A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF THE ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS

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

AUTHOR  William Harvey Rossell

APPROVED BY:

[Signatures]

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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 Mandaic, 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, Tablettes 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

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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 נ før accusatives.

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

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

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

A. The Orthography

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

The ambiguous style of writing makes it difficult to distinguish between forms of some letters. Some scribes seem to make a conscientious effort at legibility. An attempt is made by these scribes to distinguish, for instance, between מ and מ, and between ת and ת. 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.

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

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

The letters 1 and 1 (less frequently 9) are used as vowel letters. Yod often indicates vocal שֵׁא: יָּשָׁב "against them" (Go:1:3); יָּלֵּה "for them (f)" (Go:2:1); יָּשֶׁב "divorced" (Go:5:1). Waw may serve as the mater lectionis for qames: יָּלֵּה "for thy name" (Go:2:1); יָּשֶׁב "against her seed and against her house and her property" (Go:6:1); יָּשֶׁב "in thy name" (Go:8:1; Mo:28:1). On the whole aleph is sparingly used as a vowel letters, preferably to indicate the feminine

9 Nöldeke, Theodor, Mandäische 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: נשים נשים "girls" (Go:MBTa:4); סוסני "creatures" (Go:11:11); note also נבカメラ נב CAMERA "before him" (Mo:3:7); פרגרני "his lance" (Go:AI: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: נזל for נזר "flesh" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8; Ash:1931.177:10); נזר "eleven" (BM:19745:3); נזר "twelve" (Mo:4:4; Hilp:G:2); נזר "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 ק>ך as in רכש/פד "threshold" (Go:AI:4; Go:10:1; Mo:6:4). While this could be a case of emphatic ק non-emphatic immediately after non-emphatic ד, the orthographic confusion of emphatics and non-emphatics in some texts supports the original premise.

That ל and ק were pronounced alike (cf. the modern Bedouin and Iraqi pronunciation of ك as ك) may be seen in Go:H:2 where the scribe has written ב שם קב "roof demons"
(lit. "sons of roofs"). Another instance of this phenomenon is \( \text{םֶנָּר} \), "bar (of iron)" (Go:11:2; Mo:2:1; 27:3).

Labial \( \text{בָּן} \) in \( \text{סֶנָּר} \) "threshold" (Go:5:5; G:3; Mo:6:4); \( \text{בָּנ} \) for \( \text{בָּנ} \) "also" (Go:G:10); and, conversely, \( \text{בָּנ} \) for \( \text{בָּנ} \) "again" (Go:11:8).

Of the sibilants \( \text{נֶר} \) in \( \text{נָר} \) "I have taken" (Go:11:16) for the regular \( \text{נָר} \) (Mo:4:6).

In Mo:12:7 we find \( \text{נֶר} \) for \( \text{נֶר} \) in \( \text{נָר} \) "their feet" where \( \text{נָר} \) > \( \text{נָר} \) > \( \text{נָר} \). This form is attested also in Mandaic.

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

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

The laryngeal \( \text{נ} \) is extremely weak, and often omitted in the Babylonian pronunciation. In Go:7:1 \( \text{נ} \) "amulet", the omission of \( \text{נ} \) was facilitated by this weakness.

\(^{11}\) Nöldeke, Theodor, \textit{Mandäische Grammatik,} § 54.
Note also: סחף (i.e., סחף סחף) "calamity" (Go:8:4); כלמה "everything" (Go:D:13,15); והמר "in his gate" (Mo:4:7). This phenomenon may also be noted in the following verbal forms: כייר "he shall split" (Mo:6:11) -- from יקר 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 ימצע "now" (Mo:4:1);
where initial ל has been worn down from י. Linguistic wear may explain such a form as יבב "again" (Go:G:11) where the transposition of ב and י has been facilitated by the fact that the ב was not pronounced.

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

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

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

15 This may be old (not reduced from ), e. g., note  as in  .
16 This is most likely a survival of old variants, for Hebrew also has  alongside  alongside  .
and would indicate the loss of ה in the pronunciation. Note also ו­ת­ן­ן­ת­ן "their daughters" (Go:G:9). This transposition is seen in כָלֵה >כָלֵּה instead of normal כָלֵּיה "on him" (BM:19745:6).

2. The System of Vowels and Diphthongs

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

Medial ו vowel may also be expressed by an ו. We may cite: וְזֶה מוֹשֶׁה וַתְּזַכְּרוּ "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9); וְזֶה יִרְזָא "before him" (Mo:3:7).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note that ı > ˛ in ר"ע "word" ימש (ממהאר > ממאמר) (Go:D:10; Mo:13:8).

Short vowels are reduced to ę 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; מַאַי. This is shown by the mater lectionis i in הָדוֹּת "her seed"; סֹתֶנֶב "her house"; וֹנְבִּין "her property" (Go:6:1).

The possessive suffix, 3rd masculine singular is commonly: מַוְיָ as in: מַזַּה "in his house" (Go:11:13); מַזַּה "from all his house" (Go:C:7); מַזַּה "behind him" (Go:11:16); but note the Official Aramaic variants in: מַזִּה (Mo:7:12; Myhr:12); and מַוְיָ "from before him" (Hilp:G:3; Go:I:7; J:9); alongside the native Babylonian מַוְיָ (Mo:3:7). This latter suffix מַוְיָ - 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 i) goes with the מ form (i.e., מַוְיָ versus מַוְיָ where מ remains).

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

The diphthongs aw > מ and ay > מ in all positions (versus Syriac): מַוְיָ "oath" מֵמִי + מַד (cf. מַד > מַד) > מַד + מַד (Go:AI:7; G:11; K:6; 6:6; Mo:1:12 etc); מַוְיָ "dwelling" מַד > מֵד > מַד (Go:D:4; G:6); מַד.
"summer" *qayt > qêt (Mo:30:2); מָועִיר "small" *zu’ayr > zêr (Go:D:7).

3. The Conditioned Sound Changes

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

As in Semitic languages generally, น assimilates to most following consonants. We may note the following examples: *nl > 11 in מִיָהוּד "from their clothing" (Mo:13:6); מִיָהוּד "from above" (Go:D:14); מִי "from below" (מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי מִי M
(Iraq:9731:6); *td > dd in: יָדֹּכֶר "it is recorded" (Mo:14:6); מְדֶקִי "appearing" (Go:H:5; Mo:1:12; 6:4);
*zt>zd in: עָדוּֽוֹנְוֹנְו "they betake themselves" (Mo:7:5; Myhr:5). There is assimilation of the vowel to final כ in על המורה (Go:D:13). The כ was not pronounced.

Dissimilation occurs in נָבוֹנָה "roof-spouts" (Go:H:3) where כ > כ under the influence of labial ב; (= Barth's Law for Accadian). This is most certainly the Accadian substratum at work. A possible dissimilation *םת > int is found in: קָטֹֽו נָה "his wife" (Go:D:14; 3:1); for the regular סֵתָֽו (Go:B:7). Alternatively this may be a survival that has resisted assimilation (for the root is סֵת with כ). Note also thatmidd- > mind- in: בֵּל מְלָדָּֽו "everything" (Mo:5:2); as against the common בֵּל מְלָדָּֽו (Go:B:8). There is dissimilation of ל to כ in: סֵתָֽו רֹאְשֵֽׁו וּרְדָֽו "boys and girls" (Go:AI:4; G:4); which replaces the regular רֹאְשֵֽׁו וּרְדָֽו (Mo:11:6).

Metathesis may be noted as follows: סֵתָֽו "Tayyite tribesmen" (Go:D:9) with metathesis of כ and כ; מְזָֽו for מָזָֽו "toe-nails of (his feet)" (Mo:19:19); מַסָֽו for מַסָֽו "cancelling" (BM:91751:8); tz > zt (along 20 Jastrow, Marcus, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, New York, 1943, p. 840a.

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

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: "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:AI:5; and also in Go:G:4,11 and Iraq:lll13.

Of special interest is: "entering" (BM:91776:5). At first glance this appears to be metathesis. However, it seems rather that the falling together of \( י \) and \( ב \) in the pronunciation caused the historically incorrect spelling, i. e., the word was pronounced 'אֵל, 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 \( ל \): "let them destroy" (Iraq:Uncat); "ye shall (not) draw near" (Go:3:2; Ash:1932.620:IV15); "do (not) prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10).

Prothetic \( ב \) occurs in at least three instances: "plague" \( וֵג \) (Mo:29:9); "losses" \( וֵג \)

22 Jastrow, Marcus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 557b.
(Mo:7:11); יִשְׂרָאֵל "drink!" (Iraq:9731:9).

4. The Accent

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

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. לָעַב</td>
<td>לָעַב</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m. לִבַּי</td>
<td>לִבַּי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f. לִבַּי</td>
<td>לִבַּי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m. לָיָה</td>
<td>לָיָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f. לָיָה</td>
<td>לָיָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

The 3rd. masculine plural form is מנה (Go:B:4; D:6; Mo:13:4; 25:5). No example of the 3rd. feminine plural can be accurately cited. In Schwab:I מנה and in Schwab:Q מנה 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: ניםווזו "this amulet" (Go:A:1; C:7; 10:5); but written with a mater lectionis: יִנְהוֹז (Go:7:1).

