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A Grammar of the Dialects of the Aramaic Incantation Texts

William H. Rossell

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A Grammar of the Dialects of the Aramaic Incantation Texts

Abstract
It is the purpose of this thesis to fill a long felt need for a grammatical study of the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic texts. A sufficient number of the texts have now been published to provide a corpus for this undertaking. In making available the essential data on this dialect to the scholars who will some day write a comparative grammar of the Aramaic dialects, it is hoped that Semitic Studies in general and Talmudic Studies in particular may be served.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
William Harvey Rossell
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A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS

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APPROVED BY:

Major Professor

Solomon L. Ross

Date May 11, 1949
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PREFACE

Some thirty-six years have passed since Professor James A. Montgomery published his "Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur" (Philadelphia, 1913). The material of this book, which collated and improved upon much of the work of its predecessors, has been supplemented in the interval by the work of Cyrus H. Gordon, Professor Montgomery's student, and others.

To date over one hundred complete texts plus numerous partial fragments have been published. These texts in Mandäic, Syriac, and what Montgomery has called the "Rabbinic" dialect, (and which we shall call Jewish Babylonian Aramaic -- JBA), shed light, both culturally and linguistically, on the Babylonian Talmud. By far the greater portion of the published texts is in the "Rabbinic" dialect, and it is with these that we are primarily concerned in this work.

It is the purpose of this thesis to fill a long felt need for a grammatical study of the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic texts. A sufficient number of the texts have now been published to provide a corpus for this undertaking. In making available the essential data on this dialect to the scholars who will some day write a comparative grammar of the Aramaic dialects, it is hoped that Semitic Studies in general and Talmudic Studies in particular may be served.
In the formulation of the grammar an attempt has been made to include in the discussion only such forms as could be attested with accuracy from the original texts themselves, photographic facsimiles, or carefully written hand-copies. Much of the editing of texts prior to the work of Montgomery is valueless because of the lack of photographic facsimiles or accurate hand-copies. Fortunately, several of the texts have been found to have duplicates, and by means of careful comparison, much of what was once conjectural is now certain.

The following method of critical editing is used in the citations from the texts. An inferior point indicates an uncertain letter. Restorations are in square brackets; scribal omissions in < >; scribal plusses in { }. Doubtful translations are so indicated by a following question mark in parentheses.
THE SOURCES FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The Aramaic Incantation texts are found most often written spirally on the inner surface of small, earthenware bowls (some large bowls are found) usually approximating the size and shape of modern porridge-bowls.

Besides the bowls, human skulls were sometimes used as media for the texts. These, however, have not proved a satisfactory medium, so that there are today only a few fragments of inscribed skulls that have withstood the ravages of time.

One interesting text has been found at Erech, written on a clay tablet and dating from the Seleucid period. Written in cuneiform, it is the oldest extant Aramaic incantation. The distinguished French savant Fr. Thureau-Dangin was the first to copy this singular text and to recognize that it was Aramaic. It has gained the attention of several scholars since it first appeared.

A complete survey of the literature is not contemplated here. Franz Rosenthal has given us an admirable

1 Thureau-Dangin, Francois, Tabletes d'Uruk, Textes cunéiformes (Louvre) VI, 1922, text 58.


bibliography to the year 1939. However, he has omitted P. Lacau, "Une coupe d'incantation", Revue d'Assyriologie III, 1894, pp. 49-51. The latest contributions to the growing list of published texts are Professor Julian Obermann's, "Two Magic Bowls" in the American Journal of Semitic Languages, LVII, 1940, pp. 1-29, and those of Professor Cyrus H. Gordon which have appeared in Orientalia (Nova Series). For a listing of these latter contributions one is referred to the Bibliography.

The majority of the bowl texts have been discovered at various sites in Mesopotamia. Iran has yielded still others. Since Layard first discovered bowl texts at Tell Amran, near Hillah, other sites, notably Nippur, have increased the numbers of texts at our disposal.

Many bowls are scattered throughout the museums of Europe, America, and the Near East. The provenance of many of these bowls is, however, uncertain due to their having been purchased through dealers in antiquities. Incantation bowls are constantly coming to light as the work of excavators, skilled and unskilled, continues.

---

THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

The language of our texts, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, belongs to the eastern branch of Aramaic and represents the language of the Jewish Colonies of Babylonia during the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., or the period immediately preceding and possibly after the Moslem Conquest of the Near East. An archaic form of grammatical expression is retained in these incantation texts as is the rule in stylized compositions. In this they differ radically from the grammatical structure of a contemporary opus, the Babylonian Talmud, which, through the introduction of colloquialisms, tends towards a breakdown in the structure of the old written language.

Montgomery has given a brief grammatical sketch of the dialect of JBA in the bowl texts and has pointed out its close resemblance to the language of the Babylonian Talmud. However, to equate the language of the bowl texts with that of the Babylonian Talmud is not to solve the linguistic problems. We know that the Babylonian Talmud itself is alive with dialectic varieties. Again, there is the problem of vocalization to be considered, for our texts are unvocalized. While the simpler course in the grammatical discussion would be to limit ourselves to the consonants actually written and avoid the question of vocalization, an attempt will be made

in this dissertation to arrive at a vocalization based on the matres lectionis, with the additional help of the Eastern Massora, as well as the evidence of the Mandaic and Syriac.

The proximity of the writers of our texts to other dialect groups is reflected in the many dialect borrowings found in the writing. Borrowings from Mandaic and Syriac are common. There is also some literary influence from Biblical Aramaic and from Targumim in other dialects; e.g., some scribes use מ' before accusatives.

Persian influence includes loanwords of a magical character: מַיִב "demon" (Go:AI:2), and מִקְטָב (Go:4:4) where the term is linked with Ishtars to suggest "(male) gods". In ordinary usage it means "idol". Persian influence consists mainly, however, of the numerous Iranian personal names. Direct influence of Persian on the phonetics or morphology is not in evidence.

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6 Vowel letters are commoner in the bowls than in Biblical Hebrew (cf. §IA below) but less extensive than in Mandaic.

7 See Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895.
I. PHONOLOGY

A. The Orthography

Our texts are written by many scribes in a script resembling the Hebrew square character. There is nothing rigid or unchanging in the rules of orthography. Each scribe has his individual, sometimes almost illegible, style of writing. The fact that these men were often ignorant does not lessen the worth of our texts. Rather, the unlearned style with its many variations of spelling frequently reflects actual speech, thus throwing new light on the phonetics and other linguistic features of JBA (=Jewish Babylonian Aramaic).

The ambiguous style of writing makes it difficult to distinguish between forms of some letters. Some scribes seem to make a conscientious effort at legibility. An attempt is made by these scribes to distinguish, for instance, between י and י, and between ל and ל. We may cite as examples of this attempt at legibility the writing of: Mo:1; 10; 13; 14; 15; Go:2; K; Go:5; 8. Though there are many examples of poorly written texts, particularly illegible are: Mo:19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 26; 30; Go:3. 8

One particular difficulty is the similarity of form

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8 Few of the clients for which the bowls were inscribed could read. The many "fakes" unearthed show that this fact was made use of by some unscrupulous "scribes".
between ́ and ̀. In a text such as Mo:25, there is further confusion with final nun, leading to the editor’s reading ́ן for מ "who" in line 1. In Mo:21; 22; 23 little distinction is made in form between ́, ̀, ́, and final nun. The confusion of ́ and ̀ in particular may throw doubt on certain vocalizations, cf., לָבֶּשׁ vs. לָבֶּשׁ "plagues" (Go:H:2).

No distinction is made between ̀ and ́ in our texts; both are written ̀. In this our scribes follow the Mand­-aic which does not distinguish between the two gutturals, except in distinguishing ̀ from ́ when ́ is a pronominal suffix.

The letters ́ and ̀ (less frequently ָ) are used as vowel letters. Yod often indicates vocal ָאָ: לָנָב "against them" (Go:1:3); לָנָל "for them (f)" (Go:2:1); לָנָמ "divorced" (Go:5:1). Waw may serve as the mater lectionis for qames: לָנָל "for thy name" (Go:2:1); לָנָנ "against her seed and against her house and her property" (Go:6:1); לָנָנ "in thy name" (Go:8:1; Mo:28:1). On the whole aleph is sparingly used as a vowel letter, preferably to indicate the feminine

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9 Nöldeke, Theodor, Mandäische Grammatik, Halle, 1875, § 57, 62.

10 As distinct from the Western Massorah, the Babylonian pronunciation has (instead of ́ל) for the 2nd. m. sg., pronominal suffix.
plural: נורו "girls" (Go:MTa:4); ינניא "creatures" (Go:11:11); note also מרג "before him" (Mo:3:7);
ഉം "his lance" (Go:A1:5).

Hebraic spelling, i. e., learned writing in imitation of Hebrew, is found in the texts. It consists of the
writing ש instead of normal Aramaic ב, as follows: אב for "flesh" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8; Ash:1931.177:10);
יע "eleven" (BM:19745:3); יוח "twelve" (Mo:4:4; Hilp:G:2); פל "left" (Go:H:4,9; Mo:6:10).

Vowel points are not found. In one bowl (Mo:13) a
word divider is used. Vertical lines are sometimes inserted
to separate phrases, particularly those of a magical character.

B. The Phonetics

1. The System of Consonants

There is a general breakdown or softening of the
emphatics. Among the palatals פ>$ as in רפיא "threshold" (Go:A1:4; Go:10:1; Mo:6:4). While this could
be a case of emphatic $ non-emphatic immediately after non-
emphatic ב, the orthographic confusion of emphatics and
non-emphatics in some texts supports the original premise.

That ו and פ were pronounced alike (cf. the modern
Bedouin and Iraqi pronunciation of $ as g) may be seen in
Go:H:2 where the scribe has written פ "roof demons"
(lit. "sons of roofs"). Another instance of this phenomenon is "bar (of iron)" (Go:11:2; Mo:2:1; 27:3).

Labial ב in "threshold" (Go:5:5; G:3; Mo:6:4); also for "also" (Go:G:10); and, conversely, ב for "again" (Go:11:8).

Of the sibilants מ in "I have taken" (Go:11:16) for the regular מ (Mo:4:6).

In Mo:12:7 we find מ for מ in "their feet" where מ מ. This form is attested also in Mandaic.

There is the reduction מ for מ "this G" (Iraq:9736:9). The plural proclitic demonstrative pronoun, "these", is מ (Mo:6:7; 10:3); but in the enclitic examples the מ is reduced to מ; note מ מ (BM:91745:3; BM:91751:9; Mo:25:2,5). Among verbs מ occurs in place of מ מ; as in מ מ "upset" (Go:1:1; Iraq:9726:1,3).

In some verbal forms מ > מ; e.g., מ מ (for מ מ) "bound" (Mo:1:12). Elision of מ occurs in מ מ (for מ מ) "he will save thee" (Mo:1:15); and מ מ (for מ מ) "let him be healed" (Go:H:1).

The laryngeal י is extremely weak, and often omitted in the Babylonian pronunciation. In Go:7:1 י י "amulet", the omission of י was facilitated by this weakness.

\[11\] Nöldeke, Theodor, Mandaic - Grammatik, § 54.
Note also: בנווהל (i.e., בנווהל) "calamity" (Go:8:4); ירום "everything" (Go:D:13,15); ס"רה "in his gate" (Mo:4:7). This phenomenon may also be noted in the following verbal forms: "he shall split" (Mo:6:11) -- from יַשְׁבָּע with י weakened dialectally --;
"do (not) molest" (Go:G:8);
"ye shall remove" (Go:6:6).
Compare Mandaic, where consonantal י has disappeared.

Linguistic wear may be cited in such words as:
"because" (Go:11:16); and ידע "now" (Mo:4:1); where initial י has been worn down from י. Linguistic wear may explain such a form as יַבָּה "again" (Go:G:11) where the transposition of ב and י has been facilitated by the fact that the ב was not pronounced.

Loss of final nun may occur, though not as frequently as in BTA. The personal pronoun, 2nd. m. pl: יַנְפָּה may be written יַנְפָּה (BM:91776:6). The corresponding feminine form: יַנְפָּה is also found written: יַנְפָּה (Mo:8:15). In the plural demonstrative pronoun "these", instead of יַנְפָּה are found יַנְפָּה and יַנְפָּה (Mo:25:2); and יַנְפָּה (Mo:25:5). In the case of participles: יַנְפָּה "bound" (Go:C:6);

12 I.e., with assimilation of the vowel to labial -מ.
13 Levias, C., Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Babylonian Talmud, Cincinnati, 1900, § 65.
14 These 'emendations' restore the classical literary forms; however, the absence of the omitted letters is linguistically important just because these 'incorrect' forms reflect the BTA dialect.
"equipped" (Mo:19:13); "enchanted" (Mo:7:13); "entering" (BM:91776:17). Of pronominal suffixes: "at your mouths" (Go:C:4); "those sending you" (BM:91776:11). Of verbal afformatives: "we have passed by" (BM:91776:7); "we have written" (Mo:1:15); "we went up" (BM:91776:6). Of numerals: "twelve" (Hilp:G:2) versus "their king" (Mo:4:4). Other examples include: "male strokes" (Go:H:2); "between the ethers" (Mo:29:11); "who will be" (Ash:1932.620:8). The same form occurs in Mo:3:5. Note initial for di under the influence of pronominal di which is written ‹.

In general the laryngeals are preserved, though ‹ and ‹ are no longer distinguished. The ‹ may drop in the orthography or interchange with other letters, showing that it was not pronounced. In Go:L:3 "those" occurs, while in Go:L:6 "their king" is found. The form for "their king" is found in Go:AI:2. There is elision of ‹ also in "his evil brothers" (Mo:4:3) where -ši > -šy. In Go:G:5 ‹ is written for "which is theirs", where the transposition of

15 This may be old (not reduced from ‹), e.g., note ‹ as in ‹.

16 This is most likely a survival of old variants, for Hebrew also has ‹ alongside ‹.
1 and ג would indicate the loss of ה in the pronunciation. Note also יִתְנָהּנָה "their daughters" (Go:G:9). This transposition is seen in כֶּלֶה; כֶּלֶה instead of normal כֶּל "on him" (BM:19745:6).

2. The System of Vowels and Diphthongs

A final א vowel is expressed by א, less frequently by א. The latter letter is used regularly for such common words as: האֲמִי "charm" (Go:A:1; Ob:I:1), and especially when a word contains an א, as in אֵל (Mo:2:1; 17:2). This phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic, but is preserved in the Samaritan dialect.

Medial א vowel may also be expressed by an א. We may cite: אֵשֶׁר אֲלוֹנָה "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9); אֵשֶׁר אֲלוֹנָה "before him" (Mo:3:7).

The vowel letters א and א are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels medially.

As in Mandaic א is frequently designated by א, which throws light on the pronunciation. Vocal א is indicated in: אַשָּׁפִי "divorced" (Go:5:1); אַשָּׁפִי "your house" (BM:91776:8); and with prepositions: אַשָּׁפִי "in them" (Go:1:3); אַשָּׁפִי "with the bow" (Mo:2:4); אַשָּׁפִי "to them (f)" (Go:2:1).

17 See under Orthography, p. 8.
The vowel letter י often indicates qames, showing that the latter was pronounced 𒄸 in Babylonia, with 𒄸 > 𒄸. Note: מָלֵא י "angel" (Go:1:2) where waw is unique in being followed by the mater lectionis ש. Other examples include:

מָלֵא י "for thy name" (Go:2:1); מָלֵא י תָּו ת "and her property" (Go:6:1); מָלֵא י תָּו ת "this amulet" (Go:7:1); מָלֵא י תָּו ת "evil spirits" (Go:H:2); מָלֵא י תָּו ת "before him" (Hilp:G:3).

 Conjunctive waw is regularly written with the י vowel before a vowelless consonant, i.e., וָּכֶכ > וּכֶכ. This is in keeping with the Babylonian supralinear vocalization of Hebrew and Aramaic. Note the following: מָלֵא י "and which will be" (Go:G:9); מָלֵא י ולָּכֶכ ת "and spirits of epilepsy(?)" (Go:H:12); מָלֵא י "and forever" (Go:1:4); מָלֵא י "and of oil" (Ash:1931.177:10).

