Foundations for Syriac Lexicography **V**

PERSPECTIVES ON SYRIAC LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 7

Series Editor
Terry C. Falla

Foundations for
Syriac Lexicography V

**Colloquia of the International
Syriac Language Project**

EDITED BY

JONATHAN LOOPSTRA

AND

MICHAEL SOKOLOFF

MANAGING EDITOR
BERYL TURNER

GORGIAS PRESS
2013

2013   ܝ

CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative
act. pt.	active participle
BDB	Brown–Driver–Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BIOSCS	*Bulletin for the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies.*
dat.	dative
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*
EEBO	Early English Books Online
e.g.	example
FSL	Foundations for Syriac Lexicography
gen.	genitive
HALOT	Koehler et al. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
incl.	including
intrans.	intransitive
IOSOT	International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament
ISLP	International Syriac Language Project
JPS	Jessie Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*
LXX	Septuagint
MS / MSS	manuscript / manuscripts
MT	Masoretic Text
n.	noun
n.c.	no Greek correspondence
NEB	New English Bible
NETS	New English Translation
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
p.	page
P	Peshitta
phr.	phrase
prep.	preposition/prepositional
pron.	pronoun

ref.	reference
repr.	reprinted
RSV	Revised Standard Version
s.	singular
SDBH	Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew
sf.	singular feminine
s-times	sometimes
subst.	substantive
Syr[s]	Sinaitic Version, ed. Lewis
trans.	transitive
usu.	usually
vv.	verses
WIVU	Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SERIES PREFACE

ܡܢܗܘܢ ܓܝܪ ܦܬܚܘ ܐܚܕ̈ܐ܂ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܝܢ ܥܩܒܘܗܝ ܠܘ̈ܢܐ܂ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܪܟܒܘ ܐܘ̈ܠܝܬܐ܂
ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܟܬܘܒܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܚܕ܀

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 make 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 FAREWELL WITH A FUTURE

More than a decade now lies behind the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP). The project's tentative beginnings in 2001 is a story told briefly in the preface to the first volume in this series. The ISLP's journey since that time is sketched in the prefaces and to be seen in the contents of the five subsequent volumes. Four, including this one, are colloquia of the ISLP and one is a monograph by Margherita Farina, *An Outline of Middle Voice in Syriac*, 2011.

Six more volumes are in preparation: one colloquia and five monographs. Others are on the horizon. None of them, however, will appear in this series, for this is the last one in Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics. It is a farewell volume, but a farewell with a future.

At last year's ISLP annual meeting, of which our publisher George Kiraz was a part, it was unanimously agreed that the moment had arrived for a new series with a title that would match the nature of its contents and the various language disciplines of its contributors. From the outset, the ISLP has sought to be interdisciplinary and collaborative. In the preface to a former volume I commented that "we have sought to incarnate this goal in the fields of research we represent, but we did not foresee the extent to which this aim would be made a reality by others." In the context of this preface, "others" are participants who are bringing to the series and to the ISLP group itself expertise from Greek, Arabic, Classical Ethiopic, Aramaic as distinct from Syriac, Northwest Semitic languages such as Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Phoenician, modern linguistics and computational linguistics. It is a most welcome heterogeneity.

Thus the decision to relinquish Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics and replace it with the new series Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages. It is a development that goes hand-in-hand with our welcoming from the very beginning the commitment of scholars other than Syriacists to the work of the ISLP: founding-member A. Dean Forbes with his pioneering research in linguistic and statistical research of biblical texts, ancient-Hebrew lexicographer Reinier de Blois, Greek and ancient-Hebrew lexicographer James Aitkin, and in December 2011 Greek lexicographer Anne Thompson. With these scholars we may include Aaron Butts whose specialist research, including Syriac, spans the Semitic languages mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Sargon Hasso, software engineer with his passion for languages, who has accepted the role of ISLP Computer Advisor and will work with the data-template group (Reinier de Blois, Janet Dyk, George Kiraz and Wido van Peursen), and Michael Sokoloff with his specialization in Aramaic as distinct from Syriac.

As series editor and leader of the ISLP, I feel immense gratitude and continuing joy at being able to work, plan, and converse with everyone who has participated in some way with the ISLP and its publications, and mark our farewell to Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics with my thanks, and the appreciation of many, to Jonathan Loopstra and Michael Sokoloff for the care and energy they have given to this volume, to Katie Stott, our Gorgias Press editor, who formatted this volume and has done so much to bring it to publication, to George Kiraz for his untiring helpfulness and vision, and to Beryl Turner for countless hours given to the series from its beginning to the present.

Terry Falla, series editor

INTRODUCTION

The various papers presented in this volume are the work of scholars associated with the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP). Most of these papers were presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) on 21–24 November, 2009 in New Orleans, Louisiana. Other papers were presented during the meeting of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) in Helsinki on 1–6 August, 2010. One paper (by Craig Morrison) in this volume was not presented at these meetings, but was included in this volume because of its importance to the ongoing work of the ISLP.

This volume is the fifth published colloquia of the ISLP. A. Dean Forbes and David G.K. Taylor edited the first volume of colloquia which was published in 2005, beginning the Foundations for Syriac Lexicography (FSL) series. The second volume of colloquia, with papers from the Groningen meeting, was edited by P.J. Williams (2009). The third volume, with contributions from the Philadelphia and Edinburgh meetings, was edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen (2011). Finally, Alison Salvesen and Kristian Heal have edited the fourth volume of colloquia, from the Granada meeting (2012).

Over the last several years, the ISLP has encouraged the presentation of papers from scholars working on Greek and Hebrew lexicography, in addition to Syriac. The resulting interdisciplinary discussions have been fruitful, and this volume reflects some of these varied perspectives and research interests.

Lexicographers often struggle to discern the meanings of *hapax legomena* and words that occur only a few times in a corpus of literature. In Chapter 1, Reinier de Blois proposes innovative ways that the discipline of cognitive linguistics can be used to construct a "semantic grid" which may provide lexicographers more certainty when dealing with "difficult" words.

The following chapter reviews the methodologies and motivations of several early English lexicographers of Hebrew. Despite the publication of numerous early English-Hebrew dictionaries, very few of these volumes succeeded in catching the interest of later generations of scholars. Why? In Chapter 2, Marie-Louis Craig attempts to discern why so many of these pioneering lexicons did not stand the test of time; that is, they ended up as "no through roads."

Careful evaluation of how a scribe translated from one language to another can be of great help when discerning the precise meanings of words. In Chapter 3, Janet Dyk compares the Masoretic and Peshitta versions of Psalm 25, with special attention to the ways the Syriac translator approached spelling, synonyms, and syntax.

In Chapter 4, Marketta Liljestrom discusses the Syrohexapla as a source for lexical studies. She suggests that in order to use the Syrohexapla for lexicographical purposes it is first necessary to develop a better understanding of the consistency of the Syrohexaplaric translation. As a step in this direction, Marketta evaluates the translation technique used in the Syrohexapla of 1 Samuel.

The following chapter returns to the theme of the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. In Chapter 5, Craig Morrison provides a detailed study of *hwā qātel* and *hwā qĕtīl* constructions in the Peshitta Old Testament. His purpose is to clarify how the *hwā qātel* construction was used by the translators of the Peshitta and how a *hwā qātel* construction with deontic modality was distinguished from a *hwā qātel* with past durative aspect.

Paul Stevenson, in Chapter 6, offers a test case for semantic componential analysis in his detailed study of the motion verbs in the Peshitta of Exodus, chapters 1–19. This article is a continuation of his previous study, published in the fourth volume of FSL.

Finally, in Chapter 7, Beryl Turner provides a valuable methodological study of the preposition ܠܘܬ in preparation for the creation of a new Syriac-English dictionary. In particular, Beryl demonstrates how the many divergent meanings of the preposition can be evaluated, and, importantly, how the resulting information can be presented as a clear lexical entry, faithful to the many senses of the preposition.

In summary, the articles in this volume represent the work of scholars of Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and other Aramaic dialects, whose backgrounds range from computational and cognitive linguistics to history and traditional philology. It is our hope that this collection of articles will shed light on the significant work of scholars from diverse disciplines who regularly come together to participate in the ISLP. The scholars involved in this project aim to develop the underpinning for new lexicographical work, while building upon the rich heritage which has been passed down to us. This present volume is a small, but useful, step towards this goal.

Jonathan Loopstra and *Michael Sokoloff*, volume editors

CHAPTER 1:
THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
OF BIBLICAL HEBREW

Reinier de Blois

United Bible Societies

Throughout the ages lexicographers working on Biblical Hebrew — and other languages of the Bible that are no longer spoken in the same form today — have been struggling to determine the meaning of words. This always has been especially difficult in the case of the so-called *hapax legomena* and other words with a limited distribution in the available texts. Many lexica of Biblical Hebrew strongly rely on data from related languages in their efforts to establish the meaning of lexical items. This type of information, however, is not always very dependable. This paper investigates how a thorough semantic analysis of Biblical Hebrew from a cognitive linguistic perspective can help to reconstruct a kind of "semantic grid" for this language, and how this grid provides the lexicographer with more certainty in his/her efforts to determine the meaning of "difficult" words. The advantages of this method will be illustrated with a number of Hebrew words with an uncertain meaning.

1. HOW TO DETERMINE THE MEANING OF A WORD

Students of language rely heavily on dictionaries. This is true for modern languages, such as English, French, Spanish, etc., that are still spoken today and actively used. It is equally true for languages that are no longer spoken in the same form today, such as most — if not all — of the Biblical languages.

Dictionaries usually have a lot of authority. If a dictionary claims that word X has meaning Y, many readers accept this without argument. Few people realize, however, how difficult it can be for a lexicographer to determine the meaning of a word. If the language in focus is a modern, living language, this is easy enough. The lexicographer can actually consult speakers of the language and may have access to numerous written texts as well. If, on the other hand, the language in focus is one of the languages of the Bible that was actively spoken many centuries ago but has undergone significant change since, the lexicographer has to resort to other methods to do his/her work.

The following is a brief overview of the tools and resources that are available to a Biblical lexicographer.

1.1. Context

There is no doubt that the most reliable source of information regarding the meaning of a word is the context in which it is found. We have to study the way a word is actually used in order to find out what it communicates. If a word occurs frequently in a given body of data the lexicographer usually does not have much difficulty determining what it means. If, on the other hand, a word is a *hapax legomenon* or occurs only a few times this becomes much more difficult. And not every context is equally helpful, as is illustrated in the following examples:

- On my way home I saw an X.
- John used an X to plow his field.
- He fed his X some oats.

1.2. Etymology and Philology

It is sometimes possible to reconstruct the meaning of a word on the basis of a related word. This may be a word from within the same language or a word from a closely related language. This method can be quite useful. If the Hebrew root חזק means "to be strong" it is very possible that the derived noun חֶזְקָה means something like "strength." More often than not, however, the semantic relationship between two related words is much more complex than that. Words often undergo semantic shift and, as a result, meanings can change to such an extent that it obscures semantic relationships.

This problem is even more pertinent when we make use of information from related languages. There is no doubt that a student of Biblical Hebrew can learn a lot from languages such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Arabic, and Aramaic, provided the right tools and methods are used. Too often, however, this type of information is used in a careless and haphazard way leading to unfounded speculation about the meaning of words.

It is easy to make mistakes, especially in the case of Arabic. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the information that is available is relatively young.[1] Most of it is several centuries younger than the most recent texts in the Hebrew Old Testament. It is like comparing contemporary Dutch with Shakespeare's English. The second problem concerns the quantity and the diversity of the data. The amount of Arabic data that is available is incredibly vast and represents different periods of time, geographical locations, and sources. If this information is used indiscriminately, it can be used to prove almost anything. John Kaltner[2] has devoted an entire monograph to the problem of using data from Arabic in order to determine the meaning of a Hebrew word. In this publication he gives numerous examples that illustrate clearly how easy it is to make serious errors. At the end of his book he gives a list of specific guidelines that are to be followed in order to

---

[1] John Kaltner, "Arabic" in *Beyond Babel. A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages.*

[2] John Kaltner, *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography.*

avoid the many pitfalls in this area. One of his tips is not to rely on Arabic data in existing dictionaries such as HALAT[3] and BDB.[4]

1.3. Ancient Versions

Scholars of biblical languages are blessed that there may be available several ancient translations of the text that they are studying. After all, if we no longer know the meaning of an ancient word, maybe those translators knew it! This can be a very helpful source of information. Too often, however, we are disappointed when we discover that the ancient translator either made use of a different *Vorlage* of the text or when it becomes obvious that he also did not know the meaning of the word in focus.

1.4. Older Dictionaries

Many lexicographers of biblical languages make extensive use of older dictionaries. That, of course, makes a lot of sense and it would be wrong for a lexicographer to completely ignore existing resources. On the other hand, this may lead to the perpetuation of errors, especially if the resources we are consulting were produced with methodologies that should be considered linguistically out of date.

1.5. Extra-Biblical Information

Thankfully, there is a treasure of extra-biblical information available as well. Especially disciplines such as archaeology and ancient history yield much information that can be helpful to a dictionary maker. Information of this type, however, can only be used if the lexicographer has been able to identify a given concept in his/her data with one of the concepts dealt with in the extra-biblical resources. In other words, there is a great deal of information available about the concept of מַצֵּבָה "sacred pillar." This information, however, can only be accessed once the lexicographer has been able to establish with some degree of certainty that the word מַצֵּבָה actually refers to such a pillar.

1.6. Semantic Grid

Lexicographers working with biblical languages would be greatly helped if there were any other tools in addition to the ones that were just mentioned. I believe that there is such an additional tool, and that is the main subject of this article. Knowing and understanding the semantic structure of the language one is working with can also give significant help in the tedious process of assigning meanings to words. Some of the most elementary aspects of this semantic structure form, what I would call, a semantic grid. In the next sections I will explain this grid and show how it can help in the lexicographic process.

---

[3] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament.*
[4] F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.*

2. HEBREW SEMANTICS

The theory presented in this section leans heavily on some of my previous publications on Hebrew semantics and lexicography. The foundations for this theory were laid out in my dissertation and elaborated on in several subsequent publications.[5] This theory is founded on cognitive linguistic principles and is currently used in an ongoing lexicographic project, sponsored by the United Bible Societies, called the Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew. The first results can be viewed on the internet.[6]

2.1. Things vs. Relations

According to Langacker[7] there is no distinction between grammatical word classes and semantic word classes. There is no need, therefore, to distinguish between semantic categories, like *things* and *events*, and grammatical categories, such as *nouns* and *verbs*, as the latter can be defined semantically as well as grammatically. In Langacker's approach, language basically consists of two kinds of elements: *things* and *relations*. In principle, *nouns* designate *things*, whereas *verbs* and other word classes designate *relations*. In this article the focus will be on *relations* rather than *things*.

The diagram on the right represents a simple relation. It consists of two elements: the *trajector* and the *landmark*. The line connecting the two symbolizes the relation. The trajector is the most salient cognitive entity in the relation, whereas the landmark functions as a point of reference for locating the trajector.[8] Even though the trajector and the landmark are represented by different shapes because of the difference in prominence between the two, these two elements are essentially identical in nature. Let us take the following simple English phrase as an example:
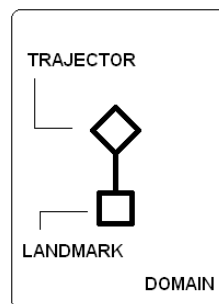
John is home

In this phrase "John" functions as the trajector, whereas the position of the landmark is filled by "home." In this example, the relation between these two elements is one of "space": John is located in a place described as "home."

2.2. Domains

In the bottom right corner of the diagram above we see the word "domain." Every element of a language, whether it represents a *thing* or a *relation*, is, as far as its semantic pole is concerned, characterized relative to one or more *cognitive domains*.[9] These are contexts that help us categorize semantic units. These domains may differ from language to language depending on the world view behind the language. It

---

[5] See bibliography.

[6] www.sdbh.org.

[7] R.W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, vol. 1, *Theoretical Prerequisites*, 189.

[8] Langacker, 217, 231.

[9] Langacker, 147.

appears, however, that some domains play a prominent role in the minds of people all over the globe. The domain of SPACE, for example, seems to function as a prototype for many other domains in languages everywhere.

However, I do not want to talk about universals of language in this paper. In my research I have focused on Biblical Hebrew. Over the past years I have been doing research in the areas of Hebrew semantics and lexicography and I have published various articles in this field. I have come to the conclusion that the following four basic domains cover the Hebrew semantic field quite adequately:

- POSITION
- CONNECTION
- PERCEPTION
- DESCRIPTION

In the following subsections I will give a brief description of each of these four domains.

2.2.1. Position

The diagram on the right represents a relation belonging to the basic cognitive domain POSITION. This domain covers the way both *things* and *relations* relate to the surrounding world, such as location in space, location in time, "to exist," "to happen," etc. It includes prepositions and conjunctions denoting space and time, interrogatives that ask the question "where?" or "when?", and also negative particles, since these deal with the question of whether a process actually takes place or not.

A few examples of lexical items that belong to this domain: (verbs) בּוֹא, הלך, ירד, עלה; (adjectives) רָחוֹק, קָרוֹב; (adverbs) אָז, אַיִן, הֵנָּה, טֶרֶם, יֵשׁ, שָׁם; (prepositions) עַל, בְּ, אֶל; (particles) לֹא, בַּל; (question words) אַיֵּה, מָתַי; תַּחַת.

The diagram is an elaboration on the diagram that was shown previously. It shows the trajector and the landmark, but what is different is that the relation between the two has been visualized on the basis of its domain: the trajector is actually located within the landmark. Note that the trajector and landmark do not necessarily have to represent *things*. In the domain TIME, for example, which is an extension of the domain SPACE, the trajector typically represents a relation whereas the landmark refers to the time in which this event takes place.
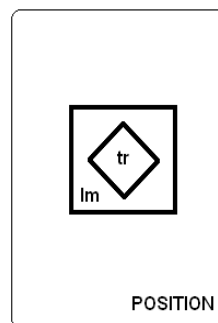
POSITION

2.2.2. Connection

It is a relatively small step from the domain POSITION to the domain CONNECTION. This domain covers the way *things* and *relations* connect to one another, such as attachment, possession, association, involvement, etc. The prepositions and conjunctions included here are the ones denoting linking or separation. The interrogatives under this domain deal with the question "who?" or "what?" in an effort to determine the

CONNECTION
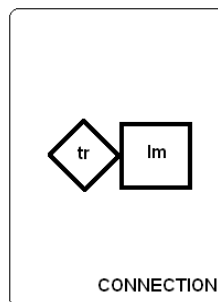
different parties involved in a particular process.

Some Hebrew examples: (verbs) קהל, חבר, אסר, אסף; (adjectives) עָרוֹם, יָחִיד, עֲרִירִי; (adverbs) רַק, לָכֵן, יַחְדָּו, גַּם; (conjunctions) עִם, מִן, לְ, וְ, אוֹ; (question words) מִי, מַה.

2.2.3. Perception

The third basic domain in Hebrew is PERCEPTION. This domain covers the way *things* and *relations* are perceived by animate creatures, such as humans, animals, and supernatural beings. This does not only include perception with the senses, but also cognition with the mind. Also included are adverbs and words that belong to other classes denoting observations, opinions, presuppositions, calls for attention, etc. The interrogative belonging to this domain asks the question "why?". The trajector represents the *thing* or *relation* in focus, whereas the landmark refers to the human mind that perceives or processes the information conveyed by the trajector.
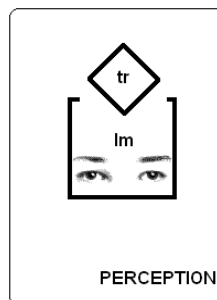
Some examples from Hebrew: (verbs) שמע, ראה, בין, ידע, י; (adjectives) חָכָם, נָבָל; (adverbs) עַתָּה, אוּלַי; (question word) לָמָּה.

2.2.4. Description

DESCRIPTION, finally, is the fourth basic domain. This domain covers all physical and non-physical features of *things*, such as size, shape, number, color, character, attitude, and emotion. It also covers the features of *relations*, such as manner, quality, frequency, speed, intensity, etc. Also included are prepositions and conjunctions that denote the manner in which a process or other event is carried out, interrogatives that ask the question "how?", and interjections denoting attitudes and emotions.
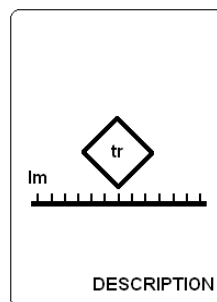
Some examples: (verbs) חזק, קטן, רום, גדל; (adjectives) קָדוֹשׁ, חָזָק, גָּדוֹל; (adverbs) מָהֵר, מְאֹד, כֵּן; (question words) כְּ, אֵיךְ, נָא, אוֹי.

This domain is somewhat more abstract in that the landmark represents a scale. In the case of the Hebrew word קָטֹן "small," for example, the landmark does not correspond to a *thing* or *relation*, but to a schematic scale of size. The trajector is a particular position on this scale, as can be seen in the diagram.

2.3. Constructing the Semantic Grid

Let us now proceed to construct the semantic grid for Biblical Hebrew. The first thing we should realize is that a single word often has different meanings. More often than not these meanings are related. Sometimes these relationships are somewhat arbitrary. Very often, however, when comparing the semantic behavior of different words we can see patterns. These patterns can be formalized with the help of a scheme, which I would like to call a semantic grid.

Along the horizontal axis of the semantic grid we find different extensions of meaning. One of the important lessons that cognitive linguistics has taught us is that most metaphors are not accidents that happen occasionally, but that they are a structural part of language. This is true for Biblical Hebrew as well. If we take a careful look at Hebrew verbs we can see different kinds of metaphorical extensions of meaning that occur in patterns. I believe there are three major levels here:

- Relations with a *thing* as trajector, physical. — This is the most basic type of *relation*. The relationship between the trajector and the landmark is concrete, physical in nature, for example: *John* **went** *home.*
- Relations with a *thing* as trajector, non-physical. — Relations of this type are closely related to the ones mentioned above. In this case, however, the relationship between trajector and landmark is more abstract, non-physical, for example: *John* **went** *astray.*
- Relations with a *relation* as trajector. — Relations of this third type are closely related to both previous types. In this case, however, the slot of the trajector is filled by another relation, for example: *The situation* **went** *from bad to worse.*

Along the vertical axis we find extensions with regard to the complexity of the relation.

- The most basic type is a relation in which the *trajector* is not in control of what happens, like in what is often described in semantics as a *state* or a *process*. A simple example of a state is: *John is in the pit.* An example of a process would be: *John fell into the pit.* In both cases, from a semantic point of view, John is not in control of the situation. Even though *states* and *processes* are quite different in theory, in Biblical Hebrew it is often hard to distinguish between the two. According to HALOT, for example, the root גדל has, among others, the following glosses: "to be great" and "to become great." It is often the grammar that helps determine which of these two glosses is to be chosen.
- The second type of relation on the vertical axis of the grid is the *action*. An *action* differs from a *state/process* in that the trajector is actually in charge of what happens. An example would be: *John jumped into the pit.*
- The third type of relation in this range is the so-called *causative* action. This requires a third element in a relation: the *causer*, as we can see in the diagram on the right. An example would be: "Pete threw John into the pit."

DOMAIN
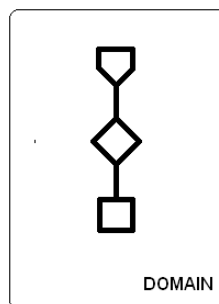
To summarize what we have seen so far in this subsection, this is what the semantic grid for Hebrew relations looks like:

	Relations with a *thing* as trajector, physical	Relations with a *thing* as trajector, non-physical	Relations with a *relation* as trajector
State/Process			
Action			
Causative			

2.4. Filling the Semantic Grid

Every relation in Biblical Hebrew has its own semantic grid, depending on the domain where it belongs. In the following subsections we will look at examples from each domain.

Please note that it is not always possible to fill the entire semantic grid for an entry. We are limited by the amount of data that is available. I have looked for examples that fill as many slots as possible.

For each cell in the grid one example will be given. Since we are dealing with relations, the examples will usually be verbs. One of the examples given under DESCRIPTION, however, features an adjective as well. In the case of a verb its *binyan* will be given as well. In subsection 2.6 a few general statements about *binyanim* will be made.

2.4.1. Position

The first example of a relation belonging to the domain of POSITION is the root עמד "to stand." The first column is labeled LOCATION, as it covers all events that denote position in space. The second column, labeled EXISTENCE, contains usages of עמד that clearly go beyond this verb's basic meaning, as there is no physical space involved here. In the third column, that has OCCURRENCE as its header, we find cases where the subject is not a *thing*, but another *relation*. The first row contains *states* and/or *processes*, in the second we find *actions*, and in the third, *causatives*. The reader is encouraged to look up the scripture references listed here in order to be able to understand better how this grid functions. Only one slot in this grid has not been filled.

POSITION		LOCATION	EXISTENCE	OCCURRENCE
עמד	S/P	*to stand* Gen 41:1 (verb, Qal)	*to stand firm* Ps 130:3 (verb, Qal)	*to endure* Ezek 22:14 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to stop* 2 Sam 15:17 (verb, Qal)	*to persist* Isa 47:2 (verb, Qal)	
	C	*to place, to set* Lev 14:11 (verb, Hiphil)	*to raise (a king to power)* Exod 9:16 (verb, Hiphil)	*to confirm, establish* Ps 105:10 (verb, Hiphil)

The second example is the verb הלך "to go." All but two slots are filled for this verb:

POSITION		LOCATION	EXISTENCE	OCCURRENCE
הלך	S/P	*to move* Gen 7:18 (verb, Qal)	*to vanish* Ps 109:23 (verb, Niphal)	
	A	*to go* Josh 8:9 (verb, Qal)	*to live* Gen 24:40 (verb, Hitpael)	
	C	*to lead, bring* Josh 24:3 (verb, Hiphil)	*to lead astray* Prov 16:29 (verb, Hiphil)	*to carry (one's shame)* 2 Sam 13:13 (verb, Hiphil)

2.4.2. Connection

A good example of a relation belonging to the domain CONNECTION is the verb
דבק "to cleave to," which fills all of the slots of its semantic grid. The labels
ATTACHMENT (i.e. physical connection among *things*), ASSOCIATION (i.e. non-
physical connection among *things*), and INVOLVEMENT (i.e. things connected to
relations), are sub-domains representing the extensions of meaning found under
CONNECTION.

CONNECTION		ATTACHMENT	ASSOCIATION	INVOLVEMENT
דבק	S/P	*to cleave together* Job 38:38 (verb, Pual)	*to be faithful* 2 Kgs 18:6 (verb, Qal)	*to take part (in an event)* Ps 101:3 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to pursue* Gen 31:23 (verb, Qal)	*to retain* Num 36:7 (verb, Qal)	*to overtake (of disaster)* Gen 19:19 (verb, Qal)
	C	*to cause to stick* Ezek 3:26 (verb, Hiphil)	*to bring close* Jer 13:11 (verb, Hiphil)	*to cause (pestilence) to cling to* Deut 28:21 (verb, Hiphil)

The second example is the root חזק. This root has more than one basic meaning. We will also find it under DESCRIPTION. In this case all but two slots are not filled.

CONNECTION		ATTACHMENT	ASSOCIATION	INVOLVEMENT
חזק	S/P	*to get stuck* 2 Sam 18:9 (verb, Qal)		*to be firmly (in one's hand)* 2 Kgs 14:5 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to take hold* Isa 41:9 (verb, Hiphil)	*to support* 1 Chr 11:10 (verb, Hitpael)	*to hold on (to behavior)* Isa 27:5 (verb, Hiphil)
	C	*to fasten* Isa 22:21 (verb, Piel)		*to strengthen someone's hold* 2 Kgs 15:19 (verb, Hiphil)

2.4.3. Perception

The grid for the domain PERCEPTION is somewhat different. Columns #1 and #3 have been collapsed. This is due to the fact that it is not easy to distinguish between a relation with a *thing* as its trajector and one that has another *relation* in that position. Someone who *looks at* a person, for example, not only sees the person but also the activities that this person is engaged in, if they are visible. In the same way, someone who *hears* a person (e.g. "I am listening to John") actually also hears the events that this person is engaged in (e.g. speaking, making music, etc.). As a result of this it has proved unproductive and often impossible to distinguish between these two types of events. The first column, which is labeled SENSATION, mainly contains sensory events, whereas the second column has

been reserved for events of COGNITION, which involve the mind rather than the senses.

The first example of a relation belonging to this domain is the root ראה:

PERCEPTION		SENSATION	COGNITION
ראה	S/P	*to see* Exod 12:13 (verb, Qal)	*to discern* Hos 5:13 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to look* Ps 106:44 (verb, Qal)	*to take heed* 1 Chr 28:10 (verb, Qal)
	C	*to show* Deut 34:1 (verb, Hiphil)	*to cause to discern* Exod 9:16 (verb, Hiphil)

The second example is the root שמע:

PERCEPTION		SENSATION	COGNITION
שמע	S/P	*to hear* 1 Kgs 19:13 (verb, Qal)	*to understand* Gen 11:7 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to listen* Gen 4:23 (verb, Qal)	*to give heed* Gen 16:11 (verb, Qal)
	C	*to cause to hear* Isa 30:30 (verb, Hiphil)	*to proclaim* Ps 106:2 (verb, Hiphil)

2.4.4. Description

The final domain we need to look into is DESCRIPTION. The first example is the root חזק. We have already seen under CONNECTION that this verb has more than one basic meaning. One of its meaning is "to be strong," which is a case of DESCRIPTION. The labels ATTRIBUTE (physical features of *things*), ATTITUDE (non-physical features of *things*), and MODIFICATION (features of *relations*) denote the extensions of meaning of DESCRIPTION according to the pattern that was described in 2.4. Only one slot remains empty.

DESCRIPTION		ATTRIBUTE	ATTITUDE	MODIFICATION
חזק	S/P	*to be strong* Josh 14:11 (verb, Qal)	*to be resolute* Deut 12:23 (verb, Qal)	*to be bitter, fierce* 1 Sam 14:52 (verb, Qal)
	A	*to summon one's strength* Gen 48:2 (verb, Hitpael)	*to take courage* 1 Sam 4:9 (verb, Hitpael)	
	C	*to give strength* Judg 16:28 (verb, Piel)	*to encourage* Deut 1:38 (verb, Piel)	*to intensify (events)* 2 Sam 11:25 (verb, Hiphil)

The second example contains both a verb and the adjective that is derived from it. It is the verb כבד "to be heavy" with its derivative כָּבֵד "heavy."

POSITION		ATTRIBUTE	ATTITUDE	MODIFICATION
כבד כָּבֵד	S/P	*to be heavy* Prov 8:24 (verb, Qal)	*to be honored* Isa 23:8 (verb, Niphal)	*to be intense* Gen 12:10 (verb, adj)
	A		*to honor oneself* Prov 12:9 (verb, Hitpael)	
	C	*to make heavy* Isa 47:6 (verb, Hiphil)	*to honor* Exod 20:12 (verb, Piel)	*to put a heavy load (on people)* Neh 5:15 (verb, Hiphil)

2.5. The Semantic Grid and the *Binyanim*

Ideally, there would be a direct link between these three levels and the Hebrew *binyanim*. In practice, however, it does not work this way. Even though quite often we find a Hitpael in the second row and a Piel or Hiphil in the third row, it is by no means exclusively that way. Several studies have already shown that "it does not appear that there is a clearly defined function for each *binyan*, nor a system capturing such functions."[10]

3. CASE STUDY

The root שמט occurs nine times in the Old Testament: seven times in the Qal, once in the Niphal and once in the Hiphil. For the benefit of the reader each of the

---

[10] A.J.C. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim. A Quantative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible.*

passages has been reproduced below. The English translations are quoted from the Revised Standard Version.[11]

Exod 23:11, Qal

וְהַשְּׁבִיעִת **תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה** וּנְטַשְׁתָּהּ וְאָכְלוּ אֶבְיֹנֵי עַמֶּךָ

But the seventh year **you shall let it rest** and lie fallow, that the poor of your people may eat …

Deut 15:2, Qal

וְזֶה דְּבַר הַשְּׁמִטָּה **שָׁמוֹט** כָּל־בַּעַל מַשֵּׁה יָדוֹ אֲשֶׁר יַשֶּׁה בְּרֵעֵהוּ לֹא־יִגֹּשׂ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ וְאֶת־אָחִיו כִּי־קָרָא שְׁמִטָּה לַיהוָה:

And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall **release** what he has lent to his neighbor; he shall not exact it of his neighbor, his brother, because the Lord's release has been proclaimed.

Deut 15:3, Hiphil

אֶת־הַנָּכְרִי תִּגֹּשׂ וַאֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֶת־אָחִיךָ **תַּשְׁמֵט** יָדֶךָ:

Of a foreigner you may exact it; but whatever of yours is with your brother your hand shall **release**.

2 Sam 6:6, Qal

וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד־גֹּרֶן נָכוֹן וַיִּשְׁלַח עֻזָּא אֶל־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאחֶז בּוֹ כִּי **שָׁמְטוּ** הַבָּקָר:

And when they came to the threshing floor of Nacon, Uzzah put out his hand to the ark of God and took hold of it, for the oxen **stumbled.**

2 Kgs 9:33, Qal

וַיֹּאמֶר **שִׁמְטוּהָ וַיִּשְׁמְטוּהָ** וַיִּז מִדָּמָהּ אֶל־הַקִּיר וְאֶל־הַסּוּסִים וַיִּרְמְסֶנָּה:

He said, "**Throw** her **down**." So they **threw** her **down**; and some of her blood spattered on the wall and on the horses, and they trampled on her.

Jer 17:4, Qal

וְשָׁמַטְתָּה וּבְךָ מִנַּחֲלָתְךָ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לָךְ וְהַעֲבַדְתִּיךָ אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדָעְתָּ

You shall **loosen** your hand from your heritage which I gave to you, and I will make you serve your enemies in a land which you do not know …

Ps 141:6, Niphal

נִשְׁמְטוּ בִידֵי־סֶלַע שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם

When they are given over to those who shall condemn them, [then they shall learn that the word of the Lord is true].

---

[11] *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version.* 1952, 1971, 1973.

1 Chr 13:9, Qal

וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד־גֹּרֶן כִּידֹן וַיִּשְׁלַח עֻזָּא אֶת־יָדוֹ לֶאֱחֹז אֶת־הָאָרוֹן כִּי **שָׁמְטוּ** הַבָּקָר:

And when they came to the threshing floor of Chidon, Uzzah put out his hand to hold the ark, for the oxen **stumbled**.

In the following subsection we will look at three of the major Hebrew lexica and discuss their semantic analysis of שמט.

3.1. Gesenius

Gesenius recognizes two basic meanings of this root, with etymological evidence for the first only. This is a summary of his semantic analysis.

QAL

    (1) *to smite, to strike; also, to cast, to throw down,* based on Arabic شمص "to strike, to thrust, and to urge on a beast violently.
        a.   to kick (2 Sam 6:6 כִּי שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר "for the oxen kicked")
        b.   to cast, throw down

    (2) to fall, to let lie
        a.   to leave (a field) untilled
        b.   to remit (a debt)
        c.   to desist from anything

NIPHAL - passive of QAL (1) - to be cast down, precipitated

HIPHIL - related to QAL (2) - to remit

3.2. Brown-Driver-Briggs (BDB)

BDB analyses this root somewhat differently. As far as the etymology is concerned, it gives examples from Rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. The Arabic root mentioned by BDB (*samaṭa*) is different from the one mentioned by Gesenius and more in support of Gesenius's meaning (2) than of (1). On the basis of this BDB postulates one single basic meaning: to let drop. All occurrences are explained as variation of that one basic meaning.

3.3. Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (HALOT)

HALOT[12] structures this entry somewhat differently again. The authors start with a long discussion of the etymology of this root with data from different languages. Important is the addition of Akkadian here. The same Arabic root (*samaṭa*) is mentioned here as in BDB, the difference being that HALOT cites many more meanings than does BDB. HALOT ends this discussion with the observation that there may be two different Semitic roots underlying this entry.

---

[12] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.*

This is a summary of the semantic analysis found in HALOT:

QAL

    (1) to let loose, let fall

          a.   to throw someone out of a window

          b.   שָׁמַט אֶרֶץ the land is left to itself, meaning to leave fallow

    (2) with מַשֵּׁה יָדוֹ: to abandon a personal debt, forgive

    (3) שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר no precise meaning [different options are discussed]

NIPHAL - to be thrown down

HIPHIL - to allow to lapse, drop

3.4. Alternative Analysis

As we have seen, there is quite a bit of variety between the three entries. By postulating one basic meaning BDB provides the simplest analysis of the three. The other two dictionaries seem to prefer two underlying roots.

    The question we have to deal with now is whether there is a way to analyze this root in a more satisfactory way. Perhaps the concept of the semantic grid could help here.

    In such a case it is always good to start with a meaning that is uncontested. This is true for the two occurrences of שמט in 2 Kings 9:33. This verse talks about Queen Jezebel who is thrown out of the window of her palace. The context makes quite clear that the appropriate definition of שמט in this passage is "to let go of an object held in one's hand so that it will fall." The domain here is CONNECTION and the appropriate diagram is the one on the right:
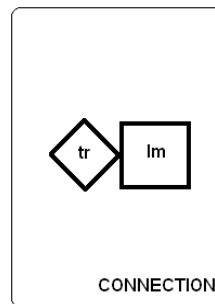
CONNECTION

    This occurrence belongs to the first column of the semantic grid. Since the *trajector* is actively involved in the process of dropping Jezebel it should be located in the second row.

CONNECTION		ATTACHMENT	ASSOCIATION	INVOLVEMENT
שמט	S/P			
	A	*to drop, let fall*		
	C			

The occurrence in Psalms 141:6 probably belongs here as well. Even though the BHS apparatus considers this passage corrupt, Dahood gives some powerful arguments for translating it as "to let fall."[13]

The second meaning is the one found in the first verses of Deuteronomy 15. Both the verb שמט and its derivative שְׁמִטָּה occur several times here and there is enough context to determine the meaning of these two words. These verses talk about creditors that are required to "drop their hand" from money they lent to people in the past. In other words, they would have to relinquish their right to get that money back. This is a clear metaphorical extension of the meaning we established for the occurrences in 2 Kings 9:33. This extended meaning goes into the second column of the semantic grid. Note that the occurrence of שמט in Deuteronomy 15:2 is a Qal form, whereas its counterpart in verse 3 is a Hiphil. There does not seem to be a significant difference in meaning though. The occurrence of שמט in Jeremiah 17:4 has a similar meaning as well.[14]

CONNECTION		ATTACHMENT	ASSOCIATION	INVOLVEMENT
	S/P			
שמט	A	*to drop, let fall*	*to relinquish*	
	C			

Now what to do with Exodus 23:11? What is clear in this verse is that the object of שמט is "land." It is supposed to lie fallow so that the poor can eat from it. That much we can infer from the context. But what is the exact meaning of שמט in this passage? If we look at some of the available dictionaries and Bible translations, we get different results:

Gesenius	*to leave untilled*
Brown-Driver-Briggs, RSV, NRSV	*to let rest*
HALOT	*to leave to itself*
NIV	*to let unused*
NJB	*to forgo all produce*
REB	*to leave alone*

However, if we take into consideration the semantic grid, the NJB may be on target more than the other resources. In a normal situation the produce of the land goes to the owner. During the seventh year, however, the owner is to relinquish his right to

---

[13] Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III*. The Anchor Bible (vol. 17A).

[14] This is a Qal form. Note that the second word in this verse is to be emended to read יָדֶךָ "your hand." Another slight difference with the occurrences in Deut 15:2–3 is the presence of the preposition מִן in Jer 17:4, which is lacking in the other passages.

receive the produce of his field and leave it to the poor. In other words, the lexical meaning is almost identical to what we found in Deuteronomy 15.

Now we still need to deal with the two parallel passages in 2 Samuel 6:6 and 1 Chronicles 13:9. What happened to the oxen pulling the cart with the Ark of the Covenant? There are many possibilities, some of which are presented in the table below.

LXX (2 Sam 6:6)	ὅτι περιέσπασεν αὐτὴν ὁ μόσχος "for the bull calf caused it to swerve"
LXX (1 Chr 13:9)	ὅτι ἐξέκλινεν αὐτὴν ὁ μόσχος "because the ox was tilting it"
Peshitta (2 Sam 6:6)	ܘ݂ܐܡܬܟܘ ܥܠܗܘܢ ܠܝܪܐ "the oxen slipped away from the harness"
Peshitta (1 Chr 13:9)	ܕܪܗܛܘ ܗܘܘ ܥܠܗܘܢ ܠܝܪܐ ܠܐܕܪܐ "the oxen rushed to the threshing floor"
Vulgate (2 Sam 6:6)	*quoniam calcitrabant boves* "because the oxen kicked"
Vulgate (1 Chr 13:9)	*bos quippe lasciviens paululum inclinaverat eam* "for the ox being wanton had made it lean a little on one side"
RSV, NIV, NJPS, NRSV, REB	the oxen stumbled
NJB	the oxen were making it tilt
NRSV	the oxen shook it

It is interesting to note that the ancient versions quoted here translate both passages differently and differ from each other as well. It gives the impression that the ancient translators were not too sure about the exact meaning of שׁמט in these passages either.

To what extent could the semantic grid help us? There are still several slots open. My suggestion would be to place it in the top left slot. If this is correct then this is what probably happened: The oxen failed to make proper contact with the road, which apparently was somewhat slippery, and threatened to fall. In other words: they slipped. This caused the cart to shake and the ark to slide. This fits the semantic grid very well. It is a process, because it happened out of the control of the oxen, and it is a case of ATTACHMENT, because the oxen lost their grip on the surface of the road.

That means that we can complete the semantic grid for שׁמט as follows:

CONNECTION		ATTACHMENT	ASSOCIATION	INVOLVEMENT
שמט	S/P	*to slip*		
	A	*to drop, let fall*	*to relinquish*	
	C			

If this analysis is correct, there is no need to postulate two roots here. Without much effort we have been able to fit everything in a single semantic grid under one domain.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to show how a structural semantic analysis of an ancient language like Biblical Hebrew can provide a lexicographer with an additional tool for his/her work. This can be especially useful in cases where there is not enough data available to determine the meaning of a word in a satisfactory way. Of course this tool is to be used with care, just like all other tools. There are cases, however, where this tool can turn a wild guess into an educated one.

