

CONTENTS

Preface	XXI
Introduction	XXIII
Abbreviations	XXVII
Literature	XXXII

PART I: PHONOLOGY

§	1. Preliminary remarks	1
§	2. Consonants:.....	2
	a. ʔ and ʔ	3
	b. ʔ	6
	c. Proto-Semitic /y/	7
	d. ʔ and ʔ	8
	e. Proto-Semitic /z/	9
	f. Proto-Semitic /g/	9
	g. Proto-Semitic /h/ and /h/	10
§	3. Consonantal changes	10
	a. Assimilation and non-assimilation of /n/	10
	b. Assimilation of consonants other than /n/	12
	c. Degeminating /n/	13
	d. Phonetic reality of degeminating /n/	14
	e. /t/ > /tt/	16
	f. Partial assimilation /t/ > /t/	17
	g. /b/ > /p/	17
	h. Progressive assimilation	17
	i. Dissimilation	18
	j. Spirantisation	19
	k. Possible weakening or elision of gutturals	20
	l. Apocope of /ʔ/	21
	m. Syncope of /ʔ/	
	i) V + /ʔ/ + C > VC	22
	ii) C + /ʔ/ + V > CV	23
	o. /ʔ/ > /y/	24
	p. V + /y/ + V > V + /ʔ/ + V	24
	q. Syncope of /h/	25
	r. Metathesis	25

	s. Fluctuation between /m/ and /n/	26
	t. Word-final cluster of two identical consonants	26
§	4. Vowels	26
§	5. Word-final vowels	27
	a. Word-final Yod = <i>i</i>	27
	b. Word-final Yod = <i>y</i>	27
	c. Word-final Waw = <i>u</i>	28
	d. Word-final Waw = <i>o</i>	28
	e. Word-final He = <i>a</i> , <i>e</i> , or <i>o</i>	29
	f. Word-final Alef = <i>a</i> or <i>e</i>	30
	g. Multivalence of word-final <i>matres lectionis</i> ..	30
	h. Word-final long <i>a</i> graphically not visible?.....	31
	i. Spelling of unstressed word-final long <i>a</i>	31
	j. Pronouns ה' 'he' and ה' 'she'	31
	k. Pleonastic word-final Alef following	32
§	6. Word-medial vowels	32
	a. Yod = <i>i</i>	32
	b. Waw = <i>u</i>	32
	c. Waw = <i>o</i>	33
	d. Frequent defective spellings	33
	e. Contraction of diphthongs and word-medial Yod or Waw.....	34
	f. Alef or He hardly used as word-medial <i>mater</i> <i>lectionis</i>	34
	g. Yod or Waw = historically long <i>i</i> or <i>u</i>	34
	h. Consonantal Yod or Waw	35
§	7. Vowel length	35
§	8. Contraction of diphthongs	36
	a. /ay/	36
	b. /aw/	38
§	9. Elision of short unstressed vowels	38
§	10. Sandhi	40
	a. First word = preposition	40
	b. Second word = preposition	41
	c. Frequent in construct phrases	41
	d. First word = negator	41
	e. Second word = enclitic pronoun	41
	f. Sandhi and asyndeton	42
	g. Sandhi assimilation	42

