("was erected").

B. Syntax and Usage

1. Surrogate for Finite Passive Past Perfective

37 A 7 \text{ŠRM} B'R \ 'Š \text{ŠKNM} \text{LMLK} \text{QDŠT}, "Those residing in the city who were employed for the Sacred Liturgy."

37 A 13 \text{GLBM} \text{P'LM} \ 'L \text{ML'KT}, "The barbers <who were> employed in the Liturgy."

60.4/5 \text{H'DMM} \ 'Š \text{NS}'m \text{LN} \ 'L \text{BT} \ 'LM, "The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple."

Pu CIS i 5510.7/8 \text{WTN}<\text{T} \text{MTNT} \text{ZBHĐŠ} \text{P'ŁT}, "This stele was erected on the new moon of <the month of> Paaloth."

Pu 101.5 \text{TN}'m \ 'L \text{HMLK} \text{Z} \text{ŠYN} \ldots \text{WRŚ}, "Asyan and Aris were put in charge of this work project."

NPu 153.1 \text{BN} \text{Z} \text{TN}'t \text{LB'LHN}, "This stele was erected to Balanno."
2. Adjectival-Nominal

Pu 78.4/5 \textit{MNSBT PSLT} . . . \textit{BN RRK T BKRŠ B'LHMN}, “A sculpted stele, being a tall stone bearing the figure of Baalhammon.”

NPu \textit{IRT} 893.4/5 \textit{ilim sebuim}, “The sacrificed gods (i.e., deified sacrificed children).”

IV. THE INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT

A. Morphology

Forms

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Strong Verb} & \textbf{QAL} \\
\textit{L'-MR li(\textsuperscript{t})mur} & Ph 14.2 (“to say”) \\
\textit{li-mur li(\textsuperscript{t})mur} & Pu \textit{Poen.} 948 (“to say”) \\
\textit{L-ZBH lizbāh} & Pu 69.14 (“to sacrifice”) \\
\textit{L-GNB lignūb} & Pu \textit{CIS} i 3784.1 (“to steal”) \\
\textit{L-KTB liktūb} & Ph 60.4 (“to inscribe”) \\
\textit{L-MLK-Y limolk-i} & Ph 14.1 (“of his reign”) \\
\textit{L-MLK-NM limolk\textsuperscript{e}-nom} & Pu 112.5 (“of their reign”) \\
\textit{B-MS\textsuperscript{e}-NM bimos\textsuperscript{e}-nom} & Ph \textit{Kition} line 1 (“when they came”) \\
\textit{L'-ZR la'zūr} & NPu 147.4 (“may he help”) \\
\textit{L-P'L lip'ūl} & Byb 10.11; NPu 124.4 (“to do”) \\
\textit{li-ful līfūl} & Pu \textit{Poen.} 945 (“to do”) \\
\textit{li-ful līfūl} & NPu \textit{Poen.} 935 (“to do”) \\
\textit{L-PTH liptūh} & Ph 70.3 (“to open”) \\
\textit{B-ŠPT-M bisošt-im} & NPu 159.5/6 (“when he was suffes”) \\
\textit{L-KN-\textsuperscript{e}Y likūn-i} & Ph 18.6; 26 A II 14 (“that it be”) \\
\textit{L-KN-NM likūn\textsuperscript{e}-nom} & Ph 19.10 (“that they be”) \\
\textit{L-KP lakop(p)} & Pu \textit{CIS} i 5510.3 (“to overturn”) \\
\textit{L-BNT libnūt} & Ph 26 A II 11 (“to build”) \\
\textit{L-BNT-M libnūt-im} & NPu \textit{CIS} I 151.6 (“to erect it”) \\
\textit{L-MHT limhūt} & Ph 26 C IV 15 (“to erase”) \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
by-rysth-birist-
L-Š'T lase(’t)
L-ŠBT-NM lisibt⁵-nom
sibt-i sibt-i
sibith-im sibit-im
L-TT-Y lititt-i
L'-TT latet(t)

Strong Verbs

PI’EL

L-'TR li’etter
L-'KR li’ekker
L-QN⁶ ligenne(’)
L-ŠLM lisellem
L-ŠBT-Y lisebbet-i

L-KNT likennüt
L-QST-NM liqessüt⁵-nom

YIP’IL

L-YRH-Y li-yarih-i
L-SR l-asîr

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-TSR but of L-’SR, the Punic ’YQTL iqtel. The Infinite 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-$-S + Infinitive: “undertake to do something”

NPu CIS i 151.6 KMT B'.fromString 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 MŽBH ZN, “Any person who shall continue to do work on this altar.”

Pu 5510.6/7 YSP 'LTY LŠLM WLYRHY 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[T] LPY M'S' BTY WM'SM BTM YTNT' L'BD BSP'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. \textit{K-W-N} + Infinitive: “be obliged to do something”

\textit{P}u \textit{Poen.} 944-46 \textit{Alem us duber ce fel dono Mittun et cil 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>.”

\textit{NPu} 163.1/2 \textit{TŠ K'KNTM LTT L'T'B'L 'BMŞRT 'LM}, “Be ye . . ., for ye were to place L’Y’B’L under the protection of the gods.”

1h. \textit{K'-S} + Infinitive: “undertake to do something”

\textit{NPu} 124.2/4 \textit{B'LYTN QMD’ . . . K'S LP'L WHTM}, “Balitho Commodus undertook to build it and completed it.”

1i. \textit{P-R-T} + Infinitive: “undertake to do something”

\textit{NPu} 172.1/3 [HJMLKT BN 'DNB'L BN ħMLKT HPR’T 'L MYTB' RŠ' HSLKY LBNT T-HMQDS ST, “Himilco son of Idnibal son of Himilco, upon the approval of the senate of Sulcis, undertook to build this sanctuary.”

1j. \textit{Q-W-M} + Infinitive: “persist in doing something”

\textit{Byb} 9 A 2 \textit{'L TQM LŠT 'RN 'LT 'RN}, “Do not persist in placing one coffin on top of another coffin.”

1l. \textit{Š-T'-} + Infinitive: “to fear to do something”

26 A II 4/5 \textit{ŶST’ 'DM LLKT DRK}, “A person used to be afraid to travel the road.”

1m. \textit{T-M-M} + Infinitive: “be deemed good to do something”

60.1/3 \textit{BYM 4 LMRZH . . . TM BD ŞDNYM BN'SPT L'TR 'YT ŞM'B'L . . . 'TRT HRŞ BDRK<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. \textit{Forming Periphrastic Tenses and Moods}

\textit{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
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 'R$ LKNNM L$DNM 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 'S L P'L LT BTKLTY BNTY . . . LKNT LY LSKR, "I built this gate and its panels to be (lit., that it might be) a memorial to me."

19.9/11 KM 'S BN 'YT KL 'HRT [HMQDS]M 'S B'R$ 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 HMYT BMQMM HMT LŠBTNM 
DNYM BNHT 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  
KB'L WRŠP . . . ŠLHN LBNT, “Baal and Rasap commissioned me to build <this city>.” Ob. The verb LBNT does not carry a suffixal pronoun to indicate its subject.

NPu CIS i 151.1/4  
LPLKS KHRHŠY P'L T-HM'S 'ST PHLT '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'.” Ob. In Neo-Punic, the infinitive construct does not carry the suffix pronoun expressing its subject.

Ob. 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: ŶŠ'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKNM 20 LMHT LKN YD’ (yede‘ā, Prefixing Form B, Pl. 3.) 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 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  
LT'TY B'L . . . L'ZTWD 'RK YMM, “May Baal give to Aztwadda a long reign.”

NPu 146.2/3 [']Š L'TT H'L 'BBRKT M L[N], “May God grant us of his blessings!” Ob. 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 expresses the imperative, it does receive the suffixal pronoun as its subject.
Byb 2.1/3 *LD'T HNY B'LK THT ZN*, "Be aware: I, your king, am at the bottom of this <shaft>.")

Pu 76 B 8 *LŠT 'LT HĦDRT NPT*, "Place honey upon the swollen area."

Pu 70.1/4 *QBR ZYBQT 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'ZRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT . . . WYS' 'LN[M MH]NT 'Š KTY L'GD LM MLHMT BMQM 'Z*, "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 BHYTNM WBHYT< 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 *Byrysth[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 *BYRĦ BL BŠNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'ŠMN'ZR MLK ŠDNDM*, "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' MMLKLT*, "In year fifty-six of the reign (lit., of their reign) of Micipsa, Gulussa and Mastanab, the princes."

NPu 159.5/6 *BYRĦ KRR ŠT BLL HZBH . . . BŠPTM MSHB' BN YZRNM*, "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 pronoun –M -īm of the third masculine singular.

Pu Poen. 948/49 Alem us duber ci <esse> mucom sussit-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 gubulim 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

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<th>Strong</th>
<th>QAL</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MLK</strong> malōk</td>
<td>Ph 24.2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NHL</strong> nahōl</td>
<td>Ph Byb 3.3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>P‘L</strong> pa‘öl</td>
<td>Ph 26 A I 6/7</td>
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<td><strong>PTH</strong> patōh</td>
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<td><strong>ŠKR</strong> sakōr</td>
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<td><strong>TRQ</strong> tarōq</td>
<td>Ph 26 A I 9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>y-t-n</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>YTN</strong> yatōn</td>
<td>Byb 9 A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ilwy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>KN</strong> kōn</td>
<td>Ph 24.3 (bis), 26 A II 3, 7</td>
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<td><strong>con</strong> kōn</td>
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<td><strong>ŠT</strong> sōt</td>
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<td><strong>IIIy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BN</strong> banō</td>
<td>Ph 26 A I 17, II 9,17</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BN-Y</strong> banō-ya</td>
<td>Ph 26 A II 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ML’</strong> mellō(‘)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RGZ</strong> reggōz</td>
<td>Ph 13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IIIy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N’ ennō</strong></td>
<td>Ph 26 A I 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 NHL TNHL 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'ôl) 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-KRNTRYS 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.E.) and KAI 26 (the royal Aztwadda inscription, ca. 750 B.C.E.). 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.E.) and KAI 10 (the royal Yehawmilk inscription, ca. 450-400 B.C.E.).

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 Ş'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 BM TKT MLKM 'DRM, “My royal house was in the midst of those of more powerful kings.”

