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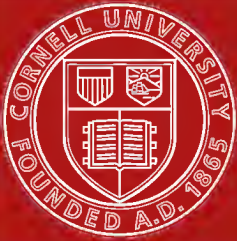
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TO
THE REV. DR. ISAAC M. WISE
THE VENERABLE PRESIDENT OF THE
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE
CINCINNATI, O.
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE
AUTHOR

A GRAMMAR
OF THE
ARAMAIC IDIOM
CONTAINED IN THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD

WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO
GAONIC LITERATURE

BY
C. LEVIAS

CINCINNATI
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PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention.¹ S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students.² This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, *Zur Lautlehre der aramaisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute*, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, *Das aramaische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: *Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonisch-talmudischen Dialektes*, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia College, containing the treatises **פסחים**, **זבחים**, **מועד קטן**, **מגלה**, and Alfási's compendium of **ביצה**. These MSS. have some words

¹ Cf. also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," *REJ.*, I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, *Aramäische Sprichwörter und Volkssprüche*, pp. 24-28.

² *Elementi gramm. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese*, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century,¹ and is closely akin to the Mandaic.² We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as אַרְמִית or לְשׁוֹן אַרְמִי, an appellation used also for other Aramaic dialects.³

The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemārâ, was committed to writing about 500 A. D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200–500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from *Meghillath Ta'anith* and from encyclicals of the patriarch R. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinian Aramaic, and

¹ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.

² Noeldeke, *MG.*, xxvi, sq.

³ For other names of Judæo-Aramaic, cf. Dalman, *GJPA.*, 1 sq. and p. 340. Jepheth ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic **لغة الفارسية**, which is probably a mistake for **لغة الفريسيّة** the language of the Pharisees. His compiler in the **ס' העשר** renders it by **לְשׁוֹן רַבָּנִים**. Vide D. S. Margoliouth's note on p. 7 of his edition of said commentary (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I.). R. Qemah Gāon in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of *Eldad ha-Dānī*, p. 7, says: **אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם** אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם; cf. Epstein's note, *ibid.*, p. 20. Maimonides in his *Dalālat al-hā'irīn* (I., ch. 74) quotes the Talmudic proverb **ערבך ערבא צריך** as used **عند السريان**, which is rendered by Falaquera (**מורה המורה** p. 64) by **אצל בעלי התרגום**. Dunaš, in his **לשון כשרי** ed. Schroeter, calls also the Aramaic of the Targumim **לשון כשרי**, while Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic **תרגום**. The author of **ספר השם** calls Bibl. Aramaic **לשון סוריאני** (rad. **סעד**), now **לשון ארמי** (rad. **סעד**), now **לשון ארמי** (rad. **מלא**, **מלא**, **סתר**), now **לשון ארמי** (rad. **סעד**), now **לשון סוריאני** (rad. **סעד**). An anonymous writer in Arabic calls our dialect **نابطية** *Nabatean* (cf. Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, VI., 69). E. Levita in his preface to his **מתורגמן** classes the Aramaic of the Bible, of the Targum Onkelos, of pseudo-Jonathan and of the Talmud Bahl as **לשון בבל** as opposed to the **לשון ירושלמי** of the Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.

are cited in this work under the designation *legal style*. To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim.¹

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmīd, Me'ilā, Temūrā, Nedārīm and Nāzīr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes כּוֹן, יְכוֹן, הוֹן, יְהוֹן, for כּוֹ, יְכוֹ, הוֹ, יְהוֹ; by the demonstratives הַזֶּה, הַהוּא, and the personal pronouns אֲנִי and אַתָּה; by the forms מִדַּע, אֲנִתָּה, אֲנִי, for the usual מִי, אַתָּה, דִּי; by the more frequent use of יָ and such expressions as תִּיבֵּי for תִּיבֵּי the question remains undecided, אֲנִי אֲיִרִי בְּהוֹן for אֲנִי שָׁמִירָה who spoke of it?!, יָאֵה well, יָאֵה or יָאֵה proper. I am also under the impression that the nota dativi נִיְהוֹלָא, so common in other treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzīr.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim*. Leipzig, 1869.

¹For editions of the Talmud cf. Rabbinovicz, מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד in Vol. VIII. of his *Variae Lectiones*. Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispensable to a proper understanding of Talmudical discussions.

The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876-1889; by A. Kohut in his *Aruch Completum*, Vols. I.-VIII., Vienna, 1878-1892, *Supplement to Aruch Completum*, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1886, *sq.* (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabbinovicz's great, though unfinished work, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, Vols. I.-XV., Munich, 1867-1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking—the completion of the work begun by the late Rabbinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers—will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman¹ and Professor H. L. Strack.²

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people.³ Its orthog-

¹ "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in *Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).

² The treatises of the Mišnā: *Yômā*, *'Abōdā*, *Zārā*, *'Abōth*, and *Sabbath* (Schriften des Inst. Jud. in Berlin).

³ Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (*cf. Proc. of PEF.*, 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

raphy is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later Midrāšim¹ and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. 750–1138). To this class belong the *שאלות ותשובות* of 'Aḥai of Šabḥā, ed. princ. Venice, 1546; *הקלכות גדולות* of Simon Qiyārā, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888–1892;² *אגרות אבות* latest edition by A. Neubauer in *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic *תשובות הגאונים*, for the literature of which cf. Z. Frankel, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen*, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller, *מפתח לתשובות הגאונים*, Berlin, 1891.

The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final *nūn* in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

¹ Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² This work contains older elements.

I. SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

SCRIPT.

*Letters.*¹—§ 1. The alphabet used in the Talmud, the number of letters, and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew.

Vowels.—§ 2. No vowel-signs are used in the Talmud. Traditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel-sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible. סָגוּל is rare, the preference being given to צִיר or הִירָק.

Numerals.—§ 3. The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals. א-ט are used for units; צ-י, for tens; ק-ת, for 100-400. Compound numbers are expressed by composition, the larger numeral being placed on the right: יב 12, לר 34, קכג 123. Numbers higher than 499 are expressed: 500 by תק; 600, הר; 700, תש; 800, תח; 900, חחק, etc.² When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of abbreviation (§ 6): כ"ח, 28; ג', 3; קל"ה, 135.³ When used for pagination, the sign of abbreviation is omitted.

Reading of Numerals.—§ 4. When the number consists of one or of two letters, the names of the letters are read. Thus, ג' is not read תִּלְתָּא or תִּלְתָּ, which it represents, but גִּימָל; so ש"ב are read שֵׁין בֵּית, ר"ה are read רֵישׁ הָא. Numbers containing more than two signs are read either as above, or are vocalized; e. g., תַּקְסָל, 900; תַּרְיַג, 613; רַמְיָח, 248.

¹ For the names of the letters cf. Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. f. Bibel u. Talmud, Supplem.*, article "Grammatik." Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of letters: Alleph, Gimmel, Dalled, Héth, Téth, Yûd, Kâph, Lammed, Sammekh, Çaddîq (Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, 22), Qûph. TG., ed. Harkev, § 26 זָן for זֵין, § 49 has לָבָר for לָבָר (cf. Samaritan Labad, Petermann, *Gram. sam.*, p. 2, written לבבא, Munk, *TM.* 10); Col. MS. (Meg. end) voc. גִּרְמֵל; HG. has רָא for רֵא. The forms of the names of the letters in post-Gaonic literature I shall give in my *Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic*, now in preparation.

² In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them. Thus א', 1000; ב', 2000; ה', 5000. Numbers from 500-900 are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ק-ך. In writing, the final letters are always written on the left: גץ = 903.

³ In MSS. we find sometimes other signs used. Thus תררי"ג may be written תרריג or תרריג.

Diacritical Signs.—§ 5. **הֶגֶשׁ** and **שֶׁבַח**¹ like the vowel signs do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point (:).² The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.

§ 6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line.³ Thus, **רַבִּי**, **גַּמְ**, for **רַבִּי** or **רַב**, **גַּמְרָא**. If two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is written in the middle. Thus, **חֲרַמִּי**, **מִשְׁמַע לָךְ**, for **חֲרַמִּי רַבִּי**, **מִשְׁמַע לָךְ**. The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§ 3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet. Thus **דַּלֶּת**, **גִּמְלָה**, **בֵּית**, **אֶלֶף**, '*Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth*, to distinguish them from **אַלְפָה** *thousand*, **בֵּית** *house*, etc.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—§ 7. The vowels *ō, ô, ǝ, û* and *ũ* are invariably indicated by **אֶשְׁטוּלִי** *I shall kill*; **מוֹתָא** *death*; **אֲוֹתֵרִי** *another* (f.); **אָמְרוּ** *they said*; **גַּבְרָא** *man*. The mater lectionis **ו** is sometimes omitted in verbs with consonantal **ו** as second stem-consonant: **לֵאשְׁוִי** *to make even*.

§ 8. The vowels *ē, ê, ě, î, ï* and *ĩ* are usually indicated by the mater lectionis **י**:⁴ **תַּעֲבִירִי** *thou wilt do*; **בֵּיתָא** *house*; **אֵיפֶסְךָ** *I shall go up*; **אָמְרוּן** *they say*; **מֵיתָא** *died*; **אִין** *if*; **אִיזִיל** or **זִיל** *go thou*. But the **י** is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; e. g., **מַשְׁלִים** *pays*; **מַפְרֵשׁ** *explains*; **מַתְרָן** *answers*.⁵

§ 9. The vowel *ā* or *â*, when final, is marked by **א**; less frequently by **ה**. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal *ā* or *â* is seldom indicated by **א**, never by **ה**. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: **מַלְכָּתָא** *queen*; **שַׁבָּא** *Sabbath, week*; **בִּישָׂא** *evil, bad*; **שְׁכִירָבָא** *is about to die*; **בְּשִׁילָה**

¹ For the etymology of the term cf. C. Leviaš, *AJP.*, xvi, 28-37, and *AM. JOURN. OF SEM. LANG. AND LIT.*, XIII., pp. 79-80.

² In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.

³ In MSS. we find frequently instead of the stroke a dot on the last letter.

⁴ **א** to mark **עֲרִי** is found only in **יְהֵא** *he will be*, **תְּהֵא** *she will be*, which belong to Mišnic Hebrew.

⁵ Cf. also Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. **יָרַח**.

she cooked; מְצִיָּא she is able; אָמְרָה she says; הָאֵרִי is fit; הַרְצִיָּאָה rows; מְלֵיאָן are full. The adjective ending *a'a* is always spelled אָהָ.

§ 10. Final פָּתַח is generally not indicated. Exceptions are מִן = מִן who, in order to distinguish it from מִן from; and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal ו as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the *a*-vowel: לִישְׁוֹרֵא let him jump; מְרֹאֵר goes about.

§ 11. The diphthongs *āi* and *āi*, when final, are generally indicated by אֵי, seldom by יי; when inter-consonantal, by יי, rarely by אֵי: הָרָאִי נִפְשָׁאִי rejoice my soul; בְּחֵרִיָּא last (f.); קָאִימָא stands.

§ 12. Final *au* occurs only in לֹא not, a contraction of לֹא + הָוָא; inter-consonantal *au* is indicated by וֹר: הָוָא תְּרֹשָׁא tread-ing; דְּוֹקָא exactness; שְׁוֹכָא thorn (§ 80).

§ 13. Vocal *ševā* is frequently denoted by ׀, e. g., עִיבִיד do, אִינֶשׁ man, שִׁיחִי tarrying, פִּיחִי running about. This is especially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of עִי and other verbs, and was probably pronounced as a full vowel.¹ According to Dalman,² the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of עִי verbs with *i* followed by *dāghēš* of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by *ē*, by analogy with עִי verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms *q^etāl*, *q^etūl* to pass into *qittāl*, *qittūl*, is also elsewhere to be observed (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 196). . . . Mere lengthening of *ševā* to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (cf. Safir, *'Eben Sappir*, I. 55 a)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find *i*, *ē*, or *ā* for vocal *ševā*, the latter having no special sign at all.³ It seems, therefore, that the development of *ševā* in Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.

¹ Cf. C. Leviaš, *AJP.* XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). Cf. also Sal. Geiger, *Zion*, II. 6: *Heḥālāc*, II. 153; A. Geiger, *Nachgel. Schriften*, V., Hebr. part, p. 7 sq.

² *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 70, 3.

³ Cf. Friedlander, *PSBA.*, XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

II. PHONOLOGY.

A. CONSONANTS.¹

General Remarks.—§ 14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects ܕ represents both original ܕ and ܕ; *e. g.*, ܕܗܒܝܫܐ honey, ܕܝܩܢܐ beard.—ܗ represents both ܗ and ܗ; *e. g.*, ܗܚܝܢܐ another, ܗܚܝܡܐ ass; ܗܚܝܡܐ wise, ܗܚܡܐ dream, ܗܚܡܐ to sign; ܗܚܚܐ to break in.—ܬ represents ܬ and ܬ; *e. g.*, ܬܬܡܐ taste, reason, ܬܬܡܐ to be unclean; ܬܬܢܐ nail, ܬܬܢܐ load, ܬܬܢܐ mountain.³—ܥ represents ܥ, ܥ, and ܥ; *e. g.*, ܥܪܝܩܐ ring, ܥܪܠܐ world, ܥܪܢܐ ten; ܥܪܒܐ raven, ܥܪܒܐ cloud, ܥܪܒܐ to enter, go in; ܥܪܒܐ egg, ܥܪܒܐ or ܥܪܒܐ to happen, befall, ܥܪܒܐ disease.—ܫ has been retained in ܫܪܝܫܐ (also ܫܪܝܫܐ) a certain meal, ܫܪܝܫܐ meat, flesh, ܫܪܝܫܐ to compel, ܫܪܝܫܐ ten, ܫܪܝܫܐ twenty (but ܫܪܝܫܐ, in compound numbers), ܫܪܝܫܐ to be satiated, ܫܪܝܫܐ Satan, ܫܪܝܫܐ hatred (but ܫܪܝܫܐ to hate), ܫܪܝܫܐ lip, ܫܪܝܫܐ mustache, ܫܪܝܫܐ to burn, swallow, gulp down, and perhaps ܫܪܝܫܐ a certain bird; but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as ܫ.—ܦ represents ܦ and ܦ; *e. g.*, ܦܬܚܐ to open, ܦܬܚܐ to die, ܦܬܚܐ to drink; ܦܬܚܐ ox, ܦܬܚܐ to return, ܦܬܚܐ to weigh. In the few cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.—§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronuncia-

¹ Cf. Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 34, 757 sq.; B.A., I., 249 sq.; Dalman, *GJPA.*, 41 sq.

² This word is connected with Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ. Its ܪ is infixed as that in ܪܪܐ or ܪܪܐ.

³ This is the Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ back, Assy. ܫܪܝܫܐ high. Cf. Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ the top of the mountain and the use of Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ, Heb. ܫܪܝܫܐ hill, the latter connected with ܫܪܝܫܐ back. For a similar change from Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ to Aram. ܫܪܝܫܐ cf. Arab. ܫܪܝܫܐ and Talm. ܫܪܝܫܐ, Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, 42.

tion of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words.¹

Gutturals.—§ 16. The Arabs transcribed ה by *ṣ*, ח by *ḫ* or *ḥ*, and ע by *ʿ*. The pronunciation of ח was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant *ḫ*. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.

§ 17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 *b*, M. Q. 16 *b*, Ker. 8 *a*), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling.² Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in *זהר* to be cautious,³ *זהר זהר* one another, together, *הרין* to imprison, *הרר* to return, *מְהִילָתָא* sieve, *נהל* to sift, *הַיִּצְאָה* shrubbery, and in other words we have ה for etymological ח.⁴ In *אוֹשְׁלָא* pounded grain, *אִישְׁתָּא* name of a canal, *אִישְׁתָּא* a kind of fish, we have א for ח. In *חלע* or *חלה* to crack, we have ח as well as ע for it. In *צִיָּה* to dry up, we have ח for א. For ח we have א or ע in *אָרָא*, *עָרָא* this, *אָפֶךְ* to turn; while for ע we have very frequently א: *אָבָא* (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *b*, *עָבָא* alongside of *אָבָא*) thicket, *אוֹפֵי* twigs, *אִירְבָּנָא* bulrushes, a. fr. Cf. Noeldeke, *loc. cit.*; also Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, p. 69.⁵

The fact that post-vocalic ע is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus *טַעְמָא* is pronounced *taïmo*. This points to an earlier *טַיְמָא* just as in Assyrian.⁶

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 58.

³ This word has nothing to do with *זהר* to shine, but is the Arab. *خَرَجَ*. For similar metathesis, cf. Barth, *ES.*, 3, 4 (*מִנְגֶּן* and *חִרְשֵׁן*).

⁴ Cf. also Harkavy's note, p. 356, of his edition of the *TG.*

⁵ A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phœnician (Schroeder, *Phœnic. Spr.*, 79 sq.), Samaritan (Uhlemann, *Inst. lingu. Samar.*, I., 13 sq.), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, *NSG.*, 56 sq.), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 44).

⁶ In the same way Hebrew words like *מַעְלָה*, *מַאֲמֹר*, *מַעְרִיב*, *מַעְמֹד*, *מַאֲכֹל*, and the like are pronounced *máilo*, *máimor*, *máiriv*, *máimod*, *máichol*. But *מַעְרָחָה* *mārcho*. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, *máimórim*, *máichólim*, *máimódos*.

Palatals.—§ 18. Initial ם seems to have been sometimes pronounced נ to judge from a few cases where נ is actually written and from the fact that after the precativē ל the prefix ם of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an *a*-vowel, is frequently dropped. Thus, אֲבִשׁוּנָא *dried ears of corn*, אֲוִבְלָא *willow-basket*, דְּאִיתְּיִלְדָּן *that will be born*, Ned. 30 b, דְּאִינְקוּט *that they gather*, B. Q. 113 b; נ for ם is also written in a few forms of the verb יחב *to sit*, לְשַׁבַּע *let him cause to swear*, לְחַלִּיף *let him pass*. On the other hand, we find at times the ם marked as consonantal by doubling it.

§ 19. ג and כ like ב, ד, פ and ת had a double pronunciation as mutae and as spirants. ג is transcribed by the Arabs generally as ج, sometimes as ق; כ is generally ك, sometimes by ج or ك; פ is כ, כ is כ, פ is כ. So we find also in the Talmud פִּיכְלִי and קִיכְלִי *partridges*, כִּרְכַּשׁ and קִרְכַּשׁ *to knock*, פִּרְשָׁתָא and קִרְשָׁתָא *shepherd's bell*, קִרְפָּתָא = פִּרְפָּתָא *head*, from כָּפָה *to bend, nod*, properly *noddle*; cf. Hebr. קָדַד ו קָדָד *to jump*, written promiscuously. ג is today not distinguished from כ.

Linguals.—§ 20. ד is rendered in Arabic by ד, ז by ז, ט by ט, ת by ט. In traditional pronunciation ד is pronounced like ד and ת like ט. ט is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from ת. The ד was evidently a lingual, as it could be doubled.¹

Sibilants.—§ 21. ז is ז; ש and ש are ש; צ is ص, and ש, ש, rarely ש. In the Talmud ש is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus, פְּתִיא and פְּסִיא *street-well* (V. L., B. B. 8 a); אֲתָקוּטְלָא, אֲסָקוּטְלָא *flipping*; אֲצִיאתָה, אֲתִיתָה *rows*, F. MS., B. B. 12 a; אוּרְיא, אוּרְיא a certain quarter of meat; אֲסָרָא, אֲסָרָא *creeper, vine*; זִנְאָא, סִנְאָא *ear of corn*; צִייר, צִייר *binds*, M. MS., AZ., 28 b; עֲסִיסָא, עֲצִיצָא *pot*; עָקַס for עָקַץ *to sting*; אֲרִיסָתָא and אֲרִישָׁתָא a certain meal; עֲסָרִין and עֲשָׂרִין *twenty*; רַפְּשׁ and רַפַּשׁ *to tread*.

Labials.—§ 22. ב is rendered in Arabic transcription by ب; ב by ב, sometimes by و. ו and מ are rendered by و and م;

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 86, and אִירְצִי, *HG.*, 232.

פ by פ, sometimes by ב. With the exception of two or three words where וו is written for etymological ב, the Talmud retains ב. But ב and וו are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and פ are sometimes written indiscriminately. כּוּפִּשְׁנֵי and כּוּבִשְׁנֵי a species of tamed doves, כְּבוּיִי and כְּפִיִּי excrements, צִלְפֻּחָא, צִלְבָּחָא eel.

Dāghēš and Rāphē.—§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדכפת as tenues, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:

a) Unlike the Syriac, בגדכפת has no dāghēš after a diphthong; e. g., בִּיתָא, אֵיבו, אֵיבו.

b) The ת in the feminine ending תָּא is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be preceded by a long vowel; e. g., שְׂאֵלְתָא.

c) בגדכפת are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronunciation; e. g., שְׂתִיקוּתָא, אֶפְדִּישֵׁי, מְסִתְמָא, סִתְמָא, אֶפְדִּישֵׁי, שְׂתִיקוּתָא, מְסִתְמָא, סִתְמָא, אֶפְדִּישֵׁי, שְׂתִיקוּתָא, מְסִתְמָא.

d) פ is pronounced hard in the proper names פָּפָא *Papa* and פָּפִי *Papi*.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.—*Gutturals.*—§ 24. א changes to י in the active participle Qal of ע"י verbs and of verbs following their analogy. Also in the Pa"ēl and Ithpa'al of verbs ע"י. Thus, קַיִים stands, צִיִּית listens, מֵיִית dies, צִיִּי binds, כְּיִי compels, חֵיִי feels pain, עֵיִי enters, שִׁיִּי asks, שְׁיִי he left, omitted, אֶשְׁתִּיִּיר remained. The forms צִיִּית, קַיִים, etc., are only graphical variants. The א must have also been pronounced י in אֶתְרָא interstice, and אֶתְרָא Alephs. Notice also שְׁתִּיקָא remainder. Verbs ע"י have passed entirely into verbs ע"י.

§ 25. ה changes to ו or י in נוֹלָא, נִלָּא he, she, lit. this one (§ 177), קוֹא to be blunt, תוֹהָא to be astonished. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תוֹהָא may also stand for תמנה. תמנה rich landlord, וְהָרִיךְ.¹

§ 26. ה appears frequently as ה: הוֹצָא foliage of a palm, Arab. حوص; הוֹצָא thorn, Syr. ܚܘܨ; הוֹצָא a proper name = הוֹצָא;

¹ Cf. Syriac ܚܘܨ = ܚܘܨ and Palestinian אהבת = אהבת, Dalman, 69.

הָרַר to return, Hebr. הָרַר; cf. §§ 16, 17. Sometimes it interchanges with a sibilant: הָלִיקוּסְתָּא, סְלִיקוּסְתָּא.¹

§ 27. ע regularly changes to א when there is another ע (= ض) in the same word: אָרַע = عَرَض to happen; אָפָא = اَفْعَا = Arab. ضبع hyena. Cf. also § 17. In גַּחַךְ to laugh, we have ג for ע. Whenever ע corresponds to Arab. ض it must have been originally = غ. This would explain more easily its interchange with ג and פ.² Verbs לָע have in a few instances passed into verbs לָי.

Palatals.—§ 28. ג interchanges with פ (§ 18), with גְּשָׁמָא : גְּשָׁמָא door-step; cf. § 51. In זִינָא couple, the ג becomes ז, as in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to ד in שְׁגַר, שְׁגַר to send. But the latter is more probably = صَدَرَ. In אֲפִי (§ 174) we have the change of ג to א.

§ 29. כ and פ frequently interchange: פְּרִשְׁיָי, פְּרִשְׁיָי vetch; קְרוּשְׁיָתָא, פְּרוּשְׁיָתָא dealers in vegetables; פְּרוּשְׁיָתָא, פְּרוּשְׁיָתָא balls, cakes. The interchange with ב frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.

§ 30. Intervocalic ם changes to א in the adjective ending אָה. Thus, בְּתָרְאָה the last, קְמָאָה the first, לִיבְאָה the Libyan, for *בְּתָרְיָא, *קְמָיָא, *לִיבְיָא.³ In verbs: אִתְפְּיָא she was healed, Keth., 62 b; אֲשַׁתְּפִיָּא were changed, Col. MS., MQ., 25 b. But generally intervocalic ם is elided.

Dentals.—§ 31. ד usually corresponds to Arab. د and ذ; but occasionally ז appears, even when it corresponds to د. Thus, זִי, זִי then, now (§ 182), שְׁבַצְדָּא to slaughter⁴; דִּיאָנָא, דִּיאָנָא loss; מְדָלָא, מְדָלָא dripping; דִּיפְיָא, דִּיפְיָא twigs; זִרְדָּתָא, זִרְדָּתָא sorb-planta-

¹ Cf. Syriac סַלְכַס = سَلَحَان, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, add. ad p. 112. Hebrew חֲבַצְלֶת may stand for שְׁבַצְדָּא, but with regard to its Assyrian equivalent, ח may be original. Cf. prothetic ח in Syr. سَمَحَان.

² For this change cf. Bibl. Aramaic אֶרְקָא earth; in some dialects, cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 66; Munk, *TM.*, p. 44, u. 127. Ethiopic ṣa qō qay a, to cry, lament, is a Ṣaphī'el of *qō qay a = ضَرْبِي. One is tempted to compare also Judeo-German "koiken" to howl, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. Cf. also ברבּק, *HG.*, ed. princ. = בצבּק cast bubbles. Similar is the interchange of ר and פ: Hebr. פֶּקֶד, Syr. مِزْجُون almond. Cf. § 36.

³ Cf. Jaeger, *BA.*, I., 489, 459.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *MG.*, 43; D. H. Müller, *Inscr. von Sendschirtli*, 40 sq., 65.

tion; טַרְדִּינָא טַרְדִּינָא wardrobe; נְבוֹרָא bee, Hebr. אֲדִיָּלָא; אֲדִיָּלָא for אֲדִיָּלָא young gazelle. In דָּא דָּא (§ 185) it corresponds to Arab. ضَعَّ ضَعَّ.

In the following examples we have not an interchange of ל and ר, but a rare syntactical use of ר, which can be paralleled in Assyrian: לֹא דְמִימָרָא does it not mean to say, Col. MS., Zeb. 50 a; וְחוֹרֵי דְרִידָא וְחוֹמְרֵי דְעִסְקָא and oxen for ploughing and dates for trade, Sabb. 19 b.² In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לֹא.³

§ 32. ט usually corresponds to Arab. ط and ظ, but occasionally it interchanges with צ; thus, מַטִּי and מַצִּי. In טלע it corresponds to 'Omanee Arabic ضلع to limp.⁴

§ 33. ת sometimes interchanges with ר: בְּגִדְתָּהָא the Bagdadian; קְרִדְוִי, קְרִתְוִי, לִיפְתָּא, לִיפְתָּא turnip. Cf. also § 21.

Liquids.—§ 34. ל interchanges with נ in the precativ particle of the imperfect: נְהוּרִי let him be, for לְהוּרִי; מִדְּוִי sufficient for irrigation, H. MS., B. B. 8 a, for מְדוּל.⁵ לוּמָא, Latin nummus, coin. Cf. also § 36.—עֲלֵקָא leech appears also as עֲרֵקָא.

§ 35. נ changes to ר in רִישְׁבָּא fowler. Compare also טַמְרָא to hide with Hebr. טָמַן. A similar change would be in בֶּרֶךְ son, בִּרְתָּא daughter, if they are identical with בֶּן, בֵּית; but this is doubtful. Final ך changes to ך in מַנְשִׁיתִים he makes water, O. MS., Sabb. 134 a.

§ 36. ר appears frequently as ד. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of ר to

¹ Cf. also Arab. دَبَّور alongside of دَبَّور.

² Cf. the variant in the פתשגן to Onkelos, Lev. 15:33 וְלִלְדָּאִיב וְלִלְדָּאִיב for וְלִלְדָּאִיב, and in later literature: כְּדִרְתִּי = כְּדִרְתִּי HG. 29; דְּרִבְרָא = 'לָר' ibid. 108; דְּרִבְרָא = 'לָר' ibid. 373.

³ The stock example for the interchange of ל and ד has always been אָזֵל = אָזֵל. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, אָזֵל and אָזֵל, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase אָזֵל לְעֵמִיָּה, and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root אָזֵל is a mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a similar kind. Suffice it to point to פְּעִנָּה to disclose, קִנְיָא end, and לֵב מִגְנָת לֵב grief. A full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.

⁴ Cf. פִּיטָא egg in Jer. Sébu., III. 34 d; but this may also be equal to פִּיטָא with change of פ to ט.

⁵ For the same phenomenon cf. TG., ed. Harkavy, § 55. Cf. also Syriac ܠܢ and Hebrew-Aram. נָתַן to give.

7 is attested in living speech,¹ such a change may in some cases be phonetic. The physiological kinship between 7 and 7 seems to be the same as between 7 (= غ) and ض.

7 changes to 7 in תַּלְתֵּי *two*, תַּלְשִׁים *twelve* (§136).

§ 37. 7. On interchange with 7 cf. § 31. 7 stands for Arab. ض in בִּזַּע *to split*²; זָבָחָא *clucking hen* (connected with ضَجَّ *to make noise, croak*); אָזַח *to heat* is perhaps Arab. حَضَّ; בָּזַח, Arab. جاز *to pass through, cross*, is evidently connected with كَفَضَ, حَفَضَ, جَفَضَ.³

§ 38. ס stands for ص in סַבֵּר *to wait, hope for*. On the other hand סוֹבֵר *to cup* corresponds to Arab. سَبَرَ *to examine a wound*. The latter is connected with ثَبَرَ *to break open* (said of an ulcer).⁴ For its interchange with other sibilants cf. § 21.

§ 39. צ interchanges with other sibilants (§ 21), with ט (§ 32). It stands for Arab. ض in צָרַךְ *to be in need*, בָּצַר *to be few*, עֲצָץ *to press together*,⁵ צוֹרֵץ *to cry, shout* = صَوּصَى *to cast bubbles*.

¹ Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, § 121. For Ethiopic cf. Prātorius in *BA.*, I., p. 45.

² From an original بضع all the forms with 7, צ, ק and 7 as second stem-consonant, which appear in the various Semitic languages, can be derived.

³ Cf. also Hebrew נָזַם (?) *locust* جُضْم *glutton*; Mišnic זְבִירִית *receptacle* with זָבָר *books*, *Psalms*, with אֲזָבָרָה, pl. זְבָר. Through the intermediate form זָבֵר we get the form זְבִיר *book*, mentioned in the Talmud as used among Persian Jews. Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 248; Barth, *E. S.*, 26, 52. The development of meaning from זָבֵר *to put in order*, זָבֵר *collect*, to אֲזָבָרָה *book* is similar to that in אָבֵר *book* from אָבֵר *to sew together*. Cf. later Hebrew אָבֵר *book, composition*, and אָבֵר *to compose, write a book* (vide Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke d. Saadja Gaon*, p. ק"ח sq.). There seems, therefore, to be no ground for doubting the Arabic origin of אָבֵר as Fraenkel does (*op. cit.*, 249).

⁴ סוֹבֵר (Targ.) *to bear, carry*, is closely connected with the idea of endurance, hope. The same connection we find in סַבֵּל (Targ.) *to carry, suffer, endure*. Arab. زَبَلَ, Assyr. za hālu (Barth, *ES.*, 50). Interesting variants to סוֹבֵר we find in the Targ. to Psalm 96, 8: תוֹבֵר וְשׁוֹבֵר; cf. Levy, *TWb.* s. v. סַבֵּר. The form סוֹבֵר corresponds to Arab. صَبَرَ, שׁוֹבֵר, to an Arabic by-form ثَبَرَ. Similarly we find Hebrew שָׁבֵר *grain* = Arab. صَبْرَة, a by-form of صَبْرَة *pile, store of grain*.

⁵ Barth, *ES.*, 1, 5.

§ 40. ש interchanges with ת in שקל, תקל, to weigh, be worth. With ס in משי, מסי to wash.

Labials.—§ 41. ב. On interchange of ב with ו and פ cf. § 22. In מישן for בישן Beth Še'an we have מ for ב. עֲרִיקָא = Hebr. עֲרִיקָב, Arab. عَرَقُوب.

§ 42. מ. Assyrian מ appears sometimes as ב, sometimes as ו: עֲלֵי upon, אַרְיָ west,¹ שִׁנְרִבִּינָא cypress.² מ changes to נ in נַהֲרַר inf. Aph'el of הדר to return, B. Q. 81 b, and in נִשְׁתַּרְפִּי melting, Sabb. 110 b; in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for נ in בוֹטְמָא terebinth.

§ 43. ו. Initial ו has been retained only in the following words: וַיְ Wau, וֵי woe! alas! וְאֵלֵי proper (alongside of וְאֵלֵי), וְרִיזָא rose and its derivatives, וְעֵדָא meeting, וְתִיקָא tart, and in a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to י.

DOUBLING.

§ 44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:

a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; e. g., in the Intensive stems.

b) To show a double consonant; e. g., גַּבִּי, אַמָּא.

c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; e. g., שְׁתָּא year, אַתְּ thou.

d) As compensation for a shortened long vowel; e. g., עֲלֵי for עֲלֵי upon, נַמִּי (§ 182).³

e) To lengthen artificially a short word; e. g., פִּימָא mouth, אַבָּא father.

f) To preserve a short vowel; e. g., לְשָׁנָא tongue, Arab. لِسَان, בִּיתְרָא bridge, Assyrian titûru.

g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in אַתְּ thou, in the pronominal ending of the participle, אַמְרַתְּ thou sayest, and in רַב Rabbi, usually pronounced רַבב.⁴

¹ The Assyrian equivalent is a murrû (cf. Jensen, ZA., X., 339 sq.) and אַרְיָ stands for אֲרִיָּא.

² TG., ed. Harkavy, § 49, has לָמַר for לָמַר Lamed. דִּרְא to see may also be connected with the Syriac ܕܪܐ.

³ The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a number of similar cases; e. g., Saddûk, Abessalôm, Abennêr, Annân, for אַבְדִּיק, אַבְדִּיק, אַבְדִּיק, אַבְדִּיק. But, in cases like Abessalôm and Abennêr, the versions may have taken them to be composed of אַבְדִּיק (= אַבְדִּיק) + שְׁלֹמִים or נִר.

⁴ Cf. Noldeke, SG., § 23, H.

Resolution of Doubling.—§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality, as from הִירֶק to צִירִי, or from פֶּתַח to קִמֵץ, not otherwise.

INSERTION OF CONSONANTS.—*Insertion of a Liquid.*—§ 46.

a) אֲמִנּוּתָא *nut*.

b) חֵינְפָא *feast*; פִנְדָא *pot*; גִנְדָר to roll; אֶסְתִגְנָרָא *vice-roy*, Pers. *ustadâr*, and other words.

c) ר: In the so-called Par'êl forms: בִרְזֵל to shake, גִרְבֵל to mix, גִרְדֵם to cut, הִרְזֵק to imprison, שִרְיַב to let hang down, שִרְבַט to stretch oneself flat, פִרְבֵש or קִרְקֵש to strike, tingle, פִרְפִשְתָא or קִרְקִשְתָא *shepherd's bell*, גִרְפִשְתָא *clod*, יִרְדִקָא *school-boy*, קִוְרִקָן *crop*.¹

NOTE.—In words of foreign origin ש seems to be similarly inserted: בִשְׂקָר *he searched*, Mandaic the same; אִישְׁכַפָא *saddler*, Assy. *aškapu* = Arab أَكْفَى; cf. Assy. *iškaru* = *ikkaru* = אִכְרָא *peasant*, all before a *k*-sound.

Insertion of ה.—§ 47. A ה is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus אֲבָהֵן *fathers, parents*, plural of אָבָא; אֲמָהָא *bond-maid*; אֲמָהֵי the status of bond-maid; גִלְהֵי *flashes* (גִלִי), נִנְהָא *mint*; שִלְהֵי *end*; אֲמָהֵתָא *mothers, flanks*.

Insertion of a Semivowel.—§ 48. In the plural of the noun ר or ך is in a few cases inserted before the ending of תָּה to avoid an hiatus.²

ASSIMILATION.

§ 49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.—§ 50. 1. The נ is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs פִנָּה—frequently in

¹ Cf. Fleischer in *Levy's Dict.*, IV., 484 b.

² Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Fellucht-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 15.

the Ithpe'el, more rarely in the Ithpa'al.¹ Thus, אִתְּמַר *was said*, אִתְּסַר *was forbidden*, אִתְּנָה *he sighed*, אִתְּמָרָא *was said*, אִתְּסָר *was healed*, דִּי־לִידו *that have been born* (Ned. 30 b), לְיִבְסוּמִי *to cheer oneself up with wine* (Meg. 7 b, Col. MS. לאִיבְסוּמִי), לְקַלְקוּלִי (M. MS. Er. 49 a, eds. לְאִי־קַלְקוּלִי), אֶלְתֵּר *on the spot, at once*, for אֶתֵּר. In the last word the ל is not doubled. מִנָּאן *whence* for מִנָּאן, from מִן אָן; רַבִּינָא a proper name for רַבִּינָא = רַב אַבִּינָא.

2. ה is regressively assimilated in אֵינּוּן *they*, הֵנּוּ *these*, בִּפְרִתוֹן *their being dispersed* (eds. A. Z., 10 b), מְשִׁתְּלִיתוּ *you are tired* (A. Z., 72 b); אֲדוּמִי *to cut to pieces*.

3. ח is assimilated in מְסוּתָא *bath* (orig. מְסוּתָא, § 90); מְסָא *shovel*, לִישְׁלוּפִינְהוּ O. MS., Sabb. 98 b, √ שְׁלַחָה; תַּתָּא *below*; פּוּתָא a certain dish (= פּוּתָא).

4. ע is assimilated in אִתְּבִידָא *was done*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, שֶׁב *seven*, which stands for שֶׁב* = šabbu = šab'u. Similarly תִּשְׁ *nine*, V. L. Taan. 13 b, for tiššu = tiš'u.² אַפָּא *hyena*, for אַפָּא (§ 27). אִיבִי (= אִיבִי) Col. MS., Zeb. 6 ab, 14 b, תִּיבִי *ibid.* 20 b; מִיבִי *ibid.* 18 b. By progressive assimilation מִבְּרָא *ferry*, מִבּוּרָא *ferry-man*.

5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb סַלַּק *to go up, ascend*: לִיפֶס, תִּיפֶס, for לִיטַלַּק, תִּיטַלַּק; in אֶ־ *upon* (§ 170), זִיקְחָא *sharp-shooter* √ זִנַּק or זִלַּק.

6. נ is assimilated in אַתָּ *thou*, אַתּוּן *ye*, אַתְתָּא *woman*, אַפָּא *face*, עִיזָא *goat*, אֲבוּבָא *flute*, שְׁתָּא *year*, מְשׁוּל *on account of*, מְסִסְקֵן V. L. Pes. 3 b, in verbs פִּנַּ, and in verbs לִפְנֵי before נָא, נָן, נָן; also in מִן *from*.

7. ד is assimilated in גִּישָׁא *heap*, M. MS., Er. 14 b, קִמָּא *first*, קִמִּי *before*, שֶׁתָּא *six*, שֶׁתִּין *sixty*; אֶ־ *until* (§ 182).

8. ת is assimilated in נְקִיטוּ *ye hold*, eds. Pes. 110 b; שְׁמַתִּיהָ *I put him under the ban*, M. Q. 17 a; אֶתְתָּא *hast pleased*, Hull 137 b; אִיכָּא *there is* (אִיכָּא) (sic) *there is not* (= לֹא אִיכָּא); in the reflexive stems not עִי or פִּא before dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants: אִיזְבֵּן

¹ Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1; *AEV.*, 10.

² Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10 1.

was sold, אִיזָרָר took heed, אִישָׁבָשָׁא was persuaded, אִיתָגַבּר they made profit, a. o.

9. מ is assimilated in תַּמְגָּרָא merchant, Assyrian tamgaru; אֲרִיכְלָא artisan, Assyrian dimgallu, with prothetic א and inserted ר; שְׁלָמָא = ܣܠܡܬܐ = Assyrian šalamtu.

Partial Assimilation.—§ 51. a) א is partially assimilated to ט, צ and כ, and becomes ע in טַיִרָא Arab. (طَائِي), tanners, עֵיכָלָא pot,¹ עֵיכָלָא a measure.²

b) ג is assimilated to ש in פְּשׁוּרָא joist, Assyrian gušûru. כ to ז and ח in זַגְגִּיתָא glass, Heb. זְכוּכִית; גְּהִילָא for בּוֹהִילָא a certain bird. ק to ר in רִיצָתָא twist, קִרְץ.³

c) ת is partially assimilated to ז in the reflexive stems of verbs זָזָר he took heed, אִיזְדָּקִיק he attended, and without transposition אִיזְדָּקִיק it seemed small, 'Ēn Ya'aq. Sanh. 95 a. To ל and ר:⁴ in זִלְזָלָא hod, זִלְזָלָא small, (§ 56), בֵּיטְרִי name of a place. To צ: in טַצְדָּקָא excuse, טַצְדָּרָא white spot, and in verbs אִיזְטָרִיק was necessary, אִיזְטָרִיק he grieved. To ח: in טַחַר to press. To ד: in לְהַזְדָּלֵל Alfasi B. B. 8 a.⁵ To ק: in קָטַל to kill, קָטִינָא small, קָדְשָׁתָא truth.

d) ס is assimilated to a liquid in עֲרִזָּלָא cradle, טַיִרָא proud,⁶

Reciprocal Assimilation.—§ 52. a) Here belong מִזְבָּא or מִזְבָּא (§ 92), Hebrew מִזְבֵּה and מִזְבֵּה,⁷ ס first assimilated to מ, then ז to ז. Similarly בִּזְבָּא for פִּתְבָּא bundle. But they may also be two parallel forms. In זִבְזָא outfit, Assyrian çubātu, zubātu, dress, צ is assimilated to ב, then ת to ז, ב becomes ר. זִבְזָא to prepare still occurs as variant to זִבְזָא.

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, 69.

² Cf. Palestinian עֵטָא Aph. of טוֹמָא; עֵטָעָמָא something to taste, טַמְקָא flank, עֵטָלֵב Kislēv, עֵטָלֵב digestion, עֵטָלֵב karálusis, עֵטָרֵב white. In later literature עֵטָפָא concerns. Arab. عسقلون Ascalon. Assimilation of כ to ע occurs in עֵטָפָא retention.

³ Cf. קִרְץ κυρτός.

⁴ Cf. Barth, ES., 36 sq.

⁵ Cf. Targ. and Syr. אִזְדָּרְכָל. In later Hebrew I have met with אִזְדָּרְכָל.

⁶ טַיִרָא or טַיִרָא is in form and etymology identical with Arab. طَيْشَان, from طاش to be out of mind. For the development of meaning cf. קָדְשָׁתָא proud and Arab. اسْتَبْهَرَ to be insane.

⁷ Cf. Barth, ES., 33, 51.

b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. **שֻׁלְפֻרִית** *sulphur* (Hebrew) appears as **שֻׁלְפֻרִית**. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike.¹

DISSIMILATION.²

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. **ל** dissimilates to **ד** in **פֶּדֶלֶתָא** *pepper*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 b; to **נ** in **נַחְמָא** *bread*; **נִיחָלָא** *to* (§ 177); to **ר** in **פֶּרֶלֶתָא** *slice*, **אַרְמִלְתָא** *widow* (through an intermediate ***אַלְמִלְתָא**); but the stem may be **רמל**; **מִבְרַבְלִיתָא** *mixture of white and black*.

2. **נ** dissimilates to **ר** in **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין** *two* (but **תְּנִינָא** *second*).

3. **ר** dissimilates to **ל** in **תֹּרְבֵלָא** *wild ox*; **רֹבֵילָא** *rocket*.

4. **ד** dissimilates to **ח** in **בְּגֵדְתָא** *the Bagdadean*. To **ל** in **לֹאֲיִדְבַק אֵנָּה בִּזְרֵיעָה** *that I should be connected with his descendants*. M. MS., Pes. 49 a.

5. **ט** dissimilates to **ת** in **בוֹטִיטָא** *spark*, alongside of **בוֹטִיטָא**.

VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 54. a) Initial consonants. **א** is dropped in **חַד**, **חֶדָא** *one*, **חֶרָא** *another*; and in the imperative of **אתא** *to come* and **אזל** *to go*.³

נ is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs **פ"נ**, following the analogy of the imperfect.

§ 55. b) Within the word. **א** is elided in contractions: **לִית** *there is not*, from **אִית**; **לֹא** *those*, from **אֵלֵין**. It quiesces in a preceding vowel: **תֹּרְיָתָא** *form*, from **תֹּרְאִיָתָא**; **רִיבָא** *wild bull*, **רִישָא** *head*, especially in **פ"א** verbs. It is also elided in the adjective ending **תָא** (§ 82).

ה is syncopated in **נִיהוּ**, **תִינָה** (§ 124).

ח quiesces in a preceding vowel in **שׁוֹנָא** *favoring*, **שׁוֹנָא** *sprout*, **אַנְן** *we*, **חֶדְדִי** *one another*, **אַרְשִׁנָא** *a certain bird* = Assy. *aḥaršānu*, or *aḥuršānu*, Syr. **ܐܚܪܫܢܐ**, Arab. **وَرَّشَان** *ringdove*. It is syncopated in **תֹּחִי** *beneath, below*.

¹ Cf. Haupt, *BA.*, I., 3; *W. B. H. (Hebraica, I., 231)*.

² Cf. Haupt, *AEV.*, XII., 17-20; *W. B. H. (Hebraica, I., 224 sq.)*.

³ Cf. Hebr. **חַד**, **חֶדָא**; Arab. **مَرَّ**, **مَرَّ**; Syriac **ܡܪܪܐ**, **ܡܪܪܐ**.

§ 56. ע quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is ע: דִּוְץ to *stick in*, דִּוּת to *exude*, סוּר to *visit*, תוּר to *be awake* (secondary root of עוּר), עוּךְ to *double*, Arab. ضَعَف. It quiesces also in a few verbs פִּעַע to *do*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, מִיָּקַם to *pronounce incorrectly*, Ned. 16 a, and in זוּטַר *small*, from זעטר = זעטר (§ 56), i. e., זער with infixed ת. It is syncopated in אֶטְבָּא *ring*, רִיפְתָּא *bread*, and quiesces in the compound numerals חֲדָיִסַר *eleven*, תְּרִיִּסַר, *twelve*, etc. (§ 136). In בָּנֵן *we want*, Col. MS. Zeb. *passim*, for בְּעֵנֵן.

§ 57. ג is lost in זָוּרַא *pair, scissors*, and אָבִי *at, upon* (§ 174). The *g* in this case first became *g^u*, then the separate elements *g* or *u* were lost.¹ Perhaps belong here שֶׁנֶּשֶׁשׁ and שֶׁנֶּבֶשׁ?

§ 58. ל quiesces in קוֹמַר *καλαμάριον*, M. MS., Sabb. 80 a.

ר quiesces in the preceding vowel in קוֹקְנִי *worms*, קֶרֶן, in the compound פִּיזְרָא for זִרְעָא פִּיר (or origin. פִּזְרָא from זִרְעָא פִּיר), and in אֶמִּינָא *I say*.

מ is dropped in a few participles of Pa'el: שֶׁבֶשִׁי *trim the vine*, B. M. 73 a; יִבְמִינֵן Yeb. 41 b; סִלְקִי M. MS., B. Q. 48 a; קְדַמִּינֵן Pes. 53 b, and others.

נ is syncopated in מְנַשְׁתִּינָה *makes water (sibi)*.

§ 59. ד is dropped in אֶרְנָא *ear*. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's *Neuh. Wb.*, III., 312 b, that ד interchanges with ר is true, then אֶרְנָא may come from אֶרְנָא = אֶרְנָא).² In זֶרְתָּא *sorb-bush*, for זֶרְתָּא.³

§ 60. c) Final consonants. א, ר and י quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems לִ"א, לִ"ר and לִ"י. The two former then pass into לִ"י. The י appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. ה and ע are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like א. Thus, גָּנָה = גָּנָה to *rumble*, ע in נִינָא *mint*, אִרְיָא *argument*, בִּזַּי to *break*, טָבִי to *sink*, פָּדִי to *wound*, פָּסִי to *spoil*, שָׁפִי to *slant*, שָׁקִי to *sink*, אֶשְׁתַּמוּדִי to *have identified*.

¹ This phenomenon is frequent in Indo-European languages. Cf. also Fraenkel, *op. cit.* XXII., 107.

² For a change of ד to ב, cf. Praetorius, *B.A.*, I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.

³ Perhaps also in the Palestinian proper name יֶלְתָּא for יֶלְדָּתָא *child*, as in Syriac. But it may also be a shortening of אֶלְתָּא or contraction of יֶעֱלָתָא. Cf. also §§ 116. 119.

§ 61. ר quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and imperative Qal: אִימָא, תִּימָא, לִימָא, יִימָא; אִימְרָ, אִימְרָ, אִימְרָ to say.¹ In שֶׁדָּא *he sent*, M. MS., Ber. 42 a, סָנָא *he locked*, H. MS., B. M., 86 a; in זֶטְטָא *small*, אֲשֵׁי *Asher*; perhaps also in אִירְחִי *is superfluous*, but this may be אִירְחִי (M. MS., Sabb. 64 a).

§ 62. ל is dropped in some forms of אָזַל *to go*: אָזַא *he went*, M. MS., B. M. 101 b, 103 b, Col. MS., Pes. 111 b; אָזִי *he goes*, Col. MS., Pes. 110 b; יִיזִי *let him go*, K. MS., Mem. 2 a; יִיזִי *go*, Col. MS., Pes. 104 b.² In שָׁקָא *he took*, Qidd., 81 b, M. MS., A. Z. 3 a; שָׁקִי *takes*, MSS. Sukk. 52 b. In קָלִי for קָלִיל *light*.

§ 63. נ is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun, תִּנִּי, תִּנִּי, תִּנִּי, two, מֵאֵתִי, two hundred, אָמְרִי, they say, בֵּי, between, פִּי for בֵּן, דִּי for דֵּן; מֵטָא for מֵטָאן (§ 90). The feminine plural ending תִּן loses its נ only in one case: לִיתְצָדָה *they may be caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 b.

§ 64. ד is dropped in דִּיִּעְבֵּר for דִּיִּעְבֵּר (§ 159).³

ח is dropped in בֵּי *house*, שַׁבָּא *Sabbath, week*; in the absolute state of feminine nouns: אֲחֵרִי or אֲחֵרִי *another*, אֲחֵרִי *matrimony*; is not retained even before suffixes in לְאַחֲרֵיהָ *to do it late*, Sabb. 119 a, לְאַסְיֵיהָ *to heal him*, לְנִסְיֵיהָ *to try them*, Raši Sanh. 101 b; and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.

§ 65. ב is apocopated in הֵו *again*, נָשָׂא *blew*, MSS., B. M. 85 b, 86 a, Raši Taan. 24 a; נָסִי *marries*, Col. MS., M. Q. 3 b, נָסִי Col. MS., Zeb. 5 a.

§ 66. מ is dropped in many forms of קָם *to stand*: אִיקִּי, אִיקִּי, יִיקִּי, יִיקִּי; יִיקִּי, יִיקִּי; קִי, stand thou, Col. MS., M. Q. 25 b, M. MS., Sanh. 95 a; קָא, קָא, קָא, stands; קָאִי, קָאִי, קָאִי, I stand, Col. MS., Zeb. 19 a, בּוֹקִינָא, I explain, *ibid.* Pes. 90 a; אֲוִקִּינָא, I explained it, *ibid.* M. Q. 25 a. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.—§ 67. בְּתוּא, בְּתוּא, *desolation*; מִדְּרָא, מִדְּרָא, *water-course*; טַפְסָא, טַפְסָא, *chest*; קִלְפָא, קִלְפָא, *shuttle*; and others.

¹ Cf. אָמִי *says*, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy in *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 225.

² The verb אָזַא *to heat* is perhaps an Aph'el of אָזַל. For the development of meaning cf. Hebrew הֶעֱלָה, הִסָּק, and Syriac שִׁנֵּר. Cf. also § 37.

³ Cf. בְּדִיאָבָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 181.

⁴ Cf. C. Lovias, *AJP.*, XVI., 34.

B. VOWELS.

IMĀLĒ.—*Pathah*.—§ 68. Original *ā* in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to *i* (or *ē*). Thus, פִּסְחָא *Passover*, בֶּשָׂרָא *meat*, שָׂטָנָא *Satan*, רִגְלָא *foot*, קִנְמוּחָא *flour*, זִמְנָא *time*, גַּרְדְּנָא *garden*;¹ in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect Pa'ēl when the second stem-consonant is ר or a guttural: e. g. קָרַב *brought near*, מִיַּעַט *lessened*, B. Q. 51 b; צִיעַר *vexed* Qidd. 70 b, Ned. 62 a; פָּרַשׁ *separated himself*, Sôt. 4 b; נָהַם *roared*, Hull., 59 b; in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Pa'ēl לִיתִּיהָ *let him lower it*, Sabb. 67 a; לְצִינָהּ *let him cool her off*, B. B. 74 b; in the enclitic pronoun זָבְנָהּ *hast bought*, B. M. 51 a, קָטְלָהּ *hast killed*, *ibid.* 59 b; מִזְבְּנָהּ *sellest*, *ibid.* 72 a, סָתְרָהּ *breakest down*, B. B. 4 a; in the perfect אֶרְבְּעִה *placest*, B. Q. 114 a; in the first syllable of the Aph'el הִנְיָמַר *taught*, A. Z. 3 b, דְּמִיכָל *that he shout*, B. B. 5 a; לְאִישׁוֹרֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 b; לְאִפְסוּלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 15 b (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long Qāmēç.—§ 69. Original long קָמֶץ at times changes to *ē* (or *i*). Usually so when *ā* has arisen in consequence of the quiescing of an א: תִּיכֹל, תִּימֹר, תִּיזִיל, מִיכֹל, מִימֹר, מִינֶס, from original *תִּאֲכֹל, *תִּאֲמֹר, *תִּאֲזִיל, *מִאֲכֹל, *מִאֲמֹר, *מִאֲנֶס (primarily 'תֹּא, 'מֹא); רִשָּׁא *head* for *רִאשָׁא; מִישְׁקֵלִי inf. of שָׁקַל *to weigh, be worth*, Ar. 18 b; מִיגְמָרִי *to study*, Hôr. 12 a; מִיחְדָּרִי inf. from חָדַר *to return*, Ar. 23 a; חֲדָתִי, חֲדָתִי *new*, B. M. 73 a; חִידָתִי *white*, אוֹפְמָתִי *black*, רַבָּתִי *great*, זוֹטְרָתִי *small*, and other words like them.² זוֹטֵר *small*, מִינִיכֵי, מִינִיכֵי *your vessels, garments*, M. MS., Pes. 111 b; רִידוֹטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 a; שִׁיבְקֵיהוֹ *their deceased parents or relatives*, B. M. 70 a; אִינִישׁ *man*. So also in the infinitives אֶחְסוּלִי, אֶחְסוּלִי, אֶחְסוּלִי, אֶחְסוּלִי (§ 223); and perhaps in the plural ending of the verb יָיִן for יָיִן.³ A kind of imālè is diphthongization (§ 80).

¹ Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.

² Barth takes the ending תִּי to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun i'e'ti (ZDMG. 46, 688, n. 1). In Mandaic this appears as tē (Noeldeke, MG. 154); in Palmyrean it has the form תִּה (Halévy, *Maḥbereth*, p. 104); in Arabic تِى, تِى, تِى. But how would this theory explain the masculine form תִּהִי? It is noteworthy that this ending תִּי appears only in adjectives.

³ So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending ى is pronounced è, such forms as رَمَى are pronounced *ramè*, cf. also the transcription of Aramaic è, i, by Arabic è (Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XVII.). For a similar change in Amharic, cf. Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprache*, p. 23.

OBSCURATION OF Â.—§ 70. The obscuration of *â* to *ô*, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud. תַּלְמוּד *study*, פַּרְשֵׁי חֲמִשָּׁה *your weekly lessons*, Ber. 8b; מְרִיבֹתָא *myriads*, K. MS., Sanh. 26^a (*bis*); מֹר *my lord*, P. MS., Ber. 58b.¹ The nominal ending *ân* is at times obscured to *ô* or *û* under the influence of the *n*. אֲבִשָּׁנָא *dried ears of corn*; אֲדָרְוֵנָא *bed-room*, נְסִינָא *trial*.

VOCALIC EPENTHESIS.—§ 71. The final vowel *i* of the first com. and the 2. fem. sing. and the final *û* of the 3. masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, qat(a)l(a)tî becomes qat(a)lait, and contracted q(a)t(a)lêt, or q(a)t(a)lit, קָטַלְתִּי or קָטַלְתִּי. Similarly, the perfect q(a)t(a)lû becomes q(a)ta^ul contracted to q(a)tôl קָטַל (§§ 232, 243).² The pronominal suffixes *akhi thine* (f.), *akha thine* (m.) and *ahi his*, become *a'kh*, *a'kh*, *a'ih* and contracted, הָיָה, הָיָה, הָיָה. The last form *ahi* for *ahu* or *ihu*, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form *ihu* became by transposition *uhi* (cf. אָבִיוֹ *his father*) and in analogy of the latter such a form of *ahi* was formed.

INFLUENCE OF CONSONANTS ON VOWELS.—§ 72. The quiescence of one of the consonants א, ו, י, ה, ה, ע, or ר, lengthens the preceding vowel. Thus אֵימָא *I say* (for אֵאמָא*); רֵישָׁא *her head* (for רֵאשָׁה*); סָגִי *he went* (for סָגִי* = sagi); מִיבֵר *to do* (for מִעֲבֵר); גָּנָא for גָּנָה *it rumbled*; קוֹקְנִי for קוֹרְקְנִי *worms*. The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears; as שָׁקָא for שָׁקָא, נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא, דִּיאָבָא for דִּיאָבָא, שָׁקָל for שָׁקָל, נָשָׁב for נָשָׁב, דִּיעֲבֵר (§ 159); אִי for אִי.

§ 73. The neighborhood of an ע sometimes produces imâlê: אַרְבַּעַ *four*, חֲדָשִׁי *eleven* (= חֲדָעָרִי), אַרְבַּעַ (' אַרְבַּעַ ע '), שְׁתַּיִסִר (' שְׁתַּא ע '). On the other hand, ר and the gutturals ה, ח, ע change a preceding short vowel *ê*, *i*, or *u*, to *a*: בֶּר *son* (בֵּר), תַּרְתִּין *two*, (תַּרְתִּין*), לֵימֵר *he says*, (לֵימֵר*), יָדַע *knows*, נָגַה *is late*, אָמַר *says*, זָבַח *slaughters*, with *a* for *i*. But אֵמִינָא *I say* (for אֵמִרָא) and שְׂבִיעֵנָא *I was satisfied*, Col. MS., Meg. 7b.

¹ Cf. מֹר, *HG.*, 407, 417. Still the ך in some cases may simply denote קָמֶץ, not חֹלֶם. Cf. נִגְזֹל, *TG.* ed. Cassel. 41; נִטְמָא, *ibid.* 41, and G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 737.

² Jastrow, s. v. כָּבֵד, reads Nidd. 56^a כָּבֵד *I swept*, which, in his opinion, stands for כָּבֵד. But this is a mistake. As is evident from the next page, we have here כָּבֵד, 3. person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

§ 74. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times *ā* (or *i*) to *ū* (or *ō*). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects.¹ מִנְבֶּרֶת *man* (already in Bibl. Aram.), דּוּבְשָׁן *honey*, גִּרְפָּנָא *vine*, אֲרָמָא *leaven*, תְּרֹמְרָתָא *date-palm*, מִרְמָתָא *a weaving*, Sabb. 58 a, טוֹלָא *shade*, אִילָלָא *wine-pressing*, עוֹרְפִּילָא *rain-shower*, פּוֹרְצִידָא *grain of seed*, אֲוִרְזִילָא *the young of a gazelle*;² מוֹקְשָׁה inf. Qal of קָשׁ *to be difficult*, Yeb. 40 a; כּוֹתָח Pers. *kataḥ*, a certain dish.³

NOTE.—In פִּי *mouth*, we have an original nominative פִּי +mimation. In the first syllable of אֲוִרְזִילָא we have an attempt to render the Arabic غ.

FLUCTUATING VOCALIZATION.—§ 75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original form. Thus אִילָלָא *web* appears also as אִילָלָא, אִילָלָא, אִילָלָא, or אִילָלָא, and אִילָלָא; צִיִּצְלָא a kind of doves, אִילָלָא *fly*, appear also as אִילָלָא, אִילָלָא, and similarly many other words.⁴

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.—§ 76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of קִמְץ as it differs from פֶּתַח also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, בִּתְרָא, אֲמִרְיָא are pronounced בִּתְרָא, אֲמִרְיָא.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.—§ 77. Compensatory lengthening takes place in מִיִּילָא (§§ 77, 90), אֲיִיבָא a proper name, for אֲבָא (= Arab. أَبُ), בִּיִּיאָא *liar*, (= בִּהֲאָא; cf. § 77), עֵיִיפִיָא *its branches*, M. MS., Pes. 111 b, for עֵיִיפִיָא = עֵיִיפִיָא of eds.; הֲיִינָא, for הֲנָא = הֲנָא (§ 119); דִּיִּילָנִיָא *that they may lift him up*, 2 M. MS., M. Q. 28 b, for דִּיִּילָנִיָא;⁵ כּוֹכְבָא *star* (through an intermediate kakkabu); חֲצוֹצְרָתָא *trumpet*; שִׁינֹרָא *chain*; פִּרְכִּילִי *partridges*; צִיִּצְלָא or אִילָלָא a kind of doves; קִקְלָתָא *dung-hill*; שִׁינֹרָא *chain*; שׁוֹשְׁבִּינָא *sesame*; דּוּבְשָׁן or דִּיִּדְבָא *fly*; לִילָבָא *palm-branch*; שׁוֹשְׁבִּינָא *bridesman*; צִלְלִיבָא (= צִלְלִיבָא Caph'el of לִילָבָא).

HEIGHTENING AND DEPRESSION OF VOWELS.—§ 78. Short *u* is heightened to *ō* in a final syllable: אֲקִטְל, אֲקִטְל. Long *o* is

¹ It must be remembered that some of the forms with *u* may be by-forms.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 17 sq., *ZDMG.*, XXII., 455; Dalman, *op. cit.*, 65.

³ Cf. Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, XVII.; G. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.

⁴ Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 15.

⁵ G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 754, cites Bar Hebraeus to Ezr. 16:24, gaibhē for gabbē

sometimes pronounced *û* as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms קְטוּלִי, קְטוּלִי, etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes אֲנִי, אֲנִי, אֲנִי, אֲנִי; in the perfect with transposed final vowel קְטוּל (§ 71); in the names of the letters קוּף, קוּף; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs אֲנִי, אֲנִי, etc.

Final *ē*, *e*, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced *i*: אֲנִי *they*, חֲדָתִי, חֲדָתִי, *new*, etc., and in a few other cases; e. g., חֲדָתִי *his wife*, lit. *the one of his house*.

DIPHTHONGS.—§ 79. In diphthongs whose second element is *i* the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is *u* the latter is pronounced as *u* or *u*. Thus, בֵּיתָא *house*, בֵּיתָא *last*, are pronounced baitho, bathraitho, but טְרֵא *roast*, דְּרֵא *treading*, דְּרֵא *exactitude*, tavyo, dafšo, dafko.

Diphthongization.—§ 80. The vowels *i*, *e*, *ā*, change sometimes to *ai*. The vowels *ō* and *ū* to *au*. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.

a) *i* and *e*: אֲנִי אֲנִי *I became sick*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 b; אֲנִי *was satisfied*, B. Q. 113 b; אֲנִי *she committed adultery*, Sanh. 106 a; צֵיל *clear*, Sabb. 23 a 'Arūch; דֵּיק *pounded*, Bēṣā 14 b; לֵיק *connected*, Hull. 11 a; צֵיר *bound up*, פֵּיל *measured*, *ibid.* 105 b; צֵיר *are bound up*, B. M. 24 b, 108 b; דֵּיק *grit*; מְדוּל (=*מְדוּל* § 34) H. MS., B. B. 8 a.—אֲנִי *she brought up*, Sabb. 116 b; אֲנִי *they were soiled*, *ibid.* 124 b; שְׂרֵינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103 b; חֲפֵינָא *I cover*, MSS. B. M. 49 b; קֶצְרֵינָא *I shall cut down*, M. MS., *ibid.* 107 b; לְטִינָא *I cursed him*, B. B. 21 b; בְּנִי *thou buildest*, B. B. 4 a; מְלִטִי *thou cursest*, Sabb. 151 b; אֲמִטִי *thou hast brought*, Ber. 9 b; עָלָי *upon*, Yalq. MS., Yômā 83 b; עָלָי or עָלָי *upon him*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 a and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes יָנִי and יָנִי.¹

b) *ā*: פֵּינָא *a kind of dove*; פֵּינָא (= פֵּינָא) *we are hungry*, B. M. 83 a; אֲדַמֵּינָא *as long as they are wet* (*sibi*) (= אֲדַמֵּינָא), Pes. 111 b.

¹ Cf. דֵּיק, TG., ed. Harkavy, p. 5; דֵּיק, *ibid.*, 33, n. 10.

c) *û, ô*: אֲבִירוֹרִי *pinnacles*; הַדֶּשֶׁא *passage, habit*; הַדֶּלֶל *skain*; שֶׁוֹקֵא *thorn*; צִוְרוֹנִיתָא (= צִוְדִנִיתָא) *food*; הַדֶּקֶא *exactness*.

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.—§ 81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the *a*-vowel being placed after the *i* or *u*-vowel. In such a case the last are usually consonantized and the first lengthened: בִּיִּירִי, בִּאִירִי, *orchards*; הֶצִירָא, הֶצִירָא *pullet*; זִהֶרָא, זִהֶרָא, *rich landlord*; טִירִינָא, טִירִינָא, *armory*; פִּיתוֹנִיתָא, *plural fine linen shirt*; מִתְאָרָא, מִתְאָרָא, *poker*; טִיִּירָא, טִיִּירָא, *proud fool*; מִיִּישָׂא, מִיִּישָׂא, *proper name*; נְסִיבָא (n^sibâ, nisibâ), נִיִּיקָא, נִיִּיקָא, *ukn*; נֶשׁוֹרָא (nāšōrâ), קִיקָא, קִיקָא, *Qiqay*; שַׁרִיקָא (šariqâ), שַׁחֹרָא (šāḥôr).¹ Akin to this is the consonantization of the *u*-vowel in שְׁוֹלָא, שְׁוֹלָא (Syr ܫܘܠܐ) *lewd woman* (= תּוֹבַעַת).

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.—§ 82. *ā'ā* is contracted sometimes to *ā*. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. קִמָּא *first*, בִּתְרָא *last*, הֶדְרִיבָא *the Adiabenean*, לִיבָא *the Libyan*, שִׁירָא *silk*, נֶהֶרְדֵּא *the Nehardean* (Keth. 54 a, a. e.), אֶרְמָא *the heathen* (Col. MS., M. Q. 12 b), קִפְרָא if it mean *the Cypriote*, לְעִילָא *above*, לְתַתָּא *below, beneath*;² בִּנְיָא (= בִּנְיָא) Col. MS., Zeb., *passim*.

NOTE.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אֲבָא אֲרִיכָא as *Rab of Arēkhā*³ falls to the ground, since אֲרִיכָא might well stand for אֲרִיכָא. Jastrow in his dictionary vocalizes אֲרִיכָא and explains it by *one who arranges arguments, a lecturer*. In such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be אֲרִיכָא, not אֲרִיכָא. For although such forms may be found in the Targumim—cf. e. g. Levy's *Dict. on the Targ.*, s. v. נִדָּר—they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace

¹ Cf. Mišnic (פִּסָּא, פִּרִּיס, פִּאֲרִיס, פִּנָּאס, and קִסְיוֹרָא). Cf. also Assyrian *zi-arānu, ḫi'alānu, for zīrānu, ḫilānu*.

² With the two last words, some such word as צִדָּא *side* is to be understood.

³ *Op. cit.*, § 64 c.

through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that לָקַב by אֲרִיזָה, which is generally taken to mean *tall*, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as *well-arranged, well-balanced, thinker*. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read אֲרִיזָה as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲרִיזָה. For other explanations of the name cf. Muehlfelder, *Rabh.*, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, § 64; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v. אֲרִיזָה; Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Trad.*, III., 147, note 3; *Heḥālāq*, ix, 18 sq.

§ 83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: *ay* contracts to *ō*; *ai*, to *ē*, *i* (or *ā*). אָתַב *he placed*, אָתַנּוּ *they taught*, חָזַי *sees*, תָּלַי *hangs*, תִּשְׁלֵי *throwest*, בְּעִיתָן *you asked*, דָּקָן *clean*, בָּעֲנָן *we want*, Col. MSS. *passim*, מִצִּילָנָא *I pray*, M. MS., Ber. 28 a, and others. In nouns: אֲרִיזָלָא *young gazelle*, Syriac חֲבִמְלָא *his wife*. In qatl and qatal forms it is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization (§ 80). Thus זֵיתָא *olive*, מוֹתָא *death*, חוֹתָא *thorn*; but בֵּייתָא *veil*, בֵּייתָא (and בֵּיתָא) *house*, דֵּיירָא *inn*, זֵינָא *arms*, דְּוּלָא *bucket*. In the plural ending *ai* (*ā*): אֵינְשֵׁי *men*, אֲבָנֵי *stones*, מִלֵּי *words*.

RETENTION OF DISAPPEARING AND INSERTION OF NEW VOWELS.

—§ 84. *Pretonic Qameç*.—In some cases original *ā* in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to *ā*, as in Hebrew. Thus פִּשְׁוֹרָא, Assy. *gašûru*, *joist* (the variant פִּשְׁוֹרָא corresponds to Assy. *gušûru*); מִחֻזָּא *Māḥôzā*; חָזִי or חָאזִי *proper, fit*, for חָזִי; סִנִּי *hateful* (Col. MS., Meg., vocalizes סִנִּי), for סִנִּי; צָרִיךְ *necessary*, for צָרִיךְ; מִמּוֹנָא *money*; מַגִּישָׁא *Magian*.¹

§ 85. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case

¹ Cf. Targumic מִזֶּן, מִדּוֹן, מִדּוֹן (?), קִטּוֹרָתָא, כִּרְתִּי. Most of these nouns are evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original *a* sound. Cf. also Syriac מִכְּבִּדָּן, מִכְּבִּדָּן, מִכְּבִּדָּן, all loan-words. (A verb מִכְּבִּדָּן in the sense of the Hebrew חִנֵּף *to encamp* does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. לָעָרוּק let them run away, B. B. 8 a; לִנְגְרוּסֵי let them study, P. MS., Ber. 13 b; לַעֲבִידוּ let them do, B. B. 156 a; בִּשְׂלָה she cooked, Ned. 66 b; לִפְדּוֹקֵינוּ let him redeem us, Sanh. 105 b, and others.¹ עִבְדָּא deed; שִׁטְרָא document; צִלְחָתָא megrim; כּוֹבְסָא cluster of dates. (But cf. § 92.)

§ 86. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of the imperfect Pa'el take ē or i: אִיקְשִׁיל, אִיבְרִי; the preformatives of the imperfect Qal in ע"י and ע"ע stems: e. g., תִּיקֻם, תִּינַח, תִּיחַשׁ; a nominal form like תּוֹמְרָתָא; entirely new is the vowel in אֲבִיזָרָא (orig. abzār), אִיבִיבָא berry.

§ 87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. אֲשָׁתִי he drank, Sabb. 141 a; אֲנַמַּע he swallowed, Sukk. 49 b; אֲשָׁתִיק he kept silent, Pes. 17 a; אֲמַצִי he was able, Ned. 89 b; אֲיַמְהָא he objected, B. M. 110 a; אֲרִטְשָׁא he hid himself, A. Z. 70 a; אֲשָׁתִיקָא she drank, Yeb. 65 b; אֲשָׁתִיקָה she kept quiet, Qidd. 13 a; אֲשָׁתִיקוּ they kept quiet, Nāz. 32 a, Sôtā 35 a,² אֲשָׁחוּ drink ye, Sabb. 41 a; אֲנַטְרוּ wait ye, Ber. 53 b; אֲיָסַר was spoiled (§ 89), M. MS., Taan. 7 a; אֲיָן she committed adultery, K. MS., Sanh. 106 a, eds. אֲיָן (§§ 80, 89); אֲרָמָא blood.

§ 88. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the vowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. אֲנָרִי they will dwell, M. MS., Taan. 25 a; אֲיַמְּהוּ they appointed him, Sanh. 26 a; אֲכָרְגָא poll-tax; and others. Cf. § 91.

LOSS OF VOWELS.—§ 89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes. אֲנִיָּה became אֲנִיָּה* and then אֲנִי (v. § 94), אֲנָה, אֲתָ, אֲנָתִי, אֲתִי, became אֲנָה, אֲתָ. The loss of final *u* in אֲנָתִי, אֲתִי (v. § 94) is exceptional. In

¹ In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. Cf. also § 230, note.

² אֲיַמְרִיהָ B. M. 84 b does not belong here; it is Ithpe'el. Cf. מִימְרָא Keth. 57 b. The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect י and only differentiated orthographically. Cf. also Hommel, *B.A.*, II., 357.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.—A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. *Independent Personal Pronouns.*—§ 94. a) אֲנִי *I*; אַתָּה, rarely אַתָּה, *thou*; אִירָהוּ,¹ אִירָהוּ *he*; אִירָהוּ, אִירָהוּ *she*; אִירָהוּ, rarely אִירָהוּ, *we*; אִירָהוּ, rarely אִירָהוּ, אִירָהוּ, אִירָהוּ, *ye*; אִירָהוּ, rarely אִירָהוּ, *they*, masc.; אִירָהוּ *they*, fem.

b) REFERENCES: אֲנִי *I*, Ned. 5 a, 44 b; B. B. 59 b; a. fr.—אֲנִי *we*, Ned. 56 a, Ber. 56 b; a. fr. אֲנִי *we*, B. B. 164 a, Sanh. 11 ab (taken from Biblical Aramaic).—אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 5a, 21 a; a. fr. אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 91 b, Taan. 29 a; Sabb. 30 a; B. M. 26 b, 39b, 109 b; a. e.—אַתָּה *ye*, Ned. 50 b, 55 a; a. fr. אַתָּה *ye*, Sanh. 109 a. אֲנִי וְאַתָּה *I and ye*, Col MS., Pes. 110 a; אֲנִי הוּא *it is ye who did*, etc., M. MS., B. M. 73 a. אֲנִי *ye*, B. M. eds. 37 a. אֲנִי גוֹפִירְכִי *ye yourselves*. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110 a (V. L., a. l., n. 20). אַתָּה וְאַתָּה *ye and I are seven*; אֲנִי גוֹפִירְכִי *ye yourselves*, B. M. 37 a. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110 a (V. L., loc. cit.). אַתָּה וְאַתָּה *ye and I are five*.—אִירָהוּ *he*, Ned. 55 a; a. fr. אִירָהוּ *he, it is*, B. B. 111a; Ned. 51 a, 55 a; a. fr. אִירָהוּ *she*, Meg. 14 a; Nidd. 72 b; a. e. אִירָהוּ *she, it is*, Ned. 23 a, 50 a, 91 a; a. e.—אִירָהוּ *they*, masc., Ned. 20 b; a. fr. אִירָהוּ *they*, masc. and fem., in older language, Keth. 23 a; Ned. 42 b, 52 b; Naz. 47 b, 57 b, 64 b; Taan. 18 b; B. B. 165 b; Ber. 50 a; B. M. 104 b; a. e. אִירָהוּ *they*, fem., Ber. 44 a; Keth. 2 b; a. e.

§ 95. The demonstrative pronoun אִירָהוּ is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. Cf. Keth. 111 a, Meg. 16 a, Hull. 53 a, Bekh. 5 a.

§ 96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun אִירָהוּ *he, she*. אִירָהוּ אַתָּה *thou and she are relatives*, B. M. 67 a; in older texts it must have occurred more frequently; cf. אִירָהוּ אִירָהוּ *I and he*, Aruch Compl. Nid. 25 b; אִירָהוּ אִירָהוּ *he and she*, *ibid.* Gitt. 68 b. Kohut, *Ar. Compl.*, s. v., has also the variant אִירָהוּ.

¹ Col. MS., Meg. 16 a, vocalizes אִירָהוּ.

The word is identical with נִיְהֻלָּה or נִיְהֻלָּה originally *to her*, the ה having changed to ו or י. The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. Cf. $\text{נִיְהֻלָּה} = \text{נִיְהֻלָּה}$ M. MS., Sabb. 156 b, and li, lan, *I, we*, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'anā, 'anan.

§ 97. The forms אִיהִי , אִיהִי , אִיהִי , אִיהִי , are shortened from אִיהִיא , אִיהִיא , אִיהִיוֹן , אִיהִיוֹן , the first element אִי , אִי being demonstrative elements אִי , $\text{אִי} + \text{נ}$.¹ The forms הִיא , הִיא are used mostly as copula.²

b. *Enclitic Personal Pronouns*.—§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. α.	$\text{אִי}(\text{---})$	α. $[\text{אִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---})]$	$\text{אִי}(\text{---})$
β.	$[\text{אִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---})]$	β.	$[\text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---}), \text{נִי}(\text{---})]$
2. α.	$\text{אִי}(\text{---})$	α.	$\text{אִי}(\text{---})$
β.	$[\text{אִי}(\text{---})], \text{אִי}(\text{---})$	β.	$\text{אִי}(\text{---})$

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *thou art forbidden for me*, Sanh. 20 a; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *wilt thou marry me?* Keth. 81 b; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *wilt thou lead?* *ibid.* 63 a; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *thou collectest payment*, *ibid.* 43 b.

§ 100. The forms under α are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under β with ל"י verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.

§ 101. The plural forms under α are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded by שְׁבָא . For examples see §§ 271, 272.

¹ On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, cf. Fuerst, *Lehrg. d. aram. Id.*, p. 231 sq.; Hupfeld, *ZKM.*, II., 124 sq.; Boettcher, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 889, 2; Noeldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, pp. 68, n. 3, 92, n. 1; Duval, *Gram. Syriaque*, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, *Gram. d. aethiop. Sprache*, p. 267; Merx, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 167; Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. אִי ; Jastrow, *Diction.*, s. v. אִי . For the Neo-Syriac forms *abu*, *ahi*, *anhi*, cf. Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xxxvii, 293 sq. Cf. also Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 17.

² In later literature: $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *we*, HG. 319; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *thou (masc.)*, *ibid.* 403; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *ye*, *ibid.* 404; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ (masc.), *ibid.* 208; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ MV. 35; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ *he*, HG. 394; $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$ [= $\text{אִי}(\text{---})$] *she*, *ibid.* 305.

§ 102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives נ and ל with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the latter. לִיעֵינָךְ *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 b; לִיבִיטְלֵינָךְ *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 a; יִרְחֵינָךְ *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 b.

§ 103. Rosenberg¹ sees in forms like אֶקִּימָנָא (Sabb. 83 a, B. M. 86 a, a. e.), אֶדְבַּקָנָא (Sanh. 29 a), and אֶתִּיבָנָא (Sabb. 121 b), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneous; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; cf. below, § 106.

§ 104. The same author explains (*loc. cit.*) forms like תִּסְבְּרָא, תִּמְרָא, as composed of the respective verb and the singular pronoun of the second person "אָתָּ" with apocope of final "תָּ." The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like מִלְתָּא understood. Thus, תִּסְבְּרָא, תִּמְרָא, = תִּסְבְּרָהּ, תִּמְרָהּ; cf. נִצְרָכָה = נִצְרָכָא *we need it*; אֶתְמַרְהָ = אֶתְמַרְהָא *I wonder at it*.

§ 105. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuous use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely.² This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.

§ 106. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the singular in one and the same clause; e. g., וְדִכְנֵן נִמְרֵי דְאַמְרֵי לֵיהּ *and I (we) remember also having told him*, B. M. 8 b; דִּלְאוּ פְרָסְתָּהּ

¹ *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, p. 15.

² For a similar promiscuous use of the pronouns in other languages cf. Böttcher, *op. cit.* § 878.

לֹא מוֹקְמִינָן לֵיהּ for I (we) am not a Persian, eds. *ibid.* 28 b; אֲנָא I (we) should not explain it, Pes. 90 a; לִירוּק אֲנָא I spit out, M. MS., Sabb. 145 b; נִיקְוֵץ אֲנָא I shall cut down, B. M. 107 b.¹ This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy² and Th. Noeldeke³ into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic *nūn* in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלינא, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of ל"י verbs or are plurals used as singulars, or are due to both causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.

c. *Possessive Suffixes.*—§ 107.

SINGULAR.

With Singular Nouns.

With Plural Nouns.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. c. | יְיָ | אֲנִי, יְיָ, יְיָ |
| 2. m. | יְיָ, יְיָ | יְיָ, יְיָ |
| 2. f. | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ, יְיָ] | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ] |
| 3. m. | { יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ }
[יְיָ] | { יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ }
[יְיָ] |
| 3. f. | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ, יְיָ] | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ] |

PLURAL.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. c. | יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ, יְיָ] | יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ |
| 2. m. | יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ, יְיָ] | יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ] |
| 2. f. | יְיָ, יְיָ | יְיָ, יְיָ |
| 3. m. | { יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ }
[יְיָ] | { יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ, יְיָ }
[יְיָ] |
| 3. f. | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ, יְיָ] | יְיָ, יְיָ [יְיָ] |

§ 108. The form יְיָ arose from יְיָ by metathesis; יְיָ becoming יְיָ. From this form is derived the suffix 3d masc. sing. יְיָ. יְיָ, and יְיָ are Hebraisms. יְיָ is properly objective suffix. Forms in brackets are of rare occurrence. For examples, see Nouns.

¹ An analogous use of the plural is found in the Jerusalem Talmud; cf. M. Schlesinger's *Aram. Verb. im Jer. Talm.*, p. 15 sq.

² *Neuh. u. chald. Wb.* s. v. נ.

³ A. Rosenberg, *Das Aram. Verb. im Babyl. Talm.*, p. 23.

§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.

1. First person: אִמִּי *my mother*, M. Q. 20 *b*, a. e.; אִם *id.* M. Q. 12 *a*, Gitt. 70 *a*, Sabb. 66 *b*, Ber. 39 *b*, Yôm. 78 *a*, a. e.; אָבִי *my father*, M. Q. 20 *b*, Meg. 12 *b*, B. M. 59 *b*, a. e.; סִבָּתָא *my grandmother*, B. B. 125 *ab*; בֵּיר *my son*, Ber. 5 *b*; בִּרְתָא *my daughter*, Hull. 95 *b*, Keth. 54 *a*, 109 *b*; אִיתָא *my wife*, B. B. 132 *b*; בְּכוּלָּהּ יָדָא *into my whole hand*, Ber. 56 *b*; לְפִנֵּי יָדָא *to my bed*, *ibid.*; וְאַמְטִינְהוּ לְבֵיתָא *and bring them to my house*, Qidd. 22 *b*; מִן בֵּיתָא עַד בֵּי מְדֻרָּשָׁא *from my house to the college*, Ned. 59 *b*: (in the parallel passage Ber. 55 *a* we have אוֹשְׁפִיזָא *for* (בֵּיתָא). מַאי קָמָא *what is that before me?* i. e., how do I come to that? On קָמָא קָמָה = קָמֵן *before us*, see Levy, *Neuh. Wb.* s. v. קָמָא, I.

2. Third person: אִתְתָּא שְׂכִיבָא *his (thy) wife is going to die*, Ber. 56 *a*; קְטִילִינְהוּ לְכוּלְהוּ מְרוּוּתָא *he killed all his masters*, B. B. 3*b*; מִי אִיכָא אָבָא דְקָאִים מְקַמִּי בְרָא *would a father ever rise up before his son?* Keth. 62 *b*; גְּבָרָא דְקוֹלְסָא גְּבָרָא *whose husband is a kitchen-gardener*, Yeb. 118 *b*; גְּבָרָא דְשׁוּשְׁמָנָא גְּבָרָא *whose husband is as small as an ant*, *ibid.*

§ 110. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: מִי *my lord, sir*, frequently; כְּרִית *like me*, Col. MS., Pes. 105 *b*: נִפְשִׁי הִדְרָא נִפְשִׁי הִדְרָא *rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul*, *ibid.* 68 *b*; מִי *from me*, B. B. 142 *b*, M. MS., *ibid.* Hag. 22*b*, *ibid.* 15 *b*, V. L. ad l. n. 4, Er. 53 *b*. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.

§ 111. אִתָּא *there is* and לִיתָא *there is not*, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. אִתְתָּא *am*, Ned. 81 *a*; אִתְיֵן *Pes.* 50 *a*; M. MS., *ibid.* אִתְיֵן *we are*; אִתְיֵנִי *Yeb.* 116 *a*, אִתְיֵנִי *Pes.* 87 *b*, אִתְיֵנִי *ibid.* M. MS., *you are*; אִתְיָהּ *is*, B. Q. 46 *b*; אִתְנָהּ *they are*, R. H. 20 *a*, a. e., אִתְנָהּ, Tam. 5 *a*; אִתְנָן, Me'ilā 7 *a*, read אִתְנָן = *ibid.* 5 *b*; לִיתְנָהּ *they are not*, Zeb. 14 *b*, 18 *b*, a. e.; לִיתְנָהּ, Er. 46 *b*, Pes. 87 *b*; *ibid.* M. MS. לִיתְנָהּ; אִתְנָהּ *they are*, fem., Šebā 14 *b*.¹

¹ לִיתְנָהּ *he is absent*, Keth. 22 *a*, a. e., belongs to legal style. In אִתְנָן אִתְנָן *we are*, Pes. 50 *a*, אִתְנָן has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

d. Objective Suffixes.—§ 112.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. c.	יֵן, יֵרֵן, יֵאֵן, יֵתֵן, יֵיֵן.	יֵרֵן, יֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.
2. m.	יֵרֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.
2. f.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.
3. m.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.
3. f.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.	יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן, יֵרְנֵן.

§ 113. The distinction between the suffixes of the perfect and those of the imperfect are obliterated.

§ 114. The ך element in the suffixes is derived from the objective particle ך. This is clear from a form like דבליחה *that he swallow it*, Ned. 50 b, where the commentaries have דבלע ך in two words.

§ 115. נָּ , נֶּ are shortened forms for נִּיִּיָּה , נִּיָּה ; for נִיָּה , נִיָּה cf. the Targumic נִיָּה , נִיָּה . But it may also be a mistake of the copyists: נִיָּה stood for $\text{נִיָּה} = \text{נִיָּה}$; the sign of abbreviation was omitted and then written נִיָּה .— נִיָּה is so vocalized by the Col. MSS. The נִיָּה shows the presence of the energetic $nûn$.

B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 116. Those referring to a nearer object, or to the subject under consideration, are:

Sing. masc. (הַיָּד, הַיָּדִי, הַיָּדַי, and contracted הַיָּדָא, הַיָּדָי, הַיָּדַי, הַיָּדִי) *this, that*
fem. הַיָּדָא, הַיָּדָי, הַיָּדָי, הַיָּדָי, הַיָּדָי, הַיָּדָי; הַיָּדָא, Col. MS. הַיָּדָא,
contracted from הַיָּדָא.

Plur. masc. הָאֵלֶּיךָ, הָאֵלֶּיךָ, הָאֵלֶּיךָ *these, those.*
fem. הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ, הֵנּוּ.

§ 117. Those referring to a distant object are:

Sing. masc. הַהוּא, (הוּאֵה), הַהוּאֵה, הַהוּאֵה that one there.
fem. הַהִיא, הַהִיאֵה, (הִיאֵה).
com. הַהוּאֵה that one there, the other.

Plur. com. **אֵינֶה, הֵנֶה**.

§ 118. **אֵיךְ**, only in the phrase **אֵיךְ וְאֵיךְ** *both this and that, these and those*, is used for both genders and both numbers.

§ 119. REFERENCES: **הֵן** (הֵן+ן) Gitt. 85 *b*, a. e.; **הֵן** Ber. 38 *b*, B. Q. 99 *b*, Sanh. 31 *a*, Keth. 17 *a*, Sôt. 35 *a*, a. e.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן) (הֵנָּה), Ker. 25 *b*, Keth. 103 *a*, Me'ilā 12 *b*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzīr.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Gitt. 85 *b*.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Keth. 22 *a*, 89 *b*; Gitt. 85 *b*; B. M. 15 *a*, 18 *a*.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Col. MS., Zeb. 89 *a*.—**הֵנָּה** (contracted from **הֵנָּה**) frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Ned. 53 *a*, 55 *a*, a. e.—**הֵנָּה** Ned. 41 *a*, Sabb. 52 *b*, a. e.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Col. MS., Pes. 75 *b*.—**הֵנָּה** (only orthographically different from **הֵנָּה**), Pes. 53 *b*, B. M. 60 *a*, Bekh. 45 *b*.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), properly an adverb; MSS. Men. 3 *b*; **הֵנָּה** *all this*, Ber. 20 *b*; **הֵנָּה** *without this*, **הֵנָּה** *because of this*, frequent.—**הֵנָּה**, frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (= **הֵנָּה**), with compensatory lengthening (v. § 77), **הֵנָּה** Hüll. 11 *a*, eds.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Tam. 11 *a*, B. M. 90 *a*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzīr.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן = Hebr. **הֵנָּה**), B. M. 15 *a*, 67 *b*, 110 *a*; Taan. 17 *b*; B. B. 38 *a*, 63 *a*; Keth. 87 *a*. Only in legal style.—**הֵנָּה** (= **הֵנָּה**), properly a singular, Gitt. 31 *b*, 45 *b*; Men. 34 *b*, a. e.; **הֵנָּה** (contracted from **הֵנָּה**), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), only Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—**הֵנָּה**, *TF.*, p. 25.—**הֵנָּה**, *ibid.* 1.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן) frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן) frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (= **הֵנָּה**), Col. MS., Zeb. 49 *a*, a. e.¹—**הֵנָּה** or **הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), B. M. 86 *a*, Zeb. 43 *b*, Hüll. 90 *b*.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** or **הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (§ 69), M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן, § 119), frequent.—**הֵנָּה** (הֵנָּה+ן), Ar. 32 *b*, Bekh. 20 *b*, Me'ilā 15 *b*, a. e.²

§ 120. Forms in parentheses are of rare occurrence, and belong partly to the Palestinian dialects.

¹ The **הֵן** final in demonstrative pronouns is taken by M. Schultze (*Zur Formenlehre des Semit. Verbs*, p. 19, note 1) to be identical with the pronominal suffix of the 2d person; **הֵן** he translates *hic tibi, haec tibi*, **הֵן** would be *hae, hi, tibi*. In the latter form he sees the construct state of the absolute **הֵן**. That **הֵן** represents here the 2d person is, however, not necessarily the case, since one and the same pronominal element may represent different persons. Cf. *ZDMG.*, 1875, 172.

² *HG.*, ed. Hildesheimer, p. 96, **הֵנָּה**; *Se'elt.*, ed. pr., 86, **הֵנָּה**, **הֵנָּה**, **הֵנָּה**, *HG.* 491; **הֵנָּה**, *ibid.* 381. **הֵנָּה** *Letter of Condol. of Sam. Ha-Nāgīd to R. Hanan'el, Oḡar Tob*, II., 68; **הֵנָּה**, *ibid.* 226. Cf. for the demonstrative force of the **הֵן** the Arabic **هنا**, **هنا**, **هنا**, *Hebr. הֵנָּה*, *HG.* 374.—Cf. Targumic **הֵנָּה** *he*. **הֵנָּה** (= **הֵנָּה**) *MP.* 25. **הֵן** *this* (legal style), *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 555.

§ 121. הָא is often joined to the following word, in which case the final א, which marks the length of the vowel, is not written. *E. g.*, הָרִין, הַשָּׂא, הַכְּתִיב, הָא רִין=הַכְּתִיב, הָא שֵׁעָא, הָא רִין=הַכְּתִיב.

§ 122. הָא, הוּא, הִיא sometimes unite with a preceding word, in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change. Thus, הָא+לָא becomes לֹא *is not*; אֵין הוּא becomes אֵינִי, אֵין הִיא becomes אֵינִי *is not*; מַה הוּא is contracted to מַהוּ *how is it, how about?* and others. אֵדֶה+הָא becomes אֵדְהִיא; מַאי=מַה הוּא; הֵינָא=הִי+נָה; הֵינָא=הִי+נָה.

C. COPULATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 123. *a)* The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

Masc. sing. נִיהוּ¹

Masc. plur. נִיהוּ

Fem. sing. נִיהוּ

Fem. plur. נִיהוּ

b) REFERENCES: מַאי נִיהוּ *what is it?* Ned. 38 *b*; הוּא נִיהוּ *that it is, the very thing, ibid.*; אֵנָא נִיהוּ *it is I*, Taan. 24 *b*; מַאן נִיהוּ *who is it?* Pes. 104 *a*; מִי יָדְעָא הֵיכָא נִיהוּ *do I know where he is?*—נִיהוּ Ber. 44 *a*, Hull. 43 *b*, *a. e.*—נִיהוּ מִינָא נִיהוּ *they all belong to one and the same kind*, Hull. 79 *a*; and frequently.—נִיהוּ Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, 9*b*, *a. e.*; *TF. 9.*

§ 124. Luzzatto² and Nöldeke³ consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix נ, and the initial א lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) considers to be a mutilated אן=הֵן, הֵנָּה. Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה, etc., where that particle also exhibits a

¹ Col. MS. Alfasi on Beḥa 16*b* vocalizes נִיהוּ, *i. e.*, נִיהוּ (§ 80). *Se'elt.*, ch. 13, has נִיהוּ.

