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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 Menaḥem and Dunash, occasionally used the Hebrew terms *בנין* *binyan* and *משקל* *mišqal*, but in a pre-theoretical sense.

The Karaite sage ‘Alī b. Sulaymān (11th century) learned Ḥayyūj’s theory from his adaptation of the *Kitāb al-nuṭaf* (Maman and Ben-Porat 2012), adopted it, and applied it in his compendium of Alfāsi’s dictionary. He was followed in this by Yehuda Hadasi in the three chapters on grammar of his *אשכול הכופר* *’eškol hak-koṣer* ‘Cluster of Henna Blossoms’, and by the Byzantine Karaite scholars who came after him (ibid.:121; → Grammmarians: Medieval Byzantium).

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Morphology: Biblical Hebrew

INTRODUCTION

In presenting the morphology of Biblical Hebrew (BH), in the main we refer to Standard Judahite literary Hebrew, i.e., the literary variety used in Judah ca. 1000–600 B.C.E. (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.

I. 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., אֲנִי יְהוָה *’ānī YHWH* ‘I am YHWH’. The latter are suffixed to verbs as direct objects, e.g., הִכָּהוּ *hikkāhū* ‘he hit him’, to nouns to indicate possession, e.g., בְּנוֹ *bənō* ‘his son’, to prepositions as indirect objects or as objects of the preposition, e.g., לוֹ *lō* ‘to him’, and to various adverbials, e.g., לְבַדּוֹ *ləbaddō* ‘he alone’.

1.1.1. *Independent personal pronouns*

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

	Singular	Plural
1c	אֲנִי <i>’ānī</i> אֲנֹכִי <i>’ānōkī</i>	אֲנַחְנֻ <i>’ānaḥnū</i>
2m	אַתָּה <i>’attā</i>	אַתֶּם <i>’attēm</i>
2f	אַתְּ <i>’at</i>	אַתֶּנָּה <i>’attēnā</i>
3m	הוּא <i>hū</i>	הֵמָּה <i>hēmā</i> / הֵם <i>hēm</i>
3f	הִיא <i>hī</i>	הֵנָּה <i>hēnnā</i>

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 אֲנֹכִי *’ānōkī* is considered by most scholars to be the older; eventually it was replaced by אֲנִי *’ānī*, which dominates in LBH and QH and is the only form used in MH.

- A shorter form of the 1cpl form occurs as אֲנֻ *’ānū* or אֲנִי *’ānū*, apparently modeled after the singular form אֲנִי *’ānī*. This form is attested once in the Kethiv in the Bible at Jer. 42.6, though the Qere uses the standard form אֲנַחְנֻ *’ānaḥnū*. This shorter form occurs more commonly in QH and is the only form used in MH, though due to this single attestation in the Bible one can demonstrate its existence in a Hebrew dialect, almost undoubtedly a colloquial variety, during the biblical period.
- All of the 2nd person forms, both singular and plural, reflect the assimilation of /n/, attested in most Semitic languages and reconstructed for proto-Semitic, to the following /t/. Thus, for example, proto-Semitic 2ms *’anta* (as in Arabic and Ge’ez) > אַתָּה *’attā*.
- The 2fs אַתְּ *’at* derives from older אַתִּי *’attī*, attested in the Bible 7x in the Kethiv, especially in IH texts. We see here the force of morphological economy at work, since the manner of distinguishing the masculine and the feminine in Semitic, the former with *-a* and the latter with *-i*, was felt to be superfluous. One of the forms could do without the distinguishing final syllable, thus it was dropped in the feminine form (though vestiges remain, as indicated above). Note that in some dialects of Aramaic the opposite occurred, the masculine *-a* dropping to create the form אַתְּ *’at* for the masculine (in contrast to retention of the *-ī* vowel in the feminine). Mishnaic Hebrew, in fact, utilizes this very form אַתְּ *’att* for the masculine, presumably under Aramaic influence.
- The Torah (or Pentateuch) regularly uses הוּא *<HW>* for both 3ms and 3fs, with a single Kethiv form, though the Masora points the former in standard fashion as הוּא *hū* and the latter in unusual fashion as הוּא *hī* as the Qere (*qere perpetuum*). Various theories have been advanced for this peculiarity, ranging from scribal convention in the Torah for some unknown reason (see, e.g., GKC 1910:107)

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 *hī* (see Rendsburg 1982b).

- In colloquial Hebrew, gender neutralization often occurs in the 2pl and 3pl forms (cf. the analogous situation in colloquial Arabic). Thus, אָתָּם 'atem and הֵמָּה *hēmmā* / הֵנָּה *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:

Singular	Plural
1c יְ- <i>-ī</i> / יֵ- <i>-ay</i> / יָ- <i>-nī</i>	נָ- <i>-nū</i>
2m ׀- <i>-kā</i>	כָּ- <i>-kem</i>
2f ׀- <i>-ēk</i> / ׀- <i>-āk</i>	כָּ- <i>-ken</i>
3m הָ- <i>-hū</i> / יֵ- <i>-ō</i> / יָ- <i>-āw</i> / נָ- <i>-nū</i>	הָ- <i>-hem</i> / ׀- <i>-ām</i>
3f הָ- <i>-āh</i> / הָ- <i>-hā</i> / נָ- <i>-nā</i>	הָ- <i>-hen</i> / יָ- <i>-ān</i>

General comments:

- The three 1cs forms are distinguished in the following manner: יְ- *-ī* is suffixed to singular nouns and most prepositions; יֵ- *-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 3fpl 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 *h*, viz., 3ms הָ- *-hū* / יֵ- *-ō* / יָ- *-āw* (the latter two having evolved through elision of /h/); and 3fs הָ- *-āh* / הָ- *-hā*. The other set has forms with *n*, viz., 3ms נָ- *-nū*; 3fs נָ- *-nā*. Set rules govern which of the forms, those with *h* or those with *n*, 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 כִּי- *-kī* (sometimes in Kethiv only) also occurs as an element of IH (see, e.g., 2 Kgs 4.2, 3, 7 [*bis*]).
- The same gender neutralization noted above in colloquial Hebrew for the independent 2pl. and 3pl forms occurs with the pronominal suffixes as well, with כָּ- *-kem* and -הָ- *-hem* (also ׀- *-ām* 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 הֵּ זֶ *ze* 'this'; fs תֵּ זֹת *zōt* 'this'; cpl הֵּלֵּא *elle* 'these'.

A second fs. form, spelled either הֵּ זֹת or יֵ זֹת *zō* '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 תֵּ זֹת *zōt* was created (with the 'alef serving as vowel letter in the orthographic convention). Based on both comparative evidence (cf. Phoenician 𐤏 <Z>) and the distribution of the form in the Bible (see 2 Kgs 6.19; Hos. 7.16), one may conclude that הֵּ זֹת / יֵ זֹת 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 הֵּלֵּא *hallāze*, fs הֵּלֵּא *ballēzū*, both of which can be shortened to הֵּלֵּא *hallāz*. This set must be quite old, as the forms are closely aligned with the Arabic determinative-relative pronoun series 'alladī (ms), etc. These forms appear more commonly in MH.

1.3. Relative pronouns

ABH attests to two related relative markers הֵּ זֶ and יֵ זִי, 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 אֲשֶׁר *'āšer* '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 -שֶׁ *šē-* 'who, that, which', also indeclinable (perhaps related to the Old Akkadian determinative-relative *šū/šī/šā* [θū/θī/θā]—see the occasional alternate pronunciation -שֶׁ *šā-*, e.g., Judg. 5.7 [*bis*]; or possibly derived via phonological reduction and grammaticalization from the aforementioned אֲשֶׁר *'āšer*, on which see Huehnergard 2006; → Relative Particle). From its distribution in the Bible, we may conclude that -שֶׁ *šē-* 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: מַה *ma* 'what' for inanimate subjects, and מִי *mī* 'who' for animate subjects.

1.5. Definite article

The definite article is הַ *ha-* + CC, probably reflecting **han-* and deriving from an old demonstrative element **hanni-* (cf. Old Akkadian *hanni* and a variety of Old Babylonian adverbs, on which see Rubin 2005:70–77; in Hebrew note the first element in הַלָּז *hallāz*, etc., discussed at §1.2 above, with the /n/ assimilated). The form **han-* is prefixed to the noun. However, since vowelless /n/ 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* > הַדְּלֵת *had-delet* 'the door'. In cases where a laryngeal, pharyngeal, or /r/ follows, in which gemination cannot occur, typically the quantity or quality of the vowel is affected, e.g., **han-am* > הָעָם *hā-ām* '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 לַ- 'to', **la-ham-mayim* > לַמַּיִם *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., פָּר *pār* 'bull'. Fs. nouns are typically marked by one of two endings: \bar{a} (< *-at*) or \bar{t} . 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 \bar{t} is always preceded by an anaptyctic vowel. Most feminine nouns in the Hebrew lexis use only one of the two endings, e.g., פָּרָה *pārā* 'cow' (with the first ending), קְטֹרֶת *qəṭoret* '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., גְּדֵרָה *gəḏērā* (standard) and גְּדֵרֶת *gəḏeret* (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., אֶרֶץ *'ereš* 'earth', שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš* 'sun', יָתֵד *yāṭēd* 'tent-peg', etc.

Most mpl. nouns take the ending יִם *-im*, e.g., פָּרִים *pārīm* 'bulls'; most fpl nouns take the ending וֹת *-ōt*, e.g., פָּרוֹת *pārōt* 'cows'. But there are many exceptions to this rule, e.g., אָבוֹת *'ābōt* 'fathers', which naturally is masculine, and נָשִׁים *nāšīm* '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 יָיִם *-ayim* (of epicene gender) is suffixed to nouns standing for items which naturally occur in pairs, especially body parts, e.g., יָדַיִם *yādāyīm* 'hands' (singular יָד *yād* 'hand' [f]), and to nouns used for measurements of time, distance, etc., e.g., יּוֹמַיִם *yōmayīm* 'two days' (singular יּוֹם *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, **ים** *-im* always serves for the masculine and **ות** *-ōt* always serves for the feminine, regardless of the plural termination on the modified noun; thus, for example, **נָשִׁים יְפֹת** *nāšim yāpōt* ‘beautiful women’ (Job 42.15).