24.7/8 WŠKR 'NK 'LY MLK ŞR, “I hired against him the king of Assyria.”
3a-2. Past Perfective III
24.2,3,4 $BL\ P'L_3$, “He did not accomplish anything.”
24.4/5 (2x) $M'S\ P'L\ T\ BL\ P'L\ HLPNY[H]M$, “My predecessors did not accomplish what I accomplished.”
24.6 $WKL\ SLH\ TD\ LL[H]M$, “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 $TRHB\ 'NK\ 'RS\ 'MQ\ 'DN$, “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 $WTRQ\ 'NK\ KL\ HR'\ 'S\ KN\ B'RS$, “I rooted out all the evil that existed in the land.”
26 A I 9/10 $WYT'N\ 'NK\ BT\ 'DN', "I established my royal house.”
26 A I 10 $WP'L\ 'NK\ LS'RS\ 'DNY\ N'M$, “And I did what was good for my royal progeny.”
26 A I 11 $WYS'B\ 'NK\ 'L\ KS'\ 'BY$, “I took my place upon my father's throne.”
26 A I 11/12 $WST\ 'NK\ SL'M\ 'T\ KL\ MLK$, “I made peace with every king.”
26 A I 13, 17 $WBN\ 'NK\ HMYT$, “I built walled fortresses.”
26 A I 18 $W'N\ 'NK\ 'RST'\ 'ZT$, “I conquered powerful lands.”
26 A I $YRD'M\ 'NK$, “I deported them.”
26 A I 20/21 $YS'B\ 'NK\ BS'T\ GBLY$, “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 $WBN'T\ 'NK$, “I built it.”
26 A II 17/18 $ST\ 'NK\ SM\ ZTWDY$, “I named it (the city) Aztwaddiya.”
26 A II 18/19 $YS'B\ 'NK\ BN\ B'L$, “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 BSDQY WBHKMTY WBN’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 2 ’L KN P’LT [*YT MŠKB ZN], “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 וֹשְׁמֶהֲנִי [ח'] קָל, "She heard my voice."

10.3/4 וֲפֵלְךָ נָק לַרְבֵּית בֵּלְת גְּבוֹל הוֹמִזְבֵּה נֶחָשׁ זָנ, "I made this bronze altar for my Lady Baalt of Byblos."

10.6/7 וֲפֵלְךָ נָק יָהוּמִילֵק מְלַק בֵּלְת לַרְבֵּית בֵּלְת גְּבוֹל, "I, Yehawmilk, King of Byblos, made <these things> for my Lady Baalt of Byblos."

3e-2. Past Perfective III

10.1/1 נָק יָהוּמִילֵק מְלַק גְּבוֹל ... שׁ בָּלְת גְּבוֹל מְמַלְכָּה לְגָּבוֹל, "I am Yehawmilk, King of Byblos, whom the Lady Baalt of Byblos made king over Byblos."

10.7/8 קִמּוֹרְמַת תֵּרֵבְּית בֵּלְת גְּבוֹל וֹשְׁמֶהֲנִי קָל, "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: נְפֻי 137.2/3 קָנּו לְמַלְּכָה הָבָנ שׁ בָּמֶקְדָּשְׁמִי ל, "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  'ehhad**

- Masculine
  - Absolute
    - **šNM snêm**
      - Ph: RES 827
      - Pu: 64.1; 130.3,6; 137.1
  - Construct
    - **šN snê**
      - Ph: 47.3.
      - Pu: CIS i 122 a 2, b 3

**F. 'HT  'ehhat**

- Feminine
  - Absolute
    - **šTM stêm**
      - Ph: Umm el-Awamid 13.1
  - Construct
    - **šT stê**
      - Not recorded

TWO

**M. 'SLŠT salûst**

- Masculine
  - Absolute
    - **šLS salûs**
      - Ph: CIS I 93.4; Eph 1.13 nr. 11
      - Pu: CIS I 165.9, 11
  - Construct
    - Ph: 19.8; RES 453
    - Pu: CIS I 132.1
    - NPU: 130.2; 134.2; NP 58.2; NP 69.3
THE NUMERALS

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<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<td><strong>FOUR</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M. 'RB'T 'arbá'at</td>
<td>Pu</td>
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<td>F. 'RB' 'arba'</td>
<td>Ph</td>
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<td>Pu</td>
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<td><strong>FIVE</strong></td>
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<td>M. ḤMŠT hamist</td>
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<td>CIS I 165.5, 166 B 10</td>
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<td>F. ḤMŠ hames</td>
<td>Ph</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
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<td>NPu</td>
<td>NP 22.4; NP 23.3; NP 24.3</td>
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<td>amys</td>
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<td><strong>SIX</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M. ŠŠT sésit</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. ŠŠ ses</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>130.1 (masculine); JA 1916/1 458, 3</td>
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<td>Š'S</td>
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<td>sys</td>
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<td>ŠB'T</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>EH 59.4; EH 60.4</td>
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<td><strong>EIGHT</strong></td>
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<td>M. ŠMNT samūnît</td>
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<td>F. ŠMÑ samûne</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>CIS I 92.2</td>
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<td>Pu</td>
<td>RES 168.3</td>
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<td>ŠMÑ</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>JA 1916/1 465,5</td>
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<td><strong>NINE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M. TŠ'T tisâ'at</td>
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<td>F. TŠ' tésa'</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>130.2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TEN</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M. 'ŠRT 'asert</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIS I 165.3; CIS I 175.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 ‘\( ŠRT\ W'H'D\) in the masculine and ‘\( ŠR\ W'H'T\) 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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{‘SR(T) W- + Unit} \\
\text{Lapethos 3.2 YM ‘ŠRT WŠLŠT 13. “Day thirteen 13.”} \\
\text{14.1 ŠNT ‘SR W'RB‘ 14, “Year fourteen 14.”} \\
\text{NPu 144.2/3 ‘W’ Š’NT ‘SR WŠ‘LŠ, “He lived twenty-three years.”} \\
\text{NPu 120.1 RB MHNT P'M’T ‘SR W’HT, “Consul eleven times.”}
\end{align*} \]

2b. Late Neo-Punic

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Unit + ‘ŠR} \\
\text{AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.1/2 [S]ys asar liiyra Chirur, “The sixteenth of the month of Kirur.” Cf. Latin sedecim.}
\end{align*} \]

3. The Numerals 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{TWENTY} \\
\text{‘ŠRM ‘esrim} & \text{Not recorded} \\
\text{‘SRM} & \text{Pu EH 59.3} \\
\text{HŠR[M]} & \text{NPu NP 20.3} \\
\text{esrim} & \text{NPu IRT 826.4}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{THIRTY} \\
\text{ŠLŠM salūsim} & \text{Ph 41.5} \\
\text{Pu CIS I 3917.1; NP 27.5, 68.3}
\end{align*} \]
FORTY

'RB'M 'arba'im  Pu  NP 65.3; JA 1917/2, 12:1, 2
'RBM arbim  NPU  NP 23.3, 60.3

FIFTY

HMŠM hamissim  Pu  101.4; CIS i 165.6; NP 53.3; NP 56.3
'MŠM amissim  NPU  140.7; 165.7

SIXTY

ŠŠM sissim  Pu  149.4; NP 66.3
ŠYŠM  NPU  157.3

SEVENTY

ŠB'M sib'im  Pu  133.3; 171.4

EIGHTY

ŠMNM samūnīm  Pu  130.2; NP 130.6

NINETY

TŠ'M tis'im  Byb  3.2
TŠM  NPU  JA 1918 252, 5
TYŠM tissim  NPU  NP 55.1; JA 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 'ŠRM 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 'ŠRM ("one twenty"). In both instances, the unit agrees in gender with the noun.

4a. 'ŠRM W- + Unit

Lapethos 3.4 HMŠM WHMŠT WRB' DR(KMNM), "Fifty-five and one quarter drachmas."

NPu 141.3/4 ST 'SRM W'HT, "Year twenty-one."
NPu 143.4 ŠNT 'RBM WHD, "Forty-one years."
NPu 152.3 ŠŠM ŠT WŠLS, "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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>RES 1502</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>101.3; CIS I 143.1, 165.6, 171.4,6</td>
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myith

| NPU | AI 1 p. 45 no. 4.6 |

**TWO HUNDRED**

M'TM

| Pu | 76 B 9; 141.5 |

**THREE HUNDRED**

ŠLŠ M'T

| NPU | CIS I 165.3 |

**FIVE HUNDRED**

HMŠ M[‘]T

| Pu | Lapethos 3.8 |

**ONE THOUSAND**

'LP

| Ph | Lapethos 3.8 |

**TEN THOUSAND**

RB(')

| NPU | Not recorded |

rybo

| NPU | AI 1 p. 45 no.4 |

**ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND**

asar rybo

| NPU | AI 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 afformative -T, while the feminine numerals 3-9 exhibit the afformative -Ø.

1a-1. Masculine

40.4 ŠLŠT BN MRYHY, “The three sons of MRYHY.”
Pu 80.1 ŠRT H’ŠM ’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 HSMŠM ŠT, “Year fifty-three.”
CIS I 92 ŠNT ŠMN 8, “Year eight 8.”

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 afformative -Ø, while the feminine numeral exhibits the afformative -T:

1b-1. Masculine

120.1 ‘SR HMŠLM, “The eight tribunes.”
130.1 ŠŠ HYSBM ’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 [HMS]T ’RB’M ŠT, “Year forty-five.”
2. The Position of the Numeral in Enumerations

2a. Preceding the Determined Noun

47.3 ȘN BN 'SRŠMR, “The two sons of Osirisamor.”
CIS i 88.6 ‘ȘN BN ['D]NŠMŠ, “The two sons of Adonisemes.”
Pu CIS i 4596.3/4 ‘ȘN BN' MHRB'L, “The two sons of Maharbal.”

40.4 ȘLŞT BN MRYHY, “The three sons of MRYHY.”
Pu 80.1 ‘ȘRT H'ȘM 'Ș 'L HMQDŠM, “The ten men who are responsible for the sanctuaries.”
Pu 101.4 'D[R] HMŠM H'S MQL' BN 'SYN, “MQL’ son of ‘SYN was Prefect of the Fifty Men.”
Pu CIS i 3917.1 ŠLSM H'S 'Ș '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 MNHT 2 'L 'Ș YTN W[YTN 'BD'L[M] . . . L'DNY L[RŠP], “These two mnht are what Abdilim presented and erected to his Lord Rasap.”
Umm el-Awamid 13.1/2 LMLK'STRT 'L HMN K[K]RT HRȘ ŠTM <'L> 'Ș 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 'ȘNM 2 <'L> 'Ș YTN BD' . . . L'DNY L[RŠP], “This altar and <these> two 2 lions that Bodo presented to his Lord Rasap.”
Pu 64.2 L'DN LB' [L]ŠMM B'YNŠM NSBM WHNWṬM ŠNM <'L> 'Ș 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 WLTTNT-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 ST ŠPTM 'BDMLQRT TBHPY W'RŠ*, "These two benches were made in the year of the suffetes Abdmilqart Taparius 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 WĦMŠ*, "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' ŠMNW WKNDRM TŠ*, "Eighty denars and nine quadrans."

