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entity (Goldenberg 1979:87); their atomistic approach to the analysis of words according to the dichotomy of ‘stem letters’ and ‘service letters’ was so dominant that these grammarians did not take note of both nominal and verbal derivational morphemes. Intuitively they may have noticed these, but they did not formulate them explicitly as a grammatical category. Other grammarians, such as Menahem and Dunash, occasionally used the Hebrew terms ביניין and מישלכ市场需求 in but in a pre-theoretical sense.

The Karaite sage ‘Ali b. Sulaymān (11th century) learned Ḥayyūy’s theory from his adaptation of the Kitāb al-nuṭaf (Maman and Ben-Porat 2012), adopted it, and applied it in his compendium of Alfāsī’s dictionary. He was followed in this by Yehuda Hadasī in the three chapters on grammar of his אסקלוק יס풀ו ‘eskol hak-kofor ‘Cluster of Henna Blossoms’, and by the Byzantine Karaite scholars who came after him (ibid.:121; → Grammarians: Medieval Byzantium).

References

Aharon Maman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Morphology: Biblical Hebrew

Introduction

In presenting the morphology of Biblical Hebrew (BH), in the main we refer to Standard Judeo-Hittite literary Hebrew, i.e., the literary variety used in Judah ca. 1000–600 BCE. (for an earlier
treatment, on which the present entry is largely based, see Rendsburg 2007). Where the data permit us to witness distinct usages in other varieties of ancient Hebrew, such will be noted. Thus, we will refer occasionally to archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH); Israelian Hebrew (IH), that is, the dialect used in northern Israel; Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH; → Biblical Hebrew, Late), that is, the variety characteristic of the Persian period; colloquial Hebrew; and Qumran Hebrew (QH; → Dead Sea Scrolls) (we will not, however, refer to Samaritan Hebrew, → Samaritan Hebrew). When a particular non-standard usage emerges as the common form in Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), this too will be noted. Certain rare morphological variants are not discussed herein; instead, the standard reference grammars (e.g., GKC 1910; Joüon and Muraoka 2006; Blau 2010) should be consulted.

1. Pronouns

1.1. Personal pronouns

Like all Semitic languages, Hebrew has two sets of pronouns, free or independent forms, and bound or suffixed forms. The former are used for the grammatical subject, e.g., יְהוָה יִהְיֶה ‘I am YHWH’. The latter are suffixed to verbs as direct objects, e.g., יְהוָה יִהְיֶה ‘he hit him’, to nouns to indicate possession, e.g., בֵּנוֹ יְהוָה ‘his son’, to prepositions as indirect objects or as objects of the preposition, e.g., לְבוֹ ‘to him’, and to various adverbials, e.g., לְבַדּוֹ ‘he alone’.

1.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

The paradigm of the standard forms in BH is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>יָגוּנָה</td>
<td>יָנוּנָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>יָני</td>
<td>יָנִיו</td>
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<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>יָמ</td>
<td>יָמי</td>
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<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>יָנוּן</td>
<td>יָנוּנָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>יָנוּ</td>
<td>יָנוּנָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General comments:

• Hebrew possesses two 1cs independent pronouns. In standard BH narrative prose, one can detect syntactic or stylistic criteria that determine which of the two forms is to be used (see Revell 1995). From a diachronic perspective, of the two forms יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּנָה יָנוּн

to postulating an original epicene form *hū* which only at a later time was distinguished into two separate forms based on grammatical gender, masculine *hū* and feminine *ḥi* (see Rendsburg 1982b).

- In colloquial Hebrew, gender neutralization often occurs in the 2pl and 3pl forms (cf. the analogous situation in colloquial Arabic). Thus, מַשָּׂא 'attem and רַקְמֵנָּה / מַשָּׂא hēm appear with feminine antecedents in several instances in the Bible (see Rendsburg 1990:44).
- Although not included among the forms in the above chart, it has been argued that BH attests to the vestigial usage of common dual pronouns when the antecedent is ‘two’ of something (see Rendsburg 1982a; for a contrary view see Blau 1988; Bar-Asher 2009).

1.1.2. Suffixed personal pronouns

The paradigm of the standard forms in BH is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c  יִ-</td>
<td>יָ-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m  פִ-kā</td>
<td>פֶ-kem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f  פִ-ék / פִ- åk</td>
<td>פֶ-ken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m  מִ-hā / מִ-ó / מִ- åw / מִ-nū</td>
<td>מֵ-hēm / מֵ- åm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f  פִ-åh / מִ-hā / מִ-nā</td>
<td>מֵ-ben / מֵ- ån</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General comments:

- The three 1cs forms are distinguished in the following manner: יִ- is suffixed to singular nouns and most prepositions; יָ-ay is suffixed to plural nouns and certain prepositions; and יָ-nī is suffixed to verbs and certain other prepositions.
- The two 2fs forms, the two 3mpl forms, and the two 3pl forms are nothing more than phonetic variants originating from the same proto-forms.
- By contrast, the 3ms and 3fs are true allomorphs. One set has forms with ב, viz., מַ-hā / מִ-ó / מַ- åw (the latter two having evolved through elision of /h/); and 3fs מַ- åh / מַ- åh. The other set has forms with ו, viz., מַ- nū; מַ- מַ-nā. Set rules govern which of the forms, those with ב or those with ו, are utilized. Most strikingly, these allomorphs appear in some South Ethiopian languages as well, demonstrating that Hebrew inherited these forms from proto-Semitic (see Hetzron 1969).
- A longer 2fs form י-קָי (sometimes in Kethiv only) also occurs as an element of IH (see, e.g., 2 Kgs 4.2, 3, 7 [bīs]).
- The same gender neutralization noted above in colloquial Hebrew for the independent 2pl. and 3pl forms occurs with the pronominal suffixes as well, with בּוּ- kem and הֶ-hem (also מַ- åm where appropriate) appearing for the feminine in various instances in the Bible.
- As with the independent pronouns above, so with the pronominal suffixes here: Although the forms are not included in the chart, one should note that BH attests to a vestigial use of common dual pronouns when the antecedent is ‘two’ of something (see Rendsburg 1982a; again, for a contrary view see Blau 1988; Bar-Asher 2009).

1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The main set of Hebrew demonstrative pronouns, used for near deixis, distinguishes gender in the singular, but not in the plural. Accordingly, there are three forms: ms זֹ- ze ‘this’; fs זֹ-loyd ‘this’; cp מיָh ‘elle ‘these’.