CHAPTER 2:
PIONEERS AND 'NO THROUGH ROADS': THE STORY OF THE EARLY HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICONS

Marie-Louise Craig

St Mark's National Theological Centre
and the School of Theology of Charles Stuart University

Hebrew-English lexicographers were pioneers of Hebrew lexicography in the vernacular, producing the first Hebrew lexicons in a European language other than Latin. Highly motivated and equipped with a variety of resources these English scholars experimented with and produced a number of fascinating lexical works.

The early Hebrew-English lexicons fall into two distinct groups: those written between 1593 and 1656, and those written in the second half of the eighteenth century. Each group displays a pioneering spirit but the work of each group is not continued by the next generation of scholars.

This paper briefly identifies the motivations and resources of the early Hebrew-English lexicographers and explores the lexicons they produced between 1593 and 1800. The aims, language theories, sources, and methods of presenting the entries are presented for each of the lexicons with a special emphasis being given to visual samples of the entries. The problems encountered by the lexicographers and the possible reasons for the interruptions in the development of Hebrew-English lexicons are discussed and preliminary conclusions drawn.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the history of Hebrew lexicography, the English were the first, but not the most successful, lexicographers to write Hebrew lexicons in the vernacular.

The strongest motivation to write Hebrew-English lexicons came from the desire of Hebrew-English lexicographers to produce material that the uneducated, non-Latin speakers, could use to read God's word in God's language, Hebrew. This was especially strong in lexicographers of non-conformist traditions who did not trust the English translations authorized by the church. Their enthusiasm, however, does not appear to have found as enthusiastic an audience. Many of these works had

only one edition or, where there was more than one edition, their popularity had a finite lifespan, unlike the numerous editions of Buxtorf,[1] the English translations[2] and the continuing new German editions of Gesenius' lexicon[3] or the still popular lexicon of Brown, Driver and Briggs.[4]

This paper examines the pioneering Hebrew-English lexicographers, the problems they encountered, and draws some preliminary conclusions for the 'no through roads'.

2. CONTEXT, MOTIVATIONS, AND RESOURCES

No piece of writing is ever divorced from its cultural setting. To understand why English scholars of Hebrew broke with tradition and wrote Hebrew-English, rather than Hebrew-Latin lexicons, we first need to understand their cultural context and so their motivations.

The cultural setting for the emergence of Hebrew-English lexicography is contained within the larger intellectual movements of the period. First, the Italian Renaissance promoted an interest in classical languages and, while Greek and Latin predominated, this movement produced such works as Reuchlin's *De rudimentis hebraicis*[5] and led to the publication of a number of Hebrew-Latin lexicons by Christian Hebraists.[6] Second, the growing recognition of the need for church reform

---

[1] Burnett, "The Christian Hebraism of Johann Buxtorf," lists seventeen editions of Buxtorf's *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum* between 1615 and 1845 — over 230 years of continuous use by scholars and students of Hebrew. Buxtorf's influence extends further, with Taylor, for example, basing his 1754–1757 *Hebrew Concordance* on Buxtorf's *Concordance bibliorum hebraice et chaldaice*.

[2] Gesenius and Tregellus, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* was first published in 1846 and has been reprinted at least 39 times, the last reprinting being in 2012.

[3] Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. The latest edition is still in process with the first volume being published in 1987. For more on this production see Hunziker-Rodewald, "The Gesenius/Brown-Driver-Briggs Family."

[4] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* was first published in 1906, which was reprinted twice. It was published in a second edition in 1952, which was reprinted at least seven times. In 1996 and 1999 it was produced with the Strong's Concordance numbers, and in 2000 it came out in electronic form with Logos Research Systems.

[5] Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*.

[6] Münster, *Dictionarium hebraicum* in 3 different editions; Zamora, *Vocabularium hebraicum*; Pagnini, *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch, Thargum, Midraschim, Rabboth et aliorum librorum, also Thesaurus linguae sanctae, and Thesauri hebraicae linguae ... epitome*; Forster, *Dictionarium hebraicum novum*; Avenarius, *Sefer haš-šorašim*; Calepinus, *Dictionarium septem linguarum*; Hutter, *Cubus alphabeticus sanctae hebraicae linguae*; Marinus, *Arca Noe: Thesaurus linguae sanctae novu*; Buxtorf, *Epitome radicum hebraicarum, Epitome radicum hebraicarum et chaldaicarum, Manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum, Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum,* and *Concordantiae bibliorum hebraice et chaldaice*.

led to an increase in vernacular translations of the Bible with the aim of putting the word of God directly into the hands of the people.

Several themes emerge from the writings of English scholars of Hebrew. First, they placed a high value on the Hebrew language. Reeve, writing in 1618, argued that the value of learning Hebrew lay in the fact that not only was Hebrew the language spoken by "God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghost, the holy Angels, the Patriarcks, the holy Prophets, Apostles, Euangelists, the first Disciples of Iesus Christ, our first parents Adam and Eue," but it was also "the originall of all other Languages which haue beene spoken vnder the heauen."[7] Others, such as Leigh claim that Hebrew is the language spoken in heaven[8] and Sturtevant held the view that a deep knowledge of God was only possible if one spoke God's language.[9] This high value of Hebrew was not new since, as Robins points out, "Isidore (seventh century) along with many others regarded [Hebrew] as the language of God and therefore the first language to be spoken on earth."[10]

Second, English scholars of Hebrew were concerned about the trustworthiness of translations. Reeve used this as another reason to study Hebrew:

> It is better to see the way with ones owne eyes, than to be led by another, to drinke out of the pure fountain, that of rivers from thence, to haue of ones owne, then of another mans; so is it better many wayes to reade divine and humaine writings in their Originall tongues, than in Translations of them, made by others, which comprehended not the full meaning of the authours in every place of their writings.[11]

This same view is expressed by Rowley:

> Lover of truth,
>   Undervalue not learning, especially the knowledge of those Languages wherein the Scriptures were first written.
>   But remember that he that cannot interpret them himself, may be deceived by him that doth it for him.[12]

Taylor claims his concordance "will serve as a Touchstone to try and prove the Truth of Translations."[13]

These themes reflected the general trends across Europe at the time and if they were the sole cause for the production of Hebrew-English lexicon then we should also see the parallel production of Hebrew lexicons in other European languages. This, however, is not the case. The first Hebrew-Dutch lexicons were not produced

---

[7] Reeve, *An Heptaglottologie*, 2.

[8] Leigh, *Critica Sacra Observations on All the Radices, or Primitive Hebrew Words of the Old Testament*, [1]–[2].

[9] Sturtevant, *Adams Hebrew Dictionarie*, 11–14.

[10] Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, 113.

[11] Reeve, *An Heptaglottologie*, [v]–[vi].

[12] Rowley, *The Schollers Companion*, [3].

[13] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [vii].

until the late seventeenth century,[14] more than a hundred years after the first Hebrew-English one,[15] while the first Hebrew-Spanish lexicons[16] and the first Hebrew-German lexicons[17] were not produced until the late eighteenth century.

A third theme emerges in the titles and prefaces of the first Hebrew-English lexicons, which is specifically English. In the title of Udall's work is this phrase, "All Englished for the benefit of those that (being ignoraunt in the Latin) are desirous to learn the holy tongue."[18] While Rowley has in his title, "Not onely for the ear of the learned, but also that the unlearned may come to the knowledge of both Testaments in the originall tongues."[19] The 'unlearned' refers to those who cannot read Latin. Robertson goes further and offers in the title of his lexicon "that any knowing Christian, man or woman, of ordinary capacity, making use of the former grammar, and this dictionary, with the praxis joined to both, may learn to read and understand the Hebrew Bible."[20] One hundred years later this theme persists in the motivations of Taylor when he claims that "this Concordance is, in a great Measure, brought down to the Capacity of the inquisitive and industrious *English* Reader,"[21] and of Parkhurst who said:

> The following Work is presented to the Public as an *Introduction* and *Key to the Hebrew Bible*, and sincerely designed to facilitate an acquaintance with the sacred language to all those who understand *English*, and are ... desirous of searching the Original Scriptures for the evidence of their Faith.[22]

English scholars of Hebrew were deeply concerned to provide Hebrew lexicons for English readers with no Latin scholarship.

Hidden beneath this desire is another motivation that is not expressed verbally but can be discovered in the theological backgrounds of each of the lexicographers. The four pioneer Hebrew lexicographers who produced significant works in English were all non-conformists. Udall was involved in the production of the Marprelate Tracts (in which it was argued that the head of the Church of England should be an ordained minister), Robertson's work was sponsored by the Puritans, Taylor was a dissenter, and Parkhurst was a supporter of Hutchinson's theology. Each was highly motivated to put the tools of Hebrew scholarship into the hands of any English speaker who had a willingness to question conformist interpretation, hence the emphasis on interpretation and English tools for English speakers.

---

[14] Leusden, *Manuale hebraeo-latino-belgicum*, and Curtius, *Manuale hebraeo-chaldaeo-latino belgicum.*

[15] Udall and Martinez, *The Key of the Holy Tongue.*

[16] Moreira, קהלת יעקב *Kehilath Jahacob.*

[17] Hetzel, *Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hebräische Sprache*, and Schulz, *Hebräishes-Deutsches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament.*

[18] Udall and Martinez, *The Key of the Holy Tongue.*

[19] Rowley, *The Schollers Companion.*

[20] Robertson, *The Second Gate.*

[21] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [vii]. Author's italics.

[22] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, 1762, iii. Author's italics.

The early Hebrew-English lexicons can be divided into two groups — those written between 1593 and 1656, and those written from the mid 1700's to the early 1800's.

3. HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICONS FROM 1593 TO 1656

3.1. Udall (c. 1560–1592/3)

The very first Hebrew-English lexicon, *The Key of the Holy Tongue,* came, according to its writer,

בְּמַעֲשֵׂה וּבְיַד יוֹחָנָה אוּדְל בִּהְיוֹתוֹ בְּבֵית הַמִּשְׁמָר:

By the doing of and by the hand of John Udall when he was in the house of the watch.[23]

So what was a Hebrew-English lexicographer doing writing a lexicon in prison? Udall is better known as a Puritan religious controversialist than as a lexicographer.[24] He was part of a group who argued that Queen Elizabeth should not be head of the Church of England because she was not ordained. This sentiment was considered seditious. A number of tracts, known as the Marprelate Tracts, were written about the issue and John Udall was accused of being the author and was sentenced to death. While awaiting the outcome of an appeal against his sentence, John Udall filled in the time by translating Martinez' Hebrew grammar into English and adding to it a small Hebrew-English lexicon. Possibly he was hoping that by providing resources that would allow the uneducated English to read the Hebrew Bible for themselves, they too would come to the same conclusion as him regarding the leadership of the church.

Whatever his motivation, his lexicon ended up on a 'no through road.' In this case one might more appropriately say, it ended up at a dead end. It was only published twice, first in 1593 just after Udall died and again in 1645.[25] The grammar, however, lived longer and was published several times in the next fifty years without the lexicon and earned a reputation as a useful tool in Hebrew studies.[26]

---

[23] Udall and Martinez, *The Key of the Holy Tongue*, 174. For those accessing the scanned version of this book from EEBO this statement is found in the scanned copy on page 192. (Author's translation)

[24] C. Cross, "Udall, John (C. 1560–1592/3), Religious Controversialist." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Ortmann, "Udall, John (Ca. 1560–1592)," in *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia.*

[25] Udall, Martinez and Raue, *The Key of the Holy Tongue*, 2nd ed., 1645.

[26] Nine years after its publication, Sturtevant listed Udall's dictionary as a possible compendious dictionary for use with his *Adams Hebrew Dictionarie* (Sturtevant, *Adams Hebrew Dictionarie*, 20). *The Key of the Holy Tongue* was listed in 1599 as part of William Mitchell's library (Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, 280). In 1622 *The Key of the Holy Tongue* was mentioned by John Brisley, because it made Martinez clear and Brisley considered Martinez's work to be one of the more useful grammars for the speedy acquisition of Hebrew grammar. Brisley was interested in the grammar and made no mention of the lexicon (Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, 257–258). Other than these brief comments Udall's work is not referred to by future scholars. The whole work was reprinted,

The lexicon section of *The Key of the Holy Tongue* begins with this title page and has no preface:

> A brief abridgment of the Hebrve dictionaire, conteining not onlie the primitive words called the rootes, but also those that are derived from them, together with their proper significations, as neare as could be atteyned unto by the authour.[27]

Udall calls the lexicon a "Brief abridgment of the Hebrve dictionaire" but does not say whether his is based on a specific dictionary or just Hebrew dictionaries in general. He does, however, indicate that he is working with the theory of primitive words and their derivatives, although this is not done with the strictness of later lexicons. For example, on the sample page (Figure 1) the second entry is the noun אֱוִיל which is given an entry of its own, whereas in a lexicon that is following the triliteral method strictly it would be placed under the root אול. Verbs are placed under their triliteral roots, but in some cases they are also listed alphabetically (Figure 1:6).[28]

Udall put words with the same three radicals into the same entry regardless of their semantic value, but he gives no indication of whether or how their meanings are connected (Figure 1:7). He does, however, sometimes indicate how derivatives are connected to their verbal root. In the entry for באש (Figure 2), for the derivative בְּאֻשִׁים he qualifies the gloss, 'wild grapes,' with 'or stinking' in parenthesis to show its connection to the gloss 'he stunk' that he gave for the verb and the gloss 'a stink' that he gave for the two noun forms בְּאֹשׁ and בָּאְשׁ.

The entries are very basic. Each Hebrew word is followed by one English gloss which is given in italics. In terms of morphological information, the forms or *binyanim* of the verbs are noted in normal type with their glosses but without the Hebrew forms. As well some plural forms are given for nouns but this is not consistent.

As a brief working lexicon it is quite functional although limited by the single gloss, the lack of Hebrew forms, and the lack of textual examples.

3.2. Edward Leigh (1603–1671)

The next lexicographer to make an attempt at a Hebrew-English lexicon was Edward Leigh, another Puritan. He successfully negotiated the turbulent years of the Civil War in spite of his fervent Puritanism and his initial Parliamentary sympathies. In the midst of a life of law, politics and military leadership, Leigh found time to write prolifically on a wide range of topics, including the production of two biblical lexicons, one Greek[29] and one Hebrew,[30] both known by the short title, *Critica Sacra.*

---

according to the title, when the grammar was annotated by Christian Raue in 1645. In the second printing of Raue's version, published in 1648, the lexicon was not included.

   [27] Udall and Martinez, *The Key of the Holy Tongue*. For those accessing the scanned version of this book from EEBO the dictionary in the scanned copy begins on page 105.

   [28] "Figure 6:1" means Figure 6 and the note labeled 1 on that figure.

   [29] Leigh, *Critica Sacra or Philologicall and Theological Observations*.

Leigh's lexicon is not strictly Hebrew-English since most of its entries have more Latin in them than English. "Out of the first fifty entries in the lexicon, twenty-seven have no English, eleven have some English but no indication in English of the meaning of the word and twelve have some indication of the English meaning."[31] Writing lexicons with English as the target language caused problems for Leigh, as he explained in the preface to his Greek lexicon:

> For I did desire, at the first, to have translated the Greeke word by some proper English one, but finding it many times very copious, and of various significations in Scripture, and also our English Tongue not so fit as the Latine to render it by, I chose rather to follow so good a guide as Stephanus in his Concordance (with whom also usually Beza and Piscator concurre) to render the Greeke word in Latine after him, and to expresse likewise the word in English, when a fit one was offered, than by tying my selfe still to the English, to have hazarded the mis-interpreting of the Originall.[32]

Lee, in *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, comments, "Latin was safe, English hazardous."[33] Leigh, having successfully survived the struggles of the Puritans in his day, clearly chose the safer path and stayed mostly with the non-controversial Latin.

Leigh gives, among other resources, a list of source lexicons for his work, one of which is the lexicon by Schindler.[34] A comparison with a version of Schindler readily available to English scholars[35] shows the similarity between contemporary Hebrew-Latin lexicons and Leigh's work (Compare Figures 3 and 4).

Unlike Udall, Leigh's lexicon was quite successful, undergoing a number of reprintings and editions[36] and being one of the source lexicons that Parkhurst listed for his Hebrew-English lexicon.[37] Leigh's lexicon, however, was another 'no through road' for Hebrew-English lexicography since it was not really in English and was of no use to a non-Latin reader.

3.3. Alexander Rowley

Alexander Rowley's *The Schollers Companion*[38] is another, much less successful, lexicographical experiment that struggled with the problem of moving from Latin to English. Rowley's book was "not onely for the ease of the learned, but also that the unlearned may come to the knowledge of both Testaments in the Originall

---

[30] Leigh, *Critica Sacra Observations on All the Radices, or Primitive Hebrew Words of the Old Testament.*

[31] Craig, "The Emergence of Hebrew-English Lexicons: From Udall to Parkhurst," 33.

[32] Leigh, *Critica Sacra or Philologicall and Theological Observations*, xiii.

[33] John Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 85.

[34] Schindler, *Lexicon pentaglotton.*

[35] Alabaster, Keuchen, and Schindler. *Spiraculum tubarum.*

[36] These are not listed in the bibliography but the dates are as follows: 1650a, 1650b, 1662, 1664, 1696, 1712, 1735.

[37] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, 1762, v.

[38] Rowley, *The Schollers Companion.*

Tongues,"[39] and he wanted the book to be small enough to be carried with them and "as little burdensome to their understandings and memories"[40] as to their purses. Rowley's solution to the Latin problem and to the issue of size and cost was so convoluted that it was almost impossible to understand.

To make sense of an entry in the first section of *The Schollers Companion* the reader has to look at the numbers in the entry and find those numbers in the second section of the book. The numbers represent Latin words which are not arranged alphabetically but are grouped according to meaning. The Latin word is then followed by several English translation equivalents.

Take the entry for באשׁ (Figure 5), for example. The reader has to look up eight different sections of the second volume (Figures 6a–6h) and then try to make sense of the Latin definitions in relationship to each other. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rowley is not mentioned by any future lexicographers or that his book was only printed once.

3.4. William Robertson (*fl.* 1651–1685)

William Robertson is the last Hebrew-English lexicographer to publish in the seventeenth century. Like Udall and Leigh he had Puritan connections. Robertson was passionate about teaching Hebrew using English resources rather than Latin and to this end he published a Hebrew grammar in English, *A Gate or Door to the Holy Tongue, Opened in English;*[41] a Hebrew-English lexicon, *The Second Gate, or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue;*[42] and an analytical lexicon on Psalms and Lamentations called *A Key to the Hebrew Bible.*[43] Robertson's patrons for these works were Puritans and in 1660 at the Restoration his patrons' fortunes changed and so, therefore, did his. He did not return to Hebrew-English lexicographical work but established his reputation instead in Latin works.[44]

Robertson's entries in *The Second Gate* are a unique experiment that he later decided created confusion for the beginner and so he added an appendix to help clear up the confusion.

Instead of a headword Robertson put the first radical in large, bold print at the beginning of the section, the second radical in parenthesis, the number of the root and then either the third radical or the whole word (Figure 7). This is then followed by a transliteration and an English gloss. In some cases another number appears. This number is a code number for the verb form or *binyanim*.[45]

The Second Gate is arranged by triliteral roots, which are an obstacle for beginners who cannot always identify the roots of words. Robertson set out to

---

[39] Rowley, *The Schollers Companion*, title.

[40] Rowley, *The Schollers Companion*, [3].

[41] Robertson, *A Gate or Door to the Holy Tongue*. This was republished a year later as *The First Gate or the Outward Door to the Holy Tongue*.

[42] Robertson, *The Second Gate, or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue*.

[43] Robertson, *A Key to the Hebrew Bible*.

[44] Robertson, Schrevel, and Constantine of Rhodes. *Thesaurus, graecae linguae, in epitomen*.

[45] The number code for the *binyanim*: 1 for Qal; 2 for Niphal; 3 for Piel; 4 for Pual; 5 for Hiphal; 6 for Hophal, and 7 for Hitpael.

overcome this difficulty by producing what we would now call an analytical lexicon, but which he called "an alphabetical praxis."[46] This lexicon, *A Key to the Hebrew Bible*, was also an experiment and Robertson again made adjustments as he went along.

Robertson's Hebrew-English works were only published once in the seventeenth century and it was another hundred years before any English scholar attempted another Hebrew-English lexicon. A century and a half, however, after *The Second Gate* was first published, Nahum Joseph edited and published another edition to counteract the deficiencies he found in Parkhurst's lexicon.[47]

4. HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Hebrew-English lexicography of the eighteenth century was initiated and energized by a theological debate that was specific to Great Britain. This debate was grounded in the teaching of John Hutchinson and was triggered by a sermon entitled *The Supreme and Inferior Elahim* given by Catcott,[48] one of Hutchinson's disciples. Any scholar of Hebrew will immediately notice the wrong spelling of the word 'Elahim.' The debate was heated, lasted for nearly forty years and was frequently vitriolic.[49] As a result of the debate, Hebrew-English lexicography and linguistic discussion was revived.

4.1. Sharpe (1713–1771)

The first lexicon to appear out of this ferment is a lexicon by Gregory Sharpe, which is extremely brief and not intended to be used as a lexicon but as a proof text to his linguistic dissertations in which it is embedded.[50]

The value of Sharpe's *Two Dissertations* is not the lexicon but the linguistic theory. There is only space for one example from the first dissertation which asks whether the first language "was a gift from the creator" or "whether it might not have been the offspring of necessity and convenience brought forth by time?":[51]

> It is not pretended that the Hebrew of the Old Testament is, in all respects, the same with the language first talked by man. The language of Adam was sufficient for his purposes; and as new objects, new relations, and new circumstances, must be perpetually starting up in a new world, new names would be given them: Different names, from the different properties of a thing, might be given to the same object, and in time the original names from disuse be forgot.[52]

---

[46] Robertson, *A Key to the Hebrew Bible*, title.

[47] Joseph, *Robertson's Compendious Hebrew Dictionary Corrected and Improved*, v–viii.

[48] Catcott, *The Supreme and Inferior Elahim*.

[49] For a good summary of the debate see Gurses' article, "The Hutchinsonian Defence of an Old Testament Trinitarian Christianity: The Controversy over Elahim, 1735–1773."

[50] Sharpe, *Two Dissertations*.

[51] Sharpe, *Two Dissertations*, 1.

[52] Sharpe, *Two Dissertations*, 33.

The importance of this dissertation is that it proves that English scholars were aware of the discussion initiated by Schultens as to the place of Hebrew in the family of Semitic languages; a discussion that later led to a complete shift in Hebrew lexicography. "Far from accepting the traditional view that Arabic (like other languages) was a degenerate form of Hebrew, Schultens maintained that Hebrew was only one Semitic dialect."[53] In his Master's thesis, Schultens showed that Arabic could be used to interpret the meaning of Hebrew words.[54]

4.2. Taylor (1694–1761)

The second lexical work of this period appeared in two volumes, in 1754 and 1757, and was also not a lexicon; it was *The Hebrew Concordance* by Taylor.[55] The interest here is again the development of lexicographical theory and method that is evident in the discussion in Taylor's preface. In the process of preparing the concordance, Taylor discovered that literary context impacts meaning, and words can only be understood from their context. He also discovered that cultural context also impacts semantics, that there is a semantic range to words that does not transfer exactly into a second language, that a limited corpus restricts the lexicographer's capacity to discover meaning, and that some words are polysemous.[56] With regard to "how Words varied their Senses in different Situations," he expressed dissatisfaction with the way Hebrew lexicons were arranged:

> In the common Lexicons, the various Senses of the same Word are laid down in a Manner so confused and incoherent, that they seem to have no manner of Connection, but appear to be as different from one another, as if they were the Senses of different Words.[57]

He was concerned this would give Hebrew the appearance of being "unaccountably arbitrary, perplexed and uncertain."[58] To solve this problem he proposed a more highly developed theory of primitives:

> But if some primary Notion of a Root can be discovered, which will comprehend, connect and reconcile all the various Senses, into which that Root shooteth out, then the Case will be reversed, and the Hebrew Tongue will be found to enjoy the Advantage of being understood, which perhaps no modern Language, at least, can boast of.[59]

While Taylor was developing this theory out of his understanding of Hebrew as the original language, Simonis solved the problem by comparing Hebrew roots to Arabic roots according to Schultens' thesis and arrived at an entirely different

---

[53] Barr, "Linguistic Literature, Hebrew."

[54] Schultens, *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda scriptura*.

[55] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vols. 1 and 2.

[56] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [v].

[57] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [v].

[58] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [v].

[59] Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance*, vol. 1, [v].

solution to the same problem.[60] Taylor's solution was to find a primitive meaning that would connect all the different meanings the word exhibited in its various contexts, while Simonis explained the different meanings by connecting them to different Arabic roots.

4.3. Parkhurst (1728–1797)

While Taylor claimed that his concordance could function as a lexicon, the first actual Hebrew-English lexicon to be produced in the eighteenth century was Parkhurst's *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*.[61]

Parkhurst is the first Hebrew-English lexicographer to be an ordained minister of the Church of England. Parkhurst, however, was also an avid Hutchinsonian. His Hutchinsonian views highly influenced his lexicography. He produced his lexicon and later his grammars without points, which he, along with other Hutchinsonians, saw as the result of Rabbinic prejudices. He avoided comparative linguistics except in the case of words that occur only once or twice and he believed in the self-sufficiency of the text of the Hebrew Bible.[62]

Like Taylor, he worked with the theory of the primitive root and the importance of context to inform meaning. These two theories are visible in the way he presents his entries. The sample entry באש (Figure 8), taken from the third edition[63] is arranged into four sections (not counting the Aramaic section). The first section deals with the verb when it is used literally. Parkhurst points out that with this usage only the Qal and Hiphil forms are used, the meaning, 'to stink,' is the primitive meaning of the root and the context in which this meaning is used is "as carrion or dead animals in a state of putrification, or the like." The second and third sections deal with two different nouns formed from the same root and the meanings are given as 'stinking fruit' and 'some stinking weed' using the primitive meaning of the root, although he does also give other meanings as found in other lexicons, if only to refute them. The fourth section deals with a verb form again. This time the verb uses Niphal, Hiphil and Hitpael forms. Parkhurst classes this usage as figurative and although he does not specifically give a context he does give sufficient Scripture references for the context to be clear. He gives the meaning this time as 'to stink in a figurative sense,' followed by a translation equivalent "to be or become loathsome, abominable." The entry is organized and logical in spite of the fact that it contains much more discussion than we are accustomed to in a lexical entry.

The entry for באש demonstrates the way Parkhurst arranged his entries according to meaning in context and also shows how the theory of primitive meanings was used. In this entry the theory works well. In other entries, however, such as אלה, in which we find the controversial אלהים, the theory can be pushed too far. Parkhurst gives the root אלה the primitive meaning 'to curse.' In

---

[60] Simonis, *Dictionarium Veteris Testamenti hebraeo-chaldaicum*.

[61] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*.

[62] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, iii.

[63] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, 3rd ed., 1792.

accordance with the theory he then justifies why the word for God comes from this root.[64]

Parkhurst's work did influence some lexicographers of his generation,[65] but there were others who objected strongly to his theology and wrote lexicons in protest to his.[66] While this was going on in England, in Europe the theories of Schultens and the initial work of Simonis were capturing the attention of German Hebrew lexicographers. In the early 1800s, Gesenius produced the first of his lexicons based on developments of the theories of Schultens.[67] Gesenius understood Hebrew to be one of many Semitic languages rather than the origin of all languages and based his lexicography on rationalism rather than on theology. Gesenius' logic appealed to Hebrew scholars in England and America and by the middle of the 1800s Parkhurst's theories, some of which were valuable to linguistics, were relegated to another 'no through road.'

5. POST-PARKHURST

The Hebrew-English lexicons that were produced in the nineteenth century were either translations of Gesenius[68] or based on the German scholarship of Gesenius and Fürst.[69] Only Lee stands apart as an independent scholar and his lexicon also only had a limited life.[70] In the twentieth century new Hebrew-English lexicons were based on the work of Koehler and Baumgartner.[71] Until the advent of the current projects of de Blois[72] and Clines,[73] Hebrew-English lexicography has been dependant on German scholarship and the comparative method of lexicography. These new Hebrew-English

---

[64] Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, 7–11, and compare with Parkhurst's *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points*, 3rd ed., 1792, 20–24.

[65] Barker, *The Hebrew and English Lexicon Improved*; Bate, *Critica Hebraea*; Pike, *A Compendious Hebrew Lexicon*.

[66] Joseph, *Robertson's Compendious Hebrew Dictionary Corrected and Improved*; Levi, *Lingua Sacra in Three Parts*.

[67] For relevant works of Schultens, see *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda scriptura, Institutiones ad fundamenta linguæ hebrææ, Liber Jobi*, and *Proverbia Salomonis*.

[68] Gesenius and Gibbs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*; Gesenius and Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon to the Books of the Old Testament*; Gesenius and Robinson, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*; Gesenius and Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*; Gibbs, *A Manual Hebrew and English Lexicon*; Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*.

[69] Davies, *Student's Hebrew Lexicon*.

[70] Samuel Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*. Lee's lexicon was only reprinted once in 1844.

[71] Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*; Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Based on the Lexical Work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner*; Koehler, Baumgartner, and Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by M.E.J. Richardson.

[72] De Blois, "A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew."

[73] Clines and Elwolde, eds. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*.

lexical projects are again addressing some of the issue of meaning in context that was Parkhurst's and Taylor's particular concern. Although they are addressing this issue, their inspiration is not the work of Taylor and Parkhurst, but rather stems from a separate development in modern linguistic science. The future will tell whether these new works are through roads or not.

6. CONCLUSION

The works of the early Hebrew-English lexicographers were pioneering in nature. Their works, however, had limited publication life and were also not used by future lexicographers to any significant degree. Therefore, these early lexicographers can be said to have driven into 'no through roads.' Two elements can be seen to contribute to these dead ends. The first is the non-conformist motivations for their lexicons which led future generations to neglect or reject their scholarship. The second is the theological foundation of their linguistic theory, which understood Hebrew to be the divine and original language. Once linguistic science had established that Hebrew was one of a number of related Semitic languages, any lexicon based on the earlier theory was passed over for more modern productions.

Figure 1: Sample entries from *The Key to the Holy Tongue* by Udall (1593, p. 6–7).

1. Hebrew words are followed by a gloss in italics.

2. Binyanim when noted are in normal type, without Hebrew forms.

3. Some plural noun forms are given.

4. Some cross references are given.

5. Verbs are found under their triliteral roots.

6. Some verbs are listed alphabetically as they occur in the text.

7. Words with the same three radicals are listed together, regardless of their semantic value.

Figure 2: Entry for באש from *The Key to the Holy Tongue* by Udall (1593, p. 15).

| Verb with one gloss. | → | בָּאַשׁ *he stunck.* בְּאֻשִׁים *Rottenues, rotten seed.* *wild (or stinking) grapes.* בְּאֹשׁ, בְּאֹשׁ *a stinck.* בְּאֻשִׁים ◻ | ◄ | All noun forms with glosses. |

Figure 3. Entry for באש from *Critica* Sacra by Leigh (1641, p. 43).

Figure 4. Entry for באש **from** *Spiraculum tubarum* **by Alabaster (1633).**

Figure 5: Entry for באש **from** *The Schollers Companion* **by Rowley (1648, p. 14).**

Figure 6a: Page 2 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648)

15 *Sum,* I am, abide, tarry, apertain to, the part or fashion
of, have esteemed, reputed, worth in value, or at the price
of, good for, turn to, have to do, serve to, in possession of,
use, make for, and in the third Person, next.

Figure 6b: Page 17 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).

271 *Malus,* il, naught, wicked, lewd, not good, no: honest,
crazy, somtime smal, sickly, fals, deceitful, crafty, also
pude, unlearned, unskilful.

Figure 6c: Page 23 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).

365 *Auris,* an ear, also hearing.

Figure 6d: Page 28 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).

442 *Gravis,* heavy, grievous, painful, sore, dangerous, bur-
denous, ungentle, uncourteous, hard, difficult, substantial,
weighty, of good importance, great, big, vehement, strong,
grave, having gravity, discreet, sage, sure, constant, ful
and plenteous, firtil and fruitful, loaded with, stinking or
having a strong and il smel, infectious, corrupt, naughty,
unholesome, old age, scant able to go for age, great with
childe.
729 *Fæteo,* stink, favour il.

**Figure 6e: Page 44 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).**

729 *Fæteo,* ſtink, favour il.

**Figure 6f: Page 48 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).**

789 *Audio,* hear, confider, grant that which is asked, per-
ceive, obey, agree, beleeve or give credit unto, ſpoken of,
ruled by, underſtand.

**Figure 6g: Page 64 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion*
by Rowley (1648).**

1074 *Male,* il, unhappily, ſhrewdly, not wel, ſorely, greatly,
unadviſedly, naughtily, wickedly, lewdly, ſcarcely, ſlen-
derly, to no good end, hardly, with much ado.

Figure 6h: Page 77 of the second volume of *The Schollers Companion* by Rowley (1648).

1282 *Putreo, putresco,* rotten and corrupted, wax rotten, resolved and turned into stinking matter.

1283 *Oleo,* savour or sent of, have savour, stink, smel, give a smel, also suspect, signifie, also grow.

1284 *Sordeo, sordesco,* foul, uncleanly, sluttish, filthy, judged vile, contemned and nothing worth, nothing esteemed, regarded or set by.

1285 *Tristis,* sad, heavie, ful of discomfiture, sorrowful, woful, severe, of much gravity, grave, bitter, difficult, hard, rough, angry, envious, cruel, horrible, that maketh sad, unpleasant, painful to abide, with an il wil, against his wil.

1286 *Insuavis,* unsweet, sower, bitter, stinking, unpleasant.

1287 *Austerus,* sower, rough, hard, sharp, rude, unpleasant, sad, darke, duskie, austere, severe, without pitty, cruel.

1288 *Ingratus,* unpleasant, unacceptable, unkind, unthankful, ungrate, that acknowledgeth not a pleasure done, also constrained against his wil, whither he wil or no.

1289 *Displiceo,* displeas, mislike.

1290 *Odiosus,* that is hated, displeasant, hateful, odious, troublous, irksome, grievous, tedious, wayward, unpleasant.

1291 *Tediosus,* wearyish, or faint.

Figure 7: Entry for בָּאַשׁ **in** *The Second Gate* **by William Robertson (1655, p. 16).**

16   בא   את   בג   בב

Prepofition with , the Pronoun thou, likewife a fpade.

134. א *ata*, c. hee came, fee אֲתָה.

135. ה *atah.* 1 hee did come. 5 he caufed to come, or he brought. 6 he was brought; a fign, which fhews fome-thing to come, an entrie.

136. אתון *aton*, an affe. c. אַתּוּנָה *attunah*, a furnace.

137. אתְרָא *atra*, c. a place.

ב

(א) 1. בְּאֵר *beer.* 3 he explained, he de-clared, he expounded clearly : a well, a foun-tain of clear and pure water, alfo a ditch, fee בּור *bor*, for which it is put, ו, being changed into א.

2. בָּאַשׁ *baafh.* 1 he ftunk. 2 he was putri-fied, or he was made to ftink. 5 he ftunk, hee

made to ftink. 7 hee made himfelf to ftink, or to become vile: ftink, rottenneffe, rotten feed, a ftinking herb, pl: m: wild or ftinking grapes, *Efa.* 5. 3. c. he was, or he did feem to be evil, he did difpleafe; evill, moft evill. בָּאתַר *batar*, c. af-terwards , fee בְּתַר *ba-tar*, without א.

(ב) 3. בָּבָה *babah*, the apple of the eye, fee in *bub*.

(ג) 4. בַג *bag* meat, a piece or portion of meat.

5. ? *bagad.* 1 he did prevaricate, or he did deal treacheroufly, he was perfidious and trea-cherous : perfidie , or treacherie, or a trea-cherous offence : al-fo vefture, cloathing, or garment, becaufe that is the fign of mans firft perfidy againft God ,

[Annotation boxes:]

6. Binyanim numbers.

7. Colon sepa-rates verb and noun meanings.

8. The only Bible reference on this page.

9. The Aramaic words are in-cluded.

1. First radical.

2. Second radical.

2. Second radical.

3. Root number.

4. Third radical as a single radical or as a whole word.

5. English Transliteration.

6. Binyanim numbers.

Figure 8: Entry for באש in *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* by Parkhurst (1792).

באר—באש   [60]   באש

the heavens or *earth where it goes off*, i. e. *the west*. Deut. xi. 30. Joſh. i. 4. xxiii. 4. Zech. viii. 7. מבוא joined with מבית *within*, ſignifies *without*. Iſa. xxiii. 1, where ſee *Vitringa*.

The final א of this Root is often dropt, as Ruth iii. 15. 1 Sam. xxv. 8. 2 Sam. v. 2. 1 K. xii. 12. xxi. 21, 29. 2 K. iii. 24. Jer. xix. 15. xxxix. 16. Mica i. 15. But in all theſe texts, except Ruth iii. 15, and 2 K. iii. 24, a number of Dr. *Kennicott*'s Codices ſupply the א, as one does in Ruth; and in 2 K. iii. 24, twenty-two for ויבו read ויבאו.

II. Of time, *To come, advance.* Iſa. vii. 17. Amos iv. 2. viii. 11, & al. בא בימים literally, Come *into days*, i. e. advanced *in age*, or *years*. Gen. xviii. 11. xxiv. 1, & al.

III. As a N. fem. תבואה, *Revenue, produce, increaſe, income.* Num. xviii. 30. Deut. xxxiii. 14. Prov. iii 14. xviii. 20.

DER. Greek Βαω and Βαινω *to go*, Lat. *via*, Eng. *way*, French *voye*, whence *voyage*, &c.

באר

I. *To open*, as we ſay, *open* the trenches, *open* a pit, or the like. It is not uſed as a V. ſtrictly in this ſenſe, but hence as a N. באר, plur. בארות. *A pit* or *well opened* in the earth. Gen. xiv. 10. xxi. 30. xxvi. 15*, 18, & al freq.

II. *To engrave deeply* in making an inſcription on ſtone. Deut. xxvii. 8. Comp. Hab. ii. 2.

III. *To open, declare, to make evident, apparent* or *open* by ſpeaking. Deut. i. 5.

באש

I. In Kal and Hiph. *To ſtink*, as carrion or dead animals in a ſtate of putrefaction, or the like. See Exod. vii. 18, 21. viii. 14. xvi. 20, 24. Pſ. xxxviii. 6. Alſo in Hiph. *To make to ſtink.* Eccleſ. x. 1. As a N. באש *A ſtink, ſtench.* occ. Iſa. xxxiv. 3. Joel ii. 20. Amos iv. 10.

II. As a N. maſc. plur. באשים occ. Iſa. v. 2, 4. It is rendered *Wild grapes*, but rather

* See *Harmer's* Obſerv. vol. iv. p. 246.

means ſome *ſtinking fruit.* *Haſſelquiſt*, in his Voyages, p. 289, ſays, " he is inclined to believe that the Prophet here means *the hoary nightſhade*, (ſolanum incanum,) becauſe it is common in Egypt, Paleſtine, and the Eaſt, and the Arabian name agrees well with it. The Arabs call it *Aneb el Dib*, i. e. *Wolf-grapes.* The Prophet, adds he, could not have found a plant more oppoſite to the vine than this, for it grows much in the vineyards, and is very pernicious to them, wherefore they root it out; it likewiſe reſembles a vine by it's ſhrubby * ſtalk." Thus my Author. Mr. *Bate*, however, in Crit. Heb. explains it of *grapes that rot upon the vine*; ſo *Montanus*, uvas putidas.

III. As a N. fem. באשה *Some ſtinking weed*, oppoſed to barley. occ. Job xxxi. 40. Is it not the *plant* of which the preceding באשים are the *fruit*? Comp. therefore Senſe II. *Michaelis*, however, (Supplem. ad Lex. Heb.) though he takes notice of *Haſſelquiſt*'s opinion concerning the באשים, yet maintains, after *Celſius*, that both that word and באשה denote the *Aconite*, a poiſonous plant, growing ſpontaneouſly and luxuriantly on ſunny hills, ſuch as are uſed for vineyards. He ſays this interpretation is certain, becauſe as *Celſius* has obſerved, ביש in Arabic denotes the *Aconite*, and he intimates that it beſt ſuits Job xxxi. 40, where it is mentioned as growing *inſtead of barley*. But the reader will judge for himſelf.

IV. As a V. in Niph. and Hiph. *To ſtink* in a figurative ſenſe, *to be* or *become loathſome, abominable.* 1 Sam. xiii. 4. xxvii. 12, הבאיש בעמו he is become utterly abominable *among*, or *to his people.* 2 Sam. x. 6. Prov. xiii. 5. Alſo in Hiph. *To cauſe thus to ſtink, make abominable.* Gen. xxxiv. 30. Exod. v. 21, הבאשתם את ריחנו בעיני פרעה *Ye have* made our

* And no doubt in it's *fruit* alſo, as the Arabic name implies; and ſo *Brookes*, Nat. Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 119, obſerves, that the fruit of the Bella Donna, or *deadly Nightſhade*, is like a *Grape*, of a ſhining black colour, and full of a *vinous* juice.

smell loathsome, in the eyes *of Pharaoh.* Is not this expression, though at first fight unphilosophical, yet strictly agreeable to nature? Is it not a figure taken from the remarkable effect which all strong *alkaline* volatile smells (such, for instance, as that of carrion) have on the *eyes?* In Isa. xxx. 5, two of Dr. *Kennicott's* Codices read הביש, and fex הוביש *was ashamed.* So Vulg. confusi sunt, *were confounded.* However, the common printed reading הבאיש על in the sense of *abominating, loathing, being disgusted at,* (comp. Dan. vi. 15.) seems a very good one; especially if it be considered that at the time King Hoshea sent his embassadors into Egypt, that country was governed by *So,* called by *Manetho, Sevechus,* and by *Herodotus, Sethon,* and described by the latter historian, lib. ii. cap. 141, as a very *superstitious* prince, and particularly inattentive to military affairs, and disobliging to the soldiery. In Hith. *To make oneself stinking, loathsome,* or *abominable.* 1 Chron. xix. 6.