NPu 130.3 *DN'RY' HMŠM WŠNM*, "Fifty-two denars."

NPu 137.5/6 *NP'L NBLNSKT '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 MĦNT P'M'T 'SR W'HT*, "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 HMŠM ŠT*, "Year fifty-three."


CIS i 92 *ŠNT ŠMN 8*, "Year eight 8."
II. Ordinal Numbers

A. Morphology

**Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. <em>LPNT</em> lipani</td>
<td>M. <em>ŠNY</em> seni</td>
<td>M. <em>ŠLSY</em> salusi</td>
<td>M. <em>RB</em>Y* arba'i*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>Pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>F. <em>ŠLS</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>F. <em>ŠLSYT</em></td>
<td><em>arba'it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td><em>Hamissi</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

To judge from *RB*Y* arba'i* ("four"), the ordinals 3-9 were *nisbe* forms of the cardinal numbers, not including forms of the shape *CaCiCi* like Hebrew *robi'i* ("four"). The Hebrew ordinals are a mixed series of both types.

B. Syntax and Usage

**LPNY**

**FIRST**

NPu 137.4/5  *B' H'LMN 'L 'LT HMQDŠM 'L B'SR WŠB' LYRH 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 HLPNTM YTLKN MŠKBM KM KLBM*, "Earlier kings (the kings who preceded <me>) treated the mškbm like dogs."

24.4/5 *M Š P'LTL BL P'L HMLKM HLPNY{H}M*, "Earlier kings (the kings who preceded <me>) did not accomplish what I accomplished."

**ŠNY**

SECOND in command


**OTHER, ANOTHER**

14.5/6 *L Y'MSN BMŠKBM LT MŠKBM ŠNY*, "Let him not transport me from this resting-place to another resting-place!"

**ŠLŠY**

THIRD in command

Pu *RES 910 RB <MHNT> ŠLŠ*, "The Third General of the Army." A military rank.

**'RB'Y**

FOURTH

Pu 76 B 1/2 *YM H'RB'Y ŠHPR T' HQDŠ*, "The fourth day of the piercing of the sacred y'." Heading in a medical text.

**HMŠY**

FIFTH

Pu 76 B 7/8 *YM HHMŠY LŠT 'LT HHDRT 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'BT' ... WL'MM ... WL'BNY ... WL'STY ... HŠ L'RBTNM, “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 Z MŠBT SKR ŠM ‘BD’[NT] BN ‘BDRBT ’[Š T]N’ L] ŠŠT [Š]RT[Τ], “This is the stele, the memorial 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 WHMŠM WHMŠT WRB' DR(KMN), “Silver goblets; their number is 6, and their weight is one prs and fifty-five and one quarter drachmas.”

MHŠ mehše and MHŠT mehšī
ONE HALF
Obs. When “one half” of an concrete object is meant, the noun used is HŠT hašī: RES 1205.5 P'L 'YT HŠT HSP Ζ, “He made one half of this sp.”

RB' ŠLŠT réba' salūśt
THREE QUARTERS
Pu 69.11 LKHNΜ KSP RB' ŠLŠT B'HD, “The priests shall receive three quarters silver for each <animal>.”

C. Multiples

P'MT pa'āmūl + Numeral 
X NUMBER OF TIMES
NPu 120.1  \textit{RB MḤNT P'M'T 'SR W'HT WMYNKD P'M'T 'SR W'RB' W[THT] MŠLT 'SR HMŠLM P'M'T 'SR WHMŠ}, “Consul eleven times, emperor fourteen times and tribune fifteen times.”

\textit{'D P'MT BRBM 'ad pa'amūt biribbīm}

\textbf{MANY TIMES}

Pu 68.5 \textit{ŠM' QL' 'D P'MT BRBM}, “He (the god) heard his voice (supplication) many times.” The preposition \textit{'ad} is used here adverbially to express multiplicity, in the manner found in Hebrew 2Kings 4:35 \textit{'D ŠB' P'MYM} (“seven times”). For \textit{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, 'SL, '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-DS 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'B-</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>43.3,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Pyrgi 5; CIS i 6000.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>147.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ef-</td>
<td>N Pu</td>
<td>Trip. 877.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 myntyfth (MNSBT "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  Jazeera... 'Š YTNT 'BMQDS MLQRT, "This statue that I erected in the sanctuary of Milqart."

Pu Pyrgi lines 1/5 'ŠR QDS 'Z 'Š P'L WYTN... BMTN 'BBT, "This sacred ūr, 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 Marciius Caecilius son of Mupal built in the name of Macer, his grandson."

IN, DURING (temporal)

43.7 'BH'BY Y'ST BMQDS MLQRT 'YT 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'HTY 'RŠT 'MR 'HTK 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. Tyrosidonian uses the particle 'M 'ammā in this same function.

Byb 1.2 W'L MLK BMLKM . . . WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP HTM MŚP'TH, "As for any king, if he should remove this coffin, his imperial sceptre shall break."

'ŞL 'esel

Usage

NEXT TO, ADJACENT TO; Hebrew 'ŞL 'esel.

Byb 9 B 2 [L TP'L LK MŠK]B 'ŞL HMMŠK[B ZN], "Do not build a tomb for yourself next to this tomb!"

'T 'et ('itt-)

Forms

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<thead>
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<th>Form</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>ett</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 947P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itt</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 947A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ythem</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Poen. 936</td>
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</table>

With suffix pronouns:

1. Sg.

<table>
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<th>Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>iti</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIL viii 23372 (Itibalis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>'TK</td>
<td>Byb</td>
<td>10.13</td>
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3. M.Sg.

<table>
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<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>Өәo</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>In the name Іθοβαλος (Jos., Ap. 1.123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Өәω</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>In the name Іθωβαλος (Jos, Ap. 1.156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to &lt; 'itto</td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>In the name Tu-Ba-²-lum (Senn. Ii 51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ythem</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Poen. 936, 937</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 aphetic, 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 YSGRMN H'LNM 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 یرس 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'î (Tu-ba'-îm Senn. Ii 51), 100βα-λος (Jos., Ap. 1.123) = Ἰωβαλος (Jos., Ap. 1.156), all meaning "Baal be with him!"

**TO**

37 A 11 'T PRKM QP' 1[ . . . ], "<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 یرس aelichoth sith, "To him I bring in my behalf this shard of hospitality." = Latin Poen. 958 ad eum hospitalem hanc tessera mecum fero.

NPu 137.5/7 NP'L NBL NSKT 'RB 'LT HQDŠM 'L . . . WNNTN 'T HKHNМ '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 awîlaka itiyâ ("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 TSRH 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 [T]TT SML MŠ Z BNHŠT 'T PN 'DNY 'T PNY MLQRT, “I placed this bronze statue before my Lord, before Milqart.”

B- bi-

Forms

B- Ph Pu NPU Passim
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- be- but b- in B’LHYM belôhim. 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 ’S BNT, “I lie in this coffin and in this tomb, in the mausolem 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 sylochom, alonim, uybymysyrthochom, “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

IN (temporal)

14.1 BYRH BL BŚNT '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’RŚ ... ŚB’ WMN’M, “In my time, the land enjoyed abundance and prosperity.” *Et passim.*

AMONG

13.6/8 ’L Y<K>N L<K> ZR’ BHYM THT ŠMŚ, “You shall not have descendants among those living under the sun.”

Pu CIS I 5510.4/5 [WKL ’]DM ’Ś ’YBL MŚRT WKPT RBTN TMT-PNB’L W’DN B[‘L]HMN ’YT ’DMM HMT BHYM ’L PN ŠMŚ, “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 ’Ś BNN BT L’ŚMN-ŚD QDŚ ’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 T’MSN BMŚKB Z ’LT MŚKB ŠNY, “Let him not move me from this resting place to another resting place!”

60.6 YŚ’N BKSP ’LM B’L SDN DRKMN M 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 ‘ȘTRT ’Ś BGW HQDŚ ’Ś LX, “Astarte of GW, my goddess.”

18.2/3 ’BD’LM BN MTN BN ’BD’LM BN B’LȘMR BPLG L’DK. “Abdilim son of Muttun son of Balsamor of/from the district of Laodikaia.”


Lapethos 3=Honeyman, *Le Muséon* 51 (1938) 285-298 line 5 ’SR
BLPŠ, “Osiris of Lapethos.”

NSI 150.5 MLQRT BS'r, “Milqart of Tyre”

Pu 64.1 B’<L>ŠMM B’YNŠM, “Baalsamem of Inosim.”

Pu 81.1 LRBT L’ŠTRT WLNTN BLBN M QDŠM HDŠM <'L>, “<Dedicated> to the Lady Astarte and to Thinnith of Lebanon are these new sanctuaries.”

Pu 86.3/4 ‘BDMLKT BN STRTYT ’Š B’M BT MLQRT, “Abdmilkot son of Astartyaton, 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 LKS, “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 WRZN BRZN M, “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 mystead.”

ANY, SOME, OF, partitive, corresponding to French de

NPu 147.3 LTT H’L ’B-BRKTM 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’ BŠMH Š’RM, “He has no offspring at all of his own flesh.”

FOR, TOWARDS, ABOUT, expressing attitude

24.13 W’NK TMKT MŠKB M LYD WHMT ŠT NBŠ KM NPŠ YT M 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 Z WHDLHT ’Š L P’LT BTKLTY BNTY, “I built this gate and its panels at my own expense.”

NPu 129.1/3 BN’ WYQDŠ T-‘KSNDR’ WT-‘RPT ST BS’TM
**BTM**, "He built and dedicated this exedra and portico at his own expense."

**WITH**

Byb 13.1 **WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ZN 'SP BMR WBBDL[H]**, "And so here do I lie in this coffin, <my bones> gathered <and covered> with myrrh and bdelium."