PART II: MORPHOLOGY

SECTION A: THE NOUN, ADJECTIVE AND PARTICLES

§ 11.	Disjunctive personal pronouns	43
	a. 2ms. אַתָּה	43
	b. 2fs. אַתְּ and אַתְּהוּ	44
	c. 3fs. הִיא (!)	45
	d. 1pl. אֲנַחְנוּ vs. אֲנִי	45
	e. 2mp. אַתְּמוֹ	45
	f. 3mp. הֵמוּ	45
§ 12.	Conjunctive personal pronouns	46
	a.-b. General remarks	46
	c. 1sg. אֲנִי	48
	d. 2ms. אַתְּ	48
	e. 2fs. אַתְּ vs. אַתְּהוּ	49
	f. 3ms. הוּא vs. הִיא	50
	g. 3fs. הִיא vs. הִיא or הִיא	50
	h. 1pl. אֲנִי vs. אֲנֵנוּ	52
	i. 2mp. אַתְּמוֹ and אַתְּמוֹ	53
	j. 2fp. אַתְּמוֹ	53
	k. 3mp. הֵמוּ, הֵמוּ, הֵמוּ, and הֵמוּ	54
	l. 3fp.	54
	m. Object pronouns attached to the verb	55
	n. Disjunctive instead of conjunctive pronoun... ..	55
§ 13.	Disjunctive possessive pronouns	55
§ 14.	Demonstrative pronouns	56
	a. Near deixis	56
	b. Examples	56
	c. Far deixis	57
	d. Examples	58
	e. Phonetic differentiation between m. אֵל and f. אֵל	58
	f. 3rd person disj. pronouns used as demonstratives	58
	g. אֵל and אֵל	58
§ 15.	Relative pronoun	59
§ 16.	Interrogative words.....	59
§ 17.	Indefinite pronouns	59
§ 18.	THE NOUN	60
	a. Declensional endings	60
	b. m.abs.sg., du., pl.	61
	c. m.cst.sg.	62
	d. m.cst.du	63

e. m.cst.pl.	63
f. m.det.sg.	63
g. m.det.du.	63
h. m.det.pl.	63
i. Dual as distinct from plural	64
j. f.abs.sg.	65
k. f.abs.du.	66
l. f.abs.pl.	66
m. f.cst.sg.	66
n. f.cst.du.	67
o. f.cst.pl.	67
p. f.det.sg.	67
q. f.det.pl.	68
r. Nouns with Yod or Waw as last radical	68
s. Loss of or original final Taw of nouns with Yod or Waw as last radical	71
t. Derivation of st.det. from st.cst.	71
u. Difference between nouns and adjectives	72
v. Mismatch between form and grammatical gender	72
w. Base expanded in plural forms	74
x. Suppletion	75
y. Irregular nouns	75
z. Adverbial כּלֵל	75
§ 19. Formal patterns of nouns and adjectives	76
a. Biconsonantal roots	76
b. Triconsonantal roots	77
c. Roots or compound words with more than three radicals.....	81
d. With suffix ׳--	81
e. With suffix ך--	82
f. With suffix ן--	82
g. With suffix ןכ--	82
h. With suffix ן-	82
i. With prefix ם-	82
j. With prefix ם-	82
k. With prefix ם-	83
l. Words of obscure origin	83
m. Loan-words	83
§ 20. Prepositions	85
a. Use of conjunctive pronouns	86
b. Proclitic prepositions	86
c. Extra final Yod before conjunctive pronouns	86

	d. Compound prepositions	87
	e. Prepositions + nouns = pseudo-prepositions	87
§ 21.	Numerals	87
	a. Cardinals	87
	b. "Tens," higher numerals, composite numerals	89
	c. "Eleven" to "Nineteen"	90
	d. "Hundreds"	90
	e. "Thousands"	91
	f. Ordinals	91
	g. Fractions	92
	h. Multiplicatives	92
§ 22.	Other word-classes	92
	a. Adverbs	92
	b. Status absolutus of the adjective used adverbially	93
	c. Adverbial /-à:/	93
	d. Conjunctions	94
	e. Interjections	94
	f. Miscellaneous	95

PART II: MORPHOLOGY

SECTION B: VERB

§ 23.	The inventory of conjugational morphemes	97
§ 24.	Examples and discussion	98
	a. Perfect	98
	b. Spelling of the 1sg, 2sg suffixes	98
	c. Vowelless 1sg. suffix	99
	d. 2mp	100
	e. 2fp	101
	f. 1pl	101
	g. 3fp	101
	h. Imperfect	102
	i. 2mp and 3mp spelled plene with Waw	102
	j. 2fp and 3fp suffixes	102
	k. Jussive	104
	l. Energetic	106
	m. Function of the energetic	106
	n. Imperative	107
	o. Participle	107

