Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV

PERSPECTIVES ON SYRIAC LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 5

Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV

Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project

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CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbott-Smith	Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.*
BAG	Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 1st English edition, 1957.
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.*
BAGD	Arndt, Gingrich and Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 2nd revised English edition.
BDAG	Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd revised and enlarged ed.
CSD	Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*.
DCH	Clines, et al. eds. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.*
HALOT	Koehler and Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.*
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project.
KBL	Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum alten Testament*.
KPG	Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels.*
Louw–Nida	Louw and Nida, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*.
LSJM	Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Dictionary*, revised ed. H. S. Jones, with R. McKenzie.
Muraoka 1993	Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets).*
Muraoka 2002	Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint—Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets.*
SDBH	De Blois, *A Semitic Dictionary of Semitic Hebrew.*

SERIES PREFACE

ܡܫܡܢ ܒܟ ܬܚܡ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܫܡܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܪ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܪ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܡܢ ܒܟ ܬܚܡ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܫܡܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܪ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܪ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ

Some have expounded ideas, some have corrected words, others have composed chronicles, and still others love to write lexica.

Bar ʿEbroyo (1226–1286), *Storehouse of Mysteries*

> When I took the first survey of my undertaking, I found our speech copious without order and energetik without rules: wherever I turned my view, there was perplexity to be disentangled, and confusion to be regulated; choice was to be made out of boundless variety, without a settled test of purity; and modes of expression to be rejectd or received, without the suffrages of any writers of classical reputation or acknowledges authority.
>
> Samuel Johnson, 'Preface' to *A Dictionary of the English Language*

Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics contains peer-reviewed essay collections, monographs, and reference works that have relevance to Classical Syriac lexicography. It is a publication of the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary group which meets annually to reconsider the theory and practice of Classical Syriac lexicography, and to lay the foundations for a future comprehensive Syriac-English lexicon.

Lexicography, the art and science of dictionary making, became a serious discipline about three centuries ago. Compared to the evolution of human language which may go back as far as 100,000 years, it began only yesterday. Modern linguistics, the science of the study of language, is even more recent, beginning in the 1830's and experiencing relatively rapid growth in the latter half of the twentieth century. The birth of modern linguistics gave rise to lexicography being viewed as one of its sub-disciplines. Today, lexicography is a mature discipline in its own right. However, the interrelationship between the two remains as important as ever, for sound lexicography requires sound linguistic theory. The aim of this series is therefore to address the discipline of lexicography and issues of linguistics as they relate to a contemporary approach to lexicography.

It is also the aim of the ISLP to be collaborative and interdisciplinary in its research. Accordingly, this series seeks to be collaborative and interdisciplinary in its scope. There are three primary reasons. The first is that many linguistic disciplines

meet in the making of a modern lexicon. The second is that developments in the study of one language, theoretical and applied, are often pertinent to another. The third is the emergence of electronic lexica, which requires attention to advances in computational linguistics. Thus our planning for a Classical Syriac-English lexicon for a new generation is not pursued in isolation, but embraces a multi-disciplinary understanding of what is taking place in the study of other ancient languages and in the wider worlds of lexicography, linguistics and digital technologies.

Terry Falla, series editor

A CONTINUING CONVERSATION

One of the pleasures of being involved in this series is its embrace of peer-reviewed contributions from a spectrum of disciplines and ancient languages, together with their common focus and purpose. These are features that have characterized the ISLP from its inception, deepen and broaden its approach to the theory and practice of ancient-language lexicography in the present, and will continue to shape its future.

Another pleasure is to work with scholar-editors of the calibre of Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen, to whom we are indebted for this volume and to whom I here express my thanks and gratitude. It is a further pleasure to record that a number of people have taken up the work and responsibilities of the ISLP since I wrote the preface to the previous volume: Reinier de Blois, who joined the ISLP in late 2007, Richard A. Taylor in 2008, James K. Aitken and Jonathan Loopstra in 2010, and Aaron Michael Butts, Sargon Hasso, and Anne Thompson in 2011. We also welcome the return of A. Dean Forbes who, for reasons given in my preface to our previous volume, needed to withdraw for a while. We presently have nineteen members and appreciate and are indebted to their diversity of skills, commitment, and on-going contributions.

Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen's Introduction to this volume shows how in the task of lexicography subjects and even disciplines that may seem disparate form chapters in an integrated book. They invite us to follow not a string of isolated topics, but a trajectory of research issues that cohere and typify the aspirations of the series. Their introduction also, I believe, helps us to put the contents of all the volumes thus far in full and proper perspective.

More than once, the ISLP has visted the question of thematic versus non-thematic volumes. In 2008, we agreed to make the transition to a thematic approach to the series. This I note in my preface, "Emerging Pathways," to the second volume in this series where I call the transition "another bridge to new pathways." The metaphor has proved apt but in a way that we did not foresee. To adopt a thematic rather than eclectic approach for contributions to the series would, we agreed, give greater continuity and cohesion to each volume—and to many themes pertinent to ancient-language lexicography that beg exploration. Another benefit, it seemed, was the increasing number of scholars willing to contribute to ISLP sessions with a view to peer-reviewed publication. Soon, however, we discovered that it can be difficut to get people to speak on an annual basis on a particular theme for a particular volume. How could we then encourage and encompass the creativity of fellow travelers who are, or wish to become, part of the ISLP journey without restricting them to a particular theme at a particular time?

George Kiraz proposed a solution, which was readily adopted: when there are enough thematic essays to constitute a volume, a thematic volume will be published; when that is not the case, non-thematic essays will be published along with thematic essays, so as not to delay publication. This approach will encircle the best of two worlds: essays that differ in subject but speak to each other and complement each other in a continuing conversation, and essays that address a common theme within the wider parameters of a lexicographical goal to which all volumes are dedicated.

Let me conclude with a special thanks to Katie Stott and Melonie Schmierer-Lee, our Gorgias Press editors to whom Beryl Turner has gratefully relinquished the task of formatting and to George Kiraz for his never-ceasing creative input and support. To Beryl we give our profound thanks for her continuing role as Managing Editor and her ready and always helpful assistance in a multitude of different ways.

Terry Falla, series editor

INTRODUCTION

Lexicography is necessarily both a solitary and a collaborative business. The actual work of writing a lexicon advances only through the solitary efforts of the lexicographer, even when working in a team. However, the decisions that are made and the insights derived from this process result from and contribute to a larger conversation with the lexicographical community. One subset of this community has organized itself around the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), and this volume, with one exception, contains papers originally presented at the 2007 and 2008 annual meetings of this research group.[1] The papers from these two meetings provide an opportunity to reflect on general issues, dive into specific case studies and consider the benefits of comparative analysis—a salutary telescopic collection generating both perspective and concrete data for the lexicographical enterprise.

The volume begins with a view from the end of the lexicographer's journey generously submitted to the ISLP for inclusion in this volume by Frederick William Danker, who died on February 2nd, 2012. Danker's long engagement with the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* naturally makes such a retrospective appealing to any lexicographer. However, what makes his paper particularly relevant to this collection, as well as to the ISLP project in general, is his advocacy of the interaction of lexicographical theory and practice. Danker recognized that lexicographers often work in the shadow of a long tradition—in his case one that began in 1514—and in practice they are both conditioned by and build upon the labors of their predecessors. In this paper he argued that lexicographical and linguistic research allows the lexicographer to see the weaknesses and strengths of their predecessors' work and reconceive their enterprise accordingly.

Danker's particular concern was that ancient-language lexicographers move beyond the simple gloss in order to provide more semantically nuanced definitions. With this issue in mind, the reader is prepared to consider Terry Falla's question of whether such definitions should also be concerned to distinctly mark figurative and metaphorical speech. While Falla was reluctant to embrace the totalizing theory of metaphorical speech (all speech is metaphor), which would negate the need to give metaphor any special attention in a definition, he is concerned to highlight the fact that contemporary linguistic theory permits the lexicographer considerable leeway in considering this issue. Quite properly, he raises the practical challenges for a

[1] These ISLP sessions were graciously hosted by the nineteenth congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament held in Llubljana in 2007 and the tenth Symposium Syriacum held in Granada in 2008.

lexicographer of comprehensively and consistently marking the figurative and metaphorical—challenges that are not dissimilar to attempting to treat any definitional category comprehensively.

We move next from general semantic questions to those concerning the choice of corpus for a new Syriac lexicon. To this end, Loopstra introduces the important and understudied corpus of surviving Syriac "Masoretic" manuscripts, which contain collections of vocalized and diacritized obscure Syriac words and phrases intended to aid readers of biblical and patristic literature. Though these texts contain few complete sentences and were largely ignored by Payne Smith and Brockelmann, Loopstra clearly demonstrates why they should be taken into account in any future comprehensive Syriac lexicon. Yet, these texts are more than a potential source for new lexemes and phonological data. Rightly understood they are the result of careful philological activity by early medieval Syriac scholars that should be duly noted in the history and study of Syriac lexicography and linguistics.

At the heart of this volume are five papers treating the lexicalization of particular Syriac lexemes and lexical types. Syriac lexicography has been plagued by the ambiguity inherent in lexicalizing certain verb forms. Wido van Peursen and Dirk Bakker shine light on one of the darker corners of this problem by considering the common but morphologically controversial verb ܗܰܡܢ "to believe." Their discussion of this verb in the standard lexica and grammars highlights the difficulties and possibilities of analyzing certain verbal forms and types. Yet, Van Peursen and Bakker nicely draw upon the work of their predecessors to produce an elegant analysis of this verb that accounts for the morphological phenomena by eschewing the shackles of an overly rigid historical-linguistic framework.

The topic of lexicalization is further explored by Beryl Turner, with particular reference to the particle ܕ. Turner invites us into the lexicographer's workshop, walking the reader through the practical and theoretical considerations that go into making an entry for the *Key to the Peshitta Gospels*. The comprehensive rigor of this lexical approach yields a kind of deep lexicographical survey that both illuminates a clearly defined corpus and offers guidance for the broader lexicographical enterprise, which is why this approach is advocated by the ISLP.

The lexicalization of the particle ܟܡ in two *memre* by Jacob of Serugh (d. 521) is treated with the same kind of deep analysis by Craig Morrison in the next paper. Importantly, Morrison's paper shows how the lexicographical enterprise interfaces with other disciplines, in this case textual and reception history. Since previous lexicographers have generally noted that the particle ܟܡ may introduce a citation, its function is of obvious interest in the study of an author's intertexts. Morrison's study develops and nuances our understanding of this particle by illustrating the five different modes in which it functions in his texts and by suggesting new terminology from contemporary Semitic linguistics to aid in its definition.

Frederick Danker's challenge to ancient-language lexicographers to move beyond the borders of the gloss and provide actual definitions is explicitly taken up by Paul Stevenson in his treatment of the motion verbs in Peshitta Exodus 1–19. Stevenson further extends the value of the ISLP's comprehensive approach to small-corpus lexicography by systematically and comparatively treating an entire semantic domain. The result is an illuminating semantic profile of selected high-

frequency verbs of motion found in his corpus, which are further organized according to semantic categories. Stevenson usefully adds to these necessarily abstract definitions some suggestions for generating semantically rich definitions for these verbs in a future Syriac lexicon.

Research on the lexicalization of numerals is less concerned with nuanced semantic definitions than it is with accurately describing their etymological, morphological and syntactic features. In the first of two papers on the Syriac numerals, Wido Van Peursen brings some clarity to the question by considering inflection and agreement, concluding that attempts to categorize numerals as either nouns or adjectives, though useful comparatively, are flawed. Instead, the numeral should be treated as lexically *sui generis*.

Percy van Keulen tackles the question of numerals comparatively by examining the lexicalization of the numeral in several dictionaries of Syriac and the Aramaic of the Targumim. His analysis shows that not only do lexicographers differ from each other in their analysis of the numeral but there are often glaring inconsistencies and omissions within individual dictionaries. Van Keulen's findings point him towards the importance of the relationship between morphology and lemmatization.

Underlying the final paper in this volume are two questions. The first is how, in preparing a lexicon of a translated text, does one deal with its source text. The second is whether anomalies in cognate usage can expose useful lexicographical data. Janet Dyk contributes to these questions by examining the relationship between a Hebrew and Syriac verbal cognate in the Books of Kings. Despite semantic and syntactic overlap, these cognates co-occur in less than half of their respective occurrences. In examining the anomalies, Dyk concludes that they derive partly from differences in the two language systems and partly as a result of translator choice. This latter cluster in particular serves to expose not only translation technique but also the contours of the verb's semantic domain as understood by the translator.

It remains only to thank the many people involved in bringing this volume to completion. Firstly our thanks go to the contributors, not only for writing such interesting papers but also for being patient and helpful in the editorial process. We are especially grateful to the group of willing and efficient anonymous peer-reviewers who together read through each of the papers and offered meaningful criticism, correction and suggestions. Substantial editorial help was provided at BYU by two undergraduate assistants, Morwenna Kleijweg and Rachel Taylor, and they should certainly not go unrecognized. Special thanks and recognition must go to Terry Falla and Beryl Turner, without whose help and encouragement this volume would certainly not have seen the light of day! Beryl is to be especially thanked for helping with every aspect of the production, and for taking responsibility for the indexing of this volume. Lastly, we are grateful to the publishers, especially Katie Stott and Melonie Schmierer-Lee, for providing everything from clear editorial guidelines to an efficient production mechanism.

Kristian S. Heal and *Alison G. Salvesen*, volume editors

CHAPTER 1.
MOVING BEYOND BORDERS: THOUGHTS OF A GREEK LEXICOGRAPHER

Frederick William Danker

My long involvement in the business of searching for the meaning of words suggested to colleagues that I record some thoughts and observations relating to the task, hence the frequent occurrence of observations in the first person. Although my focus has been on the Greek language exhibited in the New Testament (NT), my experience in having a hand in the production of two editions of Walter Bauer's legacy may be of help to readers engaged in the study of Syriac from a lexical perspective, with special focus on the theme of moving beyond the borders of traditional lexicographic procedure. By setting forth in this essay procedures and critique in connection with the production of the Bauer series, I hope that readers will find points of application to the preparation of other bilingual lexical publications, and so "by indirections find directions out."[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

The year 1988 marked the publication of a sixth edition of Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, prepared by Kurt and Barbara Aland with the assistance of Viktor Reichmann. Upon its appearance, the University of Chicago Press invited me to serve as editor of a third edition of *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.*[2]

Periodically, Bauer had added references that ultimately added up to a staggering amount of non-biblical data, and the Alands contributed chiefly numerous intertestamental and early post-canonical-New Testament references. But

[1] I am grateful to the University of Chicago Press for permission to include adaptation of material from my *Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.*

[2] *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000). This third revised ed. (BDAG) is based on Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, sixth edition, by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann, and on previous English editions: 1st ed. (BAG) 1957, by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich; 2nd ed. by F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker (BAGD) 1979.

despite these increments, after I started on the project of revision I became aware that the Bauer series was headed for history's dustbin. The chief problem: a pervasive lack of definition beyond the generous supply of glosses, most often one-word translation equivalents offered in the name of lexical meaning.

Not wishing to advance obsolescence of Bauer's legacy, I changed course in the second year of my assignment, knowing full well that such decision would entail major overhauling of many entries. But would prospective purchasers of the new edition be put off by such a new approach on hallowed Bauer ground? Millions of dollars invested by the publisher were at stake. On the other hand, scholarly responsibility dare brook no wavering, and one must await the future to give its imprimatur. Besides, the credentials of the Press for cutting-edge publication were established at its very birth in 1891. The task would not be easy, for moving beyond borders meant dealing with strongly entrenched lexical traditions. And certainly the temporal frame of reference for publication would set limits to the realization of all that duty dreamt.

Discussion of the meaning of "dictionary" or "lexicon" as offered in modern dictionaries is not necessary. In this essay I use the term "lexicon" in the sense of an organized inventory of words designed to transfer meanings from a source language to a receptor language, with specific reference to bilingual lexicons. Of primary importance in their preparation is the consideration of content, for it is related to matters of lexemic inventory, publics envisaged, and medium or media used for presentation.

2. DATABASE

In the publishing tradition initiated by Erwin Preuschen[3] and then advanced by Walter Bauer one can discern a progression in lexemic inventory from preference for words used in the manuscript tradition of the Greek NT to inclusion of words in the Apostolic Fathers and other "early Christian literature." Future bilingual lexicons that feature the NT may be limited to establishment of meaning only for words of the NT or expand to inclusion of whatever corpora a publisher and editor(s) may determine.

Regardless of choice of corpus or corpora, several paramount considerations will dictate the shape of the lexicon. The first has to do with published form of the database. Users of the lexicon with critical interest will desire to know the principal published work underlying the lexemic presentation. The second has to do with the manner in which lexemes are presented. Some will prefer the traditional alphabetical sequence in treatment of the published text. Others will question the value of such approach and prefer a focus on semantic domains or other ways to organize lexemic inventories. Decisions on such matters will be made by agreements of publishers and editor(s).

[3] Preuschen, *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*.

3. MARKETING

A second major consideration relates to the mode of treatment accorded to lexemes. Unless one primarily thinks in theoretical terms, it is necessary to be aware of marketing concerns. Ultimately, targeted users will determine the shape of lexicons. The range can be from minimalist to maximalist treatment. Minimalist presentations might range from simple vocabulary aids to slightly more detailed vocabulary lists.[4] More advanced works include those of Abbott-Smith,[5] Zorell,[6] Louw/Nida,[7] and maximalist types of format include Thayer,[8] now for the most part superseded by Bauer's work. Yet even the large detailed works can be of service to beginners in Greek.[9] A further consideration is the medium for lexemic presentation: printed book and electronic copy in various editions; or printed book and electronic presentation with invitation for online treatments and discussions.

4. MODE OF DEFINITION

After dealing with the marketing question, the next major consideration relates to the way in which lexemes are to be defined. Historically, lexicographers of biblical texts have relied heavily on transfer of meaning through a corresponding term or brief phrase in the receptor language. This procedure is known as the gloss method.

The Complutensian Polyglot enjoys the reputation of being the first full lexicon of the Greek New Testament (1514). Its alphabetized format presented each word with a translation in Latin, most often as a one-word equivalent or gloss. Even a cursory glance at New Testament lexicons spanning five centuries reveals a long line of cross-fertilization and philological trading in such glosses.[10]

In the course of those centuries, dependence on glosses set linguistic peril in motion. Standard church Latin, with strong roots in the Vulgate, encouraged repetition of hallowed terminology. In German and English-language circles, Luther's translation of the Bible and correspondingly the King James Version (KJV) saw their verbal seeds coming to full crop in lexicons. These developments resulted in less than salutary confidence placed in lexical glosses as reservoirs of meaning for biblical words, and the very repetition seemed to make impregnable a variety of vested interests associated with the glosses. At risk, then, was freedom of inquiry from bondage to tradition wrapped in ecclesiastically and theologically endorsed

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[4] Metzger, *Lexical Aids*.

[5] Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon*.

[6] Zorell, *Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti*.

[7] Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

[8] Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

[9] Lay members of congregations increasingly are showing interest in acquisition of knowledge of the Greek vocabulary of the NT. I have conducted several two-hour sessions with persons who have had no knowledge of Greek, and after a two-hour session they were able to look up words in a Greek Concordance and in BDAG. One expressed appreciation with the equivalent of "scales fell from my eyes." Probably a bit more time would be required for introduction to use of a Syriac dictionary devoted to the NT.

[10] The best survey of the subject: Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*.

terminology. Unfortunately, thought currents that moved beyond the attempts of Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton to encourage passage into a larger world, opened up by scientific inquiry, seemed to have little influence on lexicographers. The voices of Marquis de Condorcet, Denis Diderot, and Marie Arouet Voltaire also brought no noticeable change. Tradition of "the word's the thing" remained strong on down to and including Erwin Preuschen's *Wörterbuch*.

Upon accepting the assignment for a revision of Preuschen, Bauer followed Adolf Deissmann's lead[11] and subjected lexemes to closer inspection at the hand of documentary papyri and inscriptions but held firmly to the glossatorial tradition. Thereby he helped cement the idea that translation equivalents or glosses did the duty of definition. At the same time, Bacon and Newton would have praised him for exceeding his predecessors in devoted mining of data from many veins of Greek beyond those of the New Testament. The way was now open for movement beyond borders of the gloss.

5. BEYOND THE GLOSS

While Bauer was doing his work, specialists in linguistics were busily plowing ground that would offer opportunity for further growth in Old and New Testament lexicography. Eminent among them was Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society. Nida repeatedly attempted to move the Society of Biblical Literature beyond apparent fixation on recycling a variety of historical-critical debates that involved repeated entry into a philological cul-de-sac. The effort bore little fruit until the publication of his and Johannes P. Louw's *Greek-English Lexicon,*[12] followed by Nida's pleas for openness to new directions at a session of SBL in 1990.

In *Toward a Science of Translating,* Nida cautioned: "The tendency to think of the meaning of a word … as apart from an actual communication event is fundamentally a mistake, for once we have isolated a word from its living context, we no longer possess the insight necessary to appreciate fully its real function."[13] This observation is valid for either oral or written communication. Words are like accumulations of snow on a slope. An avalanche increases in volume and intensity along the way. Similarly there is a danger that some words used in a bilingual dictionary or lexicon to translate the source vocabulary may in the course of time have picked up nuances or associations that discolor terms carefully chosen for expression in their original context. The problem is magnified when the number of glosses used in explaining a lexeme increases, for the user of the linguistic tool must wade through the meanings of the glosses themselves. This experience is especially frustrating for those whose own language differs from that in the lexicon of use. Thus a Chinese student using a Greek-English dictionary must first acquire a reference dictionary of the English language to sort out the semantic facts. Much of such labor and frustration can be eliminated if the user is offered assistance that gives focus to the lexeme or headword as used within a set of passages that fall

[11] Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*.

[12] Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

[13] Nida, *Toward a Science of Translation*, 40.

under such definition. Readers can then ask themselves what words in their language express what the lexicographer offers as a definition, and they may even discover helpful directions in the glosses of the host lexicon.

It is true that a gloss works well in signifying a general term like βασιλίσσα (queen), but it founders when applied to βασιλεύς simply as 'king' (so Barclay Newman, without taking account of Roman sensibilities about their 'emperor').[14] This observation is not meant to be a negative criticism of lexicons designed for general use, for many in their envisioned publics require only a general semantic bearing, but the way in which glosses are used in a lexicon designed to cover ranges or shifts in meaning requires careful consideration. Apart from context, most words are like a person dressed for an important occasion and waiting for departure. Establishing meaning of a word therefore requires a statement that fences off a word from intrusive ideas that are not present in a specific body of text. One may term this procedure "extended definition"or "semantic paraphrase". Various glosses used in connection with such actual definitions can then serve to indicate aspects of the definition. Thereby an extended definition bestows vibrancy on a gloss that cannot function on its own as an accurate provider of meaning. A single gloss without extended definition or paraphrase would indicate that the definition is in effect conveyed in the gloss, which can then serve as a reliable translation equivalent.

In the formation of the definition, it is important, then, that a gloss, unless it can function by itself as a definition, not be used as a definition. Thus the word ἀγγεῖον ought not be defined simply as *container*, but rather as "a container for goods," with a descriptive addition to the effect that it is a referential term for a variety of kinds of things that are used to hold something and glossed with *vessel, container*. The gloss "container" is not invalidated on the ground that it repeats an item contained in the definition, for the definition includes the information that the term ἀγγεῖον covers a broad range of usage: "for goods." In Mt 13:48 (varia lectio), it is clear from the context that ἀγγεῖον is a "container" for fish, but details are lacking for a more specialized term in English. Such is not the case in Mt 25:4, where the container is clearly designed for dispensing of oil. In the rendering of this passage the gloss *container* could also be used, but English happens to have a term that covers the specialized contextual aspect, "flask." In sum, there are not two meanings for ἀγγεῖον. The glosses in fact serve as shortcut translation media for rendering the source word in its context. In other words, a multivalent source word takes on restricted meaning within a given context. On the other hand, lexicographers who have at their disposal a far larger stock of native words can submit a variety of glosses, out of which the user can select the one that best nuances the contextual use of the source word. The lexicographer is not obligated to select a specific gloss for a specific passage. In any case, the source text is at no disadvantage because of the more limited stock of words in the source language. Alleged lack of clarity in a given text may be due to a number of factors beyond the control of the original writer.

[14] Newman, *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary*.

The extended definition can take more than one form. In most instances a phrase suffices. Thus the verb ἀποστερέω may be defined as "take away what rightfully belongs to another," followed by such glosses as *steal, rob, defraud*. Since each of these glosses has a distinctive meaning in English, none of them can adequately serve as a definition but only as a general guide to the meaning of ἀποστερέω offered in the extended definition or paraphrase.

Instead of transferring meaning by reproductive phrases, a lexicographer may choose to convey meaning by providing explanatory or descriptive information. This procedure works especially well in treatment of proper names. The term is ordinarily transliterated, followed by an identifying statement. Thus the name Μάλχος is not defined in terms of semantic origin but with focus on functional aspect, namely as "slave of the high priest, whom Peter wounded when Jesus was arrested Jn 18:10" (BDAG s.v.). The term Δεκάπολις might well be described as a "name of a group of cities (the number of which appears to have been fluid), east of the Jordan and Lake of Gennesaret Mt 14:25; Mk 5:20; 7:31."

6. BEYOND CULTURAL BIAS

Preparation of a definition to establish lexical meaning is no small task. Definition constitutes an attempt to delimit the range of misunderstanding resulting from efforts to provide correspondence terminology for the source term. The source word has the advantage of a context to give it specific signification, for context is itself a lexicographical agent. On the other hand, a gloss is subject to debate in the absence of context in the receptor language. In effect, then, definition of the source term takes an indirect route to carry out its task and implictly suggests its own inadequacy and liability for distortion. For this reason there will be ongoing debate about the adequacy of any lexicon. Expectation of scientific precision is simply not feasible, for language is by its nature social and not amenable to the exclusionary technique imposed by scientific constriction. What is more, each generation demands equal time for decipherment of its own code.

The problem is further complicated when a set of documents such as the New Testament is set apart and the Greek within it is given the status of what amounts to "Holy Ghost Greek." Nigel Turner, in the third volume of the Moulton Grammar series, gave some impetus to this idea of a special kind of Greek in the New Testament.[15] Views about alleged preeminence of so-called 'classical' Greek had presaged aid and comfort to the notion. Much of our classical and biblical lexicography was the product of sixteenth and seventeeth-century blending of respectful interest in antiquity and maintenance of traditional understandings. But as time went on, a prejudice against the right of New Testament Greek features to be noted alongside classical (a.k.a. "standard") authors developed. And this despite the fact that there was no discernible agreement as to what authors belonged in the so-called classical canon.

In 1955, H. J. Rose magisterially intoned that the "vast Christian and the considerable Jewish literature written in Greek have been wholly omitted" on the

[15] Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek,* vol. 3, 9.

ground that "they represent a different spirit from that of the Greeks themselves."[16] He does not define what this means. Greek literature manifests many different spirits and styles and perspectives. Lexicographers must therefore question the legitimacy of adopting distinctive procedures in dealing with types of books alleged to be "different."

6.1 Some examples

Examples of the effect such kind of thinking can promote are not difficult to find.

6.1.1 ἐκκλησία

Under ἐκκλησία, the ninth edition of *A Greek-English Lexicon*[17] seems to follow a theological/ecclesiastical, rather than lexical, distinction in the two meanings it describes: "I" with political Greek assemblies (*assembly duly summoned*) as referent; "II" in reference to God's people, in two subdivisions: "in LXX, *the Jewish congregation*," and "in *NT, the Church*, as a body of Christians." Matters become confused when Deut 31:30 is cited in "II", without awareness that the people of Israel in this passage are a duly summoned assembly (cp. 31:28).[18] Similarly, the alleged chasm between older Greek and that of the NT is greatly diminished when it is observed that the community of Pythagoras was a people or group with shared belief and therefore could legitimately be glossed as a *community* or *congregation*. It becomes apparent that the LXX is viewed here as containing a special kind of Greek, and the NT is in tow.

A perusal of the Bauer series of NT lexicons would reveal the potential for the damaging influence of linguistic territorialism. More so than its German Bauer counterpart, BAG in its rendering of ἐκκλησία suggests an inherited stained glass look or hallowed sound, as in the gloss *church*. The latter is so tainted by associative components, such as structure, denominational label, and other special historical association, that its value as a one-word equivalent in the absence of an extended definition or other clarification is quite questionable. Bauer had made some effort to remedy the situation, and in BDAG the process is refined. An even more satisfactory approach is to treat the entry ἐκκλησία in two semantic divisions. Division 1 might well focus on the aspect of "gathering to take care of matters concerning a group." Deut 31:32 would then readily find its place. The gloss *assembly* would tie in nicely, being governed by the definition and readily understandable in English as signifying in one of its senses a group at work in common enterprise. Division 2 can then focus on the associative aspect: "God's people as a community." Such glosses as *assembly, congregation* could then convey the extended abstract sense of ἐκκλησία with emphasis on its component of gatheredness. In such an arrangement, the stained glass term "church" would not appear except in a

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[16] Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature*. The lack of clarity about "Christian" and "Jewish" literature (p. vii) does not help matters.

[17] Liddell and Scott.

[18] LSJM s.v. "LSJM" is an appropriate acronym that recognizes the immense contribution, far beyond editorial details, to the edition.

subset and properly as a secondary choice reflecting traditional rendering, e.g. *asssembly/church.* Since definitions control glosses, users may recall other terms that to some extent express the definition. Also, users whose language is other than English can determine what terms to select as glosses from their own language inventory to reproduce to some extent the idea expressed in the definition. Thus lexicographers, by moving beyond borders, can help others escape from their own borders.

6.1.2 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Fixation on time-honored renderings also exhibits itself in the translation of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "The Son of Man." Without accompaniment of special tutelage, the English term means little or nothing to everyday speakers of English. Unless a lexicon of the language used in the Greek NT is designed with editorial intent to limit access to its content to specialists and curators of linguistic artifacts, an idiom like this cries out for definition in the linguistic coin of the realm, especially if a lexicon acclaims itself as "Greek-English." Since the time apparently has not yet arrived for idioms to take their place in the headword queue, the idiom in question would logically appear under υἱός. It can be glossed as "the Human One, the Human Being." The typography suggests a special personal referent. BDAG added the explanatory statement, "one intimately linked with humanity in its primary aspect of fragility, yet transcending it, traditionally rendered 'the Son of Man'." Theologians may quibble, but lexicographers need not fear the crossfire.

6.1.3 δἰ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι

An especially notorious instance of cultural erosion through cultural retrojection can be seen in *KJV* in the rendering of δἰ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι with "through a glass, darkly" (1 Cor 13:12), and on into the 20th century with suggestion of inadequacy, "what we see now is like a dim image in a mirror" (*Good News Bible: Today's English Version* (2nd ed. 1992)), apparently based on Newman's rendering of αἴνιγμα: "*dim* or *obscure image*."[19] The ancients in fact prided themselves on the reflecting quality of their mirrors. The fact is that ancients did very well with their mirrors. We know of no complaints from women that their mirrors did not satisfactorily reflect their coiffures. The error of the *KJV,* along with its reference to glass (although there was sufficient evidence available in ancient writers of Greek that metal, not glass, was the reflecting surface of choice) now remains corrected, notably in *The NET Bible.*[20] Moffatt correctly noted that the focus was on "reflection", but could not escape the temptation to dismiss the quality of ancient mirrors. Therefore he opted for "baffling reflections in a mirror." The *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*,[21] which for the most part competes well with the New Revised Standard Version and the New English Bible in the rendering of many difficult passages, is even more blatant in its cultural evaluation: "At present we see in hazy outline by means of a

[19] Newman, *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary.*

[20] *The NET Bible.*

[21] *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures.*

metal mirror." There is no mistaking the point: glass mirrors ("the ones we have") are superior. William Arndt and F. W. Gingrich had rendered as follows: "lit. *riddle* … then *indistinct image* βλέπομεν δὶ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι we *see dimly in a mirror*." For BAGD, I suggested to Gingrich that we render "we see by reflection," but he was loath to part with "dimly in a mirror." Yet he gave priority to my suggestion, and so both renderings are in that edition juxtaposed as a development of *riddle* in the sense of "*indirect* or *indistinct* image." When I succeeded him as editor for BDAG, I presented the older interpretation for ἐν αἰνιγματι in classification 1, simply because it had the support of eminent scholars (such as those who worked on the Revised English Bible [*puzzling reflections*] and the NRSV [*dimly*]), but in a second classification, users were directed to what I considered the more linguistically probable rendering for the phrase in which αἴνιγμα appeared: *we see by reflection as in a mirror*, with reference to N. Hugedé's solid study of the phrase.[22] The idea that ancient mirrors were inferior to modern mirrors lent credence to the idea of "baffling" or "puzzling" reflection as a rendering for ἐν αἰνιγματι. One could trace lexical synergism in the perpetuation of the erroneous idea, but it is sufficient to observe here that LSJM begins the entry with *dark saying, riddle* and explains the use of the word αἴνιγμα in Aeschylus, *Aga.* 1112, 1183 with "in riddles, darkly." Once again the gloss trap. No specific rendering is offered for the phrase in 1 Cor 13, but one is probably expected to understand it in the same sense as in Aeschylus. It is unfortunate that in lexicographers' text, including mine, we sometimes appear to see darkly. At any rate, in BDAG, I do penance for helping to perpetuate an ungallant attribution of ignorance to St. Paul in BAGD.

7. LOANWORDS AND TRANSLITERATION

In the case of an unusual word whose meaning cannot be established with certainty, an explanation with or without transliteration helps resolve the problem.

7.1 δεξιολάβος

Thus δεξιολάβος (Acts 23:23) could be described as a rare word whose precise meaning cannot be determined and then offered in transliterated form: "dexiolabos," with a parenthetical notation, "in some military capacity." Various glosses suggested by interpreters could then be included to account for attempts at translation: *archer, slinger,* or, without suggestion of ordinance, *bodyguard*. A translation of the NT may simply offer "dexiolabos" and signal the problem in a footnote.

7.2 βλασφημέω

Having said this, it is important to observe that confinement in borders generated by interest in linguistic territorialism is a different matter and is cultivated by misuse of loanwords or transliteration provided in the receptor language. Resort to such can create for lexicographers an illusion of ease in suburbs of Lexville. Long ago in my graduate studies at the University of Chicago, Professor Richard Bruère

[22] Here the two ideas of riddle and indirectness are informed by information relating to historical matters, interpreters' views, and lexical probability.

cautioned me to avoid a slothful adoption of English words that inherited a Latin look. When I reached βλασφημέω in the preparation of BAGD, I recalled that counsel and noted well its application to rendering of ancient Greek words. I began to see with renewed vision how misleading the use of transliterations can be, especially when they fall into the stained glass category and assume an illusory pseudo-technical aspect. The Vulgate exposes the temptation with the Latin rendering "blasfemo," and the progeny can be observed in Newman s.v. βλασφημέω "speak against God, blaspheme; speak against, slander, insult."

The root of the problem is association of the word "blaspheme" in many people's minds with impious speech in reference to the deity (of course, 'our God') and the use gradually acquires competency for cultural intimidation. In keeping with Bauer, BAG offered two classifications for βλασφημέω: "1. in relation to men *injure the reputation of, revile, defame*…. 2. in relation to a divine being *blaspheme*…." Three phenomena here attract special attention. First, the classifications are based on personal referents instead of on supposed different meanings. Secondly, the rendering in 2. is a stained glass word not found in everyday American parlance, whereas the Greek word historically knows no such isolation.[23] The gloss in BAG is a transliteration and projects a pseudo-scientific tone that implies an additional increment of lexical accuracy. In LSJM, matters are even more confusing and illustrate the need of a definition that embraces related aspects. As it is, the first division leads off with the definition "*speak profanely of sacred things, εἰς θεούς"* with a reference to Plato's *Respublica*; the second division defines, *"speak ill* or *to the prejudice of* one" followed by a gloss, *slander*; in the third division, "*speak impiously* or *irreverently of God"* is followed by the gloss *blaspheme.* A brief examination of these data suggests points of awareness to be taken into account by lexicographers: First, the gloss "blaspheme" is narrowly context-specific in English, that is, it conveys a distinctive affective component which speakers of English ordinarily associate with the deity familiar to biblically oriented persons. Hence, division 3 is not lexically legitimate for it lays claim to defining a Greek word but in the end explores an English word. Second, it is not clear why division 3 is divorced from division 1 which also deals with matters pertaining to deity; nor is it clear why the idea of *"speak … to the prejudice of* one" (division 2) does not apply to deity. Third, the pseudo-technical terminology exhibited in the use of the word "blasphemy" is a linguistic additive of syntactical redundancy. In *Respublica* 381e, the famous bogeyman passage, Plato admonishes mothers not to "speak blasphemy against the gods." This is Benjamin Jowett's rendering of the Greek.[24] But the phrase "against the gods" could, theoretically, have been omitted in view of the normal association of blasphemy with deity. Yet something else lurks in the linguistic shadows. Through the rendering "blasphemy", the addition of "the gods" as object is in effect redundant, and Plato himself, apart from the translator, is made to appear the producer of redundancy. But Plato is not guilty. In general Greek parlance the verb βλασφημέω means, as noted above, to speak in a denigrating manner. Plato chooses the bare word, properly adds an object and writes, "not to denigrate the gods." Therefore it

[23] Bauer's *lästern* does not convey the associative-linguistic isolation expressed in BAG.

[24] Jowett, *The Republic of Plato*, 65.

seems clear that the basic problem in LSJM is the lack of a definition for βλασφημέω along the lines of: "*cause damage to reputation by arrogant speech or expression.*" Such damage can be marked by two divisions: a. of demeaning speech directed against human beings. b. of speech expressed directly or indirectly in affront to divine or associated deities. This approach also confirms recognition of the fact that to the Semitic and Greco-Roman mind the focus, in the case of deity, is on the harm done to the reputation of the deity.

7.3 ὑποκριτής

Transliteration of the kind used, as indicated above, in connection with a term like δεξιολάβος is acceptable. On the other hand, when applied to a term that is in normal English parlance literally derived from the Greek, lexicographers and translators can easily succumb to evasive creation of a gloss that dispenses with a definition or offers a definition that obscures the source writer's thought. The lexeme ὑποκριτής is a prime example. When reproduced in the transliterated form "hypocrite," it loses much of its color in Mt 6:16–18. Like the word blasphemy, in English, the word hypocrite carries with it a heavily charged negative affective component. As I approached the usage of ὑποκριτής in Matthew's passage, I again recalled Bruére's counsel and noted that this admonition applied also to the use of terms that merely borrowed or transliterated ancient Greek words. It became clear to me that one could easily be inured to such unquestioning habit in the belief that the long tradition of a practice guarantees its quality, whereas upon reflection it might be perceived as just an "old bad idea."

In view of the Mediterranean penchant for imagery, it seemed necessary to let the common designation of ὑποκριτής "(stage) actor" take front billing. Close reading of Matthew's narrative suggests a number of theatrical features. The persons under review in the narrative have visages that remind one of stylized masks used in stage productions. The actors envisaged in Matthew's narrative have morose countenances. A situation of stage players with frowning masks emerges, and one comes up with the following translation: "When you fast, don't be like frowning actors." At this point, one might conclude that Jesus's auditors nod knowingly about overly pious religious people; for, he says, "they have their reward." Like actors who await the plaudits of the audience, they look for the approval of their compatriots. Jesus's followers are a notch higher in receipt of applause. They have their reward in heaven. Thus all components, lexical tradition and narrative, serve to create a challenging composition, and the manner of Jesus need not be construed as adversarial, but genuinely human. "Come off it!" he chidingly implies, and probably, in view of his penchant for humor exhibited in many of his bon mots, with a disarming smile. Jerome appears to have caught the drift, rendering ὑποκριτής with *hypocrites,* a later synonym for *actor.* He does indeed use a loanword, but it lacks the limited denotation expressed in the English rendering "hypocrite."

7.4 Ἰουδαῖος

Translational cultural retrojection is also discernible in the gloss *Jew* for Ἰουδαῖος. In the course of centuries, various associative aspects resident in the receptor term

have deleteriously infected the meaning of Ἰουδαῖος. 'Jew' in modern understanding refers to a specific ethnic group, without the historical and cultic components in ancient use of the term Ἰουδαῖος, and its unusual fluidity can lead to inadvertent encouragement of ideological mistreatment of an ancient writing, such as the Gospel of John. Charges of anti-Judaism, if not anti-Semitism, have been leveled against it.[25] One of the principal passages so viewed is Jn 8:44, where Jesus assigns the devil as parent of certain Judeans. But this text is no more anti-Judean than Mt 16:23 is anti-Peter when Jesus refers to Peter as Satan. One must also take account of the fact that 1 Jn 3:10 refers to certain members of the Christian community as "children of the devil." Unfortunately, the coincidence of negative component in some contemporary use of the word 'Jew' with the disputatious component in Johannine use of the word Ἰουδαῖος has led to linguistic confusion and serious problems, as noted above, in relation of Jews and non-Jews. In modern society, the adversarial aspect in some usage of Ἰουδαῖος is sometimes transferred into an anti-Semitic stance, which is patently illegitimate in view of the fact that Jesus and the Apostles are Ἰουδαῖοι in the larger sense of Israelites, whereas the Judean opposition in John is frequently narrowed down and without general animus to the "Ioudaioi," with the implied literary wink, "you know who," namely the kind of religious traditionalists headquartered in Jerusalem. It's an in-group thing. In contemporary writing, we can manipulate fingers to indicate a narrower usage, or in print, one can use quotation marks.

To forestall any rush to poor linguistic judgment, lexicographers must therefore be sensitive to the rather complex process of signification given to pejorative phrases within a specific context. Such awareness would lead to the realization that the three passages (Jn 8:44; Mt 16:23; and 1 Jn 3:10) bring to a focus adversarial components within the surrounding narratives. Inasmuch as lexicons receive a kind of canonical reputation for communicating the truth about words, it therefore behooves their creators to be especially vigilant about adopting renderings that are tainted by an accumulation of linguistic contaminants and therefore unjustifiably invite negative affective reaction to the source text. Out of such linguistic consideration, not ideological or psychological, as some have inferred, in BDAG the calque "Judean" was chosen. Unlike a loanword that has a restrictive denotation, the term "Judean" invites recognition of fluidity in the ancient use of Ἰουδαῖος, and therefore does not fall foul of the caution about evasive recourse to etymological laundering. In line with the rendering Ἰουδαῖος is the treatment of διάβολος, where BDAG notes the dramatic aspect of those who oppose divine interests or purpose. Thereby the lexicon takes account of the importance of componential narrativity.

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[25] For various perspectives see Bieringer, Pollefyt, and Vandercasteele-Vanneuville, *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel*. The importance of context can also be observed in connection with questions raised about suggestion of anti-Semitism in texts of Johann Sebastian Bach's "St. John Passion." But careful auditors cannot fail to note that Bach does not place blame on "the Jews" for the crucifixion of Jesus. Early in the Passion, a conductor notes, Christ is struck. The text goes on with the question, "Who struck him?" The answer comes inclusively: "I, I and my sins."

7.5 χάρις

What is at stake here is the danger of permitting the repetition of a hallowed translation term to suggest a componentially dominant aspect not ratified by all occurrences of the source word. Source terms thereby run the hazard of losing connection with the social or cultural context that fleshed their signification for an ancient audience. Such is the case with the rendering *grace* for χάρις. Because of its general association in the minds of many with theological speech, the English word has a churchly sound and suggests some mystical quality, but without meaning in the public square. On the other hand, when contextually associated with entities of caring, χάρις conveys the idea of generous concern or generosity as well as the concrete manifestation thereof, namely favor and benefaction. "Rescued through the generosity of our Lord Jesus Christ" may sound unduly pedestrian, but it reproduces the semantic reality of Acts 15:11.

7.6 κηρύσσω

Similarly the word κηρύσσω has become captive to special interests. I was surprised by the number of occurrences of the word "preach" in BAGD. On further inspection, I realized that a confusion between designative and associative meaning had taken place in the treatment of the source word and further use of the English word in narrative sections of BAGD. In English, "preach" ordinarily suggests delivery of a didactic or moralistic speech, whereas most NT uses of κηρύσσω pertain to announcement or proclamation of God's action in behalf of humanity in connection with Jesus Christ. Hence the rendering "proclaim," which conveys the festive component linked with the use of κηρύσσω.

7.7 θεός

Difficulty of escape from bondage within traditional boundaries is also signally exhibited in connection with attempts to define terms like θεός and πνεῦμα in the dubious service of lexical theology. I must admit dissatisfaction with my own treatment of θεός and πνεῦμα within the Bauer series. Primarily, Bauer's four major divisions are referentially rather than lexically expressed, therefore it would be better to preface the divisions with an explanatory statement indicating that the capitalized gloss "God" is used of any specific deity, whether within or outside biblical traditions, and the lower case gloss "god" for a non-specified deity. Two divisions can then be offered: 1. deity in various categories. 2. humans enjoying status and esteem (as in Jn 10:34, 35a).

8. PREPOSITIONS

At first sight, prepositions appear to be without semantic significance in their own right. To respect their plea for definition, it is necessary to define them through the explanatory procedure outlined earlier. Prepositions, in keeping with their origin as adverbs, are markers of syntactical relations, but each one has a definite characteristic that is remarkably multi-contoured and always defined by context.

8.1 ἀπό

Hence ἀπό is not to be simply defined with the gloss *from* as a translational equivalent, but with a descriptive statement that concludes with the gloss: prep. w. genitive, generally as marker of separation in the sense "from." Various uses in context can then be classified not as separate meanings but as exhibits of varying usage. Thus something can be in a position away from a point of origin (Mk 8:11), away from a point in a distance (Jn 11:18). Or one can derive something from a person (Mt 5:42). Or ἀπό can express a partitive aspect (Mt 27:21). It can also be used as a temporal marker (2 Cor 8:10); indicate cause (Mt 7:26); focus on agent or instrumentality (Mt 16:21); or it can connote the beginning of a series (Lk 24:27). In all these uses, speakers do not function with a set of different meanings for ἀπό; rather, they begin their syntactical structure with a comprehensive understanding of "away-from-ness" that is played out in syntactical story line.[26]

8.2 ἐν

In like manner, ἐν can be described as "prep. with the dative, generally functioning as a marker of position within, but used to govern numerous other categories, such as means, agency, cause, and associated aspects; frequently rendered with *in* but with numerous other resources in English to express contextual nuances: *at, on, among, near, with, by."* Differently from the treatment of ἀπό, the preposition ἐν requires descriptive statements for the various categories of its usage, each followed by usage. For example, division 1 may describe its function: "to mark a specific location, whether geographical or other, *in, on*." The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, as everyone knows has generated much debate. Much of the debate can be considered needless if the lexicographer explains: "ἐν here functions as a marker of close association, tantamount to 'under the control /jurisdiction (of)' or 'in connection (with)'." Division 2 might be phrased: "used as marker of a state or circumstance, *in*, usually with nouns, for example *in long robes* (Mk 12:38b); or with prepositional phrases ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῷ χρονίζειν *they marveled over his delay."* Division 3: "used as marker of instrumentality, *with, in association with, along with*." Division 4: "used as a marker with focus on connection of event and person: ἐν ἐμοί *in my case* (Gal 1:24). Division 5: "used to mark causality or reason for something, *because of, on account of*" (Mt 6:7)." Division 6: "used as temporal marker, *in, while, when,* indicating either a boundary of time within which something takes place, or a specific moment of time." Division 7: "used as auxiliary in periphrasis for adverbs with such renderings as *powerfully, freely, according to,* ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ *justly* (Acts 17:43), ἐν χάριτι *graciously* (Gal 1:6). Combinations such as ἐν παρρησίᾳ *freely, openly* (Jn 7:4) and ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ *in all security* are related, but the nouns do not per se invite the affix '-ly' in English rendering. The rendering *openly* in Jn 7:4 reproduces the idea of 'openness'." Division 8: "used as marker of composition, i.e. constituting part or feature πλούσιος ἐν ἐλέει *rich in mercy* (Eph 2:4.); ἐν δόγμασιν *consisting in decrees* (Eph 2:15)."

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[26] Not to be construed in the sense of totality transfer or "Grundbedeutung", for the preposition is always dependent on context for specific meaning.

8.3 εἰς

The preposition εἰς can be described as "1. A marker relating to a goal or place, with such renderings as *into, toward, for/with a view to, against, about, in reference to.* 2. As marker of extension in time, *to, until* (Mt 10:22) or *on* (Acts 13:42)."

8.4 κατά

Descriptive statement also accords with ideas expressed through κατά: "prep. with genitive and accusative (mostly with accusative), in general expressing measure and the idea of something associated with or lining up with something else in terms of manner, direction, reference, position, and the like. 1. With focus on extension in space, time, or position relative to something else, *throughout, down (from /along); along; to, as far as, toward, to, as far as.* Serially, *from x to y* and variations thereof. 2. In oathtaking *swear by*. 3. In opposition *against*. —4. As marker, with acc., of a standard or aspect of perception, and not infrequently with an adverbial nuance, *in line with, in accordance with*. So κατ᾽ὀφθαλμαδουλίαν *in line with service rendered when eyes are upon you* = 'eye-service' (Eph 6:6). This use is frequent in Pauline writings and in many instances the accompanying noun can be rendered with the addition of '-wise', as in *flesh-wise* for κατὰ σάρκα; *spirit-wise* for κατὰ πνεῦμα. An expression like κατὰ συγκαρίαν *by chance* or *chance-wise* (Lk 10:41) conveys a circumstantial aspect; so also κατὰ ἄγνοιαν *in ignorance* (Acts 3:17). Instrumentality surfaces in κατ᾽ὄναρ *dream-wise* or *by way of*. An idea of limited range finds expression in a composition such as κατὰ μόνας *alone/by himself* (Mk 4:10) or καθ᾽ἑαυτόν *by himself* (Acts 28:16). —5. As marker of proportion, κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ *corresponding to the person's performance* (Mt 16:27). —6. As marker of causality *for* (Mt 19:3); *as a result of* (Gal 2:2). —7. As marker in the titles of the gospels indicating perspective of the one named. —8. Other expressions." The combination κατὰ κράτος (Acts 19:20) can take one down a linguistic primrose path, for it looks tantalizingly like the adverbial terms in 4. And so it is that F. F. Bruce declares: "Grammatically the genitive might depend either on the preceding κράτος or on the following ὁ λόγος, but the latter is in every way more probable."[27] What the "every way" is supposed to signal is not indicated, and the rationale for "more probable" is not spelled out. In fact, the conclusion is questionable, for in Acts, the noun λόγος always precedes the genitive of the divine referent, and ὁ λόγος without a descriptive genitive is common in Acts (4:4; 6:4; 8:4; 10:36; 10:44; 11:19, 22; 14:25; 16:6). The point in Acts 19:20 is that the progress of the apostolic message is intimately linked with the Lord's might that gives it impetus. On κατὰ μεσημβρίαν (Acts 8:26) see below on cultural elucidation of an expression.

8.5 μετά, παρά, περί, σύν

From these examples, it is relatively easy to determine the shape of an entry for other prepositions. For example, μετά serves in two major capacities: "1. As marker with focus on connectedness and variously expressed by *with, amid, among, in company with, along with*, always with genitive. 2. As marker of sequence or position, always

[27] Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles,* 413.

with accusative in sense of *after, behind*." παρά can be described in terms of its basic function, to associate a person, thing, or circumstance next to or alongside an entity, with manner specified by grammatical association. περί focuses on orientation, with genitive and accusative and is used to mark such ideas as nearness, aboutness, or simply as having to do with something. The gloss *about* tips off the general sense. Various aspects can be handled under sub-divisions of genitive and accusative usage, with appropriate glosses based on context. σύν is always used with the dative, and in keeping with the case reinforces the idea of connectedness, suitably rendered *with*. Various contextualized aspects fall under such glosses as "along with, including, as well as."

9. ADVERBS

What has been said about the prepositions cited above applies *mutatis mutandis* to all other prepositions. Similar treatment is also to be accorded to a class of terms called adverbs. Because of their priority relative to prepositions in the history of the Greek language, and because of increasing linguistic variations in later Greek, it is not surprising that adverbs and adverbial usage in the NT have posed special problems for lexicographers. The precise nature of this category is further complicated because of the fact that NT Greek was not formulated according to the demands of grammar as categorized by Teutonic grammarians.

9.1 ἔμπροσθεν

For example, ἔμπροσθεν can be described as a marker expressing a position that is in front or ahead. As an adverb in the traditional sense, it can be rendered *in front* (opposite ὄπισθεν Rev 4:6); but it can also function as a noun (τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω), literally "the in-front-stuff". Further, it can serve as a preposition with genitive *before, in front of*. For example, in Mt 6:2, a trumpet-blower heads a parade; in Jn 1:15:30 we have wordplay combining a genitive introducing status and a temporal aspect: ἔμπροσθεν μουγέγονεν = *he outranks me.*

9.2 ἀκμήν

Association of adverbial function with case in older Greek is apparent in an adverb like ἀκμήν. The lexicographer can describe it as the accusative of ἀκμή (point, edge), signifying *to this point*. The line of thought in Mt 15:16 ἀκμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε is then quite clear: *are you still /yet obtuse?* Metaphorical intent is apparent when it is discerned that "point" suggests image of movement *up to*. For the speaker the imagery of pointedness occurs instantaneously, and the auditor is expected to grasp the image with equal alacrity through exposure to the surrounding context. Lexicographers must dissect; ordinary speakers and auditors do not function in such manner. Ironically, Peter and associates are not functioning normally.

9.3 μεταξύ

In the case of the adverb μεταξύ, it is tempting to split in terms of preposition and adverb. But, again keeping in mind the priority of adverb, it is best to follow up a

gloss *between* with a defining description: "marker noting a point at which one entity is separate from another. Such separateness can take place temporally (as in Acts 13:42 εἰς τὸ μεταξύ = *on the next (Sabbath)*; spatially, functioning as a preposition Mt 23:35; so also socially, 18:15."

10. IMAGERY AND IMAGISTIC USE

Some reference to the subject of imagery has been made in a few connections cited earlier, but more detailed analysis of its place in lexical inquiry is required. Imagery serves a number of objectives: it rises above the boundaries set for a word; it is economical, for one need not invent new words to express an idea; and it is arresting. Unfortunately, an author's colorful imagery is frequently in danger of turning into banal blandness by use of pedestrian loanwords as translation equivalents. Some allusion to such tendency was noted above in connection with rendering of such terms as βλασφημέω and ὑποκρίτης.

It is easy for lexicographers to fall into the habit of blunting an author's vivid diction, even while paying lip service to it by calling it a metaphor. A major cause for such erasure of vivid imagery by lexicographers and translators in the English-speaking world is again the wealth of vocabulary resources in the English language, which has borrowed, either directly or through morphological adaptation, a huge percentage of its total inventory from a variety of cultures. The result: ancient languages appear to be relatively impoverished. But, as indicated earlier, this would be an unfair assessment, especially of the Greek inventory. To make up for their apparent linguistic poverty Hellenic communicators did what speakers of all languages do, make words do multiple chores. Given the Hellenic mental agility, as manifested in many enterprises, it is not surprising that its genius in the art of sculpture should find parallel challenge in the use of literary imagery, or extension of everyday parlance. But how is the auditor/reader to know what is meant? Or, how do lexicographers manage to define without using stifling linguistic fetters? Much help comes again from the narrative context, which tips off to a native auditor the meaning of a given word. The syntagmatic structure thereby serves as an important defining moment for what in a given text a lexicographer might call "metaphorical usage." But lexicographers face a temptation to transpose the imagery into an intellectualized form expressed in a gloss that turns the imagery into bland and dull prose remote from the authorial intent. Thus the customary rendering of the word λόγος in Rom 9:6 is simply *word*, but the context clearly indicates that here the term is used in wordplay in the sense of a heading in a ledger or account book along with numerical entries, a usage that appears frequently in commercial papyri. A gloss such as *account* or *computation* would express Paul's diction: οὐχ οἷον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ *it's not possible that God's account is deficient*. The following rendering may come even closer to Paul's bon mot: *God's statement is not in error*. Such rendering is not a departure into homiletical paraphrase, but appropriation of the author's literary tact.

Awareness of the imagery in Gal 3:1 is important for grasping the optical diction in the letter. Therefore, BDAG under βασκαίνω notes the work done by especially J. H. Elliott on the subject of the evil eye.

In some instances, a lexicographer may be aware of imagery and seriously attempt to reproduce it, but with questionable delineation. Beyond question, the term ἀλώπηξ in Lk 13:32 refers to what everyone knows is a fox. Also, no one would think that Herod had undergone a metamorphosis of the type recorded in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. But Herod is indeed metamorphosized mentally by those who have experienced his oppressive reign. And Jesus has piqued the interest of Luke's auditors. What is there about Vulpes Herodes that specifically highlights his character? Is it his craftiness, slyness, or something else? The narrator knows, but hasn't let on yet. Jesus continues with a lament and images himself as a hen that gather its brood under its wings. Now the secret is out. Herod is a 'predator'. The connection between 13:32 and 34 is also apparent: Herod the fox cannot intimidate the "Hen." Had I moved beyond the border of inherited references to a fox's character, I would not have simply glossed ἀλώπηξ in reference to Herod as "a crafty person."[28] In the long run, glosses can make an impact for better or worse on content in commentaries.

11. LEXICOGRAPHIC DOGMAS

Whether ghost words, conjectures, and variant spellings should be entered as lexemes has been a perennial subject of inquiry. Since each lexicographer must make decisions based on the needs of the publics for whom the ultimate product is designed it is best to avoid a dogmatic answer. A prime consideration is courtesy to the user, and lexicographers may need to move beyond their own borders of canonical purity to meet the needs of others who desire information about debatable terms, whether in the main text or in the apparatus of their editions. Hence εἰδέα, a spelling variant, may be entered as a headword, with directive to ἰδέα. This is a desirable procedure, for a user of the lexicon, having seen a variant in an edition of the Greek text, may wish to know details about the variant. In other words, lexicographers need to be cautious about setting up theoretical creeds that stifle rather than release the powers of expression resident in a text.

Apart from itacism in a Greek term, there are many textual-critical phenomena that cry out for lexicographers' attention. Because of the multitude of manuscripts of the NT produced over many centuries, the textual-critical apparatus of a critical edition contains a storehouse of philological treasure unmatched by any manuscript tradition emanating from the ancient world. Classicists who avoid perusal of textual-critical matters relating especially to the LXX and the NT run the danger of impoverishing themselves linguistically. More work needs to be done along the line: "Illumination from NT variants for improved understanding of Greek words and their usage." Before the fall of Constantinople, Christians had access to a broader range of canonical Greek literature than is now available in pitiful fragmentary form

[28] See BAGD and BDAG ἀλώπηξ. The job is better done in Danker, *Jesus and the New Age,* 265: "In Palestine the fox is an insignificant predator next to the lion, the king of beasts. And in Rome the proverb went 'Today, when people are at home they like to think of themselves as lions, but in public they're just foxes' (Petronius, *Satyricon* 44)."

to classicists. Beyond Atticistic production, what else lies buried? Being a classicist, I consider the importance of moving beyond borders all the more important lest linguistic incest be perpetuated. The Bauer series has endeavored to do its part, but so much more needs to be done. Patristic literature and the Byzantine storehouse await refined lexical pillaging.

