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.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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Third Advisor
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Subject Categories
Applied Linguistics | Jewish Studies | Language Interpretation and Translation | Translation Studies

Comments
Library at the Katz Center - Archives Room Manuscript. PJ5202 .R677 1949.

This dissertation is available at ScholarlyCommons: https://repository.upenn.edu/dropsietheses/35
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
June 1949
RECORD OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS

AUTHOR William Harvey Rossell

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 Mandæic, 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 נא before accusatives.

Persian influence includes loanwords of a magical character: מַלְאָךְ "demon" (Go:AI:2), and נַעַר (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.

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 ʃ and š, and between ʒ and ʒ. We may cite as examples of this attempt at legibility the writing of: Mo:1; 10; 13; 14; 15; Go:3; 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.

One particular difficulty is the similarity of form 8

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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 l. In a text such as Mo:25, there is further confusion with final nun, leading to the editor's reading נ for יד "who" in line 1. In Mo:21; 22; 23 little distinction is made in form between ' and l, and final nun. The confusion of ' and l in particular may throw doubt on certain vocalizations, cf., ידבש vs. י"לנ"ש "plagues" (Go:H:2).

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

The letters ' and l (less frequently ס) are used as vowel letters. Yod often indicates vocal §ewa: יבג "against them" (Go:1:3); יני "for them (f)" (Go:2:1); י" når "divorced" (Go:5:1). Waw may serve as the mater lectionis for qames: ינש "for thy name" (Go:2:1); י" ינש יתוח פאריכי נון "against her seed and against her house and her property" (Go:6:1); ינש יב "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, Mandæische Grammatik, Halle, 1875, § 57, 62.

10 As distinct from the Western Massorah, the Babylonian pronunciation has י (instead of י) for the 2nd. m. sg., pronominal suffix.
plural: נָֽכַדוּ "girls" (Go:MBTa:4); נָֽכַדְתָּל "creatures" (Go:ll:11); note also הָ֔דְּמָי "before him" (Mo:3:7); מִרְכְּבָנֹת יִחְדָּה "his lance" (Go:Al: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 ד, as follows: נָֽכַדְתָּל for נָֽכַדוּ "flesh" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8; Ash:1931.177:10); מִרְכְּבָנֹת יִחְדָּה "eleven" (BM:19745:3); מִרְכְּבָנֹת יִחְדָּה "twelve" (Mo:4:4; Hilp:G:2); מִרְכְּבָנֹת יִחְדָּה "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 ρ> צ as in נָֽכַדוּ "threshold" (Go:Al:4; Go:10:1; Mo:6:4). While this could be a case of emphatic > non-emphatic immediately after non-emphatic ד, the orthographic confusion of emphatics and non-emphatics in some texts supports the original premise.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Note also: מַהוּבָה (i.e., מַהוּבָנוּ < מַהוּבָנוּ) "calamity" (Go:8:4); וּלְעַב ה ר "everything" (Go:D:13,15); זְרֵי ה "in his gate" (Mo:4:7). This phenomenon may also be noted in the following verbal forms: וְיִרְבֵי "he shall split" (Mo:6:11) -- from יְשַׁק 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 "now" (Mo:4:1);

where initial ס has been worn down from ס. Linguistic wear may explain such a form as יָבִי "again" (Go:G:11) where the transposition of י and י ח has been facilitated by the fact that the י ח was not pronounced.

Loss of final nun may occur, though not as frequently as in BTA. The personal pronoun, 2nd. m. pl: יְבָנָה may be written יְבָנָה (BM:9:1776:6). The corresponding feminine form: יָבָנָה is also found written: יָבָנָה (Mo:8:15).

In the plural demonstrative pronoun "these", instead of יְבָנָה are found יְבָנָה and יְבוֹנָה (Mo:25:2); and יְבוֹנָה (Mo:25:5).

In the case of participles: יָרָבֵי "bound" (Go:C:6); יָרָבֵי "bound" (Go:C:6);

I.e., with assimilation of the vowel to labial -מ.

Levias, C., Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Babylonian Talmud, Cincinnati, 1900, § 65.

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 affirmatives: for "ye 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 "seven" (Mo:4:4). Other examples include: "male strokes" (Go:H:2); for "between the ethers" (Mo:29:11); "who will be" (Ash:1932.620:8). The same form occurs in Mo:3:5. Note initial ת for di under the influence of pronominal di which is written ת.

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

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

16 This is most likely a survival of old variants, for Hebrew also has ת ת ת ת alongside ת ת ת ת.
1 and 2 would indicate the loss of 6 in the pronunciation. Note also וָּתַהַנְכָנָס "their daughters" (Go:G:9). This transposition is seen in נַלְהַנְלָנ א:כָלֶן instead of normal נַלְהַנ "on him" (BM:19745:6).

2. The System of Vowels and Diphthongs

A final ã vowel is expressed by 8, less frequently by א. The latter letter is used regularly for such common words as: נַלְהַנ "charm" (Go:A:1; Ob:1:1), and especially when a word contains an 8, as in נַלְהַנ (Mo:2:1; 17:2). This phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic, but is preserved in the Samaritan dialect.

Medial ã vowel may also be expressed by an 8. We may cite: וָּתַהַנ הַדּוֹסְנָה וָּתַהַנ וּגֵירַה "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9); וָּתַהַנ וּגּו "before him" (Mo:3:7).

The vowel letters 1 and ' are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels medially.

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

17 See under Orthography, p. 8.
The vowel letter often indicates qamesh, showing that the latter was pronounced in Babylonia, with .

Note: "angel" (Go:1:2) where waw is unique in being followed by the mater lectionis . Other examples include:

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

Conjunctive waw is regularly written with the vowel before a vowelless consonant, i.e., . This is in keeping with the Babylonian supralinear vocalization of Hebrew and Aramaic. Note the following:

"and which will be" (Go:G:9); "and spirits of epilepsy(?)

"and of oil" (Ash:1931.177:10).

The vowel before laryngeals and : "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); "he sent" (Ash:1931.177:12); "fly!" (Go:G:11); "flee!" (Go:G:7,12);

"listen!" (Mo:8:4).

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

Short vowels are reduced to 'ewa 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; מַ. This is shown by the mater lectionis מ in בְּשָׂרִים "her seed"; נִבְּרִים "her house"; נְרוֹבִים "her property" (Go:6:1).

The possessive suffix, 3rd masculine singular is commonly: מ as in: מַבּ "in his house" (Go:11:13); מ "from all his house" (Go:C:7); מ "behind him" (Go:11:16); but note the Official Aramaic variants in: מיר (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); and מַמְר "from before him" (Hilp:G:3; Go:I:7; J:9); alongside the native Babylonian מַמְר (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 > מ (as shown by mater lectionis מ in "the form (i.e., מַמְר versus מַמְר 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): מַמְמ "oath" מַמְמ מ (cf. מ מ) > מ מ (Go:A:7; G:11; K:6; 6:6; Mo:1:12 etc); מ מ "dwelling" מ מ מ (Go:D:4; G:6); מ מ.
"summer" *qayt > qēt (Mo:30:2); מְנָרָה "small" *zuqayr > zēr (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, נ assimilates to most following consonants. We may note the following examples: *nl > ll in מֵרֵי לִבְנַת "from their clothing" (Mo:13:6); מֵרֵי לִבְנַת "from above" (Go:D:14); מֵרֵי לִבְנַת "from below" (<*min + la + 1a[e]) (Go:D:14); *nt > tt in יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ "ye are bound" (Go:11:17; MBTa:1);

דָּוִד יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹוָהוֹ אֶרֶץ יְהֹو

19 This shift -t'-> -tt- is common to all dialects for the לִבְנַת (<לִבְנַת), the reflexive of the לִבְנַת.
Dissimilation occurs in לֶבֶן "roof-spouts" for לֶבֶן (Go:H:3) where מ > נ under the influence of labial ב; (= Barth's Law for Accadian). This is most certainly the Accadian substratum at work. A possible dissimilation *עָט > int is found in: הַנְּשָׁה "his wife" (Go:D:14; 3:1); for the regular נְשָׁה (Go:B:7). Alternatively this may be a survival that has resisted assimilation (for the root is אֶנֶת with מ). Note also that mind- in: כִלּוֹל רְבֶנְה "everything" (Mo:5:2); as against the common כִּילּוֹל (Go:B:8). There is dissimilation of ד to נ in: רְבָּדָה אָנָס "boys and girls" (Go:AI:4; G:4); which replaces the regular רְבָּדָה אָנָס (Mo:11:6).

Metathesis may be noted as follows: לַיִשׁ "Tayyite tribesmen" (Go:D:9) with metathesis of נ and ל; מַר for מַר "toe-nails of (his feet)" (Mo:19:19); מֵאָב for מֵא "cancelling" (BM:91751:8); тצ > צת (along

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

In our texts a demon or demoness may be struck "in the membrane (pericardium) of the heart". Jastrow cites "pericardium". The Mandaic spelling occurs in: יִנְשָׁפֵר "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 in Go:A1:5; and also in Go:G:4,11 and Iraq:11113.

Of special interest is: יִנְשָׁפֵר "entering" (BM:91776:5). At first glance this appears to be metathesis. However, it seems rather that the falling together of י and ש in the pronunciation caused the historically incorrect spelling, i. e., the word was pronounced 'âäl, 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: יִבְּרָמִית "let them destroy" (Iraq:Uncat); יִבְּרָמִית "ye shall (not) draw near" (Go:3:2; Ash:1932,620:IV15); יִבְּרָמִית "do (not) prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10).

Prothetic ל occurs in at least three instances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>יָבִא בָעְשֵׁנִי</th>
<th>יָבִא בָעְשֵׁנִי</th>
<th>יָבִא בָעְשֵׁנִי</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;plague&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;losses&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.</td>
<td>ב/ב'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.</td>
<td>נג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.</td>
<td>נב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.</td>
<td>נט</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.</td>
<td>נט</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

The 3rd. masculine plural form is מְנַכֶּה (Go:B:4; D:6; Mo:13:4; 25:5). No example of the 3rd. feminine plural can be accurately cited. In Schwab:I מְנַכֶּה and in Schwab:Q מְנַכֶּה 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:
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: נֵעָמָן אֶזֶה "this amulet" (Go:A:1; C:7; 10:5); but written with a mater lectionis: נֵעָמָנ (Go:7:1). Other spellings occur in: נֵעָמָנ "this Guśnin" (Iraq:9736:9), with h- > l- ; נ י "this A". (Mo:28:4),

24 The form נֵעָמָנ (var. נֵעָמָנ), borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as found in Biblical Aramaic, is also found.
where 邑 > 亻. Forms normally enclitic (see below) appear as proclitics in: מָצַּוָּב בַּבֶּךָלָי "this day above any day" (Mo:17:1); יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל "this Israël" (Mo:30:1).