2.2. Definite 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** *yād* can mean either simply ‘hand’ or ‘a hand’. Sporadically in the Bible (especially in IH, and then more regularly in MH), the numeral **אֶחָד** *’ehād* ‘one [m]’, **אֶחָת** *’ahat* ‘one [f]’ (see below §5.1), serves as the indefinite article, thus, e.g., **אִישׁ אֶחָד** *’iš ’ehād*, either ‘one man’ 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., **אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים** *’iš ’ēlohīm* ‘man of God’ (apparently a synonym of **נָבִיא** *nābī* ‘prophet’). The first of the nouns is called by the Latin term *nomen regens* (Hebrew: **נִסְמָךְ** *nismāk*), and the second is called the *nomen rectum* (Hebrew: **סוּמֵךְ** *sōmēk*). Often the specific form of the *nomen regens* changes, as reflected in the slight alteration of **יָד** *yād* ‘hand’ to **יַד** *yad* in the expression **יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ** *yad 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, **מַלְכָּה** *malkā* ‘queen’ but **מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע** *malkat šebā* ‘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, **יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ** *yad 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., **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** *bənē yiśrā’ēl* ‘sons of Israel’. Feminine plural nouns continue to end in *-ōt*, but vowel reduction typically occurs in the first syllable, e.g., **בָּנוֹת** *bānōt* ‘daughters’, but **בָּנוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ** *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, **הַר הַקֹּדֶשׁ** *har haq-qōdēš* ‘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., **הַר קֹדְשׁוֹ** *har qādšō* ‘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** *yād* ‘hand’, **לֵב** *lēb* ‘heart’, **שֵׁן** *šēn* ‘tooth’, **קוֹל** *qōl* ‘voice’, **אִישׁ** *’iš* ‘man’, etc. A few nouns have only one consonant, e.g., **פֶּה** *pe* ‘mouth’, **שֶׁה** *še* ‘sheep’.

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

- *CāCāC*, e.g., **בָּקָר** *bāqār* ‘cattle, herd’, **דָּבָר** *dābār* ‘word, thing’
- *CāCēC*, e.g., **יָתֵד** *yātēd* ‘tent-peg’, **כֶּבֶד** *kābēd* ‘liver’
- *CēCeC*, e.g., **גֶּפֶן** *gefen* ‘vine’, **מֶלֶךְ** *melek* ‘king’

Some patterns carry semantic weight, for example:

- *CaCCāC* is used to denote professions, e.g., **טָבַח** *tabbāh* ‘cook, butcher’, **קַשָּׁט** *qaššāt* ‘archer, bowman’, or persistent qualities, e.g., **סָלַח** *sālāh* ‘forgiving’

- *CiCCéC* is used to denote bodily defects, e.g., אִלֵּם *illēm* ‘dumb person (one unable to speak)’, גִּבְבֵּן *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 *CaCCéCet*, feminine in gender as is reflected by the presence of the suffixed *-et*, connotes diseases, e.g., עִוְרַת *awweret* ‘blindness’, יִבְבֵּת *yabbelet* ‘wart’, יַלְפֶּת *yallepet* ‘ringworm’, סַפְחַת *sappahat* ‘rash’, צָרַעַת *šarāat* ‘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 *mV-* denote a place or a location, e.g., מִבְצָר *mibšār* ‘fortress’, מִגְדָּל *migdāl* ‘tower’, מִקְדָּשׁ *miqdāš* ‘holy place, sanctuary’, מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēah* ‘altar’, מַלְוֹן *mālōn* ‘lodging place’, מְקוֹם *māqōm* ‘place’, etc. Hebraists will recognize the verbal roots from which these nouns derive, e.g., ל-ו-ן *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. VERBS

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 נ-ת-ן *n-t-n* ‘give’, י-ש-ב *y-š-b* ‘sit’, ב-ו-א *b-w-ʾ* ‘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 ל-מ-ד *l-m-d* means ‘learn’ in the basic pattern, known as *qal* or *paʿal*, but ‘teach’ in a derived pattern known as the *piʿel* (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 ש-מ-ר *š-m-r* ‘guard, watch’ as the paradigm. Since the SC typically indicates the past tense, I have glossed the individual forms accordingly.

	Singular	Plural
1c	שָׁמַרְתִּי <i>šāmartī</i> ‘I guarded’	שָׁמַרְנוּ <i>šāmarnū</i> ‘we guarded’
2m	שָׁמַרְתָּ <i>šāmartā</i> ‘you guarded’	שָׁמַרְתֶּם <i>šāmartem</i> ‘you guarded’
2f	שָׁמַרְתְּ <i>šāmart</i> ‘you guarded’	שָׁמַרְתֵּן <i>šāmarten</i> ‘you guarded’
3m	שָׁמַר <i>šāmar</i> ‘he guarded’	שָׁמְרוּ <i>šāmrū</i> ‘they guarded’
3f	שָׁמְרָה <i>šāmrā</i> ‘she guarded’	שָׁמְרוּ <i>šāmrū</i> ‘they guarded’

Note that the 3ms. form has no suffixes attached to it, thus it is simply שָׁמַר *šāmar* ‘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 *-tū* (in turn likely derived from proto-Semitic *-kū*; cf. the *k* in the 1cs independent pronoun אֲנֹכִי *ʾānōkī* discussed above, in §1.1.1); whereas the original 2fs form was *-tī*, a few traces of which remain in the Bible, e.g., עַד שֶׁקָּמְתִי דְבוֹרָה שֶׁקָּמְתִי אָם *ʾad šaq-qamtī dabōrā šaq-qamtī ʾem bə-yišrāʾēl* ‘until you arose, Deborah, until you arose, a mother in Israel’ (Judg. 5.7 [*bis*]). On the analogy of the 1cs pronoun forms (see