12. LEXICOGRAPHY AND EXEGESIS

The question of distinction between lexicography and exegesis remains to be considered. A strict distinction cannot be maintained, inasmuch as both terms relate to interpretation of words ordinarily appearing in a composed text. Moreover, both terms appear to be scientific terms, but their boundaries have yet to be determined. Hence, no matter what distinctiveness may be asserted, they are not "disciplines" in the sense of a clearly defined academic pursuit but may be viewed as branches of linguistic study with special reference to analysis of words and phrases in written texts. In general, exegesis is explanatory or interpretive extension of something that is expressed in written or oral form. In academic circles, it ordinarily reposes in commentaries, and in the public square in op-ed pieces or oral communication. Exegetes may function as lexicographers and may or may not refer to or make use of lexicons. Indeed, some elements alleged to be intrusion of exegesis into lexical territory are like pictures provided by writers of monolingual dictionaries, a practice that might well be emulated in bilingual lexicons. Bridging of procedures is exhibited in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*.[29] Many features found in the Bauer series before BDAG are present there, including recurring focus on glosses as meaning statements. Having been published before 2000, it is not surprising that approaches taken either in Louw-Nida or in BDAG are not exhibited. On the other hand, the format permits a strong focus on literary aspects of the pertinent texts beyond what is exhibited in the Bauer editions. In short, separate works of exegesis expand on ideas expressed in a lexicon. In the last anlaysis, the alleged distinction betwen lexicography and exegesis is a non-issue, for definition of a word in context is, for all practical purposes, exegesis.

POSTSCRIPT

No matter what language is chosen as receptor medium for transferring lexical meaning, while one ponders global responsibility for the task it might be well to think about the meaning of the word δεινός in Sophocles, *Antigone* 332–33: πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει, "awesome things are many, but nothing more awesome than a human being." Does Sophocles mean that a human being is something awesome to look at, or admired because of extraordinary versatility and creative achievement. Or, is a human being defined in context by the chorus as an entity subject to something that suggests an awesome moment? It may well be that with the word δεινός Sophocles intends to awaken a special area of an auditor's cultural awareness. It is not so much humans who are awesome, but something out there that impacts on them. Caught in the jaws of destiny, humans are subject to

[29] Balz and Schneider, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

awesome forces. And for lexicographers there is no escape from the eternal quest for meaning of utterances that ultimately determine what it means to be human. Humanity itself is a lexical datum. Perhaps Jn 1:1 with its speech about λόγος says more than lexicographers or exegetes have ever dreamed. Or must we go linked in fate with Sisyphus and the Danaë because we have not dared to move beyond borders?

CHAPTER 2.
METAPHOR, LEXICOGRAPHY AND MODERN LINGUISTICS: SHOULD FIGURATIVE SPEECH FIGURE IN FUTURE ANCIENT-LANGUAGE LEXICA?

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What is always needed in the appreciation of art, or life, is the larger perspective.
Connections made, or at least attempted, where none existed before,
the straining to encompass in one's glance at the varied world the common thread,
the unifying theme through immense diversity, a fearlessness of growth,
of search, of looking, that enlarges the private and the public world.
And yet in our particular society, it is the narrowed
and narrowing view of life that often wins.

(Alice Walker)[1]

Since the publication in 1755 of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language,* figurative speech has been an accepted category of meaning in numerous dictionaries of both ancient and modern languages. Figurative speech, however, is no longer controversy free. Indeed, to accept in its entirety the highly influential cognitive linguistic theory on metaphor by Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner—abbreviated as the Lakoff-Johnson-Turner Theory (LJTT)—is to eschew the very notion of figurative speech in a dictionary. In the field of ancient-language lexicography, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH) excludes the marking of figurative or metaphorical speech along with certain other features and includes other more recent features in accordance with what it terms "the commonly accepted principles of modern linguistic theory." At the other end of the spectrum is *A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH). It understands well the implications of the LJTT, but utilizes it and cognitive linguistics to identify and present metaphor in lexical form. These differing approaches leave us with the question: should figurative speech figure in future ancient-language

[1] Walker, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, 5.

lexica? This paper surveys literature on cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, philosophical linguistics, psycholinguistics, media ecology, neurolinguistics, biological-evolutionary linguistics, and cognitive neurology in search of an answer. As a result, we learn that "modern linguistics" does not represent any one position on the issue. Non-cognitive-linguists present no obstacle to registering and analyzing figurative speech in a lexicon. For their part, cognitive linguists embrace a diversity of positions from the uncompromising that disallows figurative speech to approaches that actually utilize their discipline and even the Lakoff-Johnson-Turner theory to identify and lexicalize metaphor and other forms of figurative speech. The essay also explores the issue of "live" and "dead" metaphors, and methodological problems requiring resolution before metaphor and other forms of figurative speech are incorporated in a future comprehensive Syriac-English lexicon. The essay is equally applicable to other ancient-language lexica.

1. FIGURATIVE SPEECH *AS A CATEGORY OF LEXICAL MEANING*

Lexicography and figurative speech have been friends for a very long time. For Samuel Johnson, whose renowned *Dictionary of the English Language* was published in 1755, the inclusion of figurative speech was essential to the presentation of meaning. These days, a figurative meaning in a dictionary entry, especially in the form of metaphor, seems as eye-catching and natural as the light glistening on a stone in a mountain stream. The abbreviations "fig." (figurative) and "metaph." (metaphorical) mark certain meanings in both ancient- and modern-language dictionaries. Some dictionaries employ both terms.[2] While these dictionaries do not explain the distinction, metaphorical (like metonymy)[3] probably indicates a specific category of figurative speech as in the definition of David Aaron:

> The term "figurative" is a general designation for nonliteral speech acts, including many standard rhetorical devices such as irony, sarcasm and cynicism, allegory, hyperbole, metonymy, *and of course, metaphor* (emphasis added).[4]

The following examples of figurative speech in biblical lexica are sectionalized to facilitate a comparison of one with another:[5]

HALOT, p. 24	**אוֹר** lit. *light*; metaph. light, of life (or of the living) Ps 56:14; Job 33:30 et al.

[2] A list of many ancient- and contemporary-language dictionaries that employ figurative speech as a component of their semantic analysis is given in Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 33–34.

[3] Metonymy is used in semantics and stylistics to refer to a figure of speech in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself. Examples of it in English are the substitution of an author for the author's work—*to read Tolstoy, the bottle* for the drinking of alcohol, or *the bench* for judiciary.

[4] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities,* 1.

[5] Where it is appropriate, the abbreviation lit. (= literally) has been introduced and uniform fonts, punctuation, and abbreviations have been imposed on all examples.

BDAG, p. 1073	φῶς lit. light in contrast to darkness, *light*; by metonymy, one who is illuminated or filled with such light or who stands in it Eph 5:8
Muraoka 2009, p. 725	φῶς lit. *light*; fig. ἐξάξει με εἰς τὸ φ., ὄψομαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ he shall lead me out into the light, I shall see his righteousness Mic 7:9; of illuminating divine law Hos 6:5, et al.
Muraoka 2009, p. 726	φωστήρ lit. that which gives out light, 'luminary;' fig. of a source of hope 1 Esd 8:76; of wise men compared to φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Dan LXX 12:3
Muraoka 2009, p. 726	φωτισμός lit. *light*; metaph. κύριος φ. μου καὶ σωτήρ μου Ps 26:1; φ. τοῦ προσώπου, indicative of pleasure and favourable estimation Ps 43:4 et al.

Louw and Nida §39.53	συντρίβω (a figurative extension of meaning of συντρίβω to crush) to overcome with the resulting crushing of the power of the opposition—to completely overcome, to crush Rom 16:20
Muraoka 2009, p. 662	συντρίβω lit. to shatter, break to pieces, crush; fig. Συνάζω τήν συντετριμμένην I will gather that which is shattered (parallel to τὴν ἐξωσμένην that which is rejected) Mic 4:6, sim. Mic 4:7; Zeph 3:18
BAGD, p. 793	συντρίβω lit. shatter, smash, crush; fig. of mental and emotional states Lk 4:18t. r.; Barn 14:9
BDAG, p. 976	συντρίβω lit. to be severely damaged psychologically, pass. *be broken*; fig. of mental and emotional states Lk 4:18 v.l.; Barn 14:9

BDB, p. 234	Qal הלך lit. *go*, *proceed*, *move*, *walk*; fig. *pass away*, *die* Josh 23:14; 1 Kings 2:2 et al.
BAGD, p. 692	πορεύομαι lit. *begone*, *depart from someone*…; fig. as euphemism, *go to one's death*, *die* Lk 22:22
BDAG, p. 853	πορεύομαι lit. to move over an area, gener. with a point of departure or destination specified, *go, proceed, travel*; euphemistic fig. ext. go to one's death, *die* Lk 22:22
Louw and Nida §23.101	πορεύομαι (a figurative extension of meaning of πορεύομαι *to go away*) *to depart from life*, as a euphemistic expression for death—*to leave this life, to die, death, departure* Lk 22:22

BDB, p. 234	Qal הלך lit. *go*, *proceed*, *move*, *walk*; fig. *live* ("*walk*"), in general Ps 23:4 et al.; of moral and religious life Prov 15:2 et al.
HALOT, p. 247	Qal הלך lit. *go*, *walk*; fig. *walk*, *behave* Isa 33:15; Ps 15:2 et al.
BDB, p. 235	Piel הלך lit. *walk* …; fig. of mode of life, action, etc., Ps 142:4; 1 Kings 21:7 et al.
BDB, p. 236	Hithp. הלך lit. *walk*, *walk about* …; fig. *walk about* = *live* 1 Sam 12:2 et al.
BDB, p. 237	Hiph. הלך lit. *lead*, *bring* …; fig of influence on character Prov 16:29
KPG, 2:28	Pael ܗܠܟ lit. *walk*, *go* …; fig. *conduct oneself*, *live*, *act*, *behave*, *go about doing* Mk 7:5; Lk 1:6; Acts 21:21
Abbott-Smith, p. 356	περιπατέω lit. *to walk* …; fig. Jn 8:12; 12:35 et al; metaph. of living, passing one's life, conducting oneself Eph 5:15 et al.
BAGD, p. 649	περιπατέω lit. *walk*, *go* …; fig. of the *walk of life* … *live*, *conduct oneself*, walk, always more exactly defined Eph 4:1 et al.
BDAG, p. 803	περιπατέω lit. to go here and there in walking, *go about, walk around*; fig. ext. to conduct one's life, *comport oneself, behave, live* Eph 4:1; Col 1:10, et al.
Abbott-Smith, p. 373	πορεύομαι lit. *to go*, *proceed*, *go on one's way* …; metaph. Lk 22:22 and perh. also Lk 13:33 et al.
BAGD, p. 692 (but not BDAG, see p. 853)	πορεύομαι lit. *begone*, *depart from someone* …; fig. *conduct oneself*, *live*, *walk* Acts 14:16 et al.; Lk 8:14
Louw and Nida §41.13	ἐκχέομαι (a figurative extension of meaning of ἐκχέομαι *to pour out oneself*, not occurring in the NT) *to give oneself completely to some types of behavior—to give oneself to, to devote oneself to* Jd 11
Abbott-Smith, p. 434	συντρέχω lit. *to run together* or *with*; metaph. 1 Pet 4:4
Louw and Nida §41.15	συντρέχω (a figurative extension of meaning of συντρέχω *to run with*, not occurring in the NT) to be closely associated with others in a particular type of behavior or conduct—*to join in living*, *to be closely associated with* 1 Pet 4:4
Abbott-Smith, p. 310	ὁδός, οῦ, ἡ lit. *a way*, *path*, *road*; fig. Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3 et al.
Louw and	ὁδός, οῦ f. (a figurative extension of meaning of ὁδός *road*) a

Nida §41.16	customary manner of life or behavior, with probably some implication of goal or purpose—*way of life*, *way to live* Mt 21:32

2. COGNITIVE METAPHOR THEORY AND THE EXCLUSION OF METAPHOR FROM A DICTIONARY

But, to maintain my own metaphor, the "friendship" between lexicography and figurative speech has been called into question to the extent that we must ask whether it has been illusionary, built on phantom foundations. Before proceeding further, it is worth noting that while lexicography has to resolve how it will perceive and lexicalize[6] figurative speech in the future, the decision will not alter the meaning and impact of that speech.

Retiring the lexical categories "fig." and "metaph." will not lessen the power in poem and prose of the items which they had marked. The poignant longing that Emily Dickinson evokes through metaphor in the following poem will not be stilled by theories of metaphor, and the lingering of her initial question will not be quelled if the *Oxford English Dictionary* deregisters the metaphorical meaning of "morning," or if a lexicon distances itself from categorizing all forms of figurative speech:

Will there really be a "morning"?
Is there such a thing as "Day"?
Could I see it from the mountains
If I were as tall as they?

Has it feet like Water lilies?
Has it feathers like a Bird?
Is it brought from famous countries
Of which I have never heard?

Oh some Scholar! Oh some Sailor!
Oh some Wise Man from the skies!
Please to tell a little Pilgrim
Where the place called "morning" lies![7]

But what is the problem with this lexical feature? The problem is that an influential theory of metaphor, the "cognitive metaphor" theory, maintains that the distinguishing of figurative speech from literal speech is a falsification of a proper understanding of metaphor. The most recent edition of David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics,* defines "cognitive metaphor":

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[6] The term "lexicalize" is used in this essay to refer to the listing and analyzing of words (lexemes) in a lexicon (dictionary), and thus to the creating of a lexical entry or entries in a lexicon. This usage differs from the way "lexicalize" is employed in modern linguistics and defined by David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics* under "lexis," 268.

[7] Franklin, ed., *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*, 74.

> A theory in which metaphor is viewed as performing an essential role in human language and cognition, encoding world-views in all forms of linguistic activity, including everyday conversation ("conceptual metaphors"). Higher-level concepts such as causality, time and the emotions are seen to be semantically grounded in lower-level domains of physical experience, as in such expressions as *life is a journey* or the interpretation of causation in family terms (*X is the father of modern physics*). "Poetic metaphors" are seen as extensions or novel combinations of everyday metaphors. This approach thus contrasts with the traditional account of metaphor (with its distinction between literal and figurative meaning, and its focus on rhetorical and literary contexts), which is felt to be of limited relevance to a fully linguistic account of grammatical and semantic structure.[8]

Though Crystal's dictionary does not include bibliographical references, it is clear that his definition refers to "cognitive metaphor" as it was devised by George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, and Mark Turner. The theory, says Lakoff and Johnson, "seeks to provide explanatory foundations for conceptual systems and language in the general study of the brain and the mind."[9]

Now, it is important to emphasize that this theory does not reject the *concept* of metaphor. To the contrary, it sees metaphor *everywhere*. What it does reject is the idea that metaphor can be reduced to the special category we call *figurative speech*. In this theory, *metaphor is not seen as a figurative use of language*. In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson promote the idea that "most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature."[10] They inform us that "[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature."[11] Indeed, metaphor is comparable to our visual, tactile, and auditory senses:

> It is as though the ability to comprehend experience through metaphor were a sense, like seeing or touching or hearing, with metaphors providing the only ways to perceive and experience much of the world. Metaphor is as much a part of our functioning as our sense of touch, and as precious.[12]

Lakoff and Johnson sum up this idea:

> The most important claim we have made so far is that metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words … on the contrary, human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical. This is what we mean when we say that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system.[13]

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[8] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*, 80.

[9] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Afterword, 270.

[10] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 4.

[11] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 3.

[12] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors, Afterword*, 239.

[13] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 6.

Lakoff and Turner reinforced this thesis in *More than Cool Reason* in which they emphasize that their theory is not restricted to so-called "metaphors," for "it could be the case that every word or phrase in a language is defined at least in part metaphorically."[14] As the authors are aware, the implications of this claim are far reaching; they ripple from the centre to the far edges of this essay's concern. It should therefore be noted that the concept that "every word or phrase in a language" might be metaphoric has a fascinating antecedent. Twenty years earlier, Marshall McLuhan wrote:

> All media are active metaphors in their power to translate experience into new forms. The spoken word was the first technology by which man was able to let go of his environment in order to grasp it in a new way. Words are a kind of information retrieval that can range over the total environment and experience at high speed. *Words are complex systems of metaphors and symbols that translate experience into our uttered or outered senses* (emphasis added). They are a technology of explicitness. By means of translation of immediate sense experience into vocal symbols the entire world can be evoked and retrieved at any instance.[15]

In his 2007 publication, *The Extended Mind: The Emergence of Language, the Human Mind, and Culture*, Robert Logan argues that language can be treated as an organism that evolved to be easily acquired, obviating the need for the hard-wiring of Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device. Acknowledging the debt he owes to McLuhan,[16] Logan also employs the term metaphor, but does so to help explain the *emergence* of language:

> The mechanism that allowed the transition from precept to concept was the emergence of speech. The words of spoken language are the actual medium or mechanism by which concepts are expressed or represented. *Words are both metaphors and strange attractors uniting many perceptual experiences in terms of a single concept* (emphasis added). Spoken language and abstract conceptual thinking emerged simultaneously, as the bifurcation from non-verbal communication skills and the concrete percept-based thinking of prelingual hominids.[17]

As far as I know, Lakoff and Johnson do not mention McLuhan, and Logan does not cite Lakoff and Johnson or their adherents. A philosophical overlap in their respective views of metaphor does, however, deserve acknowledgement, as does the difference between their self-assessments of their respective contributions to contemporary language research—an issue to which we will return in section 7 below.[18]

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[14] Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason*, 119.

[15] McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 56.

[16] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 46–47.

[17] Logan, *The Extended Mind,* 5.

[18] See especially the first two paragraphs.

For their part, following many publications by a number of writers,[19] Lakoff and Johnson claim that "[b]y bringing metaphorical thought into the limelight," their book (*Metaphors We Live By*):

> revealed the need to rethink some of the most fundamental ideas in the study of mind: meaning, truth, the nature of thought, and the role of the body in the shaping of mind. As a result it had far-reaching implications in field after field—not just linguistics, cognitive science, and philosophy but also literary studies, politics, law, clinical psychology, religion, and even mathematics and the philosophy of science.[20]

They conclude that:

> If conceptual metaphors are real, then all literalist and objectivist views of meaning and knowledge are false. We can no longer pretend to build an account of concepts and knowledge on objective, literal foundations.[21]

William McGregor sums up the Lakoff-Johnson-Turner theory (hereafter LJTT) as follows:

> Some linguists reject the distinction (between literal and figurative senses). George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Eve Sweetser and others take this view. According to this approach, metaphor plays a central role in language and thought, and is pervasive in ordinary language. *Metaphor is not seen as a figurative use of language*, but rather as a cognitive strategy allowing people to understand one experiential domain (the 'target domain') in terms of another (the 'source domain'). Thus many domains of experience are understood in terms of space, and are expressed linguistically via spatial relations.[22]

So, according to the LJTT, metaphor should *not* be seen as a figurative use of language. Why, we may press by way of clarification? Because metaphor is pervasive in *ordinary* language; it plays a *central* role in *all language and all thought*.

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[19] For instance: Johnson, ed., *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor* (1981); Kövecses, *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love* (1986); Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987); Turner, *Death is the Mother of Beauty* (1987); Ortony, "Are Emotion Metaphors Conceptual or Lexical?" (1988): 95–103; Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* (1990); Gibbs, *The Poetics of Mind* (1994); Ungerer and Schmid, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (1996); Fauconnier and Turner, "Conceptual Integration Networks" (1998); Gibbs and Steen, eds., *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (1999); Boroditsky, "Metaphoric Structuring" (2000); Talmy, *Toward A Cognitive Linguistics* (2000); *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2002); Nerlich, et al., *Polysemy* (2003) Simon-Vandenbergen, et al., eds., *Grammatical Metaphors* (2003); Feldman, *From Molecules to Metaphors* (2006); Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought (2008).*

[20] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors, Afterword*, 243.

[21] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors, Afterword*, 273.

[22] McGregor, *Linguistics*, 131–32.

3. DCH, FIGURATIVE SPEECH AND MODERN LINGUISTIC THEORY

At this point, it is appropriate to ask why an ancient-language lexicon as major as *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH), edited by David Clines, refrains from "marking certain usages as 'figurative' or 'metaphorical.'" More specifically, in the context of this essay it is important to ask whether this DCH decision is to be attributed to the LJTT? Our first clue is the editor's acknowledgement that DCH's approach to figurative speech and a number of other lexical issues is indebted to "the commonly accepted principles of modern linguistic theory":

> Unlike previous dictionaries, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* has a theoretical base in modern linguistics. This theoretical base comes to expression primarily in the overriding concern in this dictionary for the *uses* of words in the language, especially the regular and normal uses in written texts; we subscribe to the dictum that the meaning of a word is its use in the language. The focus here, then, is not so much on the meanings, or the translation equivalents, of individual words as on the patterns and combinations in which words are used; and attention is paid primarily not to the unusual and difficult words but to the common words … Many other features of the dictionary, such as the priority given to the most commonly attested sense, the avoidance of the historical reconstructions, of the evidence of cognate languages, and *of marking certain usages as 'figurative' or 'metaphorical', likewise depend upon the commonly accepted principles of modern linguistic theory* (emphasis added).[23]

Modern linguistics is a broad discipline. Accordingly, "modern linguistic theory" is difficult to define. Without further information, we therefore might reasonably conclude that "modern linguistic theory," with reference to "the avoidance … of marking certain usages as 'figurative'," is to be equated with the Lakoff-Johnson-Turner Theory, for it is no other than the LJTT, under the umbrella of cognitive linguistics as a branch of modern linguistics, that developed and promoted the highly influential theory that linguistically and philosophically invalidates figurative speech as a meaningful lexical feature. Furthermore, it was between the emergence of the LJTT in 1980 and the publication of DCH's first volume thirteen years later that the LJTT became well known within linguistic and metaphor studies; it was also the only theory regarding figurative speech and its place in a dictionary that had influence at that time sufficient to attract a phrase such as "commonly accepted." True, Janet Soskice had published her now oft quoted criticisms in her 1985 book *Metaphor and Religious Language*, but for reasons discussed by Verena Haser (see below section 4.1.6), other criticism was slow in coming.

But as I discovered in correspondence with Clines, he was, to use a well-known metaphor, painting with a broad brush. He did not intend this particular item to be attributed to a particular source. I cite here with permission and with my thanks his response which makes clear that he does not oppose per se the marking of figurative speech in a dictionary: "I was not claiming," he says, "that metaphor does

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[23] DCH, Introduction, 14–15. In our correspondence, Clines says that "Today I would not say 'depend upon the commonly' but 'cohere with some commonly'."

not exist, or that there are no metaphorical usages. I was just pointing to the decided omission of such matters from DCH; an omission that I felt was in harmony with current trends in thinking about language."

His response also distinguishes the DCH decision from the LJTT as a theory about metaphor and language:

> My intention was to stress the orientation of DCH to word use rather than to offer a manifesto or theoretical underpinning for this particular feature of the Dictionary. [Thus] the reference to metaphor comes in that (final) sentence as just one of several matters in which attention is drawn to 'modern linguistic theory' in a very vague way.
>
> The fact is that the real reason I excluded the labelling of some examples as metaphorical or figurative was an essentially practical one: I could not envisage undertaking to decide in absolutely every case of every word whether it was being used metaphorically or not. My decision was a function of DCH's incorporation of every single occurrence, which made a huge difference in what it is possible to say. An analogy is the question of dating. I believe that we know that some words are late, but I decided not to say so because if I said it of some I would have to make such a decision for all, for the absence of 'late' would indicate that a word was not late.

In summary, he says:

> I am not the proponent of any theory nor do I subscribe to a theory on these matters. I have no objection against marking metaphorical language; I just didn't choose to do it—not arbitrarily, but with reason, but not in thrall to some grand theory about language.

As we shall see, Clines' clarification on the one hand allows us to situate DCH's approach in the broad category of cognitive linguistics by virtue of its alignment with modern linguistics. But on the other, this clarification calls for DCH's approach to be assessed as one that was devised for a particular dictionary and therefore on its own terms.

4. OPPOSITION, MODIFICATION, AND ADAPTATION

Eight critiques now covering more than a quarter of a century of evaluation will illustrate the kind of concerns that have arisen and continue to emerge:[24] from Janet Soskice (1985, primarily philosophical linguistics, especially of religion and science),[25] Gemma Fiumara (1995, philosophical linguistics), Gregory Murphy (1996, psycholinguistics),[26] Philip Lieberman (2000, neurological and biological-evolutionary linguistics),[27] David Aaron (2002, linguistics), Verena Haser (2005,

[24] For examples of other critiques see some of the essays in Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought*; J. D. Apresjan and V. J. Apresjan cited in note 40.

[25] Janet Martin Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

[26] Murphy, "On Metaphoric Representation;" see also "Reasons to Doubt the Present Evidence for Metaphoric Representation."

[27] Lieberman, *Human Language and Our Reptilian Brain.*

deconstructivist and philosophical/psychological linguistics),[28] Reinier de Blois (2005, cognitive linguistics and lexicography), and Robert Logan (2007, media ecologist and language emergence theorist). Some of these scholars quote other referenced critiques. These I have retained in the quotations and cited in the bibliography so they can point us beyond our eight illustrative sources.

4.1 Opposition

Opposition falls into two primary categories: non-cognitive and cognitive linguistics. Criticisms are many.

4.1.1 Aaron

Both Soskice and Aaron share the concern that the theory in question is presented as if it had no precedents. Despite the actual antiquity of the metaphor-as-myth thesis, it is, says Soskice, invariably presented by books such as *Metaphors We Live By* "as a new and startling theory concerning the victimization of thought by language."[29] In Aaron's estimate, "Neither Lakoff and Johnson nor Lakoff and Turner make any effort to place their thesis in historical perspective; thus, the unsuspecting reader might think it is altogether original."[30] But originality is exactly what Lakoff and Johnson claim in the new afterword of their 2003 republication of *Metaphors We Live By*, in which they speak of "the twenty-five years since we first *discovered* conceptual metaphor" (emphasis added).[31] Aaron adds the comment regarding *Metaphors We Live By* that "this work is virtually devoid of footnotes referencing other scholarship … I believe Julian Jaynes (1976, chap. 2), as a non-linguist, completely anticipates Lakoff and Johnson in maintaining that metaphor is what allows for the expansion of language and understanding in general. But also, see Paul Ricoeur's extensive work on the subject (e.g., 1976 and 1979)."[32]

In *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, Zoltán Kövecses credits Lakoff and Johnson with "a new view of metaphor" that challenges aspects of the powerful traditional theory in a coherent and systematic way.[33] But he tempers Lakoff and Johnson's belief that they discovered conceptual metaphor with the acknowledgement that "key components of the cognitive theory were proposed by a diverse range of scholars in the past two thousand years. For example, the idea of the conceptual nature of metaphor was discussed by a number of philosophers, including Locke and Kant, several centuries ago."[34]

"What is new," concludes Kövecses, "is that it is a comprehensive, generalized, and empirically tested theory."[35] Be that as it may, Aaron's perception remains true,

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[28] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy*.

[29] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 81.

[30] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 104, note 10.

[31] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, Afterword, 267.

[32] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 102, note 5.

[33] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, viii.

[34] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, x.

[35] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, x.

for it is in their most recent, and therefore post-Kövecses' publication, that Lakoff and Johnson reassert their status as discoverers.

Aaron is also right regarding the lack of historical context in the two initial influential publications, though one should note that Lakoff and Johnson, albeit briefly, do put their work in a historical perspective of sorts in their statement that the major false views of metaphor in the Western tradition "go back at least as far as Aristotle,"[36] and Johnson gives a history of the study of metaphor in *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor*, published a year after *Metaphors We Live By*.

A further problem that Aaron sees in the LJTT is that the books espousing it "unfold through a long string of examples provided by the authors," but "there is very little description or analysis separate from these examples."[37] "For some readers," says Aaron, "this may make coming to terms with the central thesis quite easy, because the examples help the thesis appear intuitive; but the lack of close readings leaves the question of the LJTT's validity altogether unexamined."[38] Aaron analyzes some of these examples, in which he includes a critique of the etymologies of metaphors of perception discussed by Eve Sweetser,[39] and finds them wanting.[40]

4.1.2 Soskice

Aaron, Soskice, and Fiumara reject the claim that viewing metaphors as linguistic expressions is a fallacy.[41] For Soskice, "metaphors are not mental events."[42] To the contrary, metaphor is "a form of language use,"[43] and "the study of metaphor should begin in a linguistic setting."[44] It is "by definition a figure of speech and not an 'act,' 'fusion,' or 'perception.' Were this not the case we should not know where to look for metaphor at all."[45] For Aaron, "metaphor, like other forms of figurative speech, is a rhetorical device;"[46] it is "a learned technique."[47] A recent linguistic resource explains metaphor as a form of learned language use by saying that metaphor is based on "our ordinary linguistic knowledge about words, their semantic properties and their combining powers," even though it is "language creativity at its highest" and "one of the factors in language change."[48] Indeed,

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[36] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, Afterword, 244.

[37] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 105.

[38] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 105.

[39] Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics*.

[40] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 105–11. Cf. J. D. Apresjan and V. J. Apresjan's critique of Lakoff and Johnson's approach to the linguistic means of expressing emotion, "Metaphor in the Semantic Representation of Emotions," in Juri Apresjan, *Systematic Lexicography* (trans. Kevin Windle; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 205–207.

[41] For this claim by Lakoff and Johnson see *Metaphors*, Afterword, 245.

[42] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 16.

[43] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 15.

[44] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 16.

[45] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 16.

[46] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 11.

[47] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 12.

[48] Fromkia, et al., eds., *Cenage Learning*, 177.

Lieberman argues from a neurological perspective that language itself is "*a learned skill"* (see below section 4.1.4).

Soskice concedes that there are things to be said for as well as against the theory that "metaphors form the implicit and unrecognized structure of most human life," as advocated by Lakoff and Johnson, but warns:

> Carried to an extreme, it is in danger of falling into the fallacy, criticized by James Barr in *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, of confusing word derivation with word meaning. Word meaning, modern linguistics stresses, is properly understood synchronically …[49] [and is] a different matter from word derivation, and one should take care not to attribute to metaphor alone qualities which characterize all descriptive language.[50]

As a final criticism, Soskice argues:

> [I]f it is the case that our thought is directed by our language (and in some sense this must be so), this is no less true of so-called literal language than it is of metaphorical. For example, talk of the sun 'rising' is not dead metaphor but superseded literal description, as is our mention of 'high spirits', 'low spirits' and 'depression', all of which derive from the Vital Spirits theory about the blood. To single out metaphor as the particular culprit in this bewitchment of our intelligence by means of language is to miss Wittgenstein's more subtle suggestion that, when we are doing philosophy, we are easily misled by the pictures which all our language presents to us, not just our figurative language, but also literal usages of terms like "know," "believe," "intend," and "pain." Wittgenstein is not criticizing ordinary language but the tendency of philosophers to generate philosophical conundrums out of what are unproblematic forms of language use.[51]

4.1.3 Fiumara

To Soskice and Aaron's understanding of literality and metaphor, we may add the following fragment from Fiumara's compelling examination of the metaphoric process, which is clearly at variance with the LJTT:

> As the boundaries between figurative and literal statements are perceived as *less* distinct and impermeable, and as awareness grows of metaphoric expressions evolving into literal, formal ones, we become increasingly confronted with the life cycle of our linguistic forms. Since successful metaphors range from being new-born and entirely innovative, to being worn out and extinct into literalness, we can only think of a qualitative gradient as a possible description of the distance extending between the two extremes. *Metaphor is both continuous with, and distinct from, literal language. Thus the state of literalness is not a matter of universal agreement but*

[49] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 81.
[50] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 83.
[51] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language,* 82.

> *rather a question of degree in terms of prevalence, familiarity and context* (emphasis added).[52]

Fiumara then complements this paragraph on the relationship between metaphoric and literal expressions with comments on their "evolutionary quality," a subject basic to the research of Lieberman (see below section 4.1.4) and rigorously pursued by Logan (see below section 4.1.5):

> If language has a life cycle and if it is not a permanent representational-semantic instrument to which we may pay a tribute by declaiming it a priori, then it shares the precariousness, vulnerability and historicity of our own living condition. Our attention, however, is not so much directed to problems of the comparative degree of metaphoricity or literality of any linguistic form, but rather to the evolutionary quality of the language we inhabit as both living creatures and 'philosophers'. If one could ultimately argue for the thesis that all language is evolutionary and metabolic, then both literal and metaphoric aspects of phases would appear as equally essential, just as stability and change are necessary features of living structures.[53]

4.1.4 Lieberman

We come now to Lieberman, not as a representative of a particular school of thought but of the discipline of neurolinguistics and biological linguistics from which we can expect to hear much more in the future. Lieberman's hypothesis (1973, 1975, 1984, 2000), summarized and contextualized along with the research of other scholars by Logan,[54] suggests that "human language might have originated in the serial-ordering capabilities of the primate motor system, coming from intentional control in hominids, and eventually generalizing this property to a more recently evolved hominid vocomotor system."[55] In Lieberman's words, his studies suggest:

> [T]he FLS derives from mechanisms that yield timely motor responses to environmental challenges and opportunities—in short, motor activity that increases biological fitness, the survival of an individual's progeny. In this light, the subcortical basal ganglia structures usually associated with motor control that are key elements of the FLS reflect its evolutionary history—natural selection operated on neural mechanisms that yield adaptive, that is to say "cognitive" motor responses in other species. And the basal ganglia, traditionally associated with reptilian brains (McLean, 1973; Parent, 1986), derive from the brains of amphibians (Marin, Smeets, and Gonzalez, 1998). Ultimately, human linguistic and cognitive ability can be traced back to the learned motor responses of

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[52] Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process*, 15.

[53] Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process*, 15.

[54] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 117.

[55] Donald, "*Mimesis and the Executive Suite*," 46, quoted from Logan, *The Extended Mind,* 117.

> mollusks (Carew, Walters, and Kandel, 1981; Lieberman, 1984, pp. 57–78; 1991, pp. 123–124).

Lieberman begins his book with two interrelated neurological questions, which he follows with a third: "What are the brain bases of human language; how did they evolve? And what makes human language special?"[56] Although Lieberman makes no mention of the LJTT, it is clear from his response to these questions that his findings are at odds with it:

> The premise of this book is that language is not an instinct, based on genetically transmitted knowledge coded in a discrete cortical "language organ." Instead *it is a learned skill* (emphasis added) based on a functional language system (FLS) that is distributed over many parts of the human brain …. [T]he FLS is overlaid on sensorimotor systems that originally evolved to do other things and continue to do them now. Although the neural bases of language include the neocortex, some of the key structures of the FLS are subcortical basal ganglia—our reptilian brain.[57]

Indeed, Lieberman is bold enough to infer that those concerned with cognitive linguistics have been too narrow in their pursuits and predicts a future in which biological linguistics will have a central place:

> [T]he human FLS is unique: no other living species possesses the neural capacity to command spoken language (or alternate manual systems), which serves as a medium for both communication and thought. However, its anatomy and physiology derive from neural structures and systems that regulate adaptive motor behavior in other animals. This evolutionary perspective may not be familiar to cognitive scientists, linguists, and perhaps some philosophers. But the insights gained by considering the probable evolutionary history of the FLS are of value to cognitive scientists and linguists as well as to neurobiologists. In time, "biological-linguists" working in an evolutionary framework will lead the way to new insights on the nature of language. Paraphrasing Dobzhansky, nothing in the biology of language makes sense except in the light of evolution.[58]

Lieberman reserves the final words of his book for both linguists and cognitive scientists:

> It is clear that the functional organization of the human brain conforms to neither locationist, neophrenological, nor modular theories of the form postulated by many cognitive scientists. … The detailed circuitry of the FLS is an open question, as are the total effects of experience on circuit information. And we do not know what really differentiates the human brain from that of an ape. Many, many detailed questions are unresolved, and even when resolved will open

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[56] Lieberman, *Human Language*, 1.

[57] Lieberman, *Human Language*, 1.

[58] Lieberman, *Human Language*, 1. Dobzhansky's now celebrated statement is "Nothing in biology makes sense except in the light of evolution" (1974). It is a variation of an earlier version (1964).

> further questions. But these questions can and will be addressed as imaging, tracer, and genetic-manipulation techniques progress. A better understanding of the neural bases of speech, language, and thought is a certainty.[59]

I am not competent to assess the merits of Lieberman's neurological research. That aside, it is not difficult to grasp the significance and implications of biological linguistics for modern linguistics, and in consequence for the subject of this essay. And in that discipline, as in all others, we can expect a diversity of viewpoints. One has only to turn to comments such as those by cognitive neurologist Robert Turner to see that neurological science is investigating issues that have analogies to debates within linguistics: "While neurologists tend to assume that all brains are fundamentally alike, it has also become clear that experience can modify brain organization. Cultures and their associated worldviews represent relatively coherent and systematic shapings of individual experience, and, hence, could result in consistent biases in brain functional anatomy."[60]

Indeed, since Lieberman's publication, Lakoff has received support from this field. Jerome Feldman, *From Molecules to Metaphors: A Neural Theory of Language* (2006), proposes a theory of language that treats language as a human biological ability that can be studied as a function of the brain. His work has won praise from colleagues.[61] Lakoff himself comments, "How can the physical brain give rise to thought and language? Jerome Feldman, my close colleague and friend in unlocking this puzzle, has given us the first serious theory linking neurobiology to neural computation to cognitive linguistics." In the context of this essay, it is, however, instructive that Lakoff limits his comments to a supporter of his position and makes no mention of other viewpoints.

4.1.5 Robert Logan

Logan (see above section 3 and below section 7) goes even further than Lieberman in that he links a host of disciplines and insights on the emergence of language, the human mind, and culture to show that six distinct modes of language—speech, writing, mathematics, science, computing and the Internet—form an evolutionary chain of development.[62] His starting point is that all biological processes, including the origin of speech, and therefore metaphor, are governed by both Darwinian natural selection and plectic processes.[63] While he does not mention the LJTT, it is clear that he would not consider the cognitive metaphor theory as able to explain the emergence of metaphor as an aspect of human language. Moreover, like Aaron and Soskice, he considers the creation of a metaphor to be a form of language use dependent on the creativity of the creator. Drawing on suggestions of

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[59] Lieberman, *Human Language*, 167.

[60] Turner, "Culture and the Human Brain," 11.

[61] For brief reviews on the internet from Vittorio Gallese, Teenie Matlock, V. S. Ramachandran, and Steven L. Small, see http://www.amazon.com/Molecule-Metaphor-Neural-Language-Bradford/dp/product-description/0262562359.

[62] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, see especially 25–40.

[63] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 17.

R. P. Worden,[64] Logan likens the way in which metaphors arise to the accidental manner in which a gene of a biological species changes either by a mistake in the reproduction of a chromosome or by the accidental hit of radiation which randomly changes the structure of the gene:

> The use of a word to create a metaphor is accidental *and depends solely on the creativity and mindset of the creator of the metaphor* (emphasis added). Once this happens, however, the word changes and its meaning even in its original context changes. Worden describes a word as 'represented in the brain by a package of information that embodies that word's sound, syntax and meaning (2000, 354). As a word is used metaphorically to describe a new situation it adds a new context in which it can be used and, hence, its meaning changes.[65]

"The metaphoric use of words and the way in which their various meanings interact," continues Logan, "can be likened to the web of symbol-symbol relationships that Deacon (1997, 136) introduced to describe syntax:"

> But the web of symbol-symbol relationships between different meanings of the same word creates a semantic web of sorts which I suggest is the mechanism that Worden was asking for in his quest to understand the evolution of words and the way language as an ecological system changes.[66]

4.1.6 Haser

Haser encounters us with rigorous criticism of the cognitive linguistic approach, especially as it is promoted by Lakoff and Johnson. Indeed, her book is devoted to a critique of the methodological principles underlying the cognitive approaches to metaphor, metonymy, and the philosophical background underpinning cognitive (or "experientialist") semantics adopted by Lakoff, Johnson, and other "congenial cognitivists."[67] She suggests that we abandon some of their methodological principles and proposes an approach that does not rely on conceptual metaphor. Haser's discussion is too extensive and detailed to summarize here, but we may note that, as she sees it, her book "contrasts with other critical accounts of Lakoff/Johnson's theory in one major respect": she has attempted "to delve more deeply into many topics that are merely skimmed over in most assessments of Lakoff/Johnson's framework."[68] The following remarks, which conclude with a reference to Murphy (see below section 5.1), indicate the nature of Haser's critique:

> The present study does not offer yet another rehearsal of the various accounts of metaphor that have been put forward in the literature. There is no shortage of discerning surveys of the most significant approaches. Some recent works, notably Leezenberg (2001), can hardly be bettered … It is one of my foremost

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[64] Worden, R. P., "Words, Memes, and Language Evolution."

[65] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 159–60.

[66] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 60.

[67] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy*, 1–2.

[68] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy,* 3.

> concerns to investigate philosophical tenets associated with experientialism. Both Lakoff/Johnson's account of metaphor and cognitivists theories of metonymy are inextricably linked to the overall experientialist research paradigm,[69] which can only be assessed against the backdrop of a meticulous inquiry into cardinal philosophical assumptions that inform cognitive linguists (cf. also Murphy 1996: 174).

In her "introductory remarks," Haser admits to her initial perplexity when she realized "the absence of detailed responses" from "contemporary philosophers of language" to "Lakoff/Johnson's philosophical claims."[70] This leads her to identify "[s]ome possible reasons." "Consider," she says, "Wierzbicka's (1986:307) comments on Lakoff/Johnson's vague but wholesale attacks against Western thought. Wierzbicka's stance may well reflect the views of many philosophers":

> Sweeping attacks on 'Western philosophy and linguistics' based on vague references to an alleged 'standard view' and to unidentified 'standard theories,' are, in my view, in questionable taste.[71]

"In similar vein", continues Haser, "Leezenberg (2001:136–137) pinpoints some of the chief difficulties with Lakoff/Johnson's line of reasoning:"

> Much of its argument [viz. the argument of cognitive semantics] against 'objectivist semantics', however, is phrased in such sweeping terms as to be hardly worth taking seriously. Lakoff and Johnson often resort to straw man argumentation, and rarely explicitly ascribe specific doctrines to specific authors; worse, where they do, they seriously distort the views they criticize by numerous errors of a rather elementary nature. The 'objectivist tradition' they fulminate against is not 'fundamentally misguided' or 'humanly irrelevant' but simply nonexistent.

Haser notes "[t]he scarcity of relevant references (noted also in Jackendorf/Aaron 1991 and Ross 1993) and the absence of accurate expositions of views criticized by Lakoff/Johnson." She then outlines other possible reasons. Given the nature of this essay's critique, her summary deserves citing in full:

> Some writers (e.g. Stern 2000: 176) take issue with the polemical tone occasionally to be noted in Lakoff/Johnson (1980) and similar works by the authors, which might even have prevented some philosophers from attempting to rebut Lakoff/Johnson's indictments against their theories. Other likely reasons for the scarcity of in-depth responses to Lakoff/Johnson's doctrines are not difficult to come by. The most serious obstacle to arriving at a conclusive assessment of their framework is what critics such as Leezenberg (2001: 136–37) perceive as a lack of substance, notably with respect to philosophical assumptions. Cardinal notions are not sufficiently defined or left undefined, leaving ample room for interpretation. Surely, semanticists whose asserted

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[69] For Lakoff/Johnson's account see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, Afterword, 244–46.

[70] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy,* 7.

[71] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy,* 8.

> intention is to revolutionize modern philosophy of language (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980: chapter 26) should be expected to pay meticulous attention to the basic notion any semantic theory starts out with, viz. *meaning*. Not so Lakoff (1987), who will be seen to skate round the heart of this matter in chapter 5. For the present, witness Leezenberg (2001): "On the whole … cognitive semantics is hardly satisfactory as a theory … central notions like 'meaning', 'culture', 'rationality', and 'imagination' are largely left undefined, or are defined rather carelessly" (Leezenberg 2001: 138).[72]

Having commented further on the "vagueness targeted by Leezenberg" and deficiencies "mirrored in cognitivists' expositions of Lakoff/Johnson's theory," Haser concludes:

> The above remarks and quotations have given some hints why cognitive semantics has become unpalatable to quite a few scholars working in adjacent fields, its important status within contemporary linguistics notwithstanding.[73]

The following chapters of Haser's book "lend substance to the major points of criticism" outlined in her introductory remarks. Lest, because of these limited citations from Haser, one might misinterpret her work as dismissive of cognitive linguistics as a movement, I quote here the final paragraph of her conclusion:

> Lakoff/Johnson tend to attribute the greatest importance to their own works. On the evidence of the preceding investigation, there is little to warrant such unbridled enthusiasm. This should not be construed as a wholesale rejection of cognitive linguistics, a movement which encompasses a great number of scholars, including some whose work bears only comparatively superficial similarities to Lakoff/Johnson's writings … Several cognitivists have offered groundbreaking contributions to linguistic theory. Still, with Lakoff/Johnson representing the most widely read and influential of all cognitive linguists, much of the groundwork underpinning this approach turns out to be shaky.[74]

5. MODIFICATION

5.1 Murphy

Murphy's psycholinguistic criticism of the LJTT is distinguished by the fact that his work is in cognitive metaphorology and that he is indebted to the research of other cognitivists. Furthermore, he is not alone in his criticism from a psycholinguistic perspective, so that we could also turn to critics such as John Taylor,[75] Petra Drewer,[76] Marina Rakova,[77] Elena Semino, et al,[78] and Verena Haser (see above).[79]

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[72] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy*, 8–9.
[73] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy*, 9.
[74] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy and Experientialist Philosophy*, 248.
[75] Taylor, "Category Extension by Metonymy and Metaphor."
[76] Drewer, *Die Cognitive Metapher*.
[77] Rakova, "The Extent of the Literal."

As Fiumara, Soskice and Aaron share some basic tenets in common, so Aaron tells us that there are "many similarities" between his response to the LJTT and Murphy's critique, though he notes that Murphy's break with Lakoff and Johnson is not quite as complete as his own.[80] Murphy draws attention to the uncompromising nature of Lakoff and Johnson's claims and the manner in which they dismiss opponents (the "traditional" view) to whom they attribute "very extreme views." They offer no "middle ground."[81] The tenor of Lakoff and Johnson's 2003 afterword shows that their stance has not changed since Murphy wrote his article. They reject as "persistent fallacies," for instance, "four major historical barriers to understanding the nature of metaphorical thought and its profundity:" "that metaphor is a matter of words," "that metaphor is based on similarity," "that concepts are literal and that none can be metaphorical," and "that rational thought is in no way shaped by the nature of our brains and bodies." We are informed that further research subsequent to *Metaphors We Live By* "has established conclusively that all four views are false":

> First, the locus of metaphor is in concepts not words. Second, metaphor is, in general, not based on similarity … Third, even our deepest and most abiding concepts—time, events, causation, morality, and mind itself—are understood and reasoned about via multiple metaphors … Fourth, the system of conceptual metaphors is not arbitrary or just historically contingent; rather, it is shaped to a significant extent by the common nature of our bodies and the shared ways that we all function in the everyday world.

This theory is supported by "a huge body of empirical evidence gained from many different methods of inquiry." Therefore,

> it is not surprising that someone raised with the traditional view would continue to deny or ignore this evidence, since to accept it would require large-scale revisions of the way he or she understands not only metaphor but concepts, meaning, language, knowledge, and truth as well.[82]

Given the polarizing nature of the LJTT, Murphy discerned the need for "an alternative hypothesis" and proposed "the structural similarity view." Among the problems he identifies in the LJTT are circularity of evidence and the reliance on linguistic evidence, multiple conflicting metaphors, the identification of metaphors that would be better understood as instances of polysemy, a problem with the motivation that Lakoff and Johnson and Kövecses give for the necessity of metaphoric representation, the use of metonymic concepts that may be invalid, and

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[78] Semino, Heywood, and Short, "Methodological Problems in the Analysis of Metaphors."

[79] Haser, *Metaphor, Metonymy, and Experientialist Philosophy*, especially chapter 8. .

[80] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 60, note 32.

[81] Murphy, "*On Metaphoric Representation*," 179.

[82] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, Afterword, 244–46.

linguistic and psycholinguistic data that do not seem to require metaphoric representation in order to be explained.[83]

5.2 Charteris-Black

Charteris-Black finds a path forward for his research on metaphor from within cognitive linguistics. If, as Aaron claims, Murphy's break with the LJTT is not quite as complete as his own (see above section 5.1), cognitive linguist Charteris-Black does not present himself as digressing at all. Yet, while he explains the cognitive-linguistic basis of his corpus approach to critical metaphor analysis,[84] his methodology constitutes a departure from significant features of the LJTT.

Charteris-Black's approach is integrative and multidisciplinary, bringing together perspectives from critical discourse analysis, corpus analysis, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics, and encompassing social sciences such as political science, sociology, media studies and history.[85] His findings give no hint that "it could be the case that *every word or phrase in a language* is defined at least in part metaphorically (see above section 3),"[86] and one could hardly conceive of him objecting to the deployment of figurative speech in a lexicon. Indeed, his acceptance of live and dead metaphors, a concept rejected by the LJTT (see below section 8.4), is an example of his dispassionate independence. Metaphor, he informs us, is "the source of much instability in language, and diachronic perspectives show us that there may well be a process of linguistic selection by which metaphorical innovation becomes conventionalised."[87] By way of illustration, he cites Andrew Goatly, who examines the distinction between literal and metaphorical language and the cyclical process through which active metaphors progressively become inactive and eventually die and become fossilised,[88] so that the "operation of metaphorical processes in language leads both to polysemy and to conventional metaphor."[89]

Without allusion to Soskice's criticism of Lakoff and Johnson, Charteris-Black quotes insights from her in his examination of metaphor in the Bible to exemplify his point that "[m]etaphor is very well suited to religious texts because it is a primary means by which the unknown can be conceptualized in terms of what is already

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[83] Murphy, "On Metaphoric Representation," 183–95.

[84] Charteris-Black (*Corpus Approaches*, 31) defines a corpus as "any large collection of texts that arise from natural language use; in a linguistic context, it is in contrast to other types of text that were invented specifically for illustrating a point about language." An advantage of this approach is, he explains, that one of its underlying principles is that "theoretical claims should be based on proven instances of language use. It is not that corpus linguists do not rely on their intuitions as much as in traditional approaches, but that their intuitions are measured against attested linguistic evidence."

[85] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, xiii.

[86] Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason*, 119.

[87] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 18.

[88] Goatly, *The Language of Metaphor*, 1997, 2, as cited by Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 18.

[89] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 18.

known."[90] By virtue of its content and openness to interdisciplinary influences, Charteris-Black's research requires us to be wary of inappropriately identifying a methodology or project with a school of thought simply because that methodology or project grew out of it or continues to share basic acknowledged principles in common with it. His work, as that of Reinier de Blois, which we will discuss in the following section, sees a hypothesis as a foundation stone or departure point rather than a certainty to be protected from opposing viewpoints in the style of the LJTT.

6. ADAPTION

6.1 De Blois and SDBH

To this point, I have not mentioned the use of metaphor by Reinier de Blois and his team in the Hebrew-English lexicon provisionally entitled *A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH). The reason is that this work, which was begun in 2000 under the auspices of the United Bible Societies, utilizes cognitive linguistics to identify and present metaphor in lexical form. It is a marriage that seems startling in the light of the preceding discussion.

SDBH is similar to Louw and Nida to which it is also indebted in that it employs semantic domains.[91] But SDBH differs from Louw and Nida in two fundamental ways. One is in its presentation of the data. Louw and Nida organizes its entries according to semantic domain. In SDBH, all entries are listed alphabetically.[92] It is the other departure that is of particular interest to this discussion. Louw and Nida's semantic framework is based on a theoretical model that is often referred to as componential analysis of meanings.[93] In SDBH, this model is replaced by "a number of important insights from Cognitive Linguistics."[94] It is these insights that inform SDBH's treatment of metaphor and metonym.

My first acquaintance with De Blois' approach was reliant on the information provided by his website (www.sdbh.org), which includes his paper "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective." Because the website doesn't deal directly with some of the questions pertinent to this essay, I emailed De Blois, and record here my gratitude for the clarifications he has provided and for his permission to quote from our correspondence.[95]

6.2 De Blois and the LJTT

Three features of De Blois' work on metaphor are relevant to a lexicographical estimate of his contribution in the context of this discussion.

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[90] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 173.

[91] SDHB website, "Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew."

[92] De Blois, "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics," 2.

[93] De Blois, "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics," 1.

[94] SDHB website, 1.

[95] All quotations that are *not* footnoted are cited from our correspondence.

6.2.1 De Blois' Commitment to Cognitive Linguistics

The first is the nature of De Blois' commitment to the school of cognitive linguistics. SDBH's methodology borrows directly from Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* and is "heavily indebted"[96] to Ungerer and Schmid, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*.[97] In fact, the whole "framework underlying SDBH is based on cognitive linguistics."[98] This includes its semantic domains "which correspond to cognitive categories."[99] Clearly, De Blois does not demur to the conceptual notion of metaphor, which stands in contrast to the traditional approach "with its distinction between literal and figurative meaning, and its focus on rhetorical and literary context."[100] We would be wrong, however, to take this to mean that the LJTT does not distinguish between metaphorical and literal expressions. It obviously does. The whole LJTT enterprise is based on doing so. SDBH could not proceed were that not the case. But not in the conventional manner. As De Blois says:

> Traditionally, metaphors and metonyms are called figures of speech. As such they are usually seen as highly marked expressions, used in highly specific contexts like rhetorical style and poetry. Of late, however, scholars have started to realize that these are phenomena that are not restricted to a certain limited number of contexts but they pervade the entire language. Metaphorical expressions are found in languages over the world and often they do not happen as mere accidents, but reflect patterns of thinking. They reflect structural relationships that people perceive between the entities in the world around them.

SDBH is based on the cognitive-linguistic view that literal and figurative language intersect in metaphor. According to this view, it is conceivable that nothing in a literary document such as the Hebrew Bible is free of metaphor. As Lakoff and Johnson say:

> Metaphorical thought is normal and ubiquitous in our mental life, both conscious and unconscious. The same mechanisms of metaphorical thought used throughout poetry are present in our most common concepts … [b]ecause we reason in terms of metaphor, the metaphors we use determine a great deal about how we live our lives.[101]

Thus "it could be the case that *every word or phrase in a language* is defined at least in part metaphorically" (emphasis added).[102] To quote a colleague of mine, "in the thinking of Lakoff and Johnson, not only are all metaphors mental events, but all

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[96] De Blois, "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics," 8.
[97] Ungerer and Schmid, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*.
[98] De Blois, "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics," 8.
[99] De Blois, "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics," 8.
[100] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*, 80.
[101] Lakoff and Turner, *Metaphors We Live By*, 244.
[102] Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason*, 119.

mental events are metaphors."[103] Metaphor, like language itself in "Chomsky's innateness thesis,"[104] is an innate faculty. It is a conceptual "linguistic universal"[105] that reflects an innate mental structure. But again we would be in error to conclude that the cognitive linguist does not therefore classify and categorize. As Kövecses notes, Lakoff and Johnson's insight into metaphor "has been taken up by recent dictionary preparers … [f]or instance *Cobuild's Metaphor Dictionary*." SDBH, though of a different lexical genre, must be included in this development. Kövecses also shows how literary metaphors sometimes constitute a special set among metaphors. This is because poets and writers regularly transform ordinary conceptual metaphors.[106] In the words of Aaron, "[W]hat differentiates literary from non-literary (i.e., generic) metaphors (in the LJTT) is the newness; and newness, in turn, defines the degree of creativity. The more a metaphor is used, the more "generic" it becomes."[107] In genre, unlike any other Hebrew Bible lexicon, the SDBH is a lexical study in which its authors identify and analyze presumed metaphorical mental events as they are "reflected in actual language use."

6.2.2 Metaphor as an Integral Component of Ancient-Language Lexica

The second feature of De Blois' lexical work relevant to this essay's estimate of his contribution is the obvious but highly significant fact that for him "metaphors play an important role in lexicography":

> In theory we do not need to include metaphors in a dictionary, but it must be done in the case of a dead language. Metaphors help the user gain some insight into the mental events in the minds of the original speakers. They are some of the few handles these ancient languages have to help us get hold of the world view behind it. It would be a major mistake to leave them out because by doing so we would withhold some of the most helpful information from our users. They should be regarded primarily as illustrations, of the same nature as the illustrations in Lakoff and Johnson's books.

De Blois' conviction that metaphor should be an integral component of an ancient-language lexicon stands in stark contrast to Clines' conclusion that "the commonly accepted principles of modern linguistic theory" must result in lexicography eschewing the practice of "marking certain usages as 'figurative,' or 'metaphorical'" (see above section 3). It is true that because of its cognitive approach, SDBH does not find it necessary to denote "metaphorical expressions" by the abbreviations "fig." and "metaph." But it is equally true that metaphor is central to SDBH's analysis of meanings. Furthermore, De Blois points out that occasionally SDBH does use Louw and Nida's designation "'a figurative extension

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[103] Stephen Shead, whose lexicographical research is in the field of structural and cognitive linguistics.

[104] Sag, Wasow, and Bender, *Syntactic Theory*, 10.

[105] Sag, Wasow, and Bender, *Syntactic Theory*, 10.

[106] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 52–55.

[107] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 109.

of meaning' where a word has more than one lexical meaning and one of those meanings should be considered a figurative extension of the meaning of the other." By implication and application, SDBH challenges the notion that cognitive linguistics and the identifying of metaphorical expressions in an ancient-language lexicon are incompatible. This leaves us with the question as to whether Clines has misunderstood the LJTT, or whether De Blois to some degree has departed from it in the way that he applies it to Hebrew lexicography. The truth may lie somewhere between these two possibilities. Like Clines, I, as a lexicographer, have interpreted the LJTT to mean that the distinguishing of metaphor from literal speech no longer has a "lexical place" in a dictionary, irrespective of whether that dictionary is of an ancient or contemporary language. But whether or not this is the case, it is evident that lexicographers who employ cognitive linguistics to analyze metaphor do not accept this kind of limitation. De Blois, for instance, does not see his treatment of metaphor in SDBH as diverging from cognitive linguistic theory, but acknowledges that he has "come to a different conclusion from the LJTT with regard to the inclusion of metaphor in lexica of ancient languages, and that for practical reasons."

6.2.3 De Blois' Integrational Methodology

The third feature is that De Blois does not accept that the debate between the LJTT and its critics' needs to result in one excluding the views of the other. As he sees it, we can argue that "metaphors are mental events" (LJTT) and at the same time affirm (with Aaron and Soskice, for instance) that "metaphor is a form of language use." "These two approaches to metaphor do not exclude one another. Both are true":

> A metaphor is a mental event reflected in actual language use. There is no way of studying these mental events apart from actual speech utterance. Language is the key that enables us to discover which mental events take place in the head of other speakers. So metaphors are mental events and forms of language use at the same time.