Masculine singular enclitic forms are:

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

The feminine singular proclitic form is יִשְׂרָאֵל (Go:A:1; D:7; G:7). Final י may be omitted haplographically as in יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "on this threshold" (Go:D:13). The enclitic form is יִשְׂרָאֶל as in יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "this Qamoi" (Go:D:6). Compare also Iraq:11113; Mo:18:5. The form יִשְׂרָאֶל (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 יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל occurs: יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "these seven words" (Mo:6:7; 10:2); יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "of these names" (BM:19745:4); but in other examples, proclitic and enclitic, the י is reduced to י- : יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "by these names" (BM:19745:6); יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל יִשְׂרָאֶל "these vows" (BM:91751:9). The forms יִשְׂרָאֶל
and נְּנָֽו (Mo:25:2); and נְּנָֽו "these" (Mo:25:5) occur independently as substantives. Note the reduction נ > zero. Montgomery suggests Hebraism.

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

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

b. The Relative

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

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

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

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

The relative נ combines with the verb נ plus ל to show possession: לִתי תִּקְנֶה "theirs" (Go:G:5); לֶא יְבַקְשֶׁה "yours" (Mo:1:14).

c. The Interrogative and Indefinite

One example of the interrogative pronoun is found in BM:91776:8 מַשֵּׁא לִתי תִּקְנֶה "who's entering your house?". In the same text, verse 6, מַשֵּׁא occurs as an indefinite pronoun in the phrase מַשֵּׁא "whoever thou (art)". The phrase נ לופ "the one who" occurs in Mo:2:2; 6:11; 25:1.

Other indefinite pronouns are: מַשֵּׁא "anything" (Mo:11:5,7); and מַשֵּׁא "everything" (Go:B:8). Note the other spellings of this latter phrase in Go:D:13,15; 7:9; Mo:5:2. In Iraq:llll3 is found מ של "everybody"; while של plus נ "no one" occurs in Mo:7:13.

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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" -- רף, ḫad (m); מַלְאָךְ, hōdā (f) -- מַלְאָךְ
"one of Kurmin" (Go:5:11,13); מַלְאָךְ מֵעֵד "to a certain (i.e., one) mountain" (Hilp:G:3). The ordinal (m) occurs in: מַלְאָךְ מֵעֵד "the first Adam" (Mo:10:3). Montgomery would read מַלְאָךְ as an ordinal in מַלְאָךְ "in the name of the first" (Mo:6:7).

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

"3" -- מַלְאָךְ, tēlāt (m); מַלְאָךְ, tēlātā (f) --
"three" (?) (Go:L:1); "the three angels" (Go:C:4) where we would expect "the three of you (f)" in the bowl texts; "the three of you (f)" (Mo:8:3; 17:4; Go:K:3).

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

"four" -- The cardinal and ordinal may be cited:

"fourth" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:4). The ordinal (f) is "fourth" (Mo:6:8).

"five" -- The cardinal and ordinal may be cited:

"five of you (f)" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:4); "fifth" (Mo:6:8).

"sixth" (Mo:6:8).

"seven" (Go:10:3); "the seven planets" (Go:11:15); "and the seven sons of roofs" (Go:H:2); "with the seven seals" (Mo:19:4). Compare also Mo:4:4; 6:7; 19:10. The ordinal (f) is "seventh" (Mo:6:8).

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

"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 ימשר.

"12" -- "twelve sons" (Hilp:G:2);

"12" -- "twelve signs of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4).

Note the variants: terê casar and terên casar.

"20" -- יעשר (Go:10:3).

"30" -- יתעזור (Go:L:1).

"40" -- יאבריא in the phrase "248 members of the body" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5; H:14).

"60" -- ישהומ ששת אללייר דיברי "in the name of the sixty male gods" (Mo:19:8).

"70" -- ישפניעי ליברני "in the seventy languages" (Go:D:10).

"80" -- יטבט מטבטרא ניסברה "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9).

"100" -- ימא 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 -ân.
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: סִדְרֵי רֹאשׁ "good spirits" (Mo:7:9); ושֵׁיי רֹאשׁ "evil spirits" (Go:H:2); נְבוֹלָי נַפְשָׁי "sharp scythes" (Mo:7:17).

In the case of participles with nominative pronominal endings the masculine may be used for the feminine: לֶבֶן נָשִׁים "ye (f) are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5) where -ין + -in > -itten; לֶבֶן נָשִׁים "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>־ו (-ינ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construct</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>־ (-א)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>(י) ־ (-א)</td>
<td>־ (-א)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some nouns (e.g., נבר כ "heavens"; נב "waters"), the masculine plural emphatic ending -אֵֽי replaces the regular ending . This variant ending is the regular form in Reichsaramäisch (or Official Aramaic).

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

An inflectional ending ־ 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 י"הנ "two hundred" (Go:2:5; 8:8; 10:5;
H:14), where the form of the old dual nominative -ן has
been preserved, and י"הנ "two (f)" (BM:91776:2) with the
feminine oblique dual ending.

Of the Absolute State the following examples
may be cited: m. sg: לעי עי "at every time and occa-
sion" (BM:91745:10); רע רע "honey is poured" (Mo:12:5);
f. sg: ע"ה ע"ה "with a little, hard bolt" (Iraq: 9731:6); m. pl: ע"ה ע"ה "mighty practices" (Go:7:8);
יר עיר "bad dreams" (Go:K:2). Loss of final nun
may occur with some adjectives as in: עי עי "male
strokes" (Go:H:2); f. pl: עי עי "daughters" (Go:D:12);
יר עיר "in spheres" (Mo:8:13).

The Construct State has had its function
curtailed somewhat by the use of -ל to express the genitive
relation. Following are examples of the construct: m. sg:
יר עי "spirit of lilith" (Mo:30:3); י"היעריבי "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); f. sg: ע"ה ע"ה
"in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); ע"ה ע"ה
"upon the threshold of his house" (Go:G:3); m. pl: "ע"ה ע"ה
יר עיר "angels of destruction" (Go:7:8); ע"ה עי "the
sons of men" (Go:H:3); f. pl. "..."
"toe-nails of his feet" (Mo:19:19).

The Emphatic State occurs as follows:
m. sg: נֹּאֲרָהּ נְפָרָהּ "the light I darkened" (BM:q1776:14);
"the Plague and the she-Plague" (Mo:16:10);
f. sg: מְלָטָה רֶפֶתָה "the great queen" (Mo:19:6);
"presumptuous woman" (Go:B:7);
m. pl: מְלָטָה רְפֶתּות וְרְפֶתֻּת "evil sorceries" (Ash:1931.177:2,4,12);
"relatives" (Go:H:1);
f. pl: נְפָרָת נְפָרָת "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 י in the formation of the plurals of some biconsonantal nouns: נְפָרָת "names" (BM:19745:3);
"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 נַ (Heb. נַ ) as in Biblical Aramaic. It may be used either independently נַ כָל הָודִים "all the members" (Go:H:3); or attached to a following pronominal suffix נַ וְכָל שְׁם מְעַז "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 הָ is a literary affectation from Biblical Aramaic, or, still more likely, the Targumim in dialects using הָ. (Genuine dialect mixture is, of course, also conceivable).

We may also note here the use of ב to denote the accusative as in Syriac: סֵאָדָא לְבוֹנוּ "I have bound you" (Mo:4:3); סֵאָדָא לְבוֹנוּ "I adjure you" (Go:7:6). The enclitic use of ב and ה 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 ס. We may note the following examples in our texts:

1st. sg: יְדֵי רְאֹל לַבָּא "my own hand" (Mo:7:12); לַבָּא "for my gate" (Iraq:9731:5); נְחַל בְּרֶמֶשׁ "in my own strength" and נְחַל בְּרֶמֶשׁ "my skull" (Mo:2:1); נְחַל בְּרֶמֶשׁ "to my ban" (Mo:1:12); נְחַל בְּרֶמֶשׁ "my command" (Ob:II:16).

2nd. m. sg: This suffix is rarely found in the texts outside of Hebrew contexts. We may cite: מֶשֶׁט בְּרֶמֶשׁ "(who) breaks thy bone" (Mo:7:17); בְּרֶמֶשׁ "thy tribe" (Mo:7:17).
2nd. f. sg: הַדְּסֶךְ הַרְאוֹנִי "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); חֲזַרְחַזְרְהַלְכָּךְ "in the membrane of thy heart" (Mo:11:7; Go:G:4; Iraq:llllll3); מַלְאַכְי "thy divorce" and מַקְבַּכְי "thine adjuration" (Go:G:11).

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

With dual or plural nominal stems היה is also found: היהי בָּנוֹי "his sons" (Go:1:2); היהי בָּנוֹי "his feet" (Mo:19:19); זָרֵי "his hands" (BM:19745:4). However, there is also found the suffix היה - borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as used in the Biblical Aramaic: היהו יד "under his hands" (Mo:19:14); מַרְוֹה י "his lord(s)" (Mo:12:6); מַרְוֹה י "his evil brothers" (Mo:4:3), with -וי > ָי through elision of the ה.

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

1st. pl: We may cite: מַנְבָּה "our creator"
and "our ruler" (Ob:II:14); but note "our gates" (BM:91776:4), where -nâ > -n postvocalically.

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.

2nd. pl. f: "your father" and "your mother" (Go:K:4; Mo:8:4); "the four of you" (Mo:8:3; 17:4; Go:K:3); "your posterity" (Mo:1:8). Loss of final is indicated in "at your mouths" (Go:C:4). The following examples are with paccel 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 יִיְשֹׁרָה "in their dances" (Mo:12:8); יִיְל "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). CàC, or (2). CàC. Following are biconsonantals of 29
CàC: סִּנְנ "father" (Go:H:1; K:4); סִּנְנ "brother" (Go:H:1; Mo:4:3); סִּנְנ "son" (Go:11:6; A:2,3,4; G:8,9; H:12; Mo:2:4 etc); סִּנְנ (yad+â > ydâ) "hand" (Go:B:7; C:6; 6:2; 7:8; Mo:19:14); and of feminines we may note the following:

סִּנְנ "handmaid", pl: סִּנְנִים (Go:D:7); סִּנְנ "daughter" (Go:A1:3; B:7; G:3; Ellis:1); סִּנְנ *ham+ât, "mother-in-law" (Go:B:7; BM:19745:1; Iraq:9726:2); סִּנְנ "bow" (Go:11:7);

סִּנְנ "year" (Mo:6:5,6).