above §1.1.1 and §1.1.2) which end in *-ī*, the *-tū* suffix shifted to *-tī*. This created an ambiguity, since *-tī* 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 *-ā*. The former shifted to *-ā* 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 *-ū* came to serve for the feminine as well. Accordingly, שָׁמְרוּ *šāmrū* ‘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 *-āt*) occurs sporadically in IH, especially with the weak verbs of the ל"י (final *yod*) class (see below §3.6), e.g., וַעֲשֶׂה *wa-‘āšāt* ‘and it shall yield (lit. ‘do’)’ (Lev. 25.21). Furthermore, this is the standard form in MH, e.g., הָיְתָה *hāyāt* ‘she was’ (the SBH form is הָיְתָהּ *hāyātā*). Similarly, the old 3fpl suffix *-ā* occurs sporadically in the Bible, especially in the Kethiv, as in אֲנִיּוֹת נִשְׁבְּרוּ *‘āniyyōt nšbrh* (*nšbārā* were the verb vocalized) ‘(the) ships broke’ (1 Kgs 22.49); cf. the Qere נִשְׁבְּרוּ *nšbārū*, providing the standard SBH 3cpl SC form (note the ending *-ū*).

A number of points made above concerning the personal pronouns (§1.1) are relevant here as well.

- 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 *-tā*, 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).

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 שׁמׁר *š-m-r* ‘guard, watch’ as the para-

digm. 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.

	Singular	Plural
1c	אֲשַׁמֵּר <i>‘ešmōr</i> ‘I guard’	נִשְׁמְרוּ <i>nišmōrū</i> ‘we guard’
2m	תִּשְׁמַר <i>tišmār</i> ‘you guard’	תִּשְׁמְרוּ <i>tišmārū</i> ‘you guard’
2f	תִּשְׁמְרִי <i>tišmārī</i> ‘you guard’	תִּשְׁמְרֶנָּה <i>tišmōrnā</i> ‘you guard’
3m	יִשְׁמַר <i>yišmār</i> ‘he guards’	יִשְׁמְרוּ <i>yišmārū</i> ‘they guard’
3f	תִּשְׁמַר <i>tišmār</i> ‘she guards’	תִּשְׁמְרֶנָּה <i>tišmōrnā</i> ‘they guard’

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 יִשְׁמְרֶנָּה *yišmōrnā* ‘they guard’, 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 תִּשְׁמְרֶנָּה *tišmōrnā* was imported, taking over the function of the 3fpl as well as that of the 2fpl.
- In colloquial Hebrew, as we have seen above with the personal pronouns (§1.1), gender neutralization often occurs in the 2pl and 3pl PC verbs, with תִּשְׁמְרוּ *tišmārū* and יִשְׁמְרוּ *yišmārū* 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 ה־ *-ā*, thus, אֲשַׁמְרֶה *‘ešmārā* ‘let me guard, may I guard, I wish to guard, etc.’, and נִשְׁמְרֶה *nišmārā* ‘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.

Such instances are limited to the *qal* of certain weak verbs (see below §3.6), e.g., יָהִי *yahī* ‘let it be’ (Gen. 1.3, etc.), shortened from the standard PC form יִהְיֶה *yihyē* ‘he/it will be’, and to the *hif’il* (see below §3.7), e.g., יַכְרֵט *yakrēt* ‘may he cut off’ (Ps. 12.4), shortened from the standard PC form יַכְרִיט *yakrīt* ‘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., אַל-תָּהִי *’al-tahī* ‘may (our hand) not be (upon him)’ (Gen. 37.27); cf. the standard PC form תִּהְיֶה *tihyē* ‘she/it is’.

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., אַל-תִּשְׁחַת *’al-tašḥēt* ‘do not destroy’ (Deut. 9.26), with the verbal form shortened from the standard PC form תִּשְׁחִית *tašḥīt* ‘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 *tV-* of the 2nd person PC forms, with necessary vowel readjustment. The paradigm for the *qal* is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
masculine	שָׁמֹר <i>šāmōr</i> ‘guard!’	שָׁמְרוּ <i>šimrū</i> ‘guard!’
feminine	שָׁמְרִי <i>šimrī</i> ‘guard!’	שָׁמְרֹנָה <i>šāmōrnā</i> ‘guard!’

As was the case with the PC, also in the imperative: gender neutralization arises in colloquial Hebrew in the plural, so that שָׁמְרוּ *šimrū* 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 שָׁמְרֹנָה *šāmōrnā* 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, שָׁמַר *š-m-r* ‘guard, watch’. Nouns may be derived from these verbal roots as well, for example, from our paradigm root note מִשְׁמָר *mišmār* ‘guardhouse, prison’ and מִשְׁמֶרֶת *mišmeret* ‘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. פ"נ (initial *nun*), e.g., נִגַּשׁ *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., **yingaš* > יִגַּשׁ *yiggaš* ‘he approaches’; and (b) the *nun* generally drops in the imperative, e.g., גַּשׁ *gaš* ‘approach (ms)!’.
2. פ"י (initial *yod*), e.g., יֹשֵׁב *y-š-b* ‘sit, dwell’. In verbs of this class, (a) the *yod* drops in the PC, e.g., אָשֵׁב *’ēšēb* ‘I sit’ and the imperative, e.g., שֵׁב *šēb* ‘sit! (ms)’.
3. ע"י (middle *yod*), e.g., שִׁיר *š-y-r* ‘sing’. In verbs of this class the *yod* is actually non-consonantal; indeed it serves only to mark the long *ī* vowel positioned between the first and last consonants in most forms of the verb belonging to this class. For example, note the PC form יֹשֵׁר *yāšīr* ‘he sings’.
4. ע"ו (middle *waw*), e.g., קוּם *q-w-m* ‘arise’. In verbs of this class the *waw* is non-consonantal; indeed it serves only to mark the long *ū* vowel positioned between the first and last consonants in most forms of the verb belonging to this class. For example, note the PC form יָקוּם *yāqūm* ‘he arises’.
5. ל"י (final *yod*) (commonly but incorrectly ל"ה [final *he*]), e.g., בָּכִי *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 **bakayū* > בָּכוּ *bākū* ‘they cried’. The *yod* is retained only as a *mater lectionis* in most of the SC forms, e.g., בָּכִינוּ *bākīnū* ‘we cried’.
6. ע"ע (geminate) verbs, in which the second (middle) and third (final) root letters are