	p. Infinitive	108
§	25. Binyanim	110
§	26. Binyan G	112
§	27. Binyan D	112
§	28. Binyan H or A	113
§	29. -t Binyan	116
§	30. The passive voice	119
§	31. Pe-Ÿod verbs	120
§	32. Pe-Alef verbs	124
§	33. Pe-Nun verbs	125
§	34. Lamed-Alef verbs	126
§	35. Ayin-Waw/Ÿod verbs	129
§	36. Ayin-Ayin verbs	133
§	37. Lamed-Ÿod verbs	134
§	38. The verb with suffixal pronouns	142
	a. Perfect	144
	b. Imperfect with Energetic Nun	145
	c. Imperfect without Energetic Nun	146
	d. Imperative	147
	e. Infinitive	147
	f. Observations	148

PART III: MORPHOSYNTAX

SECTION A: THE PRONOUN

§	39. Personal pronouns	155
	a. First and second persons	155
	b. Third person pronouns	155
	c. הוּ with extraposing function	156
	d. הֵם / הֵמָּן as object marker	156
	e. Disjunctive personal pronouns with a finite verb	
	i) Contrast or opposition	157
	ii) Assertiveness	157
	iii) Self-centredness	159
	iv) Coordinate subjects	159
	v) Authoritarian	159
	vi-viii) A disjunctive resuming a conjunctive pronoun	160
	f. Impersonal second person pronoun.....	161
	g. Solecism	161
	h. נִפְשׁוּ as reflexive pronoun	161

§ 40.	Disjunctive possessive pronouns	162
	a. Synthetic and analytical	162
	b. State of N ₁	163
	c. Statistics of וְלֵי forms	163
	d. Predominantly in the Arsames letters	163
	e. Substantivally used	163
	f. Inanimate referent	163
	h. Functional opposition	163
§ 41.	Demonstrative pronouns	165
	a. Deixis: anaphoric and cataphoric	165
	b. Added to a personal name.....	166
	c. וְנָה as against וְךָ	166
	d. Demonstrative ending with וְכִי-	166
	e. וְנָה as a general deictic	167
	f. Substantival use	167
§ 42.	Relative pronoun	167
	a. As an integral clause constituent	168
	b. Conjunctive pronoun referring to the antecedent.....	168
	c. State of the antecedent	169
	d. Independent relative clause.....	169
	e-f. Preposition + מִן זֵי	170
	g. Asyndetic relative clause	171
	h. Non-restrictive relative clause	171
§ 43.	Interrogative pronouns	172
§ 44.	Indefinite pronouns	172
	a-e. מִדְּעַם/מִדְּעָם	172
	f. אִישׁ	173
	g-h. אִנּוּשׁ	173
	i. גִּבּוֹר	174
	j. מִלֵּה	174

SECTION B: THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE

§ 45.	Gender	175
	a-b. Grammatical gender and natural sex	175
	c. Grammatical significance	176
	d. Name of a land or country	176
	e. "it"—feminine.....	176
	f. Gender of substantivally used adjectives	176
§ 46.	State	177
	a-h. Absolute state	177
	b. With cardinal numerals.....	177

	c. Numeral for "one" as equivalent of an in-definite article.....	177
	d. לָּ + sg. st.abs.	177
	e. Distributive	178
	f. Predicative adjective	178
	fa. Classifying noun predicate	178
	fb. Generic	179
	g-ga. Determined for absolute state	179
	h. Fem. sg. adj. with ׀- used adverbially	180
	i-n. Determined state	180
	i. Anaphoric	180
	j. Noun phrase modified by a dem. pron.	181
	k. Contextually determined	181
	l. Representative member of a class	181
	m-n. Difficult cases	182
	o. Orthographic ambiguities	183
	p. Loan-words	183
	q. Construct phrase	184
§	47. Number	184
	a. Three numbers	184
	b. Dual	184
	c. ׀.....	184
	d. Plural of majesty	185
	e. <i>Pluralia tantum</i>	185
	f. Collective nouns	185
§	48. Adjective	186
	a-b. Substantivised.....	186
	c. Lexicalised	187
	d. Comparative and superlative	187
	e. Further expanded	187

