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## TO

## THE REV. DR. ISAAC M. WISE

 THE VENERABLE PRESIDENT OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE CINCINNATI, 0.RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE
AUTHOR

## A GRAMMAR

OF THE

# ARAMAIC IDIOM 

CONTAINED IN THE

## BABYLONIAN TALMUD

WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO GAONIC LITERATURE

BY<br>C. LEVIAS

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## PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention. ${ }^{1}$ S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students. ${ }^{2}$ This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, Zur Lautlehre der aramaeisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, Das aramaeische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonisch-talmudischen Dialektes, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia
 and Alfasi's compendium of ביצ゙ה. These MSS. have some words

[^0]vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century, ${ }^{1}$ and is closely akin to the Mandaic. ${ }^{2}$ We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as as also for other Aramaic dialects. ${ }^{3}$

The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemârâ, was committed to writing about 500 A . D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200-500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from Meghillath Ta'anith and from encyclicals of the patriarch $\mathbf{R}$. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinean Aramaic, and

[^1] ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic لغغة القارسيّة, which is probably a

 commentary (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series, I.). R. Cemah Gāon in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of Eldad ha-D $\vec{\alpha} n t$, p. 7, says: אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסיך ארחף בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם


 ( Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic ตามา



 Jonathan and of the Talmud Babli as לבּ Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.
are cited in this work under the designation legal style. To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim. ${ }^{1}$

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmid, Me'ílā, Temûrā, Nedārím and Nāzîr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes "

 , דִיִלִ , for the usual by the more frequent use
 undecided, of it?! nim well, " or proper. I am also under the impression that the nota dativi treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzír.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim. Leipzig, 1869.

[^2]The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his Neuhebräisches und chaldaisches Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1876-1889; by A. Kohut in his Aruch Completum, Vols. I.--VIII., Vienna, 1878-1892, Supplement to Aruch Completum, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, London and New York, 1886, sq. (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabbinovicz's great, though unfinished work, Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum, Vols. I.-XV., Munich, 1867-1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking - the completion of the work begun by the late Rabbinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers - will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman ${ }^{1}$ and Professor H. L. Strack. ${ }^{2}$

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people. ${ }^{3}$ Its orthog-

[^3]raphy is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later Midräšîm ${ }^{1}$ and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. $750-1138$ ). To this class belong the of 'Ahai of Sabhâ, ed, princ. Venice, 1546; תixita nith of Simon Qiyyârâ, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888-1892; ${ }^{2}$ אבּת M latest edition by A. Neubauer in Mediceval Jewish Chronicles (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic which $c f$. Z. Frankel, Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller,


The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final $n \hat{u} n$ in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

[^4]
## I．SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

## SCRIPT．

Letters．${ }^{1}$－§ 1．The alphabet used in the Talmud，the number of letters，and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew．

Vowels．－§ 2．No vowel－signs are used in the Talmud．Tra－ ditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel－sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible．סטגוֹל is rare，the prefer－ ence being given to or דירֶק

Numerals．－§ 3．The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals． $\mathbf{N}$ ure used for units；$-\boldsymbol{z}$ ，for tens；$p-\Omega$ ，for $100-$ 400．Compound numbers are expressed by composition，the larger numeral being placed on the right： 123 ， 123 ， 34 ， Numbers higher than 499 are expressed： 500 by תק； 700, ，תֹ，etc．${ }^{2}$ ；When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of
 pagination，the sign of abbreviation is omitted．

Reading of Numerals．－§4．When the number consists of one or of two letters，the names of the letters are read．Thus，＇
 ב＂ּ ר＂ח than two signs are read either as above，or are vocalized；e．g．， ， 248.
${ }^{1}$ For the names of the letters cf．Hamburger，Real－Encycl．f．Bibel u．Talmud，Supplem．， article＂Grammatik．＂Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of let－ ters Alleph，Gimmel，Dalled，Hëth，T̛ĕth，Yad，Kaph，Lammed，Sammekh，C，Caddfq（Berliner，


 in post－Gaonic literature $I$ shall give in my Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic，now in preparation．
${ }^{2}$ In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them．Thus $\dot{\text { s }}$ ， $1000 ; \dot{\beth}, 2000 ; \dot{7}, 5000$ ．Numbers from $500-900$ are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ${ }^{7}-7$ ．In writing，the final letters are always written on the left：$Y$ ．$=903$ ．

3 In MSS，we find sometimes other signs used．Thus为务务。

Diacritical Signs.—§5. 5 . do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point ( $:()^{2}$ The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.
§6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line. ${ }^{3}$ Thus, 'า, 'ת, for two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is
 . The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet.
 distinguish them from thousand, בּיח house, etc.

## ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.-§7. The vowels $\bar{o}, \hat{o}, \check{o}, \hat{u}$ and $\breve{u}$ are invariably indi-
 : omitted in verbs with consonantal $\dagger$ as second stem-consonant:

$\S 8$. The vowels $\bar{e}, \hat{e}, \check{e}, \bar{\imath}, \imath$ and $\grave{\imath}$ are usually indicated by the mater lectionis ":
 But the ${ }^{\text {a }}$ is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; e. g., ap pays;解 explains;
$\S 9$. The vowel $\bar{a}$ or $\hat{a}$, when final, is marked by $\mathbf{N}$; less frequently by $\pi$. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal $\bar{a}$ or $\bar{a}$ is seldom indicated by $N$, never by $\pi$. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: שַׁבּׁא ; queen Sabbath, week; בִּיָּ

[^5]she cooked;
 always spelled
§10. who, in order to distinguish it from from; and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal 9 as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the $a$-vowel: לִישְׁוֹוֹאר let him jump; מֶּרֶּ goes about.
§11. The diphthongs $\bar{a} i$ and $a ̆ i$, when final, are generally indicated by N , seldom by ${ }^{n}$; when inter-consonantal, by ${ }^{4}$,
 NTMNP stands.
§12. Final au occurs only in not, a contraction of Nint ; inter-consonantal $a u$ is indicated by 7 :


 cially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of " as a full vowel. ${ }^{1}$ According to Dalman, ${ }^{2}$ the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of ""ע verbs with $i$ followed by dāghēs of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by $\bar{e}$, by analogy with $y^{\prime \prime y}$ verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms $q^{\ominus} t \bar{a} l, q^{\ominus} t \bar{u} l$ to pass into qittāl, qittūl, is also elsewhere to be observed (cf. Barth, Nominalbildung, 196).... Mere lengthening of ševâ to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (cf. Safir, 'Eben Sappîr, I. 55 a)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find $i$, $\breve{e}$, or $\breve{a}$ for vocal sev $\hat{a}$, the latter having no special sign at all. ${ }^{3}$ It seems, therefore, that the development of ševâ in Hebrew and JudeoAramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. C. Levias, AJP. XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). Cf. also Sal. Geiger, Zion, II. 6: Hehālac, II. 153 ; A. Geiger, Nachgel. Schriften, V., Hebr, part, p. 7 sq.
${ }^{2}$ Grammatik des jud.-pal. Aramiaisch, §70, 3.
${ }^{3}$ Cf. Friedlander, PSBA., XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

## II. PHONOLOGY.

## A. CONSONANTS. ${ }^{1}$

General Remarks.-§14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects

 e.g.,, : שת Trepresents to and b; e.g., b:








 but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as $こ$. .
 to drink; cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.-§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronuncia-

${ }^{3}$ This is the Arab. ${ }^{2}$ back, Assyr. siru high. Cf. Arab.


tion of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words. ${ }^{1}$

Gutturals.- $\S$ 16. The Arabs transcribed $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ by $8, \pi$ by $\dot{\sim}$ or $\tau$, and $\boldsymbol{y}$ by $\varepsilon$. The pronunciation of $\Pi$ was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant $خ$. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.
§17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 b , M. Q. 16 b , Ker. $8 a$ ), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling. ${ }^{2}$ Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in זוֹר to be cautious, ${ }^{3}$, זחר one another,
 to sift, mological $\Pi$. ${ }^{4}$ In $\mathbb{N}$
 we have $n$ as well as $y$ for it. In


 Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit.; also N̄estle, Marginalien u. Materialien, p. $69 .{ }^{5}$

The fact that post-vocalic is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus points to an earlier
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Fraenkel, op. cit., Introduction.
${ }^{2}$ Cf. Noeldeke, MG., 58.
${ }^{3}$ This word has nothing to do with 7 7T to shine, but is the Arab. j). For similar metathesis, cf. Barth, ES., 3, 4 (4
${ }^{4}$ Cf. also Harkavy's note, p. 356 , of his edition of the $T G$.
5 A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phenician (Schroeder, Phoniz. Spr., 79 sq.), Samaritan (Uhlemann, Inst. lingu. Samar., I., 13 sq .), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, NSG., 56 sq.), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, op.cit., 44).
 the like are pronounced málo, mánor, máiriv, maimod, maichol. But ma acho. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, maimorim, maícholim, maimodos.

Palatals.-§18. Initial seems to have been sometimes pronounced $\boldsymbol{\aleph}$ to judge from a few cases where $\boldsymbol{N}$ is actually written and from the fact that after the precative 2 the prefix " of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an $a$-vowel, is frequently
隹 that will be born, Ned. 30 b, that they gather, B. Q. $113 \mathrm{~b} ; \boldsymbol{\kappa}$ for ${ }^{{ }^{~}}$ is also written in a few forms of the verb
 On the other hand, we find at times the ${ }^{\circ}$ marked as consonantal by doubling it.
 as mutae and as spirants. $\quad \begin{aligned} & \text { a is transcribed by the Arabs generally }\end{aligned}$ as ${ }^{\text {a }}$, sometimes as $\boldsymbol{Z}$; is generally $\dot{\varepsilon}$, sometimes by or

 shepherd's bell,
 written promiscuously. $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ is today not distinguished from ${ }^{2}$.

Linguals.—§ 20. דis rendered in Arabic by 〕, $\overline{7}$ by $\dot{3}$; $\overline{-1}$
 like 7 and $\overline{5}$ like $\Xi$. 0 is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}$. The 7 was evidently a lingual, as it could ke doubled. ${ }^{1}$
 rarely $m$. In the Talmud $w^{*}$ is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus,


 28 b ;
 to tread.



[^6]פby er , with the exception of two or three words where 71 is written for etymological $\beth$, the Talmud retains ב. But $\beth$ and 11 are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and are sometimes written indiscriminately. פּ and


$D \bar{a} g h e ̄ s{ }^{2}$ and Rāphe.-§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדבפת as tenues, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:


b) The $\Omega$ in the feminine ending $\boldsymbol{T}_{\boldsymbol{T}}$ - is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be

c) בגדכפה are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronun-


哯 Papi.

Changes of Consonants.-Gutturals.- § 24. $\boldsymbol{N}$ changes to ${ }^{7}$ in the active participle Qal of 9 " their analogy. Also in the $\mathrm{Pa}^{\text {e"e }} \mathrm{e}$ l and Ithpa"al of verbs s "y. Thus, pels, omitted, only graphical variants. The $\mathbf{N}$ must have also been pronounced - in interstice, and

§ 25. ה changes to ${ }^{4}$ or " in (§177), קְ plo to be blunt, תְָּ to be astonished. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תרח

$\S 26$. $\Pi$ appears frequently as $\pi$ : $\boldsymbol{\pi}$. foliage of a palm, Arab. حوص ; Thorn, Syr. ;

[^7] changes with a sibilant:
§ 27. y regularly changes to $\boldsymbol{N}$ when there is another $y(=0)$
 ضyena. $C f$, also § 17. In to laugh, we have at for $\%$. Whenever $y$ corresponds to Arab. $\dot{\omega}$ it must have been originally $=\dot{\varepsilon}$. This would explain more easily its interchange with and P. ${ }^{2}$ Verbs $y^{\prime \prime}$ ל have in a few instances passed into verbs " "ל.


 in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to $\boldsymbol{T}$ in $\begin{gathered}\text { U } \\ \text {, }\end{gathered}$ שודר for

 balls, cakes. The interchange with $\beth$ frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.
$\S 30$. Intervocalic " changes to $\mathbb{N}$ in the adjective ending
 for * healed, Keth., 62 b; אֹשׁnen were changed, Col. MS., MQ., 25 b. But generally intervocalic ${ }^{-}$is elided.

Dentals.-§31. 7 usually corresponds to Arab. $\Delta$ and $j$; but occasionally $\uparrow$ appears, even when it corresponds to 0 . Thus, "T,


 חברֶּ may stand for original. Cf. prothetic Min Syr.
 op. cit., p. 41 ; Nöldeke, MG., $\$ 66$; Munk, TM., p. 44, u. 127. Ethiopic saq0qa ya, to cry, lament, is a Šaph'el of *q0qaua = ضوضي . One is tempted to compare also JudeoGerman "koiken" to howl, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. Cf. also $P$ na, $H G$., ed. princ. $=$ = cast bubbles. Similar is the interchange of 7 and


3 C'f. Jaegor, BA., I., 489, 459.
${ }^{4}$ Cf. Nóldeke, M/f., 43; D. H. Müller, Inschr, von Sendschirli, 40 sq., 6 .
 for ${ }^{2}$. Arab. ضَغْ ضَ

In the following examples we have not an interchange of $\zeta$ and 7 , but a rare syntactical use of 7 , which can be paralleled
 50 a; یקטּ dates for trade, Sabb. 19 b. In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לַא". ${ }^{3}$
§ 32. usually corresponds to Arab. b and b, but occa-
 corresponds to 'Omanee Arabic ضلع to limp."
§33. $s$ sometimes interchanges with 7: : dadian;

Liquids.-§34. $\mathrm{b}^{2}$ interchanges with $\boldsymbol{y}$ in the precative parti-

 nummus, coin. $\quad C f$. also §36.-
§35. I changes to 7 in hide with Hebr. תּבּרַ daughter, if they are identical with
 MS., Sabb. $134 a$.
$\S 36.7$ appears frequently as 7. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of 7 to

1 Cf. also Arab. $),$

 ibid. 373.

3 The stock example for the interchange of $\zeta$ and 7 has always been $7 \boldsymbol{T H}=3$. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, NTN and 9itw, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root $7 \boldsymbol{t}$ mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a
 full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.
 change of $\Omega^{\top}$ to ${ }^{-}$
${ }^{5}$ For the same phenomenon cf. TG., ed. Harkavy, §55. Cf. also Syriac $\mathbb{Q}$ N and Hebrew-Aram. 7ny to give.

7 is attested in living speech, ${ }^{1}$ such a change may in some cases be phonetic. The physiological kinship between 7 and 7 seems to be the same as between $\geqslant(=\dot{\varepsilon})$ and $\dot{\nu}$.

§37. т. On interchange with $7 c f . \S 31$. i stands for Arab.

 Arab. ${ }_{\text {ج }}^{\text {ج }}$ to pass through, cross, is evidently connected with

§38. O stands for ص in to wait, hope for. On the other hand oun to cup corresponds to Arab. سَبَبَ to examine a wound. The latter is connected with ثَبْرَ to brcak open (said of an ulcer). ${ }^{4}$ For its interchange with other sibilants $c f . \S 21$.
§39. 等 interchanges with other sibilants (§21), with u

 to cast bubbles.

1 Maclean, Gram. of Vernacular Syr., §121. For Ethiopic cf. Pratorius in BA., I., p. 45.
2 From an original بـضص all the forms with $T, \bar{p}$ and 7 as second stem-consonant, which appear in the various Semitic languages, can be derived.

 Through the intermediate form ذِ we get the form book mentioned in the Talmud as used among Persian Jews. Of. Fraenkel, op. cit., 248; Barth, E. S., 26,52 . The development of meaning from
 and p. $\boldsymbol{\pi}^{\prime \prime \prime}{ }^{\text {p }}$ sq.). There seems, thergfore, to be no ground for doubting the Arabic origin of كُنّا as Fraenkel does (op. cit., 249).
${ }^{4}$ Oin (Targ.) to bear, carry, is closely connected with the idea of endurance, hope. The same connection we find in סבל (Targ.) to carry, suffer, endure. Arab. ; , Assyr. zabalu (Barth, ES., 50). Interesting variants to שרבר we find in the Targ. to Psalm 96, 8:




[^8]§40. שं interchanges with $\pi$ in תקל, שקל, to weigh, be worth. With O in "משׁ to wash.

Labials.-§ 41. ב. On interchange of $\beth$ with 1 and $\Xi c f$.


§42. \%. Assyrian $1 \%$ appears sometimes as ב , sometimes as

 ing, Sabb. 110 b; in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for ${ }^{2}$ in $\mathbb{N}^{\sim}$
§43. ๆ. Initial has been retained only in the following words:
 a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to ".

## DOUBLING.

§44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:
a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; e. g., in the Intensive stems.
b) To show a double consonant; e. g.,
c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; e. g., Nשָ year,
d) Ās compensation for a shortened long vowel; e. g., for
e) To lengthen artificially a short word; e.g., Nome mouth, Nix father.
 אncin bridge, Assyr. titûru.
g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in the pronominal ending of the participle, $\underset{\sim}{\text { ®N }}$, thou sayest, and in 극 Rabbi, usually pronounced
${ }^{1}$ The Assyrian equivalent is amurra (cf. Jensen, ZA., X., 339 gq.) and wint stands for
 with the Syriac So ?
${ }^{3}$ The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a



${ }^{4}$ Cf. Noldeke, SG., § ${ }^{23}$, H.

Resolution of Doubling.-§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality,


Insertion of Consonants.-Insertion of a Liquid.-§ 46.

b) 1: roy, Pers. ustadâr, and other words.
c) 7 : In the so-called Pareel forms: to shake,

 N or on whep boy, ,

Note.-In words of foreign origin $\Psi \in$ seems to be similarly
 Assyr. aškapu=Arab أكَّأف; cf. Assyr. iškaru=ikkaru= אִפָּ

Insertion of $\pi .-\S 47$. A $M$ is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus ${ }^{\top}$ parents, plural of $\mathfrak{N}$; bond-maid; flanks;

Insertion of a Semivowel.-§48. In the plural of the noun 7 or ${ }^{\text { }}$ is in a few cases inserted before the ending of $\boldsymbol{N O}_{\top}$ to avoid an hiatus. ${ }^{2}$

## ASSIMILATION.

§49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.-§50. 1. The $\mathfrak{N}$ is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs $\mathbf{N}$ "פ—frequently in

[^9]




 whence for בִּקָּ -
2. $\pi^{-}$is regressively assimilated in they,
 are tired (A. Z., 72b); ,

 NT:
4. y is assimilated in


 ibid. 20 b ; בּבָּרָ ferry,
5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb to go up,
 sharp-shooter $V$ זלק
6. ${ }^{2}$ is assimilated in face, צ'ּ
 also in 7 from.
 "pefore,
 I put him under the ban, M. Q. 17 a; אַמְּת hast pleased, Hull

 dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants:

[^10]was sold, made proft, a. o.
9. $\boldsymbol{2}$ is assimilated in



Partial Assimilation.—§51, a) $\mathbf{N}$ is partially assimilated to


 פ to $T$ and $M$ in

c) $\pi$ is partially assimilated to $i$ in the reflexive stems of
 out transposition
 of a place. To ${ }^{3}$ : in verbs



Reciprocal Assimilation.- $\S 52$, a) Here belong
 to 7 . Similarly

 prepare still occurs as variant to 7.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Fraenkel, 69.
 Kick
 ${ }^{3}$ Cf.
4 (ff. Barth, ES., 36 sq.

出

${ }^{7}$ Cf. Barth, ES., 33, 51.
b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. ${ }^{\text {an }}$. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike. ${ }^{1}$

## DISSIMILATION, ${ }^{2}$

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. ' dissimilates to 7 in pepper, Col. MS., Meg. 7 b; to 5 in
 stem may be רמשל ; mixture of white and black.
2. 2 dissimilates to 7 in

3. 7 dissimilates to $\pi$ in , ה that I should be connected with his descendants. M. MS., Pes. 49 a.


## VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§54. a) Initial consonants. $\boldsymbol{N}$ is dropped in $7 \boldsymbol{\pi}$, אנזל to $g o{ }^{3}{ }^{3}$
: is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{\prime \Xi}$, following the analogy of the imperfect.
§55. b) Within the word. $\mathbb{N}$ is elided in contractions:

 bull, N head, especially in $N$ " in the adjective ending

ה is syncopated in
$\pi$ quiesces in a preceding vowel in sprout, aḥaršanư, or ahuršânu, Syr. It is syncopated in beneath, below.

[^11]§56. 5 quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is y: \% to visit, 7 . Arab. صَ Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a , to pronounce incorrectly, Ned. 16 a,
 ๓. It is syncopated in in the compound numerals (§ 136). In בָּ we want, Col. MS. Zeb. passim, for
§57. A is lost in wair, scissors, and wat, upon (§ 174). The $g$ in this case first became $g^{u}$, then the separate elements $g$ or $u$ were lost. ${ }^{1}$ Perhaps belong here




$\leadsto$ is dropped in a few participles of Pa"ēl: trim the



I is syncopated in makes water (sibi).
§59. 7 is dropped in ear. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's Neuh. Wb., III., $312 b$, that T interchanges with $\eta$ is true, then sorb-bush, for
$\S 60 . c)$ Final consonants. $\boldsymbol{N}, 1$ and ${ }^{n}$ quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems $\boldsymbol{\aleph}^{\prime \prime}$, , $\eta^{\prime \prime}$ and ${ }^{\prime \prime}$. The two former then pass into ${ }^{n \prime 3}$. The appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. $\pi$ and are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like $\mathbb{N}$. Thus, $\mathbf{N}$. N mint, wound, "ספ to spoil, "שׁׁ to to slant, have identified.
${ }^{1}$ This phenomonon is frequont in Indo-European languages, Cf. also Fraenkel, op. cit. XXII., 107.

2 For a change of 7 to $\mathbf{Z}$. $c f$. Praetorius, BA., I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.
${ }^{3}$ Perhaps also in the Palestinean proper name N解 for Non child, as in Syriac.

§61.7 quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and impera-

 $86 a$; in

§62. ל is dropped in some forms of to go: NTM he went, M. MS., B. M. 101 b, 103 b, Col. MS., Pes. 111 b; ${ }_{\text {- }}^{\text {ָָ }}$ he goes, Col.



§63. 5 is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun,


 they may be caught, M. MS., Sabb. 43 b.
§64. 7 is dropped in
$\pi$ is dropped in


 Raší Sanh. $101 b$; and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.
 $85 b, 86 a$, Raší Taan. $24 a$; ${ }^{2}$ marries, Col. MS., M. Q. $3 b$, Col. MS., Zeb. 5 a.
§66.
 $95 \ddot{a} ;{ }^{4}{\underset{\sim}{N}}^{2}, N_{T} p_{T}$, stands; I explain, ibid. Pes. 90 ; ; minn I explained it, ibid. M. Q. 2 áa. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.
 tion;

${ }^{1}$ Cf. N
${ }^{2}$ The verb $\mathbf{N T N}$ to heat is perhaps an Aph'el of לTN. For the development of meaning


${ }^{4}$ Cf. C. Levias, $A J P$., XVI., 34.

## B. VOWELS.

Imâlè.-Pathah.—§68. Original $a$ a in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to $i$ (or $\check{\text { en }}$ ). Thus, Passover $^{2}$
 Narden; ${ }^{1}$ in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect $\mathrm{Pa}{ }^{\text {" }}{ }^{\mathrm{e}} \mathrm{l}$ when the second stem-consonant
 $51 b ;$; Sôt. $4 b$; $\square$.n? roared, Hull., $59 b$; in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Pa ${ }^{\prime}$ el e , let him lower it, Sabb. $67 a$; let him cool her off, В. В. B. 74 b; in the enclitic pronoun
 ת the perfect ${ }^{\text {N }}$ placest, B. Q. $114 a$; in the first syllable of

 unft, Pes. $15 b$ (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long Qāmēg.- § 69. Original long YMp at times changes to $\hat{e}$ (or $\hat{\imath}$ ). Usually so when $\hat{a}$ has arisen in consequence of the

 rily 'תַּ,



 M. MS., Pes. 111 b; "רִיָּטָּ their deceased parents or relatives, B. M. 70 a; man. ${ }^{\text {; }}$

 $i{ }_{i} .^{3}$ A kind of imalle is diphthongization (§80).

[^12]Obscuration of $\hat{A} .-§ 70$. The obscuration of $\hat{a}$ to $\hat{o}$, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud.

 ending $\hat{a} n$ is at times obscured to $\hat{o}$ or $\hat{u}$ under the influence of the n. trial.

Vocalic Epenthesis.-§71. The final vowel $\hat{\imath}$ of the first com. and the 2 . fem. sing. and the final $\hat{u}$ of the 3 . masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, qat(a)l(a)ti becomes qat(a)lait, and contracted $q(a) t(a) l e t$, or $q(a) t(a) l i t$, pen or Similarly, the perfect $q(a) t(a) l \hat{u}$. tracted to $q(a)$ tôl akhi thine (f.), akha thine (m.) and ahi his, become a ${ }^{i} k h$, $a^{a} k h, a^{i} h$ and contracted, $\overline{7} \overline{-}, 7 \bar{\top}, \bar{m}$. . The last form ahi for $a h u$ or $i h u$, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form ihu became by transposition uhi (cf. אבר his father) and in analogy of the latter such a form of ahi was formed.

Influence of Consonants on Vowels.- $\S 72$. The quiescence of one of the consonants $\mathcal{N},\urcorner, \cdots, \Pi, \pi, y$, or $\urcorner$, lengthens the


 The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears;
 if.
$\S 73$. The neighborhood of an $\$$ sometimes produces imâlè:
 M ( $\Pi^{-}$, y change a preceding short vowel $\check{e}, i$, or $u$, to $a$ :

 I say (for

[^13]$\S 74$. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times $\breve{a}$ (or $i$ ) to $\breve{u}$ (or $\bar{o}$ ). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects. ${ }^{1}$ ) man (already in Bibl. Aram.),



 Thers. katah, a certain dish. ${ }^{3}$

Note.-In mouth, we have an original nominative + mimation. In the first syllable of we have an attempt to render the Arabic $\dot{\varepsilon}$.

Fluctuating Vocalization.-§75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original
 or אیּזְ appear also as

Shortening of Long Vowels in Closed Syllables.-§76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of as it differs from פan also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, N

Compensatory Lengthening.- $\S 77$. Compensatory lengthening takes place in
 M. MS., Pes. 111b, for (§ 119) ; 隹 that they may lift him up, 2 M. MS., M. Q. $28^{\circ} \bar{b} \bar{b}$,
 N
 sesame;


Heightening and Depression of Vowels.- §78. Short $u$ is


[^14]sometimes pronounced $\hat{a}$ as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms "קטשׁר , etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes fect with transposed final vowel (§71); in the names of the letters 7 , par ; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs -"

Final $\hat{e}, \hat{e}$, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced $\hat{\imath}$ : חn, nem, new, etc., and in a few other cases; e.g., This wife, lit. the one of his house.

Diphthongs.- $\S 79$. In diphthongs whose second element is " the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is 9 the latter is pronounced as $\bar{\beth}$ or $\overline{\operatorname{E}}$. Thus,
 ing, אָּרְ

Diphthongization.- $\S 80$. The vowels $\bar{\imath}, \bar{e}, \bar{a}$, change sometimes to $a \dot{c}$. The vowels $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{u}$ to au. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.
a) $\bar{i}$ and $\bar{e}:$ : 145 b; אn was satisfied, B. Q. 113 b; ; whe committed adultery, Sanh. $106 a$;


 N whe brought up, Sabb. 116 b; ibid. 124 b;

 thou cursest, Sabb. 151 b; תאמטייח thou hast brought, Ber. 9 ;
 Col. MS., Meg. $7 a$ and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes $15:-$ and 1

 Pes. $111 b$.

[^15] skein;

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.-§81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the $a$-vowel being placed after the $i$ or $u$-vowel. In such a case the last are
花



 "



Contraction of Vowels.- §82. $\hat{a}^{\prime} a$ is contracted sometimes to $\bar{a}$. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. Nepp. first, silk, heathen (Col. MS., M. Q. 12b),
 passim.

Note.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אבּא ארישָ as Rabh of Areekh $\hat{a}^{3}$ falls to the ground, since might well
 and explains it by one who arranges arguments, a lecturer. Ïn such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be N, Not Nor the Targumim - cf. e.g. Levy's Dict. on the Targ., s. v. they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace

[^16]through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that אَقَبُך by which is generally taken to mean trall, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as vell-arranged, wellbalanced, thinker. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲריכָ. For other explanations of the name $c f$. Muehlfelder, $R a b h$, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, §64; Kohut, Aruch Completum, s. v. אیריִּ ; Weiss, Zur Geschichte der jud. Trad., III., 147, note 3; Heḥālûç, ix, 18 sq.
§83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: aut
 taught,
 MS., Ber. 28 a, and others. In nouns: ארחרץ young gazelle, Syriac is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization

 bucket. In the plural ending $a \underset{\sim}{i}(\hat{a})$ : אֲn words.

Retention of Disappearing and Insertion of New Vowels. —§84. Pretonic Qameg.-In some cases original $\breve{a}$ in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to $\bar{a}$, as in Hebrew. Thus


路
$\S 80$. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case

[^17]with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3 d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. let them run away,


 document; בּּׁ §92.)
$\S 86$. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of

 ת ת ת , a nominal form like vowel in
§87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. he drank,
 silent, Pes. $17 a ;$; whe was able, Ned. 89 b; he

 they kept quiet, Nāz. $32 a$, Sôtā $35 a ;{ }^{2}$ 中 אַּשַׁר wait ye, Ber. 53 b; $7 a$; אn whe committed adultery, K. MS., Sanh. 106 a, eds. ( $£ 880,89$ ) ; אַרְבָּ blood.
$\S 88$. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the rowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. (x) they will dwell, M. MS., Taan. $25 a$ :


Loss of Vowels.-§89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the
 and then (v. § The loss of final $\mathfrak{u}$ in

[^18]the enclitic pronouns ${ }^{7}$ - is sometimes found for $\mathbf{N}_{T}$-; in the perfect, the pronominal endings of the 1 st and 2 d person sing. have lost their final vowel. The final $\hat{u}$ in the 3 d masc. plur. of the perfect has been frequently dropped with coincident coloring of the preceding vowel (v. §71). In the other parts of the verb the loss of final $\hat{u}$ is very rare. The $\hat{\imath}$ of the 1 st sing is generally dropped in the objective suffix, rarely so in the possessive (v. § 109). The final vowels of the 2 d and 3 d sing. and the 1 st plur. are generally dropped in both possessive and objective suffixes. ${ }^{1}$ Also in when, $\mathbf{N}$ there is, the final vowel is dropped.

Syncope of Vowels in Consequence of Resolution.- $\S 90$. Resolution of doubling with syncope of vowel is found in now (


Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Prothetic Lengthening of Word.-§91. The addition of a prothetic vowel frequently produces syncope (§88) : אַטְּ leaf; a kind of alkali;
 wrought metal. Cf. happens when a word is lengthened by the addition of a preposi-


Syncope of $\overline{\text { Vowel }}$ in Consequence of Segholatization.- $\$ 92$.


 many others.

Accent.- §93. The traditional pronunciation accents always the penult of a word. Prefixed prepositions and conjunctions do not receive the accent.

[^19]
## III. MORPHOLOGY.

## PRONOUNS.-A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. Independent Personal Pronouns.—§ 94. a) $I$; rarely אַמִּ, thou;
 rarely
b) References: $I$, Ned. $5 a, 44 b$; B. B. 59 b ; a. fr.ךְ we, Ned. $56 a$, Ber. 56 b; a. fr. $11 a b$ (taken from Biblical Aramaic).-N a. fr. אנִ thou, Ned. $91 b$, Taan. $29 a$; Sabb. $30 a$; B. M. $26 b$, $39 b, 109 b$; a. e.—的 ye, Ned. $50 b, 55 a$; a.fr. 109 a. MS., Pes. 110 a; ; it is ye who did, etc., M.
 yourselves. אַּ
 $37 a$ a I are five.—n he, Ned. ธ5 $a$; a. fr. he, it is, B. B. 111a; Ned. $51 a$, $55 a$; a. fr. אn she, Meg. $14 a$; Nidd. $72 b$; a. e. היה she, it is, Ned. $23 a, 50 a, 91 a$; a. e.—nerne, masc., Ned. $20 b$; a. fr. Keth. $23 a$; Ned. $42 b, 52 b$; Naz. $47 b, 57 b, 64 b$; Taan. 18b; B. B. $165 b$; Ber. $50 a$; B. M. $104 b$; a. e. (hey, fem., Ber. $44 a$; Keth. $2 b$; a. e.
$\S 95$. The demonstrative pronoun is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. Cf. Keth. $111 a$, Meg. $16 a$, Hुull. $53 a$, Bekh. $5 a$.
§96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun
 older texts it must have occurred more frequently; cf. $I$ and he, Aruch Compl. Nid. 25 b; אִיהּ he he and she, ibid. Gitt. 68 b. Kohut, Ar. Compl., s. v., has also the variant

[^20]The word is identical with עִיהַלָּ or ornginally to her, the $\rightarrow$ having changed to ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ or ${ }^{4}$. The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. $C f$. . Sabb. 156 b, and lí, lan, $I$, we, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'ana, 'anan.

 being demonstrative elements "אִּ are used mostly as copula. ${ }^{2}$
b. Enclitic Personal Pronouns.-§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.
Singular.
Plural.