A second fs. form, spelled either המ or ה זֹ- ‘this’, occurs sporadically in the Bible. This form is apparently the older of the two fs. forms; with the addition of the feminine suffix -t, the newer form יָ-loyd זֹ- was created (with the ‘alef serving as vowel letter in the orthographic convention). Based on both comparative evidence (cf. Phoenician ה <Z>) and the distribution of the form in the Bible (see 2 Kgs 6.19; Hos. 7.16), one may conclude that המ זֹ- or זֹ- was retained especially in northern Israel. This form (with the latter spelling) emerges as the regular form in MH.

An entirely different set of pronouns is attested sporadically, in all likelihood as colloquialisms: ms זֹּלַל hallāzė, fs זֹּלַל halleţū, both of which can be shortened to זֹּל ל hallāz. This set must be quite old, as the forms are closely aligned with the Arabic determinative-relative pronoun series ‘allādi (ms), etc. These forms appear more commonly in MH.

1.3. Relative pronouns

ABH attests to two related relative markers זֹ- ze and זֹ-锌, more or less equivalent to ‘the one
of'. At one time, these forms may have been distinguished for case (the former as genitive, the latter as nominative), but in the few actual occurrences of these forms no such distinction can be detected. These relatives clearly relate to the demonstrative pronouns (see above, §1.2).

SBH utilizes the indeclinable form רֵּשֵׁנ 'āsher 'who, that, which' for the relative pronoun. Its etymological meaning is 'place', as determined by cognates in Akkadian and Aramaic.

Yet another form attested in the Bible is the prefixed form -צ־ 'who, that, which', also indeclinable (perhaps related to the Old Akkadian determinative-relative šūšīššā [šūšīššā]—see the occasional alternate pronunciation -צ ש, e.g., Judg. 5.7 [bis]; or possibly derived via phonological reduction and grammaticalization from the aforementioned רֵּשֵׁנ 'āsher, on which see Huehnergard 2006; → Relative Particle). From its distribution in the Bible, we may conclude that -צ־ was characteristic of IH at first; later it penetrated to Judah and became more common in LBH. In MH it is the dominant form.

1.4. Interrogative pronouns

BH morphology includes two indeclinable interrogative pronouns: רֵּם ma 'what' for inanimate subjects, and יָּפִי mī 'who' for animate subjects.

1.5. Definite article

The definite article is -גּּח ba- + CC, probably reflecting *han- and deriving from an old demonstrative element *hammi- (cf. Old Akkadian hammī and a variety of Old Babylonian adverbs, on which see Rubin 2005:70–77; in Hebrew note the first element in הָלָּא hallāz, etc., discussed at §1.2 above, with the /h/ assimilated). The form *han- is prefixed to the noun. However, since vowelless /h/ regularly assimilates to the following consonant, the actual form *han- is not directly attested. Accordingly, the resulting forms show gemination in the following consonant, e.g., *han-delet > הַלָּא hallāz 'the door.' In cases where a laryngeal, pharyngeal, or /h/ follows, in which gemination cannot occur, typically the quantity or quality of the vowel is affected, e.g., *han-'am > הַלָּא hālāʾām 'the people'. When a uniconsonantal preposition (on which see below §4.2) precedes the definite article, the /h/ is elided, thus, e.g., with the preposition לָ- ‘to’, *ל-ח-הנמ-י跨境 > יָמְנָי lam-mayim 'to the water.'

2. Nouns

2.1. Gender, Number, Case

Nouns in Hebrew are distinguished for gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular and plural, and in some instances dual). The old Semitic case system has broken down.

Ms. nouns are unmarked, e.g., רֶפֶס pār 'bull'. Fs. nouns are typically marked by one of two endings: -ג (− at) or -ת. As noted, the former ending derives from an earlier form -at, retained in a few scattered nouns in the Bible. As for the latter ending, because Hebrew phonology disallows consonant clusters at the end of a word, the suffixed -ת is always preceded by an anaptyctic vowel. Most feminine nouns in the Hebrew lexis use only one of the two endings, e.g., הָני pārā 'cow' (with the first ending), תִּבְרָה qatoret 'incense' (with the second ending, with -e- as anaptyctic vowel). But in many cases the two endings co-exist in free variation with no apparent difference in meaning, e.g., הָני gadērā (standard) and תִּבְרָה gaderēt (Ezek. 42.12 only), both meaning 'wall, hedge'. Note, however, that many fs. nouns, especially those belonging to the basic vocabulary, are unmarked for gender, e.g., יָּסִים 'eres 'earth', יָשֵׁש semes 'sun', רָּחִית yātēd 'tent-peg', etc.

Most mpl. nouns take the ending ה- -ים, e.g., יָּרֶפֶס pārim 'bulls'; most fpl. nouns take the ending ה- -ים, e.g., פָּרִים pārīm 'cows'. But there are many exceptions to this rule, e.g., חָדֶה dōːt 'fathers', which naturally is masculine, and אַשָּׁן nāšim 'women', which naturally is feminine. Apparently, the two plural endings originally designated classes of nouns, one of which came to be identified mainly with the masculine and one of which came to be identified mainly with the feminine (see two paragraphs ahead on adjectives).

The dual ending ה- - Según (of epicene gender) is suffixed to nouns standing for items which naturally occur in pairs, especially body parts, e.g., קָשַׁר yādayim 'hands' (singular קָשׁ yād 'hand' [h]), and to nouns used for measurements of time, distance, etc., e.g., יָּמְנָי yōmayim 'two days' (singular יֵמָנִי yōm 'day' [m]).

Technically speaking, the grammatical category of adjective does not exist in Hebrew.
essentially adjectives operate as nouns (marked for gender and number), which are placed after the modified noun in apposition. When serving as adjectives, however, there is an absolute correspondence of the gendered suffixes, that is, -im always serves for the masculine and -ot always serves for the feminine, regardless of the plural termination on the modified noun; thus, for example, נָשִׁים nāšīm yāḇōt ‘beautiful women’ (Job 42.15).

2.2. Define and Indefinite
As intimated above (see §1.5), the prefixed definite article -ה ha- (with gemination of the first consonant in the noun, except where Hebrew phonological rules prohibit gemination) indicates definiteness. There is no indefinite article, so that, for example, יָד yāḏ can mean either simply ‘hand’ or ‘a hand’. Sporadically in the Bible (especially in IH, and then more regularly in MH), the numeral יִנְאָשׁ 'ebād 'one [m]', יָתָא 'abāt 'one [f]' (see below §5.1), serves as the indefinite article, thus, e.g., יָתָא שִׁמְשׁ 'ēḇāḏ 'one' or ‘a man’, depending on the context (see Gen. 42.11 and 1 Sam. 1.1, respectively).