 The vowel י > א before laryngeals and ר: נָבָּנָה "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); נָבָּנָה "he sent" (Ash:1931.177:12); נָבָּנָה "fly!" (Go:G:11); נָבָּנָה "flee!" (Go:G:7,12); נָבָּנָה "listen!" (Mo:8:4).

 Note that י > א in מְלֶכֶר "word" מְלֶכֶר (מְלֶכֶר > מְלֶכֶר) (Go:D:10; Mo:13:8).

 Short vowels are reduced to שֶׁוָּה in unaccented open syllables.

 Regarding vowel endings it may be noted that

the dialect of the bowl texts goes with Syriac versus Biblical Aramaic in expressing the possessive and objective suffix, 3rd feminine singular; מ_. This is shown by the mater lectionis מ_ in מֵתָא "her seed"; מֵתָא "her house"; מָנוֹנִּים "her property" (Go:6:1).

The possessive suffix, 3rd masculine singular is commonly: מ_ as in: מִבְּרָי "in his house" (Go:11:13); מִמֵּשׁ "from all his house" (Go:C:7); מִבְּרָי "behind him" (Go:11:16); but note the Official Aramaic variants in: מִמְּרָוַת (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); and מִמְּרָוַת "from before him" (Hilp:G:3; Go:I:7; J:9); alongside the native Babylonian מִמְּרָוַת (Mo:3:7). This latter suffix מ_ is borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as found in Biblical Aramaic and a number of the Targumim. Note also that מ_ (as shown by mater lectionis מ_) goes with the מ_ form (i.e., מִמְּרָוַת versus מִמְּרָוַת where מ_ remains).

With dual/plural nouns the 3rd. singular masculine suffix is מ_ (= Official Aramaic affectation) as in: מ_ "his hands" (Mo:19:14); מ_ "his lord(s)" (Mo:12:6), where מ_ > מ_ (metathesis) > מ_. and with elision of intervocalic מ_.: מ_ "his brothers" (Mo:4:3).

The diphthongs מ_ > מ_ and מ_ > מ_ in all positions (versus Syriac): מ_מ_ "oath" מ_מ_ (cf. מ_מ_ מ_מ_ > מ_מ_ (Go:A:7; G:11; K:6; 6:6; Mo:1:12 etc); מ_מ_ "dwelling" מ_מ_ > מ_מ_ > מ_מ_ (Go:D:4; G:6); מ_מ_
"summer" *qayt > qêt (Mo:30:2); אָט (small) *zu'cayr > zêr (Go:D:7).

3. The Conditioned Sound Changes

Assimilation in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic is the common regressive, or anticipatory type.

As in Semitic languages generally, ṳ assimilates to most following consonants. We may note the following examples: *nl > ll in מָרִיב "from their clothing" (Mo:13:6); מְלַל "from above" (Go:D:14); מְלַל "from below" (<*min + la + țra>(Go:D:14); *nt > tt in יָסִירין + תִּק נ > יָסִיריתֵנ "ye are bound" (Go:ll:17; MBTa:1);

יוֹבִי מְטֵרין + תִּק נ > יָטִיריתֵנ "ye sin" (Mo:2:3); יְהוּדי מְטֵרין + תִּק נ > יָטִיריתֵנ "ye are near" (Iraq:9736:6); יְתִיר "ye (f) are stripped" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5); *nt > tt in מִזָּר oכ "because" (Go:ll:11; Mo:2:6); nz > zz in מְזָו י *מָזָא > מַזַּא "constellation" (Go:C:7; MBTa:8; Ellis:2); *np > pp in מַזָל "fall ye (not)" (Ash:1932.620:IV5); *nh > ḥ(h) in מַזָל "I let down" (Go:ll:9; Mo:2:6).

Besides ṳ we may note the assimilation of other consonants: *t' > tt in: יָסָר יָסָר > יָסָר "they have been bound" (Go:ll:13,15; Mo:4:4); יָסָר יָסָר > יָסָר יָסָר > יָסָר יָסָר "let him be healed" (Go:H:1); יָסָר יָסָר "may she be healed" (Go:2:2; Mo:ll:1; 24:2); יָסָר יָסָר "being closed"

19 This shift -t'- -tt- is common to all dialects for the יָסָר (< יָסָר *), the reflexive of the יָסָר.
(Iraq:9731:6); *td > dd in: רָדָך "it is recorded" (Mo:14:6); מִרְכָּב "appearing" (Go:H:5; Mo:1:12; 6:4); *zt > zd in: רָדָך "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5; Myhr:5). There is assimilation of the vowel to final מ in גל מֵדֶנֶה (Go:D:13). The מ was not pronounced.

Dissimilation occurs in רָדָך "roof-spouts" for רָדָך (Go:H:3) where מ > n under the influence of labial ב; (= Barth's Law for Accadian). This is most certainly the Accadian substratum at work. A possible dissimilation *גָּט > iht is found in: גָּט ה "his wife" (Go:D:14; 3:1); for the regular גָּט (Go:B:7). Alternatively this may be a survival that has resisted assimilation (for the root is גָּט with מ). Note also thatmidd- > mind- in: גָּל מֵגָּרָב "everything" (Mo:5:2); as against the common מֵגָּרָב (Go:B:8). There is dissimilation of מ to מ in: מֵגָּרָב "boys and girls" (Go:AI:4; G:4); which replaces the regular מֵגָּרָב (Mo:11:6). Metathesis may be noted as follows: גָּט י בע "Tayyite tribesmen" (Go:D:9) with metathesis of מ and מ; תָּא for מָּאמ "toe-nails of (his feet)" (Mo:19:19); קָפָר for קְפָר "cancelling" (EM:91751:8); tz > zt (along


with assimilation $zt > zd$) as in "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5; Myhr:5), is common Northwest Semitic (e. g., Heb., $יְהוָּה$).

In our texts a demon or demoness may be struck "in the membrane (pericardium) of the heart". Jastrow cites מַסְפּוֹרְמֵד "pericardium". The Mandaic spelling occurs in: מַסְפּוֹרְמֵד "in the pericardium of thy heart" (Lidz:5). This spelling is further attested in Mo:11:7; Ellis:1:5.

If this is the proper spelling, then we have a metathesis מַסְפּוֹרְמֵד in Go:AI:5; and also in Go:G:4,11 and Iraq:11113.

Of special interest is: לַעֵין $> לַעֵין "entering" (BM:91776:5). At first glance this appears to be metathesis. However, it seems rather that the falling together of $י$ and $ן$ in the pronunciation caused the historically incorrect spelling, i. e., the word was pronounced 'â'ēl, and the scribe knew that $י$ occurred in the word but put it in the wrong place.

Examples of anaptyxis are found in doubly closed syllables before $ל$ or $ל$ : $לַעֵין "let them destroy"$ (Iraq:Uncat); $לַעֵין "ye shall (not) draw near"$ (Go:3:2; Ash:1932,620:IV15); $לַעֵין "do (not) prevail"$ (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10).

Prothetic $ן$ occurs in at least three instances:

[22 Jastrow, Marcus, op. cit., p. 557b.]
(Mo:7:11); מָּשַׁ֥ל "drink!" (Iraq:9731:9).

4. The Accent

As a working hypothesis, we accept for these texts the rules of accentuation in use in Biblical Aramaic.  

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II. MORPHOLOGY

A. The Pronoun

1. The Personal Pronoun

a. The Independent Personal Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 c. נ/נ</td>
<td>נ/נ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m. נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f. נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m. נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f. נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The orthographic form of the 1st. singular personal pronoun נ/נ (Mo:2:1,5; 17:2) occurs more frequently than נ/נ (BM:91776:1). The form נ/נ cited by Montgomery (Mo:14:1) occurs only in a Hebrew context.

The 2nd. singular masculine occurs in the phrase " thou roof-spirit (lit., son of roofs)" (Go:5:10); the feminine form נ/נ in Go:G:6; Mo:8:8; 17:3.

The 3rd. singular masculine form is נ, and may be noted in Go:H:3; Mo:8:7. In Mo:9:1 נ נ "he it is", we find its use as copula. The feminine form נ occurs in Go:A:1; Mo:28:4; Ellis:3.

Two forms of the 1st. plural personal pro-
noun are found: לַעֲלֹת (Mo:1:14); and לַעֲלֹת (BM:91776:5).

"Ye", 2nd. masculine plural is commonly לַעֲלֹת (Go:11:16,17; Mo:4:7; 19:13). The form לַעֲלֹת, with loss of final nun, is found in the phrase לַעֲלֹת... "whoever ye are" (BM:91776:6). See footnote, p. 25. In Schwab:F; and Ob:II:8 לַעֲלֹת occurs, though lack of facsimile in the former does not allow one to check the writing. The 2nd. feminine plural is either לַעֲלֹת (Go:K:4) (an orthographic variant לַעֲלֹת is attested (Iraq:9731:7)) or לַעֲלֹת (Mo:8:15), with loss of final nun. In the case of both לַעֲלֹת and לַעֲלֹת above the n is a survival (cf. אָנְתָה, אָנְתָה, etc).

The 3rd. masculine plural form is לַעֲלֹת (Go:B:4; D:6; Mo:13:4; 25:5). No example of the 3rd. feminine plural can be accurately cited. In Schwab:I לַעֲלֹת and in Schwab:Q לַעֲלֹת are written, but cannot be proved through lack of textual facsimile.

b. The Suffixed Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns when suffixed have a genitive meaning with nouns and prepositions and an accusative meaning with verbs.

Following is a listing of the suffixes found in the texts:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 f.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 m.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is our purpose here merely to list the forms of genitive and accusative suffixes as they occur in the texts. For a detailed listing and analysis of suffixed forms one is directed to the sections on "The Noun with Genitive Suffixes" and "The Verb with Accusative Suffixes".

2. The Other Pronoun Classes

a. The Demonstrative

For the designation of a near object ("this"), the demonstrative has both a proclitic and an enclitic form, masculine and feminine, in the singular.

The masculine singular proclitic displays the following forms: מ"ע" "this amulet" (Go:A:1; C:7; 10:5); but written with a mater lectionis: מ"ע" כ"ע (Go:7:1).

Other spellings occur in: מ"ע" כ"ע "this Guśnin" (Iraq:9736:9), with מ"ע" כ"ע ; מ"ע" כ"ע "this A". (Mo:28:4),

24 The form מ"ע" (var. מ"ע"), borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as found in Biblical Aramaic, is also found.
where Ṣ > ay. Forms normally enclitic (see below) appear as proclitics in: Ṣ nib lā "this day above any day" (Mo:17:1); Ṣ nib lā "this Ispizā" (Mo:30:1).

Masculine singular enclitic forms are:

"from this day" (Go:A:4; Stube:43); as well as Ṣ nib lā (Go:H:15; Mo:3:5; 16:13; 19:20); and Ṣ nib lā (Mo:22:5). There is a case of the use of a singular enclitic pronoun with a plural noun: Ṣ nib lā "against these people" (Go:1:2). The phrase Ṣ nib lā "this bowl" occurs in Mo:14:6; at the end of the same line read Ṣ nib lā for the scribe has simply omitted the Ṣ accidentally.

The feminine singular proclitic form is Ṣ nib lā (Go:A:1; D:7; G:7). Final Ṣ may be omitted haplographically as in Ṣ nib lā u Ṣ nib lā "on this threshold" (Go:D:13). The enclitic form is Ṣ nib lā as in Ṣ nib lā "this Qamoi" (Go:D:6). Compare also Iraq:11113; Mo:18:5. The form Ṣ nib lā (Schwab:F) is doubtful due to lack of a reliable facsimile.

The plural demonstrative ("these") does not distinguish gender or position. In the following proclitic examples Ṣ nib lā occurs: Ṣ nib lā "these seven words" (Mo:6:7; 10:2); Ṣ nib lā "of these names" (BM:19745:4); but in other examples, proclitic and enclitic, the Ṣ- is reduced to Ṣ- : Ṣ nib lā "by these names" (BM:19745:3); Ṣ nib lā "these vows" (BM:91751:9). The forms Ṣ nib lā
and יִנָּה (Mo:25:2); and הָלוּ "these" (Mo:25:5) occur independently as substantives. Note the reduction -n > zero. Montgomery suggests Hebraism.

For the designation of the distant object ("that"), the third independent personal pronoun, with ה prefixed, is used.

In the masculine singular, independently or proclitic, הלל occurs: הלל "in him, i.e., that one" (Go:11:4); the feminine is found in הלל "of that curse" (Go:L:2). The plural is found in: הלל "those black arts" (Go:L:3); הלל "those scatterings" (Go:L:6); observe that the scribe of Go:L uses the Syriac forms. Note the loss of ה in the latter example.

b. The Relative

The relative pronoun is: יִנָּה , usually shortened to: יִנָה . In our texts there appears no special norm for the appearance of one in place of the other. Examples:

הלל "(by the way) on which ye have come" (Iraq:9731:10);
הלל "in him who created heaven and earth" (Mo:2:2), but note: הלל (Go:11:4).

The relative יִנָּה combines with the preposition ל or the noun רֶז to form an independent possessive pronoun:

הלל or יִנָּה "of us" (BM:91776:4,7); יִנָּה or יִנָּה "even you" (BM:91776:10,11); יִנָּה "in my own right" (Mo:2:5).
Note also the formations: רִיהַל "whereby" (Mo:9:6) and בִּרְצֵל "in order that" (Mo:28:4).

The relative נ combines with the verb נ to show possession: דַּנְיָה לֵס הָרָ֔ו for "theirs" (Go:G:5); דַּנְיָה לֵס ה "yours" (Mo:1:14).

c. The Interrogative and Indefinite

One example of the interrogative pronoun is found in BM:91776:8 מָלְא לְהָרָ֔ו אֲשֶׁר "who's entering your house?". In the same text, verse 6, מָלְא occurs as an indefinite pronoun in the phrase מָלְא מַהוּ "whoever thou

Other indefinite pronouns are: מֵעָל "anything" (Mo:11:5,7); and מֵעָל מֵעָל "everything" (Go:B:8). Note the other spellings of this latter phrase in Go:D:13,15; 7:9; Mo:5:2. In Iraq:11113 is found מַהוּ מֵעָל "everybody"; while מַהוּ מַהוּ plus מַהוּ "no one" occurs in Mo:7:13.

25 See under Phonology, p. 12.

B. The Numerals

The numerals are used more than one might suspect in spite of the limited corpus. The magical use of numbers accounts for this. In some of the texts (Go:K; Mo:8; and 17), the demons are counted off "by the numbers" to make certain that none is left unchecked. A list of ordinals, to the number seven, is handily provided in Mo:6. The enumeration of the parts of the body, signs of the zodiac, and the lengths of various objects provides us with other numbers.

Beginning with the number "one" we may cite the numbers, cardinal and ordinal, as they are found:

"1" --  RadioButton [62458], had (m);  RadioButton [62458],  hādâ (f) --  "one of Kurmin" (Go:5:11,13);  "to a certain (i.e., one) mountain" (Hilp:G:3). The ordinal (m) occurs in:  "the first Adam" (Mo:10:3). Montgomery would read  as an ordinal in  "in the name of the first" (Mo:6:7).

"2" --  RadioButton [62458], tēren (m);  RadioButton [62458], tartēn (f) -- "ye two angels" (Iraq:9736:8);  "two ...." (BM:91776:2). The ordinal (f) occurs in  "in the name of the second" (Mo:6:8);  "sealed a second time" (Mo:19:15).

"3" --  RadioButton [62458], tēlāt (m);  RadioButton [62458], tēlātā (f) --
"three" (?) (Go:L:1); "the three angels" (Go:C:4) where we would expect "the three of you" in the bowl texts; "the three of you" (Mo:3:3; 17:4; Go:K:3).

The ordinal (f) is found in: "in the name of the third" (Mo:6:8).

"4" -- אַרְבָּאת , 'arba (m); אַרְבָּאָה , 'arba (f) -- מַעִירָת שְׁבָא "from the four corners of the earth" (Go:D:14).