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: "אָּדירָ thou art forbidden for me, Sanh.
 thou lead? ibid. 63 a ;
$\S 100$. The forms under a are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under $\beta$ with " ${ }^{\prime}$ verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.
§101. The plural forms under a are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded


[^21]§102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives $y$ and 3 with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the
 abolish, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 a; ביתח let us infer, ibid. 106 b.
§103. Rosenberg ${ }^{1}$ sees in forms like
 $121 b$ ), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneou ; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; cf. below, $\S 106$.
§ 104. The same author explains (loc. cit.) forms like N, as composed of the respective verb and the singular pronoun of the second person "אֲی" with apocope of final "厄י"." The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like $\mathbb{N}$


$\S 105$. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuons use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely. ${ }^{2}$ This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.
$\S 106$. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the



[^22]for $I$ (we) am not a Persian, eds. ibid. 28 b; Nַ
 This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy ${ }^{2}$ and Th. Noeldeke ${ }^{3}$ into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic nun in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלי"אה, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of " causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.
c. Possessive Suffixes.- $\S 107$.

SINGULAR.

With Singular Nouns.

1. c.
2. m.
3. f.

4. f. $\left[\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{T}}^{-}, \mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{T}}^{-}, \mathrm{m}\right], \mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{T}}^{-}, \mathrm{m}_{\mathrm{T}}^{-}$

With Plural Nouns.



PLURAL.

2. m.
2. f.

3. f.
?
§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.
 M. Q. $12 a$, Gitt. $70 a$, Sabb. $66 b$, Ber. $39 b$, Yôm. $78 a$, a. e.; NㅡN my father, M. Q. 20 b, Meg. $12 b$, B. M. $59 b$, a. e.; my grandmother, B. B. $125 a b ;$; 125 my son, Ber. $5 b$; daughter, Ḥull. $95 b$, Keth. $54 a, 109 b$; איחּ my wife, B. B.
 bed, ibid.;
 $59 b$ : (in the parallel passage Ber. $55 a$ we have "אוֹשְ (בּיתָ to that? On s. v. ND, I.

 B. B. 3b; קִּ who would a father ever rise up before his son? Keth. 62 b; בַבְָּ
 band is as small as an ant, ibid.
$\S 110$. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: ~ rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul, ibid. 68 b; From me, B. B. $142 b$, M. MS., ibid. Ḥag. $22 b$, ibid. $15 b$, V. L. ad l.n. 4, Er. $53 b$. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.
§ 111. אית there is and there is not, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. "אימאה am, Ned. $81 a$; Pes. 50 a; M. MS., ibid.






[^23]d. Objective Suffixes.-§ 112 .

§113. The distinction between the suffixes of the perfect and those of the imperfect are obliterated.
§114. The $\Omega$ element in the suffixes is derived from the objective particle $\pi_{T}^{n}$. This is clear from a form like דבלציםתה that he swallow it, Ned. 50 b, where the commentaries have דבלע" ns" in two words.
 NT. cf. the Targumic . But it may also be a mistake of the copyists: "מ" stood for " tion was omitted and then written when in in so vocalized by the Col. MSS. The getic $n \hat{u n}$.

## B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

§116. Those referring to a nearer object, or to the subject under consideration, are:
Sing. masc. ( fem. NT, contracted from אי.
Plur. masc.
fem.
§117. Those referring to a distant object are:
Sing. masc. $\boldsymbol{N}_{1}$
fem. N
com.
Plur. com.
§118．אֲnc ，only in the phrase both this and that， these and those，is used for both genders and both numbers．
§119．References：（
 Ker． $25 b$ ，Keth． $103 a$ ，Me ${ }^{\prime} 1 \mathrm{la} 12 b$ ，and frequently in Ned．and Nāzirt．—


 Col．MS．，Pes． $75 b^{\top}$ ．—— $\left.\aleph_{T} 7_{T}\right)$ ，Pes． $53 b$ ，B．M． 60 （，Bekh． 45 b－－


 with compensatory lengthening（v．§77），，

 $110 a$ ；Taan． $17 b$ ；B．B， $38 a, 63 a$ ；Keth． $87 a$ ．Only in legal
 $34 b$ ，a．e．；（contracted from （

 （



$\S 120$ ．Forms in parentheses are of rare occurrence，and belong partly to the Palestinean dialects．

[^24]$\S 121 . N_{T}$ is often joined to the following word, in which case the final $\boldsymbol{\aleph}$, which marks the length of the vowel, is not
 -ִתּת
 in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change.

 is it, how about? and others.罜。

## c. Copulative pronouns.

§123. a) The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

|  | Masc. plur. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Fem. sing. | Fem. plur. |




 they all belong to one and the same kind, Hull. $79 a$; and fre-

§ 124. Luzzatto ${ }^{2}$ and Nöldeke ${ }^{3}$ consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix 9 , and the initial $\mathfrak{N}$ lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (loc. cit.) considers to be a mutilated $\boldsymbol{\beta} \boldsymbol{\beta}=$ = Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הִּשְ

[^25]verbal force; but $c f$. Duval's objection, Gram. Syr., p. 168, note 2. Merx (Gram. Syr., p. 168) derives 'inin $+h u$ through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter 4 等 through syncope of medial 9 . I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable a contraction of which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of Min to be. That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of is found in the term granted, which is a compound of and ${ }^{2}{ }^{2} .{ }^{1}$
W. H. Lowe ${ }^{2}$ has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed $\boldsymbol{y}$ changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (loc. cit.) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher ${ }^{3}$ also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.
 Col. MS., Zeb. 13 b; M. MS., Pes. 60 a, this is, these are, are contractions of this and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form $92 b$, notes $2,3 .{ }^{4}$
2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with
 these are.
§126. הַnen means: this is one and the same, e. g.,
 the same person, Sabb. 118 b.

[^26]$\S 127$. ה is sometimes used as a simple copulative pronoun: 'this is something unusual, Mun. MS., Sanh. 48 a.
 latter, what would it become?

## D. RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§128. a) The older form of the relative pronoun occurs only in the Palestinean recension of Aboth I., 13, in legal style,
 possessive pronouns, and at times in the combination

 and of it is ?.
b) References: : thine, B. M. $109 b$, Ned. $\dot{5} a ;$ Ther her, Naz. $30 a$, Ned. $36 b, 70 a$, Sabb. 80 b, B. B. 33 b; "



c) The usual form of the possessive is -דיn; the form - דירל occurs but seldom. ${ }^{\text {an }}$ is a reduplication of the relative M ?


## e. interrogative pronouns.




 ( = 人 is $i t ?^{4}$
b) References: Z. 41 b ;

${ }^{1}$ Cf. Lowe, op. cit., p. 38.
2 Cf. Dalman, op. cit., p. 87; cf. Maclean, Gram. of Vernacular Syr., pp. 19, 55, 181.



 for $\mathrm{FNO}_{2} H G .22,25,68,263$.
$32 a ;$ MSS. Zeb. $69 a$; MS. R. 117, B. M. $2 b$, Pes. $90 b ;$

 the usual בֵא why should he swear? F. MS., B. M. $82 b$.
f. indefinite pronouns.

 , בֵּ somebody: אִּמִּשׁׂ that the place belongs to this or that man, B. M. 21 b; cf. iluid.
 . . . . the other; ${ }^{+}$. . . . .
§131. אִּ est qui, sunt qui is used in the sense of some: אִּ
 sense of anybody, anyone, everybody.
§133. חִיָּ and are used like our Tom, Dick and Harry
 I know no Hillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition, Hull.
 Sanh. 98 b. ${ }^{4}$


 (Ned. 49 a ${ }^{\text {an }}$ anything.

 חר nothing.
${ }^{1}$ In later literature $\boldsymbol{T}_{7}$ is used also for inanimate objects:


2 In the opinion of Professor Haupt 7 TY is not a mutilated form of geng but is the Hebrew ำ




NUMERALS.
A. Cardinals.-§ 136.
a) With Masculine Nouns. With Feminine Nouns.

1. '
2. 'ב
3. '】
4. ' 7
5. 
6. 9
7. 
8. $\quad \pi$
9. 
10. 4

$\stackrel{\sim}{n}$

B
ม킄ํํ
ำ
نִׁי"
نׁِّב
 우ํ
约
11. ב"ח

12. 

,


| 18. | - | ** |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19. |  | יֶּים |

עַּשְּרה
20.

40.'ת
50.1 ,
b) References: "nּm, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 a.- —nen, with original nan, as in M. Q. $9 a-$ - N. : B. B. $30 a, 60 a$; Er. $50 b$; Col. MS., Pes.




 : Keth. 77 b.Col. MS., Meg. $17 a$--


 Meg. 2 a.--
 ——nem:
 MS., Meg. $7 b$, vocalizes

does not occur in the plural. קמשָּ , in the construct state perhaps אֲאֶ, in the emphatic state whe when

 A. Z. $16 a$ ),

 Hananel, Sanh. $26 a) .{ }^{1}$
§137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in $n_{\tau}^{-}$; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetic forms are in the construct state.
 numerals for 2, 80, and 200. Final $\hat{a}$ has been changed to $\hat{e}$ under
 (§73). The ending $\hat{e}$ in represents an original aid. For the sifting of vowel in for for for fon ,
${ }^{1}$ The hero may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural ; but may also reprisent - ; cf. 870 .
 has been dissimilated under the influence of the final $\dagger$ (§53). The
 first syllable became $a$ under the influence of the following ${ }^{\circ} .{ }^{1}$
$\S 140$. The following examples will illustrate how compound numbers greater than 19 are formed:

§141. The following examples show the influence of the



 used interchangeably for 12 and 13 , and it is frequently impossible to know which number is meant. $C f$. the various readings to B. M. $24 b, 46 a, 85 a, 86 a$; B. B. $12 a, 77 b, 150 b$; Sanh. $26 a$; B. Q. $112 b$; Ber. $4 a, 8 a$; M. Q. $10 b, 24 a, 26 a$; Bêçā $23 a$; Yômâ $87 b$; Taan. $18 b$ (bis), $25 a$; Hag. $4 a$; H. G. 352; a. e. A similar interchange is found in Neo-Syriac (Nöldeke, N.-S. Gr., pp. 53, 153).
§143. A number denoting more than one may be considered as a unit, in which case the number so considered is preceded by
 a body of two, three; two, three.

[^27]
 Šebu. $42 a$ a;
 hundred, Ber. 50 a, Yeb. 88 a. ${ }^{1}$
§ 144. two takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to תیר The Thus, we


§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (op. cit. § 63), that the compound numbers in op of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in 70 , if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.
$\S 146$. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. $56 b$, the
 means beam, "dika" means ten ( $\delta \in \in \kappa \alpha$ ). Er. 18 a
的 Symmachos says: ধ̀v means one,

 Nֶid. 'Ar. Sanh. $89 a$ the Persian numeral 1000, occurs
 colors.
B. Ordinals.-§ 147. Sing. masc. Nַקָּ $40 a, 51 a)$; fem. N

[^28]§148．Sing．masc．

 fourth．${ }^{1}$
§ 149．The expression קַּאָ M（Gitt． 12 b，B．B． $97 a$ ，Pes． 7 a）corresponds to the later Hebrew and by，by degrees，gradually，successively．Plur．masc．קַקָּאָ ＂N尺P，Pes． 7 （a．＂
 of triple．
§151．a．Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives：－Sing．masc． MS．Pes．；אָּ （R．H． $18 b$ ），м



 masc．＂
 cessors（descendants）who are to come after thee，A．Z． 10 b ．

C．Fractional Numbers．－§ 152．Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations，partly by various constructions of the cardinals．The separate formations are：


§ 153．，－解 Tifths，Tem． 27 a；；
$\S$ 154．In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word $1 \Delta-2$ ，the second $\angle$ being spirantic when it means three years

[^29]old. ${ }^{1}$ The same distinction may have obtained in our idiom; we should, therefore, have to read in the expression תלּלְלָא תִּלְתָּא in with the second $\pi$ spirantic.
§155. The forms

 web, network, forms to which, in accordance with the genius of the language, they must have been ultimately reduced. It must be added that are as little ordinals as the other forms given in this paragraph, and the assertion of the dictionaries to the contrary must be corrected.


 Nun a square; 22 a; teuch or of the Psalms; later the Pentatench; Nifths,
 thōmãn, a measure containing the eighth part of a 2 p ; plur.
 decades. Here belongs also the pronoun דָדר one another, a contraction of


## ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.




 inclusive, opposed to

 whence;

[^30] instead.——n there, in that case. ",


 (§§ 82, 158).
§ 158. With the forms in ${ }^{2} \mathbf{N}_{-}$,

 $N$ N $\mathbb{N}^{\top}$ and Hebr.解 and $\eta_{\tau}^{-}$. The reading of the latter לְקַקָּ warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In $\mathbb{N}$ we have a compound of $\underset{\sim}{c}=$ = $=$ ( $)$ and 구 , respectively. In ( $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{T}} \boldsymbol{\sim}$
 when not yet.——nen (Col. MS., Meg. $16 a$ vocalizes
 ( = =

 (


 with apocope of $\boldsymbol{T}$ and change of $\boldsymbol{y}$ to $\mathfrak{N}$ ), lit. when it was done, ex post facto.-N already, since.-





[^31] -7 (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a) until, as long as.-- tonta to-morrow.-
 before, when not yet.——"
 (legal style), formerly.-N at first, at the beginning. wing at first, heretofore.——, more, further, besides. ${ }^{1}$

Adverbs of Manner.—§160. $[=\sim \mathfrak{n c}$ argument upon what is superior; on the other side is a stronger claim) on the contrary.--N







 Nשׂ
 (MSS. K., M., Zeb. 82 a) just the reverse.-

 is right, it would be right.presumably, probably, I dare say.——n plainly, simply,
 generally with the participle to form the present (§66). า
§161. המפח ciple of $;$

 § 181.


${ }^{3}$ In later literature:


said verb；it occurs also in the form ．The above and Nan me synonymous．The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority（e．g．of Scripture）as compared with that indicated by the use of the former．Note the expression Tin the such a one，such a fellow．



 － how many！．．．．．．．． 9 T The more ．．．．the more：R．H． 266 ，פֿ mind the better it is．－כָּ the least possible quantity，what－



Interrojative Adverbs．—§ 163．אֲn（Col．MS．） when？－W is it really so？－ ＂for what purpose？－
 （MS．，Vat． 117，B．M．67b），＂חּ，how？－ tions expressing surprise or indignation）do you mean to say？
 N nome？－－N K，לַ，2 particle of doubtful character．See Kohut， Aruch． $\bar{C} o m p \bar{l}$ ．s．v．
$\S$ 164．On the punctuation of $\boldsymbol{N}_{\boldsymbol{N}}$ ． the apocopated form of which latter is a compound of


 have you these things？
$\S 165$ ． introduces nominal sentences，the latter verbal． usually stands immediately before the verb．If the verb be pre－ ceded by a negative，$\%$ is often inserted between the negative

[^32] Er. 20 b; Sabb. $32 a$; B. M. $32 a$, a. e.).
§ 166. Note the following idiomatic expression: .... .
. לָ couldn't we understand by it rather this?.... No! it is
 adverbs. Some of the adverbs given here have at times the force of interrogative conjunctions and should more properly be called interrogative particles.

Affirnative Adverbs.-§167. there is; instance takes verbal form: Cf. II. Targûm to Esther 2, 18 , whey are.

 not, no.




## PREPOSITIONS.

A. Inseparable Prepositions.- $\S 170$. $-\infty$ is an abbreviation of of the latter. It is used also before gutturals: Men. $34 a, \mathbf{N}$ Keth. 40 b , a. e. - Notice the force of the preposition after חר $\div \mathbf{-}$, lit. something that happenerl with...., this is something like.... The expression is used to introduce an analogical case as an illustration to a previous statement of opinion on some legal point under discussion.
§171. Hebrew. A few examples of some rare usages may be mentioned.促 be scraped ul to "rubits length, Hull, 93 a; spp Rabh woul as ajricst, Meg. 222 a, i.e., was called up the first to read the weekly lesson from the Pentateuch. Nand yct these are the most becutiful of the pernhe"

[^33] ，בּתְּא， Cf．also below（§174）．The ב is found in the Talmud also in a separate form＂•בּ＂בּ＂
§172．๖，๖，like－\}, ?, ?, to, unto; generally nota accusativi－－9，from．
§173．To the Palestinean R．Jôhāān we owe the single example of the use of $b$ with oaths as a particle of asseveration， as in Arabic，Ethiopic，and Assyrian．＇


．
 account of．
－whehind，backward．
放 on account of，for the sake of．The word is connected with Fellihhi－Syriac 1 웅， dialects．${ }^{.}$
（A．Z． $15 a ;$ Col．MS．，Zeb． 35 b），by means of，through，by the way of．Cf．Hebrew \＃ל ．
 of，on account of．The word is of doubtful etymology．The original form was evidently אַמִּט which former may mean shade，protection，burden，or going， passing；cf．the Hebrew ＂ה

 opposite；＂בּ in the presence of，before．

[^34]Man account of. Only Yômâ, 75 b.
픈 within, in, by, etc., is the separate form of the preposition ${ }_{\square}^{1}{ }^{1}$ The traditional pronunciation of it as is due to a confusion with between, house.

근,



以
俭

? , near, at, to, with, in case of, toward.
 $\Longrightarrow$ and 7 : : into, amidst; in, within, amongst, amidst; T: from, from.

"n, inly with $=$ or 3 : The singular form occurs but seldom: w, A. Z. $2 b b$.
$-b T$ instead, in place of.
$\square_{T}$ not accusative. This is very rare in the Babylonian
 you, Bur. 38 a; 5 B. M. 90 b, a. e. ${ }^{2}$
 ibid. Pes. 105 b ( $\$ 110$ ) ; בְּ
? ${ }^{3}$, $=7+5$ ) like, now (Sob. 119 a $a$ ) nebr



[^35]（oward，in the direction of，with regard to．
 to me．Very rare．
 sequence of，through．

䧄，（M．MS．，Men． 65 a），from，out，of．
ตntin because of，on account of．
ה

by on，upon．
N：Through，by means of（Ar． 16 b）．

צ．
谓 above，beyond，higher than，before（Sabb． 30 a， Raší，a．e．）．
$\square$ with．In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style； but it is found frequently in Se＇ēl．and Hal．Ged．
 32 a．（Palestinean．）
 （Palestinean．）
 $31 b$ ，בne before thee．${ }^{1}$ The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority．
＂nis， （A．Z̈． 10 a ）．
§ 175．．．．．．．．．means：both this and that．骨 according to the opinion of the one as well as to that of the other．
$\S 176$ ． pronominal suffixes，the apocopated form being used before nouns， Note the expressions aut of it，yea，of it，i．e．，of the
 able．The expression is probably originally an ironical question， Is cerything so as if coming from him，by his authority？
 for a half．
§177. a) The preposition $\}$ having become particularly identified with the accusative, the want was felt of a definite and distinct nota dativi. By adding to the 3 a demonstrative of determinate distance, המילה, that want was supplied: the simple,
 two ' 's caused the first to dissimilate and become 1. We thus

 be evident that such a presumption is untenable, since the verbal force inherent in it is neither relevant nor apparent in the dative personal pronoun. Luzzatto's etymology of $\begin{gathered}\text { is subject to the } \\ \text { is }\end{gathered}$ same objection: פִיֶ would evidently be akin to Ethiopic nāhū, Hebrew חה M, which has also verbal force and can govern only the accusative. Nöldeke connects it with the verb "in to lead in Assyrian and Hebrew, and vocalizes " with plural termination.
c) $15 a$, and
d) לְלוֹת
§178. Traces of a separate form "ל"" are found in the scholastic term and according to the reason given by thee, Ned. $37 a$ and frequently, and in ליחהּ , to them, Col. MS., Pes. $116 b$ and elsewhere.

## PREPOSITIONS WITH PRONOMINAL SUEFIXES. ${ }^{1}$

§179. A number of prepositions are generally used with suffixes; some of them even exclusively so. Of the inseparable prepositions only two, $=$ and $\xi$, take pronominal suffixes. ${ }^{1}$ Of the



 suffixes; the rest of the list are never found with suffixes.
 (Keth.


[^36]

鿊
 －
§181． צer． $56 a$ ； Instead of ye find usually



## CONJUNCTIONS．

 in either．．．or，whether．．．or．if，whether（§ 183）．
 it would be right．＂．．． or，even if．

（＝אִּ Pesaro，A．Z． 55 a．
 exhortative and precative particle used with the imperative．For 7 instead of $7 c f . \S 31$ ．
 only in legal style．
 （Yômâ $57 a$ ，Yalq．MS．）is a compound of if ind now，q．u．，and is etymologically identical with Ethiopic＇enka． Generally used in the phrase the protasis or apodosis sometimes unexpressed．
${ }^{1}$ 亿゙ֶと，TG．ed．Harkavy， 8535.
${ }^{2} \mathrm{Cf}$ ．the German expression：sich über Etwas hermachen．

 with 5 ²x，both meanings being possible with the latter form，as Ethiopic＇enka and our － 2 show．

N", ${ }^{1}{ }^{1}$,
 the French ne... que.
: ${ }^{3}$ "N if, a Hebraism.


 as ...so. ${ }^{4}$

Tin min notwithstanding, although, though.
\%
7 or ${ }^{2}$ (§31) so that, that, in order thet; for, since.
Nin for, becruse.
Nablo lest, perheaps.
NT then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but. Often NT,

9 ן
 NT, or (4)

Nstitn it that so now? well!

-9 rind, but. Often introducing a question: but, is it indeed so?
There are also traces of the 7 consecutive. Cf., e.g., and let her be freed, Yeb. 19 a.
 mac. , without having any apparent force. ${ }^{5}$
when, $(=\mathbf{7}+\boldsymbol{\square})$.
 and of


1 Haupt, $A E V$, 22.

2 For its etymology soo Jastrow's Diction. s. v.
${ }^{3}$ On this word see R. Duval, REJJ. IV., 268-273; M. Lambert, ibid. IX., 290-301; リ.


 road: 9ำㅋt. The word is also found in Noo-Syriac ; cf. Sachau, op. cit., p. 38, Maclesn, op. cit., 161.
${ }^{5}$ Seo on this 5 : Ceigor, Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishma, § $23, \because$; and Sachau, shizze, otc., p. 4 .
 MS．，B．M． 67 b．MS．Vat．117，B．M． $67 b$ מ how then？M． MS．，R．R． 29 a 敂 M．MS．הַּשְ ？ $\mathrm{ka}, \mathrm{k} \overline{\mathrm{e}} .{ }^{1}$
＂．（shortened from ？or ．．． 7 ）if，when．B．Q．84b，a．e． לָ if not，not．
 N
－בּיך
THM since．
浯》（
－from the fact that，since．


－במקen before that，ere．

§183．is and are often interchangeable so that，for instance，we may have is．．．． promiscuously．Col．MS．，Zeb． $2 a$ a．e．，has $\dot{\text { and }}$ for the usual

$\S 184$ ．${ }^{\text {w }}$ is frequently contracted with the following word． This is especially the case with some standing expressions；as
 ＂，for
${ }^{1}$ In later literature：

${ }^{2}$ In later literature：－ד א ibid．73；；

3－7
4 and
 speak．The word is perhaps connected with＇Omanee Arabic increase．

6 For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs，prepositions and con－ junctions，cf．Jastrow＇s Dictionary；Geiger＇s Jud．Zeitschr．VIII．，180－90；Luzzatto＇s Gram－ mar，and Liebermann＇s pamplet mentioned in the Preface．

## interjections.

§ 185. "א, ־, woe! alas! oh!
 Qidd. 70 b. This particle is more frequent in Palestinean Ara-


 (V.L. Pes. 112b), Nh (Col. MS., ibid.) the ox-driver's cries. $N_{T} N_{T}, \Pi_{T} \pi_{T}, N_{T}(V . L . i b i d$.$) a cry to frighten away a lion.$
 $\mathbb{N}^{-1}$, are given in Pes. $112 \dot{b}$ (of. $\dot{\bar{V}} \dot{L}$.) as sailor's cries. ${ }^{3} \dot{C} f$. Syr. olla all ar.

- un onomatopoetic word imitating the dripping of water.
very well! all right! The word is connected with Ethiopic lahaia to be beautiful. Cf. Jastrow, s. v.
, כִּיֹשׁ כִּישׁ , ding-dong; an onomatopoetic word.
7 .
§186. demonstrative pronouns, and their use as a means of urging on animals and warding off wild beasts is probably based on some superstitious notion no more apparent. Cf., however, Arabic .

[^37]
## THE VERB.

In General.-§187. The law of triconsonantality is carried out more consequently in our idiom than in the cognate languages. There is properly no quadriconsonantal verb in it. Almost all the quadriconsonantals can be easily reduced to a triconsonantal + a formative element; or to the reduplication of a biconsonantal theme. The few pluriconsonantals that cannot be so reduced are either denominatives or foreign words.

In Particular.—Verbal Stems.—§188. a) The subjoined table at the end gives a survey of all the conjugations or verbstems found in the Babylonian Talmud together with the number of the occurrences of every stem. From this table will be evident that the stems that have proper life in our idiom are only five:

b) Beside the stems enumerated, a few examples of Haph ${ }^{\text {eel }}$,

 Kann $17 b$, Men. $65 a$; Haph ${ }^{\text {ē }}$ c $c f$. "Rare Conjugations."
§189. A few examples of the passive stems occur only in the participle. Thus, Pu"al: Senurup put under ban, Sabb. 67 a; [Targ. post
 Ber. 44 b.—Pôlal: folded, Hull. 51 b.—Pulpal: rolled in ashes, Ber. 44 b.—Hophal: ${ }^{\circ}$. ${ }^{\circ}$ is fit, Gitt. 86 a; PTMn is known, Qidd. 64 ab; ; Raši, 'Er. $63 a$;

§190. In the dictionaries a Nithp ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}$ el or Nithpa"al is sometimes mentioned. No such form exists in the Babylonian Talmud. The examples given by them are either Hebrew, or the imperfect with the J-preformative. A real Nithpo ${ }^{\rho}$ ell seems to occur in was caught (שטעיי השיבח, § 184, and Hal. Pesûq. ed. Müller, p. 77), but forms like (ibid., p. 80) show that this is the imperfect used with the force of the Assyrian preterite.

[^38]Qal.-§ 191. The Qal, or simple stem, consists of the simplest root found in the language. The 3d sing. masc. perfect is לטְ
 and perion chiefly with neuter verbs. The last form is rare. In the imperfect all the three vowels $a, i, u$ occur even in strong
 aup and cip are examples.
$P a^{\text {e }} \bar{e} l .-§ 192$. This stem is formed from the simple stem by doubling the middle stem-consonant. Thus original qatal(a) became qattal(a), a form still preserved with final gutturals. Generally, the second $a$-vowel has given place to the $i$-vowel originally belonging to the imperfect. ${ }^{1}$ The first vowel is sometimes heightened to $i(\bar{e})$, especially under the influence of a following guttural, or 7. $\mathrm{Pa}^{\text {ecel }}$ el is the denominative stem par



Aplièl.- §193. This stem is formed from the Qal by the
 changed to $i$, if not protected by a following guttural, or 9 . The vowel of the preformative undergoes sometimes the same change, and this not only in the perfect, as in Hebrew, but also in the other parts of the verb. Denominative verbs are few in this

 preformative $\mathbb{N}$ represents an earlier sibilant, $\boldsymbol{v}$ or 0 , probably through the intermediate stage of $\pi$.

Reflexive Stems.-§ 194. The reflezive stems, which have in a later stage of development supplanted the passive stems formed by internal vowel-change, are formed from the active stems by
 formed from the Qal, Pa"ēl and Aph'el respectively. The original form of the prefromative was $\Omega$. The syncope of the vowel of $\Omega$ and the subsequent prefixing of a prothetic vowel is probably due originally to the imperfect, where, e.g., a form titaqatil would easily become titgatil, analogous to the Niphal in Hebrew, where n(a)qatil.

[^39]§195. With stems whose first consonant is a sibilant the $\Pi$ is usually transposed after the sibilant, but just as frequently remains untransposed.
§196. In stems "צע" the $\AA$ of the Ithp ${ }^{0 \times \bar{e} l}$ is always doubled in order to give the stem a semblance of triconsonantality. ${ }^{1}$ The same is true of $y^{2 \prime y}$ stems when they follow the conjugation of the
 assimilated to it. The $\Omega$ of the Ittaphal is doubled for the same reason. It is usually preserved in verbs " "玉.
§197. When the $\Omega$ is spirantic it is usually assimilated to the first radical and the latter doubled. ${ }^{2}$ When the first radical is 9 or a guttural the assimilation of the $\Omega$ takes place without consequent doubling. ${ }^{3}$
§198. The usual stem-vowel of the Ithp ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{e} \bar{e} l$ is $i(\bar{e})$, but the original $a$ has been retained in some cases even with non-gutturals. The Ithpa"al has, with few exceptions, $a$ in the last syllable.

Moods and Tenses.-§ 199. There are only three moods: the Indicative, the Imperative and the Infinitive. All other moods are expressed by syntactical means. The tenses are also three: the Perfect, the Imperfect and the Present. The last is represented by the participle.

Afformatives of the Perfect.-§200. 3d sing.fem.: The older form $\Omega_{-}$has been preserved in a few instances. ${ }^{4}$ The apocopated form $N_{T}^{-}$, or $\Gamma_{\Gamma}^{-}$, written promiscuously, is the usual ending. A few times $\Omega^{n-}$. occurs for $\Omega_{-}$, which form is either an analogical formation after the " verbs, or else the marks the indistinct vowel-sound after the accent: $q^{\circ}$ tál ${ }^{1}$ th. ${ }^{5}$ Several times $\boldsymbol{N}_{\mathrm{T}}$ : occurs, as in the Hebrew " "ל verbs."

1 But cf. $\S 480$.
z Cf. Noeldeke, MG., §164.
3 But cf. §า




 ibid.; :
 Harkavy, $\$ 550$.

§201. 2d sing. masc.: The usual ending is - ; but the old ending 23 a; thyself, Yômā 20 b, M. MS.; שְפַּהֹה wouldst have caused to eat, Hull. $96 a$; אִ
§202. 2d sing. fem.: The old ending the form $\boldsymbol{n}^{\boldsymbol{r}}$., which like the afformative of the 1 st sing. com. has arisen from the former by throwing back its final vowel, occurs a



§203. 1st sing. com.: The old ending



 ( $\S 241$ ) and, with apocope of $\Pi, ?$. The first is frequent; the last is the most common. The before $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ is in a few cases wanting. Cf. $\operatorname{c}$.


Rosenberg's supposition that the apocopated ending ${ }^{7}$ is to be vocalized ${ }^{-8}$ is untenable from orthographical considerations. The few examples with diphthongal ending, as: $I$ went, H. MS., B. B. $73 b$, and $I$ removed, Er. $54 b$, are to be explained either as analogical formations to the " $\mathrm{m}_{\text {verbs }}$ ver according to $\S 80$. In any case the exception confirms the rule. ${ }^{4}$
$\S 204$. 3d plur. masc.: The usual form is $9-$. In a few cases we find $\mathrm{T}^{-1}$, due to the influence of the imperfect. In some cases we have ${ }^{\wedge}{ }^{\square-}$., ${ }^{\square}$., due to the influence of the participles. In the feminine the ending is $\dagger_{T}^{-}$.
§ 205. 2d plur. masc.: The usual forms are both occurring with equal frequency. For the forms ${ }^{\text {n }}$. see § $232 a$.

[^40]§206. 1st plur. com.: Alongside of the older form ${ }_{\mathbf{N}}$ : we


 before suffixes. ${ }^{2}$

Preformatives of the Imperfect.-§ 207. 3d sing. masc.: The original prefix " has been retained in the language of legal style, in some ancient proverbs, in all standing expressions, and in a
 prefixes, ${ }^{2}$ and $y$, are used interchangeably for indicative as well as jussive. ${ }^{3}$ The is, however, more frequently found in the indicative.
§208. That the 3 had originally a jussive force, largely retained even in our late texts, admits of no doubt. Compare

 Heaven concerning thee that it be propitious" and it will be propitious, Ber. 55 b; ; לָׁ order that others may praise him, 2 M. MS., MQ. 28 b.

Against the current opinion that the $\zeta$ is identical with the Arabic particle $\underset{J}{ }$, Assyrian $1 u$, and that the $I$ is only a phonetic variant of $ל$, Barth holds that the $ל$ is of different origin from the $\boldsymbol{g}$, that both $\zeta$ and $\boldsymbol{g}$ are demonstrative particles, the first used for the jussive, the last for the indicative, and that these particles are not prefixed to the forms "תקטשל , etc., but substitute the "-prefix. The arguments he advances in support of his theory seem to be very plausible. There are only two points which seem to speak against this theory: (1) The interchange of 5 and 3 in the first person of the plural, and (2) the " after ל or ! in the Aph'ēl. But the first may be explained as a false analogy of the 3 d person, the second as due to the change of the vowel of the prefix. For the last point speaks the fact that a pronunciation לְלִיְקָּל is unsupported by orthography and unknown to tradition.

[^41]Note.-A few exceptional spellings may here be noted: 7nerne let him testify, B. B. $43 b$; let them cause her to make a vow, Gitt. 35 a. ${ }^{1}$ Note also P myself, M. MS., Pes. 41 a (§53, 4). ${ }^{2}$
$\S 209$. 3d sing. fem.: The usual prefix is $\AA$. At times 3 is found instead. Whether this is an older form or is to be explained by the use of the masculine for the feminine ( $\S 234$ ) cannot be decided.
$\S 210.2 d$ sing. and plur. masc. and fem.: The prefix is invariably $\Omega$.
§211. 1st sing. com.: The prefix is invariably $\aleph$. $3 d$ plur. masc. and fem.: The prefix for both is alike $\boldsymbol{r}^{2}$, 2 or $\because, 3$, as in the 3 d sing. masc.
§212. 1st plur. com.: This prefix is generally 2, but sometimes 3.
§213. The vocalization of the preformatives of the imperfect vary in some respects from the Syriac. Thus, not only the $\boldsymbol{N}$ usually takes çērê instead of šê ${ }^{e}$ â, as in Syriac, but also the other prefixes, though with less frequency, follow the same rule. This is especially the case in verbs ${ }^{\prime}$ full vowel in consequence of its weakness; and the other prefixes follow their analogy. But cf. §13.