² *Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon.*, § 52.

³ *Mand Gramm.*, p. 92, n. 1.

verbal force; but *cf.* Duval's objection, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 168, note 2. Merx (*Gram. Syr.*, p. 168) derives נִינְהוּ from a supposed form 'inin + hu through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter נִיהוּ through syncope of medial ה. I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable נִי, a contraction of נְהִי, which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of נְהִי = לְהִי, the third person singular of the imperfect of הָיָה, *to be*. That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew הֵנָּה may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of הָיָה is found in the term הַיָּיִת *granted*, which is a compound of הָיָה and יָיִת.¹

W. H. Lowe² has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed ה changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (*loc. cit.*) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher³ also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.

§ 125. 1. הַיָּיִת, הַיָּיִת, frequent; הַיָּיִת Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a*; הַיָּיִת Col. MS., Zeb. 13 *b*; M. MS., Pes. 60 *a*, *this is, these are*, are contractions of הִי *this* and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form הִי נִיהוּ is cited V. L. ad Men. 92 *b*, notes 2, 3.⁴

2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with the copulative pronouns: M. MS., Taan. 20 *b* (*bis*) הַיָּיִת נִינְהוּ *these are*.

§ 126. הַיָּיִת הַיָּיִת means: *this is one and the same*, e. g., הַיָּיִת וְהַיָּיִת מְנַחֵם Wardimas and Menaḥem are one and the same person, Sabb. 118 *b*.

¹ Levy, *Nh. u. ch. Wb.*, s. v. הַיָּיִת.

² The Fragm. of T. B. Pesahim, p. 38, note 1.

³ מְרַשָּׁא לְשׁוֹן אַרְמִי, p. 71.

⁴ According to Halévy, *ZA.* IV., 59, הַיָּיִת is a contraction of הָיָה + הִי + אִי !

§ 127. *הֵינּוּ* is sometimes used as a simple copulative pronoun: 'דִּלְכָּא הֵינּוּ אֲזִירְהִי *this is something unusual*, Mun. MS., Sanh. 48 a. *מָאִי הָיִי* differs from *הָיִי מָאִי*; the first meaning *what is it?*¹ the latter, *what would it become?*

D. RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§ 128. a) The older form of the relative pronoun *הֵי* occurs only in the Palestinian recension of Aboth I., 13, in legal style, in the combinations *הֵילְ—, הֵידְ—, (הֵי + לְ), (הֵי + דְ)*² of the emphatic possessive pronouns, and at times in the combination *הֵילְכָא (הֵי + לָא)* *that not*. I have found besides but two examples of it: *הֵי לָא תִּפְּדוּ בְּגֻחִלְתִּי* *that you may not share my fate*, Meg. 16 a, and *עַד הֵי קָטַל* *until he had killed*, Sanh. 96 b. The usual form of it is *הֵי*.

b) REFERENCES: *הֵילִי* *mine*, B. M. 109 b, Ned. 50 a, 61 a; *הֵילְךְ* *thine*, B. M. 109 b, Ned. 5 a; *הֵילְהָ* *her*, Naz. 30 a, Ned. 36 b, 70 a, Sabb. 80 b, B. B. 33 b; *הֵילְךְ* *our*, Ned. 49 a; *הֵילְכוֹךְ* *your*, B. Q. 117 b; *הֵילְכוֹךְ*, Suk. 44 a; *הֵילְהוֹךְ* *their*, Gitt. 84 b, B. Q. 117 b; *הֵילְהוֹךְ* Sukk. 44 a.—*הֵידִי, הֵידְךְ, הֵידְהָ, הֵידְהוּ, הֵידְךְ, הֵידְכֶּה, הֵידְהוּ, הֵידְהוּ*, frequent.

c) The usual form of the possessive is *הֵידְ—*; the form *הֵילְ—* occurs but seldom. *הֵידְ* is a reduplication of the relative *הֵי*.

d) Instead of the usual *וְהֵילְךְ* we find *וְהֵילְךְ* TF., p. 7.

E. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 129. a) *מָאִי (מִי) who?* *מָה (מַה) what?* *הֵי* *which, which one?* *הֵי הָיִי, הֵי הָיִי, הֵי הָיִי* *which now (quisnam?)* *מָה הָיִי* *what now (quidnam?)* *מָה הָיִי* *what is it?* *הֵי הָיִי* *or הֵי + הָיִי* *which is it?* *מָה הָיִי* *what is it?* *מָה הָיִי* *who is he? whose is it? מָה הָיִי* *who is she? whose is it?*³

b) REFERENCES: *מָה, מָה, מָה, מָה, מָה*, frequent.—*מִי* A. Z. 41 b; *מָה אֲתוֹן בֵּיהּ* *how do you deal with it?* *הֵי* frequent; *הֵי הָיִי*, Men. 109 a; *הֵי הָיִי*, Ned. 26 b; *הֵי הָיִי* Tam.

¹ Cf. Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

² Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 87; cf. Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, pp. 19, 55, 181.

³ *מָאִי* is a contraction a) in some cases of *מָה הָיִי*, b) in other of *מָה הָיִי* (§ 122).

TF. vocalizes *מָאִי*.

⁴ HG. 71, *הֵי*; *ibid.* 233, *הֵי*; *ibid.* 438, *הֵי*. *Se'el.*, pp. 6, 77, 80, 83, has *הֵי הָיִי*, *ibid.* HG. 178, a. e. *הֵי הָיִי* *Se'el.* I.; HG. 95, 104, a. e. *הֵי הָיִי* HG. 276. *מָה, מָה* used for *מָה* HG. 22, 25, 68, 263.

32 *a*; MSS. Zeb. 69 *a*; מְדִי MS. R. 117, B. M. 2 *b*, Pes. 90 *b*; מִי־דִי M. MS., B. M. 2 *b*; מִי־דִי (= מִדֵּה + נִדְדִי) M. MS., B. B. 8 *a*; הִי־נִי, Naz. 12 *a*.—מִי־נִי מִי־נִי *which of them?* B. B. 12 *b*, for the usual מִי־נִי מִי־נִי *why should he swear?* F. MS., B. M. 82 *b*.

F. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

a. Positive Indefinites.—§ 130. פֶּלֶן,¹ פֶּלֶןִּי *Mr. So and So, N. N.*; פֶּלֶןִּי־מִי *Mrs. or Miss So and So.*—מִי־מִי *sombody.*—מִי־מִי־מִי *something*, מִי־מִי־מִי *something.*—מִי־מִי־מִי *somebody*; מִי־מִי־מִי *it is known that the place belongs to this or that man*, B. M. 21 *b*; *cf. ibid.* 23 *a*.—וְהַיֵּה וְהַיֵּה *this and that, so and so.*—וְהַיֵּה . . . וְהַיֵּה *the one . . . the other*; מִי . . . מִי *the one . . . the other* M. Q. 25 *b*.

§ 131. מִי־מִי *est qui, sunt qui* is used in the sense of *some*: מִי־מִי *some say*.

§ 132. כָּל־מִי *the whole world* is sometimes used in the sense of *anybody, anyone, everybody*.

§ 133. חֵילֶק and חֵילֶק are used like our *Tom, Dick and Harry* for *anyone*: אֲנִי לֹא חֵילֶק וְלֹא חֵילֶק אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי וְלֹא חֵילֶק אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי *I know no Hillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition*, Hull. 19 *a*; חֵילֶק וְחֵילֶק אֲנִי לֹא חֵילֶק *shall Hillāq and Billāq enjoy it?* Sanh. 98 *b*.

§ 134. כָּל *all, every*; כָּל־מִי *everybody, everyone*; כָּל־מִי וְכָל־מִי *each and everyone*; . . . כָּל־מִי *whoever*; . . . כָּל־מִי *whoever, whatever*; . . . כָּל־מִי *whatever*; כָּל־מִי *whatsoever*; כָּל־מִי־מִי *anything* (Ned. 49 *a*).

b. Negative Indefinites.—§ 135. . . לֹא־מִי, לֹא־מִי־מִי *none, nobody, no one.*—לֹא־מִי . . . לֹא־מִי . . . לֹא־מִי *nothing*.

¹ In later literature פֶּלֶן is used also for inanimate objects: פֶּלֶןִּי *for so and so much money* So'elt, 36; פֶּלֶןִּי *in such and such a place*, *ibid.* 51.

² In the opinion of Professor Haupt מִי־מִי is not a mutilated form of מִי־מִי but is the Hebrew מִי, מִי, *sufficiency* + מִן *from*; literally, *of a sufficiency*.

³ In Palmyrean מִי־מִי, *cf. ZDMG.* 42, 398, where the word is vocalized wrongly מִי־מִי; read מִי־מִי. Assy. mindēma.

⁴ This is perhaps connected with the Arabic (جاء) مُلَقَ *misfortune*.

NUMERALS.

A. Cardinals.—§ 136.

a) With Masculine Nouns.

With Feminine Nouns.

1. 'א	חַד	חֶדֶא
2. 'ב	תְּרִין, תְּרִי, תְּרִי	תְּרִיתִין, תְּרִיתִי, תְּלָתִי
3. 'ג	תְּלָתָא	תְּלָת
4. 'ד	תְּאַרְבַּעַא, אַרְבַּעַי	אַרְבַּע
5. 'ה	תְּחַמְשָׁא	חֲמִשׁ
6. 'ו	תְּשֵׁתָא	שֵׁית or שֵׁית
7. 'ז	תְּשַׁבְּעָא, (שַׁבְּעַת)	שֶׁבַע or שֵׁב, שַׁבַּע
8. 'ח	תְּאַמְנִיָּא	אַמְנִי or תְּאַמְנִי
9. 'ט	תְּאַשְׁעָא, (אַשְׁעַת)	אַשְׁע
10. 'י	תְּעֶשְׂרָא	עֶשֶׂר
11. י"א	*חַד סַר, חַד עֶשֶׂר	*חַד סְרִי, חֲדִי סְרִי
12. י"ב	*תְּרִי סַר, תְּרִי עֶשֶׂר, תְּלִיסַר	תְּרִיתִי סְרִי, תְּרִי סְרִי
13. י"ג	*תְּלִיסַר סַר, תְּלָת עֶשֶׂר, תְּרִיסַר	*תְּלִי סְרִי, תְּלָת עֶשְׂרִי, תְּלָת עֶשְׂרֶה, תְּלָת סְרִי,
14. י"ד	אַרְבַּיסַר, אַרְבַּעַסַר	אַרְבַּע סְרִי
15. ט"ו	חַמִּיסַר	חֲמִשׁ סְרִי, חֲמִשׁ עֶשְׂרֶה
16. ט"ז	*שֵׁית סַר, *שֵׁיתִי סַר, ט"ז, י"ו	*שֵׁית סְרִי, שֵׁית עֶשְׂרֶה
17. י"ז	*שֶׁבַע סַר, שְׁיבַסַר	*שֶׁבַע סְרִי, שֶׁבַע עֶשְׂרֶה, שֶׁבַע עֶשְׂרֶה
18. י"ח	*תְּאַמְנִי סַר, תְּאַמְנִי עֶשֶׂר	*תְּאַמְנִי סְרִי
19. י"ט	תְּאַשְׁסַר, תַּשְׁ תְּאַשְׁסַר, תַּשְׁ	תְּאַשְׁסַרִי, תַּשְׁסַרִי, תַּשְׁ עֶשְׂרֶה

20. 'כ	עֶשְׂרִין, עֶסְרִין	60. 'ס	שְׁתִּין, שְׁתִּי	100. 'ק	מֵאָה
30. 'ל	תְּלָתִין, תְּלִיסַר	70. 'ע	שַׁבְּעִין	200. 'ר	מֵאתָן, מֵאָתִי
40. 'מ	אַרְבַּעִין	80. 'פ	תְּאַמְנִין, תְּאַמְנִין	1,000. 'א	תַּת"ר, אַלֶּה
50. 'נ	חַמְּשִׁין	90. 'צ	תַּשְׁעִין	10,000. 'ר	רַבּוּא, רַבְּבָתָא(?)

b) REFERENCES: תַּלְתִּי, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 a.—תַּנִּי, with original *nān*, as in תַּנִּין, Col. MS., M. Q. 9 a.—אַרְבַּעַי: B. B. 30 a, 60 a; Er. 50 b; Col. MS., Pes. 13 a; a. e.—שְׁבַעַת: Keth. 67 b; תַּשְׁעַת: B. B. 62 b.—חֲדָיִסְר: Taan. 18 b.—הָדִי כִּרִי: Col. MS., Zeb. 58 b.—חַד עֶשֶׂר: Nidd. 54 a.—חַד כִּרִי: R. H. 21 a; a. e.—חֲדֵי כִּרִי: Keth. 62 b; a. e.—תַּרְי: עֶשֶׂר: 2 M. MS., Yôm. 69 b, 84 a; a. e.—תַּלְיִסְרִי: B. B. 133 b; Gitt. 68 b.—תַּלְתַּת עֶשְׂרֵה: Ned. 41 a.—תַּלְתַּת עֶשְׂרֵה: Taan. 14 b.—תַּלְתַּת עֶשֶׂר: Keth. 77 b.—תַּלְתַּת כִּרִי: Ber. 55 b.—אַרְבַּסְרִי: Ar. 12 b; Col. MS., Meg. 17 a.—אַרְבַּע כִּרִי: Ar. 12 a; Sabb. 98 b.—אַרְבַּסְרִי: Pes. 4 a, 9 b; Col. MS., Meg. 2 b.—חֲמִשַּׁת עֶשְׂרֵה: Ar. 12 a.—שִׁית עֶשְׂרֵה: B. B. 91 b.—שְׁתֵּי כִרִי: Col. MS., Meg. 2 b, 6 a.—שֶׁבַע עֶשְׂרֵה: B. B. 91 b.—שְׁבַע עֶשְׂרֵה: Er. 83 a.—שִׁיבְסִר: Er. 76 b, Meg. 2 a.—שֶׁבַסְרִי: Bekh. 50 a.—תַּשְׁיִסְרִי: Ber. 28 b.—תַּשְׁסְרִי: Sabb. 17 b.—תַּשְׁיִסְרִי: Ar. 12 a.—תַּשַּׁע עֶשְׂרֵה: M. MS., Taan. 13 b.—תַּשְׁסִּר: Nidd. 54 a.—עֶסְרִין: Col. MS., Meg. 6 a, 17 a.—תּוֹלְתִין: Col. MS., Pes. 68 b.—שְׁתֵּי: Col. MS., Pes. 111 a.—שְׁתֵּין, Col. MS., Meg. 7 b, vocalizes שְׁתֵּין.—תַּמְנִין: Ar. 13 a; a. e.—תַּמְנִן: B. Q. 115 a; a. e.—מֵאֲתֵי: Col. MS., Pes. 64 b.—רְבּוּא: Sanh. 39 a. מֵאָה does not occur in the plural. אֶלֶה, in the construct state perhaps אֶלְהָ, in the emphatic state אֶלְפָּה; in the plural אֶלְפִּין (Ned. 50 b), אֶלְפִּן (Keth. 106 a), and usually אֶלְפִּי.

The plural of רְבּוּא is רְבּוּאִין (Ned. 50 b), רְבּוּאָן (M. MS., A. Z. 16 a), רְבּוּוֹן (Hull. 7 a), and commonly רְבּוּוֹתָא (Sanh. 26 a, Gitt. 57 a, Pes. 62 b); that of רְבֻבָּתָא is רְבֻבִין (Sanh. 16 a), רְבֻבָּתָא (Ber. 6 a), and רְבֻבּוֹתָא or רְבֻבּוֹתָא (MS. Karlsr. and R. Hananel, Sanh. 26 a).¹

§ 137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in הָ; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetical forms are in the construct state.

§ 138. The ending יָן is contracted to יִן, (יִי), יִן, יִן, in the numerals for 2, 80, and 200. Final *a* has been changed to *e* under the influence of adjacent ע in אַרְבַּעַי, חֲדָיִסְר, תַּלְיִסְר, and the like (§ 73). The ending *e* in תַּמְנִי represents an original *ai*. For the sifting of vowel in תַּמְנִי for תַּמְנִי, תּוֹלְתִין for תַּלְתִּין, cf. § 92.

¹ The ך here may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural; but may also represent ךֿ; cf. § 70.

REFERENCES: **בִּי תְּרִי** frequent; **בִּיתְרִי** Col. MSS.; **בִּי תְּרִין** two, Sanh. 95 a; **בִּי תִלְתָּא** three, Sanh. 8 a; **בִּי אַרְבַּעַה** four, Šebu. 42 a; **בִּי חֲמִשָּׁה** five, Yeb. 101 b; **בִּי עֶשְׂרֵה** ten, Er. 30 a, Sôta 38 b; **בִּי עֶשְׂרִין וּתְלָתָא** twenty-three, Sanh. 8 a; **בִּי מֵאָה** a hundred, Ber. 50 a, Yeb. 88 a.¹

§ 144. **בִּי תְּרִי** two takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to **תְּרִין**.² Thus, **תְּרִין** we both, Šebu. 37 b; **תְּרִין** you both, B. Q. 60 b; **תְּרִין** they both, Keth. 83 b; **תְּרִין** Hull. 45 b; **תְּרִין** Col. MS., M. Q. 31 a.³

§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (*op. cit.* § 63), that the compound numbers in **כִּי** are of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in **כִּי**, if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.

§ 146. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. 56 b, the name Cappadocia is explained **כַּפָּא כְּשׁוֹרָא דִּיקָא עֶשְׂרֵה**. "Kappa" means beam, "dika" means ten (*déka*). Er. 18 a **דִּין** (*δύο*) two, twice. Naz. 8 b **שְׁלוֹשׁ טְרִיגִין שְׁתֵּים טְרִיגִין** *Symmachos* says: *έν* means one, *δίγυνος* two, *τρίγυνος* three, *τετραγώνιον* four, *πεντάγυνος* five (fold). B. B. 164 b **הֵיאָא**, *éva*, one. M. Q. 28 a 'Ēn Ya'aḳōb ed. princ. **אֵינָא** id. 'Ar. Sanh. 89 a the Persian numeral **هزار** 1000, occurs in the Persian phrase **כַּאֲרֵהָזָר פִּנְא** *an ass of a thousand colors*.

B. Ordinals.—§ 147. Sing. masc. **קַמָּא**, **קַמָּאָה**, **קַמָּאָה** (Ned. 40 a, 51 a); fem. **קַמִּיתָא**, **קַמִּיתָא**; plur. masc. **קַמָּאִי**, fem. **קַמִּיתָא**, **קַמִּיתָא** *first*.

¹ In later literature: **בִּיתְרִי** HG. 364, 489; **בִּיתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 62, 65; **בִּיתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 489, 490; **בִּיאַרְבַּעַה** *ibid.* 501.

² Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 4.

³ In later literature: **תְּרִין** HG. 282; **תְּלָתִין** *they three*, *ibid.* 61; **תְּרִין** *they four*, *ibid.* 398. For the **דגש** in these forms, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 49, and Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, § 65, 1, u. 1.

§ 148. Sing. masc. תַּנְיִנָּה, תַּנְיִין (Ned. 21 *a*, 63 *a*), תַּנְיִנָּתָא ('Ar. Gitt. 6 *a*), *second*; תַּלְיִתָּא, תַּלְיָתָא *third*; רְבִיעָא *fourth*; שְׁבִיעָא *seventh*, Nidd. 67 *b*; עֲשִׂירָא *tenth*. Plur. fem. רְבִיעִיתָא *fourth*.

§ 149. The expression קָמָא קָמָא (Gitt. 12 *b*, B. B. 97 *a*, Pes. 7 *a*) corresponds to the later Hebrew ראשון ראשון, meaning *by and by, by degrees, gradually, successively*. Plur. masc. קָמָא קָמָא, Pes. 7 *a*.²

§ 150. Sabb. 31 *b*, 88 *a*, Ar. 13 *a*, תַּלְתָּא is used in the sense of *triple*.

§ 151. *a*. Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives:—Sing. masc. אַחֲרִינָּא *another*; אוּחְרִינָּא, Col. MS. Pes.; אוּחְרִינָּא *TF.*, p. 11; fem. אַחֲרִיתָא, אַחֲרִיתִי, אַחֲרִינָּתָא (R. H. 18 *b*), אַחֲרִינָּתָא, אַחֲרִינָּתִי (Yeb. 64 *b*) אַחֲרִינָּתִי (Col. MS. Pes.), אוּחְרִי (Qid. 47 *a*, B. M. 15 *a*, *a. e.*).—Plur. masc. אַחֲרִינִי, אוּחְרִינִי (Col. MS. Pes.) אַחֲרִינִי, *TF.*, p. 12, אוּחְרִינִי, *ibid.* 17; fem. אַחֲרִינָּתָא (Ned. 20 *b*, 22 *a*).

b. Sing. masc. בְּתָרָא, בְּתָרִי; fem. בְּתִירָא, בְּתִירִיתָא; plur. masc. בְּתָרִי; fem. בְּתִירִיתָא *the last, the latter*.—תְּרִי כְּסִי בְּתָרִי לְבָתָרִי דְּאַתָּה בְּתָרָךְ *the last two cups*, Pes. 108 *b*; לְבָתָרִי דְּאַתָּה בְּתָרָךְ *to my successors (descendants) who are to come after thee*, A. Z. 10 *b*.

C. Fractional Numbers.—§ 152. Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations, partly by various constructions of the cardinals. The separate formations are: תַּלְתָּא, תַּלְתָּא, תַּלְתָּא (Sabb. 87 *a*, ed. Sonc.) $\frac{1}{3}$; רִיבְעָא $\frac{1}{4}$; חֲמִישָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$; שְׁחִיתָא, שְׁחִיתָא $\frac{1}{6}$.

§ 153. תַּלְתָּא חֲמִישִׁי $\frac{2}{5}$, Sukk. 32 *b*; תַּלְתָּא פְּלִגִּי $\frac{2}{3}$, Sabb. 34 *b*; תַּלְתָּא רִיבְעִי $\frac{3}{4}$ *ibid.*; תַּלְתָּא תַּלְתִּי $\frac{3}{5}$, *ibid.* 35 *a*; תְּרִי תַּלְתִּי $\frac{2}{3}$, *ibid.* 35 *a*; פְּלִגְיָהוֹן *fifths*, Tem. 27 *a*; פְּלִגְיָהוֹן *the half of them*, B. B. 8 *a*.³

§ 154. In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word ܠܬܠܬ, the second ܬ being spirantic when it means *three years*

¹ In later literature: Sing. fem. תַּנְיִנָּתָא, *HG.* 250; תַּנְיִנָּתָא, *MV.* 101; תַּלְיִתָּא, *HG.* 250; רְבִיעִיתָא, רְבִיעִיתָא *MV.* 101; חֲמִישִׁתָּא *HG.* 379; עֲשִׂירִיתָא *ibid.*—Masc. חֲמִישָׁתָא *ibid.* 618; שְׁחִיתָא *ibid.*; תַּמְיִנָּתָא *ibid.*; תַּמְיִנָּתָא *ibid.* 620. The ninth must have been תַּשְׁעִיתָא, תַּשְׁעִיתָא*.

² Cf. Luzzatto, *op. cit.*, § 64, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³ In later literature: תַּרְתָּא $\frac{1}{2}$, *HG.* 127; חֲמִישָׁתָא $\frac{1}{5}$, *ibid.* 487.

בְּחֵרִיק (Col. MS., Pes. 96 a) *wherever, in all cases where.*—לְעֵיל, לְעֵילָא *there, in that case.* תַּם, תַּמָּן *there.*—לְעֵילָא, מֵעֵילָא, מֵעֵילָא, *above, upward, on top, supra.*—לְקַמָּן *beneath, below, ahead, further, infra.*—מִלְּרַע (Sabb. 92 a), מִלְּתַחַת (Bekh. 8 b), לְחוּתָא (M. MS., Bēṣā 15 a), לְתַתָּא (B. B. 45 a), לְתַתָּא (B. Q. 23 b), מִתַּתָּא *beneath, underneath, down, below* (§§ 82, 158).¹

§ 158. With the forms in אֵלָא, אֵלָא, some such word as צָדֵיק is to be understood. On לְעֵילָא, לְתַתָּא, see above, § 82. The א in אֲבָרָא, אֲנָרָא is prothetic. הָרַם, הָרָא are compounds of הָא and רָם, Hebr. שָׁם, and פָּא, Hebr. פֶּה, respectively. In תַּמָּן and לְקַמָּן (= ל + קָדָם + ן) we have the demonstrative element ן. The reading of the latter לְקַמָּן and not with Levy לְקַמָּן is warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In אֲנָבָא we have a compound of א (= עַל) and נָבָא; הָרָא, הָרָא consist of פָּא and הָא respectively. In מִתַּתָּא (= מִן + תַּתָּא) and לְתַתָּא (ל + תַּתָּא) we have syncope of ת.

Adverbs of Time.—§ 159. אֵדֵר, אֵדֵר Col. MS. אֵדֵר, *while, when, when not yet.*—אֵדֵרֵי וְהֵרֵי, אֵדֵרֵי (Col. MS., Meg. 16 a vocalizes אֵדֵרֵי), *meanwhile, in the meantime.* הָאֵדֵרָא, הָאֵדֵרָא (= הָא + עֵדֵרָא), *now, this time, nowadays.* אֵימָת (Col. MS., Meg. 12 a vocalizes אֵימָת), *when.*—כָּל אֵימָת *whenever, as long as, as often as.*—אֵפְתִי, אֵפְתִי, אֵפְתִי (Col. MS.) *still, yet, even now.*—מִן לְאַתֵּר, מִן לְאַתֵּר (Ned. 4 b, Rašī, *ibid.*, has מִן לְאַתֵּר), *on the spot, at once.*²—שְׁתָּא קְדָמִיתָא (= שְׁתָּא + prothetic א) *last year.*—לְאַתֵּר, לְאַתֵּר, *after, later on.*—בֵּינֵי בֵּינֵי *in the meanwhile.*—דִּיאֵבֵר, דִּיאֵבֵר (Col. MS., Zeb. 32 a, with apocope of ר and change of ע to א), *lit. when it was done, ex post facto.*—הָא *already, since.*—הַשְׁתָּא *now, at present.*—זִימְנִין *sometimes.*—אֵימָלָא *yesterday.*—לְיומָהּרָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 84 a), לְיומָהּרָא (B. M. 17 a), לְיומָהּרָא (*ibid.* H. MS.), לְיומָהּרָא (*ibid.* ed. Ven.), לְיומָהּרָא (*ibid.* F. MS.), *after-to-morrow.*—כֵּד, כֵּי, *when.*—כֵּדָא *now; when he.*—כֵּדָא *since, as*

¹ הָרָא *here*, HG. 477 (bis); אֵרָא *where*, *ibid.* 63, 69, a. o.; לְתַתָּא, *ibid.* 315.

² The statement of the dictionaries that אֵלָא occurs only with ל is to be corrected accordingly.

said verb; it occurs also in the form הַתִּינָה. The above and בְּשִׁלְמָא are synonymous. The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority (e.g. of Scripture) as compared with that indicated by the use of the former. Note the expression בְּרֵי הָכִי *such a one, such a fellow*.

Adverbs of Quantity.—§ 162. אֵינְנָד (Gittin, 58 a) according to Raši, *ad. loc.* = בְּצִיר *a little*.—טַב, טוֹבָא *a good deal, much*.—לְגַמְרִי *entirely*.—טַפִּי, טַפְיָא, סְרִיחַ, *more*.—וְיָתִיר, *more, greatly*.—כָּל כְּמָה דִּ—כּוֹפֵי הָאִי, כָּל הָכִי (lit. *all this*) *so much!*—כָּל כְּמָא דִּ—כָּל כְּמָא דִּ (Col. MS., M. Q. 6 a), *as much as*.—כְּמָה *how much, how many!* . . . טַפִּי . . . כְּמָה דִּ *the more . . . the more*: R. H. 26 b, כְּמָה דְכִיָּהּ אֵינִישׁ דְּעִתִּיהָ טַפִּי מַעֲלִי *the more one bends his mind the better it is*.—כָּל דְּהוּ *the least possible quantity, whatsoever*.—כְּמָה דְאֶפְשָׁר *as much as possible*.—פּוֹרְתָא *a little, a trifle*.—קַלִּיל, קָלִי *a little*.—רַבָּא *much, very much*.

Interrogative Adverbs.—§ 163. אֵימַת, אֵימַת (Col. MS.) *when?*—אֵינִי *is it really so?*—אֵדְוִיָּא *to which does this refer?*—לְאִי *for what purpose?*—לְאִיָּהּ (לְאִי + הָא) *whither?* (TF., p. 26).—הֵי, הֵיכָא¹ (Col. MS.), *where?*—לְהֵיכָא *whither?*—הֵי כִי, הֵיכִי (MS., Vat. 117, B. M. 67 b), מֵנָּא *whence?*—מֵנָּא, מֵנָּא, מֵנָּא, מֵנָּא *whence?*—הֵיכִי, הֵיכִי, אֵטוּ, מִפְּדִי², מִיָּדִי, *how?*—אֵטוּ, אֵטוּ, *do you mean to say?* *is it because? how!? what!?*—אֵי (Ned. 3 a), מִי, וּבִי, וְכִי, *num?*—לָמָּה מִי *nonne?*—לָמָּה, לָמָּה, לָמָּה, אֲמַאי, *why, wherefore?*—לָאִי, לָאִי, לָאִי, *a particle of doubtful character*. See Kohut, *Aruch. Compl.* s. v.

§ 164. On the punctuation of מֵנָּא see above (§ 90). It is the apocopated form of מֵנָּא, which latter is a compound of מֵן + אֵן. It is joined to the following word, forming a compound. Thus, מֵנָּא מֵנָּא *whence have we this?* (Zeb. 8 b, Naz. 48 b, a. e.) מֵנָּא מֵנָּא *whence has he this?* מֵנָּא מֵנָּא (Col. MSS.) *whence have you these things?*

§ 165. כִּי and מִי are generally preceded by a ו. The former introduces nominal sentences, the latter verbal. מִי, or וּבִי, usually stands immediately before the verb. If the verb be preceded by a negative, מִי is often inserted between the negative

¹ אֵיכָא, HG. 63, 69.

² Cf. Stäbe, *Jüd. babyl. Zaubertexte*, p. 53.

and the verb.¹ לֹא מִי (Sabb. 68 b), לֹא מִי (Pes. 102 a; M. MS., Er. 20 b; Sabb. 32 a; B. M. 32 a, a. e.).

§ 166. Note the following idiomatic expression: . . . לֹא מִי . . . couldn't we understand by it rather this? . . . No! it is rather.—אֵימָתָה, הִרְכָּא, הִרְכִּי, and הִי, are used also as relative adverbs. Some of the adverbs given here have at times the force of interrogative conjunctions and should more properly be called interrogative particles.

Affirmative Adverbs.—§ 167. אֵיתָּ, אֵיתָּא,² אֵיפָּא (= אֵיתָּ + פָּא) there is; אֵין, אֵין (so Col. MSS.) yes, (= Hebrew הֵן). In one instance אֵיתָּ takes verbal form: אֵיתָּו אֵנָּן we are, Pes. 50 a. Cf. II. Targûm to Esther 2, 18 אֵיתָּו they are.

Negative Adverbs.—§ 168. לֹיָּתָּ (= לֹא + אֵיתָּ), לֹיָּתָּא, there is not, is not; לֹיפָּא (= לֹיָּתָּ + פָּא) id.; לֹא, לֹא (לֹא + הוּא) is not, not, no. לֹא is generally used with verbs, לֹא with nouns.

Adverbs of Doubt.—§ 169. דִּילְמָא, דִּילְמָא (= מֵא + ל + דִּי cf. Hebrew שְׁלֵמָה, later שִׁמְאָה) perhaps; אֲפֻשֶּׁר, Col. MS. vocal. אֲפֻשֶּׁר perhaps, it may be, possibly.

PREPOSITIONS.

A. Inseparable Prepositions.—§ 170. אֶּ is an abbreviation of אֶל = עַל and is used in all the significations and constructions of the latter. It is used also before gutturals: Men. 34 a, אֶּאֱבָנָא, Keth. 40 b, a. e. אֶּהָא.—Notice the force of the preposition after הִוָּהּ to become, happen, befall, in the standing phrase בִּידֵי הִוָּהּ אֶּ, lit. something that happened with . . . , this is something like The expression is used to introduce an analogical case as an illustration to a previous statement of opinion on some legal point under discussion.

§ 171. בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, is used as in the Targumim and Hebrew. A few examples of some rare usages may be mentioned. רִישׁ מַעֲיָא בִּאֲמַתָּא בִּיעֵי גִירִיָּה the top of the small intestines must be scraped up to a cubit's length, Hull. 93 a; רַב בְּקֻדְשֵׁי קָרָא Rabh read as a priest, Meg. 22 a, i. e., was called up the first to read the weekly lesson from the Pentateuch. וְאֵתָּהּ בְּשִׁפְרֵי וְאֵתָּהּ בְּשִׁפְרֵי בְּנֵי מְחוּזָא and yet these are the most beautiful of the people

¹ The verb in this case includes the participle, but not the infinitive.

² In אֵיתָּא, אֵיתָּא the ending may be = אֵיתָּ, but cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 213.

of *Māhōzā*, R. H. 17 a. וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּתֵרֵיךְ and he dropped torn in two. בְּתֵרֵיךְ, בְּעֶשְׂרֵה, in the presence of three, of ten, Ber. 56 b, fr. Cf. also below (§ 174). The ב is found in the Talmud also in a separate form “בִּי.”

§ 172. לָּ, לָּ, לָּ, to, unto; generally *nota accusativi*.—מִן, מִן, from.

§ 173. To the Palestinian R. Jōhānān we owe the single example of the use of לָּ with oaths as a particle of asseveration, as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian.¹

Separate Prepositions.—§ 174. אַבִּי (§ 28) upon, on. אַבִּי כוּרְסִיָּה upon a chair; אַבִּי יְדֵיָהּ upon their hands, Sanh. 17 a.² אַבְתָּר (= אֶל + בְּתָר), cf. אַבְתָּר.

אֲנָב (= אֶל + אָנָב) on, upon; by dint of, by the way of, on account of.

אַחֲרֵי behind, backward.

אֲנָן on account of, for the sake of. The word is connected with Fellihi-Syriac ܐܢܢܐ, ܐܢܢܐ, and ܐܢܢܐ of other Syriac dialects.³

אֲנִיָּה (A. Z. 15 a; Col. MS., Zeb. 35 b), by means of, through, by the way of. Cf. Hebrew עַל יָד.

אֲמָטוּל, אֲמָטוּלָא, אֲמָטוּלָא, for the sake of, on account of. The word is of doubtful etymology. The original form was evidently אֲמָטוּל, a compound of טוּל + מָן + עַל, which former may mean *shade, protection, burden, or going, passing*; cf. the Hebrew בְּגִלָּל, בְּעֶבְרִי. In the expression אֲמָטוּל הָיִי the final ל of אֲמָטוּל is often attached to הָיִי and written אֲמָטוּ לְהָיִי. (M. V. 6 has אֲמָטוּ לְהָיִי).⁴

אֲנִי, אֲנִי, only with the prepositions לָּ and ב : לָּאֲנִי toward, opposite; בְּאֲנִי in the presence of, before.

¹ Yoma 84 a, A. Z. 28 a, we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R. Jōhānān the formula of a medicine, unless he swore not to disclose it to others. He agreed to it and swore: לֹא אֶגְדֹּל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל דִּישְׁרָאֵל by the God of Israel, I shall not disclose it! He then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college. When asked how he could break his oath, he answered: “I said ‘To the God of Israel I shall not disclose it;’ but not to the people of Israel.” He thus explained the לָּ casuistically as a mere *nota dativi*.

² אַבִּי in אַבִּי יְדֵיָהּ upon their bosom, Sanh. 17 a is a compound of אֶל upon and בֵּית = בֵּית. In later literature: כִּי הָיִינוּ אַבִּי מָר when we were at our lord's (at t y house) Še'el. 77.

³ Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Fellihi-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 32, 37, 39. Maclean, *op. cit.* 187.

⁴ Cf. Sachau, *op. cit.* p. 308 sq. But cf. אֲמָטוּ הָיִי TF. 2. בְּגִין, Respons. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens, ed. Müller, § 122.

בְּדִיל *on account of*. Only Yōmā, 75 b.

בִּי *within, in, by, etc.*, is the separate form of the preposition בְּ.¹ The traditional pronunciation of it as בִּי is due to a confusion with בֵּי *between, house*.

בֵּינָהּ, בֵּינָהּ, בֵּינָהּ, בֵּינָהּ, *between, among*. Keth. 28 a, M. MS., Sabb. 110 a, בֵּינָהּ; (H. G. 339 בֵּינָהּ). Notice: בֵּינָהּ, Col. MS., Meg. 12 ab (voc.).

בְּלֹא, בְּלֹא, *without*.

לְבַר מִי, לְבַר מִי, *except, save, besides*.

בְּאַחֵר, בְּאַחֵר, *after, behind*.

לְגַבִּי, לְגַבִּי, *near, at, to, with, in case of, toward*.

בְּ, בְּ, בְּ, בְּ, constr. st. בְּ, generally with לְ, בְּ and בְּ, לְ, into, amidst; בְּ in, within, amongst, amidst; מִבְּ from, out.

דְּמוּמָא *like, similar, analogous to*.

לְהָדִי, only with בְּ or לְ: בְּהָדִי *with, by*; לְהָדִי *unto, to toward*. The singular form occurs but seldom: לְהָדִי, A. Z. 28 b.

חֲלֵה *instead, in place of*.

חֲתָ *nota accusativi*. This is very rare in the Babylonian Talmud. חֲתָ him, Ned. 49 a; חֲתָ her, it, eds. Ned. 50 b; חֲתָ you, Ber. 38 a; חֲתָ Nidd. 61 a; חֲתָ them, Ned. 25 a, 41 a, B. M. 90 b, a. e.²

כְּתָ *like*; כְּתָי כְּתָ *like me*, Col. MS., M. Q. 2 b; כְּתָ *like me*, *ibid.* Pes. 105 b (§ 110); כְּתָי *like us*, B. B. 65 a.

כִּי, ³ כִּי (= כ + ד) *like*. כִּי הָשָׂא *now* (Sabb. 119 a) = Hebr כִּי. — כִּי כִּי *like that of a dog*, ed. Const. Sanh. 96 a.

כְּגוֹן (= כ + גוֹן) *like, similar to, for example*.

¹ M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

² In later literature the older form חֲתָ has been preserved: חֲתָי *thee* (f.) *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 15. Cf. also Noeldeke, *SG.*, 199, note 1, and Lagardo, *Mittheil.* I., 226. I. H. Weiss (*Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Trad.*, II., 138, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses חֲתָ as *nota accusativi* except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the use of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos—and, we may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found—who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the exercise of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every *nota accusativi* implies an inclusion of some additional case, identifying, of course, חֲתָ with אֲתָ. The entire want of this particle in the Mandaic—an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influences—is the best proof of Mr. Weiss' supposition.

³ Some scholars see the same use of כִּי also in Biblical Hebrew. Cf. Dubsowitz, *Hilf-Böcher 'Or.* V. 265-272, and M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131.

כָּלְפִי (= לְ + אֵפִי) *toward, in the direction of, with regard to.*
 לָךְ *to, unto.* M. Q. 9 b, לָךְ *to thee.* B. M. 62 b, לָךְ *to me.* Very rare.

לְפִי (Hebrew לְפִי) *according to.* Palestinian מִתַּחַת *in consequence of, through.*

מִן (M. MS., Men. 65 a), *from, out, of.*

מִשּׁוּם *because of, on account of.*

נִיְהִיָּה *to, unto.*

עַד *until, till.* עַד דִּי *instead of.* Usually contracted to אֶדֶי.

עַל *on, upon.*

עַל יְדֵי *through, by means of* (Ar. 16 b).

עָלָא, עִיפָא, *on, upon.*

עָלָי *on, upon,* Hull. 8 b, Sabb. 156 b, a. e. (§§ 41, 181).

לְעֵילָא *above, beyond, higher than, before* (Sabb. 30 a, Raši, a. e.).

עִם *with.* In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style; but it is found frequently in Še'el. and Hal. Ged.

לְקִיבְלָא, לְקִיבְלָא, *opposite, against, before.* B. B. 111 a; Tam. 32 a. (Palestinian.)

לְקַדָּם, לְקַדָּם, מִן קַדָּם, *before.* Sabb. 30 b; 67 a; Gitt. 85 b. (Palestinian.)

קִמָּי, קִמָּי, לְקִמָּי, *before, in the presence of, for.* Ar. 31 b, מִקִּמָּא דִּיךָ *before thee.*¹ The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority.

תַּחְתִּי, תַּחְתִּי, *beneath, below, under; instead, in place of* (A. Z. 10 a).

§ 175. בֵּין בֵּין means: *both this and that.* בֵּין לְמַר *according to the opinion of the one as well as to that of the other.*

§ 176. מִן is of rare use, and almost entirely limited to the pronominal suffixes, the apocopated form being used before nouns, Note the expressions מִיֵּינָהּ מִיֵּינָהּ *out of it, yea, of it, i. e., of the very thing.*—מִיֵּינָהּ וּבִיהּ, the same.—כְּמִיֵּינָהּ *he is not able.* The expression is probably originally an ironical question, *Is everything so as if coming from him, by his authority?*

¹ Še'el. מִקִּימִירָהּ *from before them.* H. G. 100, לְקִמָּה *for her;* *ibid.* 387. קִמָּי פִּלְגָא *for a half.*

140 *b*), לָהֶי (Col. MS., Pes. 90 *a*), לִיהֵי (Col. MSS.), לָנָא (legal style), בִּינָה, בִּינָא, בִּינִי: בִּין—¹לָהֵו, לָהֶו, לָהֶוֶן, לָכֵי, לָן (legal style), בִּינָה, בִּינָא, בִּינִי (legal style), מִן—בִּינִיהֶו, בִּינִיכֵי, מִינָה, מִינָא, מִינִי (legal style), מִינָה, מִינָא, מִינִי (legal style), מִינָה, מִינָא, מִינִי (legal style), מִינָה, מִינָא, מִינִי (legal style), מִינָה, מִינָא, מִינִי (legal style).

§ 181. עָלָא is little used with prepositions: עֲלִייהֵי Qidd. 8 *b*; עֲלִיהֵי Ber. 56 *a*; עֲבִיד מְרָנָא עֲלֵיהֵי *search it, Sir!* Ned. 50 *a*.² Instead of עָלָא we find usually עֲלֵי, which Col. MS., Pes. 93 *b*, writes and vocalizes אֶלְאֵי. Notice also the by-form עֲלִיִּי O. MS., Sabb. 105 *b*, a. e.; עֲלִיִּי upon him, B. B. 12 *b* (אֶלְאֵי = עֲלֵי).

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 182. אֲבָל *but, however*, a Hebraism. אִי *or, if, whether*. אִי-אִי *either . . . or, whether . . . or*. אִי *if, whether* (§ 183). אִי אֲמַרְתָּ פִּשְׁלָמָא . . . הֲיִינוּ דִּי *I grant if you were to say . . . then it would be right*. אִי . . . אִי *either . . . or, whether . . . or*. אִי נִמְרִי *or, even if*.

אֲדֵי, אֲדֵיִי, אֲדֵיָא, *since, as, because*.

אִיהֵי (= אִי הִוֵּהּ), used like אִיפֵי or מִידיה q. v.—M. MS. and ed. Pesaro, A. Z. 55 *a*.

אִיזֵי, אִיזֵי, אִיזֵי (2 M. MS., Yôm. 30 *b*), *now, then, pray*, an exhortative and precatative particle used with the imperative. For זִי instead of זִי *cf.* § 31.

אִיִּי, a particle introducing direct speech = Hebr. כִּי; found only in legal style.

אִיפֵי, אִיפֵי (H. MS., B. M. 73 *b*), אִיפֵי (Sabb. 152 *b*), אִיפֵי (Yômâ 57 *a*, Yalq. MS.) is a compound of אִיִּי *if* and פֵּי, *here, now*, q. u., and is etymologically identical with Ethiopic 'enka. Generally used in the phrase אִיפֵי הַשְׁתָּא *if now! oh that!* with the protasis or apodosis sometimes unexpressed.

¹ לָן, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 535.

² Cf. the German expression: sich über Etwas hermachen.

³ זִי HG. 187, זִי *ibid.* 104, 183.—אִיכֵי, akin to אִיזֵי, אִיזֵי, and the Hebrew אִיפֵי. *in* אִיכֵי אִיכֵי אִיכֵי *how, now, shall I act?* HG. 410. This may, however, be identical with אִיכֵי, both meanings being possible with the latter form, as Ethiopic 'enka and our פֵּי show.

אִלָּא, אִלָּא, אִלָּא, אִלָּא (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a) *if not, but, except, only*. Compare Latin *nisi*, Italian *se non*, אִלָּא... לָא *only; cf.* the French *ne... que*.

אִלָּא *if, a Hebraism.*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא (Col. MSS.), *consequently.*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא, אִלָּא, *if in any way not, if not, but for, if indeed.*

אִלָּא *also; generally* נָמְרִי... אִלָּא *also, even.* נָמְרִי... אִלָּא... אִלָּא *as... so.*⁴

אִלָּא, אִלָּא *even if, even, a Hebraism.*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא *notwithstanding, although, though.*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא *nevertheless, a Hebraism.*

וְ or לְ (§ 31) *so that, that, in order that; for, since.*

אִלָּא *for, because.*

אִלָּא *lest, perhaps.*

אִלָּא *then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but.* Often אִלָּא,

אִלָּא *since, because, a Hebraism.*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא, אִלָּא (Col. MSS.) *therefore* (= אִלָּא + לְ + כֵּן, *היא, or הוא*).

אִלָּא *is that so now? well!*

אִלָּא *since, when, if,* אִלָּא, *see* אִלָּא and אִלָּא.

אִלָּא *and, but.* Often introducing a question: *but, is it indeed so?*

There are also traces of the ו consecutive. *Cf., e. g.,* אִלָּא *and let her be freed, Yeb. 19 a.*

אִלָּא is used in peculiar way with אִלָּא *is of opinion, אִלָּא, אִלָּא, without having any apparent force.*⁵

אִלָּא *when, (= אִלָּא + ו).*

אִלָּא, אִלָּא, אִלָּא, a postpositive particle having the force of אִלָּא and of אִלָּא. M. MS., Sabb. 4 a אִלָּא אִלָּא לְמִאן אִלָּא אִלָּא *and he did not recollect whom they had allowed.* Qidd. 48 a אִלָּא אִלָּא,

¹ אִלָּא, HG. 406; אִלָּא or not (= אִלָּא + אִלָּא) HG. 456. On the change of o to e cf. Haupt, *AEV*, 22.

² For its etymology see Jastrow's *Diction.* s. v.

³ On this word see R. Duval, *REJ.* IV., 268-273; M. Lambert, *ibid.* IX., 290-301; M. Jastrow, *ibid.* XI., 157-158; Halévy, *מחברת*, p. כא.

⁴ In later literature we find the Persian אִלָּא used for אִלָּא in the phrase אִלָּא אִלָּא, cf. TG., ed. Harkavy, Index, s. v., and *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid* II. 68, אִלָּא אִלָּא, read: אִלָּא אִלָּא. The word is also found in Neo-Syriac; cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 38, Maclean, *op. cit.*, 161.

⁵ See on this אִלָּא: Goiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, § 23, 2; and Sachau, *Ski:ze*, etc., p. 45.

read: **במאי כִּי** *wherewith then, etc.*? Id. M. MS., Taan. 7 b, H. MS., B. M. 67 b. MS. Vat. 117, B. M. 67 b **כִּי הִי** *how then?* M. MS., R. R. 29 a **כִּי מֵאֵן** *who then?* B. B. 10 a **הִשְׁתָּא כִּי**, *ibid.* M. MS. **הִשְׁתָּא כִּי**, *ibid.* H. and R. MSS. **הִשְׁתָּא כִּי**. B. B. 111 a **הִשְׁתָּא כִּי**; M. Q. 26 a, eds. id. and frequent in MSS. Cf. Ethiopic *ka*, *kē*.¹

כִּי (shortened from **כִּי־י**, or **כִּי־י**) *if, when*. B. Q. 84 b, a. e. **לֹא כִּי לֹא** *if not, not*.

כִּי יִהְיֶה (TF. 6) *so that, in order that*.—**כִּי יִהְיֶה** *lest*.²

כִּי־י (M. MS., B. M. 39 a) *as soon as, after, since*.³ **מֵאֲחֵר** *since*.

מִן (+ **גוֹ**) *in case, since, supposing*.

מִדֵּי *from the fact that, since*.

מִיָּד, **מִיָּדָה**, **מִיָּדָה**, *but, yet, however, nevertheless*.⁴

מִפְּלֵל *hence, it then follows*.

מִקֵּדָם *before that, ere*.

נָמִי *also, too, even*, frequently preceded by **אֵת**, *q. v.*⁵

§ 183. **אוֹ** and **אִי** are often interchangeable so that, for instance, we may have **אוֹ . . . אוֹ**, **אִי . . . אִי**, **אוֹ . . . אִי**, **אִי . . . אוֹ**, promiscuously. Col. MS., Zeb. 2 a. e., has **אוֹבְעִית** for the usual **אוֹבְעִית**; **אוֹ** *if*, id., *ibid.* 4 b, 5 a; **אִי** id., *ibid.* 5 b.

§ 184. **אִי** is frequently contracted with the following word. This is especially the case with some standing expressions; as **אִי־יָבֵחַ**, **אִי־יָבֵחַ**, **אִי־יָבֵחַ**. Col. MS., Zeb. 22 b, a. e., **יָבֵחַ** for **אִי־יָבֵחַ**.⁶

¹ In later literature: **מֵאִי כִּי אֵבֶרֶךְ**, read: **מֵאִי כִּי אֵבֶרֶךְ** *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid*, II, p. 65.

² In later literature: **כִּי יִהְיֶה דֵּי** *HG.*, 63; **כִּי יִהְיֶה דֵּי**, *ibid.* 24, 33; **כִּי יִהְיֶה דֵּי**, *ibid.* 73; 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

³ **כִּי־י**, *MP.* 11.

⁴ **מִיָּדָה**, or **מִיָּדָה**, *HG.* 473, 533. The word is a compound of the interrogative **מִי** and **הִנֵּה**, *cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

⁵ According to Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 191, note 2, **נָמִי** is the first pers. sing. perf. of **נָמַ** *to speak*. The word is perhaps connected with 'Omanee Arabic **نَمَى** *also*, or with **نَمَى** *to increase*.

⁶ For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, *cf.* Jastrow's *Dictionary*; Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* VIII., 180-90; Luzzatto's *Grammar*, and Liebermann's pamphlet mentioned in the Preface.

THE VERB.

IN GENERAL.—§187. The law of triconsonantality is carried out more consequently in our idiom than in the cognate languages. There is properly no quadriconsonantal verb in it. Almost all the quadriconsonantals can be easily reduced to a triconsonantal + a formative element; or to the reduplication of a biconsonantal theme. The few pluriconsonantals that cannot be so reduced are either denominatives or foreign words.

IN PARTICULAR.—*Verbal Stems*.—§188. a) The subjoined table at the end gives a survey of all the conjugations or verb-stems found in the Babylonian Talmud together with the number of the occurrences of every stem. From this table will be evident that the stems that have proper life in our idiom are only five: Qal, Pa^ʿēl, Aph^ʿēl, Ithp^ʿēl and Ithpa^ʿal.

b) Beside the stems enumerated, a few examples of Haph^ʿēl, Hithp^ʿēl, Hithpa^ʿal and Niph^ʿāl are found, which are all taken from the Palestinian. Thus, *לְהִתְסַבֵּב* Yeb. 107 *b*, Gitt. 85 *b*; *לְהִתְעַנֵּב* Taan. 17 *b*, Men. 65 *a*; *תִּלְקֶתָּהּ* Keth. 52 *b*.¹ For Haph^ʿēl cf. “Rare Conjugations.”

§189. A few examples of the passive stems occur only in the participle. Thus, Pu^ʿal: *מְשֻׁבָּת* *put under ban*, Sabb. 67 *a*; *מְדוּגְנָא* [Targ. *מְדוּגְנָא*] *becoming*, eds. Taan. 22 *b*; *מְאוּחָרִי* *post dated*, B. B. 171 *b*; *מְכּוּעֵרִי* *ugly*, Keth. 60 *b*; *מְבוּשָׁלָתָא* *boiled*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Pōlal: *מְעֻפָּה* *folded*, Hull. 51 *b*.—Pulpal: *מְגֻלְפָּתָא* *rolled in ashes*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Hoph^ʿal: *מִיֻּצֶדֶק* *is fit*, Gitt. 86 *a*; *מִיֻּדָּוֶק* *is known*, Qidd. 64 *ab*; *מִיֻּפְּלָג* *distinguished*, ‘Arūkh and Raši, ‘Er. 63 *a*; *מוֹכְהָא* *is evident*, Sabb. 139 *b* and elsewhere; *מוֹפְרֵי* *superfluous*, Yeb. 74 *a*; *מִיֻּדָּתָא* *rotten*, Bekh. 57 *b*.

§190. In the dictionaries a Nithp^ʿēl or Nithpa^ʿal is sometimes mentioned. No such form exists in the Babylonian Talmud. The examples given by them are either Hebrew, or the imperfect with the נ-preformative. A real Nithp^ʿēl seems to occur in *נִיתְפָּדַר* *was caught* (שַׁעֲרֵי תְּשׁוּבָה, §184, and Hal. Pesūq. ed. Müller, p. 77), but forms like *נִיתְיָבִיבָה*, *נִיתְיָבִיבָה* (*ibid.*, p. 80) show that this is the imperfect used with the force of the Assyrian preterite.

¹ *מִקְלָה אָנָּה* (or *דִּיתְלִקְתָּהּ*?) *ed. Harkavy, §131, has תְּשׁוּבָתֵי הַגְּאוּלִּים* I have reconsidered (Ber. 42 *b*, Pes. 103 *b*), though in Aramaic context, is Hebrew.

Qal.—§ 191. The *Qal*, or simple stem, consists of the simplest root found in the language. The 3d sing. masc. perfect is קָטַל, especially with transitive verbs. Beside קָטַל are also found קָטִיל and קָטוּל, chiefly with neuter verbs. The last form is rare. In the imperfect all the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* occur even in strong stems. Of denominative verbs אָכַךְ, בָּדַל, גָּשַׁר, חָטַר, חָפַן, כָּנַךְ, קָטַם and קָטַם are examples.

Pa'ēl.—§ 192. This stem is formed from the simple stem by doubling the middle stem-consonant. Thus original qatal(*a*) became qattal(*a*), a form still preserved with final gutturals. Generally, the second *a*-vowel has given place to the *i*-vowel originally belonging to the imperfect.¹ The first vowel is sometimes heightened to *i* (*ē*), especially under the influence of a following guttural, or ר. *Pa'ēl* is the denominative stem *par excellence*; e. g. אָכַךְ, גִּירָה, גִּרָה, זָרָה, זָרָה, טִישׁ, יָבֵם, כָּבֵר, כָּוֵר, קָטַם, לָבָן, צָלַם, קָטַם.

Aph'ēl.—§ 193. This stem is formed from the *Qal* by the prefix of א. Thus, אָקַטַל from קָטַל. The stem-vowel is usually changed to *i*, if not protected by a following guttural, or ר. The vowel of the preformative undergoes sometimes the same change, and this not only in the perfect, as in Hebrew, but also in the other parts of the verb. Denominative verbs are few in this stem: אָהַרַם, contracted אָהַרַם to *cut to pieces*, אָדַרַם to *turn south*, אָכַכָה to *gather*, אָקַלִּיר to *enclose*, אָתַרַם to *arm oneself*. The preformative א represents an earlier sibilant, ש or ס, probably through the intermediate stage of ה.

Reflexive Stems.—§ 194. The reflexive stems, which have in a later stage of development supplanted the passive stems formed by internal vowel-change, are formed from the active stems by prefixing the syllable אָתַ. Thus, אָתַקָטַל, אָתַקָטַל, אָתַקָטַל are formed from the *Qal*, *Pa'ēl* and *Aph'ēl* respectively. The original form of the preformative was אָתַ. The syncope of the vowel of א and the subsequent prefixing of a prothetic vowel is probably due originally to the imperfect, where, e. g., a form *titaqatil* would easily become *titqatil*, analogous to the *Niph'al* in Hebrew, where הָקָטַל is formed from the imperfect stem *n(a)qatil*.

¹ This is the current opinion. But the *i*-vowel may also be original; cf. Zimmern *ZA.*, V., 1-22.

§ 195. With stems whose first consonant is a sibilant the ה is usually transposed after the sibilant, but just as frequently remains untransposed.

§ 196. In stems ה"ע the ה of the Ithp^eāl is always doubled in order to give the stem a semblance of triconsonantality.¹ The same is true of ע"ע stems when they follow the conjugation of the ה"ע stems. The ה is also doubled in stems נ"פ when the נ is assimilated to it. The ה of the Ittaph'al is doubled for the same reason. It is usually preserved in verbs פ"פ.

§ 197. When the ה is spirantic it is usually assimilated to the first radical and the latter doubled.² When the first radical is ר or a guttural the assimilation of the ה takes place without consequent doubling.³

§ 198. The usual stem-vowel of the Ithp^eāl is *i* (*ē*), but the original *a* has been retained in some cases even with non-gutturals. The Ithpa'al has, with few exceptions, *a* in the last syllable.

Moods and Tenses.—§ 199. There are only three moods: the Indicative, the Imperative and the Infinitive. All other moods are expressed by syntactical means. The tenses are also three: the Perfect, the Imperfect and the Present. The last is represented by the participle.

Affirmatives of the Perfect.—§ 200. *3d sing. fem.*: The older form ה־ has been preserved in a few instances.⁴ The apocopated form נ־, or ה־, written promiscuously, is the usual ending. A few times ה־ occurs for ה־, which form is either an analogical formation after the ל"י verbs, or else the י marks the indistinct vowel-sound after the accent: q^etāl^eth.⁵ Several times נ־ occurs, as in the Hebrew ל"י verbs.⁶

¹ But cf. § 480.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 164.

³ But cf. הלכות גדולות ed. Hildesheimer, p. 282, אִרְיָצִי (vocalized).

⁴ Cf. אֵצֶלָת וְעָבְרָת she went and transgressed, Ned. 23 a; שָׁבַעָת foundered, אִתְּבַרְשָׁת was betrothed, Ned. 50 a; בָּרַחָת brought forth, Ned. 50 a; שָׁבַעָת broke, *ibid.* 66 b; עָרִיקָת fled, Sabb. 67 a; בָּטִילָת ceased, Sotā 33 a; אֶקְרַבָת brought near, Yeb. 39 b; אִתְּבַרְשָׁת was abolished, Sabb. 116 b, En Ya'aqōb; אִתְּיָרִיבָת was given, *ibid.* (the last two examples belong to the Palest. dialect); אֶקְרַשָׁת Keth. 62 b; אִתְּפָרַשָׁת was cured, *ibid.*; וְרַקָת spit, Yeb. 39 b; and others.

⁵ אִתְּבַרְשָׁת Sabb. 116 b eds.; cf. אִשְׁתַּבַּחָת was found, תְּשׁוּבַת הַגְּאוּרִים ed. Harkavy, § 550.

⁶ עָלָאָת entered, B. Q. 48 a; עָלָתָת Ber. 51 b. Cf. also § 536, b.

§ 201. *2d sing. masc.*: The usual ending is תָּ ; but the old ending תָּא occurs a few times. Thus, נִדְרָתָא *didst vow*, Ned. 23 a; רִכַּבְתָּא *didst ride*, A. Z. 4 b; אִפְרָתָא (אָנַר) *didst hire thyself*, Yômā 20 b, M. MS.; סָפִיתָא *wouldst have caused to eat*, Hull. 96 a; אִשְׁפָּרְתָּא 'En Y., Keth. 111 a.

§ 202. *2d sing. fem.*: The old ending תִּי is never found; but the form תִּי , which like the affirmative of the 1st sing. com. has arisen from the former by throwing back its final vowel, occurs a few times; e. g., קָטַלְתִּי *thou didst kill*, Keth. 65 a; אָרְבַּעְתִּי *placest* (used as m.), B. Q. 114 a; יָהַבְתִּי *gavest*, Keth. 85 a; אִזְנִיתִי *lentest* (m.), Sabb. 66 b, M. MS. The usual form is תָּ .

§ 203. *1st sing. com.*: The old ending תִּי is found but in a few cases: בָּלַעְתִּי *I swallowed*, Ber. 56 b,¹ שָׁקַלְתִּי *I took*, Sabb. 156 b (M. MS. שָׁקַלְתָּ); אָתִיתִי *I came*, Taan. 32 ab, Suk. 44 b, Sabb. 116 b, Pes. 110 b; צִלֵּיתִי *I prayed*, Ber. 30 b, M. MS.; הָיִיתִי *I was*, Tam. 32 a, Suk. 44 b. The usual forms are יָ (§ 241) and, with apocope of ת , ִי . The first is frequent; the last is the most common. The י before ת is in a few cases wanting. Cf. שָׁקַלְתָּ above, אָפִיקְתָּ *I brought out*, Ber. 38 a (Raśi אָפִיקְתָּ). But this is probably to be read תָּ .²

Rosenberg's supposition that the apocopated ending ִי is to be vocalized ִי^3 is untenable from orthographical considerations. The few examples with diphthongal ending, as: אָזַלְתִּי *I went*, H. MS., B. B. 73 b, and אָסַחְתִּי *I removed*, Er. 54 b, are to be explained either as analogical formations to the לִי verbs or according to § 80. In any case the exception confirms the rule.⁴ !?

§ 204. *3d plur. masc.*: The usual form is וּ . In a few cases we find וּן , due to the influence of the imperfect. In some cases we have וּן , וּן , due to the influence of the participles. In the feminine the ending is וּן .

§ 205. *2d plur. masc.*: The usual forms are תִּינָן and תִּינָן , both occurring with equal frequency. For the forms תִּינָן , תִּינָן , see § 232 a.

¹ But this is probably בָּלַעְתִּיהָ = בָּלַעְתִּי as in ed. Ven.

² Cf. § 306 β.

³ *Das Aram. Verbum*, p. 10.

⁴ On the whole it may be said that the fuller endings of the 1st sing. com. and the 3d sing. fem. are found a) with strong verbs in passages of an early date, b) with weak verbs also in later times, to give more substance to the word.

§ 206. *1st plur. com.*: Alongside of the older form נָּאֵנוּ we find the younger forms נָּאֵנוּ and נָּאֵנוּ . For the forms נָּאֵנוּ , נָּאֵנוּ , see § 232 a. Note שָׁעִבְדָּנוּ *we subjected to servitude*, A. Z. 2 b (M. MS. שָׁעִבְדָּנוּ). This ending is common in Palestinian forms before suffixes.²

Preformatives of the Imperfect.—§ 207. *3d sing. masc.*: The original prefix י has been retained in the language of legal style, in some ancient proverbs, in all standing expressions, and in a few other cases. Usually the prefix is לִי or ל , and נִי or נ . Both prefixes, ל and נ , are used interchangeably for indicative as well as jussive.³ The נ is, however, more frequently found in the indicative.

§ 208. That the ל had originally a jussive force, largely retained even in our late texts, admits of no doubt. Compare such passages as these: $\text{וְלִימְרוּ לִיהוָה וְכו' לְגִזְרוֹ עָלֶיךָ מִן שְׁמִיָּא דְלִהוּי}$ *and let them tell him, etc.*, “*may it be decreed by Heaven concerning thee that it be propitious*” and *it will be propitious*, Ber. 55 b; $\text{לֹא לִידֹל הָדִירְלוּמִיָּה}$ *let no one praise himself in order that others may praise him*, 2 M. MS., MQ. 28 b.

Against the current opinion that the ל is identical with the Arabic particle ل , Assyrian lu , and that the נ is only a phonetic variant of ל , Barth holds that the ל is of different origin from the נ , that both ל and נ are demonstrative particles, the first used for the jussive, the last for the indicative, and that these particles are not prefixed to the forms יִקְטֹל , יִתְקַטֵּל , etc., but substitute the י -prefix. The arguments he advances in support of his theory seem to be very plausible. There are only two points which seem to speak against this theory: (1) The interchange of נ and ל in the first person of the plural, and (2) the י after ל or נ in the Aph'el. But the first may be explained as a false analogy of the 3d person, the second as due to the change of the vowel of the prefix. For the last point speaks the fact that a pronunciation לִיקְטֹל is unsupported by orthography and unknown to tradition.

¹ That this form was so pronounced is evident from a form like תִּקְנֶנָּה .

² Cf. also הָיוּנוּ *we were*, MF. 86, and § 271, note.

³ For the various opinions entertained about the nature of this ל see the references in Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*³, pp. 276-7; Haupt, *B.A.*, I., p. 17, note 20; Barth, “*Das Syr. Imperfect-Präfix n*,” *AJS.*, XIII., 1-6.

NOTE.—A few exceptional spellings may here be noted: *לְאַחֲרָיו* *let him testify*, B. B. 43 *b*; *לְאַחֲרָהּ* *let them cause her to make a vow*, Gitt. 35 *a*.¹ Note also *לְאַחֲדִיבֶּק* *that I may attach myself*, M. MS., Pes. 41 *a* (§ 53, 4).²

§ 209. *3d sing. fem.*: The usual prefix is ה. At times ל is found instead. Whether this is an older form or is to be explained by the use of the masculine for the feminine (§ 234) cannot be decided.

§ 210. *2d sing. and plur. masc. and fem.*: The prefix is invariably ה.

§ 211. *1st sing. com.*: The prefix is invariably א. *3d plur. masc. and fem.*: The prefix for both is alike לִי, ל, or נִי, נ, as in the *3d sing. masc.*

§ 212. *1st plur. com.*: This prefix is generally נ, but sometimes ל.

§ 213. The vocalization of the preformatives of the imperfect vary in some respects from the Syriac. Thus, not only the א usually takes çērê instead of š°vâ, as in Syriac, but also the other prefixes, though with less frequency, follow the same rule. This is especially the case in verbs עִי and עִי. The א takes a full vowel in consequence of its weakness; and the other prefixes follow their analogy. But cf. § 13.

Affirmatives of the Imperfect.—§ 214. *2d sing. fem.*: The ending is יִי or יִי. It occurs only in a few cases (§ 249).

§ 215. *2d and 3d plur. masc.*: The ending is יִי, or יִי. Both are of equal occurrence. The endings יִי and יִי are rare (§ 232).

§ 216. *3d plur. fem.*: The ending is יִי. Once we find יִי: *לִיִּצְדָּה* *are caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 *b*. Cf. also § 411.

Affirmatives of the Imperative.—§ 217. *Sing. masc.*: The ending of the energicus has been retained in a few instances פִּרְחִי *flee*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*; פִּרְעִי *pay*, Šebu. 41 *b*.³

§ 218. *Sing. fem.*: The ending is יִי, or יִי.

§ 219. *Plur. masc.*: The usual ending is יִי; but cf. *אֶתִּיתִי* *put ye*, Ned. 50 *b*. At times the nominal ending יִי appears (§ 232).

¹ Cf. Noldeke, *MG.*, § 166.

² *לְאַחֲרָיו* *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 335; *לְאַחֲרָהּ* *HG.* 441.

³ But this form may be feminine used for masculine.

§ 220. *Plur. fem.*: The only instance of such a form is קטילין *kill ye*, Sabb. 12 b (O. MS. קטלינהו). The ending ין may be equivalent to ינהו.

The ה-prefix of Infinitive and Participle.—§ 221. Like the prefixes of the imperfect the ה in infinitives and participles has sometimes a full vowel instead of š^vā. In a few cases the ה of the infinitive Qal has *u* instead of *i* (§ 553, c).

Affirmatives of the Infinitive.—§ 222. The infinitive presents the following endings:

a) ה, ה; this is considered by Nöldeke to be the emphatic ending,¹ but according to Barth it is the feminine ending.²

b) ה: The nature of this ending is uncertain. Fürst sees in it the masculine ending ה, Syr. ه, Hebr. ה (cf. לבנה, אשה, עלפה);³ Nöldeke takes it to be the feminine ending of the same form;⁴ Landauer explains it to be the plural ending;⁵ Barth, an abstract ending.² There remains still the possibility of its being the post-tonic indefinite vowel for original *ā*, *ū*, which change might have been due also to dissimilation.

One is inclined to connect this ending with the similar adjective ending in words like רבתי, התי, התי (B. M. 73 a), הירתי, אוצתי, זוטתי, and the like. For a similar change cf. modern Arabic *e* for classical Arabic *ā*; see also § 69, note 1, above.⁶

c) ה by analogy with לה verbs.

d) ה, ה. The last is shortened from the first and does not restore its ה even before suffixes. Cf. § 64.

e) ה, doubtful. Only in מפתח. According to Nöldeke, the last word is an analogical formation from אפתח / אפה; (but cf. מידה to whip, Maḥzôr Vitry, p. 28, = Hull. 107 b).

f) ה. The last forms (c-f) only sporadically.

§ 223. We let here follow the enumeration of all the infinitive forms found:

Qal: מקטל, מקטל, מקטיל, מקטול, מוקטל, מקטלא, מקטלה, מקטלי, מקטולי, מקטלת, מקטלך, קטל, אקטל, קטול, אקטול, קטולי, קטולי, קטלוי, קטלוי, קטלוי.

¹ MG., § 122.

Nominalbildung, § 101.

³ *Lehrgebäude*, p. 121.

⁴ MG., p. 143.

⁵ ZA., III., 274.

⁶ MG., p. 154.

imperfect, of *a* perfect to *u* and *i* imperfects, is largely destroyed. In fact, some verbs occur with either of the three vowels.

§ 228. The derived stems have frequently *u* instead of the usual *i*, *e*.¹ This is frequent in the imperfect, rare in the perfect and imperative, and does not occur at all in the participle. But such nominal forms as מִיּוֹקֵא suckling, מְשִׁמֵּט robber, מְהַדְרֵא peddler, evidently show its earlier existence also in the participle. I am also inclined to consider the nominal form קְטוּלָא as originally a Qal active participle qātūl, a by-form of qātil.²

§ 229. The stem-vowel has a tendency to stay before affirmatives in all forms of the finite verb. This tendency is predominating in the perfect and the imperative, but rare in the imperfect. The participle regularly loses its vowel before affirmatives.³

§ 230. A vowelless guttural, or ʿ, generally retains original *ā* before it, or changes an original *i*, or *ū*, to *ā*.

In Particular.—§ 231. 1. Verbs whose stem ends in a consonant, sometimes transfer the affirmative *ū* of the plural from the end of the word to between the second and last stem-consonant (between first and last in biconsonantal verbs). This occurs frequently in the perfect, but is rare in the other parts of the verb.

2. Levy⁴ supposes forms like קְטוּל, אַקְטוּל, etc., to be infinitives. Of course, he had in view only the perfect. The few examples in other parts of the verb he either did not notice, or explained them away—and the latter can be easily done.

3. Arguments can be brought forth on both sides. In favor of Levy's theory are such facts:

- a) Lack of a similar phenomenon in the cognate languages.
- b) The use of unmistakable infinitives for finite forms in our idiom as well as in the cognate languages.

¹ Traces of this usage are found in the Targūmim and in Assyrian: הִדְרִירָא Lev. 7:3; אֶתְרִגְשֵׁת 2 Sam. 22:8; הִתְזַנְּךְ Hos. 9:2; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 273 sq.

² These *u*-forms seem to represent a much earlier phase of verb-formation than is found in the cognate languages. The view that qātul(a), qātil(a) forms had originally corresponding derived forms just as qatala forms have, seems to be borne out by our idiom. Cf. on this question Zimmern, "Das Verhältniß des assyr. Permansivs zum semit. Perfect und zum ägypt. 'Pseudoparticiple,'" *ZA.*, V., 1-22, and Lindl, *Die bab.-assyr. Präsens-u. Präteritalformen*. The theory that the *u*-vowel in such cases represents *ū*, which stands for *i* (cf. Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, p. 21 and references), does not explain the presence of this vowel in the Ithpa'al.

³ But cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 220, note 2.

⁴ *Neuhebr. Wb.*, s. v. קְטוּל.

c) Traditional pronunciation of the form קטול as קטול.¹

4. On the other hand it may be argued:

a) That this form is used exclusively for the third plural masculine. Had it been an infinitive, it would not have been so limited in number, nor in person.

b) That the ל"י verbs should have had a form corresponding to קטול of the strong verb.

c) That the corresponding forms in the derived stems show clearly the difference of the infinitive and the epentheticized forms. Cf., e. g., אקטול with אקטולי, אחקטול with אחקטולי.

5. The throwing back of the final vowel is probably due to a retrocession of the accent in the derived conjugations to the antepenultima, and, by analogy, also in the Qal. Traces of such retrocession are found in the nouns ינקותא and שופטני accented now on the first syllable.

§ 232. a) In consequence of the participles being used with the force of a tense, they and the perfect influence each other in several ways: in exchanging affirmatives and structure of verbal theme. Thus, on the one hand, the perfect presents forms like קטלי, קטלין, instead of קטלי, while the participles appear as קטילי, קטילין, instead of קטלין, קטלי. On the other hand, the perfect, which ought to join its plural affirmatives of the first and the second persons to a singular verbal theme: קטלתי, קטלתו, adopted from the participles the plural verbal theme: קטלי+ן, קטלי+ן, while the participles underwent, through the influence of the perfect, a reverse process, assuming the singular theme before plural enclitic pronouns: קטל+ן, קטל+ן, קטל+ן, קטל+ן.

b) The passive participle of Qal has beside its regular form קטיל also a form קטול. The latter is less frequent.

¹ The accent being on the penult, the last vowel is indistinctly pronounced. But, I think, it sounds more like *a* than *o*. This is supported by two vocalized examples: שיהיה they sent, Col. MS., Meg. 6a, and אמר they said, Še'elt., ed. pr., p. 26. Levy, in accordance with his theory, vocalizes קטול. The קמץ in the traditional pronunciation is probably due to the influence of verbs פ"א or פ"ע, their initial consonant frequently taking a full vowel instead of *ševa*, or is a Hebraism. Cf. § 531, c.

² In later literature: גרסינוא (bis) we learned, Resp. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens. ed. Mueller, § 144 (Šerira Gaon); and even אסהדינוא, אסהדינוא they testified, *ibid.*, § 88, = אסהדינוא, אסהדינוא.

§ 233. The imperfect forms without affirmatives take in a few cases the endings of the perfect. Thus: **תִּי־חֲסָרָא** *let it be forbidden*, Ned. 23 a; **בִּיָּתֵינוּ וְנִיָּתְבֵי מַיָּא** *come, let us bring rain*, Taan. 25 a; **תָּא לִיהוּי כּוֹלֵן לְעַמָּא דְּדָרְמִטְרִין** *come, let us all be one people*, Sanh. 39 a; **תָּא לִיהוּי כּוֹלֵן לְעַמָּא דְּדָרְמִטְרִין** *that we may carry off*, Hôr. 3 b; **לִיעֲיִינָן** *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 b; **לִיבְטִילִין** *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 a; **נִיתָאן** *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 b (§ 102);¹ **אֲשַׁחֲמִיטְנָא** *I shall eschew*, B. Q. 105 b; **אֵיעֲכַבְנָא** *I shall be late*, 'En Ya'aq., Sanh. 98 a. The same is met with in the participle.

GENDER.—§ 234. There are in the verb, as well as in the noun, two genders, masculine and feminine. But their use is irregular. On the whole it can be said that the feminine tends to disappear altogether. There is not a single masculine form that could not legitimately be used for the feminine, while many of the feminine forms are found in use for the masculine, both in verb and pronoun. Cf. § 236.²

NUMBER.—§ 235. Of the two numbers, the singular is frequently used when we should expect the plural. This may be due to laxity of syntax, or, as in Syriac, to the orthographical omission of the plural ending, or to scribal errors.

¹ The section quoted is to be corrected by this.

² Cf. Lotz, *Tigl. Pileses*, p. 96 below; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 162; Barnstein, pp. 30-33.

Qal.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַל, (אֶקְטַל)	קָטִיל, (אֶקְטִיל)	קָטוּל
3d fem. . . .	קָטְלָה, חֲ	קָטִילָה, חֲ	—
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטִילְתָּ	—
2d fem. . . .	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—
1st com. . .	קָטַלְנוּ [ח]	קָטִילְנוּ [ח]	קָטוּלְנוּ [ח]
Plur. 3d masc. {	קָטְלוּ	קָטִילוּ	קָטוּלוּ
	—	קָטוּל	—
	—	קָטִילָה	—
	—	קָטִילָה	—
3d fem. . . .	קָטְלוּ	קָטִילוּ	—
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ, [חֲ] יִתְּנוּךְ	קָטִילְתָּ, [חֲ] יִתְּנוּךְ	—
1st com. {	קָטַלְנָה, קָטְלוּ	קָטִילְנָה, קָטִילוּ	—
	קָטַלְנוּ, לָנוּ	קָטִילְנוּ, לָנוּ	קָטוּלְנוּ
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטוּל, נִיקְטוּל	לִיקְטִיל, נִי	לִיקְטַל, נִי
3d fem. . . .	תִּקְטוּל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל
2d masc. . .	תִּקְטוּל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל
2d fem. . . .	—	תִּקְטְלִיךְ	—
1st com. . .	אֶקְטוּל	אֶקְטִיל	אֶקְטַל
Plur. 3d masc. . .	—	לִיקְטְלוּ, נִי	—
	—	לִיקְטְלוּ, נִי	—
	—	תִּקְטְלוּךְ	—
	—	—	—
3d fem. . . .	—	—	—
2d masc. . .	—	—	—
1st com. . .	נִיקְטוּל, לִי	נִיקְטִיל, לִי	נִיקְטַל, לִי
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קָטוּל	קָטִיל	קָטַל
2d fem. . . .	קָטוּלִיךְ	קָטִילִיךְ	קָטְלִיךְ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קָטוּלוּ	קָטִילוּ	קָטְלוּ
INFINITIVE			
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	—	קָטִיל	—
fem. . .	—	קָטְלָה	—
Passive, sg. masc.	—	קָטִיל, (קָטוּל)	—
fem. . .	—	קָטִילָה, (קָטוּלָה)	—

STRONG VERB.

§ 236. The guttural verbs have been treated together with the non-gutturals, since for lack of vocalization we know but little of the modifications the former underwent.

In the examples given, masculine forms have been given as masculine, although used as feminine, and the reverse. *E. g.*, אֵיבַר *she became pregnant* (Bekh. 47 a, Sanh. 69 a) I put under masculine forms; מִיְהֵלן *circumcise yourselves* (M. MS., Sanh. 39 a), under feminine forms.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§ 237. a) [BT קָטַל; M קטאל; S מָטַל].¹—שָׁקַל *he took*, Ned. 51 a; שָׁתַק *kept silent*, M. Q. 28 a, עָרַק *fled*, M. Q. 28 a; שָׁלַח *sent*, שָׁמַע *heard*, Ned. 65 a; טָהַר *shone forth*. Yôm. 15 a.

b) [B קָטַל; T קָטִיל; M קטיל; S מָטַל].—סָלַק *ascended*, Ned. 66 b, Ber. 18 b; טָעַם *tasted*, Ned. 66 b; שָׁדַיב *had died*, *ibid.*

c) [T קָטִיל; S מָטַל].—הָרַב *was destroyed*, Gitt. 55 b; תָּקַוָּה *became foxy*, M. MS., Taan. 7 a, H. MS., B. M. 106 b; נָבֹאֵג *rose up, came up*, Sanh. 82 a; בְּרוֹק בְּרוֹקָה *the bright star has shone forth*, a Babylonian saying quoted in *Jer. Talm.*, R. H. 57 b; פָּרוּךְ *partook*, M. MS., Ber. 46 a; ed. Ven., *ibid.* 57 b.²

3d sing. fem.³—§ 238. a) [B קָטַלָּה; T קָטִילָּה; M קיטלאח; S מָטַלָּה].—גָּנְבָהּ *she stole*, Ned. 34 b; פָּקְעָה *burst*, *ibid.* 50 a; שָׁמְעָה *heard*, שָׁלַחָה *sent*, Ber. 51 b.⁴

b) [B קָטַלָּה; T קָטִילָּה; M קיטלאח; S מָטַלָּה].—סָלַקָה *ascended*, Keth. 104 a: בְּעִתָּהּ *was afraid*, Bêç. 25 b; שָׁדַיבָה *died*, Ber. 18 b. Sabb. 151 b; טָרִיקָה *stung*, Ber. 58 b.⁵

2d sing. masc.⁶—§ 239. a) [B קָטַלְתָּ; T קָטִילְתָּ; M קטלתא, קטלתא; S מָטַלְתָּ].—פָּתַכְתָּ *didst write*, Hag. 4 b; שָׁקַלְתָּ *didst take*, B. M. 63 b; סָלַקְתָּ *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 b; גָּנַבְתָּ *didst steal*,

¹ B = Bibl. Aramaic, T = Targumic Aramaic, M = Mandaic, S = Syriac.

² Cf. שָׁרַיַג, *HG.* ed. princ., 79 c.

³ Cf. § 200.

⁴ The spelling קָטַלָּה (never קָטַלָּה) shows that this form is like that of T.

⁵ This last verb is not Pa'el as Jastrow thinks.

⁶ Cf. § 201.

ibid. 56 *b*; שָׁמַעְתָּ *didst hear*, Ned. 6 *a*; פָּשַׁעְתָּ *didst commit a crime*, B. Q. 85 *a*.

b) [B שָׁתָּה, קָטַלְתָּ; T שָׁתָּה, קָטַלְתָּ; M קָטַלְתָּ; S מָלַח].—*שָׁתָּה* *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 *b*; שָׁחַתְתָּ *didst grind*, Sanh. 95 *b*; [ק]נִישְׁתָּ *hast married*, Sand. 97 *a*; פָּרִיסְתָּ *didst spread out*, Qidd. 29 *b*.

*2d sing. fem.*¹—§ 240. *a*) [T עֲבַדְתִּין; S מָלַח].—קָטַלְתָּ *didst kill*, Keth. 65 *a*; שָׁקַלְתָּ, Tam. 32 *b*; זָבַחְתָּ *didst buy*, B. M. 51 *a*; קָטַלְתָּ *didst kill*, *ibid.* 59 *a*.

*1st sing. com.*²—§ 241. *a*) [B קָטַלְתָּ; T קָטַלְתָּ; M קָטַלְתָּ; S מָלַח].—עָבַדְתִּי *I did*, Sabb. 145 *b*; סָלַקְתִּי *I rose*, Ber. 57 *a*; כָּבַשְׁתִּי *conquered*, Sanh. 95 *a*; שָׁמַעְתִּי *heard*, B. Q. 67 *a*; שָׁקַלְתִּי *took*, M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*; עָבַדְתִּי *did*, Pes. 103 *a*,³ גָּנַבְתִּי *stole*, B. Q. 65 *a*; נָשָׁקְתִּי *kissed*, Ber. 56 *b*; שָׁחַלְתִּי *I planted*, Taan. 23 *a*; שָׁלַחְתִּי *I sent*, M. Q. 16 *b*.⁴

b) [B שָׁפַלְתָּ; T קָטַלְתָּ; M קָטַלְתָּ; S מָלַח].—שָׁפַלְתָּ *I went down*, Sabb. 116 *b*; כָּתַבְתָּ *wrote*, *ibid.* 105 *a*; שָׁקַלְתָּ *took*, *ibid.* 156 *b*; שָׁבַיְתָּ *left*, Keth. 53 *a*; פָּעַיְתָּ *was afraid*, Nid. 13 *a*; נָשַׁיְתָּ *took, married*, Sanh. 97 *a*; חֲתַמְתָּ *signed*, B. B. 167 *a*; סָלַקְתָּ *ascended*, M. MS., Ber. 57 *a*; זָבַחְתָּ *I bought*, Sôtā 13 *a*.

c) [T קָטַלְתָּ].—שָׁתַקְתִּי *I kept silence*, Sabb. 29 *b*; פָּרַחְתִּי *I partook*, M. MS., Ber. 49 *a*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 242. *a*) [BT קָטַלוּ; Pal. Talm. קָטַלוּ; M קָטַלוּ; S מָלַח].—שָׁפַעְתִּי *dripped profusely*, C. MS., M. Q. 25 *b*; עָרַקְתִּי *fled*, B. B. 8 *a*; בָּדַקְתִּי *searched*, Ber. 44 *a*; הֵחֵרְתִּי *returned*, *ibid.* 10 *a*; שָׁמַעְתִּי *heard*, *ibid.* 56 *a*,⁵ עָבַדְתִּי *made*, Gitt. 57 *a*; מָרַדְתִּי *rebelled*, *ibid.* שָׁחַלְתִּי *planted*, Taan. 23 *a*.

b) [B קָטַלוּ; T קָטַלוּ; M קָטַלוּ; S מָלַח].—שָׁתַקְתִּי *they kept silence*, Qid. 70 *b*, Sabb. 29 *b*; נָשַׁיְתִי *died*, Sanh. 97 *a*; סָלַקְתִּי, Sanh. 26 *a*; פָּרַחְתִּי, Ber. 22 *b*; כָּבַחְתִּי *tied*, *ibid.* 56 *b*;

¹ Cf. § 202.

² Cf. § 203.

³ Cf. בָּלַעְתִּי *I swallowed*, HG. ed. pr. 105 *b*.

⁴ מָסַרְתִּי *I committed*, HG. ed. pr. 119 *d*; פָּרַעְתִּי *I paid*, *ibid.* 98 *a*; שָׁלַחְתִּי *I sent*, *ibid.* 47 *c*.

⁵ לָקַיְתִי ed. Harkavy, § 241.

שְׁלִימוֹ were completed, M. Q. 28 b; תִּקְיֵפוּ became foxy, Ber. 5 b (M. MS. תִּקְיֵפָה, Beth Nāthān אִיתְקֵפָה cf. § 87); פָּתִיתוּ they tied, M. MS., Ber. 56 b.

c) [קָטְלוּ].—כָּרְבוּ ate, Ber. 22 b, ed. Ven.

d) *With final vowel thrown back*:¹ הָדִיר returned, Sanh. 26 a; עָבִיד did, Zeb. 99 b; סָלוֹק Taan. 23 b; קָבֵר buried, Sanh. 26 b; סָמְךָ relied, *ibid.* 26 a; גָּזַר decreed, Macc. 20 a; גָּזַל robbed, B. M. 62 a; זָבַח slaughtered, Hull. 4 b; נָפַל fell upon, Gitt. 57 a; סָבִיר were of opinion, *ibid.* 56 a; הָרִיב were destroyed, Meg. 4 a; נָהָר are bright, Taan. 10 a; הָשִׁיךְ are dark, *ibid.*

3d plur. fem.—§ 243. נָפְלוּ they fell, Sôta 13 a; נָתַרן dropped out, *ibid.*; נִשְׁקָן came out, Sanh. 101 a.

2d plur. masc.—§ 244. a) [BT קָטְלוּ; M קָטְלוּ; S מִכְּחָפְ].—עָבִידיתוּ ye did, Ned. 65 a.²

b) [TM קָטְלוּ; S מִכְּחָפְ].—עָבִידיתוּ Ned. 25 a; עָבִידיתוּ Sanh. 108 b;³ שָׁקַלְתִּי ye took, *ibid.* 110 a; עִסְקִיתִי busied yourselves, Yeb. 105 a; קָטַעְתִּי break off, Arākh, A. Z. 72 b; מִחֲלִיתִי circumcise yourselves, Sanh. 29 a (‘En Yaq. מִחֲלִיתִי).⁴

1st plur. com.—§ 245. a) [B קָטְלוּ; T קָטְלוּ; M קָטְלוּ; S מִכְּחָפְ].—פָּתַרְנָא we explained, Tam. 32 a; הִתְמַנָּא we signed, B. B. 164 a; שָׁקַלְנָא took, B. Q. 108 b; הָדִיר returned, B. B. 74 b; פִּשְׁטַנָּא explained, Hull. 77 a; עָבְרִינוּ we crossed, Ned. 22 b; פָּרְקִינוּ we redeemed, Gitt. 38 a; סָבְרִינוּ we thought, סְלָקִינוּ we disembarked, B. B. 73 b.

b) [B קָטְלוּ; T קָטְלוּ; M קָטְלוּ; S מִכְּחָפְ].—שָׁכַבְנוּ we slept, Sanh. 7 a; זָבַחְנוּ bought, R. MS., B. B. 126 a.

c) עָרַקְנוּ we fled, B. B. 8 a.⁵

IMPERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§ 246. a) [B יִקְטֹל; T יִקְטֹל; (יִקְטֹל); M יִקְטֹל; S יִקְטֹל].—לִיכְתֹּב writes, M. Q. 8 a; לִטְעוֹם tastes, Sabb. 11 a; לִטְעוֹם, Ned. 22 b; לְמַעוֹל transgresses, *ibid.* 54 a; לִיסְלוֹק ascends, Sabb. 110 a; נִיגְזֹר decrees, M. Q. 14 b; לִיהָרִיב is destroyed, *ibid.* 9 b; לִיהָרוֹץ roasts, Pes. 40 a;

¹ Cf. §§ 71, 73, 232.

² Cf. § 232; פִּשְׁטַרְנוּ, HG. ed. pr. 143 a.

³ Cf. § 232, a.

⁴ This seems to be a kind of precativ perfect.

⁵ A few forms occur without ל: יִהְרֹב Nāz. 32 b; יִמְלֹךְ A. Z. 10 a; יִמְלֹךְ *ibid.*; יִעָקֵר *ibid.* 16 a; יִלְבֹּשׁ Ber. 28 a. Cf. § 207.

לִיעְבוֹר *counts*, Macc. 22 *a*; לִיהָדוֹק *squeezes*, Sabb. 139 *b*; לִיעְבוֹר *transgresses*, Ned. 4 *ab*; נִטְרוֹק *bolts*, Er. 102 *a*.

b) [T וְקָטִיל Gitt. 67 *b*, Sabb. 141 *a*; לִיסְחִיף *upturns*, Sabb. 110 *a*; לִיזְבִּין *buys*, *ibid.* 140 *b*; נִיעְבִּיד *does*, *ibid.* 134 *b*; לִיעְבִּיד, *ibid.* 81 *a*, Ber. 30 *a*; לְחָלִיף *passes by*, Gitt. 56 *b*; לִיחְשִׁיב *counts*, Nāz. 21 *a*; לִיפְסִיד *has loss*, B. M. 109 *b*.¹

c) [BT וְקָטֵל M נִיקְטָאֵל S نَمَكَّ].—לִיפְתַח *begins*, Ned. 3 *a*; לִיסְפֵּר *reasons*, Sabb. 63 *a*; לִיזְרַע *sows*, *ibid.* 85 *a*; לִישְׁנֹאֵר ('Arākh *jumps*, *ibid.* 110 *a*; לִיחְשֵׁב *counts*, *ibid.* 74 *a*; נִיחָדֵק *pushes in*, *ibid.* 139 *b*; לִיחָרֵב *is destroyed*, Gitt. 56 *a*; לִיעְבֵּד *does*, A. Z. 28 *b*; נִיחָוֹר *is white*, B. Q. 69 *a*; לִיִּקְרֵב Sanh. 3 *b*.

3d sing. fem.—§ 247. *a*) תִּישְׁקוּל *takes*, Sabb. 110 *b*; תִּחְלוֹץ *takes off the shoe*, Yeb. 105 *a*.

c) תִּשְׁלַח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 *a*; תִּפְחֹשׁ (§ 23, *c*) *deteriorates*, MS. H. B. M. 104 *b*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 248. *a*) תִּיקְטוּל *killest*, Pes. 25 *b*; תִּפְשׁוּט *explaineest*, Sabb. 3 *b*.

b) תִּחְלִיף *passcest by*, Yômā 18 *a*.

c) תִּיִּחְרַט *regrettest*, Pes. 113 *a*; תִּחְצֹר *harvestest*, M. Q. 9 *b*; תִּתְפַּח *gettest angry*, Ber. 29 *b*; תִּקְרֵב *approachest*, Sabb. 13 *a*.

2d sing. fem.—§ 249. [BT תִּקְטָלִין M תִּקְטוּל S نَمَكَّ].—תִּדְחִלִין B. M. 84 *b*; תִּדְחִלִי *fearest*, Sabb. 63 *b*; תִּעְבְּדִי *doest*, M. Q. 27 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 250. *a*) אֶחְצֹר *I harvest*, M. Q. 9 *b*; אֶיִּזְבֹּן *buy*, B. B. 30 *b*; אֶדְרוֹשׁ *lecture*, Sabb. 80 *b*; אֶשְׁקוּל *remove*, Meg. 16 *a*; אֶיִּבְדוֹק *I try*, Yeb. 65 *a*.

b) אֶמְזִיג *I mix wine*, Ned. 55 *a*; אֶיעְבִּיד *I do*, Gitt. 56 *a*, Sabb. 81 *b*.

c) אֶנְלִמ *I learn*, Nid. 48 *a*; אֶשְׁמַע *hear*, Ber. 24 *b*; אֶזְרַע *sow*, M. Q. 9 *b*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 251. BT וְקָטְלוּ M נִיקְטָלוּ S نَمَكَّ].—*1*) *With stem-vowel omitted*: לִיעְבְּדוּן, M. MS., B. B. 156 *a*; לִיחְדוּן *return*, C. MS., M. Q. 9 *b*; לִירְחֹטוּ *run*, Hull. 51 *a*; לִיזְבְּנוּ *buy*, Sabb. 75 *b*; נִיחְדְּרוּ Ber. 37 *a*; נִכְתְּבוּ *write*, Gitt. 66 *a*; לִישְׁמְעוּ A. Z. 2 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.*, לִישְׁמְעוּ); לִיעְבְּדוּ Sanh. 95 *b*;

¹ Cf. לִישְׁחִיט HG. ed. prine. 126 *c*, נִחְלִיץ *ibid.* 59 *a*; but לִיחְלוֹץ *ibid.* 59 *b*.