De Blois also agrees with Soskice when she says that "the study of metaphor must begin in a linguistic setting":[108]

> For practical reasons, we cannot do other than study metaphor in a linguistic setting. But language itself begins in the mind of the speaker. People observe the world around them, reflect on what they perceive, and need language as a tool to communicate their observations to other people. Metaphors reflect patterns observed by people in the world around them. A study of metaphors helps us to discover these patterns, gives us a glimpse of what goes on in the human mind. So metaphors are much more than forms of language use. They are reflections of something that goes on at a deeper level.

But is this reconciliation of opposing views a bit like a partnership in which one party avers there is no problem and the other sees a parting of the ways? Aaron

[108] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 16.

and Soskice, who by no means agree on all aspects of metaphor, are united in their understanding that "metaphors are not mental events." They belong to that number that Lakoff and Johnson name as those who refuse to recognize the conceptual nature of metaphor:

> The single biggest obstacle to understanding our finding has been the refusal to recognize the *conceptual* nature of metaphor. The idea that metaphors *are nothing but linguistic expressions*—a mere matter of words—*is such a common fallacy* that it has kept many readers from even entertaining the idea that we think metaphorically (emphasis in second sentence added).[109]

But we can hear Soskice replying that if metaphor is not by definition a figure of speech, but an 'act,' 'fusion,' or 'perception,' we would not know where to look for metaphor at all,[110] and Aaron concluding in his detailed analysis that the authors of the LJTT "are right to be sensitive" to the charge, which they disparage a number of times in their defence of their theory that "they have simply redefined metaphor," for:

> [T]heir definition of metaphor is *ultimately functionless* in the hands of either the literary exegete or the philologist (emphasis added); moreover, I believe it distorts reality. The LJTT basically extends the concept too far. By defining metaphor as an aspect of conceptual structure, the authors rob us of important tools for differentiating subtle nuances in language *usage*, as well as cognition.[111]

In these acute observations, Soskice and Aaron confront us with the implications for linguistics, and therefore for lexicography, of a thesis based on the premise that "[m]etaphorical thought is normal and ubiquitous in our mental life, both conscious and unconscious," and that "it could be the case that every word or phrase in a language is defined at least in part metaphorically" (see above section 4.1.2). But in the hands of De Blois, the treatment of metaphor is anything but "functionless." The reason is that De Blois does not see the cognitive metaphor theory as a prohibition on metaphor in a lexicon, but has transformed insights from that theory into a pragmatic methodology that begins and ends within a linguistic and literary setting. Thus, when he says that his cognitive approach to metaphor in SDBH does not exclude that of scholars such as Aaron, Soskice and Fiumara, he is asking the user not to confuse the *function* of SDBH with the *metaphor theory* that it utilizes. The result is that the world does not need to convert to the LJTT before it can use and properly interpret SDBH's detailed and comprehensive analysis of metaphor. This does not mean that the user will necessarily agree with every instance of what SDBH regards as a metaphor any more than there is agreement in every case between existing conventional lexica. Nor does it mean that all proponents of the LJTT will necessarily agree with SDBH's pragmatic approach—a reminder, should we need one, that "it is most unlikely that any issue in linguistics

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[109] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Afterword, 245.

[110] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 16.

[111] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 109–10.

will ever be resolved to everyone's satisfaction."[112] But it will mean that the learner, linguist and translator will be able to use SDBH alongside, for instance, the revision of BDB when it is completed by Jo Ann Hackett and John Huehnergard[113] in the same way that the Greek-English lexica of Louw and Nida and DBAG can be used simultaneously and complementarily to great advantage.

One of my last email questions to De Blois was, "If you were in my or another lexicographer's shoes and were working on a new lexicon that employed definitions, but was not organized according to semantic domain because of the nature of its contents, would you include metaphor in some form, even if it maintained the freighted terminology 'metaph.' and 'fig.?'" In language echoing his cognitive approach, but inclusive in intent, he replied, "Yes! We are dealing with dead languages. Metaphors help us understand the system of experiences, beliefs, and practices that underlay the language." It is a good foundation for further conversation.

7. CRITICISM: FRIEND OR FOE?

There is much that is stimulatingly provocative in Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner's presentation of the cognitive theory. If even some elements of their thesis are valid, then lexicography must learn from them and investigate the implications for dictionary making. But following my reading of the afterword in the republication of *Metaphors We Live By*, written since the research of Aaron, Apresjan and Apresjan, De Blois, Fiumara, Leezenberg, Lieberman, Murphy, Soskice and a host of others, I was left asking why the authors feel they have to promote their widely influential cause in such an adversarial manner, are intolerant of viewpoints that challenge their own, see them as obstructionist, and dismiss unnamed opponents as if they universally lack the integrity required by investigative research. As a supporter of the LJTT, Kövecses initially (1986) helped to mitigate this dismissiveness in *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. But the questions remain, for Lakoff and Johnson seem impervious to the notion that sound research requires the testing and re-testing of a thesis to the point that, in seeking out flaws, the researcher scans the horizon for new developments in an effort to disprove his or her own inspired premises.

In this field, we need debate and correctives and a truly impartial interdisciplinary approach that keeps pace with emerging developments. Like music, the study of human language cannot rely on a single theory or school of investigative endeavour. Historically, our expression, experience and examination of language draw upon diverse, rich and interrelated disciplines and must continue to do so. As Logan reminds us, "[T]he origin of human language is one of the great mysteries confronting contemporary scholarship and science … it is not a subject that can be addressed by any one discipline but rather requires the input from a host of fields including linguistics, computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, evolutionary biology, evolutionary psychology, primatology, cultural anthropology, archaeology, physiology, phonology, neurophysiology, cognitive science, and media

[112] Peeters, "Setting the Scene," 2.

[113] Hackett and Huehnergard, "On Revising and Updating BDB."

ecology,"[114] to which we may add aspects of paleoanthropology[115] and the work of multidisciplinary authors such as Cavalli-Sforza's as represented in his *Genes, Peoples and Languages*. Researchers need to invite, not repel criticism. As Susan K. Langer says, "The chance that the key ideas of any professional scholar's work are pure nonsense is small: much greater the chance that a devastating refutation is based on a superficial reading or even a distorted one, subconsciously twisted by a desire to refute."[116]

Because of his ability to communicate a highly technical discipline to the public in books such as *Awakenings*, *The Man Who Mistook his Wife for a Hat*, and *Musicophilia*, Oliver Sacks has increased our awareness of advances in his discipline of neurology and of the positive outcomes for humankind of collaboration that is unafraid to welcome insights deriving from often unexpected sources: from the crossing and re-crossing of boundaries, be they social, occupational, or academic. He also makes us aware that, while in so many disciplines we have stepped into awaiting oceans of research, we are still wading barely ankle deep in the waves breaking on our shores. As we move forward, perhaps we would therefore do well not to dismiss too easily the carefully gathered reflections and perceptions embedded in works predating the rise of cognitive linguistics and recent advances in neurolinguistics. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Bibliographia Literaria,* for instance, and John Press's *The Fire and the Fountain*; the ways in which poets, and by implication all writers of merit, sought and still seek "to impose a coherent order upon the whirling images that clamour for admission"[117] to the body of their accomplishments, and their insights into what they considered or knew to be learned and what lay beyond their understanding. I speak here of the kind of literary activity that caused Press to muse that "[i]f poets themselves cannot tell us with any certainty whence they may have derived their own images, a critic should beware of making *dogmatic* judgements on this subject" (emphasis added).[118] By analogy, Press invites a certain humility and caution as in a different day we pursue new and even unforeseen disciplines and from within them seek to assess the array of opinions on metaphor begging our allegiance.

One thing seems certain: there is no prospect that the debate on metaphor will fade away. As even a perusal of bibliographies and courses on the subject reveals, the discussion in this essay represents a mere ripple in a windblown series of interlocked wetlands. Furthermore, cognitive linguistics—which the LJTT has applied to metaphor—is making valuable contributions to linguistics generally and is here to stay. Bart Peeters tells us that in 1998 Cliff Goddard wrote that this branch of linguistics is a "[m]inority view, but an important (and perhaps ascendant one)." Peeters now disagrees: "Goddard's assessment is a clear understatement of the facts: Cognitive Linguistics is no longer a minority view."[119] Lexicography is therefore encountered by a debate in which it must engage.

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[114] Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 3.

[115] For example, Berger, *In the Footsteps of Eve.*

[116] Quoted by Logan, *The Extended Mind*, 17.

[117] Press, *The Fire and the Fountain*, 206.

[118] Press, *The Fire and the Fountain*, 209–10.

[119] Peeters, *Setting the Scene.*

8. OTHER PROBLEMS FOR PROPONENTS OF LEXICAL FIGURATIVE SPEECH

8.1 Distinguishing Literal from Figurative Speech

The challenge posed by the cognitive metaphor theory is not the only issue that ancient-language lexicography has to address with regard to figurative speech. A second major one would be for lexicographers who decide to retain the distinction between literal and figurative speech: how can the latter be distinguished properly from the former?

8.2 Types of Figurative Speech

A starting point is to identify and demarcate the several forms of figurative speech and ask how many of them could feasibly and usefully be presented in a lexicon. Ernst Wendland and Eugene Nida list metaphors, metonyms, idioms, understatement (litotes), overstatement (hyperbole), and irony as "figurative expressions."[120] Aaron, as we saw at the beginning of section 1, would add sarcasm, cynicism, and allegory, though he does not mention idioms and litotes.[121] Unless they are metaphors and metonyms, probably no one would suggest that a lexicon's entries should distinguish between various forms of figurative speech, for such distinctions would unnecessarily counteract the conciseness that a lexicon seeks. But for a lexicographical team, it would be important to know the nature and extent of the figurative expressions to be covered.

How metaphor can properly be distinguished from literal speech was also of concern to Barr. He thinks that "the lexicographical tradition in Hebrew has used the category of metaphor too easily and carelessly."[122] He makes his point by showing that a particular usage of a Hebrew word that has been understood as metaphorical may in fact be literal.[123] The primary question pursued by Aaron is related, for he wants to know "how we can determine whether a given statement harbours the kind of ambiguity that gives license to a metaphorical interpretation."[124] His second chapter is devoted to distinguishing metaphors from non-metaphors.

8.3 Defining Metaphor

Definitions of the various forms of figurative speech are also important, for they assist the researcher of ancient texts to distinguish literal from non-literal speech. Wendland and Nida provide a point of departure in their brief discussion of the difference between the figurative and non-figurative meaning of lexical units, both

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[120] Wendland and Nida, "Lexicography and Bible Translating, 9–12.

[121] Cf. Robertson's much earlier discussion of "Figures of Speech" (ΓΟΡΓΙΕΙΑ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΑ), *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 1194–208.

[122] Barr, "Scope and Problems," 13.

[123] Barr, "Scope and Problems," 13.

[124] Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities, 2.*

words and idioms.[125] Metaphor especially will require attention, though it would be wise to approach the matter with caution. As Fiumara says, "Metaphorization perhaps defies exact definitions because it is not so much a concept or an object but rather a complex process." She then cites Soskice "who has suggested that anyone who has grappled with the problem of metaphoric expressions 'will appreciate the pragmatism of those who proceed to discuss it without giving any definition at all'."[126]

Lexically, it is, however, Soskice's own definition that may provide a foundation stone:

> [T]he minimal unit in which a metaphor is established is semantic rather than syntactic; a metaphor is established as soon as it is clear that one thing is being spoken of in terms that are suggestive of another and can be extended until this is no longer the case. It can be extended, that is, until the length of our speaking "of one thing in terms suggestive of another" makes us forget the "thing" of which we speak.[127]

Soskice is therefore able to offer "as a working definition" that "metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another":

> "[S]peaking" is intended to mark that metaphor is a phenomenon of language use (and not that it is oral). Similarly, "thing" signifies any object or state of affairs, and not necessarily a physical object; the moral life, the temperament of the Russian people, and the growth of the soul are all equally "things" in this sense. Finally, "seen to be suggestive" means seen so by a competent speaker of the language.[128]

Although metaphor may be difficult to define, cognitive linguist Charteris-Black argues that it is important to distinguish between "a number of different roles" that metaphor has in language: a semantic role in creating new meanings for words, a cognitive role in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy and a pragmatic role that aims to provide evaluations."[129] Because these interconnecting aspects of metaphor are complex, Charteris-Black provides a definition of metaphor "that addresses this complexity by incorporating its linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions."[130] He begins with a set of criteria for the definition of metaphor that, given his acceptance of both literal and metaphoric speech (see above section 5.2), deserves full citation in this survey. According to these criteria, "whether the primary orientation is linguistic, cognitive or pragmatic will depend on factors present in its context:"[131]

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[125] Wendland and Nida, "Lexicography and Bible Translating," 9–12.

[126] Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process,* 15.

[127] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 23.

[128] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 15.

[129] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 23–24.

[130] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 24.

[131] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 20–21.

Linguistic criteria

1. *Reification*—referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete.

2. *Personification*—referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate.

3. *Depersonification*—referring to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate.

Pragmatic criteria

A metaphor is an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion; this purpose is often covert and reflects speaker intentions within particular contexts of use.

Cognitive criteria

A metaphor is caused by (and may cause) a shift in the conceptual system. The basis for the conceptual shift is the relevance of, or psychological association between, the attributes of the referent of a linguistic expression in its original source context and those of the referent in its novel target context. This relevance or association is usually based on some previously unperceived similarity between the referents in those contexts.

Charteris-Black complements these criteria with definitions of five key terms, which he employs in his corpus-based analysis of metaphor:

1. A metaphor is a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension. It may have any or all of the linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive characteristics that are specified above.

2. A *conventional metaphor is a metaphor that is frequently used and is taken up in a language community, thereby reducing our awareness of its semantic tension.*

3. A *novel metaphor is a metaphor that has not previously been taken up and used in a language community, thereby heightening awareness of its semantic tension.*

4. A *conceptual metaphor is a statement that resolves the semantic tension of a set of metaphors by showing them to be related.*

5. A *conceptual key is a statement that resolves the semantic tension of a set of conceptual metaphors by showing them to be related.*[132]

8.4 Live and Dead Metaphors

A specific aspect of the lexical evaluation of metaphor is the distinction between live and dead metaphor. D. A. Cruse's description of the process whereby a metaphor loses its potency is representative of the conventional view:

If … a metaphor is used sufficiently frequently with a particular meaning, it loses its characteristic flavour, or piquancy, its capacity to surprise, and hearers encode the metaphorical meaning as one of the standard senses of the expression.

[132] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 21–22.

> Interpreting it then no longer requires the activation of the metaphorical strategy, working through the literal meaning, but merely requires the looking up, as it were, of a dictionary entry, in much the same way, presumably, that idioms are interpreted.[133]

As we have noted, the LJTT does not make this distinction. Kövecses summarizes the LJTT position:

> The "dead metaphor" account misses an important point; namely, that what is deeply entrenched, hardly noticed, and thus effortlessly used is most active in our thought. [Metaphors of this kind] may be highly conventional and effortlessly used, but this does not mean that they have lost their vigor in thought and that they are dead. On the contrary, they are "alive" in the most important sense—they govern our thought—they are "metaphors we live by."[134]

This opinion is not shared by all cognitive linguists. Charteris-Black (see above section 5.2) holds that "as language becomes more conventional so metaphors become tired and shift from being active to inactive."[135] We shall return to his contribution following Fiumara's who also disagrees with the LJTT:

> As to the general question whether metaphors retain their metaphorical nature on dying, there is virtually unanimous agreement that once they are incorporated into literalness they are no longer metaphors. Cooper remarks that the more we forget that they are being used instead of a literal equivalent, the more a metaphor is extinct and the more it is alive in the vocabulary of a standard epistemology.[136] Fowler suggests that we might call this the 'amnesia scale', while Newmark points out still a different scale made up of qualifications such as 'dead', 'clichéd', 'stock', 'not recent', 'original': here it looks like as if age is the measure and this he calls the 'geriatric scale'.[137] The life cycle which goes from metaphor to idiom has been similarly described by Hobbs in terms of an identifiable sequence.[138] Creative and alive in the first place, a word belonging to one conceptual domain is extended to another domain and inferential paths allow it to be interpreted; in the subsequent phase the metaphor is sufficiently familiar for the interpretive path to become established and less complex; in the third phase the metaphor is described as being already 'tired', indicating that a direct link is formed between the two domains; in the fourth and final phase the metaphor is extinct and one can no longer trace the metaphorical origin of the expression. A literal locution is thus conceived of as a way of denoting the object, action or event that was once only metaphorically connotated as such.[139]

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133 Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 42.

134 Kövecses, *Metaphor*, ix.

135 Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 18.

136 Cooper, *Metaphor*, 119.

137 Newmark, "The Translation of Metaphor," 93–100.

138 Hobbs, "Metaphor, Metaphor Schemata and Selective Inferencing," 32.

139 Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process,* 16.

Fiumara then specifically addresses the stance of Lakoff and Johnson:

> Metaphors, of course, may not have a cognitive content although they may originate a great deal of cognition. They can be a cause of surprise at the same level as a natural surprise except that a surprising metaphor may have sufficient success to fully develop, that is, undergo a metamorphosis whereby it subsides as a linguistic novelty and survives as literal language. At this point of its complex life cycle it may be said to convey some commensurable truth. Indeed a metaphor has to become extinct to obtain a satisfactory theory of how it works in the form of a widely shared paraphrase of the original metaphor. When Lakoff and Johnson point to *everyday* locutions such as 'defeat an argument' or 'attack a position', a crucial question emerges regarding the metaphorical age or 'biological' status of such expressions. One may wonder whether they are sufficiently alive to count as metaphor or sufficiently extinct to appear as literal locutions.[140]

Fiumara concludes that "a dead metaphor is such to the extent that it has been successfully absorbed into any of the standard epistemologies":

> The distinctive difference is probably due to the degree of familiarity of any such locution and thus it is a matter of use, attachment and hierarchization of values. In this sense, then, the metaphoricity of language is more dependent on our bio-cultural vicissitudes than upon analytical and formal adjudications. As is known, in such expressions as 'the north and south wings of the building' or 'the branches of physics', the figurative sense has entirely disappeared, and only an act of imagination could resurrect it."[141]

In support of his position, Charteris-Black also refers to Newark, and in addition to Goatly (see above section 5.2) and M. Dagrut.[142] To their perspectives, he adds the observation that "[j]ust as the extent to which a metaphor is active may differ between individual speakers of a language, it is also likely to differ between speakers of different languages, since the metaphors that have become lexicalized[143] in one language may not overlap with those which have become lexicalized in another":

> Therefore, a conventional metaphor in one language may appear highly innovative to a speaker of another language who is not particularly familiar with what has motivated the metaphor, or the extent to which it constrains literal readings.[144]

It is at this point that the significance of this aspect of metaphor study for Charteris-Black's corpus approach, its potential implications for ancient-language

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[140] Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process,* 16.

[141] Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process,* 16.

[142] Dagrut, "More about the Translatability of Metaphor," 1987.

[143] See note 6 for definitions of the two ways in which "lexicalize" is employed in this essay.

[144] Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 19.

lexicography, and for lexicography as it applies to modern natural languages, become apparent:

> When it comes to identifying conventional metaphor, our most effective approach is to refer to a corpus of language: it is frequency of occurrence within contemporary use which will provide evidence of the extent to which a linguistic metaphor has become conventional in a language, While conventional metaphor may be inactive, *and the selections found in reference and dictionary sources arbitrary* (emphasis added) the conceptual basis is not 'dead' if there is still evidence of it in a corpus of language.[145]

Soskice, who condenses her understanding of a dead metaphor into "[an] extension of language by the incorporation of metaphor which becomes accustomed usage," rightly comments that the subject has been "of continuing interest to grammarians and linguists."[146] To these two disciplines, she could add lexicographers. Fiumara, Charteris-Black, Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner, are examples of the subject's vital interest to linguists. Sidney Greenbaum is an example of its interest to the grammarian. Our International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) and many colleagues involved in ancient-language research are an example of the subject's importance to lexicographer and linguist alike. From a grammarian's perspective, Greenbaum points out that "metaphoric usages" that become literal over time generally arise from similarity in form or function. Among his examples of similarity in form, he cites bulb (of electric lamp) and mouse (for computer), and of function (brain) drain and (DNA) fingerprint.[147]

8.5 Figurative Speech in Current Ancient-language Lexica

"Accustomed usage" can also be applicable to other forms of expression. As we saw at the beginning of section 1, some biblical lexica (Abbott-Smith, BAGD, BDAG, BDB, KPG, HALOT) list terms for *walk* where they are extended to meanings such as *go to one's death* and *live, behave, go about doing* as having a figurative use. For instance, Abbott-Smith (page 373), BAGD (page 692), BDAG (page 853), and Louw and Nida (in the domain "Physiological Processes and States" section 23.101) classify πορεύομαι where it has the meaning *go to one's death* as figurative. Given the movement in this area of linguistics, and the need to assess each potential figurative meaning in the context of its own language, it is not surprising that lexica will sometimes disagree as to what is literal or figurative. Louw and Nida, for instance, treat both πορεύομαι and περιπατέω as literal where they have the meaning "to live or behave in a customary manner, with possible focus upon continuity of action—'to live, to behave, to go about doing.'" They list both terms in the same entry (section 41.11) in the domain on "Behaviour and Related States." Danker, it seems, accepts Louw and Nida's verdict for one term but not for the other. In BAGD, πορεύομαι (page 692) is classified as figurative. In BDAG (page 853), Danker

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145 Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches*, 19.

146 Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 71.

147 Greenbaum, *The Oxford English Grammar*, 418.

changes the classification to literal. But he doesn't do the same for περιπατέω, which is listed as figurative in both BAGD (page 649) and BDAG (page 803). This leaves us with the question as to why BDAG has changed one but not the other. We should also ask whether their agreement about πορεύομαι may indicate that what applies in this instance to Koine Greek is applicable to the meanings *conduct oneself*, *live*, *act*, *behave*, *go about doing* of the Pael ܗܠܟ in Classical Syriac. If that is the case, listing these meanings as figurative in KPG (2.28) should be discontinued.

Another issue that needs addressing is the not infrequent and puzzling inconsistency within some lexica. To cite two randomly chosen examples: why does HALOT (page 247) cite Qal הלך *walk, behave*, as having a metaphoric meaning, but not Piel, to which BDB (page 236) assigns the figurative meaning *walk about* = *live?* and similarly why does HALOT (page 966) cite Qal פרח *sprout*, *shoot*, as having a metaphorical meaning, but not Hiphil to which BDB (page 827) assigns figurative uses of the meanings *cause to bud* or *sprout* and *shew buds, sprouts*?

9. SHOULD FIGURATIVE SPEECH FIGURE IN FUTURE ANCIENT-LANGUAGE LEXICA?

This brings us to the central question of this essay: which path should future ancient-language lexica follow: the exclusion or inclusion of figurative speech as a marked category of meaning? For both, there are different options.

In support of exclusion is the LJTT, which, if followed to its logical conclusion, renders the marking of figurative speech in a dictionary irrelevant. But as this survey has shown, the LJTT's approach to metaphor has been strongly challenged and does not represent a commonly accepted principle, or commonly accepted principles, of modern linguistics.

Exclusion is also the choice of DCH. But the decision is "essentially practical." As Clines, its editor, says, he could not envisage "undertaking to decide in absolutely every case of every word whether it was being used metaphorically or not" in a work that incorporates "every single occurrence" of a lexeme (see above, page 30). As with many other lexical items that are provided in one dictionary and not another, the choice results from the lexicographer's estimate of the value of the item concerned, the time it would take to research and provide it and perception of the purpose and audience of the dictionary. Seen in this way, distinguishing between figurative and non-figurative speech would be a task analogous to assigning lexemes accurate part-of-speech notations, definitions and translation equivalents (glosses); if the lexicographer is to be thorough, then the syntactic function and semantic value of every occurrence of a lexeme must be evaluated in its syntactic context. The alternative is to settle, as most dictionaries do, for judicious examples as a stated methodological procedure. Inevitably, such examples cannot claim to be exhaustive; it is only when all occurrences of a lexeme have been studied that the lexicographer can know with some degree of assurance that syntactic functions and contextually assessed meanings have not been missed.

DCH does not always avoid reference to figurative usage, which is consistent with the reason for its overall exclusion as explained by Clines in my correspondence with him (see above, pages 29–30). An example is the manner in

which DCH describes a meaning of אוֹר *LIGHT,* "as representing" *GOODNESS*, *HOPE*, *salvation*, *justice*, *etc.* (volume 1, page 161). The description is virtually equivalent to marking this use of the noun as figurative.[148] A parallel example is חומה *wall* (volume 3, page 172). Instead of the phrase "as representing," this entry employs the formula "as description of" to introduce חומה as a metaphor for YHWH, a prophet, a virtuous woman, and the waters of the Red Sea. One final example is the entry on דם *blood* (page 443), which tells us that its use is "sometimes by metonymy with ref. to the person" and stands in contrast to the preceding entry for דלת *door* (volume 2, pages 441–43). In that entry, all items, figurative and non-figurative, are introduced simply by "of": "of sea," "of face," "of womb."

As Clines anticipated when planning DCH, making metaphor and other forms of figurative speech an integral part of a lexicon's analysis of meaning is no simple matter. We have looked at two models. One is the conventional approach that argues for the distinguishing of "live" as distinct from "dead" metaphors, and that regularly marks such expressions by the abbreviations "fig." and/or "metaph.," or a phrase such as "metaphorical extension of meaning." The other option is the cognitive based methodology devised by SDBH, which marks certain senses as metaphorical extensions of meaning. At a crucial point in the evolution of ancient-language lexicography, SDBH is carving out a route somewhere between conventional treatments of metaphor, DCH is setting it aside as an integral lexical feature, and the LJTT is repudiating its linguistic worth on philosophical grounds.

10. CONCLUSION

As far as I know, this essay is the first to survey modern-linguistic viewpoints relevant to the question as to whether figurative speech should figure in future ancient-language lexica. Modest as it is, we at least learn that "modern linguistics" does not represent any one position on the issue. To the contrary, we must distinguish not only between non-cognitive-linguistic and cognitive-linguistic positions, but also between different approaches held by cognitive linguists. Non-cognitive-linguists, in principle, present no obstacle to registering and analyzing figurative speech in a lexicon. In cognitive linguistics, we must distinguish between the position of Clines (DCH) who cites modern linguistics as supportive of his position, cognitivist approaches based on the LJTT that, like Clines, have no apparent objection to the inclusion of figurative speech in a lexicon, and methodologies that intentionally disregard aspects of the LJTT while utilizing conventional and new approaches to identify and lexicalize metaphor. The further we travel from the original Lakoff-Johnson position, the more, it seems, cognitive-linguists and non-cognitive-linguists remove the obstacles that in theory at least might have been used to oppose the inclusion of figurative speech in contemporary dictionaries and ancient-language lexica.

Meanwhile, if any of the principal proponents of the LJTT maintain that the distinguishing of metaphor does not have a place in either dictionaries of contemporary languages or ancient-language lexica, the onus is surely on them to

[148] This instance is noted by Andersen, "Review Article," 63.

take criticism seriously and respond to it in convincing detail. Until that happens, SDBH and lexica that have employed figurative speech are surely justified in retaining it, as is the case with recent dictionaries, some of them revised, such as Macchi, *Inglese-Italiano, Italiano-Inglese* (1992); Corréard and Grundy *Le Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford: français-anglais, anglais-français* (1994); Beatty and Spooner, *Concise English Dictionary* (1998); Scholze-Stubenrecht and Sykes, *Oxford-Duden German Dictionary* (1999); BDAG, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (2000); Delbridge, *The Macquarie Dictionary* (2001, 2005); Burgers, Niermeyer and Van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Lexiquelatin medieval, Medieval Latin Dictionary, Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* (2002); Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2009); Wahrig, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (2002); Brookes, *The Chambers Dictionary* (2003); Brown, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2007); Lust, Eynikel and Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2003); Moore, *The Australian Oxford Dictionary* (2004), to which may be added Burchfield, *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage* (1996).

As to the human enterprise of studying metaphor, "will there really be a morning, is there such a thing as day." Well, however we understand it, whatever we do with it, metaphor will remain: in the morning it will still be there to enliven, dismay, entice, and entrance.

CHAPTER 3.
THE PATRISTIC "SYRIAC MASORA" AS A RESOURCE FOR MODERN SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHY

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This paper provides an overview of several features present in the patristic collections in manuscripts of the so-called "Syriac Masora." These features tend to reflect the function of these manuscripts as pedagogical aids to reading Syriac translations of the Greek Fathers in the post-tenth century West Syrian community.

1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the late nineteenth century, scholars have referred to large compilations of select texts from the Syriac translations of the Bible and the Greek Fathers of the Church as the "Syriac Masora."[1] These pedagogical compilations consist only of vocalized and diacritically marked sample texts.[2] While these "masoretic" manuscripts have been preserved in both the East and West Syrian traditions, collections of sample texts from the writings of the Greek Fathers of the Church

[1] For a history of scholarship on these "Syriac Masora" manuscripts, see Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 1. This present paper is a brief summary of the much more detailed research on these manuscripts in the above doctoral thesis. The following pages will make reference to chapters in this thesis where one can find expanded evidence and argumentation not presented in detail here. The terms "masoretic" and "non-masoretic" have been used here in keeping with the terminology introduced by J. P. P. Martin and other nineteenth-century Syriacists; see Martin, "Tradition karkaphienne ou la massore chez les Syriens," 245–379. I, personally, prefer the use of the native Syriac title "collection of *šmāhē*" for these manuscripts; yet, I use the appellations "masora" and "masoretic" here in continuity with previous scholarship.

[2] I openly borrow this term "sample texts," a phrase which concisely describes the function of these manuscripts, from Andreas Juckel, "The 'Syriac Masora' and the New Testament Peshitta," 107.

occur only in Western manuscripts.[3] Chaim Brovender, in his comprehensive study of the biblical portions of "masoretic" compilations, concludes that these manuscripts are in fact "primarily school texts."[4] He writes:

> They were intended as an aid to the students, hinting at the great variety of material a Syrian student had to know … there is sequestered much information in these manuscripts, in areas on philology, exegesis, lexicology, variant readings and vocalization, which are not found in other Syriac sources. That which was originally conceived of as a shorthand notation for known information has become the only known repository of that information and gives these manuscripts value as independent sources.[5]

In other words, these manuscripts are repositories of information gleaned from writings regularly studied in early medieval Syriac-speaking communities. The vocalized and diacritically marked sample texts included in these manuscripts are instructive for the history of the development of Syriac lexicography and phonology. The various collections of texts included in these handbooks reveal what type of material was read in the Syriac-speaking schools and churches. Unfortunately, past studies have tended to focus on the biblical portions of these manuscripts to the neglect of the patristic portions of these same compilations.

This paper will provide a general introduction to the patristic collections in these "masoretic" manuscripts. The material in this paper is drawn from a larger, more in-depth study of these compilations by the present author. Several prominent features of the patristic sample texts in these manuscripts will be briefly surveyed, demonstrating how these compilations may have been used as guides for reading patristic translations in the West Syrian community. This overview will then conclude with some cautionary findings from the present author's work with these collections; findings which should encourage the development of a much more nuanced understanding of these manuscripts commonly classified as the "Syriac Masora."

2. PATRISTIC COLLECTIONS

Collections of words from patristic writings can be found in eleven of these "masoretic" manuscripts.[6] The earliest-known manuscript containing patristic

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[3] The earliest known "masoretic" manuscript is the East Syrian compilation, BL Add. 12138, dated to 899 CE from Ḥarrān. This early manuscript does not contain patristic collections. All other known manuscripts are West Syrian in origin. For an overview of the collection of "masoretic" manuscripts in the British Library, see Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1, 101a–115b. A survey of known "Syriac Masora" manuscripts, divided into proposed categories, can be found in Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 2.

[4] Brovender, "SHEMAHE," xvii.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Manuscripts of the "Syriac Masora" containing patristic collections include: Vat. syr. 152; BL Add. 7183; Deir al-Surian 13; Dam. 7/16; Mosul, St. Thomas Church; Paris syr. 64; Barb. orient. 118; Dam. 12/22; BL Add. 14684; St. Mark's Monastery; and Lund,

collections is Vat. syr. 152, a tenth-century composition from the Monastery of Mār Aaron in Šigārā.[7] This manuscript is unique in that it contains word selections from only three patristic collections; whereas most later "masoretic" manuscripts include words from at least five separate patristic collections.[8] In general, patristic collections in these manuscripts were written in the same hand as that of the compiler of the biblical collections; hence, these patristic texts were passed down, at least in their present form, as an integral part of most post-tenth-century "masoretic" manuscripts.

The five standard patristic collections found in the majority of these Western manuscripts include: 1) Severus' "synodical letters" and *Cathedral Homilies*, 2) Gregory's *Orations* and the Pseudo Nonnos Mythological Scholia, 3) The epistles of Basil and Gregory, 4) Basil's Homilies, and 5) The corpus of Pseudo Dionysius. Two other collections, selections from the *Arbiter* of John Philoponus and selections from the "Life of Severus" by John of Beth-Aphthonia, each appear in individual "masoretic" manuscripts.[9] But the location and arrangement of these two later collections hint that they may have been only local additions.[10] It should be noted that these five standard collections nicely match the list of Fathers whom Bar ᶜEbrāyā claims were read in the West Syrian church of his day.[11]

3. CONTENTS OF THESE COLLECTIONS

Most of the patristic texts included in these "masoretic" manuscripts were taken from seventh or early eighth-century revised Syriac translations of the writings of the Fathers.[12] It may well be that these patristic collections of "difficult" words were originally included in these manuscripts in order to help students whose primary language was Arabic to better comprehend these very literal translations from the

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Medeltidshandskrift 58. For bibliographic and catalogue information, see Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 2.

[7] Most of the examples in this paper will be taken from Vat. syr. 152. For catalogue information, see J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 2, 499; J. S. and S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 3, 287. See also Wiseman, *Horae syriacae*, 161ff. For a discussion of the Monastery of Mār Aaron, see Andrew Palmer, "Charting Undercurrents," 40n12.

[8] It should be noted that the earliest West Syrian "Syriac Masora" MS, BL Add. 12178, does not include any patristic collections. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1, 108a–111a (CLXII). Again, the sole East Syrian "Syriac Masora" MS, BL Add. 12138, also leaves out these collections. Ibid., 101a–108a (CLXI).

[9] The selections from John Philoponus occur in BL Add. 14684, fol. 92v. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1, 114b (CLXVII). The selections from John of Beth-Aphthonia can be found in BL Add. 7183, fol. 122r. Rosen and Forshall mistakenly entitled this section "*Sermo Severi*." Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*, 68.

[10] For more on these collections from Philoponus and John of Beth-Aphthonia see Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 3.

[11] See the excerpt from his *Nomocanon* in Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 2, 302.

[12] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 3.

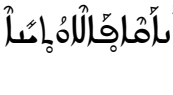
Greek.[13] Sebastian Brock has in fact posited a link between a decreasing number of manuscripts of Nazianzen's *Orations* after the ninth century and a declining knowledge of Greek in West Syrian circles.[14] If such a link could be established, it would certainly be noteworthy that all "masoretic" manuscripts containing collections of words from Nazianzen's *Orations* date only after the beginning of this ninth-century decline in manuscript production.

3.1 Greek Words

Given the "mirror-like" translations from which these "masoretic" selections were taken,[15] it makes sense that a significant percentage of words included in these patristic collections are Greek words in Syriac transliteration. Between sixty to seventy percent of the words included in these collections are of Greek origin. Quite often, moreover, Greek words in the "Syriac Masora" also appear in uncial characters in the margins of the corresponding "non-masoretic" manuscripts of the writings of the Fathers. Such annotations may indicate that these same words were likewise considered problematic by the users of "non-masoretic" texts.

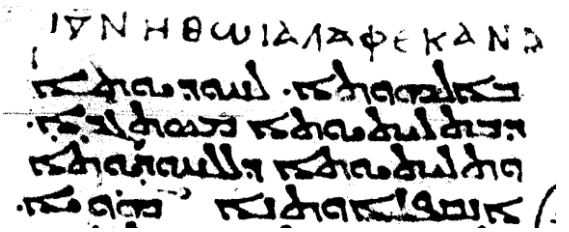
For example, among the word selections from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oration* 6 in the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152 is the Syriac transliteration of the Greek word ἀνακεφαλαιωθῆναι. Examination of a corresponding "non-masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 12153 (below right) shows that this same Greek word has been written out in uncial characters in the margin of the manuscript.[16] Interestingly, in this marginal note the glossator has spelled out the Greek word backwards—from right to left—following the Syriac direction of reading.

"Masoretic" Manuscript



Vat. syr. 152 fol. 173v

"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript



BL Add. 12153 fol. 47v

[13] Sebastian Brock briefly raises the question of how these very literal translations would have been used: "What native readers made of them [literal translations from the Greek] is another matter, and it is perhaps significant that texts of Paul's translation of Gregory, for example, ceased to be copied after the ninth century, once a knowledge of Greek had more or less disappeared." Sebastian Brock, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," 5.

[14] Ibid.

[15] For more on what Brock has termed "mirror type" or "mirror version," see Sebastian Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 12.

[16] The Greek text can be found in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 6 (PG 35, 749 C 39).

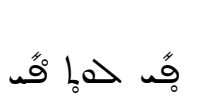
Figure 1. The Pronunciation of ἀναχεφαλαιωθῆναι

It might be assumed, therefore, that the unvocalized Syriac transliteration of this word (ܐܢܚܩܦܐܠܐܝܘܬܗܝܢܐܝ, line 4 in the "non-masoretic" manuscript above) may have proved difficult for readers with a limited knowledge of Greek. In short, such a difficulty may indicate a possible reason why this word was included with full vocalization and *rukkākā* markings in the "Syriac Masora."

3.1.1 Differentiation of Greek Words in Syriac Characters

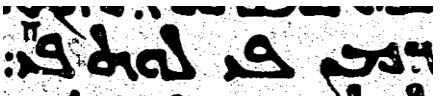
In some cases, it would have been extremely difficult to distinguish the proper pronunciation of one foreign word in Syriac transliteration from another, similar word without the addition of *rukkākā* and *qušš̈āyā* markings or other helps. As an example, compare the following sample text from Gregory's *Oration* 45 in Vat. syr. 152 (left) with the corresponding text in a "non-masoretic" manuscript (right).

"Masoretic" Manuscript



Vat. syr. 152 fol. 177r a 1–2

"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript



BL Add. 14549 fol. 81v b 33

Figure 2. Differentiation of Φ and Π

Without the provided *rukkākā* and *qušš̈āyā* marks, how would one pronounce this *pe-yod* as it occurs twice in the "non-masoretic" text (above right)? Which *pe* should be softened or hardened? To eliminate this ambiguity, the compiler of Vat. syr. 152 (above left) provides the proper *rukkākā* and *qušš̈āyā* marks, indicating how the reader should pronounce each *pe* in the phrase. As it turns out, one word is a Greek *phi* and one is a Greek *pi*.[17] It is perhaps noteworthy that the "non-masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 14549 includes the Greek character "Π" above the second *pe* in order to differentiate the two readings.[18] Once again, "non-masoretic" manuscripts hint at the difficulties a reader would have encountered in pronouncing these sample texts present in "masoretic" manuscripts.

3.2 Homonyms and Homographs

There are also a significant number of homonyms and homographs among the collection of Syriac words in the patristic "masoretic" corpus. Homographs often recur with different meanings within one or two folios of each other in the "masoretic" manuscript; this is true even when the words are separated by as many as ten or twenty folios in the corresponding "non-masoretic" manuscript. In

[17] The Greek text reads "κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φῖ πρὸς τὸ πῖ." Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 45 (PG 36, 636 C 40).

[18] BL Add. 14549, fol. 81v b 33.

addition, many of these same homographs are also included in a pedagogical tract located in the back of these "masoretic" manuscripts.[19] In this tract, homographs are repeated, one after the other, with varying diacritics and vocalization, an exercise to help the student differentiate these various words. In short, it would appear that the compilers of these manuscripts made a special effort to help the student properly distinguish between various homonyms and homographs.

An excellent example of Syriac homonymy in the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152 is the term ܚܕܐ, which occurs twice in the collection of words from Gregory's *Oration* 43, as well as once in Severus' *Cathedral Homilies*.[20] The example from *Oration* 43 is given below:

"Masoretic" Manuscript	"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript	
Vat. syr. 152	BL Add. 14549	PG
ܚܕܐ	ܚܕܐ	σμῆνος (36, 569 A 5)
fol. 177r b 10	fol. 108v b 3	"swarm (of bees)"
ܚܕܐ̈	ܚܕܐ	δέρος (36, 596 C 40)
fol. 177r b 20	fol. 116r b 9	"skin" or "fleece"

Figure 3. The Homonym ܚܕܐ

As the above table indicates, the term ܚܕܐ appears twice in *Oration* 43, each time with the same consonants and vocalization but with a different meaning. These two homonyms are separated by eight folios in the "non-masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 14549, while they are separated by only ten lines in the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152. If one goal of the compilers of these "Syriac Masora" manuscripts was the proper understanding of the text, it makes sense that they would have grouped together homographs in order to help students clearly distinguish the meaning of each word.

3.3 Presence of Words Not in Western Dictionaries

With a few exceptions, neither Robert Payne Smith nor Carl Brockelmann made extensive use of the Syriac "non-masoretic" texts of the writings of these Fathers when they were compiling their respective lexicons.[21] Because many of these Syriac

[19] See for example, BL Add. 12178, fols. 242v–246v; Vat. syr. 152, fols. 196v–198r; BL Add. 7183, fol. 132v; Paris syr. 64, fols. 222v–223r; Barb. 118, fols. 159r–160r; Borgia syr. 117, fols. 335v–337v.

[20] The location of this term in the *Cathedral Homilies* can be found in Vat. syr. 152, fol. 171r b 25 and in BL Add. 12159, fol. 148v a 35. I deliberately chose this homonym as an example because it has been previously discussed in the first volume of the Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics series. Terry Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 16–17.

[21] When working on the second edition of his lexicon, for example, Brockelmann had access to only two of the early published editions of Severus' *Cathedral Homilies* in Patrologia

patristic translations were not taken into consideration by either lexicographer, a number of words which are included in these patristic "masoretic" collections do not occur in Western dictionaries.[22]

Take the collection of words from the Pseudo Nonnos Mythological Scholia as an example. Sebastian Brock, in his work on the "non-masoretic" texts of the Scholia, has pointed out the presence of "rare" words in these texts, not found in either Brockelmann or R. Payne Smith.[23] Brock has conveniently included a number of these words in an appendix to his edition. Yet, many of the "rare" words highlighted by Brock in his appendix were also singled out by the compilers of these "Syriac Masora" manuscripts for inclusion in their collections of sample texts from the Scholia. Moreover, some of these same "rare" words also appear in the collection of sample texts from the *Orations* and the epistles in "masoretic" manuscripts. In the following table, two of the "rare" words found in Brock's appendix to the Scholia are given along with their multiple locations in Vat. syr. 152.[24]

ܐܙܐ	ܐܙܐ ܠܐܚܠܠܗ	ἀντεραστής	*Sch. Or.* 4
	fol. 178v b 12		
	ܐܙܐ ܒܗ ܒܟ ܒܚ	ἀντεραστής	*Sch. Or.* 5
	fol. 181v a 26		
ܟܣܠ	ܟܣܠܐ	κολοίος	*Sch. Or.* 4
	fol. 179v a 18		
	ܟܣܠܬܐ	κολοίος	*Epist.* 178
	fol. 183r a 18		
	ܟܣܠܬܐ ܢܩܝܡܐ	κολοίος	*Epist.* 114
	fol. 183v a 23		

Figure 4. Some "Rare" Words in Vat. syr. 152

orientalis 4 and 8. Reference is made to Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, 2 vols. and Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*, 2nd ed.

[22] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 8.

[23] Brock, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia*, 44.

[24] These two examples do, however, appear in Thoma Audo's dictionary. Audo, *Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne*, s.v. ܐܙܐ ; ܟܣܠ.

A sample of other "rare" words included by Brock in his appendix which also appear in Vat. syr. 152 include: ܐܠܚܙ (fol. 175r a 26), (ܐ)ܚܙܒ (fol. 170r a 13), ܕܗܟܠ (fol. 181r b 27), ܚܙܐ (fol. 179r a 4), ܐܠܚܟ (fol. 175r a 26), ܗܟ (fol. 175r b 16; fol. 175v b 1), ܗܕܗ (fol. 175r b 16; fol. 177v b 27; fol. 178v b 18), ܚܟܣܠܐ (fol. 174v b 3).

Andrea Schmidt in her studies of Gregory's *Orations* and C. Lash in his study of Severus' *Cathedral Homilies* have both emphasized the potential value of these patristic translations for Syriac lexicography.[25] The presence of Syriac words in the patristic "Syriac Masora" which are not included in Western dictionaries merely reinforces these earlier calls for more work on the lexicography of words found in these Syriac translations.

3.4 Inclusion of Words from Marginal Glosses

While highlighting the main features of these patristic collections, it is worthwhile to note that the sample texts in these "masoretic" manuscripts are not necessarily limited to the actual patristic text. Rather, the compilers also include words which occur as marginal notations in the corresponding "non-masoretic" manuscripts.

3.4.1 Glosses Attributed to Jacob of Edessa as Sample Texts

The vast majority of these marginal sample texts can be found in glosses attributed to Jacob of Edessa in Severus' *Cathedral Homilies*. So, for example, in *Homily* 33, five words from the marginal note in the "non-masoretic" manuscript are included, in sequence, among the word selections in the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152.[26]

... ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܘܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܘܡܛܐ(1) ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܦܓܪܐ ....
ܘܒܗ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܝܡܐ(2) ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܘܒܗ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܘܡܩܐ(3) ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܒܗ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܘܡܩܐ(4) ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܒܗ ܡܬܩܪܝ ܣܘܡܩܐ(5):

… flesh which is unified to the soul are called σώματα, which are 'bodies;' because they resemble σήματα, which is 'tombs,' … for the soul is called ψυχή, but the cold, ψῦχος ….

"Masoretic" Manuscript	"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript
Vat. syr. 152, fol. 169v b 5–7	BL Add. 12159, fol. 58r 2–4
1) ܣܘܡܛܐ.	1) ܣܘܡܐ (σώματα)
2) ܣܝܡܐ.	2) ܣܝܡܐ (σήματα)
3) ܣܘܡܩܐ.	3) ܢܦܫܐ (ψυχή)
4) ܓܘܫܡܐ.	4) ܓܘܫܡܐ)
5) ܣܘܡܩܐ.	5) ܣܘܡܩܐ (ψῦχος)

Figure 5. "Masoretic" Selections from Marginal Note in *Hom.* 33

[25] Andrea Schmidt writes, "These studies and especially the word-indices of the editions of some of Gregory's *Homilies*, once they will be done, will be of great benefit to Syriac lexicography. Until now the rich vocabulary of the *Homilies* remained an unexplored resource." Schmidt, "The Literary Tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus," 129. Lash writes along the same lines: "Jacob's version is an important field of study for the student of Syriac lexicography and one which has hardly been explored." Lash, "Techniques of a Translator," 383.

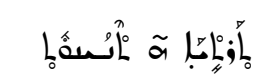
[26] See Patrologia Orientalis 36/3, 420 n. 8.

This sequence of five words can be found only in this marginal note attributed to Jacob of Edessa and not in the text of Severus' *Cathedral Homilies*. Note, as well, that four of the five sample texts included by the compiler of Vat. syr. 152 are of Greek origin, illustrating, again, the significant number of Greek words in the patristic "masoretic" collections.

3.4.2 Explanatory Glosses as Sample Texts

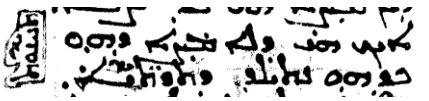
Sometimes a marginal gloss from the "non-masoretic" manuscript occurs in the body of the "masoretic" manuscript, connected to the word it defines by an explanatory marking. In *Oration* 30, for example, a sample text in Vat. syr. 152, ܕܬܪܝܢ ("second"), is followed on the same line by ܐܣܬܘ ܣ̈ ("that is, twice").[27] Unlike the first word, this second word ܐܣܬܘ does not occur in the body of the "non-masoretic" text of *Oration* 30. The word does occur, however, in the margin of the "non-masoretic" manuscript. The abbreviation ܣ̈ ("that is") was added by the compiler of Vat. syr. 152; thereby connecting these two terms. The following excerpts illustrate the respective location of the word ܕܬܪܝܢ in the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152 and in the corresponding "non-masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 14549:

"Masoretic" Manuscript



Vat. syr. 152 fol. 175v

"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript



BL Add. 14549 fol. 147a
Copyright © The British Library

Figure 6. "Masoretic" Selection from Marginal Note in *Orations*

Moreover, ܐܣܬܘ occurs as a marginal gloss in not one, but several "non-masoretic" manuscripts of the *Orations*, making it very likely that the users of "masoretic" manuscripts would have regularly encountered this explanatory term as they read through the Syriac translation of Gregory in the revision of Paul of Edessa.[28]

3.4.3 Greek Glosses in the Cathedral Homilies *as Sample Texts*

Other marginal glosses included as word selections in the patristic "Syriac Masora" are of particular value for studies on the textual history of Severus' *Cathedral Homilies* in the translation of Jacob of Edessa. Lash has remarked upon some of the complexities surrounding various Greek words this translation.[29] Indeed, the patristic "masoretic" collections from the *Cathedral Homilies* bear witness to these

[27] The Greek text reads "γεννηθῆναι δεύτερον." Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 30 (PG 36, 116 B).

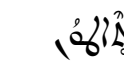
[28] "ܐܣܬܘ A in marg. C in marg. D in marg. F in marg. ζ in marg." Haelewyck, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzi opera, Versio syriaca, IV. Orationes XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI*, 253 n. 40.

[29] Lash, "Techniques of a Translator," 380–381.

complexities. On several occasions, the "masoretic" manuscript includes Syriac transliterations of Greek words which only correspond to words written in Greek uncials in the margins of the "non-masoretic manuscript." In these instances, the Syriac translation in the "non-masoretic" text of the homily is linked by a mark to the word written out in Greek lettering in the margin of the same manuscript. It is only this Greek word in the margin of the "non-masoretic" manuscript that is comparable to the Syriac transliteration found in the "masoretic" text.

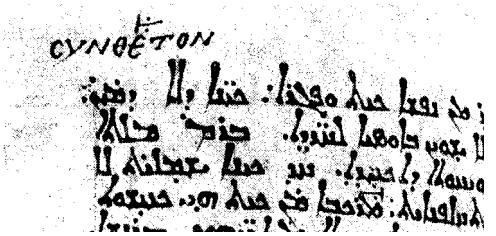
So, for example, in Severus' *Homily* 23, the "non-masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 12159 contains the term ܡܚܝܚܐ ("composed") in the body of the text. This Syriac word is linked in this "non-masoretic" manuscript by a diacritical mark to the Greek word σύνθετον ("compound" or "complex") located nearby in the margin. This can be seen in the example on the right below:

"Masoretic" Manuscript



Vat. syr. 152 fol. 169r a 27

"Non-Masoretic" Manuscript



BL Add. 12159 fol. 31 r

Figure 6. Greek "Masoretic" Selection Located in Margin of *Cathedral Homilies*

On the other hand, the "masoretic" manuscript Vat. syr. 152 (above left) contains the word selection ܣܘܢܬܝܛܘܢ (σύνθετον), not the Syriac translation ܡܚܝܚܐ, at this location in the homily. This term ܣܘܢܬܝܛܘܢ occurs nowhere else in the text of this homily in the "non-masoretic" manuscript, making it fairly certain that this word in Vat. syr. 152 has been taken from this location in the text. The inclusion of such Greek glosses as regular sample texts in "masoretic" manuscripts may well hint at the original Greek text underlying the Syriac translation.

3. NOTES OF INTEREST FOR LEXICOGRAPHERS

Most of the general features of these patristic "masoretic" collections outlined above highlight the significance of these manuscripts for our understanding ancient Syriac pedagogical systems. As ancient handbooks for orthoepy, these manuscripts provide the reader a unique opportunity to step into the world of learning in the early medieval Middle East. Moreover, the particular traditions behind these manuscripts developed out of a period of tremendous lexicographical creativity in the Middle East between the eighth and eleventh centuries.[30] An examination of

[30] It was in this period, for example, that Hebrew grammarians were writing treatises on grammar. Arabic linguistics was developing in cities such as Baṣra. And the Graeco-Arabic translation movement was on the rise. For some recent works concerned with the culture of

these Syriac manuscripts in relation to Jewish, Arabic, Coptic, and Byzantine traditions in this period remains a desideratum.

Correlative to this interest in the historical development of the Syriac language, it might be argued that the material in these manuscripts is also relevant to the study of Syriac phonology. Unlike most other Syriac manuscripts, the thousands of sample texts in these compilations were intentionally added with the goal of helping the student learn to read and vocalize Scripture and the writings of the Fathers. These manuscripts, therefore, provide important evidence for how Syriac and Greek words were vocalized and pronounced in the ninth and tenth centuries, if not earlier. In some instances the vocalization of Syriac words in these "masoretic" manuscripts differs from the vocalization provided in Western dictionaries.[31]

As an example, take the word selection ܣܲܚܥܳܐ ("scab") found in Severus of Antioch's *Cathedral Homily* 80.[32] This word is vocalized in Vat. syr. 152 and in other "masoretic" manuscripts with an initial *pṯāḥā* vowel above the *ḥeṯ*. Nevertheless, R. Payne Smith and Brockelmann both present a slightly different vocalization: Payne Smith lists the majority of derivations with either an initial *zḵāp̄ā* or *rb̄āṣā* vowel,[33] and Brockelmann vocalizes this word with only an initial *rb̄āṣā* vowel.[34] As the following figure makes clear, the vocalization of this word in Western "masoretic" manuscripts is consistent. Albeit, the initial vowel, a *pṯāḥā,* is slightly different from the preferred vocalization in both Western dictionaries:

Hom. 80

"scab"	Vat. syr. 152	Barb. 118	BL Add. 7183	BL Add. 14684
lexicon: ܣܲܚܥܳܐ	ܣܲܚܥܳܐ	ܣܲܚܥܳܐ	ܣܲܚܥܳܐ	ܣܲܚܥܳܐ
	fol. 171v a 24	fol. 200r b 16	fol. 120v a 3	fol. 113v 8

Figure 7. Divergent Vocalization in Multiple "Syriac Masora" Manuscripts

On the whole, such a difference in vocalization is not overly significant; it has to do with where R. Payne Smith and Brockelmann took their very few examples for this term. Nonetheless, because these "masoretic" manuscripts are intentional, early exemplars of Syriac vocalization, it might be worthwhile for future lexicographers to note such divergent vocalizations in the "Syriac Masora."

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learning during the period when these "masoretic" manuscripts were written, between the ninth through thirteenth centuries, see, Carter, *Sibawayhi*; Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*; Sidney Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*.

[31] Loopstra, "Patristic Collections," ch. 9.

[32] Patrologia orientalis 20/2, 340 lines 1 and 10.

[33] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, s.v. ܣܚܥ. Albeit, at the end of his entry Payne Smith does list one example with the vocalization "ܢܒܚܥ."

[34] Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum,* s.v. ܣܚܥ.

5. SOME CAUTIONARY FINDINGS

Although much can be learned from these "masoretic" manuscripts concerning the ways West Syrian communities read the writings of the Fathers and developed early systems of vocalization, it would be wrong to consider these manuscripts as vestiges of a single, authoritative school tradition.

5.1 "Dislocated Extracts"

First, it is important to note that the present author's evaluation of these patristic collections has confirmed a complication that T. Jansma had already briefly noted in 1971. In his article entitled "Dislocated Extracts from the Book of Genesis in the Syriac Massoretic Manuscripts" Jansma determined that certain word selections from the Genesis portions of Vat. syr. 152 and other "masoretic" manuscripts were out of the correct reading order.[35] We can now confirm that "dislocated extracts" do occur with some frequency in the patristic collections in Vat. syr. 152 and they are present, to a lesser degree, in other "masoretic" manuscripts.[36] There are also significant problems with the numeration of individual homilies and scholia.[37] The presence of such discrepancies in Vat. syr. 152 begs the question of just how this manuscript and others, with "dislocated extracts" and misnumeration, were actually used by their readers.

5.2 Multiple Traditions

Second, it appears that some manuscripts classified under the modern title of "Syriac Masora" actually consist of multiple, remarkably different textual traditions. For example, as Chaim Brovender discovered in the 1970's, the collection of biblical sample texts in the "masoretic" manuscript BL Add. 14684 represents a "radically different" textual tradition from similar collections in other manuscripts.[38] The present author's work has now confirmed that the patristic sample texts in this manuscript are also markedly different from patristic word selections in other "masoretic" manuscripts.[39] There appears, therefore, to be at least two divergent textual traditions among manuscripts containing patristic "masoretic" collections. Further work with the biblical collections in these "masoretic" manuscripts may reveal even more diverse traditions. Moreover, it was once thought that these West Syrian "masoretic" manuscripts in their entirety represented the work of eminent philologists from the *Qarqaptā* monastery near *Reš ʿaynā*.[40] More detailed study, however, suggests that the patristic portions of these Western "masoretic" manuscripts were not originally part of the so-called *mašlmānūṯā Qarqṗāyṯā*, the

[35] Jansma, "Note on Dislocated Extracts," 127–129.

[36] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 6.

[37] Ibid., ch. 5.

[38] Brovender, "SHEMAHE," xvi.

[39] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 8.

[40] For example see Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise On Weights and Measures*, xv; Dolabani, et al. "Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Syrien Orthodoxe à Ḥoms," 606; de Halleux, "Les commentaires syriaques des *Discours* de Grégoire de Nazianze," 104.

philological reading "tradition" of the *Qarqaṗtā* monastery.[41] The *mašlmānūṯā Qarqṗāyṯā* appears to have been only connected with the biblical portions of certain "masoretic" manuscripts, not the patristic portions.

5.3 Lack of Uniformity

Third, one of the most puzzling enigmas surrounding "masoretic" manuscripts is their lack of uniformity. No two manuscripts are completely identical.[42] Patterns of word selections are closer in some manuscripts than in others. Sometimes manuscripts agree with each other more in one portion of a manuscript than in another portion. It seems that the compilers of these West Syrian "masoretic" manuscripts saw their work as elucidating the reading or pointing of "difficult" or obscure words in the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. As a result, the sample texts provided by these compilers were likely chosen with a particular audience in mind. This individuality of each "masoretic" manuscript therefore dismisses any modern attempt to recreate one "critical" text of these manuscripts. In fact, the idea of a standard "masoretic" manuscript seems foreign to the compilers of these West Syrian texts. As Brovender remarked in his own study of these manuscripts, "Apparently, this literature grew up independently in different centers and there was never any reason to produce an eclectic, all inclusive Shemahe ["Syriac Masora"] book."[43]

5.4 Some Variation in Orthography and Vocalization

Finally, it is valuable to recognize that the compilers of these patristic collections make no explicit claim to be presenting an authoritative, uniform tradition of Syriac orthography and/or vocalization. Study of the sample texts in these patristic "masoretic" collections indicates that there is in fact a limited degree of uniformity, at least in the modern sense of the term. For example, although most "masoretic" manuscripts contain a copy of the well-known letter "On Syriac Orthography" by Jacob of Edessa, Jacob's recommendations in this letter were not necessarily heeded by the compilers of these manuscripts themselves.[44] In general, the patristic collections in these manuscripts exhibit no clear standardization of spelling either internally, or between manuscripts. Likewise, the spirantization and vocalization of words, particularly Greek words, are not always consistent; sometimes going against what one considers normal rules of usage.[45] Research on these patristic "masoretic"

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[41] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 11.