2.3. Construct Phrase
A very common usage in Hebrew is the construct phrase, in which two nouns are adjoined to create the equivalent of compound nouns, e.g., יִדּוֹת אֲלֵיהַ יָד lāḏōḇām 'man of God' (apparently a synonym of אֲלֵיהַ nāḇi ‘prophet’). The first of the nouns is called by the Latin term nomen regens (Hebrew: נָסָמָק nismāḵ), and the second is called the nomen rectum (Hebrew: נָסָמִים nismīm). Often the specific form of the construct changes, as reflected in the slight alteration of יָד yāḏ ‘hand’ to יָד yad in the expression דִּיקָה יָד ham-melek ‘the hand of the king’ (vowel shortening). More significant is the retention of the ending -at on feminine singular nouns in construct (that is, the usual shift to -ā [see above §2.1] does not occur); thus, for example, בְּלִילָה malkā ‘queen’ but בְּלִילָה Malkā 'qāḇāh ‘queen of Sheba’.

When a construct phrase is definite, it is the second element which receives the definite article, thus, e.g., to use the above illustration once more, דִּיקָה yāḏ ham-melek ‘the hand of the king’, though in such cases a certain ambiguity exists, since properly the phrase could theoretically represent any of the following: ‘the hand of a king’, ‘a hand of the king’, or ‘the hand of the king’.

When the construct phrase expresses the plural, it is the first element that is marked for plural, though typically in modified form. Thus, for example, masculine plural nouns do not end in -im in the construct, but rather in -ē (derived ultimately from the old dual oblique ending -ay, and then imported for use with the masculine plural as well), e.g., בְּנוֹת bānōt ‘daughters’, but בְּנוֹת bānōt in בְּנוֹת מְלֶךְ bānōt ham-melek ‘daughters of the king’ = ‘princesses’.

Oftentimes the construct phrase is used where other languages, such as English, might use the combination of noun plus modifier, thus, for example, לַבַּרְפֶּשׁ רָה har haq-gōḏēś ‘the mountain of holiness’, the functional equivalent of ‘the holy mountain’.

When a construct phrase is modified by a possessive pronoun, the pronominal element is attached to the nomen rectum, e.g., רָה יָד har qāḏāš ‘mountain of his holiness’ = ‘his holy mountain’.

2.4. Noun Patterns
Nouns appear in Hebrew, as in all the Semitic languages, in a variety of set patterns. The most basic vocabulary items have two consonants, e.g., יָד yāḏ ‘hand’, בֵּל lēḇ ‘heart’, יִשֶּׁן sēn ‘tooth’, לֶק gōl ‘voice’, יָתִים ‘man’, etc. A few nouns have only one consonant, e.g., פֶּה pe ‘mouth’, יָשֶׁה šē ‘sheep’.

Most nouns, however, appear in patterns which include three root letters. The basic patterns have no afformatives (prefix or suffixed). Common patterns of this ilk include:

- כָּאוֹב Cōḇ, e.g., בָּקָר bāqār ‘cattle, herd’, נָבָר nāḇār ‘word, thing’
- כָּכָו Cōḵ, e.g., יָטֵד Yāṭēḏ ‘tent-peg’, כָּבּוֹד kāḇōd ‘liver’
- כָּכָיו Cōḵ, e.g., גֵּפֵן gēfen ‘vine’, מֶלֶךְ melek ‘king’

Some patterns carry semantic weight, for example:

- כָּכָיו Cōḵ is used to denote professions, e.g., בּבָשׁ tabbāb ‘cook, butcher’, כָּטָב qāṭāḇ ‘archer, Bowman’, or persistent qualities, e.g., לָשׁונָה ‘forgiving’
• CiCCēC is used to denote bodily defects, e.g., יָלֶּפֶת 'dumb person (one unable to speak)', בֶּן gibbēn 'hunchback'

More complex patterns are created by the use of preformatives and sufformatives. Some of these patterns bear semantic weight as well.

• For example, the pattern CaCCēCet, feminine in gender as is reflected by the presence of the suffixed -et, connotes diseases, e.g., יָרֹע 'blindness', יַלֶּפֶת 'wart', יַלֶּפֶת 'ringworm', תַּמְפָּה sappabat 'leprosy', etc. (the different vowel patterns in the last two arise due to requisite phonological rules based on the presence of guttural consonants; note further that 'leprosy' is only a convenient translation for the last item listed).

• Or as another illustration, many nouns with prefixed -יָמָה denote a place or a location, e.g., מִבְצָר 'fortress', מִגְדָּל 'tower', ישוק מִגְדָּשׁ 'holy place, sanctuary', מִצְבָּאָה 'altar', מָלוֹן 'lodging place', מָגָוֹן 'place', etc. Hebraists will recognize the verbal roots from which these nouns derive, e.g., מָנָה l-w-n 'lodge'.

The number of such noun patterns is extensive; only a sampling has been presented here (for more detailed information see the standard reference grammars).

3. VERSBS

3.1. General Introduction

The vast majority of verbs in Biblical Hebrew are built from a lexical root consisting of three consonants, to which are added inflectional prefixes and suffixes indicating person, number, and gender. Many of the most basic verbal roots show indications of a biconsonantal origin, though over time they have been accommodated to the triconsonantal norm. Such roots include יָנָה n-t-n 'give', בִּשְׁלָה y-s-b 'sit', בִּשְׁלָה b-w-l 'come', etc. The verb appears in two conjugations, known as the suffix conjugation (SC) and the prefix conjugation (PC). As these terms indicate, the former is constructed by adding suffixes to the verbal root, while the latter is constructed by adding prefixes to the verbal root (though in some forms of the latter both prefixes and suffixes are added). [Note that many BH grammars refer to the SC as the ‘perfect’ and to the PC as the ‘imperfect’. These designations imply that the BH verbal system is aspectual and not tensed. I prefer to see tense operative in the BH verbal system, though until this hotly debated question is settled, it seems preferable to use the designations SC and PC which describe the form of the verb, regardless of the actual usage of the individual conjugations.]

The verbal roots, in turn, may appear in different verbal patterns to express different meanings. For example, the root דָּמַל l-m-d means ‘learn’ in the basic pattern, known as qal or pa'al, but ‘teach’ in a derived pattern known as the pī'el (see below §3.7 for details).