לִּיעֲבֹד *ibid.* 96 *b*; לִּיתַפְּסִי *take hold*, Yeb. 92 *b*; נִיפְלְגִי *give a share*, Sabb. 116 *b*.¹

2) *With retained stem-vowel*: נִגְרוּסוּ *study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*; לַעֲרוּקָה *flee*, B. B. 8 *a*; לַעֲבִידוֹ *do*, *ibid.* 156 *a*.

3) *With final vowel thrown back*: לִּיבְרוּךְ *buy*, Ber. 53 *a*; נִפְרוּסִי *unloosen*, Gitt. 69 *a*; Bēḡā 30 *a*; לִּיטְהוּדִי *testify*, Yeb. 31 *b*; לִּיפְשׁוּטִי *are afraid*, B. B. 10 *a*; תִּדְרֹשׁוּן *teach*, Bēḡā 28 *a*; תִּגְמְרוּ *learn*, B. B. 130 *b*; תִּעֲבִדוּ *ibid.* 10 *a*.

3d plur. fem.—§ 252. לִּיהֲדֹרֶן *they return*, 'En Yaq., M. Q. 9 *b*.

2d plur. masc.—§ 253. 1) תִּיזְבְּנוּן *ye buy*, Taan. 24 *a*; תִּדְרֹשׁוּן *are afraid*, B. B. 10 *a*; תִּדְרֹשׁוּן *teach*, Bēḡā 28 *a*; תִּגְמְרוּ *learn*, B. B. 130 *b*; תִּעֲבִדוּ *ibid.* 10 *a*.

2) תִּעֲבִידוּ *ibid.* 130 *b*, M. MS. *ibid.* תִּעֲבִידוּן.

1st plur. com.—§ 254. a) נִישְׁבֹּק *we leave*, Sabb. 119 *b*; נִקְטוּל *Sanh.* 82 *b*; נִיבְזֹר *decree*, Pes. 105 *a*; נִעֲרֹב *associate*, Sotā 21 *a*; לִיפְלוֹג *divide*, *ibid.*

b) נִעֲבִיד *Sabb.* 37 *b*, Gitt. 56 *a*; נִקְטִיל *Pes.* 12 *a*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 255. a) [B קָטַל; T קָטוּל; M קָטוּל; S مَكَّلَ].—רָקֹד *dance*, Ned. 51 *a*; פָּלוּט *spit out*, *ibid.* 49 *b*; שִׁפּוּךְ *pour out*, Ber. 62 *b*; שָׁקוּל *take*, B. B. 6 *b*; גָּדוּשׁ *put up a stack*, B. Q. 59 *b*.

b) [T קָטִיל].—סָגִיד *worship*, Meg. 16 *b*; זָקִיָּה *hang up*, B. M. 59 *b*; טַעֲמִים *taste*, Ber. 5 *b*; גָּחִין *bow down*, B. M. 59 *a*; שָׁקִיל *take*, Sabb. 142 *b*; עָבִיד *do*, Bekh. 8 *b*, Gitt. 68 *b*; פָּסִיק *cut off*, Sabb. 75 *a*; לֵךְ *go*, only in one proverb, Sabb. 13 *a*; עִיבִיד *Ned.* 51 *a* and elsewhere (§ 13).

e) [T קָטַל; M קָטַל; S مَكَّلَ].—שָׁלַח *take off*, Ber. 28 *a*; שָׁמַע *hear*, Ned. 7 *b*; פָּרַע *pay*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; פָּלַח *serve*, A. Z. 18 *a*; מָשָׁךְ *drag, carry*, B. Q. 93 *a*; בָּחַר *choose*, Yeb. 63 *a*.

d) By analogy with ל"י verbs, בָּרַדִּי (§ 259, *i*, note), 'Arūkh, Nāz. 4 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 256. a) [B קָטְלִי; T קָטוּלִי; Jer. Talm.: קוּטְלִין; S مَكَّلִי].—שָׁקוּלִי *take*, Meg. 18 *a*; נְהוּגִי *conduct*, M. Q. 16 *b*.

b) [T קָטִילִי].—עֲבִידִי *do*, Yeb. 63 *a*; נְהוּגִי M. MS., M. Q. 16 *b*; שְׁתִּיקִי *keep silent*, Keth. 103 *a*, 'En Y. (§ 23 *e*).

c) [T קָטִילִי; S مَكَّلִי].—שָׁבַקִי *leave*, Ber. 31 *b*; תִּבְרִי *break*, Ned. 66 *b*; and with loss of stem-vowel פִּירְחִי *fly, flee*, Pes. 111 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.* פִּרְחִין).

¹ Cf. לִיעֲבֹדִין, *Igg. Šeritā*, p. 23, ed. Brüll; רִסְהֲדִין Harkavy's ed. of 'תש' הגא', § 54.

Plur. masc.—§ 257. a) [B קָטְלוּ; T קטולו; Palest. Talm. קוטלון; S مَقْتُلُونَ, مَقْتُلُونَ].—פְּתוּבוּ *write ye*, B. B. 40 a; פָּרוּקוּ *flee*, *ibid.* 8 a; בִּלְתוּקוּ *bolt*, Ber. 28 a; לְחַשּׁוּ *whisper*, Yōmā 82 b; שָׁקוּלוּ *Er.* 94 a; שָׁקוּלוּ *Sanh.* 26 a, *Qidd.* 81 a; with omitted stem-vowel: בִּידְקוּ *examine*, Gitt. 68 b.

b) [T קָטְלוּ].—פְּתוּבוּ *write*, Yōmā 77 a; טַעְמוּ *taste*, Pes. 111 a; עֲבִידוּ *do*, Bekh. 8 b; בְּעִירוּ *remove*, Pes. 5 b.

c) [T קָטְלוּ; Palest. Talm. קטלון; S مَقْتُلُ, مَقْتُلُ].—פְּתוּחוּ *open ye*, Sabb. 41 a; הֵרְדוּ *return*, Sanh. 26 a; זָרְעוּ *sow*, *ibid.*; פְּתוּבוּ *B. B.* 40 a; with omitted stem-vowel: מִשְׁחוּ *measure*, Bekh. 8 b.

d) With epenthetic vowel: הֵרְדוּ *return*, Gitt. 68 b; עֲטוּהוּ *cover yourselves*, M. Q. 28 b. The last example may also be explained as singular.

Plur. fem.—§ 258. [B קָטְלוּנָא; S مَقْتُلْنَ, مَقْتُلْنَ].—קְטוּלִין *kill ye*, Sabb. 12 a. But this single example is doubtful. O. MS. has for it קְטוּלִינָהוּ, and the form קְטוּלִין may also contain the objective suffix. מִיִּדְּקוּן *have yourselves circumcised*, Sanh. 39 a, M. MS.

INFINITIVE.—§ 259. The usual form is מִקְטַל; the other forms occur sporadically.

a) miqtāl: לִמְשַׁקֵּל *to take*, Ned. 12 b, 37 a; לִמְיָסֵבֵל *to stand, suffer*, *ibid.* 51 a; לִמְעַבְדָּ *to do*, *ibid.* 76 a; לִמְעַקֵּר *to annul*, Nāz. 21 b; לִמְשַׁקֵּר *to gulp*; לִמְשַׁמֵּר *to smear*, *ibid.*; לִמְיָקֵדֵשׁ *to be holy*, Nāz. 22 b.

b) miqtūl: לִמְטַבֵּיל, Nidd. 66 b.

c) miqtīl: מְצַמִּיחַ *to harden*, Pes. 41 a, 74 b; מְקַלֵּשׁ *to weaken*, Ned. 68 a; מִיַּפְשֵׁט *to be clear*, Pes. 83 b; מְקַפֵּיד *to be particular*, A. Z. 31 a; מְזַרִיחַ *to cause soreness*, 'En Ya'aq., A. Z. 28 b.

d) miqtāla, miqtīla (§ 223 a): מְשַׁטָּח *B. B.* 29 b; לִמְשַׁטָּח *to spread*, B. M. 106 a; מְעַבְדָּ *to do*, Sabb. 50 a; לִמְזַרְעָה *to sow*, B. M. 106 b; מְשַׁתָּקָה *to keep silence*, Qidd. 13 a; לִמְשַׁלָּפָה *to take off*, Gitt. 56 b; לִמְשַׁטָּפָה *to deluge*, Succ. 53 a; לִמְיָקְרָבָה *to approach*, M. Q. 28 a.

e) miqtāle, miqtīle (§ 226): מִיִּדְּחָרִי *to take back*, 'Ar. 23 a; מְשַׁקְלִי *to be balanced, ambiguous*, *ibid.* 18 b; מִיִּגְמִירִי *to learn*, Hōr. 12 a.

f) qūtūl: קָדֹר to *vow*, Ned. 21 b; לְקָסוֹם to *divine*, Gitt. 68 b; לְסָמוֹךְ to *lean*, Er. 15 a; לְטַעֵם to *taste*, Ber. 28 b; לְשָׁקוֹל to *take*, Me'ilā 17 b.

g) qātāl or qitāl: טָרַח to *trouble*, Yōma 19 a, 'Arūkh, Hull. 51 a; עָנַשׁ to *punish*, M. Q. 25 a; [בִּלְעָא to *swallow it*, B. B. 74 b; but this may also be the emphatic participle בִּלְעָא].

h) qūtūlē: לְפָרוֹשׁ to *withdraw*, M. MS., Šebu. 18 b; לַעֲבוּרִי to *cross*, Pes. 74 b; לְרַבּוֹקִי to *attach oneself*, Keth. 111 b; לְפָלוֹחִי to *serve*, Ber. 27 b; הָשׁוּבִי to *have in mind*, Zeb. 36 a; צִמּוּחִי to *harden*, Pes. 41 a; שָׁלוּפִי to *pull out*, M. Q. 4 b; שְׁלוּפִי to *draw out*, Yeb. 102 b.

i) qitālā: לְשִׁטָּח to *spread out*, M. MS., B. B. 29 b.

j) qatlūiē, qitlūiē: (by analogy with verbs ל"י): בִּרְדִּי, ¹ בִּרְדִּי, בִּרְדִּי, 'Arūkh, Nāz. 4 b.²

NOTE.—Our idiom shows a tendency to use the form קטולי as an absolute infinitive with finite verbs of all conjugations. For this reason many of the forms given under *lit. g* are doubtful, as they may belong to Pa'ēl, although used as inner object to verbs of Qal. There is, however, no doubt that some of these forms are used as Qal.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§260. The form of the active participle is קָטִיל (or קָטִיל), the vowel of the second syllable being syncope when the word is lengthened. The vowel of the first syllable is sometimes changed to *i*, *e*, or *ai* (§§ 69, 80). Verbs whose last stem-consonant is a guttural, or ר, take *ā* in the second syllable (§ 73). In the lengthened forms *ā* is shortened to *ā* in traditional pronunciation (§ 76). In the feminine the ending ת־ is very rare (§ 224). As this participle is mostly used with verbal force, the determinate state is very rare.

Sing. masc.—§ 261. a) סָלִיק leaves off, Ned. 2 b, 30 b; דִּרְיֵשׁ explains, *ibid.* 3 a; עָבִיד does, *ibid.* 25 a; סָפִיד laments, Sabb. 90 b.

b) פָּתַח begins, Ned. 3 a; עָבַר transgresses, M. Q. 17 a; סָבַר holds, *ibid.*, 6 b; שָׁוָא jumps, B. B. 96 a (§ 10); יָדַע knows, Ned. 8 a; נָגַה is sufficient, M. Q. 16 b.³

¹ Cf. Jastrow, s. v. בִּרְדִּי.

² In later literature: לְמַהֲדֵר (voc.), HG. 34; לְמִימְחוּג TG. ed. Cassel, § 104; אֲנַמּוֹר Igg. Šertrā, p. 8; לְקַבּוּעִי MṬ., p. 40.

³ Cf. הָדִיר HG. 377; פָּרִיעַ *ibid.* 402.

*Sing. fem.*¹—§ 262. דָּחָקָה *pushes*, M. Q. 28 a; רָהָטָה *runs*, *ibid.* 9 b; עָבְדָה *does*, *ibid.* 17 a; הִדְרָא *returns*, Sabb. 151 a; מִתְנָה *is wet*, Raši, Pes. 111 b [M. MS. מִיִּתְנָה (§§ 69, 86), eds. מִיִּתְנָה (§ 80)].

Plur. masc.—§ 263. פָּתְחוּ open, Ned. 22 a; פָּסְקוּ *divide*, *ibid.* 38 a; עָבְדוּ *would make*, *ibid.* 50 a; קָטְלוּ *kill*, M. Q. 14 b; תִּפְסְוּ *take hold*, Ned. 6 b; בָּטְלוּ *are neutralized*, *ibid.* 59 a; גָּנְבוּ *stole*, *ibid.* 62 a; קָטְלוּ *kill*, B. M. 86 a; דָּהָקוּ *importune*, Taan. 23 b; שְׁלְחוּ *send*, B. Q. 20 b.

Plur. fem.—§ 264. שָׁדְרוּ *dragged along*, Hull. 51 a; שָׁכְבוּ *are to die*, Ber. 56 a; פָּרְחוּ *fly*, *ibid.*; סָלְקוּ *come up*, *ibid.* 20 a; רִיהָטוּ *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 a (§ 69); נָטְרוּ *wait*, Ber. 17 a; עָקְרוּ *are*, Hôr. 7 b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 265. The passive participle has generally retained its nominal force, except when used with following ל to form the periphrastic perfect, or present.² It is therefore often found in the determinate state, both in singular and plural. In a few cases the first stem-consonant has *ā*, as in Hebrew (§ 84). Besides the usual form קָטִיל the form קָטוּל is found in a few instances.

Sing. masc.—§ 266. a) כָּתִיב *written*, Ned. 3 a; שָׁכִיחַ *occurs*, *is frequent*, *ibid.* 33 b, 56 b; שְׁמִיעַ *heard*, *ibid.* 41 a; עָבִיר *is made*, *ibid.* 54 b; כָּתִב, Sabb. 116 b; צָרִיךְ, Ned. 3 a and frequent;³ עָרִיךְ *is preferable*, Pes. 95 b.⁴—e. קָטִיל *killed*, Pes. 111 b, Sanh. 65 a; רְטִיב *wet*, *ibid.* 93 a; זְמִינָא *invited*, Ned. 24 a; צְרִיפָא *pious, chaste*, Men. 49 a.

b) שְׁמוּט *compressed*, Bekh. 43 b; סְמוּךְ *laid on hands*, Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a; רְקוּעַ *extended*, M. Q. 28 a, 'Arākḥ; מְזוּג *mixed*, Yômā 81 b; נְהוּר *shines*, Sabb. 116 b; תְּבוּר *broken*, *ibid.* 67 a.—e. חֲרוּבָא *burnt*, M. MS., B. M. 85 a, eds. Sanh. 37 a.

Sing. fem.—§ 267. a) לְבִישָׁא *clad*, Ber. 20 a; עָבִידָא *used*, apt, Ned. 91 a; צְרִיכָא *is necessary*, *ibid.*; טְרִיחָא *troublesome*, *ibid.* 25 a; e. צְמִירָתָא *burning*, Sabb. 67 a, Pes. 25 b; חֲרִיפָתָא *sharp*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 a (voc.); קְלִישָׁתָא *weak*, Yeb. 113 a.

b) שְׁקוּלָא *is taken*, Sabb. 63 b; בְּרוּכָה *wrapped up*, Gitt. 68 a

¹ Cf. § 224.

² The ל is sometimes omitted: שְׁמִיעַ *has heard*, Ber. 5b, for שְׁמִיעַ לִיהּ *heard*, Sabb. 26 a (the following לָהּ is object).

³ צָרִיךְ in TG., ed. Harkavy, § 20.

⁴ תִּפְסְוּ *sewed*, Alfäst Yeb. end of Perek 12.

Plur. masc.—§268. a) פְּלִיגִי *are taken*, Sabb. 63 b; פְּלִיגִי differ, Ned. 7 a; שְׂרָפִי *spotted*, *ibid.* 25 a; חֲשִׁירִי *of importance*, Ber. 16 b; עֲבָדִי *used to*, Keth. 60 b; נִגְדָדוּ *stretched out*, Sabb. 138 a; חֲקִילִין *of full weight*, B. M. 44 b; שְׁכִיחִי *are found, occur*, M. Q. 12 b.

b) שְׁקִילִי *ambiguous*, 'Ar. 18 b; חֲשׂוּבִי *noble*, A. Z. 10 b; גְּמוּרִי *absolute*, Ber. 61 b, Sôta 31 a; שְׂמוּנִי *long-necked*, Keth. 60 b, חֲקִילִי *of full weight*, B. M. 69 b; כְּבִירִי *hold*, B. Q. 112 b.¹

Plur. fem.—§269. a) עֲבִידָן *are made*, Ned. 38 b; נְסִיבָן *married*, Ber. 43 b; פְּתִיבָן, פְּתִיבָן *written*, Ned. 37 b, 38 a; e. חֲסִיכָתָא *poor, bad*, Pes. 48 a; חֲשִׁילָתָא *mashed*, Hull. 93 a; and with double plural ending, צְרִיעָתָן *modest, chaste*, Sabb. 140 b.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.²—§270. The participles are often combined with the pronouns of the first and the second persons into one word to form the present tense. The third person, as in the perfect, is understood with the bare participle.³ When thus combined they have the following forms:

<i>Singular masculine.</i>				<i>Singular feminine.</i>			
אֲנָא	קָטִיל	becomes	קָטִילָנָא	אֲנָא	קָטִילָא	becomes	קָטִילָנָא
אֲנָא	קָטִיל	"	קָטִילָנָא	אֲנָא	קָטִילָא	"	[קָטִילָנָא]
אַתָּ	קָטִיל	"	קָטִילָתָא	אַתָּ	קָטִילָא	"	קָטִילָתָא
אַתָּ	קָטִיל	"	קָטִילָתָא	אַתָּ	קָטִילָא	"	קָטִילָתָא
<i>Plural masculine.</i> ⁵							
	אֲנָן	קָטִילִין	becomes		קָטִילִין		קָטִילִין
	אֲנָן	קָטִילִין	"		קָטִילִין		קָטִילִין
	(אַתּוֹן)	קָטִילִין	"		קָטִילִיתִין		קָטִילִיתִין
	(אַתּוֹן)	קָטִילִין	"		קָטִילִיתִין		קָטִילִיתִין

¹ פְּלִיגִין *Igg. Šerirā*, p. 12.

² Cf. Noldeke, *MG.* §175 a, *SG.* §269, *NSG.* §100 sq.; Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, §133; McCurdy "Assyr. Permaneive," in *Transact. of the Leyden Congress of Orientalists* (1885); Zimmern "Das Verhältniss, des assyr. Permanens zum semitischen Perfect und zum ägyptischen 'Pseudoparticip,' " *ZA.*, V., 1-22.

³ But cf. מְצַדְרִינָן *they need*, Alfasi, B. M. 49 r; אֲמַרְיָנָן *they say, one says*, 'Arākh, Šebu. 46 a; עֲבָדְיָנָן *one does*, *TG.* ed. Cassel, §91. All these forms, however, are doubtful; the ך might denote קָמִיץ (§70, note 3) and the pronouns be the first person plural. The form כְּנִין may also be a by-form of כָּן as כָּן is of כָּא (§271 c, note).

⁴ For bracketed forms I have no examples.

⁵ The plural feminine does not occur with enclitic pronouns.

⁶ We should expect the last syllable to be כָּן, but the traditional pronunciation is קָן.

⁷ Whether the ה retains its daghesh is impossible to tell. In the Targumim it is usually rāphē, but sometimes retains daghesh.

For variations in form of pronouns *cf.* § 98 and examples below (§§ 271–2). For plural 1st person used for singular *cf.* § 106.

References.—§ 271. *a)* עֵבִידְנָא *I do*, Ned. 5 *a*; טַעֲמִינָא *I taste*, *ibid.* 22 *b*; זָבִינָא *I buy*, Er. 100 *b*; זִינָא *I feed, support*, Gitt. 56 *a* (§ 50, 6); זָבִינָא *I buy*, B. B. 30 *b*; נָדְרָנָא *I vow*, Ned. 9 *a*; שְׁמַעְנָא *I hear*, *ibid.* 72 *b*; שְׂבִיעֵנָא *I am satiated*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b* (§ 73); פִּשְׁטִינָא *I explain*, Taan. 21 *a* (§ 106); שְׁקִלְנָא *I take*, *ibid.* 24 *a*, and frequently; אָנָא אֲזֵלִין *I will go*, Me'ilā 17 *b*; נְהִירְנָא *I shout*, 'Arūkh, R. H. 34 *b*, eds. נְהִירְנָא; this form is perhaps the passive participle.

b) יָדַעְתָּ *knowest*, עֲבַרְתָּ *trespassest*, Ned. 23 *a*; סְבַרְתָּ *art of opinion*, Ber. 2 *b*; שָׁמַעְתָּ *thou hearest*, Ned. 3 *b*; but טַעֲמִיתָ *thou tastest*, *ibid.* 22 *b*, with retention of second stem-vowel; קָטַלְתָּ *killest*, Sanh. 48 *b*.—*f.* גָּבִיאָח *collectest payment*, Keth. 43 *b*.

c) שְׁמַעְיָן *we hear*, Ned. 13 *a*, 81 *b*, Ber. 17 *b*; עֵבִידְיָן *we do*, R. H. 47 *a*; פִּסְקִינָן *we divide*, Ber. 12 *b*; גְּמַרְיָן *we begin*, *ibid.* 14 *b*; גְּזַרְיָן *we decree*, Ned. 10 *b*; עֲסָקִינָן *we treat*, *ibid.* 59 *a*.—דִּכְרָן *we remember*, B. M. 8 *b* (§ 232); רַחֲמֵינִי *we (I) love*, Sanh. 89 *b*; קָטַלְיָן *we kill*, M. MS., Sanh. 95 *a*.²

d) עֲרִבִיתָן *ye pledge yourselves*, Sanh. 39 *b*; תִּמְהוּרִיתָן *ye are astonished*, *ibid.* 95 *a*; אֲמַרְיִיתָן *ye say*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; דַּכְמִיתָן *ye are wise*, Ber. 56 *a*; עֲבַדִּיתָן *ye do*, B. M. 73 *a*; שְׁקִילִיתָן *ye take*, Sanh. 110 *a*, B. M. 109 *a*.

§ 272. *a)* גָּמַרְנָא *I have learned*, R. H. 23 *a*, Sabb. 63 *a*; דִּכְרַנָּא *I remember*, Taan. 20 *b*; נִהֲרַנָּא *I remember*, *ibid.* 19 *b*; חֲשִׁיבָנָא *I am esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b*; חֲשִׁיבָנָא *I am suspected*, Ber. 5 *b*.

b) חֲשִׁיבָתָּ *thou art esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b*; צְרִיכָתָּ *thou art in need of*, B. M. 33 *a*, Ber. 13 *b*; פְּטִירָתָּ *art free*, *ibid.* 11 *a*; רְגִילָתָּ *thou art wont*, Meg. 28 *a*; עֲצִיבָתָּ *thou art pained*, Taan. 25 *a* (*f.*).

¹ *Cf.* Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 64 B.

² In later literature: הוּא אֲזֵלִין *I was going*, Še'elt., ch. 1; מְהַלְלִין *we circumcise*, *ibid.*, ch. 93; נִתְּבִינִי *we give*, *MF.*, p. 85; קָטַלְיָנוּ *we kill*, *ibid.* 76.

c) עֲסִיקִינוּ Ned. 38 b, 63 b; *we are busy, treat*, Pes. 90 b; עֲדִיפִינוּ *we are better, worthier*, M. MS. Taan. 24 a; פְּלִיגִינוּ *we differ*, Er. 10 b; נִקְיִינוּ *we accept, assume*, Ned. 41 a; גִּירִינוּ *follow*, Taan. 24 a; גָּמִירִנוּ *we learned*, ed. Ven., Ber. 62 a.¹

d) חֲשִׁיבִיתָו *ye are worthy*, Taan. 15 b; צָרִיכָתָו *ye need*, Sabb. 121 b; פְּלִיגִיתָו *ye differ*, Er. 10 b; גָּמִירִיתָו *you have learned*, Col. MS., Pes. 66 a.

PA“EL.—*Perfect*.—§273. The vowel of the first syllable is generally *ă*, before gutturals mostly *i* or *ē* (§68). The vowel of the second syllable tends to stay in all the forms.

Pa“ēl.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַל	קָטִיל, (טִי)	קָטוּל
3d fem. . . .	קָטְלָא	קָטִילָא, תִּ	—
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטִילְתָּ	—
1st com. . .	קָטַלְתִּי(ת)	קָטִילְתִּי(ת)	קָטוּלְתִּי(ת)
Plur. 3d masc. {	קָטְלוּ	קָטִילוּ	—
		קָטוּלוּ	
	קָטַלְתֶּם, יִתְחַנֵּן	קָטִילְתֶּם, יִתְחַנֵּן	—
2d masc. . . {	קָטַלְתָּם	קָטִילְתָּם, לִינֵן	—
	קָטַלְתֶּם, נֵן	קָטִילְתֶּם, לִינֵן	—
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטֹל, לֵקֵן	לִיקְטִיל, לֵקֵן	לִיקְטוּל, לֵקֵן
3d fem. . . .	תִּקְטֹל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטוּל
2d masc. . .	תִּקְטֹל	תִּקְטִיל	—
1st com. . .	אִיקְטֹל, אֵ	אִיקְטִיל, אֵ	אִיקְטוּל
3d masc. . .		לִיקְטוּלוּ, לֵקֵן	
3d fem. . . .		לִיקְטוּלְיָ, לֵקֵן	
2d masc. . .		תִּקְטוּלוּ, לֵקֵן	
1st com. . .	נִקְטֹל	נִקְטִיל, נִינֵן	נִקְטוּל

¹ גָּמִירִינָא, TG., ed. Harkavy, §377.

Pa''ēl.—Continued.

IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קַטֵּל	קַטִּיל	קַטּוּל
2d fem. . . .	—	קַטִּילִי	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	—	קַטִּילוּ, (ט)	—
INFINITIVE.		קַטּוּלִי	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מְקַטֵּל	מְקַטִּיל	(מְקַטּוּל)
fem. .		מְקַטִּילָה	
Passive, sg. masc.		מְקַטָּל	
fem. .		מְקַטָּלָה	

EXAMPLES FOR PA''ĒL.

PERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§ 274. a) [B קַטֵּל, קַטֵּל; T קַטִּיל; M קַטִּיל; S مَكْتَلٌ].—קָבַיל Ned. 49 b; וּבִין B. M. 65 a; שָׁלִים *he finished*, Sabb. 118 b; סָלִית *he scraped*, *ibid.* 74 b; פָּלִית *he tore*, *broke*, B. Q. 19 b; סָרִיף *he climbed up*, *ibid.* 20 a; בָּרִיף *he said grace*, Ber. 53 b; יִיבֵם Yeb. 18 b.¹

b) [M קַאטַאל; S مَكْتَلٌ].—שָׁדַר *he sent*, Ned. 49 b, Ber. 58 a; שָׁקַר *he told a lie*, Sanh. 98 a; סָלַק *he removed*, Ber. 42 a; שָׁאנֹר *he jumped*, M. MS., B. M. 84 a; צִיעֵר (or צִיעֵר) *he vexed*, Qidd. 70 b (§ 8); מִיעֵט B. Q. 51 b; נִהָם *roared*, Hull. 59 b; עִירַב 'Er. 75 b; פִּירַשׁ *he separated*, Sôtā 4 b; אִירַע *it happened*, Sabb. 87 b (M. MS. עִירַע).

c) חָקַן ed. Ven. Ber. 22 b.

d) By analogy with לִ"י הִדָּרַי *he turned around*, V. L., A. Z. 38 b; שָׁקַרְאִי *he lied*, Yeb. 55 a.²

3d sing. fem.—§ 275. a) [T קַטִּילָה; Pal. Talm. קַטֵּלָה; M קַטִּילָה; S مَكْتَلَةٌ].—בָּשְׂיָלָה *she cooked*, Ned. 66 b; קִבְּלָה *ibid.*; צִבְּיָתָה *she prepared*, Nidd. 37 a.³

b) שָׁדָרָה *she sent*, Col. MS., Meg. 16 a (voc.).

2d sing. com.—§ 276. a) [T קַטִּילְתָּ (א); M קַאטִילתָ; S مَكْتَلْتَا].—קִבְּלְתָּ Sanh. 102 b; קִבְּלְתָּ *acceptest*, Pes. 86 b.

¹ פָּאָרִישׁ Igg. Šeritā, p. 26; וּבִין *she sold*, HG., ed. pr. 73 d; קָבַיל SM., No. xxiii. (voc.).

² This word is usually taken to be a noun.—שָׁקַרְאִי *he lied*, SM., No. LIII.

³ In later literature: שָׁלְמָתָה *she completed*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 74.

b) *שִׁדְרָתָּ* Qidd. 72 b; *וּמִנְתָּא* *thou didst invite*, F. MS., Sanh. 109 b.

1st sing. com.—§277. a) [*קִטְלִיחַ*; T *קִטְלִיחַ*; Pal. Talm. *קטליח*; M *קטלית*; S *مَلَّح*].—*קְבִילִיחַ* B. Q. 70 a; *שִׁמְיָתִי* *I put under ban*, *ibid.* 17 a; *קָרִיבִית* *I brought near*, Sabb. 89 b; *חֲנִיפִי* *I flattered*, M. Q. 17 a; *בְּרִיכִי* *I said grace*, Ber. 49 a.

b) [*קִטְלִיחַ* T].—*שִׁדְרִי* *I sent*, Meg. 7 b ('En Y. *שִׁדְרִית*); *בִּצְרִי* *I gave for less*, B. M. 103 b; *נִבְהִי* *I made a noise*, Ber. 57 b.¹

c) (*פְּנוּפִיכוּ* *I have gathered you*, B. Q. 113 b).²

3d plur. masc.—§278. a) [*קִטְלוּ*; T *קִטְלִי*; Pal. Talm. *קטלון*; M *קטליון*; S *مَلَّح*, *مَلَّח*].—*קָבִילוּ* Gitt. 70 b; *סִלְקוּ* *they removed*, Ber. 42 a; *קָרִיבוּ* *they brought near*, Qidd. 81 a; *שִׁמְיָתוּ* *they put under ban*, M. Q. 16 a; *תִּקְינוּ* *they instituted*, Ned. 10 a, Gitt. 49 b; *תִּקְנִי* B. B. 172 b.

b) [*קִטְלוּ* T; S *مَلَّח*, *مَلَّח*].—*שִׁדְרוּ* *they sent*, Ber. 42 a; *שִׁבְחוּ* *they praised*, Gitt. 56 a; *בִּצְרוּ* *they diminished*, Taan. 24 b; *שִׁדְרִי* *ibid.* 23 b; *צִעְרִי* *they vexed*, Keth. 61 b.³

c) *תִּקְנוּ* M. Q. 3 b, Pes. 30 b; *תִּיקְנוּ* Pes. 116 b, Yeb. 31 b; *שִׁדְרוּ* C. MS., Meg. 7 a (voc.); *עָקְרוּ* *they removed*, Hull. 59 b; *סָרוּהָ* *they clung to*, Bêqā 11 a.

2d plur. masc.—§279. a) [*קִטְלִיתוֹן*; M *קטליתון*; S *مَلَّח*].—*קְבִילִיתוֹ* Sanh. 101 b, Gitt. 70 b; *יִבִּינִיתוֹ* *you sold*, A. Z. 71 a; *הִפְכִיתוֹ* *turn ye*, M. MS., Pes. 40 a.⁴

b) *פִּטְרִיתוֹן* Ber. 54 b; *פִּטְרִיתוֹ* M. MS., *ibid.*; *סִפְנִיתוֹן* *ye would have endangered*, Ber. 25 a.

1st plur. com.—§280. a) [*קִטְלִנָּא*; M *קטלנינ*; S *مَلَّح*, *مَلَّح*].—*קְבִילִנָּא* *we took upon*, Taan. 23 a; *בְּרִיכָנָא* *we (I) said grace*, Ber. 58 b, eds.; *בְּרִיכִינוּ* *ibid.*; *תִּקְנוּ* *we instituted*, Succ. 4 b; *בִּשְׁלִינוּ* *we cooked*, B. B. 73 b; *בְּרִיכוּ* *(I) we pronounced a benediction*, M. MS., Ber. 58 b.⁵

b) *פִּטְרָנָא* *we freed*, Qidd. 52 b; *נִקְרִינָא* *we cleaned*, B. B. 74 b.

¹ שִׁדְרִית, שִׁבְכִית, שִׁדְרִית, HG. ed. pr. 47 c.

² תְּרוּכִית, HG. 47 c.

³ שִׁדְרִיו *they sent*, SM., No. LIII. (voc.).

⁴ Cf. §§ 205, 232, a;—פִּרְיָתוֹן, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 210.

⁵ פִּרְיָשָׁנָא, TR., II. 52; תִּקְרִינוּ *ibid.* 5.

IMPERFECT.—§281. In the imperfect the vowel of the first stem-consonant is, with a few exceptions, always *ä*. In the 2d and the 3d person plural the second stem-vowel is invariably omitted.

3d sing. masc.—§282. a) [BT יִקְטֹל (י); M נִיקְאטִיל; S نَمَك]. — לִיגְרִישׁ *he divorces*, Ar. 23 a; לִינְגִיב *dries*, Sabb. 141 a; נְבִרִיָּה *says grace*, Ber. 46 a; נִשְׁלֵם *pays*, B. Q. 108 a; נִזְבִּין *sells*, Qidd. 20 a; נִקְבִּיל *receives*, B. B. 4 a; לִיִּיבם Yeb. 18 b; לִיבְשִׁיל Gitt. 69 a.

b) לִישְׁדֵּר *sends*, Sabb. 140 b, Ber. 51 b; לִיפְלֹח *shaves*, *ibid.* 110 b; לִיזְמֵר *sings*, Sanh. 7 a; נִיזְדֵּר *places*, B. M. 84 a; לִשְׁלַח *strips*, Sanh. 109 b.

c) לִזְבֹּן *sells*, Sanh. 95 a; לִיבְדֹל *shakes*, M. MS., Sabb. 66 b. לְבָרוּךְ ed. Ven. Ber. 36 a; לִזְבֹּן 'En Y. 'Ar. 30 b, eds. לִיזְבֹּן.¹

3d sing. fem.—§283. a) [BT תִּקְטֹל (י); M תִּיקְאטִיל; S تَمَك]. — תִּשְׁמֵשׁ B. Q. 20 b, Sabb. 110 a.

b) תִּשְׁדֵּר *sends*, Ber. 18 b; תִּשְׁלַח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 a.

c) תִּקְדֹּשׁ Nidd. 6 b.

2d sing. masc.—§284. a) תִּקְבִּיל B. B. 21 a; תִּשְׁפִּיץ *thou reparairst*, Yeb. 63 a; תִּזְבִּין *sellest*, B. M. 107 a.

b) תִּעֲקֵר *thou pullest out*, Pes. 113 a; תִּאֲשֵׁר *thou believest*, Gitt. 30 b.

1st sing. com.—§285. a) [B יִקְטֵל; T יִקְטִיל, אִיקְטִיל; M יִקְאטִיל; S اَمَك]. — יִקְבֵּל Ber. 28 a; יִקְבִּיל Hag. 5 b; יִקְרִיָּה Ber. 48 a; יִקְרִיָּה Ber. 22 b, M. MS.; יִקְרִיָּה *I prepare*, Hull. 60 a; יִקְשִׁיט Qidd. 40 a.

b) יִשְׁדֵּר *I send*, Sanh. 98 a; יִעֲקֵר *I uproot*, Ber. 54 b.

c) יִזְבֹּן *I sell*, B. M. 108 a.²

3d plur. masc.—§286. [BT יִקְטְלוּ; M נִיקְאטִלוּ; S نَمَك]. — יִקְבְּלוּ Gitt. 7 a; יִקְדְּמוּ Meg. 4 a; לִבְעִירו *vex*, Ber. 28 a; לִיפְרֹכו *say grace*, *ibid.* 50 a; לִיתְקְנִי *they order*, Gitt. 49 b.³

3d plur. fem.—§287. [BT יִקְטְלִי; M נִיקְאטִלְאִי; S نَمَك]. — יִיעֲבְּרוּ *they hinder*, Col. MS., Zeb. 40 a.

¹ לִיקְדֹּם, HG., ed. pr. 113 a; לִתְרוּץ, Igg. Šeritā, 25.

² יִזְבֹּן, TG., ed. Cassel, §9.

³ לִימְאוּ *let them give a* שְׁטֵר מֵאוּן, HG., ed. pr. 110 d.

1st plur. com.—§288. a) [BT נִקְטִיל (י); S نَمْلَ].—נִקְבִּיל Hag. 5b, Yeb. 121a; נִבְרִיךְ Pes. 103b; נִתְקִין we order, Hôr. 13b; נִזְמִין Ber. 45b.

b) נִשְׁדֵּר we send, Sanh. 109a.

c) נִבְרֹךְ Ber. 36a, ed. Ven.

IMPERATIVE.—Sing. masc.—§289. a) [BT קַטִּיל (י); M קַאטִיל; S مَكَّ].—קָדִים sell, Ber. 62b; שְׁפִיץ repair, Yeb. 63a; קָדִים Tam. 27b; קָבִיל B. Q. 117a; בָּרִיךְ Ber. 54a; צִבֵּית prepare, M. Q. 27b; חֲשִׁיב count, Meg. 11b.

b) שִׁדֵּר send, B. M. 4a; עֲשֹׂר give tithes, Ned. 44b; אֲשִׁר believe, Gitt. 30b.

c) קָבֹל Sanh. 48b; זָבֹן B. M. 108a.

Sing. fem.—§290. a) [T קַטִּילִי; S مَكَّ].—בִּשְׁלִי cook, Ned. 66b; שְׁלִימִי pay, B. M. 42b.

Plur. masc.—§291. a) [BT קַטִּילוּ; S مَكَّوْ].—צִבִּיתוּ R. H. 17a; וְיִידוּ prepare, A. Z. 17a; קָרִימוּ come early, חֲשִׁיבוּ come late, Ber. 8a; נִגְרִדוּ spread out, Er. 94a; with loss of stem-vowel: שִׁתְּקוּ Gitt. 84b; זָבְנוּ B. B. 22a.

INFINITIVE.—§292. The usual form of the infinitive is קַטִּילִי; the other forms occur but sporadically. The change of the first vowel to *i* is rare.

a) qattûlê:¹ שְׁמוּחִי Col. MS., Meg. 4a (voc.);² שְׁקֹרִי to lie, Sanh. 98a; פִּסּוּפִי ibid. 42a; שְׁבֹדִחִי to give praise, Pes. 2a; שְׁדֹדִרִי to send, Sabb. 108b; בְּרֹכִי to bless, צָעִירִי to vex, M. Q. 9b; קְרֹבִי Col. MS., Zeb. 86a; לְחַדוֹשִׁי Ber. 29b; לָבֹיִי to lie flat, Sabb. 104a.

b) qittûlê:¹ לְבִיצוֹרִי to subtract, Zeb. 37b; לְחִיקוֹנִי to do the proper thing, B. M. 108a; תִּירוֹצִי to explain, Zeb. 59a; עִירוֹבִי to make an 'érûb, Er. 75b; פִּיגוּלִי to make unfit, Zeb. 42a, for לְעִיצוֹלִי Pes. 85a, read with eds. and MSS. לְאִיעֲצוֹלִי.

c) qattûlâ: לְנִבְנוֹתָ to sell, A. Z. 30b; לְסַפּוֹקָא to doubt, Ned. 2b; חֲסוֹרָא to be wanting, Hôr. 11b.

d) qattilê: נִגְדִירִי to lash, Pes. 52a, B. M. 86a.

e) qattalê: לָבִיִי to lie flat, M. MS., Sabb. 104a.

¹ Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, §101 sq.

² Yemen MSS. have sometimes וִי or יִי for י, which is the Arabic way of vocalization.

f) qattāla: לְצַלְחָא *to cut, split*, B. Q. 113 b (but cf. Levy's Dictionary, s. v.).

g) qattil: לִיבֵם Yeb. 39 b; חָבִיל *to wound*, B. Q. 87 a; לְבָרַךְ *to say grace*, Ber. 53 b; לְשַׁרֵּשׁ *to uproot*, B. B. 82 a.

h) qattāl: לְבָרוּךְ Ber. 22 b. (This might also be a form qattāl.)

i) maqattil: לְמַשְׁרֵשׁ B. B. 82 a.

j) maqattal: מְפַפֵּחַ *to become darker*, Nidd. 20 b; לְמַרְקַע *to patch*, 'Arūkh, B. B. 20 a.

k) maqattāla: לְמִיפְטָרָא *to free*, Qidd. 64 b.

l) qattālūiē: מְפַרְוִי *to fumigate with sulphur*, B. Q. 93 b; שְׂרָשׁוּי *to benefit*, M. Q. 12 a; הִדְרוֹי *to turn*, V. L., A. Z. 38 b.

m) qattālūi: שְׂרָשׁוּי, 'Arūkh, M. Q. 12 a.¹

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 293. The מ- prefix has sometimes an *i* vowel. At times it is dropped (§ 58), especially with enclitic pronouns.

Sing. masc.—§ 294. a) מְפָרֵשׁ *explains*, Ned. 2 b (§ 8); מַשְׁמַח *puts under ban*, *ibid.* 7 b; מְתַרְץ *explains*, *ibid.* 34 a; מְזַבֵּן *sells*, *ibid.* 31 b; מְבַטֵּל *neutralizes*, Pes. 115 b; מִסְרִיקָה *clings*, B. M. 71 a; perhaps also חָבִיל *wounds*, M. MS., B. Q. 87 a; קָדִים Ber. 18 b.²

b) מְהַדֵּר *returns*, Ned. 33 b; מְגַלַּח *shaves*, *ibid.* 19 b; מְפַפֵּחַ *leaves*, 'Arūkh, Meg. 12 b; מְיַמְלַח *rows*, Keth. 85 a; מְעַבֵּר B. Q. 101 a; מְסַדֵּר *recites*, Ber. 10 a, 13 a; מִיְהַדֵּר *seeks*, Ber. 15 a; מְשִׂמַּח *makes glad*, Ber. 35 b.

Sing. fem.—§ 295. מְכַפֶּרֶה *atones*, Macc. 11 b; מְצַעֵרֶה *vexes*, Yeb. 63 a; מְקַשְׁטָא *adorns*, *ibid.* 63 b; מְהַדֵּרֶה *turns*, *ibid.*; מְשַׁקְרָא *lies*, Ned. 91 a; מְפַפֶּחֶה *makes ineffective*, Ber. 55 a; מְקָרְבֶה *comes near*, B. B. 73 b; מְיַעֲבֶרֶה *relents*, Yeb. 63 b; מִיְקַדְמֶה Ned. 91 a.

Plur. masc.—§ 296. מְרַגְזִין *they anger*, Ned. 21 b; מְצַעֲרִי *vex*, *ibid.* 23 a; מְשַׁקְרִי *tell lies*, R. H. 32 b; מְסַלֵּקִי *remove*, מְבַרְכִי *pronounce benediction*, Ber. 44 b; מְצַעֲרִי Taan. 23 b, 24 b, Ber. 10 a;

¹ לְשִׁדְּדִיר, SM., No. xxv. (voc.); כְּפֹרָא, *ibid.* No. Lxx.; נְשׁוּרָא, Še'el., ed. pr., p. 20; לְבָרוּכָא, HG. 73; לְנִבְוִמָא, *ibid.* 282; סְלִיקִי, TG., ed. Cassel, § 28; לְפָרַק *to explain*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 290; לְמַבְרִיךְ, TR., II. 9.

² מִיפְכָּה, HG., ed. pr., 133 d; מְנַקֶּה, Igg. Šerirā, 35.

מִבְּעָתוֹ frighten, Meg. 29 a; מִבְּדָרוֹ scatter, strew, Gitt. 57 a; מִגְנָבֵי steal, Ber. 18 b; מִינְטָרֵי A. Z. 19 b; קִדְמֵי Ber. 18 b; שִׁבְטֵי vine-gardeners, B. M. 73 a; מְשִׁדְּרוֹ Pes. 113 a; מְשִׁרְשֵׁי benefit, M. Q. 12 a.¹

Plur. fem.—§297. מִרְמִזֵּן wink, Sabb. 62 b; מְרַחֵשׁ move, Sanh. 67 b; מְשַׁחֵן keep warm, Gitt. 70 a.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—Sing. masc.—§298. מִיהֻדַּק squeezed in, Sabb. 65 a; מְפֹשֵׁר explained, Ber. 55 a; מְפֻנָּק pampered, Sabb. 109 a, B. Q. 34 a; מְחֻסֵּר broken, מְשֻׁלֵּם entire, Taan. 25 a; מְלֻבָּן stretched flat, Sabb. 104 a; מְנַגֵּעַ is leprous, Hull. 60 a; מְקָרֵב is nearer, Ber. 44 b.

Sing. fem.—§299. מְהֻנָּה proper, Taan. 22 b; מְחֻסָּר Ned. 37 a, מִי־חֻסָּר wanting, *ibid.* 23 b; מְסֻפָּק doubtful, Beḡa 4 b; מְעֻבָּר intercalated, Ned. 63 a; e. מְעֻבְרָתָא with young, B. Q. 47 a.

Plur. masc.—§300. מְבֻרְכִין Yeb. 63 a; מְכֻבָּפִין are gathered, Ned. 8 b; מְפֻנָּקִי pampered, Sabb. 54 a, 109 a; מְסֻפָּקִי doubted, Qidd. 39 a; מְשֻׁלָּדִי tired, Ber. 6 b; מִי־בֻשֵׁי dried, A. Z. 28 b; מְכֻבָּפִי gathered, Ber. 56 a; מְזֻבְּרִי, Alfāsī, B. M., Pereq. IV.

Plur. fem.—§301. מְקֻרְבִין are near, Sabb. 104 a; מְחֻלָּקִין are separated, Keth. 5 b; מְסֻרְבָּאן placed with interruption, B. B. 73 a; מְבֻדָּרִין scattered, Ber. 56 a; מְעֻשָּׂרִין are tithed, Hull. 7 b.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—Active Participle.—§302. a) מְבִרְכָנָא Ber. 53 b; מְהֻדָנָא I repeat, *ibid.*; מְהֻדָנָא will answer, Sanh. 91 a (f.); מְשֻׁדָנָא I send, Sabb. 108 b.

b) מְפֻרְשָׁתָא thou explainest, Hull. 58 a; מְבֻרְכָתָא Ber. 53 b; מְגֻרְשָׁתָא divorcest, *ibid.* 56 a; מְזֻבְּנִיתָא thou sellest, B. M. 72 a; מְדֻבְּרָתָא wilt thou lead, Keth. 63 a (f.); מְזֻבְּרִיתָא, Alfāsī, B. B. 40 b.

c) מְשֻׁדָּרִיתָא we bribe, Taan. 24 a; מְזֻבְּנִיתָא we sell, Qidd. 59 a; מְסֻדָּרִין we put in order, Taan. 14 a; מְנֻסָּדִין we take, Ber. 44 a; מְשֻׁתָּקִין we silence, *ibid.* 33 a; מְבֻרְכִין *ibid.* 36 a; קְדָמִין Pes. 58 a; יִבְבְּמִין Yeb. 41 b.²

¹ קָא מְזֻבְּנִיא, *HG.* ed. pr. 100 b.

² מְפֻרְשָׁנָא, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §91; מְסֻלָּקִין, *ibid.* §9.

d) מְסַלְּקֵיהֶוּ *ye favor*, Keth. 84 *b*; מְבַרְכֵיהֶוּ Ber. 42 *a*; מְסַלְּקֵיהֶוּ *ye remove*, B. M. 73 *a*; מְשַׁבְּחֵיהֶוּ Keth. 112 *a*; מְשַׁלְּמֵיהֶוּ M. MS., Sanh. 30 *a*; שְׁלֵמֵיהֶוּ Sanh. 30 *a*; קַבְּלֵיהֶוּ Sabb. 88 *a*; בְּצַרְיֵיהֶוּ *ye diminish*, B. M. 77 *a*.¹

Passive Participle.—§ 303. b) מִפְקָדָתְּ *thou art bidden*, Ber. 10 *a*; מִיפְקָדָתְּ Yeb. 65 *b* (f.); מְעַבְרָתְּ *thou art with child*, B. B. 141 *b*.

c) מְרַחֲקִינָן *we are far*, B. B. 73 *b*; מִפְקָדִינָן Yeb. 47 *b*.

d) מְקַרְבֵּיהֶוּ *ye are near*, B. B. 65 *a*.

¹ מְקַדְּשֵׁיהֶוּ, *HG.* 44; מְקַבְּלֵיהֶוּ, *HG.* ed. pr. 107 *a*.

Aph'ēl.

PERFECT—

Sing. 3d masc. . .	אַקטל	אַקטיל	אַקטול
3d fem. . .	ת־אַקטלא, ת־	אַקטילא, ת־ (ט)	אַקטולא, ת־
2d masc. . .	אַקטלת	אַקטלת, (ט)	—
2d fem. . .	אַקטלית	—	—
1st com. . .	אַקטלי [ת]	אַקטילי [ת]	אַקטולי [ת]
Plur. 3d masc. {	אַקטלו	אַקטילו	אַקטולו
		אַקטול	
		אַקטילן	—
3d fem. . .	אַקטלן	אַקטילן	—
2d masc. . .	אַקטלתון, (ט)	אַקטילתון, (ט)	—
1st com. {	אַקטלנא, אַקטלן,	אַקטילנן,	—
	אַקטלינן, אַקטלנן	אַקטילינן	—

IMPERFECT—

Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִקְטַל, (לִי, בִּי, נִי)	לִקְטִיל, (לִי, בִּי, נִי)	—
3d fem. . .	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	—
2d masc. . .	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	—
1st com. . .	אַקטל	אַקטיל	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לִקְטְלוּ [ן], (לִי, נִי)	
		לִקְטְלוּ, (לִי, נִי)	
		תִּקְטְלוּ [ן], (טִי)	
	נִקְטַל	נִקְטִיל	—

IMPERATIVE—

Sing. 2d masc. . .	אַקטל	אַקטיל	—
2d fem. . .	—	אַקטילי	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	אַקטלו, טול	אַקטילו [ן]	אַקטולו

INFINITIVE

אַקטיל

PARTICIPLE—

Active, sing. masc.	מִקְטַל	מִקְטִיל	—
fem. .	מִקְטְלָא	מִקְטִילָא	—
Passive, sg. masc.		מִקְטַל	
fem. .		מִקְטְלָא	

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—3*d sing. masc.*—§ 304. a) [B הִקְטִיל; TM אֶקְטִיל; S אִמְכָּד].—אֶחָדִי *he testified*, Ber. 58 a; אֶדְלִיק *he lit*, Sabb. 21 b; אֶפְקִיד *entrusted*, Šebu. 45 b; אֶזְרִיז Ned. 39 b; אֶשְׁקִיל *caused to pass over*, Sanh. 77 b; אֶזְקֵן (§ 68) *grew old*, Zeb. 59 a; אֶחְלֶיעַ *became worm-eaten*, Macc. 7 b; אֶשְׁתֵּיץ 'En Y. Bekh. 44 b.

b) אֶשְׁגָּה *he looked at*, Ber. 28 a; אֶהֱדִיר Ned. 41 a; אֶרְוֹחַ *made profit*, B. Q. 50 a; אֶשְׁפָּה *found*, B. M. 23 b.¹

c) אֶצְרוֹחַ *putrefied*, Nāz. 50 a; (אֶשְׁמֹעֵינָךְ *causes us to hear*, Ned. 73 a, Meg. 7 a, R. H. 6 a, Taan. 30 a).

3*d sing. fem.*—§ 305. a) [B הִקְטִילָה; T אֶקְטִילָה; M אֶקְטִילָה; אֶקְטִילָה; S אִמְכָּדָה].—אֶתְחִילָה *she began*, Gitt. 73 a, Yeb. 79 b; אֶרְגִּישָׁה Nidd. 57 b; אֶרְגִּילָה Yeb. 26 a; אֶחְמִיצָה Alf. Pes. 7 a. With loss of stem-vowel: אֶרְפָּשָׁה Nidd. 57 b; אֶיִקְרַבַּח Yeb. 39 b (legal style).

b) אֶשְׁפָּתָא M. Q. 27 b; אֶצְרָהָא Tem. 31 a.²

c) אֶזְקִינָה *she became old*, Nidd. 47 a.

2*d sing. masc.*—§ 306 a. [B הִקְטִילָה; T אֶקְטִילָה; M אֶקְטִילָה; S אִמְכָּדָה].—אֶפְסַדְתָּ *didst spoil*, Keth. 61 b; אֶאֱהָדְתָּ *didst witness*, Pes. 113 b; אֶתְקַפַּתְּ *madest difficult*, B. B. 129 a; אֶהֱדַרְתָּ *didst turn*, Pes. 86 b; אֶשְׁפַּחְתָּ *didst find*, B. M. 63 a.³

2*d sing. fem.*—§ 306 β. אֶרְבַּעַת *didst place*, B. Q. 114 a.

1*st sing. com.*—§ 307. a) [B הִקְטִילָה; T אֶקְטִילָה; Pal. Talm. אֶקְטִילָה; M אֶקְטִילָה; S אִמְכָּדָה].—אֶרְגִּישִׁית *I stirred up*, Sanh. 95 a (Palest.); אֶתְחַזֵּק *I gained claim to possession*, B. B. 41 a; אֶתְחַזֵּק *I supported*, Ned. 22 a; אֶרְחִיק *I have removed*, B. B. 26 a; אֶשְׁלִיכַת *I have delivered*, Taan. 29 a; אֶתְחַרְבִּית *I have destroyed*, 'En Y. *ibid.* 25 a.⁴

b) אֶשְׁכַּחֵי Sabb. 140 b, B. Q. 20 b; אֶבְרַחֵי *I chased away*, B. M. 108 b; אֶהֱדַרֵי Sanh. 95 a.

3*d plur. masc.*—§ 308. a) [B הִקְטִילוּ; T אֶקְטִילוּ; Pal. Talm. אֶקְטִילוּ; M אֶקְטִילוּ; S אִמְכָּדוּ].—אֶקְרִיבוּ Zeb. 86 a; אֶחָדִי

¹ Whether אֶשְׁפָּחַת is originally Qal, as Kautzsch holds (*Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, p. 174), or Aph'el, as Nöldeke (*GGA.* 1884, p. 1019) asserts, is immaterial as regards the form.

² אֶשְׁפָּחַת *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 388.

³ אֶתְחַזֵּק *HG.* ed. pr. 102 b.

⁴ אֶקְרִיבוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 83 c; אֶתְחַרְבִּית, *SM.* No. v. a (voc.); אֶקְרִיבִית, *ibid.* No. xxiii (voc.).

Sanh. 27 *a*; אֶקְדִּירוּ *grew dark*, Pes. 118 *b*; אֶקְדִּימוּ *came before*, Ber. 50 *b*; אֶרְדִּיקוּ *were far away*, Hull. 17 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel, by analogy with the participle: אֶקְרְבוּ C. MS., Zeb. 86 *a*; אֶסְדִּיר B. Q. 73 *a*; אֶקְדִּיךָ Hag. Hat. Sabb. 88 *a*; אֶכְרְדוּ Men. 64 *b*.

b) אֶשְׁכַּחוּ Ned. 50 *ab*, Sanh. 109 *a*; אֶהְדִּירי Taan. 23 *b*; אֶצְלָחוּ *were successful*, A. Z. 26 *a*.¹

c) אֶשְׁקֹלוּ *they caused to be removed*, Qidd. 81 *a*; (אֶפְרִשְׁיָנָהּ) *they separated them*, *ibid.* 69 *b*).

d) אֶחֱמוּר Nidd. 66 *a*; אֶצְרוּךְ Gitt. 2 *b*; אֶזְמִין Ber. 50 *b*, 55 *b*; אֶכְרוּ Qidd. 70 *b*; אֶהְדִּיר Meg. 14 *b*; אֶחֱזִיק *have adopted*, Hull. 4*a*.²

3d plur. fem.—§ 309. אֶשְׁבְּחוּ *have ameliorated*, B. M. 110 *b*; אֶשְׁכַּחוּ *have found*, Nidd. 48 *a*.³

2d plur. masc.—§ 310. *a*) [אֶקְטִילָתוֹן; T אֶקְטִילָתוֹן; S اَمْلَحْتُمْ]. —אֶתְרִיסָתוֹן *ye made war*, Tām. 31 *b*.

b) אֶדְפָּרָתוֹן M. MS., B. B. 171 *b*; אֶשְׁפָּחָתוֹן Sabb. 67 *a*; אֶשְׁפָּחִיתוּ *ye paid attention*, Succ. 31 *a*.

1st plur. com.—§ 311. *a*) [B אֶקְטִילָנָא; T אֶקְטִילָנָא; M אֶקְטִילָנָא; S اَمْلَحْنَا]. —אֶתְחִילָנָא Ber. 15 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel: אֶתְחִילָנָא *began*, Ber. 14 *b*; אֶכְרְדִּין Sanh. 26 *b*; אֶטְבִּילִין Nidd. 30 *a*.

b) אֶשְׁכַּחוּ Pes. 2*b*; אֶשְׁכַּחוּ Ned. 79 *a*; אֶשְׁכַּחוּ C. MS., Zeb. 68 *b*; אֶשְׁכַּחוּ Sabb. 30 *b*; אֶשְׁכַּחוּ Hôr. 10 *a*.⁴

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 312. *a*) [B יֶקְטִיל, יֶהְקִטֵּל; T יֶקְטִיל; M נֶאֱקִטֵּל; S يَكْتُمُ]. —לְכַרִּיז Qidd. 81 *a*; נִמְתִּיק *becomes sweet*, Ber. 39 *a*; לְחַרִּים *puts under ban*, 'Ar. 28 *a*; נִעְנִיק Qidd. 17 *a*; לְחִמִּיר *puts under heavy restrictions*, Yeb. 88 *a*; לְפָסִיד B. M. 58 *a*.

b) נִהְדִּיר B. Q. 81 *a*; לְשִׁמֵּעַ *ibid.* 49 *b*; נִיעֵבֵר Keth. 16 *b*; נִהְדִּיר Ber. 6 *a*; לְשִׁבֵּעַ Ned. 25 *a*; נִפְרָח *lets fly*, A. Z. 10 *a*.⁵

2d sing. masc.—§ 313. *a*) תִּעְנִישׁ *punishest*, Hag. 5 *b*; תִּדְוִיל *windest skeins*, 'Arūkh, Yeb. 63 *a*; תִּחְמִיץ Pes. 7 *a*.

b) תִּשְׁפַּח *findest*, Sabb. 152 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 314. *a*) אֶחֱזִיק Taan. 23 *b*.

b) אֶחֱדִיר *I take my word back*, Sanh. 102 *b*.⁶

¹ אֶתְלָעִין *became worm-eaten*, Hal. Pes., § 61.

² אֶשְׁבִּיחַ *HG. ed. pr. 98 d*; אֶצְמוּךְ *ibid.* 130 *b*.

³ אֶחֱמִיץ *HG. ed. pr. 29 d*.

⁴ אֶהְדִּירָךְ, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 80; אֶתְמַהֵּן *ibid.* §§ 64, 330.

⁵ לְאֶרְנוּחַ, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 335; לְיִתְנָה, *HG. ed. pr. 35 d*.

⁶ אֶבְלֵעַ, *HG. ed. pr. 94 c*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 315 a. [B יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ; T יִקְטְלוּ; M נִקְטְלוּ; S נִמְכָּר].—[יִקְדְּמוּ Sabb. 151 b; יִקְרְבוּ Ar. 28 a; לִרְגֵשׁוֹן they notice, 'En Y. Gitt. 56 a; יִקְרְבוּ Sebu. 12 a; לִיִּסְהִידוֹ Alf. B. B. 29 a.

3d plur. fem.—§ 315 β. לִרְגֵשׁוֹן Gitt. 56 a.

2d plur. masc.—§ 316. [B תִּקְטְלוּ; T תִּקְטְלוּ; M תִּקְטְלוּ; S תִּמְכָּר].—[ye claim possession, B. B. 29 b; ye pay attention, Ned. 91 b; תִּשְׁמְרוּ Alf. ibid.

1st plur. com.—§ 317. a) נִתְחַיֵּךְ Taan. 23 b.

b) נִשְׁפַּח Sabb. 30 b.

IMPERATIVE.—Sing. masc.—§ 318. a) [B הִקְטֵל; T אֶקְטֵל; S אֶמְכֵּךְ].—[hide, Sabb. 51 a; אֶכְרִיז Ber. 55 b; אֶקְדֵּם Ned. 3a.

b) הִפְרַח let fly, Sebu. 30 b; אֶפְקֵר Succ. 44 b.

Sing. fem.—§ 319. a) [T אֶקְטִילי; S אֶמְכֵּךְ].—[Sabb. 151 b, eds.

Plur. masc.—§ 320. a) [T אֶקְטִילוּ; Pal. Talm. אֶקְטִילוּ; S אֶמְכָּר].—[אֶכְרִיזוּ Ned. 40 a; אֶשְׁלִימוּ finish, Ber. 8 b; אֶתְחִילוּ begin, M. Q. 22 a; אֶגְמִירוּ teach, ibid. 13 b; אֶדְרִימוּ turn south, B. B. 25 b; אֶחֱרִיפוּ come early, Sanh. 70 b; אֶיִשְׁטִילוּ twist, 'En Y., Bekh. 8 b.

b) [T אֶקְטִילוּ].—[אֶהַרְמוּ arrange the pieces, Gitt. 67 b; אֶגְבִּירוּ Sanh. 38 a.

c) אֶדְוִקוּ be strong, hail! Gitt. 62 a; אֶגְמִירוּ teach ye, P. MS., Ber. 13 b.

d) אֶהֱרִיר return, Keth. 84 b.

INFINITIVE.—§ 321. The usual form of the infinitive is אֶקְטִילי; all the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'aqtâlê: לֶאֱכַרְוִי Qidd. 70 b; לֶאֱסַדְוִי to testify, Macc. 6 a; לֶאֱפַרְוִי to separate, Qidd. 69 b; לֶאֱזַכְרִי to remind, Ber. 14 b; לֶאֱוַרְוִי to warn, Macc. 23 a; לֶאֱתַמְוִי to be astonished, B. B. 98 b; לֶאֱפַחְוִי (§ 23 c) to declare false, Sanh. 69 a; לֶאֱרוּוִי to extend, B. Q. 50 a; לֶאֱצַמְוִי to cause to grow, M. Q. 2 b; לֶאֱרַוִי to destroy, Taan. 29 a (§ 50).

b) 'iqtlê: לֶאֱיִפְסִילוּ to make unfit, Pes. 14 b; לֶאֱיִשְׁתַּוִּי to make water, B. B. 19 b; לֶאֱיִסְטִינוּ to inform against, Yômâ 20 b (some eds.).

c) 'aqtûl: לֶאֱתַמְוִי V. L., Pes. 17 a.¹

¹ לֶאֱעֲבִרָה (Meg. 25 a) is a quotation of the Targum to Lev. 18:21.

d) maqtûlê: מִמְתוֹחֵי to stretch, M. Q. 10 a (catch-word of the Tôsephôth); מִפְּטִירֵיהוּ Ber. 53 b).

e) maqtal: לְמַפְרָח to let fly, A. Z. 10 a; מְקַדֵּם Yôma 18 b.

f) miqtal: מִיְהָרַר M. MS., B. Q. 81 b; לְמִיטְרַח to trouble, Meg. 22 b.

g) naqtal: נִהָדַר B. Q. 81 b.

h) 'aqtâlûiê: אֶסְפְּרוּיִי to teach, MSS. B. B. 155 b; אֶמְצְרוּיִי (contracted from אֶהְדְּמוּיִי) to carve, cut to pieces, A. Z. 38 b.¹

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§322. a) מַתְקִינָה Ned. 9 b; מְקַדֵּשׁ *ibid.* 13 a; מְכַרִּיז Sabb. 140 b; מְסַהֵיר Ber. 60 b; מוֹחֵמִיר Šebu. 46 a.

b) מְדַפֵּר reminds, Ned. 32 b; מְשַׁפֵּחַ *ibid.* 31 b, 54 b; מְשַׁמֵּחַ Sanh. 106 b; מְשִׁמַּע lets hear, Ned. 5 a, 55 a;² מְתַחֵמָה is astonished, B. B. 98 b; מְכַשֵּׁר Zeb. 25 a; מִיְגְמֵר teaches, A. Z. 3 b.

Sing. fem.—§323. מַפְסְדָה causes loss, B. M. 17 b; מוֹנִטְבָּא gives in marriage, Ned. 23 a; מְצוֹרָח causes pain, Sabb. 93 b; (eds. מְצוֹרֵחַן; cf. §226).

Plur. masc.—§324. a) מַתְחִילִי begin, Sabb. 144 a; מְפַקְרִי *ibid.*; מַחְרָמִי 'Ar. 28 a; מְפַחֵשִׁי Sanh. 69 a (§23 c); מִיְגְמְרִי B. B. 149 a; מְרַחֲשׁוֹן Sanh. 90 b; מְדַפְרוֹ Meg. 18 b; מְשַׁפְּחֵהוּ Pes. 112 b; מְפַסְדֵּהוּ B. M. 109 a.

b) מְקַרִּיבֵן Gitt. 56 a; מוֹחֵמִירִי Nidd. 12 b; מְכַרִּיזִי Pes. 112 b; מְפַסְדֵּי Keth. 67 b; by analogy with the perfect.

Plur. fem.—§325. מַתְחִילִן B. M. 16 a; מְשַׁחֲרִין are black, Ber. 28 a; מְפַסְדִּין cause damage, Taan. 25 a; מְצוֹרֵחִין cause pain, eds. Sabb. 33 b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§326. מְחֻנֵּק Bekh. 12 b; מְפַסֵּק Hull. 59 a; מְסַמְכָא A. Z. 25 a; מְרַגְלָא Ber. 17 a; מְצַרְרִי Nidd. 12 b; מְבַלְעֵן 'Er. 21 a; מְפַסְקֵן 'En Y. Hull. 59 a.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle.*—§327. a) מְשַׁלִּימְנָא I deliver, Hag. 5 a; מְטַבִּילְנָא I dip, Sabb. 108 b; מְפַסְדִּינָא I spoil, *ibid.*; מְרוֹוְחְנָא I cause profit, B. M. 73 a.³

¹ אֶמְתְּרִי to wait, HG. 324.

² קָא מְשַׁלֵּן, TG., ed. Harkavy, §§245, 275; קָא מְשַׁלֵּן, *ibid.*, §§334, 337, 340, for קָא מְשַׁמַּע.

³ מְשַׁלִּימְנָא, HG. ed. pr. 70 d (f.); מְבַרְחִי, *ibid.* 98 c.

b) מְשַׁבְּחָהּ Ber. 19 *a*; מְשַׁלְּחָהּ *stripppest, ibid.* 56 *b*; מַחְרִיבָהּ *destroyest, B. M.* 86 *a* (M. MS. מַחְרִיבִית).

c) מַפְסְדִינָא B. M. 109 *a*; מַתְחַלֵּין Ber. 14 *b*; מַהְדְּרִין *ibid.* 26 *b*; מַטְרַחֲנִין Yômā 19 *a*; מַפְסְקִין Pes. 105 *a*; מַחְזִיקִין Šebu. 46 *b*; מַתְחַלְלִין M. MS., Pes. 55 *a*; מַהְדְּרִי Keth. 103 *b*; מַחְזִיקִין 'Ar. 22 *b*.¹

d) מַחְנִיפִיתָּהּ *ye flatter, Keth.* 63 *b*; מַחְנִיפִיתָּהּ (or מַחְנִיפִיתָּהּ) *ibid.* 84 *b*; מַתְחַרֵּיתָּהּ *ye turn away, M. Q.* 22 *a*; מַפְסִידִיתָּהּ B. M. 73 *a*.

¹ מַיְטְרִיתָּהּ, *TR.* ii, 10; מַשְׁבִּיעִין, *ibid.* 38; מַדְכִּירִין, *HG.* 44; מַכְרִיזִין, *HG.* ed. pr. 125 *d*; מַצְרִיכִין, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §231; מַחְזִיקִין, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §91.

Ithp'el and Ithpa'al.

	ITHP ^{B'} EL.		ITHPA ['] AL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אַיָּקַטַל	אַיָּקְטִיל, (טו)	אַיָּקַטַל, (טִי, טו)
3d fem. . . .	אַיָּקַטְלָה, ת־	אַיָּקְטִילָה, ת־	אַיָּקַטְלָה, ת־, (טִי)
2d masc. . .	אַיָּקַטְלָתָ	אַיָּקְטִילָתָ	אַיָּקַטְלָתָ
1st com. . .	אַיָּקַטְלֵי [ת]	אַיָּקְטִילֵי [ת]	אַיָּקַטְלֵי [ת], (טו)
Plur. 3d masc. {	אַיָּקַטְלוּ	אַיָּקְטִילוּ, (טו)	אַיָּקַטְלוּ
		אַיָּקַטְוּ	אַיָּקַטְוּ
		אַיָּקַטְלָן	אַיָּקַטְלָן
		אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ	אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ
3d fem. . . .		אַיָּקַטְלָן	אַיָּקַטְלָן
2d masc. . .	אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ	אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ, אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ	אַיָּקַטְלִיתוּ
1st com. {	אַיָּקַטְלֵינָּה, לָּהּ	—	אַיָּקַטְלֵינָּה
	אַיָּקַטְלָן	—	—
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיָּקַטַל	לִיָּקְטִיל, (טו)	לִיָּקַטַל, (טו)
3d fem. . . .	תִּיָּקַטַל	תִּיָּקְטִיל, (טו)	תִּיָּקַטַל
2d masc. . .	תִּיָּקַטַל	תִּיָּקְטִיל, (טו)	תִּיָּקַטַל
2d fem. . . .	—	—	תִּיָּקַטְלִי
1st com. . .	אַיָּקַטַל	אַיָּקְטִיל	אַיָּקַטַל
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לִיָּקַטְלוּ [ן]	לִיָּקַטְלוּ [ן]
		לִיָּקַטְלָן	לִיָּקַטְלָן
		תִּיָּקַטְלוּ [ן]	תִּיָּקַטְלוּ [ן]
		—	נִיָּקַטַל
3d fem. . . .			
2d masc. . .			
1st com. . .			
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. masc.	אַיָּקַטַל	אַיָּקְטִיל	אַיָּקַטַל, (טִי)
fem.	—	—	אַיָּקַטְלִי
Plur. masc.	אַיָּקַטְלוּ	—	אַיָּקַטְלוּ, (טִי, טו)
Plur. fem.	—	—	—
INFINITIVE			
		אַיָּקַטְוִי	אַיָּקַטְוִי
PARTICIPLE—			
Sing. masc.	מִיָּקַטַל	מִיָּקְטִיל	מִיָּקַטַל
fem.		מִיָּקַטְלָה	מִיָּקַטְלָה

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^EĒL.

PERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§328. a) [B אַתְּקַטֵּל; T אַתְּקִיל, אַתְּקִיל].—אִתְּקַלְהָ *he consulted*, Ber. 27 b; אִצְרִיךָ *was necessary*, Ned. 29 b; אִינְקָרַב *was pierced*, Hull. 46 a; אִיזְרִיק Pes. 88 b (C. MS. אִיזְדְּרִיק); אִצְטְרִיךָ Ned. 67 a, 76 b; אִישְׁתַּמֵּיט *disappeared*, Ned. 50 b, M. Q. 12 b; אִצְטִילִק *was split*, Ber. 56 b; אִשְׁתַּקֵּיל *was taken away*, Hag. 2 b.

b) [T אַתְּקַטֵּל].—אִיעֲנַשׁ *was punished*, M. Q. 25 a; אִיקָפַד *took offence*, Ned. 22 b; אִיחָצָה *was irreverent*, Ned. 64 b; אִיכָפַל *took trouble*, Zeb. 15 a (אִקָּפַל Hull. 44 a, id.); אִתְּפַקֵּר *was insulting, disobedient*, M. Q. 16 a; אִיהָרַר Ned. 50 a; אִיקָלַע *arrived*, *ibid.* 62 a; אִישְׁתַּכַּח *was found*, *ibid.* 50 a.¹

c) אִיכָחוּב *was written*, Zeb. 2 b; אִיבְצוּל *grew bulbous*, 'Arākh, 'Er. 29 b; אִשְׁתַּפֹּךְ *was spilled*, Gitt. 57 b; אִתְּקוּל *met with an accident*, eds. B. Q. 29 a; אִיפְלוּג *was divided*, B. B. 121 b.²

3d sing. fem.—§329. a) [B אִתְּקַטֵּלָה; T אַתְּקִילָה. Pal. Talm. אַתְּקִילָה, אַתְּקַטֵּלָה; M עֲתִקְטִילָה, עֲתִקְטִילָה; S אִתְּקַטֵּלָה].—אִתְּקִילָה *met with accident*, B. Q. 29 a; אִתְּעִבְדָּה Sabb. 3 a; אִשְׁמִישָׁה *was soaked*, Succ. 10 b; אִשְׁפִּישָׁה *was explained*, Ber. 25 b; אִצְטְרִיכָה *ibid.* Ned. 60 b; אִתְּהַפִּיכָה *was turned*, M. Q. 20 a; אִימְתִּילָה *was likened*, Sanh. 95 a; אִתְּנִיטִיבָה 'En Y. Ned. 50 a.³

b) אִיפְכָּפָה *was ashamed*, Taan. 25 a; אִיפְסָלָה *became unfit*, Zeb. 15 a; אִינְקָבָה *was pierced*, Hull. 49 a; אִימְרָדָה *rebelled*, B. M. 84 b; אִיפְלָטָה *was taught*, Ber. 24 b; אִיצְטְרָכָה Sabb. 148 b.⁴

2d sing. masc.—§330. [T אִתְּקִילָתָה; Pal. Talm. אִתְּקִילָתָה; M אַתְּקִילָתָה; S אִתְּקִילָתָה].—אִיפְרַכְתָּ *didst mingle*, Keth. 77 b; אִימְלַכְתָּ B. B. 17 b.

1st sing. com.—§331. a) [T אִתְּקִילָתִי; Pal. Talm. אִיקְטִילָתִי; M עֲתִקְטִילָתִי, עֲתִקְטִילָתִי; S אִתְּקִילָתִי].—אִינְסִיכִי Gitt. 58 a; *I was married*, Yeb. 66 a.⁵

¹ אִתְּקַטֵּל, HG. 501; אִתְּקַטֵּל (or אִתְּקַטֵּל), HG. ed. pr. 133 d.

² אִיפְסִיקָה Alfasi, הלכות טומאה, passing into "ל".

³ אִתְּקִילָתִי Sabb. 116 b ('En Y. אִתְּקִילָתִי). Palestinian.—אִשְׁתַּכַּחְתִּי, TG., ed. Harkavy, §550; אִשְׁתַּכַּחְתִּי *was heard*, SM. No. xcvi., passing into "ל" verbs; אִינְסִיכָה HG. 293.

⁴ The traditional pronunciation of lengthened forms of the Ithp^EĒl are אִיקְטִילָה, אִיקְטִילָה, אִיקְטִילָה, etc. What justification there is for such a pronunciation it is difficult to tell.

⁵ אִימְלִיכִי, HG. ed. pr. 100 d.

b) [T אִקְלַעִי אִקְלַעִית.—] I arrived, Sabb. 145 b; אִקְלַעִי Sanh. 97 a, Ber. 49 a; אִסְתַּגְרִי I am engrossed, F. MS., B. Q. 40 a; אִמְלִכִי I took counsel, B. B. 30 b.¹

3d plur. masc.—§ 332. a) [B אֲחַקְטִלוּ, אֲחַקְטִלוּ; T אֲחַקְטִלוּ; Pal. Talm. אֲחַקְטִלוּ, עֲחַקְטִלוּ, עֲחַקְטִלוּ; S אֲחַקְטִלוּ].— B. B. 74 b; אֲיַבְעִיתוּ were afraid, Meg. 3 a; אֲיַצְטְרִיכִי Gitt. 72 b; אֲיַפְלִגוּ were divided, Sabb. 156 a.²

b) אֲיַפְלִגוּ 'Ar. 18 b; אֲיַקְלָאֵי C. MS., M. Q. 12 a; אֲיַחַרְכִּי differed, Zeb. 11 b; אֲיַבְלְעוּ were swallowed up, Sanh. 110 a; אֲיַחַרְכִּי were charred, singed, Nidd. 28 a; אֲיַחַרְכִּי broke in, Sanh. 109 a.³

c) אֲיַפְסוּפִי were ashamed, Gitt. 29 b.⁴

d) אֲיַזְדְּהִי, אֲיַזְדְּהִי took heed, Qidd. 69 b; אֲיַמְרִיד rebelled, Yeb. 108 a; אֲיַבְעִיל Yōmā 19 b; אֲיַנְקוּט were caught, Taan. 23 b; אֲיַנְפִיל fell in ruins, Meg. 4 a; אֲיַפְרוּק Hull. 44 a; אֲיַטְוִיר took leave, M. Q. 9 a; אֲיַשְׁדוּק were blasted, B. M. 105 b; אֲיַשְׁדוּק ibid. 106 a.⁵

3d plur. fem.—§ 333. [T אֲחַקְטִילָא, אֲחַקְטִילָא; S אֲחַקְטִילָא, אֲחַקְטִילָא].— B. B. 24 a; אֲיַקְרַעְנָי were torn, Qidd. 70 b; אֲיַנְסְבָנָי were married, Keth. 53 d; אֲיַנְבָנָי bowed, 'En Y. A. Z. 17 b; אֲיַבְעִיל 'Arûkh Yōmā 19 b; אֲיַבְעִיאַי were split, 'En Y. Bekh. 36 a, by analogy with "ל".⁶

2d plur. masc.—§ 334. [T אֲחַקְטִילָתוֹן; M עֲחַקְטִילָתוֹן, עֲחַקְטִילָתוֹן; S אֲחַקְטִילָתוֹן].— B. Q. 108 b (M. MS. אֲחַקְטִילָתוֹן); אֲיַחַרְחִיתוֹ ye became rich, Hôr. 10 b; אֲיַחַרְחִיתוֹ ye postpone, wait, Sabb. 136 a; אֲיַפְטְרִיתוֹ ye took leave, M. Q. 9 a ('En Y. אֲיַפְטְרִיתוֹ).

1st plur. com.—§ 335. [B אֲחַקְטִילָנָא, אֲחַקְטִילָנָא; T אֲחַקְטִילָנָא; M עֲחַקְטִילָנָא, עֲחַקְטִילָנָא; S אֲחַקְטִילָנָא].— Hull. 111 a; אֲיַקְלַעְנָי ibid. 49 a.⁷

IMPERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§ 336. a) [B אֲחַקְטִיל, אֲחַקְטִיל; T אֲחַקְטִיל; M אֲחַקְטִיל, אֲחַקְטִיל; S אֲחַקְטִיל].

¹ אֲיַדְכִּי, HG. ed. pr. 115 a.

² אֲיַפְלִגוּ, Igg. Šerîrâ, 29; אֲיַפְלִגוּ, ibid. 37.

³ אֲיַחַרְכִּי, Hal. Pes. § 73; אֲיַקְלַעִי, HG. 129 (voc.).

⁴ אֲיַצְרִיכִי, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 320.

⁵ אֲיַשְׁדוּק, HG. ed. pr. 92 a; אֲיַשְׁדוּק, ibid. 126 c.

⁶ אֲיַחַרְכִּי, HG. ed. pr. 130 a; אֲיַחַרְכִּי, ibid. 134 d; אֲיַחַרְכִּי, Igg. Šerîrâ, 15 (עֲקָרָה).

⁷ אֲיַקְלַעִי, Igg. Šerîrâ, 44; אֲיַצְטְרִיכִי Alfasi, B. M. IV.

b) לִּיתָבֵר *is broken*, Ber. 28 a; לִּיזְהָר Sabb. 110 b; נִיזְהָר *takes care*, Gitt. 69 b; לְשִׁתְּכָח *is found*, Ned. 44 a.¹

c) לִּיפְסוּל *is unfit*, Zeb. 27 a.

3d sing. fem.—§337. a) תִּפְשִׁיט *is explained*, Sabb. 140 a; תִּיעֲבִיר *is done*, B. M. 29 b.

b) תִּתָּבֵר *is broken*, B. M. 107 a; תִּתְעַבֵּר *is done*, A. Z. 10 a.

2d sing. masc.—§338. תִּלְחֹדֵשׁ *listen*, B. M. 59 a.

1st sing. com.—§339. a) אֶימְלִיךָ *I consult*, Ber. 27 b.

b) אֶסְתַּנֵּר *I am engrossed*, B. Q. 40 a; אֶיזְהָר *I go back*, Ned. 50 a.

3d plur. masc.—§340. [BT תִּתְקַטְלוּ; M נִיתְקִיטְלוּ; S לִּיפְסֻלוּ.—] לִּיפְסֻלוּ *are unfit*, Zeb. 4 b, 5 a; לִּיפְלֹגוּ *differ*, *ibid.* 11 b; לִּיתְחַדּוּ *wait*, Sabb. 134 a; לִּיחַלְפוּ *exchange, mix up*, *ibid.* 54 b; לִּתְרַגְּלוּ *get accustomed*, Ned. 66 b; לְעִנְשׁוּ *are punished*, Bēqā 16 a.²

3d plur. fem.—§341. לִישְׁתַּמְעֵן *are heard*, M. Q. 16 b; לִחְמֹטֵן *ulcerate*, Sabb. 54 b.

2d plur. masc.—§342. תִּתְקַטְלוּן Keth. 19 a; תִּיבְסֻפוּ *are ashamed*, Qidd. 18 a.

IMPERATIVE.—Sing. masc.—§343. אִזְהָר *take heed*, Pes 112 a; אִישְׁלַע *have untied*, Yeb. 39 b; אִפְרַע *take as pay*, B. M. 118 a; אִשְׁתַּמַּע *make thyself heard*, Sanh. 95 b; אִשְׁתַּכַּח *find*, *ibid.* 95 a; אִקְשִׁיט *adorn thyself*, Sabb. 26 a.

Plur. masc.—§344. אִזְהָרוּ *keep away*, Nidd. 47 a.

INFINITIVE.—§345. The usual form of the infinitive is אֲתִקְטִילִי; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'ithqatûlê: לְאִימְלוּכִי *to consult*, B. B. 12 b; אִזְהָרוּרִי M. MS., Pes. 110 b; אִשְׁתַּכְּחוּרִי *ibid.* 10 b; לְאִינְפֹלִי M. Q. 2 ab; אִיעֲרוּמִי *to act slyly*, Sabb. 38 a; אִיפְלוּגִי *to differ*, 'Er. 3 a.

b) 'ithqatûlâ: אִיעֲרוּמָא Macc. 23 b.

c) 'ithqatâlâ: לְאִתְנַסְבָא *to be married*, Keth. 53 b.

d) mithqatûlê: מִיקְטוּפִי *to be broken, interrupted*, Pes. 8 a (fragment ed. Lowe); מִיקְפֹּלִי *to peel off*, Yeb. 76 a.

e) mithqatal: מִיזְהָרִי B. B. 173 a; לְמִימְשֵׁךְ *to follow*, A. Z. 27 b; but the last example is more probably Qal.

¹ Without ל: רְמַסָּר *is delivered up*, B. M. 86 a; יִזְהָרִי A. Z. 28 b.

² לִיפְלֹגִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 106 a; לִיתְפַּרְעוּן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §546.

f) *mithqatalā*: מִיִּפְגָּדָא *to be lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86a.

g) 'ithqatalûiê: לֹאֲזַדְרָבוּרִי *to flow over*, 'Arûkh, Yôma 78a.¹

PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§346. a) מִיִּמְלִיךְ Ned. 54a; מִיִּבְעִית *is frightened*, Sanh. 94a.

b) מִיִּפְגָּד *is lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86a; מִיִּקְטָה *is broken*, Pes. 8a; מִזְדָּהֵר *ibid.* 111b.

Sing. fem.—§347. מִתְעַבְרָא M. MS., Pes. 54a; מִיִּמְרָדָא *rebels*, Keth. 57b; מִיִּעֲרָמָא *acts slyly*, Macc. 23b; מִיִּנְסָבָא *is married*, Sabb. 94a.

Plur. masc.—§348. מִתְמַלְכִין *regret*, B. B. 4a; מִיעֲנָשִׁי *are punished*, C. MS., M. Q. 25a; מִתְהַפְּכִי Meg. 4b; מִיִּפְלְגִי *differ*, Ned. 54a; מִיִּפְנְדוּ *hide themselves*, Sanh. 26a; מִיִּפְלִיגִי Zeb. 18b.²

Plur. fem.—§349. מִשְׁתַּמְעִן Sabb. 23b; מִפְחֶכֶן Ber. 6a; מִיִּמְסְרֶן Gitt. 71b; מִיִּנְקָפֶן *are wounded*, ed. Ven. Ber. 6a; מִיִּנְסָבֶן *are married*, Ber. 56a.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§350.—

a) מִדְּכֹרְנָא *I remember*, Ber. 44b; מִזְדָּהֵרְנָא *I take heed*, B. B. 29a; מִיִּמְצָרְנָא *stretch myself*, A. Z. 70b; מִתְפִּינְרְנָא Sabb. 32a.

b) מִתְפָּסְתָּה *art caught*, Ber. 56a; מִיִּנְסָבְתָּה *art married*, Keth. 61b (f.).

c) מִיִּפְקִידְנָא Qidd. 39a.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§351. a) [B הִתְקַטַּל; T אִתְקַטַּל; M אִתְקַטַּל; S اِتَّكَمَّلَ].—אִתְעֲשִׂיר *became rich*, Gitt. 30b; אִתְחַפַּל Pes. 104a; אִיזְדָּבֶן *was sold*, Ber. 5b; אִיזְדָּבֵל *was manured*, A. Z. 49a; אִיפְתָּח *she brought forth*, Gitt. 69b (§236); אִיזְבֶּן Ned. 31b; אִיעֲקָר *ibid.* 41a; אִיעֲתָר *became rich*, *ibid.* 50a.

b) אִשְׁתַּמִּישׁ Pes. 8a (ed. pr.); אִסְתַּתֵּם *was closed up*, Yeb. 75b.

c) אִשְׁתַּוְרוּךְ *was burned*, Pes. 82b; אִסְתַּלּוֹךְ Er. 60a; אִינְגָב *was stolen*, B. M. 79a; אִיקְדוּשׁ 'Arûkh, Ned. 31a; אִיתַגְוֵר *has profited*, Sanh. 81a; אִיפְשְׁטוּר (ו) *let her be freed*, Yeb. 19a.

d) אִשְׁתַּרְשִׁי *was of benefit*, Gitt. 35a.³

¹ לִינְסוּבָה, *Se'el.* 18; אִינְסוּבָה, *ibid.* 12; לִמְסוּבָה, *ibid.* 21.

² מִיִּפְלִיגִי, *HG.* 264.

³ Cf. for the development of meaning Arabic تَأَصَّلَ and تَأَقَّلَ.

3d sing. fem.—§ 352. [B הִתְקַטְּלָה; T אֲתִקְטַלְתְּ; M עֲתִקְטַלְתְּ; S אִתְּקַטְּלָה].—[אִתְּקַטְּלָה] *became leprous*, Hull. 60*a*; *was persuaded*, Yeb. 108*b*; *escaped*, B. M. 85*b*; *staggered*, Nidd. 17*b*; אִתְּקַדְּשָׁה, Keth. 62*b*; אִתְּקַדְּשָׁה Ned. 50*a*; אִתְּקַדְּשָׁה *was betrothed*, Yeb. 110*a*.¹

2d sing. com.—§ 353. [B הִתְקַטְּלָתְּ; T אֲתִקְטַלְתָּ; M אֲתִקְטַלְתְּ; S אִתְּקַטְּלָתְּ].—[אִתְּקַטְּלָתְּ] *art in error*, Zeb. 26*a*; אִתְּקַנְּתָה *didst stay*, Hull. 105*b*; אִתְּקַנְּתָה *didst neglect to come*, Keth. 111*b*; אִתְּקַסְּתָה *didst busy thyself*, Keth. 77*b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 354. [B הִתְקַטְּלִיתִּי; T אֲתִקְטַלִּיתִּי; M עֲתִקְטַלִּיתִּי; S אִתְּקַטְּלִיתִּי].—[אִתְּקַטְּלִיתִּי] *I swore*, Sanh. 109*b*; אִתְּקַפְּלִי *I looked*, B. M. 85*b*; אִתְּקַפְּלִי *I was in danger*, Keth. 61*a*, O. MS., Sabb. 145*b*; אִתְּקַסְּתִּי Pes. 113*a*; אִתְּקַסְּתִּי *I stretched myself out*, B. M. 85*b*.²

3d plur. masc.—§ 355. a) [B הִתְקַטְּלוּ; T אֲתִקְטַלוּ; Pal. Talm. אֲתִקְטַלוּ; M עֲתִקְטַלוּ; S אִתְּקַטְּלוּ].—[אִתְּקַטְּלוּ] *became rich*, Taan. 23*b*; אִתְּקַטְּלוּ (?) C. MS., M. Q. 25*b* (eds. אֲשַׁתְּעוּ).³

b) אִתְּקַפְּרוּ Macc. 5*b*; אִתְּקַפְּרוּ Yeb. 64*b*; אִתְּקַפְּרוּ *were closed up*, R. H. 23*b*; אִתְּקַפְּרוּ *made profit*, A. Z. 2*b*; אִתְּקַפְּרוּ *may they be scattered*, Pes. 110*b*.

3d plur. fem.—§ 356. אִתְּקַזְּרִי *show semen*, Hull. 93*b*.⁴

1st plur. com.—§ 357. אִתְּקַבְּנָא *I am (we are) attached*, Sanh. 29*a*.

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 358. a) לִיִּצְטַעַר Hag. 5*b*; לִיִּצְטַעַר Gitt. 87*a*; לִיִּצְטַעַר Zeb. 31*b*; לִיִּצְטַעַר Sabb. 81*a*; לִיִּצְטַעַר *is disfigured*, B. B. 154*b*; לִיִּצְטַעַר B. M. 108*a*.⁵

b) לִיִּצְטַעַר *is burned*, Pes. 82*b*.⁶

3d sing. fem.—§ 359. תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ Zeb. 25*a*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ Bêc. 38*a*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ Ber. 51*b*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ happened, M. Q. 18*b*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ Keth. 83*a*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ *is covered with straw*, B. M. 103*b*; תִּתְקַבֵּשׁ *ibid.* 19*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 360*a*. תִּתְקַבֵּל B. M. 85*a*; תִּתְקַבֵּל Sanh. 95*a*.

2d sing. fem.—§ 360*β*. תִּתְקַבֵּל Keth. 2*b*.

¹ אִתְּקַטְּלָה (for אִתְּקַטְּלָה), SM, No. x.; אִתְּקַטְּלָה, TG., ed. Cassel, § 53.

² אִתְּקַפְּלִי, TG., ed. Cassel, § 1; אִתְּקַפְּלִי MM. Taan. 22.

³ The regular form is very rare, having been superseded by the one with transposed final vowel.

⁴ אִתְּקַפְּלִי, TG., ed. Cassel, § 53; אִתְּקַפְּלִי, *ibid.*; אִתְּקַפְּלִי, HG., ed. pr. 81*d*.

⁵ לִיִּצְטַעַר, Sotā 40*a*.

⁶ לִיִּצְטַעַר, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 343.

1st sing. com.—§361. אֶסְתַּחַר Ber. 31 b; אֶצְטַעַר Taan. 25 a; אֶיפְגַּר *ibid.* 23 b; אֶעֱצֵב Sanh. 98 a.

3d plur. masc.—§362. a) לִיבְטֹלֶן Ned. 27 a; לִיזְדַּבְנוּ 'Er. 47 b; לִיבְדֹרוֹ Gitt. 33 b; לִיעֲתָרוֹ Taan. 23 b; לִיזְטַרְפוֹ Sabb. 71 a; לִיסְתַּלְקוּ, לִיסְלַקוּ B. B. 43 a.¹

b) לִיבְדוּרִי Tôsāphôth, Gitt. 33 b; נִשְׁתַּרְפוֹ (?) Sabb. 110 a.

c) נִבְדֹּרִי Yeb. 72 a.

3d plur. fem.—§363. לִבְטֹלָן Ned. 27 b; לִיבְדֹקֶן Succ. 13 b.

2d plur. masc.—§364. תִּחְנַחֲמוּ Sanh. 19 a; תִּחְעַתְרוּ B. M. 59 a.

1st plur. com.—§365. נִצְטַעַר Taan. 25 a.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§366. a) אֶסְתַּחַלְּ Hull. 60 a, אֶחְסִימַר *hide thyself*, Yeb. 45 b; אֶדְהֵן *be fat*, Šebu. 47 b.

b) אֶדְהֵן eds. Šebu. 47 b; אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָה Alfasi Hull. 132 b (eds. אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָה).²

Plur. masc.—§367. a) אֶשְׁמִירוֹ Alfasi B. B. 40 b.

b) אֶשְׁמִירוֹ M. MS. B. B. 41 a.

c) אֶשְׁמִירוֹ B. B. 40 b.