Afformatives of the Imperfect.—§214. 2d sing. fem.: The ending is ${ }^{9}$. or ${ }^{4}$. It occurs only in a few cases ( $\$ 249$ ).
§215. $2 d$ and $3 d$ plur. masc.: The ending is ${ }^{4}$, or ${ }^{-}$. Both are of equal occurrence. The endings ${ }^{-1}$ - and ${ }^{\circ}$ - are rare (§ 232).
§216. 3d plur. fem.: The ending is $\overline{-}_{T}$. Once we find $\Pi_{\top}^{-}$:

Afformatives of the Imperative.-§217. Sing. masc.: The ending of the energicus has been retained in a few instances

§218. Sing. fem.: The ending is $\dagger^{\square-}$, or ${ }^{n}$.
§219. Plur. masc.: The usual ending is 9 -; but of. put ye, Ned. 50 b. At times the nominal ending "- appears (§232).
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Noldeke, MG., §166.

${ }^{3}$ But this form may be feminine used for masculine.
§ 220. Plur. fem.: The only instance of such a form is
 equivalent to

The 9 -prefix of Infinitive and Participle .-§221. Like the prefixes of the imperfect the $t / 2$ in infinitives and participles has sometimes a full vowel instead of $\breve{s}^{e} \mathrm{~V} \hat{\mathrm{a}}$. In a few cases the p of the infinitive Qal has $u$ instead of $i(\S 553, c)$.

Afformatives of the Infinitive.- $\$ 222$. The infinitive pressent the following endings:
a) $\mathbb{N}_{\tau}^{-}, \Pi_{\tau}^{-}$; this is considered by Nöldeke to be the emphatic ending, ${ }^{1}$ but according to Barth it is the feminine ending. ${ }^{2}$
b) "-. : The nature of this ending is uncertain. Fürst sees in

 same form; ${ }^{4}$ Landauer explains it to be the plural ending; ${ }^{5}$ Barth, an abstract ending. ${ }^{2}$ There remains still the possibility of its being the post-tonic indefinite vowel for original $\hat{a}$, $\hat{u}$, which change might have been due also to dissimilation.

One is inclined to connect this ending with the similar adjec-

 Arabic $e$ for classical Arabic $\ddot{z}^{\prime}$; see also $\S 69$, note 1, above. ${ }^{6}$
c) "
d) din $^{-1}$. The last is shortened from the first and does not restore its $\Omega$ even before suffixes. $C f . \S 64$.
e) $\pi_{-}^{-}$, doubtful. Only in . According to Noldeke, the
 פמֵּ
f) $T_{T}$. The last forms ( $c-f$ ) only sporadically.
$\S 223$. We let here follow the enumeration of all the infinitive forms found:

 .

[^42]\[

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
{ }^{3} \text { Lehrgebäude, p. } 121 . & \text { © } Z A ., \text { III., } 274 . \\
{ }_{4} M G ., \text { p. 143. } & \text { © } M G ., \text { p. } 154 .
\end{array}
$$
\]




 .







 .

Afformatives of the Participle.-§224. Sing. fem.: The ending $\Omega_{-}^{-}$is rare. ${ }^{s}$ Generally it is $\mathbb{N}_{\tau}^{-}$, or $\Pi_{\tau}^{-}$. The first more frequent. The emphatic state $N \mathbb{N}$ ? occurs but a few times. At times the perfect ending is found: " ${ }^{\top}$ "

§ 225. Plur. masc.: The ending " ${ }^{\uparrow-}$ - is rare. The usual ending is ${ }^{-}$-, as in Neo-Syriac. ${ }^{5}$ More frequent is the verbal ending ${ }^{-}$, rarely $\mathrm{in}^{-7}$. At times the nominal ending "Nos. occurs.
§226. Plur. fem.: The ending is $\bar{T}_{T}$. In a few cases one would be inclined to suppose apocope of $;$; e. g., א אַבְבֵי ?
 we may also explain such forms as singulars (§235); cf. "ana


Structure of Verb.-In General.-§ 227. The form gatul (a) of the simple stem occurs but in a few examples. Many verbs occur now as qatal(a), now as qatil(a) without difference in meaning, and the old correspondence of $i$ and $u$ perfects to $a$

[^43]imperfect, of $a$ perfect to $u$ and $i$ imperfects, is largely destroyed. In fact, some verbs occur with either of the three vowels.
$\S 228$. The derived stems have frequently $u$ instead of the usual $i, e .^{1}$ This is frequent in the imperfect, rare in the perfect and imperative, and does not occur at all in the participle. But such nominal forms as peddler, evidently show its earlier existence also in the participle. I am also inclined to consider the nominal form $\boldsymbol{p}_{\boldsymbol{T}}$ as originally a Qal active participle qâturl, a by-form of $q$ âtil. ${ }^{2}$
$\S 229$. The stem-vowel has a tendency to stay before afformatives in all forms of the finite verb. This tendency is predominating in the perfect and the imperative, but rare in the imperfect. The participle regularly loses its vowel before afformatives. ${ }^{3}$
$\S 230$. A vowelless guttural, or 7 , generally retains original $\check{a}$ before it, or changes an original $i$, or $\breve{u}$, to $\check{a}$.

In Particular.-§231. 1. Verbs whose stem ends in a consonant, sometimes transfer the afformative $a$ of the plural from the end of the word to between the second and last stem-consonant (between first and last in biconsonantal verbs). This occurs frequently in the perfect, but is rare in the other parts of the verb.
2. Levy ${ }^{4}$ supposes forms like אקקטזל, אשול, etc., to be infinitives. Of course, he had in view only the perfect. The few examples in other parts of the verb he either did not notice, or explained them away - and the latter can be easily done.
3. Arguments can be brought forth on both sides. In favor of Levy's theory are such facts:
a) Lack of a similar phenomenon in the cognate languages.
b) The use of unmistakable infinitives for finite forms in our idiom as well as in the cognate languages.

[^44]3 But cf. Dalman, op. cit., p. 220, note 2.
4 Neuhebr. WU., s. จ.

4．On the other hand it may be argued：
a）That this form is used exclusively for the third plural masculine．Had it been an infinitive，it would not have been so limited in number，nor in person．
b）That the 9 verbs should have had a form corresponding to קuth of the strong verb．
c）That the corresponding forms in the derived stems show clearly the difference of the infinitive and the epenthetized forms．


5 ．The throwing back of the final vowel is probably due to a retrocession of the accent in the derived conjugations to the ante－ penultima，and，by analogy，also in the Qal．Traces of such
 now on the first syllable．
§232，a）In consequence of the participles being used with the force of a tense，they and the perfect influence each other in several ways：in exchanging afformatives and structure of verbal theme．Thus，on the one hand，the perfect presents forms like

 other hand，the perfect，which ought to join its plural afformatives of the first and the second persons to a singular verbal theme：品，adopted from the participles the plural verbal
 through the influence of the perfect，a reverse process，assuming


b）The passive participle of Qal has beside its regular form קְשִיל also a form The latter is less frequent．

[^45]$\S$ 233. The imperfect forms without afformatives take in a few cases the endings of the perfect. Thus:





 same is met with in the participle.

Gender.-§234. There are in the verb, as well as in the noun, two genders, masculine and feminine. But their use is irregular. On the whole it can be said that the feminine tends to disappear altogether. There is not a single masculine form that could not legitimately be used for the feminine, while many of the feminine forms are found in use for the masculine, both in verb and pronoun. $C f . \S 236 .{ }^{2}$

Number.- § 235. Of the two numbers, the singular is frequently used when we should expect the plural. This may be due to laxity of syntax, or, as in Syriac, to the orthographical omission of the plural ending, or to scribal errors.

[^46]Qal.


## STRONG VERB.

$\S 236$. The guttural verbs have been treated together with the non-gutturals, since for lack of vocalization we know but little of the modifications the former underwent.

In the examples given, masculine forms have been given as masculine, although used as feminine, and the reverse. E.g., , אִּ she became pregnant (Bekh. 47 a, Sanh. 69 a) I put under masculine forms; בִיּהַק circumcise yourselves (M. MS., Sanh, $39 a$ ), under feminine forms.

## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.



 shone forth. Yôm. 15 a.

 died, ibid.
 became foxy, M. MS., Taan. $7 a$, H. MS., B. M. $106 b$; rose up, came up, Sanh. 82 a; הרוּ forth, a Babylonian saying quoted in Jer. Talm., R. H. $57 b$; Tּ partook, M. MS., Ber. 46 a; ed. Ven., ibid. 57 b. ${ }^{2}$

 heard,
 ascended, Keth. 104 a: 1 : 2 was afraid, Bêç. 25 b; ; Ber. 18 b. Sabb. 151 b; ©

 take, B. M. 63 b; שְלְקַקְ

[^47]ibid. 56 b; ; שְׁpunum didst hear, Ned. 6 a; crime, B. Q. 85 a.

 [p] hast married, Sand. 97 a; midst spread out, Qidd. 29 b.




 Ber. $57 a$; 67 a;




 -

c) [T T 1 I partook, M. MS., Ber. 49 a.









[^48] (M. LS. M. MS., Ber. 56 b.

d) With final vowel thrown back: ${ }^{1}$ 简 returned, Sanh. 26 a; דֶּ

 OU were of opinion, ibid. 56 a; ; whe were destroyed, Meg. $4 a$;


3d plur. fem.—§243. . out, ibid.; $\prod_{T}{ }^{2}$ ְַ came out, Sanh. 101 a.







 N we signed, B. B. $164 a$;
 crossed, Ned. 22 b; we redeemed, Gitt. 38 ; ; ; winn we

隹 we slept, Sanh. 7 a; bought, R. MS., B. B. 126 a.

Imperfect.-3d sing. masc.5-§ 246. a) [B ${ }^{5}$.





[^49] transgresses，Ned． $4 a b$ ；מִünolts，Er． $102 a$.


 counts，Nāz． 21 a；ליפ has loss，B．M． 109 b．${ }^{1}$


 pushes in，ibid． $139 b$ ；לִּחּ

 takes off the shoe，Yeb． 105 a．
c） c） MS．H．B．M． 104 ．
 explainest，Sabb． $3 b$ ．
b）
c）


 －T

1st sing．com．－§250．a）
 $16 a$ ；Р゙ּニ゙N I try，Yeb． 65 a．
 Sabb． 81 b．
c） M．Q． 9 ．






1 cf．
 share, Sabb. 116 b. ${ }^{1}$
2) With retained stem-vowel: :

3) With final vowel thrown back: "נִּ

$3 d$ plur. fem.--§ 252 .
2d plur. masc.-§ 253. 1) (1) ye buy, Taan. $24 a$; are afraid, B. B. $10 a$;


1st plur. com.-§254. a) צִּ we leave, Sabb. 119 b;
 Sôtä $21 a$; לִּ divide, ibid.
b)


 up a stack, B. Q. 59 b.

 Sabb. 142 b; בְבֵיף do, Bekh. 8 b, Gitt. 68 b; $75 a$; and elsewhere (§13).
c) [T TT Tְ hear, Ned. $7 \dot{b}$; drag, carry, B. Q. 93 a; choose, Yeb. 63 a.
 Nāz. $4 b$.

 M. Q. $16 b$.
 16 b; "ק
 Ned. 66 b; and with loss of stem-vowel $A$, $1 y$, flee, Pes. $111 b$ (M. MS., ibid.




 vowel: :



 B. B. 40 a; with omitted stem-vowel: מִּתבּ Bekh. 8 b.
d) With epenthetic vowel: cover yourselves, M. Q. 28 b. The last example may also be explained as singular.
 ך O. MS. has for it phen and the form may also contain the objective suffix. $39 a$, M. MS.

Infinitive.-§ 259. The usual form is Pִּקְen ; the other forms occur sporadically.

 21 b; בִּ Nāz. 22 b.


 particular, A. Z. 31 a; A. Z. 28 b.
 N



e) miqtåle, miqtile (§ 226 ): :
 learn, Hồr. 12 a.
f) qŭtŭl:
 to take, Me'ilā 17 b.
g) qătăl or qităl: to trouble, Yôma $19 a$, 'Arûkh,
 74 b ; but this may also be the emphatic participle
 to cross, Pes. $74 b ;$;
 harden, Pes. 41 a; to pull out, M. Q. $4 b$; out, Yeb. $102 b$.

 -

Note.-Our idiom shows a tendency to use the form קטרלי" as an absolute infinitive with finite verbs of all conjugations. For this reason many of the forms given under lit. $g$ are doubtful, as they may belong to Pa "el, although used as inner object to verbs of Qal. There is, however, no doubt that some of these forms are used as Qal.

Active Participle.- §260. The form of the active participle is (por por pated when the word is lengthened. The vowel of the first syllable is sometimes changed to $\hat{\imath}$, $\hat{e}$, or $a i(\S \S 69,80)$. Verbs whose last stem-consonent is a guttural, or $\urcorner$, take $\check{a}$ in the second syllable (§73). In the lengthened forms $a$ is shortened to $\check{a}$ in traditional pronunciation ( $\S 76$ ). In the feminine the ending $\Omega_{-}$is very rare ( $\left.\S 224\right)$. As this participle is mostly used with verbal force, the determinate state is very rare.

Sing. masc.—§261. a) סָלָ leaves off, Ned. $2 b, 30 b$;

b) begins, Ned. 3 a; holds, ibid., 6 b; ; $8 a$; 烈 is sufficient, M. Q. $16 b^{3}{ }^{3}$

[^50] ibid. 9 b; עָבְדָה does, ibid. 17 a;
 (§80).].

Plur. masc.-§263. ${ }^{2}$.


 $23 b$; שׁׂרְ

Plur. fem.-§264. are to die, Ber. 56 a;趽 Hôr. 7 b.

Passive Participle.-§ 265. The passive participle has generally retained its nominal force, except when used with following b to form the periphrastic perfect, or present. ${ }^{2}$ It is therefore often found in the determinate state, both in singular and plural. In a few cases the first stem-consonant has $\bar{a}$, as in Hebrew (§84). Besides the usual form קְשְׁד the form is found in a few instances.
 is frequent, ibid. $33 b, 56 b$;
 5 פָ 65 a; ; רְשִיבָא wet, ibid. 93 a; invited, Ned. 24 a; pious, chaste, Men. 49 a.
 MS., Zeb. 6 a; רְקוּ


 apt, Ned. 91 a; צָּריפָ is necessary, ibid.; שְרָ ibid. 25 a; e.


${ }^{1} \mathrm{Cf}$. s 224.
 hated, Sabb. $26 a$ (the following $\mathrm{T}_{\mathrm{T}}$ is objoct).
${ }^{3}$ T

Plur. masc.—§268. a)


 M. Q. 12 b.
 absolute, Ber. 61 b, Sôtā $31 a$; "שׁׁ long-necked, Keth. 60 b,


官lur. fem.-§269. a) married, Ber. $43 b ;$; , poor, bad, Pes. 48 a; mashed, Hull. 93 a; and with double plural ending,

Participles with Enclitio Subjeot-pronouns. ${ }^{2}-\S 270$. The participles are often combined with the pronouns of the first and the second persons into one word to form the present tense. The third person, as in the perfect, is understood with the bare participle. ${ }^{8}$ When thus combined they have the following forms:

Singular masculine.



Singular feminine.


## Plural masculine. ${ }^{5}$



${ }^{2}$ Cf. Nóldeke, MG. $\S 175$ a, SG. §269, NSG. $\S 100$ sq.; Duval, Gram. Syr., §133; McCurdy "Assyr, Permansive," in Transact. of the Leyden Congress of Orientalists (1885); Zimmern "Das Verhaltnis, des assyr. Permansivs zum semitischen Perfect und zum agyptischen ' Pseudoparticip,'" ZA., V., 1-22.
${ }^{3}$ But cf. Šebu. $46 a ; 7$;
 form 7 - may also be a by-form of 9 - as $7{ }^{7}$ - is of
${ }^{4}$ For bracketed forms I have no examples.
5 The plural feminine does not occur with enclitic pronouns.
${ }^{6}$ We should expect the last syllable to be $7 \boldsymbol{T}$, but the traditional pronunciation is ${ }_{7}^{2}$.
7 Whether the retains its daghesh is impossible to tell. In the Targumim it is usually rāphè, but sometimes retains daghesh.

For variations in form of pronouns $c f . \S 98$ and examples below (§§271-2). For plural 1st person used for singular $c f$. § 106.

 $56 a(\S 50,6) ;$;
 7 Tí (§73) ; ibid. $24 a$, and frequently; In $I$ shout, 'Arûkh, R. H. $34 \hat{b}$, eds. eds. perhaps the passive participle.
b) opinion, Ber. $2 b$; שָׁn thou hearest, Ned. $3 b$; but tastest, ibid. $22 b$, with retention of second stem-vowel; קדשְלִיח killest, Sanh. 48 b.-f. .
c)
 $14 b ;{ }_{T}$; we decree, Ned. 10 b; we treat, ibid. 59 a.—






§272. a) Na I remember, Taan. 20 b ; In $I$ am esteemed, Ber. 18 b; Ber. 5 b.
b) need of, B. M. $33 a$, Ber. $13 b$; רְבִילִיח
 $25 a(f$.$) .$

[^51]


 Ber. 62 a. ${ }^{1}$

 learned, Col. MS., Pes. 66 a.

PA"EL.—Perfect.—§273. The vowel of the first syllable is generally $\check{a}$, before gutturals mostly $i$ or $\bar{e}(\S 68)$. The vowel of the second syllable tends to stay in all the forms.

$$
P a^{\prime \prime} \bar{e} l .
$$



[^52]$P a^{\prime \prime}$ è.-Continued.

| Imperative- <br> Sing. 2d masc. . . | קַene | קַpere | לitp |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2d fem.... | - |  |  |
| Plur. 2d masc. . . | - |  | - |
| Infinitive.... |  |  |  |
| Participle- |  |  |  |
| Active, sing.masc. |  | Q\%pֵopre | (\%iopa |
| fem. . |  | 2\%poren |  |
| Passive, sg. masc. |  |  |  |
| fem. |  | ב\%pun |  |

EXAMPLES FOR PA ${ }^{\text {EIL }}$.


 broke, B. Q. 19 b ; 敢 he climbed up, ibid. $20 a$; grace, Ber. $53 b ;$ Yeb. 18 b. ${ }^{1}$
 שַׁ he told a lie, Sanh. 98 a;
 $70 b(\$ 8)$; ; B. Q. $51 b$; צִּ 75 b; : (M. MS. (עֵירַע).
c)
d) By analogy with "ל הּרח he turned around, V. L., A. Z. 38 b; :



b) $\mathfrak{x}$ in
 ——n Phon Sanh. 102 b ;

[^53]b) 109 b .

1st sing. com.-§277. a) [B pַ pַent Pal. Talm.
 under ban, ibid. 17 a; I flattered, M. Q. 17 a;
 I gave for less, B. M. 103 b; פַבַּחִ I made a noise, Ber. 57 b. ${ }^{1}$
c) ( 1 ( have gathered you, B. Q. 113 b). ${ }^{2}$


 they put under ban, M. Q. 16 a; תַּקִּ They instituted, Ned. $10 a$, Gitt. 49 b; בַּקִּיִּים B. B. 172 b.
 they praised, Gitt. $56 a$; ibid. 23 b ; צָּעַ
 C. MS., Meg. $7 a$ (voc.); ©ָר they clung to, Bêçā $11 a$.

2d plur. masc.—§279. a) [T קאשטילחמן ; S . $71 a$ : הַפְּכִים turn ye, M. MS., Pes. 40 a. ${ }^{4}$
 have endangered, Ber. 25 a.

1st plur.com.-§280.a) [T Pַ; M M


 M. MS., Ber. 58 b. ${ }^{5}$


$s$ s
${ }^{4}$ Cf. 88 205, 232, $a ;-$ -


Imperfect.- $\S 281$. In the imperfect the vowel of the first stem-consonant is, with a few exceptions, always $\check{a}$. In the 2d and the 3 d person plural the second stem-vowel is invariably omitted.




b) b $110 b$; לִי strips, Sanh. 109 b.


 ——
b)

 repairest, Yeb. 63 a;
b) ${ }^{\text {B/ }}$ Gitt. 30 b .


 $60 a$; אֵיקֵּ








[^54] Hag. 5b, Yeb. $121 a$; ? Pex. $103 b$; 13 b; שְזָּ
b)
c)
 S
 M. Q. $27 b$;
b) believe, Gitt. 30 b .

 66 b;
 R. H. $17 a$; come late, Ber. $8 a$;

 the other forms occur but sporadically. The change of the first vowel to $i$ is rare.
 Sanh. $98 a$; ;

 $104 a$.
b) qittûlê: ${ }^{1}$ לְבִיםּ the proper thing, B. M. $108 a$; "



d) qattilê: :ַַax to lash, Pes. $52 a$, B. M. $86 a$ a
e) qattâlê: לַדָּ to lie flat, M. MS., Sabb. $104 a$.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Barth, Nominalbildung, $\S 101$ sq.
2 Yemen MSS. have sometimes $9_{-}$or $\eta_{-}$for $\dot{4}$, which is the Arabic way of vocalization.
 Dictionary, s. v.).
 ל? to say grace, Ber. 53 b; ;? ; ? ? to uproot, B. B. $82 a$.
h) qattûl: לְלָרוֹדּ Ber. 22 b . (This might also be a form qattal.)
i) maqattil:
 to patch, ‘Arûkh, B. B. $20 a$.

l) qattâlûîe: : To to benefit, M. Q. $12 a$;
m) qattâậi: "

Aotive Participle.- $\$ 293$. The m -prefix has sometimes an $i$ vowel. At times it is dropped ( $\$ 58$ ), especially with enclitic pronouns.

Sing. masc.-§ 294. a) explains, Ned. $2 b$ (§ 8);

 B. M. $71 a$; perhaps also Ber. 18 b. ${ }^{2}$
b)
 $101 a$; Makes glad, Ber. 35 b.
 Yeb. 63 a;

 Tan Ned. $91 a$ a









 M．Q． 12 a．${ }^{1}$
 Sanh． $67 b$ ；

 Sabb． 109 a，B．Q． $34 a$ ；䀎 stretched flat，Sabb． 104 a；解 is leprous，Hull． 60 a；

 $37 a$ ， ，intercalated，Ned． 63 a；e．





Plur．fem．—§301．בְקָ are near，Sabb． 104 a；
隹

Participles with Enclitic Subject－Pronouns．－Active
 ibid．； Sabb． 108 b．
b）


c）



${ }^{1}$ אק
${ }^{2}$ Tמֶּ

 Sanh. $30 a ;$; diminish, B. M. 77 a. ${ }^{1}$

Passive Participle.--§303. b)
 $141 b$ :




$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { §304] } \\
& \quad \text { VERB } \\
& A p h^{\prime} e \bar{l} l .
\end{aligned}
$$

| Perfegt- <br> Sing. 3d masc. . . <br> 3d fem. . . . <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 2d fem. . . . <br> 1st com <br> Plur. 3d mase. $\{$ <br> 3d fem. . . . <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. |  |  <br>  <br>  <br>  אַקְשִּילּלּ אַקְטּפלּל אַקְשִּלִלּ <br>  <br>  <br>  | אַקְטְּוֹל <br>  $\qquad$ <br>  אַקִטְּלּ"ּ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Imperfect - <br> Sing. 3d masc. . . <br> 3d fem. $\qquad$ <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. <br> Plur. 3d masc. <br> 3d fem. $\qquad$ <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. . |  |  <br> תַתְקָּיֶּל <br>  <br> אַקִֵּּיל <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> ַַקַּשֵיל |  |
| Imperative- <br> Sing. 2d masc. . . <br> 2d fem. <br> Plur. 2d mase. <br> Infinitive | אַקַקְטְטַל | אַקְֵּּ"ל <br> אַקְשִּילִי" <br>  <br>  |  |
| Participle- <br> Active, sing.masc. fem. . <br> Passive, sg. masc. <br> fem. . | מַמְקַּדֶל מַּקְטְלָא |  <br> בַּקִשִלֹא゙ <br> صַקְטַׁ <br>  |  |

## EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.


 אְַּׁק pass over, Sanh. 77 b; became worm-eaten, Macc. $7 b$;
 made profit, B. Q. 50 a; אַשִׁכַּח found, B. M. 23 b. ${ }^{1}$
c) Ned. $73 a$, Meg. $7 a$, R. H. $6 a$, Taan. $30 a$ ).



 Yeb. 39 (legal style).

c) הַוֹקוֹנָה she became old, Nidd. $47 a$.

 Keth. 61 b;
 find, B. M. $63 a{ }^{\text {. }}{ }^{\text {b }}$

2d sing. fem.-§306 $\beta$.




 have destroyed, "En Y. ibid. 25 a."
 B. M. 108 b; ©



[^55] Ber. 50 b; ; were far away, Hull. 17 a. With loss of stemvowel, by analogy with the participle: אnּקְרִ C. MS., Zeb. $86 a$;

 were successful, A. Z. 26 a. ${ }^{1}$
 they separated them, ibid. 69 b ).



3d plur. fem.-§309.的 have found, Nidd. 48 a ${ }^{\text {b. }}$
 ——n whan ye made war, Täm. 31 b.
 4
 S $\underset{\sim}{\text { ²- }}$, Ber. 15 a . With loss of stem-vowel:的
b)





 Ber. $6 a$; ;
 windest skeins, 'Arûkh, Yeb. 63 a; ${ }^{\text {; }}$ Pes. 7 a
b)

b) $\mathfrak{M}$ I take my word back, Sanh. 102 b. ${ }^{6}$

[^56] Ar.



3 plur. fem.- $\S 315 \beta$.
 S $\underset{\sim}{\wedge}$ pay attention, Ned. 91 b;

b)


b) يַפַּר let fy, Šebu. 30 b; Succ. 44 b.
 Sabb. 151 b, eds.


 south, B. B. 25 b; אַחֲריפּ come early, Sanh. 70b; twist, ${ }^{\text {© En Y., Bekh. }} 8$ b.
 Sanh. $38 a$.
c) Ber. 13 b.
d) אַחַ return, Keth. 84 b.

Infinitive.-§321. The usual form of the infinitive is "אַקְׁin; all the other forms occur only sporadically.

 "
 B. Q. 50 a; Taan. 29 a (§50).

 (some eds.).
c) 'aqtûl: אַחnain V. L., Pes. 17 a. ${ }^{1}$

d) maqtûlê: the Tôsephôth); (

 Meg. 22 b.

h) 'aqtâlûîê: (contracted from



b) Sanh. $106 \dot{b}$; B. B. 98 b; Zeb. $25 a$;
 gives in marriage, Ned. $23 \dot{a}$;



 B. M. $109 a$.
 Q Keth. $67 b$; by analogy with the perfect.

Plur. fem.-§325. בַּnch B. M. 16 a; 28 a; Sabb. 33 b.

Passive Participle.—§326. Pirn Bekh. 12 b; popg Hull. $59 a$; 2 A. Z. $25 a$;


Participles with Enclitio Subject-Pronouns.-Active Participle.-§327. a) מַּטְבֵּילְּנָ
 profit, B. M. 73 a. ${ }^{3}$

 . nex
${ }^{3}$ nּuְ
 destroyest, B. M. 86 a (M. MS.


 'Ar. 22 b. ${ }^{1}$





Ithpe'è and Ithpa"al.

|  | тTHP ${ }^{\text {E }}$ ELE | ithea "al. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perfegt- <br> Sing. 3d masc. . . <br> 3d fem. . . . <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. . . <br> Plur. 3d masc. $\{$ <br> 3d fem. ... <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. $\{$ | אִּקְשַׁל <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  |  <br>  <br> Nanen <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  |
| Imperfect- <br> Sing. 3d masc. . . <br> 3d fem. . . . <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 2d fem. . . <br> 1st com. <br> Plur. 3d masc. <br> 3d fem. $\qquad$ <br> 2d masc. . . <br> 1st com. |  | תִּ |
| Imperative- <br> Sing. masc. <br> fem. <br> Plur. masc. |  |  Noneren <br>  |
| Infinitive. |  |  |
| Participle- <br> Sing. masc. <br> fem........ |  |  |

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP ${ }^{E} E \mathrm{EL}$.

 Ned. 29 b ; (C. MS. Pen




 disobedient, M. Q. 16 ; ; Ned. 50 a; אִּ $62 a$;
c)




 Nun was soaked, Succ. 10 b; was explained, Ber.
隹
b) ${ }^{\circ}$ Nas ashamed, Taan. 25 a; Zeb. $15 a ;$; was pierced, Hull. 49 ; B. M. $84 b$;




 $I$ was married, Yeb. $66 a{ }^{5}{ }^{5}$


 Harkavy, S550; HG. 293.
${ }^{4}$ The traditional pronunciation of lengthened forms of the Ithpe'ē are vert
 to toll.

 Sanh. $97 a$, Ber. $49 a$; ${ }^{\text {; }}$ I am engrossed, F. MS., B. Q. $40 a$; I took counsel, B. B. 30 b.




 differed, Zeb. 116 ; אִּ were charred, singed, Nidd. $28 a$;

d) (

 leave, M. Q. $9 a$; אִשְׁתְ ıbid. 106 a. ${ }^{5}$
$3 d$ plur. fem.-§333. [T אתקטלך


 Y. Bekh. $36 a$, by analogy with ${ }^{4}$ ". ${ }^{6}$


 postpone, wait, Sabb. 136 ; ; אִּen ye took leave, M. Q. 9 a ( ${ }^{(E n}$ Y.





1 1


4 \% 4 Th

${ }^{6}$ T,




3d sing. fem.-§337. a) ( is done, B. M. 296.
 $2 d$ sing. masc.-§338. שׂ่า listen, B. M. 59 a.
1st sing. com.—§339. a) א I consult, Ber. 27 b.
b) $I$ am engrossed, B. Q. $40 a$; אֶשְ Ned. $50 a$.
$3 d$ plur. masc.—§340. [BT ביחקיטשלן"; S


 Bêçā $16 a{ }^{2}{ }^{\text {. }}$
 ulcerate, Sabb. $54 b$.
 ashamed, Qidd. 18 a.

Imperative.—Sing. masc.—§343. אִיזּ take heed, Pes




Plur. masc.—§344. .
Infinitive.- §345. The usual form of the infinitive is the other forms occur only sporadically.

 to act slyly, Sabb. 38 a; ${ }^{\circ}$ "
b) 'ithqatulâ: Nan Macc. 23 b.
c) 'ithqatalâ: : לְ to be married, Keth. $53 b$.
 (fragment ed. Lowe) ;
 $27 b$; but the last example is more probably Qal.


f) mithqatalâ: אִּ

 Ma frightened, Sanh. 94a.
 Pes. $8 a$; ;
 Keth. $57 b$; Sabb. $94 a$.

 Ned. $54 a$;
 קִּיַּסְבָ| are married, Ber. 56 a.

Participle with Enclitio Subject-Pronouns.-§350.a) 1 remember, Ber. $44 b$; $29 a ;$;
b) $61 b$ (f.).
c)

## EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.


 Pes. $104 a$; ; was sold, Ber. 5 ; ; ; $49 a$; 31b;

c)
 profit, Sanh. 81 a; (1) let her be freed, Yeb. 19 a.
d)

[^57]
 persuaded, Yeb. 108 b ; N N
 Ned. $50 a$;

 Nown didst stay, Hull. 105b; Keth. 111 ; ;

 B. M. $85 b$;
 $85 b{ }^{2}$




 scattered, Pes. $110 b$.

3d plur. fem.-§356. א show semen, Hull. 93b. ${ }^{4}$
1st plur. com.-§357. א $I$ am (we are) attached, Sanh. $29 a$.

Imperfect.—3d sing. masc.—§358. a) לִּ Hag. 5b;
 is disfigured, B. B. 154 b;
b) b) is burned, Pes. $82 b .{ }^{6}$

 $83 a$;

$2 d$ sing. fem.- $\$ 360 \beta$. תִּתִּתִּ Keth. $2 b$.

[^58]1st sing. com.—§361.解




c) c) Yeb. $72 a$.


1st plur. com.—§365. . Truan. $25 a$.


b) \% אnen ${ }^{2}$

Plur. masc.-§367. a) Alfâsî B. B. 40 b.


Infinitive.- $\S 368$. The usual form of the infinitive is

 to be closed, R. H. 23b; ; to proft, Sanh. $81 a$ A. Z. $2 b$, Yeb. 92b;


b) 'ithqattull: and perhaps
c) 'ithqattâlâ: Men. 7 a
d) 'ithqattalê: No to be singed, Nidd. $28 a$.
e) 'ithqattal:
f) 'ithquttalaiee: :

h) ต example may also be imperfect; cf. §362b. ${ }^{3}$
${ }^{1}{ }^{1}$ ?




Partioiple. - Sing. masc.-§369. a) a
 Man smitten with leprosy, Hull. $60 a$; ;

c) c)
 old, "Ar. 19 a; מִּ $15 a$ (by analogy with " 4 ). ${ }^{3}$

Plur. masc.—§371.
隹 are explained, Taan. $14 a$;

 trimmed, Ned. $61 b$, Raší; ${ }^{\text {; }}$ :

Participle with Enclitic Subjeot - Pronoun--§373.-
 am paid, B. Q. 9 a; I hide myself, Ber. $31 b$ (f.); קִּשְׁתַּבּעָּ I swear, Keth. $85 a$; I 1 am married, Keth. $62 b$ (f.).
b) M. M. M. 69 ב
c) ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ) pe are sold, Macc. $2 b .{ }^{4}$
 (=) ye become tired, A. Z. $7 \dot{2}$ b.

## verbs $\mathrm{D}^{2}$ פ.

$\S 374$. The as first stem-consonant is assimilated to the following consonant whenever both meet without an intervening vowel, or vocal šval. This happens in the imperfect and in the infinitive Qal, in the Aph ${ }^{\circ}$ el and in the Ittaph ${ }^{\text {a al }}$. The imperative Qal frequently loses initial $\boldsymbol{y}$ by analogy with the imperfect from which it is derived.