SECTION C: THE VERB

§	49. Binyanim	189
	a. General introduction	189
	b-d. Difficulty in defining functions	190
	e. Factitive D	190
	f. Causative H or A	191
	g. -t binyanim	191
§	50. Tenses	192
§	51. Perfect or suffix conjugation	193

	a. Only one simple preterital tense	193
	b. Performative perfect	193
	c. Verbs of mental attitude	194
	d. Gnomic perfect	194
	e. No optative perfect	195
§	52. Imperfect or prefix conjugation	195
	a. Three varieties of prefix conjugation	195
	c. In apodosis	195
	d. In generic statements	196
	e. Peculiarities of legalese	196
	f. כּוּזי + Impf. to indicate a purpose	197
	g. Complementing an auxiliary verb	197
§	53. Jussive and energetic	198
	a-f. Jussive	198
	a-b. Its functions	198
	c. With prohibitive אַל	199
	d. Not always clause-initial	199
	e. Parallel with an imperative	199
	f. Opposition with indicative breaking down ...	199
	g. Energetic	200
§	54. Passive voice	201
	a. Resultative	201
	b. Active-passive transformation	201
	c. Syntagm [Passive ptc. + ל]	202
	d. Marking of agent	202
§	55. Participle	203
	a. Actual present	203
	b. Attributive	203
	c. Substantivised	203
	d. Historic present	203
	e. Parallel with an imperfect	204
	f. Qualifying a predicate	204
	g. Periphrastic tense	205
§	56. Infinitive	208
	a-b. Used to complement verbs like צָבִי, יָכַל	208
	c. Final	208
	d. Implicit subject	208
	e. Used to modifying a noun	209
	f. Epexegetical	209
	i. Subject of a nominal clause	210
§	57. Imperative	210

§ 62. By [זי + noun phrase]	228
a. Collocational constraints	229
b. Semantic, logical constraints	230
c. N ₁ = indeclinable proper noun	230
d-g. Position of various types of additional modifier	231
i. Indeterminate N ₁	231
j. Factor of genre	232
§ 63. Proleptic noun phrases	233
§ 64. By relative clauses	235
§ 65. By demonstrative pronouns	235
a. Before or after NP	235
b-e. Hierarchy of complex syntagms	237
§ 66. By adjectives	238
a. Position of an attributive adjective	238
b-d. Position in complex syntagmata	238
§ 67. By numerals	240
a. Cardinal numerals following	240
b. Numeral for "one"	240
d. NP usually in st. abs.	241
e. NP - unit - numeral/cipher	241
f. Demonstrative pronoun added	242
g. Cohesion between NP and cardinal numeral .	242
h. Further expansion of [NP + cardinal numeral]	243
i. Ordinal numerals	243
§ 68. By prepositional phrases	243
b. Interpretation of אחרריך 'after you'	243
c. זי + locative phrase	244
d. Ambiguity	245
§ 69. By כל	246
a-b. Indeclinable כל	246
c. כל + conj. pron.	247
d. כלא	247
e. Adverbial כל	248
f. יחזיר	249
§ 70. By nouns in apposition	249
a-d. A proper noun as one component	249
e. A conj. pron. as first component	250
g. Expansion of appositions structure	251
h. Neither component is a proper noun	252
§ 71. By attributive participles	253

SECTION B: VERB PHRASE EXPANDED

§ 72.	Verb expansion	255
§ 73.	Asyndesis	255
	a. כדה/יכל	255
	b. Actions in immediate succession	257
	c. Expansion through an infinitive	259
§ 74.	Expansion by noun phrases or pronouns	260
	a. Preliminary remarks	260
	b. Direct government	261
	c. Indirect government	261
	d. ל of twofold function	261
	e. Nature of object suffixes	263
	f. Indirect object marked by prepositions	266
	other than ל	
	g. Double objects	266
	h. המו/הם	267
	i. Verbs of physical movement	268
	j. ל prefixed to a complement of a participle	271
	k. Object complement	271
	l-m. Verbs of intellectual perception or communication	272
	n. Cognate object	272
	o. Object ellipsis	273
	p. Centripetal ל	273
	q. ל marking dativus commodi vel incommodi	274
	r. Prolepsis of object	274
	s. Infinitive and its object marking	274
	t. Subject complement of a verbal clause	274
	u. Accusative of limitation or specification	275
§ 75.	Expansion by adverbials	275