[42] For earlier studies comparing the biblical portions of various "masoretic" manuscripts see Emerton, *The Peshitta of the Wisdom of Solomon*, lxxv–lxxxvii; Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus: The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*, 471–487; Dirksen, *The Transmission of the Text in the Peshiṭta Manuscripts of the Book of Judges*, 88–99. For a comparison of selections from various patristic "masoretic" manuscripts see Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 8 and appendix 3.

[43] Brovender, "SHEMAHE," xvi–xvii.

[44] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," ch. 9.

[45] Loopstra, "Patristic Selections," chs. 9 and 10.

compilations has, therefore, highlighted the need for caution in attributing a level of authority and uniformity to these manuscripts which they never appear to have had.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, work with the patristic collections in these manuscripts shows that the compilers had as their principal interest the proper reading, or orthoepy, of the writings of the Greek Fathers in Syriac translation. There are indications that many of the words included in these manuscripts may have been difficult for the post-tenth-century reader to understand or pronounce; thereby, necessitating the inclusion of these words in "masoretic" manuscripts. The inclusion of words from "non-masoretic" marginal notations shows that these "masoretic" manuscripts were developed to be used with the glossating tradition present in West Syrian manuscripts of the writings of the Fathers. Moreover, as pedagogical aids to reading and as some the earliest complete systems of Syriac vocalization and diacritics, these manuscripts hold particular value for our understanding of the development of the Syriac language between the ninth through thirteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 4.
LEMMATIZATION AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS: THE CASE OF ܗܰܡܢ IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC

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Decisions concerning morphological analysis have a considerable impact on the lexicographer's work. An example is the treatment of ܗܰܡܢ in Syriac grammars and dictionaries. Is it a stem formation of the verb ܐܡܢ? If so, is it a Paiʿel (R. and J. Payne Smith), a Paʿʿel (cf. Muraoka) or an Aphʿel/Haphʿel (Nöldeke, Costaz)? If not, can another type of relationship between ܗܰܡܢ and the root ܐܡܢ be established? Is ܗܰܡܢ a denominative verb from ܐܡܝܢ (Duval), or a borrowing of the Hebrew Hiphʿil האמין (Brockelmann)? How should we account for the Hē, which differs both from the first root letter of ܐܡܢ and from the regular causative prefix in Syriac? Is it the result of strengthening (Duval)? Or the preservation of an ancient form (Nöldeke)? These questions will be addressed in this paper. We will argue that there is an etymological rather than an inflectional relationship with the root ܐܡܢ, and that for this reason in dictionaries ܗܰܡܢ should be treated as a quadriliteral root.

1. INTRODUCTION

ܗܰܡܢ "to believe" is a common verb in Syriac, but its analysis is controversial.[1] Lexica and grammars disagree about its lemmatization and its morphological analysis. In some dictionaries, including Payne Smith's *Thesaurus,* it appears under the Alaph of ܐܡܢ; in others, including Brockelmann's *Lexicon*, it appears under the Hē. ܗܡܢ is interpreted as an Aphʿel (with a change from Alaph to Hē), as an archaic Haphʿel, as a Paiʿel, or as a quadriliteral verb.[2] Each of these interpretations raises

[1] The investigations have been supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

[2] Muraoka, *Basic Grammar*, 66* (glossary), adds "Pa." At first sight this suggests that he analyzes ܗܡܢ as a Paʿʿel, but a closer look at his glossary reveals that we should interpret it as an indication that he analyzes it as a quadriliteral verb that follows the paradigm of the Paʿʿel.

questions about the phonological shape of ܗܡܝܢ. If it is an Aphʿel of ܐܡܢ, why does it have a Hē rather than an Alaph? And if we parry this question by calling ܗܡܝܢ a Haphʿel, how do we explain the retention of the Haphʿel in this particular case, as opposed to the usual Aphʿel? If it is a Paiʿel of ܐܡܢ, why does it have a Hē rather than an Alaph (*ܐܡܝܢ)? We can avoid these questions by calling ܗܡܝܢ a Paiʿel of ܗܝ, or a quadriliteral verb, because in those cases there is no paradigmatic irregularity. But these solutions seem to do injustice to the etymological relationship between ܗܡܝܢ and ܐܡܢ. They give the impression that ܗܡܝܢ and ܐܡܢ are two unrelated roots, safely stored in two distant parts of the lexicon.

2. HAPHʿEL/APHʿEL

ܗܡܝܢ is interpreted as a causative form (Aphʿel or Haphʿel[3]) of ܐܡܢ by Costaz,[4] Duval,[5] and Nöldeke.[6] The interpretation of ܗܡܝܢ / הימן and related forms as a Haphʿel is also attested in reference works on other forms of Aramaic, including the grammars of Rosenthal (Biblical Aramaic),[7] Segert ("Altaramäisch"),[8] Hug (texts from the seventh and sixth century BCE),[9] Beyer (Dead Sea Scrolls and related documents),[10] Dalman (Jewish Aramaic),[11] Müller-Kessler (Christian Palestinian Aramaic),[12] and Macuch (Samaritan Aramaic),[13] and the dictionaries of Gesenius (Biblical Aramaic),[14] Koehler–Baumgartner (Biblical Aramaic),[15] and Dalman (Jewish Aramaic).[16] It is further found in the *Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets*, which follows Dalman's dictionary.[17] Levy and Jastrow analyze הימין as a Haphʿel of ימן, but they lemmatize this verb under the ה.[18]

There are some arguments in favor of the analysis of ܗܡܝܢ as a Haphʿel/Aphʿel of ܐܡܢ. The most important one is that the relationship between the causative stem ܗܡܝܢ "to believe, consider trustworthy" and the simple stem ܐܡܢ "to be firm, true" is

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He uses the same abbreviation for verbs that are undisputedly quadriliteral, such as ܐܚܫ (ibid. 85*).

[3] Cf. Brockelmann's interpretation of ܗܡܝܢ as a borrowing of a Hebrew Hiphʿil (*Lexicon*, 175*a*), to be discussed below (Section 2).

[4] Costaz, *Dictionnaire*, 67*b*.

[5] Duval, *Traité*, §205.

[6] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §174E.

[7] Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, 78.

[8] Segert, *Grammatik*, 526. Note that Segert's "Altaramäisch" includes the Aramaic of the Achaemenid Period.

[9] Hug, *Grammatik*, 38, 81.

[10] Beyer, *Texte,* II. 348.

[11] Dalman, *Grammatik*, §§67, 203.

[12] Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, 211.

[13] Macuch, *Grammatik*, 117.

[14] Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 895*a*.

[15] Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 1816*a*.

[16] Dalman, *Handwörterbuch*, 23*a*, 112*b*.

[17] Cf. Moor, *Concordance*, vii–ix.

[18] For references see below, Section 3.

well covered by the functions of the causative stem, even though in Syriac the only attested form related to the Peʿal is ܐܡܢ.[19] Moreover, ܗܡܝܢ / הימן and related forms are attested in other forms of Aramaic, in which the interpretation as a causative is not problematic but fits well into the system of stem formations. In Biblical Aramaic, for example, הֱימִן (Dan 6:24) is a regular Haphʿel form.

There is, however, also an argument against the interpretation ܗܡܝܢ as a Haphʿel/Aphʿel, namely that ܗܡܝܢ does not follow the regular paradigm of the causative stem in Syriac. It differs from this paradigm in two respects: the use of the Hē instead of the Alaph, and the retention of the stem formation preformative after a prefix in, for example, the imperfect form ܢܗܡܝܢ.

The first phenomenon, the Hē instead of an Alaph, has been accounted for in various ways. Some consider the Hē to be an ancient remnant of the Haphʿel, known from earlier forms of Aramaic. Thus Costaz calls ܗܡܝܢ a Haphʿel[20] and Nöldeke speaks of ܗܡܝܢ as "das alte Afel."[21] Brockelmann considers the first letter of ܗܡܝܢ to be the Hē of the causative stem, but explains it as a borrowing from Hebrew, in which the Hē is regular.[22] Other interpretations seem to imply that ܗܡܝܢ is a secondary form that has replaced an original Aphʿel. Thus Duval considers the Hē the result of "strengthening."[23]

The second difference between the paradigm of ܗܡܝܢ and the regular Aphʿel paradigm concerns the retention of the stem formation preformative after the prefixes of the imperfect and the participle: ܢܗܡܝܢ, ܡܗܡܝܢ etc. rather than *ܢܡܝܢ, *ܡܡܝܢ etc. In the regular paradigm of the causative stem the preformative disappears in these contexts, e.g. ܡܝܬܝ "bringing," participle Aphʿel of ܐܬܐ "to come." This difference is a natural consequence of the use of the Hē instead of the Alaph, because both the omission of the Alaph and the retention of the Hē agree with the rules of Syriac phonology and orthography. Although in certain contexts the Hē too falls away in the pronunciation (thus e.g. in many forms of the suffix of the 3rd person masculine singular), the omission of the Hē in writing as in ܗ̇ ܗ̈ > ܗ̈ is rare.[24]

At first sight, there is a third difference with the regular Aphʿel paradigm, namely the use of the Yodh. The causative stem of First-Alaph verbs most often takes a Waw, e.g. ܐܘܕ, Aphʿel ܐܘܕܐ, but *ܐܝܕܐ is not attested. However, this is not a valid objection against the Haphʿel/Aphʿel interpretation. The form with a Yodh

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[19] It is probably for this reason that Duval (*Traité*, §§198, 205) considers ܗܡܝܢ a denominative of ܐܡܢ (ܗܡܝܢ is "tenir pour sûr, croire").

[20] Costaz, *Dictionnaire*, 67*b*.

[21] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §174E.

[22] See below, Section 3.

[23] Duval, *Traité*, §205 ("renforcement").

[24] See e.g. Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §33. For this reason Bauer and Leander (*Grammatik*, §36*a–e*) and Rosenthal (*Grammar*, §109) call forms with a ה such as מהקים (Dan 2:21) a Haphʿel, but forms without a ה, such as יקים (Dan 2:44) an Aphʿel; similarly Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 113–114; for the interchange of Haphʿel and Aphʿel forms see also Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 123–137.

is also attested in, for example, ܐܫܠ, Aphʿel of ܫܠܐ.[25] In other forms of Aramaic, variation occurs as well. Thus we find in Jewish Aramaic both אייכל (from אכל) and אובד (from אבד), and both איחר and אוחר (from אחר).[26]

3. QUADRILITERAL LEXEME

The interpretation of ܐܡܝܢ as a quadrilateral lexeme implies that it is not composed of a root and a productive stem formation morpheme. It does not deny, however, that there may be an etymological relation with one of the verbal stems. Thus Brockelmann analyzes ܐܡܝܢ as a quadriliteral verb that is a loan from Hebrew האמין.[27] The interpretation of ܐܡܝܢ as a quadriliteral lexeme is also advocated by Muraoka[28] and it is implied by the lemmatization under the Hē in Bar Bahlul's lexicon.[29]

For some other forms of Aramaic, the interpretation of ܐܡܝܢ / הימן and related forms as quadriliteral verbs would be odd, because the Haphʿel interpretation is more to the point. Thus one will not come across the interpretation of הֵימִן as a quadriliteral verb in a lexicon of Biblical Aramaic, because it is a regular Haphʿel form. However, a number of reference works on other forms in Aramaic reflect the interpretation of ܐܡܝܢ / הימן and related forms as quadriliteral verbs. Thus the Jewish Aramaic dictionaries of Sokoloff,[30] Levy[31] and Jastrow[32] and Tal's Samaritan Aramaic lexicon[33] lemmatize הימין, היימן etc. under the Hē, not under a triradical אמן or ימן. Even the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, which also covers forms of Aramaic that prefer the Haphʿel interpretation, such as Biblical Aramaic, gives הימן for all forms of Aramaic, that is to say, it gives it as a separate lemma rather than as an inflected form of אמן or ימן.[34]

The analysis of ܐܡܝܢ as a quadriliteral verb has one great advantage over the Aphʿel/Haphʿel interpretation, namely that the paradigm of ܐܡܝܢ completely follows that of the quadriliteral verbs and that hence this analysis does not require the assumption of a paradigmatic irregularity. One could object that the interpretation of ܐܡܝܢ as a quadriliteral verb does not do justice to the relationship with ܐܡܢ and that it ignores the presence of the preformative which in all likelihood goes back to a causative morpheme. However, although this analysis denies that ܐܡܝܢ is the combination of a triradical lexeme with a productive stem formation prefix, it does not deny that it may be etymologically related to words in other forms

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[25] Cf. Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §174E.

[26] Dalman, *Grammatik*, 302 (§67).

[27] Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 175*a*; followed by Goshen-Gottstein, *Glossary*, 19.

[28] Muraoka, *Basic Grammar*, §49; on the addition "Pa" in the glossary (ibid. 66*), see above, note 2.

[29] Bar Bahlul, *Lexicon*, 625.

[30] Sokoloff, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 162*b*; Ibid., *Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 379*b*.

[31] Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 198*a*; Ibid., *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 465*a*.

[32] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 347*a*.

[33] Tal, *Dictionary*, 204*a*.

[34] http://cal1.cn.huc.edu.

of Aramaic in which *ha-* was a productive prefix of the causative stem. In other words, the analysis of ܗܡܢ as a quadriliteral verb does not contradict the recognition of the etymological relationship between ܗܡܢ and the Haphʿel formation in other forms of Aramaic. Some of the dictionaries mentioned above which lemmatize הימין etc. under the Hē indeed give the etymological information in the dictionary entry. Thus Levy and Jastrow consider הימין a Haphʿel of ימן (= אמן) and Tal calls it "a secondary root from אמן."[35] Other quadriliteral verbs, too, are etymologically related to triradical roots. Thus Nöldeke distinguishes various categories of quadriliteral roots that can be traced back to shorter stems.[36]

In the analysis of ܗܡܢ as a quadrilateral verb, there is no need to describe the differences with the usual paradigm of the causative stem as irregularities in the inflection. We are dealing with a verb that is related to the root ܐܡܢ through derivation, rather than inflection. The Hē can satisfactorily be explained as the trace of an ancient *ha*-prefix—either retained from earlier forms of Aramaic (cf. Nöldeke) or through a borrowing from a Hebrew Hiphʿil form (Brockelmann).[37] The Yodh instead of the Aleph (the latter either from the Aramaic root ܐܡܢ / אמן or from the Hebrew האמין) is not surprising in the light of the frequent interchange of Aleph and Yodh, which is not only attested in ܐܫܠ, Aphʿel of ܫܠܝ, mentioned above, but also in, for example, Biblical Aramaic הֶאֱדַיִן / Syriac ܗܐܕܝܢ.[38]

4. PAIʿEL OF ܐܡܢ OR ܗܡܢ

The interpretation of ܗܡܢ as a Paiʿel goes back to G. H. Bernstein, who gives this interpretation in his *Lexicon Syriacum*.[39] It is also found in R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, with a reference to Bernstein,[40] and in J. Payne Smith's *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*,[41] which is based on the *Thesaurus*. Other advocates of this interpretation are Brun,[42] Falla,[43] Ferrer–Nogueras,[44] and Jennings.[45] Unlike the interpretations

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[35] Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 198*a* (s.v. הֵימִין: "Af von ungbr. יְמַן = אמן, dav. zuw. Fut. יֵימִין; syrisch ܗܡܢ, hbr. הֶאֱמִין."); Ibid., *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 465*a*; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 347*a*.

[36] Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §180 ("deren Zurückführung auf kürzere Stämme auf der Hand liegt"); see also the discussion on verbs beginning with *śa-* in Wido van Peursen, "Inflectional Morpheme or Part of the Lexeme?"

[37] Cf. Schwarzwald's remarks on the Shaphʿel, Taphʿel and Aphʿel in Modern Hebrew in her שפעל עברי, 151–152.

[38] See e.g. Nöldeke, *Grammatik*, §33 (cf. above, note 20).

[39] Bernstein, *Lexicon*, 25–26: ܗܡܢ (quod minus recte *Aphel* = He. הֶאֱמִין esse docent, cfr. Ar. هَيْمَنَ = أَمَّنَ), fut. ܢܗܡܢ (Ch. הֵמִין, fut. יְהֵימִין, Ar. أَمَّنَ et آمَنَ).

[40] Payne Smith, *Thesaurus* I, 232 ("sic Bernst., sed Ges. Aphel"); note that Bernstein is mentioned as one of the co-editors on the title page of the *Thesaurus*.

[41] Payne Smith, *Dictionary,* 19–20; 103*b*.

[42] Brun, *Dictionarium*, 18*b*.

[43] Falla, *Key* I, 33.

[44] Ferrer and Nogueras, *Diccionario*, 65.

[45] Jennings, *Lexicon*, 60.

discussed in Sections 1 and 2, this interpretation is particular to the Syriac verb. To our best knowledge, it is not found in reference works on other forms of Aramaic.[46]

Other verbs that have been analyzed as Paiʿel forms (although this analysis is not always unchallenged) include ܣܒܠ "to bear, endure" (cf. ܣܒܪ "to think;" Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 359*a*) and ܚܡܡ "to enrage, excite" (cf. ܚܡܡ "be warm;" Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 571*b*). Verbs that have been taken as belonging to the related class of the Pauʿel include ܐܫܫ "to set fire to" (interpreted as a Pauʿel form in Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 63*a*, but without reference to a corresponding triradical root); ܒܪܪ "to cool, become cool" (cf. ܒܪ "to cool"; Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 516*b*) and ܚܒܒ "to associate" (lemmatized in Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 569*b* as a quadriliteral verb; but the reflexive form is called "Ethpaual"). Sometimes the labels "Paiʿel" and "Pauʿel" are assigned inconsistently or incorrectly. Thus Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 525*a* calls the reflective/passive form ܐܬܬܩܛܠ 'to magnify oneself, to be magnified' an Ethpauʿal of ܩܛ, even though it recognizes that ܩܛܛ is a Palpel form ("with ܩܛ̈ for ܩܛ̈ܛ"). Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 393*a* gives ܐܬܬܥܪܦ "be overclouded" under the verb ܥܪܦ "to bring to naught" and calls it an "Ethpaual" form, but with the explanation that it is a denominative verb from ܥܪܦܐ, "particle of mist, cloudy day" (cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary* 390*a*). This is strange, not only because this explanation seems to contradict the derivation of this verb from ܥܪܦ, but also because the Waw comes *after* the second root letter. In other words, it is an "Ethpaʿual" rather than an Ethpauʿal. And Ferrer and Nogueras call ܐܬܪܬ a Pauʿel of ܐܪܬ, even though they acknowledge that the reflexive form ܐܬܬܪܬ is an Eshtaphʿal.[47]

The Paiʿel and the Pauʿel are characterized by a diphthong after the first radical. They are sometimes considered as traces of the stem with a lengthened first vowel known from other Semitic languages (cf. the Arabic Stem III).[48] However, even in those cases in Syriac where the triradical pattern without a diphthong is attested as well it is often difficult to relate the meanings of the Paiʿel or Pauʿel to the conative or reciprocal functions of the stems with a lengthened first vowel in other Semitic languages.[49]

Unlike the Haphʿel/Aphʿel interpretation, the Paiʿel interpretation is not based on functional parallels with other forms of the same pattern, but rather on formal similarities. It recognizes the quadrilateral pattern with a Yodh as the second letter. This raises the question, however, of what we mean by calling ܐܡܝܚ a Paiʿel and how

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[46] Paiʿel formations as such are attested in other forms of Aramaic as well. See Beyer, *Texte* I, 466; II, 331; *Ergänzungsband*, 292; Macuch, *Grammatik*, §57C (p. 167) (but in Samaritan Aramaic the diphthong usually has become a lengthened vowel).

[47] Cf. Van Peursen, "Inflectional Morpheme or Part of the Lexeme?" Section 1.2 (end).

[48] Cf. Moscati et al., *Introduction*, 125: "A variant of the stem with long first vowel is that with a diphthong: this is a development of which there exist very few traces in North Semitic (e.g. Syr. *gawzel* "he set fire to") but more ample ones in Ethiopic (*qōbara*, *qēbara*…) and in Arabic, especially in modern Arabic (e.g. *ǧawraba* "he put on socks") in mainly denominal roots;" see also Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, 514–515; Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 393.

[49] On these functions see e.g. Fischer, *Grammatik*, §165 ("'eine Handlung zum Ziel haben' oder 'jemanden mit einer Handlung zum Ziel haben'"); Moscati et al., *Semitic Languages*, 124 ("reciprocal and conative").

this relates to its interpretation as an Aphʿel/Haphʿel (above, Section 1) and its interpretation as a quadriliteral verb (above, Section 2). At first sight, the Paiʿel interpretation is a refinement of the interpretation of ܐܫܬܦܥ as a quadriliteral verb. It is more precise, because it indicates that the second letter of the verb is a Yodh. But the designation of ܐܫܬܦܥ as a Paiʿel also implies that the Yodh is a secondary element, an extension of a triradical pattern ܐܫܬܥ (or ܐܬܥ) without the Yodh, just as the Paiʿel ܫܡܚܚ is an extension of the Peʿal ܫܡܚ. In other words, whereas the quadriliteral analysis does not deny the derivation of ܐܫܬܦܥ from a causative formation of ܐܬܐ/ܐܬܝ, calling ܐܫܬܦܥ a Paiʿel suggests that it comes from a different stem formation, not compatible with the Haphʿel/Aphʿel analysis.[50]

The interpretation of ܐܫܬܦܥ as a Paiʿel also requires an explanation of the Hē. If it is a Paiʿel of ܐܬܐ, why does it have a Hē rather than an Alaph (*ܐܫܬܦܐ)? And if it is a Paiʿel of ܐܫܬܥ, what is the relationship with the root ܐܬܐ? Bernstein, one of the main advocates of the Paiʿel interpretation (see above), considered ܐܫܬܦܥ and ܐܬܐ as two allomorphs of the same root. He placed the variation of the Alaph and the Hē in the broader context of the interchange of Alaph, Waw, Yodh, and Hē in Syriac and other Semitic languages.[51]

5. CONCLUSION

We have discussed three interpretations of ܐܫܬܦܥ: as a causative stem, as a quadriliteral verb, and as a Paiʿel. In the first understanding of ܐܫܬܦܥ, as a causative stem, we can distinguish between the Haphʿel and the Aphʿel interpretation. The analysis of ܐܫܬܦܥ as a Haphʿel—and its lemmatization under the Alaph or the Yodh in the dictionary—is problematic because it gives the wrong impression that the Haphʿel is a productive stem formation in Syriac. It is true that there is a relation with the Haphʿel attested in other forms of Aramaic, but this relation is etymological rather than inflectional. The analysis of ܐܫܬܦܥ as an Aphʿel is inadequate as well, because there are two respects in which the paradigm of ܐܫܬܦܥ differs from the Aphʿel paradigm: the use of the Hē instead of an Alaph, and the related phenomenon of the retention of the stem formation preformative in the imperfect and the participle. Analyzing ܐܫܬܦܥ as an Aphʿel ignores these important differences.

Because of the objections that can be raised to the analysis of ܐܫܬܦܥ as a Haphʿel or an Aphʿel, it is preferable to analyze it as a quadriliteral verb. Unlike the Aphʿel interpretation, this does not require the assumption of paradigmatic irregularities, because ܐܫܬܦܥ follows the paradigm of the quadriliteral verbs. The objection that this interpretation ignores the derivation of ܐܫܬܦܥ from a causative formation of ܐܬܐ/ܐܬܝ is invalid, because this analysis does not deny that such a relationship exists, it only implies that the relationship is not inflectional.

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[50] Cf. Dyk, "Data Preparation," 141.

[51] Bernstein, *Lexicon*, 25–26: "ܐܬܝ et ܐܫܬ (pro ܐܬܐ, prima litera non ut aliis in verbis eiusmodi intransit., cfr. ܫܫܐ, in ܡ, sed in ܬ mutata, quod idem contigit in He. הלך = ילך pro ולך [cfr. Ewald. Gr. He. §. 219], quemadmodum Syr. ܐܫܬ = He. בוש pro ܐܫܬ, ܪܥܐ = Heb רוץ pro ܪܥܐ dicitur, ܢܘܪ Ar. نَارَ. Litt. autem ܐ, ܗ, ܡ et ܬ in linguis Semiticis inter se permutari notum est satisque probatum)"; cf. Jennings, *Lexicon*, 50: "ܐܫܬܬ = Paiʿel of ܐܫܬ for ܐܬܐ = ܐܬܝ."

The third interpretation of ܡܫܚܐ that we discussed, its analysis as a Paiʿel, is at first sight a refinement of the second interpretation. It adds the information that the second letter of the quadriliteral verb is a Yodh. However, it gives the wrong impression that this verb belongs to the verbal stem Paiʿel, in which the Yodh is a secondary element that was added to the root ܡܫܚ, just as the Yodh in ܫܝܚ was inserted after the first radical of ܫܚ. This interpretation conflicts with the etymological relationship of ܡܫܚܐ with the root ܡܫܐ/ܡܫܚ as well as the derivation of the *ha-* prefix from the causative stem.

For these reasons, we prefer to analyze ܡܫܚܐ as a quadriliteral verb that in the lexicon should be lemmatized under the Hē. The dictionary entry should contain a cross-reference to ܡܫܐ or ܐܫܚ and the information that this quadriliteral verb in all likelihood contains the traces of the Haphʿel that is well known in other forms of Aramaic.

CHAPTER 5.
ANALYSIS OF THE SYRIAC PARTICLE ܟܸ

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Our best comprehensive Classical Syriac lexica are more than a century old. Inevitably, their lexicalization of words is often partial or outdated in its taxonomy, parts of speech, and syntactic and semantic analysis. Thus today's reader of Classical Syriac often encounters in a text a word or syntagm with a function and/or meaning that is not cited in Syriac lexica, or if it is, is either misleading or generalized to the extent that it is difficult to know whether it is applicable to the instantiation in question.

By way of example, this paper examines a lexeme in the Early Syriac Versions of the Gospels that requires re-examination and revision: the grammatical classification, syntactic functions and meanings of the particle ܟܸ. Although low in frequency, it will be shown that in the Syriac Gospels alone, its uses and meanings go beyond those recorded in existing Syriac lexica. Every occurrence of ܟܸ is analyzed in its Syriac context in the Peshitta text and in relation to the Greek underlying it.

The study of this lexeme has two specific aims: its preparation as an entry for the third volume of the lexical work *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*, and as a basis for its reconsideration in other early Classical Syriac literature and subsequent inclusion in a future comprehensive Syriac-English lexicon.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Syriac lexica to date, the particle ܟܸ has mostly been regarded as an interrogative, dubitative, or emphatic particle, and has been lexicalized and translated accordingly. Recent studies are marking a move away from this perspective. In accordance with the principles outlined by the International Syriac Language Project, in which each occurrence of a lexeme is examined in its syntactic context in a chosen corpus, this study examines each occurrence of ܟܸ in its context in the Peshitta Old and New Testaments before making decisions about how to lexicalize it. After taking into account elements of discourse analysis as well as immediate context, it has come to some new conclusions about the grammatical classification and semantics of the

Syriac particle ܟܸ, and proposes a possible lexical entry as might be used in a new Syriac lexicon.

2. OCCURRENCE

The particle ܟܸ occurs only twenty-two times in the Syriac Bible: six times in the Peshitta Old Testament[1] and sixteen times in the Peshitta Gospels.[2] These occurrences nearly always immediately follow an interrogative particle. There are eighteen instances in the Old Syriac versions[3], all of them in questions, and eleven of them in the same place as in the Peshitta (Syr^{p}). Of the Old Syriac versions the Curetonian (Syr^{c}), where it is extant, always agrees with the Sinaiticus (Syr^{s}). The Harklean (Syr^{h}) retains only one instance of ܟܸ,[4] in a rhetorical question.

The particle ܟܸ does not occur at all in the rest of the New Testament. A curious observation is that most of the occurrences, nine, are in Luke, and there are none at all in Acts, whose Greek originals were written by the same person. This may possibly be the result of Luke and Acts being translated by different people, but closer investigation has raised another possible reason, which is addressed below.

3. COGNATES

There are forms similar to but not quite the same as the Syriac ܟܸ in both Hebrew and Aramaic.

3.1 Hebrew

This study assumes with Weitzman[5] that the Peshitta Old Testament is translated from the Hebrew, not from the Greek Septuagint.

The Syriac particle ܟܸ occurs six times in the Peshitta Old Testament, of which three instances could be seen to translate the Hebrew כִּי. This translation is potentially problematic for a number of reasons.

The Hebrew particle כִּי is very complex; it is widely used in the Hebrew Bible—4488 times according to DCH[6]—and over time it has been attributed with a variety of functions and meanings. Muilenburg says of כִּי that it is "not only one of the words most frequently employed in the Old Testament, but also one with the widest and most varied range of nuance and meaning."[7] However, in introducing

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[1] Gen 27:33; Josh 7:7; 2 Sam 9:1; 2 Kings 3:10, 13; Ps 58:11.

[2] Mt 18:1; 19:25, 27; 24:45; Mk 4:41; Lk 1:66; 4:36; 8:25; 9:46; 12:42; 18:8; 19:42; 22:23; 24:18; Jn 7:35; 8:22.

[3] Mt 12:23; 18:1; 19:25, 27; 24:45; Mk 10:26; Lk 3:15; 4:36; 8:25; 18:8; 22:23; 24:18; Jn 4:33; 7:35, 35; 8:22; 13:22; 16:18.

[4] Jn 8:22.

[5] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*.

[6] DCH, vol. 4, 383b.

[7] Muilenburg, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of כִּי," 209. See also Vriezen, "Einige Notizen zur Übersetzung des Bindeworts *ki*," and the article and bibliography of Gross, "Satzfolge, Satzteilfolge und Satzart als Kriterien der Subkategorisierung hebräischer Konjunktionalsätze, am Beispiel der כי-Sätze untersucht."

the function of particles in general and of כִּי in particular, he says it is possible that "they were originally ejaculations or cries or exclamations, calling the hearer to attention, bidding him heed, giving him notice or warning, or stirring him to action."[8] He then notes, "That the word has a long pre-history is suggested by the fact that in our earliest Hebrew poems it already conforms to a fixed style, as in the Song of Lamech" (Gen 4:23–24).[9] According to this description, כִּי began as a spontaneous cry and developed many functions, and by even the earliest Hebrew Bible times had become quite formalized. Muilenburg cites as cognates Akkadian, Ugaritic, Moabite, Egyptian Aramaic, and … the Aramaic דך.[10] No mention is made of the Syriac ܟ.

In introducing Hebrew כִּי, BDB[11] says that it is "perh. also ultim. akin with … ܟ, *then*, enclit., like Lat. *nam* in *quisnam*?" and Lewis and Short[12] list as one of their meanings of *nam*, "III. In interrogations, emphatically, expressing wonder or emotion in the questioner; cf. Gr γάρ." In an article on כִּי, Aejmelaeus notes this particle's "exceptionally wide range of usage in the most varied contexts and functions," and that it "is the most frequent clause connector after the paratactic ו." She comes to the conclusion that כִּי in the Hebrew Bible "mainly serves as a connective, a conjunction to join clauses to one another," and that "ever less and less room was left for the emphatic interpretation. Nevertheless, there are still some cases where this interpretation seems to be mandatory."[13]

It is this lesser function of emphasis that is most similar to the Syriac ܟ as it is analyzed in this paper. This function is described in DCH in §9 as "emphatic particle *surely*, *indeed*; or merely emphatic, *now*, *then*, *in fact*, *namely*; also with the interrogative particle הֲ."[14]

The conclusions above are overturned in a recent substantial dissertation by Follingstad who argues that כִּי is not a semantic logical/temporal conjunction *at all*, but a discourse deictic particle marking viewpoint, that is, marking an utterance and its content as attributed to some speaker (or to the narrator),[15] and thereby moving the reader into the "mental space" and viewpoint of that character. If his analysis is correct, it can account for the use of כִּי in such a broad range of contexts, and may also account for the fact that it is so seldom translated by the Syriac ܟ which does not have that function at all.

Two of these instances where the Syriac ܟ appears to correspond to the Hebrew כִּי, in 2 Kings 3:10 and 13, match the description above for emphatic particle, while in the third, in 2 Samuel 9:1, כִּי occurs with the interrogative particle

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[8] Muilenburg, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of כִּי," 208.

[9] Muilenburg, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of כִּי," 210.

[10] Muilenburg, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of כִּי," 210.

[11] BDB, 471b.

[12] Lewis–Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 1185b.

[13] Aejmelaeus, "Function and interpretation of כי in Biblical Hebrew," 208.

[14] DCH, vol. 4, 388.

[15] Follingstad, *Deictic Viewpoint in Biblical Hebrew*, 53–55.

הָ. These verses, and the three where the Syriac ܟܝ does not correspond to the Hebrew כִּי,[16] are examined in more detail below in §7.

Where כִּי can be seen as corresponding to ܟܝ in three of the six instances in the Peshitta Old Testament, it may be argued that these instances are as much transliteration as translation. However, it is also possible that the functions were considered close enough for it to be considered for translation. On the other hand, given that there are several thousand instances of כִּי in the Hebrew Old Testament, it is perhaps surprising that more of them were not translated as ܟܝ in the Peshitta Old Testament if their functions really were properly comparable. The Syriac ܟܝ as used in the Peshitta Bible thus serves a function different from the Hebrew כִּי, and would have been lexicalized and translated differently.

3.2 Aramaic

In Sokoloff's dictionaries of Aramaic, no cognate term occurs in Judean or Jewish Palestinian Aramaic,[17] but in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic,[18] there are two terms that are similar: כִּי and כו. Here, one of the functions of כִּי is as an interjection meaning *therefore*, *surely*, and כו is cited as an interjection, a word of emphasis, as a second element, and as a cognate of the Syriac ܟܝ, and most of the citations listed are questions. Muraoka–Porten[19] cite the Egyptian Aramaic כי as occurring only twelve times in the texts studied, mainly in the proverbs of Ahiqar, and that its meaning, difficult to capture in the contexts, "appears to indicate a logical reason or ground for the preceding statement": *for*, *because*. They dispute the claim that it may indicate the "emphatic" as proposed by Hoftijzer–Jongeling.[20]

4. GREEK *VORLAGE*

It is possible to identify six different Greek terms that could be said to stand behind the Syriac ܟܝ in the Syriac Gospels, but nearly all the Greek sentences in which they occur could readily be translated into Syriac without the addition of ܟܝ. This raises the question as to whether a corresponding Greek term should be cited at all, if a Syriac translation of the sentence could be—and often is—made without including ܟܝ. There are six instances[21] in the Syriac Gospels where there is no corresponding Greek term behind ܟܝ; nine where ἄρα occurs[22] and one instance of ἆρα,[23] four where μή, μήτι, or μήποτε occur; and one instance each of καί and εἰ. These are all discussed in more detail below.

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[16] Gen 27:33; Josh 7:7.

[17] Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*; and *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*.

[18] Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*.

[19] Muraoka–Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 338.

[20] Hoftijzer–Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 497.

[21] Lk 4:36; 9:46; 24:18; Jn 7:35(1°); 13:22; 16:18.

[22] In all gospel instances but one (Mk 11:13) where ἄρα occurs as the second element in a sentence it is translated by ܟܝ.

[23] Lk 18:8.

5. GRAMMATICAL CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO PREVIOUS LEXICA

All major lexical works have been examined: Brockelmann,[24] Brun,[25] Costaz,[26] Jessie Payne Smith (CSD), and *Thesaurus Syriacus* plus Jennings,[27] and Whish's *Clavis Syriaca*,[28] and three more recent works: Pazzini's Syriac-Italian lexicon,[29] the Syriac-Spanish lexicon by Ferrer and Nogueras,[30] and Emmanuel Thelly's Syriac-English-Malayalam lexicon[31] which is based on Audo's *Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne* and J. Payne Smith's *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (CSD). Between them, they give a lot of information, and not all agree among themselves. Their information is dealt with according to topic rather than by lexicon, as this makes comparison easier.

Lexica that list part of speech agree that ܟ is a particle. The *type* of particle varies, and the types are listed below. Nöldeke's Grammar[32] was also consulted. His entry on ܟ is very brief: in full, it reads "(on very rare occasions heading a clause) 'thus'."

5.1 Enclitic

Brun, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and Costaz refer to ܟ as an enclitic. However, an enclitic, by definition, cannot stand or function on its own in a normal utterance: it is phonologically dependent on the word it follows.[33] So it is more correct to follow Brockelmann and *Thesaurus Syriacus* who also describe ܟ as the second element in a phrase.[34]

5.2 Interrogative

Jennings, Audo, Thelly, and Costaz label ܟ as an interrogative adverb or particle, and Costaz includes a question mark as one of the correspondences. Brun, CSD, and *Thesaurus Syriacus* note that ܟ occurs *after* an interrogative particle, and Whish notes that it is used in interrogations but always following another word, and this is more accurate because there is no instance where ܟ alone indicates that the phrase is interrogative. The phrase in each case would still stand as an interrogative if the ܟ were removed.

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[24] Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* 2nd ed.

[25] Brun, *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum* 2nd ed.

[26] Costaz, *Dictionnaire syriaque-français, Syriac-English Dictionary* 2nd ed.

[27] Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament*.

[28] Whish, *Clavis Syriaca*, 136.

[29] Pazzini, *Lessico Concordanziale del Nuovo Testamento Siriaco*.

[30] Ferrer–Nogueras, *Breve Diccionario Siríaco: Siríaco-Castellano-Catalán*.

[31] Thelly, *Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon*.

[32] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* §155 C, 100.

[33] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*.

[34] The second element is usually but not always the second word: in 2 Kgs 3:10 ܟ follows ܗܕܐ ܠܟ, *for this*. See §7.1.

As it happens, most of the occurrences of ܚ in the Peshitta occur in direct[35] questions, and all of the instances in the Old Syriac are in questions, but this study does not consider that ܚ itself is an interrogative as claimed by Jennings and Costaz.

5.3 Dubitative

Thesaurus Syriacus, CSD, Thelly, Audo, and Jennings, and the recent Spanish dictionary by Ferrer and Nogueras cite ܚ as a particle of doubt, with the possible meaning of "perhaps." This paper will seek to demonstrate that this is an inadequate translation in the circumstances where ܚ is used. It could be that the use of "perhaps" has been influenced by the underlying Greek μή, μήτι and μήποτε, which can mean "perhaps" but which also allow for other renditions.

In each instance where ܚ translates μή or μήποτε, the context is in a startled question that arises from an unexpected incident or teaching. It occurs in:

Mt 12:23 (Syr^{sc}): the crowd marvels when Jesus healed someone, and they say,

ܗܕܐ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܚ ܗܢܐ
Is this the son of David?

Lk 3:15(Syr^{sc}): John's teaching causes people to ask

Syr^{s} ܗܢܐ ܚ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܗܢܐ
Syr^{c} ܗܢܐ ܚ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܢܐ
Is he the Messiah?

The Peshitta has the people ponder in their hearts whether he is the Messiah, and does not use ܚ.

Jn 4:33 (Syr^{sc}): At the well in Samaria, Jesus says he has food to eat that the disciples don't know about, and they wonder,

ܗܢܐ ܚ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܠܡܐܟܠ
Has someone brought him something to eat?

Jn 7:35(2°) (Syr^{scp}): Jesus says enigmatically that he will go where they can't follow, and they wonder,

Syr^{s} ܗܢܐ ܚ ܠܓܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܙܠ
Syr^{c} ܗܢܐ ܚ ܠܓܘܠܬܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܙܠ
Will he go to the dispersion of the Arameans?[36]

Syr^{p} ܗܢܐ ܚ ܠܠܐܘܡܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܐܙܠ ܒܐܪܥܐ
Will he go to the lands of the Gentiles?

[35] Syriac syntax does not readily distinguish between direct and indirect questions: both can be introduced with the particle ܕ, and all of the questions investigated in this study can be understood as direct speech.

[36] See CSD 29b on ܐܪܡܝܐ for the significance of Arameans in this instance.

In Jn 8:22 (Syr^{sph}; Syr^{c} is not extant for this verse) again Jesus says that he will go where they can't follow, and they wonder,

Syr^{s} ܗܘ ܕܢܩܛܠ ܢܦܫܗ
Syr^{p} ܗܘ ܟܕ ܢܩܛܘܠ ܠܢܦܫܗ
Syr^{h} ܗܘ ܕܢܩܛܠ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܗܘ
Will he kill himself?

Jn 8:22 is the only instance where ܟܕ is retained in the Harklean translation.

The translations above are made without taking ܟܕ into consideration. Their contexts illustrate that these are not hesitantly dubitative "perhaps" and "maybe" questions: they are loaded and incredulous. While the element of doubt is certainly present in each of the examples, the label dubitative, expressing doubt or hesitancy, is not strong enough for the incredulity that ܟܕ represents in each case here.

5.4 Optative and Aposiopesis

Whether or not they use the term optative to describe this particle, most lexica include the use of ܟܕ in expressions of wish or desire.[37] There is only one instance of this use of ܟܕ in the gospels: Lk 19:42 Syr^{p} in the phrase

ܐܢ ܟܕ ܝܕܥܬ ܐܦ ...
If only you had known those things …
Oh that you had known those things …

in the account where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem and wishes that the city knew those things that would bring it peace.

The Greek behind ܟܕ in this verse is εἰ, which according to BDAG[38] can be translated as "*if*". When εἰ is followed by the aorist indicative, which it is here, then it functions as aposiopesis. That is, the phrase is incomplete and you need to supply a conclusion such as, "*if* you knew, *then* it would be pleasing to me" or something similar. But there is no conclusion supplied to follow this instance of "*if*"; it is left hanging as a cry of unfulfilment. Robertson,[39] in his Greek grammar, says of aposiopesis,

> "What differentiates these passages from ellipses or abbreviations of other clauses … is the passion. One can almost see the gesture and the flash of the eye in aposiopesis."

This is how the ܟܕ functions in this verse: it is the gesture, the flash of the eye. *Oh if only!*

As a brief digression, it is interesting to note a difference between the Greek and Syriac texts in this verse. Both contain an impassioned cry, but the Syriac emphasises the "*if only*," "*Oh if only*," while the Greek emphasizes the "*you*" with καὶ σύ: "*if you, even you, had known*." The Peshitta does not have the "*even you*," but the

[37] However neither Jennings nor Costaz mention this optative function of ܟܕ.

[38] BDAG, 277.

[39] Robertson, 1203.

Harklean, as we would expect in its more "literal rendering of the Greek,"[40] follows the Greek wording more closely: it omits the ܟܕ but includes the "*even you*": ܐܦ ܐܢܬ in ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܒܗܕܐ ܝܘܡܐ.

The Greek εἰ allows for both the ordinary "*if*" *and* for an impassioned "*Oh if only!*"

5.5 Inference

The word inference is not used specifically in any of the lexica, but almost all of them include among their glosses the equivalent of *then*, *so*, *therefore*, because the phrase with ܟܕ in it builds on what has immediately preceded it. Costaz refers to this use as an enclitic conjunction.

These instances of inference usually translate the Greek ἄρα and are translated into English by "*then.*" For instance, often there is a sign or a miracle followed by people asking questions, usually in amazement, "*Who then is this man?*"

Given that the Greek word most commonly translated by ܟܕ is ἄρα, a Greek marker of inference, it is reasonable to expect that the Syriac ܟܕ is also a marker of inference, and the English translation "*then*" works well for both. However, I would like to argue that the label of inference, while not incorrect, is inadequate for ܟܕ.

Firstly, if ܟܕ could mean simply "*then*," as a simple inference, then it would surely sometimes translate other Greek words of inference. There is only one instance where ܟܕ may indicate only inference and may not come into any of the other categories, but it is not likely. The instance is in Mk 10:26, in the Sinaiatic version only, not the Peshitta, and it translates—or transliterates?—the Greek conjunction καί. However, καί can also function as a "marker of emphasis involving surprise and unexpectedness"[41]—"*then*," "*indeed.*" There is even a slight possibility that ܟܕ here translates not καί but ἄρα which is found in one variant reading, in manuscript 106 according to Legg.[42] This collected evidence makes a very weakk case for the Syriac ܟܕ being a marker of inference only. In addition, this one instance may simply be echoing a synoptic parallel 19:25Syr^{p} that does use the Syriac ܟܕ. So the case is not strong for the Syriac ܟܕ functioning as a particle of inference only.

If the Syriac ܟܕ were a particle of inference only, then surely it would be used to translate at least some—even one—of the other instances of the Greek ἄρα in the New Testament. This does not happen.

BDAG notes that while ἄρα is a marker of inference (in statements), it is also used "often simply to enliven the question."[43] This is a most important distinction. All the contexts for the gospel uses of ἄρα-translated-by-ܟܕ are "lively questions," and the contexts for ἄρα in the rest of the New Testament are much more measured, reasoned, logical, and it seems they don't call for the more lively Syriac ܟܕ. I therefore argue that the element of inference is present in many of the

[40] Juckel, "Should the Harklean be Included?" 170.

[41] Louw–Nida, 91.12.

[42] Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece.*

[43] BDAG, ἄρα, §1b, 127.

instances where ܟ is used, but it may be incidental, and that the more pronounced use of ܟ even in those same instances is to enliven the question. The gesture, the flash of the eye.

5.6 Emphasis

Another term used of ܟ is emphasis. Thelly cites the meanings *now*, *indeed*, *verily*, *truly*. CSD and *Thesaurus Syriacus* note that ܟ is a particle following *and emphasizing*[44] expressions of doubt, desire or interrogation. However, expressions of emphasis are normally used to focus on something and emphasize it, "to draw attention to some element in a sentence or utterance,"[45] such as with the use of the demonstrative pronoun ܗܘ. Certainly, ܟ seems to add emphasis to expressions—usually questions—but not in such a way that one can identify what exactly is being emphasized. Furthermore, the questions are always rhetorical, and do not call for, nor are they given, a logical response. The question,

Lk 8:25 Syr^{sp} ܡܢܘ ܗܢܐ ܟ ܗܘ
Who is this man?

in response to Jesus's stilling of the storm, for instance, could just as readily be expressed

What on earth is going on? I've never seen anything like this before!

and the response expected is not a careful inventory of the man's identity. The question is rhetorical, not an emphatic request for information. Further, ܟ does not translate any of the Greek markers of emphasis except for the one Old Syriac reference translating καί in Mk 10:26 as mentioned in the previous section (5.6). It is also possible that that reference included ܟ simply because its gospel parallels had one. This study does not consider ܟ to be primarily a marker of emphasis in the Syriac Gospels.

5.7 Intensity

A term similar to emphasis is intensity. The Syriac-Italian lexicon of Pazzini[46] classifies ܟ as an intensifying particle: whereas emphasis is making a strong point, intensity suggests a heightened emotional state. The gesture, the flash of the eye. However, intensifiers are more often adverbs or adjectives such as *very* or *quite*, and ܟ cannot be regarded as intensifying any particular element of the sentence.

One further observation is that ܟ never occurs in narrative, only in direct speech, and only in startled questions or statements that convey anxiety, amazement, astonishment, incredulity, disbelief, or poignancy. Whish's description, that it is "a particle used in interrogations or exclamations, but always following another word" is very accurate, though it does not specify the actual function of the particle.

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[44] Emphasis added.

[45] Trask, *Dictionary*.

[46] Pazzini, *Lessico Concordanziale*.

5.8 Interjection

Mention should be made of the digital reference resource *Accordance*. It classifies ܟܸ as "interjection," which is closer to the actual function of ܟܸ in the Biblical text than classifications given in some older lexical works. Like ܟܸ, an interjection belongs to speech rather than narrative, and it "serves primarily to express emotion".[47] However, an interjection "typically fails to enter into any syntactic structures,"[48] and normally stands alone—"*Oh!*", "*Bother!*" Similarly, Bussmann[49] notes that interjections are "formally outside the syntactic frame, and have no lexical meaning, strictly speaking." The Syriac particle ܟܸ cannot and does not stand alone, but normally occurs as the second element in an exclamatory sentence, and can only be translated in the context of that sentence if it can be translated at all. However, like an interjection, it does express emotion rather than have referential meaning.

5.9 Summary

A survey of existing resources reveals that lexical classifications of ܟܸ have changed over time. It was initially regarded as an interrogative, dubitative, optative or inferential particle meaning *perhaps*, *then*, *indeed*. It was later acknowledged that its function is primarily as a particle of emphasis and intensity, although it is frequently used in interrogative, dubitative, optative, and inferential contexts. The classifications of emphasis and intensity appear in lexica where only a one-word classification is given, with no accompanying argument or explanation. However, the conclusions of these later lexica concur with the investigation here of all the instances of ܟܸ in the Syriac biblical text.

The conclusion of this study, then, on how ܟܸ functions in the Syriac Peshitta Gospels, is that it is modal; it doesn't so much "mean" something that is easily translatable; rather, it is an exclamatory particle uttered in response to a startling situation, and may be glossed with an intensifier such as *indeed*, or *surely*, or even something stronger, or it may turn the sentence it is in into an exclamation, so that "*Who is this man?*" with a question mark could be "*Who on earth is this man!*" with an exclamation mark. And the fact that ܟܸ only ever appears in free speech indicates that it is a spoken intensifier only, and it is appropriate to translate it with an expression that conveys the intensity of the question or comment.

6. ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION

Turning now to my own conclusions, I have classified ܟܸ as a *modal particle* with two main sub-categories, intensifying and exclamatory particles, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

6.1 Intensifying particle

In the instances where ܟܸ is an intensifying particle, we may use glosses such as *then, surely, indeed* to add intensity to the expression.

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[47] Trask, *Dictionary*.

[48] Trask, *Dictionary*.

[49] Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*.

It is important to note that the Gospels were composed to be orally transmitted to a group rather than read silently to oneself. Mary Ann Beavis comments, "The Gospel was not written for private study, but *in order to be read aloud* (or recited from memory) to an audience, probably by the evangelist himself, with all the rhetorical flourishes at his command."[50] "What the eye was to the ancient Greek," James Muilenburg has said, "that the ear was to the man of Israel. The realm of maximum reality was that of speaking-hearing. The appeal which rings throughout the Bible from beginning to end is to *hear*, to listen, to respond to words, to accept the responsibility of being addressed."[51] Similarly, the Old Syriac and Peshitta also were translated "for the ear, not simply the eye,"[52] so the presence of ܟ would be an indicator of the way the sentence is said aloud rather than written: ܟ may belong to the genre of oral performance. The function of ܟ here may be simply to intensify the emotional tone of the oral delivery, and may not require a corresponding word in translation.

I have identified two contexts in which ܟ might be used as an intensifying particle.

6.1.1 Puzzled and freighted questions

Puzzled and freighted questions are questions where people in puzzled amazement are said to ponder or question something, and the issue they are pondering may have significant implications. In Lk 1:66 Syr^{p}, Zacharias remarkably recovers his speech when he unexpectedly names his infant son John. The people pondered and were saying,

ܗܢܐ ܛ ܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܗܢܐ
What will this child become?

There are two further questions involving personal investment, and raised by the disciples. In Lk 9:46 Syr^{p}, the disciples ask Jesus,

ܡܢܘ ܟ ܪܒ ܒܗܘܢ
Who is great among them?

While this question is introduced as a thought that enters the disciples rather than a question spoken aloud, the syntax remains the same as that of a direct question introduced with ܐ: *"The thought entered into them, "Who is great among them?"* The question is similar to that of Mt 18:1 Syr^{scp}, where the disciples are saying to Jesus, *"Who is great in the kingdom of heaven?"* In neither of the two above instances can the question be assumed to be in response to what has preceded it; it introduces an incident in each case, and both questions in the Greek contain ἄρα. Nolland's comment on ἄρα in Mt 18:1 can apply to both verses:

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[50] Beavis, *Mark's Audience*, 30–31 (original emphasis).

[51] Muilenburg, "The Biblical View of Time," 239–40. Cited in John Spencer Hill, *Infinity, Space and Time*, 74.

[52] Falla, "Translation, Genre, and Lexicography," 51.

> ἄρα (lit. 'then') can be inferential, but here that would require that we endue the other disciples with a knowledge of events in 17:24–27 not evident in the narrative. In questions ἄρα is often only a colloquial means of enlivening the language.[53]

This description of ἄρα could also apply to ܟ in both the above instances: it marks the questions as "lively," and in these two instances as freighted questions rather than as exclamations.

Similarly in Mt 24:45 and its parallel in Lk 12:42, in eschatological discourses containing warnings to be ready for the unexpected arrival of the Son of Man, Jesus asks the disciples,

Mt 24:45 ܡܢܘ ܟ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ
Lk 12:42 ܡܢܘ ܟ ܗܘ ܓܒܝܐ
Who is the (faithful and wise) servant

who will be found to be doing the tasks that have been set? The question is a freighted one for the disciples, and again, both instances have the Greek ἄρα behind them.

And when Jesus warns that one of them will be betray him, they ask among themselves,

Lk 22:23Syr^{sp} ܡܢܘ ܟ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܗܠܝ
Which of them was the one who was prepared to do this?

This section would include Jn 13:22 Syrs where the same question—which of them would betray Jesus—follows Ethpa ܐܬܐ followed by ܕ:[54] the disciples wondered whom Jesus was talking about. Here the ܕ is understood as introducing direct speech and/or a question:

Jn 13:22Syr^{s} ܐܬܐ ܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܥܠ ܗܘ
And they wondered, Who is he talking about?

The Peshitta translation of the same verse uses a different verb and syntax. The question is not recounted in active terms as a direct question: "*they wondered, 'who is he talking about?'*" but as part of the narrative, making a statement rather than asking a question: "*they did not know whom he was talking about*", and in this form it does not include ܟ:

Jn 13:22Syr^{p} ܐܬܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܡܠܠ
because they didn't know whom he was talking about.

Because their question is now part of the narrative rather than in direct speech, it is inappropriate to include the particle ܟ.

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[53] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 731.

[54] Not all instances of Ethpa ܐܬܐ followed by ܕ introduce direct speech: Jn 4:27 reads ܘܬܡܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܡܠܠ *they were amazed that he was talking with a woman.*

6.1.2 Poignant questions

Some questions are particularly poignant. There may not be an answer to these questions; rather, they herald the dawning of a dreadful realization, and an awful knowing silence. In a question regarding faith and lack of it, Jesus says,

Luke 18:8Syrᵖ ܚܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܟ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܝܢ ܘܐܝܬ ܟ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ
But the son of man will come, and will he find faith on earth?

and you can't be sure that he will.

Whish's English rendering of the Peshitta version of this verse translates ܟ as an interrogative particle: "*But the Son of Man will come, and will He find, think you* (ܟ = ἆρα)*, faith on the earth?*"[55]

The translation of ܟ as *think you* has the ܟ qualifying the asking of the question, and may be reflecting a certain perception of the Greek ἆρα. According to BDAG, ἆρα is an "interrog. particle … introducing direct questions …; usu. incapable of concordant transl., but in gener. marker of a tone of suspense or impatience in interrogation, *then*." Concerning this verse, BDAG adds "w. the onus on the correct answer put upon the addressee,"[56] and offers the translation, "*will he find* (the necessary) *faith*?" EDNT[57] affirms ἆρα as an interrogative particle introducing direct questions, and adds that it is found only three times in the New Testament[58] and anticipates a negative reply. This latter description best fits the context of Lk 18:8. The Harklean translation has omitted ܟ but added the Greek loan word ܐ̈ܪ̈ܐ to translate the ἆρα. One Greek manuscript that we know of, 66,[59] omits ἆρα, but we cannot know if this manuscript tradition was the Syriac translator's Greek *Vorlage* for this translation.

It is of interest that ܟ does not translate the other two instances of ἆρα. The question at Acts 8:30, "do you understand what you are reading?" may call for a negative response but is not startling and does not particularly call for ܟ as presented in this study despite the presence of the more intensive ἆρά γε. The question at Gal 2:17, "is Christ then an agent of sin?" is treated as part of an argument, a question of logic, rather than as a rhetorical question or exclamation, and ἆρα is translated with the Syriac particle ܗܟܝܟ, *so then*, *therefore*.

While the location of ܟ is in the apodosis in the question in Lk 18:8 in the Peshitta, it is in the protasis in the Old Syriac. Most Greek manuscript evidence shows the underlying term, ἆρα, occurring in the apodosis, but a number of variants have ἆρα occurring in the earlier clause. Cyril of Alexandria and Origen, among others, were familiar with such a manuscript where ἆρα was not only in the protasis but was also followed by γε,[60] which strengthens and enlivens the expression:[61]

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[55] Whish, *Clavis Syriaca*, 473.

[56] BDAG, 127.

[57] Balz–Schneider, *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, I.149.

[58] Lk 18:8; Acts 8:30 ("*do you understand what you are reading?*"); Gal 2:17 ("*is Christ then an agent of sin?*").

[59] IGNTP *Luke*, 92.

[60] IGNTP *Luke*, 92.

Lk 18:8 ἆρα γε ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὑρήσει τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;
Syr^{sc} حلاؤحا ٱلمحصه حصب وإنعا حنه ص ٱلله همم

and this may have been available to the translators of the Old Syriac. However, the occurrence of ܨ in the protasis of the conditional sentence of Lk 18:8 rather than in the question that follows it is not consistent with the use of ܨ in the rest of the Gospel occurrences, and it appears to simply affirm that the Son of Man will indeed come. This is consistent with some instances of ܨ in the Old Testament, as discussed below in §7.

6.2 Exclamatory particle

6.2.1 ܨ as an Exclamatory Particle

It has been noted above that some lexica cite ܨ as an interrogative particle. I would now go so far as to say that although ܨ occurs most frequently in questions, its function is not to mark the question as a question but to turn it from a question into more of an exclamation. In Mt 19:25 Syr^{sp} and Mk 10:26 Syr^{s}, the people listening to Jesus were greatly astounded and were saying,

ܗܘ ܨ ܡܫܟܚ ܘܡܢ
Who is able to be saved?

after Jesus told them that it was next to impossible for a rich man to get into the kingdom of heaven. He had just turned their theology on its head. *Who on earth can be saved!*

This concept of ܨ alters our understanding of Peter's question two verses later in Mt 19:27 Syr^{scp}, when, following Jesus' injunction to the rich young man to sell all his possessions and follow Jesus if he wanted treasure in heaven, Peter exclaims, "*Look, we've left everything to follow you!*" And immediately follows it with the words,

ܡܢܐ ܨ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ
What will we have?
What will there be for us?