[^59]In the verb pho to ascend, which in consequence of the syn-
 ascended (Taan. 23b) in the perfect. ${ }^{1}$

The z frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals,
 taken out (Succ. $45 a$ ) for מִּיִּפַּקַ. But this may also be an Apheel passive participle. The to be slaughtered, 'Er. 536 , passing into a " $" \mathrm{Y}$ form.

## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

Imperfeot.-3d sing.masc.-§375. a) $\overline{-1}$ moves, Ber.



 Ber. 51 b. ${ }^{\text { }}$

3d sing. fem.—§376. קitice Macc. $14 a$, Ned. $65 a, 66 a$.
$2 d$ sing. masc.-§377. a) M. Q. $20 b$;
b) No example.
c)
 I go out, Gitt. 56 a; אֵיmin I go down, B. M. $15 b$.
b) בא




b) בִיקוּ M. MS. Pes. $111 a$.

2d plur. masc.-§381. Tan. $24 a$;


1st plur. com.-§382. a) pation Gitt. $56 a$; Pes. $118 b$; לֵיחֹח B. B. $73 b$.

${ }^{2}$ р用

${ }^{4}$ P翏? ? Qidd. $81 a$.


c) לִלִּנְ B. B. 29 a.

Imperative.—Sing. masc.-§383. a) ulip take, Sabb. 147 a; פַּ slaughter, Pes. $61 a$; vow, Qidd. $41 a$; טוֹר take, B. M. $28 b$; Ber. $17 a$.
 Пగֵ give, Gitt. $56 b$.
 בoo take away, Sanh. 100b; PO ascend, Yeb. 63 a.

Sing. fem.—§384.
 דחה come ye down, Šebu. $31 a$.

c) c) Ber. $53 b$.

Infinitive.-§386. a) miqtal: Manh. $75 b$; M. 9 M. Q. $9 a$; 19a; מִּ M. M. $74 b$;

b) miqtil: ${ }^{\text {a }}$ 'En Y. Sôtã $12 a$.

d) miqtalâ: : צְ
e) qutŭl:

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.
Perfect.—3d sing. masc.—§387. a) ב゙లִּנְ married, Qidd.

 Keth. $62 b$; ל-
b) הַּתַּ married, Yeb. $121 a$; אַַַּּר enlightened, Sôtā $6 a$; by analogy with ${ }^{n}$ "ל verbs, by a vow, Ned. $50 a$ ).

 Yeb. 65 b $^{2}$ n bade her by a vow, Ned. 21b).

[^60]2d sing. masc.-§389. a)
b) אַפַּלְ Yeb. $65 b$; didst increase, Ber. $5 b$; אַנִחתחת didst answer satisfactorily, B. B. $129 a ;$ : Hiull. $137 b$;






 (Rašî different).




 Sôtā $40 a$.

3d plur. masc.—§397. לִ?
$2 d$ plur. masc.—§398. תַּפּׁק Sabb. 96 b.
Imperative.-Sing. masc.-§399. a) wing compare, Zeb.

b)

 8b; place, Ned. $50 b$.
 Hull. $42 b$; Sôtā $21 a$;


 analogy with " $"$ verbs. ${ }^{4}$

[^61] 63 b, by analogy with ${ }^{2}$ verbs.



 vertbs.


 saves, Sôtā $21 a$;



Plur. fem.—§406. 2 Sabb. 38 ; ;
Passive Participle.-§407. Sing. masc.: Ned. 50 a.-
 $69 a$; Plur. masc.: :

Participle with Enclitio Subject-Pronouns.-§408.-
 132b; ;
 113b, Sebu. $31 a ;$;
c) c) Yeb. $120 a$; Sanh. $112 a$ a; $115 a$;

## VERBS N"ヨ。

§409. The perfect and the participles of Qal are regular. To what extent initial $\boldsymbol{\aleph}$ in the perfect had a full vowel instead of šêcen cannot be inferred from the orthography. Çērê I find once $_{\text {cen }}$ in אֵימֵּ he said, Keth. 103 b. ${ }^{1}$

In the imperfect and in the infinitive the does not appear and the preformative has çēre. ${ }^{2}$ This vowel could have arisen from short $i$ or might be a contraction of $a i$, the $\mathbb{N}$ having been changed to ${ }^{-}$.

[^62]In the imperative Qal the $\mathbb{N}$ usually takes a full vowel. In the verb to go it is usually omitted.

In the Pa"e $\overline{\text { el }}$ the $\boldsymbol{N}$ is usually syncopated in the participle, rarely in the imperfect.
 cases they retain their original form, the quiescing in the preceding $\alpha$-vowel and producing $\hat{a}$.

In the reflexive stems the $\mathbf{N}$ is usually assimilated to the preceding $\AA$, but sometimes retained. In a few cases of the Ithp ${ }^{\theta^{e} \text { él }}$ the $\Omega$ is further assimilated to the second stem-consonant.
§410. The verbs אזמ ארו drop at times their final consonant in unlengthened forms. ${ }^{1}$ This is especially the case with , אמֹר, giving in the imperfect in the imper-
 the last form must be distinguished whey say, occurring only once, in Gitt. 56 b . The variants are evidently 'erleichternde Lesarten.' The word is a compound


The apocopated forms of in the imperfect are frequently found compounded with $\mathcal{N}$ if, giving the forms ( = א (
 is one who says, which is a compound of says ( $\S 60, \mathrm{n} .1$ ).

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.
Imperfect.—§411. $3 d$ sing.masc.: a) לֵ eats, Ber. 18b; Sirne Sôt. $32 b$.
b) לִיחזל C. MS. Meg. $12 b$ (voc.); 3er. $27 b$.

3d sing.fem.: a) Yeb. 70 a
1 In $S M$. אזא drops its ל constantly.
${ }^{2}$ ² לִימָּ SMM. No. Lxxim. (vooc.).



b) Sanh. $77 b, 78 a$



 Pes. $74 b$, Zeb. $28 a{ }^{2}$
b) אֵיזִיל B. Q. $108 a$, Yeb. $65 a$; אֵמֵּלֹ Pes. $74 b$.
c)


 140 b.

2d plur. fem.:
1st plur. com.: a) ביכוֹל M. MS. Ber. 31 b.


 Sabb. $118 a$ ).

c)

b.) Ned. 77 b;



Infinitive.-§413. a) maqtal or miqtal: Ned. 9b, $10 a$; $^{4}$ " (
b) maqtalâ or miqtala: Ned. $9 a, 16 a$. $^{5}$

${ }^{1}$ תחת Hag. 220.
2 לֹtan TG. ed. Harkavy, $889,28$.
3 角解 SM. No. xxvx. (voc.).
4 Nañ HG. 140.
${ }_{5}$ In the phrase 3d sing. ferm.

## EXAMPLES FOR PA ${ }^{\text {" }}$ ELL

§414. Perfect.——
Imperfect.—( mayest believe, ibid. 30 b.

Imperative.--
 ?
 $74 a$; מַּלְּפּ Gitt. 70 a.

Passive Participle.——
Active Partiotple with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.מֶּאַחֲרִיִךן


## EXAMPLES FOR APHĒL.

§415. Perfeot.——n he hired, B. M. $77 a$; אinn he

 $54 a$.—.

Imperative.—— B. M. $76 a{ }^{4}$




Aotive Participle.—— A. Z. $15 a$;

 They lie in wait, A. Z. 39 b. ${ }^{6}$
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Hebrew 꾸


4 ทไ̣ารา give thou him to eat, HG. ed. pr. 31 a.

6 คา

## EXAMPLES FOR ITHPE ${ }^{\text {E }}$ L.

Perfeot.-§416. 3d sing. masc.: a) wa was locked,


 11b;









 Men. 56b.-3d plur.fem.:

Infinitive.-§418. a) 'ithqatûlê: Nidd. $23 a$;
 M. MS. Ber. $59 a ;$; R. MS. Pes. $65 a$.
b) 'ithqatûlâ: : M. 76 .
c) 'ithqatil: : M. MS. Sabb. $145 b$ ( $\$ 80, a)$.


 Meg. $16 a$;
 Bekh. $16 a$; (65 $a$. ${ }^{2}$
 B. M. $76 a$.


[^63]
## EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA AL

§420. Perfect.——nen they mourned, Gitt. $57 a$.
Infinitive.--
Partiolple.—— mournes, Sabb. 136 a.
VERBS N"
§421. Verbs of this class retain the $\boldsymbol{N}$ in many cases of the Qal and of the $\mathrm{Pa}^{\text {ee }} \mathbf{e}$ l. In all other cases they generally pass into verbs " ${ }^{n}$ "

## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

§422. Perfect.—— grew sick, Ned. 40 a.——

 Yeb. 116 a; C. MS. Meg. $2 b .{ }^{2}$



 M. Q. ibid.;

Aotive Participle.—בیּ שivin Men






## EXAMPLES FOR PA"ELL.

 Taan. $14 a$. -

1 לְ
2 ²
${ }^{3}$ But this may also be Pa"èl.
4 4 4 HG. 429.


Imperative.-







Passive Participle.NTMem. $22 a$.

## EXAMPLES FOR APH ${ }^{\text {ELL }}$





EXAMPLES FOR ITHP ${ }^{E^{e}} \mathbf{E L}$.





Participle.——
 Yeb. $15 a ;$;

## examples for ithpaial.






[^64]
## 

§427．The only verb which retains initial 1 is on to stain， soak，all other $\mathrm{V}^{7}$ verbs became＂${ }^{\text {＂}}$ in the Qal．${ }^{1}$ The initial＂was probably pronounced as a consonant．These verbs present the following peculiarities：

In．Qal：יחת to sit，drops its＂in the imperative；to give，does it sometimes also in the perfect．${ }^{2}$

In Aph＇el ： אn wn all other verbs pass into stems．A few forms assim－ ilate their＂by analogy of $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{\dagger} \boldsymbol{\square}$ verbs．
 ．

In Ithpa＂al：Some forms are contracted．For verbs ${ }^{\text {＂}}$＂ and ＂＂微 see $\S \S 598,599$.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL．



b） MSS．Ber． 58 a．

下ּ

2d sing．masc．：：Sanh． 109 a，Ber． $56 a$ ； $2 d$ sing．fem．：Keth． 85 a．

 $37 a$ ；：Qidd． 40 a
 ＇En．Y．Yômâ 696.

c）

[^65]

Imperfect.-§429. 3d sing. masc.: a) 耳ifint Taan. 12b; בinu Hill. 135 a, M. Q. 96 , A.Z. 28 b.
 $20 a$.


 תabl $116 b$.

c) Qidd. 80 b

2d sing. masc.: :
1st sing. com.: אֵיתחּב I give, Bekh. 44b, Sanh. 98 b.




$2 d$ plur. masc.: :חֵּרְרתחּ

 Hag. 5b, Yôm. 74 b.
 Hôr. $12 a$. $^{3}$ (With suffixes give ye him, Gitt. $57 b$ ).

Infinitive.—§431. a) miqtal: H : $\mathrm{Hôr}$. $12 a$, Ned. $88 a$, Macc. $6 b$; $63 b$;
b) miqtalâ: B. M. $17 a$.

Aotive Participle.—§432. Sing. masc.: Ned. 8 a; בדידָּ


[^66]Sing. fèm.:
 ibid. $62 b{ }^{1}$

Plur. fem.: ${ }^{\text {Pat }}$ Pes. 111 a.
Passive Participle.-§433. Sing. masc.: Ned. $55 a$,


 ending).

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- EXAMPLes for aphéd.
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Perfect.-§434. 3d sing. masc.: © B. M. 60 b , 63 b ; בne he placed, M. Q. $25 a$; the right, Yômâ 72b, O. MS. Sabb. 88b, M. MS. ibid. P ${ }^{\text {M }}$ looked, Hull. $95 b$.

3d sing. fem.: Keth. 60 a, Sanh. $109 b$; אוֹתבּ


2d sing. fem.: : M. MS. Sabb. 66 b.
1st sing. com.: : אוֹñ I placed, Bêçā 16 b.
 $8 b$, Bêegã $6 a$.
$3 d$ plur. fem.: :
2d plur. masc.: ${ }^{2}$ O. MS. Pes. 87 b; 'En Y. ibid. .
 ${ }^{\prime}$ Ar. $30 b$.

$2 d$ sing. fem.: :

$3 d$ plur. masc.: (
 באֵnc put down, Sabb. 77 b.
 ye, Gitt. $67 b$.


 Keth. $64 a$; "פֵivin Bêçā $23 a$.








Passive Participle.-§439.


## EXAMPLES FOR ITHP ${ }^{\mathbb{E}^{\circ} \text { ELL }}$


 Sanh. 100 a. ${ }^{2}$
b)
c)






 Ned. 30 b.

Infinitive.—§442.
 Yômâ $85 a$, Sôtā $45 b$.
 Bêçā $2 b$.
 EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.
Perfect.-§444. 3d sing.masc.: a) was made aware,


[^67]
 warned，B．Q． 4 a．

 1st sing．com．：

 Hull． 90 b；（ M，M．MS．Sanh． 46 b．

Imperfeot．－§445．3d sing．masc．： M．MS．B．M． 21 ．





Participle．－§447．Sing．masc．：9．P．Q． $67 b$ ；







## VERBS ジタ。

§448．Verbs of this class are closely allied with $\mathrm{\eta}^{7} \mathrm{y}$ verbs， many of whose forms they assume．This is especially the case in the active participle of Qal and in the whole intensive stem Sometimes they pass into forms of verbs＂＂3，less frequently into those of＂\＃．In verbs with a transitive meaning the forms are frequently treated as fully triconsonantal by doubling the second stem－consonant．${ }^{8}$

In the Aph＇el the preformative takes sometimes $i$ which is produced to $\bar{e}$ ．See further $\S \S 475-479$ ．

[^68]Qal, Pa'ēl, and Aph'ēl.

|  | QAL. | Pa' ${ }^{\text {ele }}$. | ${ }_{\text {APH }}$ 'ELL. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perfegt- |  |  |  |
| Sing. 3d masc. . . | צ\% |  |  |
| 3d fem. . . |  | N- | Kַצ゙ּ |
| 2d masc. . . |  |  |  |
| 2d fem. . | עַלִּ | - | - |
| 1st com. . . | [80 | - |  |
| Plur. 3d masc. . . |  |  |  |
| 2d masc... |  | - |  |
| 1st com. . . | - עַ |  |  |
| Imperfect- |  |  |  |
| Sing. 3d masc. . . | ֵֵייצוֹל |  |  |
| 3d fem. . | חֵּיצוֹֹל | \% |  |
| 2d masc. . | חֵֵיצוֹֹל | \% | תַּנֵיל |
| 1st com. . | אֵיצוֹל | - |  |
| Plur. 3d mase. . . |  |  |  |
| 1st com. | ֵֵיצוֹל | - |  |
| Imperative - |  |  |  |
| Sing. 2d masc. . . | צ゙ | \% | אֵצים |
| Plur. 2d masc. . . | 4 |  |  |
| Infinitive. . . . . . . | מֵיִיֵֵל |  |  |
| Partioiple - |  |  |  |
| Active, sing.masc. |  | םun | מַּצֵיל |
| fem. . |  |  |  |
| Passive, sg. masc. |  | - |  |
| fem. . | (\%) | - | - |

## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

Perfect.—§449.. $3 d$ sing. masc.: a) Pes. $112 b$ (voc.); צָאל B. B. $41 b$, Bekh. $8 b$; חה hollowed out, Pes. $28 a$; חַט M. MS. ibid., 'Arûkh Sabb. 103 a; plo Sabb. 134 ;
 Ber. 36b; לַל he cursed, Sanh. 113 a; he cut, Hull. 135a;

b) (צִּיל was clear, Sabb. 66 b.

3d sing. fem.: a)
 $51 b$; רְקִקר Yeb. $105 a$.

$2 d$ sing. masc.:

1st sing. com.: a) שַּלִּת Sabb. 140 a;
 $13 a$; by analogy with verbs ${ }^{n}$ "

3d plur. masc.: a) M. Q. $12 a$;

b) P路 they cut down, B. M. $10 \dot{8} a$.
c) ${ }^{\text {b }}$ Bekh. $7 a$, Gitt. $72 a$, Yalq. MS. A. Z. $2 b$.

2d plur. masc.:







 Pes. $36 a$.


2 With change of $\Omega$ to $\Psi$, as in Neo-Syriac.
${ }^{3}$ With prothetic $\mathbf{N}$; cf. $8887,88,91$.
${ }^{4}$ The forms

 72b; TTM shears, Hull. 135 a

3d sing. fem.: $60 b$;
 Meg. 29 a.


$2 d$ plur. masc.: תִּנְדזּ Succ. $30 a$.
 ibid. 92 b.

Imperative.-§451. Sing. masc.: a) Fip B. B. $60 b$;
 $94 b$; בְּרוֹר demonstrate, В. B. 29 b.
b) קִיץ M. MS. B. M. 110 b.
c)

Plur. masc.: a) ע ע B. M. 107b, $108 a$;
b) O. O. MS. Pes. 111b; Hôr. $12 a$.

Infinitive.-§452. a) miqtal: ץppor to cut down, B. Q. $85 a$;






Adtive Partiotple.-§453. Sing. masc.: $\mathrm{Y}^{-1} p_{\mathrm{T}}$ B. B. $26 a$;


 קר Sabb. 134a, in Hebrew fashion; לָתֵּת Pes. $36 a ;$;
 B. M. $93 a$; רָּ רֵּ trembles, B. B. 167 a.

Sing.fem.:

[^69] $88 a b$ ；； Manh

Plur．fem．：＂Hiver בゴ．${ }^{1}$



 Hull．105b；שֶּ
 Taan． $20 b$ ；
b）מִדקיק is engraved，Gitt．68b；is cut down，B．В．59a．
Sing．fem．：




 ＂





Participles with Enclitic Subject－Pronouns．－§455．


 M．Q． $12 a$ ．




[^70]
## EXAMPLES FOR PA ${ }^{\text {e }}$ EL.

Perfect.—§456. $3 d$ sing. masc.: a) צُ Yomâ $21 a$, Sabb.
 צַלִּל゙ M. MS. Sabb. $116 b$.

3d sing. fem.: צַ, Yômâ $9 a, 18 a$, Yeb. $61 a$; Gitt. $68 b .{ }^{1}$



b) פער they went up, C. MS. M. Q. $12 a$.

1st plur. com.: :
 $104 a$; לִ? covers, Succ. $13 b$.

$2 d$ sing. masc.: :
 play, Yeb. $114 a$.
 $i t$, M. MS. ibid.)
 Tñ sharpen, Sabb. 32 a.

Infinitive.-§459. a) qattûlê: Macc. $21 b,{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{C}$. MS. Zeb. $36 a$; $^{2}$ To appreciate, honor, Hull. $133 a$, Sabb. $130 a$;
 to form, B. M. $74 a$; "
 Sabb. $140 a$.
b) qittâlê: לִיתּתוֹתֵ M. MS. Pes. $36 a$.
©) qattâlâ:
d) qattil:



[^71]~ ibid., ed. Yômâ 84b; © covers, 'Arûkh Succ. 53a, M. MS. ibid. 31 a;
 stretches out, B. M. 83 b .



 passing into ${ }^{n \prime 2}$.

Passive Participle.-§461. Sing. masc.:


Sing. fem.: B. M. $74 a$.
 $14 a$, Nidd. 14b; מְּחֲדְּריך B. M. $84 a$.

Plur. fem.: $\quad$ moulded, M. MS. B. M. 74 a; Keth. $62 b$, Sabb. $82 a$.

Participles with Enclitio Subject-Pronoun.-§462.Active Participle: a) Null. 133 a.

c) Keth. $112 a$; ‘En Y. ibid.
 "


## EXAMPLES FOR APHEEL.

Perfect.-§463. 3d sing. masc.: $153 a$; אַטֵּם filled up, M. MS. B. Q. $50 a ;$ N. MS. Sabb $110 b$; אַרַ Pes. $3 b$; אیחֵיצ B. B. $23 a$.
 $144 a$.

 Sabb. $156 a$; (אַרְעוּחַ B. Q. 52a).
b) אַחוּל they renounced their right, B. B. $23 a$.

 Alfâsi Yồmâ 78b).
$2 d$ sing. masc.:
1st plur. com.: 2 M. MS. Pes. 118b; בֵּקוֹM Qidd. $12 b$.
Imperative.--§465. Sing. masc.: אیחהים Sabb.


Infinitive.--§466. a) 'aqtâlê: :

 Yômâ $37 a$, B. B. $99 a$.——家 Sabb. 129b; Pes. 118b; B. B. $34 a$, A. Z. 27 ; ; אוֹרוֹצי M. MS. Pes. 76 a.
b) miqtâlâ:

Active Participle.-§467. Sing. masc.: a) Pas

 היחקין Sabb. 1296.
 Ned. 19 b.
c) Qidd. $64 a$ a
 MS. Pes. $76 a$, passing into " perfect ending (§232); מַחְלָה B. B. 132 .


 B. B. $19 a$; מַחְבִּיםּ

Pabticiple with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-§468.-

b) B. B. $7 a$, M. MS.
c) c) דְupll. $4 b$.

## EXAMPLES FOR ITHP ${ }^{E^{\circ}}$ EL.

Perfect.—§469. 3d sing.masc.: a) Ned. $77 a$;
b) צִיתּרַ was ruined, Hag. 5 a; grew warm, Sabb.
 Sanh. $27 b$.
 covered entirely, Meg. 27b; אִּ was razed, Hull. $44 a$, Bekh.

 ending; "אִּבּבּרָ she became wild, Nidd. 50 b. ${ }^{1}$
$3 d$ plur. masc.: a) (they attended to, Ned. 77 ab,
 M. Q. $25 b$.

 became hard, "Arûkh Nidd. 48 b. ${ }^{2}$

2d plur. masc.: : אִּשְׁלַלִיחת ye played, Qidd. 21 b.
1st plur. com.: ${ }^{\text {a }}$
 'Er. $104 a$.
b) לִּתִּרַצ becomes unlucky, Ned. 40 a; לִ"דַּ raised himself up, 2 M. MS. M. Q. 28 .

2d sing. masc.: a) Hִּ

Infinitive.-§471. . M, A. Z. $39 b$.

Participle.-§472. Sing. masc.: a) ancran is profaned,
 Gitt. $70 b$.
b) M. MS. B. B. $60 b$; Pabb. 46 b.
 Bekh. 76.


${ }_{3}$ This word may also be, as in the Targumim, Ittaph'al; but forms like לating ,

 B. Q. $73 a$;

Plur. fem.:
Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-§473.-


## EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

 became mad, wild, 'En Y. Ned. 41 a.-n'en whe took cold, Sabb. $129 a ;$ :


Participle.—— Yômâ 51b;



## verbs ""१

$\S 475$. The verbs of this class are properly verbs with an originally long stem-vowel. Like the $\boldsymbol{y}^{\boldsymbol{y}} \boldsymbol{y}$ verbs they go ultimately back to bi-consonantal roots. The difference between the two classes being, that the bi-consonantal root was in the one instance pronounced with lengthened vowel, in the other with lengthened, vulgo doubled, consonant. Cf. Assyrian inûbu and inuhbu, iṭîbu and ittibbu, etc. Both classes run into one another, as in the cognate dialects, so that it is often difficult to tell to which class a given verb belongs.
$\S 476$. Verbs mediae $\hat{u}$ and verbs mediae $\hat{\imath}$ are in most forms alike and it would therefore be impossible to tell with certainty the one from the other. The verbs mediae $\hat{\imath}$ are probably $\begin{aligned} & \text { a } \\ & \text { to }\end{aligned}$


 the denominatives $\boldsymbol{Z}$ ציצ to ornament. The last two only in Pa"el.

[^72]§477. In the active participle of Qal an $\boldsymbol{N}$ is introduced between the two stem-consonants as bearer of the second vowel. This $\boldsymbol{N}$ has been retained in only a few cases of the singular masculine; in all other cases it has changed to ", in one case to 9 $(\S 506, b) .^{1}$ In the participle passive the $\hat{i}$-vowel is frequently diphthongized ( $8880,503-5$ ).
§478. In the Pa"èl and in the Ithpa"al the root is extended to a tri-consonantal stem by the insertion of ${ }^{\wedge}$, or of 7 . The latter occurs only in עות , עון (in case the last word is not triconsonantal in the Qal), the denominative plr to blow up, to roll, and רוד to peddle, overtake. The last two have also forms with ${ }^{\circ}$.
§479. In the Aph'ē some verbs pass into the form of verbs. Others change the original $a$-vowel to $i$, which is lengthened to $\bar{e}$. Strange is the persistence of this $\bar{e}$-vowel in a form like
$\S 480$. In the Ithp ${ }^{\theta^{e}-}$ el the verbal stem remains bi-consonantal
行 (§196), and is not transposed before an initial sibilant. Marti, ${ }^{2}$ like some older grammarians, is inclined to consider the Ithp ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}$ el of these verbs to be a remnant of an older Ittaph'al. According to Koenig ${ }^{3}$ the doubling of the $\Omega$ is due to the nature of this consonant, i.e., is purely phonetic.
$\S 481$. Verbs whose second stem-consonant is consonantal 9
 , צוחר , צוחה, , צול, ,כוץ, do not belong here.

Note.-For further discussion on these verbs compare A. Mäller, ZDMG., XXXIII., 698sq.; Nöldeke, ibid., XXXVII., 525 sq.; Haupt, ZA., II., 259 sq.; Hommel, Süd-arabische Chrest., p. 31; Kautsch-Gesenius, Hebr. Gramm., 26th ed., §72; M. Lambert, Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut, pp. 354-362.

[^73]Qal and Pa"èl.


Aph'èl, Ithpe'ēl, and Ithpa"'al.


## EXAMPLES FOR QAL．

Perfect．－3d sing．masc．－§482．a）${ }^{0} \mathrm{p}_{\mathrm{t}}$ Ned． $22 a, 51 a$ ；
葠 besieged，Gitt． $56 a$ ；


 םạ MM．Pes． $110 b^{2}{ }^{2}$－c）fell in price，B．M． 108 a，Gitt． 42 a
 Ned． $50 a$ ；טָׁר Gitt． $69 a$ ； Sanh． $95 a ;$ ；
 50b； 3 ；

1st sing．com．－§485．ถיִ O．MS．Sabb． 156 b．

 $25 a$ ；אֲאָרֶ M．MS．ibid．（§88）．


 M．Q． $11 a$ ；צֶּיחּ

1st plur．com．—§487．a） B．B． $115 b$（Palest．）；הַרַּ


Imperfect．－3d sing．masc．－§488．a）לדוּ Succā 37b；



c）לֵ לִימָּ Gitt． $68 a$ ；צִימָה Yôm， $20 b$.




1 MM．reads 泡管。

3 ทาปาTG．ed．Harkavy，$\S 13$（voc．）．


[^74] $63 a$; תִּקוּר Pes. $113 a \ddot{a}$.

 M. MS. Sabb. 148b; אַדֶּשׁ B. M. 105b; M. MS. Ber. $64 a$.

 $23 b$; לְקוּמוֹ ed. Ven. Ber. 45 b. ${ }^{1}$




 58a; בוּך lay down, ibicl. $59 a$, Taan. $6 b$; 92b; 9 C. MS. M. Q. $25 b$ and elsewhere. ${ }^{3}$


b) בִּיתח stay over night, Taan. $24 b$.

Infinitive.-§498. a) miqtăl:

 Mitt. $68 b$; בֵּ
 in ${ }^{〔}$ Er. $86 a$ ).
 MM. Gitt. $57 b{ }^{5}$

Aotive Participle.—Sing. masc.—§499. Ned.5a; דָּאָּ Yeb. 52a;


 returns, V. L. Sanh. 96 b. $^{7}$

Sing. fem.—§500. ${ }^{\text {N }}$ Meg. $25 b$;


[^75]
 12b; צָּים Yeb. $7 a$;





Passive Participle.-Sing. masc.-§503. a) awake, ${ }^{\text {'Er. }} 104 a$, Meg. 18b; 51b; קִים A. Z. 76b; Yeb. $52 a(\S 80) .{ }^{1}$ - e


 N B. M. $18 b$ and passim.

Plur. masc.—§505. .
Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-Active Par-




 ing annoyance, M. MS. B. B. $137 b$.






## EXAMPLES FOR PA"EIL.

Perfect.—§507. 3d sing.masc.: a) ob he finished, Ber. $12 a$; Tinlaughed, M. Q. 17 a.
b) סַהּיצ B.B. $41 a$;


[^76]2d sing. masc.: קַקיחֵּ Ber. 11b; B. B. $167 a^{1}{ }^{1}$
 Taan. $23 a$.


Imperfect.-§508. 3d sing. masc.: לַטֵּים Alf. B. B. 163 a;
 on, Yômâ $78 b$.

1st sing. com.:
 Hattalmûd, ibid.;

 MM. Taan. $12 b$ (§233).

Imperative.--§509. Sing. masc.: קַקים Ber. 25 B. B.
 Hull. 109b; Ox: Oxamine, 'Ar. $21 b$.





Aotive Partictple.-§511. Sing. masc.: a) adorns,


b) ${ }^{\text {b }}$ rolls about, Bekh. 44 a; า

Sing.fem.:



 © B. B. $23 a$.

[^77]
 B. B. $21 a$.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouxs.-Active Participle.—§513. a) Witt. 30 a

 B. M. $77 a$;

Passive Participle.—§514. a) 2 Qidd. 86.
b) $\operatorname{ba}$ Ber. 16 a

## examples for aph'ele



 B. Q. 106 passim).
 exchanged, Tem. $17 a$, Hull. $41 b$;


 (voc.)].

1st sing. com.: "
 72 Nin Sanh. 76.


c) B. B. $23 a$.

 א B. M. $85 b$; (


 A. Z. 28 b.
${ }^{1}$ This form is perhaps Qal with prothetic $\mathbf{N}$.

1st sing. com.: הی B. M. $105 a .{ }^{1}$



 תicnull. 141 b.

1st plur. com.: פוֹpern Macc. $16 b$.
 listen, B. B. $7 \pm$ a.




 Hull. 41 , Zeb. $6 a ;$; Tem. 10 b. ${ }^{2}$

c) 'aqtôl: : B. Q. 117 a.


Active Participle.-§519. Sing. masc.: a) Ned. $18 a$

 (§80).

 B. B. $29 a ;$ Sanh. $39 b$, Ber. $43 b$.
 Men. 103 b, Tām. 35 b.

Sing. fem.: 'Ar. $25 b$.
 soiled, eds. B. Q. 18 a; Yeb. $46 a$, B. B. 55 a.

Sing.fem.: ה Ber. 256 h $^{3}$

[^78]Plur. masc.: B. B. $69 a$.
 Sabb. 46 a.

Participles with Enclitic Subject - Pronouns.-Active
 I smell, Keth. 49 ; ; $\operatorname{\text {;}}$ I lay, Ber. $30 b$; ; M. M. Q. 17 a. ${ }^{2}$
b)

 Nidd. э̆a.
d) 2 Sanh. $44 b$.

## EXAMPLES FOR ITH ${ }^{E^{8}}{ }^{\text {ETL }}$.

Perfect.--§522. 3d sing.masc.: a) wawoke, Ned. 30 a,


c) ${ }^{\text {c) }}$ Tr. $39 b, 40 a$.

3 3l sing. fem.:
 ibid.

 rests himself, Sabb. 155 a; לִּיחתוּ Sabb. $75 b$.
 B. M. $66 a$.
 M. MS. B. B. $141 a$.
 M. MS. Sabb. $43 b$ (§216).

Infinitive.- §524. a) 'itqatulế: Ṇ Qidd. 45 b;



[^79] "ibid., commentary
 F. MS. B. Q. $18 a$; ${ }^{\text {c }}$ © En Y. Qidd. $50 a$.

Sing.fem.: $\boldsymbol{q}_{\text {R. H. }}$ R. $16 a$;


Plur. masc.:


Plur.fem.: Sabb. 46 a.

## EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.


 (§80); ; Hִull. 95a.

c) A. Z. 11 a.



1st sing. com.: ${ }^{\text {M }}$ Qidd. $816 .{ }^{1}$
3a plur. masc.: a) M. M. $26 a$.
b) 7 A. Z. $11 b$. $^{2}$

1st plur. com.: :


 Bekh. $56 b$.

Imperative.-§528. . A. Z. $64 a$.
 , Yeb. $34 a$; צַחָּ

b) 'ithqattûlâ: א Nañ

1 וTG. ed. Harkavy, 8436.


Participle.-§530. MS. Hull. $51 b$ (passing into


 Succā $25 b ;$; 2 : 2 Sanh. $67 b$.
 only in two examples of one stem ( $\$ \S 539,547$ ); in all other cases both have become " "ל verbs.
b) Intransitive structure still appears in a few verbs ( $\$ 8535-6$ ). Feminine forms like those given under $\S 536 a$ may also, for all we know, be of intransitive structure.
c) The vowel before the afformatives of the perfect is less certain than the vocalization of other parts of the verb, as little help can be derived on this point from traditional pronunciation.
d) The insertion of an $\boldsymbol{N}$ to preserve an $i$-vowel is exceedingly rare in our printed editions, but occurs with more frequency in MSS. and in Gaonic literature.
e) Some verbs in the Qal and in the Ithp ${ }^{\circ}$ el have prap after the first stem-consonant instead of ševā, a phenomenon we have met with also in the strong verb. ${ }^{1}$ We might call it a Hebraism. To what extent and with what consistency such usage prevailed is difficult to tell.