V. Chald. In Kal, with על following, *To abominate, be very much displeased at.* occ. Dan. vi. 15, where Theodotion ελυπηθη *was grieved,* fo Vulg. contriftatus eft. As a N. fem. באושתא *Abominable.* occ. Ezra iv. 12.

בב

Occurs not as a V. in Kal, but,

I. As a participial N. or Participle in Niph. נבוב *Hollow, made hollow.* occ. Exod. xxvii. 8. xxxviii. 7. Jer. lii. 11.

II. It is applied fpiritually, *Hollow, empty, vain.* occ. Job xi. 12.

III. As a N. fem. in Reg. בבת *The fight* or *pupil of the eye,* that part of the eye which appears *hollow,* and admits the light. occ. Zech. ii. 8, or 12, where observe that three of Dr. *Kennicott's* Codices for בבבת have בבת.

בג

Occurs not as a V. but as a N. בג *Meat, food.* occ. Ezek. xxv. 7, and in compo-sition with פת *a portion,* Dan. i. 5, & al. Hence, probably, the Phrygian Βεκκος *bread* (Herodot. II. 2.) and the Gr. Βαγος *food,* which *Hefychius* explains by κλασμα α;του η μαζης *a piece* or *fragment of bread* or *paste.* And as κλασμα is from κλαω *to break off,* fo the LXX. in Ezek. xxv. 7, render בג by Διαρπαγην, and Vulg. by direptionem, *spoil, plunder* (if indeed they red בג, for the *Keri,* and 13 of Dr. *Kennicott's* Codices have לבז); and *to spoil, pluck, break off,* or the like, is perhaps the ideal meaning of the Hebrew word.

בגד

I. As a N. בגד *A covering of cloth* or the like. It is ufed for

1. *Clothes* or *coverings* in general. Gen. xxiv. 53, & al. freq.
2. *An outer garment, a cloak* or *robe.* Gen. xxxix. 12. 1 Sam. xix. 24.
3. *The covering* or *coverlet* of a bed. 1 Sam. xix. 13.
4. *A cloth-covering* for the tabernacle. Num. iv. 6—13.

II. As a N. בגד *A cover* or *cloak of dissimulation, hypocrify, falsehood, perfidy, treachery.* occ. Ifa. xxiv. 16. Jer. xii. 1. So fem. plur. בגדות. occ. Zeph. iii. 4. Hence

III. As a V. in Kal, *To use a cloak of dissimulation, hypocrify, falsehood,* or *treachery, to act under such a deceitful cover, to deceive.* It is ufed abfolutely, 1 Sam. xiv. 33. Job vi. 31, & al. with ב following, Exod. xxi. 8. Jud. ix. 23; and once with מ, Jer. iii. 20, *Surely as a woman* acteth treacheroufly againft *her friend;* fo Noldius, perfidè agit contra. Habbak. ii. 5, *Yea (as) when* היין בוגד גבר *Wine deceiveth a man* (comp. Prov. xx. 1.) *(fo) he* (the King of Babylon *is) proud* (i. e. he is *intoxicated* with his power and dominion, comp. Dan. iv. 30) *and is not at reft.* But on this whole word let the reader confult Mr. *Bate's* learned expofition in Crit. Heb.

בד

Occurs not as a V. in Heb. but in Arabic fignifies

CHAPTER 3:
THE PESHITTA RENDERING OF PSALM 25: SPELLING, SYNONYMS, AND SYNTAX

Janet W. Dyk

Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, NL

The very act of making a translation implies that the rendered text will differ from the source text. The underlying presupposition is that the grammar, syntax, and semantics of the source and target languages are sufficiently divergent as to warrant a translation. Translations differ in how close they stay to the source text, a qualification which is both lauded and disdained. Yet all translations tend to exhibit a number of shared characteristics. Using the Masoretic and Peshitta versions of Psalm 25, the characteristics of the Syriac rendering are explored, taking note of issues involving spelling, synonyms, and syntax.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSLATIONS IN GENERAL

Numerous studies have explored the Syriac rendering of the original Hebrew text. Ignacio Carbajosa in his study of Psalms 90–150 mentions more than ten studies dedicated to the study of the character of the Peshitta Psalms alone.[1] Questions as to which original text was used, translation technique, and how well the translator knew Hebrew are considered. Attempts are made to differentiate between the influence of the two language systems themselves, on the one hand, and exegetical and text-historical factors, on the other. The opinions of scholars have ranged from remarks about carelessness and a lack of knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the translator to appreciation of the dynamic and satisfying result of his work. When opinions are so divergent, it is time to gather and register data as it presents itself in the two versions, saving interpretations and qualifications of what is observed for later.

During the past several years, in a project comparing the Peshitta and the Masoretic text of the Books of Kings, I have worked closely with Dr. Percy van Keulen, a text-historical scholar from Leiden. We have both been confronted with the vast differences between a linguistic approach and a text-historical one. This enriching experience compels me to caution the reader that this contribution is from

---

[1] Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90–150 in the Peshitta*, 3–14.

a linguist's point of view and needs complementation from other disciplines. Yet I am convinced that the contribution of linguistics to this type of research is not insignificant and can provide additional perspectives from which to view what is observed in the texts.

Studies on the universal nature of translations provide a broader context in which translations can be studied. In one Finnish study, texts translated from two different languages — Russian and English — were compared both with non-translated source language texts and with each other:

> The findings based on such comparable corpora 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. At the same time, different source languages … showed individual profiles of deviation. The results suggest that the source language is influential in shaping translations, but it cannot be the sole cause, because the translations resembled each other.[2]

The fact that translated texts resemble each other more than they resemble the languages of the source texts could indicate, it seems to me, that these results reflect universal tendencies of the human brain in its effort to deal simultaneously with two encoding systems.

Much of what can be observed in the Syriac translation reflects the characteristics of translations in general. It is in the light of the broader picture that the true uniqueness of the Peshitta version can be defined. Some of the characteristics or tendencies of translations in general include overall length, explicitation, lexical density, simplification and levelling out.[3]

1.1. Overall Length

Translated texts tend to be longer than the source text. This overall length is related to the fact that translated texts often contain explicitation.

1.2. Explicitation

Explicitation involves adding material in the translated text that is taken to be implicit in the source text. Explicitation may occur in the form of lexical, syntactic, or semantic additions, expansions, or substitutions. This results in a lower lexical density.

1.3. Lexical Density

Lexical density is the proportion of content, or lexical words to function words which have little lexical meaning, but serve to express grammatical relationships. The rationale behind this is that translations tend to add material to disambiguate elements in the source text, to make explicit syntactic and grammatical relationships

---

[2] Mauranen, "Corpora, Universals and Interference," 79.

[3] See Lind, "Translation Universals (or laws, or tendencies, or probabilities, or …?)," 2–4.

which are implicit in the source text, and to supply elided material. Much of this is done using a higher proportion of function words. However, inherent in this added material are also content or lexical words which therefore increase the lexical density. In spite of this, translated texts tend to have a lower lexical density.

1.4. Simplification

Some textual features resulting from simplification may be just the opposite of explicitation: more general terms can replace specific ones, a number of short sentences replace a long one, modifying phrases and words can be omitted. Other types of simplification include reduction or omission of repetition, a narrower range of vocabulary and a related lower number of unique lexical items (lower type / token ratio, that is, the number of distinct lexical items in translated texts is lower in relation to the total number of words).

1.5. Levelling Out

There is a tendency in translated texts "to gravitate toward the centre of the continuum."[4] There is a "relatively higher level of homogeneity of translated texts with regard to their own scores on given measures of universal features" in contrast to non-translational texts which are more idiosyncratic with a higher level of variance.[5]

In discussing some aspects of Peshitta Psalm 25, we will try to place the observations within the context of the general characteristics of translated texts. As the title has suggested, we will look at some phenomena involving spelling, synonyms, and syntax in this Psalm.

2. SPELLING

2.1. Acrostic

Like various other Hebrew psalms, Psalm 25 has the letters of the alphabet as the first letter of a verse or line. The Psalm has a number of departures from a strict alphabetic acrostic:

- verse 2: the first word should begin with *beth* but the verse begins with *aleph*; it is only by placing this word at the end of the line of verse 1 that the second word, beginning with a *beth*, occurs in the initial position of the second line
- verse 5b: the *waw* line actually begins with *aleph waw*
- verses 17 and 18: there are two lines beginning with *resh*
- verse 22: after the completion of the alphabet an extra line beginning with *pe* is added.[6]

---

[4] Baker, "Corpus-based Translation Studies: The Challenges That Lie Ahead," 184.

[5] Laviosa, *Corpus-based Translation Studies: Theory, Findings, Applications*, 73.

[6] See Talstra, "Psalm 25: Partituur van een gebed," for a view on how this final line can be seen as integrated into the prayer of the Psalm as a whole.

Although it has often been observed that the Peshitta translators paid particular attention to graphic and phonetic characteristics of the Hebrew text, they did not seem to exert particular efforts to follow the alphabet in rendering Psalm 25. However, this observation does not present the whole picture. A number of lines in the Syriac version begin with the same letter as the line in the Hebrew original.[7] It is the use of cognates which allows for a partial reflection of the Hebrew acrostic, but the focus is on the sense of the passage. The fact that the two languages are related facilitates the resemblance in the form of some words, but it would be assuming too much to say that the Syriac was trying to follow the form of the acrostic. A convincing example is verse 13 (the *nun* line): both versions begin with the cognate words for "soul, breath, life"; however, the Syriac inserts a conjunctive *waw* at the beginning of the line to connect this clause to the preceding line. This moves the initial *nun* away from the first position, thus giving precedence to syntactic connections over acrostic form.

A brief look at other Psalms with an acrostic in Hebrew confirms this impression. With its eight lines per letter of the alphabet, Psalm 119 provides the most material for comparison and some interesting observations can be made.

- The *beth* scores the highest: seven of the eight lines beginning with *beth* in Hebrew begin with the *beth* in Syriac. These all involve the preposition "in" which is spelled identically in the two languages. For the one line without *beth* in Syriac the Hebrew begins with בדרך, where the *beth* introduces the complement of the verb שׂושׂ, "rejoice." Syriac renders this verb as ڔڇؠ, "love, delight in, desire," and introduces the object of the

---

[7] Verse 2 (the *beth* line): in this the Peshitta text follows the Hebrew exactly, with the first word beginning with an *alaph* and the second with a *beth*. Verse 5, first line (the *he* line): the Hebrew begins with a Hiphil form, which provides the *he*, of the verb beginning with *daleth*, while the Syriac begins with a verb starting with *dalath*. Though the acrostic is not followed, the Syriac verbal root ܘܒ does begin with the *dalath* and furthermore contains two of the same letters as the Hebrew root דרך. Verse 5, second line (the *waw* line): Hebrew begins with *aleph waw* while the Syriac begins with *waw*. Since the coordinating conjunction is also added to other lines where it does not benefit the acrostic, the *waw* is probably not to be counted as an attempt to follow the acrostic, but as a syntactic connection between clauses. Verse 8 (the *teth* line): both Hebrew and Syriac begin with *teth*, the words are cognates. Verse 9 (the *yod* line): the Hebrew has an imperfect form of the verb beginning with the desired *yod*, while Syriac begins with a conjunctive *waw* and a participial form beginning with *mem*. The two verbs, however, share two letters in their roots (דרך / ܘܒ). Verse 10 (the *kaph* line): both texts begin with the word "all," a cognate word in the two languages. Verse 12 (the *mem* line): the interrogative pronouns מי and ܡܢ both begin with the required letter. Verse 13 (the *nun* line): both versions begin with the cognate "soul, breath, life," but the Syriac inserts a conjunctive *waw* before this word to connect this clause syntactically. Verse 15 (the *ayin* line): both begin with the cognate, "eyes," which begins with the required letter. Verse 16 (the *pe* line): the cognate verbs פנה / ܦܢܐ begin the verse, but the Syriac uses the verb in the Ethpeel which shifts the *pe* away from initial position. Verse 21 (the *taw* line): both versions begin with the cognate words תם / ܐܬܡܡ. Verse 22 (the extra *pe* line): the Hebrew פדה, "ransom," is rendered ܦܪܩ, "redeem," an adequate translation which also preserves the initial *pe*.

verb by ﹨, thus respecting the valence pattern of the Syriac verb chosen, even though this means departing from the acrostic pattern.

- The second highest score is attained by the *qof*: 6 of the 8 lines. These all involve cognate verbs in the two languages: twice each קרא / ܩܪܐ, ܩܢܬ / קרב, and ܩܝܡ / קדם.

- Where cognates are available in the two languages, these provide similarity in spelling, like עבד / ܥܒܕ, "servant," עין / ܥܝܢ, "eye," but this does not occur to the detriment of syntax. The clearest example of this is perhaps the line beginning with שלום, "peace," in Hebrew. This word is translated by the cognate ܫܠܡܐ in Syriac, but the word does not occur in initial position, which would satisfy the requirements of the acrostic, but rather later in the sentence.

- More evidence that the sense rather than the spelling guided the rendering can be seen in verses 73–80 beginning with the letter *yod* in Hebrew. Five of the eight lines in Hebrew begin with a third person imperfect verbal form. These are rendered by the imperfect in Syriac, beginning with the letter *nun*. The line beginning with יד, "hand," is translated appropriately, beginning with an *alaph* in Syriac (ܐܝܕܗ). Only the line beginning with the cognate verbs ידע / ܝܕܥ in the perfect preserves the initial letter *yudh* in Syriac.

- In some cases the effect of phonological variation is evident: though the lines beginning with *gimel* have only one rendering beginning with *gamal*, there are two lines beginning with *alaph* and one with *ʿE*, thus evidencing to fuzziness in the velar / glottal area of articulation. Similarly the *sin / shin* lines are rendered beginning once with *shin* and twice with *semkath*. Finally, the *tsade* has a score of zero for lines beginning with *tsadhe*, but there are four lines beginning with *ẓain*, a letter phonologically related to the *tsadhe*. The renderings of the *sin / shin* and the *tsade* bear witness to the fluidity of the sibilants in the pronunciation and spelling of these two languages.[8]

On the basis of the comparative evidence from Psalm 119, we can confirm our impression of the acrostic in Psalm 25: the translator focused on conveying the sense of the passage. Cognate words in the two languages provided a means of maintaining some of the initial letters, but this was not done to the detriment of syntactic or semantic considerations, and it is, as it were, almost by accident that the acrostic is partially reproduced.

---

[8] Phonological variation in the Peshitta rendering of the Books of Kings is explored by Dyk and Van Keulen in *Language System, Translation Technique and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings*, chapter 3: "Linguistic Observations."

2.2. Rendering Influenced by Shape or Sound of the Hebrew Word

Many authors have noted that the shape of the Hebrew word can play a role in its rendering in Syriac.[9] It appears that there may be at least one example of this in Psalm 25:

> Verse 3
>
> <div dir="rtl">יבשו הבוגדים ריקם</div>
>
> "let them be ashamed who deal treacherously without a cause"
>
> <div dir="rtl">ܢܒܗܬܘܢ ܥܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܝܩܘܬܗܘܢ</div>
>
> "let the evil doers be ashamed with their vanities"

The Hebrew uses an adverb: ריקם, "without success, vainly, without a cause." There is also a form ריק, "worthless thing." It could be that the translator took the final ם to be a third person plural masculine pronominal suffix which he rendered accordingly. The Syriac noun without a suffix and with a preceding ܒ means "in vain, uselessly," which would have been an adequate rendering for ריקם. However, with the possessive suffix added, the form is a noun meaning "worthless thing." Furthermore, the Syriac verb commonly occurs with the preposition ܡܢ with the meaning "be ashamed of." It appears to be some sort of contamination of idioms: the meaning of the verb in combination with ܒ without the suffix on the noun — "uselessly, in vain" — and the meaning of the noun with a suffix — "worthless thing" — after reading ריקם as though it ends with a possessive suffix.[10]

---

[9] Stevenson comments on the use of ܦܨܚ, "rejoice, cause rejoicing," to render פסח, "limp, pass over, skip," in Exod 12:13, 23, 27, in "The Semantics of Syriac Motion Verbs in Exodus Chapters 1–19," to appear in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography* IV, note 22: "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." This phenomenon is also mentioned by Berg, *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Peshitta Psalter* (New York, 1895), as described in Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90–150 in the Peshitta*, 7, also called "formal equivalence" by Carbajosa, 82–86. In our study of the Peshitta rendering of the Books of Kings, we encountered scores of such examples, see Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System, Translation Technique and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings*.

[10] An example akin to a case to be discussed below can be found in Psalm 38:23: the Masoretic text reads "Make haste to help me, O Lord, my salvation," and the Peshitta "but persist for my help and my salvation." Strictly speaking the Syriac adds a conjunction at the beginning and omits the Hebrew vocative "Lord." Both adjustments create a smoother connection with the preceding verse. Nonetheless, as a result ܥܘܕܪܢܝ, "my help," occurs in the next to last position in the verse, corresponding in position to אדני, "Lord," in the Hebrew text. The Syriac word ܥܘܕܪܢܝ preserves a considerable amount of the graphic image and perhaps also of the phonetic quality of the Hebrew אדני. In the Peshitta of Kings, we have repeatedly observed this type of sensitivity to the formal aspects of the source text, which results in rendering the meaning of a phrase or clause while preserving at least a part of the shape of the word or words in the source text; see Dyk and Van Keulen, *Language System,*

2.3. Relation to Translation Universals

Usually the aim of a translation is to make a text understandable to an audience different from the one for which the original text was composed. In doing so, preserving poetic techniques like an acrostic in the source text tends to be less important than communicating the sense of the passage. This appears to be confirmed by the observations made on the spelling in Psalm 25.

Though more could be said about the graphic and phonetic characteristics of the Peshitta rendering of this Psalm, we now turn to words, in particular to the use of synonyms.

3. SYNONYMS

The fact that Syriac does not render a Hebrew item consistently using a single item has been both criticized, as though the translators were careless in their renderings or had imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, and praised, attributing to the translators creativity and versatility in finding the most suitable expressions for the passage. We look at a number of content words which do not exhibit a one-to-one correspondence in the two versions.

3.1. Syriac Renders a Single Hebrew Word in More Than One Way

In Psalm 25 a number of Hebrew words are rendered by more than one Syriac word:

| חטאה "sin" | ܣܟܠܘܬܐ "folly, transgression, offence" | Verse 7 |
| חטאה | ܚܛܝܬܐ "sin" | Verse 18 |

In verses 7 and 18 the same Hebrew word occurs. Although the rendering using the cognate would seem to be the more obvious choice, the context in verse 7 speaks of the "sins of my youth," and apparently the translator therefore chose a milder term, "folly," in this context instead of using the cognate Syriac word.

| נשׂא "lift, treat with par-tiality, carry, bear guilt, take away guilt, forgive" | ܪܘܡ Aphel, "raise, lift up" | Verse 1 |
| נשׂא | ܫܒܩ "leave, let go, forgive" | Verse 18 |

In verses 1 and 18 the Hebrew uses the verb נשׂא. Although נשׂא commonly means "lift, carry," in particular syntactic combinations it means "forgive." Precisely the combination meaning "forgive" is present in verse 18 and the meaning is correctly transmitted by means of the different Syriac verb than in contexts where נשׂא means "raise, lift up," as in verse 1.

Translation Technique and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings. For the addition of the coordinating conjunction between the two words, see comments on phrase structure, below.

| ענו "poor, humble, meek" | ܡܟܝܟ partc. pass., "low, humble, meek" | Verse 9 |
| ענו | ܡܣܟܢ "poor, needy, wretched" | Verse 9 |

In verse 9 the Hebrew word ענו, "poor, humble, meek," occurs twice. It could be that the translator sought to avoid repeating the same word within a short distance. Avoidance of repetition is one of the observed characteristics of translated texts in general.[11]

3.2. Syriac Renders Multiple Hebrew Words Using the Same Word

In the following cases, different Hebrew words are rendered by a single word in Syriac:

| רחב Hiphil, "enlarge, make room" | ܣܓܝ "increase, multiply, grow in number" | Verse 17 |
| רבב "become many or much" | ܣܓܝ | Verse 19 |

| עון "transgression, guilt" | ܥܘܠܐ "iniquity, injustice, injury" | Verse 11 |
| חמס "violence, wrong" | ܥܘܠܐ | Verse 19 |

The renderings are taken from the appropriate semantic domain, and can therefore be characterized as adequate renderings, but by using a single Syriac item for more than one Hebrew word the number of unique Syriac items is reduced. The tendency for translations to have a reduction in unique lexical items is reflected here, but it will be noticed that this is in contrast to the tendency to avoid repetition mentioned above. Both tendencies have been documented in research dealing with translation universals.

3.3. Multiple Synonyms Rendered by More Than One Item

A semantic domain often contains multiple lexical items, and seldom is there a one-to-one correspondence between two languages for items occurring within a semantic domain. Weitzman presents an interesting theory of how the Peshitta dealt with this phenomenon. According to Weitzman, "the translators found Hebrew richer than Syriac in synonyms, at least in some fields."[12] He proposes that:

---

[11] Jääskeläinen, "The Fate of 'The Families of Medellín'," 205: "Avoiding repetition is one of the assumed translation universals, which professional translators (as good writers) tend to engage in almost automatically."

[12] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, 30.

> The relative lack of synonyms in Syriac has led to one device that works systematically against consistency of equivalence. Where two synonyms are available in Syriac, the translators may eke them out by treating one as the 'A-word' and one as the 'B-word'. If any of the Hebrew synonyms occurs alone, P [Peshitta] tends to use the 'A-word' for the first and the 'B-word' for the second.[13]

The cases treated in section 3.1 go against this theory, for the Syriac translation does not manifest a "relative lack of synonyms," but gives two different synonyms for single items of Hebrew. The cases treated in section 3.2 show the reduction in unique items in the Syriac translation as compared to the Hebrew, but due to there being only two occurrences they do not provide the opportunity to test Weitzman's proposal of the "A-word" and the "B-word." In this section, we look at multiple Hebrew synonyms rendered by more than one item in Syriac. This provides the opportunity to see whether Weitzman's proposal fits the use of synonyms in this Psalm. It will not be possible to discuss all of these within the limitations of this paper, but we single out a few for attention.

Noun: "path, way, track"

דרך "way, road, journey, manner, custom"	ܐܘܪܚܐ "way, journey, custom"	Verse 4
ארח "way, path, way of life"	ܫܒܝܠܐ "path, road, trace"	Verse 4
דרך	ܐܘܪܚܐ	Verse 8
דרך	ܐܘܪܚܐ	Verse 9
ארח	ܐܘܪܚܐ	Verse 10
דרך	ܐܘܪܚܐ	Verse 12

Here two Hebrew forms are rendered by two Syriac forms, but the distribution is not symmetric. Hebrew uses two terms which occur throughout the text in the pattern: A B A A B A. Syriac also uses two terms, one of which — ܐܘܪܚܐ — is a cognate of the "B-word" in Hebrew. This term is used in all cases except in verse 4, where the Hebrew cognate of this Syriac term is rendered by ܫܒܝܠܐ instead. Why is there a differentiation by means of the unexpected ܫܒܝܠܐ? One possible explanation is that verse 4 already contained ܐܘܪܚܐ as a rendering for דרך and that the translation reflects the difference in the Hebrew choice of synonyms by choosing two different words as well, though disregarding in its choice which terms are cognates. In the rest of the Psalm, however, the Syriac sticks to its "A-word." The translation did not maintain a "consistency of equivalence," nor did it alternate the "A-word" and the "B-word."

---

[13] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, 30–31.

Noun: "stress, distress"

מצוקה "stress"	ܚܡܐ "sadness, grief, distress, adversity"	Verse 17
צרה "distress"	ܚܡܐ	Verse 17
צרה	ܐܠܘܨܐ "oppressor, besieger, torturer"	Verse 22

Two terms in Hebrew are rendered by two terms in Syriac. The Hebrew pattern is A B B, while the Syriac use of the synonyms is A A B. This example goes against the theory that the translator of Psalm 25 made a conscious effort to have a diversity of synonyms within a single verse, for in verse 17 two different Hebrew nouns are rendered by a single Syriac form, thus reducing the unique lexical items in the translation. Furthermore, the rendering in verse 22 involves a shift from asking for deliverance from "distress" to asking for deliverance from the one causing the stress. The Hebrew form could hardly have been read as an active participle, referring to the one causing distress, for the form in the Hebrew is in the feminine plural and would refer to feminine oppressors while the Syriac renders the form as masculine plural. This appears rather to be a case of deliberate explicitation. However, one could also observe that the effect is that the repeated Hebrew item, the "B-word" (צרה) in verses 17 and 22, is matched by two different synonyms in Syriac.

Verb: "hope, expect, wait expectantly"

בטח "be reliant, trust"	ܣܒܪ Pael, "hope, trust, declare, publish tidings"	Verse 2
קוה "wait"	ܣܒܪ	Verse 3
קוה	ܩܘܐ Pael, "wait for, look for, expect"	Verse 5
חסה "seek refuge"	ܣܒܪ	Verse 20
קוה	ܩܘܐ	Verse 21

In this collection of synonyms, three Hebrew terms are rendered by two in Syriac. The distribution of the Hebrew terms is A B B C B, while the Syriac pattern is A A B A B. The only term which extends the semantic domain somewhat is חסה, "seek refuge." The Syriac rendering captures the sense, for one with whom you seek refuge is one in whom you hope and trust. The repeated Hebrew element "B-word" (קוה) is rendered in Syriac by two different verbs in the Pael, providing an "A-word" and a "B-word" for the two occurrences which are closer together (vv. 3, 5), even though this entails repeating the "A-word" which had already been used in verse 2. For the third term in Hebrew, the Syriac reverts to the "A-word."

Verb: "guard, keep"

נצר "guard, watch, keep"	ܢܛܪ "guard, watch, keep"	Verse 10
שמר "guard, watch, keep"	ܢܛܪ	Verse 20
נצר	ܢܩܦ "cleave, stick to, adhere"	Verse 21

Two Hebrew items are rendered by two Syriac items. The Hebrew distribution is A B A, while the Syriac is A A B. The effect of this is that the "A-word" in Hebrew is rendered first by the "A-word" in Syriac and then by the "B-word." This would concur with Weitzman's proposal, but the fact that this "A-word" in Syriac is repeated between these two occurrences makes it more likely that the choice in the third case is due to other motivations. The usual rendering both for נצר and for שמר is ܢܛܪ, which is also the cognate of the first Hebrew term. The rendering ܢܩܦ for נצר in verse 21 appears to be influenced by the preceding context: where the Masoretic text reads: "let integrity and uprightness preserve me," the Peshitta renders "innocence and honesty have adhered to me," perhaps an *ad sensum* rendering. It could also be that the proximity to ܢܛܪ in verse 20 prompted choosing a different term in verse 21 for the sake of variety; however, this is but a suggestion.

How complex the relationships within a semantic domain can be is illustrated by the verbs meaning "teach, make to know":

Verb: "teach, make to know"

ידע Hiphil, "make known"	ܚܘܝ Pael, "show, make manifest, declare"	Verse 4
למד Piel, "teach"	ܝܕܥ Aphel, "make known, show, tell"	Verse 4
למד	ܐܠܦ Pael, "teach, inform, train"	Verse 5
ירה Hiphil, "direct, teach"	ܬܪܨ "direct, make straight or right"[14]	Verse 8
למד	ܐܠܦ	Verse 9
ירה	ܐܠܦ	Verse 12
ידע	ܝܕܥ	Verse 14

Three Hebrew items are rendered by four Syriac items. The Hebrew items occur in the pattern: A B B C B C A, and the Syriac in the pattern: A B C D C C B. The "A-word" in Hebrew (ידע Hiphil) is rendered in Syriac by the "A-word" (ܚܘܝ Pael) and the "B-word" (ܝܕܥ Aphel), the latter being a cognate of the Hebrew item; the "B-word" in Hebrew (למד Piel) is rendered by the Syriac "B-word" (ܝܕܥ Aphel) and twice by the "C-word" (ܐܠܦ Pael); the "C-word" in Hebrew (ירה Hiphil) is rendered first by the "D-word" in Syriac (ܬܪܨ) and then by the "C-word" (ܐܠܦ Pael).

---

[14] The passive participle of this verb is also used to translate the adjective יָשָׁר, "straight, upright, just," in verse 8 and the noun יֹשֶׁר, "uprightness," in verse 21.

This confirms the effort the translator appears to have made to vary the synonyms, but the rendering of the "B-word" in Hebrew goes contrary to the pattern of alternation proposed by Weitzman. One could note that in verse 4 where the Masoretic text uses two different verbs within the same semantic field, the Peshitta also presents two different synonyms. The fact that the three Hebrew verbs are rendered by four Syriac verbs increases rather than decreases the proportion of unique lexical items.

References to the deity:

אלהים "God"	ܐܠܗܐ "God"	Verses 2, 5, 22
יהוה *tetragrammaton*	ܐܠܗܐ	Verse 7
יהוה	ܡܪܝܐ "Lord"	Verses 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15

The usual renderings for the references to God are provided in the more frequent entries above. However, once the *tetragrammaton* is rendered by "God." No clear motivation for this is evident within the limitations of the data. There may be text-historical information which could shed light on this as well as on some of the other synonyms discussed above.

3.4. Relation to Translation Universals

Translations tend to level out, simplify, and reduce the vocabulary in comparison to the original and tend to make explicit information that is taken to be implicit in the original. The result is that a translated text tends to be longer than the original and to have an overall lower rate of lexical density.

In the case of Psalm 25, counting the letters occurring between blanks as words, the Peshitta rendering is indeed somewhat longer than the Masoretic text: Hebrew 159 words, Syriac 166. If we count separately the items which are written attached to another form, such as prepositions, the coordinating conjunction, and pronominal suffixes, the difference is greater: Hebrew has 247 items, and Syriac 276. The translated text is indeed longer than the original as represented in the Masoretic text.

As registered in the WIVU database, the parts of speech in Psalm 25 have the distribution of occurring forms (tokens) given in table 1. Disregarding the definite article, which has no lexical counterpart in Syriac, and the single adverb without an adverbial counterpart, the most significant differences are found with the nouns, prepositions, and pronouns. In all of these the Peshitta version has significantly higher statistics. While the higher numbers of prepositions and pronouns could be largely explained by a difference in syntactic structures between the languages, to be commented on below, the higher number of nouns is noteworthy.

The lexical density of two texts is calculated by taking the proportion of lexical (content) words over the total number of words. For this total we add up the separate lexical entries, even though they may be written connected to another word, as are certain prepositions and conjunctions. Verbs, nouns, proper nouns, and

adjectives are counted as content words, the rest as functional words.[15] The lexical density of the Masoretic text of Psalm 25 is .494, while that of the Peshitta version is .442. The Peshitta version has a lower lexical density and in this follows the general tendency of translations.

Part of speech	Masoretic text	Peshitta	Difference
Verb	44	43	−1 (−2.3%)
Noun	57	66	+9 (+15.8%)
Proper noun	12	10	−2 (−16.7%)
Adjective	9	3	−6 (−66.7%)
Definite article	5	–	−5 (−100%)
Adverb	1	–	−1 (−100%)
Preposition	28	53	+25 (+89.3%)
Conjunction	26	26	=
Pronoun	60	71	+11 (+18.3%)
Negative	5	4	−1 (−20%)
Total	247	276	+29 (+11.7%)

Table 1. Frequencies of Occurrence of Tokens per Part of Speech in Psalm 25

Translated texts often have fewer unique lexical items. Indeed for the Books of Kings, we registered a 10% reduction in unique lexical items. For the Peshitta of Psalm 25, this is not the case: there are 101 unique lexical items in the Masoretic text and 103 in the Peshitta. Table 2 provides an overview of the unique items per part of speech.

---

[15] These include: the definite article (Hebrew), adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, negatives, and interrogatives.

Part of speech	Masoretic text	Peshitta	Difference
Verb	28	27	–1 (–3.6%)
Noun	38	43	+5 (+13.2%)
Proper noun	3	2	–1 (–33.3%)
Adjective	7	3	–4 (–57.1%)
Definite article	1	–	–1 (–100%)
Adverb	1	–	–1 (–100%)
Preposition	8	10	+2 (+25%)
Conjunction	3	3	=
Pronoun	10	14	+4 (+40%)
Negative	2	1	–1 (–50%)
Total	101	103	+2 (2%)

Table 2. Frequencies of Unique Items per Part of Speech in Psalm 25

The overall difference is slight, but still it is one which goes against the general tendency of translations. Many of the statistics are so low as to be insignificant, but two parts of speech deserve more attention, namely, the noun and the pronoun. It is well known that Syriac makes extensive use of pronominal elements in its phrase structure, and this involves using more different pronouns than appear in the Hebrew text. We will have occasion to speak more on this when we look at syntax.

That the Peshitta of Psalm 25 has more unique nouns than the Masoretic text comes as a bit of a surprise (43 Syriac to 38 Hebrew, an increase of about 13%). We return to what was said above about synonyms. In a number of the cases looked at, the Peshitta did not choose the most common translation for a term, but used a less frequently used item, like ܫܒܝܠܐ, "path, road, trace," for אֹרַח, though the cognate and more commonly used term is ܐܘܪܚܐ, "way, journey, custom." We suggested that this might have been to avoid repetition of the word within the verse. The use of ܣܟܠܘܬܐ, "folly, transgression, offence," for the sins of the youth instead of the more usual and cognate form ܚܛܝܬܐ, "sin," points to a creative adaptation to the content of the passage. That the translator recognized and understood the meaning of the Hebrew specific valence pattern of the verb נשא, "carry," is confirmed by the rendering of a separate verb meaning "forgive." Thus in the number of unique lexical items, the Peshitta rendering of Psalm 25 comes off quite well.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrase Level: Construct State Constructions in Hebrew

Hebrew makes extensive use of the construct state in phrases. Though Syriac has this syntactic possibility, it makes a much more limited use of it, using it both less frequently and with a shorter range of government. In Syriac the coherence is provided by pronominal elements and the particle ܕ which join together the separate links of the chain piece by piece instead of having a lengthy string of construct state forms whose range of government can be quite extensive in Hebrew.[16] Syriac frequently repeats governing nouns or prepositions to maintain the chain of government within phrases, while for Hebrew this is not necessary. Based on the study of Kings, I attribute these extra elements necessary to maintain the syntactic binding to the more limited scope of government of the construct state in Syriac as compared to the Hebrew. These differences between the two languages are so well known that a single example will suffice:

Verse 10   כל ארחות יהוה
                                    "all-of paths-of the Lord"
                                  ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܘ̈ܪܚܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ
                                "all-of-them ways-his of the Lord"
                                     "all the ways of the Lord"

The Syriac phrase has two extra pronominal suffixes as well as the particle ܕ to maintain the cohesion brought about by the two construct state forms in the Hebrew text.

The manner in which construct-binding constructions are rendered in Syriac accounts for much of the difference in statistics for prepositions and pronouns, as can be seen in table 3.

	Masoretic text	*Peshitta*	*Difference*
Total occurrences	28	53	+25 (+89.3%)
Unique items	8	10	+2 (+25%)

Table 3. Prepositions: Tokens and Types

In Psalm 25, nine of the twenty-five extra prepositions occurring in the Syriac version represent the occurrences of the preposition ܕ five times used to render a construct state binding in Hebrew (verses 3, 7, 10, 14, 17), three times to make an attributive relationship explicit (verses 12 [2×], 19), and once to express a genitive relationship between items which are additions in relation to the Masoretic text (verse 7).[17]

---

[16] As many as five construct state forms in a chain can be found in Num 14:5 and in Isa 21:17.

[17] For remarks on this particle occurring as a plus in various syntactic constructions, see Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 39–42.

The statistics for pronouns are given in table 4.

	Masoretic text	*Peshitta*	*Difference*
Total occurrences	60	71	+11 (+18.3%)
Unique items	10	14	+4 (+40%)

Table 4. Pronouns: Tokens and Types

Of the eleven additional pronominal elements in the Peshitta, six occur in constructions which render the construct state structure in Hebrew where the Hebrew lacks a corresponding pronominal element (verses 10 [2×], 14, 17, 18, 22).[18]

The construct state construction also appears in participial structures in Hebrew. The Hebrew participle is versatile in its syntactic function, maintaining both verbal and nominal qualities side by side. It appears that in Syriac a choice must be made for either the verbal or the nominal aspect:

Verse 10   לנצרי בריתו ועדתיו

                   "to-keeping-of (participle construct state) covenant-his and testimonies-his"

                   للحم ܘܠܗܢܝ ܢܛܪܗ ܘܣܗܕܘܬܗ

                   "to-those who-keeping (participle absolute state) covenant-his and testimonies-his"

                     "to those who keep his covenant and his testimonies"

An example of the choice for the verbal or nominal function of a Hebrew construct state form can be seen in what I would call the participle of an *a–e* verb, though many dictionaries call this form an adjective:

Verse 12   מי זה האיש ירא יהוה

(with a verbal   "who this, the man (who is) fearing (participle

form in Syriac)   construct state) the Lord?"

                     ܡܢܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܕܚܠ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ

                   "who (is) he the man that fears (participle absolute state) before the Lord?"

---

[18] Three occur in nominal clauses in which Syriac adds an extra pronominal element which functions as the copula (verses 5, 8, 12). Two involve an extra pronominal suffix making explicit an aspect of the verbal valence which is not expressed thus in Hebrew (verses 11, 18; see also clause structure below). One case could involve misreading the ending of the Hebrew word as a pronominal suffix and rendering it accordingly (verse 3; see above, section 2.2). In one case the Peshitta renders a construct state structure in Hebrew by two coordinated nominal elements, attaching a pronominal suffix to both while Hebrew has only one (verse 5; see discussion below). To complete the picture, in two cases a Hebrew pronoun is not rendered in Syriac (verses 6, 7; see section 4.4, below).

Verse 14   ליראיו

(with a   "to-fearing-him" = "to those fearing him / who fear

nominal form   him"

in Syriac)   ܥܠ ܦܠܚܘܗܝ

"upon worshippers-his" = "upon his worshippers"

One construct state structure in the Hebrew text presents an interesting difference in the Peshitta rendering:

Verse 5   אלהי ישעי

"God of my salvation"

ܐܠܗܝ ܘܦܪܘܩܝ

"my God and my saviour"

Various explanations for this are conceivable. It could be that the construct state plural ending on "God" was read as the first person possessive suffix with the following word in apposition: "my God, my salvation." There are a number of examples in the Books of Kings where construct state binding between two terms is rendered as though there is an appositional relation between the two. If that is the case, the addition of the coordinating conjunction between the two would be a minor intrusion into the significance of the original structure.

Comparing the structures within the Hebrew Psalms in which אל or אלהים occurs in construct state binding with a following term provides more background for a judgement in this case. The construct state form of אל or אלהים governs the following form; the combination expresses various types of relationships.

In only two cases is the construction rendered in the same manner in Hebrew and in Syriac:

Ps 50:1   אֵל אֱלֹהִים

ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܝܢ

"god of gods"

Ps 136:2   אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים

ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܝܢ

"god of gods"

In all other cases, Syriac uses a different syntactic construction. The most common and least intrusive is when the first element is rendered in emphatic state and the following element is introduced by ܕ:

אל אמת "god of truth"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܩܘܫܬܐ "god of truth"	31:6
אלהי העמים "god(s) of the peoples"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ "gods of the peoples"	96:5
אלהי מעוזי "god of my strength"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܘܫܢܝ "god of my strength"	43:2
אלהי תשועתי "god of my salvation"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܘܬܝ "god of my righteousness"	51:16
אלהי ישועתי "god of my salvation"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܝ "god of my salvation"	88:2
אלהי חסדי "god of my mercy"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܛܝܒܘܬܝ "god of my kindness"	59:18
אלהי תהלתי "god of my praise"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܝ "god of my praise"	109:1
אלהי ישראל "god of Israel"	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ "god of Israel"	41:14; 72:18; 106:48

The same construction can be rendered in Syriac with a possessive suffix on the first element. This occurs in particular when the governed noun in Hebrew is a proper name, although in the list above "Israel" occurs without the possessive suffix on the preceding noun:

אל יעקב "god of Jacob"	ܐܠܗܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ "god of Jacob"	146:5
אלהי יעקב "god of Jacob"	ܐܠܗܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ "god of Jacob"	20:2; 46:8, 12; 75:10; 76:7; 81:2, 5; 84:9; 94:7
אלהי אברהם "god of Abraham"	ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ "god of Abraham"	47:10
אל ישראל "god of Israel"	ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ "god of Israel"	68:36
אלהי ישראל "god of Israel"	ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ "god of Israel"	59:6; 68:9; 69:7

In a number of cases, Syriac makes the second word attributive to the first one:

אל־הכבוד "god of honour"	ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ "glorious god"	29:3
אלהי צבאות "god of hosts"	ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ "powerful god"	89:2
אל חיי "god of my life"	ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ "living god"	42:9

In a somewhat similar fashion, the second word is made to modify the first, but now not as an attributive but as an apposition:

אל-נקמות "god of vengeance"	אלהא נקומא "god, the avenger"	94:1 (2x)
אלהי ישעו "god of his salvation"	אלהא פרוקן "god, our saviour"	24:5
אלהי ישענו "god of our salvation"	אלהא פרוקן "god, our saviour"	65:6; 79:9; 85:5

In Ps 59:11 the relationship between the referents in the text is altered:

אלהי חסדו יקדמני "god of his (Keᵗib) / my (Qᵉre) mercy will go before me"	אלהא טיבותך קדמתני "god (vocative), your kindness has proceeded me"	59:11

In Ps 136:26 an extra preposition makes explicit what could be taken to be implicit in the Hebrew construction, though the Hebrew could also imply ruling in the heavens and not necessarily merely the location "in the heavens":

אל השמים "god of the heavens"	אלהא דבשמיא "god who (is) in heavens"	136:26

The Hebrew text is altered in the following case by a sizable expansion:

אלהי צדקי "god of my righteousness"	אלהי ופרוקא דזדיקותי "my god and the saviour of my righteousness"	4:2

Disregarding the expansion, the case resembles most the case in Ps 25:5, which as a construction also occurs twice more within the book of Psalms:

אלהי ישעי "god of my salvation"	אלהי ופרוקי "my god and my saviour"	18:47; 25:5; 27:9

It is only in this combination that the construct state plural ending of אלהי, "god," is rendered as though it were the first person singular possessive suffix. It is tempting to explain this by the proximity of the first person singular possessive suffix on the second noun. However, with the other examples of the second noun having a first person singular possessive suffix,[19] the Syriac version did not resort to this solution. Two cases of "god of my salvation" with a different Hebrew word for "salvation"[20] are rendered with the particle ܕ to cover the construct state binding construction in Hebrew. The clue might lie in the form of the second word itself.[21] It could be that the Syriac translator read the second Hebrew term as an active

---

[19] Ps 43:2; 51:16; 59:18; 88:2; 109:1.