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

29 While the unusual formation of nouns like סִּנְנ, סִּנְנ, etc. with suffixes is recognized, for the purpose of this study they are treated as qatl biconsonantals of CàC.
We may mention here two nouns with plurals in -ו. These are the uniconsonantal אים "waters" (Go:H:12; Ash:1931.177:10; BM:19745:7; Mo:1:11, etc); and biconsonantal אים "heavens" (Go:11:4,9,13; D:2; Mo:9:6; 11:2 etc).

The strong root affords many examples:

א"למ "stone" (Hyv.); א"למ "briar" (BM:91776:8); א"למ "earth" (Go:1:1; 11:4; D:14; BM:91776:8; Mo:2:2); א"למ "place" (Hilp:G:8; Mo:12:8); א"למ "husband" (Go:G:2; Mo:8:13); א"למ "man" (Go:C:6; D:10); א"למ "bone" (Go:C:5; Iraq:9736:3; Mo:7:17); א"למ "field" (Iraq:9726:2; Mo:17:3; Ellis:3); א"למ "seed" (Go:E:5; 6:1; Mo:1:8); א"למ "village" (BM:91776:15); א"למ "wine" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8); א"למ, א"למ, "sorceries" (Go:10:2; Ash:1931.177:2,4,12; Ash:1932.620:3; Go:MTa:7 etc); א"למ "month" (Mo:6:5); א"למ "walled city" (BM:91776:15); א"למ "bread" (BM:91776:11); א"למ "king" (Go:AI:2; 11:18; Ash:1932.619:14); א"למ "life" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1; 7:3); א"למ "(Magic) circles" (Mo:7:11); א"למ "slave" (Go:D:6); א"למ "bed" (BM:91776:9; Mo:7:17); א"למ "body" (Go:11:13,16; B:8,9; Mo:7:6; 19:15); א"למ "part, dissension" (Go:H:7; Iraq:9731:7); א"למ
"figure" (Go:1:1; J:2); מצלע "early morning" (Mo:26:5);
מגף "horn" (Mo:12:5); מגיע "evening" (Mo:26:5); מגנה "dance" (Mo:12:8); מגנות "military division" (Mo:13:1);
מגף "gate" (Go:D:14; BM:91776:14; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:7).
Of feminine nouns: מלכת "queen" (Go:H:12; Mo:19:6);
ממש "slumber" (Mo:7:16; 8:11).

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

Of the י"ן roots: י"ל "house"
(Go:AI:4,7; A:1; C:7; Mo:1:6 etc); יליעה (*hayl > hël) "strength" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1); י"לע (Cayn > כֵּן) "eye" (Go:6:1; 7:9; B:6,7; I:2,3 etc); ימלע (*qayt > qêt) "summer" (Mo:30:2).

Of the י"ן roots: י"ן (yawm > yôm)
"day" (Go:A:4; C:8; G:8; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:4 etc); ימלט (mawt > môt) "death" (Go:1:7; L:2; Iraq:9736:5; Mo:3:6 etc);
 ימלס (Cawf > כּות) "bird" (Mo:7:14); ימלס ( *sawt, cf. ) "shout" (Go:K:6); ימלת (tawr > tör) "ox" (Go:D:6; J:4). Of feminines: ימלט (qawm > qôm + tâ) "height" (Go:10:5; 11:1,2; H:3; Mo:2:1; 19:3).
Of "ה" roots note the feminine adjectives: בְּרִי "pure" (Go:6:5; 11:3; Mo:27:4); שַׁקָּק "hard" (Go:6:2; Iraq:9731:6; Go:MBTa:1; Mo:7:11).

(2). The QITL formation.

Of biconsonants note: בַּקָּשׁ "sleep" (ץִין + תָּא, from וּזְזִי) (Mo:6:10; Ob:II:1); בְּשֵׁם "lip" (BM:91751:8).

Of the strong roots: בְּשֵׁם "prince" (Ash:1932.620:IV10; Go:D:11; L:13); בִּשֵּׁמֶש Syr. בִּשְׁמָה "enchantment" (Go:11:6; Mo:2:3); בִּשְׁמַנ "flesh" (Go:6:10; Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:8); בִּשּׁוֹר "word" (Go:2:7);

בִּשְׁמַנ "male" (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:A:3; B:5; Mo:6:2 etc);
בִּשְׁמַנ "time" (BM:91745:10; Ob:II:19); בְּשֵׁם, שָׁר "vision" (Go:G:8);
בִּשְׁמַנ "dream" (Go:2:5; K:2; MBTa:3; Mo:6:10);
בִּשְׁמַנ "grace" (Mo:13:6); בִּשְׁמַנ "darkness" (Go:8:5; Mo:16:6);
בִּשְׁמַנ "press?" (Mo:6:1; 12:6; 26:2); בִּשְׁמַנ "boundary" (Go:MBTa:7);
בִּשְׁמַנ "oil" (Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:11);

בִּשְׁמַנ "vow" (Go:1:1; 4:1; H:3; Mo:5:2; 7:13 etc);
בִּשְׁמַנ "row" (Go:11:10; Mo:2:7);
בִּשְׁמַנ "side" (Mo:6:10);
בִּשְׁמַנ "book" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6);
בִּשְׁמַנ "destruction" (Mo:16:6);

בִּשְׁמַנ, feminine בִּשְׁמַנ "signet" (Go:A:1; B:4; F:2; Mo:8:11; 21:3; 22:3 etc);
בִּשְׁמַנ "door" (Iraq:11113; Mo:6:6);
בִּשְׁמַנ

30 With aphaeresis of י- as in Arabic where the infinitive of שַׁמָּו is שָׁמָו.
"grave" (Ash:1932.620:12); מַמְאֹת "knot" (Go:E:1,5; 10:4; Mo:28:5); מָרָן "foot" (Go:6:2; C:6; H:9; Mo:12:7; 19:19); מַמְיָר "steer" (Go:D:13); מַמְיָר "gesture" (Mo:19:8); מַמְיָר "reptiles" (Mo:7:14); מַמְיָר "quiver" (Go:H:8); מַמְיָר "rope, spinal column" (Go:H:10; 6:2,4); מַמְיָר Syr. מַמְיָר "sun" (BM:91776:15); מַמְיָר "vermin" (Mo:7:14).

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

Of מַמְיָר roots: מַמְיָר "mother" (Go:B:6; K:4; BM:91745:1; Mo:8:4 etc); מַמְיָר "spoil" (Mo:5:3); מַמְיָר "sinew" (Ash:1931.177:11); מַמְיָר "bill of divorcement" (Go:AI:6,7; Go:G:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:8:7 etc); מַמְיָר "shade" (Mo:29:9); מַמְיָר "heart" (Go:AI:5; G:4; MBT:3; Mo:11:7; 19:18 etc); מַמְיָר "word" (Go:4:1; BM:91745:4; Mo:6:7,9); מַמְיָר "peg" (Go:H:15), the feminine מַמְיָר occurs in Go:C:5; מַמְיָר "swelling" (Go:H:8); מַמְיָר "side, column" (Go:6:2).

Of מַמְיָר roots: מַמְיָר "side" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:2); מַמְיָר "flux" (Go:H:8); מַמְיָר "judgment, magic spell" (Go:1:4; H:1; Mo:4:5; 19:8); מַמְיָר "glory" (Mo:7:5); מַמְיָר "thick honey" (Mo:12:5); מַמְיָר "hair spirits" (Mo:7:13); מַמְיָר "blast (demon)" (Ash:1932.620:7; Go:C:1; 7:8; Mo:1:9); מַמְיָר "genus" (Go:2:3; Mo:1:8; Ellis:5); מַמְיָר "splendor" (Mo:7:5; 12:7); מַמְיָר "fluid" (Go:H:8); מַמְיָר "contention"
(Mo:25:3); מַשָּׁה "head" (Go:11:15; Iraq:Uncat.; Mo:4:5; 19:19); נָבִי "circlet-spirit" (Mo:15:6); נְגִי "goblin" (Mo:15:5); נָבְע "ring" (Go:3:3). Of feminines: נֵבֶר "dwelling" (Go:11:16; A:1,4; C:8; G:5).

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

(3). The QUTL formation.

One biconsonantal gutl occurs: נֵבֶר (absolute נֵבֶר) "name" (Go:8:1; 11:11; D:14; BM:19745:3 etc). Of the strong roots note: נֵבֶר "ear" (Go:6:1; Schw:1); נֵבֶר "road" (Iraq:9731:10); נֵבֶר "strong one" (Go:Al:5; G:4); נֵבֶר "troop" (Mo:7:17); נֵבֶר "uncleanness" (Go:A:3; Mo:29:7); נֵבֶר "priest" (Mo:19:10); נֵבֶר "rage" (BM:91776:14; Mo:16:7; Wohl:2422:15); נֵבֶר "plague" (Go:H:2; K:2; BM:19745:5; Mo:12:4 etc). Of feminines: נֵבֶר "toe-nail" (Mo:19:19).

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

Of the י"ע roots: נֵבֶר "body" (Go:Al:7; Mo:13:10); נֵבֶר "place" (BM:19745:4); נֵבֶר "little" (Iraq:...
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9731:6); נֹּרֶם "mountain" (Go:11:9; H:10; BM:19745:7; Mo:7:12; 9:6 etc); נֹּרֶם "blemish" (Go:K:7); נֹּרֶם "fire" (Go:E:4; Mo:8:13; 14:3; 15:7); נֹּרֶם "bowl?" (Mo:9:1); נֹּרֶם "wall" (Mo:4:6); נֹּרֶם "spirit" (Go:11:10,12; Ash:1932.620:12; Mo:8:16; 16:8,9; 30:3 etc). Of feminines: נֹּרֶם "curse" (Go:A1:1; A:2; B:6; MBTa:7; Mo:20:3 etc).

b. The Bisyllabic Formations

(1). With two short vowels.

(a). qatal

We may note: נֹּרֶם "mankind" (Heb. מַעָרַת) (BM:91751:8); נֹּרֶם "hail" (Heb. מַעָרַת) (Mo:14:3); נֹּרֶם "lightening" (Mo:12:8); נֹּרֶם "camel" (Heb. מַעָרַת) (Go:D:13); נֹּרֶם "new" (Mo:13:11); נֹּרֶם "stone pitcher" (BM:91776:11); נֹּרֶם "corner" (Go:D:14); נֹּרֶם "breath" (Go:H:8); נֹּרֶם "leech" (BM:91745:9); נֹּרֶם *Capar > Cafar > Cafra "dust" (Iraq:9726:3). Of feminines: נֹּרֶם "envious" (Go:7:9); נֹּרֶם , נֹּרֶם , "middle" (Go:6:12); נֹּרֶם , נֹּרֶם , "breath" (BM:19745:5; Ob:II:15); נֹּרֶם "enmity" (Go:L:7); נֹּרֶם "release" (Mo:17:12).