Other spellings occur in: יִנְשִּׁים | יִנְשִּׁים "this Gušnîn" (Iraq:9736:9), with h- > l-; 'ס | מָנָה "this A". (Mo:28:4),

24 The form יִנְהוֹז - (var. יִנְהוֹז -), borrowed from Reichsaramäisch as found in Biblical Aramaic, is also found.
where $\hat{e} > ay$. Forms normally enclitic (see below) appear as proclitics in: נליא "this day above any day" (Mo:17:1); נליא "this Ispizâ" (Mo:30:1).

Masculine singular enclitic forms are:

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

The feminine singular proclitic form is נליא (Go:A:1; D:7; G:7). Final $\hat{e}$ may be omitted haplographically as in נליא "on this threshold" (Go:D:13). The enclitic form is נליא as in נליא "this Qamoi" (Go:D:6). Compare also Iraq:11113; Mo:18:5. The form נליא (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 נליא occurs: נליא "these seven words" (Mo:6:7; 10:3); נליא "of these names" (BM:19745:4); but in other examples, proclitic and enclitic, the $\hat{e}$- is reduced to $\hat{e}$: נליא "by these names" (BM:19745:3); נליא "these vows" (BM:91751:9). The forms נליא
and יִלְעָג (Mo:25:2); and נֵלֶע "these" (Mo:25:5) occur independently as substantives. Note the reduction -ן > zero. Montgomery suggests Hebraism.

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

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

b. The Relative

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

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

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


Note also the formations: ירביהו "whereby" (Mo:9:6) and 
-ל "in order that" (Mo:28:4).

The relative ל combines with the verbنان for
plus ל to show possession: תואת התו for "theirs" (Go:G:5); נאותייר "yours" (Mo:1:14).

c. The Interrogative and Indefinite

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

Other indefinite pronouns are: כל מיוע "anything" (Mo:11:5,7); and כל מיוע "everything" (Go:B:8).
Note the other spellings of this latter phrase in Go:D:13,15;
7:9; Mo:5:2. In Iraq:lllll3 is found כל יגופ "everybody";
while זיל plus כל "no one" occurs in Mo:7:13.

25 See under Phonology, p. 12.
26 See Orientalia (NS), Vol. VII, 1938, p. 43, § 2.34
and footnote.
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" — רֵאֵו, הָדָ (m); אוּ, הָדָ (f) — מִן וּ. "one of Kurmin" (Go:5:11,13); מִן וּ. "to a certain (i.e., one) mountain" (Hilp:C:3). The ordinal (m) occurs in: מֵאָדָה קרימ "the first Adam" (Mo:10:3). Montgomery would read מֵאָדָה as an ordinal in מֵאָדָה "in the name of the first" (Mo:6:7).

"2" — יְרָק, תֶּרֶן (m); יְרָק, תֶּרֶן (f) — יְרָק וּ. "ye two angels" (Iraq:9736:8); יְרָק וּ. "two ...." (BM:9177:2). The ordinal (f) occurs in מֵאָדָה קרימ "in the name of the second" (Mo:6:8); מֵאָדָה קרימ "sealed a second time" (Mo:19:15).
"three" (?) (Go:L:1); "the three angels" (Go:C:4) where we would expect "the three of you (f)" in the bowl texts; The ordinal (f) is found in: "in the name of the third" (Mo:6:8).

"four" -- The cardinal and ordinal may be cited: "from the four corners of the earth" (Go:D:14). Compare also Go:G:12; Mo:4:1. Note "the four of you (f)" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:4). The ordinal (f) is "fourth" (Mo:6:8).

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

"six" -- Only the ordinal (f) is found: "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 "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).

"12" -- "twelve sons" (Hilp:G:2); "twelve signs of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4).

Note the Hebrew spelling in this and the following example where we expect בְּרֵא.

"12" -- בְּרֵא בְּרֵא "twelve sons" (Hilp:G:2); בְּרֵא בְּרֵא "twelve signs of the zodiac" (Mo:4:4).

Note the variants: בְּרֵא כָּסָר and בְּרֵא נָכָסָר.

"20" -- בְּשָׁבוֹא "in the name of the sixty male gods" (Mo:19:8).

"60" -- בֶּשַׁבְעַ "in the seventy languages" (Go:D:10).

"80" -- בֶּשַׁבְעַ בֶּשַׁבְעַ "the eighty female goddesses" (Mo:19:9).

"100" -- בְּהוֹרָה (Go:10:3); בְּהוֹרָה בְּהוֹרָה "one hundred seventy cubits" (Go:H:3).

"200" -- בְּהוֹרָה 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 בְּהוֹרָה.
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: נמש "good spirits" (Mo:7:9); נמ "evil spirits" (Go:H:2); נמ "sharp scythes" (Mo:7:17).

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

b. Number and State

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

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

In some nouns (e.g., הים "heavens"; ים "waters"), the masculine plural emphatic ending -ayyâ replaces the regular ending -ê. 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: וירב "mountains" (Mo:9:6).

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

Of the Absolute State the following examples may be cited: m. sg: בלל זמ'ה "at every time and occasion" (BM:91745:10); רה חحاضر "honey is poured" (Mo:12:5); f. sg: עם בר אלאב "with a little, hard bolt" (Iraq: 9731:6); m. pl: מסים | מימי "mighty practices" (Go:7:8); ניטי | נימי | יימי "bad dreams" (Go:K:2). Loss of final nun may occur with some adjectives as in: שעי | לברר "male strokes" (Go:H:2); f. pl: וב | "daughters" (Go:D:12); ובולות "in spheres" (Mo:8:13).

The Construct State has had its function curtailed somewhat by the use of -ה to express the genitive relation. Following are examples of the construct: m. sg: רוח לילית "spirit of lilith" (Mo:30:3); ברק תורובץ "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); f. sg: ברק "in the shape of a horn" (Mo:12:5); על אהבתה ביתה "upon the threshold of his house" (Go:G:3); m. pl: "angels of destruction" (Go:7:8); הבש | הבש "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: "the light I darkened" (BM:91776:14); "the Plague and the she-Plague" (Mo:16:10);
f. sg: "presumptuous woman" (Go:B:7); m. pl: "evil sorceries" (Ash:1931.177:2,4,12);
"the great queen" (Mo:19:6); f. pl: "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 ב in the formation of the plurals of some biconsonantal nouns: "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 בְּ (Heb. בִּמְ) as in Biblical Aramaic. It may be used either independently בְּכֶלֶם וּמוֹ "all the members" (Go:H:3); or attached to a following pronominal suffix בְּכֶלֶם וּמוֹ "and when he

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

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

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

d. Nouns with Genitive Suffixes

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

1st. sg: יִזְיָרַי לָלֵבַי "my own hand" (Mo:7:12); לְבֵרֹא "for my gate" (Iraq:9731:5); בֹּלַי לְגֶשֶׁם "in my own strength" and בֹּלַי מְרָפֶק "my skull" (Mo:2:1); מְלָנַת "to my ban" (Mo:1:12); בֹּלַי שִׁילָה "my command" (Ob:II:16).

2nd. m. sg: This suffix is rarely found in the texts outside of Hebrew contexts. We may cite: מַסָּמֶס בֶּרַד "(who) breaks thy bone" (Mo:7:17); בֹּלַי מָנַת "thy tribe" (Mo:7:17).
2nd. f. sg: מפר והרובכ "thy document of dismissal" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); בפומנוה יהובכ "in the membrane of thy heart" (Mo:11:7; Go:G:4; Iraq:lll13); וiors; "thy divorce" and מימייכ "thine adjuration" (Go:G:ll).

3rd. m. sg: The regular suffix with singular nominal stems is מינ; also written without the mater lectionis †. We may note: בפבר "in his body" (Mo:19:15); 포נ יריה ממליה "from all his house" (Go:C:7); יよかった "his wife" (Go:3:1).

With dual or plural nominal stems מינ is also found: בגין "his sons" (Go:1:2); ילבו "his feet" (Mo:19:19); ויריה "his hands" (BM:19745:4). However, there is also found the suffix מינ - borrowed from Reichsaramisch as used in the Biblical Aramaic: יוה ותיהו "under his hands" (Mo:19:14); יוה ותיהו מרהו "his lord(s)" (Mo:12:6); יוה וינש יוהו "his evil brothers" (Mo:4:3), with -ohi > oy through elision of the h.

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

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

2nd. pl. m: "your dust" (Iraq: 9736:3); "your house" (BM:91776:6); "your knots" (Go:10:4); "your bones" (Iraq:9736:3).

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

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 l is indicated in "at your mouths" (Go:C:4). The following examples are with pa"cel 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 יְנִיָּהוּ "in their dances" (Mo:12:8); יְנִיָּהוּ "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). CāC, or (2). CāC. Following are biconsonantals of CāC: סָנ "father" (Go:H:1; K:4); סָנ "brother" (Go:H:1; Mo:4:3); סָנ "son" (Go:11:6; A:2,3,4; G:8,9; H:12; Mo:2:4 etc); סָנ (yad + â > ydâ) "hand" (Go:B:7; C:6; 6:2; 7:8; Mo:19:14); and of feminines we may note the following:

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

סָנ "year" (Mo:6:5,6).