[20] Ps 51:16; 88:2.

[21] My thanks are due to those participating in the discussion of this paper, in particular to M. Sokoloff and R. Taylor, for emphasizing this possibility.

participle with object suffix: "the one who saves me."[22] The two terms would then be in apposition to each other. In such cases it is not unusual for Syriac to connect the two with a coordinating conjunction instead of leaving them asyndetically conjoined.

4.2. Clause Level

4.2.1. Word Order

According to Nöldeke,

> The relative arrangement of the principal parts of the sentence is very free. The Subject in the Verbal sentence, — just as in the Nominal sentence, stands sometimes before, sometimes after the Predicate; and sometimes its parts are even broken up or inverted by parts of the predicate. … In none of these cases do absolutely unbending rules prevail; and a Syriac sentence can scarcely be imagined, in which the position of the subject, relative to the predicate, might not be altered, without offending against grammar.[23]

Due to this tendency, it would seem logical that the word order in the source text would be reproduced in the translation. In his study of Peshitta Psalms 90–150, Carbajosa found this not to be the case; instead, in the Psalms he studied, the Syriac version had a different word order than that found in the Masoretic Text. Carbajosa observes the following tendencies in relation to word order in the Psalms he studied:[24]

> Tendency to advance the verb to the first position
> Tendency to bring together the verb and the subject
> Tendency to bring together the subject and predicate in nominal clauses
> Tendency to bring together the verb and the direct object

It seems to me that all of these tendencies point to a need to keep the core of the clause together, and could be explained by the shorter range of government of the Syriac verb.

In Psalm 25 these tendencies are not reflected. Rather, the Hebrew word order appears to be followed closely. There is one case of bringing the subject and verb together, but not going so far as to advance the verb to initial position:

---

[22] A next step would be to check all the Syriac renderings for the approximately forty occurrences of this Hebrew word in the Masoretic text to see how often it is rendered as "saviour." One can no doubt expect variety in the renderings of the term.

[23] T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, § 324. See also E. Nestle: "Syriac resembles Ethiopic in the greater freedom it enjoys in regard to the arrangement of the different members of the sentence as compared with Arabic and Hebrew" (E. Nestle, *Syriac Grammar*, § 50). According to Carbajosa, referring to comments by Duval (*Traité de grammaire syriaque*, 363), "[t]his flexibility is considered to make Syriac a language especially suited to translations" (Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 21).

[24] See Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 21–25.

Verse 13 נפשו בטוב תלין

"his soul in goodness shall spend the night"

ܘܢܦܫܗ ܒܛܒܬܐ ܬܒܘܬ

"and his soul shall pass the night in goodness"

In two instances Hebrew has the verbal complement following the verb and Syriac places the verbal complement before the verb:

Verse 20 כי חסיתי בך

"for I seek refuge in you"

ܡܛܠ ܕܒܟ ܣܒܪܬ

"for in you I trust"

Verse 21 כי קויתיך

"because I have waited (for) you"

ܡܛܠ ܕܠܟ ܣܟܝܬ

"because for you I have waited"

This is contrary not only to the Hebrew order but also to the "normal" order found by Carbajosa: verb + subject + direct object + indirect object + adverbial modifier.[25] Carbajosa does mention an exception to the general rule when elements appear in the form of pronouns preceded by a preposition. These tend to be advanced, joining them to the verb, even if it means displacing the subject or direct object.[26] In our example, however, the preposition with pronominal suffix is placed before the verb in the Syriac text. Both of these occur after ܡܛܠ ܕ, but other ܡܛܠ ܕ clauses do not show this adjustment.

In one case while the Hebrew has the subject following the verb and followed by the verbal complement, Syriac places the verbal complement after the verb, thus separating the verb and the subject instead of bringing them together:

Verse 2 אל יעלצו איבי לי

"let not them exult my enemies against me"

ܠܐ ܢܫܬܒܗܪܘܢ ܥܠܝ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝ

"may they not glorify themselves over me my enemies"

This is an example of a preposition with a pronoun which gets placed close to the verb even if it means displacing the subject, as mentioned above.

In one case where the Hebrew has the verb and object clause initially, followed by the vocative, the Syriac even separates the verb and the object by placing the vocative between them:

---

[25] Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 22.

[26] Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 26.

Verse 6   זכר רחמיך יהוה
                                "remember your mercies, LORD"
                                         ܐܬܕܟܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܪ̈ܚܡܝܟ
                          "remember, Lord, your mercies"[27]

In nominal clauses where the Hebrew has a coordinated predicate complement, the Syriac construction separates the two elements and provides extra pronominal elements if necessary. The second element is added later. The overall word order, however, follows that of the Hebrew.

Verse 8   טוב וישר יהוה
                               "good and upright (is) the LORD"
                                         ܛܒ ܗܘ ܘܬܪܝܨ ܡܪܝܐ
                         "good (is) he and upright, the Lord"

Verse 16   כי יחיד ועני אני
                              "for alone and afflicted (am) I"
                                     ܡܛܠ ܕܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܣܟܢܐ
                         "for alone (am) I and poor"

In summary, the syntactic tendencies of word order noticed by Carbajosa in Peshitta Psalms 90–150 are not reflected in the present Psalm, where the word order of the Hebrew is followed quite faithfully.[28]

4.2.2. Conjunctions

In Psalm 25, both texts contain an identical number of conjunctions, and each has three unique lexical items: גם, ו, and כי for Hebrew and ܐܦ, ܕ, ܘ for Syriac. Yet this does not mean that there is a simple one-to-one correspondence between these conjunctions. In nine cases Syriac adds a conjunction at the beginning of a sentence where Hebrew begins without the conjunction: eight times with ܘ (verses 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 17, 18, 19), once with ܐܦ (verse 7). These added conjunctions connect the sentences together and make for smoother syntax.

Three occurrences of the conjunction כי are rendered by ܕ (verses 6, 11, 19; see below under simplification and explicitation) and five by ܡܛܠ ܕ (verses 5, 15, 16, 20, 21).[29]

---

[27] Carbajosa mentions a "minor" tendency to "change the position of the divine vocative whenever its function could be ambiguous, thus facilitating comprehension," and cites Ps. 92:9; 119:52, 75 as examples (Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 26); however, in our case the position of the vocative does not seem to create ambiguity.

[28] Carbajosa mentions exceptions to the tendencies he found for Psalms 90–150; these tend to reflect the Hebrew order more closely.

[29] Both of these Syriac forms have been assigned "preposition" as a basic part of speech because they sometimes function as prepositions. While a preposition can function as a conjunction within certain environments, the opposite does not hold true.

4.2.3. Prepositions

The part of speech which shows the most drastic increase in frequency of tokens is the preposition.

	Masoretic text	*Peshitta*	*Difference*
Total occurrences	28	53	+25 (+89.3%)
Unique items	8	10	+2 (+25%)

Table 5. Prepositions: Tokens and Types

The difference in the number of total items and the number of unique items in both languages indicates that there are a few lexical items which occur frequently. The frequently occurring cognate prepositions ב / ܒ, "in," ל / ܠ, "to, for," מן / ܡܢ, "from," and על / ܥܠ, "upon," come to mind.

At least half of the prepositions occurring in the Peshitta version with no corresponding item at that position in the Hebrew text are related to the verbal valence patterns of the verbs concerned. While Hebrew has a pronominal suffix or an unmarked noun phrase as object, Syriac introduces this element by various prepositions.[30] One could say that strictly speaking these are not additions since they are a necessary part of adequately rendering the valence pattern of the Hebrew verb.

In some constructions besides the object, the Syriac version has an added prepositional phrase, indicating the one affected. This element is not expressed in the Masoretic text.[31] These are cases where the translation makes explicit information that is taken to be implicit in the original.

There are other cases of added prepositions which are not directly related to valence. The added ܒ-phrase to render ריקם "in vain, without cause" in verse 3 has already been mentioned. In verses 5 and 15, ܒ is added in rendering the Hebrew temporal expressions: כל היום, "all the day, continuously," is rendered ܟܠܝܘܡ, "in all day, always" (verse 5), and תמיד, "always," is rendered as ܒܟܠܙܒܢ, "in all time, always" (verse 15). The nine cases of an "extra" preposition ܕ have been mentioned above under the construct state binding. Some of the "extra" prepositions are accounted for by ܕ and ܕ ܡܛܠ being used to render the conjunction כי in Hebrew. As mentioned above, these items have been registered as prepositions.

---

[30] This occurs with the preposition ܒ, "in," accompanying ܣܒܪ Pael, "hope, trust" (verse 3), with the preposition ܠ, "to, for," accompanying ܬܪܨ, "set straight, direct" (verse 8), ܕܒܪ Pael, "lead, guide" (verse 9), ܝܠܦ, "teach, inform, train" (verse 9), ܢܦܩ, "proceed" (verse 21), and ܣܒܪ, "wait for, expect" (verse 21), with the preposition ܡܢ, "from," accompanying the verb ܕܚܠ, "fear" (verse 12), and the preposition ܥܠ, "upon," accompanying ܪܚܡ Pael, "have mercy upon" (verse 16).

[31] Examples include the preposition ܠ + first singular suffix occurring with ܕܟܪ, "remember, call to mind" (verse 7), and ܫܒܩ, "let go, remit, forgive" (verse 18).

4.3. Simplification and Explicitation

A syntactically awkward conjunction in the Hebrew text is left out in the rendering of verse 11, thus smoothing out the text:

Verse 11   למען־שמך יהוה וסלחת לעוני

"because of your name, Lord, and forgive my transgression"

ܡܛܠ ܫܡܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܚܣܐ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܥܘܠܐ

"because of your name, Lord, pardon me from my iniquity"

In verse 10 additional elements in the translation make explicit the participant reference implied in the Hebrew participle:

Verse 10   לנצרי בריתו ועדתיו

"… to (those) keeping his covenant and his testimonies"

ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܢܛܪܝܢ ܩܝܡܗ ܘܣܗܕܘܬܗ

"… to those who (are) keeping his covenant and his testimonies"

The attributive relationship implicit in the Hebrew in verse 12 is made explicit in the rendering by adding the particle ܕ:

Verse 12   יורנו בדרך יבחר

"he shall teach him in the way he shall choose"

ܢܠܦܝܘܗܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܓܒܐ

"he shall teach him the way that he choose"

Interestingly, in both versions the one doing the choosing is not disambiguated — is it the Lord or the human who is to choose?

A syntactically difficult infinitive construction in verse 14 is smoothed out and interpreted by using a perfect form:

Verse 14   ובריתו להודיעם

"and his covenant to make them know"

ܘܩܝܡܗ ܐܘܕܥ ܐܢܘܢ

"and his covenant he made them know"

By readjusting a few elements the syntax of verse 19 is made more simple and clear:

Verse 19   ראה אויבי כי רבו

"see my enemies, for they have become many"

ܘܚܙܝ ܕܣܢܐܝ ܣܓܝܘ

"and see that my enemies have multiplied"

Syriac replaces the **כי**, "for," which indicates the reason why the Lord should look at the enemies by the particle ܕ which serves to introduce the direct object of "see." This makes a single clause out of the two-clause structure in Hebrew, thus

simplifying it. Another similar adjustment occurs in verse 11, where the causal clause is transformed into an attributive clause:

Verse 11   וסלחת לעוני כי רב הוא
"and forgive my transgression, for it is great"

ܣܘܒܘܩ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܥܘܠܝ ܕܣܓܝ ܗܘ
"pardon me from my iniquity which is great"

This also occurs in verse 6 where the causal clause in "and your mercies, for they are from eternity" is rendered attributively as "and your kindnesses which are from eternity."

In verse 22, the unvocalized Hebrew form could be read either as an imperative or a perfect. The Syriac chose the perfect.:

Verse 22   פדה אלהים את ישראל מכל צרותיו
"redeem, God, Israel from all its troubles"

ܦܪܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܘܨܘܗܝ
"God has redeemed Israel from all its oppressors"

Though the rendering is neither simplified nor made explicit, it is perhaps more respectful and, therefore, more suited within the Syriac worldview to state that God has redeemed Israel than to command God to do so.

4.4. Omissions

Besides the occasional words omitted to simplify or smooth out the rendering, a couple of omissions deserve separate mention.

In verse 6, the Syriac renders a dependent causal clause as an attributive phrase and in doing so omits the subject pronoun of the Hebrew clause.

In verse 7, a list of the sins not to be remembered is reduced, perhaps to avoid repetition: "the sins of my youth and my transgressions do not remember" is rendered as "the follies of my youth do not remember." In the second half of the same verse, an explicit subject pronoun in post-position in Hebrew is skipped in Syriac: "according to your mercy remember me you because of your goodness, LORD" is rendered more smoothly as: "but according to your mercies remember me because of your goodness, God."

Also in verse 7 the Syriac omits a syntactically awkward postposed subject pronoun in the Hebrew text.

In verse 20 a full clause אל אבוש, "let me not be ashamed," is skipped in the Syriac Psalm. In verses 2 and 3 the request not to be put to shame occurs already twice. Whether the motivation was to avoid repeating this in verse 20 is unclear. In any case it is true that the two clauses surrounding this omitted one connect easily and logically together so that the Syriac reads: "and deliver me, because in you I trust."

4.5. Additions

The additional elements in this Psalm have to do with the differences in phrase structure (added pronominal elements and the particle ܘ), with making explicit what

is taken to be implicit in the Hebrew text, and with conjunctions which make smoother connections between clauses. No larger stretches of text have been added in this Psalm.

4.6. Relation to Translation Universals

There are a few cases which can be labelled simplification, particularly the rendering of a causal clause as an attributive one (verses 6, 11, 19), omitting an awkward conjunction (verse 11), and providing smoother syntax for an awkward Hebrew infinitive construction (verse 14). Also the omission of a full clause "let me not be ashamed" from verse 20 can be seen as a form of simplification, for the clauses preceding and following the skipped clause flow smoothly into one another. Reducing "the sins of my youth and my transgressions" to just one misdemeanour "the follies of my youth" can be seen as a form of simplification by reducing what is taken to be repetition.

Explicitation is discernible in a few cases where aspects assumed to be implicit in the Hebrew text are made explicit: the referent of the participial construction (verse 10), the attributive relationship between elements (verse 12), and adding a prepositional phrase indicating the one affected by the action of the verb (verses 7, 18).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Various aspects of what we have observed concerning the spelling, synonyms, and syntax of the Peshitta Psalm 25 can be summarized as follows.

5.1. Spelling

The Peshitta Psalm 25 does not reflect a conscious effort on the part of the translator to follow the acrostic alphabet of the Hebrew text. Where cognate forms are available, these may coincide with the acrostic in Hebrew. The arbitrary fashion in which this occurs indicates that matching the Hebrew acrostic is at most a by-product of the translation process and not one of its goals.

In one case it appears that the graphic form of the Hebrew word occasioned a translation deviating from the Masoretic text.

5.2. Synonyms

One of the most interesting discoveries concerning this Psalm is that there are more unique lexical items in the Syriac text than in the Masoretic text. The 13% higher proportion of unique nouns in the Syriac text seems to point to a conscious effort to provide synonyms and to avoid repetition of the same item. This appears to be a tendency, though not a hard and fast rule (see verse 17 where two separate lexical items in the Masoretic text are rendered by a single item in the Peshitta).

Within this Psalm, "the relative lack of synonyms in Syriac" noted by Weitzman for other portions of the Peshitta translation has not been substantiated.[32] An attempt to apply his description of the technique of the Syriac translator to

---

[32] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, 30.

compensate for this lack of synonyms by alternating an "A–word" and a "B–word" seemed to work for this Psalm in patches, but not consistently. It was frequently possible to offer other motivations for the alternations.

5.3. Syntax

At phrase level, the syntax of Psalm 25 in the Peshitta version makes the necessary adjustments in structure so as to render Syriac phrase structure faithfully, in particular adding pronominal elements and the particle ܘ.

At clause level, the Peshitta Psalm 25 appears to follow the word order of the Hebrew text quite strictly, particularly as compared to the syntactic adjustments found by Carbajosa in the Peshitta Psalms 90–150. Where adjustments in word order were made, these were contrary to what Carbajosa found as the main patterns for Psalms 90–150, thus pointing to diversity in the character of the Peshitta Psalms. In its use of prepositions and conjunctions, however, Peshitta Psalm 25 exhibits a certain amount of freedom, creating a text whose clauses are more often connected by means of conjunctions, and supplying the appropriate prepositions to fit the valence pattern of the Syriac verb selected.

5.4. Shorter Range of Government in Syriac

Though in other Syriac texts there is abundant evidence of the shorter range of government of items in construct state, of prepositions, and of verbal valence, in this Psalm there is only evidence of different tactics for rendering the construct state.

5.5. Creative Closeness to the Original

In Psalm 25 the translator appears to have remained creatively close to the Hebrew text, adjusting phrase structure to suit Syriac demands, but closely following the Hebrew word order. The choice of words shows little deviance from the significance of the Hebrew, though additional synonyms are used perhaps to avoid repetition.

5.6. Relation to Translation Universals

Translations in general tend to simplify, make explicit what is taken to be implicit in the source text, avoid repetition, and gravitate towards the centre. The aim is to render the significance of the original in the target language in a manner which can be understood. In so doing, the translated text ends up being longer than the original and has a lower lexical density of content words as compared to function words. Peshitta Psalm 25 bears traces of all of these tendencies. The fact that the acrostic is not preserved in any convincing manner testifies to the fact that sense took precedence over form, although at clause level syntax, this Psalm appears to have followed the form of the Hebrew quite closely with regard to the order of syntactic elements. This, too, turns out to be a universal tendency of translations of

religious texts.[33] The differences with Carbajosa's findings on Peshitta Psalms 90–150 underline the fact that there is diversity among various texts within the Peshitta. A pleasant surprise is the discovery that the Peshitta Psalm 25 contains a higher number of unique lexical items, testifying to a conscious effort to produce variation in the choice of lexical items.

---

[33] See Lind, "Translation Universals (or laws, or tendencies, or probabilities, or …?)," 5: "… translators tend to prefer to avoid risks — they will conform to target norms (through explicitation, or simplification, or other means) when that is where the rewards lie (clear communication), and they will allow the interference of the source text (through literal translation, for example) when that is where the rewards lie (in the case of a high status source text such as the Bible, for example)."

CHAPTER 4:
OBSERVATIONS ON THE MODE OF TRANSLATION IN THE SYROHEXAPLA

Marketta Liljeström

University of Helsinki

This paper discusses some translational features of the Syrohexapla of 1 Samuel supported by examples of the use of Greek loanwords, transcriptions, proper nouns, and certain syntactical features. The focus will be on the consistency of translation correspondences.

Before the Syrohexapla can properly be used for text-critical and lexicographical purposes, it has to be studied in its own right. The Syrohexaplaric material in 1 Samuel is very fragmentary and has been preserved only in lectionaries and quotations. The only passages of substantial length are from the second, seventh, and twentieth chapters. Therefore the lectionary passages are first compared with Syrohexaplaric manuscripts in order to evaluate how carefully the lectionaries repeat the original translation. Second, to describe the method of translation, attention is paid not only to the mechanical comparison with the Greek text but also to an evaluation of the passages with the other Syriac versions available — for 1 Samuel this means the Peshitta and the version of Jacob of Edessa.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Despite the success of scholars like W. Baars, M. Goshen-Gottstein, and A. Vööbus in their efforts to unearth every piece of the Syrohexapla, there are portions that still remain undiscovered. 1 Samuel is among those books that went missing after the disappearance of the codex that was in the possession of Andreas Masius in the 16th century.[2] The only passages of substantial length are from the second, the seventh, and the twentieth chapters which have survived in lectionaries from the 9th

---

[1] This article is based on papers given in ISLP meetings in New Orleans in 2009, and in Helsinki 2010.

[2] For the disappearance of the codex, see A. Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-hexapla*, 61.

and 10th centuries.[3] In addition, an Odes manuscript[4] that is from approximately the 14th to the 16th century includes the Song of Hannah in its Syrohexaplaric version.[5] There are also some quotations in the biblical commentaries of Ishodad of Merv[6] and Barhebraeus.[7] In addition, Masius, mentioned above, also cited the Syrohexaplaric 1 Samuel in his lexicon.[8]

In literature the Syrohexapla is often described as a literal translation of a Hexaplaric Greek source text with varying nuances, depending on the scholar in question. However, on a detailed level it is not always self-evident what Greek variants the Syriac text represents, and therefore it is important to study further the way in which the translation was carried out. In this paper I will present some of the questions and problems that arise from the nature of the material in 1 Samuel and attempt to further elaborate on the description of the Syrohexapla as a "literal translation."

2. BALANCING BETWEEN *VORLAGE,* TRANSLATION AND TRANSMISSION

P. J. Williams lists three hypotheses as part of the evaluation process of the readings of a translated text, namely *Vorlage*, translation and transmission hypotheses.[9] Even though the focus of this article is on the translation, the aspects of the source text and transmission cannot be ignored. On the other hand, we do not have access to the actual source text against which the translation could be evaluated. Still, the possible effects of the transmission need to be taken into account, especially with material like the Syrohexaplaric 1 Samuel.

2.1. *Vorlage*

The question concerning the source text of the Syrohexapla is rather complicated. According to the colophons of the existing Syrohexaplaric manuscripts, some of the books are said to be translated simply from various kinds of copies of the Hexapla (Proverbs, Songs, Lamentations and 1–2 Kings), from the Tetrapla (Ruth, Judges and Job) or the Heptapla (2 Kings).[10] On the other hand, we have a testimony from

---

[3] The passages are published by W. Baars in *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* in 1968 and by M. Goshen-Gottstein in "Neue Syrohexaplafragmente."

[4] P.A.H. de Boer, "The Song of Hannah," 9, calls the manuscript Mosul Patr. Chald. 1112. According to Konrad Jenner (the Peshitta Institute, Leiden) it has probably been relocated to Baghdad.

[5] De Boer, "The Song of Hannah," 9.

[6] *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*, III, CSCO 229; *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*, III, CSCO 230.

[7] *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament*. Part I: Genesis–II Samuel; *Gregorii Abulfaragii Bar-Hebraei Scholia in Libros Samuelis ex quattuor codicibus Horrei Mysteriorum.*

[8] The list of the readings was published by Alfred Rahlfs in Paul de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, 31–32.

[9] P.J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels*, 2.

[10] A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, 14–15. For more on the colophons, see Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla*, 44–47.

the ninth century in the form of a letter, written by Catholicus Timothy I to Mar Sergius. According to his knowledge the Syrohexapla was written, collated, and compared with the texts of Eusebius, Pamphilus and Origen.[11] Thus it seems reasonable to abandon the often repeated description of the Syrohexapla as a translation of the fifth column of the Hexapla. During the process of copying some changes may have appeared already before the Syrohexapla was translated.[12]

2.2. Translation

The Syrohexapla was described as "servile" and "grotesque" by Arthur Vööbus. He pointed out that aiming at word for word translation resulted in "violence done to the Syriac idiom" by the strange word order and idiosyncrasies of the syntax. [13]

Sebastian Brock, on the other hand, describes the Syrohexapla in a more positive tone as "a sophisticated mirror-translation." According to Brock, by the seventh century this method of translation was commonly employed by the translators who made the works of the Greek Fathers available to Syriac readers. In this method formal equivalence and stereotyping are central even when this results in "curiosities" or goes "totally against the spirit of the Syriac language."[14]

Jerome Lund approaches the question from the view point of Syriac, and notes that all the curiosities of the Syrohexapla are not, however, so curious after all. In his article on the syntactic features of the Syrohexapla in the book of Ezekiel, he differentiates between the changes in the Syriac language, such as the loss of the syntactic value of determination of the noun, and changes that can be pinpointed as curious translations that are clearly mirroring the Greek.[15]

The consensus among scholars is that the Syrohexapla was intended as a reference work, and though it certainly can be used effectively in text-critical work even today, where are the limits to its servility? How atomistic is the translation and how well can a back-translation reveal the *Vorlage*?[16]

---

[11] O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts," 312–313.

[12] For further discussion on the *Vorlage* see R. Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*; R.G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug*; T.M. Law, *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of the Hexaplaric Materials in 3 Kingdoms;* ibid., "La version syro–hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque"; and R. Ceulemans, "Compte rendu de: F. Briquel Chatonnet & Ph. Le Moigne (éds.), *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque (Études Syriaques, 5), Paris, Geuthner, 2008.*"

[13] Vööbus, *The Hexapla*, 51–52. Vööbus goes even further by stating that some readings are "unintelligible" for those not familiar with the Septuagint. In his opinions he is following a Danish scholar Thomas Skatt Rørdam whose study on the grammar of the Syrohexapla from the end of the 19th century is still the only attempt to present a thorough study on the subject.

[14] S. Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 13.

[15] Lund, "Syntactic Features," especially pages 80–81.

[16] Although the consistency of lexemes is one of the important features in evaluating the literalness of a translation, probably the more revealing and important feature is the syntax. About lexemes and syntax see I. Soisalon-Soininen, "*Methodologische Fragen* der Erforschung

2.3. Transmission

Even though all the texts of 1 Samuel have come down through many hands, the situation is not hopeless. Moshe Goshen-Gottstein studied liturgical texts and asked when, where, and why some Syrohexapla selections were mixed with the text of the Peshitta and when they survived in the original form. As Goshen-Gottstein pointed out, there is no ground for claiming that a liturgical manuscript could not preserve the text of the Syrohexapla as reliably as biblical codices, but still every passage must be studied in its own right — even when the passages are found in the same manuscript.[17]

However, in order to gain a bigger picture and to judge how trustworthy a witness a lectionary generally is, comparison between biblical manuscripts and lectionaries will give an indication of the overall character of the lectionary in question. In 1975, years after the editions of the Syrohexaplaric lectionary passages of 1 Samuel among other biblical books by Willem Baars[18] and Moshe Goshen-Gottstein[19], Arthur Vööbus published his remarkable discovery — the Pentateuch of the Syrohexapla (the Midyat Manuscript).[20] This manuscript offers an opportunity to read the Pentateuch passages in the lectionaries against a biblical manuscript.[21] Although it is well known that "earlier" does not necessarily equal "better" when it comes to textual witnesses, it is nevertheless intriguing that the lectionaries give an earlier witness, dating from 824, than the Midyat manuscript, which Arthur Vööbus tentatively dated to the 12th century.[22] The results are promising. There are certain orthographical differences between the lectionaries and the Midyat manuscript, for example, in the spelling of names, and some other small deviances, but all in all the lectionaries and the Midyat manuscript witness strikingly

---

der Septuaginta-Syntax," 43. On the other hand, in the area of syntax, even the most rigid translators, such as Aquila, have chosen freer translations that do not fit the pattern or the idea of highly stereotyping policy. For Aquila, see for example L. Grabbe, "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis," 529.

[17] See M. Goshen-Gottstein "A New Text from the Syrohexapla: Deuteronomy 34," 21–22. Furthermore, not every passage can be labelled as belonging to the Peshitta or the Syrohexapla. Goshen-Gottstein found in MS Harvard Syr 49 a version of David's lament which "reveals, it seems at present, too many variants to be taken as an ordinary Peshitta text." Goshen-Gottstein, "A New Text," 22 note 17. Unfortunately Goshen-Gottstein does not list the variants that are suspect. The same can be said about the version of the Song of Hannah in Barberiniani Orientali 2 which de Boer called Syrohexaplaric. See, de Boer, "The Song of Hannah," 11. I, in turn, would call it an "unordinary" Peshitta Ode text rather than a Syrohexaplaric version of the text. See my article in *BIOSCS*, 40.

[18] Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*.

[19] Goshen-Gottstein, "Neue Syrohexaplafragmente."

[20] Arthur Vööbus, *The Pentateuch*.

[21] Some folios of the Midyat manuscript are lost. The text starts from Gen 32:9 and ends at Deut 32:25, which means that the lectionaries have actually preserved some passages that are not present in the Midyat manuscript.

[22] Vööbus, *The Pentateuch*, 32–34.

similar texts.[23] Therefore, based on the Pentateuch passages it is safe to assume that the lectionaries repeat the translation rather exactly.

However, since in the Samuel passages such a comparison cannot be made, I found it necessary to collect a number of examples that represented different aspects of translation and to put them side by side with similar examples from other books. For many questions, especially syntactical ones, the manuscript of 3 Kingdoms (BL Add. 14437, from the 8th century) offers a natural comparison text. But, of course, in questions concerning translation correspondences, one needs to look wherever the words in question are used. This will hopefully help eliminate possible deviations and gather more information on the coherence of the translation.

3. EXAMPLES

3.1. The Infinitives in 1 Sam 7:8

Although the Syrohexapla maintains overall a high degree of consistency, there are examples in which the limits of the coherence of the translation and its level of literalness can be tested, such as the translations of Greek infinitives.

To my knowledge the only description of the translations of Greek infinitives in the Syrohexapla is Thomas Skatt Rørdam's dissertation *De regulis grammaticis, quas secutus est Paulus Tellensis in Veteri Testamento ex Graeco Syriace vertendo* from 1859. The six pages dedicated to the renderings of the infinitive already reveal the plurality of renderings one finds in the translation, and Rørdam also argues that in some cases it seems that the text has been corrected later on.[24]

In the Septuagint, in 1 Sam 7:8, a plus sign is found in a long list of Greek witnesses:[25]

> Καὶ εἶπαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Σαμουὴλ, <u>μὴ παρασιωπήσῃς ἀφ᾽ἡμῶν τοῦ μὴ βοᾶν πρὸς κύριον θεόν σου</u>, καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀλλοφύλων.
>
>   + Καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουὴλ, μή μοι γένοιτο ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ κῡ θῡ μου τοῦ μὴ βοᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενον.

> And the sons of Israel said to Samuel: "<u>Do not omit mention of us so as not to cry to the Lord, your God,</u> and he will save us out of the hand of the Allophyles." (NETS)
>
>   +And Samuel said: "Let it not happen to me to withdraw from the Lord, my God, so as not to cry on your behalf in prayer."[26]

---

[23] To name some examples, the lectionary passages sometimes replaces ܝ܏ܠ constructions with simple genitive suffixes (e.g. Deut 32:1,3), in the Midyat one finds construct forms whereas the lectionary uses the particle ܕ (e.g. Gen 49:2 ܚܬܐ /ܚܬܗܝ ܘܫܡܥܘ / ܘܫܡܥܘ), in Lev 23:36 Midyat reads ܩܒܐ ܥܥܕܐ without seyames, and in Gen 32:31 the name ܦܢܝܐܝܠ (that might have been marked with an asterisk) has dropped out of Midyat, etc.

[24] See Rørdam, *De regulis grammaticis*, 42–48.

[25] The list of the Greek manuscripts: 108ᵐᵍ 121 106–107 56 (sub ✴) 119 314–489 29 55 158 554. Without the plus: A B V O L 46–52–236–242–313–328–530 119–527–799 56 (sub ✴) 244ᵗˣᵗ 460 509 707.

The lectionary passage of the Syrohexapla reads in 1 Sam 7:8 with the plus:[27]

ܘܐܡܪܘ ܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ ܠܘܬ

ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܢ

ܘܢܦܪܩܢ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܐ ܘܐܣܬܝܐ ܦܠܫܬܝܐ

ܘܐܡܪ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܬܪܚܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܕ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ

ܡܛܠܬܟܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܐ:

According to Rørdam, if in the Greek the main verb denotes "restricting" and is
followed by μή + the infinitive, the translations vary in the Syrohexapla: one finds
renderings either with ܡܢ ܕ + infinitive, or with ܕ, negation + finite tense. The latter
is, by far, the more usual case and Rørdam suspects that in the former cases the
translator of the Syrohexapla did not have the negation in his source text.[28]

In the first sentence the Greek negated infinitive present is rendered with ܡܢ ܕ
(ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ ...).[29] In
(μὴ παρασιωπήσῃς ἀφ’ἡμῶν τοῦ μὴ βοᾶν... In
the latter sentence the main verb is negated "let it not happen" followed by the
infinitive, rendered with infinitive construct in Syriac, and towards the end of the
verse for the Greek infinitive present one reads ܡܢ ܕ with a finite tense (μή μοι
γένοιτο ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ κῡ θῡ μου τοῦ μὴ βοᾶν... ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܬܪܚܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ
(ܘܡܕ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ).

If Rørdam were correct one would suspect that there was no negation in the
source text of either ܡܢ ܗܘ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ or ܡܢ ܘܠܡܨܪܚ. Should one then lean on the
transmission hypothesis? Or should one suggest a different *Vorlage*, one without
μή,[30] in the second case against all the Greek witnesses?[31]

Unfortunately, there are no traits of the transmission process since this
lectionary reading is the only Syrohexaplaric witness for 1 Sam 7:8. As for the
Vorlage,[32] Soisalon-Soininen has shown that Greek translations of מִן + infinitive
construct after verbs denoting "hindering" or "ending" without μή are rare.[33]

---

[26] Translation of the plus is my own.

[27] For comparison, this is how Jacob of Edessa formulated the verse: ܘܐܡܪܘ ܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ
ܠܫܡܘܐܝܠ. ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܠܡܨܪܚ ܥܠܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܢ. ܘܢܦܪܩܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܐ ܘܐܣܬܝܐ܂ ܣܥܪ ܠܢ
ܠܡܬܪܚܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ: ܐܠܐܡܛܠ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܨܪܝܟܐ ܡܛܠܬܟܘܢ❖

[28] Rørdam, *De regulis grammaticis*, 48.

[29] The demonstrative pronoun ܗܘ reflects the article following a normal procedure in the
Syrohexapla. See Rørdam *De regulis grammaticis*, 45.

[30] This solution is the one Rørdam presented for Dan 9:11 (no variants without μή),
Rørdam, *De regulis grammaticis*, 48: ἀπέστησαν τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι ܘܐܪܚܩܘ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܫܡܥ, and for
2 Kings 6:9 where only the MS 71 omits the negation: φύλαξαι μὴ παρελθεῖν ܐܙܕܗܪ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܥܒܪ.

[31] Mss V, 19–93–108 (belonging to the Lucianic recension) and 107 omit μή in the first
case. For the plus there are no MSS witnessing a reading without μή.

[32] K. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 141 suggested that the plus is influenced by verse 12:23 that
reads καὶ ἐμοὶ μηδαμῶς τοῦ ἁμαρτεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀνιέναι τοῦ προσεύχεσθαι περὶ ὑμῶν... גַּם
אָנֹכִי חָלִילָה לִּי מֵחֲטֹא לַיהוָה מֵחֲדֹל לְהִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעַדְכֶם. However, as Sebastian Brock notes,
verse 7:8 does not agree verbatim with either, and probably translates a Hebrew variant.
Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the LXX Version of I Samuel*, 70. Μὴ γένοιτο appears as a
translation for חָלִילָה eight times in the OT, but as Brock writes, חָלִילָה was translated in the

However, taking into account the various ways of translating the infinitive in the Syrohexapla the balance tips, at least in my mind, in favour of the translation hypothesis rather than the source text hypothesis. No matter how "grotesque," "servile" or "curious" a translation is, as long as it is made by a human being, a perfect system cannot be achieved.[34]

3.2. Greek Loanwords

Sebastian Brock has written about the great number of Greek words in Syriac, of which some were generally used, and others were used merely in translations and scientific literature. Numerous new Greek words were taken over into Syriac from the fifth century onwards, as many of the translators were educated in Greek speaking centres. At the same time, at the time of the translation of the Syrohexapla, the Syriac translation technique moved toward mirror-type translation.[35] Thus the Syrohexapla is an interesting case in this discussion.

However, the next example falls into the category of Greek loanwords which early on had been taken over on a popular level, namely the Greek words used for the first two bowls mentioned in 1 Sam 2:14.[36] Table 1 presents the list as it appears in the Masoretic text, the Septuagint,[37] the Peshitta,[38] followed by Jacob of Edessa in this case, and the lectionary reading of the Syrohexapla.

---

original LXX of 1 Samuel with μηδαμῶς. The addition did not belong to the original Greek translation, nor does it seem to be Hexaplaric. Rather, it is an early approximation towards a Hebrew variant, and "it may have appeared in the fifth column sub obelo." See Brock, *The Recensions*, 70.

[33] See, Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive*, 100–102. It is only with the verb παρασιωπάω that one finds renderings both with and without μή. Ibid., 102.

[34] As Aejmelaeus writes, at least in the case of the Septuagint, the systems used were often more or less intuitive, even when it is possible to point out standard renderings. Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator," 62–63.

[35] Sebastian Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," 81.

[36] The textual history of verse 2:14 is complicated. Recently, Donald E. Parry has studied the list from the point of view of the MT, 4QSamᵃ, and the LXX. According to Parry it is plausible that the original narrative had only one cooking vessel, namely סיר, but in the course of time the list grew to comprise four items that we find in the MT. See, Parry, "'How Many Vessels'? An Examination of MT 1 Sam 2:14/4QSamᵃ 1 Sam 2:16," 85. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 79 was in favour of two items, namely those in verse 16 in 4QSamᵃ, since "the shortest one deserves preference", as lists tend to conflate. Be it as it may, it seems that the Septuagint and the Peshitta translators read in their Hebrew source texts סיר as the first item.

[37] One finds correction toward the Hebrew in A, in the Hexaplaric manuscripts 247–376, and manuscript 127 of the *Lucianic* group. The Greek translation correspondence ὁ λουτήρ stands for כיור also elsewhere (Cf. Exod 30:18,28; 31:9, Lev 8:11, and 2 Kings 16:17).

[38] The typical translation correspondence for כיור is in the Peshitta ܠܩܢܐ. ܩܕܪܐ, in turn, is the typical rendering for סיר. Cf. Exod 16:3; 2 Kgs 4:39; Jer 1:13; Ps 60:10, 108:10; Ezek 24:6; Zech 14:21; and 2 Chr 35:13. For the case of 1 Sam 2:14, see Moshe A. Zipor, "A

MT	LXX	The Peshitta, Syrᴶ	Syh
בַּכִּיּוֹר	(εἰς τὸν λουτῆρα)	ܠܩܢܐ	ܠܩܢܐ
בַדּוּד	εἰς τὸν λέβητα τὸν μέγαν	ܐܓܢܐ	ܠܩܢܐ ܪܒܐ
בַּקַּלַּחַת;	εἰς τὸ χαλκίον	ܩܕܣܐ	ܩܕܣܐ
בַּפָּרוּר;	εἰς τὴν κύθραν	ܩܕܪܐ	ܩܕܪܐ

Table 1

The list in the Syrohexapla starts with two Greek loanwords: ܠܩܢܐ and ܩܕܣ from λεκάνη and κάδος. Anton Schall comments on these under a category "House and Kitchen Utensils." He noted that the Syriac ܠܩܢܐ has maintained the earlier vocalisation λακάνη. Schall also comments on the Semitic roots of the word κάδος. The Hebrew כַּד (Syriac ܩܒܐ) is probably behind κάδος, which was then transferred to Syriac in the form ܩܕܣ. Schall showed that these two words were already familiar to Aphrahat.[39]

Keeping in mind the mirror-type translation of the Syrohexapla, a swift assumption would be that the underlying Greek text of the Syrohexaplaric 2:14 would have read λεκάνη and κάδος. This assumption is supported by comparison with the other occurrences of the words in question. The Greek λεκάνη is used only twice in the Septuagint, both times in Judges, and both times the corresponding Syriac translation is the Greek loanword.[40] Also κάδος occurs only twice of which 2 Chr 2:10 has unfortunately not survived in the Syrohexaplaric manuscripts or lectionaries. In Isa 40:15, however, ܩܕܣ is used as a translation correspondence to κάδος.[41] These three occurrences show that the Greek loanwords were indeed used as translation correspondences to Greek words they are loaned from.

However, in 1 Sam 2:14, λεκάνη and κάδος as the first and second items are not supported by any Greek manuscript.[42] The next question is, whether these Greek loans could have been used in 1 Sam 2:14 to translate λουτήρ and λέβης?[43]

In 16 of the 18 occurrences of λουτήρ in the Septuagint, it is translated with ܡܫܓܬܐ in the Syrohexapla — the exceptions are 1 Sam 2:14 and 2 Sam 8:8[44], where

---

Striking Translation Technique of the Peshitta," 14–16. He showed that the Peshitta has a fixed trio, ܩܕܣܐ ܐܓܢܐ ܩܕܪܐ, whenever in the Hebrew Bible there is a list of three utensils starting with סיר (see note 36). When the Hebrew had more items in a list the translators were free to choose from which ever Syriac terms were available to render the remaining objects.

[39] Anton Schall, *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen*, 103–104.

[40] ܡܣܬܟܠܐ ܕܘܩܢܐ for ἐν λεκάνη ὑπερεχόντων in Judg 5:25, and ܠܩܢܐ ܘܡܠܐ for λεκάνη ὕδατος in 6:38.

[41] ܐܝܟ ܢܘܛܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܣܐ ὡς σταγὼν ἀπὸ κάδου.

[42] The last two items are less problematic. ܩܕܣܐ is used for χάλκειον at least in the Syh in Job 41:23, and ܩܕܪܐ for χύτρα in Num 11:8, Judg 6:19, Joel 2:6.

[43] It is interesting that in two of the instances where the original Septuagint has λουτήρ one finds λεκάνη as a variant. See, Exod 30:18 (F 108) and Exod 38:36 (56).

λουτήρ appears in a plus sign. Thus ܡܥܡܠܐ 'a washing-bowl, basin', even 'bath', seems to be a very Syrohexaplaric translation equivalent. Why would the translator have made an exception in 1 Sam 2:14?

Willem Baars, the editor of the lectionary text, pays attention to the alliteration of the list in the Syrohexapla and asks whether it could be the reason for the use ܟܡܠܐ instead of the more common ܡܥܡܠܐ.[45] Would such a poetic device fit into a mirror-type translation? Another possibility would be that the translator saw ܟܡܠ as more fitting to the context, although it is hard, at least for the present writer, to see such a big difference between these two words.