(b). qatul

Of this formation: נֹּרֶם , נֹּרֶם , "protection" (Go:7:2; A:1).
(c). qutal

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

(2). With א after the first radical.

(a). qâtal

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

(b). qâtâl

This is the common Peša'el Participle formation: הָלָּא "heir" yârit +א > yârîtā (Go:L:11); הָלָּא "decent" (Mo:29:7); הָלָּא "male striker" and הָלָּא "female striker" (Go:H:7).

Some tertiae weak forms occur:

סִבָּא "healer" (Mo:3:1; Go:MBTa:5); סָבָא "excrements" (Go:C:3); סָבָא "lord" (Go:11:11; E:5; H:17; Mo:12:6 etc); and the feminine: סָבָא "lady" (Mo:19:5; Ob:II:7).

(c). qûtôl

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

With short vowel after the first and long vowel after the second radical.

(a). qatâl

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

(b). qatîl

Of this formation: נברע "cattle" *বিr > bিr (Go:D:7); נברע "evil" *বিr >
bিr > bিr (Go:10:5; 11:5,10,12; C:6; H:2; Mo:8:16 etc);
נברע "crown" (Mo:13:11); נברע "robe" (Mo:13:6);
נברע "firmament" (Go:8:6; Mo:8:9). Of feminines note:
נברע/ב "bar" (Go:11:2; Mo:2:1; 27:3).

(c). qatûl

We note here: נברע "basket"
(Go:C:3); נברע "sign of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4). Of feminines:
נברע/ב "virgin" (Mo:13:9); נברע "promise" (Go:6:6).
(d). qitâl

This formation occurs in:  נָבַל
"limb" (Go:H:9);  נָבַל "God" (Go:4:3; L:6; Mo:7:4; 13:6; 14:1 etc);  נָבַל "man"  מִנְס > מֶנֶס (Go:A:2; B:7; H:3; Mo:7:13 etc);  נָבַל "fire", הַאָרְץ, (BM:19745:9; Mo:3:6; 14:7; 24:2);  נָבַל *חִימָר > חָמָר "ass" (Go:D:6; J:4);  נָבַל "string" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:5). Of feminines:  נָבַל "headache" (Go:H:12; Iraq:Uncat.).

(e). qutûl

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

(f). qutayl

The special diminutive formation occurs:  נָבַל "decree" (BM:91751:9); the feminine form occurs in Go:11:9; Mo:1:9);  נָבַל *צָעַר > צָעַר "small" (Go:D:7);  נָבַל "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:  נָבַל "light" (Go:11:2; BM:91776:14);  נָבַל "incantation" (Go:B:6; 7:9; MBTa:7).
(4). With doubling of the middle radical.

(a) qattîl

This is the formation of many adjectives: אֲשֵׁר הָעָלָה "sharp" (Mo:7:17); אֲשֵׁר אֲשֵׁר "trusty" (Go:5:12); אֲשֵׁר הָעָלָה "right" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:10); אֲשֵׁר "burning" (Mo:3:6; 14:7); אֲשֵׁר נַע "bitter, strong" (Go:11:5; MB Ta:2; Mo:2:3; 4:4); אֲשֵׁר נַע "strong" (Mo:28:5; Go:MB Ta:2); אֲשֵׁר נַע "sweet" (Ellis:5); אֲשֵׁר נַע "holy" (Go:B:1; L:12; Mo:4:1); אֲשֵׁר נַע "swift" (Go:5:10); אֲשֵׁר נַע "near" (Go:H:1; BM:19745:2; Iraq:9726:2); אֲשֵׁר נַע "old" (Mo:19:9); אֲשֵׁר נַע "ruler" (Go:AI:2; G:3; Mo:11:7; Ob:II:14); אֲשֵׁר נַע "strong" (Go:I:7; Mo:3:1; 13:6); אֲשֵׁר נַע "dragon" (Go:11:7,9; Mo:2:4,6); אֲשֵׁר נַע "mighty" (Go:H:5,11; Ash:1931.177:2,4,12; Ash:1932.620:5; Go:MB Ta:2). Of feminines: אֲשֵׁר נַע "distant one" (BM:19745:2; Iraq:9726:2).

(b) qattâl

We may mention: אֲשֵׁר נַע "part" (Go:10:5; H:3); and of feminines: אֲשֵׁר נַע "profane one" (Go:G:7); אֲשֵׁר נַע "strangler" (Go:G:7; J:4); אֲשֵׁר נַע "witch" (Go:C:4; MB Ta:7); אֲשֵׁר נַע "necklace" (Go:8:4,6; Mo:7:11); אֲשֵׁר נַע "ban" (Go:8:5; A:2; Mo:2:6; 8:6; 16:7); אֲשֵׁר נַע "abortion" (Mo:11:4); אֲשֵׁר נַע "remedy" (Ob:II:12). Of Tertiae Weak note: אֲשֵׁר נַע "chills" (BM:19745:9).
(c). qittāl

Of this formation:  סֶפֶל "spell" (Go:11:17; E:2; G:2; 8:5; Mo:5:2; 16:10 etc); סֶל "command" (Go:H:7); סֶל "charm" (Go:G:10; BM:19745:9; Iraq:11113; Mo:6:2; Ob:I:21); סֶל "banishment" (Go:G:7); סֶל "excommunication" (Go:A:2);

Sûril "knockers" (BM:19745:5); סֶל "dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6). Of feminines: סֶל "blow" (Go:1:2; Mo:12:9; Stübe:2; Wohls:2426:6 etc).

(d). qittāl

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

(e). quttāl

This formation occurs in: סֶל "sealing" (Go:11:17; A:1; D:3; E:2,5; Mo:7:4 etc); סֶל "bolt" (Iraq:9731:6); סֶל *Cubbād "practice" (Go:10:4; B:5,6; Ash:1932,620:4; Mo:9:1 etc).

c. Nouns With Prefixes

(1). With prefixed ס: 
As examples of prefixed נ may be cited: "plague" נג (Mo:29:9); "losses" נר (Mo:7:11). Of feminines note the Afel formations:

בנ "ban" (Go:11:9; Mo:2:6); ונל "magic spell" (Go:1:1; Mo:12:9; 16:10; Stübe:2 etc).

A formation based on the Ethpeel is found: "knocking" נסו (Go:6:6; Mo:16:10).

(2). With prefixed נ:

But one example occurs: ל"praise" נסב (Mo:12:7; 29:12; Ob:1:23).

(3). With prefixed או:

(a). maqtał

Of this formation:

"angel" נמלאק נ (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:1:2; G:4; 1:7 etc); נ.sunset" (Go:10:3); נ.בנ "bed" נסב (Go:13:15; 2:5). Of weak formations: נ.ר.מ "height" (Mo:9:7); נ.מ.ל "dwellng" נ.מ.דב > נ.דב > נ.דב (Go:4:1:4; G:6). Of feminines: נ.ר.ב "chariot" (Go:8:4; Mo:14:2).

(b). maqtał

Here note: נ.ו.מ "oath" נו.
(e). miq̣tal

The formation of PeCaI Infinitive includes: מֵימָר "word" מֶמָר > מֶמָר (Go:D:10; Mo:13:8);
"scatterings" (Go:L:3); נֵיפָּד "standing place" (Go:H:14).

(d). Participial formations

Of PaCciel Participle: מַכֵּל "annulling one" (Ash:1932.620:10; Iraq:11113; Mo:11:2,3);
מַכְלָב "monster" (metathesis of Ṣibk (Mo.)) (Go:A:2; K:2; Mo:2:7); נַכְל "banning one" (Ash:1932.620:9,10).

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

(e). Other formations

Single occurrences may be noted of maatil: מַאֵט "province" (Go:10:3); and of maq̣tol: מָאֵט "food" מָעֵט (Go:11:13,16; D:14; Iraq:11113).

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

(1). With suffixed -ān:

(a). qatl

The following are found:

zaydān > zēdān "presumptuous" (Go:11:10; B:7; H:7; Ob:1:13); ṣawmū, ḥuṣnī, "destruction" (Ob:II:7); ṣawmū "flood"

(b). qitl

Here are found: ṣawmū "building" (Mo:16:6); ṣawmū "vision" (Go:2:3; G:8; MBTa:3; Mo:30:5;

(c). qutl

We may note: ṣawmū "name"

(d). Other formations

Of qital: ṣawmū "glorious"
(2). With suffixed -ûth:

Of this formation: "health" (Go:10:1; L:13; Mo:3:1; 11:1; 19:1 etc); "likeness" (Go:G:8; Mo:1:12; 6:4; 12:15 etc); "garment" (Mo:13:6); "blow" (Go:I:1; Mo:16:6); "will" (Mo:12:6; Ob:II:16).

(3). With suffixed -îth:

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

(4). With suffixed -âî:

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

e. Nouns With Prefixes and Suffixes

Here may be noted the PaCCEL Participle
with suffixed -ān (nomen agentis): שומרי נשים "guardian" (Mo:7:9); חלף "destroyer" (Go:H:4); משלוח "practitioner" (Ash:1931.177:12); שמח נשלוח "sender" (Go:C:8; 5:6; 9:3; Ash:1931.177:12).

Other nouns in this category include: נשים "poverty" √skn (Mo:16:10). A Hafel formation with suffixed -beth occurs: רמי "faith" √mn (Mo:29:12). A Shafel noun with suffixed -ith is: נשרות "flame" √ib (Mo:14:7).

f. Other Nominal Formations

(1). Reduplicated nouns.

(a). qalqal

Of this formation note: יולג "sphere" (Mo:6:11; 8:13; 25:7); אש/עש "boy/girl" (Go:A1:4; G:4; MBTa:4; Mo:18:6 etc); לב "star" *kabkab > kawkab > kōkab (Go:5:2; 8:3; C:7); דובדב "great" *rabrab "great" (Go:D:13; Mo:16:8); יושב "twisted chain" (Go:E:2).

(b). qilqil

Here may be cited: ותהלולי "poisoning" (Go:H:2,7); עלים "impure fancy" (Go:G:8; H:8). This is the noun of the palpel conjugation ( of conjugation).
(c). Other formations

Other reduplicated nouns include

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

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

Of gatlul: ᵀ⁴ᵉˡ "leprosy"
(Mo:29:9).

(2). Quadriliteral nouns.

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

We may mention at this juncture certain
compound nouns: אֵיל "demons" (Go:A:3); אֵיל "enemy"
(Go:11:5; Mo:2:3); אֵיל "headache" (Iraq:Uncat.);
אֵיל "panacea" (Mo:13:8).

(3). Foreign loanwords.