3.2. Suffix Conjugation (SC)

The following chart presents the data for the SC of the basic qal stem, using the root דָּמַל s-m-r ‘guard, watch’ as the paradigm. Since the SC typically indicates the past tense, I have glossed the individual forms accordingly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c יָסְמָרָה šāmār 'I guarded'</td>
<td>יָסְמָרַנ šāmōn 'we guarded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m יָסְמַרְתִּי šāmārt 'you guarded'</td>
<td>יָסְמַרְתִּט šāmōrt 'you guarded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f יָסְמַר šāmār 'he guarded'</td>
<td>יָסְמַר šāmār 'they guarded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms יָסְמַר הָנָה šāmār 'she guarded'</td>
<td>יָסְמַר šāmār 'they guarded'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the 3ms. form has no suffixes attached to it, thus it is simply יָסְמַר šāmār ‘he guarded’. This form is often used as the citation form in dictionaries, etc.

From the diachronic perspective, employing our knowledge of comparative Semitic, we can make the following comments. The original 1cs form most likely was -tā (in turn likely derived from proto-Semitic -kāti; cf. the k in the 1cs independent pronoun אֶנְוָק —ānōkī discussed above, in §1.1.1); whereas the original 2fs form was -tā, a few traces of which remain in the Bible, e.g., יָסְמַר הָנָה šāmār 'until you arose, Deborah, until you arose, a mother in Israel' (Judg. 5:7 [bīṣ]). On the analogy of the 1cs pronoun forms (see
above §1.1.1 and §1.1.2) which end in -t, the -tû suffix shifted to -tš. This created an ambiguity, since -tš now represented both 1cs and 2fs. The latter accordingly shifted to -t, especially in light of the rule of morphological economy, since it was not deemed necessary for both 2s forms to maintain a final vowel for purposes of distinguishing between them (see above §1.1.1 regarding the independent pronoun).

In addition, the original 3fs suffix was -at, while the original 3fpl suffix was -å. The former shifted to - sû due to a phonological rule in Hebrew, which once more resulted in an ambiguity, since both the 3fs and 3fpl forms were now the same. The situation was resolved when the 3mpl form ending in -û came to serve for the feminine as well. Accordingly, נִשְׁבְּרוּ ‘they guarded’ is the only epicene form in the paradigm. Note, however, that vestiges of both of the earlier forms appear in the Bible. The 3fs suffix -at (also vocalized as -åt) occurs sporadically in IH, especially with the weak verbs of Semitic as well.

Note that the 2ms and 3fs forms are identical. This ambiguity is characteristic of proto-Semitic as well.

Three points may be noted:

- The 3fpl form was originally יִשָּׁמְרוּ ‘they guarded’, as may be determined from the comparative Semitic evidence. Three examples remain in the Bible: Gen. 30.38, 1 Sam. 6.12, Dan. 8.22 (on which see Kutscher 1982:41). Otherwise, the 2fpl form יִשְׁמֹרְנָה served respectively for both masculine and feminine (Rendsburg 1990:58–60).
- In colloquial Hebrew, as we have seen above with the personal pronouns (§1.1), gender neutralization often occurs in the 2pl and 3pl SC verbs, with יִשָּׁמְרוּ and יִשָּׁמְרוּ serving respectively for both masculine and feminine (Rendsburg 1990:58–60).
- As with the SC verbs, so with the PC verbs as well: the Bible may attest to a vestigial use of dual forms, though I have not presented the data in the paradigm (see Rendsburg 1982a).

### 3.4. Prefix Conjugation Modal Forms

Hebrew also includes certain modal forms distinguished by slight changes in the above PC paradigm.

The first person utilizes cohortative or coaxing forms with the addition of a suffixed יְ-å, thus, יִשָּׁמְרָה ‘let me guard, may I guard, I wish to guard, etc.’, and יִשָּׁמְרָה ‘let us guard, may we guard, we wish to guard, etc.’

The third person utilizes a special jussive form created by shortening the standard PC, but only where such forms allow for shortening.

### 3.3. Prefix Conjugation (PC)

The following chart presents the data for the PC of the basic or qal stem, once more using the root יָשָׁמֶר š-m-r ‘guard, watch’ as the paradigm. The PC is used in a variety of settings in BH prose and poetry; for simplicity’s sake, I have glossed the individual forms with the present tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c יִשָּׁמֶר</td>
<td>נִשָּׁמֹר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I guard’</td>
<td>‘we guard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m יִשָּׁמֶר</td>
<td>נִשָּׁמֹר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you guard’</td>
<td>‘you guard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f יִשָּׁמֶר</td>
<td>נִשָּׁמֹר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you guard’</td>
<td>‘you guard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m יִשָּׁמְרָה</td>
<td>נִשָּׁמְרָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he guards’</td>
<td>‘they guard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f יִשָּׁמֶר</td>
<td>נִשָּׁמֹר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘she guards’</td>
<td>‘they guard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the 2ms and 3fs forms are identical. As noted above, the case of the two 2s SC verbs parallels the situation of the two 2s independent pronoun forms (see §1.1.1). That is to say, the masculine form ends in -å, and the feminine form ends simply in -t, without a vowel following, a distinction which suffices for distinguishing gender.

Dual forms may occur vestigially with the SC verbs as well, though once more I have not included them in the paradigm (see Rendsburg 1982a).
Such instances are limited to the *qal* of certain weak verbs (see below §3.6), e.g., יְּהֵב yahb ‘let it be’ (Gen. 1.3, etc.), shortened from the standard PC form יָהְב yibh ‘he/it will be’, and to the *bif'il* (see below §3.7), e.g., יָקְרֶת yakrēt ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת yakrēt ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off’. These forms also may be preceded by the negative particle אַל al ‘not’ (see below, §4.5) to express a negative desire, e.g., יָקְרֶת al-taš ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יִקְרֶת taš ‘he cuts off'.

The corresponding second person jussive forms are generally used for negative commands after the particle אַל al ‘not’ (again, see below, §4.5), e.g., הָזֹרַח הָזֹרֵחַ ‘do not destroy’ (Deut. 9.26), with the verbal form shortened from the standard PC form הָזֹרַח הָזֹרַח ‘you destroy’.

These modal forms are characteristic of SBH; the system begins to deteriorate in LBH and QH (that is, there is confusion between the modal forms and the standard PC forms); and the modal forms all but disappear in MH.