Biconsonantals of CāC include: סָנ "myrtle" (Mo:10:11); סָנ "gate" (BM:91776:4,7,14; Iraq:9781:5); סָה "generation" (Mo:17:1); סָה "good" (Go:5:10; 7:6; Mo:7:9); סָה "bowl" (Ash:1931.177:10; Mo:7:13; Ob:1:21);

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

The strong root affords many examples:

טנ פ "stone" (Hyv.); תני פ "briar" (BM:91776:8); אונפ ('anp > 'app) "face" (Iraq:9726:3; Iraq:llll3; Mo:13:5);

טנ פ "earth" (Go:1:1; 11:4; D:14; BM:91776:6; Mo:2:2);

טנ פ "place" (Hilp:G:8; Mo:12:8); אונפ "husband" (Go:G:2; Mo:8:13);

טנ פ "man" (Go:C:6; D:10); אונפ "bone" (Go:C:5; Iraq:9736:3; Mo:7:17);

טנ פ "field" (Iraq:9726:2; Mo:17:3; Ellis:3); אונפ "seed" (Go:E:5; 6:1; Mo:1:8);

טנ פ "village" (BM:91776:15); אונפ "wine" (Go:G:10; BM:91776:8);

טנ פ "sorceries" (Go:10:2; Ash:1931.177:2,4,12; Ash:1932.620:3; Go:MBTa:7 etc); אונפ "month" (Mo:6:5);

טנ פ "walled city" (BM:91776:15); אונפ "bread" (BM:91776:11);

טנ פ "king" (Go:AI:2; 11:18; Ash:1932.619:14); אונפ "life" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1; 7:3); אונפ "(Magic) circles" (Mo:7:11);

טנ פ "slave" (Go:D:6); אונפ "bed" (BM:91776:9; Mo:7:17);

טנ פ "body" (Go:11:13,16; B:8,9; Mo:7:6; 19:15);

טנ פ "part, dissension" (Go:H:7; Iraq:9731:7); אונפ
"figure" (Go:I:1; J:2); "early morning" (Mo:26:5);

"horn" (Mo:12:5); "evening" (Mo:26:5);

"dance" (Mo:12:8); "military division" (Mo:13:1);

"gate" (Go:D:14; BM:91776:14; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:7).

Of feminine nouns: "queen" (Go:H:12; Mo:19:6);

"slumber" (Mo:7:16; 8:11).

Of the מ"ע roots: "door" (Iraq:9731:5); "sea" (Go:2:7; 11:6; Ash:1932.620:IV13; Mo:2:4; 7:12 etc); "palm (of hand)" (Go:6:4);

"basket" (BM:91776:11); "people" (Mo:13:1);

"great" (Go:AI:2; 6:6; 11:6,11; D:7; Mo:4:5 etc). Of feminines: "beast" (Mo:7:14; Myhr:14);

"cubit" (Go:H:3); "daughter-in-law" (Go:B:7; BM:19745:2).

Of the מ"ע roots: "house" (Go:AI:4,7; A:1; C:7; Mo:1:6 etc); "eye" (*hay1 > hél);

"strength" (Go:11:1; Mo:2:1); "cën" (Cayn > cën) "eye" (Go:6:1; 7:9; B:6,7; I:2,3 etc);

"summer" (Mo:30:2).

Of the מ"ע roots: "day" (Go:A:4; C:8; G:8; Iraq:11113; Mo:4:4 etc); "death" (Go:I:7; L:2; Iraq:9736:5; Mo:3:6 etc);

"bird" (Mo:7:14); (*sawt, cf. صوت) "shout" (Go:K:6);

"ox" (tawr > tór) "ox" (Go:D:6; J:4). Of feminines: "height" (Go:10:5; 11:1,2; H:3; Mo:2:1; 19:3).
Of "ים roots note the feminine adjectives: נָרָא "pure" (Go:6:5; 11:3; Mo:27:4); סָפַק "hard" (Go:6:2; Iraq:9731:6; Go:MBTa:1; Mo:7:11).

(2). The QITL formation.

Of biconsonantals note: סָלָל 30 "sleep" (סֵינַ + תַּא, from וַשָּׁנִ) (Mo:6:10; Ob:II:1); סָלָל "lip" (BM:91751:8).

Of the strong roots: סַלָּל "prince" (Ash:1932.619:IV10; Go:D:11; L:13); סַלָּל Syr. סַלָּל "enchantment" (Go:11:6; Mo:2:3); סַלָּל "flesh" (Go:G:10; Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:8); סָלָל "word" (Go:2:7);

סַלָּל "male" (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:A:3; B:5; Mo:6:2 etc);
סַלָּל "time" (BM:91745:10; Ob:II:19); סָלָל "vision" (Go:G:8); סָלָּל "dream" (Go:2:5; K:2; MBTa:3; Mo:6:10);
סָלָּל "grace" (Mo:13:6); סָלָּל "darkness" (Go:8:5; Mo:16:6);
סָלָּל "press?" (Mo:6:1; 12:6; 28:2); סָלָּל "boundary" (Go:MBTa:7); סָלָּל "oil" (Ash:1931.177:10; BM:91776:11);
סָלָּל "vow" (Go:1:1; 4:1; H:3; Mo:5:2; 7:13 etc);
סָלָּל "row" (Go:11:10; Mo:2:7); סָלָּל "side" (Mo:6:10); סָלָּל "book" (Go:G:7; Mo:26:6); סָלָּל "destruction" (Mo:16:6);
סָלָּל , feminine סֵלָּל "signet" (Go:A:1; B:4; F:2; Mo:8:11; 21:3; 22:3 etc); סָלָּל "door" (Iraq:11113; Mo:6:6); סָלָּל

30 With aphaeresis of y- as in Arabic where the infinitive of סָלָּל is סָלָּל.
"grave" (Ash:1932.620:12); אֻנְנָפ "knot" (Go:E:1,5; 10:4; Mo:28:5);
גל "foot" (Go:6:2; C:6; H:9; Mo:12:7; 19:19);
"steed" (Go:D:13); אַנָנ "gesture" (Mo:19:8);
"reptiles" (Mo:7:14); אֵד "quiver" (Go:H:8);
"rope, spinal column" (Go:H:10; 6:2,4);
Syr. חֲשָׁמ "sun" (BM:91776:15); אֵנ "vermin" (Mo:7:14).
Of feminines: אַנָנ "wife" (Go:1:2; 3:1; B:7; D:14; H:1 etc);
"female" (Go:A:3; B:5; D:13; Mo:6:3; 8:8 etc).

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

Of מ"ע roots: אֵנ "side" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:2); אֵנ "flux" (Go:H:8); אֵנ "judgment, magic spell" (Go:1:4; H:1; Mo:4:5; 19:8); אֵנ "glory" (Mo:7:5); אֵנ "thick honey" (Mo:12:5); אֵנ "hair spirits" (Mo:7:13);
אֵנ "blast (demon)" (Ash:1932.620:7; Go:C:1; 7:8; Mo:1:9);
אֵנ "genus" (Go:2:3; Mo:1:8; Ellis:5); אֵנ "splendor" (Mo:7:5; 12:7); אֵנ "fluid" (Go:H:8); אֵנ "contention"
(Mo:25:3); ב'"ר "head" (Go:11:15; Iraq:Uncat.; Mo:4:5; 19:19); 'ג"ש "circlet-spirit" (Mo:15:6); ה"ש "goblin" (Mo:15:5); ה"ש "ring" (Go:3:3). Of feminines: מ"יר "dwelling" (Go:11:16; A:1,4; C:8; G:5).

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

(3). The QUTL formation.

One biconsonantal qutl occurs: מ" (absolute מ"ע ) "name" (Go:8:1; 11:11; D:14; BM:18745:3 etc).

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

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

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

(1). With two short vowels.

(a). qatal

We may note: נְבֵּי "mankind" (Heb. נְבֵּי) (BM:91751:8); נְבֵּי "hail" (Heb. נְבֵּי) (Mo:14:3); נְבֵּי "lightening" (Mo:12:8); נְבֵּי "camel" (Heb. בָּל) (Go:D:13); נְבֵּי "new" (Mo:13:11); נְבֵּי "stone pitcher" (BM:91776:11); נְבֵּי "corner" (Go:D:14); נְבֵּי "breath" (Go:H:8); וְלַע "leech" (BM:91745:9); יָפֻּר *Capar > Cafar > Cafra "dust" (Iraq:9736:3). Of feminines: נְבֵּי "envious" (Go:7:9); נְבֵּי , נְבֵּי , "middle" (Go:6:12); נְבֵּי , נְבֵּי , "breath" (BM:19745:5; Ob:II:15); נְבֵּי "enmity" (Go:L:7); נְבֵּי "release" (Mo:17:12).

(b). qatul

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

We may note here: מְתוֹנוֹת "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:

מִכְּלָם > מִכְּלָמָה, י"ה "world" (Go:D:8; E:5; G:2; L:13; Mo:3:5 etc); מֵשׂ "hour" (Go:1:4; Mo:4:5; 26:5).

(b). qâtil

This is the common Peʿal Participle formation: מַיְר "heir" יָרֵית + א > יָרֵתָ (Go:L:11); מִכְּל "decent" (Mo:29:7); מַיְר "male striker" and מַיְר "female striker" (Go:H:7).

Some tertiae weak forms occur:

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

(c). qâtôl

This nomen agentis formation is

found in: מַיְר "South" (Go:10:3; Wohls:2422:10); מַיְר "howler" (Go:A:2,3; H:2; BM:19745:9; Ob:I:21); מַיְר "flying
one" (Go:6:7); תָּמָא "North" (Go:10:3; Wohls:2422:10).

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

(a). qatâl

The following are found: מִזְרָח "east" (Mo:19:10); שָׁרוֹם "thorn-bush" (Go:H:17);
שָׁלְגָה "injury" (Mo:7:16); the feminine form occurs in
Go:7:8; Mo:16:6; נָרפ "honor" (Mo:8:6); bêt yiš "counter-
charm" (BM:91751:4); נָלֶק "curse" (Mo:5:3); נָרֶה "ether"
(Mo:29:11); מִזְלָע "peace" (BM:91776:17).