Compare also Go:G:12; Mo:4:1. Note מִשְׁבָּא "the four of you" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:4). The ordinal (f) is רביעית, "fourth" (Mo:6:8).

"5" -- The cardinal and ordinal may be cited: מֵהָשָּׁה "the five of you (f)" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:4); מֵהָשָּׁה "fifth" (Mo:6:8).

"6" -- Only the ordinal (f) is found: מֵהָשָּׁה "sixth" (Mo:6:8).

"7" -- שֵׁבָה , šebah (m); שֵׁבָה , šib (f) -- "seven" (Go:10:3); שֵׁבָה כָּלָה "the seven planets" (Go:11:15); שֵׁבָה בֵּן אָדָם "and the seven sons of roofs" (Go:H:2); שֵׁבָה יְפוֹת "with the seven seals" (Mo:19:4). Compare also Mo:4:4; 6:7; 19:10. The ordinal (f) is שֶבַּי "seventh" (Mo:6:8).

"8" -- The cardinal is found in the well-known phrase: מִמְּמוֹנֵי עָרָבָה "the 248 members of his body" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5; H:14). Note also מִמְּמוֹנֵי

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"with his eight seals" (Mo:19:4).

"11" -- "eleven names" (BM:19745:3). Note the Hebrew spelling in this and the following example where we expect עפר.

"12" -- "twelve sons" (Hilp:G:2); ימ"א "twelve signs of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4). Note the variants: תֵּרֵא כָּסָר and תֵּרֵּּנֶנ כָּסָר.

"20" -- יֵשָׁר (Go:10:3).
"30" -- תֵּלְחִית (Go:L:1).
"40" -- אַרְבָּאִיר in the phrase "248 members of the body" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5; H:14).
"60" -- "in the name of the sixty male gods" (Mo:19:8).
"70" -- "in the seventy languages" (Go:D:10).
"80" -- "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9).
"100" -- "one hundred seventy cubits" (Go:H:3).
"200" -- in the phrase "248 members of the body" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5; H:14). Note the preservation in this form of the old dual nominative -ֶּן.
C. The Noun

1. The Inflection of the Noun

a. Gender

The noun distinguishes a masculine and feminine gender.

The feminine noun is distinguished by an ending -(a)t. Feminine nouns are quite common due to the nature of the texts with their frequent references to female sorcerers and sorceries. Nouns not having feminine endings are treated as masculine in the morphology (but not necessarily in the syntax).

Feminine adjectives may determine nouns morphologically masculine: סָמָאִית יְוַה "good spirits" (Mo:7:9); סָמָאִית יְוַה "evil spirits" (Go:H:2); נְבָלְיָה יְוַה "sharp scythes" (Mo:7:17).

In the case of participles with nominative pronominal endings the masculine may be used for the feminine: לְבֵית יְוַה "ye (f) are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5) where -ין + תên > -ittên; לְבֵית יְוַה "ye (f) are stripped" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5).

b. Number and State

The noun has two numbers (singular and...
plural) and three states (absolute, construct, and emphatic). Following is the table of inflectional endings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>(-în)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construct</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>(-ê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>(n) (-â)</td>
<td>(-ê)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some nouns (e.g., אֱלֹהִים "heavens"; מים "waters"), the masculine plural emphatic ending -ayyâ replaces the regular ending -ê. This variant ending is the regular form in Reichsaramâisch (or Official Aramaic).

What at first would appear to be such an ending may be a Mandaic intrusion as in: מֵימָים "mountains" (Mo:9:6).

An inflectional ending י is sometimes
found with adjectives in the feminine singular emphatic:

"and to the great hour" (Mo:4:5); but note

"the great promise" (Go:6:6).

Vestiges of the dual have survived in

the numerals; thus 11111 "two hundred" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5; H:14), where the form of the old dual nominative -ān has been preserved, and ]11111 "two (f)" (BM:91776:2) with the

feminine oblique dual ending.

Of the Absolute State the following examples

may be cited: m. sg: יבכ ה"at every time and occasion" (BM:91745:10); ר"י ה "honey is poured" (Mo:12:5);

f. sg: אמשנבה זי"ס n יפיא "with a little, hard bolt" (Iraq: 9731:6); m. pl: מ"בדרי | מדיפי 1 "mighty practices" (Go:7:8);

11111 "bad dreams" (Go:K:2). Loss of final nun

may occur with some adjectives as in: יבנוי קי1 "male

strokes" (Go:H:2); f. pl: לם1 "daughters" (Go:D:12);

11111 "in spheres" (Mo:8:13).

The Construct State has had its function

curtailed somewhat by the use of -ן to express the genitive

relation. Following are examples of the construct: m. sg:

"spirit of lilith" (Mo:30:3); פרה תירוביכר "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); f. sg: בדמ

ע"י Gives בזיר 1 "in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); על אסיפם בזיר "in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); f. pl: יanganese בזיר

"upon the threshold of his house" (Go:G:3); m. pl: ינהגי ביניו הבזיר "angels of destruction" (Go:7:8); הבזיר 1 "the
sons of men" (Go:H:3); f. pl. "the light I darkened" (BM:91776:14);
"toe-nails of his feet" (Mo:19:19).

The Emphatic State occurs as follows:

m. sg: נָהֳרַתָה נָהֳרַתָה "the light I darkened" (BM:91776:14);
בָּשׁוּ וְפְדוֹתָה "the Plague and the she-Plague" (Mo:16:10);
f. sg: מְלָתָה רְבֹתָה "the great queen" (Mo:19:6);
גָּיְנוֹת וְרְגָיְנוֹת "presumptuous woman" (Go:B:7);
m. pl: מְרָחֵי בְיָשָׁה "evil sorceries" (Ash:1931.177:2,4,12);
פְּרֹבֹת "relatives" (Go:H:1);
f. pl: מְפָרָשָה נִכְבְּשָה "female goddesses" (Mo:19:9);
"creatures" (Go:11:11).

In some instances a modification of the stem is occasioned by the inflection. The stem may be
augmented by נ in the formation of the plurals of some
biconsonantal nouns: נְכָפְתָה "names" (BM:19745:3);
") סְכָפְתָה "their handmaids" (Go:D:17).

c. Case

Case, determined by vocalic endings in
some Semitic languages, is not distinguished in Aramaic.

The definite accusative is, however, in
rare instances determined by preceding נ (Heb. נָהֳרַתָה ) as
in Biblical Aramaic. It may be used either independently
נְכָפְתָה "all the members" (Go:H:3); or attached to a
following pronominal suffix נְכָפְתָה "and when he

28 E. g., Daniel 3:12.
hears it" (Mo:3:7). Other examples are found in Go:G:5; 7:7; AI:6; Ash:1932.620:IV14; Hilp:G:6.

This usage of נו is a literary affectation from Biblical Aramaic, or, still more likely, the Targumim in dialects using נו. (Genuine dialect mixture is, of course, also conceivable).

We may also note here the use of ל to denote the accusative as in Syriac: סירפ הלח "I have bound you" (Mo:4:3); משביעת הלח "I adjure you" (Go:7:6). The enclitic use of ל and ל with verbs, as in Mandaic, is not attested in the texts.

d. Nouns with Genitive Suffixes

The genitive suffixes are joined to singular nominal stems directly; to plural nominal stems by 'ל. We may note the following examples in our texts:

1st. sg: יד נרות "my own hand" (Mo:7:12); לבר "for my gate" (Iraq:9731:5); הטל ל糧 "in my own strength" and ת"פ קפשמ "my skull" (Mo:2:1); לمهر "to my ban" (Mo:1:12); שולשנ "my command" (Ob:II:16).

2nd. m. sg: This suffix is rarely found in the texts outside of Hebrew contexts. We may cite: מפסג ברקח "(who) breaks thy bone" (Mo:7:17); שולשנ "thy tribe" (Mo:7:17).
2nd. f. sg: מַרְאִית "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); בֵּית וְרָכָּב "in the membrane of thy heart" (Mo:11:7; Go:G:4; Iraq:11:13); נְפָסֵי "thy divorce" and מִנְחָרִיכְךָ "thine adjuration" (Go:G:11).

3rd. m. sg: The regular suffix with singular nominal stems is נְפָסֵי; also written without the mater lectionis נ. We may note: מָפֵרָיר "in his body" (Mo:19:15); מַלְפְּד "from all his house" (Go:C:7); מָפֶלֶל "his wife" (Go:3:1).

With dual or plural nominal stems נְפָסֵי is also found: מַלְפְּד "his sons" (Go:1:2); מַלְפְּד "his feet" (Mo:19:19); מָפֶלֶל "his hands" (EM:19745:4). However, there is also found the suffix נְפָסֶי - borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as used in the Biblical Aramaic: מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "under his hands" (Mo:19:14); מָרְאִית מַרְאִית "his lord(s)" (Mo:12:6); מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "his evil brothers" (Mo:4:3), with נְפָסֶי > נְפָסֶי through elision of the נ.

The 3rd. f. sg: This suffix in our texts is נְפָסֶי as the mater lectionis נְפָסֶי shows in מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "her seed"; מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "her house"; מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "her property" (Go:6:1). Thus it goes with Syriac versus the Biblical Aramaic. Besides the examples cited we may note: מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "on her face" (Iraq:9726:3); מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "from her house" (Ash:1932.619:11,12); מַרְאִית נְפָסֶי "her husband" (Go:G:2).

1st. pl: We may cite: מַרְאִית בְּרִית "our creator"
and "our ruler" (Ob:II:14); but note "over our gates" (BM:91776:4), where -n̄ > -n postvocally.

2nd. pl. m: "your dust" (Iraq: 9736:3); "your house" (BM:91776:8); "your knots" (Go:10:4); "your bones" (Iraq:9736:3).

Of participles: "those sending you" (BM:91776:11), with loss of final -n.

2nd. pl. f: "your father" and "your mother" (Go:K:4; Mo:8:4); "the four of you" (Mo:3:17:4; Go:K:3); "your posterity" (Mo:1:8). Loss of final -n is indicated in "at your mouths" (Go:C:4). The following examples are with pa'cal infinitives: "to terrify you" and "to make you hear" (Mo:8:7).

3rd. pl. m: "their faces" (Iraq:11113); "their ears" (Go:6:1); "their handmaids" (Go:D:7). An odd form is found in "their sons" (Go:G:9), which seems to contain scribal error. That the h was often elided in speech is indicated by "their daughters" (Go:G:9). Note in this connection "their king" (Go:AI:2). Of participles note: "those working them" (Go:6:8; 9:3; C:2); and "those that worked them" (Go:C:8; BM:91776:11).
3rd. pl. f: This rare suffix is found in לַעֲדוּ "in their dances" (Mo:12:3); לָה "to them" (Go:2:1).

2. The Noun Classes

a. The Monosyllabic Formations

(1). The QATL formation.

Several biconsonantals of the qatl formation are found. These may be classified as either:
(1). Cąc, or (2). Cąc. Following are biconsonantals of 29 Cąc: נֹכ "father" (Go:H:1; K:4); נֹכ "brother" (Go:H:1; Mo:4:3); נֹכ "son" (Go:11:6; A:2,3,4; G:8,9; H:12; Mo:2:4 etc); נֹכ (yad + å > ydå) "hand" (Go:B:7; C:6; 6:2; 7:8; Mo:19:14); and of feminines we may note the following:

Nie "handmaid", pl: Nie (Go:D:7); Nie "daughter" (Go:A1:3; B:7; G:3; Ellis:1); Nie *ham + åt, "mother-in-law" (Go:B:7; BM:19745:1; Iraq:9726:2); Nie "bow" (Go:11:7); Nie "year" (Mo:8:5,6).

Biconsonantals of Cąc include: Nie "myrtle" (Mo:13:11); Nie "gate" (BM:91776:4,7,14; Iraq:9731:5); Nie "generation" (Mo:17:1); Nie "good" (Go:5:10; 7:6; Mo:7:9); Nie "bowl" (Ash:1931.177:10; Mo:7:13; Ob:1:21);

While the unusual formation of nouns like Nie, Nie, etc. with suffixes is recognized, for the purpose of this study they are treated as qatl biconsonantals of Cąc.
"prince" (Go: MBTa:5; Mo:7:17); "voice" (BM:19745:6; Mo:6:11; 13:9); "mystery" (Mo:2:7; 6:11); "height" (Mo:9:6).

We may mention here two nouns with plurals in -ֵוא. These are the uniconsonantal מים "waters" (Go:H:12; Ash:1931.177:10; BM:19745:7; Mo:1:11, etc); and biconsonantal מים "heavens" (Go:11:4,9,13; D:2; Mo:9:6; 11:2 etc).

The strong root affords many examples:

- "stone" (Hyv.); "briar" (BM:91776:8); "anp > 'app) "face" (Iraq:9726:3; Iraq:1l1l13; Mo:13:5);
- "earth" (Go:1:1; 11:4; D:14; BM:91776:8; Mo:2:2);
- "place" (Hilp:G:8; Mo:12:8); "husband" (Go:G:2; Mo:8:13); "man" (Go:C:6; D:10); "bone" (Go:C:5; Iraq:9736:3; Mo:7:17); "field" (Iraq:9726:2; Mo:17:3; Ellis:3); "seed" (Go:E:5; 6:1; Mo:1:8); "village" (BM:91776:15); "wine" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8);
- "sorceries" (Go:10:2; Ash:1931.177:2,4,12; Ash:1932.620:3; Go:MBTa:7 etc); "month" (Mo:6:5);
- "walled city" (BM:91776:15); "bread" (BM:91776:11);
- "king" (Go:A1:2; 11:18; Ash:1932.619:14); "life" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1; 7:3); "(Magic) circles" (Mo:7:11);
- "slave" (Go:D:6); "bed" (BM:91776:9; Mo:7:17);
- "body" (Go:11:13,16; B:8,9; Mo:7:6; 19:15);
- "part, dissension" (Go:H:7; Iraq:9731:7);
"figure" (Go:1:1; J:2); מותרת "early morning" (Mo:26:5);
"horn" (Mo:12:5); מוזק "evening" (Mo:26:5); מזורית "dance" (Mo:12:8); מ♀♀ "military division" (Mo:13:1);
"gate" (Go:D:14; BM:91776:14; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:7).
Of feminine nouns: נשים "queen" (Go:H:12; Mo:19:6);
מזה "slumber" (Mo:7:16; 8:11).

Of the נ"ע roots: נ"ע "door"
(Iraq:9731:5); נ"ע "sea" (Go:2:7; 11:6; Ash:1932.620:IV13; Mo:2:4; 7:12 etc); נ"ע "palm (of hand)" (Go:6:4); נ"ע "basket" (BM:91776:11); נ"ע "people" (Mo:13:1); נ"ע "great" (Go:AI:2; 6:6; 11:6,11; D:7; Mo:4:5 etc). Of feminines: נ"ע "beast" (Mo:7:14; Myhr:14); נ"ע "cubit" (Go:H:3); נ"ע "daughter-in-law" (Go:B:7; BM:19745:2).

Of the נ"ע roots: נ"ע "house"
(Go:AI:4,7; A:1; C:7; Mo:1:6 etc); נ"ע (*hayl > הֵּל) "strength" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1); נ"ע (Cayn > כֵּן) "eye"
(Go:6:1; 7:9; B:6,7; I:2,3 etc); נ"ע (*qayṭ > פִּט) "summer" (Mo:30:2).

Of the נ"ע roots: נ"ע (yawm > יָומָה)
"day" (Go:A:4; C:8; G:8; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:4 etc); נ"ע (mawt > מות) "death" (Go:1:7; L:2; Iraq:9736:5; Mo:3:6 etc);
נ"ע (Cawf > כּּף) "bird" (Mo:7:14); נ"ע (*sawt, cf.
"shout" (Go:K:6); נ"ע (tawr > תֹּר) "ox" (Go:D:6; J:4). Of feminines: נ"ע (qawm > qוֹמ + תָּ) "height" (Go:10:5; 11:1,2; H:3; Mo:2:1; 19:3).
Of the feminine adjectives:

- "pure" (Go:6:5; 11:3; Mo:27:4);
- "hard" (Go:6:2; Iraq:9731:6; Go:MBTa:1; Mo:7:11).