SECTION C: OTHER SYNTACTIC ISSUES

§ 76.	Agreement and disagreement	277
	a. Preliminary remarks	277
	b. Disagreement in gender	278
	c. Disagreement in number	279
	ca. Dual	279
	cb. Partially transformed passive	279
	cc. Long sentences	280
	ce. Collective nouns	280

	cf. Plurale tantum	281
	cg. Multiple subjects	281
	ch. Scribal errors	282
	ci. שניא	283
	ck. שלם as predicate	283
	cm. Cataphoric דנה/ונה followed by a pl. NP ...	284
	d. Disagreement in state	284
§ 77.	Word order: nominal clause	285
	a. Preliminary remarks	285
	b. Bipartite nominal clause	285
	bb. וי + NP or adverbial	286
	bc. <i>P</i> mostly indeterminate	286
	bd. <i>S(pers.pron.) - P</i>	287
	be. <i>Dem.pron. - NP</i>	287
	bf. <i>S.NP - Pprep</i>	288
	bg. Subject elision	288
	bh. הא - NP	289
	bi. Existential nominal clause with איזי	291
	bk. היה	291
	bl. <i>S.NP - P.NP</i>	291
	bm. <i>Padj. - S.NP</i>	292
	bo. <i>Pptc. - Spers.pron.</i>	292
	bp. <i>Spers.pron. - Pptc.</i>	293
	bq. <i>Pptc.</i>	293
	br. Circumstantial clause: <i>S - P</i>	294
	c. Tripartite nominal clause	294
	ca. Enclitic pronoun in third slot	295
§ 78.	Word order: verbal clause	296
	a. Preliminary remarks	296
	b. Verb in clause-initial position	296
	bb. Pronoun enclisis	296
	bc. Imperative in initial slot	298
	c. Verb following subject or object or both	299
	cc. <i>O - V</i>	301
	cd. Categorical negation	302
	ce. Generalising relative clause	303
	ch. A case study of the Bisitun inscription	305
	cj. <i>SOV</i> or <i>S ... V</i>	307
	cl. Infinitive and its object	308
	cm. Double objects	308
	cn. Double pronominal objects	309
	co. Adverbials	309

	cp. Clause-initial adverbs	310
	cq. Sentence adverbials	311
	cs. Adverbial clause in relation to main clause	313
§	79. Extraposition	313
§	80. Impersonal constructions	315
§	81. Coordination	316
§	82. Circumstantial clauses	321
§	83. Negation	323
§	84. Conditional statements	323
§	85. Direct speech	327
§	86. Vocative and interjection	328
§	87. Prepositions	330
	a. Beth essentiae	330
	b. בין 'between'	330
	c. בנו	330
	d. עלא	330
	e. Preposition elided in conjunction with כ-	331
	f. Kaf veritatis	331
§	88. זי clauses	331
	c. Prepositions combined with זי	332
	d. עד זי and עד	333
	e. Interrogative combined with זי	334
	f. Final force of זי plus the imperfect	334
§	89. Conjunctions other than זי and זי compounds	334
	a. או 'or'	334
	c. ו- 'and'	334
§	90. Some particles	336
	a. אף	336
	b. אפם	337
	c. אם	338
	d. כי	338
	e. לה	339

APPENDICES

I.	Index of passages	341
II.	Index of subjects	360
III.	Tables of loan-words	370
III.	Concordance of principal editions	384
IV.	Individual scribes and dates	386
V.	List of technical terms	390