(b). qatîl

Of this formation: מִצְפָּר "east" (Go:D:7); שָׁרוֹם "evil" מִזְג "evil"
בֶּר > בֵּר (Go:10:5; 11:5,10,12; C:6; H:2; Mo:8:16 etc);
שֶּׁל "crown" (Mo:13:11); מִצְפָּר "robe" (Mo:13:6);
שֶּׁל "firmament" (Go:8:6; Mo:8:9). Of feminines note:
שָׁלָה "obar" (Go:11:2; Mo:2:1; 27:3).

(c). qatûl

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

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

(e). qutūl

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

(f). qatayl

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

(a). qattîl

This is the formation of many adjectives: אָרֶנְיָה "sharp" (Mo:7:17); אָרֶנְיָה "trusty" (Go:5:12); אָרֶנְיָה "right" (Go:H:4; Mo:6:10); אָרֶנְיָה "burning" (Mo:3:6; 14:7); אָרֶנְיָה "bitter, strong" (Go:11:5; MBTa:2; Mo:2:3; 4:4); אָרֶנְיָה "strong" (Mo:28:5; Go:MBTa:2); אָרֶנְיָה "sweet" (Ellis:5); אָרֶנְיָה "holy" (Go:B:1; L:12; Mo:4:1);

אָרֶנְיָה "swift" (Go:5:10); אָרֶנְיָה "near" (Go:H:1; BM:19745:2; Iraq:9726:2); אָרֶנְיָה "old" (Mo:19:9); אָרֶנְיָה "ruler" (Go:AI:2; G:3; Mo:11:7; Ob:II:14); אָרֶנְיָה "strong" (Go:I:7; Mo:3:1; 13:8); אָרֶנְיָה "dragon" (Go:11:7,9; Mo:2:4,6); אָרֶנְיָה "mighty" (Go:H:5,11; Ash:1931.177:2,4,12; Ash:1932.620:5; Go:MBTa:2).

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

(b). qattâl

We may mention: אָרֶנְיָה "part" (Go:10:5; H:3); and of feminines: אָרֶנְיָה "profane one" (Go:G:7); אָרֶנְיָה "strangler" (Go:G:7; J:4); אָרֶנְיָה "witch" (Go:C:4; MBTa:7); אָרֶנְיָה "necklace" (Go:8:4,6; Mo:7:11);

אָרֶנְיָה "ban" (Go:8:5; A:2; Mo:2:6; 8:6; 16:7); אָרֶנְיָה "abortion" (Mo:11:4); אָרֶנְיָה "remedy" (Ob:II:12).

Of Tertiae Weak note: אָרֶנְיָה "chills" (BM:19745:9).
(c). qittâl

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

(d). qittâl

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

(e). quttâl

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

c. Nouns With Prefixes

(1). With prefixed נ:
As examples of prefixed נ may be cited: נֶבֶל "plague" ¥ng (Mo:29:9); נַעֲרֵי "losses" ¥c (Mo:7:11). Of feminines note the Afel formations:

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

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

(2). With prefixed נ:

But one example occurs: נֶזֶר "praise" ¥sbh (Mo:12:7; 29:12; Ob:I:23).

(3). With prefixed מ

(a). maqta{l

Of this formation: מְלָאך "angel" ¥m'lk (Ash:1932.619:13; Go:1:2; C:4; I:7 etc); מַעַר "sunset" (Go:10:3); מֵבָט "bed" ¥skb (Go:H:15; 2:5). Of weak formations: מְרָמו "height" (Mo:9:7); מֲדָב "dwelling" ¥mawtab >motab >mœtbā (Go:D:4; G:6). Of feminines: מְכַב "chariot" (Go:8:4; Mo:14:2).

(b). maqtâl

Here note: מְדַב "oath" ¥wm
\textit{mawmâ} + \textit{tâ} \rightarrow \textit{mômâ} + \textit{tâ} (Go:AI:7; G:11; K:6; 6:6; Mo:1:12 etc); \textit{mûmû} "magical practice" (Go:10:2; BM:19745:4; Iraq:11113; Ob:I:7; Mo:9:1 etc).

(c). miqtal

The formation of Pe\textsuperscript{Cal} Infinitive includes: \textit{mi'wâr} "word" \textit{mi'mar} \rightarrow \textit{mêmar} (Go:D:10; Mo:13:8); \textit{mûmû} "scatterings" (Go:L:3); \textit{mûmû} "standing place" (Go:H:14).

(d). Participial formations

Of Pa\textsuperscript{Ce}l Participle: 

"annulling one" (Ash:1952.620:10; Iraq:11113; Mo:11:2,3); 

\textit{mûbâl} "monster" (metathesis of \textit{mûbâl} (Mo.)) (Go:A:2; K:2; Mo:2:7); \textit{mûmû} "banning one" (Ash:1952.620:9,10).

Of Afel Participle: 

"harmer" \textit{mûnq} (Ash:1952.620:7; Go:7:8; G:1; Mo:7:11 etc).

(e). Other formations

Single occurrences may be noted of \textit{maatâl}: \textit{mûrîd} "province" (Go:10:3); and of \textit{maatâl}:

\textit{mûrîd} "food" \textit{mûnq} (Go:11:13,16; D:14; Iraq:11113).

Some formations do not readily permit classification: \textit{mûbâl} "sickle" (Mo:7:17); \textit{mûbâl} "East" \textit{mûnq} (Go:10:3); \textit{mûhâmâ} "lad/lassie" (Go:G:4;
d. Nouns With Suffixes

(1). With suffixed -\(\text{\textbar}\)n:

(a). qat\(\text{\textbar}\)

The following are found:  
\[\text{zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n} \rightarrow \text{z\(\text{\textbar}\)d\(\text{\textbar}\)n} \ "\text{presumptuous}\" \ (Go:11:10; B:7; H:7; Ob:I:13);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{destruction}\" \ (Ob:II:7);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{flood}\"  
\[\text{\textbar}\)tawf\(\text{\textbar}\)n \ \rightarrow \ \text{\textbar}\)t\(\text{\textbar}\)f\(\text{\textbar}\)n (Mo:10:5).

(b). qit\(\text{\textbar}\)

Here are found:  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{building}\"  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{vision}\" \ (Go:2:3; G:8; MBTa:3; Mo:30:5;  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{property}\" \ (Go:6:1; B:4);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{thought}\" \ (Go:H:4,7).

(c). qut\(\text{\textbar}\)

We may note:  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{name}\"  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{soundness}\" \ (Go:10:1);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{sickness}\" \ (Mo:7:11);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{salvation}\" \ (Go:11:15; Mo:4:5);  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{sovereignty}\" \ (Ob:II:16).

(d). Other formations

Of qital:  
\[\text{\textbar}\)zayd\(\text{\textbar}\)n, \ "\text{glorious}\"
*nisah + ân (Go: 6:5); and of qatil: שברדוהו "their workers" (Go: C:8).

(2). With suffixed -uth:

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

(3). With suffixed -îth:

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

(4). With suffixed -î:

The gentilic ending î occurs in:

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

e. Nouns With Prefixes and Suffixes

Here may be noted the PaCael Participle
with suffixed -ân (nomen agentis): מַעַרְבָּן "guardian" *(Mo:7:9); מִשְׁבָּרָן "destroyer" (Go:H:4); מִשְׁבָּרָן "practitioner" (Ash:1931.177:12); מַשְׁבָּרָן "sender" (Go:C:8; 5:6; 9:3; Ash:1931.177:12).

Other nouns in this category include:


f. Other Nominal Formations

(1). Reduplicated nouns.

(a). qalqal

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

(b). qilqul

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

This is the noun of the palpal conjugation (מַסְדָּל of כּוֹל conjugation).
(c). Other formations

Other reduplicated nouns include

a **quqil** שֵׁפִּישׁו "chain" (Go:6:4; 8:3).

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

Of **qatlul** בְּרָסָפ "leprosy" (Mo:29:9).

(2). Quadriliteral nouns.

Of these note: **membrane (pericardium)** (Go:AI:5; G:4; Iraq:11113; Mo:11:7 etc); **throne** (Go:D:11; BM:91776:15; Mo:16:7); **scorpion** (BM:19776:15); **naked** (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5);

**iron** נֵרַזל + "parzil + יִי > parzial" (Go:6:4; 11:2; Ash:1931.473:6; Mo:2:1; 15:7 etc); **left** שָׁמִי "left" שָׁמִי sim'al > sim'al > sim'al (Go:H:4,9; Mo:6:10). Of feminines:

**skull** (Mo:2:1).

We may mention at this juncture certain compound nouns: בִּלְיָר "demons" (Go:A:3); בִּיטְרֲבַּה "enemy" (Go:11:5; Mo:2:3); בִּיב הָרָע "headache" (Iraq:Uncat.);

**panacea" (Mo:13:8).

(3). Foreign loanwords.