Endings of the Perfect Qal.-§532. 3d sing. masc.-In verbs of transitive structure the ending is $\hat{a}$ or $\check{a} i$. The latter is an analogical formation after the derived stems, where $\breve{a} \underset{r}{i}$ is a diphthongization of $\hat{\imath}$. In verbs of intransitive structure the ending is $\bar{\imath}$.
$3 d$ sing. fem.-The ending in verbs of transitive structure is
 $i t \bar{a}, a \underline{a}$. The last form is difficult to explain.
$2 d$ sing. com.-The ending is êt, ăùt, ăt, $\hat{e}$, in verbs of transitive structure; it in those of intransitive structure. The ending $a ̆ t$ is shortened from aikt.

1st sing. com.-The ending is etî, êt, ê, ăi $(\S 80)$.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. ss $84,231,266$.
$3 d$ plur. masc.-The traditional pronunciation of this ending is $\hat{u}$, not $\hat{o}$, as would be expected. This is supported by the vocalization of the C. MSS. ( $\$ 573$ ) and must be inferred from
 where we evidently have the diphthongization of $a$ to $\breve{u} i$, as in Neo-Syriac. ${ }^{1}$ In a few cases we have $\hat{u} n$.
$3 d$ plur. fem.-The ending is aiàn, ai. But the last form is doubtful. It may be the singular used for plural.
$2 d$ plur. masc.-The ending is êtưn, êtư.
1st plur. com.-The ending is ênâ, ênân, ên, êna, ăn. The last is shortened from ain.

Endings of the other parts of the Qal.-§533. Imper-fect.-The forms without afformatives end in e. In a few cases we find $\hat{a}$, just as in the infinitive. Second fem. sing. ends in $i \hat{i n}$. Second and third plur. masc. end in $\hat{u} n, \hat{u}$, and $\hat{e}(\S 532)$; third plur. fem. in ian. The ending $\hat{e}$ is probably masculine.

Imperative.-Sing. masc. ends in $\hat{\imath}$ or $\hat{a}$. The last ending may be a shortening of ăi. But compare note 2 to $\S 550$. Sing. fem. ends in $\hat{a} \hat{i}$. Plur. masc, has $\hat{u}$.

Infinitive.-The usual form of the infinitive, as in the other verbs, is miqtal. It occurs here in two forms: ending in $\hat{e}$ and in $\hat{a}$. The first comes from " ${ }^{2}$ verbs, the latter from " $\eta^{\prime}$ verbs. ${ }^{2}$

Participles.-The ending of the sing. masc. is $\hat{e}$, at times diphthongized to $\breve{a} i$. The sing. fem. ends in $\hat{a}$. The usual ending of the plur. masc. is $\hat{u}$, less frequently $\hat{e}$ and rarely $\hat{e} n$. Whether forms ending in $\eta^{n-}$ are masculine and are to be vocalized $\prod^{\square--}$-, or are feminine, is impossible to tell. The same difficulty obtains with the ending ${ }^{-}$. It may be a shortening of $a ̆ i n$ and may be the feminine $\hat{a} n$. Feminine plural ends in $\underset{\sim}{a} \hat{a}$.

Derived Stems.-§534. The perfect in the derived stems differs but slightly from that of Qal. Sing. masc. has usually $\hat{\imath}$, rarely $\hat{a} .^{3}$ Sing. fem. has never $\hat{a} t$, but instead it has at times $\hat{a}$. Imperfect, imperative, and participles do not differ in their endings from Qal. The infinitives are formed just as from strong verbs.

[^80]Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Ithpe'ēl, and Ithpa"al.


## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

Perfect.-3d sing. masc.-§535. a) Ned. $36 b$;
 self, Taan. $29 a$; טֶנֶ Macc. $12 a$; תָאנָ B. B. $91 a$, Qidd. $71 a$ (§531e); ; ${ }^{1}$ N.
b) M. MS. B. M. 85 ; ; Q. $112 b$.


 Sanh. $106 a(\S 87) .{ }^{3}$

3d sing. fem.—§536. a) she learned, Pes. $62 b$; Taan. $25 a$;

b) משְ Meg. $16 a$, B. B. $3 b$;
 ${ }^{\text {© En Y. Taan. }} 25$ a. ${ }^{7}$
c) "חִדָא Taan. $25 a$; Oְ
 became healthy, Alfâsí Gitt. 45 b; שִׁדִּ
$2 d$ sing. com.—§537. a) phen Sanh. 113b; R. H. $22 a$;
 ibid.;
b) טְטַּ thou didst give more, B. M. $83 a .^{9}$
c) thou didst want, Taan. 29 a ; צְּבִית thou didst tarry, Ber. $24 b$.
 Sabb. $140 a$.

[^81]b) ${ }^{\text {b }}$ I gave to eat, Hull. 95 ; "
 Ber. 57 a; ${ }^{\text {" }}$ " Keth. $82 b .{ }^{1}$
 pine away, Ber. 6 a; טְּבּ
 $25 a$; דָּ they learned, taught, passim. ${ }^{\text {T }}$
 Nidd. $66 a$.



2d plur. masc.-§541.



1st plur. com.—§542. a) $56 a ;$ N. N. M. Q. $25 a$, Šebu. 30b, Macc. 3b; Pes. 17b;
 $13 b(\S 80)$.
b) we have learned, Ned. 5 a, passim; we saw, Ber. 56 a;

Imperfect.-3d sing. masc.-§543. "לִ" Ned. 2b, 12a;



 $51 a$; חִּקְּ B. M. 86 b.
$2 d$ sing.—§545. Masc.:


Fem.:



[^82]

b)

 104b; (

 (cf. §233).

Imperative.—Sing. masc-§550. a) Macc. 11 a, Ber.
 carry, Meg. 28 a. ${ }^{2}$
 ה
 "

Plur. masc.—§552. M. Q. $17 a$; 12a; :

Infinitive.-§553. a) miqtal: a) Macc. 11a;
 66 b;


b) miqtala:


d) miqtalat: $\arg$ Gitt. $62 a(\S 222 e)$.
e) iqtal:

 B. M. $40 b$. ${ }^{4}$


 infinitive NTP and the imperative in the derived conjugations in Syriac, as a reminiscence of verbs $\mathbf{x}^{\prime \prime\rangle}$ or $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{\prime \prime}$ う. But it is more probably a kind of precative perfect. Cf. $\S 244$ b. The use of the third for the second person would offer no difficulty in our idiom.

4 ? Hal. Pes., p. 80; ; ח
 uncertain, as the ending -an may also be the objective suffix $3 d$ plur.

Active Participle.-Sing. masc.-§554. Ber

 MS. Meg. $12 a$ (voc.); ıbid. Taan. $24 a$ ( $\$ 80$, and Nöldeke, $M G . \S 22$ ).
花 washes, ibid. 91 a; $7 a$; Gitt. 83b; Ned. 68 a

Plur. masc.-§556. a) Taan. 24b; בָּ Sanh. 13b; Sôtã $48 a$; בָּ





 MM. MS. Sabb. $62 b$.

Passive Participle.-Sing. masc.-§558. a) C. MS.

 Meg. $25 b$ (voc.) ; e. hidden, M. MS. A. Z. $70 a$ (passing into 4 "צ ).

[^83]b) e. . debarred, unft, Ber. $23 a{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$





 captives, Qidd. 72b. ${ }^{3}$
 \$p are gathered, Yeb. 121 a.

 ר M. MS. Sabb. 138 ; O. MS. ibid.
b) e.

Participles with Enclitio Subjeot-Pronouns.-Active Participle.—§562. a) Sanh. 94b; בָָּּ



 Ber. $62 b ;$; B. B. $17 b$;





 skilled, Qidd. $30 a$.
${ }^{1}$ Tשְ
${ }^{2}$ 2
${ }^{3}$ T
 Cassel, ${ }^{4} 91$ ( $f$.).

 7


## EXAMPLES FOB PA"EL.



 tion of doubling).

3d sing.fem.: a) "نַשָּ Yeb. $65 b$;
b) ${ }^{\text {An }}$ A. Z. $28 a$; Meg. $13 a .{ }^{1}$


 " 1 made, Sabb. 156 b; "
 they prayed, Ber. 30 b.
$3 d$ plur. fem.: "זַַַּ they committed adultery, Keth. $101 b$.



3d sing. fem.: "ת תּרַ grows, raises, B. M. 71 a.

 $15 a$; Ber. $30 a$; Taan. 25 $a$,

$2 d$ plur. masc.:
1st plur. com.: "פִse we lower, Zeb. 54 b. .
Imperative.—§566. Sing. masc.: " Ber. 30 a;
 $107 b$.

Plur. masc.: 物
 M. Q. $28 b$ (§532). ${ }^{2}$

Infinitive.—§567. a) qattûlê: Ned. 49b, Ber. 7 b; Med. 91 a; בַּ

[^84]


c) qattûl: $155 a$.





h) maqattal or maqattil: : to euse oneself, Ber. $62 a$;


Active Participle.-§568. Sing. masc.:
 "N Hupll. $53 a$.
 longingly, Keth. 62b; $\boldsymbol{N}^{\mathbf{N}} \boldsymbol{\sim}$ N
 140b; מִּ Sabb. $18 b$.

 antiphonically, Sanh. 14 a. ${ }^{3}$
 Ned. $49 b .{ }^{4}$


 Sabb. $109 b$, Ber. $10 a a^{\text {T}}$

[^85]Plur.fem.:


Partioliples with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-Active


b) A. Z. $28 a$.
c)



Passive Participle.-§571. Zeb. $55 a$.

EXAMPLES FOR APH́ㅌㄴ.

 he counted, B. B. 48b; (ibid. 155 b.
 Sanh. $93 a$.

$2 d$ sing. com.: אַñg B. M. $63 b$, A. Z. $14 b$;
 B. M. $84 a$;





 Kâmâ 22 Nַ. $^{2}$



Imperfect.-§573. 3d sing. masc.: לַלְ




3 ตาุำ Hag. 5 b.

2d sing. masc.: "מַnin Q. 117 a.

$2 d$ plur. masc.: A. Z. 37 b.
Imperative.—§574. Sing.masc.: "אnחר M. Q. 22b; Pes.
 MS. Taan. $21 b$; B. Q. $116 b$.




Plur. fem.: "אnחת Sabb. 140 b.
 Qidd. $9 a$;

 $16 a$, for
b) 'aqtûlâ: אַשְׁpurn Alfâsî Qidd. $9 a$.
c) maqtûlê:
 B. Q. $86 a^{2}{ }^{2}$

Active Participle.-§576. Sing. masc.: Ned. 16b;


 $62 a$; "n

 Pes. $113 b$.
 take a vote, Pes. $52 a$, passing into " 7 "

Passive Participle.—§577. .
Participles with Enolitic Subjeot-Pronouns.-§578. Active Participle.—a) Ber. $49 a$; Yôma 86 ; ב I lay down, Sabb. $119 a$, passing into
${ }^{1} 1$ Hen







d) d) $^{2}$ Sabb. $145 a{ }^{*}$ examples for tthr ${ }^{\text {re }}$ el.

 Keb. 19b.
b)
c) Ven.; eds. whe m. MS. was hardened; he refused, B. M. $77 a(\S 87)$.

3d sing. fem.:
 $156 a ;$ צִw
b) Nidd. 50b; Mull. 56 , Men. 3b; "אִ Zeb. 32b;

c) (Hull. 58 b."

2d sing.com.: Meb. $79 a$, Sotà 3.5b.
1st sing. com.: " Mer. 53a; ; Mex Bexan $4 b$.







 Ned. 676. ${ }^{\text {. }}$


```
2%)
```






b)
 $12 a$; תִּיבּעָּ Ned. $7 a, 10 b, 21 b, 51 b$, Nāz. $13 b$.
$2 d$ sing. fem.: "חּmp Sanh. $94 b$.
1st sing. com.: (Ned. $50 a$.


$3 d$ plur. fem.:

Imperative.-§581. Sing. masc.: © B. M. 40 b.
Sing. fem.: "אִשָּפִּ Sanh. $94 b$.
Plur. masc.: : we locked up, Bekh. $8 b$.



b) 'ithqatull: ${ }^{\top}$ : Sabb. $113 b$; with loss of last stem-


d) 'ithqatâlûth: Ned. 50 a
 $43 b$; ; Henull. $12 a$; by analogy with strong verbs. ${ }^{1}$


 is raised, Sabb. 996 .

Sing.fem.: Y Yeb. $13 a$; F. MS. B. Q. $43 b$.



促 Ber. $44 b{ }^{3}$

1 ตาา in JQR. IX. 695.

${ }^{3}$ 3/

Participle with Enolitic Subject - Pronoun. - §584. a) Hag. $4 b$;


d) EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA ALAL.

 B. B. $15 b$; אִּפַּבִּי Šebu. 18b, Zeb. $20 b$.

3d sing. fem.: a)
 1st sing. com.: אִיתרַבַּא I agreed, B. B. $2 b$.









 בִצְּרָּ A. Z. 65 b.

 Gitt. $56 b{ }^{3}$


放 ed. Ven. ibid.




${ }^{3}$ 3

 Sabb. $11 a$; בִּ


Sing.fem.:
 "
 $107 a$; ${ }^{4}$ B. Q. $80 a$ (nominal ending).

Plur.fem.:
Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns. - §590.

 $44 b$; Ber. 56 b.

## DOUBLY WEAK VERBS.

## A. The Verbs ath to be and int to live.

Qal.-Perfect--§591. 3d sing.masc.: Ned. $7 a, 8 b$; ㄱำ ibid. $48 b, 50 a$, C. MS. M. Q. $18 b$; הִ Ber. $58 a$, Yômâ $18 a$;



 ת Hulll. $95 a$, M. MS. B. M. $106 a$;

 Taan. $25 a$.
 Zeb. $21 b$; 够 V. L. Sanh. $39 a$, Bekh. $3 b .^{3}$

2d plur. masc.:
 ${ }^{\text {º Er. }} 89 b$, ed. Sal.; Ton or

[^86]Imperfect. ${ }^{1}$ - §592. 3d sing. masc.: ${ }^{\text {M. }}$ M. Q. 17 a, Ber.

 Tem. $6 b$, B. M. $62 a{ }^{2}{ }^{2}$

$2 d$ sing. masc.: ${ }^{7}$ Nidd. $33 b$.
2d sing. fem.: †-יחn Gitt. $85 b$ (legal style; the three yôdhs are to prevent the reading ${ }^{\text {n }}$ ). $)^{3}$
 MS. ibid.
 142b; Alf. ibid.; Mace. $4 b ;{ }^{\prime \prime}$; style). ${ }^{\text {. }}$

$2 d$ plur. masc.: תूת M. MS. Sanh. 39 a.
$2 d$ plur. fem.: תیר Sabb. 140 b.

 be ye, Sanh. 39 ct. ${ }^{3}$



 Zeb. $53 a-$ —n M. Q. $25 a$; B. $40 b$;
 he makes alive, Pes. 68 a.

## B. Verbs פר and Nug.





${ }^{3}$ According to Hal. Pes, ed. Schlossberg, p. 102, the Palestineans write ${ }^{7}$; cf. $\mathrm{g}_{2} 23$.

56x



## 

Qal.-§598. ${ }^{\text {Mnan }}$ they swear, 'Arûkh Pes. $113 b$.

 - Šebu. $42 b$; "ארִ א Taan. $26 b$; $46 a$;



$\S 600$. These verbs combine the peculiarities of verbs $\times$ "פ ( $\$ 409 \mathrm{sq}$.) and of verbs " differs from that of other $\mathbf{N}$ "פ verbs by passing into the " $\boldsymbol{\square}$ class instead of into that of $9 " \Xi$. The resulting diphthong $a i$ is at times contracted to $\hat{e}$, at other times to $\hat{a}$.

## EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

Perfect.—§601. 3d sing. masc.: אֲתָּ Ned. 7b. ${ }^{3}$
 $65 a$; אַתNT M. Q. $16 a$, B. M. $65 a$;

 1st sing. com.: "nֻ" Tām. $32 a b$, Succ. $44 b$, Sabb. 116 b, Pes. 110b; אֲתֵּת M. MS. Pes. 110b; אַתַאָ Sabb. $140 a$.
$3 d$ plur. masc.: Ned. $9 b$, Sanh. $96 a$.




 Gitt. $29 b{ }^{6}$

3d sing. fem.: Kתחּ Keth. $85 a$.
1 Cf. 88477 sq. 531 sq.



${ }^{\mathrm{s}}$,



$2 d$ plur. masc.: :חתּחוּ B. B. 130 b.

Imperative.-§603. Sing. masc.: "פַפִ bake thou, B. M. 81 a; אֵת M. Q. $28 a$; final N .

 B. B. $21 b$.

 (
b) qŭtŭlê:

Active Participle.- §605. Sing. masc.: "אָּ Keth. $16 a$; אָתח Ned. $9 b, 25 a$; אַתֵ C. MS. Meg. $12 b$ (voc.).

Sing. fem.: Ned. $4 b, 50 b$.

Plur.fem.: Th Th. ibid.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-§ 606.
 M, B. M. 109 a.

## EXAMPLES FOR PA ${ }^{\text {E }} \overline{\text { EL }}$.




Participles.—§608. פַמַסֵי Sanh. 107b, Sabb. $111 a ;$; $78 a ;$;

## EXAMPLES FOR APH'ELL.

 C. MS. Pes. 88 b, $89 a$.

3d sing. fem.: אַ, אַּיחתה Alf. Ned. 91b, M. MS. Sabb. $64 a$; Ned. $91 a$, Keth. $67 b$; אַחיחתי"אַת



[^87] TN M Meg. 27b, Me îlà 20 b, Ker. 20 b.




 B. Q. $16 \stackrel{\Gamma}{a}, 30 b^{\top}{ }^{2}$



$2 d$ sing. com.:
1st sing. com.: אַּיתחת Ned. 54b, B. M. 67b, Sanh. $96 a$.

 Pes. 88 b.

$2 d$ plur. masc.: :חֵּ Sabb. 96 b.
Imperative.-§611: Sing. masc.: Mer. $222 b, 44 b$, B. Q. 113b, Sanh. $96 a$; אֵיחֵּ TF. Ker. $18 a$. $^{\text {s }}$

Sing.fem.: "אַּים Ned. 66b.




 stem-consonant.
d) maqtal: מַּים Keth. 65 ar ${ }^{5}$

Active Participle.-§613. Sing. masc.: Nabona 66 b; "TF. Ker. $5 a, 24 a$;

 Gitt. $56 a$;

[^88]
Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-§614. a) ibid., MM. B. M. $84 b$.-c) $\operatorname{con}$ Nidd. 20 b. ${ }^{2}$

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA ${ }^{\text {et }}$ AL


 M. MS. ibid.

3d plur. masc.:


RARE CONJUGATIONS.
§616. These conjugations contain rare forms of the tri-consonantal verb and quadri-consonantals. The latter fall into three groups: a) Tri-consonantal stems with a formative element; b) tri-consonantal stems with duplication of third consonant, or bi-consonantal stems with duplication of entire stem; c) denominative and foreign quadri-consonantal verbs. The formative element of the first group may be either prefixed in front of the stem, or infixed after the first or the second stem-consonant.
§617. Prefixed Stems.-Some stems are prefixed by $\pi$, , ש่, $\mathbf{0}, \mathbf{y}$, or n . The first three are old causative forms; the last two, although having an active force, are derived from reflexive stems.
§618. Infixed Stems.-The infix after the first stem-consonant is either $y$, ᄀ, or $\mathbb{4}$, about which see $\S 45$. The infix after the second stem-consonant is $\Omega$, which is probably of reflexive origin.
§619. Duplicated Stems.-About the formation of stems with duplicated third stem-consonant, cf. Barth, Nominalbildung, $\S 141$. Duplicated bi-consonantal stems appear sometimes also in a sim-
 דלדלל, , and others. Parpēl forms are sometimes dissimilated Palpēl stems (§53). Once we find a tri-consonantal stem with duplication of the first stem-consonant (§637).


## Rare Conjugations.



 ( $\$ \S 51,56$ ). .
 and appears in Syriac as




Participle.—— Ned. õ 4 ; ( H. MS. B. Q. $92 a){ }^{1}$
 Sanh. 95 a; ©

Participle——neminn Ned. $50 b$.
Ithpôlel. ${ }^{2}$ - 622 . Prrfect.——nan $I$ was languid, M. MS. A. Z. 70 b.

Imperfect.- - תִתּing thou shakest thyself, 'Arûkh Yeb. 63 a.
Participle.——nan M. MS. A. Z. 70 b.




Active Participle.- Alfâsî ibid.;
 B. Q. 112b).

Passive Participle_- B.M. 36 b, B. B. 159 a, Keth. 27 b,
 36b). ${ }^{4}$


[^89]
Ittaphal．${ }^{2}-\S 625$ ．萑 remained，Pes．83b；was added，Qidd．77b；

 Sanh． $63 a$ ；




 Gitt．70b．—
 V．L．Sanh． 93 a．${ }^{9}$


 Gitt．13b；：

 Sanh． 106 a； 86 b；隹 F．MS．ibid．）．${ }^{5}$
 Sanh． $106 a$.



Ištaphial．－§627．Perfect．－

 ${ }^{\text {＇En Y．A．Z．}} 2$ b．
${ }^{1}$ P解
«Here belong the following verbs： תרב ，קום
${ }^{3}$ By analogy with $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{4}$＂
4 4 ${ }^{4}$ SM．No．xxvint．


Infinitive.—— Gitt. 38 a.
Participle.—
 $48 b$ (with nominal ending).——

Note.-Here belongs the denominative Keth. $104 b$. Only in legal style.
 (

Taph'El.-§629. Perfect.- Mưgen he chopped off, 'Arûkh


 explained it, B. B. 107b; תַּרְבֵּ $i$ id. Sanh. $8 b$ ).

Imperfect.—— Gitt. $41 a ;$;
 ${ }^{\text {º }}$ Er. $61 a$; (for
 טַטרְבִד M. MS. ibid.; (

Naph'el. ${ }^{1}$ —§630. Imperfect.——筑 makes water, Sabb $134 a$.



Par'El.—§631. Perfect.—— locked him up, 'Arûkh B. Q. 85b).

Imperfect.—— Sabb. 66 b).

Imperative.-
Active Participle.--
Passive Participle.—— ${ }^{\text {M }}$ 'Arûkh Ned. 91 b.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Assyrian nabutu, *naprašu, *naplašu (Delitzsch, Assyr. Gram., p. 234), and

 .

Ithparial.-§632. Perfect.--w was lopped off, Men.


 "

Participle.——"





 $120 a$ ).

 B. M. $23 a$;

Pa'pel.—§637. Perfect.--

Pa'lél.-§638. Perfect.—— withe drew lines, Gitt. 7 a.

 $69 a$, Nidd. $56 b$; אִיצֵר






 stem-vowel).



Imperative-- טָאטִי sweep, Meg. 18a, R. H. $26 a$.



[^90]45a; " Hull. 119b; "

b) "Er. $24 b$.




 56方; Pes. $120 b$.



 A. Z. $36 a$; מְזלְזְלִּ
 Hull. 53ab.

Passive Participle.-a)



Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.-- 1 I doze, O. MS. Pes, 120b; ${ }^{4}$ M. Q. $18 a$;


Ithpalpal.-§641. Perfect.——n B. M. $40 a$, Gitt. $73 a$;

 R. H. 196.
 M. MS. ibid.
${ }^{1}$ ºt


4 Shortened form for sessive pronoun for the onclitic ; cf. $\$ 327$, u, 3, and $\S 714$.



 $143 a,{ }^{\circ}$ Er. $65 b$.



 Ber. $62 a$; ${ }^{\text {a }}$ B. B. 156 á

Denominative and Foreign Pluriconsonantal Verbs.-Aotive.- §643. Perfect.- he twitched, Gitt. 70b;


Imperfect.- (
Infinitive.-a) © Men. $96 b$;
b) "Ar. $7 a$.

Active Participle.-M Nidd. $14 a$;
 Sabb. 156 áa

Passive Participle.—NOMOMr. 4 a.
Passive.—§644. Perfect.-:


Infinitive-- Hull. $43 a$.
Participle.— Q Mitt. 68 ; Hiull. $43 a$.
verbs with objective suffixes.
A. Verbs not " "ל with Objective Suffixes.
$\S 645$. Owing to the lack of vocalization, the changes which the verbal forms undergo before suffixes cannot be exactly determined. Nor is tradition of much help here. The tables of paradigms subjoined here (pp. 166, 167) are calculated to afford some help to the student, but cannot do justice to the great variety of forms, both in the body of the verb, as well as in the suffixes.

[^91]Strong Verb with Suffixes.

| QAL. | 1st sing. com. | 2d sing. masc. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 2d sing. } \\ & \text { fem. } \end{aligned}$ | 3d sing. masc. | $\begin{gathered} \text { 3d sing } \\ \text { fom. } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. 3d masc... | קַטְלִן | prop | קַטְּלִיד | ַַשְלֵיםים | pַטְטִ |
| 3d fem. . |  |  | קpoun |  | קpenob |
| 2d com. | Ppuntron |  |  | pponernon | קp |
| 1st com. |  | P |  |  | קponom |
| Plur. 3d masc... |  |  |  | קַp |  |
| 2d masc. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com. |  |  |  | Ppoup |  |
| Imperfect - <br> Sing. 3d masc. . |  |  |  | ִליקִטְּלְ | לִי |
| Plur. 3d masc. . |  |  |  |  |  |
| ImperativeSing. 2d mase. | ? |  |  | קַטְלֵיםּ | pַop |
| 2 d fem. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Plur. 2d masc. |  |  |  |  | pַpִל |
| Infinitive... | ִִּקְשְּלַן | ִִּקְשְלָך | ִִקְִִלִלִך |  | ִִּקִשְׁלָ |
| $P A^{\prime \prime} E L \text {. }$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. 3d mase... |  | קַשְ |  | קַשְּלֵידּדיד | קַקְּלְ |
| 3d fem. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 d com. | קַoneren |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com. |  | קֵֵַּילֵ | קֵֵַּילתִּ |  |  |
| Plur. 3d mase. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2d masc. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com. . |  | קַטֵּילְ\% | קֵֵַ\% |  |  |
| Imperfeot Sing. 3d masc. . | - | לִיִַּשְׁד |  |  | ִ? |
| Imperative- |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. 2 d masc. . . | prop |  |  | קַop | pop |
| Plur. 2d mase. |  |  | - | קַphon | ppon |
| Infinitive |  |  |  |  |  |

Strong Verb with Suffixes.

$\S 646$. The following can be stated with certainty:

1. Verbs ע"ע y y forms.
2. Forms of the plural ending in [ 77$]^{-}$frequently substitute before suffixes for that form the corresponding form of the singular; and this not only before suffixes beginning with a vowel, but also, although less frequently, before suffixes beginning with a consonant.

Such a phenomenon is probably due to various causes. In the first place to a promiscuous use of the genders. Thus,
 may come not from the masculine forms put
 killed them, not from nepp, but from its by-form "
 syncope, as in the infinitive; in a form like you have put us to shame, the syncope of $\hat{u}$ may be due to the accent, just


3. Short vowels are sometimes retained in the verb under the influence of an adjoining $\neg$, guttural, or emphatic consonant; e.g., אַ
4. The infinitives ending in ${ }^{-}-$or $\mathbf{N}_{\top}^{-}$lose this ending before suffixes. In the infinitives of the derived conjugations the $9-$ of the second stem-consonant is at times omitted. This is especially the case in the Aph'ël before plural suffixes.
$\S 647$. The list of objective suffixes given above (§112) we let here follow in augmented and improved form:

Singular.


## Plural.



Note.-Instead of objective suffixes we find sometimes possessive suffixes with the verb, and the reverse with the noun. $C f$. also § 113. ${ }^{1}$

Bracketed forms occur only in Gaonic literature.
The traditional pronunciation of the pronominal suffix of the third feminine singular is $\boldsymbol{n}_{\tau}^{-}$, the correctness of which is confirmed by the occurrence of the spelling $\mathbf{N}^{-}$for $\mathrm{N}^{-}$. The vocalization n- $_{-}$found in two or three examples in the C. MSS. is to be judged in the same manner as "Oַאכ ( $\$ 558 a$ ) and similar examples.

## PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3d Sing. Masc.
 TַTP Pes. $110 b$ (in an old charm-formula).




§649. 2d sing. masc.-Qal: T T T T

 $89 a$;
§650. 2d sing. fem.—Qal:

[^92]§651. 3d sing. masc.-Qal: pary per. $20 a$; $62 a$; קַצִּיחּ B. B. $60 b$; Bitt. $46 a$; B. B. $169 a$;

 Pes. 52a; : זַבּימחּ Keth. 91a. ${ }^{1}$

Aphiēl: Ned. $41 a$; אַגְּ


§652. 3d SING. fem.—Qal: : Macc. $16 a$.
Pa"èl: N
 N Ned Meg. $28 b$;

Pa"èl:
 Ber. $36 a$.
§654. 2d Plur. fem.—Qal: Pes. 1106 (in an old magic formula).





 Ber. $61 b^{3}$

 Meb. $35 a$; אַנִהּירַּנְּהּ
§656. 3d Plur. fem, Qal:




 ibid. 9.


## 3d Sing. Fem.


§658. 2d sing. masc.-Aphèl: :
§659. 3d sing. Masc.-Qal: ibid. 13a; ; بִימחתחּ Sanh. $108 b$.

Pa"èl: $62 b .{ }^{1}$


 $5 a$; Nanh

Pa $a^{\text {Te }}$ èl :
 Hag. 5 a.
 B. B. $123 a$; Ned. $68 a$; אַכַלֹתַּח

Pa"èl: Tinn F. MS. B. M. 38 a.

§662. 3d plur. fem.-Qal:


> 2d Sing Cour.
§663. 1st sing. com.-Qal: $118 a$.

Apheel:



 $96 a$;

Aphiel:


3 个月5눈
4 4.
 ıbid. $41 a$.

§666. 1st Plur. com.-Qal:







## 1st Sing. Com.



§669. 2d sing. fem.-Qal:
Pacēl: 112b; ;






 $22 a$; 2 B. B. $74 a$;
 Y. B. B. 74 a;
§672. 2d plub. masc.-Qal: 4 Ber. 58 b.

 M. MS. Ber. $35\left(\iota^{3}{ }^{3}\right.$



[^93] Sabb. 121 b.

Aph「ēl:




3d Plur. Masc.

§675. 1st sing. com.—Qal: - חַשְׁד M. Q. $18 b$.





§677. 3d sing. masc.—Qal: :


 $103 a(\S 646,2)$.

Aphēl:

 (§646, 2). ${ }^{4}$
 $133 b$.

 B. M. $84 b$;

Pa"èl:


3 3 3 ת

[^94]

 $21 a$;

Pa"el: Ber. $49 a$;
Aphièl:物会 Ber. $26 a$;

 cut them off, "Arûkh Sanh. 106 a. ${ }^{4}$

> 2d Plur. Masc.


 Keth. $84 b$.

§684. 1st plur. com.—Qal: And R. MS. B. Q. $62 a$.


Aphièl: Weth.

## 1st Plur. Com.





 (legal style); אַ B. B. 171 b.



[^95] or

Aphēel: M. MS. ibid. ${ }^{1}$
§690. 3d plur. fem.—Qal: :

## IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

Forms withodt Afformatives.
§691. 1st sing. Com.-Qal:


 stem-vowel.
 $117 b$.


 Pes. $89 b$.








 M. MS. Sanh. 95 a.
 (voc.) ; Alfâsî B. B. $98 a ;$;
${ }^{1} 1$ ™
2 HGG. ed. pr. 106 c.

[^96]${ }^{4}$ ²0
 $57 a{ }^{1}$

Ithpeeel：לִּ
 passim；לִּשִׁenp her，Sabb． 110 b ．



§696．1st plur．com．－Qal：


§697．2d plur．masc．－Qal：：Sanh． $93 a$ ．
Pa＂ēl：Gitt． $47 a$ ．







Pa＂el： Pes，406．${ }^{\circ}$

 55 a．

Haphiel：Yeb． $47 a$.
B．Forms with Afformatives．

 §700．2d sing．сом．－Qal：לִיקְשְלוּך：Pes． 25 b．
Pa＂ēl：


${ }^{3}$ Cf．Additions and Corrections to §222，
4 Jastrow（s．v．Уコビ）explains this erroneously as $3 d$ person．






Pa"èl: Sanh. $97 a$; Sabb. $119 b$.
 $54 b$ ( $\sqrt{7 \times 2}$ ) .

Pa"ell: ( $1 / \overline{3}$ ) )

Aph èl:





## imperative with suffixes.

## Singular Masculine.

§ 704. 1st sing. com.-Qal: "Gitt. $55 b$;



 $11 a^{.}{ }^{3}$

Pa"èl:

§706. 3d sing. Fem.—Qal: $60 a$;

Pa"ēl:


2 This word has been differently explained in $\$ 217$. The explanation given here according to Alfasi's text. In our texts we have ? $\mathrm{be}=h i m$.


 B. M. $85 a{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$




Singular Feminine.
§709. 1st sing. com.-Aphēl: אַסְּקִ H. MS. B. M. $84 b$.


## Plural Masculine.

§711. 1st sing. com.-Aphēl: Hiull. 105 b, B. M. 81 b.
§712. 3d sing. Masc.—Qal: : Gitt. $56 b$; 83b;

Apheel:
 $8 b$; תִּ B. B. $34 a$.

Pa"èl: אַתַרחּ Sabb. 119 a.


## Plural Feminine.




INFINITIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

Pa"èl:

 Yeb. 90 b.