(a). Accadian
Several Accadian and Sumerian loanwords are found in the texts: נְדַבֶּה "(magic) thought" (Go:L:4,7,10) is the Accadian egirtum; elsewhere its meaning is "letter" (Go:G:7; Mo:8:13); נְדַבֶּה , from Accadian idrânű "alcove" (Mo:12:13); נְדַבֶּה "threshold" (Go:AI:4; 5:5; 10:1; G:3; Mo:6:4 etc); נְדַבֶּה "goddess" from Accadian istrates (Go:4:4; 6:2,6; A:Case; L:8; Mo:19:6 etc); נְדַבֶּה "copper" from Accadian erû (Hilp:G:4); נְדַבֶּה "temple" from Sumerian E,GAL "big house" (Mo:14:3); נְדַבֶּה "bowl" from Accadian lehan(n)u (Go:H:2); נְדַבֶּה *manzâl > mazzâl "constellation" (Go:C:7; Ellis:3; Go:MBTa:6); נְדַבֶּה "roof-spout" (Go:H:3); נְדַבֶּה "town" from Accadian mâtû (Iraq: 9726:3; Ellis:3); נְדַבֶּה "shrine spirit" from Sumerian E,KUR "mountain house = shrine" (Go:11:10,11; H:7); נְדַבֶּה "demon" from Accadian šēdu (Go:AI:6; A:2; B:1; 11:17; Mo:7:14 etc).

(b). Persian

Persian influence may be seen in: נְדַבֶּה "color" from gün (Mo:7:15; Myhr:15); נְדַבֶּה "demon" from div (Go:AI:2; 11:17; Mo:2:6; 3:2 etc); נְדַבֶּה "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); נְמוֹרֶה "Satan" (Go:11:4; Ash:1932.620: III9-11; Go:A:2; Mo:5:4 etc); ללעם "underworld" (Mo:6:12);

tוניר "jackals" (BM:91776:15), where the context rules against תַּנָּר "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:

וַלֵּךְ "he sent" (Go:D:10); נַשְׁפַּע "she confounded" (Go:H:7);
כָּבָשְׁתָּה "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); נַחֲמַה "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); נְמַלְכֵה "we have written" (Mo:1:15);
נְחָמִית "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:

וְלָא "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); בֹּרֶפֶׁ "he will annul"
(BM:91751:9); הירע "he flees" (Mo:3:7); מ"השיב "mayest thou (not) lie" (Mo:11:8); ג"סכלים "they shall do folly (=hurt)" (Mo:4:2); ע"לורדה "do (not) amaze" (Mo:7:16).

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>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd. m.</td>
<td>_______</td>
<td>ג- (-ü)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>ח- (-at)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>ח- (-t)</td>
<td>נ/ן (tû/tûn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>ח- (-t)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>נ/ן (-êt/tî)</td>
<td>לא/נה (-nâ/nan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending ג- for the 1st. person singular occurs only with Tertiae Weak verbs in our texts. Note the following: ס"ומכ "I adjured" (Go:2:6); ה"רניא "I rhyme" (Mo:15:5); "I adjure" (Go:2:6). Comparative Semitic grammar (e.g., נעל or קַלִּית) shows this is not an archaism.

The ending נ/ן for the 2nd. person plural

31 In נ'ירב the נ was lost as a consonant (though written historically) and hence the word is treated as Tertiae Weak and pronounced 'ašbēti.
masculine may be cited in: הוהי "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). The interchange of ני and ל 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>יי---י/י (y/n/1---’un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>---ית (t---)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>---ית (t---)</td>
<td>יי---ית (t---’un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>יי---ית (t---in)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>not attested</td>
<td>---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, ל, or י may occur. Both preformative י and ל 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 ל and in a ratio of 7 to 1 to preformative י.

While preformative י and ל 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 שכם (p. 17), and in the many loanwords from Accadian.


c. Mode and Verbal Nouns

The Imperative is used for positive commands: ָל "flee" (Go:G:7,12); ָי "take" (Go:AI:6; Go:G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6); ָי "receive" (Iraq:11112).

For negative commands the negative ָל plus the 2nd. person Jussive is used: ָל "do not kill" (Mo:3:4); ָל "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>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</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 miq'tal in the Pe'el. It is usually preceded by the Preposition ה, particularly when purpose is to be expressed. In other conjugations than the Pe'el, the last two syllables are vocalized ק- (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: פְּרָחִי "fast flying" (Mo:1:10); and: רָפָרִי בָּמָר "encamped in camps" (Mo:2:7). Note also: שומֵי מְמִי לָחַשְׁבּה עִדָּן "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 Pe'el, participles have preformative ד. The passive participle differs from the active participle in form (in conjugations other than Pe'el) by having the א 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: שַׁמַּחַת "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); יְשִׁיבָה "I adjure" (Go:6:6; H:2; Mo:3:4; 29:7); יַבַּע "he is 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: יָמֵן "engraved" (Mo:11:9); יָסָר "sealed" (Go:E:1; G:9; 11:16); יָפְנֵי "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 PeCal (Stative verb) may occur. Verbs with laryngeals as the final radical are always PeCal. We may note the following examples of this conjugation: רָשִׁל "he worked" (Go:B:5; Ash:1931.177:12); רָע "he sent" (Go:D:10); of PeCal: ⦿ֶלֶפֶת "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); מִיָּנָה "they have gone up" (BM:91776:5).

The preformative of the Imperfect
has the * vowel ( a before laryngeals ). Pe<sup>c</sup>al becomes vigtul ( vigtal with statives or final laryngeal ) in the Imperfect.

The Pe<sup>c</sup>al Imperative is  יִקְתָּל ( u > a before laryngeals ), derived by stripping the Imperfect of its prefix. The Infinitive is mig<sup>t</sup>al. The Active Participle has the form qatel, the Passive qetil.

(2). Reflexive-Passive of the Simple (Ethpe<sup>c</sup>el).

The Ethpe<sup>c</sup>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 j in the 3rd. masculine singular Imperfect, our texts have both * and j. However, preformative j is not attested for Ethpe<sup>c</sup>el as in BTA.

The form of the Imperative follows the regular pattern. The Participle is mitqetel. The Infinitive is *ethqetolé.

32 The evidence of our texts does not permit us to say whether the vowel is hireq or seghol; i. e., יִנְגָּל or יִנְגָּל. Our terminology (as in Ethpe<sup>c</sup>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 šewa, except under the laryngeal of the 1st. singular.

The Imperative is quite regular. The Active Participle is megatālē, the Passive meqatālē. The Infinitive may be gattālē, or, more commonly, gattōlē.


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 šewa in unaccented open syllables (§ 1A2).

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

(5). The Causative (Afel).

The Causative is formed by the addition of preformative Ia: ūmīs "he has returned" ɣdr (Go:8:9; Ob:II:9), with i > a before r in the same syllable.
After preformatives as in the Imperfect, Ꝗa > 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: יִשְׂכַל "fall ye (not)" (Ash:1932.620:IV5).

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

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

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

Niphal survivals are limited to: יִשְׁכַל "thou art kept" and יִשְׁכַל "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: יְנוּנִי "he cursed me" (Go:L:4); יָפְלוּנִי "he has vowed me" (Go:L:4); יָפְלוֹנִי "he has performed against me" (Go:L:7).

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

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

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

2. The Strong Verb

a. The Perfect

3rd. m. sg; PeCal: יָכַל "he worked" (Go:B:5; Ash:1931.177:12); יָכְל "he removed" (Mo:14:2); יָכַל "he sent" (Go:D:10). EthpeCal: יָכֵל "it is recorded" (Mo:14:6) with assimilation of נ to ד; יָכֵל "it is found" (Mo:8:7), with the usual transposition of dental and sibilant. PeCal: יָכַל "he sent" (Ash:1931.177:12).
"he has used" (Go:5:10). Afel: יַעֲשֵׁהְךָ "he has returned" (Go:8:9; Ob:II:9); יַעֲשֵׁהוּ "he has performed against me" (Go:1:7).

3rd. f. sg; PaCal: יַעֲשֶׂה "she confounded" (Go:H:7). EthpaCal: יָשִׁדְךָ "(Lilith) was sent" (Go:H:6).

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

1st. sg; PeCal: יָשִּׁדְנָה "I destroyed" (BM:91776:14); יָשִּׁדְנָה "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); יָשִּׁדְנָה "I uprooted" (Mo:8:15); יָשִּׁדְנָה "I fled" (Hilp:G:3); יָשִּׁדְנָה "I opened" (Hilp:G:5); יָשִּׁדְנָה "I have abandoned" (Go:G:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:2). PaCal: יָשִּׂע "I have expelled" (Go:AI:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:3). Afel: יָשִּׁדְנוּ "I have surrounded" (Mo:4:6); יָשִּׂע "I adjure" (Go:AI:2,5; G:3); but יָשָׂע (Go:2:6).

3rd. m. pl; PeCal: יָשִּׂע הֵם "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); יָשִּׂע הֵם "they have (not) gone up" (BM:91776:5); יָשִּׂע הֵם "they have worked" (Go:C:6); יָשִּׂע הֵם "they opened" (BM:91776:8). EthpeCal: יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they are swallowed up" (Mo:9:6); יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they have (not) been pressed" (Mo:28:2); יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they are uprooted" (Mo:9:6); יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they are found" (Mo:25:2). Afel: יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they knocked" (Hilp:G:6); יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they have performed against" (Go:4:1). The form יָשִּׁדְנִינִים "they knocked" (BM:91751:8)
may be Ethpe'el with נ assimilated to the ש (Cf. Hebrew שומם, Eccl. 7:16).

2nd. m. pl; Pe'al: רָאִית֖וּ "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). Ethpe'el: יַתְמוּיָּת֖וּ "ye have been bewitched" (Go:10:4).

1st. pl; Pe'al: יִנְならֵנָא "we have written" (Mo:1:15); יִנְנְערָא "we went up" (BM:91776:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; Pe'al: יִתְרָא "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); יִתְרָא "let it return" (Go:L:8); יִתְרָא "he will return" (Iraq:9736:8); יִתְרָא "he flees" (Mo:3:7); יִתְרָא "let it come near" (Ob:I:15). Ethpe'el: יִתְרָא "may he be sealed" (Mo:19:19); יִתְרָא "may it remove" (Mo:3:2);

יִהִתְרָא "he may be inflamed" (Mo:28:1). Pe'el: יִהִתְרָא "he will annul" (BM:91751:9); יִהִתְרָא "may he expel thee" (Mo:7:17); יִהִתְרָא "he will keep distant" (Ash:1932.620:IV14).

Ethpa'cal: יִתְרָא "let it be scattered" (Go:L:11); יִתְרָא "he may be abolished" (Go:5:11); יִתְרָא "may he be kindled" (Mo:28:1).

3rd. f. sg; Pe'al: יִתְרָא "she shall sprinkle them" (Mo:28:4).