3.5. Imperative

Imperative forms occur in the 2nd person, and are formed by dropping the prefixed -נ tV- of the 2nd person PC forms, with necessary vowel readjustment. The paradigm for the *qal* is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>יָשֹׁר yashôr</td>
<td>יָשָׁר yashār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘guard!’</td>
<td>‘guard!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>יָשְׁר yashēr</td>
<td>יָשָׁר yashār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘guard!’</td>
<td>‘guard!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was the case with the PC, also in the impera-tive: gender neutralization arises in colloquial Hebrew in the plural, so that יָשָׁר yashār comes to serve for both the masculine and the feminine (Rendsburg 1990:60). On this and all other instances relevant to colloquial Hebrew herein, → Diglossia: Biblical Hebrew. In MH the form יָשֹׁר yashôr does not occur.

3.6. Verbal Roots

As noted above (§3.1), verbs in Hebrew, as in all of Semitic, are built from roots generally comprised of three consonants. An example is the verb that we have used in the paradigms above, ר"ש שְׁמֹר s-m-r ‘guard, watch’. Nouns may be derived from these verbal roots as well, for example, from our paradigm root note שַמִּשְׁרָה mishār ‘guardhouse, prison’ and שַמִּשְׁרֵנָה mishârēnā ‘guard, watch, charge’.

Hebrew also includes a large number of weak verbs, in which one of the three root letters does not appear in all of the various individual forms. As noted above (§3.1), many of these verbs are among the most basic vocabulary items of the language, suggesting biconsonantal origins; the same has been noted in the other Semitic languages.

The weak patterns are as follows:

1. י"ש (initial nun), e.g., יֶשָׁנָה n-g-š ‘approach’. In verbs of this class, (a) the nun assimilates to the following consonant in the PC (resulting in the gemination of the second root consonant), e.g., יֵגְשָׁנָה yiggash ‘he approaches’; and (b) the nun generally drops in the imperative, e.g., יְּשָׁנָה ‘approach (ms)!’.

2. י"ש (initial yod), e.g., יֶשָׁנָה y-s-b ‘sit, dwell’. In verbs of this class, (a) the yod drops in the PC, e.g., יֵשָׁנָה yeshēb ‘I sit’ and the imperative, e.g., יְּשָׁנָה yesh ‘sit (ms)’.

3. י"ש (middle yod), e.g., יֶשָׁנָה s-γ-r ‘sing’. In verbs of this class the yod is actually non-consonantal; indeed it serves only to mark the long i vowel positioned between the first and last consonants in most forms of the verb belonging to this class. For example, note the PC form יָשֶׁר yashēr ‘he sings’.

4. י"ש (middle waw), e.g., יֶשָׁנָה q-w-m ‘arise’. In verbs of this class the waw is non-consonantal; indeed it serves only to mark the long u vowel positioned between the first and last consonants in most forms of the verb belonging to this class. For example, note the PC form יָשֶׁר yashēr ‘he arises’.

5. י"ש (final yod) (commonly but incorrectly י"ש final he), e.g., יֶשָׁנָה b-k-y ‘cry’. In verbs of this class consonantal yod does not appear in any of the standard forms, having been dropped via syncope, etc. As an example note the 3cpl. SC form יָשֶׁר bākū ‘they cried’. The yod is retained only as a mater lectionis in most of the SC forms, e.g., יָשֶׁר bākinū ‘we cried’.

6. י"ש (geminate) verbs, in which the second (middle) and third (final) root letters are
7. Wholly anomalous verbs, such as:
a) יָשְׂבָּה תַּבָּה b-l-k 'go around'. In verbs of this class, the second and third root consonants appear as a single long (geminated) consonant, e.g., the mpl. imperative form יָשְׁבָּהְּ b-s-b-b 'go around!'; at times, however, the two consonants appear, e.g., the 3cpl SC form יָשְׁבָּהְּ b-s-b-b 'they went around'.

The above descriptions of these weak verbs serve for SBH. Note the following developments in other varieties of ancient Hebrew.

a) יָשָׂב יָשְׂבָּה (initial yod) and יָשֶׁב (middle wave) verbs typically do not appear in the traditional pi'el and hitpa'el patterns (for these designations, see below §3.7). The reason for this is that these patterns require the gemination of the second root letter, which formally does not exist in verbs such as יָשֶׁב s-y-r 'sing' and יָשֶׁב q-w-m 'arise'. In isolated cases in LBH (and regularly in MH), these two verb classes do generate forms in the pi'el and hitpa'el patterns. In such cases the consonant yod serves as the middle root letter (not only for the יָשֶׁב [middle yod] class, but also for יָשֶׁב [middle wave] class). An especially productive root in this regard is יָשָׂב q-y-m 'establish', derived from the aforementione root יָשָׂב q-w-m 'arise', with such specific forms as 3cpl pi'el SC יָשְּבִּים qiyyamû 'they established' (Est. 9.27) and pi'el infinitive construct יָשַׁב לָגַやֶיֶם 'to establish' (Est. 9.21, 29, 31).

b) As noted above (§3.2), the 3s SG form of the יָשָׂב (final yod) class retains the original ending -ah-ah sporadically in the Bible, especially in IH (e.g., יָשְׂבָּה וֹ-לִֽקַּשְׂת 'and it shall produce' (Lev. 25.21), יָשְׁבָּה w-hyt 'and it will be' (2 Kgs 9.37 kethib [the Qere reads SBH יָשְׁבָּה וֹ-הָיְתָּה]). This form appears as the standard one in MH, e.g., 3s SC qal יָשָׂב hyyt 'she was'.

c) In colloquial Hebrew in ancient times, verbs with third root letter 'alef, abbreviated as נו (final 'alef), that is, with glottal stop as the third root consonant, merged with יָשְׂב (final yod) verbs. This can be seen in several dozen cases in the Bible, e.g., יָשֶׂב kālū 'they detained' (1 Sam. 6.10; from the root נו k-l-c, final 'alef) cf. the standard form יָשֶׂב kālū 'withheld' (Hag 1.10), and regularly in MH, e.g., יָשֶׂב qōrin 'they read' (Mishna Berakhot 1.1; from the root נו q-r-c). The same phenomenon occurs in colloquial Arabic, suggesting a parallel development in spoken Semitic languages (Rendsburg 1991). Note, however, that in Aramaic the merger of נו (final 'alef) and יָשֶׂב (final yod) verbs occurs throughout the language, even in the written standard.

3.7. Verbal patterns
The Hebrew verb appears in a variety of set patterns, known as בִּניָנִים binyanim, literally ‘constructions’, in Hebrew grammatical terminology. We have alluded to these patterns several times above. The names of the binyanim derive from the 3ms. SC form of the specific pattern, with the root נו p-r-c 'do, make' serving as the paradigm (in accordance with the Hebrew and ultimately Arabic grammatical traditions, reaching back to the Middle Ages). There are seven main binyanim, as follows:

1. Pa'al, also known as the qal, literally 'light, simple', serving as the most basic verbal pattern in the language.

2. Nif'al, a form which originally had reflexive and reciprocal meaning, but which also came to be used as the passive of the qal. Its main characteristic is the letter nun prefixed to the root, visible in the SC, though typically assimilated to the first root consonant in the PC.