Although this question is followed by an answer as Jesus enumerates the riches they will receive in heaven, there is a twist: he follows his answer with the warning that many who are first shall be last and those last shall be first, illustrated with the parable of the workers in the vineyard. Given the number of times Peter's fine words prove hollow as he slips from first to last,[62] it is not impossible to translate his question, *"What will we have?"* as an exclamation, *"Imagine what we will have!"* as he contemplates the disciples' pre-eminence in heaven. He may not be so much asking for the details of his reward as assuming gleefully that his reward will be great, and

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[61] BDAG, 127.

[62] Mt 14:28–31 walks on water then falls in; Mt 16:13–23 acknowledges Jesus as the Christ then is told "Get behind me, Satan;" Mt 26:35, 69–75 vows to follow Jesus to the death and then denies him three times.

Jesus is not so much outlining Peter's exalted future as warning him yet again that his self-confidence may be premature.

Only in Matthew's gospel does this pattern of Peter's pre-eminence followed by stumbling occur; it does not occur in the Markan parallels.[63]

In the accounts of Jesus' stilling of the storm (Lk 8:25 Syrsp, Mk 4:41 Syrp), those in the boat in great fear said,

ܗܢܐ ܕ ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ, *Who is this man, that the winds and sea obey him?*
Who on earth is this man!

Similarly, in the account where Jesus exorcises a demon who recognizes him as the holy one of God, the onlookers are greatly amazed and ask each other about the authority and power of Jesus' command:

Lk 4:36 ܗܢܐ ܡܐ ܕ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܗܢܐ
What is this word/command/teaching?

The question is more of an exclamation of amazement than a question regarding what Jesus actually said. There is no corresponding Greek term behind the Syriac ܕ.

In the story of two disciples on the Emmaus road meeting someone who asked them why they were sad, their question in response is rhetorical, and again more of an exclamation:

Lk 24:18Syrsp ...ܐܢܬ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥܬ
Are you only a stranger to Jerusalem, that you don't know …?
Surely you must be only a stranger to Jerusalem, that you don't know …!

And the conversation pursues the topic of the things that have happened rather than the identity of the stranger.

Other questions are more like statements of disbelief, and most of these have the Greek words μή or μήτι or μήποτε behind them.

In Jn 4:33, the disciples return to the well in Samaria with lunch, and Jesus says enigmatically, "*I have food to eat that you know nothing about*," and they say to each other,

Syrsc ܡܢܐ ܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܡܕܡ ܠܡܐܟܠ
Has someone brought him something to eat?

And yet the question is again not so much an inquiry into a source of food as an incredulous *"Surely no one has brought him food—so what is he talking about?"*

Later in John's gospel (7:35, 35; 8:22) Jesus says more than once that he will go where others can't find him, and they respond,

Jn 7:35 (1°) Syrsc ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܠܐ ܢܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ
Where can he go that we can't find him?

Jn 7:35 (2°) Syrscp ܠܡܐ ܕ ܢܐܙܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܝܢ
Will he go to the lands of the Gentiles?

[63] Davies–Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 2, 648–9; vol. 3, 53.

Jn 8:22 Syr^{s} ܗܘ ܕܩܛܠ ܢܦܫܗ
Syr^{p} ܗܠܐ ܕ ܢܩܛܘܠ ܠܢܦܫܗ
Syr^{h} ܗܠܐ ܕ ܗܘ ܕܩܛܠ ܠܢܦܫܗ
Will he kill himself?

The questions are incredulous, and the possible answers seem too unlikely to take seriously. Again there is a sense of the question being about what is going on in a more general sense rather than being limited to the literal meaning of what is being asked.

This category would also include the instance of aposiopesis in Lk 19:42 Syr^{p}, where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem and wishes that the people knew what would bring them peace, as discussed above. His is not a simple "*I wish you had known*" but a cry of the heart, "*O if only you had known!*"

6.2.2. Note on Exclamatory Clauses in Syriac

Mention should be made of a study by Lucas van Rompay on exclamatory clauses in Syriac.[64] Beginning with the Hebrew phrase *mi yitten* ("Who will give?" / "Who would give?") Van Rompay illustrates how *mi* with a *yiqtol* form of a verb may be used for an interrogative or an optative clause; one of his many illustrations being

Ps 55:7 מִי־יִתֶּן־לִי אֵבֶר כַּיּוֹנָה
Who will give me wings like a dove?
Oh that I had wings like a dove!

These clauses match the category of aposiopesis as described above.

When comparing the Hebrew with the Peshitta Old Testament, it was found that the expression ܡܢ ܝܗܒ with the perfect form of the verb was used five times to render *mi yitten*.[65] An examination of occurrences of ܡܢ ܝܗܒ with the perfect verb form showed that this construction, while the same as an interrogative construction, was used to express the optative *Oh if only!* Most of his many illustrations are from the Old Testament: there is one from the New Testament:[66]

Ps 55:7 ܡܢ ܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܠܟܐ ܕܢܓܘܠ ܠܢ ܐܒܢܐ
Who will give away the stone for us...?
Oh that somebody rolled away the stone for us...!

A search for this construction in the New Testament reveals that this is the only instance of ܡܢ ܝܗܒ followed by the perfect verb. In the other instances where ܡܢ ܝܗܒ occurs, either the clause is followed by ܕ rendering the meaning "But whoever," or the verb is not in the perfect form, and the context does not allow it to be understood as an optative. The New Testament instances of the interrogatives ܡܢܘ ܝܗܒ and ܡܢܐ ܝܗܒ were also checked, but again there were no instances that could be construed as optative.

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[64] Lucas van Rompay, "Oh that I had Wings like a Dove! Some Remarks on Exclamatory Clauses in Syriac."

[65] Job 31:31; 31:35 Ps 55:7; Is 27:4; Jer 8:23.

[66] Van Rompay, "Remarks," 99.

7. OLD TESTAMENT OCCURRENCES OF THE SYRIAC PARTICLE ܟ

Although the focus of this study is the use of ܟ in the New Testament, for the sake of a wider context, note is made here of the six instances of the use of the Syriac ܟ in the Peshitta Old Testament. In three of these instances the Syriac ܟ can be found in the corresponding verses in the Peshitta translation. The Hebrew כִּי is behind the Syriac ܟ in the two instances cited in §7.1: 2 Kings 3:10 and 17 where it is an intensifying particle. It also occurs with the interrogative particle הֲ in 2 Sam 9:1 in §7.2. כִּי does not appear in the other three instances where the Syriac ܟ is found.

7.1 Intensifying particle

In 2 Kings 3, the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom ride out to quell rebellious Moab. They got lost in the desert, ran out of water, and twice, in verses 10 and 13, one of them says,

v. 10:

ܐܘܝ ܠܗ ܟ ܡܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܠܡܣܪ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܐܒ ܘܠܡܗܘ
Alas! for this the Lord has summoned these three kings: to deliver them into the hand of Moab

אֲהָהּ כִּי־קָרָא יְהוָה לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה לָתֵת אוֹתָם בְּיַד־מוֹאָב
Alas! YHWH has summoned these three kings: to deliver them into the hand of Moab

v. 13:

ܐܘܝ ܠܗ ܟ ܡܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܠܡܣܪ ܒܝܕ ܡܘܐܒ ܘܠܡܗܘ
For this the Lord has summoned these three kings: to deliver them into the hand of Moab

אַל כִּי־קָרָא יְהוָה לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה לָתֵת אוֹתָם בְּיַד־מוֹאָב
Has not YHWH summoned these three kings, to deliver them into the hand of Moab?

The translations offered above do not take ܟ into account.

In the Gospels, such ܟ exclamations tend to be negative—"surely not." However, the context here suggests that the king is confirming that, sadly, it is indeed the Lord who has led them into this predicament as divine judgement,[67] so the Syriac ܟ would be intensifying that affirmation—*indeed*, *surely*—rather than negating it. The Hebrew כִּי could either be such an asseverative particle, as it has until recently been understood, or if Follingstad's analysis is correct, then the Hebrew כִּי is taking the reader into the "mental space" of the author of the idea—in this case YHWH—confirming that what follows is seen from the perspective of YHWH; that it is the intention of YHWH to visit this calamity on the people at this time.

The occurrence of ܟ in Psalm 58:11 also serves to strengthen what Briggs calls "an emphatic expression of assurance."[68] The psalmist decries wickedness on earth, and longs for justice. It concludes with the people making a ܟ statement:

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[67] Hobbs, *II Kings*, 36.

[68] Briggs, *Psalms* vol. 2, 46.

ܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܐܝܬ ܠܙܕܝܩ ܐܠܗ ܕܕܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ

There are indeed fruits/rewards for the righteous; there is a God who judges them on earth.

The Hebrew does not include כִּי in this verse.

7.2 Poignant Questions

There are two instances where ܟ occurs in poignant questions. One is in 2 Sam 9:1 where David, after soundly defeating the house of Saul and slaying many others, says, in a sentence beginning with the interrogative particle הֲכִי,

ܐܝܬ ܟ ܐܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܫܐܘܠ ܕܐܬܪ ܠܗ ܐܥܒܕ ܚܣܕ ܡܢ ܒܗܪ ܕܝܘܢܬܢ

Is there anyone left in the house of Saul to whom I can show kindness for Jonathon's sake?

He may well have asked, for his elimination of them had been merciless, and his question initially may have been more frightening than reassuring for the hearers, though it does prove to be a genuine concern.

Another poignant passage is in Gen 27:33, where the dying Isaac blessed his eldest son who had no sooner left with the inheritance of the firstborn when his next son came in and announced *he* was Esau, and this one really *was* Esau. Isaac trembled violently and said, "*Who was it*, ܡܢ ܐܢܘ ܟ ܥܒܕ ܨܝܕܐ ܘܐܝܬܝ ܠܝ, מִי־אֵפוֹא הוּא, *who hunted game and brought it to me before you came, and I blessed him?*" as the terrible truth dawned. Hamilton comments that "the inclusion of both the enclitic particle 'ēp̱ô' and the personal pronoun hû' immediately after the interrogative makes the question vivid."[69] It is this vividness that is conveyed in translation by the Syriac ܟ.

7.3 Optative and Aposiopesis

Joshua's lament at the defeat of his people in battle includes an instance of aposiopesis where Joshua bewails his people's defeat in battle and wishes they had not sought to take more land:

Josh 7:7 (7a1) ܘܐܘܝ ܠܢ ܟ ܗܘܝܢ ܫܪܝܢ ܥܒܪ ܠܐ
Josh 7:7 (TR) ܘܐܘܝ ܠܢ ܟ ܗܘܝܢ ܫܪܝܢ ܥܒܪ ܠܐ
וְלוּ הוֹאַלְנוּ וַנֵּשֶׁב בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן
Oh that we had settled beyond the Jordan!
If only we had remained beyond the Jordan!

As in Jesus's cry in Lk 19:42, the Syriac is ܟ ܐܠܐ, in this instance ܟ ... ܐܠܐ. The Greek of both the Gospel and LXX reads εἰ, which is also an optative particle and used in aposiopesis. The Hebrew does not include כִּי.

8. CONCLUDING COMMENTS REGARDING THE USE OF ܟ

A final observation on the questions or statements in which ܟ appears is that nearly all of them are in contexts that invite the audience to participate in the event: nearly all are asked by or about Jesus, and they are the sort of questions that are raised over issues of faith and discipleship. For the most part, the questions are rhetorical, and

[69] Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis*, 223.

not directly answered or even referred to, except to sometimes set the scene for some teaching by Jesus,[70] and even then he does not answer the question as it is asked, but launches from it into some teaching. This could sound similar to Follingstad's analysis of the Hebrew **כִּי** where the reader/hearer is invited into the mental space of the character speaking. However, this is rejected as a function of the Syriac ܟ, because ܟ is used in a much more specific range of contexts than the Hebrew. More tellingly, ܟ translates the Hebrew **כִּי** in only three out of 4488 instances, begging the question as to whether it is in fact translating, not merely co-occurring by coincidence. This study would conclude that whatever the reasons for this co-occurrence might be, ܟ is not a considered translation of **כִּי**.

Mention should also be made of the lack of any instances of ܟ in the book of Acts, despite its Greek original being written by the same author as Luke's gospel. An examination of the narrative of Acts shows that, in relationship to the criteria cited above for where ܟ might have been used, there are few instances that would qualify as appropriate for including ܟ. There are only three questions in Acts that almost match the context described above for the Gospel occurrences of ܟ. One is in Acts 2:12, when on the day of Pentecost the people are amazed at the disciples speaking in their tongues, and say, "*What is this thing?*" The most likely reason that ܟ was not used is that it is presented as a real question rather than a rhetorical one, as it is soon responded to by Peter (verse 14 onwards) with an explanation of what is going on. In all instances in the Gospels where ܟ is used, the question is only rhetorical and exclamatory, and is never given a literal answer as it is here.

The second possible instance follows soon after (Acts 2:37), when, as a result of Peter's preaching, the people are moved in their hearts and ask, "*What should we do, our brothers?*" And the reply is given, "*Repent, and be baptised.*" Again the question is not treated as a rhetorical or exclamatory question, but as a simple request for information, and the simple and direct answer is given.

The third instance is at Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus, when he is struck by light and hears a voice from heaven, and he says, "*Who are you, my Lord?*" (Acts 9:4). Again, the narrator does not treat it as a rhetorical question, but as a very direct request for information, and the answer is immediately given: "*I am Jesus the Nazarene, whom you persecute.*"

These explanations may not be the only ones for the non-occurrence of ܟ in Acts—or elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels—and it is possible that different translators may have translated differently. This study would therefore benefit from an examination of ܟ in other Classical Syriac texts. Only one other has been consulted here—a concordance for *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*[71]—but ܟ is not listed as being used in that text.

This approach to the particle ܟ sees it as belonging to spoken Syriac and is not readily translatable into another language. This may account for its almost complete absence from the Harklean translation, which translates the Greek closely and thus does not readily use idiomatic Syriac expressions.

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[70] Mt 18:1; 19:25, 27; 24:45. Mk 10:26. Lk 9:46; 12:42. Jn 16:18.

[71] Lund, Concordance to *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*.

The two categories created above, that of intensifying particle and exclamatory particle, are an artificial construct; they are not mutually exclusive, and some of the citations of ܐܲ could be classed in either or both of the categories. ܐܲ is not readily translatable: I have concluded that ܐܲ is not so much a little word as a little explosive, a cue to the performer of the story, or to the translator, that the phrase in which ܐܲ occurs is a significant one, and he or she should look at the sentence, see what kind of depth it is plumbing, and then utter the sentence accordingly. Alternatively, if the passage is being read in a liturgical context and in a rhythmic, more musical liturgical manner, then the ܐܲ is a cue to the hearer to listen for the intensity contained in this exclamation of a question.

9. PROPOSED LEXICAL ENTRY

The lexical entry for ܐܲ is as follows. Its format is based on that of entries for *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*, and use is made of that work's convention in the concordance section of putting in italics Gospel references to the Greek term that is used most frequently to correspond to the headword: in this case ἆρα. In this way it is not necessary to repeat a lengthy list of references in the indented section of Greek correspondences.

ܐܲ *intensifying and/or exclamatory particle marking a heightened response which is usually in the form of a startled, puzzled, amazed, freighted or poignant rhetorical question or exclamation; occurs only in direct or reported speech, and can be glossed with an expression that suits the situation. Is the second element in a phrase, and does not occur elsewhere in Pesh. N. T.* "Who on earth (ܡܲܢܘ ܐܲ) is this man, that the winds and sea obey him!" Mk 4:41; "Surely he won't (ܢܩܛܠ ܐܲ) kill himself?" Jn 8:22. *Cf. Gen 27:33; 2 Sam 9:1; 2 Kings 3:10, 13; Ps 58:11.*

■ἆρα Lk 18:8. ■μή Jn 4:33; 7:35; 8:22 (or μήτι). ■n.c. Lk 4:36; 24:18. ■ἄρα ref. in italics.

Mt *18:1*; *19:25*, *27*; *24:45*. **Mk** *4:41*. **Lk** *1:66*; 4:36; *8:25*; 9:46; *12:42*; 18:8; *22:23*; 24:18. **Jn** 7:35; 8:22.

a. ܐܲ ܠܘ if only …!, Oh if only …! *If only you had known those things that make for peace!* Lk, *cf. Josh 7:7.*

■εἰ. (*On the Gr. as aposiopesis see Blass-Debrunner §482; Fitzmyer, Luke, vol. 2 p. 1258; Plummer, p. 450; Robertson, p. 1203.*)

Lk 19:42.

CHAPTER 6.
THE PESHITTA IN JACOB OF SERUGH: THE PARTICLE ܟܡ AND OTHER CITATION MARKERS

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This paper examines the verbal signs purportedly introducing citations of the Peshitta text in Jacob of Serugh's *Memra on David and Goliath* and the *Memra on David and Uriah*.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the objectives of *The Bible of Edessa* project (NEATSB) was to include annotations that would trace the reception history of the Peshitta. An ambitious project of this nature would make available to patrologists, liturgists, church historians, theologians and biblical scholars the exegetical insights of Syriac authors. As the complexity of such a project became evident, a distinction was drawn between the reception of the Peshitta and the reception of the Peshitta *text*. While the former remains a *desideratum*, the extensive reception history of, for example, the David Narrative (1 Samuel 16–1 Kings 2) in Syriac tradition could not be managed in an apparatus below an English translation of the Peshitta text of First and Second Samuel. Thus, *The Bible of Edessa* limited the notes to the question of the reception of the Peshitta *text*. But this too remains a complex problem.

2. JACOB OF SERUGH'S *MEMRE* AND THE PESHITTA TEXT[1]

The strategies that an author employs to introduce a text into his own composition are studied in the field of intertextuality. The study of the "intertext," in this case, the Bible, within an author's text, in this case, Jacob's *memra*, can be viewed from the perspective of the author, the text itself, or the reader who perceives the presence of an "intertext" (perhaps unintended by the author) within the author's own

[1] Jacob is reading the Peshitta; see Sony, "La méthode exégétique de Jacques de Saroug," 68.

composition. This study of the Peshitta citations in Jacob's *memre* focuses on the author: what are the "signs" in the *memre* that alert the audience to a biblical reference.[2] These signs may be embedded in the structure of the *memra* and do not have to be verbal. In the *memra* on David and Uriah, the "marker" of the biblical citation may be the structure of the *memra* itself in which a lengthy citation of the Bible is expected at the climax of the *memra* (it is preceded by several hints that a biblical citation lies ahead). In other cases, there are verbal "signs" that signal the reader to attend to the quoted material that follows. I want to identify those signs and then consider the relationship between Jacob's biblical citations and the Peshitta text.[3] The two *memre* under consideration are: David and Goliath (34), a lengthy *memra*, and David and Uriah (162). The biblical citations in Syriac authors who wrote before the 6th century offer a glance into the development of the Peshitta text prior to the earliest Peshitta MSS.[4]

3. JACOB INTRODUCES A BIBLICAL CITATION INTO HIS COMPOSITIONS

There are three verbal signs that Jacob employs to introduce a biblical citation: (a) the particle ܟܡ;[5] (b) the phrase ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ("just as it is written"); and (c) naming the biblical book from which the citation is borrowed.

3.1 The Particle ܟܡ in Jacob's Memra on David and Goliath

The particle ܟܡ can (though not always) signal a reference to the Bible.[6] It appears ten times in the *memra* on David and Goliath and once in the *memra* on David and Uriah. Its function can be divided into four categories.

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[2] I take my point of departure from Ziva Ben-Porat: "The literary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger 'referent.' This referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined." See Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 107–8.

[3] In his article on the Peshitta text in Syriac commentaries, Lucas Van Rompay excludes with "some hesitation" the exegetical homilies of Jacob of Serugh. He does so for two reasons: "First, edification and exhortation take an important part in them, which is also reflected in their language and composition. Second, their metrical form, which entails a great deal of reworking of the biblical text, adds to their character as independent literary works" ("Between the School and the Monk's Cell," 30). Van Rompay's intuition regarding Jacob's handling of the Peshitta text anticipates some of my conclusions.

[4] This question has been explored by R. B. ter Haar Romeny in his "The Peshitta and its Rivals."

[5] Payne Smith (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, 1951) describes the function of this particle as: "exponendi e affirmandi" and he notes that it can signal the insertion of a citation.

[6] Robert Owens has noted that in Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* ܟܡ is one of the criteria that increases the probability that Aphrahat reproduces his biblical text ("The Book of Proverbs in Aphrahat's Demonstrations," 225).

3.1.1 ܟܡ introduces a biblical reference that is not in direct speech

In the seventh section of this *memra*,[7] Jacob parallels David's life with Jesus's life. Just as David was not immediately recognized as king over Israel, so Jesus was not recognized as the messiah. When Jacob cites the Gospel of John 1:10–11, the particle ܟܡ (its third occurrence in the *memra*) introduces this biblical citation:

> Jacob 41:17–42:1
>
> Just as the messiah was hidden in the world, though he was God,
> people did not perceive that the anointed David would be king;
> so that through his hiddenness the image of the son might be exhibited:
> "He was in the world though the world did not know him."
> he came to his own just as David came to his kingdom.
>
> Jacob 41:20–42:1 (Jacob's text of John 1:10–11)
>
> ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܟܡ ܒܗ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ
> ܠܝܕܝܗ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܝܕܝܗ ܠܐ ܩܒܠܘ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ
>
> John 1:10–11 (Peshitta)
>
> ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܒܗ
> ܠܝܕܝܗ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܝܕܝܗ ܠܐ ܩܒܠܘ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ
>
> John 1:10–11 (Curetonian)
>
> ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܒܗ
> ܠܝܕܝܗ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܝܕܝܗ ܠܐ ܩܒܠܘ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ

Does Jacob's citation reflect the known versions of this verse or does his reading suggest that he knows a different text? Note the following differences:

1. Jacob excises ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܟܬܒ (Curetonian: ܗܘ ܕܗ ܕܟܬܒ). While Jacob insists that both Christ and David were not recognized by their respective ages, he probably does not want to suggest that just as the world came to be through Christ it also came to be through David.
2. Where John reads ܕܟܬܒ Jacob has ܕܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܒ. Jacob's reading is remotely similar to the Curetonian text: ܕܟܬܒ. The use of ܒ here is characteristic of Jacob's writing; he often draws out the adversative relationship between two phrases with the particle ܒ.
3. Jacob writes ܗܘ ܒܗ ܠܐ where both the Peshitta and the Curetonian have ܒܗ ܠܐ. The addition of ܗܘ may be to ensure a twelve-syllable line.

Jacob cites this passage close to the Peshitta text with a few changes. His reading could suggest that his Syriac text included ܐܦ as in the Curetonian, but this is a very minor change. Jacob omits ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܟܬܒ for reasons internal to his argument and the addition of ܗܘ may be for metrical reasons. Thus, in this example, the

[7] I am following the divisions in Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae*.

particle ܟܝ alerts the reader that a biblical passage is being introduced into the *memra* but it does not ensure the accuracy of the citation.

3.1.2 ܟܝ signals a biblical reference and direct speech

There are a few cases where ܟܝ signals a biblical citation and that citation is also direct speech. In the thirteenth section of the *memra*, Jacob recalls the confrontation between David and his brother Eliab. He quotes Eliab's accusation against David twice and both times ܟܝ appears.

Jacob 54:4–5 (the fourth occurrence of ܟܝ)

ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܟܝ ܗܘ ܒܝܫ ܠܒܟ ܘܫܘܠܝ ܕܠܒܟ
ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚ ܘܐܢܬ ܡܬܪܡܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܪܐ

"I know your boldness and the wickedness of your heart;
because you are anointed you are boasting against the champion".

Jacob 54:10–13 (the fifth occurrence of ܟܝ)

From the time when Samuel anointed him among his brothers,
they begrudged him because the son of Elkanah had rejected them.
No one knew of this secret detail except them.
For this reason he said, "I know [ܟܝ] the wickedness of your heart."[8]

1 Sam 17:28

ܐܠܝܐܒ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܪܒܐ ܐܬܐ ܒ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܚܪ ܐܠܝܐܒ
ܒܕܘܝܕ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܢܚܬ ܗܟܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܢ ܫܒܩܬ ܬܠ ܥܠܐ
ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܓܐܘܬܟ ܘܪܥ ܠܒܟ
ܕܠܡܐ ܢܚܬ ܕܚܙܐ ܩܪܒܐ

Eliab, his older brother, heard him talking to the men and Eliab became angry with David and said to him, "Why have you come down? With whom have you left those few sheep in the desert? I know your rashness and the wickedness of your heart. You came down to see the battle."

The particle ܟܝ introduces both biblical citations, which are also direct speech. The first citation is almost exact whereas in the second one, Jacob excises ܒܫܡܐ, perhaps to maintain a twelve-syllable line. In these two cases, ܟܝ introduces the same biblical passage. The first one is a precise citation of the Peshitta text; the second one is an abbreviated form. Again the particle ܟܝ does not signal accuracy.

As Jacob draws David's discourse before Saul to a close, he cites David's direct speech from the Peshitta text (the eighth time ܟܝ appears in the *memra*):

Jacob 60:11–14

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠ ܫܡܥ ܐܢܫ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܝ
ܒ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ ܒܫܡܐ

[8] 54:13: ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܟܝ ܗܘ ܒܝܫ ܐܢܬ ܘܐ ܕܠܒܟ

ܐܬܝ ܒܟܝ ܐ ܟܡ ܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܫܪܝ ܐܢܫ
ܕܟ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܕܐ

Indeed through the strength of God he threatened Goliath.
While openly the boy proclaimed the name who fights:
"The Lord who rescued me from the lion and from the wolf
will rescue me from this uncircumcised as well and I will kill him."

Jacob cites 1 Sam 17:37

ܐܬܝ ܐܡ ܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡ ܒܟ ܫܪܝ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܐܬܝ ܒܟ ܫܪܝ ܕܐ
ܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܕ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ

David said, "The Lord who rescued me from the hand of the lion and from the hand of the wolf will rescue me from the hands of this Philistine." So Saul said to David, "Go and may the Lord be with you."

Jacob consistently eliminates the word ܐܡ in his citation of the Peshitta text. Where 7a1 reads ܐܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܐܬܝ ܒܟ Jacob reads ܠܐ ܟܕ. Many Peshitta MSS add ܠܐ ܟܕ after ܐܢ ܐܫܟܚ[9] in agreement with the LXX.[10] The limited support that Jacob's reading offers is qualified by the fact that Jacob refers to Goliath as the "uncircumcised" ten times in this *memra* (the Peshitta refers to Goliath as "uncircumcised" twice [1 Sam 17:26,36]). Thus, it is more likely that ܠܐ ܟܕ comes from Jacob. He also adds ܕܟ ܐܫܟܚ to David's speech (this reading does not appear in the LXX or Targum). Again in this case, the particle ܟܡ signals a biblical reference, but it does not guarantee the accuracy of the citation.

In the first exchange between David and Goliath, the particle ܟܡ (the ninth time ܟܡ appears in the *memra*) signals a biblical citation that is also direct speech:

Jacob 68:2–5

ܗܠܐ ܒܝܕܗ ܐܚܙܐ ܕܟܐ ܡܬܬܚܬ ܐܢ ܐܡ
ܡܬܬܟܟ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܒܝܕܗ
ܐܡ ܗܠ ܟܟ ܐܚܙܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܡ ܐܠ ܟܟ
ܐܡܪ ܒܐ ܐܡ ܟܟ ܐ ܡܢ ܐܡ

He saw in his hands the sling and the staff that he bore as he approached.
He was ready to be a prophet about his very self:
"Am I a dog that with that staff you come against me?"
David said, "Indeed you are a dog just as you have said"

[9] 8a1[c] 9c1 10c1 11c1 12a1*fam*→.

[10] Κύριος ὃς ἐζείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς τῆς ἄρκου, αὐτὸς ἐξχελεῖταί με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου **τοῦ ἀπεριτμήτου τούτου**. Καὶ εἶπεν Σαοὺλ πρὸς Δαυείδ Πορεύου, καὶ ἔσται Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ.

Greek MSS b'i omit ἀπεριτμήτου.

Jacob is citing 1 Sam 17:43

ܐܡܪ ܦܠܫܝܐ ܠܘܬ ܕܘܝܕ ܗܠ ܟܠܒܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܝ ܒܫܘܒܛܐ
ܘܠܥܢ ܦܠܫܝܐ ܠܘܬ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܐܠܗܝܗ

The Philistine said to David: "Am I a dog that you come against me with a staff." Then the Philistine reviled David by his gods.

Jacob quotes the biblical text with a change in word order and a minor addition (reading ܐܢܐ ܟܠܒܐ as ܐܢܐ ܟܠܒ ܟܟ) that gains him an extra syllable.

In the thirteenth section of the *memra* (the sixth occurrence of ܠܒ in this *memra*), Jacob, comparing Adam to Saul, cites 1 Sam 17:32:

Jacob 56:10–13

He [David] saw that both of them [Adam and Saul] provided God with one regret.
He was not ashamed to call him Adam, though he was Saul:
"Let not [ܠܒ] the heart of Adam fall because of him" as usual.
His [Saul's] doubt held him in contempt from the beginning.

Jacob's citation of 1 Sam 17:32 reads (56:12):

ܠܐ ܠܒ ܢܦܠ ܠܒܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܐܦ ܕܐܡܪ

The Peshitta of 1 Sam 17:32 reads:

ܘܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܠܒܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܥܠܘܗܝ
ܥܒܕܟ ܢܐܙܠ ܘܢܠܚܡ ܥܡ ܦܠܫܝܐ ܗܢܐ

Then David said to Saul, "let not the heart of a man fall because of him. Your servant will go and fight with this Philistine."

The Peshitta reads a literal translation of the Hebrew:[11]

ויאמר דוד אל־שאול אל־יפל לב־אדם עליו

The Targum interprets the Hebrew similar to modern English translations:

לא יתבר לבא דאנשא מניה

Let no one's heart be shattered because of him.

The Targum translation illustrates that an Aramaic translator understood the Hebrew text as did the Peshitta translator, though, surprisingly, the Peshitta translator mirrors Hebrew לב־אדם in Syriac. Jacob probably understood the Peshitta similar to the translation of the Targum, but he wants to take advantage of this Peshitta reading for his argument that Saul is another Adam. Thus Jacob

[11] The LXX has: Καὶ εἶπεν Δαυεὶδ πρὸς Σαοὺλ Μὴ δὴ συμπεσέτω ἡ καρδία τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, reading לב־אדני for MT לב־אדם. The LXX is taken from *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*.

provides a precise citation because this biblical terminology constitutes the premise for his exegesis of this passage.[12]

In the fifteenth section of this *memra*, Jacob recounts David's speech before Saul (the seventh occurrence of ܟܡ):

Jacob 58:3

ܗܘܐ ܟܡ ܒ ܙܐ ܐܐ ܬܐ ܘܐܡ
ܒܗܘܗܘ ܐܒܘ ܐ ܙܐ ܒܐ ܐܡ ܒ ܒܟ

Thus, while I was shepherding the flocks of our father,
a great battle met me there and I stood before it.

Jacob is citing 1 Sam 17:34:

ܐ ܐܡ ܐܒ ܐܗ ܙܐ ܐ ܐܗ ܒ ܗܘ ܐ
ܙܟ ܒ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

David said to Saul: "Your servant was shepherding the flocks for my father. When a lion or a wolf would come and would carry off one of the sheep from the fold…"

In this instance, the particle ܟܡ alerts the audience to the biblical citation that is also direct speech but Jacob quickly departs from the biblical text to offer his interpretation.

3.1.3 ܟܡ signals direct speech with language borrowed from the Bible

The particle ܟܡ can alert the audience to direct speech that includes phrases borrowed from the Bible. The first example appears in Goliath's speech to the Israelites:

Jacob 33:22–34:3

He drove away the assemblies from the warfare and he took his stand at the center
so that once he had won, the valour would rest on him.
"Why [ܟܡ] is it necessary that the battle should take place with so many?
Prepare a man from your tribes who will fight with me."

Jacob 34:2–3

ܟܡ ܟܡ ܟܙ ܐ ܐ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܐ
ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ

[12] David Lane notes that in Jacob of Serugh "quotation is a genre of rhetoric, a means of supporting an argument in order to invite assent and consent. Quotation's focus is on meaning rather than wording" ("'There is No Need'," 158.) Lane is right, though in this case (and others) Jacob records the precise wording of the Peshitta text because it serves his rhetoric.

Jacob is interpreting 1 Sam 17:8:

> ܘܩܡ ܘܩܪܐ ܠܣܕ̈ܪܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܢܐ
> ܢܦܩܡ ܐܬܝܬܘܢ ܠܡܣܕܪ ܩܪܒܐ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܦܠܫܬܝܐ ܘܐܢܬܘܢ
> ܥܒ̈ܕܘܗܝ ܕܫܐܘܠ ܓܒܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܚܘܬ ܥܠܝ
>
> He took his stand and called to the ranks of Israel and said to them: "Why have you arrayed for battle? Look, I am a Philistine and you are Saul's servants. Choose a man for yourselves to come against me".

The ܠܟܡ here introduces direct speech, but most of that speech is not from the Bible, which does not report that Goliath questioned the necessity for a full-scale battle. When Jacob writes ܓܒܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܬܟܬܫ ܥܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܚܛ̈ܒܘ, he comes closest to the text of 1 Sam 17:8: ܓܒܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܚܘܬ ܥܠܝ. The ܠܟܡ introduces the direct speech and recalls the biblical account but Jacob introduces his interpretation of Goliath's speech.

The last occurrence of ܠܟܡ in the *memra* on David and Goliath (71,17) appears when David addresses Goliath. Jacob is interpreting 1 Sam 17:45:

> Jacob 71:15–18
>
> Without fear he answered that warrior.
> There was no sign of agitation in him that would generate passion.
>
> "You come with spear against me, O warrior,
> but I come trusting in God who is forever without equal."

Jacob's citation of 1 Sam 17:45 reads (71:17–18)

> ܐܢܬ ܠܟܡ ܒܪܡܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܢܬ ܥܠܝ ܐܘ ܓܢܒܪܐ
> ܘܐܢܐ ܬܟܝܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ

> 1 Sam 17:45
>
> ܘܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܦܠܫܬܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܬܐ ܐܢܬ ܥܠܝ ܒܣܝܦܐ ܘܒܪܡܚܐ
> ܘܒܣܒܪܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܥܠܝܟ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ
> ܨܒܐܘܬ ܕܣܕ̈ܪܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܚܣܕܬ
>
> Then David said to the Philistine: "You come against me with sword, spear and shield but I am coming against you in the name of the Lord God Sabaoth because you have despised the ranks of Israel."

The ܠܟܡ signals direct speech and a biblical citation but once again Jacob offers his own interpretation.

3.1.4 ܠܟܡ does not introduce direct speech or a biblical citation

On two occasions, ܠܟܡ does not introduce direct speech, nor does it appear to signal a citation of scripture. It may function as an asseverative particle or Jacob may be exploiting it to gain an extra syllable.

Jacob 44:16–17

ܠܐ ܡܨܥ ܟ ܥܡ ܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܠܐ
ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܨܚ ܠܗ ܫܒܚ ܠܥܡܡܐ

Because he [Satan] was not able to contend with the mighty one,
he promised the adoration of the nations to the one who would be victorious.

When Goliath challenges the Israelites to a contest (the second time ܟ appears in Jacob's *memra*) ܟ appears in Goliath's direct speech, but it does not introduce that speech:

Jacob 38:3–5

ܠܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܚܙܐ ܕܢܦܨܟ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܝ
ܐܘ ܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܫܒܪ ܠܟ ܫܐܘܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܩܝܡ
ܟ ܕܡܬܟܢܝ ܒܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܢܬܓܪ ܥܡܝ

To whom do you look that he might rescue you from my might?
On what hope has the ineffectual King Saul made you depend?
The one who has depended on the Lord [ܟ] will come and fight with me

3.2 The particle ܟ in the *memra* on David and Uriah

Jacob's *memra* on David and Uriah is about half the length of the *memra* on David and Goliath, so we could expect the particle ܟ a few times but, in fact, it appears only once. Jacob employs it to introduce a different biblical scene that he thinks parallels a scene in the David and Uriah story. Uriah, though under royal edict to return to his house and have relations with his wife (2 Sam 11:8) spends the night at the palace gate (2 Sam 11:9). David does not approve.

Jacob 377:12–22

He spent the night at the gate among the servants and did not weaken
from the thought of the battle in which he was engaged.
The king learned [about it] in the morning and accused him as a friend:
why did he not visit his house and see his family?
This just servant began to speak
words that reprove even the elect if they should falter,
just as [ܟ] when Israel was trounced in battle–
all the captains in the contest.
The ark of the Lord was in the field with the Levites,
and the army was arrayed between victory and defeat,
and the battle demanded total vigilance and fortitude.

Jacob compares David's confrontation with Uriah to the confrontation between the Philistines and the Israelites (1 Sam 4:11) and he introduces this account with ܟ. He employed ܟ in a similar fashion to introduce the citation of John 1:10–11 into the *memra* on David and Goliath (though John 1:10–11 is a direct quotation). In

both cases, when Jacob reaches for a different biblical passage in order to make a comparison with the passage under discussion, he introduces it with ܗܵܐ.

3.3 Summary of Jacob's use of ܗܵܐ

1. ܗܵܐ introduces a citation of the Bible.
2. ܗܵܐ introduces direct speech that comes from the Bible.
3. ܗܵܐ introduces direct speech that borrows language from the Bible.
4. ܗܵܐ introduces a biblical scene as a point of comparison to the main theme.
5. ܗܵܐ functions as an asseverative particle.

The particle ܗܵܐ may be described as a "presentative" following Lipiński's definition of the term:

> Presentatives are particles the basic use of which aims at alerting the hearer or drawing his attention. They may constitute minor clauses…or introduce whole sentences, direct speeches, sometimes smaller parts of a sentence.[13]

Though Lipiński does not include ܗܵܐ as an example of a "presentative," his definition aptly describes the function of ܗܵܐ in these two *memre*.

Regarding the nature of the biblical citations introduced by ܗܵܐ, this particle does not signal the citation's fidelity to the Peshitta. Its primary function may be, as Lipiński's definition suggests, to alert the audience that the biblical text, whether it be a citation, allusion or merely biblical language, is being introduced into the *memra*. When the audience hears ܗܵܐ they should recall the biblical text and then observe how Jacob adapts that text to his own argument. Only one reading, Jacob's use of the term "uncircumcised" (60,14), offers limited support for a variant Peshitta reading.[14]

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[13] Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §49.5.

[14] The particle ܗܵܐ is not required to introduce a biblical citation. In the eighth section of his *memra* on David and Goliath, Jacob compares Saul with Adam. The second time he cites 1 Sam 17:32 in support of this comparison, he employs ܗܵܐ (discussed above). But the first time he cites it he does not:

43:4–7

ܫܵܘܠ ܕܒܐܕܡ ܬܝܼܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܵܠ ܣܠܝܼܢ ܘܩܵܠ ܠܵܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܕܘܝܼܕ ܚܙܵܐ ܕܡܘܬܼܬܵܐ ܕܐܕܡ ܒܫܵܘܠ ܐܡܼܪ ܕܠܵܐ ܢܦܠ ܠܒܵܗ ܕܐܕܡ ܥܠ ܕܢܼܝ

Saul was depicted accurately in Adam;
he was negligent, rash and treated his Lord with contempt.
Even David saw the image of Adam in Saul:
he said: "and lest the heart of Adam would fall because of him".
The Peshitta text of 1 Sam 17:32 reads:

ܘܐܡܼܪ ܕܘܝܼܕ ܠܫܵܘܠ ܠܵܐ ܢܦܠ ܠܒܵܗ ܒܗ ܥܒܕܵܟ ܢܹܐܙܠ ܘܢܼܚܵܐ ܥܡ ܗܵܕܵܐ ܦܠܫܵܝܵܐ

And David said to Saul, "Let no one's heart fall because of him. Your servant will go and fight with this Philistine."

4. OTHER SIGNS THAT JACOB EMPLOYS TO INTRODUCE THE BIBLICAL TEXT

4.1 The phrase "just as it is written" ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ

In the *memra* on David and Uriah, Jacob signals the first allusion to the biblical story with the phrase "just as it is written":

Jacob 374:6–7

ܗܟܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܗܠܟ ܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܒܝܘ ܡܥܪܒܐ ܫܡܫܐ
ܘܚܙܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܡܣܟܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ

For he was walking about in his palace at the evening hour
and he peered out and saw a woman who was bathing just as it is written.

Jacob is citing 2 Sam 11:2:

ܘܗܟܢܐ ܩܡ ܕܘܝܕ ܡܢ ܡܫܟܒܗ ܥܠ ܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܘܗܘܐ ܡܗܠܟ ܒܓܓ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܙܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܡܣܟܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܣܝܡ
ܫܓܝܪܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܗܝ ܐܬܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ

At evening David rose from his bed and was walking on the roof of the palace. He saw a woman who was bathing–she was very beautiful.

Most of Jacob's text comes from the Peshitta, though the word order is rearranged and the phrase ܫܓܝܪܐ ܠܚܕܐ is omitted perhaps for metrical reasons.[15]

Jacob adds ܚܙܐ ("he peered out"). The term translates Hebrew נבט (*hiphil*, see 1 Sam 17:42, 2 Kgs 3:14) or שקף (*niphal*/*hiphil* see 2 Sam 6:16; Ps 14:2). Was the word in Jacob's Peshitta text? The MT, LXX, Targum and Peshitta have only one verb for "seeing", not two. But the verbs ܚܙܐ and ܡܥ often appear together in the Bible (with ܚܙܐ in the first position) and so it is not surprising that Jacob harmonizes (perhaps unconsciously) his reading of 2 Sam 11:2 to this common biblical expression.[16] Since there is little external evidence to suggest a variant

[15] The phrase ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος is omitted in one Greek MS (d).

[16] Gen 26:8
וישקף אבימלך מלך פלשתים בעד החלון וירא
ܘܫܩܦ ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܡܠܟ ܦܠܫܬܝܡ ܒܥܕ ܚܠܘܢ ܘܚܙܐ
1 Sam 17:42
ויבט הפלשתי ויראה
ܘܝܒܛ ܦܠܫܬܝ ܘܝܪܐܗ
2 Sam 6:16
ומיכל בת־שאול נשקפה בעד החלון ותרא את־המלך דוד
ܘܡܝܟܠ ܒܬ־ܫܐܘܠ ܢܫܩܦܐ ܒܥܕ ܚܠܘܢ ܘܬܪܐ ܐܬ־ܗܡܠܟ ܕܘܝܕ
2 Kgs 3:14
אם־אביט אליך ואם־אראך
ܐܢ ܐܒܛ ܐܠܝܟ ܘܐܢ ܐ
Ps 14:2
יהוה משמים השקיף על־בני־אדם לראות
ܝܗܘܐ ܡܫܡܝܡ ܐܫܩܝܦ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ ܠܡܚܙܐ

Peshitta reading, it is likely that Jacob is responsible for these changes. Thus, similar to the nature of the citations introduced by the particle ܟܡ, the phrase "just as it is written" (ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ) alerts the reader to the introduction of the biblical text, but it does not ensure the accuracy of the citation.

4.2 Jacob cites the Psalter

In his *memra* on David and Goliath, Jacob cites the Book of Psalms. When Saul is not convinced that David can challenge the Philistine, Jacob reports that he mocked him: "he thrust out his lip at the childishness of what he said" (54:16). This is an allusion to Ps 22:9 and Jacob proceeds to identify the psalm and cite the relevant verses.

Jacob 55:17–56:3

ܗܟܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܝܘܝܕ ܒܡܙ ܗܘܐ ܫܪ
ܥܠ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܡܠܝܐ
ܠܝ ܗܘܬ ܒܟ ܐ ܐܐ ܐܡܪ ܫܘܠܡ ܠܝ
ܕܐܡܪ ܐܐ ܒܝ ܠܝܫܥ ܗܢܐ ܐܐ ܡܟܝ ܠܗ
ܕܐ ܐܪܡ ܠ ܐܢܫ ܥܡ ܫܠܛܢܗ

David realized that King Saul doubted him.
He raised his voice to intone Psalm Twenty-two:
"All who have seen me have derided me for I am despised;
they thrust out their lips against me; they wagged their heads at me.
I trust in you, O Lord, that it is you who will deliver me;
You will rescue me from the champion if you delight in me."

Ps 22:8–9

ܟܠ ܚܙܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܘܠܡ ܠܝ
ܐܐ ܐܪܡ ܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ

All who have seen me, have derided me. They thrust out their lips, they wagged their heads.
He trusted in the Lord who would rescue him. Let him deliver him if he delights in him.

Jacob begins the citation close to the Peshitta text perhaps to facilitate the audience's recollection of the passage. But as he continues, he gradually conforms the psalm text to his *memra* until he comes to the final line of the citation where he returns to the biblical text. He adds ܐܐ after ܐܡܪ, perhaps for the meter. To the

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Ps 33:13
משמים הביט יהוה ראה את־כל־בני האדם
מן ܫܡܝܐ ܚܙܐ ܝܗ ܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ
Ps 53:3
אלהים משמים השקיף על־בני אדם לראות
ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܩܛܝ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܚܙܐ

line "all who have seen me have derided me," Jacob adds, "because I am despised," borrowing the theme of Ps 22:7 (MT: 22:6) which reads ܒܙܐ ܘܚܫܝܠ ܐܢܫܐ, "despised by men" (Jacob prefers ܚܫܐ). The phrase that Jacob is going to develop in his *memra*– "They thrust out their lips"—(Ps 22:8) is cited almost exactly (there is a change in word order): ܐܦܬܝܗܘܢ ܫܪܝ ܒܪܫܐ. Into the biblical phrase ܘܢܕܕܘ ܪܫܐ Jacob inserts ܚܕ, perhaps to achieve a twelve-syllable line.

The text of Ps 22:9 is expanded and personalized to David. "Trust in the Lord," becomes "I trust in you, O Lord." The address to God becomes second person ("that he might rescue him" becomes "that you might rescue me") and the addition of ܠܝ after ܚܦܨ ܒܗ links the psalm more closely to 1 Samuel 17. Jacob's rewriting of this psalm verse witnesses to his exegesis, illustrating how citation and exegesis are often inseparable in his *memre*.[17] When Jacob stays close to the Peshitta text, it is because the precise words of the Bible, in this case, "to thrust out the lips," serve his argument. Otherwise, he can adapt the Bible to his theme and those adaptations reveal his reception of the Bible.

5. THE PESHITTA TEXT IN THE *MEMRA* ON DAVID AND URIAH

Unlike the *memra* on David and Goliath, Jacob retells the story of 2 Samuel 11 (David's tryst with Bathsheba and the death of Uriah) without extensive reference to the biblical text. His goal is to teach his audience that "David's story should not be associated with [the stories] of those who commit adultery."[18] The climax of this *memra* comes when Jacob recounts David's encounter with Nathan the prophet. This biblical citation is not introduced with any of the verbal signs already discussed. It is signaled by a long introduction to Nathan's speech in which Jacob repeats the expression "he began to speak" (ܫܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ). The audience expects to hear Nathan's discourse:

> Jacob 383:20
>
> He called to Nathan as to a doctor and sent him to him.
>
> Jacob 384:8
>
> The prophet began to speak (ܫܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ) with him in parables
> so that he might become the judge over the crime he had committed.
> Who can condemn the king except his own mouth?
> For this reason Nathan turned him [David] into a judge.
> So the prophet began to speak (ܫܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ) with confidence
> before that despicable king who had abandoned what is right.

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[17] The LXX (Ps 21:8–9) does not agree with Jacob's reading:
πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με,
ἐλάλησαν ἐν χείλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλήν
Ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν·
σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.

[18] 371:1 ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܒܥܠ ܕܡ

Then Jacob cites the biblical text (the longest citation in this *memra*):

Jacob 384:14–385:15

Then Nathan said: "There were two men in a city.
One was rich and one was poor, and they were neighbours.
The rich man had flocks. He had bulls
and cows and innumerable herds of camels.
The poor man possessed only a small lamb.
He was without property and resources except for it.
He loved it, cared for it and fed it.
He raised it and it ate with him at his table.
It ate his bread, drank from his cup and slept in his bosom.
He had no one except this companion.
Now it happened that a traveller came to the rich man and he sent and took
the little lamb of the poor man and he cooked it for the traveller.
Now decide, O King, the just judgement and come to a verdict.
What should happen between these men that I have described?
Is it appropriate in your opinion that this poor man is thus defrauded?
Is it not detestable to you how much the rich man coveted?
Consider the case with justice and come to an upright decision
in righteousness without persuasion or favour".
David said, "As the Lord lives, he is under a death sentence
that rich man who took the lamb of that poor man".
Does anyone exist who could judge David except David?
Who could venture to abrogate his judgment except him.

As in the citation of Psalm 22, Jacob begins close to the Peshitta text, perhaps so that his audience can recognize the biblical passage. The divergences increase as the citation continues. He begins with 2 Sam 12:1:

Jacob 384:14

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܬܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܝܪܐ ܚܕ
ܥܬܝܪ ܘܚܕ ܡܣܟܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܥܕܪ ܡܕܡ ܐܠܐ ܢܥܬܐ ܚܕܬ ܒܠܚܕ ܘܐܟܠ ܘܫܬܐ ܘܪܒܝ ܠܗ ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܥܡ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܟܐܟܠ ܡܢ ܦܬܗ ܘܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܣܗ ܘܫܟܒ ܒܚܝܩܗ ܘܗܘ ܠܗ ܟܒܪܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܥܬܝܪ ܘܚܣ ܠܡܣܒ ܥܠ ܥܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܥܢܗ ܕܡܣܟܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܣܥܪ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܗܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ

2 Sam 12:1

ܘܐܡܪ ܢܬܢ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܩܪܬܐ ܚܕܬ ܥܬܝܪ ܘܚܕ ܡܣܟܝܢ ܠܥܬܝܪ ܗܘ ܣܓܝ ܥܢܐ ܘܒܩܪ ܘܥܢܬ ܠܗ ܥܕܪ ܡܕܡ ܐܠܐ ܥܢܬܐ ܚܕܬ ܒܠܚܕ ܘܐܟܠ ܘܫܬܐ ܘܪܒܝ ܠܗ ܘܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܥܡ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܟܐܟܠ ܡܢ ܦܬܗ ܘܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܣܗ ܘܫܟܒ ܒܚܝܩܗ ܘܗܘ ܠܗ ܟܒܪܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܥܬܝܪ ܘܚܣ ܠܡܣܒ ܥܠ ܥܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܥܢܗ ܕܡܣܟܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܣܥܪ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܗܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ

Jacob reads ܐܡܪ ܠܗ for Peshitta ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ, a question of style that does not affect the meter. Peshitta ܥܢܬ is changed to ܢܬܢ. Given that both words are bi-syllabic, the variation was not required for the meter. Was ܢܬܢ in Jacob's Syriac Bible? Peshitta MSS 9a1*fam* omit ܥܢܬ and if Jacob had shared that omission then ܢܬܢ would be his addition for clarity. But it seems more likely that Jacob opted for a different word. This gratuitous divergence is possible because the word does not serve his exegesis.

Jacob renders the wealth of the rich man more explicit:

Jacob 384:16–17

ܐܬܐ ܕ ܡܠܐ ܠܛ ܕ ܡܐ ܐܡܪܟ
ܠܛܡ ܠܐ ܚܡܐ ܕ ܡܠܐ ܐܥܡ ܕ ܡܠܐ

2 Sam 12:2

ܟܠ ܗܠܝܡ ܐܬܠܐ ܠܟ ܕ ܐܝ ܡܐ ܐܡܪܟ

He expands the Peshitta phrase ܟܟ ܗܠܝܡ to inform his audience that the rich man had cows and countless camels.

In the biblical account, Nathan exaggerates the relationship between the poor man and his only possession, the young lamb. Jacob elaborates further on this relationship.

Jacob 384:18–385:1

ܒܡܟ ܐܝ ܒܐ ܗܒܪ ܗܢ ܒܡܡ ܝܐ
ܐ ܡܛ ܐ ܐ ܟܬ ܐ ܠܐ
ܕ ܒܗܒܡ ܕ ܐ ܣ ܕ ܐ ܣ
ܐ ܡ ܕ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܒ
ܒܡ ܡ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܡ
ܒܛ ܒ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܐ

2 Sam 12:3

ܒ ܗܒܪ ܒ ܗܢ ܐ ܐ ܒ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܒ
ܡ ܐ ܐ ܡ ܒ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܡ
ܕ ܐ ܒ ܗܡ ܗ ܡ ܐ ܒ ܡ ܐ

Whereas in the biblical account the poor man has children, Jacob turns the lamb into the man's only companion. The Peshitta's five verbs to describe the lamb's care become eight. None of Jacob's amplifications agree with the Peshitta MSS cited in the Leiden edition.

Jacob abbreviates the last part of the parable:

Jacob 385:2

ܕ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܕ
ܒ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܗܒܪ ܐ ܕ

2 Sam 12:4

ܐ ܐ ܡ ܒ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܗ ܡ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܒ ܐ ܡ
ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܒ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ

He excises the idea that the rich man could not bear to take one of his own lambs as the motivation for taking the poor man's lamb.

Finally, Jacob abandons the biblical account to focus on the confrontation between Nathan and David. Nathan's order that David decide the rich man's penalty is Jacob's creation. But as he brings his account of this scene to a conclusion, he returns to the biblical text to retrieve David's words:

Jacob 385:10–11

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܬܢ ܐ ܕ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ
ܕܥܒܕ ܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܚܣ ܥܠ ܥܢܬܗ

2 Sam 12:5

ܘܐܡܪ ܢܬܢ ܐ ܠܕܘܝܕ ܚܪܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܢܐ
ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܘܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

Jacob eliminates the biblical report of David's anger to focus on David's verdict for the rich man and he rearranges the word order of the Peshitta (ܗܢܐ ܡܘܬ). The Peshitta phrase ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐ ܗܢܐ ("that man who did this") is more explicit in Jacob's *memra*.

The introduction of this biblical citation into the *memra* is not signalled by ܟܡ or "just as it is written" (ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ). Rather, Jacob prepares the audience for Nathan's speech by repeating the expression, "he began to say" (ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܠܡܐܡܪ). As for the nature of the citation, no Peshitta MS supports any of Jacob's readings. His divergences from the biblical text witness to his exegesis of the passage.

6. CONCLUSION

In these two *memre*, Jacob's Bible is the Peshitta. There is no evidence that he opts for a Septuagint reading or that he knows the Targum. On one occasion, his reading offers very limited support for a variant reading in several Peshitta MSS (Jacob 60:14; 1 Sam 17:37). The particle ܟܡ can be classified as a "presentative" when it alerts the audience to a biblical citation. When the exact biblical wording serves his argument, Jacob can cite the biblical text with precision. But what normally follows ܟܡ is Jacob's rewriting of the biblical citation, his exegesis of it. Citation and interpretation merge. The same holds true for the citation that follows the expression "just as it us written" (ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ). Precision also yields to the needs of the twelve-syllable meter of Jacob's poetry. But even when meter is not a consideration, Jacob can make changes that appear gratuitous and suggest he was not preoccupied with the accuracy of a citation when it did not serve his interpretation. When he presents a lengthy citation of the Bible, as in the case of Psalm 22 or 2 Samuel 12, he begins close to the Peshitta text and then interprets the biblical material in the direction of his theme. Thus, the signs that introduce biblical material in these *memre*, such as ܟܡ or ܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ, cannot be understood like modern day quotation marks since they do not guarantee the citation's accuracy.

The biblical *memre* of Jacob of Serugh will probably offer little information regarding the textual history of the Peshitta since the melding of citation and interpretation makes identifying a variant Peshitta reading in Jacob's poetry a

daunting task. Still, every reading will have to be carefully checked. Jacob's major contribution will remain his reception of the Bible in the late fifth and early sixth century Syriac speaking world. And on that question, he has much to offer.

CHAPTER 7.
THE SEMANTICS OF SYRIAC MOTION VERBS IN EXODUS CHAPTERS 1–19

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This paper offers a detailed semantic analysis of a large number of the motion verbs found in the text of the Peshitta to Exodus, chapters 1–19. It makes use of semantic componential analysis to elucidate precise shades of meaning of each verb. Thus, it becomes clear, for example, that there is a systematic distinction between ܣܥܠ and ܟܢܫ, both of which can be translated "gather" in English. After analyzing the semantics of the verbs studied, the paper proceeds to study the equivalences between the roots and the forms (Peal, Pael, etc.) of the verbs in the Peshitta and the Masoretic text. It turns out that certain Hebrew forms are translated with the "cognate" form in Syriac, while other Hebrew forms are translated with a non-cognate form. The overall conclusion is that the Syriac translators were guided by semantic content and not by cognate equivalence.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Study

This study[1] examines the semantic features of selected motion verbs in the Peshitta to Exodus chapters 1–19. This involves the compilation of a systematic inventory of a range of details of meaning, as well as a consideration of the domain of each verb within the larger semantic space of motion. In addition, since the Peshitta is a translation, this study considers the relationship of stem types in Syriac verbs with stem types in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

This approach makes it possible to provide a more precise definition of the verbs in question than can be conveyed by merely listing translation equivalents, as is commonly done in dictionaries. My interest in systematically providing genuine definitions for the members of a whole semantic domain of Syriac was inspired by

[1] I would like to express my thanks to Edward M. Cook for reading an earlier draft of this paper and making a number of helpful comments on it.

Frederick Danker's discussion[2] of his preparation of such equivalents, where mere glosses would not suffice, for his third edition of the English version of Walter Bauer's lexicon of New Testament Greek (BDAG). Both Danker and Terry Falla[3] credit Louw and Nida[4] with being the first to publish a New Testament Greek Lexicon with actual definitions of words, as opposed to just translation equivalents.

Spurred by James Barr's expression of doubt about the practicality of formulating definitions for Classical Hebrew lexemes,[5] Falla asks, "Would definitions, irrespective of their limited application in the lexica of other Semitic languages, be useful and feasible for a Syriac lexicon?"[6] The results of the present study provide a positive response to his question.

Falla raises other important issues as well. One has to do with how exhaustive the treatment of a particular word can be.[7] While for a lexicon of the whole body of Syriac literature this is plainly a very long-term project, the definitions I present in this paper do aim to exhaust the senses of the words dealt with in the limited textual corpus examined. With regard to the matter of words of related meaning,[8] whether similar or contrasting, I provide a number of observations about such relationships among the verbs examined here. Finally, with regard to syntagmatic data,[9] I list the types of arguments associated with the various verbs, whether as agent, actor and patient or source, path and goal.

The style of my definitions is intentionally highly abstract. They are therefore very dry and technical, and sometimes rather redundant in order to maintain uniformity of formulation throughout the paper. In an actual lexicon, it would be desirable to make the definitions more readable. I will give an example of how this could be done following the listing of the verbs studied.