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

- "(magic) thought" (Go:L:4,7,10) is the Accadian egirtum; elsewhere its meaning is "letter" (Go:G:7; Mo:8:13);
- "threshold" (Go:AI:4; 5:5; 10:1; G:3; Mo:6:4 etc);
- "godess" from Accadian ı̇ṣtar (Go:4:4; 6:2,6; A:Case; L:8; Mo:19:6 etc);
- "copper" from Accadian ėrû (Hilp:G:4);
- "temple" from Sumerian E.GAL "big house" (Mo:14:3);
- "bowl" from Accadian lâhan(n)u (Go:H:2);
- "manzâl > mazzâl "constellation" (Go:C:7; Ellis:3; Go:MBTa:8);
- "roof-spout" (Go:H:3);
- "town" from Accadian mâtu (Iraq:9726:5; Ellis:3);
- "shrine spirit" from Sumerian E.KUR "mountain house = shrine" (Go:11:10,11; H:7);
- "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: 

- "color" from ġun (Mo:7:15; Myhr:15);
- "demon" from ġīv (Go:AI:2; 11:17; Mo:2:6; 3:2 etc);
- "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);
"psalm" (Mo:14:3);
"Satan" (Go:11:4; Ash:1932.620:III9-11; Go:A:2; Mo:5:4 etc);
"underworld" (Mo:6:12);
"jackals" (BM:91776:15), where the context rules against "sea-monster" (Mo:2:4,6).
D. The Verb

1. The Nature of the Verb

a. The Tense System

Two tenses are distinguished: the Perfect and the Imperfect.

The Perfect expresses completed action:
- "he sent" (Go:D:10); "she confounded" (Go:H:7);
- "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); "they passed over" (BM:91776:4);
- "we have written" (Mo:1:15);
- "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:
- "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); "he will annul"
(BM:91751:9); יָנָיָיָי מְשַׁבֵּר "he flees" (Mo:3:7); יִנָּוָיָי מְשַׁבֵּר "mayest thou (not) lie" (Mo:11:8); כַּלְכֵל מְשַׁבֵּר "they shall do folly (=hurt)" (Mo:4:2); לֶוֶּר מְשַׁבֵּר "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></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd. m.</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>י- (-ū)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>ה- (-at)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>ה- (-t)</td>
<td>עַ/עְ- (-tûn/tû)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>ה- (-t)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>ס/ס- (-êt/tî)</td>
<td>י- (-nâ/nan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The ending י- for the 2nd. person plural

31 In יִנָּוָי מְשַׁבֵּר the י was lost as a consonant (though written historically) and hence the word is treated as Tertiae Weak and pronounced 'ašbêî.
masculine may be cited in: יִשָּׁלְמָה "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). The interchange of יִ and יִ 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/l---)</td>
<td>י'י/י (y/n/l---^un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. f.</td>
<td>י (t---)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. m.</td>
<td>י (t---)</td>
<td>י (t---^un)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. f.</td>
<td>י'--- (t---^n)</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. c.</td>
<td>not attested</td>
<td>--- (n---)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

c. Mode and Verbal Nouns

The Imperative is used for positive commands: 𒂗𒉌 “flee” (Go:G:7,12); 𒊬𒐪 “take” (Go:AI:6; Go:G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6); 𒅝𒉌 “receive” (Iraq:11113).

For negative commands the negative lá plus the 2nd. person Jussive is used: 𒉏𒀀 “do not kill” (Mo:3:4); 𒊳𒊠 “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 miqtal in the Pecal. It is usually preceded by the Preposition ל, particularly when purpose is to be expressed. In other conjugations than the Pecal, the last two syllables are vocalized נ (with possible nominal sense), or נ (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: קָנָה יִֽשְׁבֵּי נָּעְשָׁה "fast flying" (Mo:1:10); and: רוּפֶי מְפְרֵד "encamped in camps" (Mo:2:7). Note also: אֵלְפָּי דַוִּיד מְפָרַד לְהַשָּׂש וַיִּשְׁבֵּן עַל... "I assuredly vow and adjure thee" (Mo:3:3,4).

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

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

The passive participle expresses an indefinite action as regards time: מְלַיְמָה "engraved" (Mo:11:9); מְלַיְמַּא "sealed" (Go:E:1; G:9; 11:16); מְלַיְמַּא "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 (Pe^cal).

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

The preformative of the Imperfect
has the i vowel (a before laryngeals). PeCal becomes viqṭul (viqṭal with statives or final laryngeal) in the Imperfect.

The PeCal Imperative is ḫu(m) (u > a before laryngeals), derived by stripping the Imperfect of its prefix. The Infinitive is miqṭal. The Active Participle has the form qâtel, the Passive qetil.

(2). Reflexive-Passive of the Simple (EthpeCel).

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

Unlike Syriac which has only preformative l in the 3rd. masculine singular Imperfect, our texts have both and l. However, preformative l is not attested for EthpeCel as in BTA.

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

32 The evidence of our texts does not permit us to say whether the vowel is hireq or seghol; i.e., ḫu(m) or ḫu(m). Our terminology (as in EthpeCel) 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 meqattel, the Passive meqattal. The Infinitive may be qattâlê, or, more commonly, qattêlê.


The formation of this conjugation follows closely that of the EthpeCCel, 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 (§ IA2).

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

(5). The Causative (Afel).

The Causative is formed by the addition of preformative 1e: ׃רִפְס "he has returned" ו_ICON
(Go:8:9; Ob:II:9), with i > a before r in the same syllable.
After preformatives as in the Imperfect, ֶָּּּּּאִּּּּּא > א. The second vowel is ֶָּּּּא, 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: ֶָּּּּאִּּּּא "fall ye (not)" (Ash:1932.620:IV5).

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

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

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

Niphal survivals are limited to: ֶָּּּּא "thou art kept" and ֶָּּּּא "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: יִלֹּחַ "he cursed me" (Go:L:4); יִשָּׂמֵל "he has vowed me" (Go:L:4); יָשִׁלֵם "he has performed against me" (Go:L:7).

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

3rd. sg; masculine: יִשָּׂמֵל "he has sown it" (BM:91776:8); feminine: יִשָּׂמֵל "press it (?)" (Mo:13:12);

יִשָּׂמֵל "thou hast split it (?)" (Go:2:7); יִשָּׂמֵל "they will garb her" (Mo:13:6); יִשָּׂמֵל "they will clothe her" (Mo:13:6).

3rd. pl: יִשָּׂמֵל "I have bound them" (Go:AI:12); יִשָּׂמֵל "I have vanquished them" (Go:11:12);

יִשָּׂמֵל "thou hast sprinkled them" (Mo:28:3); יִשָּׂמֵל "she shall sprinkle them" (Mo:28:4).

2. The Strong Verb

a. The Perfect

3rd. m. sg; PeC al: יַעֲבֹר "he worked" (Go:B:5; Ash:1931.177:12); יָשָׁר "he removed" (Mo:14:2);

יָשָׁר "he sent" (Go:D:10). EthpeC al: יִשָּׂמֵל "it is recorded" (Mo:14:6) with assimilation of נ to ל; יִשָּׂמֵל "it is found" (Mo:8:7), with the usual transposition of dental and sibilant. PeC al: יָשָׁר "he sent" (Ash:1931.177:12).
Ethpaccal: בָּשַׁלְכֵּנִי "he has used" (Go:5:10). Afel: בָּזָל "he has returned" (Go:8:9; Ob:II:9); בָּשׁל "he has performed against me" (Go:L:7).

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

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

1st. sg; Pecal: בָּשַׁלְךְ "I destroyed" (BM:91776:14); בָּשַׁל "I have conquered" (BM:91776:14); בָּשַׁל "I uprooted" (Mo:8:15); בָּשַׁל "I fled" (Hilp:G:3); בָּשַׁל "I opened" (Hilp:G:5); בָּשַׁל "I have abandoned" (Go:G:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:2). Paccal: בָּשַׁלְכֵּנִי "I have expelled" (Go:A1:6; Iraq:11113; Mo:17:3). Afel: בָּשַׁל "I have surrounded" (Mo:4:6); בָּשַׁל "I adjure" (Go:A1:2,5; G:3); but בָּשַׁל "I destroyed" (Go:2:6).

3rd. m. pl; Pecal: בָּשַׁלְכְּנִי "they passed over" (BM:91776:4); בָּשַׁל "they have (not) gone up" (BM:91776:5); בָּשַׁל "they have worked" (Go:C:6); בָּשַׁל "they opened" (BM:91776:8). Ethpescal: בָּשַׁל "they are swallowed up" (Mo:9:6); בָּשַׁל "they have (not) been pressed" (Mo:28:2); בָּשַׁל "they are uprooted" (Mo:9:6); בָּשַׁל "they are found" (Mo:25:2). Afel: בָּשַׁל "they knocked" (Hilp:G:6); בָּשַׁל "they have performed against" (Go:4:1). The form בָּשַׁל "they knocked" (BM:91751:8)
may be Ethan with א assimilated to the כ (Cf. Hebrew יְהֵשׁ, Eccl. 7:16).

2nd. m. pl; Pecal: תֹּלֵם "ye have passed by" (BM:91776:7). Ethan: כִּהֶּפוּת "ye have been bewitched" (Go:10:4).

1st. pl; Pecal: אֵשׁ "we have written" (Mo:1:15); עלינו "we went up" (BM:91776:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; Pecal: יִחְדֶּשׁ "he shall fear" (Mo:3:7); יִלְּכֶנ "let it return" (Go:8:1); יִשָּׁר "he will return" (Iraq:9736:8); יִשְׁרֵיך "he flees" (Mo:3:7); יִלְכֶנ "let it come near" (Ob:1:15). Ethan: כִּכְלָב "may he be sealed" (Mo:19:19); יִשְׂרֵיך "may it remove" (Mo:3:2); יִלְכֶנ "he may be inflamed" (Mo:28:1). Pecal: יִבְשֶׂל "he will annul" (BM:91751:9); אֵשׁ "may he expel thee" (Mo:7:17); יִשָּׁר "he will keep distant" (Ash:1932:620:IV14). Ethan: וַיִּבְשֶׂל "let it be scattered" (Go:11:11); אֵשׁ "he may be abolished" (Go:5:11); יִשָּׁר "may he be kindled" (Mo:28:1).