2nd. m. sg; Pe'al: יִתְרָא "do (not) kill" (Mo:3:4). Ethpe'el: יִתְרָא "may you be distant" (Mo:11:3).

Ethpa'cal: יִתְרָא "may you refrain" (Mo:11:2).
2nd. f. sg; Pecal: יְנָהְשַׁל "mayest thou cease" (Go:G:5); יְנָהְשַׁל "you do" (Go:11:5; Ob:II:16);

יָרַד "do (not) approach" (Go:G:8); יָיָה "may you (not) lie" (Mo:11:8). EthpeCal: יָיָה "mayest thou be uprooted" (Go:G:4), the yod showing the weakening of the כayin into a vowel, i.e., titqar > titeqar + ìn; יָיָה "may you be distant" (Go:G:5; Mo:8:17).

3rd. m. pl; Pecal: יִנְבוּ "they embrace" (Mo:13:4); יִנְבוּ "let them return" (Go:L:6); יִנְבוּ "let them destroy" (Iraq:Uncat); יִנְבוּ "they shall do folly" (Mo:4:2); יִנְבוּ "let them (not) plague" (Iraq: Uncat); יִנְבוּ "they shall approach" (Mo:25:1); but note יִנְבוּ "they (cannot) hear" (Go:6:1). EthpeCal: יִנְבוּ "may they be turned" (Go:C:2); and יִנְבוּ "they may be sealed" (Go:K:1); יִנְבוּ "let them be uprooted" (Go:C:7); יִנְבוּ "may they be opened" (Go:D:13). EthpeCal: יִנְבוּ "scattered be they" (Go:C:2); יִנְבוּ "they may be annulled" (Go:I:2); and יִנְבוּ "they will clothe her" (Mo:13:6).

2nd. m. pl; Pecal: יִנְבוּ "ye shall injure" (Go:11:13); יִנְבוּ "do (not) amaze" (Mo:7:16);

יִנְבוּ "ye shall (not) draw near" (Go:3:2; Ash:1932.620: IV15; Mo:21:2); יִנְבוּ "do (not) prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10). EthpeCal: יִנְבוּ "ye are turned away" (Stûbe:14).
Pacel: יבשל "ye will abolish" (Go:6:6; Iraq:Uncat); יבשל "ye injure" (Mo:7:16).

**c. The Imperative**

Sing. m.; Pacel: ובר "upset" (Ash:1931. 177:12); יבר "fly" (Go:G:11); יבר "flee" (Go:G:7,12); יבר "take" (Iraq:11113).

Sing. f.; Pacel: ובר "return" (Go:AI:6); יבר "flee" (Go:G:7; AI:7); יבר "flee" (Go:AI:7); יבר "listen" (Mo:8:4); יבר "take" (Go:AI:6; G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6). Ethpecel: ובר "depart" (Go:G:7). Pacel: ובר "receive" (Go:G:11; AI:7).

Plur. m.; Pacel: ונבר "return" (BM:91776: 10); ונבר "flee" (Mo:18:9); ונבר "leave" (Hilp:G:8).

Ethpecel: ובר "hurry off" (Go:10:4); הברה "be oiled" (Iraq:9731:9). Pacel: ובר "desist" (Mo:7:15); ובר "receive" (Iraq:11113). Ethpecel: ובר "be banished" (Go:10:4). Afel: ובר "turn" (Iraq:9736: 9); ובר "remove" (Go:1:4).

**d. The Participle**

Active m. sg; Pacel: מך "going" (BM:91776: 9); מך "stamping out" (Go:D:14; Mo:16:6); מך "shrieking" (BM:19745:7); מך "resting" (Go:6:7). Ethpecel: מך "swallowed up" (Mo:3:7); מך "praised" (Mo:12:6);
"broken" (Go:E:5). Пацел: מְזַבֵּל "destroying" (BM:13745:5); מְזַבֵּל "vanquishing" (Go:11:9); מְזַבֵּל "cancelling" (BM:91751:8); מְזַבֵּל "accepting" (Mo:6:11); מְזַבֵּל "confounding" (Go:H:4).

Active f. sg. absolute; PeCal: מְזַבֵּל "strangling" (Go:G:4; Mo:18:6); מְזַבֵּל "casting down" (Iraq:111113); מְזַבֵּל "burning" (Go:AI:4); מְזַבֵּל "killing" (Go:G:4; MBTa:4); מְזַבֵּל "striking" (Go:G:4); מְזַבֵּל "being silent" (Go:H:10). Пацел: מְזַבֵּל "destroying" (Go:H:9; Mo:13:9); מְזַבֵּל "darkening" (Go:B:7); מְזַבֵּל "strangling" (Go:H:4). Аfel: אַסְנַר "making weep" (Go:H:8); מְזַבֵּל "destroying" (Go:H:5).

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

Active f. pl; Пацел: מְזַבֵּל "strangling" (Go:H:6). Afel: מְזַבֵּל "harming" (Go:H:6).
Passive m. sg; PeCal: בָּרִיה "blessed" (Go:B:4); בָּרִי "kneaded" (Mo:12:5); בָּרִי "engraved" (Mo:11:9); בָּרֵי "sealed" (Go:E:1); בָּרֵי "dishevelled" (Mo:8:3); בָּרָי "announced" (Go:K:4; Mo:8:3). PaCal:

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

Passive f. sg. absolute; PeCal: בָּרֵי "proscribed" (Mo:7:13); בָּרֵי "feared" (Mo:13:8); בָּרֵי "sealed" (Go:10:5; MTa:4); בָּרֵי "conquered" (Go:MTa:4); בָּרֵי "spread" (Iraq:9731:5). PaCal: בָּרֵי "countersealed" (Go:10:5); בָּרֵי "fastened" (Mo:19:10). Afel:

בָּרֵי "curled around" (Iraq:9731:6).

Passive m. pl; PeCal: בָּרֵי "chosen" (Go:6:5); בָּרִי "trodden" (Go:6:2); בָּרִי "equipped" (Mo:19:13); בָּרִי "armed" (Mo:19:13); בָּרִי "wholly charmed" (Mo:5:1); בָּרִי "worked" (Go:5:4); בָּרִי "tied" (Go:6:1); בָּרִי "checked" (Go:D:10). PaCal: בָּרֵי "enraptured" (Mo:7:13); בָּרֵי "countersealed" (Go:B:2); בָּרֵי "prostrated" (Mo:7:17); בָּרֵי "divorced" (Go:5:1); בָּרֵי "lowered" (Go:C:5).

Passive f. pl; PeCal: בָּרֵי "thwarted" (Mo:17:13). PaCal: בָּרֵי "frustrated" (Mo:17:13).

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

1st. sg; PeCael: בָּרֵךְ "I decree" (Go:K:1);
בָּרָכֵנִי "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); בָּרֵךְ "I enchant" (Mo:6:6); בָּרָכְנִי "I seal" (Go:11:14);
בָּרָכִי "I clothed" for בָּרָכָה (Go:11:3); בָּרָכִים "I operate" (Mo:9:2);
בָּרָכְנִי "I dismiss" (Mo:9:9); בָּרָכְנִי "I stretch" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:5).
EthpeCael: בָּרֵךְ "I swear" (Hilp:G:8). PaCael: בָּרָכָה "I annul" (BM:91751:5);
בָּרָכִים "I ban" (Go:K:1); בָּרָכְנִי "I disenchant" (BM:91751:5). Afel: בָּרָכָה "I adjure" (Go:6:6; H:2; Mo:3:4; 29:7).

2nd. sg; PaCael: בָּרָכָה "cherished art thou" (Go:G:10).

2nd. pl; PeCael active: לַמִּית "ye are dry" (Iraq:9731:9); לַמִּית "ye are near" (Iraq:9736:6).
PeCael passive: לַמִּית "ye are sealed" (Go:11:17; MBTa:1);
לַמִּית "ye are conquered" (Mo:4:1); לַמִּית "ye (f) are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5);
לַמִּית "ye (f) are stripped" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5).

f. The Infinitive

PeCael: בָּרָכֵנִי "(to) strangle" (Hilp:G:7);
לַמִּית "(to) kill" (Hilp:G:7). PaCael: בָּרָכְנִי "(to) thwart" (Go:B:8);
לַמִּית "(to) terrify you" (Mo:8:7); בָּרָכְנִי "disturbing" (Mo:24:4);
לַמִּית "(to) make you hear"
3. Verba Primae Weak

a. The Perfect

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

1st. sg; ב"מ PeCal: נהנה "I went down" (BM:91776:14); יטב "for יטב "I have taken" (Go:11:16; Mo:4:6); ונתונ "I grasped" (Mo:4:6). Of נ"ע and ר"פ; PeCal: יחלותי "I have gone" (Go:11:4,10; Hilp:G:3); ניחנה "I shut" (BM:91776:14); יטב "I have said" (Mo:2:3); יטב "I have bound" (Ash:1932.619:13). Afel: ניאנימ "I adjured" (Mo:8:6) but ניאנימ (Go:2:6).

3rd. pl; ב"מ PeCal: י力还是 "they have vowed" (Go:4:1). Afel: י لديك "they brought out" (BM:91751:8). Of נ"ע; EthpeCal: ניחנה *'it'asārū > 'ittesārū "they have been bound" (Go:11:13,15; Mo:4:4).

2nd. pl; ב"מ PeCal: יתבנ "ye went" (Iraq:9731:10).

1st. pl; נ"ע PeCal: יתבנ "we said" (BM:91776:6).
b. The Imperfect

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

2nd. sg; יָֽיָ֑י PeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "you fly" (Mo:11:12).

3rd. pl; יָֽיָ֑י PeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "they may depart" (Go:1:2); יָֽיָ֑י "they will guard" (Go:11:1); יָֽיָ֑י "may they leave" (Go:J:4; BM:91776:17; Mo:25:6). EthpeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "may they (not) be harmed" (BM:91776:17); יָֽיָ֑י "they may be preserved" (Go:11:5). Of יָֽיָ֑י and יָֽיָ֑י ; PeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "they may go" (Go:C:8; 6:7); יָֽיָ֑י "let them exercise" (Ob:II:19). Of ּ- Gutturals; PeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "ye will remove" (Go:6:6).

2nd. pl; יָֽיָ֑י PeCal: יָֽיָ֑י "ye guard" (Go:7:7); יָֽיָ֑י "may ye fall" (BM:91776:18); יָֽיָ֑י "may ye get out" (Go:2:5; H:14). EttaCal: יָֽיָ֑י "fall
ye (not)” (Ash:1932.620:IV5). Of ס“מ ; PeCal: ניבוה "may ye perish” (Ash:1932.620:17); נו"ל "ye shall go” (Wohl:2417:16); ניבוה "ye say” (Go:11:7).

c. The Imperative

Sing. f; מ"מ PeCal: יבה "be enamored" (Mo:13:9,10); ימת "get out” (Go:AI:7; G:7; Mo:9:4).