INFINITIVE.—§368. The usual form of the infinitive is אֶתְחַטֵּל; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'ithqattulê: לְאַתְחַתֹּחִי *to open*, Gitt. 69 a; אֶתְחַתֹּמִי *to be closed*, R. H. 23 b; אֶתְחַגְוִי *to profit*, Sanh. 81 a, A. Z. 2 b, Yeb. 92 b; אֶתְחַבְדִּי *to scatter*, Gitt. 33 b, Yômā 2 b; אֶשְׁתַּבְּחִי *to praise*, Pes. 50 b; אֶיִזְדַּבְוִי *to be sold*, 'Ar. 29 b; לְבִסּוּמִי Meg. 7 b, C. MS. לְאִיבְסוּמִי *to cheer oneself up with wine*.

b) 'ithqattul: אֶתְחַמּוּהָ *to be astonished*, 2 M. MS. Pes. 17 a; and perhaps אֶיִפְטוֹר *to be freed*, Yeb. 19 a; אֶיִבְדוֹר Tos. Gitt. 33 b.

c) 'ithqattalâ: לְאֶתְחַפֵּלָא *to look*, Hull. 60 a; אֶתְחַקְרָא Men. 7 a.

d) 'ithqattalê: אֶתְחַרְכִּי *to be singed*, Nidd. 28 a.

e) 'ithqattal: אֶתְחַקֵּר *to be torn out*, Pes. 111 b.

f) 'ithqattalûiê: אֶתְחַמְדוּיִי *to wonder*, Sanh. 20 a.

g) mithqattalâ: לְמִיִּפְטָרָא *to be freed*, Raši Yeb. 19 a.

h) נִשְׁתַּרְפוֹ *to melt*, Sabb. 110 a (√שרך = √פשר). This example may also be imperfect; cf. §362 b.³

¹ יִזְדַּבְנוּ B. M. 90 b.

² אֶיִקְדִישׁ HG. ed. pr. 82 d.

³ אֶתְחַשְׁלִימִי TG., ed. Cassel, §41; לְאֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָה TR., II., 33; לְמִשְׁתַּחֲוֶיָה HG., ed. pr. 105 d; אֶשְׁתַּחֲוִי *ibid.* 41 c.

PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 369. *a)* מְחַפֵּר *is forgiven*, Meg. 16 *a*; מְזֻדָּבֵן *is sold*, M. Q. 10 *b*; מַצְטַעֵר *grieves*, B. M. 84 *a*; מִנְגַּע *is smitten with leprosy*, Hull. 60 *a*; מִיִּפְתָּח *opens*, Taan. 24 *a*.¹

b) מִיִּסְחָפִין 'En Y. Bekh. 44 *b*; מְשִׁתְּלִים *is paid*, Pes. 28 *a*.²

c) מְשַׁתְּרֵשִׁי *benefits*, Gitt. 44 *a*, Hull. 131 *a*, Keth. 108 *a*.

Sing. fem.—§ 370. מִיִּפְקָדָא *bidden*, Yeb. 65 *b*; מִיִּזְקָנָא *grows old*, 'Ar. 19 *a*; מִיִּזְבָּנָא, מִיִּזְדָּבָנָא *is sold*, *ibid.* 29 *b*; מִנְטְרֵיָא Bēcā 15 *a* (by analogy with "ל").³

Plur. masc.—§ 371. מְסַתְּפִין Taan. 23 *b*; מְסַתְּפְלִי Succ. 45 *b*, מְחַעֲרִי *get rich*, Pes. 50 *a*; מִיִּקְבְּלִי *are pleasing*, Taan. 23 *b*; מִיִּתְרְצִין *are explained*, Taan. 14 *a*; מְזֻדָּבְנִי *are sold*, Macc. 2 *b*.

Plur. fem.—§ 372. מְסַתְּפִין *look*, Bēcā 20 *a*; מִיִּפְרִשֵּׁן *are explained, clear*, Meg. 3 *a*; מְסַתְּמִין *are unclear*, *ibid.*; מִיִּדְרִדֵּן *are trimmed*, Ned. 61 *b*, Raši; מַצְטַעֲרִין Sabb. 140 *b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN.—§ 373.—

a) מְשַׁתְּרִיפָנָא *I associate myself*, M. MS. Sabb. 23 *a*; מְשִׁתְּלָמְנָא *am paid*, B. Q. 9 *a*; מְסַתְּלָקְנָא *am paid off*, B. M. 67 *b*; מְסַתְּתִרְנָא *I hide myself*, Ber. 31 *b* (f.); מְשַׁתְּבַּעְנָא *I swear*, Keth. 85 *a*; מְקַדְשָׁנָא *I am married*, Keth. 62 *b* (f.).

b) מְזֻדָּבְנָתָא *thou art sold*, Macc. 2 *b*; מִיִּפְקָדָתָא Yeb. 65 *b* (f.); מְשִׁתְּתִפָּתָא B. M. 69 *a*; מִעֲנִינָתָא Taan. 25 *a*.

c) מִיִּזְדָּבְלִינָא *we are sold*, Macc. 2 *b*.⁴

d) מְסַתְּלָקִירָתָא *ye are paid off, leave*, B. M. 109 *a*; מְשִׁתְּלִירָתָא (= מְשִׁתְּלִירָתָא) *ye become tired*, A. Z. 72 *b*.

VERBS פ"נ.

§ 374. The נ as first stem-consonant is assimilated to the following consonant whenever both meet without an intervening vowel, or vocal š^{va}. This happens in the imperfect and in the infinitive Qal, in the Aph'el and in the Ittaph'al. The imperative Qal frequently loses initial נ by analogy with the imperfect from which it is derived.

¹ מְחַנְגֵּעַ, SM, No. x. (voc.).

² מְשַׁתְּמִית, HG, ed. pr. 104 *d*.

³ מִיִּקְדָּשֵׁת, HG, ed. pr. 82 *d*.

⁴ מַצְטַעֲרִינָא, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 78.

In the verb סָלַךְ *to ascend*, which in consequence of the syncope of ל is formed like a פ"נ stem, we find also a form סָקִי *they ascended* (Taan. 23b) in the perfect.¹

The נ frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals, emphatic consonants, sibilants, ג, ד, and פ. Notice מִיִּפֶּק *is taken out* (Succ. 45a) for מִיִּנְפֶּק. But this may also be an Aph'el passive participle. לֹאִיתִּפְסָהָ *to be slaughtered*, 'Er. 53b, passing into a "ל" form.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§375. a) לִינְשׂוֹה moves, Ber. 51a; לִינְפֹל falls, Meg. 22b; לִינְטוֹל takes, Gitt. 68b; לִינְהוֹח goes down, *ibid.* 67b; לִיפֹל Meg. 22b; לִינְקוֹט Gitt. 69a.²

b) לִינְחִית Sabb. 110a; לִיִּתָּן (§8) Sabb. 104a.³

c) לִינְפֶּח blows, Gitt. 69a; לִיפֶּח Ned. 40a; נִיפֶּח withdraws, Ber. 51b.⁴

3d sing. fem.—§376. תִּיפֹק Macc. 14a, Ned. 65a, 66a.

2d sing. masc.—§377. a) תִּיטוֹל takest, B. M. 105a; תִּינְהוֹג M. Q. 20b; תִּינְטוֹש strippest, Sanh. 100b (from Sirach).

b) No example.

c) תִּנְסֵב marriest, M. Q. 9b; Yeb. 100b.

1st sing. com.—§378. a) אֶפְדִּי I acquire, B. B. 13b; אֶיפֹק I go out, Gitt. 56a; אֶיִּהוֹח I go down, B. M. 15b.

b) אֶיִּנְסֵב I marry, Yeb. 65a; אֶתָּן Gitt. 56b.

c) אֶנְטֵר I keep, M. MS. B. B. 29a; אֶיפֶּס I go up, M. Q. 22a.

3d plur. masc.—§379. a) לִיפְקוּ go out, M. Q. 9b, C. MS. לִינְפְקוּן; לִיפְקוּ R. H. 18a, Bekh. 58b; לִינְקֻטִּי take, Pes. 111a; לִיִּתְנוּ give, Ned. 55a.⁵

b) נִיִּקוֹט M. MS. Pes. 111a.

3d plur. fem.—§380. לִיפְקִין, לִיפְקִין 'En Y. M. Q. 9b.

2d plur. masc.—§381. תִּנְקֻטִּי Taan. 24a; תִּיִּהוֹחוּ go down, B. B. 73b; תִּנְסֵבוּ ye marry, Ber. 8b.

1st plur. com.—§382. a) נִיפְקוּ Gitt. 56a; נִיִּהוֹחוּ 2 M. MS. Pes. 118b; לִיִּהוֹחוּ B. B. 73b.

¹ Cf. פָּצִיחַ נִפְדִּי Hal. Pes. §39. Cf. also Hebrew תִּפְחָה, קָח, etc.

² יפֹק B. B. 169a.

³ נִנְסֵב, לִנְסֵב HG. ed. pr. 119b.

⁴ יִנְפֶּק Qidd. 81a.

⁵ יִפְקוּן B. B. 169a.

b) נִיתָן Sanh. 96a; נִפְּיִים slaughters, Sanh. 25b.

c) לִינָטָר B. B. 29a.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§383. a) נָקוּט take, Sabb. 147a; נָפִיץ cast off, *ibid.*; פָּוֶץ Yômā 20b; גָּוֵר acquire, B. B. 13b; פֹּסֶם slaughter, Pes. 61a; הוֹר vow, Qidd. 41a; טוּל take, B. M. 28b; פֹּק Ber. 17a.

b) נָסִיב marry, Yeb. 45a, 63a; Pes. 113a; נָחִיחַ Yeb. 63a; נָתַן give, Gitt. 56b.

c) נָטַר keep, Qidd. 70a; נָטָה raise up, Keth. 60a (Raši נָטוּחַ); סָב take away, Sanh. 100b; סָק ascend, Yeb. 63a.

Sing. fem.—§384. טָלִי take, Gitt. 24a, Ned. 77b.¹

Plur. masc.—§385. a) נָקוּשׁוּ Sanh. 90b; פֹּקוּ Sabb. 156a; חוּתוּ come ye down, Šebu. 31a.

b) נָגִידוּ remove ye, Gitt. 68b, 'Er. 94a.

c) נָטְרוּ Ber. 53b.

INFINITIVE.—§386. a) miqtal: מְנַקֵּר to chisel, M. Q. 10a; מִינָסַב Sanh. 75b; מִינָטָר M. Q. 9a; מִינָדָר Ned. 66b; מִינָנַע Sanh. 19a; מִינָנַד B. M. 74b; מִינָדָר Ned. 28a; מִינָפֶק *ibid.* 50a; מִינָקַט *ibid.* 78b; לְמִיפֵל B. B. 10a; לְמִיתָן Sanh. 113a.

b) miqtal: מִינָסִיב 'En Y. Sôtā 12a.

c) miqtul: לְמִינָדוּר 'En Y. B. B. 73b.

d) miqtalā: לְמִינָטָרָא SM. (No. xciv.), Gitt. 68b.

e) qutūl: נָדוּר Ned. 21b.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§387. a) אִנָּסִיב married, Qidd. 71a; אִנָּקִיט M. MS. Ber. 7a; אִנָּקִיחַ surrounded, Sanh. 69a; אִנָּפִק Ber. 39a; אִנָּפִשׁ he increased, Men. 23b; אִנָּפִק Taan. 24a; אִנָּחִיחַ Keth. 62b; אִנָּפִל she miscarried, Hull. 42a.

b) אִנָּפַר broke off, Macc. 8a; אִנָּסָה removed, Gitt. 53b; אִנָּסַב married, Yeb. 121a; אִנָּהַר enlightened, Sôtā 6a; by analogy with ל"י verbs, אִנָּעַי touched, Sanh. 33b; (אִנָּדָהּ he forbade her by a vow, Ned. 50a).

c) אִנָּסִיב C. MS. Pes. 110b.

3d sing. fem.—§388. אִנָּפִקָה B. M. 59b; אִנָּפָה Ned. 7b; אִנָּפָה Yeb. 65b,² אִנָּחִיתָה she let flow, 'En Ya'aq. 62b; (אִנָּדָתָה she forbade her by a vow, Ned. 21b).

¹ סָקִי SM. No. cxv.

² אִנָּפִלָה Še'el. 18.

2d sing. masc.—§389. a) אָפִיקָה Sabb. 151b.

b) אַפְלֵהָ Yeb. 65b; אָפִיקְתָּ *didst compare*, Zeb. 5b; אַפְשָׁה *didst increase*, Ber. 5b; אָנַחְתָּ *didst answer satisfactorily*, B. B. 129a; אָנַחְתָּ Hull. 137b; אָפִיקָה *ibid.* 43a.

1st sing. com.—§390. אָפִיקִיתָ Raši Ber. 38a, eds. אָפִיקָה; אַפְלִיתָ Yeb. 65b; אָפִיקְתִּי 'Er. 54b (§203), 'En Y. *ibid.* אָפִיקְתִּי.¹

3d plur. masc.—§391. אָפִיקוּ Ber. 38a; אָחִיתוּ M. Q. 25b; אָפִיקוּ Ned. 25a; אָפִיקוּ Yeb. 25a, by analogy with participle.²

2d plur. masc.—§392. אָפִיקְתֶּם *ye remove*, Pes. 103b.

1st plur. com.—§393. אָפִיקְנָה Alf. B. Q. 47a; אָפִיקְנָה M. MS. Er. 54b; אָחִיתֶנּוּ Keth. 26b; אָפִיקְנָה *I (we) give credit*, Hull. 48a (Raši different).

IMPERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§394. לִקְיָה Sanh. 69a; נִקְיָה B. M. 19b; לִקְיָה Sanh. 52a; נִקְיָה *compares*, Zeb. 49b; לִקְיָה 'Ar. 28b; נִקְיָה Sabb. 117b; (לִקְיָה *compares it*, Sabb. 83a).

2d sing. masc.—§395. תִּפְיָה Qidd. 66a, R. H. 13a.

1st sing. com.—§396. אָפִישׁ B. B. 12b; אָפִישׁ *I rescue*, 'En Y. Sôtā 40a.

3d plur. masc.—§397. לִיזְקָה *cause damage*, Sanh. 65a.³

2d plur. masc.—§398. תִּפְיָה Sabb. 96b.

IMPERATIVE.—Sing. masc.—§399. a) אָפִישׁ *compare*, Zeb. 5b; אָפִישׁ Bēḡā 25b; אָפִישׁ Macc. 22a; אָחִיתָ Sabb. 110a.

b) אָפִישׁ *let flow*, Taan. 25b.

Sing. fem.—§400. אָפִישׁ *cut the hair round*, B. M. 10b.

Plur. masc.—§401. אָפִיקוּ Sanh. 7b; אָפִיקוּ *bring up*, Bekh. 8b; אָחִיתוּ *place*, Ned. 50b.

INFINITIVE.—§402. a) 'aqtûlê: אָפִישׁ Bēḡā 7a; אָפִישׁ Hull. 42b; אָפִישׁ Zeb. 20b, Sabb. 18b; אָפִישׁ Ned. 2b; אָפִישׁ Sôtā 21a; אָפִישׁ *to compare*, Zeb. 49b; אָפִישׁ Yeb. 120a; (אָפִישׁ *to make him assume*, B. Q. 85b).

b) 'aqtîlê: אָפִישׁ M. MS. Sabb. 101b; אָפִישׁ *ibid.* B. B. 166b.

c) 'aqtâlûiê: לִאָפִישׁ *to compare*, Ker. 25b, Zeb. 49b, by analogy with ל"ו verbs.⁴

¹ אָפִיקְתִּי, אָפִיקְתִּי, HG. 180; אָפִיקְתִּי Alfasi Yeb. 65b.

² אָפִיקְתִּי HG. ed. pr. 89c.

³ לִאָפִישׁ HG. 454.

⁴ לִאָפִישׁ Alfasi M. Q. 4a.

d) *אִזְוֹקֵר* Ber. 35*b*, Gitt. 53*a*; *לְאִזְוֹקֵר* *to give on credit*, A. Z. 63*b*, by analogy with *פָּרַ* verbs.

e) *maqṭûlê*: *מַפּוֹלֵי* Yeb. 35*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 403. a) *מִנְקִיט* Pes. 110*a*; *מִנְסִיב* Qidd. 69*a*, 71*b*; *מַפִּיק* Macc. 2*b*; *מִדִּיק* Ber. 35*b*, *מַחִית* Qidd. 64*b*; *מוֹשִׁיג* *blows*, Sabb. 119*a*, by analogy with *עָרַ* verbs.

b) *מִבֵּע* Keth. 91*a*; *מִסַּח* Zeb. 20*b*.

c) *מִיפֵס* Pes. 11*b*, by analogy with *עָרַ* verbs.

Sing. fem.—§ 404. *מִפְּלָה* Yeb. 35*b*; *מִפְּלָא* Sanh. 109*a*; *מִצְלָא* *saves*, Sôtâ 21*a*; *מִזְקָא* B. B. 26*a*; *מִצְלָה* Qidd. 8*b*.

Plur. masc.—§ 405. *מִסְבֵּר* M. MS. B. B. 166*b*; *מִזְקֵר* Yeb. 121*b*; *מִפְּקֵר* Hôr. 8*a*; *מִצְלֵין* B. M. 93*b*; *מִצִּילוֹ* Alfasi, *ibid.*

Plur. fem.—§ 406. *מִבְּעֵן* Sabb. 38*a*; *מִסְקֵן* R. H. 23*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 407. *Sing. masc.*: *מִתַּח* Ned. 50*a*.—*Sing. fem.*: *מִתַּחַת* *ibid.* 14*b*.—*Plur. fem.*: *מִתַּחֲתֵן* Ned. 91*b*; B. B. 69*a*; *מִקְשִׁינֵן* *compared*, Ker. 11*a*, by analogy with *לָ"י* verbs.—*Plur. masc.*: *מִתַּחֲוֵן* Alf. Ned. 91*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 408.—

a) *מִפְּקִינָא* Ber. 38*a*; *מִצִּילָנָא* *I save*, Sanh. 109*b*; *מִפְּקִינָא* Hull. 132*b*; *מִקְפִּינָא* *I go around*, Meg. 29*a*.

b) *מִנְסִיבָתָא* B. M. 105*a*; *מִינְסִיבָתָא* Ned. 23*a* (f.); *מִפְּקִינָתָא* Pes. 113*b*, Šebu. 31*a*; *מִפְּשִׁינָתָא* Gitt. 3*a*; *מִפְּסִינָתָא* Beṣā 40*a*.

c) *מִנְסִיבֵין* Yeb. 120*a*; *מִפְּשִׁינֵין* Beṣā 7*a*; *מִסְקִינֵין* *we bring up*, Sanh. 112*a*; *מִפְּקִינֵין*, *מִתַּחֲוִינֵין* Nidd. 3*a*; *מִצִּילֵין* *we save*, Sabb. 115*a*; *מִפְּקִינָא* Hull. 132*b*.

VERBS פָּרַ.

§ 409. The perfect and the participles of Qal are regular. To what extent initial *š* in the perfect had a full vowel instead of *š^{va}* cannot be inferred from the orthography. *Qērê* I find once in *אִימַר* *he said*, Keth. 103*b*.¹

In the imperfect and in the infinitive the *š* does not appear and the preformative has *qērê*.² This vowel could have arisen from short *i* or might be a contraction of *ai*, the *š* having been changed to *י*.

¹ Cf. *אִמַּר* *they said*, Še'el. ed. pr. 26 (voc.); *אִמַּרְא*, *is said*, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 69, *passim*; *אִמַּר* *he said*, SM. No. xxvi. (voc.).

² But cf. *יִאמַר* M. MS. Ber. 23*a*; *מִאֲכִלְיָהּ* B. B. 81*b*; *לֹאֲכִלְיָהּ* Yôm. 75*b*.

In the imperative Qal the **ס** usually takes a full vowel. In the verb **אָזל** *to go* it is usually omitted.

In the Pa"el the **ס** is usually syncopated in the participle, rarely in the imperfect.

In the Aph"el, verbs **פ"ס** pass into verbs **פ"ר**; but in some cases they retain their original form, the **ס** quiescing in the preceding *a*-vowel and producing *ā*.

In the reflexive stems the **ס** is usually assimilated to the preceding **ת**, but sometimes retained. In a few cases of the Ithp"el the **ת** is further assimilated to the second stem-consonant.

§410. The verbs **אָזל** and **אָמַר** drop at times their final consonant in unlengthened forms.¹ This is especially the case with **אָמַר**, giving in the imperfect **לִימָא**,² **תִּימָא**, **יִימָא**; in the imperative **אִימָא**. In the participle active **אָמִינָא** *I say* (§73).³ From the last form must be distinguished **אָמִינָא** *they say*, occurring only once, in Gitt. 56*b*. The variants **אָמִרִי** and **אִימִנִי** of editions are evidently 'erleichternde Lesarten.' The word is a compound of **אָמַר**+**אִנָּא** (§115).⁴

The apocopated forms of **אָמַר** in the imperfect are frequently found compounded with **אֵן** *if*, giving the forms **אִיתִימָא** (= **אֵן**+**תִּימָא**), **אִילִימָא** (= **אֵן**+**לִימָא**) and **אִינִימָא** (= **אֵן**+**יִימָא**). From **אִיתִימָא** *if thou say* must be distinguished **אִיתִימָא** *there is one who says*, which is a compound of **אִיתִיָּה** *there is* and **אָמַר** *says* (§60, n. 1).

For verbs **פ"ס** and **ל"י**, cf. §§600–615; for **הִימֵן** cf. §623.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—§411. *3d sing. masc.*: a) **אֵיכּוּל** *eats*, Ber. 18*b*; **נִיזּוּל** Söt. 32*b*.

b) **לִיזּוּל** C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.); **נִיזּוּל** Ber. 27*b*.

c) **לִיזּוּל** Ned. 8*a*; **נִיסֵר** *ties together*, Gitt. 69*a*.⁵

3d sing. fem.: a) **תִּיכּוּל** Yeb. 70*a*.

¹ In *SM*. **אָזל** drops its **ל** constantly.

² **לִימָא** *SM*. No. LXXIII. (voc.).

³ **אָמִינָא** *HG*. 92, *passim*.

⁴ Cf. the similar form **אַסְהִידִינֵן** §232, n. 1.

⁵ **רִימֵר** *says*, Ber. 28*a*, Pes. 9*a* and elsewhere in the phrase **מִי רִימֵר יִיכּוּל** Qidd. 69*b*.

- b) תִּיזֵיל Sanh. 77*b*, 78*a*.
 c) תִּיזֵר 'Er. 75*b*; תִּיזֵל Sôt. 12*a*.
2d sing. masc.: תִּיכֹל Ned. 91*b*, Macc. 19*b*; תִּיפֹךְ Pes. 21*a*.
2d sing. fem.: תִּיזְלִי *thou goest*, Keth. 54*a*.¹
1st sing. com.: a) אִימֹר Pes. 74*b*; אִיכֹל Ber. 24*b*; אִיפֹךְ Pes. 74*b*, Zeb. 28*a*.²
 b) אִיזֵל B. Q. 108*a*, Yeb. 65*a*; אִכִּיל Pes. 74*b*.
 c) אִימֵר Sabb. 137*b*, Yômâ 81*b*.
3d plur. masc.: לִימְרוּ B. M. 65*b*; נִימְרוּ Gitt. 69*a*; נִיכְלוּ M. Q. 9*a*; לִיזְלוּ 'Ar. 22*a*.
2d plur. masc.: תִּימְרוּן Ber. 45*b*, Sabb. 140*b*; תִּיכְלוּן Sabb. 140*b*.
2d plur. fem.: תִּיזְלֵא Ker. 17*b* (§216).
1st plur. com.: a) נִיכֹל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*.
 b) נִיזֵל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*; נִיפֶךְ 'Ar. 29*a*.
 IMPERATIVE.—§412. *Sing. masc.*: a) אִימֹר B. M. 14*b*, M. Q. 2*a*; אִיפֹךְ Sabb. 59*a*, Pes. 21*a*; אִיכֹל Gitt. 69*a*; (אִיכְלִיהָ *eat it*, Sabb. 118*a*).
 b) אִיזֵל Ned. 53*a*; זֵל *ibid.* 22*b*, 25*a*; אִימֵר *hire*, B. M. 111*a*.
 c) אִכֵּל Hag. 15*b*; אִימֵר M. Q. 26*a*, 'Er. 44*a*, Sabb. 157*a*.
Sing. fem.: a) אִיזְלִי *go*, B. M. 42*b*, Ned. 66*b*, M. Q. 16*b*.
 b) אִכְלִי Ned. 77*b*; אִמְרִי B. M. 84*b*.
Plur. masc.: a) אִכְלוּ M. MS. Hôr. 12*a*; אִיזְלוּ Bekh. 9*a*; זִילוּ Meg. 16*a*.³
 b) אִכְלוּ B. B. 21*b*; אִמְרוּ *ibid.* 39*a*.
 INFINITIVE.—§413. a) maqtal or miqtal: לִימְרֵר Ned. 9*b*, 10*a*,⁴ מִיכֵל *ibid.* 4*b*, 49*b*, 73*a*; מִיזֵל *ibid.* 33*a*, Macc. 15*a*; לִימְרֵר 'Er. 80*a*; מִינֵס Ned. 27*ab*.
 b) maqtalâ or miqtalâ: לִימְרֵר Ned. 9*a*, 16*a*.⁵
 c) qûtûlê: אִמְרוּרִי Ned. 9*b*; אִימְרוּרִי C. MS. Pes. 89*b*.

¹ תִּיזְלוּן HG. 220.

² אִיזֵל TG. ed. Harkavy, §§9, 28.

³ זִילוּ SM. No. xxvi. (voc.).

⁴ מִימֵר HG. 140.

⁵ In the phrase מִימֵר לִימְרֵר the ending מֵר seems to be the objective suffix of the 3d sing. fem.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"EL.

§414. PERFECT.—אָדָּר *he distinguished*, Sanh. 63*b*.

IMPERFECT.—(אֶבְרִינֶהוּ *I shall destroy them*, Gitt. 57*b*);¹ תִּאֻשֶּׁר *mayest believe*, *ibid.* 30*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—אִשֹּׁר *believe thou*, Gitt. 30*b*.

INFINITIVE.—אֲבֹדֶי B. M. 51*a*; אֲחֹרֵי B. Q. 74*a*, Ker. 20*a*; לְאֲבֹלֵי R. MS. B. M. 59*b*; (לְאַחֲרֶיהָ *to do it later*, Sabb. 119*a*).²

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מֵאֲחֵר Ned. 4*a*, Ker. 20*a*; מֵאֲחֵרֵי B. Q. 74*a*; מְלַפֵּי *they teach*, Keth. 62*a*; מְאַשְׁרֵן *they strengthen*, Gitt. 70*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מִכָּה *is seated in the saddle*, Nidd. 14*a*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—מְאַיִלָנָא B. M. 59*b*; מְאַיִלְמִנָא *I strengthen*, Qidd. 43*a*.—מְאַחֲרֵינִן Zeb. 86*b*; מְפַכֵּינִן Šebu. 41*a*.³

EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.

§415. PERFECT.—אָדָּר *he hired*, B. M. 77*a*; אֲדִירָה *he waited*, Meg. 16*a*; אֲדָר 'Er. 75*b*; אָדָּר B. M. 65*a*.

IMPERFECT.—לֹדֵר Yeb. 68*a*; לֹדֵר 'Er. 66*a*.—תִּדְרֶיךָ 'Er. 54*a*.—תִּדְרְכוּ *ye will lengthen*, Ber. 8*a*, M. Q. 28*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—אֲדִיר *lose*, B. M. 51*a*; אֲדִיר 'Er. 80*a*; אֲדָר B. M. 76*a*.⁴

INFINITIVE.—לְאֲדִירֵי B. M. 116*a*; אֲדִירֵי 'Er. 75*b*; לְאֲדִירֵי B. M. 101*b*; לְאֲדִיר *ibid.* 92*a*; לְאֲבֹלֵי Yeb. 68*a*; לְאֲדִירֵי B. M. 79*ab*; (לְאֲדִירָה *ibid.*).⁵

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מִדְרֵי A. Z. 15*a*; מְאִדִּיל 'Er. 31*a*; מְאִירָה Sanh. 109*b*; מְאִכִּיל Yeb. 68*a*; (מְאִכִּילָנָא B. M. 85*b*; מְאִפֵּלָת *makest dark*, B. B. 7*a*; מִדְרֵי B. M. 6*a*; מִדְרֵינִן Sanh. 20*a*); מְרַבֵּי *they lie in wait*, A. Z. 39*b*.⁶

¹ Cf. Hebrew נִאֲבָדָה Ezek. 28:16.

² אֲלָפָא Še'et. 1.

³ Cf. מְלַפֵּךְ *teaches thee*, Yeb. 63*a*.

⁴ אֲכֹלֵי *give thou him to eat*, HG. ed. pr. 31*a*.

⁵ לְאֲדִירָה HG. ed. pr. 95*c*.

⁶ מִדְרֵינִן, *give power of attorney*, HG. ed. pr. 88*d*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^{ET}BL.

PERFECT.—§416. *3d sing. masc.*: a) אִתְּחַדֵּד was locked, Hull. 52b.¹ b) אִתְּרַע happened, M. Q. 18a; אִתְּמַר B. Q. 32a; אִתְּסַר Ned. 89b; אִתְּנַח sighed, Meg. 16a.—*3d sing. fem.*: a) אִתְּנִסָּא Ned. 90b, Gitt. 56a. b) אִתְּרַעָה Macc. 6b; אִתְּרַעָא M. Q. 11b; אִתְּסַרָא Pes. 103b; אִתְּמַרָה Ber. 45b.—*2d sing. masc.*: אִתְּנַרְתָּ thou hast hired thyself out, Yômâ 20b, M. MS. אִתְּרַתָּא.—*1st sing. masc.*: אִתְּנָסִי Sabb. 145b, M. MS. אִתְּנִיָּסִי (§80).—*3d plur. masc.*: a) אִתְּנִסְכוּ Keth. 16b. b) אִתְּסְרוּ Ned. 79b; אִתְּגְרוּן Šebu. 48a. c) אִתְּפְּנִיָּה C. MS. M. Q. 25b.—*3d plur. fem.*: אִתְּחַמְּרִין 'Er. 43a.

IMPERFECT.—§417. *3d sing. masc.*: a) לִיתְחַכֵּיל is eaten, Zeb. 55a; נִתְחַכֵּיל ibid. 56a. b) לִיתְסַר Sabb. 60a; נִתְסַר Pes. 67a; לִיָּסֵר M. MS. Sanh. 55a.—*3d sing. fem.*: a) לִיתְחַכֵּיל Bekh. 16a. b) לִיתְסַר Ned. 80b.—*1st sing. com.*: אִתְּסַר Qidd. 65a.—*3d plur. masc.*: לִיתְגְּרוּהָ (B. M. 112b), read: לִיתְגְּרוּ; לִיתְסְרוּ Men. 56b.—*3d plur. fem.*: לִיתְסְרִין Ned. 79b.

INFINITIVE.—§418. a) 'ithqatûlê: אִתְּחַסְרוּי Nidd. 23a; אִתְּגְרוּי B. M. 76b; אִתְּנִסְי R. H. 23a; אִתְּרוּי Yeb. 43b; אִתְּנִסְי M. MS. Ber. 59a; אִתְּשׁוּי R. MS. Pes. 65a.

b) 'ithqatûla: אִתְּחַסְרוּ A. Z. 52a; לֵאִתְּגְרוּ Alf. B. M. 76b.

c) 'ithqatil: אִתְּנִיָּסִי M. MS. Sabb. 145b (§80, a).

PARTICIPLE.—§419. *Sing. masc.*: a) מִיתְחַכֵּיל Qidd. 59a; מִיתְחֵיל Sabb. 109a; מִיתְחֵיד Pes. 5b; מִיתְשִׁיד O. MS. Pes. 65a.

b) מִיתְסַר Sanh. 47b; מִתְגַּר B. M. 76a; מִיָּגֵר ibid.; מִיָּחֵד Meg. 16a; מִתְשִׁיד O. MS. Pes. 65a.

Sing. fem.: מִיתְחַמְּרָא Nāz. 50b, 'Ar. 15b, B. B. 39a; מִיתְחַכְּלָא Bekh. 16a; מִתְסַרָא Sanh. 47b, Ned. 80a, 91a; מִתְגְּרָא B. M. 65a.²

Plur. masc.: מִיתְחַכְּלֵי M. Q. 11a; מִיתְכְּלֵי Bekh. 16a; מִיתְגְּרֵי B. M. 76a.

Plur. fem.: מִיתְחַכְּלִין Bekh. 16a.

¹ אִתְּנִסִּי SM. No. LXX. (voc.).

² מִיָּסְרָא HG. 293; מִישְׁתְּרָא HG. ed. pr. 123c, passing into מִיָּר.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

§420. PERFECT.—**אִתְאַבְּלוּ** *they mourned*, Gitt. 57*a*.

INFINITIVE.—**אִתְאַבֵּל** *to mourn*, B. Q. 59*b*.¹

PARTICIPLE.—**מִיתְאַבֵּל** *mournes*, Sabb. 136*a*.

VERBS א"ע.

§421. Verbs of this class retain the א in many cases of the Qal and of the Pa"ēl. In all other cases they generally pass into verbs ע"י.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

§422. PERFECT.—**בָּאֵשׁ בָּאֵשׁ** *he borrowed*, Taan. 21*b*; **בָּאֵשׁ** *he grew sick*, Ned. 40*a*.—**שְׁאַלְתָּ** Sabb. 130*b*, Beḥa 22*b*; **שְׁאַלְתָּ** B. Q. 40*a*; **שְׁאַלְתָּ** B. B. 36*b*; **שְׁאַלְתָּ** *I asked*, Taan. 23*b*.—**שְׁאַלְתָּ** *they asked*, Sabb. 152*b*; **שְׁאַלְתָּ** *ibid.* 30*a*.—**שְׁאַלְתָּ** B. M. 79*a*.—**שְׁאַלְתָּ** Yeb. 116*a*; C. MS. Meg. 2*b*.²

IMPERFECT.—**לִישְׁאַלְךָ** Sōtā 35*a*, **לִישְׁאַלְךָ** 'En Y. *ibid.*³

IMPERATIVE.—**שְׁאַל** Ber. 9*b*; **שְׁאַל** B. M. 83*b*.—**שְׁאַלְךָ** Keth. 63*a*.—**שְׁאַלְךָ** Me'il. 17*b*.⁴

INFINITIVE.—**לְמִישְׁאַל** Me'il. 17*b*, M. Q. 18*a*; **לְמִישְׁאַל** C. MS. M. Q. *ibid.*; **מִשְׁאַב** Pes. 74*b*, **מִשְׁאַב** M. MS. *ibid.*; **מִמְּאֵס** A. Z. 68*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—**שְׁאַב** Pes. 74*b*; **שְׁיִיר** Sanh. 64*a*; **שְׁיִיר** Meg. 22*a*; **כְּיִיר** Gitt. 68*b*.—**דְּאִינָא** Sabb. 156*b*.—**שְׁאַלְךָ** Meg. 28*b*, **שְׁיִירְךָ** M. MS. *ibid.*; **שְׁאַבְךָ** Pes. 74*b*; **שְׁיִירְךָ** M. MS. *ibid.*; **דְּיִנְךָ** M. Q. 28*a*; **דְּאִינְךָ** Sabb. 86*b*; **דְּיִנְךָ** M. MS. *ibid.*; **כְּיִירְךָ** Ned. 54*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—**מְאִיס** Keth. 61*b* (§84); **מְאִיסָא** Sanh. 39*a*; **מְאִיסָא** Pes. 34*a*; **מְאִיסִי** Yeb. 100*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

§423. PERFECT.—**שָׁיַל** Taan. 21*b*; **שָׁיַר** *he left*, M. Q. 21*b*, Taan. 14*a*.—**שָׁיַרְתָּ** *I left over*, B. B. 61*b*.

IMPERFECT.—**לִישְׁיַלְךָ** Gitt. 56*a*.⁵

¹ **לְאִתְאַחֲרוּרִי** TG. ed. Harkavy, §321.

² **שְׁאַלְתָּהּ**, **שְׁאַלְתָּהּ**, TG. ed. Harkavy, §376.

³ But this may also be Pa"ēl.

⁴ **שְׁיִירָה** HG. 429.

⁵ **לִישְׁיַלְךָ** HG. ed. pr. 110*d*.

IMPERATIVE.—שִׁירֶה *leave ye*, Succā 36*a*.

INFINITIVE.—שִׁירֶה 'Ar. 16*a*, Sabb. 12*b*; שִׁירֶה Meg. 22*a*; שִׁירֶה H. MS. B. Q. 37*a*; שִׁירֶה A.Z. 27*b*, שִׁירֶה Rašī *ibid*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מְשַׁרֵּה Yeb. 76*b*; מְשַׁרֵּה B. B. 72*a*; (מְשַׁרֵּה *I ask*, Taan. 32*a*).—מְשַׁרֵּה *locans*, Taan. 21*b*; מְשַׁרֵּה Pes. 9*b*.—מְשַׁרֵּה Taan. 21*b*; מְשַׁרֵּה B. M. 27*b*, H. MS. B. Q. 37*a*; (מְשַׁרֵּה M. Q. 9*a*).¹

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מְשַׁרֵּה *unclean*, M. MS. A. Z. 39*b*; מְשַׁרֵּה Tem. 22*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.

§424. אוֹשֶׁלָה *she lent*, Gitt. 77*b*, 79*a*.—אוֹשֶׁלָה M. MS. Taan. 29*a*.—לְאוֹשֶׁלָה Keth. 105*b*.—מוֹשִׁיל A. Z. 15*a*; מוֹשִׁיל 'Ar 24*a*; מוֹשִׁיל Gitt. 77*b*, Yeb. 120*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^SEL.

§425. PERFECT.—אִתְּשִׁיל Hull. 52*b*, Keth. 77*b*; אִתְּשִׁיל 'En Y. Keth. *ibid*.—אִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 65*a*, אִתְּשִׁיל 'En Y. *ibid*.²

IMPERFECT.—נִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 90*a*.—לִימְאֶסָן Yeb. 15*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—אִתְּשִׁיל Sôtā 36*b*; אִתְּשִׁיל *ibid*.

INFINITIVE.—אִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 59*a*, Yeb. 88*a*.³

PARTICIPLE.—מִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 59*a*, 'Er. 30*b*; מִמְאִס Ber. 50*b*, 51*a*; מִתְּשִׁיל M. MS. 'Er. 30*b*; מִמְאִס, מִמְאִס Pes. 28*a*.—מִמְאִס Yeb. 15*a*; מִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 65*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^AAL.

§426. PERFECT.—אִשְׁתַּיֵּר *he remained*, Sanh. 95*a*; אִשְׁתַּיֵּר Qidd. 12*b*.—אִשְׁתַּיֵּר B. B. 36*a*.—אִשְׁתַּיֵּר B. M. 84*a*.—אִשְׁתַּיֵּר Sabb. 43*a*.⁴

IMPERFECT.—נִשְׁתַּיֵּר Nidd. 42*a*.—נִשְׁתַּיֵּר Sabb. 60*b*.

¹ מְשַׁרֵּה Alfasi Succā 32*b*.

² אִתְּשִׁיל HG. ed. pr. 84*b*.

³ לְאוֹשֶׁלָה HG. ed. pr. 75*b*; אוֹשֶׁלָה HG. 400.

⁴ אִשְׁתַּיֵּר TG. ed. Harkavy, §376.

VERBS פ"י.

§427. The only verb which retains initial ו is וִיט *to stain, soak*, all other פ"י verbs became פ"י in the Qal.¹ The initial י was probably pronounced as a consonant. These verbs present the following peculiarities:

In Qal: יֹתב *to sit*, drops its י in the imperative; יֵהב *to give*, does it sometimes also in the perfect.²

In Aph'el: יֵבֵן *to go to the right*, has in a variant the form אֵיִמֵּיִן; all other verbs pass into פ"י stems. A few forms assimilate their י by analogy of פ"י verbs.

In Ithp'el: Some forms of יֵצַר and יֵלֵךְ pass into ע"ו stems יֵחַב is sometimes contracted to אֵיִחֵיב.

In Ithpa'al: Some forms are contracted. For verbs פ"י and פ"י ל"י see §§598, 599.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§428. 3d sing. masc.: a) יָכִיל M. Q. 28 a, Macc. 10 a; יָבִישׁ *was withered*, Gitt. 69 b; יָדָה *borrowed*, 'Er. 63 b; יָחִיב *gave*, Ned. 50 ab, 62 b; יָחִיב *he sat*, Bēḡā 20 a.

b) יָדַע Ned. 50 b, Macc. 6 b; יָהַב Ned. 50 b, Ber. 58 a; הָב MSS. Ber. 58 a.

3d sing. fem.: a) יָלִידָא Macc. 17 b; יָהִיבָה Qidd. 60 a.³

b) יָדַעְתָּ, יָלַדְתָּ, Ned. 50 b; יָדָחַתָּ Yeb. 39 b; יָהֲבָה Ned. 43 b; יָחֲבָה V. L. Sanh. 109 b.

2d sing. masc.: יָהֲבָתָּ Sanh. 109 a, Ber. 56 a; יִזְפֹּתָ Šebu. 37 a

2d sing. fem.: יָהֲבִיתָ Keth. 85 a.

1st sing. com.: a) יָכִילִיתָ B. B. 73 b; יָכִילִי *ibid.* 26 a, Sanh. 49 a

b) יָהֲבִיתָ A. Z. 10 b, Sabb. 105 b; יָלַפִּיתָ Tām. 32 a; יָלַפִּי Šebu. 37 a; יָדַעִי Qidd. 40 a.

3d plur. masc.: a) יָחִיבוּ Keth. 62 b; יָבִישׁוּ B. M. 74 a; יָחִיבֵי 'En. Y. Yōmā 69 b.

b) יָהֲבוּ Macc. 10 a; יָרָחוּ B. B. 118 b; הָבֻּ Hull. 50 a.⁴

c) יָחִיבֵי *they sat*, M. MS. Sabb. 49 a.

¹ According to Praetorius in Nestle's *Syriac Grammar*, remark ad §40 a (p. xi), the פ"י verbs are the older and the פ"י in Syriac and in Arabic a later production.

² Of the three synonymous verbs יָהַב, נָתַן, יָרַח, the first is never used in the imperfect, the two last never in the perfect, or in the participle.

³ יָרִיחַתָּ HG. ed. pr. 105 d; יָלִידָתָּ *ibid.* 108 b.

⁴ יָחֲבֻּ *they gave*, SM. Nos. xciv., cxvi.

1st plur. com.: a) יְהִיבְּנָן B.B. 73b; יְהִיבְּנָן H. MS. *ibid.*

b) יְהִיבְּנָן, יְהִיבְּנָן, *ibid.*; יְהִיבְּנָא B.M. 5b.

IMPERFECT.—§429. 3d sing. masc.: a) לִיזְוֹךְ Taan. 12b; לִיזְוֹךְ Hull. 135a, M.Q. 9b, A.Z. 28b.

b) לִיזְוֹךְ A.Z. 28b, Pes. 86a; לִיזְוֹךְ Sabb. 119a; לִיזְוֹךְ Qidd. 20a.

c) לִיזְוֹךְ 'Ar. 30b, Nidd. 65a; לִיזְוֹךְ Yeb. 17b; לִיזְוֹךְ Ker. 5b; לִיזְוֹךְ *ibid.*, read לִיזְוֹךְ.

3d sing. fem.: a) תִּלְוֹד Macc. 17b; תִּלְוֹד closes, Gitt. 77b; תִּלְוֹד Sabb. 116b.

b) תִּלְוֹד Macc. 17b.

c) תִּלְוֹד Qidd. 80b.

2d sing. masc.: תִּתִּיב 'Er. 54a; [ב] תִּתִּיב Macc. 3b.¹

1st sing. com.: אֶתִּיב I give, Bekh. 44b, Sanh. 98b.

3d plur. masc.: לִיזְוֹךְ 'Er. 53b; לִיזְוֹךְ B.B. 8a; לִיזְוֹךְ *ibid.* 143a, Taan. 25b; לִיזְוֹךְ B.B. 159b; לִיזְוֹךְ M. MS. Er. 2b, 54a; לִיזְוֹךְ Yeb. 61b; לִיזְוֹךְ Taan. 22a.

3d plur. fem.: לִיזְוֹךְ Sabb. 65b.

2d plur. masc.: תִּלְוֹד Yômâ 72b; תִּלְוֹד B.B. 40b.²

1st plur. com.: לִיזְוֹךְ Ber. 62b; לִיזְוֹךְ Taan. 25a (§233).

IMPERATIVE.—§430. Sing. masc.: הִבָּ Ber. 5b, Pes. 74b; הִבָּ Hag. 5b, Yôm. 74b.

Plur. masc.: הִבָּ Sanh. 109a; הִבָּ M. MS. *ibid.* 109b; הִבָּ Hôr. 12a.³ (With suffixes יְהִיבְּנָא give her, Sanh. 109b; יְהִיבְּנָא give ye him, Gitt. 57b).

INFINITIVE.—§431. a) miqtal: מִיזְוֹךְ Hôr. 12a, Ned. 88a, Macc. 6b; מִיזְוֹךְ C. MS. Pes. (voc.);⁴ מִיזְוֹךְ Ber. 9b; מִיזְוֹךְ B. M. 63b; מִיזְוֹךְ Ned. 55b; מִיזְוֹךְ to dry, B. M. 74a.

b) miqtalâ: מִיזְוֹךְ Qidd. 9a; מִיזְוֹךְ *ibid.* 106b; מִיזְוֹךְ B. M. 17a.

c) miqtalê: מִיזְוֹךְ Ber. 40b; מִיזְוֹךְ B. M. 92b.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§432. Sing. masc.: זֶרַע Ned. 8a; זֶרַע *ibid.* 15a; זֶרַע *ibid.* 22a; זֶרַע *ibid.* 29b.⁵

¹ תִּתִּיב SM. No. CCXIII.

² תִּתִּיב HG. ed. pr. 101d.

³ Here we find תִּתִּיב, the imperative with a negative.

⁴ לִיזְוֹךְ Alfasi Sanh. Pereq iv.

⁵ כֹּלֵל Igg. Šerîrâ 24; זֶרַע SM. No. v. a (voc.). Cf. §554, n. 3.

Sing. fem.: יָדְעָה Ned. 91 *a*; יָדְעָא *ibid.* 63 *b*; יָתְבָא B. B. 73 *b*.

Plur. masc.: יָתְבִי Ber. 9 *b*, Ned. 29 *b*; יִנְקִי Ned. 55 *b*; יָדְעִי *ibid.* 62 *b*.¹

Plur. fem.: יָתְבִן Pes. 111 *a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§433. *Sing. masc.*: יָדִיעַ Ned. 55 *a*, Ber. 48 *a*; יָקִיד Sanh. 33 *b*; יָלִיד M. MS. A. Z. 10 *b*.

Sing. fem.: יָהִיבָה Sabb. 105 *b*; יָהִיבָא Sanh. 107 *a*.

Plur. masc.: יָהִירִין Meg. 14 *b*; יָהִירָאִין M. MS. *ibid.* (nominal ending).

EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.

PERFECT.—§434. *3d sing. masc.*: אָוִידָה B. M. 60 *b*, 63 *b*; אָוִיתִב *he placed*, M. Q. 25 *a*; אָוִילִיד Sanh. 69 *a*; אָוִמָן *turned to the right*, Yômâ 72 *b*, O. MS. Sabb. 88 *b*, M. MS. *ibid.* אָוִימָן; אָוִידָה *looked*, Hull. 95 *b*.

3d sing. fem.: אָוִיתְבָּה Keth. 60 *a*, Sanh. 109 *b*; אָוִיתְבָּא A. Z. 17 *b*; אָוִילִידָה B. B. 133 *b*; אָוִילִידָת 'En Y. Ned. 50 *a*.

2d sing. masc.: אָוִישְׁתָּ B. B. 164 *b*, Sabb. 66 *b*; אָוִישְׁתָּ Hull. 58 *b*

2d sing. fem.: אָוִישְׁתִּי M. MS. Sabb. 66 *b*.

1st sing. com.: אָוִיתִיב *I placed*, Bêcâ 16 *b*.

3d plur. masc.: אָוִיתְבוּ *sat*, Yômâ 69 *b*; אָוִיתְבִּי *placed*, Qidd. 8 *b*, Bêcâ 6 *a*.

3d plur. fem.: אָוִיקְדָן *set on fire*, Sanh. 93 *a*.

2d plur. masc.: אָוִיתְבְּתוֹן O. MS. Pes. 87 *b*; 'En Y. *ibid.* אָוִיתְבִּיתוֹן.²

IMPERFECT.—§435. *3d sing. masc.*: לוֹיִסִית R. H. 17 *b*; נוֹיִן 'Ar. 30 *b*.

2d sing. masc.: לוֹיִסִית Pes. 114 *a*.

2d sing. fem.: לוֹיִסִית Alfâsi Yeb. 85 *a*.

1st sing. com.: אָוִילִיד B. B. 91 *a*; אָוִיתִיר Sabb. 67 *a*.

3d plur. masc.: (לְתַבְּנָה) *let them place her*, Sabb. 110 *a*).

IMPERATIVE.—§436. *2d sing. masc.*: אָוִילִיד *beget*, B. B. 91 *a*; אָוִיתִב *put down*, Sabb. 77 *b*.

2d plur. masc.: אָוִיקְרוּ *honor ye*, B. M. 57 *a*; אָוִיבִילוּ *bring ye*, Gitt. 67 *b*.

INFINITIVE.—§437. אָוִידְעִי Sanh. 89 *b*; אָוִירְתִּי *to will*, B. B. 131 *a*; אָוִילְוִי Bêcâ 23 *a*; אָוִיתְבִּי *to place*, M. Q. 25 *a*; לְאָוִיתְבִּי

¹ יָדְבִינָה *we give*, MV. 85.

² אָוִידְעָא *we informed*, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 439; אָוִילִידָא Alfâsi, Yeb. 65 *a*.

O. MS. Pes. 87*b*; אִסְפִּי A. Z. 30*a*; (לְאוֹתִיבָה Gitt. 57*b*); אִסְפִּי Keth. 64*a*; אִסְפִּי A. Z. 26*a*; לְאוֹדוּעַן B. M. 42*b*,¹ אִסְפִּי 'Er. 5*b*; אִסְפִּי Bêcā 23*a*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§438. *Sing. masc.*: מוֹסִים 'Er. 5*b*; מוֹלִיד Bêcā 23*a*; מוֹבִיל Sanh. 95*a*; מוֹדֵעַ M. Q. 21*b*; מוֹקֵר and מוֹקִיר *he honors*, Sabb. 119*a*; מוֹכֵחַ Gitt. 57*b*, M. MS. Sanh. 96*b*; מוֹסֵעַ Keth. 64*a*; (מוֹבִילָנָא *I carry*, 'Er. 27*b*; מוֹבִלָנָא B. M. 41*a*)

Sing. fem.: מוֹקֶרָא M. MS. Ber. 48*a*.

Plur. masc.: מוֹבְלִין Succā 53*a* (Palest.); מוֹדְעֵי Sanh. 89*a*; מוֹדְעֵי Yômā 18*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§439. מוֹסָפָא 'Ar. 30*b*; but this may be the Hoph'al as מוֹכָרָא.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^EĒL.

PERFECT.—§440. *3d sing. masc.*: a) אִתְיָלִיד Sabb. 156*a*; אִתְיָהִיב Sanh. 93*a*; אִתְיָלִיד 'Er. 56*a*; אִתְיָהִיב *set himself down*, Sanh. 100*a*.²

b) אִתְיָהִיב Sabb. 137*a*; אִתְיָדַע *ibid.* 71*a*; אִתְיָדַע Me'ilā 10*a*

c) אִתְיָהִיב Hull. 53*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִתְיָהִיבָה M. MS. Pes. 72*b*; אִתְיָהִיבָא Hag. 15*a*; אִתְיָלִידָא Hull. 9*a*, B. B. 16*b*; אִתְיָלִידָא *delivered herself*, bore, Taan. 23*a*; אִתְלִידָא C. MS. Pes.

2d sing. masc.: אִתְיָבַח Šebu. 42*a*.

3d plur. masc.: דְּיָלִידוּ (= דְּיָאִילִידוּ) Ned. 30*b*; אִתְיָהִיבוּ Sabb. 33*b*; אִתְיָהִיבוּ *ibid.*; אִתְיָלִידוּ Yeb. 71*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§441. אִתְיָלִיד[ן] (= דְּיָלִיד[ן]?) *who will be born* Ned. 30*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§442. אִתְיָלִיד Gitt. 85*a*.

PARTICIPLE.—§443. *Sing. masc.*: מִתְיָלִיד Meg. 12*b*; מִתְפָּצֵר Yômā 85*a*, Sôtā 45*b*.

Sing. fem.: מִתְיָלִידָא Ber. 53*b*, Taan. 25*a*, Bêcā 12*b*; מִתְיָלִידָא Bêcā 2*b*.

Plur. fem.: מִתְיָלִידוּ Ned. 30*b*; מִתְיָלִידוּ Bêcā 2*b*, eds. מִתְיָלִידוּ.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA^AAL.

PERFECT.—§444. *3d sing. masc.*: a) אִתְיָדַע *was made aware*, Sabb. 71*b*; אִתְיָקֵר *escaped the memory*, B. B. 9*b*; אִתְיָקֵר *id.* A. Z.

¹ But cf. §716.

² אִתְיָהִיב SM. No. xxviii. (voc.).

46 b.¹ אֶיִקָּר *became dear, rose in price*, B. Q. 46 a, 'Ar. 30 a; אֶיִאֵשׁ *he gave up*, B. Q. 28 a; אֶיִאֵשׁ F. MS. B. M. 21 b; אֶיִיִדָּר *was warned*, B. Q. 4 a.

b) אֶיִיִאֵשׁ B. M. 22 a, Raši B. Q. 68 b; אֶיִיִאֵשׁ eds. B. Q. 68 b.

3d sing. fem.: אֶיִיִקָּרָא Ber. 5 b, B. M. 77 a; אֶיִיִדָּרָה Nidd. 30 b.

1st sing. com.: אֶיִיִקָּרִי *I am honored*, Meg. 28 a.

3d plur. masc.: אֶיִיִדָּרִי Men. 93 a, Keth. 29 b; אֶיִיִדָּרִי *remained*, 'Ar. 2 b; אֶיִיִדָּרִי Sabb. 64 a (this may also be the singular); אֶיִיִדָּרִי Hull. 90 b; אֶיִקָּר *rose in price*, B. M. 108 a; אֶיִקָּר Gitt. 52 a; אֶיִיִקָּר M. MS. Sanh. 46 b.

IMPERFECT.—§445. 3d sing. masc.: נִיִּיִשׁ *is dried*, Gitt. 69 b; נִיִּיִשׁ M. MS. B. M. 21 b.

3d plur. masc.: לִיִּיִקָּרוּ Sanh. 47 a; לִיִּיִקָּרוּ *ibid.* 46 b.

INFINITIVE.—§446. אֶיִיִקָּרִי Meg. 28 a; אֶיִיִדָּרִי M. MS. B. Q. 67 b; לִאֶיִיִעֹדִי M. MS. B. Q. 24 a; לִיִּיִדָּרוּ *to be closeted*, Sanh. 37 a; אֶיִיִאֵשׁ B. M. 21 b, 22 ab; אֶיִיִדָּרִי Sabb. 128 b.²

PARTICIPLE.—§447. Sing. masc.: מִיִּיִדָּר B. Q. 67 b; מִיִּיִקָּר Sanh. 46 b; M. MS. מִיִּיִקָּר; מִיִּיִאֵשׁ Bēcā 22 b, B. M. 22 ab; מִיִּיִדָּר *is overbearing*, Sôṭ. 47 b; מִיִּיִדָּר *superfluous*, TF., Ker. 6 a.

Sing. fem.: מִיִּיִדָּרָה Sabb. 128 b.

Plur. masc.: מִיִּיִקָּרִי, מִיִּיִדָּרִי, Sanh. 46 b; מִיִּיִקָּרִי Meg. 28 a; מִיִּיִאֵשׁ M. MS. B. B. 101 a; מִיִּיִאֵשׁ B. M. 21 b, F. M. מִיִּיִאֵשׁ; מִיִּיִאֵשׁ B. M. 21 b; מִיִּיִדָּרִי *superfluous*, TF., Ker. 4 b, 5 a.

VERBS ע"ע.

§448. Verbs of this class are closely allied with ע"ו verbs, many of whose forms they assume. This is especially the case in the active participle of Qal and in the whole intensive stem. Sometimes they pass into forms of verbs ל"י, less frequently into those of פ"י. In verbs with a transitive meaning the forms are frequently treated as fully triconsonantal by doubling the second stem-consonant.³

In the Aph'el the preformative takes sometimes *i* which is produced to *ē*. See further §§475–479.

¹ Jastrow's assumption that אֶיִיִקָּר stands for אֶיִיִקָּר is unnecessary.

² לִאֶיִיִעֹדִי TG. ed. Harkavy, §91.

³ For the origin of such forms cf. H. Grimme, *Grundzüge der hebräischen Accent- u. Vocalehre*, p. 83.

Qal, Pa''ēl, and Aph'ēl.

	QAL.	PA''ĒL.	APH'ĒL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	עָל, בָּה	עִיִּל	אֲעִיכ
3d fem. . . .	עָלָה, חַ	עִיִּלָּא	אֲעִיכָא
2d masc. . .	עָלָתָ	עִיִּלָּתָ	אֲעִיכָתָ
2d fem. . . .	עָלִית	—	—
1st com. . .	עָלִי[ח]	—	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	עָלוּ, עִיל	עִיִּלוּ, עִיִּלוּל	אֲעִילוּ, אֲעִילוּל
2d masc. . .	עָלִיתֶה	—	—
1st com. . .	עָלִינוּ	עִיִּלְנוּ	—
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיעוֹל	לִיעִיִּל	—
3d fem. . . .	תִּיעוֹל	תִּעִיִּל	—
2d masc. . .	תִּיעוֹל	תִּעִיִּל	תִּעִיִּל
1st com. . .	אִיעוֹל	—	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיעְלוּ[ן]	לִיעִיִּלוּ	—
1st com. . .	נִיעוֹל	—	—
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	עוֹל	עִיִּל	אֲעִיִּל
Plur. 2d masc. . .	עוֹלוּ	עִיִּלוּ	—
INFINITIVE			
	מִיעֵל	עִיִּלִּי	אֲעִיִּלִּי
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	עֹאֵל, עִיִּל	מִעִיִּל	מִעִיִּל
fem.	עֹאֵלָא	מִעִיִּלָּא	מִעִיִּלָּא
Passive, sg. masc.	עֵל, (עִיִּל)	—	—
fem.	עֵלָא, (עִיִּלָּא)	—	—

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§449. *3d sing. masc.*: a) **עָל** *he entered*, C. MS. Pes. 112*b* (voc.); **עָאָל** B. B. 41*b*, Bekh. 8*b*; **חָק** *hollowed out*, Pes. 28*a*; **חָט** M. MS. *ibid.*, 'Arūkh Sabb. 103*a*; **קָר** Sabb. 134*a*; **כָּה** M. Q. 25*a*; **קָץ** *he cut down*, B. M. 65*a*; **כָּס** *chew*, Yômā 81*b*, Ber. 36*b*; **לָט** *he cursed*, Sanh. 113*a*; **גָּזַר** *he cut*, Hull. 135*a*; **גָּרַר** *dragged*, Sabb. 29*b*; **חָשַׁשׁ** Pes. 111*b*; **רָקַק** *spit out*, Ned. 66*b*.

b) **צִיל** *was clear*, Sabb. 66*b*.

c) **עָל** *went up*, B. B. 132*b*.

3d sing. fem.: a) **רָקַת** *she spit*, Yeb. 106*b*; **קָשָׁה** *she grew old*, B. B. 167*b*; **עָלָה** Taan. 23*b*; **עָלְתָה** B. Q. 48*a*; **עָלְתָה** Ber 51*b*; **רָקְקָה** Yeb. 105*a*.

b) **צִילָא**, with ל"י ending, 'Er. 64*a*.

2d sing. masc.: **מִצַּחַת** *thou didst suck*, Hull. 58*b*.

2d sing. fem.: **מִצַּחִית** B. B. 9*b*.

1st sing. com.: a) **עָלִית** Sabb. 140*a*; **חָשִׁי** *ibid.*

b) **הִשְׁתִּי** *I reflected*, Hull. 17*b*; **קָשִׁיתִי** *I have grown old*, Hag. 13*a*; by analogy with verbs ל"י.

3d plur. masc.: a) **עָלוּ** M. Q. 12*a*; **קָצְּצוּ** M. MS. B. M. 108*a*; **תָּמְצוּ** Nidd. 59*b*; **צָרְּצוּ** Sabb. 51*b*;¹ **גָּזְּזוּ** Succa 30*b*.

b) **קוֹצְצוּ** *they cut down*, B. M. 108*a*.

c) **עָל** Bekh. 7*a*, Gitt. 72*a*, Yalq. MS. A. Z. 2*b*.

2d plur. masc.: **תְּפִישׁוּ** *ye spit*, Nidd. 42*a*, Sabb. 99*b*; **תְּפִישׁוּ** M. MS. *ibid.*,² **אִתְּפִישׁוּ** read **אִתְּפִישׁוּ** O. MS. *ibid.*,³

1st plur. com.: **קָשִׁישְׁנָא** B. Q. 92*b*; **קָשִׁישְׁנָן** M. MS. *ibid.*, B. B. 142*b*; **קָשִׁישְׁנָן** V. L. B. Q. 92*b*.⁴

IMPERFECT.—§450. *3d sing. masc.*: a) **לִיְדוּשׁ** Macc. 5*a*; **לְחָדַשׁ** Hull. 11*b*; **לִיְגוֹז** Succ. 37*b*; **לִיְלֹךְ** *mixes thoroughly*, M. MS. Sabb. 134*a*; **לִיְמֹד** *swims*, Gitt. 67*b*; **לִיְעוֹל** Ber. 2*b*; **לִיְעוֹל** M. Q. 25*a*; **לִיְבָרוֹר** *picks out*, Bekh. 57*a*; **לִיְגוֹז** *shears*, Hull. 135*a*; **נְגְרוֹר** *scrapes off*, Hull. 83*b*; **נִלְתֹר** *washes grain*, O. MS. Pes. 36*a*.

b) **לִיְצִיל** *is clear*, Sabb. 66*b*; **לִיְמִיץ** *sucks*, *ibid.* 109*b*.

¹ צָרְצָרִי SM. No. xc. with diphthongization of *a*; cf. §532.

² With change of ת to ש, as in Neo-Syriac.

³ With prothetic א; cf. §§87, 88, 91.

⁴ The forms קָשִׁישְׁנָא, קָשִׁישְׁנָן are more probably adjectives and should be vocalized קָשִׁישְׁנָא, קָשִׁישְׁנָן.

c) *לִיָּדֵל* *lifts*, Sabb. 128*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *ibid.* 134*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* *annuls*, Ned. 72*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *shears*, Hull. 135*a*.

3*d sing. fem.*: *לִיָּדֵל* *spits*, Yeb. 105*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* *cuts down*, B. B. 60*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* R. H. 21*b*.

1*st sing. com.*: *לִיָּדֵל* B. B. 60*b*, B. M. 107*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* Ned. 49*a*, Meg. 29*a*.

3*d plur. masc.*: *לִיָּדֵל* Ned. 39*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* M. MS. B. M. 107*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* Ber. 63*b*; (*לִיָּדֵל* Succ. 30*ab*); *לִיָּדֵל* Ker. 28*b*.

2*d plur. masc.*: *לִיָּדֵל* Succ. 30*a*.

1*st plur. com.*: *לִיָּדֵל* Yoma 35*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* B. M. 107*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *ibid.* 92*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§451. *Sing. masc.*: a) *לִיָּדֵל* B. B. 60*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *spit out*, Keth. 61*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *spread*, Ber. 59*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* B. M. 83*b*, Pes. 94*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* *demonstrate*, B. B. 29*b*.

b) *לִיָּדֵל* M. MS. B. M. 110*b*.

c) *לִיָּדֵל* *deduct*, Sabb. 89*b* and frequently.

Plur. masc.: a) *לִיָּדֵל* Sanh. 70*b*, M. MS. Hôr. 12*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* B. M. 107*b*, 108*a*; *לִיָּדֵל* *celebrate*, Hag. 10*b*.¹

b) *לִיָּדֵל* O. MS. Pes. 111*b*; *לִיָּדֵל* Hôr. 12*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§452. a) *מִיָּדֵל* *to cut down*, B. Q. 85*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.); *מִיָּדֵל* Ber. 6*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* Ned. 66*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* *to cut*, Ned. 68*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* B. M. 74*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Sabb. 134*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* *to tie up*, Ber. 23*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* M. MS. *ibid.*; *מִיָּדֵל* *to tie, obligate*, Yeb. 22*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* *to wash grain*, Pes. 36*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* 2 M. MS. Pes. 111*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* *ibid.* 107*b*, 108*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* *to stitch together*, M. Q. 24*a*.²

b) *מִיָּדֵל* *to go out of the way*, 2 M. MS. Pes. 111*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§453. *Sing. masc.*: *מִיָּדֵל* B. B. 26*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* H. MS. *ibid.* 19*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* *ibid.*; *מִיָּדֵל* Men. 65*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Sabb. 88*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* B. B. 19*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* M. MS. *ibid.*; *מִיָּדֵל* Ned. 68*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Ber. 8*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Sabb. 149*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Macc. 8*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Yeb. 63*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* Sabb. 134*a*, in Hebrew fashion; *מִיָּדֵל* Pes. 36*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* *ibid.* 107*b*, B. M. 85*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* B. B. 19*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* F. MS. *ibid.*; *מִיָּדֵל* B. M. 93*a*; *מִיָּדֵל* *trembles*, B. B. 167*a*.

Sing. fem.: *מִיָּדֵל* Hull. 8*b*; *מִיָּדֵל* Zeb. 19*a*.

¹ *עִלֵּל* SM. No. xxvi. (voc.).

² *מִיָּדֵל* TG. ed. Cassel, §34.

Plur. masc.: עִילִין A. Z. 38*b*; עִילִי M. Q. 14*b*; תְּיִימִי 'Er 88*ab*; חִיבִי Sanh. 103*a*; עָלוֹן M. MS. Pes. 64*b*; לַחֲחִי Pes. 40*a*; בָּרוּר Sanh. 23*a*; כִּפְפִין C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.).

Plur. fem.: עִילִין Hull. 50*b*; מִרְמָר *murmur*, 'Arûkh s. v רַבֵּב.¹

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§454. *Sing. masc.:* a) שִׁיעַ Hull. 47*b*; זִיג *clear*, Pes. 74*b*, Sabb. 134*a*; רִיעַ *bad*, Taan. 29*b*; קִיל Sanh 46*a*; צִיל M. MS. Sabb. 23*a*; צִייל 'Arûkh *ibid.*; פִּיִּק *powdered*, Bêḡa 14*b*; לִיִּיךְ *joined*, Hull. 11*a*; פִּיִּיךְ Keth. 103*b*; צִייר *tied up*, Hull. 105*b*; שִׁיִּיךְ Sanh. 88*b*; זִיִּיג 'Arûkh Pes. 74*b* (§80); פִּזִּיז M. MS. Pes. 72*b*; צָלִיל Sabb. 23*a*; חֲקִיק B. B. 74*a*.—*e.* רַעֲיָא Taan. 20*b*; טַמְיָא M. Q. 4*b*.

b) חֲקִיק *is engraved*, Gitt. 68*b*; קוּץ *is cut down*, B. B. 59*a*.

Sing. fem.: שִׁיעָא *is smooth*, Hull. 47*b*; רִיעָא *weak*, Keth. 36*b*; פִּזִּיזָא *is shy, shrinks*, Nidd. 15*b*; חֲבִיבָא *beloved*, Ber. 43*a*; אֲנִינָא Hull. 112*a*.—*e.* קִלְחָא Nāz. 12*b*; רַעֲיָעָא Taan. 20*b*.

Plur. masc.: a) שִׁיעִי Pes. 30*b*; קִילִי Gitt. 35*a*; קִיעִי B. B. 88*a*; זִיגִי Hull. 16*b*; צִיירִי 2 R. MS. B. M. 24*b*, 108*b*; לִפִּי H. MS. B. M. 100*b*; זִיִּיגִי 'Arûkh Hull. 76*b*; צִיירִי B. M. 24*b*, 108*b*; לִיִּיפִי *joined, connected*, 'Arûkh B. M. 100*b*; יִילְפִי eds. *ibid.*,² לִפִּי M. MS. *ibid.*; פָּרִי, פָּרִי, *are attracted*, Bekh. 30*b* (§83); פִּרְרִין B. Q. 18*b*; פִּזִּיזִין Sanh. 106*b*; פִּזִּיזִי 'En Y. *ibid.*

Plur. fem.: טִימָן *are closed up*, 'Er. 6*b*; חֲבִיבָן Sabb. 10*b*, 33*b*.—*e.* חֲלִילָא *hollow*, *ibid.* 57*a*.³

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§455. *Active Participle:* a) פִּיפְנָא *I force*, Gitt. 38*a*; עִילָנָא *I enter*, Hull. 7*b*; קַצִּיעָא *I cut down*, M. MS. B. B. 4*a*.⁴

b) עִילָלָא Ber. 7*b*, 62*b*; חִיִּישָׁא Qidd. 10*b*; זִיִּיפָא C. MS M. Q. 12*a*.

c) חִיִּישִׁין *we take into consideration*, Yeb. 106*a*; פִּיפִּינָן *we force*, Hull. 19*b*; קַצִּיעִין R. MS. B. M. 69*a*.

d) עִילָלָתֵי Ber. 62*b*; בְּנִיתָן *ye cover*, M. MS. Ber. 16*a*.

¹ קַצֵּי *shortens*, Igg. Šertrā, 7; קָזִי Hg. ed. pr. 24*a*; עָלִין TR. II. 25; קַצִּין Hal Pes., §84.

² Passing into פ"י verbs.

³ חֲרִירִי *freedmen*, Hg. ed. pr. 24*d*.

⁴ Passing into ל"י verbs.

EXAMPLES FOR PA'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§456. *3d sing. masc.*: a) עִיֵּל Yōmā 21a, Sabb. 116b; קָרַיִץ B. M. 108a; כָּיֵל he laid down a rule, Qidd. 60a; עָלִיל M. MS. Sabb. 116b.

b) שִׁיֵּעַ he polished, A. Z. 47b.

3d sing. fem.: עִיֵּלָא Yōmā 9a, 18a, Yeb. 61a; חֲנָנָא 'En Y. Gitt. 68b.¹

1st sing. com.: עִיֵּלִית I brought up, Keth. 61a; עִיֵּלִית I went up, Ber. 57a; צִיֵּרִי I tied up, Sanh. 26a.

3d plur. masc.: a) עִיֵּלוּ Pes. 113b, B. M. 83b; קָרִיצוּ B. M. 107b.

b) עִיֵּלוּ they went up, Q. MS. M. Q. 12a.

1st plur. com.: עִיֵּלִינוּ we entered, Meg. 28b.

IMPERFECT.—§457. *3d sing. masc.*: לִיעֵיֵל enters, Sabb. 74a, 104a; לִיסַפֵּךְ covers, Succ. 13b.

3d sing. fem.: תִּעֵיֵל M. Q. 9b.

2d sing. masc.: תִּעֵיֵל bringest in, Zeb. 116a, M. Q. 9b.

3d plur. masc.: לִיעֵיֵלוּ Gitt. 56a; נִיעֵיֵלוּ Pes. 64b; לִיטְיֵיֵלוּ play, Yeb. 114a.

2d plur. masc.: (תִּחְלֹפְנֵיהָ Sabb. 119b; תִּחְלֹפְנָה ye profane it, M. MS. *ibid.*)

IMPERATIVE.—§458. *Sing. masc.*: עֵיֵל B. Q. 59b, Pes. 94b; חָדַד sharpen, Sabb. 32a.

Plur. masc.: עֵיֵלוּ Ber. 8a, Hōr. 12b; חָדְדוּ O. MS. Sabb. 32a.

INFINITIVE.—§459. a) qattûlê: עֵיֵלִי Macc. 21b, C. MS. Zeb. 36a;² תִּבְוִי to appreciate, honor, Hull. 133a, Sabb. 130a; לְחַדְדִּי to try the acumen of somebody, Hull. 43b, Ber. 33b; לְפִנּוּי to form, B. M. 74a; צִתּוּתִי to light, kindle, Sabb. 119a; לְצַנּוּתִי H. MS. B. B. 73b; מְבַוִּי to lower, Yōmā 84b; רְכוּבִי to soften, Sabb. 140a.

b) qittālê: לִיתּוּתִי M. MS. Pes. 36a.

c) qattālā: עֵיֵלָא Zeb. 36a.

d) qattil: לְתִבּוּב M. MS. Sabb. 130a.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§460. *Sing. masc.*: מְעֵיֵל M. Q. 25a, מְטִיֵּיל sports, Succ. 53a; מְחַיֵּיט digs, H. MS. B. B. 58a; eds

¹ עִיֵּלִית HG. ed. pr. 67d.

² עֵלְוִי TR. II. 5 (passing into לִי).

חַיִּיט *ibid.*, ed. חַיִּיט *ibid.*; מְחַבֵּב Hull. 133a (§8); מְמַפֵּד lowers, Yoma 84b; מְטַלֵּל covers, 'Arākh Succ. 53a, M. MS. *ibid.* 31a; מִיטַלֵּל Sanh. 100a; מִיטַלֵּל R. H. 34a, M. MS., ed. רִידֵר רִידֵר stretches out, B. M. 83b.

Plur. masc.: מְטַלֵּל B. B. 91b, 'Arākh *ibid.* מְטַלֵּל; מְטַלֵּל *ibid.* 19b; מְעִיֵּל Macc. 11b, B. M. 74a; מְחַטֵּט Yeb. 63b; מְרַמְרֵם murmur, *ibid.* 34b; מְחַלֵּל desecrate, M. MS. Ber. 6b; חָלַל wash, Hull. 113a; מְטַלֵּן V. L. ad B. B. 91b; מְמַלֵּי Qidd. 50a, passing into לִי.

Plur. fem.: מְחַלֵּלִין Ber. 6b; מְטַלֵּיִן V. L. ad B. B. 91b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§461. *Sing. masc.*: מְכַתֵּחַ crushed, Yeb. 103b; שְׁיִיעַ polished, M. Q. 12a.

Sing. fem.: מְטַלֵּלָה covered, B. Q. 50b; מְלַפְפָּה moulded, B. M. 74a.

Plur. masc.: מְטַלֵּלִי covered, B. Q. 50b; מְחַדֵּרִי acute, Yeb. 14a, Nidd. 14b; מְחַדֵּרִין B. M. 84a.

Plur. fem.: מְלַפְפָּן moulded, M. MS. B. M. 74a; מְחַדֵּרִין Raši Keth. 62b, Sabb. 82a.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN.—§462.—*Active Participle*: a) מְחַבִּיבָנָא Hull. 133a.

b) מְעִיֵּלָתָּ Hull. 79a; מְלַטִּייתָּ M. MS. Sabb. 151b.

c) מְעִיֵּלִיתָּ Keth. 112a; 'En Y. *ibid.* מְעִיֵּלִיתָּ.

d) מְחַבִּבִּינָּ Pes. 105b, M. MS. Ber. 52a; מְעִיֵּלִינָּ Zeb. 55a; מְסַפְּבִינָּ Succ. 13a.

Passive Participle: a) מְחַדֵּרָנָא I am ready-witted, 'Er. 13b.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.

PERFECT.—§463. *3d sing. masc.*: אֶחָיִים warmed, Sabb. 51a, 153a; אֶחָיִים filled up, M. MS. B. Q. 50a; אֶחָיִים M. MS. Sabb. 110b; אֶרַע Pes. 3b; אֶחָיִל B. B. 23a.

3d sing. fem.: אֶחָיִלָּה Sabb. 116b (§80); אֶחָלָה B. B. 144a.

2d sing. masc.: אֶקִּילָתָּ 'Er. 10a; אֶחָלָתָּ B. M. 40b.

3d plur. masc.: a) אֶעֱיִלָּו 'Er. 44b; אֶקִּילָו Ber. 62a; אֶחָיִלוּ Sabb. 156a; אֶרַעֲיָהוּ B. Q. 52a).

b) אֶחָלוּ they renounced their right, B. B. 23a.

IMPERFECT.—§464. *3d sing. masc.*: לִיקֵיל Yeb. 88*a*; יִחַל redeems, B. M. 53*a*; לִיצַדֵּר Sabb. 141*a*; (לִיקְרִיחַ cools himself, Alfāsī Yômā 78*b*).

2d sing. masc.: תַּעֲיֵל Sanh. 100*b*.

1st plur. com.: נִיקֹר 2 M. MS. Pes. 118*b*; נִיקֵיל Qidd. 12*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§465. *Sing. masc.*: אַחֵיל 'Ar. 29*a*; אַחִים Sabb. 153*a*; אַקֵּיל 'Er. 10*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§466. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אֲגַוִּי to protect, Sôtā 21*a*; אַעֲוִיל Ned. 56*a*; אֲחַוִּי M. MS. Pes. 76*b*; אֲקֹרִי Sabb. 51*a*; אֲקִיל *ibid.* 86*a*.—אֲחַמוּמִי Nidd. 43*a*; אֲקֹרִי Pes. 118*b*; אֲצַדֵּר Yômā 37*a*, B. B. 99*a*.—לֵאקִיל Sabb. 129*b*; אֲקֹרִי O. MS. Pes. 118*b*; אֲוִרִי B. B. 34*a*, A. Z. 27*b*; אֲיֹקִרִי M. MS. Pes. 76*a*.

b) miqtālā: מִיחַמָּא Taan. 24*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§467. *Sing. masc.*: *a*) מַחִים Pes 49*a*; מַאֲחִים Hag. Hatt. *ibid.*; מַחִיל M. Q. 18*a*; מִקְרִי Sabb. 51*a*; מִמִּיָּה Ber. 54*b*; מַחֲלִיל washes, Hull. 95*b*; מַצְדֵּר B. B. 99*a*; מִיקֵיל Sabb. 129*b*.

b) מִיקֵר Pes. 76*a*; M. MS. מִיִּיקֵר *ibid.*; מִיחִם *ibid.*; מִיקֵל Ned. 19*b*.

c) מִרֵּעַ Qidd. 64*a*.

Sing. fem.: מִבְּנָא protests, Keth. 77*b*, Sôtā 21*a*; מִחַמִּיָּא H. MS. Pes. 76*a*, passing into ל"י verbs; מַחַמֶּמֶת Taan. 21*b*, with perfect ending (§232); מַחֲלָה B. B. 132*b*.

Plur. masc.: מַחֲלִין B. B. 60*a*; מִזְבֵּי Ker. 24*a*; מִנְגִּי A. Z. 15*b*, 16*a*; מַחֲמוֹ Sabb. 153*a*; מַצְדֵּרִי B. B. 99*a*; מַחַמִּיָּי, מִקְרִירִי H. MS. *ibid.* 19*a*; with retention of *i*: מִקִּילִי Ber. 36*a*; מִקְרִירִי, מַחַמִּיָּי B. B. 19*a*; מוֹחֲלִי profane, Bekh. 45*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§468.—*a*) מִרְעָנָא I weaken, Keth. 85*a*; מוֹרַעְנִי' (א) B. Q. 112*b*.

b) מִרְעַתָּ B. B. 7*a*, M. MS. מִרְעִית *ibid.*

c) מִקִּילִיָּן Hull. 4*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^{ET}EL.

PERFECT.—§469. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִיזְדַּקֵּיק he attended to, Ned. 77*a*; אִיזְחַל was profaned, Ker. 7*a*.

b) *אִתְּרַע* was ruined, Hag. 5a¹; *אִתְּחַמֵּם* grew warm, Sabb. 110b; *אִתְּרַח* he trembled, Hull. 96a; *אִתְּבַר* Bekh. 59a; *אִתְּזִים* Sanh. 27b.

c) *אִתְּזִים* was proved to be a perjurer, Macc. 3a; *אִתְּשֹׁם* was covered entirely, Meg. 27b; *אִתְּגִזֵּם* was razed, Hull. 44a, Bekh. 44a; *אִתְּקִיט* she quarreled, Nidd. 67b.

3d sing. fem.: *אִתְּרָעָא* was damaged, Hull. 10ab, with ל"י ending; *אִתְּבַרָא* she became wild, Nidd. 50b.¹

3d plur. masc.: a) *אִתְּדַקְיָא* they attended to, Ned. 77ab, Sabb. 157a; *אִתְּחַמֵּימִי* Hag. Hatt. Pes. 118b; *אִתְּקַצֵּיזוּ* eds M. Q. 25b.

b) *אִתְּקַצֵּיזוּ* were cut down, M. Q. 25b; *אִתְּשַׁתְּעִי* were beaten flat, *ibid.*; *אִתְּזִמְיָא* were proven perjurers, B. Q. 73a; *אִתְּשַׁתְּרוּ* became hard, 'Arākh Nidd. 48b.²

c) *אִתְּזִים* B. Q. 73a.

2d plur. masc.: *אִתְּלַלִּיתוּ* ye played, Qidd. 21b.

1st plur. com.: *אִתְּדַקְיָנָא* Ar. 22b.

IMPERFECT.—§470. a) *נִתְחַרֵּל* is profaned, Qidd. 53b; *לִיתְחַרֵּל* 'Er. 104a.

b) *לִתְרַע* becomes unlucky, Ned. 40a; *לִיִּדֵּל* raised himself up, 2 M. MS. M. Q. 28b.

2d sing. masc.: a) *תִּתְרַח* Hull. 96a.

b) *תִּתְשֹׁם* thou art completely covered, Meg. 27b.

INFINITIVE.—§471. *אִתְּגִזֵּמי* to be razed, Hull. 44a, Bekh. 44a; *אִתְּדַקְיָא* 'Ar. 22b; *אִתְּזִיתִי* A. Z. 39b.

PARTICIPLE.—§472. Sing. masc.: a) *מִיתְחַרֵּל* is profaned, M. Q. 17a; *מִיִּדְקִיק* B. B. 9a, Ned. 22b; *מִתְצִיל* is clear, Gitt. 70b.

b) *מִתְרַע* Hull. 12b; *מִיִּתְרַח* Sabb. 58a, Yeb. 116a; *מִיִּקְץ* M. MS. B. B. 60b; *מִיִּדְקִיק* Sabb. 46b.

Sing. fem.: *מִיִּתְרַחָא* A. Z. 22b; *מִיתְחַלָּא* Sanh. 51a,³ *מִיִּדְקִיקָא* Bekh. 7b.

¹ *אִתְּבַרָא* was found out, TG. ed. Harkavy, §233; *אִתְּבַרָת* *ibid.*, §74.

² *אִתְּחַמֵּימִי* HG. ed. pr. 128d; *אִתְּדַקְיָא* *ibid.* 115b.

³ This word may also be, as in the Targumim, Ittaph'al; but forms like *מִתְחַרֵּל*, *נִתְחַרֵּל*, show that we have here Ithpe'el by analogy with ער"י stems.

Plur. masc. מִזְדַּקְקִין 'Ar. 22*b*; מִירְחֲחִי A. Z. 22*b*; מִתְזַמֵּי B. Q. 73*a*; מִזְדַּקְקִי Qidd. 62*b*; מִימְצָצִי Bekh. 7*a*.

Plur. fem.: מִיִּקְצָצִין Ned. 61*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 473.—

a) מִזְדַּקְקָנָא, מִיִּזְדַּקְקָנָא, 'Ar. 22*a*. b) מִיִּזְדַּקְקִין 'Ar. 22*ab*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA¹AL.

§ 474. PERFECT.—אִסְתַּחֲטַח *he was married*, Meg. 27*b*; אִסְתַּחֲטַח *became mad, wild*, 'En Y. Ned. 41*a*.—אִצְטַחֲתָא *she took cold*, Sabb. 129*a*; אִתְחַנְנָא *she entreated*, Gitt. 68*b*.

IMPERFECT.—לִיחַלֵּל Succā 26*b*.

INFINITIVE.—לִאִתְחַדְדִי Meg. 6*b*; לְצַטֵּי [ן] O. MS. B. B. 73*b*.

PARTICIPLE.—מִתְחַיֵּיל Yômā 51*b*; מִשְׁפָּרֵר Pes. 74*b*; מִיִּפְתָּח *is crushed*, Succā 31*b*; מִתְחַבֵּב B. Q. 44*a*.—מִירְפָּכָא *ibid.* 81*a*.—מִתְחַדְדִי Keth. 62*b*.—מִירְדֵּן Rašī Ned. 61*b*.

VERBS ע"י

§ 475. The verbs of this class are properly verbs with an originally long stem-vowel. Like the ע"ע verbs they go ultimately back to bi-consonantal roots. The difference between the two classes being, that the bi-consonantal root was in the one instance pronounced with lengthened vowel, in the other with lengthened, *vulgo* doubled, consonant. Cf. Assyrian inûḥu and inuhḥu, iṭibu and iṭibbu, etc. Both classes run into one another, as in the cognate dialects, so that it is often difficult to tell to which class a given verb belongs.

§ 476. Verbs mediae ū and verbs mediae ī are in most forms alike and it would therefore be impossible to tell with certainty the one from the other. The verbs mediae ī are probably לַי *to lay snares, use strategy*,¹ דִּין *to judge*, דִּישׁ *to tread*, כִּיל *to measure*, מִית *to die*, סִים *to put on shoes*, סִיר *to visit*, if = Arab. سَأَلَ,² צִיד *to hunt*, צִיץ *to bubble*, צִיח *to listen*, רִיק *to be empty*, and the denominatives בֵּית *to stay over night*, עִין *to examine*, and צִין *to ornament*. The last two only in Pa'al.

¹ דִּיל = Assyr. dālu.

² MM. Gitt. 38*b* has סִירִיר for סִירִיר.

§477. In the active participle of Qal an **ن** is introduced between the two stem-consonants as bearer of the second vowel. This **ن** has been retained in only a few cases of the singular masculine; in all other cases it has changed to **ي**, in one case to **ل** (§506, *b*).¹ In the participle passive the *i*-vowel is frequently diphthongized (§§80, 503-5).

§478. In the Pa'al and in the Ithpa'al the root is extended to a tri-consonantal stem by the insertion of י, or of נ. The latter occurs only in עות, כון (in case the last word is not tri-consonantal in the Qal), the denominative זרק *to blow up*, זרר *to roll*, and דרר *to peddle, overtake*. The last two have also forms with י.

§479. In the Aph'el some verbs pass into the form of פ"ע verbs. Others change the original *a*-vowel to *i*, which is lengthened to *ē*. Strange is the persistence of this *ē*-vowel in a form like מִיִּחַיִּיב. Or is such formation by analogy with verbs פ"ע?

§480. In the Ithp^el the verbal stem remains bi-consonantal (but *cf.* אֶסְתַּחֲוֶיט and מִדְּרִיל) the ה is usually retained and has הָגַשׁ (§196), and is not transposed before an initial sibilant. Marti,² like some older grammarians, is inclined to consider the Ithp^el of these verbs to be a remnant of an older Ittaph'al. According to Koenig³ the doubling of the ה is due to the nature of this consonant, *i. e.*, is purely phonetic.

§481. Verbs whose second stem-consonant is consonantal ו or י, as: חורר, אַחַשׁ, שׁוּא, רָוָא, צוּא, סוּא, טוּא, חִיָּא, הוּא, דוּא, or י, as: חורר, אַחַשׁ, שׁוּא, רָוָא, צוּא, סוּא, טוּא, חִיָּא, הוּא, דוּא, do not belong here.

NOTE.—For further discussion on these verbs compare A. Müller, *ZDMG.*, XXXIII., 698sq.; Nöldeke, *ibid.*, XXXVII., 525sq.; Haupt, *ZA.*, II., 259sq.; Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrest.*, p. 31; Kautsch-Gesenius, *Hebr. Gramm.*, 26th ed., §72; M. Lambert, *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, pp. 354–362.

¹ According to Professor Haupt ("Der Halbvocal *u* im Assyrischen," *ZA.*, II., 259 sq.) a form *qa'ēm* stands for *qauēm* with elision of intervocalic *u*.

² *Kurzg. Gramm. d. bibl. aram. Sprache*, §63, 1, Anm.

³ *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, II. 1, p. 471, n. 1.

[†] Schorr, Kohut, and Bacher explain אָרֶשׁ to be Persian; but cf. Arab. غَاش, حَاش, *אֶשׁ* or *אֶשׁ* and Ethiopic *na's'a*.

Qal and Pa'el.

	QAL.		PA'ĒL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָם; נָח	בָּיַת, מָחַ	כָּנִים
3d fem.	קָמָה, יָחַ	מִיָּחָה, מִיָּחָה	כָּנִיָּמָה
2d masc.	קָמָתָ	מִיָּחָתָ	כָּנִיָּמָתָ
1st com.	קָמִיתָ	—	כָּנִיָּמִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קָמוּ, קָמוּם	מִיָּחוּ, מִיָּחוּ	כָּנִיָּמוּ, קָמוּם
2d masc.	—	—	—
1st com.	קָמְנָא, יָכֵן, יָכֵן	מִיָּחֵן, יָכֵן	כָּנִיָּמֵן
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיָּקוּם, לִ'; לִיָּנָח	לִיָּכִיל	לִיָּקָרִים, לִ'
3d fem.	תִּיָּקוּם, תִּ'; תִּיָּנָח	—	תִּקָּרִים
2d masc.	תִּיָּקוּם, תִּ'	—	תִּקָּרִים
2d fem.	תִּקְוָמִי	—	—
1st com.	אִיָּקוּם	—	אִקָּרִים
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיָּקוּמוּ, (ק)	—	לִיָּקְרִימוּ, לִ'
3d fem.	—	—	—
2d masc.	תִּקְוָמוּ	—	—
1st com.	נִיָּקוּם; נִיָּנָח	—	נִקָּרִים
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קוּם	—	כָּנִים
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קוּמוּ	בִּיתוּ	כָּנִיָּמוּ
INFINITIVE			קוּמָא
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	קָאִים, קָרִים	מִיָּיַח	מִיָּמָרִים
fem.	קָיָמָה	מִיָּיַחָה	מִיָּמָרִיָּמָה
Passive, sg. masc.	קִים, קָרִים	מִיַּח	מִיָּקָרִים
fem.	קָיָמָה, קָיָמָה	מִיָּחָה	מִיָּקָרִיָּמָה

Aph'el, Ithp'e'el, and Ithpa''al.

	APH'ĒL.		ITHP'E'ĒL.	ITHPA''AL.
PERFECT—				
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אָקִים	אַחִידָה	אַנַח	אַתָּקַם
3d fem. . . .	—	—	אַנְחָה	אַתָּקְמָא
2d masc. . .	—	אַחִיכָהּ	—	—
1st com. . .	—	—	אַנְחִי	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	אִיקְמוּ, (ק)	אַחִיכוּ, אַחִידוּ	אַנְחוּ, אַנְחִית	אַתָּקְמוּ, אַתָּקֻמוּ
2d masc. {	אַיִקְמֹתֶיךָ, יָתֶהּ	—	—	—
1st com. {	אַיִקְמֹנָא, יָנִי	—	אַנְחֹנָא	—
IMPERFECT—				
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקִים	—	לִינַח, לְנַח	לְתָקַם
3d fem. . . .	—	—	—	—
2d masc. . .	—	—	—	—
2d fem. . . .	—	—	—	—
1st com. . .	אִיקִים	—	—	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְמוּ	—	לִינְחוּ, לִי	לְתָקְמוּ
3d fem. . . .	—	—	—	לְתָקְמִין
2d masc. . .	תִּיקְמוּ	תִּחִיכוּ	—	—
1st com. . .	נִיקִים	—	—	—
IMPERATIVE—				
Sing. 2d masc. . .	אִיקִים	אַחִידָה	—	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	—	—	—	—
INFINITIVE.	אִיקְמוּ, (ק)	אַחִיכוּ	אַנְחִי	אַתָּקְמוּ
PARTICIPLE—				
Active, sing. masc.	מִיקִיד	מִחִידָה	{ מִנַּח, מִינַח }	—
fem. .	מִיקְמָא	מִחִכָּא	מִנְחָא	—
Passive, sg. masc.	מִיקִם	—	מִנַּח	מִתָּקַם
fem. .	מִיקְמָא	—	מִנְחָא	מִתָּקְמָא

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§482. a) קָם Ned. 22a, 51a; זָל B. M. 77a, B. Q. 6a; נָח Ber. 18b; פָּשַׁשׁ *remained*, *ibid.* 39b; צָר *besieged*, Gitt. 56a; בָּח Pes. 107a; דָּךְ *stuck in*, Hull. 39b; סָר *ibid.* 18a; גָּס Pes. 110b; דָּר Sabb. 103a.

b) מִית M. Q. 27b; זָל B. M. 44b, 45a; צִיץ *boiled up, bubbled*, Hull. 84b,¹ עִתָּה Ber. 56a; נִים Taan. 23a; גִּס MM. Pes. 110b.²—c) זָל *fell in price*, B. M. 108a, Gitt. 42a.

3d sing. fem.—§483. a) זָלָה Taan. 23a, Ber. 63a; קָמָה Ned. 50a; טָבְחָה Gitt. 69a; קָמְהָ Ber. 51b; מָכָה *became soft*, Sanh. 95a; זָלָה M. MS. Ber. 63a.³

b) מִיתָה Sanh. 109b; מִיתָה M. Q. 27b; מִתָּה *ibid.* 9b, Ned. 50b; נִיחָה Sanh. 26a; (יִנְחֶיהָ *she supported him*, *ibid.* 108b).