3rd. f. sg; Pecal: יִכְּפֶר "she shall sprinkle them" (Mo:28:4).

2nd. m. sg; Pecal: יִכָּפְר "do (not) kill" (Mo:3:4). Ethan: קַחְנוּ "may you be distant" (Mo:11:3). Ethan: וַיִּכְּפֶר "may you refrain" (Mo:11:2).
2nd. f. sg; PeCal: יָנוֹפֵי "mayest thou cease" (Go:G:5); יָנוֹפֵי "you do" (Go:11:5; Ob:II:16); יָנוֹפֵי "do (not) approach" (Go:G:8); יָנוֹפֵי "may you (not) lie" (Mo:11:8). EthpeCal: יָנוֹפֵי "mayest thou be uprooted" (Go:G:4), the yod showing the weakening of the cayin into a vowel, i.e., titqar > titeqar + in; יָנוֹפֵי "may you be distant" (Go:G:5; Mo:8:17).

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

2nd. m. pl; PeCal: יִשְׂרָאֵל "ye shall injure" (Go:11:13); יִשְׂרָאֵל "do (not) amaze" (Mo:7:16); יִשְׂרָאֵל "ye shall (not) draw near" (Go:3:2; Ash:1932.620: IV15; Mo:21:2); יִשְׂרָאֵל "do (not) prevail" (Go:1:3; Mo:6:10). EthpeCal: יִשְׂרָאֵל "ye are turned away" (Stübe:14).
Pa\textsubscript{cal}: יבשׁל "ye will abolish" (Go:6:6; Iraq:Uncat); יחביחו "ye injure" (Mo:7:16).

c. The Imperative

Sing. m.; Pe\textsubscript{cal}: יָסָת "upset" (Ash:1931. 177:12); יָפ "fly" (Go:G:11); יָפ "flee" (Go:G:7,12); יָפ "take" (Iraq:11113).

Sing. f.; Pe\textsubscript{cal}: יָשָׁנ "return" (Go:AI:6); יָפ "flee" (Go:G:7; AI:7); יָפ "flee" (Go:AI:7); יָפ "listen" (Mo:8:4); יָפ "take" (Go:AI:6; G:7; Mo:11:8; 26:6). Ethpe\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "depart" (Go:G:7). Pa\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "receive" (Go:G:11; AI:7).

Plur. m.; Pe\textsubscript{cal}: יָשָׁנ "return" (BM:91776:10); יָפ "flee" (Mo:18:9); יָפ "leave" (Hilp:G:8). Ethpe\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "hurry off" (Go:10:4); יָפ "be oiled" (Iraq:9731:9). Pa\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "desist" (Mo:7:15); יָפ "receive" (Iraq:11113). Ethpe\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "be banished" (Go:10:4). Afel: יָפ "turn" (Iraq:9736:9); יָפ "remove" (Go:1:4).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; Pe\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "going" (BM:91776:9); יָפ "stamping out" (Go:D:14; Mo:16:6); יָפ "shrieking" (BM:19745:7); יָפ "resting" (Go:6:7). Ethpe\textsubscript{cal}: יָפ "swallowed up" (Mo:3:7); יָפ "praised" (Mo:12:6);
"broken" (Go:E:5). Paccoli: מגיה "destroying" (BM:19745:5); מותב "vanquishing" (Go:11:9); מושב "cancelling" (BM:91751:6); ממחיך "accepting" (Mo:6:11); מימים "confounding" (Go:H:4).

Active f. sg. absolute; Paccoli: מוגה "strangling" (Go:G:4; Mo:18:6); ממרד "casting down" (Iraq:11113); ממרד "burning" (Go:AI:4); מושב "killing" (Go:G:4; MBTa:4); מושב "striking" (Go:G:4); משכח "being silent" (Go:H:10). Paccoli: ממחיך "destroying" (Go:H:9; Mo:13:9); משכח "darkening" (Go:B:7); משכח "strangling" (Go:H:4). Afel: ממחים "making weep" (Go:H:8); ממחים "destroying" (Go:H:5).

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

Active f. pl; Paccoli: ממקי "strangling" (Go:H:6). Afel: ממקי "harming" (Go:H:6).
Passive m. sg; PeCal: נֵבֵי "blessed" (Go:B:4); מְצִיעָה "kneaded" (Mo:12:5); מֶרֶב תְכוֹן "engraved" (Mo:11:9); מְזוֹד "sealed" (Go:E:1); מִזְמָן "dishevelled" (Mo:8:3); מִקְרָא "announced" (Go:K:4; Mo:8:3). PaCal: מְמֹד "designated" (Go:A:1; H:1); מְזוֹד "armed" (Mo:4:6); מְזָה "sealed" (Go:E:1; G:9; 11:16); מְמֹד "established" (Mo:29:11).

Passive f. sg. absolute; PeCal: נֵבֵי "proscribed" (Mo:7:13); נֵבֵי "fearful" (Mo:13:8); מְזָה "sealed" (Go:10:5; MBTa:4); מְזָה "conquered" (Go:MBTa:4); מִקְרָא "spread" (Iraq:9731:5). PaCal: מְמֹד "countersealed" (Go:10:5); מְמֹד "fastened" (Mo:19:10). Afel: מְמֹד "curled around" (Iraq:9731:6).

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

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

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

1st. sg; PeCaI: סנה "I decree" (Go:K:1); סנה תייר "I pronounce" (Go:11:11; Mo:29:9); סנה תייר "I enchant" (Mo:6:6); סנה "I seal" (Go:11:14); סנה "I clothed" for סנה (Go:11:3); סנה "I operate" (Mo:9:2); סנה "I dismiss" (Mo:9:9); סנה "I stretch" (Go:11:8; Mo:2:5).

EtnPeCaI: סנה ררחבעמ "I swear" (Hilp:G:8). PaCceI: סנה "I annul" (BM:91751:5); סנה מלחמה "I ban" (Go:K:1); סנה מלחמה "I disenchant" (BM:91751:5). AfI: סנה מועקש "I adjure" (Go:6:6; H:2; Mo:3:4; 29:7).

2nd. sg; PaCceI: סרה ירהמ "cherished art thou" (Go:G:10).

2nd. pl; PeCaI active: סנה תייר "ye are dry" (Iraq:9731:9); סנה תייר "ye are near" (Iraq:9736:6).

PeCaI passive: סנה תייר "ye are sealed" (Go:11:17; MBTa:1);
סנה תייר "ye are conquered" (Mo:4:1); סנה תייר "ye (f) are clad" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5);
סנה תייר "ye (f) are stripped" (Go:K:3; Mo:8:3; 17:5).

f. The Infinitive

PeCaI: סנה קחניל "(to) strangle" (Hilp:G:7);
סנה קחניל "(to) kill" (Hilp:G:7). PaCceI: סנה בשמ "(to) thwart" (Go:B:8);
סנה בשמ "(to) terrify you" (Mo:8:7); סנה בשמ "disturbing" (Mo:24:4);
Serna בשמ "(to) make you hear"
(Mo:8:7). Afel: יָשָׂא "injuring" (Go:11:12; Mo:4:5); יָשָּׂא "adjuring" (Mo:8:3).

3. Verba Primae Weak

a. The Perfect

3rd. sg; ב"מ PeֲCal: "it has come down" (Mo:8:7; 12:5); הֵלָּחֲמָ "it (f) has fallen" (Go:8:3). EthpeֲCal: יָשָּׂא "he was preserved" (Mo:10:3).

1st. sg; ב"מ PeֲCal: הֵלָּחֲמָ "I went down" (BM:91776:14); נְשָׁבֵי "I have taken" (Go:11:16; Mo:4:6); יָשָּׂא "I grasped" (Mo:4:6). Of אָמ" and י"מ; PeֲCal: יָשָּׂא "I have gone" (Go:11:4,10; Hilp:G:3); הֵלָּחֲמָ "I shut" (BM:91776:14); יָשָּׂא "I have said" (Mo:2:3); יָשָּׂא "I have bound" (Ash:1932.619:13). Afel: יָשָּׂא "I adjured" (Mo:8:6) but יָשָּׂא (Go:2:6).

3rd. pl; ב"מ PeֲCal: נְשָׂא "they have vowed" (Go:4:1). Afel: יָשָּׂא "they brought out" (BM:91751:8). Of אָמ; EthpeֲCal: יָשָּׂא "ittasери" "they have been bound" (Go:11:13,15; Mo:4:4).

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

1st. pl; א"מ PeֲCal: יָשָּׂא "we said" (BM:91776:6).
b. The Imperfect

3rd. sg; י"מ PeCal: יגיר "he may touch" (Mo:16:4); ארה "it may depart" (Mo:3:2; 25:1); רעה "she shall depart" (Mo:5:1), but רעה (Mo:8:1); יפ "let him be harmed" (BM:91776:11); יפ "he shall go forth" (Mo:3:11). EthpeCel: ימויי "he may be preserved" (Go:10:5). Of א"מ; PeCal: ימוי "it shall go" (Mo:6:11). EthpeCel: ימויי ימויי ונייטsar > nittasar "it is bound" (Mo:19:14). Note the weakening of initial י into a vowel in י- Gutturals; PeCal: יניב "he will transgress" (Mo:6:11).