26 C III 17/18 **WBRK B'L KRNTYS ŶT 'ZTWD BHYM WBŠLM WB'Z ŶR DR 'L KL MLK**, "May Baal-KRNTYS bless Aztwadda with long life, with health and with might greater than that of any king!"

NPu 130.5 **TŠBM ŶB P'L B'NŠM ŶKT ŶS 'L HMHZM**, "The department of works in charge of marketplaces built <these> benches with money from fines."

NPu 121.2 **BT'RМ BTM P'L WŶQDŠ**, "He made and dedicated it with his own money."

**BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF**

26 A I 12/13 **B'BТ P'LN KL MLK BŠDQŶ WBHKMTY 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 BHMDT YS' M BŠN'T WBR' YS' HŠ'R ŶZ**, "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'Л LBNN 'DNY BR'ŠT NHŠT**, "To Baal of Lebanon he presented this <cup> made of the finest bronze."

43.7 **ŶŠT BMQDŠ MLQRT ŶT MŠ PN 'BY BNHŠT**, "In the sanctuary of Milqart I placed the bust of my father made of bronze."

**WORTH**

60.1/3 **TRT HRŜ BDRK<M> NM 20**, "A gold crown worth 20 drachmas."
AT A COST OF

IRT 906.1/3 Thanubda ubyne Nasif felu myn$yfth [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 ‘SRT 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 ολων.

Pu RCL 1966 p. 201, line 1 PTH WP’L ‘YT HH$ Z LMQM Š’R HHDŠ ’Š KN BH[ST], “Those in charge of streets opened and built this street of the quarter of Newgate.”

AS

Pu Pyrgi lines 1/5 LRBT L’STRT ’ŠR QDŠ ’Z ’Š P’L WŠ YTN TBRY’ WLNŠ MLK ’L KYŠRT . . . 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 minhîit-offering, the priests shall receive [ . . . ].”

NPu 34 ’NŠ’ ŠDBR L’DN B’LMN BMLK ’ZRMT ’YŠ, “SDBR brought a male sacrificial offering to the Lord Baalhammon as a mokl-offering.”

WITH, in the sense of wearing or bearing

Byb 11 B’RN ZN ’NK BTN’M . . . ŠKB T BSWT WMRŠ WMHSM LPY, “In this coffin do I, Bitnoam, lie, wearing a garment and a head-piece and a mouth-muzzle.”

Pu 78.4/6 MN$BT PSLT . . . ’BN ’RKT BKRS B’LMHN, “A sculpted stela, being a tall stone with/bearing the figure of Baalhammon.”
**B-GW bigō**

**Usage**

INSIDE, WITHIN; cf. Aramaic **B-GW' bēgō'**.

NPu Trip. 86.3/4 **WT KRY KRY 'T HŚD ŠBN' ḤN' BN MTN 'Ś 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BD</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>60.3; Akko lines 1/2; CIS i 87.1/4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bod</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>CIS i 4901</td>
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<tr>
<td>bud</td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Poen. 949</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Poen. 939; IRT 892</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>PBSR 28 p. 53 no. 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With Prepositions

1.Sg. **BDY badi**

3.Pl. **BDNM**

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'STRT ŠR QDŠ 'Z Š P'L . . . TBRY WLNS MLK 'L KYŠRT' . . . K-ŠTRT ĒŠ 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’TŘ ŠM’B’L . . . ‘TŘT HRS, “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 MLKTN, “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-ĐT 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' bêlo. The preposition is attested in Punic only, Phoenician using DL.

Usage

WITHOUT

Pu 79.6/11 KL Š LSR T-'BN Z 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 Z, "Nothing at all of value but me (my body) lies in this coffin."

B-MTKT ?bimatûkot

Usage

IN THE MIDST OF; cf. Hebrew BTWK bêtôk.

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'abûr

Usage

BECAUSE OF, THANKS TO

26 A II 5/6 BYMTY 'ST 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'aabûr

26 A II 10/12 B'L WRŠP ŠPRM ŠLHN LBNT WBNY 'NK B'BR
"B'lä Wb'br Rśp Sprm," "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."

\[ \text{DL} \ ? \text{dal} < \text{dall} \]

**Usage**

**Without**

26 A II 3/6 BMQMM 'Š KN LPNM Nśt'ım \ldots WBYMTY 'Nk 'śṬ t<ś> K LḥDY 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 \textit{by} bī.

**K- kē-**

**Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K-</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>43.12</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>69.17</td>
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\text{ce- NPu IRT 827} in the personal name \textit{Micebal}

It is uncertain whether the preposition is the reflex of Canaanite proclitic *ka- as is Hebrew kē- 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 \textit{KM kēmū}, it is perhaps likelier that \textit{K} is the proclitic kē-. The preposition \textit{K-} is relatively uncommon in Phoenician-Punic, which preferred the independent form \textit{KM}.

**Usage**

\textit{Like}

\text{NPu IRT 827.1/2} in the personal name \textit{Micebal (MYKB'L)}, "Who is like Baal?" Cf. the Hebrew personal name \textit{MYK'L mi-ka'el} ("Who is like God?").

\textit{According to, in accordance with}

43.10/12 \textit{KM ŽBH'T \ldots YM MD YM \ldots [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 BKTB[T 'Š BD ŠLŠM H'S 'Š 'L HMŠ'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"mū k"mū

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<td><strong>KM</strong></td>
<td>Ph-NPu</td>
<td>Byb 11; 24.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>comu</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 945A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cumu</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 945A</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The preposition is the reflex of Canaanite *kamō; Hebrew k"mō. 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'S 'LY WMHŠM 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-)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>L-</strong></td>
<td>Ph Pu NPu</td>
<td>Passim</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Latin and Greek-letter Spellings

A. Before a consonant:

la-  NPu  Poen. 939 lasibithim
le-  Pu   Poen. 995 leadrumit
li-  NPu  
lo-  NPu  IRT 873.3 libinim; AI 1 line 1 lifnim;  
ly-  NPu  IRT 893.3/4 lybanem; IRT 901.5 lybythi; AI line 2 lybythem; IRT 906.2 [I]yMasauchan) IRT 827.1 lymith
\(\lambda _u\)-  Pu  

B. Before a vowel:

1-  NPu  S 24.2 labunom; AI line 3 luia; AI line 3 lysthim) AI line 3 lys
\(\lambda \)-  Ph
\(\lambda _u\)-  Pu  

With Suffixal Pronouns

1.Sg.  
\(\text{LY} \ i\)  Ph-NPu  Byb 9 A 1; 17.2
li  NPu  IRT 901.5; Poen. 937

3.M.Sg.  
\(L \ lo\)  Ph  Byb 12.3; 18.4
lo  NPu  D 5.19

3.F.Sg.  
\(L \ la\)  Ph  26 A III 16
\(L'\)  NPu  143.3 ŠL'

1 Pl.  
LN  Ph  14.18; 60.4

2.M.Pl.  
lochom  NPu  Poen. 933 syllochom

3.M.Pl.  
LM  Ph  14.8, 11; Umm el-Awamid 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 *LSBT* *lašebet*, with the same form of the preposition.

Usage

FOR

Byb 1.1 'RN ZP'L [*]TB'LN 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-MQDS Z BN' B'L' TBGG LMSNSN HMMLKT, "The citizens of Thugga built this sanctuary for King Massinissa."

NPu IRT 873.1/4 Myntsyth 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 MSBT '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 Αφεθεναυ υιος Αφεσαθουν νεσε οθ αμαθη λε-σαθ λαφδε Μα[ . . . ], "Abdthennau son of Abdsaphun gave his female slave as a wife to his slave Ma[ . . . ]."

OF, expressing the indirect gentive

14.1 BSNT 'SR W'RB' 14 LMLKY MLK 'SMN'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 MSBT SKR BHYM L'BDTNT BN 'BDŠMŠ HSDNY, "<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 MSBT SKR BHYM L'BDTNT, "Memorial stele among the living of Abdtinnit."
CIS i 59.1/2 M$B BHYM L'BD'SMN, “Stele among the living of Abdesmun.”

Pu/NPu Poen. 995A Anno byn Mythumbal leadrumit anech = Poen. 995P Anno byn Mythumbal leadrebeth anech, “I am Hanno son of Mittunbal of Hadrumetum.”

46.35 ŠLM H'Š LMSB, “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 NHTY L'LM WLŠTY, “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 HMŠM 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 LS'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 NHŠWN BN 'MYNDB*, “Nahshon son of Aminadab of Judah” (Numbers 1:7); Ugaritic *DT YRQ NQBNM*, “The trappings of gold,” lit., “Of gold, the trappings”; Akkadian *ša Tiāmat karassa*, “the anger of Tiamat,” lit., “Of Tiamat her anger.”

BY, expressing agent of a passive verb

60.4/5 *R'T Z LKTB H'DMM Š NŠ'M LN 'L BT 'LM 'LT MSBT HRS*, “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 *[Y]T SML MŠ Z BNHŠT 'T PN MLQRT ... LSKRN BHYM*, “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 ιπος Αφεσαθουν νεσε οθ αμαθη λεσαθ λαφδε Μα[ ... ], “Abdthennau son of Abdaphun 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 SPR 'M QDMT QDŠT 'M ZBH SD 'M ZBH ŠMN LKHNΜ 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 Neo-Punic. It is equivalent in function and meaning to the simple preposition \(L-\); cf. Hebrew mimmen- < min-min in mimmeni ("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**

\[
\begin{array}{l|l|l}
\text{LM-} & \text{NPu} & 145 III 14 \\
\text{limin} & \text{Pu} & \text{Poen. 949, 1014} \\
\text{lomyn} & \text{NPu} & \text{Poen. 939} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Usage**

**FROM**

NPu 145 III 12/14 ŠM’T HMXZH ’S ’YKRM’ T-HMNHT 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 iuim.

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 YRHB ’NK ’RS ‘MQ ’DN LMMS’ ŠMS 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 LMMS’ ŠMS W’D MB’Y, "Throughout the territory of the Adana Valley form East to West."
FROM . . . TO, BOTH . . . AND, expressing inclusivity

Pu 65.2, 81.1/6 [LM]’DRNM W’D Ş’RM, “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 Ş QRTNY LMBMHSR, “A calf whose horns are absent (lit., in absence).”

NPu 124.1/2 G’Y BN HN’ LMBŠM G’Y BN BNM M’QR <YTN> T-MDM WT-HM’Q’M YGN WT-HMHZ 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 MSNBC LMBHYT YTNT ’L MSKB NHTY, “I erected <this> stele at my resting-place during my lifetime.”