The final part of this paper deals with an aspect of translation technique, since the corpus is a biblical text. While many details of translation technique are beyond the scope of lexica, when a verb is used in a biblical text, it is within the proper scope of the lexicon to report the source term, particularly if the Syriac term is used in the translation in a way that is uncommon in other Syriac literature, or if it is an unexpected translation of the source term. In this study, which examines a large number of verbs, it is possible to form a judgment about whether the Syriac text is mechanically dependent on the Hebrew text for the selection of stem types, or whether the translator departed from the Hebrew forms as necessary to achieve semantic precision.

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[2] Frederick Danker, "Lexical Evolution and Linguistic Hazard," pp. 15–17.

[3] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 40–46.

[4] Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

[5] Barr, "Hebrew Lexicography: Informal Thoughts," 145, cited in Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 43.

[6] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 44.

[7] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 46–47.

[8] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 47–50.

[9] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 50–51.

1.2 Research Methodology

To gather the data for this study, I visually scanned the Leiden edition of the Syriac text of Exodus,[10] chapters 1–19, and recorded all verbs of motion that I encountered. I then entered the verses into a tabular database. Although my initial study included all the relevant verbs, limitations of space here have obliged me to reduce the inventory of verbs treated to the most frequent items and a few less frequent but nonetheless interesting entries.

2. THE SEMANTIC FEATURES OF SYRIAC VERBS OF MOTION

2.1 Criteria for Semantic Analysis

Verbs may be classified by valence in the broad categories of transitive or intransitive, depending on the number of core arguments associated with each. Both types of verbs have subjects, while only transitive verbs have direct objects. Thus, subject and object are useful categories for broad grammatical classification. However, to understand the semantic details of individual verbs, somewhat more fine-grained distinctions are needed. For a given language, in this case Syriac, the semantic case roles do not need to be greatly multiplied, but distinctions finer than those of subject and object are needed.

An adequate description of the semantics of Syriac motion verbs requires consideration of six case roles: **actor, agent, patient, source, path** and **goal**. Other relevant semantic criteria that I have examined for each verb are **horizontal movement, vertical movement, speed** and **boundary crossing**.

Actors, agents and patients may be divine, human, animate or inanimate. Although divinities and humans are, of course, animate, for the sake of simplicity in this paper I use the labels "divine" and "human" for these two types of animate entities, and the label "animate" for animate entities that are neither divine nor human. The distinction between divine, human, animate and inanimate has proven significant for the analysis of several verbs, in that some verbs take members of only some of these categories and not others as actors, agents or patients.

The "actor" of a verb of motion is the entity that moves. The term "agent" is reserved for entities that cause a patient to move. The entity caused to move is labeled "patient," although if the patient is human or animate and moves under its own power, it can simultaneously be considered an actor.[11]

The category of "agent" as used here requires some additional explanation. Robert Longacre defines it: "The animate entity which intentionally either instigates

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[10] *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version*.

[11] I have in view here cases such as Exodus 4:20: ܘܢܓ ܡܘܫܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܬܗ ܘܒܢܝܗ ܘܐܪܟܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܥܠ ܚܡܪܐ "And Moses took his wife and his children and mounted them on a donkey." Moses is the agent. His wife and children are treated syntactically as patients. However, it is clear that the wife and children were conscious and participated in the act of getting on the donkey. In this sense they are also actors. However, the semantics of the verb ܢܓ would not be further clarified by positing a separate patient-actor semantic role.

a process or acts."[12] This is a useful definition of the term for general linguistic discussions. However, as is often the case when one is dealing with a specific language or family of languages, more specific applications of terms must be developed. For the purposes of analyzing verbs of motion in Syriac, it is most useful to limit agency to external causality. That is, Longacre's definition allows for an agent to be posited for an intransitive motion verb.[13] However, in the analysis of Semitic verbs, agency is a more useful category when it is confined to transitive verbs. Intransitive motion verbs with an animate subject acting intentionally, such as ܐܙܠ, are thus considered non-agentive. Transitive verbs such as the Peal (G stem) of ܢܨܚ are considered to have single agency, that is, one animate entity with intentionality (for example, Moses) is leading other animate entities (for example, people or animals). Transitive verbs such as the Pael (D stem) of ܢܨܚ are considered to have mediated or double agency, that is, one animate entity with intentionality (for example, God) is causing another animate entity with greater or lesser intentionality (for example, Moses, horses, wind, pillar of fire [these last two possibly seen as personified in context]) to lead other animate entities (for example, people or animals) or inanimate entities (water, chariots).

I have taken the terms source, path and goal, as used here, from Longacre. "Source" is defined as the "locale which a predication assumes as place of origin."[14] "Path" is defined as the "locale or locales transversed."[15] "Goal" is defined as the "locale which is point of termination for a predication."[16]

The additional semantic criteria I listed above, **horizontal movement, vertical movement, speed** and **boundary crossing**, differ from the ones previously discussed in that the previous items are semantic case roles, whereas these last four categories are semantic factors especially suited to the analysis of motion and unrelated to case roles.[17]

Horizontal movement is the area in which the greatest number of distinctions is made. It may be:

- Forward
- Back, that is, referring to retracing a course one has previously traversed.
- Sideways, that is, referring to movement along a path at an angle of probably not much more than 90° to the right or the left of the path

[12] Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse,* 156.

[13] See his discussion of locomotion verbs in *Grammar of Discourse,* 211.

[14] Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse,* 161.

[15] Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse,* 164.

[16] Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse,* 163.

[17] The particular categories I have chosen are those that have proven most illuminating for Syriac motion verbs, but they are informed by my general knowledge of the semantic categories used by a variety of languages in the organization of their inventories of motion verbs. See, for example, Stevenson, *Bosquejo gramatical del idioma tectiteco*, 22–26, 57–60, 84–86. On the inventory of motion verbs in a completely different language family, see Stilman, *Russian Verbs of Motion*.

the actor was previously traversing. The farther the actor turns beyond 90°, the more likely it is that the speaker would refer to the movement with a verb translatable as "going back" (for example, ܐܬܐ) rather than "turning aside" (for example, ܣܟܠ).

- Stationary
- Any, a label which is used with a small number of verbs in which general scattering or spreading are in view and it is understood that the entities or substance in question move in many directions throughout what is conceived of as a horizontal plane centered on the actor.
- Irrelevant

The options for the other three factors are more limited. Vertical movement may be **up, down** or **irrelevant**, while speed of movement may be **fast, slow** or **irrelevant**. The presence of psychologically significant boundaries has proven important in defining a number of verbs. As it relates to motion verbs, I define a boundary as a physical limit crossed before the termination of movement.

2.3 Detailed Classification of Verbs According to Semantic Features

I will now list a selection of verbs from the corpus, along with what could be called the semantic profile of each one. The semantic features have been determined by analyzing the uses of the Syriac verbs in the contexts in which they occur in the corpus studied for this paper, with the result that not all potential meanings and uses of each verb are dealt with.

I have grouped the verbs into broad categories as an aid to understanding their semantic organization. Numerous schemes of categorization are possible, such as transitive vs. intransitive or causative vs. non-causative. However, it seems that the most revealing presentation of the information is gained by taking the features SOURCE, PATH and GOAL as the primary criteria for semantic organization. Time, space and logic can be called the three dimensions of the linguistic universe, and source, path and goal are the three points that can give us the greatest insight about how speakers organize their conception of movement in the spatial dimension of language. Horizontal and vertical directionality of paths are frequently significant; speed and boundaries are less frequently significant. But source, path and goal, individually or in some combination, are invariably relevant to all motion verbs. Even the absence of all three at once, in the verbs translatable as "remain," is significant, as this indicates the significant absence of motion due to cessation, prevention or inertia. This non-motion is just as much a part of the semantic domain of motion as is motion itself.

Source, path and goal serve in two ways in semantic categorization. The first way has to do with the inherent point of emphasis of the verb. Does it focus on the point from which the actor departs, the point at which he arrives, or the path he traverses between these two points? The second way in which source, path and goal are significant is the point from which the speaker is looking (or imagines herself to be looking). Is she watching from the actor's point of departure or from the point to which he is heading? Or is she in the position of the omniscient narrator, seeing

movement all along the path? I have found the following combinations of criteria useful for categorizing Syriac verbs of motion:

1. **GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE**

The point of view of the source (point of departure) of the action has proven to be the default or unmarked point of view. This can be seen from the large number of verbs which take the source as their point of view, compared to the relatively small number which take the goal as their point of view. No verb seems to take the path as its point of view. Since source is the default point of view, verbs are included in this category when, as is often the case, there is no clear focus on the goal as the point from which the action is viewed, or when examples occur which show that either source or goal can be the point of view.

2. **GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL**
3. **SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE**
4. **SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL**
5. **PATH-oriented movement, omniscient point of view**
6. **Non-movement**
7. **Change of posture**

This last category is not, strictly speaking, a type of point-to-point movement through space, nor a complete lack of movement. However, it complements full-fledged verbs of motion in interesting ways, as is pointed out in the description of the individual verb included in this paper.

The groups of verbs below include the most frequent or interesting motion verbs found in the corpus. For ease of cross-reference, each verb is numbered. Each number consists of two parts: the number of the set to which it belongs (1–7) and a number corresponding to its sequential position in the list. The sequence of each verb in each list is at least partially systematic. In general, I have tried to place verbs of more general meaning at the top of each list, with the degree of specialization increasing as the list goes on. I generally keep causative (usually Aphel) stems next to the basic stems (usually Peal) from which they are derived. Finally, I have tried to keep clusters of semantically similar verbs together. This lowest level of grouping is more impressionistic than mechanical, and alternate orderings are certainly possible, depending on one's subjective preferences. I trust, though, that the organization I have used will prove helpful in understanding the semantic interrelationships of the various verbs.

The following lists of verbs include several types of information. The first line includes basic identificational data: number, verb, stem type, transitivity, and brief gloss.[18] Following this is a careful technical definition of the verb. This is followed by an explanation of the types of arguments the verb takes. In this "Categories of arguments" section, I list the prepositions found with each oblique argument (source, path, goal) in the data.[19] For many verbs there is a section called "Further

[18] These glosses are not intended to be an exhaustive list of translation equivalents. Each one consists of one or two words for convenience of reference.

[19] The means for indicating patients are not relevant for understanding the semantic categories specifically related to motion, so I do not catalog them.

specifications," which includes additional information such as comparison and contrast with verbs of similar meaning in the corpus. Each entry concludes with a "References" section which contains a listing of the chapter and verse for each occurrence of the verb in Exodus 1–19. It also includes, for each verse for which it is relevant, an inventory of the prepositions used with oblique arguments, so that the reader may see the data from which the generalizations given under "Categories of arguments" are drawn.

1. GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE

1.1 ܐܙܠ Peal (intrans.) *go*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine, human, animate (cattle) or inanimate (the sound of a trumpet). The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (usually implicit: a geographical location) or human (a person). The path (marked with ܒ) is inanimate (the wilderness, a road). The goal is human (marked with ܠܘܬ) or inanimate (a geographical location or the action noun ܐܘܪܚܐ, both marked with ܠ).

Further specifications: All uses (except strict accompaniment, as in "the Lord was going before them," 13:21) involve departure from a point (source). Some also involve a focus on a goal (2:15) or (metaphorically) a path (18:20).

This is the most generic of the motion verbs. Its closest semantic counterpart is ܐܬܐ "come" (2.1), which views the trajectory from the point of view of the goal rather than the source. Also closely related is ܡܛܐ "arrive" (1.14), which, like ܐܙܠ, views the movement from the source, but is distinguished by its heavy focus on the goal of the movement. ܫܕܪ "set off" (3.6) is also related to ܐܙܠ, but ܫܕܪ is distinguished by its heavy focus on the source of the movement.

References: 2:1,7,8(2x),15<ܠ marks the goal: "And he went *to the land of Midian*."><20; 3:11<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "that I should go *to Pharaoh*."><13<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I will go *to the Israelites*."><16,18<The verb is followed immediately, with no preposition, by a phrase whose function seems to be indicating distance by stating time: "a three days' journey," then followed by "in the wilderness," a path, marked by ܒ: "We will go a three days' journey *in the wilderness*."><19,21(2x); 4:12,18(3x)<1: ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Moses went back *to Jethro, his father-in-law*." 2: ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I will go back *to my brothers who are in Egypt*." 3: no preposition><19<ܠ marks the goal: "Go back *to Egypt*!"><20<ܠ marks the goal: "He went back *to Egypt*."><21<ܠ marks the goal: "When you go back *to Egypt*…"><27(2x)<1:ܠ marks each of the two goals that are joined asyndetically: "Go *to the meeting of Moses, your brother, to the wilderness*!"><29; 5:3<The verb is followed immediately, with no preposition, by a phrase whose function seems to be indicating distance by stating time: "a three days' journey," then followed by "in the wilderness," a path, marked by ܒ: "We will go a three days' journey *in the wilderness*."><4<ܠ marks the goal: "Go *to your bondage*!"><7,8,11,17,18; 6:11; 7:15<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Go *to Pharaoh*!"><26<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Go *to Pharaoh*!"><; 8:21,23<ܒ marks path: "A three days' journey we will go *in the*

wilderness.">,24; 9:1<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Go *to Pharaoh*!">; 10:1<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Go *to Pharaoh*!">,8(2x),9(2x),11,24(2x),26,28<ܡܢ marks the source: "Go *from me*!">; 12:28,31,32; 13:21(2x); 14:5,19(2x); 17:5,10; 18:20<ܕ marks path: "the road *in which* they should go">,23<ܠ marks the goal: "Each man went *to his house*.">,27<ܠ marks the goal: "And he went *to his land*.">; 19:10<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Go *to the people*!">,19,24

1.2 ܢܚܬ Peal (intrans.) *go down*

Definition: An actor moves under its own power or not under its own power from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a lower altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or inanimate. The inanimate actor in the corpus is hail, which falls through the air (9:24, 26, 29). The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (a geographical location). The goal is human or inanimate (a geographical location). The goal is marked with one of three prepositions. The most usual markers are ܠܘܬ for human goals and ܠ for inanimate goals. However, both types of goals are marked with ܥܠ when physical impact of the actor on the goal is in focus (hail falling on people, fire coming down on Mount Sinai).

References: 2:5; 3:8; 9:19<ܥܠ marks the goal: "The hail fell *upon them*.">,24,26,29; 11:8<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And all these servants of yours will come down *to me*.">; 15:5<ܠ marks the goal: "They went down *to the depth* (of the sea).">; 19:11<ܠ marks the goal: "The Lord came down … *to Mount Sinai*.">,14<ܡܢ marks the source and ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Moses went down *from the mountain to the people*.">,18<ܥܠ marks the goal: "because the Lord came down *upon it* in fire.">,20<ܠ marks the goal: "The Lord came down *to Mount Sinai, to the top of the mountain*.">,21,25<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Moses went down *to the people*.">

1.3 ܢܦܠ Peal (intrans.) *fall*

Definition: An actor descends at a relatively high speed, not under its own power and not in a controlled fashion, from at least the height of a person, onto a patient.

Categories of arguments: One use of this verb in the corpus is synecdochic, while the other is figurative. The synecdochic use, found in 19:21, is connected to death. This use is synecdochic because while falling down is part of what is involved, it is only an effect of the primary cause of the event, namely, the cessation of the vital functions of the body. In the context, it is assumed that the people who could be so afflicted will be erect and walking toward a mountain. When their bodily functions cease, they will inevitably lose their ability to remain erect and will thus fall down. In this case, then, "people" are the actors and "the ground" is the implicit goal.

The other use of this verb in the corpus, found in 15:16, is figurative. While from a modern scientific point of view fear is understood as the response of the nervous system to certain types of stimuli, the ancients evidently conceived of fear as a kind of amorphous substance capable of falling upon humans. Thus, in the use of the verb in this verse, "fear and trembling" are the actors and "people" (marked with ܥܠ) are the goal.

References: 15:16<ܥܠ marks the goal: "Fear and trembling will fall *upon them*."><; 19:21

1.4 ܐܣܩ Peal (intrans.) *go up*

Definition: An actor moves under its own power from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a higher altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human, animate (frogs, locusts) or inanimate (groaning, smoke). The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (bondage, land). The goal is divine, human, or inanimate. When the goal is divine, it is usually marked with ܠܘܬ, but in one case (19:24), it is marked with ܥܡ. In the latter case, the context is a prohibition: the priests and people must not go up Mount Sinai and approach the Lord. In the lone case in which the goal is human (7:29), it is marked with ܒ. The context suggests that physical contact is in focus, that is, the frogs will crawl or hop up onto the people, not just come close to them.

Further specifications: Goal focus is usual, but source focus occasionally occurs as well (13:18).

References: 2:23<ܠܘܬ marks the goal and ܡܢ marks the source: "And their groaning went up *to God from the bondage*."><; 7:28,29<ܒ marks the goal: "And *to you and to your people* the frogs will go up."><; 8:2; 10:12<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And it (swarm of locusts) will go up *onto the land of Egypt*."><,14<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And the swarm of locusts went up *onto all the land of Egypt*."><; 12:38; 13:18<ܡܢ marks the source: "Those of the house of Israel went up *from the land of Egypt*."><; 16:13,14; 17:10<ܠ marks the goal: "And Moses and Aaron and Hur went up *to the top of the hill*."><; 19:3<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And Moses went up *to God*."><,12<ܠ marks the goal: "Do not go up *to the mountain*!"><,13<ܠ marks the goal: "to go up *to the mountain*."><,18,20,23<ܠ marks the goal: "to go up *to Mount Sinai*."><,24(2x)<1: no preposition. 2: ܥܡ marks the goal: "to go up *before the Lord*."><

1.5 ܐܐܣܩ Aphel (trans.) *bring up*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, usually but not always under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a higher altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent can be divine or human. The patient can be human, animate (frogs) or inanimate (bones). Only in the case of Joseph's bones (13:19) is the patient not able to move under its own power. The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (a geographical location or a condition [bondage]). The goal is a geographical location. It is usually marked with ܠ. In one case (8:3), where physical contact seems to be in focus, ܥܠ is the preposition used.

Further specifications: Focus can be on source or goal or both simultaneously. Unlike in the Peal (intransitive) stem ܐܣܩ, in this stem, forward horizontal motion is part of the ordinary semantics of the verb. That is, the Aphel stem involves movement of entities forward as well as up, whereas the Peal stem can refer to things such as smoke rising, in which horizontal movement is not a concern.

See ܐܘܣܩ (1.7) for a discussion of the semantic contrast between that verb and this one.

References: 3:8<ܡܢ marks the source. ܠ marks the goal, which is named and expanded upon three times, each of which is separately marked with ܠ: "to bring it (people) up *from that land to a land that is spacious and good, to a land that is flowing with milk and honey, to the land of the Canaanites* (et al.)">,17<ܡܢ marks the source. ܠ marks the goal which is named and expanded upon twice, each of which is separately marked with ܠ: "I will bring you up *from the bondage of the Egyptians to the land of the Canaanites (et al.), to a land that is flowing with milk and honey*.">; 8:1<ܠܥܠ marks the goal: "He brought frogs up *onto the land of Egypt*.">,3<ܠܥܠ marks the goal: "He brought frogs up *onto the land of Egypt*.">; 13:19<ܡܢ marks the source: "Take my bones up *from here* with you.">; 17:3<ܡܢ marks the source: "Why did you bring us up *from Egypt* …?">

1.6 ܐܣܩ Aphel (trans.) *raise up*

Definition: An agent places a patient above a goal.

Categories of arguments: This verb is used to express social rather than physical elevation in the corpus. Specifically, it denotes the conferring of authority. The agent is divine or human. The patient is human or inanimate. This verb refers to the appointment of leaders over groups of people (as in 5:14) and, in one case (6:4), to the establishment of an agreement (covenant) between God and people. The goal, in all cases, is the entities placed under the authority of the leader or agreement. The goal is marked by ܥܠ when it is people who are put under the authority of other people. Interestingly, though, when a covenant is what is "raised up," the preposition used is ܥܡ. This may be because the covenant was seen as jointly binding on God and the people. In fact, in the following verse, God invokes the covenant as the reason for his action at the present time.

Further specifications: Contrast ܐܢܣ (1.7).

References: 5:14<ܥܠ marks the goal: "whom Pharaoh's taskmasters put *over them*.">; 6:4<ܥܡ marks the goal: "I established my covenant *with them*.">; 9:16; 18:21<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And he put *over them* heads of thousands and heads of hundreds and heads of fifties and heads of tens.">,25<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And he put them as heads *over the people*.">

1.7 ܐܢܣ Aphel (trans.) *raise up*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a higher altitude than the source.

Implicit source:	trunk of body
Implicit path:	arm
Implicit goal:	greatest possible distance from trunk of body
	(In some cases an explicit goal is mentioned.)

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The object is inanimate. If an explicit goal is named, it is inanimate (land, sea, water, heaven). It is marked with ܥܠ if it is below the raised hand, and with ܠ or ܠܥܠ if it is above the raised hand.

Further specifications: Unlike ܐܣܩ (1.6), this verb refers to the literal raising of a physical object.

This verb is distinguished from ܐܫܕ (1.5) by the scope of the action envisioned. ܐܢܨ refers to a stationary individual raising an inanimate object (a staff or a hand) to a position presumably equal to or higher than the individual's head. Some forward motion may be incidentally implicit, but the altitude of the object raised, rather than its horizontal distance from the plane extending laterally from the individual's face or torso, is what is significant. ܐܫܕ, on the other hand, refers to a divine or human entity causing people or animals to go in large groups from a geographical location (source) conceived of as lower to a location conceived of as higher (goal), sometimes at a considerable distance from the source.

This verb is distinguished from ܐܡܠ (1.23), ܐܢܚ (1.24), ܦܫܛ (1.25) and ܦܪܣ (1.26), all glossed "stretch out," in that all four of these verbs involve extending the arms, but they focus on horizontal movement, whereas ܐܢܨ includes a component of upward vertical movement along with horizontal movement.

References: 6:8; 7:5<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I raised my hand *over Egypt*."><ܥܠ,19 marks the goal: "Raise your hand *over the waters of Egypt*."><ܥܠ,20; 8:1,2<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Aaron raised his hand *over the waters of Egypt*."><ܥܠ,12,13; 9:22<ܠ marks the goal: "Raise your hand *to the face of heaven*."><ܠ,23 marks the goal: "Moses raised his staff *to the face of heaven*."><ܠ; 10:12<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Raise your hand *over the land of Egypt*."><ܥܠ,13 marks the goal: "Moses raised his staff *over the land of Egypt*."><ܥܠ,21<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Raise your hand *to heaven*."><ܠ; 14:16,21<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Moses raised his hand *over the sea*."><ܥܠ,27 marks the goal: "Moses raised his hand *over the sea*."><ܥܠ; 15:12

1.8 ܐܬܦ Peal (intrans.) *go back*

Definition: An actor moves under his own power from a source, along a path, to a goal which is a place where the actor has previously been present.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or inanimate (water). The goal is a point from which the actor has recently departed. The goal is marked with ܠ if it is inanimate, with ܠܘܬ if it is human, and where physical contact seems to be in focus, with ܥܠ (in the lone example in the corpus, 14:26, the goal is human).

References: 4:18; 5:22<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Moses went back *to the Lord*."><ܠ; 7:23; 14:26<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And the waters will go back *over the Egyptians*."><ܥܠ,27 marks the goal: "The sea returned … *to its place*."><ܠ,28 [Uses of this verb as an auxiliary indicating repetition are omitted.]

1.9 ܐܬܦ Aphel (trans.) *put back*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, either under its own power or not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal which is a place where the patient has previously been present.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is human or inanimate (hand, water, words). The goal is marked with ܠ if it is inanimate, with ܠܘܬ if it is divine or human, and where physical contact seems to be in focus, with ܥܠ (in the lone example in the corpus, 15:19, the goal is human).

References: 4:7(2x)<ܠ marks the goal in both cases: "Return your hand *to your bosom*. And he returned his hand *to his bosom*."><ܠ; 10:8<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And they brought Moses and Aaron back *to Pharaoh*."><ܠ; 15:19<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And

the Lord brought the waters of the sea back *over them*.">; 19:8<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And Moses brought the words of the people back *to the Lord*.">

1.10 ܩܪܒ Peal (intrans.) *approach*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a position nearer to a named goal, without arriving at the goal, which is relatively close to the source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The goal is a divine, human or inanimate entity (the Lord, a person or group of people, a geographical location). ܥܡ marks a divine goal. ܠܘܬ marks a human goal in a context of relative distance (the cloud kept the Israelites and the Egyptians apart at the shore of the Sea of Reeds). ܒ marks a human goal in a context of relative proximity (no hand is to come near a person who comes too near Mount Sinai; he is rather to be stoned). ⟍ marks an inanimate goal.

Further specifications: This verb is distinguished semantically from ܡܛܐ "arrive" (1.14) by the fact that this verb does not denote reaching the goal. It is distinguished from ܪܕܦ "pursue" (1.12) by the fact that the goal of ܪܕܦ is constantly moving away from the actor.

The Peal (14:10, 20; 16:9; 19:12, 13), the Pael passive (19:22) and the Ethpaal (3:5; 12:48; 19:12, 15) of ܩܪܒ are used in very similar contexts with nearly identical meanings. The primary distinction between the three forms is that the Ethpaal (1.11) seems to imply that the actor has traversed a path that is understood to be longer than the path of an actor whose movement is described with a Peal or a Pael passive stem. Also, in most cases, the Ethpaal is used to express prohibitions. (The lone positive use of the Ethpaal stem, in 12:48, is metaphorical: a circumcised non-Israelite allowed to participate in the Passover celebration.)

References: 14:10,20<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "The ones did not approach *the others*."">; 16:9<ܥܡ marks the goal: "Approach *the Lord* …">; 19:12<⟍ marks the goal: "whoever comes near *the mountain* …">,13<ܒ marks the goal: "Let no hand come near *him* (a person who is to be stoned).">

1.11 ܐܬܬܩܪܒ Ethpaal (intrans.) *approach*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a position nearer to a named goal, without arriving at the goal, which is relatively distant from the source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The goal (marked with ⟍ in all cases) is human (woman) or inanimate (geographical location).

Further specifications: See ܩܪܒ Peal (1.10).

References: 3:5<⟍ marks the goal: "Do not come near *here*.">; 12:48; 19:12<⟍ marks the goal: "Do not approach *its borders*.">,15<⟍ marks the goal: "Do not go near *a woman*.">

1.12 ܪܕܦ Peal (intrans.) *go after*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a position nearer to a named goal, without arriving at the goal. The goal continually moves, under its own power, in a direction leading away from the actor.

Categories of arguments: The actor and the goal are human. ܠܘܬ marks the goal.

Further specifications: This verb is semantically similar to ܡܛܐ "approach" (1.10), but it assumes that the actor is approaching (or at least attempting to approach) a moving goal. This requires the actor to maintain a high speed of movement.

This verb also overlaps considerably with ܐܬܪ "follow, overtake" (1.13). The principal difference is that ܪܕܦ itself never denotes reaching the goal.

References: 14:4<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "He will pursue *you*."><,8ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "He pursued *the Israelites*."><,9ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "The Egyptians pursued *them*."><,23; 15:9

1.13 ܐܬܪ Aphel (trans.) *follow, overtake*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a position nearer to a named goal, often without arriving at the goal. The goal continually moves, under its own power, in a direction leading away from the actor. In some instances, this verb indicates that the actor reaches the goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor and the goal are human.

Further specifications: This verb is semantically similar to ܪܕܦ "pursue" (1.12) in that it assumes that the actor is attempting to reach a moving goal, a type of movement that requires high speed. However, ܐܬܪ can also be used to communicate success in pursuit, that is, that the actor overtakes the patient. When the verb refers to overtaking, it comes to share something of the meaning of ܐܬܐ "arrive" (1.14), which always includes the idea of completing the trip to the goal.

In 15:9, the sequence ܐܬܪ ܗ ܪܕܦ occurs, in which it seems clear that the enemy, in his hypothetical boasting, refers to both pursuing (ܪܕܦ) and overtaking (ܐܬܪ) the people. Aside from the semantics, of course, poetic style plays a part in the collocation of these two verbs.

Note that the Aphel is non-causative and the Peal (not found in this corpus) is transitive.

References: 14:9; 15:9

1.14 ܐܬܐ Peal (intrans.) *arrive*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a named goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human and the goal (marked with ܠ) is inanimate (a geographical location).

Further specifications: This verb is closely related to ܐܙܠ "go" (1.1), which, like ܐܬܐ, views the trajectory from the point of view of the source. However, ܐܙܠ views the movement rather holistically, whereas ܐܬܐ is distinguished by its heavy focus on the goal of the movement. Another verb closely related to ܐܬܐ is ܢܦܩ "set off" (3.6); ܢܦܩ is distinguished by its heavy focus on the source of the movement, precisely the opposite of the goal focus of ܐܬܐ.

ܐܬܐ is semantically distinguished from ܡܛܐ "approach" (1.10) by the fact that ܐܬܐ indicates that the actor reaches the goal, while ܡܛܐ indicates that the actor does not reach the goal.

References: 10:26<ܠ marks the goal: "when we arrive *there*."">; 16:35(2x)<ܠ marks the goal: 1: "until they arrived *in inhabited land*." 2: "until they arrived *at the border of the land of Canaan*."">

1.15 ܐܬܐ Peal (intrans.) *turn aside*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, and in the course of travel he alters his path with the result that he arrives at a goal that is different than the one he set out to reach.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The original goal is inanimate (a geographical location). The modified goal initially appears to be inanimate (a bush) but turns out to be divine (the Lord).

Further specifications: In the two occurrences of this verb in the corpus (3:3, 4), it is immediately followed by a clause that expresses the purpose of the actor in turning his body in order to continue forward along a path at an angle to the path he had been pursuing. This change of direction in forward movement contrasts with the change of direction in gaze, without reference to forward movement, which is communicated by the "change of posture" verb ܐܬܦܢܐ "turn" (7.1).

References: 3:3,4

1.16 ܥܠ Peal (intrans.) *enter*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, past a recognized boundary, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine (the destroyer at Passover, the pillar of cloud), human, animate (frogs, horses) or inanimate (groaning). The goal is a location; it is usually geographical, but it can also be the presence of God or a person. The boundary is a recognized limit around the location (for example, a doorway, a national boundary, the rim of a container). The goal is often understood to be smaller than the source. ܠܘܬ is the usual marker for a divine or human goal, but ܥܠ is used in the case of a midwife attending women giving birth, presumably because physical contact is involved. ܠ usually marks a geographical goal. In special cases, though, a more specific preposition is used. When the Israelites and Egyptians enter the gap in the Sea of Reeds, ܒܝܡ is the preposition used to mark "sea." When the pillar of cloud moves between the Israelites and the Egyptians, ܒܝܢ is the preposition used.

Further specifications: This verb shares the semantic feature of boundary crossing with ܢܦܩ "go out" (3.1) and ܥܒܪ "cross" (5.1). This verb is semantically distinguished from verbs such as ܐܬܐ "arrive" (1.14) and ܐܬܐ "come" (2.1), which do not require that a definable boundary be crossed before the goal is reached.

References: 1:1<ܠ marks the goal: "who entered *Egypt*."">,19<ܥܠ marks the goal: "before she (a midwife) goes in *to them* (women giving birth) …"">; 3:9<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "The groan of the Israelites entered *into my presence*."">,18<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And you and the elders of the Israelites went in *to the king of Egypt*."">; 5:1; 7:23<ܠ marks the goal: "He entered *his house*."">,28<ܠ marks the goal: "They will enter *your house*."">; 12:23<ܠ marks the goal: "He will not allow the destroyer to enter *your houses*."">,25<ܠ marks the goal: "And when you enter *the land* …"">; 14:16<ܒܝܡ marks the goal: "And the Israelites will enter

into the sea on dry land.">,17,20<حصلا marks the goal: "It (pillar of cloud) entered *between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel*.">,22<حصلا marks the goal: "And the Israelites entered *into the sea* on dry land.">,23,28<ܠ marks the goal: "They entered *into the sea* after them."">; 15:19<حصلا marks the goal: "they entered … *into the sea*">; 18:7<ܠ marks the goal: "And they entered *the tent*.">

1.17 ܐܚܠ Aphel (trans.) *put in*

Definition: An agent causes a patient, under its own power or not under its own power, to move along a path toward a goal and to cross a recognized boundary before reaching the goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is human or inanimate (a hand, words). The goal is a spatial location (the space between Moses' robe and his torso, land, God's "personal space"). The boundary is a recognized limit around the location (in this corpus, the edge of a garment, a national boundary, the edge of heaven as God's personal domain). ܠ marks the goal when it is the inside of Moses' robe or a geographical location. عبم marks the goal when it is the presence of God.

References: 4:6(2x)<ܠ marks the goal in both cases: "Put your hand *into your bosom* … He put his hand *into his bosom*.">; 13:5<ܠ marks the goal: "when the Lord brings you *into the land of the Canaanites* (et al.) …">,11<ܠ marks the goal: "when the Lord brings you *into the land of the Canaanites* …">; 18:19<عبم marks the goal: "Be bringing their matters *to the Lord*.">

1.18 ܫܕܪ Peal (trans.) *put*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal that is lower than the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is human (infant) or inanimate (basket, words, jar, stone, book). The goal is a relatively small, well-defined physical space, which may or may not be physically bounded. Either horizontal or vertical motion, or both at once, are relevant. The choice of preposition to mark the goal depends fairly closely on the physical relationship between the patient and the goal. ب marks the goal when the patient comes to be physically surrounded by it. عبم marks the goal when the patient comes to rest within the personal space of a divine or human goal. لعما marks the goal when the patient comes to rest beneath the goal.

References: 2:3(2x)<ب marks the goal in both cases: "And she put the boy *in it* (basket), and she put it *in the canal*.">; 4:15<ب marks the goal: "And you will put words *in his mouth*.">; 16:33<عبم marks the goal: "And place it *before the Lord*…">, 34; 17:12<لعما marks the goal: "And they placed it *under him*.">,14<عبم marks the goal: "Place [it] *before Joshua son of Nun*.">

1.19 ܢܚܬ Peal (trans.) *put*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal at any altitude. The patient is in contact with the agent until the patient reaches the goal. The patient remains lying on the goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is inanimate (dough). The goal is inanimate (kneading troughs).

Further specifications: The goal (marked with ܠ) is a partially enclosed surface. It need not be as well-defined as the goal of ܫܕܐ (1.18).

Compared with the Aphel form, ܐܘܫܕ (1.20), the Peal implies less force, as well as a number of other differences, explained in the discussion of that form.

References: 12:34<ܠ marks the goal: "and placed *on their shoulders*.">

1.20 ܐܘܫܕ Aphel (trans.) *throw down*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal below the source. The agent, in many cases, releases the patient before it reaches the goal, causing it to enter into a fall. In these cases the agent has usually exerted sufficient force on the patient that it moves with considerable speed after being released.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine, human or inanimate (wind). The patient is human (horsemen, charioteers), animate (locusts) or inanimate (staff, stick, manna, rock, blood). The goal is human (Pharaoh, nobles, people) or inanimate (ground, water, jar, doorpost). ܥܡ usually marks a human goal, but in one case (when Moses is instructed to place boundary markers to keep people from touching the foot of Mount Sinai) ܕ is used before "people." The more frequent use of ܕ is to mark goals that are inanimate and below the point of origin of the patient. ܠ marks the goal in one case in which the goal is approximately at the level of or slightly above the point of origin of the patient (this is when the people put blood on their doorposts; presumably they hold the blood in a bowl into which they dip the hyssop used as a brush to apply the blood).

Further specifications: Since this verb is derived from a transitive Peal rather than an intransitive one, it is not simply causal. The semantic differences of the Aphel are numerous:

- Use of greater force by the agent is frequent.
- Release of the patient by the agent before the patient reaches the goal is frequent.
- Downward direction of motion is inherent.
- Lack of adherence to goal is normal.

See ܢܦܠ (1.22) for a discussion of its semantic differences with this verb.

References: 4:3(2x)<ܕ marks the goal in both cases: "He said, 'Throw it *to the ground*,' and he threw it *to the ground*.">; 7:9<ܥܡ marks the goal: "and throw [it] down *before Pharaoh*.">,10<ܥܡ marks the goal: "And Aaron threw his staff down *before Pharaoh and before his nobles*.">,12<ܥܡ marks the goal: "And each man threw his staff down *before Pharaoh*.">; 10:19<ܕ marks the goal: "And it (wind) threw it (swarm of locusts) *into the Sea of Reeds*.">; 12:7<ܠ marks the goal: "And they will throw it (blood) *onto both doorposts*.">; 15:1<ܕ marks the goal: "He (God) threw them (Pharaoh and army) *into the sea*.">,21<ܕ marks the goal: "He (God) threw their riders *into the sea*.">,25<ܕ marks the goal: "and he (Moses) threw it (a stick) *into the water*.">; 16:33<ܕ marks the goal: "Put *into it* a full measure of manna.">; 19:12<ܕ marks the goal: "Place boundary markers *before the people*.">

1.21 ܐܫܕ Aphel (trans.) *send down*

Definition: An agent causes a patient, not under its own power, to move rapidly from a source, along a path, consisting of air, to a goal below the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine, the patient is inanimate (hail) and the goal (marked with ܥܠ) is inanimate (Egypt).

References: 9:23<ܥܠ marks the goal: "The Lord sent hail down *onto the land of Egypt*."><

1.22 ܙܪܐ Peal (trans.) *scatter*

Definition: An agent exerts considerable force to cause a patient made up of many parts to move, not under its own power, after the agent releases it toward a goal, along a path that initially leads upward from the source, which is the agent himself. The individual parts of the patient then separate and go along individual paths.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human and the patient is inanimate (soot). The goal (marked with ܠ) is a spatial location (the sky).

Further specifications: The semantic difference between this verb and ܐܬܕܪ "be scattered" (3.10) is that the entities that move here are inanimate particles of soot which receive their initial impulse from the movement of a hand throwing them into the air, after which they are carried by air currents. They cannot have an intention to return to the point from which they were dispersed.

The semantic difference between this verb and other verbs with the general meaning of "throw" (for example, ܐܬܚ [1.20]) is that these latter verbs refer to propelling relatively large, solid objects downward, to a location from which they can be recovered if the agent wishes; whereas ܙܪܐ refers to hurling a mass of infinitesimally small objects upward to be scattered by air currents to locations from which the agent would be unable to recover them.

References: 9:8<ܠ marks the goal: "Moses threw it (soot) *to the face of the sky*.>,10<ܠ marks the goal: "Moses threw it (soot) *to the sky*.>

1.23 ܐܪܡܐ Aphel (trans.) *stretch out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal. The patient remains constantly connected to the agent and the path.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is inanimate (a hand).

Implicit source:	trunk of body
Implicit path:	arm
Implicit goal:	greatest possible distance from trunk of body

Further specifications: This verb is semantically similar to ܪܡܐ (25.1) and ܫܛܚ (26.1), both glossed "stretch out," but these latter verbs refer to stretching out both hands rather than just one. It is also similar to ܐܬܚ "stretch out" (1.24), except that clauses with ܐܬܚ specify *over what* the hand is stretched.

This verb contrasts with ܐܢܣ "raise up" (1.7) in that the latter includes upward vertical movement, not just the horizontal movement which is the primary focus of ܐܫܠ.

References: 3:20; 4:4(2x); 9:15

1.24 ܐܢܚ Aphel (trans.) *stretch out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal. The patient remains constantly connected to the agent and the path.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is inanimate (a hand). The goal (marked with ܠܥ) is the space above a named entity (the sea).

Implicit source: trunk of body
Implicit path: arm
Implicit goal: greatest possible distance from trunk of body

Further specifications: This verb is semantically similar to ܦܫܛ (25.1) and ܦܬܚ (26.1), both glossed "stretch out," but these latter verbs refer to stretching out both hands rather than just one. It is also similar to ܐܫܠ "stretch out" (1.23), except that clauses with ܐܢܚ specify *over what* the hand is stretched.

This verb contrasts with ܐܢܣ "raise up" (1.7) in that the latter includes upward vertical movement, not just the horizontal movement which is the primary focus of ܐܢܚ.

References: 14:16<ܠܥ marks the goal: "Stretch out your hand *over the sea*.">, 26<ܠܥ marks the goal: "Stretch out your hand *over the sea*.">

1.25 ܦܫܛ Peal (trans.) *stretch out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal. The patient remains constantly connected to the agent and the path.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is inanimate (hands). The goal (marked with ܠܐ) is divine (the Lord).

Implicit source: trunk of body
Implicit path: arm
Implicit goal: greatest possible distance from trunk of body

Further specifications: This verb and ܦܬܚ "stretch out" (1.26) appear to be synonymous in their use in this corpus. They both refer to stretching out both hands simultaneously. This verb is semantically similar to ܐܫܠ "stretch out" (1.23) and ܐܢܚ "stretch out" (1.24), except that this verb is used to refer to stretching out both hands, whereas the other two are used to refer to stretching out only one hand.

This verb contrasts with ܐܢܣ "raise up" (1.7) in that the latter includes upward vertical movement, not just the horizontal movement which is the primary focus of ܦܫܛ.

References: 9:29<ܠܐ marks the goal: "I will stretch out my hand *toward the Lord*.">

1.26 ܦܫܛ Peal (trans.) *stretch out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal. The patient remains constantly connected to the agent and the path.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is inanimate (a hand). The goal is spatial (the sky, marked with ܠ) or divine (the Lord, marked with ܠܘܬ).

Implicit source: trunk of body
Implicit path: arm
Implicit goal: greatest possible distance from trunk of body; sky

Further specifications: This verb and ܦܫܩ "stretch out" (1.25) appear to be synonymous in their use in this corpus. They both refer to stretching out both hands simultaneously. This verb is semantically similar to ܐܫܩ "stretch out" (1.23) and ܐܢܚ "stretch out" (1.24), except that this verb is used to refer to stretching out both hands, whereas the other two are used to refer to stretching out only one hand.

This verb contrasts with ܐܢܣ "raise up" (1.7) in that the latter includes upward vertical movement, not just the horizontal movement which is the primary focus of ܦܫܛ.

References: 9:33<This clause has two goals, each marked with a distinct preposition: "He spread his hands *to* (ܠ) *the sky toward* (ܠܘܬ) *the Lord*.">>

2. GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL

2.1 ܐܬܐ Peal (intrans.) *come*

Definition: An actor moves, under his own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine or human. The goal is human or inanimate (a geographical location). ܠܘܬ marks a human goal. ܠܘܬ̈ marks a moving human goal (giving the sense of pursuit). ܠ marks an inanimate goal. In the lone case in which a path is named, it is marked with ܒ.

Further specifications: This is a very generic motion verb. Its closest semantic counterpart is ܐܙܠ "go" (1.1), which views the trajectory from the point of view of the source rather than the goal.

References: 2:16,17,18<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And they came *to Reuel their father*.">>; 3:1<ܠ marks the goal: "And he came *to the mountain of God, to Horeb*.">>,10; 5:15,23<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I came *to Pharaoh*.">>; 7:10<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And Moses and Aaron came *to Pharaoh*.">>; 10:3<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And Moses and Aaron came *to Pharaoh*.">>; 14:10<ܠܘܬ̈ marks the goal: "as they (Egyptians) were coming *after them* (Israelites).">>; 15:22<ܒ marks the path: "And they came a three days' journey *in the wilderness*.">>,23<ܠ marks the goal: "And they came *to Marah*.">>,27<ܠ marks the goal: "And they came *to Elim*.">>; 16:1<ܠ marks the goal: "And the whole congregation of the Israelites came *to the wilderness of Sin*.">>,22; 17:8; 18:5<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, and his children and his wife came *to Moses*.">>,6<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "Your father-in-law Jethro has come *to you*.">>,12,15<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "The people come *to me* …">>,16<ܠܘܬ

marks the goal: "they come *to me*.">,22<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "let them come *to you*.">; 19:1<ܠ marks the goal: "They came *to the wilderness of Sin*.">,2<ܠ marks the goal: "And they came *to the wilderness of Sinai*.">,7,9<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I am coming *to you* …">

2.2 ܐܝܬܐ Aphel (trans.) *bring*

Definition: An agent causes a patient, under its own power or not under its own power, to move, in the company of the agent, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is human, animate (insects) or inanimate (wind, hail, problems). The goal is divine, human, or inanimate (a geographical location). ܠܘܬ marks a divine or a male human goal. ܠ marks a female human or an inanimate goal. ܒܠܒ marks a human goal when a negative physical effect is in focus or in idiomatic expressions referring to taking a matter seriously or taking it to heart.

When the agent is God, as is often the case in this corpus, the idea of accompaniment (the patient moving with the agent) is only present in the sense that God is held to be omnipresent, since God is not anthropomorphically depicted in any of the passages as walking, running or flying anywhere while carrying anything.

Further specifications: This verb differs from ܐܝܬܐ Pael "bring" (2.3) in that its patient, in this corpus, is human, animate or inanimate, whereas the patient of ܐܝܬܐ is always animate.

This verb is distinguished from ܐܝܬܝ Peal "lead" (3.8) by the fact that the patient of ܐܝܬܐ can be human, animate or inanimate, whereas the patient of ܐܝܬܝ can only be human or animate.

References: 2:10<ܠ marks the goal: "And she brought him *to the daughter of Pharaoh*.">; 6:8<ܠ marks the goal: "And I will bring you *to the land*.">; 7:23<ܒܠܒ marks the goal: "And he did not bring this *upon his heart*" (an idiomatic expression meaning, "he did not take this to heart")>; 8:8<ܒܠܒ marks the goal: "the frogs that he had brought *upon Pharaoh*">,20<ܠ marks the goal: "And he brought a thick swarm of insects *to the house of Pharaoh and to the house of his servants*.">; 9:18,21<ܒܠܒ marks the goal: "And whoever did not bring the word of the Lord *upon his heart* …" (an idiomatic expression meaning, "whoever did not take the word of the Lord to heart")>; 10:4<ܒܠܒ marks the goal: "Tomorrow I will bring locusts *upon all your borders*.">,19; 11:1<ܒܠܒ marks the goal: "Again I am bringing a plague *upon Pharaoh and upon the Egyptians*.">; 15:17,26(2x)<ܒܠܒ marks the goal in both cases: "All the plagues that I have brought *upon the Egyptians* I will not bring *upon you*.">; 16:5; 18:26<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "and the hard matter they would bring *to Moses*.">; 19:4<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "and I brought you *to me* (God).">

In the corpus, the lone occurrence of this verb in an active form (18:12) refers to an agent (Jethro) causing animate entities (animals) to accompany him to an altar, where they are sacrificed.

Further specifications: This verb differs from ܐܙܠ (2.2) in that the patient of ܐܬܐ, in this corpus, is always animate, whereas the patient of ܐܙܠ is human, animate or inanimate. It differs from ܐܙܠ (Peal, 3.8) in that the latter verb implies movement over a relatively long distance.

References: 18:12<ܠ marks the goal: "Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, brought whole burnt offerings and sacrifices *to the Lord*.">

2.4 ܟܢܫ Peal (trans.) *gather*

Definition: An agent causes multiple patients to move from separate sources, along separate paths, to a common goal, which is a location that at least some of the patients have previously been in.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human and the patients are human and animate (people and cattle). The motion constitutes a return to a central point (goal) from multiple points to which the entities (people and cattle) had been dispersed to their current location (open country). While it is possible that the cattle had never been in the sheltered central point, it is certain that the human attendants of the cattle had been there.

Further specifications: This verb is distinguished from its near-synonym ܟܢܫ "gather" (2.6), at least in this corpus, by the fact that ܟܢܫ presupposes that the central gathering point was established well before the action of gathering took place, whereas ܟܢܫ does not presuppose the existence of any pre-established gathering point.

References: 9:19,20<ܒ marks the goal: "He gathered his servants and his cattle *at home*.">

2.5 ܐܬܟܢܫ Ethpeel (intrans.) *be gathered*

Definition: Multiple actors move from separate sources, along separate paths, to a common goal, which is a location that at least some of the actors have previously been in.

Categories of arguments: The actors are human and animate (people and cattle). The motion constitutes a return to a central point (the goal, marked with ܒܝܬܐ) from multiple points to which the actors had previously been dispersed (open country). While it is possible that the cattle had never been in the sheltered central point, it is certain that the human attendants of the cattle had been there. In the clause with the only example of this passive verb in the corpus (9:19), there is no reference to a gathering agent.

References: 9:19<ܒܝܬܐ marks the goal: "Every human and head of livestock that … is not gathered *inside a house* …">

2.6 ܟܢܫ Pael (trans.) *gather*

Definition: An agent causes multiple patients to move from separate sources, along separate paths, to a common goal.

Categories of arguments: The agents are human and the patients are human or formerly animate (dead frogs). The implicit goal is a central point (in the case of the frogs, numerous central points: heaps).

Further specifications: This verb is distinguished from its near-synonym ܣܥܠ "gather" (2.4), at least in this corpus, by the fact that ܣܥܠ presupposes that the central gathering point was established well before the action of gathering took place, whereas ܨܒ does not presuppose the existence of any pre-established gathering point.

References: 3:16; 4:29; 8:10

3. SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE

3.1 ܢܦܩ Peal (intrans.) *go out*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, from a source, past a recognized boundary, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or, in one case, inanimate (water coming out of a rock). The boundary is inanimate ("personal space" [2:11; 5:18; etc.], the edge of a river, city limits, the door of a house), often implied rather than named. The source is human ("personal space," marked with ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡ or ܡ ܠܘܬ) or inanimate (a geographical location, marked with ܡ). Interestingly enough, "the loins of Jacob" (1:4) are marked in the way normal for inanimate objects, namely, with ܡ alone, rather than with one of the compounds ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ or ܡ ܠܘܬ which seem to be considered appropriate only for "personal space" rather than the person directly. ܡ ܒ is used when the source is a group of people from among which the actor moves out. The goal is human (marked with ܠܘܬ) or inanimate (a geographical location, the act of meeting someone, marked with ܠ), although it is rarely mentioned (that is, it is understood to be any space outside the bounded space the person leaves).

Further specifications: This verb contrasts with the Peal of ܙܠ "go away" (3.3), which always has a non-human actor.

This verb contrasts with ܐܬܦܙܪ "be scattered" (3.10) in that it can have a single actor or multiple actors, but they all move together. ܐܬܦܙܪ, though, must have multiple actors which go in different directions.

This verb shares the feature of boundary crossing with ܥܠ "enter" (1.16) and ܥܒܪ "cross" (5.1).

References: 1:5<ܡ marks the source: "all the souls that came *from the loins of Jacob*">; 2:11<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "and he went out *to his brothers*.">,13; 4:14<ܠ marks the goal: "he will go out *to your meeting* (that is, to meet you).">; 5:20<ܡ ܒܝܬ marks the source: "when they went out *from the presence of Pharaoh*.">; 7:15<ܠ marks the goal: "He goes out *to the water*.">; 8:8<ܡ ܠܘܬ marks the source: "Moses and Aaron went out *from the presence of Pharaoh*.">,16<ܠ marks the goal: "He goes out *to the water*.">,26<ܡ ܠܘܬ marks the source: "Moses went out *from the presence of Pharaoh*.">; 9:29<ܡ marks the source: "When I go *out of the town* …">,33<ܡ marks the inanimate source and ܡ ܠܘܬ marks the human source: "Moses went *out of the town, out of the presence of Pharaoh*.">; 10:6<ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ marks the source: "They went out *from the presence of Pharaoh*.">,18<ܡ ܒܝܬ ܡ marks the source: "Moses went

out *from the presence of Pharaoh*.">; 11:1<ܡܢ marks the source: "All of you go out *of here*!">,4<ܠܒܪ marks the goal: "I will go out *in Egypt*.">,8(3x)<Only the third instance has a prepositionally marked argument. It is the source, marked with ܡܢ ܩܕܡ: "Moses went out *from the presence of Pharaoh* …">; 12:22<ܡܢ marks the source: "Let none of you go out *of the door of his house*.">,31<ܡܢ ܒܝܬ marks the source: "Go out *from among my people*!">,33<ܡܢ marks the source: "that they should go out *of the land*.">,41<ܡܢ marks the source: "All the hosts of the Lord went out *of the land of Egypt*.">; 13:3<ܡܢ marks the source: "you came out *of Egypt, out of the house of bondage*.">,4,8<ܡܢ marks the source: "when I came out *of Egypt*.">; 14:8; 15:20,22<ܠ marks the goal: "And they went out *to the wilderness of Shud*.">; 16:1<ܡܢ marks the source: "the Israelites went out *of Egypt*.">,27,29<ܡܢ marks the source: "And no one went out *of the door of his house*.">; 17:6<ܡܢ marks the source: "And water will come out *of it* (a stone).">,9; 18:7<ܠ marks the goal: "And Moses went out *to the meeting of his father-in-law* (that is, to meet his father-in-law).">

3.2 ܐܦܥܠ Aphel (trans.) *bring out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power or not under its own power, from a source, along a path, past a recognized boundary, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is human or inanimate (wind, dough, meat). The source is human (Egyptians collectively) or inanimate (a building, "personal space," a geographic location). The source is marked by ܡܢ alone in all but three cases: ܡܢ ܚܝܠ (7:5, a group of people), ܡܢ ܩܕܡ (10:11, Pharaoh) and ܡܢ ܒܝܬ (12:46, a tightly bounded space: a house). The boundary is inanimate (the edge of "personal space," a national boundary). The goal is inanimate (a geographic location), although it is rarely mentioned (that is, it is understood to be any space outside the bounded space the person leaves). The goal is usually marked by ܠ. In one case, though, in which physical contact is more in focus (10:13), ܥܠ is used.

Further specifications: The class of patient of ܐܦܥܠ complements the class of patient of ܐܬܐ (Pael) "take away" (3.4), which is animate but not human.

References: 3:10<ܡܢ marks the source: "Bring my people, the Israelites, out *of Egypt*.">,11<ܡܢ marks the source: "that I may bring those of the house of Israel out *of Egypt*.">,12<ܡܢ marks the source: "When you have brought the people out *of Egypt* …">; 4:6,7<ܡܢ marks the source: "and he took it (hand) out *of his bosom*.">; 6:1<ܡܢ marks the source: "he (Pharaoh) will make them (Israelites) go out *of his land*.">,6<ܡܢ marks the source: "And I will bring you out *of bondage to the Egyptians*.">,7<ܡܢ marks the source: "And I will bring you out *of bondage to the Egyptians*.">,13<ܡܢ marks the source: "to bring the Israelites out *of the land of Egypt*.">,26<ܡܢ marks the source: "Bring the Israelites out *of the land of Egypt*.">,27<ܡܢ marks the source: "to bring the Israelites out *of Egypt*.">; 7:4<ܡܢ marks the source: "And I will bring my hosts and my people, the Israelites, out *of the land of Egypt*.">,5<ܡܢ ܚܝܠ marks the source: "And I will bring the Israelites out *from among them*.">; 10:11<ܡܢ ܩܕܡ marks the source: "And they sent them out *from before the face of Pharaoh*.">,13<ܥܠ marks the goal: "And the Lord brought out a parching wind *upon the land*.">; 12:17<ܡܢ marks the source: "I have brought your

hosts out *of the land of Egypt*.">,39(2x)<ܡܢ marks the source: 1: "the dough that they had taken out *of Egypt*"; no preposition is used in second case.>,46<ܡܢ ܒܝܬ marks the source: "And do not take any of the meat *outside the house*.">,51<ܡܢ marks the source: "The Lord took the Israelites out *of the land of Egypt*.">; 13:3<ܡܢ marks the source: "the Lord brought you out *of here*.">,9<ܡܢ marks the source: "the Lord brought you out *of Egypt*.">,14<ܡܢ marks the source: "the Lord brought us out *of Egypt, out of the house of bondage*.">,16<ܡܢ marks the source: "the Lord brought you out *of Egypt*.">; 14:11<ܡܢ marks the source: "and you brought us out *of Egypt*.">; 16:3<ܠ marks the goal: "for you brought us out *to this wilderness*.">,6<ܡܢ marks the source: "that the Lord brought you out *of Egypt*.">,32<ܡܢ marks the source: "when I brought you out *of Egypt*.">; 18:1<ܡܢ marks the source: "that the Lord brought the Israelites out *of Egypt*.">; 19:17<ܠ marks the goal and ܡܢ marks the source: "Moses brought the people out *to meet God from the camp*.">

3.3 ܦܨܐ Peal (intrans.) *go away*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, from a source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is animate (frogs, flies, pillars of cloud and fire [understood as animated by God]) or inanimate (thunder, hail). The source is inanimate ("personal space", a geographical location). ܡܢ usually marks the source, but in one case (13:22), when the source is a large group of people, the compound ܡܢ ܥܡ is used.

The class of actor associated with this verb contrasts with the class of actor associated with ܢܦܩ, "go out" (3.1), which is almost always human. Also, unlike ܢܦܩ, ܦܨܐ never seems to imply consideration of a boundary or goal.

References: 8:7<ܡܢ marks the source: "And the frogs will go away *from you and from your house and from your servants and from your people*.">,27<ܡܢ marks the source: "And the swarm of insects went away *from Pharaoh and from his servants and from his people*.">; 9:29,33,34; 13:22<ܡܢ ܥܡ marks the source: "The pillar of cloud did not depart … *from before the people*.">

3.4 ܦܨܐ Pael (trans.) *take away*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power, from a source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine. The patient is animate (frogs, insects). The source (marked with ܡܢ) is human.

The class of patient associated with this verb complements the class of patient associated with ܐܦܩ "bring out" (3. 2), which is human or inanimate.

References: 8:4<ܡܢ marks the source: "And let him take away the frogs *from me and from my people*.">,5<ܡܢ marks the source: "And he will take away the frogs *from you and from your house*.">,25<ܡܢ marks the source: "And he will take the swarm of insects away *from Pharaoh*.">; 10:17<ܡܢ marks the source: "and let him take this death away *from me*.">

3.5 ܗܪܒ Peal (intrans.) *flee*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, from a source with considerable speed.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The entity from which the actor flees (that is, the source) is human (Pharaoh, Israelites), animate (a snake) or inanimate (water). The source is usually marked with ܡܢ ܥܡ. In one rather unique case, though (14:27), it is marked with ܠܩܒܠ. In this case, the unique factor is that the source (the water of the Sea of Reeds) is moving rapidly toward the actors as they try to flee from it. In all cases, fear is the actor's primary motive for acting.

References: 2:15; 4:3<ܡܢ ܥܡ marks the source: "And Moses fled *from it* (snake)."><; 14:25<ܡܢ ܥܡ marks the source: "Let's flee *from the house of Israel*."><,27<ܠܩܒܠ marks the source: "And the Egyptians were fleeing *in front of it*."><

3.6 ܐܙܠ Peal (intrans.) *set off (on a trip)*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine or human. The source is inanimate (a geographical location). The source is usually marked with ܡܢ, but in one case (14:19), when the source is a large group of people, the compound ܡܢ ܥܡ is used. The inanimate goal (a geographical location, marked with ܠ) is only occasionally mentioned.

Further specifications: This verb is semantically distinguished from ܐܙܠ "go" (1.1) by its heavy focus on the source of movement. Another verb related to ܐܙܠ is ܥܠ "arrive" (1.14); ܥܠ is distinguished by its heavy focus on the goal of the movement, precisely the opposite of the source focus of ܐܙܠ.

Note that there is a transitive Peal of this same verb meaning "carry" (5.2).