3. Pi'el, a second basic verbal pattern, often with a semantic nuance different from the corresponding pa'al or qal form, including, for example, factitive and denominative functions (though at times no semantic distinction between qal and pi'el is discernible). Its main characteristic is the gemination or lengthening of the middle root letter.

4. *Pu‘al*, the passive of the *pi‘el*, also bears the
gemination or lengthening of the middle root
letter, though note the characteristic *u*-vowel
in the first syllable to mark the passive.

5. *Hif‘il*, the causative stem. Its main charac-
teristic is the letter *be* prefixed to the root,
visible in the SC, though elided between two
vowels in the PC.

6. *Hof‘al* or *bnu‘al*, the passive of the *hif‘il*. It
bears the same traits as the *hif‘il*, though
note the rounded vowel, either *o* or *u*, to
mark the passive voice.

7. *Hittpa‘el*, the reflexive stem, serving espe-
cially (but by no means exclusively) as the
reflexive of verbs in the *pi‘el*. Its two main
characteristics are (a) the prefix *hit*, visible
in the SC, though the *be* is elided in the PC,
and (b) the gemination or lengthening of the
middle root letter, as with the *pi‘el* and
*pu‘al*.

Some verbal roots are attested in only one ver-
bal pattern, for example, the *qal/pal* or the
*pi‘el*. Most verbal roots, however, are attested
in several verbal patterns. An example of a ver-
bal root that is attested in six *binyanim* in the
Bible is the root *šanq-d-š* ‘be holy’. The only
verbal pattern in which this root fails to appear
in BH is the *hof‘al/bnu‘al*; but since this pattern
serves as the passive of the *hif‘il*, one can safely
assume that such a form existed in the Hebrew
of biblical times, its absence from the corpus
notwithstanding. Indeed, the *hof‘al/bnu‘al* of the
root *šanq-d-š* ‘be holy’ does occur in MH
texts. Note the following meanings of the seven
verbal patterns of this root, which can serve to
illustrate the semantic distinctions indicated in
the list above. The cited forms are the 3ms SC
ones:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{pa‘al} & šanq-gāḏaš ‘be holy, be set apart’ \\
\text{nif‘al} & šanq-niqdaš ‘reveal oneself as holy’ \\
\text{pi‘el} & šanq-qidāḏeš ‘sanctify, set apart as
sacred’ \\
\text{pu‘al} & šanq-quddaš ‘be sanctified’ \\
\text{bif‘il} & šanq-hiqdāḏ ‘cause something to be
holy’ = ‘devote, consecrate’ \\
\text{hof‘al} & šanq-hāqdaš ‘be devoted, be
consecrated’ \\
\text{hittpa‘al} & šanq-hīqaddēš ‘sanctify oneself, 
consecrate oneself’
\end{array}\]

Admittedly it is often hard to distinguish the
meanings of the *pi‘el* and the *hif‘il* of this root,
notwithstanding the different English defini-
tions presented above.

3.8. *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal* forms

The term *wayyiqtol* refers to a specific form of
the Hebrew verb, which serves as the standard
narrative tense and is generally employed to
relate action that occurred in the past. It is
built from the PC form, as may be seen from
the inclusion of *yiqtol* in *wayyiqtol*, with the
addition of the particle *-t wa* (otherwise this
is the conjunction *‘and’) and the gemination or
lengthening of the pronoun marker (in this
case the 3ms. *yt*, thus *-yy*). The origin of this
form is debated by scholars, but a close paral-
lel with the Egyptian *šanq-d-n-n* form used to
narrate past action has been noted (Young
1953). If this relationship is accepted, then
most likely the gemination of the pronoun
marker is the result of a *ơn* that has assimilated
to the following consonant. Note that in Egyp-
tian *n* serves to mark the past tense, as, for
example, in the simple past form *šanq-d-n-n* and
in the aforementioned *šanq-d-n-n* form. An
alternative approach relies on internal Hebrew
phonological developments to explain the un-
expected gemination of the pronoun marker
(Blau 2010:152, 190). The *wayyiqtol* form is espe-
cially prominent in prose texts, in which most storytelling in the
Bible is narrated (poetry is reserved for other
genres, such as hymns, laments, prophecy,
proverbs, etc.). Thus, for example, note the
following passage, one of thousands in the Bible
that could be presented:

\[\text{‘and He spoke to Moses in the mountain of
Sin’ (Deut. 5:1–2).} \]

The *weqatal* form serves the opposite func-
tion: it refers to future time, especially a future
action subsequent to another future action.
A sample usage is

\[\text{‘and a spring from the house of YHWH will
flow out of this place’ (Jer. 17:12).} \]

The *weqatal* form also pointing to the future.
Note that such forms feature prominently in poetic

compositions, especially prophecies with their focus on hopes and expectations.

These two usages have been referred to collectively as the ‘waw conversive’ forms (Hebrew: המַעָלָה יִנְנַו ba-hippák) in traditional grammatical works. The term developed from the sense that the prefixing of the waw (and in the case of the wayyiqtol form the gemination of the next consonant as well) converts a normal PC, which often has future connotation, to a form which connotes past action, and a normal SC, which typically has past reference, to a form which refers to future action—even if this analysis is incorrect from the perspective of historical morphology.

Others have used the term ‘waw conversive’ to refer to these two forms, due to the fact that BH texts often evince a string of such words in succession, to present consecutive action which would precipitate using such forms in traditional grammatical works. See, perhaps most famously, the reshamination: wayyökal wayyešt wayy-yēqām wayy-ēlāk wayy-yḗhēz ‘ēsiw ‘et-bab-baḵorā́ ‘And he ate, and he drank, and he arose; and he went; and Esau despised the birthright’ (Gen. 25.34; with five wayyiqtol verbs in a row).

Most importantly, note that both forms (wayyiqtol and weqatal) can occur only in sentence-initial or clause-initial position—and in fact the books of Ruth, Esther, and Leviticus begin with wayyiqtol verbs. For this reason alone, perhaps, the term ‘waw conversive’ should be avoided, since clearly (especially in the former two) there is no consecution of action which would precipitate using such forms to describe the first event in a narrative.