Λέβης occurs 32 times in the Septuagint, and the translation correspondence used in the Syrohexapla seems to be ܩܪܡܘ,[46] which shows that the same translation correspondence was used to render (at least) two Greek words.

As stated earlier, based on the Greek evidence at our disposal, it is unwarranted to propose a different *Vorlage*, and probing the mindset of the translator is not any easier. It suffices to say that the translation correspondences were not necessarily chosen on a word-for-word basis, especially with more rare words without theological significance. Andreas Juckel writes in connection to Harklean: "The lexical consistency of the Harklean is strong, but not perfect… Whether this is due to reflection on semantics or rather to the defective concordance of the translator(s) cannot be decided with certainty."[47] This is a statement that also fits the Syrohexapla well.

3.3. Transliterations

Raimund Wirth has counted 23 transliterations in 1 Samuel.[48] The Syrohexaplaric lectionary passages include only one example of a transcription, namely that of the hiding place of David in verse 20:19b …*καὶ καθήσῃ παρὰ τὸ εργαβ ἐκεῖνο* where the Syrohexapla reads ܐܪܓܒ. The same word appears again in verse 20:41, but here the Syrohexapla has ܐܪܒܓ, which is most likely just a slip of the pen.

It seems that in the Syrohexapla the transliterations of the source text were repeated consistently. Most of the transliterations used by the translator of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel are in the passages of the Syrohexapla which are now lost to us, but examples can be found elsewhere. Among them are the measurements, such

---

[44] 2 Sam 8:8 as witnessed by Masius. Both of these cases are in Greek plusses. In 1 Sam 2:14 the word is in a plus that emerges only in a part of the Lucianic group. In 2 Sam 8:8 λουτήρ is attested all over.

[45] Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 106.

[46] For example Exod 16:3, Amos 4:2, Mic 3:3, and 2 Kgs 4:38.

[47] A. Juckel, "Should the Harklean Version Be Included in a Future Lexicon of the Syriac New Testament?", 173.

[48] Raimund Wirth is writing his dissertation on the translation technique and the ancient recensions of the LXX of 1–2 Samuel. I would like to thank him for sharing his results in the meetings of The Research Project for Textual Criticism of the Septuagint.

as אֵיפָה οιφι ﻪﻮﺋ,ﺎﻤﺤﺑ נֵבֶל νεβελ ﻼﺤﺑ, and חֹמֶר γομορ ﺮﻣﻮﻤﺣ[49] and nouns of the religious sphere, such as אֵפֹד εφουδ ﺩﻮﻔﺋ,[50] and תְּרָפִים θεραφιυ ﻢﻴﻔﺋﺭﻮﺗ.[51]

Holding onto the transliterations, the translator followed the system of mirror-translation. The majority of these transliterations are in line with the system used regularly in Syriac versions of the New Testament. The usage of matres lectiones seems inconsistent — which is also typical for Syriac versions.[52] It is, however, difficult to show whether the inconsistencies are the results of transmission or part of the translation.

3.4. Proper Nouns

According to Sebastian Brock, the well-known names in the Syriac New Testament versions maintain their Semitic form, except in the Harklean and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, which are inconsistent in this matter.[53] Also in the Syrohexaplaric lectionary passages many common place names and personal names are simply left as they are in the Peshitta. These include ﻼﻴﺷ,[54] ﻼﻴﻤﺣﺭﻳ, ﻼﻔﺼﻣ,[55] ﻼﺼﻣ, ﻢﻳﻭﺭ, and ﻼﻴﻫﺎﻋ. These names maintain their spelling throughout the Syrohexapla, and are for the best part consistent with the version of Jacob of Edessa, the only exception being the name Jonathan.[56] In the introduction to the edition of Jacob's Samuel manuscript, Alison Salvesen writes that Jacob often adds matres lectionis mirroring the Greek forms to the consonants familiar from the Peshitta.[57]

Salvesen points out that Jacob's orthography is fuller than that of the Syrohexapla. Besides the name of Jonathan, another example of Jacob's fuller orthography is verse 7:12 where the Syrohexapla reads ﺮﻴﺸﺣ and Jacob ﺯﺍﺪﺑﺎﺣﺋ for

---

[49] The Peshitta has Syriac translation correspondences for all the three: ﻼﺗﺎﻤﻋ 'a grain measure', ﻼﺘﺒﺣ 'a skin bottle', and ﺯﻮﻣ 'dry-measure'.

[50] Both the Peshitta and Jacob of Edessa use ﻼﺑﺭﻓ 'priest garment' in 1 Samuel; in 1 Sam 23:6 Jacob of Edessa's version reads εφουδ in the margin.

[51] There are Greek variants for these transliterations. For example in 1 Sam 15:23 the "Hexaplaric" manuscript 376 with 92 and 527 have θεραφιμ, and 247, another representative of the *O*-group, has σεραφιμ. It is probable that the variant θεραφιμ stood in the source text of the Syrohexapla. The text ﺎﻤﺤﻣ ﻼﻤﺣ ﺎﻤﺮﻣﻋ .ﻼﺘ�‌ﻴﻨﻣﺬﺤﻤﻣ ﺎﻤﺮﻣﻮ ﻼﻤﺤﻠﺴﻣﻭ ﻼﻤﻫﺪﻣ occurs in the Peshitta verson of 1 Sam 15:23a for כִּי חַטַּאת־קֶסֶם מֶרִי וְאָוֶן וּתְרָפִים הַפְצַר, deviating from the usual translation correspondence ﻼﻤﺣﺭ, and thus "enhances the parallelism of the poetic line", as Morrison, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel*, 40 writes.

[52] See Sebastian Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," 86–87.

[53] Brock, "Limitations," 86.

[54] Ms 376 and *L* group read Σηλω.

[55] For this name one finds several variants, such as μασηφα, μασιφα, μασηφαθ, μασειφαθ, μασεφατ, μασηφα. The name appears outside 1 Samuel only twice: namely in 2 Kgs 25:23 and 25:25. Unfortunately, in the manuscript Midderldorpf published, verses 2 Kgs 25:20–29 are in a lacuna and thus one can only guess how the name has been rendered elsewhere in the Syrohexapla.

[56] In the version of Jacob of Edessa the name is spelled ﻼﺘﻴﻋ.

[57] A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa*, xiv.

Αβενεζερ. Here the lectionary strangely leaves out the *alpha* of **Αβενεζερ**. Such a variant is not supported by any of the Greek manuscripts,[58] and might result from transmission.

One finds three different spellings of the name of Israel in the passages of 1 Samuel in two lectionaries: ܐܣܪܐܝܠ, ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ, and ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. Curiously, one version of that name, the one used in the Peshitta, ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ, is not among them.

In his article on the Harklean version, Andreas Juckel shows the development of the orthography of proper nouns from the Peshitta-type form of the original revision towards Greek spelling.[59] The present writer carried out a random search in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus, in the Midyat manuscript, and in BL Add. 14437 in order to find out whether a similar development could also be seen in the transmission of the Syrohexapla. In Table 2 these three manuscripts are aligned with the lectionaries (14485 and 17195):

	BL Add. 14437 8th cent.	Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus 8th–9th cent.	BL Add. 14485 824	BL Add. 17195 10th cent.	Midyat MS 12th cent.
ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ	X	X			
ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ		X		X	
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ					X
ܐܝܣܪܝܠ			X		

Table 2

The orthography of the Peshitta is used in the 1 Kings manuscript and in Ambrosianus. Jacob of Edessa used the fullest form ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ in the seventh century. This chart does not reveal a straightforward development, but on the other hand, the dates of the manuscripts alone do not yet indicate the age or revisional level of the texts from which they were copied. It does look, however, as if the Peshitta-like form was the starting point.

The name Eli, written ܥܠܝ in 1 Sam 2:22 in BL Add. 17195 calls for attention. In the Harklean witnesses to the New Testament one finds three different spellings: ܗܠܝ, ܗܝܠܝ, and ܥܠܝ,[60] the first being the one used also in the Syrohexapla, for example, in 1 Kings 2:27, by the Peshitta and Jacob of Edessa. The orthography witnessed by the lectionary seems to be unique.

There is a variation in the spelling of the name Jesse even within one and the same lectionary: ܐܝܫܝ and ܐܝܫܝ twice, the latter being the one used in the Peshitta, and by Jacob. After the curious ܐܝܫܝ in 1 Sam 20:27, immediately in the following verse,

---

[58] The variants are Αβεννεζερ, Αβινεζερ, Αναβενεζερ.

[59] Juckel, "Should the Harklean Version Be Included?", 182–183.

[60] According to Juckel, "Should the Harklean Version Be Included?", 183.

one finds a special spelling for Bethlehem — ܒܝܬ ܠܚܝܡ.[61] These two variants may somehow be connected. Moreover, the names are from the beginning of a lectionary passage which changes from the text of the Peshitta to the Syrohexapla without warning. As there are no explicit variants in the Greek manuscripts, these two anomalies should be taken as mere mistakes.

In 1 Sam 7:11 the scribes were faced with an especially tricky name, Βαιθχορ, and there are 19 orthographic variants in Greek manuscripts.[62] In the lectionary passage the Syrohexapla renders it ܒܝܬ ܚܘܪ.[63]

The lectionaries show various spellings for proper nouns. Some of them go back to the Peshitta, while others show a tendency to imitate Greek without a fixed system. Whether the variation and curiosities already belonged to the original translation or emerged only in the transmission process requires further study.

4. CONCLUSION

The Syrohexapla is a valuable source for textual criticism. However, in some cases there are no unambiguous back-translations, although the evidence that the Syrohexapla provides proves that the method of translation followed a rather stiff system. It is likely that a part of the variation emerged during the transmission process, but the transmission hypothesis should not be used to sweep all the variations under the carpet.

A more detailed study of the Syrohexapla also clarifies the trends of Syriac translational activities in its time, and for lexicographers the Syrohexapla presents interesting points of comparison at least with the Harklean version. The three lectionary chapters of 1 Samuel discussed in this article offer just a taste of the translation, and the examples provided are only a fraction of the interesting examples the Syrohexapla has to offer.

---

[61] Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 109 has corrected the spelling to the usual ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ in his edition

[62] The variants are: βαιθχορ, βαιθχθορ, βεχχορ, βεθχθορ, βαιχθωρ, βαιθχωρ, βαιχεωρ, βεεχορ, βεθχωρ, βεθχορι, βεχθωρ, βιεχωρ, βεθχορ, βελχορ, βαιχωρ, βεχωρ, βηθχωρ, βαιχροθ χεβρων.

[63] The Peshitta has ܒܝܬ ܝܥ, and Jacob of Edessa reads ܒܝܬ ܝܥܡ.

CHAPTER 5:
THE *HWĀ QĀTEL* AND *HWĀ QĔTĪL* CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE PESHITTA OLD TESTAMENT

Craig E. Morrison

Pontifical Biblical Institute

The *hwā qātel* construction in the OT Peshitta normally expresses deontic modality and it translates a *yiqtol* or a *wĕqatal* in the second person in direct speech. The Peshitta normally avoids *hwā qātel* to express a past durative aspect, preferring to place *hwā* after the participle even where the Hebrew word order is היה + participle. The construction *wahwā qātel* can translate the Hebrew constructions ויהי + participle but it is not idiomatic Syriac and the translator often does not employ *wahwā qātel* to mirror the Hebrew construction in Syriac. The construction *hwā qātel* cannot be negated.

1. INTRODUCTION

The *hwā qātel* construction with a durative or iterative aspect in a past context is common in literary Aramaic,[1] appearing in various texts including the Palestinian Targums[2] and the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[3] In Syriac the durative aspect of *hwā qātel* in a past context occurs less frequently.[4] Syriac grammarians have observed that the periphrastic *hwā qātel* can have a subjunctive sense,[5] expressing a wish, a command,[6] an action that should be accomplished,[7] an "obligation of general and universal

---

[1] J.C. Greenfield, "The 'Periphrastic Imperative' in Aramaic and Hebrew," 201; A. Gianto, "Lost and Found in the Grammar of First-Millennium Aramaic," 20. An early example appears in the Hermopolis letters, see E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, "Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli," 404–405.

[2] D. Cohen, *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique: études de syntaxe historique*, 448–449; W.B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, 57–58.

[3] J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 292.

[4] T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §277.

[5] L. Palacios, *Grammatica Syriaca*, §389b; R. Duval, *Traité de Grammaire Syriaque*, §334c.

[6] G. Phillips, *A Syriac Grammar*, 161; F. Rundgren, "Das altsyrische Verbalsystem," 70.

[7] Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, §260–261.

applicability"[8] or a command "with a durative or iterative future sense."[9] Because the Peshitta OT is a translation from a Hebrew exemplar, these general observations are difficult to apply in every case where *hwā qātel* appears.[10] In a recent article I compared the use of *hwā qātel/qĕtīl* in the Peshitta OT (from Joshua to 2 Kings) with that in the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.[11] In the *Acts of Judas Thomas*, *hwā qātel* is restricted to expressing deontic modality of obligation. In the Peshitta the situation is more complex.[12] At times, *hwā qātel*, and especially *wahwā qātel,* mirrors particular Hebrew constructions, resulting in a *hwā qātel* or *hwā qĕtīl* that has a past durative aspect without the modal nuance that Syriac grammarians have observed. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to study the *hwā qātel/qĕtīl* construction in the entire Peshitta OT.[13] Is it possible to describe the Peshitta's use of this construction so that a *hwā qātel* that expresses only a past durative aspect can be distinguished from one expressing deontic modality? This study is divided into two sections:

1. How does the Peshitta render Hebrew periphrastic constructions? Does it mirror the Hebrew construction or does it adjust the construction to suit Syriac idiom?
2. How does the Peshitta employ the *hwā qātel* construction?

2. THE PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION היה + PREDICATE PARTICIPLE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

According to Gesenius, the addition of היה to the participle gives "emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*."[14] Waltke and O'Connor note that היה (perfect) followed by a predicate participle lends a progressive sense to the participle.[15] In

---

[8] T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists*, §72. See also W. Th.Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira. A Comparative Linguistic and Literary Study*, 355. He describes *hwā qātel* as an "imperatival use" (p. 355).

[9] P.J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels*, 112. See also J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew: Syntactic Structure, Inner-Syriac Developments and Translation Technique*, 130.

[10] This construction also appears in the Peshitta NT, see Terry C. Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*, vol. 2: *Hē-Yōdh*, 24.

[11] C.E. Morrison, "The hwā qātel and hwā qĕtīl Constructions in Early Syriac Narrative," 358–378.

[12] See the description of the character of the translation of Peshitta Psalms by Ignacio Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90–150 in the Peshitta*.

[13] While most of the Peshitta may have come into existence around 150 CE (reflecting that stage of the language), there is evidence that Nehemiah, Ezra and 1 and 2 Chronicles were translated after 200 CE (see M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction*, 158). The Peshitta was not created by a single translator. In instances where the Leiden edition is not yet published, I have relied on Peshitta MS 7a1 (Codex Ambrosianus) and I assume that the Peshitta translator had a Hebrew exemplar identical to that preserved in the MT (unless otherwise indicated).

[14] W. Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, §116r.

[15] Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 37.7.1b.

later Biblical Hebrew, היה + the participle substitutes for the perfect verb form.[16] Cohen links the היה + the participle to late biblical Hebrew.[17] In Qumran Hebrew, Qimron notes some 50 examples of a Hebrew periphrastic construction that express continual or habitual action.[18]

2.1. The periphrastic structure (היה [perfect] + predicate participle or predicate participle + היה [perfect]) in the MT

The instances where היה (perfect) combines with a predicate participle are considered below.

2.1.1. In 23 cases, the Syriac translator rendered היה (perfect) + predicate participle with *qātel hwā*:

Gen 37:2 היה רעה הוא ﺟﻠ "he was shepherding"; Gen 39:22 היה עשה הוא ﺣﺒ "he was doing"; Exod 3:1 היה רעה הוא ﺟﻠ "he was shepherding"; Judg 1:7 היו מלקטים משרת "they were gathering"; 1 Sam 2:11 היה משרת ﻣﺤﺎﺑﻢ ﻫﻬﻬ "he was serving"; 2 Sam 3:6 היה מתחזק הוא ﺣﺴﻤﺤﺴ "he was growing stronger"; 2 Sam 3:17 הייתם מבקשים ﻫﻬﺎﺑﻣ ﺣﺒﻣ "you were seeking"; 2 Sam 5:2 היה מושל ﺗﻠﻬﻣ (ketib ﻫﻬﻫ) "you were leading out"; 1 Kgs 5:1 הייתה מוציא "he was ruling"; 1 Kgs 12:6 היו עמדים ﻫﻬﻬ ﺣﺴﻤﺤﺴ "who used to attend"; 1 Kgs 22:35 היה מעמד הוא ﻋﻠﻣ "he was set up"; 2 Chr 18:34 היה מעמיד "he was standing" [9a1*fam* ﻫﻬﻫ] ﺣﻼﻫﺎﺑ "he was sitting"; 2 Kgs 6:8 היה נלחם "he was fighting"; 2 Kgs 9:14 היה שמר ﻫﻮﺑﻠ "he was on guard"; 2 Kgs 17:33 היו יראים ... היו עבדים ﻓﺤﻬﺴ ﻫﻬﻬ ... ﻫﻬﻬ ﻫﺴﻠﻣ "they were fearing the Lord…they were serving"; 2 Kgs 17:41 היו עבדים ﻫﻬﻬ ﻓﺤﻬﺴ "they were serving"; Jer 26:18 היה עמד הוא ﻋﻠﻣ "he was prophesying"; Ezek 43:6 היה נבא הוא ﻟﻮﺑﺣ "he was standing"; Job 1:14 היו חרשות ﻓﺒﺎ ﻫﻬﻬ ﺣﺒﻫ "they were plowing" "they were steering plows"; Dan 8:5 ואני הייתי מבין ﻫﻬﻣ ﺣﺎﺑﻣ ﻫﻠﻣ "I was perceiving" "I was noticing"; Neh 6:19 היו אמרים ﻫﻬﻬ ﻫﺒﺣﻣ "they were speaking"; 2 Chr 10:6 היו עמדים "they were standing" ﻫﻬﻬ ﻓﺤﻬﺴ "they were serving".

In all of these cases, the Syriac translator reversed the word order of these Hebrew periphrastic constructions that express a past durative or iterative aspect, so that ﻫﻬﻬ follows the participle.

2.1.2. In three cases היה (perfect) + X + predicate participle is translated with *qātel/qĕtīl hwā*:

2 Kgs 18:4 היו בני-ישראל מקטרים "the Israelites were burning incense" ﺣﺴﻤﺤﺴﻬ "they were setting incense before it"; 1 Chr 19:5 כי-היו האנשים נכלמים "because the men were humiliated"; Neh 13:5 היו[19] ﻫﺎﺑﻫﺎ ﻫﺤﻬﺎﺑﻣ ﻫﻬﻬ

לפנים נתנים "previously they were giving" ܗܘܘ ܝܗܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ "previously they were setting".

2.1.3. In four cases the Peshitta mirrors the Hebrew היה (perfect) + predicate participle construction in Syriac:

Gen 4:2 היה עבד ܗܘܐ ܦܠܚ ܗܘܐ "I was working"; Dan 10:2 הייתי מתאבל "I was mourning" היו ישבים ܗܘܝܬ ܝܬܒ ܐܒܝܠ "I was sitting in mourning"; Neh 3:26 ܗܘܘ ܝܬܒܝܢ "they were dwelling"; Neh 6:14 היו מיראים ܘܗܘܘ ܡܒܥܬܝܢ ܠܝ "they were making [me] afraid".

 Three of these four examples appear in Daniel and Nehemiah, biblical books that Weitzman has argued were translated after 150 CE when the majority of books, including Genesis were translated.[20] Thus, the only example of a *hwā qātel* from this earlier period of translation appears in Gen 4:2 and it could be an example of harmonization with the *wahwā* X *qātel* at the beginning of this verse:

<div align="center">ויהי־הבל רעה צאן וקין היה עבד אדמה</div>

<div align="center">ܘܗܘܐ ܗܒܝܠ ܪܥܐ ܥܢܐ ܘܩܐܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܚ ܐܪܥܐ</div>

2.1.4. In two cases היה (perfect) + X + predicate participle is translated with *hwā* + X + *qātel*/*qĕtīl*:

2 Sam 10:5 כי־האנשים נכלמים ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܗܬܝܢ ܛܒ "because they were humiliated"; Jer 32:30 היו בני־ישראל ובני יהודה אך עשים הרע ܗܘܘ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ "the people of Israel and the people of Judah were doing ܗܢܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ evil".

 2 Sam 10:5 has a parallel passage in 1 Chr 19:5 (see above). In both cases the Hebrew reads: כי־היו האנשים נכלמים. In 2 Sam 10:5 the Syriac mirrors the Hebrew while in 1 Chr 19:5 the translator employs *qĕtīl hwā*: ܒܗܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܛܒ.

2.1.5. In four cases the Syriac translator rendered היה + participle or a participle + היה with a suffixed verb form:

Deut 31:27 היו מבדלים ממרים היתם ܡܪܡܪܬܘܢܝ "you rebelled"; Isa 59:2 "they were separating" ܦܪܫܘ "they have separated"; Ps 30:8 הייתי נבהל "I was in dread" ܪܬܬ "I quivered"; Dan 10:9 ואני הייתי נרדם נרדם על־פני "I was stunned, face down" ܢܦܠܬ "I fell face down". The construction ממרים היתם (Deut 31:27) also appears in Deut 9:7.24 where the participle ממרים is rendered with a noun: ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܡܪܡܪܢܐ "you were rebellious".

2.1.6. In four cases a predicate participle + היה is translated with *qātel hwā*:

Deut 9:22 רעה ܡܪܓܙܝܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ מקצפים הייתם "you were provoking"; 1 Sam 17:34 היה ורעה ܪܥܐ ܗܘܐ "he was shepherding"; 1 Kgs 5:15 אהב היה ܪܚܡ ܗܘܐ "he was loving"; Ps 122:2 עמדות היו ܩܝܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ "they were standing".

---

[20] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 246.

2.1.7. In ten cases where the Hebrew has a periphrastic construction the Peshitta diverges from the Hebrew text:

Deut 9:7.24; 2 Kgs 7:3; Isa 10:14; Jer 26:20; Ezek 27:8; 34:2; Ps 10:14; 99:8; Neh 5:18. In none of these cases did the Peshitta translator opt for *hwā qātel*.

Discussion

This evidence reveals that the Syriac translator normally reversed the word order of Hebrew היה + predicate participle, rendering it with *qātel hwā*. There is *no* case where the MT has a predicate participle + היה and the Peshitta has written *hwā qātel*. Neh 6:19 illustrates the point:

<div dir="rtl">

גם טובתיו היו אמרים לפני ודברי היו מוציאים לו אגרות שלח טוביה ליראני

</div>

> Also his good deeds they were speaking before me, and they brought out my words to him. Tobiah sent letters to frighten me.

<div dir="rtl">

ܐܦ ܛܒܬܗ ܠܩܒܠܝ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܩܕܡܝ ܘܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܘܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܘܐܓܪܬܐ ܡܫܕܪ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܛܘܒܝܐ ܠܡܕܚܠܘܬܝ

</div>

> Also his good words they were speaking before me and the word that I was speaking they were speaking to him. Tobiah was sending letters to frighten me.

The Peshitta translator reverses the word order in the two Hebrew periphrastic constructions and, when generating two other periphrastic constructions that are not in the Hebrew (ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ and ܗܘܐ ܡܫܕܪ), writes *qātel hwā*. In only four cases does the Peshitta imitate the Hebrew construction and three of these cases appear in books translated at a later stage. Thus, most often the Peshitta translator rejected the *hwā qātel* construction to express a past durative or iterative aspect. The normal construction in the Peshitta is *qātel hwā*.

2.2. The Hebrew construction ויהי + predicate participle

The Peshitta often translates the Hebrew construction ויהי + participle with *wahwā qātel*.

2.2.1. There are fifteen cases where ויהי + a predicate participle is translated with *wahwā qātel*:

Gen 4:17 ויהי בנה חנ ܗܘܐ and ויהי טוחן מ ܗܘܐ ܒܢܐ "and he was building"; Judg 16:21 "and he was grinding"; 2 Sam 7:6 ואהיה מתהלך ܗܘܝܬ ܡܗܠܟ "and I have been travelling"; 2 Kgs 17:25 ויהיו הרגים ܗܘܘ ܩܛܠܝܢ "and they were killing"; 2 Kgs 17:28 ויהי מורה ܗܘܐ ܡܠܦ "and he was teaching"; 2 Kgs 17:29 ויהיו עשׂים ܗܘܘ ܥܒܕܝܢ "and they were making"; 2 Kgs 17:32 ויהיו יראים ܗܘܘ ܕܚܠܝܢ "and they were fearing"; 2 Kgs 21:15 ויהיו מכעסים ܗܘܘ ܡܪܓܙܝܢ "and they were provoking"; 2 Chr 24:12 ויהיו שׂכרים ܗܘܘ ܐܓܪܝܢ "and they were hiring"; 2 Chr 36:16 ויהיו מלעבים ܗܘܘ ܡܡܝܩܝܢ "and they were mocking"; Esth 2:7 ויהי אמן ܗܘܐ ܡܪܒܐ "and he was guardian" "and he raised"; Neh 1:4 ואהי צם ומתפלל ܗܘܝܬ ܨܐܡ ܘܡܨܠܐ "and I was fasting and praying"; Neh 2:13 ואהי שׂבר ܗܘܝܬ ܒܕܩ "and I was inspecting"; Neh

ܘܗܘܝܬ ܣܠܩ ܘܐܗܝ עלה "and I was going up"; Neh 2:15 ܘܗܘܝܬ ܣܥܐ ܘܐܗܝ שבר 2:15 "and I was inspecting".

2.2.2. In thirteen cases ויהי + X + a predicate participle is translated *wahwā* + X + *qātel*:

Gen 4:2	ויהי־הבל רעה צאן
	ܘܗܘܐ ܗܒܝܠ ܪܥܐ ܥܢܐ
	and Abel was shepherding flocks
Gen 25:27	ויהי עשׂו איש ידע ציד
	ܘܗܘܐ ܥܣܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܨܝܕܐ
	and Esau was a man knowing how to hunt
Gen 39:2	ויהי איש מצליח
	ܘܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܨܠܚ
	and the man was successful
1 Sam 23:26	ויהי דוד נחפז
	ܘܗܘܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܡܣܬܪܗܒ
	and David was making haste
1 Sam 7:10	ויהי שמואל מעלה העולה
	ܘܗܘܐ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܡܣܩ ܝܩܕܐ
	and Samuel was offering up the burnt offering
2 Sam 8:15 and 1 Chr 18:14	ויהי דוד עשׂה משׁפט
	ܘܗܘܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܥܒܕ ܕܝܢܐ
	and David was doing justice
2 Sam 19:10	ויהי כל־העם נדון
	and all the people were quarrelling
	ܘܗܘܐ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܢܨܝܢ ܚܒܠܗܘܢ
	and all the people were plotting
1 Kgs 5:24	ויהי חירום נתן לשׁלמה
	ܘܗܘܐ ܚܝܪܡ ܝܗܒ ܠܫܠܡܘܢ
	and Hiram was giving to Solomon
2 Kgs 17:41	ויהיו הגוים האלה יראים את־יהוה
	and these nations were fearing the Lord
	ܘܗܘܘ ܐܦ ܥܡܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܬܒܝܢ ܒܫܡܪܝܢ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ
	and also these peoples who were dwelling in Samaria were fearing the Lord
Ezra 4:4	ויהי עם־הארץ מרפים ידי עם־יהודה
	and the people of the land discouraged the people of Judah
	ܘܗܘܘ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܡܬܦܝܢ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܝܗܘܕ
	and the people of the land discouraged the people of Judah

ויהי יהושפט הלך וגדל   2 Chr 17:12

and Jehoshaphat was growing stronger

ܘܗܘܐ ܝܗܘܫܦܛ ܐܙܠ ܘܥܬܪ

and Jehoshaphat was growing rich

ויהיו הרצים עברים   2 Chr 30:10

and the runners were passing

ܘܗܘܘ ܪ̈ܗܛܝܗܘ ܘܚܙܩܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܒܪܝܢ

and his runners and King Hezekiah were passing

These first two categories indicate that *wahwā qātel* or *wahwā* + X + *qātel* can translate the Hebrew construction ויהי + (X +) a predicate participle. The following two examples contrast the Peshitta translator's rendering of constructions introduced by ויהי with how the Peshitta handles the periphrastic structure היה + participle.

ויהיו הגוים האלה יראים את־יהוה ואת־פסיליהם היו   2 Kgs 17:41
עבדים

These nations were fearing the Lord, but they were making idols.

ܘܗܘܘ ܐܦ ܥܡܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܥܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܫܡܪܝܢ ܕܚܠܝܢ
ܘܠܓܠܝܦܝܗܘܢ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ

These peoples, who were dwelling in Samaria, were fearing the Lord, but they were serving idols.

The Peshitta mirrors the Hebrew ויהי + subject + participle with *wahwā* + subject + *qātel* but the Hebrew construction היה + a predicate participle in the same verse is rendered *qātel hwā*.

In Neh 1:4 the translator has interpreted ישבתי as having a durative aspect: ܗܘܝܬ ܝܬܒ, generating a *qātel hwā* in Syriac, as expected. But the construction ואהי צם in the same verse, also expressing a past durative aspect, is rendered *wahwā qātel*: ܘܗܘܝܬ ܨܐܡ:

ויהי כשמעי את־הדברים האלה ישבתי ואבכה ואתאבלה ימים ואהי צם
ומתפלל לפני אלהי השמים

When I heard these things, I sat down and wept and mourned for days. I was fasting and praying before the God of heaven.

ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܬ ܦܬܓܡ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܝܬܒܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܘܒܟܐ ܘܡܬܐܒܠ ܗܘܝܬ ܝ̈ܘܡܬܐ
ܣ̈ܓܝܐܐ ܘܗܘܝܬ ܨܐܡ ܘܡܨܠܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ

Then, when I heard these words I was sitting, weeping and mourning for many days. I was fasting and praying before the God of heaven.

Though both periphrastic constructions have a past durative aspect, the second one is written *wahwā qātel*. Thus, it appears that the construction *wahwā qātel* was an invention of the Peshitta translator to mirror the Hebrew construction ויהי + participle in Syriac. The construction may have entered the Syriac language through the Peshitta since 1 and 2 Chronicles preserve a few cases where the translator

appears to have created a *wahwā qātel* that was not found in the Hebrew *Vorlage* (see below).

2.2.3. On two occasions ויהי (+ X) + a predicate participle is translated *qātel hwā*.

Gen 21:20 ויהי רבה קשת
and he became an archer
ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܠܦ ܩܫܬܐ
and he was learning the bow

2 Kgs 6:26 ויהי מלך ישראל עבר
ܘܗܘܐ ܥܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܥܠ ܫܘܪܐ
and the King of Israel was passing

2.2.4. On eleven occasions the Peshitta does not render ויהי in the construction ויהי + X + a predicate participle.

1 Sam 15:32 ויהי דוד בא עד־הראש
אמת ܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܐܬܬܐ ܐܬܕܘܟܬܐ ܘܩܪܒ
and David reached a point
and when David reached the summit

1 Kgs 13:20 ויהי הם ישבים אל־השלחן
ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܝܬܒܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܬܘܪܐ
and when they were sitting at table

1 Kgs 20:39 ויהי המלך עבר
and the king was passing
ܥܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ
Now the king was passing

1 Kgs 20:40 ויהי עבדך עשה
and your servant was doing
ܘܡܬܦܢܐ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܟ
your servant was turning

2 Kgs 2:11 ויהי המה הלכים הלוך ודבר
and they were walking along talking
ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܘܡܗܠܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ
and it was that while they were talking and walking

2 Kgs 6:5 ויהי האחד מפיל הקורה
and someone was bringing down a log
ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܡܪܡܐ ܩܝܣܐ
and one of them, as he threw down a log

2 Kgs 8:5 ויהי הוא מספר למלך
ܘܟܕ ܡܫܬܥܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ
and when he was recounting to the king

2 Kgs 13:21   ויהי הם קברים איש

ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܩܒܪܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ

and when they were burying a man

2 Kgs 19:37 and Isa 37:38   ויהי הוא משתחוה

ܘܟܕ ܣܓܕ ܗܘܐ

and when he was worshipping

Dan 1:16   ויהי המלצר נשׂא את־פתבגם

and the guard was taking their provisions

ܘܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܠܨܪ ... ܡܢܬܗܘܢ

and the guard was taking their portions

These examples reveal the options the Peshitta translator had for rendering the Hebrew ויהי. In 1 Sam 15:32; 1 Kgs 20:40; and 2 Kgs 6:5 the ויהי is not mirrored in the Peshitta. In 2 Kgs 13:21; 19:37; and Isa 37:38 the ויהי is rendered ܘܟܕ. In 1 Kgs 20:39 ויהי is rendered ܘܗܘܐ (perhaps a transmission error: ܘܗܘܐ > ܘܟܕ). In 2 Kgs 2:11 ויהי + X + a predicate participle is rendered ܘܗܘܐ + ܟܕ + X + a predicate participle. In Dan 1:16 the ויהי + X + a predicate participle construction is transformed into *qātel ḥwā*.

2.2.5. In nine cases the Peshitta has a divergent reading for ויהי + a predicate participle or ויהי + X + a predicate participle:

Gen 42:35   ויהי הם מריקים

And they were emptying

ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܣܪܩܝܢ

and it was that while they were emptying[21]

Exod 19:19   ויהי קול השופר הולך מאד

ܘܗܘܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܩܪܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܥܫܢ ܛܒ[22]

and the sound of the trumpet was growing very loud

Josh 9:21   יחיו ויהיו חטבי עצים

Let them live and so they became wood cutters

ܢܚܘܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܩܛܝ ܩܝܣܐ

Let them live and let them become wood gatherers

1 Chr 6:17   ויהיו משרתים

ܘܗܘܘܘ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ

they were ministering

2 Chr 9:26   ויהי מושל

and he was ruling

ܘܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܫܠܡܘܢ

and Solomon was ruling

---

[21] Peshitta MS 5b1 reads ܡܣܪܩܝܢ.

[22] Peshitta MSS 7a1^c 9l6 read ܗܘܐ.

1 Chr 12:40   ויהיו־שם עם־דויד ימים שלושה אכלים ושותים

They were there with David three days eating and
drinking.

ܘܗܘܘ ܬܡܢ ܥܡ ܕܘܝܕ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܫܬܝܢ

They were there with David three days eating and
drinking.

2 Chr 20:25   ויהיו ימים שלושה בזזים את־השלל

and they were plundering the spoils for three days

ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܟܕ ܒܙܘ ܒܙܬܐ

and it was after three days while they plundered the
spoils

2 Chr 22:12   ויהי אתם בבית האלהים מתחבא

and he was hidden with them in the house of God

ܘܗܘܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܛܫܝ

He was hidden with him in the house of the Lord

In Exod 19:19 and 1 Chr 12:40 ויהי is rendered ܘܗܘܘ (but ܘܗܘ in 7a1[c] 9l6) and the
participles that follow, הולך in Exod 19:19 and אכלים in 1 Chr 12:40, are rendered
qātel hwā, offering further evidence that *qātel hwā* is the preferred Peshitta translation.
Another option for rendering ויהי is ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ (Gen 42:35). In 2 Chr 20:25 the ויהי is
rendered literally but the participle, בזזים, is rendered with the suffix verb form
(ܟܕ ܒܙܘ).

Discussion

In the majority of cases, the Peshitta translator reversed the word order of the
periphrastic Hebrew construction היה + a predicate participle so that ܗܘܐ follows
the participle. There are four cases where the Peshitta translator mirrors the Hebrew
text and three of them come from biblical books translated after 150 CE. The
Hebrew construction ויהי + predicate participle can be mirrored in Syriac. The
Peshitta translation of 2 Kgs 17:32–33a illustrates the translator's approach to
rendering this Hebrew construction in Syriac.

ויהיו יראים את־יהוה ויעשו להם מקצותם כהני במות ויהיו עשים להם
בבית הבמות [33] את־יהוה היו יראים ואת־אלהיהם היו עבדים

They were fearing the Lord and they appointed for themselves from their
total population priests of the high places and they were ministering to
them at the shrines of the high places. They were fearing the Lord along
with worshipping their gods.

ܘܗܘܘ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܥܠܘܬܐ ܘܗܘܘ ܦܠܚܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܒܒܝܬ ܥܠܘܬܐ
[33] ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܠܐܠܗܝܗܘܢ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ

They were fearing the Lord and they appointed for themselves from them
priests of the high places and they were serving them at the shrines of the
high places. They were fearing the Lord along with worshipping their
gods.

In 2 Kgs 17:33 the word order of the two Hebrew periphrastic constructions (היה + a predicate participle) is reversed in the Peshitta (*qātel hwā*). But in the preceding verse, 2 Kgs 17:32, ויהי + predicate participle is mirrored in the Peshitta with *wahwā qātel*. All four constructions express a past durative aspect. On the basis of this evidence, I would argue that in the Peshitta's Syriac, *qātel hwā* is the normal construction for expressing a durative aspect in a past context. The use of *hwā qātel* or *wahwā qātel* to express a durative aspect witnesses to the influence of the Hebrew *Vorlage* on the Syriac of the Peshitta OT.

2.3. והיה + predicate participle or והיה + X + predicate

There are three cases where והיה + predicate participle or והיה + X + predicate participle is translated with *wahwā qātel* or *wahwā qětīl*. These examples are unique in that they are in direct speech, and the Peshitta, when read independently of the Hebrew text, expresses a deontic modality (discussed in the second section of this paper).

Gen 45:9–10

מהרו ועלו אל־אבי ואמרתם אליו כה אמר בנך יוסף
שמני אלהים לאדון לכל־מצרים רדה אלי אל־תעמד
וישבת בארץ־גשן והיית קרוב אלי אתה ובניך

Make haste and go up to my father and tell him, "Thus says your son Joseph, God has set me as lord of all Egypt. Come down to me. Do not delay. You will dwell in the land of Goshen and you will be near to me, you and your children…".

ܚܠܝܠ ܣܩܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܝ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܟ ܝܘܣܦ
ܥܒܕܢܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܚܘܬ ܠܘܬܝ ܘܠܐ
ܠܐܬܘܗܡܝ ܘܬܒ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܓܫܢ ܘܬܗܘܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܠܝ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܢܝܟ

Go up quickly to my father and tell him, "Thus says your son Joseph, God has made me lord over all Egypt. Come down to me. Do not delay. Dwell in the land of Goshen. You should be near to me, you and your children…".

Josh 8:4

אל תרחיקו מן העיר מאד והייתם כלכם נכנים

Do not stay very far away from the city. All of you will remain ready.

ܠܐ ܬܪܚܩܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܟܠܟܘܢ
ܡܛܝܒܝܢ

Do not stay very far away from the city. All of you should be ready.

| Deut 28:28–29 | יככה יהוה בשגעון ובעורון ובתמהון לבב. והיית ממשש בצהרים כאשר ימשש העור באפלה |

The Lord will strike you with madness, blindness and bewilderment of heart. You will be groping about at midday just like the blind grope in the dark.

ܢܡܚܝܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܫܢܝܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܘܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܒܬܡܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܬܗܘܐ ܓܫܫ ܒܛܗܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܓܫܫ ܥܘܝܪܐ ܒܚܫܘܟܐ

The Lord will strike you with confusion, blindness and bewilderment of heart. You should be groping at midday like the blind grope in the dark.

In these examples the והיה + predicate participle construction follows an imperative and it expresses a logical consequence. The Syriac *wahwā qātel* construction expresses deontic modality (see below).

3. THE PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION *HWĀ QĀTEL* IN THE PESHITTA

The *hwā qātel* construction in the Peshitta can render various Hebrew verbal forms and also appear in divergent readings.

3.1. *hwā qātel* Translates Hebrew *wĕqatal*

| Gen 47:24 | ונתתם |

ܬܗܘܘܢ ܝܗܒܝܢ
you should give

| Exod 1:16 | ויאמר בילדכן את־העבריות וראיתן על־האבנים אם־בן הוא והמתן אתו ואם־בת היא וחיה |

He said, "When you are assisting the Hebrew women in giving birth and you see them on the birth stool, if it is a boy, you will kill him. If it is a girl, she will live."

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܝܢ ܡܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܬܝܢ ܡܘܠܕܢ ܠܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܬܗܘܝܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܡܐ ܕܒܪܟܢ ܠܡܐܠܕ ܘܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܕܟܪܐ ܗܘ ܬܗܘܝܢ ܩܛܠܢ ܠܗ ܘܐܢ ܢܩܒܬܐ ܗܝ ܬܗܘܝܢ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܗ

He said to them, "When you are assisting the Hebrew women in giving birth, you should see them when they are crouching to give birth. If it is a boy, you should kill him; if it is a girl, you should let her live."

| Exod 18:19 | והבאת |

and you will bring
ܘܬܗܘܐ ܡܥܠ
and you should bring

| Lev 25:3 | ואספת את־תבואתה |

and gather your harvest
ܘܬܗܘܐ ܟܢܫ ܥܠܠܬܗ
you should gather your harvest

Deut 1:16   ואצוה את־שפטיכם בעת ההוא לאמר <u>שמע</u>
                                  בין־אחיכם ושפטתם צדק בין־איש ובין־אחיו ובין גרו

I charged your judges at that time saying, "Listen
among your brothers and judge rightly between each
one, his brother or his resident alien."

ܘܦܩܕܬ ܠܕܝ̈ܢܝܟܘܢ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܫܡܥܝܢ
ܒܝܬ ܐܚ̈ܝܟܘܢ ܘܬܕܘܢܘܢ ܩܘܫܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܘܠܬܘܬܒܗ

I commended your judges at that time and I said to
them, "You should listen among your brothers and
you should judge rightly between each one, his brother
or his resident alien."[23]

Deut 23:14   ויתד תהיה לך על־אזנך והיה בשבתך חוץ <u>וחפרתה</u> בה
                                  ושבת <u>וכסית</u> את־צאתך

You will have a tool for digging among your utensils
and when you relieve yourself outside, you will dig a
hole with it and then cover up your excrement.

ܘܣܟܬܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܙܝܢܟ ܘܡܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܬܚܬܝܬܐ
ܬܚܦܘܪ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܗ ܘܗܘܝܬ ܡܟܣܐ ܠܐܦܘܬܟ

You will have a tool for digging among your gear.
When you are sitting to urinate, you should dig a hole
with it and you should cover up your excrement.

Josh 1:8   והגית בו יומם ולילה

you shall meditate on it day and night

ܐܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܪܢܐ ܒܗ

but you should meditate on it

Ruth 2:9   עיניך בשדה אשר־יקצרון <u>והלכת</u> אחריהן

Your eyes should be on the field that they glean and
you should follow them.

ܘܗܘܝ̈ ܥ̈ܝܢܝܟܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܚܨܕܝܢ ܘܗܘܝܬܝ ܐܙܠܐ ܒܬܪܗܝܢ

You should watch where they are gleaning and you
should follow them.[24]

In all these cases the *hwā qātel* or *hwā qĕtīl* appears in direct discourse and in the
second person (singular or plural).

3.2. *hwā qātel* Translates a Hebrew *yiqtol*

a. *yiqtol* in the second person

---

[23] The *wĕqatal* ושפטתם is translated with *hwā qātel* with an ellipsis of the *hwā* (see the
previous *hwā qātel*, ܫܡܥܝܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ).

[24] The Peshitta translator creates a *hwā qātel* at the beginning of the verse (discussed
below) and the *wĕqatal* that follows is rendered *hwā qātel*.

תחגהו	Exod 12:14

you should celebrate it

ܬܗܘܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ

you should do it

תאכלו בשׂר ובבקר תשׂבעו	Exod 16:12

you will eat meat and in the morning you will be satisfied

ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܘܒܨܦܪܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܣܒܥܝܢ

you should eat meat and in the morning you will be satisfied

ששׁת ימים תלקטהו	Exod 16:26

Six days you will gather it

ܫܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܠܩܛܝܢ ܠܗ

Six days you should gather it

מדבר־שׁקר תרחק	Exod 23:7

you should stay away from a false word

ܘܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܓܠܬܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܪܚܝܩ

you should stay away from a false word

אך את־שׁבתתי תשׁמרו	Exod 31:13

You should observe the Sabbaths.

ܒܪܡ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܢܛܪܝܢ

You should observe the Sabbaths.

תאכלו	Lev 11:2

you can eat

ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ

you should eat

תקום והדרת	Lev 19:32

you shall stand and you shall honour

ܬܩܘܡ ܩܕܡ ܘܬܗܘܐ ܡܝܩܪ

you should stand and you should honour

תאכלו	Lev 25:22

you shall eat

ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ

you should eat

גאלה תתנו לארץ	Lev 25:24

you will give redemption for the land

ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܝܗܒܝܢ

you should give land redemption

Num 6:23

כה תברכו את־בני ישראל

Thus you will bless the Israelites

ܗܟܢܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܡܒܪܟܝܢ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ

Thus you should bless the Israelites

Num 10:7

ובהקהיל את־הקהל תתקעו ולא תריעו

When convoking the assembly, you shall blow the trumpet. Do not raise an alarm.

ܘܡܐ ܕܟܢܫܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܩܪܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܩܪܘܢ

When you gather the assembly, you should summon. You should not sound the trumpet.[25]

Num 28:24

כאלה תעשו ליום שבעת ימים

In this way you shall do on each day for seven days

ܘܟܢ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܟܠܝܘܡ ܒܝܘܡ ܡܚܕܐ ܫܒܥܐ

These things you should do on each day for seven days

Num 28:31

תעשו תמימם יהיו־לכם ונסכיהם

… you should make—they will be without blemish—and their drink offering

ܘܢܘܩܥܗܘܢ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ

and its grain offering, which is without blemish, you should make

Num 29:39

אלה תעשו ליהוה

These things you should do for the Lord.

ܘܟܢ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ

These things you should do for the Lord.

Deut 1:17

לא־תכירו פנים במשפט כקטן כגדל תשמעון לא תגורו מפני־איש

Do not be partial in judgment. You should listen to the small and great alike. Do not be afraid of anyone.

ܠܐ ܬܘܫܡܘܢ ܒܐܦܐ ܒܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܓܒܪܐ

Do not be partial in judgment. To the small just as to the great you should listen. Do not be afraid of anyone.

---

[25] There is an ellipsis of ܬܗܘܘܢ before ܬܩܪܘܢ.

Deut 18:15	נביא מקרבך מאחיך כמני יקים לך יהוה אלהיך אליו תשמעון

A prophet like me from amongst your brothers the Lord your God will raise up for you. To him you shall listen.

ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܟ ܡܢ ܐܚܝܟ ܐܩܝܡ ܢܩܝܡ ܠܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܠܗ ܬܫܡܥܘܢ ܬܫܡܥ

A prophet like me from amongst your brothers the Lord your God will raise up. You should listen to him.

Deut 29:8	ושמרתם את־דברי הברית הזאת ועשיתם אתם למען תשכילו את כל־אשר תעשון

Observe the words of this covenant and do them so that you will succeed in all that you do.

ܢܛܪܘ ܦܘܩܕܢܘܗܝ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܕܬܨܠܚܘܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ

Observe the commands of this law and do them so that you should enjoy success in everything that you are doing.

Josh 3:10	ויאמר יהושע בזאת <u>תדעון</u>

Joshua said, "By this you will know"

ܘܐܡܪ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܗܕܐ ܬܕܥܘܢ ܬܕܥܘܢ

Joshua said, "By this you should know"

Josh 23:13	ידוע תדעו

then you should certainly know

ܬܕܥܘܢ ܬܕܥ

you should know

1 Kgs 17:4	והיה מהנחל תשתה

From the wadi you should drink

ܘܡܢ ܢܚܠܐ ܬܫܬܐ ܬܫܬܐ

From the wadi you should drink

1 Kgs 22:25	אשר תבא חדר בחדר להחבה

that you will enter an inner room to hide

ܕܬܥܘܠ ܬܘܢܐ ܒܓܘ ܬܘܢܐ ܠܡܛܫܝܘܬܟ

that you should enter an inner room to hide

b. *yiqtol* not in the second person

There are two cases of *hwā qātel* that are not in the second person:

Num 2:16.17	יסעו

ܢܗܘܘܢ ܫܩܠܝܢ

they should set out

Both examples are in direct speech. In Num 2:34, when the orders are executed נסעו is rendered with *qātel hwā*: ܗܘܘ ܫܩܠܝܢ.

3.3. *hwā qětīl* Translates an Imperative

Josh 6:18	שמרו
	beware
	ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܙܗܝܪܝܢ
	You should be careful

3.4. *hwā qātel* Translates a Periphrastic Imperative

Exod 19:15	היו נכנים
	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܛܝܒܝܢ
	you should be prepared

3.5. The *hwā qātel* Translates an Infinitive Absolute that Functions as an Imperative

Deut 1:16

ואצוה את־שפטיכם בעת ההוא לאמר שמע בין־אחיכם
ושפטתם צדק בין־איש ובין־אחיו ובין גרו

I charged your judges at that time saying, "Listen among your brothers and judge rightly between each one, his brother or his resident alien."

ܘܦܩܕܬ ܠܕܝܢܝܟܘܢ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܫܡܥܝܢ
ܒܝܬ ܐܚܝܟܘܢ ܘܕܝܢܝܢ ܩܘܫܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ
ܘܠܬܘܬܒܗ

I commended your judges at that time and I said to them, "you should listen among your brothers and you should judge rightly between each one, his brother or his resident alien."

3.6. *hwā qātel* Translates Hebrew *yiqtol wěqatal*

Deut 12:5

כי אם־אל־המקום אשר־יבחר יהוה אלהיכם
מכל־שבטיכם לשום את־שמו שם לשכנו תדרשו ובאת
שמה

But to the place that the Lord your God chooses from all your tribes to place his name there as his dwelling you will seek and you will come there.

ܐܠܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܢܓܒܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܫܒܛܝܟܘܢ
ܠܡܣܡ ܫܡܗ ܠܬܡܢ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܪܗ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܒܥܝܢ
ܘܐܬܝܢ ܠܬܡܢ

But at the place that the Lord your God chooses from all your tribes to put his name there as his dwelling place you should seek and go there.

3.7. The *hwā qātel/qĕtīl* Appears in a Reading that Diverges from the Hebrew

Num 29:35   עצרת תהיה לכם

you will have a celebration

ܢܟܘܢ ܟܢܫܝܢ

you should assemble [26]

Ruth 2:9   עיניך בשדה אשר־יקצרון והלכת אחריהן

Your eyes should be on the field that they glean and you should follow them.

ܘܥܝܢܝܟܝ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܣܪܝܢ ܘܗܘܝܬܝ ܐܙܠܐ ܒܬܪܗܝܢ

You should watch where they are gleaning and you should follow them.

1 Chr 5:12   יואל הראש ושפם המשנה ויעני ושפט בבשן

And Joel, the chief, Shapham, second in charge, and Janai and Shaphat in Bashan.

ܘܝܘܐܝܠ ܢܦܩ ܒܪܝܫܗܘܢ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܠܦ [27] ܠܗܘܢ ܩܠܝܠ ܟܬܒܐ

Joel went out at their head. He was judging them and teaching them clearly the books.[28]

Ezra 4:22   וזהירין הוו שלו למעבד על־דנה

Be attentive to avoid negligence over this affair.

ܘܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܙܗܝܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܗܢܐ

You should be attentive concerning this affair.

3.8. A *wayyiqtol* is Translated with *hwā qātel* or *wahwā qātel*

On four occasions *hwā qātel* or *wahwā qātel* translates a *wayyiqtol* that is, in some cases, modified by elements that lend it a durative aspect.

Judg 14:17   ותבך עליו שבעת הימים

She wept before him for seven days

ܘܗܘܬ ܒܟܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ

She was weeping for those seven days

1 Kgs 18:26   ויקראו בשם הבעל מהבקר ועד הצהרים

Then they called upon the name of Baal from morning until noon.

ܘܗܘܘ ܩܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܒܥܠܐ ܡܢ ܨܦܪܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܗܪܐ

They were calling on the name of Baal from morning until noon.

---

[26] Peshitta MSS 9l2 reads ܟܢܫܘ.

[27] Peshitta MSS 9a1 *fam* read ܟܠܗ (without *seyame*).

[28] The Peshitta reads ושפם as a *wĕqatal*.

1 Kgs 18:29 ויהי כעבר הצהרים <u>ויתנבאו</u> עד לעלות המנחה

As midday passed, they prophesied until the offering of the sacrifice.

ܘܟܕ ܥܒܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܛܗܪܐ ܡܬܢܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܝܟܐ ܩܠܐ ܩܗܠܐ ܡܩܪܒܐ

As midday passed, they were prophesying until the moment to offer the sacrifice.

2 Chr 26:8 וילך שמו עד־לבוא מצרים

So his name spread as far as the border of Egypt.

ܘܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܠܝ ܫܡܗ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ

His name was travelling as far as the land of Egypt.

In the first three cases the *wayyiqtol* has a durative aspect.[29] In the fourth case it seems that the translator interpreted the *wayyiqtol*, וילך, as a past durative.[30] In none of these cases is the *hwā qātel* in direct speech. Perhaps in the Peshitta translation *(wa)hwā qātel* had entered into the language of the translator to express a past durative aspect.

3.9. *hwā qātel* Translates Various Hebrew Constructions

In 2 Chr 26:5 there are three examples of *(wa)hwā qātel*. The first one translates the Hebrew construction ויהי + l + an infinitive construct, the second translates an attributive participle and the third one is a creation of the translator.

2 Chr 26:5 ויהי לדרש אלהים בימי זכריהו המבין בראת האלהים ובימי דרשו את־יהוה הצליחו האלהים:

He was to seek God in the days of Zechariah who taught him the fear of God. In the days of his seeking the Lord, God made him prosper.

ܘܗܘܐ ܡܨܠܐ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܒܝܘܡܘܗܝ ܕܙܟܪܝܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܦܝܣ ܠܗ ܒܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܩܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܘܪܚܬܗ

And he was praying before him in the days of Zechariah who was convincing him in the fear of the Lord. The Lord was establishing all his ways.

This verse offers further evidence that the construction *wahwā qātel* had entered into the Syriac language in a limited way to express a past durative.

4. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In 21 cases *hwā qātel* or *hwā qĕtīl* translates a *yiqtol*: Exod 12:14; 16:12.26; 31:13; Lev 11:2; 19:32; 25:22.24; Num 2:16.17; 6:23; 10:7; 28:24; 29:39; Deut 1:17; 12:5; 18:15; 29:8; Josh 3:10; 23:13; 1 Kgs 17:4; 22:25. In Josh 23:13, the *yiqtol* is modified by an

---

[29] The two cases from 1 Kings are discussed by P.J. Williams in his *Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings*, 113.

[30] These Peshitta readings could reflect a Hebrew exemplar different from the MT.

infinitive absolute that is not rendered in the Peshitta. In 13 cases a *hwā qātel* or *hwā qĕtīl* translates a *wĕqatal*: Gen 47:24; Exod 1:16 (3 times); 18:19; Lev 25:3; Deut 1:16 (2 times) 23:14 (2 times); Josh 1:8; Ruth 2:9. In all cases the *hwā qātel* is in direct speech and in all cases but two (Num 2:16.17) it is in the second person. In single cases a *hwā qātel* or *qĕtīl* translates an imperative (Josh 6:18), a periphrastic imperative (Exod 19:15) and an infinitive absolute that functions as an imperative (Deut 1:16). On four occasions the Peshitta translation diverges from the Hebrew text with a *hwā qātel* or *qĕtīl* and three of those cases express deontic modality: Num 29:35; Ruth 2:9; Ezra 4:22. In the fourth case, 1 Chr 5:12, *hwā qātel* translates a *wĕqatal* that has a past durative aspect (it is not in direct speech).

The evidence here indicates that in the Peshitta a *hwā qātel* in the second person and in direct speech expresses a deontic modality of obligation. In many cases the action to which the speaker obligates the addressee has an iterative aspect. The first example of *hwā qātel* appears in Gen 47:24:

<div dir="rtl">

והיה בתבואת ונתתם חמישית לפרעה

ܘܗܘܐ ܘܕܠܠ ܡܟܠܬܐ ܘܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܝܗܒܝܢ ܚܡܫ ܡܢ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ܂
</div>

> When the harvest comes in, you should give one-fifth to Pharaoh.

The addressee is obliged to pay a tax to Pharaoh at every harvest. The second example of *hwā qātel* in the Peshitta is again in direct speech and expresses a deontic modality with an iterative aspect:

<div dir="rtl">

Exod 1:16 ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܝܢ ܡܐ ܘܡܘܩܢ ܐܢܬܝܢ ܡܬܩܢ ܠܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܗܘܝܬܝܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܡܐ ܘܕܢܚܢ ܠܗܝܢ ܘܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܟܪܐ ܗܘ ܗܝ ܩܛܠܐ ܗܘ ܘܗܘܝܬܝܢ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܗ܂
</div>

> He said to them, "When you are assisting the Hebrew women in giving birth, you should see them when they are crouching to give birth. If it is a boy, you should kill him; if it is a girl, you should let her live."

In the next verse, which reports the subsequent action of the midwives, the Hebrew has a *wayyiqtol* whereas the Peshitta has *qātel hwā*:

<div dir="rtl">

Exod 1:17 ותיראן המילדת את־האלהים ולא עשו כאשר דבר אליהן מלך מצרים ותחיין את־הילדים
</div>

> The midwives feared God and they did not do as the king of Egypt had told them. They allowed the boys to live.

<div dir="rtl">

ܘܕܚܠܝ ܚܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܪܝܢ ܡܚܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܠܛܠܝܐ܂
</div>

> The midwives feared God and they did not do as the king of Egypt had told them. They were allowing the boys to live.

The Peshitta views the action of allowing the males to live as iterative and thus it renders the *wayyiqtol* (ותחיין) with *qātel hwā* (ܘܡܚܣܝ ܗܘܝ), illustrating the relationship between the iterative aspect of the obligation expressed with *hwā qātel* in Exod 1:16 and its iterative execution expressed with *qātel hwā* in Exod 1:17 despite the Hebrew *wayyiqtol*. A similar example appears in Num 2:16 where the obligation is expressed with *hwā qātel* (ܘܗܘ ܡܥܠ ܝܣܥܘ) and its execution is expressed with *qātel hwā* (Num 2:34: נסעו ܗܘܘ ܡܥܠ).

The close relationship in the Peshitta between the *hwā qātel* and the imperative is illustrated in Lev 19:32:

<div dir="rtl">מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן ויראת מאלהיך אני יהוה</div>

You shall rise before the elder and defer to the aged; and you shall fear your God. I am the Lord.

<div dir="rtl">ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܣܒܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܩܐܡ ܘܗܘܝܬ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܡܢ ܕܪܒ ܡܢܟ ܘܕܚܠ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ</div>

You should stand before the elder and you should honour whoever is senior to you. Fear your God. I am the Lord your God.

The first *hwā qātel* (ܗܘܝܬ ܩܐܡ) translates a *yiqtol* (תקום) that is followed by a *wĕqatal* (והדרת), which is translated with *hwā qātel* (ܘܗܘܝܬ ܡܝܩܪ). But *wĕqatal* that follows (ויראת) is translated with an imperative (ܘܕܚܠ). The deontic modality expressed by *hwā qātel* overlaps with the imperative modality.

The *hwā qātel* formula appears often in regulations or rituals that are to be continually observed or repeated at regular intervals:

Exod 31:13	<div dir="rtl">ואתה דבר אל־בני ישראל לאמר אך את־שבחתי תשמרו</div>
	You, say to the Israelites, "My Sabbaths you should observe."
	<div dir="rtl">ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܫܒܐ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܢܛܪܝܢ</div>
	You, say to the Israelites, "You should keep the Sabbaths."

Other instances where the *hwā qātel* expresses deontic modality and has an iterative or durative aspect appear in Exod 16:26; 18:19; 23:7; 31:13; Lev 11:2; 19:32; 25:3.22.24; Num 6:23; 10:7; 28:24.31; 29:39; Deut 1:16–17; 12:5; 18:15; 23:14; 29:8; and 1 Kgs 17:4.

These cases confirm that the *hwā qātel* construction can express an "obligation of general and universal applicability,"[31] as Muraoka has pointed out. Complementing his insight are a few examples in narrative texts where the *hwā qātel* expresses an obligation that is limited to a specific occasion and the iterative aspect is less apparent. In 1 Kgs 22:25 the prophet Micaiah warns Zedekiah:

---

[31] Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists*, §72.

ויאמר מיכיהו הנך ראה ביום ההוא אשר <u>תבא</u> חדר בחדר להחבה

Then Micaiah said, "You will see on that day that <u>you will enter</u> an inner room to hide."

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܝܟܐ ܗܐ ܡܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܬܥܘܠ ܠܗ <u>ܠܬܘܢܐ</u> ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܠܗܝ ܠܡܬܛܫܝܘ

Micah said to him, "You will see on that day that <u>you should enter</u> an inner room to hide."

In Josh 6:18, Joshua explains how the city of Jericho will be conquered. He orders the people to be careful with the booty devoted to God.

ורק־אתם שמרו מן־החרם

Only be careful with the booty devoted to God.

ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܙܗܝܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܪܡܐ

You should be careful with the booty devoted to God.

Similar examples in which the iterative aspect is less apparent appear in Josh 23:13; Ruth 2:9; and 1 Kgs 22:25.

The constructions *neqtol, nehwe qātel* and *hwā qātel* appear to be related in meaning. In Numbers 2 God tells Moses the proper order for the encampment of the tribes of Israel. In Num 2:9 the first group is assigned to set out, and the phrase ראשנה יסעו is rendered ܩܕܡܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ. In Num 2:16 the second group is assigned to march out, and the phrase ושנים יסעו is rendered ܘܕܬܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ. The third group to march out appears in Num 2:24: ושלשים יסעו ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܗܘܘ,[32] and the last group to march out is mentioned in Num 2:31: לאחרנה יסעו ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ... ܒܚܪܬܐ. The same verb, יסעו, is rendered twice with *nehwe qātel*, once with *neqtol* and once with *hwā qātel*. As in Exod 1:17, when the "marching out" is executed in Num 2:24, the Peshitta has a *qātel hwā*, ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܗܘܘ for MT נסעו, underscoring the iterative aspect of this action that is expressed with three different constructions in the Peshitta.

The Peshitta translation in Exod 16:12 suggests that for some translators there may have been a subtle distinction between *hwā qātel* and *nehwe qātel*: תאכלו is translated with *hwā qātel*, "You should eat" while the verb that follows, another *yiqtol* expressing the logical consequence, תשבעו, "you will be satisfied," is rendered *nehwe qātel*. Perhaps *hwā qātel* has a stronger nuance of obligation than *nehwe qātel*.

The construction *hwā qātel* cannot be negated. In Exod 23:7 a *hwā qātel* expresses a deontic modality of obligation:

מדבר־שקר תרחק

From a false word you should keep distant.

ܘܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܓܠܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܪܚܝܩ

From a lying word you should keep distant.

In the verse that follows (Exod 23:8), a command is given with a negated *yiqtol*.

---

[32] Peshitta MS 7pj2 reads ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܗܘܘ.

<div dir="rtl">

ושחד לא תקח
</div>

ܫܘܚܕܐ ܠܐ ܬܩܒܠ

You shall not take a bribe.

Both תרחק and תקח express obligation and have an iterative aspect, but the *hwā qātel/qětīl* construction cannot be negated. Another example appears in Deut 1:17 where תשמעון לא תגורו is rendered ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠܘܢ ܘܬܫܡܥܘܢ. [33]

A few problematic cases suggest that translators or later copyists did not understand the function of *hwā qātel*. In Deut 29:8 a *hwā qātel*, introduced with ܘ, follows an imperative:

<div dir="rtl">

Deut 29:8   ושמרתם את־דברי הברית הזאת ועשיתם אתם למען
תשכילו את כל־אשר תעשׂון:
</div>

Observe the words of this covenant and do them so that you will succeed in all that you do.

ܛܪܘ ܦܘܩܕܢܘܗܝ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܨܠܚܝܢ
ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ

Observe the commands of this law and do them so that you should enjoy success in everything that you are doing.

The translator interpreted ועשיתם with an imperatival force, ܘܥܒܕܘ, and then rendered למען תשכילו with ܘܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܡܨܠܚܝܢ ܕܒܟܠ. Is this construction equivalent to ܕ + the prefix verb form, indicating purpose or logical consequence after an imperative?[34] It is noteworthy that Peshitta MSS 9a1*fam* reads the more expected form ܡܨܠܚܝܢ ܘܬܗܘܘܢ. This use of *hwā qātel* in a dependent clause is unique.

5. CONCLUSION

The data presented here clarifies how the construction *hwā qātel* was employed by the Peshitta translator(s) and it provides criteria for distinguishing a *hwā qātel* that expresses deontic modality from a *hwā qātel* that has a past durative aspect.

1. The normal construction to express a past durative aspect in the Syriac of the Peshitta OT is *qātel hwā* not *hwā qātel*. When the Hebrew text has היה + predicate participle, the translator normally reversed the order of the words. There is no instance where the Hebrew text has a participle followed by היה and the Peshitta has written *hwā qātel*.

2. When the Hebrew text has ויהי followed by a participle, the Peshitta can imitate the Hebrew construction with *wahwā qātel*. The data also suggests that *wahwā qātel* is not idiomatic Syriac since there are many examples where the translator did not mirror the ויהי in Syriac and in two examples the translator rendered it with *qātel hwā*. Where the Hebrew text has the two constructions — ויהי + participle and היה

---

[33] There is an unusual case in Num 10:7 where a participle is negated and there appears to be an ellipsis of *hwā*: ܘܗܘܝ ܠܟܢ ܘܠܐ ܬܩܪܘܢ.

[34] In 1 Kgs 22:25 the *hwā qātel* appears in a relative clause ܕܗܘܝܬ ܐܙܠ.

+ participle — in close proximity, the Peshitta imitates the first with *waḥwā qātel* and renders the second with *qātel ḥwā.*

3. On four occasions *waḥwā qātel* or *ḥwā qātel*, expressing a past durative aspect, translates a *wayyiqtol* that, because of elements that modify it, also has a past durative aspect. In 1 and 2 Chronicles five examples of a (*wa*)*ḥwā qātel* with a past durative aspect (1 Chr 5:12 and 2 Chr 26:5.8) translate various Hebrew constructions. On four other occasions, the Peshitta mirrors Hebrew היה + predicate participle in Syriac (Gen 4:2; Dan 10:2; Neh 3:26; 6:14). With the exception of Gen 4:2 (which can be explained as a harmonization), these examples come from books translated around 200 CE (after the majority of biblical books were translated), and they suggest that *ḥwā qātel* with a past durative aspect had entered into the Syriac language of the translator of Chronicles, Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.

4. The construction *ḥwā qātel* in the Peshitta expresses deontic modality and it most often translates *yitqol* or *wĕqatal* in the second person in direct speech. In some cases, the Hebrew *yitqol* has a modal nuance while in other cases the modal nuance of the Hebrew *yiqtol* is less pronounced, but the Peshitta translator has interpreted it as expressing a deontic modality.

5. The construction *ḥwā qātel* cannot be negated.

Finally, this study of the translator's use of *ḥwā qātel* witnesses to the elegance of the language of the OT Peshitta version. By employing this construction, the translator made explicit the deontic modality in Syriac that remains implicit in the Hebrew text.

CHAPTER 6:
THE SEMANTICS OF SYRIAC MOTION VERBS IN EXODUS CHAPTERS 1–19, PART II

Paul S. Stevenson

The Catholic University of America

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 ܟܢܫ and ܟܢܣ, 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

The purpose of this article is to include the verbs of motion in the Peshitta to Exodus 1–19[1] which limitations of space prevented me from including in my previous article on this topic.[2] This remainder consists of the less common verbs in the corpus. It is assumed that the reader has already read the previous article, which contains important background information that is not repeated in the present article.

In the time since I submitted the first article for publication I have found an article by Pelio Fronzaroli[3] that discusses componential analysis, upon which my analysis is based, and applies it to Biblical Hebrew. Fronzaroli begins by giving a

---

[1] The text used is that of the Leiden Peshitta: *Preface, Genesis-Exodus. (Part I, fascicle 1 of The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version).*

[2] "The Semantics of Syriac Motion Verbs in Exodus Chapters 1–19," to appear in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV*.

[3] "Componential Analysis," in *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 6 (1993): 79–91.

broad overview of the various approaches to this form of analysis. I will not repeat this material, but it does give me a basis on which to specify where my approach fits in the existing milieu of approaches that go by this name. I was originally trained as a descriptive field linguist. My approach to componential analysis springs from the American ethno-anthropological tradition.[4] I am not greatly interested in theory *per se*. Rather, I am interested in approaches to linguistic analysis that help us understand, within a language's own frame of reference, how it functions.

Consequently, the notion of compiling "semantic alphabets" or "universal mental dictionaries"[5] is not among my goals. Indeed, I am in complete agreement with Fronzaroli that such a project is "illusory"[6] in any event. It only requires sufficiently deep experience with a few different languages and cultures to see that speakers of language A do not merely "encode" the same thoughts and experiences in a way different from that of speakers of language B. Rather, the very thoughts and experiences to be encoded differ considerably from one language and culture to another. Certain experiences are common to all members of the human race, but many experiences are not. The thought worlds that grow up around these varied experiences can be astonishingly diverse. Traditional Mayans, among whom I have spent many years, believe that they must bury their dead in the ground. Parsees of India believe that they should expose the dead on raised platforms to be consumed by carrion birds. This is hardly the place to explain the thought-worlds behind the respective practices of these peoples; I merely wish to give an example of the stark differences that make it quite impossible to elaborate a universal set of sememes that might serve as a filter for the analysis of the vocabularies of all languages.

I should also make clear that I agree with Lyons[7] that the semantic components I propose here do not, or rather would not, have any "psychological reality" for the native speakers of Classical Syriac, were any still available to offer comment. Rather, these components are simply a heuristic device employed by modern linguists in their efforts to understand how native speakers employed words which to them were unanalyzable lexical units.

The means by which I arrived at the selection of components to be considered was intuitive, not "mechanical." I was aware of the dictionary definitions of the words, but I examined them in their contexts in Exodus in order to determine precisely how they were used and which semantic components would best explain their uses. This is, incidentally, the procedure that Sawyer says is necessary.[8]

2. The Semantic Features of the Remaining Verbs of Motion

As in the previous article, six case roles are considered in the description of the semantics of each verb: **actor, agent, patient, source, path** and **goal**. Other

---

[4] See Fronzaroli, "Componential Analysis," 81.

[5] R. Simone, *Fondamenti di linguistica*, 491ff.

[6] Fronzaroli, "Componential Analysis," 83.

[7] J. Lyons, *Structural Semantics I*, 333ff.

[8] Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*, 59.

relevant semantic features examined are **horizontal movement, vertical movement, speed** and **boundary crossing**.

For the purpose of organizing the verbs into coherent categories, it proved useful to consider whether their movement was oriented toward the GOAL, the PATH, or the SOURCE. It further proved useful to consider whether the point of view of the speaker was the SOURCE, the GOAL, or an omniscient point of view. The categories of non-movement and change of posture are also necessary to round out the variety of verbs related to motion. The categories resulting from the various combinations of these factors found in the data are:

1. GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE
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

2.1. Detailed Classification of Verbs According to Semantic Features

The following lists of verbs include several types of information. The first line includes basic identificational data: number,[9] verb, stem type, transitivity, brief gloss.[10] 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.[11] For many verbs there is a section called "Further 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

1.27 ܛܒܥ Peal (intrans.) *sink*

Definition: An actor moves, not under its own power, from a source, along a path consisting of water, to a goal that is at a lower altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The path (marked with ܒ) is water. The goal is implicitly the bottom of the body of water.

---

[9] The numbers in each section are a continuation of those used in the previous article.

[10] These glosses are not intended to be an exhaustive list of translation equivalents. Each one consists of a word or short phrase merely for convenience of reference.

[11] The means for indicating patients are not relevant for understanding the semantic categories specifically related to motion, so I do not catalog them.

Further specifications: As with ܛܘܣ 'fly' (1.31), the medium is "marked" (i.e., it is not the default medium, the surface of dry ground).

References: 15:5,10<ܒ marks the path: "They sank *in deep waters.*">,16

1.28 ܛܒܥ Pael (trans.) *cause to drown*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to be covered in deep water by causing the water to flow over the patient while the patient is on solid ground. The presence of the deep layer of water over the patient causes the patient to drown.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine, patient is human.

Further specifications: A more typical usage would presumably be for the patient to be caused to sink from the surface of a body of water, but that is not how the verb is used in the example in the corpus (15:4).

Reference: 15:4

1.29 ܥܪܒ Peal (intrans.) *set (sun)*

Definition: An actor moves under its own power from a source, along a path, to a goal that is at a lower altitude than the source. The goal has a fixed boundary below which the actor descends.

Categories of arguments: The actor is inanimate (the sun). The implicit goal and boundary are inanimate (the western horizon). The implicit source is the highest point in the sun's arc as it appears to traverse the sky.

Further specifications: This verb shares with ܥܒܪ 'cross' (5.1) the feature of having a single location that is both a goal and a boundary.

Reference: 17:12

1.30 ܐܪܟܒ Aphel (trans.) *cause someone to mount*

Definition: An agent causes a patient, partially under his or her own power, to move from a source, along a path, to a goal that is higher than the source and on which the patient sits.

Categories of arguments: The lone instance of this verb (4:20) refers to a human agent (Moses) causing human patients (Moses' wife and sons) to ascend to a position in which they are sitting on an animate entity (a donkey, the goal, marked with ܥܠ).

Reference: 4:20 <ܥܠ marks the goal: "And he mounted them *on a donkey.*">

1.31 ܛܘܣ Peal (intrans.) *fly*

Definition: An actor moves, not under its own power, along a path, consisting of air, to a goal that is lower in altitude than the path.

Categories of arguments: The actor is inanimate (soot). Its movement is implicitly understood to be powered by air currents. The goal (marked with ܒ) is animate (human and non-human: people and cattle).

Further specifications: As with ܛܒܥ 'sink' (1.27), the medium is "marked" (i.e., it is not the default medium, the surface of dry ground).

Reference: 9:10<ܒ marks the goal: "And it flew/spread *onto people* and *onto cattle.*">

1.32 ܫܘܕ Peal (trans.) *send*

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 that is at a lower altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine, the patient is inanimate (thunder and hail) and the implicit goal is inanimate (the earth).

Further specifications: In this use of ܫܘܕ as a motion verb, it is synonymous with ܐܚܬ 'send down' (1.21) as used in this corpus.

Reference: 9:23

1.33 ܐܡܛܪ Aphel (trans.) *cause to rain*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move from a source, along a path, consisting of air, to a goal that is at a lower altitude than the source.

Categories of arguments: In the lone example of this verb in the corpus (16:4), the agent is divine, the patient is inanimate (bread), the source (marked with ܡܢ) is a geographical location (heaven/the sky), and the goal is implicit (the ground).

Further specifications: The semantic difference between this verb and one such as ܐܪܡܝ 'throw' (1.20) is that this verb refers to sending something down in small pieces, over a relatively large area, over a relatively long time, whereas ܐܪܡܝ generally has as its patient a single item, or at least a small, readily measurable number of items (or quantity of a non-count noun), which descends on a very small area, in a moment of time.

The semantic difference between this verb and ܫܘܕ 'send' (1.32) and ܐܚܬ 'send down' (1.21) is that this verb has a very different sort of patient (bread vs. thunder and hail) which goes to a very different sort of goal (people vs. ground), and presumably descends with much less force.

Reference: 16:4 <ܡܢ marks the source: "I am going to cause to rain down for you bread *from heaven*.">

1.34 ܛܪܐ Peal (trans.) *throw*

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 lower altitude than the source. The agent releases the patient before it reaches the goal, causing it to enter into an uncontrolled fall. The agent has exerted sufficient force on the patient that it moves with considerable speed after being released.

Categories of arguments: The agent is divine (the Lord). The patients are inanimate and animate (Pharaoh's chariots and army). The implicit source is the land on which the patients originally stood. The implicit path is air. The goal (marked with ܒ) is inanimate (the sea).

Further specifications: This verb appears to be absolutely synonymous with ܐܪܡܝ (1.20) in its single use in this corpus. In the Song of Moses, in 15:1 ܐܪܡܝ is used to speak of throwing Pharaoh's army into the sea, and in 15:4 ܛܪܐ is used to express the same action. Thus, in this corpus, ܛܪܐ appears to be simply a stylistic variant of ܐܪܡܝ used for poetic elegance.

The semantic difference between ܪܡܐ and ܘܪܝ (1.22) is that ܪܡܐ refers to propelling relatively large, solid objects downward, to a location from which they can be recovered if the agent wishes; whereas ܪܝ refers to hurling a mass of infinitesimally small objects upward to be scattered by air currents, a location from which the agent would be unable to recover them.

Reference: 15:4 <ܒ marks the goal: "And he [the Lord] threw Pharaoh's chariots and his army *into the sea*.">

1.35 ܐܬܚܡܠ Ethpaal (intrans.) *be piled up*

Definition: An actor, impelled by an implicit agent, causes a patient to move, not under its own power, into a particular physical configuration, namely, a trough with stable walls on either side and no barriers on either end.

Categories of arguments: The implicit agent is divine, the actor is inanimate (wind) and the patient is water (the Sea of Reeds).

More specifically, the lone instance of this verb (15:8), in Moses' song of triumph, refers to water being piled up as God causes wind to blow on it. As I analyze it, the goal is a particular shape, the boundary is the edge of a pile, the agent is God and the instrument is wind.

Reference: 15:8

2. GOAL-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL

2.7 ܡܛܝ Pael (trans.) *befall*

Definition: An actor arrives at a goal, which is also the patient and is negatively affected.

Categories of arguments: The actor is inanimate (war) and the goal/patient is human (Egyptians).

In the lone example of this verb in the corpus (1:10), an inanimate undesirable activity (war) is viewed as coming upon a human patient (Egyptians). It is debatable whether this should even properly be considered a verb of motion. I have decided to treat it as such because the speaker seems to have considered it to be such, but it is really just a figurative way of saying something like, "people come to us and attack us."

Further specifications: Like ܐܬܐ 'come' (2.1), but unlike the Peal of this same root ܡܛܐ 'arrive' (1.14), the point of view of the speaker is clearly the goal (the speaker himself), and not the source (which could be any of a number of unspecified locations).

Reference: 1:10

3. SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of SOURCE

3.12 ܠܢܕ Peal (trans.) *drive away*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, under its own power or not under its own power, from a source.

Categories of arguments: The agent and the patient are human.

Further specifications: This verb is semantically distinguished from ܐܦܩ 'lead out' (3.7) by the fact that the agent of ܐܦܩ accompanies the patient, whereas the agent of ܛܪܕ remains in place.

This verb is semantically distinguished from ܫܕܪ 'send' (3.11) in that it implies greater vehemence on the part of the agent than does ܫܕܪ. Also, ܫܕܪ involves a patient that is sent to the goal for a specific purpose, whereas the patient of ܛܪܕ is not caused to go for any particular purpose; simple expulsion from a particular location is what is in view.

Reference: 2:17

4. SOURCE-oriented movement, point of view of GOAL

All the verbs in this category were treated in the previous article.

5. PATH-oriented movement, omniscient point of view

5.4 ܗܠܟ Pael (intrans.) *walk*

Definition: An actor moves, under its own power, along a path.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or inanimate. The path (marked with ܥܠ or ܒ) is inanimate (a geographical location [river bank, land, seabed] or a metaphorical one [laws]). This verb is used figuratively to speak of a long series of frequent lightning strikes (9:23). It is also used figuratively to speak of a person's way of life (16:4).

Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܙܠ (1.1), ܐܬܐ (2.1)

References: 2:5 <ܥܠ marks the path: "And her maidservants were walking *beside the river*.">; 9:23 <ܥܠ marks the path: "And fire was moving *over the land*.">; 14:29 <ܒ marks the path: "And the children of Israel walked *through the sea*.">; 15:19 <ܒ marks the path: "And the children of Israel walked *on dry ground* in the sea.">; 16:4 <ܒ marks the path: "If they walk *in my laws...*">

5.5 ܐܘܒܠ √ܝܒܠ Aphel (trans.) *lead*

Definition: One agent causes another agent to cause a patient to move, under its own power, in the company of the latter agent, along a path, to a goal.

Categories of arguments: Double causation is involved:[12] One agent, which is divine (God), causes another agent, which is human (Moses, who is implicit in the lone clause with this verb, 13:17), to cause a patient, which is human (people) to move. The path (marked with ܒ) and the goal (implicit) are inanimate (geographical locations).

Further specifications: Synonymous with Pael of ܕܒܪ (3.9)

Same semantic domain: ܐܝܬܝ (2.2), ܐܦܩ (3.7), ܢܦܩ (5.6)

---

[12] See verbs 3.8 and 3.9 (the Peal and Pael, respectively, of ܕܒܪ) in Stevenson, "The Semantics of Syriac Motion Verbs," for an illustration of why it is necessary to posit double, rather than simple, causation for this verb.

Reference: 13:17 <ܒ marks the path: "God did not lead them *along the road* of the land of the Philistines.">

5.6 ܫܩܠ Peal (trans.) *carry*

Definition: An actor causes a patient to move, not under its own power, along a path.
Categories of arguments: The actor is human (Moses). The patient is inanimate (bones).
Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܬܐ (2.2), ܩܛܠ (5.2)
Reference: 13:19

5.7 ܐܫܒ √ܢܫܒ Aphel (trans.) *cause to blow*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, along a path.
Categories of arguments: The agent is divine (God). The patient is inanimate (wind). The issue of whether or not the wind was believed to move under its own power is debatable. If it is seen as inanimate air being pushed by God (in the fashion of a person squirting water out of a hose), then it was not moving under its own power. If, though, the wind was seen to be a kind of living spirit (as seems to have been the case in much of the ancient world), it would have to be considered to be moving under its own power, though at the behest of God.
Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܪܕܐ (1.22), ܐܪܕܝ (5.8)
Reference: 15:10

5.8 ܐܪܕܝ Aphel (trans.) *cause to flow*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to move, not under its own power, along a path.
Categories of arguments: The lone occurrence of this verb in the corpus (3:17) is figurative. The agent (land) and the patients (milk and honey) are inanimate.
Further specifications: The main difference between this verb and ܐܪܕܐ 'scatter' (1.22) is that the substance that moves is liquid, not a collection of solid entities. Although the use is figurative, the liquid is conceived of as continuously flowing from a source in order to continuously cover a large geographical area (the implicit goal).
Same semantic domain: ܐܪܕܐ (1.22), ܐܫܒ (5.7)
Reference: 3:17

6. Non-movement

6.3 ܩܘܡ Peal (intrans.) *remain*

Definition: An actor does not move.
Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The single example of this verb in the corpus (14:13) is used as an exhortation to people not to move, translatable as 'Stand firm!' Thus, some exercise of volition on the part of the actors is contemplated.

Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܬܟܠ̈ܣ (6.2), ܩܘܡ (6.4), ܩܘܡ (6.5), ܩܘܡ (6.1)
Transitive counterpart: ܩܒܠ (4.1)
Reference: 14:13

6.4 ܩܘܡ Peal (intrans.) *remain*

Definition: An actor does not move.

Categories of arguments: The actor is inanimate (rain). The single example of this verb in the corpus (9:33) refers to a meteorological phenomenon (rain) that did not continue ("stay") in a particular geographical location ("the land," i.e., Egypt). The location is marked with ܥܠ and can perhaps be analyzed as the goal of the non-movement, that is, the location from which movement does not occur. However, this analysis is at first glance so unusual that I consider it wise to gather more data before making a definitive statement.

Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܬܟܠ̈ܣ (6.2), ܓܠܙ (6.3), ܩܘܡ (6.5), ܩܘܡ (6.1)
Transitive counterpart: ܩܒܠ (4.1)
Reference: 9:33 <ܥܠ may mark the goal: "And the rain did not remain *on the land*.">

6.5 ܩܘܡ Peal (intrans.) *remain*

Definition: An actor does not move.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human. The single example of this verb in the corpus (9:28) is negated and refers to people who are no longer being obliged to stay in a particular location (Egypt).