2d sing. masc.—§484. a) קָמְתָה Hag. 15a.⁴—b) מִיתָתָה Ber. 54b.

1st sing. com.—§485. קָמִיתָ O. MS. Sabb. 156b.

3d plur. masc.—§486. a) טָהָר Pes. 30a; דָּרוּ B. B. 7a; קָמּוּ M. Q. 25a, A. Z. 8b; פָּשְׁוּ Sanh. 103a; דָּקּוּ B. M. 65a; פָּרוּ Taan. 25a; אָנְרוּ M. MS. *ibid.* (§88).

b) בִּיתָה Taan. 21a, Pes. 42a; מִיתָה Ber. 5b, M. Q. 27b; מִתָּה 'En Y. 27b; (יִנְחֶהוּ *they nourished him*, Bêcā 32b).⁵

c) קָוָה, זָלָה, Qidd. 12a; דָּוָה Keth. 48b; צָוָה *went a-fishing*, M. Q. 11a; צִוָּה Alf. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.—§487. a) קָמְנָה Yalq. MS. Sanh. 96b; תָּבְנָה B. B. 115b (Palest.); דָּרְנָה Alf. B. B. 29a; דָּשְׁנָה Keth. 62a; קָמִינָה Gitt. 57b; דָּרִינָה B. B. 29a.⁶

b) מִיתָנָה Ber. 31b; מִיתָנָה ed. Ven. *ibid.*

IMPERFECT.—3d sing. masc.—§488. a) לָדוּךְ Succā 37b; לִימּוּת Ned. 91b, Taan. 6b; לִידּוּק *infers*, Nidd. 45b; לִידּוּל *rests*, Tem. 29a; נִינּוּם 'En Y. 'Er. 65b.⁷

b) לִיכִיל Ned. 51a; נִיציִית M. MS. B. M. 32a; לִינִים 'Er. 104a.

c) לִינָה Gitt. 68a; נִינָה Yôm. 20b.

3d sing. fem.—§489. a) תִּימּוּל Ned. 61a; תִּימּוּשׁ *prepares*, M. Q. 27b; תִּמּוּת *ibid.* 9b; תִּינּוּם Yôm. 53b; תִּקּוּם Bekh. 44b; תִּינּוּם 'Ar. 26ab.⁸—b) תִּינָה Ned. 10a.

¹ MM. reads שִׁנִּיץ.

² סיב TG. ed. Harkavy, §72.

³ גִּרָה TG. ed. Harkavy, §13 (voc.).

⁴ דְּרִייתָ *dwellst*, ידוּסִי תנאִים, *ibid.* 10b.

⁵ מִיתָה HG. ed. pr. 69b (f.).

⁶ קָמְנָה TG. ed. Harkavy, §555.

⁷ מִינּוּת Sabb. 75a.

⁸ תִּקּוּם HG. ed. pr. 27b (read: 21b).

2d sing. masc.—§490. תִּיכּוֹל Hull. 12a, 112a; תִּיזּוֹל Yeb 63a; תִּזּוֹל *ibid.*; תִּקּוֹר Pes. 113a.

2d sing. fem.—§491. תִּנּוּפִי *thou shakest*, 'En Y. Yeb. 63a.

1st sing. com.—§492. אֶיִדּוֹן Keth. 55b; אֶיִקּוֹם Ber. 28a; אֶיִקּוֹ; M. MS. Sabb. 148b; אֶדּוֹשׁ B. M. 105b; אֶיִמּוֹחַ M. MS. Ber. 64a.

3d plur. masc.—§493. לִיקּוֹמוֹ Ber. 45b; לִימּוֹחוֹ M. Q. 9b; and by analogy with verbs ע"ע לִיחֲבִי Sabb. 75b; לִימּוֹחוֹ Taan. 23b; לִקּוֹמוֹ ed. Ven. Ber. 45b.¹

2d plur. masc.—§494. תִּלּוֹשִׁי Ber. 36a, Pes. 36a; תִּקּוֹמוֹ (read תִּקּוֹמוֹי) Hull. 86b.

1st plur. com.—§495. a) נִינּוּם 'Er. 65a; נִיִּקּוֹם Gitt. 31b, Gitt. 4b; לִיִּקּוֹם Gitt. 54a.²—b) נִינָם 'En Y. 'Er. 65b.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§496. קוּם Ned. 51a; דוֹן Ber. 58a; מוֹךְ *lay down*, *ibid.* 59a, Taan. 6b; מוֹשׁ *prepare*, B. Q. 92b; קוּ C. MS. M. Q. 25b and elsewhere.³

Plur. masc.—§497. a) קוּמוֹ B. M. 62a; דוֹנוֹ Pes. 4a; לֹשִׁי *ibid.* 36a; שׁוּמוֹ B. Q. 96b; עוֹשִׁי *urge on*, B. B. 9a.

b) בִּיתּוֹ *stay over night*, Taan. 24b.

INFINITIVE.—§498. a) miqtāl: מִיחַל Ned. 57a; מִיֵּעַר *ibid.* 88a; מִיִּדּוֹב Pes. 74b; מִיִּנָם 2 M. MS. *ibid.* 120b; מִיִּשָּׁה Sabb. 31b; מִיִּדּוֹן Yômā 87b; לְמִיִּסָם *ibid.* 78a; לְמִיִּבַח Sanh. 109a; מִיִּסָם Qidd. 33a; מִיִּמַח Gitt. 68b; לְמִבַּח M. MS. Ber. 60b.⁴

b) miqtāl: מִיִּנּוֹם 'Er. 65a; מִיִּזּוֹן 'En Y. Bêḡā 32b (quoted in 'Er. 86a).

c) miqtālē: מִיִּנּוּמִי Pes. 120b; מִנּוּמִי 'En Y. *ibid.*; מִחוּמִי MM. Gitt. 57b.⁵

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§499. דָּאִין Ned. 5a; דָּאִיר Yeb. 52a; צָאִית Nidd. 36b; דָּיִל *lays snares*, V. L. Sanh. 96b; דָּיִל Ned. 79b; מָיִית *ibid.* 3b; נָיִים *ibid.* 15a; צָיִית M. Q. 14b.—e. צָיִיתָ Sanh. 8a; לֹאטָה *cursing*, *ibid.* 49a.

b) נָיִיה Sabb. 99b; סָאִר B. B. 41b,⁶ צָיִיר Yeb. 63a; תָּיִיר *returns*, V. L. Sanh. 96b.⁷

Sing. fem.—§500. פָּרִינָה Meg. 25b; חָיִילָה Ned. 4a, 17a; קָרִימָה *ibid.* 28b; נָיִימָה Sanh. 7a; זָיִהָ *ibid.* 96b; זָיִנָה *ibid.* 108b.

¹ מוֹחוֹת M. Q. 9b.

² נָחוּם SM. No. XIII. (voc.), Palest.

³ תִּבּ (?) HG. 183.

⁴ מִיִּמַח 'Anān quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.* 1893, p. 225 (voc.).

⁵ מוֹצִיָה to press them, M. Q. 10b; מוֹצִיָה Alfāsi *ibid.* (√אָצַץ).

⁶ נָיִר TG. ed. Harkavy, §555 (voc.).

⁷ תָּיִר = Assyrian tārū.

Plur. masc.—§501. *הִיָּלִין* Ned. 75*b*, 76*a*; *ibid.* 75*a*; *מִיָּחִין* B. B. 91*b*; *זִיָּי* Ber. 12*a*; *מִיָּחִי* Macc. 11*a*; *הִיָּשִׁי* M. Q. 12*b*; *עִיָּצִי* Yeb. 7*a*; *בִּיָּחִי* 'Er. 73*a*; *שִׁיָּכִי* *boast*, Gitt. 28*b*; *קִיָּמִי* Ned. 76*a*; *קִיָּמִי* Bekh. 13*b*, B. B. 154*b*.

Plur. fem.—§502. *קִיָּמִין* B. B. 73*a*, Gitt. 45*a*; *פִּיָּלִין* *measure*, A. Z. 71*a*; *דִּיָּין* Pes. 81*a*; *דִּיָּשֶׁן* Zeb. 116*b*; *נִיָּחִין* Sabb. 21*a*; *נִיָּפֶן* Yeb. 63*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§503. *a)* *אִיר* *awake*, 'Er. 104*a*, Meg. 18*b*; *נִים* *dozing*, Meg. 18*b*; *עֵרָה* 'Arākh Hull. 51*b*; *קִים* A. Z. 76*b*; *הִים* Yeb. 52*a* (§80).¹—*e.* *לִשְׂטָא* Sabb. 67*a*.

b) *עוֹנָה* *folded*, Hull. 51*b*.—*e.* *לִשְׂטָא* *cursed*, Sanh. 49*a*.

Sing. fem.—§504. *נִידָא* Ned. 15*b*; *זִילָא* B. B. 110*a*; *נִידָא* C. MS. Meg. 30*a* (voc.); *דִּיָּמָא* Qidd. 12*b*; *שִׁיָּפָא* A. Z. 52*b*; *קִיָּמָא* B. M. 18*b* and *passim*.

Plur. masc.—§505. *שִׁיָּפִי* B. B. 32*b* (§80).

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle.*—§506. *a)* *צִידָנָא* Keth. 103*b*; *צִידָנָא* B. M. 85*b*; *קִאִימָנָא* Ber. 11*b*; *דִּיָּרָנָא* 'Er. 26*b*; *שִׁיָּמָנָא* B. M. 67*b*; *סִיָּרָנָא* Hull. 105*a*.

b) *דִּיָּבֶתָא* Bēṣā 14*a*; *צִאִיתָא* Alf. Keth. 109*b*; *קִיָּמֶתָא* B. M. 66*a*; *דִּיָּנֶתָא* Men. 78*a*; *דִּיָּיֶתָא* B. Q. 99*b*; *מִיָּבֶתָא* *art low*, Sabb. 67*a*.—*צִיָּתָא* M. Q. 27*b*; *נִיָּפֶתָא* Yeb. 63*a*; *הוּאָ שֶׁתָּא* *thou art causing annoyance*, M. MS. B. B. 137*b*.

c) *קִיָּמֶנָא* Zeb. 23*a*, B. Q. 68*a*; *דִּיָּקִינָן* 'Er. 48*a*; *דִּיָּיִנָן* Sanh. 16*a*; *שִׁיָּמִינָן* *we estimate*, B. M. 39*a*; *לִיָּשִׁינָן* *ibid.* 48*b*; *קִיָּמִינָן* A. Z. 75*a*.²

d) *צִיָּתִיָּתָא* Sanh. 29*a*; *קִיָּמִיָּתָא* B. B. 172*a*; *פִּיָּלִיָּתָא* *ye measure*, A. Z. 71*a*; *דִּיָּקִיָּתָא* Yôm. 83*b*.³

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

PERFECT.—§507. *3d sing. masc.*: *a)* *סִיָּים* *he finished*, Ber. 12*a*; *עִיָּין* *observed*, *ibid.* 7*a*; *סִיָּים* Gitt. 56*b*; *נִיָּים* Taan. 25*a*; *הִיָּדָה* *laughed*, M. Q. 17*a*.

b) *דִּיָּיר* Qidd. 81*a*; *סִיָּיעַ* B. B. 41*a*; *דִּיָּיר* *he retained*, B. M. 16*b*.

c) *פִּיָּין* Ber. 30*a*; *פִּיָּין* *ibid.* 30*b*; *פִּיָּין* *ibid.* 33*b*; *עִיָּית* *ibid.* 14*b*.

¹ *צִירִיר* *is pictured*, HG. ed. pr. 120*b*.

² *קִאִימָנָה* MV. 5.

³ *קִיָּמֶתָא* HG. ed. pr. 110*c*; *צִיָּרִיָּתָא* *ibid.* 114*b*.

2d sing. masc.: קִיִּימָהּ Ber. 11b; זִיִּיפָהּ thou didst forge, B. B. 167a.¹

1st sing. com.: קִיִּימִית Sabb. 118b; קִיִּימִי Yeb. 64b,² נִיִּימִי Taan. 23a.

3d plur. masc.: עִיִּינוּ Keth. 62b, Gitt. 89a.

1st plur. com.: עִיִּינֵנוֹן Sabb. 30b.³

IMPERFECT.—§508. 3d sing. masc.: לִטִּיט Alf. B. B. 163a; לִעִין Ber. 5b; לִיצִיית B. M. 32a; לִיקִיִּים Sanh. 93b; לִיטִיט puts on, Yômâ 78b.

2d sing. masc.: תִּבְיִישׁ M. Q. 9b; תִּקְיִים 'Er. 54a.³

1st sing. com.: אִקְיִים Taan. 21a.

3d plur. masc.: לִדְיִינוּ B. M. 30b, B. B. 43a; לִדְיִינוּ Hag. Hattalmûd, *ibid.*; נִדְיִינוּ B. M. 42b; נִדְיִינוּ M. MS. B. B. 43a; נִיפִיט cast lots, Yômâ 22a; נִשְׁיִמִי estimate, B. Q. 96b.

1st plur. com.: נִעִין Sabb. 30b; נִקְיִים Taan. 21a; לִעִינֵנוֹן MM. Taan. 12b (§233).

IMPERATIVE.—§509. Sing. masc.: עִין Ber. 25a; קִיִּים B. B. 159b.—Plur. masc.: קִיִּימוּ Keth. 19a; דְּיִינוּ Sanh. 31b; זִיקִי Hull. 109b; סִיירוּ examine, 'Ar. 21b.

INFINITIVE.—§510. a) qattûlê: עִוִּי Sabb. 9b, Ned. 77b; חִוִּי M. Q. 25a; לְחִוִּי Ber. 17a; לְסִעִי (= לְסִיִּעִי) V. L. Hull. 10a.

b) maqattâlâ: לְמִסְיִמָּא to put on, Gitt. 56b; לְמִדְיִינָהּ R. H. 16a; לְמִדְיִינָהּ M. MS. *ibid.*; לְמִדְיִינָהּ Yeb. 65a).

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§511. Sing. masc.: a) מִצִּיֵּן adorns, Ber. 30b; מְטִיט blots, B. B. 163a; מְחִיךְ Ned. 50b; מְקִיִּים M. Q. 2b; מְקִיִּים Ned. 4a; מְחִיב *ibid.* 7b.—מְדִיֵּר R. H. 9b; מְסִיֵּעַ Ned. 18a.

b) מְזוּר rolls about, Bekh. 44a; מְדוּאֵר 'Arâkh R. H. 9b; מְדוּאֵר eds. B. B. 73a.⁴

Sing. fem.: מְחִיבָא B. Q. 108a; מְסִיֵּעָא Qidd. 73a.

Plur. masc.: מְסִיִּמִי B. Q. 59a; מְנִיֵּדִי Hag. 3a; מְדִיִּתִי Pes. 30b; מְדִיִּתִי MSS. *ibid.*; מְדִיִּירִי R. MS. B. Q. 113b; מְעִיֵּנוּ M. Q. 14b, B. M. 17a; מְחִיבִי B. B. 5b.—מְכִוִּנִי Yômâ 28b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§512. Sing. masc.: מְחִיב B. Q. 72a; פִּירִיס B. B. 23a.

¹ סִיִּימָהּ HG. ed. pr. 88b; כִּיִּימָהּ *ibid.* 110a.

² עִיִּימָהּ TG. ed. Harkavy, §555 (legal style).

³ תִּעִיֵּן TG. ed. Harkavy, §1.

⁴ מְעִיֵּק Ig. Šerira, ed. Goldberg, p. 36.

Sing. fem.: מְקִימָה Qidd. 65*b*; מְטִיבָה *trimmed*, Men. 88*b*.

Plur. mase.: מְצַיְיִי Ned. 20*b*; מְחַיְיִי Ber. 54*a*; מְסַיְיִן B. B. 21*a*.

Plur. fem.: מְזוֹרֶרֶן Bekh. 44*a*; מְכַוֵּנֶן Pes. 111*a*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle*.—§513. *a*) מְפִיִּסְנָה Sanh. 96*b*, B. Q. 84*a*; פִּיִּסְנָה Gitt. 30*a*.

b) מְחַיְיָ B. M. 43*a*; מְעִיִּיִּתָּ A. Z. 9*a*; פִּיִּסְתָּ B. B. 6*a*.

c) מְעִיִּיִּנֶן Meg. 30*b*; מְעִיִּיִּן A. Z. 4*a*; מְשִׁינָה Sanh. 18*b*, מְפִיִּסְנֶן B. M. 77*a*; מְקִימֶן Gitt. 82*a*.

Passive Participle.—§514. *a*) מְחַיְיָנָה Qidd. 8*b*.

b) מְחַיְיָ בָּהּ Ber. 16*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'EL.

PERFECT.—§515. *3d sing. mase.*: *a*) אוֹקֵם Ned. 72*a*; אוֹבֵיִר B. M. 104*b*; אוֹדֵיק *ibid.* 67*a*.—אוֹקֵם *taught, explained*, Hôr. 13*b*.

b) אֵיזִיל 2 R. MS. B. M. 65*a*; (אֵיתִיבִיהָ *he objected to him*, B. Q. 106 *passim*).

c) אֶחָיל B. B. 23*a*; אֶחִיָּה Sôtā 13*a*, Ber. 18*b*; אֶמִּיר *he exchanged*, Tem. 17*a*, Hull. 41*b*; אֶלִּישׁ *kneaded*, Qidd. 46*b*.¹—אֶחָר *he smelled*, Ber. 43*a*; אֶנָּה Sabb. 48*a*, 154*a*; אֶנָּה B. Q. 105*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אֶחָלָה B. B. 144*a*; אֶחָרָה Yôm. 82*b*.

2d sing. mase.: אֶחִיכָּה Gitt. 68*b*; [= אֶחָכָתָ SM. No. xcv. (voc.)].

1st sing. com.: אֶנָּחִי *I placed*, B. B. 167*a*.

3d plur. mase.: *a*) אוֹקִימוּ M. MS. R. H. 24*a*, A. Z. 50*a*, אוֹקִימוּ Sanh. 7*b*.

b) אֶחִיכוּ Ber. 19*b*, Nidd. 50*b*; אֶחִילוּ Ber. 12*b*; אֶדִּירוּ Nidd. 20*a*; אֶנְהוּ Yeb. 46*a*; אֶטְהוּ Zeb. 95*b*.

c) אֶחָיל B. B. 23*a*.

2d plur. mase.: אוֹקִימָתוּן Hôr. 10*b*; אוֹקִימָתוּ 'En Y. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.: אוֹקִימֶן Šebu. 24*b*; אוֹקִימֶן B. Q. 10*b*, אוֹקִימָנָה B. M. 85*b*; (אוֹתִיבָנָה Sabb. 121*b*; אוֹתִיבָנָה M. MS. *ibid.*; אֶקִּימָנָה C. MS. Zeb. 66*b*); אֶנְהָנָה B. B. 74*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§516. *3d sing. mase.*: לֹוקֵם Ned. 79*a*, Ber. 5*b*; לִינִיהָ Men. 94*a*; לֹוֹתִיב R. H. 28*b*; לִינָה 'Er. 64*a*, A. Z. 28*b*, נָנָה A. Z. 28*b*.

¹This form is perhaps Qal with prothetic א.

1st sing. com.: אָקִים B. M. 105a.¹

3d plur. masc.: לֹקְמָה B. B. 32b, O. MS. Sabb. 134a; לֹקְמִי B. B. 32b; נִרְדְּחוּ Ber. 53a; נִתְחַדוּ Taan. 15b; לִימְרוּ Zeb. 6a, נִימְרוּ C. MS. *ibid.*; לִנְפּוּ Men. 94a.

2d plur. masc.: תִּחְיֶיכוּ Ber. 19b, Nidd. 50b; תִּצְיֶיחוּ A. Z. 38b, תִּחְיֶיבִי Hull. 141b.

1st plur. com.: נֹקִים Macc. 16b.

IMPERATIVE.—§517. *Sing. masc.*: אֹקֵי Šebu. 31a; אֲצִית listen, B. B. 74a.

INFINITIVE.—§518. a) 'aqtûlê: אֹקְרֵי A. Z. 50b, M. MS.; לְאֹנוּרֵי Alfāsī 'Er. 103b; לְאֹקְרֵי Yeb. 24b *passim*; אֹרוּרֵי to empty, A. Z. 58b; אֹזְלִי, אֹזְלִי, B. M. 65a; אֹזְלִי 2 R. MS. B. M. 77b; אֲפֹסִי casting lots, Succā 55b; אֲחֹרֵי B. Q. 17a; אֲרוּחֵי Sabb. 146b; אֲנֹחֵי Keth. 47b; אֲזֹזֵי Hull. 38a; אֲמֹרֵי Tem. 7a, Hull. 41b, Zeb. 6a; אֲיֹמֵי Tem. 10b.²

b) 'aqtûlâ: לְאֹקְמָה B. M. 85b.

c) 'aqtûl: אֲחֹךְ B. Q. 117a.

d) 'aqtâlâ: לְאֲמָתָה Sôtā 33a (Palestinian).

e) maqtûlê: מִמּוֹרֵי V. L. to Zeb. 5b.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§519. *Sing. masc.*: a) מְחִיב Ned. 18a and frequently; מְמִיר Tem. 7a; מְטִיב Taan. 24b; מְמִיךְ Ber. 54b; מְנִיד Sanh. 95a; מְרַח *ibid.* 39b; מְנִחַ Sabb. 6a; מְחִיךְ Ned. 50b (§80).

b) מֹקִים Meg. 2b; מֹזְזִיל B. M. 65a, 77b; מֹזְבִיר B. B. 29a; מֹזְחִיב M. Q. 13a and frequently; מֹקֵם M. MS. Sabb. 71b; מֹזְבִיר B. B. 29a; מֹזְרַח Sanh. 39b, Ber. 43b.

c) מִימִיר Tem. 3b, 10b, Zeb. 6a; מִיִּרַח Sabb. 110a; מִיחִיב Men. 103b, Tām. 35b.

Sing. fem.: מְנִיפָה M. Q. 17b; מְנַחָה Ber. 62a; מִזְקָמָה 'Ar. 25b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§520.—*Sing. masc.*: מְאֹרֵס, מְאֹרֵס soiled, eds. B. Q. 18a; מְנַחָה Yeb. 46a, B. B. 55a.

Sing. fem.: מְנַחָה Ber. 25b.³

¹ אֹבִיר *HG.* ed. pr. 98b; אֹזִין *TR.* II. 34.

² אֲחֹרֵי *SM.* No. xxv. (voc.).

³ מְאֹרֵסָה *Še'el.* §96; מְאֹרֵסָה *HG.* Hilech. Niddā (וְרֵס).

Plur. masc.: מְנַחֵי Succā 26*a*; מוֹקְמֵי, מוֹקְמֵי, M. MS. B. B. 69*a*.

Plur. fem.: מוֹקְמֵן *put up*, B. B. 69*a*;¹ מְאִיֶּסֶן (וְרֵס) *soiled*, Sabb. 46*a*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle*.—§ 521. *a*) מוֹקְמֵנָא *I explain*, Zeb. 103*a*; מוֹרְחֵנָא *I smell*, Keth. 49*a*; מְנַחֵנָא *I lay*, Ber. 30*b*; מוֹבְרֵנָא B. M. 104*b*; מְחַיֵּינָא M. Q. 17*a*.²

b) מוֹקְמֵמָא Hōr. 3*a*, B. B. 72*a*; מוֹתְבֵמָא Sabb. 21*a*; מְחַיֵּימָא Sanh. 107*b*, Gitt. 46*a*.—מוֹקְמֵיִת 'Er. 50*b*, Men. 90*a*.

c) מוֹתְבֵיִן Qidd. 50*b*; מְנַחֵיִן Hull. 47*b*, Yeb. 76*a*; מוֹקְמֵיִן Nidd. 5*a*.

d) מוֹקְמֵיִתּוֹ Sanh. 44*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^EĒL.

PERFECT.—§ 522. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִיתְעָר *awoke*, Ned. 30*a*, Gitt. 68*a*; אִיתְכֵּן Hull. 14*a*; אִיתְדָר Qidd. 50*a*; אִיתְמַח Gitt. 69*a*.³

b) אִיסְתְּוִיט *shyed, became mad*, Ned. 41*a*.

c) אִיתְצוֹר 'Er. 39*b*, 40*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתְנַחֵא *was pleasing*, Qidd. 45*b*.

3d plur. masc.: *a*) אִתְוֹסֵא Sabb. 124*b*; אִתְוֹסֵי ed. Soneisso *ibid*.

b) אִיתְדָרֵן R. H. 16*a*; אִתְוֹס O. MS. Sabb. 124*b*.⁴

IMPERFECT.—§ 523. *3d sing. masc.*: לִיתְעָר 'Er. 104*a*; לִיתְנַחֵ rests himself, Sabb. 155*a*; לִיתְוֹס Sabb. 75*b*.

3d sing. fem.: לִיתְבִּיר *became fallow*, B. M. 107*a*; לִיתְוִיל B. M. 66*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לִיתְצָרוֹ Sabb. 43*b*; לִיתְוִלוֹ B. B. 42*a*; נִיתְוִלוֹ M. MS. B. B. 141*a*.

3d plur. fem.: לִיתְוִלֵּן B. B. 141*a*; נִיתְוִוסֵּן Yōmā 59*a*; לִיתְצָדָה M. MS. Sabb. 43*b* (§ 216).

INFINITIVE.—§ 524. *a*) 'itqatûlé: אִיתְנַחֵי Qidd. 45*b*; אִיתְעָר Ber. 4*a*; אִיתְוֹס Yeb. 63*a*; אִיתְמַחֵי Gitt. 69*a*; אִיתְצוֹר 'Er. 39*b*, Nidd. 45*a*; לִאִיתְוִוֵי Sanh. 26*b*.

¹ מְנַחֵן Alfāsī Bēqā 27*b*.

² מְחַיֵּינָא Alfāsī M. Q. 17*a*.

³ וְ/מַח = וְ/מַחַה; cf. Hebrew form נִימַחֵ Yōmā 75*b*.

⁴ אִתְוֹסֵי (= אִתְוֹסֵי) Še'el. § 88.

b) 'ithqatûlan, 'ithqatîlan: אִתְּחַלְּטָן 'En Y. Yeb. 63a; אִתְּחַלְּטָן *ibid.*, commentary עַץ יוֹסֵף.

PARTICIPLE.—§525. *Sing. masc.*: a) מְחַלְּטָא Hull. 45a; מְחַלְּטָא F. MS. B. Q. 18a; מְחַלְּטָא 'En Y. Qidd. 50a.

b) מְדִירֵיל *is irrigated*, B. B. 8a, 12b.

Sing. fem.: מְחַלְּטָא R. H. 16a; מְחַלְּטָא Keth. 52b, Qidd. 4a, מְחַלְּטָא Gitt. 88a; מְחַלְּטָא Ned. 83b.

Plur. masc.: מִיְחַלְּטֵי *are tread upon*, B. B. 101a, C. MS. M. Q. 25a; מְחַלְּטֵי Nidd. 45a; מְחַלְּטֵי, מִיְחַלְּטֵי, Pes. 65b.

Plur. fem.: מְחַלְּטֵי Keth. 52b; מִיְחַלְּטֵי Yômâ 53a; מִיְחַלְּטֵי Sabb. 46a.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

PERFECT.—§526. *3d sing. masc.*: a) אִתְּחַלְּטָא Ber. 17b; אִתְּחַלְּטָא B. M. 30b; אִתְּחַלְּטָא Ber. 36a, B. M. 108a; אִתְּחַלְּטָא B. Q. 113b (§80); אִתְּחַלְּטָא Hull. 95a.

b) אִתְּחַלְּטָא Bekh. 60a.

c) אִתְּחַלְּטָא A. Z. 11a.

3d sing. fem.: אִתְּחַלְּטָא Ned. 50b; אִתְּחַלְּטָא Keth. 85a; אִתְּחַלְּטָא M. Q. 18a; אִתְּחַלְּטָא Meg. 14b; אִתְּחַלְּטָא Gitt. 30a.

2d sing. masc.: אִתְּחַלְּטָא B. M. 30b; אִתְּחַלְּטָא Sôtâ 35b.

1st sing. com.: אִתְּחַלְּטָא Qidd. 81b.¹

3d plur. masc.: a) אִתְּחַלְּטָא M. Q. 26a.

b) אִתְּחַלְּטָא A. Z. 11b.²

1st plur. com.: אִתְּחַלְּטָא *becomes incumbent on me*, M. Q. 26a.

IMPERFECT.—§527. נִתְחַלְּטָא Ker. 2b; לִיְחַלְּטָא R. H. 24b, Gitt. 55b; תִּתְחַלְּטָא R. H. 15a; תִּתְחַלְּטָא Gitt. 18a; תִּתְחַלְּטָא 'Er. 54a; תִּתְחַלְּטָא Meg. 14b; תִּתְחַלְּטָא M. Q. 9b; לִיְחַלְּטָא R. H. 29a, Bekh. 56b.

IMPERATIVE.—§528. אִתְּחַלְּטָא *become ye converts to Judaism*, A. Z. 64a.

INFINITIVE.—§529. a) אִתְּחַלְּטָא Sanh. 18b, אִתְּחַלְּטָא Gitt. 56a; לְאִתְּחַלְּטָא, לְחַלְּטָא, Yeb. 34a; אִתְּחַלְּטָא M. MS. Hull. 13a; לְאִתְּחַלְּטָא Šebu. 25b.

b) אִתְּחַלְּטָא Sanh. 47a.

¹ אִתְּחַלְּטָא *Igg. Šerirâ* 32; אִתְּחַלְּטָא TG. ed. Harkavy, §436.

² אִתְּחַלְּטָא TG. ed. Harkavy, §233.

PARTICIPLE.—§ 530. מִפְּנֵי Ker. 20*a*; מִפְּנֵי doubled, M. MS. Hull. 51*b* (passing into ע"פ); מִפְּנֵיהָ Yeb. 53*b*; מִפְּנֵיהָ Yeb. 23*a*; מִתְקַיֵּם B. B. 112*a*; מִתְקַיֵּם Hull. 92*a*; מִפְּנֵיהָ Gitt. 85*a*; מִתְפַּנֵּן 'En Y. Pes. 111*a*.—With enclitic pronouns: מִפְּנֵיהָ Sabb. 131*b*; מִתְחַיֵּבָה Qidd. 13*a*; מִתְחַיֵּבָה Gitt. 56*a* Succā 25*b*; מִסְתַּיֵּעַ Sanh. 67*b*.

VERBS ל"ב, ל"ו, AND ל"ז.

§ 531. *a*) Verbs ל"ב retain their ל in a few cases; verbs ל"ו only in two examples of one stem (§§ 539, 547); in all other cases both have become ל"ז verbs.

b) Intransitive structure still appears in a few verbs (§§ 535–6). Feminine forms like those given under § 536*a* may also, for all we know, be of intransitive structure.

c) The vowel before the affirmatives of the perfect is less certain than the vocalization of other parts of the verb, as little help can be derived on this point from traditional pronunciation.

d) The insertion of an ל to preserve an *i*-vowel is exceedingly rare in our printed editions, but occurs with more frequency in MSS. and in Gaonic literature.

e) Some verbs in the Qal and in the Ithp^el have קמץ after the first stem-consonant instead of ševā, a phenomenon we have met with also in the strong verb.¹ We might call it a Hebraism. To what extent and with what consistency such usage prevailed is difficult to tell.

ENDINGS OF THE PERFECT QAL.—§ 532. *3d sing. masc.*—In verbs of transitive structure the ending is *ā* or *āi*. The latter is an analogical formation after the derived stems, where *āi* is a diphthongization of *i*. In verbs of intransitive structure the ending is *i*.

3d sing. fem.—The ending in verbs of transitive structure is *āiāt*, *āiā*, *āt*, and *ātā*; in verbs of intransitive structure, *iīiā*, *i'ā itā*, *āi*. The last form is difficult to explain.

2d sing. com.—The ending is *ēt*, *āit*, *āt*, *e*, in verbs of transitive structure; *it* in those of intransitive structure. The ending *āt* is shortened from *āit*.

1st sing. com.—The ending is *eti*, *et*, *e*, *āi* (§ 80).

¹ Cf. §§ 84, 231, 266.

3d plur. masc.—The traditional pronunciation of this ending is *û*, not *ô*, as would be expected. This is supported by the vocalization of the C. MSS. (§573) and must be inferred from such forms as *פָּסְרִי* (§567), *אֲמַסְרִי* (§573), and *אֲיַבְרִי* (§585), where we evidently have the diphthongization of *û* to *ûi*, as in Neo-Syriac.¹ In a few cases we have *ân*.

3d plur. fem.—The ending is *aîân*, *aî*. But the last form is doubtful. It may be the singular used for plural.

2d plur. masc.—The ending is *êtân*, *êtû*.

1st plur. com.—The ending is *ênâ*, *ênân*, *ên*, *ênû*, *ân*. The last is shortened from *aîn*.

ENDINGS OF THE OTHER PARTS OF THE QAL.—§533. *Imperfect*.—The forms without affirmatives end in *ê*. In a few cases we find *â*, just as in the infinitive. Second fem. sing. ends in *îm*. Second and third plur. masc. end in *ûn*, *û*, and *ê* (§532); third plur. fem. in *îân*. The ending *ê* is probably masculine.

Imperative.—Sing. masc. ends in *i* or *â*. The last ending may be a shortening of *âi*. But compare note 2 to §550. Sing. fem. ends in *âi*. Plur. masc. has *û*.

Infinitive.—The usual form of the infinitive, as in the other verbs, is *miqtal*. It occurs here in two forms: ending in *ê* and in *â*. The first comes from *ܡܩܬܠ* verbs, the latter from *ܡܩܬܠܐ* verbs.²

Participles.—The ending of the sing. masc. is *ê*, at times diphthongized to *âi*. The sing. fem. ends in *â*. The usual ending of the plur. masc. is *û*, less frequently *ê* and rarely *ên*. Whether forms ending in *ܐܝܢ* are masculine and are to be vocalized *ܐܝܢ*, or are feminine, is impossible to tell. The same difficulty obtains with the ending *ܐܝܢ*. It may be a shortening of *âin* and may be the feminine *ân*. Feminine plural ends in *îân*.

DERIVED STEMS.—§534. The perfect in the derived stems differs but slightly from that of Qal. Sing. masc. has usually *i*, rarely *â*.³ Sing. fem. has never *ât*, but instead it has at times *â*. Imperfect, imperative, and participles do not differ in their endings from Qal. The infinitives are formed just as from strong verbs.

¹ Cf. also §449, n. 1, and §583, n. 1. These forms may, however, be explained by analogy of strong verbs (§231).

² Cf. Barth, *NB.*, §162*d*. In the discussion of the infinitive ending *ܐܝܢ* (§222) I have overlooked Barth's correct explanation of this ending by analogy of verbs *ܡܩܬܠܐ*. I am inclined to think that the infinitive ending *ܐܝܢ* is by analogy of verbs *ܡܩܬܠܐ*.

³ The vocalization *ܐܝܢ*, as in Palest. Aramaic, is unknown to tradition.

Qal, Pa'ʿēl, Aph'ēl, Ithpe'ēl, and Ithpa'al.

	QAL.	PA'ĒL.	APH'ĒL.	ITHPE'ĒL.	ITH-PA'ĀL.
PERFECT —					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	מָטָא	מָטִי	אָמַטִי	אִימָטִי	אִימָטִי
3d fem. . . {	מָטָאִי	מָטָאִי	אָמַטָאִי	אִימָטָאִי	אִימָטָאִי
2d com. . .	מָטָאִי	מָטִיָא, (ט)	אָמַטָאִי	אִימָטָאִי	—
1st com. . .	מָטָאִי	מָטִי [תִּי]	אָמַטִית	אִימָטִית	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	מָטוּ	מָטוּ	אָמַטוּ	אִימָטוּ	אִימָטוּ
3d fem. . .	מָטִינָן, מָטָאִי	מָטָאִי	—	אִימָטִינָן	—
2d masc. . .	מָטִיתוּ	—	אָמַטִיתוּ	—	—
1st com. {	מָטִינָא, מָטָאִי	—	אָמַטִינָא, נָן	אִימָטִינָן	—
	נָן, מָטָאִי				
IMPERFECT —					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִימָטִי	לִימָטִי	לִימָטִי, לִי	לִימָטִי	לִימָטִי
3d fem. . .	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי
2d masc. . .	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי	תִּימָטִי
2d fem. . .	—	—	—	תִּימָטִי	—
1st com. . .	אִימָטִי	אִימָטִי	אָמַטִי	אִימָטִי	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִימָטוּ	לִימָטוּ	לִימָטוּ	לִימָטוּ	לִימָטוּ
3d fem. . .	—	—	—	לִימָטָאִין	—
2d masc. . .	תִּימָטוּ	תִּימָטוּ [ן]	תִּימָטוּ	תִּימָטוּ	תִּימָטוּ
1st com. . .	נִימָטִי	נִימָטִי	—	נִימָטִי	—
IMPERATIVE —					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	מָטִי	מָטִי	אָמַטִי	אִימָטִי	אִימָטִי
2d fem. . .	מָטָאִי	—	אָמַטִי [ן]	אִימָטִי	אִימָטִי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	מָטוּ	מָטוּ	אָמַטוּ	אִימָטוּ	—
INFINITIVE	מָטָא, טָא	מָטוּרִי	אָמַטוּרִי	אִימָטוּרִי	אִימָטוּרִי
PARTIOIPLE —					
Active, sing. masc.	מָטִי	מָמָטִי	מָמָטִי	—	—
fem. .	מָטָאִי	מָמָטָאִי	מָמָטָאִי	—	—
Passive, sg. masc.	מָטִי	מָמָטִי	—	מִימָטִי	מִימָטִי
fem. .	מָטָאִי	מָמָטָאִי	—	מִימָטָאִי	מִימָטָאִי

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§535. *a)* בָּעָא Ned. 36*b*; חָזָא *ibid.* 23*a*; שָׂרָא *ibid.* 7*b*, 22*b*; מָטָא M. Q. 12*a*; טָשָא *he hid himself*, Taan. 29*a*; טָעָה Macc. 12*a*; חָאָנָא B. B. 91*a*, Qidd. 71*a* (§531*e*);¹ אִישְׁטָא A. Z. 70*a* (§87).²

b) חָזָא M. MS. B. M. 85*b*; חָלָא *ibid.* 128*a*; מָטָא *ibid.* B. Q. 112*b*.

c) שָׂתִי Ned. 77*a*; סָרִי *was spoiled*, *ibid.* 50*b*; סָגִי *it sufficed*, Keth. 95*b*, Taan. 32*a*; אָשְׁתִי Sabb. 141*a*; אִימָצִי *was able*, Keth. 62*a*; אִיסִר M. MS. Taan. 7*a*; אִיוֹן K. MS. Sanh. 106*a*; אִיוֹן Sanh. 106*a* (§87).³

3d sing. fem.—§536. *a)* תִּנְיִידָה *she learned*, Pes. 62*b*; חֲזִידָה Taan. 25*a*; חֲזִיחָה R. H. 26*b*;⁴ מָטִיָא B. M. 86*a*; רָמִיָא Ned. 51*a*; תִּנְיִידָה *repeated*, Qidd. 81*b*.

b) שָׂרְתָה *she untied*, Yeb. 39*b*; חֲזִיתָה Meg. 16*a*, B. B. 3*b*; רָמַחְתָה Ned. 50*b*; מָטָא B. Q. 115*a*;⁵ מָטַחְתָה Alfasi *ibid.*;⁶ בִּנְחָתָה *she built*, 'En Y. Taan. 25*a*.⁷

c) חָזָא Taan. 25*a*; סָנָא *she went*, B. B. 79*b*.

d) סָנִיאָה Macc. 8*a*; סָנִיאָה *she hated*, Sabb. 26*a*; בְּרִיאָה *she became healthy*, Alfasi Gitt. 45*b*; שְׁוִיָה *she waited*, Yeb. 121*b*.

2d sing. com.—§537. *a)* קָרִיתָ Sanh. 113*b*; חָנִיתָ R. H. 22*a*; קָלִיתָ *thou didst burn*, Sanh. 96*a*; קָנִיתָ B. B. 59*a*; קָנִיתָ 'En Y. *ibid.*; שָׁנִיתָ *thou didst learn*, B. Q. 17*b*.⁸

b) טַפַּחְתָה *thou didst give more*, B. M. 83*a*.⁹

c) חָבִיתָ *thou didst want*, Taan. 29*a*; שְׁוִיָה *thou didst tarry*, Ber. 24*b*.

1st sing. com.—§538. *a)* בָּנִיתָ Taan. 25*a*; חָזִי 'Er. 40*b*; בָּעִי Sabb. 140*a*.

¹ The explanation of חָנָא given by Jastrow, s. v. בָּרִי, is incorrect.

² חָאָנָא SM. No. VII. (voc.); חָאָנָא Seder R. 'Amrām, p. 8; בָּעָא SM. No. VII. (voc.); מָטָא *ibid.* No. XXV. (voc.); עָרָא *ibid.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

³ אִיוֹן *she committed adultery*, seems to be shortened rather from an original masculine form than from a feminine form.

⁴ Cf. מָטִיחָה Kethib in Dan. 4:21.

⁵ This form might be masculine for feminine; but cf. similar Mandaic forms before enclitica, Nöldeke's MG. §191. The apocope of חָ presupposes a shortened form מָטַחְתָה.

⁶ בָּכַח *she wept*, SM. No. CLIV. (voc.).

⁷ Cf. Nöldeke, MG. §191.

⁸ בָּכִיתָ SM. No. XCV. (voc.); בָּעִיתָ *ibid.* No. CCXIII. (voc.).

⁹ Cf. the qcrē to Dan. 4:19.

b) *סָפִּיר* *I gave to eat*, Hull. 95*a*; *הָזֵנָה* Ber. 10*a*, 56*b*; *בָּלָא* *I emigrated*, Pes. 49*b*; *קָלָא* B. Q. 98*a*; *שָׁנֵא* *ibid.* 17*b*; *תָּלָא* Ber. 57*a*; *קָנֵא* Keth. 82*b*.¹

3*d plur. masc.*—§539. a) *בָּעוּ* Macc. 3*b*; *חָזוּ* *ibid.* 5*a*; *בָּלוּ* *pine away*, Ber. 6*a*; *טָשׁוּ* *ibid.* 54*b*, Sabb. 33*b*, Taan. 24*a*; *בָּכּוּ* *they wept*, Ber. 5*b*; *שָׂרוּ* Ned. 8*a*, 77*b*; *רָמּוּ* *ibid.* 25*a*; *בָּשְׁעוּ* Taan. 25*a*; *תָּנּוּ* *they learned, taught, passim*.²

b) *הָטָאוּ* *they sinned*, Sabb. 56*a*; *מָלְאוּ* *they filled*, B. B. 73*b*; *תָּהוּוּ* Nidd. 66*a*.

3*d plur. fem.*—§540. *שָׁדְדוּן* *they threw*, Meg. 27*b*; *מָלְאוּ* Meg. 11*b* (in Ag. Esth. ed. Buber); *לָבְאוּ* *dried up*, M. Q. 11*a*.³

2*d plur. masc.*—§541. *מָלִיתוּן* Sabb. 116*b*; *הָוִיתוּן* Ned. 65*a*; *בְּעִיתוּן* Meg. 23*a*; *בְּעִיתוּ* M. MS. *ibid.*; *הָוִיתוּ* B. Q. 117*a*; *שָׁרִיתוּ* *ye have allowed*, Yeb. 37*a*; *סָפִירָו* Hull. 95*b*.

1*st plur. com.*—§542. a) *שָׁיְדוּן* Pes. 55*b*; *חָוִיָּן* M. MS. Ber. 56*a*; *תָּנִינוּ* M. Q. 25*a*, Šebu. 30*b*, Macc. 3*b*; *שָׁנִינוּ* Pes. 17*b*; *גָּלִינוּ* *we were exiled*, Ber. 58*a*; *גָּלִינוּ* M. MS. *ibid.*; *שָׁנִינוּ* M. Q. 13*b* (§80).

b) *תָּנִינוּ* *we have learned*, Ned. 5*a*, *passim*; *רָאוּ* *we saw*, Ber. 56*a*; *בָּשְׁנוּ* *we asked*, Ber. 21*a*.

IMPERFECT.—3*d sing. masc.*—§543. *לִיתִי* Ned. 2*b*, 12*a*; *לִיבִי* *ibid.* 40*a*; *לִיקְנִי* *ibid.* 48*b*; *לִיחִי* *ibid.* 5*b*; *לִיקְרִי* Ber. 3*a*; *לִיגְלִי* Macc. 8*a*; *לִיבִי* M. Q. 7*a*; *נִימְשִׁי* *washes*, Sabb. 140*b*; *לִיחִי* Ned. 40*a*; *לִחִרִי* Ber. 55*b*.⁴

3*d sing. fem.*—§544. *תִּשְׁרִי* *throws*, Sabb. 110*a*; *תִּירְמִי* Ned. 51*a*; *תִּסְכִּי* B. M. 86*b*.

2*d sing.*—§545. *Masc.*: *תִּיחִי* M. Q. 9*b*; *תִּיבִי* Ber. 49*a*; *תִּשְׁרִי* Pes. 113*a*; *תִּמְחִי* B. B. 120*a*.

Fem.: *תִּיצְבְּרִין* *wantest*, Gitt. 85*b* (legal style).⁵

1*st sing. com.*—§546. *אִישְׁרִי* Ber. 45*b*; *אִיוְרִי* M. Q. 22*a*; *אִיהִי* Sanh. 26*a*; *אִישְׁתִּי* Pes. 107*a*; *אִיגְרִי* Sabb. 110*b*.

¹ *תָּוִיתוּ* HG. ed. pr. 69*d*.

² *תָּאנִנוּ* Alfasi 'Er. 86*a*; *מָאטוּ* *ibid.* Pes. 103*b*.

³ *תָּוִיתוּ* *they saw fit*, TG. ed. Harkavy, §182.

⁴ *לִחִרִי* Ber. 55*b*.

⁵ The three yōdhs are to prevent the reading *תִּיצְבְּרִין* 3*d plur. fem.*

3d plur. masc.—§547. a) לִיבְלוֹ Sabb. 30b; לִיבְעוֹ Taan. 24b; רִימְטוֹ reach, *ibid.* 25a.¹

b) נִיתְחַוִּי Nidd. 66a.

2d plur. masc.—§548. תִּתְחַלּוּ Ber. 8b; תִּתְחַלּוּ Hull. 50a; תִּתְחַזּוּ Ber. 62b; תִּתְחַזּוּ Sanh. 100a; תִּישָׁתוּן Sabb. 140b; תִּשְׁדוּן *ibid.* 104b; תִּישָׁחֲזוּ (Sanh. 100a); תִּיזְכּוּ Er. 54b.

1st plur. com.—§549. נִחַזִּי Ber. 22b; נִשְׁדִּי Pes. 103b; נִבְעִי Yôma 69b; נִקְנִי Gitt. 14b; נִנְעִי Ber. 31a; נִיזְכּוּ Er. 54b (*cf.* §233).

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§550. a) שְׂדִי Macc. 11a, Ber. 22a; שְׁתִּי *ibid.* 62b; תִּנִּי Ned. 3a; חֲדִי *ibid.* 77b; בְּעִי *ibid.*; רִרִי carry, Meg. 28a.²

b) תִּלָּה throw on, Ber. 43b; שְׁדָא throw, Hag. 15b, B. B. 155b; קְנָה buy, Ber. 63a.³

Sing. fem.—§551. הִרְדָּא rejoice, Pes. 69b; הִרְדָּא Ned. 6b; שְׂדָא Keth. 61b.

Plur. masc.—§552. שְׂרִי M. Q. 17a; מִנִּי *ibid.* 22a; חֲדוּ Hôr. 12a; שְׁתוּ Sabb. 67b; אֲשָׁתוּ *ibid.* 41a (§87).

INFINITIVE.—§553. a) miqtal: a) מִישָׁדָא Macc. 11a; מִישָׁעָא *ibid.* 12a; מִיחַזָא Yeb. 4a; מִינְקָא Ber. 3a; מִינְנָא B. M. 66b; מִיפְעָא Er. 75b; מִירְבָא Ber. 40b; מִלְקָא Zeb. 9a; מִשְׁתָּה B. M. 86a. β) מִיתְנִי Ned. 4b; מִישְׁרִי *ibid.* 8ab; מִישְׁדִּי M. Q. 4a; מִיחַזִּי Macc. 6a; מִיבְנִי *ibid.* 10b; מִינְקָרִי *ibid.* 18b.

b) miqtala: מִשְׁתָּא Pes. 113b; לְמִיתְנָא Ker. 3a; מִקְנָא, מִקְנָה B. M. 47b; מִבְעָא Keth. 2a, Ber. 2b.

c) muqtal: מוֹקְשָא Yeb. 40a; מוֹמְחָא Sabb. 58a.

d) miqtalat: מִכְפָּח Gitt. 62a (§222e).

e) iqtal: אִתְנָא Bekh. 44a (§259j, n. 2).

f) qutulê: לְסִגְוִי Sanh. 95a; לְהַחֲוִי A. Z. 38b; לְטַפּוֹי B. B. 93b; לְחַנּוֹי Ber. 11b; שְׁבוֹי M. MS. Ber. 60b; לְעִרְבִי B. M. 40b.⁴

¹ רַפְנוּ are at leisure, Ned. 37b.

² שְׁהִירי HG. ed. pr. 68d.

³ A form like קְנָה may be explained as a shortening from קָנִי = קָנִיא, or like the infinitive מִקְנָא and the imperative in the derived conjugations in Syriac, as a reminiscence of verbs קָנָא or קָנִי. But it is more probably a kind of precativ perfect. Cf. §244b. The use of the third for the second person would offer no difficulty in our idiom.

⁴ לְשִׁחַוִּי Hal. Pes., p. 80; לְמַחֲוִי TG. ed. Cassel, §7; עֲנוֹי MV. 32; מִיעֲנָה *ibid.* 31; מִעֲנָה *ibid.* 34.

g) *miqṭalān*: לְמִיטְחָן *to bathe*, Pes. 118b. This form is uncertain, as the ending *-an* may also be the objective suffix 3d plur.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§554. בָּלִי Ber. 5b; תָּנִי Macc. 7a; שָׁחִי *ibid.* 16b; מָצִי Ned. 19b; צָרִי *splits*, Hull. 123b,¹ בָּנִי Sabb. 156a,² שָׁאֲנִי *is different*, Pes. 23a, *passim*,³ בָּעִי C. MS. Meg. 12a (voc.); מְיִלִי *fills*, MM. Sabb. 10b; מְיִלָּא *is full*, *ibid.* Taan. 24a (§80, and Nöldeke, *MG.* §22).

Sing. fem.—§555. עֲמִיָּא *gets dark*, Ber. 53b; דְּמִיָּא Ned. 71b; מְשִׁיָּא *washes*, *ibid.* 91a; בָּעִיָּא Gitt. 84a; לָקִיָּא *ibid.*; קָנִיָּא Qidd. 7a; שָׁחִיָּא M. Q. 4a; בָּרִיָּא *let her get well*, Taan. 21b,⁴ שְׁרִיָּא Gitt. 83b; לָקִיָּא Ned. 68a.

Plur. masc.—§556. a) בָּעִין Taan. 24b; בָּעִיין *ibid.*,⁵ קָרִי Sanh. 13b; עֲנִי Sotā 48a; בָּכִי Sanh. 103a; תָּלִי Yalq. MS. B. Q. 113b; סָרִי *walk*, B. M. 44b.

b) דָּבֵן Pes. 116a; סָבֵן Sabb. 88b; תָּאֲנֵן C. MS. M. Q. 3b.⁶

c) קָרִי M. Q. 12a, Ned. 49a, 52b; בָּעִי B. Q. 59b; שָׁחִי M. Q. 14b; רָמִי *ibid.* 19a; מָצִי Gitt. 38a; חָזִי Succ. 20b.⁷

Plur. fem.—§557. a) בָּעִיין Ned. 37b, 39b; סָגִיין B. M. 45a; זָבִיין Ber. 17a; קָשִׁיין *ibid.* 25b; דְּמִיין *ibid.* 20a; גָּנִיין Sabb. 65a; מְלִיין M. MS. Sabb. 62b.

b) חָטִיין B. B. 91b; מְלִיין Sabb. 62b.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§558. a) מְלִי C. MS. Meg. 7a (voc.); צָלִי Ned. 51b; בָּעִי Ber. 16a; גָּלִי M. Q. 28a; פָּלִי Nidd. 21a; חָזִי (MSS. חָאֲזִי) M. Q. 12b; שָׁרִי, סָגִי, C. MS. Meg. 25b (voc.); e. חָזִיָּא *fit*, Ber. 23a.—סָנִיָּא Meg. 25b; טִישָׁא *hidden*, M. MS. A. Z. 70a (passing into עָרִ).

¹ עֲאִנְהָ HG. 69.

² This is usually taken to be a nominal form בָּנִיָּא.

³ Pronounce שְׁרִינִי with diphthongization (§80). For vocalization compare רִאֲחִירִב (§432, n. 3) = *raḥīteh*. These and other examples go to show that our traditional vocalization is younger than the fixed orthography of the text, a phenomenon not to be wondered at, since such pronunciation may be at least six hundred years later than the fixing of the text. In the light of this, the statement in §17 should be modified.

⁴ For the imperative use of the participle cf. Nöldeke, *MG.*, p. 378; and Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 142. Cf. also the frequent מְרִי מְרִי and מְרִי מְרִי in the זָמִין-formula.

⁵ This may also be the fem. בָּעִיין; cf. §234.

⁶ בָּעִין HG. 277.

⁷ קִאֲבֵרִי SM. No. LXXII. (voc.); בָּעִי JQR. IX. 682 (voc.).

b) *e.* דְּחֻיָּא *debarred, unfit*, Ber. 23a.¹

Sing. fem.—§559. שָׁדֵיָא Sabb. 63b; שְׁרֵיָא Yeb. 8a, Ber. 36b; סְנֵיָא Pes. 113a; חֻיָּא M. Q. 18b; חֻיָּא Ber. 25a; בִּינֵיָא, בִּינֵיָא, Tem. 7a (§69); סִירֵיָא *TF. Ker.* 6a.

b) בְּקִיאָה Hag. 5a, Qidd. 7b; בְּזֵיָא Pes. 110a.²

Plur. masc.—§560. a) שְׁדִין 'Er. 44b; סְנִין 'En Y. Ned. 50b; גְּלִין Sabb. 156a; סְנִין Meg. 14b; שְׁדִין Ber. 61b, Yeb. 8a; שְׁבִי' *captives*, Qidd. 72b.³

b) חֻזו *fit*, Sabb. 124b; קְנו *B. M.* 73a; סְנו *homely*, Ned. 50b; קֻד *are gathered*, Yeb. 121a.

c) בְּרִיָּא Keth. 60b; בְּקִיאָי Qidd. 30a.

Plur. fem.—§561. a) קְשִׁין B. B. 84b; קְרִין Ned. 37b, 38a; רְמִין M. MS. Sabb. 138a; O. MS. *ibid.* רְמִין.

b) *e.* שְׁבִייתָא Qidd. 81a.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle.*—§562. a) בְּעֵינָא Sanh. 94b; בְּנֵינָא Keth. 103b; חֻינָא Ber. 13b; סְנֵינָא *I hate*, Yoma 9b; רְעֵינָא, צְבִינָא, Yeb. 107b; קְרֵינָא, קְרִינָא, *I read the Bible*, Qidd. 49b; שְׁדֵינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103b; שְׁהִין Sabb. 37b.⁴

b) טְעִיתָא Nidd. 3b; דְּרִיתָא *carriest*, Meg. 28a; צְחִיתָא *art thirsty*, Ber. 62b; מְחִיתָא B. B. 17b; בְּנִיתָא M. MS. B. B. 4a.⁵

c) בְּעֵינָא *we must*, Ber. 9b; רְמִין *ibid.* 7a; כְּפִין Keth. 63b; חֻינָא Nidd. 4a; מְחִין, מְצִין, *ibid.* 7b; בְּעֵין, בְּנֵין, *we want*, C. MS. Zeb. *passim* (§83); נְצִין M. Q. 16a; נִיִּצִין Alf. *ibid.* (§80); מְלֵאין A. Z. 53b.⁶

d) בְּעִיתָא Sanh. 93a; דְּמִיתָא Taan. 14b; שְׁדִיתָא A. Z. 72b.

Passive Participle.—§563. נְדִינָא Ned. 7a.—בְּקִיאֵין *we are skilled*, Qidd. 30a.

¹ שְׁדֵיָא *kept*, HG. ed. pr. 134a.

² מְטִיאָה TR. II. 13.

³ חֻזִין Alfasi Bēqā 33b.

⁴ בְּעֵינָא SM. No. xxviii. (voc.); זְכֵרָאנָא TG. ed. Harkavy, §72; בְּעֵינָא TG. ed. Cassel, §91 (f.).

⁵ בְּעִיתָא HG. 103.

⁶ חֻינָא HG. 60; שְׁדֵינָא *ibid.* 100; בְּעֵין *ibid.* 97; מְחִינָא *ibid.* 207; חֻינָא *ibid.* 541; חֻינָא *ibid.* 525; מְחִינָא *ibid.* 178 (§69); קְלִינָא HG. ed. pr. 15b; חֻינָא TG. ed. Harkavy, §64; חֻינָא *ibid.* §78.

EXAMPLES FOR PA'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§564. *3d sing. masc.*: a) שָׁנִי C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.); שָׁלַח he prayed, Ber. 21a; הָלַךְ Ned. 50a; שָׁפַי Sabb. 98b; הָרַח he lowered, M. MS. Zeb. 19a; בָּאֵז B. B. 37a (with resolution of doubling).

b) לָוִי Keth. 72a; מִיָּחָה Sabb. 58a; מָדָה B. B. 39b.

3d sing. fem.: a) שָׁנְאִי Yeb. 65b; מִיָּחָה Keth. 68b.

b) גָּלְיָא A. Z. 28a; גָּלְיָא Meg. 13a.¹

2d sing. com.: גָּלִיחַ B. B. 5a; שָׁנִית didst change, B. M. 96b.

1st sing. com.: a) שָׁלַחְתִּי M. MS. Ber. 30b; eds. שָׁלַח.

b) שָׁנִי I answered, Bēqā 22a; רָבֵאִי I raised, B. M. 109a; שָׁנִיא I made, Sabb. 156b; הָלַח Yeb. 92b.

3d plur. masc.: לָוּ Pes. 52b; שָׁנּוּ they made, Yeb. 34a; שָׁלוּ they prayed, Ber. 30b.

3d plur. fem.: זָנְאוּ they committed adultery, Keth. 101b.

IMPERFECT.—§565. *3d sing. masc.*: a) לָגַלַּי Ber. 55b; לִימְלִי ibid. 6a; לִיִּצְלִי ibid. 7b; לִירְצִי makes expiation, Zeb. 5a.

b) לִיִּטְמֵא makes unclean, Hull. 70a.

3d sing. fem.: תִּרְבִּי grows, raises, B. M. 71a.

2d sing. com.: תִּתְעַרְרִי Sanh. 97a.—תִּקְנֵא Pes. 113a.

1st sing. com.: אִישְׁנִי Sanh. 96a; אִינְסִי ibid. 96b; אִשְׁשִׁי B. M. 15a; אִצְלִי Ber. 30a; אִנְרִי Taan. 25a.

3d plur. masc.: לִירְצוּ Zeb. 5a; לִימְלִי Sabb. 148a.

2d plur. masc.: תִּיִּגְלוּ Ned. 40a; תִּיִּשְׁפוּן Sabb. 140b.

1st plur. com.: נִיתַתִּי we lower, Zeb. 54b.

IMPERATIVE.—§566. *Sing. masc.*: שָׁלֵךְ Ber. 30a; שָׁפֵי Pes. 62a; שָׁנֵי Taan. 24a; סָמֵי Sabb. 52a; שָׁפֵי Gitt. 73a; נָסֵי Sanh. 107b.

Plur. masc.: הָלֹךְ B. Q. 117a; פָּנֵי Pes. 111b; פָּסֵי 'En Y. M. Q. 28b; גָּלוּלִי (= גָּלוּ לִי) Sanh. 96b; פָּסֵי cover yourselves, M. Q. 28b (§532).²

INFINITIVE.—§567. a) qattûlê: שָׁלוּי Ned. 49b, Ber. 7b; שָׁלוּי Ned. 91a; שָׁלוּי Sabb. 10b; תִּשְׁלוּי Ber. 20a; שָׁלוּי ibid.

¹ שָׁנְאִי HG. 327; שָׁנְאִי Se'el. 121.

² There are a number of examples of Qal and Pa'el used where we should expect a reflexive form. Cf. the same phenomenon in Biblical Aramaic (Baer's *Daniel*, p. lix). The explanation given there is too mechanical. The solution is rather to be found in semasiological reasons. Cf. Hebrew הָלַל Ps. 10:3 and פָּתַח in many cases, and Syr.  *agitatus est*.

57*a*; טַמּוּרִי Zeb. 21*a*; לְשׁוּרִי Qidd. 45*b*; רַבּוּרִי C. MS. Meg. 13*a* (voc.); חָרוּרִי 'Arākh A. Z. 38*b*; בָּאֲזוּרִי B. B. 37*a*.¹

b) qattûlâ: דְּחוּרִיא Šebu. 40*b*.

c) qattûl: רַפּוּרִי B. B. 142*a*; לְצַלּוּרִי Succ. 41*b*; לְשׁוּרִי Sabb. 155*a*.

d) qittûl: גִּילּוּרִי 'Er. 88*a*.

e) qattâlû: לְנִסְיוֹנָהוּ Rašî Sanh. 101*b*).

f) qattâlût: (לְמַלְיוּתָהּ) *to fill it up*, B. M. 105*b*).

g) maqattâla: לְמִידְלִיָּא Qidd. 81*a*; (לְמִמְקִיָּה) Sôtâ 40*a*; לְמִמְלִיָּה M. Q. 10*a*).

h) maqattal or maqattil: לְמַפְנֵי *to ease oneself*, Ber. 62*a*; מְמַלָּא or מְמַלֵּא 'Er. 12*a*; (לְמִינְסָנָהוּ) Sanh. 101*b*).²

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 568. *Sing. masc.*: מוֹנֵךְ Ned. 36*a*; מְשַׁנֵּי *ibid.* 43*b*; מִירְצֵי Zab. 5*a*; מְעַנֵּי Yeb. 71*b*; מְשַׁפֵּי B. Q. 24*b*; מְעוּרֵי Hull. 53*a*.

Sing. fem.: מְכַלֵּא Sabb. 140*b*; מְגַלְיָה Ber. 59*a*; מְסַכְנָא *waits longingly*, Keth. 62*b*; מְמַחֲרִיא *ibid.* 11*a*; מַחְרֵא *rakes*, Hag. 5*a*; מְשַׁמֵּיָּא, מִשְׁמַמֵּיָּא, Bekh. 34*b*; מְשַׁדְרֵא *throws*, R. H. 24*a*.

Plur. masc.: a) מְבַדֵּן Ned. 65*a*; מְצַלֵּי Ber. 30*b*; מַפְנֵי Sabb. 140*b*; מִשְׁמַמֵּי Pes. 97*a*; מְסַנֵּי Keth. 105*b*; מְצַלֵּי Ber. 30*a*; מְגַלֵּי Sabb. 18*b*.

b) מִשְׁמַמֵּי M. MS. Pes. 97*b*.

Plur. fem.: מְדַבֵּן *observe cleanness*, Nidd. 66*b*; מְשַׁרְרִין *sing antiphonically*, Sanh. 14*a*.³

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 569. *Sing. masc.*: מְעַלֵּי or מְעִלֵּי Ned. 49*b*.⁴

Sing. fem.: מְגַלְיָא Sabb. 29*b*; מְדַלְיָה *is on high sea*, Ber. 57*a*; מְעַלֵּא Šebu. 45*b*; e. מְעִלְתָּא Bêcā 32*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְעַלֵּין Sabb. 65*a*; מְחַפֵּי *covered*, Gitt. 58*a*; מְעַלֵּי Sabb. 109*b*, Ber. 10*a*.⁵

¹ The two last examples passing into ע"ע forms. The last example with resolution of doubling.

² מְצַלּוּרִי HG. 30; טַרּוּרִי TG. ed. Cassel, § 86; לְמַסְמָא Igg. Šerîrâ 24; מְצַלּוּרִי TR. II. 10; לְצַלּוּרִי *ibid.* 22; שׁוּרִי TG. ed. Harkavy, § 82.

³ Cf. Syriac ܡܠܝܢ *antiphony*. The Samaritan שַׁרְרִין, which Heidenheim explains as a contraction of שַׁרְרִי דְּהָהּ (Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Englisch-theol. Forsch. u. Kritik, I., 406-7), probably has the same meaning, and must be vocalized שַׁרְרִי.

⁴ The uniform orthography מְעַלֵּי speaks for the form מְעִלֵּי.

⁵ מְעַלֵּי HG. 237.

Plur. fem.: מְשֻׁפְּיִין *are trimmed*, B. B. 69*a*; מְעַלְיָא Hag. 5*a*; e. מְעַלְיָא Ber. 8*a*. Cf. § 226.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle*.—§ 570. *a*) מְטַמֵּיִן Nidd. 20*b*; מְצַלִּיִן Ber. 8*a*; מְטַמֵּיִן *I give more*, B. B. 107*b*; מְנַפְּסָא, מְנַפְּסָא, Sanh. 107*a*.

b) מְגַלֵּת A. Z. 28*a*.

c) מְשַׁוְוֵן Succ. 48*b*; מְלַוֵּן Sabb. 118*a*; מְכַנֵּן Šebu. 3*b*; מְנַדֵּן *we deduct*, B. M. 109*a*; מְמַלְאֵן 'Er. 12*a*; מְשַׁנֵּן Qidd. 4*b*; מְדַמֵּן B. B. 130*b*.¹

d) מְטַמְאֵתוֹ Nidd. 19*b*; מְדַמֵּתוֹ Ned. 30*a*; מְתַנִּיתוֹ Ber. 55*a*.

Passive Participle.—§ 571. מְעִלֵּין *we are better*, Pes. 87*b*, Zeb. 55*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§ 572. *3d sing. masc.*: אָהָרַי Ber. 8*a*; אָהָרַי *ibid.* 48*a*; אָמַטִי Sabb. 110*a*; אָהָרַי Qidd. 70*b*; אָמַצִי M. Q. 28*a*; אָרַצִי *he counted*, B. B. 48*b*; אָבָרַי *ibid.* 155*b*.

3d sing. fem.: *a*) אָהָרָא B. Q. 99*b*; אָהָרָא Yômā 53*b*, Sanh. 93*a*.

b) אָתְלָא *she lit*, Sabb. 26*a*; אָתְלָא 'En Y. *ibid.*

2d sing. com.: אָהָרִית B. M. 63*b*, A. Z. 14*b*; אָהָרִית Hag. 5*a*; אָמַטִית Sanh. 109*a*; אָמַטִית Ber. 9*b*; אָמַטִי M. MS. *ibid.*; אָהָרִית B. M. 84*a*; אָמַטִית Gitt. 37*b*.

1st sing. com.: אָקְשִׁי *I asked*, Hull. 57*b*; אָבָרַי B. Q. 36*b*; אָתְנִי 'Er. 54*b*; אָקְנָא B. M. 34*b*; אָהָנָא A. Z. 14*b*; אָמַטָא Sanh. 109*a*, B. M. 73*b*; אָנְשָׁא Ber. 53*b*; אָהָרִי H. MS. B. M. 84*a*.

3d plur. masc.: *a*) אָמַטוֹ Sanh. 109*a*; אָהָנוֹ *ibid.* 99*b*; אָהָנוֹ Ber. 28*a*; אָתְנוֹ C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.); אָרְצוֹ Hag. 14*b*; אָתְנִי Sanh. 109*b*; אָיְפְלִי M. MS. A. Z. 74*b*; אָמַטִי Šabb. 129*a* (§ 532); אָהָרָא Yômā 22*b*.²

1st plur. com.: אָהָרֵנָא Hull. 110*b*; אָרְמֵינָא Sabb. 156*b*; אָקְשִׁינָא Hull. 139*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§ 573. *3d sing. masc.*: לִלְקִי Qidd. 81*a*; לִשְׁקִי Bêcā 4*a*; לִימְצִי Taan. 29*b*; לִיבָרַי B. B. 155*b*; לִאשְׁרִי Qidd. 76*b* (§ 208, note); לִיחָרַי B. B. 167*a*.³

¹ מְצַלֵּינָא TR. II. 1*b*; מְגַלֵּינָא TG. ed. Cassel, § 91.

² אָתְנִינָא Igg. Šeritā 25.—אָקְשִׁינָא TG. ed. Harkavy, § 74.

³ יחָרַי Hag. 5*b*.

3d *sing. fem.*: תִּקְנִי B. Q. 49*b*; תִּשְׁרִי B. M. 71*a*.

2d *sing. masc.*: תִּחְרִי B. Q. 117*a*.

3d *plur. masc.*: לִירְצוּ R. H. 5*b*.¹

2d *plur. masc.*: תִּתְּלוּ A. Z. 37*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§574. *Sing. masc.*: אֲחֹרִי M. Q. 22*b*; אֲמַטִּי Pes. 104*b*, Yeb. 46*a*; אֲצִלִּי Bēḡā 15*a*; אֲסַפִּי B. B. 21*a*; אֲיַבֵּרְאִי M. MS. Taan. 21*b*; אֲחִירִי B. Q. 116*b*.

Sing. fem.: אֲחִתְּלִי *light*, Sabb. 26*a*; אֲחִירִי Rašī *ibid.* 140*b*.

Plur. masc.: אֲשׁוּי Pes. 30*a*; אֲתִלְוִי Sabb. 35*b*; אֲתִנְנוּ B. M. 85*b*; אֲקָרִי Ned. 50*a*; אֲמַטִּי *bring ye*, A. Z. 10*b*.

Plur. fem.: אֲחִירִי Sabb. 140*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§575. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אֲקַצְוִי Ned. 20*b*; אֲשַׁקְוִי Qidd. 9*a*; אֲקַרְוִי Ber. 17*a*; אֲצַלְוִי Sabb. 13*a*; אֲפַנְוִי Yeb. 74*b*; אֲקַנְוִי B. M. 45*b*; אֲחֹרִי Sanh. 36*a*; לְאֲשׁוּרִי Sabb. 141*a*; אֲפַלְוִי Ber. 25*a*; אֲיַפְלוּאִי M. MS. *ibid.*; לְרַפְוִי M. Q. 2*b*; לְשׁוּרִי A. Z. 16*a*, for לְאַרְפְוִי; לְאַשְׁהוּרִי C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.).

b) 'aqtûlâ: אֲשַׁקְוִיָּא Alfāsī Qidd. 9*a*.

c) maqtûlê: מִרְפּוּי M. Q. 2*b*.

d) maqtal or maqtīl: מִיַּחֲרִי B. B. 167*a*; לְמַחֲרִי *ibid.* 'En Y.; מַחֲרִי B. Q. 86*a*.²

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§576. *Sing. masc.*: מַחְתִּי Ned. 16*b*; מַמְטִי Succ. 37*b*; מִרְפִּי M. Q. 2*b*; מִרְעִי Sanh. 109*ab*; מִקְרִי Taan. 24*a*; מִיכְלִי Zeb. 42*b*; מַחְוִי *shows*, 'Arāk B. Q. 86*a*.

Sing. fem.: מִרְצִיָּא Ned. 20*b*; מַחְוִיָּא Keth. 65*a*; מִרְבִּיָּא Ber. 62*a*; מַפְלִיָּא Ber. 25*a* (§224); מַסְבִּיָּא B. B. 73*b*; מַקְנִיָּא Qidd. 7*a*.³

Plur. masc.: מַחְרִי Macc. 10*b*; מַחְרִין M. Q. 16*a*; מַסְבִּי B. M. 81*b*; מַחְרִי Ber. 55*b*; מַדְרִין Ned. 50*a*; מִקְנֵי B. M. 45*b*; מַדְלִין Pes. 113*b*.

Plur. fem.: מַקְרִין, מַחְרִין Sôtā 21*a*; מַסְבִּין Sabb. 79*b*; מַמְיִן *take a vote*, Pes. 52*a*, passing into עָרִי.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§577. מִרְפֵּיָּא B. B. 142*a*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§578. *Active Participle*.—*a*) מַחְתִּיָּא Ber. 49*a*; מַסְבִּיָּא Yômā 86*a*; מַזְיִגְנָא *I lay down*, Sabb. 119*a*, passing into עָרִי; מַחְרִיָּא Bekh. 37*b*.

¹ לקְרִיָּהּ HG. ed. pr. 109*d*.

² לְאֲרִצְלוּרִי TR. II. 16; אֲצִלְוִי *ibid.* 42; לְמַשְׁהִי HG. ed. pr. 35*e*; לְאֲשַׁקְרִי TG. ed. Harkavy, §342; לְאֲסַפִּיָּא SM. No. VII.

³ מַשְׁהִיָּא HG. ed. pr. 68*d*.

b) מְקַשִּׁית Nidd. 3*b*; מְחַוִּית Sanh. 39; מִיַּחֲזִית Hull. 59*b*;
מְרַפֵּית B. B. 17*b*; מַחְנִית Ker. 25*b*; מְטַעֵית B. B. 153*a*.

c) מְרַמְיֵין Sabb. 156*b*; מְמַטִּינָן B. B. 21*a*; מְסַפִּינָן Yômā 83*a*;
מַחְרִינָן B. Q. 23*b*; מְשַׁקִּינָן Sanh. 20*a*.¹

d) מַחְנִיתוֹן Sabb. 145*a*.²

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^E EL.

PERFECT.—§ 579. *3d sing. masc.*: a) אִתְּחַנֵּי Ned. 50*a*; אִתְּחַנֵּי M. Q. 28*a*; אִשְׁתַּרִי Ned. 50*a*; אִקְרִי *ibid.* 25*a*; אִבְרִי *ibid.* 39*b*;
אִידְרִי Zeb. 19*b*.

b) אִתְּחַוֶּא B. M. 84*b*; אִשְׁתַּבֵּא Gitt. 45*a*; אִיבְעֵא Sôtā 48*b*.

c) אִיבְרֵא Pes. 104*a*; ³ אִיקוֹשׁ Sabb. 74*b*; אִיקוֹשָׁא *ibid.* ed.
Ven.; eds. אִקִּישׁ M. MS. אִקִּישׁ *was hardened*; אִימַר *he refused*,
B. M. 77*a* (§ 87).

3d sing. fem.: אִיקְשִׁיא Bekh. 31*b*; אִיקְנִיא Sanh. 93*b*; אִשְׁתַּרִיא
Yeb. 105*a*; אִסְתַּנִּיא H. MS. B. B. 74*a*; אִתְּלִיא 'En Y. Sabb.
156*a*; אִיחַוֶּא Yeb. 8*a*; אִיבְלִיא Sanh. 107*a*; אִיבְעֵא Ned. 68*a*.

b) אִיבְרֵא Nidd. 50*b*; אִיבְלֵא Hull. 56*b*; אִיקְרֵא M. MS.
Men. 3*b*; אִידְרֵא Zeb. 32*b*; אִשְׁתַּבֵּא Gitt. 38*a*; אִשְׁתַּרֵּא Zeb.
16*b*, 32*b*; אִימַרֵּא 'Arākh Hull. 58*b*; אִיבְעֵא Keth. 49*a*.

c) אִיטְוֵא Pes. 76*b*; אִימַרֵּא Hull. 58*b*.⁴

2d sing. com.: אִתְּחַנִּית B. Q. 20*b*; אִימַרִּית Yeb. 79*a*, Sôtā 35*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִשְׁתַּלִּי Ber. 53*a*; אִשְׁתַּלֵּא Bēcā 4*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אִתְּחַמְדוּ Sabb. 156*a*; אִתְּחַקְרוּ Ned. 31*a*;
אִשְׁתַּרוּ Hull. 17*a*; אִימְנוּ B. B. 12*b*, Sôtā 40*b*; אִיקְרוּ Ber. 25*b*;
אִידְחוּ *ibid.* 28*a*; אִיבְרוּ Sabb. 156*a*; אִיתְּלוּ Hull. 17*a*; אִיעֲנוּ Taan.
23*b*; אִיבְעִי Sôtā 48*a*; אִיבְעִין 'En Y. *ibid.*⁵

3d plur. fem.: אִשְׁתַּבְּינָן Keth. 23*a*; אִיגְלִינָא Gitt. 56*b* (§ 226).⁶

1st plur. com.: אִשְׁתַּלִּין Keth. 33*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§ 580. *3d sing. masc.*: a) לִיתְחַנֵּי Sabb. 120*b*;
לִישְׁתַּרִי Sabb. 35*a*; נִישְׁתַּרִי 'Er. 12*b*; לִיַּחֲזִי M. Q. 28*a*; לִיבְעִי
Ned. 67*b*.⁷

¹ מְלַקְיֵנוּ M. V. 76.

² מְגַבְרִיתוֹן TG. ed. Harkavy, § 235.

³ אִתְּחַמֵּא HG. ed. pr. 66*b*; אִמְמִי S.M. No. xxv. (voc.).

⁴ אִשְׁתַּבְּיָאָה HG. 454; אִיגְלִיאָתַּּּּּ HG. ed. pr. 95*b*.

⁵ אִתְּחַפְּצִאוּ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 546.

⁶ אִשְׁתַּרְיִין Alfasi Pes. 48*b*.

⁷ וְתַקְרִי B. M. 85*b*, Sabb. 156*a*; נִיתְחַמְצִי HG. ed. pr. 126*d*; לִישְׁתַּחֲרֵא HG. 73.

b) לִתְשָׁרָא 'Arûkh Gitt. 68a.

3d sing. fem.: הִישָׁתָּרִי Yeb. 8b; הִתְקַפִּי 'Er. 53b; תִּיהְיֶה Men. 12a; הִיבְעִי Ned. 7a, 10b, 21b, 51b, Náz. 13b.

2d sing. fem.: תִּסְתַּפִּי Sanh. 94b.

1st sing. com.: אִיתְהִי Ned. 50a.

3d plur. masc.: לִישָׁתָּרִי 'Ar. 29a, M. Q. 13a, Bekh. 57a; לִיבְעִי Taan. 23b; נִבְעִי Ber. 49a; נִבְעִי ed. Ven. *ibid.*

3d plur. fem.: לִשְׁתָּרִיאַן C. MS. M. Q. 13a.

2d plur. masc.: תִּתְחַזֵּז Ber. 35b; תִּשְׁתָּרִי Yeb. 37a.

IMPERATIVE.—§581. Sing. masc.: אִיקְרִי B. M. 40b.

Sing. fem.: אִסְתַּפִּי Sanh. 94b.

Plur. masc.: אִיפְלוּ *be locked up*, Bekh. 8b.

INFINITIVE.—§582. a) 'ithqatûlê: אִיקְרוּי B. B. 30a; אִיתְחַזְּזוּ Meg. 18b; אִיתְחַזְּזוּי B. M. 63b, Ned. 50a; לִיפְלוּי Sabb. 110b (§50); אִיבְעִי 'Ar. 5a.

b) 'ithqatûl: אִיתְמַחוּי Sabb. 113b; with loss of last stem-consonant, אִתְמַחוּ O. MS. *ibid.*; לִאֲשָׁתָּרוּ TF. Ker. 26a.

c) 'ithqatal: אִישְׁתָּרָא Yeb. 7b; לִאִתְחַזֵּז 'En Y. Ned. 50a.

d) 'ithqatalûth: אִשְׁתָּרִייו Ned. 50a.

e) 'ithqûtal: אִיתְרוּמִי A. Z. 70b; אִיבּוּעִי F. MS. B. Q. 43b; אִיתְרוּמִי Hull. 12a; by analogy with strong verbs.¹

PARTICIPLE.—§583. Sing. masc.: מִתְקַרִי Tām. 32a; מִתְחַזֵּי Ned. 77a; מִשְׁתָּרִי Sabb. 109a; מִיבְעִי Pes. 60b; מִיחַזֵּי M. Q. 7a; מִיבְעִי Ned. 65b; מִיטְרִי B. Q. 119b; מִימְחָא Sabb. 161ab; מִיבְעִי *is raised*, Sabb. 99b.

Sing. fem.: מִיקְרִיא Ned. 55a, Ber. 15a; מִתְחַזֵּיא Ber. 59b; מִתְהִיא Yeb. 13a; מִידְהִיא Yeb. 32a; מִתְקַרֵּית Hôr. 5b (§232b); מִיבְעִיא F. MS. B. Q. 43b.

Plur. masc.: מִשְׁתָּרוּ 'Er. 8b; מִיבְרוּ Sanh. 65b; מִתְמַנִּי Pes. 89a; מִשְׁתָּלִי Ber. 23a; מִסְתַּגִּי B. M. 107b.²

Plur. fem.: מִיבְלִיין Sabb. 79b; מִתְקַרֵּין B. B. 61b; מִימְנִין *ibid.* 77a; מִידְלִיין Bekh. 55b; מִתְחַזֵּין Men. 37b, Tem. 22a; מִימְקַרֵּין Ker. 15a; מִימְקַלֵּין B. M. 85b; מִימְמִין Ber. 56a; e. מִשְׁתָּתָא Ber. 44b.³

¹ אִשְׁתָּרוּי HG. 275; לִאִיבְלוּי Alf. B. M. 102b; מִיבְעִי Jud. b. Barzillai al-Barcelônî in JQR. IX. 695.

² מִתְרַמֵּן HG. 289; מִימְנִי in ירוסר תנאים 1b (§532).

³ מִשְׁתָּרִיאַן HG. ed. pr. 57b.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN. — § 584.

a) *מִסְתַּפֵּינָא* *I am afraid*, C. MS. Meg. 13*b* (voc.); *מִתְבַּיֵּינָא* Hag. 4*b*; *מִבְּעֵינָא* Sanh. 98*a*.

b) *מִבְּרִית* *thou art created*, 'En Y. Taan. 25*a*.

c) *מִקְלִינָן* *we are burned*, B. B. 73*a*.

d) *מִסְתַּפֵּיחוּ* *ye are afraid*, Ber. 62*a*; *מִסְתַּפֵּיחוּן* MM. *ibid*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA¹AL.

PERFECT.—§ 585. *3d sing. masc.*: a) *אִשְׁתַּפֵּי* Ber. 35*b*, Sanh. 96*a*; *אִשְׁתַּפֵּי* B. M. 85*b*; *אִפְסֵי* Taan. 25*a*; *אִיגְרֵי* Sanh. 64*a*; *אִינְבִי* B. B. 15*b*; *אִיטְמִי* Šebu. 18*b*, Zeb. 20*b*.

b) *אִיטְמָא* Šebu. 18*b*; *אִשְׁתַּדָּה* Yeb. 42*a*.¹

3d sing. fem.: a) *אִשְׁתַּפֵּינָא* B. M. 84*b*.

b) *אִשְׁתַּנְא* Men. 43*a*; *אִתְקַצָּא* Bēḡā 30*b*; *אִתְרַבָּא* Gitt. 77*b*.²

1st sing. com.: *אִתְרַצָּא* *I agreed*, B. B. 2*b*.

3d plur. masc.: *אִיטְמוּ* Pes. 33*b*, Zeb. 23*a*; *אִדְדִּי* Bēḡā 11*a*; *אִינְבִי* H. MS. B. B. 15*b*; *אִתְלָדִי* Ned. 22*a*; *אִתְלָדִין* 'En Y. *ibid*.; *אִתְרַבִּי*, *אִתְרַבִּי*, Men. 93*b*; *אִינְבִי* B. B. 16*b* (§ 532); *אִינְבִינָא* M. MS. *ibid*.; *אִתְנַבִּינָא* Hag. Hatt. *ibid*.; *אִתְרַעִינָא* Sanh. 94*b*; *אִשְׁתַּנִּינָא* C. MS. M. Q. 25*b* (eds. *אִשְׁתַּעִי*).]

IMPERFECT.—§ 586. *3d sing. masc.*: *לִישְׁתַּפֵּי* Sanh. 40*b*, 44*b*; *לִישְׁתַּפֵּי* Qidd. 70*b*.

3d sing. fem.: *לִתְנַפֵּי* Keth. 65*a*.

2d sing. masc.: *לִתְסַפֵּי* Sanh. 97*b*; *לִתְנַדָּה* A. Z. 10*a*.

3d plur. masc.: *לִישְׁתַּנְוּ* Sanh. 44*b*, 46*b*; *לִישְׁתַּעִי* *ibid*. 107*a*; *נַצְטְרוּ* A. Z. 65*b*.

2d plur. masc.: *לִתְשַׁעִי* A. Z. 11*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—§ 587. *Sing. masc.*: *אִפְסֵי* R. H. 25*a*; *אִיגְרֵי* Gitt. 56*b*.³

Sing. fem.: *אִסְתַּפֵּי* Sanh. 97*b*; *אִפְסָא* Keth. 63*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§ 588. a) 'ithqattulē: *אִיגְרִינִי* 'Er. 26*a*, Succ. 37*b*; *אִיטְמוּנִי* Macc. 2*a*; *אִדְדִּינִי* Bēḡā 11*a*; *לְקַנְאוּנִי* Ber. 28*a*; *לְאִקְנוּנִי* ed. Ven. *ibid*.

b) 'ithqattul: *אִינְבִי* B. B. 15*b*; *אִשְׁתַּדְּהִי* Alf. Yeb. 80*b*.

c) 'mithqattalā: *לְמַנְפֵּינָא* Sabb. 140*b*.⁴

¹ *אִתְשַׁפֵּי* HG. ed. pr. 135*d*.

² *אִשְׁתַּרַצָּא* SM. No. xcvi; *אִתְרַצָּא* TG. ed. Harkavy, § 228.

³ *אִשְׁתַּפֵּי* HG. ed. pr. 101*b*.

⁴ *לְאִשְׁתַּפֵּינִי* HG. ed. pr. 2*b*, *Sefer R. 'Amrām*, p. 3.

PARTICIPLE.—§ 589. *Sing. masc.*: מִיפְסִי Ned. 49*b*; מִתְפְּסִי Sabb. 11*a*; מְשַׁתְּעִי Yôm. 9*b*; מִיתְּחִי 'Er. 85*b*; מִרְצִי, מִרְצֵי Taan. 23*b*; מְשַׁתְּסִי B. Q. 24*b*; מִתְּחִי *ibid.* 60*b*; מִתְּבֹא 'En Y. *ibid.*

Sing. fem.: מִיפְסִיָּא Ned. 49*b*, Ber. 25*b*; מְשַׁתְּעִיָּא 'Er. 53*b*; מִתְּרִיָּא Yeb. 87*a*; מִתְּפְּרִיָּא V. L. Sanh. 96*a*; מִינְצִיָּא B. M. 84; מִיתְּחִיָּא Pes. 108*a* (§ 224).

Plur. masc.: מִתְּקַנְאִין Pes. 113*a*; מִיִּשְׁמֹי Zeb. 3*b*; מִינְסֹי Sanh. 107*a*; מִיתְּחִיָּא B. Q. 80*a* (nominal ending).

Plur. fem.: מִיפְסִיָּין Sabb. 79*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 590.

a) מְשַׁתְּעִיָּנָא B. M. 35*b*; מְשַׁתְּהִינָא Gitt. 76*b*.

b) מִינְצִיָּת B. M. 85*b*; מִינְפְּסִית Sanh. 107*a*; מְשַׁתְּעִית Ber. 44*b*; מְשַׁתְּעֵת *ed. Ven. ibid.*; מִינְצֵת Keth. 103*b*; מִפְּסֵת *ed. Ven.* Ber. 56*b*.

DOUBLY WEAK VERBS.

A. THE VERBS הָיָה *to be* AND חָיָה *to live*.

QAL.—PERFECT.—§ 591. *3d sing. masc.*: הָיָה Ned. 7*a*, 8*b*; הָיָא *ibid.* 48*b*, 50*a*, C. MS. M. Q. 18*b*; חָיָי Ber. 58*a*, Yômâ 18*a*; חָיָה Hull. 7*b*.¹

3d sing. fem.: חָיָא Bêç. 23*a*; חָיָא Macc. 10*a*; חָיָה Ber. 20*b*, M. Q. 16*a*, 27*b*; חָיָה R. H. 26*b*, Sanh. 82*a*; חָיָה Hull. 7*b*.²

2d sing. com.: חָיָית Ber. 11*a*, B. M. 106*a*; חָיָית Taan. 25*a*; חָיָית Hull. 95*a*, M. MS. B. M. 106*a*; חָיָית Sanh. 102*b*, Ned. 21*b*.

1st sing. com.: חָיָיתִי Tām. 32*a*, Succ. 44*b*; חָיָית Taan. 9*a*; חָיָת B. M. 63*b*; חָיָי A. Z. 55*a*; חָיָא Sabb. 156*a*, Sanh. 109*b*; חָיָי Taan. 25*a*.

3d plur. masc.: חָיָה Ned. 59*a*; חָיָין 'En Y. Sanh. 37*a*; חָיָי Zeb. 21*b*; חָיָי V. L. Sanh. 39*a*, Bekh. 3*b*.³

3d plur. fem.: חָיָיִן O. MS. 'Er. 62*b*; חָיָא AE. Meg. 13*b*.

2d plur. masc.: חָיָיתִין Sanh. 8*b*.

1st plur. com.: חָיָיִן Ber. 21*a*, B. Q. 92*b*, Hull. 76*a*; חָיָיִנָא 'Er. 89*b*, *ed. Sal.*; חָיָיִן B. B. 25*b*, 98*a*; חָיָיִן C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; חָיָיִן or חָיָיִן Sabb. 156*a*.

¹ חָיָי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, *ed. Goldberg*, p. 2; חָיָי *SM*. No. xxv. Cf. the same form in the particles חָיָה and חָיָה, § 182.

² חָיָית *HG*. 250.

³ חָיָי *HG*. 301; חָיָיִן *Igg. Šerîrâ*, *ed. Goldberg*, p. 7; חָיָי *ibid.* 12.

IMPERFECT.¹—§ 592. 3d sing. masc.: לִיהָרִי M. Q. 17a, Ber. 52a; נִהָרִי Yômâ 18a; נִיהָרָה 'En Y. Sôt. 46b; יִהָרִי Ber. 55b; יִהִי Sabb. 156a; נָהִי A. Z. 65a, *passim*; נִיהִי eds. B. M. 12b; נִיהִי Tem. 6b, B. M. 62a.²

3d sing. fem.: תִּהָרִי Macc. 11a, M. Q. 7a; תִּיהִי Hull. 38b.

2d sing. masc.: תִּהָרִי Nidd. 33b.

2d sing. fem.: תִּהָרִיִּין Gitt. 85b (legal style; the three yôdhs are to prevent the reading תִּהָרִיִּין).³

1st sing. com.: אֶיהָרִי B. M. 8a; אֶיהִי Hull. 44b; אֶהִי 3 R. MS. *ibid*.

3d plur. masc.: לִיהָרוּ M. Q. 27b; נָהָרוּ Pes. 38a; יָהָרוּ B. B. 142b; יָהָרוּ Alf. *ibid*.; יָהָרוּ Macc. 4b; יָהָרִין B. B. 131a (legal style).⁴

3d plur. fem.: לִיהָרִיִּין 'Er. 4a; לִיהָרִין Alf. Sabb. 65a.

2d plur. masc.: תִּהָרִוּ M. MS. Sanh. 39a.

2d plur. fem.: תִּהָרִי Sabb. 140b.

1st plur. com.: לִיהָרוּ Sanh. 39a; לִיהָרִי M. MS. *ibid*. (§ 232a).

IMPERATIVE.—§ 593. הָרִי *be thou*, Macc. 11a, Ber. 63a; הָרוּ *be ye*, Sanh. 39a.⁵

INFINITIVE.—§ 594. מִיהָרִי Macc. 12b; מִיהָרוּ read מִיהָרִי O. MS. Sabb. 145b; מִיהָרָה 'En Y. Yômâ 21b; מִיהָרִיא Yeb. 120b.⁶

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 595. הָרִי Ned. 3b; הָרִי B. M. 107b.—הָרִיא Ber. 49a.—הָרִיִּין *ibid*. 9b; הָרִיִּין Ker. 5a; הָרִיאַן C. MS. Zeb. 53a.—הָרִינָא M. Q. 25a; הָרִינָא Taan. 25a; הָרִיאנָא Alf. B. B. 40b; הָרִינָתוּ Ber. 48a.

APH'EL.—§ 596. אֶתְהָרָא *he resurrected*, Sanh. 47a; אֶתְהָרִי *he makes alive*, Pes. 68a.

B. VERBS נָהַל AND נָטַח.⁷

APH'EL.—§ 597. אֶתְהָרִי *he sprinkled*, Zeb. 42b; מִהָרִי *he sprinkles*, *ibid*.; מִהָרִי Yômâ 19a; מִטִּי R. H. 12a.

¹ On יָהָרָא and תִּהָרָא cf. § 8, n. 4.

² לִיהָרִי HG. 44; נִיהָרִי *ibid*. 71.

³ According to Hal. Pes. ed. Schlossberg, p. 102, the Palestineans write תִּהָרִיִּיִּין; cf. § 233.

⁴ נָהָרוּ HG. 415; לִיהָרוּ *ibid*. 386; נִיהָרוּ HG. ed. pr. 102a.

⁵ הָרִיאַי HG. 396 (f.).

⁶ לִמְהָרָה TG. ed. Harkavy, § 69; לִמְהָרָה *ibid*. § 74.

⁷ Of verbs נָהַל and נָטַח only these two assimilate the first stem-consonant.