the same consonant, e.g., סב"ב *s-b-b* 'go around'. In verbs of this class, the second and third root consonants usually appear as a single long (geminated) consonant, e.g., the mpl. imperative form סבבו *sōbbū* 'go around!'; at times, however, the two consonants appear, e.g., the 3cpl SC form סָבְבוּ *sābābū* 'they went around'.

7. Wholly anomalous verbs, such as:

- a) הל"ך *h-l-k* 'go', with *he* as the first root letter, but which often operates as if it were a פ"י (initial *yod*) verb, e.g., 3ms. PC יֵלֵךְ *yēlēk* 'he goes' (note that in Ugaritic and Phoenician the verbal root is indeed יל"ך *γ-l-k* 'go').
- b) לק"ח *l-q-h* 'take', with *lamed* as the first root letter, but which operates as if it were a פ"נ (initial *nun*) verb (most likely formed via analogy with its antonym נת"ן *n-t-n* 'give'), e.g., **yilqah* > יקח *yiqqah* 'he takes'.

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

- a) פ"י (initial *yod*) and ע"ו (middle *waw*) 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 ש"ר *š-y-r* 'sing' and קו"ם *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 ע"י [middle *yod*] class, but also for the ע"ו [middle *waw*] class). An especially productive root in this regard is קו"ם *q-y-m* 'establish', derived from the aforementioned root קו"ם *q-w-m* 'arise', with such specific forms as 3cpl *pi'el* SC קִיְּמוּ *qiyyamū* 'they established' (Est. 9.27) and *pi'el* infinitive construct לְקַיְּמַתְּ *laqayyem* 'to establish' (Est. 9.21, 29, 31).
- b) As noted above (§3.2), the 3fs SC form of the ל"י (final *yod*) class retains the original ending *-at/-āt* sporadically in the Bible, especially in IH (e.g., וְנִשְׂאָתָּה *wə-āšāṭā* 'and it shall produce' (Lev. 25.21) and וְהִיתָּה *w-hyt* 'and it will be' (2 Kgs 9.37 *kethib* [the Qere reads

SBH וְהִיָּתְתָּה *wə-hāyṭā*). This form appears as the standard one in MH, e.g., 3fs SC *qal* הָיָאָתָּה *hāyāṭ* 'she was'.

- c) In colloquial Hebrew in ancient times, verbs with third root letter 'alef, abbreviated as א"ל (final 'alef), that is, with glottal stop as the third root consonant, merged with ל"י (final *yod*) verbs. This can be seen in several dozen cases in the Bible, e.g., כָּלְאוּ *kālū* 'they detained' (1 Sam. 6.10; from the root א"ל *k-l-* cf. the standard form כָּלְאוּ *kālū* 'withheld' [Hag 1.10]), and regularly in MH, e.g., קִוְּרוּ *qōrū* 'they read' (Mishna Berakhot 1.1; from the root א"ל *q-r-*). 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 א"ל (final 'alef) and ל"י (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 בִּינְיָנִים *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 פע"ל *p-l* '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 characteristic is the letter *he* prefixed to the root, visible in the SC, though elided between two vowels in the PC.
6. *Hof'al* or *huf'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. *Hitpa'el*, the reflexive stem, serving especially (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 *he* 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 verbal pattern, for example, the *qallpa'al* or the *pi'el*. Most verbal roots, however, are attested in several verbal patterns. An example of a verbal root that is attested in six *binyanim* in the Bible is the root *קד* *q-d-š* 'be holy'. The only verbal pattern in which this root fails to appear in BH is the *hof'allhuf'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'allhuf'al* of the root *קד* *q-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:

<i>pa'al</i>	קָדַשׁ <i>qādaš</i> 'be holy, be set apart'
<i>nif'al</i>	נִקְדַּשׁ <i>niqdaš</i> 'reveal oneself as holy'
<i>pi'el</i>	קִדְּדֵשׁ <i>qiddēš</i> 'sanctify, set apart as sacred'
<i>pu'al</i>	קֻדְּדַשׁ <i>quddaš</i> 'be sanctified'
<i>hif'il</i>	הִקְדִּישׁ <i>hiqdiš</i> 'cause something to be holy' = 'devote, consecrate'
<i>hof'al</i>	הֻקְדַּשׁ <i>hūqdaš</i> 'be devoted, be consecrated'
<i>hitpa'el</i>	הִתְקַדְּדֵשׁ <i>hitqaddēš</i> 'sanctify oneself, consecrate oneself'

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

3.8. wayyiqtol and weqaṭal 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 *-וַ* *wa-* (otherwise this is the conjunction 'and') and the gemination or lengthening of the pronoun marker (in this case the 3ms. *y-*, thus *-yy-*). The origin of this form is debated by scholars, but a close parallel with the Egyptian *iw sdm-n-f* 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 *nun* that has assimilated to the following consonant. Note that in Egyptian *n* serves to mark the past tense, as, for example, in the simple past form *sdm-n-f* and in the aforementioned *iw sdm-n-f* form. An alternative approach relies on internal Hebrew phonological developments to explain the unexpected gemination of the pronoun marker (Blau 2010:152, 190).