Further specifications: Same semantic domain: ܐܬܟܠ̈ܣ (6.2), ܓܠܙ (6.3), ܩܘܡ (6.4), ܩܘܡ (6.1)
Transitive counterpart: ܩܒܠ (4.1)
Reference: 9:28

6.6 ܫܪܐ Peal (intrans.) *come to a stop*

Definition: An actor reaches a goal and ceases to move.

Categories of arguments: The actor is human or non-human animate (people, locusts). The basic meaning of the verb is to halt at a specified location (the goal, marked with ܒ or ܥܠ). In the corpus it refers either to locusts settling on an area or to people stopping their march in order to set up camp.

References: 10:14 <ܒ marks the goal: "And it [locust swarm] settled *in all the boundary of Egypt*.">; 13:20 <ܒ marks the goal: "And they camped *in Etham*, which is on the edge of the wilderness.">; 14:2 <ܥܠ marks the goal: "They will turn back and camp at *Pi Hahiroth*...">; 15:27 <ܥܠ marks the goal: "And they camped there *by the water*.">; 17:1 <ܒ marks the goal: "And they camped *in Rephidim*.">; 19:2<ܒ marks the goal: "And they camped *in the wilderness*.">

6.7 ܐܫܪܐ Aphel (trans.) *call a halt*

Definition: An agent causes a patient to cease moving after reaching a goal.

Categories of arguments: The actor is divine and the patient is human. The goal (marked with ܒ) is inanimate (a geographical location).

Reference: 13:21 <ܒ marks the goal: "And the Lord was going before them… to call a halt for them *on the road*.">

7. Change of posture

7.2 ܝܬܒ Peal (intrans.) *sit down*

Definition: An actor in a stationary location lowers his body into a sitting position (which can be considered the goal).

Categories of arguments: The actor is human.

Further specifications: This verb focuses on the movement of the body in a stationary location, rather than horizontal or vertical movement from one point to another. The verb can be used figuratively to refer to a person taking up residence in a particular location (2:21: Moses takes up residence with Reuel/Jethro).

Antonym: ܩܘܡ in sense of 'arise' (7.3)

References: 2:15, 21; 17:12

7.3 ܩܘܡ Peal (intrans.) *arise*

Definition: An actor in a stationary location raises his body to a standing position (which can be considered the goal).

Categories of arguments: The actor is human.

Further specifications: This verb focuses on the movement of the body in a stationary location, rather than horizontal or vertical movement from one point to another. The verb can be used figuratively to refer to a person taking up a position of authority (1:8, Pharaoh enthroned). The verb is used figuratively (15:8) of water that is caused to accumulate in a mound.

Antonym: ܝܬܒ (7.2)

This verb is also used with the meaning 'remain' (6.1).

References: 1:8; 2:17; 10:23; 12:30,31; 15:8

2.2. Comments on Prepositions Used to Mark Oblique Objects

In the previous article I gave a detailed listing of how various prepositions are used to mark oblique arguments.[13] The functions of prepositions used with the verbs in the present article are largely the same. I will only point out a few exceptional cases here.

For ܦܪܚ 'fly' (1.31), ܒ is used rather than the expected ܥܠ. This exception is found in a few cases in the previous article. The pertinent ones are (a) with ܣܠܩ (1.4), in which frogs go up onto people (Ex 7:29), and (b) with ܩܪܒ (1.10), in which hands go near a person who is to be stoned (Ex 19:13). These two examples share with the present use of ܒ with ܦܪܚ in Exodus 9:10 the fact that a highly unpleasant phenomenon is in view. In the present case, it is particles of soot settling on people and cattle to cause painful eruptions on the skin.

---

[13] See section 2.4 of the article cited.

The other exceptional cases are related to the verb ܡܠܟ (5.4). There are two cases in which ܥܠ marks the path, rather than the expected ܒ. In Exodus 2:5, the maidservants of Pharaoh's daughter are walking ܥܠ ܝܕ (beside) the river. In Exodus 9:23, lightning is moving ܥܠ (over) the land, striking repeatedly. In both of these cases, the use of ܥܠ is similar to its ordinary use as a marker of goals when physical contact is in focus.

3. COMPARISON OF SYRIAC STEM TYPES WITH HEBREW STEM TYPES

This treatment of the relationship between Syriac and Hebrew stem types continues the study begun in the previous article. Syriac roots are listed in alphabetical order, and the Hebrew roots they translate are shown. The stem type used in the text is also named in each case.

Syriac		Hebrew	
Verb	Stem Type	Verb	Stem Type
ܗܠܟ	Pael	הלך	Qal
ܠܒܥ	Peal	— (1x)	No corresponding Hebrew word
		צלל (1x) דמם (1x)	Qal in both cases
	Pael	טבע (1x)	Pual (intransitive in Hebrew, transitive in Syriac)
ܬܪܟ	Peal	גרש	Piel
ܢܚܠ	Aphel	נחה	Qal
ܢܬܒ	Peal	נתן	Qal
ܝܬܒ	Peal	ישב	Qal
ܢܨܒ	Peal	יצב	Hitpael
ܩܪܐ	Pael	קרא	Qal
ܢܛܪ	Aphel	מטר	Hiphil
ܢܣܒ	Peal	לקח	Qal
ܢܫܒ	Aphel	נשף	Qal
ܢܣܟ	Peal	נתך	Niphal (different meaning from Syriac: 'be poured out')
ܢܦܩ	Peal	בוא	Qal
ܢܦܨ	Ethpaal	ערם	Niphal

Syriac		Hebrew	
Verb	Stem Type	Verb	Stem Type
ܩܘܡ	Peal	עמד	Qal
ܦܪܚ	Peal	פרח	Qal
ܩܘܡ	Peal 'arise'	קום (mostly) נצב (1x)	Qal Niphal
ܩܪܒ	Pael intransitive	נגש	Niphal
ܙܘܥ	Aphel	זוב	Qal
ܪܟܒ	Aphel	רכב	Hiphil
ܐܪܐ	Peal	ירה	Qal
ܐܢܚ	Peal	חנה (5x) נוח (1x)	Qal Hiphil
	Aphel	—	No corresponding Hebrew word

The same generalizations given in the previous article continue to be valid:

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 Qal or Hiphil transitives.

As I observed before, on the basis of the data examined it seems clear 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.

4. CONCLUSION

A careful analysis of the semantic features or components of a variety of lexical items in the same semantic domain enables us to understand with greater clarity the way in which the native speakers of Classical Syriac used these words to communicate precise shades of meaning. These semantic features are not more basic elements than the words themselves in the minds of the native speakers. Rather, the features are a useful heuristic device that make it possible for non-native speakers, such as modern linguists, to gain at least partial access to the store of knowledge intuitively present in the minds of the original speakers.

In the case of translations, this mode of analysis can perhaps be applied to the texts in both languages in order to gain an understanding of which features of the source language were most salient in the minds of the translators. In addition, this may help us to better understand apparent misunderstandings by the translators. I

have not attempted such an analysis in the present paper. I merely mention it as a possible avenue for future research.

The stem types used in Syriac show no mechanical correspondence with those employed in the original Hebrew text. The Syriac translator was guided by considerations of meaning rather than a drive to always choose the nearest possible cognate.

I am confident that componential analysis will prove to be a valuable aid to the understanding of the entire Syriac vocabulary. For the purposes of lexicography, it can most profitably be carried out on vocabulary in particular semantic domains in specific corpora, as has been done in the present study.

This corpus-based approach has at least two advantages. One is that it avoids the pitfalls of attempting to extract all the lexemes in a particular semantic domain from such a broad source as a lexicon. Such an approach tends to be unmanageable in practice. It is also too easily affected by the subjective criteria of the investigator. The field upon which subjective criteria can operate within a defined corpus is much more limited. This naturally leads to results that can more readily be validated by other investigators. It also ensures that the lexemes will be analyzed in context, and that specific examples of usage can be produced in the event that there is any question about the appropriateness of a given analysis.

The second advantage of a corpus-based approach is that it analyzes lexemes in a particular author or literary work. This helps avoid the problem, found in many lexica, of attributing a range of definitions to a word that is so broad that it is sometimes confusing, and occasionally leads to the inclusion of contradictory meanings. A word may indeed be used in a wide variety of ways over the centuries by different authors. A corpus-based investigation has the potential to clear up confusion by showing the range of meaning that a specific lexeme has in the work of a particular author. Such investigations can also yield detailed information about the changes in the meaning of lexical items over time. All of this sounds very much like the province of philology, and I will not deny that it is. I submit, though, that semantic componential analysis can add a certain rigor to philology. More practically, from the point of view of the user of a lexicon, componential analysis can add rigor to the definitions given in these works.

CHAPTER 7:
LEXICALIZING THE SYRIAC PREPOSITION ܠܘܬ

Beryl Turner

Whitley College, Melbourne College of Divinity

This paper examines the preposition ܠܘܬ, particularly where it co-occurs with a verb, in the Peshitta Gospels. The aim is to devise a methodology for examining every occurrence of ܠܘܬ and creating a lexical entry that both gives a readily-accessible overview of the preposition and also does justice to its many nuances of meaning as they are found in the Gospels. The study will assist in the preparation of the remaining volumes of *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels* and in the compilation of a new comprehensive Syriac-English dictionary.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is part of a wider study on prepositions, looking particularly at how prepositions might be treated in a proposed new Classical Syriac-English lexicon, a work which will provide more detailed information than in existing lexica, but which will also be organised and arranged in such a way that the information is easily accessed by the reader. This presentation works within some of the suggestions under consideration for this proposed lexicon: that we proceed on a corpus-by-corpus basis, and that, where feasible, we account for every occurrence of the preposition in the context in which it appears in the text. Further recommendations and their rationale appear in Terry Falla's "A Conceptual Framework for a New Comprehensive Syriac-English Lexicon" in the first volume of this series.[1] The corpus dealt with here is the Peshitta Gospels, chosen because it is probably the text most frequently referred to; it is a small corpus of a distinct genre, and a translated work from one era and area, and it is thus ideal for a pilot study. Its sister translations, the Old Syriac and Harklean, will be referred to when a wider perspective is needed. As the Syriac Gospels are a translation from the Greek, the final lexical entry includes the corresponding Greek construction behind every occurrence of every Syriac preposition as well.

This study begins with a brief look at the nature of Syriac prepositions, particularly as compared with Greek and English prepositions, and then proposes a

---

[1] *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*, 1–79.

methodology for lexicalizing just one aspect of the preposition ܠܘܬ, that is, when the preposition co-occurs with verbs. A lexical entry for the preposition ܠܘܬ in the Peshitta Gospels is offered at the end.

2. NATURE OF SYRIAC PREPOSITIONS

Some characteristics of Syriac prepositions are discussed briefly first, as these characteristics have an impact on how prepositions might be entered in a Syriac-English lexicon.

First, compared with Greek and English, Syriac has relatively few prepositions. Sebastian Brock has commented on this relative "deficiency" of prepositions in Syriac as compared with Greek, and comments that, "To make up for the deficiency in prepositions, a number of prepositional phrases are employed to render particular Greek prepositions."[2] By contrast, English has about fifty prepositions,[3] and more when compounds such as "up to" are included. Of Syriac prepositions, Nöldeke lists about thirty altogether, of which about half are compound prepositions, prefixed with ܒ, ܠ, ܡܢ, or ܥܠ.[4]

Secondly, not only are there fewer *prepositions* in Syriac than in Greek: Brock notes that Syriac also has fewer compound verbs and substantives than Greek, so Syriac uses phrases, often containing prepositions, to translate compound words. For instance, Greek readily attaches prepositional affixes to verbs to derive more specialised nuances of compound verbs' meanings, but these must be rendered as prepositional phrases in Syriac. For the most part, Syriac nouns do not have cases. The accusative may be indicated as a pronominal suffix on the verb, or with ܠ as an object marker to distinguish it from the subject or nominative, but in nearly all other instances when the Greek genitive and dative cases are translated into Syriac, usually their renderings employ prepositions.[5]

Consequently, Syriac's relatively few prepositions are used in a wide diversity of situations. One Syriac preposition may be used in situations where one of half a dozen different prepositions might be used in Greek or in English: ܠܘܬ, for instance, in the Peshitta Gospels, translates nine different Greek prepositions, some followed by two or three different noun cases, making twelve different options. The following table, which is not exhaustive for ܠܘܬ, illustrates how, in the Gospels alone, this one Syriac preposition translates twelve different Greek constructions, and corresponds to nine different English prepositions.

---

[2] S. Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," 94.

[3] Saint-Dizier, "Introduction to the Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions," 2.

[4] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 101–103, §156.

[5] Brock, "Limitations," 83–84.

Reference	Greek construction	Syriac preposition	English preposition
Matt 15:24	εἴς + acc.	ܠܘܬ	(sent) to (them)
Luke 2:44	ἐν + dat	ܠܘܬ	(searched) among (them)
Matt 12:49	ἐπί + acc.	ܠܘܬ	(stretched hand) to, toward (them)
John 6:21	ἐπί + gen.	ܠܘܬ	(be) at (a destination)
Mark 15:39	ἐξ ἐναντίας + gen.	ܠܘܬ	(standing) near (him)
Luke 1:58	μετά + gen.	ܠܘܬ	(magnify mercy) on, to, toward, with, upon (her)
Matt 15:30	παρά + acc.	ܠܘܬ	(drew near) to (him)
Matt 6:1	παρά + dat.	ܠܘܬ	(have reward) from (God)
Mark 10:27	παρά + dat.	ܠܘܬ	(be possible) for, with (God)
Mark 3:34	περί + acc.	ܠܘܬ	(sitting) with (him)
Mark 5:11	πρός + dat.	ܠܘܬ	(feeding) near (the mountain)
Luke 1:56	σύν + dat.	ܠܘܬ	(stay, remain) with (her)
Matt 2:12	πρός + acc.	ܠܘܬ	(return) to (him)

Table 1. Greek and Syriac correspondences to the Syriac preposition ܠܘܬ

Furthermore, ܠܘܬ also translates Greek genitive and dative constructions,[6] and is used in constructions that translate Greek verbs "to have," which, added to the examples above, make at least fifteen different Greek constructions that ܠܘܬ translates in the Gospels. *Lamadh*, of course, is used in an even wider range of constructions. In summary, we have a large number of Greek words and constructions translated into a small number of Syriac prepositions, which in turn can be rendered into a large number of English terms, as seen above.

It can therefore be tempting to think that, because Syriac prepositions can be used in a comparatively wider range of semantic contexts than Greek or English prepositions, then those Syriac prepositions have a correspondingly wider range of meanings. For instance, an examination of the prepositional uses of *lamadh* may reveal more meanings than are seen recorded in Syriac-English lexica and grammars. However, some of those meanings, as expressed in lexica and translations by English glosses, actually belong to the English translations of the phrases and not to the *lamadh* itself. For instance, in the following randomly-chosen phrases *lamadh* is translated into English with a variety of prepositions: *on*, *with*, *for*.

---

[6] For example, n. in gen. John 6:19; n. in dat. Matt 5:1; ἔχω Mark 14:7Syrˢ.

Luke 1:59 ܘܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܡܢܝܐ *and it happened on the eighth day*
Luke 15:17 ܘܐܢܐ ܗܪܟܐ ܒܟܦܢܐ ܐܒܕ ܐܢܐ *and I am here perishing with hunger*
Matt 19:23 ܕܥܛܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܥܬܝܪܐ *it is difficult for a rich man*

But these glosses are not the common meanings of *lamadh*. However they are an appropriate rendition of *lamadh* in these particular phrases. It would not be appropriate to simply list *on*, *with*, and *for* as primary glosses for *lamadh* in a lexical entry. A similar case is the preposition ܥܠ. Like *lamadh*, ܥܠ often means *in relation to*, but when the phrase which contains it is translated into English in a specific context, then it is likely that a preposition that has a more defined semantic value than *in relation to will be used*. This point was emphasized by Edmund Sutcliffe[7] when he examined the Hebrew preposition עַל, saying that עַל should not be thought of as meaning *from* even though that is the way it is often translated in particular instances. The Hebrew עַל means *in relation to*, but is translated into English as *from* in some particular instances because that is the English idiom. As illustrated by the discussion above regarding ܠܡܕ, *lamadh*, and ܥܠ, there is a difference between a Syriac preposition's semantic properties, and how it is translated into English.

Following this observation, the next point is that a Syriac writer's choice of a preposition for use, in most instances, depends on one or both of two things: the verb, and/or the noun or nouns it accompanies. Janet Dyk has written on how the semantic value of a verb is impacted by the preposition that is used with it;[8] this now is the other side of that statement, that a preposition is largely dependent on the verb it accompanies for its nuanced meaning, especially in Syriac, which, as we have observed, has relatively few prepositions and they are widely used. So, for example, whereas Greek and English may use different prepositions for moving *towards* someone and arriving *at* a scene and walking *on* a rock and gathering *around* a teacher, Syriac can use the same preposition, ܥܠ, in each of these contexts, and the different nuances of meaning are determined by our understanding of the activity in the context. We translate the scene, not just the words, or even just the sentence.

The choice of preposition is also affected by the noun phrase it precedes:[9] for instance, going *to* a place is more likely to prefer *lamadh* whereas going *to* a person may well prefer ܠܡܕ, even if the subject and verb in each instance is the same.

The conclusion is that for Syriac prepositions, the semantic load is actually borne more by the verbs and nouns and by the context they are in than by the preposition that happens to connect them.

3. PRINCIPLES GOVERNING CHOICE OF CONTENT MATERIAL

The choice of proposed content material for a lexical entry on a preposition is informed by the following principles:

---

[7] E.F. Sutcliffe, "A Note on *'al*, *le*, and *From*," 437.
[8] Janet Dyk, "Desiderata for the Lexicon from a Syntactic Point of View."
[9] Saint Dizier, "A Conceptual Semantics for Prepositions Denoting Instrumentality," 303.

3.1. Syntactic Context Constrains Meaning

Dyk demonstrates the necessity for considering verbs with the prepositions with which they are used when seeking to define the meaning of that verb. Her comment that, "Lexica frequently make a list of different meanings a verb can have, but it is not always clear whether the possibilities are continually present or valid only in a particular instance,"[10] can also apply to the preposition: its meaning can only be defined in the syntactic context in which it occurs. The comments on the preposition ܥܠ above demonstrate this principle.

As a consequence, the glosses attributed to Syriac prepositions in lexical entries in a Syriac-English lexicon need to reflect what the preposition actually means in a general sense as well as what it translates into in English in specific contexts. This study recommends that the initial gloss for the preposition actually be a definition, such as for ܠܘܬ when co-occurring with verbs of activity in a place or with a person, where it means "in the vicinity of." This can be followed by more specific English prepositions such as "at," "near," "with," "among," and their contexts.

3.2. Syntax and Semantics are Predictably Related

In a study on English verbs, Beth Levin[11] grouped 4183 English verbs into 191 semantic classes and demonstrated that each semantic class had its own syntactic pattern or signature. Consequent studies by Doug Jones[12] confirm Levin's thesis. Using Levin's material he demonstrates that if one knows the syntactic signature of a verb in one of Levin's semantic classes, including its use with prepositions and taking into account negative evidence (that is, the constructions that cannot be used in grammatically correct English), then the semantic class can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy. These studies do not produce data that are likely to be used in a lexicon: they produce much more information than is likely to be needed, and their data are presented in numbers and codes that need to be interpreted. However, their demonstration that the combinations of verbs and prepositions are finite and predictable is significant for lexicalizing verbs and prepositions. It foreshadows the possibility of recording that information in a lexicon in a comprehensive, systematic, and accessible manner by using semantic classes. While these studies deal with the English language only, this study makes the assumption that the principle of there being a limited and defined number of possible verb-preposition combinations can be applied to Syriac as well in a way that can streamline the presentation of lexical data, despite the wider range of uses for each preposition as mentioned above in Section 2.

---

[10] Dyk, "Desiderata," 153.

[11] Beth Levin, *English Verb Classes and Alternations.*

[12] Doug Jones, "Predicting Semantics"; Bonnie Dorr and Doug Jones, "Role of Word Sense Disambiguation in Lexical Acquisition."

3.3. Semantic Classes Streamline Contextual Information

In Reinier de Blois' articles on semantic domains[13] he demonstrates how to use a semantic approach to lexicography *without* having to place a term in each of many different sub-domains spread throughout the work such as in Louw and Nida's Greek lexicon.[14] De Blois redefines semantic domains from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, creating categories that cater for terms that cover more than one semantic domain, with the result that a multi-dimensional approach can be taken to words operating in several domains within each lexical entry.

This approach is informative for lexicalizing Syriac particles because of the wide range of semantic and syntactic functions of each particle. It offers a comprehensive yet succinct way of gathering together in one place a wide range of information. However this study is not creating or using formal semantic domains as such. Rather, for the purpose of indicating the semantic and syntactic functions of a preposition, it gathers together in groups for convenience verbs which (a) have similar semantic contexts, and (b) can be accompanied by that preposition, because that preposition will typically function in the same way with each of the verbs in that semantic context. For instance, with verbs of movement and orientation, the preposition ܠܘܬ will mean *to*, *towards*, while with verbs of activity or status ܠܘܬ will mean *near*, *among*, *in the presence of*.

3.4. The Need for Information on Valence Patterns

The fourth source for my proposal began with my own frustration with English dictionaries that did not indicate how, whether, or when to use a preposition. Choosing a preposition to use with "different" is an example: does one use different from, different to, or different than? I have seen all three used. No dictionary I consulted mentions such information. The Syriac dictionaries of J. Payne Smith (JPS)[15] and Sokoloff introduce some such information on prepositions in their entries on verbs, but it is not necessarily exhaustive, and one does not always know if the examples are included because they are typical or atypical. For instance, the use of prepositions used to indicate "with" with the verb "to fill" ("to fill with") was examined briefly in the New Testament, and in the lexical entries in JPS and Sokoloff's Brockelmann.[16] In JPS the entry was cited as Peal ܡܠܐ, and in Sokoloff (who cites it under ܡܠܐ) only the Pael is given the meaning "to fill," but the Peal includes the meaning "to fill up." Although both lexica frequently cite prepositions with verbs, in this instance neither specifies any, although Sokoloff's first example under the Pael, "to fill" is "ܡܠܝܘܗܝ ܠܦܓܪܗ Sir 27:26 (w. his body)", with no further comment.

---

[13] De Blois, "New Tools and Methodologies"; "Semantic Domains for Biblical Greek."

[14] Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*.

[15] Jessie Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*.

[16] Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's* Lexicon Syriacum.

In the New Testament, "to fill with" usually has no preposition signifying "with," but sometimes has ܒ in expressions of being filled with the Holy Spirit:

Acts 13:9 ܐܬܡܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܩܘܕܫܐ *he was filled with the Holy Spirit* (also Acts 2:4).

But this is not always the case:

Acts 6:3 ܕܡܠܝܢ ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ *they are filled with the spirit of the Lord and wisdom.*

No preposition was used when someone was filled with joy or fear:

Acts 2:28 ܬܡܠܝܢܝ ܚܕܘܬܐ *you will fill me with joy*
Acts 24:25 ܐܬܡܠܝ ܕܚܠܬܐ *he was filled with fear.*

If something is being filled and the substance has not been mentioned before, then a preposition is not used:

John 2:7 ܡܠܘ ܐܢܝܢ ܐܓܢܐ ܡܝܐ *fill the waterpots with water*
Mark 15:36 ܘܡܠܐ ܐܣܦܘܓܐ ܚܠܐ *he filled a sponge with sour wine*

If something is being filled from something else, such that not all of the substance is being used, then the preposition ܡܢ is used:

John 19:29 ܘܡܠܘ ܐܣܦܘܓܐ ܡܢ ܚܠܐ *[there was a container full of sour wine, and] they filled a sponge with the sour wine*
Rev 8:5 ܘܡܠܗ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ *filled it with fire that was on the altar*

I propose that a future Syriac dictionary should specify in an easily accessible manner whether and how specific prepositions are used with specific terms, and indicate what is common use, and what is uncommon but possible. The necessity or otherwise of prepositions with a verb could be indicated first by the gloss that is given to the verb, so that, for instance, the gloss for Peal ܡܠܐ could be given as *to fill*, *to fill with*. In such a case, the user is immediately aware that a preposition may or may not be required, and is alerted to the fact that other factors might be involved in the selection and use of a preposition. Secondly, the use of prepositions could be spelled out in the entry so that the user knows how and when to use them.

4. USER-FRIENDLINESS

The call for the inclusion of valency information in entries on verbs has already been made by Dyk, as noted above. Other lexica already include such information, such as the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH),[17] which lists extensive amounts of syntagmatic data in its entries. However, data alone may not be helpful, and Muraoka's critique of DCH indicates that there is such a thing as too much unanalyzed information, and he recommends that an entry should not appear basically as a database but that "the organization and presentation of data must be maximally clear and consistent."[18] One of the tasks of the lexicographer is to decide

---

[17] David Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.*
[18] Muraoka, Review article, "A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew," 93.

what sort of syntagmatic information should be included, and why. So the next factor informing the approach to preparing lexical entries for prepositions is that of user-friendliness. There are two considerations here.

4.1. Type of Information

One consideration relates to the users and the sort of information they may require. Most people using the proposed lexicon will know what each preposition basically means and for the most part will not refer to the lexicon at all, except for two main purposes: either they are reading Syriac, and want to know what the finer nuances of a preposition might mean in a particular context, or they are translating into Syriac and want to know how and where a particular preposition should or should not be used, and what other preposition or construction they might consider instead.[19] Reference should also be made to any detailed studies that provide more specialized information on the term than is appropriate to include in a lexical entry. These requirements need to be considered when creating lexical entries for prepositions.

4.2. Presentation of Material

The other consideration is the presentation of the material. It is probably already evident that the lexical entry for a preposition is potentially huge, particularly when its many occurrences and all their various contexts, and the underlying Greek, are all going to be included. Furthermore, studies on bilingual dictionaries have shown that the more options for meanings that are presented in an entry, the more potential there is for users to make an error in the choice of meaning. Thus the information needs to be presented in such a way that the many options cannot be confused with one another.[20] In the interests of economy, of user-friendliness, and of comprehensiveness, I would not propose putting all of the information on prepositions into the entry on the preposition itself.

5. PROPOSAL FOR LEXICAL ENTRIES

5.1. Location of Information

I propose that prepositions be treated in two places in a lexicon:

First, it should be recorded in the entry on each verb (or adjective, noun, etc.) it complements, so that the meaning of that verb-plus-preposition together can be presented more precisely. In that entry, a comprehensive list describing and illustrating how that verb functions with each preposition in turn will immediately indicate not only the nuances represented by a preposition with that verb, but will also facilitate comparison with the way other prepositions function with that same

---

[19] See Alison Salvesen's article on "The User Versus the Lexicographer: Practical and Scientific Issues in Creating Entries" for recommendations on what information should be included and why. *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*, 81–92.

[20] Al-Ajmi, "Which Microstructural Features of Bilingual Dictionaries Affect Users' Look-up Performance?"

verb, because they will all be listed in turn in the same entry. I will not deal further with the entries on verbs in this study.

The second place that prepositions would be dealt with is in their own lexical entries. For the rest of this paper I will address this part of the proposal: how to deal with the preposition in its own entry, and in particular, as it relates to verbs. The rest of this study will be limited to the preposition ܠܘܬ.

5.2. Methodology

5.2.1. Criteria Examined

The examination of how ܠܘܬ is used with verbs includes all occurrences of the preposition in its contexts in the Peshitta Gospels to determine the verb with which it was associated, and the nature of the participants involved — people, animals, places, objects, or objects or places that are specified as belonging to someone. It was found that following verbs of movement ܠܘܬ is used mainly with regard to people, but it is also used for a place in instances where that place actually referred to its people, such as Jerusalem in Matt 23:37, or where the object is personified or represents God, such as the light in John 3:21. Twice in Mark's Gospel Jesus goes to (ܠܘܬ) the lake[21] and once in the Old Syriac[22] Jesus reveals himself to the disciples by (ܠܘܬ) the Sea of Tiberius.

Word order was examined, and the only consistent pattern was that the preposition always immediately preceded the noun phrase to which it was referring. For ܠܘܬ, particles such as ܕܝܢ or ܗܘ did not intrude at all between ܠܘܬ and the noun phrase in the New Testament, but for ܥܠ they did, but only a couple of times.[23] The prepositional phrase with ܠܘܬ usually began the sentence in examples such as ܠܘܬ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ *with people, this is not possible*,[24] but apart from that, the prepositional phrase could occur at the beginning, middle, or end of the larger clause or sentence, so word order did not appear to be an issue for lexicography and is not recorded in the lexical entry. If there were a particular pattern, then it and its exceptions would be noted. For instance, John's Gospel has more reversals where the verb follows rather than precedes the prepositional phrase, especially in pronouncements from Jesus.

Note was not made of the conjugation of the verb for the entry on the preposition; those details would come under the entry on the verb. Note was taken of when the preposition took a pronominal suffix and when not, but this did not reveal any patterns in the approach taken here, so information regarding when and where the suffixed form was used is not specified in the entry. However, the simple fact that the preposition does take a suffix would be noted in the entry.

Regarding synonyms, or, as some prefer, Syriac words of similar meaning, when it comes to entries on prepositions with verbs I would not include any

---

[21] Mark 2:13; 3:7.
[22] John 21:1Syr[s].
[23] Mark 13:32; Rev 4:4.
[24] Matt 19:26.

synonymous constructions here. The categories are too broad, and to cite a comparable preposition for use with that category would not be meaningful. Such categories may be dealt with in the entries on the verb, where more specific semantic categories are presented and comparable constructions would make more sense. This is especially true when the verb's entry would deal with all the prepositions it is used with, making comparisons very simple.

For the most part this study did not find anything that has not already been recorded in previous lexica. This study made particular note of instances where ܠܘܬ followed Peal ܐܡܪ in the Gospels, as the pattern of use was uncommon and distinctive. JPS[25] cites only one instance of Peal ܐܡܪ with ܠܘܬ: ܐܡܪܝܢܢ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ as "*we say respecting them*" but does not give a reference, and does not indicate whether this is the normal meaning of ܠܘܬ with Peal ܐܡܪ or an uncommon one. The example is not cited in RPS. This study found ܠܘܬ with Peal ܐܡܪ occurs only in Luke, and then only when Jesus tells parables to people, plus one further instance when in Luke 4:21 "*he said to them, 'today scripture is fulfilled...'.*" While it is not impossible that *regarding* could be intended rather than *to*, this is not supported by the Old Syriac translations of the same verses where in all instances but one (Luke 14:7) ܠ (meaning *to* rather than *regarding*) is used in place of ܠܘܬ: Luke 12:16Syr[s]; 12:41, 41Syr[sc]; 16:1Syr[sc], indicating that the parable is being told *to* the people rather than *about* them. The Greek *Vorlage* in all instances, including variants, reads πρός + accusative, and as the Peshitta tends to render the Greek more exactly than does the Old Syriac, this strengthens the case for reading *to* rather than *regarding*. Peal ܐܡܪ is followed by ܠܘܬ once in the Old Testament, in a variant reading of Exodus 19:9, "The Lord said to Moses," followed by the content of the speech, indicating that the meaning again is *to* not *respecting*. Thus the one example in JPS is not indicative of how the combination is used in the New Testament, and reinforces the argument for having corpus-specific lexica that can then be compared with each other.

Cognate terms in Aramaic[26] were examined and found to be very similar to the Syriac, but this information is not included in the lexical entry because information on the meaning of ܠܘܬ can be readily ascertained from the Syriac text and sources, and there is no need to resort to cognates in order to make a decision about the word's meaning.[27]

5.2.2. Assembly of Information

The following table lists the type of information to be included in an entry on ܠܘܬ. Care has been taken to indicate the relative frequency of occurrence so that the reader can see which occurrences are relatively common and which are uncommon in this corpus. If a list of examples of use is provided without this information, the reader may not know which examples are included because they are typical and which are included because they are unusual. Thus the groupings indicate how a

---

[25] Jessie Payne Smith, *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 238–239.

[26] Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*, לות, 60; *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, לְוָות, 279; *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, לְוָות, 619.

[27] Falla, "A Conceptual Framework," 29–30, §6.1.2.

preposition is *usually* used and *sometimes* used, in general terms, and examples of singular or very infrequent use are recorded under *also*. Note is also made of particular uses, such as ܠܘܳܬ being used with Peal ܐܡܪ but only in Luke, and only for telling parables to people, in addition to one other instance. This information is useful for determining common versus rare uses, but is limited by the fact that any one corpus has a restricted selection of genres and subjects, so the uses that are rare in one corpus, and therefore in one volume of the lexicon, might be more common in another. This potential limitation would need to be explained in the Introduction.

The following table does not form the entry for the preposition but is an illustration of the type of information that would be assembled for ܠܘܳܬ-with-verbs in the entry. The glosses and examples of use include the Syriac constructions as much as possible, to indicate just how the preposition is used in the context. It is not assumed that the English translation is sufficient to demonstrate the use of the preposition in Syriac.

The abbreviations used in the table are: *also* = instances of use not included under *usu.* or *s-times.*; *s-times* = sometimes; *usu.* = usually; ° = occurrence, as in (1°) = first occurrence of the word in question in that verse.

Preposition ܠܘܳܬ	always immediately precedes NP; takes pron. sf.
Verbs of motion or orientation: *to, towards* ܗܘܐ, ܘܕܪ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܙܠ, ܢܣܒ, ܝܗܒ, ܛܥܢ, ܩܪܒ, ܟܠܐ, ܢܚܬ, ܣܠܩ, ܢܦܩ, ܢܗܪ, ܩܘܡ, ܦܘܩ, ܐܬܐ, ܗܦܟ, ܥܒܪ, ܪܗܛ, ܢܦܠ	*usu.* of persons approaching persons *s-times* approaching person's property (house, boat, place) *also* bringing or placing something or someone: Matt 15:30 *at* the feet of Jesus; Mark 11:7 colt *to* Jesus; John 19:29 bringing a sponge *to* his mouth *also* Luke 23:7 ܫܕܪܗ ܠܘܳܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ he sent him *to* (the authority) of Herod *also* John 6:68 ܠܘܳܬ ܡܢ ܢܐܙܠ *to* whom would we go?
Verbs of activity or status: *near, among, in the presence of* ܗܘܐ, ܡܠܠ, ܒܥܐ, ܗܘܐ, ܩܡ, ܐܟܠ, ܗܘܐ, ܗܘܡܐ, ܐܘܢܐ, ܥܒܕ, ܙܡܢ, ܗܘܡ, Ethpa ܗܙܐ,	the Word *with* God John 1:1; stay *with* someone Luke 1:56; search *among* (relatives etc.) Luke 2:44, 44; stand/sit/lie *near* someone/*at* a place Luke 7:38, dine *with* Luke 11:37; John 19:25; be somewhere John 6:21 ܥܒܕ make a dwelling *with* John 14:23; perform Passover *with* Matt 26:18
Verbs of communication: ܐܡܪ *to* ܡܠܠܐ with ܡܢ ܠܘܳܬ *from the presence of*	Only in Luke; of telling parables to people, *also* Luke 4:21 he said to them, "today scripture is fulfilled..." *also* Luke 1:45 things that were spoken with (ܥܡ) her *from/in the presence of* (ܡܢ ܠܘܳܬ) the Lord.

Table 2. Assembly of Semantic Groups of Verbs that Co-occur with ܠܘܳܬ

Unlike most lexical entries on prepositions, this proposal does not group the occurrences of the preposition according to glosses or meanings. Because Syriac prepositions are few and widely used, and are more dependent on syntactic context

for their meaning than prepositions in many other languages are, they are treated briefly here according to the semantic grouping of the verb they accompany, and their more specific nuances are treated in full in the entries on each of those verbs. This avoids the possibility of classification according to English translation idiom, which may or may not be adequate or accurate. Instead, by grouping according to the accompanying Syriac verbs, the criteria for classification remain based within the Syriac language. Instances where ܠܘܬ occurs in non-verbal phrases are treated more completely as they are unlikely to be treated elsewhere in the lexicon.

If the Harklean version is included, then there would need to be a separate analysis of the way ܠܘܬ is used in that text, because its use is much more frequent than that of the Peshitta. A cursory comparison between the Peshitta and Harklean made for this study indicated that ܠܘܬ occurred in nearly all the same places in the Harklean as in the Peshitta, in addition to many other times, but it was not investigated whether the syntax of those extra instances matched the patterns of use in the Peshitta.

5.2.3. ܠܘܬ with Verbs

In the table above, those verbs that co-occur with ܠܘܬ are combined into very general coarsely-defined semantic classes, grouped according to the sense conveyed by their occurrence with that preposition. There is no attempt to distinguish between, for example, concepts of moving *to*, *up to*, *towards*, *near*, and *around*, as these differences are governed more by the semantic context than by the preposition itself. Rather, a brief definition that better conveys the meaning of the Syriac preposition is provided, followed by a very few English glosses. The finer distinctions can be found in the entry on the verbs in question.

These semantic classes of verbs assembled for ܠܘܬ would not be prescriptive for other entries. For the preparation of the lexical entry for each preposition, verbs would be assembled and classified anew into classes that best seem to convey the senses of that verb-plus-preposition in each case. I would not consider dividing all the verbs in the Gospels into semantic classes and expecting those classes to remain consistent when examined with all prepositions. But no doubt some of the classes at least would end up being very similar to each other.

At this point the classes are quite general, probably useful for the average lexicon user but not specific enough for the specialist. I would envisage that in the print version a general entry such as this would be feasible, and in an electronic version more specialised information concerning syntactic patterns could be made available.

Within each class, all the verbs co-occurring with the preposition are listed because:

1. we are examining one corpus at a time so the list is finite and we can be and need to be specific;
2. the labels of the classes are fairly broad and therefore the user needs to know where else to look for specifics, and that is, under the entry on the verb;

3. it enables the reader to know immediately which verbs to look up if more detailed information is required;

4. and it makes it immediately possible to ascertain which verbs in a semantic class are *not* represented in the given corpus.

It is possible that some verbs that are otherwise comparable to these ones simply never get used with a certain preposition, for no apparent reason other than just because that is not the way they get used. For instance, in the Peshitta New Testament ܠܘܿܬ is used with several verbs of motion *to* or *towards*, but not with Pael ܗܠܟ where it means *to walk*. In the New Testament ܠܘܿܬ with Pael ܗܠܟ occurs only once, where it means *to conduct oneself* or *to conduct one's life in regard to others*.

Col 4:5: ܒ̇ܚܟܡܬܐ ܗܠܟܘ ܠܘܿܬ ܒ̇ܪܝܐ
Wisely conduct yourselves toward outsiders

However, I would not attempt to label any verbs as exclusions as such in this context because a verb that is never used in this corpus may well be used in another one, or in a different version, and so to list verbs not used may be misleading. The fact that a verb is not listed under a preposition simply indicates that it is not used with that preposition in the corpus for which lexical entries are being prepared. It does not necessarily indicate that that verb and preposition cannot be used together, though that may indeed be the case.

Syntax is given even if it seems obvious, because this lexicon presumes the reader is more familiar with English than with Syriac, and Syriac syntax is different from English.

5.2.4. ܠܘܿܬ in Prepositional Phrases and Non-verbal Clauses

Consideration was given to the presentation of instances of ܠܘܿܬ in non-verbal phrases. It was not considered that a more detailed syntactic analysis was necessary for the purposes of this lexicon, but only enough information was needed to show the user how and where the term is used.

Instances where ܠܘܿܬ occurred with another preposition were considered. If the other preposition together with ܠܘܿܬ created an analytical category with its own distinct semantic value, such as ܡܢ ܠܘܿܬ (*from being with, from the presence of*) and ܥܕܡܐ ܠܘܿܬ (*right up to, as far as*), then they are entered after the primary entry as separate collocations.

If the other preposition belongs to *another* syntactic structure to which the ܠܘܿܬ is not integral, then it is entered under that other preposition but not under ܠܘܿܬ. An example is ܕܠܘܿܬܐ: where it occurs in ܦ̈ܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܠܘܿܬܐ, the ܕܠܘܿܬܐ is not cited separately under ܠܘܿܬ as the ܕ belongs to the ܦ̈ܘܩܕܢܐ and does not impact on the semantics of ܠܘܿܬ.[28] Nor is ܕܠܘܿܬܐ cited separately where the ܕ is a simple relative (Luke 7:7) or a causal conjunction (John 14:17) or where it introduces direct speech (Luke 19:7) as these common functions of ܕ do not impact on the sense of ܠܘܿܬ. Consideration was given to those instances where ܕ introduces a non-verbal relative

---

[28] Also ܐܝܟ ܕܠܘܿܬܟܘܢ *just as (it is) with you* 2 Thess 3:1; ܐܡܬܝ ܕܠܘܿܬܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ *when I am with you* Gal 4:18.

clause which to an English-speaker may be seen as elliptical, such as ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ *the letter (that [is]) to the Romans*[29] where the verb is missing. In English, elliptical relative clauses typically omit the relative itself, as in "*the letter I wrote*" in place of "*the letter that I wrote*," whereas here the relative ܕ is present but the verb "*is written*" is missing. Because this pattern is unfamiliar to English-speakers some explanation would be offered in the entry on ܕ and a brief mention with cross-reference would be given in the entry on ܠܘܬ.

The instances of the expressions ܡܕܡ ܕܠܘܬܝ *my affairs*; *the things that concern me*[30] and ܡܐ ܕܠܘܬܝ *how things are with me* [31] are considered worth noting, but occur only in the Epistles and not in the Gospels, so they are added as a note for comparison to the semantic group that fits ܠܘܬ in each instance.

6. GREEK CORRESPONDENCES

As with all other entries in the proposed lexicon of the Syriac New Testament, Greek correspondences would be given for every occurrence of the lexeme in question. Consideration was given as to whether these correspondences should be cited together in the indented section or separately for each category of verbs. A table was constructed to compare the distribution of correspondences.

---

[29] Rom 5:8; 2 Cor 1:11, 7:7; 1 Thess 2:1; 1 John 3:16, 4:9.
[30] Eph 6:21; Col 4:7, 9.
[31] Eph 6:22; Phil 2:23; Col 4:8.