C. VERBS יִרְא, יָמַא, יִרְא.¹

QAL.—§ 598. יִמְיִין *they swear*, 'Arûkh Pes. 113*b*.

APH'EL.—§ 599. אִוְרִי *he confessed*, Sanh. 30*b*; אִוְרִי *he taught*, Ber. 11*b*; אִוְרִי *I taught*, Hull. 52*a*; אִוְרִי *they confessed*, Ned. 81*a*; לוֹרִי Šebu. 42*b*; אִוְרִי *confess thou*, Sabb. 125*a*; אִוְרִי Yeb. 62*a*; אִוְרִי Taan. 26*b*; מוֹרִיא Keth. 85*a*; מוֹרִיא Hull. 6*b*; מוֹרִי Ned. 46*a*; מִמְיָן *they swear*, O. MS. Pes. 113*b*; מוֹמָן 'En Y. *ibid.*; מִימָן 2 M. MS. *ibid.*; מוֹרֵן C. MS. Pes. 102; מוֹרִיָּא B. B. 76*a*; מוֹרִיָּא Yeb. 62*a*; מוֹרִיָּא Sabb. 57*b*.²

D. VERBS אָרַא, אָסַא, אָפַא, אָרַא, AND אָתַא.

§ 600. These verbs combine the peculiarities of verbs פֿ"נ (§ 409*sq.*) and of verbs לִ"י (§ 531*sq.*). Only the Aph'el of אָתַא differs from that of other פֿ"נ verbs by passing into the פֿ" class instead of into that of פֿ"י. The resulting diphthong *ai* is at times contracted to *e*, at other times to *a*.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§ 601. 3*d sing. masc.*: אָתַא Ned. 7*b*.³

3*d sing. fem.*: אָתַיא Ned. 50*b*, Taan. 24*a*; אָתַיא Alf. Keth. 65*a*; אָתַיא M. Q. 16*a*, B. M. 65*a*; אָתַא Ned. 50*a*, 51*a*, 66*b*; אִתַּיָּא 'En Y. Succ. 51*b* (!); אִתַּיָּא MM. Qidd. 81*b*.

2*d sing. com.*: אָתַית Ber. 15*a*, Macc. 13*b*; אָתַית Keth. 65*a*.⁴

1*st sing. com.*: אָתַיתִי Tām. 32*ab*, Succ. 44*b*, Sabb. 116*b*, Pes. 110*b*; אָתַיתִי M. MS. Pes. 110*b*; אָתַיא Sabb. 140*a*.

3*d plur. masc.*: אָתַי Ned. 9*b*, Sanh. 96*a*.

3*d plur. fem.*: אָתַיִן Meg. 27*b*, Taan. 24*b*; אָתַיא Qidd. 81*a*.⁵

2*d plur. masc.*: אָתַיתו Macc. 6*a*; אָתַיתו M. MS. Sanh. 95*a*.

1*st plur. com.*: אָתַיִן M. Q. 25*a*; אָרִיךְ 'Arûkh B. Q. 30*b*; אָתַן C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; אָתַן or אָתַן M. MS. Ber. 6*a*, *ibid.* 39*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§ 602. 3*d sing. masc.*: לִיִּי Taan. 24*b*; לִיִּי Gitt. 29*b*.⁶

3*d sing. fem.*: לִיִּיא Keth. 85*a*.

¹ Cf. §§ 427*sq.*, 531*sq.*

² אִוְרִי or אִוְרִי *to confess*, HG. ed. pr. 40*a*.

³ אָתַא SM. No. LXXII. (voc.).

⁴ אִתַּיָּא SM. No. v. *a* (voc.).

⁵ אָתַיא *they came*, HG. ed. pr. 118*a*, 130*c*.

⁶ לִיִּי SM. No. XXVIII. (voc.).

1st sing. com.: אֵיתָנָה Keth. 65a (§232a); אֵיתִי Sabb. 41a.

3d plur. masc.: לֵיתוֹ Ber. 28a; נִיתוֹ *ibid.* 53a.

2d plur. masc.: יִיתֶיךָ B. B. 130b.

1st plur. com.: נִיתִי Taan. 25a; נִיתוֹ *ibid.* (§233).

IMPERATIVE.—§603. *Sing. masc.*: אֵפֵי *bake thou*, B. M. 81a; אֵיתָה M. Q. 28a; תֵּאֵה Ned. 11b, 51a, with retention of original final א.

Sing. fem.: תֵּאֵר or תֵּאֵרִי *Er.* 53b.

Plur. masc.: אֵיתוּ Ber. 25a; אֵיתוּ M. MS. B. B. 29a; תֵּאוּ B. B. 21b.

INFINITIVE.—§604. a) *miqṭal*: לְמִיתָה Pes. 48b; לְמִיתָה B. B. 145b; לְמִיתִי Ber. 28b, Yōmā 77b; מִיתִי Yeb. 115a (§80); (לְמוֹפִיֶּה *to bake it*, Alfāsī A. Z. 65b).

b) qūṭlê: לְאַפִּיִי Alf. B. B. 13b; אֲדוּרִי B. Q. 22a, Bêṣā 39a.¹

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§605. *Sing. masc.*: אֵפֵי Men. 94a; אֵרִי Keth. 16a; אֵתִי Ned. 9b, 25a; אֵתִי C. MS. Meg. 12b (voc.).

Sing. fem.: אֵתִיא Ned. 4b, 50b.

Plur. masc.: אֵתוּ B. Q. 113a, Ker. 23b; אֵתוּ TF. Ker. 24a.

Plur. fem.: אֵתֶיךָ Ned. 3b; אֵפֶיךָ Ber. 58b; אֵתֶיךָ Ker. 26a; אֵתֶיךָ TF. *ibid.*

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§606. אֵפֵינָה B. M. 81a; אֵתִנָּה Ber. 20a, Qidd. 96b; אֵתִיךָ Ber. 16b; אֵתִיךָ B. M. 109a.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"EL.

INFINITIVE.—§607. לְאַסְתָּה Sabb. 67a, Ned. 49a; אֲסוּרִי B. Q. 86a; (לְאַסְיָה Ned. 49a; לְאַסְיָה eds. *ibid.*).

PARTICIPLES.—§608. מְסִי Sanh. 107b, Sabb. 111a; מְסִי Sabb. 78a; מְסִיךָ Gitt. 56b.—מְסִינָה *I heal*, B. Q. 85a.

EXAMPLES FOR APH"EL.

PERFECT.—§609. 3d sing. masc.: אֵיתִי Ber. 8b, Ned. 25a; אֵיתִי C. MS. Pes. 88b, 89a.

3d sing. fem.: אֵיתָה, אֵיתָה, Nidd. 20b; אֵיתָה Alf. Ned. 91b, M. MS. Sabb. 64a; אֵתִיא Ned. 91a, Keth. 67b; אֵתִיאָה 'En Y. Ned. 66b; אֵתִיאָה Alf. Ned. 91b; אֵתִיתִי MM. Taan. 24b.²

2d sing. com.: אֵיתִיתִי A. Z. 14b; אֵיתִיתִי Gitt. 52b.

¹ מִיתָה TG. ed. Harkavy, §234.

² אֵתִיאָה HG. 300; אֵתִיאָה HG. ed. pr. 63a; אֵתִיתִי *ibid.* 69a.

1st sing. com.: אֵייתִי Qidd. 72*b*; אֵיתִי 'En Y. Meg. 27*b*; אֵתִי Meg. 27*b*, Me'ilā 20*b*, Ker. 20*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אֵיתִי Taan. 25*a*, Ned. 49*b*; אֵיתִי 'En Y. Ned. 50*b*; אֵיתִי M. MS. Ber. 31*b*, 'En Y. Sanh. 101*a*, eds. אֵיתִי; אֵיתִי Ned. 2*b*.¹

1st plur. com.: אֵיתִי Keth. 103*b*, Pes. 107*b*; אֵיתִי Pes. 107*b*; אֵיתִי Taan. 24*a*; אֵיתִי M. MS. Pes. 107*b*; אֵיתִי B. Q. 16*a*, 30*b*.²

IMPERFECT.—§ 610. *3d sing. masc.*: לֵיתִי Sabb. 134*a*; נֵיתִי Ker. 5*a*; נֵיתִי TF. *ibid.*; לֵיתִי Pes. 88*b*.

3d sing. fem.: הֵיתִי Taan. 25*a*.

2d sing. com.: תֵיתִי M. MS. B. Q. 113*b*.

1st sing. com.: אֵיתִי Ned. 54*b*, B. M. 67*b*, Sanh. 96*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לֵיתִי, לֵיתִי, Sabb. 134*a*; לֵיתִי Gitt. 67*b*; נֵיתִי Pes. 88*b*; נֵיתִי Yeb. 9*a*, M. MS. Pes. 27*a*; נֵיתִי C. MS. Pes. 88*b*.

3d plur. fem.: לֵיתִי 'En Y. Taan. 24*b*; נֵיתִי Pes. 27*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תֵיתִי Sabb. 96*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§ 611: *Sing. masc.*: אֵיתִי Ber. 22*b*, 44*b*, B. Q. 113*b*, Sanh. 96*a*; אֵיתִי TF. Ker. 18*a*.³

Sing. fem.: אֵיתִי Ned. 66*b*.

Plur. masc.: אֵיתִי Bekh. 8*b*; אֵיתִי Ned. 50*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§ 612. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אֵיתִי M. Q. 11*a*; אֵיתִי Ned. 48*b*, 50*b*, 89*a*; אֵיתִי Ned. 48*b*, 55*a*.⁴

b) 'aqtâlâ: אֵיתִי Šotā 33*b*.

c) maqtûl: לֵיתִי 'En Y. Taan. 24*b*, with omission of last stem-consonant.

d) maqtal: מֵיתִי Keth. 65*a*.⁵

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§ 613. *Sing. masc.*: מֵיתִי Sabb. 66*b*; מֵיתִי TF. Ker. 5*a*, 24*a*; מֵיתִי Ned. 64*b*, Ker. 5*a*.

Sing. fem.: מֵיתִי Gitt. 5*b*; מֵיתִי Ned. 81*a*.⁶

Plur. masc.: מֵיתִי M. MS. Hôr. 3*a*; מֵיתִי Yeb. 9*a*; מֵיתִי Gitt. 56*a*; מֵיתִי TF. Ker. 23*a*.⁷

¹ אֵיתִי HG. 405; אֵיתִי *ibid.* 541.

² אֵיתִי *ye brought*, HG. 464 (§ 232*a*).

³ Cf. אֵיתִי *bring not*, B. Q. 113*b*. Cf. § 30, u.

⁴ The traditional pronunciation is אֵיתִי.

⁵ אֵיתִי HG. 102.

⁶ מֵיתִי (= מֵיתִי) HG. 219.

⁷ מֵיתִי HG. 404.

Plur. fem.: מְיִיתִין B. M. 106*a*, Ker. 7*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 614.

a) מְיִיתָא Qidd. 60*b*.¹—*b*) מְיִיתִית Ber. 44*b*; מְיִיתָ ed. Ven. *ibid.*, MM. B. M. 84*b*.—*c*) מְיִיתִין Nidd. 20*b*.²

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

§615. PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*: אִיתָּי Sabb. 33*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתָּית Gitt. 69*b*; אִיתָּיתָ Keth. 62*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִיתָּא Yômâ 84*a*; אִיתָּא B. M. 85*b*; אִיתָּי M. MS. *ibid*.

3d plur. masc.: אִיתָּו Hag. 3*a*.

INFINITIVE.—אִיתָּי Gitt. 12*b*.

PARTICIPLE.—מִיתָּי Ned. 50*b*.—מִיתָּין A. Z. 27*a*.

RARE CONJUGATIONS.

§616. These conjugations contain rare forms of the tri-consonantal verb and quadri-consonantals. The latter fall into three groups: *a*) Tri-consonantal stems with a formative element; *b*) tri-consonantal stems with duplication of third consonant, or bi-consonantal stems with duplication of entire stem; *c*) denominative and foreign quadri-consonantal verbs. The formative element of the first group may be either prefixed in front of the stem, or infixed after the first or the second stem-consonant.

§617. *Prefixed Stems*.—Some stems are prefixed by ה, ש, ס, נ, or ת. The first three are old causative forms; the last two, although having an active force, are derived from reflexive stems.

§618. *Infixed Stems*.—The infix after the first stem-consonant is either נ, ר, or ש, about which see §45. The infix after the second stem-consonant is ת, which is probably of reflexive origin.

§619. *Duplicated Stems*.—About the formation of stems with duplicated third stem-consonant, cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, §141. Duplicated bi-consonantal stems appear sometimes also in a simpler form as ע"ו; as ננינם, חלחל, שפשה; or as ע"ע; as בלבב, גלגל, דלדל, and others. Parpēl forms are sometimes dissimilated Palpēl stems (§53). Once we find a tri-consonantal stem with duplication of the first stem-consonant (§637).

¹ מִיתָּא HG. 473.

² מִיתָּין HG. 526, 527.

Rare Conjugations.

	ACTIVE.	PASSIVE.
PERFECT—		
Sing. 3d masc.	פָּלַץ	אִפְלָץ
3d fem.	—	אִפְלָצָה
2d masc.	פָּלַצְתָּ	אִפְלָצְתָּ
1st com.	פָּלַצְנוּ	אִפְלָצְנוּ
Plur. 3d masc.	פָּלַצוּ, בָּלְצוּ	אִפְלָצוּ, אִפְלָצוּ
3d fem.	—	אִפְלָצוּן
1st com.	פָּלַצְנוּ, בָּלַצְנוּ	אִפְלָצְנוּ
IMPERFECT—		
Sing. 3d masc.	לִפְלָץ, לָץ	לִיפְלָץ, (בִּי)
3d fem.	תִּפְלָץ	תִּיפְלָץ, (בִּי)
2d masc.	תִּפְלָץ	תִּיפְלָץ, (בִּי)
1st com.	אִפְלָץ	—
Plur. 3d masc.	לִיפְלָצוּ	לִיפְלָצוּ
1st com.	נִפְלָץ	—
IMPERATIVE—		
Sing. 2d masc.	פָּלַץ	—
Plur. 2d masc.	פָּלַצוּ	—
INFINITIVE		
	לִפְלָץ	אִיפְלָצְנָה
PARTICIPLE—		
Active, sing. masc.	מִפְלָץ	
fem.	מִפְלָצָה	
Passive, sing. masc.	מִפְלָץ	מִיפְלָץ
fem.	מִפְלָצָה	מִיפְלָצָה

Pō'EL.—§ 620. Here belong three verbs סֹבֵר with its graphical variant סֹכֵר *to cup*, צוֹיֵץ *to cry*, and זוֹטֵר *to be small* (§§ 51, 56). סֹבֵר appears in Syriac as ܣܒܪ and has a variant סִבֵר (*cf.* 'Arākh s. v. סִבֵר iv). זוֹטֵר belongs originally to § 636 and appears in Syriac as ܙܘܬܪ .

Perfect.—צוֹיֵץ Nidd. 42b; צוֹיֵץ B. M. 29b; זוֹטֵרָה Qidd. 12b.

Infinitive.—לְסִיבֹרִי or לְסִיבֹרִי A. Z. 29a. This form may be Pō'el with dissimilation of first vowel; it may be Pai'el or Pa'el.

Participle.—מְסֹבֵר Ned. 54b; (מְסֹכֵרִין Yeb. 72a; זוֹטֵרִין H. MS. B. Q. 92a).¹

ITHPō'EL.—§ 621. *Perfect.*—אִדְוֹטֵר *it seemed of little value*, Sanh. 95a; אִדְוֹטֵר 'En Y. *ibid.* (§ 51).

Participle.—מִתְזוֹטֵר Ned. 50b.

ITHPō'EL.²—§ 622. *Perfect.*—אִתְמוֹגֵי *I was languid*, M. MS. A. Z. 70b.

Imperfect.—תִּתְנוֹפֵף *thou shakest thyself*, 'Arākh Yeb. 63a.

Participle.—מְתִימֹגֵג M. MS. A. Z. 70b.

HAPH'EL.—§ 623. *Perfect.*—(הִימִינָה *he believed him*, B. Q. 115a); הִימֵנִי *I believed*, B. B. 73b; הוֹדַעְתִּינָהוּ *I informed them*, Sanh. 107a; הִימִינָהוּ Pes. 4b; נִיְהִימִינָהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*).

Imperfect.—(לְהִימִינָהוּ Pes. 4b; נִיְהִימִינָהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*).

Active Participle.—מְהִימֵן B. B. 176b,³ מְהִימֵן Alfasi *ibid.*; (מְהִימֵנָא *I trust*, B. M. 86a; מְהִימֵנָא B. B. 170a; מְהִימֵנִין B. Q. 112b).

Passive Participle.—מְהִימֵן B. M. 36b, B. B. 159a, Keth. 27b, A. Z. 17b; מְהִימֵנָא Gitt. 3a; מְהִימֵנִי B. B. 159a; מְהִימֵנָה B. M. 36b).⁴

Infinitive.—הִימִינִי Gitt. 29b, B. Q. 115a, A. Z. 17b.⁵

¹ For participles of passive stems *cf.* § 189.—מְסִיבֵיל *bears*, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 550.

² On the formation of the form *cf.* Barth in *Semitic Studies in honor of Dr. Kohut*, pp. 83-93.

³ The *a* is due to the influence of the following nasal.

⁴ הִימֵנִי is an old loan-word found also in Arabic and in the other Aramaic dialects. *Cf.* Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 121, note.

⁵ הוֹבְחָתוֹן Hal. Pes. § 73; מְהִימֵנָא HG. 410; הִנְפֵק, denominative of הִנְפֵק, is frequently found in later literature; הִימִינִי HG. 71; לְהִימִינִי *ibid.* 61; לְהִנְפֵקִי *ibid.* 153; מְהִימֵנִי Igg. Šerā, ed. Goldberg, p. 24; מְהִימֵנִי TG. ed. Harkavy, § 186; מְהִימֵנִי TG. ed. Cassel, § 91.

ITHHAPH'AL.—§ 624. *Imperfect*.—לִּיתְהִימֵן Sôtā 2b.¹

ITTAPH'AL.²—§ 625. אֶתְהוּבָה *became composed*, Sabb. 52a; אֶתְהוּרָה *remained*, Pes. 83b; אֶתְהוּסָה *was added*, Qidd. 77b; אֶתְהוּבָה *was refuted*, Sabb. 40a, 50a; אֶתְהוּקָשׁ *was compared*, Pes. 61a, Šebu. 13b; אֶתְהוּקָשׁ *ibid.*, Sabb. 83b, Qidd. 34a; אֶתְהוּקָשׁ Sanh. 63a; אֶתְהוּצֵל *was saved*, Ber. 54a; אֶתְהוּצִיל Sôtā 46b.—אֶתְהוּסָפָא Yeb. 57a.—אֶתְהוּצֵלָה A. Z. 18b; אֶתְהוּזָקָה Ber. 9b.—אֶתְהוּזָקָה *ibid.*—אֶתְהוּזָסָה (sic) *ibid.* 28a; אֶתְהוּקָשׁ Šebu. 8b.—נִיתְהוּדַע TF. Ker. 25a.³—לִּיתְהוּסָפּוּ M. MS. 'Er. 54b.—אֶתְהוּקָשִׁי Sanh. 63a, Šebu. 8b.—מִיתְהוּדַע TF. Ker. 18b, 22b; מִיתְהוּדַע *ibid.* 25b,³ מִיתְהוּסָסָה Ned. 17a; מִיתְהוּגָר *is hired*, M. MS. B. M. 65a; מִיתְהוּסָסָה Yôm. 2b; מִיתְהוּצִיל Gitt. 70b.—מִיתְהוּסָפָא Yeb. 57a; מִיתְהוּזָקָמָא Nidd. 18a, B. B. 82a—מִיתְהוּזָקָי Qidd. 29b.—מִיתְהוּצֵלָה A. Z. 18a; מִיתְהוּצֵלִינָן V. L. Sanh. 93a.⁴

ŠAPH'EL.—§ 626. *Perfect*.—שָׁחַרְרָה *he rescued*, Ber. 60a; שָׁחַרְרָה *he manumitted*, *ibid.* 47b; שָׁעֲבִיר B. M. 13a, B. B. 176a; (שָׁסַחמִיהָ *he enclosed him*, 'Arûkh Gitt. 68a); שִׁיזְבָּחָה Yeb. 114b; שָׁעֲבִירָנָא Gitt. 13b; שָׁעֲבִירָנָו A. Z. 2b; שָׁעֲבִירָן M. MS. *ibid.*

Imperfect.—(לִּישְׁלַחֲוִפִּינָהוּ) Sabb. 98b.)

Infinitive.—שְׁלַחֲוִי B. M. 25a, B. B. 99a; שִׁיעֲבִירָי Gitt. 49b, Sanh. 106a; שָׁעֲבִירָה 'Ar. 23b; לְשִׁיזְבָּחָה *to rescue him*, B. M. 86b; לְשִׁיזְבָּחָתִיהָ F. MS. *ibid.*)⁵

Active Participle.—מְשַׁעֲבֵר Gitt. 49b; מְשַׁעֲבֵרָא Qidd. 7a; מְשַׁעֲבֵרָי Sanh. 106a.

Passive Participle.—מְשַׁעֲבֵרָא B. M. 73b; מְשַׁעֲבֵרָי B. B. 69b; מְשַׁלְחֵי B. B. 99a, B. M. 25a; שְׁלַחֲוִי Ber. 6b; מְשַׁלְחֵי M. MS. *ibid.*

ISTAPH'AL.—§ 627. *Perfect*.—אֶשְׁתַּעֲבֵר A. Z. 2b, 8b; אֶשְׁתַּעֲבִיר 'En Y. A. Z. 2b; אֶשְׁתַּעֲבִירָי Bekh. 48b; אֶשְׁתַּעֲבִירָי 'Ar. 20b; אֶשְׁתַּחֲרִירָי Yeb. 97b; אֶשְׁתַּעֲבִירָן Bekh. 48a; אֶשְׁתַּעֲבִירִי 'En Y. A. Z. 2b.

¹ אֶתְהוּנָפָק TG. ed. Harkavy, § 64.

² Here belong the following verbs: אָגַר, יָדַע, יָסַס, יָתַב, יָתַר, נָזַק, נָצַל, נָשַׁשׁ, נָשַׁח, תָּוַב, קָוַם.

³ By analogy with שָׁחַרְרָה.

⁴ מִיתְהוּצֵלָן SM. No. xxviii.

⁵ לְשִׁיזְבָּחָה TG. ed. Harkavy, § 388.

Imperfect.—לִישַׁעֲבִיד B. M. 73b; לִישַׁעֲבִיד Gitt. 39b.

Infinitive.—אִישַׁעֲבִיר Gitt. 38a.

Participle.—מִשַׁעֲבִיד B. Q. 20b, Gitt. 49b; מִשַׁעֲבִיד B. B. 157a; מִשַׁעֲבִיד *ibid.* 44b; מִשַׁעֲבִיד *ibid.*; מִשַׁעֲבִיד Bekh. 48b (with nominal ending).—מִשַׁעֲבִיד B. Q. 20b, Pes. 31a.

NOTE.—Here belongs the denominative אִשַׁמִּידע to identify. אִשַׁמִּידע Keth. 104b. Only in legal style.

SAPH'EL.—§ 628. *Participle*.—מְסַרְהֵב *hastens*, Ber. 47a; (מְסַרְהֵב Hull. 7b).

TAPH'EL.—§ 629. *Perfect*.—תַּפְּשָׁה *he chopped off*, 'Arūkh M. Q. 10b, B. B. 54a; (תַּרְגְּמָה *he explained it*, Ber. 19b; תַּרְגְּמָה ed. Ven. *ibid. id.*); תַּרְגְּמִי Ned. 38b, Pes. 42b; (תַּרְגְּמָה *they explained it*, B. B. 69a); תַּרְגְּמָה Qidd. 48b; (תַּרְגְּמָה *we explained it*, B. B. 107b; תַּרְגְּמָה *id.* Sanh. 8b).

Imperfect.—תַּתְּרֵם Gitt. 41a; תַּתְּרֵם B. B. 77b, 78b.

Infinitive.—לְתַרְבֹּץ *to sprinkle*, M. Q. 6b; לְתַרְבֹּץ *to molest*, 'Er. 61a; (for תַּתְּרֵץ by assimilation).

Active Participle.—מְתַרְנֵם Pes. 68a; מְתַרְנֵץ 'Er. 61a; מְתַרְנֵץ M. MS. *ibid.*; (מְתַרְנֵץ Nidd. 31b, Sabb. 10b).

NAPH'EL.¹—§ 630. *Imperfect*.—לִינְשִׁיתִין *makes water*, Sabb. 134a.

Active Participle.—[מְנַשְׁתִּיהָ Sabb. 134a (§ 58)]; מְנַשְׁתִּין M. MS. *ibid.*; מְנַשְׁתִּים 'Arūkh *ibid.* (§ 35).

PAR'EL.—§ 631. *Perfect*.—שָׂרַיִב 'Er. 102b; (הִרְזָקִיהָ *he locked him up*, 'Arūkh B. Q. 85b).

Imperfect.—נִיבְדִּיל Gitt. 69a; נִיבְדִּיל 'Arūkh *ibid.*; לְבַרְזוּלִיהָ Sabb. 66b).

Imperative.—שָׂרַיִב Sabb. 147b.

Active Participle.—מְשַׂרְבֵּטִי Sabb. 94a.

Passive Participle.—מְרִזָּק 'Arūkh Ned. 91b.

¹ Cf. Assyrian nābutu, *naprašu, *naplašu (Dolitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 234), and

Arabic قَرَدَ = نَقَرَدَ IV., خَسَّ = خَسَسَ I. II., خَرَبَ = خَرَّبَ II., بَدَدَ = نَبَذَ IV., نَهَسَ = هَرَجَ I. II., هَجَرَ = هَجَرَ III. IV., هَتَرَ = نَهَتَرَ II., هَبَلَ = نَهَبَلَ IV., قَتَلَ = قَتَلَ I. Cf. also قَتَلَ and the noun قَتَال.

ITHPAR'AL.—§632. *Perfect*.—אִיפְרָדִים *was lopped off*, Men. 38b; אִשְׁתַּרְבֵּב Sanh. 24a; אִיפְרָדִים Men. 39a; אִיפְרָדִי Alfasi *ibid.*; אִשְׁתַּרְבֵּב 'En Y. Qidd. 49b.

Infinitive.—אִשְׁתַּרְבֵּב Sanh. 24a; אִיפְרָדִי Men. 38b, 39a; אִיפְרָדִי Alfasi Men. 39a.

Participle.—מִהֲרִיִּק Ned. 91b.

PAN'EL.—§633. *Imperfect*.—נִיפְנֵדֵר *let him roll*, A. Z. 28a; (נִיפְנֵדִיִּה Gitt. 69b).

ITHPAN'AL.—§634. *Perfect*.—אִיפְנֵדֵר 'Arūkh Gitt. 77b.

Infinitive.—אִיפְנֵדֵר B. Q. 35a; אִיפְנֵדִיִּר M. MS. *ibid.*

Participle.—מִפְנֵדֵר B. Q. 35a; מִפְנֵדֵרָא *she lords it*, Taan. 23b.

PAŠ'EL.—§635. *Perfect*.—בִּשְׁקִרְוִיהָ *they discovered it*, Yeb. 120a).

Passive Participle.—מִבְּשֶׁקֶר 'Er. 19a.

PA'TEL AND ITHPA'TAL.—§636. *Participle*.—מִנְשִׁתָּפָא 'Arūkh B. M. 23a; מִינְשִׁתָּפָא eds. *ibid.*¹

PA'PEL.—§637. *Perfect*.—הִרְדִּיג *he dripped*, Keth. 17b.

Infinitive.—הִרְדִּיגִי *ibid.*

PA'LEL.—§638. *Perfect*.—שָׁרַטֵּט *he drew lines*, Gitt. 7a.

Participle.—מְשַׁרְטֵט Yeb. 106b; מְמַרְטֵט Hull. 92b.

ITHPA'LAL.—§639. *Perfect*.—אִימַרְטֵט *was depilated*, A. Z. 69a, Nidd. 56b; אִיעֲרַבֵּב *became confused*, R. H. 16b.

Imperfect.—לִיעֲרַבֵּב R. H. 27a, 28a; לִיעֲרַבֵּבִי A. Z. 2b.

Infinitive.—אִימַרְטֵטִי A. Z. 69a.

Participle.—מִיעֲרַבֵּב R. H. 28a; מִימַרְטֵט 'Arūkh Nidd. 56b.

PALPEL.—§640. *Perfect*.—זָלַזֵל Keth. 48a; עָרַעַר *he took exception*, B. B. 29b; הִרְדִּיר *he meditated*, Ber. 56a; נִימְנֵם A. Z. 4b, Qidd. 31b; שִׁכְשֵׁךְ *he rinsed*, A. Z. 57b; שִׁכְשִׁירִי *I rinsed*, Zeb. 94a; הִרְדִּירִי Sanh. 37a; צִימָצְמוֹ Yeb. 46a (with loss of stem-vowel).

Imperfect.—לִישְׁכֹּשֶׁךְ, לִישְׁכֹּשֶׁל, לִישְׁכֹּשֶׁלֵּל, 'Er. 24b, Succā 24b; לִישְׁכֹּשֶׁךְ A. Z. 59b; תִּזְלֹזֵל Hag. 5b; לִיזְלֹזֵל Yomā 2b; נַעֲרַעַר Gitt. 4b.

Imperative.—טָאטִי *sweep*, Meg. 18a, R. H. 26a.

Infinitive.—a) לִזְלֹזֵלִי C. MS. Meg. (voc.); לְהִרְדִּירִי Nidd. 13a; לְקַשְׁקֹשִׁי Succ. 44b; לְכַסְכֹּשִׁי Sabb. 140a; לְטִלְטֹלִי *ibid.*

¹ Here belonged originally also דוּרֵר. Cf. §620.

45a; חִלְחֹלִי Hull. 119b; מְסֻמוֹסִי *ibid.* 4a; עֲרֵעֹרִי Gitt. 4a; פִּסְפּוֹסִי Sabb. 155a.

b) טִילְטוֹלִי 'Er. 24b.

c) לִזְלִזְלוֹלָא A. Z. 35a.

d) שִׁיכְשֹׁף A. Z. 57b (used as finite verb).¹

Active Participle.—a) מִשְׁלָּשַׁל Sabb. 110a; מְמַסְמֵס Hull. 4a; מְבַלְבֵּל *ibid.* 69a; מְשַׁפֵּשֵׁף Sabb. 154b; מְפַעֵפֵעַ Hull. 97a; מְנַמְנֵם Meg. 31b; מְעַרְעֵר B. B. 43b; מְנַמְנֵם Pes. 120b, Sabb. 56b; נְמַנֵּם Pes. 120b.

b) מְמַסְמֵסָא Yeb. 42b; מְמַשְׁמֵשָׁא Hull. 9a; מְבַצְבָּצָא *ibid.* 46b; מְקַלְקָלָא Yeb. 120a; מְחַלְחָלָא Zeb. 94a; מְנַמְנָה Keth. 17b.²

c) מְקַשְׁקֶשֶׁן Succ. 44b; מְנַמְנֵמִי *ibid.* 53b; מְלַבְלֵבִי A. Z. 38b; מְזַלְזֵלִי Men. 52a; מְשַׁמְשֵׁר R. H. 15a; מְטַלְטֵלוֹ Sabb. 128a; מְזַלְזֵלוֹ A. Z. 36a; מְהַבְהִיבִי Alf. B. M.

d) מְשַׁלְשֵׁן *act as laxative*, Gitt. 70a, Keth. 10b; מְקַרְקֵר Hull. 53ab.

Passive Participle.—a) מְמַסְמֵס Hull. 28a, 53b; מְקַרְקֵעַ B. B. 68a,³ e. מְטַלְטֵלָא *ibid.*; מְקַרְקֵעָא *ibid.* 150a.

c) מְהַלְחֵלִי Ber. 59a; מְטַלְטֵלִי, B. B. 44b.

d) מְבַלְבֵּלֵן *are mixed up*, Bekh. 44a.

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—מְנַמְנֵמִי *I doze*, O. MS. Pes. 120b,⁴ מְזַלְזֵלָא M. Q. 18a; מְזַלְזֵלֵנָּה B. M. 52b, A. Z. 10b; מְטַלְטֵלֵנָּה Sabb. 47a, 49a, 124a; מְפַסְפִּסֵּנָּה *ibid.* 155a.

ITHPALPAL.—§ 641. *Perfect.*—אִיפְלָפַל B. M. 40a, Gitt. 73a; אִידִּלְהַל 'Arākh, Hull. 44a (Tos. *ibid.* אִידִּלְהוֹל).

Imperfect.—לִישְׁתַּלְשֵׁל Sabb. 108a; לְבַלְבֵּל M. Q. 9b,⁵ תִּיקַלְקַל R. H. 19b.

Infinitive.—אִידִּלְהוֹלִי Hull. 44a; לְאִיקַלְקוֹלִי 'Er. 49a; לְקַלְקוֹלִי M. MS. *ibid.*

¹ לְעֲרֵעֹרִי RLOW, § 101.

² This is shortened from מְנַמְנָמָה. Cf. מְנַשְׁתַּמְנָה for מְנַשְׁתַּמְנָה (§ 58).

³ קַרְקֵעַ (= قَرَقَع) is a dissimilated form of *קַרְקַר = Assy. kakkaru.

⁴ Shortened form for מְנַמְנֵמִי. It is, however, possible that we have here the possessive pronoun for the enclitic; cf. § 327, u. 3, and § 714.

⁵ לְבַלְבֵּל SM. No. CXLIII. (voc.).

Participle.—מִיקְלָקֵל R. H. 19*b*; מִיחֲלָחֵל F. MS. Ber. 59*b*; מִיקְלָקֵלָא 'Er. 88*b*; מִיבִלְבֵּלִי Hull. 26*b*; מִיטִלְטֵלִי B. B. 69*a*.¹

PARPEL.—§ 642. *Perfect*.—פָּרַפֵּשׁ he nodded assent, B. B. 143*a*, 'Er. 65*b*.

Imperfect.—נִקְרָקֵשׁ A. Z. 12*b*, 'Arûkh Pes. 112*a*.

Imperative.—פָּרַפֵּשׁ Niddā 42*a*.

Infinitive.—פָּרַפֹּשִׁי Sabb. 79*b*; קָרַקוּשִׁי Ber. 29*b*.

Active Participle.—מִקְרָקֵשׁ A. Z. 60*a*, Keth. 86*a*; מִקְרָקֵשָׁא Ber. 62*a*; מִקְרָקֵשִׁי B. B. 156*a*.

DENOMINATIVE AND FOREIGN PLURICONSONANTAL VERBS.—

ACTIVE.—§ 643. *Perfect*.—פִּירָפֵס he twitched, Gitt. 70*b*; פִּרְפִּיט 'Ar. 7*a*; מִשְׁפִּין B. M. 72*a*; מִשְׁפִּין B. M. 68*a*, 73*b*.

Imperfect.—(אֶפְרֹמֶנְהוּ) I will press it out, 'Arûkh Gitt. 69*a*).

Infinitive.—a) פִּרְסוּמִי 'Ar. 29*a*, Ber. 14*a*, Pes. 112*a*; פָּרַקוּדִי Men. 96*b*; מִשְׁפּוּנִי M. MS. B. M. 113*a*.

b) פִּרְפּוּסִי 'Ar. 7*a*.

Active Participle.—מִטְרָטִין Nidd. 14*a*; מִרְבֵּל sifts, B. M. 26*b*; מֵאֲרֵבֵל 'Arûkh *ibid.*; מִפְרָסְמָא Men. 40*a*; מִהֲנָדָסִי B. B. 89*b*; מְהֻלְקֵטִין Sabb. 156*a*.

Passive Participle.—מִפְרָסְמָא Hôr. 4*a*.

PASSIVE.—§ 644. *Perfect*.—רָבִיל [רָבִיל] Hull. 49*a*, for *רָבִיל; מֵאֲרֵבֵל R. H. 24*a*, Hôr. 4*b*.²

Imperfect.—לִפְרָסֵם Yeb. 101*b*.

Infinitive.—מִרְבֵּל (= מֵאֲרֵבֵל) Hull. 43*a*.

Participle.—מִפְרָזֵל Gitt. 68*b*; מִפְרָקָא Men. 96*b*; מִהֲנָדָן Hull. 43*a*.

VERBS WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES.

A. VERBS NOT לִ"י WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 645. Owing to the lack of vocalization, the changes which the verbal forms undergo before suffixes cannot be exactly determined. Nor is tradition of much help here. The tables of paradigms subjoined here (pp. 166, 167) are calculated to afford some help to the student, but cannot do justice to the great variety of forms, both in the body of the verb, as well as in the suffixes.

¹ מִינְדִּמְדִּמִּין are moving, SM. No. LIII.

² מֵאֲרֵבֵל HG. ed. pr. 127*c*, for מֵאֲרֵבֵל.

Strong Verb with Suffixes.

QAL.	1st sing. com.	2d sing. masc.	2d sing. fem.	3d sing. masc.	3d sing. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלָן	קָטַלְהָ	קָטַלְיָהּ	קָטַלְיָה	קָטַלְהָ
3d fem. . .	קָטַלְתָּן	קָטַלְתָּהּ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
2d com. . .	קָטַלְתָּן	—	—	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתָּהּ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְוּן	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּיָהּ	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּהָ
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתֶּם	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטֹלָן	לִיקְטֹלְהָ	לִיקְטֹלְיָהּ	לִיקְטֹלְיָה	לִיקְטֹלְהָ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטֹלְוּן	לִיקְטֹלְוּהָ	לִיקְטֹלְוּיָהּ	לִיקְטֹלְוּהָ	לִיקְטֹלְוּהָ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְן	—	—	קָטַלְיָה	קָטַלְהָ
2d fem. . .	קָטַלְיָן	—	—	—	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְוּן	—	—	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּהָ
INFINITIVE	מִקְטֹלָן	מִקְטֹלְהָ	מִקְטֹלְיָהּ	מִקְטֹלְיָה	מִקְטֹלְהָ
<i>PA'EL.</i>					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלָן	קָטַלְהָ	קָטַלְיָהּ	קָטַלְיָה	קָטַלְהָ
3d fem. . .	קָטַלְתָּן	קָטַלְתָּהּ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
2d com. . .	קָטַלְתָּן	—	—	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתָּהּ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתִּיהָ	קָטַלְתָּהּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְוּן	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּיָהּ	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּהָ
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתֶּם	—	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטֹלָן	לִיקְטֹלְהָ	לִיקְטֹלְיָהּ	לִיקְטֹלְיָה	לִיקְטֹלְהָ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְן	—	—	קָטַלְיָה	קָטַלְהָ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְוּן	—	—	קָטַלְוּהָ	קָטַלְוּהָ
INFINITIVE	מִקְטֹלָן	מִקְטֹלְהָ	מִקְטֹלְיָהּ	מִקְטֹלְיָה	מִקְטֹלְהָ

Strong Verb with Suffixes.

QAL.	1st plur. com.	2d plur. masc.	2d plur. fem.	3d plur. masc.	3d plur. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
3d fem. . .	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ
2d com. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
2d fem. . .	קָטַלְתְּ	—	—	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
INFINITIVE	מִקְטַלְתָּ	מִקְטַלְתָּ	מִקְטַלְתָּ	מִקְטַלְתָּ	מִקְטַלְתָּ
<i>PA'EL.</i>					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
3d fem. . .	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ
2d com. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
1st com. . .	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ	לִקְטַלְתָּ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קָטַלְתָּ	—	—	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ
INFINITIVE	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתָּ

§646. The following can be stated with certainty:

1. Verbs ע"ו and ע"ע frequently pass before suffixes into ל"י forms.

2. Forms of the plural ending in [וֹ] frequently substitute before suffixes for that form the corresponding form of the singular; and this not only before suffixes beginning with a vowel, but also, although less frequently, before suffixes beginning with a consonant.

Such a phenomenon is probably due to various causes. In the first place to a promiscuous use of the genders. Thus, קָטְלוּהֶם *ye have killed them* and קָטְלוּהֶם *they have killed them* may come not from the masculine forms קָטְלוּם and קָטְלוּ, but from the obsolete feminine forms קָטְלוּהֶן and קָטְלוּ; קָטְלוּהֶם *they killed them*, not from קָטְלוּ, but from its by-form קָטְלוּ (§232a); אָקְטְלוּהָ *they had him killed*, from אָקְטְלוּ (§231) with vowel-syncope, as in the infinitive; in a form like פָּסִיעִיתָן *you have put us to shame*, the syncope of *û* may be due to the accent, just as הִנְקָחָא, שׁוּפְטָנִי, הוֹשִׁבָנָא, הִנְקָחָא, שׁוּפְטָנִי, הוֹשִׁבָנָא, are traditionally pronounced הִנְקָחָא, שׁוּפְטָנִי, הוֹשִׁבָנָא, with the accent on the antepenultima.

3. Short vowels are sometimes retained in the verb under the influence of an adjoining ר, guttural, or emphatic consonant; *e.g.*, אֶמְרִיתָא *I said it*, לִפְדּוּקִין *he redeems us*.

4. The infinitives ending in י or א lose this ending before suffixes. In the infinitives of the derived conjugations the ו of the second stem-consonant is at times omitted. This is especially the case in the Aph'el before plural suffixes.

§647. The list of objective suffixes given above (§112) we let here follow in augmented and improved form:

Singular.

1st com.....	פִּי, יָ, אֵ, יוֹ, יוֹ, יוֹ, יוֹ, יוֹ
2d masc.	אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ
2d fem.	אָ
3d masc.	{ אֵ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ, יָ [יָ, יָ, יָ]
3d fem.	אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ, אָ

Plural.

1st com. . .	אֲנִי, אַתָּה, הוּא, הִיא, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי
2d masc. . .	אַתָּה, אַתָּה, הוּא, הִיא, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי
2d fem. . .	אַתָּה, אַתָּה, הוּא, הִיא, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי
3d masc. {	הוּא, הִיא, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי, אֲנִי, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי
3d fem. . .	הוּא, הִיא, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי, אֲנִי, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אִנּוּ, אֵינִי

NOTE.—Instead of objective suffixes we find sometimes possessive suffixes with the verb, and the reverse with the noun. *Cf.* also § 113.¹

Bracketed forms occur only in Gaonic literature.

The traditional pronunciation of the pronominal suffix of the third feminine singular is נָּ , the correctness of which is confirmed by the occurrence of the spelling נָּ for נָּ . The vocalization נָּ found in two or three examples in the C. MSS. is to be judged in the same manner as נָּ (§558*a*) and similar examples.

PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3D SING. MASC.

§ 648. 1ST SING. MASC.—*Qal*: קָבַעַי R. H. 26*b*; גָּבַבְךָ Ned. 50*b*; *ibid.*; חָבַבְךָ Pes. 110*b* (in an old charm-formula).

Pa"ēl: קרחפני Pes. 110b (in an old charm-formula).

Aph'el: אֶפְּלָא Keth. 104*a*; אוֹתְבָן Pes. 110*a*, B. B. 31*b*; אַקְשׁ A. Z. 58*a*.

Ithpē'el: אִישְׁתְּמִיטָן B. Q. 12a; אִישְׁתְּמִיטָן eds. *ibid.*

§ 649. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שִׁבַּקְךָ Ned. 50*a*; יִרְדֶּךָ Ber. 54*b*;
יִנְךָ Keth. 104*b*.

Pa"ēl: בִּרְכָה M. Q. 9b.

Aph'el: אֶפְּחֵל Sanh. 109b; אֶפְּחֵל Qidd. 52b; אֶפְּסִינָה B. Q. 89a; אֶפְּסִי *ibid.* 36a; אֶפְּסִי 'En Y. Sanh. 109b.

§ 650. 2D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: נִשְׁקֶרֶת Hull. 127a.

¹ The enclitic personal pronoun with a verb is probably found in תמהיתני *I am astonished at you*, Sanh. 95a. For other explanations of this word see the dictionaries.

§ 651. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: קָרְעִיהָ Ber. 20*a*; שִׁבְקִיהָ Ned. 62*a*; קִצְיִיהָ B. B. 60*b*; חֲרָקִינִיהָ Gitt. 46*a*; קָרְעִינִיהָ B. B. 169*a*; גִּזְיִיהָ Sanh. 96*a*; גִּזְיִיהָ M. MS. *ibid.*; סָרְיִיהָ R. H. 4*a* (✓סוד).

Pa'el: הִיבִינִיהָ Ned. 31*b*; גִּשְׁשִׁיהָ Gitt. 67*b*; נִיבְדִינִיהָ 'Arūkh Pes. 52*a*; זָבִינִיהָ Keth. 91*a*.¹

Aph'el: אֶגְמִינִיהָ Ned. 41*a*; אִיתִיבִיהָ Ned. 35*a*; אֶשְׁפָּחִינִיהָ Sanh. 118*b*; אִוְתִּיבִינִיהָ 'Er. 30*a*; אֶחְרִיבִיהָ Sanh. 64*a*.

Šaph'el: שִׁיזְבִין Sanh. 66*a*.

§ 652. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: קָטְלָהּ Macc. 16*a*.

Pa'el: שִׁוִּירָהּ B. B. 3*b*; קָבְלָהּ *ibid.* 62*b*; קִידָּשָׁהּ Qidd. 59*a*, גִּרְשָׁהּ Pes. 110*b*; שִׁבְשָׁהּ Yeb. 108*b*.

Aph'el: אֶסְמַכָּהּ M. Q. 5*a*; אִוְתָּבָהּ Keth. 60*a*; אֶדְרָהּ Ned. 50*a*; אֶסְפָּדָהּ Meg. 28*b*; אִינִסְבָּהּ Ned. 23*a*.

§ 653. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: חֲשַׁבְנִי Pes. 50*b*; יִחְבִּנֵנִי M. Q. 6*a*.

Pa'el: עִיִּלְנִי Taan. 23*b*.

Aph'el: אֶשְׁמִיעֶנָּה Ned. 73*b*; אֶשְׁבֹּעַן Taan. 24*a*; אֶשְׁמַעֲנֶנָּה Ber. 36*a*.

§ 654. 2D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: חֲנַפְנֵכִי Pes. 110*b* (in an old magic formula).

Aph'el: אֶזְכְּמִינֵכִי Qidd. 58*a*.

§ 655. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: פָּתַבִּינֵהוּ M. Q. 3*a*; הִקִּינֵהוּ B. Q. 101*a*; טַמְיִנֵהוּ Gitt. 68*a*; פָּרַעִינֵהוּ Keth. 85*a*; שִׁאִלְנֵהוּ 'Er. 53*b*; קָטְלִינֵהוּ Ber. 54*b*; טַעֲמִינֵהוּ Ned. 91*b*; טַעֲמִינֵהוּ Alfasi *ibid.*; הִנְקִינֵהוּ Me'ilā 2*ab*; אֶגִּידֵן M. MS. Zeb. 18*b*.²

Pa'el: עִיִּלְנֵהוּ Macc. 20*a*; לִיטִינֵהוּ Šebu. 36*a*; תִּרְצִנֵהוּ Ber. 61*b*.³

Aph'el: אֶכְשִׁירִינֵהוּ Sanh. 26*b*; אֶפְקִינֵהוּ Pes. 110*a*; אִוְתִּיבִינֵהוּ Macc. 20*b*, Gitt. 47*a*; אֶפְקִרִינֵהוּ B. M. 30*b*; אֶשְׁפָּחֵהוּ *ibid.* 22*a*; אֶחְרִיבֵהוּ Yeb. 35*a*; אֶזְכְּמֵהוּ Sanh. 72*a*.⁴

§ 656. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: אֶמְרִינֵהּ ed. pr. 'Er. 43*a*, 56*a*.

Pa'el: שִׁפְצִנֵהּ Meg. 4*a*.

Aph'el: אֶפְרִישֵׁנֶהּ C. MS. Zeb. 6*b*.

¹ כְּשִׁיחָה, SM. No. VIII. (voc.).

² שִׁבְקִינֵהוּ SM. No. LXXII. (voc.); גִּסְחֹנֵהוּ HG. ed. pr. 15*b*; גִּסְחִינֵהוּ Še'el. 73.

³ שִׁמְחִינֵהוּ SM. No. XLVI. (voc.); תִּרְצִינֵהוּ Igg. Šerirā, ed. Goldberg, p. 2; חֲבִרִינֵהוּ *ibid.* 9.

⁴ אֶשְׁפָּחֵהוּ HG. 455; הִימִינֵהוּ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 214.

3D SING. FEM.

§ 657. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: קָרַצְתִּין 'Er. 65 *a*.

§ 658. 2D SING. MASC.—*Aph'el*: אֶיִרְקְתָּ B. Q. 47 *a*.

§ 659. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: תִּבְעֵתִיהָ Qidd. 39 *b*, 40 *a*; שָׁקְלָתִיהָ *ibid.* 13 *a*; וִנְתִּיהָ Sanh. 108 *b*.

Pa'el: וַמִּנְתִּיהָ Meg. 15 *b*; מִיעֲטָתִיהָ Ned. 32 *b*; שִׁדְרָתִיהָ Keth. 62 *b*.¹

Aph'el: אֶשְׁבַּתְתִּיהָ B. M. 59 *b*; אֶתְבַּתְתִּיהָ Sabb. 109 *b*.

Ithp'el: אֶשְׁתַּמְיִטְתִּיהָ Hull. 7 *a*, Qidd. 71 *b*.

§ 660. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: אֶסְרָתָהּ Sabb. 81 *b*; שָׁקְלָתָהּ Hag. 5 *a*; נִפְחָהּ Sanh. 82 *b*; הִצָּתָהּ Sabb. 156 *b*.

Pa'el: סִתְרָתָהּ Sanh. 110 *a*; גִּיפְתָהּ 'En Y. *ibid.* 82 *b*.

Aph'el: אֶדְרָתָהּ Ned. 21 *b*, 22 *a*; אֶפִּיקְתָהּ Sanh. 39 *a*; אֶנְחָתָהּ Hag. 5 *a*.

§ 661. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: לְבִישְׁתֵּינָהוּ Keth. 54 *a*; מִסְרִיתֵינָהוּ B. B. 123 *a*; אֶבְלַתְנָהוּ Ned. 68 *a*; מִסְרִיתֵנָה AE. Meg. 13 *b*.²

Pa'el: שִׁדְרִיתֵנָהוּ Sanh. 93 *a*; שִׁדְרִיתֵינָהוּ Alfasi B. B. 10 *b*; וּבְנָהוּ F. MS. B. M. 38 *a*.

Aph'el: אֶצְנַעְתֵּינָהוּ C. MS. Meg. 16 *a* (voc.).³

§ 662. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: תִּבְעֵתְנָהי Keth. 36 *b*; כָּבַשְׁתְּנָהי *ibid.* 60 *a*; (כָּבַשְׁתִּינָהּ Alfasi *ibid.*).⁴

2D SING. COM.

§ 663. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: מִנְעָתִין Hag. *b*; פָּטַרְתִּין Pes. 118 *a*.

Pa'el: וַמִּנְתִּין B. B. 84 *a*; צִעְרָתִין Ber. 56 *a*; קִבְּצָתִין Sanh. 55 *a*.

Aph'el: אֶדְרַרְתִּין Ber. 31 *a*; אֶדְרָתִין Keth. 60 *b*; אוֹתִירְתִין B. B. 31 *b*; אֶדְרַרְתִּי M. MS. Hag. 22 *b*; אֶטְרַרְתִּין Qidd. 40 *a*.

§ 664. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: פָּרַעְתִּיהָ Ned. 25 *a*; נִגְדָתִיהָ Ber. 58 *a*; יְהִיבָתִיהָ Yômâ 69 *b*.

Pa'el: חִלִּישְׁתִּיהָ Ber. 18 *b*; פָּסִיפְתִּיהָ Hag. 5 *a*; גִּירָרְתִּיהָ Sanh. 96 *a*; גִּירָדְתִּיהָ M. MS. *ibid.*

Aph'el: אֶמְלִיכְתִּיהָ Ber. 13 *a*; אֶשְׁלַחְתִּיהָ Ber. 56 *b*.

¹ עִיִּלְתִּיהָ HG. ed. pr. 101 *c*.

² כְּתִבְרִיתֵינָהוּ HG. ed. pr. 71 *d*, 73 *c*.

³ אֶחְלַתְנָהוּ HG. ed. pr. 73 *c*.

⁴ רְחִיקְתִּנָּהי HG. 453.

§ 665. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: אִמְרִיתָה Ned. 41*a*; אִמְרִיתָה *ibid.* 41*a*.

Aph'el: אִקְרַמְתָּה Ned. 19*a*; אִדְרַתָּה *ibid.* 22*a*, 23*a*.

§ 666. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: הִשְׁדַּחְתִּיךָ Taan. 22*a*.

Pa'el: פָּסִיפַחְתִּיךָ Qidd. 81*a*.

Aph'el: אֲנַמְרִיתִיךָ *teach us*, 'En Y. Hag. 13*a*.

§ 667. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: קָטַלְתִּינָהוּ Ber. 48*a*, Sanh. 95*b*.

Pa'el: שִׁדְּחִיתָנָהוּ Succ. 53*a*; שִׁלְמִיתָנָהוּ Sabb. 121*b*;
קִדְּשִׁיתָנָהוּ Meg. 27*b*; פִּשְׁרִיתָנָהוּ Ber. 56*a*.

Aph'el: אֶפְסַדְתִּינָהוּ B. Q. 101*a*.¹

1ST SING. COM.

§ 668. 2D SING. MASC.—*Pa'el*: קָרַיְבִיתָךָ M. MS. B. M. 84*a*.

Aph'el: אֶזְחַרְתָּךָ Ned. 51*a*; אֶזְיַפְתָּךָ Šebu. 41*a*.

§ 669. 2D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: אִמְדַּחְתִּיךָ Bekh. 61*a*.

Pa'el: שִׁדְּחִיתָךָ Bekh. 61*a*; גִּרְשִׁיתָךָ Yeb. 65*a*; סִכְנַחְתִּיךָ Pes.
112*b*; שִׁתְּפַחְתִּיךָ 'Er. 75*b*.

§ 670. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: עָיִשְׁתִּיהָ B. B. 21*b*; נִבְשְׁתִּיהָ
Gitt. 68*b*; שְׁאִילְתִּיהָ Ber. 49*b*; שְׁמִיעִתִּיהָ F. MS. Sanh. 110*a*.

Pa'el: לִטְיִיתִיהָ B. B. 21*b*; קָרַיְמִיתִיהָ B. M. 42*b*.

Aph'el: אֶחַפְּשִׁיתִיהָ B. Q. 45*a*; אִקְרַמִּיתִיהָ B. M. 42*b*; אֶסְקַחִיתִיהָ
Gitt. 68*b*; אֶזְמִינִיתִיהָ Sanh. 109*b*; אֶתְדַּרְתִּיהָ 'En Y. B. B. 74*a*;
אֶשְׁכַּחִיהָ Sabb. 67*a*, ed. pr.

§ 671. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: זָבַחְתָּה B. B. 31*a*; אִמְרִיתָה Sabb.
22*a*; הִעַצִּיתָה B. B. 74*a*; שְׁקַלְתָּה *ibid.*

Aph'el: אֶשְׁפָּרִיחָה B. B. 74*a*; אֶגְבַּחְתָּה B. M. 8*a*; אֶנַּחְתָּה 'En
Y. B. B. 74*a*; אֶמְשִׁינָה 'En Y. *ibid.*²

§ 672. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: הִשְׁבַּחְתִּינִי Ber. 58*b*.

Pa'el: בִּדְרַחְתִּינִי Taan. 3*b*; פָּנוּפִינִי B. Q. 113*a*.

Aph'el: אֶשְׁבַּחְתִּינִי Taan. 24*a*; אֶחַבִּינִי Gitt. 47*a*; אֶפְקִינִי
M. MS. Ber. 35*a*.³

§ 673. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שִׁאֲלִיתָנָהוּ Sabb. 20*b*; שְׁמַעֲתִינָהוּ
Hull. 96*a*; שִׁקְלִיתָנָהוּ Yeb. 116*b*; קָצַצְתִּינָהוּ Me'ilā 7*b*.

¹ אֶשְׁדַּחְתִּיךָ Saadia, *TG*, ed. Harkavy, § 554.

² הִימִינְתָּה *TG*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

³ קָבִילְתִּינִי *TG*, ed. Harkavy, § 214.

Pa'el: בְּרִיכְתֵּינָהּ Ber. 57*b*; שְׁלִימְתֵינָהּ *ibid.* 33*b*; שְׁלִימְתֵינָהּ Sabb. 121*b*.

Aph'el: אֲשַׁפְּחֵינָהּ M. Q. 19*b*; אֲשַׁפְּחֵינָהּ C. MS. Pes. 117*b*; אֲשַׁפְּחֵינָא eds. Pes. 117*b*.¹

§ 674. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Aph'el*: אוֹתְבִינָהּ B. M. 42*a*; אֲשַׁפְּחִינָהּ ed. Ven. Ber. 24*a*.

3D PLUR. MASC.

§ 675. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: חָשְׁדִין M. Q. 18*b*.

Pa'el: בִּירְכִין M. MS. M. Q. 9*b*; צִעִרִין *ibid.*; צִעִרִין *ibid.*,² בִּירְכִין *ibid.*; פִּקְחִין Sanh. 70*a* (§ 646, 2).

Aph'el: אִזְקִינִין 'Er. 56*a*.

§ 676. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שִׁבְקֶהָ Succ. 48*b*; גָּבְהֶהָ 'Er. 53*b*.

Pa'el: פִּקְדֶהָ Yôma 66*a*; קָדְמֶהָ B. B. 167*a*; קִרְבֶּהָ Sanh. 5*a*.

§ 677. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: זָקַפְתָּ B. M. 83*b*; חֲבֹשְׁתָּהּ Yôma 69*b*; קָטַלְתָּהּ Sanh. 96*a*; זִנְתָּהּ Bêṣā 32*b*.³

Pa'el: קָבַלְתָּהּ B. B. 90*b*; קִרְבֶּלְתָּהּ Sanh. 6*a*; קָרִיצְתָּהּ F. MS. B. M. 108*a*; שִׁיילְתָּהּ Ber. 11*a*; עִיילְתָּהּ M. Q. 17*a*; זָבַנְתָּהּ B. Q. 103*a* (§ 646, 2).

Aph'el: אִזְמַנְתָּהּ R. H. 31*b*; אִפְקַדְתָּהּ Gitt. 57*a*; אִתְרַדְתָּהּ Ned. 55*a*; אִטְרַחְתָּהּ 'Er. 10*b* (§ 646, 2); אִטְרַחְתָּהּ Ber. 21*a*; אִגְבַּחְתָּהּ B. M. 2*b*, 3*a*; אִחַתְיָהּ Sanh. 93*a* (נָחַת); אוֹתְבִינָהּ Pes. 102*a* (§ 646, 2).⁴

§ 678. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: אִמְרָתָהּ Sabb. 74*a*; שָׁמְרָתָהּ B. B. 133*b*.

Pa'el: בִּטְלָתָהּ Ber. 22*a*; שִׁדְרָתָהּ, אִפְכָּתָהּ, Qidd. 44*b*.

Aph'el: אוֹתְבִינָהּ Sabb. 81*b*; אוֹקְמִינָהּ Sanh. 109*b*; אֲשַׁפְּחִינָהּ B. M. 84*b*; אוֹקְמִינָהּ Alf. MS. Bêṣā (§ 646, 2).⁵

§ 679. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: שִׁבְקִינִי Gitt. 56*b* (§ 646, 2).

Pa'el: שִׁדְרִינִי MM. Taan. 23*b*.

¹ אוֹתְבִינָהּ *HG.* ed. pr., 93*b*.

² This is either the sing. צִעִר or the plural with thrown back vowel צִעִרִין.

³ שִׁבְקִינִי *SM.* No. xcvi.; צִלְקִינִי *ibid.* No. ccxiii.

⁴ אֲשַׁפְּחִינָהּ, אֲשַׁפְּחִינָהּ, *HG.* ed. pr. 116*c*; אִזְקִינִי *SM.* No. ccxx.; אִתְרַדְתָּהּ *ALOW.* § 101.

⁵ שִׁדְרָתָהּ *SM.* xxv.; תִּרְגְּמִינָהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 238; פִּסְקִינָהּ *SC.* IV. 3, § 48.

§ 680. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: קָטְלוּהוּ M. MS. Taan. 21*a*; שְׁקִלוּהוּ 'Arūkh B. Q. 86*a*; שְׁקִלְהוּ Taan. 22*a*; קָטְלוּהוּ *ibid.* 21*a*; קָטְלִינוּ Ber. 54*b* (§ 646, 2).¹

Pa'el: קָדְשִׁינָהוּ Ber. 49*a*; תִּקְנִינָהוּ *ibid.* 33*b*.²

Aph'el: אֶסְקִינָהוּ C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; אֶפְקִיעָהוּ C. MS. Pes.; אֶסְקִינָהוּ B. M. 84*b*; אֶפְקִיעָהוּ Hull. 110*a*; אֶזְמִינָהוּ B. Q. 73*a*; אֶסְמִינָהוּ Ber. 26*a*; אֶעֱלִינָהוּ 'Er. 44*b*; אֶקְרוּבִינָהוּ Tem. 15*b*; אֶפְקֶרְנָהוּ B. M. 30*b* (§ 646, 2).³

§ 681. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: צָרוּהֶיּ A. Z. 30*a*; גָּזְרוּהֶיּ *they cut them off*, 'Arūkh Sanh. 106*a*.⁴

2D PLUR. MASC.

§ 682. 1ST SING. COM.—*Pa'el*: סָבִינָתִי Qidd. 29*b*; פָּסִיפְתִּיךָ En Y. Hôr. 13*b*; קָבִילָתִיךָ Pes. 89*b*; קָבִילָתִיךָ C. MS. *ibid.*

§ 683. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: פָּסְלָתָהּ Zeb. 101*a*; תַּפְסִיחָהּ Keth. 84*b*.

Aph'el: אֶקְרִיבָתָהּ Zeb. 101*a*; אֶחֱרִיבָתָהּ Keth. 112*a*.

§ 684. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: אֶמְרִיתִיךָ R. MS. B. Q. 62*a*.

Pa'el: פָּסִיפְתִּיךָ Hôr. 13*b*.⁵

§ 685. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: זָבְנוּהוּ B. B. 126*a*.

Aph'el: תַּצִּיחוּהוּ Keth. 60*a*.

1ST PLUR. COM.

§ 686. 2D SING. MASC.—*Pa'el*: קָבִלְתָּךָ Pes. 89*b*.⁶

Aph'el: אֶקְרִיבְךָ B. M. 54*a*; אֶחֱרִיבְךָ Yômā 78*a*.

§ 687. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שָׁמַעְתָּהּ Gitt. 54*b*; קָרַעְתָּהּ Keth. 89*b* (legal style); פָּתַחְתָּהּ, פָּתַחְתָּהּ B. B. 171*b*.

Pa'el: קָבִלְתָּהּ Sanh. 38*b*; אֶשְׁמַעְתָּהּ, קָרַעְתָּהּ Keth. 21*a* (legal style); אֶחֱרַעְתָּהּ B. B. 171*b*.

Aph'el: אֶחֱלִינָהּ, אֶחֱרַעְתָּהּ, Sanh. 20*a*.

§ 688. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: פָּתַחְתָּ B. B. 74*b*.

¹ לקיטיון *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

² קבלין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 214; תְּקִינִינִי *ibid.* 217; שְׁרִינִי *HG.* ed. pr. 50*d*.

³ אֶחֱרִיבְךָ *SM.* No. xxviii.

⁴ אֶזְמִינָהוּ *HG.* 227; אֶקְמָהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 70*c*; אֶפְקִיעָהוּ *ŠC.* IV. 4, § 24.

⁵ שָׁמַעְתָּהּ *you heard them*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 217.

⁶ סְלִיחָה *HG.* ed. pr. 71*d*.

§ 689. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שִׁכַּחְנִיהוּ Pes. 106*b*; שְׂאִילָנָהּ or שְׂאִילָנָהּ Sanh. 29*b*.

Aph'el: אֶמְכַּחְנִיהוּ, אֶמְכַּלִּינָהּ, A. Z. 52*b*; אֶמְכַּרְשֵׁנָהּ, A. Z. 52*b*; אֶמְכַּלִּינָהּ, A. Z. 52*b*; אֶמְכַּרְשֵׁנָהּ, A. Z. 52*b*; M. MS. *ibid.*¹

§ 690. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: שִׁבְּקִינָהּ C. MS. Meg. 10*b*.

IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

FORMS WITHOUT AFFIRMATIVES.

§ 691. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: יִנָּסֶכֶן Sanh. 22*a*.²

Pa'el: לִצְעֹךְ M. Q. 28*a*; לִמְנֹךְ Keth. 105*b*; לִיבְרֹךְ Taan. 5*b*.

Aph'el: לִיגְמֹךְ M. MS. Hag. 13*a*; לִיפְלֹךְ Taan. 9*b*; לִוְחֹךְ Gitt. 60*b*; לִתְבְּרֹךְ Ned. 51*a*; לִתְבְּרִיךְ *ibid.* 50*b*, with retention of stem-vowel.

Ithpa'al: תִּצְטַעֲרֶךְ *thou bearest resentment against me*, Yeb. 117*b*.

§ 692. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: נִקְטֹלָהּ Yôma 82*b*; לִיקְטֹלָהּ Pes. 25*b*; אִיגְדִּיךָ Sanh. 108*b*; אִפְרִקֶנָּה Gitt. 46*a*.

Pa'el: לִיבְרֹכָהּ M. Q. 9*b*; אִצְעֶרָהּ Sanh. 108*a*; נִמְכַּלְכָּהּ C. MS. Pes. 89*b*.

Aph'el: נִטְרָהּ Pes. 89*b*; לִיפְלֹךְ Yeb. 63*a*; נִטְבִּילָהּ *ibid.* 46*b*; נִשְׁמַעֶנָּה Ber. 41*b*.³

§ 693. 2D SING. FEM.—*Pa'el*: תִּקְרַמִּיךָ K. MS. Sanh. 25*a*.

Aph'el: אִגְמִרֶיךָ B. M. 83*b*; אִוְכַלֶּיךָ 'Er. 53*b*.

§ 694. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: לִישַׁלְכֶיהָ Sabb. 109*b*; לִישַׁקְלִי, לִיחַחֲמִי, *ibid.* 66*b*; לִיפְתוּחֶיהָ *ibid.* 146*a*; לִיגְרֶיהָ Hull. 83*b*; לִנְטִייהָ B. B. 4*a* (לִנְטִי); לִנְטִייהָ Gitt. 69*b* (לִנְטִי); לִנְטִייהָ *ibid.*; לִנְטִייהָ Keth. 50*a* (לִנְטִי); לִיתְרִייהָ A. Z. 12*b*; לִיתְעִייהָ M. MS. *ibid.*; לִנְשִׁייהָ B. B. 4*b* (לִנְשִׁי); לִיתְבְּעִייהָ Yeb. 42*b*; לִנְגַמְתִּיהָ M. MS. Sanh. 95*a*.

Pa'el: לִיחַחֲמִיהָ C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.); לִישַׁמִּתִּיהָ *ibid.* 4*a* (voc.); לִתְקַרְמִיהָ Sanh. 25*a*; לִשְׁיפִייהָ Sabb. 134*a*; לִיזְבַּנָּהּ Alfasi B. B. 98*a*; אִבְטִלִּינָהּ Gitt. 36*b*; אִיסְלָקִינָהּ *ibid.* 52*b*.⁴

¹ אֶדְכַּרְנִי TG. ed. Harkavy, § 77.

² לִירְמִי HG. ed. pr. 106*c*.

³ Levy takes this form to be *Qal*; but the Hebrew equivalent הִשְׁמַעֲנִי Sanh. 82*a*, 93*a*, shows that this is *Aph'el*.

⁴ נִשְׁדָּרִיהָ SM. No. xxv. (voc.).

Aph'el: לודעיה Ber. 7b; לובליה Sabb. 109b; אוסריניה A. Z. 57a.¹

Ithp'el: לישמטיה 'Er. 100b.

§ 695. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: אַחמא, תסבא, תימרא, נצרכא, נצרכא, תימרא, תסבא, אַחמא, *passim*; לישבא Sanh. 82b; לילבא Ber. 63a; ליסבא *he anoints her*, Sabb. 110b.

Pa'el: ליצינא B. B. 74b.²

Aph'el: לוקמא Ned. 5b; ליאדרא Gitt. 35a,³ נטבלינא Nidd 69a; לטבבא *let us allow her to take a ritual bath, ibid.* 30a.⁴

§ 696. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: ליפרוקין Sanh. 105a.

Aph'el: לטמירין Nidd. 61a; ניגמירין M. MS. Hag. 13a; לשמירין Pes. 114b; ליטרין B. B. 5b; לישמירין Ber. 36a.

§ 697. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: איבדקיןכו Sanh. 93a.

Pa'el: אקמטיןכו Gitt. 47a.

Aph'el: אטמיריןכו Nidd. 61a; אותביןכו Gitt. 47a.

§ 698. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: ידוקיןכו Gitt. 68b; ידוקיןכו *ibid.* 70b; אישביןכו *ibid.* 57a; נחשביןכו A. Z. 9b; נקטלינן Ber. 54b; אימשינן B. M. 107b; נטרפיןכו Pes. 83b; ליכפיןכו Yeb. 39ab (כפא); נגרוסיןכו Sanh. 13b; לינופיןכו Hull. 130a; ליטדינן Sabb. 117a.

Pa'el: נספירין ed. pr. Sabb. 109b; נספיריןכו later eds. *ibid.*; לזביןכו Pes. 40b.⁵

Aph'el: אהדריןכו Keth. 60a; תציתיןכו *ibid.*; תברחיןכו *ibid.* 78b; נוקמיןכו B. M. 39b; ליחרמיןכו 'Ar. 28a; לבחיןכו Sabb 55a.

Haph'el: ליהימניכו Yeb. 47a.

B. FORMS WITH AFFIRMATIVES.

§ 699. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: ננטרן Ber. 23b.

Aph'el: תטרוןכו M. MS. Sanh. 97a; תטרוןכו F. MS. *ibid.*

§ 700. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal*: ליקטלכו Pes. 25b.

Pa'el: ליפרכוכו M. Q. 9ab.⁶

¹ נפליגיה TG. ed. Coronel, § 87; אצריניה TG. ed. Wilna, 1885, § 44.

² נרבמא HG. 274.

³ Cf. Additions and Corrections to § 222.

⁴ Jastrow (s. v. טבב) explains this erroneously as 3d person.

⁵ אשביןכו SM. No. LXXII. (voc.); לימיריןכו TR. II. 22.

⁶ לבחיןכו SM. No. CXLIII. (voc.).

§ 701. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: לִקְנֹסוּהָ Sabb. 3*b*; לְדַחֲקוּהָ B.M. 84*b*; לִיְגָזוּהָ Succ. 30*a*; לִיְגָרוּהוּ B.M. 112*b*; תִּקְרַעְנֶיהָ B.B. 130*b*; תִּקְרַעְנֶיהָ R. MS. *ibid*.¹

Pa"el: תִּפְרֹחֲקוּהָ Sanh. 97*a*; נִעְיִלוּהָ Ber. 18*b*; תִּחַלְלוּנֶיהָ Sabb. 119*b*.

§ 702. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: לִחַבְּעוּהָ Yeb. 65*a*; לְמַצִּיּוּהָ Sabb. 54*b* (√*מצץ*).

Pa"el: לְשִׁימוּהָ B.B. 133*b*; תִּחַלְלוּהָ M. MS. Sabb. 119*b* (√*חלל*).

Aph'el: לְתַבּוּהָ (√*יחב*) Sabb. 110*a*; לִיפְסָעָה *ibid*.

§ 703. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: נִשְׁקָלִינָהוּ, נִרְבְּלִינָהוּ, Taan. 25*a*; נִימְרִינָהוּ Pes. 102*b*; תִּיכְלִין *ibid*. 87*b*.

Pa"el: לִירַחֲקִינָהוּ Gitt. 45*a*; לִיקַבְּלִינָהוּ Sabb. 34*a*.

Aph'el: לִיגְמְרִינָהוּ 'Er. 54*b*; לִיחַבִּינִן V. L. Taan. 8*b*.

IMPERATIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

SINGULAR MASCULINE.

§ 704. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: שִׁבְקֵן Gitt. 55*b*; פִּרְעֵן,² פִּירְעֵן, Šebu. 41*b*; פִּרְעֵן M. MS. *ibid*.; פִּירְקֵן Pes. 87*b*; זִיבֵן B.M. 60*b*.

Aph'el: אִזְפֵן Ber. 30*a*; אִזְשֵן B.M. 103*a*; אִזְפֵן Sabb. 66*b*; אִזְמֵן Sanh. 102*b*; אִזְמֵרִי Sötā 36*b*.

§ 705. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שִׁקְלֶיהָ M. Q. 17*a*; אִכְלֶיהָ *ibid*. 11*a*.³

Pa"el: הִיַּיְנֶיהָ Sanh. 8*a*; שִׁיַּלֶּיהָ *ibid*. 98*a*.

Aph'el: אִתְנֶיהָ Gitt. 24*a*; אִחַלֶּיהָ Ber. 35*a*.

§ 706. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: פִּשְׁטָה Ned. 58*a*; בִּדְקָה Keth. 60*a*; קִטְלָה Meg. 12*b*.⁴

Pa"el: בַּעֲתָה Nidd. 66*a*.

§ 707. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Pa"el*: עֵיילֵנָא Sabb. 140*a*.

¹ נִדְחֲקוּהוּ *they press him*, SM. No. xcv.

² This word has been differently explained in § 217. The explanation given here according to Alfási's text. In our texts we have פִּרְעֵן, where the ending יֵן must be = *him*.

³ פִּירְעֶיהָ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 182; שִׁקְלֵי TG. ed. Coronel, § 87.

⁴ שִׁקְלֶיהָ TG. ed. Wilna, 1885, § 213; נִטְרֶיהָ *ibid*.

§ 708. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׁקִינָהּ Ber. 18*b*; שְׁבִקְיָנָהּ B. M. 85*a*.¹

Pa'el: שְׁיַמְיָנָהּ B. B. 46*b*; סִייעִינָהּ Sabb. 21*a*.

Aph'el: אֶחָדְרִינָהּ Sanh. 26*a*; אוֹקְמִינָהּ *ibid.* 39*a*; אֶפְקִינָהּ B. B. 46*b*; אֶקְשִׁינָהּ Yeb. 8*a*.

SINGULAR FEMININE.

§ 709. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'el*: אֶסְקִין H. MS. B. M. 84*b*.

§ 710. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa'el*: שְׁדַרְיָנָהּ *VL*. Sanh. 93*a*.²

PLURAL MASCULINE.

§ 711. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'el*: אֶנְמִירֵן Hag. 13*a*; אוֹתִירֵן Hull. 105*b*, B. M. 81*b*.

§ 712. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: יִהְיֶינָהּ Gitt. 56*b*; תִּפְסֶינָהּ B. M. 83*b*; שִׁיבְקֶינָהּ Naz. 59*a*; בִּירְצֶינָהּ A. Z. 59*b*.

Pa'el: הִיַּינָהּ Meg. 12*b*; פִּיִּסְיָנָהּ Hōr. 13*b*.

Aph'el: אֶפְהֶשְׁנָהּ Yeb. 97*a* (§ 23, *c*).³

§ 713. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: שִׁבְקֶיהָ Keth. 63*a*; סִיתְרֶיהָ Bekh. 8*b*; תִּפְסֶיהָ B. B. 34*a*.

Pa'el: אֶחָרְנָהּ Sabb. 119*a*.

Aph'el: אֶקְדֶּמְנָהּ Sabb. 119*a*.⁴

PLURAL FEMININE.

§ 714. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: קָטְוִלִין Sabb. 12*a*; קָטְוִלִין ed. Ven. *ibid.*; קָטְלִינָהּ O. MS. *ibid.* (§ 258).

INFINITIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 715. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: לְמַקְטֵלִי Meg. 16*a*.

Pa'el: לְצַעֲרִי Gitt. 68*a*.

Aph'el: לְאַנְמִירִי Ber. 24*a*; לְאַצִּילִי Qidd. 8*b*; לְאוֹרִי B. M. 69*b*.

§ 716. 2D SING. MASC.—*Aph'el*: לְאוֹתִירְךָ Gitt. 56*b*; לְאוֹתִירְךָ Yeb. 90*b*.

¹ הַבְּרִינָהּ give them, *HG.* 501; מִהַלִּינָהּ *HG.* ed. pr. 24*d*; בְּקִרְיָנָהּ *TG.* ed. Wilna, 1885, § 214.

² שְׁבִרְיָנָהּ leave thou them alone, *SM.* No. xcvi.; שְׁדַרְיָנָהּ send thou them, *SM.* No. xxviii. (voc.).

³ אוֹקְמִינָהּ place ye him, *SM.* No. xxvi. (voc.).

⁴ אֶסְקִינָהּ take them out, *HG.* 501; אֶפְקִינָהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 210.

§ 717. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: לְמִקְטְלֶיהָ Gitt. 57*b*; לְמִבְלָעֶיהָ Sabb. 30*a*; לְמִיתְבַּעֶיהָ Alf. Yeb. 65*a*; לְאַקְטְלֶיהָ ed. Ven. Sanh. 109*a*; לְמִקְצִיֶּיהָ M. Q. 12*b*, B. Q. 26*a*; לְמִלְטִיֶּיהָ Ber. 7*a*; לְמִקְפִּיֶּיהָ Yeb. 39*a*; לְמִגְזִיֶּיהָ Succ. 37*b*; לְמִיחְשְׁדֵיֶיהָ Bekh. 29*a* (by analogy with ל"י); לְמִשְׁעִיֶּיהָ 'En Y. Succ. 51*b*; לְמִקְצִיֶּיהָ B. Q. 91*b*.¹

Pa'el: לְזַבְוִנֶיהָ M. Q. 10*b*; לְסַבְוִנֶיהָ Sabb. 116*a*; לְיַחֲסִיֶּיהָ C. MS. Meg. 12*b*; לְמִישְׁיִיֶּיהָ 'Er. 97*a* (לְטַמְסָם); לְמִדְרִיֶּנֶיהָ R. H. 16*a*.²

Aph'el: לְאַדְרִיֶּנֶיהָ Ber. 18*b*, 45*b*; לְאַקְמִיֶּיהָ Sabb. 146*a*, B. M. 16*a*; לְאַדְרִיֶּנֶן B. M. 42*b* (cf. § 437).³

Haph'el: לְהִימְוִיֶּיהָ B. B. 134*b*.

Šaph'el: לְשִׁיזְבִּיֶּיהָ B. M. 86*b*; לְשִׁיזְבוּתִיֶּיהָ F. M. *ibid*.

§ 718. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: לְמִיכְבָּשָׁה Taan. 21*a*; לְמִיתְבַּעָה Qidd. 60*b*.

Pa'el: לְנַתְוָחָה Sabb. 52*a*; לְצַעֲוָה Gitt. 73*b*; לְתַרְוָצָה Ned. 16*a*; לְאַהֲרָהָה Sabb. 119*a*.

Aph'el: לְאַקְמָהָ Ned. 5*b*, 61*a*; לְאוֹלֹדָה Keth. 11*b*.⁴

§ 719. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Aph'el*: לְאַשְׁמוּעִיֶּנָּן Ned. 52*b*; לְאַשְׁמִיעִיֶּנָּן Šebu. 23*a*, Qidd. 26*b*.⁵

§ 720. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: לְמִקְטְלֵהוֹן C. MS. Pes. 50*a*; מִיִּצְיָנָהוּ M. Q. 10*b* (לְאוֹרִיֶּנָּהוּ); מִיִּתְנַנְהוּ A. Z. 65*b*; מִיתְנַנְהוּ Bekh. 11*b*; לְמִקְבַּעֲיָנָהוּ Ber. 12*a*; לְמִבְדִּיקֵינָהוּ Yeb. 108*a*; לְמִיכְלֵהוּ Alf. Ber. 38*b*; לְמִשְׁעִיֶּיִן Succ. 51*b* (לְשַׁעֲנָהוּ).⁶

Pa'el: עֲיִילֵינָהוּ 'Er. 44*b*; לְמִידְרִיֶּנָּהוּ M. MS. R. H. 16*a*; לְזַבְוִנֵּיהוּ 2 M. MS. Pes. 40*b*.⁷

¹ לְמִיזְבִּיֶּנֶיהָ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 388; לְמִדְקָרִיֶּנֶיהָ SM. No. LXX. (voc.); *ibid*. xxiv. (misprinted xxvi.) (voc.); מִישְׁמִיֶּנֶיהָ to rate it, HG. ed. pr. 91*a*.

² לְעִיזְקִיֶּנֶיהָ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 332.

³ לְאַקְדִּיֶּנֶיהָ TG. ed. Wilna, 1885, § 52.

⁴ לְאוֹקְמָהָ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 42; לְאוֹלָלָהָ *ibid*. § 247.

⁵ 2d plur. masc.: לְמִבְדִּיקֵינָהוֹן SM. No. xxviii. (voc.).

⁶ מִשְׁתַּחֲנָהוּ HG. 91; לְמִיזְנָהוּ RLOW. § 101; לְמִיזְנָהוּ HG. ed. pr. 69*d*; לְמִיגְרִיסִינָהוּ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 218; לְמִיגְרִיסִינָהוּ Igg. Šeritā 26; לְמִקְבַּעֲיָנָהוּ *ibid*.

⁷ לְרִבְשִׁינָהוּ HG. 114; לְרִבְשִׁינָהוּ *ibid*. 177; לְרִבְשִׁינָהוּ HG. ed. pr. 21*d*; לְשִׁמְתִּינָהוּ RLOW. § 42; לְשִׁמְתִּינָהוּ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 71; לְחִיזְבָּאנָהוּ *ibid*. § 210.

Aph'el: לְאַהֲרִיֶּהוּ B. Q. 118*a*; לְאַהֲרִיֶּהוּ M. MS. Ber. 23*b*; לְאַקְדוּמִיֶּהוּ Ber. 8*b*; לְאַשְׁלוּמִיֶּהוּ *ibid.*; לְאַצוּלִיֶּהוּ Sabb. 61*b*; לְאַפְקוּשׁ B. Q. 112*b*.¹

Palpēl: לְטַלְטוּלִיֶּהוּ Sabb. 143*a*.

§ 721. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: לְמַכְתִּיבֵיהֶן C. MS. M. Q. 3*a*; לְמִיכְלִינֶיהָ C. MS. Alf. Bēḡā 4*a*.²

Pa"ēl: לְמִיזְיִינֶיהָ Yeb. 65*a*.³

PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.

BARE PARTICIPLE.—§ 722. *Sing. masc.*: מְצַעֵר Sabb. 108*a*; פִּיסקִיָּה Sanh. 77*b*; מִיִּיתִיָּה Pes. 111*b* (§ 80, *b*); מְנַשְׁתִּיָּה Sabb. 134*a* (§ 58); מְלַפֶּפָּה B. M. 74*a*; מְקַמְטִינְכוּ 'Arakh Gitt. 47*a*.

Plur. masc.: מְפַסְלִיָּה Yeb. 41*b*; מְמַצִּיעִיֶּהוּ 'En Y. Pes. 111*a*.⁴

WITH SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 723. פָּרַעְתִּיךָ *thou payest me*, Šebu. 41*b*; מְסַלְקִינָה *I (we) remove thee*, B. M. 15*b*; מוֹכִילִיָּה *we give him to eat*, K. MS. Sanh. 20*a*; אֶמְרִיתֶנָּה *you tell us*, R. MS. B. Q. 62*a*.⁵

B. VERBS ל"ו WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 724. Verbs ל"ו take the same suffixes as other verbs, and what has been stated in § 646 applies also here. The chief points to be noticed in connection with these verbs is that the 3d masc. of the singular and the plural perfect and the entire imperfect and imperative, when before suffixes beginning with a vowel, restore frequently their third stem-consonant (י).

¹ לְאַהֲרִיֶּהוּ *TG. ed. Harkavy*, § 232; לְאַהֲרִיֶּהוּ *HG.* 165; לְאַקְדוּמִיֶּהוּ *HG. ed. pr.* 29*d*; מְשַׁבְּעֵיהֶן *to cause them to swear*, *RLOW.* § 42.

² לְמִיכְסִיבֶיהָ *HG.* 265; לְמִיכְסִיבֶיהָ *ibid.* 445; מְגַזְרֶיהָ *HG. ed. pr.* 41*a*; מְיַצְעֵיהָ *ibid.* (√אִצַּע) *RLOW.* § 101.

³ *Pa.* חֲלוּפֶהָ *HG.* 228; זְבוּנְהָ *ibid.*—*Aph.* אוֹצֵפֶהָ *ibid.*—*Haph.* לְהִימְנָאָהָן *TG. ed. Harkavy*, § 1.—*Šaph.* שְׁחֹרְקֶהָ *HG.* 442.—*Palp.* לְטַלְטוּלֶהָ *ibid.* 97.

⁴ דְּבִרֵיהֶן *HG.* 642; צְמִדֵיהֶן *ibid.*; מְדַקְדָּקֵיהֶן *they pound them*, *TR.* II. 17.

⁵ D. Hoffmann, in his otherwise just strictures on Goldschmidt's translation of the Talmud, makes the unsupportable statement (*Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibliogr.*, I., 182) that participles with enclitic subject-pronouns cannot take objective suffixes. The examples given here and in § 780 and by Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 and 328, prove the untenability of his statement.

PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3D SING. MASC.

§ 725. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: מָחִיךְ Taan. 29a.¹

Pa'el: חָזַתְךָ B. M. 67a; חָזַתְךָ R. MS. *ibid.*; כָּסִיךְ Ber. 56a.

Aph'el: אֶשְׁכִּיךְ Sabb. 145b; אֶשְׁקִיאָךְ or אֶשְׁקִיאָךְ Keth. 104b; אֶקְרִיךְ Yeb. 93b.

§ 726. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal*: עָנָךְ B. Q. 92b; קָרִיךְ *ibid.*²

Pa'el: לָוִיךְ Hull. 127a.

Aph'el: אֶקְרִיךְ Sabb. 152b; אֶתְנִיךְ Yeb. 40a; אֶמְרִיךְ Sôtā 35b; אֶקְשִׂאךְ or אֶקְשִׂאךְ M. MS. 'Er. 3a; אֶתִּיךְ F. MS. Sanh. 109b.

§ 727. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: חָזַה Qidd. 81b; שָׁרִיחַ, שָׁרִיחַ, Ned. 23a; מָחִיחַ Ber. 58a; שָׁחִיחַ M. Q. 10b; חָזִיתִיחַ V. L. Taan. 9a.

Pa'el: גָּלִיחַ Ber. 5b; מָפִיחַ Sabb. 154a; כָּפִיחַ M. MS. Ber. 60b; שָׁחִיחַ Qidd. 45b; טָמִיחַ Hull. 3a; נָשִׁיחַ *ibid.* 91a; וְתִיחַ Zeb. 19a.

Aph'el: אֶלִּיחַ Ber. 31a; אֶשְׁקִיחַ Sabb. 108a; אֶרְצִיחַ Qidd. 45b; אֶתְנִיחַ Zeb. 30b; אֶרְמִיחַ Pes. 10b.

§ 728. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: חָזְיחַ Sanh. 95a; שָׁבִיחַ Ber. 60b.

§ 729. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Pa'el*: הִלִּיכְךָ B. B. 73a.

Aph'el: אֶקְרִיכְךָ Ber. 56a.

§ 730. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: קָרַכְכוּ V. L. Ber. 58a.

Pa'el: שְׁוִיכְכוּ Pes. 51a.

§ 731. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שָׁרְכְּהוּ B. B. 24a; תִּלְכְּהוּ R. H. 6a, 18b; חָרְכְּהוּ B. Q. 101a; חָזְכְּהוּ Ber. 28a; קָרִיכְהוּ *ibid.* 58a; חָזִיכְהוּ Pes. 51a.³

Aph'el: אֶגְלִיכְהוּ Yômâ 69b; אֶמְשִׁיכְהוּ B. B. 153a.⁴

§ 732. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: בְּנִכְהוּ Meg. 4a; תִּנְכְּהוּ 'Er. 60a.⁵

¹ מִיחִיחַ *MV.* 28; מִחִיחַ *HG.* ed. pr. 74c.

² מִחִיחַ *MV.* 28.

³ קָנִיכְהוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 75; דִּתְרִיכְהוּ or דִּתְרִיכְהוּ *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 12.

⁴ אֶרְתְּכְהוּ *HG.* 201.

⁵ שָׁרְכְּהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 32a.

Verbs ל"י with Suffixes.

<i>QAL.</i>	1st sing. com.	2d sing. masc.	2d sing. fem.	3d sing. masc.	3d sing. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ
3d fem.	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
2d com.	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
1st com.	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
Plur. 3d masc. . .	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
2d masc.	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
1st com.	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִפְלִיץ	לִפְלִיץ	לִפְלִיץ	לִפְלִיץ	לִפְלִיץ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	פָּלִיץ	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
Plur. 2d masc. . .	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
INFINITIVE	מִפְלִיץ	מִפְלִיָּה	מִפְלִיָּה	מִפְלִיָּה	מִפְלִיָּה
<i>PA'EL.</i>					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיץ	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
3d fem.	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
2d com.	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
1st com.	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
Plur. 3d masc. . .	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
2d masc.	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
1st com.	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִפְלִיץ	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה	לִפְלִיָּה
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	פָּלִיץ	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
Plur. 2d masc. . .	פָּלִיָּה	—	—	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה
INFINITIVE	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה	פָּלִיָּה

Verbs ל"י with Suffixes.

<i>QAL.</i>	1st plur. com.	2d plur. masc.	2d plur. fem.	3d plur. masc.	3d plur. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	גָּלִיכְכוּ	גָּלִיכְכִי	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
3d fem. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
2d com. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	—	—	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
1st com. . .	—	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	גָּלִיכְכוּ	גָּלִיכְכִי	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	—	—	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
1st com. . .	—	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיגְלִיכֵן	לִיגְלִיכְכוּ	לִיגְלִיכְכִי	לִיגְלִיכְהוּ	לִיגְלִיכְהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיגְלִיכִינָן	לִיגְלִיכִיכֶם	לִיגְלִיכִיכִי	לִיגְלִיכִיהוּ	לִיגְלִיכִיהִי
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	—	—	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	—	—	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
INFINITIVE	מִגְלִיכָן	מִגְלִיכְכוּ	מִגְלִיכְכִי	מִגְלִיכְהוּ	מִגְלִיכְהִי
<i>PA'ĒL.</i>					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	גָּלִיכְכוּ	גָּלִיכְכִי	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
3d fem. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
2d com. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	—	—	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
1st com. . .	—	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	גָּלִיכְכוּ	גָּלִיכְכִי	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכִינָן	—	—	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
1st com. . .	—	גָּלִיכִיכֶם	גָּלִיכִיכִי	גָּלִיכִיהוּ	גָּלִיכִיהִי
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיגְלִיכֵן	לִיגְלִיכְכוּ	לִיגְלִיכְכִי	לִיגְלִיכְהוּ	לִיגְלִיכְהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיגְלִיכִינָן	לִיגְלִיכִיכֶם	לִיגְלִיכִיכִי	לִיגְלִיכִיהוּ	לִיגְלִיכִיהִי
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	—	—	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	גָּלִיכֵן	—	—	גָּלִיכְהוּ	גָּלִיכְהִי
INFINITIVE	מִגְלִיכָן	מִגְלִיכְכוּ	מִגְלִיכְכִי	מִגְלִיכְהוּ	מִגְלִיכְהִי

3D SING. FEM.

§ 733. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׂרִיתָהּ Sanh. 95*a*, 101*a*; שְׂרִיתָהּ Meg. 16*a*; שְׂרִיתָהּ Sanh. 95*a*; קְשִׁיתָהּ B. B. 98*b*.

Pa'el: רְבִיתָהּ C. MS. Meg. 13*a* (voc.); שְׂרִיתָהּ Macc. 16*a*; מִרְחִיתָהּ Sabb. 80*b*.¹

Aph'el: אִירִיתָהּ Ber. 48*a*; אִשְׁקִיתָהּ Taan. 29*a*; אִשְׁקִיתָהּ Sabb. 109*b*; אוֹגְרִיתָהּ B. M. 84*b*,² אִרְרִיתָהּ Sanh. 109*b*; אִגְרִיתָהּ *ibid*.

§ 734. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: הִרִיתִיךָ Keth. 72*b*.

§ 735. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׂרִיתֶנָּהּ Qidd. 8*b*.

Ithpa'al: אִפְסַתִּנָּהּ Keth. 54*a*.

§ 736. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: קָלַתָּהּ Sanh. 104*a*; קָלַתָּהּ *ibid*.

Aph'el: אִקְרַתָּהּ Gitt. 20*b*.

2D SING. COM.

§ 737. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'el*: אִקְרִיתָךְ B. B. 21*b*; אִנִּיתָךְ *ibid*. 84*a*.

§ 738. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: הִרִיתָהּ Hāg. 15*a*.

Pa'el: מִלִּיתָהּ M. MS. B. M. 105*a*.

Aph'el: אִירִיתָהּ Hāg. 4*b*.

§ 739. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal*: הִרִיתִיךָ B. B. 110*b*.

Pa'el: שְׁרִיתִיךָ Pes. 3*b*.

§ 740. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: טָרִיתֶנָּהּ Hull. 110*a*; מִרְחִיתֶנָּהּ Sabb. 148*a*; מִרְחִיתֶנָּהּ Pes. 42*a*; מִרְחִיתֶנָּהּ Ber. 24*a*.

Aph'el: אִירִיתֶנָּהּ Sanh. 95*b*.