(2). The QITL formation.

Of biconsonantals note:

- "sleep" (ין+תא, from יִשע) (Mo:6:10; Ob:II:1);
- "lip" (BM:91751:8).

Of the strong roots:

- "prince" (Ash:1932.620:IV10; Go:D:11; L:13);
- "enchantment" (Go:11:6; Mo:2:3);
- "flesh" (Go:6:10; Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:8);
- "word" (Go:2:7);
- "male" (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:A:3; B:5; Mo:6:2 etc);
- "time" (BM:91745:10; Ob:II:19);
- "vision" (Go:G:8);
- "dream" (Go:2:5; K:2; MBTa:3; Mo:6:10);
- "grace" (Mo:13:6);
- "darkness" (Go:8:5; Mo:16:6);
- "press?" (Mo:6:1; 12:6; 26:2);
- "boundary" (Go:MBTa:7);
- "oil" (Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:11);
- "vow" (Go:1:1; 4:1; H:3; Mo:5:2; 7:13 etc);
- "row" (Go:11:10; Mo:2:7);
- "side" (Mo:6:10);
- "book" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6);
- "destruction" (Mo:16:6);
- feminine "signet" (Go:A:1; B:4; F:2; Mo:8:11; 21:3; 22:3 etc);
- "door" (Iraq:1ll1l3; Mo:6:6).

30 With aphaeresis of י- as in Arabic where the infinitive of יָשַׁר is יָשֵׁר.
"grave" (Ash:1932,620:12); "knot" (Go:E:1,5; 10:4; Mo:28:5); "foot" (Go:6:2; C:6; H:9; Mo:12:7; 19:19); "steed" (Go:D:13); "gesture" (Mo:19:8); "reptiles" (Mo:7:14); "quiver" (Go:H:8); "rope, spinal column" (Go:H:10; 6:2,4); Syr. "sun" (BM:91776:15); "vermin" (Mo:7:14).

Of feminines: "wife" (Go:1:2; 3:1; B:7; D:14; H:1 etc); "female" (Go:A:3; B:5; D:13; Mo:6:3; 8:8 etc).

Of ""y" roots: "mother" (Go:B:6; K:4; BM:91745:1; Mo:8:4 etc); "spoil" (Mo:5:3); "sinew" (Ash:1931,177:11); "bill of divorce" (Go:Al:6,7; Go:G:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:8:7 etc); "shade" (Mo:29:9); "heart" (Go:Al:5; G:4; MBTa:3; Mo:11:7; 19:18 etc); "word" (Go:4:1; BM:91745:4; Mo:6:7,9); "peg" (Go:H:15), the feminine occurs in Go:C:5; "swelling" (Go:H:8); "side, column" (Go:6:2).

Of ""y" roots: "side" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:2); "flux" (Go:H:8); "judgment, magic spell" (Go:1:4; H:1; Mo:4:5; 19:8); "glory" (Mo:7:5); "thick honey" (Mo:12:5); "hair spirits" (Mo:7:13); "blast (demon)" (Ash:1932,620:7; Go:C:1; 7:8; Mo:1:9); "genus" (Go:2:3; Mo:1:8; Ellis:5); "splendor" (Mo:7:5; 12:7); "fluid" (Go:H:8); "contention"
(Mo:25:3); 'םיר "head" (Go:11:15; Iraq:Uncat.; Mo:4:5; 19:19); בְּכֵי "circlet-spirit" (Mo:15:6); קֹב "goblin" (Mo:15:5); מַל "ring" (Go:3:3). Of feminines: מְרִי "dwelling" (Go:11:16; A:1,4; C:8; G:5).

Of Tertiae Weak roots: מְרִי "night" (Go:G:8; Iraq:9731:8; Mo:20:4), which looks like a combination of מ and ל. Of feminines: מְרִי "creatures" (Go:11:11; BM:91751:4).

(3). The QUTL formation.

One biconsonantal qutl occurs: סָנִי (absolute דַּל ) "name" (Go:8:1; 11:11; D:14; BM:19745:3 etc).

Of the strong roots note: סָנִי "ear" (Go:6:1; Schw:1); בָּד "road" (Iraq:9731:10); סָנִי "strong one" (Go:AI:5; G:4); סָנִי "troop" (Mo:7:17); סָנִי "uncleanness" (Go:A:3; Mo:29:7); סָנִי "priest" (Mo:19:10); סָנִי "rage" (BM:91776:14; Mo:16:7; Wohl:2422:15); סָנִי "plague" (Go:H:2; K:2; BM:19745:5; Mo:12:4 etc). Of feminines: סָנִי "toe-nail" (Mo:19:19).

Of the י"ע roots: סָנִי "back" (Go:K:3; Mo:6:4; 8:3); סָנִי "thorn" (BM:91776:8); סָנִי "brain" (Go:H:8); סָנִי "strength" (Mo:6:11); סָנִי "mouth" (Go:C:4; 6:1; Mo:13:1).

Of the ו"ע roots: סָנִי "body" (Go:AI:7; Mo:13:10); סָנִי "place" (BM:19745:4); סָנִי "little" (Iraq:
b. The Bisyllabic Formations

(1). With two short vowels.

(a). qatal

We may note: "mankind" (Heb. מָנוֹנָה) (BM:91751:8); הָרִי "hail" (Heb. בָּרֵי) (Mo:14:3); אֵרֶב "lightening" (Mo:12:8); יִבְשָׂ "camel" (Heb. בִּשָּׂ) (Go:D:13); יִנָּה "new" (Mo:13:11); יִבְשָׂ "stone pitcher" (BM:91776:11); יִנָּה "corner" (Go:D:14); יִנָּה "breath" (Go:H:8); יִנָּה "leech" (BM:91745:9); יִנָּה כְּפָר > כְּפָר > כְּפָרֹ, "dust" (Iraq:9736:3). Of feminines: יִנָּה כְּפָר "envious" (Go:7:9); יִנָּה כְּפָר, יִנָּה כְּפָר "middle" (Go:6:12); יִנָּה כְּפָר, "breath" (BM:19745:5; Ob:II:15); יִנָּה כְּפָר "enmity" (Go:L:7); יִנָּה כְּפָר "release" (Mo:17:12).

(b). qatul

Of this formation: יִנָּה כְּפָר , יִנָּה כְּפָר , "protection" (Go:7:2; A:1).
(c). qatal

We may note here: נופל "pebble (spirit)" (Go:11:10,12; A:3; H:7; Go:MBTa:5).

(2). With â after the first radical.

(a). qâtal

Of this formation are attested:
כַּלָּם > כַּלָּמָא, "world" (Go:D:8; E:5; G:2; L:13; Mo:3:5 etc); שָׁשׂ "hour" (Go:1:4; Mo:4:5; 26:5).

(b). qâtil

This is the common Pe'el Participle formation: נֵרָה "heir" yârit+â > yârtâ (Go:L:11); והי "decent" (Mo:29:7); נִמְל "male striker" and נִמְל "female striker" (Go:H:7).

Some tertiae weak forms occur:
נַרְס "healer" (Mo:3:1; Go:MBTa:5); יְרִי "excrements" (Go:C:3); יְרִי "lord" (Go:11:11; E:5; H:17; Mo:12:6 etc); and the feminine: נְרָה "lady" (Mo:19:5; Ob:II:7).

(c). qâtôl

This nomen agentis formation is found in: נֵרוּ "South" (Go:10:3; Wohls:2422:10); יֵרָה "howler" (Go:A:2,3; H:2; BM:19745:9; Ob:I:21); דּוּר "flying
one" (Go:6:7); נֵגָרָם "North" (Go:10:3; Wohls:2422:10).

(3). With short vowel after the first and long vowel after the second radical.

(a). qatal

The following are found: נְבֶר עם "lead" (Mo:19:10); נִשְׁג "thorn-bush" (Go:H:17);
 Assy "injury" (Mo:7:16); the feminine form occurs in
Go:7:8; Mo:16:6; נִד "honor" (Mo:8:6); נְשָׁע "counter-
charm" (BM:91751:4); נַל "curse" (Mo:5:3); נָשָׁע "ether"
(Mo:29:11); נָב "peace" (BM:91776:17).

(b). qatil

Of this formation: נְבֶר עָב "cattle" *בָּכִיר > בָּכִיר (Go:D:7); נָב "evil" *בָּכִיר >
בֶּכֶר > בֶּכֶר (Go:10:5; 11:5,10,12; C:6; H:2; Mo:8:16 etc);
 Assy "crown" (Mo:13:11); נֶס "robe" (Mo:13:6);
 Assy "firmament" (Go:8:6; Mo:8:9). Of feminines note:
 Assy בֶּכֶר/בָּכִיר "bar" (Go:11:2; Mo:2:1; 27:3).

(c). qatûl

We note here: נֶס "basket"
(Go:C:3); נָטָל "sign of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4). Of feminines:
 Assy נֶס "virgin" (Mo:13:9); נָטָל "promise" (Go:6:6).
(d). qitāl

This formation occurs in:

"limb" (Go:H:9); כַּל "God" (Go:4:3; L:8; Mo:7:4; 13:6; 14:1 etc); כַּל "man" *'înā > 'enāš (Go:A:2; B:7; H:3; Mo:7:13 etc); כַּל "fire", (BM:19745:9; Mo:3:6; 14:7; 24:2); כַּל *Ḥimār > ḥāmār "ass" (Go:D:6; J:4);
כַּל "string" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:5). Of feminines: כַּל "headache" (Go:H:12; Iraq:Uncat.).

(e). qitūl

Note: כַּל "clothing" (Go:11:3; Mo:13:6).

(f). qutayl

The special diminutive formation occurs: כַּל "decree" (BM:91751:9); the feminine form occurs in Go:11:9; Mo:1:9); כַּל *'ašayr > ẓ̄'èr "small" (Go:D:7); כַּל "amulet" (Go:A:1; 7:1; Ob:I:1; Mo:1:1 etc).

(g). Other formations

The loss of initial short vowels in unaccented open syllables makes it difficult to classify some nominal formations. In this regard note: כַּל "light" (Go:11:2; BM:91776:14); כַּל "incantation" (Go:B:6; 7:9; MBTa:7).
(4). With doubling of the middle radical.

(a). qattîl

This is the formation of many adjectives: סֶפֶּר "sharp" (Mo:7:17); סֶפֶּר "trusty" (Go:5:12); סֶפֶּר "right" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:10); סֶפֶּר "burning" (Mo:3:6; 14:7); סֶפֶּר "bitter, strong" (Go:11:5; MBTa:2; Mo:2:3; 4:4); סֶפֶּר "strong" (Mo:28:5; Go:MBTa:2); סֶפֶּר "sweet" (Ellis:5); סֶפֶּר "holy" (Go:B:1; L:12; Mo:4:1); סֶפֶּר "swift" (Go:5:10); סֶפֶּר "near" (Go:H:1; BM:19745:2; Iraq:9726:2); סֶפֶּר "old" (Mo:19:9); סֶפֶּר "ruler" (Go:AI:2; G:3; Mo:11:7; Ob:II:14); סֶפֶּר "strong" (Go:I:7; Mo:3:1; 13:8); סֶפֶּר "dragon" (Go:11:7,9; Mo:2:4,6); סֶפֶּר "mighty" (Go:H:5,11; Ash:1931,177:2,4,12; Ash:1932,620:5; Go:MBTa:2).

Of feminines: סֶפֶּר "distant one" (BM:19745:2; Iraq:9726:2).

(b). qattâl

We may mention: סֶפֶּר "part" (Go:10:5; H:3); and of feminines: סֶפֶּר "profane one" (Go:G:7); סֶפֶּר "strangler" (Go:G:7; J:4); סֶפֶּר "witch" (Go:C:4; MBTa:7); סֶפֶּר "necklace" (Go:8:4,6; Mo:7:11); סֶפֶּר "ban" (Go:8:5; A:2; Mo:2:6; 8:6; 16:7); סֶפֶּר "abortion" (Mo:11:4); סֶפֶּר "remedy" (Ob:II:12).

Of Tertiae Weak note: סֶפֶּר "chills" (BM:19745:9).
(c). qittāl

Of this formation: אֶפֹּלָת
"spell" (Go:11:17; E:2; G:2; 8:5; Mo:5:2; 16:10 etc);
�单 "command" (Go:H:7); אֶפֹּלָת "charm" (Go:G:10;
BM:19745:9; Iraq:11113; Mo:6:2; Ob:1:21); אֶפֹּלָת "banish-
ment" (Go:G:7); אֶפֹּלָת "excommunication" (Go:A:2);
אֶפֹּלָת "knockers" (BM:19745:5); אֶפֹּלָת "dismissal"
(Go:G:7; Mo:26:6). Of feminines: אֶפֹּלָת "blow" (Go:1:2;
Mo:12:9; Stübe:2; Wohls:2426:6 etc).

(d). qittāl

Note here: אֶפֹּלָת
"roof" (Go:A:2,3; H:2; 5:10; Mo:6:7); אֶפֹּלָת "tongue"
(Go:11:10,12,16; D:10; H:11; Mo:4:1; 13:2 etc); אֶפֹּלָת
"season" (BM:19745:10; Mo:6:6; 26:5).

(e). quttāl

This formation occurs in: אֶפֹּלָת
"sealing" (Go:11:17; A:1; D:3; E:2,5; Mo:7:4 etc); אֶפֹּלָת
"bolt" (Iraq:9731:6); אֶפֹּלָת אֶפֹּלָת "practice" (Go:10:4;
B:5,6; Ash:1932.620:4; Mo:9:1 etc).

c. Nouns With Prefixes

(1). With prefixed נ: 
As examples of prefixed נ may be cited: עַל מָה "plague" הֶנְג (Mo:29:9); עַל מָה "losses" הֵנְג (Mo:7:11). Of feminines note the Afel formations: לָעַל "ban" (Go:11:9; Mo:2:6); לָעַל "magic spell" (Go:1:1; Mo:12:9; 16:10; Stube:2 etc).

A formation based on the Ethpe'el is found: נוּאָל "knocking" הֵסָף (Go:B:6; Mo:16:10).

(2). With prefixed נ:

But one example occurs: נוּאָל "praise" הֵסָף (Mo:12:7; 29:12; Ob:1:22).

(3). With prefixed מ:

(a). maqtal

Of this formation: מִלְאָנָה מִלְאָנָה "angel" מִלְאָנָה (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:1:2; C:4; I:7 etc); מבְּרָּד "sunset" (Go:10:5); מִלְעָפָה "bed" מִלְעָפָה (Go:H:15; 2:5). Of weak formations: מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ "height" (Mo:9:7); מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ "dwelling" מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ (Go:D:4; G:6). Of feminines: מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ "chariot" (Go:8:4; Mo:14:2).

(b). maqtal

Here note: מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ "oath" מִרְעָמ מִרְעָמ.
(c). miqtal

The formation of Palatal Infinitive includes: פיר "word" imar > memar (Go: D:10; Mo: 13:8); מער "scatterings" (Go: L:3); ננמ "standing place" (Go: H:14).

(d). Participial formations

Of Pa'al Participle: נְזָכָה "annulling one" (Ash:1932.620:10; Iraq:11113; Mo: 11:2,3); הָבוֹב "monster" (metathesis of  הָבֶק (Mo.)) (Go: A:2; K:2; Mo: 2:7); ננמ "banning one" (Ash:1932.620:9,10).

Of Afel Participle: נְזוּ "harmer" (Ash:1932.620:7; Go: 7:8; C:1; Mo: 7:11 etc).

(e). Other formations

Single occurrences may be noted of maatil: נְזוּ "province" (Go:10:3); and of maqtol:

בֹּזְבָּה "food" (Go: 11:13,16; D:14; Iraq:11113).