Preposition ܠܘܳܬ	Greek Correspondences and number of instances in Gospels	
Verbs of motion or orientation: *to, towards* ܐܙܠ, ܐܬܐ, ܘܥܕ, ܗܦܟ, ܢܚܬ, ܩܪܒ, ܝܗܒ, ܢܣܒ, ܢܦܩ, ܡܛܐ, ܫܕܪ, ܥܠܠ, ܦܢܐ, ܚܡܝ, ܪܗܛ, ܢܙܕ, ܪܗܡ, ܣܠܩ, ܥܒܪ, ܐܝܬܐ	πρός + acc.	166
	n. in dat.	26
	ἐπί + acc.	9
	n.c.	7
	εἴς + acc.	3
	n. in acc.	2
	πρός + dat.	1
	ἐν + dat.	1
	προσελθών = ܩܪܒ ܠܘܳܬ	1
Verbs of activity or status: *near, among, in the presence of* ܢܛܪ, ܐܘܢ, ܟܬܪ, ܣܪܐ, ܗܘܐ, ܚܒܪ, ܩܘܡ, ܗܘܐ, ܗܘܡ, ܙܒܢ, Ethpa ܪܗܡ	παρά + dat.	8
	πρός + acc.	5
	παρά + acc.	4
	ἐν + dat.	2
	ܩܘܝܢ ܠܘܳܬܝ = προσμένουσιν μοι	2
	ἐξ ἐναντίας + gen. (or n. in dat.)	1
	περί + acc.	1
	πρός + dat.	1
	συν + dat.	1
Verbs of communication: ܐܡܪ *to*	πρός + acc.	6
Verbs of possession: ܐܝܬ, ܗܘܐ *to have*	ἔχω	6
	ὁ ἔχων = ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܘܳܬܗ	1

Table 3. Sample Distribution of Greek Correspondences

While only four categories are given in the table, it can be seen that in each of the two larger categories nine different Greek constructions are used, and in each of the smaller constructions only one correspondence is used. The larger categories would need to broken into smaller, more specific categories in order to narrow the range of Greek correspondences. However this option was rejected for a number of reasons:

1. the choice of the Greek preposition depends primarily on the Greek verb it occurs with, and this information is not listed under the lexical entry for the Syriac preposition. Rather it would be found under the entry for the Syriac verb, which would cite both the Greek verb and its preposition together with the Syriac verb and preposition, and it is not necessary to repeat the information here;

2. the table shows that there is a spread of mostly the same Greek prepositions over most of the categories, so that citing the Greek

prepositions separately for each category will not offer much useful or new information;

3. it allows for an overall view of what Greek constructions the preposition ܠܘܬ has translated regardless of the verbs it co-occurs with; and

4. where there are distinctive uses of ܠܘܬ, they and their Greek correspondences can be treated separately in analytical categories following the main entry.

7. CONCLUSION

This approach to structuring lexical entries of prepositions offers an efficient and user-friendly approach to presenting a large amount of useful information on lexemes — prepositions — that need to be treated in relationship to a number of other lexemes, such as the verbs and noun phrases with which the prepositions co-occur. The entry on the preposition itself remains relatively streamlined, and its presentation and arrangement of English glosses, which are few and general, is faithful to the semantic range of the preposition. At the same time, the corresponding and cross-referenced entries on verbs will present the detailed nuances of the use of that preposition in more specific contexts, thereby doing justice to the range of meanings represented by all the various contexts in which that preposition is used. The precision that is possible with this method will enable the user to find the required information quickly and accurately.

This kind of entry does not give the detailed linguistic analysis such as would be available with a computerized analysis. It does provide greater detail and accuracy than is currently available in an English-Syriac lexicon, and its information is readily accessible to the reader.

8. LEXICAL ENTRY

The lexical entry was first prepared and formatted for volume three of *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*, and adapted for this paper. The first section of the entry contains lexicographical information such as glosses and usage. The second indented section contains the Greek correspondences behind each instance of the Syriac term ܠܘܬ. The final correspondence, πρός + acc., is the most commonly occurring, so its references are italicised in the final section of the entry, which is the concordance citing all instances of ܠܘܬ in the Peshitta Gospels. Having these references in italics serves two purposes: it indicates immediately which corresponding Greek term is the most commonly used, without drawing any conclusions as to why it might be so, and it also enables the references to be readily identified in the third section of the article without having to be repeated in the second section. Following the third section are collocations, treated as sub-entries in their own right.

This entry differs from its format in the *Key* in that the information in the first section is arranged according to the proposals put forward in this paper. Instead of following the *Key*'s practice of grouping examples according to the semantic nuances of ܠܘܬ, examples are grouped according to the semantic classes of the *verbs* that accompany ܠܘܬ, and the English glosses and meaning of ܠܘܬ are given for each of those semantic groups. Within those groups, brief note is made of the relative

frequency of occurrence of these constructions so that the reader may see what the *usual* constructions are, which constructions are used *sometimes*, and which constructions appear rarely in the Gospels. Citations are taken from the Peshitta Gospels, with constructions from other parts of scripture included if they are of special interest and do not occur in the Gospels.

> Abbreviations: acc. = accusative; dat. = dative; gen. = genitive; incl. = including; n. = noun; n.c. = no (Greek) correspondence; phr. = phrase; prep. = preposition/al; pron. sf. = pronominal suffix; ref. = reference/s; s-times = sometimes; usu. = usually.

ܠܘܬ *prep.*, always immediately precedes noun phr.; takes pron. sf.

1. With verbs of motion or orientation: in the direction of; to, towards: ܐܙܠ, ܢܣܒ, ܒܗܝ, ܣܠܩ, ܡܛܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܢܚܬ, ܩܪܒ, ܩܡ, ܦܢܐ, ܢܦܩ, ܥܠ, ܫܕܪ, ܐܬܟܢܫ, ܐܬܩܪܒ, ܪܗܛ:

a. *usu.* of persons approaching persons; ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܝܫܘܥ *Jesus came towards them* Matt 14:25;

b. *s-times* approaching person's property (boat, place), or the sea Mark 2:13; 3:7; or an object representing persons, e.g. fig-tree Mark 11:13; the light John 1:21;

c. *also* bringing or placing something or someone: at the feet of Jesus Matt 15:30; colt to Jesus Mark 11:7; bringing a sponge to his mouth John 19:29;

d. *also* ܫܕܪܗ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܗܪܘܕܣ *he sent him to (the authority) of Herod* Luke 23:7; ܠܘܬ ܡܢ ܢܐܙܠ *to whom would we go?* John 6:68.

2. With verbs of being or activity in a place or with a person: in the vicinity of; near, among, with, in the presence of, at: ܐܝܬ, ܗܘܐ, ܗܘܘ, ܗܘܬ, ܟܬܪ, ܩܘܝ, ܢܛܪ, ܩܡ, ܟܢܫ, ܝܬܒ, ܩܪܒ, ܢܛܪ, ܐܬܐ, ܗܘܐ, ܙܒܢ, ܥܒܕ Ethpa:

a. *usu.* be/remain/stand/sit/lie/act near someone/at a place or with a person: "*the Word was with God*" John 1:1; stay with someone Luke 1:56; search among (relatives etc.) Luke 2:44; dine with Luke 11:37; be somewhere: ܠܘܬ ܐܘܟܐ *at the place* John 6:21; ܐܘܟܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܢܚܘܪ ܢܒܝܬ *we will make our dwelling with him* John 14:23.

3. Prep. phr. indicating location in the vicinity of, near: "*near the Mount of Olives*" Mark 11:1; ܠܒܪ ܠܘܬ ܬܪܥܐ *outside near the door* John 18:16; "*here with us*" Mark 6:3.

a. indicating someone's place (chez): ܠܘܬܟ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܦܨܚܐ *I will perform Passover at your place* Matt 26:18; ܘܕܒܪܗ *that disciple took her to his home* John 19:27.

4. Prep. phr. following expressions bestowing benefit from one person to another, indicating agent or patient: to, from, with: ܛܝܒܘܬܐ, ܘܚܢܐ, ܚܣܕ, ܫܒܚ, ܐܓܪܐ: "*grace with God*" Luke 2:52; "*reward from the Father*" Matt 6:1; "*mercy toward her*" Luke 1:58; "*glorify me with you/in your presence*" John 17:5(1°); "*with the glory that I had with you*" John 17:5(2°).

5. In constructions indicating possessor or agent: ܐܝܬ, ܗܘܐ, ܠܟܡܐ: ܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬܗ *the money bag was with him; he had the money bag* John 12:6; ܐܝܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܬܡܢܐ ܡܥܝܢ *he has ten coins* Luke 19:25; ܠܝܬ ܠܟܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܘܟܘܢ *you will not have a reward from your father* Matt 6:1; cf. ܕܠܘܬܝ *my affairs* Eph 6:21; cf. also ܕܠܘܬܝ *how things are with me* Eph 6:22 et al.

6. Non-verbal clause: ܟܘܬܢ ܐܢܘܢ *they are with us* Matt 13:56; ܥܡ ܟܘܬܟܘܢ *while (I was) with you* Luke 24:44:

a. with Peal ܡܨܐ act. ptc. be possible for someone: ܟܘܬ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢܐ. ܟܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܡܕܡ ܡܨܝܢܐ *with humans this is not possible, but with God everything is possible* Matt 19:26, 26; Mark 10:27, 27, 27; Luke 18:27, 27.

7. With Peal ܐܡܪ, to: only in Luke; of telling parables to people, ܘܐܡܪ ܡܬܠܐ ܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ *and he told a parable to them* Luke 12:16; Luke 12:41, 41; 14:7, 16:1.

a. *also* ܘܫܪܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ *and he began to say to them* Luke 4:21.

■εἰς + acc. Matt 15:24; 26:10. Luke 15:17. ■εἰς ἴδια = ܠܟܘܬ John 19:27. ■ἐν + dat. Mark 5:30; 14:6. Luke 2:44(2°), (3°)*(*or* n. in dat.). ■ἐπί + acc. Matt 12:49; 21:19. Mark 11:13. Luke 1:16; 12:58, 23:1. John 1:51; 19:33. ■ἐπί + gen. John 6:21. ■ἔχω Mark 14:7. Luke 19:20, 24, 25. John 12:6. ■ὁ ἔχων = ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ John 14:21. ■ἐξ ἐναντίας + gen. Mark 15:39 (*or* n. in dat.). ■μετά + gen. Luke 1:58; 22:28; 24:29(1°). ■παρά + acc. Matt 15:30(2°). Mark 2:13(1°); Luke 7:38; 8:35(2°). ■παρά + gen. John 8:38(2°). ■παρά + dat. Matt 6:1; 19:26(1°)(2°); 22:25. Mark 10:27(1°)(2°)(3°). Luke 1:30; 2:52; 9:47; 11:37; 18:27(1°)(2°); 19:7. John 1:39; 4:40(2°)(3°)*; 8:38(1°), 14:17, 23(2°), 25; 17:5(1°)(2°); 19:25. ■περί + acc. Mark 3:34; 9:14(2°). ■πρός + acc. Mark 14:53(1°). ■πρός + dat. Mark 5:11. John 18:16; 20:11.

■προσμένουσιν μοι = ܩܘܘ ܠܟܘܬܝ Matt 15:32. Mark 8:2. ■σύν + dat. Luke 1:56; 8:38; 24:29(2°). ■n. in gen. John 6:19. ■n. in dat. Matt 13:36; 14:15; 15:1, 30(1°), 17:19, 24; 18:1, 21*; 19:3; 21:28, 30; 22:16; 26:17, 49, 69; 27:58. Mark 2:4; 6:35; 10:35. Luke 1:49; 2:9; 9:32; 15:1, 25; 18:40(2°); 22:47; 23:11, 52. John 12:21; 19:29. ■*n.c.* Matt 17:7. Mark 9:25; 14:53(2°)*(*or* πρός + acc.* *or* n. in gen. *or* n. in dat.). Luke 3:7; 20:20; 23:36. John 21:7. ■πρός + acc. *ref. in italics incl.* Matt 26:55*. Luke 23:15*.

Matt *2:12*, *3:5*, *13*, *14*; 5:1; 6:1; *7:15*; *10:6*; *11:28*; 12:49; 13:*2*, 36, *56*; 14:15, *25*, *28*, *29*; 15:1, 24, 30, 30, 32; 17:7, *14*, 19, 24; 18:1, 21; 19:3, *14*, 26, 26; 21:19, 28, 30, *32*, *34*, *37*; 22:16, 25; *23:34*, *37*; *25:9*, *36*, *39*; 26:10, *14*, 17, *18*, *18*, *40*, *45*, 49, 55, 57, 69, 27:58, *62*. **Mark** *1:5*, *32*, *40*, *45*; *2:3*, 4, 13, *13*; *3:7*, *8*, *13*; 34; *4:1*; 5:11, *15*, *19*, *22*, 30; 6:*3*, *25*, *30*, 35, *48*, *51*; *7:1*; 8:2; 9:*14*, 14, *17, 19*, *19*, *20*, 25; 10:*1, 14*, 27, 27, 27, 35, *50*; 11:*1*, *7*, 13, *27*; *12:2*, *4*, *6*, *13*, *18*; 14:6, 7, *10*, *49*, *53*, 53; 15:39, 43. **Luke** 1:16, *27*, *28*, 30, *43*, 49, 56, 58, *80*; 2:9, 44, 44, 52; 3:7; 4:*21*, *26*, *26*, *40*; 6:47; 7:*3*, *4*, *6*, *7*, 19, *20*, *20*, 38, *44*; 8:4, *19*, *35*, 35, 38; 9:32, *41*, 47; 10:*22**, *23*, *39*; *11:5*, *6*, 37; 12:*16*, *41*, 41, 58, *58*; *13:34*; 14:7, *26*; 15:1, 17, *18*, *20*, 25; *16:1*, *20*, *26*, *26*, *30*; 17:*4*, 18:*3*, *16*, 27, 27, *40*, 40; 19:7, 20, 24, 25, *35*; 20:*10*, 20; 21:*38*; 22:28, *45*, 47, *56*; 23:1, *7*, 11, *15*, 28, 36, 52; 24:29, 29, *44*. **John** 1:*1*, *2*, 19, *29*, 39, *42*, *47*, 51; 3:*2*, *21*, *26*, *26*; 4:*30*, *40*, 40, 40, *47*; 5:*33*, *40*; 6:*5*, *17*, 19, 21, *35*, *37*, *37*, *44*, *45*, *65*, *68*; *7:33*, *37*, *45*, *50*; 8:[*2*, 38, 38; *9:13*; 10:*35*, *41*; 11:*3*, *19*, *29*, *45*,

46; 12:6, 21, *32*; 13:*1, 3, 6*; 14:*3, 6, 12*, 17, *18*, 21, *23*, 23, 25, *28*, 28; 16:*5, 7, 7, 10, 16, 17, 28*; 17:5, 5, *11, 13*; 18:*13*, 16, *24, 29*, 38; 19:25, 27, 29, 33, *39*; 20:*2, 2*, 11, *17, 17, 17*; 21:7.

8. ܠܘܳܬ in collocations:

a. ܚܕ ܠܘܳܬ ܡܶܢ one to another, toward each other, ܐܶܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܟܘܢ ܡܶܢ ܠܘܳܬ *if you have love for each other.*

    ■ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

John 13:35.

b.i. ܡܶܢ ܠܘܳܬ *us.* fol. verbs of movement (away) ܗܘܐ, ܗܘܐ, ܘܕܢ, ܐܪܚܩ, ܐܙܠ, ܐܬܐ, ܗܘܐ, ܢܦܩ, ܥܒܪ, ܫܠܚ: from, from being with, from the presence of;

b.ii. *also* ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܶܢ ܠܘܳܬ ܐܒܝ *they will have (it) from my father* Matt 18:19;

b.iii. also with Ethpa ܡܠܠ: ܘܐܬܡܠܠ ܠܗ̇ ܡܶܢ ܠܘܳܬ ܡܪܝܐ *that was spoken to her from the Lord; that was spoken with her from the presence of the Lord* Luke 1:45;

b.iv. non-verbal clause: ܐܢܐ ܡܶܢ ܠܘܳܬܗ ܐܢܐ ܘܗܘ ܫܕܪܢܝ *I am from him and he sent me* John 7:29.

    ■ἐκ + gen. John 10:32; 18:3.
    ■ἀπό + gen. Matt 26:47. Luke 1:26, 38; 2:15; 4:13, 42; 8:37(1°). John 18:28. ■παρά + gen. *ref. in italics.* ■*n.c.* Luke 8:37(2°).

Matt *18:19*; *21:42*; 26:47. **Mark** *12:11*; *14:43*. **Luke** 1:26, 38, *45*; 2:15; 4:13, 42; 8:37, 37. **John** *7:29*; 10:32; *15:26, 26*; *16:27, 28*; *17:7, 8*; 18:3, 28.

c. ܥܕܡܐ ܠܘܳܬ: Comment: this construction is "rarely found" according to Nöldeke, §157. ܘܐܬܘ ... ܐܠܘ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܘܳܬܗ ܘܐܚܕܝܢ *and the crowds ... came right up to him and kept him (so that he might not leave them).* Cf. Acts 11:5; 21:3; 2 Cor 10:13.

    ■ἕως αὐτοῦ = ܥܕܡܐ ܠܘܳܬܗ.

Luke 4:42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Ajmi, Hashan. "Which Microstructural Features of Bilingual Dictionaries Affect Users' Look-up Performance?" *International Journal of Lexicography* 15/2 (2002): 119–131.

Aejmelaeus, Anneli. "Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator." Pages 59–69 in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators. Collected Essays. Revised and Expanded Edition.* Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50. Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007.

Alabaster, W., W. Keuchen, and V. Schindler. *Spiraculum tubarum sive Fons spiritualium expositionum ex aequivocis pentaglotti significationibus.* 2nd ed. London: Guil. Jones, 1633.

Avenarius (Habermann), Johannes. סֵפֶר הַשֳּׁרָשִׁים [*Sefer haš-šorašim. Book of Roots*] *Hoc est, Liber radicum seu Lexicon ebraicum.* Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1568.

Baars, Willem. *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts.* Leiden: Brill, 1968.

Baker, M. "Corpus-based Translation Studies: The Challenges That Lie Ahead." Pages 175–186 in *Terminology, LSP and Translation: Studies in Language Engineering in Honour of Juan C. Sager.* Edited by H. Somers. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1996.

Bar Hebraeus. *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament. Part I: Genesis-II Samuel.* Edited by Martin Sprengling and William Creighton Graham. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago, 1931.

___. *Gregorii Abulfaragii Bar-Hebraei Scholia in Libros Samuelis ex quattuor codicibus Horrei Mysteriorum in Germania asservatis edita.* Edited by Aemilius Schlesinger. Berlin, 1897.

Barker, William Higgs. *The Hebrew and English Lexicon Improved: With Great Additions and Amendments.* Carmarthen, 1776.

Barr, James, David Tene, and Aharon Maman. "Linguistic Literature, Hebrew." Pages 29–60 in *Encyclopaedia Judaica.* Edited by F. Skolnik and M. Berenbaum. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007.

Bate, Julius. *Critica Hebraea: Or, a Hebrew-English Dictionary, without Points.* London: M. Folingsby, 1767.

Berg, J.F. *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Peshitta Psalter.* New York, 1895.

Blois, Reinier de. "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective." *DavarLogos* 3/2 (2004): 97–116.

___. "New Tools and Methodologies for Biblical Lexicography." Pages 203–216 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III.* Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 4. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008.

Blois, Reinier de "A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew." Pages 275–295 in *Current Trends in Scripture Translation*. Edited by P.A. Noss. New York: United Bible Societies, 2001.

___. "A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew." Online: http://www.sdbh.org.

___. "Semantic Domains for Biblical Greek: Louw and Nida's Framework Evaluated from a Cognitive Perspective." Pages 265–278 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 4. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2008.

___. "Semantic Domains for Biblical Hebrew." Pages 209–229 in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference*. Edited by J. Cook. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

___. "Wine to Gladden the Heart of Man: The Art of Writing Definitions." In *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV*. *Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 5*. Edited by Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012.

___. "Word Classes in Biblical Hebrew: A Cognitive Approach." In *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, forthcoming.

Boer, P.A.H de. "A Syro-Hexaplar Text of the Song of Hannah." Pages 8–15 in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in celebration of his seventieth birthday, 20 August 1962*. Edited by D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Braun, Oskar. "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts." *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901): 299–313.

Bresciani, E. and M. Kamil. "Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli." Pages 357–428 in *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei lincei, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8/12, fascicle 5. Rome, 1966.

Brock, Sebastian P. "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek." Pages 83–98 in *The Early Versions of the New Testament*. Edited by Bruce M. Metzger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

___. "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac." Pages 80–108 in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*. Edited by A. Dietrich. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 96. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975. Repr. in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, chapter IV.

___. "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique." Pages 1–14 in *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*. Edited by R. Lavenant. Orientalia christiana analecta 221 (1983).

___. *The Recensions of the LXX Version of I Samuel. With a Foreword by Natalio Frenández Marcos*. Quaderni di Henock 9. Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1996.

Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic*. Oxford and Boston: Clarendon Press and Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906.

___. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.

___. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996.

Burnett, S.G. "The Christian Hebraism of Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1990.

Buxtorf, Johannes, the Elder. *Concordantiae bibliorum hebraice et chaldaice*. Basel: Ludwig König, 1632.

___. *Epitome radicum hebraicarum*. Basel: Konrad Waldkirch, 1600.

___. *Epitome radicum hebraicarum et chaldaicarum*. Basel: Konrad Waldkirch, 1607.

___. *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum*. Basel: Konrad Waldkirch, 1615.

___. *Manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*. Basel: Kondrad Waldkirch, 1613.

Bybee, J., R. Perkins and W. Pagliuca. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Calepinus, Ambrosius. *Dictionarium septem linguarum*. Geneva, 1578.

Carbajosa, I. *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90–150 in the Peshitta*. Translated by P. Stevenson. Monographs of the Peshitta Institute 17. Leiden — Boston: Brill, 2008.

Catcott, A.S. *The Supreme and Inferior Elahim: A Sermon Preached before the Corporation of Bristol, and the Lord-Chief-Justice Hardwicke, at the Mayor's Chappel, on Sunday the 16th of August, 1735: Being the Day before the Assizes*. London: H. Woodfall, 1736.

Ceriani, A. M. *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus, photolithographice editus, curante et adnotante*. Monumenta sacra et profana 7. Milan, 1874.

Ceulemans, Reinhart. "Compte rendu de: F. Briquel Chatonnet & Ph. Le Moigne (éds.), *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque (Études Syriaques, 5), Paris, Geuthner, 2008*." *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 86 (2010): 472–475.

Clines, David J.A., and John F. Elwolde, eds. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–.

Cohen, D. *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique: études de syntaxe historique*. Collection linguistique 72. Paris: Peeters, 1984.

Craig, Marie-Louise. "The Emergence of Hebrew-English Lexicons: From Udall to Parkhurst." BTh Hon. diss., Charles Stuart University, Canberra, 2008.

Cross, C. 'Udall, John (c. 1560–1592/3), Religious Controversialist.' In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–2008.

Curtius, Sebastian. *Manuale hebraeo-chaldaeo-latino-belgicum*. Frankfort, 1668.

Dahood, Mitchell. *Psalms III*. The Anchor Bible 17A. New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Davies, Benjamin. *Student's Hebrew Lexicon. A Compendious and Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament: Chiefly Founded on the Works of Gesenius and Fürst with Improvements from Dietrich and Other Sources*. London: Asher & Co, 1872.

Dorr, Bonnie J., and Doug Jones. "Role of Word Sense Disambiguation in Lexical Acquisition: Predicting Semantics from Syntactic Cues." Cited 9 April 2009. Online: https://eprints.kfupm.edu.sa/62970/1/62870.pdf.

Duval, R. *Traité de grammaire syriaque*. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881.

Dyk, J.W. "Desiderata for the Lexicon from a Syntactic Point of View." Pages 141–156 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1. Edited by A. Dean Forbes and David G.K. Taylor. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005.

Dyk, J.W., and P.S.F. van Keulen, *Language System, Translation Technique and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings*. Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

Eynde, C. van den. *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*. III. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 229. Scriptores Syri. 96. Louvain: Secréteriat de CorpusSCO, 1962.

___. *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. III. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 230. Scriptores Syri 97. Louvain: Secréteriat de CorpusSCO, 1963.

Falla, T.C. "A Conceptual Framework for a New Comprehensive Syriac-English Lexicon." Pages 1–79 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1. Edited by A. Dean Forbes and David G.K. Taylor. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005.

___. *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*. Vol 2: *Hē-Yōdh*. New Testament Tools and Studies 19. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Fitzmyer, J.A. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*. 3rd ed. Biblica et orientalia 18B. Rome, 2004.

Forster, Johann. *Dictionarium hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis, nec nostratium doctorum*. Basel: Froben & Episcopius, 1557.

Fronzaroli, Pelio. "Componental Analysis." *Zeitschrift für Althebräistik* 6 (1993): 79–91.

Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 18th ed. Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1987-.

___. *Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Friedrich Kautsch. Translated by Ernest A. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Christopher Leo. *A Hebrew Lexicon to the Books of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1825–1828.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Edward Robinson. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1836.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Josiah W. Gibbs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Andover: Printed at the Codman Press by Flagg and Gould, 1824.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1846.

___. *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. Reprint ed., Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1997.

Gianto, A. "Lost and Found in the Grammar of First-Millennium Aramaic." Pages 11–25 in *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. Edited by Holger Gzella and Margaretha L. Folmer. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.

Gibbs, Josiah W. *A Manual Hebrew and English Lexicon, Including the Biblical Chaldee*. Andover: The Codman Press, 1828.

Goldenberg, G. "Early Neo-Aramaic and Present-Day Dialectal Diversity." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 45 (2000): 69–89.

Goshen-Gottstein, Moshe H. "Neue Syrohexaplafragmente." *Biblica* 37 (1956): 162–183.

___. "A New Text from the Syrohexapla: Deuteronomy 34." Pages 19–28 in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus. Studies in Early Christian Literature and its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*. Edited by Robert H. Fischer. Chicago: The Lutheran School of Theology, 1977.

Grabbe, Lester. "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 527–536.

Greenfield, J.C. "The 'Periphrastic Imperative' in Aramaic and Hebrew." *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969): 199–210.

Gurses, D. "The Hutchinsonian Defence of an Old Testament Trinitarian Christianity: The Controversy over Elahim, 1735–1773." *History of European Ideas* 29 (2003): 393–409.

Hetzel, W. *Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hebräische Sprache*. Halle, 1793.

Hiebert, Robert. *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.

Holladay, W.L. *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Based on the Lexical Work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1988.

Hunziker-Rodewald, Regine. "The Gesenius/Brown-Driver-Briggs Family." In *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III: Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project*. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.

Hutter, E. *Cubus alphabeticus sanctae hebraicae linguae*. Hamburg, 1586.

Jääskeläinen, R. "The fate of 'The Families of Medellín'." Pages 205–214 in *Translation Universals: Do they exist?*. Edited by A. Mauranen and P. Kujamäki. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.

Jenkins, R. G. *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug*, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 514, Subsidia 84. Leuven: Peeters, 1989.

Jones, D. "Predicting Semantics from Syntactic Cues — An Evaluation of Levin's English Verb Classes and Alternations." Cited 9 April 2009. Online: www.lib.umd.edu/drum/bitstream/1903/784/2/CS-TR–3574.pdf.

Jones, G.L. *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983.

Joosten, J. "Biblical Hebrew *wᵉqāṭal* and Syriac *hwā qāṭel* expressing repetition in the past." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5 (1992): 1–14.

___. *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew: Syntactic Structure, Inner-Syriac Developments and Translation Technique*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 22. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Joseph, Nahum. *Robertson's Compendious Hebrew Dictionary Corrected and Improved by Nahum Jospeh, Teacher of Hebrew*. Bath: Richard Cruttwell, 1814.

Joüon, P. and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Subsidia Biblica 27. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2006.

Juckel, Andreas. "Should the Harklean Version Be Included in a Future Lexicon of the Syriac New Testament?" Pages 167–194 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1. Edited by A. Dean Forbes and David G.K. Taylor. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2005.

Kaltner, John. "Arabic." Pages 61–92 in *Beyond Babel. A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages*. Edited by John Kaltner and Steven L. McKenzie. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

___. *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography*. Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1996.

Kiraz, George Anton. *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Siniaticus, Curetonianus, Peshîttâ and Harklean Versions*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Koehler, Ludwig, and W. Baumgartner. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leiden: Brill, 1953.

___. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1967–1990.

___. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 4 vols. Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson in collaboration with G.J. Jongeling-Vos and L.J. de Regt. Leiden: Brill, 1993–1999.

Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J.J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by M.E.J. Richardson. Edited by M.E.J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Lagarde, Paul de. *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent*. Göttingen, 1892.

Langacker, R.W. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 1, Theoretical Prerequisites. Stanford University Press, 1987.

Laviosa, S. *Corpus-based Translation Studies: Theory, Findings, Applications*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.

Law, Timothy Michael. *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of the Hexaplaric Materials in 3 Kingdoms*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

___. "La version syro–hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque." Pages 101–120 in *L'Ancien Testament en Syriaque*. Études syriaques 5. Edited by F. Briquel–Chatonnet and Ph. Le Moigne. Paris: Geuthner, 2008.

Lee, John. *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. Edited by D.A. Carson. Vol. 8, Studies in Biblical Greek. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.

Lee, Samuel. *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*. London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1840.

Leigh, Edward. *Critica Sacra or Philologicall and Theological Observations, Upon All the Greek Words of the New Testament, in Order Alphabeticall*. London: Robert Young, 1639.

___. *Critica Sacra Observations on All the Radices, or Primitive Hebrew Words of the Old Testament in Order Alphabeticall*. London: Printed by G.M. for Thomas Underhill, 1641.

Leusden, Johannes. *Manuale hebraeo-latino-belgicum*. Utrecht, 1667.

Levi, David. *Lingua Sacra in Three Parts*. London: W. Justins, 1785–88.

Levin, B. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993.

Li, T. *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: an explanation in the context of grammaticalization*. Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 8. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009.

Liljeström, Marketta. "Looking for Fragments of the Syrohexapla: The Song of Hannah in Barberiniani Orientali 2 as a Test Case." *Bulletin for the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 40 (2007): 49–62.

Lind, S. "Translation Universals (or laws, or tendencies, or probabilities, or …?)." *TIC Talk* 63 (2007): 1–10.

Lipiński, E. *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80. Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997.

Louw, Johannes P. and Eugene A. Nida, eds., Rondal B. Smith, part-time ed., Karen A. Munson, associate ed. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains.* 2 vols. New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.

Lund, Jerome A. "Syntactic Features of the Syrohexapla of Ezekiel." *Aramaic Studies* 4/1 (2000): 67–81.

Lyons, J. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

___. *Semantics I.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

___. *Semantics II.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Mari, Alda, and Patrick Saint-Dizier. "A Conceptual Semantics for Prepositions Denoting Instrumentality." Pages 289–305 in *Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions.* Edited by Patrick Saint-Dizier. Text, Speech and Language Technology 29. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006.

Marinus, Marcus. *Arca Noe: Thesaurus linguae sanctae novus.* Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1593.

Mauranen, A. "Corpora, Universals and Interference." Pages 65–82 in *Translation Universals: Do they exist?.* Edited by A. Mauranen and P. Kujamäki. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.

McCarter, P. Kyle. *1 Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible 8. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1980.

Middeldorpf, Henricus. *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris.* Pars I. Berlin, 1835.

Moreira, Jacob Rodriguez, and Haim Moreira. קהלת יעקב: *Being a Vocabulary of Words in the Hebrew Language.* London: A. Alexander, 1773.

Morrison, Craig. *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel.* Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 11. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2001.

___. "The Function of *qtal hwā* in the *Acts of Judas Thomas.*" Pages 257–285 in *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting.* Edited by Holger Gzella and Margaretha L. Folmer. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.

___. "The Function of *qtal hwa* in Classical Syriac Narrative." Pages 103–131 in *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran.* Edited by A. Gianto. Biblica et orientalia 48. Rome: Pontificio Instituto biblico, 2005.

Münster, Sebastian. *Dictionarium hebraicum.* Basel: Froben, 1523.

___. *Dictionarium hebraicum: Radices cum derivatis.* Basel: Froben & Episcopius, 1535.

___. *Maqre Dardəqe. Dictionarium hebraicum.* Basel: Froben, 1525.

Muraoka, T. "A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew." Review article of D.J.A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* Abr-Nahrain Supplement 4 (1995): 87–101.

___. *Classical Syriac for Hebraists.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1987.

Nestle, E. *Syriac Grammar.* Translated by A.R.S. Kennedy. Berlin: H. Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1889.

Nöldeke, Theodor. *Compendious Syriac Grammar.* Translated by J.A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904.

Nöldeke, Theodor. *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik.* Leipzig: Weigel, 1898.

Ortmann, Susan. "Udall, John (ca. 1560–1592)." Page 253 in *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia.* Edited by F.J. Bremer and T. Webster. Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 2006.

Pagnini, Santes. *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch, Thargum, Midraschim, Rabboth et aliorum librorum.* Rome: Stozii, 1523.

___. אוצר לשון הקדש *Hoc est Thesaurus linguae sanctae.* Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1529.

___. *Thesauri hebraicae linguae ... epitome.* Antwerp: Plantin, 1570.

Palacios, L. *Grammatica Syriaca.* Rome, 1954.

Palmer, F.R. *Mood and Modality.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Parkhurst, John. *An Hebrew and English lexicon, without points.* London: W. Faben, 1762.

___. *An Hebrew and English Lexicon without Points.* 3rd ed. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1792.

Parry, Donald W. "'How Many Vessels'? An Examination of MT 1 Sam 2:14/4QSam[a] 1 Sam 2:16." Pages 84–95 in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich.* Edited by Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006.

Payne Smith, Jessie, ed. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1903.

Payne Smith, R., ed. *Thesaurus Syriacus.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901.

Peursen, W. Th. van. *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira. A Comparative Linguistic and Literary Study.* Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.

Phillips, G. *A Syriac Grammar.* London: Bell and Daldy, 1866.

Pike, Samuel. *A Compendious Hebrew Lexicon, Adapted to the English Language, and Composed Upon a New, Commodious.* London: Printed for the author and sold by E. and C. Dilly, 1766.

Qimron, E. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.

Reeve, Edmund. *An Heptaglottologie, That Is, a Treatise Concerning Seuen Languages, to Wit, the Hebrew, Greeke, Chaldean, Latine, Arabicke, Syriacke, Talmudicorabbinicall.* London: Printed by William Iones, 1618.

Reuchlin, J. *De rudimentis hebraicis.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974.

Robertson, William, C. Schrevel, and Constantine of Rhodes. *Thesaurus graecae linguae.* Cambridge: Johannes Hayes, 1676.

Robertson, William. *A Gate or Door to the Holy Tongue* (in Hebrew). London: J. Flesher, 1653.

___. *The Second Gate or the Inner Door to the Holy Tongue* (in Hebrew). London: Evan Tyler, 1655.

___. *A Key to the Hebrew Bible* (in Hebrew). London: Printed for the author, 1656.

Robins, Robert H. *A Short History of Linguistics.* 4th ed. London and New York: Longman, 1997.

Rompay, L. van. "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language: the Syriac Version of Eusebius of Caesarea's Ecclesiastical History." Pages 70–89 in *Semitic and Cushitic Studies.* Edited by G. Goldenberg and S. Raz. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.

Rørdam, Thomas Skatt. *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem Syrio-hexaplarem, quos ex codice Musei Britannici nunc primum edidit, graece restituit notisque criticis illustravit T. Skat Rørdam. Præmittitur dissertatio De Regulis Grammaticis, quas secutus est Paulus Tellensis in Veteri Testamento ex graeco syriace vertendo.* Copenhagen, 1859–1861.

Rowley, Alexander. חָבֵר לְתַלְמִידִים, Συνεργός τοις μαθητᾶς, *Sodalis Discipulis. The Schollers Companion, or a Little Library, Containing All the Interpretations of the Hebrew and Greek Bible, by All Authors, First into the Latine. And Now (with the English of Every Latine Word Added Thereunto) Brought into a Pocket Book. Not Onely for the Ear of the Learned, but Also That the Unlearned May Come to the Knowledge of Both Testaments in the Originall Tongues.* 2 vols. London: M. Bell, 1648.

Rundgren, F. "Das altsyrische Verbalsystem." Pages 49–75 in *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar, Jan. 1958-Dec. 1960.* Uppsala, 1960.

Saint-Dizier, Patrick, ed. *Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions.* Text, Speech, and Language Technology 29. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006.

Salvesen, Alison. *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa.* Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 10. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Sawyer, J.F.A. *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation.* London: SCM Press, 1972.

Schall, Anton. *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960.

Schindler, Valentin. *Lexicon pentaglotton, hebraicum, chaldaicum, syriacum, talmudico-rabbinicum, et arabicum.* Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1612.

Schultens, Albert. *Disputatio theologico philologica de utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda scriptura.* Rijksuniversiteit, Groningen, 1707.

___. *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguæ hebræa.* Johannem Luzac: Leiden, 1737.

___. *Liber Jobi cum nova versione ad hebræum fontem et commentario perpetuo.* Leiden: Johannem Luzac, 1737.

___. *Proverbia Salomonis: versionem integram ad hebræum fontem expressit, atque commentarium.* Leiden: Johannem Luzac, 1748.

Schulz, Joannes Christophorus Friedericus. *Hebräishes-Deutsches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* Halle, 1856.

Sharpe, Gregory. *Two Dissertations: I. Upon the Origin, Construction, Division, and Relation of Languages. II. Upon the Original Powers of Letter; Wherein Is Porved from the Analogy of Alphabets, and the Proportion of Letters, That the Hebrew Ought to Be Read without Points. To Which Is Added, the Second Edition, Enlarged, of a Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, without Points.* London: John Millan, 1751.

Simone, R. *Fondamenti di linguistica*, 2nd ed. Rome: Bari, 1991.

Simonis, J. *Dictionarium Veteris Testamenti hebraeo-chaldaicum.* Halle: Bierwirth, 1752.

Soisalon-Soininen Ilmari. *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta.* Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 132,1. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1965.

___. "Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax." Pages 40–52 in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax.* Edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 237. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1987.

Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods.* Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.

Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003.

___. *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's* Lexicon Syriacum. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.

Stevenson, Paul S. "The Semantics of Syriac Motion Verbs in Exodus Chapters 1–19." In *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 5. Edited by Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012.

Stevenson, W.B. *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Sturtevant, Simon. דברי אדם *Dibre Adam, or Adams Hebrew Dictionarie: A Rare and New Invention, for the Speedie Atteyning, and Perfect Reteyning, of the Hebrevv, Chaldee and Syriack. Where (by the Distinct Motion of 66 Characters) Al the Dictionarie Words of the Language of Canaan Are Truly Represented, and Cleerely Written. Deuised and Compiled by S.S.* London: [F. Kingston], 1602.

Sutcliffe, E.F. "Note on 'al, le, and from." *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 436–439.

Talstra, E. "Psalm 25: Partituur van een gebed." Pages 173–184 in *Letter en Feest: In gesprek met Niek Schuman over bijbel en liturgie*. Edited by M. Barnard, G. Heitink, and H. Leene. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2004.

Taylor, John. *The Hebrew Concordance, Adapted to the English Bible; Disposed after the Manner of Buxtorf. In Two Volumes*. 2 vols. London: J. Waugh and W. Fenner, 1754–1757.

The Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*. Part I, fascicle 1: *Preface, Genesis-Exodus*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

Udall, John and Pierre Martinez. מַפְתֵּחַ לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ, *That Is, the Key of the Holy Tongue. Wherein Is Conteineid, First the Hebrue Grammar (in the Manner) Woord for Woord out of P. Martinius. Secondly, a Practize Upon the First, the Twentie Fift, and the Syxtie Eyght Psalmes, According to the Rules of the Same Grammar. Thirdly, a Short Dictionary Conteining the Hebrue Woords That Are Found in the Bible with Their Proper Significations. All Englished for the Benefit of Those That (Being Ignoraunt in the Latin) Are Desirous to Learn the Holy Tongue; by Iohn Udall*. Leiden: Francis Raphelengius, 1593.

Udall, John, Pierre Martinez, and C. Raue. מפתח לשון הקדש, *That Is, the Key of the Holy Tongue: Wherein Is Conteineid, First the Hebrue Grammar (in a Manner) Woord for Woord out of P. Martinius: Secondly, a Tractate upon Psal. 1. 25. 68. According to the Same Gram.: Thirdly, a Short Dictionary Conteining the Hebrue Words That Are Found in the Bible, with Their Proper Significations*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Printed for C.P., 1645.

___. מפתח לשון הקדש, *That Is, the Key of the Holy Tongue. Wherein Is Conteineid the Hebrew Grammar (in a Manner) Woord for Word out of P. Martinius. Englished for the Benefit of Those That (Being Ignorant in the Latin) Are Desirous to Learne the Holy Tongue*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Printed for C.P., 1648.

Verheij, A.J.C. *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim. A Quantative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible*. Louvain: Peeters, 1999.

Vööbus, Arthur. *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla. Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research.* Estonian Theological Society in Exile 20. Stockholm, 1971.

___. *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964.* Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 369; Subsidia 45. Leuven: Peeters, 1975.

Waltke, B. K. and Michael O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Weitzman, M.P. *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction.* University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wertheimer, A. "The Functions of the Syriac Particle d-." *Le Muséon* 114 (2001): 259–290.

Williams, P.J. *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels.* Texts and Studies 2. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004.

___. *Studies in the Syntax of the Peshitta of 1 Kings.* Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 12. Leiden, Brill, 2001.

Wright, W. *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.* 2 vols. London-Edinburgh, 1871.

Zamora, Alfonso. *Vocabularium hebraicum atque chaldaicum totius veteris testamenti.* Edited by J. de Vergara, de Zuniga, L., de Guzman, N., de Librixa, A., & Ducas, D. Vol. 6, *Complutensian Polyglot.* Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldus Guillelmus de Brocario, 1515.

Zipor, Moshe A. "A Striking Translation Technique of the Peshiṭta." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 36/1 (1981): 11–20.

INDEX

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES

INDEX OF AUTHORS

INDEX OF SUBJECTS