Pu 81.1/6 LRB T LŠTRT WLTNT BLBNN MQDSM HDŠM <L> KM KL Ş BM[M] . . . Ş YB ‘LT HHUZ ŞMQDSM ’L . . . LMBYRH HYR ŞPTM ’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 sanctuaires in the month of Hiyyar <in the year of> the suffetres Abdmilqart and [. . . ]ay.”


WITH, AT. BY MEANS OF

NPu 126.10/11 MŽBH WP’DY P’L LMBMLKTM BTM, “He built the altar and the podium at his own expense.”

NPu 130.2 TMNM DN’RY ŞMNW WKNDRM TŠ’ LMB’NŠM,
“Their (the benches) cost of eighty denars and nine quadrans <was met with money derived> from fines.”

\[ L-M(N)-B- \ldots \ W'D \ 'T \ limibb- \ldots \ we'ad \ 'et \]

**Usage**

**FROM \ldots TO**, expressing distance between two objects

NPu \[ LMB'BN \ 'Š 'L HSYW'T W'D \ 'T 'BN \ 'Z MRŞM M'TM W'RB'M, \]

“From the stone that is next 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 \[ WTTN LY HRBT B'LT GBL HN L'N 'LMN WLN 'M 'RŞ \]

“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 \[ WTTN LM HN WHYM L'N 'LMN WBN 'DM, \]

“And grant ye to them favor and long life on the part of the gods and men.”

\[ LPY li'î \]

**Usage**

**BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF, ON ACCOUNT OF**

NPu 126.7/9 \[ LPNY 'DR' LPQY W'M 'LPQ[Y] LPY M'S' 'BTY WM'SM BTM YTNN L'BD BSP'T KL Ḥ'T, \]

“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 \[ Kjl MŞ'T 'Š 'YBL ŞT BPS Z WTN LPY HKTBT 'Ş [BD ŞLŞM H'S 'Š 'L HMŞ'TT], \]

“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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LPN</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>24.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lipane</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 943/44P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With suffix pronouns:

Sg. 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LPNT lipnay</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Byb 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Sg. 3.M.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>LPNY lîpnêyo</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>CID 9 AB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>126.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ZN ’NK BTN’M . . . ŠKBT BSWT WMR’Š ’LY WMHSM 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 WMS’ LPNY PHLŠ HML’K, “PHLS the messenger came to him.”

NPu 126.7/9 [TYBRY QJWDY S’STY] . . . ’Š LPNY’DR’ LPQY W’M ’LPQ[Y] . . . YTN’ L’BD BŚP’T KL H’T, “Tiberius Claudi-us 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M-</strong></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>min</strong></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>Poen. 949 in <strong>limin</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>myn</strong></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>Poen. 939 in <strong>lomyn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>my-</strong></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>D 6.5/7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Syrthys, him of ill repute.”

**OF, expressing material**

33.2/3 **[SJMLT 'Z] Š YTN WYTN MNHŠT . . . LRBY LŠTRT**, “<It is> this statue made of bronze that he presented and erected to his Lady Astarte.”

**FROM, OF, expressing origin**

Pu 116.2/4 **BDŠM N 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 HŠMM 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, Esmunyaton, sailed upstream as far as SHRW.”

Until (temporal)

Pu CIS I 6000.5 KM KHN BHYY QDŠM 'BD W’LMN 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, et passim
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 ‘qle by the Massoretes. The pre-suffixal allomorph of ‘al was, as in Hebrew, ‘ale-. 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’ MHNT ‘LY GBL WYGL ’RN Z THTSP HTR MŚPṬH 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 HSR 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 HTMTBH Z . . HŠM ‘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 WNHT TBRH ‘L GBL, “And peace shall depart from Byblos.”

FOR the benefit of, ON BEHALF OF

40.3/4 HSMLM H’L ‘Š YTΝ’ BTŠLM . . ‘L BN BΝΤ, “Bit-salom erected these statues for her grandsons.”

Pu EH 122.1/3 NDR MTNYB’L LB’L'MN ‘L HTMLKT BT Y’RHM, “Mittanibaal vowed <this> on behalf of Otmilkot daughter of Y’RHM.”
FOR (dative)

Byb 3.2/6 TŠ'MŠ<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 MSBT LMBHYY YYNTT '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 HPRΤ 'L MYΤB' RŁ HSLKY LBN'T T-HMQQDŚ ST, “He undertook to build this sanctuary with the consent of the senate of Sulcis.”

IN PAYMENT FOR

Pu 69.14 ['L BLL W'Ł HLBT W'Ł HLBT W'Ł KL ZBH 'Ś 'Ś '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 minḥitt-offering, the priests shall receive [ . . . ].”

BECAUSE OF, BY REASON OF, ON ACCOUNT OF

NPu 123.2/5 TYN' L'HT 'MM . . . SKR KBD 'Ł 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'Ł HRDT 'Ł GBRTM, “<The god Mescar is> one who commands fear because of his might.”

NPu 165.4 W'Ł KL KTM M'S Ł' 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'Ł . . . YT 'ZTWD . . . 'Z 'DR 'Ł 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[‘]}, “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) amantissi-mo s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt).

UPON, expressing addition


‘L PN ‘al panē

Usage

OPPOSITE, FACING

Byb 10.4/5 HPTH HRŞ ZN ‘Š ‘L PN PTHY Z, “And yonder gold inscription that is in opposite this inscription of mine here.”

Pu CIS i 5510.4/5 BHYM ‘L PN ŚMŠ, “Among those living facing [i.e., under] the sun.” Cf. 13.7/8 BHYM ŤHT ŚMŠ, “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]HMZBHWM ‘Š ‘L PNY, “The sanctuary and the altars that are in front of it.”

‘LT ‘alt

Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘LT</th>
<th>Byb</th>
<th>9 A 2, B 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>14.10; 43.13; 60.6, et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPu</td>
<td>137.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

alt

| Pu | Poen. 946 |
With suffix pronoun:

1. Sg.  
L'TY '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 MŠBT HŘŠ, "The men shall inscribe this resolution upon a gold stele."

**TO, expressing addition**

14.18/20  W'D YT N LN . . . D'R WYPY . . . WYSPNMM 'LT GBL 'ŘŠ, "Moreover, he ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and we annexed them to the territory of the state."

NPu 159.5  TW' YSPN 'LT MQDSM, "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 BMŠKB Z 'LT MŠKB ŠNY, "Let him not carry me out from this resting-place to another resting-place."

**INTO**

Pu 81.1/4  LRB T L'STRT WT N TBLN M MQDS HdSM <'L> K M KL Š BN[M] . . . Š YB' 'LT HHRZ ŠMQDSM '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'LNM 'L 'LT HMQDSM 'L B'SR WŠB' 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 [HMQDS ... ]’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 HMQDSM ’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 **’LT PTHY ’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 ʿalt 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 ’ŠR MŠQL ŠLŠ**
M'T 300, “For an entire animal, they (the priests) shall receive in addition to this payment meat weighing 300.”

\[ 'N 'Š 'ēnê 'ıs = 'NM 'ēnêm \]

Usage

IN PUBLIC VIEW; lit., WITHIN PEOPLE’S VIEW

60.5 \textit{Wŷ n̂ y B'r̲ p̲ t B't̲ 'lm 'N 'Š}, “They shall erect it (the inscription) in the portico of the temple in public view.”

34.1/5 \textit{Mē s̲ b̲ t 'z 'Š Ŷ n̂ N 'r̲ s̲ . . . 'Nm 'l M'vĕ k̲ b N'h̲ t̲ n̂ M L'lm}, “This stele is that which Aris erected in public view at their eternal resting-place.”

\textit{Pnt} panōt

Usage

to

Pu 69.13 \textit{Kl Sw̄ t 'š Ŷ m's Pnt 'lm}, “All the parts <of a sacrificed animal> that are brought to a god.” Ditto 74.8, where the preposition is misspelled \textit{Bnt}.

\textit{Tht} tāḥat

Forms

\begin{align*}
\text{Tht} & \quad \text{Ph-Pu} & \text{Passim} \\
\text{Tht} & \quad \text{NPu} & 118.2
\end{align*}

With suffix pronouns:

1.Sg.

\text{Thtn} taḥtēnī Ph 24.14

3.M.Pl.

\text{Thtnm} taḥtēnom Ph 14.9

Usage

AT THE BOTTOM

Byb 2.1/3 \textit{Ld̄ t Hny B'y̆ k Thtzn}, “Be aware <that> I, your king, am at the bottom of this <shaft>.”
BENEATH, UNDER
14.11/12 'M 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŠRS LMṬ WPR LM‘L WT'R BHYM 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 WP MTŠ YTΝ 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

IN ONE’S STEAD
14.8/9 WL 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‘HΤ RB MHNT, “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 biribbi\Vm

EXCEEDINGLY, GREATLY; VERY, VERY MUCH; corresponding in use and function to Hebrew M'D m'od, which is unknown in Phoenician-Punic.

26 A III 9/11 BRBM YLD WBRBM T'DR WBRBM T'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 6 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 KKM 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 ŠMNHL$ . . . 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'S$ 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 [ ... ]N 'NK LHDY WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ZN, "I alone . . . -ed. And so here do I lie, in this coffin."

L-HD liḥud
ALONE, ONLY; cf. Aramaic lhōd, lhūd. 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 WBYMTY 'NK ŠT T<L>K LHDY DL PLKM, "But in my time (reign), a woman is able to travel alone, without bodyguards!"
Byb 13.1 [. . . ]N 'NK LHDY WKN HN 'NK ŠKB B'RN ZN, "I alone . . . -ed; and so here do I lie, in this coffin."

'D 'ōd
MOREOVER, FURTHERMORE, IN ADDITION; cf. Heb 'WD 'ōd ("still, yet").
14.18/19 W'D TTN 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 LST '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 'î, orth. var. Ŷ
WHERE?; cf. Ugaritic IT ('îyyā); Hebrew 'YH 'ayye.
In the Phoenician personal name 1 Kings 16:31, 18:4.13.19, 19.1f, 21.5-25, 2 Kings 9:7-37 'Y ZBL ('î 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 ('î Ba'ālim), "Where is Baal?"