Some formations do not readily permit classification: ננמ "sickle" (Mo:7:17); ני "East" (Go:10:3); ננמ "lad/lassie" (Go: 6:4;
d. Nouns With Suffixes

(1). With suffixed -ân:

(a). qatîl

The following are found: נוֹדֵנָה
zaydân > zêdân "presumptuous" (Go:11:10; B:7; H:7; Ob:1:13);
נֵלֵט, נֶלֶט, "destruction" (Ob:II:7); נֶטָם "flood"
ṯawfân > ṭâfân (Mo:10:5).

(b). qitîl

Here are found: נוֹנֵב "building"
(Mo:16:6); נוֹנֵב "vision" (Go:2:3; G:8; MBTa:3; Mo:30:5;
Ob:II:3); נוֹנֵב "property" (Go:6:1; B:4); נוֹנֵב , נוֹנֵב, "thought" (Go:H:4,7).

(c). qitîl

We may note: נוֹנֵב "name"
(Mo:28:5); נוֹנֵב "soundness" (Go:10:1); נוֹנֵב "sickness"
(Mo:7:11); נוֹנֵב "salvation" (Go:11:15; Mo:4:5); נוֹנֵב "sovereignty" (Ob:II:16).

(d). Other formations

Of qîtal: נוֹנֵב "glorious"
nisahathan (Go:6:5); and of qetil: חרבנוה "their workers" (Go:C:8).

(2). With suffixed -ûth:

Of this formation: יִתְמַלֵּךְ "health" (Go:10:1; L:13; Mo:3:1; ll:1; 19:1 etc); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "likeness" (Go:G:8; Mo:1:12; 6:4; 12:15 etc); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "garment" (Mo:13:6); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "blow" (Go:I:1; Mo:16:6); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "will" (Mo:12:6; Ob:II:16).

(3). With suffixed -îth:

We may cite: יִתְמַלֵּךְ *zâw+ît "corner" (Mo:4:1,2); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "snatcher (demon)" יִתְמַלֵּךְ (Mo:8:2); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "lance" (Go:AI:5; G:4; Mo:11:7); יִתְמַלֵּךְ "ghost" (Go:G:7; Mo:8:2; 17:4).

(4). With suffixed -âi:

The gentilic ending âi occurs in:
ינאמו "Aramaeans (Christians)"; ינאמו "Indians";
ינאמו "Tayyite tribesmen"; ינאמו "Jews";
ינאמו "Greeks"; ינאמו "Persians" (Go:D:9). In Go:E:3 occurs the emphatic: ינאמו "Chaldaeans".

e. Nouns With Prefixes and Suffixes

Here may be noted the Paçcel Participle
with suffixed -àn (nomen agentis): נבון "guardian" (Mo:7:9); מובל "destroyer" (Go:H:4); מטברנ "practitioner" (Ash:1931.177:12); מטברנ "sender" (Go:C:8; 5:6; 9:3; Ash:1931.177:12).

Other nouns in this category include:

טבון "poverty" √skn (Mo:16:10). A Hafel formation with suffixed -ùth occurs: טבונ "faith" √mn (Mo:29:12). A Shafel noun with suffixed -îth is: טבון "flame" √1hb (Mo:14:7).

f. Other Nominal Formations

(1). Reduplicated nouns.

(a). qalqal

Of this formation note: טבולא "sphere" (Mo:6:11; 8:13; 25:7); טבון קדש "boy/girl" (Go:AI:4; G:4; MBTa:4; Mo:18:6 etc); טבון "star" *kabkab > kawkab > kôkab (Go:5:2; 8:3; C:7); טבון "g本市 "great" (Go:D:13; Mo:16:8); טבון "twisted chain" (Go:E:2).

(b). qilqul

Here may be cited: טבולה "poisoning" (Go:H:2,7); טבולה "impure fancy" (Go:G:8; H:8).

This is the noun of the palpel conjugation ( of הפל conjugation).
(c). Other formations

Other reduplicated nouns include

a qulqil "chain" (Go:6:4; 8:3).

Of qilqil note: לֶילִי "night demon(ess)" (Go:AI:2,3; A:2,3; H:2; Iraq:11113 etc).

Of gatlul: בָּשָׁם "leprosy" (Mo:29:9).

(2). Quadriliteral nouns.

Of these note: תָּמְרָא "membrane (pericardium)" (Go:AI:5; G:4; Iraq:11113; Mo:11:7 etc); תָּבָּר "throne" (Go:D:11; BM:91776:15; Mo:16:7); תָּפָּר "scorpion" (BM:19776:15); תָּפָּר "naked" (Go:K:3; Mo:6:3; 17:5); תָּפָּר "iron" ↖parzial > parzial (Go:6:4; 11:2; Ash:1931.473:6; Mo:2:1; 15:7 etc); תָּפָּר "left" מַסְמִיל sim'al > sim'al > sim'al (Go:H:4,9; Mo:6:10). Of feminines:

תָּמְרָא "skull" (Mo:2:1).

We may mention at this juncture certain compound nouns: תָּמְרָא "demons" (Go:A:3); תָּמְרָא "enemy" (Go:11:5; Mo:2:3); תָּמְרָא "headache" (Iraq:Uncat.); תָּמְרָא "panacea" (Mo:16:8).

(3). Foreign loanwords.

(a). Accadian
Several Accadian and Sumerian loanwords are found in the texts:

- ml~ "(magic) thought" (Go:L:4,7,10) is the Accadian egirtum; elsewhere its meaning is "letter" (Go:G:7; Mo:8:13); 𒈬𒀀 from Accadian idrānu "alcove" (Mo:12:13); 𒌋𒈬𒈬𒈬 "threshold" (Go:AI:4; 5:5; 10:1; G:3; Mo:6:4 etc); 𒈬𒋹𒈬𒈬 "goddess" from Accadian 𒀀𒊩𒈬 (Go:4:4; 6:2,6; A:Case; L:8; Mo:19:6 etc); 𒈬𒈬𒈬 "copper" from Accadian erû (Hilp:G:4); 𒊩𒈬𒈬𒈬 "temple" from Sumerian E.GAL "big house" (Mo:14:3); 𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬 "bowl" from Accadian laḫan(n)u (Go:H:2); 𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬 from Accadian lagannu (Go:AI:6; A:2; B:1; 11:17; Mo:7:14 etc). (b). Persian

Persian influence may be seen in:

- ml~ "color" from gun (Mo:7:15; Myhr:15);
- ml~ "demon" from dîv (Go:AI:2; 11:17; Mo:2:6; 3:2 etc);
- ml~ "idol" from patikara (Ash:1932.620:11; Go:4:4; A:2; Myhr:13 etc). (c). Hebrew
Of Hebrew loanwords note:

"Leviathan" (Go:11:7,9; Mo:2:4,6); "Satan" (Go:11:4; Ash:1932.620:III9-11; Go:A:2; Mo:5:4 etc); "underworld" (Mo:6:12);

"jackals" (BM:91776:15), where the context rules against "sea-monster" (Mo:2:4,6).
D. The Verb

1. The Nature of the Verb

a. The Tense System

Two tenses are distinguished: the Perfect and the Imperfect.

The Perfect expresses completed action:

\[ \text{גולש "he sent" (Go:D:10); הושב "she confounded" (Go:H:7); כובשת "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); נתיב "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); חובר "we have written" (Mo:1:15); השביח "ye have been bewitched" (Go:10:4).} \]

Due to the nature of our texts -- with their constant address to demons and demonesses -- the Perfect is used but little, mainly in speaking of past masteries over the powers of evil on the part of the magician or his predecessors.

The Imperfect tense is the common medium of discourse in the texts. The Imperfect expresses future action or the command for action in the future (Jussive). It may express present action, but this function is most often taken over by the participle with or without nominative pronominal endings.

As examples of the Imperfect we cite:

\[ \text{לא ילך "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); לא יבט "he will annul"} \]
b. The Inflection

As in other Aramaic dialects the Perfect has only sufformatives, the Imperfect both preformatives and sufformatives.

The Perfect sufformatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd. m.</td>
<td>- (-û)</td>
<td>- (-û)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>n_ (-at)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>n_ (-t)</td>
<td>n/û (-tän/tû)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>n_ (-t)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>û/û (-êt/ tô)</td>
<td>û/û (-nâ/nan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending û- for the 1st. person singular occurs only with Tertiae Weak verbs in our texts. Note the following: 'טנ깝ו "I adjured" (Go: 2:6); 'טנוקו "I rhyme" (Mo: 15:5); 'טנקר "I adjure" (Go: 2:6). Comparative Semitic grammar (e.g., יִקְלְלָת or יִקְלָלֵה) shows this is not an archaism.

The ending û for the 2nd. person plural

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31 In 'טנקר the û was lost as a consonant (though written historically) and hence the word is treated as Tertiae Weak and pronounced 'ašbêtî.
masculine may be cited in: "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). The interchange of מ- and מ- as the ending of the 1st. plural also suggests loss of final nun. For the loss of final nun in the texts one is referred to the Phonology (p. 11).

The following are the preformatives and sufformatives of the Imperfect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd. m.</td>
<td>--י/י (y/n/1--)</td>
<td>מ--י/י (y/n/1---^un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>--י (t--)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>--י (t--)</td>
<td>מ--י (t--^un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>י--י (t--^in)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>not attested</td>
<td>מ--י (n--^)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of special interest among the Aramaic dialects are the preformatives of the Imperfect, especially of the 3rd. person masculine singular and plural. In the 3rd. singular masculine, either י, י, or י may occur. Both preformative י and י occur in a ratio of 2 to 1 to preformative י. In the 3rd. plural masculine, preformative י occurs in a ratio of 3 to 1 to preformative י and in a ratio of 7 to 1 to preformative י.

While preformative י and י are used in the texts to express present-future action or the Jussive, preformative י seems to be limited to the Jussive.
This use of ל as preformative with the Jussive may well reflect Accadian substratum. We have noted this substratum in our texts in the case of מבר (p. 17), and in the many loanwords from Accadian.

The use of preformative ל with the iprus conjugation in Accadian to express the Jussive is well-known. We may cite as examples: nari ša-at-ra-am li-iš-ta-aš-si-ma "let my inscribed stele be read to him" (Hammurabi Epilogue:41:9-11); fwa-ar-hi-ma-aš-ga il-ti-il-tum li-il-gi-mi "let Warḫimadga receive a single (share)" (HV:46:19,20); 1 awilam mār-ka mu-di-šu tu-ur-da-am-ma li-ka-li-im-šu "send your son who knows him, let him identify him" (Mari I:125:9-11).

c. Mode and Verbal Nouns

The Imperative is used for positive commands: מִנְמַל "flee" (Go:G:7,12); מִנְמַל "take" (Go:A1:6; Go:G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6); מִנְמַל "receive" (Iraq:111112).

For negative commands the negative לא plus the 2nd. person Jussive is used: לא"do not kill" (Mo:3:4); לא "do not prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10). The many commands to demons cause the frequent use of the Jussive in the texts.

The Imperative may be derived in all conjugations by stripping the Imperfect of the preformatives.
The following are the endings of the Imperative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Infinitive has the form miqtal in the PeCal. It is usually preceded by the Preposition ל, particularly when purpose is to be expressed. In other conjugations than the PeCal, the last two syllables are vocalized & (with possible nominal sense), or י (with possible adverbial sense, or with genitive suffixes). The latter vocalization occurs in a ratio of 4 to 1 over the former.

There is a possible survival of the infinitive absolute: מִקְטָל "fast flying" (Mo:1:10); and: רָמִים מִקְטָל "encamped in camps" (Mo:2:7). Note also: מִקְטָל מְסַבְּדִים לֶה וָשָׁבֶל וַיִּשָּׁבְּדוּ מַשָּׁבֶל "I assuredly vow and adjure thee" (Mo:3:3,4).

There are two participles in the active stems: an active and a passive. Except in the PeCal, participles have preformative 믿. The passive participle differs from the active participle in form (in conjugations other than PeCal) by having the a vowel in the final syllable. The Reflexive- Passive stems have but one participle.

In our texts, as in Aramaic generally, the
active participle, in combination with nominative pronominal suffixes, often expresses present action: אִירָא "I pronounce" (Go:11:1; Mo:29:9); וְקַרְבָּנָה "I adjure" (Go:6:6; H:2; Mo:3:4; 29:7); יְבוֹשַׁמ וְיַשְׁחֵד "are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5), where the masculine plural participle has displaced the feminine.

The passive participle expresses an indefinite action as regards time: יִשָּׁבֶל "engraved" (Mo:11:9); יֹסֶם "sealed" (Go:E:1; G:9; 11:16); יָעֲר "feared" (Mo:13:8).

d. The System of Conjugations

The verb has Simple, Intensive, and Causative Stems. Each of these stems has its corresponding Reflexive-Passive Stem.

(1). The Simple (PeCal).

Besides PeCal in the Perfect, the PeGil (Stative verb) may occur. Verbs with laryngeals as the final radical are always PeCal. We may note the following examples of this conjugation: יָעֶש "he worked" (Go:B:5; Ash:1931.177:12); יָשֵׁש "he sent" (Go:D:10); of PeGil: יָשׁלֵב "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); יָצֵּפְק "they have gone up" (BM:91776:5).

The preformative of the Imperfect
has the i vowel (a before laryngeals). Pecal becomes *viq†ul (v†q†al with statives or final laryngeal) in the Imperfect.

The Pecal Imperative is ינה (u > a before laryngeals), derived by stripping the Imperfect of its prefix. The Infinitive is miq†al. The Active Participle has the form <!--[a][0]>tel, the Passive 4[0]il.

(2). Reflexive-Passive of the Simple (Ethpe†el).

The Ethpe†el has mainly a passive meaning in the texts. The final vowel is e in the Perfect. The vowel remains the same in the Imperfect, as is the case in all Reflexive-Passives. Final laryngeals cause the change e > a in final syllables.

Unlike Syriac which has only preformative i in the 3rd. masculine singular Imperfect, our texts have both i and j. However, preformative i is not attested for Ethpe†el as in BTA.

The form of the Imperative follows the regular pattern. The Participle is mitqetel. The Infinitive is lethge†ôle.

The evidence of our texts does not permit us to say whether the vowel is hireq or seghol; i. e., ינה or ינה. Our terminology (as in Ethpe†el) follows standard Syriac usage.
(3). The Intensive (PaCCel).

The PaCCel expresses a strengthening of the action. It is distinguished by doubling of the middle radical and the vowels a--e in the Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative, and Participle. The vowel under the preformative of the Imperfect is ūewa, except under the laryngeal of the 1st. singular.

The Imperative is quite regular.
The Active Participle is meqattel, the Passive meqattal. The Infinitive may be qattâlê, or, more commonly, qattêlê.


The formation of this conjugation follows closely that of the EthpeCel, except for doubling of the middle radical and the vowels a--a in the Perfect and Imperfect. The second a vowel is reduced to ūewa in unaccented open syllables (§ IA2).

The Imperative, Participle, and Infinitive follow the regular pattern.

(5). The Causative (Afel).

The Causative is formed by the addition of preformative ˀaː: ˀˀ NES "he has returned" ˀˀ dr (Go:8:9; Ob:II:9), with ˀa before r in the same syllable.
After preformatives as in the Imperfect, \( \text{\`a} > \text{\`a} \). The second vowel is \( e/i \), which is reduced to sewa in unaccented open syllables (§ IA2).

The Imperative, Participles, and Infinitive follow the regular pattern.

(6). Other Conjugations.

The EttafCal (Reflexive-Passive of the Causative) is attested in one instance: יָנָה "fall ye (not)" (Ash:1932.620:IV5).

An Ethpalpel is found: יִנָּהוּ "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5; Myhr:5); for the metathesis and partial assimilation see § IA3.

The Hafel occurs in: יָנָהו "I banish" (Myhr:12).

A Safel occurs in: יָנָהו "swallow" (Go:H:6), and a Shafel in: יָנָהו "he has afflicted" (Go:L:4).

Niphal survivals are limited to:

יָנָהו "thou art kept" and יָנָהו "they are kept" (Mo:25:2).

e. Verbs with Accusative Suffixes

Verbs with accusative suffixes are not numerous in our texts. Following are the examples of suffixed forms:
1st. sg: לָלוּ "he cursed me" (Go:L:4); לָלְבֹּק "he has vowed me" (Go:L:4); לָלְבֹּק "he has performed against me" (Go:L:7).