[^97] Sabb． $30 a$ ；לְמִּיחבְֵּּ 109a；解



Pa＂e $\overline{\text { el }}$ ：





§718．3d sing．Fem．—Qal： Qidd． 60 b．
 16a；

 Šebu． $23 a$ ，Qidd． $26 b .{ }^{5}$




 2 M．MS．Pes． 40 b．${ }^{\top}$

[^98]



 C. MS. Alf. Bêçā $4 a$ h $^{2}$


## PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.






 we give him to eat, K. MS. Sanh. 20 a; אָ wou tell us, R. MS. B. Q. $62 a .{ }^{5}$

## B. Verbs " h with Obiective Suffixes.

§724. Verbs ${ }^{n \prime \prime}$ take the same suffixes as other verbs, and what has been stated in $\S 646$ applies also here. The chief points to be noticed in connection with these verbs is that the 3d masc. of the singular and the plural perfect and the entire imperfect and imperative, when before suffixes beginning with a vowel, restore frequently their third stem-consonant (').

[^99]
${ }^{5}$ D. Hoffmann, in his otherwise just strictures on Goldschmidt's translation of the Talmud, makes the unsupportable statement (Zeitschr. fill hebr. Bibliogr., I., 182) that participles with enclitic subject-pronouns cannot take objective suffixes. The examples given here and in $\S 780$ and by Dalman, op. cit., pp. 318 and 328 , prove the untenability of his statemont.

## PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3d Sing. Masc.
§725. 1st sing. сом.—Qal: ${ }^{7}$
Pacēl:
Aph ēl:




 $109 b$.
§727. 3d sing. masc.—Qal:
 Taan. $9 a$.






§729. 1st plur. com.-Pa"ell: ${ }^{-1}$


Pa"el: :
 $6 a, 18 b$; Pes. 51 a. ${ }^{8}$

§ 732. 3d plur. fem.—Qal: ${ }^{\text {Man }}$ Meg. $4 a$;

2 ${ }^{2}$ MV. 28.

4 7
5 5 5 亿解 $H G$. ed. pr. $32 a$.

Verbs＂${ }^{\text {b }}$ with Suffixes．

| $Q A L .$ <br> Perfect－ | 1st sing． com． | $2 d$ sing． masc． | $2 d$ sing． fem． | 3 d sing． masc． | 3d sing． fem． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing．3d masc．．． |  |  | 7094． |  | 可＂4＂ |
| 3d fem．．． | － | $7{ }_{7}^{7}$ | ตワกำ |  | 比年＂\％ |
| 2d com．．．． | －\％ |  |  |  | － |
| 1st com．．． |  | 7\％ | － 5 －${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  | 同事碞 |
| Plur．3d masc．．． | － | 7－9093 |  |  |  |
| 2d masc．．． |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com．．． |  | \％ | 号 |  | T－ |
| Imperfect－ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing．3d masc．．． |  | 可 | \％${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |  |  |
| Plur．3d masc．．． | ？ |  | \％ |  |  |
| Imperative－ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing．2d masc．．． | 940\％ |  |  | －a | － |
| Plur．2d masc．．． | \％ |  |  |  |  |
| Infinitive ．．．．．．． | 1－9\％ | \％ | 909\％ | ¢ |  |
| $P A^{\prime \prime} E L$. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Perfect－ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing．3d masc．．． |  | 9 94\％ | 59\％ |  |  |
| 3d fem．．． | 7全＂豕 |  | 7－ |  | 同ズき |
| 2d com．．． |  |  |  |  | － |
| 1st com．． |  | －\％¢－ | フロッド | ワップ3゙コ |  |
| Plur．3d masc．．． | 909\％ |  |  |  | 吅吅？ |
| 2d masc．． |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com．．． | － | \％ | － |  |  |
| Imperfect－ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing．3d masc．．． | \％ | － | \％ |  |  |
| Plur．3d masc．．． | － |  | \％ |  |  |
| Imperative－ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing．2d masc．．． | 94\％ |  |  | －794． | 阿＂戓 |
| Plur．2d masc．．． | －¢－－ |  | － |  |  |
| Infinitive．．．．．．．． | 1－993 |  |  |  |  |

Verbs " $=$ with Suffixes.

| $\stackrel{\text { Qal. }}{\underset{\text { Perfect }}{ }}$ | 1st plur. com. | 2d plur. masc. | $\begin{gathered} \text { 2d plur. } \\ \text { fome. } \end{gathered}$ | 3 plur. masc. | 3d plur. fem. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. 3d masc... | - |  |  | - | Bexn |
| 3 d fem. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2d com... |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com. |  |  |  |  | 隹 |
| Plur. 3d masc. | \% |  | - |  |  |
| 2d masc | 7 |  |  |  |  |
| 1st com. |  |  |  |  | ִיֶ |
| Imperfect- |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. 3d masc. . |  |  |  |  |  |
| Plur. 3d masc... |  |  |  |  | ? |
| ImperativeSing. 2d masc |  |  |  |  |  |
| Plur. 2d masc. . . | - |  |  | ¢ | 10 |
| Infinitive.... |  |  |  |  |  |
| $P A^{\prime \prime} \bar{E} L$, |  |  |  |  |  |
| PerfectSing. 3d masc. | F | \%3" |  |  | 3 l |
| 3d fem. | 7 |  |  |  |  |
| 2d com. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 st com. |  | ¢ |  |  | ַנִּ |
| Plur. 3d mase. |  | ַַּ3 |  |  |  |
| 2d masc. | בַּלִּ |  |  | תַּ3 |  |
| 1 st com. | - |  |  |  |  |
| Imperfect- |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sing. 3d masc... | 2\% | 5 |  |  | ¢ |
| Plur. 3d masc... |  |  | - | לִיַּ | 䏮 |
| ImperativeSing. 2d masc... | 1 |  |  |  | 7-3 |
| Plur. 2d masc.. . | \% |  |  |  | - |
| Infinitive . |  |  |  |  | - |

3d Sing. Feir.
§733. 3d sing. masc.—Qal: Meg. $16 a$; שְׁדרתחיה Sanh. $95 a$; B. B. $98 b$.

Pa"èl: Sabb. 80 b. ${ }^{1}$

Aphièl:


§734. 1st plur. сом.—Qal:

Ithpaial: Kath 54 K.

Aphèl: $\boldsymbol{N}_{\mathrm{T}} \mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{T}}$ Gitt. 20 b.
2d Sing. Com.
 ibid. $84 a$.
§ 738. 3d sing. masc.-Qal: mann Hag. $15 a$.

Aphèl: : Kַag. $4 b$.

Pa"ēl:
§ 740. 3d Plur. masc.-Qal: Hull. $110 a$;


Aphēl: Nanh. 95 :
1 st Sing. Com.
§741. 2d sing. masc.—Qal: : Hepll. $96 a$.
Aphēl: : Zeb. 30 b.
§ 742. 2d sing. fem.-Qal: 7nhern Sanh. $108 b$.
 74b; ; Taxun. $24 a$.


§ 744. 2d pluk. maso.—Qal: : Ber. 58 b. ${ }^{3}$

${ }^{2}$ Cf. $\$ 768$, note.

§ 745. 3d plur. masc.—Qal: :
Pa"èl: Kath. $50 a{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$

3d Plur. Masc.
 Ḥull. $133 a$; 1 R. MS. ibid. (§532).
§748. 2d sing. com.-Pa"e $l$ :

 $23 a$;

Pa゚e $\bar{l}$ :
 31b; ; Kath. $103 b$;

 MS. Sabb. $81 b$.

Pa"ēl:
 M. MS. Sabb. $129 a$ (§532).



 Nidd. $57 b{ }^{5}$
 Pes. $89 a a^{6}$

2d Plur. Maso.

§752. 3d sing. fem.-Qal: © ibid. $91 a$.



2 n





5 5\%
${ }^{6}{ }^{6}{ }^{7}$

## 1st Plur. Сom.

§753. 2d sing. com.—Qal: 7 Ber. 58 b
Pa"el : :
§754. 3d sing. masc.-Qal: Bekh.; ©
 (legal style). ${ }^{2}$

 $74 b$; 7 M. MS. ibid. ${ }^{4}$
§757. 3D plur. fem.—Qal: Rekh. 386.

## IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

Forms without Afformatives.
§758. 1 st sing. Com.-Qal:
§759. 2d sing. com.-Qal: Raši in ed. Cracow Sanh. $25 b$.


 Sabb. $110 a ;$; לֶקְלִיחּ ; Gitt. $68 b$ Ber. $6 a$.





§761. 3d sing. Fem.-Qal: :

Aphéel:




${ }^{3}$ ™ MG. 315.

${ }^{5}$ Cf. Luzzatto's hebr. Briefe, p. 1010.




 66b; ; Yeb. $39 a b .{ }^{1}$

 tions and Corrections").

Forms with Afformatives.
§ 764. 2d sing. сом.—Qal: בִקרין M. MS. B. M. 105 a
§ 765. 3d sing. masc:—Qal: לִקְרִיףּ B. M. $16 a$; ;


Aph'èí: "




## IMPERATIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

## Singular.




§769. 3d sing. masc.—Qal: שiven B. B. $63 a$.

§770. 3d sing. FEM.-Qal:


 Yômâ $84 a$.

Pa"e l: :


## Plural.


Pa"èl: 毭" Yômâ 69 b.
 Yeb. $97 a$.

[^100]

§ 775. 3d plur. fem.-Pa'ēl:
infinitive with suffixes.

 Y. ibid. ${ }^{1}$

Aphél :
 A. Z. $53 b$.

Ithp ${ }^{e}$ el e : א
 V. W. ibid.




 Bêçā $4 a{ }^{5}$

## PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.

 MS. Sanh. $20 a$.

THE NOUN.

$\S 781$. Under this head are included substantives and adjectives. The difficulties which present themselves to us in the classification of nouns even in Syriac are infinitely augmented in Babylonian Aramaic, both on account of the uncertainty of the vocalization, as well as from the lack of a dictionary answering modern requirements. The classification can, therefore, at best, be only tentative. Still it is hoped that even such a tentative attempt will result in much that is positive; it will clear up many uncertainties, and furnish points for further research in many directions.

2 2 2
 Harkavy, §237.
$\S 782$. It has been the author's endeavor in this chapter, as throughout this entire work, to give a complete enumeration of existing forms, as far as such a thing is at present possible. Illustrative examples have been selected with the following points of view: to present such words, where possible,
(1) which, etymologically and morphologically, are more certain ;
(2) which illustrate phonetic laws not mentioned in the first part of this work;
(3) which give occasion for etymological remarks;
(4) for which there are examples with matres lectionis, so that their form can be established beyond a doubt.
§ 783. Among the many difficulties exhibited by the talmudic noun, one phenomenon is especially marked - the multiplicity of





 phe fixing, and many others. Now, some of these forms are undoubtedly original and legitimate by-forms; as, e.g., the last example cited. Others are, no doubt, reduced forms; as, e.g.,
 broken plurals; as the forms from which and and derived. ${ }^{1}$ Still this does not explain all the phenomena. ${ }^{2}$ A satisfactory explanation is afforded only by the recognition of the fact that forms of the types



$\S 784$. The present state of our knowledge of Semitic phonetics and nominal formation makes the task of proving such a proposition a hopeless one. I would only limit myself to state that the current belief that Aramaic qâmēe always represents an

[^101]original $\hat{a}$ does no justice to the facts. In many cases Aramaic qâmēȩ is, like the Hebrew qâmēc, merely a produced $\check{a}$. The only difference between Aramaic and Hebrew, with regard to the production of $\check{a}$ to $\bar{a}$, is that in the latter the process is still in full life, while in the former we have only petrified remnants of this process. Everybody will admit that in the Syriac equivalents
 qâmēç represents $\check{a}$; but nobody seems willing to do the same
 Hebrew מחזר ,
§785. From the above quoted examples of $\because 8$, etc., we also learn that qâmēc may stand for a helping vowel. This explains the targumic form $\prod_{1} \prod_{1}$, the diphthongized form of the Persian gûn. This form is later easily mistaken for qattal and explains the Hebrew form
$\S 786$. The recognition that the production of $\breve{a}$ to $\bar{a}$ is still a more or less living process in Aramaic throws light on the numerous cases mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, where we found unexpected qâmēc, and proves the correctness and reliability, in the majority of cases, of living tradition. I say "in the majority of cases." For I am not blind to the fact that in some cases tradition may be wrong; but the more I have worked in this field, the more my conviction has grown that mere a priori theories are worthless in this field, and then the more so when they are in opposition to authenticated tradition, even if that tradition be only oral. I am conscious to be in this regard in opposition to preconceived notions, but doubt not that those who will give the subject an unbiased and earnest investigation will finally come around to my way of looking at it.
$\S 787$. In the light of the above I want to point out that I do not consider forms like because the superlinear vocalization of the Targamim shows still a long vowel under the second stem-consonant. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that even as near a dialect as Palestinean Aramaic need not in every case agree with our Babylonian Aramaic, and that Babylonian Aramaic continued to live and develop for many centuries after Palestinean Aramaic had died out. Many of the corruptions of the current vocalization
of the Targamim are probably due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, with which the naqdânim were more familiar.

Note.-The limited space at my disposal, as well as the nature of footnotes, have induced me to be concise in my etymological explanations. Sometimes I have limited myself to a mere suggestion. It is, therefore, hoped that students will examine the respective dictionaries before passing judgment on the proposed etymologies.

## SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE ONLY.

## 1. One Short Vowel.

 added that, under the influence of adjacent consonants, qatl may pass into qitl or qutl; qitl into quil or qatl; qutl into qitl (or qatl?). Thereby the original vowel may be kept under the first consonant in one form, and the derived vowel under the second consonant in another form, and vice versa. Thus we have $\mathfrak{N T n}$

$\S 789$. The laws under which these vowel changes take place cannot yet be stated with accuracy; but the following general rules may already be given :

1. qatl passes into qitl mostly in stems having a guttural as its last consonant, under the influence of שׂ, and in $\%$ forms, when the sharpened consonant is followed by a vowel.
2. qatl passes into qutl under the influence of labials, liquids, emphatic consonants, ${ }^{2}$ and $\beth$, when these sounds directly follow the vowel.
3. qitl passes into qutl under the same conditions as qatl does, but less frequently.
4. qitl passes into qatl when its vowel is in a closed syllable before a guttural-but this happens only in a few cases-and under the same conditions and with the same frequency as qutl passes into qatl.
5. quill and qitl frequently interchange for other than phonetic reasons, and, according to some, through iu. For quill passing
${ }^{2}$ TG, ed. Harkavy, §74.
into qatl cf．Barth，NB．，p．xxx．Whether forms like א゙か，
 with $\breve{a}$ or $o$ in the first syllable，is impossible to decide．




 قَشَّ
${ }_{2}$ This word belongs to a widely ramified group，going back to a changeable root， ．The first consonant of the triconsonantal stem appears in four series：labials，gutturals，dentals，and sibilants．The primitive meaning of the root is break through，come forth，hence produce．Then it was specialized to various kinds of plants and young animals．For the connection between plant and animal cf． ，פָּרָחק
a）Labial series：بَеِل，Ethiop．baquala，grow，produce，and derivatives；Assyr．

 bdellium．Here might belong according to sound and sense but the grammatical
 sinn：：



 ，etc．，palm branch with unripe fruit；all with inserted sibilants（ $\$ 46$ ，note）．

瓦品，garden－cress； ת
 ，date－basket made of palm leaves； verdure，beget children，and derivatives．

 levity；אַתָָּּ





c）קן
§ 791．${ }^{\text {．}}$＂ 7 ： N＂（§788）



 at the side of．
b）
${ }^{1}$ The plur．
2 With prothesis： $\mathbb{N}$
 $\underbrace{\text { w，}}_{\bullet}$ fruit－juice；Tigre rūbā river；Tina．revreve sprinkle with water，Galla wâraba draw water，Amp，wadab river，Egypt．warem inundation；Bilin wårābā，Chamir wirbā，river；Saho rob rain，rob āb rainstorm，rota raindrop；Somali rob river， wasabi to water．It is at least not certain that，as Gesenius＇Dict．，12th ed．，asserts， ユフา be large is connected with it．The same applies to P．Smith＇s Thesaurus Syr．，where it is connected with 즉 grow．

4 Cf．Samar．＂ר包 thanks，Heidenheim＇s Bibl．Samarit．，5－6，index．
${ }^{5}$ The form is like Targumic ${ }^{7}$ ；the plural is frequently used in adverbial and

${ }^{6}$ The abs．and the constr．states are very rare．But，from the few cases that do occur， the conclusion seems justified that qatl gives less frequently a form bare than the cognate
 by the material at hand．Such forms are therefore left unvocalized．


${ }^{9}$ The word goes back to $\sqrt{ } / 5=\sqrt{7}$ with primitive meaning be rough to the senses， then strong in a physiological as well as psychological sense；from the latter the idea of

§794. צ"y : Nouns of these stems appear in two forms: a) regular, with sharpened syllable, and $b$ ) with resolution of doubling compensated by long vowel. Forms like live coals probably go back to longer forms.
a) N Now,
b) $\frac{\square}{T}, ~$, סָא awn, VL., Hull. $17 b=$ = شَعَاع, on account of its resemblance to radiating rays. The usual form is NONO, with reduplication; NTM (voc.), traditional pronunciation ${ }^{\top}$ Tכָּ

 old;
d)
§ 795. 4 " 4 : Nouns of these stems are of threefold formation: a) showing a diphthong; b) monophthongized to $\hat{o}$, $\hat{e}$; or c) monophthongized to $\hat{a} .{ }^{4}$
 , and their equivalents in the cognate languages. Here be specially





On interchange of and sibilants, cf.



友
${ }^{1} \mathrm{Cf}$. the spelling $\mathbf{N} \mathrm{O} T R . \mathrm{II} ., 13$.
${ }^{2}$ Cff. 7, p. 22.
${ }^{3}$ Cf. Wellhausen, Reste arab. Heid., $2 d$ od., p. 110, n. 1.
${ }^{4}$ Cf. Marti, Gram. d. bibl.-aram. Sprache, §83b.
 fish; ${ }^{1}$ א
b) strength;
c) )
§ 796. 4 " 4 : Nouns of these stems appear in a fourfold form : a) with retention of last stem-consonant, b) with assimilation of last stem-consonant to the second and sharpening of the latter, c) with resolved doubling and consequent compensatory lengthening of first vowel, d) with entire loss of last stem-consonant.

Note.—Stems $\times "$ in all cases and $\boldsymbol{y}^{\prime \prime}$ ל when passing into
are included under this head.

 sea (of trouble), only in the expression house of mourning; ${ }^{4}$ קַשְָׂ bowl, plur. סיחְ rainy season, winter.


 posed in Assyrian to כרם , כמרך II. appears in the cognate languages as an , in

 goes back, may be a broken plural; but is more likely due to a process the reverse of that described sub §81. This would also explain traditional $\mathbb{N}$ $63 b, 66 \mathrm{~b}$. For the form
${ }^{2}$ sio is used only adverbially. The same double form of this word appears also in

${ }^{2}$ The word is perhaps a reduplication of come, enter; but, even if it be connected



${ }^{4} \sqrt{\text { T }}$ be full and overfow, طَمَّ sea;





 probably an Aramaic loan-word. But of. Beğa, kišo small village.
 lobe, by-form אیיָָ
d)



§798. ${ }^{\circ}$ פָּ window; dirty fuxi (eye); Tĩa. ṭem meqe baptize, rain uninterruptedly; ت waterspout ; Alg.



 costly wine (cf. our mountain-dew for whiskey, golden fluid for wine) ; ש́ menstruation; $\ddot{x}$



 3- heap of ruins, properly a place ruined by inundation; diu hill, properly high wave; Kafa table mourning. To the same root seems also to belong N'טָ, Assyr, tam unclean and Assyr. tem(m)en(n) u clay-cylinder. The connection of the idea of wetness and of that of sinfulness occurs also in other languages. Cf. Quara hŭet wet, sinful.
${ }^{1}$ Not pestilence, as in dictionaries; cf. Reifmann, Beth Talmad, V., 80.
${ }^{2}$ This word belongs to a semasiologically very interesting group, starting with the meaning womb (no matter what the primitive meaning of the stem might have been), and developing, on the one hand, into that of woman, mother, hence into that of motherly feeling, love, pity, kindness, etc., or into that of kindred and progeny, hence fruitfulness and plenty; on the other hand, into that of receptacle, vessel, measure of capacity, then of length, or into that of midst, middle, inside. In the following enumeration some of the links are missing:
 ummanu people, ummatuarmy, umamu animal, omamatu kinship, ammamum
branch (cf. branch and shore, VL., Succā $26 a{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$

c) § 799.
b)
§800.

 The original meaning, measure of capacity, is still retained in is not measured by the cubit! It is a well-known phenomenon that words retain in certain constructions and phrases a meaning which has otherwise become obsolete.-Assyr. ipu womb, love, iptu abundance. Theidea of dwelling, balcony, seems to go back to that of receptacle; while the meanings man, tuber, to that of progeny and fruitfulness. The relationship between both ideas is, therefore, different from that found in

 inative.boton fruit, produce, vulg. Arab. بَطْ distiller's vessel, Tina. metton measure (with interchange of labials). generosity. $-\mathrm{Sin}_{\mathrm{j}}^{8}$ womb, measure of capacity and of length. Whether this word be Semitic or Iranian, in both it has this double sense. - 8 8, حُوبَه

 Assyr. ummatu army, $\boldsymbol{H}_{\boldsymbol{T}}^{\boldsymbol{T}}=$ Assyr. umâmu animal, Irob-Saho hiiau people, Tina. heiauail mild, affable, humane,
 the feminine, must mean womb, woman, or both, expression: (خَبتِ)-Assyr. kirimmu womb, kirēmu leather bag, kirummu drinking-jar, karamu and derivatives ( $\$ 795$ a, n.), 队" be kind, generous,

 בคๆ).${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{CO} \angle$ leather bottle, Somali deh middle, dub vagina, deh génerosity.
${ }^{1}$ This may be explained either by $\sqrt{ } / \mathrm{p}$ passing into $\sqrt{ } / \mathrm{p} 1$, a frequent phenome.

 (§796b).







 matting.?
b) שִׁבִּ roast, VL., Sinh. $70 a$.

§805. . baster jug.



c) Some of the following forms may belong to $b$ :
 mountain path, defile, Sank. $96 b^{11}$

[^102]
${ }^{4}$ Assyr. maçaru=baçarucut.
${ }^{5}$ Cf. Konig, loc. cit.


8 In Aramaic, as in later Hebrew, nouns $9^{\circ}$ of the form detain their first vowel like those of m"
${ }^{0}$ Cf. § 864, и. 2.
${ }^{10} \mathrm{Cf}$. marginal note ad hoc. This is usually translated son. Cf. <compat>ᄌ<compat>ᅮ<compat>ᄂ<compat>ᄏ<compat>ᅮ eat, 耳̈ull. 87 a, and Hear. $\boldsymbol{H z}_{\substack{10}}$ p. 12, from which a secondary form א, Nit occurs, ibid., p. 44.
 elevation, slope, and depression, the word may denote any one of these configurations. Hence


qitlat.—§ 807. NTM

 N
b) אָ
§810.

b)
c)




§ 813. "



b) $\mathbb{N}$ ก
 VL., Meg. 10 b .—
§816.


${ }^{1}$ Cf. Noldeke, ZDMG., L., 309.

 hair, worm; cf. Eg. Arab. صنَّ best Nile fish; (2) something protruding, hard; hence, fruit-stone, grain, seed; cf.
${ }^{3}$ Cf. Brüll, Beth Talmad, I., 13.
4 This is probably connected with Eth, 'an ada shin, hide, which goes back to be wet; cf. Eth. retab. $\sqrt{ } \boldsymbol{7 N M}=\sqrt{ } s^{d i}$.
${ }^{5}$ Cf. MA_Aa, with qušaina, Audo, Dict. de la langue chald., Preface, p. o.
${ }^{6}$ فُؤُ means not only garlic, but a number of other plants. This shows that the word does not contain a characteristic of garlic, but goes back to the general idea of fruitfulness. It is, therefore, not improbable that the word go back to $+\dot{3}$, and the line of development
§817.
 forehead, ${ }^{1}$, plur.
 shoulder; כוּשילְתָּ
 .


2. Two Short Vowels.
 tax;**
b) ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ) later;
c) rain.
d) (1)


might still be traced out. فور gros back to * which we find in in whelk bean = which = * ثول. The last stem comes through ثبل from ثبل which is but a by-form of The latter appears also as $\underset{\sim}{\boldsymbol{\sigma}}$ (Guide, Della seder, p. 583). It is not impossible that
 compound (and an Indo-Germanic origin has not been found for the word), properly

${ }^{1}$ Luzzatto identifies it with Hear, $\mathrm{Di}^{\text {. . Cf. my note in AJSL., Vol. XIV., p. 130. The }}$ underlying idea for forehead in many languages is that of extent (width or height). Cf. Kluge,
欮,

 although on a different line of development, is Assyr. madaktu camp. Cf. Irob-Saho, dike village.

4 So vocalized in $S M$. No. X xp.

${ }^{6}$ Pal. Syr. Mf, probably=qihla.
§824. •ی"

b) ا'
c)


 barren:


§ 826. ע"צ: : עֲ
 Non
b)

 ion;

 pot;
 grandee.
§ 829. . פּ :
§830. ע"ע: : ע :
§ 831. Sanh. $29 b$.
§832. those of qutal:
${ }^{1}$ 上ำ
2 For another etymology cf. ZA., XI., 212.


qatilat.—§833. a) (VL., B. M. 23b), lost
 ion;
b)
§ 834. ." : a) א
b)


 early.
b)
 N רְקוֹצָּחָ spotted. ${ }^{4}$
 mead.—Plur. "

§840.,


3. Long Vowel in the First Syllable and Short Vowel in the Second.
 N:クTM threshing-sledge, Yalqût Lev. 459, Rašị Tem. 18a, and N
${ }^{1}$ The vowel after 7 is a helping vowel and not the afformative ending. $C f$. also

${ }^{2}$ On the etymology of this word $c f$. Fleischer apud Levy, II., $534 b$ sq. A similar develop-
 parasite and goes back to تْفl X. (Eg. Arab. . From the meaning of the last word (cf. Lane's Dict., s. v.), from the use of Hebr, whe for
 the development is not difficult to trace. The ignoble, vile, in a primitive community, where all members of the clan are equal, could only be applied to foreign slaves. ข่าวาs, then, means slave, male or female, married to a free person, or to another slave. As those used as concubines were mostly, or altogether, slaves, slave and concubine became synonymous.
${ }^{3}$ This is usually confounded with Hebr. ${ }^{2}$.
${ }^{4}$ Cf. Barth, NB., p. 13 sq.


 N゙ニที่
b）With retention and lengthening of second vowel ：קָׁדִידָׁ $=$＝放
c）With change of first vowel－probably after shortening
 seeds；שִׁיבְקָא testator，deceased；
d）With change of $\hat{\dot{u}}(=\hat{o})$ to $\hat{u}(\stackrel{u}{u}):^{8}$ N employer，Sanh，

 （צוּרַבָּ
e）Hebrew loan－words：אָחָ N゙放 workman．
§843．＂
 N， NTOTM，a blind one，properly one of the blind，Alf．B．Q． $31 b$ and Raší ibid．${ }^{5}$
 qâtilat．—§844，a）


 bar－maid，plur．

1 The forms $q a t i l, q \hat{a} t u l$ ，and $q a t t \hat{a} l$ are used promiscuously and interchangeably．
${ }^{2}$ Assyr．elippu $=$＊alipu as isippu＝ašipu．
 Unsis Persia．
 disciple，German Junger．Small as opposed to 극 great，master，teacher．（Cf．also Eth． daqiq．）Then，modestly，scholar；as
 correctness of which is borne out by the spelling 太ャワうาm M．MS．Taan．15b，16ab．This is probably a participle and ought to be pronounced NTM，On the meaning of this name

 ein．phön．Iuschriften，pp． $178 q$ ．

c) Plur.:
$q \vec{a} t u l$.—§ 846. In assuming a form $q \vec{a} t u l$, it is perhaps superfluous to say that Hebr. qātôl and Arab. فَé are not considered to have any connection with it. König's arguments ( $H G$., II., 1, $\S 64)$ are not convincing for the following reasons: The occasional dropping of the first vowel in our current Targumic texts (and nowhere else) does not prove the original shortness of the vowel. It is due to Babylonian-Aramaic influence ( $\S 787$ ). That language drops long vowels as easily as short ones ; cf., e.g.,
 originally $\hat{\alpha}$, no explanation is offered why, against all analogy, not only all Aramaic languages, but also the Arabic, have $\hat{o}, \hat{u}$. While, moreover, in Aramaic $\hat{a}$ sometimes becomes $\dot{0}$, that it becomes,,$^{-}$in Arabic cannot be shown, even if the foreign ó should be an uninfluenced transliteration. But see on that word § 933, n. 1. The question why the form $\mathbb{N}_{T}$ occur only in Aramaic is easily answered by pointing to the prominent part the $u$-vowel plays in the Aramaic verb ( $\S 228$ ). Furthermore, the lengthening of the second vowel in qatil (§842b) makes such a process in qâtul not exceptional. That such lengthening should take place mostly in qâtul is easily explained by the special development in its meaning. Lastly, the existence of a form qâtul can actually be shown. Cf. , خا,
 : orincelelt. §55. Cf. also Schwally's remark on Pal. Syr. (Idioticon, s.v. یen). That the $u$-vowel in forms with active force is secondary has so far not been demonstrated.
$\S 847$. Nouns of this form, when the second vowel is omitted, are not distinguishable from qatil. It is only when that vowel has been retained and, of course, lengthened, that we can recognize it. The majority of the nouns of this form are nomina agentis; but some, as in qatil, are concrete substantives. Nouns of this formation frequently take the ending ${\underset{\sim}{T}}_{-}^{-}$, without
change in meaning. This accounts for their taking frequently in the plural the termination "Ns.

 baskets, VL., Hull. $4 a$; ${ }^{\text {a }}$ "

Note.-Not here belong the Assyrian loan-words כָּשֹׂׂ gaŝûru, פָּ ${ }_{T}$ kinûnu, serve the foreign vowel ( $\S 84$ ) and the popularity of the form以

§849. . journer;



 Tincin collector.

 error; ${ }^{4}$ (§ bar-maids. This may be a corruption for $\mathcal{N}$ correct, it would show the persistence of the typical vowel of the

4. Short Vofel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second.
. with those of نَبِعِيل; Under the influénce of an initial $\mathbf{N}$ or $y$, or of an adjoining
${ }^{1}$ This word has not been recognized by commentators and lexicographers. Cf, Raši in


2 On the more usual form of a nomen agentis derived from an cols.




${ }^{6}$ Change of vowel due to $7 . C f . \$ 868,273$.
 Heil. Schrift, p. 12, n. 1).
labial, or emphatic consonant, the vowel of the first syllable is frequently retained. Some of these forms, as well as other forms with long vowel in the second syllable, are frequently reduced to . فُعْ -forms (§§ 92, 783). ${ }^{1}$





 document, c. plur. שְׁטָארֵ C. MS. M. Q. $13 a$; purse-string, shoe latchet (cf. 住 VL., B. M. $26 a$ ). ${ }^{8}$
b) With secondary doubling (§44): : אחּפָּ saddle;

c)

## 1Cf. Hebr. שִׁׁut

2 ขึ่ตา and
 her (his) parental house. The development of meaning from man to parent is as follows: ய్JN man as opposed to child; grown man, adult, having right to self-representation and independence, as opposed to minors, dependent on their parents; hence, parents. Of.





6 ต7ำ! SM. No. LxY (voc.).


 purse-strings; cf. mošnet purse-string. All these forms go back to changes on the one hand to a dental; cf. kumal; on the other hand it becomes a sibilant (through č). cf. lie = de be



§ 857．


 V eventual loss（（פَّبَّ


 perchance．
 retention of $\boldsymbol{N}$ ．
 plur．

 （＝VL，Sanh．82a）．
§ 863．

b） mother－in－law；${ }^{\top}$ ，
c）

1 The spelling with $\mathbb{N}$ proves the word to be a loan－word．
2 安代 occurs only in perfect and participle Qal．The dictionaries make it incorrectly Pa＂ēl．For the etymology of．also Tña．＇a unoge proclaim，publish．

8 Rast explains this correctly by
 singular had the feminine ending is at least doubtful． originally meant pericardium．Then，like

5 Hebr．䓃
 stems．



 fixing, B. B. 86 b; בַּ בִּ cf. . קְ ; but it may also be $=$.

 Eth. manana, Tigrê unonne, fanfane, be disgusted with.



§ 869. ." prophetess.



c) c) spoon (for *
 with a changeable root ألس , غس , غشش , عش , عس , etc., whose primitive meaning is cover. This shows the following development:
 Cf. Hebr. . $\mathfrak{a}$. On interchange of gutturals and sibilants $c f . \S 26$ and "Additions and Corrections" to that section.




פִּיפְּתָא ; from basket, $\sqrt{\text { كَ }}$ cover.

${ }^{6}$ Hebr. การทำ.
 mafrad earthen dish.

 N
 difference of opinion; ; pancian ; and perhaps

§874.
 tives.
iI. internal vowel ceange with sharpening of second
Stem-consonant.

1. Two Short Vowels.

תַתַּקִּתָּא
 C. MS. Meg. $4 a$ (voc.). ${ }^{4}$
 mistake, C. MS. Pes. $112 \dot{b}$ (voc.).

טִשְּשָׁ fool.——
quttal.—§880. 8 .