HN hinno, hen
HERE, sentence-initial demonstrative locative (Lat ecce); Heb HN hinne, HN hen.
Byb KAI 2 HNY B'LK THT ZN, "I, your king, am here, at the bottom of this (shaft)."
Byb 13.1 **HN \'NK ŠKB B’RN ZN**, “Here do I lie, in this coffin.”
Pu *Poen.* 947 **Hen hu Acharistocle**, “Acharistocles lives (lit., is) here.” = NPu *Poen.* 937 **Innoochoth u Agorastocles**.

NPu *NP* 130.6 **HN (hinna) ŠKBT BT ŠMNM ŠT**, “Here does he lie, at the age of eighty years.”

NPu *Punic* 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 HYR**, “I, Abdubast son of Sidyaton, came here on day 2 of the month of Hiyyar.”

**HNKT** hinnokōt

HERE (Neo-Punic), compounded of the locative demonstrative adverb **hinno** (“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 ŠWYT THT ‘BN Z ‘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 innoochoth ulech <silli> Antidamas chon**, “Antidamas was my host here in the past.” = *Poen.* 955 **Sed hic mihi antehac hospes Antidamas fuit**.


**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 iüssim 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 liyra 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.”

\textit{KN} kōna

HITHER, Punic only, being the locative adverb \textit{K} kō (“here”), with adverbial -a of direction and euphonic -\textit{n}-. Phoenician uses \textit{HN} henna.

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

\textit{KT} kōt

HERE, Neo-Punic only, being Phoenician-Punic \textit{K} kō (“here”) with excrescent -\textit{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 iiusim limin co.

See also Neo-Punic \textit{HNKT} (“here”).

\textit{L-MT} limatta

BELOW, BENEATH; Hebrew \textit{LMTH} le\textit{matṭa}

14.11/12 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMT WPR LM'L, “They shall not have a root below nor fruit above.”

\textit{L-M'L} lima'la

ABOVE; Hebrew \textit{LM'LH} le\textit{ma'la}

14.11/12 'L YKN LM ŠRŠ LMT WPR LM'L, “They shall not have a root below nor fruit above.”

\textit{L-M-M'L} MT limimma'la matṭa

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

NPu 145 III 12/14 ŠM'T HMZRH 'Š 'YKR'M' 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.”
THERE; Heb ŠM šam.

26 A I 18-II \ W'N 'NK 'RST 'QT BMB' ŠMŠ ... YRDM 'NK YŠBM 'NK BQST GBLY BMS' ŠMŠ WDNNYM TŠBT 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 'ẓ 'az.

NPu D 6.8/9 Sab siben Mycene, / Is ab syth sath syby, “Our militia surrounded Miqne; / Then did I take that enemy captive.”

AT NIGHT, DURING THE NIGHT; Hebrew BLYLH ballayla.

Pu 76 A 6/7 WMKS' TH[DŠ -- --] BLL WQDMT, “Renew the covering (bandage) [x times] during the night and in the morning.”

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.”

THIS YEAR, IN THIS YEAR; the noun is in the accusative of time.

NPu 137.5 B'SR WŠB' LRYH MP' LPNY HŠT Ž, “On the seventeenth of the month of Prior Mufa of/in this year.”

DAILY, lit. DAY BY DAY

43.10/11 KM ZBHT L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT 'L HTT W'L HY ZR'T YM MD YM, “And I made sacrifice daily to my Lord Milqart for a long life for me and for my descendants.”
YErah MD YERH yerah middë yeraḥ
MONTHLY, lit. MONTH BY MONTH
43.10/12 KM ZBHT L'DN 'Š LY LMLQRT . . . [BHD]ŠM WBKS'M YERH MD YERH, “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 126.9 LPNY . . . YTNE L'BD BSPT K 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 ke‘an
NOW; cf. Aramaic ke‘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 KH'N KH'N 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 Z lipné ēzde
IN THE PAST, EARLIER, BEFORE; cf. Hebrew LPNY MZH lipné 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 lipanîm
IN THE PAST, EARLIER, BEFORE; Hebrew LPNYM lepanîm.
26 A II 3/6 BMQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M . . . WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<Ł>K LHDY, “In places that were dangerous before (in the past), in my time a woman walks alone.”
L-‘LM li´üłom
ALWAYS, FOREVER; Hebrew L’WLM l’e’olam
18.7/8 B’LŠMM L’LM YBRKN, “Baalsamem bless me always!”

MTM malém(a)
EVER, NEVER; cf. Akkadian matišma. 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 ſülam
ALWAYS; Hebrew ‘D ’WLM ‘ad ſülam
43.10/12 KM ŽBHT L’DN Š LY LMLQRT . . . YM MD YM . . . YRĦ MD YRĦ ‘D ’LM QĐM, “So, too, did I always make sacrifice daily and monthly to my Lord Milqart.”

‘D P’MT BRBM ‘ad pa’amút birabbím
MANY TIMES, FREQUENTLY, OFTEN; cf. Hebrew 2Kings 4:35 ‘D-ŠB’ P’MTM ‘ad šeba’ p’e’amím (“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 WMLKTN 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 ομα τω φωτι: Ο δ’ Ιμιλκας αμα τω φωτι την δυναμιν εντος των τειχων παρεισαγων, “Imilkas (Himilco), before dawn leading the army inside the walls <of Agrigentum>.”

QDMT qadmot
IN THE MORNING; cf. Aramaic QDWM(‘) qiddüm(a) and QDMT qadmêta (“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 morn-
ing.”

II. THE CONJUNCTIONS

A. Subordinating

'HR 'Ș 'aḥar 'īs

AFTER; Hebrew 'HR 'ȘR 'aḥar 'ašer

NSI 56.2/6 'HR 'Ș P'L ŞTW'T LHHYM H'S ŠL' . . . 'M' L ŞRT ŠNT HMŠM, “After her husband had made his farewell to the liv-
ing, his mother performed public service for (another) fifty years.”

'M 'im

IF; Hebrew 'M 'im

Byb 10.13/14 W'M 'BL TST ST SM 'TK W'M TSR M[L']KT Z', “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 'LYT WRGZ TRGZN 'L YKN LK ZR' BHYM THT ŠMS, “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 NHL TNHL 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.

'EVEN IF, EVEN THOUGH = 'P 'M; cf. Hebrew 'P KY 'ap ki

KAI 26 A III 12/19 W'M MLK BMLKM . . . 'Ș YMH ŠM 'Z-
TWD BŠ'R Z WŠT SM 'M 'P YHMD 'YT HQRT Z . . . WMH 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.”
Even if people urge you <to violate my tomb>, do not listen to their words!

Because... so (therefore); cf. Hebrew K-... KN ke-... ken; cf. also Ugaritic KMT (“thus, therefore”)

Because they did him a favor, so (therefore) did he undertake to erect it (the statue) to them.

When; Hebrew KY kî

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.

Because, as a result of

That, introducing a noun clause that is the direct object of a verb

Because, as a result of

I am told that these are the environs where he resides.
Governor of Myqnim erected here the statue of Sis; for she is the light of the Tyrians."

\[\text{KM} \ 'Š \ k'\text{mū} \ 'iš\]

when; Hebrew \( \text{K}'\text{ŠR} \ \text{ka}'\text{ašer} \)

Byb 10.7/8 \( \text{KM} \ 'Š \ Q'R'T' \ 'T \ R\text{BYT} \ 'B'LT \ G\text{BL} \ WŠM' \ QL\), "When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice."

CID 7A/8B \( \text{WKM} \ 'Š \ YGL' \ 'YT \ MSNZMŠ \ BYMT' \ 'ZWŠŠ \ WYSB \ MLK \ WRY\text{KL} <\text{LY}> \ \text{LSNZZMS} \ \text{KL} \ \text{HSDYT} \ °Л, "But when they exiled MSNZMS in the days of 'ZWSS, the king of WRYKLY returned all these fields to MSNZMS."

\text{JUST AS} \n
19.1/9 \( \text{RPT} \ \text{KBRT} \ MS' \ SMŠ \ WSPLY' \ 'Š BN H'LM ML'K \ MLK'\text{ŠTRT} \ W'BDY \ 'B'L \ H\text{MN} . . . \text{KM} \ 'Š BN \ 'YT \ KL \ 'HRY \ \text{HMQDŠM} \ 'Š \ B'RS, "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."

\( \text{LM} \ \text{lam(m)a} \)

LEST, followed by Prefixing Form A (Future Imperfective), introducing a statement of future consequence; Hebrew \( \text{LMH} \ \text{lamma} \) (Qoheleth 5:5, 7:16); Aramaic \( \text{l}^\text{ê} \text{mā} \)

14.21/22 \( 'L \ ¥Š' \ 'YT \ HLT \ MŠKBY \ \text{LM} \ YSGRNM \ 'LNM \ HQDŠM' \ °Л, "Let them not carry off the coffin in which I lie lest these holy gods lock them up."

\( \text{L-MHT} \)

FOR THE REASON THAT, BECAUSE; the initial element \( \text{LMH}\text{T} \), the etymology of which is obscure, seems to function as an adverbial complement to the simple conjunction \( \text{K}^- \ \text{ki} \) ("because").

60.1/3 \( \text{TM} \ \text{BD} \ \text{SDNYM} BN'SPT \ L'\text{TR} \ 'YT \ ŠM'B'Ł . . . '\text{TR}T\)
“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 *LMʼN lʼmaʼan*.

60.6/8 *YAŠʼN BKSP ’LM BʼL ŠDN DRKMN M 20 LMHT LKN YDʼ HŠDNYM K YDʼ HGW LŠLM HLPT YTʼ DMMʼ Š PʼL 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.”

‘DʼŠʼad ʼis

When, as soon as; Hebrew ‘DʼŠR ʼad ʼašer

50.5/6 *‘DʼŠʼDʼBM[. . . ]T WŠLT LYTʼ T SPR HNQT*, “As soon as I shall have paid back what I owe, you shall send me the quittance.”

**B. Conjunctions and Disjunctions**

1. **Modal**

‘M

But, expressing exception; cf. Hebrew ‘Mʼim (“but”) in the co-ordinated expression *Lʼ. . . KYʼM ʼlō . . . kiʼim (“not . . . but”; German “nicht . . . sondern”).

Pu CIS i 170.2 [*LBʼL HZBH ŠJR WHʼŠLBM WHPʼMM Š BL ’LM ’LT HMZBH ’M L[TT LKHN MʼYT . . . ], “[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 Hʼ]RT LKHN M WTBRT LBʼL 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].”
AND TOO, AND ALSO; Hebrew 'P 'ap
50.2 SLM 'T 'P 'NK SLM, "<I hope> you are well. I, too, am well."