Plur. m; מ"מ PeCal: גב "take” (Iraq: 11113); גב "go forth” (Mo:7:15). Of ס“מ PeCal: ניבוה "perish” (Mo:9:7); ניבוה "go” (BM:91776:11; Ash:1932.620:III7); other spellings include: ניבוה (BM:91776:10), and ניבוה (Iraq:9731:10); ניבוה "eat” (Iraq:9731:9).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; מ"מ PeCal: ניבוה "falling” (Go:11:11); "going out” (Mo:19:14). Of ס“מ and מ"מ PeCal: דנוה "controlling” (Mo:11:4). ניבוה "sitting” (Go:H:3; 8:7). EthpeCal: סהרא "being closed” (Iraq: 9731:6). Afel: סהרא "teaching” (Hal.).

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

Active m. pl; מ"מ PeCal: סהרא "taking” (Mo:38:3); סהרא "leaving” (BM:91776:17); סהרא "holding"
(Mo:7:17); ָנֵא "blowing" (Mo:12:8). Of ֶנ and  ElseIf "devouring" (Go:L:2); ַי ו "giving" (Go:G:6; Ellis:I:7); ֵי ו "sitting" (BM:91776:15; Mo:14:7).

Passive f. sg. absolute; ֶנ PeCal: ָנ "sealed" (Go:METa:2); מְכ "upset" (Go:1:1; Iraq:9726:1,3).

Passive m. pl; ֶנ and Else PeCal:
<יִניי> "bound" (Go:C:6; Ash:1932.620:12; Mo:4:3); spelled נֶק "born" (Mo:1:8).

Passive f. pl; ֶנ PeCal: ָנ "gripped" (Mo:16:8).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; ִנ PeCal: ָנ "I pierce" (Myhr:9); מְכ "I let down" [nָה > הָ(ן)] (Go:11:9; Mo:2:6).
Afel: ָנ "I banish" (Mo:7:12). Hafel: מְכ "I go" (Go:11:1, 10; Mo:2:1); but מְכ (where final ל has dropped dialectally) (Mo:6:6); מְכ "I say" (Go:11:5); מְכ "I bind" (Go:11:13,15); מְכ "I enchant" (Go:11:6; Mo:2:3). Afel: מְכ "I adjure" (Go:6:5; H:2; Ash:1932.619:13; Mo:3:3).

2nd. sg; ֶנ PeCal: מְכ "held art thou" (Mo:26:3).

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

f. The Infinitive

Of מ"ד Afel: "(to) bring out" (Mo:9:8). Of מ"ד and מ"ד PeCael: מרצילים "go to it" (?) (Go:A:2); מ"ד "(to) eat" (BM:91776:8); מ"ד "(to) bind" (Hilp:G:8). EthpeCael: "(to) be turned away" (Iraq:9736:4). Afel: "adjuring" (Mo:3:3). Of מ"ד Guttural; Afel: מרצילים "(to) upset" (Iraq:9736:9).

4. Verba Mediae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; מ"ע PeCael: "he cursed" (BM:19745:6). EthpeCael: מצה "it fell" (Mo:2:6).

1st. sg; מ"ע PeCael: מימ "I arose" (Hilp:G:3). Of מ"ע PeCael: מいたら "I asked" (Mo:4:6).

3rd. pl; מ"ע PeCael: "they cursed" (BM:91751:8). Of מ"ע PeCael: על "they entered" (BM:91776:5).

2nd. pl; מ"ע PeCael: יכלו "ye have entered" (BM:91776:5); יכלו "ye are thirsty" (Iraq:9731:9).

b. The Imperfect

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

3rd. pl; י"ע PeCal: "they shall depart" (Go:10:2; Mo:7:5). EthpeCal: יבשה "let them be preserved" (Go:D:12), but יבשה (Mo:8:17; 16:4). Ethpalpel: יבשה "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5; Myhr:5). Afel: יבשה "let them restore" (Ob:II:1).

Of י"ע PeCal: יבשה "they love" (Mo:13:4); יבשה "they shall enter" (Mo:19:20), spelled יבשה (BM:91776:17).

2nd. pl; י"ע PeCal: יבשה "ye will depart" (Go:6:6); יבשה "may ye stand" (Go:H:14).

Of י"ע PeCal: יבשה "ye turn away" (Mo:8:13).

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

c. The Imperative

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

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

Plur. m; י"ע PeCal: יבשה "depart"
(Go:10:4); ר"ד "flee" (Mo:17:11). Of ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "enter" (Iraq:9731:10).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "trembling" (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); ר"ד "cursing" (BM:19745:2,6); ר"ד "standing" (Go:11:11; A:2; BM:19745:10; Mo:13:8). Afel: ר"ד "terrifying" (Go:H:3). Of ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד (ך""ז) "entering" (BM:91776:5). PaCCel: ר"ד ר"ד "speaking" (Harv: 8826:7); ר"ד "breaking" (cf. Accadian pasāsu) (Mo:7:17); ר"ד "shaking" (Go:H:3).

Active f. sg. absolute; ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "standing" (Go:11:10; Iraq:9726:2; Ob:1:24). Of ר"ד PaCCel: ר"ד ר"ד "speaking" (Go:H:11); ר"ד ר"ד "shaking" (Go:H:10).

Active m. pl; ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "squeezing" (Mo:1:11); ר"ד "trembling" (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); ר"ד "entering" (BM:91776:17); ר"ד "standing" (Mo:2:7). PaCCel: ר"ד ר"ד "driving away" (Mo:13:7). Afel: ר"ד ר"ד "oppressing" (Go:H:13).

Active f. pl; ר"ד PaCCel: ר"ד ר"ד "shaking" (Go:H:6).

Passive m. sg; ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "carved" (Mo:11:9). Of ר"ד PaCCel: ר"ד "tainted" (Mo:1:10).

Passive f. sg. absolute; ר"ד PeCal: ר"ד "pained" (Ash:1931.177:11). Of ר"ד PaCCel: ר"ד ר"ד "spoken"
(Bm:19745:8).

Passive m. pl; י"ע Pe'al: "threshed"
(Go:6:2; MBTa:8); "fastened up" (Mo:6:6; 29:5).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

1st. sg; י"ע Pe'al: "I bind"
(Mo:29:10); "I seal" (Mo:6:6). Of י"ע Pe'al:
"I am strong" (Go:11:4; Mo:2:2; 27:5). Of י"ע Pe'al:
"I draw (a bow)" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:4; 27:7).

3rd. pl; י"ע Pe'al: "they are terrified" (?) (Go:6:4).

f. The Infinitive

Of י"ע Pe'al: "(to) hold" (Mo:4:1).
Of י"ע Pe'al: "resounding" (Mo:6:11).

5. Verba Tertiae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; Pe'al: "he created" (Go:11:4;
Mo:2:2); "he quickened" (Iraq:Uncat). Ethpe'al:
"it was revealed" (Go:11:17). Afel: "he lodged"
(Mo:14:3).

1st. sg; Pe'al: "I have demanded"
(Iraq:9736:3; Mo:4:6); מָנָה "I rhyme" (Mo:15:5).
3rd. pl; PeCal: הלח "they raised"
(BM:91751:8). EthpeCel: דִּiturם "they have melted away (?)"
(Mo:9:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. sg; PeCal: ישת "let him drink"
(BM:91776:11). EthpeCel: קֵנָה "he shall burst" (Mo:6:11).
Of ג- Guttural; PeCal: גט "he shall split" (Mo:6:11),
from גט with ג weakened dialectally.

2nd. sg; EthpeCel: יָרְדֵנָה "do (not) appear" (Go:G:8; K:4; Mo:8:5); או "be thou smitten"
(Mo:11:7), but או (Go:AI:5; G:4; Iraq:11113). Of ג- Guttural; PeCal: גטיב "do (not) molest" (Go:G:8), with
the ג lost dialectally.

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

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

Pa'cel: "ye bewilder" (Mo:7:16).

c. The Imperative

Plur. m; Pe'cal: "drink" (Iraq:9731:9).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; Pe'cal: "living" (Iraq:9731:5; Ob:I:24); "reaching" (Go:A:2). Ethpecal:

"raising" (Go:C:5); "being called" (BM:19745:4; Go:MBTa:5; H:5); "being untied" (Go:E:5). Pa'cel: "appearing" (Go:H:12; Mo:20:4);

"walking" (Mo:12:6). Afel: "removing" (Mo:7:17).

Active f. sg. absolute; Pe'cal: "lurking" (Mo:18:6); "haunting" (Go:L:12); "smiting" (Go:AI:4; G:4; Iraq:11113); "filling" (Go:G:4); "burning" (Go:MBTa:4); "casting down" (Go:G:4; MBTa:4); "dwelling" (Go:AI:3). Ethpecal:

"appearing" (Go:MBTa:3). Afel: "causing to go astray" (Go:MBTa:3).

Active m. pl; Pe'cal: "lurking" (Mo:6:4); "joining" (Mo:6:3); "going astray" (Mo:1:9); "dwelling" (Myhr:6). Ethpecal:

"appearing" (Mo:9:3); "appearing" (td > dā)
(Go:H:5; Mo:1:12; 6:4); "being untied" (Mo:19:4).
Afel: "bringing" (Mo:25:5).

Passive m. sg; PeCal: "tainted" (Mo:16:9); "thrown" (Go:K:3; Mo:7:17; 8:3); "hung" (Go:C:5).

Passive f. sg. absolute; PeCal: "torn" (Go:C:4).
Passive m. pl; PeCal: "hated" (Go:2:3; BM:91776:4); "cast" (Mo:19:10); "dismissed (?)" (Go:5:1); "lodged" (Go:1:2). PaCal: "made greater (than)" (Go:B:2:5).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

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

2nd. pl; PeCal: "ye sin" (Mo:2:3).

f. The Infinitive

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

6. Other Weak Verbs

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

a. The Perfect

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

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; Pecal: "it shall be"
(Mo:6:12), but יְחִיל (BM:19745:10); "may he come"
(Mo:13:10). Paccal: תְּלֹא (< תְּלֹא *") "he will save thee"
(Mo:1:15). Ethpaccal: "let him be healed" (Go:H:1).

3rd. f. sg; Pecal: "let there be"
(Go:10:1). Ethpaccal: "may she be healed" (Go:2:2;
Mo:11:1; 24:2).

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

3rd. pl; Pecal: "they shall be"
(Mo:12:3), and יְנָה (Mo:19:19); cf. יְנָה (< יְנָה *") "who will be" (Ash:1932.620:6; Mo:5:5); יְנָה "they shall
come" (Go:D:11; Mo:25:6). EthpaCal: הרות "they may be healed" (Go:7:2).

c. The Imperative

Plur. m; PeCal: יתנ "come" (BM:91776:7).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; PeCal: דוד "being" (Go:D:7).
EthpaCal: יהוד "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.