 , צִּ , Pes. $35 a$ and $V$,
[^103]2．Short Vowel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in tee Second．

 ordained scholar；${ }^{2}$ Nשָ
b） $\mathbb{N}$ farmer； $\boldsymbol{N}$

 words are Aramaic transformations of Hebr．פֿ and nixio．

 N＂：
§885．＂＂ dent or teacher of tradition．Formed as $心 "$ forms．

 Arab woman．Cf．§884，n． 5.

quttâl．－§887．※
 ヘำจำ
${ }^{1}$ ַבָּ
${ }^{2}$ Cf．Gaster＇s note to SM．，p．43：＂mph tyro，young scholar not yet admitted to full honors，who has still＇to wash and cleanse＇and do preparatory work．＂
${ }^{3}$ Bacher（ZAW．，XV．，301），who knew only of א゙DาO，explained it to be a form like －™（ $\$ 887$ ）；but this becomes untenable in view of 은．If the $u$－vowel be due to the influence of the labial，why only in these two words？To presuppose a form qutal is equally impossible．It will，therefore，be best to consider it as a conflation of Hebr．S＂讠 Aram．N
 and $\sqrt{\text { Sby }}$ are parallel stems．Cf．$\$ 978$, n．1．\＄ which the learned editors could not explain，is ${ }^{\text {w }}$＂pickpocket，＂Beutelschneider，＂from ${ }^{\text {Tb }}$ out．The verb（ibid．），cut，deduct．
${ }^{5}$ The word is a conflation of the Arabic name and Aramaic $2 \boldsymbol{y}$ wander，with perhaps a reminiscence of $\sqrt{\text { ض }}$ ．

 うこ๙゙
${ }^{7}$ Cf． $5{ }^{5} \boldsymbol{p}_{\mathrm{T}}$ TG．，ed．Harkavy，§ 352 （voc．）．
 N
$q a t t \imath \imath l .-§ 889$. These are all sharpened forms of qatîl and qatil.
顽
b)

§891. •"
 N
qattal.-§893. a) N


צִִבּ congregation. ${ }^{1}$

§897. הִּ
§ 898. . tartness, VL., Pes. 116 a .


§ 901. .

## III. PREFORMATIVES.

$\boldsymbol{N} .-§ 902$. The $\boldsymbol{N}$ may represent merely a prothetic vowel, as in We are concerned here only with the latter.




1 TM, 1 TG., ed. Harkavy, 8377.
${ }^{2}$ Eg, Arab. plur. نفّ = نور = نبر = = رنب =نرب take fright and run off, be timid, shy.
(



aqtâat.-§904. 9 . funeral repast;


ה. ${ }^{3}-$ haqtal.- § 906.


 הת inference from analogy;
 deer.



 vessel (
§912. . ֵuest part.

 The Assyr. musârû, mušârû (Delitzsch, Assyr. Wb., s.v. (בש: is probably a loan-word.- neerwle.


[^104]
 Arab. $\underset{\text {, }}{\text {, African kelâl, a wooden peg to fix the hair, a }}$ hair-pin.
§917. ${ }^{\circ}$ "פ:


§ 919." " $^{4}$ "



b) מַ
§923.

maqtilat.-§ 925 .
§ 926.

maqtul $(a t)$.-§928.

 N
§930. 9 " פּ :
§931. $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{\prime \prime}$ :
§932. צ"y: ヘ


maqtalat.—§ 935 .

 oath.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. the interesting remarks of Rabbinowicz in $V L$., Meg. 18a, n. 1. Cf. also nay I., No. 930.

${ }^{3}$ The form is due to the influence of x (8846). On the "tyranny" of this form in modern Arabic cf. Vollers, ZDMG., L., 627.

miqtâl．－§938．NưT
muqtal．—§939．Nפల్Tの A Hebrew loan－word．
 spirit．


maqattul．—§943．אา



mattaqtalat．－§946． 9 ．
9．－§ 947．א
冬－§ 948．※
 jection，slavery；plur．…

ת．－§950．taqtilat：N⿰亻弋工凡in addition．
 $35 a$ ．Cf．
 NMッツ
taqtâl： ： tarbaçu yard．


taqtûl：NTM

## IV．AFFORMATIVES．

＂＂ๆ．－§951．When a nomen agentis is to be derived from an it may be formed as any similar noun of the form
 in wool．If the

1 Wancin $T$ Ma．，ed．Harkavy，§ 67.
${ }^{2} \sqrt{2}$／${ }^{\text {；}}$ ；cf．Hołmann，LCB．，1882，p．320．But see Gesenius＇Handwठ̈rterbuch，ed．12， s．v．$v$ ．
${ }^{3} C f$, on this word，Meissner，$z_{A}$ ．，IX．， $272 s q$ ．Cf．also the proper name

ending is added, e. g.,
 the ending 4 , which is nothing but the final syllable of 4 " forms of Now, leaving the original form of the word as much as possible unaltered. Thus, dealer in VL., B. B. $22 a$;


 Nan would mean something else. ${ }^{2}$
${ }^{n}-$, $a i .-\S 952$. The ending $a i$ of nouns whose gender can rarely be determined from present data: אn, Assyr. amurrû, west; N inference;
 without this ending: : NTM and
 repairing.—"צַרֵַּ, chance, is Palestinean. ${ }^{4}$
$a i$.—§953. This ending serves to derive relative adjectives, appellative nouns, and gentilic adjectives from substantives, adjectives, and proper nouns. The masculine has mostly the


${ }^{1}$ Cf. 7

 Studien, I., $\stackrel{i}{*}^{2}$ sq.; Poznański, R\&J., XXXIV., 161 sq.; Steinschneider's Hebr. Bibliogr., IV., 20, 153.




${ }^{5}$ Cf. $\$ 83$.

From
 field, הַקְלָאָה countryman; from gate-
 ( $=$ 'iliâîâ) upper; from *N:


 is used interchangeably with an; as yodest man. But more frequently both endings are combined. Cf. § 962. ${ }^{2}$
 feminine ending.
 hornet.


c) qutl: form ( $\$ 55$ ).
d) $q^{\oplus}$ tâl:
e) $q^{e} t \hat{\mathrm{u}} \mathrm{l}$ :

g) qattal: N
h) qŭttâl: :
i) qittûl: :
j) maqtal: :

 agil mouth, entrance; Kulfan ogul, awol, aul, mouth; Kafa kellō door, gate; Chamir bilā, mirā, gate, door; Amh. barr principal entrance; Galla kellā principal exit, balbatā door, gate. From the last form may come $\mathfrak{x}$ 굳.
 manābbet.
${ }^{3}$ Assyr, sinistu. On the otymology cf. S. Arab. Yaw = Hebr, בק, On its synonym सที่



l) šaqtîl: :
m) šaqtûl : א

 . غراغيه
p) maqalqal: :

ท, u.—§955. a) qatl: livelihood.
b) qitl: בִּינַּת NTM
c) qatal: : intermarriage.


 ness;

 repulsiveness;
h) qattâl:
i) qattil: : צַתִּרָּת

j) 'aqtâl:

l) maqtal: :
m) maqattal: :


p) qatlîl:
 shepherd's assistance, properly carrier of the ; Š shepherd's



[^105]
\}.- $\hat{a} n, \hat{o} n(\hat{a} n)$, $\hat{\imath} n(\hat{e} n), a n(?) .-\S 958$. These afformatives are used:

1. To form from verbal stems infinitives; as
 Sanh. 101b. From this develop the following classes:
a) Abstract nouns; as punishment.
b) Adjectives; as
c) Nomina agentis with the sense of habitual action, occu-

d) Concrete nouns; as as in iquid.
2. To change participles into appellatives, denoting habitual action; as leader.
3. To change concrete nouns into
a) adjectives and appellative nouns denoting the possessor of that which is denoted by the noun, with a magnifying sense; as Aleshy;
b) adjectives possessing the quality of the noun; as crimson;
c) another noun with a metaphorical expression; as מַּנְיָּנָ body, properly containing bowels.
4. To change a proper noun into an adjective denoting relation to that noun; as peosarean.
5. To change an adjective into a noun; as thing new.
6. To strengthen adverbs and demonstr. pronouns ; as ${ }^{2}$,號
ân.—§959. a) qatl:


 rebellion, with prothetic vowel, or Aph'ēl?


c) qitl: Tree; second.
 surplus;

f) qatal: : בּרֶTM


 ( = uacidanâ). ${ }^{1}$
i) qital:
j) qâtil: :
k) $q^{\ominus}$ tâl: of metal. ${ }^{2}$
 sword, dirk.
m) qattil:
n) 'aqtal: ${ }^{\text {Ninent teaching, knowledge. }}$
o) tuqtul:

q) maqtal: ${ }^{\text {p }}$,

s) maqtul:
t) mataqtil: : interpreter. ${ }^{4}$
u) qautal:
v) qalqal: :קַרְקָפּנטא pig-head.
w) qalqil: :
x) qulqul: קָּרְקְקָן N

2 Eth, 'arar lead, tin; Tigre 'arer lead,tin, 'arar steel, 'arer bullet (lead or iron),

${ }^{3}$ All words of this form in the emphatic state are traditionally pronounced with w before 5; as $\boldsymbol{N T}$ gression of the accent.
${ }^{4}$ The $u$-vowel is due to the following consonants as well as to the infinitive form sub $o$.


on, un.-§960. a) qat(i)l:


 colored garments.
c) qutl:

in.-§ 961. a) qatl: $\mathbf{N}_{\boldsymbol{T}}$
 Tin



 سَوّْ , Assyr. šurmênu, cypress.
c) maqattil: : קְרַּיִנחָ educator.
 maid, Assyr. susabin u ; cf. . god-father,


า.-§962. 9 . mouse. ${ }^{7}$

${ }^{2}$ Bilin 'a rắb blind.
${ }^{3}$ This word denotes five different species. Cf. Epstein, Beth Talmad, V., 299 sq.
${ }^{4}$ This must not be confounded with Hebr. אַחִרִית, which is of a different formation. For
 $\square$ is retained in the cognate languages, while having become 9 in Assyrian, cf. . du'uzu.
${ }^{6} \sqrt{V} \boldsymbol{V}^{\boldsymbol{\omega}}$ فernel, fruit-stone, is that which is cut out. Of the same origin is probably the $\bar{T}$ in Hebr. ably correctly, with
 words may be loan-words from Kushitic, where the feminine ending ad instead of at is common.
${ }^{7} \sqrt{7}$ be thick-set. The mouse is frequently called by a name denoting this quality
 mouse; $\dot{x}$ عَغ́ muscle, عَ field-mouse, , muscle, mouse; hence medieval Hebr. ַַכַּר muscle. The same connection between muscle and mouse is found in some IndoEuropean languages. Cf. Kluge, s. v. Maus.

## Double Afformatives.

$\S 963$. With the exception of the few examples given below, double afformatives occur only with the feminine ending.
 NTMen scurf, scaly appearance of the skin. ${ }^{T}$
 plur.

d) inû:
e) ânâịi: plur. ${ }^{\text {a }}$.
f) inâin: :
g) a in û:
h) A few words are pronounced with before 2, e. g.,


## v. DIPHTHONGIZED FORMS.

1. Diphthong in the First Syllable and Short Vowel in the Second. § 964. a) qautal: :

b) qaital:
2. Diphthong in the First Sxllable and Long Vowel in the Second. §965. a) qautal: א
b) qautil: : בinc

d) qaitul: :
${ }^{1}$ n N حَشیيف worn-out garment, whose
 scale, gone. cf. also Hebr. dict. s. v. $v$. Pitimp

## 3. Diphthong in the Second Syllable.


 Zeb. $116 b$ and Raší ad loc.

Note.-There are some words which are spelled like those
 rice; ; in the first two is probably a helping vowel to ease the collocation of difficult sounds. Cf. a similar helping vowel in ( tinean Aramaic, belonging to various forms, are : שוחבירה , בודיירה;


## VI. REDUPLICATED FORMS.

qalqal and similar forms.-§ 967. אn net, Assyr. hubaru; ${ }^{1}$ NTOTOM lucern, shortened to $74 b, 93 a$, Yalqût Dan. 1060) $=\ddot{\chi}$ 亿. N







${ }^{1} \mathrm{Cf}$. 877.
${ }^{2}$ Cf. , فقَ Egyptian article and dropped (cf. Vollers, ZD11G., L, 617, 654). The fact that makes sense in Persian need not prove more its Persian origin than our "sparrow-grass" the

 may also belong here.
declivity; ${ }^{1}$ N par;





 , chain.
qataltal and similar forms.-§970. NTM Trumpet;


 plur. פַּרַכָתָn
qatqâl, qatqı̂l.—§ 972.
 squirting.
qatlăl.-§ 973. When when clue, skein, plur. Yalqût Ps. $862=$ Hull. $60 a(\S 81) ;^{3}$ N nal liar.
 in the egg-shell; ${ }^{6}$.
 Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, s.v.).
 primitive meaning was evidently hollow out; hence the correlative be convex. This explains

 stony hill,


${ }^{3}$ This word is given by the Syriac dictionaries sub. $\mathbb{B}$, but it belongs to $\mathbb{W}$, , a by-form of $\mathbb{\forall}$. Cf. Jís hang down loosely.
${ }^{4}$ This is Tigré ešbilō = Bilin šbilō small intestines.
 and $\ddot{x} \underset{\sim}{\circ}$; foetus.

 N
qutulal．—§ 976．${ }^{\text {T }}$ Plur．

## VII．INFIXES．

§977．The infixed elements are：ュ，ュ，コ，ロ，ョ，า，๒，ת． Some of these infixes have arisen from syllabic metathesis，others from resolution of doubling；still others come from verbal forms retaining סימנים הבנין，as the Hebrew grammarians would say． Every case has to be judged by itself．
 Maltese sallur，oídoupos（Dozy，I．，673）；；${ }^{3}$～


${ }^{1} \vee$（i） Cf．Alg．Arab．．，，ring－dove，properly the cooing bird．
 Nถัำำ female companions．
${ }^{3}$ The word seems to be Semitic．$\sqrt{ }$（heans $s m o o t h$ ，hence hard，bald，without

 smooth．On interchange of 7 and 9 cf．Assyr．labaru grow old $=$ شُشْ

 words，being too long for a footnote，will be given elsewhere．Secondary $\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{n}$ is also found in

 amber．Besides Eg．asem and Assyr．ešmara，quoted by the dictionaries，belong here Galla asamaru abbelire and Arab．ت́ and dí honey．Brán means originally a honey－colored eubstance，be it metal or some other material．Finally in $=s /, \ldots$ ，which denotes a certain stage in the growth of the palm．Names applied in the North to the vine are given in the South to the palm．Cf．ל＂
 ESS．，index．For meaning cf．Galla sarado green．
${ }^{5} \sqrt{ } \sqrt{\text { denotes the dirty brownish，greenish，livid，}}$ or grayish color of animal and vegetable matter．Hence
 don; ${ }^{1}$ Tan hose; ${ }^{2}$ Nin burden, VL., R. H. 26 ; ; שַּשְׁקָּ (§980).



 tree, but Dozy has كزظوس !
grounds, $\underbrace{\text { as }}_{0}$ something convex, i. e., give it the shape of a lentil, "رَّطَ flatten like a cake; hence صake thin or fine and its à stout, big. From the last we get the shortened
 hence shortened ṭahala flatten.
${ }^{1}$ ™

 mancino. On the connection between left-handedness and ambidexterity cf. ${ }^{\text {c }}$, which means both. Hence brta to grab with both hands, rob, and
hands, be generous.
 .
${ }^{3}$ Cf. ZA., VIL., 179 sq.; ZATW., XVII., $3 \overline{1} 1$.
 p. 31 ; $\mathbb{N}$
 strong, passionate, hence fruitful. From the idea of fruitfulness and plenty we have
 abundance, increase. عتر kid and capers may contain the idea of sexual passion; cf. Hebr. אבבירפה, the goat being known for lustfulness, and the capers may have been used as
 Skipwith, JQR., XI, 256.-From such a form as N ( C . Syriac independent suffix eio-.


 similation of last stem-consonant; ${ }^{3}$ פּ N pearl = Eth. môgart precious stone;
 $=7$ \%



## VIII. PLURICONSONANTAL.

 אی, Assyr. urmabbu (=urvabu),

 lamb; nugallu, a compound of tarra hen and nugallu king; ${ }^{8}$ .


1 For the double treatment of the last stem-vowel cf. Hebr. ${ }^{\square}$.
${ }^{2}$ The etymology of this word is not certain. It has two series of synonyms. On the one
 as well as to be be bit
 $k^{\mathrm{u}}$ огеbtā hill. But $c f$. the spelling of VI, 109.



${ }^{6}$ The word seems to be a compound. The first half seems to contain Eth. ahar ram, Amh. a languages the word, under various forms, means son, daughter, child, youth, husband, man. What is the other element?
${ }^{7}$ armali is a compound of (w) artma+li husband + not + having. The Kunama drops


9 Nาำㄴ stable is probably conuected with this stem, meaning originally the place for the animals.


## APPENDIX.

## HYPOCORISTIO ENDINGS.


 N maic dialects and in Hebrew-Phenician. ${ }^{1}$ In Ambaric we find the endings $\hat{e}, \hat{u}$, and $\hat{o}^{2}$ The origin of these endings is still unknown.

GENDER, NUMBER, AND STATE.
§ 985. There are two genders, masculine and feminine; two numbers, singular and plural; ${ }^{3}$ and three states, absolute, construct, and definite.
§ 986. The feminine ending, if the word-stem end in a consonant, is
 has sometimes the force of a diminutive; e. g.,
§ 987. The absolute and construct states occur but seldom, the definite state, having lost largely its original determining force, being used instead.
§ 988. The termination of the definite state is usually $\mathbb{N}_{T}^{-}$, rarely $\hbar_{-}^{-}$; in a few cases, with 'imâlè, ${ }^{-}-(\S 69) .{ }^{5}$ The ending ${ }^{\frac{\top}{-}}$ occurs

 cataract of the eye. ${ }^{7}$. Some of these words occur also with the regular ending $\mathbf{N}_{\top}^{-}$.

1 Cf. Hoffmann, Veber einige phöniz. Inschriften, p. 34; Repan, REJJ., V. 161 sq.
${ }^{2}$ Cf. D'Abbadie, Dict. Amar., s. v. gabra (col. 847).
${ }^{3}$ For remnant of dual cf.
\&Cf. also TG., ed. Harkavy, § 34, and Guidi, Gram. elem. della lingua amariña, 16 c.
${ }^{5}$ On the nature of the ending $\mathbf{N}_{\tau}^{-c}$ cf. Barth, AJSL., XII, and Lindberg, Vergl. Gram der Semit. Sprachen, I, 96 sq.
${ }^{6}$ Cf.
 $=$ = waxin ir
 44. The $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ shows that the pronunciation was 4 . Of. $\mathcal{F} 989 a$.

PLURAL TERMINATIONS.

## 1. Masculine Endings.

$\S 989$. a) The usual endings of the masculine plural are: abs. st.
 "
 $148 a .^{1}$ In some other cases $\Pi^{\text {n- }}$.. is written for ${ }^{\square}$.., the 7 being added to show that the pronunciation is $\hat{e}$, not $\hat{\imath}$. This is quite common in later

b) Not infrequently the ending of the definite state of the singular is retained before the plural ending. E.g.,
 some cases it is doubtful whether we have to read $\mathbf{N}^{-}$or . For nouns of the form $N_{T} \bigcup_{T} p_{\tau}$ cf. § 847.
c) Very seldom we find the ending ${ }^{\top}{ }_{\tau}$, ${ }^{\top}$, The following are all that occur:
 $98 \alpha$; plural it is sometimes doubtful whether the singular ended in $\mathrm{NT}_{+}^{-}$or not; e. g., טֶּ ,

## 2. Feminine Endings.

§ 990. a) The usual endings of the feminine are: abs.st. $\rceil_{T}^{-}$, cst.st.
 N
b) Not infrequently we find the double plural $\overbrace{0}^{-1}$,


c) In a few cases the plural ending is attached to the ending of the








d) The endings nouns from ${ }^{4} \eta^{\prime \prime}$ ל-stems, are also taken by the following nouns:
a) Nouns ending in

 N, from
r) A number of other nouns, with or without feminine ending in the singular, which cannot be classified; as -Cf. §ु 992.

ס) A few nouns ending in a labial show in the plural the ending N,
 flanks,

є) In a ${ }^{\top}{ }^{\top}$ few cases it is impossible to decide whether the plural ending

 Hull. 60b. ${ }^{1}$

Formation of the Plural.-§ 991. Nouns with long vowels, with formative elements, or with sharpened second stem-consonant, undergo no change in the plural. Nouns of the forms فَفْ فَّ
 Mank
§ 992. The following is a list of nouns having an irregular plural, or several plural forms. The list is not exhaustive, though nearly so. The
 are not included here:

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| א\% | (1) |
|  | 4 |
| N |  |
| N-M-M- |  |
| - |  |
|  |  |
| N- | 17b) |
|  |  |
|  |  |



2 ת Igg. Šerira, ed. Neubauer, p. 15.
${ }^{3}$ 3

○


${ }^{1} C f$. Amariñ̃a ${ }^{\text {tiā }} \mathrm{f}$, Quara jāb.






7 Syr. $\hat{16} 2$. This is connected with Maltese qafla string, tie, band, bond, 'Afar-Saho tuful yarn, bond, ribbon. $\boldsymbol{T}^{\boldsymbol{T}}$, mean properly fillets. The doubling of the $\zeta$ may be due to the same law as in a form like $\square$ mology, connecting it with

## NOUNS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

§ 993. 1st person sing. com.- $\alpha$ ) With singular nouns: "שִ่า? my head, Ned. 50 a ; "ヘָּ my wife, ibid.; "n my wages, B. M. 70 a ;"

b) With plural nouns:



 Ber. 58 b.
 $u s$, Šebu. $37 b$.
 son, Ned. $28 b ;$ ?
b) With plural nouns : $56 a$;
§ 996. 2d person sing. fem.-a) With singular nouns:
 24a; ;
b) With plural nouns: : פְ thy legs, Nāz. $24 b$; Taan. $25 a$; Yômâ $13 a$; ,
§ 997. 2d person plur. masc.-a) With singular nouns:
 to your house, C. MS. Pes. $101 a ;$;
b) With plural nouns: ${ }^{3}$,

 MS. Sabb. 136 b.
§ 998. 2d person plur. fem.-a) With singular nouns: No example.
b) With plural nouns: "פַּקִּ your pots, Pes. $30 \alpha$; your crumbs, ibid. $110 \alpha$; ™M. your pots, C. MS. ibid.; ?
 MS. Pes. $110 a$;
${ }^{1}$ From the method of Talmudic spelling it does not seem likely that the ending could be 7 . 7 . It is, however, possible that we have to read it $7^{-7}$., as with singular nouns.

3 Singular nouns with plural suffixes are classed here.
§ 999. 3 ( E person sing. masc.- $\alpha$ ) With singular nouns:




b) With plural nouns : his sons, Ber. 8 ; ; hin his hands, ibid. 91a; 包 his baldachins, M. MS. Sabb. 138 a; ;its boundaries, B. B. 68 ;
 Sabb. $129 a$;
§ 1000. 3d person sing. fem.-a) With singular nouns: אַָּּתָּ
 = كتتَاب, not =


 Sanh. $82 a$;

§ 1001. 3d person plur. masc.-a) With singular nouns:
 their lord, Ned. $62 a$; בַַָּרַתּוֹך ; their mother, Sabb. $143 b$;
 Alf. Ber. 38b. ${ }^{6}$



[^106][^107]



§ 1002. 3 d person plur. fem.- $a)^{\top}$ With singular nouns: Keth. 20 .
 74b; 5.

## ADJECTIVES WITH ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

$\S$ 1003. A few adjectives take enclitic personal pronouns, like parti-


 VL. ibid. ${ }^{3}$

Nבָ:
§ 1004. 1st sing. com.-a) With singular nouns: VL., 'Er.

 "

1st plur. com.-a) With singular nouns: ( Ber. $18 b$, Keth. $92 a$;
 M. Q. $28 b$. $^{5}$
 Noninin E. Y. ibid.

2d sing. masc.-a) With singular nouns: 気 Ned. $28 b, 50 b$; 7- N Sanh. 236.
$2 d$ plur. masc.-a) With singular nouns: VL., B. B. $58 \alpha$;

[^108]


b）With plural nouns： $151 a$ ；此品 $V L ., ~ B . ~ M . ~ 104 b . ~$
$3 d$ sing．fem．－a）With singular nouns：NHEN her father，Succā
 in－law，eds．Qidd． $12 b ;^{2} \xrightarrow{T}$ n Ned． $74 a$ ．
b）With plural nouns：NTM B．B． $141 a .^{8}$





NOMINAL COMPOUNDS．
§ 1005．Nominal compounds are of various kinds：a）Two nouns
 enemy．Sometimes both words are contracted into one，with occasional phonetic loss；as $\mathbb{N}$


 N゙Mำ）．Instead of a noun the first element may be an adjective or



d）Noun and numeral in genitive relation：of plaster made from product of dragon－tree．

[^109]


 Assyr. ina timâli.
i) Relative particle and noun : דָּיחזחא wife. ${ }^{1}$
§ 1006. In the nominal compounds described above, the second member of the compound determines the gender and number, and receives the endings which would otherwise be attached to the first
 MM. Ber. $62 \alpha$.

1 For similar formations in Assyrian cf. Jensen, ZA., VII., 174, n. 1.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

## PAGE




 ס סant
2. § 2. Note 1. Isaac Halevy (דורות הראשרכים, III., 48 sq.) proposes another explanation for the dialectical differences. The Talmud, says he, has come to Europe by two ways: through the Berbery states and through Palestine. The dialectical expressions found in Nedārim, etc., represent Palestinean substitutions for original Babylonian expressions. According to this theory, said expressions must have been common in the Palestinean schools; must, in other words, be found in the Palestinean Talmud. Whether these are really found there is, with the insufficiency of our dictionaries, difficult to ascertain. Zomber, who has gone over the Palestinean Talmud in search of the expression תבתעי, has met with a negative result.
2. § 3. Add to the expressions characteristic of Nedārim : אֲקַפּׁn
 חת חת, ed. Warsaw, p. 39 a.
3. § 5. Dr. Schmiedel's statement (ארצ゙, V., 115, n.) that the vernacular of the Babylonian Jews was the Persian language, has no foundation.
3. Note 3. The excellent index of Dr. Im. Löw to Krauss' Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter enables us to give an exact answer to this question. According to that index there are the following words occurring only in the Babylonian Talmud: I. Words whose etymological explanation Löw assumes as certain : ảßpaцís, áкакía,


 carenum, gemoniae; II. Words whose etymological explanation is
 latura; III. Words whose etymological explanation is improbable:
 $\nu o ́ \mu \iota \sigma \mu a$, $\tau \xi ' i ́ \chi \lambda \alpha, \tau \rho \iota \beta o v ̂ v o s, \phi \quad \phi \lambda \epsilon \rho o ́ v$, arca, claustrum, pulsus; IV. The foreign words $\tau \rho i \neq \eta$ and the improbable $\sigma \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \rho \alpha$, and the transcribed word кáбıs. The first two groups have been examined by me.
 origin. $\dot{\alpha} \beta \rho \alpha \mu i ́ s, \delta \rho о \mu \epsilon v ́ s, \sigma \phi \eta ́ \kappa \omega \mu \alpha, \tau \dot{\eta} \gamma \alpha \nu o v$, gemoniae, кодабти́р, ко́ртоs, and фvлаки́ go back to Palestinean sources.
6. § 6. In later literature the abbreviation sign $\stackrel{\Perp}{-}$ or is also used where we would use italics or heavy-faced type. Cf. also Perles, Analekten, p. 26.
7. § 13. SM. has frequently a full vowel in place of
8. § 14. But cf. Mueller, Die altsemit. Inschriften von Sendschirli, pp. 41 sq.
10. § 18. The verbal examples are to be explained differently:ד and Corr. to $\S 208$; on Nתפアาp cf. §966, note.
12. §26. Additional examples for the interchange of gutturals and




13. Note 3. Notice NTNTN! VL., Pes. $74 b$.
15. Note 3. About $\boldsymbol{\eta}$. $f$. B. Gray, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names, pp. 23, 75, and Kerber, Die religionsgesch. Bedeutung der hebr. Eigennamen im AT., p. 63.
16. § 46. $C f$. § 980 .
16. § 47. Delete
16. § 48. $C f$. against it Nöldeke, $Z D M G$., L., 311 .

17. §50. 6. . its dialects.

PAGE
 $\S 883$ ，note．

19．§53．1．Delete：א slice．
19．§53．4．On Pユデnt cf．Add．and Corr．to $\S 208$.

20．§56．For（§56）read（§51）．
22．Note 2．Cf．§ 987.
23．§ 71．$C f$ ．Grimme，Grundzüge，p． 9.
27．§ 84．Cf．§§ 531e，784，933，note．
29．§93．But in a number of cases the traditional accent rests on the antepenultima，with coincident syncopy of the vowel of the penul－ tima ；cf．$\S \S 231,5$ ，and 646， 2.
 No．xxv，กی ibid．No．Lxxxvin（all vocalized）．
32．§ 102．$C f$ ．Add．and Corr．to $\S 208$.
33．§ 107．For 5 ：－（3d masc．）read：97n－


 are，$\dot{H} G .454$ ；＂ña plural，＇TG．，ed．Harkavy，§ 74 ；İgg．Šerira， ed．Goldberg，p． 5.

35．§ 112．Cf．§ 647.
35．§ 116．Add ：：Qidd． $32 b$ ．
35．§ 117．For $\bar{\square}$ Ber． $81 b$ ，Šebu． $30 b, 39 b$, B．B． $17 b, 29 a, 167 b$ ，B．Q． $84 b$ ，etc．


 \％


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38. Note 4. Ehrlich (4) Gen. $38: 24$ ) explains compound of NTT + + +

 $C f$. B. B. $12 b, A Z .24 b$, Pes. $20 a, 72 a, 85 a, M V .42$.
39. Note 4. Cf. $7_{\mathrm{T}}$, $\mathrm{Na}_{\mathrm{T}} S M$. No. xxv (voc.).

40. § 131. Add: : $V L$., B. Q. $118 \alpha$, (plural) VL., Sanh. $96 b$,

40. §133. Notice P可? VL., Hull. 19b. In modern literature the phrase phan phrn is also used in the sense of stuff, trash, and in that of hotch-potch.
40. § 135. Add : NTHTN:
40. Note 1. Add: פִּ ibid., ed. Neubauer, pp. 23, 44, with imâle of prap. The 7 , here as well as in other cases, marks the pronunciation ${ }^{-}-$, as against a possible $\quad$-.


 Meg. $6 \alpha$, 下,



 counting is probably good Semitic. Cf. for the Arabic, Goldziher, ZDMG., XLIX., 216 sq.
43. Note 1. Add: 7- $H G .$, ed. pr., 19 c ; $7 \boldsymbol{T}$




44. § 146. Add: ©
45. Note 3. Cf. Nथׁดั่ HG. 467 (voc.).

## page


 (voc.).
46. § 157. Add: :

 $28 a$ (a Hebraism).

 (voc.); 一星 where, Hal. Pes., § 123.
47. Note 2. Add: N Now, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 235 ; N till now, $S M$. No. Lxx; ibid., § 233, TG., ed. Cassel, $\delta$ § 7, 48 ; HG., ed. pr., $81 d$; כִּ soon as, Igg. Šerira, ed. Goldberg, p. 37.
48. § 159. For ?



 Ned. $55 \alpha$; Bilin kändō, Galla tiki, which have the same meaning, and Barea woddet useless, in vain, from wod, wot, be unwilling, hate. In the expression 9 . On $N p_{\tau} c f$. WZKM., XIII., $245 s q$.
48. Note 3. Notice: "Anān in Voskhod, January, 1898, p. 17, n. 1,



49. § 162. Add: "Donough.

 ת

50. § 167. Add: Sanh. $101 b$ and $N$ NL., B. B. $58 a$, yes. The latter may be an apocopated or the equivalent of Arab.
 $=$ Eth. énâ and $\boldsymbol{\square} \underset{\sim}{=}=$ Tigrê-Bilin imm.

51. § 174. On "אבמטרל cf. Add. and Corr. to $\S 50,6$.
52. § 174. בּבּריל occurs also VL., Ber. $56 a$, Yalqût Is. $437=$ Ber. $17 a$,



52. Note 2. Delete the sentence, "and, we may add . . . . . found." Professor Nöldeke calls my attention to the use of this particle in Palmyrean. Cf. also Buhl, Kanon und Text des Att., § 52, end.
53. § 174.
 fransais, s.v. می, No, and Falzon, Dizion. malt.-ital.-inglese, s. v. min.
54. $\S 177 b$. The form ghows that a plural termination is not to

54. § 177c. Add: VL., B. Q. $15 b$.
55. § 182. Notice: "
56. § 182. $\$$.

 of דוראיל וכך; cff. Bacher, JQR., IX., 148.-For a clearer trace of
 7 Grimme, op. cit., p. 73.

 $T R$. II., ${ }^{\top} 0$. Nöldeke connects this particle with Syriac ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}$ (MG., p. 485), suggesting a Persian origin. The word is a compound of the particle na and the interrogative mi, mu. The first appears in Ethiopic as ni et, etiam, Amh. -nā id., Kafā -na and, with,

## phom

Somali na also, Assyr. 1̂ forsooth; the second element is common to the Semitic and Hamitic languages. Cf. also Galla lamú ancora (Viterbo, Gram. e diz. della ling. orom.), Barea -nen also, even, Kungara nin also. In the expression ${ }^{2}$, N the sense of Ms seems to be forsooth; in the expression whether EN mean also, or have the force of the particle of in
 finally, after all.

58. § 185. Delete: " $O l=$ Arab. ئ." The word has also here the

 is so vocalized in the Haggadah according to the Rite of Yemen,
 ก

 VL., Yômâ 69b; bבָּ Oh! woe! VL., Pes. 20 b.
 the proper name Helene, is untenable. Dozy's Supplément aux Dict. arabes contains the following interesting Arabic equivalents:

63. § 208. The following examples are apt to shed more light on the true nature of the prefix $\},$ n $^{2}$. It is used not only with the imperfect, but also with the perfect and the participle. It is even found in the form it and as a separate particle. $C f$. for the latter § 763. לִים (MM., Sabb. 140b) may be perfect or passive participle; $\pi$, $V L .$, Sabb. $66 \bar{b} ;$;
 116a. In Hebrew the perfect with $\zeta$ is found in TG., ed. Harkavy, §314: • note) we have $\zeta$ with the first person imperfect; in the other examples given there and in the footnote we have $\}$ with the per-
 vocalized

## page

im Semitischen," ZDMG., LI., 330 sq., and Littmann, ZA., XII., 207, note, and ibid., XIV., 6 sq.