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

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

2nd. pl; י"מ PeCal: ימויי ימויי ימויי "ye guard" (Go:7:7); ימויי ימויי ימויי "may ye fall" (BM:91776:18); ימויי ימויי ימויי "may ye get out" (Go:2:5; H:14). EttaCal: ימויי ימויי ימויי "fall
ye (not)" (Ash:1932.620:IV5). Of נָּשַׁב ‘הוֹרַנְנוּנֵי; PeCal: נָּשַׁב הַבְּרִית we “may ye perish” (Ash:1932.620:17); נָּשַׁב הַבְּרִית "ye shall go" (Wohl:2417:16); מֵאַלְמָא "ye say" (Go:11:7).

c. The Imperative

Sing. f; יָנַר PeCal: בִּין "be enamored" (Mo:13:9,10); יָנַר "get out" (Go:AI:7; G:7; Mo:9:4).

Plur. m; יָנַר PeCal: בִּין "take" (Iraq: 11113); יָנַר "go forth" (Mo:7:15). Of יָנַר PeCal: נָּשַׁב הַבְּרִית "perish" (Mo:9:7); יָנַר "go" (BM:91776:11; Ash:1932.620:III7); other spellings include: יָנַר (BM:91776:10), and יָנַר (Iraq:9731:10); יָנַר "eat" (Iraq:9731:9).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; יָנַר PeCal: לִבְּרֵה "falling" (Go:11:11); לִבְּרֵה "going out" (Mo:19:14). Of נָּשַׁב and יָנַר PeCal: לִבְּרֵה "controlling" (Mo:11:4); לִבְּרֵה "sitting" (Go:H:3; 8:7). EthpeCal: לִבְּרֵה "being closed" (Iraq: 9731:6). Afel: לִבְּרֵה "teaching" מִלְמָא (Hal.).

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

Active m. pl; יָנַר PeCal: לִבְּרֵה "taking" (Mo:28:3); לִבְּרֵה "leaving" (BM:91776:17); לִבְּרֵה "holding"
(Mo:7:17); דע "blowing" (Mo:12:8). Of מ and ל "devouring" (Go:L:2); יביכר "giving" (Go:G:6; Ellis:I:7); יביכר "sitting" (BM:91776:15; Mo:14:7).

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

Passive m. pl; מ and מ PeCal: סיר "bound" (Go:C:6; Ash:1932.620:12; Mo:4:3); spelled יביכר (Mo:1:12); יביכר "upset" (Go:AI:1:1:1); "born" (Mo:1:8).

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

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

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

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

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

f. The Infinitive

Of  ב Afel:  "(to) bring out" (Mo: 9:8). Of א and א PeCal:  נ "go to it" (?) (Go: A: 2); מ "eat" (BM: 91776: 8); מיר "(to) bind" (Hilp: G: 8). EthpeCel:  אניא "(to) be turned away" (Iraq: 9736: 4). Afel:  נא "adjuring" (Mo: 3: 3). Of ג- Guttural; Afel:  נא "(to) upset" (Iraq: 9736: 9).

4. Verba Mediae Weak

a. The Perfect


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

b. The Imperfect

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. The Imperative

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

Sing. f; י"ע PeCal: י"נה "flee" (Mo:26:5);

Plur. m; י"ע PeCal: י"נה "depart"
d. The Participle

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

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

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

Afel: י"ע "oppressing" (Go:H:13).

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

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

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Passive m. pl; י"ע Pe^cal:ויי"ש "threshed" (Go:6:2; MTa:8); ויי"ש "fastened up" (Mo:6:6; 29:5).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

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

3rd. pl; י"ע Pe^cal: ויי"ש "they are terrified" (?) (Go:6:4).

f. The Infinitive

Of י"ע Pe^cal: יי"ש "(to) hold" (Mo:4:1).
Of י"ע Pe^cal: יי"ש "resounding" (Mo:6:11).

5. Verba Tertiae Weak

a. The Perfect

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

1st. sg; Pe^cal: ויי"ש "I have demanded" (Iraq:9736:3; Mo:4:6); ויי"ש "I rhyme" (Mo:15:5).
3rd. pl; PeCal: יָלְלוּ "they raised"
(BM:91751:8). EthpeCal: יָאִים "they have melted away (?)"
(Mo:9:6).

b. The Imperfect

3rd. sg; PeCal: יָשִּׁיפְ "let him drink"
(BM:91776:11). EthpeCal: יָאֵם "he shall burst" (Mo:6:11).
Of ה- Guttural; PeCal: יָפֹּל "he shall split" (Mo:6:11),
from יָפֹּל with ה weakened dialectally.

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

3rd. pl; PeCal: יָמְקֵה "may they (not)
sin" (Go:1:3); but יָמְקֵה "they may live"
(Go:G:2; Mo:12:3; 16:4); יָמְקֵה "they may cease" (Go:6:7).
EthpeCal: יָמְקֵה "they shall appear" (Mo:19:20); יָמְקֵה "they are filled" (Mo:12:7); יָמְקֵה "they may (not) be
released" (Go:6:4).

2nd. pl; PeCal: יָפְרִי "ye shall lift"
(Go:11:15); יָפְרִי "ye shall (not) sin" (Go:11:12,16);
יָפְרִי "may ye perish" (BM:91776:18); יָפְרִי "ye go
away" (Mo:5:1); יָפְרִי "ye shall wander" (Myhr:16).
Ethpe'el: וָנִיהָ "ye appear" (Mo:6:9; 7:16; 24:6).
Pa'acel: וָנִיהָ "ye bewilder" (Mo:7:16).

c. The Imperative

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

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; PeCal: "living" (Iraq:9731:5; Ob:I:24); "reaching" (Go:A:2). Ethpe'el:
מֵאָשִׁית "raising" (Go:C:5); מֵאָשׁ "being called" (Em:19745:4; Go:MBTa:5; H:5). מֵאָשׁ "being untied" (Go:E:5). Pa'acel: "appearing" (Go:H:12; Mo:20:4);
מצ' "walking" (Mo:12:6). Afel: "removing" (Mo:7:17).

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

Active m. pl; PeCal: מֵאָשׁ "lurking" (Mo:6:4); מֵאָשׁ "joining" (Mo:6:3); מֵאָשׁ "going astray" (Mo:1:9); מֵאָשׁ "dwelling" (Myhr:6). Ethpe'el: מֵאָשׁ "appearing" (Mo:9:3); מֵאָשׁ "appearing" (tä > dd)
(Go: H:5; Mo: 1:12; 6:4); ה"פנשחנ "being untied" (Mo: 19:4).

Afel: ה"פנשחנ "bringing" (Mo: 25:5).

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

Passive f. sg. absolute; PeCal: א"פנפ "torn" (Go: C:4).

Passive m. pl; PeCal: י"דנפ ה" "hated" (Go: 2:3; BM: 91776:4); י"דנפ "cast" (Mo: 19:10); י"דנפ "dismissed (?)" (Go: 5:1); י"דנפ "lodged" (Go: 1:2). PaCcal: י"דנפ "made greater (than)" (Go: B:2,5).

e. The Participle with Nominative Pronominal Endings

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

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

f. The Infinitive

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

6. Other Weak Verbs

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

a. The Perfect

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

b. The Imperfect

3rd. m. sg; PeCal: יֹכֵּה "it shall be"
(Mo:6:12), but יֹכֵּה (BM:19745:10); יֹכֵּה "may he come"
(Mo:13:10). PeCCal: יֹכֵּה (<יֹכֵּה) "he will save thee"
(Mo:1:15). EthpaCCal: יֹכֵּה (<יֹכֵּה) "let him be
healed" (Go:H:1).
3rd. f. sg; PeCal: יֹכֵּה "let there be"
(Go:10:1). EthpaCCal: יֹכֵּה "may she be healed" (Go:2:2;
Mo:11:1; 24:2).
2nd. f. sg; PeCal: יֹכֵּה "thou shalt come"
(Ob:II:15).
3rd. pl; PeCal: יָגַד "they shall be"
(Mo:12:3), and יָגַד (Mo:19:19); cf. יָגַד (<יָגַד) "who will be"
(Ash:1932.620:6; Mo:3:5); יָגַד "they shall
come (Go:D:11; Mo:25:6). Ethpa\textsuperscript{cal}: יְבוּשָׁנָה "they may be healed" (Go:7:2).

c. The Imperative

Plur. m; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: בִּנְיָא "come" (BM:91776:7).

d. The Participle

Active m. sg; Pe\textsuperscript{cal}: יְבוּשָׁנָה "being" (Go:D:7).
Ethpa\textsuperscript{cal}: יְבוּשָׁנָה "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:

- בְּלִי "against his threshold" (Go:5:5);
- בְּעָם יִרְחָה "in the name of YHYHYH" (Go:C:8); etc.

Besides the above meanings ל may denote "from":

- בְּמֹסְסָמְס הַפֶּסֶן "they brought out from their lips" (BM:91751:8); בְּמֹסְסָמְס בְּפֶסֶן לְרַבִּי "go and eat it from his basket of bread" (BM:91776:11).

With pronominal suffixes: בְּמֹסְסָמְס "in them" (Go:11:4); בְּמֹס "in him" (Go:11:7); בְּמֹס "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: בְּמֹס "within it" (Ash:1931.177:9; BM:91776:8); בְּמֹס נָבֵד "before" (Mo:13:5). The plene orthography בְּמֹס , found in the Targums and Talmud, occurs in Go:11:7; Mo:2:4; 6:11. The form בְּמֹס in Mo:29:11 is probably a shortened form of בְּמֹס "between" (Cf. also Mandaic תִּבְרָא).