The *wayyiqtol* form is especially 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: וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה וַיִּזְאֵר *way-yiktōb mōše 'et-hat-tōrā haz-zōt* '(and) Moses wrote this Torah' (Deut. 31.9).

The *weqaṭal* form serves the opposite function: it refers to future time, especially a future action subsequent to another future action. A sample usage is וַיֵּצֵא יְהוָה מִבְּיַת יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁקֵף מֵעַל הַשֵּׁטִים *u-mā'yān mib-bēt YHWH yēšē' wə-hišqā 'et-naḥal haš-šitīm* 'and a spring from the house of YHWH will come forth and will water the wadi of the acacias' (Joel 4.18), with the first verb in the regular PC with future indication and with the second verb in the *weqaṭal* form also pointing to the future. Note that such forms feature prominently in poetic

the famine' (Gen. 43.1). This morpheme serves a wide variety of coordinating functions, not only 'and', but also 'but', etc. Additional conjunctions are **גַּם** *gam* 'also', **וְ** *ō* 'or', and **כִּי** *kī* 'because, that'.

4.2. Prepositions

The main prepositions in Hebrew are proclitic uniconsonantal forms, namely, **לְ** *lā-* 'to, for', **בְּ** *bā-* 'in, with (instrumental)', and **כְּ** *kā-* 'as, like'.

Other common prepositions are **מִן** *min* 'from', **עִם** 'im 'with', **אֶת** 'et 'with', **עַל** 'al 'on, upon', **עַד** 'ad 'until', and **אֶל** 'el 'to, towards'. This last form is probably related to the uniconsonantal prefixed form **לְ** *lā-* '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 **אֵת** 'et (with no English translation equivalent) to indicate a definite direct object, e.g., **וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאֹר** *way-yar 'ēlōhīm 'et-hā-'ōr* 'and God saw the light' (Gen. 1.4; though the form is frequently omitted in poetry and sometimes even in prose). This particle, called the *nota accusativi*, is not related to the homonymous preposition **אֶת** 'et 'with' (see above, §4.2), but rather has a separate origin, even if there is no general consensus thereon. One main theory (see Rubin 2005:115–121) relates the form to Phoenician **אֵית** (with similar function), with a presumed pronunciation 'iyyāt, but which was shortened via syncope to *'āt in proto-Hebrew. The Canaanite shift yielded 'ōt in Hebrew, which is the form this particle takes when personal pronoun suffixes are attached, e.g., **אֹתִי** 'ōtī 'me', **אֹתְכֶם** 'ōtākā 'you (ms)', etc., when these pronouns serve as direct objects. When the *nota accusativi* served as an independent form, however, the vowel of *'āt apparently was shortened, yielding first *'at and then through further shortening **אֵת** 'et. This constitutes the normal form in Hebrew, with the *nota accusativi* as a clitic, connected with *maqṣef* to the following noun (see the example above)—though this form emerges as **אֵת** 'et when the word stands independently, due to the necessities of Masoretic Hebrew syllabification and accentuation.

4.4. Particle of Existence

Hebrew has a special particle of existence, namely, **יֵשׁ** *yēš* 'there is, there are'. The form is indeclinable, though it can take suffixed personal pronouns. Sample usages are: **יֵשׁ נָבִיא בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל** *yēš nābī bā-yiśrā'ēl* 'there is a prophet in Israel' (2 Kgs 5.8); and **אִם־יַעֲשׂוּ עִשְׂיִם חֶסֶד וְ־אֱמֶת וְאָמַת** *'im-yeš'kē m'ōsīm ḥesed we-'emet* 'if you (pl) do kindness and truth' (= 'if you [pl] are to do kindness and truth') (Gen. 24.49).

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., **לֹא תִרְצַח** *lō tirsāḥ* 'you shall not murder' (Exod. 20.13).

Two other common forms are **אַל** 'al '(do) not', used especially before jussive verbs to indicate a negative command (see above, §3.4), e.g., **אַל־תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ** *al-tišlah yādḥā* 'do not send forth your hand' (Gen. 22.12); and **אֵין** 'ēn '(there is) not' used to indicate the absence of something, e.g., **אֵין בּוֹ מַיִם** *'ēn bō māyim* 'there-was-not in-it water (= there was no water in it)' (Gen. 37.24). 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 **שֶׁל־** *šel-* '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 **שֶׁל־** *šel-*, more or less the semantic equivalent of English 'of', produced by combining the relative pronoun **שֶׁ** *še-* 'that, which' (see above §1.3) and the preposition **לְ** *lā-* (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., **שֶׁל־שְׁלֹמֹה** *šel-li-šlōmō* 'of Solomon' (Song 3.7), or it can take the pronoun suffixes, e.g., **שֶׁלִּי** *šel-lī* 'my, of mine' (Song 1.6).