ל -- The common meaning is: "in, on, by, against".

We may note: ה pige kort "against his threshold" (Go:5:5);
"in the name of YHYHYH" (Go:C:8); etc.

Besides the above meanings ל may denote "from":
במ "they brought out from their lips"
(BM:91751:8);  צ"הו "go and eat it from his basket of bread" (BM:91776:11).

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

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

It combines regularly with genitive suffixes:

"to thee (f)" (Go:AI:6); בְּלָה בַּל "all he has" (Go:1:2); נַע "to us" (BM:91776:8). Note אֵל for לך "to thee" (Mo:17:10); etc.

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

It is conceivably combined with מ, the sign of the accusative, in מַי (Cf. Syriac לָע). We may cite: לָא קְפַּרְיָו לְהָי "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:9736:6); מְקַשֵּׁל בֵּבְּרָךְ מֶלֶךְ אַלְּחַת "who kills a man from the side of his wife" (Mo:3:2,3).

מ — "from, of, more (or less) than":

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

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

It combines with לע 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": כהדרון "let them be turned backward" (Go:C:8);
והבורה "behind your (f) backs" (Mo:8:3); יהבורה "behind me" (Stube:58).

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

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

-- "below": מלחין "from below" (Go:D:14).

-- "because, for, in order to": מסול "in order to vanquish" (Go:11:11), and (Mo:2:6)
(where ל is used instead of ד); מסול "because" (Go:11:16). The initial של of מסול is worn down from של.

-- "until, to": שנים עים "and forever" (Go:D:8); שנים עים רına "until the great day" (Mo:4:4);
years "until the great hour" (Mo:4:5); רינה "to" (Mo:19:19).

=Gordon indicates (in an article to appear in Orientalia during 1950) that this -םא is Hamito-Semitic, and may have its reflex in Coptic -Mo- as in ממות "in him".
— "above, over": מִלְּחַרְבָּה "from above" (Go:D:14); מִלְּחַרְבָּה "above" (Mo:19:10). "by the Red Sea" (Go:2:7); מִלְּחַרְבָּה "upon those that work them" (Go:6:8).

With pronominal suffixes: עָלָה "on thee (f)" (Go:AI:3,5); עָלָה "on you" (Go:11:6,9); עָלָה "against them" (Go:11:11); עָלָה "against him" (BM:19745:6). Cf. §1B1. The interchange of ל and ע, as in Mandaic, is attested in the texts.

לְהוּ "with": לִכְסִי בה יֵלָבשׂ "with mankind" (Mo:1:13). With pronominal suffixes: לִכְסִי בה יֵלָבשׂ "which attach themselves" (Mo:6:3); לִכְסִי בה יֵלָבשׂ "with her" (Mo:13:7).

— "before", usually preceded by מַה: מַה "before" (Ash:1932.620:II7); מַה "from before him" (Go:1:7; J:9), but מַה (Hilp:G:3), and מַה (Mo:3:7). Cf. §IB2.

— "under" (Go:11:3).

2. Adverbs

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

בִּה - "here" (Mo:25:1).
יבִּ - "there", written יִבְּ - "to there" (Go:A:2).

בִּ - "there": יִבְּ "sit down there" (Mo:14:7; 19:14).

b. Temporal

בִּ - "now" (Mo:3:9). Montgomery would find prothetic ב in the form בִּ (Mo:4:1). However, this is almost certainly the JBA proclitic reduction of הְ to ב.

בִּ - "now" (Go:G:11). It combines with ב in מִבָּ "from now" (Go:D:7).

c. Modal

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

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

36 Note that בָּ : בָּ : בָּ : בָּ . Cf. §IBL.

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

3. Conjunctions

The regular coordinating conjunction is ُوُتَ، but before a vowelless consonant, the conjunction is ُوُتَ: ُلِثِرُ "and which shall be" (Go:G:9); ُلاذِنُ "and forever" (Go:1:4); ُلِثِرُ "and which are not" (Mo:14:6), etc. See under Phonology §IB2. The same holds for Hebrew according to the Babylonian or Eastern Massora.

Waw may be an "equating" rather than a conjunctive element: ُمُتَلِذُ ُلِثِرُ ُذِلِفُ ُذِلِفُ "curse-sorceries and knock-sorceries" (Go:1:1,2).

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

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

-- "if": אִם "if you are thirsty, come, drink!" (Iraq:9731:9); כְּאִם "that if you sin at all" (Mo:2:3).

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

... "as..........so" (Mo:13:11); with כִּי "just as" in: כִּי "for just as..........so" (Iraq:9736:4,5). It combines with other particles: כָּֽנָּה "as, like" (Go:AI:6; G:6; BM:91751:9; Ellis:I); and with כִּי to form "when, as though, as": כִּי יָשָׁמ "when he hears" (Mo:3:7); כִּי יִבְּנַי "as though kneaded in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); כִּי יָפֵרי "as is right" (Mo:13:7).

-- ( כִּי > כִּי ) "but, except" (BM:91776:10; Mo:28:2). Note also כִּי יָנַה < 'in + 1â+hên (Mo:26:5).

-- "so, also" (Go:G:6; Mo:3:9; 8:15), but written כָּֽנָּה (Go:G:10). See § 1B1. It combines with the particle כָּֽנָּה (< qâ( 'e[m] ) 'standing') in: כָּֽנָּה "now" (lit. 'also standing').

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

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

ןב - "again" (Go:AI:6; ll:7; Iraq: ll118), but note חתך (Go:ll:8). Variant spellings are found: רנהא (Go:G:6), and רנהא (Go:G:11). The latter may reflect the loss of final ל in the pronunciation, with ה written historically, but misplaced. Compare Talmudic 39.

4. Other Particles

The following interjections may be cited:

— "oh!" (Mo:9:7; Hal.).
— "oh, lo!" (Go:AI:5; G:5; 6:3; BM:91776:8). It combines with a following word: "lo, I have divorced" (Mo:18:8).
— "woe!" (Go:ll:5; Mo:1:9; Ob:I:20).

39 Jastrow, Marcus, op. cit., p. 1649b.
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. § IICla.

In the case of participles with nominative pronominal endings, the masculine may be used for the feminine. § IICla.
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 ꞌ plus the Noun with
genitive suffix to express the genitive relation. § IIIClb.
For more on the circumlocution of the genitive, cf. §IIA2b.

The particle ꞌ may determine the accusative
case before nouns or pronouns, while ꞌ 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 ꞌ 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: "their house" (Mo:1:6).

We may also note the unique idiom: "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: "He has turned back the curse" (Go:8:9); "Let there be health from the heavens for them (f)" (Go:2:1); "The land have I conquered" (BM:91776:14); "The voice I have heard! I have heard the voice of the man" (BM:19745:6).

The particle לא is the regular means of forming the negative sentence in the texts. §IIIE2c. Its most common
use is with the Jussive to express negative commands.

§ 11D1c. Besides negative commands it expresses the negative declaration of fact, alone: יְהֵי תֵּב אֵל "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:978:6); or combined with or בֵּר אלֶנָּה: "No one in its midst has sown it" (BM:91776:8); בֵּר אלָּני מִשְׁמַרְתָּה לַאֵל תִּבָּר "None trespasses upon his ward" (Mo:7:13).

But one interrogative sentence can be found:

מְאָא לִבְיָחָלְבוֹר יַשְׁלֵל "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: יְמַה אָנָּה לֶבֶן הָחֳלָמָה תְּלֵב אֵל "I bind to thee and seal and counter-seal to thee, the life, etc" (Mo:7:2,3); נֵדֶר לְשֵׁלֵמָה נָבִי וַעֲשָׂר "They have vowed and performed by the idols and by the Istars" (Go:4:4,5). The conjunction רַח 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 מַחֲלָה, reduced from its original force as a demonstrative. Commonly it is attached directly to the verb that introduces the relative clause: מַחֲלָה "The words of the vow that they
have vowed and performed against A" (Go:4:1); הבכמס שרוים ריבобщиיאש יהי בריך יבירנה "TEBSYM, 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: ור"ד ל צמה תמהא "This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid" (Mo:3:6). See also Go:1:7. Note also: טקףטע Walshאל מאך ממולנה "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 conjunctional relative sentence ע as a conjunction serves to introduce an indirect quotation or, more commonly, a purpose clause: אמהות להון באים מקאמים "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 ע combines with מלך to form the prepositional compound מ "when, as though, while". We may note: כר בהל באמא (ד) על קור "as though kneaded in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); כר שפריר "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 (?) travailing 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 qamesh goes with Syriac versus Biblical Aramaic, which has pathah. Again, as in Syriac, there is evidence of the loss of m in the pronunciation.

4. The influence of Biblical Aramaic is seen in the occurrence of "u" versus "u" 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 ꜀ 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 ꜀ 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

(§ IID2)

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### THE STRONG VERB

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Detailed explanation of the sections:

**Pecal**

- Perf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 1 c.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impv. sg. 2 f.: pron
- pl. 2 m.: pron
- Infinitive: pron
- Part. Act. m.: pron
- f.: pron

**Etzpecel**

- Perf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 1 c.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impv. sg. 2 f.: pron
- pl. 2 m.: pron
- Infinitive: pron
- Part. Act. m.: pron
- f.: pron

**Afel**

- Perf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 1 c.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impf. sg. 3 m.: pron
- 3 f.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- pl. 3 m.: pron
- 2 m.: pron
- Impv. sg. 2 f.: pron
- pl. 2 m.: pron
- Infinitive: pron
- Part. Act. m.: pron
- f.: pron

**Ettafcal**

- Impf. pl. 2 m.: pron

---

1-04
# THE נָגָד VERBS

(§ IIDz)

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<tr>
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### The "ו" Verb

**Pe_cal** | **Ethpe_cal** | **Pa_cal**
---|---|---
Perf. pl. 3 m. | בומ | בומ
2 m. | בומ | בומ
Impf. sg. 3 m. | רב | רב
pl. 3 m. | רב | רב
pl. 3 m. | רב | רב
2 m. | רב | רב
Impv. pl. 2 m. | בומ | בומ
Infinitive | מך | מך
Part. Act. m. | בומ | בומ
f. | מך | מך
Pass. f. | מך | מך
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***************
Ethpalpel

<p>| Impf. pl. 3 m. | גבר |            |      |</p>
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### THE DOUBLY WEAK VERB

**§ IIID6**

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*Note: The table includes verb forms in Hebrew.*
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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<td>AJSL</td>
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<td>AOR</td>
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**B. PERIODICAL ARTICLES**