"to, for, towards": לאָ תמח יִלְכוֹן לְבָטָה "ye shall go to the house" (Wohl:2417:16); לעַָ תמח יִלְכוֹן לְבָטָה "for the salvation, guarding and sealing" (Go:A:1); etc.

It combines regularly with genitive suffixes:
- לְוָי "to thee (f)" (Go:AI:6); בָּהֵל לְדִי "all he has" (Go:1:2);
- הַלָּבָנָה "to us" (BM:91776:8). Note also for הַלָּבָנָה "to thee" (Mo:17:10); etc.

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

It is conceivably combined with הַלָּבָנָה, the sign of the accusative, in הַלָּבָנָה (Cf. Syriac לְדִי). We may cite: לאָ תמח יִלְכוֹן לְבָטָהוֹ "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:9736:6);
- עָלָּה בָּבֶרֶנָה יִשְׂרָאֵלָהוֹ "who kills a man from the side of his wife" (Mo:3:2,3).

"from, of, more (or less) than":
- וָי לְוָי "from this day" (Go:A:4; Stube:43);
- וָי לְוָי "from all bad strokes" (Go:3:1,2);
- וָי לְוָי "from all of them" (Mo:6:5).

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

It combines with יִלְכוֹן to form another preposition:

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34 I.e., Original מְוָי becomes מְוָי (initial מ > מ).
"across the sea" (Mo:8:9), but מָשָׁר "across" (Mo:17:10).

behind" (Go:C:8); מָשָׁר "behind your (f) backs" (Mo:8:3); מָשָׁר "behind me" (Stube:58).

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

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

לָשׁה -- "below": לָשׁה לַמַּלְאֹת <*min+la+'araך "from below" (Go:D:14).

-- "because, for, in order to": כִּמְלֵל ד "in order to vanquish" (Go:11:11), and (Mo:2:6) (where ל is used instead of ד); כִּמְלָל ל "because" (Go:11:16). The initial ל of כִּמְלָל is worn down from כִּמְלָל. Note also: כִּמְלָל ג "because I have bound" (Mo:4:3).

– "until, to": מַעְר “and forever” (Go:D:8); מַעְר מָשָׁר מַעְר "until the great day" (Mo:4:4); מַעְר מַעְר מָשָׁר מַעְר "until the great hour" (Mo:4:5); מַעְר מַעְר מַעְר מַעְר מַעְר "to" (Mo:19:19).

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

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

"above, over": מַלְאָכָּת "from above" (Go:D:14); מַלְאָכָּת "above" (Mo:19:10).

"on, above, against, by": על "above" (Go:6:8).

"by the Red Sea" (Go:2:7); מַלְאָכָּת "upon those that work them" (Go:6:8).

With pronominal suffixes: עליך "on thee (f)" (Go:AI:3,5); עליך "on you" (Go:11:6,9); עליכותו "against them" (Go:11:11);עליך forעליהו (כָלֶה > כַּלֶּה) "against him" (EM:19745:6). Cf. §IB1. The interchange of על and י is attested in the texts.

"with": עלית "with mankind" (Mo:1:13). With pronominal suffixes: עליתו "which attach themselves" (Mo:6:3); עליתו "with her" (Mo:13:7).

"before", usually preceded by מז: מז "before" (Ash:1932.620:III7); מז "from before him" (Go:I:7; J:9), but מז מז (Hilp:G:3), and מז מז (Mo:3:7). Cf. §IB2.

"under" (Go:H:3).
a. Local

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

b. Temporal

- "now" (Mo:3:9). Montgomery would find prothetic נ in the form דנה (Mo:4:1). However, this is almost certainly the JBA proclitic reduction of ליע to נ.
- "now" (Go:G:11). It combines with גפ in גפ "from now" (Go:D:7).

c. Modal

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

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


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

3. Conjunctions

The regular coordinating conjunction is \( \text{ו} \), but before a vowelless consonant, the conjunction is \( \text{ועי} \) "and which shall be" (Go:G:9); "and forever" (Go:1:4); "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: ללבול עוניבש "curse-sorceries and knock-sorceries" (Go:1:1,2).

There are two occurrences of \( \text{כ} \) (Arabic ل) "and", which is common in Arabic, and found in Ugaritic, and the Zinjirli, Elephantine, Nabataean and Palmyrene dialects: ללבול עוניבש "and her property" (Go:6:1); ללבול עוניבש "and flee" (Mo:17:11).

For occurrences of \( \text{וא} \) "or", note (Mo:2:5) and possibly (Mo:8:17).
Of the subordinating conjunctions note:

**ןא -- "if":** יאה זא תינור יאיתו גיאש השות "if you are thirsty, come, drink!" (Iraq:9731:9); יאה זא תינור יאיתו "that if you sin at all" (Mo:2:3).

**כ -- "as, like":** רמיאו כי ד bpp "blowing like the blast" (Mo:12:8). As a correlative:

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

**יאלו -- ( נל > ל ) "but, except"** (BM:91776:10; Mo:28:2). Note also כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כבר כ כא עבוכנ "between". It is found in the texts, combined with relative כ, expressing the correlative:

כ ............... כ "either by................or" (Go:6:7; 8:15), but written כ (Go:G:10). See § IB1. It combines with the particle כבר כ ( כע('e[m]) 'standing') in: כבר כ "now" (lit. 'also standing').

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

כבר כ ............... כבר כ "either by................or" (Go:6:7; 8:15), but written כ (Go:G:10). See § IB1. It combines with the particle כבר כ ( כע('e[m]) 'standing') in: כבר כ "now" (lit. 'also standing').

38 See footnote, p. 88.
D:10; Mo:3:5). Loss of final nun occurs: נ"אブラ. "between the ethers" (Mo:29:11).

בּ רִ י  -- "again" (Go:AI:6; 11:7; Iraq: 11113), but note רָ י (Go:11:8). Variant spellings are found: דּ בְּ (Go:G:6), and דּ נ (Go:G:11). The latter may reflect the loss of final ל in the pronunciation, with ל written historically, but misplaced. Compare Talmudic 39 נב.

4. Other Particles

The following interjections may be cited:

הָ י  -- "oh!" (Mo:9:7; Hal.).

ハָ י  -- "oh, lo!" (Go:AI:5; G:5; 6:3; BM:91776:8). It combines with a following word: נוּמָ אָ י, "lo, I have divorced" (Mo:18:8).

דָ ה  -- "woel!" (Go:11:5; 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". § IIClb.

The construct state of the Noun has had its function curtailed by the use of 7 plus the Noun with genitive suffix to express the genitive relation. § IIClb. For more on the circumlocution of the genitive, cf. §IIA2b.

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

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 ṭ 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
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: יָנוּחַת וֹ "their house" (Mo:1:6).

We may also note the unique idiom: וּלְיָנוּמ "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: מִלְּאֹת לַגְּדוֹל וֹ "He has turned back the curse" (Go:8:9); לָא נַעֲמָת מִלְּאֹת לַגְּדוֹל וֹ "Let there be health from the heavens for them (f)" (Go:2:1); אָרֶץ בְּרֵשֵׁית "The land have I conquered" (BM:91776:14); קִלָּה שְׁמֻעַת שְּמִיעָה כָּל בְּרֵשֵׁית "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.

§II dlc. Besides negative commands it expresses the negative declaration of fact, alone: "ye are not near the living" (Iraq:9736:6); or combined with or or or or : "No one in its midst has sown it" (BM:91776:8); "None trespasses upon his ward" (Mo:7:13).

But one interrogative sentence can be found:

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

2. The Compound Sentence

Copulative sentences are formed by the conjunction waw, which joins verbs expressing actions closely following each other, or congruous: "I bind to thee and seal and counter-seal to thee, the life, etc" (Mo:7:2,3); "They have vowed and performed by the idols and by the Istars" (Go:4:4,5). The conjunction introduces an interpolation into the text (Mo:2:5), where the scribe injects another name into the narrative.

The attributive relative sentence is expressed by use of the relative particle ה, reduced from its original force as a demonstrative. Commonly it is attached directly to the verb that introduces the relative clause: "The words of the vow that they
have vowed and performed against A" (Go:4:1); "TBBSYM, the demon that confounds the right side" (Go:H:4). With the introduction of a preposition into the relative clause the relative particle attaches itself to the subject of the clause: "This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid" (Mo:3:6). See also Go:I:7. Note also: "The seal-ring (of King Solomon) to which no one can go, and before which nobody stands" (Go:A:1,2). Note that the relative particle is omitted at the beginning of the second clause.

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

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

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

"as a virgin (?) 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).
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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 qameṣ goes with Syriac versus Biblical Aramaic, which has pathaḥ. Again, as in Syriac, there is evidence of the loss of -animation.

4. The influence of Biblical Aramaic is seen in the occurrence of  versus  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 \( \mathcal{Y} \) 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 \( \mathcal{B} \) with the Jussive, 3rd. singular and plural, which may parallel a like usage of the prefix \( \mathcal{H} \) with the iprus conjugation in Accadian to express the Jussive.
PARADIGMS
### THE STRONG VERB

(§ IID2)

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Ettaf\(^\text{cal}\)

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$§$ IID3

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THE DOUBLY WEAK VERB
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TEXT REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

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

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A. BOOKS


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