2nd. sg; feminine: כַּשָּׁנְי "his name shall save thee" (Mo:1:15); כָּשָּׁנְי "may he expel thee" (Mo:7:17).

3rd. sg; masculine: כְּשָׁנְי "he has sown it" (BM:91776:8); feminine: כְּשׁנְיו "press it (?)" (Mo:13:12); כְּשׁנְיו "thou hast split it (?)" (Go:2:7); כְּשׁנְיו "they will garb her" (Mo:13:6); כְּשׁנְיו "they will clothe her" (Mo:13:6).

3rd. pl: כְּשָׁנְי כְּשָׁנְי כְּשָׁנְי "I have bound them" (Go:AI:12); כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי "I have vanquished them" (Go:11:12); כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי "thou hast sprinkled them" (Mo:28:3); כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי כְּשֶׁנְי "she shall sprinkle them" (Mo:28:4).

2. The Strong Verb

a. The Perfect

3rd. m. sg; Pe College: רָב "he worked" (Go:B:5; Ash:1931.177:12); רָב "he removed" (Mo:14:2); רָב "he sent" (Go:D:10). Eth Pe College: לְבַע "it is recorded" (Mo:14:6) with assimilation of ה to ל; לְבַע "it is found" (Mo:8:7), with the usual transposition of dental and sibilant. Pe College: רָב "he sent" (Ash:1931.177:12).
Ethpaccal: שָׁמָּנָה "he has used" (Go:5:10). Afel: יָרַע "he has returned" (Go:8:9; Ob:II:9); יָשָׁם "he has performed against me" (Go:I:7).

3rd. f. sg; PaCcal: נָשָׁם "she confounded" (Go:H:7). Ethpaccal: נָשָׁם "(Lilith) was sent" (Go:H:6).

2nd. f. sg; PeCal: יָדַע "thou hast sprinkled them" (Mo:28:3).

1st. sg; PeCal: יָרָיד "I destroyed" (BM:91776:14); נָבִית "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); יָרַק "I uprooted" (Mo:8:15); יָרַע "I fled" (Hilp:G:3); יָרַע "I opened" (Hilp:G:5); יָרַע "I have abandoned" (Go:G:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:2). PaCcal: נָבִית "I have expelled" (Go:AI:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:3). Afel: נָבִית "I have surrounded" (Mo:4:6); בָּרִית "I adjure" (Go:AI:2,5; G:3); but נָבִית (Go:2:6).

3rd. m. pl; PeCal: יָרְינָה "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); וַיָּרְינָה "they have (not) gone up" (BM:91776:5); וַיָּרְינָה "they have worked" (Go:C:6); יָרְינָה "they opened" (BM:91776:8). EthpCcal: יָרְינָה "they are swallowed up" (Mo:9:6); נָבִית "they have (not) been pressed" (Mo:28:2); יָרְינָה "they are uprooted" (Mo:9:6); יָרְינָה "they are found" (Mo:25:2). Afel: יָרְינָה "they knocked" (Hilp:G:6); יָרְינָה "they have performed against" (Go:4:1). The form יָרְינָה "they knocked" (BM:91751:8)
may be Ethpe\textsuperscript{c}el with \( n \) assimilated to the \( \mathcal{N} \) (Cf. Hebrew \( מָשָׁה \), Eccl. 7:16).

2nd. m. pl; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: יְנַשֵּׁם "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). Ethpe\textsuperscript{c}el: יָנַשֵּׁם "ye have been bewitched" (Go:10:4).

1st. pl; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: נָבָם "we have written" (Mo:1:15); נָלְקַנָּה "we went up" (BM:91776:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: יָדֹדְל "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); יָדֹדְל "let it return" (Go:L:8); יָדֹדְל "he will return" (Iraq:9736:8); יָדֹדְל "he flees" (Mo:3:7); יָדֹדְל "let it come near" (Ob:1:15). Ethpe\textsuperscript{c}el: יָנַש "may he be sealed" (Mo:19:19); יָנַש "may it remove" (Mo:3:2);

יָנַש "he may be inflamed" (Mo:28:1). Pa\textsuperscript{cal}: יָטַּש "he will annul" (BM:91751:9); יָטַּש "may he expel thee" (Mo:7:17); יָטַּש "he will keep distant" (Ash:1932.620:IV14). Ethnac\textsuperscript{cal}: יָנָּש "let it be scattered" (Go:L:11); יָנָּש "he may be abolished" (Go:5:11); יָנָּש "may he be kindled" (Mo:28:1).

3rd. f. sg; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: יָטַּש יָטַּש "she shall sprinkle them" (Mo:28:4).

2nd. m. sg; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: יֵטַּש יֵטַּש "do (not) kill" (Mo:3:4). Ethpe\textsuperscript{c}el: יָטַּש יָטַּש "may you be distant" (Mo:11:3). Ethnac\textsuperscript{cal}: יָטַּש יָטַּש "may you refrain" (Mo:11:2).
2nd. f. sg; PeCal: יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "mayest thou cease" (Go:G:5); יִתּוּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "you do" (Go:11:5; Ob:II:16); יָּכְבֹּ נַ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "do (not) approach" (Go:G:8); יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "may you (not) lie" (Mo:II:8). EthpeCal: יָּאֵסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "mayest thou be uprooted" (Go:G:4), the yod showing the weakening of the כǎin into a vowel, i. e., titqar > titeqar + ūn; יֵאְכַל "may you be distant" (Go:G:5; Mo:8:17).

3rd. m. pl; PeCal: יֵאָכְלִי "they embrace" (Mo:15:4); יֵאַכְיִי "let them return" (Go:L:6); יֵאַכְיִי "let them destroy" (Iraq:Uncat); יֵאַכְיִי "they shall do folly" (Mo:4:2); יֵאָכְלִי "let them (not) plague" (Iraq: Uncat); יֵאֲכְלִי "they shall approach" (Mo:25:1); but note יֵאְכַל יִבְקַר (Mo:19:20); יֵאֲכַל יִבְקַר "they (cannot) hear" (Go:6:1). EthpeCal: יָּאֵסְטֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "may they be turned" (Go:C:2); and יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר (Go:5:3); יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "they may be sealed" (Go:K:1); יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "let them be uprooted" (Go:C:7); יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "may they be opened" (Go:D:13). EthpeCal: יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "scattered be they" (Go:C:2); יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "they may be annulled" (Go:I:2); and יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר (Go:5:8). Afel: יֵאָכַל יִבְקַר "they will clothe her" (Mo:13:6).

2nd. m. pl; PeCal: יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "ye shall injure" (Go:11:13); יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "do (not) amaze" (Mo:7:16); יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "ye shall (not) draw near" (Go:3:2; Ash:1932.620: IVl5; Mo:21:2); יָּאַסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "do (not) prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10). EthpeCal: יָּאֵסְתֹּ הַיָּבֵּשִׁי "ye are turned away" (Stübe:14).
PaCal: יְבַשְׁלָה "ye will abolish" (Go:6:6; Iraq:Uncat); יְבָא "ye injure" (Mo:7:16).

c. The Imperative

Sing. m.; PeCal: יְפַד "upset" (Ash:1931. 177:12); יְפָד "fly" (Go:G:11); יְפָד "flee" (Go:G:7,12); יְפָד "take" (Iraq:11113).

Sing. f.; PeCal: יְפִי "return" (Go:AI:6); יְפִי "flee" (Go:G:7; AI:7); יְפִי "flee" (Go:AI:7); יְפִי "listen" (Mo:8:4); יְפִי "take" (Go:AI:6; G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6). EthpeCal: יְפִי "depart" (Go:G:7). PaCal: יְפִי "receive" (Go:G:11; AI:7).

Plur. m.; PeCal: יְפָר "return" (BM:91776:10); יְפָר "flee" (Mo:18:9); יְפָר "leave" (Hilp:G:8). EthpeCal: יְפָר "hurry off" (Go:10:4); יְפָר "be oiled" (Iraq:9731:9). PaCal: יְפָר "desist" (Mo:7:15); יְפָר "receive" (Iraq:11113). EthpeCal: יְפָר "be banished" (Go:10:4). Afel: יְפָר "turn" (Iraq:9736:9); יְפָר "remove" (Go:1:4).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; PeCal: יְפָר "going" (BM:91776:9); יְפָר "stamping out" (Go:D:14; Mo:16:6); יְפָר "shrieking" (BM:19745:7); יְפָר "resting" (Go:6:7). EthpeCal: יְפָר "swallowed up" (Mo:3:7); יְפָר "praised" (Mo:12:6);
"broken" (Go:E:5). Paccoli: מבייח "destroying" (BM:19745:5); מגדיר "vanquishing" (Go:11:9); ממקיך "cancelling" (BM:91751:8); מקניך "accepting" (Mo:6:11); מושל "confounding" (Go:H:4).

Active f. sg. absolute; Peccoli: מטב "strangling" (Go:G:4; Mo:18:6); מחרז "casting down" (Iraq:11113); מפור "burning" (Go:A:4); משמ "killing" (Go:G:4; MBta:4); מפג "striking" (Go:G:4); מקס "being silent" (Go:H:10). Paccoli: מטב "destroying" (Go:H:9; Mo:13:9); מקס "darkening" (Go:B:7); מקס "strangling" (Go:H:4). Afel: מקס "making weep" (Go:H:8); מקס "destroying" (Go:H:5).

Active m. pl; Peccoli: מקס "hobbling" (Mo:1:11); מקס "fearing" (Mo:1:12); מקס "doing violence" (Mo:1:10); מקס "transgressing" (Mo:1:9); מקס "killing" (Mo:6:4); מקס "trampling" (Mo:1:10). Ethpeccoli: מקס "wrought" (Go:5:5; B:8; D:10); מקס "killed" (Iraq:11113); מקס "sent" (Go:6:7); מקס "broken" (Mo:19:5). Paccoli: מקס "fearing" (Mo:1:12); מקס "destroying" (Mo:1:10); מקס "mutilating" (Mo:1:10); מקס "breaking" (Mo:1:11); מקס "dissolving" (Mo:1:11); מקס "confusing" (Mo:1:11). Afel: מקס "keeping pure" (Mo:12:7).

Active f. pl; Paccoli: מקס "strangling" (Go:H:6). Afel: מקס "harming" (Go:H:6).
Passive m. sg; Pecal: בּרָךְ "blessed" (Go:B:4); בּוּלָה "kneaded" (Mo:12:5); בֶּרֶכֶת "engraved" (Mo:11:9); בָּשָׂם "sealed" (Go:E:1); בָּשָׂם "dishevelled" (Mo:8:3); בָּשָׂם "announced" (Go:K:4; Mo:8:3). PaCcal:

בּוּלָה "designated" (Go:A:1; H:1); מָזוּר "armed" (Mo:4:6); מָזוּר "sealed" (Go:E:1; G:9; 11:16); מָזוּר "established" (Mo:29:11).

Passive f. sg. absolute; Pecal: אָמֶר "proscribed" (Mo:7:13); מָשָׂא "fear" (Mo:13:8); מָשָׂא "sealed" (Go:10:5; MBTa:4); מָשָׂא "conquered" (Go:MBTa:4); מָשָׂא "spread" (Iraq:9731:5). PaCcal: אָמֶר "countersealed" (Go:10:5); מָשָׂא "fastened" (Mo:19:10). Afel:

מָשְׂדוּ "curled around" (Iraq:9731:6).

Passive m. pl; Pecal: בּוּלָה "chosen" (Go:6:5); בּוּלָה "trod" (Go:6:2); בּוּלָה "equipped" (Mo:19:13); בּוּלָה "armed" (Mo:19:13); בּוּלָה "wholly charmed" (Mo:5:1); בּוּלָה "worked" (Go:5:4); בּוּלָה "tied" (Go:6:1); בּוּלָה "checked" (Go:D:10). PaCcal: בּוּלָה "enchanted" (Mo:7:13); מָשָׂא "countersealed" (Go:B:2); מָשָׂא "prostrated" (Mo:7:17); מָשָׂא "divorced" (Go:5:1); מָשָׂא "lowered" (Go:C:5).

Passive f. pl; Pecal: "thwarted" (Mo:17:13). PaCcal: מָשָׂא "frustrated" (Mo:17:13).

Afel: מִשָּׂא "deafened" (Go:6:1).
e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; \textbf{PeCal}: \textit{גרףכ} "I decree" (Go:K:1); \textit{כערשכ} "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); \textit{כערשכ} "I enchant" (Mo:6:6); \textit{כערשכ} "I seal" (Go:11:14); \textit{כערשכ} "I clothed" for לברשת (Go:11:3); \textit{כערשכ} "I operate" (Mo:9:2); \textit{כערשכ} "I dismiss" (Mo:9:9); \textit{כערשכ} "I stretch" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:5).

\textbf{Ethpe\textit{el}}: \textit{כערשכ} "I swear" (Hilp:G:8). \textbf{Pace\textit{l}}: \textit{כערשכ} "I annul" (BM:91751:5); \textit{כערשכ} "I ban" (Go:K:1); \textit{כערשכ} "I disenchant" (BM:91751:5). \textbf{Afel}: \textit{כערשכ} "I adjure" (Go:6:6; H:2; Mo:3:4; 29:7).

2nd. sg; \textbf{Pace\textit{l}}: מ\textit{כערשכ} "cherished art thou" (Go:G:10).

2nd. pl; \textbf{Pace\textit{l} active}: \textit{כערשכ} "ye are dry" (Iraq:9731:9); \textit{כערשכ} "ye are near" (Iraq:9736:6).

\textbf{Pace\textit{l} passive}: \textit{כערשכ} "ye are sealed" (Go:11:17; MBTa:1); \textit{כערשכ} "ye are conquered" (Mo:4:1); \textit{כערשכ} "ye (f) are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5); \textit{כערשכ} "ye (f) are stripped" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5).

f. The Infinitive

\textbf{Pace\textit{l}}: \textit{כערשכ} "(to) strangle" (Hilp:G:7); \textit{כערשכ} "(to) kill" (Hilp:G:7). \textbf{Pace\textit{l}}: \textit{כערשכ} "(to) thwart" (Go:B:8); \textit{כערשכ} "(to) terrify you" (Mo:8:7); \textit{כערשכ} "disturbing" (Mo:24:4); \textit{כערשכ} "(to) make you hear"
3. Verba Primae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; י"מ PeCal: ה"נ פ "it has come down" (Mo:8:7; 12:5); ה"נ פ "it (f) has fallen" (Go:8:3). EthpeCal: ה"נ פ "he was preserved" (Mo:10:3).

1st. sg; י"מ PeCal: ה"נ פ "I went down" (BM:91776:14); הור "for יור "I have taken" (Go:11:16; Mo:4:6); הור "I grasped" (Mo:4:6). Of י"מ and י"מ;
PeCal: ה"נ פ "I have gone" (Go:11:4,10; Hilp:G:3); ה"נ פ "I shut" (BM:91776:14); ה"נ פ "I have said" (Mo:2:3); ה"נ פ "I have bound" (Ash:1932.619:13). Afel: ה"נ פ "I adjured" (Mo:8:6) but ה"נ פ פ (Go:2:6).

3rd. pl; י"מ PeCal: ה"נ פ "they have vowed" (Go:4:1). Afel: ה"נ פ "they brought out" (BM:91751:8).

PeCal: י"נ פ פ *'it'asrû > 'ittasrû "they have been bound" (Go:11:13,15; Mo:4:4).

2nd. pl; י"מ PeCal: י"נ פ פ "ye went" (Iraq:9731:10).

1st. pl; י"מ PeCal: י"נ פ פ "we said" (BM:91776:6).
b. The Imperfect

3rd. sg; י"ו PeCal: יבר "he may touch"
(Mo:16:4); יבר "it may depart" (Mo:3:2; 25:1); יבר "she shall depart" (Mo:5:1), but יבר (Mo:8:1); יבר "let him be harmed" (BM:91776:11); יבר "he shall go forth" (Mo:3:11). EthpeCel: יבר "he may be preserved"
(Go:10:5). Of י"ד; PeCal: יבר "it shall go" (Mo:6:11). EthpeCel: יבר *nitʃəsar > nittəsar "it is bound"
(Mo:19:14). Note the weakening of initial י into a vowel in י- Gutturals; PeCal: יבר "he will transgress"
(Mo:6:11).