References: 12:37<ܡܢ marks the source; ܠ marks the goal: "The Israelites set of *from Ramses to Succoth*."><; 13:20<ܡܢ marks the source: "They set off *from Succoth*."><; 14:15,19(2x)<1: no preposition. 2: ܡܢ ܥܡ marks the source: "And the pillar of cloud set off *from before them*."><; 16:1<ܡܢ marks the source: "And they set off *from Elim*."><; 17:1<ܡܢ marks the source; ܠ marks the goal: "And the whole congregation of the Israelites set off *from the wilderness of Sin to their journeyings*."><; 19:2<ܡܢ marks the source: "And they set off *from Rephidin*."><

3.7 ܐܦܥܠ Aphel (trans.) *lead out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power, from a source.

Categories of arguments: The agent and the patient are human. The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (a geographical location). No goal is mentioned in the lone occurrence of this verb in the corpus (15:22).

Further specifications: This verb differs from ܫܕܪ "send" (3.11) by the fact that the agent of ܫܕܪ does not accompany the patient, while the agent of ܐܦܥܠ does accompany the patient.

References: 15:22<ܡܢ marks the source: "And Moses led those of the house of Israel out *of the Sea of Reeds*."><

3.8 ܐܚܕ Peal (trans.) *lead*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power, in the company of the agent, from a source, along a path, to a goal, which is relatively distant from the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is human or animate (livestock). The source and the goal are inanimate (geographical locations).

Further specifications: This verb is distinguished from ܐܝܠ "bring" (2.2) by the fact that the patient of ܐܝܠ can be human, animate or inanimate, whereas the patient of ܐܚܕ can only be human or animate. It differs from ܡܛܠ (Pael, 2.3) in that this latter verb implies movement over a relatively short distance.

References: 4:20; 12:32; 14:11; 17:5; 18:2

3.9 ܐܚܕ Pael (trans.) *lead via an agent*

Definition: One agent causes another agent to cause a patient to move, under its own power or not under its own power, in the company of the latter agent, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: Double agency is involved: One agent, which is divine or human (God, Egyptians), causes another agent, which is human or inanimate (Moses, pillar of fire, wind, horses), to cause a patient, which is human or inanimate (water, chariots) to move. The path (marked with ܚ) and the goal (marked with ⟍) are inanimate (geographical locations).

References: 13:18<ܚ marks the path: "And God led the people *by the road of the wilderness of the Sea of Reeds*.>; 14:21,25; 15:13(2x)<1: no source or goal expressed. 2: ⟍ marks the goal: "You led [the people] by your power *to your holy dwelling*.">

3.10 ܐܬܦܙܪ Ethpaal (intrans.) *be scattered*

Definition: Multiple actors move, under their own power, from a common source, along multiple paths, to multiple goals.

Categories of arguments: The actors are human. The source, path (marked with ܚ) and goal are all inanimate (geographical locations).

Further specifications: The semantic difference between this verb and ܦܙܪ "scatter" (1.31) is that the entities that move here are people who, of their own accord, travel to various points in geographic space. In the lone example of this verb in the corpus (5:12), the actors are understood to have the intention of returning to the point from which they started their journey. This verb has a passive form which is presumably due to the fact that there is an understood force (an inanimate agent) compelling them to move: the need to seek straw for brick-making.

This verb contrasts with verbs such as ܢܦܩ "go out" (3. 1) in that ܢܦܩ can have one or more actors, all of which move in the same direction, whereas ܐܬܦܙܪ has multiple actors who go in multiple directions. Also, ܢܦܩ involves crossing a boundary, a semantic element absent from ܐܬܦܙܪ.

References: 5:12<ܚ marks the path: "And the people were scattered *throughout all the land of Egypt*.">

3.11 ܫܕܪ Pael (trans.) *send*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power or not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine or human. The patient is human, animate (insects) or inanimate (plagues, punishment).

The most common use of this verb is to describe God or a person sending a person to another place for a particular purpose. In a few cases, it is used to refer to God sending plagues on the Egyptians, either in general terms ("plagues") or specific terms ("insects").

Further specifications: As used in the corpus, this verb contrasts with ܫܕܚ "send" (5.3) in the nature of the patient. In the lone instance of ܫܕܚ that is found in the corpus (9:35), no patient is actually mentioned, but from the context it is plain that the patient is a message that the Lord sent through Moses. Thus, the patient of ܫܕܪ is concrete (the plagues all involved concrete, physical effects of some kind), while the patient of ܫܕܚ is abstract.

This verb contrasts with ܐܬܦܩ "lead out" (3.7), in that the agent of ܫܕܪ does not accompany the patient.

References: 2:5; 3:10<ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "I will send you *to Pharaoh*."">,12,13<ܠ marks the goal: "The Lord, the God of your fathers, sent me *to you*."">,14<ܠ marks the goal: " 'I am' sent me *to you*."">,15<ܠ marks the goal: "The Lord, the God of your fathers … sent me *to you*."">,20; 4:13(2x),21,23(2x),28; 5:1,2(2x),22; 6:1,11<ܡܢ marks the source: "And he will send the Israelites *out of his land*."">; 7:2<ܡܢ marks the source: "And the Israelites he will send *out of his land*."">,13,14,16(2x)<1: ܠܘܬ marks the goal: "The Lord, the God of the Hebrews, has sent me *to you*." 2: no source or goal expressed.>,26,27; 8:4,16,17(2x)<1: no source or goal expressed. 2: ܠ marks the goal: "I will send *upon you and upon your people and upon your houses* a swarm of insects of every kind.">,24,25,28; 9:1,2,7(2x),13,14<ܠ marks the goal: "I am sending my afflictions *upon your heart and upon your servants and upon your people*.">,17,19,27,28,35; 10:4,7,10,20,27; 11:1(2x)<1: ܡܢ marks the source: "I will let you leave *here*." 2: no source or goal marked.>,10<ܡܢ marks the source: "And he did not let the Israelites go *from his land*.">; 13:15,17; 14:6<ܡܢ marks the source: "for we have let Israel go *from bondage to us*.">; 15:7; 18:27

4. SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL

4.1 ܫܒܩ Peal (trans.) *leave behind*

Definition: This verb can have two related but distinct senses, each of which requires a separate definition:

Categories of arguments:

Sense 1: An actor moves, under its own power, away from a source, causing or allowing a patient to remain at the source. (This sense is found in three out of the four occurrences of the verb in the corpus: 2:20; 10:24; 18:2.)

Sense 2: An actor at some distance from the location of a patient allows the patient to remain in its location by not causing the patient to move from its source.

It is understood, in the lone case of this sense in the corpus (9:21), that it would have been desirable for the actor to cause the patient to move. In view of the particular semantics of this sense, the location in which a patient is allowed to remain can be termed the potential source. The fact that no entity actually leaves this location causes the preposition ܒ to be used rather than the usual source-marking preposition ܡܢ.

In both senses, the actor is human. The patient is human (Moses, servants, Zipporah) or animate (cattle).

References: 2:20; 9:21<ܒ marks the potential source: "He left his servants and his cattle *in the field*." > ; 10:24; 18:2

4.2 ܢܨܠ Peal (trans.) *pull out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a higher altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent and the patient are human. The source (marked with ܡܢ) is inanimate (water) and, at least in the lone example in the corpus (2:10), the source is considered by the agent to be unsuitable as a permanent location for the patient.

Further specifications: This verb is semantically distinguished from ܫܠܦ "pull out" (4.3) by the fact that the source envisioned for ܫܠܦ fits the patient closely and is considered to be the usual location of the patient, whereas the source envisioned for ܢܨܠ does not fit the patient particularly closely and is not considered the usual location of the patient.

References: 2:10<ܡܢ marks the source: "*From the water* I pulled him out." >

4.3 ܫܠܦ Peal (trans.) *pull out*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal that is in front of the source and at least a little higher than the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is human. The patient is inanimate (a sword). The source, which is not explicitly mentioned in the lone case in the corpus (15:9), is inanimate (a sheath). The goal is inanimate (the forward part of the agent's personal space).

Further specifications: This verb is semantically distinguished from ܢܨܠ "pull out" (4.2) by the fact that the source envisioned for ܫܠܦ fits the patient closely and is considered to be the usual location of the patient, whereas the source envisioned for ܢܨܠ does not fit the patient particularly closely and is not considered the usual location of the patient.

References: 15:9

5. PATH-oriented movement, omniscient point of view

5.1 ܥܒܪ Peal (intrans.) *cross*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, along a path that ends at a goal which is just beyond a boundary.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine or human. The path (marked with ܒ) is inanimate (a relatively broad geographic location, such as a country or a sea). The boundary is implicit and inanimate (a national boundary, a shoreline, the "personal space" in front of a large group of people). The goal is also implicit and inanimate (a location just beyond the boundary).

Further specifications: This verb shares the feature of boundary crossing with ܥܠ "enter" (1.16) and ܢܦܩ "go out" (3.1).

References: 12:12<ܒ marks the path: "I will cross *through the land of Egypt*.">,23; 15:16(2x); 17:5

5.2 ܐܝܬܝ Peal (trans.) *carry*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, along a path.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine, human or inanimate (wind). The patient is human (metaphorically, in 19:4), animate (locusts) or inanimate (dough).

Further specifications: There is an intransitive Peal of this same verb meaning "set off (on a trip)" (3.6).

References: 10:13,19; 12:34; 19:4

5.3 ܫܕܪ Peal (trans.) *send*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, from a source, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine. The patient is inanimate (a message). The path (marked with ܒ) is human.

Further specifications: In this corpus, the only occurrence of this verb (9:35) refers to the sending of something abstract and inanimate (a message). It contrasts with ܫܕܚ "send" (3.11), which refers to the sending of something concrete and animate (people). In the text of the clause in question, the item sent is not even mentioned, but only the path (Moses). Thus, the primary focus is on Moses as a vehicle for the Lord's message, rather than on the message itself.

References: 9:35<ܒ marks the path: "as the Lord sent *by the hand of Moses*.">

6. Non-movement

6.1 ܩܝܡ Peal (intrans.) *remain*

Definition: An actor does not move.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or, in one case (14:19), a pillar of cloud which is a representation of the divinity. The location where the actor remains is always specified with a preposition. No particular preposition is favored; the one most appropriate for the specific position is used.

Further specifications: This verb refers to remaining in a particular location after traveling to arrive at it.

References: 2:4<ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܪܚܩܐ marks the location: "And his sister stayed *at a distance*.">; 3:5<ܥܠ marks the location: "the place *on which* you are standing">; 8:16<ܩܕܡ marks the location: "Stand *before Pharaoh*!">; 9:10<ܩܕܡ marks the

location: "They stood *before Pharaoh*."><,11ܥܡܗ marks the location: "to stand *before Moses*."><,13ܥܡܗ marks the location: "Stand *before Pharaoh*!"><; 14:19ܡܢ ܚܫܟܐ marks the location: "He stood *behind them*."><; 17:6<Four locative expressions are used following this instance of ܗܘܐ: "I will stand *there* (ܬܡܢ) *before you* (ܩܕܡܟ) *by the stone* (ܠܟܦܐ ܗܢܐ) *in Horeb* (ܒܚܘܪܒ)."><,9ܥܠ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܥܐ marks the location: "I will stand *on the top of the hill*."><; 19:17<ܒܬܚܬ ܛܘܪܐ marks the location: "And they stood *at the foot of the mountain*."><

6.2 ܐܬܩܢܝ Ethpeel (intrans.) *remain*

Definition: An actor does not move.

Categories of arguments: The actor is animate or inanimate (locusts, cattle, leaves).

Further specifications: This verb only appears in negated form in the corpus. The clauses refer to entities not remaining in the locations where they had previously remained (locusts and cattle in Egypt, leaves on trees). The location where the actor no longer remains is usually specified with a preposition. No particular preposition is favored; the one most appropriate for the specific position is used.

References: 8:27; 10:15<ܒ marks the location: "And not a leaf remained *on a tree*."><,19<ܒ marks the location: "And not even one locust remained *in all the border of the Egyptians*."><,26<The adverb ܬܡ marks the location: "And not even one hoof of our [cattle] will remain *here*."><

7. Change of posture

7.1 ܐܬܦܢܐ Ethpeel (intrans.) *turn*

Definition: An actor in a stationary location moves his head from side to side. A goal is specified as the location toward which the actor directs his gaze.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The goal (marked with ܠ) is inanimate (a geographical location).

Further specifications: In the two occurrences of this verb in the corpus (2:12; 16:10), the actors turn their gaze (and incidentally their bodies) toward a location or locations toward which they had not previously been directing their gaze, in order to see something in the direction to which they turn. However, there is no implication that they move their bodies any appreciable distance from the point where they are standing when they look around. Thus, this verb indicates a change in posture rather than a change in direction of movement, in contrast to ܗܦܟ "turn" (1.15).

References: 2:12<ܠ marks the goal: "And he turned *here and here* (this way and that)."><; 16:10<ܠ marks the goal: "They turned *toward the wilderness*."><

2.4 Summary of Prepositions Used to Mark Oblique Arguments

The main focus of this paper is the semantic character of verbs of motion. Since, though, a considerable amount of data about the prepositions that mark various

arguments has been gathered, it is helpful to summarize it here.[20] The prepositions used to mark source, path and goal are fairly consistent from one verb to the next. Broad tendencies can be documented, along with exceptions to the general rules.

Source

ܡܢ from a human or inanimate source
ܡܢ ܩܕܡ \ ܡܢ ܥܡ from (the presence of) a divine, human or animate source

Exceptions:

ܡܢ ܒܝܡܐ marks an inanimate moving source in 14:27 (Egyptians run away from the water of the Sea of Reeds as it rushes in over them, ܢܦܩ 3.5)

ܡܢ ܒܝܬ marks a collective human source in 7:5 (God brings the Israelites out from among the Egyptians, ܢܦܩ 3.2)

ܡܢ ܠ marks a collective human source in 12:31 (Pharaoh orders Moses and the Israelites to go out from among his people, ܢܦܩ 3.1)

ܡܢ ܒܝܬ marks an inanimate source in 12:46 (people are not to take any Passover food out of the house, ܢܦܩ 3.2)

Path

ܒ through an inanimate object (geographical area)

Goal

ܠ to an inanimate object or a female human

ܥܡ \ ܩܕܡ to (the presence of) a divine entity, a male human or a mixed group of males and females

ܒ to an inanimate object that partially or completely surrounds the patient

ܥܠ to any type of goal when physical contact or impact is in focus; to a position over a region of land or a body of water

Exceptions:

ܒ marks a human goal in 7:29 (frogs go up to Pharaoh and his people, ܣܠܩ 1.4); a human goal in 19:13 (no hand is to come near a person who is to be stoned, ܢܓܥ 1.10); an inanimate goal in 4:3 (Moses throws his staff to the ground, ܪܕܐ 1.20); a human goal in 19:12 (boundary markers around Mount Sinai placed before the people, ܪܕܐ 1.20)

ܠܒ marks an inanimate goal in 9:19 (people and cattle gathered inside a house, ܐܣܦ 2.5); an inanimate goal in 11:4 (the Lord goes to every part of Egypt, ܢܦܩ 3.1); an inanimate goal that is (1) large and (2) not normally entered in 14:16,22; 15:19 (the parted Sea of Reeds, ܥܠ 1.16)

[20] Janet Dyk has compiled a list of this sort for a shorter corpus in "1 Kings 2:1–9: Some Results," 300.

ܠܘܬ marks the goal when it is the space between two groups of people in 14:20 (the pillar of cloud moves between the Israelites and the Egyptians, ܐܬܐ 1.16)

ܠܘܬ always marks the goal (always human) of the verb ܐܡܪ (1.12); a human goal in 14:10 (Egyptians pursuing Israelites, ܕܒܩ 2.1)

ܠ marks a divine goal in 18:12 (Jethro brings offerings to the Lord, ܩܪܒ [Pael] 2.3)

ܐܬܐ marks a human goal when physical contact is not in view in 3:13,14,15 (Moses sent to the Israelites, ܫܕܪ 3.11)

ܥܡ marks a joint human and divine goal in 6:4 (a covenant is established which is binding upon the Lord and upon a group of people, ܩܝܡ 1.6)

ܒܝܬ marks a human goal in 17:12 (a stone is placed beneath Moses, ܣܡܟ 1.18)

2.5 From Technical Definitions to Lexicon Entries

The definitions above are, as noted toward the beginning of this paper, very abstract and technical. For a lexicon, the information in the technical description would have to be condensed to a briefer, more readable style. As an example, consider ܟܢܫ "gather" (2.4). Rather than meticulously listing all the details as they are given above, the technical names of arguments would be replaced with appropriate generic fillers for the respective syntactic positions and the description of the motion would be reduced to a smaller number of more specific terms. Such a definition might look like this: "A person causes people or animals to return from scattered locations to a central gathering point." The translation equivalent "gather" would be given following the definition. A note could be added about the contrast with ܦܙܪ, which does not imply that the gathering point is an established one to which people or animals return, but one chosen *ad hoc* for a particular activity.

3. COMPARISON OF SYRIAC STEM TYPES WITH HEBREW STEM TYPES

This treatment of the relationship between Syriac and Hebrew stem types will be fairly brief. Because of the brevity of this analysis, it is possible to include all the verbs in the corpus, rather than just the ones singled out for detailed semantic analysis above. I first list Syriac verbs classified by stem types. Then I examine the corresponding Hebrew verbs to see if there is any systematic relationship between the Syriac and the Hebrew choices. The results are displayed in summary form in the following table, which lists the Syriac and Hebrew verbs considered. It should be borne in mind that some Syriac verbs translate a rather heterogeneous collection of Hebrew verbs. Some of the more frequent Syriac verbs translate one Hebrew verb most of the time, with one or two instances of other Hebrew verbs.

Syriac		**Hebrew**	
Verb	Stem Type	Verb	Stem Type
ܐܙܠ	Peal	הלך (most) בוא (some) ישׁב (1x) שׁוב (1x) ברח (1x)	Qal Qal Qal Qal Qal
ܐܬܐ	Peal	בוא (most) הלך (few) נסע (1x)	Qal Qal Qal
	Aphel	בוא בוא (1x) שׂום שׁית (1x) מטר (1x) הפך (1x)	Hiphil Qal Qal Qal (in idiom "take to heart") Hiphil Qal
ܢܣܒ	Peal	לקח	Qal
	Pael	סבב (1x) הלך (1x) נהג (1x) נחה (1x) נהל (1x)	Hiphil Hiphil Piel Qal Piel
ܙܪܩ	Peal	זרק	Qal
ܦܢܐ	Peal	שׁוב (most) פנה (1x)	Qal Qal
	Aphel	שׁוב	Hiphil
ܥܙܠ	Peal	עוז (1x) נוס (1x)	Hiphil Hiphil
	Ethpeel	אסף (1x)	Niphal
ܫܕܪ	Aphel	שׁלח	Qal
ܐܣܦ	Pael	אסף (2x) צבר (1x)	Qal Qal
ܢܚܬ	Peal	ירד (most) היה (3x, non-motion)	Qal Qal
	Aphel	מטר (1x)	Hiphil

Syriac		**Hebrew**	
Verb	Stem Type	Verb	Stem Type
ܢܦܠ	Peal	נפל	Qal
ܢܦܩ	Peal	יצא	Qal
	Aphel	יצא (most) גרשׁ (3x) נהג (1x) שלח (1x)	Hiphil Piel Piel Piel
ܣܝܡ	Peal	שׂום (most) נוח (2x)	Qal Hiphil
ܣܥܪ	Peal	סור	Qal
ܥܠܐ	Peal	עלה	Qal
	Aphel	עלה	Hiphil
ܥܒܪ	Peal	עבר	Qal
ܒܥܐ	Peal	בוא	Qal
	Aphel	בוא	Hiphil
ܢܣ̈	Peal	נוס ברח	Qal Qal
ܦܪܫ̈	Peal	פרשׂ	Qal
ܚܕ̈ܠ	Peal	חדל סור מוש	Qal Qal Qal
	Pael	סור (2x) כרת (1x) סור (1x)	Hiphil Hiphil Qal (Syriac transitive translating Hebrew intransitive)
ܦܪܫ̈	Peal	פרשׂ	Qal
ܩܝܡ	Peal "stay"	יצב (half) עמד (half)	Hithpael Qal
	Aphel	שׂום (2x) קום (1x) עמד (1x) נתן (1x)	Qal Hiphil Hiphil Qal

Syriac		Hebrew	
Verb	Stem Type	Verb	Stem Type
ܩܪܒ	Peal	קרב (2x) קרב (1x) נגע (2x)	Qal Hiphil Qal
	Pael transitive	לקח	Qal
ܪܕܦ	Peal	רדף	Qal
ܐܢܣ	Aphel	נטה (most) רום (2x) נשׂא (1x)	Qal Hiphil Qal
ܐܢܛ	Aphel	נטה	Qal
ܢܬܠ	Peal	נתן	Qal
	Aphel	שׁלך (most) רמה (2x) תקע (1x) נתן (1x)	Hiphil Qal Qal Qal
ܥܙܒ	Peal	עזב (2x) שׁלח (1x) יצג (1x)	Qal Piel Hophal (Syriac transitive translating Hebrew intransitive)
ܫܕܚ	Pael	3 stems of same root with slightly different senses in Hebrew, conflated in Syriac שׁלח (41x) שׁלח (15x) שׁלח (1x)	 Piel Qal Hiphil
ܐܬܬܪ	Ethpeel	שׁאר (3x) יתר (1x)	Niphal Niphal
ܢܣܒ	Peal transitive	נשׂא	Qal
	Peal intransitive	נסע	Qal
	Aphel	נסע	Hiphil

From the preceding chart some generalizations can be gleaned:

1. Syriac Peal intransitives generally translate Hebrew Qal intransitives.
2. Syriac Peal transitives generally translate Hebrew Qal transitives.
3. Syriac Aphel transitives generally translate Hebrew Hiphil or Qal transitives.
4. Syriac Pael transitives generally translate Hebrew Hiphil or Qal transitives (only in three cases do they translate Piels).
5. The two Syriac Ethpeels in the corpus translate Hebrew Niphals.

Other correspondences are too few to warrant making generalizations.

The most interesting observation is perhaps the infrequency of correspondence between Syriac Pael and its "cognate" Hebrew form, the Piel. Only two equivalents of ܒܗܠ (נהל, נהג) and one of ܫܕܪ (שׁלח) are Piels in Hebrew. However, it should be noted that the Piel of שׁלח is extremely common, with 41 examples in the corpus. The other verbs occur only once each (at least as equivalents of ܒܗܠ).

The other observation of interest is the frequency with which Syriac Aphels translate Hebrew Qal transitives. The most frequent correspondences are ܐܫܠܚ = שָׁלַח, ܐܣܡ = שָׂם, ܐܬܠ = שָׂם and (once) ܐܢܬܠ, ܐܢܬ = נָטָה, ܐܢܛ = נָטָה.

Although more study of this issue would be interesting, it is beyond the scope of this paper. On the basis of the data examined, though, it does seem warranted to conclude that the Syriac translators were not appreciably influenced in their choice of stem types by the stem types in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Rather, they chose Syriac equivalents for the Hebrew based on semantic criteria.[21]

4. CONCLUSION

In the analysis of the semantics of Syriac verbs of motion, some helpful distinctions between near-synonyms have been found. Also, it has been shown that verbs of motion as a group can be cogently classified into sub-groups based on such criteria as the focus of the verb on source, path or goal, and the speaker's mental perspective from source, goal or omniscient point of view. Numerous other criteria were found to distinguish the meanings of individual verbs within each of these sub-groups.

In comparing the stem types used in Syriac with those employed in the original Hebrew text, it was found that there was no mechanical correspondence. The Syriac translators seemed to feel free to use whatever forms of words they felt best communicated the meaning of the Hebrew text, rather than slavishly copying the nearest cognate roots and stem forms that could conceivably be found in Syriac.

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[21] There is one notable exception to this general tendency: the use of the verb ܦܨܚ for the Hebrew פסח in 12:13, 23 and 27. The Syriac verb is not a cognate of the Hebrew verb translated, nor does its meaning have any relation to the meaning of the Hebrew verb. The Syriac equivalent was obviously chosen for its phonetic similarity to the Hebrew, and not for any other reason. It is of interest to note that the LXX translators were also so strongly attached to the form of the Hebrew noun that they adapted it as πάσχα, although they did not create a corresponding verb in the style of the Syriac translators.

CHAPTER 8.
NUMERALS AND NOMINAL INFLECTION IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC

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This contribution discusses those forms of the numerals in Classical Syriac that are inflected for gender (including the feminine, or perhaps pseudo-feminine forms), state (including some specialized usages of the emphatic state and the use of the construct state in combinations with a noun or suffix pronoun and as the first element of the numbers 11–19), and number (including the formation of the decades as plurals of the digits). It is argued that in Syriac the numerals have some typical morphological and syntactic features, which are related to the unique class of concepts that they represent. They share some features with the nouns and other with the adjectives, but the particular way in which they modify other nouns makes them a category *sui generis*.

1. INTRODUCTION

In many languages the numerals (the words used for counting) are a remarkable category.[1] They constitute a unique class of expressions correlating to a unique class of concepts. The interaction of numbers with concrete objects differs from that of, for example, color concepts.[2] The way in which "three" modifies "books" in "three books" differs from the way in which "green" or "large" modify "books" in "green books" and "large books." Moreover, whereas the latter can also modify a singular noun ("a green book"), the numerals are incompatible with a singular noun (*"a three book"), except for the numeral for "one" ("one book"), which is incompatible with a plural noun (*"one books").

It is precisely this unique nature of numerals that makes them behave differently from other sets of words. This is especially visible in the patterns of agreement. With only some exceptions, adjectives agree with the noun they modify

[1] The research lying behind this contribution has been supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

[2] Cf. Hurford, *The Linguistic Theory of Numerals*, 3.

in number, state, and gender, as in Judg 11:3 ܚܰܕ̈ܳܐ ܠܐܰܪܥܳܐ "in a good land", or Judg 9:4 ܪ̈ܺܝܩ̈ܶܐ ܘܫܰܛ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܶܐ "worthless and wanton men."[3] Nouns in apposition do not show this agreement, as appears from examples such as Sir 36:18 ܥܰܠ ܡܕܺܝܢ̈ܬ̈ܳܟ ܒܝܪ̈ܽܘܫ̈ܠܶܡ ܥܰܠ ܐܰܬ̈ܪ̈ܳܬ̈ܳܟ ܒܶܝܬ̈ܳܟ ܡ̈ܩ̈ܕ̈ܶܫ "on your holy city (fem.), on Jerusalem, the place (masc.) of your habitation," and probably also Sir 1:20h ܚܰܝ̈ܶܐ ܥܰܕ̈ܳܢ̈ܳܐ ܘܝܪ̈ܽܘܫ̈ܬ̈ܳܐ "life (plur.), an eternal heritage (sing.)."[4] The numerals agree with the noun they modify in gender, like the adjectives (be it only partial and be it that the agreement is "polar"[5]), but their "agreement for number" is logically and grammatically problematic. The grammatical number interferes with the logical or semantic number, which, for all numerals except for "one," is plural, even if the cardinal is formally a singular noun. Morphologically, ܝܰܘܡܳܐ in ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܶܐ ܝܰܘܡܳܐ "seven days" is a singular noun, but it contains the semantic notion of the plural, and hence, the disagreement with the plural ܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܶܐ is only morphological, not semantic.[6] Moreover, whereas the numerals usually express the notion of plurality ("ten books" is plural), they can also be taken as a single entity and subjected to plural formation (the plural of "ten" with the meaning "tens, decades"), and some plural cardinals have a specialized meaning, such as ܬ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ "thirty", morphologically the plural of ܬ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ "three."[7]

The way in which the numerals are constructed relates to the conceptual realization of counting. In addition to the well-known decimal system, there are in the world's languages other systems, which use 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 or 12 as a base. It is not a language universal that "thirty" correlates to "three,""forty" to "four," or that "21" is conceptualized as "20 + 1." The Semitic languages generally follow the decimal system,[8] for which James R. Hurford gives the following characteristics:[9]

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[3] Most examples are taken from the Peshitta to Judges, which is the subject of one of the constituents in my research project "Turgama: Computer-Assisted Analysis of the Peshitta and the Targum: Text, Language and Interpretation." Other examples are taken from the Syriac text of Ben Sira, which was the subject of my project "Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira. A Comparative Linguistic and Literary Study."

[4] Admittedly, in our first survey we found many more examples of this phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible than in the Peshitta. There are, for example, a number of cases where the Hebrew text has an abstract singular noun in apposition to a noun with different gender or number, where the Peshitta uses a construction with ,, e.g.: Jer 10:10 אלהים אמת "the true God," Peshitta: ܐܰܠܳܗܳܐ ܕܫ̈ܪ̈ܪ̈ܳܐ. (For more Hebrew examples see Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §131*c*.)

[5] See section 2.1.

[6] Compare also collectives that agree with plurals (Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §318). A similar (though not exactly the same) phenomenon occurs, for example, with proper nouns in apposition to common nouns in the emphatic state. In those cases the determination of the proper noun is lexically determined, whereas the determination of the common noun is marked morphologically.

[7] See further section 2.3.2.

[8] In Akkadian this system merged with the sexagesimal system. In addition to the formations based on the decimal system we find numerals that are based in the sexagesimal system, such as *erbetšuši* "240" (4 × 60) or *šina nēr* "1200" (2 × 600); see Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, §69*f-g*. The sexagesimal system, from which we have inherited our

- Single words for "1–10."
- Use of additions to "10" for "11–19."
- Use of multiplication by "10" (or "20") (and additions) for "20–99."
- Single words for higher bases, typically "100," "1000," and sometimes also "20."

The use of this system in the Semitic languages is characterized by two features:

- A rich variety of the ways in which "11–19" is expressed.[10]
- The formation of the decades as plurals of the digits, e.g. "threes"= "thirty."[11]

2. NOMINAL INFLECTION

The cardinals show nominal inflection for gender (masculine or feminine), state (absolute, construct, or emphatic; the construct state may precede another noun or a suffix pronoun), and number (singular or plural).

2.1 Gender

As in other Semitic languages, the cardinals occur in two realizations: with and without the feminine ending. One of the most striking features of the numerals in Semitic languages is their polarity, namely that the cardinals are inflected for gender contrary to the grammatical gender of the object counted. This raises the question as to whether the forms of the cardinals that we call feminine truly show gender inflection. Is the cardinal indeed inflected for gender, which can be considered as a sign of the development of the cardinals from nouns to "quasi-adjectives,"[12] or did the feminine forms originally indicate collectives, and is their function of agreement marker secondary? Or are we in fact dealing with a suffix of a quite different origin, something such as an abstract ending, which was reinterpreted as a feminine ending?[13] As Hetzron puts it:

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degrees of arc, seconds, and minutes is also the basis for the Akkadian system of the representation of numbers in ciphers. In this system the decimal system functions as a subset in the representation of the tens in "11–59."

[9] Hurford, "Artificially Growing a Numeral System," 15. In European languages there is intermingling of the vigesimal system. Compare the use of *vingt* "twenty" as a base number in the French names for the numbers "80–99" and the English 'score' as in 'four score and seven ago,' (Abraham Lincoln in the opening of his Gettysburg Address).

[10] See below, section 2.2.2.2.

[11] Cf. Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Zahl*, 25 and 92–93 (I thank Professor Joseph Foster for this reference); see below, section 2.3.2.

[12] Cf. Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals and Incongruence in Semitic," 180–81 (describing Reckendorf's theory): "When the group 'numeral-noun' was no longer a 'noun-noun' cluster but an 'attribute-noun' complex, the necessity of a concord in gender arose."

[13] Cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §285 (p. 271) (on the "Semitic polarity"): "Cette anomalie s'explique par la considération que ces noms n'étaient pas, en principe, des adjectifs susceptibles des flexions ordinaire, mais des mots archaïques qui prenaient le suffixe de l'abstraction, en se mettant à l'état construit avec un substantif."

> There have been in practice two main trends in interpreting this phenomenon [i.e. the polarity; WP]: (*a*) one which admitted that two opposed genders were used in the same construction (with two sub-trends, one attributing it to the grammatical status of numerals, and one presuming that "feminine" had originally had a "collective" meaning) and (*b*) another which considered the endings as "pseudo-feminine," a suffix of quite different origin which was later taken for a feminine ending.[14]

A special case is the numeral for "10." The ending *-e* in the second decade, e.g. ܥܣܪܝܢ, used to be explained as being derived from an old feminine ending *-ay*.[15] But it is now generally acknowledged that this form is due to Akkadian influence.[16] Its interpretation as a plural, which is reflected by the *seyame* in Syriac, is a secondary development.[17]

2.2 State

2.2.1 Absolute state

Cardinals usually appear in the absolute state. If the object numbered is in the absolute state, the cardinal is in the absolute state as well, e.g. Judg 1:7 ܫܒܥܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ, "seventy kings". If it is in the emphatic state, the cardinal is also in the absolute state,[18] e.g. Judg 11:33 ܥܣܪܝܢ ܩܪܝܬܐ, "twenty villages;" Judg 16:7 and others: ܫܒܥ ܬܝܪܝ̈ܢ ܚܕ̈ܬܐ, "seven fresh cords;" Judg 14:12 ܫܒܥ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܕܡܫܬܐ, "the seven days of the feast;" Judg 16:3 ܫܒܥ ܟܠ̈ܝ̈ܬ ܪܝܫܝ, "the seven locks of my head." Compare the combination with both a demonstrative (indicating determination) and the object numbered in the absolute state: Judg 14:17 ܗܢܝ ܫܒܥ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܕܡܫܬܐ "those seven days of the feast." As appears from these examples, it makes no difference whether the noun in the emphatic state is semantically determined or not.

2.2.2 Construct state

2.2.2.1 Before a "genitive noun"

Occasionally the cardinals appear in the construct state. In Syriac this happens mainly "for the purpose of denoting things which are closely associated," as in ܐܪܒܥ ܪ̈ܘ̈ܚܬ̈ܐ, "the four winds;" ܫܬܐ ܝܘ̈ܡ̈ܐ, "the Hexameron (of the Creation);" ܫ

[14] Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals," 180. Hetzron himself explains the polarity of the cardinals from an earlier stage in Proto-Semitic in which there existed polarity of nouns, according to which the plural of a masculine noun was feminine and the plural of a feminine noun masculine, and in which the cardinals were accompanied by plural nouns, with which they agreed positively. See Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals," esp. 196.

[15] Thus e.g. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §§105–106.

[16] See especially Hetzron, "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System," 184–86.

[17] See below, section 2.3.2 "Plural."

[18] Thus e.g. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §197*e*.a

ܫܬܗ̈ܘܢ "their six wings;" ܥܣܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܕ̈ܝ, "the ten cities (Δεκάπολις)."[19] In Western Aramaic dialects the use of the construct state is more common and we can even observe the development of special construct state forms ending in *-ti*/*-te* for the numerals three to ten, as in שבעתי שבלייה "the seven sheaves" and שבעתי תורייה "the seven cows."[20] This is the case in the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Geniza, in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and in Samaritan Aramaic.[21] In Biblical Aramaic there is one unambiguous instance of a preceding numeral in the construct state in Ezra 7:14 שבעת יעצה "his seven counselors."[22] The construct state of "two" is also attested in Qumran Aramaic[23] and Nabatean.[24] In Targum Jonathan to Samuel there is one example of a numeral in the construct state, in 2 Sam 23:4 שבעת יומיא "seven days," which is "irregular not only in terms of determination (the phrase is semantically indeterminate) but also because it is the only instance of a st. cs. form of a numeral."[25]

2.2.2.2 Special case: 11–19

In the Semitic languages the numbers 11–19 are expressed in different ways.[26] Lipiński discerns four basic patterns:[27] (1) digits in construct state, followed by "ten;" (2) digits with the fixed ending *-a*, followed by "ten" with the same ending; (3) asyndetic juxtaposition; (4) "ten" preceding the digit and joined to it by "and." The teen-(and)-digit construction is attested in many Aramaic dialects, but not in Syriac and Babylonian Aramaic. It is the only construction used in the Aramaic of the Achaemenid Period and Nabatean.[28] The digit-teen order is common in Syriac.

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[19] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §152 (quotation from Crichton's translation); Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*, §328; cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, p. 271 (Duval seems to suggest that these formations are later innovations rather than traces of a usage that had been more widespread.)

[20] Examples from Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 535*b* s.v. שבע. It has been argued that this is the same suffix that has been preserved in Syriac between the cardinals and pronominal suffix pronouns (see below, section 2.2.2.3); thus e.g. Praetorius, Review of Friedrich Schwally, *Idioticon des christlichpalästinischen Aramäisch*, 367.

[21] Fassberg, *Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah*, §47*e–h* (p. 129); Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, 133; Rudolf Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*, 313; Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 129; Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 1:458.

[22] Cf. Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, §67*c*.

[23] Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 127.

[24] See Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, 1:94.

[25] Kuty, "Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel," 74, note 22.

[26] Cf. Percy van Keulen's contribution to the present volume.

[27] Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 297; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:489.

[28] Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System", 186. In the Aramaic of the Achaemenid Period (as well as in Mandaic), both elements have the same gender marking, e.g. עשרה וחמשה (Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 90; Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System," 184). In Nabatean the teen-word never has the feminine ending (Hetzron, ibid.).

Hetzron has argued that this latter order is an innovation in Central Semitic, which has replaced the more analytic construction teen-(and)-digit.

Lipiński's description suggests that the digit-ten construction attests also to the use of the construct state form and that e.g. ܬܠܬܥܣܪ "thirteen" should be interpreted as "the three of ten." This interpretation is also advocated by Reckendorf[29] and Barth[30] but rejected by Joüon.[31] Hetzron speaks of "the unclearness of the grammatical relationship between the components of the teen-numerals."[32] Because of the complexity of the material, we cannot be sure that the digit-teen constructions reflect additional examples of digits in the construct state.

2.2.2.3 In construct state before a suffix pronoun

The construct state is also used before suffix pronouns. Thus we find ܬܪܝܗܘܢ "the two of them (masc.)," ܬܪܬܝܗܝܢ "the two of them (fem.)," ܬܠܬܗܘܢ "the three of them (masc.)," ܬܠܬܗܝܢ "the three of them (fem.)," ܐܪܒܥܬܗܘܢ "the four of them" etc.[33] As appears from these examples, the number "two" takes the suffix after the normal dual form;[34] "three" takes it after the suffix ـَيْ (*ay*), which has been interpreted as a dual ending (on the analogy ܬܪܝܗܘܢ; thus Brockelmann[35]) or as a plural ending (thus Duval[36]); and"four" to "ten" contain the ending ـَاتَيْ (*ātay*) between the cardinal and the suffix pronoun. This is a combination of the feminine ending ـَة (*t*)[37] and the (pseudo-)dual/plural ending ـَيْ (*ay*).[38] In "three," the ـَة for the feminine has disappeared because of the final ـَة of ܬܠܬ (*tlāt-t-ay>tlātay*).[39] Some have seen in the ـَاتَيْ (*tay*) element the same ending that occurs in the construct state forms of the cardinals in later West Aramaic dialects.[40] The vowel ـَ (*a*) before the ـَة has given rise to the idea that these forms contain also the plural feminine ending,[41] but

[29] Reckendorf, "Die Bau der semitischen Zahlwörter," 550.

[30] Barth, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, 2:7–17; see Reckendorf ibid.

[31] Joüon, "Sur les noms de nombre en sémitique," 138.

[32] Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System," 179; see also ibid. 176: "There is indeed a good chance that the short feminine pre-teen digits have the shape of a construct state by coincidence, rather than by function."

[33] Cf. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §149; Costaz, *Grammaire*, §317.

[34] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:488.

[35] Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §160.

[36] Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §288.

[37] Thus e.g. Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*, §316, who speaks of the "insertion of a feminine ending."

[38] Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, 1:488; Payne Smith's*Thesaurus* reflects the same interpretation because it refers to "ܫܒܥܬܝ *nos septem*" as "**Pl.** cum aff.;" see *Thesaurus* II, 4035 s.v. ܫܒܥ; cf. Costaz, *Grammaire*, §316 ("à la façon des pluriels").

[39] Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §160. For a similar analysis of the Biblical Aramaic form תְּלָתֵהוֹן see Bauer–Leander, *Grammatik des Biblischen Aramäischen*, §67*h* (p. 249); Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, §73.

[40] See above, section 2.2.2.1.

[41] Thus Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §288.

Brockelmann explains it as a formation on the analogy of ܫܬܝܢ.[42] In this form, the cardinal ܬܪ is directly followed by the ending ◌ܰܝ (*ay*). The complete ending ◌ܳܬܰܝ (*ātay*) has been introduced in the other forms, resulting in forms such as ܫܬܝܢ.[43]

The cardinals with suffixes are often followed by a determinate noun indicating the object counted,[44] e.g. Gen 48:13 Peshitta ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܒܢܘܗܝ "his two sons."[45] Suffixes are also attached to cardinals that have acquired a specialized meaning, such as ܬܪܥܣܪ "the Twelve," with suffix: ܬܪܥܣܪܗ.[46] This is related to the use of the cardinals in the emphatic state (see below, section 2.2.3).

2.2.3 Emphatic state

Sometimes the cardinals appear in the emphatic state with a specialized meaning, e.g. ܐܪܒܥܐ "quaternion," "four together," ܥܣܪ "decade,"[47] ܬܪܥܣܪ "the Twelve (Apostles)."[48] Such formations can also take a suffix, e.g. ܬܪܥܣܪܗ "his Twelve."[49] In Palmyrene we do already find עשרתא for "council of ten" (cf. Greek δεκάπρωτοι.)[50]

The emphatic state is also used to indicate the days of the month, e.g. ܬܪܬܝܢ "on the 2nd day of the month;"[51] ܬܠܬܐ "on the 3rd day of the month."[52] For the days of the week, however, the absolute state is used.[53]

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[42] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:488.

[43] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:488; idem, *Syrische Grammatik*, §160, Anm.; see also Praetorius, Review of Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich palästinischen Aramäisch*, 367.

[44] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §238; Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §160. For other forms of Aramaic see Fassberg, *Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments*, §47*e* (p. 129); Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, 128; Kuty, "Samuel,"84.

[45] Cf. Gen 48:1 ܒܢܝ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ and see Avinery, "Syntaxe de la Peshitta sur le Pentateuche," 85–89. According to Avinery the construction in 48:1 is "determinate," that in 48:13 "more determinate;" cf. Peursen, *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira*, 219, note 124.

[46] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §151.

[47] Cf. Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 537 s.v. ܥܣܪ.

[48] Cf. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §151; Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 272; Costaz, *Grammaire*, §327; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:488.

[49] See above, section 2.2.2 (end).

[50] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 347; Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften*, 82.

[51] ܬܪܬܝ is "rare" according to CSD 620*a* and *Thesaurus* II, 4468.

[52] Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 272; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:488; cf. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §150, but Nöldeke calls these forms "St. abs.," which suggests that he interprets these forms as fem. st. abs. rather than masc. st. emph.; see the following footnote on the days of the week.

[53] Weninger, "Die Wochentagsbezeichnungen im Syrischen," 161; cf. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §161, Anm. 1. The ending ܐ added to the cardinal in e.g. ܬܠܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ "Tuesday" (often ignored in grammars) is the absolute state feminine rather than the emphatic state masculine (Weninger, ibid.). In this respect the names of the days of the week differ from those of the days of the month (Professor Stefan Weninger, personal

We further find emphatic states for the numbers "hundred," "thousand," and "ten thousand:" ܡܐܐ "hundred:" st. emph. ܡܐܬܐ, plural ܡܐܐ̈ܬ̈ܐ; ܐܠܦ "thousand:" st. emph. ܐܠܦܐ; plural: ܐܠܦ̈ܐ, (ܐܠܦ̈ܝ); ܪܒܘ "ten thousand," st. emph. ܪܒܘܬܐ, plural ܪܒܘ̈ܬ̈ܐ.[54]

In Syriac we do not find a special emphatic state form for the numeral "one," which is attested in some other Late Aramaic dialects, as in דכרא חדתא "the one ram."[55]

2.3 Number

2.3.1 Dual

In Classical Syriac there are some traces of a dual ending, which is, however, no longer a productive element in the language system. It has been preserved in the numerals ܬܪܝܢ, ܬܪܬܝܢ "two" and ܡܐܬܝܢ "two hundred."[56] In the case of ܬܪܝܢ, ܬܪܬܝܢ the dual ending is part of the numeral itself, and that is probably also the reason why this numeral did not take a plural ending for the formation of "twenty," as happened with the other tens (e.g. "thirty" = the number for "three" + plural ending). "Twenty" was originally formed as a dual of "ten," but in Aramaic (as well as in Hebrew and Arabic) the dual ending (*en*) was replaced by the plural ending (*in*) on the analogy of the other tens,[57] whereas in other Semitic languages the numbers for "30" to "90" received the dual ending on the analogy of "20."[58]

2.3.2 Plural

Most often cardinals are nouns in the singular. Only occasionally the numeral appears or seems to appear in the plural. In Syriac and other forms of Aramaic this happens in the following cases:

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communication). In Jewish Aramaic the emphatic state is also used for the days of the week, e.g. ארבעתא "Wednesday" (Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 129); similarly in Palmyrene (Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, 127).

[54] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §148C.

[55] Kuty, "Samuel," 84; Fassberg, *Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments*, 132; Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*, 312.

[56] We also find the vocalization as a plural (ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ); cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 347 (addition to §148C): "In any case ܡܐܬܝܢ is the earlier form, e.g. without variants in John 21:8 ed. G. H. Gwilliam, while the New York edition and G. H. Bernstein have the form with ـ̈ـ."Cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 152, esp. n. 4. On these cases of the dual ending in Syriac see also Costaz, *Grammaire*, §142 (Costaz also mentions ܫܒܥܝܢ) and Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §260 (Duval also mentions ܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ; but note that ܫܒܥ̈ܝܢ is vocalized as a plural).

[57] Differently Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 290. According to Lipiński, "'twenty' is expressed by the plural of 'ten' and the following tens are formed analogically by adding the plural ending to the numerals from 'three' to 'ten'."

[58] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:490; cf. Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System," 192–93. Hetzron himself thinks that originally all the round tens of Proto-Semitic ended in the dual ending *-a:* (ibid. 194).

1) Real plurals, of the type ܥܣܪܝܢ "decades," e.g. ܡܐܬܬܐ and ܡܐܬܬܝܢ, from ܚܕ "one;"[59] ܥܣܪܝܢ ܚܕ "*decem decades*;"[60] ܡܐܐ (st. abs.), ܡܐܬܐ (st. emph.) "hundreds," from ܡܐ; ܐܠܦ (st. abs.), ܐܠܦܐ (st. emph.) "thousands," from ܐܠܦ; ܪܒܘ (st. abs.), ܪܒܘܬܐ (st. emph.), from ܪܒ.[61]
2) Plurals to indicated the decades:
   a. The plural of "ten" for "twenty:" ܥܣܪܝܢ.[62]
   b. The plurals of "three" to "nine" for "thirty" to "ninety," e.g. ܬܠܬܝܢ "thirty."[63]
3) Plural formations with the same meaning as the cardinal without plural ending:[64]
   a. Cardinals with suffixes of the type ܬܠܬܗܘܢ "the three of them," with a plural (or dual) ending before the suffix (see above, section 2.2.2.3). It is hard to decide whether this is a "real" plural ending, to be explained in terms of attraction to the plural suffix pronoun,[65] or

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[59] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §148; Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 215*a*; CSD 127*b*. For this type of plural building cf. ܐܚܘܗܝ and ܐܚܘܬܐ, plurals of ܐܚ (Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, §115). For the plural of "one" in Semitic languages see Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:484; Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 293; cf. Biblical Hebrew: דברים אחדים "identical words" (Gen 11:1).

[60] Cf. Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, 537 s.v. ܥܣܪ.

[61] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §148C.

[62] Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer*, 25, compares the Danish *tyve* "20," which is originally a plural of 10 (see also ibid., 77).

[63] These plurals are treated inconsistently in the dictionaries. This suggests uncertainty about the question as to whether, for example, ܫܒܥܝܢ should be treated as a plural of ܫܒܥ and be mentioned under the lemma of the latter, or whether it is a lexeme in its own right, that should receive its own lemma. In CSD ܐܪܒܥܝܢ "forty" (27*b*) and ܫܒܥܝܢ "seventy" (557*a*) receive their own lemma, whereas the other decades are taken as the plurals of the digits. See Percy van Keulen's contribution to the present volume.

[64] In Dutch a similar usage seems to be attested in certain well-defined contexts, e.g. *wij tweeën* "the two of us," *bij zessen* "around six o'clock;" *in tweeën* "into two pieces." These plural endings are the result of a reinterpretation of an ancient case ending, which took place after the collapse of the case system in Dutch; cf. Van Loey, *Schönfelds Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands*, 154. (I am indebted to Aleid Fokma for this reference.) Professor Jadranka Gvozdanović told me that plurals of numbers are also attested in Kiranti languages (which belong to the Tibeto-Birman family) for nonhuman animate beings and inanimate objects; cf. her description of the numbers in Kulung in her book *Language System and Its Change*, 147. This may be related to the fact that the in these languages the numerical roots are often bound morphemes that are combined with a measure noun (Professor George Driem, personal communication).

[65] Cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 272, note 1 (following his interpretation of ܚܡܫܐ as a plural, see above): "Cette tendance des nombres à suivre les flexions des autres noms non-seulement pour le genre, mais aussi pour le pluriel, est manifeste en araméen (…) Ils prennent également la forme du pluriel avec les suffixes des pronoms."

rather a pseudo-plural.[66] The explanation given in section 2.2.2.3 implies that morphological analogy formation rather than the semantic expression of plurality accounts for this ending.

b. Cardinals in the construct state before another noun, i.e. the type שבעתי תורייה "the seven cows". The dual/plural ending that in Syriac occurs before suffixes is probably related to the construct state forms with the ending תי in West Aramaic dialects (thus e.g. Brockelmann), which means that these dialects attest to an even broader use of the plural construct state of numerals.

c. Emphatic state forms with the dual ending *ayyā*, attested in Christian Palestinian Aramaic forms of the type שבעתיא "seven."

d. Bare cardinals of the type שיתין = "six" (rather than "sixty"), e.g. שתין יומין "six days"; תמנין תורא "eight cows"; שבעין שבתות "seven weeks."[67] To our best knowledge this usage is not attested in Syriac.[68]

Brockelmann reconstructs a process of analogy formation from (a) to (d), which attests to an increased use in plural formations of the cardinals in various forms of Aramaic. The collision between the forms mentioned under (d) and the decades (mentioned under 2) explains why the process stopped here.[69] Two other cases of this category are controversial:

e. The interpretation of the "teen" in "11–19," ـْصْعَ, as a plural (Duval[70]) is nowadays generally rejected. This form is rather due to Akkadian influence. The seyame is a secondary development, enhanced by the formal similarity with the emphatic state masculine plural ending.[71]

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[66] Cf. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, §73 (on תְּלָתֵהוֹן): "augmented by the ending of the pl. masc., as happens in connection with some prepositions," which implies a relationship with the (pseudo-) plural endings that some prepositions take before suffixes.

[67] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 125; cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:489.

[68] In five cases the Peshitta to the Pentateuch has a plural form where the MT has a single digit: Gen 11:13 MT: "three;" Pesh 12b1: ܬܠܬܝܢ other manuscripts: ܬܠܬ; Num 2:24 MT: "eight;" Pesh 5b1: ܬܡܢܝܢ; other manuscripts: ܬܡܢܐ; Num 18:16 MT: "five;" Pesh: ܫܬܐܝܢ; Num 31:37 MT: "five," Pesh: ܫܬܐܝܢ; Num 31:38 MT: "two;" Pesh: ـْصْعَ. In Num 31:37, 38 the difference can be explained exegetically. The numbers are part of the compound numbers 675 and 672, which in the Peshitta have become 6750 and 6720. In Gen 11:13 and Num 2:24 there is inner-Syriac variation. (I thank Dr Percy van Keulen for these references.)

[69] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:489; cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 272, note 1, quoted above, footnote 65.

[70] Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 272 (§285*b*).

[71] Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System," 184–86.

f. Duval has argued that in the forms for "4" to "10," the *-ay* ending is attached to the feminine plural ending *-āt*, e.g. ܐܘܚܕܵܡ̈ܵܝ. But Praetorius and Brockelmann have argued that this analysis is incorrect and that the numbers take the ◌ُ on the analogy of ܐܚܕܵܡ̈ܵܝ.[72]

3. SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOR

3.1 Nominal and adjectival features

Cardinals are originally nouns (except for the numbers "one" and "two," which are originally adjectives),[73] and in many respects they function as nouns. Thus they occupy typical nominal slots, such as those after a preposition, in juxtaposition to another noun, and in the construct state before a so-called genitive noun or before a suffix pronoun. However, they also have some "adjectival" features, such as the partial agreement with the nouns they modify. Hetzron, in a description of Reckendorf's theory, speaks of "the change of the grammatical status of the numerals from noun to 'quasi-adjective.'"[74] Paul Joüon speaks of cardinals as a category *sui generis*:

> Les nombres cardinaux constituent dans la plupart des langues une catégorie grammaticale *sui generis*, qui tient à la fois du substantif et de l'adjectif (…) qu'un nombre grammaticalement substantif pourra facilement évoluer vers l'adjectif et inversement, (…) on peut dire qu'en fait aucun n'est purement substantif ni purement adjectif.[75]

The particular behavior that distinguishes the cardinals from the other nouns is especially clear in their role as modifier of another noun. And whether we call this role "apposition" or "adjectival attribute" depends on the answer to the question to what extent the cardinals in this function are still nouns. We will address this question in the following paragraph.

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[72] See above, section 2.2.2.

[73] Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1:484. Somewhat differently Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, 293: "The numerals 'one' and 'two' are either substantives (…) or adjectives which agree with the noun they determine in gender, and the numeral 'one' even in number (…)." The examples that Lipiński gives include Hebrew **על אחד ההרים** "on one of the mountains" for the substantival use and **דברים אחדים** "identical words" for the adjectival use with agreement in number.

[74] Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals," 180–81; cf. Reckendorf "Die Bau der semitischen Zahlwörter."

[75] Joüon, "Sur les noms de nombre en sémitique," 133; cf. Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals," 181. Compare on Biblical Hebrew: Joüon–Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §100*a*: "The nouns denoting number are in origin either substantives or adjectives, but all of them, to varying degrees, now possess a mixed character, partly substantival, partly adjectival."

3.2 Juxtaposed to another noun: adjectival attribute or apposition?

A number of grammars speak of cardinals juxtaposed to other nouns as appositions. This implies their analysis as nouns rather than adjectives.[76] The fact that they can occur either before or after the object counted corroborates this analysis.[77] Nevertheless, it is precisely this use of cardinals in apposition that may have caused a development in which the cardinals gradually became to be felt as adjectives.[78] They share the inflection for gender with adjectives rather than with appositions.[79]

In this context it is worth observing that Classical Syriac dictionaries reflect some inconsistency in their treatment of cardinals. On the one hand they seem to agree that the cardinals are nouns rather than adjectives; on the other hand they treat the feminine forms as inflected forms, in the same way as they treat inflected adjectives. Normal feminine nouns which are derived from masculine nouns sometimes receive their own entry in the lexicon. In CSD, for example, ܐܲܠܗܵܐ "goddess" receives its own lemma, beside the lemma ܐܲܠܗ, "god" (st. abs.).[80] No lexicon, however, will give ܐܲܠܗܵܐ a separate entry beside the lemma ܐܲܠܗ. In this respect, the cardinals are treated in the same way as adjectives, because in the case of adjectives too, the feminine forms are subsumed under the entry of the masculine form. The feminine form of the adjective ܛܵܒ "good," i.e. ܛܒܵܐ, for example, will be found under the lemma ܛܵܒ, rather than in a separate entry ܛܒܵܐ.

The inflection of the cardinals in agreement with the object counted can indeed be seen as an adjectival feature, but we should add that the agreement is partial and irregular. Most consistent is the agreement in gender, but this agreement is not an unequivocal adjectival feature because of the "Semitic polarity." The "polar agreement" between the cardinals and the noun to which they have been juxtaposed has been put forward as a sign of their development to "quasi-adjectives" (because of the agreement), but also as an indication of their non-adjectival character (because of the polarity).[81] Moreover, in the forms with suffixes there is only gender differentiation for "two", i.e. ܬܪܝܗܘܢ (masc.) and ܬܪܝܗܝܢ (fem.), but not for the other

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[76] But cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §369: "Les noms de nombre se mettent en *apposition* avec les substantifs, comme des *adjectifs*" (italics mine).

[77] Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, §237: "The numeral stands, by way of apposition, either before or after that which is numbered." But contrast, again, Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §369: "Les noms de nombre se mettent en *apposition* avec les substantifs, comme des *adjectifs*; comme les adjectifs indéfinis, ils précèdent, plus rarement ils suivent." (italics mine). *Pace* Joüon, "Sur les noms de nombre en sémitique," 133 n. 2: "La place du nombre (avant ou après le nom) n'est pas un critère sûr pour déterminer son caractère substantival ou adjectival."

[78] Cf. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, §285*a*.

[79] Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, §211A: "The *Attribute* as an Adjective stands in the same Gender and Number as the Substantive, and throughout in the corresponding State" (quotation from Crichton's translation).

[80] Cf. Van Keulen, "Feminine Nominal Endings in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac." Van Keulen demonstrates that the lexica are often inconsistent. Thus in the same CSD, ܐܲܪܬܵܐ "lioness" is given under ܐܲܪܝܵ "lion."

[81] See section 2.1.1.

numbers, e.g. ܫܬܐ (masc.), ܫܬ̈ܐ (fem.) and the forms of the teens and the hundreds do not have gender differentiation at all, as was already noted by Bar Hebraeus.[82]

If the object numbered is in the absolute state, the cardinal is in the absolute state as well. This gives the impression that the numerals agree in state with the object counted, but this is deceptive, since the cardinal usually remains in the absolute state if the object numbered is in the emphatic state.[83]

The agreement in number is rare. Most often cardinals are nouns in the singular and hence, one could argue that the only regular agreement construction occurs with the numeral for "one," combined with a singular noun. Only occasionally the numeral appears or seems to appear in the plural.

4. CONCLUSION

In this article we have focused on the nominal inflection of numerals and the way in which this inflection is employed for the expression of agreement between the numeral and the noun it modifies.

The numerals agree in gender with the object numbered, but the agreement is partial and irregular. And in those cases where the numeral does agree, it shows one of the most striking enigmas of the Semitic languages (with parallels in other Afro-Asiatic languages), namely the so-called "Semitic polarity."

The numerals usually appear in the absolute state, irrespective of the state of the noun they modify, but some specialized usages of the construct state and the emphatic state are attested.

The relation of the numerals to the concept of plurality and the grammatical category of number is complex. The numerals for 3–10 are singular nouns, which can modify plural nouns. In these cases the incongruence between the semantic plurality and the morphological singular is most visible. The numerals appear in the plural when they are taken as a single entity ("ten" = "decade") and for the expression of the decades ("threes" = "thirty"), but there is also a tendency to add plural endings without a change in meaning ("threes" = "three"). In Syriac this is restricted to forms before suffixes, where it can be explained in terms of morphological analogy formation derived from the dual ending of "two", but other forms of Aramaic attest to a wider usage, including forms in the construct state before nouns, in the emphatic state and even in the absolute state. There the development stopped because of the collision with the decades.