MOREOVER; FURTHERMORE
26 A I 11/12 WŠT 'NK SLM 'T KL MLK WP B'B'T P'LN KL MLK, "I made peace with every king. Moreover, every king adopted me as father."
CID 3b-4AB WP MTŠ YTN LKLŠ ŠD ZBL, "Moreover, MTS gave to KLS a field in ZBL."

BUT, HOWEVER
CID 3AB WP WLWY YTN LMTŠ WLKLŠ, "But WLWY gave <this same land> to MTS and to KLS."
CID 5AB WP 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 HNHŞT [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 MLMKT WKŁ 'DM 'Š YPTH 'LT MŠKB Z 'M 'Š YŠ 'YT HLT MŠKBY 'M 'Š T'MSN BMŠKB Z 'L YKN LM MŠKB
"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 BRZN'M 'M 'DM Š'M, "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 SPR 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."

WHETHER . . . OR

26 A III 15/18 WYS' HŠ'R Z Š P'L 'ZTWD . . . 'M BHMDT YS' 'M BŠN'T WBR' YS' HŠ'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 'Š'T, "Every person, whether man or woman."

Pu 69.3 B'LP KLL 'M SW'T 'M ŠLM KLL LKHN M 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 WYSRNM 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 ?dûle

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
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.

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

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

They (the Carthaginians) seized Agrigentum, and they (the Agrigentines) made peace.

ET passim.

YEA, INDEED, conjoining independent complementary or parallel sentences

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 BHYT YQDSM ‘BD W’LN M ŠMŠ
'D L'TY, “Like a priest did he serve the holy ones during his life-time, yea, he served the gods until he became too weak <to do so>.”

G. 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' MHNT 'LY GBL WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP HTR MŠPTH THTPK KS' MLKH WNHT TBRH '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 HZ KTN LMN'RY WBYMY KSY BS, “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 THTN WYZQ BSPR Z 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'rrm.”

26 A II 3/6 WBMQMM 'Š KN LPNM NŠT'M 'Š YŠT' 'DM LLKT DRK WBYMTY 'NK 'ŠT T<L>K LHDY 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 Z BY PY 'NK WBY PY 'DM BŠMY WŠPT TNT-PNB'L BRH '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 WŠ YRGZ T-MTNT Z WQBT TNT-PNB'L, “As for anyone who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him.”

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
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 Z 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 Z WŁ'KR WLŚBTY 'ML YD, "As for any person who shall upend this stele or disturb or destory it, his hand shall wither."

2. Marking the Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence

Pu CIS I 5510.7 [M]ŠRT LQN' WKN L' HL WŚLM, "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 WŚM' QŁ, "When I invoked my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice (supplication)."

CID lines 7/8 KM 'Š YGL 'YT MSNZMŚ BYMT 'ZWŚŚ W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> KL HŚDYT 'L LMSN'ZMŚ, "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 WYS' '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 kšmū and KM 'Š kšmū 'is

as well as; Hebrew KŠR ka'asher

Pu 81.1 LRBT L'STRT WLTNT BLBNN MQDŚM HDŚM <'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 [ . . . ] H$' 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'STRT W'BDY B'L HMN . . . KM 'Š BN 'YT KL'HRY [HMQDSJ]\ M 'Š B'RS, "<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

'\textit{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 '\textit{L} 'el is found in this same function.

14.11 '\textit{M} 'DMM HMT 'L YKN LM ŞRS 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 YMH B'ĽŠMM 'YT HMLK H' ŠM 'ZTWD . . . WMH, “As for any king who shall erase the name of Aztwadda, Baalsamem shall erase the aforementioned king.”

'\textit{L} 'el

As for, the Byblian Phoenician counterpart of Tyro-Sidonian '\textit{M} 'ammā, serving to introduce an anticipatory clause. The particle is the preposition “to.” In this same function, Hebrew employs the preposition '\textit{L} 'al (Genesis 41:32).

Byb 1.2 W'L MLK BMLKM . . . WYGL 'RN ZN THTSP HŢR MŠPTH, “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

'\textit{S} 'is; var. ʼ\textit{YŠ}

There is; cf. Ugaritic. \textit{IT} 'ithi; Hebrew ʼ\textit{YŠ} yeš. It is not clear whether '\textit{S} and ʼ\textit{YŠ} are merely orthographic variants or if the latter, found only in personal names, reflects the pronunciation yeš.

NPu Mactar B IV 1 \textit{DR' KN' ŠLM W'Š LN MZR' WSP'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 יָשָׁ בֵּשָׁ, “Where is Bast (Baal)?”; cf. 2 Samuel 2:8-4:12: the Benjaminites personal name יָשָׁ בֵּשָׁ is Boset.

Pu CIS i 4917.5/7 (PN) יָשׁ בֵּל, “Baal is alive!” = Pu CIS i 159.3 יָשׁ בֵּל; cf. 1 Chronicles 8:33, 9:39 (Benjaminite personal name) יָשׁ בֵּל הָאֹל = 1 Chronicles 11:11 יָשׁ בֵּל יִשׁ בַּעַל. Ob. The particle יָשָׁ is merely an orthographic variant of יָשׁ, 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 “Ephraimitic” Canaanite (as in Arabic) to express the existential “there is/are not”: 2 Samuel 20:1, 1 K 12:16 L’ LNW NHLH BBN יָשְׁי, (“And there is no inheritance for us in the son of Jesse.”) NPu 163.2/3 BD שָׁרְת DL TRBT SQLT K BL L’ BSMḤ שְׁרִמ, “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: י, (י)BL, BL. The negative particle L’ lô is not attested in Phoenician or Punic.

1. Negates the Past Perfective (Suffixing Form)

4.4/5 (Sidon) L' תבֹּשׁ בָּנִים K יָשִּׁים בָּנִים, “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 HR$S, “I do not possess any silver, I do not possess any gold.”

RES 922.4 (Chytroi) [L TPTH 'LT H'RN] Z K 'Y [DLN KSP 'Y 'DLN HR$S], “[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 M$'T 'S 'YBL ST 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 T$T $M 'TK, “If you shall not place my name with yours <on this work> . . .”

Pu 69.21 [K]L B'L ZBH 'S 'YBL YTN 'T K[. . .]L HM$'T 'S [BPS Z WN'N$], “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 LP$H, “Do not open <this tomb>!”

4. Negates the Active Participle

Pu CISi 5510.4/5 KL 'DM 'S 'YBL M$RT WKPT RBTN INT-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 TRGZN, “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 YBOŠ 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 TRGZN 'L Y<k>N L<k> ZR' BHYM THT ŠMS 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 WZR' 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 W'TR BHYM THT ŠMS, “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 BBNT '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 ZBH 'Š YZBH 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 '(T)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 'ZRM, "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' BŠMH 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 'ôt, as indicated by the Greek-letter transcription oθ (174.5); this form is clearly related to the Hebrew form 'T 'ôt- used with suffixal pronouns, e.g., 'TY 'ôtî ("me"), 'TW 'ôtō ("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 'ôt 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 ('LYST ')T 'RNW 'LT 'RN ' [. . . ], “[Let him not place] his coffin upon the coffin of . . . ]!” Obs. The noun 'RNW 'arôniw (“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 -ø.

Byb 10.2/3 WQR 'NK 'T RBTY, “I invoked my Lady.” Obs. The noun RBTY ribbati 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 -i. 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 Z, “If you move this inscription of mine.”

48.3 TBRK . . . 'T 'MNM, “Bless ye their mother!” Obs. The noun 'MNM 'amm'nom (“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 91.2 NŠHT 'T 'BY HYŠ'M, “Would that I might defeat my enemies who have/will come forth <against me>.”

174.1/8 Ἀφεθενναυ υιος Ἀφεσαθουν νεσε οθ αμαθη (ΝŠ '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 -ø in Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician.

NPu 145 I 4 L'LM HQDYŠ LS'T 'HT ŠMM, “Exalt the name of the holy god!” Obs. The form 'HT perhaps reflects the shape 'ot.

'YT

Byb 10.8 TBRK B'LT GBL 'YT ŶHWMLK, “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 BTKLYT 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 'YT 'RB'T B[NY] . . . W'T 'MNW**, “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 possesive pronoun; otherwise, **'YT**.

Once only in Phoenician is this form of the particle written phonetically **'T**et: 50.5/6 **WSŁHT 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 HMṬBH Z . . . HŠM '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‘YTT QLM tisma‘u et qûlim ("Hear ye his voice!"); 115.1/2 ŠLM 'BDŠSTRT . . . '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 YT N 'T K[L . . ]L HMS‘T 'Š [ŠT BPS Ž 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 O after the particle.

Pu 79.6/7 KL ŽLSR T‘BN Ž, “Anyone who shall remove this stele.”

Pu 101.1 T-MQDS Ž BN‘ B‘L’ TBGG, “The citizens of Thugga built this sanctuary.”

NPu 129.1/2 BN‘ W‘YQDS T‘KSNDR‘ WT‘RPT ST, “He built and dedicated this excedra and this portico.”

NPu 161.3/4 T‘N‘ T-HM‘S 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 'ūto ("him"). Two instances are attested:

Pu CIS i 580.3 `RST BT BDŠTRT 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 'LY, "Whoever you may be, any person who shall come into possession of this coffin, do not, do not open it!"

14.20/21 MY 'TKLMMLKT WKL 'DM 'L YPTH 'LY W'L Y'R 'LY, "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 almost non-obligatory, and they are seldom attested.

**HLM** ?hallim

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 *hallim* 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 *ynny* (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> mocom susssibiti A(charist)ocle, "I am told that this is the place where Acharistocles resides." = NPu Poen. 938 *Ynny 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 *Ynny i(s) d(ubyr) ch’ily gubulim lasibithim <Agorastocles>, "I am told that this is the district where Agorastocles resides." = Pu Poen. 948 Alem us duber limur <esse> mocom susssibiti 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- ki**

The conjunction ki 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 ‘SMN’ZR MLK SDNM 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 ‘SMN’ZR . . . W’MY ‘M’ŠTRT . . . ’Š BNN ‘YT BT ‘LN M, "It was I, Esmunazor, and my mother, Amastarte, who built the temples."
CIS i4.3/5 K-BN BDŠSTRT MLK ŠDNM ’YT ŠRN ’R[$ DGN] L(’)LY LŠSTRT, “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’RS ‘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’il y 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-ythe ra 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 $L\cdot YQTL$ or phonetically as $LQTL$:

Pu $EH$ 32.3 $L\cdot YŠM'$ (lisma') $QL'$, "May he hear his voice!"
Pu $EH$ 216.3 $LŠM'$ (lisma') $QL'$, "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 $-a$ ($-N'$) 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 $l^a ka$ (lek with extending morpheme $-a$) + particle $-na$ with gemination. Compare the Hebrew imperative with the particle and the same gemination: Genesis 32:30 $HGYDH\cdot N'$ haggidanna ("Tell!"); observe also Hebrew cohortatives with the particle following and the gemination present: Genesis 18:21 $RDH\cdot N'$ etədanna ("I would descend") and $LKH\cdot N'$ eləkanna ("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 $ipusu-na$ (Prefixing Form A) and $timahhaša-na$ (Prefixing Form B). On this particle, see Moran, p. 11.