2nd. sg; י"ו PeCal: יבר "you fly"
(Mo:11:12).

3rd. pl; י"ו PeCal: יבר "they may depart" (Go:1:2); יבר "they will guard" (Go:6:11);
בר "may they leave" (Go:4:3; BM:91776:17; Mo:25:6). EthpeCel: יבר "may they (not) be harmed" (BM:91776:17);
בר "they may be preserved" (Go:6:5). Of י"ד and י"ד; PeCal: יבר "they may go" (Go:6:8; 6:7); יבר "let them exorcise" (Ob:II:19). Of י- Gutturals; PeCal:
בר "ye will remove" (Go:6:6).

2nd. pl; י"ו PeCal: יבר "ye guard"
(Go:7:7); יבר "may ye fall" (BM:91776:18); יבר "may ye get out" (Go:2:5; H:14). EttaFCal: יבר "fall
ye (not)” (Ash:1932.620:IV5). Of נַבְרֹת; PeCal: נָבְרִי "may ye perish” (Ash:1932.620:17); יִצָּרֵנוּ "ye shall go” (Wohl:2417:16); יִצְאֵנוּ "ye say” (Go:11:7).

c. The Imperative

Sing. f; נַבּוּדוּ "be enamored” (Mo:13:9,10); נָבְרִי "get out” (Go:AI:7; G:7; Mo:8:4).

Plur. m; נַבְרִים "take” (Iraq: 11113); נַבּוֹד "go forth” (Mo:7:15). Of נַבְרַת PeCal: נָבְרֶנְת "perish” (Mo:9:7); נָבְרַי "go” (BM:91776:11; Ash:1932.620: III7); other spellings include: נָבְרִים (BM:91776:10), and נָבְרַי (Iraq:9731:10); נָבְרִים "eat” (Iraq:9731:9).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; נָבְרֵי "falling” (Go:11:11); נָבְרַי "going out” (Mo:19:14). Of נַבּוֹד and נַבּוֹד PeCal: נָבְרָנְת "controlling” (Mo:11:4); נָבְרַי "sitting” (Go:H:3; 8:7). EthpeCal: נָבְרַנְת "being closed” (Iraq: 9731:6). Afel: מָכַל "teaching” (Hal).

Active f. sg. absolute; נָבְרְלָה "falling” (Go:H:11; MBTa:4). Afel: נָבְרַנֶה "blowing” (Go:B:7). Of נָבְרַת PeCal: נָבְרַת "bearing” (Mo:13:9); נָבְרֳה "sitting” (Go:H:8).

Active m. pl; נָבְרִים "taking” (Mo:28:3); נָבְרִים "leaving” (BM:91776:17); נָבְרִים "holding"
(Mo: 7:17); ¹כמ "blowing" (Mo: 12:8). Of ²"מ and ³"מ ¹כמ: ¹כמ "devouring" (Go: L:2); ³"מ "giving" (Go: G: 6; Ellis: I:7); ²"מ "sitting" (EM: 91776:15; Mo: 14:7).

Passive f. sg. absolute; ²"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "sealed" (Go: MEBTa: 2); ³"מ "upset" (Go: 1:1; Iraq: 9726:1, 3).

Passive m. pl; ²"מ and ³"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "bound" (Go: C: 6; Ash: 1932.620:12; Mo: 4:3); spell-ed ³"מ "upset" (Mo: 1:12); ²"מ "upset" (Go: AI: 1; 1:1); ³"מ "born" (Mo: 1:8).

Passive f. pl; ²"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "gripped" (Mo: 16:8).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; ²"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "I pierce" (Myhr: 9); ²כמ "I let down" [מ > ל(ל)] (Go: 11:9; Mo: 2:6).

Afel: ²כמ "I banish" (Mo: 7:12). Hafel: ²כמ "I go" (Go: 11:1, 10; Mo: 2:1); but ²כמ (where final ל has dropped dialect-ally) (Mo: 6:6); ²כמ "I say" (Go: 11:5); ²כמ "I bind" (Go: 11:13, 15); ²כמ "I enchant" (Go: 11:6; Mo: 2:3). Afel: ²כמ "I adjure" (Go: 6:5; H: 2; Ash: 1932.619:13; Mo: 3:3).

2nd. sg; ²"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "held art thou" (Mo: 26:3).

2nd. pl; ²"מ PeCal: ¹כמ "ye are
bound" (Go:11:17; MBTa:1).

f. The Infinitive

Of אב Afel: מְבָאֹן "(to) bring out" (Mo:9:8). Of אב and אב Pe'cal: מְבָאֹן "go to it" (?) (Go:A:2); מְבָאֹן "(to) eat" (BM:91776:8); מְבָאֹן "(to) bind" (Hilp:G:8). Ethpe'el: מְבָאֹן "(to) be turned away" (Iraq:9736:4). Afel: מְבָאֹן "adjuring" (Mo:3:3). Of א Gutritional; Afel: נָבָאֹן "(to) upset" (Iraq:9736:9).

4. Verba Mediae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; י"ע Pe'cal: לָל "he cursed" (BM:19745:6). Ethpe'el: מֱבָאֹן "it fell" (Mo:2:6).

1st. sg; י"ע Pe'cal: מָבָאֹן "I arose" (Hilp:G:3). Of י"ע Pe'cal: מָבָאֹן "I asked" (Mo:4:6).

3rd. pl; י"ע Pe'cal: לָל "they cursed" (BM:91751:8). Of י"ע Pe'cal: לָל "they entered" (BM:91776:5).

2nd. pl; י"ע Pe'cal: לָל "ye have entered" (BM:91776:5); י"ע "ye are thirsty" (Iraq:9731:9).

b. The Imperfect
3rd. sg; 7 י PeCal: ליח "let him rub"
(BM:91776:11). Of 8 י PeCal: ליחב "let him smart"
(BM:91776:11). Of 9 י PeCal: גלח "it will resound"
(Mo:6:11). EthpeCal: מ까요 "may he burn" (Mo:28:1).

2nd. sg; 1 י PeCal: ליחלע "you may (not)
curse" (BM:91745:2).

3rd. pl; 1 י PeCal: ליחי "they shall
depart" (Go:10:2; Mo:7:5). EthpeCal: ליחיימ "let them
be preserved" (Go:D:12), but ליחיימ (Mo:8:17; 16:4).
Ethpalpel: ליחייחי "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5;
Myhr:5). Afel: ליחייחי "let them restore" (Ob:II:1).
Of 9 י PeCal: ליחייחי "they love" (Mo:13:4);
ליחייחי "they shall enter" (Mo:19:20), spelled ליחייחי (BM:91776:17).

2nd. pl; 1 י PeCal: ליחייחי "ye will
depart" (Go:6:6); ליחיימ "may ye stand" (Go:H:14).
Of 9 י PeCal: ליחייחי "ye turn away" (Mo:8:13).

1st. pl; 1 י PeCal: ליחייחי "we will enter"
(Mo:13:5).

c. The Imperative

Sing. m; 1 י PeCal: ליחייחי "make (your) bed"
(BM:91776:9).

Sing. f; 1 י PeCal: ליחייחי "flee" (Mo:26:5);
ליחייחי "obey" (Mo:8:4).

Plur. m; 1 י PeCal: ליחייחי "depart"
"flee" (Mo:17:11). Of י"ע Peכאל: י"ע "enter" (Iraq:976:10).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; י"ע Peכאל: י"ע "trembling" (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); י"ע "cursing" (BM:19745:2,6); י"ע "standing" (Go:11:11; A:2; BM:19745:10; Mo:13:6). Afel: י"ע "terrifying" (Go:H:3). Of י"ע Peכאל: י"ע "entering" (BM:91776:5). Peכאל: י"ע י"ע "speaking" (Harv: 8826:7); י"ע "breaking" (cf. Accadian pasṣu) (Mo:7:17); י"ע "shaking" (Go:H:3).

Active f. sg. absolute; י"ע Peכאל: י"ע "standing" (Go:11:10; Iraq:976:2; Ob:1:24). Of י"ע Peכאל: י"ע י"ע "speaking" (Go:H:11); י"ע י"ע "shaking" (Go:H:10).

Active m. pl; י"ע Peכאל: י"ע י"ע "squeezing" (Mo:1:11); י"ע י"ע "trembling" (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); י"ע י"ע "entering" (BM:91776:17); י"ע י"ע "standing" (Mo:2:7). Peכאל: י"ע י"ע י"ע "driving away" (Mo:13:7).

Afel: י"ע י"ע י"ע "oppressing" (Go:H:13).

Active f. pl; י"ע Peכאל: י"ע י"ע י"ע "shaking" (Go:H:6).

Passive m. sg; י"ע Peכאל: י"ע י"ע "carved" (Mo:11:9). Of י"ע Peכאל: י"ע י"ע י"ע "tainted" (Mo:1:10).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; יָּעַּד "I bind" (Mo:29:10). יָּלַע "I seal" (Mo:6:6). Of יָּעַד "I am strong" (Go:11:4; Mo:2:2; 27:5). Of יָּעַד "I draw (a bow)" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:4; 27:7).

3rd. pl; יָּעַד "they are terrified" (?) (Go:6:4).

f. The Infinitive

Of יָּעַד "(to) hold" (Mo:4:1). Of יָּעַד "resounding" (Mo:6:11).

5. Verba Tertiae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; יָּעַד יִצְכַּב יְּחֵש "he created" (Go:11:4; Mo:2:2); יָּעַד יִצְכַּב יְּחֵשנ "he quickened" (Iraq:Uncat). יָּעַד יִצְכַּב יְּחֵשנ "it was revealed" (Go:H:17). אֶפֶל יִצְכַּב יְּחֵשנ "he lodged" (Mo:14:3).

1st. sg; יָּעַד יִצְכַּב יְּחֵשנ "I have demanded" (Iraq:9736:3; Mo:4:6); יָּעַד יִצְכַּב יְּחֵשנ "I rhyme" (Mo:15:5).
3rd. pl; PeCal: לְלַע "they raised"
(BM:91751:8). EthpeCal: יָּנָּס "they have melted away (?)"
(Mo:9:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. sg; PeCal: לְלַע "let him drink"
Of י- Guttural; PeCal: יָּנָּס "he shall split" (Mo:6:11),
from יָּנָּס with י weakened dialectally.

2nd. sg; EthpeCal: יִרְאֵה "do (not)
appear" (Go:G:8; K:4; Mo:8:5); יָּנָּס "be thou smitten"
(Mo:11:7), but יָּנָּס (Go:AI:5; G:4; Iraq:III:13). Of י- Guttural; PeCal: יָּנָּס "do (not) molest" (Go:G:8), with
the י lost dialectally.

3rd. pl; PeCal: יָּנָּס "may they (not)
sin" (Go:I:3); but יָּנָּס (Go:6:3); יָּנָּס "they may live"
(Go:G:2; Mo:12:3; 16:4); יָּנָּס "they may cease" (Go:6:7).
EthpeCal: יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "they shall appear" (Mo:19:20);
"they are filled" (Mo:12:7); יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "they may (not) be
released" (Go:6:4).

2nd. pl; PeCal: יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "ye shall lift"
(Go:11:15); יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "ye shall (not) sin" (Go:11:12,16);
יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "may ye perish" (BM:91776:18); יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "ye go
away" (Mo:5:1); יָּנָּס יָּנָּס "ye shall wander" (Myhr:16).
EthpeCel: ינשנושת "ye appear" (Mo:6:9; 7:16; 24:6).
PeCal: ינשנושת "ye bewilder" (Mo:7:16).

c. The Imperative

Plur. m; PeCal: יזנשנושת "drink" (Iraq:9731:9).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; PeCal: יזנשנושת "living" (Iraq: 9731:5; Ob:1:24); יזנשנושת "reaching" (Go:A:2). EthpeCel: יזנשנושת "raising" (Go:C:5); יזנשנושת "being called"
(BM:19745:4; Go:MBTa:5; H:5); יזנשנושת "being untied"
(Go:E:5). PeCal: יזנשנושת "appearing" (Go:H:12; Mo:20:4);
ysz מ används "walking" (Mo:12:6). Afel: יזנשנושת "removing" (Mo:7:17).

Active f. sg. absolute; PeCal: יזנשנושת "lurking" (Mo:18:6); יזנשנושת "haunting" (Go:L:12);
ysz מ används "smiting" (Go:AI:4; G:4; Iraq:11113); יזנשנושת "filling"
(Go:G:4); יזנשנושת "burning" (Go:MBTa:4); יזנשנושת "casting down"
(Go:G:4; MBTa:4); יזנשנושת "dwelling" (Go:AI:3). EthpeCel:
ysz מ används "appearing" (Go:MBTa:3). Afel: יזנשנושת "causing
to go astray" (Go:MBTa:3).

Active m. pl; PeCal: יזנשנושת "lurking" (Mo:6:4); יזנשנושת "joining" (Mo:6:3); יזנשנושת "going astray"
(Mo:1:9); יזנשנושת "dwelling" (Myhr:6). EthpeCel: יזנשנושת "appearing" (Mo:9:3); יזנשנועמי "appearing" (td > dd)
(Go:H:5; Mo:1:12; 6:4); ג WindowManager "being untied" (Mo:19:4).
Afel: ג WindowManager "bringing" (Mo:25:5).

Passive m. sg; Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "tainted" (Mo:16:9); ג WindowManager "thrown" (Go:K:3; Mo:7:17; 8:3); ג WindowManager "hung" (Go:C:5).
Passive f. sg. absolute; Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "torn" (Go:C:4).
Passive m. pl; Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "hated" (Go:2:3; BM:91776:4); ג WindowManager "cast" (Mo:19:10); ג WindowManager "dismissed (?)" (Go:5:1); ג WindowManager "lodged" (Go:1:2). Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "made greater (than)" (Go:B:2,5).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "I have demanded" (Iraq:9736:3); כ(WindowManager) "I deposit" (Mo:9:1).

2nd. pl; Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "ye sin" (Mo:2:3).

f. The Infinitive

Two examples of the infinitive may be cited, both Pécal: כ(WindowManager) "sinning (ye shall not sin)" (Go:11:16); כ(WindowManager) "(to) drink" (BM:91776:8).

6. Other Weak Verbs

Three doubly weak verbs may be cited from our
texts. They are: נָשָׁן "heal"; נָשָׁן "come"; נָשׁ "be".
These verbs occur as follows:

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; PeCal: נָשָׁן "it has come" (Mo:8:9).
1st. sg; Afel: נִשָּׁה "I have brought"
(Mo:9:7).
2nd. pl; PeCal: נָשָׁן "ye have come"
(Iraq:9731:10).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; PeCal: נָשָׁן "it shall be"
(Mo:6:12), but נִפְגַּשׁ (BM:19745:10); נִפְגַּשׁ "may he come"
(Mo:13:10). PeCcal: נִפְגַּשׁ (נִפְגַּשׁ *) "he will save thee"
(Mo:1:15). EthpCcal: נִפְגַּשׁ (נִפְגַּשׁ *) "let him be healed" (Go:H:1).

3rd. f. sg; PeCal: נָשָׁן "let there be"
(Go:10:1). EthpCcal: נִפְגַּשׁ "may she be healed" (Go:2:2; Mo:11:1; 24:2).

2nd. f. sg; PeCal: נָשָׁן "thou shalt come"
(Ob:II:15).

3rd. pl; PeCal: נָשָׁן "they shall be"
(Mo:12:3), and נִפְגְּשֵׁה (Mo:19:19); cf. נִפְגַּשׁ (נִפְגַּשׁ *)
"who will be" (Ash:1932.620:6; Mo:5:5); נָשָׁן "they shall
come" (Go:D:11; Mo:25:6). Ethpa<sup>cal</sup>: יָנַחְנוּ "they may be healed" (Go:7:2).

c. The Imperative

Plur. m; Pe<sup>cal</sup>: נָבוּ "come" (BM:91776:7).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; Pe<sup>cal</sup>: יָנוּ "being" (Go:D:7).