1ST SING. COM.

§ 741. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: הִרִיתָךְ Hull. 96*a*.

Aph'el: אִרְרִיתָךְ Zeb. 30*b*.

§ 742. 2D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: הִרִיתְךָ Sanh. 108*b*.

§ 743. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: הִרִיתָהּ M. Q. 25*a*; בְּעִיתָהּ B. B. 74*b*; שְׂרִיתָהּ Taan. 24*a*.

Pa'el: כְּסִיתָהּ B. Q. 56*a*.

Aph'el: אִרְרִיתָהּ Zeb. 30*b*; אִרְרִיתָהּ B. M. 99*b*.

§ 744. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: הִרִיתֶכֶּם Ber. 58*b*.³

¹ שְׂרִיתָהּ *HG*. ed. pr. 101*c*.

² *Cf.* § 768, note.

³ שְׁרִיתֶכֶּם *TG*. ed. Harkavy, § 214.

§ 745. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: הִיִּיתִיהֶוּ B. B. 73*b*.

Pa'el: עֲשִׂיתִיהֶוּ Keth. 50*a*.¹

§ 746. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: בְּעִיתָהּ 'En Y. B. B. 74*a*.²

3D PLUR. MASC.

§ 747. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'el*: אֶקְרִיךְ B. B. 21*b*; אֶקְרִיךְ Hull. 133*a*; אֶקְרִיךְ 1 R. MS. *ibid.* (§ 532).

§ 748. 2D SING. COM.—*Pa'el*: שְׁיִידֶךָ Succ. 48*b*.

Aph'el: אֶקְרִיךָ Yeb. 93*b*.

§ 749. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: מְחַדְהוּ Ber. 56*a*; שְׁיִידָהּ Ned. 23*a*; קְרִידָהּ B. B. 58*a*.

Pa'el: שְׁנִידָהּ Ber. 59*b*.

Aph'el: אֶדְחִידָהּ B. B. 73*b*; אֶמְטִידָהּ B. M. 85*a*; אֶיִּיתִידָהּ Ber. 31*b*; אֶתִּידָהּ *ibid.* 56*a*; אֶמְטִידָהּ Keth. 103*b*; אֶיִּיתִידָהּ Sabb. 121*b*; אֶשְׁקִידָהּ Gitt. 56*b*; אֶשְׁקִידָהּ B. M. 83*b* (§ 532).³

§ 750. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: שְׁיִידָהּ B. M. 112*b*; שְׁרִידָהּ O. MS. Sabb. 81*b*.

Pa'el: כְּסִידָהּ Tām. 32*b* (§ 532).

Aph'el: אֶתִּנִּידָהּ Men. 17*a*; אֶנְשִׂידָהּ Alf. Hull. 93*b*; אֶמְטִידָהּ M. MS. Sabb. 129*a* (§ 532).

§ 751. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׁרִידָהּ Ber. 23*a*; שְׁרִידָהּ *ibid.*; חִידָהּ Sabb. 20*b*; חִידָהּ M. MS. *ibid.*; מְחַדְהוּ Gitt. 57*a*; מְחַדְהוּ *MM. ibid.*; מְלַדְהוּ Sanh. 109*a*; שְׁדִיךְ 'En Y. Taan. 25*a*.⁴

Pa'el: שְׁיִידָהּ Sanh. 110*a*; סְמִידָהּ B. M. 85*b*; שְׁיִידָהּ Nidd. 57*b*.⁵

Aph'el: אֶיִּיתִידָהּ M. Q. 11*a*; אֶיִּיתִידָהּ Ned. 50*b*; אֶמְטִידָהּ Pes. 89*a*.⁶

2D PLUR. MASC.

§ 752. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: שְׁרִיתָהּ Sabb. 136*b*; תִּנִּיתָהּ *ibid.* 91*a*.

¹ אֶקְרִיתִיהֶוּ *I placed them in possession*, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 214; אֶרִיתִיהֶוּ HG. 231; שְׁיִידָהּ *I threw them*, SM. No. xxviii. (voc.); שְׁיִידָהּ SC. IV. 4, § 55.

² תִּיִּיתָהּ HG. ed. pr. 37*a*.

³ אֶתִּידָהּ *they brought him*, SM. No. xxviii.

⁴ מְלַדָהּ SM. No. xxv. (voc.); תִּיִּידָהּ *ibid.* No. LIII; כְּפִידָהּ *ibid.* No. CCXIII.; שְׁרִידָהּ Hal. Pes., p. 80; תִּיִּידָהּ Igg. Sertrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; תִּיִּידָהּ *ibid.*, p. 16; תִּיִּידָהּ *ibid.*

⁵ שְׁיִידָהּ, שְׁיִידָהּ, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 214.

⁶ אֶתִּידָהּ TG. ed. Mussafia, § 99.

1ST PLUR. COM.

§ 753. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal*: **הוֹיָנָה** Ber. 58*b*.

Pa'el: **שְׁוִיָּנָה** Hôr. 13*b*.

§ 754. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: **הוֹיָנָהּ** Bekh.; **הִוְיָנָהּ** 'Er. 41*a*.¹

Aph'el: **אֶשְׁוִינָהּ** M. Q. 27*a*; **אֶקְרִינָהּ**, **אֶקְרִינָהּ** Yeb. 106*b* (legal style).²

§ 755. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: **הִוְיָנָהּ** C. MS. Zeb. 27*b*.³

§ 756. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: **הִוְיָנָהּ** Šeb. 18*a*; **הִוְיָנָהּ** B. B. 74*b*; **הוֹיָנָהּ** M. MS. *ibid*.⁴

§ 757. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal*: **הִוְיָנָהּ** Bekh. 38*b*.

IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

FORMS WITHOUT AFFORMATIVES.

§ 758. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal*: **לִימְטִיָּן** Sanh. 7*b*.

§ 759. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal*: **נְהוֹיָנָהּ** Rašī in ed. Cracow Sanh. 25*b*.

Pa'el: **נִשְׁוִיָּנָהּ** Qidd. 70*b*; **נִשְׁוִיָּנָהּ** 'En Y. *ibid*.

Aph'el: **אֶתְוִיָּנָהּ** Yeb. 40*a*; **אֶתְוִיָּנָהּ** A. Z. 34*b*.⁵

§ 760. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: **לִיְתַנְיָהּ** Qidd. 65*a*; **לִיְקַלְיָהּ** Sabb. 110*a*; **אֶבְנִיָּהּ** Gitt. 68*b*; **לִקְלִיָּהּ** Ber. 6*a*.

Pa'el: **לְשִׁנְיָהּ** Meg. 16*a*; **לְטַמְיָהּ** Hull. 3*a*; **לִימְלִיָּהּ** Sabb. 109*b*; **לִיתִיָּהּ** *ibid*. 67*a*; **לִישְׁוִיָּהּ** M. MS. Meg. 16*a*; **נִשְׁוִיָּהּ** Qidd. 81*a*; **לְרִבִּיָּהּ** Ber. 62*a*; **אִישְׁוִיָּהּ** Yeb. 49*b*; **וְחִטְמִיָּהּ** C. MS. Pes. 20*a* (voc.) (= **וְחִטְמִיָּהּ**).

Aph'el: **לִימְצִיָּהּ** Sabb. 104*a*; **לִימְטִיָּהּ** *ibid*. 110*a*.⁶

§ 761. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: **הִוְיָנָהּ** M. Q. 2*b*.

Pa'el: **אֶסְמִיָּהּ** Yeb. 40*a*; **נִשְׁפִּיָּהּ** Sabb. 119*a*.

Aph'el: **אֶתְוִיָּהּ** C. MS. Meg. 4*a* (voc.); **נִיָּתָהּ** Qidd. 61*b*; **הִוְיָנָהּ** *ibid*. 32*a*.⁷

§ 762. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Aph'el*: **תִּשְׁקִינָן** Qidd. 70*a*.

¹ **הִוְיָנָהּ** in ירוסלמי תנאים, p. 1*b*.

² **אֶשְׁוִינָהּ** TG. ed. Harkavy, § 181.

³ **אֶקְרִינָהּ** HG. 315.

⁴ **הוֹיָנָהּ** Hal. Pes. § 132; **הוֹיָנָהּ** Igg. Šertrā, pp. 13, 14.

⁵ Cf. Luzzatto's *hebr. Briefe*, p. 1040.

⁶ **נִקְרָהּ** HG. 406.

⁷ **הִוְיָנָהּ** TG. ed. Harkavy, § 359 (§ 86).

§ 763. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: נִקְרְיָנָהּ Yeb. 79*a*; נִקְלִינָהּ Gitt. 69*a*; אֲחֻזִּינָהּ Keth. 63*a*; בִּיתָנָהּ Ker. 3*a*; לִיתָנָהּ 'Er. 16*a*; לִשְׁנָהּ Hull. 90*b*; נִחֲזִינָהּ Raši Sanh. 25*b*; לְשָׁדֶיךָ Sabb. 66*b*; לְכַפֵּייהֶּן Yeb. 39*ab*.¹

Pa'el: לְסַמִּינָהּ Gitt. 68*b*; נִיבְלִינָהּ *let us destroy them*, Meg. 13*b*; לִי בְלִינָהּ C. MS. *ibid.* (voc. and in two words; see "Additions and Corrections").

FORMS WITH AFFIRMATIVES.

§ 764. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal*: נִקְרִינָהּ M. MS. B. M. 105*a*.

§ 765. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: לִקְרִינָהּ B. M. 16*a*; לִיקְלִינָהּ Gitt. 56*b*; לִיחֻזִּינָהּ Hull. 78*a*; לִיחֻזִּינָהּ Sabb. 67*a*.

Aph'el: לְקָרִיךְ Hull. 133*a*.

§ 766. *Qal*: לִיקְנִינָהּ Succā 30*b* (§ 532).²

§ 767. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Aph'el*: לִיכְרִינָהּ Sanh. 27*a*; לְשָׁדֶינָהּ, eds. Pes. 30*a*.³

IMPERATIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

SINGULAR.

§ 768. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'el*: אֲשַׁקֵּיךְ B. M. 60*b*, Qidd. 9*a*, 31*b*; אֲוִיגֵיךְ or אֲוִיגִיךְ B. M. 84*b*,⁴ אֲאִגֵּיךְ or אֲאִגִּיךְ H. MS. *ibid.* (f.); אֲשַׁקֵּךְ Sanh. 67*b*.

§ 769. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׁדִינָהּ B. B. 63*a*.

Pa'el: דְּלִינָהּ Ber. 18*a*; נִיפְיִינָהּ A. Z. 15*a*.

§ 770. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: בְּעִינָהּ 'Er. 80*a*.

Aph'el: אִיתִינָהּ Qidd. 32*a*.

§ 771. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Aph'el*: אֲשַׁקִּינָהּ A. Z. 58*ab*.

§ 772. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: מְנִינָהּ Sanh. 39*a*; קְלִינָהּ Yômā 84*a*.

Pa'el: זְכִינָהּ Bekh. 8*b*; פְּסִינָהּ Sanh. 110*a*.

Aph'el: אִיתִינָהּ Bekh. 8*b*.

PLURAL.

§ 773. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: שְׁדִינָהּ Yômā 69*b*.

Pa'el: חֲפִינָהּ Yômā 69*b*.

Aph'el: אִיתִינָהּ eds. Ber. 56*a*; אֲמַטִּינָהּ Sabb. 119*a*; אֲבִרִינָהּ Yeb. 97*a*.

¹ לִימְחִינָהּ HG. 560.

² לִיקְרִינָהּ Še'el. 154.

³ לִישְׁדֵּינָהּ HG. ed. pr. 29*c*.

⁴ Passing into פִּי, or obscuring the vowel.

§ 774. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa'el*: שִׁנְיָנָהּ B. B. 172*a*.

Aph'el: אֲרִיפְיָנָהּ A. Z. 71*a*.

§ 775. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Pa'el*: שִׁוְנָהּ B. B. 172*a*.

INFINITIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 776. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal*: לְמַרְמִיָּה Sabb. 62*a*; לְמַחְיִיָּה Ber. 56*a*; לְמִיחְיִי R. H. 17*a*; לְמַסְנִיָּה Pes. 113*b*; לְמַשְׁנִיָּה 'En Y. *ibid.*¹

Pa'el: לְבִזְרִיָּה C. MS. Meg. end.²

Aph'el: לְאַרְמִיָּה Sabb. 62*a*; אֲרַמְיָה Pes. 10*b*.³

§ 777. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal*: לְמַקְרִיָּה Meg. 4*a*; לְמִיתְלִיָּה A. Z. 53*b*.

Ithp'el: לְאַשְׁתְּרוּרִיָּה 'En Y. Yeb. 102*b*.

§ 778. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa'el*: לְנַפְיָכֶם M. MS. Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינְפִיכֶם V. L. *ibid.*

§ 779. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal*: לְמִישְׁתִּינָהּ 'Ar. 16*b*; לְמִבְנִינָהּ B. B. 73*b*; לְמִבְנִינָהּ 'En Y. *ibid.*; לְמִשְׁתִּינָהּ *to bake them*, A. Z. 65*b*.⁴

Pa'el: לְרַבִּוּיָּנָהּ Tem. 32*b*; לְנַסִּינָהּ Raši Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינְפִינָהּ Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינְפִינָהּ *ibid.* 'En Y.

Aph'el: לְאַרְיָנָהּ Sabb. 57*a*; לְאַרְיָנָהּ Zeb. 116*a*; לְאַטְוִינָהּ Bêcā 4*a*.⁵

PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 780. מְרַבִּיָּה Ber. 62*a*.—מְשַׁקִּינִיָּה *we give him to drink*, K. MS. Sanh. 20*a*.

THE NOUN.

§ 781. Under this head are included substantives and adjectives. The difficulties which present themselves to us in the classification of nouns even in Syriac are infinitely augmented in Babylonian Aramaic, both on account of the uncertainty of the vocalization, as well as from the lack of a dictionary answering modern requirements. The classification can, therefore, at best, be only tentative. Still it is hoped that even such a tentative attempt will result in much that is positive; it will clear up many uncertainties, and furnish points for further research in many directions.

¹ לְמִיתְרִיָּה *to teach it*, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 1 (§ 86).

² לְתַחְרִיָּה HG. 184.

³ לְאַרְיָנָה TG. ed. Coronel, § 87.

⁴ לְמִשְׁתִּינָהּ HG. 141.

⁵ אֲרִיפְיָנָהּ HG. 91; לְאַתְיָנָה *ibid.* 449; אֲרִיפְיָנָה *ibid.* 91; לְאַקְנִינָהּ TG. ed. Harkavy, § 237.

§ 782. It has been the author's endeavor in this chapter, as throughout this entire work, to give a complete enumeration of existing forms, as far as such a thing is at present possible. Illustrative examples have been selected with the following points of view: to present such words, where possible,

(1) which, etymologically and morphologically, are more certain;

(2) which illustrate phonetic laws not mentioned in the first part of this work;

(3) which give occasion for etymological remarks;

(4) for which there are examples with *matres lectionis*, so that their form can be established beyond a doubt.

§ 783. Among the many difficulties exhibited by the talmudic noun, one phenomenon is especially marked—the multiplicity of forms of one and the same word. Cf., for instance, סְכֵלָא, סְכֵלָא, סְכֵלָא, *fool*, VL., B. B. 126 b; פִּיֶּשָׁא, פִּיֶּשָׁא, *fish*; זִמְנָא, זִמְנָא, *time*; גִּדְּשָׁא, גִּדְּשָׁא, *heap*; שְׂטָרָא, שְׂטָרָא, *document*; גִּירָסָא, גִּירָסָא, *variant(s)*; תִּלְתִּין, תִּלְתִּין, *thirty*; פְּנֵאֲרִי, פְּנֵאֲרִי, *handle(s)*; אֲגִירָא, אֲגִירָא, *employer*; אֲחֵתָא, אֲחֵתָא, *sister*; חֲמִיתָא, חֲמִיתָא, *mother-in-law*; קִבְעָא, קִבְעָא, *fixing*, and many others. Now, some of these forms are undoubtedly original and legitimate by-forms; as, e. g., the last example cited. Others are, no doubt, reduced forms; as, e. g., אֲחֵתָא, Arab. أُخْتُ, and חֲמִיתָא. Again, others are probably broken plurals; as the forms from which פְּנֵאֲרִי and גִּירָסָא are derived.¹ Still this does not explain all the phenomena.² A satisfactory explanation is afforded only by the recognition of the fact that forms of the types فَعْل and فُعْل appear not only as קְטִיל, קְטִיל, or קְטִיל; קְטִיל, קְטִיל, or קְטִיל; and קְטִיל, קְטִיל, or קְטִיל; but also as קְטִיל, קְטִיל; קְטִיל, קְטִיל; and קְטִיל, קְטִיל.

§ 784. The present state of our knowledge of Semitic phonetics and nominal formation makes the task of proving such a proposition a hopeless one. I would only limit myself to state that the current belief that Aramaic qāmēṣ always represents an

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, ZDMG., LI., p. 659.

² Cf. also König, Hebr. Gramm., II., 1, pp. 470 sqq., for additional explanations.

original *ā* does no justice to the facts. In many cases Aramaic *qāmēç* is, like the Hebrew *qāmēç*, merely a produced *ā*. The only difference between Aramaic and Hebrew, with regard to the production of *ā* to *ā̄*, is that in the latter the process is still in full life, while in the former we have only petrified remnants of this process. Everybody will admit that in the Syriac equivalents *ܩܡܥܐ*, *ܩܡܥܐ*, *ܩܡܥܐ*, of the Hebrew *מִשְׁכַּח*, *עֵבֶר*, *רִסְן*, *רִצָּה*, *qāmēç* represents *ā̄*; but nobody seems willing to do the same in the case of *מִחָר*, *חֲצֹצָא*, *עֲנִנָא*, *קְהֻלָּא*, the equivalents of Hebrew *מִחָר*, *חֲצֹץ*, *עֲנַן*, and *קְהָל*.

§ 785. From the above quoted examples of *ܩܡܥܐ*, etc., we also learn that *qāmēç* may stand for a helping vowel. This explains the targumic form *ܩܡܥܐ*, the diphthongized form of the Persian *gûn*. This form is later easily mistaken for *qattāl* and explains the Hebrew form *מְנַחֵם*.

§ 786. The recognition that the production of *ā* to *ā̄* is still a more or less living process in Aramaic throws light on the numerous cases mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, where we found unexpected *qāmēç*, and proves the correctness and reliability, in the majority of cases, of living tradition. I say "in the majority of cases." For I am not blind to the fact that in some cases tradition may be wrong; but the more I have worked in this field, the more my conviction has grown that mere *a priori* theories are worthless in this field, and then the more so when they are in opposition to authenticated tradition, even if that tradition be only oral. I am conscious to be in this regard in opposition to preconceived notions, but doubt not that those who will give the subject an unbiased and earnest investigation will finally come around to my way of looking at it.

§ 787. In the light of the above I want to point out that I do not consider forms like *ܩܡܥܐ*, *ܩܡܥܐ*, and the like, as false, because the superlinear vocalization of the Targûmîm shows still a long vowel under the second stem-consonant. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that even as near a dialect as Palestinian Aramaic need not in every case agree with our Babylonian Aramaic, and that Babylonian Aramaic continued to live and develop for many centuries after Palestinian Aramaic had died out. Many of the corruptions of the current vocalization

of the Targûmim are probably due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, with which the naqdânîm were more familiar.

NOTE.—The limited space at my disposal, as well as the nature of footnotes, have induced me to be concise in my etymological explanations. Sometimes I have limited myself to a mere suggestion. It is, therefore, hoped that students will examine the respective dictionaries before passing judgment on the proposed etymologies.

SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE ONLY.

1. ONE SHORT VOWEL.

فُعْلٌ.—§788. To the regular forms given below it must be added that, under the influence of adjacent consonants, *qatl* may pass into *qill* or *qutl*; *qill* into *qutl* or *qatl*; *qutl* into *qill* (or *qatl*?). Thereby the original vowel may be kept under the first consonant in one form, and the derived vowel under the second consonant in another form, and *vice versa*. Thus we have יִתְרָא, יִתְרָא, *cord*; בִּירְשָׁא, בִּירְשָׁא, ¹ *heap*; זִמְנָא, זִמְנָא, ² *time*.

§789. The laws under which these vowel changes take place cannot yet be stated with accuracy; but the following general rules may already be given:

1. *qatl* passes into *qill* mostly in stems having a guttural as its last consonant, under the influence of שׁ, and in ע"ע forms, when the sharpened consonant is followed by a vowel.

2. *qatl* passes into *qutl* under the influence of labials, liquids, emphatic consonants, ג and כ, when these sounds directly follow the vowel.

3. *qill* passes into *qutl* under the same conditions as *qatl* does, but less frequently.

4. *qill* passes into *qatl* when its vowel is in a closed syllable before a guttural—but this happens only in a few cases—and under the same conditions and with the same frequency as *qutl* passes into *qatl*.

5. *qutl* and *qill* frequently interchange for other than phonetic reasons, and, according to some, through *ü*. For *qutl* passing

¹ R. Nissim, המפתח 32 b = Sabb. 35 a.

² TG. ed. Harkavy, § 74.

into *qatl* cf. Barth, *NB.*, p. xxx. Whether forms like אָגִיא, אָהִיא, אָהִיא, דּוּפִנָא, אָהִיא, אָהִיא, are to be pronounced with *ā* or *ō* in the first syllable, is impossible to decide.

qatl.—§ 790. a) אָלֶפָא, אָלֶפָא, *thousand*; אָקָא *grain*, R. Nissim המפתח 59b = תְּבִיאָה Ned. 55a,² בַּעַל, בַּעַל, *husband*, אָשֶׁל *cord* = וָשֶׁל, Assyr. 'ašli; אָשֶׁל may be a loan-word; גָּבֵר,

¹ כִּי כִסְלָא לִאֲוִיָּא means: *like the قشیر husk around the حَجَّوَة date, or kernel; that is, very close.* From the same √ قش we get כִּסְלָא *lancet*. The ultimate root is قش.

² This word belongs to a widely ramified group, going back to a changeable root, קל, כל, حل, خل, جل, כל. The first consonant of the triconsonantal stem appears in four series: labials, gutturals, dentals, and sibilants. The primitive meaning of the root is *break through, come forth, hence produce*. Then it was specialized to various kinds of plants and young animals. For the connection between plant and animal cf. פָּרָח, אָפָרִח, פָּרָח, Latin pullus and pullulare.

a) Labial series: בָּקַל, Ethiop. baq^aala, *grow, produce*, and derivatives; Assyr. buqlu *vegetables*, baqlum *sprout*; פָּקַל *grow luxuriantly*, and derivatives; נָבַל, puglu and puqlu *radish*; מָקַל, וָקַל, *fruit of the Theban palm*; מָקַל, מָקַל, *bdellium*. Here might belong according to sound and sense מָקַל, but the grammatical form points to its being a contraction of מַעְקַל = מָקַל. By way of Gegen-sinn: חָל *be unfruitful*; מְתָחַל *tree not bearing fruit*.

b) Guttural series; עָקַל *produce grapes*; עָקִיל *unripe fruit*; עָאָר *a kind of thorn*; חָקַל *seed-producing leaves, etc. planted field* = חָקָא; רָקַל *leek*; רָקָה *bunch of herbs*; רָקָה *high palm*; כָּוָה *barren*.

Leading over to the sibilant series are אָשְׁכֹּל, אָשְׁכֹּל, Eth. 'askāl *cluster*; עָשְׁקַל *a certain plant*; עֲתָקֹל, אֲתָקֹל, etc., *palm branch with unripe fruit*; all with inserted sibilants (§ 46, note).

c) Sibilant series: Eth. sakala = עָקַל II.; שָׁקַל *cluster*; שָׁקַל *cudgel*; שָׁקַל = גִּרְזֵל, גִּרְזֵל, *young dove*; מִשְׁכָּל, מִשְׁכָּל, *basket*; מִשְׁכָּל = שִׁחִלִים, שִׁחִלִים, *garden-cress*; שִׁחִל, שִׁחִל, *inferior kind of date*. By way of "Gegensinn": חָכַל *be bereft of children*.

d) דִּיקָא *palm*; דִּיקָא *basket made of palm leaves*; דִּיקָה = דִּיקָה, דִּיקָה, *date-basket made of palm leaves*; נָקַל *dried fruit*; נָקַל *produce verdure, beget children, and derivatives*.

עֲבָרָא, *man*, plur. עֲבָרִי;¹ עֲבָרָא *young man*, Sanh. 95a (= Hebr. עֲבָרָא, or = עֲבָרָא?); נֶחֱמָא, *bread*; קְטִילָא, *killing*;² אִפְּהָא, *levity*; תִּרְבָּא, *fat*.³ Plur.: אִפְּרִיָּא, *respect, solicitude for one's honor*, אִפְּרִיָּין, *our respect*, with helping vowel; אִמְרִי לֵאמֹר = אִפְּרִיָּין לֵאמֹר;⁴ [ל] גִּמְרִי, *entirely*, Assy. gimru.⁵

b) תִּפְתָּא, *turnip*; שִׁיב, *seven* (§ 50, 4); נִשְׁפָּא, *dawn*; פִּלְפָּא, *spindle*; דִּמְנָא, *demon*;⁷ מַזְמָא, *staff*;⁸ plur. סִלְחָא, *C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.)*; קִשְׁיָא, *C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.)*.

c) גִּפְתָּא, *vine*; קִדְרָא, *vine*.

§ 791. יְתִירָא, *assembly*; וְרִבָּא, *rose*; יִרְחָא, *month*; יִתְרָא, *month* (§ 788).

§ 792. חֻכָּא, *laughter* (עֲחָךְ = אֲחָךְ = חֻכָּךְ); כִּפְתָּא, *stone*; עֲנָא, *small cattle*; פִּתְרָא, *rib-bon*; רִישָׁא, *head*.

§ 793. אִנְפָּא, *face*; אִנְפָּא, *face*; תִּזְנָא, *treasure*; plur. גִּבְרִי, *at the side of*.

b) עִזָּא, *goat*.⁹

¹ The plur. גִּבְרִיָּין, which occurs but a few times, is probably of Palestinean origin.

² With prothesis: אִקְטִילָא SM. No. ccxx.

³ רִבָּא is a secondary stem of רִב found in רִבִּיגִים *rain*; רִבָּא *greasy spot*; רִבָּא *fruit-juice*; Tigrē rūbā *river*; Tña. revrevē *sprinkle with water*. Galla wārāba *draw water*, Amh. wadāh *river*, Egypt. wārem *inundation*; Bilin wārāhā, Chamir wirbā, *river*; Saho rōb *rain*, rōbāh *rainstorm*, rōbta *raindrop*; Somali rōh *river*, warabi *to water*. It is at least not certain that, as Gesenius' *Dict.*, 12th ed., asserts, רִבָּא *be large* is connected with it. The same applies to P. Smith's *Thesaurus Syr.*, where it is connected with רִבָּא *grow*.

⁴ Cf. Samar. אִפְּרִי *thanks*, Heidenheim's *Bibl. Samarit.*, 5-6, index.

⁵ The form is like Targumic לִקְדָּמִין; the plural is frequently used in adverbial and prepositional expressions.—(לִקְדָּמִין) SM. No. xxviii.

⁶ The abs. and the constr. states are very rare. But, from the few cases that do occur, the conclusion seems justified that qatl gives less frequently a form קִטְל than the cognate languages. Whether a form like נִשְׁפָּא is to be pronounced נִשְׁפָּא or נִשְׁפָּא cannot be decided by the material at hand. Such forms are therefore left unvocalized.

⁷ Cf. דִּמְנָא *demon* in the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Dr. Gaster.

⁸ عقْد = اجد ; اجد , of اجد ; اجد , of اجد ; اجد , of اجد .

⁹ The word goes back to עִזָּא = עִזָּא with primitive meaning *be rough to the senses*, then *strong* in a physiological as well as psychological sense; from the latter the idea of fruitfulness is derived. Here belong زعر , يعر , وعر , معر , معز , عنز .

a) **הַבִּיטָא** *habit*, VL., B. B. 22b; **פִּרְיָא**, **פִּרְיָא**, or **פִּיֶּאֱרָא**, *fish*,¹ **רָמָא** *ram*; **אַרְמָא** *arms*; **שִׁישָׁא**, **שִׁישָׁא**, *marmor*.

b) מוֹתָא *death*; צוּמָא *fasting, fast-day*; זֵיתָא *olive*; חֵילָא *strength*; עֵינָא *eye* (עֵינֵינוּ *our eyes*, Sôtā 6a); סוּפָא, סוּף, *end*.²

c) דָּרָא *generation*; טוֹבָא *good*; סֵבָא *old man*; בֵּיבָא *door*.³

§796. לָן: Nouns of these stems appear in a fourfold form:

a) with retention of last stem-consonant, b) with assimilation of last stem-consonant to the second and sharpening of the latter, c) with resolved doubling and consequent compensatory lengthening of first vowel, d) with entire loss of last stem-consonant.

NOTE.—Stems $\aleph^{\circ}\aleph$ in all cases and $\aleph^{\circ}\aleph$ when passing into $\aleph^{\circ}\aleph$ are included under this head.

a) אַרְיָא *lion*; בָּרַי, בָּרַיָא, *kid*; טְבִיָא *deer*; טְבִיָא (by-forms טַבְיָא, טַבְיָא), literally, *a being engulfed in, overwhelmed by, a sea (of trouble)*, only in the expression בֵּי טְבִיָא *house of mourning*;⁴ קַסְוָא *bow*, plur. קַסְוֵי.—חַיָּא *serpent*; סִילְנָא *thorn*; סִיתוּא *rainy season, winter*.

¹√ כור = Assyr. כמר (Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWb.*, כמר II.) grow in abundance. Cf. נִקְאָ, דָּג abundance of riches, large troop of wild animals. The same idea underlies כִּרְסָא (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 591) and سَبَك (سبك = Assyr. שִׁמַּח). Just as כמר I. is transposed in Assyrian to כרם, so כמר II. appears in the cognate languages as כרם, in Assyrian as כור (§961, u. 2), whence כָּרֶם and כִּרְמֶל. From the same stem is derived the proper name מַכְמֶר, מִכְנֶר, *Machaerus*. The form מִקְאָר, to which the classical name goes back, may be a broken plural; but is more likely due to a process the reverse of that described sub §81. This would also explain traditional גִּבְרִיקָא = גִּבְרִיקָא VL., B. M. 63b, 66b. For the form כִּרְא see §§81, 783; for כִּרְאָא, §785.

² סוּחַ is used only adverbially. The same double form of this word appears also in Pal. Syr.—בסוּחַ *šC.*, I., § 37; II., § 39.

*The word is perhaps a reduplication of בָּא *come, enter*; but, even if it be connected with נִבְּבַר, it is not necessary to assume with Hoffmann that it stand for *נִבְּבַר*, since עֲרִי stems interchange with פֶּרִי. Cf. גָּל door-lock and קָעַל = קָעַשׁ = قَاس; compare נָקַשׁ (Aph'el) and מְזוּזָה, נָקַח and Assyr. nazāzu.

טָמַם (= טָמַח, טָמַח, טָמַח) contains the idea of *moisture*. Here belong: *טָמַם* be full and overflow, *טָמַם* sea; *טָמַם* = *טָמַם* high sea; *טָמַם* swim in open sea; *טָמַם* surge, heave, rush (water); *טָמַם* uproar of sea; *טָמַם* = Assy. *ti'āmat* abyss; *טָמַם* (coast-land); *טָמַם* rush in mass and with force (water); *טָמַם* rushing mass of water; *טָמַם* chaos; *טָמַם* phlegm; *טָמַם* sad; *טָמַם* rise, overflow; *טָמַם* = *טָמַם* dirty water; *טָמַם* soil (with liquid); *טָמַם* be filled with

branch (cf. *فَرْع* branch and *فَرْعَة* uppers); *רִיוֹקָתָא*, *רִקְתָּא*, shore, VL., Succā 26 a.¹

b) *בִּרְחָא* or *בִּרְחָא*, *בִּרְחָא*, *בִּרְחָא*, Eg. Arab. *بَو*, a kind of owl.

c) *בִּרְחָא* *gnat*; *גִּינְתָא* garden; *מִסְתָּא* sufficiency.

§ 799. *עו"י*: a) *אִימְתָא* fear; *חֹבְתָא* debt, guilt.

b) *דְּרִתָּא* residence; *עֲקָתָא* trouble.

§ 800. *לו"י*: *רְשׁוּתָא*, *רְשׁוּתָא*, debt, permission; *חַיָּוִתָא* animal; *בִּלְתָּא* rag; *אֲלִיתָא* fat-tail.—*קִרְיָתָא* city.

a certain vessel, immu treasure (= *אויצר*), *אִם*, *אִם*, midst, *אִמָּה* favor, *אִמָּה* cubit.

The original meaning, *measure of capacity*, is still retained in *אִמָּה בִּצְעָה* Jer. 51:13: *בִּצְעָה* is not measured by the cubit! It is a well-known phenomenon that words retain in certain constructions and phrases a meaning which has otherwise become obsolete.—Assyr. *ipu* womb, love, *אִיפָה* measure of capacity, Assy. *ap tu* dwelling, man, *אִפְתָּא* balcony, tuber, *iptu* abundance. The idea of dwelling, balcony, seems to go back to that of *receptacle*; while the meanings *man*, *tuber*, to that of *progeny* and *fruitfulness*. The relationship between

both ideas is, therefore, different from that found in *אִהָל*, *אִהָל*, *אִהָל* = Vulg.

Arab. *أَوْبَة*. The Egyptian *ip*, *ωπ*, count, is denominative of *אִיפָה* measure.—*אִסְרָה*

womb, good will, favor, grace, *אִסְרָה* treasury, store, properly *receptacle*; *אִסְרָה* is denom-

inative.—*בִּטְנָה* womb, belly, midst, inside, *בִּטְנָה* clan, kindred, *בִּטְנָה* terebinth, Maltese

boton fruit, produce, vulg. Arab. *بَطْن* distiller's vessel, Tña. *meṭṭen* measure (with

interchange of labials).—*בִּדְנָה* womb, *בִּדְנָה* leather bottle, *בִּדְנָה* the same, liberality,

generosity.—*בִּדְנָה* womb, measure of capacity and of length. Whether this word be Semitic

or Iranian, in both it has this double sense.—*בִּדְנָה* belly, leather bottle.—*חֹבָה*

mother, woman, *חֹבָה* motherly love, *חֹב* love, *חֹבָב* wine-jug (*חָב* = *חָב*).—

חֵיָא womb, *חֵיָא* Eve has probably the meaning of mother, *חֵי*, *חֵי*, clan, *חֵי* =

Assyr. *ummātu* army, *חֵיָא* = Assyr. *umāmu* animal, Irob-Saho *hijāu* people, Tña. *heiaḡai*

mild, affable, humane, *חֵיָא* bag. *אִם כָּל חֵי* probably means mother of every

clan, i. e., of all human society.—*חֵיָא*, *חֵיָא*, leather bottle, Assyr. *hamtu*, sign of

the feminine, must mean womb, woman, or both, *חֵיָא* cause to love (in the pregnant

expression: *חֵיָא אֱלֹהִים עָלֶיךָ*).—Assyr. *kirimmu* womb, *kirēmu* leather bag,

kirummu drinking-jar, *karāmu* and derivatives (§ 795 a, n.), *כֶּרֶם* be kind, generous,

etc.—*קֶרֶב* womb, midst, *קֶרֶב* womb, vessel, *קֶרֶב*, leather bottle, *קֶרֶב* affa-

bility. Here may also belong *קֶרֶב* relative, usually derived from *קֶרֶב* be near (*קֶרֶב* =

קֶרֶב).—*רֶחֶם* womb, *רֶחֶם* woman, *רֶחֶם* to love, *רֶחֶם* pity, *רֶחֶם* kindred.—*רֶחֶם* midst,

רֶחֶם leather bottle, Somali *deḥ* middle, *deḥ* vagina, *deḥ* generosity.

¹ This may be explained either by $\sqrt{\text{רקק}}$ passing into $\sqrt{\text{רוק}}$, a frequent phenomenon, or by diphthongization (§ 80); cf. *זֶלְגָנָה* = *זֶלְגָנָה* = *זֶלְגָנָה*.

b) בִּרְתָּא *daughter*.¹—קִרְתָּא *city*.—קוֹסְטָא (= קוסתא) *village* (§ 796 b).

qtl.—§ 801. אִפְכָּא *reverse, opposite*,² גִּירְסָא *study*,³ טְהוֹר, טְהוֹרָא *clearing*; מְצָרָא *boundary*,⁴ עֵיבֵר, עֵיבְרָא, *yonder side*; פִּירְכָּא *objection*,⁵ אֵיבְרָא, אֵיבְרָא, *limb*.⁶—יִצְרָא.

§ 802. א"ע: a) בִּירָא *well*; דִּיבָא *wolf*; פִּיבָא *pain*; פִּירָא *fruit*, plur. פִּירֵי C. MS. Pes. 104a (voc.); רִימָא.

b) דִּיבָא = הוֹבָא.

§ 803. ע"ן: plur. חִינְכִי *cavity of the mouth*.

§ 804. ע"ע: a) נִסָּא *miracle*; שִׁיבָא *chip*; אֲצִיפָא, אֲצִפָּא, *matting*.⁷

b) טִיבָא *nature, character*; טִינָא *moist clay*; פִּיבָא, פִּינָא, *roast*, VL., Sanh. 70a.

c) טוֹלָא *shade*.

§ 805. ע"י: דִּינָא *law*; שִׁישָׁא, אֲשִׁישָׁא, מִינָא, שִׁישָׁה, *alabaster jug*.

§ 806. ל"ו: a) טִיחָא *glazing*; שִׁיתָא, שִׁיתָא, *warp*; שְׁחִי, שְׁחִי Meg. 13b = שִׁיחִי פִּיחִי C. MS. *ibid.* (voc.).⁸

b) אֵשׁ *fire*,⁹ עֵיל, עֵילָא, *above*.

c) Some of the following forms may belong to b: בִּיר (= *biri* = *bir'i*) *my funeral repast* (§ 109);¹⁰ פִּילָא *split*; שִׁינָא *mountain path, defile*, Sanh. 96b.¹¹

¹ For דגש of ת cf. König, *HG.*, II., 1, § 172, 2 sq.

² Cf. Hebr. סָבַב, Targ. מִרְבָּא (Merx, *Chr. Targ.*, Glossary, s. v. בִּכָּא), and the traditional pronunciation of טִפְחָא. Cf. König, *op. cit.*, II., 1, p. 471.

³ Cf. גִּירָאִי TR., II., 50.

⁴ Assy. maḡāru = baḡāru cut.

⁵ Cf. König, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. דִּימָנָא, דִּימָנָא, פִּוּרָא, פִּוּרָא, etc.

⁷ The word is connected with Hebr. צִפְצָפָה (§ 966, n. 2).

⁸ In Aramaic, as in later Hebrew, nouns ל"ו of the form فُعَل retain their first vowel like those of ל"י. Cf. שְׁחִי, שְׁחִי, יוֹפִי, יוֹפִי.

⁹ Cf. § 864, n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. marginal note *ad loc.* This is usually translated *son*. Cf. בִּרָא eat, Hull. 87a, and Hebr. בָּרִיחַ.—תִּינָא, plur. תִּינָנִי, תִּינָנִי (= מִתְנִיחָא), Igg. *Serirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 12, from which a secondary form מִתְנִיחָא occurs, *ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹ ثَنِي = שִׁנָּא. The word literally means *fold, wrinkle*. Since a wrinkle consists of elevation, slope, and depression, the word may denote any one of these configurations. Hence ثَنِيَّة mountain slope, difficult mountain path, defile, mountain ridge, שִׁינִיתָא strand, sloping shore, שְׁחִינִיתָא embankment, Assy. mušannitu = מְשִׁנִּיתָא, for *mušannitu.

qillat.—§ 807. דְּמִיעָה *tear*; פִּסְקָה *plot, lot*; עֵגְלָה *calf*; כִּסְיָה *coral* (= *כִּסְנָה).¹

§ 808. ע"י : plur. חִטִּי *wheat*.

§ 809. ע"ע : a) בִּינָה = עֲנָן, *hair, worm, fruit-stone, grain*,² מִילָה *word, thing*.

b) מִילָה [מִלָּה], cf. §§ 77, 90.

§ 810. בִּירְחָה : עו"י *palace*; יִרְחָה *residence*.

§ 811. לו"י : a) סְלִיחָה, Hebr. שְׁלִיחָה.

b) זְנוּחָה.

c) סִילְחָה or סִילָחָה = (1) סְלִיחָה, (2) סִלּוֹחָה.

qut(u)l.—§ 812. אִידָנָה *ear*; אִוְרָה, אִוְרָה *way*; דּוּבָר *back*, זֶבֶר, Assyr. *zumur, body*; הַדְּמָשׁ, הַדְּמָשׁ *hand-spike*, Bêçā 30a,³ כְּפֹרָא, כְּפֹרָא *ransom*.

b) תִּלְחָה = תִּלְחָה (§ 50, g); אִשָּׁה, אִשָּׁה *ashes*, קִיטָמָה.

§ 813. יִיחָרָה : פו"י *arrogance*; יוֹקָרָה *dearth*.

§ 814. ע"א *leather bottle*.⁴

§ 815. ע"ע : a) אִוְשָׁה *foundation*; גִּדָּה *wall*, Eth. *gadgad*; בִּנְיָה *bank, shore*; cf. قَاطِع *place*; מוֹרָה, מוֹר, מֵר, *myrrh*.

b) שְׂתִיחָה (§§ 23c, 155).⁵

c) מִיֶּחָה (= מִיחָה) *brain*, VL., Sanh. 95a; מִיֶּרָה (= מוֹרָה), VL., Meg. 10b.—שְׂתִיחָה (= שְׂתִיחָה).

§ 816. עו"י : פִּיץ, פִּיץ, or פִּיץ, פִּיץ, or פִּיץ, *short in stature*, Alf. B. M. 81b (§ 785); טוֹבָה *much, very*; נוֹרָה *fire*; שוֹרָה *wall*; שוֹרָה *garlic*.⁶

¹ Cf. Noldeke, ZDMG., L., 309.

² אֲבָן בְּכַף. Cf. Assyr. a bānu = بَنَانَة *finger*. The stem shows the same double development as in Assyrian: (1) בִּינָה *something finger-shaped, long and thin*; hence, *hair, worm*; cf. Eg. Arab. بَيْتِي *best Nile fish*; (2) *something protruding, hard*; hence, *fruit-stone, grain, seed*; cf. בִּינָה *grain*, بُن *coffee-berries*.

³ Cf. Brüll, *Bêth Talmud*, I., 13.

⁴ This is probably connected with Eth. 'ana dā *skin, hide*, which goes back to ندى *be wet*; cf. Eth. reṭāb. נָדָה = נָדָה.

⁵ Cf. مَخْبِئَة, with quššāia, Audo, *Dict. de la langue chald.*, Preface, p. 6.

⁶ פִּיץ means not only *garlic*, but a number of other plants. This shows that the word does not contain a characteristic of *garlic*, but goes back to the general idea of *fruitfulness*. It is, therefore, not improbable that the word go back to ثمر, and the line of development

§ 817. לו"י: a) גִּירָא *whelp*; דִּמְיָא *likeness*; פִּיתָא *width*.
 b) דוּרָא *load*; טִילָא *patch*; פּוּחָא, אִפּוּחָא, Assy. pûtu, *forehead*;¹ plur. אִפְּי *twigs*.

qut(u)lat.—אִיזְלָא, אִיזְלָא, אִיזְלָא, *web*; חוּמְרָא; פּוּסְלָא *shoulder*; בּוּכְרָא; חֲכֻמָּא; עִירְלָא; עִירְבָא.²

§ 818. חֲלָא, גֻּלְגֻּלָא, אִמְתָּא: ע"ע *nation*; גִּילְתָא *cloak*; פּוּחָא, דִּיכְתָא,³ *place*, traditional pronunciation *furrow*.

§ 819. אִירָא *evening*; בּוּשָׁא, בּוּשָׁא, *abscess*.

§ 820. לו"י: גִּירָא *cub*; plur. גִּילְתָא *kidneys*.

2. TWO SHORT VOWELS.

qatal.—§ 821. a) גַּמְלָא *camel*; חֲדָא *new*; כְּרָגָא *capitation tax*;⁴ אִטְרָא, אִטְרָא, *leaf*.

b) עֵגְלָא, עֵגְלָא, *haste*; הֶזְקָא *presumption*;⁵ [ל]מָחָר *tomorrow, later*; קִהְלָא *assembly*,⁶ שֻׁפְמָא *mustache*.

c) בִּישָׂרָא, בִּישָׂרָא, *flesh, meat*; הִילְפָא, Assy. elapû; מִיטְרָא *rain*.

d) בּוּצְלָא *onion*; סוּכְלָא *fool*.

§ 822. לו"י: נִלְדָא *newborn child, young*; יִבְלָא *cynodon*.

§ 823. ע"ע: גִּבְבָּא *chaff, stubble*; עֵלְלָא *gain*; עֵנְנָא *cloud*.

might still be traced out. فوم goes back to *فون, which we find in אִפּוּן *bean* = فول = *ثول. The last stem comes through ثبل from ثمل, which is but a by-form of ثمر. The latter appears also as قم (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 583). It is not impossible that فول meant not only *beans*, but also *spices* = ثبل, if قَرَنْفُول be an Arabic, or Aramaic, compound (and an Indo-Germanic origin has not been found for the word), properly *spice-horn*. But perhaps shortened from قَرَنْفُل. Cf. the compound دَارْفُل.

¹ Luzzatto identifies it with Hebr. פֶּת. Cf. my note in *AJSL*, Vol. XIV., p. 130. The underlying idea for forehead in many languages is that of extent (width or height). Cf. Kluge, s. v. stirn, Arab. جَبْهَة, Eth. pheçem, Hebr. מִצַּח, must be = מִתַּח, מִשַׁח. Is מִשַׁח, connected with רִמָּה?

² עִירְבָא Yalqûṭ, Lev. 647.

³ مَضْرَب = דּוּכְתָא; ضَرْب has the sense of دُكْحَت. Etymologically connected, although on a different line of development, is Assy. madaktu camp. Cf. Irob-Saho, dik village.

⁴ So vocalized in *SM*, No. xxv.

⁵ הֶזְקָא *TG*, ed. Harkavy, § 79; הֶזְקָא *ibid.* § 546.

⁶ Pal. Syr. مَهْل probably = qihla.

§ 824. a) לֹרִי : לֹרִי *young*; קִנְיָה *cane, reed*; תִּפְיָה, תִּפְיָה, תִּפְיָה *good will*.—Plur.: עֲלֵיָה *leaves*; שְׁמֵיָה *heaven*.

b) הִנְיָה, plur. הִנְיָה (= הִנְיָה), *arguments*, VL., B. B. 134a; ¹הִנְיָה.

c) אָבִי *my father*; אָבִי = אָבִי *bowl*, VL., B. B. 126b; with prothesis: אָבִי = אָבִי = אָבִי. —Plur.: תִּפְיָה *breasts*.

d) אָבִי *father*; אָבִי *brother*; אָבִי *father-in-law*; יָדָה *hand*. *gatalat*.—§ 825. a) הִנְיָה, הִנְיָה, הִנְיָה, *new*; עֲקָרָה *barren*; רִבְיָה.

b) הִנְיָה; הִנְיָה *presumption*; אִמְרָה *border*; cf. Assy. *amartu* and עֲמָרָה *turban*, עֲמָרָה *both ends of the sleeves*.²

§ 826. עֲלֵיָה *produce*; רִבְיָה *myriad*.

§ 827. a) לֹרִי : אֲבִיָּה *benefit*; צִלּוּתָה (= *galutā*) *prayer*; אֲבִיָּה, אֲבִיָּה or אֲבִיָּה = אֲבִיָּה.

b) אֲבִיָּה, אֲבִיָּה, *maid-servant*; שִׁפְתָה, שִׁפְתָה, *lip*; שָׁנָה, שָׁנָה, *year*.

qatil.—§ 828. a) אֲבִיָּה *dark*; אֲבִיָּה *strong*,³ חֲבִירָה *companion*; פֶּבֶרָה *liver*; שִׁמְנָה *fat*.

b) אֲבִיָּה; מִיָּה *merely*; כְּפִילָה *double*; סִפְיָה *doubt*; פֶּסֶדָה *loss*; קִדְרָה, קִדְרָה, C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.), *pot*; רִחִילָה *ewe*; שִׁמְנָה *fat*.

c) לִבְנָה *brick*, VL., B. M. 116b; מִשְׁחָה *dimension*; שִׁלְטָה *grantee*.

§ 829. יָבֵשָׁה *dry*; יָתֵמָה *orphan*.

§ 830. קָלָה *great*; קָלָה *alive*; קָשָׁה *old*.

§ 831. מֵתָה *dead*; עֵדָה *witness*; עֵרָה *awake, living*, Sanh. 29b.

§ 832. לֹרִי : Here the forms cannot be distinguished from those of *qatal*: עֲנִיָּה *poor*; קָשָׁה *hard*.

¹ הִנְיָה, הִנְיָה, *Igg. Šertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4.

² For another etymology cf. *ZA.*, XI., 212.

³ Adjectives of this form interchange with those of *qatil*, e. g.: קָלָה, רִבְיָה, אֲבִיָּה, קָשָׁה, are used promiscuously with אֲבִיָּה, רִבְיָה, אֲבִיָּה.

qatilat.—§ 833. *a) אֲבִידָתָא, אֲבִידָתָא* (*VL.*, *B. M.* 23*b*), *lost thing*,¹ גְּנִיבָתָא *stolen thing*; תְּבִילָתָא *fig-cake*; חֲבִירָתָא *companion*; כְּנִישָׁתָא *assembly*; חֹשְׁכָתָא *darkness*; לְחִינָתָא *concubine*.²

b) מִשְׁחָתָא *dimension*; תְּכִילָתָא, תְּכִילָתָא, *purple-blue*.

§ 834. פִּי' : *a) יָבֵשׁתָא* *dry*; יִזְבָּחָא *loan*.

b) דַּעְתָּא *opinion*; חֵימָתָא *wrath*; שֵׁינָתָא *sleep*.

§ 835. ע' : *a) רַבְתִּי* *great*.³—*b) מִרְרָתָא* *gall*.

§ 836. לוי' plur. קְשִׁיטָא *date-stones*.

qatul(at).—§ 837. *a) אָפָא* (= *אֶפְפָא) *hyena*; קְדָמָא, קְדָמָא, *early*.

b) חֲשׁוּכָא *late at night*; נְהוֹרָא (*sic*), נְהוֹרָא, *light*; קְדוּמָא *early*, *VL.*, *Pes.* 8*b*.—Plur.: אַחֲוֵי *behind*; perhaps תַּחֲוֵי *spotted*.⁴

qital(at).—§ 838. עֵינָבָא *berry*; עֵינָבָא, *id.*; שִׁיכָא *mead*.—Plur. נְכִסֵּי *property*.

§ 839. ע' : לְבָא *heart*.⁵

§ 840. לוי' : *a) רִיחָא* *mill*.—Plur.: מַעֲיָא *entrails*.

b) סִאָה *measure*; מֵאָה *hundred*; מֵאָתָא *city*,⁶ (בִּי) שוֹם, שְׁמָא, *name*.

3. LONG VOWEL IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND SHORT VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

qatal.—§ 841. חֲחָמָא *seal*; עֲלָמָא, עֲלָמָא, *world*; and perhaps מִרְגָּא *threshing-sledge*, *Yalqut Lev.* 459, *Raši Tem.* 18*a*, and מִרְגָּא *axe*, perhaps etymologically connected with מִרְגָּא.

¹ The vowel after ח is a helping vowel and not the affirmative ending. Cf. also אֲבִידָתָא *VL.*, *B. M.* 77*a*.

² On the etymology of this word cf. Fleischer *apud* Levy, II., 534*b sq.* A similar development shows מִרְגָּא *פִּלְגָּא* *misery, ignoble, vile*, which appears in *Eg. Arab.* as سَلْفَات *parasite* and goes back to قفل X. (*Eg. Arab.* فَلَقَس lower the head is denominative of قَفْل head, about which see § 966, n. 1), is the etymon of מִרְגָּא. Cf. פִּלְגָּא = فَلَقَس. From the meaning of the last word (cf. Lane's *Dict.*, s. v.), from the use of Hebr. מִרְגָּא for both sexes, and from the contrast of מִרְגָּא (נָשִׁים) with שְׁרוּת (1 Kgs. 11:3), the development is not difficult to trace. The *ignoble, vile*, in a primitive community, where all members of the clan are equal, could only be applied to foreign slaves. מִרְגָּא, then, means *slave*, male or female, married to a free person, or to another slave. As those used as concubines were mostly, or altogether, slaves, slave and concubine became synonymous.

³ This is usually confounded with Hebr. רַבְתִּי.

⁴ Cf. Barth, *NB.*, p. 13 *sq.*

⁵ לְבָהוֹן, *Igg. Sertrā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 8.

⁶ מֵאָתָא *C. MS. Meg.* 12*a* (voc.).

qâtil.¹—§ 842. a) אֶזְלָא *weaver*; פִּהָנָא *priest*; סִהָדָא *witness*; שְׁכָבָא *deceased*; שְׁפִכָא *gutter*.

b) With retention and lengthening of second vowel: חֲטִיטָא = חֲטוּטָא *digger*; חֲכִירָא *tenant*; יִנְיָא = יִנְקָא; פְּשִׁירָא = שְׁפִכָא = שְׁפִיכָא; שְׁכָבָא = שְׁכִיבָא; נְחוּתָא = נְחִיתָא; פְּשִׁרָא = שְׁפִכָא.

c) With change of first vowel—probably after shortening to *ā*—to *i*: אִזְלָא = אֶזְלָא; חִירָא *ship*,² חֶזְרָא *bran*, חֶזֶר, נִזְרִי *seeds*; שְׁכָבָא = שְׁכִיבָא; שְׁיִבָא *testator, deceased*.

d) With change of *â* (= *o*) to *û* (*ü*):³ אֹזְרָא *employer*, Sanh. 29a = אֶזְרָא Yalqut Kings 222 = אֶזְרָא *Še'êl*. § 54; אֹמְצָא = אִמְצָא, Assy. *aribu*; יֹדְבָל = יֹדְבָלָא; עֹרִיב = עֹרִיבָא, Assy. *aribu*; צוּרָא *young scholar*,⁴ רֹדְבָלָא *pedlar*.

e) Hebrew loan-words: אֹרְחָא *guest*; מוֹכְסָא *publican*; פּוֹעֵלָא *workman*.

§ 843. a) לִי"ר *swimmer*, VL, Yôma 77b; אֶסְיָא *physician*; סְמִיָא *blind*; שְׁקִיָא *butler*.—Plur.: בְּכִיָא *weepers*; נִזְרִי, Alf. M. Q. 12b; נִזְרִיָא *seeds*; סְמִיָא *blind one*, properly *one of the blind*, Alf. B. Q. 31b and Raši *ibid*.⁵

b) מָרִי (= *mārî*, § 109), const. st. מָרִי, מִרָא *master, lord*.

qâtîlat.—§ 844. a) פְּהִנְתָא *woman of priestly family*.

b) חוּרְגְתָא *step-daughter*. Hebrew loan-word.

§ 845. a) אֶשְׁתָא *foundation*; זְוִיתָא *corner*; חֲבִיתָא *keg*; נִזְרָא *large vat*; נַזְיָא (= *naziānata*); סְבִיחָא *bar-maid*, plur. סְבִיחָתָא.

¹ The forms *qâtîl*, *qâtul*, and *qattâl* are used promiscuously and interchangeably.

² Assy. *elippu* = **alipu* as *išippu* = *ašipu*.

³ Cf. עֶזְרָא = عَزْرَا (Merx, *Chrest. Targ. Glossary*) and Eg. Arab. فُرْس = فُرس Persia.

⁴ Phœnician צִר *young (of stag)*; √ צִר = בצר; צִרָא = צִרָא *attendant, follower, disciple*, German *Jünger*. Small as opposed to רַב *great, master, teacher*. (Cf. also Eth. daqîq.) Then, modestly, *scholar*; as חֲקִים for תַּלְמִיד חֲקִים.

⁵ The proper name usually pronounced חֲלִפְתָא SM. vocalizes as plural חֲלִפְתָא, the correctness of which is borne out by the spelling חֲלִפְתָא M. MS. Taan. 15b, 16ab. This is probably a participle and ought to be pronounced חֲלִפְתָא. On the meaning of this name cf. D. Kaufmann, *MGWJ.*, XLI., 331 sq. Cf. also לִילִית *Lilith*, M. MS. B. B. 73a; חֲלִפְתָא SM. No. cxiv = Gitt. 68b; עֶזְרָא (sing.) *ibid*. Cf. Hoffmann, *Ueber ein. phœn. Inschriften*, pp. 17 sq.

b) מִרְתָּא *lady*, Gitt. 12a.

c) Plur.: אֲשִׁירְתָּא *foundations*.

qātul.—§ 846. In assuming a form *qātul*, it is perhaps superfluous to say that Hebr. *qātōl* and Arab. فَعُول are not considered to have any connection with it. König's arguments (*HG.*, II., 1, § 64) are not convincing for the following reasons: The occasional dropping of the first vowel in our current Targumic texts (and nowhere else) does not prove the original shortness of the vowel. It is due to Babylonian-Aramaic influence (§ 787). That language drops long vowels as easily as short ones; cf., e. g., עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא, for עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא. If the second vowel be originally *ā*, no explanation is offered why, against all analogy, not only all Aramaic languages, but also the Arabic, have *ō*, *ū*. While, moreover, in Aramaic *ā* sometimes becomes *ō*, that it becomes *u* in Arabic cannot be shown, even if the foreign مَاجُوج should be an uninfluenced transliteration. But see on that word § 933, n. 1. The question why the form קְטוּלָא should occur only in Aramaic is easily answered by pointing to the prominent part the *u*-vowel plays in the Aramaic verb (§ 228). Furthermore, the lengthening of the second vowel in *qātil* (§ 842b) makes such a process in *qātul* not exceptional. That such lengthening should take place mostly in *qātul* is easily explained by the special development in its meaning. Lastly, the existence of a form *qātul* can actually be shown. Cf. هَاؤُبَانِيَّة, بَادُوَان, رَاوُت, رَاوُل, perhaps also دَاوُد (but cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, I., 58); Persian کَزُر = کُزُ (Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, II., 42); סְהוּרְוִתְיָהוּ *Še'elt*. § 55. Cf. also Schwally's remark on Pal. Syr. مَافِط (Idioticon, s. v. مَافِط). That the *u*-vowel in forms with active force is secondary has so far not been demonstrated.

§ 847. Nouns of this form, when the second vowel is omitted, are not distinguishable from *qātil*. It is only when that vowel has been retained and, of course, lengthened, that we can recognize it. The majority of the nouns of this form are *nomina agentis*; but some, as in *qātil*, are concrete substantives. Nouns of this formation frequently take the ending אֲתָר, without

change in meaning. This accounts for their taking frequently in the plural the termination יָאָ.

§ 848. אָקשָׂא *hard* (קשׁי = אקש, as אקן = קני); בַּעֲרָא *torch*; רָהוּטָא *runner*; תַּנּוּרָא = تَنْوَر, M. Q. 11 a.¹—Plur.: דְּאָקוּרָא *baskets*, VL., Hull. 4 a; עֲמֻרָא *dealers in wool*.²

NOTE.—Not here belong the Assyrian loan-words גַּשְׁוּרָא *gašûru*, כִּנּוּנָא *kinûnu*, פַּשְׁשׁוּרָא *paššûru*. The desire to preserve the foreign vowel (§ 84) and the popularity of the form אָ are responsible for this form. An instructive example in this connection is פְּרוּבִים = פְּרוּבִים. Cf. also § 933, n. 1.

§ 849. יְנוּקָא *child*; יְרוּקָא *yellow, green*; יְחֻבָּא *so-journer*; יְרוּרָא, יְרוּרָא, יְרוּרָא (Audouin, s. v.), *ferule*. The by-form יְרוּרָא suggests Egyptian origin. Is it Saho aûrâûr?

§ 850. חֲטוּטָא *digger*; חֲטוּטָא.

§ 851. רֵוֶקָא *inn-keeper*; רֵוֶקָא *strainer*.

§ 852. אָסוּרָא = אָסוּרָא, VL., B. Q. 84 a; בּוּנִיָּא *builder*; גְּבוּרָא *collector*.

qâtulat.—§ 853. יְנוּקָא *child*.

§ 854. a) אָסוּרָא, אָסוּרָא, *remedy*; בְּלוּתָא *exile*,³ טַעֲוִיתָא *error*,⁴ יָאֻת (§ 160); מְטוּרָא, מְטוּרָא, *request*.—Plur.: סְבוּרָא *bar-maids*. This may be a corruption for סְבוּרָא; but, if it be correct, it would show the persistence of the typical vowel of the masculine form.⁵ b) שִׁירָא *repast*.⁶

4. SHORT VOWEL IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

فُعَال.—§ 855. Nouns of these forms frequently interchange with those of فُعِيل,⁷ less frequently with those of فُعُول and فُعُول. Under the influence of an initial א or ע, or of an adjoining

¹ This word has not been recognized by commentators and lexicographers. Cf. Raši in Alfasi, loc. cit.: שומרי התנור. אמרי תנורא.

² On the more usual form of a *nomen agentis* derived from an اسم جامد cf. § 951.—Cf. אימורא *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

³ Plur.: בְּלוּתָא *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 27.

⁴ Plur.: טַעֲוִיתָא, read: טַעֲוִיתָא, *TG*, ed. Harkavy, § 436.

⁵ On הַנִּיָּא cf. § 84, note.

⁶ Change of vowel due to ר. Cf. §§ 63, 273.

⁷ This explains the difficulty Blau finds in the forms קְרִיָּא, קְרִיָּא (*Zur Einl. in die Heil. Schrift*, p. 12, n. 1).

فَعِيل. § 865. אַהֲנָא, אַסִּנָּא, an inferior kind of date = *عُشَاة* = *عُشَاة* = *عُشَاة*¹; *דִּיִּצָּא* *pricking pain in the eyes* (דען/); *טענא* *load*, Sanh. 105b; *עֲדִיפָא*, *better*,² *עִירָא* *blind*,³ *קביע* *fixing*, B. B. 86b; *בִּישָׁא* *bad* (באש/); perhaps *אַנְדִּיקָא* *injury*, cf. *הַזִּיקָא*; but it may also be = *הַזִּיקָא*.

§ 866. *בִּזְיָא* = *אִיִּצָּא* = *אִיִּצָּא*; *בִּזְיָא* = *בִּזְיָא*; *בִּזְיָא* *club*; *בִּזְיָא* *crown*; *עֲסִיָּא*, *עֲסִיָּא*, *עֲסִיָּא*, *flower-pot*,⁴ *אַנִּינָא* *sensitive*, Eth. *manana*, Tigrè *nonne*, *fanfane*, *be disgusted with*.

§ 867. *נְבִיָּא* *prophet*; *צִי* *chirping* (סא/).

פְּעִילָה. § 868. *בִּישָׁתָא* *evil, bad* (באש/); *סְפִינָתָא* *ship*; *רִפְתָּא*, *רִפְתָּא* (רע/), *bread*; *עֲבִידָתָא*, *עִי*, *שְׂכִינָתָא*.

§ 869. *נְבִיָּאָתָא* *prophetess*.

פְּעוּל. § 870. a) *לְבוּשָׁא* *dress*; *פְּסוּקָא* *verse*; *שְׁלִידָא* *messenger*; *בְּמִוֵּר* *perfect, thorough*; *סְבוּר*,⁵ plur. *שְׁבוּעִיָּא*.⁶

b) With secondary doubling: *קְדוּשָׁא*.

c) *תְּרוּדָא* *spoon* (for **תְּרוּדָא*, § 81).⁷

¹ *عش* = *عش* = *عش* *dry up*. These words belong to a numerous group with a changeable root *عش*, *عش*, *عش*, *عش*, *عش*, etc., whose primitive meaning is *cover*. This shows the following development:

cover	<i>comprimere feminam</i>	{	<i>wash</i> (غسل)
	<i>dip into water</i>		<i>drown, ruin</i>
	<i>vail, faint</i>	{	<i>dry up</i>
	<i>obscure, grow dark</i>		<i>become corrupt</i>
			<i>cheat, wrong, oppress</i> (§ 887, u. 1).

אַהֲנָא, therefore, need not mean *dried up*, but may mean *discolored, corrupt* = *אַסִּנָּא*. Cf. Hebr. *בְּאֲשֵׁרִים*. On interchange of gutturals and sibilants cf. § 26 and "Additions and Corrections" to that section.

² *עֲדִיפָא* JQR., IX., 694, 697.

³ *עִירָא* = Assy. *עִירָא* *close up*; *עִירָא* as opposed to *פְּתִיחָא*, *פְּתִיחָא* *open-eyed*; *טְמִימִים הָלֵב* = *חִימִים* *כָּא*.

⁴ *עֲסִיָּא* cover (§ 865, u. 4) like *חֲבִיָּא*, *חֲבִיָּא*, from *חָבָא*, *hide*; *כִּנְיָא* *basket*, *כִּנְיָא* cover.

⁵ *סְבוּר* Igg. *Sertrā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 18.

⁶ Hebr. *שְׁבוּעוֹת*.

⁷ *תְּרוּדָא* *spoon, bowl*; cf. Alg. Arab. *مشر* *porringer*, *مشر* *small dish*, Maltese *mafrād* *earthen dish*.

§ 871. טָלוּלָא : ע"ע, אַטְלוּלָא, *sport*.

פְּלוּגָתָא : § 872. a) גְּנוּבָתָא *stolen goods*; שְׁבוּעָתָא *oath*; שְׁמוּעָתָא *tradition*.

b) With secondary doubling: הַנּוּפְתָא; הַנּוּבָתָא; פְּלוּגָתָא *difference of opinion*; קְרוּיָתָא; and perhaps אַסְקוּפָתָא.

§ 873. ע"ע: Plur. קְצִיצִיָתָא.

§ 874. ע"י: תִּיבָתָא.

§ 875. ל"י: נְבוּאָתָא; plur. מְדוּיָאָתָא *protests*; שְׁבוּיָתָא *captives*.

II. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE WITH SHARPENING OF SECOND STEM-CONSONANT.

1. TWO SHORT VOWELS.

פַּעַל.—§ 876. שַׁבָּתָא *Sabbath, week*;¹ אֲדָר *threshing-floor*.²

פַּעֲלָא.—§ 877. a) יַבִּישָׁתָא *dry land*; סַפְנָתָא *danger*; תַּקְנָתָא *institution, statute*; שַׁמָּתָא *ban* (שַׁמַּת = שַׁמַּת);³ פְּרָשָׁתָא *chapter*, C. MS. Meg. 4a (voc.).⁴

b) אִיפְרָתָא *letter*; נַחֲמָתָא *consolation*; סִייעָתָא *help*; שְׁפָשָׁתָא *mistake*, C. MS. Pes. 112b (voc.).

§ 878. ל"י: מִלִּיָתָא *complement*.

פַּעַל.—§ 879. אִילִמָא, אִילִימָא, *dumb*; חִיפָא *lame*; טַפְשָׁא *fool*.—הַזִּילָא.

קֻטְלָא.—§ 880. הַזִּיחָא, שִׁיחָא, שִׁחַל.⁵

קֻטְלָא(at).—§ 881. זִיבּוּרָא, זִיבּוּרָתָא, *wasp*; פִּיתוּנָא, פִּיתוּנָתָא, *linen*; צִיפּוּרָא, צִיפּוּרָתָא or צִיפּוּרָתָא, plur. צִיפּוּרִי, *VL.*, B. B. 74a; שִׁיפּוּלָא *lower part*; plur. שְׁבִילִי, שְׁבִילִי, *Pes. 35a and VL., ad loc.*⁶

¹ שַׁבָּא, like בִּי and Targumic בִּירְוֹן, plur. of בְּרִישָׁא = בְּרוּשָׁא, are due to the ת being mistaken for the feminine ending.

² On אֲדָר, אֲמִרָתָא, cf. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 114.

³ Cf. שְׁמוּרָתָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

⁴ Some of these forms may be originally *qattālat*.

⁵ For ט = ס cf. סִינָא = סִינָא; סִרְיָא = סִרְיָא; and many others.

⁶ Cf. Barth, *NB.*, pp. xxix, xxx, 24.

2. SHORT VOWEL IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

qattāl, qittāl.—§ 882. *a) אֶבְכָּא game-cock, fighting-cock; cf. Assy. abāku conquer; עֶרְבָּא, עֶרְבָּא, surety;¹ קִצְרָא fuller, not ordained scholar;² שִׁמְעָא servant, valet.*

b) אֶפְרָא farmer; גִּיבְרָא hero; עֶקְרָא root.

c) כִּמְוִנָּא cumin; צִנְוִרָא. Both loan-words.

d) פּוֹבֶס = קִצְרָא, SM. No. xcv (voc.); סוֹמְנָא blind. Both words are Aramaic transformations of Hebr. פּוֹבֶס and סוֹמְנָא.³

§ 883. *עֶ"ע צִלְלָא tanner (= צִלְעָא).⁴*

§ 884. *a) עו"י הִיִּינָא judge; הִיִּלָּא servant; שְׁוֹרָא jumper; טַיִי Arab, طَائِي.⁵*

§ 885. *לו"י a) קְרָא student of scripture; תַּנְא, תַּנְאָה, תַּנְא, student or teacher of tradition. Formed as ל"א forms.*

b) בְּנָא = בְּנִיָּא; זִנְא; רַמְאָא cheat.

qattālat.—§ 886. *עו"י a) הִיִּירָא female proselyte; טַיִיִּעָא Arab woman. Cf. § 884, n. 5.*

b) הִיִּירָא white.

quttāl.—§ 887. *אֹפְכָּא dark, black;⁶ סוֹמְנָא red; cf. مَشَق red chalk; קוֹרְאָא, קוֹרְמָא, fennel flower (?);⁷ רִוְכָּא softening; שׁוֹפְרָא cat.*

¹ עֶרְבָּא *TR.*, II., 50.

² Cf. Gaster's note to *SM.*, p. 43: "קִצְר tyro, young scholar not yet admitted to full honors, who has still 'to wash and cleanse' and do preparatory work."

³ Bacher (*ZAW.*, XV., 301), who knew only of סוֹמְנָא, explained it to be a form like אֹבְכָּא (§ 887); but this becomes untenable in view of כּוֹבֶס. If the *u*-vowel be due to the influence of the labial, why only in these two words? To presuppose a form *qutāl* is equally impossible. It will, therefore, be best to consider it as a conflation of Hebr. קוֹטֵל and Aram. קִטְלָא, the *ḥ* necessarily becoming *ḥ* before a sharpened consonant.

⁴ צִלְעָא is not the same as צִלְלָא. The first is *qattāl* of צִלְע, the last *qattāli*. √ צִלַּע and √ צִלְל are parallel stems. Cf. § 978, n. 1. טַרְרָא (*Seadia, Traité de Succ.*, p. 126, n. 10),

which the learned editors could not explain, is طَرَار pickpocket, "Beutelschneider," from طَر cut. The verb (*ibid.*), cut, deduct.

⁵ The word is a conflation of the Arabic name and Aramaic טַנְא wander, with perhaps a reminiscence of √ ضيع.

⁶ Cf. عَبَسَ be dark (night); Assy. ekkimu oppressor. On the connection between oppression and darkness cf. ظَلَمَة and § 865, n. 4; also Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.*, s. v. אַנְז, פֶּשֶׁק, דִּנְן, דָּאם, אַשְׁט, אַבְל.

⁷ Cf. קְרַמִּית *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

quttalat.—§ 888. a) אוֹפֶמֶת, אוֹפֶמֶת, dark, black; סוּפְמֶת; שׁוּפְמֶת.

qattil.—§ 889. These are all sharpened forms of *qatil* and *qatil*.

a) חָכִימָה wise; חָרִיפָה sharp; יְתִירָה superfluous; צִדִיקָה; רִשִׁיעָה; תְּקִיפָה powerful.—זִבִּילָה basket.

b) אִלִּימָה strong (= אֱלִימָה).

§ 890. חֲמִימָה warm; עֲזִיזָה strong; קְשִׁישָׁה old.

§ 891. לִוִּי certain; סָגִי great, much.

qattilat.—§ 892. אֲלִימָתָה; נִחִירָתָה; פְּרִיצָתָה dissolute; שִׁנְיָתָה confused.

qattal.—§ 893. a) חֲבֻשָׁה a kind of apple; חֲלִיזָה sinus; חֲרוֹבָה carob; עֲמֻדָה column; שְׂבֻחָה broach.

b) גִּילּוּזָה = חִילּוּזָה; טִיבוּרָה = טִיבוּרָה; גִּילּוּרָה.

qattalat.—§ 894. חֲרוֹשָׁתָה witchcraft.

עֲבוּרָה congregation.¹ § 895. אִסּוּרָה; בְּשׁוּלָה; בְּדוּפָה blaspheming; צְבוּרָה

§ 896. יְסוּרָה suffering; יְתוּרָה superfluity.

§ 897. גִּידוּרָה steep embankment; הַלּוּלָה wedding feast.

§ 898. קִיּוּרָה, קִיּוּרָה, קִיּוּרָה ugliness; דִּיוּקָה exactness; תִּירוּרָה, VL., Pes. 116a.

§ 899. לִוִּי cover; רְבוּרָה; שִׁנּוּיָה change.

נִטְוָה drop; סִטְוָה seal. § 900. נִטְוָה.

§ 901. גִּיּוּרָה proselyte.

III. PREFORMATIVES.

א.—§ 902. The א may represent merely a prothetic vowel, as in אֶצְבָּעָה finger, אֶמֶצֶע midst, or may be a formative element. We are concerned here only with the latter.

aqtal(at): אֶסְכָּרָה (שֶׁכֶּר /); אַרְבַּע four; אֶרְנָבָה, אֶרְנָבָה,² אֶרְנָבָה; אֶדְרָכָה; אֶסְמָכָה. The last examples may have originally been aqtal-forms.—אֶנְדָּרָה (נִגְדָּ /).—אֶרְכָּה (רָכָּ /); אֶמְנָה

¹ רִבּוּבִיּוּדָה TG., ed. Harkavy, § 377.

² Eg. Arab. plur. ارناب and ارناب. نرب = نرب = *نرب = نور = نفر
take fright and run off, be timid, shy.

(= (הַרְמִינִיתָא) VL., B. B. 8b.—אֲדִיתָא (וְדִי/); אֲנִיתָא (ינא/).
—אַשְׁרָא (שור/).¹

§ 903. With long vowel: אֲשַׁפְּרָא, אֲשַׁפְּרָא, אֲשַׁפְּרָא, *scurer of dresses*; אֲבִיבָא *flute* (נבב/).

aqtālat.—§ 904. אֲבִרְיָתָא *funeral repast*; אֲרִייתָא *scripture*; אֲקִייתָא *giving possession*; אֲתִרְיָתָא *warning*, VL., B. B. 21b.

itqātal.—§ 905. אֲשַׁתִּיבָא *superintendent, steward*.²

הָ.³—haqtāl.—§ 906. הָרוּחָא *gain*; הָזְמָנָא *invitation*.

haqtīl.—§ 907. הָלְשִׁירָא; הָסְפִידָא *funeral oration*; הָפְקִירָא *lawlessness*; הָרִיחָא *gain*.

§ 908. הָפִירָא *sign of recognition*; הָקִיפָא *enclosure*; הָקִישָׁא *inference from analogy*; הָתִירָא.

יָ.—iaqtūl(at).—§ 909. יָבִרְיָתָא *mandrake*,⁴ יָחִמְרִיתָא *fallow-deer*.

מָ.—maqtāl.—§ 910. מִלְאָכָא; מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, *jugular vein*, Alf. Hull. 93b,⁵ מִשְׁפָּלָא, מִשְׁפָּלָא, *basket*.⁶

§ 911. מִיִּמְרָא *word, teaching*.—מִאָּנָא *vessel* (אני/).

§ 912. מִזְרָקָא *crystal*, by-form יָקָר;⁷ מִזְרָקָא *session*; מִזְרָקָא *best part*.

§ 913. מִזְרָקָא *sickle* (נגר = נגל/).

§ 914. מִשְׁפָּלָא *fan*; מִשְׁפָּרָא, מִשְׁפָּרָא, *garden-bed*, مَشَارِبَ. The Assy. *musārû*, *mušārû* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, s. v. משר) is probably a loan-word.—מִהָטָא *needle*.

§ 915. מִגְבִּיָּא *alum*; מִשְׁתִּיָּא *drink*.

¹ Hence denominated אֲשַׁר *to vise, believe, i. e., take as authentic, as if provided with an official stamp*; באֲשַׁרָא *on belief, on credit*. By-form of אֲשַׁרָא is אֲשַׁרָא.

² From Tigré *šaia* *a set over, charge with, tašaia* *a assume authority*.

³ All these forms are Hebrew loan-words.

⁴ But according to Brun, *Dict. syr-lat.*, s. v., this is a compound of מִסָּח + יָבִירָא.

⁵ This is connected with יָבִירָא (§ 979).

⁶ Hence Greek *μασχαλῆς*; cf. Lewy, *Semit. Fremdwört. im Griech.*, p. 21.

⁷ Tigré *mōqar quartz*, قَوَارِيرَ *crystal, glass*, قَوَارِيرَ, قَوَارِيرَ, *glass bottle*, مَحْمُومًا, *amphora*, مَحْمُومًا *massa argenti vel auri*. נָקָר = קָרָר = יָקָר = וָקָר. Properly *dug, mined glass*, in apposition to *manufactured glass*. Reinisch, *Bilin Wb.*, s. v. *kaḡana*, explains *mōqar* differently. SM. No. CLXIX has *מִזְרָקָא*.

maqalat.—§ 916. מִשְׁכֵּלֶתָא, מִשְׁפִּילֶתָא, מִשְׁפִּלֶתָא, *basket*; מִדִּינְהָתָא *east*, Pes. 111b; מִכְבֵּלֶתָא = Eth. kan bālô, that which Arab. خَلال, African kelâl, a wooden peg to fix the hair, a hair-pin.

§ 917. פִּי מִפְקָתָא *discharge*; מִתְנָתָא *gift*.

§ 918. א) מִגְרִרְתָּא *strigil*; מִטְלֶתָא.

ב) מִטְלָתָא, מִטְוֶלֶתָא, *booth*; מִעֲרָתָא *cave*.

§ 919. עֵרִי מִנְרָתָא *candlestick*.

§ 920. לֹרִי מִשְׁרִיתָא *camp*; מִשְׁתִּיתָא *drink*; מִתְנִיתָא.

muqtal.—§ 921. מוֹרְדִיָּא, מוֹרְדִי, *pole to propel a boat*.

maqtil.—§ 922. א) מִלְבֵּנָא; מִסְפָּרָא *scissors*; מִרְזָבָא *gutter*.

ב) מִסְרִיקָא *comb*; מִרְזִיחָא; מִשְׁמִיטָא *sneak-thief*.

§ 923. מוֹעֲדָא; מוֹקְדָא *fire-place*.

§ 924. עֵרִי מִנִּיפָא *fan*.

maqtilat.—§ 925. מִסְפָּרָתָא *scissors*.

§ 926. עֵרִי מִגִּילָתָא; מִסְכָּחָא *treatise*.

§ 927. עֵרִי מִדִּינְתָא; מִתְיָבְתָא *college* (יָתֵב = תֵּיב).

maqtul(at).—§ 928. מְהוֹדֹרָא *peddler*; מִשְׁמוֹטָא *sneak-thief*; מִשְׁתִּיקָא *silence*.—מִיָּהוּשׁ ¹ *pain*; מִדוֹרְתָא; מִצּוֹבְחָא.

maqṭāl.—§ 929. מִכְחָלָא; מִבְרָא *ferry* (עִבְרָא); מִעֲרָבָא *west*; מִסְאָנָא (= מִסְאָנָא) *shoe*.²

§ 930. פִּרְיָא מוֹדְעָא *declaration*.

§ 931. מִקְבָּא; מִזְלָא; פִּי.

§ 932. מִמְשָׂא *reality*; עֵרִי.

§ 933. מִזוֹנָא; מִחוֹזָא *food*; מִחוֹזָא *city*.³

§ 934. לֹרִי מִצָּרָא *quarrelsome person*.⁴

maqṭalat.—§ 935. מִכְחֶלֶתָא.

§ 936. פִּי plur. מִטְאָרָתָא *safes*.

§ 937. לֹרִי מִטְהָא *hip, loin*; מִקְצָתָא *part, some*; מוֹמְתָא *oath*.

¹ Cf. the interesting remarks of Rabinowicz in VL., Meg. 18a, n. 1. Cf. also המסדרונה I., No. 930.

² Cf. מִטְרָאָא TG., ed. Harkavy, § 330; מִתְקָאָא, *ibid.*, § 74.

³ The form is due to the influence of קְטוֹלָא. To the same influence is due مَاجِرٌ

(§ 846). On the "tyranny" of this form in modern Arabic cf. Vollers, ZDMG., L., 627.

⁴ Does this stand for מִצָּרָא with interchange of labials?

miqtāl.—§ 938. מִדְרָשׁ *study*; מִנְהָגָא *custom*.¹

muqtāl.—§ 939. מוֹסָפָא. A Hebrew loan-word.

maqtil.—§ 940. מַאֲדִים *Mars*; מוֹרִיקָא *crocus*; מִזִּיקָא *evil spirit*.

maqattalat.—§ 941. מַחְוֹרָתָא; מְשִׁבְשָׁתָא; מְחַקְנָתָא; מְחַרְצָתָא.

maqattil.—§ 942. מְרַחֵמָא *friend*; מְשׁוֹרָא *rover*.

maqattul.—§ 943. מְדַבְּרָא, *cf. Kohut, s. v.*; מִבּוֹרָא *ferry-man* (= *מַעְבֹּרָא).

maqātal.—§ 944. מְסוֹבְלָא, מְסַאֲבָלָא, *load*.

maqātil(at).—§ 945. מְדוֹבְרָא; מְסוֹבִיחָא *bar-maid*.

mattaqatalat.—§ 946. מְהוֹכִילָתָא, מְתַכִּילָתָא, *eatables* (√אכל).

נ.—§ 947. נִכְחָמָא *cover*; נִקְשָׁא *spoiled leavened substance*.

צ.—§ 948. צְלוּלִיבָא (§ 77).

ש.—§ 949. שִׁיזְבָתָא *delivery*; שְׁלֻפְיָתָא *bladder*; ²שַׁעֲבֹרָא *subjection, slavery*; plur. שְׁבִירֵי *rays*.

ת.—§ 950. תַּקְטִילָתָא *addition*.

tiqtīl(at): תִּיחִירָא *fig-tree*.—(תִּיחִירָא) *VL., Men. 35 a.* *Cf. قيس*.

taqtul(at): תַּסְפֹּרָתָא, תַּסְפֵּרָתָא or תַּסְפִּרָתָא, *hair-cutting*; תִּיחִירָא *bridge* (§ 44).

taqtāl: תַּחְבָּא *dress*; תַּמְרָא *merchant* (§ 50); תַּרְבָּצָא, *Assyr. tarbaḡu yard*.

taqtīl(at): תַּבְשִׁילָא *dish*; תַּלְמִידָא *pupil*,³ תַּפְשִׁיחָא; תַּפְתִּיחָא; תַּשְׁמִישָׁתָא *use*.

taqtūl: תַּלְמִידָא; תַּרְבִּימָא.

IV. AFFIRMATIVES.

ר"י.—§ 951. When a *nomen agentis* is to be derived from an *إِسْم جَامِد* it may be formed as any similar noun of the form *קטולָא*, *e. g.*, סְפוּנָא *skipper*; תַּנּוֹרָא *stove-maker*; עֲמֹרָא *dealers in wool*. If the *إِسْم جَامِد* is itself of that form, an adjective

¹ מִנְהָגָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 67.

² נַפְחָא; *cf. Hoffmann, LCB.*, 1832, p. 320. But see Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, ed. 12, s. v. שֹׁפַח.

³ *Cf.* on this word, Meissner, *ZA.*, IX., 272 sq. *Cf.* also the proper name תַּחְלִיפָא, *سُحَيْبٌ pudibundus*.

ending is added, *e. g.*, פִּתְוֹרָא *table* gives a form פִּתְוֹרָהָ *money-changer* = שׁוֹלְחָנִי. But, in most cases, to the given form is added the ending וִי, which is nothing but the final syllable of לִי forms of קָטוּלָא, leaving the original form of the word as much as possible unaltered. Thus, אֶהְלִיָּא *dealer in אֶהְלָא Kali*; אֶזְלוּיָא, 'אִי, *dealer in אֶזְלָא 'אִי, spun yarn*; אֶיִּמְרוּיָא *dealer in אֶיִּמְרִי lambs*, VL., B. B. 22a; נֶפְטָיָא *dealer in נֶפְטָא naphtha*; עִמְרוּיָא *dealer in עִמְרָא wool*, Alf. B. B. 22a; צִדְרוּיָא *dealer in צִדְרִי (Assyr. gudûru) fine garments*; קִשְׁוֹיָא *archer, one that handles a קִשְׁתָּא bow*. The same principle is applied to מִבְּרָא *ferry*, giving מִבְּרוּיָא *ferryman*, A. Z. 65b (Rašî, *ibid.* אֶבְרוּיָא¹), for *עִבְרוּיָא would mean something else.²

ִי, *ai*.—§ 952. The ending *ai* occurs in a limited number of nouns whose gender can rarely be determined from present data: אִמְרוּיָא, Assy. amurrû, *west*; כּוּרְכִיָּא *crane*, Assy. kurkû; נְדוּנִיָּא *dowry*, Assy. nudunnû; תּוּבַלְיָא *rope*, Assy. tubalû; דְּיוּקְיָא *inference*; חֲבִיבְיָא *interest*; כְּנֻפְיָא or כִּנּוּפְיָא *assembly*; מְדוּכְיָא *pestle*; סְרִסְיָא *servant*. A few other nouns occur with or without this ending: אִסְקְרִיָּא and אִסְקְרָתָא *sail-yard*, שִׁמְיָא³; אִפְוּחָא and אִפְוּחִיָּא *swelling*; דְּבוּרָא and דְּבוּרִיָּא *bee*; מַזָּא and מַזִּיָּא *hair*; מִסְתָּא and מִסְתִּיָּא *sufficiency*; שִׁפּוּצָא and שִׁפּוּצִיָּא *repairing*.—אֶרְעִי, עֶרְאִי, *chance*, is Palestinian.⁴

ai.—§ 953. This ending serves to derive relative adjectives, appellative nouns, and gentilic adjectives from substantives, adjectives, and proper nouns. The masculine has mostly the forms אִי, אִיָּא, אִיָּה (at times contracted to אִי),⁵ אִיָּן, אִיָּי; the feminine, אִיָּת, אִיָּתָא, אִיָּתָא. The masculine אִיָּא is rare.

¹ Cf. מִזְלוּיָהָ = Assy. arāḥsamnu; אֶרְסָא = Tña. marzi *poison*; מִזְלוּיָהָ = VL., Pes. 40a; אֶנָּן = Eth. manana (§ 866).

² In later literature we find an affirmative וי attached to proper names, as אִיִּסְקוּרִי, פִּלְטוּרִי, מִשְׁוִי, which is of Persian origin. Cf. about this termination Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, I., 4 sq.; Poznański, *REJ.*, XXXIV., 161 sq.; Steinschneider's *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV., 20, 153.

³ For אִסְקְרִיָּא we find also the form קֶרְסָא, קֶרְסָא, R. Nissim, *המפתח*, 3a, *Igg. Šerira*, ed. Neubauer, p. 14. This is the Hebr. קֶרֶשׁ (Ez. 27:6). The word goes back to شَف, *be slender*, شَف, *vibrate*, with various transpositions.

⁴ תִּינְרִי, תִּינְרִי. *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, index.

⁵ Cf. § 83.

From **בְּרָא** *outside, country*, the adjective **בְּרָאָה**, **בְּרָאָה**, **בְּרָאָה**, is formed. From **גִּנְתָּא** *garden*, **גִּנְתָּא** *gardener*; from **חֲקֵלָא** *field*, **חֲקֵלָא** *countryman*; from **אֲבוּלָא** *gate*,¹ **אֲבוּלָא** *gate-keeper*; from **קְרִיתָא** *city*, **קְרִיתָא** *townsman*; from **עֲלָא** *above*, **עֲלָא** (= 'iliāiā) *upper*; from **יְחִידָא**, **יְחִידָא**, the forms **יְחִידָא** *sole*, **יְחִידָא** *one pretending to be a scholar*; from **רומָא**, **רומָא**, **רומָא**, the gentilic adjectives **בְּבִלְאָה** *Babylonian*, **רומָא** *Roman*, **פומְבִּדִּיתָא** *Pumbedithean*. In a few cases this ending is used interchangeably with *ân*; as **סִדָּא** = **סִדָּנָא** *maker of stocks*; **עֲנוּחָא** = **עֲנוּחָנָא** *modest man*. But more frequently both endings are combined. Cf. § 962.²

יְ, יִ, יִ.—§ 954. This affirmative occurs only before the feminine ending.

a) qatl: **אֲרִיעָתָא**, **אֲרִיעָתָא**, *bottom*, VL., Men. 11a; **עֲרִיעָתָא** *hornet*.

b) qitl: **בְּשִׁיתָא** *caper*; **בְּנִיתָא** *hair* (§ 809); **בִּיעִיתָא** a kind of boat; **עֲלִיתָא** *upper chamber* (= 'iliīiāiā); **שִׁינִיתָא** *female*.³

c) qutl: **גִּוּרִיתָא** *fencing in*; **זוּגִיתָא** *glass vessel*; **תוּרִיתָא** *form* (§ 55).

d) q^etāl: **נְעִמִיתָא** *ostrich*; **נַפְפִיתָא** *winnowing-fan*; **אֲמַצְעִיתָא**.

e) q^etāl: **זְהוּרִיתָא** *crimson*; **סְרוּקִיתָא** *caravan of Saracenes*.

f) quttul: **זִיבּוּרִיתָא** *wasp*.

g) qattal: **פְּבִרִיתָא** *sulphur*.

h) qüttāl: **חִיּוּרִיתָא** *white flour*; **תוּרִיתָא** *cypress*.

i) qittāl: **חִיפּוּשִׁיתָא** *scarabee*; **חִיפּוּשִׁיתָא** *scurf*.

j) maqtāl: **מִצּוּבִיתָא**, **מִצּוּבִיתָא**.⁴

k) maqtāl: **מִסְתוּרִיתָא** *reel* = **مُسْقَرَة** *skein*; cf. سفر VII.⁵

¹ This word seems to be of Kushitic origin and identical with **גִּלְא**, **אֲגִלְא**. Cf. Nuba *agil mouth, entrance*; Kulfan *ogul, awol, aul, mouth*; Kafa *kellō door, gate*; Chamir *bilā, mirā, gate, door*; Amb. *bārr principal entrance*; Galla *kellā principal exit*, *balbatā door, gate*. From the last form may come **בָּבָא**.

² Notice here **מְנַבְרִיתָא**, **מְנַבְרִיתָא**, *stewardess*, 'Afar-Sabo *manāböytā*, Tigré *manābbet*.

³ Assyr. *sinistu*. On the etymology cf. S. Arab. **سِنْخ** = Hebr. **נֶקֶב**. On its synonym **שִׁנִּיתָא** cf. Parisot in JA., IX^e s., XII^e t., 132 p.

⁴ **ציב**, **ציב** = Quara *jāb branch of tree, border of garment*; Amh. *tāf idem*.

⁵ **פִּלְפֵל** = (תלתלים) **תלתל** = **تَلَم** = **سفر** as **סחר** = **פִּלְפֵל** *frizzle*. With **مشورة**, **مشورة** (Lôw, *Aram. PN.*, 56), it has nothing to do.

מ.—§ 957. סִלְמָא *ladder*.

י.—*ân, ʾn (ân), in (en), an (?)*.—§ 958. These affirmatives are used:

1. To form from verbal stems infinitives; as צוֹהֶנָּה *to cry*, *VL.*, Ber. 20a; לְנִסְיָנֵיהֶּם *to prove them*, *Yalq. Kings* 199 = *Sanh.* 101b. From this develop the following classes:

a) Abstract nouns; as מִנְיָן *number*; פּוֹרְעֵנָּה *retribution, punishment*.

b) Adjectives; as דִּלְפָּנָה *blear-eyed*.

c) Nomina agentis with the sense of habitual action, occupation, etc.; as גִּזְלָנָה *robber*. This class is the most common.

d) Concrete nouns; as שִׁקְרִינָה *liquid*.

2. To change participles into appellatives, denoting habitual action; as מְדַבְּרָנָה *leader*.

3. To change concrete nouns into

a) adjectives and appellative nouns denoting the possessor of that which is denoted by the noun, with a magnifying sense; as שִׁנְיָנָה *having large teeth*; בִּישׁוּרָנָה *fleshy*;

b) adjectives possessing the quality of the noun; as תוֹלַעֲנָה *crimson*;

c) another noun with a metaphorical expression; as מְעִינָה *body, properly containing bowels*.