3a. With Prefixing Form A Present Imperfective

13.3/5 $'Y' DL\cdot N KSP 'Y' DL\cdot N HRŞ$, “I do not possess silver, I do not possess gold.” Cf. Archaic Hebrew Numbers 24:9 $YQM\cdot N yaqūm(u)-na$ ("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


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 Kilamuwa.”); 26 A I 1 'NK 'ZTWD (“I am Aztwadda.”); 54.1 'NK ÑM BN 'BD STRT 'SQNY (“I am Sem son of Abdastart the Ascalonian.”). Rarely did the pronominal subject follow the predicate, as in Poen. 940A Anno byn Myththumbal leAdrumet anec (“I am Hanno son of Mythumbal of Hadrumetum.”) or when the sentence was a subordinate clause, requiring inversion of subject and predicate, as in 10.9 KMLK $DQ H (“. . . for he was a good king.”) and LA I 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 Kanephors of Arsinoe daughter of Philadelphos.”); NPu IRT 879.1 Adom unim ys ysy Bodyschun Chalia (“This man, Bodyschun 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*LSPN (“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 MSKB MLYD (“I took the members of the lower class by the hand.”); 26 A I-21-II 1 *WDNNYM YŠBT ŠM* (“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 *HDŠ WP*L *YT HMTBH Z . . . *ŠRT HŠM ’Š L HMQDŠM (“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 Licinius 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 . . . *WŠBRT MLŠM* (“I acquired horse upon horse . . . and smashed those who scorned me.”); 26 A III 16 *WYP*L L ′R ZR WŠT ŠM ′L* (“He shall make for himself another gate and place his own name on it.”); 10.9/11 *TTN [LY HRTB B]′LT GBL HN . . . WHN (węhanna) ′M ′RŠ 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 ʾš qrʾt ʾt rbtʾ bʾlt gbl wšmʾ ql (“When I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice.”); 24.11 wmy bl ḥz pn ʾš šty bʾl ʾdr (“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 ṭš yrgz t-mtnt ẓ wqbt tnt-pnbʾl (“As for him who shall disturb this stele, Thinnith-Phanebal shall curse him!”); Pu CIS I 5510.7 [m]šrt ʾlqnʾ wkn ḫl 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 ṛbrk bʾl krntrṣ ʾyt ῥtwd ḫym wšlm (“May Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless Aztwadda with long life and prosperity!”); Pu Poen. 1141 haua amma silli (“May my mother live long!”); Pu 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 ʾnky lrbty . . . ʾšʾl [ṭb]rk ῥtʾrbʾt bʾnt (“I ask of my Lady: Bless my four sons!”); 26 A II 4/4 ṛdm ʾyṣʾtʾ llkt drk (“One used to be afraid to walk the road.”); 24.15 wmy ʾyṣḥt hspr ẓ ʾyṣḥt rʾš bʾl ʾṣmd (“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 Ṽ- as does Hebrew wayyiqtol: 30.2/4 Ṽʾl ḥgrʾzʾ [l]šy Ṿyʾbd ḫ[ . . . ] ḫtʾ ῥʾy (“This warrior came up to Alasiya,
and this . . . devastated the island.”); Pu C1S I 5510.9/10 \textit{WY}L\textit{RBM 'DN}B'\textit{L BN} GR\textit{SKN HRB WHMLK BN} \textit{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 \textit{'PQ}N HKSP 'Š SLHT LY WTN\textit{TN 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 \textit{HRPKRT YT}N \textit{HYM L'BDY L'BD'SMN} ("Harpokrates give long life to his servant Abdesmun!"); Pu Poen. 1027 Bal samem ierasan ("Baal shake the heavens!") but also 10.8 \textit{TBRK B'LT GBL YT THWMLK} ("Baal 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 \textit{LKN} ("in order that"): 60.6/8 \textit{YS'N BKSP 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMN} 20 LMHT \textit{LKN YD} (\textit{yede'ũ}: Subjunctive) \textit{HSDNYM} \textit{K YD'} HG\textit{W LŠLM HLPT YT 'DMM 'Š P'L MSRT '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 \textit{'T BTH BDBR[T]} ("Trust thou in my word!") but D 6.11 \textit{Unath 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 Z (“I, Tibnit, lie in this sarcophagus.”) but 14.3 WŠKB ’NK BHLT Z (“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’ZTWD ’RK YMM (“Baal-KRNTRYYS give to Aztwadda a long reign!”); NPU L’T’L H’L ’BBRMKLM 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 ZN (“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 Z LKTB H’DMIN ’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 on a gold stèle.”). The Infinitive Construct Future may also occur in a relative clause; this use is quite common: 79.6/8 WKL ’Ș LSR T’’BN Z (“Anyone who shall remove this stèle”). 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 ’LT 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 Poem. 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

\[ NSI 56.2/6 'HR 'Š P'Ł ŞTYW'T LHŁYM H'Š ŞL' . . . 'M' L ŞRT ŞNT HMŚM, \]

"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 \[ BMŚ'NM 'BN W'ZRNM HPPYM L'GD LN MLHMT . . . WYŞ' [L[NM MHN]T 'Ş KTY L'GD LM MLHMT, \]

"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 \[ TW YSPN 'LT MQDŚM BYRH KRR ŠT BLL HŽBH . . . BŚPTM (bisoftim) MSHB', \]

"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 \[ NPL' (sic!) BTŠTY BYTY BḤṬN[M] (bihyōḥ nom), \]

"It (the tomb) was built at his own expense when they (those at rest in the tomb) were <still> living."
\textbf{K ki}

\textbf{WHEN}

In this construction, the \textit{when}-clause follows the main main clause:

Byb 1.1 \textit{\'RN ZP\'{L} \{TB\'{L} . . . L\,HRM \'BH K-ŠTH B<\text{T}\>} \,\'L},

"<This is> the coffin that Ittobaal made for his father Ahiram when
he (Ittobaal) placed him (Ahiram) in the tomb."

\textit{AL} 1 p. 45 no. 4.7/9 \textit{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 [ . . . ]."

\textit{KM} 'Š

\textbf{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 \textit{W-}.

10.7/8 Byb \textit{KM} 'Š \textit{QR'T T RBTY B'LT GBL WŠM' QL}, "When
I called my Lady Baalt of Byblos, she heard my voice."

\textit{CID} lines 7/8 \textit{KM} 'Š \textit{YGL YT MSNZMS BYMT ZWSS W YSB MLK WRYK<LY> LMSN'ZMS KL HŠDYT \,\'L}, "When they exiled
MSNZMS (?read MTS) in the days of ZWSS, the king of WRYK-
LY returned all these fields to MSNZMS."

\textit{NPu D} 6.3/5 \textit{Byrysth[im Y]rirachan}, "When he drove out
Yrirachan."

\textit{KM Š-}

\textbf{WHEN (Punic)}

\textit{Pu} 81.4 \textit{\'YB' LT H\,HRZ ŠMQDŠM \,'L KM ŠHGR HŠMRT LHR H'[LM]}, "<Belonging to the goddeses 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."

\textit{D \,Š}

\textbf{AS SOON AS}

50.5/6 \textit{\'D \,Š \,'D\' BM'[ . . . ]T WŠLT 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 Suffixing 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 Suffixing 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 ZN 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 WM'BL TST ŠM 'NK 'TK . . . TSRH HRBT B'L GBL'TT 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<BR>NM, "Even if people urge you <to violate my tomb>, do not listen to their words!"

The following sentences illustrate the use of the Suffixing Form to express future result in the main clause; the verb occupies clause-initial position:

Byb 1.2 WH' YMH 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 WM PTH TPTH 'LTY WRGZ TRGZN 'L Y<N L<K>WMSKB 'T RP'M WZR BHYM THT ŠS, "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 \textit{WYZQ BS} PR Z MŠKBM 'L YKBD LB'R̄RM WB'R̄RM 'L YKBD LMŠKBM, “If he shall damage this inscription, the mškbm shall no longer have respect for the b'r̄rm, and the b'r̄rm shall no longer have respect for the mškbm.”

3. Final Clauses

\textit{LMHT LKN} + Suffixing Form B Subjunctive

IN ORDER THAT, SO THAT

60.6/8 \textit{YŠ'N BKSP} 'LM B'L ŠDN DRKMNM 20 LMHT LKN YD' HȘDNYM K YD' HG\textit{W} LŠLM HLPT '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.” \textit{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.

\textit{L-} + Infinitive Construct Subjunctive

THAT, SO THAT

14.19/20 \textit{WYSPNM} LGBL 'RŠ LKNM LȘDNM L'LM, “We annexed them to the territory of our state that they might belong to the Sidonians forever.”

18.3/6 \textit{YT HȘ'R Z WHDHT} 'Ș L P'LT BTKLTY BTN\textit{Y} . . . LKNY LY LSKR, “I built this gate and its panels to be (lit., that it might be) a memorial to me.”

19.9/11 \textit{KM 'Ș BN YT KL 'HRY [HMQDS]M 'Ș B'RŠ LKNM 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 \textit{WBN 'NK HMYT BMQMM HM'T LŠBTNM DNNYM BNHT LBNM}, “And I built protective fortresses in those places that the Danunians might live in peace of mind.”

\textit{LM}

LEST, followed by Prefixing Form A Future, introducing a statement of future consequence if a prohibition should be disobeyed; Aramaic \textit{lėmā}.

14.21/22 \textit{L YȘ' YT HL} T MŠKBY LM YSGRNM 'LMN 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 Tripolitiana in Latin orthography as well as the literary fragments of Punic drama as found in Plautus' comedy *Poenulus*.

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