3.9. Infinitives

Hebrew has two infinitive forms, known as the infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct. The respective qal forms are שֵׁם ‘guard’ and שֶׁמַר, both meaning ‘to guard’ (once more using the root מ י נ שָׁמָר־מ־ר ‘guard’ as the paradigm). The infinitive absolute appears only in this specific form and is used in only a few selected contexts, for example, to give emphasis or provide focus to an accompanying (usually following) PC verb, e.g., בְּלִי־הֹד הֲמוֹנָה molok tímlok ‘you shall surely reign’ (1 Sam. 24.21).

The infinitive construct is more common and operates more like the English infinitive, e.g., лишмор ‘to guard’ (Gen. 3.24). In addition, the form is variable; for instance, it occurs frequently with uniconsonantal prepositions (on which see below §4.2) prefixed to it and with personal pronouns suffixed to it—both of which are illustrated in א-ב-שָׁכְבָּה u-b-shakkāḇ ‘and in your lying down’ (Deut. 6.7, 11.19 with the infinitive construct comparable to an English gerund in this case).

3.10. Participles

Formally, Hebrew participles are nouns, since they are declined only for gender (masculine, feminine) and number (singular, plural), but they tend to function mainly as verbs in various syntactic environments.

The participle appears in two separate forms, one active and one passive. The paradigm for the active participle of the qal is as follows (the two fs. forms are free variants):

ms שֹׁמֵר ‘guarding’
fs שֹׁמְרִים ‘guarding’
mpl שֹׁמְרוֹת ‘guarding’

The paradigm for the passive participle of the qal is as follows:

ms שֹׁמֶרֶת ‘guarded’
fs שֹׁמֶרָה ‘guarded’
mpl שֹׁמֶרוֹת ‘guarded’

The participles of the other verbal patterns, or binyanim, are marked with prefixed mem, e.g., प!’el ms רָדָם madabbēr ‘speaking’ (Gen. 27.6). The only exception to this rule is the nifal, in which the prefixed nun of the SC is imported into the participle, e.g., נִיָף ms סַמֵרָה niktāḇ ‘written’ (Est. 3.12).

4. Particles

4.1. Conjunctions

Hebrew has very few conjunctions. By far the most common is the form -ו- (thus the standard realization, though it is subject to change depending on the specific phonetic environment), which is attached as a proclitic to the main word, e.g., יִרְבֶּשׁ u-b-rēḇesh ‘and
the famine’ (Gen. 43.1). This morpheme serves a wide variety of coordinating functions, not only ‘and’, but also ‘but’, etc. Additional conjunctions are בַּgam ‘also’, לֹא ‘ō ‘or’, and כִּי ‘because, that’.

4.2. Prepositions

The main prepositions in Hebrew are proclitic uniconsonantal forms, namely, לְ- ‘to’, פָּר ‘for’, בֹּ- ‘in, with (instrumental)’, and כֹּ- ‘as, like’.

Other common prepositions are מִn min ‘from’, שָׁמ ‘in’, מִן ‘with’, מֵי ‘at on, upon’, וְאֵנ ‘until’, and כֵּא ‘el ‘to, towards’. This last form is probably related to the uniconsonantal prefixed form מֵי la- ‘to, for’.

All of these prepositions, both uniconsonantal ones and self-standing forms, may take the suffixed personal pronouns (see §1.1.2) to create expressions such as ‘in me’, ‘to you’, ‘from him’, etc.

4.3. Nota accusativi

Hebrew uses the particle הָשׁ ‘et (with no English translation equivalent) to indicate a definite direct object, e.g., אֵת הָאֹהֶל ‘of Solomon’ (Song 3.7), or it can take the accusative counterpart for the particle of existence (see above §1.1). But Hebrew also has very few real adverbs. Among the basic ones we may point to אָז ‘now’, and then through further shortening מִn mem ‘there’.

A suffixed mem, with one of two vowels, is attested as an adverbial ending when attached to selected nouns. The following forms take

4.4. Particle of Existence

Hebrew has a special particle of existence, namely, יש yēš ‘there is, there are’. The form is indeclinable, though it can take suffixed personal pronouns. Sample usages are: אֵל-יֶשׁכֶם יֵשׁ מָבָן bī-yaś-rā’el ‘there is a prophet in Israel’ (2 Kgs 5.8); and יִמְשָׁמֶדעש בּמַי yēš nābī ba-yāś-rā’el ‘there is a prophet in Israel’ (2 Kgs 5.8); and יִמְשָׁמֶדעש בּמַי yēš nābī ba-yāś-rā’el ‘there is a prophet in Israel’ (2 Kgs 5.8); and יִמְשָׁמֶדעש בּמַי yēš nābī ba-yāś-rā’el ‘there is a prophet in Israel’ (2 Kgs 5.8); and יִמְשָׁמֶדעש בּמַי yēš nābī ba-yāś-rā’el ‘there is a prophet in Israel’ (2 Kgs 5.8).

4.5. Negative Particles

The main negative particle in Hebrew is לֹא lō ‘no’, used in a variety of contexts, including legal prohibitions, e.g., אֵל לֹא tīs-hā’ you shall not murder’ (Exod. 20.13).

Two other common forms are נֶא al ‘(do) not’, used especially before jussive verbs to indicate a negative command (see above, §3.4), e.g., תִּלְא עָל־לַא שָׁמ־לֹא tīl-ā’al-ā’la šm-lō’ ‘do not send forth your hand’ (Gen. 22.12); and שֶׁנ ‘is not’ used to indicate the absence of something, e.g., יֵשׁ שֶׁנ רֵי שֶׁנ lō tīs-hā’ you shall not murder’ (Exod. 20.13).

The latter form serves as the negative counterpart for the particle of existence יֵשׁ yēš ‘there is, there are’ treated above (§4.4) and for negation of the participle.

4.6. Possessive particle יֵשׁ sel- ‘of’

Possession is normally expressed by means of the construct phrase (see above §2.3) or by suffixing personal pronoun suffixes directly to the noun (see above §1.1). But Hebrew also developed a possessive particle יֵשׁ sel-, more or less the semantic equivalent of English ‘of’, produced by combining the relative pronoun יֵשׁ sel- ‘that, which’ (see above §1.1) and the preposition לְ la- (see above §4.2). This form is attested several times in the Bible and is standard in MH. The form can be prefixed to the following noun, e.g., יֵשׁ sel-li-slōmō ‘of Solomon’ (Song 3.7), or it can take the pronoun suffixes, e.g., יֵשׁ sel-li ‘my, of mine’ (Song 1.6).