4. To change a proper noun into an adjective denoting relation to that noun; as קִיסְרָנָה *Cæsarean*.

5. To change an adjective into a noun; as חֲדָתָנָה *something new*.

6. To strengthen adverbs and demonstr. pronouns; as לְקָמֶן, תִּמְצֶן, דִּינֶן.

ân.—§ 959. a) qatl: נִגְהָנָה *goring*; עֲבֵרִינָה *transgressor*; טִיּוֹנָן = טִיּוֹן *arrogant, passing into* לִי; דִּקְנָה, דִּקְנָה, דִּקְנָה, *exact*, *VL.*, Men. 29b; רִיחָנָה *fragrant*; עֵינִינָה *large-eyed*; מוֹתָנָה *pestilence*; אִמְרָנָה, אִחְוָנָה, תִּחְוָנָה, *station* (توى = اوى); אִמְרָנָה, אִחְוָנָה, *rebellion, with prothetic vowel, or Aph'el?* בִּגְנָה *potsherd*, cf. *bagā* *scale*, חֲסַפָּה and חֲסַפְיָתָה (§ 963, note).

b) qatlat: רִיחָתָנָה *fragrant*.

c) qitl: אִסְתָּן *north*; בִּירָסָנָה *acquisition*; מְצָרָנָה *boundary*; אֵילָנָה *tree*; תִּנְיָנָה *second*.

d) qutl: עוֹלָבָנָא *insult*; רוֹמְנָא *pomegranate*; פֶּלֶךְ; טוֹפְרָנָא *surplus*; סִיגְרָנָא, סִיגְרָנָא, *twig*.

e) qutlat: סִיגְרָנָא *twig*.

f) qatal: הֶדְתָּנָא *something new*, VL., B. B. 90b; בוּצְלָנָא; הִיקְנָא *bearded*.

g) qatalat: עִנּוּתָנָא *modest*.

h) qatil: שְׁלֵמָנָא *virtuous*; רֵבְנָא; רִיקָנָא *empty*; עֵדָנָא *time* (= u^aidāna).¹

i) qital: מֵעֵינָא *body*.

j) qātil: מַרְנָא *master, lord*.

k) q^otāl: אֶרְרִין a kind of sword, properly *something made of metal*.²

l) q^otil: אֶרְרִין *id.*³ By-form אֶרְרִין (§ 36) = Kafa arijo *sword, dirk*.

m) qattil: קַבְלָנָא *possessor of tradition*; רַחֲמָנָא *merciful*.

n) 'aqtal: אֶרְרִין *teaching, knowledge*.

o) tuqtul: תוֹרְגְמָנָא *interpreter*.

p) maqattil: מַלְפָּנָא *teacher*; מִדְּבָרָנָא *leader*.

q) maqtal: מַעְלָנָא *entrance*; מַפְקָנָא *exit*.

r) maqtil: מוֹרְרִין *teacher*.

s) maqtul: מִצּוֹיָנָא *quarrelsome man*.

t) mataqtil: מַתוֹרְגְמָנָא *interpreter*.⁴

u) qautal: תוֹלְעָנָא *crimson*.

v) qalqal: קַרְקָפָנָא *big-head*.

w) qalqil: זִלְזָלָנָא *intemperate*.

x) qulqul: קוּרְקָבִין, Assyr. quqqubānu, *craw*;⁵ שׁוּמְשָׁמָנָא, *ant*.

¹ Intervocalic ʿ is weakened to ʾ in הָאִידָנָא *now*.

² Eth. 'arar *lead, tin*; Tigré 'arēr *lead, tin*, 'arār *steel*, 'arēr *bullet* (lead or iron), غَار *point of lance, edge of sword*, غَرَّ *metal bell*, אֶרֶר *pen*, originally *stylus*, TR., I., 31.

³ All words of this form in the emphatic state are traditionally pronounced with שׁוֹנָא before בּ; as אַבְרִישָׁנָא, גְּהִילָנָא, פֶּשִׁישָׁנָא, צִפְרִישָׁנָא. This is evidently due to the retrogression of the accent.

⁴ The u-vowel is due to the following consonants as well as to the infinitive form sub o. Cf. Pal. Aram. מִשׁוּמְשָׁמָנָא.

⁵ קַרְקָבִין HG. 522.

on, un.—§ 960. a) qat(i)l: אֲבֻשׁוֹנָא *parched corn* (√ אבש = יבש); אֶלְיוֹנָא *thumb*; בְּרִיוֹנָא, Assy. *barānu*, *outlaw, rebel* (√ ברא = √ מרא); דְּבִרוֹנָא *current*,¹ אֲרִבְוֹנָא *defective sight*.²

b) qit(ta)l: בְּזִיוֹנָא *disgrace*; עִוְרוֹנָא *blindness*; צִבְעוֹנִין *colored garments*.

c) qutl: דְּרִבּוּנֵי *goat-bearers*; but more correctly דְּרִבּוּנָא.

d) qattāl: חֶלְזוֹנָא *snail*.³

in.—§ 961. a) qatl: אֲחֵרִינָא, אֲחֵרִינְתָא, contracted to אֲחֵרִינָא, אֲחֵרִינְתָא, *another*; הֲדִרִינְתָא *swindler*; רֹזֶה-בֹּשֶׁת *rose-bush*; בִּרְשִׁינָא? *horse-bean*; צִפְרִינָא *tooth-ache*.—סְכִינָא *knife*.—זִקְיָנָא *swollen*; plur. בִּזְיָנִין *young pumpkins*, C. MS., Meg. 12ab (voc.); אֲחִיוֹנָא = אֲחִוֹנָא *kindling-wood*; קָרִינָא, جَرَّيَال, Assy. *karānu, wine*.⁵—פַּרְצִינָא (= *parçindā = parçintā*).⁶

b) qutl: הוֹרִסְנָא *acquisition*; טוֹבִינָא *happy*; קוֹפִינָא *hole*; שׁוֹרְפִינָא, صُرُو, سُور, Alg. Arab. *سُرُول*, Assy. *šurmēnu, cypress*.

c) maqattil: מְרַבִּינְתָא *educator*.

d) qalqal: שׁוֹשְׁבִינָא *bridegroom's friend*, שׁוֹשְׁבִינְתָא *bridesmaid*, Assy. *susabinu*; cf. שִׁבְיָן *god-father*, שִׁבְיָנָא *god-mother* (√ שבב = שבין, § 858).

ר.—§ 962. עֲכָבְרָא *mouse*.⁷

¹ בְּעִוְנָא *Igg. Šertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 25, u. 10 = Pal. Syr. صَحْم.

² Bilin 'arāb *blind*.

³ This word denotes five different species. Cf. Epstein, *Beth Talmūd*, V., 299 sq.

⁴ This must not be confounded with Hebr. אֲחֵרִית, which is of a different formation. For דגש after י confer אִיקָא.

⁵ √ כרר = כרם, whence also *kirē, qirē, groves*. For a similar phenomenon, where מ is retained in the cognate languages, while having become ר in Assyrian, cf. תְּמִוּז = du'uzu.

⁶ √ פרס *kernel, fruit-stone*, is that which is cut out. Of the same origin is probably the ר in Hebr. כֶּרֶךְ and רֶכֶסְדֹּרֶת. The last word Gesenius' *Thesaurus* connects, probably correctly, with رَمَث. For the variety of sibilants cf. Yemen Arab. رَمَص, Eth. rames; for interchange of מ and ס cf. طَرَفْس = طَرَمَس, زُفْأ = زُفْأ. But these words may be loan-words from Kushitic, where the feminine ending *ad* instead of *at* is common.

⁷ √ عكب *be thick-set*. The mouse is frequently called by a name denoting this quality and is, therefore, frequently synonymous with *muscle*. Cf. رَكِين *firm, solid*, مَكِين *mouse*; عَصَلَة *muscle*, عَصَل *field-mouse*, قَار *muscle, mouse*; hence medieval Hebr. עֲכָבְרָא *muscle*. The same connection between *muscle* and *mouse* is found in some Indo-European languages. Cf. Kluge, s. v. Maus.

DOUBLE AFFIRMATIVES.

§ 963. With the exception of the few examples given below, double affirmatives occur only with the feminine ending.

a) *ânî*: פִּלְגִּיָּא ; גְּמִלְנִיָּא *large-sized*; הוֹיִבְשְׁנִיָּא *honey-like*; חֲסִפְנִיָּא *scurf*, scaly appearance of the skin.¹

b) *înî*: מְהוֹיִנִיָּא *indication*; פִּילִינִיָּא = פּוֹלִינִיָּא *anemone*; plur. כִּלְנִיָּא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

c) *ânû*: עֲנוּתְנוּיָא *modesty, meekness*; רַבְרְבְּנוּיָא *greatness*.

d) *înû*: גְּרֵעִינִיָּא *fruit-stone*.

e) *ânâi*: plur. דְּרִבְנָא *goad-bearers*.

f) *înâi*: יִרְחִינָא *skilled in calendation*.

g) *âiû*: אַרְמִינִיָּא *paganism*; תְּלִמְיִיָּא *something furrow-like*.

h) A few words are pronounced with שׁוּא before נ, *e. g.*, מְחוֹזְנָא *one from Māhōzā*. Whether originally so?

V. DIPHTHONGIZED FORMS.

1. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND SHORT VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 964. a) *qautal*: מוֹרְנָא *threshing-sledge*; דּוֹחֶלָא = דּוֹחֶלֶת *mule*; תּוֹלְעָא, תּוֹלַע, *worm*.

b) *qaital*: דּוֹסֶרָא = דּוֹסֶרָא.

2. DIPHTHONG IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

§ 965. a) *qautāl*: שׁוֹפְרָא ; שׁוֹתְפָא (§ 23c).

b) *qautil*: מוֹרִינָא ; מוֹרִיקָא.

c) *qaitil*: [פִּילִיל Zeb. 118b; proper noun?]²

d) *qaitâl*: סִיבּוֹרָא *cupping*; שׁוֹפּוֹרָא = שׁוֹפְרָא.

¹ חֲסִפָּא = חֲרָשָׁא *scratch, peel, etc.* Hence חֲרָשָׁא = חֲרָשָׁא *worn-out garment*, whose nap is scratched off. Assy. *haḡhu* is loan-word. Similar development: בָּגָא, בָּגָא, *scale*, פְּנָא *potsherd*, חֲרָשָׁא, *scurf, potsherd*, חֲרִישָׁא *fine linen*, whose nap is gone. Cf. also Hebr. dict. s. v. קִשְׁקֶשֶׁת.

² שׁוֹפּוֹרָא = שׁוֹפְרָא.

3. DIPHTHONG IN THE SECOND SYLLABLE.

qutail.—§ 966. אַזִּילָא *gazelle*; עִילִימָא *youth, young man*; plur. עִילִימִי, and with disregard of grammatical form, עִילִימִי, Zeb. 116b and Raši *ad loc.*

NOTE.—There are some words which are spelled like those above, but probably do not belong here; *e. g.*, אַזִּירָא = אַזִּירָא *rice*; רִימִיתָא = רִימִיתָא *speer*; בִּוּטִיטָא (§ 866). The second vowel in the first two is probably a helping vowel to ease the collocation of difficult sounds. *Cf.* a similar helping vowel in אַבִּירִיתָא, עֲבִירִיתָא (§ 833, n. 1). Similar formations in Hebrew and Pales-tinean Aramaic, belonging to various forms, are: בִּוּרִידָה, שׁוּמִירָה; דּוּחִינָא, זִוּנִיחָא, כּוּדִיבָא. Pal. Syr. ܕܚܝܢܐ, ܕܚܝܢܐ, etc.

VI. REDUPLICATED FORMS.

qalqal and similar forms.—§ 967. אֹזְרָא *net*, Assy. *huharu*;¹ אֹסְפִתָא *lucern*, shortened to אֹסְפָא (*VL.*, Sanh. 74b, 93a, Yalqūt Dan. 1060) = فَصَّصَة; גִּרְגִּישָׁא, גִּרְגִּישָׁא, *clod*, shortened to גִּרְגִּיתָא *VL.*, Succā 26a; *cf.* Eth. *gʷaggʷeç* and Maltese *grix*; דַּשָּׂא *door, gate*, Amharic *daḡ*, Eth. *dēdē*; דִּידָבָא, דִּי, *fly*; דִּקְדָּקָא *tow*; plur. דִּרְדָּקִי *young children*, دُرْدُق; טָאטָא, טָאטָא, *broom*; כּוּדָבָא *star*; כּפָרָא *talent*; לִילָא *night*, *SM.* No. xxv (voc.); מִינָא (= מַעֲנָא); אַזָּא, אַזָּא, *awn* = شَعَاع (§ 794a); סוּסָא *horse*, Eg. Arab. *pony*; צִילָצָא, צִילָצָא, צִילָצָא, *turtle-dove*; קִילָקָא, קִילָקָא, קִילָקָא, *heap of refuse*, Tña. *qulqulet*

¹ *Cf.* § 77.

² *Cf.* אֹסְפִתָא (Lōw, *Aram. PN.*, p. 96). The פ became נ through ו *وفر* = فخر = פִּזְמוֹן = Eth. *uāzēma hymn*, Tigré *uonne = fanfane*), or it was mistaken for the Egyptian article and dropped (*cf.* Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L, 617, 654). The fact that اسپیست makes sense in Persian need not prove more its Persian origin than our “sparrow-grass” the English origin of “asparagus.” فَصَّصَة is a transposition of صَفَصَفَة, etymologically the same as Hebr. צִפְצָפָה, whose verbal stem is found in Eth. *safafa abound*. סִירָא *reed* may also belong here.

declivity; ¹ קַנְקָנָה *jar*; קֶקֶת (= קַעֲקָעָה) *throat*; קֶרֶפֶתָּה *head*; ² שִׁשְׁלָה, שִׁשְׁלֹתָה, שִׁשְׁשִׁילֹתָה, *chain*.

qulqul and similar forms.—§ 968. גוּלְגּוּלָּה, גוּלְגּוּלָּה, *skull*; פִּירְפִּמָּה *crocus*; קִרְקָה *elevation*; קוּרְקוּר *raven*; שׁוּמְשָׁמָה *crocus*; שׁוּשָׁמָה, *sesame*.

qalqāl, qalqil, qalqāl.—§ 969. *בְּרִיָּא* *briar*; *בְּדִיָּא* *bad thoughts* (√*הא*); *בְּדִיָּא*, *בְּדִיָּא*, and similar forms; *לִיָּבָא*, *לִיָּבָא*; *שְׂרִיָּא*, *שְׂרִיָּא*, *chain*.

qatalat and similar forms.—§ 970. **חֲצוֹצְרֶתָּה** *trumpet*; **אֶקְרִיתָּהּ**, and shortened: **אֶקְרִיתָּהּ**, **אֶקְרִיתָּהּ**, **אֶקְרִיתָּהּ**, **אֶקְרִיתָּהּ**, **חֲמֹמָה**, **עֻף**, *frog* (✓ **עֻף** = **קר** = **קר** = **קר**).

qutaltit and similar forms.—§ 971. פְּרִימֻשָּׁא = פְּרִימֻשָּׁא;
 plur. פְּרִימֻשָּׁא = פְּרִימֻשָּׁא.

qatqāl, qatqīl.—§ 972. זִבְזָנָא lizard, زَغ. Cf. Maltese
bażuga bogaraves, zibbūgi olive-colored. זִרְזִיפָּתָא, זִרְזִיפָּא
squirting.

qatlal.—§ 973. חֵלֶלְלָא *clue, skein*, plur. יָלְקוּת Yalqūt Ps. 862 = Hull. 60a (§ 81);³ רֵיכָא *rich landlord*; שְׁקֵרָא *infernal liar*.

qatlil.—§ 974. **קֶבֶלֶל** *stomach of an animal*,⁴ **קֶבֶלֶל** *pullet in the egg-shell*,⁵ **קֶבֶלֶל**.

¹ Halévy compares קִיקְלָא with Assy. kigallu lowland (cf. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, s. v.).

² √ قذ = قذ = قف. For interchange of ذ and ف cf. فكر = ذكر. The primitive meaning was evidently *hollow out*; hence the correlative *be convex*. This explains all the derivatives of the root. The first meaning appears in קִרְפָּה, قُرْفَة, basket; קַיְפָא, كَيْفَا, cupola; قُفْ, hole of the axe; מְקִידָה, מקידה, pot, bowl; the second, in קַרְפָּיָה, كَرْفِيَا, stony hill, قَفَاً occiput, whence the denominative قَفَا be behind, follow, قَفْلَة head, קַרְפֵּיר = قَفْلَة ascend a mountain, קַרְפֶּדָּה Assy. qaqqadu; קַרְפֶּדָּה elevation, قَدَّ ascend a mountain, قُدُن high top; Tña. qerqerti occiput = *qedqedti (§36).

³This word is given by the Syriac dictionaries sub. ܕܢܝܢܐ, but it belongs to ܕܢܝܢܐ, a by-form of ܕܢܝܢܐ. Cf. ܕܢܝܢܐ hang down loosely.

⁴ This is Tigré ešbilō = Bilin šbilō *small intestines*.

⁵ وَرَضَ lay an egg with one push. Cf. رَكَبَ to bring forth a child with one effort and كَبَّ fetus.

נ.—§ 979. בִּינְדִּילִית *left-handed, ambidexterous, bustrophen-*
don,¹ גִּרְנָנָא = גִּרְנָנָא *rim*; גִּרְנָנָא *hard clod*; זְרִינְקָא, זְרִינְקָא
hose,² יִרְנָנָא or יִרְנָנָא *wine flavored with herbs*; לִבְנָנָא *load,*
burden, VL., R. H. 26b; שְׂרִינְכִי (✓ *شرف*); פִּשְׁקָנָא = פִּשְׁקָנָא
 (§ 980).

ש, ס.—§ 980. אֶסְיָנָא (= אֶסְנָא); חֲלִיקוּסְתָּא, חֲלִיקוּסְתָּא,
 סְלִיקוּסְתָּא = סְלִיקוּסְתָּא; סְרִיקוּסְתָּא = סְרִיקוּסְתָּא *comb*; קְלִיבִּוּסְתָּא *hip-*
bone; אֶשְׁרָפָא (§ 46); פִּשְׁקָנָא *she-raven* (فقس, فقس), literally
the egg-breaking bird; ? כְּרוּמְשָׁא *service-tree*.⁴ Cf. כְּרוּמוֹס *fig-*
tree, but Dozy has کرطوس!

grounds, طَحْلَبُ *Lemnaceae*, طَحْلُبُ *Mnium*. Denominative: بَلَطَمَ *flatten*
something convex, i. e., give it the shape of a lentil, فَلَطَمَ *flatten like a cake*; hence
 طَلَفَمَ *make thin or fine* and its ضَدَّ *stout, big*. From the last we get the shortened
 verbs طَفَلَ, فَلَطَ, نَطَعَ. Eth. ṭaflaṭ *something round and flat, a silver coin*;
 hence shortened ṭaḥala *flatten*.

אֶזְדִּילִית *left-handed* = אֶזְדִּילִית, אֶזְדִּילִית (§ 842d) *left-handed, ambidexterous* = אֶזְדִּילִית
ambidexterous; cf. Eth. g^uadalāwi *defectu laborans*. אֶזְדִּילִית stands for أَجَزَل. The
 ج (= dʒ) loses its ʒ before ز and د and ز and د are transposed. ✓ *جزل* *to cut*; cf. Italian
 mancino. On the connection between left-handedness and ambidexterity cf. عَسَرَ,
 which means both. Hence نَزَلَ *to grab with both hands, rob*, and *جزل* *give with both*
hands, be generous.

² Cf. Assy. zuriqāti *implements of irrigation*, زُرَاقَة *watering-pot*, زُرْنُوق *rivulet*,
 زُرْنُوق *watering-machine*, Eg. Arab. دَوْرَق *long-necked water-bottle*.

³ Cf. Z.A., VII., 179 sq.; ZATW., XVII., 351.

⁴ Cf. איסמלקי *Italian, VL.*, 'Er. 64b, פסתקא (= פתקא) *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer,
 p. 31; אֶסְתִּסְיָא = אֶסְתִּסְיָא *ibid.*, p. 44 (but this may be an istaph'al form). Here probably
 belongs עשתרת *Ištar*, ✓ *عتر*, goddess of sexual lust. عَزَز (§ 793, n. 1) *rough,*
strong, passionate, hence *fruitful*. From the idea of fruitfulness and plenty we have
 עֲתָר, עֲתָרָה, עֲתָרָה, עֲתָרָה, Eth. and dialects 'atar *beans, peas, grain*, Hebr. עֲתָרָה,
abundance, increase. עֲתָר *kid* and capers may contain the idea of sexual passion; cf.
 Hebr. אֲבִירוֹנָה, the goat being known for lustfulness, and the capers may have been used as
 an aphrodisiac. עשתרות צאן may be identical with עֲתָר *kid*. Cf. also
 Skipwith, JQR., XI, 256.—From such a form as סליקוסתא has probably developed the
 Syriac independent suffix -سلف.

§ 981. אַרְזִילָא, אַרְזִילָא, *hammock* (עזל $\sqrt{\text{ }}$); ¹ אַרְזִילָא *gazelle*; גְּרִידָמָא *stump*; גְּרִמִּידָא *cubit*; דִּרְגָשָׁא *couch, bed*, Eth. med qās; דִּרְזִיקָא *scabs*; ? טְרַפְשָׁא = قَنْبَرَة, with dissimilation of last stem-consonant; ³ פּוֹרְטָא *arm-chair* (quttal); מְרִגְנִיתָא *pearl* = Eth. mōgart *precious stone*; מְרִזְבִּלָא, زَبَل, *palm-mat*; סְמִרְטוּטָא, سَمَطَا, *rag*; עֲרִיזָלָא *naked*; קוֹרְפָּא *שפור*.

§ 982. אַתְפָּלָא *cluster* (§ 790, n. 1); זוּטָא (§ 56); ⁴ צִיחִירָא, צִיחִירָא, *savory*, VL., Sabb. 128 a.⁵

VIII. PLURICONSONANTAL.

§ 983. אַוּרְשָׁנָא, אַוּרְשָׁנָא, Assy. ahursānu; ⁶ אַמְרָפָּלָא or אַמְרָפָּלָא, Assy. abkallu; אַרְיָן, Assy. urmahhu (= urvāhu), *great lion*; אַרְדִּינָלָא, Assy. dimgallu (§ 50); אַרְמִלָּתָא Somali *armali widow*; ⁷ חֲרִדָּלָא *mustard*; כִּרְפָּסָא, כִּרְפָּס, *lean lamb*; שְׂרָפָא, שְׂרָפָא, *nest*; תַּרְנֻגָּלָא, תַּרְנֻגָּלָא, Assy. tarra-nugallu, a compound of tarra *hen* and nugallu *king*; ⁸ תַּרְנֻגָּלָא. Here belongs also אַרְיוּתָא *lioness*, from a stem אַרְיוּ, אַרְיוּ, ⁹ נַחְתוּמָא *baker* = Assy. nu-ḥatim mu.¹⁰

¹ For the double treatment of the last stem-vowel cf. Hebr. בְּרַמְלִית with בְּרַמְלוֹ.

² The etymology of this word is not certain. It has two series of synonyms. On the one hand, אַצְבַּע, חֲצָרָא, אַבְנָתָא; on the other, יוֹתֶרֶת and زَبَادَة. It may go back to טַפֵּשׁ as well as to طَرَف.

³ It is, however, not impossible that the stem is כִּרַּב, since כִּרַּב = קֶבֶר. Cf. Tīa k^uorebtā *hill*. But cf. the spelling of קֶרְבִּלָּתָא *crested* in Jellineck's *בית המדרש*, VI, 109.

⁴ The Ma'lūla dialect still retains the ע in זְעוּטָא.

⁵ צַעֲרָא. Cf. אֲמֹר סַעֲתָר *difficulties, unpleasant things, Maltese santra trouble-some*; also נִדְעָא = נִדְעָא and סַעֲתָר בְּרִי = נִדְעָא *offend with words*.

⁶ The word seems to be a compound. The first half seems to contain Eth. ahūr *ram*, Amh. aḡrā *male*, aḡrē *wild beast* = Eth. aḡrē, our אַרְיָא and גְּרִיָּא. In the Kushitic languages the word, under various forms, means *son, daughter, child, youth, husband, man*. What is the other element?

⁷ armali is a compound of (w)ar+ma+li *husband+not+having*. The Kunama drops the last element and says ermatā *no+husband*. To the Somali form go back אַרְמִלָּתָא, אַרְמִלָּתָא; to the Kunama form, Phœnician אַלְמַת.

⁸ Cf. Oppert, ZA., VII, 339. Is modern Arab. تَرْغَلَة *turtle-dove* connected with this?

⁹ אַרְיָא *stable* is probably connected with this stem, meaning originally *the place for the animals*.

¹⁰ Cf. Zimmern, ZDMG., LIII., 115; Halévy, Rev. Sem., 1899, pp. 278 sq.

APPENDIX.

HYPOCORISTIC ENDINGS.

§ 984. Proper nouns end in אֵי , אִי , ִי or ִיִּי , ִי or ִיִּי , and אֵי . *E. g.*, מִשְׁרֵיִא , רְחוּמֵיִי , אֲשִׁי or אֲשִׁיִּי , אִיכֹי , אִיִּיכֹי , אֲבָהִי , אֲבָהִיִּי (for חֲנָא , § 794). Most or all of these endings occur also in the other Aramaic dialects and in Hebrew-Phœnician.¹ In Amharic we find the endings el , al , and ô .² The origin of these endings is still unknown.

GENDER, NUMBER, AND STATE.

§ 985. There are two genders, masculine and feminine; two numbers, singular and plural,³ and three states, absolute, construct, and definite.

§ 986. The feminine ending, if the word-stem end in a consonant, is at , if in a vowel t ; *e. g.*, בִּאֲתָה (§ 798b), מַלְכוּתָה . The feminine ending has sometimes the force of a diminutive; *e. g.*, פְּתוּרְתָה *small table*.⁴

§ 987. The absolute and construct states occur but seldom, the definite state, having lost largely its original determining force, being used instead.

§ 988. The termination of the definite state is usually אֵי , rarely ִיִּי ; in a few cases, with 'imālè, ִי (§ 69).⁵ The ending ִיִּי occurs only in the following adjectives: אֲחֵרִיתִי , אוֹכְמִיתִי , זֹטִיתִי ,⁶ זֹטִיִּי , חֲדָתִי and חֲדָתִיִּי , חֲדִירִיתִי , סוֹמְקִיתִי , רַבָּתִי , and in the noun בְּרוֹקִיתִי or בְּרוֹקִיתִיִּי *cataract of the eye*.⁷ Some of these words occur also with the regular ending אֵי .

¹ Cf. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phöniz. Inschriften*, p. 34; Renan, *REJ.*, V, 161 sq.

² Cf. D'Abbadie, *Dict. Amar.*, s. v. *gäbrä* (col. 847).

³ For remnant of dual cf. תְּרִין , מֵאֲתִין .

⁴ Cf. also *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 34, and Guidi, *Gram. elem. della lingua amariña*, 16c.

⁵ On the nature of the ending אֵי cf. Barth, *AJSL.*, XII, and Lindberg, *Vergl. Gram der Semit. Sprachen*, I, 96 sq.

⁶ Cf. זִיטְרִיתִי *HG.* 526.

⁷ Cf. $\text{מִיִּלְתָּה} = \text{מִיִּלְתָּה}$ *TR.*, II, 23, כּוֹלֵי יוֹמִי *the whole day*, *HG.* 221. Cf. also שַׁעֲרֵי = שַׁעֲרָה *wax*, *TR.*, II, 58; תְּלָתִי *three* (p. 43, n. 1), רוֹמִי *hight*, הַשְּׁטָרוֹת *ס* ed. Halberstam, p. 46; כְּמִי *some*, *Igg. Serirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 33, = כְּמִיָּה *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, pp. 23, 44. The ה shows that the pronunciation was צִרִי . Cf. § 939 a.

PLURAL TERMINATIONS.

1. Masculine Endings.

§ 989. a) The usual endings of the masculine plural are: *abs. st.* [ן־], *est. st.* י־, *defin. st.* יָא־, י־. *E. g.*, בְּזֻלְכִּין, בְּזֻבְרִין Sanh. 26a; שִׁטִּי sixty (§ 136); רִשִּׁיעֵיךָ Sanh. 46b; זֶה־ *ibid.* 29b. In a few cases the ending י־ is diphthongized: נִשְׂיִי VL., Zeb. 112b, נִשְׂאִי VL., Sabb. 148a.¹ In some other cases י־ is written for יִי, the ה־ being added to show that the pronunciation is *ê*, not *i*. This is quite common in later literature. *Cf.* בִּישְׁתִּיהָ Sanh. 7a, אֹרְחֶיהָ, בְּנֵיבָהָ *ibid.* 109a.

b) Not infrequently the ending of the definite state of the singular is retained before the plural ending. *E. g.*, יְהִירְאִין M. MS. Meg. 14b, חֲמִצָּי VL., Sabb. 110a, לִישְׁנָיָה Keth. 91a, תִּלְפָּאִי Sabb. 110a. In some cases it is doubtful whether we have to read יִא־ or יָא־. For nouns of the form קְטוּלָא *cf.* § 847.

c) Very seldom we find the ending יָנִי, יָנִי. The following are all that occur: יָסִי *Še'el.* § 92 = Hull. 17b,² יָנִי = יָנִי *stocks*, Pes. 28a; סְמִי B. M. 85b, סְמִי VL., *ibid.*,³ סְקִי 'Arūkh, Sanh. 98a; צִפְרִי Gitt. 70a.⁴ In words with this ending occurring only in the plural it is sometimes doubtful whether the singular ended in יָנִי or not; *e. g.*, שְׁוֹפְרִי, צֹוֹרִי.

2. Feminine Endings.

§ 990. a) The usual endings of the feminine are: *abs. st.* ת־, *est. st.* ת־, *defin. st.* תָּא־. *E. g.*, בָּנִי daughters; דִּמְעָתִי tears, Sabb. 33b; מְקוֹמֵי places.

b) Not infrequently we find the double plural תִּין, תִּין, תִּי. *E. g.*, בָּנִי Meg. 14b; צִי Sabb. 140b; שִׁי VL., Pes. 111b; חֲיוֹתֵי VL., Sabb. 110a; נְבִיאֵי Meg. 14b.

c) In a few cases the plural ending is attached to the ending of the singular; *e. g.*, שְׁמֵי־תִרְחָא traditions, שְׁפִתֵּי־לִפְסִי lips.⁵

¹ Notice בְּזֻלְכִּין *Igg. Šetrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 28.

² יָסִי, יָסִי, 'Ānān, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

³ סְמִי *JQR.*, IX, 701.

⁴ שְׁוֹפְרִי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 550, תִּלְפָּאִי *ibid.* רָבִין is Palestinian.

⁵ אֲרִי־תִרְחָא *HG.* 140; מְסִי־תִרְחָא *ibid.* 265; הִלְכֵי־תִרְחָא *Igg. Šetrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 19. From these forms we get a singular with two ת's: אֲרִי־תִרְחָא *Še'el.*, § 8; מְסִי־תִרְחָא Sabb. 134a.

d) The endings **נָתַתָּ**, **יָתַתָּ** (**יִתַּתָּ**), which are regular in feminine nouns from **ל"י**-stems, are also taken by the following nouns:

a) Nouns ending in **נָתַתָּ**, **יָתַתָּ**, **יִתַּתָּ**; as **אַתְרוּתָתָּ** *localities*, **קַדְמִיתָתָּ** *capers*, **קַדְמִיתָתָּ** *first*, from **אַתְרוּתָתָּ**, **בְּשִׁיתָתָּ**.

β) Masculine participial nouns from **ל"י**; as **רַעְיוֹתָתָּ**, **אֲסֻתָּתָּ**, **מְרוֹתָתָּ**, from **אָסִיָּה**, **רָעָיָה**, ***מְרִיָּה**.

γ) A number of other nouns, with or without feminine ending in the singular, which cannot be classified; as **נְהִירוֹתָתָּ**, **חֲבִירוֹתָתָּ**, from **נְהִירָה**, **חֲבִירָה**. Cf. § 992.

δ) A few nouns ending in a labial show in the plural the ending **הָתָתָּ** instead of **נָתַתָּ**, **יָתַתָּ**: **אֲבֹהָתָתָּ** *fathers, parents*, **אִמָּהָתָתָּ** *mothers*, **אִמָּהָתָתָּ** *maid-servants*, **אֲמָתָתָתָּ** *cubits*, **אֲטָמָתָתָּ**, **אֲטָמָתָתָּ** *flanks*, **שְׁמֵהָתָתָּ** *names*.

ε) In a few cases it is impossible to decide whether the plural ending is **נָתַתָּ**, **יָתַתָּ** or **הָתָתָּ**, **יִתַּתָּ** or **אֲצַבְעוֹתִיָּה** or **אֲצַבְעוֹתִיָּה**, E. Y., A. Z. 29a, **פְּרִשְׁיוֹתֵיכֶם** or **פְּרִשְׁיוֹתֵיכֶם**, Ber. 8b, **תְּקוּפוֹתָתָּ** or **תְּקוּפוֹתָתָּ**, Hull. 60b.¹

FORMATION OF THE PLURAL.—§ 991. Nouns with long vowels, with formative elements, or with sharpened second stem-consonant, undergo no change in the plural. Nouns of the forms **فَعْلٌ**, **فُعْلٌ** show sometimes in the plural a full vowel, or a trace of a vowel. E. g., **מִלְכֵּי**, **אֶלְפֵּי**, **עַמֵּי**, **פְּנֵאדֵי** (Alf. B. Q. 27b).²

§ 992. The following is a list of nouns having an irregular plural, or several plural forms. The list is not exhaustive, though nearly so. The qātul-forms ending in **אָ** (§ 847) and the nouns ending in **יָ** (§ 989) are not included here:

אֲבֹהָתָתָּ — אָבָא	נְשֵׁי , נָשִׁי — אֲנָתָתָּ
אִמָּהָתָתָּ ³	נָתַתָּ , יָתַתָּ — אֲצַבְעוֹתָתָּ (§ 989 d, ε)
אֲתָתָתָּ , אֲתָתָתָּ , אֲתָתָתָּ	בְּעֵי — בְּעֵיָתָתָּ ⁴
אֲטָמָתָתָּ , אֲטָמָתָתָּ	בִּיעֵי — בִּיעֵיָתָתָּ
אֲסֻתָּתָתָּ , אֲסֻתָּתָתָּ , אֲסֻתָּתָתָּ	בִּישׁוֹתָתָתָּ — בִּישׁוֹתָתָתָּ
אֲפִקְמָתָתָּ , אֲפִקְמָתָתָּ	בִּיתָתָתָּ — בִּיתָתָתָּ
אֲמָתָתָתָּ , אֲמָתָתָתָּ	בְּרִי , בְּנֵי — בְּרָא (VL., Sanh. 17b)
אֲמָתָתָתָּ , אֲמָתָתָתָּ	

¹ בנותיה *his daughters*, Hal. Pes., § 88.

³ אִמָּהָתָתָּ HG. 140.

² Cf. § 783.—**בְּרָאסִי** *variants*, TR., II, 50.

⁴ **בְּרִי** TG., ed. Harkavy, § 331.

יֹוֹתָא, יֹוֹתָא, סְמִיָּא	רְבִרְבְּתִי, רְבִרְבְּתָא—רְבִתִּי
אִי—סְפִדִינָא	winds, spirits, רוּחִי—רוּחָא
עֵינָא עֵינִין—עֵינָא	sides רוּחָתָא
fountains	
עַמָּא עַמְמִי—עַמָּא	יִי, יִי—רִיפְתָא
gentiles	רְשׁוּתָא ³
עֵרָא יִי, יִי—עֵרָא	[cf. § 881—[שִׁיבְלָתָא]
עִשְׂרֹוּרִיָּתָא—עִשְׂרֹוּרָא	שְׂבִתִּי, שְׂבִתָּא—שְׂבָא, שְׂבָתָא
(§ 989d), יֹוֹתָא, יֹוֹתָא—פְּרִשְׁתָּא	שִׁבִּי ⁴
יֹוֹתָא—פִּתְכָא	שְׂדֵרִי—[שְׂדֵרְתָּא]
יֹוֹתָא, יֹוֹתָא, תָּא—עִיבְתָּא	שִׁידְתִּין—[שִׁידְתָּא]
צִדְרִיָּתָא—צִדְרָא	שׁוּרְתָּא—שׁוּרָא
יֹוֹתָא, יִין—עִינְתָּא	שְׂמָא יִי, יִי—שְׂמָא ⁵
צִנְעָתָא—צִנְעָתָא	תְּתָא—שְׂמִיעָתָא
קִנְיָא, קִנְיָא—קִנְיָא	שְׂנִי—שְׂתָא, שְׂנָא
קִצְוִצִּיתָא—[קִצְוִצְתָּא]	שְׂעִי—שְׂעִיָּא
קִרְיֹוֹתָא—קִרְיֹוֹתָא	שְׂפֹוֹתָא, שְׂפֹוֹתָא—שְׂפִיפְתָּא ⁶
יֹוֹתָא, תָּא, יֹוֹתָא—קִרְנָא	אִי, יִי—שְׂקִרָא
horns, corners	אִי—שְׂקִרְוָא
date-stones	אִי, יִי—תָּאֲלָא
יֹוֹתָא, יֹוֹתָא—[קִשְׁתָּא]	תְּפִילִי—[תְּפִילְתָּא]
קִתְּתִי, קִתְּתָא, קִתְּתָא	אִי, יִי—תְּקִיפָא
רְבֹוֹתָא, רְבִיבִי—רְבָא	(§ 989d) תְּקוּפֹוֹתָא—תְּקוּפְתָּא
teachers ²	

¹ Cf. Amariñña t̄ā f, Quara jā b.

² רִיבְוִתְיָא Igg. Šerīrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

³ רְשׁוּתָא, רְשׁוּתָא, רְשׁוּתָא, Igg. Šerīrā, ed. Neubauer, p. 33; רְשׁוּתָא, רְשׁוּתָא, ibid., 183; רְשׁוּתָא, R̄C., V, 7, § 21.

⁴ שְׂבָתָא Igg. Šerīrā, ed. Goldberg, p. 13; שְׂבָתָא ibid., ed. Neubauer, p. 13.

⁵ שְׂמָתָא ibid., ed. Goldberg, p. 2.

⁶ שְׂפֹוֹתָא HG., ed. pr., 2a; שְׂפֹוֹתָא SM. No. 53.

⁷ Syr. ܩܠܬ. This is connected with Maltese q a f l a string, tie, band, bond, 'Afar-Saho tuful yarn, bond, ribbon. תְּפִילִין mean properly fillets. The doubling of the ל may be due to the same law as in a form like גְּמִלִים, but is more probably due to a popular etymology, connecting it with תְּפִלָּה prayer, and differentiating it from תְּפִלָּה folly.

NOUNS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 993. 1st person sing. com.—a) With singular nouns: **רִישִׁי** *my head*, Ned. 50a; **אִתָּחִי** *my wife*, *ibid.*; **אֶגְרִי** *my wages*, B. M. 70a; **חֵילִי** *my power*, Meg. 16a.

b) With plural nouns: **חַיִּי** *my life*, Yômâ 13a; **נָשָׁי** *my wives*, Sanh. 38b; **קָרִיבָאִי** *my relatives*, B. M. 87a; **אֶצְבָּעָתִי** *my fingers*, Ber. 56a; **זְכוּתָאִי** *my documents*, Ned. 27a; **לְאֹהֲרִי** *ibid.* 50a.

§ 994. 1st person plur. com.—a) With singular nouns: **נַפְשֵׁינוּ** *our soul*, Ned. 25a; **יָדֵנוּ** *our hand*, Pes. 50a; **אַרְעָנָא** *our land*, M. MS. Ber. 58b.

b) With plural nouns: **עִלְיוֹנוּ** *upon us*, Men. 40a; **תְּרוּנוֹנוּ** *both of us*, Šebu. 37b.

§ 995. 2d person sing. masc.—a) With singular nouns: **בְּרֶךְ** *thy son*, Ned. 28b; **לִבְךָ** *thy heart*, *ibid.* 21b.

b) With plural nouns: **בְּנֶךְ וּבָנֹתֶךְ** *thy sons and thy daughters*, Ber. 56a; **תַּפְלִיכֶךָ** *thy phylacteries*, *ibid.*

§ 996. 2d person sing. fem.—a) With singular nouns: **נַפְשֶׁיךָ** *thy soul*, M. Q. 16b; **לֶחֶמְךָ** *thy bread*, Taan. 25a; **סַעֲדָתְךָ** *thy meal*, Ned. 24a; **הַיְּתִיכִי** *thy wife*, *ibid.* 13a.

b) With plural nouns: **כַּרְעֶיךָ** *thy legs*, Nāz. 24b; **כְּשֹׁרֶיךָ** *thy joists*, Taan. 25a; **מִגֵּירָתְךָ** *thy female neighbors*, Ned. 21a;¹ **חַיִּיכִי** *thy life*, Yômâ 13a; **בְּנֵיכִי** *thy sons*, VL., Sabb. 151b.

§ 997. 2d person plur. masc.—a) With singular nouns: **אַרְעֹכֶן** *your land*, Keth. 112a; **אֱלֹהֶיכֶן** *your God*, M. MS. Sanh. 39a; **לְבֵיתְכֶן** *to your house*, C. MS. Pes. 101a; **כּוֹלְכֶן** *all of you*.²

b) With plural nouns:³ **אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** Sanh. 39a; **רַבּוֹתֵיכֶם** *your teachers*, Gitt. 68b; **רַבִּיכֶם** *your teacher*, Ker. 6a (= **רַבּוֹנְכֶם** TF. *ibid.*); **עֲבֹדֹתֵיכֶם** *your doings*, Meg. 16a (§ 833, note); **יְוֵמֵיכֶם** *your days*, M. MS. Sabb. 136b.

§ 998. 2d person plur. fem.—a) With singular nouns: No example.

b) With plural nouns: **פְּנֵיכֶם** *your pots*, Pes. 30a; **פְּרֻחֵיכֶם** *your crumbs*, *ibid.* 110a; **קְדָרֵיכֶם** *your pots*, C. MS. *ibid.*; **תַּבְּלֹנֵיכֶם** (= **תַּבְּלִינֵיכֶם** C. MS.) *your spices*, *ibid.* 110b; **פּוֹמֵיכֶם** *your mouths*, C. MS. Pes. 110a; **גְּזַלְתֵּיכֶם** *your clocks*, Bêqā 38b.

¹ From the method of Talmudic spelling it does not seem likely that the ending could be **רִיךְ**. It is, however, possible that we have to read it **רִיךְ**, as with singular nouns.

² **שְׁאַלְתְּכֶם** *your question*, TG. ed. Mussafia, § 42. **כּוֹן = כֵּן = כָּא**, as **גָּא = גֵּן = גֶּן**.

³ Singular nouns with plural suffixes are classed here.

§ 999. *3d person sing. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: כּוֹלֶיהָ, *all of it, passim*;¹ בְּרִי בִּרְיָהּ *his grandson*, Ned. 48b;² דְּבִיתָהּ *his wife*, Sôta 22b, 40a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* Ned. 23a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* M. MS. Yômâ 83b, Sabb. 151b; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* VL., B. M. 84a; דְּבִיתָהּ *id.* C. MS. M. Q. 9b;³ לְבֵיתָהּ *to his house*, VL., B. B. 10a.⁴

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵיהָ *his sons*, Ber. 8a; יָדֶיהָ *his hands*, *ibid.* 91a; טַעֲמֶיהָ *his reasons*, Ned. 81a; עִלְוֶיהָ *upon him* (§ 80); כִּלְהָהּ *his baldachins*, M. MS. Sabb. 138a; מְצָרֶיהָ *its boundaries*, B. B. 68a; מַעְוָהּ *his belly*, Zeb. 5a; אַפּוֹיָהּ *his face*, M. MS. Ber. 56a; אַפּוֹהָ Sabb. 129a; דִּפְנוֹיָהּ *his beadles*, Gitt. 34a.

§ 1000. *3d person sing. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: אַחֲרָהּ *after her*, Meg. 7b; דַּעְתָּהּ B. B. 151a; פְּתוּבָתָהּ B. M. 104b (פְּתוּבָתָהּ = כְּתָב, not = מִכְתּוּב).

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵיהָ *her sons*, Ber. 56a; בָּנֶיהָ *her daughters*, *ibid.*; קְרִיבָהּ *her relatives*, *ibid.*; עִלְוֶיהָ *upon her*, A. Z. 28a; מְצָרֶיהָ *her boundaries*, B. B. 128a; שִׁיבְבֶתָהּ *her woman-neighbors*, Sanh. 82a; עֲלֶיהָ C. MS. Pes. 8b (voc.); עִלְוֶיהָ SM. No. xxiii (voc.). (—; cf. "Additions and Corrections" to § 116.)⁵

§ 1001. *3d person plur. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: כּוֹלֵהוֹן *all of them*, 'Er. 30a; רִישָׁהוֹן *their head*, C. MS. Meg. 11a; מְלֵהוֹן *their lord*, Ned. 62a; דִּיקָהוֹן *their beard*, Nāz. 39a; כּוֹלֵהוֹן Ned. 2a; אִמָּן *their mother*, Sabb. 143b; נִפְשָׁן *themselves*, Pes. 118b; בְּדֵרֵהוֹן (= בְּדֵרֵהוֹן) *their being scattered*, VL., A. Z. 10b; אֲוֵרֵהוֹן *their way*, Alf. Ber. 38b.⁶

b) With plural nouns: כְּרִמֵּיהוֹן M. Q. 4b; מִלֵּיהוֹן *their words*, VL., 'Er. 68b; אֱלֹהֵיהוֹן C. MS. Meg. 14b (voc.); מְנִיָּהוֹן *their garments*,

¹ כּוֹלֶיהָ is not a plural, as given by the dictionaries. A plural of *all, totality*, is hardly conceivable. For the use of the word before plural nouns cf. Hebr. יִתְרוֹ.

² Cf. Pal. Syr. ܠܒܝܬܐ = ܠܒܝܬܐ (Schwally, *Idioticon*, s. v.).

³ With helping vowel. The expression דְּבִיתָהּ *for wife* is explained by the Talmudists as a euphemism. This is probably correct as far as Jewish usage is concerned. But if the expression be not of Jewish coinage, it must have meant originally سَكَاةٌ *stay-at-home*.

⁴ קְדוּשָׁתָהּ TG., ed. Luria, § 207; אֲסִיָּהּ *his physician*, TG., ed. Mussafia, § 89; אִיקְתוּרָהּ *his wife*, TG., ed. Cassel, § 86; שִׁיבְבֶתָהּ *his neighbor*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 182.

⁵ לְחוּדְהָ HG. 255; לְחוּדְהָ *ibid.* 268; עִלְוֶיהָ *ibid.* 272; תִּלְמִידוֹהִי Igg. Šerîrâ, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

⁶ כִּיהֶלְהֶם *to them*, HG. 108 (יִהְיֶה shows that this preposition is used in the singular); תִּלְתֵּיהוֹן *they three*, *ibid.* 61; עִנְיָנְהוֹן (= עִנְיָנְהוֹן) Igg. Šerîrâ, ed. Goldberg, p. 13.

Sabb. 130*b*; מַתְנִיחָהּ *VL*, Šebu. 38*b*; עֵלְוָהּ Ber. 50*a*; חַיִּיהוֹן Pes. 113*b*; חַיִּיהוֹן *VL*, *ibid.*; מְנִיחָן M. MS. Sabb. 33*b*; קְיוּמִיהוֹן B. B. 161*b*; גְּדִפְנִיהוֹן *their wings*, Succā 5*b*; שְׁבוּיֵיהוֹן *their captors*, Keth. 23*a*.¹ With loss of final vowel: אֲבַחְרִיָּה *VL*, Sabb. 109*b*.²

§ 1002. 3*d* person plur. fem.—*a*) With singular nouns: פּוֹלְהֵי Keth. 20*b*.

b) With plural nouns: גְּבוּרָהּ C. MS. M. Q. 9*b*; קְרָמִיָּה *VL*, Pes. 74*b*; קְתִיָּה *VL*, Pes. 30*b*.

ADJECTIVES WITH ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

§ 1003. A few adjectives take enclitic personal pronouns, like participles: גְּבִיחָתָּהּ *thou art high*, Sabb. 67*a*; חֲכִימָתָּהּ *thou art wise*, Bekh. 8*b*; עֲצִיבָתָּהּ *thou art downcast*, Bēcā 16*b*; זָוִטְרִינָן *we were small*, B. B. 142*b*; חֲכִימִינָן Bekh. 8*b*; קְשִׁישָׁנָן *we are old*, B. B. 142*b*; קְשִׁינָן *id. VL. ibid.*³

אָבָא, אָהָא, אָהָתָא, חָמָא, שָׁמָא WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 1004. 1*st* sing. com.—*a*) With singular nouns: אָהָי *VL*, 'Er. 138*b*; אָהָתָא Meg. 13*b*; שָׁמָא Sabb. 145*b*.

b) With plural nouns: אָבְהָתֵי Taan. 23*a*; אָבְהָתֵי *VL*, B. B. 8*b*; אָהוּתֵי Sabb. 57*a*.

1*st* plur. com.—*a*) With singular nouns: אָבוֹן Ber. 18*b*, Keth. 92*a*; אָבוֹן Keth. 85*b*; אָהוּנָא Yeb. 37*b*, 38*a*, B. B. 135*a*; אָהָנָא, אָהָתָא, אָהָתָא M. Q. 28*b*.⁵

b) With plural nouns: אָבְהָתֵי *VL*, B. B. 7*b*; אָבְהָתֵי Pes. 50*b*; אָבְהָתָא E. Y. *ibid.*

2*d* sing. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אָבוּךָ Ned. 28*b*, 50*b*; אָבוּךָ Sanh. 23*b*.

2*d* plur. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אָבוּכֹן B. M. 34*b*; אָבוּכֹן *VL*, B. B. 58*a*; אָהוּכֹן Yeb. 37*b*; אָהוּכֹן E. Y. *ibid.*

¹ מְנִיחָהּ *SM*. No. xxv (voc.); לָהּ *ibid.*; יְדוּהוֹן *HG*. 215; בִּינָהּ *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 70; פִּרְיֵיהוֹן *TR.*, II, 14; אֲמוּרָהּ *Sed. R. 'Amrām*, p. 7; אֲנִדְפָאֲתוּהוֹן *Igg. Šertrā*, p. 24.

² פְּלִגְתִּיָּה *Igg. Šertrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 44; בְּתִרְיָה *MF*. 31.

³ With adverb: מִקְרָב טְפִיָּה *HG*. 411, for מִקְרָבָא טְפִיָּה.

⁴ אָהָא *HG*. 138.

⁵ אָהוּנָא *Še'el.*, § 14; אָבוּכֹן *ibid.*, § 23; שָׁמָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

3d *sing. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: אָבִיהָ Ber. 18*b*; אָבִיהָ Nāz. 30*a*; אָבִיהָ Sanh. 5*a*; אָבִיהָ C. MS. Meg. 6*a*, VL., B. Q. 88*b* (voc.); אָבִיהָ Sanh. 28*b*; אָבִיהָ *ibid.* 5*a*; שְׁמִיָּה Ber. 19*a*.¹

b) With plural nouns: אָבוֹתָי Nāz. 5*a*, Hull. 60*a*; אָבוֹתָי B. B. 151*a*; אָבוֹתָי VL. *ibid.*; אָבוֹתָי Meg. 16*a*; אָבוֹתָי Sabb. 13*a*; אָבוֹתָי VL., B. M. 104*b*.

3d *sing. fem.*—a) With singular nouns: אָבִיהָ *her father*, Succā 31*a*, C. MS. Meg. 16*a*; אָבִיהָ *his father*, Šebu. 47*a*; אָבִיהָ *his father-in-law*, eds. Qidd. 12*b*,² אָבִיהָ Ned. 74*a*.

b) With plural nouns: אָבוֹתָי B. B. 141*a*.³

3d *plur. masc.*—a) With singular nouns: אָבוֹתָי B. M. 34*b*; אָבוֹתָי VL., B. B. 7*b*, B. Q. 104*b*, Šebu. 47*b*.⁴

b) With plural nouns: אָבוֹתָי Meg. 15*a*; אָבוֹתָי Keth. 52*b*; אָבוֹתָי Gitt. 11*b*; אָבוֹתָי Zeb. 4*a*; שְׁמִיָּה C. MS. Meg. 14*b* (voc.).⁵

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS.

§ 1005. Nominal compounds are of various kinds: a) Two nouns standing in genitive relation; as כְּנִישָׁתָא בִּי פְּלִשְׁתָּא *synagogue enemy*. Sometimes both words are contracted into one, with occasional phonetic loss; as אָבִיהָ *paternal uncle*, Tña. hauebbō, גִּמְזֵי הַדְּרָגָה *gums*, מִינֵי מִינֵי *fish-brine* (= מִי נִינָא VL., Sabb. 105*b*), שְׁלִיחַ צִיּוֹן = שְׁלִיחַן, נְדָרָא, פּוֹמְבֵּדִיתָא, names of cities.

b) Two nouns in apposition; as רַבָּה, רַבִּינָא, רַבִּינָא (= רַב אָבִיהָ, רַב אָבִיהָ). Instead of a noun the first element may be an adjective or participle: קַדְשֵׁינָא, קַדְשֵׁינָא, שְׁלִיחַן, kinds of fish.⁶

c) Noun in apposition to participle or participial noun: בֵּר מְדִילָא, בֵּר מְדִילָא VL., Sanh. 109*a*.

d) Noun and numeral in genitive relation: סַמָּתָי, סַמָּתָי, *plaster made from product of dragon-tree*.

¹ אָבִיהָ HG., 543; אָבִיהָ *ibid.* 248; אָבִיהָ Igg. Šerirā, ed. Goldberg, p. 39; שְׁמִיָּה HG., ed. pr., 97c.

² Cf. § 105.

³ אָבִיהָ Se'el., § 21.

⁴ אָבִיהָ TG., ed. Harkavy, § 232.

⁵ שְׁמִיָּה Igg. Šerirā, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; שְׁמִיָּה *ibid.*, p. 2; שְׁמִיָּה *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; שְׁמִיָּה, שְׁמִיָּה, RLOW., § 42.

⁶ The nature of the first element in קַדְשֵׁינָא and שְׁפָרְנִינָא is uncertain. קַדְשֵׁינָא is probably מְבִיט אֲחוֹת *agus, galeus*.

- e) Noun and attributive adjective: אֲשֶׁת־קֹדֶרֶת (= קֹדֶרֶת אֲשֶׁת).
 f) Two numerals: הָרִבִּי (= הָרִבִּי הָרִבִּי).
 g) Adjective and noun: קָטָן שָׁקִיָּה.
 h) Preposition and noun: אִי־מַח = Assyr. *ina mati, אֲתַמֶּל = Assyr. ina timâli.
 i) Relative particle and noun: הַיְּבִיחָה *wife*.¹

§ 1006. In the nominal compounds described above, the second member of the compound determines the gender and number, and receives the endings which would otherwise be attached to the first word: הַיְּבִיחָה, הַיְּבִיחָה, הַיְּבִיחָה, הַיְּבִיחָה. But *cf.* הַיְּבִיחָה *MM. Ber. 62a.*

¹ For similar formations in Assyrian *cf.* Jensen, *ZA.*, VII., 174, n. 1.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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1. Note 3. Add: לִישָׁנָא דְרַבְנִי (Ibn Ġanāḥ, 'ס, s. v. הרב); לְשׁוֹן רִז'ל (commentary רענן to Yalqūt Is. 422). Biblical Aramaic is called הַתַּרְגּוּם בְּעֵבֶרִי by Joseph Qimḥi ('ס, הגלוי, s. v. כען, p. 110). For סְרִסְרִי we find סְרִסְרִי VL., Pes. 61a, and סְרִסְרִי Tos. Bekh. 49b.
2. § 2. Note 1. Isaac Halevy (דורות הראשונים, III., 48 sq.) proposes another explanation for the dialectical differences. The Talmud, says he, has come to Europe by two ways: through the Berbery states and through Palestine. The dialectical expressions found in Nedārīm, etc., represent Palestinian substitutions for original Babylonian expressions. According to this theory, said expressions must have been common in the Palestinian schools; must, in other words, be found in the Palestinian Talmud. Whether these are really found there is, with the insufficiency of our dictionaries, difficult to ascertain. Zomber, who has gone over the Palestinian Talmud in search of the expression תבעי, has met with a negative result.
2. § 3. Add to the expressions characteristic of Nedārīm: אֶפְלֹי תִימָא for the usual אִיבְעִית אִימָא, and תָּא שְׂמִיעַ מִיְתִיבִי for תָּא תַחֲלַת; cf. תַחֲלַת חכמה, ed. Warsaw, p. 39a.
3. § 5. Dr. Schmiedel's statement (אוצר הספרות, V., 115, n.) that the vernacular of the Babylonian Jews was the Persian language, has no foundation.
3. Note 3. The excellent index of Dr. Im. Löw to Krauss' *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* enables us to give an exact answer to this question. According to that index there are the following words occurring only in the Babylonian Talmud: I. Words whose etymological explanation Löw assumes as certain: ἀβραμῖς, ἀκακία, αἰθθεντική, βάτος, βηρύττα, δάφνη, διζυγία, δρομεύς, δρόμος, ξβενος, κράβατος, λάδανον, μάβρον, μέτρα, νεφέλη, ὀρτάριον, σέρβουλον,

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* σκυταλῖς, στόμωμα, σφήκωμα, τέθρα, τήγανον, τίγρις, φάκελος, carenum, gemoniae; II. Words whose etymological explanation is doubtful: κολαστήρ, κόρτος, κρόσσος, ὄργανον, συρτόν, φυλακή, siglatura; III. Words whose etymological explanation is improbable: ἀγκύλη, αὔξ, δρύφακτος, ἔντευξις, θαλάινον, καλύβη, κινστέρινα, κύμβη, νόμισμα, τζίχλα, τριβοῦνος, φολλερόν, arca, claustrum, pulsus; IV. The foreign words τρίτη and the improbable σπείρα, and the transcribed word κάσις. The first two groups have been examined by me. μάργον and carenum are in all probability themselves of Semitic origin. ἀβραμῖς, δρομεύς, σφήκωμα, τήγανον, gemoniae, κολαστήρ, κόρτος, and φυλακή go back to Palestinean sources.

6. § 6. In later literature the abbreviation sign $\overset{\circ}{-}$ or $\overset{\cdot}{-}$ is also used where we would use italics or heavy-faced type. Cf. also Perles, *Analekten*, p. 26.
7. § 13. SM. has frequently a full vowel in place of שׁוּא.
8. § 14. But cf. Mueller, *Die altsemit. Inschriften von Sendschirli*, pp. 41 sq.
10. § 18. The verbal examples are to be explained differently:—דִּאִתִּילֶדֶן and דִּאִינְקֹר are perfects; on לְשַׁבַּע, etc., cf. Add. and Corr. to § 208; on קִרְקַפְתָּ cf. § 966, note.
12. § 26. Additional examples for the interchange of gutturals and sibilants: שֶׁפֶת (VL., Yôma 77b) = חֶפֶת; חֶפֶן (Tosiphta, B. M. ix, 14) = סֶפֶן; הוֹגְנָא (Rašî, Zeb. 46b, s. v. לֹאפוֹקִי כִבְבָּא) = סוֹגְנָא ('Er. 29b); סְרוּאֲרִיא (Targûm) = חְרוּאֲרִיא (Add. to 'Ar. Compl., p. 43); سَـحْـمَـصْـلَـ = سَـحْـمَـصْـلَـ sleeve; مَـثْـمَـ = Maltese hemm there.
13. Note 3. Notice אֲזֹאֲדָא! VL., Pes. 74b.
15. Note 3. About אֶבֶן cf. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 23, 75, and Kerber, *Die religionsgesch. Bedeutung der hebr. Eigennamen im AT.*, p. 63.
16. § 46. Cf. § 980.
16. § 47. Delete שְׁלֹדִי; cf. § 790b.
16. § 48. Cf. against it Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, L., 311.
17. § 50. 1. מִנְיָן; cf. Tunisian Arabic مَنِين.
17. § 50. 6. מִטּוֹל is probably the same as maṭān in Ethiopic and its dialects.

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18. § 51a. On טייעצא *cf.* § 884, note; on צלעי, § 883, note; on עציצא, § 883, note.
18. § 51c. Delete: טצדקא and טצדרי.
19. § 53. 1. Delete: גרגלירא *slice*.
19. § 53. 4. On לאידבק *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208.
19. § 55. On وَشَان *cf.* WZKM., X., 275.
20. § 56. For (§ 56) read (§ 51).
22. Note 2. *Cf.* § 987.
23. § 71. *Cf.* Grimme, *Grundzüge*, p. 9.
27. § 84. *Cf.* §§ 531e, 784, 933, note.
29. § 93. But in a number of cases the traditional accent rests on the antepenultima, with coincident syncope of the vowel of the penultima; *cf.* §§ 231, 5, and 646, 2.
31. Note 2. Add: אָנן *SM.* No. xxviii, אִינְהוּ *ibid.*, *ibid.*, אִינְהוּ *ibid.* No. xxv, אָת *ibid.* No. Lxxxviii (all vocalized).
32. § 102. *Cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208.
33. § 107. For יִדְהוּ (3d masc.) read: יִדְהוּ.
34. § 111. Add: אִיִּתְיִנְהוּ Alf. Qidd. 27a, B. B. 149a; לִיִּתְיִנְהוּ Alf. B. B. 142b; אִיִּתְיִהוּ *they are*, *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 26; אִיִּתְיִנְן *id. ibid.*, p. 10; אִיִּתְיִהוּ, אִיִּתְיִהוּ, *it is*, *ibid.*; אִיִּתְיִנְהוּ *they are*, *HG.* 454; אִיִּתְיִ plural, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 74; *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 5.
35. § 112. *Cf.* § 647.
35. § 116. Add: הָנִי Qidd. 32b.
35. § 117. For הָאִיִּךְ we frequently find הָיִאִךְ. *Cf.* Niddā 3a, *VL.*, Ber. 81b, Šebu. 30b, 39b, B. B. 17b, 29a, 167b, B. Q. 84b, etc.
36. Note 2. Add: הָדָא *this*, *HG.* 452; אָנִי, עָנִי, *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 17; הָיִלִּין *ibid.*, p. 11; אִילִּי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 335; אָלִין *SM.* No. xxvi (voc.);¹ הָיִנוּ *ibid.* No. xxviii (voc.); הָלִךְ for הָלִךְ in הַשְׁטְרוֹת 'ס', p. 28.
37. § 123. Add: נִינְהוּ *they are*, *TF.* Ker. 25b.

¹ יִ = יִ (§ 993, note).

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38. *Note 4.* Ehrlich (כפשוטו, Gen. 38:24) explains דיינו as a compound of דאי + נ + הוה.
39. § 128. Notice כל דלין (= פלדילין) E. Y. Hôr. 13b.
39. § 129. כמאן ד- is used also as Syriac ? أَمْضَى in the sense of *as if*. Cf. B. B. 12b, AZ. 24b, Pes. 20a, 72a, 85a, MV. 42.
39. *Note 4.* Cf. מַאֲי, מִן SM. No. xxv (voc.).
40. § 130. Notice the forms פְּלִינְתָא, פְּלִינְתָא VL., Ber. 18b, Taan. 25a.
40. § 131. Add: אִיָּה VL., B. Q. 118a, אִיָּי (plural) VL., Sanh. 96b, אִיָּי VL., B. B. 87a, אִיָּא SM. No. xxv (voc.).
40. § 133. Notice הילק VL., Hull. 19b. In modern literature the phrase הילק ובילק is also used in the sense of *stuff, trash*, and in that of *hotch-potch*.
40. § 135. Add: לֹא . . . וְלֹא הָדָא Sanh. 41b.
40. *Note 1.* Add: כְּמִי some, Igg. Šerîrâ, ed. Goldberg, p. 33 = כְּמִיָּה *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, pp. 23, 44, with imâle of קמץ. The ה, here as well as in other cases, marks the pronunciation הֵי, as against a possible הִי.
41. § 136. Add: תְּרִין עֶשֶׂר VL., Hag. 9b, תְּרִין עֶשֶׂר VL., B. B. 143a, חֲמִשָּׁה VL., Meg. 2a, חֲמִשָּׁה סֵר Yalqût Ez. 380 = 'Ar. 12a, חֲמִשָּׁה עֶשְׂרִי VL., Sabb. 99a, שִׁיתָא עֶשֶׂר VL., Meg. 6a, תִּשְׁעַ עֶשְׂרִי 'Ar. 12a, עֶשְׂרִי twenty, MM., Gitt. 56a, מֵאָתִין VL., Pes. 64b.—For שְׁתֵּי read: שְׁתֵּי. For 80. פ read: 80. פ.
43. § 140. Add: עֶשְׂרִין וְאַרְבַּעַה אֲלָפִין רִיבּוֹאִין “240,000,000,” Ned. 50b; אֲלֵה אֲלָפִי רִבּוֹא רִבּוּן “100,000,000,000,000,” VL., Sanh. 39a.
43. § 141. Add: אַרְבַּעִין נְבִי הָדָא VL., Sanh. 69b. This mode of counting is probably good Semitic. Cf. for the Arabic, Goldziher, ZDMG., XLIX., 216 sq.
43. *Note 1.* Add: הָדָא HG., ed. pr., 19c; הָדָא SM. No. xxv (voc.); תְּרִיתִי Igg. Šerîrâ, ed. Goldberg, p. 37; תְּרִיתִי עֶשְׂרִי SÇ., IV., 4, § 23; חֲמִיִסְרִי colophon to 'Ar. Compl., end of letter ט; חֲמִיִסְרִי *ibid.*; תְּשִׁיִצִר *ibid.*, end of letter ע; תִּישְׁסִר *ibid.*, end of letter ז; חֲמִיִסִר *ibid.*; חֲמִיִסִר HG., ed. pr., 30b, 105b.—For חֲמִיִשִּׁי read: חֲמִיִשִּׁי.
44. § 146. Add: טֶזְהֶר, Persian چهار, four.
45. *Note 3.* Cf. חֲמִשָּׁא HG. 467 (voc.).

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46. § 156. Add: יְהִידְתָּא Ned. 51a; חַוְּמוֹשִׁיאָתָא Alf. B. M. 64a.
46. Note 2. Notice: אַהֲוָדִי SM. No. XLVIII, הָאֲנָרִי *ibid.* No. LXXIII (voc.).
46. § 157. Add: מִתְתַּאָּה VL, B. B. 7a; צִירָה toward, VL, B. B. 73b; — הֵיכְלִי where, Sabb. 30a.
47. § 159. Add: מִבְּדָקְמָא at the earlier time, Hag. 4b; אָז then, Ber. 28a (a Hebraism).
47. Note 1. Add: לְאַחֲרָיון *supra*, JQR., IX., 658; הֵיכְלִי where, TG., ed. Cassel, 132; כֵּן TG., ed. Harkavy, § 374 (voc.); הֵתָם SM. No. x (voc.); — הֵיכְלִי where, Hal. Pes., § 123.
47. Note 2. Add: אֵינָא now, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 235; עַד לְהִידְנָא till now, SM. No. LXX; אֶלְתָּר TG., ed. Harkavy, § 230; מֵאֶלְתָּר *ibid.*, § 233, TG., ed. Cassel, §§ 7, 48; HG., ed. pr., 81d; מִן כֵּד as soon as, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 37.
48. § 159. For לְמִדָּר read: לְמִדָּר.
48. § 160. Add: בְּאֵרִי verily, forsooth, VL, Yômâ 57a; בֵּרִם B. B. 58b; הֵיאָ quickly, VL, Sabb. 124b; כֵּן so, thus, B. B. 10a; בְּחֶשֶׁאִי quietly, בְּצִינְעָא secretly, בְּפִרְהֶסְיָא publicly, מִנְפְּשִׁיָּה of itself, spontaneously, VL, B. Q. 31b; הֵכְבוּ R. Nissim, 59b = Ned. 55a; כְּרִי seems to be connected with Eth. kantû, Tigrê-Bilin kândō, Galla tiki, which have the same meaning, and Barea woddet useless, in vain, from wod, wot, be unwilling, hate. In the expression לֵה כְּרִי ואמרי לה C. MS. Zeb. vocalizes כְּרִי. On קא cf. WZKM., XIII., 245 sq.
48. Note 3. Notice: הָאֲנִי 'Anân in Voskhod, January, 1898, p. 17, n. 1, quoted by Harkavy; הֵכְרִי SM. No. XXVIII (voc.); הֵכְרִי *ibid.* No. LXX (voc.); הֵכְרִי TR., II., 41; הֵכְרִי SM. No. LI (voc.); לָאָה TG., ed. Harkavy, § 413.—For לֵיא = אֵלִיָּה cf. Eg. Arab. اَلِيَا = اَلِيَا.
49. § 162. Add: סְבָי enough.
49. § 163. Add: כְּמָה how many? Pes. 88a; אֶהֱיָא = אֶהֱיָא VL. Zeb. 111b; הֵיאָ how? VL, Sabb. 23a.—For אֵינִי, אֵימִת read: אֵימִת.—Notice: מִי כְּרִי for מִדָּרִי SM. No. CXIV; מֵאִי for מִי *ibid.* No. OLXXVII; לֵן מֵיָּי for לֵן מֵנָּא *ibid.* No. OLV (voc.).

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50. § 167. Add: **הָיָה** Sanh. 101*b* and **אֵי** VL., B. B. 58*a*, *yes*. The latter may be an apocopated **אֵינִי** or the equivalent of Arab. **إِنِّي**, Hebr. **אֵיךָ** VL., Sanh. 65*b*, where we find also the synonyms **אֵי** = Eth. *ēṣā* and **אִם** = Tigrê-Bilin *imm*.
50. § 168. Notice: **לֵיית** VL., Sanh. 46*b*.
51. § 174. On **אִמְטוּל** *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 50, 6.
52. § 174. **בְּרִיל** occurs also VL., Ber. 56*a*, Yalqūt Is. 437 = Ber. 17*a*, TG., ed. Harkavy, § 550.—Notice: **בְּרִיָּה** SM. No. LXXIII, **בְּרִיָּה** *ibid.* No. xxv, **בְּרִיָּה** *ibid.* (all voc.). **הָיָה** and **הָיָה** go back to the stem **חָלָא**.—Add: **בַּר מֶן** *except*, **בְּמֶר** *instead*.
52. Note 2. Delete the sentence, “and, we may add found.” Professor Nöldeke calls my attention to the use of this particle in Palmyrean. *Cf.* also Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Att.*, § 52, end.
53. § 174. **עַל**. Notice: **עָלִי** VL., Ber. 36*a*.
53. § 176. On the force of **מֶן** in **כְּמִנִּיהָ** *cf.* Beaussier, *Dict. arabe-français*, s. v. **مِنْ**, **مَا**, and Falzon, *Dizion. malt.-ital.-inglese*, s. v. *min*.
54. § 177*b*. The form **נִידוּלִי** shows that a plural termination is not to be assumed here. Notice **נִידוּלֶן** for **נִידוּלָן** C. MS. Pes. 13*a*.
54. § 177*c*. Add: VL., B. Q. 15*b*.
55. § 182. Notice: **אֵי** *if*, SM. No. xxviii (voc.).
56. § 182. **אֶלְמָא** hence is probably = **أَلْمَا** with vowel-syncope and subsequent transposition.—For **אֶל עַל גַּב דַּ** and **אֶל פִּי כֵן** read: **אֶל עַל גַּב דַּ** and **אֶל עַל פִּי כֵן**.—**הִילֵכְךָ** is a contraction of **הוּאִיל וְכָךְ**; *cf.* Bacher, *JQR.*, IX., 148.—For a clearer trace of 1 consecutive *cf.* **נִפְסַק . . . וְכַתֵּב** TR., I., 26.—For **פְּסָבוֹר** read: **פְּסָבוֹר**; *cf.* § 870.—On the postpositive particles **כִּי**, **כִּנּוּ**, **כֵּא** *cf.* Grimme, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
57. § 182. For R. R. read R. H.—Add: **הִשְׁתָּא אִיפֵי** VL., B. B. 111*a*; **הִשְׁתָּא אִי כוּ** VL., B. M. 73*b*.—Notice: **נָמֵי** TF., Ker. 27*b*; **נָמֵי** TR., II., 20. Nöldeke connects this particle with Syriac **ܢܡܝ** (*MG.*, p. 485), suggesting a Persian origin. The word is a compound of the particle *na* and the interrogative *mi*, *mu*. The first appears in Ethiopic as *nī et, etiam*, Amh. *-nā id.*, Kafā *-na and, with*,

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Somali na *also*, Assy. lû *forsooth*; the second element is common to the Semitic and Hamitic languages. Cf. also Galla lamú *ancora* (Viterbo, *Gram. e diz. della ling. orom.*), Barea *-nen also, even*, Kungara *nin also*. In the expression אִי נָמִי the sense of נָמִי seems to be *forsooth*; in the expression אִי נָמִי it is not clear whether אִי mean *also*, or have the force of the particle of in Galla.—Add: כָּל דִּבְרָן (= Hebr. כָּל שֵׁבֶן) Ned. 49*b*; סוֹה סוֹה *finally, after all*.

57. Note 3. Notice: אֲמַכִּינִן *since*, TR., II, 34.

58. § 185. Delete: “אִי O! = Arab. يَآ.” The word has also here the sense of *if*; שְׂחִיקָן is perfect, third person for first.—On אֲשׁוּר cf. Gunzbourg, *RÉJ.*, XXVIII, 191.—For לְחַיִּי read לְחַיִּי; the word is so vocalized in the *Haggadah according to the Rite of Yemen*, ed. Greenburg, p. 1, n. 6. The Hebrew equivalent, לַחַיִּים (R. Tam., *הישר* ‘ס, ed. Rosenthal, p. 62), shows that it is the noun חַיִּי *life* + ל.—To חוֹךְ חוֹךְ cf. تَكْتَكُ to *simmer*.—Add: שְׂחִיקָרִיק an imitation of sound produced by birds, VL., Hull. 65*a*; הֵיָאָ *alas!* VL., Yômâ 69*b*; הֵבֵל Oh! *woe!* VL., Pes. 20*b*.

58. Note 3. Perles' hypothesis suggested by הֵילִי, which looks like the proper name Helene, is untenable. Dozy's *Supplément aux Dict. arabes* contains the following interesting Arabic equivalents: هُوَ، هَيْلَمَة، هَيْش، هَيْد، هَلَا، هَلِی.

63. § 208. The following examples are apt to shed more light on the true nature of the prefix לְ, לִי. It is used not only with the imperfect, but also with the perfect and the participle. It is even found in the form לֵה and as a separate particle. Cf. for the latter § 763. לִיִּצְנִיעִיתוֹן (MM., Sabb. 140*b*) may be perfect or passive participle; לִמְפָּרָה (AZ. 10*a*) is participle; perfects are: לִקְלָעִי VL., Sabb. 66*b*; לִוְצִלִית VL., Ber. 28*b*; לִמְיָלָחָה B. B. 74*b*; לִיאֲפָכִיהָ VL., Hull. 28*b*, and probably לִבְצִיעִיִן Alf. Pes. 116*a*. In Hebrew the perfect with לְ is found in TG., ed. Harkavy, § 314: הָאֱלֹהִים לְנוֹבֵךְ בְּדָחוּ לְנוֹנֵךְ חוֹרְחוּ. In לאֲדִיבֵךְ (§ 208, note) we have לְ with the first person imperfect; in the other examples given there and in the footnote we have לְ with the perfect. לִיעִיִן (§ 223) may also belong here, and would have to be vocalized לִיעִיִן. Cf. also König's excellent article, “Das l. Jaqtul

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- im Semitischen," *ZDMG.*, LI., 330 sq., and Littmann, *ZA.*, XII., 207, note, and *ibid.*, XIV., 6 sq.
65. § 223. For קטלוי, קטלוי, קטלוי, etc., read: קטלוי, etc., with שוא of ט.—Add to Qal: מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל.
66. § 223. Add to Pa'el: קטלנא; to Aph'el: אֶקְטֹל, אֶקְטֹל; to Ithpa'al: אֶתְקַטֵּל, אֶתְקַטֵּל, אֶתְקַטֵּל.
66. § 226. אֶחָדִי is here more probably אֶחָדִי, plural of אֶחָדִי.
67. § 230. 3. A similar transposition of the vowel is found in Tigrê; cf. *ZA.*, XII., 209.
68. Note 1. Cf. סְבוּר *SM.* No. xxv (voc.) and אֶמְבֹּר quoted by Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, p. 30, n. 8.
69. § 233. Add: אֶיִנְסִינָה *I shall prove*, Yalqut Sam. 148 = Sanh. 107a; cf. the biblical אֶבְרָהָם and similar forms, and אֶדְוִינָה Zeb. 102b.—On דְּנִימִינִי is more probably דְּנִימִינִי with pronominal suffix.—On ליבִיטִינִי cf. Add. and Corr. to § 208.
76. § 259. Cf. לְמִמְרֵד *SM.* No. LXXII (voc.); מִיִּתְוֹךְ *VL.*, Hull. 8b; בְּרִשְׁלָם *JQR.*, IX., 698; מִשְׁלָם *SC.*, IV., 2, § 48; צִוְּהָנָה Ber. 20a.
79. Note 6. Cf. the spelling חִזְיָנָא in הַשְׁטֵרוֹת 'ס ed. Halberstamm, p. 28.
81. § 273. For the imperfect forms with ל, as לִיקְטִיל, etc., read לִיקְטִיל, without דגש in the first stem-consonant.
83. § 278. Notice: תִּקְוִי, תִּקְוִי, *VL.*, Sabb. 24b.
- 85–6. § 292. Cf. לְקַרְעָא, reading of Tos. in M. Q. 28b fin.; לְקַצְעָא Zeb. 94a; לְמַכְסְפִיָּה *VL.*, Sabb. 46a.—For the forms *sub l* and *m* cf. Add. and Corr. to § 223.
- 92–3. § 321. Notice: אֶבְרוּשָׁא *VL.*, B. B. 27b (§ 23c); דְּכִשְׁיָרִי (= דְּאֶשְׁיָרִי) *VL.*, Hull. 27a; לְמִרְרוֹחַ *Igg. Šerira*, ed. Neubauer, p. 23.—For the forms *sub h* cf. Add. and Corr. to § 223.
97. § 333. For אֶיִבְזָעִי read אֶיִבְזָעִי; add: אֶיִבְלָעִי *VL.*, Ber. 54b.
99. § 345g. For לְאֶזְרָבוּי read לְאֶזְרָבוּי.
101. Note 3. Add: לְאֶתְפָּדִי *Igg. Šerira*, ed. Neubauer, p. 25.—For אֶשְׁתָּרְשׁוּי read אֶשְׁתָּרְשׁוּי.—אֶתְרָי belongs to § 345.
103. § 375. Cf. נִיִּסִּיק *VL.*, Ber. 55b.

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103. § 378. Cf. אִיפִּיק VL., Ber. 24*b*.
 103. § 379. Cf. לִיפְסָקוּ Hg. 7*a*.
 105. § 394. Cf. לִיקוּשׁ Yalqūt Lev. 529 = Zeb. 18*a*.
 105. § 402*c*. Read: לְאַקְשׁוּיִי.
 105. Note 4. Read: לְאַקְשׁוּיִי.
 108. § 412. Notice: אֲזִילִי VL., B. M. 84*b*.
 110. § 417. Notice: נִיתְכּוּל VL., Zeb. 55*b*.
 112. § 424. For אוֹשֶׁלֶת M. MS., read אֲשֵׁאִילֶת, אֲשֵׁאִלֶת, VL.
 115. § 434. Notice: אֲזִית VL., B. M. 57*b*.
 116. § 437. Cf. לְאוֹדָעַן VL., B. M. 42*b*.
 116. § 438. Cf. מְחִיבָאָן VL., Sabb. 148*b*.
 120. § 452. Cf. לְמִיבָזָא ed. pr. Sabb. 150*b*.
 121. § 455. Cf. עֲלִינָא VL., Yômā 86*a*; קִיִּצְצִינָן VL., B. M. 69*a*.
 122. § 459*b*. For qittāle read qittūlē.
 124. § 467. Cf. מִיחָמָא VL., Taan. 21*b*; מַסְכָּן B. B. 166*b*.
 125. § 470. Cf. תִּתְרַע VL., B. B. 6*a*.
 126. § 473. Cf. מִזְדָּקִינָן VL., Šebu. 41*a*.
 126. § 474. אֲסַטְטַט or אֲסַטְטִיט (*sic*) is probably connected with Amh. ašattātā to glide out, slip, or Eth. šoṭaṭa.
 131. § 496. Cf. צִית VL., B. Q. 74*b*; רְחוּבִי (*f*) VL., Taan. 24*a*.
 131. § 498. Add: מְחוּרִי MM., Gitt. 57*b*; מְדָקָא Igg. Šerirā, ed. Neubauer, p. 8.
 132. § 501. Cf. שְׂאֵפּוּ VL., Sabb. 66*b*.
 132. § 506. Cf. צְדִינָא VL., B. M. 85*b*; דְּיִירִינָא VL., B. B. 7*a*; דְּרִינָא VL., B. B. 29*a*.
 133. § 510. Cf. לְקַרְוִיָּה VL., Pes. 116*a*, passing into ל"י; לְמִשְׁיִמִּיָּה VL., B. Q. 84*a*.
 134. § 515. Cf. אוֹקְמִי VL., B. M. 84*b*; הַמּוֹשִׁינָדוּ Hg. 7*b*, quoted in 46*b* (מוֹשׁ = מִשָּׂא).
 135. § 518. Cf. אֲנִיחִי VL., Sabb. 18*b*.

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135. § 519. Cf. מוֹזִילָא ed. pr. B. M. 108a; מְנַחֵי B. Q. 62a; מַחֲכוֹ VL., Zeb. 62a.
136. § 522. For Soncisso read Soncino.
137. § 525. For מְדוּיִן, VL., B. B. 8a has מְדוּיִן, מְדוּיִן.
137. § 526. Notice: אֶסְתַּעֲרִיא (√סיע) *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 9; אִסְתַּעֲרִיא (= אֶסְתַּעֲרִיא) *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 19.
137. § 527. Add: נִיפְיִידוֹ VL., Ber. 20b; נִיפְיִידוֹ VL., Zeb. 73b; נִיפְיִידוֹ Raši, *ibid.*
139. Note 2. On the infinitive ending אֶ in verbs לִ"י cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, VI., 258.
141. § 535. תִּנְאָנָא is more probably a contracted form of the participle for תִּנְאָנָה.
141. § 538. Cf. תְּנִיית VL., Ber. 30b.
141. Note 2. Cf. תִּנְאָ (voc.) *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 44.
142. § 538. Notice: תְּדִי I rejoiced, Succā 25b.
142. § 542. Notice: תִּנְאָן C. MS. M. Q. 3b. All the examples given here are more probably participles.
143. § 553. Notice: לִאֲיָבֵי Yalqūt Numb. 786 = Sanh. 106a. Delete לִעֲרִיבִי.
145. § 562d. Notice: שְׂדִיתִין VL., Taan. 25a; בְּעִיתִי *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 26.
146. § 567. Cf. לְמִיָּסָם (for לְסִמּוּיָי) *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 21, passing into ע"ע.
146. Note 2. Add: אֲתַפְיִיס = פִּיִּיס Ber. 28a, פִּיִּיס = פִּיִּיס.
149. § 575. Add: לְאֲבוּרִי ed. pr. AZ. 50b.
151. § 582e. Notice: לְאִישְׁתּוֹרִי ed. pr. Šebu. 8b.
152. § 585. Notice: אִינְבָאִי they prophesied, VL., Meg. 14a.
152. § 588. Add: אִישְׁתּוֹעִי VL., Ber. 46b; לְאֲבוּרִי Yalq. Lev. 644 = Men. 62a.
154. § 595. Cf. תְּוִיִן *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 7.
155. § 601. Notice: אֲתִיית thou didst come, VL., Ber. 28b.
156. § 602. Notice: אִייתִי I shall come, Yalqūt Is. 419 = Sanh. 96b.

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156. § 603. Notice: אִתְּרִי VL., B. B. 151*b*, Yalqûṭ Is. 419? = Sanh. 96*b*.
157. § 611. Notice: אִתְּרוֹ VL., Pes. 30*a*; אִתְּרִיאָו VL., Ber. 31*b*.
158. § 615. Notice: אִסְתַּפִּיאַ (p. 225, n. 4).
161. § 625. Notice: אִתְּרִיעִי and אִתְּרִיעִי, *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; אִתְּרִיעִי Yalqûṭ Jud. 50 = Pes. 87*b*.
161. § 626. Notice: לְשִׁיזְבָּא TG., ed. Wilna, 1885, § 45; לְשִׁיזְבִּיָּה SM. No. xc*v*.
169. Note 1. From the periphrasis found in Yalqûṭ Is. 416 it is evident that Rašī's explanation of חֲמֵהֶיחַ is correct. We have here a secondary stem of the biblical Hebr. מַהֲמָה, Arab. مَهَمَّ, and should vocalize חֲמֵהֶיחַ, partic. act. used as imperative.
170. Note 3. Notice: מִשְׁפָּנְתֵינֶנּוּ *he pawned them*, HG., ed. pr., 101*d*.
171. Note 2. Notice: יִהְיֶה שָׁחַץ SC., IV., § 14.
173. § 677. Notice: עִילִיָּה SM. No. xc*v*.—עִילִיָּה! *ibid.* No. cxiv (voc.).
177. Note 4. For שְׁקִילָה read שְׁקִילָה.
188. §§ 776–9. Notice: לְשִׁוּרִתָּנָא *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 46.
192. Note 1. For قشر it is better to compare قصل (Dozy), Eth. qʷasla *be wounded*, Amh. qʷisil *scar, wound*.
196. Note 2. To גִּדָּא cf. Qamamil gudi *skin, hide*, which Reinisch connects with جِلْد, جِلْدَا (Barea Sprache, p. 124).—For زَمْلَا read زَمْلَا; cf. Hausa taiki *large bag made of skin*.
203. § 842*d*. Cf. also Hebr. כָּמִיר = Assyr. kāmīru; evidently a shortening of an original כָּמִיר.
204. § 846. On the form קְטוּלָא see now J. F. Weissenbach, *Die arabishe Nominalform Fa'āl*, München, 1899.
220. Note 7. It is more likely that the stem of عَكْبَر is كَبَر *be big, stout*, and the ع a prefix. The same prefix is found in عَقْرَبَان skorpion, Galla karcabbò, Hausa kunama, from a stem كَرْب *to pinch*; cf. Galla karabà *small pincers*, and عَقْرَبَان = عَقْرَبَان, عَقْرَبَان, Nuba korābē, spider, √*كَبَر = *كَبَر = *كَبَش = *كَبَش *to plait, twist, spin*, hence Hebr. פְּבֵרָה sieve and פְּבֵר, Galla girbi, thread, and the verbs כָּבַשׁ, כָּבַשׁ, *to twist*,

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curl, crumple, press, fade, in the various Semitic languages. On the interchange of ר and sibilant *cf.* p. 193, n. 9, and Hebr. רִפְּשֵׁת = Arab. رَجَسَ. Also Syriac ܪܦܫܐ (= Hausa koki *female spider*), like German "Spinne," goes back to a verb *to spin*; *cf.* Hoffmann, *ZA.*, IX., 331, n. 1.

217. § 956. To כורזילא *cf.* Nuba koros *shepherd*.

226. § 983. אמרכלא is more probably Twârig amenokal *prince*.

I gladly take opportunity here to express my sincere thanks to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the kind offices he rendered me in connection with the printing and proof-reading of this work.

LIST OF VERB-STEMS.¹

A. TRICONSONANTAL.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 287 (occur only in) Qal. | 1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Pō''ēl. |
| 116 Pa''ēl. | 2 Qal, Aph'ēl, Ittaph'al. |
| 56 Aph'ēl. | 1 Qal, Šaph'ēl, Ištaph'al. |
| 31 Itp°'ēl. | 1 Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Ittaph'al. |
| 31 Itpa''al. | 1 Pa''ēl, Pō'ēl, Itp°'ēl. |
| 2 Šaph'ēl. | 1 Pa''ēl, Šaph'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 1 Itpō'ēl. | 2 Pa''ēl, Itp°'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 72 Qal, Pa''ēl. | 7 Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 62 Qal, Aph'ēl. | 2 Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl. |
| 57 Pa''ēl, Itpa''al. | 8 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itp°'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 67 Qal, Itp°'ēl. | 14 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl. |
| 8 Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl. | 1 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 9 Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl. | 10 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al. |
| 7 Aph'ēl, Itpa''al. | 1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itp°'ēl, Ittaph'al. |
| 11 Qal, Itpa''al. | 2 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl, Ittaph'al. |
| 1 Haph'ēl, Ithaph'al. | 1 Qal, Šaph'ēl, Itp°'ēl, Ištaph'al. |
| 2 Qal, Pai'ēl. | 1 Qal, Pō'ēl, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl. |
| 1 Qal, Pō'ēl. | 1 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al, Ittaph'al. |
| 2 Pa''ēl, Itp°'ēl. | 2 Qal, Aph'ēl, Haph'ēl, Ithaph- |
| 2 Aph'ēl, Ittaph'al. | al. |
| 57 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl. | 2 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itp°'ēl, It- |
| 21 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al. | pa''al. |
| 25 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl. | 1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al, |
| 19 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itp°'ēl. | Ittaph'al. |
| 2 Qal, Aph'ēl, Itpa''al. | 1 Qal, Pō'ēl, Pai'ēl, Aph'ēl, It- |
| 1 Pa''ēl, Itpa''al, Ištaph'al. | pa''al. |

B. PLURICONSONANTALS.

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Saph'ēl. | 1 Pa'lēl. |
| 4 Taph'ēl. | 19 Palpēl. |
| 1 Naph'ēl. | 3 Itpalpal. |
| 3 Par'ēl. | 2 Parpēl. |
| 1 Paš'ēl. | 5 (denom. and foreign) active. |
| 1 Pa'pēl. | 1 (denom. and foreign) passive. |

¹ Cf. § 188.

3 Par'ēl, Itpar'al.	2 Pa'lēl, Itpa'lal.
1 Pan'ēl, Itpan'al.	5 Palpēl, Itpalpal. [passive.
1 Pa'tēl, Itpa'tal.	4 (denom. and foreign) active and

SUMMARY.—Of 1013 triconsonantal verbs, 524 occur only in one form; 301, in two; 143, in three; 41, in four; 4, in five.—675 stems occur in Qal; 352, in Pa''ēl; 296, in Aph'ēl; 268, in Itpē'ēl; 164, in Itpa''al; 5, in Pō'ēl; 3, in Pai'ēl; 3, in Haph'ēl; 5, in Šaph'ēl; 1, in Itpō'al; 10, in Ittaph'al; 3, in Ithaph'al; 2, in Ištaph'al; 1, in Istaph'al.

Of 58 pluriconsonantal verbs, 38 occur only in the active; 4, only in the passive; 16, in both.

INDEX COMPENDIORUM.

<i>AEV.</i>	<i>The Assyrian E-Vowel.</i>	<i>MWJ.</i>	<i>Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums.</i>
<i>AJP.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>	Nāz.	Nāzîr.
<i>AJSL.</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</i>	<i>NB.</i>	<i>Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen.</i>
'Ar.	'Arākhîn.	Ned.	Nedārîm.
A. Z.	'Abodā Zārā.	<i>NSG.</i>	<i>Neu-syrische Grammatik.</i>
<i>BA.</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.</i>	<i>PEF.</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund.</i>
		Pes.	Pesāhîm.
B. B.	Bābā Bātrā.	<i>PSBA.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.</i>
Bekkh.	Bekkhôrôt.	Qidd.	Qiddāšîn.
Ber.	Berākhôt.	<i>RĒJ.</i>	<i>Revue des Études juives.</i>
B. M.	Bābā Meqî'a.	R. H.	Rôš ha-šānā.
B. Q.	Bābā Qammā.	Sabb.	Sabbāt.
<i>DLZ.</i>	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung.</i>	Sanh.	Sanhedrîn.
'Er.	'Erûbîn.	<i>SFG.</i>	<i>Sumerische Familiengesetze.</i>
<i>ES.</i>	<i>Etymologische Studien.</i>	<i>SG.</i>	<i>Syrische Grammatik.</i>
E. Y.	'Ēn Ya'aqôh.	<i>SM.</i>	<i>Sippārê Ma'asiyyôt</i> , ed. Gaster.
Gitt.	Gittîn.	Taan.	Ta'anit.
<i>GJPA.</i>	<i>Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch.</i>	Tām.	Tāmîd.
<i>HG.</i>	<i>Halākhôt Gedōlôt; Hebräische Grammatik.</i>	<i>TB.</i>	<i>Talmūd Babil.</i>
		Tem.	Temûrā.
Hal. Pes.	Halākhôt Pesûqôt.	<i>TG.</i>	<i>Tešûbôt ha-ge'onîm.</i>
Ĥag.	Ĥagîgā.	<i>TM.</i>	<i>Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzählung über den Tod Moses'.</i>
Ĥull.	Ĥullîn.	<i>TR.</i>	<i>Tôrātān šel Rišōnîm.</i>
<i>JQR.</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>	<i>TWb.</i>	<i>Targumisches Wörterbuch.</i>
Ker.	Keritôt.	<i>VL.</i>	<i>Variae lectiones.</i>
Ketb.	Ketûbôt.	Wb.	Wörterbuch.
Mak.	Makkôt.	<i>WBH.</i>	<i>Wateh ben Hazael.</i>
Meg.	Megillā.	<i>WZKM.</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i>
Men.	Menāḥôt.	Yeb.	Yebāmôt.
<i>MG.</i>	<i>Mandäische Grammatik.</i>	<i>ZA.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
<i>MM.</i>	<i>Menōrat ha-mā'ôr.</i>	<i>ZDMG.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
M. Q.	Mo'ed Qātān.	<i>ZATW.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>MV.</i>	<i>Maḥzôr Vitry.</i>	Zeb.	Zebāhîm.
<i>MWGJ.</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Judenthums.</i>		

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