4.7. Adverbs

Hebrew has very few real adverbs. Among the basic ones we may point to **אָז** 'āz 'then', **עַתָּה** 'attā 'now', and **שָׁמַיִם** 'šām 'there'.

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

-ām: אֲמָנָם 'ammnām 'in truth' (from אָמֵן 'ōmen 'truth, trustworthiness'), הִנָּמָם hinnām 'for nothing, in vain' (from הֵן hēn 'grace'; cp. Latin *gratis*), יוֹמָם yōmām 'by day' (from יוֹם yōm 'day'), and רֵיקָם rēqām 'empty-handed' (from רֵיקָ rēq 'empty'). The following forms take -ōm: פִּתְאוֹם pit'ōm 'suddenly' (no noun from the stem פִּתַּא *p-t' is attested, but cf. פִּתְעַּ pētā 'instant', which is most likely the source of the adverbial form, with weakening of the 'ayin to 'alef; indeed cf. Num. 6.9, with the two forms juxtaposed), and שְׁלוֹשׁוֹם šilšōm 'day before yesterday' (constructed from שָׁלוֹשׁ šālōš 'three'; that is, 'today' = 'day one', 'yesterday' = 'day two', and 'the day before yesterday' = 'day three').

Another postpositive element is the adverbial suffix הֶ-ā (unaccented), which functions mainly like the preposition 'to' when suffixed to nouns indicating direction to a particular place, though it is also used in conjunction with other nouns. Examples of the former include אֶרֶץ אֲרָצָה 'aršā 'to the land, ground' (viz., earthward), נֶגֶב נֶגְבָּה negbā 'to the southland' (i.e., Negeb), and שְׂאוֹל שְׂאוֹלָה 'šālā 'to Sheol' (i.e., the netherworld). Examples of the latter are הָלֵילָה ḥālilā 'to profanity' (cf. Latin *ad profanum*), with the sense of 'heaven forbid'; and לַיְלָה laylā 'tonight' (though at a very early stage in the history of the Hebrew language this form came to mean simply 'night', thus throughout BH, with the original form לַיִל layil 'night' restricted to poetry).

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 three–ten, the base forms serve for the feminine, and the forms with the endings הֶ-ā (< -at) serve for the masculine. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as 'gender polarity'.

The individual forms are as follows:

	Masculine	Feminine
one	אֶחָד 'eḥād	אֶחָת 'aḥat
two	שְׁנַיִם šnayim	שְׁתַּיִם štayim
three	שְׁלוֹשָׁה šālōšā	שְׁלוֹשׁ šālōš
four	אַרְבָּעָה 'arbā'ā	אַרְבַּע 'arbā
five	חֲמִישָׁה ḥāmīšā	חֲמֵשׁ ḥāmēš

six	שֵׁשׁ šiššā	שֵׁשׁ šēš
seven	שִׁבְעָה šib'ā	שִׁבְעַת šeba'
eight	שְׁמוֹנָה šmōnā	שְׁמוֹנַת šamōne
nine	תִּשְׁעָה tiš'ā	תִּשְׁעַת tēša'
ten	עֲשָׂרָה 'āsārā	עֲשָׂרַת 'ēser

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* = *'ahadt > *'ahatt > אֶחָת 'aḥat (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 שְׁנַיִם šnayim and the sibilant + stop in שְׁתַּיִם štayim (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 *ḥamš- (cf. Akkadian ḥamšat, Aramaic ḥamš-, Arabic ḥamsa). Apparently the vowels of the attested Hebrew forms חֲמִישָׁה ḥāmīšā and חֲמֵשׁ ḥāmēš have been influenced by the vowels of the following forms for 'six', שֵׁשׁ šiššā and שֵׁשׁ šēš, with which they now 'rhyme'.
- The proto-Semitic form for 'six' may be reconstructed as *sidd*. In Hebrew, the voiced dental /d/ assimilated to the following voiceless interdental /t/, the normal phonological shift of /t/ > /š/ then occurred, and finally the initial consonant /s/ was attracted to the final consonant /š/, thus: *sidd > *sitt > sišš > šišš, yielding שֵׁשׁ šēš, with the standard processes of short /i/ vowel lengthening to /ē/ when accented and the loss of gemination in final position. In the masculine form שֵׁשׁ šiššā, the accented suffix *-ā* prevented these two last steps, so that the short /i/ vowel and the geminated /šš/ remained.

The numeral 'one' functions as an adjective and therefore follows the noun which it modifies,

e.g., פָּר אֶחָד *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., שִׁבְעָה פָּרִים *šib‘ā pārim* ‘seven bulls’ (Num. 23.1) or פָּרִים שִׁבְעָה *pārim šib‘ā* ‘seven bulls (lit. ‘bulls, seven’)’ (Num. 29.32). But in certain settings, for example, when the item counted is definite, or when the noun is an item naturally counted (days, animals for sacrifices, etc.), the numerals appear in the construct form and thus naturally precedes the noun. The entire paradigm is not provided here; instead several illustrations will suffice: הַשְּׁרָגִים שְׁלֹשֶׁת *šalōšet haš-šāriḡim* ‘the three branches’ (Gen. 40.12), יָמִים שִׁבְעַת *šib‘at yāmim* ‘seven days’ (Gen. 50.10), פָּרִים שִׁבְעַת *šib‘at pārim* ‘seven bulls’ (Ezek. 45.23).