In short, in Syriac and other forms of Aramaic the numerals have some typical morphological and syntactic features, which are related to the unique class of concepts that they represent. They share some features with the nouns and other with the adjectives, but the particular way in which they modify other nouns makes them a category *sui generis*.

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[82] Moberg, *Livre des Splendeurs*, 73; translation: Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen*, 139.

[83] If the object counted is determinate, there is an alternative construction, in which the numeral receives a suffix; see above, section 2.2.2.3.

CHAPTER 9.
LEXICOGRAPHICAL TROUBLES WITH THE CARDINAL NUMERALS 1–20 IN THE ARAMAIC OF THE TARGUMIM AND IN CLASSICAL SYRIAC

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Many differences in detail can be observed between classical Aramaic and Syriac lexicons in dealing with the cardinal numerals 1–20. Several lexicons reveal inconsistencies and shortcomings suggesting that lexicographers have inadequately reflected on the relationship between lemmatization and morphology. In this contribution the main problems concerning the numerals 1–20 are singled out for discussion. It is argued that a coherent lexicography of these numerals is feasible if their morphology is taken as the point of departure.

1. INTRODUCTION

The numerals 1–20 receive widely divergent treatments in classical Syriac and Aramaic lexicons. On the one hand, several lexicons deal with these numerals in a most inconsistent way. On the other hand, between lexicons considerable variation in the treatment of individual numerals can be discerned. Both phenomena are signs of a more fundamental problem which concerns the relation between lemmatization and morphology. In this contribution the lexical problems raised by the numerals 1–20 are expounded with the aid of eight tables, each showing the lexicographical treatment of the numerals 1–20 and the tens by a particular lexicon. It will be argued that most lexicographical problems can be solved by consistently treating numerals as nouns that exhibit inflection for gender and number. The eight lexicons subjected to analysis are evenly distributed over Aramaic and Syriac.

2. ARAMAIC LEXICONS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Levy, Jacob. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*. Leipzig: Verlag von Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1867–1868.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form[1]
	3–10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending[2]) two lemmas for 7: שב and שבע
11–19	uncontracted forms	11 12 13 under עסר 12 13 16 18 under corresponding digit 15 17 19 not included (14 not extant)
	contracted forms	11 14 15 separate lemma 12 13 16 17 18 lemma refers to description under corresponding digit; 17 שבסרי under שב
20	under עסר; interpreted as plural comm.	
tens	under corresponding numbers of the first decade; interpreted as plurals	

Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London: Luzac, 1903.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3 5–10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending)
	4	lemma is the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending)
11–19	uncontracted forms	11 under עשר 12 13 15 16 18 19 under corresponding digit 17 not included (14 not extant)
	contracted forms	11–19 separate lemma; 11 also included under עשר; 12–16 18 19 also included under corresponding digit
20	under עשר; interpreted as plural	
tens	under corresponding numbers of the first decade; interpreted as plurals; 90	

[1] The numeral 2, תר, has the masculine dual ending יִן.

[2] This ending is empty.

	not included

Dalman, Gustaf H. *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch. 3rd edition*. Göttingen: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1938.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3 5–10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending). masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending) is indicated as feminine (f.)
	4	lemma is the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending). feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending) is indicated as feminine (f.) [sic].
11–19	uncontracted forms	12 15–19 under corresponding digit 13 under עסר 11 not included (14 not extant)
	contracted forms	11–14, 16–18 separate lemma; alternative contracted forms are separately lemmatized (11 12) 15 not included
20	under עסר	
tens	under corresponding numbers of the first decade	

Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990.

1–10	lemma is the masculine absolute state form (3–10 with feminine inflectional ending)
11–19	contracted form (masculine) as subentry under corresponding digit; both contracted and uncontracted forms mentioned under subentry
20	under עשרא; interpreted as plural
tens	under corresponding numbers of the first decade

3. SYRIAC LEXICONS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Payne Smith, Robert. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879–1901.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3–10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending)

11–19	11 12 subentry under lemma ܥܣܪ 12 entry refers to description under lemma ܥܣܪ 13 14 17 18 19 under corresponding digit 15 16 separate lemma various contracted forms mentioned
20	subentry under lemma ܥܣܪ
tens	30 80 subentry under corresponding digit; interpreted as plural 40 50 60 separate lemma 70 90 under corresponding digit; interpreted as plural
	Neo-Syriac forms and forms of Evangeliarium Hierosolytanum are included as separate entries; they are not considered in this table.

Payne Smith, Jessie. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3–10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending)
11–19	11–13 15–19 lemma is the masculine absolute state form; various contracted forms mentioned 11 16 17 19 also mentioned as derivative under corresponding digit 14 under corresponding digit	
20	under ܥܣܪ; interpreted as plural	
tens	30 50 60 80 90 under corresponding digit 40 70 separate lemma 70 also mentioned as derivative under 7	
200	under 100	

Brockelmann, Karl. *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2nd edition. Halle: Verlag Max Niemeyer, 1928.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3 7 8	lemma is the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending)
	4–6 9 10	lemma is the feminine absolute state form (with masculine inflectional ending)
11–19	11 13 16–18 not included 12 separate lemma 14 15 19 subentry under corresponding digit	
20	under ܥܣܪ; interpreted as plural	

tens	30 50 60 70 80 subentry under corresponding digit 40 90 not included
200	subentry under 100; interpreted as dual

Costaz, Louis. *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français* (*Syriac-English Dictionary*). Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1963.

1–10	1 2	lemma is the masculine absolute state form
	3–10	lemma is the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending)
11–19	11 not included 12 separate lemma 12 13 15 16 18 19 subentry under corresponding digit 14 17 under corresponding digit (no subentries) various contracted forms mentioned	
20	under عشر; interpreted as plural	
tens	30 50 60 70 80 90 subentry under corresponding digit 40 not included	
200	under 100	

4. DISCUSSION

Close consideration of the above tables allows us to identify a number of pressing problems and shortcomings related to the lexicographical treatment of Aramaic and Syriac numerals:

4.1 Internal inconsistency

In one and the same lexicon, morphologically similar numbers are sometimes treated differently. A few examples may suffice. In Levy, the uncontracted forms of the teen words are mentioned under עסר (11), under their corresponding digits (16 18), or under both (12 13). Brockelmann offers 12 as a separate lemma, whereas he mentions 14 15 19 as subentries under their corresponding digits. CSD treats most tens under their corresponding digits (30 50 60 80 90), but includes 40 and 70 as separate lemmas, and moreover mentions 70 as a derivative of 7.

4.2 Incompleteness

The lexicons of Brockelmann and Costaz leave some of the numerals 1–20 and of the tens unmentioned: Brockelmann 11 13 16–18 40 90; Costaz 11 40. The Aramaic lexicons differ from each other in the contracted and uncontracted forms of the teens they mention.

Inconsistent and incomplete treatment of numerals may seem to be easily avoidable in lexicography. Though it would be pedantic to overemphasize the shortcomings in the aforementioned lexicons, in particular the lack of consistency is

interesting because it reveals the uncertainty of some lexicographers regarding the morphology of numerals.

A closer look at the lexicons under consideration brings to light more fundamental questions as to the lexicography of the numerals 1–20. Below, four questions will be discussed, each having a bearing on the relationship between morphology, syntax and lemmatization. The view taken here is that difficulties can be largely avoided if numerals are consistently regarded as nouns exhibiting inflection for gender, state, and number. Elsewhere I have argued in favor of a lexeme-based lemmatization in lexicons.[3] In this conception, each lemma is to correspond to a distinct lexeme. A lexeme can be defined as an unbroken nucleus of lexical morphemes to which the inflectional affixes are added. Such a nucleus consists of at least one stem, and possibly derivational affixes. The lexeme determines the meaning and part of speech of a word. From this definition it follows that a derivational affix is part of the lexeme, whereas an inflectional affix is not.[4] In order to determine the shape of the lexeme, one needs to know whether an affix, if there is one, is derivational or inflectional in nature. In Semitic languages, nouns exhibit inflectional affixes and, sometimes, derivational affixes. This means that the lexical treatment of these nouns depends on the morphological analysis of the affixes which can be discerned in them. In a lexeme-based lemmatization, the derivational affix is constitutive to the lemma, whereas the inflectional affix is not, because that ending does not influence the form of the lexeme. Since cardinal numerals are nouns, they can be lemmatized coherently once the status of their affixes is known. Below it will be argued that most affixes in cardinal numerals are inflectional. As a consequence, the number of lemmas required to describe these numerals in a lexicographically adequate manner is limited. This approach may help sort out four problems regarding numerals that emerge in the classical lexicons.

4.3 Lexicons differ in the choice of the lemma of the numerals 3–10

Thesaurus, CSD, Jastrow and Dalman take the feminine absolute state form as the lemma; however, in Jastrow and Dalman the lemma of 4 is the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending). Levy, Sokoloff and Costaz take the masculine absolute state form (with feminine inflectional ending) as the lemma. Brockelmann is quite inconsistent in adopting the masculine absolute state form as the lemma for 3 7 8, and the feminine absolute state form as the lemma for 4–6 9 10.

The obvious cause of the discord lies in the question of whether the choice of the lemma should be guided by grammatical or morphological considerations. The gender of a noun is usually indicated by its inflectional ending. This is the case with numerals 1, 2, 10–12, which agree in gender with what is numbered. With numerals

[3] P. S. F. van Keulen, "Feminine Nominal Endings," 27–39.

[4] Derivation may be defined as the addition of an affix to a root to modify its meaning or change its part of speech. The process of derivation leads to the formation of new lexemes. The derivational affix is the affix inside and part of a lexeme. Inflection, on the other hand, is the addition of an affix to a lexeme to determine the grammatical functions of the word. The inflectional affix is not part of a lexeme.

3–10, however, the gender indicated by the inflectional ending contrasts with the gender of what is numbered (so-called Semitic polarity or chiastic concord). As these numerals, too, are supposed to agree in gender with what is numbered, masculine forms are labelled as feminine in gender and feminine forms as masculine. This is what has been done in all dictionaries discussed. The dictionaries, however, disagree as to which form is to be chosen as the lemma: the form with masculine inflection or the form that *behaves* syntactically as masculine in relation to what is numbered. So the question is what takes precedence: morphology or syntax?

If a lexeme-based lemmatization is adopted, the form chosen as the lemma should reflect the lexeme as closely as possible. In nouns with masculine inflection, the absolute state form, which has no visible ending, always reflects the bare lexeme. For that reason the masculine absolute state form of a noun, if attested in the linguistic corpus, should be taken as the lemma. This principle also applies to numerals 3–10, of which the masculine absolute state forms without ending are widely attested in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac. Morphology, rather than syntax, should determine the choice of the lemma.

4.4 Lexicons deal in various ways with the numerals 11–19

In Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, the numerals 11–19 are composed of a digit and a teen word. In Hebrew, these numerals are written as two separate words. In Aramaic, forms written as two words occur alongside forms written as a single word; it depends on the form of Aramaic which type prevails. In Syriac, only forms written as one word are found. Where numerals are written as one word, they often show contraction: consonants that may be expected on lexical or morphological grounds are not realized or are substituted for others. Contraction occurs in the contact zone of the digit and teen word and often involves the ending of the digit.

As was shown above, it is with the numerals of the second decade in particular that lexicons display inner inconsistency and incompleteness in treatment. Moreover, lexicons differ among themselves as to the lexicographical approach toward these numerals. In CSD the numerals 11–19 are each mentioned as a separate lemma, though some are also mentioned as derivatives under the lemma of the corresponding digit. On the other hand, in Thesaurus the numerals 13 14 17 18 19 are arranged under the corresponding digits, 15 16 occur as separate entries, whereas 11 and 12 even appear under ܥܣܪ “ten.” Brockelmann and Costaz include 12 as a separate lemma and arrange the remaining numbers of the second decade, insofar as these are mentioned at all, under the corresponding digits.

As regards the Aramaic numerals, lexicographers find themselves faced with the problem that forms written as one word occur alongside forms written as two words. The difference coincides with that between contracted forms and uncontracted ones, since forms written as one word always show contraction, while forms written as two words never do. The lexicons of Levy, Jastrow and Dalman can be seen to make some distinction between the two groups. Broadly speaking, forms written as two words are mentioned under the corresponding digits, and forms written as one word, that is to say, the contracted forms, are lemmatized separately. However, Levy refers part of the contracted forms to the corresponding

digits, while Jastrow mentions contracted forms under the corresponding digits in addition to lemmatizing them separately. Furthermore, in the lexicons of Levy and Jastrow a few forms are also mentioned under עסר/ עשר "ten," while in Dalman 13 is even exclusively described under עסר. Sokoloff makes no lexicographical distinction between forms written as a single word and forms written as two separate words and includes the latter under the entries of the contracted forms.

The prevailing lexicographical confusion is a major inconvenience to the user of Aramaic and Syriac lexicons. A more coherent lexical treatment of the numerals 11–19 is feasible if the morphological information contained in the two component parts is taken as the point of departure. In many forms of the numerals 13–19, the pre-teen digit can be seen to end in feminine *–t*. This is the usual feminine ending for nouns in the construct state. Since numerals are considered nouns, the ending *–t* in pre-teen digits may be interpreted as the feminine construct state ending.[5] Thus, inflection according to state and gender is visible in the pre-teen digit of Aramaic forms written as two words, as in חמישת עשרה "fifteen"[6] and תמנת עסר "eighteen."[7] It is also visible in forms written as one word and contracted forms, both in Aramaic and Syriac, as in ܫܬܥܣܪ alongside ܫܬܣܪ "fifteen,"[8] and ܬܫܥܣܪ alongside ܬܣܪ "nineteen."[9] In תרתיסרי and תריסרי "twelve," inflection can be discerned in the dual form of the pre-teen digit.[10] The ending of the teen words also varies according to gender: עסר, ܣܪ (masculine absolute state) and עסרי /עסרא, ܥܣܪܐ (feminine absolute state). Below I will address the question of whether the feminine ending is derivational or inflectional. Frequently, with numerals 11–19 the endings of digit and teen can be found to be opposite in gender, and thus to exhibit internal polarity. Examples are חדסרי "eleven,"[11] ארבעסרי "fourteen,"[12] שתת עסר and שית עסרי "sixteen,"[13] תשע עשרי "nineteen,"[14] ܬܫܥܣܪ and ܬܡܢܬܣܪ "eighteen."[15] Often, however, numerals do not exhibit

[5] In the Hebrew numerals 13–19 which precede a masculine substantive, the pre-teen digit does not exhibit the feminine construct state ending *–t* but the absolute state ending *–h*, as in שלשה עשר "thirteen" and ארבעה עשר "fourteen". The pre-teen digits in numerals preceding a feminine substantive are vocalized as construct state forms, but it has been thought that these forms only resemble construct state forms and do not reflect a construct state in function (thus P. Joüon & T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 100e: "The first noun closely linked with the second takes a reduced form, which is often similar to the form of the cst. state").

[6] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 480b.

[7] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 444b.

[8] Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 109a.

[9] Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 838a.

[10] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 450b, 449a, respectively.

[11] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 138a; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 431b.

[12] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 38b; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 114b.

[13] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 422b.

[14] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1705a.

[15] Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 394a.

internal polarity, as in Aramaic חדסר and חדיסר "eleven,"[16] תלת עסר "thirteen,"[17] חמיש עשר "fifteen,"[18] שבעת עסרא "seventeen,"[19] and in Syriac ܐܚܕ ܥܣܪ "eleven,"[20] ܬܪܬܥܣܪ "twelve,"[21] ܫܬܥܣܪ "fifteen,"[22] ܫܬܣܥܣܪ "sixteen,"[23] ܫܒܥܣܪ "seventeen."[24]

The circumstance that inflection is still active in the pre-teen digit of forms written as one word argues in favour of treating the numerals 11–19 as two lexemes, that is, digit and teen word. For a lexeme-oriented lexicography, as is advocated here, this would imply that the forms written as one word, even the contracted ones, are not to be lemmatized separately. However, it would be unacceptable for a lexicon not to contain entries for current contracted forms. In this regard, the principle that each lemma is to correspond to a unique lexeme must be sacrificed to the demand of user-friendliness. Lemmatization of the contractions may be confined to the masculine forms if the corresponding feminine form(s) as well as alternative contractions are mentioned in the same entry. The lexeme-oriented approach requires that the entry make explicit reference to the digit and teen word which are the constituent lexemes of the contracted form.

4.5 The nature of the feminine teen word

If the digit and teen word in the numerals 11–19 are treated as separate lexemes, as was recommended in section 4.4, the question arises where the teen word is to be placed lexicographically. Can it be arranged under "ten," or does it represent a distinct lexeme that is to be lemmatized separately? An observation that may provide a clue to answering this question is that in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac there are formal differences between "ten" and the teen word. In Hebrew "ten" and the teen word are vocalized differently. In Aramaic the masculine forms of "ten" and "teen" are identically vocalized, but the feminine forms show a marked difference both in ending and vocalization. In Syriac, where the teen word is written together with the preceding digit, the feminine form receives the ending of the masculine plural emphatic state form, both regarding final letter and punctuation. See the table on the following page:

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[16] Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 431b.

[17] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 318b.

[18] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 152b.

[19] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 414a.

[20] CSD 128a.

[21] Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 837b; Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 398b; CSD 621b.

[22] Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 242a; Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 109a; CSD 148a.

[23] Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 385a; CSD 601b.

[24] Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français*, 357b; CSD 557a.

	ten		teen word	
absolute state	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
Hebrew	עֶשֶׂר	עֶשְׂרָה	עָשָׂר	עֶשְׂרֵה
Aramaic	עֶשַׂר	עַשְׂרָה, עַשְׂרָא	עֲשַׂר	עַשְׂרֵי
	עֲסַר	עַסְרָה, עַסְרָא	עֲסַר	עֲסְרֵי, עַסְרֵי
Syriac	ܥܶܣܪ	ܥܶܣܪܵܐ	ܥܣܪ-	ܥܣܪܹܐ-

As in Hebrew, the final vowel *-ē* of the feminine teen words in Aramaic and Syriac is a notable feature that sets them apart from the feminine form of "ten," which shows the usual ending in *-ā*. It should be noted that the seyāmē in the Syriac feminine teen word is somewhat misleading; the ending in *-ē* of the feminine teen, which is homonymous with the masculine plural emphatic state ending, attracted the seyāmē of the latter.[25]

The nature of the final feminine vowel *-ē* of the teen words in relation to the feminine ending in *-ā* of "ten" is not explained in the lexicons under consideration. Levy and Jastrow mention the Aramaic feminine teen word under עֲסַר / עֲשַׂר "ten" as part of composite forms like חד סרי "eleven" and תרתי סרי "twelve," without accounting for the form סרי.[26] In Dalman and Sokoloff the word appears under עֲסַר and עַסְרָא, respectively, without any interpretation being offered.[27] In Syriac lexicons no mention has been made of the Syriac teen word because it is always written together with the preceding digit.

Thus, insofar as lexicons mention the teen word at all, they include it in the entry of "ten," apparently as a mere allomorph.[28] However, the difference between the feminine form of the teen word and "ten" cast doubt on the correctness of that assessment. Even though the teen word historically is a form of the numeral 10, there may be sound reasons to distinguish it lexicographically from "ten." According to one interpretation, עַשְׂרֵי in Aramaic, עֶשְׂרֵה in Hebrew and ܥܣܪܹܐ in Syriac—the two latter forms developed from *'sry*—attest to the archaic (derivational) feminine morpheme *-ay*.[29] If that is correct, the feminine teen words mentioned in the previous sentence all deserve to be lemmatized separately, because a derivational ending is reckoned as part of the lexeme, and in a lexeme-oriented lexicon each lexeme is to receive its own lemma.

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[25] Thus Hetzron, "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System," 186, note 1. Note, however, that "in manuscripts there is a great deal of variation in the use of seyāmē with numbers" (Coakley, *Robinson's Paradigms*, § 29).

[26] Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 232ab; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1127a.

[27] Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 318b; Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 884b.

[28] It should be noted that this is different from calling the teen word another form of the numeral 10.

[29] Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, § 80; Joüon–Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 100e; Muraoka, *Classical Syriac Grammar*, § 28; Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, §83; Van Keulen, "Feminine Nominal Endings," section 2.3, B.

A different view, advanced by R. Hetzron, ascribes the ending *-ē* to Akkadian influence.[30] Akkadian has *–(e)šeret* for the feminine teen word. According to Hetzron, Aramaic borrowed the shape of the ending *-et*. The first vowel and the final *-t* of Akkadian *-šeret* were reduced to *-srē* in Aramaic.[31] The ending *-ē* was marked by the mater lectionis ‏י-‏ in Babylonian Aramaic, but by ‏ܝ-‏ in Syriac. In Hebrew *-ē* (possibly introduced there via Aramaic)[32] was rationalized as a feminine ending by spelling it with a final ‏ה-‏.[33] Even though in Akkadian the ending *-et* may have been inflectional, in Aramaic *-ē* is not a feminine inflectional ending. Both ‏י-‏ in Babylonian Aramaic and ‏ܝ-‏ in classical Syriac are derivational endings. As a consequence, ‏עַשְׂרֵי‏ and ‏ܥܣܪܝ‏ are to be included as separate lemmas in the lexicons. In light of the Aramaic evidence, ‏עֶשְׂרֵה‏ in Hebrew may be lemmatized analogously.[34]

I abstain from expressing a preference for one view. Here it suffices to notice that, since both views give rise to the conclusion that the feminine ending of the teen word is derivational, it is commendable to introduce ‏עַשְׂרֵי‏ and ‏ܥܣܪܝ‏ each as a separate lemma in Aramaic and Syriac lexicons, respectively.

4.6 Twenty: Inflection of the tens?

All the aforementioned lexicons treat the tens, 20 included,[35] as plurals of the digits. Still, the tens do not show inflection according to gender, since only forms with the

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[30] Hetzron, "Semitic Numeral System," esp. 174, 187–188. This view replaces another one advanced in an earlier publication (R. Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals and Incongruence in Semitic," 191–192; repeated in "Semitic Numeral System," 173–174): "-teens are secondary formations out of 'ten' to fulfill new requirements imposed by the reversing of the order 'ten-digit' into 'digit-te(e)n'." Thus, the feminine teen-word ‏עֶשְׂרֵה‏ would be a "feminization" of the masculine "ten" ‏עֶשֶׂר‏, and the masculine teen-word ‏עָשָׂר‏ a "de-feminization" of the feminine "ten" ‏עֲשָׂרָה‏. In ‏עֶשְׂרֵה‏, "the raised vowel *ɛ* imposed its long counterpart *e* as a substitute for the *å* that usually followed an *a*" ("Semitic Numeral System," 174). Hetzron's reason for replacing this view with the one expounded in the running text is that "the innovation of the teens was probably not an isolated development in Proto-Hebrew, but was due to a cultural influence affecting the whole area" ("Semitic Numeral System," 174).

[31] Hetzron remarks that "through the expected loss of the final *-t*, [*-et*] had to become *-e*" ("Semitic Numeral System," esp. 174) without explicitly stating the reason for the loss of *-t*.

[32] Cf. Bauer–Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache,* § 79m: "Die Fem.—Form ‏עֶשְׂרֵה‏ wohl Aramaismus."

[33] A comparable view is held by E. Lipiński (*Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, § 35.17): "in Assyro-babylonian, in Ugaritic, in Aramaic, and in Hebrew, the ending *-it* or *-ih* > *-ē* is added to the numeral 'ten' when the teens are used with a feminine noun; e.g. Babylonian *ḫamiššerit*, 'fifteen'; Ugaritic *šbʿ ʿšrh*, 'seventeen'; Syriac *ʾarbaʿsərē*, 'fourteen'; Hebrew *šəlošʿeśrē*, 'thirteen'."

[34] As is actually done in KBL 742b.

[35] According to K. Brockelmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik,* I, § 249) 20 was originally expressed as the dual of 10, but in Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac the dual form was subsequently superseded by the plural ending of the other tens. Hetzron ("Semitic Numeral System," 194) claims that in Proto-Semitic originally all the round tens had the dual

masculine ending in *–yn* occur. Nor do the tens concord with the number of what is counted when this is the singular, and naturally so, since their meaning is bound to the plural ending. Now it could be argued that, as they do not concord in gender with what is counted, inflection is no longer active in them. This would imply that the tens should be lemmatized separately, because their ending *–yn* is to be considered derivational.

However, the tens are substantives[36] that, unlike adjectives, do not need to agree in gender to what is counted (which mostly appears in apposition). The fact that, from a morphological viewpoint, they are genuine plurals of the digits justifies treating them also lexicographically as plurals of digits. In this respect, the lexicons under consideration are not in need of correction.

5. CONCLUSION

The presentation of Aramaic and Syriac numerals in lexicons is inadequate and, in a few cases, even inconsistent. A more balanced lexicographical treatment of the numerals 1–20, based on morphology, is feasible. Being nouns, numerals are subject to inflection, which involves the addition of an affix to a lexeme to determine the grammatical functions number, state and gender. Once an ending of a numeral is recognized as inflectional in nature, it is possible to establish its lexeme. In a lexeme-oriented lexicon, as is advocated here, each lemma is to correspond to a unique lexeme. Regarding the lexicography of the numerals 1–20 the implications of this morphological approach are as follows:

- In the numerals 3–10, the lemma should consist of the absolute state form with masculine ending that is grammatically feminine, rather than of the grammatically masculine form with feminine ending.
- The numerals 11–19 fall into two lexemes, because inflection proves to be active in the pre-teen digit. As a consequence, these numerals are to be mentioned in the entries of the digits. However, as a concession to the user, entries may be incorporated for contracted forms.
- The teen word in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac is to receive a separate lemma, since it corresponds to a lexeme different from "ten." The feminine ending *-h* is probably derivational in character rather than inflectional.
- In Syriac, Aramaic and Hebrew, 20 should be mentioned under the lemma "2," that is, if the ending in *–yn* is to be considered inflectional.

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ending. Thus, in Hebrew the vocalization of 20, 70, and 90, which is inconsistent with the regular plural formation, still seems to presuppose the dual ending. Later on, the dual ending was replaced by the plural ending without any readjustment in the vocalization of the stem. Whichever way one looks at it, it is clear that in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, the vocalization—which often was added only subsequently—unambiguously indicates a plural ending.

[36] See for instance Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, I, § 249.

CHAPTER 10.
THE COGNATE VERBS שים AND ܫܰܡ IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

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In a joint effort of the Peshitta Institute Leiden and the Werkgroep Informatica* of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam an electronic database of Syriac texts is being developed. Percy van Keulen and I have been assigned the Books of Kings, which we have analyzed from morpheme level up through clause-level parsing. Using the Hebrew material already available in the Werkgroep Informatica database, a synopsis of the Masoretic text and the Peshitta has been made at clause level. On the basis of the synopsis, clause constituents have been matched, providing a basis for matching phrases within clauses, and for matching words within phrases. One of the products is an electronic translation concordance with lists of translation correspondences occurring within Kings, which was introduced at the 2005 ISLP meeting in Philadelphia.[1] The lexical items occurring at corresponding points in the two texts need not necessarily be lexicon-based semantic translations of one another, but they are what do occur at that point in the two texts. In this manner, both similarities and differences are brought to light. The occurrences of the two cognate verbs שים and ܫܰܡ within Kings are illustrative of the factors at work during the process of translation.

The Hebrew verb שים and the cognate Syriac verb ܫܰܡ occur numerous times in Kings. The spelling of these two verbs can be taken to correspond fully, in spite of the difference in the initial letter. Hebrew שׂ *śin* is the only letter of the alphabet which has no corresponding letter in Syriac. Instead the ܣ *semkath* occurs in most related forms. Both of these *mediae infirmae* verbs mean "place or set something somewhere."

In Kings, שים occurs fifty-one times in the Masoretic text and ܫܰܡ occurs fifty-six times in the Peshitta. In twenty-five cases—only about half of the

* Since 3 May 2013 renamed "Eep Talstra Centre for Bible and Computer."

[1] Dyk, "Synopsis-Based Translation Concordance."

occurrences—the two verbs are paired as corresponding in the translation. In spite of the overlap in the semantics and syntax of these two verbs, there are apparently considerable differences.

One of these differences involves the patterns of elements occurring with the verb. Linguistics has borrowed the term "valence" from chemistry, where it refers to the potential an element has of combining with other elements. Different combinations render different composite elements. The term is applied in linguistics to indicate the potential of a verb to occur in various combinations of elements. In linguistics as well as in chemistry, different combinations produce different effects, that is, the significance of the verb varies according to the combination of elements with which it occurs in a sentence. Table 1 gives in alphabetical order the verbs occurring in Peshitta Kings as a translation of שים.

שים	1 × ܐܣܪ, "bind"
	1 × ܚܫܒ, "reckon, regard"
	1 × ܐܬܒ Aph, "make dwell, appoint set (cause to sit)"
	1 × ܐܬܟܣܐ Ethpa, "be covered with, be clothed with"
	1 × ܟܢܫ, "pile up, heap"
	1 × ܢܣܒ, "take, receive, assume"
	25 × ܣܝܡ
	7 × ܥܒܕ, "do, make"
	3 × ܣܝܡ Aph, "raise, set, place, rouse"
	6 × ܫܕܐ Aph, "throw, cast, set, place"
	1 × ܫܡܗ, "name, denominate, assume a name"
	1 × ܬܩܢ Pa, "fashion, furnish, arrange, get ready"
	2 × not translated

Table 1: Syriac Correspondences of שים *in Kings*

To try to understand what lies behind the various renderings, we look first at cases with a single object in the Hebrew text and then at other patterns.

1. שים WITH A SINGLE OBJECT

1.1 The Basic Meaning

The basic meaning of שים, "place or set something somewhere," is clearly present when there is

- a concrete object which can be placed and
- a location where the object is placed.

In such cases, the meaning is quite literal, as in the case where Elisha addresses his servant in:

2 Kings 4:29

ושמת משענתי על פני הנער

ܘܫܰܝ̰ܡ̰ܬ̰ ܡܫܥܢܬ̰ܝ ܥܠ ܦ̰ܢ̰ܝ ܥܰܠ̰ܡ̰ܐ ܘܐܦ̰ܩ̰ ܠ̰ܡ̰ܫܥܢ̰ܬ̰ܟ̰ ܒ̰ܝ̰ܕ̰ ܬ̰ܫ̰ܝ̰ܡ̰ ܥ̰ܠ̰ ܦ̰ܢ̰ܝ ܥ̰ܠ̰ܡ̰ܐ

"and put my staff upon the face of the lad"

In some contexts, the location is not mentioned, and the action is simply "setting" a concrete object, in the sense of "preparing, getting ready," as in:

Gen 43:31, 32

שימו לחם וישימו לו לבדו ולהם לבדם

"'Set bread. ' And they set for him alone and for them alone."

In these patterns when a phrase beginning with ל, "to, for" occurs, it is used to indicate location only in combination with the expressions **לפני**, "before the face of,"[2] **לעיני**, "before the eyes of,"[3] **לפי /למו־פי**, "upon the mouth,"[4] and **לנגד**, "over against."[5] Elsewhere in combination with the verb **שים**, the phrase beginning with ל introduces the one affected by the action, as in the example just cited.

The effect often benefits the one involved, but in a few cases the effect is negative, as in Ex 15:2, where we read that "(Amalek) who placed (himself) against (ל) him (Israel) in the way when he came up from Egypt"—thus barring Israel's way.[6]

When either the object or the location involved is not tangible, the expression has a more figurative sense.

In many contexts the Hebrew verb is rendered by the Syriac verb ܫܰܝ, both in a literal sense,[7] when the object involved can be concretely placed in the mentioned location, and in a figurative sense when the relation is more abstract, as in:

1 Kings 9:3

הקדשתי את־הבית הזה אשר בנתה לשום־שמי שם עד־עולם

ܩ̰ܕ̰ܫ̰ܬ̰ ܐ̰ܬ̰ ܗ̰ܒ̰ܝ̰ܬ̰ ܗ̰ܙ̰ܐ ܐ̰ܫ̰ܪ ܒ̰ܢ̰ܬ̰ ܠ̰ܫ̰ܘ̰ܡ̰ ܫ̰ܡ̰ܝ ܫ̰ܡ̰ ܥ̰ܕ̰ ܥ̰ܘ̰ܠ̰ܡ̰ ܘ̰ܐ̰ܫ̰ܝ̰ܡ̰ ܠ̰ܒ̰ܝ̰ ܫ̰ܡ̰ ܥ̰ܠ̰ ܕ̰ܗ̰ܒ̰ ܗ̰ܘ̰ ܘ̰ܠ̰ܒ̰ܝ̰ ܬ̰ܗ̰ ܫ̰ܡ̰ ܟ̰ܠ̰ ܝ̰ܡ̰ܝ

"I have hallowed this house which you have built to place my name there forever"

In this example, placing one's own name involves singling out or appointing for a special bond.[8]

The verb can have the sense of "preparing, getting ready," as in:

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[2] MT Ex 21:1; 1 Sam 9:24; 2 Kings 6:22.

[3] MT Gen 30:41.

[4] MT Job 29:9; 40:4.

[5] MT Ps 54:5; 86:14.

[6] See also Deut 22:14: "and give (put) occasions of speech against (ל) her."

[7] 15×: 1 Kings 12:29; 18:23 (3×), 33, 42; 2 Kings 4:29, 31, 34; 6:22; 9:13; 10:7; 13:16; 20:7; 21:7 (1st occurrence).

[8] Also in 1 Kings 11:36; 14:21; 2 Kings 21:4, 7 (2nd occurrence).

1 Kings 20:12—twice without object

שימו וישימו על־העיר

"'Set!' And they set against the city"

ܫܘܡ ܘܫܘܡ ܥܠ ܩܪܝܬܐ

Lit.: "Set to set against the city," that is, "prepare for battle; set the battle in array"

In the Masoretic text, the imperative is followed by the execution of the command in the imperfect consecutive. These are rendered in the Peshitta as an imperative followed by an infinitive, which functions as emphasis to the verb,[9] thus rendering the two verbs (the command and the execution of the command) in the Masoretic text as a single action.

Particularly when body parts are involved as the object, a specific nuance is present, as in:[10]

1 Kings 2:15

ועלי שמו כל־ישראל פניהם למלך

ܘܥܠܝ ܫܡܘ ܟܠ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܡܠܟ

"and upon me has all Israel set their faces to reign / that I will be king," that is, all Israel was looking expectantly to him that he should be king

2 Kings 12:18

וישם חזאל פניו לעלות על־ירושלם

ܘܫܡ ܣܥܠ ܐܦܝܗܝ ܠܡܣܩ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ

"Hazael set his face to go up against Jerusalem," that is, he was determined to go up / prepared to go up against Jerusalem

The Hebrew verb **שים** with an object which is not concrete plus a **ל** phrase "for the benefit of" has the sense of "appoint; set in place; institute:"[11]

2 Sam 23:5

כי ברית עולם שם לי

"for an everlasting covenant has he established for me"

This sense can also be understood in the following example, where one can read literally "I will place a place for (**ל**) the ark:"

1 Kings 8:21

ואשם שם מקום לארון

"and I have appointed there a place for the ark"

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[9] See Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, § 296. I would like to thank an anonymous peer reviewer of this article for drawing my attention to Nöldeke's comment.

[10] See also MT Isa 41:22; Hag 2:15 with "place heart," that is, "pay heed to, consider, take to heart."

[11] For example, MT Ex 4:11 "who appointed a mouth for a man?" (lit. "who placed a mouth for man?"); Ex 15:25 "he appointed for them a statute and an ordinance;" 1 Sam 8:5 "appoint for us a king;" Job 18:2 "appoint an end to your words;" Job 28:3 "appoint an end to darkness."

ܘܐܬܬ ܬܡܢ ܐܪܘܢܐ

"and I have placed there the ark"

The Peshitta skipped one word (מקום, "place") in the rendering of this verse, perhaps finding the two locative expressions "there" and "a place" to be redundant.[12] In doing so the Syriac text reverts to the simpler pattern of literally placing the ark somewhere. In this example it is also possible that the Syriac translator read the ל as though it were a Syriac ܠ which frequently functions as the object marker.[13] The "ark" would thus have been understood as the direct object of the verb, instead of as that which was affected by the action of the verb.

1.2 Other Hebrew Correspondences of ܐܬܬ in Kings

4 × נוח Hiph I "cause to settle down, give rest"; Hiph II "lay, deposit, leave behind"[14]	ܐܬܬ
11 × נתן Qal "give, grant, put, set, make, constitute"[15]	
15 × קטר Pi and Hiph "make sacrifices smoke; send up in smoke"[16]	
25 × שים	
1 × שם "there"[17]	

Table 2: Hebrew Correspondences of ܐܬܬ in Kings

The Syriac verb is also found in Kings as the translation of several other Hebrew verbs. When occurring with an object which gets placed and a location where the

[12] The tendency of translations in general to avoid repetitions has been well documented by those doing research on translation universals. Cf., for example, Jääskeläinen, "The fate of 'The Families of Medellin'," 205: "Avoiding repetition is one of the assumed translation universals, which professional translators (as good writers) tend to engage in almost automatically."

[13] For other examples of apparently reading ל as though it were Syriac ܠ, see 1 Kings 8:21; 10:1; 2 Kings 11:4 (though this may be the result of harmonization with 2 Kings 11:19); 2 Kings 16:10.

[14] All Hiph: 1 Kings 8:9; 13:29, 30, 31. In P Kings this verb is also rendered as ܢܚ (1 Kings 5:18), ܫܕܪ (1 Kings 7:47), ܐܚܬ (1 Kings 19:3; 2 Kings 17:29; 23:18), and ܐܙܠ (2 Kings 2:15).

[15] 1 Kings 7:16; 10:17; 12:4, 9, 29; 18:23; 2 Kings 4:44; 11:12; 12:10; 16:14. In P Kings this verb is also rendered ܝܗܒ (1 Kings 2:5), ܐܡ (1 Kings 21:15), ܥܒܕ (80×), ܢܬܪ (2 Kings 19:18), ܢܬܢ (1 Kings 10:9), ܣܝܡ (31×), ܥܒܕ (1 Kings 6:19), ܫܕܪ (10×), ܣܝܡ (1 Kings 7:51), ܐܬܬ (1 Kings 2:35 [2×]; 5:19; 2 Kings 23:5), ܐܙܠ (2 Kings 8:6), ܘܐܬܬ (2 Kings 12:10; 18:14; 23:33; 25:28), ܐܚܬ (1 Kings 15:17), ܥܒܕ (19×), and not translated (2 Kings 18:23; 22:5; 23:35 [2×]).

[16] 1 Kings 3:3; 9:25; 11:8; 12:33; 13:1, 2; 22:44; 2 Kings 15:4, 35; 17:11; 18:4; 22:17; 23:5 (2×), 8. In P Kings this verb is also rendered as ܥܒܕ (2 Kings 16:13, 15), ܐܫܠ (2 Kings 12:4; 14:4; 16:4).

[17] 2 Kings 23:30.

object is placed, the Hebrew verbs נוח (Hiph) and נתן have largely the same meaning as שים does with this valence pattern.[18] The rendering ܣܡ is not surprising. Table 2 lists the Hebrew verbs rendered by ܣܡ in Peshitta Kings.

The parallel use of שים and נתן in Hebrew can be illustrated by the following example:

1 Kings 12:29

וישם את־האחד בבית־אל ואת־האחד נתן בדן

"he put (שים) the one Beth-el, and the other he set (נתן) in Dan"

In this reference, both of the verbs are rendered in the Peshitta by ܣܡ:

ܘܣܡ ܐܢܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܠ ܘܐܢܐ ܣܡ ܒܕܢ

The third Hebrew verb which is rendered by ܣܡ is קטר which means "send up in smoke, make sacrifices smoke." For this Syriac uses its own idiomatic expression: ܣܡ with the object ܒܣܡܐ, "sweet spices, incense."

This covers the range of Hebrew correspondences of ܣܡ in Peshitta Kings, except an unusual rendering of Hebrew שם, "there," in 2 Kings 23:30, where there appears to be a possible influence of the sound or shape of the Hebrew word in making this choice.

1.3 Other Syriac Correspondences of שים with a Single Object

Not all combinations of the Hebrew verb שים with an object being placed somewhere are rendered in Peshitta Kings by ܣܡ. Instead a more idiomatic rendering is used which seems to be influenced primarily by the object involved. A wide range of meanings is represented.

1.3.1 ܫܪܐ, *"bind"*

In the following example, the Peshitta chose a verb which was suited to the object involved, and in the rendering made an interesting switch in which object was to be bound where:

1 Kings 20:31

נשימה נא שקים במתנינו וחבלים בראשנו

"let us put sacks on our loins and ropes on our heads"

ܢܫܪܐ ܫܩܐ ܒܬܪܥܝ ܘܡܫܟܐ ܒܪܫ

"we will bind sacks on our heads and cords on our loins"

[18] Interestingly, in 1 Kings 22:23 where in MT נתן occurs with this valence pattern, P renders with the usual translation of נתן, namely, ܝܗܒ, "give." The difference in valence pattern in MT appears to have been missed in P in this case: MT "behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets" (KJV), while P renders "see, the Lord has given a spirit of lying in the mouths of all these your prophets."

1.3.2 ܣܥܪ, "reckon, regard"

In the following text the object in both halves of the example is "blood." In the first case, the location where the object is to be placed is not a physical location, but more metaphorical: "(the time of) peace." The significance of **שים** is here again close to the meaning, "institute, appoint," for Joab introduced an act of war during a time of peace. In the second half of the example, in which the location where the object is to be placed is concrete, **נתן** is used in the same meaning **שים** would have had in this construction.

1 Kings 2:5

וישם דמי־מלחמה בשלם ויתן דמי מלחמה בחגרתו

"he put (**שים**) the blood of war in (a time of) peace and put (**נתן**) the blood of war on his girdle"

ܘܣܥܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܬܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ ܘܐܫܪܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ ܒܙܘܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܚܨܘܗܝ

"he regarded them as though in war and shed their blood with a sword that was on his loins."

The Peshitta captured the sense of the turn of phrase in the first half of this example, using ܣܥܪ, "reckon, regard." The rest of the verse as well captures in essence the meaning of the Hebrew text while departing from an exact rendering of the phrase.

1.3.3 ܐܦ ܝܬܒ Aph, "make dwell, appoint, set (cause to sit)"

In the context of placing a king upon a throne, **שים** is rendered in the Peshitta by the causative of ܝܬܒ, "sit," Aph, "cause to sit, set:"

2 Kings 10:3

ושמתם על־כסא אביו

"and put (him) upon his father's throne"

ܘܬܬܝܡ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝ ܐܒܘܗܝ

"set (him) upon his father's throne"

1.3.4 ܐܬܦܥܠ Ethpa, "be covered with, be clothed with"

The active "he put" of the Masoretic text, referring to the donning of apparel, is rendered in the Peshitta by a passive or reflexive form of the verb "clothe," thus choosing a translation suited to the direct object:

1 Kings 21:27

וישם־שק על־בשרו

"and he put sackcloth upon his flesh"

ܘܐܬܟܣܝ ܫܩܐ ܥܠ ܒܣܪܗ

"he was clothed / he clothed himself with sackcloth upon his flesh"

1.3.5 ܢܣܒ, "take, receive, assume"

The somewhat redundant sequence of Hebrew verbs in the Masoretic text—"put in your hand and take"—and the switch in persons between "your eyes" and "they shall take" is rendered more smoothly in the Peshitta:

1 Kings 20:6

כל־מחמד עיניך ישימו בידם ולקחו

"each thing pleasing to your eyes they shall put in their hand and take (it)"

ܟܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܥܝܢܝܟ ܢܫܕܪܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܗܘܢ ܘܢܣܒܘܢ

"and each thing desirable to their eyes, they shall take in their hands and come"[19]

1.3.6 ܫܕܪ Aph, "throw, cast, set, place"

In the following instance, the Peshitta seems to add more color to the narrative by rendering "cast" instead of the more neutral "place" encountered in the Masoretic text:

1 Kings 22:27

שימו את־זה בית הכלא

"place this one in prison"

ܫܕܘ ܠܗܢܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܪܐ

"cast this one in prison"

The verb ܫܕܪ is used for placing furniture (1 Kings 2:19; 2 Kings 4:10), casting into prison (1 Kings 22:27), casting salt into a cruse (2 Kings 2:20), imposing tribute (2 Kings 18:14), placing a hook in the nose (2 Kings 19:28). The sense fits the context, but whether this verb always occurs in such contexts, rather than ܣܝܡ, has not been investigated.

1.3.7 ܣܝܡ Aph, "raise, set, place, establish, appoint"

In three instances, the Peshitta renders שים by the causative of ܣܝܡ:

2 Kings 11:18

וישם הכהן פקדות על־בית יהוה

"and the priest placed officers over the house of the LORD"

ܘܐܣܝܡ ܟܗܢܐ ܦܩܝܕܐ ܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܐ

"and the priest appointed officers over the house of the LORD"

These cases (1 Kings 20:34; 2 Kings 10:24; 11:18) all involve putting guards or captains in position, which is rendered *ad sensum* in Syriac.

2. שים WITH OTHER VALENCE PATTERNS

The Hebrew verb also occurs with two objects or with an object and phrase beginning with ב, "like," and signifies:

- make someone or something into something[20]

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[19] The first verb in the Syriac (ܢܣܒ) is the most frequent rendering of the second Hebrew verb (לקח)—65 of its 110 occurrences. The second Syriac verb (ܐܝܬ) occurs 9× as a rendering of לקח, but in all cases, except here, in the Aph—"bring" translated by "cause to come." The rendering here appears to smooth out the Hebrew text.

- cause someone or something to become (like) something[21]

As with the pattern involving a single object, this pattern can have an additional ל phrase indicating for whom the action is undertaken, or who benefits from or is disadvantaged by the action. These combinations may also contain a locative expression but the locative does not cause the expression to revert to the more basic meaning "place something somewhere," but is then extra or added information, functioning as an adjunct.

That the Peshitta translators understood well the significance of the double-object valence pattern of שים is particularly clear where they render it as ܥܒܕ, "do, effect, make" (7×), as in:

2 Kings 10:27

וישמהו למחראות עד־היום

ܘܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܠܡܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܐ ܥܕ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ

"and they made it (the house of Ba'al) into a dung heap (or: privy) until this day"

Other examples include making cedars into floats (1 Kings 5:23), making someone king (1 Kings 10:9), making the soul of Elijah as the soul of one of the prophets whom Elijah had slaughtered (1 Kings 19:2), making the people of Judah like dust (2 Kings 13:7), and making streets for a king in a specific city (1 Kings 20:34—2×). In the latter reference, the Masoretic text contains but a single object. Since streets are not an object which can readily be placed somewhere, the use of שים in this verse can be taken to concur with the patterns indicating "institute, appoint." The Peshitta chose here instead a rendering probably motivated by the object "streets," which can be "made," changing the person of the first verb from "you" to "I" to fit.

In a few other cases of שים with double object, the Peshitta translator chose not to use ܥܒܕ. In these cases the translator seems to have been guided principally by the direct object involved. An example is the following text in which שים has two objects, "them" (that is, the heads of the king's sons) and "heaps." The Peshitta renders ܣܥܪ, "pile up, heap," thus orienting the translation towards the single direct object in the rendering:

2 Kings 10:8

ויאמר שימו אתם שני צברים פתח השער עד־הבקר

"and he said, Make them (the heads of the king's sons) into two heaps at the opening of the gate until the morning"

ܘܐܡܪ ܣܥܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܥܪ̈ܐ ܦܬܚ ܬܪܥܐ ܥܕ ܨܦܪܐ

"and he said, Heap them up two heaps in the entrance of the gate until the morning"

This *ad sensum* construction does capture the fact that the heads are to end up in two heaps. It could well be that ܫܝܡ could not have been employed for the significance

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[20] MT Jos 8:28: "he made it (a city) a heap of ruins;" 1 Sam 8:1 "he made his sons judges;" Ps 39:9 "make me not the reproach of fools."

[21] MT Gen 13:16: "make your seed as the dust of the earth;" Jos 6:18 "make the camp of Israel a curse;" 1 Sam 30:25 "he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel."

of making something into something else. As mentioned above, the presence of a locative ("at the entrance of the gate") does not cancel the primary significance of the double-object construction, but merely adds extra information, as does the time phrase ("until the morning").

In the following text שים with the object "name" is rendered by ܫܡܐ Pa, "name, call, give a name, denominate, assume a name":

2 Kings 17:34

יעקב אשר־שם שמו ישראל

"Jacob, whom he named Israel" (KJV, RSV, NIV)

ܝܥܩܘܒ ܕܫܡ ܫܡܐ ܠܗ ܝܫܪܝܠ

"Jacob whose name he named Israel"

The essence of the use of a double object with שים is that something is "made into" or "changed into something else." In this verse, it is not so much that Jacob was "named" Israel, as would have been the case if the verb קרא, "called," had been used with "name," but that his name, which was already existent, was "made into" or "changed to" Israel.[22]

In the Peshitta concordance to the Pentateuch, the verb ܫܡܐ does not occur. According to Strothman's concordance on the historical books, this verb occurs only in Jud 8:31 and 2 Kings 17:34 as a translation of שים שם, and in 2 Kings 23:34 with parallels in 2 Chr 36:4 and 2 Kings 24:17 for סבב שם Hiph, (lit.) "cause to turn aside his name." Thus it could well be that the infrequently occurring ܫܡܐ does render the special significance of the combination שים שם.

In the following text, a negative effect must be understood in the use of the ל phrase in the Masoretic text.

2 Kings 11:16

וישמו לה ידים ותבוא דרך־מבוא הסוסים בית המלך

lit.: "they put hands for / to her and she came, by way of the horses' entrance, to the house of the king"

The Hebrew is usually translated as "laid hands on her," that is, "arrested." For this, על "upon" would be expected, followed by a causative: "they brought her" instead of "she came." Comparing with other texts where a negative sense is involved in the use of the ל phrase, in particular 1 Sam 15:2 where Amalek placed himself ל Israel, barring Israel's way when coming up from Egypt, it could be that the text indicates

[22] Similarly, in MT Neh 9:7 "you gave him the name of Abraham" (KJV) is actually a case where his name was changed to Abraham. In Dan 1:7 שים with an object (names) and a ל phrase is used when Daniel and his friends received new names in Babylon. One exception to this pattern occurs in Jud 8:31 where שים is used for giving a name to a newborn. Perhaps a different name had been proposed for the child and the mother changed it, but this usage here could also have been caused by contamination with the pattern involving the changing of names. An alternative explanation is that the use of שים here has to do with the other significance of the verb, namely, that of "instituting," so that a pronouncement is being made by the proclamation of this name—"my father is king."

that Athaliah's way was barred ("placed hands, affecting her negatively") so that she herself "came," instead of being brought.

The Peshitta renders שים in this verse as ܥܒܕ Pa, "fashion, furnish, arrange, get ready," replacing the direct object "hands" by "place:"

ܐܬܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܫܘܠܝ ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܠܬ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܣܘܣܝ ܡܠܟܐ

"he arranged for her a place and she went up by way of the entrance of the horses of the king"

The Peshitta supplies a sentence which somewhat fits into the flow of events in the story, but avoids translating the obscure Hebrew construction.[23]

One added note, translations often connect "the king's house" to מבוא, "entrance," so that the text refers to the horses' entrance to the king's house, and the verb "come" is left without an indication of where Athaliah came. However, since הסוסים, "horses," the word preceding "the king's house," is in absolute state, it is syntactically unclear how this phrase should be taken to be a part of the phrase "the horses' entrance." On the other hand, an unmarked locative phrase can function as the complement of a verb of movement. In this case, connecting "the king's house" to "and she came" solves the syntactic difficulties relating to verbal valence and to the absolute state of the noun "horses."[24] Due to the intervening phrase, many translations miss this verbal valence pattern and connect "the king's house" to "entrance" in spite of the difficulties this presents.

Syriac clearly connects the final phrase to "the entrance" by means of the particle ܕ, which maintains syntactically correct phrase structure. However, the rendering diverges considerably from the Masoretic text. From other examples, it has become clear that it would be unlikely for Syriac to maintain the valence pattern

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[23] I am indebted to P. S. F. van Keulen for the following comments concerning this case. The Peshitta strongly deviates from the Masoretic text in the first clause ܐܬܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ. Here the Syriac text runs roughly parallel to the Aramaic text of Targum Jonathan: ואתקינו לה אתר, "and they prepared a place for her." Both versions represent a textual exegesis of the Hebrew that could be an allusion to Ex 21:13: ושמתי לך מקום אשר ינוס שמה, "(But if he did not lie in wait for him, but God let him fall into his hand,) then I will appoint for you a place to which he may flee" (RSV). The wording of Ex 21:13 in Targum Onkelos (ואשוי לך אתר, using the verb שוה Pael, "set, appoint, place") and in P (ܐܬܪ ܠܟ) shows that the alleged exegetical tradition does not depend on either translation. Again P uses ܐܬܪ to render שים. Both in Ex 21:13 and 2 Kings 11:15 reference is made to a place of asylum: because the house of the Lord was a place of refuge, Athaliah had to be taken away from there. The exact meaning of the reference in the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan of 2 Kgs 11:16, however, cannot easily be determined. Does the expression "he/they prepared a place for her" mean that Athaliah was offered an alternative place of asylum after the priest had forbidden to kill her in the temple (v. 15), and that on the way to this place she was killed anyway? Or does the place that is prepared refer to a place appointed where she would be killed?

[24] The Dutch translations, Staten Vertaling (1637), NBG51 (1951) and NBV (2004), have connected "the king's house" as a complement of the verb "come," albeit the NBV makes "come" into a causative: "cause to come."

of the main verb over an intervening phrase, so that the final phrase probably would not have been understood as being related to the main verb. In the Peshitta, the word "house" has been skipped, so that the text is rendered "she went up by way of the entrance of the king's horse" instead of "she came to the king's house by way of the horses' entrance," as in the Masoretic text.

In two remaining cases the verb שים is not rendered. The first of these (1 Kings 18:25) involves repetition of a statement made previously in the narrative. In our research we have found numerous other examples of the tendency to avoid repetition.[25] The second example where the verb שים has not been rendered is 2 Kings 8:11: the somewhat awkward first sentence in the Masoretic text "he stiffened (lit.: caused to stand) his countenance and set (שים) it, until he was ashamed" is skipped entirely in the Peshitta. The Peshitta continues the narrative with the following sentence of the Masoretic text: "and the man of God wept." This is an example of what we have encountered more often, namely, the tendency of the Peshitta translation to smooth out an apparently awkward text.

3. CONCLUSIONS

In this survey of the renderings of the Hebrew verb שים in Peshitta Kings, at least two different types of observations can be made:

- observations concerning the language systems involved
- observations concerning the choices made by the translator

As is well known, seldom does an item in one language correspond fully to an item in another language. Though far-reaching conclusions would be unwarranted on the basis of these two verbs alone, the observations made here fit into what we have observed in many more cases in our study of Kings. The two verbs overlap most when the direct object involved is tangible and able to be placed physically, and the location is concrete. In other combinations of elements, more divergence appears.

The Hebrew verb שים manifests a more extensive set of valence patterns with accompanying differences in meaning than its Syriac counterpart ܣܡ. To capture these differences the Peshitta translator used various verbs, most often choosing one suitable to the direct object involved.[26] Many of the choices are good equivalents, but in some cases the translator seems to have missed the particular significance of the construction in the Hebrew text.[27] The translator sometimes reverted to the simpler valence pattern of the verb instead of taking the specific Hebrew pattern into account, thereby in fact altering the significance of the text somewhat.[28]

In at least one case, it appears that Syriac verbs have a more limited scope of syntactic government.[29] This concurs with what we have observed in many more

[25] See the comment in note 12 on the general tendency of translations to avoid repetitions. Cf. Cf. also Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, 445–52.

[26] For example, in 1 Kings 20:31; 21:27; 2 Kings 10:3, 8; 17:34.

[27] For example, in 1 Kings 22:23, mentioned in note 14.

[28] For example, in 1 Kings 8:21.

[29] 2 Kings 11:16.

cases within Peshitta Kings with verbs,[30] prepositions,[31] nouns in construct state,[32] and negative particles,[33] which in Syriac are repeated to maintain the scope of syntactic government.

Besides the differences in language systems involved, the translation shows a number of choices of the translator, such as the tendency to reduce repetition and to smooth out complexities in the Hebrew text.[34] These tendencies are apparent more than once in the comparison of the Masoretic text and the Peshitta of Kings. This goes along with the tendency to offer an *ad sensum* rendering, sometimes thereby circumventing difficulties in the Hebrew text. In cases with less concrete objects occurring with the verb, there is a tendency is to choose a verb appropriate to the direct object present. All these tendencies are encountered frequently when comparing source texts with translations.[35]

In addition, we have found numerous cases where the shape or sound of the Hebrew can at times influence the choice made in the rendering, of which 2 Kings 23:30 is an example.[36] Though I have not discovered this tendency described in the literature on translation universals, my hunch is that this, too, occurs fairly frequently in translations, especially in translations of religious texts where the source text is held in particular reverence.[37]

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[30] For example, 1 Kings 18:12; 2 Kings 4:19; 20:17; 25:13. See Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, 383–401.

[31] For example, in 1 Kings 4:12; 2 Kings 13:23, and others discussed in Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, 360–71.

[32] For example, in 1 Kings 8:30; 10:15; 22:43; 2 Kings 23:22, and others discussed in Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, 360–71.

[33] For example, in 2 Kings 12:14, and others discussed in Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, 372–74.

[34] For example, in 1 Kings 2:5; 20:6; 2 Kings 8:11; 11:16.

[35] Lind, "Translation Universals," 2–3, lists explicitation, simplification, normalization, and leveling out as characteristics frequently encountered in translations. According to Lind (p. 5), Paloposki ("Enriching Translations") "raises the possibility that the processes said to be universal for translation—simplification, explicitation, normalization—may be typical of text-processing in general, and therefore not distinguishing characteristics of translation at all." Cf. also Mauranen, "Corpora, universals and interference," 79: "findings … indicated that translated texts deviated clearly from the original, untranslated texts, and on the whole, translations bore a closer affinity to each other than to untranslated texts. …source language is influential in shaping translations, but it cannot be the sole cause, because the translations resembled each other."

[36] More than fifty cases are discussed in Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System*, chapters 7, 8, 9.

[37] Cf. Jerome (*De optimo genere interpretandi*, 395): "Translation of sacred texts must be literal, word-for-word (because even the word order of the original is a holy mystery and the translator cannot risk heresy). Translation of other kinds of texts should be done sense-for-sense, more freely (because a literal translation would often sound absurd)." Quoted in Chesterman, "Beyond the particular."

Thus the functioning of this single pair of verbs has brought to the fore various characteristics both of the two language systems involved and of the choices made by the translator.

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INDEX

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERNCES

INDEX OF ANCIENT AUTHORS AND SOURCES

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

INDEX OF SUBJECTS