66. § 223. Add to Pa"ē : אֲקָּ ;


67. § 230. 3. A similar transposition of the vowel is found in Tigrê; cf. ZA., XII., 209.
68. Note 1. Cf. סָדֶ SM. No. xxv (voc.) and quoted by Dalman, Aram. Dialektproben, p. 30, n. 8.
69. § 233. Add: : $I$ I shall prove, Yalqûṭ Sam. $148=$ Sanh. $107 a$;



 בת Ber. $20 a$.
 p. 28.
 , whithout in the first stem-consonant.
83. § 278. Notice: : Vant
 Zeb. $94 a$; $c f$. Add. and Corr. to $\S 223$.
92-8. § 321. Notice: $\mathfrak{N}$
 p. 23.-For the forms sub $h$ cf. Add. and Corr. to § 223.

99. § $8 \mathbf{0 4 5 g}$. For
花
103. § 375. Cf.
page
103．§ 378．Cf．Pワọn VL．，Ber． $24 b$.
103．§ 379．Cf．＂pont Hag．7 $\alpha$ ．
105．§ 394．Cf．ต่ที่p゙？Yalqût Lev． $529=$ Zeb． $18 \alpha$ ．


108．\＆412．Notice：－${ }^{2}$ ？TIN VL．，B．M． $84 b$ ．


115．§434．Notice：5TN VL，B．M． 576.


120．§ 452．Cf．NTTㄹ․

122．$\oint 459 b$ ．For qittâle read qittâlê．

125．§ 470．Cf．VITA．，B．B． $6 \alpha$ ．

 ašattätä to glide out，slip，or Eth．šoṭatta．

 bauer，p． 8.

132．§ 501．Cf．ワ⿹勹巳 vi VL．，Sabb． $66 b$ ．
 VL．，B．B． $29 a$.
 VL．，B．Q． $84 a$ ．




## PAGE

 Zeb． $62 \alpha$ ．

136．§522．For Soncisso read Soncino．



137．§527．Add：＂ Raši，ibid．

139．Note 2．On the infinitive ending $\mathbf{N}_{\top}$ in verbs＂＂$c f$ ．Wellhausen， Skizzen u．Vorarbeiten，VI．， 258.

141．$\S 535$ ．N2N is more probably a contracted form of the participle for $1 \times 2{ }_{T}$

141．Note 2．Cf．Nすだ：（voc．）Igg．Šerи̂ra，ed．Neubauer，p． 44.
142．§538．Notice： 7 ITI I rejoiced，Succā $25 b$ ．
142．§542；Notice：${ }^{7}$ ． here are more probably participles．
 －ำำ ？？
 Neubauer，p． 26.
146．§567．Cf．ロong（for passing into＂y．



152．§585．Notice：N⿹ㅡ뤙 they prophesied，VL．，Meg． 14 ．
 Men． 62 a．
154．§595．Cf．१n！In Igg．Šerira，ed．Neubauer，p． 7.
155．§601．Notice：MTn thou didst come，VL．，Ber． 286.

page


158. § 615. Notice: (p. 225, n. 4).


 No. xcr.
169. Note 1. From the periphrasis found in Yalqût Is. 416 it is evident that Rašl’s explanation of ${ }^{\text {תancris is correct. We have here a }}$ secondary stem of the biblical Hebr. בתהם, Arab. and

170. Note 3. Notice: :
171. Note 2. Notice:

177. Note 4. For שׁקילֶה read שֶּה.
188. §§ 776-9. Notice:
192. Note 1. For قشر it is better to compare (Dozy), Eth. quasla be wounded, Amh. quisil scar, wound.
196. Note 2. To
 read $\rho_{A}^{\circ} \rho^{\circ} 2$; cf. Hausa taiki large bag made of skin.
203. $\S 842 d$. $C f$. also Hebr, כֹּמֹר = Assyr. kâmiru; evidently a shortening of an original 7 ².
204. § 846. On the form N sche Nominalform Fa' ${ }^{\dagger}$ '̂l, München, 1899.
220. Note 7. It is more likely that the stem of עֲ is in be big, stout, and the $y$ a prefix. The same prefix is found in skorpion, Galla karcabbò, Hausa kunama, from a stem *רב
 = * , כבשׁ, פגשׂ , to twist,

PAGE
curl, crumple, press, fade, in the various Semitic languages. On the interchange of 7 and sibilant $c f$. p. 193, n. 9, and Hebr.
 like German "Spinne," goes back to a verb to spin; cf. Hoffmann, ZA., IX., 331, n. 1.
217. § 956. To בורזילא cf. Nuba koros shepherd.
226. § 983. אממרכלא is more probably Twârig amenokal prince.

I gladly take opportunity here to express my sincere thanks to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the kind offices he rendered me in connection with the printing and proof-reading of this work.

## LIST OF VERB-STEMS. ${ }^{1}$

A. TRIOONSONANTAL.

287 (occur only in) Qal.
116 Pa "ēl.
56 Aph 'ël.
31 Itppeèl.
31 Itpa'al.
2 Šaph'ēl.
1 Itpố'ēl.
72 Qal, Pa"èl.
62 Qal, Aph'ël.
57 Pa "èl, Itpa"al.
67 Qal, Itpe'èl.
8 Aph'ēl, Itpa'èl.
9 Pa' 'el, Aph'ēl.
7 Aph'ēl, Itpa" 'al.
11 Qal, Itpa" al.
1 Haph'ēl, Ithaph'al.
2 Qal, Pai' ${ }^{\text {è }}$.
1 Qal, Pô'èl.
$2 \mathrm{~Pa}^{\prime \prime}{ }^{\text {ell, Itpe'èl. }}$
2 Aph'ēl, Ittaph'al.
57 Qal, Aph'èl, Itpa'ēl.
21 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpa' al .
25 Qal, Pa'ē̈l, Aph'ël.
19 Qal, Pa" ${ }^{\text {ell, Itpe'el. }}$
2 Qal, Aph'èl, Itpa"al.
1 Pa"eèl, Itpa" al, Istaph'al.

1 Qal, Pa" ${ }^{\text {ell, Pô' }}$ "è.
2 Qal, Aph'ël, Ittaph'al.
1 Qal, Šaph'ël, Ištaph'al.
1 Pa"èl, Aph'èl, Ittaph'al.
1 Pa"'el, Pó'èl, Itpe'è.
$1 \mathrm{~Pa}^{\prime \prime}$ èl, Šaph'ēl, Itpa"al.

7 Pa'"è, Aph'èl, Itpa" al.
2 Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itpo'ēl.
8 Qal, Pa"eel, Itpo'ēl, Itpa" $a l$.
14 Qal, Pa' ${ }^{\text {ēl, }} \mathrm{Aph} '$ èl, Itpe'ēl.
1 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itp ${ }^{\text {e }}$ 'el, Itpa'al.
10 Qal, Pa"èl, Aph'èl, Itpa"'al.
1 Qal, Pa' $\overline{\text { el }}$, Itpe'èl, Ittaph'al.
2 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpe'èl, Ittaph'al.
1 Qal, Šaph'el, Itpe' èl, Ištaph'al.
1 Qal, Pô'èl, Aph'ēl, Itpe'èl.
1 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpa' 'al, Ittaph'al.
2 Qal, Aph'ël, Haph'èl, Ithaph'al.
2 Qal, Pa' ${ }^{\text {èl }}, \mathrm{Aph}$ 'ēl, Itpp'ēl, Itpa"al.
1 Qal, Pa''èl, Aph'èl, Itpa'al, Ittaph'al.
1 Qal, Pô'èl, Pai'èl, Aph'ēl, Itpa"al.
b. plobiconsonantals.

1 Saph'ēl.
4 Taph'ēl.
1 Naph'el.
3 Par'èl.
1 Paš'è.
1 Pa'pēl.

19 Palpēl.
3 Itpalpal.
2 Parpēl.
5 (denom. and foreign) active.
1 (denom. and foreign) passive.

3 Par'ēl, Itpar'al.
1 Pan'èl, Itpan'al.
1 Pa'tēl, Itpa'tal.

2 Pa'lēl, Itpa'lal.
5 Palpēl, Itpalpal. [passive.
4 (denom. and foreign) active and

Stmmary.-Of 1013 triconsonantal verbs, 524 occur only in one form; 301, in two ; 143 , in three; 41 , in four; 4 , in five. -675 stems occur in Qal; 352, in $\mathrm{Pa}^{\prime \prime}$ èl.; 296, in $\mathrm{Aph}^{\prime}$ èl ; 268, in Itpe'èl; 164, in Itpa' al ; 5, in Pô'èl ; 3, in Pai'èl ; 3, in Haph'èl ; 5, in Šaph'ēl ; 1, in Itpô'al; 10, in Ittaph'al; 3, in Ithaph'al ; 2, in Ištaph'al ; 1, in Istaph'al.

Of 58 pluriconsonantal verbs, 38 occur only in the active; 4 , only in the passive ; 16, in both.

## INDEX COMPENDIORUM.

AEV. The Assyrian E-Vowel.
AJP. American Journal of Philology.
AJSL. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
'Ar. 'Arākhin.
A. Z. 'Abodā Zarã.

BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
B. B. Baba Batrá.

Bekh. Bekhorot.
Ber. Berākhôt.
B. M. Baba Megía.
B. Q. Baba Qamma.

DLZ. Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
'Er. 'Erabin.
ES. Etymologische Studien.
E. Y. 'En Ya'aqōb.

Gitt. Gittin.
GJPA. Grammatik des jüdisch-paliistinischen Aramaiisch.
HG. Halākhot Gedolot ; Hebräische Grammatic.
Hal. Pes. Halākhôt Pesaqôt.
Hag. Hagígā.
Hull. Hullin.
JQR. Jewish Quarterly Review.
Ker. Keritôt.
Keth, Ketabot.
Mak. Makkot.
Meg. Megillā.
Men. Menāhôt.
MG. Mandäische Grammatik.
MM. Menôratha-mã'or
M. Q. Môēd Qāṭān.
MV. Mahzor Vitry,

MWGJ. Monatsschrift filr die Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Judenthums.

MWJ. Magazin fur die Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
Nāz. Nāzír.
NB. Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen.
Ned. Nedārím.
NSG. Neu-syrische Grammatile.
PEF. Palestine Exploration Fund.
Pes. Pesāhim,
PSBA. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archceology.
Qidd. Qiddusin,
REJ. Revue des Études juives.
R. H. Roš ha-sānā.

Sabb. Sabbāt.
Sanh. Sanhedrin.
SFG. Sumerische Familiengesetze.
SG. Syrische Grammatik.
SM. Suppare Ma'asiyyot, ed. Gaster.
Taan, Ta'anit.
Tām. Tāmíd.
TB. Talmad Bablı.
Tem. Temara.
TG. Tesubot ha-ge'ônim.
TM. Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzahlung uber den Tod Moses'.
$T R$, Tor $\bar{t} t a ̄ n$ šel Rīŝônim.
TWb. Targumisches Wörterbuch.
VL. Variae lectiones.
Wb. Wörterbuch.
WBH. Wateh ben Hazael.
WZKM. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Yeb. Yebāmost.
ZA. Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie.
ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZATW. Zeitschrift fur die alttestament. liche Wissenschaft.
Zeb. Zebāhim,

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$)^{3}$ a4．184．

$\square$


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," RÉJ., I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, Aramdische Sprilchwörter und Volkssprilche, pp. 24-28.
    ${ }^{2}$ Elementi grammat. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

[^1]:    1 Cf. C. Levias, $A J P$., XVL., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.
    ${ }^{2}$ Noeldeke, MG., xxvi, $8 q$.
    ${ }^{3}$ For other names of Judaeo-Aramaic, cf. Dalman, GJPA., 1 sq , and p. 340. Jepheth

[^2]:     VIII. of his Variae Lectiones. Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, Einleitung in den Talmud, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispeasable to a proper under. standing of Talmudical discussions.

[^3]:    1 "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).
    ${ }^{2}$ The treatises of the Mišnā: Yomâ, 'Abodā, Zarā, 'Abot Inst. Jud. in Berlin).

    3 Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (cf. Proc. of PEF., 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

[^4]:    1 Cf. Dalman, op. cit., p. 20.
    2 This work contains older elements.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the etymology of the term $c f$. C. Levias, $A J P$., xvi, 28-37, and Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit., XIII., pp. 79-80.
    ${ }^{2}$ In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.
    ${ }^{3}$ In MSS. we find frequently instead of the stroke a dot on the last letter.
     Misnnic Hebrew.
    ${ }^{5}$ Cf. also Levy, Neuh. Wb., s. v. 5T.

[^6]:    

[^7]:    

[^8]:    5 Barth, ES., 1, 5.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Fleischer in Levy's Dict., IV., 484 b.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Sachau, Skizze des Felltchi-Dialekts von Mosul, p. 15.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Haupt, SFG., 10, 1; AEV., 10.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Haupt, $S F G$., 101.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Haupt, BA., I., 3; W. B. H. (Hebraica, I., 231).
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Haupt, AEV., XII., 17-20; W. B. F. (Hebraica, I., 224 sq.).
    8 Cf. Hebr. 끈,

[^12]:    1 Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.
    ${ }^{2}$ Barth takes the ending to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun ie ${ }^{\prime}$ etí ( $Z D M G .46,688$, ,, 1 ). In Mandaic this appears as to (Noeldeke, MG. 154) ; in Palmyrean it has the form הn (Halevy, Mahbereth, p. H"D) ; in Arabis范, 華, But how would this theory explain the masculine form is noteworthy that this onding appears only in adjoctives.
    ${ }^{3}$ So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending $\ddot{8}$ - is prononnced $e$, such forms as are pronounced rame, cf. also the transcription of Aramaic e, i, by Arabic a (Fraenkel, op. cit, XVIJ.). For a similar change in Ambaric, cf. Praetorius, Amhar. Sprache, p. 23.

[^13]:    
    
    
     person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ It must be remembered that some of the forms with $u$ may be by-forms.
    2 Cf. Noeldeke, MG., 17 sq., ZDMG., XXII., 455 ; Dalman, op. cit., 65.
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. Fraenkel, Fremdw., XVII.; G. Hoffmann, LCB., 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.
    4 Cf. Noeldeke, MG., §15.
    ${ }^{〔}$ G. Hoffmann, $Z D M G .32,754$, cites Bar Hebraeus to Ezr. 16:24, gaible for gabbe

[^15]:    

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Mišnic (NOTM), 'aranu, hi'alanu, for zfránu, ḩilanu.

    2 With the two last words, some such word as $\mathbf{N}$.
    3 ( m . cit., $\$ 64 c$.

[^17]:     evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original a sound. Cf. also Syriac ${ }^{0}{ }^{0}$ Hebrew הפח to encamp does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. Cf. also $\$ 230$, note.
     The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect 9 and only differentiated orthographically. Cf, also Hommel, BA., II., 357.

[^19]:    1 Whether the $\hat{i}$ of the 1 st sing. of the possessive suffizes and the $\{$ in the plur. of verbs were pronounced or merely retained orthographically in Talmudic times we are unable to decide.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Tunisian Arab. mnía.
    
    
    

[^20]:    1 Col. MS., Mcg. $16 a$, vocalizes ที่ธู่.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, cf. Fuerst, Lehrg. d. aram. Id., p. 231 sq.; Hupfeld, ZKM., II., 124 sq.; Boettcher, Hebr. Gram., §869, 2; Noeldeke, Mand. Gram., pp. 68, n. 3, 92, д. 1; Duval, Gram. Syriaque, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, Comp. Gram., pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, Gram. d. aethiop. Sprache, p. 267; Merx, Gram. Syr., p. 167; Levy, Neuh. Wb., s. v. $\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{H}}$; Jastrow, Diction., s. v. st. For the Neo-Syriac forms ahu, ahi, anhi, cf. Guidi, ZDMG., Xxxvii, 293 sq. Cf. also Maclean, Gram. of Vernacular Syriac, p. 17.
     404 ;

[^22]:    1 Das aramäische $\mathrm{I}^{7}$ rbum im balylonischen Talnud, p. 15.
    2 For a similar promiscuous use of the prououns in other languages of. Bottcher, op. cit. S 878.

[^23]:    2 . he is absent, Keth. $22 a$, a. u., belongs to logal style. In Pes. $50 a, \boldsymbol{a}$ has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ The 7 final in demonstrative pronouns is taken by M．Schultze（Zur Formenlehre des Semit．Verbs，p．19，note 1）to be identical with the pronominal suffix of the 2 d person； $\mathrm{F}^{7}$ ， $7_{7}^{T}$ he translates hic tibi，haec tibi，耳甾 would be hae，hi，tibi．In the latter form he sees the construct state of the absolute 7 ．That 7 represents here the $2 d$ person is， however，not necessarily the case，since one and the same pronominal element may represent different persons．Cf．ZDMG．，1875， 172.
    
    
    
     MV．25．誛 this（legal style），TG．ed．Harkavy，§5N．

[^25]:    
    

    2 Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon., §52.
    ${ }^{3}$ Mand Gramm., p. 92, n. 1.

[^26]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ The Fragm. of T. B. Pesabim, p. 38, note 1.
    
    4 According to Halevy, ZA. IV., 59, 7 気

[^27]:    1 Later forms are: N 119; 70ำ רפַּ ibid. 146 (bis) ; ©

[^28]:    
    
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Barth, Nominalbildung, p. 4,
    3 In later literature: ${ }^{4}$ דּ \% and Kautzsch, Gram, d. Bibl.-Aram., §65, 1, u. 1.

[^29]:    1 In later literature：Sing．fem．Nคำ
     －TN以
    
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf．Luzzatto，op．cit．，§64，and Dalman，op．cit．，p． 169.
    

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Noeldeke, SG., p. 89.
    $277{ }_{7}$ one another (fem.), HG., өd. princ. $82 b$.
    ${ }^{8}$ Cf. Maclean, op. cit., p. 67.
    4 On the various constructions of $\mathbb{N}$ pp. 591-598, reprinted in Vol. III. of his Ges. Schriften.

[^31]:    
    2 The statement of the dictionaries that ${ }^{2}$ occurs only with 3 is to be corrected accordingly.

[^32]:    1 N゙づが，HG．63， 69.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf．Stäbe，Jüd．babyl．Zauberterle，p．ss．

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The verb in this case includes the participle, but not the infinitive.
    

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Yôma 84 a，A．Z． 28 ，we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R．Johānān the formula of a medicine，unless he swore not to disclose it to others．He agreed to it and
     then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college．When asked how he could break his oath，he answered：＂I said＇To the God of Israel I shall bot disclose it；＂but not to the people of Israel．＂He thus explained the $\zeta$ casuistically is a mere nota dativi．
    
     house）Še＇él． 77.
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf．Sachau，Skizze des Fellichi－Dialelts von Mosul，p．32，37，39．Maclean，op．cit．147．
    4Cf．ジ〒出 Ost．u．Westerns，ed．Müller，§ 122.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ M. Lambert, $R E J$. XXII., 129-131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

    2 In later literature the older form has been preserved: 9 h thee (f.) TG. ed. Harkavy, § 15. Cf. also Noeldeke, SG., 199, note 1, and Lagarde, Mittheil, I., 으․ I. H. Weiss (Our Gesch. d. jud. Trad., II., 138, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses $\boldsymbol{\Omega}_{\boldsymbol{T}}$ as not accusative except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the uss of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos-and, wo may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found - who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the 'xureiso of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every note accusative implies an inclusion of some additional casa, identifying, of course, $\boldsymbol{\Omega}_{\mathrm{T}}$ with 5\%. The entire want of this particle in tho Mandaic - an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influ-ences-is the best proof of Mr. Weiss' supposition.
    ${ }^{3}$ Some scholars see the same uso of 9 :alk in Biblical Hebrew. (y. Dubsowitz,
    

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ On the plural form of some prepositions of. Lagarde, Mittheil., I., $231 s q$.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the explanation of this particle I am indebted to Professor Haunt, who remarks : "The 7N in 7 " come out, i rid 7 ำ $\mathfrak{7 k}$ go down, etc. Cf. Delitzsch, Assyr. Wb., p. 333, No. 160; Proc., 135 ; ZK., II., 389; ZA., I., Fl; Assyr. Gramme., §145. It is possible that the ${ }^{4} \mathbf{N}$ in expressions
     It may be connected with the Arabic vocative particle ${\underset{L}{L}}^{L}$. Also in Assyrian $I$ is used as a vocative particle like "ユา
     Arabic form N' was in use, just as in modern Syriac. For its use in later Hebrew, cf. Derenbourg, Manuel du Lecteur, p. 189 (497) and Epstein, 'Eldd̄d ha-Danî, p. 58, cf. also Mn $\boldsymbol{N}$ on a Babylonian magic bowl, PSBA. XII., 311.
     583) and has nothing to do with $x$ to live.
    ${ }^{3}$ Perles, MWGJ. XXXVII., 10, finds in some of these words the names of ships.
    4 TM NT, M. V., 328.

[^38]:     I have reconsidered (Ber. $42 b$, Pes. 103b), though in Aramaic contoxt, is Hebrew.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is the current opinion. But the $i$-vowel may also be original; $c f$. Zimmern ZA., V., 1-22.

[^40]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. $8306 \beta$.
    ${ }^{3}$ Das Aranı. Verbum, p. 10.
    4 On the whole it may be said that the fuller endings of the 1 st sing, com. and the 3 d sing. fom. are found $a$ ) with strong vorbs in passages of an oarly date, $b$ ) with woak verbs also in later times, to give more substance to the word.

[^41]:    1 That this form was so pronounced is evident from a form like 7 PR
    2 Cf . also 75 h we were, MV. 86, and $\S 271$, note.
    3 For the various opinions entertained about the nature of this 3 see the references in Driver's Hebrew Tenses", pp. 276-7 ; Haupt, BA., I., p. 17, note 20; Barth, "Das Syr. Imper-foct-Prafix $n$," $A J J L$., XIII., 1-6.

[^42]:    1 MG., § 122.
    Nominalbildung, $\$ 101$.

[^43]:    1 In " 9 verbs by analogy with the strong verb.
    2 This form is doubtful.
    
    4 Cf. Dalman, op. cit., p. wis.
    ©C. MS., Zed. 14b, has vocalized matin

[^44]:    
    

    2 These $u$-forms seem to represent a much earlier phase of verb-formation than is found in the cognate languages. The view that qatul(a), qatil(a) forms had originally corresponding derived forms just as qatala forms have, seems to be borne out by our idiom. Cf. on this question Zimmern, "Das Verhaltnis des assyr. Permansivs zum semit. Perfect und zum agypt. 'Pseudoparticip,'" ZA., V., 1-22, and Lindl, Die bab.-assyr. Präsens-u. Präteritalformen. The theory that the $u$-vowel in such cases represents $u$, which stands for $i$ (cf. Barnstein, The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis, p. 21 and references), does not explain the presence of this vowel in the Ithpa"al.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ The accent being on the penult，the last vowel is indistinctly pronounced．But，I think，it sounds more like athan $\bar{o}$ ．This is supported by two vocalized examples：
     ance with his theory，vocalizes bทư．The $\mathcal{F}_{\mathrm{T}}$ ．$p_{\mathrm{T}}$ in the traditional pronunciation is
     taking a full vowel instead of sova，or is a Hebraism．Cf．

    2 In later literature：N⿹\zh26灬（bis）we learned，Resp．d．Lehrer d．Ost．u．Westens，ed．
    
    

[^46]:    1 The section quoted is to be corrected by this.
    2 Cf. Lotz, Tigl. Pileser, p. 96 below; Noldeke, MG., § 162 ; Barnstein, pp. 30-33.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{~B}=$ Bibl. Aramaic, $\mathrm{T}=$ Targumic Aramaic, $\mathrm{M}=$ Mandaic, $\mathrm{S}=$ Syriac.
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. $\$ 200$.
    *The spelling whup, nive (never "p) slows that this form is like that of T.
    ${ }^{5}$ This last verb is not $\mathrm{Pa}^{\prime \prime}$ eel as Jastrow thinks.
    ${ }^{6}$ Cf. S201.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. $\$ 202$.
    2 Cf. §203.
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. 7 ²x ${ }^{-1}$ I swallowed, $H G$. ed. pr. 105 b.
     ibid. 47 c .
    

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. $8871,78,232$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. 5232 ; ㄲำำำํํ , $H G$. ed. pr. 143 a.
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. $\$ 232, a$.
    4 This seems to be a kind of precative perfect.
    
    

[^50]:    1 Cf. Jastrow, s. v. ר.
    
    
    

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Noldeke, $S G .$, g 84 B.
    ${ }^{2}$ In later literature:
    

[^52]:    

[^53]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ This word is usually takon to be a noun.- 9 Ppuithe hed, SM., No. Lim.
    

[^54]:    
    2 \%
    

[^55]:    1 Whether Mo is originally Qal, as Kautrsch holds (Gramm. des bibl. Aram., p. 174), or Aph ${ }^{\text {tel }}$ l, as Noldeke (GGA. 1884, p. 1019) asserts, is immaterial as regards the form.

    2 תncient TG., od. Harkavy, §388.
    
     (voc.).

[^56]:    1 , became worm-eaten, Hal. Pes., §61.
    
    
    ${ }^{4}$ \%
    
    

[^57]:    1 1 1 凡
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. for the development of meaning Arabic and

[^58]:    
    
    ${ }_{3}$ The regular form is very rare, having been superseded by the one with transposed final vowel.
    
    
    

[^59]:    
    2 , 2 , $H G$. ed. pr. $104 d$.
    
    

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ סַקִי SM. No. oxv.

[^61]:    
    
    3 7 3 7
    

[^62]:    
    
    

[^63]:    
    

[^64]:    
    
    
    

[^65]:    1 According to Praetorius in Nestle＇s Syriac Grammar，remark $a d \S 40 a$（p．xi），the verbs are the older and the ${ }^{\boldsymbol{T}} \boldsymbol{\eta}$ in Syriac and in Arabic a later production．
     fect，the two last never in the perfect，or in the participle．
    ${ }^{3}$ 亿，
    4 4ney gave，SM．Nos．xciv．，oxvi．

[^66]:    
    
    
    4 (1)
    

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ But $c f . \$ 716$.

[^68]:    
    
    3 For the origin of such forms cf．H．Grimme，Grundzüge der hebräischen Accent－$u$ Vocallehre，p． 83.

[^69]:    14 SM. No. xxvi. (voc.).
    

[^70]:     Pes．，§84．

    2 Passing into ${ }^{7}$＂ 2 verbs．
    3 ๓าำา号 freedmen， $\mathbf{H G}$ ，ed．pr． 24 d．
    4 Passing into $7^{\prime \prime \prime}$ verbs．

[^71]:    
    

[^72]:    1 ¢ 1 =Assyr. dalu.
    2 MM. Gitt. $38 b$ has שירירי for סירףי.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ According to Professor Haupt ("Der Halbvocal un im Assyrischen," ZA., II., 259 sq.) a
    
    ${ }^{2}$ Kurzg. Gramm. d. bibl. aram. Sprache, §63, i, Anm.
    ${ }^{3}$ Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache, II. 1, p. 471, n. 1.
     ,

[^74]:    
    ${ }^{6}$ NכTPP TG．ed．Harkavy，§555．
    ${ }^{7}$ กท่าด Sabb． 75 a．
    

[^75]:    
    
    
    

[^76]:    1 -
    
    3 3 HG, ed. pr. $110 c$; ;

[^77]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ NTM The ed. Harkavy, $\$ 555$ (legal style).
    ${ }^{3}$ ™ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 1 .
    ${ }^{4}$ P

[^78]:    
    2 2
    

[^79]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ ² Alfasi M. Q. $17 a$.
    
    

[^80]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. also $\$ 449$, n. 1, and $\$ 583$, ц. 1. These forms may, however, be explained by analogy of strong verbs ( $\$ 231$ ).
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Barth, $N B$., $\S 162 d$. In the discussion of the infinitive ending ${ }^{n}$.. ( (§222) I have overlooked Barth's correct explanation of this ending by analogy of verbs $7^{\prime \prime}$ ). I am inclined to think that the infinitive ending $\mathbf{x}_{\mathbf{z}}^{-}$is by analogy of verbs $\boldsymbol{q}^{\prime \prime} \boldsymbol{\eta}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The vocalization N-, as in Palest. Aramaic, is unknown to tradition.

[^81]:    
    
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Tis she committed adultery, seems to be shortened rather from an original masculine form than from a feminine form.

    4 Cf. תnta Kethib in Dan. 4:21.
    ${ }^{5}$ This form might be masculine for feminine; but cf. similar Mandaic forms before enclitica, Noldeke's MG.§191. The apocope of $\boldsymbol{\hbar}$ presupposes a shortened form
    ${ }^{6}$ MフָTT she wept, SM. No. cliv. (voc.).
    7 Cf. Noldeke, MG. §191.
    
    9 Cf. the qere to Dan, 4:19.

[^82]:    1 ตร.
    2 23x
    3 רxif they savo fit, TG. ed. Harkavy, g182.

    +     - ר Ber. 5:sb.
    ${ }^{5}$ The three yodus are to prewnt the reading gnay

[^83]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ This is usually taken to be a nominal form
    ${ }^{3}$ Pronounce 7 ne with diphthongization ( $\$ 80$ ). For vocalization compare ( $5432, \mathrm{n} .3$ ) =iaitēb. These and other examples go to show that our traditional vocalization is younger than the fired orthography of the text, a phenomenon not to be wondered at, since such pronunciation may be at least six hundred years later than the fixing of the text. In the light of this, the statement in $\S 17$ should be modified.

    4 For the imperative use of the participle cf. Noldeke, MG.. p. 378; and Maclean,.op. cit., p. 142. Cf. also the frequent
    ${ }^{5}$ This may also be the fem.
    
    

[^84]:    
    2 There are a number of examples of Qal and $\mathrm{Pa}^{\prime \prime} \mathrm{el}$ used where we should expect a reflexive form. Of. tho sume phonomenon in Biblical Aramaic (Baer's Daniel, p. lix). The explanation given there is too mechanical. The solution is rather to be found in semasio-
     bus agitatus est.

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ The two last examples passing into $y^{y \prime y}$ forms. The last example with resolution of doubling.
    
    
     a contraction of $777 T_{1}$ (Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Englisch-theol. Forsch. u.
    

    4 The uniform orthography 7 y speaks for the form
    

[^86]:     cles 7 ,
    
    

[^87]:    
    

[^88]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ 2
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. .
    
    5\%

[^89]:    ${ }^{1}$ For participles of passive stems cf. $8189 .-$ -
    ${ }^{2}$ On the formation of the form of. Barth in Semitic Studies in honor of Dr. Kohut, p; 8 . 83-93.
    ${ }^{3}$ The $a$ is due to the influence of the following nasal.
    4 Tan is an old loan-word found also in Arabic and in the other Aramaic dialects. Cf. Lagarde, Uebersicht, p. 121, note.
    
    
     TG. ed. Cassel, §91.

[^90]:    1 Here belonged originally also 7 ñ

[^91]:    ${ }^{1} 1$ hen
    ${ }^{2}$ ™

[^92]:    1 The enclitic personal pronoun with a verb is probably found in 75 ñ 1 In 1 am astonished at you, Sanh. 95 a. For other explanations of this word see the dictionaries.

[^93]:    1 19
    
    a

[^94]:     RLOW. §101.

[^95]:    1 Igg. Šerîra, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.
    ${ }^{2}$ 2
    
    
    ${ }^{5}$ n wou heard them, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 217.
    

[^96]:     shows that this is Aph'ēl.

[^97]:     1885, \& 214 .
     xxviII, (voc.).
    
    4 药

[^98]:     ibid．xxiv．（misprinted xxvr．）（voc．）；内解 to rate it，$H G$ ．ed．pr． 91 a．
    
    
    
    
    
    
     RLOW．§42；；ibid．§ 210.

[^99]:    
    
    
    
     TG. өd. Harkavy, 81,-Saph.

[^100]:    
    2 24

    8 7.7.
    ${ }^{4}$ Passing into $\boldsymbol{\eta}^{7}$, ${ }^{\text {, or obscuring the vowel. }}$

[^101]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Brockelmann, ZDMG., LI., p. 659.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. also König, Hebr. Gramm., II., 1, pp. 470 sqq., for additional explanations.

[^102]:    
    
    

[^103]:     being mistaken for the feminine ending.
    
    
    4 Some of these forms may be originally qattalat.
    
    ${ }^{6}$ Cf. Barth, NB., pp. Xxix, xxx, 24.

[^104]:    1 Hence denominated
    
    
    3 All these forms are Hebrew loan-words.
    
    
    ${ }^{6}$ Hence Greek $\mu a \sigma \chi$ á $\lambda$; cf. Lewy, Semit. Frendwört. im Griech., p. 21.
    ${ }^{7}$ Tigre mōqar quartz, ${ }^{\circ}$
     mined glass, in apposition to manufactured glass. Roinisch, Bilin Wb., s. v. kagana,
    

[^105]:     bad omen.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Hebrew dictionaries. Bilin kiršim, Tigre qilgem, Th̃a. kilcim, Amh. qiltim.

[^106]:    143 2 4 is not a plural, as given by the dictionaries. A plural of all, totality, is hardly conceivable. For the use of the word before plural nouns $c f$. Hebr. 규.
    
    3 With helping vowel. The expression $\mathbb{N}$ as a euphemism, This is probably correct as far as Jewish usage is concerned. But if the
    

[^107]:    
    

    5 Igg. Šerirā, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.
    
    

[^108]:    
    
    ${ }^{2}$ 2
    
    
    ${ }^{5}$ ™

[^109]:     ed．pr．， $97 c$ ．
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf．§ 105.
    
    
    
    
     is probably

[^110]:    