The numerals eleven–nineteen are formed by combining the unit with special forms of the numeral ‘ten’, e.g., עָשָׂר וְעֶשְׂרִים *šalōšā ‘āšār* ‘thirteen (m)’, עָשָׂר וְשָׁלֹשׁ *šalōš ‘ešrē* ‘thirteen (f)’.

Multiples of ten do not distinguish gender. The numeral twenty appears as the ‘plural’ of the numeral ‘ten’, thus, עֶשְׂרִים *ešrim* ‘twenty’. The forms for thirty–ninety appear as the ‘plurals’ of their respective units: שְׁלוֹשִׁים *šalōšim* ‘thirty’, אַרְבָּעִים *arbā‘im* ‘forty’, etc.

Forms such as twenty-five, thirty-six, forty-seven, etc., are created by combining the decade form with the unit form (in either order, though decade + unit dominates over unit + decade), with the conjunction וְ *wā-* ‘and’ interposed. The unit form agrees with the gender of the item counted. Illustrations are: שְׁלוֹשִׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ *šalōšim wā-šālōš* lit. ‘thirty and three’ (Gen. 46.15), שָׁלוֹשׁ וְשְׁלוֹשִׁים *šālōš u-šlōšim* lit. ‘three and thirty’ (Ezek. 41.6), both meaning ‘thirty-three (f.)’; and אַרְבָּעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים *ešrim wā-arbā‘ā* lit. ‘twenty and four’ (Num. 7.88), אַרְבָּעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים *arbā‘ā wā-ešrim* lit. ‘four and twenty’ (Num. 25.9), both meaning ‘twenty-four (m.)’.

The higher numerals in Hebrew are מֵאָה *me‘ā* ‘hundred’, אֶלֶף *elep* ‘thousand’, and either רִבּוֹ *ribbō* or רֶבְבָּה *rebābā*, both meaning ‘ten thousand’. These numbers similarly are epicene.

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 ראש *rōš* ‘head’, thus ראשון *rīšōn* and ראשונה *rīšōnā*. The ordinals ‘second’ through ‘tenth’ follow the same pattern, with masculine *-ī* and feminine *-it* suffixed to the roots of the cardinal forms:

	Masculine	Feminine
second	שְׁנִי <i>šēnī</i>	שְׁנִית <i>šēnīt</i>
third	שְׁלִישִׁי <i>šālīšī</i>	שְׁלִישִׁית <i>šālīšīt</i>
fourth	רְבִיעִי <i>rabī‘ī</i>	רְבִיעִית <i>rabī‘īt</i>
fifth	חֲמִישִׁי <i>hāmīšī</i>	חֲמִישִׁית <i>hāmīšīt</i>
sixth	שִׁשִּׁי <i>šiššī</i>	שִׁשִּׁית <i>šiššīt</i>
seventh	שְׁבִיעִי <i>šabī‘ī</i>	שְׁבִיעִית <i>šabī‘īt</i>
eighth	שְׁמִינִי <i>šāmīnī</i>	שְׁמִינִית <i>šāmīnīt</i>
ninth	תְּשִׁיעִי <i>təšī‘ī</i>	תְּשִׁיעִית <i>təšī‘īt</i>
tenth	עֲשִׂירִי <i>‘āšīrī</i>	עֲשִׂרִית <i>‘āšīrīt</i>

- The forms for ‘fourth’ do not include the prosthetic *’alef* that appears on the cardinal numbers אַרְבָּעָה *arbā‘ā* (m), אַרְבַּע *arba‘* (f).
- The gemination of the second *šin* in the forms for ‘sixth’ follows from the explanation given above (§5.1) regarding the cardinal ‘6’, in particular the masculine form שִׁשָּׁה *šiššā*.

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Morphology: Rabbinic Hebrew

1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

	singular		plural	
1c	אני	'ani	אנו	'anu
2m	אתה	'atta	אתם	'attem
	את	at	אתן	'atten
2f	את	'at	אתם	'attem
			אתן	'atten
3m	הוא	hu	הם, הן	hem, hen
3f	היא	hi	הן	hen

Comments

1cs. Of the two biblical pronouns אָנֹכִי 'ānōkī and אֲנִי 'ānī, the use of the former decreases in Late Biblical Hebrew and in Rabbinic 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. אָנוּ 'anu appears 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 אָנַחְנוּ 'anahnu, under the influence of BH). אָנוּ 'anu was based on the 1cs pronoun אָנִי 'ani, presumably also in accordance with the system of the parallel pronominal suffixes: the pair of suffixes 1cs גִּי-ani, 1cpl נוּ -anu (e.g., לִקְחָנִי *leqahani* 'he took me', לִקְחָנוּ *leqahanu* 'he took us') influenced the formation of the independent pronouns אָנִי 'ani—אָנוּ 'anu.

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

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

3mpl. הֵן *hen* is a result of the final *m* > *n* shift and is dominant, whereas הֵם *hem* is rare.

3fpl. In BH the form is הֵנָּה *hēnā*. In RH the final vowel was apocopated.

2. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The pronominal suffixes are shown below attached to the noun בַּיִת *bayit* 'house' (which takes the form בֵּית- *bet-* when combined with pronominal suffixes). Nouns ending with a vowel are represented below by פֶּה *pe* 'mouth' (which takes the form פִּי- *pi-* when combined with pronominal suffixes). The word בֶּן *ben* 'son' represents words that have no Aramaic cognate.