Ethpa<sup>cal</sup>: יִנְחָנ "healed" (Go:G:11).
E. The Particle

1. Prepositions

We shall begin with the common prepositions and proceed to those of low frequency, citing representative usages of each preposition.

בל -- The common meaning is: "in, on, by, against". We may note: הָלָּא "against his threshold" (Go:5:5); הֵשָּׁמָּה יִרְדָּה "in the name of YHYHYH" (Go:C:8); etc.

Besides the above meanings בל may denote "from":

אֶלֶּהוֹמְנָו "they brought out from their lips" (BM:91751:8); אָלָּהוֹמְנָו לְרֹאְשׁ תַּתָּה בָּנֵי אָדָם "go and eat it from his basket of bread" (BM:91776:11).

With pronominal suffixes: בְּהָו "in them" (Go:ll:4); בְּהוּ "in him" (Go:ll:7); בְּהוּ "in it (f)" (Go:D:7); etc. The method of joining suffixes is the same as with substantives or pronouns.

Again, בל combines with some substantives to form other prepositions: בְּבוֹ "within it" (Ash:1931.177:9; BM:91776:8); בְּבֹ "before" (Mo:13:5). The plene orthography בְּבֹ, found in the Targums and Talmud, occurs in Go:ll:7; Mo:2:4; 6:11. The form בְּבֹ in Mo:29:11 is probably a shortened form of בְּבֹ "between" (Cf. also Mandaic בְּבֹ).

"to, for, towards": לְָלֶכֶת לִבְּשָׁתָם "ye shall go to the house" (Wohl:2417:16); לִבְּשָׁתָם לִבְּשָׁתָם "for the salvation, guarding and sealing" (Go:A:1); etc.

It combines regularly with genitive suffixes:

לִבְּךָ "to thee (f)" (Go:AI:6); בִּכְלָךְ "all he has" (Go:1:2); לְָךָ "to us" (BM:91776:8). Note here for לְָךָ "to thee" (Mo:17:10); etc.

It combines with substantives to form other prepositions: לָגוֹ "to, within" (Mo:13:10; 14:7).

It is conceivably combined with נָא, the sign of the accusative, in נָא לָנוֹ "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:9736:6); נָא בָּרֵא מַלְּאָכָיו אַלּוֹ "who kills a man from the side of his wife" (Mo:3:2,3).

"from, of, more (or less) than":

מָזָא לָנוֹ "from this day" (Go:A:4; Stube:43); מָזָא לָנוֹ מָלֵפִי "from all bad strokes" (Go:3:1,2); מָלֵפִי לָנוֹ "from all of them" (Mo:6:5).

With genitive suffixes: מָלֵפִי לָנוֹ "from him" (Go:H:14); מָלֵפִי לָנוֹ "from you" (BM:91776:10); מָלֵפִי לָנוֹ "from them" (Go:L:11); etc.

It combines with עַבְרָה to form another preposition:

34 I.e., Original *wât becomes vât (initial w > v).
"across the sea" (Mo:8:9), but "across" (Mo:17:10).

"behind", combined with ל "backward": ליחל "let them be turned backward" (Go:C:8); ליחל "behind your (f) backs" (Mo:8:3); ליחל "behind me" (Stube:58).

-- "apart, outside": יר "away from" (Mo:19:15).

"after, behind": מותיר "behind him" (Go:11:16), but מותיר (Mo:7:12), and מותיר (Myhr:12); מותיר "after" (Mo:28:2).

ליר "below": מַלָּלֶת <*min+la +'ara> "from below" (Go:D:14).

"because, for, in order to": מַכוֹל לְמִלֵּך "in order to vanquish" (Go:11:11), and (Mo:2:6) (where ל is used instead of מ). מַכוֹל לְמִלֵּך "because" (Go:11:16). The initial מ of מַכוֹל is worn down from מַכוֹל. Note also: מַכוֹל יִבְּרֵנָה "because I have bound" (Mo:4:3).

-- "until, to": וַיְרוּ "and forever" (Go:D:8); וַיְרוּ "until the great day" (Mo:4:4); וַיְרוּ "until the great hour" (Mo:4:5); וַיְרוּ "to" (Mo:19:19).

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25 Gordon indicates (in an article to appear in Orientalia during 1950) that this -מ is Hamito-Semitic, and may have its reflex in Coptic -Mo- as in ṠMaš "in him".
2. Adverbs

Adverbs may have a local, temporal, or modal meaning. Each of these categories is found in the texts as follows:
a. Local

- "here" (Mo:25:1).
- "there", written מָּר "to there" (Go:A:2).
- "there": יָּעַר "sit down there" (Mo:14:7; 19:14).

b. Temporal

- "now" (Mo:3:9). Montgomery would find prothetic מ in the form מַשָּׁה (Mo:4:1). However, this is almost certainly the JBA proclitic reduction of יִנְתָּ to מונת.
- "now" (Go:G:11). It combines with יָת in יָתֵנ "from now" (Go:D:7).

c. Modal

- "so, thus" (Mo:8:8).
- "so" (Mo:3:11).
- "likewise" (Mo:16:8).

The preposition מ when combined with substantives may express an adverbial meaning: מְרִיב "swiftly", lit., "in swiftness" (Go:7:2).


Besides EBA, this phenomenon also occurs in the Uruk Incantation: מְלֹא "on/at the door" (Go:AIC:2).
Negation is expressed in our texts by נִ and "not", passim. There is little evidence of the compounding of נִ with following words as in Mandaic, e.g.: לֶבַל עֲבֵרָה "which none transgresses" (Mo:38:8). It has been suggested (but not proved) that "the no-good ones" (Go:2:3; A:3; Mo:9:7). The various uses of נִ will be discussed in the Syntax.

3. Conjunctions

The regular coordinating conjunction is וּ, but before a vowelless consonant, the conjunction is מि: מִי "and which shall be" (Go:G:9); וּנְלָת "and forever" (Go:1:4); מִי "and which are not" (Mo:14:6), etc. See under Phonology §1B2. The same holds for Hebrew according to the Babylonian or Eastern Massora.

Waw may be an "equating" rather than a conjunctive element: וּיְרֹשׁ וּלֶוַט קְרֵבָו מִי "curse-sorceries and knock-sorceries" (Go:1:1,2).

There are two occurrences of מ (Arabic ﴾) "and", which is common in Arabic, and found in Ugaritic, and the Zinjirli, Elephantine, Nabataean and Palmyrene dialects: מִי "and her property" (Go:6:1); מִי "and flee" (Mo:17:11).

For occurrences of מ "or", note (Mo:2:5) and possibly (Mo:8:17).
Of the subordinating conjunctions note:

**_of the subordinating conjunctions note:**

- **"if":** "if you are thirsty, come, drink!" (Iraq:9721:9); "that if you sin at all" (Mo:2:3).

- **"as, like":** "blowing like the blast" (Mo:12:8). As a correlative:

  "as,..............so" (Mo:13:11); with "just as" in:

  "for just as..............so" (Iraq:9736:4,5). It combines with other particles: "as, like" (Go:AI:6; G:6; BM:9175:9; Ellis:1); and with ה to form "when, as though, as": "when he hears" (Mo:3:7); "as though kneaded in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); "as is right" (Mo:13:7).

- **"but, except"** (BM:91776:10; Mo:28:2). Note also (in +1â+hen (Mo:26:5).

- **"so, also"** (Go:G:6; Mo:3:9; 8:15), but written ב (Go:G:10). See § 1Bl. It combines with the particle נ (qâ( 'e[m] ) 'standing') in: נ "now" (lit. 'also standing').

- **"between".** It is found in the texts, combined with relative ד, expressing the correlative:

  "either by..............or" (Go:6:7; 38 See footnote, p. 88.)
D:10; Mo:3:5). Loss of final nun occurs: מִתְנָא בְּקֵינָא
"between the ethers" (Mo:39:11).

בָּלָה -- "again" (Go:AI:6; 11:7; Iraq: 11118), but note בָּלָה (Go:11:8). Variant spellings are found: בָּלָה (Go:G:6), and בָּלָה (Go:G:11). The latter may reflect the loss of final ב in the pronunciation, with ב written historically, but misplaced. Compare Talmudic...

4. Other Particles

The following interjections may be cited:

בָּלָה -- "oh!" (Mo:9:7; Hal.).

בָּלָה -- "oh, lo!" (Go:AI:5; G:5; 6:3; BM:91776:8). It combines with a following word: בּוֹרֵשׁ "lo, I have divorced" (Mo:13:8).

בָּלָה -- "woe!" (Go:11:5; Mo:1:9; Ob:I:20).

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III. SYNTAX

Elements of syntax have been incorporated in the grammatical discussion as it progressed. However, a summation of these syntactical elements in our texts is given here, as well as a consideration of the structure of the sentence.

One does not expect a great amount of syntactical variety in texts of such regular stylistic composition as ours. Repetition of phrases, sentences, or even whole passages is common. As is the rule in most magical texts, commands, both positive and negative, take up a large share of the narrative.

Here follows a survey of the syntax of the parts of speech and the various types of sentence structure.

A. The Parts of Speech

1. The Noun

Agreement of gender is not always adhered to. Feminine adjectives may determine nouns morphologically masculine. § IIICla.

In the case of participles with nominative pronominal endings, the masculine may be used for the feminine. § IIICla.
The dual has survived in the numerals "two (f)" and "two hundred". § IIIClb.

The construct state of the Noun has had its function curtailed by the use of Թ plus the Noun with genitive suffix to express the genitive relation. § IIIClb. For more on the circumlocution of the genitive, cf. §IIA2b.

The particle nants may determine the accusative case before nouns or pronouns, while Թ is also used to denote the accusative after verbs (as in Syriac). § IIIClc.

2. The Verb

The Perfect tense expresses past action. Its use is limited in the texts. §IIDla.

The Imperfect tense is the common medium of discourse in the texts. It may express present/future action or the command for action in the future (Jussive). Action in the present is expressed by the participle with or without nominative pronominal endings. §IIDla.

The Imperative is used for positive commands, and the Jussive plus Թ for negative commands. §IIDlc.

The Infinitive may express either a nominal or adverbial sense. §IIDlc.

3. Other Parts of Speech

From the limited evidence on the numerals we
note:

That the cardinal precedes the noun it modifies, and,

That the ordinal follows the noun it modifies. §IIB.

The use of the preposition ל to express the genitive may be seen in: לְהַרְחָבָה "their house" (Mo:1:6).

We may also note the unique idiom: מִלְּאַל "and also" (Mo:1:3). Cf. Latin simul ac.

B. The Sentence Structure

1. The Simple Sentence

There seems to be no set pattern for word order in the sentence. While the normal order seems to be: verb, subject, object, this does not always hold true. The object may, in some cases, precede as well as follow the verb. We note the following sample sentences: לְנוֹלַד "He has turned back the curse" (Go:8:9); לְכָלָה "Let there be health from the heavens for them (f)" (Go:2:1); אִירֶנְאָבַר "The land have I conquered" (BM:91776:14); קלֶקֶח שָׁמִיתוּ וַשָּׂמִיתוּ כָּל בְּוהָ "The voice I have heard! I have heard the voice of the man" (BM:19745:6).

The particle נָא is the regular means of forming the negative sentence in the texts. §IIE2c. Its most common
use is with the Jussive to express negative commands. 

§ IIDlc. Besides negative commands it expresses the negative declaration of fact, alone: "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:9736:6); or combined with or 

or 

or : "No one in its midst has sown it" (BM:91776:8); "None trespasses upon his ward" (Mo:7:13).

But one interrogative sentence can be found:

"Who's entering your house?" (BM:91776:8).

2. The Compound Sentence

Copulative sentences are formed by the conjunction waw, which joins verbs expressing actions closely following each other, or congruous:

"I bind to thee and seal and counter-seal to thee, the life, etc" (Mo:7:2,3); "They have vowed and performed by the idols and by the Istars" (Go:4:4,5). The conjunction introduces an interpolation into the text (Mo:2:5), where the scribe injects another name into the narrative.

The attributive relative sentence is expressed by use of the relative particle 7, reduced from its original force as a demonstrative. Commonly it is attached directly to the verb that introduces the relative clause: 

"The words of the vow that they
have vowed and performed against A" (Go:4:1); "TBBSYM, the demon that confounds the right side" (Go:H:4). With the introduction of a preposition into the relative clause the relative particle attaches itself to the subject of the clause: "This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid" (Mo:3:6). See also Go:I:7. Note also: "The seal-ring (of King Solomon) to which no one can go, and before which nobody stands" (Go:A:1,2). Note that the relative particle is omitted at the beginning of the second clause.

In the conjunctonal relative sentence SetActive as a conjunction serves to introduce an indirect quotation or, more commonly, a purpose clause: "I said to them that if at all you sin against A" (Mo:2:3); "...their ears are deafened so that they can not hear (anything) against A" (Go:6:1). See also Go:3:2,4; K:1; Mo:5:3; 12:3 etc.

The conjunction SetActive combines with ב" to form the prepositional compound ב" "when, as though, while". We may note: "when he hears" (Mo:3:7); "as though kneaded in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); "as is right" (Mo:13:7).
Occurrences of the correlative clause may be noted as follows:

"for just as the living may be turned away from the dead and the dead from the living, so will be turned away...." (Iraq:9736:4,5);

"as a virgin (?) travelling and bearing not, so..." (Mo:13:11).

The use of conditional sentences in the texts is limited. We may note: "if ye are thirsty, come, drink, and if ye are dry, come, be oiled (i.e., anointed)" (Iraq:9731:9).

The negative condition appears in the same verse. Note also: "that if you sin at all......I will lay a spell on you" (Mo:2:3).
It is our purpose here to cite the more important conclusions to be derived from the above study. Briefly we may state these conclusions as follows:

1. The language of our texts, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, belongs to the eastern branch of Aramaic and represents the language of the Jewish Colonies of Babylonia during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

2. Though there has been some dialectal softening of the emphatics and dropping of final consonants in the texts, it has not reached the stage which such dialectal decay has reached in the language of the Babylonian Talmud.

3. The language has closer affinities to the Syriac than to other Aramaic dialects. For instance, vocalization of the suffixed 3rd. singular feminine personal pronoun with qameš goes with Syriac versus Biblical Aramaic, which has pathāh. Again, as in Syriac, there is evidence of the loss of m̱ in the pronunciation.

4. The influence of Biblical Aramaic is seen in the occurrence of וּ instead of וּ for the suffixed 3rd. singular masculine personal pronoun, and in the learned writing used by the scribes of our texts. The frequent
loss of consonantal й in the orthography may reflect Mandaean influence.

5. There is evidence of an Accadian substratum at work in the language. First, in the many loanwords from Accadian. Secondly, in the use of the prefix й with the Jussive, 3rd. singular and plural, which may parallel a like usage of the prefix li with the iprus conjugation in Accadian to express the Jussive.
PARADIGMS
### The Strong Verb

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THE STRONG VERB
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*Ethpalpe'el*

| Impf. pl. 3 m. | מַלָ | מַלָ | מַלָ |

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**THE VERBS**

($§$ IID4)
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## The Doubly Weak Verb (§IID6)

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TEXT REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Texts cited here, and in the Bibliography, are those which have been used in the formulation of the Grammar. For more on the literature one is referred to footnote 3, page 3.

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B. Other Abbreviations

AASOR
Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.

AfO
Archiv für Orientforschung, Berlin.

AJSL
American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, Chicago.

AOR
Archiv Orientální, Prague.

BA
Biblical Aramaic

BTA
Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic

HV

JBA
Jewish Babylonian Aramaic

Mari I

Or.
Orientalia (Nova Series), Roma.

PSBA

RA

Uncat.
Uncatalogued text

ZA
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


Jensen, Peter, *Der aramäische Beschworungstext in spät-babylonischer Keilschrift*, Marburg, 1926.


**B. PERIODICAL ARTICLES**