4.7. Adverbs

Hebrew has very few real adverbs. Among the basic ones we may point to אֹז ‘āz ‘then’, מַעַת ‘now’, and סָמ ‘there’.

A suffixed mem, with one of two vowels, is attested as an adverbial ending when attached to selected nouns. The following forms take
5. NUMERALS

5.1. Cardinals

Numerals are marked for gender (masculine, feminine) and agree with the noun being counted. However, as is the case in many Semitic languages, for the numerals thirteen, the base forms serve for the feminine, and the forms with the endings -ål- (-atl) serve for the masculine. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as ‘gender polarity’.

The individual forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>תִּשְׁיָמָה 'ehadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>שִׁשָּׁה šishš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>שִׁלָּשׁ šalšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>אַרְבָּא arba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>בַּמִּשָּׁה bamišš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>שֶׁשָּׁה šēšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>שָׁלֹשׁ šalšš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>שָׁמַנְוָה šamone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>תִּשָּׁשׁ teshš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>אָשָׁר aššār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the following specific points:

- The feminine form for ‘one’ is a rare instance of a d assimilating to the following consonant, though in this case it is the voiceless dental t, so the phenomenon is explicable. That is to say, feminine ‘one’ is formed by suffixing the feminine nominal ending -t to the masculine form for ‘one’ (actually the construct form, see further below), with the resultant development ‘ahad + t = *’ahad > *’ahatt > תֵּאָב תֵּאָב (with mandatory simplification of consonantal gemination in word final position).

- The words for ‘two’ are the only words in the language which commence with an initial consonant cluster, permissible because of the sibilant + sonorant combination in סְנַיִם šnayim and the sibilant + stop in שֵׁת יִם šeyim (see Hoberman 1989). In addition, note that both forms include the nominal dual ending -ayim discussed above (§2.1).

- Comparative Semitic suggests that the proto-Hebrew form of ‘five’ was *ḥams- (cf. Akkadian ḫamsar, Aramaic ḫamsa). Apparently the vowels of the attested Hebrew forms נִמְשָׁה נִמְשָׁה and שִׁמְשָׁה שִׁמְשָׁה have been influenced by the vowels of the following forms for ‘six’, הָמִשָּׁה hamišš and שֶׁשֶׁה šēš, with which they now ‘rhyme’.

- The proto-Semitic form for ‘six’ may be reconstructed as sīd. In Hebrew, the voiced dental /d/ assimilated to the following voiceless interdental /ṭ/, the normal phonological shift of /ṭ/ > /š/ then occurred, and finally the initial consonant /š/ was attracted to the final consonant /š/, thus: *sīṭ > *sitt > šiss > šiss, yielding šēš, with the standard processes of short /š/ vowel lengthening to /ēš/ when accented and the loss of gemination in final position. In the masculine form נִמְשָׁה, the accented suffix -ša prevented these two last steps, so that the short /ēš/ vowel and the geminated /ēš/ remained.

The numeral ‘one’ functions as an adjective and therefore follows the noun which it modifies,
e.g., רְאָה רֵם par 'ehād 'one bull' (Exod. 29.1).
The numerals two–ten listed above occur in apposition to the item counted, and can appear either before or after the item, e.g., הקטבים סִבָּה וְסִבָּה pārim seven bulls (Num. 23.1) or...

5.2. Ordinals

Hebrew possesses ordinal numbers only for the numerals one through ten. They serve as adjectives, and therefore follow the noun, and do not reflect the so-called ‘gender polarity’ visible for the cardinal numerals three–ten. The words for ‘first’ are built from the word אש дерוש ‘head’, thus יֵשָׁר יָד and יֵשָׁר יָד thir-...
MORPHOLOGY: RABBINIC HEBREW

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1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>אֲנִי</td>
<td>'ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>אַנַּה</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>אֲתָת</td>
<td>'attem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>אֵת</td>
<td>'atten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>הָאָת</td>
<td>'atten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>הָאָת</td>
<td>'atten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>אַהְוָה</td>
<td>hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>הָמָה</td>
<td>hem, ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>אָבָה</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>בֵּן</td>
<td>ben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments

1cs. Of the two biblical pronouns אֲנִי and אַנַּה, the use of the former decreases in Late Biblical Hebrew and in Rabbinc Hebrew (RH) disappears altogether (except for citations to the Bible).

2ms. The short form appears rarely in the Masoretic Text (e.g., Num. 11.15), whereas it is very widespread in reliable manuscripts of RH. In the printed editions of the Mishna it has disappeared under the influence of Biblical Hebrew (BH). Its formation can be attributed to Aramaic influence or to an inner-Hebrew process of apocope. The short form, indigenous to Hebrew, became widespread in the late period due to Aramaic influence. The long form also exists in RH: even in reliable manuscripts it is more common than the shorter form; in certain circumstances it is the rule (Haneman 1980:460–465); and this is the only form in the Bar-Kokhba documents (→ Bar Kokhba Documents).

1cpl. אֲנִי only once in the MT (Jer. 42.6 ketiv), but, except for allusions to the biblical text, this is the only form in RH according to reliable manuscripts (in the printed editions one also finds אתנה, under the influence of BH). אתנה was based on the 1cs pronoun את, presumably also in accordance with the system of the parallel pronominal suffixes: the pair of suffixes 1cs – את, 1cpl אתנה (e.g., אתנה legabani 'he took me', אתנה, אתנה legabani 'he took us') influenced the formation of the independent pronouns אֲנִי–אתנה.

2mpl. The form in question is almost always אתן. אתן comes as a result of the final m > n shift (→ Phonology: Rabbinc Hebrew), and it appears rarely. However, אתן is the only form in the Bar-Kokhba documents, and it may have been the actual pronoun, while אתת was restored under the influence of BH only during the transmission process (Haneman 1980:466–467).

2fpl. Although the expected form is אתת, here also אתת is prevalent. The explanation seems to be that, since in final position the phonemes lml and lml merged (as a result of the final m > n shift), the transmitters could not differentiate between the two pronouns and (mistakenly) tended to write אתת.

3mpl. את is a result of the final m > n shift and is dominant, whereas את is rare.

3fpl. In BH the form is אתeing. In RH the final vowel was apocopated.

2. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The pronominal suffixes are shown below attached to the noun בֵּית 'house' (which takes the form בֵּית ba't with combined pronominal suffixes). Nouns ending with a vowel are represented below by בֶּן pe 'mouth' (which takes the form בֶּן ps when combined with pronominal suffixes). The word בֶּן 'son' represents words that have no Aramaic cognate.